GUIDE TO THE AJ4 WEST TIBETANS FILE

[The AJ4 West Tibetans file is concerned with the Tibetan-speaking peoples of Ladak (in the Indian state of Kashmir) and of Lahul and Spiti (in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh). The land is barren and isolated, with the average monthly temperatures ranging from 23° F. to 62° F., and the altitude of the inhabited areas ranging from 9000 to 14000 feet. The population is mainly agricultural, although in the high plateaus there are large tribes of pastoral nomads. The main feature of the culture, sociologically speaking, is the widespread practice of polyandry.

The West Tibetans file contains 22 sources (numbered 1-2, 5-24), all of them in English except for two translations from the German (5 and 15). The time depth of these sources is considerable, ranging from 1846 for 1: Cunningham to 1951 for the 12: Douglas. There is no really basic source for the file, the closest being 1: Cunningham, which gives a good general coverage as of the late 1840's, 5: Ribbach, which covers the life cycle in a general way, and 13: Heber and Heber which is a rather informal account of the general way of life of the people. The only major sociological accounts are those of Prince Peter (23 and 24), which focus on the practice of polyandry. The other sources are very specific discussions of various aspects of the culture of these groups, or general background studies. Prince Peter is the only anthropologist among the authors, the other being government officials, missionaries, doctors and travelers. Because of the time depth, the difference in local focus, and the relatively low quality of the materials in terms of modern approaches, this file should be used with caution. However, it should be adequate for many purposes. The file was processed between 1955 and 1966.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. The earliest authentic notices of Ladák scarcely reach so far back as the beginning of the Christian era. In A.D. 399-400, when the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian,* Hoeï-King, and others, reached *Yu-thian* (or Kotan), the former determined to remain behind for some time to witness the procession of images, while Hoeï-King proceeded in advance to *Kie-chha.* After the procession had taken place, Fa-Hian travelled by *Tsu-ho* and *Yu-hoeï*, and over the *Tsung-Ling* mountains southward to *Kie-chha*, where he rejoined Hoeï-King. On those mountains, which were one month's journey in breadth, the snow, it is said, never melted, and the natives of the country were known by the name of "men of the snowy mountains." From *Kie-chha* the pilgrims proceeded westward to *Tho-ly*, which they reached in one month. From this account, it appears to me that there can be no doubt of the identity of the ancient *Kie-chha* with the modern Ladák.

2. To reach Ladák from Kotan there were two roads open to the pilgrims, the western by Kukeyar and the southern by Ruthog (or Rudok). By either route the

* See the *Fo-kue-ki*, by Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, or the Translation by Laidlay.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardu districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák. *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

178 175 101 Now, one of these relics (the alms-dish) still exists in a temple to the north of Lé. It is a large earthenware vase, similar in shape to the two largest steatite vases extracted from the Bhilsa Topes.* But Ladák also possessed a tooth of Buddha, which was formerly enshrined at Lé in a *dung-ten*, or solid mound of masonry similar to the Topes of Bhilsa and of Afghanistan. The *dung-ten* still exists, though ruinous: but the holy tooth is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher, of Balti, upwards of 200 years ago, when Ladák was invaded and plundered by the Musalmáns of the west, who, most probably, threw the much-prized relic contemptuously into the Indus. At any rate, it has never since been heard of.

101 131 175 4. Lastly, the name of *Kie-chha*, and the designation of the people as "men of the snowy mountains," both point unmistakably to Ladák, which is still known as *Kha-pa-chan*, or *Kha-chan*, "abounding in snow," or Snow-land, and the people as *Kha-pa-chan-pa*, or *Kha-chan-pa*, "men of the snowy land."†

5. In the *Cesi* of Pliny, and in the *A-khassa regio* of Ptolemy, I believe that we have the earliest mention of Ladák. Of the former Pliny‡ says, "hos includit Indus montium coronâ circumdatos et solitudinibus." This description is literally true of the people of *Kha-pa-chan*, or Snow-land, whose whole country lies along

* By Lieutenant Maisey and myself. See my account of the opening and examination of "The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India," printed for Smith, Elder, & Co. (1853).

† *Kha*, or *Kha-pa*, is "snow," and *chan* means "full." Perhaps Náser-ud-din *Kabáchah*, who reigned in Multan and Sindh, and afterwards disputed the empire of India with Altanish, was a Ladáki. Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* is no doubt *Kha-chan-yul*, "Snow-land," or Ladák.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. c. 20.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it
131 is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains.
175 The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is
175 made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

177 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that
212 interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.
† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The territory of Ladák is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Its different valleys lie along the head-waters of the Indus, the Sutluj, and the Chenáb; and the joint effects of elevation and of isolation amidst snowy mountains produce perhaps the most singular climate in the known world. Burning heat by day is succeeded by piercing cold at night, and everything is parched by the extreme dryness of the air. The rarefied atmosphere offers but little impediment to the sun's rays, which during a short summer are sufficiently powerful to ripen barley at an elevation of 15,000 feet, although the temperature falls below the freezing point every night. This climate is equally favourable to animal life. The plains between 16,000 and 17,000 feet are covered with wild horses and hares and immense flocks of domestic goats and sheep; and the slopes of the hills up to 19,000 feet abound with marmots and Alpine hares. Such is the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, that no rain falls and but little snow, and both meats and fruits are cured by mere exposure to the air.

2.—BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

Ladák is the most westerly country occupied by the Tibetan race who profess the Buddhist faith. On the north it is divided by the Kárákoram mountains from the Chinese district of Kotan. To the east and south-east are the Chinese districts of Rudok and Chumurti; and to the south are the districts of Lahul and Spiti, now attached to British India, but formerly belonging to Ladák. To the west lie Kashmir and Balti, the former separated by the western Himalaya, and the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 latter by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of
131 the Dras river to the sources of the Nubra river.

131 Its greatest extent is from north-west to south-east, from the head of the Dras river, in longitude 75° 30′, to Chibra, on the Indus, in longitude 79° 10′, a distance of 240 miles. Its greatest breadth is 290 miles, from the Kárákoram Pass, in north latitude 35° 10′, to the Rotang Pass in Lahul, in latitude 32° 25′. Its mean length is 200 miles, and its mean breadth 150 miles. Its whole extent is therefore only 30,000 square miles.

634 The natural divisions of the country are: 1st, Nubra on the Shayok: 2nd, Ladák Proper, on the Indus: 3rd, Zanskar, on the Zanskar river: 4th, Rukchu, around the lakes of Tshomo Riri and Tsho-Kar: 5th, Purik, Suru, and Dras, on the different branches of the Dras river: 6th, Spiti, on the Spiti river: and 7th, Lahul, on the Chandra and Bhaga, or head-waters of the Chenáb. These also are the actual divisions of the country, for the natural boundaries of a mountainous district generally remain unaltered, in spite of the changes wrought by war and religion.

636 Ladák is divided politically between Maharaja Guláb Sing and the East-India Company. To the former belong all the northern districts, to the latter only the two southern districts of Lahul and Spiti.

3.—DIFFERENT NAMES OF LADÁK.

101 Ladák, in Tibetan *La-tags*, is the most common
103 name of the country; but it is also called *Mar-yul*,* or

* *dMar-yul* or d*Mar-po-yul*, "Red-land." Csoma de Körös spells the name *Mar-yul*, the "low-country;" but as Hwan Thsang, in A.D.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X

[The above diagram represents the sections into which the map is divided. The sections of the map are numbered accordingly. --Analyst]

1: Gunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 Low-land or Red-land, and *Kha-chan-pa*, or Snow-land,
103 both of which names are used by the old Chinese travellers; by Fa-Hian, A.D. 400, who calls the kingdom *Kie-chha;* and by Hwan Thsang, A.D. 640, who calls it *Ma-lo-pho*. The name of *Kha-chan-pa*, or Snow-land, is also applied to the Lhasan kingdom of Great Tibet. The two central districts of Great Tibet are *dBus*, and *gTsang*, usually pronounced *U* and *Tsang*, or jointly *U-Tsang*. But the uncorrupted pronunciation is preserved by Ptolemy in *Dabasæ*, who must be the people of dBus; and in Turner's *Pue-koa-chin*, which is most probably *dBus-Kha-pa-chan*, or the "snowy land of *dBus*." Ladák was formerly subject to Lhasa, to which it paid a small tribute until A.D. 1834, when it was seized by Zoráwar Sing, the enterprising general of Mahárája Guláb Sing, of Jammu; and it now forms a part of his new kingdom of Kashmir.

101 Ladák is inhabited by a peculiar race of people, who call themselves *Bot-pa*,* who speak a peculiar language called Tibetan, and who profess the religion of Buddha, under a peculiar hierarchy of monks called Lamas. The name of Tibet is entirely unknown to the people as well as to the Indians, who call them Bhotiyas, and their country Bhutan. The use of the names of Bot and Bhutan is probably not older than the tenth or twelfth century, when the Buddhists, having been expelled from India, the hill country in which they settled naturally acquired the name of Bauddha-sthan or Bauddh-than, and Bod-tan or Bot.

According to Klaproth, Tibet is a Mogul word, which

640, calls it *Ma-lo-pho* or *Mar-po*, that is "red," there is still some doubt about the true meaning of the name.

* The name is spelt *Bod*, but pronounced *Bot*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 should more properly be written Tubet. But the name of Ti-bat (تبت) is mentioned by Abu Zaid Al Hasan, in A.D. 915, by Ibn Haukal in about A.D. 950, by Abu Rihán in 1030, and afterwards by Edrisi in A.D. 1154, all long prior to the Mogul conquests of Changez Khan in the 13th century, before whose time it is highly improbable that any Mogul names could have been in use in Persia. Mir Izzet Ullah says that Tibet is a Turki word signifying shawl-wool: but I should think the shawl-wool was called Tibeti because it came from Tibet. One might as well derive the name of India from indigo. There is no trace of the name of Tibet nor even of Bot in any of the classical authors: but the people are most probably described under the name of Seres, the inhabitants of Chinese Tartary, from whom the western merchants obtained their silks. According to Pausanias,* "the Greeks called the silkworm *Ser*, but the people of Serika probably gave it another name." Now the Tibetans call a worm *Srin*, or *Srin-bu*, and the silkworm *Dar-kyi-Srin;* and Pausanias says that the silkworm was twice the size of a beetle, Σειρην. As the Greeks had not seen the silkworm when they first used the name of Ser, it seems to me more than probable that they would have adopted the native name rather than have invented one of their own.

4.—DISTRICTS OF LADÁK.

634 The different districts of Ladák have been partially
103 named according to their relative geographical positions; as *Nub-ra*, the western district (or Wessex), and *Lho-yul*, the southern country (or Suffolk). To the south-east

* VI. p. 26.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu,
[144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion,
134 with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate
137 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the
132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
133

565 463 LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101 LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syallable long and the second short.

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool; [123] (4) Máryool" or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101

The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning, "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása. 631

As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people." 101

I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyoul" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángthang, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.

There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."

At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of 175 631 648

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhót" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--láma or lámba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest." Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca.1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibétans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

General description.

[634] ●101 131 133 [161]

The cantons or *wazíris* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazíris*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazíris*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

[651] [563]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

131 Chapter I.

The District.

101 Configuration and sub-divisions of *mahál* Láhaul.

Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 30 feet per mile.

133 The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

• 101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

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AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

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Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

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The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

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In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

121 well known and have not been extensively
114 studied or recorded. In a book by Pro-
171 fessor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I
128 chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

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121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
103 active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is very barren and, because of the altitude
595 and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[161] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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[p.301]

CHAPTER 4

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS

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Tibetan culture is not restricted to the actual political boundaries of the area marked on the map as Tibet. Fluctuating and ill-defined as these boundaries are in themselves (Amdo (*A-mDo*),[1] in north-eastern Tibet and the eastern part called Kham (*K'hams*) were looked upon by China until lately as provinces of her own, respectively named Tsinghai and Si-kang), they still lie well within the far more extensive region where Tibetan culture is to be found. The total area over which the Dalai Lama and his government recently held sway was generally considered to cover 600,000 square miles – a very vast one. The five million or so inhabitants of this country have, despite their small numbers, produced a culture which is original, peculiarly adapted to the extraordinary environment in which the pople live, and sufficiently characteristic to be immediately recognizable when it is encountered outside its boundaries.

The extensive distribution and general uniformity everywhere of Tibetan culture are aspects which travellers in the regions where it is to be found have often remarked upon. From the east on the borders of Chinese Szechwan, to Kashmir in the west, from lake Koko Nor in the north to the Himalayas and even beyond them to the south (see Map 5), that is over thousands of miles, Tibetan culture forms an entity of its own, in which those who have elaborated it for their use move

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[1] Romanization of Tibetan spelling is in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ka, k'ha, ga, nga,	*tsa, ts'ha, dza, wa,*
cha, ch'ha, ja, nya,	*zha, za, a, ya, ra, la,*
ta, t'ha, da, na,	*sha, sa, ha, a,*
pa, p'ha, ba, ma,	*i, u, e, o,* (phonetically modified vowels shows as: *ü, ü, ö*); *wazur* = *w*.

Prefixed and superscribed consonants are shown by a small letter before a capital; thus *rGya*. Tibetan names and words in the text are given phonetically in accordance with the local pronunciation, followed by the actual Tibetan orthography, romanized in brackets.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ 1

about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of Ü (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as Ü-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

WT 101 131 648

The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families.

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My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

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The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yul (*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

WT 133 [131]

Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[TEXT Continues on P 305]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

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24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [312]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

2. LADAK

a) *Preliminary Description*

I would like to begin with a brief description of Ladak and of Leh, the setting in which my research work was carried out, before accounting for the polyandry of this region.

1. *Environment*

Ladak (often spelt Ladak*h* in English, from the Hindi, whereas in Tibetan it is *La-Dwags*),[1] is really the most westerly part of the high plateau of Tibet, today included in Kashmir as a *tehsil* or administrative sub-division of that state (see Map 5). It is limited in the north by the Karakorum mountains and the Kara Tagh, which are westerly continuations of the Kwen Lun mountains of northern Tibet; in the south, by an artificial frontier drawn along the foot of the Zangskar and main Himalayan ranges; in the east, by an equally unnatural boundary with Tibet which runs from the Karatagh south-west of the Lingzi T'hang (plain) to the Pangkong Tso, and from there, south-east, to the upper Indus valley; in the west, by the other Kashmir sub-divisions of Zangskar and Baltistan.

The area covered by the sub-division is 82,000 square miles, of which only 47,762 are cultivated. It is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, the inhabited part ranging from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet, and even more in Rupchu, as we have just seen. It is traversed from the south-east to the north-west by the Indus river, and in the north-western part another large watercourse takes its source, the Shyok river, into which runs the Nubra. It is these valleys which constitute the fertile areas where habitation is possible, agriculture fed from river and glacier water being the mainstay of the village.

As in Lahul, and even more so here, because of the altitude everywhere, the climate is a cold one for the greater part of the year, only the brilliant tropical sun of India bringing some warmth during the day in the summer months. The rainfall is scanty but, during the winter, an appreciable amount of snow does fall. Temperatures in the inhabited parts of Ladak, that is at a mean altitude of 11,000 feet, vary between a maximum of 62° and a minimum of 23°, on average.

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

[1] Another Tibetan name for Ladak is *Mar-yul (dMar-yul)*, the "red country".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but [101] Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emigrants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races inter- [144] mingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII.

LADĀKH: THE INHABITANTS.

LADĀKHĪS — CHĀMPĀS — COLONIES IN LADĀKH — MODE OF LIVELIHOOD — POSITION OF THE WOMEN — CERTAIN CUSTOMS — MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

144 OF the four races of men who inhabit the country on the north-east of the main chain of mountains—the country which drains into the Indus—whose names are Chāmpā, Ladākhī, Baltī, and Dārd, the first three belong to the Tibetan race. People of this Tibetan race extend over an enormous extent of high ground at the back of the Himalayas, from the borders of China proper to the territories we are dealing with. We are here, in Ladākh and Baltistān, at the most north-westerly spots occupied by them.

101 The first of the three subdivisions of Tibetans—the Chāmpās
131 —are those who lead a nomadic life on the upland valleys,
563 places which, being too elevated for cultivation to bring a living, are fit only for pastoral uses. The second, the Ladākhīs, are those Tibetans who have settled in the valley, and in the side valleys, of the Indus; who have formed villages and have occupied nearly all the ground fit for cultivation; and who still retain the Buddhist faith which is held by the Tibetans to the south-east and east. Thirdly, the Baltīs are that branch of the Tibetan race, who, at one time identical with the Ladākhīs, spread farther down the Indus Valley and then became converted to the Muhammadan faith.* Deferring our say about the Baltīs until we come to describe the region they inhabit, we will in this chapter look at the characteristics of the other two branches, the inhabitants of Ladākh both settled and wandering, and will tell something as to their mode of life.

* The geographical distribution of these races is clearly expressed on the Race Map.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one of these lives a whole family.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve [241] houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the [137] former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of [132] willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the [101] plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs [221] both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133x Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Trek through Ladekh to Leh

101 131 THE State of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely confined to the valley though. Through the passes to north, east and west are other provinces which all come within its boundaries, although their peoples differ in appearance, language and religion.

[175] I suppose the most interesting of these is the province of Ladakh which some people refer to as "Little Tibet", for the people are in all respects more like those of Tibet than of the valley. The history of the country was close to that of Tibet for many hundreds of years extending back to at least the tenth century, the religious bond with Central Tibet being made the closer about the fourteenth century. One reads of their "King Deleg invoking the help of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the fall of the western Lama Kingdom", then of the Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu sending a Dogra leader, Zorawar, to subdue Ladakh and Baltistan, of his being enticed to further expeditions in his search after the hidden gold of Lhasa, going high into the snowy mountains, there to perish with his whole army. Finally of Ladakh being made over to Gulab Singh by the treaty which also gave him Kashmir.

131 133 In these days it takes about an hour to fly from Srinagar to Leh the capital of Ladakh; it takes days—weeks sometimes—on foot by the old caravan routes through the passes which are closed for half the year, and from the numbers of books written upon the journey about the turn of the century, it would appear to have been a favourite one with those who were seeking out the unusual yet interesting places and people. Ladakh, a province of over thirty thousand square miles, is one of the highest habitations in the world; there are very few parts which are

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Physical aspects.

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [132]

Botany.

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. WT 137 WT [245]

Fauna.

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and WT 136

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Documents used in the

Map of Ladak and Nari Khorsum
Map of the Alpine Punjab shewing
Suthej by Major A. Cunningham.
Map of the Northern Part of the P
Ladak and Little Tibet by G.T. Vign
Map of the Mountains of Northern
J. Arrowsmith Esq.
Map of Koonawur by Capt. F. Gerar
Military Survey of the Northern Tran
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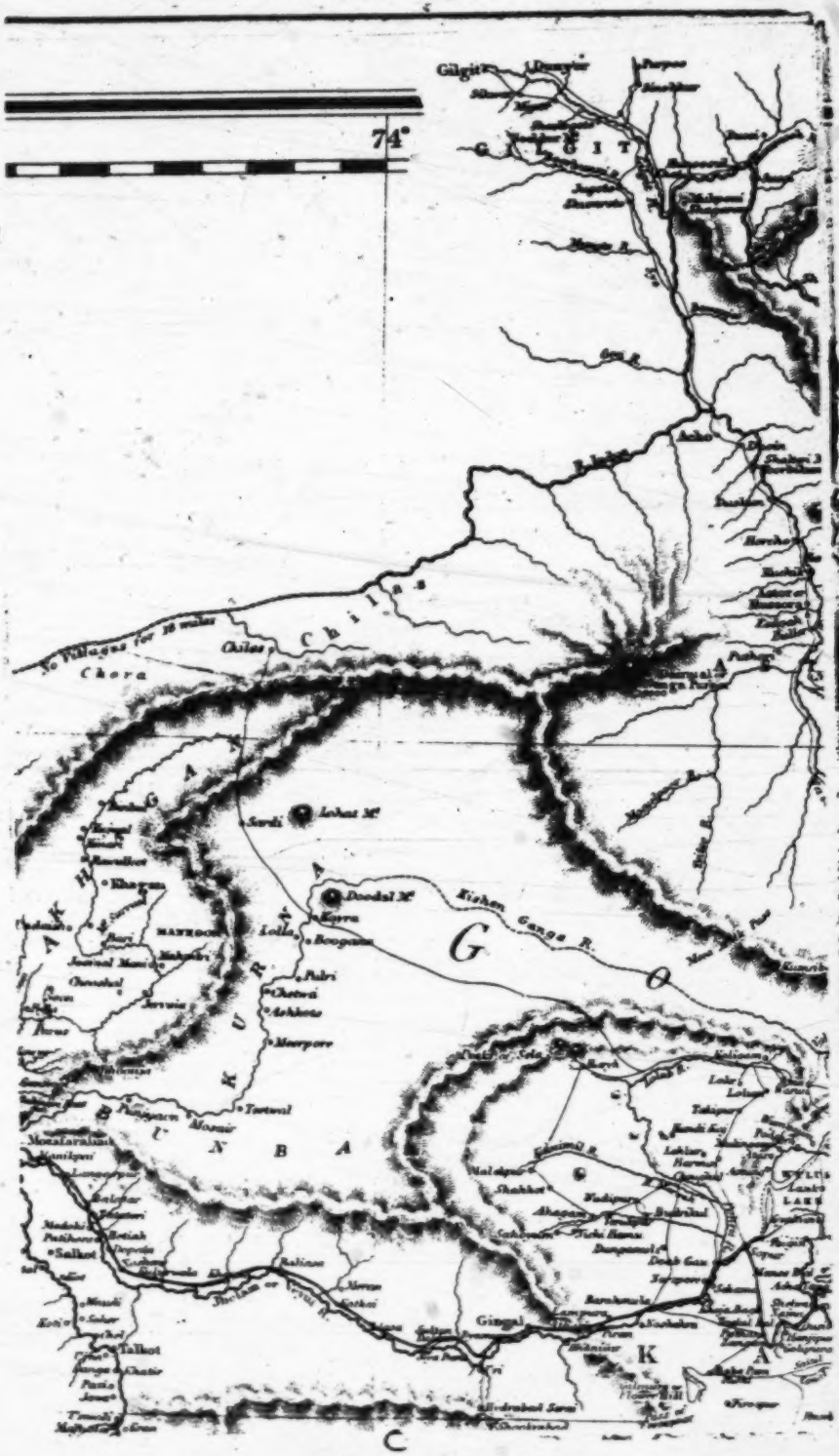

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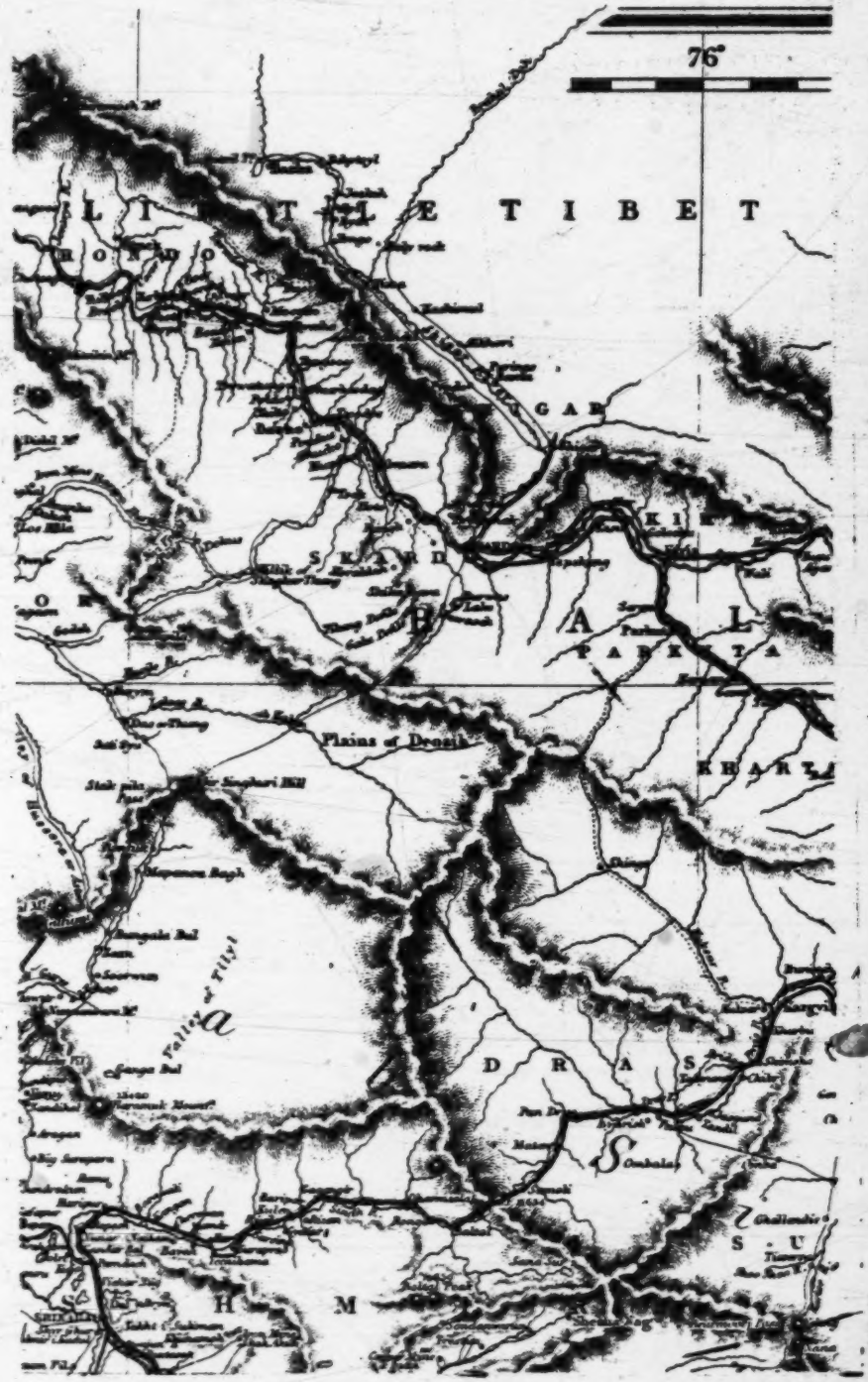

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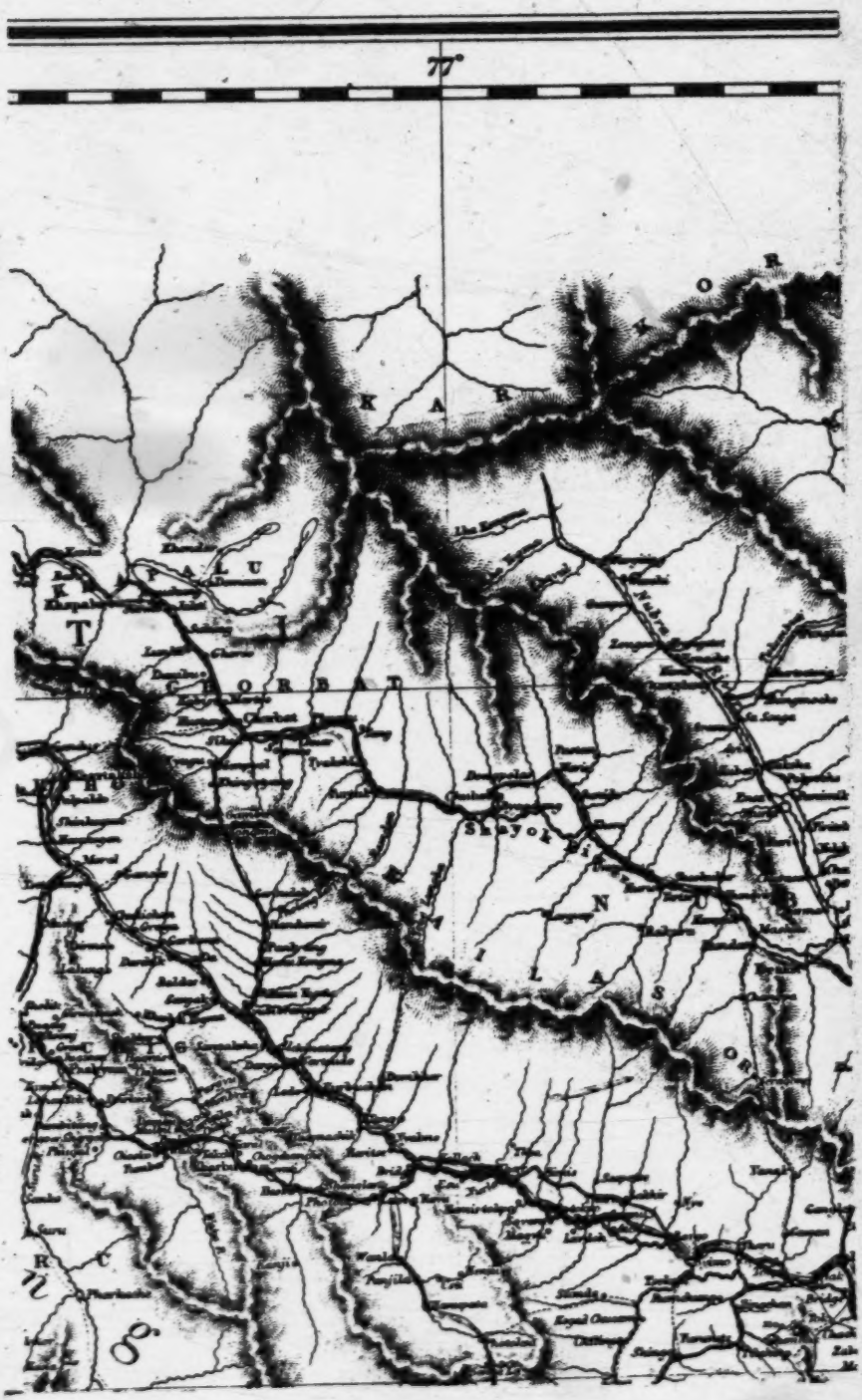

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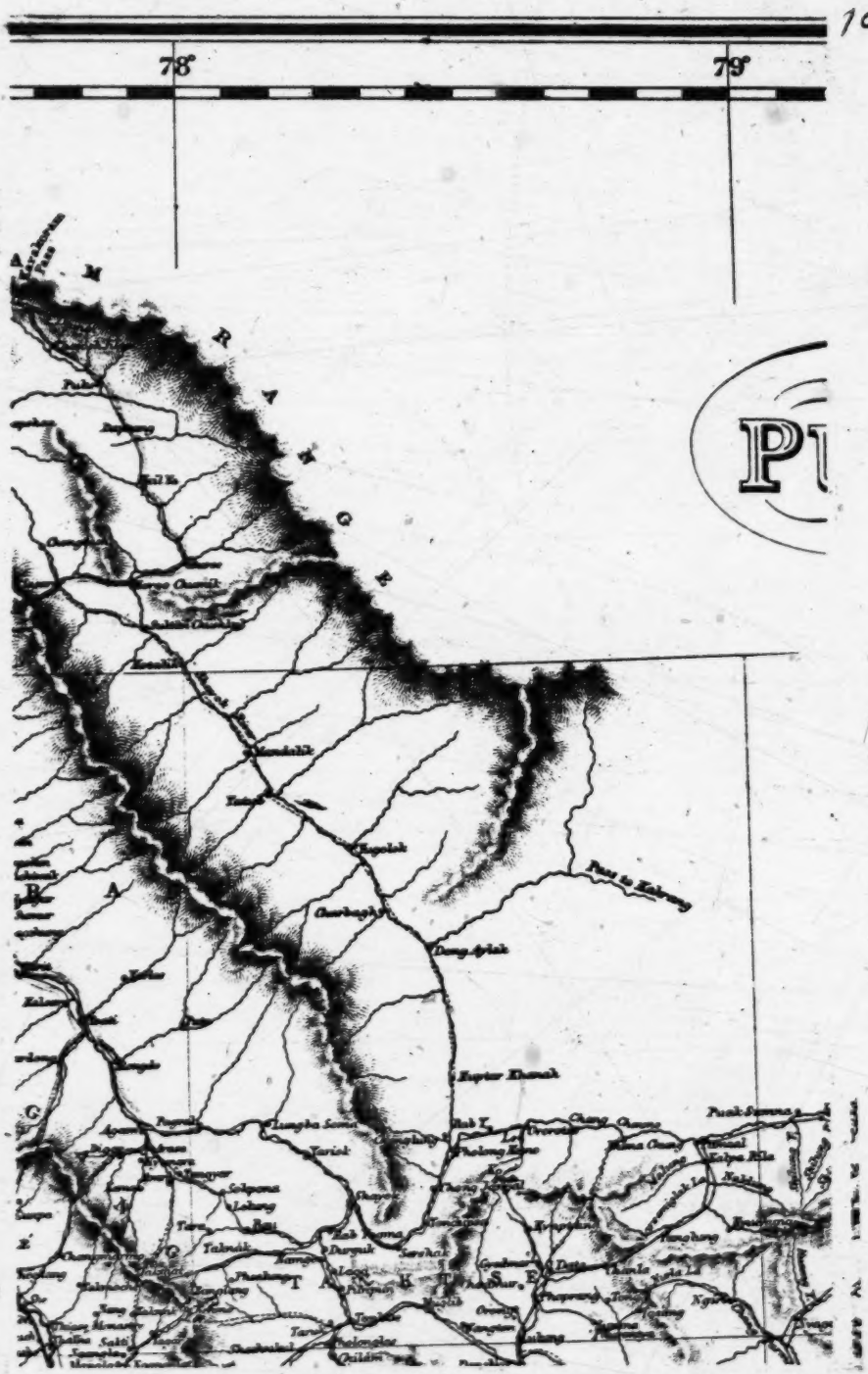

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Map

OF THE

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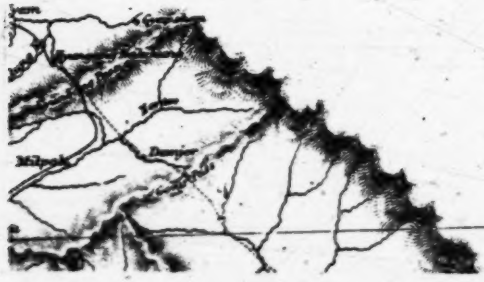

Major Cunningham's Routes
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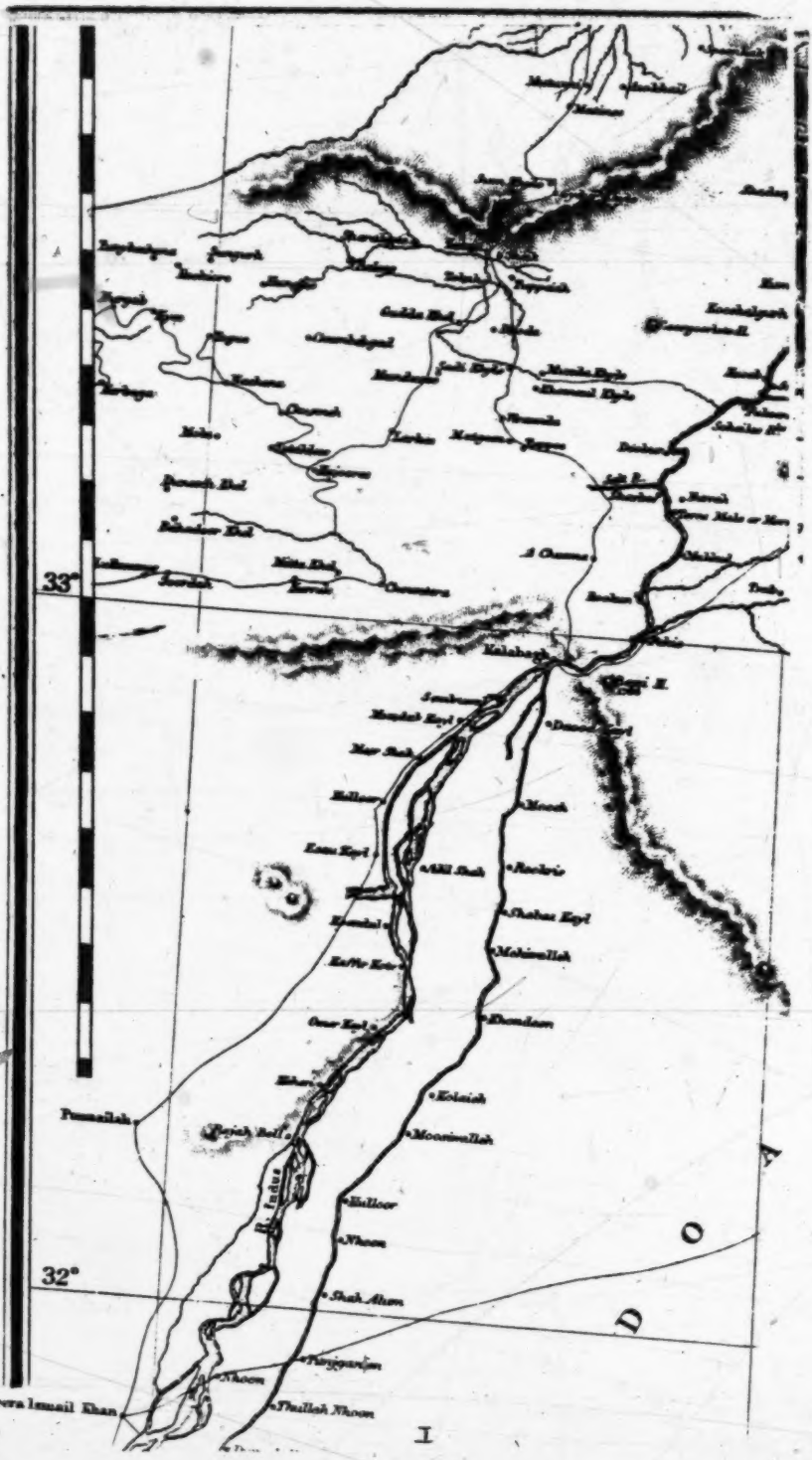

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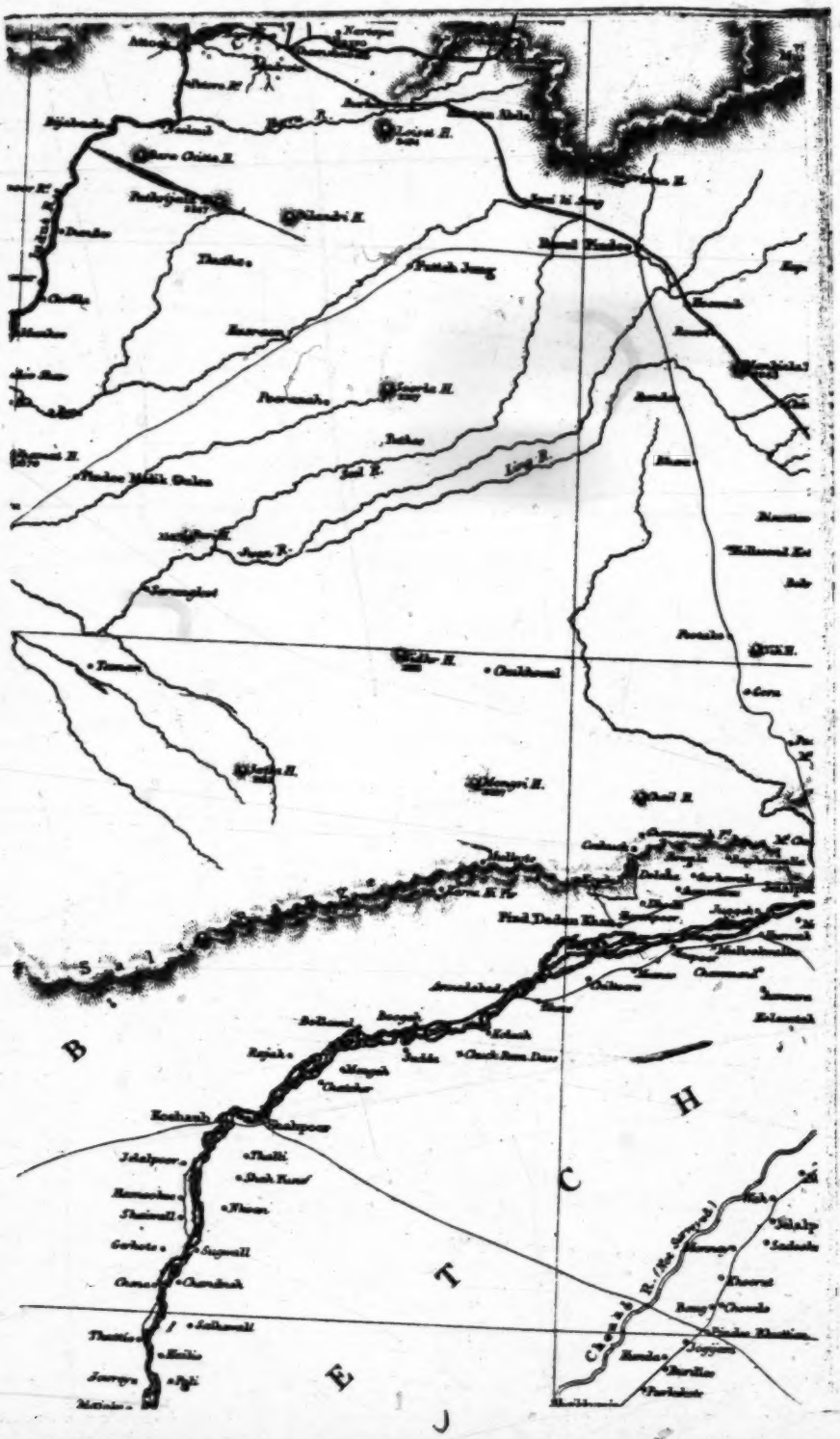

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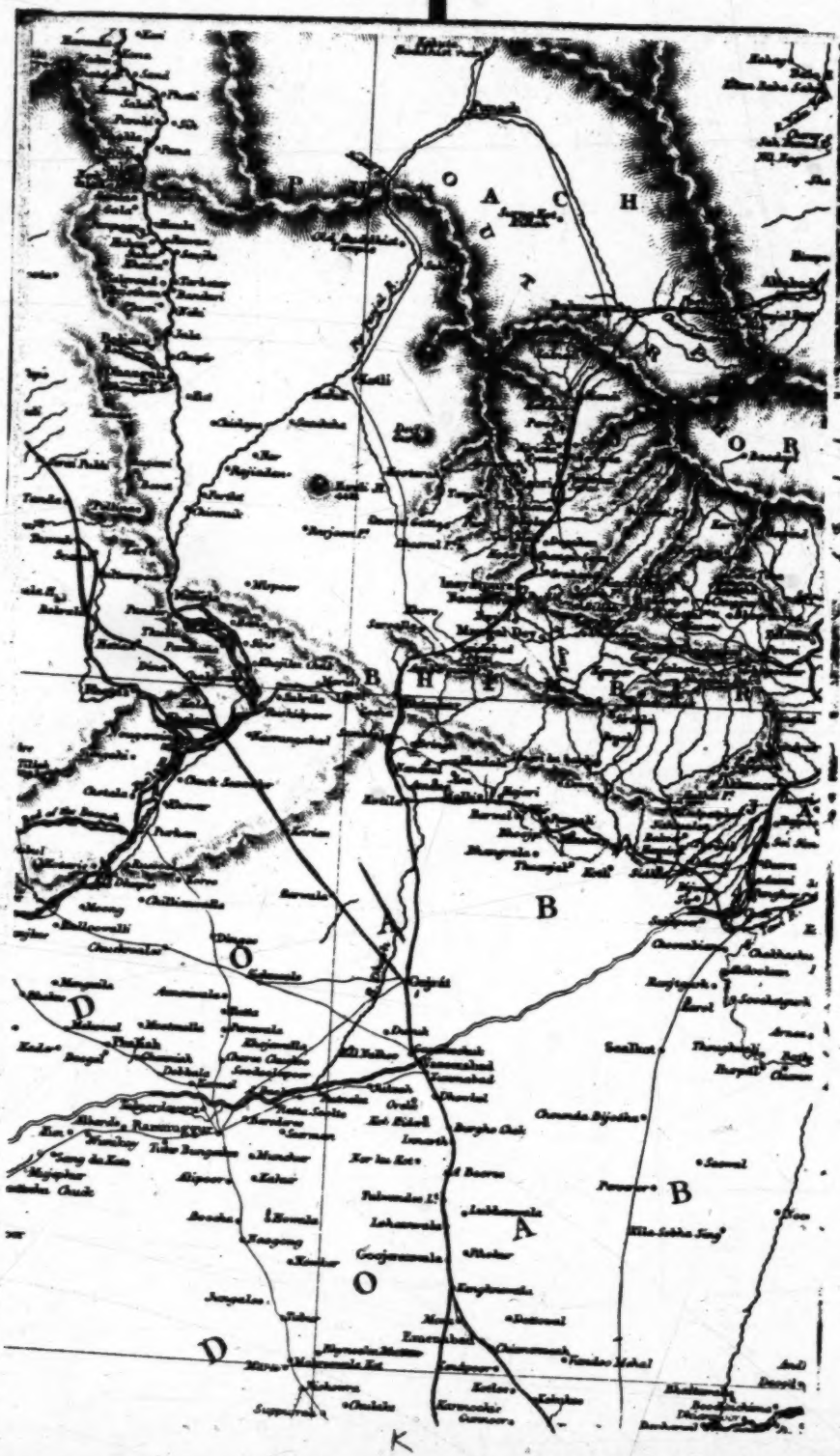

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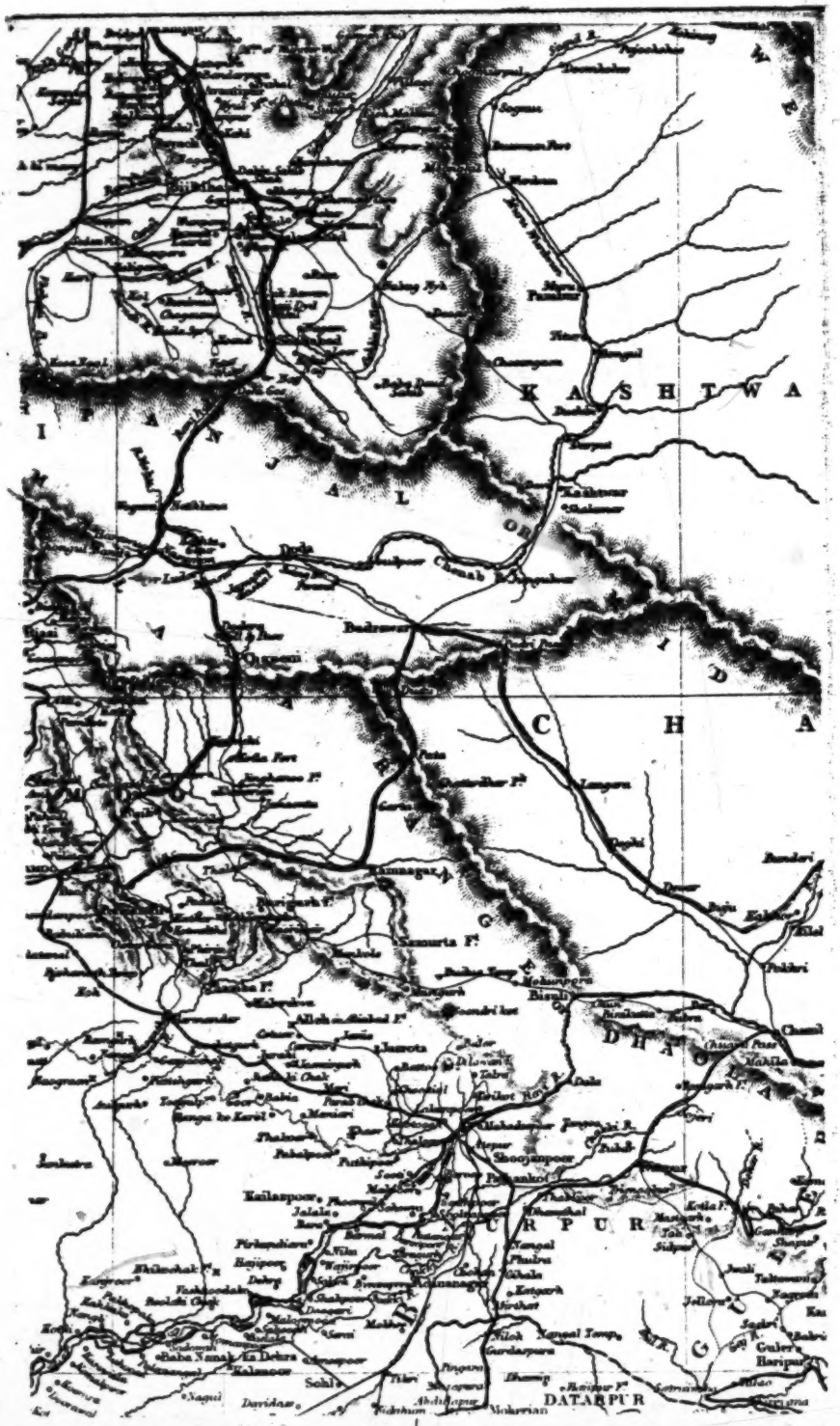

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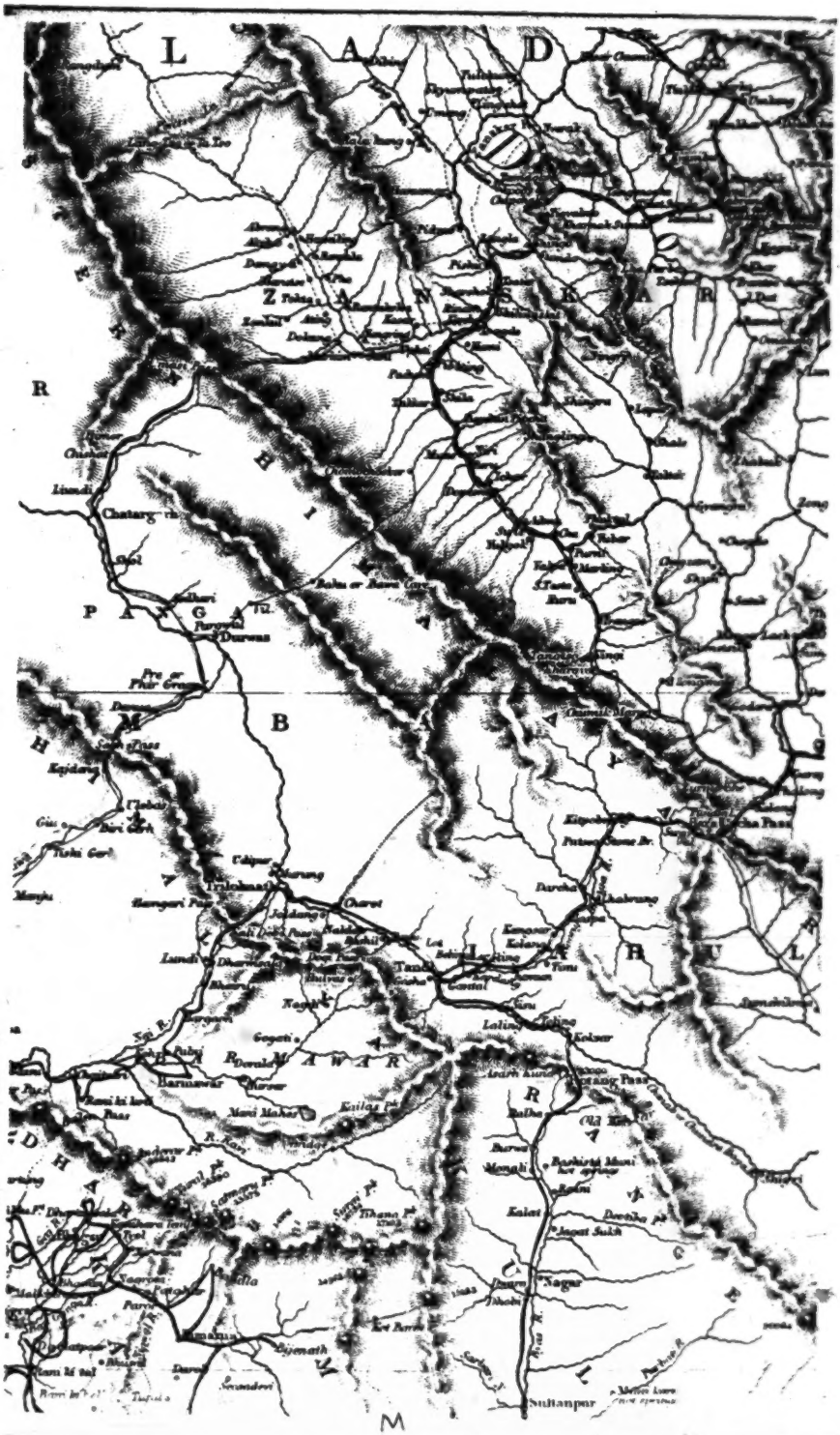
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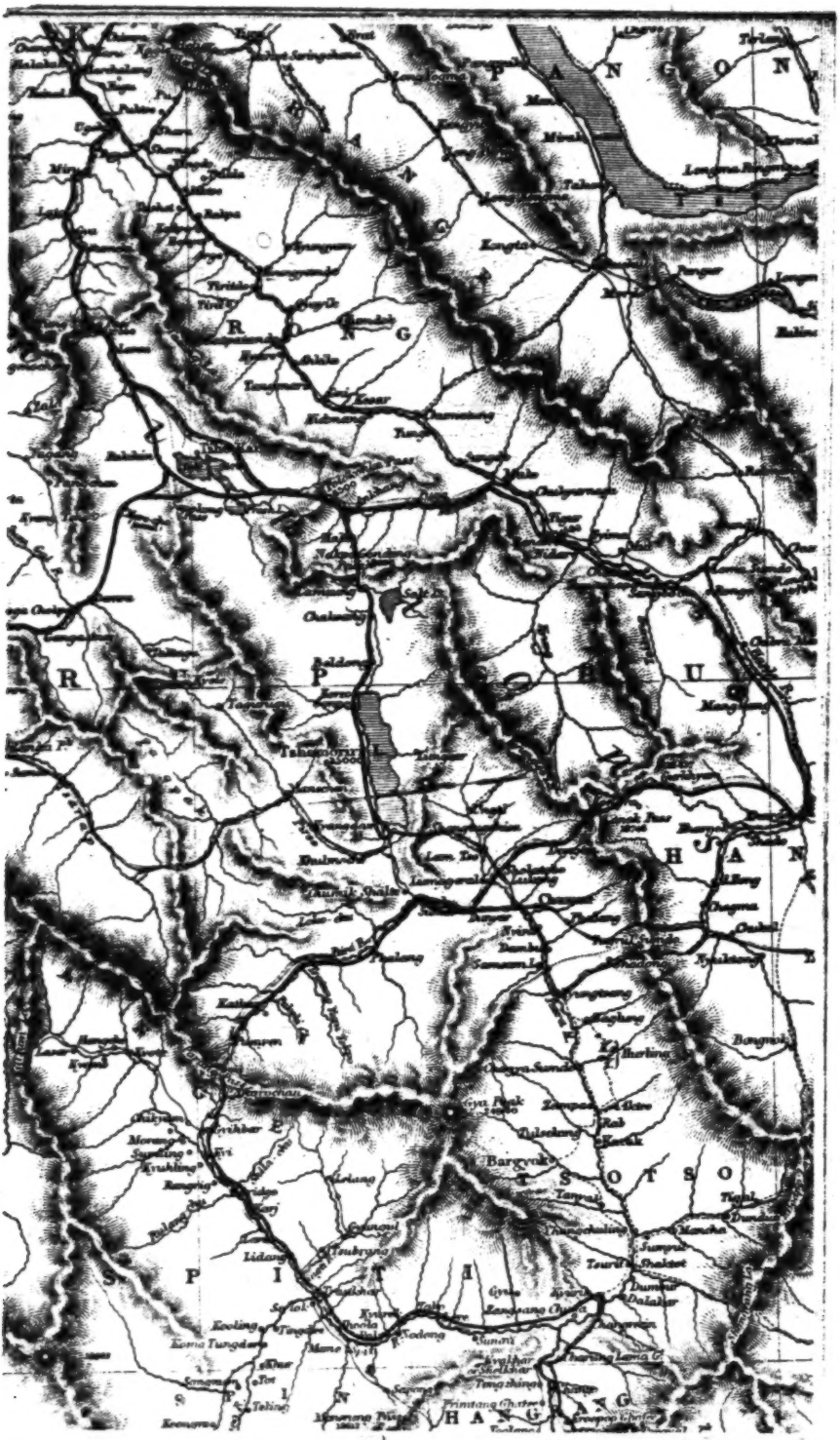
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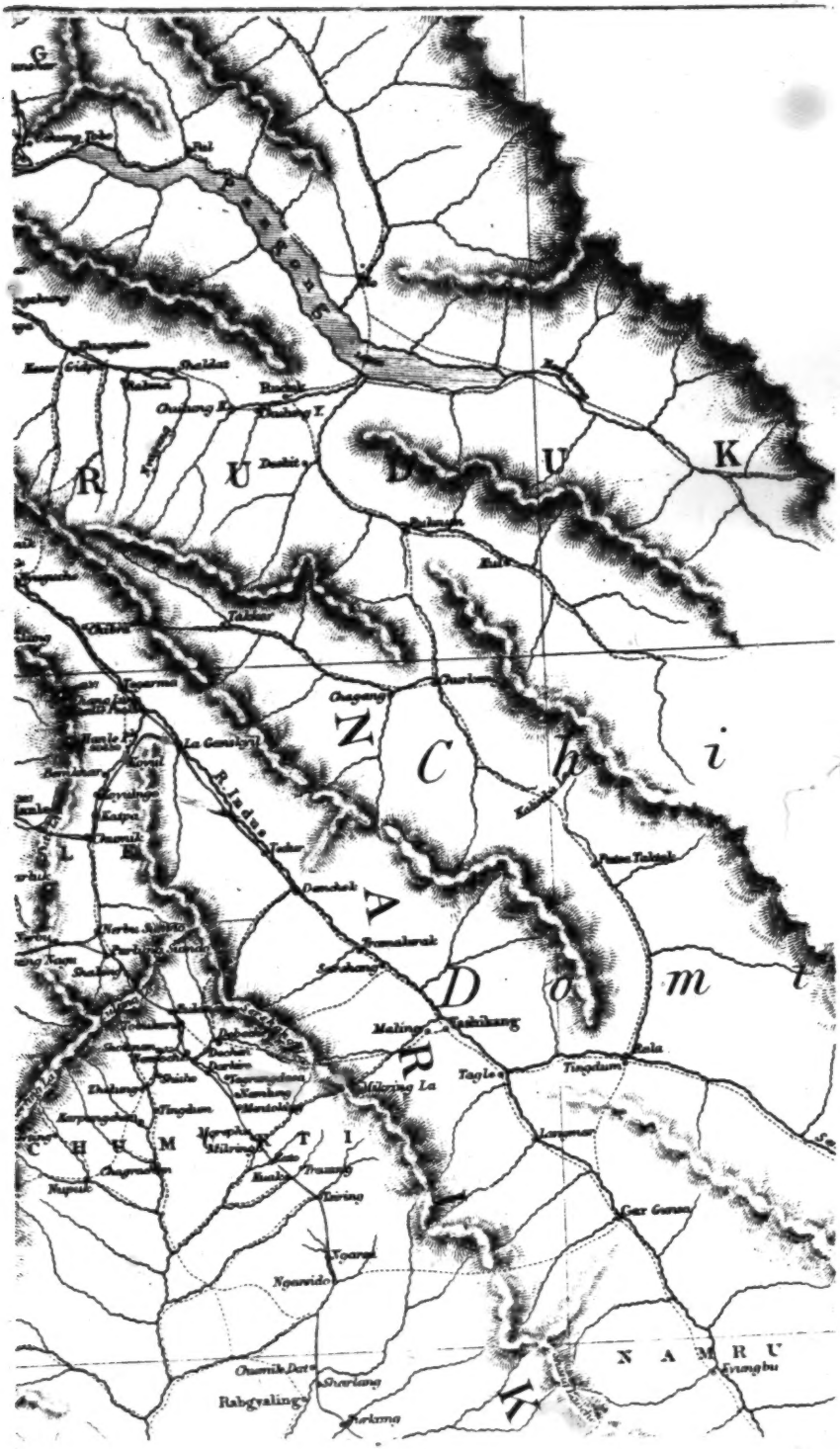
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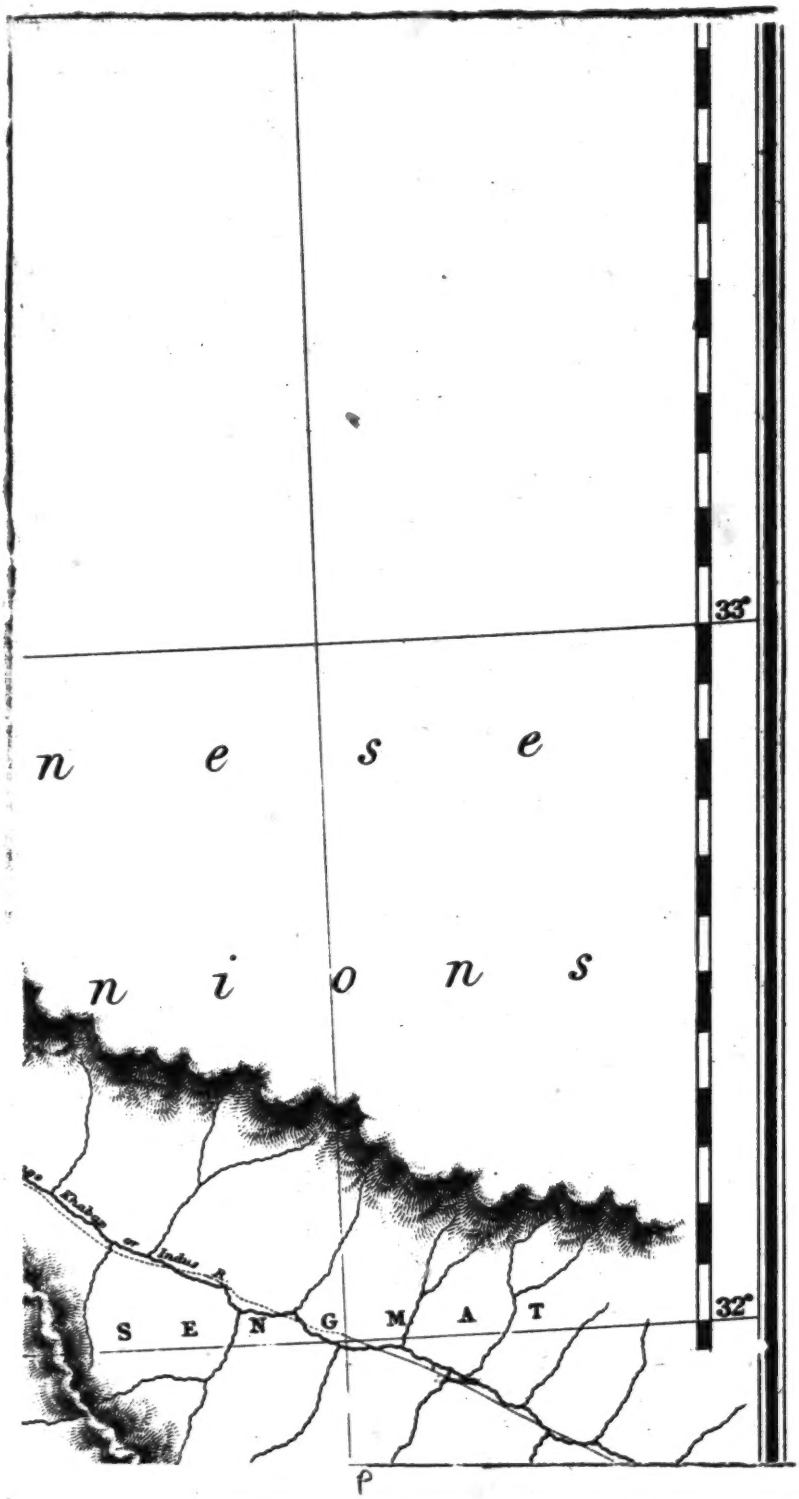

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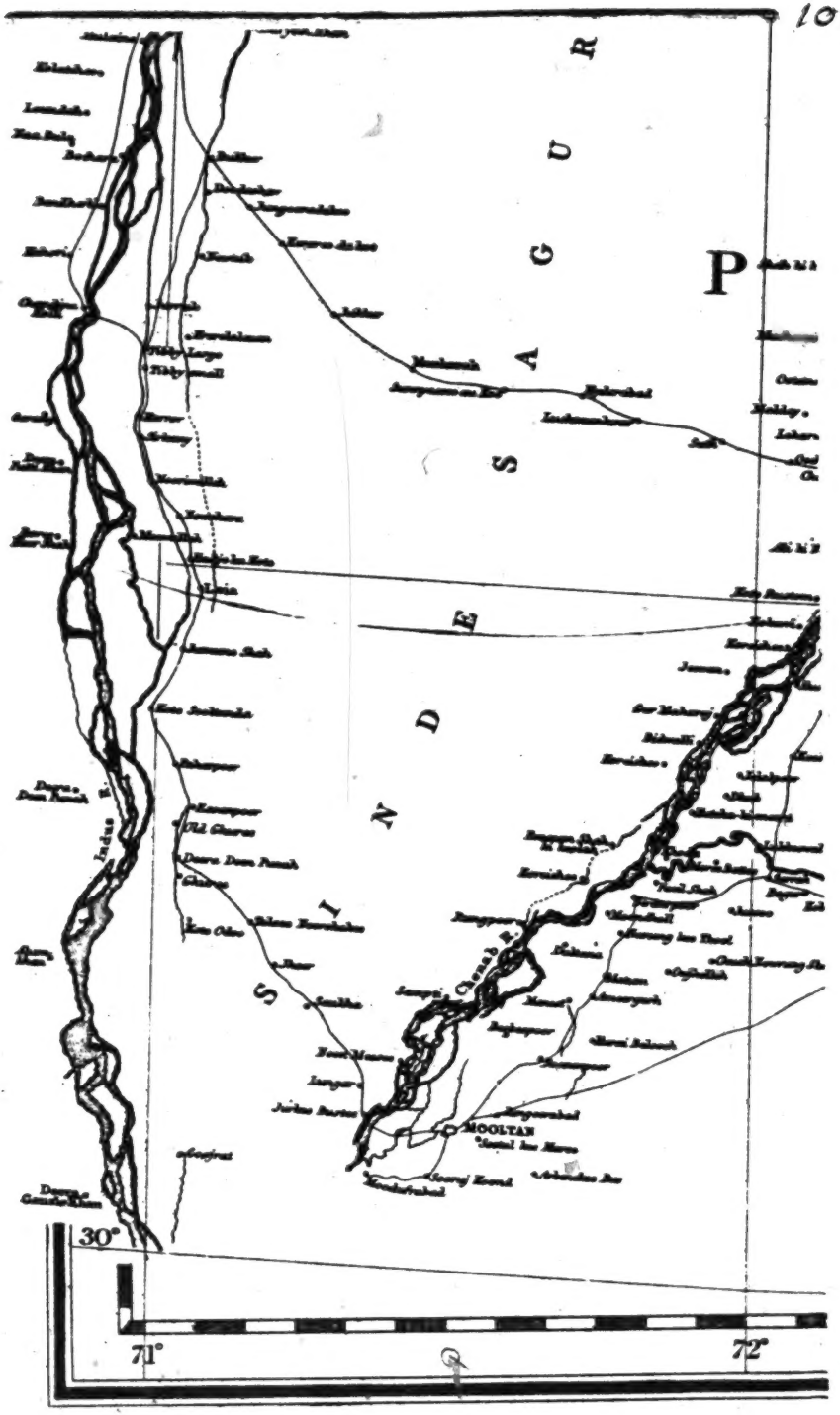

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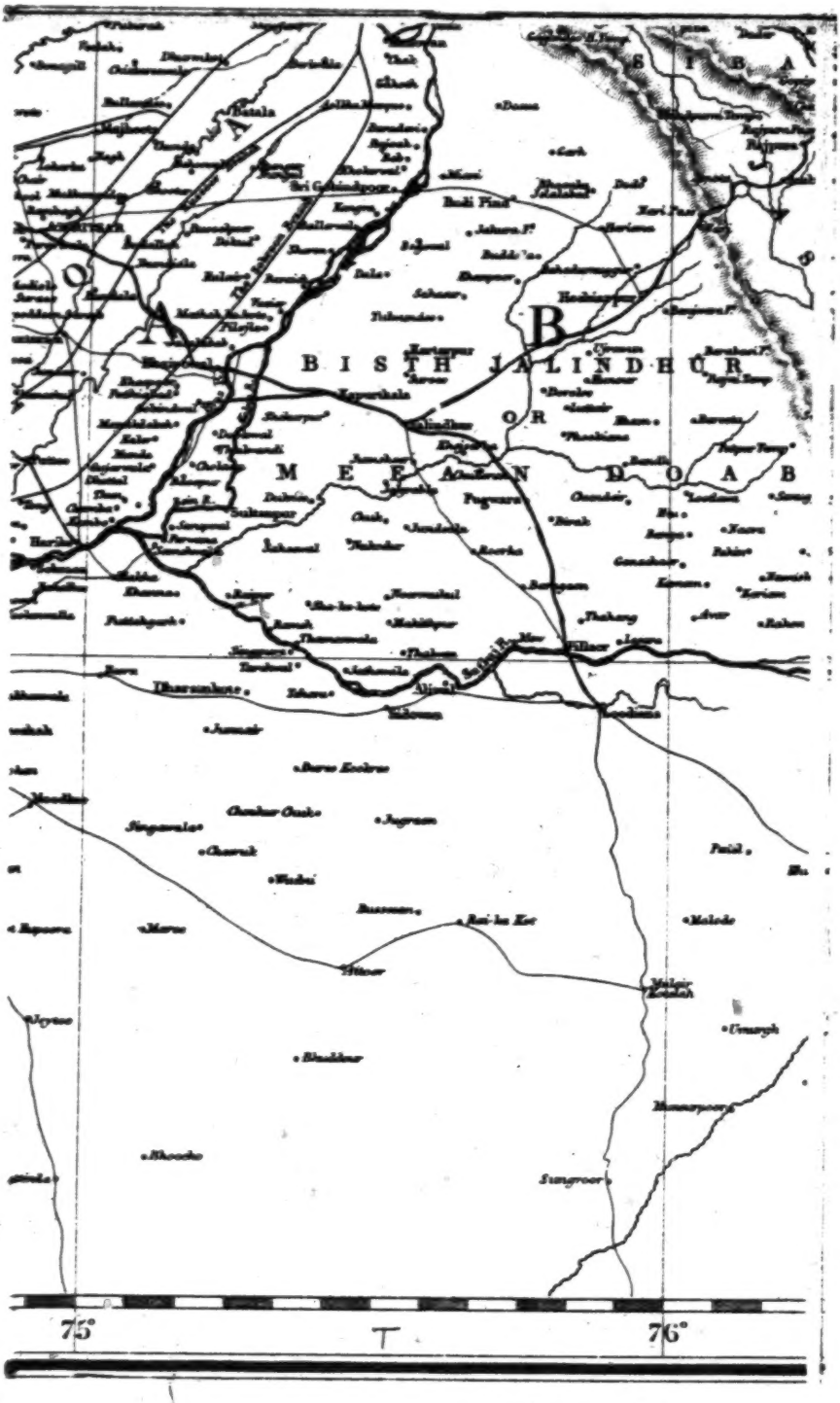
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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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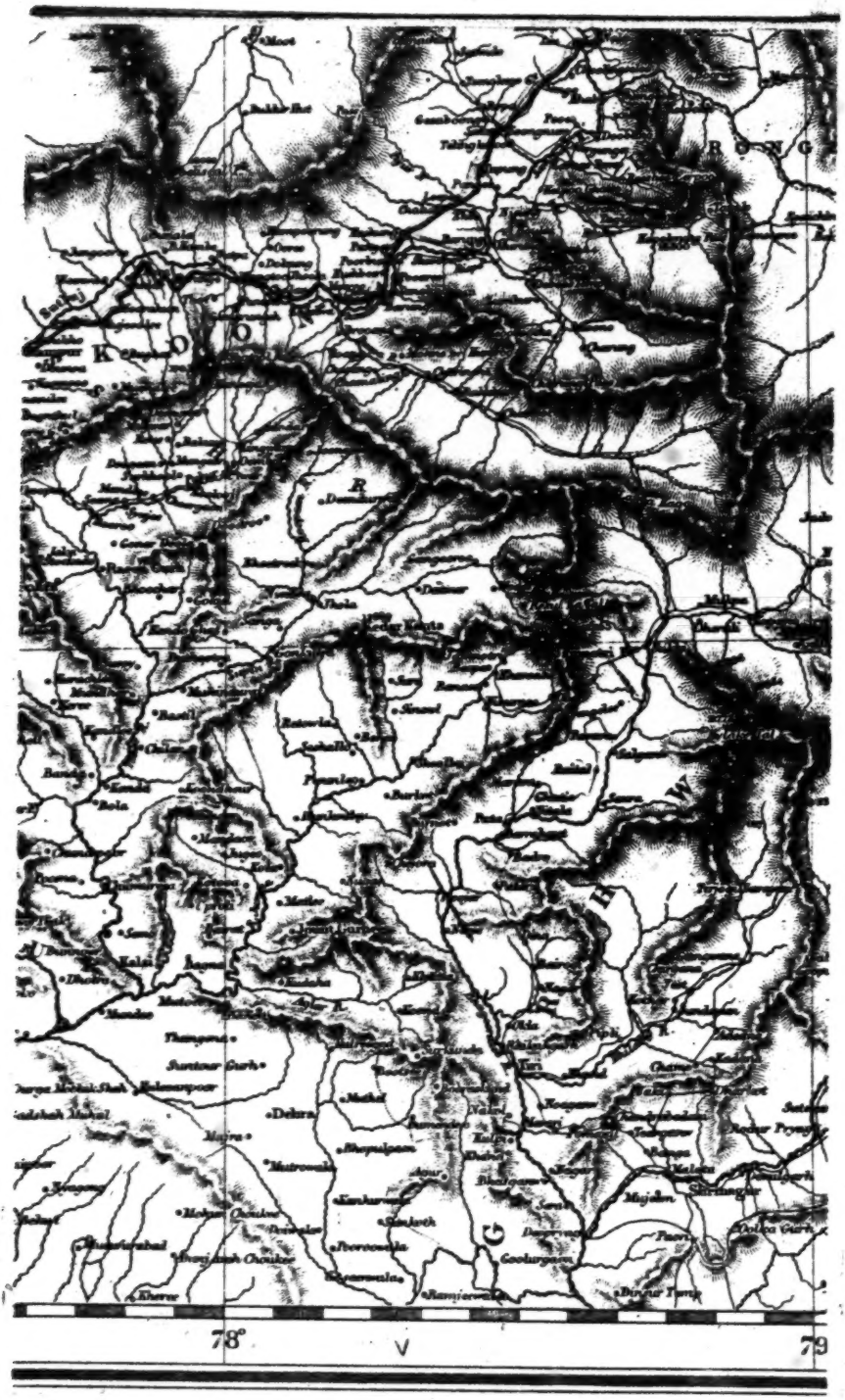

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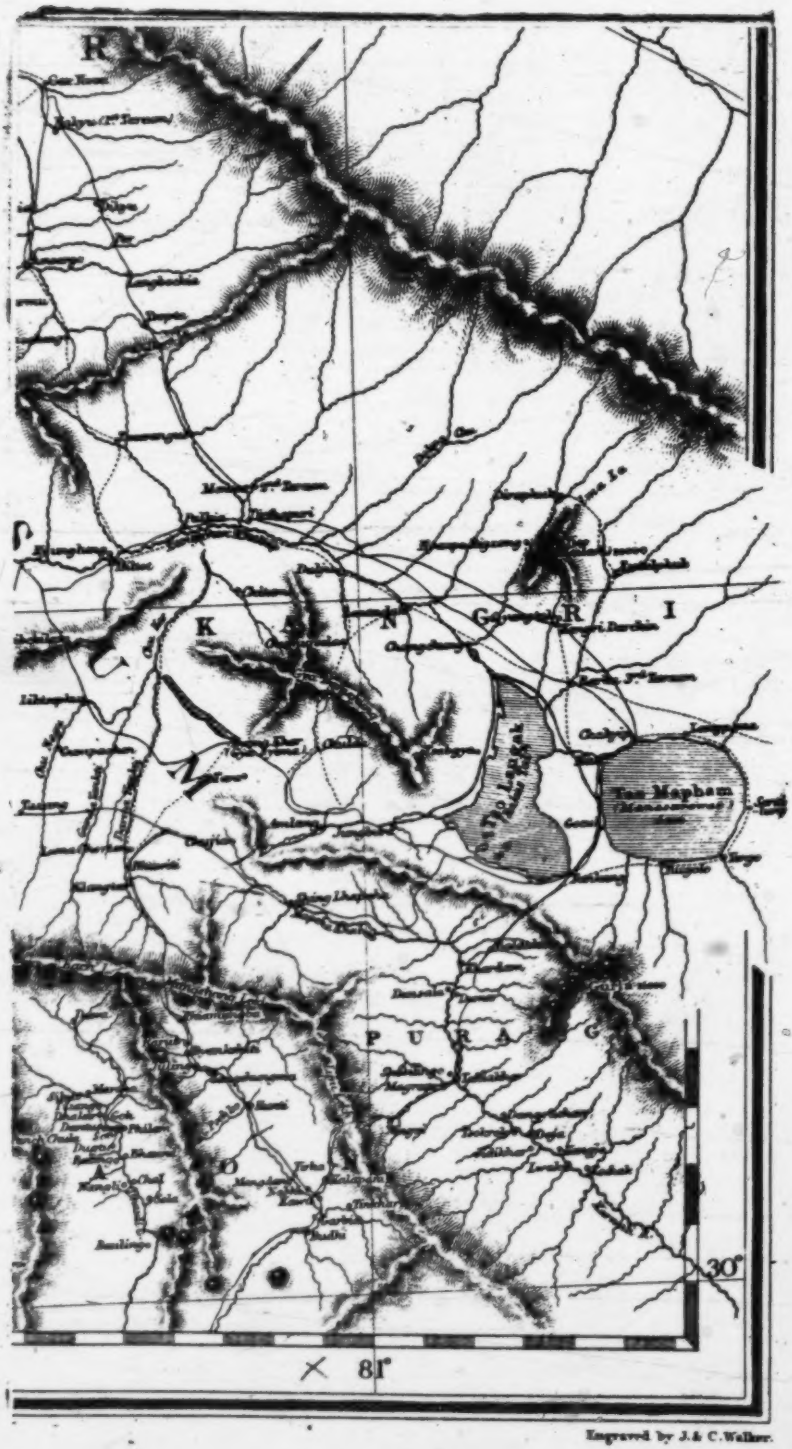

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LANGUAGE MAP OF WEST-TIBET

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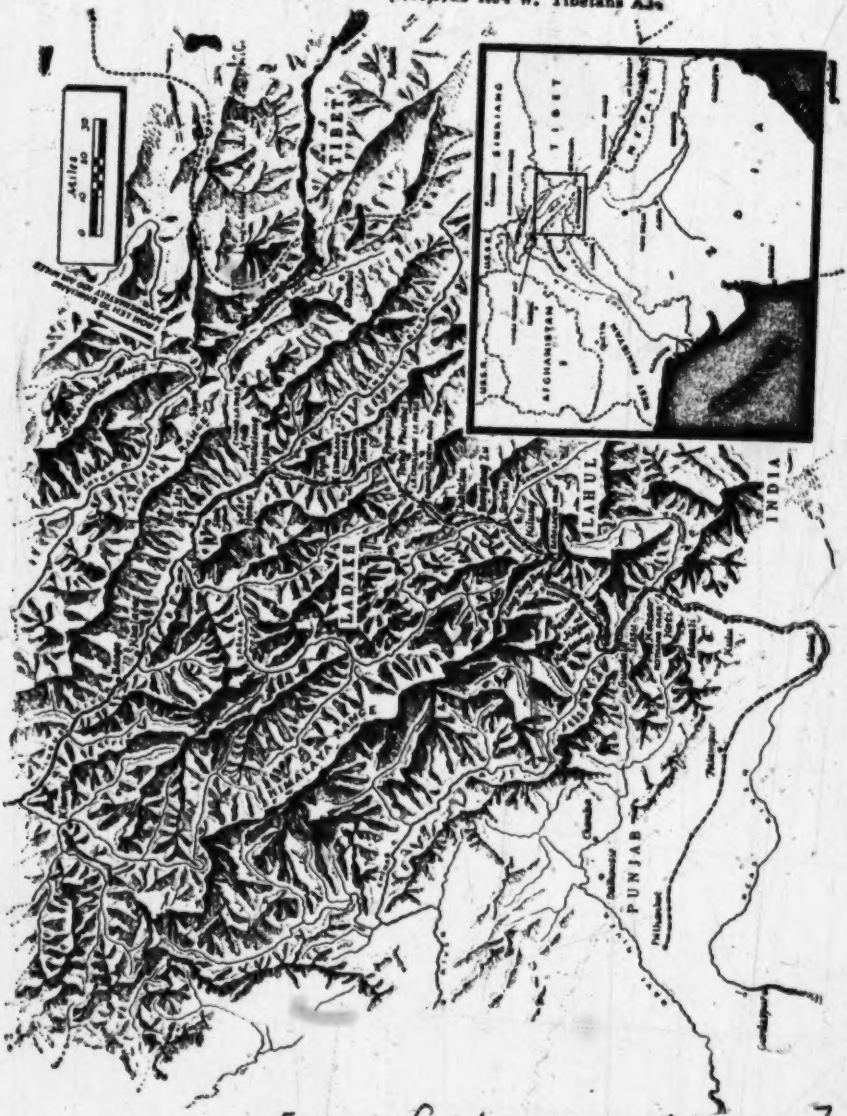
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJo



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12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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[Inside front cover-right side]

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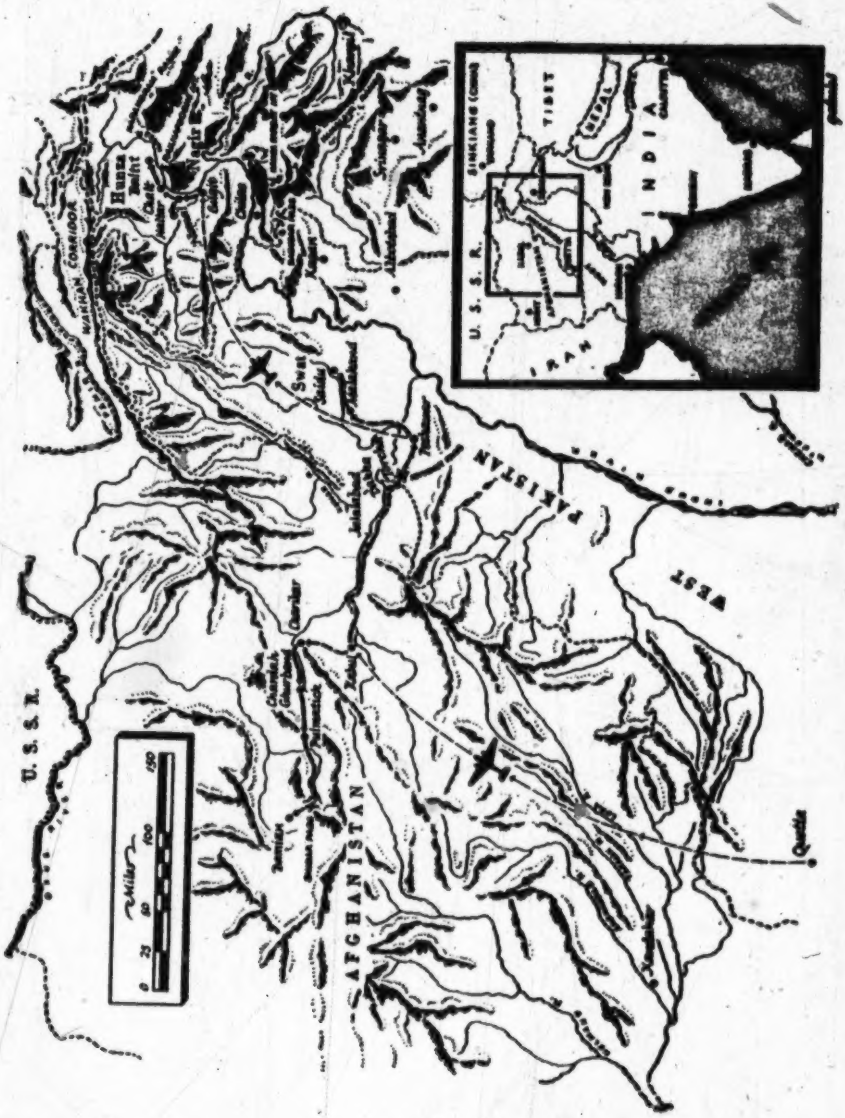
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



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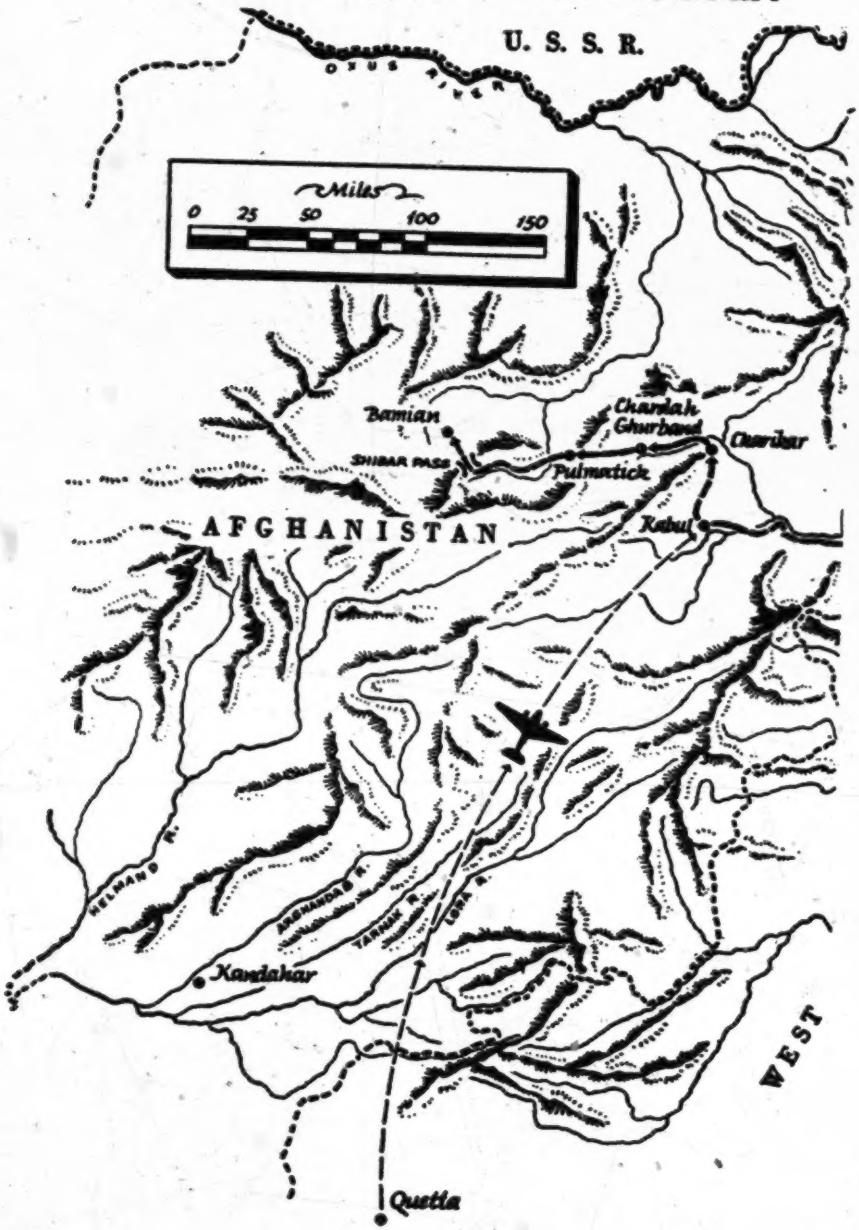
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



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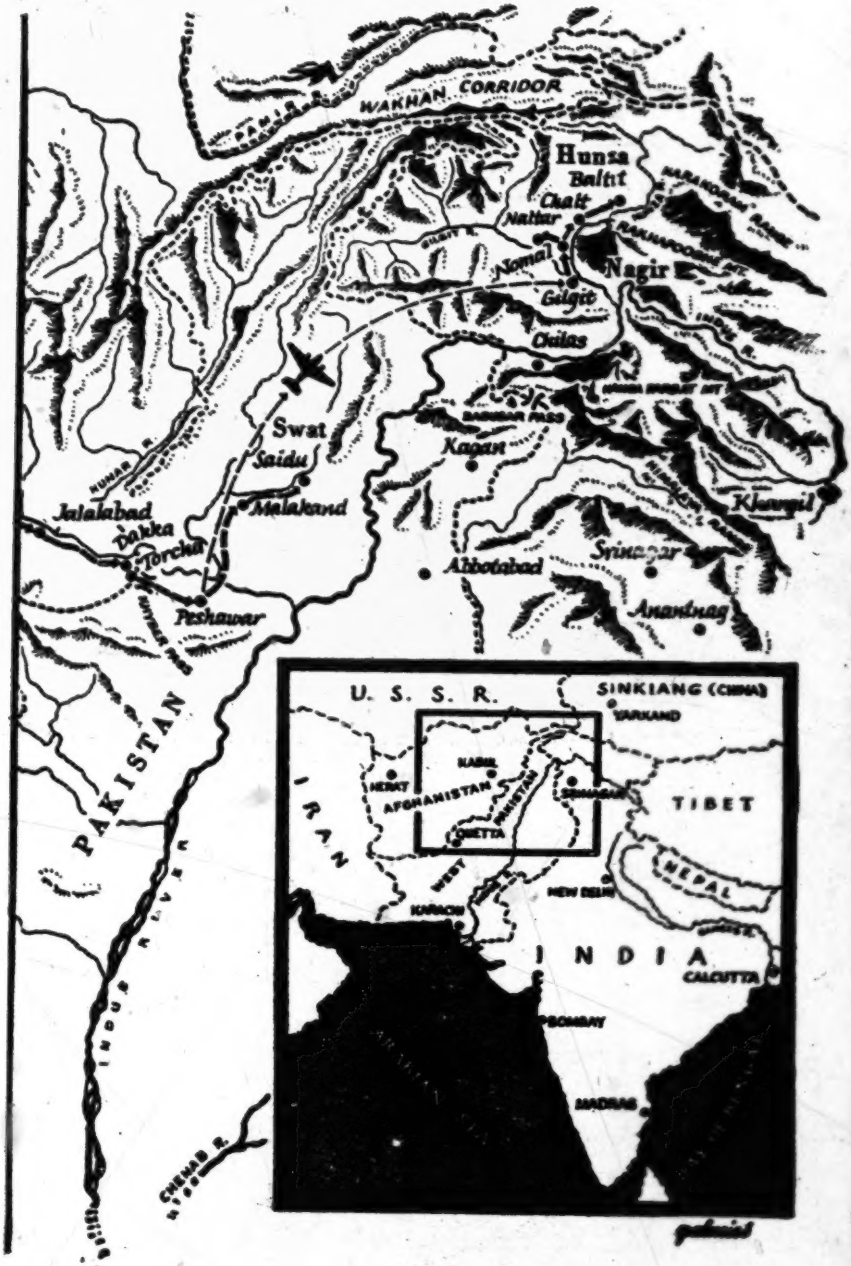

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

102

MA

Mashal Mt
Pamir
Great Pamir
Kala Panja
Yasin
Mastuj
Chitral
GILGIT
Chilas
Kohistan
Kolai
Takht
Bunar
HAZARA
PESHAWAR
PUNCH
RAWAL PINDI
ATTOCK
NAGSHERA
JHELUM
RAWAL PINDI
GUJRAT
SHAHPUR
GUJRANWALA
RUNJA
Hunza
Nagar
Gilgit
Chilas
Kohistan
Dir
Swat
Peshawar
Rawal Pindi
Jhelum
Gujrat
Shahpur
Gujranwala
Attock
Nagshera
Punch
Hazara
Chitral
Yasin
Mastuj
Kolai
Takht
Bunar
Kala Panja
Kala Pamir
Great Pamir
Mashal Mt

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

AP FOR "IN HIMALAYAN TIBET"

● 102

[END MAP-b]

Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Seeley Service & Co., Ltd.

[End Map-C]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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[114]

Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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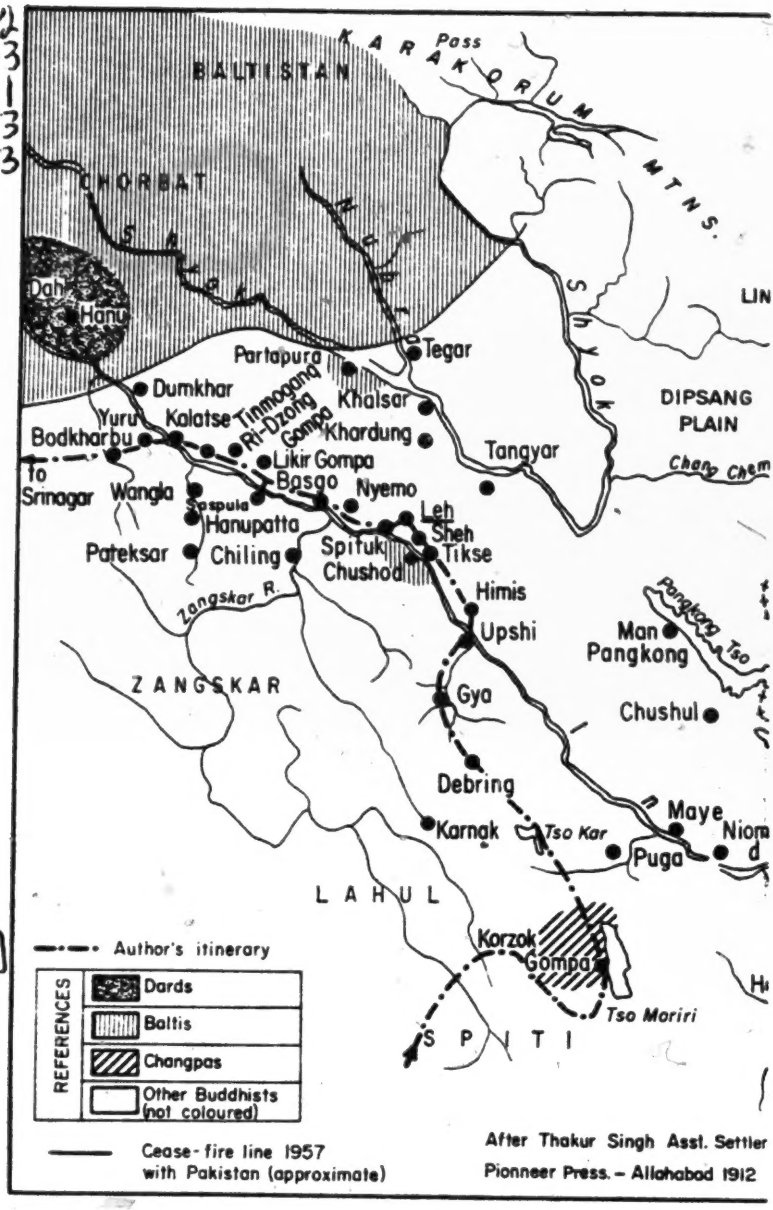

[119]

Map V. Sketch map of Ladak.

[facing p 335-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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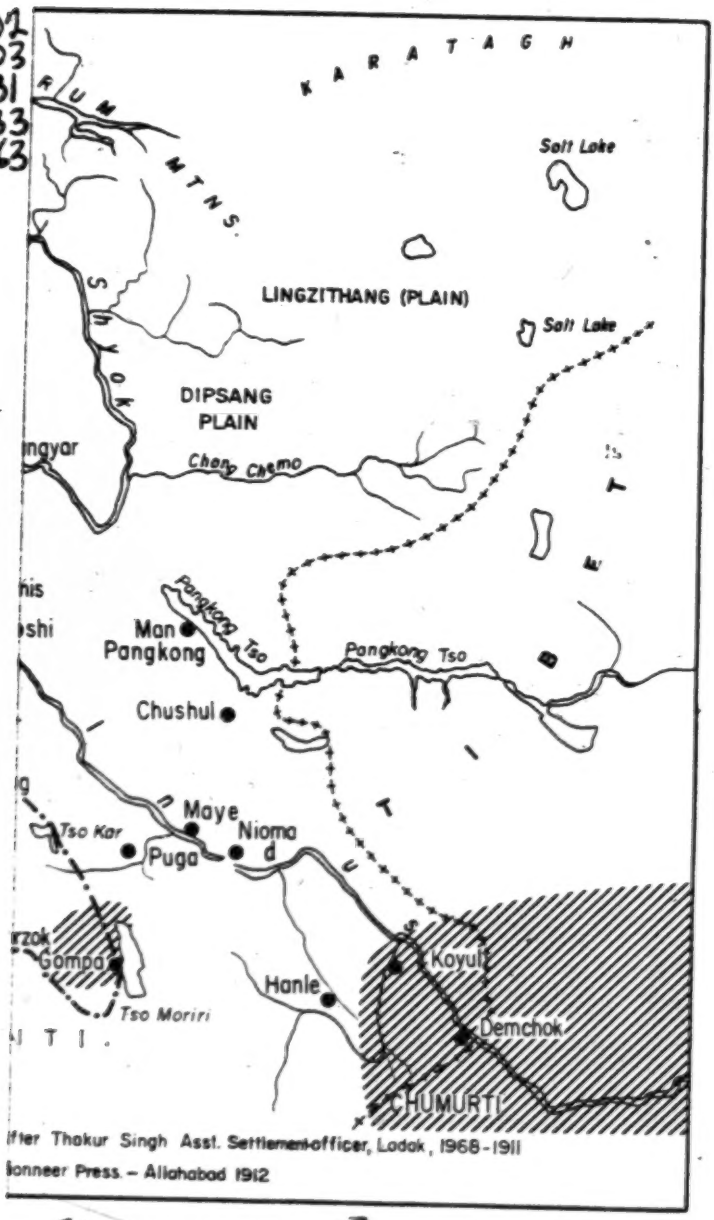
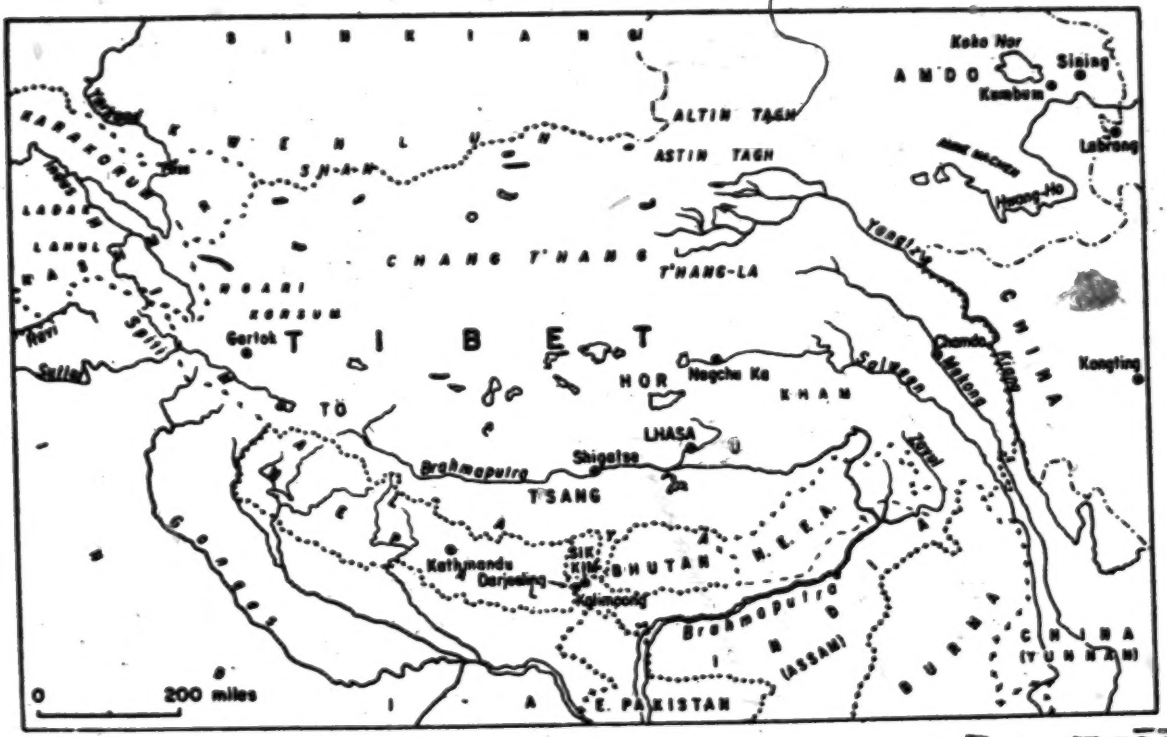


After Thakur Singh Asst. Settlement-officer, Ladak, 1968-1911
Pioneer Press. – Allahabad 1912

[facing P. 335-B]

0 15 30 miles

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4



Map VI. Map of Tibet.

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WT 102 131

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 latter by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of
131 the Dras river to the sources of the Nubra river.

131 Its greatest extent is from north-west to south-east, from the head of the Dras river, in longitude 75° 30′, to Chibra, on the Indus, in longitude 79° 10′, a distance of 240 miles. Its greatest breadth is 290 miles, from the Kárákoram Pass, in north latitude 35° 10′, to the Rotang Pass in Lahul, in latitude 32° 25′. Its mean length is 200 miles, and its mean breadth 150 miles. Its whole extent is therefore only 30,000 square miles.

634 The natural divisions of the country are: 1st, Nubra on the Shayok: 2nd, Ladák Proper, on the Indus: 3rd, Zanskar, on the Zanskar river: 4th, Rukchu, around the lakes of Tshomo Riri and Tsho-Kar: 5th, Purik, Suru, and Dras, on the different branches of the Dras river: 6th, Spiti, on the Spiti river: and 7th, Lahul, on the Chandra and Bhaga, or head-waters of the Chenáb. These also are the actual divisions of the country, for the natural boundaries of a mountainous district generally remain unaltered, in spite of the changes wrought by war and religion.

636 Ladák is divided politically between Maharaja Guláb Sing and the East-India Company. To the former belong all the northern districts, to the latter only the two southern districts of Lahul and Spiti.

3.—DIFFERENT NAMES OF LADÁK.

101 Ladák, in Tibetan *La-tags*, is the most common
103 name of the country; but it is also called *Mar-yul*,* or

* *dMar-yul* or d*Mar-po-yul*, "Red-land." Csoma de Körös spells the name *Mar-yul*, the "low-country;" but as Hwan Thsang, in A.D.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 Low-land or Red-land, and *Kha-chan-pa*, or Snow-land,
103 both of which names are used by the old Chinese travellers; by Fa-Hian, A.D. 400, who calls the kingdom *Kie-chha;* and by Hwan Thsang, A.D. 640, who calls it *Ma-lo-pho*. The name of *Kha-chan-pa*, or Snow-land, is also applied to the Lhasan kingdom of Great Tibet. The two central districts of Great Tibet are *dBus*, and *gTsang*, usually pronounced *U* and *Tsang*, or jointly *U-Tsang*. But the uncorrupted pronunciation is preserved by Ptolemy in *Dabasæ*, who must be the people of dBus; and in Turner's *Pue-koa-chin*, which is most probably *dBus-Kha-pa-chan*, or the "snowy land of *dBus*." Ladák was formerly subject to Lhasa, to which it paid a small tribute until A.D. 1834, when it was seized by Zoráwar Sing, the enterprising general of Mahárája Guláb Sing, of Jammu; and it now forms part of his new kingdom of Kashmir.

101 Ladák is inhabited by a peculiar race of people, who call themselves *Bot-pa*,* who speak a peculiar language called Tibetan, and who profess the religion of Buddha, under a peculiar hierarchy of monks called Lamas. The name of Tibet is entirely unknown to the people as well as to the Indians, who call them Bhotiyas, and their country Bhutan. The use of the names of Bot and Bhutan is probably not older than the tenth or twelfth century, when the Buddhists, having been expelled from India, the hill country in which they settled naturally acquired the name of Bauddha-sthan or Bauddh-than, and Bod-tan or Bot.

According to Klaproth, Tibet is a Mogul word, which

640, calls it *Ma-lo-pho* or *Mar-po*, that is "red," there is still some doubt about the true meaning of the name.

* The name is spelt *Bod*, but pronounced *Bot*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 should more properly be written Tubet. But the name of Ti-bat (تبت) is mentioned by Abu Zaid Al Hasan, in A.D. 915, by Ibn Haukal in about A.D. 950, by Abu Rihán in 1030, and afterwards by Edrisi in A.D. 1154, all long prior to the Mogul conquests of Changez Khan in the 13th century, before whose time it is highly improbable that any Mogul names could have been in use in Persia. Mir Izzet Ullah says that Tibet is a Turki word signifying shawl-wool: but I should think the shawl-wool was called Tibeti because it came from Tibet. One might as well derive the name of India from indigo. There is no trace of the name of Tibet nor even of Bot in any of the classical authors: but the people are most probably described under the name of Seres, the inhabitants of Chinese Tartary, from whom the western merchants obtained their silks. According to Pausanias,* "the Greeks called the silkworm *Ser*, but the people of Serika probably gave it another name." Now the Tibetans call a worm *Srin*, or *Srin-bu*, and the silkworm *Dar-kyi-Srin;* and Pausanias says that the silkworm was twice the size of a beetle, Σειρην. As the Greeks had not seen the silkworm when they first used the name of Ser, it seems to me more than probable that they would have adopted the native name rather than have invented one of their own.

4.—DISTRICTS OF LADÁK.

634 The different districts of Ladák have been partially
103 named according to their relative geographical positions; as *Nub-ra*, the western district (or Wessex), and *Lho-yul*, the southern country (or Suffolk). To the south-east

* VI. p. 26.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Ladák, but to the north of *Ngari*, lies the extensive province of *Chang Thang*, or the "northern plains." Ladák itself is called Mar-yul or Low-land, perhaps from its inferior elevation to all the surrounding districts. 634 103

Nubra,* or the north-western district of Ladák, includes all the country drained by the Nubra and Shayok rivers. It is by far the largest district in the country, being about 128 miles in length by 72 miles in breadth, with an area of 9,200 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Kárákoram mountains, and on the south by the Kailas range, which divides the Indus from the Shayok; and it extends from the frontier of Balti, in east longitude 77°, to the Pangkong lake on the borders of Rudok. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts of the country, from an average of fourteen observations at different places, is 12,763 feet. 634 131 133

Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called *Mang-yul*, or the "district of many people." It stretches along the Indus in a north-westerly direction from Rukchu to the frontier of Balti, a length of 120 miles, with an average breadth of 33 miles. Its area is about 4,000 square miles, and the mean elevation of the inhabited portions, as deduced from observations along the Indus, is 11,500 feet. [103] [131] [162]

Zanskar includes all the country lying along the two great branches of the Zanskar river, in a general direction from south-east to north-west. It is bounded by Ladák on the north, by Rukchu on the east, by Lahul on the south, and by the small districts of Purik and Wanla on the west. The southern boundary is formed by the

* *Nub-ra*, western.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 great Himálaya itself, the western boundary by the
131 transverse range of Singgé Lá, and the northern boun-
133 dary by the Trans-Himálayan chain. Its greatest length is 72 miles, but its mean length is not more than 56 miles, and its mean breadth is about the same, or 55 miles. It has an area of 3,000 square miles, and a mean elevation of 13,154 feet, as deduced from seven different observations along the course of the valley. The name [103] of *Zangs-kar** means "white copper" or brass; but I have no idea why it is so named.

Rukchu is the most elevated district in Ladák, and one of the loftiest inhabited regions in the known world. The mean height of the plains, as determined from twenty-one different spots where I encamped in 1846 and 1847, is 15,634 feet. This is the mean height of the great plain of Kyang, which extends from the foot of the Thung-lung Pass to the fords of the Sum-Gal, a length of 35 miles. It is also the height of the plains around the *Tsho-kar*, or White Lake, and of the long sloping plains from the Lanák ridge to the Para river. Rukchu is bounded on the north by Ladák Proper, on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti, on the south by Lahul and Spiti, and on the west by Zanskar. Its length from the Thung-lung Pass to the head of the Hanlé river is 90 miles, and its mean breadth about 62 miles, which give an area of 5,500 square miles.

Purik, *Suru*, and *Dras*† are three small districts to

* *Zangs-dKar*, "copper-white."

103 † These names are not all Tibetan, as Dras is the Kashmiri name for the district of *Hem-babs*. In Tibetan they are written *Pu-rig*; *Su-ru*; and *Hem-babs*. The last name means "snow-fed or snow-descended,"

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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the west of Zanskar, on the high road between Kashmir and Lé. To *Purik* belong the villages of the Waka and Phugal rivers, from their sources in the transverse range of Singgé Lá to Kargyil, below their junction. The principal places in Purik are Mulbil, Paskyum, and Sod, each of which once had a petty chief of its own. *Suru* also owned a petty chief who lived at Lung Kartse, the principal place in the valley. The river is sometimes called by this name, but more generally by that of Suru. The Suru river joins the Waka-chu immediately below Kargyil. *Dras* is the most westerly of these small [103] districts. Its Tibetan name of Hem-babs (snow-fed or snow descended) is descriptive of its most striking peculiarity, as the most snowy district of Ladák. [132] It owes this peculiarity to the great depression in the Himálaya, at the head of the Dras river, which allows the constantly humid vapours of Kashmir to pass to the north of the mountains, where they become condensed by the cold, and are precipitated in rain or snow, according to the season of the year. These small districts extend in length from the frontier of Balti to Zanskar, a distance of 84 miles, and in breadth from the head of the Suru valley to the Photo-la, a distance of 50 miles. The area is 4,200 square miles, and the mean height of the inhabited parts, as determined by the elevation of thirteen camps, is 11,196 feet.

*Spiti** is bounded on the north by Rukchu, on the

Hem being the Sanscrit *Hima*, which has long been naturalised in Tibet. See Csoma's Tibetan Dictionary, *in voce*.

* *Spi-ti.* In Kullu and Kanáwar this district is generally called Piti, but the proper name is Spiti.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of mountains, which I propose to call the *Trans-Himálaya*, the *Chushal*, and the *Kárákoram*, or *Trans-Tibetan* chains. These names are by no means intended to supersede any that may now exist, but only as descriptive appellations of extensive mountain-ranges which at present have no general names. 133*

1st. The *Trans-Tibetan* range is that which we call the Bolor and Kárákoram, on the west; and which probably merges into the Kuen-lun, on the east.* It is in [131] fact the northern limit of the Tibetan people, and of their peculiar language. To the north are the people of Balti, Ladák, and Chang-Thang, who were known to Ptolemy as the Byltæ and *Chatæ Scythæ*.

2nd. The *Kailás*, or *Gangri* range, runs through the [103] midst of western Tibet, along the right bank of the Indus, to the junction of the Shayok. Neither Moorcroft nor Vigne has given any name to this range, though both of them crossed it several times, and in different places. I have ventured to call it the *Kailás*, or *Gangri* range, because those names are equally celebrated by the Hindus and Tibetans. *Kailás*, or "Ice-mountain," is the Indian Olympus, the abode of Siva and the celestials. *Gang-ri*, or "Ice-mountain," is called *Ri-gyal*, or King of Mountains, by the Tibetans, who look upon Ti-se, or the Kailás Peak, as the highest mountain in the world.†

* Humboldt's Cosmos, vol. ii. p. 154. "The Hindu Kush, or Indian Caucasus, is a continuation of the Kuen-lun of North Tibet."

† *Kailás* means "crystalline, or icy," and is derived from *Kelás*, crystal, which is itself a compound of *ke*, water, and *las*, to shine. The Tibetan name of Gangri (*Gangs-Ri*) means "ice-mountain," and *Rigyal* (*Ri-r Gyal*) means "mountain king." This is the origin of the name of Mount *Argillos*, which Plutarch (De Fluviis) gives to the mountain on which Bacchus was born. Mount *Righi*, in Switzerland, is the same as the Tibetan *Ri-ga*, the mountain.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—1st. TRANS-TIBETAN RANGE.

133X The *Kárákoram*, or *Trans-Tibetan* chain, forms the natural boundary of Ladák, and the small Musulmán districts of Balti, Hunza-Nager, and Gilgit on the north. Nothing whatever is known of this range to the eastward of the upper Shayok river, and of the northern portion we know but little. At the head of the Shayok [103] river, it is called Kárá Koram, which is a Turki word, signifying the "Black Mountains." To the north of Balti it is known as the Bolor range: but this name is only the common appellation of Balti, amongst all the races of Dardu origin. It is, however, of some value, as it enables us to state precisely that the Bolor mountains, which have hitherto occupied an uncertain position in our maps, are no other than the mountains of Balti. As this district formerly included Hunza-Nager and Gilgit, the Bolor mountains may now be defined as extending for 300 miles from the source of the Gilgit and Yasan rivers, in east longitude 73°, to the source of the Nubra river, in east longitude 77°. From the latter point eastward, as far as the most remote sources of the Shayok river, the continuation of the chain, about 150 miles in length, is best known as the Kárákoram range. The whole length of the chain, from the eastern sources of the Shayok to the head of the Gilgit river, is 450 miles, the general direction being from east to west.

The learned Humboldt supposes the Bolor mountains to be the transverse chain, running from north to south across the Indian Caucasus, and dividing the sources of the Oxus from those of the Yarkand and Kashgar rivers. But that chain is universally called Pamer, a name

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(Hugh Murray) has apparently corrected the Palow of the /75
older copy to agree with his own identification, and has moreover changed the direction from north-east by *east*, to north-east by *north*, perhaps with a view of bringing it nearer to the true bearing of Kashgár, which is the next place mentioned. Now it is evident from Hwan-Thsang's* statement, that the district of *Pa-lo-lo*, or Bolor, must, in his day, have extended to the north of the Kárákoram range, and that the northern portion from Sir-i-kol to Khafalun, was then, as now, almost uninhabited. This, therefore, in my opinion, is the country which Marco Polo describes.

The Kárákoram Pass was traversed by the Chinese /33X
pilgrim Fa-Hian, in A.D. 399.† He calls the range /03●
Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains," a name which they /37
must have received from the number of wild leeks that grow upon them, and scent the air in all directions. They were found by Dr. Thomson on the elevated plateaux to the south of the pass. Mir Izzet Ullah no doubt alludes to the strong and unpleasant smell of these wild leeks, when he ascribes the headache and difficulty of breathing that are usually attendant on ascending great heights, to the *Esh*, which is a Turki word, signifying "smell."‡

The actual height of only one point in this range has /33X

* Fo-kwe-ki. Appendix. The situation of Belor to the *South* of the Kárákoram is also distinctly proved by the testimony of Abu Rihán, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi to India. Speaking of Kashmir he says, "La partie située au midi et à l'orient appartient aux Indiens, et la partie qui se trouve à l'occident dépend de plusieurs rois, dont *le plus proche* est Belor Shah," that is, the king of Balti.

† Fo-kwe-ki, c. iv.

‡ Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March, 1825, p. 113. The Gerards attributed their headaches to the same cause.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 . AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 and at 18,500 feet on the northern face. In the south-eastern portion of the range, between the elevated table-lands of Chang-Thang, Rukchu, and Ngári, the snow-limit will of course be higher than in the north-western portion, which divides the valley of the Indus from the Shayok. In the neighbourhood of Lé, therefore, we cannot estimate the height of this range at less than 20,000 feet; and although it may be somewhat depressed between the Pangkong and Tshomoriri lakes, yet it rises again towards the south-eastern extremity, where the lofty peak of Kailás towers over the holy lakes of Manasarovara and Ráw-an Hrad. On this part of the [103] range the snow never disappears, and this fact has originated the name of the mountain both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan, in which languages Kailás and Gangri respectively mean the "Ice Mountain."

The geological structure of this range is chiefly clay-slate, gneiss, and granite. In the neighbourhood of Lé it is wholly of granite of a very coarse texture.

IV.—3rd. TRANS-HIMÁLAYAN RANGE.

This range is a branch of the lofty *Ri-Gyal*, or King of Mountains, which it certainly equals, and perhaps surpasses in height. It branches off from the Gangri mountain to the south of Garo, and extends in one unbroken chain through the districts of Chumurti, Rukchu, and Zanskar, to the junction of the Zanskar river, which rushes dark and turbulent through a vast chasm in the mountain, where human foot has never trod. From this it extends to the junction of the Drás river with the Indus, where it is again cut through by

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 mean height of the crest of the western Himálaya, from Monomangli to the source of the Gilgit river, may be assumed at 19,000 feet.

133 On this range the snow-line can be determined within
132 very narrow limits. On the three passes crossed by Lieut. R. Strachey,* each about 17,700 feet, no snow was found in September. The Lakhar Pass, 18,300 feet, and the Jayanti Pass, 18,500 feet, were also free from snow. "But the line of perpetual snow was evidently near, for though the Jayanti ridge was quite free, and some of the near peaks were clear, to perhaps upwards of 19,000 feet, yet in more sheltered situations, unbroken snow could be seen considerably below the ridge:" and Lieut. Strachey concluded "that 18,500 feet must be nearly the average height of the snow-line at that place."†

Alexander Gerard found no snow on the Kyobrang Pass (18,313 feet), even in July, and it was equally bare when visited by Jacquemont. On Porgyal, in October, the Gerards‡ found no old snow below 19,400 feet, and their station on the Chang-Razing mountain, 20,400 feet, was also clear; but as Dr. Gerard mentions a range due north, and a peak to the westward, while he is perfectly silent regarding the lofty peaks to the south, it seems certain that their station was on the northern exposure of Porgyal. I can myself vouch for its southern faces being covered with masses of snow in the end of August

* Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. pp. 298, 299.

† See Plate I.

103 ‡ Researches Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 254. The name of Por-Gyal is written *Spor-r Gyal*, the "lofty twins," the double Peak of Por-Gyal being compared to the constellation Gemini (*r Gyal*) the *s* is sometimes pronounced, just as in the name of Spiti, which is also called Piti, although it is invariably written Spiti by the Lamas.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 Bisahar range, as we have already seen from the obser-
133 vations of the Gerards, the snow remains throughout the year; and as the mean height of the peaks which came under their observation, does not exceed 17,200 feet, it is certain that the northern snow-line cannot be higher than 17,000 feet. From the correspondence of these observations with my own, we may conclude that the northern snow-line of the Bisahar and Láhul ranges is somewhat under 17,000 feet.

133 According to Herbert, the great mass of the Bisahar range is gneiss. The same rock occurs in the Láhul range, on both flanks of the Rotang Pass: but beyond this it is succeeded by limestone, which forms the crest of the Káli Debi ridge, flanked by silicious schist on the north, and by trap on the south. Beyond this, at the Saj Pass, Dr. Thomson found mica and clay slates; and limestone at the Banahál Pass, on the Pir-Panjál. But the mass of the Pir-Panjál, according to Vigne, is basaltic.

VII.—6th. THE DHAOLA DHÁR or OUTER HIMÁLAYA.

The outer, or Sub-Himálaya, stretches from the bend of the Byâs, at Mandi, to the well-known peak of Gandgarh, on the Indus. It attains its greatest height between the Byâs and Rávi, in the precipitous range of hills called the *Dhaola Dhár*,* or White Mountain, to

● 103 * This range is called by several names in our maps; as, "*Mony Mas Kidar*," that is, *Mani-Mahes-ki-dhar*, or the mountain of the holy lake of Mani-Mahes, which, however, is not situated in this range, but beyond the Rávi. Hugel calls the range "Pálam Kidar" and "Chamba Kidar," from the names of the districts to the north and south of the range. The true name is *Dhaola*, from the Sanscrit *Dhavala*, white; and this was most probably the original name written by Abu Rih'án,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the north of Kangra. The general direction is from south-east to north-west, as in the other ranges, and the whole length is nearly 300 miles. The Sub-Himálaya is pierced by the Rávi, the Chenáb, the Punach, and the Jehlam rivers, which divide it into several distinct ridges.

The most easterly of these separate ridges is the Dhaola Dhár, which forms the natural boundary between Kullu and Mandi, and between Chamba and Kangra. It is about eighty miles in length, and is of sufficient height to be covered with snow for about eight months of the year. I have observed this range for four successive years, and I can state positively that the snow entirely disappears from it every year, although the crest of the ridge has an average height of 15,000 feet. In the end of November, 1846, I marched from Kangra to Nurpur, and observed these mountains daily, and they were then entirely bare of snow. On the night of the 30th November, snow fell in considerable quantities, and did not disappear until the end of the following rains. In September and October, 1848, when I was at Simla, I observed this range carefully with a telescope, and could not discover a speck of snow on any part of it. Again, on the 16th and 17th of September, 1849, before leaving Simla, and when not a patch of snow was visible with a telescope sufficiently powerful for observing the occultation of Jupiter's satellites, I took the bearing and altitudes of several peaks and passes, for the purpose of verifying the measurements which I had formerly made from Kangra and Nurpur. The following table gives the results of all these measurements.

who calls these mountains بهاتل *Bhátel*, an easy corruption of دهاول *Dhaola*. See Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes et Persans," p. 94.

1a Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IV.—RIVERS.

I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

133 From the lofty mountains around the holy lake of Manasarovara, spring four celebrated rivers, the Indus, the Sutluj, the Gogra, and the Brahmaputra. These four sources are represented in the ancient Chinese maps; and the well-known story regarding them is 823 common both to the Hindus and the Tibetans. The classical Ganges is fabled to flow from a cow's mouth; and to each of these four rivers is assigned an equally wonderful origin. The Indus is said to flow from a lion's mouth, *Singge-kha-bab;* the Sutluj, from an elephant's mouth, *Langchen-kha-bab;* the Gogra, from a peacock's mouth, *Macha-kha-bab;* and the Brahmaputra, from the holy horse's mouth, *Ta-chhog-kha-bab.** The fable is evidently of Indian origin, as elephants and pea-fowl are only known to the Tibetans by pictures, and because the source of the Brahmaputra, or river of Lhasa, is ascribed to *Ta-chhog*, the holy steed of Shakya Thubba, or Buddha.

103 * *Kha-po*, or in composition simply *Kha*, is a mouth, and *bab* means "descended." The different names are *Seng-ge-kha-bab*, "lion's mouth-descended;" *gLang-chen-kha-bab*, "elephant's mouth-descended;" *rMa-bya* (pronounced *Ma-cha*)-*kha-bab*, "peacock's mouth-descended;" and *rTa-mChhog-kha-bab*, "Ta-chhok's mouth-descended." Ta-chhok is the name of Sakya's steed, and means "the best horse."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X two feet. At Surmu, the Shayok is also forded by two separate channels, each 300 feet broad, with a depth varying from two to three feet. At the Turtuk bridge, the river narrows to seventy feet, and in the lower part of its course, the Shayok is generally a furious rapid, confined between precipitous cliffs. In the height of summer, when the stream is much swollen by the melted snows, the fords are always difficult. In the winter, the passage is easy; and even in the lower part of its course the Shayok is frequently frozen over, and the stream is crossed upon the ice. I estimate the winter discharge of the Shayok at 2,000 cubic feet, the increased discharge in May at 12,000, and the maximum discharge in August at 18,000 cubic feet.

IV.—THE ZANSKAR RIVER.

133X [103] The *Chiling-chhu*, or Zanskar river, is formed of two principal branches, *Zanskar* proper, and the *Sum-Gal*, or river of the "Three Fords." The head-waters of the Zanskar river are the Yunam, the Serchu (or Yellow River), and the Cherpa, all of which rise to the north of the Himálaya range, near the Bara Lacha Pass. The head of the Cherpa river, which is the most remote source of the Zanskar river, is situated in N. latitude 32° 40′, and E. longitude 78°. The united stream, below the junction of the Cherpa, is not fordable until the end of September; and the Cherpa itself is not fordable after mid-day, even in the beginning of September, as both the rapidity and depth of the stream are much increased by the daily melting of the snow. The united stream, called Lingti, follows a north-westerly course, as far as Phadam, the chief place in the Zanskar district. From

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

On the 10th November, 1838, I measured the Byás a few miles above its junction with the Sutluj. Its breadth was 450 feet, and its greatest depth seven feet four inches. Its greatest surface velocity was 4·04 feet per second, or a little more than two miles and three-quarters per hour. The discharge was then 3,425 cubic feet, from which we may calculate the minimum discharge at not less than 3,000 cubic feet. 133 ×

During the melting of the snows the Byás rises every night in the plains from one foot to one foot and a half. It attains its maximum in the morning and subsides during the day. When I was making the bridges at Govindwál for the passage of the army in March, 1846, I pitched my tent on the sand close to the water's edge, and in the morning I was surprised to find one line of tent-pegs completely under water. This rise is caused by the melted snows of the Dhaola Dhar, which are brought down during the day by the Binwa, the Nigwal, the Bán-Ganga, and the Gaj, and which do not reach Bhairowal and Govindwál until past midnight of the second day, after a lapse of 36 hours. The Byás is fordable in many places in the plains.

XI.—THE SUTLUJ RIVER.

The *Sutluj* is the largest and longest of all the Panjáb rivers. Its Sanskrit name is *Satadru*, or the "hundred channelled," from which the Greeks made Hesudros and Zadadros; but the common names throughout the hills are Satludr, or Satrudr, and Sutluj. The Tibetans call it *Lang-chhen-kha-bab*, or "elephant-mouth-fed" river, according to the commonly received notion of the descent of rivers from animals' mouths. 103 ●

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V.—LAKES AND SPRINGS.

133 [103] ALL sheets of water are known by the general name of *Tsho*, which is applied to the smallest pond as well as to the largest lake: as *Tsho-Máphan*, the Manasarovara Lake, "which is about sixteen miles square," and *Kyang-Tsho*, the "Wild Horses' Pond," which is a mere seasonal puddle of melted snow. The ocean is called *Gya-Tsho*, or the "Vast Lake."* The proper appellation, however, for a small piece of water is *Tshá-hu*; but the pronunciation of the two words is so much alike that the difference is almost imperceptible. In fact none but Lamas ever make the distinction, either in writing or in utterance. With a single exception, all the lakes of Ladák are land-locked, and consequently more or less salt; although the time has been when every one of them poured its tributary waters into the affluents of the Indus.

The *Pangkong*† Lake is a very long, narrow sheet of water, extending from east to west through the whole length of Ruthog, in N. latitude 33° 40′, to the neighbourhood of Chushal, from whence it trends to the north-west for about twenty-five miles, and forms the boundary between Ladák and Ruthog. Its eastern extremity is

* *mTsho*, a lake; *rGya-mTsho*, the great lake.

† *mTsho-dPangs-kong*, "Lake of the great hollow."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 unknown; but from the neighbourhood of Ruthog to its north-western extremity beyond Pangmik, the Pangkong Lake is not less than eighty-five miles in length, with an average breadth of about three miles.* The extent of the known portion is, therefore, upwards of 250 square miles, or about the same size as the holy lake of Manasarovara. The superior size of this lake may be inferred [103] from the probable etymology of its name, *Pang-kong*, which means the "extensive concavity" or hollow; or *Pang-khung*, the "extensive pit." The water is clear and extremely salt.† This lake has been surveyed by Captain H. Strachey, whose observations place it at an elevation of 14,224 feet above the sea. In former ages there can be no doubt that the Pangkong Lake had an outlet at its north-western extremity, through a gorge in the limestone cliffs,‡ into the present scanty stream that passes by Muglib, and joins the Shayok river just above the village, which gives its name to the stream. At some remote period, therefore, the waters of the Pangkong Lake must have been fresh; a fact which has been placed beyond all doubt by Captain H. Strachey's discovery of fossil shells of *Lymnæa auricularia* in the ancient clay deposits above the present level of the lake. The mountain-ranges at the north-western extremity of the lake are of limestone, which probably affects the waters of the lake, as the small pebbles on its shores are firmly united together by calcareous matter.

103 The *Tsho-Rul*,§ or "Bitter Lake," is situated about 133 five miles to the south of Pangkong. It is about sixteen miles in length, and somewhat less than two miles in breadth.

* Moorcroft, I. p. 435. † Ibid. I. pp. 434-35.

‡ This gorge was traversed by Moorcroft (I. 434.)

§ *Rui-ba* bad, fetid, bitter.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X [172] breadth. Its waters are extremely bitter. On its shore Captain H. Strachey likewise found fossil shells of the *Lymnæa auricularia* and of some kind of *Helix*, of which the specimens are perhaps too small to be identified with certainty. The waters of this lake must, therefore, once have been fresh.

133X The *Tshomoriri*,* or "Mountain Lake," is a very fine sheet of water, about sixteen miles in length from north to south, and from two to three miles in breadth. It is situated in the middle of the elevated district of Rukchu, in N. latitude 32° 50′, and E. longitude 78° 15′, at a height of 15,000 feet above the sea. Its name is characteristic of its situation in the midst of mountains, by which it is completely shut in. The summits of these mountains rise to a height of about 5,000 feet above the lake, and 20,000 above the sea. To account for its name, the Ladakis have invented a story, which though silly enough, is quite as good as many that have been gravely recorded by learned Greeks. The story was probably originated by the inventive Kashmiris. "A woman riding a yák was carried into the lake. At first the yák swam boldly out, and the woman was delighted: but after a time the animal grew tired, and sank deeper in the water. The woman (*chomo*) became frightened, and screamed out *Ri-Ri, Ri-Ri*,† until the yák sank and she

103 823 103

* *Tsho-mo-Rhi-ri*, "Lake Mountainous."—Running water, being active, is considered as a male, as *Tsang-po*, the river of *Tsang*;—and still water, being passive, as a female, as *Tsho-mo*. *Po* and *Mo* are the masculine and feminine affixes, but they are seldom used in composition. *Ri* is a mountain; and *Rhi-ri-yi*, or simply *Rhi-ri*, is the adjective, mountainous.

† *A-ra-ra*, commonly pronounced *Re-re*, or *Ri-ri*, is the Tibetan exclamation of surprise or fear. As the word is written with an initial vowel, it is certainly borrowed from the Indian *Ari-ari*, for there is no word in the Tibetan language beginning with a vowel that is not of foreign origin.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

was drowned: since which the people have always called the lake *Chomo-Riri.*" 823 103

This lake has no outlet at present, and the waters are consequently brackish, although not very perceptibly so to the taste. But the time has perhaps once been, when the Tshomoriri lake was a noble sheet of fresh water, about thirty miles in length, from the foot of the Nakpo Gonding Pass to the low ridge that now separates the lake from the bed of the Párá river. When encamped at the south end of the lake in September, 1846, both the late Mr. Vans Agnew and myself estimated the height of this ridge at 700 feet; but it must have been somewhat more, as the bed of the Parang river at Norbu Sumdo is 15,700 feet. From this point, however, the apparent height of the ridge is not more than 150 feet. This will make its actual height above the lake between 800 and 900 feet. Such, therefore, must have been the depth of the lake in former days, if, as is supposed, it once had an outlet towards the Párá river. In September, 1846, I was encamped for three days on its banks. The water was beautifully limpid and of a deep blue colour. Here and there I observed white patches of saline matter, but I could not discover any shells. The salts are hydro-chlorate of soda and hydro-chlorate of magnesia. I could not see any fish in the water, but the wild fowl were numerous at the northern end of the lake. On the 18th September I fixed a pole in the water, which I examined twice during that day, and again early the next morning; but I found no perceptible difference between the levels of the day and night. The extra quantity of water that is supplied during the day by the melted snow must, therefore, be compensated by the greater evaporation during the heat of the day. In the same month of

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133+ the year, Dr. Gerard* could not find any water-mark above five feet, which he consequently fixed as the limit of fluctuation; but I doubt whether the rise and fall of
132 the lake amount to so much as one foot. In the middle of May, Trebeck† says that it is "frozen over sufficiently to be crossed by a man;" and according to the information that I received, it is usually frozen over by the end of October. During the winter there can be no fluctuation of level, as the whole surface of the ice is protected from the sun's rays by a mass of snow about knee deep. Towards the end of May or the beginning of June the ice breaks up and melts, and by the end of July the surface of the lake attains its highest level, which from the water-marks that I saw, cannot be more than one foot above the winter level.

133+ *Thogji-Chanmo* is the name of the "Salt-covered
[103] Plain,"‡ in the midst of which lies the *Tsho-Kar*, or "White Lake," or as it is called by the Hindus of Chamba and Bisahar, *Khaori-Talao*, or the Salt Lake. It is situated about thirty miles to the north-west of the Tshomoriri, in N. latitude 33° 15′, and E. longitude 77° 50′, at an elevation of 15,684 feet§ above the sea. It is extremely irregular in shape; its greatest length from east to west being about five miles, and its extreme breadth about two and a half miles. It is supplied at its south-eastern corner by a small stream ten feet broad and one foot deep, which flows slowly from a small fresh-water lake. In the middle of the south side, where a

* Researches As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 259.

† Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 52.

‡ The proper name is probably *Thang-Tsha-chan-mo*, "Plain-salt-full-of."

§ Dr. Gerard, As. Res. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 260, makes the elevation 15,500 feet.

[1 i.e., the lake Chomo-Riri - ANALYST.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133* insignificant, that the Suraj Dal may fairly be considered, as it is reputed to be, the source of the Bhágá river. But the Chandra Dal, although double the size of the Suraj Dal, is situated at least twenty-five miles below the real source of the Chandra river, in the Bara Lacha Pass. It is, however, always spoken of as the source of
• 103 the Chandra river. Dal is a Kashmiri term for any sheet of water, whether large or small: but it is also a Tibetan word, signifying "still, quiet."*

133* Many hot springs exist in different parts of Ladák; but the best known are those of Nubra, Puga, and Chushul. The first two were visited by Moorcroft, who found the waters "quite clear, and of the same temperature of 167°, at mouths distant two hundred yards from each other." Below the springs were beds of soda.

133× The hot springs of *Puga*,† I have myself examined.
135 The springs occur in the bed of a rivulet called the Rulang-chu, for a length of about two miles. The springs vary in strength, from gentle bubbling to strong ebullition, and in temperature from 80° to 148°, the hottest containing chloride of soda and sulphuretted hydrogen in solution, and those of low temperature containing chloride and borate of soda, both in solution. Sulphur occurs on the northern bank of the rivulet in pure transparent crystals, and in thin laminæ disseminated throughout the gypsum rock. The volcanic neighbourhood of Puga is something like that of the Tuscan lagoons near Monte Cerbole, which now supply Europe with the same minerals: "These lagoons consist of springs in a furious state of ebullition, whose vapours

* *Dal*, "quiet;" compare the English "dull."

† *Bu-ga*, a hole.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

X.—PASSAGE OF RIVERS.

491 501 The great rivers of Ladák are crossed by ferries, fords, and bridges. Fording is the most usual means of crossing both the Indus and the Shayok, in the upper parts of their sources, where their waters are widely spread and shallow. In the neighbourhood of Lé, where the Indus becomes deep and rapid, it is spanned by three bridges, and just below Lé, where the current is less rapid, people are ferried across on inflated skins. The Zanskar river is bridged in two places: and is not I believe ever fordable. In Láhul the Chandra and Bhaga rivers are both bridged; but I have seen the Chandra forded at Koksar in October, and I have been ferried across it at the same place in September. In Spiti, the Párá river is crossed by a natural bridge formed of an enormous mass of rock that has fallen across the stream; and the Spiti river itself is bridged in several places. In the winter season it is fordable in many places.

● 103 A ford is called *Gal* in Tibetan; and the name is applied to one of the principal branches of the Zanskar river, which is called *Sum-gal*, or the "Three Fords," because it is formed of three streams that are forded one after the other just above their junction. In the summer 491 132 the fording of many of the streams can only be accomplished in the morning; for after ten and eleven o'clock the waters are so much increased by the melted snows that they become quite unfordable. This I have myself witnessed with the Chandra river in October, and with the Charpa river in September; and I have ascertained that it is also the case with the Spiti river.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 *pippílaka*, or common large ant." This belief, however
136 erroneous, as the learned professor observes, was neither
173 extravagant nor irrational. A yet earlier mention of the gold of Alpine India is that of Ctesias; but he distinctly states that it was not obtained by washing, as in the river Pactolus.* Gold is called *Ser*, gold-dust *Ser-dul*, and the gold-washer *Ser-pa*. This name I believe to have been the origin of the classical *Seres*. In Tibetan
• [103] *Serki-yul* means the "gold country;" and as the affix *yul* can be omitted at pleasure, the names of Serki and Serika are almost identical.†

135 *Copper.*—According to Moorcroft, "some copper-mines are said to have been discovered towards Kashmir."‡ This statement is probably correct, as Jacquemont found copper ore in the Lidar valley, on the south-west side of the range which divides Kashmir from the Ladáki district of Suru. If any trust can be put in a name, I should suppose that copper (*zangs*) had been found in *Zangskar*, but I could not learn that it had been discovered there.

Lead and *Iron* are, according to Moorcroft, found in pits in the mountain districts remote from Lé.

Plumbago is found in Balti; but the specimens which I procured are of an inferior description. They are gritty, and will not mark paper without scratching; but as they were most probably taken from the long-exposed surface, good black lead may still perhaps be found in the same place.

Sulphur, called *Muzi*, is obtained only at Puga, in

* Fragments of Ctesias by Lion. Indica, XII. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ χώρᾳ, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς εὑρισκόμενος καὶ πλυνόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Πακτωλῷ ποταμῷ.

† *gSer*, gold; *gSer-rDul*, gold dust. ‡ Travels, 1. p. 313.

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	Districts.	Men.			Women.			Landlords.		
		Tallest.	Shortest.	Average	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average
		ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Muslimans.	Chhorbad.....	5 8·0	4 8·0	5 0·9	5 0·0	4 4·0	4 9·3			
	Khapolor.....	5 7·0	4 6·0	5 0·7	5 2·0	4 2·0	4 9·1			
	Keris	5 5·0	5 0·0	5 2·9	4 11·0	4 8·0	4 10·6			
	Parguta	5 9·0	4 10·0	5 3·5	5 4·0	4 4·0	4 8·5			
	Skardo.....	5 11·0	4 9·0	5 2·3	5 0·0	4 6·0	4 9·7			
	Shigar	5 5·0	4 4·0	5 0·4	4 11·0	4 8·0	4 9·4			
	Rongdo	5 7·0	4 9·0	5 2·1	5 0·0	4 7·0	4 9·7			
	Average			5 1·8			4 9·5			
	Average of Botis			5 1·8			4 9·35			
Hindu Botis.	Upper Kanáwar	5 6·0	4 11·0	5 1·9	5 1·5	4 4·5	4 9·0	5 8·0	5 4·0	5 5·9
	Middle Kanáwar	5 6·0	4 9·0	5 2·0	5 5·0	4 9·0	4 11·1	5 8·0	5 0·0	5 5·3
	Lower Kanáwar	5 9·2	4 11·0	5 4·1	5 6·0	4 10·0	5 1·2	5 7·0	5 7·0	5 7·0
	Average			5 2·0			4 9·7			5 6·1

144

In this table the effect of the admixture of Hindu blood will be seen at once in the superior stature of the people of Lower Kanáwar.* Those of Middle Kanáwar also occasionally intermarry with the Hindus; for I found a woman, named Charanu, a native of Saráhan, near Rampur, who was wedded to two husbands in the village of Kala, opposite Labrang, in Middle Kanáwar. In fact the people of Kanáwar generally are called Kanets, a name which is said to designate a people of mixed race. The proper name of the country is therefore most probably *Karanáwara*, the country of *Karanas*, or people of mixed race, a name usually applied to the offspring of a degraded Khsatriya and a Khsatriya [103]

* The Botis are shorter than the Kirghiz of Wakhan and Pamer who were measured by Wood.—Oxus, pp. 338—372.

	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.
Men	5 5·5 ...	5 2·0 ...	5 3·2
Do.	5 7·2 ...	5 1·7 ...	5 4·5
		Mean ...	5 3·85

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144 female. The same name is applied by Marco Polo to
[103] another mixture of the same races—Tartars and Indians. There are indeed Kanets in other parts of the Himálayas, but only in those districts which border upon Ladák; as in Bisahar, Kullu, Chamba, and Kashtwar.

141 The average stature of the Botis of Ladák appears to
146 me to be very short indeed when compared with that of their Hindu and Chinese neighbours; but that this is chiefly, if not wholly, the effect of poor food and of privation of all kinds, is proved by the average stature of the landlords, or head men, of the different villages. These never carry burdens on their backs, are better fed, and better clothed; and (when they travel) usually ride from one place to another, instead of toiling up and down the steep and rugged passes of their native mountains. This shows the beneficial effect of wholesome food and of comparative comfort even in the most rigorous climate.

141 The stature of the women seems to be particularly low. This is not, however, shown in the averages, which exhibit a difference of only four inches between the men and the women. But the number of very short women is much greater than that of very short men. In Ladák I saw only six men that were under five feet in height; of whom two were four feet eleven inches; three were four feet ten inches; and one was only four feet nine inches. Amongst the women of Ladák, however, I saw no less than ten that were under four feet five in height. Of these, one was four feet four and a half; two were four feet four; one was four feet three; two were four feet two; one of forty years of age was four feet one and a half; and three were only four feet one inch in height. I am unable to say positively what may be the cause of

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175 unfinished. His reign probably extended from A.D. 1600 to 1620.

Jámya was succeeded by his eldest son *Singgé Namgyal*, who, feeling emulous of the military fame of his uncle *Chovang*, began his reign by conducting an expedition into the districts of *Gugé*, *Kiprok*, and *Tipichangyap*, from which he carried off many cattle and other property of the zamindars. During his reign
175 a monk, named *Staktshang-Raspa*, who had travelled
778 through *Gyagarnag*, *Urgyan*, and *Kháché*,* arrived at the village of *Tamosgang*,† in Ladák, where he made and consecrated an image of Chamba.‡ To this image he attached five monks for the performance of daily service, and having seen the complete establishment of the worship, he gave away in alms all that he possessed and departed.

175 After this Ahmed Khán, the chief of Balti, with the assistance of Jehángir Shah, invaded Ladák with a very large force; but *Singgé Namgyal* having collected his own troops to oppose them,§ the invaders were defeated

103 * *rGya-gar-nag*, literally the "white and black plains," that is, India and China. *U-rgyan*, the country of mixed races, perhaps the Indo-Persian district of *Udyána*, and the valley of the Kábul river. *Kháchhe*, Kashmir.

† *gTang-mo-sgang*, on the right bank of the Indus below Lé. It is now the most populous village in Ladák.

‡ *Byams-pa*, pronounced *Chamba*, the "Clement." This saint is now very popular in Ladák. He is the future Buddha, MAITREYA.

§ Jehángir reigned from A.D. 1605 to 1628. The defeat of the Baltis may therefore be placed about A.D. 1625. This defeat is confirmed by the chronicles of Skardo, which (according to Vigne, *Kashmir*, II. p. 253) refer the loss of Ladák to the reign of Ahmed Khan, the son of Ali Sher. The subsequent invasion of the Lhásan territory probably took place in 1630. It is at least certain that these events could not have occurred later than 1630–1635, because in 1640 the celebrated and

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with great slaughter at *Kharbu*.* After this victory the 175
king returned to his capital, and then proceeded at once against the people of *Gugé*, *Chaprang*, and *Lomostang*, who had taken advantage of the Muhammadan invasion to rebel against the authority of Ladák. They were quickly reduced by the active Singgé, and at the same time he took the opportunity of adding the neighbouring district of Rudok to his kingdom. Flushed with success, Singgé Namgyal next determined to attack Lhása itself; but when he had advanced as far as *Sri Kirkir*,† he was met by a deputation from the people of the country, headed by *Deba-Changpa*, with several mule-loads of gold, silver, tea, and other articles as a peace-offering. On receipt of this present, Singgé Namgyal consented to evacuate the Lhásan territory. Accordingly he fell back to Lomostang,‡ and afterwards took possession of the districts of *Purang*, *Gugé*, *Zanskar*, *Spiti*, *Purik*, *Mangyumla*, *Sedakh*, and *Shakyamcho*.§

ambitious Grand Lama *Navang-Lozang* had conquered the whole of Tibet.

* *Khar-bu*. There are two places of this name in Ladák, the larger of which is situated on the left bank of the Kanji river. The other stands on the right bank of the Drás river. The battle must have been fought at the former place, because it is on the high road from Balti to Lé, whereas the Kharbu of Drás is out of the way.

† *Shi-ri-Kyir-kyir*. This means a "winding or whirling stream," and 103
is probably the river *Sekor* of our maps, which joins the *Tsangpo* about half-way between Lé and Lhása. *Kyir-kyir*, "circular," is evidently the same word as the Latin *circulus*, and the Greek κυκλος.

‡ This is probably the Stang of our maps on the right bank of the Sutluj, and on the high road between Spiti and Garo.

§ *Purang*, a district of Ngári to the west and south of the Mánasarovar lake, and the *Pruang* of Capt. H. Strachey's map. *Gu-gé* is also a district of *Ngári* to the west of *Purang*; its chief places are Chaprang and Toling. The districts of Zanskar and Spiti are well known. *Pu-rig* lies upon the Kanji and Waká rivers, to the eastward of Suru; its chief places are Kharbu and Paskyum. *Mang-yum-la* is certainly the district

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175 prohibited his troops from cutting the corn, which was then ripe, and his politic conduct was rewarded by the immediate submission of the zamindars, who came over to him in a body, and placed themselves under his protection. The Vazir then built a small fort,* which he occupied for a month. He next advanced to *Shakhar*,† where there was a fort belonging to Thai Sultán, and having reinstated the zamindars of Janguri and Shakhar in their villages, he made a summary settlement of the district by imposing a tax of four rupees upon each house.

3. Leaving thirty-five men in the fort and ten men over the bridge, the Dogras advanced by *Langkarchu* ‡ and *Manji* to the bridge of Paskyum, where they were again opposed by the Ladákis. The struggle was desultory and protracted, the Dogras losing only seven killed, while the Botis had fifty or sixty killed, and a greater number wounded. By a skilful manœuvre the Ladákis effected their retreat across the bridge,§ which they then broke down. On the following day, however, the Dogras managed to cross the river on inflated skins without opposition; on which the chief of the place abandoned Paskyum, and fled to the fort of Sód,‖ where, with the zamindars of the district, he determined to hold out.

* This is the fort in Vigne's map called "Kilah Suru Kurri," belonging to Gulab Sing.

† *Shá-mKhar*, the fort of *Sha*.

[103] ‡ The Lang-kartse of Moorcroft. The true name I believe is "*Lungkarj-chu*," or the "valley of the Karj river." The bridge here mentioned is that which was crossed by Moorcroft on his journey to Drás.

§ The Waká-chu is not fordable at Paskyum, and the bridge is within musket-range of the fort, and of numbers of houses on the northern bank of the stream.

‖ *Sód*, the Soth of Moorcroft, who mentions an interview that he had with the Raja at Paskyum.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

introduced for more than seventy years, until, in A.D. 971, it was finally restored, and has since continued to be the dominant religion of Tibet. 798 779

The great spread of the *Pon-gyi-chho*, or Pon religion, can be best appreciated by the traces of its former existence in the widely distant regions of Arakan and Ladák. The people of Arakan give a long line of fifty-five *Pun-na* princes* as their earliest sovereigns, a dynasty which must have reigned for at least 600 years. In Ladák the great monastery of *Lama Yurru* is still called *Yung-druny-Gonpa*, or the "monastery of the mystic cross." The establishment of this monastery is attributed to Naropa, a Lama from Brigung, near Lhasa; but it seems more probable that the name of *Lama Yurru* was derived from the Lama, because he had suppressed the faith of the mystic cross (*yung-drung*), and had established the Lamaïc doctrine of Buddhism. 779 173 793 [798]

But Buddhism was the prevailing religion of Ladák from the conversion of the people by Asoka's missionaries down to A.D. 400, when Fa Hian visited India. At that time he found Buddhism flourishing in the little state of *Kia-chhe*, or Ladák, as well as in Kotan and other small states to the northward of the Tsung Ling, or Karakoram. The king of *Kie-chha* (Kha-chan, or "Snow-land)" still celebrated the great quinquennial assembly † of the Srámanas which had been established by Asoka. The ceremony, which lasted for one month, was conducted with becoming gravity, and closed by the 779 798 [103] 796

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 31,—Captain Latter.

† In the Gyalpo's time, the Lamas assembled annually at Lé, in the month of *Táng-po* (March), and were dismissed with presents. They now assemble at Hemis, in June. In this monastery there are still 160 Lamas. 793

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LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101

LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syallable long and the second short.

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

●103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool; (4) Máryool" or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

[173]

The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV

Over the Zogi Pass

487 439 THE road between Leh and Srinagar, the summer capital of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and a popular hill station for the white man, is one of the chief highways to Central Asia, bearing its trade to and from India.

133 No wonder that one of the meanings attributed to the Zogi ● 103 La, the dread pass that closes this road in winter, is the place of four meetings, for the roads from Tibet, Yarkand, Baltistan and Kashmir all converge here.

487 This road has been described by so many travellers, that it would be redundant to add another detailed account of the journey up to Leh. Suffice it to mention some of the outstanding features and incidents that have impressed themselves on one who has traversed it several times, and for whom most of its turns and corners bring to memory an additional reminiscence. The lower or Kashmir side of the pass includes the first stage to Ganderbal which is generally accomplished either by motor, for a car may go even another five to six miles to the Suspension Bridge which spans the Sindh, or by boat down the Mar Canal and across the Anchar Lake when there is enough water, otherwise taking an extra night and going down the river Jhelum to its meeting place or " wedding " with the Sindh river at Shadipur and then up to Ganderbal. Having once effected a junction with the Sindh, the marches from Ganderbal onwards lead directly up the Sindh river to the foot of the Zogi La. This valley is known to so many thou-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 the Sindh valley narrowing and just make out the snow-covered crest of a mountain which barred its upper end and indicated the site of the pass, about which we must say a few words.

487 The name Zogi La has another meaning attributed to it by
133 the Tibetan, as well as the one just alleged, one which indicates
[103] the terrors that abound when winter holds it in its icy grip, namely the place of four demons. It is a pass of 11,500 feet, which separates Kashmir and what to many represents civilization, from the wild uplands of the Himalayas and the mysteries of the "distant morning lands" of Central Asia. Though its altitude is not very high for a pass, only equalling that of Leh, its difficulties are great. The summer road should be open from 15th May to 15th November, for on those dates the rates of transport alter from the high winter ones indicating coolie porterage only, to the lower summer ones of pony transport. In winter the difficulties are often insuperable owing to soft snow, blizzards and biting winds, and often the mails are delayed two or three weeks before the runners dare attempt the crossing, the telegraph wires themselves not infrequently breaking with the weight of snow. Traffic is at a standstill from mid-December to early March, save for adventurous travellers who, even then, it is stated, get themselves carried over in baskets on the backs of coolies, sturdy inhabitants of the villages bordering the Ladak side of
[485] the pass. In the centre of the Zogi La is a rest-house, often up
[205] to the eaves in snow, called Machoi, situated on the top of a small sharp hill, one side of which is sheltered from the prevailing winds, and has two or three small buildings, a serai and a telegraph office nestling under it. The telegraph master must have a dreary time in winter, and in the middle of May is moved to another post higher up on the road to
000 Leh. The winter of 1924–5 was exceptionally mild and very little snow fell on the pass. April in Kashmir was a very hot month, more like June, and it was expected that the pass

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sparsely populated regions the people are so interesting, for the customs and ways of the unadulterated lamaism often differ considerably from those of the high road.

But let us now accompany the " padre " and the " doctor " in their trek from Ladak through Zankskar to Lahoul, and home *via* the Plains, thus traversing the whole of the Himalayan ranges from north to south, except the most northern, named the Karakoram Range. Leaving Leh we must first travel down the high road towards Kashmir for four days, that is along the Indus as far as the foot of the Lamayuru gorge. But let us remember the real name of this river is the " Senge Kabab," which means the one which " descends from the mouth of the Lion." The Tibetan names of the other rivers flowing from the region of the holy lake, Manosarowar, also indicate the true sources of their mighty waters, for does not the Sutlej or " Langchen kabab " descend from the mouth of the elephant, the Gogo is the " Mamzhi kabab " descending from the mouth of the peacock, while the Brahmaputra or " Damchog kabab " descends from the ear of the horse. In our Western ignorance we often garble these Tibetan names. Thus Darjeeling should be called " Dorjhe Ling " the " Country of the Thunderbolt," whilst Kalimpong is our distorted version of " Kalonpug," the cave of the prime minister. But let us get back to Lamayuru whence our road turns due south across that division of the Himalayas known as the "Ri-gyal" or mountain king range. Our first march takes us over a small pass to Wanla, and we must get used to Passes, as within a short period we have to cross fifteen, of which all but five are fairly high ones. Wanla is a pretty village and shows signs of having been an important one. Crowning the hill which dominates the village is a fine old ruin, and behind it a most peculiar built monastery, in many places resting on beams which look so insecure that they must give way on the slightest provocation. That they still hold is doubtless

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
103 active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is very barren and, because of the altitude
595 and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[NJ] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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[114]

Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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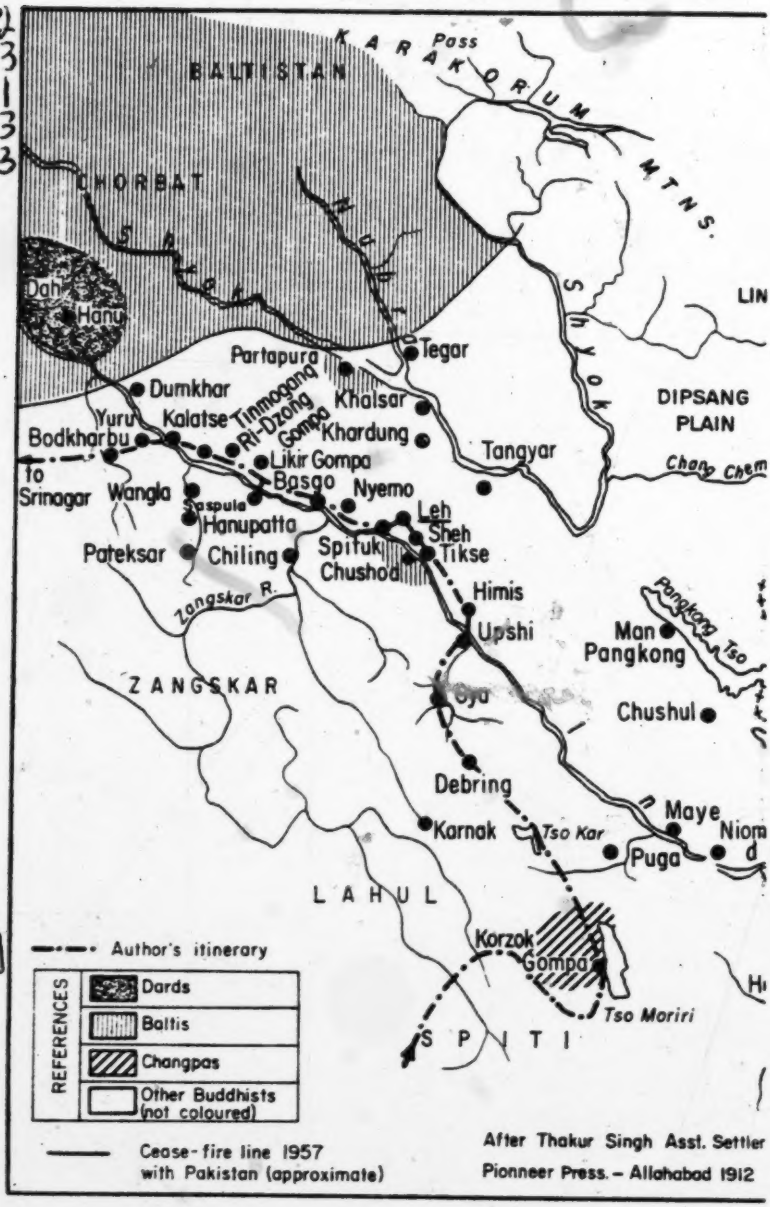

[114]

Map V. Sketch map of Ladak.

[facing p 335-A]

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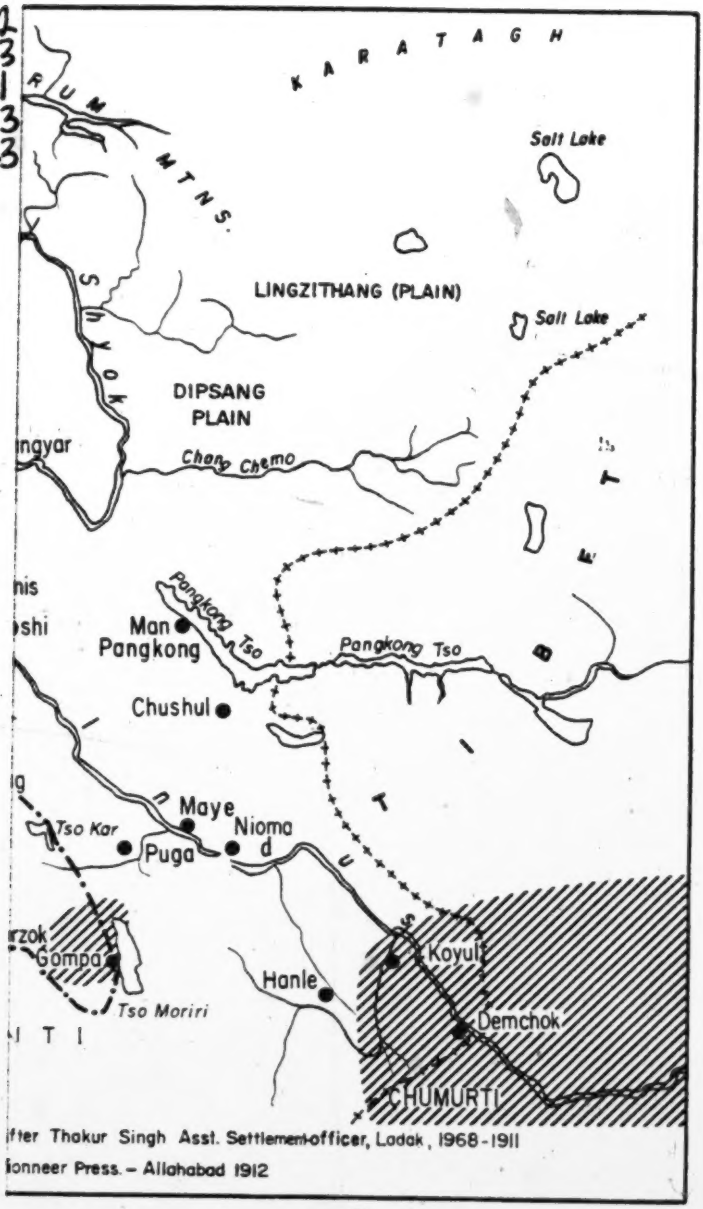

After Thakur Singh Asst. Settlement-officer, Ladak, 1968-1911
Pioneer Press. – Allahabad 1912

[facing P. 335-B]

0 15 30 miles

Glossary

Chhu - "water," generally, a river
Chittak - a measure of weight; 2 ounces
Drona - a measure of weight; 64 lbs.
Lá - a mountain pass
Lam - road
Munshi - writer
Thanador - appointed official in charge of a district
Zam-pa - a bridge

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

RULES FOR PRONUNCIATION.

104 Throughout this work the vowels and consonants are to be pronounced in the following manner:—

a, as in distance, America.
á, as in father, half.
i, as in din, sin.
í, as *ee* in seen.
u, as *oo* in poor.
ú, as *u* in pure.
é, as in thére, théy.
ai, as *y* in my.
o, as in more.
au, as *ou* in our.
k, as in kick.
kh, the same aspirated.
g, as in giggle.
ng, as in sing.
ch, as in church.
chh, the same aspirated.
j, as in jest.
ny, as *ny* in tanyard.
t, as in tittle.
th, the same aspirated.
d, as in dandy.
n, as in ninny.
p, as in puppy.
ph, the same aspirated.
b, as in baby.
m, as in mummy.
ts, as in catseye.
tsh, the same aspirated.
ds, as *ds* in windsail, groundsel.
w, as in woman, dwarf.
zh, *z* aspirated.
z, as in zigzag.
h, as in hair.
y, as in you.
r, as in roar.
l, as in lull.
sh, as in ship.
s, as in senses.
h, as in heart.

2: Ramsay--ii G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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KEY TO PRONUNCIATION OF LETTERS

a	as	a	in	"woman"
á	"	a	"	"far"
ä	"	a	"	"care"
ai	"	ai	"	"aisle"
e	"	e	"	"men"
ee	"	ee	"	"see"
ey	"	ey	"	"they"
i	"	i	"	"in"
ioo	"	ieu	"	"lieu"
o	"	o	"	the French "mon"
ó	"	o	"	"old"
oo	"	oo	"	"cool"
ow	"	ow	"	"how"
u	"	u	"	"put"
c	"	c	"	"cart"
ch	"	ch	"	"child"
g	"	g	"	"gate"
gh				as an aspirated "g"
GH	as	gh	in	the Urdu word "ghareeb"
j	"	j	"	"jar"
kh				as an aspirated "k"
KH	as	kh	in	the Urdu word "khabar"
ks	"	x	"	"mix"
ng	"	ng	"	"hang"
NG	"	ng	"	the French word "sang"
ph			"	as an aspirated "p"
sh				as an aspirated "s"
SH	as	sh	in	"sharp"
th				as an aspirated "t"
yoo	as	yu	in	"yule"
zh	"	s	"	"leisure"

Note.--To facilitate the work of printing, accents have been left out in places where their omission will not cause the reader to mispronounce, e.g., in the case of the last letter in the word "speyra."

Whenever the final letter of a word is "a", pronounce it as "á."

and whenever the final letter is "o," pronounce it as "ô."

Owing to the deficiency of accentuated letters in the font of italic type at my disposal, I was obliged to resort to the awkward expedient of using Roman type in places where there should have been an accentuated italic "gh," "kh," etc.

The soft "th" and the peculiar Tibetan sibilants I have not attempted to transcribe. The student may become familiar with their sounds, but he is not likely to be able to reproduce them himself.

The spelling adopted is phonetic throughout. Many words will be found spelled either with or without an "r," e.g., "Thoogoo" or "Throogoo" (a child). In regard to these I would explain that the words are correctly spelt with the "r," but, to the European ear, Ladákis seem to omit the "r" sound.

[The author's original transcription of Tibetan words has been slightly changed. Where Ramsay uses italics we use roman type. Where Ramsay uses roman gh, kh, ng, sh we have substituted GH, KH, NG, SH.--Analyst]

satisfactory existence; that it is still wandering around in Bardo without peace; and that it disturbs the surviving relatives, something which manifests itself in bad dreams, in attacks of mental derangement, and in similar phenomena. This now requires new measures of defense and of bringing about salvation. The means already mentioned are repeated ad infinitum, and burnt offerings are presented. A small pyramid with three sides is constructed from little sticks, and around this the lama places the remains of meals, rags of cloth, twigs, the leaves of trees, and poison (!). Then he pours oil over everything and lights the whole affair. Then the lama holds a piece of paper bearing the name of the dead person in question, in the flames, so that it burns to ashes. By this operation the finished existence, with all germs of life that might still be able to revive, is supposed to be destroyed finally and conclusively, and the restless soul is finally to come to its rest. 769

FOR THE PRONUNCIATION

of the Tibetan words and sentences printed in italics, the following observation is to be made; the letters are to be pronounced as follows: 104

k	equals	German k	
k'	equals	k-h	(aspirated)
g	equals	g	
ñ	equals	ng	
ĉ	equals	tsch	
c	equals	tsch-h	(aspirated)
j	equals	dsch	(as in Dschebel)
ny	equals	nj	(as in Njemen)
t	equals	t	
t'	equals	t-h	(aspirated)
d	equals	d	
n	equals	n	
p	equals	p	
p'	equals	p-h	(aspirated)

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b	equals	b	
m	equals	m	
ts	equals	German z	
t's	equals	z-h	(hard, aspirated)
dz	equals	ds	(soft)
w	equals	w	
ź	equals	French j in "jour"	
z	equals	French z (soft)	
y	equals	German j	
r	equals	r	
l	equals	l	
ś	equals	sch	
s	equals	sharp s	
h	equals	h	

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced as in German.

Glossary

The following words appear frequently in the text. So far as possible, they have defined as they are used in the text itself. Often, these are purely local meanings and have different associations in other parts of India. The capital I or T following the word indicates that it is either of Indo-European or Tibetan origin. If no symbol appears after the word, it has not been assigned by the Analyst or Research Associate to either of these language families.

Avatár (I) - incarnation
Bans - see dhárs
Béd - physician
Begár(I) - forced labor for the state
Betangna (I) - relief money
Bezing (T) - land held rent-free by musicians
Bozan - low order of strolling monks
Cháng (T) - a beer brewed from rice and barley
Chára - private grazing ground of villagers
Chatrú (I) - colts
Choti (I) - plait or a manner of tying the hair

●104

Chám - religious plays
Chunma - worker
Dang piri - waste land
Devi (I) - gods
Dhár (I) - sheep runs for foreign shepherds
Dotoens (I) - second born son of a chief
Dotul (T) - laborer
Gapto (I) - a type of village headman
Garpáon (T) - governor
Gelong (T) - fully ordained monks or priests
Gonpa (T) - monastery
Got (I) - clan in Lahaul
Guru (I) - legitimate sons of a Brahman man and kanet (mixed caste) woman
Hensi (I) - musician
Jágir (I) - land grant
Jágir dar (I) - land grantee; holder of a jagir

Janeo (I) - cord worn by the twice-born
Jeolas (I) - land allotted to a household
Jodsi - astrologer
Kachi roti (I) - food cooked with water
Kanet (I) - a caste; here, a mixed caste
Khewat (I) - rent roll
Kothi (I) - district
Lambardár (I) - type of village headman
Lhá (T) - god
Lhazing (T) - god-land; land devoted to the support of a god
Lohár (I) blacksmith
Mantra (I) sacred texts
Manzing (I) - land held rent-free by physicians
Nazrána (I) - tribute; present
Netal (T) - unassigned grain; literally, barley tax
Nierpa (T) - treasurer
Nigáhrs - see dhárs
Onpozing (T) - land held rent free by astrologers

Pakki (I) - food cooked in ghee
Pattu - cloth
Phati - hamlet
Pun (T) - grain-rent assigned to a monastery
Rus (T) - "bone"; people descended from a common ancestor
Sachi roti (I) - a food
Tal (T) - rent or revenue
Talsichemno (T) - great tax audit
Tao (T) - see tázing
Tazing (T) - land for the maintenance of a lama
Thakur (I) - ruler of a small cluster of villages
Umchie (T) - hereditary practitioners of medicine
Wazir (I) - local chief
Waziri (I) - canton
Yulfa (T) - villagers
Yurzing (T) - canal land

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

592 Chapter III, B.

184 Social and Religious Life.

104 Constitution of the family.

"*Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.

"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.

"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*

"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" [1]

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thákur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thákurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpan*, under the name of *dotoenzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thákur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house- and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive, custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

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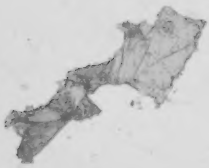

428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

* *Kang*, house; big; *chung*, small; *pa-mdle* (Hindi); *yang*=*nor* or *par*, as in *parádá* (Hindi), one beyond.

[½ QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON. -- ANALYST]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

779 Chapter III, B.

184 Social and Religious Life.

179 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

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[681]

reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *mani*s and many of the *chhoddens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *mani* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om mani padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *mani* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

Glossary

[H or T following the words are abbreviations for Hindi and Tibetan, respectively. -- Analyst]

Deota (H)	god
Got (H)	sib
Khang chhen (T)	big house
Khang chung (T)	small house
Nono (T)	Title of the Chief of Spiti

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651 436 804 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2¾ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 436 As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet, there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal [435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

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585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship. Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the Bon Religion, **yungdrung** 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

104 821 73 It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *yyungdrung*, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima, occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name Khyung dkrung may have degenerated to become *yyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:—(1) a word *yyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyung* = *yung*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *yyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *yyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *y* of *yyung* and *yyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *yyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *yyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卍 *sû* and 卐 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.

a

b

779 821 797 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *yyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

See source No. 12 in Tibet File AJ1 Analyst.

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Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om khreshispar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally: it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Késar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sem* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathangyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean: — 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit, 9. *Yulthes*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[2]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Késar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thes* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thesthes*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.

1. phuru yar yzigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

[1] [Cf pp 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [Cf pp 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

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2. yyasla yar yzigs 'ang
yy'a chu khral khrol de
su dang ganggi chang.

3. mdoru yar yzigs 'ang
ytsang chab sngonmo de
su dang ganggi chang.

4. yyonla yar yzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
su dang ganggi chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chabrkyan nangdu
yang dkar naskyi chang
su dang ganggi chang.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones.
What and whose beer is it!

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head
The beer [made] of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

B.

Nyopas landu.

II. B. 1. phuru yar yzigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
dar sing ysoba'i chang.

2. yyasla yar yzigs 'ang
yy'a chu khral khrol de
shaphran ysoba'i chang.

3. mdoru yar yzigs 'ang
ytsang chab sngonmo de
nyaphran ysoba'i chang.

4. yyonla yar yzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
ma zhing ysoba'i chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chab rkyanla
yang dkar naskyi khuba de
nyo 'am spun bdungyi chang.

The *Nyopas* answer:

II. B. 1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer, nourishing the ice-lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer, nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water
Is the beer, nourishing the little fishes.

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there
Are the beer, nourishing the mother-fields.

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The fluid [made] of white barley
Is the beer of the *Nyopas* or the seven brethren.

Notes.

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A. 2. *yyashu*, this word is used here, so people tell me, for water with stones, not for stagnant water, *khralkhrol*, noisy. 4. *kyalkyil* scattered about. 5. *ma*, mother, used for everything large, here the large jar.

B. 4. *ma zhing*, motherfield, a very fertile field. Instead of *kyalkyil-parpur* is also used in the same sense.

A. 5. The mouth of the jar is formed like a snake's head. B. 1. The ice-lion with the blue locks [or mane] was originally the glacier itself, later on it developed into a fabulous being, which was thought to live there. 5. The number of the *Nyopas* ought to be seven.

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4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de sbang char zilbus byas.

4. The existence of height and depth
Was created by the dewy soaking rain.

5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de skyesser[3] rlungpos byas.

5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley
Was created by *skyesser*, the wind.

6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de rgyal dang blongyis byas.

6. The existence of castle and village
Was created by the king and the ministers.

7. yzhis dang ynaskyi mjalthsul de ynyendrung rnamskyis byas.

7. The existence of hearth and home
Was created by you, our friends.

8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de nyo'am spun bdungyis byas.

8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside,
Was created by the *Nyopas*, the seven brethren.

Notes.

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In the original *mjalthso* is given instead of *mjalthsul*, which is unintelligible. See more examples for elision of *l* at the end of a syllable in my *Ladákhi Grammar*, laws of sound 4. *dbyibs* is a word, not so easily understood, two kinds of *dbyibs* are mentioned in XIII., they are *nammkha*, sky, heaven, and *chos*, religion. B. 5. *skyesser*, name of the wind god. May be either *skyegsar*, the reborn one, see Késar-Myth, or *skyebser*, producer of coolness.

Notes.

A. 8. This question refers to the scene created by the arrival of the *Nyopas*. B. 2. The sun is often called an umbrella on account of his circular shape. 3. Though the moon as representative of the night can be made to account for the North, it is difficult to see her relation to the South.

B. 4. Perhaps on account of the fact, that clouds show great varieties of altitude. 5. A strong draught is felt in every valley.

Song No. IV.

A.

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byonrabs yin.

This is about the origin [of the *Nyopas*].

IV. A. 1. 'adir byon rnams shargyi glingnas yongstsana shar phyogs rgyalpo suzhig bahugs bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

IV. A. 1. When you came here from the eastern country,
Who was king there in the East?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

2. lhoyi phyogsnas yongstsana lho phyogs rgyalpo su zhig bahugs bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

2. When you came here from the southern country,
Who was king there in the South?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

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[3] Having been questioned meanwhile by Regierungsrat Dr. E. Schlagintweit about the equation *Kesar* = *skyesser*, I wish to state the following facts: This equation was not worked out by myself, but received ready made from the natives, who explain the name in this way. According to a letter from Rev. Fr. Peter, Kyelang, the popular pronunciation of the same name is *Kyesar* in Lahoul. In a collection of popular songs which I received from Phyang three days ago, the king's name is invariably spelled *Kyesar*. In Leh ordinary people pronounce the name *Kesar*, but educated people, who know the myths from the epos, pronounce it *Gesar*. All the changes from *Kyesar* to *Gesar* can be accounted for, see my *Ladákhi Grammar*, Introduction, *Kyirma* = *girma*.

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4. ngacag nyebo rnams byanggi glingnas byongstsana
byang phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
byangna thsos sna 'adsommo 'adug
skad cig''adrina dela dris.

4. When we came here from the northern country,
'aPhagsakyed was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.

In the North there are all kinds of dyes.
If you wish to hear some news, ask them.

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Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* *cin da*, ought to be spelt according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda*, *mda* (or perhaps *'ada*) meaning 'about.' The names of the kings mean B. 1. protector of the country. 2 and 4. the high-born one. 3. good eye. Very likely the original name of 4 had been lost and that of 2 was inserted instead. Each verse may also have a seventh concluding line: *ngacag nyebo rnamsla skadcha bshadrgyu med*, we friends do not know any news; *'adsommo* = *'adsompo*, plentiful. Instead of *bdelegs* the original has *bdelags*.

Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* White is the colour of the lha's and of all good things. B. As regards the products of the different countries, they are mentioned in about the same manner in *Ladakhi Songs* No. XV. Harvest festival at Skyurbuchan. They are perhaps more of a practical than of a mythological interest.

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The three names, given in this song, do not seem to be of Tibetan origin. They are probably the Tibetan names of the Indian *lôkapâlas*. Though there can be no doubt as to the pre-buddhist origin of this song as a whole, the names of the kings may be later Lamaist interpolations. I am rather inclined to believe, that an ancient version of this song had the names of those kings, who actually reigned in the respective regions many years ago. In this connection it may be added, that in Song No. X., where the four points of the compass come in again, actual geographical kingdoms, for instance China and India, are mentioned. Regarding the names, given in IV., compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 181; *spyanmig bzang*, instead of *mig mi bzang*, is probably a corruption, as it does not correspond to the Indian *virûpâksha*.

Song No. V.

A.

berrabs yin.
phyimas.
V. A. 1. shing stagpa, skyerpa shugpa γsum
2. de γsum shing dang ma rdungshig

This is about the sticks.
The Nyopas say:—
V. A. 1. The birch, the alp-willow and the cedar,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

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1 [Cf pp 139 and 140 category 176 -- Analysis]

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Notes. [1]

A. 4. *ldem*, said to be the golden hat of the Nyopas, is called *ldem* either on account of its stiff shape or because of its being an emblem (allegory) of the sun. As will have been noticed in the preceding songs, the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun god. 5. *phe* = *phye*, perf. tense, of *'abyedpa*, to open, thus 'if you beat an opening of the body, "a wound,' the verb being used as a noun.

B. 3. *thsersu*, finishing place, when applied to men, it is the country, where maturity is attained. 4. *yserla yod*, it belongs to gold. 5. *yyula byas*, it was made [turned] into turquoise. 9. *'abrangs* = *'abrengs*, imperative tense. 10. instead of *mdunds* the original has *dends*, instead of *mchis* it has *ches* and *che*; the same must be said of *mchis* in B. 13. *nambs'a* Ladakhi for *nabs'a*. *ldar* perhaps the same as *ldur ldur* in Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Notes. [1]

Because at the end of each verse in IV. the Nyopas failed to give a satisfactory account of the four countries, this is taken as a sufficient cause to beat them. For their defence they recite V. A., VI. A., and VII. A., and find fault with the sticks. On the other hand the bride's party praise their sticks as having been approved of by the king of heaven V. B., a king of the earth VI. B., and the king of the underworld [waters] in VII. B.

B. 9 and 10 is said to refer to the procession of the wedding party.

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Song No. VI.

A.

phyimas.

VI. A. 1. shing grama glangma lcangma yzum

2. de yzum shing dang ma rdung-shig

3. de yzum shing dang rdung zerna

4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len

5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len

6. snyangyi yyu 'achagna yyu 'achag stong dang len

7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.

legs beams dbanggi nyebo.

The Nyopas say:—

VI. A. 1. The furze, the hill willow and the house willow,

2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,

4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,

5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,

6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold!

7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

Well thought, you mighty friends!

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B.

nangmas landu

VI. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing yyu lcang sngonpoi

2. skyedpa sngonpo yyula byas

3. lo 'adab 'adzamgling mi yul khyab

People of the house answer:—

VI. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,

2. The blue middle was made of turquoise.

3. The leaves of the tree cover all 'aDzamgling the country of men.

[1] [illegible] category 116 - Analysis]

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4. rje sabdag rgyalpo bshinnas	4. By the king, the owner and lord of the earth
5. leags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig.	5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa shig ynang serna	6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. rgyalpoi bu zhig 'abrangs	7. 'A son of the king may follow [you]!
8. zhakar mdunda mchis	8. The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
9. dou ngan phugnas 'akhrugs	9. Bad speech ought to be blamed,
10. pha ngan duba che	10. If [the fire] is badly blown there is much smoke.
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob	12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. nam ba'a rincangyi ldur cig phob.	13. Beat them on their costly dress.

Notes. [1]

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In B. two lines seem to have been lost, because for all the rest this song is in conformity with V. B. or perhaps V. B. 2, 3 are later additions In 4 the king is mentioned as representative of the earth, an older version may have had Mother skyabs bdun, compare Song No. I. B. 2, *ante*, p. 134.

B. 3. 'aDzamgling or 'aDzambugling, comprised originally Tibet and India, later on all Asia or the whole earth, in the latter sense it is to be taken here. It is the Indian *Jambudvipa*.

Song No. VII.

A.

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phyimas	The Nyopas say:—
VII. A. 1. shing starba 'umba thearba yzum	VII. A. 1. The walnut-tree, the tamarisk and the thorn,
2. de yzum shing dang ma rdung-shig	2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. de yzum shing dang rdung serna	3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. lnakyi phe rakna pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. snyangyi yyu 'achagna yyu 'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

B.

nangmas	People of the house say:—
VII. B. 1. hdaggi lagta yodpai shing yyu leang sngonpoi	VII. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,

[1] [Cf. p. 143 ostogoryyu -- Analyst]

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4. yalga ysumparu
mgobo ldad dkar thsangs

dung sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas shog
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

4. On the third bough
There is the nest of the bird 'white head.'
Not breaking the pearl-white egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

5. yalga bshiparu
glagmo mkhal dkar thsangs

dngul sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

5. On the fourth bough
There is the nest of the eagle 'white kidney.'
Not breaking the silver egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

6. yalga lngaparu
ribya gongmoi thsangs

byur sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

6. On the fifth bough
There is the nest of the snow partridge.
Not breaking the coral egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

7. yalga drugparu
khraskya dkarmoi thsangs

lcags sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

7. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

Notes. 1

A. 1. The expressions given here are colloquial Lower Ladakhi for soup-spoon, table-spoon and poker. B. 1. *hala* = *halas*, *hula* the same as *hala*, *rtsemo* means originally 'top.' 2. *sgong* = *sgonga*, egg. The termination *pa* in *bcagpa*, *bshigpa* and *'agrogspa* is Ladakhi for *par*, the supine being used here in a gerundial sense. 5. *mkhal dkar*, white kidney, *i. e.*, the feathers over the kidney are white. 6. *ribya*, another name of the same bird is *khabya*.

Notes. 2

This song seems to contain a further description of the tree of the world. It is remarkable that the tree of the world is said to have six boughs, for I have not yet met with the number six in other books relating to Bonpa mythology. In this connection I should like to mention that according to the *Edda* there are six animals (a goat and five stags) feeding on the leaves of the tree of the world, and that the *Edda* (not *Simrock*) speaks of six worlds.

1 [cf pp. 145 and 141, category 116 -- Analyst]

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10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Song No. IX.

A.

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IX. A. 1. khyed nyebo me ma khrul	IX. A. 1. Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down!
2. da nang yongba gangnas yongs	2. Now, you, who enter, from where do you come?
3. 'agroba nyidcag gangdu 'agro	3. Then, where will you go to?
4. sdodpai bde lce gangna yod	4. Where will you be pleased to sit down?
5. dgospai skudon sala yod	5. For whose sake do you come?
6. yzhungyul 'adiru cila byon.	6. Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

B.

phyimas.	The Nyopas say:—
IX. B. 1. yong da ngazha sharphyogs bdechen glingnas yongs.	IX. B. 1. We come from a happy country in the East,
2. 'agro da ngazha nubphyogs urgyan glingdu 'agro	2. We go to the country of the paradise in the West.
3. sdodpai bdelce de sa ynas 'adina yod	3. We shall be pleased to sit down here.
4. dgospai skudon ni yzhungyul 'adina yod,	4. Our aim is here in the middle of village.
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

Notes.

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A. 1. *me ma khrul*, do not let the fire fall down, proverbial expression, for 'do not break down now, show your ingenuity!' 4. The original has *sala* instead of *gangna*, the lines 4 and 5 having been confounded. B. 2. **urgyan**, here in Lower Ladakh is understood to mean either **Padmasambhava** or the '**Western Paradise**.' 1 and 2 again show, plainly, that the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun.

This song IX. is generally the conclusion of the scene before the house, the Nyopas are invited to enter and tell the name of the girl. Then the bridal party, the Nyopas and the whole village sit down for a great feast, when the **Chang glu** (the continuation of the wedding song, given above) is sung. On the following morning a Buddhist Lama appears and reads a scripture portion from an orthodox Buddhist book. People tell me that he may read anything, he likes, because neither the Lama nor the bride are able to grasp the meaning, and the chief thing is the correct pronunciation. Then the bride and the Nyopas mount their horses and ride to the house of the bridegroom, where another feast is given.

Conclusion.

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Having thus arrived at the end of the first intelligible half of the wedding ritual, it will be as well to add a few words about the other less intelligible half, though the latter is not yet ready for publication. After a study of the verses contained in it, which can be understood fairly well, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called **second half of the ritual** is not the continuation of the first; but a composition apart. It is in reality a **new ritual dating from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh**, and is an attempt to replace the ancient Bonpa ritual by another, which, though not entirely Lamaist, tries to introduce Buddhist ideas by placing them side by side with Bonpa ideas. That this

Glossary

[The capital letter in parentheses following a word indicates that it is either Tibetan (T) or Hindi (H). Words about which there was doubt were not assigned to either of these languages. --Analyst]

Chhagzot (T) - managerial head of a monastery
Chham (T) - lama dance
Chhorten (T) - a tower associated with mani walls
Chan (T) - the barley beer of Ladakh
Chappatti (H) - wheat cake
Daps - musical instrument made from a skin stretched over a hoop
Dobdobs - police
Dzo (T) - a cross between a yak and a cow
Geshes (T) - high degree awarded at the academic monasteries
Gie - Yak butter
Guru (H) - older lama; spiritual teacher (see Lobon)
Gur Gur Cha - a kind of tea made with yak butter.
Kanal - a land measure; 1/16 of an acre
Kathak (T) - white silk scarf; traditional present to and from a high lama
Konyer (T) - treasurer of a monastery

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Lobon (T) - older lama; teacher of the Incarnate Lama (see Guru)
Magpa (T) - a son-in-law who becomes the head of a sonless family
Mani - Walls with religious inscriptions
Obo (T) - rock cairn (see oris)
Oris (T) - rock cairn (see Obo)
Perakh (T) - headdress worn by older women
Poshel - egg-shaped pin worn as an ornament by women
Sattu (T) - a food made of barley flour. (see Tsamba)
Sawp - Tibetan for Sahib
Serai - stopping place for caravans
Skushak (T) - term of address to a spiritual head of a monastery
Tehsildar (H) - head of a tahsil (district)
Tsamba (T) - a food made of barley flour. (see Sattu)

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
573 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

584 the same property, which is built especially
593 for that purpose. This custom is known
[104] as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them
[104] (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age, usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

WT 838 181 595 But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT 779 595 174 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti 595 341 WT 341 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a [10a] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchamadoong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchamadoong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

Ti 595 587 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

K'hang-chen - the main portion of the family (ancestral) property occupied by the sons and their wife.

K'hang-gu - the smaller portion of the family (ancestral) property occupied by the fathers, mother and unmarried sisters.

P'haspun - patrilineal clan

Jagir khoti - land of the landlords

Khalsa khoti - government land, which is allotted to individuals who pay taxes and render services to the government

[Zhing - kham - In Ladak this is comparable to the khalsa khoti of Lahul]

Bagma marriage - marriage in which the sons of a family take one wife in common [bagma - "bride," wife in a bagma marriage]

Magpa marriage - marriage in which the daughter inherits all property (when there are no male heirs) and takes as many husbands as she wishes. [magpa = "bridegroom," husband in a magpa marriage]

P'horjag (porjag) - an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife (he is treated as a brother after joining the others in marriage)

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[p.301]

CHAPTER 4

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS

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Tibetan culture is not restricted to the actual political boundaries of the area marked on the map as Tibet. Fluctuating and ill-defined as these boundaries are in themselves (Amdo (*A-mDo*),[1] in north-eastern Tibet and the eastern part called Kham (*K'hams*) were looked upon by China until lately as provinces of her own, respectively named Tsinghai and Si-kang), they still lie well within the far more extensive region where Tibetan culture is to be found. The total area over which the Dalai Lama and his government recently held sway was generally considered to cover 600,000 square miles – a very vast one. The five million or so inhabitants of this country have, despite their small numbers, produced a culture which is original, peculiarly adapted to the extraordinary environment in which the pople live, and sufficiently characteristic to be immediately recognizable when it is encountered outside its boundaries.

The extensive distribution and general uniformity everywhere of Tibetan culture are aspects which travellers in the regions where it is to be found have often remarked upon. From the east on the borders of Chinese Szechwan, to Kashmir in the west, from lake Koko Nor in the north to the Himalayas and even beyond them to the south (see Map 5), that is over thousands of miles, Tibetan culture forms an entity of its own, in which those who have elaborated it for their use move

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[1] Romanization of Tibetan spelling is in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ka, k'ha, ga, nga,	*tsa, ts'ha, dza, wa,*
cha, ch'ha, ja, nya,	*zha, za, a, ya, ra, la,*
ta, t'ha, da, na,	*sha, sa, ha, a,*
pa, p'ha, ba, ma,	*i, u, e, o,* (phonetically modified vowels shows as: *ü, ö, ö*); *wazur* = *w*.

Prefixed and superscribed consonants are shown by a small letter before a capital; thus *rGya*. Tibetan names and words in the text are given phonetically in accordance with the local pronunciation, followed by the actual Tibetan orthography, romanized in brackets.

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 ●105 [473] [439] 563 473 443 The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

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Lahul

4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country. 105 631 [651]

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants. [115]

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size. 105 423 [631] [651] [241]

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields [631]

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105 423 631 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal property known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay [651] [966] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice [651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 233 631 651 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collecting grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 221 439 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

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Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

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Ladak

175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these 175 631 648 clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the [439] supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [985]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nang-dzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 423 651

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

105 423 651 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 423 429 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill", or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 241 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the [134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing [23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

1: Cunningham, Alexander. Ladak, Physical, Statistical and Historical, with Notices of the Surrounding Countries. London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1854.

Pp. -xiv, 485, map.

Yale: Eef. Li2. 854.

(Pages Omitted: 420-485 (Chapter XVI, Magnetical Observations and Chapter XVII, Meteorological Observations.)

[The author, a brevet major in the Bengal Engineers, spent part of 1846 and 1847 in Ladak and this work is a result of his investigations. Organized topically, there is extensive coverage of the physical aspects of the country - climate, geology, distribution of lakes, rivers and springs and so forth - and briefer discussions of the sociological and cultural aspects of the region. File slips for this source will be found in AJ4 W. Tibet, except for pages 27-40 which have been filed either in AV2 Balti or AV3 Dard. The historical section, Chapter XII, pp. 316-355, will be found mainly in 175 since a fuller treatment of the same material is available in Francke, Antiquities of India and Tibet. --Analyst]

Field date: 1846-47
Analyst: Ben Zimmerman

Evaluation: Government Official-3
Processed in 1955

2: Ramsay, Captain H. Western Tibet: A Practical Dictionary of the Language and Customs of the Districts Included in the Ladák Wazarat. Lahore: W. Ball & Co., Government Printers, 1890.

Pp. viii, 190.

Yale: Fvr 67.R 14

Omitted from Files: Only the sections of the dictionary containing cultural information other than purely linguistic have been included in the files. These sections have been separately typed. The original text does not appear in the files. The pagination indicated above is that of the original text. On the pages typed from that text page, numbers from the original text appear in brackets. The numbers so bracketed indicate the beginning of a page. In general errata in the original text have not been corrected.

[This is a dictionary of the language and customs of Ladak written by a former British Joint Commissioner in Ladak. Entries are most extensive and detailed in the case of lamaism and its associated beliefs and practices, land holdings, inheritance, marriage customs and taxation. Although the author intended his work to be of primary

2: Ramsay, Captain H.

use as a practical handbook for government officials, his descriptions are in general detailed and thorough. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: René Millon

Evaluation: Government Official-3
Processed in 1955

5: Ribbach, Samuel Heinrich. Drogpa Namgyal: ein Tibeterleben /Drogpa Namgyal: The Life of a Tibetan/. München-Planegg: Otto Wilhelm Barth - Verlag GMBH, 1940.

Pp. 263; 29 plates; notes. /HRAF MS: Pp. 252; 29 plates./

Yale: Bj19.T4.940R DLC: DS785.R5. DLC card No.: 41-1466.

Translated from the German by Richard Neuse for the Human Relations Area Files.

/This is an account of Tibetan life through the fictionalized history, from birth to death, of an individual. It describes in great detail the religious ceremonies and customary practices associated with childbirth, marriage, sickness and death. The author is particularly concerned with the religious beliefs and practices of the common people. The economic and political life of the Tibetans is also touched upon slightly. Included at the end of the narrative is a translation by Ribbach from the Tibetan of a description of Tibetan burial customs.
Ribbach was in Tibet from 1892 to 1913 as a Moravian missionary. The description betrays in some measure his personal biases. During World War I he was in Europe and assisted at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, where he was associated with Thilenius, Konow and Meinhof. He wrote some papers on Tibet under their guidance and later wrote this account which is based upon materials he gathered during his 20-year stay./

Field date: no date Evaluation: Missionary-5
Analyst: Robert Lee Processed in 1956, 1966

111 AJ4 W. Tibetans

6: Gazetteer of the Kangra District. Vol. II: Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti. Calcutta, Punjab Government, 1883-4.

Pp. i-viii, 77-149.

Library of Congress: DS485.P16A2. Col. 18. Pt. 2.

[This is a study of two cantons, Lahaul and Spiti, in the Kangra District of the Punjab. Its purpose is to give a concise picture of the institutions, customs, manners, and morals of the peoples concerned, as well as the differences between them. There is considerable material on land tenure, family and household, polyandry, the characteristic religion of the cantons, flora, fauna, geography and so forth. In addition, there are data on the historic changes which have taken place, particularly the Regular Settlement which the British imposed with regard to land rights and taxation. Part 2 of Volume II concerns Kulu, another canton, and will be included in another file. Part I of the study has not as yet been processed, though it may be included in the files at a later date. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1840-1883 Evaluation: Government Official-5
Analyst: Ben Zimmerman Processed in 1955

7: Francke, A.H. A Language Map of West Tibet with Notes. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume 73, Part 1, No. 4, pp. 362-367 and plate vii. Calcutta, 1904.

Yale: Fd12.R8.v.73 [1]

[The author of this source submits his belief that the north-western portions of Ladakh were once peopled by Dard tribes. Khalatse is the village he has chosen to discuss in terms of its possible Dard origin. He offers as evidence the historical recollections of the people, the Dard names of many pha-spunships, remnants of the Dard language, and the survival of Dard customs. A language map of West Tibet and notes on dialectical differences are also included.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Cory Berman

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1956, 1966

8; Calvert, H. Notes on Customs and Beliefs in Spiti. The Indian Antiquary. Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 49-51. Bombay, 1909.

Yale: Bj41.07.38.

[This article contains notes on the customs of Spiti, in the Kangra District of the Panjab. Included are discussions of marriage and divorce, childbirth, adoption, and religion. Definitions of native terms are found in category 104. --Analyst]

Field date: 1904
Analyst: Helen Marbury

Evaluation: Government Official-3
Processed in 1955

AJ4 W. Tibetans
Ladak

9: Francke, A. H Some Notes on Ladakhi Currency. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 456. Bombay, 1901.

Yale: Bj41. 07. 30

[This is a brief note on the various media of exchange used in Ladak, together with some historical information on the introduction of coins into the country and etymologies of a number of words used in connection with exchange. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Ben Zimmerman

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1955

10: Francke, A. H. The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, pp. 131-149. Bombay, 1901.

Yale: Bj41. 07. 30.

[This is a short article by Rev. Francke, a missionary, on the marriage ritual in Ladak. It is composed mainly of the songs used in the ritual, both in Ladaki and in English translation, and commentaries upon them. Since Rev. Francke was interested in comparative mythology, there are also some theoretical formulations, such as a comparison of Ladaki myths with those of other cultures and a discussion of the swastika symbol. In the article, the author refers to songs which appear in his book, Ladakhi Songs. (See category 113.) This book was not available for processing at the time the present article was included in the Files. --Analyst]

Field Date: None
Analyst: Ben Zimmerman

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1955

AJ4 W. Tibetans

11: Singh, Dr. Bhagwan. Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). Man, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141-143. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1933.

Yale: Nk10.+ M31. v. 32-33.

[This is an account by an eye witness of the disposal of a corpse, by mutilation, in Spiti. --Analyst]

Field date: 1932
Analyst: Ben Zimmerman

Evaluation: Doctor-5
Processed in 1955

12: Douglas, William O. Beyond the High Himalayas. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1953.

Pp. 352; index; 2 maps; 4 appendices.

HRAF copy.

Omitted from Files: Part I, chapters 1-4, pp. 19-54; Part II, chapters 1-7, pp. 237-324; Appendices 1-3, pp. 325-331. See bibliographical note below.

[Most of the first section of Justice Douglas' travel book is devoted to a discussion of Western Tibet, especially Ladakh. There is considerable ethnographic data on polyandry, lamaism, the relationship between poverty in Ladakh and the extensive landholdings of the lamas, as well as descriptions of the topography of the region, its inhabitants, their dress, customs, and folklore. Only the sections directly concerned with Western Tibet have been processed for the Files. Not included are Chapters 1-4 which are concerned with Justice Douglas' preparations for the trip and his experiences on the way to Western Tibet, and Part II which is devoted to a discussion of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Appendices 1, Justice Douglas' itinerary, 2, Elevations of Main Points on Himalayan Trek, and 3 which contains Hints for Himalayan Travel have also been omitted. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951
Analyst: Ben Zimmerman

Evaluation: Traveler-3
Processed in 1955

13: Heber, A. Reeve and Kathleen M. Heber. In Himalayan Tibet. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926.

Pp. xvi, 283; folded map.

Yale: Eef. L12. 913

[This is an informal account of the West Tibetan peoples of Ladak, with primary emphasis on descriptions of certain of the religious customs and ceremonies of Lamaism. The authors practiced medicine in Ladak over a period of 12 years. This is both a travel account of one of their journeys to Ladak and a series of short sketches of various aspects of Ladaki life. Agricultural activities are not dealt with and economic relationships in general are given light treatment. The descriptions of ceremonial activities are written from the point of view of passive outside observers and thus contain little or no explanation of the significance to the Ladaki of the ceremonies described. --Analyst]

Field date: 1914-25 Evaluation: Doctor-3
Analyst: René Millon Processed in 1955

111 AJ4 West Tibetans

14: Asboe, Walter. Farmers and Farming in Ladakh (Tibetan Kashmir). Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, vol. XXXIV, pp. 186-192, London, 1947.

Yale: Bj23.17.34

[The title of this article indicates accurately its content, which contains only incidental references to other aspects. The author wrote with familiarity through long acquaintance with the people. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Samuel Chu

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1955

15:Francke, A.H. Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/. Hagen i. W. Und Darmstadt: Folkwang Verlag G.M.B.H., 1923.

Pp. 1-71; 18 plates

Yale: Fvr 96. +GF 85.1 /HRAF MS. Pp. 1-117/

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by R. Neuse.

/This is a study by a missionary-folklorist of Western Tibetan mythology, with particular emphasis on the wedding songs, the symbollism contained in them, and the ritual in which they are used. There is a fairly extensive introduction in which various aspects of the mythology are discussed: the Kesar Saga, the wedding songs, the cosmology, the divinities of the points of the compass, color symbollism, favorite numbers, minor spirits called Agus, animism, cult places and the festivals of the ancient Tibetan religion. In transcribing the wedding songs, the HRAF translator used an already available translation which in many instances diverges from the German. These divergences are indicated by notes within the text. Also, Francke refers to collections of songs

15: Francke, A.H.

other than those which he includes in this source. On pages 1-8 of the introduction, these other collections (as well as the songs in this source) are identified. --Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: Ben Zimmerman

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1956

AJ4 West Tibetans
Lahul

16: Asboe, Walter. Social Functions in Lahul, Kāngra District, Panjāb. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LXIII, pp. 189-205. London, 1933.

Yale: Nk10+R81. v. 63.

[This is an account of organized ceremonial activities and associated festivals among the peasantry of the Lahul region of western Tibet. Ceremonies and festivals are reported upon as they occur throughout the year. Offerings and sacrifices are described and line drawings of the offerings and the vessels containing them are supplied. Associated prayers, hymns and songs are included, both in the native text and in translation. Little is said of the relationship between these ceremonial activities and everyday life, except in the case of certain specifically identified agricultural rituals. The author concludes with his evaluation of the importance of ceremonial activities in the life of the Lahul peasant. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: René Millon

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1955

17: Asboe, Rev. Walter. The Scape-Goat in Western Tibet. Man, Vol. XXXVI, No. 96, pp. 74-75. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1936.

Yale: Nk10. + M31. v. 36-37

[This is a brief account of the ceremonial practice of releasing human and animal scape-goats in West Tibet and Tibet proper for the purpose of absolving local communities from moral impurities-- Analyst.]

Field date: none
Analyst: René Millon

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1955

18: Asboe, Rev. Walter. Sacrifices in Western Tibet. Man, Vol. XXXVI, No. 97, pp. 75-76. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1936.

Yale: Nk 10. M31. v. 36-37.

[This is a brief account of human and animal sacrifice by the peasantry in western Tibet and includes some indication of the circumstances under which such sacrifices occur. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: René Millon

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1955

19: Asboe, Walter. Agricultural Methods in Lahoul, Western Tibet. Man, Vol. XXXVII, No. 90, pp. 74-77. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937.

Yale: Nk 10+M31 v. 36-37.

[This is a brief account of the land tenure system, agricultural methods, division of labor, annual cycle, regulation of water supply, size of holdings, and domestic animals of the peasantry of the Lahul region of western Tibet. Brief accounts of the usurious relationship between the monasteries and poorer peasants and general conclusions on the economic status of the peasantry are included. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: René Millon

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1955

111

AJ4 West Tibetans
Ladak

20: Asboe, Walter. Social Festivals in Ladakh Kashmir. Folk-Lore, vol. XLIX, pp. 376-389, London, Folk-Lore Society, 1938.

Yale: Nkg10. F72. v. 101.

[This article describes briefly eight calendric festivals. Seven illustrations accompany the text. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Samuel Chu

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1955

21: Asboe, Rev. Walter. Notes on Childbirth in Manchat (Western Tibet). Man, Vol. XXXII, No. 161, p. 139. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1932.

Yale: Nk10. and M31. v. 32-33

[This is a brief account of childbirth and the religious practices accompanying it in the Manchat district of West Tibet--Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: René Millon

Evaluation: Missionary-3
Processed in 1955

AJ4 W. Tibetans

22: Franke, H. A Collection of Ladakhi Proverbs. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 69, Part I (1900), pp. 135-148. Calcutta, 1901.

Yale: Fd12.R81. v.69L'

/ A collection of Ladakhi proverbs. The collection presents (a) the proverbs in the native orthography, (b) a romanized transliteration, (c) a literal translation, (d) an interpretation or application, and (e) grammatical and other notes. --Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: L. Levine

Evaluation: M-3
Processed in 1955

23: Peter, Prince of Greece. Tibetan, Toda, and Tiya Polyandry: A Report on Field Investigations. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Series 2, Vol. 10, pp. 210-225. New York, 1948.

Yale: A53n. 558. II 10-11

[This source is a reprint of a paper the author delivered before the N. Y. Academy of Science on March 9, 1948. The author chose to study polyandry because "It is of great interest to the psychoanalysts to be able to find societies in which people live under a different family organization, since the structure of the human psyche, as found in the West, is very closely linked with the family organization we have here.... and polyandry seemed to be the most radically different type of organization...." The author and his wife visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Toda for six months in 1939, and the Tiyas for about a month, the work having been interrupted by the war. In addition to descriptions of the above mentioned institutions, the source contains some miscellaneous information about such things as dress, house types, and ceremonial among the peoples visited. --Analyst]

Field date: 1938-1939
Analyst: L. Levine

Evaluation: Ethnologist--3
Processed in 1955

24: Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark. A Study of Polyandry. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1963.

Pp. 601; introduction; 44 plates; 4 figures; 2 sketches; 6 maps; 48 tables; 2 appendices; bibliography.

Personal copy of C. S. Ford

Only pp. 301-394 and accompanying tables 26-37, maps iv and v, and sketch 1, have been processed for this file.

[This source is the first part of Chapter 4 of a comprehensive study of polyandry and deals with the polyandry of the Tibetans of Western Tibet (Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak). Although background information is given on each area, the bulk of the material describes individual polyandrous households and gives genealogical charts for each. The data were collected by the author during four months' field work in 1938. The bibliography for the source appears only in category 113]

Field date: 1938
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1966

113, 526 W. Tibetans AJ4

[For information about the game of polo, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, p. 381.]

113, 133

W. Tibetans AJ4

[For information pertaining to topography, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 222-238, 260-355.]

[For information pertaining to the Tibetan language, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 469-470.]

[For information on kinship terminology in West Tibet, see 19: Benedict, AJ1 Tibet, category 116--Analyst]

S
536
796
113

Sikkim AK3
Bhutan AK2
W. Tibetans AJ4

B
536
796
113

[For descriptions of mystery plays acted by the lamas of the old school, see 10: Waddell, AJ1 Tibet, pp. 521 et passim.]

WT
536
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113

1: Cunningham AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

113 [The following pages contain references to other works concerned with W. Tibet. They have not been marked for the 113 category or collated on a separate slip because of the inadequacy of the bibliographical information. --Analyst.]

Pp. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 43, 49, 51, 53, 55, 63, 69, 71, 84, 90, 101, 103, 132, 143, 149, 197, 201, 203, 205, 210, 227, 233, 264, 291, 298, 312, 317, 329, 359, 363, 369.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Tibet by Warren Hastings. The Dalai Lama,* or Grand Lama of Lhasa, was then in his minority, and the country was ruled by the Tashi Lama of Tashi Lhunpo. No account of this mission has been preserved, which is the more to be regretted as Bogle would seem to have been a man of superior intelligence. 175

14. In A.D. 1783 a second mission was despatched by Warren Hastings to Tibet. Captain Turner, the head of the mission, succeeded in reaching Tashi Lhunpo, but he was prevented from going to Lhasa "by a consideration of the present state of that government,"† as the *Gyal sub Rinpoche* "had usurped, even from the hands of the Dalai Lama, the greatest portion of his temporal power." The Regent of Tashi Lhunpo also dissuaded‡ the envoy from making the attempt, for fear of offending the Chinese. Captain Turner's account of his embassy is the most curious and interesting work on Tibet that has yet appeared.

A Chinese work, called "Notice of the Provinces of Weï and Tsang," was written by *Ma-shao-yun*, the Commissary-General of the Chinese army, which was sent to expel the Gorkhas from Tibet in 1786.§ His account is short but interesting, especially in the notices of the various religious festivals. 175 113

The adventurous Moorcroft lived for two whole years in Ladák, from September 1820 to September 1822. His account of the country is marked by great shrewdness of observation, and by the most scrupulous accuracy. A more truthful chronicler than Moorcroft never lived. 175

* *Ta-lhi-bLa-ma*, is the Dalai Lama of Europeans.

† Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet, by Capt. Samuel Turner. ‡ Turner's Tibet, 4to. p. 253.

§ Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, tom. iv. et vi.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and beginning of September 1847, when the northern side seemed generally bare. The absence of snow on the Pyramidal Peak of Porgyal, 20,106 feet, is more to the purpose, as it is certain that the Gerards could only have seen this peak from the south and west. On crossing the Manerang Pass, on the 30th of August, Alexander Gerard found the last half mile was over the perpetual snow, which he distinguishes from the fresh covering of the former night, in which the foot sank from three to twelve inches. On descending the Pass to the north, he "travelled over the snow for a mile." On recrossing the Pass, on the 7th September, he found that "the snow had not descended above 400 feet; but the great field of ages had a new and deep covering."* The snow, therefore, remains for the whole year on the Manerang Pass. /32 /33x

From the Manerang Pass, Alexander Gerard observed "very distinctly the Paralasa (Bara Lácha) range, covered with snow." I estimate the height of this part of the range at 19,500 feet. On the 8th September, 1847, I found no snow on the southern face of the Parang Pass, 18,500 feet, but there was a glacier one mile and a half in length, on the northern face, on which the snow was frozen hard. Snow was lying in patches on many of the peaks, at about 19,000 feet, but chiefly on the western and southern faces. The exposed faces to the north and east were bare. In September 1846, I crossed the Bara Lácha Pass, 16,500 feet, twice; and on both occasions found it entirely free from snow. The Umási-lá, 18,123 feet, was crossed by Dr. Thomson, in June, at which time it was, of course, covered with snow: but it was not clear in October 1846, when traversed by Vazir Gusaun, the minister of the Mandi Raja. In this part

* Alexander Gerard's Tour of 1821, pp. 155-56, Calcutta edition. /13

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 Chapter I.

The District.

Villages and scenery in Spiti.

formation of sandstone and lime before alluded to. The valley is similarly described by Mr. Theobald :—

"All along the course of the Spiti river are seen old river terraces or deposits of shingle and sand, reaching to a height of some 400 feet above the present river level. Behind these regular deposits, rise almost mountainous accumulations of *débris*, precipitated by frost from the abruptly scarped limestone cliffs bounding the valley. The height of this gravelly mass mainly depends on the height of the cliff at whose base it has accumulated, but not uncommonly reaches to 1,500 or 2,000 feet above the river." In the depth of the valley the soft soil of the cliffs which shut in the river-bed has been hollowed out by the action of time and water into fantastic shapes. "Out of a soil of clay and bold rock," writes Captain Harcourt, "uprise rough monument-like masses that are not a little peculiar in appearance, for they are crenelated and honey-combed all over with deep holes and apertures as if scooped out by art, supporting on their summits great boulders of stone which in all probability have kept the masses underneath from wearing altogether away."

132 Climate of Spiti.

[133]

The seasons in Spiti correspond generally with those of Láhaul; though the spring is somewhat later, and the winter of longer duration. The mean elevation of the villages is considerably higher than in Láhaul, averaging 12,000 feet or over, and rising as high as 14,000. Snow begins to fall in December, and remains on the ground until the end of April, but seldom exceeds a depth of 2½ feet, which is less than in Láhaul. The cold during the winter is very severe and is aggravated by violent and piercing winds. Slight showers of rain fall in July and August, though the district is beyond the regular influence of the monsoon; severe frosts set in before the close of September, in which month Mr. Lyall records that a stream of water he had observed at night running down a slope from a broken canal, was turned into solid ice by the morning. "The climate," he adds, "is a remarkably healthy one; excepting a few simple complaints, such as colic or rheumatism; sickness appears to be almost unknown." He saw in his sojourn in the valley no cases of goitre or critinism, and remarks that "the muscular development of both men and women looks large and hard compared with that of the people on the south side of the Himalayas." In the summer Captain Harcourt records that the days are exceptionally hot. The mean temperature of the Upper Spiti valley is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows :—

[64]

[142]

January	...	...	...	...	17°
April	...	...	...	...	35°
July	...	...	...	...	60°
Autumn	...	...	...	...	39°
Year	...	...	...	...	39·4°

197 Flora.

[13]

For an account of the flora and vegetable productions of Láhaul, reference should be made to Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal, which contains an excellent paper upon the subject by Dr. J. E. T. Aitchison, a Civil Surgeon on the Punjáb establishment, and late British Joint-Commissioner at Léh. The hills of Spiti are, as has been already stated, bare and devoid of forest. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subterranean tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are ocasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

Chapter II. History.

After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála.

History of Láhaul.

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

9:Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

●113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.
175 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years
436 ago, there do not seem to have been many silver
651 coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and
[437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 However, once a year the taxes due to the
436 Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver,
804 and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.
1 [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary -- ANALYST]

10: Francke

AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

● 113

Francke, A. H. Kesar Myths of Western Tibet. Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, No. XV. Helsingfors, 1900.
Francke, A. H. Ladakhi Songs. Leh, Ladakh, 1899.
Grünwedel. Mythologie des Buddhismus.

12: Douglas AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
113

The following books and articles are referred to by Justice Douglas:

Bell: The Religion of Tibet
Bruce: Kulu and Lahoul
Forman: Through Forbidden Tibet
Kamal: Land Without Laughter
Thomas: Lowell Jr.: Out of this World
Roosevelt, T.: East of the Sun and West of the Moon
Shawn, Ted: Gods Who Dance
Steele: The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La. Saturday Evening Post, April 13, 1946
Cutting, Suydam: The Fire Ox and Other Years

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the snow having now receded to the distant hills and left our path clear, and by about three p.m. reached Dras.

But we must not, in all fairness to the Zogi, leave it as though its presiding demons always held sway. In the three months of July, August and September, this dreaded road loses all its difficulties and is transformed into one of nature's most beautiful flower gardens. A visitor to Leh re-crossing it at the end of August describes it as follows : " The Zogi on our return journey was one vast flower garden and rockery, impossible in its wealth of beauty to describe. From my pony's back, I counted seventy different wild flowers crossing the Zogi La alone. There were carpets of edelweiss and blue gentian, mauve daisies, yellow ragwort, pink 'coralflower' and rich purple pelargonium. The whole hillside in one part would be sky blue with a sheet of forget-me-nots, further beyond the rich verdure of the grass there would be a mass of pink or mauve where the flower grew in rich profusion."* After the bare hills of Ladak, the green slopes are extraordinarily verdant, and large flocks of sheep and goats are brought up here from the Plains in summer to pasture. We were particularly interested, one August, when stopping for the night at Machoi on our way down, to notice one of these enormous flocks pass near the rest-house in single file. One after another they came in unceasing procession, over one thousand of them, tall Kashmiri goats with their look of foolish fearfulness ludicrously mixed with the patriarchal solemnity lent by their tufted beards, all of them so expressive, and many with irrisistibly humorous resemblances to one's human acquaintances, sheep of all sorts, mothers bleating and young ones following: it seemed as if they would never end. Fortunately for us their shepherds had set up a little camp quite near us at the foot of the great glacier behind Machoi, and we were able to procure a little fresh goat's milk from them instead of resorting to tins. With the words and tune of the

* *Tales of Tirah and Lesser Tibet.* Mrs. Lilian Starr.

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism. 771 127

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival. 539

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann 539 794 113

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the 773 539 171

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. And this same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The textI have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

539 113 gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, from which the text and the notes were published in J & P ASB., /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/ Vol. III, p. 121 ff.

539 115 [553] 113 In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about forty English miles below Leh, I made the acquaintance of a man who was called dKon-mchog-bkra-shis. His surname name rGya-mthso-pa derived from the circumstance that he had married into the house of rGya-mthso-pa in Khalatse. Actually, however, he came from Lerdo (Lai-rdo) across from sKyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). This man possessed extensive knowledge about the Kesar saga, and for this reason he was invited to recite at all family festivals in the village. His version apparently originated in Lerdo in Purig. For many weeks I worked with this singer and with the scribe and teacher of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, and in this way I obtained the version of the Kesar saga that I have called the "Lower Ladakhi Version." This /3/ has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica under the numbers 1134, 1151, 1164, and 1218. dKon-mchog-brka-shis material was however, not yet exhausted with this. He continued with his narratives and now reported the adventures of the chief heroes of the sagas besides Kesar. I have published these sagas under the title: "The Paladins of the Kesarsaga," in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 10, Vol. III, No. 2, Vol. III, No. 5.

539 113 In all the publications in India I gave the text in its entirety, but I had to dispense with a translation because of lack of time. Instead of a translation I appended to each chapter a detailed table of contents and lists of the proper names and of the uncommon words. The Lower Ladakhi Version contains the entire material of the Kesar saga, as indicated below. For the most part, therefore, it covers the same ground as the Sheh version. Yet it contributes not only new elements with respect to the style of the poetic passages, but also a great many interesting and important variants.

The collection, The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, on the other hand, contains entirely new material, under the following headings: 1. Kesar's beloved Mon (man of a low caste). 2. The story of the hero sKyaba-rgod-po (lJan war). 3. The story of the hero Shel-gyi-bu-zhun. 4. The story of the hero rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

585 539 II. The Wedding Songs (Nyo-pai-glu). At each wedding in the region of the West Tibetans (Ladakh, Purig, and so forth), the following ceremony is performed: Seven friends of the bridegroom, who call themselves Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, "The buyers, the seven

brothers," go, if possible on horseback, to the bride's house in order 585
to buy the bride for the bridegroom. The bride's relatives will not 539
admit them until they have proved their honorable descent by answering a long series of questions addressed to them in the form of songs. As soon as an answer has been given incorrectly, the inhabitants of the house, who are armed with osier twigs, rain blows on the seven men. The songs used on this occasion represent a kind of catechism in the pre-Buddhistic religion of the country. The same thing applies to them as to the Kesar saga. The further West we go, the more complete they are. I first observed this particular ceremonial in the village of Stog, which lies opposite Leh. There they were finished with the question-and-answer ritual in the shortest possible time, and the wedding feast constituted the climax of the celebration. In Khalatse, to which I removed from Leh, the question-and-answer game lasted much longer. Since I was unable to understand anything of the content of the songs during the performance, I requested the leader of the Nyo-pa to dictate these questions and answers slowly to the [24]
scribe of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin. In this way I obtained a copybook of eighteen songs, each in two parts. I went through these carefully with the scribe and soon arrived at an understanding of the 585
first nine. These nine I published in the Indian Antiquary, giving 113
the text, a translation, and annotations. They appeared there under 539
the title, "The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual." Neither the scribe nor I understood the second part of the songs at that time. By now I am somewhat better able to recognize their meaning, and the songs of the second part will also be used in the following presentation. After the song of the Nyo-pa had been delivered to me, one day someone told me that the question-and-answer game of the wedding celebrants was not yet finished with these songs, and that this game was, in fact, continued during the wedding feast. At that time, he said, they sang the so-called chan-glu, the "beer song." Again I had a transcription made of this song, which I published at my own expense by having about fifty copies printed on the missionary lithographic press in Leh. These appeared (with text only) in 1903 under the title, "Die Trinklieder von Khalatse" /The Drinking Songs of Khalatse/. Although several of these songs have very important mythological content, many others are, nevertheless, of a purely diverting nature. They propose riddles such as one might expect on special occasions in gay circles among all peoples. /4/ [273]
Of special interest is the song which describes in detail the origin and preparation of Tibetan beer (chan).

III. The Hymns of the Spring Festival (Glin-glu). When the spring festival is celebrated in Western Tibet (Ladakh, and so on), hymns are sung which bear the name Glin-glu, "Songs from the Land of Glin." In these hymns King Kesar and the deities mentioned in the Kesar saga are honored. Without a certain knowledge of the Kesar saga, these songs would remain unintelligible. Without exerting myself particularly, I managed to get my hands on two such hymn collections as I was looking around for folk songs. From the village Phyi-dban, eight English miles below Leh, I obtained a manuscript prepared there, which contained the nine hymns of the Kesar festival that are customarily used in that village. In Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, who has already been mentioned above, wrote down for me the nine hymns that were sung there. I published the first collection in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, with text, English translation, and notes. The second collection is to be found in my "Ladakhi Songs," where it is printed under Nos. XXI-XXIX. These two important collections are accompanied by a briefer third one, consisting of five festival songs which a member of the Bheda caste in the village of Sheh (Shel) wrote down for me, songs traditional in that village. In addition, I should mention that scattered parts of such festival songs are also to be found here and there in my collections of folk songs, just as here and there some wedding songs are to be found taken out of their context. /5/ Such a one is to be found, for instance, in Ladakhi Songs, No. 30, "The Carpet of the Bride Buyers."

IV. Now, after the main sources of the Glin-chos have been established, I must speak of yet a fourth type of songs of a religious nature which, however, do not seem to fit into the framework of the Glin-chos. I published one of these in my Ladakhi Songs as No. 15. But this is not a happy example, since it is composed of two wedding songs, whereas the original song has been lost. Better types are afforded by my as yet unpublished collection of songs from Sheh. From this collection it appears that as a theme for the harvest songs they chose the creation of the world and the origin of the gifts of nature, in particular, wheat. But the myth of the creation of the world, as we find it here, is in contrast to the version in the Kesar saga. In the harvest song the earth rises up out of the waters of the ocean, while in the Kesar saga it is formed out of the body of a slain giant. Now the myth in the harvest songs of Sheh (Shel) corresponds in a curious way with the Dard song about the creation of the world, such as we find it written down in the Dard collection of hymns of

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
773

1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[113]

[841] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who introduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situ-
776 ated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to
[823] the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already under-
[788] taken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-rgyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

the idea of the wreckage of an earlier world that has perished is probably to be thought of. 773 772

Gog-bzan-lha-mo, as well as upon the mother animals and treasures, and all begin to give birth.

According to the Dard version, which can be pursued from mDa all the way to Shel east of Leh, the earth rose up out of the world ocean and was then sown with seeds. Here we are dealing with trees and with types of grain (3).

3. This so-called Dard version probably came early to the Dard together with Buddhism. This saga is to be found in the Kandschur, La Vol. 26 of the mDo class. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, Csoma de Koros.) [113]

The contrast between Tibetan and Dard could not be expressed more clearly than is done in the myths about the origin of the world. The Tibetan as a nomad and a hunter speaks only of the animal world. The Dard, as an industrious tiller of the soil, speaks only of the plant world. On the other hand, neither tells of the first appearance of man. The "Prelude to the Kesar Saga" begins immediately with a "primitive father" and a "primitive mother," and these are assumed to have as independent an existence as the gods, the earth mother, and the Nagas.

Since the primitive animals play such an important part in the mythology, occupying a place next to the sun and the moon, yes, even at the side of the gods, the most important of them will be enumerated here: Of Gog-bzan-lha-mo are born: sun and moon high up in the sky; Sen-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise mane /literally: locks/," the personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the queen of heaven; on the high mountain, Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds," on the high cliff (according to another version Skyin-chen-ba-rgan, "the big old ibex" is born there); rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "White mouth, originating from the kiang," a horse of the steppes; Nya-mo-gser-mig, "fish golden eye," in the middle of the sea; aBron-byun-rog-po, "the evil one stemming from the wild yak," a yak, on the meadow; a few other animals, among them three frogs, a golden one, a blue one, and a white one, have become the best known. 776 773

Among the mother animals that have been taken from the ruined castle, the most famous ones are: Thsa-ldan, a mare; Khyi-mo-dkar-

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in 776
particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are 753
enumerated: 773

> At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
> Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
> In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
> In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how 769
matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should [775] be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet.

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is [95] heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha:-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's de- [113] ceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.)

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu (Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po, rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCL in my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water SNAKES.

782 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters
826 of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called srun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During
[764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the
[266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have collected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this prac-
[113] tice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of
[533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113]

2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z.D.M.G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Ribbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

771 son of the king of heaven, was worshiped on earth as the bringer of
773 spring. From him and from his wife aBru-gu-ma people expected the blessing of a harvest and of offspring. With respect to the life after death they had entirely animistic conceptions.

● 113 In the saga of "Kesar's Beloved Mon" (Journal and Proceedings
773 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II. p. 467) we read that this
775 Mon had been killed by being pushed off a cliff. When Kesar approached the corpse, he heard a voice speaking from it. He opened the dead body with his knife and out of it came two Mon devils, one male and one female. These devils Kesar carried home, wrapped up in a piece of cloth. In the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po we read the following (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 321): the Agu mDa-dpon-gon-ma had been killed and had been entombed in a stupa. But people were very much worried that he might still be full of thoughts of revenge. For this reason an old hermit advised them to walk respectfully around the stupa of the dead Agu until a lizard came out of it and nodded its head. All this is fulfilled, and the dead man, moreover, is kind enough to give his son, who is praying to him, a piece of advice. This advice concerns an arrow which would be of particularly great use to him in battle.

In the saga dealing with Kesar's victory over the devil (or giant) Khya-ba (Khya-ba (Khyab-pa)-lag-rins (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 1164, p. 278) it is stated that the enraged Bam-za-abum-skyid went to the grave of this giant, her former husband, and that she roared into the grave. As an answer to her roar there was an earthquake. (The giant moved in his grave.) Thereupon Kesar rushed to the giant's grave and chanted magical formulas into the grave until it became impossible for its occupant to leave it.

From all this we can see that, though it was impossible for the ancient Tibetans to conceive of death /32/ as a complete annihilation of life, nevertheless, after what has been stated above, there can be no question of a conception of an idealized form of existence that will take place after death.

Such a delightful, disembodied life is led on the Olympus of the Tibetans, the mountain peaks of the Gans-ri (Kailasa). In the account that I wrote of my journey from upper Sutlej to the upper Indus, in 1909 (see Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 37) there is the following passage with respect to the Pu-rgyal mountain peak: "The baggage carriers of Chan pointed to those mountain peaks and said
773 that up there was the magical country (aBa-yul), the dwelling place
775 of the spirits. The inhabitants of this place are supposed to be very

20; Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

COLLECTANEA

SOCIAL FESTIVALS IN LADAKH KASHMIR

184 In that part of Western Tibet called Ladakh social functions differ in certain respects from those which exist in Lahul, though the inhabitants in both districts share a common language, Tibetan.

A

796 The New Year[1] festival begins on the 10th month of the
373 Tibetan calendar, continuing from the 25th until the 30th day. On the 25th day of that month each household prepares 30–40 little receptacles which serve as small lamps for illuminating the house. These are called *Bu-La*, and are made from the residue of mustard seed from which the oil has been extracted by pressure. The mustard oil is then poured into one such little lamp and a wick put in to float in it. These little lamps are lit at 8 o'clock in the evening. One such lamp is placed in the window of each room in the

[1] *New Year*

My Tibetan informant told me that originally the Ladakhis celebrated their New Year in the 12th month of their calendar as is the custom in other parts of Tibet, but in 1841–42 when the Dogras invaded Western Tibet and subjugated it, the Ladakhis decided to celebrate their new year in the 10th month so as to enable them to fight the invader. It is said that a large number of the Ladakhis having determined to take their wives and children along with them to the war, they were finally induced to forgo fighting altogether rather than expose their families
[113] to the dangers and rigours of war. (For information concerning the conquest of the Western Empire of Tibet, see Dr. A. H. Francke's "A History of Western Tibet".) The Ladakhi new year has therefore been observed in the 10th month ever since.

23: Benedict
197, 113, 601

ALl Southeast Asia
West Tibetans AJ4
Northern Tribes AW45
Pahari AW14

/For a linguistic reconstruction of kinship terminology of several Tibetan-speaking peoples of India, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 52-74./

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had
292 heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls of
574 Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary
534 bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal.
[113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
West Tibetans AJ4
Toda AW60
Tibet AJ1
[p. 594]

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Kashmir AV1

[For information on the Kashmiri administration of Ladak, see 2: Ramsay, AJ4 West Tibetans, category 116, pp 24-25, 43--Analyst]

114

[For a book review of 24: Peter, see 26: Berreman, AJ1 Tibet, category 136.]

2: Ramsay--i G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 121 114 128

PREFACE

No Dictionary has yet been published dealing with the language and customs of the several districts of Western Tibet, viz., Ladák, Nubra, Roopshoo, and Tángtsey, which are collectively spoken of by Europeans as "Ladák."

When first appointed here, I much felt the want of such a book, and, therefore, for my own use, commenced to compile notes and a vocabulary, which have, during the several years which have since passed, expanded to such dimensions that I last year asked the Government of India to print them. Recently the Government of India has kindly consented to do so.

The notes and vocabulary, which have been revised and much enlarged, are now published under the title of "Western Tibet." The title "Ladák" would for some reasons have been preferable had it not already been appropriated by General Cunningham for an excellent book published by him in 1854.

The present work was not originally intended for the Press, and it has no pretension to scholarly merit: indeed, in cases where the local idea is opposed to the correct classical view, the latter has been ignored, my object being to record only local ideas, customs, pronunciation, etc.

To my successors in office, and to any Europeans who may have occasion to visit this part of the world, I hope that "Western Tibet" may be useful, as supplying a practical guide to the language and customs of the country.

For the general public it is not intended.

H. RAMSAY, Captain,
British Joint-Commissioner, Ladák.

LEH:
20th June 1890.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 1148 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

563 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary
583 advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of
851 society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than
114 the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find any-
105 where, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not
[473] clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by
[439] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or
563 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no
473 land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to
443 earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and [illegible] personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the
114 same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans
762 do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are
563 not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry. 797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

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MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhaktshal" is used. 195 805

121 Victory"/ which, like so many others, has unfortunately fallen a victim to the inflation. The first part, dealing with the youth, was actually printed there in ten installments. Out of regard for a larger circle of readers, I have deemed it advisable to maintain the (purely fictitious) form of narrative. In this I was encouraged by the agreement of many an expert who advised me to stick to this mode of narrative. The lively, often dramatic accounts of Gau Puntsog were an incentive in themselves for choosing the fictional form, although he was actually not telling a story, but was often describing events that really took place. I consider this work of mine as an attempt to bring the curious people, the Tibetans, with their culture and their mixed religion, Lamaism, which are so difficult for us Westerners to understand, somewhat closer to the comprehension /10/ of those interested than most travel accounts are as a rule capable of doing.
Towards this end the narrative form will probably supply the writer with a more effective means for acquainting the reader with the thoughts and sensations, and with the innermost motives for the actions of a people, than the purely systematic enumeration and description of customs and practices could do.

The narrative ends with the early death of the main character, Drogpa Namgyal. Then there follows, in the manner of a supplement, a description of the funerary customs from the pen of the Tibetan Joseph Gergan in Leh, which I have translated and supplied with annotations.

[114] With the hearty consent of my beloved former colleague, Professor Dr A.H. Francke, I included in the narrative, during his lifetime, a part of the Tibetan wedding songs collected by him, partly in his, and partly in my own translation. Perhaps this will also serve the purpose of possibly finding a larger circle of readers for this valuable collection by Francke, which hitherto has only been known to a small group of experts in the field. By giving a literal rendering of a number of the song texts, proverbs, book titles and the like in Tibetan I aimed to be useful to those who have a knowledge of Tibetan or who are occupied with the study of the language. Tibetan has its own script, formed after the Indian Gupta script; it has 30 letters. Wherever it seemed advisable, I have added the names and literal citations in transcription (in Latin script, following Lepsius' system). This system supplies a number of signs for sounds lacking in German which have also been used so far as was possible.

The Author.

stood crying next to the lonpo. The latter continued, placing his hand on the child's little head: "Yeshu will one day carry off the victory over all Buddhas and gods of the land. And even if we old people will no longer accept his doctrine, at least these children will do so. And then happiness and peace will enter the dark snow-covered land of Tibet."

BURIAL CUSTOMS AMONG THE BUDDHISTIC TIBETANS

by

Josef Gergan (Leh, Ladakh)

Translated from the Tibetan and annotated

by

S. H. Ribbach

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FOREWORD

The work that I append here, dealing with burial customs and interment rites among the Tibetans, was written by Josef Gergan in Leh, Ladakh, a full Tibetan by race. Since my activity as a missionary came to a premature conclusion through the World War, after 21 years of service in Ladakh, it was not possible for me to conclude my studies in this very difficult field there on the spot. Gergan has done his work with thoroughness. As he has written to me, he has extensively questioned the abbot of a neighboring monastery belonging to the reformed Geldanpa sect, as well as a lama of the likewise reformed Drugpa sect (abrugpa), and also a soothsayer and magician (onpo) of the Bon religion. The latter religion stands next to Buddhism and

114 possibly holds an even stronger spell than it does, over the minds of the Tibetans. The information that Gergan received from these men he has written exactly. The Bon priest even supplied him with his "Introduction on how to set the death horoscope," so that he could copy it. Gergan gives in the following study a number of samples of this wisdom of the soothsayers and astrologers, in which frequently the wisdom of the old magicians of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, is reflected.

I have translated Gergan's essay from the Tibetan and have provided it with explanatory notes; for the rest (except for small changes in the order, which seemed necessary), I have changed nothing about the essay. What is here presented is therefore a reproduction of the original Tibetan document, which is faithful to the letter. The additions in parentheses and the majority of the headings are done by myself.

Unlike the reports by Emil Schlagintweit (Buddhism in Tibet), by Waddell (The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism), and the information that I am able to find scattered here and there in the travel accounts by Sven Hedin, Tafel, and others concerning the funeral practices of the Tibetans, Josef Gergan's presentation goes into details to a great extent, and it indicates by a concrete example the richly furnished cult of the dead among the Tibetans. In the same example is reflected the picture of the religion /210/ of Tibet, Lamaism. This religion presents itself to us as a confused tangle of elements belonging to the old animistic religion of the people, of Buddhism, of the Bon religion which penetrated into the country at approximately the same time, of Hinduism, and of other factors. But here our ears are also struck by the cry of fear of a tortured people's soul, tortured by the double fear: First of all of retribution for one's own sinful acts, through the sinister karma; and secondly of the numberless spirits that threaten the soul in all its existential forms both in this world and in the Beyond. And we witness the terrible thing, that the person so racked is driven into the arms of avaricious priests and magicians who swindle and deceive him in the most shameless manner.

S. H. Ribbach.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.

LAHAUL AND SPITI.

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The following pages are not intended as a complete and independent account of Lâhaul and Spiti; but merely as supplementary to the general description of the district contained in Part I, and of the sub-division contained in Part II. Matters special to Lâhaul and Spiti are here discussed; and are, for convenience of reference, arranged under the same headings as in Part I. But for much that is common to the whole district, and especially for statistics, Parts I and II must be consulted.

P.77

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter II. History. History of Spiti.

mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpón* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wazír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gatpos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpón*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by forays. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Cháng Tháng, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wazír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

[1] [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

6; Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsman and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognised institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

1 [See Tibetans, Sec. Source, & Cunningham West Tibetans file -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhaulis and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *chóti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chostím*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B. 648

Land and Land Revenue. 651

British assessment of Láhaul.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—

"The revenue assessed upon this tract was fixed entirely with reference to the trading pursuits of the inhabitants and the pastoral qualities of the country. The soil does not yield sufficient produce to maintain the people, much less to pay a land-tax. The *jama* levied by our predecessors and maintained at the Summary Settlement contained two items which, had they been ascertained at the time, would have been at once remitted. One was a demand of Rs. 500 annually for *firaki*, or fines, which the people had to bear as an additional burden, and to distribute it as they best could among themselves. The second item was also for Rs. 500 on account of grazing dues exacted from the owners of sheep who resorted to Láhaul in the rainy season, as that region, being across the snowy range, is beyond the reach of the periodical monsoons. This revenue would be legitimate enough, only the graziers were residents of our own territory, who during the winter months had already paid a grazing tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 head in the valleys of Kángra. It would not be fair to make these flocks pay double rates, and, as the tax could be collected with greater facility in Kángra than in Láhaul, I determined to remit this item also. Still the balance which devolved upon the inhabitants of Láhaul pressed heavily upon them. The trade, moreover, had become greatly depreciated. The wool and produce of Ladákh were diverted by order of Mahárája Gúlab Singh to routes which led through his own country; for by their passage through our territory the Mahárája lost the opportunity of exacting transit tolls, and our accession had thrown open the carrying trade to any speculator who chose to venture under the rule of our predecessors; the fear of plunder, and the exactions of the Customs Officers, left the trade entirely in the hands of the Láhaulis. On these considerations I determined to reduce the assessment in Láhaul, and I was fortified in this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of travellers, such as Captain A. Cunningham and Captain William Hay, Assistant Commissioner, regarding the poverty of the country and the destitute condition of the inhabitants. The Summary Settlement was fixed originally at Rs. 4,200, but this was lowered the second year on the urgent remonstrance of the people to Rs. 3,200; and finally at the revised Settlement I considered an annual *jama* of Rs. 2,200 as much as the *taluka* could bear."

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

According to Major Hay, the king or Gúlpo of Ladákh prior to 1839 took as revenue for Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 *khals* or *lúds* or grain, 100 *mandis* or iron crow-bars, 34 pieces of Barmour cloth, and 132 reams (*shógu*) of paper. The crow-bars, or the iron to make them, came from Bashhir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles can be made in every house in the country. The paper is made from the fibre of a small plant or grass which grows wild in abundance. The cloth is of very close texture and very lasting. Spiti also paid a tribute of trifling amount to the Rájas of Bashhir and Kúlu, not in recognition in any sense of their sovereignty, but for the privilege of free access for trading purposes. Major Hay's account is, no doubt, generally accurate, but there are some mistakes in it, principally with regard to the grain revenue, the nature of which he does not appear to have fully understood. Each holding was assessed with a fixed number of measures of grain.

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12;/Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

laid my plans carefully. I canvassed the problem of porters, of 122
food, and of equipment at Ranikhet. I planned to return in June 1951, enter the Himalayas through Almora, and take a long trek to Kailas, a historic place of pilgrimage in Tibet.

These well-laid plans were changed by events. By the spring of 121
1951 Tibet was no longer hospitable to Americans. So I moved my operations westward and designed a trek from Manali to Leh. Even so the venture remained what it had been from the beginning—a mountain expedition. And the book was to be about glaciers, high passes, blue poppies, rhododendrons, snow leopards, geology, Himalayan sunsets, and the folk songs of the trails. It was in other words to be a mountain book.

But I planned in ignorance. Before I got where I was going I realized that I was traveling Central Asia as witness to one of the most dramatic and important political stories of the century. The mountains remained, serving as the backdrop for the story; but the story was new, exciting, and disturbing, with precious little relevance to the lofty peaks which looked down on the events that shaped the destiny of Central Asia.

Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts of Pakistan that nestle in the Karakorams are also Central Asia. They are *one world;* the Communist regimes that lie to the north are a *second world;* we of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we have done yesterday or where we are going tomorrow, are still a *third world.* It is the interplay of these *three worlds* that furnishes the underlying theme of the book.

I went first to Afghanistan, where I visited Kabul, the capital, 114
and then turned north and crossed the Hindu Kush by the Shibar Pass, dropping down to the ancient Buddhist town of Bamian. Then I retraced my steps to Kabul and returned to West Pakistan over the Khyber Pass, stopping at the city of Peshawar. From there I went north to the Kingdom of Swat for a brief visit. Then I flew the western stretch of the Himalayas to Gilgit and took some trips into the area that stretches along the Sinkiang border. These journeys preceded the long trek which I made on foot and by pack train from Manali to Leh in the Indian Himalayas. Yet I

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 114 have placed the account of the Himalayan crossing first, because that arrangement facilitates the telling of the political part of these chronicles.

121 The political story cannot be understood unless the country, the people, their institutions and problems, their worries and superstitions are known. One must walk or ride vast and empty regions to know these things about Central Asia. This is not easily done. It requires great physical exertion and adventure into high and distant places. This volume undertakes to present the grass-root environment of the area. I searched out villagers and goat-herds, wandering Tibetans, the men and women who bring the sheep trains down from Sinkiang and Tibet, lamas, and local officials. I tried to learn from them the political, economic, and social scheme of things in this area. I ate and drank and slept with them. I tried to lose myself in their environment in order to see the world through their eyes, to find the measure of their loyalties, to discover their aspirations, and to come to know their worries and fears. When the rigors of the region and the struggles of the people are known, the appalling nature of some of the major problems facing the West will be better understood.

An American mountain book on the Himalayas is yet to be done. If this volume inspires or encourages that project, there will be reward enough. For the Himalayas are the superlative among all peaks—the place which future generations of Americans should make a playground and a laboratory. There are untold peaks to climb, fauna and flora to discover, geological formations to explore, and high trails to traverse. The immediate rewards are exciting and untold; and there are rewards beyond the mountains themselves. One who goes to the Himalayas must first traverse the plains of Pakistan and India. He cannot do that without coming into touch with problems and people that will reach his heart and his mind. If he goes with humility and is patient, he will return with understanding; and understanding of Asia by the West will be the greatest reward which any Himalayan trek can offer.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Washington, D.C., June 12, 1952

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II

The Past Story of Ladak

A VERY cursory glance at the country suffices to show how ancient their civilization must be. Almost every village has its ruins of castle or fort or monastery, perched up on the rocky hillside in apparently inaccessible positions, and in most places will be found the village bard who can recount strange tales of long ago, often breaking out into song in the course of his narrative. But there are many written records, too, for the Buddhist lamas have inscribed the happenings of olden times with golden ink on beautifully polished black paper (in fairy-land surely all records are kept in gold !), and Kings have acquired much merit for themselves by building long prayer walls, and much gratitude from the student of historical research by inserting a tablet of stone on which the name of the builder and certain valuable bits of historical information are engraved. By the laborious study of such records Dr. Francke, the modern historian of Western Tibet, has been able to piece together a connected, albeit fragmentary history of the country. A brief glance at this will give us the historical background necessary for the understanding of present conditions in Ladak.

The first mention of the country seems to have been made by Herodotus, who describes a land of wonderful ants, who in burrowing out their homes in the earth threw up gold. These ants were said to be nearly as large as dogs, and still more ferocious, with a keen sense of smell and great fleetness of

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 436 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which " there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the Rev.*

782 771 609 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 173 [14] Two stories of the last human sacrifices in Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

[241] "A man had to be killed every year for the "benefit of the fields of the community. The "peasants were to offer the victim in turns. "(They probably kept slaves, and these were "generally killed). One year it was a poor "widow's turn, and as she had no servants it "was understood that her only son was to be "sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly "about this, a wandering hermit came to her "house and offered to die in the place of her "son, if she would feed him well until the day "of execution. The widow gladly accepted the "offer, and on the appointed day the hermit "was led with much noise before the wooden "idol of the god of the fields. When the "executioner walked up with his axe to the "hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "'friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "'the god really wants to take my life.' Then "he stepped with the axe before the idol and "said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "'want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "'take yours.' As there was no reply, the "hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in "pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 "the river, and everybody went home."

173 114 The other story related to me concerning the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

Walter Asboe.

782 of it) was that of a woman who was buried
173 alive.

114 Local tradition has it that she pronounced a curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

782 In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrified in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously; their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcases offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

[231] It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrified triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,

121 well known and have not been extensively
114 studied or recorded. In a book by Pro-
171 fessor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I
128 chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
103 active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[14] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three generations back. I have never found a case of
152 its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as polyandry is an institutionalized social system,
178 they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that, in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

TODA AW 60
KERALA AW 11
2236

To 114 To 595 114 T, 595 114 K 114 595

reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

T, 162 792 To 847 162

As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162

As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To would give the following interpretation
829 of the polyandrous systems found: It
595 seems to me that polyandry is "not neces-
121 sarily a primitive institutional form of
182 marriage, but that it is due to the psycho-
Ti logical reaction of individuals living in
829 communities subject to environmentally
595 poor and insecure economic conditions,
121 persisting, in the case of the Tibetans,
182 through isolation from other communities,
K or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of
[121] defense mechanism against invasion by
other cultures." I have not included the
Tiyas in this definition because I do not
know them sufficiently and would like to
go more thoroughly into their polyandry
before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti Now, if I take this definition, instance
595 by instance, I shall be able to interpret
114 exactly what I mean by it. When I first
212 say that polyandry is "not necessarily a
primitive institutional form of marriage,"
I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans
are all literate and educated people, with
whom you can speak quite freely, who have
a very pronounced sense of reality and do
not in any way seem like a primitive
people. It thus looks as if polyandry were
a system entirely outside of the usual
evolutionary stages of marriage, in which
anthropology puts the matriarchal before
the patriarchal system.

To Next, I say that polyandry is "due to
595 the psychological reaction of individuals
114 living in communities subject to environ-
[182] mentally poor and economically insecure
[593] conditions," by which I mean, living in a
physical environment which leads to a
miserable economy. This economy makes
Ti them very interdependent, within each
595 family, upon the help of each other, and
114 this interdependence, in turn, which is
[182] stressed very highly in these families be-
[593] cause of the necessity of sticking together
under the difficult physical conditions,
calls for less aggression among the mem-
bers of the family itself and among groups
of them. It seems to me that this stress
on the condemnation of aggression is such
that even something approaching incest

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 Ti 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
TODA AW 60
2256

To
595
114
Ti
595
114

relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous people they are very proud of it and boast of it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
TibeT AJ 1

T WT 101

about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

T WT 101 121 595

The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

WT 101 114 595

In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

T 101 114 595

In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of U (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as U-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

T 114 595

In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

T 114 595

tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

WT 101 131 648

The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families.

WT 114

My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

WT 101

The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yül (*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

WT 133 [131]

Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[Text Continues on P 305]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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[114]

Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

0 5 10 miles

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

614 4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

[582] Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been [626] a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

114 Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation cere- [115] monies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

114 Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, 852 a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet 852 twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

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595 563 as it did among all Tibetans, that is also among the sedentary population. Since many authors have denied the existence of polyandry among nomads in Tibet, while others have stated that it does exist, the pronouncement was of interest to me.

I asked whether the few animals which the nomads did own themselves were held in common in one family unit, as the land was in Lahul. Although I had expected an affirmative answer to this question, the one that I received was in the negative. Why then did nomads live in polyandry? I enquired what the incentive might be, since there did not appear to be an economic one. The reply given was that it was a Tibetan custom which everyone in Tibet had always practised. Against this, I argued that by dividing up the family into as many units as there were sons to marry, each with his wife and children, since property was already individual, it would be possible to increase the livestock and raise the standard of living among nomads. This, however, did not seem to impress my informants, the abbot and the *goba*, at all; they simply repeated that nomads were Tibetans like others and therefore followed the customs of their country.

I have thus come to the conclusion that the nomads of Tibet practise polyandry exactly as the sedentary population does, out of social conformity. Being Tibetans, they often combine other forms of marriage with polyandry as well and, while I was in Rupchu, I heard about a prominent case of polygyny which, it seemed, had attracted a certain amount of attention, even in this society.

A man named Sönam Murup (*bSod-Nams dNgos-Grub*), unfortunately absent at the time of my visit, was the *mag-pa* husband of a young woman whose two other sisters were married out in *bag-ma*. These, however, had divorced and returned home to their sister, and from that moment had become the junior wives of Sönam Murup. No marriage ceremony had been performed so that they were free to leave again and to remarry, but in the meantime, the children that they had had with the *mag-pa* were considered as those of the family of his first wife.

[114] It was at Korzok *gompa* that I was given details about the polyandry practised by the Lhasa officials in Ngari Korsum province, and particularly about the way in which the Gar-pön and his son lived together with a common wife. I shall not go into this here, however, but will hold it in reserve for the division dealing particularly with this subject, as part of the description of the polyandry that is practised in Tibet proper.

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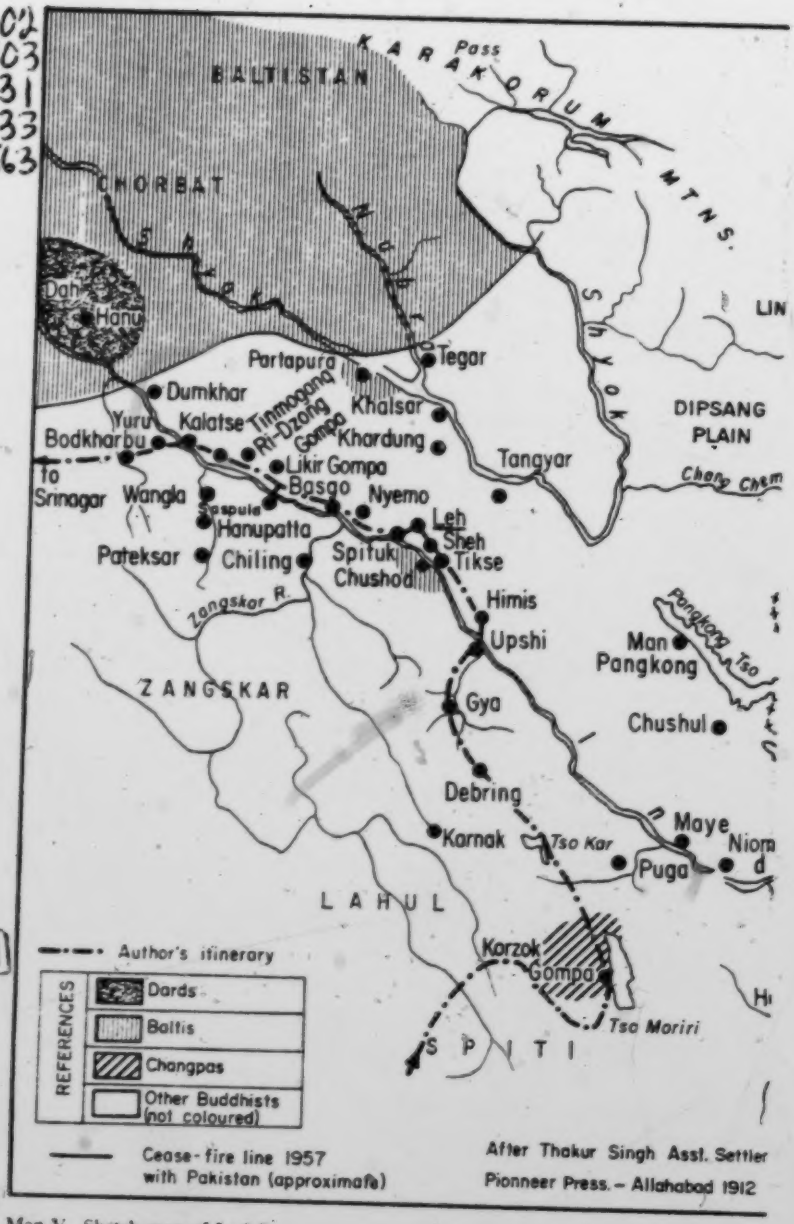

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Map V. Sketch map of Ladak.

[facing p 335-A]

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114 595 6. *Personal field-work research*

After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase 115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 428 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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595 [115] [591] [888] Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] [591] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

[114] [194]

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

595 [85] [126]

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

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595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood out-
[591] side their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close
[126] to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[428] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[199] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

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595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
[791] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
● 114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

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culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

(iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

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A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647). 595 114

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms 601 184

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

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846 852 [604] [292] headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if [603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] [302] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 [551] A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

191 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

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so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions. 114 158

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places. 164 [115] [793] 158 164 [755]

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character. 164 [833] [158] 838 792

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness 158 164 [115] [833] 158 [753]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

301 ←
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Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

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Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[P. 480-A]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
West Tibetans AJ4
[p 575]

APPENDIX 1

NARRATIVE OF JOURNEYS MADE

In 1937, having completed my preliminary studies of Anthropology at the London School of Economics, I decided on India as the most suitable place to investigate polyandry. Together with my wife, I set off in the spring, to travel to that country overland by car. 114

We travelled by way of France, Italy, north Africa (Cyrenaica), Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Irak, Iran (Persia), and entered Baluchistan at Mirjawa in April, 1938. We went on by Quetta, Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan, to Lahore, where we remained for some time, in order to gather information about the possibilities of studying polyandrous peoples in or around the Punjab.

Eventually, I decided to proceed to the Kulu valley in the north, where the Kanets were still said to practise polyandry. As I have related, this proved to be a fallacy, but, while in Kulu during May and the beginning of June 1938, I obtained information about the custom further north, in the Himalayas. I also made a short excursion to Malana, where some polyandry was reputedly in existence, but failed to find any evidence of it.

After the snows had thawed and it became possible to cross the Himalayas, we went over the Rothang Pass (13,050 ft.) into the valley of Lahul. Here, in the capital, Kyelang, we remained for a month, gathering extremely useful information and studying actual polyandrous families for the first time. My interpreters and informants repeatedly mentioned to me during this period that theirs was only a pale reflection of Tibetan polyandry practised still further north. So insistent were they and so interesting did the prospect appear of discovering other people even more addicted to this special form of marriage, that in the end I decided to go on and to return to the Indian plains by way of Kashmir and the trade routes from Kulu to that State.

I hired some ponies from a Tibetan Gya-kar Kham-pa (*rGya-gar K'hams-pa*) horse dealer and caravaneer, called Tsewang Norbu (*Ts'he-*

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
West Tibetans AJ4

914 *dbang Nor-pu*), who had already brought us to Kyelang from Kulu. Towards the middle of July, with some added personnel recruited from him and placed under the authority of his daughter, Dölma (*sGrol-ma*), we left for Rupchu and Ladak. (For an account of this journey, see *Chevauchée tibétaine*, by the same author, Fernand Nathan editeur, Paris, 1958.)

[1192] [1196] [535] My first stage was the Shar Shu monastery, near Kolong, where the Wazir of Lahul and his family resided. Here we attended the annual masked dance of the lamas, and spent the night at Thakur Partap Chand's fort-like castle. It was here, too, that I met the *goba* of the nomads of Rupchu; he was introduced to me by Mangal Chand, alias *amchi* Tashi Dawa, and I received an invitation to go to Korzok.

The next day, we continued to Patseo or Dozam (*rDo-Zam*) as it is called in Tibetan, and camped with Tsewang Norbu, chief of the Gyakar Kham-pa, and his people for a few days until we received the pack ponies and men which I had ordered from him.

This gave us the opportunity to attend the local fair and annual market here and to see for ourselves in what manner goods from the nomads further north were bought or exchanged for other products by the sedentary Lahulis. We also attended a local show given by travelling entertainers from Spiti, in which they performed the ancient ceremony of breaking a large stone on the chest of a man. [536]

The climb up over the Baralatcha pass (16,147 ft.) was strenuous, but we were soon over it, and travelling on the flat Lingti plain, along the banks of the Yunan river. We reached the Ser chu and then the Tsarab chu, which we forded to reach Spiti. A short distance further on, we crossed the south-eastern boundary of Kashmir, and continued our progress now through that State.

A few days later, we turned in a south-easterly direction so as to reach the shores of the lake called Tso (*mTs'ho*) Morari (this is the name on the map, but I heard locally that it should be more correctly *Moriri*), where the *goba* resided.

We arrived at our destination towards the beginning of August, not without difficulty because we had had to cross some very high passes, one of them the Lagnyal-la (20,600 ft.). Our caravan, both men and horses, suffered from the unusual altitude and, for some days, were quite unable to go on. But finally, we descended to relatively more reasonable heights and were received, some distance away from where we were going to stay, by the *goba* and his nephew. They were both relatives of the Karpa house in Lahul.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
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We were taken to a camp two miles further on where we found some black, yak-hair, Tibetan tents, standing, as they do, like spiders because of their strange construction. There were flocks of sheep about, as well as a few yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our present hosts, the nomads, made their living. A tent, larger than the others, proved to be that of the *goba*, and we were taken close to it and invited to put up our own tents nearby. 114

Very soon after our arrival, we attended a masked dance at the monastery, and the abbot himself acted the Black Hat dancer which is the principal role. There were many spectators present, all the nomads of Rupchu taking a particular and obvious pleasure in what they saw. Another day, we witnessed a ceremony called *zor* (*Zor*) in which a *torma*, made of the head, backbone and entrails of a goat, standing on the animal's skin, was destroyed by lamas armed with great knives, as a way of exorcising devils and evil spirits. [792] [796] [535] [796] [789]

Then came a reception in the *goba's* tent, a festive function at which there were many guests. We were entertained with *chang*, dried meat, *tsampa*, turnips and buttered tea, and the party was a very gay one in which most of the guests, the *goba* and the abbot included, got roaring drunk. [574]

At another reception to which we were invited at the monastery before leaving and in which all our caravaneers received coloured bits of rag as talismans from the hands of the *tulku*, I was able to inform myself about the marital customs of the nomads.

The day after the reception at the *gompa*, we left for Leh, capital of Ladak (7th August, 1938). It was a cold journey as there was frost already on the high passes, and we had three to cross before we reached lower ground near Tso Kar (*mTs'ho dKar*), "the White Lake". From here, we continued down the Gya valley, where we encountered the first houses and fields again and received our first letter in many weeks, addressed to us by the Superintendent of the Moravian Mission in Ley, the Reverend Walter Asboe. A few stages further on, we crossed the Indus near Upshi, and followed its right bank past Himis and Tikse *gompas* to Sheh, one stage before our destination.

On the 22nd August, 1938, we came to Leh in the early afternoon and were received at the entrance of the town by the Moravian Missionary, the local authorities and a crowd of Ladakis, men, women and children. We were taken past the mile long *mani* walls to the Residency in the south-westerly quarter, where we had been authorized to stay during the period of our visit to Ladak. Very soon, we met those who

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
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114 were to act as interpreters and informants and a useful period of study opened up, destined to last until the 24th of September, 1938.

At that date, we left Leh on our way to the vale of Kashmir, and our first halt was at Spituk Gompa, in the Indus valley, only a few miles from the Ladaki capital. I did not meet Skushog Bakula, the chief lama of Ladak, at his seat in Spituk, because he was away in Central Tibet for his education. But I had a meeting with the acting head of the monastery, from whom I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in Ü-Tsang (where he had been for his studies).

Six days later, near Ri-dzong, we met the bandit, Norgyäs (*Nor-Gyas*), from Tibet proper, who had taken refuge in Kashmir to escape from the Tibetan Government. He told us hair-raising tales of his experiences (which, however interesting, it would be irrelevant to narrate here) and begged for my intercession with the Maharaja of Kashmir, so that he, Norgyäs, should not be handed back to Tibet, but allowed asylum in India.

I took advantage of the appearance of this man to question him about polyandry in his country. He was most willing to speak and was informative, believing, no doubt, that if he rendered me this service, I might be better disposed in return to grant him the favour that he had requested of me.

Proceeding along the Treaty Road to Srinagar from Leh, I had occasion to find further polyandrous households, so long as we were in the areas of Buddhist, Tibetan culture, that is as far as Mulbek. On arrival in Kalatse, where we crossed the Indus on a wooden suspension bridge, we camped, and the following day stayed on in order to make some investigations. It was here that I heard, incidentally, about Herodotus' gold-digging ants and had the ancient tale confirmed by the local people (see Bibliography, *A History of Western Tibet* by the Rev. A. H. Francke).

After Mulbek, we passed out of the regions of Tibetan cultural affinity and entered the purely Kashmiri Moslem area. Beyond Kargil, which we left on the 15th of October, 1938, we met some Dards of Dah on the road, travelling with a caravan to their homes, and I noted now Tibetanized these tall, blond men with blue eyes were in their dress and manner. They, too, it appeared, were polyandrous.

Unfortunately, we no longer had time to pay them a visit. After a talk with them, we pressed on to get over the ill-famed Zoji-la, leading to the lower valleys beyond, before the winter snows set in. A few days later we reached our destination, Srinagar, the captial of Kashmir.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
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We were accompanied on the whole journey from Kulu by Dölma, the Gya-kar K'hampa daughter of Tsewang Norbu. With her came two male members of her family, and a former Tibetan monk from the monastery of Tashi Lumpo (*bKra-shis Lhun-po*) in Tsang (*gTsang*), in central Tibet. This man's name was Lobsang (*bLo-bZang*) and he proved as knowledgeable a guide concerning everything Tibetan as I could have wished for. Married since he had left the monastery, he and his wife brought their two boys along with them, the youngest being only just over five years of age. From Leh onwards, we exchanged Dölma's two male relatives for new, Ladaki caravaneers under one Tashi (*bKra-shis*), and it was this man and five of his friends who supplied me with the twenty five pack ponies which we used to carry our belongings from Leh in Ladak to Srinagar. Joseph Gergan accompanied us as far as Kargil.

WT [115]

T 114

From our travelling companions I heard during our journey that there was much to study concerning polyandry in Tibet proper. They advised me to try to reach Lhasa and central Tibet if I could, assuring me that in the heart of the country there existed even stranger polyandrous customs than those we had seen on the fringes. They told me that Kalimpong, in the Darjeeling district of the Indian province of Bengal (then undivided), would be a good starting point. Taking their advice, after returning to Lahore from Srinagar in November, we set off in our car to cross practically the whole of northern India, arriving by road in Kalimpong just before Christmas, 1938.

In this very attractive town, situated at the beginning of the main Trade Route to central Tibet, I was able to gather much information concerning Tibetan customs and ways of life. So rewarding was the search and so pleasant did Kalimpong appear to us, that I resolved there and then to return some day for a longer stay. I also contacted those officials of the Government of India (then British) who were responsible for allowing foreign travellers into Tibet, and made arrangements for it to be possible for us to obtain permission to go to Lhasa when we next visited this part of the world. We then left for south India, to work among the Todas and the inhabitants of Malabar.

T 114

Our way lay over Calcutta, by train to Nagpur and Bombay, where I purchased a new car, having sold the old one in Calcutta on our way through. We made excursions to Poona, Goa and Hyderabad, and from there went on to Bezwada and Madras. After our visits to Pondicherry and places of archaelogical interest in the Tamil country, we motored up to the Nilgiris, taking a house for the summer of 1939, in Coonoor.

Geylukspas (he referred I presume to the followers of the Táránáth Láma) did so.

Geylukspas are often spoken of as "serpogon" or "wearers of yellow clothes," so I imagine that, whatever may now be the custom, they originally dressed entirely in yellow. The Dalai Láma and the Tashi Lunpo avatar, both belong to the yellow sect, which in Lhasa is the more powerful, while in Ladák and Bhotan, the red sect is the more powerful.

The following account of Lámáism has been obtained by me, in part from the skooSHok of Speetuk, who is the head of the Ladak Geylukspa, or yellow cap sect, and in part from Hlóbon Topgeys, who was for long, the hlóbon or abbot, of Heymis, the chief monastery of the dukpa, or red cap sect. It very possibly may not be correct from a scholarly point of view, but it represents the local ideas on the subject.

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there was only one sect known as "kádampa" or "dulvápa."

The word "dulva" means "to subdue or discipline," and the "dulva" is one of the divisions of the "kagioor" (or translation from Sanscrit to Tibetan, of the mandates of Buddha). It contains two hundred and fifty orders relative to the disciplining of the mind and body.

The word "kadampa" means "bound by the orders," that is to say, by the orders contained in the "dulva."

In those days the Lámás never ate meat or drank intoxicating liquors, nor did they wear any covering to their heads or feet, and celibacy was the invariable rule among them. Their clothing was red. Gradually there was a falling away from this high standard, and in due course there arose a sect known as "rnikmápa" or "hnikmápa" or "snikmapa," so called from their being followers of the "rningpa" or "hningpa" or "ancient" or "old fashioned" religion. This sect permitted the use of wines and meats and did not enforce clerical celibacy.

After this, a great Láma, named Padma, Jungnes, a native of Urgian (Ujain ?), came to Lhása (according to Cunningham, this was about the middle of the eighth century) and founded a new sect, known as the "Urgiánpa," which differed but little from the "Hnikmápa" sect.

Later still a "skooSHok," or incarnation, named "Phakspa Jamspal" founded another sect called "Saskiapa," from "saskiá" the name of the monastery to which Phakspa Jamspal belonged.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[pp. I-X CONTAIN NO TEXT]

Preface

IN writing the following pages, we are very conscious of the help we have received from many sources, for which we express our heartiest thanks.

First and foremost, we remember our many Tibetan friends who, by allowing us to enter their homes and to watch them at their work and play, have enabled us to learn much about their inner life. We bear in particular remembrance our two Ladaki friends, Nyenpo Joseph Gergan and Nyenpo Dawazung Dana, who so willingly put at our disposal their profound knowledge of their own country, its history and customs.

Without reference to Dr. A. H. Franke's historical researches our second chapter could not have been written. To him we also owe the two stories of Dardish heroes; and Colonel Waddell's "Lamaism" is a store of information.

We have further to mention some other friends, Mr. Basil Crump and Mrs. A. C. Cleather, whose knowledge of Buddhism is so profound. They have often shown us the significance of things not realized before, while Mr. Crump has most generously allowed us to draw on his splendid collection of photographs. Our gratitude is due also to Major Robson, I.A., a former British Joint Commissioner, and to Miss Lucy McCormick, for so very kindly allowing us to make use of some of their photographs.

539
113 gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, from which the text and the notes were published in J & P ASB., /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/ Vol. III, p. 121 ff.

539 In Khalatse, Situated on The Indus River about
●115 forty English miles below Leh, I made the acquaintance of a man
[553] who was called dKon-mchog-bkra-shis. His surname name rGya-
113 mthso-pa derived from the circumstance that he had married into the house of rGya-mthso-pa in Khalatse. Actually, however, he came from Lerdo (Lai-rdo) across from sKyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). This man possessed extensive knowledge about the Kesar saga, and for this reason he was invited to recite at all family festivals in the village. His version apparently originated in Lerdo in Purig. For many weeks I worked with this singer and with the scribe and teacher of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, and in this way I obtained the version of the Kesar saga that I have called the "Lower Ladakhi Version." This /3/ has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica under the numbers 1134, 1151, 1164, and 1218. dKon-mchog-brka-shis material was however, not yet exhausted with this. He continued with his narratives and now reported the adventures of the chief heroes of the sagas besides Kesar. I have published these sagas under the title: "The Paladins of the Kesarsaga," in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 10, Vol. III, No. 2, Vol. III, No. 5.

539 In all the publications in India I gave the text in its entirety, but
113 I had to dispense with a translation because of lack of time. Instead of a translation I appended to each chapter a detailed table of contents and lists of the proper names and of the uncommon words. The Lower Ladakhi Version contains the entire material of the Kesar saga, as indicated below. For the most part, therefore, it covers the same ground as the Sheh version. Yet it contributes not only new elements with respect to the style of the poetic passages, but also a great many interesting and important variants.

The collection, The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, on the other hand, contains entirely new material, under the following headings: 1. Kesar's beloved Mon (man of a low caste). 2. The story of the hero sKyaba-rgod-po (lJan war). 3. The story of the hero Shel-gyi-bu-zhun. 4. The story of the hero rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

585 II. The Wedding Songs (Nyo-pai-glu). At each wedding in the
539 region of the West Tibetans (Ladakh, Purig, and so forth), the following ceremony is performed: Seven friends of the bridegroom, who call themselves Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, "The buyers, the seven

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country. 105 631 [651]

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants. [115]

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size. 105 423 [631] [651] [241]

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields [631]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she [591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accom- [115] panied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

423 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
428 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
595 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re- [584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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614 4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

[582] Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been [626] a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

114 Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation cere- [115] monies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

114 Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, 852 a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet 852 twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epilepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his remarks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

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There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name).

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax.

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born.

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in the Indian plains.

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b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

595 1. *Generalities*

From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of poly-
[795] androus families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something un-
170 desirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in
595 Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who
795 had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the
[626] rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün
[115] (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at
[563] home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

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temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that

342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical

[353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase

115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their

428 eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the

[597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married poly-

595 andrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they

888 had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
187 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
595 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a
601 new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,? now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our inform-
[888] ant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
[585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
595 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family
601 called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
888 and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry,
591 occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

? [i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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595 Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the
[115] family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that
[591] his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived,
[888] some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok
[591] Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down
[114] in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however,
[194] as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest
595 husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group
85 photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I
[126] turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous 595
people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan househould, 851
that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-
zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children,
without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or
little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household 591
close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the mar- 595
ried children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-* 888
chen. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received [115]
us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I [601]
give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous house- 595
hold of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the 361
town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage
between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

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There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

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profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

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595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-*
[591] *chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in
[126] the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[928] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[199] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
553 (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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smoking was looked upon as so heinous an offence. He replied that it was because, so the lamas said, tobacco was a weed grown from the menstrual flow of a prostitute who had prayed that it might fertilize a plant that would be the joy of mankind. For this reason, lamas could not think of smoking, and they naturally opposed it in the lay population as well.

WT 276 171

c) *Investigation of polyandry along the Leh-Srinagar Treaty Road*

T 115

1. *Information gathered at Spituk and Ri-dzong*

At our first halt after leaving Leh, I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in the central Tibetan provinces from the acting chief abbot of the monastery, who had studied in Lhasa. I shall revert to what he told me when we come to Part II, where I shall deal with the polyandry of Tibet proper.

WT T 115

At Ri-dzong, the Tibetan bandit, Norgyäs, had much to tell me also. He told me a certain amount about the marital customs of those parts of Tibet which he knew personally, but also about those specifically appertaining to Western Tibet. It is these which I shall account for here.

It seemed that my informant was born in Ngari Korsum and had only later in his life taken to banditry. At the age of nine, he was adopted by a lama, the assistant of the Garpön of Gartok, that is of the Tibetan Government official whose residence was in the capital of Ngari Korsum.

The lama's name was De-chen-la (*bDe-Ch'hen-lags*) and he had a sister living with him who was married and had a son, Dön-stob-la (*Don-sTobs-lags*), of the same age as Norgyäs. Although there was a relation of master to servant between the two boys (the lama's nephew being the superior), a very intimate bond was formed between the two. When Dön-stob-la married, Norgyäs was allowed to share the wife with him, and this because the two had become what he called *skyidug-chik-pa* (*sKyid-sDug-gChig-pa*).

This long word has the meaning of "Happiness-Grief-Identical" and such a relation is very often entered into in Tibet between close friends. Norgyäs said that, in his case, it was only a minor variety of the relation because, normally, it is a much more formal and binding connection.

WT T 592 830

Thus in Tibet, and also in Ladak, two old friends who had known each other for a long time could become *skyidug-chik-pa* in the following way. They make a vow, clasping each other's middle finger, in which they swear to share undividedly everything that they have for the rest of their lives, and even in the next one that awaits them. If

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak
Tibet AJ1

one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[Text continues on p. 390]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks.

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen*, the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children.

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis.

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table.

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

301
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301

Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

114
115
291
516
854

Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[P. 480-A]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1
Toda AW60

WT 114

We were accompanied on the whole journey from Kulu by Dölma, the Gya-kar K'hampa daughter of Tsewang Norbu. With her came two male members of her family, and a former Tibetan monk from the monastery of Tashi Lumpo (*bKra-shis Lhun-po*) in Tsang (*gTsang*), in central Tibet. This man's name was Lobsang (*bLo-bZang*) and he proved as knowledgeable a guide concerning everything Tibetan as I could have wished for. Married since he had left the monastery, he and his wife brought their two boys along with them, the youngest being only just over five years of age. From Leh onwards, we exchanged Dölma's two male relatives for new, Ladaki caravaneers under one Tashi (*bKra-shis*), and it was this man and five of his friends who supplied me with the twenty five pack ponies which we used to carry our belongings from Leh in Ladak to Srinagar. Joseph Gergan accompanied us as far as Kargil.

WT [115]

T 114

From our travelling companions I heard during our journey that there was much to study concerning polyandry in Tibet proper. They advised me to try to reach Lhasa and central Tibet if I could, assuring me that in the heart of the country there existed even stranger polyandrous customs than those we had seen on the fringes. They told me that Kalimpong, in the Darjeeling district of the Indian province of Bengal (then undivided), would be a good starting point. Taking their advice, after returning to Lahore from Srinagar in November, we set off in our car to cross practically the whole of northern India, arriving by road in Kalimpong just before Christmas, 1938.

In this very attractive town, situated at the beginning of the main Trade Route to central Tibet, I was able to gather much information concerning Tibetan customs and ways of life. So rewarding was the search and so pleasant did Kalimpong appear to us, that I resolved there and then to return some day for a longer stay. I also contacted those officials of the Government of India (then British) who were responsible for allowing foreign travellers into Tibet, and made arrangements for it to be possible for us to obtain permission to go to Lhasa when we next visited this part of the world. We then left for south India, to work among the Todas and the inhabitants of Malabar.

To 114

Our way lay over Calcutta, by train to Nagpur and Bombay, where I purchased a new car, having sold the old one in Calcutta on our way through. We made excursions to Poona, Goa and Hyderabad, and from there went on to Bezwada and Madras. After our visits to Pondicherry and places of archaelogical interest in the Tamil country, we motored up to the Nilgiris, taking a house for the summer of 1939, in Coonoor.

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
West Tibetans AJ9
Toda AW60
Tibet AJ1

TO 115 In 1931, he married a Tamil woman (that is, someone not of his community) and his eldest son was born in 1932. He subsequently had two more children, two daughters, in 1943 and 1936.

It was in 1935 that he began acting as interpreter and "guide", as he termed it, to Dr. M. B. Emeneau, and he continued to do so until 1938. He also served others in the same capacity during this time, and his health, happily, remained good. In 1939, he acted as my interpreter, but in 1942 he became seriously ill again with his old affliction, and, in Travancore, in the American Hospital of Trivandrum, was successfully operated upon for a second time. On his return he became an influential member of the Toda Welfare Committee, a body set up by the Collector of the Nilgiris to assist the community.

Since then, he has been residing at the Toda Christian colony near Fern Hill, Ootacamund, where he has a small plot of land and a vegetable garden, the produce of which he sells in the local market. From the latest news that I have received from him, I understand that he is still carrying on with these same occupations, working hard and with a considerable measure of success to improve the lot of his fellow Todas, to whom he is attached with a devotion amounting nearly to a fanatical "nationalism", for he refuses to let his erstwhile connection with a Christian Mission "detribalize" him in any way.

T WT 124 115 Those who have helped me in the same way as the informants and interpreters mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, have been far greater in number in the areas of Tibetan affinity, in the Himalayas, than in any other of the fields which I visited. In addition to assistants and interpreters of the kind I have already described, they also include Tibetologists and teachers from whom I obtained, not only information about Tibetan polyandry, but also a general knowledge of everything Tibetan which has stood me in good stead.

WT 115 First and foremost among such helpers should be mentioned Dr. George Nikolaivitch Roerich. Initially, we became acquainted in 1938, when he was residing with his father, the late Professor Nicolas Roerich, his mother and his brother, Svetoslav, at Nagar, in the Kulu valley of the Punjab. It was through him that I met the Gya-kar K'ham-pa chieftain, Tsewang Norbu, and the former monk, Lobsang, from Shigatse. Through his intermediary too, my wife and I equipped ourselves properly for the 600 miles trek from Kulu to Kashmir over Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak.

WT [122]

T 115 Our second meeting was in Kalimpong, West Bengal, in 1950. Disturbances resulting from the partition of India into India proper and

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
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T 115

Pakistan had forced his family – minus his father who had died during the war – to move their residence from Kulu, and they had settled down temporarily in this small frontier town at the end of the Trade Route to Lhasa. Dr. Roerich was instrumental in obtaining good Tibetan teachers for me; he greatly assisted me in the task of meeting prominent personalities from Tibet and in obtaining the ethnographical artefacts and books which I had been assigned to purchase for the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia. A great Tibetan scholar of a quality rarely to be found today, he was unfailing in his willingness to help and gave me great assistance, during the seven years that I was in residence in Kalimpong, in my efforts to learn Tibetan correctly and to gather information about the customs and ways of the people of Tibet. I was indeed fortunate in having made the acquaintance and gained the friendship of so outstanding an authority.

WT 115

During my stay in Lahul in the summer of 1938, I was greatly assisted in the initial research work by the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kyelang. Through him I came into contact with my first polyandrous families, and his knowledge of the region and of its inhabitants freely put at my disposal, was a very great help at a time when I was beginning my exploration of Tibetan culture.

Through the Reverend Peter I got to know the principal chieftain of the valley of Lahul, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand. This man, who spoke perfect English and was unfailing in his desire to be of assistance and to receive me with proper hospitality in his domain, gave me considerable information concerning the polyandry of the valley. Always outspoken and sincere, he made no attempt to disguise the nature of the institution as practised in Lahul, and the data that I gathered through his intermediary is among the best that I have.

WT 124

In Rupchu, I was left more or less to myself and, in the absence even of interpreters, had to make the best of my English-speaking Punjabi bearer and of the Hindusthani which he and Lobsang could speak together.

At Leh, however, in Ladak, during my stay there of over a month, I again found invaluable helpers and interpreters, through whom material of even greater value to my research work was gathered.

WT 115

Thus my thanks are due to the Reverend Walter Asboe, superintendent of the Moravian Mission, who welcomed me on arrival in Leh and never ceased during the whole period of my visit to take an interest in my quest and to put everything he knew of the people and customs at my disposal. A long experience and a sympathetic understanding of

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
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the ways of the Ladakis enabled the Reverend Asboe to enrich greatly my store of knowledge.

Through his intermediary, I made the acquaintance of the late Joseph Gergan (*dGe-rGan*), native minister of the Mission, and of his son-in-law, Nono Tseten P'hüntzok (*Ts'he-brTan P'hun-Ts'hogs*). The first of these two outstanding Christian personalities of Ladak acted as my mentor and teacher in the Tibetan dialect of Ladak; he was also my guide during my leisurely return to Srinagar from Leh. His son-in-law was my interpreter and helper during my interviews with polyandrous households in the country round Leh and, later, even in Kalimpong, he was most helpful in furnishing me with additional material and information as well as in assisting me to give greater accuracy to the data collected.

At the other end of India, during the years in which I was in residence in Kalimpong after World War II, I made considerable use of the knowledge and good will of Mr. G. Tharchin of the Tibetan "Mirror" Press in that town. I had already met this learned man, proficient in both English and Tibetan, a native of Kunu (*K'hu-nu* (*Kunawar*) or Rampur Bashahar), in the U.P., during my first visit to Kalimpong in 1938–39. He had just returned from Lhasa at the time, after having accompanied there the late Theos Bernard as guide and interpreter. On my return eleven years later, he not only helped me to collect the material that I wanted and to make Tibetan contacts such as I desired, but also gave me lessons in the language and taught me the rudiments of reading and writing Tibetan.

Earlier on, soon after my arrival in Kalimpong in 1950, Dr. George Roerich had found me an excellent first teacher in Tibetan. His name was Champa Sangta (*Pyams-pa gSang-bTag*) and he was a refugee in India. Formerly, he had been jester and handyman to the Regent of Tibet, Radeng Rimpoche (*Rwa-gDeng Rin-po-ch'he*), assassinated in 1947 in an obscure political intrigue. Reprisals had been taken by the Tibetan Government against the partisans of the murdered leader, and Champ Sangta being one of these, he had escaped over the border to avoid capture. He spoke an excellent Lhasa dialect (the *lingua franca* of the country) and was, besides, well versed in honorific terms, so important for a foreigner to learn if he does not wish to be accused of speaking "coolie language". He was also one of the three best singers of Tibet and often gave me examples of his art, some of which I sound-recorded. Unfortunately, he was illiterate, and could neither read nor write. He spoke no other language than his own, and this forced me to

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

LADÁK,

PHYSICAL, STATISTICAL, AND HISTORICAL;

WITH

NOTICES OF THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.

BY

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BREVET MAJOR, BENGAL ENGINEERS.

LONDON:

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1854.

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PREFACE.

121 I HAVE endeavoured in the following pages to give, to the best of my ability, and according to my means of information, a full and accurate account of Ladák. I have twice visited the country, in 1846 and again in 1847, and on each occasion by a different route; I have read every work that I could procure (and I have neither spared pains nor expense) regarding Ladák or Tibet. I therefore am willing to think that the various information which I have collected, may not prove altogether uninteresting, even to the general reader. For the antiquary and scientific enquirer, there are several subjects which I would fain hope may merit attention. The subjects for the antiquary are:—

1. The identification of Ladák, or *Khá-chan*, with the *Akhassa Regio* of Ptolemy, and with the *Kie-chha* of Fa Hian.—Chap. I.

2. The proof that *Graucasus* was a Tibetan word, and the consequent deduction that the Tibetan people and language were once spread over a much greater extent of country than they now occupy.—Chap. XIV.

3. A copious vocabulary of the Tibetan language

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/21/ compared with the various dialects of the Dards, of the Afghans and Kashmiris, of the Hindu races of the Himálaya, and of the Indo-Tibetans of Kanáwar.—Chap. XV.

4. A concise account of the religious belief and practice of the Tibetan Buddhists, and of the rise of the present grand Lamas; with a description of the different buildings, rites and ceremonies, and ritualic instruments of their religion.—Chap. XIII.

The subjects for the man of science are:—

1. The determination of the snow-line on the several mountain-ranges of the Panjáb.—Chap. II.

2. The length of course, and the minimum discharge of the rivers of the Panjáb, compared with that of the Ganges.—Chap. III.

3. The cataclysms of the Indus and the Sutluj; the former caused by a glacier, the latter by the fall of a mountain.—Chap. III.

4. The determination of the cause of the prevailing day and night wind in Ladák.—Chap. VII.

5. The observations for temperature, Chap. VII.; and the Tables of Magnetical and Meteorological Observations.—Chaps. XVI. and XVII.

6. The discovery of fossil *fresh-water* shells in the sandy-clay formations above the level of the present *salt-water* lakes of Ladák, proving that the lakes were once *fresh*, and of much greater extent.

7. The tables of the stature and longevity of the people of Ladák, and the accurate measurements and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

drawings of skulls compared with those of the Kashmiris. 121

To several kind friends I am indebted for valuable assistance in this work. 000

To Colonel Bates, for the landscape-views which bear his name, and for many important observations for temperature.

To Dr. Carter, A.B., for the different qualitative analysis of the salts and waters of the lakes and hot springs.

To Lieut. Maclagan, Bengal Engineers, for the survey of the Pin Valley, in Spiti.

ALEX^R CUNNINGHAM,
Brevet Major, Engineers.

SIMLA,
30*th August*, 1853.

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RULES FOR PRONUNCIATION.

104 Throughout this work the vowels and consonants are to be pronounced in the following manner :—

a, as in distance, America.
á, as in father, half.
i, as in din, sin.
í, as *ee* in seen.
u, as *oo* in poor.
ú, as *u* in pure.
é, as in thére, théy.
ai, as *y* in my.
o, as in more.
au, as *ou* in our.
k, as in kick.
kh, the same aspirated.
g, as in giggle.
ng, as in sing.
ch, as in church.
chh, the same aspirated.
j, as in jest.
ny, as *ny* in tanyard.
t, as in tittle.
th, the same aspirated.
d, as in dandy.
n, as in ninny.
p, as in puppy.
ph, the same aspirated.
b, as in baby.
m, as in mummy.
ts, as in catseye.
tsh, the same aspirated.
ds, as *ds* in windsail, groundsel.
w, as in woman, dwarf.
zh, *z* aspirated.
z, as in zigzag.
h, as in hair.
y, as in you.
r, as in roar.
l, as in lull.
sh, as in ship.
s, as in senses.
h, as in heart.

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I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. THE earliest authentic notices of Ladák scarcely reach so far back as the beginning of the Christian era. In A.D. 399-400, when the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian,* Hoeï-King, and others, reached *Yu-thian* (or Kotan), the former determined to remain behind for some time to witness the procession of images, while Hoeï-King proceeded in advance to *Kie-chha.* After the procession had taken place, Fa-Hian travelled by *Tsu-ho* and *Yu-hoeï*, and over the *Tsung-Ling* mountains southward to *Kie-chha*, where he rejoined Hoeï-King. On those mountains, which were one month's journey in breadth, the snow, it is said, never melted, and the natives of the country were known by the name of "men of the snowy mountains." From *Kie-chha* the pilgrims proceeded westward to *Tho-ly*, which they reached in one month. From this account, it appears to me that there can be no doubt of the identity of the ancient *Kie-chha* with the modern Ladák.

2. To reach Ladák from Kotan there were two roads open to the pilgrims, the western by Kukeyar and the southern by Ruthog (or Rudok). By either route the

* See the *Fo-kue-ki*, by Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, or the Translation by Laidlay.

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487 travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li
101 (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear
175 that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From
[133] Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over
[131] the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardu districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

101 3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem
175 to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák.
[778] *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

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Now, one of these relics (the alms-dish) still exists in a temple to the north of Lé. It is a large earthenware vase, similar in shape to the two largest steatite vases extracted from the Bhilsa Topes.* But Ladák also possessed a tooth of Buddha, which was formerly enshrined at Lé in a *dung-ten*, or solid mound of masonry similar to the Topes of Bhilsa and of Afghanistan. The *dung-ten* still exists, though ruinous: but the holy tooth is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher, of Balti, upwards of 200 years ago, when Ladák was invaded and plundered by the Musalmáns of the west, who, most probably, threw the much-prized relic contemptuously into the Indus. At any rate, it has never since been heard of.

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4. Lastly, the name of *Kie-chha*, and the designation of the people as "men of the snowy mountains," both point unmistakably to Ladák, which is still known as *Kha-pa-chan*, or *Kha-chan*, "abounding in snow," or Snow-land, and the people as *Kha-pa-chan-pa*, or *Kha-chan-pa*, "men of the snowy land."†

5. In the *Cesi* of Pliny, and in the *A-khassa regio* of Ptolemy, I believe that we have the earliest mention of Ladák. Of the former Pliny‡ says, "hos includit Indus montium coronâ circumdatos et solitudinibus." This description is literally true of the people of *Kha-pa-chan*, or Snow-land, whose whole country lies along

* By Lieutenant Maisey and myself. See my account of the opening and examination of "The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India," printed for Smith, Elder, & Co. (1853).

† *Kha*, or *Kha-pa*, is "snow," and *chan* means "full." Perhaps Náser-ud-din *Kabáchah*, who reigned in Multan and Sindh, and afterwards disputed the empire of India with Altanish, was a Ladáki. Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* is no doubt *Kha-chan-yul*, "Snow-land," or Ladák.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. c. 20.

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101 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it
131 is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains.
175 The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is
175 made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

177 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that
212 interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.
† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

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of the Kashmirian characters, which remain unchanged to this day.* 177 212

8. In the beginning of the eleventh century Palgyigon occupied Ladák, and Tashi-Degon took possession of Purang.† In A.D. 1314, Rinchana Bhoti invaded Kashmir.‡ As he entered the valley by Gagangir, on the Sindh river, he must have advanced through Drás, one of the districts of Ladák. It is probable, therefore, that he was the ruler of Ladák. At that time Kashmir had been invaded by an army of 60,000 horse, under the command of Dallach, the minister of a neighbouring chief, named Karma Sena. The invaders advanced to the capital, which, being deserted by the Raja Sena Deva, was plundered and burned. Dallach continued his devastations to the eastern end of the valley, and retired by the Pass of Tár-bal.§ Numbers of the Kashmiris then waited upon Rinchana, who was emboldened to advance against the troops of the Raja Sena Deva. The raja fled; the Bhotiyan chief was victorious, and assumed the sovereignty of the country. He strengthened himself by marrying the daughter of Rama Chandra, the general of Sena Deva; and reigned for three years, from A.D. 1315 to 1318, the undisputed master of Kashmir. 175

9. Half a century before this time the celebrated Marco Polo had visited the court of the great Kublai, Emperor of China. He had sojourned in the hills of Badakshán for the sake of his health; and he describes the countries of Wakham, Pamer, Bolor, and Kashmir.

* Csoma de Kőrös, Tibetan Grammar, p. 178.

† Csoma, in Prinsep's useful tables, p. 131. The names are written *dPal-gyi-mGon* and *bKra-shis-lDe-mGon*.

‡ Raja Tarangini. § That is, the "Tar-hill" in Kashmiri.

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175 By some it has been supposed that he must have entered Tibet; but the wonderful account which he gives of the people proves that his information could only have been obtained by hearsay. Indeed, notwithstanding the early and wide-spread fame of Prester John, there is no authentic record that Tibet had been visited by any European prior to the seventeenth century.

797 10. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,
175 when the Jesuits and Capuchins possessed several monasteries in Lhasa, a considerable number of missionaries must have resided for many years in Tibet; and yet no more than two of these religious fraternities have left any record of their travels and observations behind them.

11. The first of these is Le Père Hippolyte Desideri,* who travelled for six months, between August 1715 and March 1716, through the greater part of the country, from Ladák through Ruthog to Lhasa. Of his travels, the only account that I have seen is that which was published by Klaproth. It is a concise, but very useful geographical account.

12. The second is Frà Franciso Orazio della Penna di Billi, a Capuchin, who travelled to Lhasa in 1730, and resided for some years in the monastery of his order in that city. His account is exceedingly valuable, notwithstanding his prosy repetitions.† He was a man of observation, and his account of the Buddhist religion, as practised in Tibet, is full and accurate.

175 13. In A.D. 1774 George Bogle‡ was deputed to

* Nouveau Journal Asiatique, tom. viii. pp. 117—121, by the celebrated Klaproth.

† Nouveau Journal Asiatique, tom. xiv.

‡ See the Preface to Turner's Tibet, pp. xiv—xvi.

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Tibet by Warren Hastings. The Dalai Lama,* or Grand Lama of Lhasa, was then in his minority, and the country was ruled by the Tashi Lama of Tashi Lhunpo. No account of this mission has been preserved, which is the more to be regretted as Bogle would seem to have been a man of superior intelligence. 175

14. In A.D. 1783 a second mission was despatched by Warren Hastings to Tibet. Captain Turner, the head of the mission, succeeded in reaching Tashi Lhunpo, but he was prevented from going to Lhasa "by a consideration of the present state of that government,"† as the *Gyat sub Rinpoche* "had usurped, even from the hands of the Dalai Lama, the greatest portion of his temporal power." The Regent of Tashi Lhunpo also dissuaded ‡ the envoy from making the attempt, for fear of offending the Chinese. Captain Turner's account of his embassy is the most curious and interesting work on Tibet that has yet appeared.

A Chinese work, called "Notice of the Provinces of Weï and Tsang," was written by *Ma-shao-yun*, the Commissary-General of the Chinese army, which was sent to expel the Gorkhas from Tibet in 1786.§ His account is short but interesting, especially in the notices of the various religious festivals. 175 113

The adventurous Moorcroft lived for two whole years in Ladák, from September 1820 to September 1822. His account of the country is marked by great shrewdness of observation, and by the most scrupulous accuracy. A more truthful chronicler than Moorcroft never lived. 175

* *Ta-lhi-bLa-ma*, is the Dalai Lama of Europeans.

† Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet, by Capt. Samuel Turner. ‡ Turner's Tibet, 4to. p. 253.

§ Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, tom. iv. et vi.

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175 The Botis of Ladák, the Kahlon of Lé, the merchants of Kashmir, and the Rajah of Rajaore, all spoke to me of the English traveller with the highest respect.* As there has always been a suspicion of foul play in the manner of his death, the second of the following letters, addressed by Trebeck to Syad Muhammad Shah, is of considerable interest and importance, as it distinctly states that Moorcroft *died* at Andkhuï, *after some days' illness.*

000 Translation of a *parwánah* addressed by Moorcroft to Syad Muhammud Shah Kashmiri :—

" Your letter has arrived, and your faithful services have become known to us. The paper bearing the seals of the merchants and other friends at that place (Kábul), addressed to Muhammad Murád Beg, the ruler of Kunduz, which you forwarded, has been shown. Our escape has been effected, and we have started for Bokhára. Remain in Kábul until our return, and consider your salary fixed at the same rate as formerly. Take fifty pieces of gold from Khoda Baksh Khán, the merchant, for your expenses, and continue day and night to note whatever takes place. More is superfluous."

Syad Muhammad Shah was a young Kashmiri, who had accompanied Moorcroft from his native country to Kashmir. On the departure of the travellers for Balkh, he was discharged at his own request; but as he remained in Kábul, he was employed by them as a news-writer, and on the occasion of Moorcroft's deten-

* Burnes has recorded the estimation in which Moorcroft's memory was held by the people of Balkh; and I am happy to add here the testimony of Major Edwardes (A Year in the Panjab, i. 52) to the same effect. " I am glad to be able to contribute the smallest white pebble to poor Moorcroft's cairn; and cannot pass on without recording that my friend Swahn Khan spoke of him highly in every way."

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tion by Murád Beg, of Kunduz, the Syad was of some service in procuring letters from the authorities and merchants of Kábul to prove that the travellers were merchants,* and that the object of their journey was, as they professed it to be, "the establishment of a commercial intercourse which would be as beneficial to Turkistan as to India."† The published account of Moorcroft's travels states that fifty of the principal merchants and bankers of Kábul, unsolicited, had forwarded a certificate that Moorcroft was, as he pretended to be, a merchant; but the above *parwánah*, addressed by Moorcroft to the Syad, shows that this certificate had been obtained through him.

Translation of a *parwánah*, addressed by Trebeck (after Moorcroft's death) to Syad Muhammad Shah Kashmiri :—

"The affairs of that place (Kábul) have become known from the perusal of your letter. Day and night continue to note whatever may occur. You may have heard that Mr. William Moorcroft, *after a few days' illness*, died at *Andkhuï*, whither he had gone to purchase horses. As he had written to you to remain at Kábul until his return, you had better stay until my arrival, which you may expect shortly. Consider your salary fixed at the same rate as formerly, and set your mind at rest in every respect as far as I am concerned. Continue to write the news," &c.

The Syad's services on these occasions were afterwards attested in a certificate, which was furnished to him

* Moorcroft's Travels, vol. ii. p. 448. "I found on my arrival a *Kásid* from Kabul, who brought me a certificate that I was, as I pretended to be, a merchant."

† Moorcroft's Travels, vol. ii. p. 425.

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000 under the seals of Yár Muhammad Khán and Sultán Muhammad Khán. The original is now in my possession. In this certificate they state that, "when the *Sáhibs* arrived at Kúndúz, they got into trouble, and were relieved from their difficulties by the services of the Syad, who was then at Kábul, and that, in consequence of his zeal and devotion, the *Sáhibs* begged him to remain in Kábul until their return."

I obtained all these documents in original from the Syad himself, who, as a Shiah Musulmán, had sought and obtained service at the Shiah court of Lucknow.

175 648 Towards the end of the year 1834, the eccentric Dr. Henderson reached Lé, the capital of Ladák, disguised as a Musulmán, calling himself Ishmaïl Khan. His disguise was soon penetrated, but he was kindly treated by the Gyalpo, who at once saw, in the opportune arrival of a British officer, a possible means of averting the ultimate conquest of his kingdom. In August 1834, Ladák had been invaded by Zoráwar Sing, the local Governor of Káshtwár, under Raja Guláb Sing, of Jammu. At the time of Dr. Henderson's arrival at Lé, the invaders had taken possession of the western provinces of Suru and Drás, and had advanced into the valley of Paskyum. Henderson's presence immediately recalled to the Gyalpo's memory the offer which he had once before made, through Moorcroft, of allegiance to the British Government. The rulers of India had already snatched Sindh from the rough grasp of the Lion of Lahor, and the simple Tibetan vainly thought that they would be equally willing to save Ladák from the arms of his lieutenant. Dr. Henderson was therefore applied to; but as he had crossed the British frontier against the positive prohibition of his

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Government, and was now in Ladák when he ought to 175
have been in Calcutta, he was unwilling to make any 648
communication which would at once expose his violation of the orders of his Government. The draft of the original tender of allegiance which was forwarded by Moorcroft was shown to him; but his position prevented him from acting as Moorcroft had done. His refusal irritated the Gyalpo, and he was prevented from leaving Ladák without being actually imprisoned.* Meanwhile the people were informed that a British envoy had arrived, and that the invaders would speedily be obliged to depart. Zoráwar Sing immediately reported the circumstance to his master, Raja Guláb Sing, who applied to the Maharaja. Ranjit Sing at once "addressed the political agent at Ludiána to ascertain the meaning of such proceeding. The agent satisfied Ranjit Sing with an assurance that Dr. Henderson, the traveller, had passed the Sutlej in direct violation of the orders of his Government; and that there was not the slightest idea of interfering with Ranjit's plan of extending his conquests northwards. Zoráwar Sing, after this explanation, was desired to proceed with his operations;"† upon which Henderson was allowed to depart. In fact, he was detained so long as his presence was of service to the Gyalpo in delaying the loss of his kingdom.‡

Dr. Henderson was provided with instruments; and 175
as, according to Baron Hugel, he had some tact for

* My information agrees with Hugel's. The Baron obained his version from Henderson himself. I got mine from the Botis of Ladák, and the officers of Zoráwar Sing's force.

† Quoted from Hugel's Travels, p. 102.

‡ Vigne, vol. ii. p. 337, says that Henderson himself complained to Ranjit of his detention at Lé.

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175 observation, an account of his travels would have been particularly valuable. He was probably the first European who had ever visited *Skardo*, or Little Tibet. He took that route to avoid the invading army of Dogras, and succeeded in reaching Kashmir in November 1835. All his observations were lost, along with his baggage, on the road between Ladák and Kashmir.* In 1847, I made repeated inquiries for English books, or English writing, with the hope of recovering some of Henderson's notes, but all in vain.

Ladák was visited by Mr. Vigne shortly after *Moré-Tátsi* had been placed on the throne by Zoráwar Sing. From Balti he proceeded through Lé to the Nubra valley, and returned by the same route. His short stay in Ladák was unfortunate; for, owing to the mutual jealousy of himself and the Dogra authorities, he was deprived of all means of obtaining information. His notice of Ladák is therefore the least interesting part of his rambles in the Alpine Panjáb. His accounts of Kashmir and Balti are full of valuable information, which is half lost for want of arrangement.

Early in 1846, when the result of the first Sikh war had made Raja Guláb Sing the undisputed master of Ladák and its dependencies, and he had no longer to guard himself against the power of the Sikh chiefs, it seemed not improbable that the hope of plunder and the desire of revenge might tempt him to repeat the expe-
175 dition of 1841 into the Lhasan territory. Such an
439 occurrence would at once have stopped the importation of shawl wool into our territory, and have closed the

* Baron Hugel's Travels, pp. 129, 151. Henderson's servant reported that his baggage was lost in the snow in the *Naubak* Pass. I presume that the *Namyika* Pass is intended.

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whole of the petty commerce of our hill states with Tibet. It was possible also that our peaceful relations with the Chinese emperor might be considerably embarrassed by his Celestial Majesty's ignorance of any distinction between the rulers of India and the rulers of Kashmir. As it seemed desirable to prevent the chance of such an occurrence, the British Government determined to remove the most common cause of all disputes in the East,—an unsettled boundary. For this purpose two officers were deputed, in August 1846, to the Tibetan frontier of Ladák, to ascertain the ancient boundaries between the two countries, and to lay down the boundary between the British territories and those of Mahárája Guláb Sing. The settlement of this boundary was one of some importance to the hill states, and more especially to our new acquisition of Nurpur, which received all its shawl wool from the traders of the eastern hill states, and not from Kashmir. Immediately after the war, I had pointed out that, by giving up to Mahárája Guláb Sing the southern dependencies of Ladák, we had actually interposed a rival territory between our own provinces on the Sutluj and the shawl-wool districts of Cháng-Tháng. The southern boundary of Spiti was, in fact, not more than thirty miles from Rámpur, on the Sutluj. As the annual revenue of the Spiti district, derived from all sources, does not amount to more than seven hundred rupees, no difficulty was experienced in making an exchange of territory with Mahárája Guláb Sing, and Spiti was added to the British dominions.

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It then became necessary to define the northern boundary of Spiti, with the other districts of Ladák. The two commissioners deputed for this purpose were

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the late lamented Vans Agnew and myself. We left Simla on the 2nd August, 1846, and proceeded due north through Mandi, Kullu, and Láhul, to the Bara Lácha Pass, just beyond which stands the well-known *phálang-danda*, or boundary-stone, between the British province of Láhul and the Ladáki district of Zanskar. From this point we proceeded to the Tshomoriri lake, and I mapped in the British boundary from the *phálang-danda* to the Chinese frontier.

We were accompanied by Anant Rám, the Vazir of Shassa, in Kanáwar, who was deputed to attend us by the Raja of Bisahar, because he knew Hindustani, and could both speak and write Tibetan. To him we intrusted the Governor-General's letter addressed to the Chinese Governor of Lhasa. Anant Rám proceeded by Tashigong and the valley of the Indus to Gáro. On his arrival, the people at first refused to let him see the Governor; but as he persisted (according to his instructions) in declining to make over the letter to any one but the Governor himself, he was at length admitted within the fort, and then presented the letter. The Governor remarked that no letter had ever yet been received from the British authorities, and that his only communications to the westward were with the Raja of Bisahar. Anant Rám replied that he was the servant of the Bisahar Raja, who had directed him to accompany the British officers to the Chinese frontier, for the purpose of delivering the letter in question. On this, the Governor remarked that he would forward the letter to Lhasa, but that an answer could not be received for a whole year. A tent was then provided for Anant Rám, and he remained at Gáro for eight days, and was well treated the whole time.

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Early the following year, as soon as the passes were open, the Raja of Bisahar reported that some Chinese authorities had arrived at Gáro, and that they had been despatched by the Governor of Lhasa. It was therefore determined to send a second commission to the Tibetan frontier for the purpose of laying down the ancient boundary between Ladák and Tibet. Three commissioners were appointed,— 131 648

Captain (now Major) Alexander Cunningham, of the Engineers.

Lieutenant (now Captain) Henry Strachey.

Dr. Thomas Thomson.

Captain Henry Strachey had already distinguished himself by his bold and successful visit to the holy well of Mánasarovara in the previous year, and Dr. Thomas Thomson was well known as one of the first botanists in India. The mission was supplied with portable magnetic and meteorological instruments; but as only one barometer was procurable, the observations for atmospheric pressure were confined to the parts of the country which Captain Strachey visited. My observations for temperature and moisture were continued from the south-eastern boundary of Spiti, throughout Ladák and Kashmir, to Shamsábád on the western frontier of the Panjáb. I observed the magnetic dip, declination, and intensity at Puga, Lé, and Molbil in Ladák, at Trinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and at Shamsábád. All these observations, with the exception of those at Ladák, were taken on the regular term-days laid down for monthly magnetic observation. 000

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II.—GEOGRAPHY.

1.—GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

133 THE most striking feature in the physical aspect of Ladák is the parallelism of its mountain-ranges, which stretch through the country from south-east to north-west. This general direction of the mountain-chains determines the courses of the rivers as well as the boundaries of the natural divisions of the country. The general aspect of Ladák is extreme barrenness. Seen from above, the country would appear a mere succession of yellow plains and barren mountains capped with snow, and the lakes of Pangkong and Tshomo Riri would seem like bright oases amidst a vast desert of rock and sand. No trace of man nor of human habitations would meet the eye: and even the large spots of cultivated land would be but small specks on the mighty waste of a deserted world. But a closer view would show many fertile tracts along the rivers, covered with luxuriant crops, and many picturesque monasteries, from which the chant of human voices ascends on high in daily prayer and praise. The yellow plains along the Indus would then be seen covered with flocks of the shawl-wool goat, and all the principal thoroughfares of the country dotted with numerous flocks of sheep laden with the merchandise of China and of India.

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The territory of Ladák is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Its different valleys lie along the head-waters of the Indus, the Sutluj, and the Chenáb; and the joint effects of elevation and of isolation amidst snowy mountains produce perhaps the most singular climate in the known world. Burning heat by day is succeeded by piercing cold at night, and everything is parched by the extreme dryness of the air. The rarefied atmosphere offers but little impediment to the sun's rays, which during a short summer are sufficiently powerful to ripen barley at an elevation of 15,000 feet, although the temperature falls below the freezing point every night. This climate is equally favourable to animal life. The plains between 16,000 and 17,000 feet are covered with wild horses and hares and immense flocks of domestic goats and sheep; and the slopes of the hills up to 19,000 feet abound with marmots and Alpine hares. Such is the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, that no rain falls and but little snow, and both meats and fruits are cured by mere exposure to the air.

2.—BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

Ladák is the most westerly country occupied by the Tibetan race who profess the Buddhist faith. On the north it is divided by the Kárákoram mountains from the Chinese district of Kotan. To the east and south-east are the Chinese districts of Rudok and Chumurti; and to the south are the districts of Lahul and Spiti, now attached to British India, but formerly belonging to Ladák. To the west lie Kashmir and Balti, the former separated by the western Himalaya, and the

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101 latter by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of
131 the Dras river to the sources of the Nubra river.

131 Its greatest extent is from north-west to south-east, from the head of the Dras river, in longitude 75° 30′, to Chibra, on the Indus, in longitude 79° 10′, a distance of 240 miles. Its greatest breadth is 290 miles, from the Kárákoram Pass, in north latitude 35° 10′, to the Rotang Pass in Lahul, in latitude 32° 25′. Its mean length is 200 miles, and its mean breadth 150 miles. Its whole extent is therefore only 30,000 square miles.

634 The natural divisions of the country are: 1st, Nubra on the Shayok: 2nd, Ladák Proper, on the Indus: 3rd, Zanskar, on the Zanskar river: 4th, Rukchu, around the lakes of Tshomo Riri and Tsho-Kar: 5th, Purik, Suru, and Dras, on the different branches of the Dras river: 6th, Spiti, on the Spiti river: and 7th, Lahul, on the Chandra and Bhaga, or head-waters of the Chenáb. These also are the actual divisions of the country, for the natural boundaries of a mountainous district generally remain unaltered, in spite of the changes wrought by war and religion.

636 Ladák is divided politically between Maharaja Guláb Sing and the East-India Company. To the former belong all the northern districts, to the latter only the two southern districts of Lahul and Spiti.

3.—DIFFERENT NAMES OF LADÁK.

101 Ladák, in Tibetan *La-tags*, is the most common
103 name of the country; but it is also called *Mar-yul*,* or

* *dMar-yul* or d*Mar-po-yul*, "Red-land." Csoma de Körös spells the name *Mar-yul*, the "low-country;" but as Hwan Thsang, in A.D.

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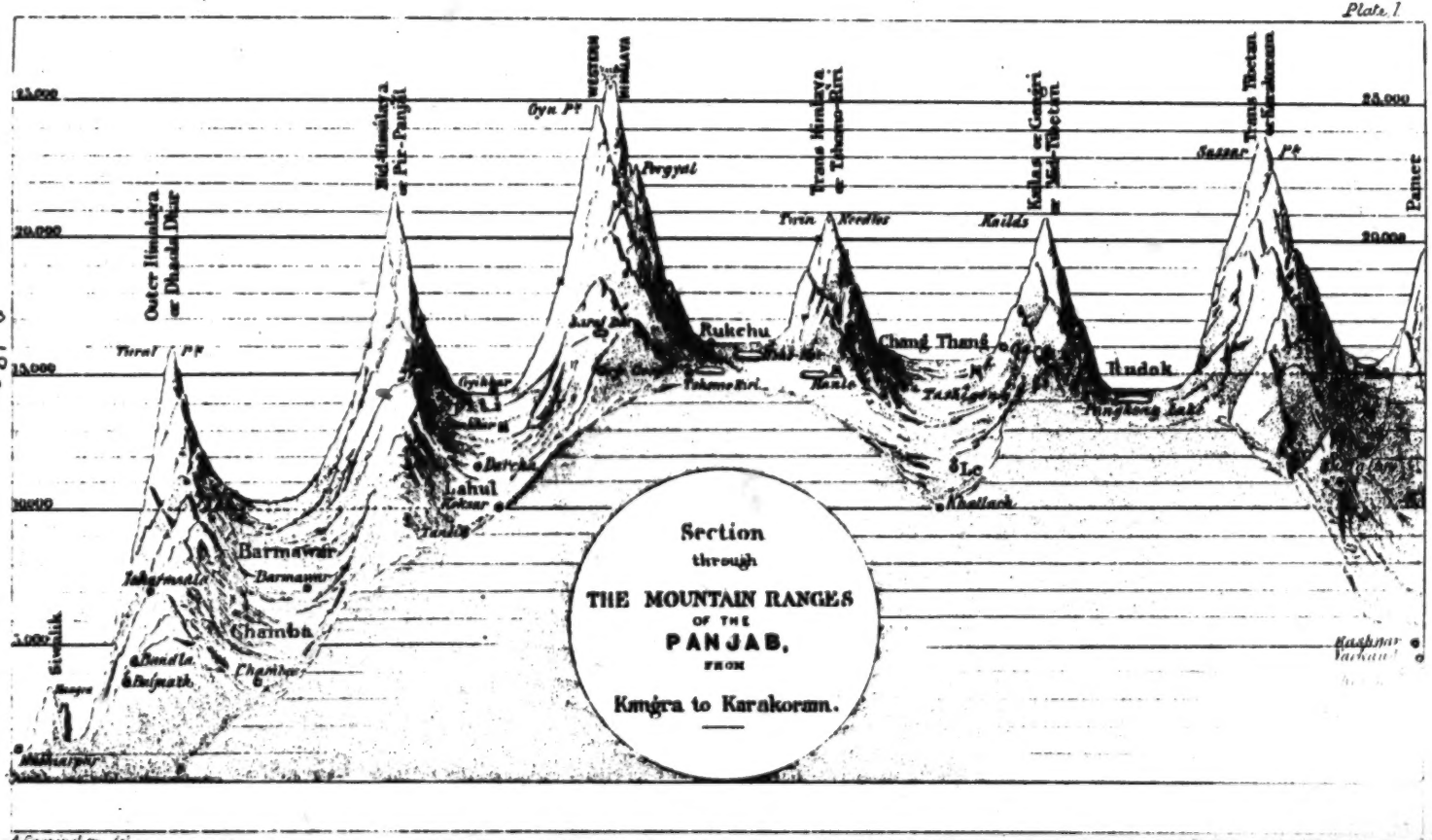
Plate. I



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1: Gunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibet AJ4

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101 Low-land or Red-land, and *Kha-chan-pa*, or Snow-land,
103 both of which names are used by the old Chinese travellers; by Fa-Hian, A.D. 400, who calls the kingdom *Kie-chha;* and by Hwan Thsang, A.D. 640, who calls it *Ma-lo-pho*. The name of *Kha-chan-pa*, or Snow-land, is also applied to the Lhasan kingdom of Great Tibet. The two central districts of Great Tibet are *dBus*, and *gTsang*, usually pronounced *U* and *Tsang*, or jointly *U-Tsang*. But the uncorrupted pronunciation is preserved by Ptolemy in *Dabasæ*, who must be the people of dBus; and in Turner's *Pue-koa-chin*, which is most probably *dBus-Kha-pa-chan*, or the "snowy land of *dBus*." Ladák was formerly subject to Lhasa, to which it paid a small tribute until A.D. 1834, when it was seized by Zoráwar Sing, the enterprising general of Mahárája Guláb Sing, of Jammu; and it now forms a part of his new kingdom of Kashmir.

101 Ladák is inhabited by a peculiar race of people, who call themselves *Bot-pa*,* who speak a peculiar language called Tibetan, and who profess the religion of Buddha, under a peculiar hierarchy of monks called Lamas. The name of Tibet is entirely unknown to the people as well as to the Indians, who call them Bhotiyas, and their country Bhutan. The use of the names of Bot and Bhutan is probably not older than the tenth or twelfth century, when the Buddhists, having been expelled from India, the hill country in which they settled naturally acquired the name of Bauddha-sthan or Bauddh-than, and Bod-tan or Bot.

According to Klaproth, Tibet is a Mogul word, which

640, calls it *Ma-lo-pho* or *Mar-po*, that is "red," there is still some doubt about the true meaning of the name.

* The name is spelt *Bod*, but pronounced *Bot*.

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101 should more properly be written Tubet. But the name of Ti-bat (تبت) is mentioned by Abu Zaid Al Hasan, in A.D. 915, by Ibn Haúkal in about A.D. 950, by Abu Rihán in 1030, and afterwards by Edrisi in A.D. 1154, all long prior to the Mogul conquests of Changez Khan in the 13th century, before whose time it is highly improbable that any Mogul names could have been in use in Persia. Mir Izzet Ullah says that Tibet is a Turki word signifying shawl-wool: but I should think the shawl-wool was called Tibeti because it came from Tibet. One might as well derive the name of India from indigo. There is no trace of the name of Tibet nor even of Bot in any of the classical authors: but the people are most probably described under the name of Seres, the inhabitants of Chinese Tartary, from whom the western merchants obtained their silks. According to Pausanias,* "the Greeks called the silkworm *Ser*, but the people of Serika probably gave it another name." Now the Tibetans call a worm *Srin*, or *Srin-bu*, and the silkworm *Dar-kyi-Srin;* and Pausanias says that the silkworm was twice the size of a beetle, Σειρην. As the Greeks had not seen the silkworm when they first used the name of Ser, it seems to me more than probable that they would have adopted the native name rather than have invented one of their own.

4.—DISTRICTS OF LADÁK.

634 The different districts of Ladák have been partially
103 named according to their relative geographical positions; as *Nub-ra*, the western district (or Wessex), and *Lho-yul*, the southern country (or Suffolk). To the south-east

* VI. p. 26.

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of Ladák, but to the north of *Ngari*, lies the extensive province of *Chang Thang*, or the "northern plains." Ladák itself is called Mar-yul or Low-land, perhaps from its inferior elevation to all the surrounding districts. 634 103

Nubra,* or the north-western district of Ladák, includes all the country drained by the Nubra and Shayok rivers. It is by far the largest district in the country, being about 128 miles in length by 72 miles in breadth, with an area of 9,200 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Kárákoram mountains, and on the south by the Kailas range, which divides the Indus from the Shayok; and it extends from the frontier of Balti, in east longitude 77°, to the Pangkong lake on the borders of Rudok. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts of the country, from an average of fourteen observations at different places, is 12,763 feet. 634 131 133

Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called *Mang-yul*, or the "district of many people." It stretches along the Indus in a north-westerly direction from Rukchu to the frontier of Balti, a length of 120 miles, with an average breadth of 33 miles. Its area is about 4,000 square miles, and the mean elevation of the inhabited portions, as deduced from observations along the Indus, is 11,500 feet. [103] [131] [162]

Zanskar includes all the country lying along the two great branches of the Zanskar river, in a general direction from south-east to north-west. It is bounded by Ladák on the north, by Rukchu on the east, by Lahul on the south, and by the small districts of Purik and Wanla on the west. The southern boundary is formed by the

* *Nub-ra*, western.

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634 great Himálaya itself, the western boundary by the
131 transverse range of Singgé Lá, and the northern boun-
133 dary by the Trans-Himálayan chain. Its greatest length is 72 miles, but its mean length is not more than 56 miles, and its mean breadth is about the same, or 55 miles. It has an area of 3,000 square miles, and a mean elevation of 13,154 feet, as deduced from seven different observations along the course of the valley. The name [103] of *Zangs-kar** means "white copper" or brass; but I have no idea why it is so named.

Rukchu is the most elevated district in Ladák, and one of the loftiest inhabited regions in the known world. The mean height of the plains, as determined from twenty-one different spots where I encamped in 1846 and 1847, is 15,634 feet. This is the mean height of the great plain of Kyang, which extends from the foot of the Thung-lung Pass to the fords of the Sum-Gal, a length of 35 miles. It is also the height of the plains around the *Tsho-kar*, or White Lake, and of the long sloping plains from the Lanák ridge to the Para river. Rukchu is bounded on the north by Ladák Proper, on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti, on the south by Lahul and Spiti, and on the west by Zanskar. Its length from the Thung-lung Pass to the head of the Hanlé river is 90 miles, and its mean breadth about 62 miles, which give an area of 5,500 square miles.

Purik, *Suru*, and *Dras*† are three small districts to

* *Zangs-dKar*, "copper-white."

103 † These names are not all Tibetan, as Dras is the Kashmiri name for the district of *Hem-babs*. In Tibetan they are written *Pu-rig*; *Su-ru*; and *Hem-babs*. The last name means "snow-fed or snow-descended,"

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634 131 133 the west of Zanskar, on the high road between Kashmir and Lé. To *Purik* belong the villages of the Waka and Phugal rivers, from their sources in the transverse range of Singgé Lá to Kargyil, below their junction. The principal places in Purik are Mulbil, Paskyum, and Sod, each of which once had a petty chief of its own. *Suru* also owned a petty chief who lived at Lung Kartse, the principal place in the valley. The river is sometimes called by this name, but more generally by that of Suru. The Suru river joins the Waka-chu immediately below Kargyil. *Dras* is the most westerly of these small [103] districts. Its Tibetan name of Hem-babs (snow-fed or snow descended) is descriptive of its most striking peculiarity, as the most snowy district of Ladák. [132] It owes this peculiarity to the great depression in the Himálaya, at the head of the Dras river, which allows the constantly humid vapours of Kashmir to pass to the north of the mountains, where they become condensed by the cold, and are precipitated in rain or snow, according to the season of the year. These small districts extend in length from the frontier of Balti to Zanskar, a distance of 84 miles, and in breadth from the head of the Suru valley to the Photo-la, a distance of 50 miles. The area is 4,200 square miles, and the mean height of the inhabited parts, as determined by the elevation of thirteen camps, is 11,196 feet.

*Spiti** is bounded on the north by Rukchu, on the

Hem being the Sanscrit *Hima*, which has long been naturalized in Tibet. See Csoma's Tibetan Dictionary, *in voce*.

* *Spi-ti.* In Kullu and Kanáwar this district is generally called Piti, but the proper name is Spiti.

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634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu,
[144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion,
[134] with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate
137 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the
132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by ~~34 in~~ breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
133

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of the different districts of Ladák is added for the sake of comparison. 634 · 133

		Extent in sq. miles.			Mean height.
M. Gulób Sing.	Nubra ...	... 9,216	...	...	... 12,763
	Ladák ...	... 3,960	...	...	... 11,500
	Zanskar ...	... 3,080	...	...	... 13,154
	Rukchu ...	... 5,580	...	...	... 15,634
	Purik-Suru-Dras	... 4,200	...	...	... 11,196
			26,036	...	...
British.	Spiti	... 2,312	...	...	... 12,986
	Láhul ...	... 1,872	...	...	... 11,063
			4,184		
		Total sq. miles	30,220	...	Mean height 12,613

5.—NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

The countries to the north, the west, and the south of Ladák are inhabited by people who speak at least four languages quite distinct from Tibetan. To the north the people of Yarkand and Kotan speak Turki; to the west, beyond Balti, the people of Astor, Gilget, and Hunza Nager speak different dialects of Dardu, while the Kashmiris have a language peculiar to themselves; and to the south the people of Chamba, Kullu, and Bisahar speak a dialect of Hindi, which is chiefly derived from Sanakrit. To the east and south-east the people of Rudok, Chang-Thang, and Ngari speak Tibetan only.

To the north of the Kárákoram range, lie the Chinese districts of Yarkand, Kotan, and Káshgár, which, with the exception of the Chinese functionaries, and Tartar soldiers, are wholly peopled by Musulmáns. As I found it difficult to obtain any truth-like information regarding the statistics of these countries, I confined my inquiries to their natural productions, in the hope of meeting with

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something that would tend to determine their approximate height above the sea. All my informants agreed in stating that the people of these countries usually drove two and three horses abreast in their carriages or wagons, and that even four horses were occasionally harnessed abreast. On hearing this, I asked the width of the streets, but I obtained no satisfactory reply. Some said ten yards, some twenty yards: but when asked to mark out the width on the ground, not one of them showed more than twenty-five feet.

Yarkand. Moorcroft was informed that the population of Yarkand was between 50,000 and 60,000, a number which would require about 10,000 houses. Of these I was told that 500 houses belonged to Kashmiris alone, and thirty or thirty-two to Argons, or half-bloods. The productions were stated as follows.

Crops.	Vegetables.	Fruits.	Trees.
Rice	Cucumber	Grapes	Deodar
Jawár	Kadu	Apricots	Plane
Wheat	Tarohi	Peaches	Elæagnus M.
Barley	Onions	Apples	
Pease	Radishes	Pears	
Alsi	Turnips	Plums	
Mung*	Carrots	Mulberries	
Urd†	Spinach	Melons	
Masur‡			

In the hill provinces of India we know that the deodar does not flourish under 5,000 feet, and that rice is seldom seen above 6,000 feet. We know, also, that both are found in Kashmir, which has a mean elevation of 5,300 feet. But as Yarkand lies at least four degrees to the

* Phaseolus Mungo. † Dolichos pilosus. ‡ Cicer lens.

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northward of Kashmir, the limits of the growth of deodars and of rice will of course be reduced. I do not, therefore, estimate the height of Yarkand at more than 4,000 feet above the sea.

At *Kotan* and *Aksu* the produce was said to be the same, with the sole addition of *gram* or pulse (Cicer arietinum); I should therefore estimate the height of these places at somewhat less, or between 3,500 and 4,000 feet.

The produce of *Kashgar* was said to be much the same as at Yarkand, with the single exception of rice, of which but very little is grown. As this indicates a somewhat higher elevation than Yarkand, I estimate the height of Kashgar at about 4,500 feet above the sea.

The districts lying along the Indus, to the westward of Ladák, are inhabited by two distinct races, the Tibetans, who have become Musulmáns, and the Dards. They speak wholly different languages, and even the Dards themselves speak three distinct dialects, which have but few words common to all. The Tibetan districts are Khapolor, Chhorbad, and Keris, on the Shayok; Khartakshe, Totte, and Parguta, on the Singgé-chu; Shigar, on the Shigar river; and Balti and Rongdo, on the Indus. The district of Astor, also, must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, as the chief even now bears the title of *Makpon*, and traces his descent from the same common ancestor as the Gyalpos of Balti, and several of the other states.*

634 131 *Chhorbad* extends along the Shayok river, from Chulung, on the frontier of Ladák, to Daho, on the boundary of Khapolor, a distance of forty-two miles. Beyond this,

* See also Vigne, Travels, vol. ii. p. 251.

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634 Khapolor stretches twenty-five miles further down the
131 Shayok, the whole length of the chiefship being sixty-seven miles. As the mean breadth is about thirty miles, the area will be 2,010 square miles. The mean height of the villages is about 9,000 feet. The chiefs of Kha-
173 polor have for several generations acknowledged the supremacy of the Gyalpos of Balti, but their ancestors most probably had possession of the country for several centuries before the rise of the Balti dynasty, whose very title of *Makpon*, or "General," betrays that they are the descendants of some military chief. The chiefs of Khapolor and Keris, who both trace their families up from Bewán-cho, declare that all the chiefs of these countries are descended from Bikam, the tenth generation from Bewán-cho. But Ahmed Shah of Balti, and the other chiefs of his family, traced their origin to a Fakir, who had married the daughter and only child of the reigning Gyalpo. The probability is, that the Makpons are descended from an adventurer named Bokha, who about A.D. 1500, established himself in the valley of the Indus, and obtained the title of *Makpon*, or General.

The following is the genealogy of the Gyalpos of Khapolor. It opens with Sultan Sikander, or Alexander the Great, whose successors were Abraham and Isaac. This part is evidently fabulous; but from Sultan Yagu, the 39th name, the list is perhaps tolerably correct, for the name of Yagu has descended to the present day as a title in the family, the present chief being styled Sultan Yagu Daolat Ali Khan. As there are sixty-seven princes in all, down to this time, the approximate date of Sultan Yagu's accession to power may be found by allowing a period of fifteen years for each reign. This estimate fixes the rise of Sultan Yagu in A.D. 1410, the

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173 very year in which Sikander Butshikan, the Idol-breaker of Kashmir, died. The coincidence of time is curious, and it is not improbable that Sultan Yagu may have been despatched by the bigoted Sikander to propagate the religion of Muhammed amongst the Tibetans on the Indus.

GYALPOS OF KHAPOLOR.

	Names.	Probable Date.	
1	Sultan Sikandar		
2	„ Ibrahim		
3	„ Ishák		
4	Abdul Ralimad		
5	Mir Barâhir		
6	Arman Samâhir		
7	Beshrab Nam		
8	Tinlu Tung		
9	Sultan Mahmud		
10	Mehndi Ghazâli		
11	„ Ibrahim		
12	„ Malik Haider Shah		
13	Sultan Malik Ghazâli		
14	„ Malik Shah		
15	„ Juned Shah		
16	„ Haider Shah		
17	„ Haider Karár		
18	„ Shah Ibrahim		
19	„ Johar Fani		
20	„ Najm Malik		
21	„ Malik Rustam		
22	„ Mehndi Mir		
23	„ Malik Mir		
24	„ Malik Jahar		
25	Sáad Ulla Khan		
26	„ Karun Beg		
27	„ Jalil Khan		
28	„ Rustam Beg		
29	„ Atta Ulla Khan		
30	„ Khalil Khan		

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	Names.	Probable Date.	
31	Saád Yakub Khan		
32	„ Mir Ghazi		
33	„ Malik Purnur		
34	„ Babúr Malik		
35	„ Mokhim Khan		
36	„ Shah Azim Beg		
37	„ Gohar Beg		
38	„ Malik Shah Shujá	A.D.	
39	Sultan YAGU	1410	
40	„ Yagu Latif Beg	1425	
41	„ Yagu Sher Ghazi ...	1440	
42	„ Yagu Ahmed Ghazi ...	1455	
43	„ Nur Ghazi	1470	
44	„ Alemgir Ghazi	1485	
45	„ BRWÂN-CHO	1500	
46	„ Hil Ghazi	1515	
47	„ Sher Ghazi	1530	
48	„ Beg Mantar	1545	
49	„ Torab Khan	1560	
50	„ Sálmundé	1575	
51	„ Brol Dé	1590	
52	„ Malik Baz	1605	
53	„ Arzona	1620	
54	„ Tikam	1635	
55	„ Bikam	1650	
56	„ Kurkor	1665	
57	„ Bairam	1680	
58	„ Mir Khan	1695	
59	„ Ibrahim	1710	
60	„ Ghazi Mir Cho	1725	
61	„ Husen Khan	1740	
62	„ Rahim Khan	1755	
63	„ Hatim Khan	1770	
64	„ Daolut Khan	1785	
65	„ Mahmud Ali Khan ...	1800	
66	„ Yahia Khan	1815	
67	„ Daolut Ali Khan ... has a son, Md. Ali Khan.	1830	now reigning.

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Keris. The small district of Keris is situated along the lower course of the Shayok, just above its junction with the Indus. It is about sixteen miles in length, and ten miles in mean breadth. Its area is not more than 160 square miles, and the mean height of its villages above the sea is about 8,000 feet. The present chief, Kuram Ali Khan, claims descent from Biwan-cho, one of the Gyalpos of Khapolor, and he gives the following genealogy of that family.

	Names.	Probable Date.	
1	Biwan-cho	1500	
2	Lëo	1540	
3	Raja Ali Mir Sher	1575	
4	Ahmed Mir	1610	
5	Amir	1645	
6	Ali Khan...	1680	reigning in A.D. 1685.
7	Mir-Beg	1715	
8	Mirza-Beg	1750	
9	Zulfikar Khan	1785	
10	Kuram Ali Khan	1820	

Parguta. The present chiefship of Parguta extends from Sarmik, ten miles above the confluence of the Shayok and Indus, to Goltari, near the junction of the Drás river, thus including both Khartakshe (or Khar-Mang) and Tolti. Its length is about forty-three miles; its mean breadth thirty-two miles; and its area 1,548 square miles. The mean height of its villages above the sea is about 7,800 feet.

The Gyalpo of Parguta claims to be the eleventh in descent from the Makpon Bokka, who is perhaps the same as the fakir whom Vigne mentions as the progeni-

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BALTI AV2

173 tor of all the Makpon families. The following is the genealogy, with the probable dates of accession.

	Names.	Probable Date.	
1	Makpon Bokha	1500	
2	„ Sher	1530	
3	„ Ghazi	1560	
4	„ ALI SHER KHAN ...	1590	
5	„ Ahmed Khan	1620	
6	„ Sher Shah	1650	
7	„ Azizcho	1680	
8	„ Azim Khan	1710	
9	„ Sahadat Khan	1740	
10	„ Abdul Rahim	1770	
11	Mahomed Ali	1800	
12	Ali Sher Khan	1830	
	Son, Jafar Ali Khan.		

Ali Sher Khan, the fourth in descent from Bokha, conquered Ladák and Khapolor, and bequeathed them to his son, Ahmed Khan, who was the last of the supreme Makpons. On his death the country was divided amongst his sons: but the former chief of Khapolor soon declared his independence, and ejected the new ruler, Sultan Khan. The Gyalpos of Balti always selected their wives from this family, as the most exalted of their neighbours

634. 131 133 *Shigar.* The little chiefship of Shigar is confined entirely to the valley of the Shigar river, a large feeder of the Indus, to the north of Balti. Its length, from south-east to north-west, is seventy-two miles, and its breadth thirty-six miles. Its area is 2,592 square miles; and the probable mean height of its villages above the sea is not less than 8,000 feet. Shigar possesses a Gyalpo of its own, but he has generally been subject to the chiefs of BALTI.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
BALTI AV2

the chiefs of Balti. The following genealogy was obtained from Sulimán Khan, the present chief of Shigar. It is curious, for two reasons—first, because the title of *Tham*, or King, borne by the earlier princes, proves that the family must be connected with the Dards of Hunza-Nager, whose chiefs bear the same title at present; and second, because the approximate date obtained for the first chief's accession, agrees very nearly with that of Sultan Yagu, of Khapolor. It is probable, therefore, that the Khapolor and Shigar families both owe their rise to some common cause, perhaps connected with the extension of the Muhammedan religion. 173

	Name.	Probable Date.	
1	Ámáchah	1440	
2	Châh-tham	1455	
3	Chama-tham	1470	
4	Yaksir Gao-tham	1485	
5	Khomulgo-tham	1500	
6	Gobúlgo-tham	1515	
7	Khân	1530	
8	Makhân	1545	
9	Ram	1560	
10	Rahmûm	1575	
11	Daolat Shah	1590	
12	Haripal Marchak	1605	
13	Ambarot	1620	
14	Ghazi Mir	1635	
15	Ali Mir	1650	
16	Ama Chan Dé	1665	
17	Ghir-ze	1680	
18	Haidar Khan	1695	
19	Hasan Khan	1710	
20	Imâm Kuli Khan	1725	
21	Kuli Khan	1740	
22	Azem Khan	1755	
23	Ali Khan...	1770	
24	Husen Khan	1785	

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173

	Name.	Probable Date.	
25	Mohammed Khan	1800	
26	Kuli Khan	1815	
27	Sulimán Khan	1830	

103 *Balti*, or *Balti-yul*, is called Palolo, or Balor, by the Dards, and *Nang-kod* by the Tibetans. Balti is the most common name, and perhaps the oldest, as it is preserved by Ptolemy in Byltæ. The country is also frequently called Skardo, from the name of its well-known fort and capital. This name means either the "inclosed place," or more probably the "starry place," as the Lamas of Ladak write the name, *Skar-ma-mDo*.* Vigne states that the Botis of Ladak call it Sagar-khoad,† which is only a variety of the same; for Skar-kod means simply the "starry building." The Dogra soldiers always call the place Kardo; but the true name, as written by the Tibetans, is Skardo.

131 634 Balti proper is a small district bounded by Shigar on the north, by Keris and Parguta on the east, by Gures on the south, and by Astor and Rongdo on the west. Including the table-land of Deotsu, it is about

* The name is written *Skar-mDo*, or *Skar-ma-mDo*, and is so pronounced by the people. *I*skardo is a cockneyism of the Kashmiris, for no Musulmán can pronounce the double consonants in *s*, without putting an *i* before them, as in the common name of *iSmith*. A remarkable instance of this peculiarity is found in the name of a place in Wákhán, which Marco Polo calls *Scassem*, and Wood, *Ishkashm*. As Wákhán was still a Kafir country when Taimur invaded India, the initial *i* must have been added by the Musulmáns. The double consonants in *s*, and the letter *v* are the Shibboleth of the Musulmáns.

† Travels, vol. ii. p. 249. *Skar-hGod*, is the proper name. Vigne's derivation of Skar-kod (Sagar-khoad) from words in two different languages, from *Sagara*, the ocean, in Sanskrit, and *do*, two, in Persian, is quite inadmissible. *Sagar* is only another attempt to pronounce the double consonant *Sk* in *Skar*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
BALTI AV2

sixty miles long and thirty-six miles broad. Its area is about 2,160 square miles, and the mean height of its villages above the sea is about 7,000 feet. 131 634

The Gyalpos of Balti trace their descent from a Fakir who married the daughter and only child of the ruling sovereign. As the chiefs of Parguta, who are of the same family, trace their descent from Makpon Bokha, it is probable that the Fakir and Bokha are the same person. The story, as related to Vigne by Ahmed Shah himself, is as follows:—The last Gyalpo had an only daughter, whose hand was sought by twelve petty chiefs. Before any choice was made, a fakir was found sitting on a large stone in the village of Shikari. He remained seated day and night, and in a short time acquired a reputation for sanctity; after which the young lady was given to him by the consent of all parties. In proof of this story, the people still show the holy stone called *Burdonas*,* or the "smooth stone cushion," on which the holy man was wont to rest, and on which the heir apparent was always inaugurated on his reaching manhood. 173 778

The following is the genealogy of the Gyalpos of Balti, with the probable dates of their accession. 173

	Name.	Probable Date.	
1	ALI SHER	1590	conquered Ladák.
2	Ahmed	1620	
3	Shah Murad	1650	
4	Rafi Khân	1680	
5	Sultân Murâd Khân ...	1710	
6	Zafar Khan	1740	
7	Ali Sher Khan	1770	
8	Ahmed Shah	1800	deposed by Zoráwar Sing.
9	Mahomed Shah ...	1840	

* Vigne, Travels, vol. ii. p. 251, calls the stone Burdo Nest, but the true name is *dBur-rDo-rNgas*, or *Burdoñas*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
BALTI AV2

173 Ali Sher, a descendant of the Fakir, is the first chief of whom anything is mentioned. He built the fort of Skardo, and conquered Ladák in the reign of Jehangir, or about A.D. 1610.* His son Ahmed Shah lost Ladák. Shah Murad, the third prince, is said to have taken possession of Gilgit, Hunza-Nager, and Chitral, and to have reconquered Ladák. His reign extended from about 1720 to 1750 A.D., and his conquest of Ladák was probably only a plundering excursion into the western districts, which the plunderers dignified with the name of a conquest. The last independent chief was Ahmed Shah. In 1840 his country was invaded by Zoráwar Sing, and after a short siege, the fort of Skardo surrendered for want of water. In the winter of 1841, Ahmed Shah accompanied the unfortunate expedition against Lhasa; and on Zoráwar Sing's death, was taken prisoner and confined in Balwálté near Lhasa, where he soon after died. Balti is now held in jaghir by Muhammad Shah, the disinherited son of Ahmed Shah, who pays an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000 to Maharaja Guláb Sing, of Kashmir.

634 131 *Rongdo* is the last Tibetan district on the Indus to the westward of Balti. On the north lie Shigar and Hunza-Nager, and to the west and south are Gilgit and Astor. The name† means the "district of defiles," and is descriptive of the bed of the Indus, which throughout Rongdo is a deep rocky gorge. The district extends from Gurbidas to a tree at Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, a distance of forty-five miles, with a mean breadth of thirty-two miles. Its area is about 1,440 square miles, [133] and the mean height of its villages about 6,200 feet.

* See also Vigne, vol. ii. p. 253.

† *Rong-m-Do*, "Defile-district."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
BALTI AV2
DARD AV3

The chief of Rongdo claims descent from the Makpons of Balti, to whom the district has always been subject. B 634

The following list gives the genealogy of the chiefs, with the probable dates of accession. B 173

	Name.	Probable Date.	
1	ALI SHER	1590	
2	Ahmed Khan	1620	
3	Ali Shah	1650	
4	Daolat Sher	1680	
5	Asaad Ulla Khan	1710	
6	Mahomed Ali Khan	1740	
7	Murad Khan	1770	
8	Abbas Beg	1800	
9	Ali Khan...	1830	now reigning.
	Husen Khan (son)		
	Abdullah Khan (grandson)		

DARDU DISTRICTS ON THE INDUS.

Of the country inhabited by the Dards, my information is scanty but interesting. When I was in Kashmir I found the Vazirs of Gilgit and Nager in attendance upon the Maharaja Guláb Sing, by whose permission they came twice to visit me. As they both spoke Persian and a little Hindustani, I obtained from them tolerably complete vocabularies of the dialects of their own districts, and a less perfect vocabulary of the dialect of Chitrál. The words in these vocabularies are correctly written according to the spelling in the Persian character, which all the Dards make use of in writing their own language, of which there are three distinct dialects,—the Shiná, the Khajunah, and the Arniya. 000 D 197

The *Shiná* dialect is spoken by the people of Astor, Gilgit, Chelas, Darél, Kohli, and Pálas.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
DARD AV3

197 The *Khajunah* dialect is spoken by the people of Hunza and Nager.

The *Arniya* is spoken in Yasan and Chitrál.

These dialects have little in common with each other, and are widely different from those of the surrounding people.

634 *Astor* is situated on the left bank of the Indus, below Makpon-i-Shang-Rong. It has an area of about 1,600 173 square miles. Its chief claims descent from Ali Sher of Balti, and takes the title of Makpon.

634 *Gilgit** is situated on the right bank of the Indus, along the lower course of the Gilgit river. It is about 100 miles long from north to south, with a mean breadth of twenty-six miles. Its area is therefore about 2,500 173 square miles. The chief takes the title of Trakhna, from an ancestor.

634 The districts of Chélas, Darél, Kohli, and Pálas, lie along both banks of the Indus below Gilgit and Astor.

Hunza-Nager is a small tract of country on the upper course of a large feeder of the Gilgit river. It is named from two towns situated close to each other, on opposite banks of the river. The two districts have an area of 101 1,672 square miles. The chief of Hunza is called 634 Girkhis, and the chief of Nager is called Mágalato. The former name is no doubt the same as the Kirghis, who inhabit the steppes of Pamer to the north of Hunza-Nager beyond the Kárákoram. I presume that this district was formerly inhabited by the Dards, and that they were displaced by the Kirghis nomads. The chiefs of Shigar who take the Khajunak title of Tham, must also be Kirghis.

634 *Yasan* is a large district on the upper course of the

* In Tibetan *Gyil-gyid.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
DARD AV3

Gilgit river. It is seventy miles long from south-east to north-west, with a mean breadth of sixty miles. Its area is therefore about 4,200 square miles. The chief places are Yasan and Chatorkun. The chief takes the title of Bakhto, which is the name of his tribe. 634

When Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded India in A.D. 1030, the people of Gilgit, Astor, and Chélas were Turks, who spoke the Turki language.* These Turks were of the *Bhatáwari* tribe, and their king took the title of *Bhata Shah*, or king of the *Bhata* tribe. I presume that these are the same as the Bakhto of the present day; but their language has become mixed with that of all the surrounding people, and no longer bears any affinity to Turki. 197

Chitrál is a large district on the upper course of the Kunar river. The king takes the title of Shah Kator, which has been held for nearly 2,000 years, and the story of their descent from Alexander may be traced to the fact that they were the successors of the Indo-Grecian kings in the Kabul valley. 634 173

The large and interesting country of Kashmir, and the small principalities of the Alpine Panjáb to the south of Ladák, are too numerous to be treated of in this place. 000

To the east and south-east of Ladák lie the Chinese districts of Rudok, Chang-Thang, and Ngari.

Rudok lies immediately to the east of Ladák and Rukchu, but its climate is like that of the latter district. The principal feature of Rudok is the great Pang-kong lake, which stretches through the whole length of the country from east to west, a distance of about eighty miles. As the mean breadth is about sixty miles, the

* Reinaud's Fragmens Arabes, &c. p. 117.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

area of this district will be 4,800 square miles. The mean height is probably not under 14,500 feet, as the lake has an elevation of 14,200 feet above the sea.

Chang-Thang comprises the two districts of Chumurti and Garo on the Indus, but its extent to the eastward is unknown. The monastery of Tashigong is the chief place in those districts; but the government of the country is in the hands of the Gar-pon or Deputy Governor of Garo.

*Ngari** embraces the whole of the upper valley of the Sutluj, from the Manasarovara lake to the crest of the Porgyal mountain. It is subdivided into three smaller districts, Gugé, Gangri, and Purang. Gugé is the largest of the three, and contains the well-known towns of Tholing and Tsaprang. Gangri is the country around the holy lakes, and Purang is the upper valley of the Gogra or Karnali river.

* *mNgah-ris.* This district is called *Hyun-des* (Sanskrit, *Hima-des*) by the Hindus of the Cis-Himalayas; *hyun* being their term for snow. *Hyun-des* has been supposed to mean the Huns; but the name is not *Huna-des*, but *Hyun-des*, "Snow-country," which is a literal translation of the Tibetan name of *Kha-pa-chan*, or "Snow-land." The hill word *hyun* reminds one of the Greek χιων.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—MOUNTAINS.

I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

THE great Himálaya, which bounds India to the north, in one continuous chain of gigantic peaks, from the southward bend of the Brahmaputra to the holy lake of Manasoravara, is extended to the westward from the sources of the Sutluj to the magnificent peaks of Dayamur; and from thence to the sources of the Gilgit and Kunar rivers, where it joins the mountains of Pamer and Hindu Kush. Though less lofty than the eastern Himálaya, the western half of the chain is second to none else; and it is probable that some of its peaks may yet be found superior even to the most elevated of the Andes.* A single glance at the map of India will show the reasons that have induced me to consider the Bara-Lacha range as the continuation of the true Himálaya. It will be seen that the Eastern Himálaya divides the waters of the Tsang-po from those of the Ganges and its tributaries, while the Bara-Lacha forms the water-shed between the Indus and its five affluents. It

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* The highest peaks of the Andes are *Sorata*, 25,267 feet; Illimani, 23,952 feet; and Chimborazo, 21,440 feet. The mean of the *three* is 23,553 feet. The highest peaks in the Western Himalaya are, Nanda Devi (or Jawáhir), 25,749 feet; Gyu Peak, 24,764 feet; Monomangli, 23,900 feet; and Porgyal, 22,700 feet. The mean of these *four* peaks is 24,278 feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 will also be seen that the western, as well as the eastern chain, separates the great Hindu family of India from
144 the Botis of Tibet. Some mixed races are found to the south of each chain[1]: the Láhulis and Kanáwaris to the
132 west, and the Gorkhas and Bhutánis to the east. Lastly, it will be seen that both ranges form the lines of demarcation between the cold and dry climate of Tibet, with its dearth of trees, and the warm and humid climate of India, with its luxuriance of vegetable productions. These facts, joined to the great elevation of the range, are, I think, sufficient to warrant the selection of the Bara-Lacha chain as the continuation of the true Himálaya. But there is one marked difference between the eastern and western ranges which can scarcely fail in striking the most casual observer. The inferior mountains of the eastern chain generally run at right angles to its axis, whereas those of the western chain are mostly disposed in subordinate parallel ranges. The general parallelism of the principal mountain-ranges of the world,—of the Himálayas and the Altai, in Asia,—of the Atlas, in Africa,—and of the Alps and Apennines, the Pyrenees and Carpathians, in Europe,—has already been noticed by Humboldt and others. But this parallelism also exists in the subordinate ranges of the western Himálaya. Thus we find no less than two distinct and independent ranges to the south of the western Himálaya, both stretching in the same general direction from south-east to north-west. These ranges I propose to call the *Mid-Himálaya*, and the *Outer*, or *Sub-Himálaya*, leaving the name of Sewálik unchanged for the lowermost sandstone ranges.

Beyond the Himálaya the same system of parallel chains will be observed in at least three distinct ranges

[1 of the Himalayas - ANALYST.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of mountains, which I propose to call the *Trans-Himálaya*, the *Chushal*, and the *Kárákoram*, or *Trans-Tibetan* chains. These names are by no means intended to supersede any that may now exist, but only as descriptive appellations of extensive mountain-ranges which at present have no general names. 133*

1st. The *Trans-Tibetan* range is that which we call the Bolor and Kárákoram, on the west; and which probably merges into the Kuen-lun, on the east.* It is in fact the northern limit of the Tibetan people, and of their peculiar language. To the north are the people of Balti, Ladák, and Chang-Thang, who were known to Ptolemy as the Byltæ and *Chatæ Scythæ*. [131]

2nd. The *Kailás*, or *Gangri* range, runs through the midst of western Tibet, along the right bank of the Indus, to the junction of the Shayok. Neither Moorcroft nor Vigne has given any name to this range, though both of them crossed it several times, and in different places. I have ventured to call it the *Kailás*, or *Gangri* range, because those names are equally celebrated by the Hindus and Tibetans. *Kailás*, or "Ice-mountain," is the Indian Olympus, the abode of Siva and the celestials. *Gang-ri*, or "Ice-mountain," is called *Ri-gyal*, or King of Mountains, by the Tibetans, who look upon Ti-se, or the Kailás Peak, as the highest mountain in the world.† [103]

* Humboldt's Cosmos, vol. ii. p. 154. "The Hindu Kush, or Indian Caucasus, is a continuation of the Kuen-lun of North Tibet."

† *Kailás* means "crystalline, or icy," and is derived from *Kelás*, crystal, which is itself a compound of *ke*, water, and *las*, to shine. The Tibetan name of Gangri (*Gangs-Ri*) means "ice-mountain," and *Rigyal* (*Ri-r Gyal*) means "mountain king." This is the origin of the name of Mount *Argillos*, which Plutarch (De Fluviis) gives to the mountain on which Bacchus was born. Mount *Righi*, in Switzerland, is the same as the Tibetan *Ri-ga*, the mountain.

1f Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 185 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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3rd. The *Trans-Himálayan* range divides the head-waters of the Sutluj from those of the Indus, and extends to the western limits of Rongdo and Astor.

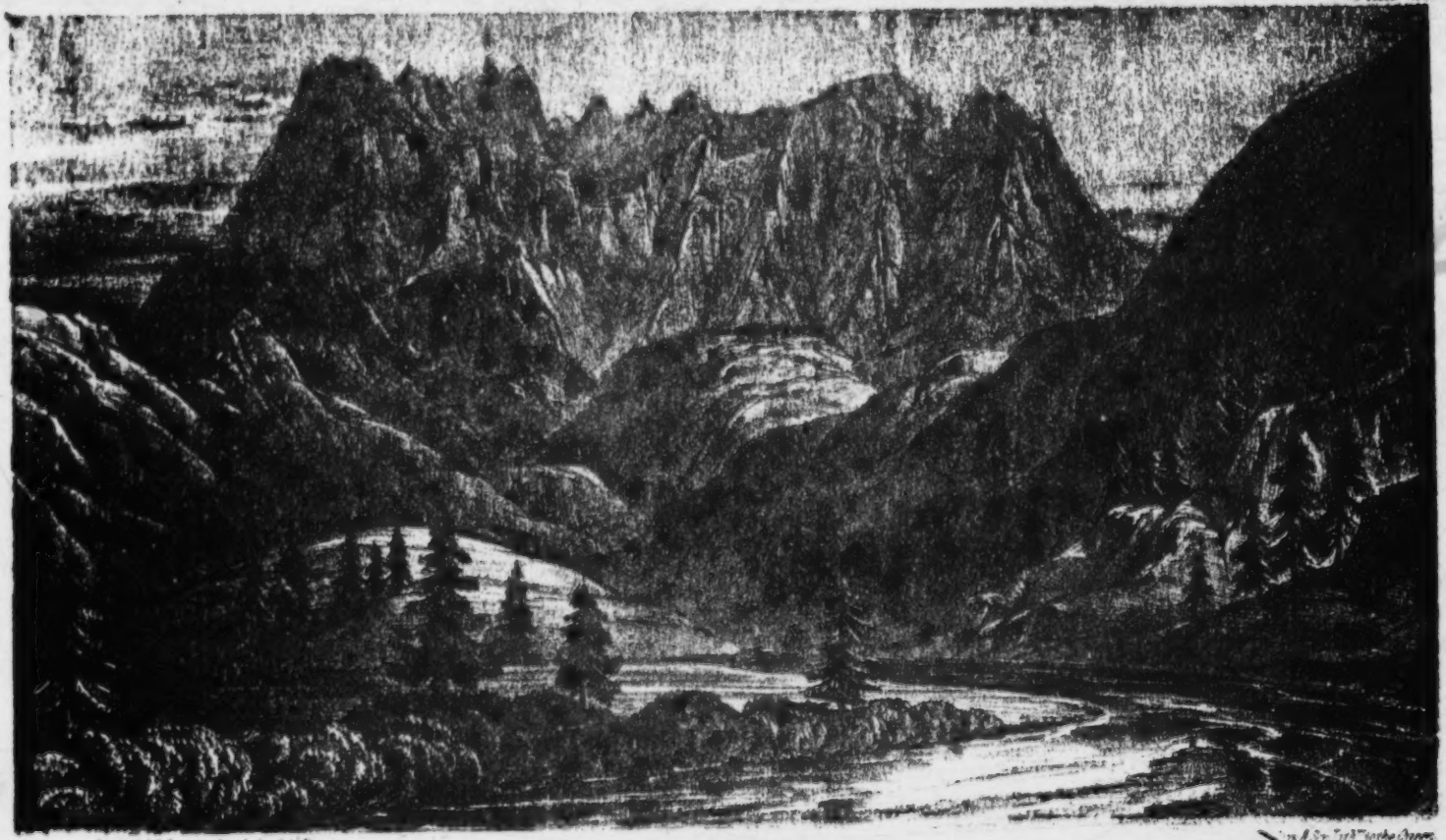
4th. The *Bara-Lacha* (or Western Himálaya) has already been noticed. It is the main chain of this vast maze of mountains, and even on the banks of the Indus, where all the other ranges dwindle, the true Himálaya maintains its lofty supremacy in the magnificent peaks of Dayamur.*

5th. The *Mid-Himálaya*, or *Pir-Panjál* range, divides the valleys of Spiti, Lahul, Kashtwar, and Kashmir, on the north, from those of Kullu, Punach, and Chamba on the south, and terminates on the western bank of the Indus, in the celebrated peak of Mahában.

6th. The *Outer*, or *Sub-Himálaya*, stretches through Sukhet and Mandi, to the westward, between Kangra and Chamba, where it is called the *Dhaola Dhár*, or White Mountain. Still further west it forms the Ratan Panjál, and terminates in the well-known peak of *Gandgarh*.

These different ranges form the principal features, and consequently the natural boundaries of the hill states of the Panjáb. The whole mass of mountains, from the crest of the Kárákoram range to the plains of the Panjáb, has an average breadth of 250 miles. The breadth of the Himálaya, from the crest of the Bara-Lacha range to the plains, is about one-half of the whole breadth; for though not more than ninety miles broad from Lahul to Hushiarpoor, it is nearly 150 miles broad through Kashmir to Jammu, on the south. Its length, from the source of the Indus to the source of the Gilgit river, is 600 miles.

* See Plates II. and III. for views of this splendid mountain, which I have seen from Ramnagur in the Panjáb.



View of DAYAMUR
from the Bed of the Astor River

Plate II

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—1st. TRANS-TIBETAN RANGE.

133x The *Kárákoram*, or *Trans-Tibetan* chain, forms the natural boundary of Ladák, and the small Musulmán districts of Balti, Hunza-Nager, and Gilgit on the north. Nothing whatever is known of this range to the eastward of the upper Shayok river, and of the northern portion we know but little. At the head of the Shayok 103] river, it is called Kárá Koram, which is a Turki word, signifying the "Black Mountains." To the north of Balti it is known as the Bolor range: but this name is only the common appellation of Balti, amongst all the races of Dardu origin. It is, however, of some value, as it enables us to state precisely that the Bolor mountains, which have hitherto occupied an uncertain position in our maps, are no other than the mountains of Balti. As this district formerly included Hunza-Nager and Gilgit, the Bolor mountains may now be defined as extending for 300 miles from the source of the Gilgit and Yasan rivers, in east longitude 73°, to the source of the Nubra river, in east longitude 77°. From the latter point eastward, as far as the most remote sources of the Shayok river, the continuation of the chain, about 150 miles in length, is best known as the Kárákoram range. The whole length of the chain, from the eastern sources of the Shayok to the head of the Gilgit river, is 450 miles, the general direction being from east to west.

The learned Humboldt supposes the Bolor mountains to be the transverse chain, running from north to south across the Indian Caucasus, and dividing the sources of the Oxus from those of the Yarkand and Kashgar rivers. But that chain is universally called Pamer, a name

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 which it has borne for many centuries. In A.D. 632-40,
175 the Chinese pilgrim Hwan-Thsang mentions the district of *Pho-mi-lo*, or Pamer, which he makes 167 miles in length from west to east. To the south of Pamer he places *Po-lu-lo*, or Bolor, of which he says that the south-eastern part of the district is inhabited, and that the country produces much gold. Both these facts are true of the present Bolor or Balti; the higher mountains, moreover, abound in rock-crystal, which is consequently called the Belor-stone, or simply Belor. The transverse north and south range of mountains is called *Belut-Tágh*, or the "Cloudy Mountains;" and this name has,
175 I believe, been confounded with Bolor.* Marco Polo is the next who mentions Pamer and the neighbouring districts: I have two copies of his works before me, but they differ so much that I feel quite puzzled which to follow. After the mention of Pamer, the earlier copy has the following—"From hence, the way to Kathay leads for forty days' journey between the *east* and the north-east, through mountains, hills, and valleys, in which there are many rivers, but no villages, except that some huts and cottages are to be seen amongst the mountains. * * * * The country is called *Palow*." The other copy thus renders the above—"Leaving this place, he (the traveller) has to go on forty days between *north* and north-east, and passes many rivers and deserts; and in all this journey finds neither verdure nor habitation. This country is called Belor. The people live in very lofty mountains." In the later copy, the editor

* In speaking, the two T's in Belut-Tágh would coalesce, and the traveller, who knew that *Tágh* meant a mountain, would conclude that *Belu-Tagh* was the true name, which would at once be confounded with Belur-Tágh.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(Hugh Murray) has apparently corrected the Palow of the 175
older copy to agree with his own identification, and has moreover changed the direction from north-east by *east*, to north-east by *north*, perhaps with a view of bringing it nearer to the true bearing of Kashgár, which is the next place mentioned. Now it is evident from Hwan-Thsang's* statement, that the district of *Pa-lo-lo*, or Bolor, must, in his day, have extended to the north of the Kárákoram range, and that the northern portion from Sir-i-kol to Khafalun, was then, as now, almost uninhabited. This, therefore, in my opinion, is the country which Marco Polo describes.

The Kárákoram Pass was traversed by the Chinese 133X
pilgrim Fa-Hian, in A.D. 399.† He calls the range 103
Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains," a name which they 137
must have received from the number of wild leeks that grow upon them, and scent the air in all directions. They were found by Dr. Thomson on the elevated plateaux to the south of the pass. Mir Izzet Ullah no doubt alludes to the strong and unpleasant smell of these wild leeks, when he ascribes the headache and difficulty of breathing that are usually attendant on ascending great heights, to the *Esh*, which is a Turki word, signifying "smell."‡

The actual height of only one point in this range has 133X

* Fo-kwe-ki. Appendix. The situation of Belor to the *South* of the Kárákoram is also distinctly proved by the testimony of Abu Rihán, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi to India. Speaking of Kashmir he says, "La partie située au midi et à l'orient appartient aux Indiens, et la partie qui se trouve à l'occident dépend de plusieurs rois, dont *le plus proche* est Belor Shah," that is, the king of Balti.

† Fo-kwe-ki, c. iv.

‡ Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March, 1825, p. 113. The Gerards attributed their headaches to the same cause.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X yet been ascertained, namely, the Kárákoram Pass, which Dr. Thomson found to be 18,660 feet above the sea. Vigne was of opinion that the height of this pass would be found "somewhat under 15,000 feet," and Mr. Thornton argues, in favour of this opinion, that it was sufficiently depressed to permit Mir Izzet Ullah's passage in the end of October. But though this argument will hold good for the southern Himálayas, it will only mislead when applied to the northern ranges of Tibet, on which the snow falls so scantily that many of them may be crossed even in December.* A single peak to the northward of Sassar was estimated by Dr. Thomson at 24,000 feet. The estimate may perhaps be a little too high, but I have great confidence in the accuracy with which a practised eye may measure heights.

To the eastward, this range maintains its superior elevation, as Captain H. Strachey found several of the passes, on one of its ramifications to the northward of Ruthog, to be between 18,000 and 19,000 feet in height. To the westward, the same general loftiness may be inferred, from the known heights of some peaks in the neighbouring ranges† of Hindu Kush and Pamer (or Belut-Tágh). The average height of the peaks may be estimated at 21,000 feet, and that of the passes at upwards of 18,000 feet. To the eastward of the Shigar valley, Dr. Falconer crossed a pass 16,200 feet, on a spur of the Kárákoram.

* On the 1st of December, Trebeck crossed the Manbár Pass, 16,500 feet high; and on the 9th of the same month he crossed the Chang-lá, which is not under 17,000 feet. Zoráwar Sing crossed the Umási-lá, between 18,000 and 19,000 feet, in October, and the Thunglung, 17,500 feet, in the end of November or beginning of December.

† Hindu Kush, according to Macartney, 20,493; and by Wood, 20,248; and the Pamer Peaks, 19,000.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Vigne* was informed by the Yarkandi merchants that "the snow does not remain upon Kárákoram for the greater part of the year." But my informants, who were also Yarkandi merchants, stated exactly the reverse; and we know that Izzet Ullah, in the beginning of November, found snow and ice the whole way over the pass. It is always difficult to ascertain the snow limit from the information of travellers and merchants, who, though they generally discriminate sporadic falls of snow, yet very rarely make any distinction between beds of snow sheltered in ravines, and the mass of exposed snow on the mountains that braves the noon-day heat of a whole summer. I believe that the Kárákoram Pass is rarely, if ever, entirely free from snow, although at no period of the year does the snow accumulate upon it in any great mass. There was of course much snow on the pass when Dr. Thomson ascended it in July 1848, and it was lying much lower on the northern than on the southern face. The probability is that the Kárákoram Pass has about the same elevation as the snow-line of the range, and this would at once account for the discrepancies of the different authorities. I would therefore fix a height of 18,500 feet as the snow limit on the southern face, and of 18,000 feet or even less, for the northern face.† For the snow-line, which in Rukchu is about 20,000 feet, has already begun to descend, and in the Pamer range to the north of the Kárákoram has been estimated by Wood at rather more than 17,000 feet.‡ 132

In the Shayok and Nubra valleys, the prevailing rock is limestone.§ Granite occurs in the ridge between the 133X

* Kashmir, II. p. 364.

† See Plate I.

‡ Wood's Oxus, p. 364.

§ Izzet Ullah, Dr. Thomson.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 rivers, and clay-slate towards the source of the Shayok. The limestone continues towards Ruthog, and the waters of the Pangkong lake hold a sufficient quantity of lime to form a calcareous deposit, which cements the pebbles together in patches of concrete at the bottom of the lake. But the mass of mountain is composed of granite and gneiss, which in this, as well as in the other lofty ranges of India and Tibet, form the highest peaks and crests of the ridges.

III.—2nd. KAILÁS RANGE.

The *Kailás* or *Gangri* range runs through the midst of Western Tibet along the right bank of the Indus, from its source to the junction of the Shayok. At this point it is cut both by the Indus and by the Shigar river; beyond which it stretches to the north-west, dividing the two valleys, and is terminated at the junction of the Hunza and Nager rivers. The general direction is from south-east to north-west, and the whole length of the range from the celebrated peak of Kailás to Hunza-Nager is not less than 550 miles. In many of our maps the main stream of the Indus or Singgé-chu, is laid down to the northward of the Kailás mountains, and the Garo river or Higong-chu is degraded to a mere tributary, which falls into the great river at Tashigong. But all my informants agreed in stating that the Garo river was the *Singgé-chu* or Indus, and that the stream which joined it at Tashigong was not larger than the Hanlé river. The Kailás or Gangri range therefore extends in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shayok. It [131] forms the natural boundary between Ladák, Balti, and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Rongdo on the south, and Ruthog, Nubra, Shigar, and Hunza-Nager on the north. 133 [13]

This range has been often crossed by Europeans, but always on the same high roads, which generally lead over the lowest and easiest passes. We have the heights of six of these passes in different parts of the range. [487]

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Tsaka-la	15,000	Trebeck.
2	Kongta-la	15,495	Moorcroft, MS.
3	Chang-la	18,105	Ditto do.
4	Lazgung or Sabu-lá ...	17,666	Dr. Thomson.
5	Lé Pass	17,600	Ditto.
6	Hanu Pass	16,890	Col. Bates.
	Mean height	16,792 or 16,800 feet.	

As the average height of these passes approaches 17,000 feet, the general elevation of the range may be estimated at not less than 20,000 feet. The height of the celebrated Kailás peak has been determined by Lieut. R. Strachey at 20,700 feet. A peak which I measured on one of the spurs of the range to the north of Mahé was 18,500 feet. In this part, as we may see [132] from the heights of the Kongta-la and Tsakala Passes, the range is much depressed, but in the neighbourhood of Lé, wherever I could see the ridge, it was entirely covered with snow in the beginning of October. As the lofty passes to the northward of Lé are said to be always clear of snow at the end of summer, the snow-line on the Kailás or Mid-Tibetan range may be estimated at 19,000 feet,* or more, on the southern face;

* In the Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 302, Lieut. R. Strachey estimates the snow-line on the southern face of Kailás at not less than 19,500 feet, which agrees with my observations. See Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133Y and at 18,500 feet on the northern face. In the south-eastern portion of the range, between the elevated table-lands of Chang-Thang, Rukchu, and Ngári, the snow-limit will of course be higher than in the north-western portion, which divides the valley of the Indus from the Shayok. In the neighbourhood of Lé, therefore, we cannot estimate the height of this range at less than 20,000 feet; and although it may be somewhat depressed between the Pangkong and Tshomoriri lakes, yet it rises again towards the south-eastern extremity, where the lofty peak of Kailás towers over the holy lakes of Manasarovara and Ráw-an Hrad. On this part of the [103] range the snow never disappears, and this fact has originated the name of the mountain both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan, in which languages Kailás and Gangri respectively mean the "Ice Mountain."

The geological structure of this range is chiefly clay-slate, gneiss, and granite. In the neighbourhood of Lé it is wholly of granite of a very coarse texture.

IV.—3rd. TRANS-HIMÁLAYAN RANGE.

This range is a branch of the lofty *Ri-Gyal*, or King of Mountains, which it certainly equals, and perhaps surpasses in height. It branches off from the Gangri mountain to the south of Garo, and extends in one unbroken chain through the districts of Chumurti, Rukchu, and Zanskar, to the junction of the Zanskar river, which rushes dark and turbulent through a vast chasm in the mountain, where human foot has never trod. From this it extends to the junction of the Drás river with the Indus, where it is again cut through by

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Drás river at a narrow gorge called the Wolf's Leap;* but beyond this point it stretches in one unbroken chain to the great southward sweep of the Indus at the junction of the Gilgit river. Its general direction is from south-east to north-west, and its extreme length is upwards of 350 miles. It forms the natural boundary between Ladák, Balti, and Rongdo on the north, and Rukchu, Zanskar, Purik, Drás, and Astor, on the south.

This range is much better known than either of the preceding chains. I have the measurement of four peaks determined by myself in 1847, and of no less than eleven passes, of which I have myself crossed five. The following are the heights of peaks in the neighbourhood of Hanlé, and in other parts of the range.

	Peaks.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Rongo Peak	20,786	A. Cunningham.
2	Changlung, N. Pk. ...	20,357	Ditto.
3	Changlung, S. Pk. ...	20,141	Ditto.
4	Hanlé Peak	20,650	Ditto.
5	Lának Peaks	20,000	Ditto.
6	Tshomoriri Peaks ...	21,000	Ditto.
7	Gya Peak, W. of Gya ...	21,000	Ditto.
8	Tok Peak (S. of Lé) ...	21,000	Ditto.
	Mean height	20,616 feet.	

The mean height of the peaks in the eastern part of the range, is therefore not less than 20,500 feet.

The following table shows the height of different passes in the eastern half of the range.

* Vigne, Map and Travels in Kashmir, vol. ii.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 X

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Pass above Chumur ...	18,500	Capt. H. Strachey.
2	Lának	18,746	A. Cunningham.
3	Nakpo-Gonding ...	18,000	Ditto.
4	Polokonka	16,500	Ditto.
5	Thunglung	17,500	Ditto.
6	Kandu Lá	16,600	Moorcroft.
7	Pangache Lá	16,495	Dr. Thomson.
8	Singgé Lá	16,952	Ditto.
	Mean height	17,911 feet.	

The Western half of the range beyond the valley of Zanskar becomes gradually lower and lower until it sinks suddenly into the Indus at the precipitous defile of Makpon-i-Shang-Rong. The following are the heights of some of the western passes.

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Namyika	13,000	A. Cunningham.
2	Burgi Pass on Deotsu ...	15,600	Dr. Falconer.
3	Alampi Lá	15,500	Vigne corrected.
4	Sir-i-Kotul	16,000	Ditto.
5	Harpo-Lá	12,100	Col. Bates.
	Mean height	14,440 feet.	

132 133X On this half of the range the snow annually disappears, excepting on some of the loftier peaks which have not yet been measured. To the northward of Paskyum, I saw snow still lying in October 1847, but it was probably only new snow, which had been falling for some days before. I estimate the highest peak of this portion of the range at 17,000 feet. On the eastern half of the range in Rukchu and Ngári, the mean height of the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

snow-line is about 20,000 feet. Dr. Gerard* indeed asserts that on the southward aspect the snow "has no well-defined boundary at 21,000 feet;" and further that some of the points which he measured had "an absolute height of 22,000 feet free of snow." But a very slight examination of his own data will show that his most elevated snow-line was under 21,000 feet. In the month of September for two successive years, 1846 and 1847, I found snow lying on the ridges to the east and west of the Tshomoriri Lake, which rise to an elevation of 20,000 feet. This agrees with Dr. Gerard's observation, also made in the month of September, that the snow-line on the mountains to the north of the lake rose to a height of "20,000 feet and upwards."† Above this, he says, the snow rested "in vast bodies, having a cliff of several hundred feet." As he afterwards adds, that "it had ceased to melt," 20,000 feet or upwards (or about 20,000 feet) must be taken as the snow limit, as determined by Dr. Gerard's observations for the Tshomoriri mountains. In September 1847, I found the Lának Pass (18,746 feet) perfectly bare, but the peaks to the north and south of the pass (about 19,500 feet)

* Researches, Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xviii. pp. 254-56. But when he wrote the first account of his travels, which was read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, his altitude of the snow line was less lofty. I quote his own words: "The whole circumference of Lake Chimorerel is embayed by mountains, but hillward, on its north-eastern shore, the mass of elevated land rose very abruptly from the water's edge, and entered the regions of snow, which had an *uniform margin* of 19,000 feet." This was the south-western aspect. See Plate I.

† As we have already seen, by the last note, that Dr. Gerard estimated the snow-line on these mountains at only 19,000 feet, the "20,000 feet and upwards," is perhaps intended for the actual height of the mountains themselves. Mr. Agnew and myself estimated them at between 20,000 and 21,000 feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/32 had still large patches of snow upon their eastern and
/33 northern slopes. In the same month, the four peaks which I measured in the neighbourhood of Hanlé at different heights between 20,000 and 21,000 feet, and averaging 20,483 feet, were all partially covered with snow. The general height of the ridge was about 20,000 feet, and the snow was lying along nearly the whole line of crest to the west. On the eastern face it evidently descended lower, as on the Lának peaks. I estimate the snow-line of Rukchu at not more than 20,000 feet on the western and southern slopes, and at 19,500 feet, or even less, on the eastern and northern slopes.*

The great height of the snow-line on this range is caused chiefly by the radiation of heat from the elevated plains of Rukchu and Gáro, and by the reverberation of heat from the bare sides of the mountains. It is in part also due to its situation in the midst of lofty snowy mountains, which intercept the ascending vapours on all sides, and prevent the precipitation of moisture within this ice-bound region. As the mass of land rises, the snow-line recedes higher and higher, notwithstanding the increase of the latitude. This is shown clearly in Plate 1, which exhibits a section of the mountains from the southern base of the Himálaya to the northern foot of the Kárákoram. In this section the snow-line is seen to rise with the mass of land until both attain their greatest elevation in Rukchu. From this tract the snow-line descends as the country falls to the northward towards Yarkand and Kotan. But the fall is less rapid than the rise. From the eastern peaks of Kullu in latitude 31½°

* Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

to the Lának and Hanlé ranges in Rukchu, the rise of the snow-line is fully 4,000 feet, while the increase of latitude is only one degree; but from Rukchu to Pamer the increase of latitude is five degrees, while the fall of the snow-line is only 3,000 feet. We must therefore attribute the greatest part of this difference to the influence of latitude. 132 133x

Of the geological structure of this range I can only speak generally. The Lának ridge consists of a core of granite nearly overlaid by clay-slate. To the west of the pass, the plain of Dongan is strewn with rolled boulders of granite for several miles. Thence to the Thung Lung Pass the higher ridges are of gneiss, and the slopes of mica and clay-slates. Throughout Zanskar from the Lachalang Pass to the Singgé-lá the chief formation is limestone, and beyond that the ridge consists of mica and clay-slates crested by granite, which is the prevailing rock on the table-land of Deotsu. Trap occurs in the volcanic district between Hanlé and the hot-springs of Puga. 133x

V.—4th. THE WESTERN HIMÁLAYA.

The great Himálaya forms a natural boundary between India and Tibet. On the east it presents the lofty peaks of Kanchinjinga and Dhwalagiri, which rise to the vast height of more than 28,000 feet. To the westward it is less known, but the peaks that have been measured between the sources of the Sutluj and the Chenáb give an average elevation superior to that of the Andes.

The general direction of the western Himálaya is the same as that of the other chains which have just been

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 described, from south-east to north-west. The whole length of the chain from the peak of Monomangli to the sources of the Gilgit and Kunar rivers is not less than 650 miles. It is pierced in three places by rivers, by the Sutluj and Para at the base of Porgyal, and by the Indus at the foot of Dayamur. Its greatest elevation is the lofty peak of Nanda Devi (Jawáhir) 25,749 feet, and its greatest depression, the pass of Seoji-lá, 11,700 feet, between Kashmir and Ladák. Throughout its[1] whole extent it forms the boundary between the races of Hindu origin and the pure Tibetans of Ladák and Balti. To the south-east it divides the Tibetan district of Garo from the Indian province of Kumaon. Midway it separates the Ladáki districts of Rukchu, Zanskar, Purik, and Drás, containing only pure Botis or Tibetans, from the provinces of Spiti, Kullu, Lahul, Kashtwar, and Kashmir, whose inhabitants are chiefly a mixed race of Indo-Tibetans. To the westward it was once the boundary between the Dards of Chelás and the Tibetans of Astor and Gilgit; but the Dards have since penetrated to the northward, and the Gilgitis of the present day are a mixed race of Dardo-Tibetans.

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133 To the south of the Sutluj the heights of many of the loftiest peaks have been determined by Webb, Hodgson, and the Gerards, but to the north of the Sutluj, no heights were ascertained by them, except only that of Porgyal by Alexander Gerard. Beyond this, not more than five peaks have been measured, with more or less precision, but the general accuracy of these measurements is proved by the ascertained elevation of several passes. The following table gives all the heights to the south of the Sutluj.

[1 i.e., the western Himalayas. - AWA-ed.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X

	Peaks.	Height.	Authority.
1	Monomangli or Gurla ...	23,900	Lieut. R. Strachey.
2	Kunlas Peak	22,513	Trigonometrical Map.
3	Gula Ghal Peak ...	21,258	Ditto.
4	XX.	20,479	Ditto.
5	XIX.	22,707	Ditto.
6	XVIII.	22,511	Ditto.
7	XV.	22,491	Ditto.
8	Nanda Devi	25,749	Ditto.
9	XIII.	22,385	Ditto.
10	XII.	22,385	Ditto.
11	A No. 1	23,531	Ditto.
12	XI.	20,758	Ditto.
13	A No. 3	23,317	Ditto.
14	N	23,482	Ditto.
15	L	22,266	Ditto.
16	K	22,570	Ditto.
17	I	23,300	Ditto.
18	IX.	21,383	Ditto.
19	VIII.	23,236	Ditto.
20	Badrinath Peak ...	22,954	Ditto.
21	VII.	23,441	Ditto.
22	... ...	22,754	Ditto.
23	H	21,894	Ditto.
24	G	22,556	Ditto.
25	U	21,612	Ditto.
26	Kedarnath	23,062	Ditto.
27	M	22,792	Ditto.
28	St. Patrick	22,798	Ditto.
29	St. George	22,654	Ditto.
30	Rudru Himála	22,390	Ditto.
31	Swarga	22,906	Ditto.
32	The Pyramid	21,579	Ditto.
33	Jaonli Peak	21,940	Ditto.
34	E. C.	21,772	Ditto.
35	F.	21,964	Ditto.
36	G. Srikanta	20,296	Ditto.
37	Rock Peak	21,076	Ditto.
38	Windy Peak (Kyobrang)	20,169	Ditto.
39	Glacier Peak	20,544	Ditto.
40	Raldang or W. Kailás ...	21,103	Ditto.
	Mean height	22,274 feet.	

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 The distance from Monomangli to the Raldang and Kyobrang Peaks, is only 175 miles, and between these points we find no less than forty peaks, whose well ascertained heights exceed 20,000 feet, and which yield an average of more than 22,000 feet. The passes are less known, because only the most frequented have yet been measured. The heights, however, of nine of them, have been ascertained chiefly by the Gerards and Stracheys.

	Passes.	Height.	Authority.
1	Lankpya	17,750	Capt. H. Strachey.
2	Lakhar	18,300	Lieut. R. Strachey.
3	Unta dura	17,700	Ditto.
4	Kyungar Ghat	17,700	Ditto.
5	Balch dhura	17,700	Ditto.
6	Deo Ghat	18,000	Trigonometrical Map.
7	Niti Pass	16,570	
8	Kyobrang	18,331	Capt. A. Gerard.
9	Gangtang	18,295	Ditto.
	Mean height	17,816 feet.	

The average height of this part of the range, by taking the mean of the greatest elevation, and greatest depressions, is not therefore less than 20,000 feet.

To the westward, the heights of the following peaks and passes have been ascertained, with more or less accuracy.

	Peaks.	Height.	Authority.
1	Pyramidal Peak ...	20,106	Capt. A. Gerard.
2	Porgyal	22,700	Ditto.
3	Chang-Razing Peak ...	20,500	Dr. Gerard.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X

	Peaks.	Height.	Authority.
4	Gyu Peak*	24,764	A. Cunningham.
5	Parang Peaks	19,500	Ditto.
6	Zanakar Ridge	20,000	Dr. Thomson. A.C.
7	Ser and Mer	20,000	Hugel and Vigne.
8	Bal Tal Peak	19,650	Jacquemont.
9	Dayamur	20,000	Vigne. Col. Bates.
10	Peak to N. of Peshawur	20,493	Macartney.
	Mean height	20,771 feet.	

	Passes.	Height.	Authority.
1	Meyung Lá	17,700	Capt. Gerard.
2	Parang Lá	18,500	A. Cunningham.
3	Bara Lácha	16,500	Ditto.
4	Umási Lá	18,123	Dr. Thomson.
5	Seoji Lá	11,634	A. Cunningham.
6	Gutumi Pass	12,000	Vigne corrected.
	Mean height	15,743 feet.	

Taking the means of the greatest heights and greatest depressions, the average elevation of this portion of the range will be upwards of 18,000 feet; and as that of the other half was found to be upwards of 20,000 feet, the

* The height of this peak depends upon the correctness of the horizontal distance. From Chang-Razing it bore 152° 16′ West, with an elevation of 5° 24′ after correction for error of collimation. I estimated the distance at between twenty and thirty miles; and as I afterwards observed the same peak from the foot of the Lának Pass, I got another bearing which made the horizontal distance twenty-four miles. Should the distance be not more than twenty miles, the height will still be 22,659 feet; but the greater height is supported by the authority of Dr. Gerard, who, from his lofty station, 20,400 feet above Chang-Razing, saw *to the North* a detached group of white tops, which he concluded, from the angles they subtended, to be 24,000 feet above the sea. Researches Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. pp. 255, *note*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 mean height of the crest of the western Himálaya, from Monomangli to the source of the Gilgit river, may be assumed at 19,000 feet.

133 On this range the snow-line can be determined within
132 very narrow limits. On the three passes crossed by Lieut. R. Strachey,* each about 17,700 feet, no snow was found in September. The Lakhar Pass, 18,300 feet, and the Jayanti Pass, 18,500 feet, were also free from snow. "But the line of perpetual snow was evidently near, for though the Jayanti ridge was quite free, and some of the near peaks were clear, to perhaps upwards of 19,000 feet, yet in more sheltered situations, unbroken snow could be seen considerably below the ridge:" and Lieut. Strachey concluded "that 18,500 feet must be nearly the average height of the snow-line at that place."†

Alexander Gerard found no snow on the Kyobrang Pass (18,313 feet), even in July, and it was equally bare when visited by Jacquemont. On Porgyal, in October, the Gerards‡ found no old snow below 19,400 feet, and their station on the Chang-Razing mountain, 20,400 feet, was also clear; but as Dr. Gerard mentions a range due north, and a peak to the westward, while he is perfectly silent regarding the lofty peaks to the south, it seems certain that their station was on the northern exposure of Porgyal. I can myself vouch for its southern faces being covered with masses of snow in the end of August

* Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. pp. 298, 299.

† See Plate I.

103 ‡ Researches Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 254. The name of Por-Gyal is written *Spor-r Gyal*, the "lofty twins," the double Peak of Por-Gyal being compared to the constellation Gemini (*r Gyal*) the *s* is sometimes pronounced, just as in the name of Spiti, which is also called Piti, although it is invariably written Spiti by the Lamas.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and beginning of September 1847, when the northern side seemed generally bare. The absence of snow on the Pyramidal Peak of Porgyal, 20,106 feet, is more to the purpose, as it is certain that the Gerards could only have seen this peak from the south and west. On crossing the Manerang Pass, on the 30th of August, Alexander Gerard found the last half mile was over the perpetual snow, which he distinguishes from the fresh covering of the former night, in which the foot sank from three to twelve inches. On descending the Pass to the north, he "travelled over the snow for a mile." On recrossing the Pass, on the 7th September, he found that "the snow had not descended above 400 feet; but the great field of ages had a new and deep covering."* The snow, therefore, remains for the whole year on the Manerang Pass.

From the Manerang Pass, Alexander Gerard observed "very distinctly the Paralasa (Bara Lácha) range, covered with snow." I estimate the height of this part of the range at 19,500 feet. On the 8th September, 1847, I found no snow on the southern face of the Parang Pass, 18,500 feet, but there was a glacier one mile and a half in length, on the northern face, on which the snow was frozen hard. Snow was lying in patches on many of the peaks, at about 19,000 feet, but chiefly on the western and southern faces. The exposed faces to the north and east were bare. In September 1846, I crossed the Bara Lácha Pass, 16,500 feet, twice; and on both occasions found it entirely free from snow. The Umási-lá, 18,123 feet, was crossed by Dr. Thomson, in June, at which time it was, of course, covered with snow: but it was not clear in October 1846, when traversed by Vazir Gusaun, the minister of the Mandi Raja. In this part

* Alexander Gerard's Tour of 1821, pp. 155-56, Calcutta edition.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 of the range, therefore, the snow limit does not exceed
133 18,000 feet, and is probably not more than 17,500 feet. On the Baltal Peak, 19,000 feet, close to the Seoji-lá, the snow remains throughout the year. Dayamur, or Nanga Parbat (the bare mountain) is, as its name implies, free from snow; but this is owing entirely to its precipitousness, which prevents the snow from finding any resting-place. Snow, however, does lie in the hollow between the peaks.

The following are the different heights of the snow limit on the western Himálaya.

Snow Limit.		Height.	Authority.
1	On the Kumaun Range	18,500	Lieut. R. Strachey.
2	Pyramidal Pk. of Porgyal	20,106	A. and J. Gerard.
3	Manerang Range ...	18,000	A. Gerard.
4	Parang Range	19,000	A. Cunningham.
5	Bara Lácha to Umasi ...	17,500	Ditto.
	Mean height	18,021 feet.	

This height agrees so closely with the elevation deduced by Lieut. R. Strachey, that we may conclude, with some confidence, that the snow-line, on the southern face of the western Himálaya, is between 18,500 feet and 19,000 feet. On the northern exposure, the snow limit is somewhat higher. The Gerards, as we have seen, found the northern face of Porgyal bare, to a height of 20,400 feet. In September 1847, I observed very little snow on the northern faces of the Parang Peaks, about 19,500 feet, while in September 1846, the crest of this range, as I saw it from the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, was sheeted in snow. To the westward, as the ridge diminishes in height, with the general

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fall of the country, the snow-line falls somewhat lower, and in the neighbourhood of the Bara-Lacha Pass is not more than 18,000 feet. The mean of these observations is 19,133 feet, or in round numbers, upwards of 19,000 feet.* 132 133x

The mass of the western Himálaya, from the Sutluj to the Indus, is limestone. The ridges of Kyobrang, Parang, and Umási-Lá, are all limestone, while the sides are chiefly overlaid with clay-slate. At Seoji Lá, the formation is mica-slate, but the mass of the northern mountains of Kashmir, and the peaks of the magnificent Dayamur, are all of limestone. 133x

VI.—5th. THE MID-HIMÁLAYA, or PIR-PANJÁL RANGE.

This chain consists of four distinct masses of mountain, which may be styled the Bisahar, the Láhul, the Pir-Panjál, and the Swát ranges. The Bisahar range is an offshoot of the western Himálaya, extending for about sixty miles, from the lofty cluster of Jamnotri peaks to the Sutluj, below Shatúl. It is continued to the north of the Sutluj by the Láhul range, which stretches to the north-west for 160 miles, to the great southward sweep of the Chenáb, in Káshtwár. Beyond this again, it is continued in the same direction by the well-known Pir-Panjál, to the great southward sweep of the Jehlam, at Mozafarábád, and across the Jehlam to the Indus, at Derband. To the west of the Indus it terminates in the Swát mountains, which extend for about seventy miles to the junction of the Swát and Panjkora rivers. This portion of the chain, though not remarkable for its height, is worthy of most particular examination, for the

* See Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 sake of identifying the celebrated Aornos, which was beyond all doubt situated in this range, and which I believe to have been the well-known mountains of Mahában.

The whole length of the Mid-Himálaya or Pir-Panjál range, from the Jamnotri peaks to the Swát river, is about 470 miles. Between the Jumna and the Indus the direction is from south-east to north-west, as in the other ranges; but beyond the Indus the Swát mountains run almost due east and west.

The general elevation of this range can be determined with tolerable accuracy from the ascertained heights of a considerable number of points. The following tables show the heights of the principal peaks and passes in the different portions of the range.

BISAHAR RANGE—PEAKS.

	Peaks.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Jamnotri, Great E. ...	20,916	Trigonometrical Map.
2	Ditto Black E. ...	21,155	Ditto.
3	Ditto Lower E. ...	20,122	Ditto.
4	H left	20,501	Ditto.
5	H right...	20,668	Ditto.
6	H middle	20,668	Ditto.
7	The Cone	21,178	Ditto.
8	a No. 39	19,481	Ditto.
9	L	18,512	Ditto.
10	The Needle	19,044	Ditto.
11	J	17,425	Ditto.
12	l	17,331	Ditto.
13	h	17,337	Ditto.
14	g Shatul Peak	17,035	Ditto.
15	d or Pyramidal	17,174	Ditto.
16	b	16,982	Ditto.
17	a	17,044	Ditto.
	Mean height	19,033 feet.	

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X

BISAHAR RANGE—PASSES.

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Nalgun Pass	14,891	A. Gerard.
2	Rupin	15,460	Ditto.
3	Nibrang	16,035	Ditto.
4	Burang or Buranda ...	15,179	Ditto.
5	Yusu	15,877	Ditto.
6	Shatul	15,556	Ditto.
	Mean height	15,499 feet.	

By taking the mean heights of the peaks and passes, or greatest elevations and greatest depressions, we obtain the average height of the Bisahar range at 17,250 feet.

LÁHUL RANGE—PEAKS.

	Peaks.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Western F.	18,798	Trigonometrical Map.
2	Kotgarh Peak	17,353	Ditto.
3	No. 9 Black	16,208	Ditto.
4	k Peak	17,730	A. Cunningham.
5	j Obelisk Peak	18,062	
6	f	19,310	
7	e	19,366	
8	d	19,922	
9	c	19,948	
10	b	20,064	
11	a	21,786	
12	Kali Debi Peaks ...	18,500	
	Mean height	18,920 feet.	

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X

LÁHUL RANGE—PASSES.

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Rotang Pass	13,000	Moorcroft, Dr. Gerard, A. C.
2	Kali Debi Pass	16,700	A. Cunningham.
3	Saj Pass	15,500	Dr. Thomson.
	Mean height	15,066 feet.	

The mean height of the Láhul range is therefore close upon 17,000 feet, and that of the united Bisahar and Láhul ranges upwards of 17,000 feet.

PIR-PANJÁL RANGE.

Of the Pir-Panjál itself we know much less than of the other portions of the Mid-Himálaya. The height of the loftiest peak was ascertained by Jacquemont to be 15,000 feet, and that of the lowest pass 9,690 feet. The mean of these two gives 12,345 feet for the average height of the crest, which is certainly not too much, as the heights of two of the most frequented passes approach 12,000 feet. The Pir-Panjál Pass is 11,970 feet, and the Mirbal Pass is 11,400 feet; and the mean height of the three measured passes is 11,020 feet. The following are the heights of different points in the Pir-Panjál.

	Points.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Highest Peak	15,000	Jacquemont.
2	Tata kuti	14,000	A. Cunningham.
3	Dydyum	13,000	Vigne.
4	Kol-Narwah	12,500	Ditto.
	Mean height	13,625 feet.	

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The mean of the mean heights of the peaks and passes is 12,322 feet, which agrees with the mean before deduced from the greatest elevation and greatest depression. /133x

Of the height of the Swát range I cannot speak with any certainty. The peak of Mahában, as seen from the Yusufzai plain, at different distances between twenty-five and thirty miles, I estimated at 6,000 feet, or rather more, and the highest point in the range is probably not more than 7,000 feet.

On the Pir-Panjál and Swát ranges, the snow entirely disappears; but it remains throughout the year on the lofty ranges of Bisahar and Láhul. Of the glacial lines of the Bisahar ranges, we know but little, although the Gerards made a special excursion to most of the passes in this range for the purpose of ascertaining the snow-limit. The following passages, however, bear upon the subject and corroborate each other. /132 /133x

In describing the Buranda Pass (15,179 feet), which they visited in October, 1818,* the two brothers, Dr. John Gerard and Captain Alexander Gerard, state that "the eastern wall rises with a considerable inclination for 500 or 600 feet; thence starting backwards, it terminates in a crown of snow, perhaps 1,500 or 2,000 feet higher." * * * "Its western side rises to a towering summit deeply clad in snow, and corresponds with the opposite or eastern one, being about 2,000 feet in height." From these statements, we learn that both flanks of the pass were certainly bare of snow to 15,179 + 600 = 15,799 feet, and most probably much higher; for the eastern peak is said to terminate in a "crown of snow," and the western peak in a "summit

* Tour of 1818, p. 22, Calcutta edition.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 deeply clad with snow." Now, as the height of the
132 peaks on both sides is stated at 17,000 feet or somewhat less, we may fairly estimate the snow-line on the southern faces of the Bisahar range at about 16,000 feet.

Another passage* leads to a similar conclusion: "Tufts of moss and grass with a light soil are seen all the way to the top (of the Buranda Pass), and even rise on each side to 200 and 300 feet, while higher up on the rugged cliffs that are doomed to sustain perpetual snow, animated nature finds a habitation." The snow-limit by this account was therefore certainly as high as 15,179 + 300 = 15,479 feet, which was the boundary of vegetable life, and was no doubt somewhat higher.

Again, some days later, on the Rupin Pass, 15,460 feet, at the head of the Pabar river, Alexander Gerard† describes the strata of the range to the south of the Pabar as vertical, and that above the summit of this "mural portion," which "preserves an elevation of between 15,000 and 16,000 feet, to near Jangleg," the "rocks slant towards the summit, and upon the slope lie banks of congealed snow and ice, having a perpendicular brow of packed appearance, so much resembling blocks of marble and quartz, that I doubted for some time of their reality." This account is more explicit than any other that I have seen in Alexander Gerard's travels. From the Rupin Pass to near Jangleg, a distance of about eight miles, banks of snow lay upon the slope of the ridge, while the summit was entirely covered with packed snow. This agrees with the other statements that no exposed snow was seen below 15,500 feet; that above that line it was observed in banks or patches; and

* Tour of 1818, p. 24, Calcutta edition. † Ditto, p. 27.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that everywhere at 17,000 feet the snow was lying in undisturbed masses. 132 133x

The Rupin Pass, 15,460 feet, was crossed by Captain Herbert and Captain Patrick Gerard, on the 30th September, 1819. In his map, Herbert writes along the upper course of the Rupin river, "all snow in September;" but Patrick Gerard describes the snow which they found on their way to the Rupin Pass in detail.* "Distance from encamping-ground to large snow-bed 2¼ miles, where crossed a dangerous chasm. Steep ascent through patches of snow (half a mile), fresh and melting fast. A quarter of a mile farther on, *no snow*. To pass over snow, *soft*, knee-deep, thigh-deep, and neck-deep, 3½ miles across eternal snow." The soft knee-deep and neck-deep snow was of course freshly fallen. We have thus another independent and distinct proof that the Rupin Pass (15,460 feet) was clear of old snow on the last day of September.

These different observations of the Gerards on the Bisahar range may be taken as sufficient evidence to prove that there is no perpetual snow below 15,500 feet, and that the actual snow-limit is somewhere about 16,000 feet.

On the 17th September, 1849, I took from Simla the bearings and altitudes of several peaks and snow-lines in the Láhul range with a very good theodolite, reading to half-minutes. To test the performance of the instrument, I first took the altitude of the Sháli Peak, which gave an elevation of 9,629 feet above the sea, or six feet in excess of that determined by the trigonometrical survey. I next turned it upon the Tural Peak, which is the highest in the Dhaola Dhar or Kangra range,

* Patrick Gerard's Manuscript Journals. Tour of 1819.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 with a result equally satisfactory; the deduced altitude
133 being 16,167 feet, or ten feet less than the mean altitude obtained from my former observations at Kangra and Nurpur. Lastly, I took the altitude of the Kotgarh peak beyond the Sutluj, to the north of Rámpur. The altitude obtained was 17,353 feet, or eighty-one feet less than Captain Herbert's elevation by trigonometrical survey. These altitudes do not of course pretend to any very great accuracy, but they may be depended upon as near approximations to the truth. Their errors will arise chiefly from the difficulty of obtaining the correct distances of points that have not yet been laid down by a regular trigonometrical survey. The following table gives the heights of the snow-lines on the Láhul range as observed from Simla.*

		Height of Pk.	Lower Edge of Snow.	
				Mean.
1	On c	19,948	17,656	17,297
2	„ e	19,366	16,837	
3	„ f	19,310	17,399	
4	„ g, Kotgrah Peak ...	17,434	15,983	16,034
5	„ j, Obelisk Peak ...	18,062	16,179	
6	„ k	17,730	15,940	
		Mean height		16,665

The difference between the heights of the snow-line is simply accounted for by the difference of position in the observed points. The first three are situated in the Kullu range, and are fully exposed to the action of the south-west monsoon, which blows direct up the valleys of the Parbati, Gomati, and Sainj rivers. The other points are situated at the intersection of the lofty trans-

* See Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

verse chain which forms the watershed between the valleys of the Byâs and Sutluj rivers, and which runs in the same direction as the monsoon. In its passage along the ridge, the heat of the blast is gradually abstracted, until when it reaches the snow it is reduced to the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere. 132 133×

We have thus four distinct and independent observations for the height of the southern snow-line in different parts of the Mid-Himálayan range.

		Feet.	Authority.
1	In Kumaun	16,000	Lieut. R. Strachey.
2	In S. Bisahar	16,000	The Gerards.
3	In N. Bisahar	16,034	A. Cunningham.
4	In E. Kullu	17,297	Ditto.
	Mean height	16,333 feet.*	

On the same range, but farther north, I found the Kali Debi Pass, 16,700 feet, covered with snow in July, and I was assured that the snow never disappeared from the crest of the Pass. On the whole, therefore, the mass of observations agree in fixing the snow-limit on the southern exposure of this range, at 16,000 feet and upwards.

On the northern exposure, the snow-line is probably about 17,000 feet. On crossing the Rotang Pass, in the end of August, 1846, I observed that the snow on the northern face of the Láhul range did not generally descend below 17,000 feet, although on particular peaks it was lying in masses as low as 16,500 feet. On the

* Even if we allow only 15,500 feet for the height of the snow-line in the South Bisahar range, as observed by the Gerards, the mean height of the southern exposure of the outer Himálaya will be 16,208 feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 Bisahar range, as we have already seen from the obser-
133x vations of the Gerards, the snow remains throughout the year; and as the mean height of the peaks which came under their observation, does not exceed 17,200 feet, it is certain that the northern snow-line cannot be higher than 17,000 feet. From the correspondence of these observations with my own, we may conclude that the northern snow-line of the Bisahar and Láhul ranges is somewhat under 17,000 feet.

133x According to Herbert, the great mass of the Bisahar range is gneiss. The same rock occurs in the Láhul range, on both flanks of the Rotang Pass: but beyond this it is succeeded by limestone, which forms the crest of the Káli Debi ridge, flanked by silicious schist on the north, and by trap on the south. Beyond this, at the Saj Pass, Dr. Thomson found mica and clay slates; and limestone at the Banahál Pass, on the Pir-Panjál. But the mass of the Pir-Panjál, according to Vigne, is basaltic.

VII.—6th. THE DHAOLA DHÁR or OUTER HIMÁLAYA.

The outer, or Sub-Himálaya, stretches from the bend of the Byâs, at Mandi, to the well-known peak of Gandgarh, on the Indus. It attains its greatest height between the Byâs and Rávi, in the precipitous range of hills called the *Dhaola Dhár*,* or White Mountain, to

103 * This range is called by several names in our maps; as, "*Mony Mas Kidar*," that is, *Mani-Mahes-ki-dhar*, or the mountain of the holy lake of Mani-Mahes, which, however, is not situated in this range, but beyond the Rávi. Hugel calls the range "Pálam Kidar" and "Chamba Kidar," from the names of the districts to the north and south of the range. The true name is *Dhaola*, from the Sanscrit *Dhavala*, white; and this was most probably the original name written by Abu Rih'án,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the north of Kangra. The general direction is from south-east to north-west, as in the other ranges, and the whole length is nearly 300 miles. The Sub-Himálaya is pierced by the Rávi, the Chenáb, the Punach, and the Jehlam rivers, which divide it into several distinct ridges.

The most easterly of these separate ridges is the Dhaola Dhár, which forms the natural boundary between Kullu and Mandi, and between Chamba and Kangra. It is about eighty miles in length, and is of sufficient height to be covered with snow for about eight months of the year. I have observed this range for four successive years, and I can state positively that the snow entirely disappears from it every year, although the crest of the ridge has an average height of 15,000 feet. In the end of November, 1846, I marched from Kangra to Nurpur, and observed these mountains daily, and they were then entirely bare of snow. On the night of the 30th November, snow fell in considerable quantities, and did not disappear until the end of the following rains. In September and October, 1848, when I was at Simla, I observed this range carefully with a telescope, and could not discover a speck of snow on any part of it. Again, on the 16th and 17th of September, 1849, before leaving Simla, and when not a patch of snow was visible with a telescope sufficiently powerful for observing the occultation of Jupiter's satellites, I took the bearing and altitudes of several peaks and passes, for the purpose of verifying the measurements which I had formerly made from Kangra and Nurpur. The following table gives the results of all these measurements.

who calls these mountains بهاتل *Bhátel*, an easy corruption of دهاول *Dhaola*. See Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes et Persans," p. 94.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133x

		Nurpur.	Kangra.	Simla.	Mean Height.
A	Balen Peak ...	13,783 ft.	—	14,138	13,960
B	Cleft Peak ...	14,981	—	—	14,981
C	Andrár Peak ...	15,642	—	—	15,642
D	Tural Pass ...	—	—	14,808	14,808
E	Tural Peak ...	16,145	16,210	16,167	16,174
F	Thálan Peak ...	—	15,220	—	15,220
G	Sangár Peak ...	—	14,529	—	14,529
H	Satmáru Peak	—	13,575	—	13,575
K	Peak	—	14,240	14,701	14,470
L	Peak	—	15,109	14,244	14,676
M	Surai Peak ...	—	15,644	15,207	15,425
N	Peak	—	—	15,975	15,975
P	Thamsar Peak	—	—	15,826	15,826
				Mean height of the range	15,020

The discrepancies which appear in these results are mostly attributable to the difficulty which I experienced in identifying the peaks from the different stations. I had taken the precaution of making outline sketches of the crest, as seen both from Nurpur and from Kangra; but from Simla, at a mean distance of eighty-five miles, and at a much greater elevation, the ridge presented such a different appearance that I could not satisfy myself as to the identity of more than two or three points. The Tural peak, which is the highest in the range, was, of course, readily recognized, as well as the Tural Pass to the westward. Two other peaks, K and M, agreed tolerably well with the outlines, and with the bearings on the map: but the others were all doubtful. One, L, which I thought I had recognized, was most probably not the same peak, but I have retained it in the table because its height, as determined from Simla (although it is so much below the other), does not decrease the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

average elevation of the range by more than thirty-four feet. By striking out this one observation, the average height will be 15,054 feet. /33X

The elevation of this range is of considerable importance in determining the long-unsettled question of the snow-line, which, on the joint authority of the great Humboldt and the learned Colebrook, had been fixed at 13,000 feet, between 30½ and 32° of latitude. Lieut. Richard Strachey,* of the Engineers, was the first to correct this error, and to determine by observation that "the height of the snow-line on the more prominent points of the southern end of the belt, may be fairly reckoned at 16,000 feet, at the very least." This conclusion is fully borne out by my own observations, one half of which were made before the publication of Lieut. Strachey's paper. The ascertained height of the Dhaola Dhár, which rises abruptly from the low plains of Kangra, 3,000 feet, to a mean elevation of 15,000 feet, and of 16,000 feet in its loftiest peaks, proves most clearly that the snow-line, in the southern Himálaya, cannot be under 16,000 feet. /33 /32

The geological structure of this range is almost unknown. In 1839, when I descended the valley of the Rávi, along the northern spurs of the Dhaola Dhár, I noted that the whole of the formations, at from 3,000 to 8,000 feet, were of clay and mica slates, and mostly of a very fine description, well adapted for roofing. The crest of the ridge is, however, most probably granite and gneiss, both of which I found on crossing the Chûari /33X

* Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 292. Since the publication of this paper, however, Alex. Keith Johnston, in his beautiful Physical Atlas, p. 16, has stated the height of the southern snow-line on the Himálaya at 15,000 feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 Pass, to the south of Chamba. Between Chamba and Chûari, the gneiss was overlaid by chlorite and mica slates. On the south of the range, the same fine roofing-slates (both mica and clay) are found to the north of
135 Kangra, and to the north of Mandi. Both on the north and south of the range, the beds of some of the small streams are washed for iron-sand, which, after washing, yields as much as 90 per cent. of pure metal. The same iron ore is worked at Kumán, near Mandi, where it occurs in thin black, sparkling ribands, in a soft grey sandstone. The sandstone is pounded with a hard round boulder, and after washing yields about the same quantity of metal as the other.

133 The second portion of the Sub-Himálayan range extends from the Rávi to the Chenáb, a distance of fifty-five miles, and forms the natural boundary between Chamba and Bhadrwár, on the north, and the small districts of Chaneni, Bandrálta, and Baláwar, on the south. Between Bhadrwár and Chamba, the passes of Bhadr Dhár and Chatr Dhár are upwards of 10,000 feet in height, and the ridge may therefore have an elevation of 12,000 feet, or even more. To the south of Chaneni it breaks into a remarkable triple-peaked mountain, which is held sacred by the Hindus, under the name of Tré-kuta Devi (the three-peaked or trident goddess).

The central portion of the Sub-Himálaya is the well-known Ratan Panjál, which is crossed by the Bhimbar road to Kashmir. The pass of Ratan Pir, from which the mountain (*Panjál*) derives its name, has an elevation of 7,700 feet, and the highest peaks rise to about 11,000 feet. It is clothed to the very summit with magnificent trees, and its glens are not surpassed in

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

beauty by anything that I have seen in the Himálaya, /133 always excepting the lovely valley of the Byâs. The length of this ridge is eighty miles, from the neighbourhood of Chaneni to the southern bend of the Punach river.

The fourth portion of the Sub-Himálaya is altogether unknown. It extends from Koteli to Dhángali, the Ghakar capital on the Jehlam, a distance of twenty-five miles.

The fifth, and most westerly portion of the Sub-Himálaya, stretches from the Jehlam to the Indus, a distance of nearly seventy miles. It rises to an elevation of more than 7,000 feet, and is well clothed with trees on its northern slopes.

In this general survey of the mountain-ranges that [137] bound the Panjáb to the north, I have purposely omitted all mention of the vegetable products that occur at different heights, as this subject naturally forms a part of Dr. Thomson's botanical labours. I have also omitted all notice of glaciers: not that I am unaware of their existence, but because I have seen so few of them that I have nothing to say of them which is worth recording. In 1839, I traversed a magnificent glacier which spanned the valley of the Cheli rivulet, below the Kali Debi Pass (16,700 feet). It was fissured in all directions, and down the main fissure, which was five feet wide, I saw the stream trickling at a depth of more than 300 feet. The surface was covered with hardened snow and imbedded stones; but the mass, as seen in the fissures, was clear transparent ice, filled with white specks. This glacier was about one mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad, with an average depth of 200 or 300 feet. In

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 the same range, Dr. Thomson saw a similar glacier to the north of the Saj Pass, about thirty miles to the north-west of Kali Debi. In 1847, I crossed a second and larger glacier, to the north of the Parang Pass, 18,500 feet. It extended down the head of the Para river for 2¾ miles. At its termination, it was fifty feet high, but a quarter of a mile upward it was fully 150 feet thick. Its upper end was covered with hardened snow, but the lower end was half-hidden in fragments of stone, which were mixed into the ice for several feet in depth. It was fissured in many places. A still larger glacier was observed by Dr. Thomson, on the northern side of the Umási-Lá, on crossing into Zanskar. It extended from the top of the pass, 18,123 feet, down to a level of 14,500 feet, and cannot have been less than three or four miles in length. All these glaciers are mere still masses of ice, that are only dangerous when one has to cross them; but both above and below Sassar there are several gigantic glaciers that span the noble valley of the Khundan river. At different times, the river has been completely dammed for several months by these mighty barriers, until the accumulated waters have burst their icy chains, and swept away all traces of man and his puny labours, for several hundred feet above the river.

The following table gives a summary statement of all the information collected regarding the great mountain-chains in the north of the Panjáb.*

* See Plate I. for a general section through all these mountain-ranges, which exhibits the heights of the loftiest peaks, and the elevations of the different snow-lines and table-lands.

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No.	Chains.	Length in Miles.	Elevation highest Peak.	Mean Height of Chain.	Snow-line.	
					South.	North.
1	Kárákoram, or Trans-Tibetan .	450	24,000?	20,000	18,500	18,000
2	Kailás or Gangri, or Mid-Tibetan .	550	20,700	29,000	19,000	18,500
3	Trans-Himálaya, or Tshomoriri...	350	21,000	19,300	20,000	19,500
4	Western Himálaya, or Bára Lácha	650	25,749	20,000	18,500	19,000
5	Mid-Himálaya, or Pir-Panjál ...	470	21,786	17,000	16,000	17,000
6	Outer Himálaya, Dhaola Dhar ...	300	16,174	15,020	the snow disappears annually.	

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IV.—RIVERS.

I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

133 From the lofty mountains around the holy lake of Manasarovara, spring four celebrated rivers, the Indus, the Sutluj, the Gogra, and the Brahmaputra. These four sources are represented in the ancient Chinese maps; and the well-known story regarding them is
823 common both to the Hindus and the Tibetans. The classical Ganges is fabled to flow from a cow's mouth; and to each of these four rivers is assigned an equally wonderful origin. The Indus is said to flow from a lion's mouth, *Singge-kha-bab;* the Sutluj, from an elephant's mouth, *Langchen-kha-bab;* the Gogra, from a peacock's mouth, *Macha-kha-bab;* and the Brahmaputra, from the holy horse's mouth, *Ta-chhog-kha-bab.** The fable is evidently of Indian origin, as elephants and pea-fowl are only known to the Tibetans by pictures, and because the source of the Brahmaputra, or river of Lhasa, is ascribed to *Ta-chhog*, the holy steed of Shakya Thubba, or Buddha.

103 * *Kha-po*, or in composition simply *Kha*, is a mouth, and *bab* means "descended." The different names are *Seng-ge-kha-bab*, "lion's mouth-descended;" *gLang-chen-kha-bab*, "elephant's mouth-descended;" *rMa-bya* (pronounced *Ma-cha*)-*kha-bab*, "peacock's mouth-descended;" and *rTa-mChhog-kha-bab*, "Ta-chhok's mouth-descended." Ta-chhok is the name of Sakya's steed, and means "the best horse."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The most remarkable feature about the Indus and its tributaries, is the general parallelism of their courses, which has been determined by the directions of the principal mountain-chains. In the "Novum Organum," Bacon has noticed the "similitudines physicæ in configuratione mundi," and the same similarity may be observed in the peculiar knee-bends which are common to all the Panjáb rivers. For the curious southward sweep which occurs in the Sutluj below Bilâspur, is also found in all the other rivers: in the Byás, below Hajipur; in the Ravi, near Bisoli; in the Chenab, below Káshtwár; in the Jehlam, below Mozafarábád; and in the Indus, at the gorge of Makpon-i-Shang-Rong. The same returning bend also occurs in the Kishen Ganga, above Mozafarábád.

The most common name for a river is *chhu*;* as, *Singgé-chhu*, the Lion river, or Indus; and *Zanskar-chhu*, the river of Zanskar. When a river is spoken of generally, it is either called *Chhu-chhen*, or *Tsangpo*, or *Tsangchhen*. The first means simply the "great river," but the latter is a genuine name for a river, and is applied to the Indus as well as to the Brahmaputra, although it belongs strictly only to the great river of the Lhasan territory, which flows through the province of Tsang. It is now used to signify any large river, in the same way as *Ganga* is applied in India. Smaller streams are called *Dok-po*, the "narrow water," or brook; and *Drag-po*, the "rapid water," or torrent; or *Tsang-chung*, the "small stream;" but *Dok-po* is the common term.†

The river system of Ladák consists entirely of the three great mountain-feeders of the Indus, the *Singgé-*

* *Chhu*, "water," generally, a river.

† *Grog-po*, pronounced *Dokpo*. It is also spelt *Dog-po*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 *chhu*, or Indus Proper, the *Shayok*, and the *Zanskar* rivers. But as my account of Ladák embraces the districts of Lahul and Spiti, which once belonged to it, my description of the rivers must necessarily extend to the Chenab and Sutluj: and to complete the subject I will add some short notices of the other three rivers of the Panjáb,—the Jehlam, the Ravi, and the Byás.

II.—THE INDUS.

By some the real source of the Indus is at present considered an unsettled point,* notwithstanding the distinct and explicit statement of Moorcroft,† that "the Sinh-kha-bab rises from the Gangri or Kailás range, a short way to the south-east of Gartop" (Garo). The information collected by Moorcroft agrees exactly with that which I obtained from different people, that the Garo river is the Singgé-chhu or Indus, and that there is no *great* eastern branch. My principal information was derived from Anant Ram, the vazir of Shasso, in the Sungnam valley, who was despatched to Garo by the late Vans Agnew and myself in September 1846, with

* Thornton, Gazetteer, *in voce* Indus, relies upon Gerard, whom he calls "probably the highest authority upon the subject." The two Gerards are certainly the *highest* authorities for mountains, as they discovered some that were not less than 30,000 feet in height, or 2,000 feet higher than the loftiest known peaks. These are stated to be on the left bank of the Indus, in Rupshu; but when Dr. Gerard visited Rupshu he actually passed, unconscious, within eight or ten miles of the position of those stupendous peaks, which, at a distance of eighty-four miles, had thrown both the brothers into raptures! Thornton strangely quotes Vigne as confirming the height of these mountains; but Vigne simply says that he looked for them, but they were "*not in sight*." Vigne was too honest a traveller to lend his name to such a statement.

† Travels, I. p. 363.

A Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Governor-General's letter to the Governor of Lhasa. He went from Hanlé *up the valley of the Singgé-chu* to Garo, or rather to Higong, which is the winter residence of the Governor. For the Garó of our maps, which was visited by Moorcroft, is chiefly a summer encampment, as its name implies, on the right bank of the Higong-chu, while the other Garo is situated two marches lower down the river, and on the left bank. The former is called *Gar-Yaru*, or upper encampment, and the latter *Gar-gang*,* or the snowy encampment, because the people retire to it during the winter, or snow season. Anant Ram passed by Tashigong, but he saw nothing of the great eastern branch, which I believe owes its existence entirely to Gerard, who could only account for the two names of Higong-chu and Singgé-chu by supposing them to belong to different streams.

Thornton, who never misses an opportunity of sneering at Arrowsmith, states in a note that "the existence of this river and confluence is alleged on the credit of the map accompanying Moorcroft's Travels, and stated to have been compiled from his notes and field-books." Now the map referred to, which was published in 1841, represents the eastern Sinh-kha-bab by a dotted line, whereas in Arrowsmith's map of Northern Asia, published in 1834, the eastern branch is defined as distinctly as the Garo river. This branch is just as boldly delineated by the "accurate" Walker in Sheet XI. of the map of India, published in 1836, by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. These dates prove that previous to the publication of the map of Moorcroft's and Trebeck's Travels, an eastern branch of the Indus had been inserted in our *best* maps, and that

* *sGar*, a camp; *Yar*, or *Yaru*, up, upwards; and *Gangs*, ice, snow.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Arrowsmith, after he had seen Moorcroft's and Trebeck's notes and field-books, was so doubtful of its existence, that he only represented it by a dotted line in the map illustrating Moorcroft's travels.*

According to my information, the true source of the Indus lies to the north-west of the holy lakes of Manasarovara and Rawan Hrad, in the south-western slopes of the Gangri or Kailás mountain, in north latitude 31° 20′, and east longitude 80° 30′, and at an estimated height of 17,000 feet. From its source to Garo, the Indus was followed by Moorcroft in 1812. Within eight or ten miles of its source it was 240 feet broad and 2½ feet deep in July, and at Garo, about forty miles from its source, it was "a clear, broad, and rapid, but not deep river." On the 19th September, 1847, I measured the Indus at an uninhabited spot named Rânak, a few miles above the junction of the Puga rivulet, and about 260 miles from the source. The stream was there 240 feet broad, with a mean depth of 1·7916 feet, and an extreme depth of only three feet. Its greatest surface velocity was 3·658 feet per second, or 2½ miles per hour, and its mean surface velocity was 2·727 feet per second, or

* Mr. Thornton, Gazetteer, *in voce* Hindu Kush, accuses Arrowsmith of embellishing the Hindu Kush with "a goodly peak." Mr. Arrowsmith might return the compliment by pointing to the "Panda Talao," with which the Walkers have *embellished* the eastern branch of the Indus. Mr. Thornton then contrasts Mr. Walker's "usual admirable accuracy," as displayed in his map of the countries between the Sutluj and the Oxus. But in this "admirably accurate map" I find Baron Hugel's *Muhal*, and Vigne's *Mihil Mori*, inserted as two distinct places ten miles apart! Walker's excellent map of Afghanistan is likewise disfigured by several errors: thus I find Shabkader and Chepkeder, the latter being only the French spelling of the same name; Daneh Chekow is printed instead of Danish-kot; and Antre Roustam instead of Rustam's Cave.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 nearly one mile and seven furlongs per hour. From these data I found the discharge of the Indus to be only 774 cubic feet per second. The stream was quite clear, but sluggish, running between grassy banks, half sand, half mud, the sand being quick, and the grass coarse, long, and yellow. The banks were flat and low, and the bottom generally muddy. Below this the character of the stream was quite changed, and the waters rushed impetuously down a narrow channel full of huge boulders and enormous rocks.

It will be observed that the Indus at Rânak had the same breadth, and but little more depth than where Moorcroft saw it above Garo; but as the current was "rapid," its velocity cannot be estimated at less than five or six miles an hour. This would give a discharge of about 1,500 cubic feet for July, and of 560 feet for September. If this estimate be correct, it is certain that no large stream can join the Garo river above Rânak.

The course of the Indus from its source to Rânak is to the north-west, and the distance is about 260 miles, and the fall 2,600 feet, or about ten feet per mile.

From Rânak to Pitak, opposite to Lé, the distance is 130 miles, and the direction the same as before, almost due north-west. The fall of the river is 3,200 feet, or 24·6 feet per mile. Above Rânak the Indus is generally fordable, but from thence to Lé it can only be crossed by bridges. From Lé to the junction of the Dras river, a distance of 125 miles, the river changes its course to west-south-west. From this point to the junction of the Shayok river, a distance of seventy-five miles, its course is generally north-north-west, and from thence to Skardo, a distance of thirty miles, it makes a

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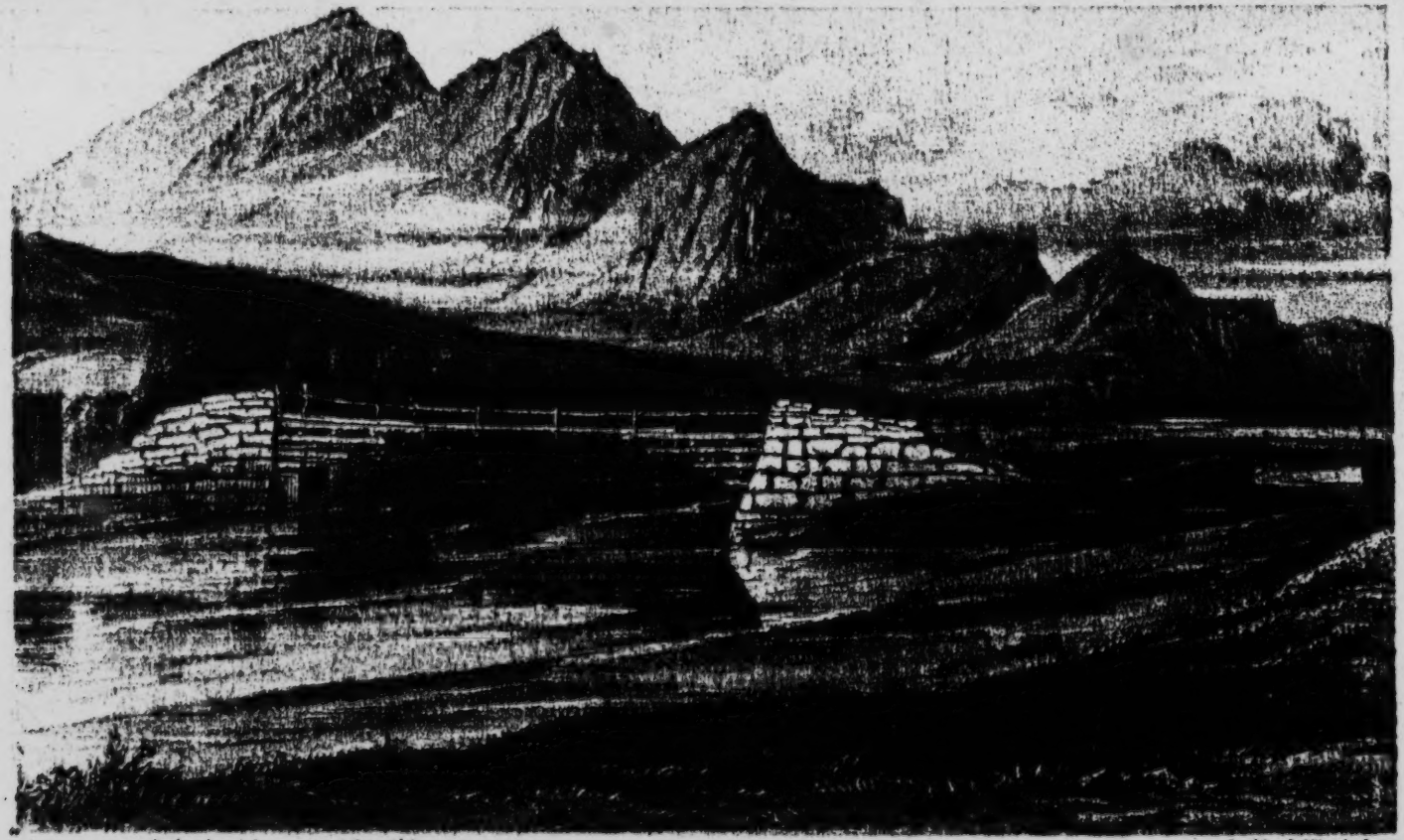

Lithographed, Dublin reduced from a sketch by Colt Burn

Day & Son Lith to the Queen

Wooden Bridge over the Indus, near LÉ.

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 sweep up to the northward, and returning to the south resumes its former course to the north-north-west.

At Nyimo, just twenty-five miles below Lé, the Indus is joined by the Zanskar river, a dark and turbulent torrent of equal, or perhaps of greater size. The junction of the united Waka, Suru, and Dras rivers with the Indus takes place at Moral, and the confluence of the Shayok and Indus just above Keris (7,500 feet).

On the 26th of November, Dr. Thomson found the Indus at Skardo 520 feet broad, with a mean depth of 7·11 feet, and an extreme depth of 9½ feet. The mean surface velocity was 2·128 feet per second, or about 1½ mile per hour. The greatest surface velocity was 2·586 feet per second, or rather more than 1¾ mile per hour.

From these data I calculate the discharge at 4,525 cubic feet per second in the winter. Of this amount about 2,000 cubic feet are probably supplied by the Shayok river, and the remaining 2,500 cubic feet by the Indus Proper. The small rivers of Wanla, Waka, Suru, and Dras probably supply 500 cubic feet, and the Zanskar river about 1,000 cubic feet; thus leaving 1,000 cubic feet for the discharge of the Indus at Lé during the winter season.

From Skardo to Rongdo and from Rongdo to Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, for upwards of 100 miles, the Indus sweeps sullen and dark through a mighty gorge in the mountains, which for wild sublimity is perhaps unequalled.* Rongdo means the "country of defiles," and Makpon-i-Shang-Rong means the "craggy defile of Astor." Between these points the Indus raves from side to side of the gloomy chasm, foaming and chafing with

* See Plate III. for a view of the bed of the Indus at the Rongdo Bridge.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

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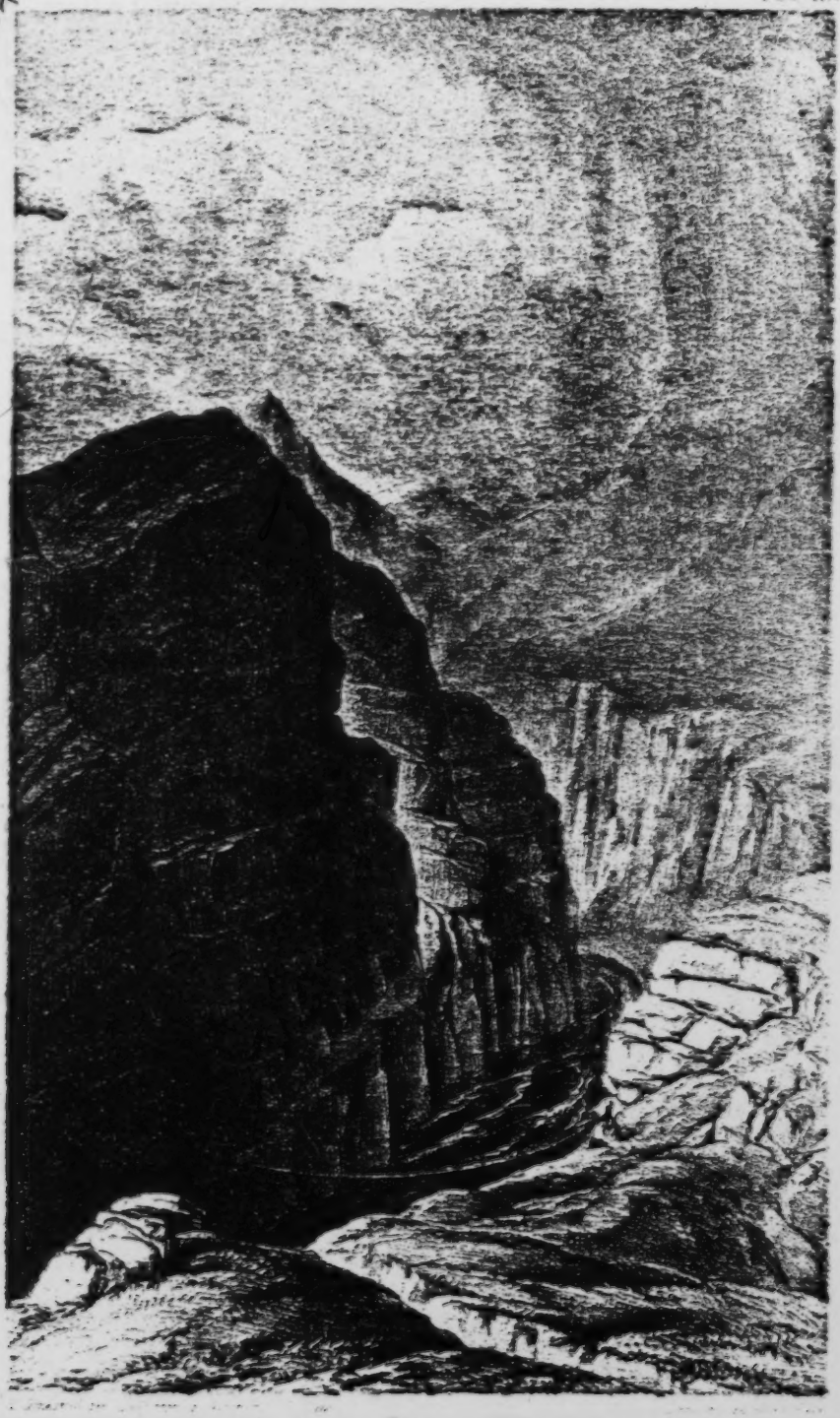

INDUS

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133x 491 ungovernable fury. Yet even in these inaccessible places has daring and ingenious man triumphed over opposing nature. The yawning abyss is spanned by frail rope bridges, and the narrow ledges of rock are connected by ladders to form a giddy pathway overhanging the seething caldron below. At Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, 4,500 feet, the Indus cuts the Trans-Himálayan chain of mountains by a bold and sudden sweep round to the southward, where it receives the waters of the Gilgit river, a mighty stream, perhaps not inferior to any one of the mountain tributaries. From Skardo to Rongdo the distance is 40 miles, and the fall of the river 800 feet, or 20 feet per mile. From Rongdo to the Shang-Rong the distance is 75 miles, and the fall 1,700 feet, or 22·6 feet per mile.

From the junction of the Gilgit river to Attock, 1,000 feet above the sea-level, the course of the Indus is to the south-west. The distance is 300 miles, and the fall of the river 3,500 feet, or 11·6 feet per mile. This part of its course is but little known; but even at Ohind, 15 miles above Attock, I found the current of the Indus much more rapid than that of any other river of the Panjáb.

From its source to Rânak, the Indus is a broad and fordable stream, rolling its sluggish waters through open grassy plains. Its general width is about 250 feet. From Rânak to the junction of the Zanskar river, the stream is a brawling rapid from 100 to 150 feet broad; and thence to the confluence of the Shayok it is a furious torrent, raving from side to side of a narrow ravine. At the Khallach bridge, the channel is only 50 feet wide below and 60 feet above. In the winter the lower part of the Indus is frequently frozen over,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 and in 1841 Zorawar Sing's troops crossed the Indus on the ice.

The whole length of the mountain course of the Indus from its source to Attock is 1,035 miles,* and the whole fall is 16,000 feet, or 15·4 feet per mile. From Attock to the sea the length is 942 miles, and its whole length from the Kailás mountain to the Indian Ocean is 1,977 miles. The minimum discharge of the Indus between Attock and Mithankot is about 16,000 cubic feet, which I have estimated in the following manner:—

Discharge at Skardo	4,500 cubic feet.
Shigar, Gilgit, and Astor rivers ...	4,000
Small unknown streams	2,500
	11,000
Kabul river	5,500
	16,500
Loss by evaporation between Attock and Mithankot	1,500
Total discharge	15,000

In May, when it has been increased by the melting of the snows, its discharge is six times as great, or 91,791 cubic feet; and in July and August, when swollen by the seasonal rains, it reaches its maximum discharge of 135,000 cubic feet, or nine times that of the winter discharge. These estimates are for the Indus itself above the confluence of the Panjnad. Below the confluence, the minimum discharge of the Indus is about

* My measurements have all been made by adding one half to the measured lengths obtained by the compasses. Thornton reckons the mountain course of the Indus at 700 miles, but the practised Geographer Alex. Keith Johnston estimates it at 1,060 miles, which is within a few miles of my own estimate. *See* Johnston's Physical Atlas, p. 45.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

27,000 cubic feet. The discharge in May is 160,674 cubic feet,* and the maximum discharge is 230,000 cubic feet. /33x

The discharge of the Indus at Rânak has already been stated at 774 cubic feet in September; and I estimate its winter discharge below Lé at 1,000 cubic feet. As the Zanskar river is about the same size, the minimum discharge of the Indus Proper may be taken at 2,000 cubic feet; and the maximum discharge, at nine times the minimum, will be 18,000 cubic feet. That this estimate is not too great, can be proved by the known rise of the river (35 feet) at the Khallach bridge, where the stream is confined between almost perpendicular rocks, only 55 feet apart. A discharge of 18,000 cubic feet at this point would require a surface velocity of not more than 8½ miles per hour, or of 12·46 feet per second.

The waters of the Indus are supplied by the rivers of the Panjáb in the following proportion.

		Cubic Feet.	Authority.
1	Sutluj	5,700	Major Baker, Engineers.
2	Byás	3,100	Major Cunningham.
3	Ravi	2,700	Col. Napier, Engineers.
4	Chenab	4,700	Major Cunningham.
5	Jehlam	4,000	Estimated.
		20,200	
	Loss	8,200	by evaporation, permeation, &c.
	Panjnad	12,000	cubic feet, discharge.
	Indus Proper ...	15,000	
	Minimum discharge	27,000	cubic feet.

* Wood, in Burnes's Cabul, p. 374.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X The following table exhibits the discharge of the Indus below Mithankot in several months of the year.*

	Dr. Lord corrected.	Wood.	Burnes corrected.
In March	26,357	—	—
„ April	66,660	—	67,837
„ May	160,162	160,674	—
„ June	163,483	—	—
„ July	223,678	—	—
„ August	230,177	—	—
„ September ...	217,110	—	—

In his Memoir on the Indus, Sir A. Burnes has assigned to the Indus a discharge of 80,000 cubic feet in April, and then contrasted this amount with the minimum discharge of the Ganges, as published by George Prinsep. But the comparison is doubly incorrect, for the lowest state of the Indus occurs in March, when, as we have seen, the discharge is not more than 27,000 cubic feet: and the discharge of the Ganges, at Sikrigali, as stated by George Prinsep, is so manifestly wrong that it is quite astonishing how any one could have repeated such an absurd mistake. On turning to George Prinsep's statement, I find that he assigns 21,500 cubic feet

* Dr. Lord, Medical Memoir of the Valley of the Indus, p. 65, states the discharge in May at 310,393 cubic feet; but his calculation must have been made from the *surface* velocity instead of from the mean velocity of the mass. I have therefore reduced all his discharges by multiplying them by the factor ·516. This makes the May discharge agree with that of the accurate Wood. Sir A. Burnes makes the breadth of the Indus, at Tatta, 670 yards or 2,010 feet, the depth 15 feet, and the velocity 2½ miles per hour. From these data I have calculated the discharge according to the formula $v=\frac{(\sqrt{s}-1)^2+s}{2}1$; in which s is the surface velocity, and v the mean velocity of the mass. The result agrees closely with Dr. Lord's corrected discharge.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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as the discharge of the Ganges at Sikrigali, and 20,000 at Benares. The latter, as Burnes remarks, "differs in but a trifling degree from that at Sikrigali;" and the near agreement of these two, he conceives to be a proof in favour of the correctness of the estimated discharge.* Had any one told *him* that the discharge of the Indus at Mithankot was the same as at Dera Ghazi Khan, *above the junction of the Panjnad*, he would at once have exposed the absurdity; and yet he takes the Ganges at Sikrigali to be the same stream as the Ganges at Benares, although between these points it receives the tribute waters of the Gumti, the Gogra, the Son, the Gandak, the Baghmati, the Gogari, the Kosi, and the Mahanadi; of which the Gogra alone is fully equal to the Ganges at Benares.

As the comparison of the two rivers is a subject of much interest, I will here state all that I have gathered regarding the discharge of the Ganges. The estimated discharge at Benares was, without doubt, derived from the measurements of James Prinsep, who was for several years Assay Master of the Benares Mint, and whose high attainments in all branches of science are sufficient to guarantee the correctness of his calculations. Indeed the accuracy of James Prinsep's discharge of the Ganges at Benares is most satisfactorily proved by the measured discharge at Ghazipur, which from data published by the Rev. R. Everest,† I have calculated at 21,757 cubic feet. The only other minimum calculation which I possess, is luckily that which is most wanted, the minimum discharge of the Ganges at the head of the Delta. For this I am indebted to the late Colonel Wilcox, who

* Burnes's Travels, I. p. 199.

† Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, I. p. 241.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 was formerly employed on the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and afterwards in the Observatory of the King of Oude. The measurements were taken above Comercolly and Pubna, and included the streams of the Jalinghi and Bhágirathi, as well as the main river. The discharge of the Ganges at this point was found to be 96,000 cubic feet, or more than three and a half times that of the Indus. The maximum discharge of the Ganges at Ghazipur, calculated from the data furnished by the Rev. R. Everest, I find to be 476,761 cubic feet, or more than double that of the Indus at its greatest height. The maximum discharge of the Ganges, at the head of the Delta, cannot therefore be estimated at less than 1,500,000 cubic feet, or just six times that of the Indus. George Prinsep* states the maximum discharge at Sikrigali, at 1,850,000 cubic feet; but my calculation, from his data, gives only 1,430,800 cubic feet. This result might have been anticipated from the much greater extent of the Himálayan chain, drained by the Ganges, and from the known greater fall of rain in the Gangetic
132 basin. The latter cause is probably the chief one, as it is known that the annual fall of rain increases rapidly from the Jamna, eastward.

III.—THE SHAYOK RIVER.

133 The principal mountain tributary of the Indus is the Shayok, or Khundan river, which rises in the Kárákoram mountains, to the northward of Lé, in N. latitude 35°, and E. longitude 78°, and to the south-eastward of the Kárákoram Pass. From its source to the neighbourhood of Sassar, it makes a bold sweep of sixty miles

* Gleanings in Science, III. p. 185.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

to the west and south. Thence, for fifty miles, to Mandalik, it takes a south-easterly course; and onward, to the town of Shayok, which gives its name to the stream, it flows due south for fifty miles more. From the source to this point, the whole length of the river is 170 miles, and the fall 6,000 feet, or 35·3 feet per mile. A short distance above the great north-western bend, the Shayok receives the waters of the *Chang-chhen-mo*, or Great Chang river, whose course has been explored by Captain H. Strachey; and below the bend it receives the waters of the *Long-Konma*, from the south-east. From Shayok to Hundar, the course is west-north-west, and the distance is about eighty miles. Near this place it receives the Nubra [illegible] a considerable stream, about 100 miles in length, from the north-west. Beyond this point it pursues the same direction to its confluence with the Indus, at Keris, a distance of 150 miles. From Shayok to the junction, the distance is 230 miles, and the fall is 4,500 feet, or 19·6 feet per mile. From its source in the Kárákoram to Keris, where it joins the Indus, the whole length of the Shayok is just 400 miles, and the total fall is 10,500 feet, or 26·4 feet per mile.

The general character of the Shayok is exactly the reverse of that of the Indus. Its upper course is rushing and turbulent, down a narrow glen, but its middle course is either broad and rapid, or divided into numerous channels, in an open valley; and in these places where the waters are much scattered, the river is generally fordable, although not without difficulty.* Between Tertse and Unmâru, there are seven distinct branches, of which three are between 300 and 400 feet in width, and the others much smaller, with an average depth of

* For this information I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Thomson.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X two feet. At Surmu, the Shayok is also forded by two separate channels, each 300 feet broad, with a depth varying from two to three feet. At the Turtuk bridge, the river narrows to seventy feet, and in the lower part of its course, the Shayok is generally a furious rapid, confined between precipitous cliffs. In the height of summer, when the stream is much swollen by the melted snows, the fords are always difficult. In the winter, the passage is easy; and even in the lower part of its course the Shayok is frequently frozen over, and the stream is crossed upon the ice. I estimate the winter discharge of the Shayok at 2,000 cubic feet, the increased discharge in May at 12,000, and the maximum discharge in August at 18,000 cubic feet.

IV.—THE ZANSKAR RIVER.

133X [103] The *Chiling-chhu*, or Zanskar river, is formed of two principal branches, *Zanskar* proper, and the *Sum-Gal*, or river of the "Three Fords." The head-waters of the Zanskar river are the Yunam, the Serchu (or Yellow River), and the Cherpa, all of which rise to the north of the Himálaya range, near the Bara Lacha Pass. The head of the Cherpa river, which is the most remote source of the Zanskar river, is situated in N. latitude 32° 40′, and E. longitude 78°. The united stream, below the junction of the Cherpa, is not fordable until the end of September; and the Cherpa itself is not fordable after mid-day, even in the beginning of September, as both the rapidity and depth of the stream are much increased by the daily melting of the snow. The united stream, called Lingti, follows a north-westerly course, as far as Phadam, the chief place in the Zanskar district. From

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its source to Phadam, the distance is 130 miles, and the fall 4,000 feet, or 34·6 feet per mile. At Phadam the Lingti receives a small stream from the west, and then takes a due northerly course for upwards of eighty miles, to its junction with the Indus, opposite Nyimo. In this part of its course the fall is only 1,500 feet, or 18·7 feet per mile. The whole length of the Zanskar river is 210 miles, and the total fall is 6,000 feet, or 28·5 feet per mile.

About twenty-five miles above its junction with the Indus, the Zanskar river receives the waters of the Sum-Gal, or river of the "Three Fords." The head-waters of this tributary rise in the mountains to the westward of the Tshomo-Riri lake, in N. latitude 33°, and E. longitude 78°. Three branches, of about equal size, join their waters to form this river; and as each of these streams is forded separately within the short distance of one mile, the united stream has received the descriptive name of *Sum-Gal*, or the river of the "Three Fords." From its source to its junction with the Zanskar river, the course of the Sum-Gal is north-north-west; its length is 110 miles, and its fall is about 5,000 feet, or 45·4 feet per mile.

I estimate the discharge of the Zanskar river at 1,000 cubic feet in the winter, at 6,000 cubic feet in May, and at 9,000 cubic feet at its maximum, in August.

V.—OTHER TRIBUTARIES.

Of the other mountain tributaries of the Indus, there are only four that are deserving of particular notice: the rivers of Dras, Shigar, Gilgit, and Astor.

The Dras river is formed of the united streams of the Waka, the Suru, the Dras, and the Kuksar rivers. The

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 Waká-chu is formed of two main branches, the Waka and the Phu-gal, both of which take their rise to the north of the Himálaya, near the Vingge-lá, in N. latitude 33° 40′, and E. longitude 76° 30′. Each stream is fordable above the junction, but the united stream is crossed by bridges. The whole length of the Waká-chu is about 100 miles, the general direction being north-north-west. The Suru river rises to the north of the Himálaya range, in N. latitude 34°, and E. longitude 76°. Its length is about sixty miles, and its direction about north-north-east. The Dras river rises to the north of the Himálayan range, near the Scoji La Pass, in N. latitude 34° 12′, and E. longitude 75° 45′. Its whole length is about eighty-five miles, and its general direction is north-east. The Kuksar river rises to the westward, in about 34° 40′ N. latitude, and 75° E. longitude. The length of its course is unknown; but it is probably not less than 100 miles. Its general direction is easterly. The whole of these streams unite near Kargyil, below which they cut the Trans-Himálayan range, at the narrow gorge called the Wolf's Leap, and join the Indus opposite Mural. I estimate the discharge of the Dras river at not less than 500 cubic feet.

The Shigar river rises in the Kárákoram mountains, in N. latitude 36° 20′, and E. longitude 75°. It takes a south-easterly direction for 100 miles, and then turns to the south-south-west for nearly forty miles, to its junction with the Indus, opposite Skardo. The discharge of this stream is probably about 500 cubic feet.

The Gilgit river is one of the principal mountain-feeders of the Indus. Its upper course is formed of two principal branches, the Yasan and Parasot rivers. The former rises in N. latitude 37°, and E. longitude 73°, at

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the point where the Kárákoram merges into the Hindu Kush. The source of the Parasot is in 36° 10′ N. latitude, and 72° 40′ E. longitude, on the eastern face of the range which gives rise to the Chitral, or Kunar river. After a separate course of seventy-five miles each, the two streams join above Roshan, in latitude 36° 20′, and longitude 73° 30′, and take an easterly course for twenty-five miles, to Gakuch, where they are joined by the Chator-Kun river, from the north. Thence to the town of Gilgit its course is east-south-east, for fifty miles, below which it receives the joint tribute of the Hunza-Nager rivers. It continues the same course for about thirty miles further, to its junction with the Indus, below the defile of Makpon-i-Shang-Rong. The general direction of the stream is to the east-south-east, and its whole length not less than 180 miles. The minimum discharge is probably 2,000 cubic feet, or even more. 133X

The Astor, or Hasora river, falls into the Indus in latitude 35° 30′, and longitude 74° 35′. It rises to the east of the great mountain of Dayamur, and takes a northerly course of about 100 miles.

VI.—CATACLYSM OF THE INDUS.

Since Moorcroft visited Ladák, there have been no less than three inundations of the Indus, of which the last and greatest occurred in 1841. Vigne was the first to make known the second of these cataclysms, which, from the information of the people, he attributed to its right cause,* the bursting of a glacier in the upper course of the Shayok river. In 1812, when Izzet Ullah went from Lé to Yarkand, he travelled up the Shayok 731 133X

* Kashmir. II. p. 362.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731
133X

river, from its great western bend to its source in the Kárákoram mountains; and in 1822, when Moorcroft was at Lé, the road by the Shayok was still clear. The information which I obtained regarding the Shayok or Khundan glacier, dates the first stoppage of the river in the fourth year after Moorcroft left Ladák, and in the same year that Jehangir Khoja came from Yarkand, or in A.D. 1826. The river was dammed only for a short time, but the road was permanently obstructed. The second cataclysm happened in 1833, when, to use Vigne's account, "the protecting glacier gave way, and the mighty flood, no longer confined, rushed down the valley of the Shayok, destroying every village that came within its reach." The third cataclysm occurred in 1841, when the gallant Syâm Sing Atáriwala (who fell at Sobraon) was encamped in the bed of the river. Suddenly down rushed the wave of the inundation, thirty feet in height, and the whole camp took to flight: most of the men were saved, but the baggage, camp equipage, and guns, were swept away.

The cataclysm of the Val de Bagnes, a small feeder of the Rhone, is the only great flood of this kind of which I can find any account; but the Val de Bagnes is scarcely five miles in length, while the glacier of the Khundan river is not less than 800 miles from the fort of Attock, past whose walls the flood rushed in one tremendous wave about 30 feet high, and continued its overwhelming course to the Indian Ocean, a distance of 1,750 miles.

> Who that from Alpine heights his laboring eye
> Shoots round the wide horizon, to survey
> Indus or Ganges rolling their bright floods
> Through mountains, plains, through empires black with shade,
> And continents of sand, will turn his gaze
> To mark the windings of a scanty rill? AKENSIDE

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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133X

The Val de Bagnes is a petty brook, while the Khundan is a mighty river, scarcely inferior to the Indus itself at their junction above the fort of Skardo.

As a magnificent natural catastrophe on so grand a scale as that of the cataclysm of the Indus is worthy of the most particular examination, I trust that the following details will prove both interesting and valuable.

When Vigne and Dr. Falconer* were at Skardo in 1837, they heard that the Shayok or Khundan river had been often "blocked up by avalanches and masses of ice," and that a flood had occurred not many years before. Both of these travellers heard of a lake in the upper course of the Shayok river, but as Mir Izzet Ullah does not mention it, I conclude that my information regarding the origin of the lake is correct. In two different parts of the Shayok or Khundan river, above and below Sassar, the bed of the stream is completely spanned by enormous glaciers. The upper glaciers above Sassar were seen by Dr. Thomson in 1848. They had descended from two lateral ravines on the western bank, and had been thrust right across the bed of the river by their own weight. But the lower glaciers on the Khundan are those to which my informants attributed the obstruction of the river, and they were unanimous in ascribing the flood to the long stoppage and sudden escape of the accumulated waters of the Khundan. The exact position of the great glacier is known within a few miles. It is situated somewhere between Sassar and the junction of the Chang-Chhenmo, and as the distance between these points is only 50 miles, we may place the glacier with tolerable certainty at about 30 miles below Sassar, and 20 miles above the junction of

* Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, X. p. 617.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 the Chang-Chhen-mo. This part of the course is now
133* quite inaccessible, owing to the accumulated mass of ice and snow. The high road from Lé to Yarkand formerly
731 ascended the bed of the Khundan or Shayok river the
133* whole way to its source in the Kárákoram mountains;
491 but since the obstruction of the channel, the road now takes a more westerly direction up the Nubra river, and then crosses a lofty pass to Sassar on the Khundan. At this point it again leaves the Khundan, on account of the upper glaciers seen by Dr. Thomson, and proceeds over a rugged and elevated tract to the head-waters of the river.

133* In these cold and lofty regions, almost every ravine is filled with a glacier, which, except during a very warm summer, never moves, but is bound to the rocks every night by the icy chains of frost. A glacier is melted on its under surface by the higher temperature of the soil, and on its upper surface by the thawing of the snow under the direct rays of the sun. The heated stones that lie on the top form hollows and clefts that admit the external air, and little rills of water trickle over the sides in all directions. The glacier is thus furrowed by holes, penetrated by cracks, and undermined below, until it becomes narrower than the ravine which contains it. It then descends by its own weight, and is either rent to pieces by unequal pressure, or checked by some opposing obstacle. In a very warm and dry summer the glaciers in the lateral ravines of the Khundan would be so much diminished by melting and evaporation, that they would be impelled onwards by their own gravity right across the channel of the river. This I suppose to have been the case towards the end of September 1826, from which time the channel of the Khundan river has

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

never been clear, and the accumulated waters have formed a lake of considerable size, to which the people have given the name of *Nubra Tsho*, or the Nubra Lake. The accounts which Vigne received were "various and most conflicting, but all agreed that it was very large;" and he concluded that it might be "three or four miles in length and less than a mile in width." My informant, who had seen the lake, said it was four or five kos (eight or ten miles) in length, and less than a quarter of a kos (half a mile) in breadth; and such is the shape, that I should suppose it must take in the confined channel of the Khundan river.

In 1833* this barrier was burst, and the accumulated waters rushed down the valley of the Shayok, destroying every village within their reach; from Nubra to Skardo, a distance of 120 miles, the flood-wave descended in a single day, at the rate of ten miles an hour; and the marks of its fury were still to be seen at Skardo in 1837. So well was the cause of this inundation known to the people, that it was believed "that the same terrific visitation might be expected to occur again at no very distant period."†

The expected cataclysm occurred in June 1841, but it was immensely greater in volume and more devastating in its effects than the previous inundation of 1833.

During December 1840 and January 1841, the Indus was observed to be unusually low between Torbela and Attock.‡ In February and March it became lower, and

* Two different informants fixed the date as follows:—one said fourteen years before 1847, that is in 1833; the other said "just before Zorawár Sing invaded Ladák." As the invasion took place in 1834, the cataclysm may be dated in 1833.

† Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 362.

‡ Major James Abbott. Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, XVII. p. 230.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 was even fordable not far above Attock; but in April and May, though still very low, it was no longer fordable, as the depth of the stream had been much increased by the melted snows. Early in June the barrier was burst, and the collected waters of nearly six months rushed with overwhelming violence down the narrow valley of the Shayok, sweeping everything before them. Houses and trees, men and women, horses and oxen, sheep and goats, were carried away at once, and all the alluvial flats in the bed of the river, which had been irrigated with laborious care, were destroyed in a moment. This happened in the middle of the month of Jyeth in the Sambat year 1898, or about the 1st June, A.D. 1841.

According to the testimony of the people of Chulung and Tartuk, on the western boundary of Chhorbad, the wave of inundation passed their villages at two o'clock in the afternoon. As these villages stand on opposite sides of the river, and are ten miles apart, the concurrence of testimony may be taken as a proof of its correctness. Two days afterwards, and exactly at the same hour, the flood passed by Torbela, a distance of 550 miles. The rate is 11·4583 miles per hour, or 16·81 feet per second, being only just half that of the flood-wave of the Val de Bagnes in 1818 at its first burst into the valley of the Rhone. The fall from the Khundan glacier to Torbela is 16,000 feet, or just 20 feet per mile.

The devastating effects of this terrible flood were still quite fresh in 1847. At Tertse, one of the widest parts of the valley, they could be traced to a height of more than 20 feet above the stream, where straws and twigs were massed together in lines two or three feet broad, and upwards of half a mile from the channel of the river in October 1847. But the most striking effect of the flood

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

was the entire absence of trees in the valley of the Shayok, while the lateral valley of Nubra was full of trees upwards of a hundred years old.* There were of course many young trees in the bed of the Shayok, but they were the growth of only a few years. At Surmu and at other places in the Khapolor district, numbers of fruit-trees were observed standing amidst large tracts of sand and gravel. 731

The following table shows the loss of life and property in most of the villages along the Shayok from the junction of the Nubra river to the fort of Skardo.

Districts.	Houses.	People.	Horses.	Oxen.	Sheep, Goats.	Khals of Land.	Trees.
Nubra	19	83	18	114	1,040	178	—
Chhorbad ...	140	8	—	—	—	364	140
Khapolor ...	163	1	1	4	—	859	—
Keris	20	—	—	—	—	127	4,900
Skardo	9	—	—	—	—	107	1,190
Parguta ...	—	—	—	—	—	10	1,200
Total ...	351	92	19	118	1,040	1,645	7,430

From this list we learn that the principal loss of life occurred in the Nubra district, where the valley of the Shayok expands to about half a mile in breadth. There the shepherds and herdsmen, with their flocks and herds, were overwhelmed in the midst of the open plain, without a chance of escape. In the lower part of the valley, where the channel is confined, and where the villages are generally built high above the stream, there was no loss of life. Even amongst the low-lying hamlets in the bed of the river, the loss of life was trifling, for the distant roar of the rushing waters was a sufficient warning to

* This fact was communicated to me by Dr. Thomson.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 the people who had beheld the inundation of 1833, and with a few exceptions they all made their escape up the mountains.

The effect of the inundation at Torbela has been so graphically described by Major James Abbott from the lips of an eye-witness, Ashraf Khan, of Torbela, that I will quote it entire.* "At about 2 P.M. a murmuring sound was heard from the north-east among the mountains, which increased until it attracted universal attention, and we began to exclaim, 'What is this murmur? Is it the sound of cannon in the distance? Is Gandgarh bellowing? Is it thunder?' Suddenly some one cried out, 'The river's come.' And I looked and perceived that all the dry channels were already filled, and that the river was racing down furiously in an absolute wall of mud, for it had not at all the colour or appearance of water. They who saw it in time easily escaped. They who did not, were inevitably lost. It was a horrible mess of foul water, carcases of soldiers, peasants, war-steeds, camels, prostitutes, tents, mules, asses, trees, and household furniture, in short, every item of existence jumbled together in one flood of ruin; for Raja Gulab Sing's army was encamped in the bed of the Indus at Kulai, three kos above Torbela, in check of Painda Khan. Part of the force was at that moment in hot pursuit, or the ruin would have been wider. The rest ran, some to large trees which were all soon uprooted and borne away; others to rocks, which were speedily buried beneath the waters. Only they escaped who took at once to the mountain-side. About five hundred of these troops were at once swept to destruction. The mischief was immense. Hundreds of acres of arable land were licked

* Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, XVII. p. 231.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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up and carried away by the waters. The whole of the Sisu-trees which adorned the river's banks, the famous bargat-tree of many stems, time out of mind the chosen bivouac of travellers, were all lost in an instant."

Throughout the mountain-course of the Indus the devastation caused by this terrible flood in the low lands along the bank of the river was complete. All the cultivated lands were swept away, and not even a single tree was left standing to mark the spot where careful tillage and laborious irrigation had for hundreds of years wrung luxuriant crops from the thirsty soil. The fields, the houses, and the trees, were all overwhelmed in one common ruin; while man and the animals which he has domesticated, horses and oxen, sheep and goats, generally managed to escape.

The ruin caused by this awful inundation in the bed of the Indus, between Torbela and Attock, was so overwhelming and so vast, that "it will take hundreds, if not thousands of years, to enable time to repair, with its healing hand, the mischief of that terrible hour. The revenue of Torbela has in consequence dwindled from 20,000 to 5,000 rupees. Chach has been sown with barren sand. The timber, for which the Indus has been celebrated from the days of Alexander until this disaster, is now so utterly gone, that I vainly strove throughout Huzara to procure a Sisu-tree for the repair of the field-artillery carriages. To make some poor amends, the river sprinkled gold dust over the barren soil, so that the washings, for several successive years, were farmed at four times their ordinary rent."*

Opposite Attock, the waters of the Kabul river were checked and forced backward for upwards of twenty

* Major James Abbott.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 miles, by the mighty wave of inundation. The fort of Akora, and the village of Messabanda, were overthrown; and when I saw them in January 1848, were mere scattered heaps of ruin.

731 As everything connected with this tremendous inun-
133 dation must be interesting, I have attempted to ascertain, approximately, the mass of the accumulated waters in the Nubra Tsho, or Lake, formed by the glacier barrier, as well as the mass and height of the cataclysmal wave. In calculating the accumulation of water, I have estimated the usual winter discharge of the Khundan river at 800 cubic feet, or less than one-half of the discharge at its confluence with the Indus. The increased discharges in April and May are based upon the known rates of increase in the discharge of the Indus, which have already been given. The accumulation began in December.

Date.		Velocity.	Accumulation.
December	1840	800 cubic ft. per sec.	1,249,920,000 cubic ft.
January	1841	800 " "	1,249,920,000 "
February	"	800 " "	1,128,960,000 "
March	"	800 " "	1,249,920,000 "
April	"	2,000 " "	5,064,000,000 "
May	"	4,800 " "	12,918,320,000 "
			22,861,040,000 "

From this amount a considerable deduction must be made for loss by evaporation and percolation. I do not, therefore, estimate the whole mass of accumulated waters at more than 20,000,000,000 cubic feet. But even this would be sufficient to form a lake twelve miles in length, with an average breadth of 526 yards, or 1,578 feet, and an average depth of 200 feet. The surface of the lake would

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

have been half a mile or more in breadth, and the depth at the lower end, against the glacier, would have been 400 feet. As the fall in this part of the bed of the river is somewhat less than thirty-five feet, a lake of this depth would be exactly twelve miles in length. 731 133*

The bursting of the barrier was, I have little doubt, caused by the cutting powers of the overflowing waters, which must quickly have worked enormous clefts in the outer face of the glacier. In a few days these clefts would have been worn deeper and deeper, until the icy mass at length gave way under the mighty pressure of the vast liquid body. Then the imprisoned waters burst forth with a roar of exultation, lashing themselves into foam against the rocks, careering madly from side to side, and sweeping all things before them in the wild might of their untamed strength. 731

According to the information given by the people of Chulung, on the Shayok, the flood was three whole days in passing off; two days in full height, and the third day considerably decreased; on the fourth day the flood had mostly gone by, but the stream was still much swollen. The following calculation shows the daily discharge of water for each of the three days of flood, with a small allowance for the fourth day.

				Daily discharge.	
1st day at	100,000	cubic feet	per second,	8,640,000,000	cubic feet.
2nd „	80,000	„	„	6,998,400,000	„
3rd „	40,000	„	„	3,499,900,000	„
4th „	20,000	„	„	1,728,000,000	„
Total discharge in four days ...				20,866,300,000	„
Total mass of accumulated water,				20,000,000,000	„

By dividing the maximum discharge of 100,000 cubic feet per second by the ascertained velocity of 11·4583

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 miles per hour, or 16·81 feet per second, we obtain 5,948 square feet as the sectional area of the cataclysmal wave. From this I have deduced the rise of the river in different parts of the channel according to its width. These heights, however, do not give the actual rise of the water, which must always have been greater immediately above every narrow part of the channel.

	Width of River.	Rise.
Above Tertse	250 feet broad	23·79 feet.
Near Turtuk	100 „ „	59·48 „

The height of the flood below Tertse was ascertained to have been between twenty and thirty feet, by the broad lines of straw and twigs which marked the extreme limit of the inundation. In the open plain of Unmâru, the waters must have been kept at the same level as at Tertse, by the obstruction offered to their passage in the narrow channel between Chulung and Turtuk. This would account for the lines of straw and twigs being observed about half a mile from the present bed of the river.

The valley of the Indus, below the junction of the Shayok, narrows in some places to 100 feet, and even less. At these points, therefore, the flood must have risen to a height of sixty feet at least, and must have caused a considerable back wave up the confined channel of the Indus proper, or Lé river. And this was actually the case, for the effect of the inundation is said to have been felt for nearly thirty miles up the Indus, while at Sarmik, ten miles above the confluence, the lower cultivated lands were destroyed, and no less than 1,200 fruit-trees were swept away by the back-water flood.

At Skardo, where the river expands to 520 feet in width, and where the sandy flats rise at least thirty feet*

* Vigne, II. p. 260, states that water is found at a depth of ten yards.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

above the general level of the stream, it is probable that the flood did not spread much beyond the usual limits. The rise would, therefore, not have been more than ten feet. But below Skardo, in the confined and rocky channel, which is the prevailing character of the bed of the Indus throughout the Rongdo district, the flood-wave would have risen to its full height of sixty feet; and at the "Craggy Defiles" of Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, the curbed waters must have been massed up at least 100 feet in height. 731

At Ghori Trap, below Attock, where the width of the river is not more than 250 feet,* the wave of inundation must have attained a height of at least 23·79 feet; and this will at once account for the height of the waters at Attock, which are said to have submerged the fort of Khairabad by their sudden rise of nearly thirty feet.

From Attock to the sea the inundation pursued its ruinous course, but I have no information as to the extent of the country flooded, or the numbers of people swept away. According to the papers of the day, the devastation of the three Deras,—Ismail Khan, Ghaze Khan, and Fateh Khan, was very great; and I trust that full particulars of this extraordinary flood may yet be collected by some of the many British officers now stationed along the Indus.

VII.—THE JEHLAM RIVER.

The *Jehlam* river takes its name from the town of Jehlam, beneath which it flows. In Kashmir, it is called *Behat*, a contraction of the Sanskrit *Vitasta*, which the Greeks slightly altered to Hydaspes. The Jehlam drains 133X

* Wood's Oxus, p. 125.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X the whole valley of Kashmir: and the reputed sources of its principal feeders are all esteemed holy. The Behat takes its rise in the small pool of Vira Nág, which Jehangir walled round; but its true source is some miles further to the south-west, in N. latitude 33° 30′, and E. longitude 75° 25′. Its most distant source is in the lake of Sesha Nág, at the head of the Lambodari, or Lidar river, which joins the Behat below the town of Islamabad. Between Shahabad and Islamabad, it receives the river of Brang; and a few miles below Bij Bihâra, it receives the united waters of the Veshau and Shupyen rivers. The Veshau, or Veshavi, rises in the holy fount of Kosa Nag; and the Shupyen river in the Lake of Nandan Sar. Below the city of Srinagar, the Behat is joined on the east by the Sindh, which is the largest of all its tributaries. From this junction the river continues its north-westerly course to the Wular lake, which it leaves above the town of Sopur, and then flows on in a south-west direction to Baráhmula, receiving midway the waters of the Loláb river. The whole length of the Behat, from its source to Baráhmula, is 150 miles. From Sháhábád to Baráhmula, the river is navigable. The fall is only 400 feet in 120 miles, or 3·33 feet per mile; and the usual rate of the current is about a mile and a half per hour. Vigne* says that a piece of wood thrown into the stream at Kánibal, will reach the city in 24 hours. As the distance is about 64 miles, the rate will be $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles per hour: but I was $2\frac{1}{4}$ hours in descending the stream from the Islamabad bridge to the Bij Bihâra bridge, a distance of little more than six miles, with two men gently paddling the boat. Again, in descending the stream from Bij Bihâra to Wantipur, I went on shore to

* Kashmir, II. p. 22.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

warm myself by walking, and I distanced the boat, 133 x
although it was paddled by two men. I do not therefore estimate the velocity of the current at more than 1½ mile per hour, and I believe that it is considerably less.

At Islamabad, the breadth of the stream is 120 feet, 133 x
with a maximum depth of 12 feet 3 inches. It is 491
spanned by a log bridge, 118 feet in length, with two openings. At Bij Bihâra, below the junction of the Lidar river, it is spanned by a bridge 250 feet in length, with four openings. Between these points the water is beautifully clear, and the bed of the river is generally sandy, and ripple-marked, and covered with shells and broken pottery. In a few places the bottom is stony, but the stones are all small and rounded. At Pampur the Behat is spanned by another log bridge, 325 feet in length, with five openings; but the water is slightly muddy, and the bed of the river can no longer be seen. Below Pampur, and opposite Panthasok, the abutments and two piers of a stone bridge are just visible above the water. In its course through the city of Srinagar, the channel of the river is narrowed to 250, and even to 200 feet, with a varying depth of from six to twelve feet. The stream is very sluggish, and the surface of the water in many places is covered with the green slime common to stagnant pools. In December, Moorcroft found the river 210 feet broad, with a mean depth of nine feet, and a velocity of 2,400 feet per hour, or of 0·6666 feet per second; which gives a discharge of 1,150 cubic feet per second.

At Sambhal, or Sambhalpur, below the junction of the Sindh river, the Behat is spanned by another bridge, 340 feet long, with five openings. The average depth of the water is about fourteen feet at the same place. On

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 the 16th December, Trebeck* found the depth of water
491 from one to three fathoms. Assuming twelve feet as the average depth in December, and the rate of the current at 2,400 feet per hour (the same as at Srinagar), the winter discharge of the united streams of the Behat and Sindh rivers will be 2,480 cubic feet. At Barâhmula† the discharge is most probably not more, as the waters of the Loláb river may be supposed to supply the great loss by evaporation on the Wular lake.

133 From Barâhmula to Mozafarabad, the Behat pursues an easterly course for 100 miles. The total fall between these places is 3,800 feet, or thirty feet per mile; and the character of the river entirely changes from a placid and sluggish stream to a raving torrent. Below Tattamula, and about sixteen miles from Barâhmula, the rocky cliffs rise almost perpendicularly from the river to a height of 300 and 400 feet; and in some places that I noticed, the bare steep cliffs were not less than 800 feet above the stream.

As the height of the Behat, near Tattamula, is about 5,000 feet above the sea, the whole of Kashmir must have been submerged by the waters of the river, before the wearing down of these cliffs.‡ The level of the Kashmirian lake would have been about 5,800 feet above the sea, and from 50 to 100 feet above the Karewahs, or isolated alluvial flats now remaining in Kashmir.

* Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 220.

778 † This name is properly *Varâha-mula*, the Boar Avatar's spring. The *Varâha Ganga* is now a dry hole, fifty feet long, thirty feet broad, and twenty feet deep. The spring has become dry, but the place is still esteemed holy.

‡ As Tattamula (*Sanskrit*, Tapta-mula), the "hot spring," may indicate volcanic action, the immediate cause of the bursting of the lake may have been the sudden rending of the rock by an earthquake.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The great Karewah of Nonagar, opposite Avantipur, which rises from 200 to 250 feet above the plain, is a mass of lacustrine deposit. I searched in vain for shells as I crossed over the Karewah to Payachh: but I was more fortunate at Wantipur, where I obtained numerous specimens of *Cyclas rivicola* in the horizontal strata of clay and sand at different heights up to nearly 200 feet above the present level of the river, and about eighty feet below the presumed level of the lake. The high level land of Marttand was probably not submerged, but the horizontal beach-marks are still quite distinct on the limestone cliffs above the cave of Bhaumajo and the holy spring of Bhawan. Above Rámuki Serai, on the Shupyen river, the Karewah forms a bank about 100 feet in height, in horizontal strata of different kinds. The uppermost twenty feet are composed of stiff alluvial soil; the next twenty feet of rolled stones and loose earth; and the lowermost sixty of indurated blue clay. The last must have been deposited by the lake in its state of quiescence; but the middle stratum could only have been formed by the first grand rush of waters on some sudden burst of the rocky barrier below Tattamula; and the uppermost would have been deposited by the subsiding waters as they reached the newly-formed level. Then, as the rocky bed was gradually worn down, the different streams worked new channels for themselves in the former bed of the lake, until the present Karewahs of Nonagar, Pampur, and Kánikpur were left first as islands in the decreasing lake, and eventually as long flat-topped hills in the midst of the open plain, just as we now see them. The Karewah of Nonagar is about five miles in length by two and a half miles in extreme breadth.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133x Above Uri the Behat has once been spanned by a stone bridge thrown across a very narrow part from cliff to cliff; but to judge from the lowness of the remaining portions of the abutments, the bridge must have been swept away by the very first extraordinary rise of the river. High up on the right bank stands a ruined serai of the Mogal emperors. Opposite Uri the river is now crossed by a suspension-bridge of leather ropes. Above Hatiya there is a second suspension-bridge of twisted leather ropes 258½ feet in length.

At Mozafarabad the Behat is joined by the Kishen Ganga, a considerable stream which rises in the mountains to the north of Kashmir, in N. latitude 34° 30′, and E. longitude 75° 20′. It flows first to the westward through the districts of Gures, Suti, and Drawá, then turning to the south-west it pursues its course through Kerigám and Karnâ to Mozafarabad. The late Mr. Vans Agnew ascended this river on his way to Gilgit; but as he was not a surveyor, his travels were confined to a mere descriptive account. The whole length of the Kishen Ganga is not less than 180 miles, and its probable discharge about 1,000 cubic feet. The total discharge of the Behat below Mozafarabad will therefore be 3,500 cubic feet.

Below Mozafarabad the Behat sweeps suddenly round to the southward, and after receiving the Kunihâr river continues the same course to the town of Jehlam, a distance of 150 miles. The fall in this part of the river is 1,200 feet, or only eight feet per mile. The Kunihâr river rises in the Nila mountain, eight days' journey to the north of Mozafarabad. Its whole length is about 100 miles. From the junction of the Kunihâr to Dhangali the Behat has been surveyed by Mr. Ingram, an

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

assistant to Lieut. D. Robinson, of the engineers; and in this part of its course it receives no tributary worth mentioning. Near Mángali, at the foot of the hills, it is joined by the Punach river, a considerable stream, which is said to rise in the lake of Nandan Sar, in N. latitude 33° 35′, and E. longitude 74° 40′. It takes an easterly course between the Pir-Panjál and Ratan-Panjál, ranges past Bahramgala to Punach, where it turns to the southward, and follows a south-westerly course to its junction with the Behat or Jehlam. Its whole length is 140 miles, and its discharge about 500 cubic feet.

The whole discharge of the Behat or Jehlam as it enters the plains is therefore just 4,000 cubic feet; this estimate is borne out by the statements of Moorcroft, who says that the river at Jehlam in October was 450 feet broad and from twelve to sixteen feet deep, with a current of about a mile an hour. These data give a discharge of 4,800 cubic feet per second for October, which would certainly be reduced to 4,000 cubic feet by February and March. The whole mountain course of the Behat, from beyond Virnag to Mángali, is 380 miles, and its fall is about 8,000 feet, or twenty-one feet per mile. From the hills to its junction with the Chenáb between Jhang and Uch, its general direction is south-south-westerly, and its length about 240 miles. Its whole length from its source to its confluence with the Chenáb is therefore about 620 miles.

VIII.—THE CHENÁB RIVER.

The Chenáb is formed of two principal feeders, the Chandra and the Bhaga, from which it derives its Sans-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 . AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 krit name of Chandra Bhaga. Ptolemy calls it Sandabal; but the Greek historians of Alexander named it the Akesines, because its proper name was one of ill omen.* The Chandra and the Bhaga rise on opposite sides of the Bara Lacha pass, in N. latitude 32° 45′, and E. longitude 77° 22′, at an elevation of 16,500 feet above the sea. The Chandra flows at first to the south for fifty-five miles, and then sweeps suddenly up to the north-west for sixty miles farther, to the junction of the Bhaga river at Tandi. The fall to this point is 7,500 feet, or sixty-five feet per mile, for the Chandra river, and 125 feet per mile for the Bhaga river, which has a course of only sixty miles to the south-west. At Koksar, twenty-five miles above Tandi and 10,000 feet above the sea, the Chandra river averages 200 feet in width, with a mean depth of two and a half feet, and a current of not less than four miles per hour in October, when it is fordable with very great difficulty. The discharge at that time is therefore not less than 2,000 cubic feet per second; and the minimum discharge is probably about 1,500 cubic feet, or of the united stream below Tandi about 2,000 cubic feet. From Tandi the Chandra Bhaga pursues a north-westerly course to Káshtwár, a further distance of 115 miles. The whole length to this point is 330 miles, and the fall is 11,500 feet, or 34·8 feet per mile.

Between Tandi and Káshtwár the Chandra Bhaga receives many snow-fed torrents of considerable size, of which the largest are the Chukam and Chatrgarh rivers. The discharge at Káshtwár cannot therefore be less than

* Bishop Thirlwall says perhaps owing to its similarity in sound to Αλέξανδρου φαγος, "devourer of Alexander." Aka-sin in Pushtu would mean river of the Akas; who probably gave their name to the town of Akanâwar or Aknur.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

4,000 cubic feet, or just double that at Tandi, which is half-way between the source and the town of Káshtwár. Below the town it receives from the north the large river of Wardwan, about sixty miles in length, by which the discharge is probably increased to 4,500 cubic feet. 133x

At Koksar, 10,000 feet above the sea, which is the highest inhabited village on the Chandra river, a suspension-bridge of twisted birchen ropes is annually constructed. A second suspension-bridge of the same kind formerly spanned the mouth of the Bhaga river at Tandi, but this was carried away some time after Dr. Gerard's visit in 1830. In 1839 I saw the ropes lying high and dry on the northern bank; but when I visited Tandi again in 1846, there was no trace of them. A small wooden bridge of thirty-eight feet span, and forty feet above the stream, is thrown across the Bhaga river about four miles from Tandi. Fifteen miles below Tandi, and five miles above Treloknáth, the Chandra Bhaga is crossed by a couple of spars covered with loose planks. The bridge is eighty-five feet long and forty-three feet above the water. Two miles above this bridge the river was not less than 300 feet broad. Above Chatrgarh and opposite Káshtwár, the Chandra Bhaga is crossed by suspension-bridges. 491

From Káshtwár the river sweeps suddenly round to the south-west as far as Doda. It then turns due west towards the fort of Riyâsi, where it resumes its south-westerly course to Aknur, at the foot of the hills, a total distance of 150 miles. In this part of the course the fall is 4,000 feet, or 26·6 feet per mile. It receives the Banahal and the Budhil, above Aknur, and the two Tohis of Rajaori and Chaneni above Vazirabad. By these and some other small streams, its winter discharge is increased 133x

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 to 4,750 cubic feet per second. This discharge has been calculated from my own data obtained at Ramnagar in January 1849. Our military bridge of boats afforded me every facility for obtaining the most accurate measurements, and I have therefore full confidence in the correctness of the result. The river was divided into two streams; that on the left bank having a maximum depth of fifteen feet four inches, and that on the right bank a maximum depth of ten feet six inches. The total breadth, including the sand-bank in the centre, which was barely covered with water, was 646 feet, or, excluding the sand-bank, 533 feet. The greatest surface velocity was 3·6666 feet per second, or just two miles and three-quarters per hour. The mean depth was exactly five feet, and the mean surface velocity 2·3 feet per second, or nearly one mile and five furlongs per hour. I have calculated each portion of the stream separately, and the result gives a discharge of 4551·038 cubic feet per second. A similar result may be obtained from the rough measurements of Sir Alexander Burnes,* made at the same place in the middle of February. His data make the breadth 900 feet, greatest depth nine feet, and current one and a half mile per hour. Taking four and a half as the average depth, the discharge will be 4,860 cubic feet. I only give this to show the correctness of my own measurements.

From the Bara Lacha pass to Aknur, the length of the Chenáb is 380 miles, and the whole fall is 15,500 feet, or 40·8 feet per mile. From Aknur to Mithankot the length is 570 miles in a south-south-west direction, and the whole length from its source to its junction with the Indus is 950 miles.

* Burnes' Travels, Vol. I. p. 46.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

During the dry season the Chenáb is fordable in many places between Sodra and Ramnagar. Opposite Sodra in 1848 there was a good ford, crossing no less than seven branches of the stream. The Ramnagar ford was open during the whole of our operations in December 1848, and January and February 1849. The other fords were constantly liable to shift, but three days before the battle of Gujrat I discovered a good ford between Vazirabad and Ramnagar, by which Brigadier Markham's brigade crossed the Chenáb on the 19th February. 133x 491

I have no means of ascertaining the maximum discharge of the Chenáb during July and August. Macartney measured it in July at Vazirabad, when the stream was 7,590 feet (nearly one mile and a half) broad, with a depth of fourteen feet, and a current of five miles an hour; but these data are too vague for even an approximate result. The depth for one half of this breadth was probably not more than one or two feet. 133x

In July 1839, I found the main channel of the Chenáb above Vazirabad to be 2,760 feet broad, but the depth could not be ascertained with any certainty; in many places it was more than eighteen feet. The mean depth was probably about nine feet, and if we allow two and a half miles as the average rate of the current, the maximum discharge would be 56,000 cubic feet, or with the six small branches to the westward, not less than 60,000 cubic feet. The increase of the Indus is nine-fold, while that of the Ganges is fifteen-fold. The mean between these is twelve-fold, which, if applied to the Chenáb, would give a discharge of 54,600 cubic feet for the maximum. The actual maximum discharge is probably between 50,000 and 60,000 cubic feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IX.—THE RÁVI RIVER.

133 The Rávi is the smallest of the Panjáb rivers. In the hills it is generally called Ráwá or Râwati, which is only a spoken form of the Sanskrit Trâvati, from which the Greeks made Hydraotes. The Rávi is formed of three principal branches,—the Rávi proper, the holy Budhil, and the Nai, which make a triple junction below Wulás, in the district of Chamba. I have seen all these rivers myself, and am indeed the only European who has yet visited the head-waters of this stream.

The Rávi rises in the petty dismembered state of Bangál, in N. latitude 32° 20′, and E. longitude 77° 0′. It takes at first a south-westerly course, and then bending to the north-west receives its principal tributaries at Wulás, a distance of sixty miles from its source. Its highest springs rise at the junction of the Dhaola Dhar and Lahul mountains, at an elevation of not less than 16,000 feet. As the height of the river at Wulás is only 5,000 feet, the fall is 183·3 feet per mile. From Wulás to Bisoli it continues its easterly course for fifty miles, and then turns to the south-west for twenty miles, to the neighbourhood of Tirikot, where it enters the plains. Its whole length is only 130 miles, while its fall is 15,000 feet, or 115·4 feet per mile.

The sacred Budhil rises in the Lahul mountains, to the north of the Rávi. Its whole course is not more than thirty-five miles from east to west, while the fall is
491 11,000 feet, or 314·3 feet per mile. Below Barmawar, the former capital of Chamba, the Budhil is crossed by a wooden bridge formed of spars covered with loose planks. The width is four and a half feet, the span sixty-eight feet, and the height above the river ninety-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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eight feet. This bridge has a hand-rail knee high on each side. A petty feeder of the Budhil rises in the small and holy lake of Mani Mahés.

The Nai river rises on the western face of the Kali Debi mountain, in the Lahul range. Its general course is to the south-west, and its whole length is only thirty miles. Its fall is therefore 366·6 feet per mile.

The Ráwá or Râwati, just above the junction of the Budhil and Nai at Wulás, is spanned by a birchen-rope suspension-bridge 116 feet in length. It is therefore about double the size of the Budhil river. Below Wulás the road leaves the river and crosses over the mountains, to avoid the precipitous cliffs which overhang the stream. At Mahila, ten miles above Chamba, the Rávi is crossed by another suspension-bridge of 169 feet span. Between the bridge and Chamba the river takes a sudden sweep to the left, between overhanging rocks not more than fifteen feet apart. A curling wave returns to meet the rushing stream, and a shower of mist is perpetually rising from the shock. Then all is smooth, and the stream pours headlong into a gulf below, and is instantly dashed back by the opposing rocks in a huge curling wave.

Just below Chamba the Rávi receives a considerable feeder from the north. This is the Sáwá, or Sár Nala, which rises in the Saj Joth, in the Lahul range. On entering the plains the Rávi takes a south-westerly course past Lahore for 430 miles to Chichawatni, where it turns to the west, and after seventy miles more falls into the Chenáb below Sirdarpur. The whole length of the Rávi from its source to its confluence with the Chenáb is 630 miles, and its minimum discharge is 2,700 cubic feet. The Rávi is fordable throughout the winter season, but the bed is full of quicksands.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

X.—THE BYÁS RIVER.

133 The Byás is perhaps the best known of all the Panjáb rivers, from its source to the foot of the hills below Mirthal. Its Sanskrit name is *Vipása*, from which the [778] Greeks made Hyphasis and Bibasis. The common name of Byás is derived from the small pool at the source of the river, which is called Vyás Rikhi or Vyása Rishi. This sacred spot is situated in the Rotang pass, at the head of the Kullu valley, in N. latitude 32° 25′, and E. longitude 77° 10′, at an elevation of 13,000 feet above the sea. For seventy-five miles the river flows nearly due south past Sultánpur, the capital of Kullu, to the village of Larji, where it is joined by two large tributaries,—the Sainj and the Tirthan. Above this it receives the Parbati and the Gomati rivers from the east, besides [491] many smaller streams. The Gomati is fordable with difficulty, but the others can only be crossed by bridges. The Sainj has a course of about fifty miles, the Parbati and the Gomati of forty miles, and the Tirthan of thirty miles. From the source to Larji the fall is 9,400 feet, or 125·3 feet per mile. From Larji the Byás sweeps suddenly to the westward through a narrow chasm in the rocks several hundred feet in depth. The stream is deep and rapid, but before the wearing down of this cleft the whole of the lower part of the valley must have been submerged. From Larji to Mandi the distance is not more than twenty-five miles, while the fall is 1,000 feet, or forty feet per mile.

The Byás continues its westerly course through this narrow channel to Mandi, above which it receives the Ul river from the north, and the Sukhet river from the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

south. The former is upwards of fifty miles in length, and the latter about thirty miles. At Mandi the river is crossed by a boat for the greater part of the year, but during the height of the seasonal floods the current is too strong for a boat, and the passage is then made on inflated skins. Between Sultanpur and Larji the river can only be crossed on skins, but from Sultanpur upwards it is spanned in many places by spar bridges.

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From Mandi to Mirthal the general direction of the river is to the west; but the course is very winding, and the length cannot be less than 150 miles. Between these points it receives several large streams from the north, of which the chief are the Binwa, the Nigwal, the Bán-Ganga, the Gaj, and the Chakki.

The *Binwa* rises in the Dhaola Dhar range, and after a southerly course of forty miles past Baijnáth falls into the Byás opposite Kamalagarh. The road from Kangra and Mandi ascends this stream to its source, and crosses over the Surai pass into Chamba on the upper course of the Rávi.

The *Nigwal* rises in the same range, and after a southerly course of forty miles through the beautiful districts of Pálam, falls into the Byás opposite the large town of Shujanpur-Tira.

The *Bán-Ganga* is formed of two principal feeders,—the Bán-Ganga and the Patál-Ganga, which rise in the Dhaola-Dhar, and join immediately below the fort of Kangra. The general direction as far as Kangra is south-west, but below the fort the stream winds very much, and changes its direction first to the south and then to the west as far as Haripur and Guler, from whence it resumes its south-west direction, and falls into

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 the Byás at the village of Nireyána, after a course of about sixty miles through the district of Katoch.

The *Gaj* or *Ghar-Gaj* is one of the largest feeders of the Byás, and was thought worthy of mention by Abu Rihán, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to Kangra. It is formed of the united streams of the Gaj, the Kohli, the Brál, the Dehar, and the Bhet, all of which rise in the Dhaola Dhar range, and flow to the south through the district of Guler. The whole length of the Gaj to its junction with the Byás below Siba is not less than sixty miles.

The *Chakki* rises in the western end of the Dhaola Dhar, and is the smallest and longest of all these northern tributaries of the Byás. Its whole length from its source near the Chuâri pass to its junction with the Byás at Biyánpura below Mirthal is not less than seventy miles.

On the south the Byás receives only one feeder of any consequence,—the Kunihâr, which joins it a few miles above Nadon; but except in the rains, it contains very little water.

From Mandi to Mirthal, a distance of 150 miles, the fall of the river is only 1,600 feet, or 10·6 feet per mile. The whole fall from the source to Mirthal is 12,000 feet, or forty-eight feet per mile. In this part of its course the Byás maintains its supremacy as the most beautiful river in the Panjáb. From Biyánpura, below Mirthal, the Byás flows in a south and south-westerly direction past the towns of Rahila, Bhairowal, and Govindwál, to its junction with the Sutluj at Hariki-patan, a distance of 100 miles. The whole length of the Byás, from its source to its confluence with the Sutluj, is 350 miles, and its minimum discharge is not less than 3,000 cubic feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

On the 10th November, 1838, I measured the Byás a few miles above its junction with the Sutluj. Its breadth was 450 feet, and its greatest depth seven feet four inches. Its greatest surface velocity was 4·04 feet per second, or a little more than two miles and three-quarters per hour. The discharge was then 3,425 cubic feet, from which we may calculate the minimum discharge at not less than 3,000 cubic feet. 133 ×

During the melting of the snows the Byás rises every night in the plains from one foot to one foot and a half. It attains its maximum in the morning and subsides during the day. When I was making the bridges at Govindwál for the passage of the army in March, 1846, I pitched my tent on the sand close to the water's edge, and in the morning I was surprised to find one line of tent-pegs completely under water. This rise is caused by the melted snows of the Dhaola Dhar, which are brought down during the day by the Binwa, the Nigwal, the Bán-Ganga, and the Gaj, and which do not reach Bhairowal and Govindwál until past midnight of the second day, after a lapse of 36 hours. The Byás is fordable in many places in the plains.

XI.—THE SUTLUJ RIVER.

The *Sutluj* is the largest and longest of all the Panjáb rivers. Its Sanskrit name is *Satadru*, or the "hundred channelled," from which the Greeks made Hesudros and Zadadros; but the common names throughout the hills are Satludr, or Satrudr, and Sutluj. The Tibetans call it *Lang-chhen-kha-bab*, or "elephant-mouth-fed" river, according to the commonly received notion of the descent of rivers from animals' mouths. 103

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 The rise of the Sutluj in the holy lakes of Manasarovara and Ráwan-Hrad has been satisfactorily ascertained by the adventurous journeys of Captain H. Strachey and Lieut. R. Strachey. The most remote sources of the Sutluj are the eastern feeders of the holy lakes, in N. latitude 30° 35′, and E. longitude 81° 35′. Numerous small streams flow from all sides into the great lake of Manasarovara, which overflows at its north-eastern corner into the lake of Ráwan-Hrad. From this point to its junction with the Spiti river, at the base of Porgyal, the Sutluj takes a west-north-westerly direction through a country but little known, but which I believe to be similar to that of the upper valley of the Indus. From its source to the confluence of the Spiti river the length of the Sutluj is 280 miles, and the whole fall is 9,400 feet, or 33·8 feet per mile.

From the base of Porgyal to Biláspur the Sutluj takes a west-south-westerly direction for 180 miles. In this part the fall increases to thirty-nine feet per mile, and the river becomes a furious torrent. Many old channels still exist to show that the Sutluj once flowed at a higher level, and that all the alluvial flats must have been the deposits of a series of lakes. Eddy-worn holes also may be seen high up in the rock, even up to 1,000 feet above the present level of the river. Two of these ancient channels are on the left bank, one just above Rampur, and the other opposite the Wongto bridge. The Rampur channel is 150 feet above the stream, and 100 feet broad, between large dykes of quartz, the intervening mica-slate having been scooped out for some depth. A little higher up, the river has made a perpendicular cut through one of these quartzose dykes about sixty feet deep.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

From Bilâspur the Sutluj makes a sudden sweep to the north-west, and then back again to the south-east, round the end of the lowermost range of hills, and finally enters the plains at Ropar. The distance is 100 miles, and the fall about 500 feet, or five feet per mile. The whole length of the Sutluj, from its source beyond Manasoravara to the foot of the hills at Ropar, is 560 miles, and the whole fall about 17,000 feet, or thirty feet per mile. From Ropar, the Sutluj takes an easterly direction for 120 miles past Lodiana, to the confluence of the Byasat Hari-ki-patan, beyond which it flows to the south-west for 400 miles to its junction with the Chenáb opposite Uch. The whole length of its course is, therefore, 1,080 miles, or 130 miles more than the length of the Chenáb.

The minimum discharge of the Sutluj at Ropar is 5,400 feet. As a small addition must be made for the Sirsa Nadi, the Kali Vehi, and the Dhaoli Vehi,* we may reckon the discharge of the Sutluj, above its confluence with the Byás, at 5,500 cubic feet, or just 1,000 cubic feet more than that of the Chenáb. The Sutluj is fordable in many places above the junction of the Byás, below which it becomes deeper, and is usually called the Ghara river.

Like the other Punjáb rivers, the Sutluj has a daily rise and fall, owing to the increase and decrease of the melted snows. On 29th May, at Kepu, below Kotgarh, I measured a rise of ten inches, the higher level being obtained at 3 A.M. In July the Spiti river at Kyi attained its maximum of four inches and a half at

* In November, 1838, I measured the Kali Vehi and Dhaoli Vehi, and found that each of them discharged a little more than 100 cubic feet per second.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 3 P.M. This is in fact the hour at which I have found that all these snow-fed streams reach their highest level. If, therefore, we assume that the Sutluj, at the mouth of its last great feeder, the Baspa, reaches its maximum at 3 P.M., we shall obtain a mean velocity of six miles and a quarter per hour as far as Kepu, a distance of seventy-five miles.

XII.—THE SPITI RIVER.

The Spiti river, which is perhaps as large as the Sutluj itself is formed of two principal branches,—the Spiti and the P'árá-ti or Zang-sum river. It takes its rise near the Bara Lacha Pass, in N. latitude 32° 4′, and E. longitude 77° 40′, at an elevation of 16,500 feet (the height of the Bara Lacha Pass). From its source to the village of Mane, it flows in a south-easterly direction for eighty-five miles, and then turns to the eastward for thirty-five miles to its junction with the Párá river. The fall is 6,000 feet, or fifty feet per mile. From Chang-Razing the river turns to the south for twenty-five miles, through a narrow rocky channel to its confluence with the Sutluj. The fall to this point is 2,000 feet, or eighty feet per mile; and the whole fall, throughout its entire course of 145 miles, is 8,000 feet, or fifty-five feet per mile.

In the upper part of its course, the Spiti river partakes of the general character of the Tibetan streams, and spreads its waters over a breadth of nearly half a mile. It thus becomes fordable, during the winter season, as far as Dangkhar, where it receives the Pin river from
491 the south. Below this, it is crossed by several suspension-bridges. Opposite Rangrig, it is spanned by a spar

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bridge with a hurdle footway. At Shálkar, below the 491
junction of the Párá, it is crossed by another spar bridge ninety-two feet long; and there is a third wooden bridge between Liya and Nako.

The Párá-ti, or Párá river, was considered by Alex- 133x
ander Gerard to be larger than the Spiti; but there is no comparison between the two. The Párá is only a very large rushing torrent, while the Spiti is a very deep rapid river. The Párá rises in the Parang Pass, to the north of the Bara Lacha range, in N. latitude 32° 25′, and E. longitude 77° 50′, at an elevation of 18,000 feet. It first flows for about twenty-five miles to the north-east, and for about twenty-five miles to the east as far as Chumur. From this point it turns to the south-east, and afterwards to the south-west, to its junction with the Spiti at Chang-Razing. Its whole length is 130 miles, and its fall about 7,500 feet, or 57·7 feet per mile.

Just above the confluence of the two rivers, there is a hot spring named Zang-sum, and the lower part of the Párá is sometimes called by this name. Alexander Gerard took the Zang-sum for another river, and has accordingly entered it in his map. But it is quite evident that he mistook the Gyu, a small tributary which joins the Spiti just above the confluence of the Párá, for the Párá itself. I surveyed this locality with some care, and can therefore state positively that Alexander Gerard was mistaken.

Four miles above its confluence with the Spiti, the Párá river is spanned by a single block of granite, which forms a vast natural bridge eighty-five feet in length, and from twenty-five to thirty feet in breadth and depth. The stream below is contracted to a raging torrent, not more than fifteen feet in width.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XIII.—CATACLYSM OF THE SUTLUJ.

731 133 About midnight on the 26th day of the month of Kartik, and in the Sambat year 1819 (10th November, A.D. 1762), the shoulder of a vast mountain gave way, and fell from a great height headlong into the Sutluj. The slip took place in the neighbourhood of the hot springs at Seoni, about twenty miles nort h by west fom Simla, where the river is confined between precipitous cliffs that rise several thousand feet above the stream. The narrow channel was instantly choked with a vast mass of rock, earth, and rubbish, to a height of more than four hundred feet, and the stream for the space of forty days was so completely dammed that the water ceased to flow below the barrier. The bed of the Sutluj was reduced to a succession of deep pools, scattered amongst the huge boulders and angular masses of rock, and the people passed over with dry feet. The waters of the river accumulated till they rose nearly four hundred feet in height opposite the Rana's residence at Bhaji, and the effect of the obstruction is said to have been felt as high up the river as Rámpur, a distance of forty kos, or about sixty miles. At Bhaji, a lofty semal, or cotton-tree, which was half-submerged, is still pointed out; and as the height of this cotton-tree above the Sutluj is estimated by the Rana at 120 yards, the rise of the river cannot have been less than 400 feet.

A similar account was obtained by Alexander Gerard* in 1817, when numbers of people who had witnessed the flood were still alive. "About fifty-five years since, forty or fifty miles above this town (Bilâspur), an im-

* Kanawar, p. 55. Gerard says fifty-five years ago; that is, from A.D. 1817; which gives A.D. 1762, agreeing with my date.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mense mountain gave way, filled the bed of the Sutluj, and arrested the stream for six weeks. During this time the inhabitants were anxiously looking out for the bursting of the embankment. When it did give way, the rush of such an overwhelming body of water may be more easily conceived than described. People were stationed on the heights all along from the place where the stream was stopped as far as Bilâspur, and they gave notice of the approach of the flood by firing matchlocks. The news arrived in time to save the inhabitants, but the whole of the town was swept away." 731 133x

This account is not quite correct, for it was only the lower town that was swept away, as the houses of the upper town, including the Raja's palace, and several old temples, are situated on an elevated flat far above the reach of any inundation. The distance from Seoni to Bilâspur is not more than forty-five miles by the river, and about thirty miles by land. The wave of inundation would therefore have reached Bilâspur in three hours, at the rate of fifteen miles per hour, while the news of the bursting of the barrier could have been signalled by matchlocks in half an hour.

As my information is derived from the Rana of Bhaji, in whose principality Seoni is situated, I have full confidence in the general accuracy of my account, even including the statement that the bed of the Sutluj became quite dry for the space of forty days. At first I was disinclined to believe this startling fact, but a little reflection showed me that it must have been the case; for as the fall of the Sutluj in this part of its course is not more than twenty feet per mile, the accumulated waters must have filled the bed of the river for twenty miles before they attained a height of 400 feet, level

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731
133x

with the top of the barrier. To fill this gulf would have required the accumulated discharge of the river for about forty days. The minimum discharge being 5,400 cubic feet at Ropar, the discharge at Seoni in November cannot be less than 5,500 cubic feet. This discharge accumulated for forty days would have amounted to 19,008,000,000 cubic feet, a mass of water which would only just have been sufficient to fill the gulf in the bed of the Sutluj for twenty miles above the barrier to a mean depth of 200 feet, with an average breadth of 900 feet. The flow of the river must therefore have been quite stopped below the barrier for the whole period of forty days.

When the accumulated waters once began to pour over the obstructing barrier, the mass of loose earth and rocks must have been speedily cut up in all directions, until it soon yielded to the pressure of the mighty body of water; and the long-imprisoned river burst its fetters and rushed headlong down its rocky channel in one mighty wave, from fifty to more than one hundred feet in height. This occurred on the fifth day of the month of *Paush*, or the 19th of December. Of its progress in the hills I know nothing more than what I have already quoted from Gerard of the destruction of the lower town of Bilâspur. But after reaching the plains, the mighty wave was swept more and more to the northward by its own speed off the Sewalik hills at Ropar, and thus took a new course under Phalor to the north of the old channel until it joined the Byasat Hari-ki-patan, where its further course to the northward was stopped by the stiff high cliffs on the right bank of the Byás. From this time the Sutluj, when swollen by the annual rains, continued to pour its waters down the new channel until

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

about A.D. 1790, when the whole body of water finally deserted the old bed by Lodiana and Dharmkot, and joined the Byás at Hari-ki-patan, some thirty miles above the former point of junction at Firozpur. For six months the Sutluj remained above its usual level until the rise of the river in June, when the last remains of the once mighty barrier were swept away by the swollen river. 731 133x

The following table embodies all the principal points of information contained in the preceding pages.

	Rivers.	Length.			Fall per mile.		Discharge.	
		In Hills.	In Plains.	Total.	In Hills.	In Plains.	Min.	Max.
1	Indus Proper	1,035	942	1,977	15·4	1·06	16,500	
2	Shayok	400	—	400	26·4	—	2,000	
3	Zanskar	210	—	210	28·5	—	1,000	
4	Jehlam	380	240	620	21·0	—	4,000	
5	Chenab	380	570	950	40·8	—	4,550	54,000
6	Rávi	130	500	630	115·4	—	2,700	
7	Byás	150	100	350	48·0	—	3,000	
8	Sutluj	560	520	1,080	30·0	—	5,500	
9	Panjnad	—	—	—	—	—	12,000	100,000
10	Indus alone.....	—	—	—	—	—	15,000	130,177
11	Indus and Panjnad	—	—	—	—	—	27,000	230,177
12	Ganges at Ghazipur	250	1,500	1,750	52·0	0·66	21,757	476,761
	Ganges at Pubna ..	—	—	—	—	—	96,000	1,500,000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

V.—LAKES AND SPRINGS.

133† [103] ALL sheets of water are known by the general name of *Tsho*, which is applied to the smallest pond as well as to the largest lake: as *Tsho-Máphan*, the Manasarovara Lake, "which is about sixteen miles square," and *Kyang-Tsho*, the "Wild Horses' Pond," which is a mere seasonal puddle of melted snow. The ocean is called *Gya-Tsho*, or the "Vast Lake."* The proper appellation, however, for a small piece of water is *Tshá-hu*; but the pronunciation of the two words is so much alike that the difference is almost imperceptible. In fact none but Lamas ever make the distinction, either in writing or in utterance. With a single exception, all the lakes of Ladák are land-locked, and consequently more or less salt; although the time has been when every one of them poured its tributary waters into the affluents of the Indus.

The *Pangkong*† Lake is a very long, narrow sheet of water, extending from east to west through the whole length of Ruthog, in N. latitude 33° 40′, to the neighbourhood of Chushal, from whence it trends to the north-west for about twenty-five miles, and forms the boundary between Ladák and Ruthog. Its eastern extremity is

* *mTsho*, a lake; *rGya-mTsho*, the great lake.

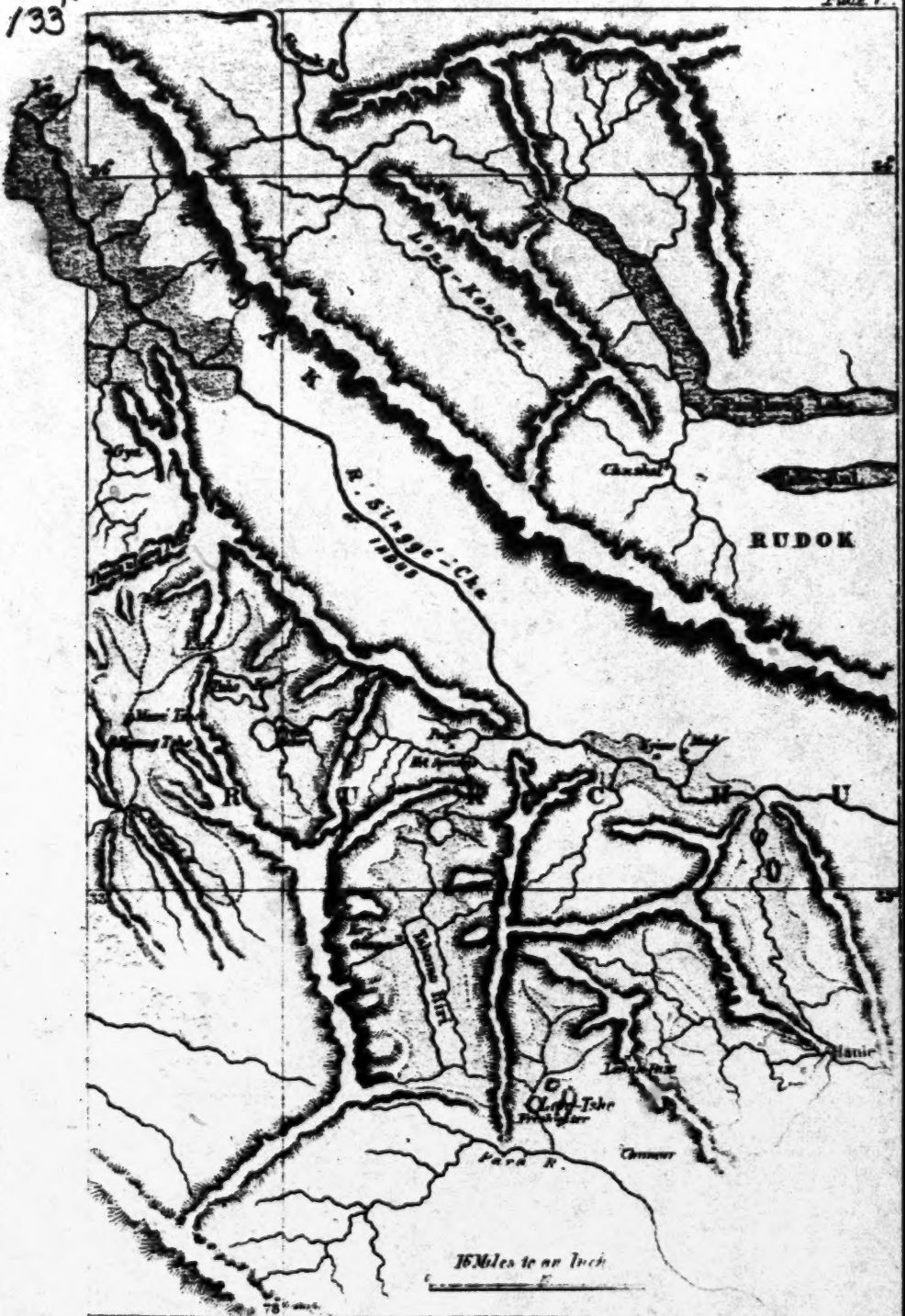
† *mTsho-dPangs-kong*, "Lake of the great hollow."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Ancient Lake System of Ladak.

Plate 7.

133x



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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 unknown; but from the neighbourhood of Ruthog to its north-western extremity beyond Pangmik, the Pangkong Lake is not less than eighty-five miles in length, with an average breadth of about three miles.* The extent of the known portion is, therefore, upwards of 250 square miles, or about the same size as the holy lake of Manasarovara. The superior size of this lake may be inferred [103] from the probable etymology of its name, *Pang-kong*, which means the "extensive concavity" or hollow; or *Pang-khung*, the "extensive pit." The water is clear and extremely salt.† This lake has been surveyed by Captain H. Strachey, whose observations place it at an elevation of 14,224 feet above the sea. In former ages there can be no doubt that the Pangkong Lake had an outlet at its north-western extremity, through a gorge in the limestone cliffs,‡ into the present scanty stream that passes by Muglib, and joins the Shayok river just above the village, which gives its name to the stream. At some remote period, therefore, the waters of the Pangkong Lake must have been fresh; a fact which has been placed beyond all doubt by Captain H. Strachey's discovery of fossil shells of the *Lymnæa auricularia* in the ancient clay deposits above the present level of the lake. The mountain-ranges at the north-western extremity of the lake are of limestone, which probably affects the waters of the lake, as the small pebbles on its shores are firmly united together by calcareous matter.

103 The *Tsho-Rul*,§ or "Bitter Lake," is situated about 133 five miles to the south of Pangkong. It is about sixteen miles in length, and somewhat less than two miles in breadth.

* Moorcroft, I. p. 435. † Ibid. I. pp. 434-35.

‡ This gorge was traversed by Moorcroft (I. 434.)

§ *Rui-ba* bad, fetid, bitter.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X [172] breadth. Its waters are extremely bitter. On its shore Captain H. Strachey likewise found fossil shells of the *Lymnæa auricularia* and of some kind of *Helix*, of which the specimens are perhaps too small to be identified with certainty. The waters of this lake must, therefore, once have been fresh.

133X The *Tshomoriri*,* or "Mountain Lake," is a very fine sheet of water, about sixteen miles in length from north 103 to south, and from two to three miles in breadth. It is situated in the middle of the elevated district of Rukchu, in N. latitude 32° 50′, and E. longitude 78° 15′, at a height of 15,000 feet above the sea. Its name is characteristic of its situation in the midst of mountains, by which it is completely shut in. The summits of these mountains rise to a height of about 5,000 feet above the 823 lake, and 20,000 above the sea. To account for its name, the Ladakis have invented a story, which though silly 103 enough, is quite as good as many that have been gravely recorded by learned Greeks. The story was probably originated by the inventive Kashmiris. "A woman riding a yák was carried into the lake. At first the yák swam boldly out, and the woman was delighted: but after a time the animal grew tired, and sank deeper in the water. The woman (*chomo*) became frightened, and screamed out *Ri-Ri*, *Ri-Ri*,† until the yák sank and she

* *Tsho-mo-Rhi-ri*, "Lake Mountainous."—Running water, being active, is considered as a male, as *Tsang-po*, the river of *Tsang*;—and still water, being passive, as a female, as *Tsho-mo*. *Po* and *Mo* are the masculine and feminine affixes, but they are seldom used in composition. *Ri* is a mountain; and *Rhi-ri-yi*, or simply *Rhi-ri*, is the adjective, mountainous.

† *A-ra-ra*, commonly pronounced *Re-re*, or *Ri-ri*, is the Tibetan exclamation of surprise or fear. As the word is written with an initial vowel, it is certainly borrowed from the Indian *Ari-ari*, for there is no word in the Tibetan language beginning with a vowel that is not of foreign origin.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

was drowned: since which the people have always called the lake *Chomo-Riri.*" 823 103

This lake has no outlet at present, and the waters are consequently brackish, although not very perceptibly so to the taste. But the time has perhaps once been, when the Tshomoriri lake was a noble sheet of fresh water, about thirty miles in length, from the foot of the Nakpo Gonding Pass to the low ridge that now separates the lake from the bed of the Párá river. When encamped at the south end of the lake in September, 1846, both the late Mr. Vans Agnew and myself estimated the height of this ridge at 700 feet; but it must have been somewhat more, as the bed of the Parang river at Norbu Sumdo is 15,700 feet. From this point, however, the apparent height of the ridge is not more than 150 feet. This will make its actual height above the lake between 800 and 900 feet. Such, therefore, must have been the depth of the lake in former days, if, as is supposed, it once had an outlet towards the Párá river. In September, 1846, I was encamped for three days on its banks. The water was beautifully limpid and of a deep blue colour. Here and there I observed white patches of saline matter, but I could not discover any shells. The salts are hydro-chlorate of soda and hydro-chlorate of magnesia. I could not see any fish in the water, but the wild fowl were numerous at the northern end of the lake. On the 18th September I fixed a pole in the water, which I examined twice during that day, and again early the next morning; but I found no perceptible difference between the levels of the day and night. The extra quantity of water that is supplied during the day by the melted snow must, therefore, be compensated by the greater evaporation during the heat of the day. In the same month of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133* the year, Dr. Gerard* could not find any water-mark above five feet, which he consequently fixed as the limit of fluctuation; but I doubt whether the rise and fall of
132 the lake amount to so much as one foot. In the middle of May, Trebeck† says that it is "frozen over sufficiently to be crossed by a man;" and according to the information that I received, it is usually frozen over by the end of October. During the winter there can be no fluctuation of level, as the whole surface of the ice is protected from the sun's rays by a mass of snow about knee deep. Towards the end of May or the beginning of June the ice breaks up and melts, and by the end of July the surface of the lake attains its highest level, which from the water-marks that I saw, cannot be more than one foot above the winter level.

133* [103] *Thogji-Chanmo* is the name of the "Salt-covered Plain,"‡ in the midst of which lies the *Tsho-Kar*, or "White Lake," or as it is called by the Hindus of Chamba and Bisahar, *Khaori-Talao*, or the Salt Lake. It is situated about thirty miles to the north-west of the Tshomoriri, in N. latitude 33° 15′, and E. longitude 77° 50′, at an elevation of 15,684 feet§ above the sea. It is extremely irregular in shape; its greatest length from east to west being about five miles, and its extreme breadth about two and a half miles. It is supplied at its south-eastern corner by a small stream ten feet broad and one foot deep, which flows slowly from a small fresh-water lake. In the middle of the south side, where a

* Researches As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 259.

† Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 52.

‡ The proper name is probably *Thang-Tsha-chan-mo*, "Plain-salt-full-of."

§ Dr. Gerard, As. Res. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 260, makes the elevation 15,500 feet.

[1 i.e., the lake Chomo-Riri - ANALYST.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

rocky promontory juts out into the lake, the water is very deep. On the north and east sides it is shallow; but on the west, the steep slope of the mountains appears to be continued beneath the surface. The water is exceedingly brackish and bitter, and the whole of the ground on the south-eastern shore glitters with a saline matter, which forms a thick crust of some extent. The southern road passes over this vast cake of salt, which cracks and crunches beneath the feet of the traveller. The salt is natron, or sub-carbonate of soda. On all sides the mountains still retain the ancient beach-marks in distinct lines, at all heights up to about 150 feet above the present level of the lake. In the numerous deposits of fine alluvial clay, both white and yellow, we found myriads of fossil shells of the *Lymnæa auricularia*, and a few specimens of a *Cyclas*, preserved inside the Lymnæa. When these animals existed, the lake must have formed a vast sheet of fresh water with a narrow passage to the westward, which connected it with a second and larger lake, that must have covered the whole of the present plain from Kyang, from the foot of the Thung Lung Pass to the forks of the Sum Gal river, a length of about thirty-five miles. In the clay deposits of this plain, as well as in the connecting gorge, we found myriads of the same fossil shells (*Lymnæa auricularia*) before mentioned. The Tsho-kar lake abounds with many kinds of water-fowl, especially with wild geese and wild ducks. To the south of the Tsho-kar there is a small fresh-water lake of no great depth, that supplies the salt-water lake. It is a very favourite haunt of the *Kyang*, or wild horse.

The *Yunam Tsho* is a small sheet of fresh water in the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 bed of the Yunam river, which flows through it. In former times it must have been of some extent, and of considerable depth. When I saw it, in September, 1846, it was only 1,000 yards long and 500 yards broad. Moorcroft was informed "that it had been more extensive, but had been contracted by the falling into it of masses of rock." The gradual decrease in size has, however, been brought about by a very different cause; by the constant wearing away of the rocky barrier, which once dammed the river about one mile below the present end of the lake. Between these points the river has worn a channel through a mass of fine cream-coloured clay,* which once formed the bed of the Yunam lake. I found the lake of a very pale yellowish colour, which it had received from the cream-coloured clay deposits in the bed of a small stream upwards of half a mile above the lake. The extreme length must once have been about three miles, and the breadth varying from a quarter of a mile to more than a mile.

The *Hánlé-Tsho* is the largest sheet of fresh water that to my knowledge exists in Ladák. The extent of open water is not great, but the whole extent of swamp is between three and four miles in length. It is principally supplied by a rivulet called the Kongra-chu, which drains the lofty range of mountains to the westward of the Tshomoriri lake as far south as the Lának Pass. A second feeder flows from a southern range of mountains, that divide Rukchu from the Chinese district of Chumur-ti. [136] A third small stream, which joins it from the north-west, is full of fish, which attain a size of fourteen [192] or fifteen inches. To the east of the lake is situated the

* Moorcroft, I. p. 217, also notices this fine clay.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

picturesque monastery of Hanlé, on the end of a rocky spur about 500 feet above the plain. Round the foot of this spur the waters of the lake find an outlet into the long and level plain of Mangkang, through which the Hanlé rivulet winds from side to side for a distance of thirty miles. Towards the northern end of the valley there are several low flat-topped hills, with large masses of alluvial clay deposits still adhering to them in horizontal strata. As the total fall from Hanlé to the northern end of the valley cannot be more than 150 feet, there can be little doubt that the Hanlé Tsho once covered the whole of these level plains, and formed a noble lake fully forty miles in length by fifteen miles in extreme breadth, to the south of Hanlé. The plain is now pretty thickly covered with Dámá or Tibetan furze, which here grows to the unusual height of three and four and even five feet. 133* [792]

Small pieces of water are numerous all over Ladák, but none that I have seen are deserving of notice for any peculiarity, excepting the celebrity of their names. Two of them are mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ayin Akbari.* "From the top of the mountains of Keetwar (Kashtwar) issue two springs, one called Chandra and the other Bhágá; * * they unite their streams and are then called Chandra Bhágá," which is the well-known Sanscrit name of the Chenáb. The Suraj Dal is a small oblong sheet of clear green water, dammed at the western end by masses of splintered rock that have fallen from above. It is about a quarter of a mile long and only half as broad. A small rill of melted snow flows into it from the east; but the rill is altogether so

* Gladwin's Ayin Akbari, II. p. 108.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 insignificant, that the Suraj Dal may fairly be considered, as it is reputed to be, the source of the Bhágá river. But the Chandra Dal, although double the size of the Suraj Dal, is situated at least twenty-five miles below the real source of the Chandra river, in the Bara Lacha Pass. It is, however, always spoken of as the source of the Chandra river. Dal is a Kashmiri term for any sheet of water, whether large or small: but it is also a Tibetan word, signifying "still, quiet."*

103

133 Many hot springs exist in different parts of Ladák; but the best known are those of Nubra, Puga, and Chushul. The first two were visited by Moorcroft, who found the waters "quite clear, and of the same temperature of 167°, at mouths distant two hundred yards from each other." Below the springs were beds of soda.

133 The hot springs of *Puga*,† I have myself examined. The springs occur in the bed of a rivulet called the Rulang-chu, for a length of about two miles. The springs vary in strength, from gentle bubbling to strong ebullition, and in temperature from 80° to 148°, the hottest containing chloride of soda and sulphuretted hydrogen in solution, and those of low temperature containing chloride and borate of soda, both in solution. Sulphur occurs on the northern bank of the rivulet in pure transparent crystals, and in thin laminæ disseminated throughout the gypsum rock. The volcanic neighbourhood of Puga is something like that of the Tuscan lagoons near Monte Cerbole, which now supply Europe with the same minerals: "These lagoons consist of springs in a furious state of ebullition, whose vapours

135

* *Dal*, "quiet;" compare the English "dull."

† *Bu-ga*, a hole.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

contain boracic acid, and the ground is covered with crystallizations of sulphur and other minerals."* The volcanic agency is still active in Tuscany; in Ladák, though not extinct, it is evidently dying. /133x /135

The hot spring of Chushul was visited by Moorcroft and Trebeck. It is without taste or smell, but is said to have medicinal properties. Its temperature is 96°.

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary—Art. Borax.

1: Cunningham G-S (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VI.—ROADS, PASSES, BRIDGES.

I.—ROADS.

491 In Tibetan every road is called *Lam;* but the high-roads are distinguished by the name of *Lam-chhen*, or "Great Roads," and *Gya Lam*, or "Passable Roads."* The principal road is that between Kashmir and Yarkand; the next in importance is the road to Lhasa, viâ Garo, and the third is that which leads through Rukchu, Láhul, and Kullu, to the cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana. Some of the other roads, though not much frequented by merchants, are still deserving of notice, as they have on three different occasions been
175 made use of by the conquerors of Ladák. About A.D. 1600, the Musalmans of Balti, under Ali Sher, invaded Ladák on the west by the valley of the Indus. In 1686, the Sokpos or Sacæ invaded it on the east by the Rudok road; and in 1834, the Hindus of Jammu, under Zorawar Sing, invaded it on the south by the route from
491 Kashtwar into Suru. Moorcroft mentions another commercial line between India and Kotan,† "which was frequented in the time of Shah Jehan and closed by the Chinese subsequently to their acquisition of Kashgar."

* *Lam*, a road; *Lam-chhen*, a great road; *b,r-Gya-lam*, a passable road.
† Transactions Royal Asiat. Soc., I. p. 55.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In another place* he says that this road ran through Garo and Ruthog to Sarikia, half-way between Yarkand and Kotan; and in a third place† he states that from Rudok across the mountains to Kotan is a journey of three or four days only. Now both the Chinese geographers and the Jesuit missionaries agree in placing Kotan in N. latitude 37°, or just three and a half degrees, or about 250 miles, to the north of Rudok. The journey must therefore be one of three or four weeks, instead of three or four days. The only probable explanation of Moorcroft's statement is, that the frontier of Kotan is only three or four days' journey from Rudok. His very mention of Sarikia, a place half-way between Yarkand and Kotan, shows that Moorcroft must have known the true distance of Kotan, as his own munshi, Izzet Ullah, makes Sarighout (or Sarikia) just thirteen marches from Lé. It cannot, therefore, be less than eighteen or twenty days' journey from Rudok. The road from India to the Niti Pass, through Garo and Rudok to Yarkand, is, therefore, the same as that from Lhasa to Yarkand, by the valley of the Indus. The two routes join at Garo, and follow the Indus to Kak-jung, from whence the traveller may proceed either down the Indus to Lé, and across the mountains to the Shayok river, or he may cross the Tsaka Lá and proceed direct to the Shayok by Chushal or Pangkong.

The different roads that lead to Lé, on all sides, are the following:—

1. The western road from Kabul and the Punjab, through Kashmir.

2. The south-western road from the central Punjab, through Jammu, Kashtwar and Zanskar to Lé. A

* Travels, I. p. 373. † Travels, I. p. 361.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 branch of this road runs from Zanskar through Rukchu to Lé.

3. The southern road from Lahor and Amritsar, through Kullu, Láhul and Rukchu to Lé. A branch road from Bisahar, viâ Spiti, joins this road in Rukchu.

4. The south-eastern road from Lhasa to Garo and the Indus to Lé. A branch from India, viâ the Niti Pass, joins this road at Garo.

5. The eastern road from Chinese Tartary, through Rudok and the valleys of Chushal and Sakte to Lé.

6. The northern road from Yarkand and Kotan, over the Karakorum mountains and down the Shayok and Nubra rivers to Lé. The old route, which is now closed by glaciers that dam the stream, followed the Shayok from its source to Sassar, and thence either continued down that river, or across the mountains and down the Nubra river to Lé.

7. The north-western road from Balti, viâ the Shayok and Indus rivers, to Lé.

II.—1st. THE WESTERN ROAD.

The road from Kashmir traverses nearly the whole extent of Ladák from west to east, from the Seoji Lá, at the head of the Dras river, to Lé. From the Kashmirian Pass it follows the course of the Dras river to its junction with the Suru river, up which it proceeds as far as Kargyil. From thence it ascends the Purik valley past the fort and town of Paskyum, as far as Waka, where it leaves the Waka river, and crosses the Namyika Pass (13,000 feet) to the bed of the Kanji river. Thence over the Photo Lá, an easy pass (13,240 feet), to the village of Lama Yurru, from which it follows the course

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of the Wanla-chu to its junction with the Indus, below the bridge of Khallach, where it crosses the river to its right bank. From this point it ascends the Indus, past the villages of Nurla, Saspul, Bazgo, and Nyimo, to Pitak, where it leaves the river and turns to the north-east for a few miles to the city of Lé. The whole distance from Kashmir to Lé is 228 miles. 491

I have travelled this road myself, and I can vouch for its being one of the most excellent and most easy routes to be found throughout the Alpine Punjab. It is passable from March till November, when it is closed by the vast masses of snow that accumulate on the Kashmir side of the Seoji La, and which render the passage very dangerous, both in March and April as well as in November. The greater portion of this road which lies in Ladák was made by Zorawar Sing after the conquest of the country in 1834. The large bridge over the Indus at Khallach, as well as the smaller bridges on this road over the Wanlá, Kanji, Waká, Suru, and Dras rivers, were all built by the energetic invaders, who, knowing the value of good communications, have since kept them in excellent repair. No road can well be worse than the few marches on the Kashmirian side of the pass, which are still in the same state as described by Izzet Ullah* in 1812: "The road is difficult and rocky, so as to be impassable to a mounted traveller." This is the most frequented of all the roads into Ladák, with perhaps the single exception of the northern line from Yarkand to Lé. 491 132 491

The following table shows the names and distances of the stages.

* Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March 1825, p. 104.

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FROM KASHMIR TO LÉ.

		Miles.	
1	Gándar Bal	$9\frac{3}{4}$	left bank of Sindh river.
2	Kangan	$9\frac{3}{8}$	right bank ditto.
3	Surbara	$9\frac{3}{8}$	left ditto ditto.
4	Gagangir	$10\frac{3}{8}$	right ditto ditto.
5	Sonamarg	$7\frac{1}{8}$	ditto ditto ditto.
6	Báltal	$8\frac{3}{8}$	ditto foot of Pass.
7	Maten	$15\frac{7}{8}$	cross the Seoji Lá (Pass).
8	Drás	$11\frac{1}{8}$	left bank of Dras river.
9	Jasgund	$7\frac{3}{8}$	on the left bank (opposite).
10	Kharbu	$12\frac{1}{8}$	right bank ditto.
11	Kargyil	$11\frac{3}{4}$	at junction of Waka and Suru river.
12	Dok	$11\frac{3}{8}$	left bank of Waka river.
13	Molbil	$8\frac{3}{8}$	right bank ditto.
14	Charak	$7\frac{1}{2}$	cross the Namyika Pass.
15	Hesku	$11\frac{1}{8}$	right bank of Kanji river.
16	Lama Yurru	9	cross the Photo Lá (Pass).
17	Khallach	$8\frac{3}{8}$	cross the Indus by bridge.
18	Nurla	$8\frac{1}{8}$	right bank of Indus.
19	Hemis-tokpo	$8\frac{3}{8}$	ditto ditto.
20	Sáspul	$9\frac{3}{8}$	ditto ditto.
21	Bazgo	8	ditto ditto.
22	Tháru	$11\frac{1}{4}$	ditto ditto.
23	Lé	$11\frac{3}{4}$	ditto ditto.
		228 miles.	

III.—2nd. THE SOUTH-WESTERN ROAD.

During the first years of the occupation of Ladák by Zorawar Sing, the different roads from Jammu to Lé were constantly traversed by the Dogra troops, who latterly always took the route through Káshtwár and Zanskar in preference to that of Káshtwár and Suru—which they thought considerably longer. Dr. Thomson travelled from Jammu to Lé, in 1848, but he took the hill route, from Bhadawár to Chatrgarh. In the same

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year he had also travelled from Kashmir to Jammu. 491
We are therefore able to compare the route from Jammu to Lé, viâ Zanskar, with that by Kashmir. The comparison is altogether in favour of the road by Kashmir, with respect to the facility of crossing the different passes, which are less lofty and much more easy of ascent and descent than those of the other road. With respect to distance, the two roads are much about the same. The road travelled by Dr. Thomson is actually eighteen miles longer than the route by Kashmir; but as the route from Zanskar to Lé, viâ Marka and Kiyo, is two days' journey less than that followed by Dr. Thomson, the two roads by Kashmir and Zanskar may be considered about the same length.

From Jammu the Zanskar road proceeds direct through Ramnagar to Bhadarwár, a distance of seventy-three miles. From thence it crosses the Bhadri-Dhar Pass, 10,165 feet, into the Chamba district, and over the Saj-Joth (14,794 feet) into the valley of the Chandrabhága near Chatrgarh, a further distance of 116 miles. From the Chenab the road crosses the Bara Lácha range by the Umasi-Lá or Burdar Pass (18,125 feet) to Phadam, the chief town in Zanskar, a distance of fifty-six miles. In this rugged district the road is bad and difficult. At first it follows the course of the Zanskar river as far as Chand-Lá, where it enters the mountains. Beyond Pangache it proceeds over another pass (16,495 feet) and descends rapidly to the river, which it crosses by the Nira bridge. From thence it ascends the lofty mountains that bound Zanskar on the west, and enters the Wanlá district by the Sing-gé-Lá (16,952 feet), from which it follows the Wanlá river to Lama Yurru, and

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491 thence to Lé, as in the first route. The lofty passes on this road are seldom open before June, and they are always closed by the end of October.

The following are the marches made by Dr. Thomson from Jammu to Lé.

		Miles.
1	Tuton-ki-kui (the mulberry well)	8
2	Sarohi Sar	7
3	Thalaura	8
4	Ramnagar	10
5	Garta	7
6	Pata	9
7	Dudu	6
8	Camp	8
9	Bhadarwar	10
10	Camp	7
11	Langera	8
12	Dego	11
13	Buju	10
14	Kaltor	11
15	Banderi	7
16	Camp	7
17	Ditto	9
18	Ditto	12
19	Pargwál	8
20	Asdhari	10
21	Shol	9
22	Lyundi	7
	Carried forward ...	189

		Miles.
	Brought forward ...	189
23	Chishot	8
24	Sumsham	8
25	Camp	6
26	Ditto	5
27	Ditto	10
28	Markim	10
29	Phadam	9
30	Tungdé	8
31	Chandla	10
32	Sumdo	10
33	Pangache	9
34	Nira	8
35	Yulchung	5
36	Plutakas	11
37	Haumpata	8
38	Wanla	10
39	Khallach	11
40	Nurla	8
41	Saspol	10
42	Nyimo	10
43	Lé	11
	Total miles ...	374

From Phadam there are two other routes to Lé, the direct route through Zanskar and the winter route through Rukchu. The latter was taken by the Vazir Zorawar Sing, in the winter of 1835, when all the passes on the more direct road had long been closed.

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TWO ROUTES FROM PHADAM IN ZANSKAR TO LÉ. 491

Winter Route.	Direct Route.
1 Muni.	1 Tondé.
2 Yang Jhul.	2 Jand-lá.
3 Maleng.	3 Sumdo.
4 Kina Jhula.	4 Dagmoche.
5 Zongmar.	5 Karna Sumdo.
6 Chumik Marpo.	6 Rabrang.
7 Tokpo Soma.	7 Marka.
8 Charáp.	8 Kyo (Skyo or Skio).
9 Dong chéchan.	9 Shingo (Pass).
10 Pachálong.	10 Rumbak.
11 Kyang-cho.	11 Pitak.
12 Rukchin.	12 Lé.
13 Debraug.	
14 Gya.	
15 Miru.	
16 Ugshi.	
17 Hemis.	
18 Thagna Goupa.	
19 Chachot.	
20 Lé.	

IV.—3rd. THE SOUTHERN ROAD.

By this route the shawl wool is brought to the large 491
cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana, all of which 439
make a return in manufactured shawls and coarse brocades. The roads from all these places meet at Mandi (the market) or Maudinagur (market-city) on the Byas river, the capital of the small state of that name. From Nurpur the merchants proceed viâ Kangra and Baijnath; from Amritsar, viâ Hushiyarpoor and Nadon; and from Ludiana, viâ Ropar and Bilaspur; the distances of the first and last being about 120 miles; of the second, about 150 miles.

From Mandi this road proceeds by the iron-mines of 491
Kumán to Sultânpur, the capital of Kullu. From [135]

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491 thence it ascends the Byas to its source on the Rotang Pass (13,000 feet), and descends upon the Chandra river at Koksar, the first village in Lahul, at an elevation of 10,000 feet. It then follows the Chandra river to its junction with the Bhaga, opposite Tandi, from whence it ascends the latter to its source in the Bara Lacha Pass (16,500 feet). From this pass it descends the Yunam river into Rukchu, and thence crosses the Lunga-Lacha Pass (17,000 feet) to the triple confluence of the Sumgal river. There it ascends the plain of Kyang to the crest of the Thung-Lung Pass (17,500 feet), from whence it descends the Gya rivulet to the Indus at Ugshi, and thence down that river to Lé. All the passes on this route are easy, especially the Bara Lacha, over which a road might be made passable for carriages, so gradual is the ascent and descent. The Bara Lacha and Rotang Passes are generally closed in the end of October, and are not open again until the end of May or beginning of June. The most difficult part of this route is the crossing of the Chandra river, as the suspension-bridge of birchen-twig ropes is annually overwhelmed beneath a dense mass of drifted snow. In August, 1846, the late Mr. Vans Agnew and myself were detained for two days opposite Koksar until the bridge was partially put up, when with the assistance of plenty of rope, which we had purposely carried with us, we managed to pass over all baggage without any difficulty.

From Mandi the route is as follows:—

		Miles.	
1	Kumán	11	an iron-mine.
2	Bajaora	14	right bank of Byas river.
3	Sultanpur	9	capital of Kullu.
4	Dwára	10	right bank of Byas river.
	Carried forward ...	44	

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		Miles.	
	Brought forward ...	44	
5	Monáli	14	right bank of Byas river.
6	Ralha	10	camp foot of Pass.
7	Koksar	11	cross the Rotang Pass.
8	Sisu	10	right bank of Chandra river.
9	Gundla	9	ditto ditto.
10	Kárdang	10	left bank of Bhaga river.
11	Kolang	13	right bank ditto.
12	Dárcha	10	ditto ditto.
13	Pataeo	8	a rude stone bridge.
14	Mongba	10	foot of Pass.
15	Kelang	12	cross the Bara Lacha.
16	Charpa	8	mouth of Cherpa river.
17	Sumdo	14	foot of Pass.
18	Sumgal	12	cross Langa Lácha Pass.
19	Mure-Taho	10	a small pond of fresh water.
20	Rukchin	7	Boti camp.
21	Larsa	14	foot of Pass.
22	Gya	14½	cross the Lunga Lácha.
23	Miru	7½	
24	Ugshi	7¼	left bank of Indus.
25	Marchalang	8¼	ditto ditto.
26	Chachot	11	ditto ditto.
27	Lé	9¼	cross Indus by bridge.
	Total ...	283¾	miles.

The Bisahar road, viâ Kullu, joins this road at Sultânpur, the capital of Kullu, from which Rampur is eight marches distant. Since 1846, this road has been much improved by the British government, and the access to Kullu, both from Simla and from Rampur, is now easy. The road from Bisahar, through Spiti into Rukchu, joins the above road either at the crest of the Bara Lacha Pass or at the foot of the Thung Lung Pass. The former is the more easy route, but the latter is the more frequented. From Rampur the road ascends the Sutluj river to the Wongto bridge, where it passes over and enters the mountains to Babé. From thence it

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491 crosses the Tari Pass (15,282 feet) into the Pin valley, which it descends to the junction of the Pin river with the Spiti. The latter is crossed by a jhula to Dangkhar, from whence the road proceeds to the monastery of Kyi and up the left bank of this stream to Losar, where it changes to the right bank. Beyond Losar it leaves the Spiti river and crosses the Kulzum Pass (14,821 feet) into the upper course of the Chandra river, which is quite uninhabited, and ascends the stream to its source in the Bara Lacha Pass. The other road branches off from the monastery of Kyi and crosses the Parang Pass (18,502 feet) into Rukchu at the source of the Para river. It then follows the river to Norbu Sumdo, whence it crosses a low range of hills to the southern end of the Tshomo-Riri lake. From this lake it crosses the Nakpo Gonding Pass (18,000 feet) and the Polokonka Pass (16,500 feet) to the Tsho-kar or White Lake, beyond which it joins the first road at the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass.

The following are the stages on the road by the Bara Lacha Pass.

FROM RAMPUR TO LÉ.

		Miles.	
1	Gaora	10	left bank of Sutlej.
2	Saráhan	10	ditto ditto.
3	Tránda	14	ditto ditto.
4	Nichár	12	ditto ditto.
5	Yangpa	11	cross the Sutlej.
6	Larsa	16	cross the Tári Pass.
7	Mud	12	on Pin river in Spiti.
8	Tangti	12	ditto ditto.
9	Danghkar	15	cross the Spiti Pass.
10	Lara	8¼	left bank of Spiti river.
11	Rangrig	8¼	ditto, halting-ground.
	Carried forward ...	128¾	

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		Miles.	
	Brought forward ...	128½	
12	Chikyam	10	
13	Kirla	12	
14	Losar	12	right bank.
15	Camp	10	foot of Pass.
16	Ditto	9	cross the Kulzum Lá.
17	Ditto	12	left bank of Chandra.
18	Ditto	14	ditto ditto.
19	Ditto	12	ditto ditto.
20	Ditto	12	cross the Bara Lacha Pass.
		232½	
	Thence 12 to Lé,	122½	miles.
	Total ...	355¼	miles.

The following are the stages on the road by the Tsho-mo-Riri Lake.

FROM RAMPUR TO LÉ.

		Miles.	
11	Rangrig	129½	
12	Gyihbar	6½	
13	Bongrochan	8½	
14	Tratung Kongma ...	7	cross the Parang Pass.
15	Camp	11	
16	Norbu Sumdo ...	11	
17	Tshomo Riri	10	south end of lake.
18	Korzo Gonpa... ...	13	
19	Ramzung	11	
20	Polokonka Pass ...	15	2 miles to W. of Pass.
21	Tsho-kar	11	
22	Larsa	16	
		252½	
	Thence 6 to Lé,	57½	
	Total ...	310	miles.

V.—4th. THE SOUTH-EASTERN ROAD.

Of the portion of this road that lies between Lhasa and Kailas, very little is known except by report.

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From Lhasa, which I do not think can be less than ten or eleven thousand feet above the sea, the road ascends the Sanpu river, past Tashi Lhunpo and Gáldán to its source on the eastern face of the Kailas mountain. It then crosses this mountain to the northern bank of the holy Manasarovara Lake (15,200 feet). The direct distance between these points on the map is upwards of 10° of longitude, which in the 30th degree of latitude are equal to 600 English miles, to which one-half* more must be added for the windings and ascents and descents of a road in a mountainous country. This will give a distance of 900 miles, equal to a journey of three months, which the people always state it to be. From the Manasarovara Lake to Garo the road has been traversed by Moorcroft. The distance is about 110 miles, or ten days' journey—past the Lake of Rawan Hrad, and over several lofty spurs of the Kailas range, which give rise to numerous small feeders of the Sutluj and Indus. Garo itself is situated, according to my information, on the main branch of the Indus, which is there called the Higong-chu or Higong river, simply because it flows past the village of that name. From Garo to Chibra, and thence to Lé, the road lies down the valley of the Indus, and generally along the bank of the river. The distance from Garo to Lé is not less than 350 miles, or

* This is not a mere assumption, but a fact deduced from actual surveys. Thus my survey makes the distance between Lé and Kashmir 228 English miles. The difference of longitude is 2° 40′, which, in the latitude of 34°, is equal to 154 miles; to which by adding one-half more, we obtain 231 miles, which is within three miles of the actual measurement. Again, the difference of latitude between Mandi and Lé is 2° 30′, equal to 174 English miles. By adding one-half more, we obtain 260 miles, the measured distance, according to my survey, being 283 miles.

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about thirty-five days' journey. The whole distance from Lhasa to Lé is therefore about 1,350 miles, a journey of four months and a half. 491

The principal places on this route are the well-known Tashi-Lhunpo, the residence of the Tashi Lama, who was visited by Turner; Gáldán, which was for some time the residence of the Tibetan court; Garo, which is now a great mart for the interchange of the productions of India and China; and Tashi Gong, which is a celebrated monastery. I will say nothing more regarding this road, as all the accessible portions of it have been traversed by Captain H. Strachey.

VI.—5th. THE EASTERN ROAD.

This road leads from the unknown countries inhabited by various Mongol tribes, through Rudok to Lé. Nothing whatever is known of it to the eastward of Rudok, except that by it the Mongol tribe of Sokpo invaded Ladák in 1686 and 1687; and again in the beginning of 1841, immediately after Zorawar Sing's death, about three thousand Changpas* are said to have entered Ladák for the purpose of assisting the young Gyalpo. They advanced to Lé, where they remained about six weeks; but on the approach of Dewán Hari Chand and Vazir Ratanu with troops from Kashmir, they fled hastily back again by the same route. As this road has been surveyed by Captain H. Strachey, from the neighbourhood of Ruthog to Lé, any further remarks from me are quite unnecessary.

* *Byang-pa*, pronounced *Chang-pa*, "northern men," or men of Chang-thang, the northern plains.

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VII.—6th. THE NORTHERN ROAD.

491 This road leads from Yarkand and Kotan, over the Karakoram mountains (18,660 feet) to Lé. The best account of it that we possess is that by Izzet Ullah, who traversed it in 1812. But since that time several glaciers have stretched their mighty masses across the bed of the Shayok, and the old road by the river has been completely closed. The new road from Karakoram leaves the Shayok, or Khundan, river at the foot of the pass, and crosses over an elevated table-land to Sassar, where it again meets the Khundan. A short distance above Sassar Dr. Thomson examined two glaciers that stretched across the river. From this point the road quits the Khundan and crosses a lofty range to the bed of the Nubra river, above Panámik. It then follows the course of the Nubra river to its junction with the Shayok, from which it proceeds direct to Lé.

Izzet Ullah's route was the following :—

FROM YÁRKAND TO LÉ.

		Hours.	Miles.	
1	Chagachag	4 =	6	
2	Tokaji...	9 =	13½	on the Kenghalek river.
3	Langer	10 =	15	
4	Aurtang	2 =	3	
5	Ak Masjid	9 =	13½	
6	Khalustan	7 =	10½	
7	Chakilak	6 =	9	
8	Misár	6 =	9	
9	Tezak Lak Payin ...	8 =	12	
10	Yagni Dawan ...	9 =	13½	
11	Yartoli	5 =	7½	right bank of river.
12	Bagh Haji Mohammad	2 =	3	
13	Igersal di	9 =	13½	
14	Taghteh	7 =	10½	
	Carried forward ...	93 =	139½	

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			Miles.	
	Brought forward	...	93 = 139½	
15	Khafalun ..	...	9 = 13½	
16	Aktagh ...	...	10 = 15	
17	Surighout ...	...	9 = 13½	
18	Camp	...	7 = 10½	foot of Karakoram Pass.
			128 = 192 miles.	
1	Camp to S. of Pass	...	10 = 15	
2	Yapchan ...	...	10 = 15	
3	Khundan ...	...	10 = 15	right bank of Shayok.
4	Chong Tash ...	...	9 = 13½	right ditto.
5	Yartobi ...	...	7 = 10½	
6	Mandalik ...	...	5 = 7½	left ditto.
7	Dong Bailak ...	...	10 = 15	left ditto.
8	Chong Aolang	...	9 = 13½	right ditto.
9	Chong Jangal	...	4 = 6	right ditto.
10	Chunchar ...	...	9 = 13½	right ditto.
11	Dakchu Dunga	...	4 = 6	right ditto.
12	Adgam ...	...	7 = 10½	left ditto.
13	Digar	...	... 4½	
14	Camp	...	... 12	
15	Lahu	...	... 7½	cross a Pass.
16	Lé	...	... 7½	
	Karakoram to Lé		... 172½ miles.	
18	Yarkand to Karakoram		... 192	
	34 marches.	Total	... 364½ miles.	

Dr. Thomson's route from Lé to Karakoram Pass is a more direct one, and consequently a shorter one; the whole distance being only 147½ miles, or twenty-five miles less than Izzet Ullah's route. But the longer route up the Khundan river had the advantage of being tolerably level, whereas the present route crosses no less than three lofty passes, and is besides much more rugged and difficult. The Karakoram Pass is not less than 491
18,600 feet above the sea, and it is perhaps very nearly 133
19,000 feet high. M

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491 19,000 feet high. Dr. Thomson's route from Lé to the Karakoram Pass is as follows :—

		Miles.			Miles.
1	Camp	6		Brought forward ...	68½
2	Kardong	10	11	Camp	8
3	Kalsar	9	12	Ditto...	4½
4	Diskit	8	13	Ditto...	6
5	Lyakjung	5	14	Sassar	8
6	... ...	9	15	Margai	9½
7	Chirasa		16	Camp	9
8	Panámik	10	17	Ditto...	12
9	Takshe	4	18	Ditto...	12
10	Changlung	7½	19	Karakoram Pass ...	10
	Carried forward ...	68½		Total ...	147½

VIII.—7th. THE NORTH-WESTERN ROAD.

This road leads from Balti and the neighbouring Musalman district up the bed of the Indus to Lé. During the summer season, when the waters of the river are much swollen by the melted snow, the Indus route is very difficult, and travellers generally prefer ascending the Shayok river as far as Chhorbad, and thence crossing the mountains by the Hánu Pass, 16,890 feet, to the Indus at the fort of Hánu. From Hánu to Lé the route ascends the Indus. Both of these routes have been travelled by Mr. Vigne. Dr. Thomson's route was by the Shayok alone; and to him we are indebted for the survey of that river between Tirit and Keris, where it joins the Indus. The distance from Skardo to Lé, by this route, is 236 miles, or just eight miles more than the road from Kashmir to Lé. The following are the marches from Lé to Skardo, by the Latsa Pass, 17,666 feet.

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		Miles.
1	Sabu	6
2	Foot of Pass... ...	12
3	Digar	5½
4	Chatti	16
5	Tirit	8½
6	Tagar	8½
7	Panámik	13
8	Chirasa	10
9	Lyakjung	9
10	Hundar	9½
11	Tertse	10
12	Unmáru	5½
13	Karu	9½
14	Waris	8
15	Bogdan	7
16	Chulungka	9
	Carried forward ...	147

		Miles.
	Brought forward ...	147
17	Turtuk	7
18	Pránu	11
19	Siksa...	7
20	Kábás	8
21	Surma	12
22	Khapolor	7
23	Karku	10
24	Bragar	4
25	Kunes	6½
26	Kuru	6
27	Keris	8
28	Golochu	9
29	Camp	9½
30	Skardo	4
	Total ...	236

The above are the principal thoroughfares throughout Ladák. Many other roads might be enumerated in all directions, but they are less frequented and more difficult. These by-paths are called *Lam-than*,* and *Lam-dogpo*. They are used chiefly by the people of the country in passing from their own districts into the next; such are,—1st, the road over the Omba Lá, between Suru and Drás; and 2nd, the road over the Vingé Lá, between Zanskar and Purik. Other roads are used only by smugglers; but these are always difficult, although frequently more direct than the high-roads. One of the best known of these smugglers' paths is that which leads from the Chinese district of Chumurti into Láhul and Kullu. From Chumurti the road is followed over the Budhpu Pass to the bed of the Párá river. From thence a rugged path leads over a lofty mountain to the [439]

* *Lam-phran*, pronounced *Lam-than*, "little road;" and *Lam-Dogpo*, "narrow road."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 upper course of the river, which is crossed a second time, and over another range of mountains to the head of the Charpa river. From the bed of the Charpa different routes were followed over the mountains to the upper and uninhabited course of the Chandra river, from whence the northern road leads over the Bara Lacha Pass into Láhul, and the southern road direct into Kullu by the Parbati river.

IX.—PASSES.

133 A Pass in Tibetan is called *Lá*. The crest of a Pass is named *La-tse*, and the foot of a Pass *La-tsa*.* The last word is variously pronounced: by some it is called Larsa, of which spelling many examples may be found in our maps at the bottom of Passes; by others it is called Lacha, as in Bara Lacha (for Bara Latsa). Others again pronounce the *s* distinctly; which last has given rise to Dr. Gerard's spelling of Para Lassa. *Rong* is a defile, and *chong-rong* is a narrow defile. The principal passes have already been mentioned in my description of the high-roads of Ladák; but a tabular enumeration of them may be useful for comparison.

Names.	Heights.	Authorities.	Positions.
Karakorum ...	18,660	Dr. Thomson ...	Head of Shayok river.
Sassar	17,500	Ditto ...	between Nubra and Shayok river.
Hanu	16,890	Col. Bates ...	between Indus and Shayok river.
Lé Pass ...	17,366	Dr. Thomson ...	between Lé and Nubra.
Lazgung ...	17,500	(estimated) ...	ditto ditto.

* *Lá* is the simple form. *La-r-Tse*, is the crest of a Pass.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ3: W. Tibetans AJ4

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Names.	Heights.	Authorities.	Positions.
Changlá ...	18,105	Moorcroft, MS.	between Indus and Long Kongma.
Kongta-la ...	15,495	Ditto ...	between Long Kongma and Chushal.
Singgé ...	16,952	Dr. Thomson ...	between Zanskar and Lama Yurru.
Vinggé ...	—		
Pangache ...	16,495	Dr. Thomson ...	in Zanskar.
Photo Lá ...	13,240	A. Cunningham	between Kashmir and Lé.
Namyika ...	13,000	Ditto ...	ditto ditto.
Thung Lung ...	17,500	Ditto ...	South of Lé.
Polokonka ...	16,500	Ditto ...	near the Tsho-kar.
Nakpo Gonding	18,000	Ditto ...	to North of Tshomo Riri lake.
Lanak... ...	18,746	Ditto ...	between Tshomo Riri and Hanle.
Lunga Lácha ...	17,000	Ditto ...	between Zanskar and Rukchu.
Párang Lá ...	18,502	Ditto ...	North of Spiti.
Bára Lacha ...	16,500	Ditto ...	between Lahul and Zanskar.
Umási Lá ...	18,123	Dr. Thomson ...	between Kashtwar and Zanskar.
Seoji Lá ...	11,634	A. Cunningham	between Kashmir and Dras.
Harapo Lá ...	12,104	Col. Bates ...	in Astor.
Kutzum ...	14,851	Capt. Broome ...	between Lahul and Spiti.
Manerang ...	18,612	A. Gerard ...	between Kanawar and Spiti.
Tari Pass ...	15,282	Lieut. Maclagan	ditto ditto.
Rotang Joth ...	13,000	A. Cunningham	between Kullu and Lahul.
Kali-Joth ...	16,700	Ditto ...	between Lahul and Chamba.
Saj Joth ...	15,500	Dr. Thomson ...	ditto ditto.
Pir Panjal ...	11,970	A. Cunningham	South of Kashmir.
Tural Pass ...	14,808	Ditto ...	between Kangra and Chamba.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

X.—PASSAGE OF RIVERS.

491 501 The great rivers of Ladák are crossed by ferries, fords, and bridges. Fording is the most usual means of crossing both the Indus and the Shayok, in the upper parts of their sources, where their waters are widely spread and shallow. In the neighbourhood of Lé, where the Indus becomes deep and rapid, it is spanned by three bridges, and just below Lé, where the current is less rapid, people are ferried across on inflated skins. The Zanskar river is bridged in two places: and is not I believe ever fordable. In Láhul the Chandra and Bhaga rivers are both bridged; but I have seen the Chandra forded at Koksar in October, and I have been ferried across it at the same place in September. In Spiti, the Párá river is crossed by a natural bridge formed of an enormous mass of rock that has fallen across the stream; and the Spiti river itself is bridged in several places. In the winter season it is fordable in many places.

103 A ford is called *Gal* in Tibetan; and the name is applied to one of the principal branches of the Zanskar river, which is called *Sum-gal*, or the "Three Fords," because it is formed of three streams that are forded one after the other just above their junction. In the summer 491 132 the fording of many of the streams can only be accomplished in the morning; for after ten and eleven o'clock the waters are so much increased by the melted snows that they become quite unfordable. This I have myself witnessed with the Chandra river in October, and with the Charpa river in September; and I have ascertained that it is also the case with the Spiti river.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

A ferry is called *Gru-kha*, and the ferryman *Gru-ba*. 501
In Ladák itself the ferrymen use only rafts made of 491
inflated skins; but on the Sanpu river, even above Lhasa, boats are said to be numerous; and there has always been one on the Indus at Skardo. The name, therefore, is well known in Ladák, more particularly as most of the Lamas have visited Lhasa. The common [565]
people are ferried over on a single inflated skin (*phagpa*), but great men usually have a raft formed by placing a bed over two inflated skins. The skin is generally the hide of a buffalo, with the openings carefully sewn up, excepting one of the hind legs, which is kept for inflation. The skin floats with the legs uppermost. The ferryman throws his arm over it, holding the closed leg in his left hand, and a small wooden paddle in his right. The passenger sits down, native fashion, on the skin, and secures himself by holding the ferryman's shoulder as well as the leg of the skin. The ferryman paddles with his right hand, and pushes the skin forward by striking out his legs as in swimming. I have often crossed the Byâs and Chandra rivers in this way. The raft is managed in the same manner; but it cannot be used either in such rough water or in such rapid currents as the single skin.

The bridges of Ladák have different names, according 491
to the materials of which they are constructed. The finest bridges, such as those of Lé and Khallach, are called *Shing-zam*, or "Wooden Bridges," because they span the river with large beams of poplar. A small bridge over the Bhaga river in Láhul is dignified with the name of *Do-zam*, or the "Stone Bridge," because the footway is made of rough stone slabs. *Chag-zam**

* *Zam-pa* is a bridge; and the different terms of *Shing*, wood; *rDo*,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 or "Iron Bridges," and *Gru-zam* or "Boat Bridges," are known only in the Lhasan territory; but the *Chug-zam* or suspension-bridge is common in many parts of Ladák.

One of the finest specimens of the *Shing-zam* or wooden bridge that I have seen, is the great bridge over the Indus near Lé. I have given a sketch of it in Plate V. It was built by Zorawar Sing, and is called *Chhog-lam-Sar-Zampa*,* or the "New Bridge on the high-road." The Khallach Bridge is similar in construction. They are both railed, and may be ridden over with perfect safety. As the details of construction may be seen quite as clearly in the sketch as in any description, I will only give the dimensions of these two bridges.

The Lé Bridge is a double one, the smaller one having a span of thirty feet, and the larger one of eighty feet. Both are strongly and substantially built of poplar spars, laid touching each other. On each side is a stout railing—the clear breadth between the railings being eight feet. Height above the stream (on 2nd October) fifteen feet.

The Khallach Bridge is seventy-seven feet long and eight feet broad, with a stout railing on each side. Height above the water (on the 15th October) forty-five feet. This bridge is protected by a small square field-work of sun-dried bricks, which covers the northern end on the right bank. It is occupied by twelve men, who are relieved regularly from Lé.

stone; *lChags*, iron; are added to discriminate the material of which the bridge is formed.

* *Chhog-lam-Sar-zam-pa*, "high-road new bridge."—See Plate V. for a view of this bridge.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan

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The *Chug-zam* or suspension-bridges are different from the *jhulas* or swinging-bridges of the Hindu states of Chamba and Bisahar. The passenger walks across the former, but is pulled across the latter. Suspension-bridges are common on the Indus and Shayok above their junction. They are used also in Zanskar, Spiti, and Lahul; and in the Hindu state of Chamba. The Chug-zam is formed of two stout ropes of twisted birch-twigs, about the thickness of a man's arm. The ropes are suspended side by side, about five feet apart at the ends: but they are drawn nearer together in the middle by the weight of the side-ropes and roadway. The side-ropes, about one inch thick, are also made of birchen twigs, and in them is laid the roadway: which, in the bridges that I have seen, always consisted of three ropes (of the same size as the suspension-ropes) laid side by side. In the best bridges of this kind the side-ropes are connected by a close wattling of wicker-work from end to end, to prevent passengers as well as sheep and goats from slipping through. The Chug-zam is a very cheap and a very easy mode of bridging a stream; and when new and well constructed, it is a very safe and not an unpleasant way of crossing. But some old bridges of this kind that I have crossed were both difficult and dangerous. In them the suspension-ropes formed a great curve, the sides were unwattled and completely open; and the roadway in many places was reduced to a single rope. Alexander Gerard* states that he should "think the best *Su-zum* (*Chug-zam*) of 100 feet not altogether safe:" but I have crossed several of greater span, and one of very nearly double that span.

* Kanawar, p. 35.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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				Span.
The Koksar Chug-zam over the			Chandra ...	106 feet.
Wulás	"	"	Ravi ...	116½ "
Mahila	"	"	ditto ...	169 "

The last span was undoubtedly too great for this kind of bridge; for though the points of suspension were six feet apart, yet in the middle the ropes could only be kept asunder by a piece of wood. The perpendicular or versed sine of the arc was thirty feet. I find the following remark recorded in my note-book immediately after crossing this bridge in August, 1839:—"When riding rapidly in a coach, trees, houses, and fields all seem to be moving past, while the coach stands still; but just the reverse happens in crossing one of these bridges; for the bridge seems to be carried along sideways, while the boiling river appears to stand still."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VII.—CLIMATE.

I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

THE various meteorological processes which combine to form a climate, are all generated by the sun. Thunder and lightning, snow and rain, the pleasant breeze and the mighty whirlwind, all alike owe their origin to the sun. Through the changes produced by the varying diffusion of solar heat through the atmosphere, the still air is put in motion, and becomes a gentle breeze, a high wind, or a mighty hurricane. By the sun's beams the multitudinous waters of the ocean and its tributary rivers are vapourized and formed into clouds, which, rising with the ascending and heated air, are borne upon the wings of the wind to loftier or more northerly regions, where, as they become condensed by the cold, they sink with their burthen towards the earth, and fall down in the shape of rain, hail, or snow. The rain washes over the surface, or permeates through the ground, the snow melts as it falls, and percolates through the fissures of the rocks; both to appear again in countless rills, which join and form mighty rivers, that bear back again to the sea all the water formerly abstracted by evaporation.

II.—WINDS.

The constancy of the prevailing winds in different quarters of the globe is one of the most interesting

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 phenomena of nature. In the Trans-Himálayan districts of Ladák, the dry wind is nearly always southerly and westerly, both in summer and in winter. This fact was partially observed by Alexander Gerard,* who remarks, that "on peaks upwards of 20,000 (feet) and at heights of 16,000 (feet) the winds were always W. or S.W." The same fact was also noticed by my brother, Captain Joseph Cunningham, who resided for nearly a whole year, including one entire winter season of 1841-42, in the districts of Upper Kanáwár, Spiti, and Chumurti. He observed that "the winds blew almost constantly from the south or south-west, as noticed by the Gerards. A northerly wind was of rare occurrence."†

When I first observed the steadiness of the day-breeze in these regions, I was under the impression that the wind blew constantly in the same direction from the south-south-west and west, but after a few days' observation I found that the morning wind blew generally from the north-east. It then struck me that the prevailing winds alternated day and night, like the land and sea breezes on the coast of India. I was confirmed in this opinion by finding on one occasion a due northerly wind blowing about midnight, and when I afterwards began to observe the magnetical instruments, I always found a light northerly breeze from two to five in the morning, which, as the day broke, gradually took a north-easterly direction. I then observed the course and strength of the wind at half-hour intervals, and my first day's

* Kanawar, p. 62.

† Moorcroft rarely mentions the winds; but in one place he incidentally alludes to them. Speaking of the sheep-folds of Kakjung on the Indus, he says that they were "screened from the *prevailing* winds by the hills to thei *south*."—I. 440.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

observations at once convinced me that my opinion was right. I continued my observations at different places during August, September, and October, and always with the same results. Since then my opinion has been most completely substantiated by my brother's observations for one whole year in Spiti. /32

The generality of travellers get too much fatigued with their exertions by day to be able to make any observations at night; and thus the south-westerly wind, which was found to prevail during the day, was supposed to last through the night, and to be a mere continuation of the south-westerly monsoon, which blows up the valleys of the Chenáb, the Byâs, and the Sutluj. But as the day-and-night wind of Ladák blows throughout the entire year, it is clear that it must be due to some other cause; for in the intertropical regions the course of the wind is dependent upon the sun's declination, which when northerly attracts the ascending current of heated equatorial air in its own direction, thus producing a south wind. But as this stream of air, when it reaches the higher northerly latitudes, where the surface motion of the earth is less rapid, still retains its superior equatorial velocity, it gains daily more and more upon the easterly motion of the earth, until at length, when it descends to the surface, it becomes a south-westerly breeze, which blows steadily during the six months of the sun's northern declination. But when the declination becomes southerly, just the reverse of this process takes place; for the ascending current of heated air follows the sun towards the south, thus producing a northerly breeze, which, owing to the difference of rotatory velocities before mentioned, gradually becomes a north-westerly breeze, which blows steadily during the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 six months of the sun's southern declination. These are the monsoons or seasonal winds, which depend entirely upon the sun's position in the ecliptic; the south-westerly monsoon being the summer wind, and the north-easterly monsoon the winter wind. But the alternation of the day-and-night wind throughout Ladák is constant throughout the year; and as the subject is one of some interest, I will here attempt to explain what appears to me to be the cause that generates it, and that afterwards carries it round all the points of the compass.

[133] This cause is, I believe, the great mid-day radiation of heat from the bare surface of the vastly elevated plains of Ladák and the neighbouring districts, which have a mean height of 13,000 feet above the sea. The following table shows the extent and mean elevation of these great masses of table-land.

EXTENT AND MEAN HEIGHT OF THE TIBETAN TABLE-LAND.

Districts.	Extent.		Height.	
	Sq. miles.	Total.	Sq. miles.	Mean.
Rukchu	5,580		15,634	
Gáro	6,500		15,500	
Rudok	4,800		14,500	
		16,880		15,211
Zanskár	3,080		13,154	
Spiti	2,312		12,966	
Nubra	9,216		12,763	
Ngári	9,000		12,500	
		23,608		12,851
Ladák	3,960		11,500	
Purik	4,200		11,196	
Láhul	1,872		10,535	
		10,032		11,077
	Sq. miles	50,520	Mn. height	13,026

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Now as nearly one-half of our terrestrial atmosphere lies beneath the level of these elevated regions, the highly rarefied air offers but little check to the direct transmission of the solar rays, which are more powerful in Ladák, at a height of 15,000 feet, than in the low-lying plains of India. At Gwalior the greatest heat of the sun's rays in the hot winds of 1850 was 133°; at Simla, 7,500 feet, it was 134°; but in Rukchu, 15,500 feet, Trebeck observed a solar heat of 144°, and in the same district Gerard measured the incredible rise of 158°, which is only 27° below the boiling point of water in that district. 132

Towards mid-day the lower strata of the atmosphere become rapidly heated, and the rarefied air begins streaming towards the north pole, as a light southerly breeze. As the day advances, the current of air quickly increases in strength until it becomes a high wind, which blows steadily during the afternoon, with occasional gusts of great violence. In the evening it becomes fainter. The progress of this wind is well shown in the following observations made by myself with Lind's wind-gauge.

DIRECTION AND PRESSURE OF THE WIND.

Time.	Direction.	Pressure.
10h. 30m. A.M.	N.E.	faint
11 00 "	E.	very faint
11 30 "	S.	light puffs
Noon.	S.W.	0·2
12 30 P.M.	W.S.W.	0·4
1 00 "	W.S.W.	0·5
1 30 "	W.	0·8
2 00 "	W.	1·0
2 30 "	N.W.	1·2
3 00 "	W.N.W.	0·8
3 30 "	N.W.	0·8
4 00 "	N.N.W.	1·0
4 30 "	N.N.W.	0·4

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 The greatest pressure was at 2h. 30m. P.M., when the wind exerted a force of 6·25 lbs. per square foot. This is a single example of what I observed daily. The day-breeze or southerly wind always began to blow before mid-day, and continued rising and veering towards the west with frequent strong gusts until three or four o'clock in the afternoon, when it reached its greatest force, and remained steady for some time. Towards sunset it changed to the west-north-west, and gradually lessened, until at 9 P.M. it was only a gentle breeze from the north-west. At midnight there was always a light northerly wind, which became fainter towards the morning, when it often freshened into a north-easterly breeze.

The following extracts in support of my opinion are taken from my brother's journal.

1842.

Jan.	3	*from noon to* 4 P.M. a strong *southerly* wind.
	5	*southerly wind after* 2 P.M.
	10	*afternoon*, wind *southerly*, blowing in violent gusts.
	11	after 9 A.M. wind southerly in strong gusts.
	18	after 5 P.M. light snow with north wind.
	19	*night*, a *light northerly wind.*
	20	*morning*, a *light northerly wind.*
		afternoon, *south wind* blowing in gusts.
	21, 22	*afternoon*, strong *south* wind chiefly in gusts.
	23	strong wind from south and south-west.
	24	a light *northerly* wind *until noon.*
	28	wind in gusts from *south after* 10 A.M.
	30	*northerly* wind *until* 10 A.M.
Feb.	4	*early morning*, *wind northerly*, afterwards, gusts from south.
	6	*until* 10 A.M. *northerly wind.*
	7, 8	*ditto* *ditto.*
	25	*afternoon*, wind *southerly.*
March	22	afternoon, wind in gusts from south.
	29	ditto ditto.

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1842.		
April	8	puffs of wind from south.
	12—18	ditto ditto.
		A very cloudy month.
May	14	mid-day, strong south wind.
	16, 17	noon to evening, light south wind.
	18, 19	after 9 A.M. strong southerly wind.
	21	after 10 A.M. strong southerly wind chiefly in gusts.
	24	after 11 A.M. light southerly wind chiefly in prolonged puffs.
	26 to 31	afternoon, moderate south wind.
June	1 to 4	afternoon, ditto.
	5	from 9 A.M. high southerly wind to 7 P.M.
	6 to 9	ditto ditto until dusk.
	10—12	after 10 A.M. strong south wind.
	14	after 2 P.M. light south wind.
	15	after 11 A.M. south wind.
		The same for the rest of the month.
July	1 to 31	south wind for 28 days.
August	1 to 31	south wind every day.
Sept.	1 to 30	south wind ditto.
October		no observations.
November		strong south wind.

In these observations it will be observed that whenever the morning wind is recorded it is always northerly, and that the southerly wind never rises until 9 A.M., and usually later. The constancy of the southerly wind here recorded is simply accounted for by the fact, that the valleys of the Lé and Párá rivers, where my brother's observations were made, run almost due north and south. The course of the wind was therefore influenced by the direction of the valleys. This is proved by the change of the wind at Sumra, on the Spiti river, where the direction of the valley being from east to west, my brother found the afternoon wind blowing from the east. I found the same in the Spiti valley during

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 August and September, when the wind was always up the valley or easterly during the heat of the day. On the Parang river, on the contrary, the wind was south-westerly during the afternoon, but north-easterly before mid-day, both the up and down currents taking the direction of the valley. At the foot of the Lanak Pass the wind was north-easterly and unsettled until noon, after which it blew steadily from the south-west up the valley.

I have already stated that the cause of the southerly or day breeze is the intense solar heat and greatly increased radiation, which are due to the vast elevation of the mass of the table-land of Ladák and the neighbouring districts. The air, rarefied by the heat radiated from the soil, streams towards the north pole in a southerly current. As it advances, it is gradually deflected to the south-west and west by the greater rotatory velocity which it possesses; and as the evening approaches, it unites with the north wind, and becomes a north-westerly breeze. This northern or night breeze is due to the intense cold generated by the great nocturnal radiation, and which begins in the loftier snowy regions at 3 P.M. The condensed air finds an outlet to the south towards the low plains of India, and becomes a northerly current of air. At first it is deflected into a north-westerly current by its meeting with the westerly breeze of the afternoon, but as the evening grows colder, the nocturnal breeze prevails, and streams gently southward towards the plains. As it advances towards the equator, its inferior rotatory velocity causes it to be deflected gradually towards the north-east and east until the sun has again raised the southern wind, and then the gentle breeze of night becomes fainter and fainter, and dies gradually away.

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 This explanation seems to me sufficient to account for the constancy of the day and night breezes of the table-land of Ladák; but the violent gusts which my brother mentions, and which I have myself experienced, are due to another cause. The lighter gusts in a single valley are most probably caused by the small eddies of wind meeting the onward current at every turn; but the violent gusts which I have felt at the Thung-Lung Pass, can only be attributed to the meeting of two strong currents of the same southerly breeze, which have been deflected during their courses into almost opposite winds. Thus, the day wind, which blows up the plain of Kyang towards the Thung-Lung Pass, is a south-westerly current, while that which blows up the Puga rivulet and over the plain of Tsho-kar towards the same point, is an easterly current. The meeting of these two strong currents blowing from opposite directions, would produce small whirlwinds and most violent gusts.

III.—RAIN AND SNOW.

The quantity of rain and snow that falls in Ladák is exceedingly small. In the more elevated districts of Rukchu, Nubra, Zanskar, and Ladák Proper, it rains, or rather drizzles, for an hour or two about three times a year.* Snow falls much oftener, but not in any quantity, and in Ladák and Rudok it is never more than six inches deep. In Rukchu, as a Lama of the Korzo Gonpa on the Tshomo-Riri Lake told me, the winter snow is never more than knee-deep, and the people reside at the monastery during the whole year.

* During Moorcroft's residence in Ladák, it rained only *ten* times in two years, and then only in very small quantities.—I. 269.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 Light falls of snow occur at night, even in the middle of summer, as the nocturnal temperature is generally below freezing. In the end of September, 1846, I was encamped on the bank of Tshomo-Riri Lake, in a snow-storm which lasted for twenty-two hours, but the snow was not more than six inches deep, and it disappeared during the following day. In Drás the fall of snow is so great, that by the end of November the Seoji-lá Pass into Kashmir is always closed, from which the district takes its Tibetan name of Hem-babs, or "snow-fed." In Láhul and Spiti, the snow falls to a very great depth, and in many places is doubled by accumulations of drift. The suspension-bridge at Koksar, in Láhul, is annually carried away by a mass of drift-snow, which buries it during the winter. In both these districts whole villages are occasionally snowed up for three weeks at a time; but so long as the houses stand, the people suffer but little inconvenience. In 1838, however, the village of Tunda, near Treloknáth, was overwhelmed by a mass of snow, when several houses were thrown down, and sixteen people perished. The temple of Treloknáth was half-buried, and the bed of the river was filled with snow.

Heavy showers of rain fall along the Chandra river in Láhul during July and August; but after the end of September the snow begins to fall, at first in small quantities which soon disappear; but the fall gradually increases until November, when the snow ceases to melt, and the passes are finally closed.

In Spiti the fall of snow is much less than in Láhul, its greatest depth, where not drifted, being only two feet and a half. During my brother's residence* in Spiti

* Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, XIII. p. 288.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the snow "commenced regularly on the 27th November, and from that date until the end of February, 1842, it snowed more or less heavily, and nearly all day and night, for thirty-nine days. It was cloudy or hazy and snowing on the heights for thirty-four days, leaving twenty-one fine clear days out of ninety-four." During July and August, light showers of rain were frequent, but only one heavy fall occurred during the whole year. 132

IV.—TEMPERATURE.

The climate of Ladák is characterized by great extremes of heat and cold, and by excessive dryness. If the earth did not possess an atmosphere, the extremes of burning heat by day and of freezing cold by night would be unbearable. It follows, therefore, that the rarer the atmosphere becomes as one ascends above the general surface-level of the earth, so much greater will be the extremes of temperature between the day and the night. This is a general rule when the atmospheric changes are not otherwise affected by peculiar circumstances. It is thus in Ladák, and more particularly in Rukchu, where the dry and highly evaporative day breeze exhausts the little moisture held in the atmosphere, and the clear dry air becomes intensely cold by the great terrestrial radiation under a cloudless sky. In the elevated district of Rukchu it freezes almost every night during summer; but the highly rarefied atmosphere offers so slight a check to the transmission of the sun's rays, that the noon-day sun is sometimes 25° hotter than it is in any part of India. In the less lofty districts in Spiti, both the cold and the heat decrease; but in Spiti the noon-day sun is still 15°

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 hotter than in India, while in Ladák it is about the same. The extremes of cold are equally great, and in the more elevated districts the winters are particularly severe. In Rukchu the thermometer falls as low as +9° of Fahrenheit, even in September, and the minimum temperature of the month is only 23·5°, while the mean temperature is 42° 93′. In Spiti, during the same month, the minimum temperature is only 37° 2′, and I have seen the thermometer as low as 22°, the mean temperature being 55° 5′. Most of the travellers who have visited Rukchu have been there in September. Trebeck, it is true, traversed it alone in June, yet both Moorcroft and Dr. Gerard passed through it in September, and I have twice visited it in that month. We have, therefore, good observations for the temperature of September, while that of the rest of the year is almost unknown. But as the climate of Spiti approaches nearest to that of Rukchu, both in its extremes of temperature and in its excessive dryness, we may obtain a tolerably accurate approximation to the annual mean temperature of the latter district by a comparison with that of the other. The following table gives the result of all my brother's observations for one whole year in Spiti, with the addition of my own for the months of August and September.

TEMPERATURE OF SPITI.

—	Temperature.			Extremes.		Moisture.			Sum.
	−	+	Max.	−	+	Dry Bulb.	Wet.	Diff.	
January ..	11·7	31·0	19·18	−11	35				50
February ..	7·3	35·0	18·68	− 6	40				56
March ..	10·8	40·0	24·46	− 4	45				71
April ..	31·5	5[illegible]·0	40·39	+26	65				84

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—	Temperature.			Extremes.		Humidity.			Rain.
	−	+	Mean.	−	+	Dry Bulb.	Wet.	Diff.	
May	36·0	69·0	49·00	34	75				95
June	45·0	74·0	59·50	44	85				120
July	48·0	80·0	63·00	46	95·0				143
August ..	45·0	74·3	59·00	41	89·5	73·25	55·25	25	98
September ..	37·2	75·3	55·50	32	84·5	70	45	25	97·6
October ..	28·0	56·0	42·12	20	65				50
November ..	17·0	35·0	22·55	+16	50				69·5
December ..	2·5	25·7	14·35	−12	42				50·7
Mean annual temperature 36·39									

By this table it will be seen that the mean annual temperature in Spiti is just one-third less than the mean temperature of September. On applying the same rule to the September mean temperature of Rukchu, 43·08°, we obtain 28·72° for the mean annual temperature. The extreme of cold is probably between twenty and thirty degrees below zero,* and the mean temperature of the winter months cannot be more than a few degrees above zero.

For Ladák Proper, I possess observations for the months of September and October, which, when compared with the Spiti observations, would give a mean annual temperature of 39° for the valley of the Indus. The following are the observations.

—	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Extremes.	
				−	+
September ...	44·93	70·00	57·01	24·0	82·0
October ...	22·22	60·87	38·95	0	66·5

* Dr. Gerard, Asiat. Res. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 252, supposes −20° to −25°. He observed −2° in November, but this must have been in Spiti.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 By deducting one-third from the September mean, we get 38·01° for the annual mean temperature, and by deducting one-twentieth from the October mean, we get 37·00°. The mean of these two gives 37·5° as the mean annual temperature of the valley of the Indus in Ladák.

The climate of Zanskar is like that of Spiti, and that of Nubra like that of the valley of the Indus. The climate of Láhul is similar to that of Kanáwar, but somewhat colder, as Láhul is more elevated. The mean height of Láhul is 10,535 feet, while that of Kánam, in Kanáwar, is only 9,296 feet. The following results are calculated from the observations made for two successive years by the celebrated Tibetan scholar Csoma de Körös, while he was studying with a Lama in the monastery of Kánam.*

TEMPERATURE OF KANÁWAR.

——	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Extremes.	
				—	—
January ...	24·87	40·00	34·00	14	
February ...	28·82	46·00	36·00	21	
March	30·04	52·37	40·49	18	
April	4 ·23	59·23	49·88	26	68
May	50·30	68·80	59·77	40	78
June	57·60	74·94	66·28	48	82
July	61·26	77·59	69·22	56	80
August ...	59·91	75·40	67·65	56	79
September ...	54·78	73·71	63·90	49	78
October ...	47·27	67·82	56·16	40	74
November ...	36·46	55·43	43·68	32	67
December ...	30·71	49·05	37·25	26	
Mean Annual temperature 52·02					

* In *Manuscript*, taken at Dr. Gerard's request; these observations are now in my possession.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Láhul is subject to greater extremes both of heat and cold than Kanáwar. The greatest temperature observed by Csoma de Körös was only 82°, whereas I have seen the thermometer at 84° on the 2nd September in Láhul. The lowest temperature of Kanáwar in August was only 56°, but in Láhul the minimum temperature is always under 50°, and the lowest that I observed was 42°. The temperature of Láhul for several days in August was 132

Min.	Max.	Mean.	Extremes.	
			−	+
46·00	78·2	62·1	42	84

From the similarity of climate and of geographical position, the mean annual temperature of Láhul may be deduced from its September temperature by taking the same proportion as we find in the Kanáwar observations. This proportion will give a mean annual temperature of 47° 30′ for the inhabited parts of Láhul. The uninhabited portions of the district on the upper courses of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers partake more of the climate of Spiti.

The mean annual temperature for the whole of Ladák may be obtained approximately from the details before given. See also the detailed Meteorological Observations, Chapter XVII.

TABLE OF ANNUAL MEAN TEMPERATURE.

Districts.	Height.	Annual Temperature.
		°
Rukchu	15,634	28·72
Garo	15,500	28·62
Rudok	14,500	30·00
Zanskar	13,154	39·00
Spiti	12,986	38·89

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Districts.	Height.	Annual Temperature.
Nubra	12,763	39°·00
Ngári	12,500	38·00
Ladák	11,500	37·00
Purik	11,196	42·00
Láhul	10,535	47·30
Mean	13,026	36·85

The following table shows the mean daily range of the thermometer; by which it will be seen that the difference between the temperature of day and night increases with the elevation.

DAILY RANGE OF TEMPERATURE.

Districts.	Height.	Daily Range.	Extreme Range.
Rukchu	15,634	40°·28	57°·00
Spiti	12,986	36·00	43·50
Ladák	11,500	33·00	39·75
Purik	11,196	32·50	39·50
Láhul	10,535	31·14	34·00

V.—MOISTURE.

The excessive dryness of the climate of Ladák is due chiefly to elevation, by which the air is so rarefied as to be incapable of holding much moisture in suspension. It is also partly due to the great radiation of heat from the bare soil, by which any moisture is rapidly evaporated. The dryness of the climate increases with the height, and the temperature of the dew-point is so very low, that the deposition of dew is quite unknown in the more elevated districts. The depression of the wet-bulb

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

thermometer in different districts of Ladák is shown in the following table, to which I have added for comparison the mean of one week's observations at Gwalior during the hot winds in the end of May 1850, and the mean of another week in the end of March and beginning of April, which is the more correct time for comparison. 132

TABLE OF MOISTURE.

Month.	Districts.	Height.	Moisture.			Dew Point.	Greatest Depᵃ.
			Dry.	Wet.	Depᵃ.		
			°	°	°	°	°
September	Rukchu	15,634	67·5	40·5	27·0	18·9	31·0
September	Spiti	12,986	70·0	45·0	25·0	25·0	30·0
September	Ladák	11,500	65·7	42·9	22·8	24·6	28·5
October	Purik	11,196	55·8	37·2	18·6	20·5	19·7
August	Láhul	10,535	74·3	52·9	21·4	38·0	28·0
May—June	Gwalior		110·12	33·80	33·80	35·32	38·5
Mar.—Apr.	Ditto		91·75	25·83	25·83	42·68	28·75

The hottest time in India is the end of May and the beginning of June, and the hottest month in Ladák is July. The fairest comparison therefore that can be made between the dryness of the two climates is that of September in Ladák, and of the end of March and the beginning of April in India. By this comparison it will be seen, that the plains of India are less arid than the lofty table-land of Rukchu, and that their dryness is about equal to that of the Spiti valley. The most convincing proof which I can give of the excessive dryness of the climate of Rukchu is the fact, that the stock of my gun, which had been exposed to *fourteen* hot seasons in India, shrank at least one-eighth of an inch during a single month's residence in Rukchu.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VI.—RADIATION.

132 I have already observed that the noon-day radiation of heat from the elevated table-lands of Ladák is one of the principal causes of the great dryness of the climate. The following table exhibits the maximum radiation of solar heat at about 1 P.M. in different districts of Ladák during the months of September and October, and in the plains of India in May and June, and in March and April. The observations were taken with a black-bulb thermometer, by Newman, the instrument being invariably placed at a height of three inches above the ground, and fully exposed to the sun.

TABLE OF SOLAR RADIATION.

Month.	District.	Height.	Air.	Black Bulb.	Diff.	Greatest Diff.
			°	°	°	°
September	Rukchu	15,634	65·75	86·75	23·00	23·5
September	Spiti	12,986	70·00	91·31	21·31	28·5
October	Ladák	11,500	58·54	85·33	26·79	39·5
October	Purik	11,196	55·83	73·16	17·33	25·5
May—June	Gwalior		109·87	129·66	19·46	23·75
Mar.—April	Ditto		88·37	111·40	23·37	26·25

As the climate of India during March and April is just two months removed from the hottest season of the year, a fair comparison can be made between it and the climate of Ladák during the month of September. The comparison shows that the mean noon-day radiation of solar heat throughout Ladák is about the same as it is in the plains of India.

My observations for the terrestrial radiation of Ladák were all taken during the day, as I was afraid to leave the instrument exposed on a dark night amongst loose

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cattle. The instrument was one of Newman's register spirit thermometers, with the bulb fixed in the focus of a parabolic metallic mirror exposed to the clear northern sky. Compared with the observations taken on the plains of India for March and April, the terrestrial radiation of Ladák is extremely great. The lowest temperature observed at Gwalior was 10° below the external air, and the mean of the minima was only 6° below it. The minimum generally occurred about sunrise.

TABLE OF TERRESTRIAL RADIATION.

	Hours.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	Noon.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	Mean daily dep.
Puga	Air	18	25	38·5	45·7	54	56	58	61·75	59·75	56	50·5	
	Rad. Th.	9	18	27·5	35·0	43	45	49	55	52·5	48	44	
	Diff.	9	7	11	10·7	11	11	9	6·75	7·25	8	6·5	8·84
Gya	Air			39	40	40·75	45·5	45·75	45	47			
	Rad.				31	32	36	36·5	36·5	38			
	Diff.				9	8·75	9·5	9·25	8·5	9			9·00
Lé	Air		38	46	48·5	55	56·5	58·5		60·5	57	58	
	Rad.		33	37	42	48	49	49		55	51	47	
	Diff.		5	9	6·5	7	7·5	9·5		5·5	6	11	6·80
Lé	Air		36	39	41·5	45·5	53	52·25					
	Rad.		31	32	36	40	47	47·5					
	Diff.		5	7	5·5	5·5	6	4·75					5·80
Gwalior	Air			78·5			86·25			87·75			
	Rad.			77·0			87·00			87·00			
	Diff.			1·5			0			·75			

In the lofty table-land of Ladák, the greatest depression, which usually took place at 9 A.M., was 11° lower than the temperature of the external air. This was in Rukchu; but even in Ladák Proper the depression was no less than 9°. The mean hourly depression throughout the day was 8° 92′ in Rukchu, but only 6° 30′ in Ladák.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan: AJ4

VII.—SUPPOSED MILDNESS OF FORMER CLIMATE.

132 Various circumstances induce me to believe that the climate of Ladák was formerly much milder and much
172 less dry than it is at present. The occurrence of vast quantities of fossil *fresh-water* shells in the sandy alluvium above the level of the present *salt-water* lakes of Ladák, proves that these lakes must once have been very extensive sheets of fresh water. In the case of the *Tsho-kar* or "White Lake," this is proved beyond all doubt, by the occurrence of fossil shells on the plain of Kyang, and in the deep gorge through which the waters of the lake once had exit into this place. As the plain itself had a gradual slope from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the Sumgal River, the whole extent of this double lake can be seen by a glance at the accompanying sketch-map,* which illustrates the ancient lake system of Ladák in those parts of the country which I have visited.

133 1. The *Kyang-Tsho* formerly extended from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to near the source of the Sumgal River, a length of thirty-five miles. It is difficult to ascertain the mean breadth, but it must have been about five miles. This would give an area of 175 square miles.

2. The *Tsho-kar* formerly flowed into the Kyang-Tsho, and was about twenty-five miles in length by five miles in breadth. The old beach-marks are distinctly visible on the mountain-sides, both to the north and south of the lake. I traversed along the southern end of the Tsho-kar in two different directions in 1846, and in 1847 along the northern end, and through the gorge which

* See Plate VI.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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formed its old exit into the Kyang-Tsho. Its principal feeder is a small fresh-water lake to the south, which once formed part of the old lake. The greatest extent of the Tsho-kar must have been about twenty-five miles by five miles, or 125 square miles. The two lakes together covered about 300 square miles.

3. The *Tshomo-Riri* formerly included a small salt-water lake, now lying about eight miles to the northward of it. The greatest extent was about twenty-five miles by five miles, or 125 square miles. It seems highly probable that it once had an exit from its southern end into the Párá River, or perhaps into the Sumgal River.

4. The *Hanlé* Lake is still of considerable size; but the clay deposits, which are found adhering in horizontal strata to the small isolated hills in the middle of the valley, and in sheltered positions at the sides, show that this lake must once have been one of the largest sheets of water in Ladák. Its greatest extent must have been about twenty-five miles by twelve miles, or 300 square miles, with a mean depth of at least 100 feet.

5. *Lam-Tsho* is now only a small piece of fresh water, but it was most probably once a fine sheet of water about fifteen miles long by three miles broad, or forty-five square miles in extent.

6. The bed of the Indus, like that of all the other rivers, has once been crowded with a series of lakes. Two of these which came under my observation are shown in Plate VI. The smaller one must have filled the valley, opposite Nyimo and Mûd, for a length of twenty-five miles by three miles, or for about seventy-five square miles.

7. Above Lé, the vast plain of Chachot must once have

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 been covered with water for some miles above Marchalang down to Lé and Pitak. At Pitak, the lacustrine deposits of fine clay are still adhering to the rocks in horizontal strata, to a height of 750 feet above the level of the river. The whole extent must have been about thirty-five miles by six miles, or 210 square miles. Below Pitak, the former channel of the Indus can be traced for many miles, by Phyang and Tharu, to Nyimo.

It is impossible to say what may have been the whole extent of the former lakes of Ladák, but as the ancient lakes of Rukchu, which I have described, must have covered a space of 840 square miles, or nearly one-sixth of the whole extent of the district, a vague idea may be formed of the general extent of the lake system, which must once have prevailed over Ladák. The vast lake of Pang-kong was probably not less than twenty miles in breadth by 100 miles in length, and must have covered an area of 2,000 square miles. This lake, with the others which I have described, would have occupied about one-tenth of the whole extent of the country.

The former existence of these vast sheets of fresh water rests neither upon general appearances nor upon the vague assertions of tradition, but upon the distinct evidences of vast beds of fine clay, which are found adhering to the rocks in horizontal strata, and which could only have been deposited in comparatively still water. Their existence is further proved by the [172] abundance of fossil *fresh-water* shells that are found in the sandy clay deposits around the present *salt-water* lakes, and on the dry plain of Kyang. These shells are of two kinds,—*Lymnæa auricularia* of all sizes, and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Cyclas rivicola, which is only found of very small size [133] preserved in the interior of the larger shells.* As these [172] mollusca do not now exist in Ladák at a greater elevation than between eleven and twelve thousand feet, it 132 seems a probable conclusion that the country must at some former period have enjoyed a very much milder climate than that of the present day. This conclusion might indeed have been deduced from the former existence of the vast lakes which have been described. For the waters vapourized by the sun must have been condensed by the cold of night, and the plains would then have been fertilized by rain, and the mountains covered by snow. Numerous streams would have flowed down the hill-sides in all directions, and the overflowing lakes would have formed mighty rivers.

Throughout Ladák there are numbers of vast ravines, 133 many of them 500 feet deep, and as many yards broad, which could not possibly have been formed by the scanty brooks that are now nearly lost in their meanderings from side to side of these enormous channels. In one of these vast river-beds the scanty rill of the Sum-gal now purls along at the southern end of the plain of Kyang. The sides of this channel are masses of alluvial boulders and gravel, which once formed the bed of the Kyang-Tsho. The rocky barrier, below the junction of the Sum-gal rivers, was probably worn away, gradually at first, until the plain of Kyang became almost dry: after which, on the occurrence of any sudden disruption, the waters of the Sum-gal would have rushed violently onward, cutting for themselves a deep channel in the soft bed of the lake. The Kyang-Tsho must have been

* See Plate IX. for these shells.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetam AJ4

/33 gradually drained; but I have a suspicion that the Tshomo-Riri Lake once had an exit into the Sum-gal, and that its accumulated waters were suddenly drained off by the disruption of the Sum-gal barrier. That the subsidence of the waters of the Kyang-Tsho must have been very gradual is proved by the abundance of shells now lying on the upper part of the plain, all of which would have been swept away by even a moderate current. Is it possible that the whole mass of the country can have been gradually elevated?

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ+

VIII.—PRODUCTIONS.

I.—ANIMAL.

136 The animal productions of Ladák are particularly interesting, as they comprise the wild horse, the yák, or long-haired bull, whose tail furnishes the Indian *chaori*, the shawl-wool goat, whose fine under-fleece is woven into the beautiful Kashmirian shawls, and the púrik sheep, of which some twenty specimens have been exhibited in the Zoological Gardens of London.

WILD ANIMALS.

The wild animals of Ladák are both numerous and interesting. "The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the conies."* The elevated plains of the Indus and the lofty table-lands of Rukchu abound with the wild horse, the marmot, and the hare: while the snowy mountains and rugged glens teem with many varieties of the wild goat, sheep, and deer, some of which are most probably still unknown.

The *Kyang*,† which has been called a horse by some, and an ass by others, is the *Equus hemionus* of Pallas, and the *Equus Kyang* of Moorcroft. The animal when

* Psalm civ. 18.

† The male is called simply *rKyang*, and the female *Mo-rKyang*. See Plate VI. for four views of the Kyang's skull.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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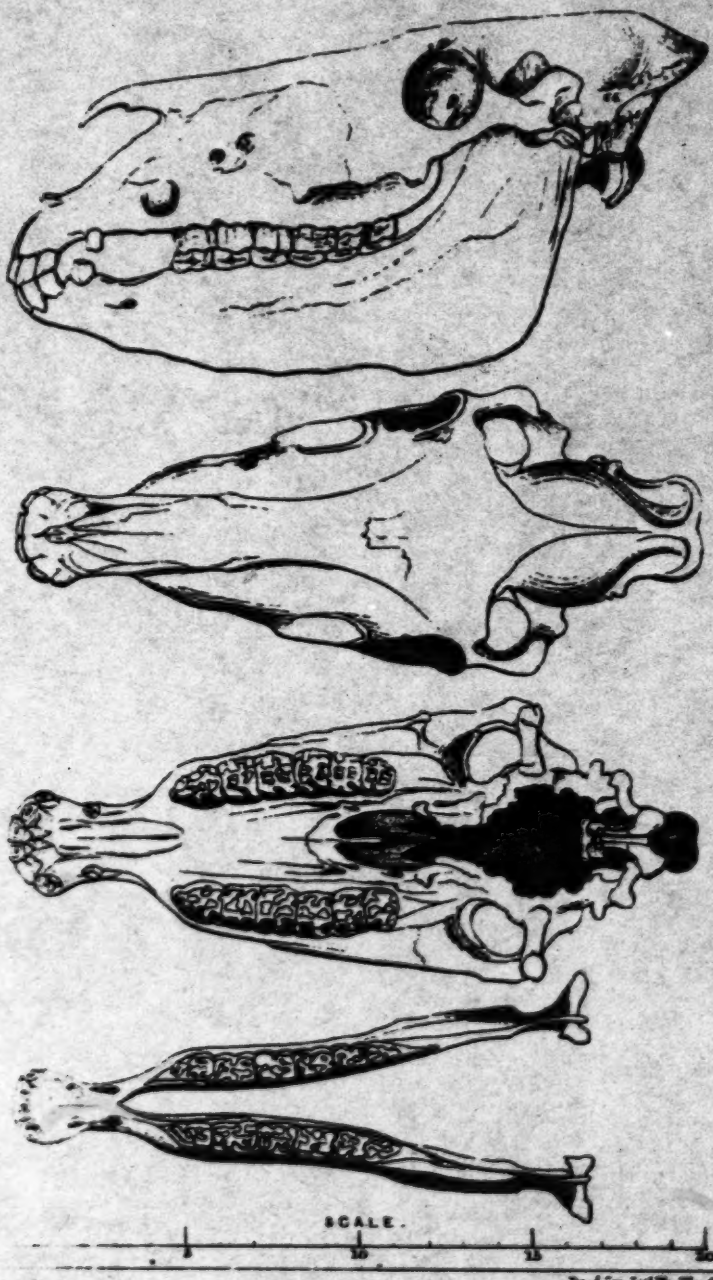
The KYANG, or Wild Horse. Equus Kyang.



Dean & Son, Lith. To The Queen

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 full grown is about fourteen hands high: the facial line is highly arched, like that of the zebra and quagga, and the ears (like theirs) are longer than those of a horse, but much shorter than those of an ass. A line of black hair extends along the whole of the back, but there are no cross stripes across the withers as in the ass. The tail has a long tuft of hair at the end like the zebra. The general colour is reddish-brown on the back and sides, and white on the stomach. Moorcroft* remarks, that it is certainly not the *gorkhar*, or wild ass of Sindh, and I can vouch that it is quite different from the gorkhar of the Bikanar and Baháwalpur desert. Trebeck,† who saw herds of them on his trip to Chibra, to the south-east of Lé, states his opinion of the Kyang's shape as follows. "The form, from the fore to the hind leg and feet, to a level with the back, is more square than that of an ass, his back is less straight, and there is a dip behind the withers and rounding of the crupper, which is more like the shape of the horse. His neck is also more erect and arched than that of the ass." The following are the dimensions of a skull in my possession.

	Ft.	In.
Greatest length	1	9¼
" depth	0	10
" breadth	0	8¼
	lb.	oz.
Weight of upper jaw	5	0½
" lower jaw	3	15½
Weight of skull	9	0

Lastly, the Kyang *neighs* like a horse, which in my judgment is conclusive that he does not belong to the

* Travels, I. p. 311. † In Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 443.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

genus *Asinus*, but is very nearly allied to the *Equus caballus*. If the Kyang is a different genus from the *Equus hemionus* of Pallas, he should be called *Equus Tibetanus*. A living specimen of the animal has been sent to England by the Hon. Mr. Thomason, the Governor of Agra, but as the naturalists of Europe have not, I believe, yet had an opportunity of examining the skeleton, I have given several careful drawings of the skull of a Kyang, which I shot in 1846, at an elevation of 17,000 feet, on the summit of the *Nakpo Gonding* Pass, to the north of the *Chomoriri* Lake. This skull has forty teeth; and there is now no trace of any premolar teeth in the upper jaw, such as have been found in other specimens, and which led Mr. Hodgson to give the Kyang the new name of *Equus polyodon*,* or rather *Asinus polyodon*. 136

The wild yák, called *Brong* or *Dong*,† is said to inhabit the grassy plains on the upper courses of the Sutluj and Sangpo. The people generally believe in their existence, but I could neither procure any of their horns, nor find any person who had actually seen the living animal. Vigne‡ was informed that the wild yák was to be found "on the northern slopes of the Himálaya that descend upon the plains of Yarkand." Mr. Blyth§ quotes Wood to the same effect. My brother‖ also mentions that wild yáks are to be found "to the north and east of Garo," that is, in the district of Gnári. As the tame yák has been domesticated from time

* Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XVI. p. 354. Note by Blyth.

† *hBrong*. The female is called *hBrong-hBri*, which is commonly pronounced *Dong-di*.

‡ Vigne's Travels in Kashmir, Ladák, II. p. 277.

§ Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XI. p. 282, note.

‖ Ditto ditto, XII. p. 222.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 immemorial, the existence of wild herds in the same country may perhaps be doubted; but the general prevalence of the belief is worthy of being recorded.

[782] The largest of the wild sheep is the *Nyan* or *Ovis Ammon* of naturalists. It is found only in the most inaccessible places, near the snow-limit. Specimens of the horns may generally be seen along with those of the ibex and shá (*Ovis montana*) on the religious piles of stones called *Mané*, where they are placed by the shepherds as votive offerings. The *Nyan* of the Tibetans is closely allied to the Kachkar of Badakshán and Chitrál. Mr. Blyth has, however, distinguished them by separate names, calling the latter *Ovis Polii*, after Marco Polo, who gave the first description of the animal.

Another species of wild sheep is the *Ná*. Vigne* calls it *Sná*, and describes it as of "the size of an ordinary sheep; of a dull brownish-gray colour, with curved, smooth, and four-sided horns." Csomo de Körös calls it a "large sheep-like deer." It is apparently the same as the *Náhur* of Nepal, and the *Ovis Náhur* of Hodgson and Blyth.†

A third species of wild sheep is the *Shá*,‡ which I have seen browsing in large flocks on the mountains, on the left bank of the Indus below Lé. The animal is as large as a stag, with strong wiry hair of a reddish-brown colour on the back, gradually changing to white on the stomach. The chest is covered with a long fringe of

* Travels, II. p. 280. The name is written *rNa*, in Tibetan. See also Csomo de Körös, Dict. in voce.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XVI. p. 360.

‡ *Shá-ba*, and the female *Shá-mo*. Csomo de Körös calls the *Shá*, a stag (Dict. in voce); but the real stag is called *Shu*. The horns of the *Shá* are shown in Plate VIII.

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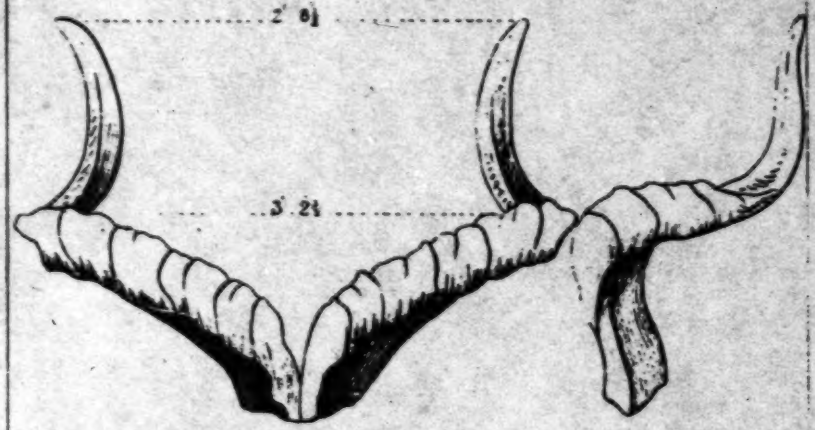
Plate VI.

136

HORNS.

The SHA of Ladak, a Wild Sheep.

The RAPHO-CHHE (Markhor) or Large Wild Goa.



A. Cunningham del.

Day & Son, Lith.rs to the Queen

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136 dirty black hair. The massive horns, which touch at their bases, are curved backward and downward, the tips being turned forward, upward, and inward. Each horn thus forms about three-quarters of a circle. The *Shá* is the *Ovis montana* of naturalists. The horns of a specimen, which I obtained on the banks of the Indus, below Lé, have the following measurements.

	Ft.	In.
Length of horn	2	4½
Base of horn, greatest depth	0	3¼
" " breadth	0	3
Extreme interval	1	8
Interval between tips	1	0½
Greatest circumference	0	10½
Weight ... 12 lbs.		

The age of this specimen was nearly seven years, the *rugæ* of the third year being the boldest and most deeply marked.

The wild goat called *Rápho-chhé*,* or the "great goat," is the *Már-khor*, or "snake-eater" of the Musalmáns. It is common in Balti, and in Badakshán and Chitrál; but I was unable to procure any specimen of its horns in Ladák. A pair obtained by Colonel Bates in Balti is represented in Plate VII. These horns meet at the base, rise straight upward, then turn backward and again upward. The following are the measurements:—

	Ft.	In.
Length of horn	3	9
Circumference of base	0	11
Breadth of widest face	0	4
Perpendicular rise	2	3½
Extreme width	3	2½
Width from tip to tip	2	8½

* *Rá-pho-chhé*, or simply *Rá-chhe;* the female *Rá-mo-chhe*. Mr. Vigne says that *Rawa* means a horn, and *chagho*, great; but *rárácho* is simply a "horn," and not a "great horn." See Plate VII. for a pair of horns.

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136 No specimen of this magnificent goat has, I believe, yet been obtained by any naturalist, nor have I heard of any traveller who has seen the animal. I would suggest that it might be called *Capra megaceros*.

236 Another species of wild goat is the Tibetan ibex, or [136] *Skyin*.* Mr. Vigne procured a pair of horns that were four feet three inches in length. In his opinion the Skyin "is larger than the European ibex, and the horns are longer, more curved, and more tapering." The Skyin frequents the most inaccessible rocks, and the animal, when shot, is frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. Vigne states that between one and two hundred of them are killed in Balti during the winter, when they are forced to descend into [224] the valleys.† In Ladák they are also snared at night, and shot in the grey dawn of the morning, when they venture down to the streams to drink. They are killed for the sake of the soft under-fleece, which, in Kashmir, [439] is called *Asali Tus*.‡ This is an exceedingly fine and soft wool of a light brown colour, which is exported to Kashmir, where it is used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It is also woven into a very fine cloth, called *Tusi*, of a soft and delicate texture, which is much prized for its warmth. The high price of the Tus is caused by the difficulty of procuring the animal, and by the uselessness of the hair. The person who separates the hair from the wool of the domestic shawl-

* *Skyin*; the female is called *Des-mo*. In Kullu and Spiti, the Skyin is called Kyin; and Spiti is called Piti, but the spelling in Tibetan always preserves the initial *s*.

† Vigne's Travels, II. p. 279.

‡ اصلي توس means simply "genuine *Tus*," or the wool of the *wild* goat; *Tus* means "nature."

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goat is paid by the hair itself, which is manufactured 236
into coarse blanketing for tents, and twisted into ropes. But the hair of the wild goat is short, wiry, and coarse, and the cost for picking is charged to the price of the Tus, or fine wool. Moorcroft says that neither the domesticated shawl-goat, nor the Vigogna,* furnishes a wool so full and rich to the feel, nor has so fine a material ever yet graced a British loom.

The frequent occurrence of ibex-horns on the temples 778
of Kanáwar, Láhul, and Chamba has often suggested to me the idea that a similar religious feeling amongst the Greeks may have prompted the dedication of real ox-skulls, perhaps of animals that were slain in sacrifice, in the ancient Hellenic temples. In process of time, when the rude posts became Doric pillars, and the rough ends of the sloping beams were carved into triglyphs, the real ox-skulls were supplanted by their sculptured representations, which afterwards adorned the metopes of the Doric frieze. At least it seems difficult to account for their frequent representation on any other supposition.

The *Shu* or Tibetan stag has been described by Mr. 136
Hodgson† from a specimen obtained near Phári, in Tsáng, the central province of Tibet. A second specimen was procured from the district of Chúmbi, to the south of Phári, where the country is more wooded and less arid than most other districts of Tibet. In 1839 I procured a most magnificent pair of stag's horns from the upper glens of the Lidar valley, in Kashmir; and in 1847 I obtained a second but smaller pair from the same valley.‡ The former pair had six snags on each horn, and was

* Transactions Roy. As. Soc. I. p. 53.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIX. p. 466; and XIX. p. 518.

‡ See Plate VIII.

1: Cunningham G-S (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 therefore a genuine *Barah-singha* (twelve-horned). The latter specimen agrees in all respects, save that of size, with those described by Mr. Hodgson. One of his specimens was procured from the most southern part of Tibet, where the climate is less rigorous and the country more wooded. My specimens were obtained in the upper course of the Lidar river, in the eastern end of Kashmir towards Ladák, where the climate may be called half-Tibetan from its dryness. The horns of my Kashmirian specimen are represented in Plate VII. Their dimensions are the following, which I have placed beside those of Mr. Hodgson's Tibetan specimen.

	Kashmirian.			Tibetan.	
	Ft.	In.		Ft.	In.
Length of horn	3	4½	...	3	10½
Girth above burr	0	7½	...	0	7½
Chord of arc, or bend of horn	0	10	...	1	0½
Basal interval between horns	0	3½	...	0	4½
Interval between extreme snags	3	5	...	3	9
" " " tips	2	0	...	2	6½

The Musk deer, called Lá,* is found both in Tibet and in Kashmir, but I had no opportunity of procuring any specimens. Vigne mentions the Kashmirian Lá, and states that Dr. Falconer thought it was a new species.

Other wild animals of Tibet are the leopard, the bear, the wolf, the fox, and the dog. The leopard, wolf, and fox, are described by Mr. Hodgson, and noticed by Vigne.† Moorcroft ‡ adds the ounce and the lynx. The

* *gLá-ba*, or simply *gLá*; and the female *gLá-mo*.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XI. p. 275, and Vigne's Travels, II. p. 281. The leopard is called *Zig* (*gZig*); the bear, *Dom*; the dog, *Khyi*; and the fox, *Mkhpa* (*dMig-pa*); from *dMig*, a hole; it is also called *dByi*.

‡ Travels, I. p. 312.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dog is mentioned by Mr. Hodgson only, who describes it as a rare animal of a pale wolf-like colour. /36

The hare, called *Ri-bong*, is abundant amongst the rocks on the grassy plains of Rukchu. It is called Ri-bong, or the "hill-ass," on account of the length of its ears.* The Botis do not eat hares, as they consider the animal as a species of donkey. In 1846 I shot five in half an hour in one of the glens to the eastward of the plain of Kyung. They sit behind the rocks, with their long ears pricked, and half their heads just raised above the stone. When roused they run from rock to rock, reminding one of the words of the Psalmist, "The rocks are a refuge for the conies." The Ri-bong is as large as an English hare, has longer ears, and is of a bluish-grey or slate-colour. It is the *Lepus pallipes* or "white-foot" of Mr. Hodgson, who gives the following dimensions of his specimen.† [262]

	Ft.	In.
Length from head to tail	0	11
" of tail	0	4
" of head	0	4¼
" of ear	0	4¼

Mr. Hodgson describes a second species of Tibetan hare under the name of *Lepus oiostolus*, and he refers to Moorcroft as his principal authority for this variety.‡ But on a reference to Moorcroft (I. 225), I find that the hares shot by Trebeck and himself on the plain of Rukchu, were of a "bluish-white colour, and not much larger than English rabbits." Both in 1846 and in 1847 I shot these bluish-coloured hares on the plains of

* Ri-bong, and also Phyi-pa. *Ri-bong* means the "hill-ass." The Hindus also liken the ass to a hare, by naming the wild ass *Ghor-khar*, or the "horse-hare."

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XI. p. 288.

‡ Ditto ditto, XI. p. 288.

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136 Rukchu, and I feel satisfied that they are the same as the *Lepus pallipes* of Mr. Hodgson; and the more so, as several that I shot were fully as large as any English hare. Moorcroft evidently saw only one species, as he refers to the Rukchu hares a second time.*

The smaller species of hare, or *Lagonys*, is extremely common all over Tibet. It is the *Lepus alpinus* of Pallas. I have shot them near the summit of the LÁnak Pass, 18,750 feet above the sea, and on the very crest of the Pir Panjál Pass at 12,000 feet. The table-lands of Rukchu, and the plains along the Yunam River, are literally honey-combed with their burrows. The Tibetan *Lagonys* is named *Skippi*, or the "whisperer," and is thus closely allied to the "calling hare" of America.

The marmot of Tibet, according to Mr. Hodgson,† is of two distinct species, the large and the small, which he has distinguished by the names of *Arctomys Tibetensis*, and *Arctomys hemachalanus*. The former obtains a length of two feet, with a tail of six inches. The latter does not reach more than thirteen inches in length. I have seen only the larger animal, which is common on the sandy plains of Rukchu. Moorcroft‡ mentions that he obtained the skin of the squirrel in Ladák; by which I believe that he meant the Arctomys.

Of the *Mustelidæ*, or weasel tribe, I am acquainted with only one species,—the *Mustela*, or true weasel. I saw one specimen of it in 1846 near the Polokonka Pass, at an elevation of 16,000 feet; and in 1847 I shot one close to the crest of the LÁnák Pass, 18,700 feet. The

* Travels, I. p. 312.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XII. p. 409.

‡ Travels, I. p. 312.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

skin and skull were preserved by Dr. Thomson, in whose collection they have been carried to England. The length of body was about seven or eight inches, the legs short, and the nose long, and the whole of a light sandy colour. 136

Mr. Hodgson* has described a second species of *Mustelidæ*, in the Tibetan polecat, and he refers to a third in the Tibetan badger.

BIRDS.

The larger birds of Ladák are not many, and few of them, I believe, are peculiar to the country. The gigantic *Chakor*, or snow-pheasant, is found in Láhul and Spiti, and also in Kanâwar, but only near the snow. The common Chákor, *Rekpa*,† is abundant throughout the cultivated part of the country. Moorcroft invariably identifies the Chákor with the Francolin, or Greek partridge. According to Griffith,‡ Perdrix *Francolinus* is the black partridge of India, and Swainson§ calls it the Francolin *Chætopus*, and associates it with the grey partridge of India (Chæt. Pondicerianus).

The eagle (*Cha-nak*,‖ or the "black bird") and the kite (*Chákor*, or the "white bird") are common enough, and so is the large raven. Smaller birds also are numerous, but I had no opportunity of procuring specimens. On the western side of the Lánák Pass, about 16,500 feet, I saw a hoopoe.

* Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XVIII. p. 448.

† *sRog-pa*, pronounced *Rekpa*.

‡ MS. note by Griffith in his copy of Swainson's Birds.

§ Swainson's Birds, II. p. 344.

‖ *Bya*, generally pronounced *Cha*, is simply a bird. *Bya-nag*, is the "black bird;" and *Bya-dKar*, means the "white bird."

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136 The water-fowl, *Chhu-cha*,* swarm on the lakes and on the still waters of the Upper Indus. I have shot the wild goose, *Nang-gyod*, on the Thogji Chenmo and Chomoriri lakes, at 15,000 feet, and Colonel Bates and I shot three teal on the Suraj Dal, or small lake at the head of the Bhága River, at an elevation of upwards of 16,000 feet. I have shot both ducks and teal on the banks of the Indus below Hanlé, and in the swamps of Chachot just above Lé.

REPTILES.

The only reptile that I saw in Ladák was a single species of lizard, from four to seven inches in length. I noticed them on the lofty table-land between Gurkhyam and Hanlé, at an elevation of 15,000 feet. I captured one lizard as a specimen, but it managed to make its escape before I reached Hanlé.

FISH.

"Fish† abound in all the streams; but the chariness of life which is taught by the religion of Buddha, prevents their being caught." We procured fish from fourteen to fifteen inches in length in the stream at Hanlé, at an elevation of 15,000 feet, and again in the Puga rivulet at the same height. They were a kind of trout. Opposite the villages of Múd and Nyimo I observed fish jumping in the Indus. Vigne‡ mentions that the fish in the Indus at Skardo were all of one species of Himálayan trout, the largest weighing between two and three pounds.

* *Chhu-bya*, the "water-bird."

† Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 313. Fish are called *Nya*.

‡ Travels, II. p. 282.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AM W Thomas AJ4

MOLLUSCA.

136
172 The only existing mollusk I observed in Ladák was the *Lymnæa auricularia*. In Plate IX. I have given three specimens, from Pitak and Nubra in Ladák, and from Skardo in Balti. Beside them I have placed for comparison a specimen of the same mollusk from Kashmir; and above them two extinct specimens from the old lacustrine formations on the banks of the *Thogji Chenmo* and *Pangong* salt lakes. The superior size of the Kashmir specimen is perhaps no more than might be expected from the greater mildness of the climate; but that of the extinct species is most remarkable. The largest existing specimen from Pitak measures only six-eighths of an inch in length, and rather less than five-eighths in breadth; whereas the extinct specimens are upwards of an inch in length, and more than three-quarters of an inch in breadth.

These fresh-water fossil shells are found in a fine yellow sandy clay, many feet above the present level of the salt-water lakes. When they existed, the lake of Thogji Chenmo must have been a noble sheet of fresh water, upwards of forty miles in length by about twenty miles in extreme breadth, covering the whole plain of Kyung, from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the rocky glen of the Sumgyel (triple junction) River. These fossil shells are now lying in myriads in the narrow pass between the old bed of the Thogji Lake and the plain of Kyung, and they are equally numerous in the upper part of the plain of Kyung.

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132
172 At what period these vast plains were covered with water will be an interesting subject of inquiry for the geologist; but the mind gets bewildered in trying

1: Cunningham G-S (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 to pierce the infinite obscurity of bygone ages. One
132 point alone seems clear; that when all these lakes
172 existed, more moisture must have been evaporated, and more snow must have fallen as well as more rain; and the humid atmosphere would have produced a milder climate more favourable to animal and vegetable life. The hills would, perhaps, have been clothed with trees, and the still waters of the magnificent lakes would have teemed with myriads of *Lymnæa*, of which only the shells now remain. But the gradual wearing down of the water-courses, and the continual bursting of the lakes, have nearly dried up all the primeval waters of Ladák; and the consequent loss of moisture has occasioned the present general scarcity of rain and snow, and that extreme dryness of atmosphere which has caused the total dearth of trees. The only sheets of water that now exist are landlocked and salt.

172 A second extinct species of shell is a bivalve (*Cyclas*); but as all the specimens that have been found were preserved inside the *Lymnæa*, they are necessarily small; it is now perhaps impossible to determine exactly whether they are river or lake shells.

Fossil shells are also found in the fine clay deposits near Skardo, of which I have given a specimen in Fig. 4, Plate IX., which contains a *Planorbis* and a *Luccinea* (or perhaps a small *Lymnæa*). One specimen of the existing Planorbis of Skardo is given in Fig. 9.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

281 The domestic animals of Ladák are ponies, asses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs. The Argons, or mixed race of half-Kashmiris half-Botis, resident at Lé, now keep a number of common fowls, but they have only

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within the last few years been introduced from Kashmir. 231

Ponies.—The ponies, according to Moorcroft,* who was a good judge, are "small, active, and hardy, but not numerous nor much used." At least one-half of the ponies used in Ladák are brought from Yarkand; but they are all geldings. The asses are small, and only equal to half-pony loads.†

Oxen.—The oxen are the *Yák*, or Chaori-tailed bull, and the yák cow, *Brimo* or *Dimo*, and their hybrid produce with the common cattle.

The *Yák* ‡ is short, but broadly and strongly built, with a small head, short horns, and a wild-looking eye. His long black hair reaches close to the ground before it is cut, and he has usually a shaggy and savage appearance. The *Yák* is used chiefly for carrying loads, as he is generally too intractable for the plough. The cow is kept only for milk.

The most valuable hybrids are the *Dso* bull and the *Dso-mo* cow, which are the produce of the male yák and the common cow. The *Dso* is used, throughout Ladák, for the plough as well as for carrying loads, as he is much more tractable than the yák and quite as strong. The *Dso-mo* yields much more milk than the yák cow, and of a much richer quality. The milk is used chiefly [262] for butter, of which almost every Ladáki consumes a certain quantity daily in his tea, in the same way as milk is used in England. The *Dso* is a very handsome

* Travels, I. p. 309.

† Ponies of all sizes are called *Tú* (in Tibetan *rTa*). Asses are called *Bong*.

‡ The Yák (in Tibetan *gYag*) is the *Bos grunniens*, or grunting ox. The bull is called *Pho-gYag*, or *Pho-yak*; and the cow *hBri-mo*. See Plate XLII.

231 animal, with long shaggy hair, mostly black and white, but frequently reddish-brown and white, and sometimes altogether white. The hair is cut annually like that of the yák, and is used for the same purposes. The price of a good *Dso* varies from sixteen to twenty rupees.

The other hybrids are little valued. The *Drepo* or *Drelpo* is the male produce between the common bull and the *Dso-mo;* but it is inferior in strength, and the *Dremo*, or female, does not yield more milk than a common cow. The cross between the yák and the *Dsomo* is still less valued. Other crosses are few and accidental; as the produce of all these hybrids quickly degenerates.*

The number of neat cattle I had no accurate means of ascertaining; but as amongst the encampments I generally found that there was about one yák for every ten sheep, the present number may be estimated at about 25,000. Their total value, at the average rate of sixteen rupees each, will be Rs. 3,40,000, or £34,000.

Sheep.—The Ladáki sheep are of two distinct kinds, the tall black-faced *Huniya*, which is used chiefly for carrying burdens, and the pretty diminutive sheep of *Purik*, which is used only for food. All sheep are called by the general name of *Luk;* a flock is called *luk-khyu;* the shepherd, *luk-pa* or *luk-dsi;* and the sheepfold, *luk-ra.*†

The common sheep is the *Huniya*, which, with the exception of the pretty little Purik breed, is almost the only kind of sheep to be found throughout Tibet. This fine sheep is much larger than any of the Indian breeds,

* Moorcroft, I. p. 309, and my brother, Capt. J. D. Cunningham, in Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 221, both say the same thing.

† *Lug*, pronounced *Luk*, *Lug-khyu*, *Lug-pa*, *Lug-rDsi*, *Lug-ra*.

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Pl. VII

The PURIK SHEEP

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. It might, therefore, with advantage be crossed with the 492 common small sheep of our hill provinces. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladák is transported on these sheep. They are food, clothing, and carriage, and form the principal wealth of the people of Ladák. I have seen a single flock of six hundred sheep, entirely laden with wool; and in one day I have counted as many as from five to six thousand sheep laden with shawl wool and common wool, borax and sulphur, and quantities of dried apricots, all making their way to the hill provinces 556 on the south-west. The *Huniya** is, therefore, much prized; and a man's wealth is generally estimated by the number of his sheep. The average price is two rupees and a half (or five shillings), but fine strong rams are worth from three to four rupees.

231 The whole trade of Ladák does not exceed 30,000 [439] small maunds of sixteen seers each, equivalent to the same number of sheep-loads. But the large importation of grain, which took place yearly before the population had been thinned by disease, emigration, and war, must have employed some 400,000 sheep. Of these, probably about one-half belonged to the Ladákis, and the other half to the hill people of Káshtwár, Chamba, Láhul, Kullú, and Kanáwar. After making a due allowance for lambs, I should estimate the former number of sheep at upwards of 300,000, or rather more than twelve sheep per house. At present the number is not so great, probably not more than 250,000. At the rate of 2 seers (4 lb.)† per sheep, the annual produce of wool

* *Huniya* is the Indian term, of which the Tibetans have made *Hunhi-yi*. The sheep is called *Huniyi-luk*.

† The English sheep yield an average of 4 lb. each, and even the little Purik sheep of Ladák yield 3 lb. See Moorcroft, I. p. 310.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 would be about 400,000 seers, or 25,000 small maunds, of which about 5,000 maunds are exported. The remainder is consumed in the country; which gives an allowance of one maund per house, or of 2½ seers (5 lb.) annually, for each individual for clothing and other purposes. This is probably correct, as each person possesses at least the following amount of woollen garments.

One blanket 7 × 5 feet, weighing	4 lb.
One whole fleece, for a cloak	4 „
Two fleeces for bedding and stuffing of pillows ...	8 „
A woollen choga, or coat	5 „
Cap, waistband, stockings, boots	3 „
Seers 12 =	24 „

Allowing a change of clothing about every five years, the annual consumption of wool will be two seers and two-fifths for each person, or 300,000 for the whole population. To this must be added the number of blankets used by the rich and consumed in the manufacture of bags for the conveyance of grain and other produce. *Atta* (coarse flour) is always carried in skin bags: but I would estimate the number of blanket bags at about one-half of the whole. The number of sheep employed in carriage being 200,000, the quantity of blanketing will be 100,000 yards, weighing 17,500 seers. The total produce and consumption may therefore be thus stated.

	Maunds.	Value.
Wool, exported	5,000 ...	Rs. 10,000
„ for home consumption	20,000 ...	40,000
Total produce ...	25,000 ...	Rs. 50,000
	or 800,000 lb. ...	£5,000

The value of the sheep at an average price of two rupees and a half each, will be Rs. 6,25,000, or £62,500.

The Purik sheep attracted the particular attention of

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Moorcroft,* whose account of them has been publishe in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions. He was so impressed with the value of this breed, that he collected a small flock for transmission to England: but unfortunately just as he was leaving Ladák the whole flock of sixty-seven was carried off by the chief of Hasora.† It was Moorcroft's opinion that the British cottager might keep three of these sheep with more ease than he now supports a cur-dog; and that every small farmer might maintain fifteen or twenty of them without any extra expense: as they would be entirely supported on that kind of produce which now runs wholly to waste or is thrown out on the dunghill. The Purik sheep will eat crumbs and parings of all kinds. Apricot-skins, turnip-peelings, pea-shells, and tea-leaves are eagerly picked up by this domestic animal; which, as Moorcroft has also noticed, will not disdain to nibble a bone. It will also eat grass, straw, chaff, and leaves. I brought a small flock of twenty from the Purik district to Simla, from whence they were despatched to England by the Governor-General. The Court of Directors presented them to Prince Albert, by whom they were first exhibited in the Zoological Gardens, and afterwards distributed to different persons interested in the breeding of sheep.

This pretty little sheep when full grown is not larger than a South-down lamb of five or six months: but "in the fineness and weight of its fleece, and in the flavour of its mutton it is equal," says Moorcroft, "to any race hitherto discovered." It gives two lambs within twelve months. It is twice shorn during the year, and the total clip yields fully three pounds of wool, of which

* Transactions Royal As. Soc. I. p. 49; and Travels, I. p. 310. The name is written *Pu-rig* and *Bu-rig*, but always pronounced Purik.

† Travels, II. p. 92.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 the first clip in Moorcroft's estimation was "fine enough for tolerably good shawls." The Purik sheep is much prized for the flavour and delicacy of its mutton; and in the western districts of Ladák, scarcely any other meat is eaten. In Lé, the average price of a fine Purik sheep is about two rupees, but in their native district they can be procured at one rupee each, and at this price I purchased the little flock that was sent to England. The accompanying sketch of these animals was published in the *Illustrated News*.* The total number of this particular breed cannot be more than one-tenth of the whole, or about 25,000. The flocks may be thus distributed throughout the different districts.

	Huniya.		Purik.
In Drás	25,000	...	—
Suru	25,000	...	—
Purik	25,000	...	25,000
Kánji, Wanlá ...	25,000	...	—
Ladák proper ...	75,000	...	—
Nubra	25,000	...	—
Zanskar	20,000	...	—
Rukchu	5,000	...	—
	225,000	+	25,000
Total ...	250,000		

Goats.—The common domestic goat† of Ladák is the well-known shawl-goat, which thrives only in the most elevated districts. It is bred in Nubra, Zanskar, and Rukchu; but the finest wool is brought from Ruthog and Ngári, which formerly belonged to Ladák, and from Chang Thang, or the southern and mountainous districts of Kotan. The fleece of the shawl-kid is soft, curly, and beautifully glossy. It is used as a lining for cloaks by the more wealthy, and is exceedingly warm and comfortable. The shawl-goat is only shorn once a

* Plate IX. † All goats are called *Ra-ba*, or simply *Rá*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

		Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government	... ...	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Drás	... ...	0	3	0	
" Gagangir	... ...	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig	...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal	... ...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána	... ...	0	8	0	
Total	...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
	or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only	... Rs.	2	0	0	
showing a difference of		2	11	0, or of 5s. on every load.	

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na;* the common wool, *Bal;* and the hair, *sPu.* The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal,* or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal,* are the same as the Latin *lana,* and the English *wool.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans A24

439 In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the
[435] regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kash-
miri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer.
236 It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days, disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice is first soaked for three or four days in water until it begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool
[283] is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown, which are spun into thread. This work is all done by the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	20¼	Rs. weight, or	¼th.
Brown wool	...	5¼	"	$\frac{1}{16}$th.
Common wool	...	54¼	"	$\frac{11}{16}$ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs called pattu.

443 The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by
435 the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness, and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed threads are—

1½ Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

	Weight.		
Of very fine white single thread	1¼	Rupee for	1 Rupee.
" " double "	1½	"	"
" light brown (*phiri*)	5½	"	"
Fine white silky (*reshami*)	3⅝	"	"
Very fine brown (*khudrang*)	3	"	"
Fine ditto ditto	4½	"	"

The thread-merchants are contented with the usual custom (*dasturi* of India) of half an anna in each rupee, or about six per cent.

I have now traced the gradual additions in price of the shawl-wool from the time that it leaves the hands of the producer, at one rupee per seer, until it is spun into thread and sold to the shawl-merchant at ten times the original price. About one-third of this increased price might be avoided by cleaning the wool more thoroughly in Ladák, and by the direct purchase by the shawl-merchant from the producer.

The intervention of three different traders, the Ladáki, and Kashmiri wool-merchant and the Kashmir thread-merchant, between the producer and the manufacturer, enhances the price by at least six per cent. each, or about twenty per cent. altogether.

The average quantity of shawl-wool exported to Kashmir is the same as in Moorcroft's time, about 800 loads, or 3,200 small maunds of sixteen seers each; and about the same quantity is exported to all other places. The average price in Ladák is about two rupees per seer, or Rs. 2,04,000 (£20,400). Of the 6,400 maunds exported, about 4,000 maunds are imported from Chang-thang, Ruthog, and Ngári; and the remaining 2,400 maunds are the home produce of the highlands of Nubra, Ladák, Zanskar, and Rukchu. As the usual yield of fine wool for shawls and *pattus* is half a seer, the total number of

1 Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

236 goats in Ladák must be about 80,000. The average price of a shawl-wool goat is four rupees, and the total value of the flocks of Ladák Rs. 3,20,000, or £32,000.

231 *Dog.*—The domestic dog* of Ladak is the well-known shepherd's dog, or Tibetan mastiff. They have shaggy coats, generally quite black, or black and tan; but I have seen some of a light-brown colour. They are usually ill-tempered to strangers; but I have never found one that would face a stick, although they can fight well when attacked. The only peculiarity that I have noticed about them is that the tail is nearly always curled upward on to the back, where the hair is displaced by the constant rubbing of the tail.

II.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

I.—TREES.

137 The vegetable productions of Ladák are few and unim-
245 portant. The trees consist of willow, two varieties of poplar,† a kind of tamarisk, the pencil-cedar, and the *Elæagnus Moorcroftii.*‡ The tamarisk and the pencil-

* The Tibetan name for a dog is *Khyi.*

† *gShol-po* and *dByar-pa.*

‡ Capt. Madden, in the Horticultural Society's Journal, has quoted a passage from Moorcroft, to the effect that "a few willows and poplars are the *only trees* in Ladák," and he then produces the authority of Capt. H. Strachey to show that Moorcroft was wrong. But the fact is, that Moorcroft is right *in what he does say*, for either Capt. Madden or Capt. Strachey has misquoted him. In his Travels, I. p. 267, Moorcroft distinctly states that willows and poplars are the *only timber-trees* in Ladák; and in I. p. 306, he repeats the same thing. But in both places he says *timber-trees;* and he is right; for the *Shulpa* (*Shug-pa*) is too small a tree to yield timber, although, if not held sacred, it might yield wood for boxes. Capt. Madden should have recollected that the *Ser-shing* had been first described by Moorcroft, and was therefore named *Elæagnus Moorcroftii.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

245 Kashmir, but they had a peculiarity which was new to me; the same bunch would yield large grapes an inch and a half in length, and small round seedless grapes like black currants. The latter are dried in the sun, and [435] find their way to the Zimla bazaar, where they are kept by the merchants in large earthenware jars, duly labelled as "fine Zante currants," and sold at the rate of two rupees a pound, the proper price being about one quarter of a rupee per pound. The cherry is found in the warm districts.

II.—GRAINS.

241 The crops consist of bearded and beardless barley, common wheat and buck-wheat, peas, turnips, and mustard. In the southern province of Spiti, wheat* grows at a height of 13,000 feet (at Lárá and Lidang above Dangkhar). In the valley of the Indus it first appears at Ugshé and Chimra, between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. Buck-wheat† generally affects the same elevations as common wheat. Both kinds of barley‡ are grown at an elevation of 15,000 feet; at Hanlé, at the Korzo Gonpa, on the bank of the *Tshomoriri* lake, and above Gyihbar in Spiti.

Peas§ are cultivated at Gyihbar and Lonar, the loftiest villages in Spiti, between 14,000 and 15,000 feet, and at Miru, in the Gya valley, from 12,500 and 13,500 feet. Mustard also is found at the same elevation; at Gyihbar in Spiti, and at Gya and at Miru in Ladák proper. Turnips are grown at 15,000 feet at the Korzo Gonpa, on

* Wheat is called *Gro*, which in some districts is pronounced *Tb*.

† *Bro*, by many pronounced *Do*.

‡ *Nas* is the name for all kinds of barley. *Nas-karmo* is white barley, and *Nak Nas* is black barley.

§ *Honma*, which is spelt *Sronma*.

L Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cedar (*Shukpa*) are indigenous; the others are all regularly planted. The plane-tree has been introduced into Skardo, where its size and beauty have obtained for it the name of *Shing-Gyal*, "the prince of trees." The poplar is the most valuable wood in the country, as its long straight bole is particularly adapted for bridges, and for the rafters and beams of houses. It is generally planted in straight rows. The willow abounds in all the water-courses, but generally in the state of a pollard, as its supple twigs and branches are extensively used for baskets of all kinds and hurdles. These two trees were first met with at Gya, at a height of 13,500 feet. They furnish the only fire-wood procurable in Ladák; but wood is too valuable in this barren country to be thus wasted, and the principal fuel used by the people is short Tibetan furze, called *Dáma*, and dried dung of all kinds. The Elæagnus is an ornamental tree with a yellow flower, from which it derives its name of *Ser-shing*, or yellow tree. It is the Persian *Sanjit*. The tamarisk is abundant in the narrow glen of the Rulang-chu, or Puga rivulet, below the hot springs, where they attain fifteen and sixteen feet in height, the warmth of the water, 66°, being favourable to their growth.

The fruit-trees are the apple, the apricot, the walnut, the mulberry, and the vine.* The apricot is the only one found as high as Gya, 13,500 feet. The vine and apple make their first appearance at Bazgo and Sáspul, the walnut at Sáspul, and the mulberry at the monastery of Tamisgong. The apples, which are plentiful along the Indus, are of large size and good flavour. The apricots are large, but not so well flavoured as those of Balti. The grapes are much inferior to the splendid fruit of

* The vine is called *Gun*, *rGun*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the banks of the Chomoriri lake, but they are small and 241
hard. The turnips at Lé and at Tamisgong are good and palatable.

III.—CULTIVATION.

All cultivable land is called *Zhing*,* and this term is also generally used for a field of any kind. Good rich land is called *Zhing-zang;* stony land is called *Ri-zhing*, that is literally, "hilly land;" and meadow land is called *Thang-zhing*, that is, "plain land." All the cultivable 311
land in Ladák lies along the courses of the small streams, and in patches on the banks of the great rivers. In the bed of the Indus especially there are large tracts of grass-land which are never brought under cultivation, but are kept solely for the grazing of cattle.

Landlords are called *Zhing-pa* and *Zhing-dag*. The 423
poor cultivate the lands themselves, but the wealthy 462
employ regular labourers. The *Glapa*,† or labouring 465
man, holds the plough (*thong* or *shól*‡), while the *Glapa-mo*, or labouring woman, breaks the clods or digs the upturned earth. The women also irrigate the fields, and cut the crops. The ploughman, *Thong-pa* or *Moba*, and the diggers, *Ko-pápo* and *Kopámo*,§ are usually paid by the month (*da-phok*‖). Yáks are employed in drawing the 241
plough, which is of wood, the share being only tipped with iron; but many of the fields are dug by the hand with a peculiarly-shaped mattock, *ko-byed*,¶ of which

* *Zhing*, arable land; *Zhing-bZang*, rich land; *Ri-Zhing*, hilly land; *Thang-Zing*, plain land.

† *Gla-pa*, a labouring woman is called *Gla-pa-mo*.

‡ *Thong* or *Shol*, or sometimes *Thong-shol*.

§ *Thong-pa* or *rMo-ba*, a ploughman. The diggers are *rKo-pa-po* and *rKo-pa-mo*.

‖ *Zla-Phogs*, pronounced *Da-Phok*, "monthly pay."

¶ *rKo-byed*, called also *Tog-tse*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 the handle forms a very acute angle with the blade. After ploughing, the fields are prepared with manure, *lúd*,* which consists either of *Yák-lúd*, yák's dung, or of *Lúk-lúd*, sheep's dung. Occasionally they use cow-
[372] dung, *Yák-chi* or *Ba-chi*. But in a country where fire-wood is so scarce as not to be obtainable by any but the richest classes, all kinds of dung are in daily use as fuel, and but little can be spared for enriching the land.

In a dry country like Ladák, where it seldom snows and scarcely ever rains, the harvest is entirely dependent upon artificial irrigation. The waters of the smaller streams are arrested by dams (*chhu-lon*), and conducted with considerable skill and care from terrace to terrace, and from field to field. I was particularly struck with the laborious irrigation bestowed upon the rich lands of Sáspul, and with the bold ingenuity displayed in the aqueducts of Kambo and Hardas. The former is a small village on the left bank of the Purik river (the Waká-chu). The latter is on the left bank of the Drás river. The Kambo aqueduct is only about one mile in length, but the Hardas aqueduct is nearly three miles long. These canals, which are conducted several hundred feet above the villages, are mostly built up with a retaining wall, and puddled with clay to hold the water. In a few places the rock itself was excavated to form a passage for the water, but in other places, where the hill was too precipitous, or the rock was too hard, the water was passed along hollow poplar and willow trunks, which were supported by uprights standing on ledges of the rock, or on huge pegs driven into its crevices.

804 The land in Ladák is all measured by the *Khál*, or

* *Lúd*, dung. Cow-dung is called *gYag-lChi* or *Ba-lChi*.

2: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Bhára-khál-kyi,* which is a field that requires one khál of seed. The produce is likewise reckoned in kháls. This word khál means simply a load or burden of any kind, and is apparently the same as the Indian *khára*, or *khári*, which is a measure of twenty bháras; while the *kharika* is that sized field which requires a *khári* of seed. In the Hindu Himálayas, a *bharao* (bharava†) is that sized field which requires a *bhára* of seed. Thus, in each country the estimate is made according to the most usual means of transport. In Tibet and in the Botiyan Himálayas, where sheep are almost the only means of transport, all estimates are made in the khál, or *luk-khál*, that is, a sheep's load of from 12 to 16 seers each (24 to 32 lb.). In the Hindu Himálayas, where men or women carry everything, all measures are reckoned in the *bharao*, or man's load (*bhára*) of 32 seers (64 lb.). In the plains of India, where *gáris*, or carts, are used, the reckoning is made by the *khári*, which is a load of 20 *bháras*, equal to 12 or 15 cwt.

When the term *khál* is used alone, a sheep's load is always intended, for all other loads are distinguished by a prefix, as *Yák-khál*, an "ox-load;" *Ta-khál*, a "horse-load." The common khál, or sheep's load, is equal to 5 battis of 2½ seers or 5 lb. each, or 8 battis of 2 seers or 4 lb. each, or just about half a bushel; and as in England the usual quantity of seed per acre is about two bushels, or one cwt., the size of a khál of land will be equal to a quarter of an acre, or one rood. But as the seed is much more broadly sown in Ladák than in

* *Khál* or *Bhára-khál-kyi*. The occurrence of *bh* shows that *Bhára* is a word of Indian origin. *Khál-kBo* is a "khál measure."

† *Bhárava*, from *Bhára*, a load.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

804 England, I should estimate the khál of land at about one-third of an English acre, or even more.

241 The seed is sown in May, and the crops are cut in September, before the first fall of snow. On the 16th of September, 1846, on the bank of the Tshomoriri lake, at an elevation of 15,000 feet, I found the Lamas of the Korzo Gonpa (monastery) cutting a field of unripe barley. The sky was very cloudy and threatening, especially to the southward, and the poor Lamas expected snow, which, if it fell upon the standing crop, would, they said, destroy it. The crop was all cut by the evening, and removed, and the next day it snowed without intermission for twenty-four hours. The crops are either pulled up by the roots or cut close to the roots, with a *zorpa*, or sickle, to get as much straw as possible for the winter fodder of the cattle. When cut, it is generally spread out on the ground to ripen and dry, but occasionally it is loosely bound in sheaves.* The return varies according to the quality of the soil and the quantity of manure. In Drás, Moorcroft heard that it was "about twenty for one;" but according to my informants, the best lands in Ladák Proper, at Sabu, near Lé, and at Sakté, in the Chimra valley, do not yield more than ten-fold; while the poorer lands give a return of only five or six-fold, or on an average eight-fold. But the richer lands, in the Suru valley, and on the Waká and Drás rivers, which enjoy a milder climate and a moister atmosphere, generally yield from ten to fifteen-fold. The average return for the whole of Ladák may therefore be estimated at about ten-fold, or perhaps less.

Two ears of bearded barley from Lé gave a return of

* A sheaf is called *Chkwa-po*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fifty grains each, and the same number of ears of 241
beardless barley, from the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, gave a return of forty-five grains each. Moorcroft, however, mentions that the Hasora wheat grown in Ladák yields from forty to seventy grains in each ear.* From these statements it is clear that not more than one-fourth of the seed can germinate. Much of it is, no doubt, eaten by the vast flocks of pigeons and chakors, which abound in Ladák; but the greater proportion, perhaps, rots. Many of the young plants must be [132]
destroyed by the night frost; for in most of the districts of Ladák it freezes almost every night, even during the month of June.

The total produce of Ladák may be ascertained approximately in the following manner. In 1847 I obtained the census and other statistical details of 142 villages in the different districts of Ladák, containing 1,890 houses, with 20,815 *kháls* of cultivable land, or just 11 *kháls* per house. As the total number of landed or paying houses† in Ladák is 18,000, the whole amount of cultivable land throughout the country may be reckoned at 198,000 kháls, or about 66,000 acres. Each khál requires 16 seers of seed, and yields about ten-fold. The total available produce for food is therefore only nine-fold, or about 28,512,000 seers, equal to 1,000,000 bushels, which, with the former population of 165,000, would not give more than 7 chittaks (14 oz.) of food to each person daily, while the average consumption is at least 8 chittaks (1 lb.). The deficiency is about 24 seers [435]
for each person; which, at the rate of 16 seers per

* Travels, I. p. 275.

† In Ladák no houses are taxed except those which have lands attached to them.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854. AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 rupee,* would entail an annual outlay of Rs. 1. 8 a.
[435] (about 3s.), or a total importation of Rs. 2,47,500 worth of grain. This sum, divided over the whole adult male population of about 40,000, shows an annual expenditure of six rupees per man; or, if divided amongst the whole number of 24,000 houses, about ten rupees per house.
439 This sum was defrayed entirely by the profits of the carrying trade, of which the Ladákis have an entire monopoly between Yarkand and Kashmir.

241 With the present population of 125,000 people, the land would yield fully enough for home consumption, or 9 chittaks (1 lb. 2 oz.) daily for each person; but scarcely more than three-fourths of the lands are now under cultivation. The present annual produce is, therefore, not more than twenty-two millions of seers, or somewhat less than 800,000 bushels, which will yield only 7¾ chittaks (15½ oz.) of food for each person daily. The deficiency is half an ounce daily for each individual, or about 5½ seers annually, equal to 5½ annas (about 9d.). The whole annual importation is, therefore, only 687,500 seers, in value about Rs. 43,000. This sum divided over the whole adult male population of 30,000 persons, shows an annual expenditure of Rs. 1. 6 a., or if divided over the 18,000 houses, about Rs. 2. 6 a. 2 p. per house.

There is a curious custom in Ladák, which has a counterpart in the *arwan* of India and the *neck* of England. At every harvest the farmer selects a small bundle of the finest ears of barley, which he fastens round

* This was the rate in Lahul in 1846, and at Lé in 1847; but in the grain-growing districts I was informed that wheat was sold at thirty-two seers, and even at thirty-six seers per rupee. The individual expense of each family or house was therefore perhaps not more than half of the sum stated above.

1: Cunningham. G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the neck of a pillar in the largest room of his house. At Gya, I was told that the first cuttings were thus dedicated on the occasion of every harvest. Moorcroft* was informed that it was the custom "to consecrate the two or three first handfuls of each year's crop to a spirit who presides over agriculture." The necks of pillars would appear to have been the usual in-door place for the deposit of votive offerings of every kind; for Captain Turner,† when leaving *Tashi-Lhunpo*, bound a white scarf round the capitals of each of the four columns of the apartment which he occupied. He did this "in conformity with the custom of those regions." At Lé, Moorcroft saw ears of wheat: at Gya, Bazgo, and Sáspul, I noticed only ears of barley. Perhaps different places may have different customs, as wheat is used in England and barley in India for the same purpose; but as no wheat is grown at Gya, the use of barley was there a matter of necessity. In India, the first cuttings of barley (*arwan*) are brought home to be eaten by the family, and presented to the houshold gods and Brahmins. The grain is mixed with milk and sugar, and tasted seven times by each member of the family. The festivity of the season is proverbial.‡

Phula, phula, kyun phiré? Ghar Arwan áya.
Jhuka, jhuka, kyun phiré? Piyáda áya.

Why so very, very glad?
Because it's harvest-home.
Why so very, very sad?
The collector 's come.

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* Travels, I. p. 318. † Turner's Tibet, p. 329.

‡ Sir H. M. Elliot's Glossary. Every page of this valuable work teems with most interesting information regarding the history of India, and the manners and customs of its people.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 In Devonshire, the "neck" consists of the finest ears of wheat, which are selected and tied up in a small sheaf by some old man, who stands in the midst of the reapers holding the "neck" with both hands. It is possible that the name may be derived from the sheaf having once been carried home and fastened round the neck of a pillar or wooden post, as in Ladák.

In Scotland, the farmers have a custom similar to one which prevails amongst the Botis of Spiti, Hangorang, and Kanáwar. The Scotch farmer weaves the first-cut corn into a threefold plait, which he places over his chimney-piece until the next harvest. The Boti peasant fixes three or more ears of barley outside his own door, and makes a votive offering of three or five, or some odd number of ears to his native divinity in the village *Thákúrdwára.**

241 782

000 All these various customs would seem to have a common origin in the celebration of the harvest season, which in every country has been a time of rejoicing. The *adwan* and *juri* of the Hindus and the harvest-home of the English are similar to the private *ambarvalia* of the Romans. So also the votive offerings of the Tibetans were consecrated for the same object as the *lustratio* of the Romans. The former offered his first cuttings of corn with a prayer for a plentiful harvest, the latter performed their lustrations (ambarvalia) immediately before the sickle was put to the corn, to obtain the blessing of the gods on the fields which were thus lustrated.

* Gerard's Kanáwar, p. 98, and Capt. J. D. Cunningham's Notes on Moorcroft and Gerard, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. xiii. p. 246.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—MINERAL PRODUCTIONS.

The mineral productions of Ladák are more interesting to the geologist than important to the economist. The most striking geological features, and the principal localities of some of the prevailing rocks, have already been noticed in my description of the mountains: but the more useful minerals still remain to be mentioned. 135

Slate.—"The use of slates,"* says McCulloch, "is entirely European. From the Hellespont to China there is not a single slated house." This statement is correct, as far as my observation goes in the *plains* of India, where slates cannot be procured, but in the *hills* the use of slates is very common. The best slates that I have seen are those of the clay-slate formation, in the *Dhaola-Dhar* range, between Kangra and Chamba. There are quarries on both sides of the range. The roof of the great temple at *Mahila*, on the Rávi, is roofed with large slates, which are nailed to the planking in the usual manner. On the south sides of the range, the use of slates is universal. All the houses in the large towns of Kangra, Tira, and Jwála-Mukhi, are roofed with slates of a very fine description. All the temples, and many of the houses in the districts around Simla, are also roofed with slates, but of an inferior kind. In Mandi and Kullu, however, the mica-slate formation yields very large thin slates of an excellent description. In Láhul and Ladák the clay and mica schists could be split into slates of a smaller size; but the extreme scarcity of timber prevents the construction of large rooms, and for small ones the people find that flat roofs are the simplest and the most commodious.

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary, art. SLATE.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 *Lime.*—The most prevalent rock in Ladák is limestone. In Spiti, the whole formation is of this rock, excepting near Losar, where it changes into clay slate. It forms the range that divides Rukchu from Zanskar, and again changes into clay slate near the junction of the Sum-gyel rivers.

It pervades Zanskar, and is found on both banks of the Indus; in the Photo Lá and Hánu passes. It occurs at both ends of the Pangkong lake, and extends from Sassar to the crest of the Kárákoram range. Not-
[333] withstanding this general prevalence of the rock, the scarcity of wood is so great that none but the wealthy can afford to use lime mortar in their houses.

Marble.—For ornamental purposes none of the Ladáki limestones that I have seen would be considered of any value;* but the fossiliferous limestone of Kashmir takes a very high polish, and the splendid pillars of the Shálimar are the only beautiful things now remaining in that once celebrated garden.

Gypsum.—This useful mineral is found at the sulphur-mines, on the banks of the Puga rivulet, either in pure white flakes regularly disposed, or in a compact rock, with crystals of sulphur attached to it, and thin veins of nearly pure sulphur desseminated through it. It occurs also on the right bank of the Spiti river, below Losar, at the celebrated cave of Amaranáth, in Kashmir, and on the banks of the Shigar river, in Balti.† No use whatever is made of it by the people.

Clay.—Extensive deposits of the finest clays of all

* Mir Izzet Ullah, however, mentions a striped marble-like Sulimáni stone as occurring in the bed of the Shayok river, between Chong-Ulang and Dong-Bailák.—Quart. Orient. Magazine, 1825, p. 113.

† See Vigne's map for Gypsum.

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 colours are found throughout Ladák. They are all lacustrine formations, and are seen adhering to the sides of ravines, and attached to steep cliffs that have once been washed by the great rivers. In the gap between the monastery of Pitak and the end of the granite range, to the west of Lé, there is an immense mass of indurated clay, disposed in horizontal layers of different shades, but chiefly of a pale yellow and light lavender colour. Beyond Pitak the same clay strata occur again in a recess of the hills on the right bank of the Indus. But the most remarkable deposits of clay are immediately below Lama-Yúrrú, where a pale straw-coloured clay is seen in all places in the bed of the stream, in small patches on the summits of detached rocks, and in large masses overlying the slate to a height of at least one thousand feet above the present bed of the stream.* A similar coloured clay occurs in a ravine of the Yunam river, just above the Yunam lake. At different places in the Nubra valley, Dr. Thomson observed similar deposits of bluish-coloured clay; and near Skardo he found one containing fossil remains of Planorbis and Succinea. Near Rámu-Serai, in Kashmir, I found beds of highly indurated clay, mixed with boulders, which rose to a height of 150 feet above the plain. This lacustrine formation would alone prove the existence of a vast lake, that once covered the whole valley of Kashmir to a depth of about 200 feet.

Steatite was found by Vigne on the banks of the Drás

173 * The Lamas of this place have a tradition that a lake formerly existed on the spot, that the rock was cut through by Naropa, a Lama from Briguing, near Lhasa, and that the present monastery of Yung Dung Gonpa was built by him. *Lámá Yúrrú* is the Kashmirian name of the place. All clays are called *rDas-ma*.

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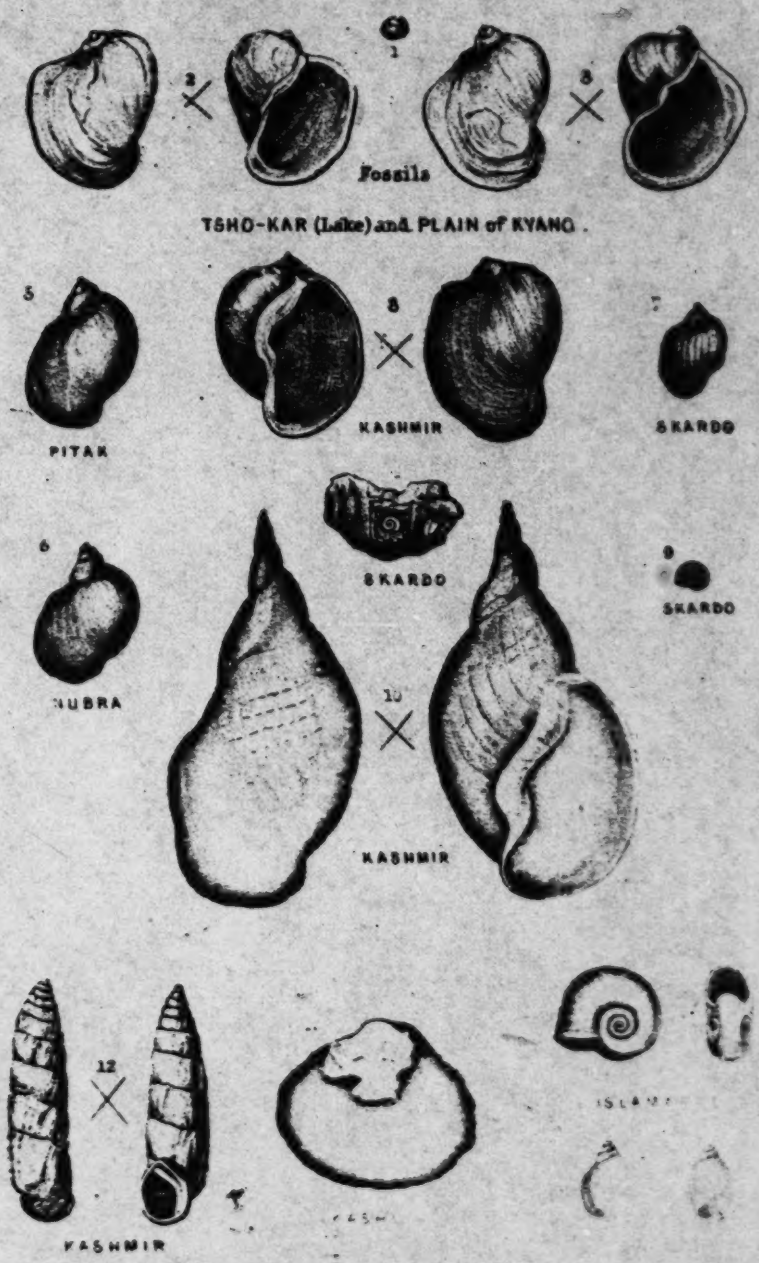
EXTINCT and EXISTING SHELLS.
from Ladak, Balti, and Kashmir.



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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

135 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and
316 of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely
173 carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo.
[776] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is
[784] prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than those of any other part of the river. But the gold of
[136] the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

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marmots (*Arctomys*) and rat-hares (*Lagonys*) of Tibet, /135
which in making burrows "throw up the earth wherein /173
the ore is contained, from which the Indians extract /136
gold." On the plains along the banks of the Indus and Shayok, the marmots still throw up the earth mixed with gold-dust, from which the Indians of Balti occasionally extract a few grains of gold. Megasthenes confesses that he had not seen the animals themselves, but only their skins, which had been brought by the Macedonian soldiers into Alexander's camp. The skin of the marmot is the commonest of all the furs now brought to India.* Its Tibetan name is *Phyi-pa* or *Chipa* (or *Chupa*), which was probably confounded by Alexander's soldiers with the Indian *Chúntá*, the name of the large ant; or *Phyi-pa* may have been confounded by the Indians themselves with *Pippilaka*, the Sanscrit and Bengali name of the large ant.†

The same story of the ants as big as foxes is told by Herodotus; and Professor H. H. Wilson‡ has aptly illustrated it by a passage from the Mahábhárata, which relates that "the people who dwell under the pleasant shade of the *Kichaka-venus* (a kind of willow) and along the Sailodá river, between the Meru and Mandara mountains, the Khasas, Prádaras, Páradas, Ekásanas, Arkas, Kulindas, Tanganas, and Paratanganas, brought to Yudhishthira lumps of gold, a *drona* (64 lb.) in weight, of the sort called *paippílika*, "or ant gold," which was so called because it was exfodiated by the

* The same holds good to the eastward, for Mr. Hodgson says, "In the extensive peltry trade carried on between Nepál and Tibet, no skin is more commonly met with than that of the marmot."—Journal As. Soc. Bengal, X. p. 777.

† *Phyi-pa*, commonly pronounced *Chi-pa*.

‡ Journal Roy. As. Soc. VII. p. 143.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

135 *pippílaka*, or common large ant." This belief, however
136 erroneous, as the learned professor observes, was neither
173 extravagant nor irrational. A yet earlier mention of the gold of Alpine India is that of Ctesias; but he distinctly states that it was not obtained by washing, as in the river Pactolus.* Gold is called *Ser*, gold-dust *Ser-dul*, and the gold-washer *Ser-pa*. This name I believe to have been the origin of the classical *Seres*. In Tibetan
[103] *Serki-yul* means the "gold country;" and as the affix *yul* can be omitted at pleasure, the names of Serki and Serika are almost identical.†

135 *Copper.*—According to Moorcroft, "some copper-mines are said to have been discovered towards Kashmir."‡ This statement is probably correct, as Jacquemont found copper ore in the Lidar valley, on the south-west side of the range which divides Kashmir from the Ladáki district of Suru. If any trust can be put in a name, I should suppose that copper (*zangs*) had been found in *Zangskar*, but I could not learn that it had been discovered there.

Lead and *Iron* are, according to Moorcroft, found in pits in the mountain districts remote from Lé.

Plumbago is found in Balti; but the specimens which I procured are of an inferior description. They are gritty, and will not mark paper without scratching; but as they were most probably taken from the long-exposed surface, good black lead may still perhaps be found in the same place.

Sulphur, called *Muzi*, is obtained only at Puga, in

* Fragments of Ctesias by Lion. Indica, XII. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ χώρᾳ, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς εὑρισκόμενος καὶ πλυνόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Πακτωλῷ ποταμῷ.

† *gSer*, gold; *gSer-rDul*, gold dust. ‡ Travels, 1. p. 313.

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Ladák; but the sulphur of Chang-thang is so easily 135
obtainable, that the Puga mine is almost neglected. The bed of the small rivulet Rulang-chu, which traverses the glen of Puga, is full of hot springs, varying in temperature from 80° to 148°. The hottest springs are strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The sulphur itself is found on the left bank of the rivulet, where a small hole has gradually been excavated by the shepherds. It occurs in pure transparent crystals attached to the gypsum, or in thin opaque laminæ disseminated through the rock. The quantity exported is [439]
very small, but I was informed by the shepherds that as much as 100 small maunds (of 16 seers each) are sometimes mined. In 1847 I saw twelve sheep-loads (or twelve maunds) of sulphur that had been taken from this mine; but I feel satisfied that the average quantity of sulphur annually mined cannot be more than fifty maunds, and is probably much less. No duty is taken at the mine; [651]
and the export duty, which is only a quarter of a rupee per maund, can often be evaded.

Borax, in Tibetan *Tshalé*, is thrown up in the form of boracic acid by the hot springs of lowest temperature in the valley of Puga. The banks of the rivulet, for about two miles in length, are quite white with the saline matters that are continually being precipitated. These salts are chloride of soda and borate of soda. They are carefully scraped from the surface, as the under-coating is only the refuse of former years. Those of a faint pinkish hue, inclining occasionally to green, are preferred; but these colours entirely disappear as the salts become dry. This impure mixture is the tincal of commerce, from which the borax (borate of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetam AJ4

135 soda) is obtained in India in the shape of crystals, by solution and evaporation.

Soda.—The banks of the Thogji Chanmo lake, in Rukchu, are incrusted with masses of saline matter; and in passing round its southern end, the crisp, hardened surface of salt yields and crackles beneath the feet of the traveller. The lake is commonly called *Tsho-kar*, or the White Lake, by the Botis, and *Khaori Talao*, or Salt Lake, by the Hindus of Bisahar, Chamba, and Kullu. The salt is natron, or sub-carbonate of soda. No use is made of it.

Magnesia.—The salts deposited on the banks of the great Tshomoriri lake are common salt and muriate (hydrochlorate) of magnesia. These salts do not occur in any great heaps, like those on the Tsho-kar; but as the Tshomoriri lake is sixteen miles in length, a considerable quantity might no doubt be obtained annually along its forty miles of shore.

Salt, in Tibetan *Tshá*, is found on the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, in combination with the magnesia. I was informed that no use whatever was made of it, as rock sâlt (from Lahor) was procurable without difficulty.

Garnets of an inferior description, and of a dark brown colour, were found at Puga by Dr. Thomson in a coarse grit stone rock. The natives were not aware of their existence.

Momiai, a mineral substance of a dirty brownish-black colour, is found in Balti. It has a strong unpleasant smell, and it burns with a thick black smoke, leaving a considerable quantity of dark-coloured ashes. It is probably petroleum, the quantity of ash perhaps

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arising from the admixture of some foreign substance, 135
employed either to collect or to solidify the native liquid. The common *momiai* of Indian medicine is of course a manufactured article; although not made, as generally asserted, of the melted fat of Abyssinian boys, who have been roasted for the purpose. The *momiai* of Balti is said to be a natural product. The original *momiai* was only mummy,* which, at one time, was held in much repute, even in Europe.

* The name of *Momiai* مومیاي is derived from *Momia* مومیا, or Mummy.

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IX.—COMMERCE.

I.—HOME TRADE.

438 286 THE artificial productions of Ladák are confined to the manufacture of blankets and coarse woollens, chiefly for home consumption, and of black mohair tents, made from the hair of the yák or grunting ox, which form the only habitations of the nomadic population. Both blanketing and sacking can be purchased in Lé, the former only in small quantities, the latter in almost any quantity, as there is a constant demand for it for bags for the conveyance of goods. The blanketing is manufactured in pieces one foot wide and eleven to fifteen yards in length. The price varies from two to three [438] rupees each, according to fineness. The quantity of blanketing and of sacking annually expended in Ladák on the carrying trade amounts to about 120,000 yards, in the manufacture of which 20,000 small maunds (or 640,000 lb.) of wool are consumed. The total value of the manufacture is only Rs. 7,500 or £750.

II.—FOREIGN TRADE.

439 The foreign trade of the country, in home produce, is confined to four natural productions,—wool, borax,

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sulphur, and dried fruits, of which only the first is of 439
any consequence, and even that is not of sufficient importance to deserve more than a slight notice.

Wool, in Tibetan *Bal*, is the chief product of Ladák. It is of two kinds: goat-wool, or *Le-na*, which is used for shawls, and sheep-wool, or *Bal*, which is used for blanketing and coarse clothing, and for stuffing pillows and bedding.

The quantity of home-produced shawl-wool annually exported from Ladák averages 2,400 small maunds, or 76,800 lb. The value in Ladák is the same amount in rupees (Rs. 76,800), at the rate of two rupees per seer. The shawl-wool is exported to Kashmir, Nurpur, Amritsar, and Rampur.

The commoner sheep-wool is produced in much greater quantities, and the general amount of export (5,000 maunds) more than doubles that of the finer wool. The value at eight seers per rupee is only 2,000 rupees.

Borax.—The borax and sulphur-mines are found /35
together at an uninhabited spot named Puga, on the Rulang-chu, a small stream which is full of hot springs, and which joins the Indus on its left bank, miles above Lé. Puga stands in N. latitude 33° 12′, and E. longitude 78° 16′, at an elevation of 15,264 feet above the sea. The borax is ejected in the bed of the stream by the numerous hot springs at various temperatures, from 80° upwards. The salt (borate of soda) is found along both banks of the rivulet for about two miles, in conjunction with chloride of soda. It is in a damp state, owing to the vapours emitted by the hot springs. In collecting the borax, the surface of the salt, which is [316]
generally of a light pink creamy hue (sometimes in-

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135 clining to green), is carefully scraped and collected in
316 bags. When dry, it is of a dull white colour. In this
439 state it is collected by the shepherds, who pasture their flocks on the rich summer grass of the plains of Rukchu. The quantity of this borax annually exported is stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb.; the value, at the rate of sixteen seers per rupee, being only Rs. 500.

Sulphur.—The Puga sulphur-mine is situated at a short distance from the stream, at the foot of a gypsum cliff. The mineral occurs chiefly in the form of thin laminæ disseminated throughout the rock; but in all the fissures there are numerous detached crystals, quite transparent and of all sizes, from that of a grain of sand to one-eighth of an inch. In detaching the sulphur, the crystals are mostly reduced to powder and partially mixed with the gypsum rock; and in this state it is carried to the markets of Nurpur, Kangra, and Rampur. The vague statements of the shepherds make the annual supply about 500 maunds, or 3,200 lb., but I should think that it rarely amounted even to one-half of that quantity.

439 *Dried Fruits.*—These consist of apricots and small
243 seedless raisins (commonly called currants). I have no means of making even a guess at the amount of this export, but the quantity must be considerable. I never found a single trader or shepherd without numerous bags of them; and I have procured them in all the bazaars in the hill states from Kashmir to Kangra and Simla. In the Simla bazaar they are sold at from two to two and a half seers per rupee.

The whole value of the foreign trade of Ladák, in home produce, does not exceed Rs. 80,000 or £8,000.

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III.—FOREIGN TRADE IN FOREIGN PRODUCE.

The chief source of wealth in Ladák is the carrying-trade, or transport of foreign produce from one country to another through its own territories. This trade it owes entirely to its centrical situation between Kashmir and India on the south, and the Chinese provinces of Yarkand, Kotan, and Káshgár on the north. It is the entrepôt between Kashmir, where the shawls are manufactured, and the Chinese provinces of Ruthog and Chang-Thang, where the shawl-wool is produced. It supplies north-western India with tea, shawls, wool, and borax; and the Musalmán provinces of China with opium, saffron, brocades, and shawls. These are the staples of the trade through Ladák, but the number of smaller articles that are interchanged is very great, and as the detail may be interesting, I subjoin a list which I prepared at Lé from the accounts of the Yarkandi and Kashmiri merchants. Many of them are quack medicines of very doubtful properties; but the most curious items are undoubtedly the export of sugar to Yarkand, and its after-import in the shape of sugar-candy. The *Gur*, or coarse sugar, of Kashmir is carried a long journey of two months and a half to Yarkand, where it is refined and crystallized: and the sugar-candy is again carried over the same long journey back to Ladák and Kashmir. The Yarkandi sugar-candy is certainly very white; but it is surpassed in colourless transparency by that of Bikaner.

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List of Chinese articles brought to India.

Shawl-wool from Chang-Thang and Ruthog.
Charas or Bang, an intoxicating extract of hemp.

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439 *Silver* in bars or ingots, called *Kuru* and *Yámbu*.*
Felts of various kinds.
Sukláť, a kind of camlet made of camel's hair.
Tea, both green and black.
Sugar-candy.
Russia Leather, called Bulgár.
Sable-skins, called Kúndúz.
Gáma, or black leather.
Kimsan, or golden-coloured leather, about eight inches wide.
Ságri, or green leather.
Láka, a peculiar cloth made of hemp-bark.
Velvets, both coarse and fine.
Mashru, or coarse silk cloths of three kinds—
1. Bádsháhi.
2. Alchinbar, made at Alchi or Ilitsi.
3. Kotani, made at Kotan.
Siling, a soft and fine silky woollen of two kinds—
1. Shirún, and 2. Gorún.
Parcha Samsún, coarse cotton cloths.
Parcha Zukh, ditto ditto.
Silk, both raw and manufactured.
Gold.
Gold thread, called Zirri, both genuine and false.
Silver.
Silver thread.
Turquoises, from Persia, through Bokhára.
Carpets, from Kotan.
Rewand-Chini, or rhubarb.†
Chob-Chini, or China-root.
Gol-i-Dál-Chini.
Zedaary, Nirbisi from Nepál.
Coral, Múnga.
Musk, Mushkanáfa.
Tobacco.
Raisins.
Pistachio Nuts, Pista.
Soap.

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* *Kuru* is the Turki name; the Tibetans call them *Yam-bu*.

† Dr. O'Brien informs me that China-root is much used as an excellent substitute for sarsaparilla. Dr. O'Shaughnessy states that it is largely imported into Calcutta from the eastward.—See the Bengal Dispensatory, p. 645.

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Bádián-khitai, Chinese aniseed, which is bruised and put into tea.
Mamira, a yellow root said to be a cure for bad eyes.
Galer-patthar (neck-stone), good for swollen necks.
Mulhatti, liquorice-root, used for coughs.
Daryáhi.
Ponies.
Salt, from the lakes of Chang-Thang.

List of Indian articles carried to Yarkand.

Láki, goat-skins dyed red, from Nurpur.
Cottons, flowered (chicken).
Ditto, coarse (ghára).
Ditto, thin (gaji).
Chintzes of all kinds.
Silk, *lungi* of Multán.
Shawls, mostly coarse.
Jámiwár, or shawl-cloth figured in breadths.
Brocades, mostly coarse.
Turbans.
Opium.
Indigo.
Heron-plumes, Kalgi, generally made of the feathers of the jungul fowl.
Shoes, from Nurpur.
Pearls of all sizes up to one hundred rupees each.
Otter-skins.
Turmeric.
Cardamums.
Ginger.
Cloves.
Black Pepper.
Honey.
Tamarinds, dry.
Shérbet, lemon.
Coarse Sugar, Gúr.
Narcachor, the root of a reed, used both as a scent and as a medicine. It is the common *Narkat* or *Nalkand* (Curcuma Zerumbet).*

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* In Hindustáni نرکٹ, नर्कट, *Narkat*; in Sanskrit नलकाण्ड or नलकांड, *Nala kánda*, or river-reed. It is plentiful in the Sindh at

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Túrbad, Convolvulus Turpethum, or Turbith, a purgative root.
Hábilistan.
Khurma or *Chhuhára*, dates.
Salt.

CHINESE IMPORTS FOR INDIA.

Shawl-wool.—The principal article of Ladáki trade between the Chinese provinces and India is shawl-wool, of which about 3,200 maunds are annually sold to the Kashmiris, and an equal quantity to the traders of Nurpur, Rampur, Amritsar, and Ludiana. Of this, some 2,400 maunds are the produce of the country, and the remainder, amounting to 4,000 maunds, or 128,000 lb., is obtained from Chang-Thang and Ruthog. As the average value of shawl-wool in Ladák is 2 rupees per seer, or 1 rupee per lb., the total value of the annual import of shawl-wool is Rs. 1,28,000, or £12,800. The whole is again exported.

Sheep's wool is imported only in small quantities, as the country itself supplies more wool than it consumes. About 1,000 maunds are said to be brought annually from Ruthog, of which the value in Ladák, at the rate of 8 seers per rupee, is only Rs. 500. It is all exported again.

Charas, or Bang, is brought from Yarkand. About 500 maunds are imported annually, at the average price of three rupees per seer. The whole value of this article is therefore Rs. 24,000, or £2,400. About 300 maunds of charas are consumed in Ladák, and the remaining 200 maunds are exported to the neighbouring countries.

Tobacco is imported largely from Yarkand, the annual supply being stated at 4,000 maunds, or 128,000 lb., of

Narwar or Nalwar; and it is possible that the name may have been derived from this celebrated fort.

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which the whole is consumed in the country. This amount allows one pound for each individual, which is somewhat more than the quantity annually consumed in England:* which in 1842 was twenty-two millions of pounds, amongst twenty-eight millions of population, or three-quarters of a pound each. This difference arises no doubt from the difference of habits, as the use of tobacco is only partial in England, while in Ladák it is universal. The average price of tobacco at Lé is one rupee per seer, and the value of the whole import is Rs. 64,000, or £6,400. Small quantities of tobacco are also imported from Bisahar and Kashmir, but I could not ascertain the amount. 439

Borax is imported from Chang-Thang, to the amount of 2,500 maunds, or 80,000 lb., annually. Its price in Chang-Thang is one rupee for four maunds, or sixty-four seers. In Ladák it averages about thirty-two seers per rupee; and in the lower hill bazaars it is sold at sixteen seers per rupee, in its original impure state. The total value of the import is Rs. 1,500, or £150.

Sulphur is also imported from Chang-Thang; but the quantity is small, not exceeding 400 maunds, or 12,800 lb. Its price is usually one anna per seer, and the whole value of the import only Rs. 400, or £40.

Opium is the chief article of trade between India and China, through Ladák, as it is between India and China generally. The annual supply was stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb., which, at the average rate of fifteen rupees per seer, amounts to Rs. 1,20,000, or £12,000 worth. The stated quantity is most probably less than the truth, as the total amount of opium that was destroyed at Yarkand in 1840, after the imperial edict of 1839, is

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

439 said to have been worth one lac of *kurus*, equal to Rs. 166,00,000, or £1,660,000! This vastly exaggerated amount, which was repeated by several people, was most probably the round sum total of all the confiscated opium throughout the Chinese empire,* although my simple informants fully believed that this enormous quantity had been destroyed at Yarkand alone. The imperial edict is now as little respected on the western frontiers as it is on the eastern sea-coasts; from which politicians may learn how vain and useless is the attempt to thwart the wishes of a whole people. The drug produced in our hill states is of a superior quality, and as it is much prized by the Chinese, the land trade in opium is yearly on the increase.

Shawls of inferior descriptions are taken to Yarkand in considerable numbers. The finest shawls, such as we see in India and in England, are only manufactured to order; but the commoner shawls of coarser material and large patterns are preferred in the Yarkand market, on account of their cheapness. Their prices range from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 per pair: the average being about Rs. 100. The number of shawls annually exported amounts probably to 500 pairs: but this number is only an average of the widely different statements of the merchants—some of whom said 200 pairs, and others

* The value of the Opium destroyed may be thus stated—

Indian Opium,	20,000 chests, at Rs. 625 each =	£1,250,000
Turkish Opium,	1,000 chests, at Rs. 800 each =	80,000
		£1,330,000

This sum is equal to more than 80,000 *kurus*, and might, with the additional value of the Ladáki opium, be commonly stated in round numbers at one lac (100,000) of *kurus*.

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1,000. The value of 500 pairs of shawls is about Rs. 50,000, or £5,000. 439

Brocades are another article regarding which I found great difficulty in obtaining any definite information. The commoner kinds, ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 each, are preferred for the Yarkand market. Perhaps about 400 may be exported annually, which at an average price of Rs. 100 each, are worth Rs. 20,000, or £2,000.

Láki, or skins of red leather.—These are goat-skins tanned and coloured at Nurpur. There is a great demand for them all over the hills, but more particularly in Ladák and Yarkand, where bright-coloured leathers are generally employed in the manufacture of boots, and of bridles and trappings of horses. About 200 maunds, or sheep-loads (6,400 lb. weight) of these skins are said to be annually imported into Ladák; which at the mean rate of one pound per skin, and of one rupee each, are worth Rs. 6,400, or £640. Half of this quantity (100 maunds), or 3,200 skins, worth Rs. 3,200, or £320, are exported to Yarkand. [282]

Spices to the value of about Rs. 1,000, or £100, are said to be annually imported into Ladák, of which the greater part, or Rs. 800 worth, are carried to Yarkand.

Saffron is supplied entirely by Kashmir. The quantity varies; but the usual supply is said to be twenty maunds, or 640 lb.; which, at the rate of forty rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 12,800, or £1,280. The whole is exported to Yarkand.

Cloths of all the coarser sorts, and a considerable number of flowered cottons and bright-coloured chintzes, form an important article of Ladáki trade. The annual amount is about 100 maunds, or 3,200 lb., in value Rs. 10,000, or £1,000. A small quantity is used in

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439 Ladák for the bordering of skull-caps, but the remainder is exported to Yarkand.

Tea is more or less drunk by everybody in Ladák, and a considerable quantity is therefore imported both for home consumption and for the supply of Kashmir and the Punjáb. The gross annual import is said to be 1,000 maunds, or 32,000 lb.; which, at the rate of three rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 9,600. About 200 maunds (6,400 lb.) is exported, leaving only 800 maunds, or 25,600 lb., for the use of the people of Ladák. This will not give more than three ounces to each person; but there is good reason for believing that a considerable quantity of Chinese tea is smuggled into Ladák; and we know that the black tea of Bisahar is now largely imported to be mixed with the Chinese tea. The average supply for each individual cannot therefore be less than half a pound. In England it reaches a pound and a quarter for each person.*

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DUTIES.—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

YARKAND.

On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Charas, per maund	2	4	0
„ Wool	2	4	0
„ Tea	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	8	0

On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Cloths, Láki, &c. per maund ...	0	4	0
„ Opium	0	4	0

No other duties are now taken on exports to Yarkand.

KASHMIR.

On Cloths, per maund	1	0	0
„ Saffron „ ...	3	0	0
„ Brocades, per piece	0	8	0
„ Shawls, per pair	0	8	0
„ Tobacco	0	4	0
„ Ghi	0	4	0

On Wool, per maund	0	8	0
„ Tea, per dama ...	1	0	0
„ Langa and Siling, per piece ...	0	2	0

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

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On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.	On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Sugar-candy ...	1	4	0				
„ Spices	1	4	0				
„ Opium	2	8	0				
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0				

BISAHAR.

On Opium, per maund	1	4	0	On Charas, per maund	0	10	0
„ Spices	0	10	0	„ Gold and Silver, per yámbu ...	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	10	0				
„ Iron	1	0	0				

NURPUR.

On every pony-load ...	3	0	0

ZANSKAR.

On Láki, per maund	2	2	6
„ Ghi	0	4	0
„ Honey	0	2	0
„ Opium	2	8	0
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0

The following tables show the annual amount and value of all the imports and exports of the trade of Ladák, with the total amount of duty levied on each article.

IMPORTS FROM THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Seer.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool	4,000	128,000	2 0 0	1,28,000	12,800	0 8 0	2,000	200
Wool	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 8 0	500	50
Tea	1,000	32,000	3 0 0	48,000	4,800	0 2 0	2,000	200
Charas	500	16,000	3 0 0	24,000	2,400	2 4 0	1,125	112½
Tobacco ..	4,000	128,000	1 0 0	64,000	6,400	0 4 0	1,000	100
Borax	2,500	80,000	0 0 6	1,250	125	0 4 0	625	62½
Sulphur ..	400	12,800	0 1 0	400	40	0 4 0	100	10
Total ..	13,400	428,000		2,67,650	26,765		7,350	735

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IMPORTS FROM THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	2 8 0	1,250	125
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000	0 8 0	250	25
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000	0 8 0	200	20
Láki	200	6,400	32 0 0	6,400	640	2 2 6	431	43
Spices	—	—	—	1,000	100	0 15 0	100	10
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280	3 0 0	60	6
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000	1 0 0	100	10
Total ..	820	26,240		2,20,200	22,020		2,391	239

EXPORTS TO THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool*	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 8 0	1,600	160
Ditto †	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 12 0	2,400	240
Total ..	6,400	204,800		2,04,800	20,480		4,000	400
Wool ‡	5,000	160,000	0 2 0	10,000	1,000	0 2 0	625	62½
Ditto §	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 2 0	125	12½
Total ..	6,000	192,000		12,000	1,200		700	70
Tea	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 4 0	800	80
Charas	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 10 0	125	12½
Borax	3,000	96,000	0 0 6	1,500	150	0 4 0	750	75
Sulphur....	500	16,000	0 1 0	500	50	0 4 0	125	12½
Total ..	16,300	521,600		2,38,000	23,800		6,550	655

* Exported to Kashmir.
† Exported to other places.
‡ Home produce.
§ Imported from Chang Thang.

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EXPORTS TO THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	0 4 0	125	12½
Shawls, pairs	500.	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000			
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000			
Lâki.....	100	3,200	32 0 0	3,200	320	0 4 0	25	2½
Spices	—	—	—	800	80			
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280			
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000			
Total ..	720	23,040		2,16,000	21,600		150	15

TOTALS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

	Value.		Duty.	
	Rupees.	£.	Rupees.	£.
IMPORTS.				
From the Chinese Territories ...	2,67,650	26,765	7,350	735
" Indian " ...	2,20,200	22,020	2,391	239
Total Imports ...	4,87,850	48,785	9,741	974
EXPORTS.				
To the Indian Territories ...	2,38,000	23,800	6,550	655
" Chinese " ...	2,16,000	21,600	150	15
Total Exports ...	4,54,000	45,400	6,700	670

The total amount of duties thus collected is Rs. 16,441. This, with the addition of other small duties on Chinese silks, salt, iron, and copper vessels, will amount to about Rs. 18,000, which was the acknowledged amount

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439 of the duties collected in Ladák both before and after
651 Gulab Sing's conquest. I have therefore some reason to believe in the general accuracy of the statements which I received from the merchants, although perhaps
000 not one of them may be strictly correct. Statistical questions are particularly puzzling to ignorant men, who are unaccustomed to deal with large numbers, and when they get beyond hundreds begin to talk of lacs. I found too, that the statements of the Kashmiris were generally false, and I believe wilfully so; at least the returns which they gave me of the numbers of people and *kháls* of land in the different villages of Drás, were undoubtedly manufactured for the occasion. Thus every house had exactly one man, one woman, and one boy, and every village possessed exactly three *kháls* of land. But the mis-statements of the Botis arose, I believe, generally from ignorance, as I never could find any obviously manufactured statistics, like those of the Kashmiris. I have already noticed the close agreement between the sum of my detailed accounts of the import and export duties, and the gross amount of Rs. 18,000, which was universally said to be the total amount of all the duties collected in Ladák. I will now add another fact that will most probably tend to increase the reliance which the first would induce us to place in the general
439 accuracy of these details. A considerable quantity of silver in ingots, or bars, is annually brought into Ladák by the Yarkandis, thus proving that the value of the merchandise which they import is less than that which they export. Now these details exhibit precisely the same fact, as I will now show.

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IMPORTS FROM YARKAND.

Shawl-wool	Rs. 28,000
Tea	48,000
Charas	24,000
Tobacco	64,000
	164,000
Add ponies, sugar-candy, drugs, skins, turquoises	16,000
	180,000
Exports to Yarkand	216,000
Excess of Exports	Rs. 36,000

This sum is equal to upwards of 216 silver ingots, called *yámbu* and *kuru*, each of which is worth Rs. 166. The fact that Yarkandi bullion is constantly being [651] brought into the Ladák market is further proved by the duty of half a rupee, which is levied on each ingot when it is exported to Bisahar.

All merchandise is called *Tshong*, and the merchants or dealers *Tshong-pa;* as, *Bal-Tshong*, a wool-merchant; *Chhang-Tsho*[illegible] spirit-dealer. Merchants are also called *Do*[illegible] or "Ware-gatherers;" but the usual term is [illegible]*hong-pa*. The chief, or head merchant, is *Tshon*[illegible]*pon*. Any regular gathering of merchants, such as annual meeting at Garo, is called *Tshong-dus*, a fair; and the friendly glass, which is partaken together after the completion of a bargain, is named *Tshong-chhang*, "the mercantile glass."

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

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In Ladák one meets with the coinage, as well as with the merchandise, of all the surrounding countries. The golden *tilás* of Bokhara and Kokand (or Kokan), the sycee silver and pierced copper coins of China, the thin

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436 silver pieces of Nepál, the copper dumps of Bisahar, the almost pure rupees of the Moguls of Delhi, the Nának-sáhi and Govind-sáhi rupees of Ranjit Sing, and the broad rupees of British India, bearing the head of the Queen of England. The only native coin is the silver *Jud*, or *Jao*, which is worth one quarter of a rupee.

The *Tilá* is the common gold coin of the Mahomedan countries, and is worth six rupees in Lé.

The Chinese silver ingot, called *Kuru* by the Yarkandis, and *Yámbu* by the Tibetans, is a plain bar of pure metal, weighing Rs. 156¼. In 1847 it was valued at Rs. 166. These lumps of bullion are often bent in the middle into the shape of a horse-shoe. They are then called *Tá-Mikma*, or horses' hoofs.

The Nepál coins are of silver, each being worth half a rupee, or two *jaos* of Ladák. The coins of several of the Nepál Rajas are still current in Ladák. They consist principally of the currency of the Gorkha chiefs; but a few specimens of the Newár sovereigns are still to be found. One which I obtained belongs to *Jaya Ranajita Malla Deva* of Bhatgaon, and is dated in the year 842 of the Newár era, equivalent to A.D. 1711.

The Mogul rupees have very nearly been superseded by the *Nának-sáhi* and Company's rupee. In Moorcroft's time they would appear to have been plentiful, and more particularly the coinage of Muhammad Shah.* Even in 1839 I found the Mogul coinage prevalent in Kullu, Láhul, and Chamba; where I obtained two rare specimens of the pageant kings *Rafi-ud-Darját* and *Rafi-ud-Daulat*.

The *Jao* or *Jud* of Ladák is coined at Kashmir. It

* See his Travels, I. p. 353, where he mentions the price of Bisahar tea at fifteen Muhammad Sháhi rupees per Pakka maund.

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is a thin irregular-shaped piece of silver, about the size 436
of a shilling, with a Persian inscription on each side. On the centre of the obverse is the name of *Mahmud Shah*, surrounded by a circle of large dots. The inscription on the reverse is difficult to read, but the upper line is certainly *Bután*, which is the Kashmiri name of Ladák. The second, or middle line, is perhaps *Zarb;* and the two together form *Zarb-i-Butan*, "struck in Batan." Below is the word *sanh*, or *sanat*, and a figured date, which looks like 878, but of what era it is impossible to say.* As the coins bear the title of [792]
Mahmud Shah, they cannot date earlier than A.D. 1687, when the Gyalpo of Ladák was nominally converted to Muhammedanism, after the expulsion of the *Sokpos* by the troops of Ibrahim Khan, governor of Kashmir under Aurangzeb. The coins which I possess all bear the same date; and, as they are but little worn on the surface, they cannot have been minted for any great length of time. The date, which I should have expected to find on these coins, is the Hijra year 1099, equivalent to A.D. 1687, which was the year of the Gyalpo's conversion.

The gold coins in use are called *Ser-jao*, or "golden jao," or simply *Ser-ki-dong*, or "golden coins." All coins are called *Dong*, or *Dong-tse*. The silver coins are named *Nul-ki-dong*, or simply *Nuk-dong*, and the copper coins *Zangi-dong*, or *Zang-dong*.† Ready money, or cash, is called *Marba*, or *Markyang*.

The weights of Ladák are the *Batti* and the *Man*, or 804
Maund. The Batti is equal to two Indian seers or

* See Plate XIV. for a sketch of one of these coins.

† *gSer-kyi-Dong*, golden coin; *dNul-kyi-dong*, silver coin; and *Zangs-kyi-dong*, copper coin.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

§04 thirty-two chitaks. The name is no doubt derived from the Hindi word *Battis*, "thirty-two."* Indeed the measure itself, as well as the name, is Indian, and the Ladákis most probably derived it from the neighbouring hill states. The man or maund is equal to eight battis, or sixteen seers, and is therefore the same as the small maund of India.

The only other Ladáki measure with which I am acquainted is the *Khál*. This term has already been explained with reference to the measurement of land, in my account of the vegetable productions. The *Khál*, which is the universal measure for all kinds of heavy produce, but more especially for grain, is of two kinds: the *Dek-khál*, or the "weight khál," and the *Shor-khál*, or "measure khál."† The common *Khál*, whether by weight or measure, is the well-known quantity of a sheep's load, *Luk-khál*, which is equal to eight battis, or one maund of sixteen Indian seers, or thirty-two pounds English.‡ This is usually named simply *khál*, but when the larger measures are mentioned, the prefix is always used, as *Tá-khál*, the "horse khál," which is equal to four maunds, or 128 lb.; and the Yak-khál, which is the same.

* In Hindi बत्तीस.

† *kDegs-khal* and *gShor-khal* or *Pre-bu*.

‡ Trebeck's valuation is the same. See Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 70.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

X.—GOVERNMENT.

I.—NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.—VARIOUS OFFICERS.

THE government of Ladák was formerly a mild [642] despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo.* 643 The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the prime minister, or *Kahlon;* and the king was well 645 satisfied both with his minister and with his subjects, if 175 the former gave him sufficient means† for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure, and if the latter never disturbed his quiet ease with their complaints. The king literally 643 did nothing, except when roused to exertion by some 175 unusual occurrence. His subjects could behold his royal presence only by the presentation of an offering in money, according to their circumstances. But this was a costly pleasure; and the mental abstraction of the Buddhist prince was rarely disturbed by the curiosity, or loyal zeal, of his people. Occasionally an ambitious prince would arise, who (like Singhé Namgyal) retained the whole power in his own hands.

* The ruler was usually called *rGyal-po*, or the emperor; and the queen was called *rGyal-mo*, or the empress. In writing more formality was used, and the ruler was either entitled *rGyal-po-chen-po*, "the great emperor," or he was designated by his own name *Singgé-rNam-rGyal*, "King Singge."

† The prime minister was always the Gyalpo's treasurer, or keeper of the privy purse.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

645 the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power
176 of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the
[97] monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.

000 In Great Tibet the *Kahlons* of the four chief provinces of *Ngári*, *U*, *Tsáng*, and *Khám*, were elected by the civil power in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior *Kahlons*, and all other petty officers of state,
645 were elected by the four chief *Kahlons*. But in Ladák
634 the prime minister's office was almost hereditary; that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal *Kahlons*, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations. The Kahlon of Moorcroft's time was the Kahlon or petty Gyalpo of the Chimra valley; and the power remained in the hands of his family until the final settlement of Zoráwar Sing, at Lé.

622 Many of the principal nobility of Ladák were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a *Gyalpo* in Nubra; another in Gya; a third in Spiti; a fourth in Zanskar; a fifth in Paskyum; a sixth in Soth; a seventh in Suru; and an eighth in Hembabs, or Drás. The chiefs of Paskyum and of Soth distinguished themselves by their protracted resistance on the first invasion of Ladák by Zoráwar Sing.

645 The prime minister was simply styled *Kahlon*, or "the minister," or *Bangki-Kahlon*, "the chief minis-

3t Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ter,"* while his deputy was usually known by the addition of his own name, as *Kahlon-Rigsen*, "minister *Rigsen*," or by prefixing the term *Nono*, as *Nono Kahlon*, "the younger, or deputy minister."† The other Kahlons were distinguished by the names of the districts over which they ruled, as *Kahlon-Bazgo*, "the governor of Bazgo." 645 [634]

The next great officers were the *Lonpos*,‡ or governors of towns, and the *Kharpons*,§ or commanders of forts. The former were distinguished by the names of their respective towns; as *Lé-pon*, "the governor of *Lé*;" *Gar-pon*, "governor of *Garo*." In Lé, also, there were the *Mak-pon*,‖ or "commander-in-chief," and the *Chagsot*,¶ or "lord high treasurer;" the *Shogam-Chagsot*,** or "head collector of taxes;" as well as the *Shakspon*,†† or "chief justice;" and the *Khrimpons*,‡‡ or "magistrates." Lastly there was the *Káká-Tádsi*,§§ or "head master of the horse;" and the *Chagsi-Goba*, or Kotwál, an office equivalent to that of mayor. 632 701

* This is the "Banka khalun" of Moorcroft (I. pp. 238—249). The true title was *dBang-kyi-bKah-bLon* or *Bangki-kahlon*, that is, "the powerful minister."

† *No-no* is the usual term of respect which is used in addressing any young man of the higher ranks, and when prefixed to *Kahlon* it means the younger or deputy minister. Moorcroft (I. pp. 334, 335) gives the term, without the title, as the usual designation of the deputy minister, just as we should say "the deputy" instead of the deputy chairman. *Nono* is also applied to all under-officers, as *Nono-Chagsot*, the "under-treasurer;" *Nono-Shakspon*, the "deputy justiciary."

‡ *bLon-po*, "the manager, arranger, or governor." Moorcroft (I. p. 255) calls him *Lompa*.

§ *mKhar-dPon*, the "fort-chief." ‖ *dMag-dPon*, the "war-chief."

¶ *Phyag-mDzod*, pronounced *Chag-sot*.

** *Shogam*, "a duty, a tax." †† *gShags-dPon*, "justice-chief."

‡‡ *Khrims-dPon*, "law-chief."

§§ *Gá-gá-rTá-rDsi*, "head master of the horse."

622 The inferior officers were the *Mipons*,* or *Gobas*† (that is, literally, the "head men" of the villages), and the *Shogampa*, or provincial collectors of taxes and customs.

622 The *Gobas* (who were also called *Grongpons*,‡ or
634 "village chiefs") were directly responsible to the *Kahlons*, or *Gyalpos*, of their respective districts, in all criminal matters, and in most accounts of revenue; although the *Mipons*, or head men, of some of the principal towns, rendered their accounts direct to the *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer of Lé. But these exceptions were, I believe, only made in the cases of such villages as were set apart for the particular maintenance of the queen, or of some members of the royal
645 family. The *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer, rendered his accounts to the *Kahlon*, or prime minister, who kept the privy purse of the king and his family.

622 The titles of the different functionaries varied in
634 different districts; but the most common were those which I have just given. The petty *Gyalpos* and provincial *Kahlons* were frequently called *Depons*,§ or "district chiefs," a name which recalls the Sanscrit *Dés-pati*, and the Greek Δεσποτης. Among the Mahomedans of Ladák (both the pure Kashmiris and the hybrid Argons), the petty chiefs are invariably called *Chho*; as *Gya-pa-chho*,‖ "the *Gyalpo* of Gya."

* *Mi-dPon*, "man-chief or head man."

† *kGo-ba*, emphatically the head man, from *kGo*, "the head, the top of anything."

‡ *Grong-dPon*. In Great Tibet, and in some parts of Ladák, this word is pronounced *Tongpon*. The Lamas more especially adhere to the pronunciation of Lhasa.

§ *sDé-dPon*, "district-chief." ‖ *mChhog*, "the head, the chief."

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II.—RELATIONS WITH SURROUNDING STATES.

The few questions of foreign polity that the government of Ladák had to deal with were simple and easy. They were chiefly confined to political relations with Balti and Rudok; to commercial ties with Yarkand and Kashmir; and to the religious connection with Lhasa. The last was a national bond of union between two people speaking the same language, and holding the same faith; and the presents which were annually sent to Lhasa, by the Gyalpo of Ladák, were an humble offering to the Dalai Láma, as the head of the Buddhist religion, and not an extorted tribute to the emperor of China as lord paramount. 648

The difficulties of the passage of the Karakoram mountains prevented the Chinese governors of Yarkand and Kotan from attempting the conquest of Ladák; and the poverty of the country offered no temptation to the Mahomedan rulers of Kashmir. The Ladáki relations with these states were therefore friendly. With Rudok on the east there has been a long peace. The boundary is well defined by piles of stones, which were set up after the last expulsion of the *Sokpo*, or Mongol hordes, in A.D. 1687, when the Ladákis received considerable assistance from Kashmir. With Balti on the west, however, there existed a continual state of border-plundering, accompanied with fire and sword, which occasioned frequent references, and which created and kept up unfriendly feelings between the two states. The difference of religion greatly added to the natural antipathy of neighbourhood; and two centuries ago these two causes combined to lure Ali Sher and the Mahomedans of Balti to the invasion and partial conquest of Ladák.

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III.—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

692 The administration of justice in Ladák was truly patriarchal. When any one was injured or aggrieved, he proceeded straight to the *Gyalpo* or *Kahlon* of his district, or to the *Goba* of his village, and represented his case. An assembly of five, or of seven elders* of the community was then called to hear and to decide
692 upon the case. In the capital the proceedings were
694 conducted with the observance of more form. The complainant made his case known to the *Lonpo*, or mayor, who reported it to the *Kahlon*, or prime minister. The *Shakspon*, or chief justice, was then directed to assemble a regular court, composed either of five or of seven members, according to the importance of the case. The members were selected, as in the provinces, from amongst the *Gatpas*, or "elders;" but to them were joined two or more *Khrimpons*, or "sitting magistrates," whose duty it was to expound the *Yul-khrim*,† that is, the "law of the land," or civil law. The *Shaks-*
695
696 *khang*,‡ or "court of justice," was opened and closed by the sounding of the *Khrim-dung*,§ or "trumpet of justice," and the sentence of the court (excepting in capital cases) was carried into execution without delay.

* *rGad-pa*, pronounced *Gatpa*, an "old man," an "elder." The number of members points to a common origin with the universal and still prevailing *Panchayet*, or "assembly of five," throughout India. Five must have been the ancient number, as even a single arbitrator or umpire is now called "*Panch*."

† *Yul-khrims*, "land-law." In Ladák this word is pronounced *Yul-khrim*, but in Great Tibet it is corrupted to *Yul-thim*.

‡ *Shags-khang*, "justice-hall."

§ *Khrims-dung*, "justice-trumpet;" there was also a *Khrims-rNga*, "justice-drum."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The punishments were few in kind, being only stripes, fines, and imprisonment, and in extreme cases, banishment or death; but they were numerous in degree, apportioned to the amount of guilt. The punishment of death was seldom awarded, and still more rarely executed. In cases of sacrilege, such as spoliation of temples, or in horrible cases of murder, the criminals were either crucified, or thrown into the Indus, bound hand and foot and weighted with stones. But the more usual punishment for murder was banishment, or rather ignominious expulsion from society, preceded by stripes and branding, and accompanied by every indignity that could be imagined by the ingenious malice of men, or that could be perpetrated by the elaborate mischief of boys. The brand was made of iron, and was about one inch in length. It bore a dog's head, with the inscription, "dog-marked—expelled." Thus after being well flogged and branded, the unfortunate criminal was drummed out of society, followed by hooting crowds,* who pelted him with stones and dirt.

For the murder of a child, a woman was sentenced to the loss of one hand, and to expulsion with the same indignities as above.

In cases of killing in a scuffle, the custom of Great Tibet was to bind the homicide to the corpse, and at the end of twenty-four hours to cast the living and dead together into the river. I did not hear of this custom in Ladák; but as commutation of punishment is almost

* The expression used by my informant was *ho-ho*, that is, the man was *ho-ho-ed*, or hooted. The brand of a dog was also used in Kashmir as a mark of disgrace at least nine hundred years ago. In the *Raja Tharingini* it is related that Reja Saugráme, in A.D. 948, punished the Brahman Chakramela by marking his forehead with the "paw of a dog" (*Swapádena*).

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

696 always procurable for money, it is probable that the sentence of the law may have been death, although in practice the culprit was permitted to compromise by stripes, imprisonment, and fine. Such a course was in strict keeping with the precepts of their religion, which is averse to the taking of any animal life.

681 The two modes of capital punishment were *drowning*
696 and *crucifixion*. In the former the culprit was bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Indus with a stone fastened to his neck.* In the latter mode the criminal was conducted to the *Songsa*, or "place of execution," by the *Shetma*, or "executioner." The *Sal-shing*,† or "crucifix," was a St. Andrew's cross fixed to an upright stake. The culprit was stripped naked; his hands and feet were bound to the extremities of the cross, while his head was secured to the upright stake by his own hair. In this position he was either quickly tortured to death by boiling oil, or was slowly allowed to expire under all
[784] the agonies of thirst and physical suffering. It is worthy of notice that in both of these modes of capital punishment, the shedding of blood was studiously shunned; for the sentence of crucifixion was carried out by *binding*, instead of nailing, the criminal to the cross. I presume, therefore, that there must have been some religious repugnance to putting a culprit to death by any mode that involved the shedding of blood. Mutilation of one or of both hands was, however, occasionally employed.

* Fra Orazio, p. 291. The same punishment was carried into effect in the same manner in Great Tibet. The culprit was "getta al fiume con un gran sasso al collo."

† *gSal-shing*, "clear wood." For what reason such a name was given to the stake, it would perhaps be difficult to discover. Perhaps it was intended for the tree that *cleanses* from guilt.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

For *Theft* and other crimes, the punishment (*chhad-pa*) was threefold: 1st. *Lús-chhad*, that is, "corporal punishment," or stripes; 2nd. *Nor-chhad*, "property punishment," or fine, which was nearly always taken in goods at a ruinous valuation; 3rd. *Tson-chhad*, "prison-punishment," or imprisonment. 685

The corporal punishment was the same for man and woman. The culprit was placed full-length on the ground, and received the awarded number of stripes on the bare posteriors. This punishment, however, could always be avoided by the payment of a commensurate fine. The punishment by fine was always enforced, except in cases of poverty and absolute inability; but the culprits were made to pay in person by a double amount of stripes for what they were unable to pay in money or in goods. 685 696

In cases of imprisonment the culprits were confined in the *Tson-khang*, or jail, secured with fetters (*skrog*), and superintended by the *Tson-dsi*, or jailer. Theoretically food was allowed during the term of imprisonment; but practically, both in the provinces and in the capital, the prisoners' friends were obliged to supply food to save them from starvation.

In cases of common theft, the stolen property, if recovered, was restored to its owner, and a fine, equal in value to the amount of the stolen goods, was levied on the thief for the benefit of the state. If the property was not recovered, a double fine was levied, one half being given to the robbed party, and the other half to the government. This was the punishment for a first offence. For a second offence the sentence was loss of the left hand; for a third offence, loss of the right hand; 685

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685 and for a fourth offence, death by drowning. These at least were the allotted punishments, and, with the exception of the last, they were generally carried into effect in all cases of robbery of public property or of church goods. But in cases of private robbery the usual influences had their weight. Near relationship might sway the judges to a milder sentence; or a fair bribe, judiciously bestowed, might induce the chief Láma of the monastery of Hémis to interfere, by an appeal to the king's mercy, which it was unusual to refuse. A direct appeal could also be made to the king by the prisoner's relatives, on the presentation of an offering of four or five rupees, if the criminal was a poor man, or of fifty to a hundred rupees, if he was a rich man.

[662] [557]

684 For *Adultery*, where the woman was the guilty party, the paramour, as in Europe, was fined according to his means, or received an equivalent corporal punishment, while the husband had the option of taking back the woman, if he chose to do so. Or if he did not wish to keep her, he could retain her dowry. When the husband was the guilty party, the wife could demand back her dowry.

683 Common disputes, involving blows and abuse, were settled at once by fines and stripes.

695 In doubtful cases, where the evidence was unsatisfactory, a decision was obtained either by casting lots, or by ordeal. In the latter case, the accused had either to draw a red-hot iron through his hand, or to take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil without injury. In Great Tibet both of these ordeals are practised; but the latter is rendered much more complicated and difficult by the immersion of two stones, one black and the other white,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in the boiling oil.* The extraction of the *white* stone, 695
with an uninjured hand, is held as a complete proof of innocence; while the extraction of the *black* stone, with uninjured hand, is equivalent to the Scotch verdict of "not proven," of which the accused receives the benefit.

The foregoing is a concise account of the practical 681
laws of Ladák under its native rulers. Amongst a [784]
people who were averse to the taking of any animal life, the sentence of death was but seldom enforced; the last case of capital punishment, which was executed in 1845, being the only one during thirty years; and I suspect that even this sentence would not have been carried into effect but for the stern and unbending firmness of *Magna*, the dogra thanadar of Lé. The culprit 685
was a blacksmith of Chachot, who had been repeatedly punished by imprisonment, fines, and stripes, for pilfering the gilt leaves of books from the monasteries and the gilded pinnacles of the *Chodtens*, or mausolea. His last exploit was the entire removal of the copper-gilt pinnacles from the *Chodtens* attached to the large monastery of Hémis. The thanadar was proof against all appeals for mercy, chiefly, I believe, with a view to conciliate the religious brotherhood of Hémis, and partly as a stroke of policy in a newly-conquered country, to exhibit a marked example of unflinching firmness in the execution of the law. As a Hindu, Magna Thanadar was quite indifferent in the matter of life or death. The unfortunate thief was therefore bound hand and foot,

* Fra Orazio, del Regno del Thibet, p. 290. The Capuchin father declares that the Tibetans can save their hands from injury by the use of some secret art (si servono d'un certo secreto, o per arte magica).

A.Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and, with a stone fastened to his neck, was cast headlong into the Indus from the Chachot bridge.

681 The laws of Ladák still continue in force under the rule of Mahárája Gulób Sing, with the single exception of death for the slaughter of kine. This punishment was early carried into effect in some eight or ten cases in the different districts of Ladák. In 1841 and 1842 at Nubra, Chachot, Lé, and Nyimo, single individuals were put to death, and their bodies exposed on gibbets, by Jhandu, the thanadar of Lé, for killing and eating kine. All these were Musulmáns from Balti. In Drás, where all the population are Mahomedans, several were put to death by Gusáun Thanadar for the same cause. The skeleton of the man gibbeted at Lé, in 1841, was still nearly perfect in October 1847, when I saw it.

IV.—REVENUE.

The chief sources of revenue in Ladák were a tax on property and a duty on merchandise. The tax, called *Khral*, *Thang*, or *Shá*,* was levied on the dwellings and not on the lands; for as the lands did not produce sufficient food for the sustenance of the people, the establishment of a land-tax would have been absurd. The mass [439] of the people obtained their living by the *transport* of wool and other goods *through* their own country, to and from Yarkand and Kashmir. The duties, called *Shogam*, were imposed on merchandise, both imports and exports, and the whole revenue thus obtained was called *Thob-thang*.

The tax on houses was collected partly in kind, *Brú-*

* *Khral*, pronounced *Thal* in some districts, *Thang*, and *dPya*, the last being pronounced *Sha* or *Cha*.

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khral, and partly in money, *Nul-khral*.* The collectors, called *Shangudpapo*,† transmitted their various quotas, at stated periods, to the *Chag-dsot*, or lord high treasurer, at Lé, where they were all deposited in the *Ter-dsot*,‡ or treasury. The poorer classes, who were unable to pay either in money or in kind, were obliged to pay by bodily service as labourers. They were appropriately named *Kanggro*, or "foot-goers," that is, porters or labourers on foot, in contradistinction to the others, who were called *Lagdon*, or "hand-doers," that is, payers by hand.

The duties were collected at the custom-houses (*Shogamgyina*) by the *Shogampas*, or customs-officers; and the tolls on the high-roads were taken by the *Láchanpas*, or toll-gatherers. These duties were taken partly in kind and partly in money, and generally in equal portions. The gross annual collections usually averaged Rs. 18,000.

The tax on houses was regulated according to their size. For a large or "full-sized" house (*Khang-chhen*) there was a charge of seven rupees; for a middle-sized or "half-house," three and a half rupees; and for a small or "quarter-house," one and three-quarter rupee.§ Under the *Gyalpo's* rule there were reckoned 18,000 paying houses, of which

400	of large size paid	Rs. 7 each	=	Rs. 2,800
1,600	middle	"	3½ "	=	5,600
16,000	small	"	1¾ "	=	28,000
18,000 houses paying			...	...	Rs. 36,400

* *hBru-khral*, "corn-tax," and *dNgul-khral*, "money-tax."

† *dPya-sNgud-pa-po*, pronounced as in the text, *Shangudpapo*.

‡ *gTer-mDsod*, called also *gTer-mTsong* and *rTsis-khang*.

§ *Khang-chhen*, "house-large;" the middle size were called *Khang-phyed*, "half-house," and the smallest size were named *Phyedi-phyed*, "half of half," or quarter.

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651 Each house, therefore, paid a mean rate of two rupees per annum; but, partly from various remissions of taxes, and partly from the inability of the poorer classes to pay, excepting by bodily service, the total amount of house-tax rarely exceeded Rs. 30,000.

793 But besides the 18,000 paying houses, there were
644 about 4,000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and about 1,000 for the maintenance of the queen and the various members of the
643 royal family. The Gyalpo also had his own villages, which contained about 1,000 houses more. The whole number of dwellings in Ladák was therefore about 24,000.

651 Under the Dogra rule, although the number of inhabited dwellings has diminished, yet the number of paying houses is still about the same, as all the crown villages have been appropriated by the government. The assessment is, however, different, as a much greater number of houses have been taxed at the higher rates. I could not obtain any precise information as to the number of houses included under each rate; but as the gross amount of collections was generally estimated at nearly Rs. 50,000, the following scale must be a close approximation to the truth. The mean rate is two and a half rupees per house.

1,000 houses of large size at Rs. 7 each					=	Rs. 7,000
5,000	„	middle	„	3½ „	=	17,500
12,000	„	small	„	1¾ „	=	21,000
18,000 houses paying						Rs. 45,500

There were besides two other sources of income which contributed to swell the revenue of the state; namely, a tax on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants both home and foreign;

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and the annual amount of presents received from the various *Kahlons*, *Lonpas*, *Kharpons*, and other officers of government. The former generally amounted to nearly thirty-five *kúrús* of silver, which, at Rs. 166 per *kúrú*, are equal to Rs. 5,700.* The value of the presents was usually about Rs. 5,000. 651

The gross revenue of Ladák, collected from all sources under its native rulers, was as follows:

House-tax	Rs. 30,000
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
	Rs. 58,700

to which must be added,—first, the amount alienated for the support of monasteries, or about Rs. 8,000, valuing each of the 4,000 houses at the average rate of two rupees each: secondly, the amount derived from the crown villages of about 2,000 houses, equal to Rs. 4,000 more, or in all to Rs. 12,000. The total revenue was, therefore, Rs. 71,700, or about £7,000 sterling.

Out of the gross collections made for government, one-half of the customs, and one-half of the tax on brokers, were the perquisites, or salary, of the *Kahlon*, or prime minister. The net amount received by the *Gyalpo* was therefore just so much less than the above Rs. 58,700, or only Rs. 46,850; this, with the produce of the crown lands, amounted to nearly Rs. 49,000. But his actual income was nearly double this amount, for he was the chief trader in his own dominions; and as all his traffic passed duty free through Ladák, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand rupees a year. His 645 643

* *Kuru* is the Yarkandi name for the "ingot" of silver, which the Tibetans call *Yam-bu*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lac of rupees, or nearly £10,000 per annum. In addition to his regular income, both public and private, the Gyalpo enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts, which, possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government. He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grass, for four months in the year, by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples, and grapes.

647 The various charges defrayed by the state were few in number, and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The paid officers of the state were the *Lonpo*, or governor; [693] the *Shakspon*, or lord chief justice; and the different *Khrimpons*, or magistrates of Lé; besides the *Káká Tádsi*, or master of the horse, and the *Chagdsot*, or lord high treasurer. I could not ascertain the amount of their individual salaries, but the gross amount of civil charges was estimated at Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum, and which I believe to be near the truth. The 701 military charges were nothing, as each family or house was obliged to furnish one soldier whenever called upon to do so, and to feed him during his term of service.

651 Under the present rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, the revenue of Ladák may be estimated as follows:-

Tax on houses	Rs. 45,500
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
Monasteries	6,300
	Rs. 80,500

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or about £8,000 sterling. The last item is the gross amount derived from a heavy tax which has been imposed on all the *gonpas*, or monasteries, throughout the country. The sums paid by the different religious establishments were thus stated to me— 651 793

Monastery of Hemis (with Hanlé)	... ...	Rs. 900
" Chimra	... ...	900
" Thigsé	... ...	500
" Pitak	... ...	500
" Gáwan	... ...	900
" Láma Yúrrú	... ...	900
Twenty-five smaller monasteries at Rs. 60 each	=	1,500
		Rs. 6,300

The charge incurred in the maharaja's government of Ladák, I found it impossible to ascertain with any degree of precision, as it was a delicate subject to make inquiries about. From various sources I could only learn that the country is divided into districts, over each of which is appointed a thanadar on a small salary, varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 a month. There are five of these thanadars in Ladák, each independent of the others, and accountable only to the maharaja himself. The principal of them is Basti Rám, the thanadar of Lé, a shrewd and intelligent man, and a tried soldier. He is a native of Káshtwár, and was a petty officer under Zoráwar Sing on the first invasion of Ladák. He was present at the surrender of Skardo, the capital of Balti; and he was one of the few survivors of Zoráwar Sing's unfortunate expedition into Great Tibet in the winter of 1841, A.D. His quickness and experience, combined with a frank and easy manner, secured him the confidence of the maharaja; and after successfully ruling the district of Zanskar during a very turbulent period, he has now obtained one of the highest posts in 634 634 159

159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income, [439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own [643] dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

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cash, the remainder being made up to them by "billets" for food wherever they may be quartered. The cost of each soldier to the state was therefore generally estimated by the people at only four rupees a month. At this rate a body of 700 men could be supported for Rs. 33,600, which would be increased to Rs. 35,000 or Rs. 36,000 by the pay of the petty officers. 701 652

The whole expenses of the government, both civil and military, therefore, amounted to between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 60,000; thus leaving a surplus of about Rs. 25,000 for transmission to the maharaja. This surplus was not however remitted in cash, but in goods, which consisted chiefly of wool from Chang-thang, and of cloths and tea from Yarkand. 643 652

V.—MILITARY RESOURCES.

In Ladák there was no regular army; but every family or house throughout the country was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier at the call of the government. The *Kahlons*, *Lonpos*, and *Gobas*, also furnished quotas of from ten to four men each. At the last general mustering in 1834, the number of armed peasants, collected to oppose Zoráwar Sing, amounted to 22,000. The same number is said to have been collected when the *Gyalpo* was at war with Ahmed Shah of Balti. Indeed it is scarcely possible that a greater number of "armed" men could have been collected, as each house throughout Ladák possessed only one weapon, and the number of houses was not more than 24,000. I have every reason to believe in the correctness of these numbers, as my information was derived from various sources; from Jemadar Basti Rám, and other officers of 702

702 the maharaja, as well as from *Lamás*, *Gobas*, and Mahomedans of Ladák. The difference between the number of houses and that of the armed men actually collected together is only 2,000, a number so small that it may include all absentees from sickness and other causes, as well as all the guards required at Lé and in the provinces for the personal service of the Gyalpo, and for the security of the state treasure.

726 On a call to arms, the soldiers (*Makmi**) were told off for the cavalry and infantry branches by the very simple process of selecting all those who had horses (or rather ponies) for the cavalry (*Táhipung*†), and leaving the remainder for the footmen, or infantry (*Kangthangipung*). [411] Their arms were swords, matchlocks, and bows and [714] arrows. Many had shields (*Go*‡), and some few had helmets (*Mog*§). They were assembled by beat of drum (*Thab-nga*‖).

701 The army (*Pung*, or *Makpung*¶) was placed under the control of a *Makpon*,** or commander-in-chief, who was either a member of the royal family, or one of the principal *Kahlons*.

Other titles were conferred upon the different *Kahlons*

* *dMag-mi*, pronounced *Makmi*, a "war-man," or "soldier," from *dMag*, battle. Compare the Greek μαχη with the latter, and μαχιμος with the former.

† *rTa-hi-dPung*, from *rTa*, a "horse."

‡ *Go*, a "shield," or any defensive armour.

§ *rMog*, a "head-piece," a "helmet."

‖ *hThab-rNga*, a "war-drum."

¶ *dPung*, or *dMag-dPung*; the latter is also commonly contracted to *dMung*.

** *dMag-dPon*, "battle-chief," or *dMag-hGo*, "war-chief." *Makpon* is the family title of the Hasora chief. He must therefore be of Tibetan origin. It is curious that *Go-Mag-go*, which so much resembles Gog-Magog, should mean "civil and military chiefs."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and *Gobas*, according to the numerical strength of the quotas furnished by their respective districts and villages. Thus the Kahlon who brought a few hundreds was dignified with the title of *Stong-pon*,* "chief of a thousand," or colonel; a wealthy Goba who could muster from 50 to 100 men, was styled *Gyapon*,† "chief of a hundred," or captain; while an inferior Goba who was attended by only four or five men, was called *Chu-pon*,‡ "chief of ten," or serjeant. 701

The camp (*Maggar*§), which was pitched without any regularity, consisted almost entirely of black tents made of yák's hair. The Kahlons and some others had white blanket tents, but these were so few in number as not to affect the general sombre appearance of the camp. When, however, the cooking commenced, and volumes of smoke began to issue from the open roofs of the tents, now ascending in fantastic curls, and now whirling rapidly round and spreading a milky canopy over the black tents, the Boti camp wore a very picturesque appearance. During the day little was heard but the busy hum of men preparing their food or cleaning their arms, but towards evening the whole air frequently rang with noisy brawls and angry squabbles, which gave but too convincing a proof of the powerful influence of their favourite *chang*. 712

All disputes in camp were settled at once by stripes or fine, according to the sentence of an assembly of officers, whose decisions were final. These assemblies 687 698

* *Stong-dPon*, commander of one thousand.

† *b,rGya-dPon*, commander of one hundred.

‡ *bChu-dPon*, commander of ten.

§ *dMag-sGar*, a "military camp," to distinguish it from the common encampment of the Nomads, *sGar*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

687 were exactly the same as our drum-head courts-martial;
698 and their sentences were accordingly termed *Makkhrim*,* or martial law.

705 The soldiers were obliged to find their own food.
726 Each man was therefore generally attended by another male member of his house or family, who carried the joint provisions on his back during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Occasionally they
902 relieved one another. In case of a casualty also the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes, and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

721 Although these bodies of undisciplined militia were not deserving of the name of an army, yet they were generally strong enough to repel all attacks of their immediate neighbours of Balti, Rudok, and Chumurti, who were as poor and as unsoldierly as themselves; while the great poverty of the country, and the extreme rigour of the climate, were sufficient to deter the effeminate Kashmiris from even thinking of such a project without
721 a shudder. In fact, there is no record of any invasion
173 of Ladák by the Kashmiris; on the contrary, the Raja Taringini relates the entire conquest and occupation of Kashmir by the Boti *Rinchana*, or, as he is more commonly called in Kashmir to this day, *Ratanjo*,† about the middle of the fourteenth century. Rinchana was the son of *Bakhtán Bhot*; that is, he was probably of the *Yasan* family, which still bears the title of *Bakhto*. Being driven from his native country, he naturally fled

* *dMag-khrims*, "war-law."

† *Jo* or *Cho* is the Tibetan *mChhog*, the common title of a chief amongst the Boti Mahomedans.

2 Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

721 to the Botis of the east, which will account for his
173 entering Kashmir by Gagangir on the Drás road, as related in the Raja Taringini.

712 The forts of Eastern Ladák were nearly all castellated
793 monasteries, the defence of which was intrusted to the
[701] unwarlike monks, assisted by a few of the armed peasantry, who performed the duty by turns, under the command of one who was dignified with the title of *Kharpon*, or governor.* In Western Ladák there were several castles belonging to petty chiefs, such as Paskyum and Soth, which were better calculated for defence. The
[312] monastic castles were mostly perched on high rocks quite destitute of water, and it was a part of the daily duty of the garrison to fetch water for the monks. Had any of these castles possessed a proper supply of water, their generally inaccessible positions would have rendered them safe against all common attacks. I have seen the monasteries of Hanlé, Hémis, Thigsé, Shé, Lé, Pitak, Phyang, Bazgo, Láma Yúrrú, Hesku, Kharbu, Thakshé, and Mulbil, as well as the ruined forts of Balukhar and Paskyum. The monasteries are all built on steep cliffs, more or less high, with stone walls coloured white and red, and surmounted with an endless number of small flags. They are generally difficult of access, and always picturesque. Perhaps the most remarkable is that of Thakshé, on the right bank of the Kánji river. It is perched on a lofty isolated cliff, bluff and overhanging on the north side, and with a precipitous slope of about 65° on the south side. The only ascent is by a very steep pathway.

* *mKhar-dPon*, "fort-chief." A fort is also called *rDzong*, and the governor *rDzong-dPon*. Every commandant of a castle, or military post, even if his garrison does not amount to more than four men, is dignified with the title of *Kharpon*.

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712 The fort of Paskyum, on the left bank of the Wakáchu, commanded the passage of the river, which is there unfordable. It stood about 100 feet high, on an alluvial flat, overhanging the river; but it was easily taken by Zoráwar Sing, and afterwards destroyed. The fort of Sod was held out by the *Gyalpo* in person for ten days; but it was at last, after some loss, taken by assault, when it shared the same fate as Paskyum.

725 The best "means of defence" possessed by Ladák consisted in the general inaccessibility of the country during one half of the year, when the passes were closed by snow; and to the power of breaking down the bridges over the Indus, and other unfordable streams, during the summer. The latter was not, however, resorted to on Zoráwar Sing's invasion, excepting in the solitary case of the bridge at Paskyum; the destruction of which, by the Banka Kahlon, delayed the advance of the invaders for one day. The reason assigned for not breaking down the Khallach bridge, over the Indus, was, because its destruction would have stopped the traffic with Kashmir during one entire season. But the traffic was virtually stopped by the
726 war; while the destruction of the bridge would have saved all the rich villages on the right bank of the Indus, as well as the capital itself, for a whole year. But the energetic Zoráwar was marching rapidly on, while the listless Botis were debating; and the bridge was passed, and the enemy had reached Bazgo, within twenty miles of the capital, before the helpless Gyalpo had decided upon what to do. Decision was then too late, as there was no alternative but flight or submission. The first, although a virtual relinquishment of the country, would have been manly and honourable; but the Gyalpo

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chose the more humiliating alternative of actual surrender. Such was the fate of a country which might have been saved by a hundred resolute soldiers at the bridge of Khallach. But the indolent votaries of an almost worn-out faith were no match for the more active and energetic worshippers of Mahadeo and Párbati. 726

Under the government of Maharaja Guláb Sing, the country is held by a few garrisons of tolerably well-appointed infantry, who are quartered in the different forts erected by Zoráwar Sing and his successors. The forts that I have seen are those of Lé, Kargyil, and Drás, besides the bridge-head at Khallach. They are all built on the same kind of plan, and in similar situations on the banks of streams, that they might insure an unfailing supply of water, without which the strongest fort would be untenable. 712 [312]

The new fort at Lé is built upon the open plain, and on the edge of the Lé rivulet, at somewhat more than a mile to the south-west of the city. I saw it to great advantage on my visit, as the thanadar Basti Rám had kindly deputed his son to attend me. Everything, therefore, was prepared. The interior was trim and orderly; the guns were clean and bright; and the men were all dressed in respectable uniforms, which appeared too new to have been much worn. The walls are built of huge sun-dried bricks, and are nearly thirty feet in height. In the interior the barracks, as well as the store-rooms, are built against the walls all round, and their flat roofs form the terre-plein of the ramparts. Each room is furnished with a door. The guns are four brass three-pounders, all in good order, and well set up on substantial carriages. They are manned by thirty

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712 well-dressed artillerymen. Altogether I was as much pleased with the orderly appearance, as with the judicious situation, of this fort.

The new fort of *Kargyil* is situated on the left bank of the Suru river, immediately above the junction of the *Waká-chu*. It is a square of about sixty yards, with round towers at the angles, and a square tower with a small outwork in the middle of the river-front. This work forms a difficult entrance, and at the same time insures a supply of water. The walls are loopholed throughout, and the garrison can sweep the bridge over the Suru river with deadly effect. The position was admirably chosen, as it completely commands the high-road to and from Kashmir.

The new fort of Drás is similar to those of Lé and Kargyil. It is situated on the left bank of the Drás river, and commands the passage of the valley.

The bridge-head of Khallach is on the right bank of the Indus. It consists of a square loopholed tower, built of large sun-dried bricks, with an inclosure surrounded by a high loopholed wall. The garrison of twelve men is furnished from Lé, and is relieved every three months. This work completely commands all approach to the bridge on each bank of the river.

643 In my opinion, the measures which the maharaja has
177 taken for the maintenance of his power in Ladák are
578 judicious and effective. Many people grumble; but the dissatisfaction is principally confined to the upper classes, who have lost all their power; and to the Kashmiri Mahomedans, a despicable race, who are ever wishing for change, and who, if they were under the British to-morrow, would long for the Chinese on the next day. To the lower classes the change of govern-

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ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; 643
for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount 651
than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a 177
less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the 578
country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent 177
roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people 491
whose principal means of livelihood are derived from 643
the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are 205
simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village [648]
couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

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205 but merchants always send special couriers of their own. The poorer classes have no correspondence; and the limited intercommunications of the upper classes, amongst whom each family has generally one member in government employ, are all conveyed by the Tázampas.

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XI.—PEOPLE.

I.—POPULATION.

In A.D. 1822 Moorcroft* estimated the population of Ladák at about 165,000 persons, of whom he thought that not less than two-thirds were females. But Csoma de Körös,† who resided for some time in Zanskar, shortly after Moorcroft's visit, says the people of Ladák consisted of 20,000 families. Now, by an accurate census of the two Botian districts of Lahul and of Spiti, it appears that the average number of persons in one family is 6·7. As the different climates of these two districts exhibit the extremes of the Ladáki climate, the mean of the two may be taken as fairly representing the true number of persons in each house or family throughout Ladák. At this rate the 20,000 families of Csoma de Körös would amount to no more than 134,000 persons; to whom must be added about 12,000 lamas and nuns, who dwell apart in the monasteries and convents; thus making the whole population of Ladák (between 1820 and 1830) not more than 146,000 persons. But this estimate is certainly too low.

The information which I obtained in 1847 was derived from various independent sources, all of which agreed

* Travels, I. p. 320.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, I. p. 121. Geographical notice of Tibet.

161 in stating that the total number of houses was formerly
[657] 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population
[162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

793 In stating the number of professed religionists at
162 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve
161 thousand. The total amount of population (between 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

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probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra 702
number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each.

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has 161
very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In 164
the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who [515]
only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at.

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in 727
the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal 798
images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands.

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who 751
was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zoráwar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination.

798 or about 9,000 persons, are said to have left their native land, and to have found refuge in the numerous monasteries of Great Tibet.

727 During the wars from 1834 to the close of 1841, it is said that about 15,000 Ladákis perished, and that about 1,000 (who were chiefly Musalmans) emigrated to Balti and the neighbouring districts. Of the 4,000 Ladákis who accompanied Zoráwar Sing on his inroad into the Lhasan territory, it is well known that nearly the whole perished in the snow. A few made their way back to Ladák; and some four or five hundred, who were made prisoners, are said to be most strictly confined at Lhasa.

162 In 1847 I found, by a census of 1,890 houses, that the
161 average number of persons per house was 4·147; but as a very considerable number of people were absent from their homes, the true rate per house could not have been less than five persons, or about the same as that of the district of Spiti, which I ascertained to be 5·3 persons per house. The number of inhabited houses is said to be 23,000, which at this rate, and allowing the present number of lamas and nuns to be only 3,000, will make the total amount of the population 124,900, or in round
161 numbers, 125,000 persons. The decrease in the population, since Moorcroft's time, is, therefore, not less than 40,000 persons. The causes of this decrease are the following:—

	Persons.
Carried off by small-pox in 1834	14,000
Lamas emigrated	9,000
Perished during the wars	15,000
Emigrated (chiefly Musalmans)	1,000
Total decrease	40,000
Moorcroft's census	165,000
Present census	125,000

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Including Spiti and Láhul, the present population is /61/ therefore not more than 4·333 persons per square mile.

The census of the two districts of Spiti and Láhul is /62/ as follows:—

—	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Spiti ..	38	262	460	226	686	503	218	721	1,407	5·3	6·9
Lahul ..	43	594	1,033	1,470	2,503	1,389	945	2,334	4,837	8·1	13·8
Total ..	81	856			3,189			3,055	6,244	6·7	10·8

Neither of these districts is so well peopled as Ladák, the number of persons per square mile being 2·58 in Láhul and only ·608 in the barren and rocky Spiti.

In 1847 I made a census of most of the villages along my route through Ladák, which embraced about one-twelfth part of the whole country.

The following table shows the relative numbers of males and females in the Buddhist country of Ladák, compared with the same in the various Musalman districts on the Indus.

—	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Ladák ..	142	1,890			3,646			4,192	7,838	4·147	13·3
Balti, &c.	158	6,406			13,662			13,387	23,394	4·235	34·4
					17,308			17,579		4·181	23·85

In the Buddhist country it will be observed that the females outnumber the males, while the reverse is the case in the Musalman districts along the Indus. This is just what might have been expected from the different habits of the people. The Musalmani girl is married at ten or twelve years of age, and becomes a mother before she has acquired either the strength or stature of a

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Botis must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

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and moral, may be easily accounted for by the severe 177
cold and extreme dryness of the Tibetan climate, and by the former intimate connection of the people with the Caucasian Hindus of India for many centuries during the flourishing period of Buddhism.

The great mass of the people of Ladák are all of one 564
race or caste. They intermarry and eat together, and are all eligible as members of the national priesthood. But in the northern provinces of Ladák there is a numerous class called *Bem*,* or "low," which includes all the dancing-women and their attendant musicians, all smiths and carpenters, and in fact handicraftsmen of every kind. In Lé itself, and in Chachot, there are 144
small colonies of Kashmiris, whose connection with the native Botis has produced a mixed race called Argon.† These same hybrids between the Kashmiris and the native races are also found in Kashgar, Yarkand, Aksu, and Kotan.

III.—PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

Of the physical characteristics of the Botis, little has 144
been made known beyond the facts that they have "a strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and that they are superior both in vigour of body and in stature to the other Mongolian races of Kalmaks and Tungusis."‡ Their peculiarly Tartarian physiognomy must be considered as a presumptive proof of their

* The men are called *hBems-pa*; the women *hBems-mo*, or *Bem-mo*.

† This is probably the Turki word *Arghun*, ارغون, "fair;" the mixed race of half Kashmiris being much fairer than the people of the country.

‡ Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 217.

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144 Mongolian origin. Their superiority in bodily strength
147 is perhaps owing partly to the bracing climate of their elevated country, and partly to the former infusion of Hindu blood. I have had practical proof of this superiority amongst the Botis of Láhul, Kanáwar, and Spiti. In 1846 the short Láhuli women carried with the greatest ease, day after day, the roof of my tent, which the taller and finer-looking men of Kullu and Simla refused on account of its weight. Again in 1847 the Kanáwari and Spiti women carried loads at which the pampered Simla coolis had grumbled. I have repeatedly seen a box weighing sixty pounds carried by girls of sixteen and eighteen years of age over the high passes of Kanáwar.

141 Regarding their alleged superiority of stature I am rather sceptical. But as no detailed accounts of the average heights of the different Mongolian races are accessible to me, I can only quote the statement of Pallas, that the Kalmaks are "generally of a moderate height," and "rather small than large." The following table shows the stature of the Boti race in different parts of Ladák and Balti, according to the average measurements of from five to seven persons of each sex in many different villages, always including the tallest and shortest men and women that could be found.

TABLE OF STATURE.

	Districts.	Men.			Women.			Landlords.		
		Tallest.	Shortest.	Average	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average
		ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Buddhists.	Rukchu	5 1·5	5 0·0	5 0·9	5 0·0	4 1·0	4 8·2	5 3·0	5 1·0	5 2·5
	Spiti	5 6·5	5 0·0	5 2·4	5 2·5	4 1·0	4 8·9	5 7·5	5 4·0	5 5·7
	Nubra	5 7·0	5 4·0	5 2·7	4 7·0	4 0·0	4 9·8			
	Ladák	5 5·0	4 10·0	5 1·4	5 4·0	4 1·0	4 10·1	5 9·0	5 2·0	5 5·3
	Average			5 1·8			4 9·2			5 4·5

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141

	Districts.	Men.			Women.			Landlords.		
		Tallest.	Shortest.	Average	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average
		ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Muslimáns.	Chhorbad	5 8·0	4 8·0	5 0·9	5 0·0	4 4·0	4 9·3			
	Khapolor	5 7·0	4 6·0	5 0·7	5 2·0	4 2·0	4 9·1			
	Keris	5 5·0	5 0·0	5 2·9	4 11·0	4 8·0	4 10·6			
	Parguta	5 9·0	4 10·0	5 3·5	5 4·0	4 4·0	4 8·5			
	Skardo	5 11·0	4 9·0	5 2·3	5 0·0	4 6·0	4 9·7			
	Shigar	5 5·0	4 4·0	5 0·4	4 11·0	4 8·0	4 9·4			
	Rongdo	5 7·0	4 9·0	5 2·1	5 0·0	4 7·0	4 9·7			
	Average			5 1·8			4 9·5			
	Average of Botis			5 1·8			4 9·35			
Hindu Botis.	Upper Kanáwar	5 6·0	4 11·0	5 1·9	5 1·5	4 4·5	4 9·0	5 8·0	5 4·0	5 5·9
	Middle Kanáwar	5 6·0	4 9·0	5 2·0	5 5·0	4 9·0	4 11·1	5 8·0	5 0·0	5 5·3
	Lower Kanáwar	5 9·2	4 11·0	5 4·1	5 6·0	4 10·0	5 1·2	5 7·0	5 7·0	5 7·0
	Average			5 2·0			4 9·7			5 6·1

144

In this table the effect of the admixture of Hindu blood will be seen at once in the superior stature of the people of Lower Kanáwar.* Those of Middle Kanáwar also occasionally intermarry with the Hindus; for I found a woman, named Charanu, a native of Sarâhan, near Rampur, who was wedded to two husbands in the village of Kala, opposite Labrang, in Middle Kanáwar. In fact the people of Kanáwar generally are called Kanets, a name which is said to designate a people of mixed race. The proper name of the country is therefore most probably *Karanáwara*, the country of *Karanas*, or people of mixed race, a name usually applied to the offspring of a degraded Khsatriya and a Khsatriya [103]

* The Botis are shorter than the Kirghiz of Wakhan and Pamer who were measured by Wood.—Oxus, pp. 338—372.

	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.
Men	5 5·5 ...	5 2·0 ...	5 3·2
Do.	5 7·2 ...	5 1·7 ...	5 4·5
		Mean ...	5 3·85

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144 female. The same name is applied by Marco Polo to
[103] another mixture of the same races—Tartars and Indians. There are indeed Kanets in other parts of the Himálayas, but only in those districts which border upon Ladák; as in Bisahar, Kullu, Chamba, and Kashtwar.

141 The average stature of the Botis of Ladák appears to
146 me to be very short indeed when compared with that of their Hindu and Chinese neighbours; but that this is chiefly, if not wholly, the effect of poor food and of privation of all kinds, is proved by the average stature of the landlords, or head men, of the different villages. These never carry burdens on their backs, are better fed, and better clothed; and (when they travel) usually ride from one place to another, instead of toiling up and down the steep and rugged passes of their native mountains. This shows the beneficial effect of wholesome food and of comparative comfort even in the most rigorous climate.

141 The stature of the women seems to be particularly low. This is not, however, shown in the averages, which exhibit a difference of only four inches between the men and the women. But the number of very short women is much greater than that of very short men. In Ladák I saw only six men that were under five feet in height; of whom two were four feet eleven inches; three were four feet ten inches; and one was only four feet nine inches. Amongst the women of Ladák, however, I saw no less than ten that were under four feet five in height. Of these, one was four feet four and a half; two were four feet four; one was four feet three; two were four feet two; one of forty years of age was four feet one and a half; and three were only four feet one inch in height. I am unable to say positively what may be the cause of

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the great number of very short women; but I am 141
inclined to attribute it partly to the system of polyandry 595
which prevails among them. This system is, I believe, almost universal amongst the mixed race of Kanetis throughout Kanawar and the other Kaneti districts, but as far as I could learn it is not so prevalent amongst the pure Botis of Ladák. The custom has therefore most probably been borrowed from the polyandrous Hindu race of Himálayan Kshatriyas, amongst whom it has been preserved for at least twenty-five centuries, since the Pandavan brothers jointly espoused the princess Draupadi.

The great differences observable in the stature of the 000
Musalmán races of Shigar on the north and of Skardo on the south, must no doubt be attributed to the mixture of other races; of the diminutive Kirghiz of Pamer with the first, and of the tall Kashmiri with the second. The people of Shigar were once, I believe, pure Kirghiz.

In general the Botis have short, squat, stout figures, 142
with broad, flat, ugly faces; but occasionally amongst the better classes I have seen both men and women who were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy colour in their cheeks. Indeed, I have even seen a few of the women that were really handsome, with good regular features and fine figures. But in general they are all, both men and women, not only ugly but hideous, and more especially the old women. Dr. Gerard's amusing description of these people is too graphic to be omitted.* "In figure they are stout, waddling, and dumpy; * * * in face they are not [145]
beautiful, even when young; when past their climacteric, very unseemly; and when old, a picture of horrid ugliness.

* Asiatic Researches, XVIII. p. 249.

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302 ness. Not regardless of the aid of artificial charms, their hair, glistening with rancid oil, hangs loosely round their sunburnt necks. Sometimes it is woven into tresses which braid the contour of the face; but it is commonly unregarded, and blows out in the wind, giving them a shaggy appearance like wild beasts." Gerard's travels were confined to the southern districts of Láhul, Spiti, and Rukchu; in which the climate is much more rigorous than in the districts along the Indus, where apples, grapes, and walnuts are cultivated with success; and where alone I saw the fine-looking women mentioned above.

142 The face of the Boti is broad, flat, and square, with high cheek-bones, large mouth, and narrow forehead. The nose is broad and flat, and generally much turned up, with wide nostrils, and with little or no bridge. The eyes are small and narrow, and the upper eyelids usually have a peculiar and angular form that is especially ugly. The eyes are nearly always black; but brown, and even blue eyes, are seen occasionally. The inner corners are drawn downwards, by the tension of the skin over the large cheek-bones; the eyelids are therefore not in one straight line, parallel to the mouth, as is the case with Europeans, but their lines meet in a highly obtuse angle pointing downwards. This gives an appearance of obliquity to the eyes themselves that is very disagreeable. The ears are prominent, very large, and very thick. They have also particularly long lobes, and are altogether about one-half larger than those of Europeans. The mouth is large, with full and somewhat prominent lips. The hair is black, coarse, and thick, and usually straight and crisp. Bushy heads of hair are sometimes seen, but I believe that the frizzly appearance is not due even in

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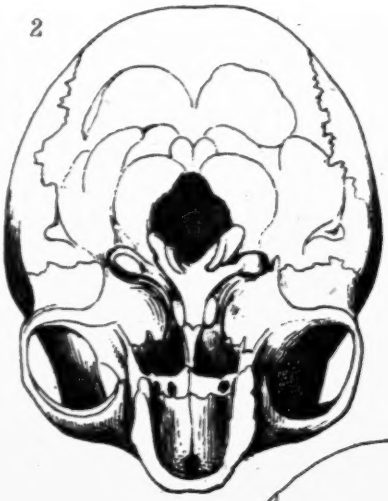
141

Nomadic BOTI of LADAK, Hánle

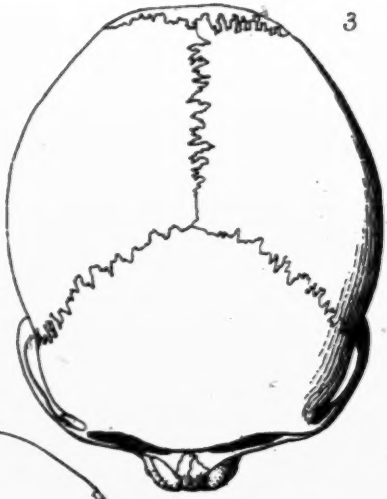
1

1/3rd Nat: Size.

2



3



Fac: Ang: 80°

4

Cran: Cap: 74·5 c.c.in.

Pl 296a

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

142 part to any natural tendency to curl, but solely to the tangled and thickly agglomerated matting of the hair, consequent upon its never having been combed or washed from first to second childhood.

141 In the accompanying plates* I have exhibited four different views of two Botian skulls which I procured at Hanlé and at Lé. The first is a specimen of the nomadic dwellers in tents, the second of the settled inhabitants of houses. There is a considerable difference in the shapes of these two skulls, but I believe that the Lé specimen is a departure from the usual type; its elongated form being most probably due to some malformation at the time of birth. This is I think fully proved by the continuation of the longitudinal suture from the top of the cranium down to the nose. As a second skull from Lé, which I have in my possession, resembles very closely that of the nomadic Boti of Hanlé, this cranium may be taken as a very good specimen of the Ladáki type of Boti.

The characteristics of this type are almost the same as those of the Mongolian. The more striking are a round and globular shape of cranium, and a great lateral extension of the zygomatic arches, coupled with a narrow forehead, which gives what Prichard has called a pyramidal form to the front view of the skull; that is, if lines be drawn from the outside of the cheek-bones touching the temples, they will meet in a point at a short distance above the head. This form is quite different from that of the European skull, in which the width of the forehead is often greater (but I believe
144 never less) than that of the cheek-bones. In other respects these Boti skulls appear to resemble very closely

* Plates X. and XI.

: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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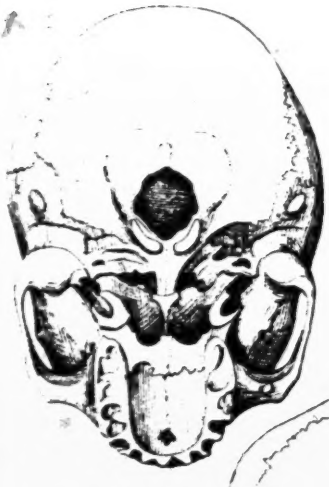
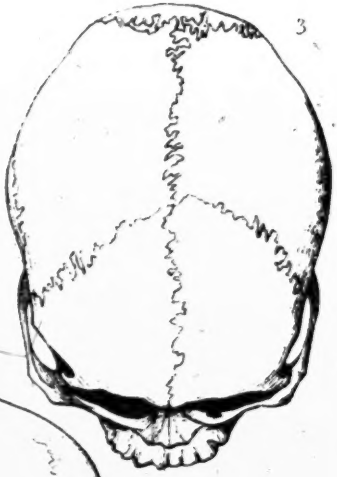
Plate XI.

Skulls of BOTI of LADAK, Lé.





297a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 those of the civilized Chinese. Indeed, if the statements of their own historians* are to be credited, that the Chinese originally came from the Shensi forests of the frontiers of Tibet, we can scarcely come to any other conclusion than that they were originally of the same stock as the people of Tibet, or in other words, that they were actually Botis. The Mongolian origin of the Chinese and of the Botis is, I believe, universally admitted; and I would attribute the differences between them and the present nomadic Mongols partly to the early civilization of the Botian race, and partly to the admixture of Hindu blood. The form of the skulls in my possession, and more particularly of the frontal bone, also shows a considerable affinity to the Hindu race. In corroboration of this view, I am happy to quote the opinion of M. D'Halley,† who says, "Peut-être que les Bhots sont des Hindus modifiés par leur mélange avec des Mongols."

141. The following table exhibits the facial angle, the cranial capacity, and the present weight of the four Botian skulls, three of which are in my possession.

Skulls.	Facial angle.	Cranial capacity.	Weight.
		Cubic in.	lb. oz.
No. 1 from Hanlé	80°	74·5	1 4·44
2 „ Lé	68°	72·7	1 6·44
3 „ Lé	73°	70·0	1 7·46
4 „ Balti	75°	72·0	1 2·40
	74°	72·3	1 5·18

The facial angle in these specimens ranges from 68°

* Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 227.

† Des Races Humaines, p. 128, note.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

to 80°; but as there is good reason for supposing that the skull which yields the lower number has been a malformation, I would deduce the mean facial angle from the other three skulls, which agree with each other in general appearance. This would fix the facial angle of the Botis at 76°, which is somewhat less than the European average of 80°, but at the same time it is a considerable improvement upon the Mongolian and Kalmuk average of 70°. That some individuals may occasionally approach the Caucasian standard, we have an example in the cranium of the nomadic Boti of Hanlé, which has a facial angle of 80°.

The amount of the cranial capacity is another distinguishing characteristic of different races. In this respect the Botis are remarkably deficient, but perhaps not more so than might be expected from the small size of the race generally. Taking the average height of Europeans at five feet and a half, and the average capacity of their skulls at eighty-eight cubic inches, then the cranial capacity of a Boti five feet in height should be ten-elevenths of the other, or eighty cubic inches. But the average of the three Botian skulls in my possession falls much below this number; that of the most capacious being only seventy-four cubic inches and a half.

The three Botian skulls now described agree very closely, in their respective weights, with that of a Chinese, recorded by Prichard, which weighed 1 lb. 7½ oz. Had the teeth been perfect, the agreement would have been still more close: for No. 1 has but half a tooth; No. 2 has only three teeth, while No. 3 has twelve teeth.

The true average would therefore most probably range

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

141 from 1 lb. 7 oz. to 1 lb. 8 oz. These skulls are all thin and smooth, and of compact texture, excepting only the jaws, which appear to me to be rather massive for the size of the head.

Of the configuration of the Boti skeleton, I can give but little positive information. The shoulders are square and broad, and the trunk is rather long in proportion to the stature. I obtained the pelvis* belonging to No. 1 cranium, which has a longitudinal axis of 3·75 inches, and a transverse axis of 3·6 inches, with a form inclining to the square. According to Professor Weber, as quoted by Prichard, this shape prevails generally amongst people who resemble the Mongolians.

144 The Botian tribe would, therefore, seem to possess the same physical characteristics, both in outward form and in their bony structure, as those which distinguish the Mongolian race generally, with only some slight modifications, which are most probably due to their connection and occasional mixture with the Caucasian race of India.

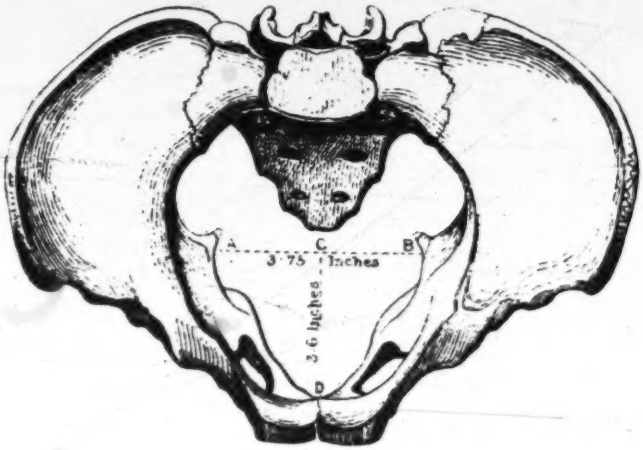
000 For the sake of comparison I have given sketches of two Kashmirian skulls,† one male and one female, which I procured in the city of Kashmir. The differences are very striking; but more particularly the oval shape of the skull, the flattened form of the zygomatic arches, and the narrowness of the jaws; all of which peculiarities are characteristic of the Caucasian race. The measurements of my Kashmiri skulls are as follows:—

* See Plate XII. † Plates XIII. and XIV.

141

Plate XII

Pelvis from Hánlé



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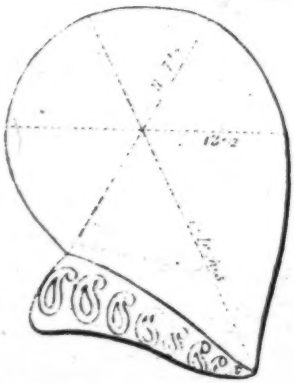
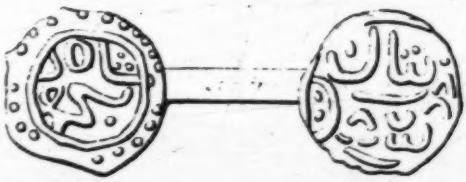


Cap of the GVALPO of Ladak

301

The JAO of Ladak (6)



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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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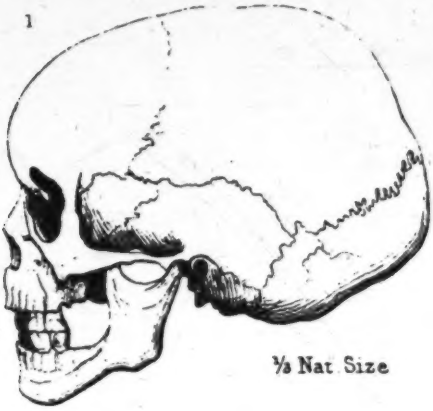
Plate XIV.

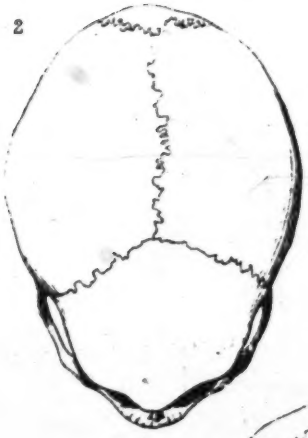
Female KASA of KASHMIR City

1



⅓ Nat. Size

2



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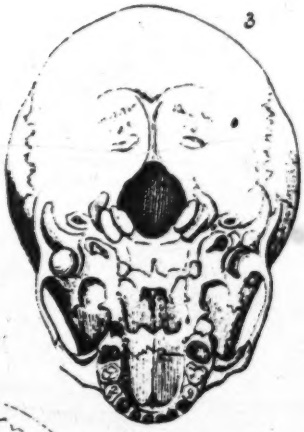

4

Fac Ang 85°

Cran Cap: c^c in.

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Day & Son Lith to the Queen

p. 300b

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

141

	Facial angle.	Cranial capacity.	Weight.
			lb. oz.
Male	73·5°	97	1 14·4*
		Cubic in.	
1st Female	85°	68	1 5·2
2nd Female	84°	67·5	
Average Female	84·5°	67·75	

LONGEVITY.

165 One of the most interesting subjects of inquiry which I pursued daily in Laḍák was the extreme ages attained by the oldest people in all the villages in my route. To test the value of the information thus collected, I have added to the following table the number of persons per cent. of each sex who reach the respective ages of seventy, eighty, and ninety years throughout the whole of Great Britain. The table requires little explanation. The first and second columns give the actual number of males and females in the several villages where the ages of the people were ascertained. It is necessary that this should be stated, as it will at once account for the great per-centage of females in Rukchu who had passed the patriarchal age of seventy. The number is 2·45 per cent., or three out of 122. But the general average is still much below that of Britain; and I feel satisfied that the whole table gives a very fair approximation to the truth. I have added a column showing the duration of life in Balti and the small Musalman states on the

* This very large skull wants the lower jaw, and has only three teeth in the upper jaw; but the bone of the skull averages about one quarter of an inch in thickness. The whole weight, if complete, would be nearly 2¼ lb.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

165 Indus. The differences between this and the average of the Ladákis can only be accounted for by the general dissoluteness of all Musalmáns, and the consequent spread of loathsome and fatal diseases.

TABLE OF LONGEVITY PER CENT.

	Numbers.		70 to 80.		80 to 90.		90 to 100.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Rukchu	113	122	0·880	2·459	0·880	0·820	—	—
Spiti	686	751	1·157	1·164	0·291	0·693	—	—
Ladák	1,342	1,492	0·745	0·670	0·447	0·268	0·074	—
Purik.....	867	883	1·268	0·905	0·807	0·792	0·115	0·113
Nubra	788	1,030	1·269	2·336	0·507	0·777	0·127	0·194
Average	3,796	4,278	1·064	1·507	0·586	0·670	0·063	0·061
Balti, &c.	13,662	13,387	0·537	0·527	0·184	0·175	0·070	0·022
Great Britain			2·218	2·401	0·700	0·756	0·059	0·074

I heard of only one person who was more than 100 years of age. She was an old nun of Sakté, in the Chimra valley, whose sons were seventy and eighty years old. She was said to be 110 years of age. I had no means of ascertaining the rate of mortality; but different people stated the annual number of deaths at Lé at from twenty-five to fifty, or about forty persons. As the population of the capital is nearly 4,000 persons, the annual mortality will be rather more than one per cent. The population of the country, except in times of war or disease, remains nearly stationary; but this is not owing to any unhealthiness of climate, but to the system of polyandry, which most effectually checks any increase. In 1822 the number of houses in Spiti was 267,* and in 1847 the number was 262.

* Trebeck in Moorcroft, II. p. 71.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IV.—DRESS.

291 The men of Ladák wear [illegible]k* of woollen, thick and warm. It is usually white, or rather it has once been white; for as the people only wash themselves once a year, and never wash their clothes, their cloaks are always of a dirty hue. Round their legs, from knee to ankle, they have coarse woollen leggings† (of felt), fitting tightly, or else wrapped close round the leg and secured by a garter,‡ which is wound spirally round the leg from the ankle upwards. The garter is generally black, but sometimes red. On their heads they wear either quilted skull-caps, as filthy as their cloaks, or caps of sheep-skin with the wool inside, and with a large flap behind, which covers the back of the neck as well as [565] the ears. Those in better circumstances have fur caps of the same shape. Their boots are of felt, with soles of sheep or goat-skin, which are turned up all round and sewn to the felt. The upper part of the felt boot is open to the front, and is allowed to fall over, something in the manner of the boots worn in England in Charles II.'s time. The lamas have red boots, and the others mostly have theirs ornamented with small bits of coloured cloth in the front.§

The Ladáki women wear a black woollen jacket with a large striped woollen petticoat of many colours, generally green, blue, red, and yellow, reaching below the mid-leg. Over all they wear a sheep skin with the wool inside, secured, or rather skewered, in front by a large

* The cloak is called *La-pa-sha.*

† The legging is called *rKang-Phying.*

‡ The garter is called *rKang-gDub.*

§ See Plates XVII. and XXIII. for the men's dress.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47)1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Plate XVII

Zang-bo Chang-jok

Men of PIN in SPITI

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 iron or brass needle. The poorer classes have the outside of the skin plain, but those in better circumstances cover it with coarse woollen baize, either red, blue, green, or yellow, with a broad border always of a different [565] colour. The upper classes cover this sheep-skin cloak either with brocade or with silk. Their heads are always bare, the hair being arranged in a border of narrow plaits, which hang round the head like a long fringe. From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wear a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hangs down behind as low as the waist, and is usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowrees. The ears are covered by semicircular woollen lappets, fastened to the hair and edged with brown or black fur, generally of the otter-skin, called Kunduz. These ear-flaps are always red, the inside being woollen, and the outside brocade. These are made coarse or fine according to circumstances; for the Ladáki women seem to pride themselves upon the style and material of these lappets just as much as European ladies do upon the fashion of their bonnets.*

292 The dancing-women wear similar dresses, but they sometimes also have long gowns, of different colours, instead of the jacket and petticoat. Their heads are always covered, either with a coloured and quilted skull-cap, or with a circular, flat-topped, stiff woollen hat, 301 something like a short shako without a peak. These are ornamented with cornelians and turquoises.† All

* See Plates XV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. and XXII. for the women's dress of Kanáwar, Spiti, and Ladák.

† Plate XXII. Moorcroft, I. p. 328, remarks that "a Ladáki female in full costume would create no small sensation amongst the fashionable dames of a European capital."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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301
142

Women of Lower KANAWAR

Kanet
aged 30
LABRANG

Kanet
5 ft 0 1/4in.

Girl
aged 18
LIPÉ

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Women of Upper KANAWAR

Plate XVI

304b

Back View of Thajang

Thajang, aged 20
3 Husbands
HANGO

Landlord's Wife
SUNGNAM

Girl aged 14
LIYO

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

p. 304c

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Height 4 ft 9
DANGKHAR
SPITI

Sangi Ram
SPITI

Height 4ft 10
SHE
in LADAK

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 p. 304d
301

Landlords Wives

From NURLA in LADAK

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

262 The food of the common people usually consists of
565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

264 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that
565 may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for
262 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu
784 Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is
565 the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and 527
every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in [273]
general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following:

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the 852
mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one 846
month.

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our 553
christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang.

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal 585
business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 the bride's house with a bowl of chang, and the relatives discuss the wedding-day and the spirits together. After the bridal day has been fixed, the bridegroom is obliged to send a portion of food and chang daily to his elect. After the end of fifteen or twenty days all the relatives of both parties assemble together to ask the bridegroom what present he will make to the mother of the bride. The bridegroom makes an offer, generally of a few rupees (one to ten), according to his means and the ardour of his love. A poor man will give a pot of chang and a silver *jao* (sixpence) to his bride's mother, while the thriving man will give a present of ten rupees. About ten or fifteen days after the "asking," the relatives of both parties assemble at the bride's house, and conduct the lady in state to the bridegroom's house, where prayers are read by a party of lamas, and the couple are declared man and wife. The whole party then sits down to dinner and chang, of which the supply on these occasions is always ample. The entertainment lasts for several days, according to the means of the bridegroom, and the assembled lamas read prayers every morning to the half-sober guests.

764 The funeral-feast, *Shid-Ton*, varies according to the rank and circumstances of the deceased. For a rich man, a large party of lamas assemble, and read prayers daily until the body is burned, which does not usually take place for fifteen or twenty days. For a poor man, only a few lamas meet together and read prayers for four or five days (never beyond a week), while the body remains in the house. During this time a piece of cloth is fixed over the doorway as a sign of mourning. The lamas are regaled with food and tea daily; and, when

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the body has been burned, they are presented with the clothes and cooking-vessels of the deceased. 764

When a great man dies, such as the Gyalpo or any of the Kahlons, his corpse is kept in the house for fifteen or twenty days, while the assembled lamas read prayers daily. The number of the lamas depends on the means or pride of the relatives. The body is then carried to the *Pur-khang*, or place of cremation, and after being burned in a metal vessel, the ashes (*Pur-thal*) are carefully collected and made into an image of the deceased. A *Chhorten*, or pyramid, is erected on the spot for the reception of an urn or funeral vessel (*Pur-Gom*), in which the following articles are deposited with the figure:— 766

1. Wheat, barley, rice, and peas.
2. Pearls, coral beads, turquoises.
3. Gold, silver, copper, iron (either in money or vessels).
4. Rolls of prayers and holy writings.
5. Pieces of the holy Shúkpá, or pencil-cedar, and of sandal-wood, both white and red.

The body of the great lama is interred in a coffin (*Pur-Gam*), dressed in the usual clothes, with the knees brought up to the chin, and corded together in as small a compass as possible, and in a sitting posture. Beside the body are placed the deceased's plate and cup, his rolls of prayers, his praying-cylinder, and all his religious instruments, together with the grains, minerals, and metals, usually deposited with royalty. To these are added images of Shakya Thûbba, Jámya, and Chanrazik, and a figure of the lama himself. The coffin is deposited in a *Chhorten*, before which, for some time, food and water are offered daily, and a light is kept burning every night.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 These details may appear trifling, but they are really of great value for the illustration of Indian Buddhism. In some of the topes or Chaityas, near Bhilsa, Lieut. Maisey and myself found both precious stones and precious metals deposited with the relics of Sáriputra and Maha Mogalána, the right and left hand disciples of Buddha. On some of the relic-boxes we found inscriptions giving the names and patronymics, and occasionally the titles, of the holy men whose relics were enshrined. These short epitaphs are still used in Ladák, where they are called *Dur-chang*, or tomb-inscriptions.

000 In the lofty districts of Rukchu and Chang-thang, where no wood is procurable, and where burning with the Tibetan furze would be a tedious operation, the bodies of the dead are always exposed on hills to be eaten by vultures and wild dogs. Trebeck* states that the faces of the dead are covered when thus exposed; but my informants, both at Rukchu in 1846, and at Hanlé in 1847, were silent on this point. The Hanlé hill was literally covered with bones, from amongst which I obtained the skull and pelvis of the most perfect skeleton.

In Great Tibet the bodies of the dead are cut into small pieces by professional corpse-butchers, or pinkers (*découpeurs de mort*), and given to the dogs. This is called the "terrestrial funeral." The bones after being bruised in a mortar with parched corn are made into balls and thrown to the dogs and vultures. This is the "celestial funeral;" and these two are considered the most fortunate modes of disposing of the dead.†

* Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 49.

† Nouv. Jour. Asiatique, tom. iv. 1829, pp. 254, 255, Father Hyacinthe's translation from the Chinese.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The favourite amusement of the Botis, both of Ladák and of Balti, is *Polo*, in which all parties from the highest to the lowest can take a part. I saw the game played at Mulbil, in a field 400 yards long and eighty yards broad, which was walled round for the purpose with a stone dyke. There were twenty players on each side, all mounted on ponies and armed with sticks about four feet long, and bent at the lower end. One player took the ball and advanced alone into the middle of the field, where he threw up the ball and as it fell struck it towards one of the goals. The goals were formed of two upright stones placed about twenty-five or thirty feet apart. When the ball was driven through a goal, one of the successful party was obliged to dismount and pick it up, for if the opposite party should have driven it back before it was picked up, the goal did not count. The game consisted in winning a certain number of goals, either five, seven, or nine. Numerous musicians were in attendance, who made a most lively din whenever a goal was won; and the noise was increased by the cheers of the successful party.

The game is a very spirited one, and well calculated for the display of bold and active horsemanship.* Accidental blows occur frequently, but the poor ponies are the principal sufferers. The game was once common in India under the name of *Chaogan*, but it is now completely forgotten. The old chaogan-grounds still exist in every large town in the Panjáb hills; in Bilâspur, Nadon, Shujanpur, Kangrá, Haripur, and Chamba, where the goal-stones are still standing. The game is

* It is well and tersely described by Vigne as "hockey on horseback." Mr. Thornton calls it "*cricket* on horseback;" but it has nothing whatever in common with cricket.

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repeatedly mentioned by Bâber; but after his time it gradually became obsolete. It was introduced by the Musalman conquerors, and the very first king, Kutb-ud-din Aibak, was killed by a fall from his horse when playing at chaogan in A.D. 1210.* The Pathán kings of India still continued to join in the game down to the time of Sikander Lodi, in A.D. 1498, when "one day, while the king and his court were playing at chaogan, the bat of Haibat Khan Shirwani by accident came in contact with the head of Suliman, the son of Darya Khan Lodi, who received a severe blow. This was resented on the spot by Khizr Khan, the brother of Suliman, who, galloping up to Haibat Khan, struck him violently over the skull. In a few minutes both sides joined in the quarrel, and the field was in uproar and confusion. Mahmud Khan Lodi and Khan Khanan Lodi interposing, endeavoured to pacify Haibat Khan, and succeeded in persuading him to go home quietly with them. The king, apprehensive of conspiracy, retired immediately to the palace; but nothing more transpiring, he made another party at the same game a few days after."†

VII.—HOUSES—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

346 [312] The finest buildings in Ladák are the monasteries, which are always placed on heights more or less lofty, and which generally have a very picturesque and imposing appearance. Many of them would be places of some strength if they possessed water; but I am not aware of a single monastery that has even one day's supply. The outer walls of the monastery are formed by

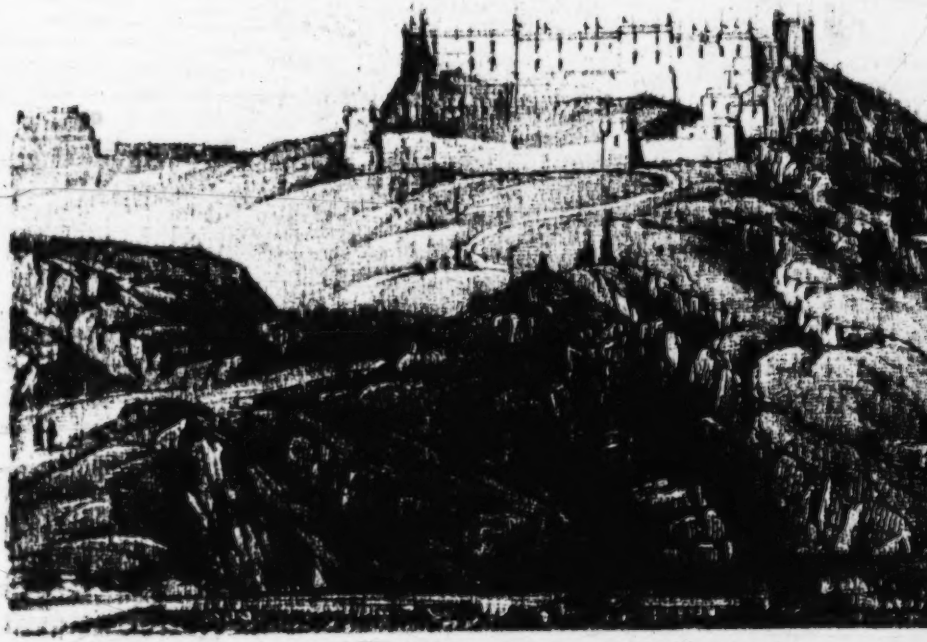
* Briggs's Ferishta, I. p. 199. † Idem, p. 574.

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 the dwellings of the monks, and the interior, if large, is divided by other buildings into several open courts. One room, more spacious and much more lofty than the rest, is set apart as a temple for the performance of daily service. The outer walls are generally white-washed; and the battlements are ornamented with broad bands of red, and surmounted with numerous small flags that flutter in the breeze and give a lively appearance to the whole place. Outworks are sometimes added for the purpose of defence. These are generally plain curtain-walls connected by square towers crowned by machicoulis.*

342 The generality of the houses throughout Ladák are so much alike that a description of one will serve for all. The houses usually consist of two or three stories and sometimes of four. The foundations and lower parts of the walls are built of stone, the upper walls of large sun-dried bricks, 20×10×6 inches. In the better houses some of the rooms are of considerable size, twenty-five feet long and eighteen broad; but they are always very low, the highest not exceeding seven and a half or eight feet. The roofs of these large rooms are always supported by plain wooden pillars. The roof is formed of poplar spars five or six inches in diameter, peeled white, and laid only one to one and a half feet apart. The beams are covered in with small straight pieces of poplar branches about one inch in diameter, peeled white, and placed touching each other. Generally they are laid straight across the beams; but sometimes at different angles, in the alternate intervals, so as to form a pattern like herring-bone. The whole is then covered with a layer of leaves and a thick coat of well-beaten

* See Plate XX. for a view of the monastery of Hanlé.



The Monastery of HANLE, in Rukchu.

p. 313a

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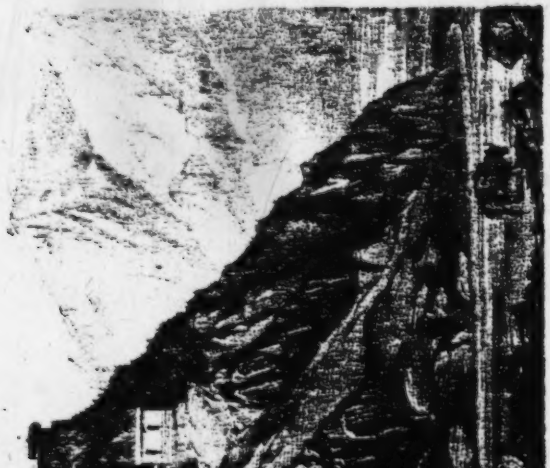


1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

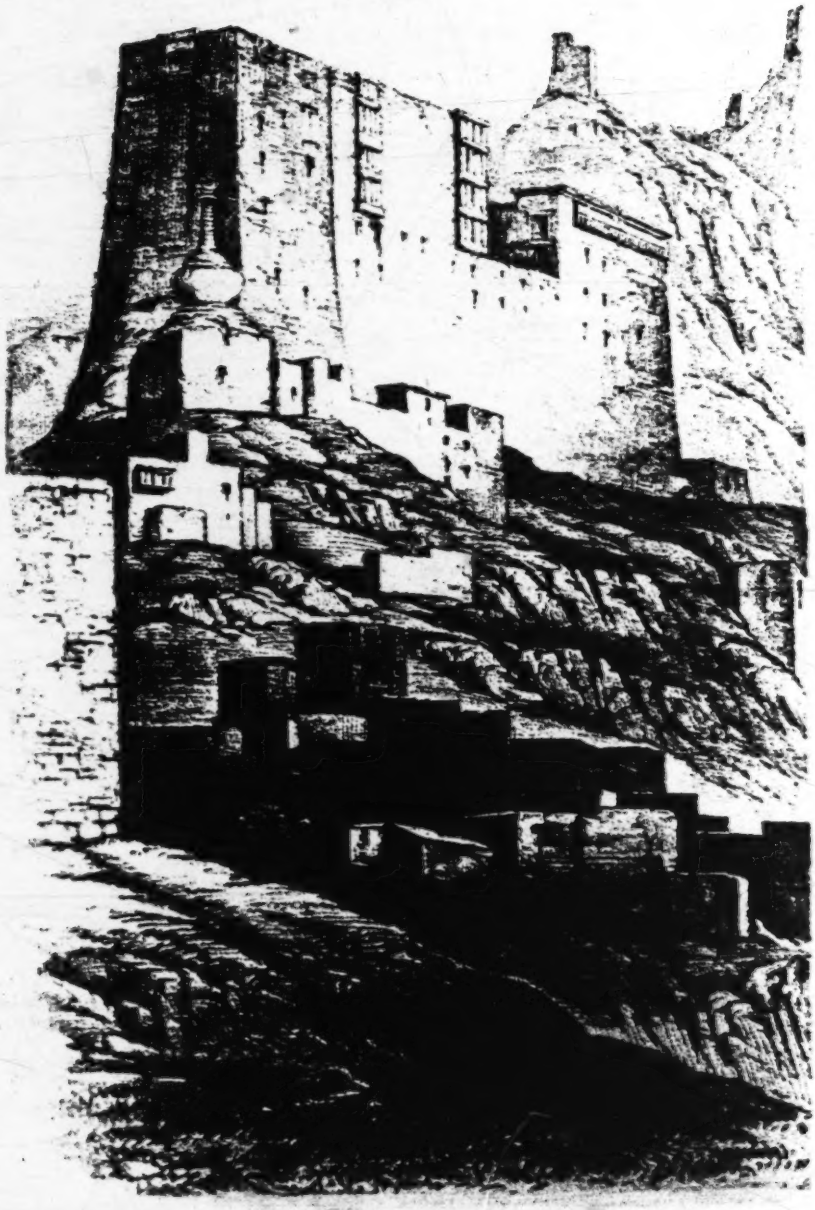
342 clay. The floors are generally of earth, but the better sort are paved with small slit pebbles, about the size of turkeys' eggs, set in clay with the flat surfaces upwards. They form a clean, hard, smooth, and lasting floor.

The principal room generally has a balcony towards either the south or the west, from ten to twenty feet in length, and usually about two feet and a half in width, where the family sit to enjoy the sun in the winter season. The doors are mere rough planks of wood, joined together by wooden tenons, and sometimes strengthened by cross bars fastened with wooden pins. Purdahs or wadded curtains are also used as an additional means of excluding the cold wind; but when the doors are shut, there is only a dim light admitted into these apartments through one or two loopholes, which are closed with small shutters at night. If supplied with glass windows and fireplaces, many of these houses would form very comfortable residences; but at present they must be wretched habitations for the winter.

The houses of the poorer classes are generally of two stories: the lower story being appropriated to their cattle. The roofs are much more coarsely made, and the rooms are small and very low, being sometimes under six feet in height. In Ladák, the upper story is usually reached by a flight of earthen steps; but in Lahul, by the sloping trunk of a tree notched into steps.

344 The royal palace at Lé is a large fine-looking building, that towers in lofty pre-eminence over the whole city. It is 250 feet in length and seven stories in height. The outer walls have a considerable slope, as their thickness diminishes rapidly with their increase of height. The

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



Palace at LF

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

344 upper stories are furnished with long open balconies to the south, and the walls are pierced with a considerable number of windows. The beams of the roof are supported on carved wooden pillars, and covered with planks painted in various patterns on the outside. The building is substantial and plain; but its size and height give it a very imposing appearance.*

* See Plate XXI. for a view of the palace at Lé.

J: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XII.—HISTORY.

I.—UNDER NATIVE RULERS.

175 642 "THE earlier history of Ladák is that of Tibet in general, as it originally formed one of the provinces of that kingdom, governed as to temporal matters by an independent prince, and in spiritual affairs by the Guru Lama, or chief pontiff of Lhása." Such was Moorcroft's opinion;* and such also is that of the present inhabitants: and there can be no reasonable doubt that such was the usual position of Ladák, although its political dependence was more nominal than real. Under vigorous rulers, such as Palgyi-Gon in the tenth century, and Singgé Namgyal in the seventeenth century, its entire independence was asserted and upheld. But the original dependence at some distant period is, I think, clearly proved by the acknowledged descent of the Ladáki princes from Khri-Tsaupo, the first recorded king of Great Tibet.

175 779 The earliest historical notice of Ladák is that of the Chinese pilgrim *Fa-Hian*, in A.D. 400.† At that time

* Travels, I. p. 336.

† *Fo-kwo-ki.* French translation by Remusat, &c., p. 26. *Fo-kwo-ki.* English translation by J. W. Laidlay, p. 27, note 1. This translation is enriched by many valuable notes, both geographical and religious. It should be in the possession of every one who takes any interest in the ancient history of India.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AI4

the country had a king, and a numerous clergy, all of whom were strongly attached to the popular Buddhistical doctrine of the "*Lesser-advancement*," which consisted of outward observances, both moral and religious. The ceremonial of the *quinquennial assembly*, which was originally established by Asoka, about B.C. 250, was duly performed with much rude magnificence, and with becoming gravity. Buddhism was then the prevailing religion of Ladák; and there seems good reason to believe that it had been firmly rooted there for upwards of 400 years, since the first century before the Christian era, when the Buddhistical doctrines were first *widely* spread throughout Tibet by the preaching of 500 Kashmirian missionaries.* 175 779

In the tenth century, when the empire of Great Tibet was finally broken up, several of the outlying districts were separated by ambitious chiefs, and erected into independent kingdoms. Thus Purang was occupied by Tashi-Degon, and Ladák by Palgyi-Gon.† From that time down to the end of the sixteenth century, no historical records now exist in Ladák itself, although it is possible that a copy of the royal genealogy may yet be found at Lhása. Csoma de Körös was certainly misinformed regarding the existence of a book at Lé containing the "names of the kings that successively reigned in that principality."‡ For, during the invasion of Ladák in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Ali Mir, the Musulmán chief of Skardo, all 175 [798]

* Klaproth's Chinese Chronology, in Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 128. It was however first introduced about B.C. 240.

† Csoma de Körös, Kings of Tibet. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 131. See also Deguigne's Hist. des Huns, &c. tom. i. p. 165.

‡ Note appended to his list of Tibetan kings. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 132.

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175 [798] the temples and monasteries of the country are said to have been destroyed, and their libraries thrown into the Indus. To this cause the Lamas attribute the entire want of all historical documents prior to that time; and their only record accordingly begins with the conquest of the country by *Chovang-Namgyal*,* a descendant of *Khri-Tsampo*,† the first king of Tibet. No date is given: but as his brother's son was a contemporary of the emperor Jehángir, this conquest could not have taken place much earlier than A.D. 1600, or perhaps about 1580.

During my stay in Ladák I had a copy of the existing history of the country transcribed for me in the original Tibetan. The historical portion of this work is brief, as the greater part of the volume consists of the Lamaïc ideas of the cosmogony and theogony. When in Ladák I had the principal historical parts read and explained to me, of which I made notes at the time; and I had also an abstract prepared by a Munshi in Urdu. From these I have now arranged the only interesting parts of the history, extending over a century and a half, during which period Ladák was conquered three different times.

Chovang-Namgyal, a descendant of the ancient kings of Tibet, being expelled from Lhása, took refuge in Ladák, where he established himself about A.D. 1580. He afterwards extended his conquests into the neighbouring districts of *Changmarangi*, *Lodang*, *Purang*, *Gugé*, *Lhojumlang*, *Lungti*, *Shigar*, *and Khabkar*.‡ He

* *Chho-dVang-rNam-rGyal*, that is, king Chovang.

† *Khri-rTsam-po*, pronounced *Thi-Tsanpo* in Great Tibet.

‡ The names of these places are thus written in Tibetan: *Byang-dMa-rangis*, *bLo-dang*, *Bu-rang*, or *sPu-rangs*, *Lho-hJum-lang*, *Lung-ti*, *Shi-dKar*, *Khab-dKar*. Purang lies to the S.E. of Ladák, and Shigar

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

then returned to the capital to make preparations for 175
the invasion of Yarkand by the Nubra road. On hearing of his intentions, the chief men of Nubra at once waited upon Chovang at Lé, to tender their submission, and a trustworthy officer was despatched to receive charge of the district. After this, Chovang 651
imposed a yearly tribute of one hundred golden *tillas** 176
upon the landlords of *Kukiwála*, and upon those of *Rudok* a yearly tribute of 207 golden *tillas*, besides one horse and ten unicorns.† He also levied a considerable sum from the neighbouring districts.

Having acquired a large sum of money by these 175
conquests, Chovang Namgyal resolved upon erecting an 778
image of Buddha, under the name of *Sankya-Bidung*, or the "replete with extreme holiness." When the image was finished, all the people assembled to make their offerings, and a great feast was celebrated upon the occasion. Some time afterwards, about A.D. 1600, when he was meditating the erection of other images, he was prevented by death, and having no children, he was succeeded by his brother.

The new king, named *Jámya Namgyal*,‡ upon his 175

to the N.W. of it. The ambitious Chovang therefore would seem to have aspired to the conquest of *Ngári*, and of *Balti*, as well as to that of Ladák. But the historian has most probably dignified some successful plundering expeditions with the name of conquests.

* A *tilla* is worth about six rupees. The proper name for the gold coin is *sir-jao*, or a golden *jao*.

† In the original, *bSe-ru*, an animal with one horn. Csoma de Körös calls it a kind of deer (see Dict. in voce). Klaproth has a long note upon this animal (see Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. vi. pp. 229, 230, 231). He states that Mr. B. H. Hodgson's *Chiru* of southern Tibet is the same as the *Seru*; of which I think there can be no doubt. Mr. Hodgson himself assigns the animal to the "open plains of N.E. Tibet," but he has published no description. See Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, IV. p. 522.

‡ *hJam-dVyangs*, "sweet harmony."

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175 accession, received the usual offerings of submission from all the Ladákis, excepting only a petty chief of Purik who was in the interest of Ali Mir, the Gyalpo of Balti. Chovang Malig, the head chief of Purik and the elder brother of the rebel, applied to Jámya for a small force to coerce the refractory chief. The king assented and accompanied his troops to the Purik district, where they were suddenly overtaken by a violent snowstorm. The royal troops were dispersed; and the king and many of his principal followers were taken prisoners by the rebel and sent to Skardo,* where they were confined. The remainder of the troops were permitted to return to Ladák.

175 798 Ali Mir, the ruler of Skardo, taking advantage of the helpless state of the country, immediately marched upon Lé with a large force, and took possession of the whole of Ladák.† The temples and monasteries were burned;‡ the images of Buddha and of his various personified emanations were destroyed by the bigoted Mahomedans; and all the religious and historical books were thrown into the Indus. The conquest was complete; and arrangements having been made for the future government of Ladák, Ali Mir marched back to Skardo.

175 Shortly after his return, the conqueror released Jámya, the imprisoned Gyalpo of Ladák, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. No reason is assigned for

* *Skar-mDo*, pronounced *Skardo*, "the starry place," or "starry fort."

† This conquest is also recorded in Vigne's brief historical notice of Balti (Kashmir, II. p. 253); but the chief of Skardo is there called Ali Sher, and not Ali Mir. Ali Sher is the true name, as all the petty chiefs of the Balti district claim their descent from him.

342 ‡ The buildings in Ladák are readily burned down, as all the walls are bonded together with timber, which in so dry a climate is readily ignited.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

a proceeding so foreign to the usual tyrannical bigotry of a Musalmán. It is probable that Ali Mir, finding it difficult to retain Ladák as a permanent province of his kingdom, thought it more politic to secure by a display of apparent generosity, even the lukewarm friendship of the king of Ladák, than to encounter the active hostility of a whole people. / 75

Jámya's return was hailed with joy by his people, who all hastened to present their offerings of submission and congratulation, and to beg that he would restore the temples and images of Buddha, and procure new copies of their sacred books from Lhása. All this he was able to effect by his prudent management, as well as to extend the boundary of his dominions to *Tanchi*.

By the Baltian princess, Jámya had two sons, named *Singgé Namgyal* and *Norbu Namgyal*. The former was married to the daughter of *Chovang Gyalmo*,* who bore him two sons, named *Navang Namgyal* and *Tanjin Namgyal*. On this occasion the king sent a costly present of money, gold, silver, pearls, and coral to the temple of *Joborinché*, at *Brakpipulka*,† near *Lhása*. He also ordered to be copied in letters of gold, silver, and copper, the two books called *Gyatokisangsum*,‡ after which he is said to have died of grief or chagrin upon learning that two temples of Buddha still remained

* *rGyal-mo*, a "queen." She must have been one of the petty princesses of the country.

† *hBrag-p,hi-sbrul-ku*, pronounced *Brakpipulka*. The neighbourhood of Lhása is literally a vast suburb of temples. The names of many are given by Father Hyacinthe in his translation from the Chinese, but I can find no mention of *Joborinché*. See Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. iv. pp. 294-5-6.

‡ *rGya-tog-gSeng-gSum*, the "three secrets of *Gyatok*." The lamas read "*two*" to me; but as *gSúm* means "*three*," there are probably three books of this name.

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175 unfinished. His reign probably extended from A.D. 1600 to 1620.

Jámya was succeeded by his eldest son *Singgé Namgyal*, who, feeling emulous of the military fame of his uncle *Chovang*, began his reign by conducting an expedition into the districts of *Gugé*, *Kiprok*, and *Tipichangyap*, from which he carried off many cattle and other property of the zamindars. During his reign
175 a monk, named *Staktshang-Raspa*, who had travelled
778 through *Gyagarnag*, *Urgyan*, and *Kháché*,* arrived at the village of *Tamosgang*,† in Ladák, where he made and consecrated an image of Chamba.‡ To this image he attached five monks for the performance of daily service, and having seen the complete establishment of the worship, he gave away in alms all that he possessed and departed.

175 After this Ahmed Khán, the chief of Balti, with the assistance of Jehángir Shah, invaded Ladák with a very large force; but *Singgé Namgyal* having collected his own troops to oppose them,§ the invaders were defeated

103 * *rGya-gar-nag*, literally the "white and black plains," that is, India and China. *U-rgyan*, the country of mixed races, perhaps the Indo-Persian district of *Udyána*, and the valley of the Kábul river. *Kháchhe*, Kashmir.

† *gTang-mo-sgang*, on the right bank of the Indus below Lé. It is now the most populous village in Ladák.

‡ *Byams-pa*, pronounced *Chamba*, the "Clement." This saint is now very popular in Ladák. He is the future Buddha, MAITREYA.

§ Jehángir reigned from A.D. 1605 to 1628. The defeat of the Baltis may therefore be placed about A.D. 1625. This defeat is confirmed by the chronicles of Skardo, which (according to Vigne, *Kashmir*, II. p. 253) refer the loss of Ladák to the reign of Ahmed Khan, the son of Ali Sher. The subsequent invasion of the Lhásan territory probably took place in 1630. It is at least certain that these events could not have occurred later than 1630–1635, because in 1640 the celebrated and

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with great slaughter at *Kharbu*.* After this victory the 175
king returned to his capital, and then proceeded at once against the people of *Gugé*, *Chaprang*, and *Lomostang*, who had taken advantage of the Muhammadan invasion to rebel against the authority of Ladák. They were quickly reduced by the active Singgé, and at the same time he took the opportunity of adding the neighbouring district of Rudok to his kingdom. Flushed with success, Singgé Namgyal next determined to attack Lhása itself; but when he had advanced as far as *Sri Kirkir*,† he was met by a deputation from the people of the country, headed by *Deba-Changpa*, with several mule-loads of gold, silver, tea, and other articles as a peace-offering. On receipt of this present, Singgé Namgyal consented to evacuate the Lhásan territory. Accordingly he fell back to Lomostang,‡ and afterwards took possession of the districts of *Purang*, *Gugé*, *Zanskar*, *Spiti*, *Purik*, *Mangyumla*, *Sedakh*, and *Shakyamcho*.§

ambitious Grand Lama *Navang-Lozang* had conquered the whole of Tibet.

* *Khar-bu*. There are two places of this name in Ladák, the larger of which is situated on the left bank of the Kanji river. The other stands on the right bank of the Drás river. The battle must have been fought at the former place, because it is on the high road from Balti to Lé, whereas the Kharbu of Drás is out of the way.

† *Shi-ri-Kyir-kyir*. This means a "winding or whirling stream," and 103
is probably the river *Sekor* of our maps, which joins the *Tsangpo* about half-way between Lé and Lhása. *Kyir-kyir*, "circular," is evidently the same word as the Latin *circulus*, and the Greek κυκλος.

‡ This is probably the Stang of our maps on the right bank of the Sutluj, and on the high road between Spiti and Garo.

§ *Purang*, a district of Ngári to the west and south of the Mánasarovar lake, and the *Pruang* of Capt. H. Strachey's map. *Gu-gé* is also a district of *Ngári* to the west of *Purang*; its chief places are Chaprang and Toling. The districts of Zanskar and Spiti are well known. *Pu-rig* lies upon the Kanji and Waká rivers, to the eastward of Suru; its chief places are Kharbu and Paskyum. *Mang-yum-la* is certainly the district

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175 Singgé Namgyal had three sons, named *Deldan Namgyal*, *Indra Namgyal*, and *Tenchhog Namgyal*, amongst whom, by the advice of the lama *Thunshak*,* he divided his dominions. To Deldan he gave *Ladák*, *Purik*, *Rudok*, and *Mangyum*, as far as *Dáh*, on the Indus; to Indra he gave the district of *Gugé*; and to Tenchhog he gave *Spiti* and *Zanskar*. By this division of his territories the province of Ngári was finally alienated from Ladák, and was soon after lost by the family of Indra Namgyal to the Lhásan authorities.† Singgé Namgyal reigned from about A.D. 1620 to 1670.

Singgé Namgyal was succeeded by his son Deldan Namgyal in the government of Ladák, Rudok, and the

of Katakshe or *Mang-khar*, on the Indus, which still includes the large village of *Dah*. Katakshe usually belonged to Balti. *Sed-kha* and *Shag-kyar-r Gyam-chho* are unknown to me.

* *Thun-shags*; in Sanskrit *Amogha Siddha*.

† It is to this petty state that Moorcroft alludes when he says that "Chanthan was formerly subject to independent princes, but their authority gradually merged into the supremacy of the chief pontiff at Lhása." (Travels, I. p. 364.) According to the information obtained by my brother, Capt. J. D. Cunningham (see Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 231), it would appear that the Gyalpo of Gugé was killed in a war with the Ladákis. The invaders were however expelled by a force from Lhása, which the last chief had asked for, and the Lhásan authorities afterwards retained the province in their own hands. A treaty was then formed with the ruler of Ladák, who married the daughter of the Lhásan commander, and received the district of Spiti as the bride's dowry. This is stated to have taken place about the beginning of the last century, or about A.D. 1720, that is, some fifty or sixty years after the division of his territories by Singgé Namgyal, and the foundation of the principality of Gugé by his son Indra Namgyal. As the district of Spiti is said to have belonged to Gugé, the family of Then-chhog Namgyal must have been dispossessed by that of Indra Namgyal some time beforehand. According to the above account also, the Spiti district must have been alienated from the kingdom of Ladák from about A.D. 1660 to 1720, when it was reconquered by the Ladáki ruler Delek Namgyal.

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western districts of Purik, Suru, and Hembabs. He 175
began his reign with a display of great zeal in the cause of religion by constructing a large image of gold and silver in the village of Shé.* He also built a lofty tomb with a pinnacle of gold and silver, to the memory of his father, and constructed a wall around the monument of his mother. He erected temples at Zanskar, 778
Pushbuz, and Tumnuz, each at a cost of Rs. 10,000. In the fort of Lé, also, he set up an image of Chandra,† and appointed several priests for the performance of daily worship. In the same place too he consecrated a silver image of Chanrazik, the god of the dead.‡

The appointment of *Shakya-gya-cho* to the post of 175
chief minister having produced a revolt in the district of Purik, the minister with a large force marched in person to Kharbu, where, having seized the principal officers, he returned to Lé and imprisoned them in the fort of Hemis. About a year afterwards the people of Chigtan, Shako, and Sôd,§ rebelled against the government. The minister was again despatched to quell the disturbance, which he effected without any difficulty; and *Thai Sultán*, the author of the rebellion, being

* This image, which still exists at Shé, has now lost all its gilding. It is a colossal copper figure of *Shakya Thubba*, or Shakya in a *squatting* posture. *Shé* is on the right bank of the Indus, a few miles above Lé.

† *lCham-hdré*. Moorcroft calls this image by the name of *Chamba* (*Byams-pa*, the "Clement"), but his description of it differs somewhat from the paintings of Chamba which I possess. (See Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 343.)

‡ *Spyan-ras-rigs*, pronounced *Chan-razik*. It is equivalent to the Sanscrit *Avalokita* or *Avalokiteswara*, the "seen." This image is also described by Moorcroft, and most accurately (I. p. 342).

§ *Chigtan*, *Sha-rkar* or *Shako*, in the Suru valley. *Sôd*, near Paskyum in Purik.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 seized at the village of Karchu,* was sent as a prisoner to Lé.

After this the minister with a large army invaded the district of Khapalor, one of the dependencies of Balti. On his way he took possession of the district of Chhorbat; and at Thorchekhar, near Khapolor, he received the submission of Hatim Khán, Sultán Khán, and Ali Khán, the chiefs of the district.† But the chiefs of Karchu and Balti having obtained aid from the Mahomedan governor of Kashmir, advanced against the invaders, whom they encountered at Sariru.‡ The Ladákis, under their leader *Parak Namgyal*, gained a signal victory; the Kashmiris having lost many of their officers as well as their colours and drums. In consequence of this victory, the chiefs of Karchu and Balti tendered their submission, and became tributary to Ladák.

But this success was shortly followed by an alarming invasion of Sokpos.§ Under their leaders, named *Galdan Chobar Jongar* and *Lobzang Sherab*,‖ these marauders routed the Ladáki troops at *Dalang-*

* This place is the chief town of the Suru district. It is the same as Moorcroft's Lang-kartsé.

† *Kha-po-lor* and *hChhor-hBad* are both upon the Sháyak river, and were both dependencies of Balti until the Dogra conquest in 1840. *Tho-rche-mKhar* is perhaps the *Hajacha* of Vigne's map, which lies immediately to the eastward of Khapolor. Hatim Khan was the chief of Pargutu, and Ali Khan of Keris.

‡ *Sa-ri-ru*, position unknown.

§ *Sog-po*, the people of the *Sog* tribe. They are the *Sákas* of the Hindus, the Σακαι and Σαγαρακαι of the Greeks, and the *Mogals* of the present day, who, under the celebrated Janghez Khan, only a few centuries ago, spread terror throughout Europe. Their country is called *Sog-yul*, and also *Li-yul*, or Brass-land.

‖ *dGah-ldan-Chho-dBar*, with the affix of *hJong-hGar*. The name of the other leader was *bLo-bzang-She-rab*.

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Kharmar, and pursued them as far as *Lung-Khung*; but being afterwards worsted by the Ladákis, they retired to their own country. In the following year, however, they again invaded Ladák, and having again defeated the Gyalpo's troops, at *Balaskya*, they took possession of the village of *Chang-la*.* Here they were joined by the people of Gugé, and having advanced as far as Sakti, near the pass of Chang-la, they halted while the Ladáki troops retreated upon Lé. This took place in the year of *Chhumo-phag-lo*, or the "water-hog," the sixtieth year of the Tibetan cycle, equivalent to A.D. 1685-86.

After this the Sokpos took possession of the whole country as far as Nyimo,† excepting only the forts of Tashigang, Baku, and Chimra.‡ Having failed in an attempt upon the fort of Tumnuz, they encamped at Bazgo,§ where they halted for six months. During that time repeated skirmishes took place between the two armies; and the Sokpo chief, Galdan Jongar, tried in vain to destroy a bridge by throwing stones upon it. These events occurred in the year of *Shingpho-byi-lo*,‖

* *Byang-la*, pronounced *Chang-la*. From this and the following mention of the village of Sakti, it appears that the Sokpos invaded Ladák from the side of Ruthog (or Rudok) by the Chang-la pass. The Sakti fort was in fact dismantled by the Sokpos. (See Moorcroft, I. p. 427.)

† *Nyi-mo*, on the right bank of the Indus, about twenty miles below Lé.

‡ Chimra is most probably the village of *Chum-ri*, at the junction of the Chang-la rivulet with the Indus.

§ *Baz-go*, a large village on the right bank of the Indus, about twenty-four miles below Lé.

‖ In the original this date is written *Shing-pho-khyi-lo*, or the "wood-dog-year," which is the eleventh of the Tibetan cycle, and equivalent to either A.D. 1637 or 1697, neither of which is admissible. I have

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175 or the "wood-mouse," the first year of the Tibetan cycle, which is equivalent to A.D. 1686-87.

The Ladákis now implored the aid of the Muhammadan governor of Kashmir, who, with the permission of Aurang Shah (the emperor Aurangzeb), despatched a force of 600,000 men (most probably about 6,000) under Nawáb Fatch Khán, Murid Khán, Lashkar Khán, Kahgán Sultán Khán, Yahia Khán, and Jahángir Khán, to the assistance of the Gyalpo. They crossed the Indus at *Khallach*,* by two wooden bridges; and at *Thanskya-tanag* they encountered and completely defeated the Sokpos. The Musulmáns pursued them as far as *Pitak*,† and having taken that fort, they put the garrison to death, whilst the main body of the Sokpos took refuge in the fort of Lé. After this the invaders having agreed to quit Ladák, retired to Kashún, on which the Mahomedans returned to Kashmir, accompanied by *Jig-bal Namgyal*, the younger son of the Gyalpo. This happened in the year of *Shingmo-lang-lo*, or "the wood-ox," which is the second of the Tibetan cycle, and equivalent to A.D. 1687-88.

In the following year, however, the Sokpos again invaded Ladák, and destroyed the fort of Lé. But, afterwards, through the mediation of a lama, named *Brug-pa-Pham-Bangpo*, the Sokpos agreed to retire on receiving possession of the district of Rudok. A large stone was then set up as a permanent boundary between

therefore made a slight correction by changing *khyi* to *byi*, which is fully justified by its tallying with the other recorded dates.

* *Khal-lach*. The principal bridge across the Indus, on the high road from Kashmir to Lé, is still at this place.

† *Pi-tag*, a small rock-fort on the right bank of the Indus, only four miles from Lé.

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the two countries, the line of demarcation being drawn 175
from the village of *Dechhog* to the hill of *Karbonas*.

This invasion of Ladák by the Sokpos is thus re- 797
lated by Moorcroft.* "About a century and a half 175
ago the Kalmak Tartars invaded Ladák and occupied Lé, and the Raja flew to Kashmir and implored the aid of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of that province in the reign of Aurangzeb. With the permission of the emperor, and on the condition that the Raja became a Musalmán, Ibrahim Khan led a body of troops into Ladák, expelled the Tartars, and replaced the Raja on the throne by the title of Akabal Mahmud, conformably to his new faith. A mosque was erected in Lé, which is still kept up. The son and successor of the Raja reverted to the national creed, and the apostasy was overlooked at Delhi in consideration of the encouragement given to Mahomedanism in the country, and a small annual tribute or present paid to the governor of Kashmir, as the representative of the emperor." A similar account is given by Mir Izzet Ullah,† who says, however, that the title given to the Raja was *Akabet* Mahmud Khan, and that "the Hakims at Kashmir still address the raja of Tibet by that designation." Izzet Ullah farther states that the Raja "coins the *Júd*‡ in the name of Mahmud Shah." This last fact seems to be conclusive of the Gyalpo's apostasy; and I may add that the Dogra soldiers always called the last Gyalpo by the name of Akabet Mahmud Khán. The people, however, both lamas and laymen, whom I interrogated upon this subject, stoutly denied that the Gyalpo had

* Travels, I. pp. 336, 337.

† Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. V. p. 109.

‡ "Four *júds* make one rupee."—Izzet Ullah.

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797 ever become a Musalmán, although they acknowledge
175 that from that time Ladák had continued to pay tribute to the governors of Kashmir. The real truth no doubt is, that the chief made an open profession of the Muhammadan faith in the presence of the Musalmán troops at Lé; but after their retirement to Kashmir he naturally reverted to his own creed. It is probable that the Gyalpo's younger son, Jigbal, who accompanied the Musalmán troops on their return to Kashmir, may have become a Musalmán; and that the governor may have been satisfied with the real conversion of the son, and the permanent establishment of a masjid at Lé.*

175 *Deldan Namgyal* had several sons, one of whom, *Jigbal*, accompanied the Muhammadan army to Kashmir. Another, named *Banchak*, proceeded to Lhása with the Sokpos, at the request of their leader. Of a third, called *Thuptan*, nothing is related. A fourth, named *Delek*, succeeded his father, who abdicated in his favour, and afterwards resided in the fort of Stuklakté. The reign of Deldan Namgyal probably extended from A.D. 1670 to 1705.

Delek Namgyal married the princess, or Gyalmo, of Lomostang, by whom he had five sons: 1st, *Nyima;* 2nd, *Navang;* 3rd, *Dechok;* 4th, *Choltan-grub;* and 5th, *Chortan.*† Delek Gyalpo probably reigned from A.D. 1705 to 1740. It was during his reign that the district of Spiti was re-annexed to the kingdom; and it was

* Vigne (II. p. 253) says that "the name of the first Ali Sher Khan, or Shah Murad, is still to be seen upon a mosque at Lé." Moorcroft, however (I. p. 337), refers the building of the masjid to the period of the Gyalpo's conversion, and so does Izzet Ullah.

† These names are written thus: 1st, *Nyi-ma;* 2nd, *Nga-dVang;* 3rd, *bDe-skyong;* 4th, *Chho-dVal-ton-grub;* 5th, *Chho-rtan.*

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perhaps towards the end of his reign, or more probably in the beginning of his successor's reign, that Ladák was invaded and conquered by Murád, the chief of Balti,* who reigned from about A.D. 1720 to 1750. 175

From that time down to A.D. 1834, when the country was conquered by the Dogras under Zoráwar Sing, the general of Raja Guláb Sing of Jammu, the history, as related to me, was uninteresting. I find, however, that Vigne† mentions an invasion of Balti by an army of Ladákis, during the reign of Ali Sher, the father of Ahmed Shah, the last chief of Balti. The invaders were defeated and obliged to surrender. As this must have happened not more than twenty or twenty-five years prior to Moorcroft's visit to Ladák, it is strange that he makes no mention of it. Vigne's account is farther confirmed by the existence of a tree, which was pointed out to him on the Ladáki frontier near Khallach on the Indus, which was said to have grown from a stick planted there by Ali Sher Khan on his return from a victory in Ladák.‡

When Moorcroft visited Ladák in 1822, the Gyalpo paid an annual tribute to the governor of Kashmír, with which Ranjit Sing was probably contented. But the recent conquest of Kashmir, and the threats of the Sikh governor, had even then alarmed the Gyalpo, who made a tender of his allegiance§ to the British Government, which, unfortunately for the prosperity of

* Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 253. † Kashmir, II. p. 254.

‡ Kashmir, II. p. 254. It is possible, however, that this may refer to the conquest of Ladák by the first Ali Sher Khán.

§ Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 420. I agree with Professor Wilson, Preface, p. xxxix, that "a friendly footing in Ladák would be highly favourable for establishing a beneficial trade with Tartary and Turkistan."

175 Ladák and the commerce of British India, was refused. From that time the Gyalpo lived in continual apprehension of an invasion of his territory by the Sikhs from Kashmir; but the governors of that district were too frequently changed, and too closely watched by the emissaries of the Jammu brothers, to be able to carry out such a design, even if they had formed it. For Raja Dhyán Sing, who was omnipotent in the Sikh durbar, was resolved that no one but his elder brother Raja Guláb Sing should obtain possession of Ladák and Balti. The invasion of these countries was therefore postponed until Guláb Sing had consolidated his power in his newly-acquired territory of Káshtwár,* which he had lately wrested from its hereditary chief.† Accordingly, in 1834, when the power of the Jammu brothers had been extended over all the hill states lying between the Jehlam and the Ravi, excepting only Kashmir, a large body of Dogra troops under the Vazir Zoráwar Sing invaded Ladák from the Káshtwár valley. The following account of this invasion was kindly dictated, at my request, by Mehta Basti Ram,‡ now governor of Lé, who was one of the principal officers of the expedition. As an authentic record of an interesting event, of which no other account exists to my knowledge, I should have

* *Káshtavára*, abounding in wood.

[797] † The representative of this family is now a Christian residing at Simla. He formerly lived at Ludiana, where he was converted by the American missionaries.

‡ Mehta Basti Ram is a Hindu rajput of Káshtwár. He was the governor of Takla-khar, or Takla-kot, near the source of the Sarju or Ghágra river, at the time of Zoráwar Sing's defeat and death, when he made his escape to the British provinces of Almora. He speaks in high terms of the kindness shown to him by the British resident, Mr. Lushington.

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preferred giving the narrative almost literally, but I found that in this shape it would entail the insertion of too many foot-notes, which would have completely distracted the attention of the reader. I have therefore rewritten the account entirely, and have given the Tibetan names, which my knowledge of the localities enabled me to do without much difficulty. The narrative was of course dictated in the first person, for which I have throughout substituted the name of "Dogra" and "the Dogra troops." 175

II.—CONQUEST OF LADÁK BY THE DOGRAS.

1. The chief officers engaged in this expedition under the Vazir Zoráwar Sing, were, 1st, Mia Rai Sing; 2nd, Mehta Basti Rám; 3rd, Mirza Rasul Beg; 4th, Rána Zálim Sing; 5th, Singhé Mankotiah; 6th, Mian Tuta; 7th, Sirdar Uttam Sing; and 8th, Vazir Khojah Bhunjah.

2. The Dogra troops marched from Káshtwár, and entered the Ladák territory by the pass at the head of the Suru valley,* where, on the 16th of August, 1834, they were opposed by the Boti leader Mangal, at the head of 5,000 men. The Dogras advanced to the attack up a hill, which was obstinately defended for a whole day, and at last succeeded in dislodging the Ladákis with a loss of only six or seven killed, and five or six wounded; whilst the enemy lost thirty killed, and as many wounded. They encamped on the north side of the hill for the night, and on the next morning marched to Suru, where they halted for eight days. During that time the Vazir

* This pass was described to me as being extremely easy on the northern side, but very steep and difficult on the south.

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175 prohibited his troops from cutting the corn, which was then ripe, and his politic conduct was rewarded by the immediate submission of the zamindars, who came over to him in a body, and placed themselves under his protection. The Vazir then built a small fort,* which he occupied for a month. He next advanced to *Shakhar*,† where there was a fort belonging to Thai Sultán, and having reinstated the zamindars of Janguri and Shakhar in their villages, he made a summary settlement of the district by imposing a tax of four rupees upon each house.

3. Leaving thirty-five men in the fort and ten men over the bridge, the Dogras advanced by *Langkarchu* ‡ and *Manji* to the bridge of Paskyum, where they were again opposed by the Ladákis. The struggle was desultory and protracted, the Dogras losing only seven killed, while the Botis had fifty or sixty killed, and a greater number wounded. By a skilful manœuvre the Ladákis effected their retreat across the bridge,§ which they then broke down. On the following day, however, the Dogras managed to cross the river on inflated skins without opposition; on which the chief of the place abandoned Paskyum, and fled to the fort of Sôd,‖ where, with the zamindars of the district, he determined to hold out.

* This is the fort in Vigne's map called "Kilah Suru Kurri," belonging to Gulâb Sing.

† *Shá-mKhar*, the fort of *Sha*.

[103] ‡ The Lang-kartse of Moorcroft. The true name I believe is "*Lung-karj-chu*," or the "valley of the Karj river." The bridge here mentioned is that which was crossed by Moorcroft on his journey to Drás.

§ The Wakâ-chu is not fordable at Paskyum, and the bridge is within musket-range of the fort, and of numbers of houses on the northern bank of the stream.

‖ *Sôd*, the Soth of Moorcroft, who mentions an interview that he had with the Raja at Paskyum.

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4. The Dogras advanced towards the place and raised a battery against it; but after ten days' firing nothing had been effected, although they had lost forty men in killed and wounded. The Vazir, who had remained behind at Paskyum, then ordered Mehta Basti Rám, with a party of 500 men, to make a vigorous assault upon the place. Accordingly, early the next morning, whilst it was still dark, the attack was begun by a discharge from the battery, under cover of which the Dogras advanced rapidly to the assault. By daybreak they had gained possession of the place, and had captured the Gyalpo. Altogether the number of prisoners taken at Paskyum and at Sôd amounted to 6,000 men. A whole month was then wasted in fruitless negotiations with the zamindars of the district, who would not agree to the terms of settlement proposed by the Vazir.

5. In the mean time Akabat Mahmúd Khan, the Gyalpo of Ladák, with the *Banka Kahlan** and four chiefs, named Gapaju, Dorje Namgyal, Chang or Chovang Nabdan,† the Kahlon of Bazgo, and Rahim Khan, of Chachot, accompanied by a force of about 22,000 men, arrived at Mulbil. From thence they despatched envoys to the camp, who at first talked boldly, and tried to frighten the Dogras, but they afterwards

* *bKah-bLon*, the prime minister; but the term is also applied to the chief men of all the districts. At this time the Kahlon of Çhimra was the prime minister.

† This man accompanied the unfortunate expedition of Zoráwar Sing into the Lhásan territory. After the Vazir's death he was made prisoner and carried to Lhása, where he is said to be now kept in rigorous confinement. His wife, a buxom-looking dame, who manages the estate of Bazgo, informed me that she had sent several persons to Lhása, not one of whom had been able to communicate with her husband.

175 declared their readiness to agree to honourable terms, and proposed that some respectable and confidential agents should be sent back with them to treat with their chiefs regarding the terms of accommodation. To this the Vazir consented, and after having feasted the envoys and placed turbans on their heads, he deputed Mehta Basti Rám, with some other Dogra officers and a guard of 500 matchlock-men, to accompany them. When the men were ready to start, the Vazir was requested not to send so large a party, as their number would be more likely to alarm than to pacify the minds of their countrymen. Accordingly only five men, with two respectable zamindars, named Gola and Nanda, were sent with the envoys. On their arrival in the Le'áki camp, these men were treacherously seized by the chiefs, and despatched under a guard of 500 men to the bridge of Darkech. One of the men, however, a Suwar, named Ratan Sing, managed to escape, and returned to the Dogra camp. In the mean time Banka Kahlon, by a circuitous route, attacked the Dogras in their rear, and made many prisoners, who were thrown bound into the river in sight of their comrades. On this the Vazir, seeing the danger of his situation, ordered a retreat, which with some difficulty was effected to Lang-Karchu, in the Suru valley, to the fort of Thai Sultan. There the Dogras remained unmolested for four months, procuring a precarious subsistence by plunder alone.

6. At the end of that time Banka Kahlon with his 22,000 men advanced towards Langkarchu; but the Vazir, having received intelligence of their movements, despatched a party of 100 men to oppose them, when they were within one kos (one mile and a half) of the place. Now the straggling manner in which the Dogras

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were obliged to wade through the snow, and the unsoldier-like way in which their tents were scattered over the open country completely deceived the Ladákis as to the real number of their enemies. They were, besides, quite exhausted with their long and fatiguing march through the snow; and therefore, instead of attacking the Dogras at once, they halted for a consultation, which ended in the whole body sitting down to prepare their evening meal of tea and wheaten flour. On seeing this the Dogras attacked them with their swords, and after five or six were killed on each side, and several were wounded, Banka Kahlon and the other Ladáki leaders became alarmed, and fled with numbers of their men. The remainder of the Dogras, who had hitherto held aloof, now rushed to the attack, and completed the rout of the Botis; 400 Ladákis, in attempting to escape along the bank of the river, were overwhelmed by the fall of a snow-bed, and 1,200, who had been concealed behind a hill, were made prisoners, along with Moru Tádsi,* the Káhlon of Bazgo, and his son Gyurmed.† The Dogras lost three of their leaders, namely, Uttam Vazir, Hazru Vazir of Una, and Surtu Rana, with twenty men, and between fifty and sixty wounded.

7. After this victory the Dogras were again enabled to advance to Paskyum by making use of their prisoners for the carriage of their baggage. From thence they marched by Shergol to Mulbil, where they halted for fifteen days, and then proceeded by Kharbu to Lama-

* *Mo-ru-rTá-rDsi*, or *Moru*, master of the horse. Vigne (Kashmir, II. p. 352) calls him Marut Tanzin. He was the Káhlon of Chimra, a district to the S.E. of Lé, on the Rudok road. See Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 425.

† *hGyur-med*, pronounced *Yurmed* in Great Tibet.

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175 Yurru, where they were met by an envoy with a letter from Sultán Akabat Mahmud Khán,* suing for peace. Eight months,† he said, had now elapsed in the vain struggle for independence, and that, if the Vazir would promise faithfully that he should not be seized, he would himself come to treat about the terms of peace. To this the Vazir at once assented, adding that the king need not be under any alarm, as the Dogras wanted nothing more than the payment of a regular tribute to their master, Maharaja Gulób Sing. On this the Gyalpo advanced to Bazgo, and intimated his wish to have an interview, provided the Vazir would not bring a large body of men with him. Accordingly the Vazir, Zoráwar Sing, with Mehta Basti Rám and 100 men, waited upon the Gyalpo, whom they found encamped upon the plain of Bazgo,‡ with a party of 2,000 men. The Gyalpo received the Vazir kindly, and begged that he would move his camp to Bazgo, which was soon afterwards done.

8. When ten days had elapsed, the King wished the Vazir to accompany him to Lé, but with only a small party, lest the inhabitants should become alarmed. Zoráwar Sing assented, and started for Lé with only 100 men. Soon after their arrival the Vazir waited upon the Gyalpo, and was preparing to make his usual offering

* This is the name by which the Dogras always knew this chief. They had received it from the Muhammadans of Káshtwar, who of course used no other name for the descendant of one who was said to have been converted. The Gyalpo's real name was Tonduk Namgyal.

† As the advance was made in the middle of August, 1834, the defeat of the Ladákis must therefore have taken place in the middle of April, 1835. Vigne (II. p. 353) says the spring of 1835.

‡ Bazgo is a very picturesque place situate on the right bank of the Indus, twenty miles below Lé.

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of a *Sadka* of Rs. 100 * to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan, then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo, when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning. 175

9. For four months † the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo should pay Rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of Rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of Rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of Rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of Rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru. 175 651 727

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort, and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles ‡ in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged [727]

* A bag of money waved around the head by the person who presents it.

† As the march from Suru to Lé, with ten days' halt at Bazgo, must have occupied nearly a whole month, the Vazir could not have left Lé until the middle of October, 1835.

‡ Twenty-five *kos*, each kos being as nearly as possible one mile and a half.

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[727] 175 upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with fifty men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

[651] 12. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku* or Zanskar, the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

669 175 13. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé; that the Gyalpo, at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants;† that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tâdsi and the Banka Káhlon, and that he had imprisoned and tortured his Munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he had determined to march at once. Every one professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named

* *Zangs-mKar*, which the Dogras invariably call *Jasku*, and which is the *Zanskar* of our maps.

† Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.

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Midphi Sata offered his services, to whom the Vazir gave a present of a pair of golden bracelets, worth Rs. 500, besides two rupees a day, and the promise of the district of Zanskar in perpetuity. 175 669

14. With twelve seers of wheaten flour, and a bag of barley upon each horse, the party, under the direction of their guide, marching from forty-five to sixty miles* a day, in ten days reached the village of Tsumur,† where they most unexpectedly heard that the wife and son of the Gyalpo were then residing. A party of 500 horsemen was sent forward to capture them; but they received early intelligence of the movement, and fled to Lé. On this the Gyalpo waited upon the Vazir at Chachot,‡ and expressed his sorrow and contrition for what had occurred. The Vazir demanded why he had so shamefully broken his promises, and added, "Although

* From thirty to forty kos a day; but this is impossible in such a country. The probable length of each day's march cannot be estimated at more than thirty miles, which would give a total distance of 300 miles in ten days. The exaggeration, however, is natural to men in such circumstances. This march must have taken place in the end of November, 1835, at a season of the year when the winter's snow has already set in throughout Ladák, and when all the higher passes are finally closed. Their route was therefore most probably up the Zanskar river, and over the Lunga Lách and Thung-Lung passes to the Indus below Gya. By this route they would have travelled about 300 miles. I know of no other route that would be passable in November. The direct route to Gya from Zanskar is open but for a few months, and that which lies down the course of the Zanskar river, and over the Singé Lá to Lama Yurru, is closed in October. Besides which, the distance by either of these routes would not have been even 150 miles.

† This is no doubt the large village of *Chumri* or *Chimra*, on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Marchalang, and on the high road leading to Rudok. This position must have been chosen by the raja's family for the convenience of escape into the Chinese district of Rudok.

‡ Chachot is on the left bank of the Indus, between Chumri and Lé. It is the Chushut of Moorcroft.

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175 we conquered your country with 10,000 men, we did not
669 place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom." The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

175 15. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied
651 by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to Rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first, the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu, offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jaghir.* A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tâdsi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.†

175 16. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai‡ and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé.§ Ac-

* This was the large village of Tok, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to Lé. It is still held by the Gyalpo's grandson, although three-fourths of the perquisites formerly attached to it have been resumed.

† This must have taken place in the spring of 1836, according to the narrative, soon after which Vigne appears to have visited Lé, where he found that the new king, called "Marut Tanzin," was installed, while the old king "was living at Tok, over the river, opposite to Lé."—Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 354.

‡ Lakpat Rai was the governor of Kashmir in 1846, and was killed in the early part of the rebellion of Shekh Imám-ud-din.

§ Baldé or Paldér, the Phaldam of Moorcroft, is the chief place in Zanskar.

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cordingly they marched with fifteen hundred foot-soldiers by the Zanskar road to Baldé, where they were opposed by Budhi Sing Mithania, the chief of the district. Victory declared for the Dogras, with a loss of eighteen or twenty men killed on their side, and about twenty or twenty-five on that of the enemy. After a halt of seventeen days, they proceeded towards Jammu, leaving a garrison of twenty men in the fort of Chatrgarh.* /75

17. Maharaja Gulâb Sing and the Mia† were both very much displeased with the Vazir Zoráwar Sing for having made over the country to Moru Tâdsi, who had no claim to it. The Vazir replied that Moru Tâdsi belonged to the royal family of Ladák; but that since his elevation was displeasing to the Maharaja, he would depose him on his return to Lé. One year after this, [669] news was brought that the new king had revolted, that he had killed the thanadar of Baldé and his twenty men, that twenty others had been made prisoners; and that the Dogra troops throughout the country were beleaguered in their different forts.

18. On hearing this, the Vazir started at once with a body of three thousand infantry, and in two months reached the district of Baldé; but owing to the swollen state of the river he was unable to accomplish anything for two months more.‡ At the end of that time, when the river had become passable, the Dogras attacked the

* Chatrgarh is on the right bank of the Chanâb river.

† Uttam Sing, the eldest son of Gulâb Sing, a fine soldier-like young man, was killed at Lahor, along with No Nihâl Sing, by the falling of a gateway.

‡ The swollen state of the river points to the months of July and August. The capture was, therefore, most probably made in September.

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fort of Chatrgarh, which they carried by storm with a loss of fifteen men on their own side, and of twenty on that of the enemy. Some twenty or thirty prisoners [727] that were taken, had their ears and noses cut off, which frightened the people so much that they immediately tendered their submission.

19. Leaving a garrison in the fort of Chatrgarh, the Vazir again marched into Zanskar over the hills.* On this march twenty-five men died from the severe cold, and ten men lost their feet and hands in the snow.† On reaching Zanskar the Dogras found that the people had fled; but during a halt of two months everything was arranged satisfactorily. After that, Rai Sing and Mia Tota, with about 1,000 men, advanced towards Lé, on which Moru Tâdsi, the new Gyalpo, who was formerly Káhlon of Banka, fled with precipitation from the capital. Being closely pursued, he was nearly overtaken, when, by the resistance of some of the more trustworthy of his followers, he was enabled to continue his flight. He was at length captured at the village of Tábo,‡ in Spiti, after a loss of six or seven men on

* Their route lay over the high pass which leads from Chatrgarh to the Baldé district of Zanskar. This pass was crossed by Dr. Thomson, in June, 1848, who found the boiling point to be 180·3°, at a temperature considerably below freezing. The height of the pass must therefore approach very nearly to 19,000 feet. On the Zanskar side there was a glacier extending down to 14,500 feet. The loss of so many men by the frost is therefore quite credible.

† As the fort of Chatrgarh did not fall until September, the crossing of this pass could not have taken place until October, when, from its extreme height, it would of course have been covered with fresh snow.

‡ Tábo is on the left bank of the Spiti river, and within five miles (by the road) of the British frontier of Upper Kanáwar. The Banka Káhlon's intention was, no doubt, to cross the Spiti river by the Pog Jhula, which is only five miles from Tábo. In another hour, therefore, he would have been safe.

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each side; on which he was taken back to Lé and imprisoned. 175

The old Gyalpo, Akabat Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tâdsi, were both brought before the Vazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former, upon the old terms of Rs. 23,000 yearly tribute, but with the stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him. [651]

The Vazir then again proceeded to Jammu, where he remained for a whole year,* after which he returned to Ladák with 5,000 men, for the purpose of seizing Moru Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, and Chang Nabdan, the Káhlon of Bazgo, both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo Mahmud Khan.†

They had been in correspondence with Ahmed Shah of Balti, whom they wished to engage in a general rise against the Dogra authority. The Balti chief imprudently lent too willing an ear to their overtures, and by a subsequent act furnished the long-looked-for pretext for invasion, which Zoráwar Sing was but too glad to seize upon. Early in 1835 Ahmed Shah being dissatisfied with his eldest son Muhammed Shah, had formally disinherited him by the inauguration of his younger brother Muhammed Ali. On that occasion Muhammed Shah fled to the camp of Zoráwar Sing in Suru, and claimed his protection. This the wily Vazir readily granted; but not wishing to embroil himself with the chief of Balti while the campaign in Ladák was still before him, he contented himself with giving promises

* From different statements in the narrative, Zoráwar Sing's residence at Jammu must have been during the latter half of 1838 and the beginning of 1839.

† Basti Ram's narrative ends here. The remainder of this history has been compiled from other information.

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175 of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time
643 the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation
645 could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son, to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

III.—CONQUEST OF BALTI.

175 When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar and heard of
727 the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and
175 annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

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Accordingly, in the end of the year 1840, the Vazir 175
assembled an army of 15,000 men, and a large body of Ladákis, for the conquest of Balti. Ahmed Shah also prepared himself for the struggle, and was joined by a large party of discontented Ladákis, who, after crossing the Indus, destroyed the bridge, to delay the advance of the Dogras. Zoráwar Sing was obliged, therefore, to march down the right bank of the river, which he followed steadily for twenty-five days, receiving the submission of the chiefs of Khatakchau and Khapolor, but without finding any place where the army could be crossed. He then detached Mia Nidhân Sing, with a body of 5,000 men, by way of Shigar, to look for a road, and to collect provisions, which had now become very scarce in the Dogra camp. But the Baltis kept a good look-out, and had early intelligence of this movement. Mia Nidhân Sing was allowed to advance unmolested for about fifteen miles, when his party were surrounded and attacked by thousands, and he himself was cut off with nearly the whole of his detachment.

About 400 men only managed to find their way back
to the Dogra camp with the tale of their defeat. At the [132]
same time the winter set in with a heavy fall of snow,*
and as provisions were extremely scarce, the Dogra troops became so much dispirited, that their discipline was seriously affected. With an impassable river in their front, and certain starvation both from cold and hunger, whether they retreated or remained in their present position, the majority of the troops paid no attention to orders, and of the few who still obeyed, none did so with alacrity.

* Vigne, II. p. 266, states that there are occasional winters of great severity.

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175 The Dogra army had halted in this position for fifteen days, exposed to frost by night and to hunger by day. Many had sought shelter from the snow amongst the overhanging rocks, and there they sat listless and vacant, and utterly indifferent whether they should be cut off by the sword of the enemy, or be frozen to death by the cold. The Vazir saw the desperate state in which he was placed, and roused himself to discover a passage across the river, but after several hours' vain search he returned in the evening wearied and desponding. Upon this Mehta Basti Rám and some others, to the number of about forty, determined to make a last effort to extricate themselves from their difficulties. At midnight, with only one companion, Basti Rám examined the bank of the river for several miles, while his party kept up a smart fire upon the Botis on the opposite bank, to distract their attention. At length they discovered a place where the river was frozen over sufficiently thick to bear a man's weight, save about twenty feet in the middle, where the ice was thin. Then, sending for assistance, they cut down trees and placed them over the weaker parts of the ice, and by five o'clock in the morning the Indus was passable.

Intelligence was sent at once to the Vazir, by whose order this small party of forty men was the first to cross the Indus; but they had been so benumbed by their night's work, and by their previous exposure, that ten of them sank down exhausted, and afterwards lost their hands and feet, and eighteen others were unable to get through the snow. Basti Rám was then left with only twelve men, which the Botis perceiving, they moved to attack him; but, in the mean time, Zoráwar Sing, having roused a number of his men, pointed out to them

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that the river was passable, and that it had already been crossed by some of their more adventurous fellow-soldiers. Upon this a number of Dogras advanced gladly to the attack. The Indus was rapidly passed, and the small party of d[illegible]g men, after a smart fight, was safe. The Botis retreated, leaving 200 men dead on the field, and 100 men wounded. The Dogras lost only 25 killed, and 15 or 16 wounded in the action; but they had about 500 men more or less disabled by the loss of hand or foot during the exposure to the snow of the last few days. 175

The retreating Botis were pursued, and slaughtered for nine miles, as far as Marwan, where the victorious Dogras pitched their camp. The Vazir halted there for a few days to re-organize his troops, and to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the last action. To Mehta Basti Rám he gave Rs. 500 and a pair of gold bangles, and to thirty-two others of his party he gave similar presents of less value, to some Rs. 100, to some Rs. 50, and to others Rs. 40, according to their deserts.

Zoráwar Sing then advanced to Skardo, and after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmed Shah for want of water.* He was shortly afterwards deposed by Zoráwar Sing, who installed his eldest son Muhammed Shah in his room, on the promised payment of an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000. But the astute commander, who had profited by his experience in Ladák, would not leave this new conquest to the doubtful faith of a son of Ahmed Shah. A small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in a new fort on the bank of the river, to confirm the faithfulness of the new king, and Ahmed Shah and his favourite son

* Ahmed Shah retired to the fort before Zoráwar's arrival, having first set fire to his own palace.

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175 were carried off as prisoners to Ladák. In this campaign the invaders lost about 200 men, and the Botis about 300 men.

Previous to the conquest of Skardo, the old king of Ladák, Tonduk Namgyal (or Akabat Mahmud), had been accused of having intrigued with Ahmed Shah for a simultaneous and organized rising of the Tibetans of Ladák and Balti. He may, perhaps, have been wrongfully accused; but as his feelings must naturally have inclined him to think favourably of any enemy of the Dogras, it would have been impolitic to have left him behind, as the absence of the conquering troops might have tempted him to rebel. Zoráwar Sing therefore carried Tonduk Namgyal with him on his expedition against Skardo. The old man had outlived the downfall of his country; he had survived close personal restraint and bitter indignity; but when his last hope was cut off with the fall of Skardo, he gave way to despondency, and being attacked with small-pox, he died within a month after the annexation of Balti to the Jammu viceroyalty of the Sikh dominions. On the death of Akabat Mahmud, his grandson Jigmet Singgé Namgyal, a mere boy, was acknowledged as Gyalpo by Zoráwar Sing. The father of this lad, Prince Chovang (or Chang) Raphtan Namgyal, fled first to Hundar in Nubra, and afterwards to Spiti, on the deposal of Akabat Mahmud. In October, 1837, he reached Sarâhan, in Bisahar; and in April, 1838, he came to Kotgurh, where he resided until his death in 1839. He was then about twenty-one years of age. His wife, a daughter of the Káhlon Chovang Tandup, remained in Ladák with her young son Jigmet Singgé.

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IV.—INVASION OF TIBET.

Elated with his success, Zoráwar Sing now threatened the neighbouring states, and even talked of invading Yárkand. But the Lhásan provinces of Rudok and Ngári were more accessible; and the unscrupulous conqueror revived the old claims of Ladák to those districts which had been alienated since the time of Singgé Namgyal. It was enough for him that the monasteries were known to possess vessels and instruments of gold and silver for the service of religion; and that the country produced the finest shawl-wool. The plunder of the first would enrich himself and his soldiers, and the acquisition of the latter would be highly pleasing to his master, as it would throw the whole trade in shawl-wool into the hands of the Jammu Raja. 175

In the month of May, 1841, with an army of 5,000 men, he advanced up the valley of the Indus, and plundered the monasteries of Hanlé and Tashigong. His troops penetrated to Rudok and Gáro, both of which submitted without striking a blow. The conqueror then passed the sources of the Indus, and established his head-quarters on the Sutluj at Tirthapuri, in Gugé, the principal place in the holy district of Lake Manasarovara. The whole country was now occupied by parties of Dogra and Ladáki soldiers. Basti Rám was stationed at Takla-Khar, on the Karnali or Gogra river, close to the frontiers of Kumaon and Népal. Rahim Khán, a half-blood Musalmán of Chachot, was placed over Spiti, while Ghulám Khán, his son-in-law, was employed in the congenial occupation of plundering the monasteries and temples. This work he executed with iconoclastic fury. The gold and the 175 798

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175 silver were reserved for his master; but the plastic images of clay, the books and the pictures, excited the 798 religious bigotry of the Musalmán, and were indiscriminately destroyed.

175 The news of this invasion was speedily carried to Lhasa; and about the 7th of November, Zoráwar Sing first heard of the approach of a Chinese force. He at once detached a small party of 300 men, under Nono-Sungnam,* to oppose the advance of the Chinese; but the detachment was surrounded at Kar-dam-Khar, to the south of the Ráwan-Hrad lake, and almost cut to pieces. The Nono himself escaped, and was again detached on the 19th of November, with a larger force of 600 men, under the joint command of himself and Ghulam Khán; but this party was also surrounded and cut to pieces, and the leaders were both made prisoners.

Zoráwar Sing, still treating the Chinese with contempt, although they numbered about 10,000 men, or three times the strength of his own force, at once advanced from his position at Tirthapuri with the whole of his available troops. The two armies first met on the 10th December, and began a desultory fire at each other, which continued for three days. On the 12th Zoráwar Sing was struck in the shoulder by a ball, and as he fell from his horse the Chinese made a rush, and he was surrounded and slain. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and fled on all sides, and his reserve of 600 men gave themselves up as prisoners. All the principal officers were captured, and out of the whole army, amounting with

* *No-no* is the title given to a younger brother. Nono Sungnam (or Sodnam) was the younger brother of Chang Raphtan, the Káhlon of Bazgo.

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its camp-followers to 6,000 men, not more than 1,000 escaped alive, and of these some 700 were prisoners of war.

The Indian soldiers of Zoráwar Sing fought under very great disadvantages. The battle-field was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing-point, and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. For several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes; and all were more or less frost-bitten. The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire; and the more reckless soldiers had actually burned the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. On the last fatal day not one-half of the men could handle their arms; and when a few fled, the rush became general. But death was waiting for them all; and the Chinese gave up the pursuit to secure their prisoners and plunder the dead, well knowing that the unrelenting frost would spare no one. A few men made their way to their brethren at Takla-Khar; but that garrison was so dismayed by the defeat, that they fled precipitately, even over the snowy mountain-range, near the head of the Kali river, into the British province of Kumaon. But even in this unopposed flight one-half of the men were killed by frost, and many of the remainder lost their fingers and toes. These few, and the prisoners, form the whole number that escaped with their lives.*

* In this very month, and in the same year, 1841, the British army, of about the same strength, was destroyed at Kabul.

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Amongst the prisoners were Ahmed Shah, the ex-ruler of Skardo, and his favourite son Ali Muhammed, whom Zoráwar Sing was afraid to leave behind. The old man was treated with kindness, and even with distinction; but his heart was broken, and he pined and died in a few months. Other prisoners of distinction were, 1st, *Rai Sing*, Zoráwar's second in command, for whose liberation Maharaja Guláb Sing wished the Governor-General to intercede with the Lhásan authorities.

2nd. *Chang-Nabdan*, the Káhlon of Bazgo, whose wife, a buxom rosy-cheeked dame, came crying to me in 1847 at Nyimo, to do something for her husband's release. She had written every year to him by different persons, but had never got any reply, as no communications were allowed with the prisoners.

3rd. *Nono-Sungnam*, the brother of the last. These two brothers were considered particular friends of the invaders, and were therefore treated more harshly than the multitude.

4th. *Ghulám Khán*, the active plunderer and desecrator of the Buddhist temples, was tortured with hot irons. His flesh was picked off in small pieces with pincers; and, mangled and bleeding, he was left to learn how slow is the approach of death to a wretch lingering in agony.

During the winter the Chinese re-occupied the whole of the Gáro territory, and early in the spring of 1842 a body of about 3,000 men advanced into Ladák, and laid siege to the new fort at Lé.* They were joined by the boy-king Jigmet Namgyal, and the unwarlike Tibetans

* The people of Balti also rose; but they were soon reduced by a small force under Vazir Lakpat, who destroyed the fort and palace, to prevent the chance of another insurrection.

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once more began to dream of independence. But after a short reign of six weeks, Dewán Hari Chand and Vazir Ratanu advanced with fresh troops, and the Tibetans were rudely awakened from their dream of liberty by the musketry of their old enemies, and the 3,000 would-be heroes who had talked of invading Kashmir, fled ignominiously towards Rudok. There they recovered themselves, and taking up a strong position, they determined to await the approach of winter, and then join in a general rising against the Indian invaders. But the simple Tibetan was no match for the wily Indian, and the Lhásan commander was soon made a prisoner by stratagem. The strong position of the Tibetans was shortly afterwards turned; and the Lhásan Vazir was glad to be permitted to retire on the single condition that the old boundary between Ladák and China should be re-established. /75

In the autumn of 1846, during the rebellion of Shekh Imámuddin in Kashmir, there was a slight disturbance in Zanskar, which was promptly repressed by the Vazir Basti Ram, who is now one of the confidential servants of Maharaja Guláb Sing. Since then the whole country has been quiet; and the passive Tibetans have yielded to a power which they find it unsafe to resist. The neighbouring districts of Gilgit and Chalás have been added to the Maharaja's kingdom; and the same prince, whose dominions only twenty years ago were limited to the petty state of Jammu, now rules undisputed master of Kashmir and Western Tibet, from the sources of the Shayok to the head of the Gilgit river.

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XIII.—RELIGION.

I.—EARLY RELIGION OF TIBET.

779 THE religion of Tibet is a modified form of Indian
177 Buddhism. This faith was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asoka, upwards of 2,000 years ago, when that great follower of Buddha was propagating his new religion with all the zealous ardour of a proselyte.
798 In 241 B.C., at the close of the third synod, numerous missionary teachers were despatched to all the surrounding countries to spread the peaceful doctrines of Sakya Muni. The *Thero-Majjhantiko* (Sanskr. *Sthavira Madhyamika*) was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara ;* and, upwards of six centuries afterwards, the people on the Indus still attributed the spread of Buddhism "beyond the river" to some Sramanas (or ascetics) who came with sacred books, 300 years after the Nirvana of Buddha,† or in B.C. 243. The agreement of these dates gives to the two events the relation of cause and effect, the conversion of the people having been the result of the mission.

000 The spread of Buddhism in Ladák was followed by its introduction into China, about the beginning of the

* Mahawanso, p. 71. † Fo-kwe-ki, c. VII.

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Christian era, and into Great Tibet in the middle of the seventh century.

Previous to the occupation of Tibet by Khri-Tsampo, in about 250 B.C., there is nothing known of its history, excepting the fact that the people were of the Bon or Pon religion, which, like that of the Indian *Tirthakaras*, was an epicurean atheism. According to the Mogul author Sanang Setzen, Khri-Tsampo was an Indian prince of the Litsabyi (or Lichhavi) race, who, being conquered in war, had sought refuge in Tibet, where he was hospitably received, and afterwards proclaimed king by the people, who are called the *Debchin Bonbo* of heaven, and the *Yang Bonbo* of earth.* Csoma de Körös repeats a similar story, with the addition that Nya-Khri-Tsampo, "being defeated in battle," fled to Tibet, where he was acknowledged as king by the *Pons*. The date of 250 B.C., assigned to this event by Csoma, makes the Lichhavi prince a contemporary of the great Buddhist king Asoka, by whom he was most probably expelled from India; for the Lichhavi family had been the leading people in the community of Vaisáli for many centuries, during which time they distinguished themselves by their fierce opposition to the Buddhists. They opposed Sakya himself in argument, and were silenced, but not convinced by him. The Lichhavis of Vaisáli professed entire belief in Swasti, from which they derived their name of *Swástikas*, or followers of

* M. Schmidt supposes that these terms indicate the people of the mountains and valleys. They may, however, denote only different sects; the one affecting heavenly aspirations, the other leaning to earthly objects. *Debchin* is most probably Tibetan,—the "blissful,"—which is used by the Tibetans as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sugata*, the "well-gone," or blessed, an epithet of former Buddhas. *Yang* may be the Tibetan *Yangs*, great, vast.

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795 the "mystic cross," which was a monogrammatic sign, formed of the letters *su* and *ti*. The combination *suti* is the Pali form of the Sanskrit *swasti*, which is compounded of *su*, well, and *asti*, it is. Wilson gives the meaning of "so-be-it;" but both versions equally imply complete resignation under all circumstances, which was the chief dogma of the fatalist *Swástikas*. These followers of the mystic cross held the doctrine of eternal annihilation after death; from which they derived their Tibetan name of *Mu-stegs-pa*, or "Finitimists."* According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress, and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves *Tirthakara*, or "pure doers;" and the synonymous name of *Punya*, "the pure," was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages, and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Khan.

175 According to the Chinese, the founder of the doctrine
779 of the *Tao-sse*, or Rationalists, was *Laotze*, who lived from about B.C. 604 to 523. He was therefore a contemporary of Sakya Muni, by whom he is said to have been worsted in argument. By the Tibetan Buddhists he is called Sen-rabs;† but this perhaps signifies nothing more than that he was of the race or family of Sena. His faith continued paramount in Great Tibet for nine centuries, until Buddhism was generally introduced by Srong-Stan in the middle of the seventh century. But
798 the followers of the *Yung-drung-pa*, or "mystic cross,"
779 were still powerful; and in A.D. 899 Buddhism was formally abolished by *Lang Tarma*, and was not again

* Csoma de Körös, Grammar, p. 192.

† Id. ibid. p. 181.

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introduced for more than seventy years, until, in A.D. 971, it was finally restored, and has since continued to be the dominant religion of Tibet.

The great spread of the *Pon-gyi-chho*, or Pon religion, can be best appreciated by the traces of its former existence in the widely distant regions of Arakan and Ladák. The people of Arakan give a long line of fifty-five *Pun-na* princes* as their earliest sovereigns, a dynasty which must have reigned for at least 600 years. In Ladák the great monastery of *Lama Yurru* is still called *Yung-druny-Gonpa*, or the "monastery of the mystic cross." The establishment of this monastery is attributed to Naropa, a Lama from Brigung, near Lhasa; but it seems more probable that the name of *Lama Yurru* was derived from the Lama, because he had suppressed the faith of the mystic cross (*yung-drung*), and had established the Lamaïc doctrine of Buddhism.

But Buddhism was the prevailing religion of Ladák from the conversion of the people by Asoka's missionaries down to A.D. 400, when Fa Hian visited India. At that time he found Buddhism flourishing in the little state of *Kia-chhe*, or Ladák, as well as in Kotan and other small states to the northward of the Tsung Ling, or Karakoram. The king of *Kie-chha* (Kha-chan, or "Snow-land)" still celebrated the great quinquennial assembly † of the Srámanas which had been established by Asoka. The ceremony, which lasted for one month, was conducted with becoming gravity, and closed by the

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 31,—Captain Latter.

† In the Gyalpo's time, the Lamas assembled annually at Lé, in the month of *Táng-po* (March), and were dismissed with presents. They now assemble at Hemis, in June. In this monastery there are still 160 Lamas.

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796 distribution of presents amongst the Srámanas. As Fa Hian noticed nothing unusual in these proceedings, we may conclude that the Buddhism of Ladák was the 779 same as that of India. The number of Srámanas was more than 1,000, all of whom were satisfied with the study of the "Lesser Advancement," as laid down in the *Vinaya*, or "Precepts of Discipline," which comprised only the lowest class of Sakyas precepts. But though the Buddhism of the people of Ladák was perfectly orthodox in A.D. 400, yet Fa Hian noticed a peculiarity in their practice, which was unknown to the [788] Indian Buddhists. "The Srámanas," he says, "make use of revolving cylinders, the efficacy of which is not to be described."* These were no doubt the prayer-cylinders which are seen in the hands of the Indo-Scythian princes on their coins, and which may still be found in every Lama's hand throughout Ladák.

II.—TIBETAN SYSTEM OF BUDDHISM.

The religion of the Tibetan Buddhists is contained in a voluminous work called the *Kah-Gyur*, or "Translation of Precepts," because it is a version of the precepts of Sakya, made from the Indian language. It is also frequently called *De-not-sum*, which is a mere translation of the Sanscrit *Tripitaka*, or the "Three Repositories," because it contains the three great divisions of the Buddhist doctrines: the *Vinaya*, the *Sutra*, and the *Abhidharma*. But the Tibetan version is more generally divided into seven distinct classes, of which the last treats of the mystical doctrines of the Tantrikas. These seven divisions are the following:—

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. V., note,—"objet circulaire et tournant."

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—	Tibetan.	Sanskrit.	English.
1	Dul-va	Vinaya	Discipline.
2	Sher-chin... ...	Prajnáparamitá ...	Transcendental Wisdom.
3	Phal-chhen ...	Buddhavata Sangha	Baudha Community.
4	Kon-tsek... ...	Ratnakuta ...	Pile of Gems.
5	Do	Sutranta ...	Aphorisms.
6	Nyang-Dás ...	Nirvana	Final release from Existence.
7	Gyut	Tantra	Mystical Doctrines.

The three divisions are as follows:—

—	Tibetan.	Sanscrit.	English.
1	Dul-va	Vinaya	Discipline.
2	Do	Sutranta	Aphorisms.
3	Chhos-non-pa ...	Abhidharma ...	Supreme Law.

In this division the *Do* comprises all but the first two of the seven classes. The doctrines contained in these works are of course the same as those of the Indian Buddhists, but the names have been translated instead of being transcribed.

Sakya Muni, the founder of the Buddhist faith, is usually called *Chom-dan-das*, or "he who has been victorious," by the Lamas, but *Shakya Thubba*, or the "mighty Sakya," by the people. The Buddhist Triad, called in Sanscrit *Ratna Trayáya*, or the Three Gems, is styled Kon-chhok-tun, or the "Three Supremacies," by the Tibetans, who give the following names to the different members of the Trinity.

1. Buddha is *Sangya-Konchok*, or the "Supreme" Intelligence.

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779 2. Dharma is *Chhos-Konchok*, or the "Supreme" Law.

3. Sangha is *Gedun-Konchok*, or the "Supreme" Congregation.*

A Buddha, or one who has obtained Buddhahood, is styled *Sangya;* a Buddhist, *Sangya-pa;* and the Buddhist religion, *Sangya-kyi-chhos.* The whole Buddha community, in Sanscrit *Sangha*, is called *Gedun*, and is divided into the same number of classes as in India.

1. The Bodhisatwa, or True Intelligence, is called *Chang-chhub*, the perfect or accomplished, and *Chang-chhub-Sempah*, "Perfect Strength of Mind;" because he is supposed to have accomplished the grand object of a Buddhist's life, by the perfect suppression of all bodily desires, and by complete abstraction of mind. As the Bodhisatwa was often styled *Arhanta*, or *Arhata*, the "venerable," so the *Chang-chhub* is frequently called *Pa-chom-pa*, or "he who has subdued his enemy."

The *Pratyeka*, or "Individual Intelligence," is called *Rang-sangya*, or "Self-intelligence;" and his other name of *Anayámi* is translated by *Phyir-mi-hong-ba*, or "he who turneth not out of the way."

The *Sráwaka*, or "Auditor," is called *Nyan-thos*, or the "Listener," and his Sanskrit title of *Srota-panna* is rendered by *Gyun-du-zhug-pa*, or "one who has entered the stream" that leads to happiness.

In the earliest periods of Buddhism the worship of the people was confined to the holy triad of *Buddah*, *Dharma*, and *Sangha*. Much pious reverence was shown to the relics of former Buddhas, as well as to

* The Tibetan names of the Triad are thus spelt:—1. *Sangs-r Gyas-dKon-mChog.* 2. *Chhos-dKon-mChog.* 3. *dGé-mDun-dKon-mChog.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

those of Sakya himself, and his principal disciples. Even so late as A.D. 400, we find Fa Hian recording the devotions paid to the relics of Ananda, Sáriputra, and Mogalána. But previous to this time I know of no mention of the great Dhyáni Bodhisatwa, *Padma Páni*, who is the regent or present lord of this world, nor of the equally celebrated Bodhisatwas *Manju Sri* and *Avalokiteswara*. These two are first noticed by Fa Hian;* but he is quite silent regarding *Padma Páni*, and the whole of the elaborate system of Dhyáni Budhas and Bodhisatwas, which are, I presume, the invention of a much later date.

In Ladák at the present day, though the people still reverence Shakya Thubba, or the great Buddha (Sangya Konchhog), yet their worship is equally given to *Padma Páni*, *Jámya*, and *Chanrazik* (or Padma Páni, Manju Sri, and Avalokiteswara), and though they still confirm an oath by appealing to the *Kon-chhog-Sum*, or "Three Supremacies," of the Buddhist triad, yet, when they undertake any enterprise, or begin a journey, their prayers for success are almost invariably addressed to Padma Páni.

The system of Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas, which has long been known throughout Tibet, was first made known to the European world by Mr. Hodgson.† The self-existent Adi Buddha, by five spontaneous acts of divine wisdom (*jnyán*), and by five exertions of mental reflection (*dhyán*), created the Pancha-Dhyáni Buddha, or "Five Celestial Buddhas," whose names are as follows:—

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. VII.

† Hodgson's Buddhism, p. 40.

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—	Sanscrit.	Tibetan.
1	Vairochana	Nam-par-snang-dsat.
2	Akshobya	... ...
3	Ratna Sambhaya	... ...
4	Amitábha	Hod-pag-med.
5	Amogha Siddha	Tung-shak.

Each of these Buddhas again, by the mere exertion of his inherent *jnyán* and *dhyán*, is said to have created a Bodhisatwa. The invention of the *Pancha Dhyáni Buddha Sáktis*, or female energies, which are known both in Nepal and in Tibet, must therefore belong to a later period.

The Buddha Sáktis are the following :—

	Sanscrit.	Tibetan.
1	Vajra Dateswari	... ...
2	[illegible]ná	Nang-Salma.
3	[illegible]khi	... ...
4	[illegible]rá	Kos-kar-chen.
5	[illegible]	Grolma.

The five Dhyani Bodhisatwas are the following :—

	Sanscrit.	Tibetan.	English.
1	Sámanta Bhadra...	Kuntu-Zang-po ...	Supreme Happiness.
2	Vajra-Páni ...	Lag-na-Dorje ...	Sceptre-bearer.
3	Ratna-Páni ...	... ...	Jewel-bearer.
4	Padma-Páni ...	Chakna-Padma* ...	Lotul-bearer.
5	Viswa-Páni ...	... ...	World-bearer.

The *Lokeswaras* (*Jigten-Bangchuk*†) are also acknow-

* *Phyag-na-Dorje*, pronounced *Chakna-Dorje*.

† *'Jig-r Ten-dBang-Phyug*, "the Lord of the World."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ledged in Tibetan Buddhism. All these are celestial 779
beings, the spontaneous emanations from the Divinity, who have never been subject to the pains of transmigration. Inferior to them are the created or mortal beings, who are divided into six classes, named *Droba-Rikdruk*, the "six advancers or progressors," because their souls progress by transmigration from one state to a better state, until they finally attain absorption into the divine essence; after which they are no longer subject to transmigration. These six classes are—

1. *Lhá*, "Gods," equivalent to the Hindu *Sura* and *Deva*.
2. *Lhá-ma-yin*, or *Lhá-min*, "Demi-gods or Titans," equivalent to the Hindu *Asura* and *Daitya*.
3. *Mi*, "Man;" the Sanskrit *Manushya*.
4. *Dudro*, "Brutes;" in Sanscrit *Tiryyaka*, "crookedly," because they walk a little out of the right path.
5. *Yidok*, "Goblins;" in Sanscrit *preta*.
6. *Myalba*, "the damned;" in Sanscrit *Náraka*.*

It is one of the most essential dogmas of the doctrine 775
of transmigration that the disembodied soul is incapable of receiving either reward or punishment. Hence the belief in other grades of mortal beings, both superior and inferior to man. The good man, after death, is supposed to be raised to the dignity of a *Lhamayin*, or demi-god, while the bad man is degraded to the state of a *Dudro*, or brute. These different orders of beings were 177
not the invention of the Buddhists, for they existed long 779
before the rise of Buddhism, and were the offspring of man's yearning for a future and better state. Like as in India, where the Brahmans have declared all the ancient

* The hells are divided into eight cold and sixteen hot hells, which 772
are favourite subjects of representation with the Chinese and Tibetan painters. The punishments are *not everlasting*; finite sin is expiated by finite punishment; and when the expiation is completed, the person is born again. See also Fra Orazio, Nouv. Jour. As. tom. XIV. p. 410.

I: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 village *Thakurs* and *Debis* to be only so many different
779 forms of Mahadeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the Lamas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, 776 though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. Some of these divinities are the following:—

1.	*Rihi-Lhá* ...	... Mountain Gods, or Oreades.
2.	Chhuhi-Lhá ...	... River Gods, or Naiädes.
3.	Shinggi-Lhá ...	... Tree Gods, or Dryades.
4.	Zhi-Lhá* ...	... Family Gods, or Lares.
5.	Zhing-Lhá ...	... Field Gods, or Leimoniades.
6.	Khyim-Lhá ...	... House Gods, or Penates.

177 In after-times the mystical system of the Tantrists
779 was engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepál and Tibet; and the pictures of the prevailing red and yellow sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying *Vargchuk* (Iswara), and of his blood-drinking spouse *Chong-Summa* (the three-eyed goddess *Trilochana*). These doctrines were named *Nang-pa*, the esoteric or orthodox, in contradistinction to the Phyipa, exoteric or heterodox. With them, I believe, originated the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyani Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part.

* *Zhis-Lhá*. *Lha* is the generic name of God; hence, Buddha is called *Lha-yi-Lhá*, the "God of Gods." The similarity of this name to the Roman *Lar*, and to the old Arabic *Ilah*, God, is very striking. I may notice here, that the usual translation of the Musalmán Kalimeh, [illegible] *La Ilah ila Allah*, "there is no God but God," is a manifest [illegible] The true translation is, "there is no God but *Allah*."

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III.—DIFFERENT SECTS—LAMAS.

During the palmy days of Indian Buddhism, the faith of the Tibetans most probably partook of all the different fluctuations of belief that prevailed in India. The most ancient religious sect that is now known is the *Nyimapa*, all of whom wear red dresses. Most of the Lamas in Ladák and Ngari are of this sect. In the middle of the eighth century *Urgyan Rinpoche* (the gem of Urgyan, or Padma Sambhava) was invited into Tibet by Khrisrong De-tsan. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitabha (*Hod-pag-med*). He was the founder of a new sect, who differ from the *Nyimapas* chiefly in their worship of this incarnation. In the eleventh century Tibet was visited by *Chovo-Atisha*, a Bengali Pundit, who infused new vigour amongst the votaries of Buddhism. His pupil *Bromston* founded the Rareng monastery, and originated the *Káhdampa** sect, or those who are content with the observance of the "precepts" (*kah*), without caring for the acquirement of the higher branches of transcendental wisdom. The followers of these three sects all wear red dresses. Another sect, the *Sákyapas*, also wear red; but I know nothing of their peculiar tenets.

In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lama *Tsong khapa*. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (*Hod-pag-med*), and others of Manju Sri (*Jámya*). He was born in 1355, and died in 1419. He built the temple of *Gáhldán*, and was the first great abbot (*khánpo*), who occupied the Gáhldán

* *bKah-gDams-pa*, "followers of the precepts."—Csoma, Grammar, p. 197.

175 chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots
793 down to the present day.

175 The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following:*—

795

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born 1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán 1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born 1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	„ 1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„ 1436
5.	Logros Chhos	„ 1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„ 1461
7.	Logrós Tanpa	„ 1471
8.	Mon Lampal	„ 1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the
554 attainment of this rank became an object of ambition,
795 and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by
175 the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsong-
[176] khapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's
[177] memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word "lump;" and the Greek Ο-λυμπο-ς.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery. 178

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

795 175 [176] 175 793

* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

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175 occupied the chair of Tashi Lhunpo. Since his time
793 there have been two great Lamas, the one called the Dalai Lama, occupying the chair at Lhasa, and the other called the Tashi Lama, filling the chair at Tashi Lhunpo. Precedence is given to the Dalai Lama, both in writing and in conversation; but their influence is pretty equally divided. Both chairs are filled by a succession of supposed incarnations, and generally the elder of the two is the most influential. The succession from *Gedun Tubpa* down to the present day is the following:

—	Written Names.	Spoken Names.	Date. A.D.	Remarks.
1	dGe-hDun-Grub-pa ..	Gedun-Tubba ..	1389	Born. Founded Tashi Lhunpo 1445.
2	dGe-hDun-rGya-mTsho ..	Gedun-Gyatsho ..	1474	
3	bSod-nams-rGya-mTsho ..	Sonam-Gyatsho ..	1541	Visited Altun Khán.
4	Yon-tan-rGya-mTsho ..	Yontan-Gyatsho ..	1587	
5	Nag-dVang-bLo-bZang ..	NAVANG LOZANG ..	1615	Established himself as Dalai Lama; 1640 conquered Tibet; and visited the Emperor of China 1650.
6	Rin-chhen-Tshangs-dByangs	Rinchhen Tshang Chang	1690	?
7	bLo-bZang-skal-lDan ..	Lozang-Kaldan	1725	?
8	bLo-bZang-hJam-dPal ..	Lozang-Jampal ..	1760	A minor in 1774.
9	Lung-rTogs-rGya-mTsho ..	Luntok Gyatsho ..	1790	?
10	Tshul-khrims-rGya-mTsho ..	Tshul-thim Gyatsho ..	1817	?
11	dGe-dMu-reGya-mTsho ..	Gemure Gyatsho ..	1835	Nine years in 1844.

795 But besides these two great Lamas of the yellow sect of
793 Gelukpa, there is a third great Lama in Bhutan, called the *Dharma Raja*, who is the head of the *Dukpa* sect, all of whom wear red dresses. Dharma Raja is his usual title amongst the people of Bhután, but amongst the Tibetans he is generally called *Jigten Gonpo** (Lord of the World). The Dalai Lama is called *Gyalba Rinpochhe*,

* See Plate XXII.

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Plate XXII

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JIGTEN-GONPO
The Dharma - Raja of Bhutan

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

775 the "Gem of Majesty," and the Tashi Lama is called
793 *Panchen Rinpochhe*, the "Gem of Learning."

792 All who have taken the vows of celibacy are called by the collective name of *Gédun*, the clergy. A monk is styled Lama, and a nun Ani. But the followers of the Gelukpa sect are divided into several classes. The lowest grade is the *Getshul*, or neophyte, and the *Gétshulma*,* or novice. The professed monk is called *Gelong*, and the professed nun *Gelongma*.

795 The principal sects in Tibet have already been mentioned, but there are some others deserving of notice. Of these the principal is the *Karmapa*,† or "believers in the efficacy of works." They are the same as the *Kármmikas* of Nepál. The *Kahgyudpas* are "believers in the succession of precepts." They are satisfied with the observance of the *Do* (sutras or aphorisms), and care not for the attainment of the esoteric doctrines of the *Sherchin* (Prajnáparamitá), or "transcendental wisdom." The *Brikhungpa* sect derives its name from the district of Brikhung. I know nothing of their tenets. All the above sects were offshoots of the Gelukhpa, and accordingly they wear yellow dresses. The Dukpa sect wear a red dress. They are numerous in Bhutan, and are found all over Tibet. I know nothing of their peculiar tenets; but from the name of the sect, *Dad-Dukpa*, which means "faith in the thunderer," I should suppose that they pay especial reverence to the holy *Dorje* (*Vajra*, or thunderbolt) which descended through the air, and fell at Sera in Tibet. A picture which I possess of the great Lama *Skyobba Jigten Gonpo*, of the red sect, represents him with the *Dorje* in his right hand.

* See Plate XXIV. † *Karma-pa*, naturalized from Sanscrit.

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795 It seems probable, therefore, that the name of the sect was derived as I have supposed.

IV.—DRESS—RITUALIC INSTRUMENTS.

292 Most of the Lamas in Ladák wear a red coat with
792 sleeves and long skirts secured by a red girdle. All wear red boots. Most of them are bareheaded, but the higher Lamas wear semicircular red caps. One great Lama, the abbot of Lama Yurru, wears a peculiar hat, formed of bands that diminish in width by steps towards
302 the top.* Most Lamas have their heads shaved, or the
792 hair cropped short; but the abbot's hair was uncut. The pictures of the grand Lamas, both yellow and red, represent them without hair. This agrees with the practice of the Indian Buddhists, who were obliged to shave
292 their heads. The Dharma Raja, or great Lama of the
792 red sect, wears a semicircular red cap similar to those of the Ladáki Lamas.† His right arm is bare, but the rest of his person is clothed in ample red garments, suitable to a cold climate. The *Sanghati*, or kilt, and the *uttara-sanghati*, or cloak, of the Indian Buddhists, are formed into a coat with sleeves and skirt, and over this is worn a robe or blanket. In all the pictures the *antara-vásaka*, or "inner vest," is represented beneath the other dress. This is no doubt shown purposely, to prove that the great Lamas, according to the command of Sakya, never lay aside their inner vests.

The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear the same description of dress, but of a yellow colour. But all of them have transgressed the holy precept not to wear any ornamented

* See Plates XXIII. and XXIV.
† See Plates XXII. and XXIII.

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Plate XXIII

Abbot High Lama

of LAMA YURRU

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792

Plate XXIV

Dublo, aged 29.
a low Lama

Chiringjok, aged 22.
a Ge-Tshul (Gelukpa Sect.)

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clothes, for they have yellow and red brocades, spangled 292
with flowers of gold. The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear 792
peculiar conical caps with long lappets.

The ritualic instruments are three: the bell, the sceptre (or thunderbolt), and the prayer-cylinder.

The bell, *drilbu*,* is used during the performance of 796
daily service, but for what purpose I could not ascertain. It is represented in the left hand of the great Lama Skyobba Jigten, of the red sect, and it is placed on the throne at the feet of the great Dalai Lama Navang Lozang. The bell represented in the accompanying plate is formed of a very white brittle-looking metal. On the upper part are the syllables *tan, man, lan, ban, man, tsun, pan, bDrin;* which may, perhaps, be intended to represent eight notes of the bell. Inside, in three places, are the monosyllabic interjections *aum! ah! Hun!* The outside is chiefly ornamented with representations of the *dorjé*, or sceptre.

The sceptre, *dorjé*, is the vajra of the Indians. This holy instrument is said to have flown away from India, and to have alighted at Sera, in Tibet. That it was looked upon in India, from a very early time, as an object of reverence, or as an emblem of power, is proved by its being placed in the right hand of a raja in the Sánchi bas-reliefs,† which date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. It is also sculptured on the rock at Udegiri, where it is represented in one of the hands of Durga, who is slaying the Bhainsâsur. This sculpture is as old as the seventh or eighth century.

In Tibetan it is called *sera-pun-dze*, and the annual festival which has been established in its honour is one

* *Dril-bu*, a "little bell." See Plate XXV.

† Eastern gateway, right pillar.

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The DRIL-BU, or Bell.

A. Cunningham Del.

Day & Son lith.rs to the Queen.

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 of the principal religious ceremonies. The Lamas carry the sceptre in procession from Sera to Potála, where they present it before the Dalai Lama, who makes a salutation to it. They next take it to the Chinese officials, and then to the Káhlons, or ministers, all of whom make suitable presents of money; after which it is carried back to Sera with the same solemnity.

The accompanying plate * represents one of these instruments, in my own possession, of full size, together with sketches of the old Indian vajras, from the sculptures at Sánchi and Udigiri.

788 The prayer-cylinder, or *mani-chhos-khor* (the precious religious wheel), is a very ingenious instrument, and does great credit to the genius of the Tibetans. The body of the instrument is a metal cylinder, about three inches in height, and from two to two and a half inches in diameter. The axis is prolonged below to form a handle. The cylinder is filled with rolls of printed prayers and charms, which revolve as the instrument is turned round. Every Lama carries a *chhos-khor*, which he keeps perpetually turning by a gentle motion of the hand, assisted by a cubical piece of iron fastened by a chain to the outside. As every revolution of a prayer is equivalent to its recitation, the *chhos-khor* is a very ingenious instrument for multiplying the number of a man's prayers.

In the accompanying plate† I have represented two of these instruments, of half-size. One of them has the sacred sentence, the holy *sadakshara mantra*, or "six-syllabled charm," *Aum! Mani-padme, hun!* engraved once on the outside; the other has the same sentence twice repeated, in raised letters of silver.

* See Plate XXVI. The name is written *rDo-rjé*.

† See Plate XXVII.

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The DORGÉ, Sceptre or Thunderbolt.

From
SANCHI.
Bas Relief.

From
UDEGIRI.
Sculpture.

From
LADAK.
Full Size.

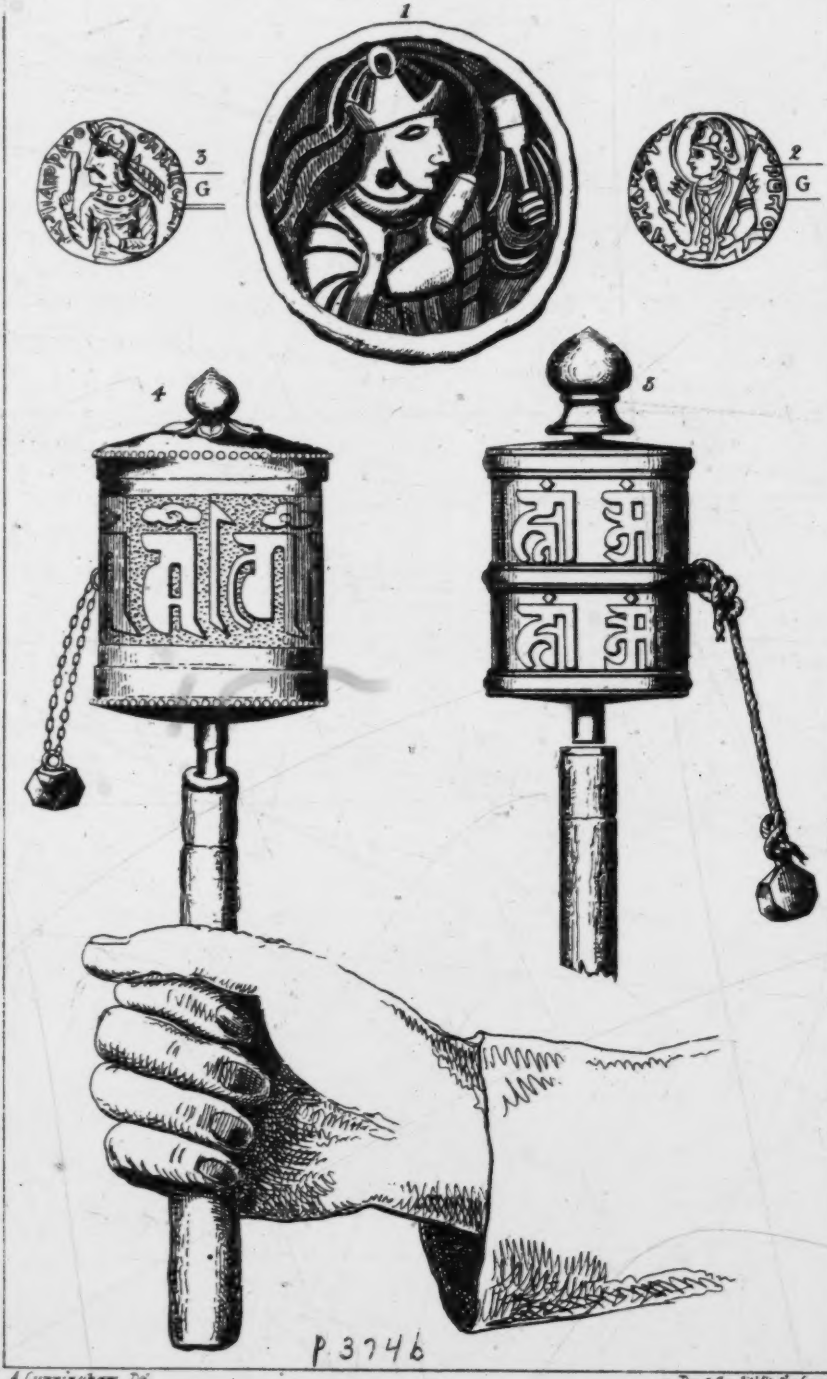
From
REMUSAT.

p. 374a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788

The MANI-CHHOS-KOR, or Prayer-Cylinder.



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A. Cunningham, Del.

Day & Son lith.rs to the Queen.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788 The earliest mention of the prayer-cylinder is by the
175 Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian,* in A.D. 400, who saw it in the hands of the Srámanas of *Kie-chha* (Ladák). Klaproth states that this instrument is not mentioned in any Indian books; and I can vouch that I have never seen it represented on any piece of Indian sculpture. It was, however, in very early use in North-western India, where it was introduced by the Indo-Scythian princes about the beginning of the Christian era. On the gold coins of Hoërki, or Hushka, the Indo-Scythian prince is generally represented holding the prayer-cylinder in his right hand.† The same object is no doubt represented on the large medallion in the accompanying plate; but the figure holding it is most probably the chief patriarch of the Buddhist religion.

788 These instruments are found of all sizes and in all positions. Cylinders, about one foot in height, are placed in rows around the temples, and are turned by the votaries before entering. Larger cylinders are found near villages, turned by water, which keeps them perpetually
000 revolving day and night. The device is so ingenious as to induce a hope that it may be adopted in Roman Catholic countries, where the time now spent in telling beads and reciting pater-nosters and ave-marias might be more profitably employed in worldly matters, while the beads were told, and the prayers were repeated by machinery. An ingenious mechanist might form small prayer-boxes, which could be wound up to produce a certain number of revolutions of an inclosed pater-noster or ave-maria; and thus any number might be got through during the night. Indeed, I am not sure that Roman

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. V. † See Plate XXVII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

Catholic watches might not be invented for the perpetual revolution of pater-nosters.

V.—RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS—IMAGES.

The principal religious edifices are the following :—

1. *Gonpa*, or "monastery." This word signifies a solitary place; because monasteries were originally built, according to the directions of Sakya Muni, far from the bustle and disturbing influences of cities. The monasteries have already been described. Convents are only separate monasteries walled off from the rest of the buildings. Both are called *chhos-né;* but the common term is gonpa.

2. *Lhákhang*, "God's house or temple." All the temples that I have seen consist of single rooms, square and unadorned outside, and filled with images and pictures inside. The images are generally about half life-size, made of unburnt clay and painted. In the larger temples the images are of metal and of colossal size. A temple is also called *Tsang-khang*, or "holy house."

3. *Lábrang*, a "lama's house." Where no monasteries exist, the lamas live in separate houses. I mention this because Alexander Gerard supposed that the *Lhá-khang* (God's house) was the same as the *bLá-brang* (lama's residence).

4. *Chhod-Ten*,* in Sanscrit *Chaitya*, an "offering-receptacle." This is properly a dedicatory building or pyramid erected in honour of Shakya Thubba, or of some one of the holy Buddhas or Bodhisatwas. It is

* *mChhod-rTen*, sometimes pronounced *Chhorten*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sometimes called *Chhos-ten*, or the "holy receptacle," but the proper name is *Chhod-rten*, the "offering repository," because offerings are made to the shrine. The figure in the accompanying plate* is taken from a wooden model in my own possession. The basement, which is square, is surmounted by four steps, on which stands the dome or principal part of the edifice. Originally this was a plain hemisphere, but the form was gradually altered until it assumed its present shape of an inverted and truncated cone. The dome is surmounted by a lofty pinnacle, crowned by the holy emblem of *Chhos-Konchok* (or *Dharma*). This symbol is a monogram formed of the four radical letters (in old Pali) which represent the four elements; and the whole is typical both of the material frame of man, and of the material universe.† The radical letters are *ya*, air; *ra*, fire; *va*, water; *la*, earth; to which is added the letter *s* for Mount Sumeru. The pair of eyes delineated on the basement show that this *Chhod-Ten* was dedicated to the supreme Buddha, *Sangya-Konchok*, the "eye of the universe."

5. *Dung-Ten*, a "bone-holder," or relic-repository. This is the genuine *Stupa*, or tope of India, prepared for the reception of a relic. It is a funeral building or pyramid, erected either over the corpse of a lama, or over the ashes of a king or person of consequence. It is similar in shape to the *Chhod-Ten*. The deposits usually placed in these mausolea have already been described.

* See Plate XXVIII.

† According to the Chinese, as quoted by Remusat (Fo-kwe-ki, c. XIII. note 6), the whole pyramid represented the "five elements;" but they are wrong, for it is only the pinnacle which is an emblem of *Dharma*, or the material elements. See my work on the Bhilsa Topes.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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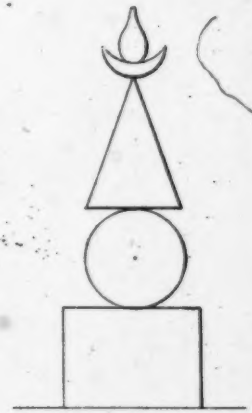
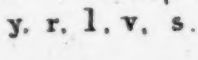
The CHHODTEN, or Mausoleum.

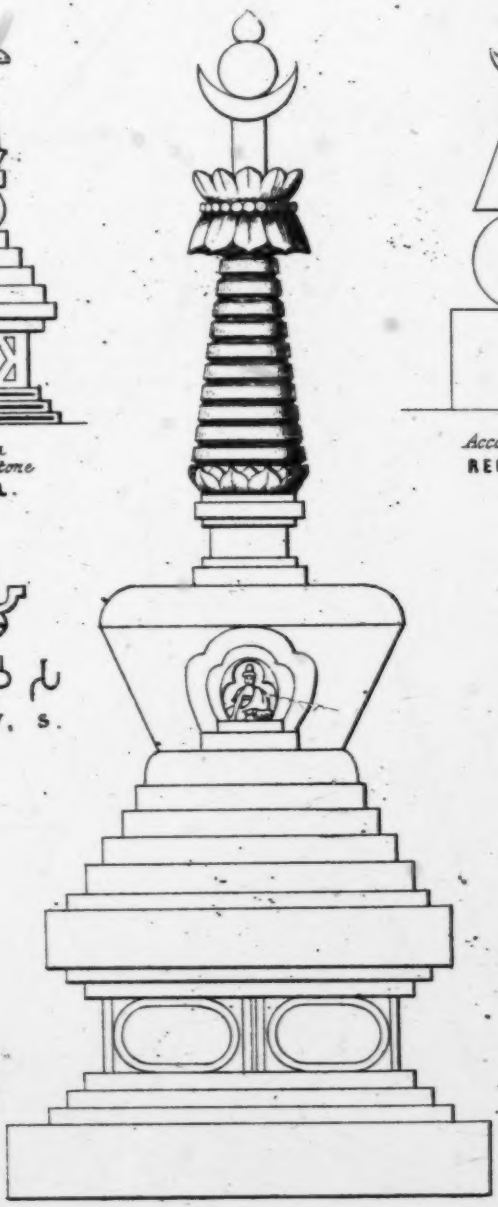
From a Carved Stone
LAHUL.



According to
REMUSAT.



y. r. l. v. s.



From a Wooden Model.

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Mani,* a dyke or pile of stones. The *Mani* is a stone dyke from four to five feet in height, and from six to twelve feet in breadth. The length varies from ten and twenty feet to nearly half a mile. A mani which I measured near Bazgo was 823 paces, or nearly half a mile, in length. A second mani near Lé was somewhat longer, or 880 paces, or 2,200 feet. Moorcroft states its length at 1,000 paces, but these were most probably the paces of a native, of little more than two feet each. The surface of the mani is always covered with inscribed slabs. The most usual inscription is the holy six-syllabled mantra, *Aum ! mani-padme, hun !* But other formulæ also occur; such as *Aum ! Vajra Páni, hún ! Aum ! Vagiswari, hún !* &c. These are generally inscribed in Tibetan characters, but sometimes also in mediæval Devanagari letters, called *Lantsha*. These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular objects. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest, or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of winter, each goes to a lama and purchases slate, which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns to his home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard.

Tshá-khang, an "image-room." *Tshá* is the little medallion figure of a lama, which is made of a portion of his ashes mixed with clay. In every *Lhákhang*, or temple, there is a small room or cupboard set apart for the reception of these medallions. In a temple at Nako I saw about one hundred cubic feet of them. A very perfect specimen in my possession is one inch and three-

* *Ma-ni*, a word naturalized from Sanscrit.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

eighths in diameter. The lama is represented seated on the ground, with his left hand in his lap and his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. The figure is gilt. On the back of the medallion is stamped the word *Tshá*, "medallion." The grand lamas are represented by more precious images of life-size. Two statues of the Tashi Lama, which Turner saw, were respectively of gold and of solid silver gilt.

The following is a general description of the images and paintings of the principal Buddhas and Bodhisatwas who are worshipped by the Tibetan Buddhists.

Shakya-Thubba, or Buddha, is always represented seated. His right hand usually rests on his right knee, and his left hand in his lap, holding his alms-dish. In one picture, however, he is represented holding his alms-dish in both hands. His body is always coloured yellow, usually gilt, and his hair is short, curly, and blue. At the large village of Shé, near Lé, there is a colossal copper-gilt statue of Shakya Thubba of the following dimensions.

	Feet.	Inches.
Height of image, seated	37	1
Breadth across the shoulders	7	4
Breadth from knee to knee	12	0
Length of ear	4	3
Diameter of alms-dish	2	3
Circumference of throne	81	0

This image was erected by the Gyalpo Deldan Namgyal, about A.D. 1680.

Chhos-Konchok, or Dharma, is represented seated. She has four arms, two raised in the attitude of prayer, the third holding a necklace or garland, and the fourth a lotus. Her colour is white.

Gédun-Konchok, or Sangha, is represented seated;

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 the right hand resting on the right knee, and the left hand holding a lotus.

Chamba, the future Buddha Maitreya, is represented seated with both hands raised, the fingers forming the *Pad-kor*, or lotus-shape. His body is yellow, and his hair short, curly, and blue.

Jámya, or Manju-Sri, is also represented seated, with his right hand raised and holding a flaming sword, and his left hand carrying a lotus. His body is of a yellow colour.

Chanrazek, or Avalokiteswara, is represented standing. His right hand rests by his side, and his left holds a lotus. His body is white.

Lagna-Dorjé, or Vajrapáni, is represented standing; his left hand empty, and his right hand carrying a lotus. His body is yellow.

Thunshak, or Amogha Siddha, is represented seated, with his left hand in his lap, and his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. His body is green.

Grolma, or Tárá, the Sákti or female energy of Amogha Siddha, is also green. She is represented seated, her right hand resting on her knee, and her left hand holding a lotus.

The Tántrika, *Vargchuk*, or Iswara, is a favourite subject with the Tibetan painters and sculptors. He is always represented as *Chan-sum-pa* (or Trelochana, the "three-eyed"). His body is usually blue, but sometimes red. His loins are covered with a leopard's skin, and a snake is generally wound round his waist. He carries either a *Dorjé* (vajra, or "thunderbolt"), or a sharp-cutting sword in his right hand, and is generally exhibited trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is also represented frantic with anger, his eyes staring,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

his nostrils dilated, and his mouth wide open, while his 778
whole body is surrounded by flames. Such is the male divinity of the Tántrists.

The Tántrika, *Todde-Phag-mo* (or Káli), is represented of a blood-red colour, with a garland of skulls round her neck. Her right hand holds the Vajra, or thunderbolt, and with her left hand she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. She is also represented as *Chansum-má* (or Trelochaná, the "three-eyed"), and is surrounded by a circle of flames. She carries a long sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy *Dorjé*.

The Tibetan Lamas are unrivalled amongst Orientals 532
as modellers in clay and workers in metal. A small medallion, about two inches square, which I possess, contains five figures surrounded by leaves and flowers of exquisitely delicate workmanship. It is formed of baked clay, but the edges are as sharp as if the work had been done by an European artist in plaster of Paris. Equally good is a figure of Shakya Thubba.

On the side of the road, between the hamlet of Styalbo 778
and the village of Drás, there are two pillars of granitic 532
mica-slate, which the people call *Chomo*, or "The Women," but which, I believe, have no connection whatever with Tibetan Buddhism, as the nearly obliterated inscriptions are in Kashmiri *Tákri*, and not in Tibetan characters.

The Eastern Pillar has one principal figure, a four-armed female, and two attendant females, one on each side, and each with one leg bent. They all wear necklaces, earrings, armlets, and anklets. On the pedestal are several small kneeling figures with their hands raised and joined together in attitudes of prayer. This

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Eastern Pillar, called CHOMO, at Dras.

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 pillar is six feet nine inches high, one foot six inches
532 broad, and one foot thick.*

The Western Pillar has the same principal figure, also a four-armed female, with two attendant females on each side. This pillar is six feet high, two feet nine inches broad, and one foot thick.†

From the style of these figures, as well as from the nature of the alphabetical characters, I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that they are Brahminical statues erected by some Kashmirian Hindus. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that there is a third undoubted Hindu pillar standing close to them, which I believe to be a *Sati* pillar. On one side is sculptured a horseman, which is the usual emblem, placed on the pillar of a *Rajputni Sati*, to denote that her husband was a soldier. On the back of the pillar there is an inscription of eight lines in Kashmirian *Tákri*, which I am unable to translate satisfactorily. The words are the following :‡

Pra
Lokeswaram cha Maitré-
-yam pratishtáptantasram A-
-tabhavatumanya matwanvapra
Adathárábha U (la)
(ndra ?)
Aswáchaptakaye
gadrá
dram Alá.

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* See Plate XXIX. † See Plate XXX.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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Plate XXX

Western Pillar, called GHOMO, at Drás.

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VI.—RITES AND CEREMONIES.

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The religious service of the Lamas is performed at three fixed periods of the day; at sunrise, noon, and sunset. The service consists of the recitation or chanting of portions of the *Do* (Sutras, or "Precepts") or of the *Dulva* (Vinaya, or "Rules of Discipline"), accompanied by the solemn sound of several musical instruments. These are:—1st, large sliding trumpets, five and six feet in length, called *Chhos-Dung*, or "holy trumpets;" 2nd, large drums, *Chhos Ná;* and 3rd, large brazen cymbals, *Bul-chhal.* Sometimes also a conch, *Dung-kar*, is used. The musical sounds are slow and prolonged, and the effect is exceedingly solemn and even melancholy. During the performance of the service incense is kept regularly burning, and offerings of fruit and grain, and even of meat, are made to the figures of *Shakya Thubba* (or Buddha), *Chanrazik* (or Avalokiteswara), and *Jámya* (or Manju Sri).

Moorcroft, who frequently witnessed the daily service of the Lamas, thus describes it.* "The religious service of the Lama, which is performed daily at the *Gon-pas*, or temples attached to monasteries, consists chiefly of prayers and chanting, in which the formula '*Aum! mani-padmé, hun!*' is frequently repeated; and the whole is accompanied with the music of wind instruments, chiefly harmonizing with tabrets and drums. Amongst the former is a sliding trumpet of large size, which is upheld by one man whilst blown by another, and has a very deep and majestic intonation; a hautboy, the reed of which is surrounded by a circular plate covering the mouth, and the conch shell, with a copper

* Travels, I. p. 344.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 mouth-piece; metallic cymbals, much more mellow and
[534] sonorous than others, complete the band."

But the religious service of the Lamas is not confined
788 to the recitation of the *Dulva* and the *Do*, or to the frequent repetition of the six-syllabled *mantra*, "*Aum! Mani-padmé, hun!*" They occasionally proclaim aloud the numerous titles of the supreme Buddha; and recite, with endless repetition, the different mystical sentences peculiar to the various Bodhisatwas, and to the Tántrika Sáktis, or female energies of the Dhyáni Buddhas. They also recite mystical sentences from the Tantras, to deprecate the wrath of the furious Káli (*Chandá*, the angry goddess).

539 The following are specimens of these *mantras*, or
788 mystic sentences. They are all in the Sanskrit language:—

1. The Mantra of *Shakya Thubba* (Buddh'a).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sarva-klesha nishuddhana;
Sarvva dharma vahiprapta; gagana sama sama, swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! Reliever of all suffering!
Master of all virtue! Equal, equal to the Heavens! adoration!"

2. The Mantra of *Kuntu-Zangpo* (Samanta-bhadra).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sámantaṇugati, varaja,
Dharmanirgati, mahá, mahá, swáha!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! acquirer of distinction, best-born,
Who goeth forth with virtue; great, great adoration!"

3. The Mantra of *Champa* (the future Buddha).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! ajitanajaya,
Sarvva Satwayasháyanugata, Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! conqueror of the invincible,
Possessor of the fame of all purity, adoration!"

4. The Mantra of *Chakna-Dorjé* (Vajra-Páni).

Namah Sámanta Vajránám! Chanda Maha-roshana,-hun!

"Glory to the chief Vajras; fierce and greatly-angry, *hun!*"

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5. The Mantra of *Jámya* (Manju-Sri).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! hé, hé, hé! Kumáraka, Vimukti, Sathirthati, smara, smara, pratihana, swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! hé, hé, hé! Young Prince, Emancipation, Communion, Memory, Memory, Great Prowess, Adoration!"

6. Mantra of *Chanrazik* (Avalokiteswara).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sarvva Tathágata, Avalokita, Karaná, Máyá; Rá-rá-rá! Hun! Jáh! Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! Universal Tathágata, Avalokita, The Merciful, the Compassionate: Rá-rá-rá! Hun! Jáh! adoration!"

7. Mantra of *Grol-ma* (Tárá).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Karnodbhavé! Túri, taráni, Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! offspring of mercy! By whom existence is traversed, adoration!"

The above are the mystic prayers offered up to the supreme Buddha by the different Bodhisatwas and others, whose names they bear. But there are numerous other *mantras* addressed to the Bodhisatwas themselves, as in the following specimen, which is taken from an actual Tibetan stereotype wooden block in my own possession:—

8. *Aum! Vagiswari Mun! Aum! Mani-padne, hun! Aum Vajrapáni, hun!*

(the same repeated).

Aum! amaráni-jivantiye, swáhá!
Aum! Vajra-krodha, háyagriba, hu-lu, hu-lu, hun, phat.

"In the name of the Triad! O, divine lord, *Mun!*
In the name of the Triad! O, Lotus-bearer, *Hun!*
In the name of the Triad! O, Sceptre-bearer, *Hun!*"

(the same repeated).

"In the name of the Triad! O, immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O, wrathful *Vajra*, flame-necked, *hu-lu!—hu-lu!—hun!—phat!*"

This is addressed to the supreme Buddha (Bhageswara), to the celestial Bodhisatwas, *Padmapáni* and

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539 788 *Vajrapáni* (the lotus and sceptre bearers), and to the Tántrika divinity Iswara. Other *mantras* are:—

9. *Aum! Sarvva Vidya, Swáhá! aum! Sarvva vidya! Swáhá!*
Aum! áh! Guru sumati-jnyán Siddh, hun-hun!
"In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!"
(the same repeated).
"In the name of the Triad! ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence, Holy-one, *Hun-hun!*"

10. *Aum! Muné, Muné, Mahá-Mune, Sakya-Munaye, Swáhá!*
Aum! Mani-padme, hun! Aum! Chanda Mahá-roshana, hun, phat!
Aum! Táre, tuttáre, turé, Swáhá!
Aum! Mohi, mohi, mahá-mohi, Swáhá!
Aum! Mati, mati, Smriti, Swáhá!
Aum! Maitri, Maitri, Mahá-Maitri, Arya-Maitri, Swáhá!
Aum! Vagiswari, Mun! Aum! Mani-padmé, hun! Aum! Vajrapáni, hun!
"Aum! O, Muni, Muni, Great Muni, SÁKYA-MUNI, adoration!
O, Lotus-bearer, *hun!*—O, fierce and greatly-angry, *hun-phat!*
O, TARA, * * * * * adoration!
O, Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O, Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O, MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya, adoration!
O, Divine Lord, *Mun!* O, Lotus-bearer, *hun!* O, Sceptre-bearer, hun!"

These are, however, sensible productions compared to the gibberish of others, of which the following is an untranslateable specimen:—

11. *Bhyoh, rakmo-bhyo! rakmo-bhyo-bhyo!*
Rakmo thun-bhyo! khala rakchhenmo!
Rakmo, abya-fabya, thun-bhyo!
Ru-lu, ru-lu, hun, bhyo, hun!

This potent charm I found repeated twenty-seven times on a roll of paper, inside an image of Shakya-Thubba. How deplorably low must be the religious belief of those who hope to weary Heaven into compliance with their wishes by the importunate reiteration of such gibberish!

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XIV.—LANGUAGE.

I.—ALPHABET—PRONUNCIATION.

THE alphabetical character of the Tibetans is the Devanágari that was current in India in the seventh century. It was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir by Thumi Sambhota.* The alphabet is called *Ka-ga* (or A B C), because *k* and *g* are the first letters. There are thirty consonants, arranged in eight classes, as follows :— 194 212

1.	ka	...	kha	...	ga	...	nga
2.	cha	...	chha	...	ja	...	nya
3.	ta	...	tha	...	da	...	na
4.	pa	...	pha	...	ba	...	ma
5.	tsa	...	tsha	...	dsa	...	wa
6.	zha	...	za	...	ha	...	ya
7.	ra	...	la	...	sha	...	sa
8.	'ha	...	á				

The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th, correspond with the arrangement of the Nágari alphabet, excepting only in the omission of the second set of aspirates, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, and *bh*. The hissing palatals of the 5th and 6th classes are almost peculiar to the Tibetan language. The *tsa* and *dsa* are, however, in constant use by the Kashmiris.

The vowels are five, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, which are pronounced as in Italian. The vowel *a* is inherent in every consonant, excepting the few silent prefixes. The other vowels

* Csoma's Grammar, p. 178.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

194 are formed by marks placed either above or below the consonants.

212 The Tibetan language is written syllabically, the different syllables being separated by a small wedge-like point, called *Tsheg*, thus ▼. The sentences also are divided by signs or marks of punctuation, called *Shad*. Thus, one mark, ⁞, is equivalent to a comma; a double mark, ⁞⁞, to a colon; and four marks ⁞⁞⁞⁞ to a full stop. The semicolon is formed by joining the intersyllabic point *Tsheg* to the single punctuation mark *Shad*, from which it receives its name of *Tsheg-Shad*. It is formed thus ▼⁞, and is almost the same as our own semicolon.*

197 Of the Tibetan language I am not confident to speak; but, as far as my knowledge of it enables me to offer an opinion, I should say that it has no affinity with any of the surrounding dialects. A few words are of course the same as in Sanscrit; such as *khar*, a fort (Sanscrit, *garh*). But for every word similar to Sanscrit I think that I could point out one similar to English; thus, *brang* means to bring; *kyan* is a "can;" *thwore* is "to-morrow;" *skyur* is "sour;" *dal* means "dull;" *tuk* is "thick;" *bal* is "wool;" *lhunpo* is a "lump;" *tsem* is a "seam;" *dir* is "here;" and *der* is "there;" *tar* is "tired;" *rog* is a "rogue" (the crow being called *charog*, or the "bird-rogue"); *yahba* is a "yawn;" and *ikhug* is a "hiccough." The last two are, however,
212 imitative sounds. But there is another resemblance between English and Tibetan, which is of a totally different kind. This is the difficulty of ascertaining how to pronounce a word from its spelling. A foreigner is

* The marks of punctuation are called *rKyang-shad*; the comma; *gZhis-shad*, the colon; *bZhi-shad*, the full stop; and *Tsheg-shad*, the semicolon.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

puzzled with our *plough*, *dough*, and *slough* or *enough*, 212
and with our *rite*, *write*, *right*, and *wright*. But the Tibetans are equally capricious in their pronunciation. *Spyan* they pronounce *shan* and *chan*, *phyag* they pronounce *chhag*, and *byang** they pronounce *chang*. Then again, they pronounce *do* (two), *bDo* (abundance), *mDo* (a short treatise or district), *hDo* (an answer), *rDo* (a stone), and *sDo* (danger), all in the same manner. And these, again, are confounded with the several words that are spelt with *t* and *th*.† It is in fact equally difficult to know how to spell a word from its pronunciation as to pronounce one from its spelling. In correct speaking, 195
the silent initial letters should be rapidly sounded; and they are so by the more learned Lamas, ***but by them only***. It is true that Vigne writes *Erganak* for *rGyanak* (the "black plain," the Tibetan name of China); but Moorcroft wrote *Guinnak*. Again, the pronuncia- 197
tion varies in different districts: thus, the compounds in *kh*; as *khy*, and *khr*, are pronounced *thy* and *thr* in Lhasa. *Khyi*, a dog, is called *thyi*; and *khrimpon*, a judge, is called *Thimpon*; but in Ladák they are pronounced as they are spelt. In Lhasa the final *s* in *Shags* is silent, as *shak*, justice. In Ladák it is pronounced *Shaks*. One of the most violent mispronunciations is *Tashi* for *bKra-shis*, as in *Tashi-Lhunpo*. Another is *U*, for *dBus*, the name of a district in Central Tibet. In the time of Ptolemy, however, this word must have been pronounced according to its spelling; for there can be no reasonable doubt that the people, whom he calls *Dabasæ*, are the inhabitants of *Dabus*, now *dBus*.

* In Kanâwar, however, the word is pronounced *Byang*, as in *Byangi*, wool, from which comes Chang Thang.

† So also *dMigs*, object; *dMig*, a hole; *Mig*, an eye; *rMig*, a hoof; *rMigs*, a worm; are all pronounced *Mik*.

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II.—FORMER LIMITS OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE.

171 The Tibetan language is now confined to the mountain
197 valleys of the Tsangpo and Indus, and to the upper courses of the Sutluj, the Sarju, and the Chenáb. But in ancient days it probably extended over the greater part of the Cis-Himálayas,* as I can trace by the Tibetan names of the smaller streams. All the larger rivers have been re-named by the Brahmans; but the smaller streams still retain their old names. Thus I find, within a few miles of Simla, the *Andre-ti*, or water of the Andar village; the *Ghail-ti*, or water of the Ghail valley; the *Khanyao-ti*, or water of the Khanethu district; and the *Gumo-ti*, or water of the Gumo valley. Other names are the *Chahi-ti*, the *Manyao-ti*, the *Chigaun-ti*, and the *Wal-ti*, all of which preserve the Tibetan word *ti*, "water." It is, perhaps, idle to speculate at what period the Tibetans could have possessed the present districts of Bisahar, Kyonthal, and Sarmar; but it must have been many centuries ago, before the Khasas† were driven into the hills by the conquering Hindus.

197 In Kanâwar, where the Indian and Tibetan languages meet, there are two dialects, which partake more or less of the one or of the other. The *Milchang*, or common language of Lower Kanáwar, is so called by the people of

* Pliny, VI. c. 17, Scythæipoi Caucasum montem (appellavere) *Graucasum*, hoc est *nive candidum;* and Isidor (according to Wilford) states that *Kroakasis* means "white" in the eastern tongue. Now, the only eastern language which approaches these words is the Tibetan, in which *Kar-khá-chan*, pronounced *Kar-khá-tsan*, means "white-snow-full-of," which is exactly Pliny's "nive candidum."

† The Kanets of the hills are all Khasas; and in Chamba, Kullu, and Kanâwar, they interpose between the Hindus and Tibetans.

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Bisahar; the Kanâwaris themselves call it *Milchanang*. 197
This name is most probably only the Tibetan word *Mingchang* (pronounced *Milchang*), "notorious or very common, vulgar." This dialect prevails over Lower Kanáwar, and along the left bank of the Sutluj in Upper Kanáwar. The *Tibar-skad*, or "*Tibar* language," is a dialect peculiar to Sungnam, Kánam, Lipe, and other places in Upper Kanáwar. It differs from the *Milchang* chiefly in shades of pronunciation, and in the changes of some initial consonants.

English.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
Three ...	súm ...	hum ...	sum.
A horse ...	rang ...	shang ...	tá.
A star ...	skara ...	karma ...	skarma.
Snow ...	pang ...	ang ...	kha.
A house ...	khim ...	khyim ...	khyim.
White ...	thog ...	thungni ...	kar.
Name ...	namang ...	ming ...	ming.
Green ...	rag ...	zangu ...	jangu.

In these examples there is, as might be expected, a greater admixture of Tibetan words in the dialect of Upper Kanáwar, which lies next to Tibet. In that of Lower Kanáwar there is one Hindu word, *namang*, a name.

In the following chapter I have given a copious vocabulary of the Tibetan language, compared with all the surrounding languages: with the *Arniyá*, *Shiná*, and *Khajunah* of the Dards; with the *Pushtu* of the Afghans, and with the *Kashmiri* of the Kasas; with the *Hindi* dialects of the people of Chamba, Kullu, Handur, and Garhwál, as well as with the Indo-Tibetan *Mil-*

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197 *chang* and *Tibar-skad* of Kanáwar. This comparison will give a much better idea of the language than any thing that I can say.

III.—PRINTING.

213 Printing has long been known and practised in Tibet, but only by engraved stereotype wooden blocks, and not by moveable types. The printing of a new work is therefore a most expensive and laborious process. The accompanying specimen of a Tibetan horn-book, or primer, is printed from one of these engraved planks.* The letters are most beautifully cut, but the block has been so much used, that the original sharpness is now quite gone.

The first or middle circle is blank.

The second circle contains a mystic formula, which I cannot decipher.

The third circle contains the ejaculation *hih*, eight times repeated.

The fourth circle contains the ejaculation *hún*, ten times repeated.

The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet, arranged according to the Sanscrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirates complete. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanscrit names; as for instance, the *ṇ* in *Padmapaṇi*. It is remarkable that the *ch*, *chh*, and *j* have all got the mark placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to *ts*, *tsh*, and *ds*. This
212 is, I think, a direct proof that the Tibetans obtained
177 their knowledge of Sanscrit, as well as their alpha-

* See Plate XLIV.

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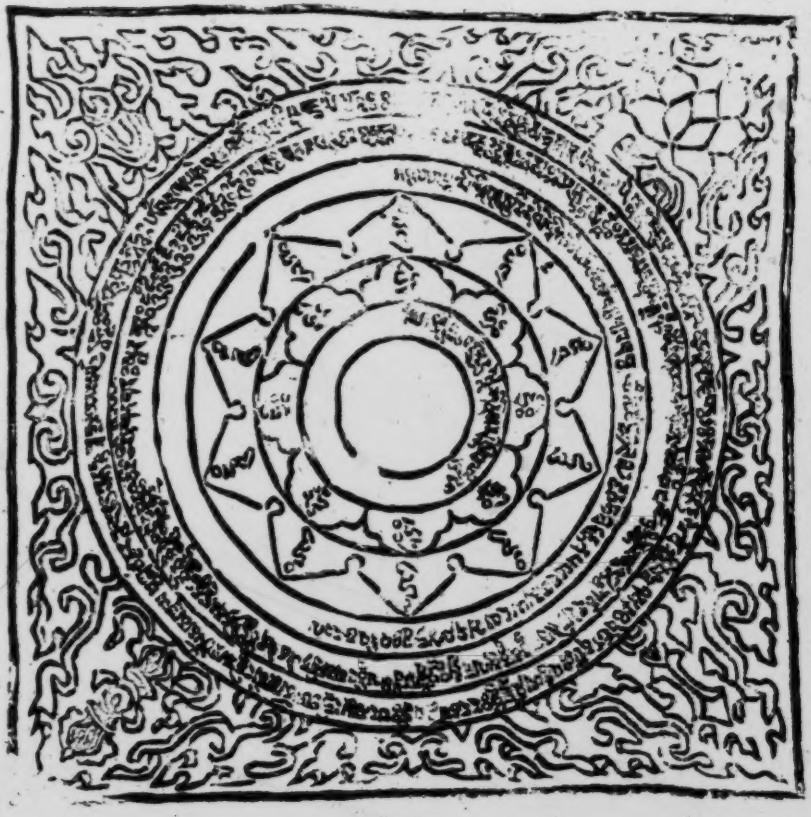
THE TIBETAN HORN-BOOK

from a Tibetan Wooden Block



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177 bet, from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these
212 letters in the above manner, as *Pandsál* for Panjál.

The sixth circle I cannot decipher, but I can trace the repeated ejaculations of hun-hun! hun-hun! hun-hun! hun!

The seventh circle is one of the most interesting, as it contains the famous Indian enunciation of the Buddhist faith, which I found inscribed on a stone which I extracted from the great tope of *Sárnáth*, near Benares. This is the only instance in which I
539 have seen it used in Tibet.

Aum! Muni, Muni, Mahá-Munayé, swáhá!
Yé dharma hetu prabhavá hetun teshán Tathágato
hyavadat teshán cha yá nirodha evam vadi Mahasramanas.

"In the name of the Triad! O, Muni, Muni, great Muni, adoration! Of all things springing from cause, that cause hath the Tathágata explained; the cause of their extinction also hath the great As-cetic declared."

213 New works are rarely undertaken, but the printing of their standard religious works is still carried on by the Tibetans with the same old blocks that were in use up-
[788] wards of 100 years ago. The great mass of printing, however, is chiefly confined to the production of the innumerable quantity of prayers and mystical formulæ that are required by the people. I have seen many rolls containing many hundred repetitions of the same sentences. They are printed on sheets of a thin brownish paper called *Grega* (or *Tega*), but the books are printed on a much smoother paper called *Par-shog*, or "printer's paper." The ink is called *Par-snag*, or "printer's ink." The printer himself is named *Par-pa*, and where several are employed the head printer is called *Par-pon*. The printing board, or table, is *Par-shing*, and "copy" is called *Par-bri-pa*. The engraved block is named *Zhi*,

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2/3 and the engraver *Par-ko-pa.* The printing-house is called *Par-khang*, and the book, when completed, is named *Par-ma*, a "printed work."

A book consists of numerous loose leaves, from one to two feet long, and from three to four inches in width. These are numbered, and secured between two planks. The title and number of the volume are sewn upon a piece of silk and inserted at one end.*

IV.—RECKONING OF TIME.

805 The Ladákis make use of two modes of reckoning time. the cycle of twelve years for common computations, suc as a man's age, or the date of any recent event; bu both in writing and in accounts they always use th cycle of sixty years, which they borrowed from India.†

In the cycle of twelve years, each year is named after a particular animal, as follows:—

1.	Byi-lo	the Mouse year.
2.	gLang-lo	the Ox year.
3.	Stag-lo	the Tiger year.
4.	Yos-lo	the Hare year.
5.	hBrug-lo	the Dragon year.
6.	sBrul-lo	the Serpent year
7.	rTa-lo	the Horse year.
8.	Lug-lo	the Sheep year.
9.	Spre-lo	the Ape year.
10.	Bya-lo	the Bird year.
11.	Khyi-lo	the Dog year.
12.	Phog-lo	the Hog year.

My first acquaintance with this cycle was rather startling. I asked a jolly-looking dame, named Thájang,

* A volume in my possession is entitled *Chhos-r Gyan*—D—that is, "The Ornament of Religion," 11th vol.

† Csoma's Grammar, pp. 147, 148.

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who had three husbands living, and several children,* 805 what her age was. To my great astonishment she replied "twelve." At first I thought that she did not wish to tell her age, but I soon found that she only reckoned by cycles, and that she was not yet two cycles old. I then turned to Csoma de Kōrōs's grammar, and after a little more questioning I discovered that she was twenty years of age. Afterwards, in collecting my tables of longevity, I took some pains to guard against this mode of wholesale reckoning by cycles, and with two exceptions, I was personally successful. But where I was obliged to trust to a munshi for my information, I found that numbers of the old people were sixty, seventy-two, and eighty-four years of age.

The cycle of sixty years is a much more elaborate reckoning. The first cycle is counted from A.D. 1026. The Hindus have a distinct name for each year of the cycle, but the Tibetans have adopted the Chinese nomenclature, which is formed by coupling the names of the twelve animals of the other cycle with the names of the five elements, considered as both male and female alternately. The first element, male and female, is coupled with the first two animals, next with the eleventh and twelfth animals, and so on; by which the change of names is preserved throughout the whole series. The names in English are—

1. Wood-Mouse	11. Wood-Dog	21. Wood-Ape	31. Wood-Horse	41. Wood-Dragon	51. Wood-Tiger
2. „ Ox	12. „ Hog	22. „ Bird	32. „ Sheep	42. „ Serpent	52. „ Hare
3. Fire-Tiger	13. Fire-Mouse	23. Fire-Dog	33. Fire-Ape	43. Fire-Horse	53. Fire-Dragon
4. „ Hare	14. „ Ox	24. „ Hog	34. „ Bird	44. „ Sheep	54. „ Serpent
5. Earth-Dragon	15. Earth-Tiger	25. Earth-Mouse	35. Earth-Dog	45. Earth-Ape	55. Earth-Horse
6. „ Serpent	16. „ Hare	26. „ Ox	36. „ Hog	46. „ Bird	56. „ Sheep
7. Iron-Horse	17. Iron-Dragon	27. Iron-Tiger	37. Iron-Mouse	47. Iron-Dog	57. Iron-Ape
8. „ Sheep	18. „ Serpent	28. „ Hare	38. „ Ox	48. „ Hog	58. „ Bird
9. Water-Ape	19. Water Horse	29. Water-Dragon	39. Water-Tiger	49. Water-Mouse	59. Water-Dog
10. „ Bird	20. „ Sheep	30. „ Serpent	40. „ Hare	50. „ Ox	60. „ Hog

* See her Portrait, Plate XVIII.

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805 The different cycles began in the following years—

1st	began	1026 A.D.	6th	began	1326 A.D.	11th	began	1626 A.D.
2nd	„	1086 „	7th	„	1386 „	12th	„	1686 „
3rd	„	1146 „	8th	„	1446 „	13th	„	1746 „
4th	„	1206 „	9th	„	1506 „	14th	„	1806 „
5th	„	1266 „	10th	„	1566 „			

The present year, 1851, is therefore the forty-fifth year of the fourteenth cycle.

The months are also named after the twelve animals; but the first month is *hBrug-zLa*, or the "dragon-month," which corresponds with the Hindu *Mágh*, and with our January and February.

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COMPARISON

OF THE

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VARIOUS ALPINE DIALECTS,

FROM

THE INDUS TO THE GHÂGRA.

DARDU DIALECTS.	The Arniya dialect is spoken in		Yasan and Chitrál.
	" Shiná	"	Gilgit, Chalás, Daret, Kohli, and Pálas.
	" Khajunah	"	Hunza and Nager.
AFGHAN.	" Pushtu	"	Afghanistan and Eastern Hazára.
KASA.	" Kashmiri	"	Kashmir.
INDIAN DIALECTS.	" Panjâbi	"	The Panjâb.
	" Gádi	"	Chamba, Northern Kangra.
	" Kulluhi	"	Kullu.
	" Handuri	"	Handur, Kahlur, and Kyonthal.
	" Garhwâli	"	Garhwâl and Sarmor.
TIBETAN DIALECTS.	" Milchang	"	Lower Kanáwar.
	" Tibarskad	"	Upper Kanáwar.
	" Tibetan	"	Tibet, Ladák, and Balti.

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
Air	T. hawá	ushé	tishé	bád, wah, wu	hawé, wáho	átmá (ατμη) vayu	hawá
Ant	—	—	—	—	ré	pipilaka	chunta, chinta
Arrow	wishu	kon	hunz	ghasho	tir, kán	tir, ván	tir, bán
Bird	—	bring	balas	marghai	úpháún takri	pakshin	pakheru
Blood	le (> lohé)	lohéi	multán	vina (αιμα)	ráth	rakta	lohu
Boat	—	nao	nao	berai (βαρος)	nao	nau	nao, khéshti, bera
Bone	—	—	—	—	ádij	asthi	haddi
Brass	—	rei	rej	ziyar, ryad	sartal	kánsiya	pital
Brick	—	dastak	dán	khikta	sir	ishtaká	inth, ith (πλινθος)
Brother	—	já	achu	rúr, aror	bhoyi, bai	bhráta (φρατωρ)	bhai
Buffalo	—	S. mahés	S. hés mahés	mekha	mahesh	mahesa	bhains
Camel	S. unth	S. unth	S. unth	ukh, ugh	unth	ushtra	unth
Cat	P. pusha	P. pushi	P. pushi	pishau, pishi	brécor, bryár, byáhr	virál	billi
Cloud	—	ajao	khrald	waras	abr	nabhas (νεφος)	bádr, bádal
Copper	—	Tib. záns zangutz	Tib. záns	támba mio	tram	támra	támba
Cotton	—	S. kayás	S. kupás	kupa pamba	kapas	karpása	kapás, rúi
Cow	leshu, lesum	socha-gao	G. buah (βους)	ghúai	gao	gau	gai
Crow	—	—	—	—	kao	kák	kák, kág
Daughter	S. kameru gumod	dhi	ai	lúr	kúr	putri, kanya	beti
Day	chhoi	des	gun (Turki) guns	roz	doh, dah	din	din
Dog	rain	shúng	húk	spai	hún, phú (κυων)	kukkur	kuttá
Ear	S. kar, kád	S. kúnd	littúmál	wagh ghwaj	kan	karna	kán
Earth	S. bhúm	birdi, saor	birdi	azmuka	bhutrát, meta	bhu, go (γη)	bhumi, prithivi
Egg	—	—	—	hagge	thúl	anda	andá
Elephant	—	S. hasto	S. hasto	háthi	húst, hast	hasti	háthi, kunjar
Eye	S. ach; T. ghach	S. achhi	S. ilchin	istargi stirgha	ach, achu	chakshus	ánkh
Father	—	máio	ao	palár	mol, báb	janak, pitta	báp, pitá
Fire	S. ág, ingár	phú, agár	phu	aor, or	nár, agan	agni	ág
Fish	—	chimu	chimu	mahi	ghád	matsya	machhi
Flower	—	S. pusho	aakhor	gul	posh	pushpa	phúl
Foot	S. pang	S. pá	goting	akhpe	kor, kúr	pád	pao, pán
Fort	—	S. kot	kan	garhai	kalai	garh, durga	garhi
Fruit	—	S. phalamúl	S. phamúl	bár	méwa	phal	phal
Goat	pai	mugar, ai (αιξ)	haldin	biza	Fsáwúl	Aja (αιξ) chhág	bakri
Gold	—	S. son	ghenish	sira-zar	son, swan	suvarna swarna	sona

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kulluhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
wáh	bát	bágur	bágur	pen, batás	lang	lang	rLungma
—	makuri	chint	chit, makuri	kirmila	—	—	Grogma
—	khar	kanaru	kanaru	tir	mo	shim	mDah
tiliyar	chiri	chola	panchi	chara	bya	bya	Byá (chá)
—	ragut	lohu	lohu	lohu, ragut	pulách	Shuí	Khrug (thak) (ιχωρ)
béri	beri	beri	beri	nao	—	—	Grá
haddi	had	hád	had, hád	hár	hárung	hárang	Rás (ὀστέον, os)
pital	pital	pital	pital	pital	pital	pital	rághán
itha	ith	ith	ith	ith	—	—	pag
bhai, bhira	bháya	dád	bhai	daji, bhuia	acho, bya	acho, bya	spun
—	mahé	mahe	mahes	bhaina	—	—	Mahi
unth	unth	unth	unth	unth	—	—	—
billi	billi	bareri	bredri	billia	pishi	pishi	Byila, pushi
—	hadr	hádal	hadall	hadál	zá, thing	zá, ding	tin
támbá	trámba	támbá	támbá	támbá	trámang	tramang	zangs
rewi, gun	kopá	pakú	kapá	rui	kapa	kapa	shing-bai
—	gorw	gno	gai	gui	lang	balang	Bá, Ba-lung
—	ká	kao	kao, káwá	kág	kák	ká	Khám
dhi, káki	deya	beti	dhi, beti	laoni	chimó	Sri-chang	bumo, [illegible]
din	dyára	dyára	dyára	din	diár, lai	diár, zangma	Nyin-mo
kuttá	kuttr	kukur	kuttá	kuitu	khuí	khuí	Khyi
kán	kan	kan	kán	kán	kámang	rapang	Sá, Ancho rNa-ba
—	prithvi	jimi, mata	prithi	máta	mátang, sho	mátang	rNa
anda	bat	peni	andi	andá, phul	li, lich	tím	sGonga
háthi	hathi	háthi	háthi	háthi, ganes			gLangchen
akh	akr	ákh	ákh, hákh	ankha	mik	mi	Mig, spyan
peo, bábá	chacha	báh	bápu	bhuva	bábá	apa	Phá, yab
ag	ág	ág	ág	ág	mé	mé	Mé
machhi	machhi	manchi	machhli	mácha	machas	machas	Nya
pushp, phúl	phúl	phúl	phul	phúl	ú	mento	Metog
pao, pai	par	rahar	pair, lát	pair, kuia	bang	bangkhat	rKang-pa zhabs
garh, gurhi	garhi	garh	garh	kilah, garh	gorang	gorang	mKhar rDzong
phal	phal	phal	phal	phal	sho	usho	hBrasbu dalbu
bakrá, chhela	bakra	bakra	bakrá	bakra	áj, bakar	lá	Ra
soná	sóná	soná	sona	sunu	zang	zang	mSer

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
Grass	—	kata	shikah	wákho pusod	gháso	ghás, khar	ghas
Hair	chhdsi	kilo	gugeyung	vukhto	mast, wal	kesar	bal
Hand	S. hast, hasta	S. hath	gurung ghar (Mag.)	lás	sálo, sthu	hasta, kai (χειρ)	hath
Head	S. sar	shir	yetis	sur	kalah	sir	sir, mund
Honey	—	mashhá	mashá	gabinch	máoch	madhu	madh, dhahad
Horse	sakir	F. asip	bághar	ás	ghor, ghur	aswa	ghora
House	—	got, gosh	hah	kur	gharo, ghaero	griha, hás	ghar, koti
Husband	—	barryo	er (Turki) ayér (ανηρ)	mero	mahráz	pati, swámi	khasm, khasam
Iron	—	chinr, kipar	T. hamir c'ihur	wapano espana	shinar (σίδηρος)	loha	lohá
King	—	Rashra	Thum	pádshah	pádshah	rája, despati (δεσποτης)	rája, raie
Land	sang	nágg, sang	náng	sihá sarp	nág	sinik, sina	sinó
Leaf	—	S. patti	thápong	pána	pan	patra	patti, pattá
Light	—	sang	sang-manimi	rukhánah	gásh	prakha, tej	ujlá, roshan
Lightning	—	bóchda	—	charak	wamal	sandamini	bijli
Man	rag; S. manshi	S. manshu	hir er (Turki.)	sará, medá	manu, manyu	manushya nara	mánas
Milk	S. chir; S. shid	dodh	manum	poi, shando shiile	dod, ḍwod	dughdam	dúdh
Monkey	—	—	—	bino	punz	kapi, vánar	bandar, langúr
Moon	—	yém	hakma	spog-mai, syaj-ma	zin, tsandar	chandra	chánd
Mother	—	má	umá	mor	maj, máj, mej	máta	má, mená, máti
Mountain	sa, zém	chash	chash	ghar	pánzi, bli, sangir, tong, parbat	parvata, giri	parbat, pahár
Mouth	ziwa	anzi, asi	gokhat	khúlo	ázo, ás (στομα)	mukh	munh, mukh
Mosquito	—	—	—	—	mísh	masa	machchar
Name	—	S. noma (ονομα)	goyuk	nóm	nao	náma	nám
Night	yaniyá	S. rát	tipa	sthpá	rát	rátri	rát
Nose	nashkir	noto	gomopoah	pozah, pazu	nast	násika	nák
Oil	—	S. tell	dhel	tel	tél	tel	tel
Plantain	—	—	—	—	kéla	kadala	kela
Rain	—	arwahi	harjhachil	bárán	rród	vrishti, varsha	bárish
River	S. sin	S. sin	sindha	sin	kúl, wit	sindhu, ganga	nadi
Road	P. rih	pon	gand	lár	wat (ὁδος)	ráz, márga	gali, ná
Salt	—	lona	beyo	malgá	nún	lavana	lon
Sleep	sakpal	karein	hankkar	gadtra, maj, sej	kat, gub	bhartha, mesh	bhátra
Shoe	hosh (Tib.)	paizir	paizir	pahú, kough	kosh (Tib.)	pádukú	jota, jhuti

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Punjábi.	Gádi.	Kulluhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
ghá	ghá	ghá	ghas, khar	ghás	chi	chi	Bá
hál	khrár	sharár	kas	hál	krá	krá	sKyá, sPú
háth	hath	hath	háth	háth	got, gód	lá	Lag-pa Phyag
—	mánd	mánd	sir, mund	kapál	bal	pisha	mGo
—	makhir	makhir	makhir	meh, gar	was	princhi	sBrang-rTsi
ghoda	ghora	ghora	ghora	ghora	rang	chang	rTá
ghar, kota	ghar	ghar	ghar	ghar, jhompra	khim, kyim	kying, kyim	Khyim, Khang
gherwála	mard	lára	lárá*	dhula	dach	chogs	Khyodang
kbá	koha	koha	koha	koha	rung, pem	chák	kChags
raja	rája	rája	raja	raja	—	—	rGyal-po
sikhá	sim	sik	sik	sim	sik	sik	shánl, rÍtl
pattar	patta	pách	pát, pách	pát	patlang, patrang	patlang	Lomá
—	ujyála	prakha	prikan	ujyála	—	—	Hod sNang-pa
—	bijli	bijli	bijli	bijli	bijli, bizing	byzing	—
—	mánas	máunk	mard, tin	mánus	mi	mi	Mi
dadh	dódh	dodh	dódh	dódh	khirang, bérang	pé	ho, homa
bándar	bandar, langúr	bandar	bandar	bandar, langúr	gunas, bandrus	gunas, bandrus	sPrubu
chand	chandar	jot	chanda, jun	chandramá	galsang	galsang	rLáva
má, amá	ji	ji	má, amá	bhát	amá	amá	Amá, Má, yum
dak, dakak	joth	dakak	dhár, tilin	dhánk, tilu	rang, rangs	yut	Bi, lá
—	mú	jyát	munh	mukh	khágang	á	Khá, shal
—	máchchar	chach	machchar	máchchar	chóchi	koyang	Stisbu
mo	má	nám	nám	nám	námang	ming	Ming
rát	rát	nihára	rát	rát	rátling	nundo, nuula	mTshamo
nak	nák	nika	nák	nák	stágás	nyum	sNa, shangs
tel	tal, tel	tel	tel	tel	telang	máthi	hBrumar markn
kala	kálá	kará	kalu	kalu	—	—	—
—	barsárá	bishkál	barshkal	hiyund	rodang, doyang	—	rodang, mukpa
—	nal	khad	nal, khad	nadi	samudrang	tsángpá	gTsang-po
rih	bat	bát	bát	bátu	om	om, ám	Lám
lun	lon	loo	lun	lún	tabá	tabá	Tabá (αλς)
bhedá, kádu	bhera	bhed	bher, kádu, ruba	bhera	khas	sum	lóg
jhuti	pasla	pohra	jora, pacni	juta	kushera	phoni	kushri, ihan

* In Kashmiri—*lari*, a house; hence, *lárá*, a husband; *lári*, a wife.
Compare Punjábi—*ghar*, " " *gharwala*, " *gharwali*, "

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KABA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
Silver	—	S. rép	bári	spin-zar	rop	rajata	rupa, chándi
Sister	—	S. sas	ayas	khor	bázyé, bhenji	bhágini	báhin
Skin	—	—	—	—	tham	charmma	chál
Sky	ásmán	agáhi	ayash	ásmán	nab	nabas, swarga	nák
Snake	—	jand	—	már	saruf, surf	sarpa	sánp
Snow	S. him	S. hin	gyé	vaorah	shin	hima	him
Son	dák (τεκνον)	pucha (παις)	G. aya (υιος)	zoyah	necho	putra, sut	putr, beta
Star	satár (αστηρ)	S. táro	asi	stórah	táro, tárak	tárá	tara
Stone	—	bat	dhan	kártah	kain	prasthara, sila	patthar, sil (πετρα)
Sun	—	S. suri	ur	hawar, hwar	aftáb, ayát, suraj	surya (Σειριος)	suraj
Thunder	—	angalgiz	—	gharido	gagarni	meghgarjan, vajranishpesh	garaj, gargarkhat
Tiger	—	dhi	thih	hamzerah	sah, sih	vyághra	bagh
Tooth	S. dond	S. dhuni	gume	ghakbuna, ghágh	dan, dand	danta	dánt
Tow	—	kuí	bushé	khar, ghar	shahar	nagara, pura	nagar, pur
Tree	kan	tím	—	wuna, wanai	kai, kula	dáru, vriksha	rúkh, per, gáchh
Tribe	—	rúmá	rom	khel, zaí	zát	kula, gotra	kul, got, ját
Village	—	thesush-kui	—	kilah, kalai	gám	gráma	gaon, basti, purwa
Water	sagr, agh	wahi	chil	ubo, oba	áb, páni	ápa, uda	jal, pani
Wife	—	hilil	sambai	khiffa, ghaza	mahrin	stri	joru, stri
Woman	S. kamri, kumedi	grin	gus	khiza, ghaza	zanánah	stri, nari	rindi, nári
Wood	jin	kátho	gashil	largai, largi	zún (ξυλον)	káshtha, vana	lakri, kath
Wool	postan	pash	(Tib.) bal	warai, wadai (ερεον)	yer (ειρος)	urna	un
East	—	jakabahi	jilmanás	narkháto	—	purona, pura	purab
West	—	ásrabahi	ásrmanás	kibleh	—	pakshina, apara	pachhim
North	—	—	—	kulb	dachin	uttara, váma	úttar
South	—	—	—	shamáli	káwar	dakshina	dakhin
Right	—	dachin	dohmo	khi	dachin	dakshina	dahina
Left	—	thail	yáham	khin-gis	káwar	váma	bayan, bám
1	I	ek	hin	yo	ak	eka	ek
2	ju	do	altas	dwá	zih	dwa	do
3	trui	che	usko	dré	trah	tri	tin
4	chod	chhar	waito	salor	teor	chatur	chhar
5	punj	puah	sundo	pinzo	pánz	panchan	pánch
6	chui	shah	mishando	ashpag	shah	shash	chah, khat
7	sát	sát	talo	awo	sat	saptan	sát
8	ánsht	asht	aksanbo	ata	ath	ashtan	áth
9	nenhan	no	hunche	nah	nah	navan	nao
10	jash	dahi	tormo	las	dah	das	das
			10+1	1+10			1+10
11	—	akáhi	turmohan	yacias	kah	ekádas	igárah
			10+2				
12	—	bihi	turmáltas	dcias	bah	dwádas	bárah
20	jiahi	bi	altar	shil	wah	vinsati	bis
			20+10				
30	—	chehi	altartormo	derish	trah	trinsat	tis

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kulúhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
chándi, rupa	rupa	rupa	rupa	rupa	mil, mul	mul	múl
bahen	báhin	báhin	báhin	dhíli, bhuli	Ayu, Byách	Shing, Bété	achhé
—	kabri	kabri	kabri	chamrá	sha	pakya	Pags-pa
—	amr	sarg	sarg, amber	akás	sargang	nam	gNam, Khah
sap	kira	sáp	sáp	sarp	sábás	brul	aBrul (dul)
—	hyún (χιων)	hio	hyun	hyún	pam, pang	ang	gangs-khapa
putr, beta	putr	beta	put, beta	nonál	chang	phasil chang	bu, sras
tára	tára	tára	tára	tára	skara	karma	skar-ma
patthar	nar	patthar	patthar	patthar, dhungar	rag, rák	rá	rDo
suraj	dera	suraj	suraj, dyára	suraj	yuné, yunek	nyi	Nyimá
—	gúrkha	gúlkho	grikona, ambargiriya	arjan	gurguri	gurguri	thog, hBrug
sher	brágh	barágh	si, sihi	sher	tar	tar	sTag
dand	dand	dánd	dand	dánt	gár, bang	soa	So, Tibems
nagar, grám	grá	sahar	pur, graon	ghar	—	—	grong-khyur, Gror
rúkh	rúkh	bhút	dár	darkhat	botang	botang	lJonshing, Shing
ját	ját	ját	kul	ját	—	—	—
pind, thatá	grá	graon	graon	ghar	deshang	deshang	Yul-tho, grong
pánj	pánl	pánl	pánl, jal	pánl	ti	chhú	chhú
gharwáli	zanánah	lári	lári	dhulin	nar, yas	yolat	chhung-ma
—	betari	chyori	jawánas	janana, istri	chimi	shri	cho-mo
lakr, kátth	chiri	chiri	lakri	lakri	shing	shing	Shing
un	uní	un	un	un	cham	chám	Bal
purab	purab	purab	purab	purah	nes	duru, shar	shar
—	pachin	pachan	pacham	pachún	ning	duxur, núk	núb
—	dúr	uttar	uttar	uttar	thoad, ring	xang	cháng (byáng)
—	dakhin	dakhin	dakhan	dakhain	shúng	xampuling	lho
—	dahina	—	dakina	dahina	xagang	dúré	gYas
kabhi	báwan	—	báwa	báyan	derang	bai	gYon
—	ak	ek	ek	ek	it	ti	gChig
—	do	do	do	do	nish	nishi	gNyis
—	tré	tin	tin	tin	súm	súm	gSúm
—	chhar	chhar	chhar	chhar	pu, puk	pi	bZhi
—	panj	pánch	panj	pánch	ngá, má	ngal	lNgá
—	cheh	chah	cheh	chah	túk, túg	túki	drúg
—	sát	sát	sat	sát	stish	nashi	bDún
—	áth	áth	ath	áth	rai	gyai	brGyad
—	nao	no	nao	no	agrí	gui	dGú
—	das	das	das	das	sai	chúi	bChú
—	igárah	igárah	igárah	igárah	sihad	chúti	bcu-gchig
—	bárah	bárah	bárah	bárah	sonish	chúni	bCu-gnyis
—	bi	bi	bi	kori	nisa	nisa, nisa	nyi-shu
—	tri	dera-bi	tis	tis	deo-nisa	deo-nisa	gSúm-bChú

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
40	—	dobyo	twice 20 altowaltar	sarvekht	zathejl	chatwarinsat	chhalis
80	—	bobekadáhi	twice 20+19 alto waltar	panzos	pánzfh	panchásat	pachás
100	do shum	shal	tormo tha	sil	hat	sat	sao
1,000	—	S. sás	S. sás	zir	sás	sahasra	hajár
100,000	—	—	—	lakh	lach	laksha	lakh
1st	—	muchono	yarnoma	ahwala, yawaw	godanyak	prathama	pahla
2nd	—	dogono	makchúm	duyamah, duwam	duyum	dwitiya	dusra
3rd	—	chagono	yilchúm	drémah, dreyam	teyum	tritiya	tisra
4th	—	charyono	waltúm	salorsmah, salorsm	chorum	chaturtha	chautha
10th	—	dahigono	tortúm	lasumah, lasam	doham	dasama	daswa
Red	—	lòlo	bardúm	sara, sura	warul	lohita, rakta	lál
Yellow	—	haliru	shikark	zera, zyad	ledur	pinjar, pita	pila, haldiya
Blue	—	nila	shikam	nila, ábi	nyul	nila	nila
Green	—	cherung	thokrang	shin	sabra	harita	hará
Black	—	kino	matung	tor	krihum	syáma, kála	kala, syám
White	—	sho	brúm	spin	chot	sweta, arjuna	safed, gorí
To-day	—	—	—	man, roz	az	—	áj
To-morrow	—	—	—	sabha roz	pagah, ruts	kalli, swas	kal
Yesterday	—	—	—	parún	yao	gata-kál	kal
Week	—	—	—	—	—	sapta-din	hafta
Month	—	—	—	—	ret	más	mas, mahina
Year	—	—	—	kal	wari	varsha	baras
Above	yang	—	—	porta, boad	—	úrdhwa, adhi	upar
Beneath	pást	kari	yárá	akhata	tal	tala, adha	niche
Between	—	—	—	—	—	antar	bich
Before	—	mucho	yar	mukh-ámukh, dodande	bont	para, agra	age
Behind	—	pato	ilji	rústo, dorusto	pat	pakshima	piche
Broad	—	bistino	daldalam	palana	pená	—	chaora
Long	—	jigo	thanung	ugda	zát	lamba	lamba
Crooked	—	kingru	gandér	kaga, krj	hal, haj	vakra	tircha
Straight	—	suntho	san	samah, rást	syúd	—	sidha
Dry	—	sukho	búm	uch, wach	hok	soshka	sukha
Wet	—	azo	hagúm	laondah, nmabd	adúr (ὑδωρ)	árdra	gila
Far	—	—	—	—	—	dúr	dúr
Near	—	—	—	—	nish, nakha	nikat	nezi, pás
Good	jam	mishto	daltas	khá	jwán	su	achha, changi
Bad	dish	phana	wirán	nakhára	yach	dur, manda	bura

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábí.	Gádí.	Kulubí.	Hasduri.	Garhwálí.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
—	chál	chál	chál	challa	nish-nisa	nish-nisa	bÑhi-bChû
—	panjá	panchá	panjá	pachás	ñai-nisá	dai-nisa	lÑga-b-Chû
—	kao	sao	sao	sao	rá	gyá	brGya
—	hazár	hajár	das-sao	hazár	hazár	chu-gyá	stong
—	lákh	lakh	lakh	lakh	lákh	lákh	kBûm
—	ak-dera	eyu kadeh	age	pahla	—	dunchi	dang-po
—	do-dera	deju kadeh	dujja	dusra	—	—	gÑyis-pa
—	tro-dera	treyu kadeh	tiga	tisra	—	—	gSum-pa
—	char-dera	chaûu	chastha	chastha	—	—	bÑhi-pa
—	das dera	dasou	daswa	daswa	—	—	bChu-pa
—	lal	—	sua	lál	sirwig	mángai	dMar-po
—	pioia	—	picra	pioio	pik, pikia	Lenu	mSar-po
—	nila	—	nila	nilu	rak, rok	tingai	sNgo
—	hara	—	hara	hara	rag	sango	lJang
—	kála	—	kala	kálu	reg, rok	kání	nag-po
—	hachá	—	safed, chita	safed	thog	thangai, changai	dKar-po
—	—	—	ij	ij	toro, troia,	diring	de-ring
—	—	—	kal	bhoio	nasam	siro, yúr	sang, thcré
—	—	—	kal	bhoil	me	yangio	mDang
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bDun-phrag
—	—	—	mah	mahina	goi	la	zla
—	—	—	baraa	baraa	barsang	barsang	lo
—	uttara	—	upar	uparmáti	thoa, thuk	thúrang, choktho	stangna, gongna, mTho, stod
—	búnú	—	toi, nita	nemdi	yua, yug	yugun	hogna, mar-pa dMan, smad
bichhár	bichhár	—	manjh	bichh	manzong, maazang	kilo	mang, bar
—	agé	—	age	agé	ûma	donchi	mDándú
—	pit	—	páchá, piche	pichá	nyúma	gyab-chi	rGyabtu
—	chaora	—	chaora	chaora	chaura, kúnk	zheng-chan	sheng chan
—	bará	—	lambá	lámbá	—	—	ring-pa
—	pheta	—	bhengá	tircha	khungshim, kuta	gúrgúr	kug-pa
—	sidha	—	sidha	sidha	padraa	thunia	kyang
—	hukha	—	sukhá	sukhu	charch, chars	phorka	sKam
—	sijji	—	sinú, hará	suka	tiara, sping	chiko	gSher-pa, rLan-pa
—	—	—	dúr	dúr	warik, dúr	wár, wárko	thag-ring, ngan-pa
—	—	—	neri	nagich	nérang	nyémo	nyé-pa
zhangá	cher	—	achha, sobta	acchu	dam	epo, ebuta	gShinpa, bZang
márá	márá	—	kwaina, bura	khráb	mar, kochang	ko changia	ngan

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
Hard	1	koro	dang	sakhta, kak	dor	kathar, kathin	kartia
Soft	—	hazál	hasa	narma	narm	masrin, komal	narm
Heavy	—	angarú	chung	daraná, darund	gob	bhári	bhári
Light	—	loko	hûmalkûm	spuka	lot	lagha	halka
Hot	—	tatto	garomo	garma	tut	tapta, ushna	tatta
Cold	—	chon	chagarum	yekhnai, sod	tarûn	amishna	thanda
Hungry	—	—	—	ghwajai	—	kshudita	bhuka
Thirsty	—	—	—	tajai	—	pipásat	piása
Large	lat	baro	shokum	loyah	bod	vrihat	bara
Small	tayuk	chana	jot	warah	lok	kshutora	chhota
New	—	mo	tash	navé (novus)	no, nivi	navya	naya, navin
Old	—	promo	men	zarah	yron, prána	purána jirna (γηρων)	purána
Quick	—	halt	sûrdrû	zir, jir	jald	satwar	jald
Slow	—	chot	talámáné	ro-ro	lot-lot	manda	asti, sull
Raw	—	amo	audevanam	kachá, umá, oma	khám	apakwa	kacha
Ripe	—	pakko	dagonami	pakká	pop	pakwa	pakka
Rough	—	chacháro	chacharûm	—	—	asamán	
Smooth	—	pichilo	shirishûm	—	—	masrin	sáf, chikna
Round	ult	daduro	bidirim	—	dalom	gola, chakrakar	gola
Square	—	charkuta	waltó shutungus	salor kunjah	chokunjah	chaturkona	chaokona, charkuta
Sweet	—	moro	moro	khwara, khaj	madhur	mishta	mitha
Sour	—	—	—	tarwá	tsuk	amla	khatta
Thick	—	tûlo	dagunum	ghat	mot	sthula	mota
Thin	birwa	taluno	beyenus	mahina	tunu, nyûk	saru, kshin	pattala
Within	—	—	—	danana	—	—	bihtar, andar
Without	—	—	—	dahándi	—	—	báhar
Here	ir	—	—	dilta	—	atra	idhar, yahán
There	—	—	—	halta	—	tatra	udhar, wahán
Where	—	—	—	cherta	—	jatra	kahán
Now	—	anp-khen	kutu-khen	os	unikhen	tatkshan, idánis	ab
Then	—	akhen	atikhenu	aga wakt	tami wakt, adi	tadanis	tab
When	—	kot-khen	amid-khen	kum wakt, kala	kan wakt	—	jab, kab
Who	—	—	—	sok	—	—	kon
What	—	—	—	sáh, sa	—	—	kya
Which	—	—	—	—	—	—	kon
This	—	—	—	dáh	—	—	yih
That	—	—	—	agha	—	—	wuh
Why	—	—	—	—	—	—	kyun
How	—	—	—	sarangs	—	—	kaisa
Yes	—	—	—	ho	—	—	háh, hán
No	—	—	—	na	—	—	nah, ne
Not	—	—	—	—	zal	—	nahin
And	—	—	—	wo	ta	—	aur
If	—	—	—	ka	—	—	agar, jo
But	—	—	—	wale	lekin, ama	—	lekin
Or	—	—	—	ya	ya	—	ya

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kulluhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
—	karhá	—	kátha, karhá	káthu	tálk	gyongbo	gyong, mKhrang
—	kurhá	—	narm	narm	kolas	bulbo	hJam-pa, sNyi
—	bhára, girka	—	garká	garko	lhig	liko	
—	halká	—	halká	halku	langts	lanko	sLa
—	tattá	—	tattá	garm	záng, zábang	koura	dro-drom, taka
—	thandá, shera	—	thandá	thandu	lak	khatkso	grang
—	—	—	bhuka	bhuku	—	—	sBrabs-pa
—	—	—	tihai	piáou, tirka	—	—	skom
badá	barí	—	badá, bará	bara	tek, teg	shangni	chhen, chhé
nikká	chhotá	—	nikká, mattá	chhotú	gato, zaich	taigi, keta	bu, chhung
—	nayá	—	nowá	naya	nyung	nyungni	soma
—	práná	—	purána	purázu	ésik, rúza	nying-pa	gNah, nying-pa
sattábi	tacrá	—	jaldi	jaldi	hal, haall	gyuk-pa	—
—	mattá	—	sull	ásté	mesang	mesang	gulé
—	kachá	—	kachá	káchú	mashos	masho, kachang	—
—	pakká	—	pakka	pákku	shoyo, lungyo	sho, shobang	smmo
—	márhá	—	sowa	khurkhura	—	—	rTsing-pa
—	laná	—	kasra	s[illegible]	—	—	hJam-pa
—	goli	—	goi	gala	burbur	burbur	kyir-kyir
—	charkoni	—	charkuna	chaokunta	puzrak, puzir	pistir	gru-kHi
—	mitha	—	mithá	mithu	thik, — im	nyamko	mNgar-pa
—	—	—	khatta	khatta	stirk	stirko	skyur-pa
—	taha	—	mota	motu	—	—	rGyags pa, sTag-sKa
—	pattala	—	pattala	pattalu	—	—	srab
—	—	—	bihtar	muda	kuso	nangtu	nangsa
—	—	—	behar	báhar	barang	phitila	phyi-rol-na
—	iti	—	iti, ure	urhi	zua, tua	oya	hDir, hDis
—	gána	—	pure, jare	woká, péni	noa, doa	doa, ona	der, den
—	—	—	keti, kehi	kaká, kahán	ham	goa, go	gar, gan
—	abé	—	ibhu	abi	kun	lisungo	reng
—	tabé	—	tab	tab	—	—	re-zhig
—	jabé	—	kab	jab	terang	eno	nam
—	kon	—	kun	ko	hatto, hai	khsindé, go	su
—	—	—	ká, kyá	kyá	the, ham	gi	chi
—	—	—	kun	ko	—		gang
—	—	—	yih	yih	yo, za	oya, ai, yui	hDi
—	—	—	yih	wuh	no, nu	oza, aru, 4do	dé
—	—	—	kyun	kilé	chara, phu	khairo	—
—	—	—	kisitsrah	kaisi, kannu	tera, te	eno, enekta	chi-tsug, chi-ltar
—	—	—	háh	háh	an, a	u, ung, o	—
—	—	—	né	né	mai, máni	máni	—
—	—	—	né, nahin	mat	—	—	—
—	—	—	aur	aur	—	—	—
—	—	—	agar	—	—	—	jiste
—	—	—	lekin	—	—	—	honte, gahé
—	—	—	ya	ya	ki	la	yang-na

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

197x

ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
As	—	—	—	—	—	—	jaisa
So, thus	—	—	—	—	—	—	waisa, taisa
Also	—	—	—	hem	—	—	bhi
Always	—	—	—	mudám	—	—	hamesha
Although	—	—	—	—	yadanie, agarché	—	—
Until	—	—	—	—	—	—	jab 'ak, ta
Again	—	—	—	—	—	—	phir
Unless	—	—	—	—	nai	—	—
Except	—	—	—	—	magar, yátu	—	—
Therefore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Since	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Much	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
I	mo	jehá	—	zo	—	aham asmad	main
Of me	anumyo	jyá	—	zamuga	—	mama	mera
To me	mots	jyá dilá	—	mála	—	mahyam	mujh ko
By me	—	—	—	málura	—	mayá	mujh se
From me	—	—	—	málura	—	mat	mujh se
We	—	—	—	mungu	—	asmé vayam	ham
Of us	—	—	—	—	—	asmákam	hamárá
To us	—	—	—	—	—	asmabhyam	ham ko
By us	—	—	—	zumungna	—	asmabhis	ham se
From us	—	—	—	zumungna	—	asmat	ham se
Thou	—	—	—	Tah	—	twam yushmad	tu
Of thee	—	—	—	istah, stah	—	tava	tera
To thee	—	—	—	táh lá	—	tubhyam	tujh ko
By thee	—	—	—	tahrá	—	twaya	tujh se
From thee	—	—	—	tahrá	—	twat	tujh se
Ye	—	—	—	Táhsé	—	yushmé	tum
Of you	—	—	—	istahee	—	yushmákam	tumhara
To you	—	—	—	tetáhlá	—	yushmabhyam	tum ko
By you	—	—	—	tisomá	—	yushmabhis	tum se
From you	—	—	—	tisomá	—	yushmat	tum se
He	—	—	—	agha	—	sa	wuh
Of him	—	—	—	dagha	—	tasya	us ka
To him	—	—	—	agha ta	—	tasmai	us ko
By him	—	—	—	—	—	tena	us se
From him	—	—	—	—	—	tasmát	us se
They	—	—	—	aghi	—	te	we
Of them	—	—	—	—	—	teshám	un ka
To them	—	—	—	—	—	tebhyas	un ko
By them	—	—	—	—	—	téis	un se
From them	—	—	—	—	—	tebhyas	un se
To ask	—	—	—	—	—	yáchitum	puchkna
To buy	—	—	—	—	—	—	mol-lena
To blow	—	—	—	pukáwal	dolmut	—	phúnakna
To call	—	—	—	jagh kawal	—	—	bolána
To cook	—	—	—	pakháwal	ranum	—	pakhána
To count	—	—	—	—	gonzumun	—	gioná
To cut	—	—	—	parka-wal	garun	—	kátna

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetam AJ4

197k

DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kulluhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
—	—	—	—	jaisi	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	waisi	—	—	chéham
—	—	—	bhi	bhi	—	—	kyang, yang
—	—	—	hamesh	hamesh	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	modkyang
—	—	—	tahánta	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	phir	phir	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	bohat	—	—	mang
—	—	—	Haon	main	gu, ningu sang	gi, gyo	nga
—	—	—	—	main ko	sang-o	—	ngahi, ngayi
—	—	—	—	main ko	sang ciko	—	ngu-la
—	—	—	—	main se	—	—	ngas, ngayis
—	—	—	—	main sé	—	—	ngu-nas, ngu-las
—	—	—	asse	ham	—	—	nga-chag
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-chag-gi
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-chag la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-chag gis
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-chag nas
—	—	—	tu	tu	ki, kas	kusi, gnas	khyod
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod kyi
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod kyis
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod nas
—	—	—	tum	tum	ki, kis kina	gnamihi	khyod-chag
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod-chag gi
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod-chag la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod-chag gis
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod-chag nas
—	—	—	yih	wuh	no, nos, ze	we, pha, aro	kho
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho ki
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho yis, khos
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho nas
—	—	—	yih	wuh	no, so.ngo	artishi	kho-chag
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho-chag gi
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho-chag la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho-chag gis
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho-chag nas
—	—	—	puchhna	puchhná	unning	thibang, shaopang	gSherpar
—	—	—	mol-lena	mol-lená	zongmig	chongbang	syobar
—	—	—	phukna	phanknú	phuyamig	—	hBudpar
—	—	—	hák-dena	bolánú	kunig	hotpang	hBodpar
—	—	—	pakkána	pakkánú	lanig	lenmang	gYospar
—	—	—	guma, gauna	gunu	narmig	shumang	rTubar bGrangbar
—	—	—	katná	kátnu	malmig	ribang	gChodpar gZhogpar

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
To die	—	mirecno	—	mudal	—	—	marna
To do	—	—	—	—	karun	—	karna
To fall	—	—	—	purewalal	pyun	—	girna
To kill	—	—	—	—	—	—	márna
To laugh	—	—	—	khandil	—	—	hasna
To open	—	—	—	khalaswal	—	—	kholna
To raise	—	—	—	porta kawil	—	—	utarna
To read	—	—	—	lawastan	parun	—	parna
To run	—	—	—	zaghastal	dawun, dorun	—	dorna
To sell	—	—	—	—	—	—	bechna
To sew	—	—	—	gundal	sówun	—	siná
To be silent	—	—	—	—	—	—	chup rahna
To sleep	—	—	—	—	sbungun	—	sona
To strike	—	—	—	—	layun	—	pitnu
To take	—	—	—	akhistan	hyún	—	lena
To take away	—	—	—	—	—	—	lejána
To tear	—	—	—	sirekawal	—	—	torna
To tell	—	—	—	—	—	—	bolna
To wake	—	—	—	—	—	—	jagna
To weep	—	—	—	jadil	woden	—	rona
To weigh	—	—	—	tolal	—	—	tolna
To write	—	—	—	—	likhun	—	likhna
To understand	—	—	—	—	zanun	—	samjhna
To be	—	bího	maniní	khódil	—	—	hona
Be thou	—	bé	bárót	táh só	—	so	ho
Being	—	bé	—	khóda	—	—	hokar
Been	—	boyé	ni	sewai wu	—	—	ho-gaya
I am	—	mo Hos	já Bá	za Yam	—	asmi	main hun
Thou art	—	tu hao	um bá	tah yé	—	asi	tu hai
He is	—	ah hao	ai bá	azha dai	—	asti	wuh hai
We are	—	bé hás	hurtu bán	mungá yú	—	—	ham hain
Ye are	—	tso háth	má bán	táso yáet	—	—	tum ho
They are	—	áh há	monig bán	aghi di	—	santi	we hain
I was	—	mo Asíllás	—	za Wum	—	—	main thá
Thou wast	—	tu asulu	—	tah wé	—	—	tu thá
He was	—	ah asulu	—	agha wú	—	—	wu thá
We were	—	be asilla	—	munga wú	—	—	ham the
Ye were	—	tso asilit	—	táso wast	—	—	tum the
They were	—	zé asill	—	aghi wu	—	—	we the
I will be	—	mo Ghyem	ja tanjem	za Khéjam	—	—	main honga

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kulúhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Múchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
—	—	—	marna	'marnu	shinig	shichbang	gzhagspar
—	—	—	karna	karnu	langmig	lemsang	byedpar
—	—	—	gírna, daha	girnu	gormig	keshbang	nyilbar
—	—	—	márna	márnu	sánmig	sátpang	gSod-par
—	—	—	hasna	hasnu	wanmig	wotpang	dGodpar
—	—	—	khoina	khoinu	tongmig	phebang	dByéhar
—	—	—	chakna	utánu	thomig	tokpang	gTug-bar
—	—	—	parna	parnu	paramig	silbang	kLagpar
—	—	—	dorna	daurnu	dhyamig	gálbang	brGyágpar
—	—	—	bhikhna	—	remig	rangmang	bTsong-bar
—	—	—	sonna	sinu	ponmig, chemig	pónmang	bTsempar
—	—	—	chup-rahna	chup rahnu	tamtoshmig	—	kha-rug-par
—	—	—	sona, suti-jana	sónú	yangmig	gochbang	mNalbar
—	—	—	pitna, tilkana	pitnu	—	—	gZhabar bzDegpar
—	—	—	lena	lanu	yanig	thibang	bLangbar
—	—	—	lejána	lejánu	tonmig	hánmang	—
—	—	—	chárna	phárnu	chermig	chirabang	dagspar
—	—	—	bolna	bolnu	ringmig	ringbang	bhsyudpar serbar
—	—	—	jagna	utjánu	tochinig	tokpang	—
—	—	—	rona	ronu	kramig	tobang	sgubar
—	—	—	tolna	tolnu	tolamig	tolabang	dPogpar
—	—	—	likhna	likhnu	chemig	chebang	bBrihar
—	—	—	samjhna	samjhnu	—	—	shespar
—	—	—	hasna	hasnu	—	—	hDug par yin-par
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kyod-gyur-chig
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yin-pa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	yod-pa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-yin
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod-yin
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho-yin
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-rNams yin
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod-rNams yin
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho-rNams yin
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-hDug-pa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod hDug-pa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho hDug-pa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-chag-hDug-pa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod chag-hDug-pa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	kho chag-hDug-pa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-hGyur-ro

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arn'ya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
Thou wilt be	—	tu ghyé	—	tah khéija	—	—	tu honga
He will be	—	ju ghyé	—	agha khéiji	—	—	wuh honga
We will be	—	ba thi	—	munga khéijam	—	—	ham honge
Ye will be	—	tso gayah	—	tásé khéijai	—	—	tum honge
They will be	—	ah ié	—	aghi khéiji	—	—	we honge
To bring	—	areono	tauh	zévdal, rodel	nyún	—	lána
Bring thou	—	arno	—	raraoda	—	—	lao
Bringing	—	areta	—	raoda	—	—	láta
Brought	—	arO	—	raod	—	—	laya
I bring	—	mos arum	—	za raofum	—	—	main lata
I brought	—	mos arne	—	ma raodai	—	—	main laya
I will bring	—	mos lphem	—	—	—	—	main lawunga
To give	—	deono	—	—	dawun	—	déna
Give thou	—	dé	—	—	—	—	dé
Giving	—	—	—	—	—	—	dekar
Given	—	—	—	—	—	—	degaya
I give	—	mosu dea	—	—	—	—	main deta
Thou givest	—	—	—	—	—	—	tu deta
He gives	—	—	—	—	—	—	wuh deta
We give	—	—	—	—	—	—	ham dete
Ye give	—	—	—	—	—	—	tum dete
They give	—	—	—	—	—	—	we dete
I gave	—	mosu dim	—	—	—	—	main diya
Thou gavest	—	—	—	—	—	—	tu diya
He gave	—	—	—	—	—	—	wuh diya
We gave	—	—	—	—	—	—	ham diye
Ye gave	—	—	—	—	—	—	tum diye
They gave	—	—	—	—	—	—	we diye
I will give	—	mosu déée	—	—	—	—	main dega
Thou wilt give	—	—	—	—	—	—	tu dega
He will give	—	—	—	—	—	—	wuh dega
We will give	—	—	—	—	—	—	ham denge
Ye will give	—	—	—	—	—	—	tum denge
They will give	—	—	—	—	—	—	we denge
To come	hai	ono	dohunan	rétalal	—	—	ána
Come thou	—	oté	—	—	—	—	ao
Coming	—	along	—	—	—	—	ákar
Come	—	é	—	—	—	—	ágaya
I come	—	mo aliu	ji dayum	—	—	—	ía
I came	—	mo em	ai dayem	—	—	—	ýa
I will come	—	mo ghéphém	ji ghadayah	—	—	—	áwega
To see	poshik	chakyono	—	lidal	déphum	—	dekhna
See thou	—	chakyé	—	—	—	—	dekh

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kullulí.	Hundurí.	Garhwálí.	Milchang.	Thurchud.	Tibetan.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod hGyur-ro
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khe hGyur-ro
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nga-chag-hGyur-ro
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khyod hGyur-ro
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	khe hGyur-ro
—	—	—	Mun	Mun	lyunig-kurnig	ropang	hBrenghar hongar
—	—	—	—	—	hara, lar	ro—ongal	—
—	—	—	—	—	harya, hara	ragh	—
—	—	—	—	—	harkyo	rahe	—
—	—	—	—	—	hatik	ratil	—
—	—	—	—	—	harak	ragi	—
—	—	—	—	—	hartak	ratil	—
—	—	—	dasa	—	hanig	dikang	dBog-par, gTong-ba, hthor-bar
—	—	—	da, de	—	hana	dai	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanna	dagu	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanakyo	dike	—
—	—	—	—	—	hd-nik	Ddal	—
—	—	—	—	—	hd-tik	dinak	—
—	—	—	—	—	hd-in	dial, nile	—
—	—	—	—	—	hd-ai	dial	—
—	—	—	—	—	hd-ten	dang, ni, nam	—
—	—	—	—	—	hd-ai	dial	—
—	—	—	—	—	Kanak	Dgi	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanak	dake	—
—	—	—	—	—	hana	dak	—
—	—	—	—	—	hana	dake	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanak	dake	—
—	—	—	—	—	hana	dake	—
—	—	—	—	—	Kanak	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanak	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanka	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanka, tuk	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanka, tak	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	hanka, tuk	—	—
—	—	—	dan	—	hanig	ukyang	dGyu-par phab-par hong-bar
—	—	—	—	—	hin	nik	—
—	—	—	dinar	—	hinga	nikga	—
—	—	—	—	—	hinkyo	nikke	—
—	—	—	—	—	hitik	nik-ti	—
—	—	—	—	—	hirak, hik	nagi	—
—	—	—	—	—	hintak	nipti	—
—	—	—	—	—	khyunig, tungnig	kunang, tungnang	nThong-bar
—	—	—		—	tung	kun	—

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
Seeing	—	—	—	—	—	—	dekh-kar
Seen	—	—	—	—	—	—	dekh-gaya
I see	—	mos chakyam	—	—	—	—	main dekhta
Thou seest	—	tus chakye	—	—	—	—	tu dekhta
He sees	—	jus chakyé	—	—	—	—	wuh dekhta
We see	—	—	—	—	—	—	hum dekhte
Ye see	—	—	—	—	—	—	tum dekhte
They see	—	—	—	—	—	—	we dekhte
I saw	—	mos chakfûts	—	—	—	—	main dekh-liya
Thou sawest	—	tus chakfûi	—	—	—	—	tu dekh-liya
He saw	—	jus chakfûi	—	—	—	—	wuh dekh-liya
We saw	—	bis chakfûi	—	—	—	—	hum dekh-liya
Ye saw	—	tso chakfûit	—	—	—	—	tum dekh-liya
They saw	—	asigh chakfûi	—	—	—	—	we dek-liye
I will see	—	mos pusham	—	—	dasha	—	main dekhega
Thou wilt see	—	tus push	—	—	—	—	tu dekhega
He will see	—	jus pushé	—	—	—	—	wuh dekhega
We will see	—	—	—	—	—	—	hum dekhenge
Ye will see	—	—	—	—	—	—	tum dekhenge
They will see	—	—	—	—	—	—	we dekhenge
To drink	aupik	pigono	—	chaghil	chyún	—	pina
Drink thou	—	pi	—	—	—	—	piyo
Drinking	—	piye	—	—	—	—	pi-kar
Drunk	—	piyés	—	—	—	—	piya, pi-gaya
I drink	—	mos pîm	—	—	—	—	main pita
I drank	—	mos piyés	—	—	—	—	main piya
I will drink	—	mos piyono karu	—	—	—	—	main piúga
To speak	[illegible]	rajono	[illegible]	wuyil	—	—	bolna
Speak thou	—	rus	—	tu wuwéya	—	—	bol
Speaking	—	rusi	—	wuiya	—	—	bol-kar
Spoken	—	rus	—	wui	—	—	bola, bol-gaya
I speak	—	mos rigus	—	zu-wuiyam	—	—	main bolta
Thou speakest	—	—	—	tah wuiye	—	—	tu bolta
He speaks	—	—	—	aghu wui	—	—	wuh bolta
We speak	—	—	—	zungu wuiyú	—	—	hum bolte
Ye speak	—	—	—	tásé wuiyáet	—	—	tum bolte
They speak	—	—	—	aghi wui	—	—	we bolte
I spoke	—	mos rajés	—	zá wuiyal	—	—	main bola
Thou spokest	—	—	—	tah wuiyal	—	—	tu bola
He spoke	—	—	—	aghá wuiyal	—	—	wuh bola
We spoke	—	—	—	zungu wuiyal	—	—	hum bole
Ye spoke	—	—	—	tásé wuiyal	—	—	tum bole
They spoke	—	—	—	aghi wuiyal	—	—	we bole
I will speak	—	mos rasam	—	za Rawo wuiyam	—	—	main bolega
Thou wilt speak	—	tûs ras	—	tah bawo wuiye	—	—	tu bolega
He will speak	—	jus rase	—	aghu bawo wui	—	—	wuh bolega
We will speak	—	bis rasilis	—	zungu bawo wuiyú	—	—	hum bolenge

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kulúhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Milchang.	Thurskad.	Tibetan.
—	—	—	—	—	tanga	kaná	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangkyo	kangá	—
—	—	—	—	—	ta-tók	kadi	—
—	—	—	—	—	ta-tóm	kadula	—
—	—	—	—	—	ta-té	kadi, kandula	—
—	—	—	—	—	ta-té	kadi	—
—	—	—	—	—	ta-tem	ka-do, do, dem	—
—	—	—	—	—	ta-té	ko-di	—
—	—	—	—	—	Tangok	Kangi	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangan	kanga	—
—	—	—	—	—	tango	kanga	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangó	kanao, cho	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangan	kanao, cho	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangó	kanao, cho	—
—	—	—	—	—	Tangtok	Kandi	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangtom	kandula	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangto	kandi	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangto, tosh	kandi	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangtom, tish	kando	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangto, tosh	kandi	—
—	—	—	—	—	tángwáig	tángwang	kTang-bar
—	—	—	—	—	tang	tang	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangá	tangá	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangkyo	tangká	—
—	—	—	—	—	ta-tók	ta-ti	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangók	tángi	—
—	—	—	—	—	tangtok	tang-ti	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunkiy	lapang	gZan par
—	—	—	—	—	lun	lo	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunn	lapa	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunkyo	lako	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunk, lunduk	lani	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunn, lundum	lanula	—
—	—	—	—	—	lun, lunda	lani, ulla	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunó, lundó	lani	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunn, lundup	lana, nam	—
—	—	—	—	—	lun, lunda	lana	—
—	—	—	—	—	lurok, luk	Lagi	—
—	—	—	—	—	lurn, lurn	lapa	—
—	—	—	—	—	lurn, luk	lapa	—
—	—	—	—	—	lurn, lurnh	lacho	—
—	—	—	—	—	lurn, lurnh	lacho	—
—	—	—	—	—	lurú, lurnh	lacho	—
—	—	—	—	—	lontok	Lani	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunkun	lanula	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunkn	lani	—
—	—	—	—	—	lunó, tosh	lani	—

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shiná.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hindi.
Ye will speak	—	tso gasiis	—	tásé bawo walyást	—	—	tum bolenge
They will speak	—	saigh zaell	—	aghi bawowai	—	—	we bolenge
To go	barai	bajono	nih	talal	—	—	jána
Go thou	—	bobo	nih	—	—	—	jao
Going	—	gyé	nimaa	—	—	—	jé-kar
Gone	—	gyao	nimaa	—	—	—	gaya
I go	—	mo biyam	ji nishum	—	—	—	main játa
I went	—	mo gás	awináyam	—	—	—	main gaya
I will go	—	mo kare biyam	je kać kerushum	—	—	—	main jawuga
To sit	—	bésno	—	bahamatan	bíhun	—	baithna
Sit thou	—	betha	—	—	bih	—	baith
Sitting	—	bethan	—	—	—	—	baith-kar
Seated	—	behes	—	—	—	—	baithe baith-gaya
I sit	—	me bethas	—	—	—	—	main baithe
I sat	—	mo behes	—	—	—	—	main baith-gaya
I will sit	—	mo bahum	—	—	bíha	—	main baithuga
To stand	—	—	—	—	wathun	—	khara hona
Stand thou	—	—	—	—	—	—	khara ho
Standing	—	—	—	—	—	—	khara hokar
Stood	—	—	—	—	—	—	khara hogaya
I stand	—	—	—	—	—	—	khara hota
I stood	—	—	—	—	—	—	khara hogaya
I will stand	—	—	—	—	—	—	khara hoúga
To hear	Aerugunai	—	—	—	hanun	—	sunna
Hear thou	—	—	—	—	—	—	suno
Hearing	—	—	—	—	—	—	sun-kar
Heard	—	—	—	—	—	—	sunná, sungaya
I hear	—	—	—	—	—	—	main sunta
I heard	—	—	—	—	—	—	main sunliya
I will hear	—	—	—	—	—	—	main sunúga
To eat	jawak	—	—	khadal	khyun	—	khána
Eat thou	—	—	—	—	—	—	khao
Eating	—	—	—	—	—	—	khá-kar
Eaten	—	—	—	—	—	—	khéya, khá-gaya
I eat	—	—	—	—	—	—	main khata
I ate	—	—	—	—	—	—	main khaya
I will eat	—	—	—	—	—	—	main khawuga
A king	—	—	—	—	—	rájah	rája
By or with a king	—	—	—	—	—	rájen	rája se
Of a king	—	—	—	—	—	rájasya	rája ka
To a king	—	—	—	—	—	rájaya	rája ko
A king	—	—	—	—	—	rajam	rája
From a king	—	—	—	—	—	ráját	rája se

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kulluhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
—	—	—	—	—	kuten, tsh	kono	—
—	—	—	—	—	lonté	loni	—
—	—	—	—	—	bimig	debang	hDabber phyiupar
—	—	—	—	—	bai	de	—
—	—	—	—	—	baya	daga	—
—	—	—	—	—	baikyo	deke	—
—	—	—	—	—	baituk	deni	—
—	—	—	—	—	bairuk	degi	—
—	—	—	—	—	baitok	deni	—
—	—	—	—	—	tcahmig	popang	gZhes-par
—	—	—	—	—	tosh	po	—
—	—	—	—	—	tosha	poga	—
—	—	—	—	—	tcahkyo	poke	—
—	—	—	—	—	to-tuk	poni	—
—	—	—	—	—	tcahak, tcahak	pogi	—
—	—	—	—	—	tcahetik	poni	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	shotpang	hGrong-ba
—	—	—	—	—	—	shot	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	shotga	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	shotke	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	shoti	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	shotgi	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	shot-ti	—
—	—	—	—	—	thamig	ringpang	mNyampar Thurbar
—	—	—	—	—	thas	rung	—
—	—	—	—	—	thasa	ringa	—
—	—	—	—	—	thaskyo	ringke	—
—	—	—	—	—	tha-tik	rini	—
—	—	—	—	—	thasik	ringi	—
—	—	—	—	—	thastik	ringti	—
—	—	—	—	—	zimig	zimig	gZampar ma ber
—	—	—	—	—	zi	zi	—
—	—	—	—	—	ziga	ziga	—
—	—	—	—	—	zigkyo	zigke	—
—	—	—	—	—	zituk	zini	—
—	—	—	—	—	zikik	zagi	—
—	—	—	—	—	zatok	zini	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-pos
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-poh i
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po-la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po-nas

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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ENGLISH.	DARDU DIALECTS.			AFGHAN.	KASA.	INDIAN	
	Arniya.	Shini.	Khajunah.	Pushtu.	Kashmiri.	Sanscrit.	Hind
Kings	—	—	—	—	—	rájáh	rájon
By, with kings	—	—	—	—	—	rajalh	rájon se
Of kings	—	—	—	—	—	rájánán	rájon ka
To kings	—	—	—	—	—	rájébhya	rájon ko
In kings	—	—	—	—	—	rajen	rájon
From kings	—	—	—	—	—	rajebhya	rájon se
Gold	—	—	—	—	—	—	sona
By, with gold	—	—	—	—	—	—	sona se
Of gold	—	—	—	—	—	—	sona ka
To gold	—	—	—	—	—	-	sona ko
Gold	—	—	—	—	—	—	sona
From gold	—	—	—	—	—	—	sona se
Gold (pl.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	sona
A hand	—	—	—	—	—	—	háth
By, with a hand	—	—	—	—	—	—	háth se
Of a hand	—	—	—	—	—	—	háth ka
To a hand	—	—	—	—	—	—	háth ko
A hand	—	—	—	—	—	—	háth
From a hand	—	—	—	—	—	—	háth se
Hands	—	—	—	—	—	—	háthon

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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DIALECTS.					TIBETAN.		
Panjábi.	Gádi.	Kulluhi.	Handuri.	Garhwáli.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po-rNams
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po-rNams-kyis
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po-rNams-kyi
—	—		—	—	—	—	rGyal-po-rNams-la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po-rNams
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rGyal-po-rNams-nas
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gŝer
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gŝer-gyis
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gŝer-gyi
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gŝer-la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gŝer
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gŝer-nas
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gŝer-rNams
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lag
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lag-gis
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lag-gi
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lag-la
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lag
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lag-nas
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	lag-rNams

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X

[The above diagram represents the sections into which the map is divided. The sections of the map are numbered accordingly. --Analyst]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

71°

35°

31°

Documents used in the

Map of Ladak and Nari Khorsum

Map of the Alpine Punjab shewing
Sutluj by Major A. Cunningham.

Map of the Northern Part of the P
Ladak and Little Tibet by G.T. Vign

Map of the Mountains of Northern
J. Arrowsmith Esq.

Map of Koonawur by Capt. F. Gerar

Military Survey of the Northern Tran

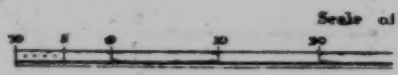
Map of Part of Golab Singh Terri
(accompanied by J.E. Winterbottom

Survey of the Boundary between th
Shelam to the Byas by Lieut. D.G.

Survey of the Course of the Indus, J
by Lieut. H.W. Grounds I.N.

The remainder of the Map has been
Hazara, the Punjab & the Sikh & Hi

Scale of



1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

72° 73

: compilation of the Map.

y Capt. H. Strachey.
the various Hill States between the Indus and

anjab & of Kashmir, also of the Frontiers of
e Esq.
India to illustrate Dr. Thomsons' Travels - by

d.
s Indus Frontier by Lieut. J. T. Walker.
tory north of Kashmir by Lieut. R. Young
Esq.)
e British and Jamoo Territories from the
Robinson.
helam and part of the Chenab in the Plains,

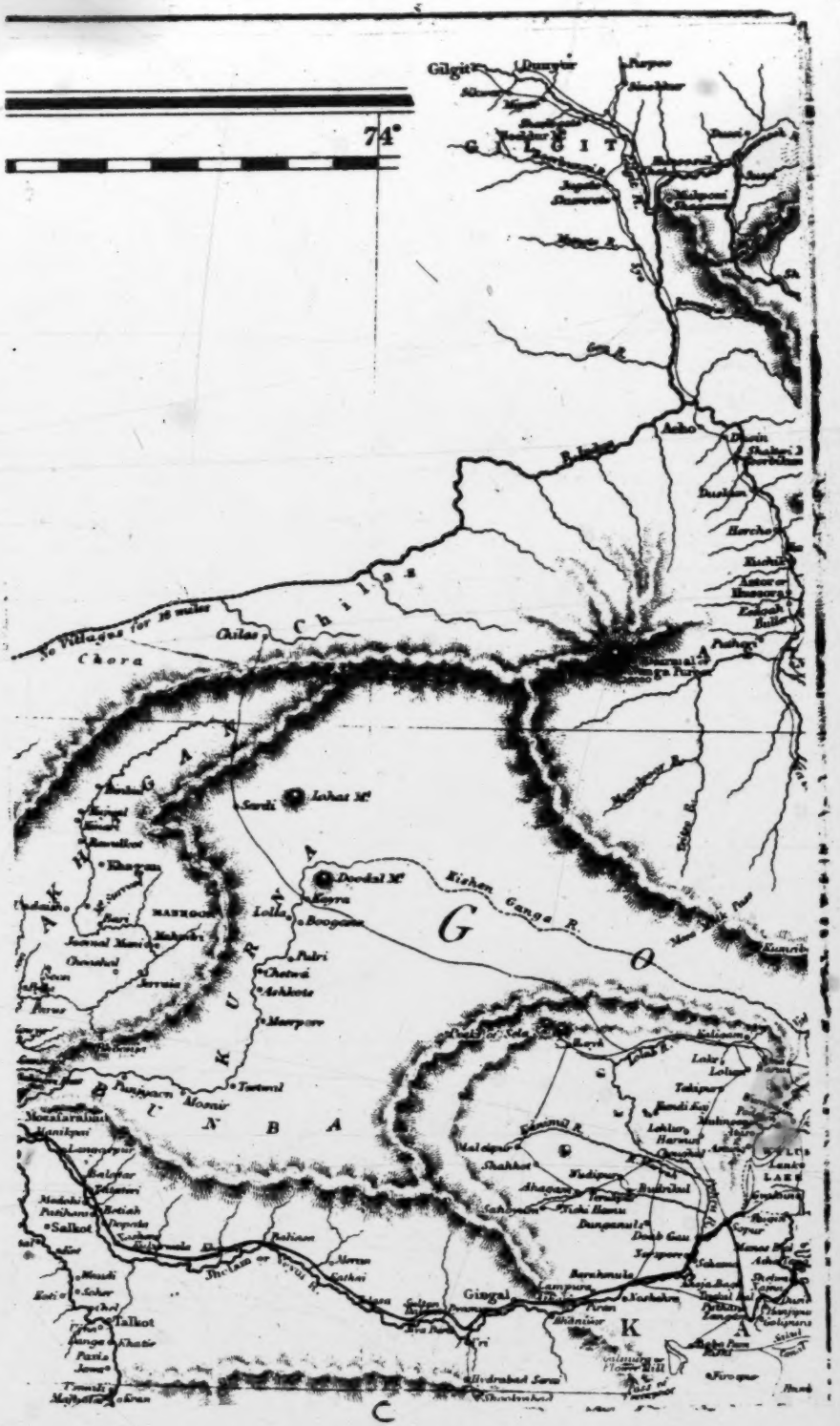
illed up from numerous partial Surveys in
ll States.

English Miles
30 20 10 60 70 Miles

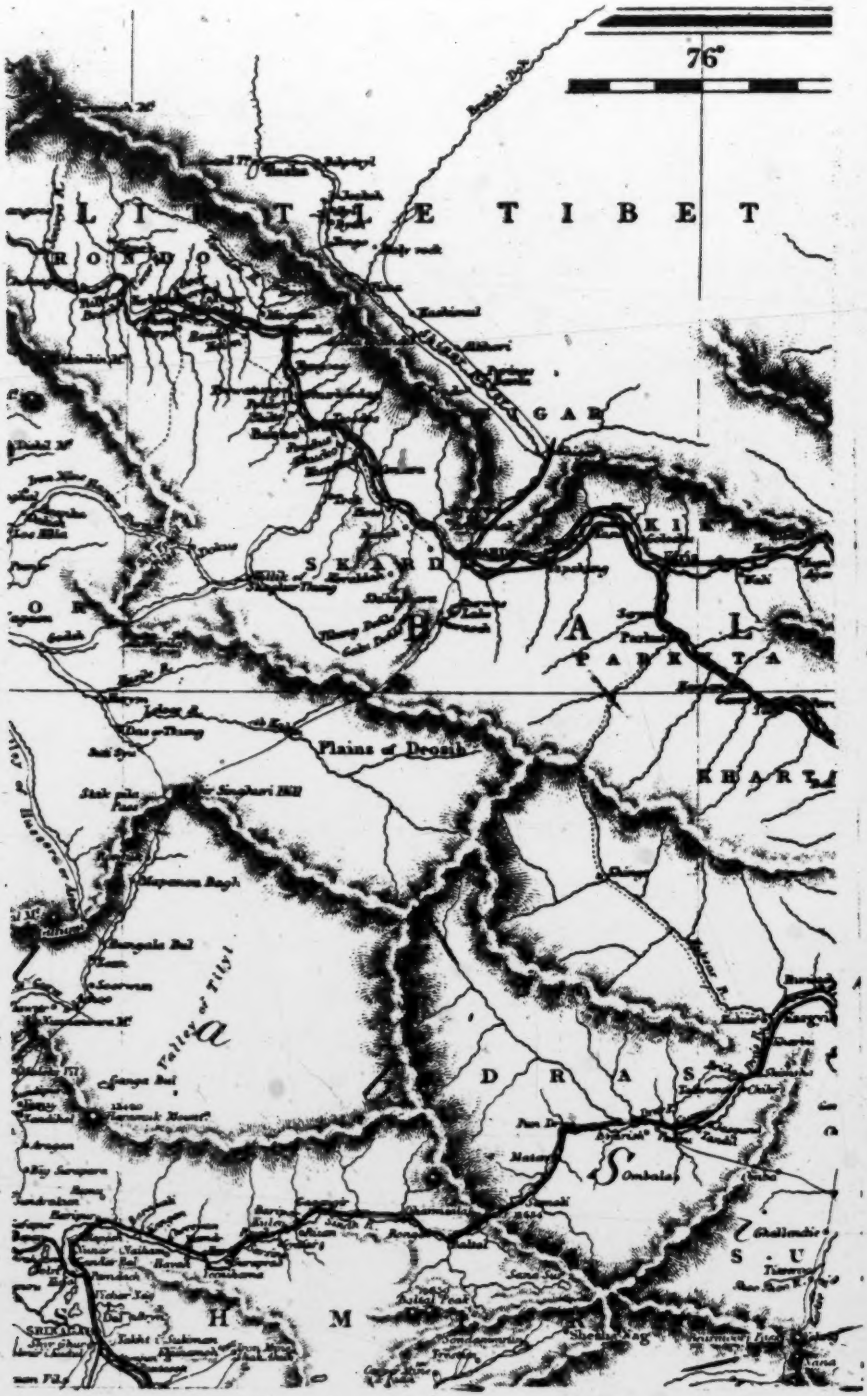
B

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

102

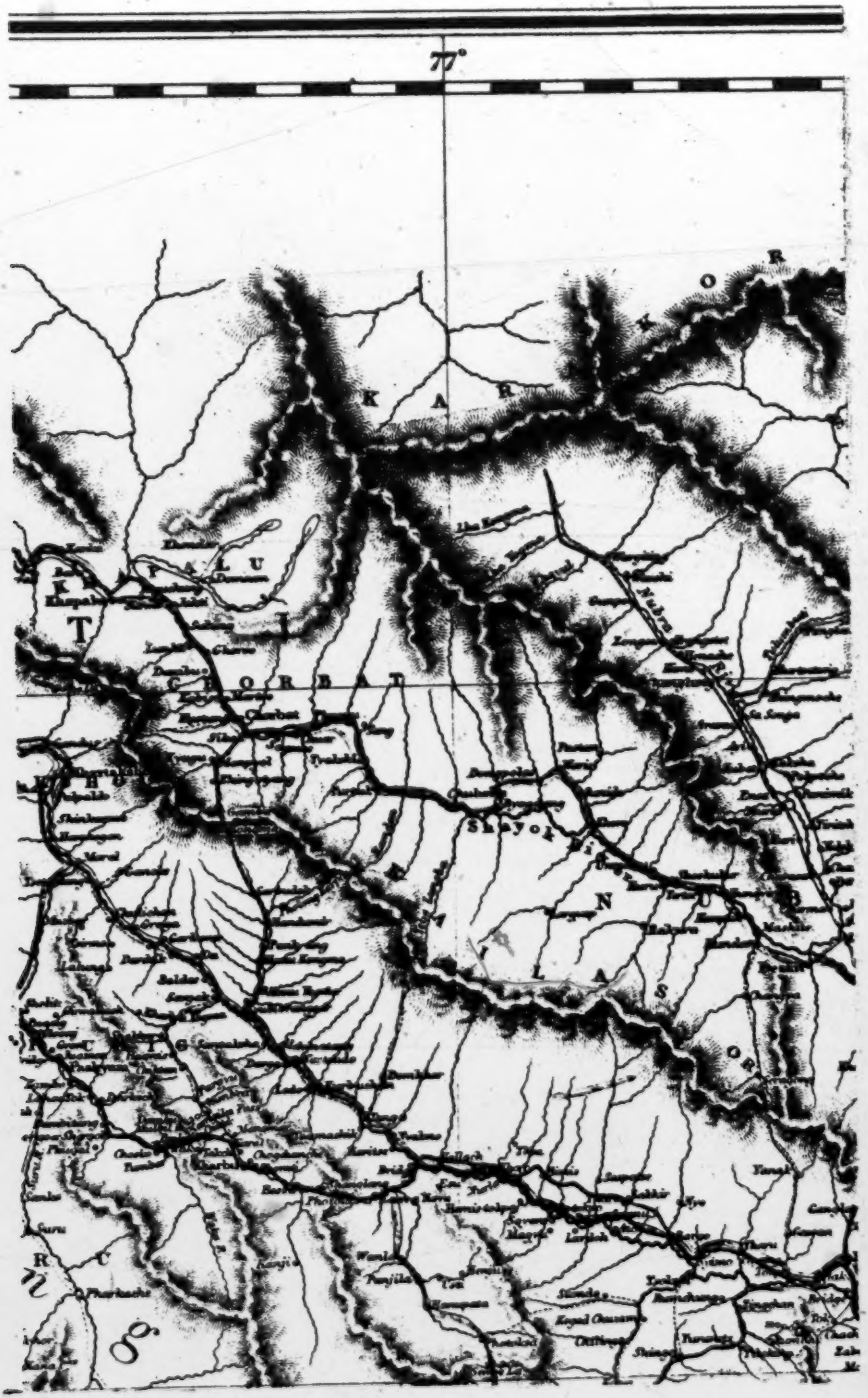


1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



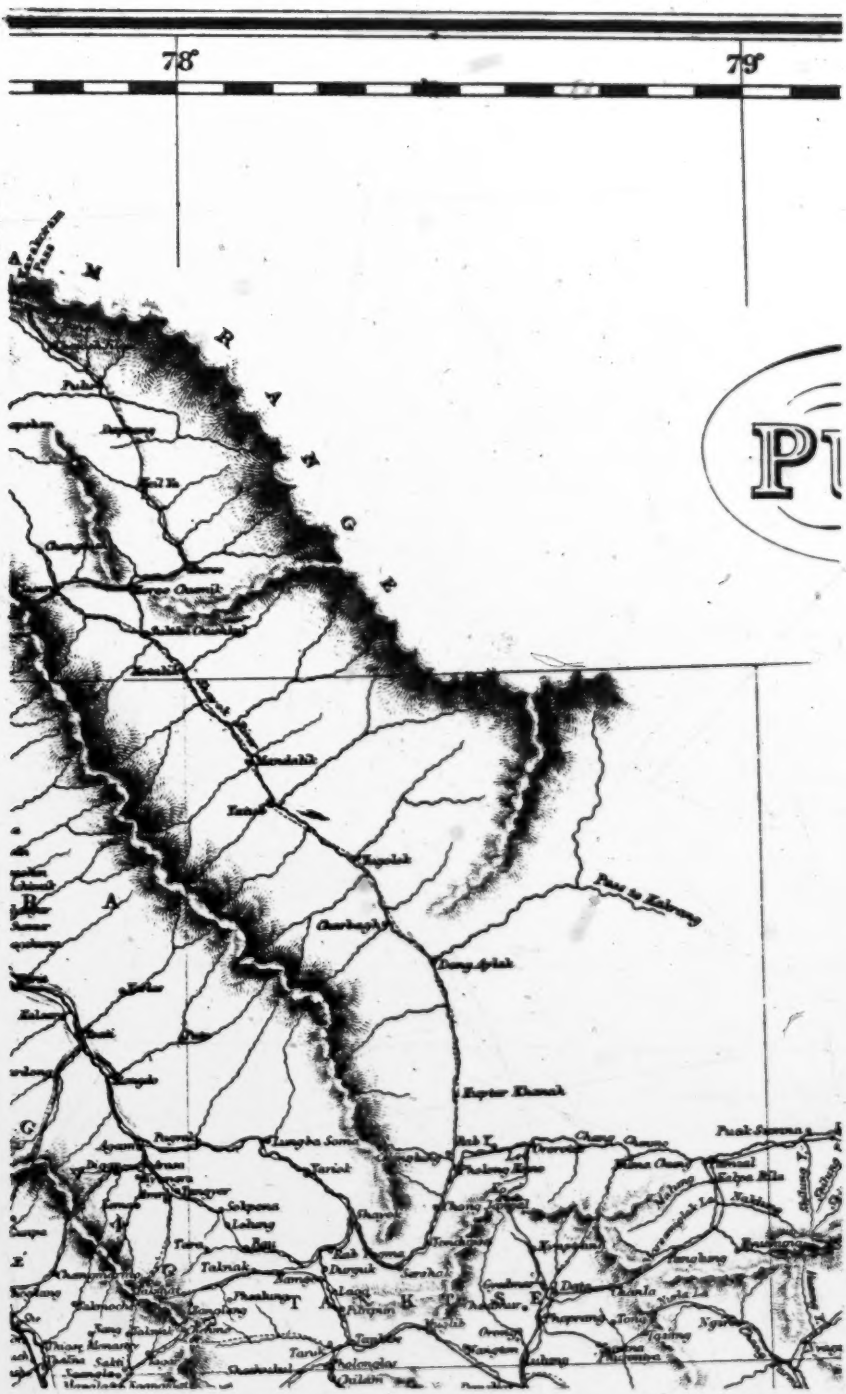
1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

102



1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

102



F

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

102

80°

Map

OF THE

UNJAB, WESTERN I

and adjoining parts of

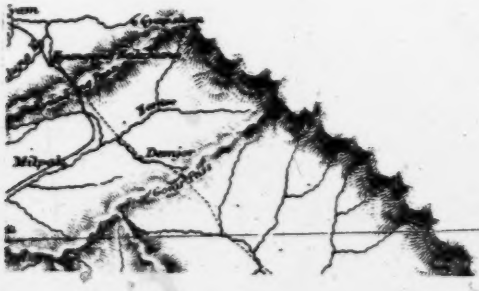
TIBET

from recent Surveys, and based

TRIGONOMETRICAL SURVEY

Compiled by order of the Hon.ble Court
East India Compan

by



Major Cunningham's Routes ___
Captain Strachey's ___ *D°* ___
D° Thomson's ___ *D°* ___
The figures show the heights of Peaks &c. in feet

G

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

102

81°

HIMALAYA,

35°

upon the

OF INDIA,

of Directors of the

y

John Walker,

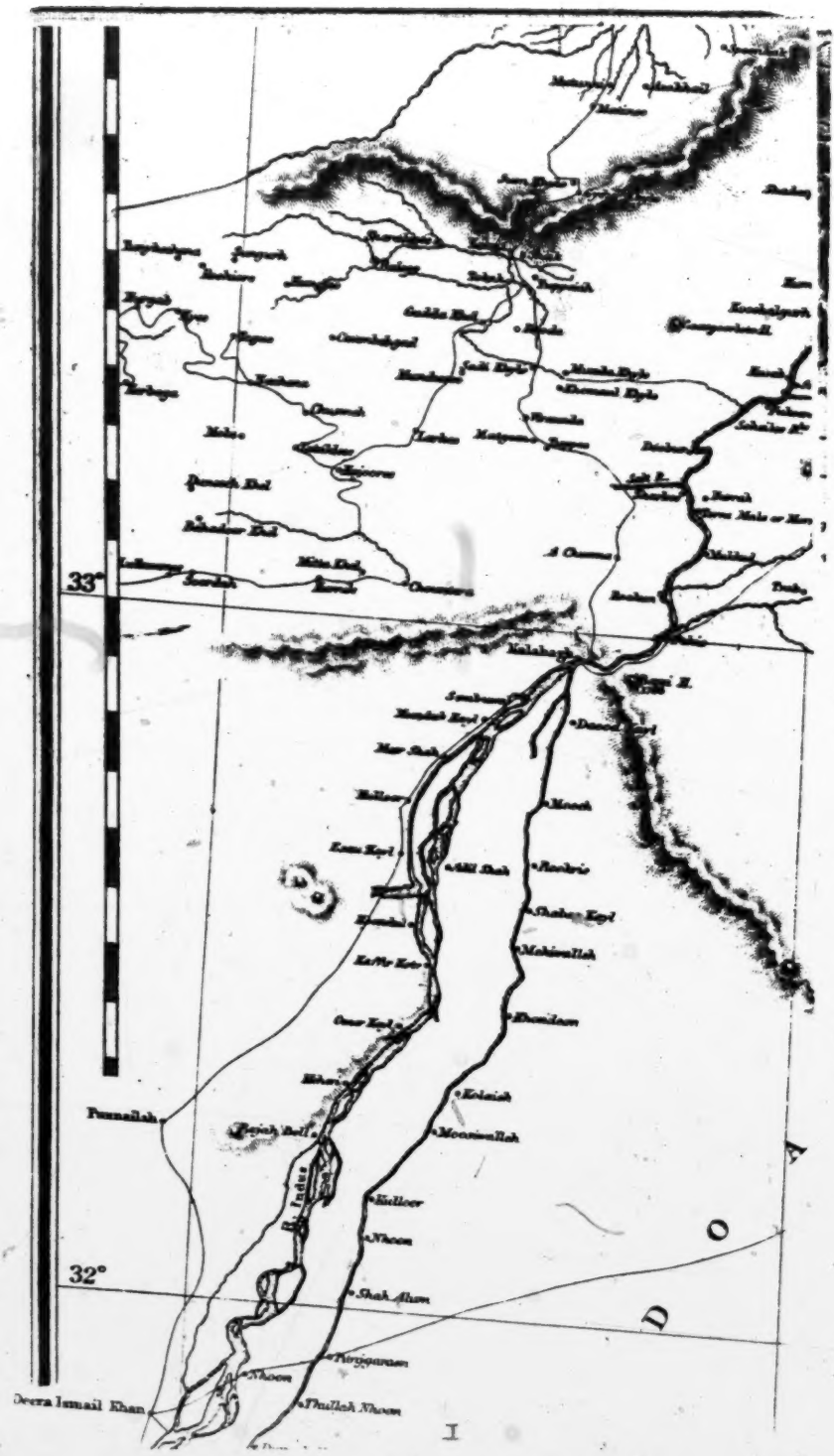
Geographer to the Company.

34°

the

H

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



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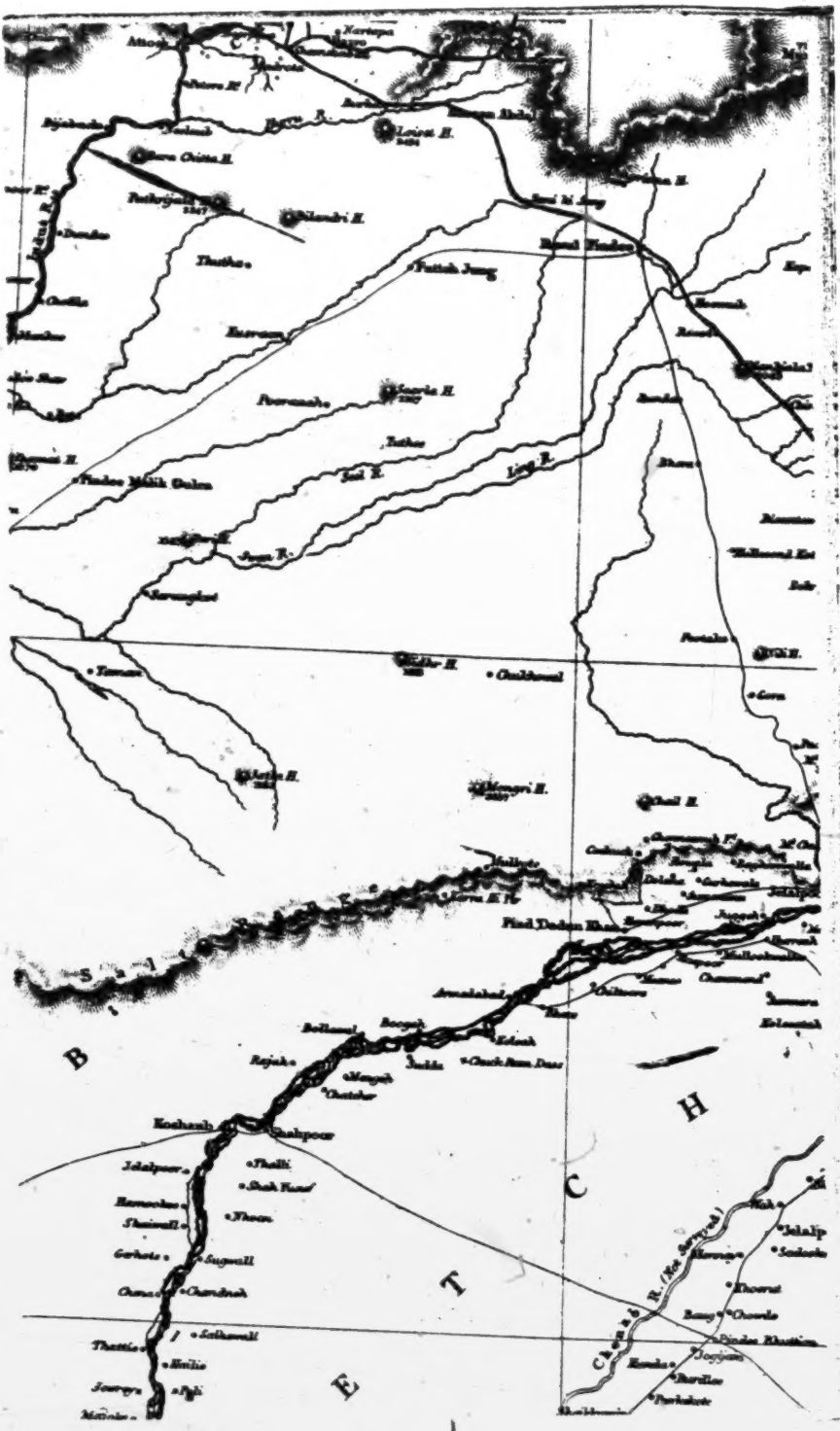

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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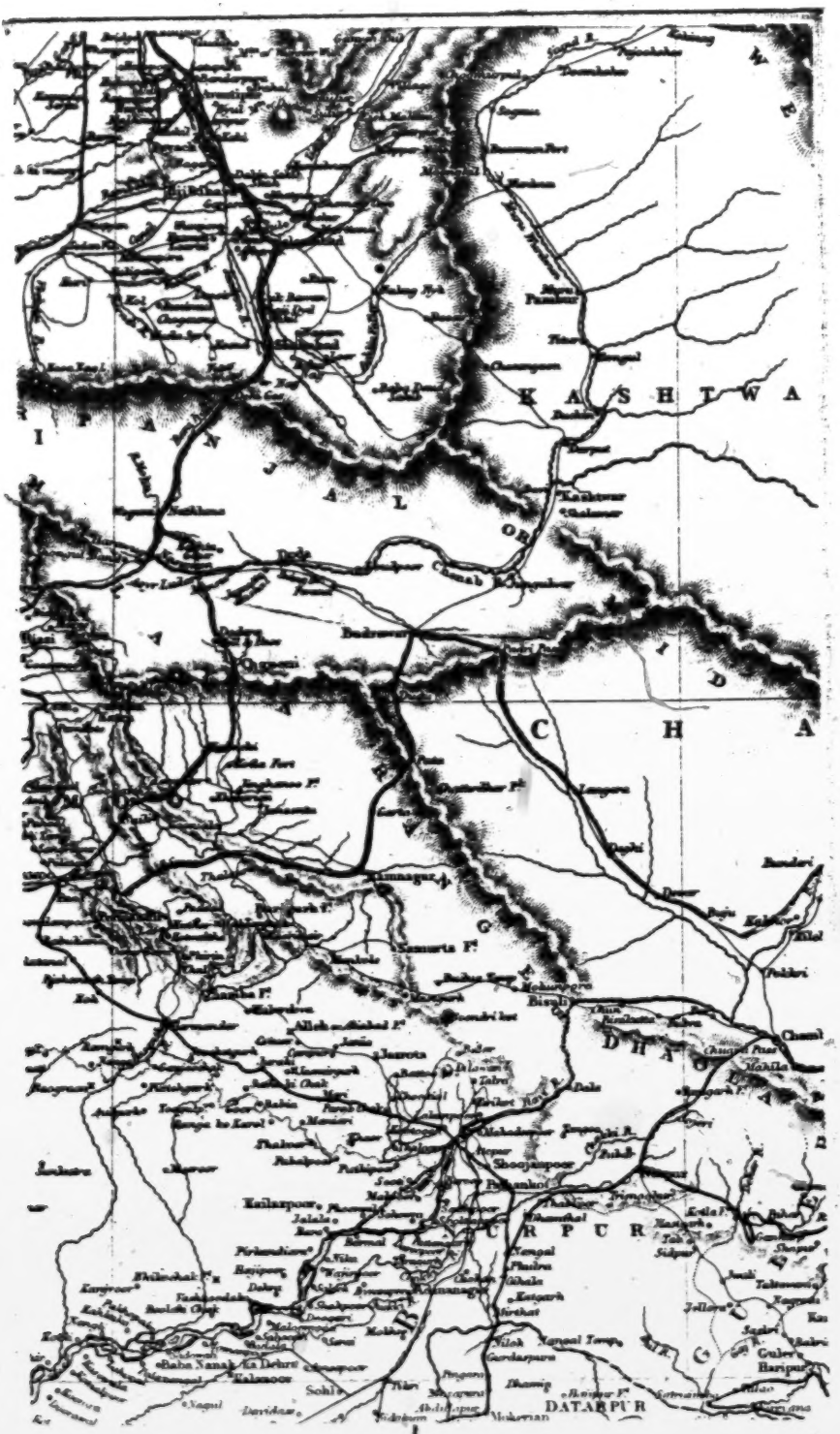
1: Cunningham G-8 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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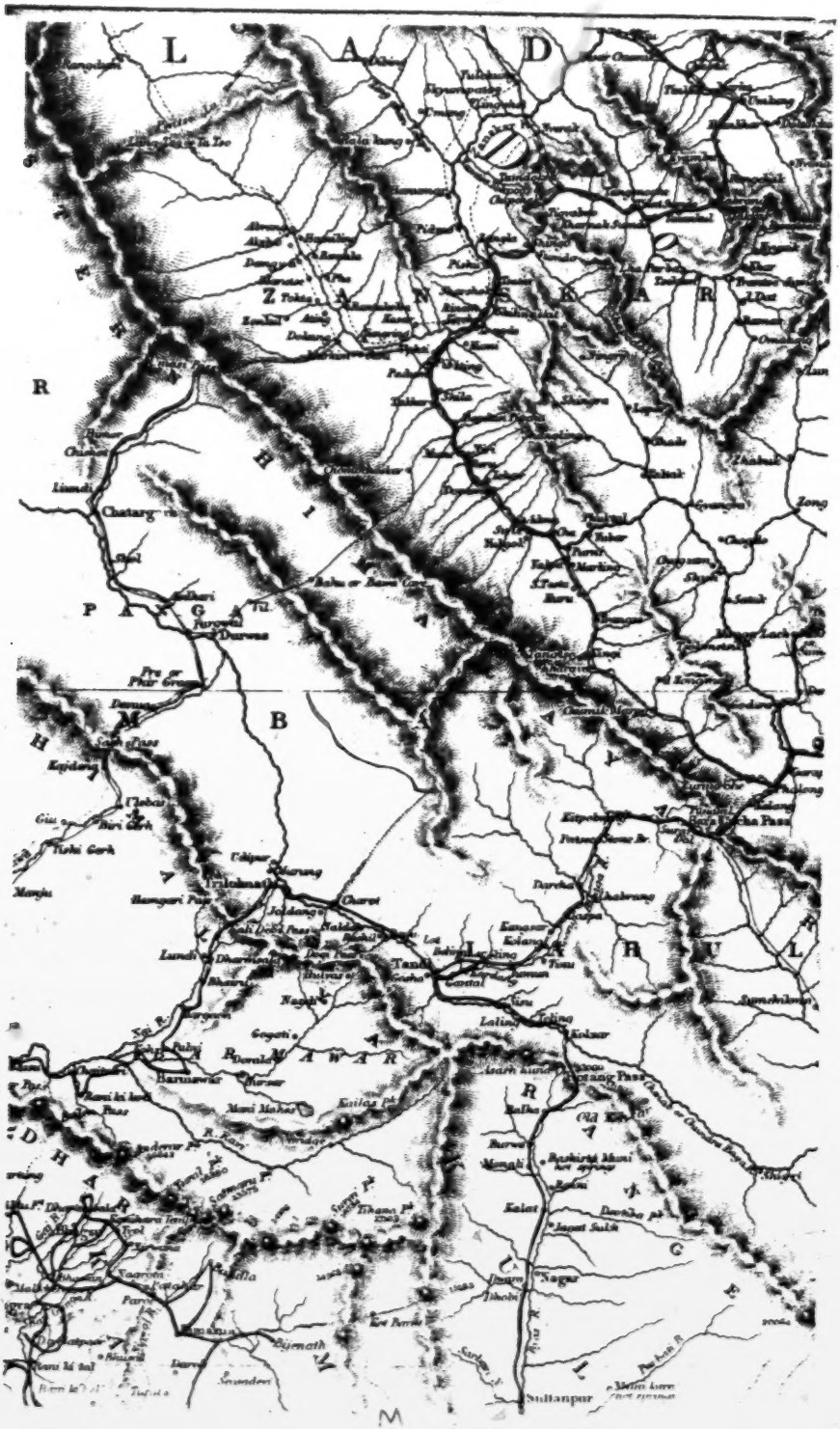
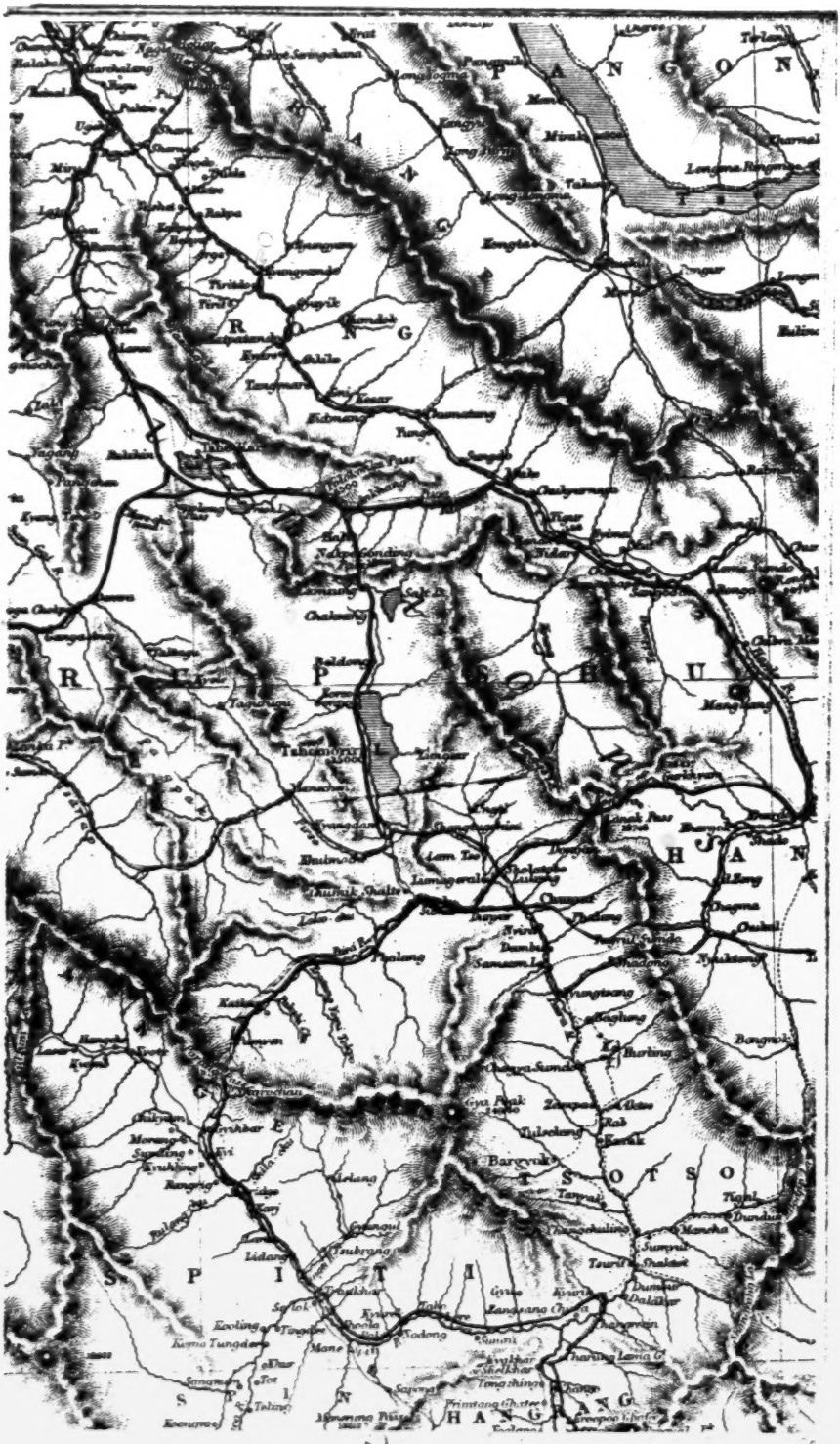
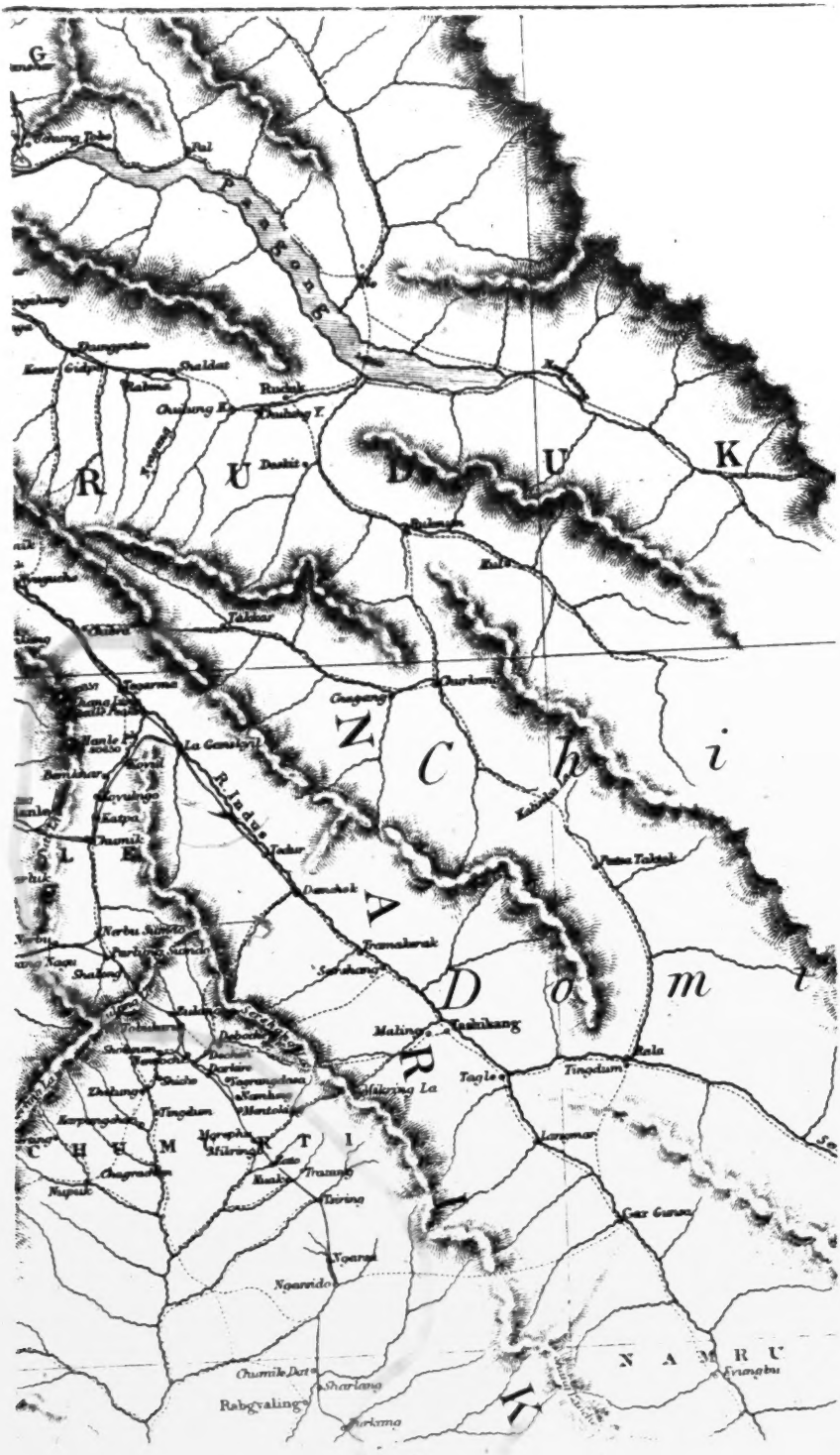


1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

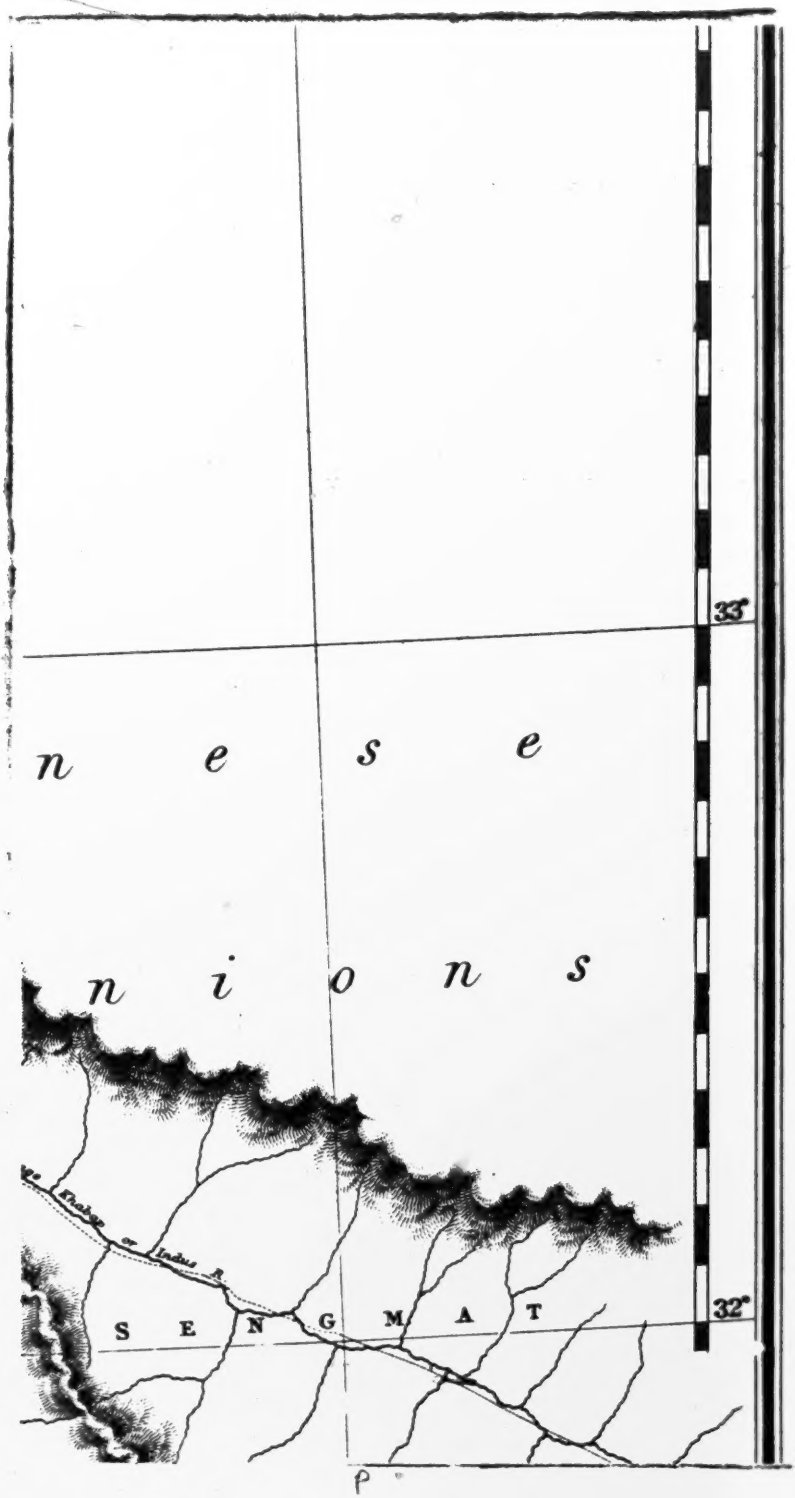


1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

102



1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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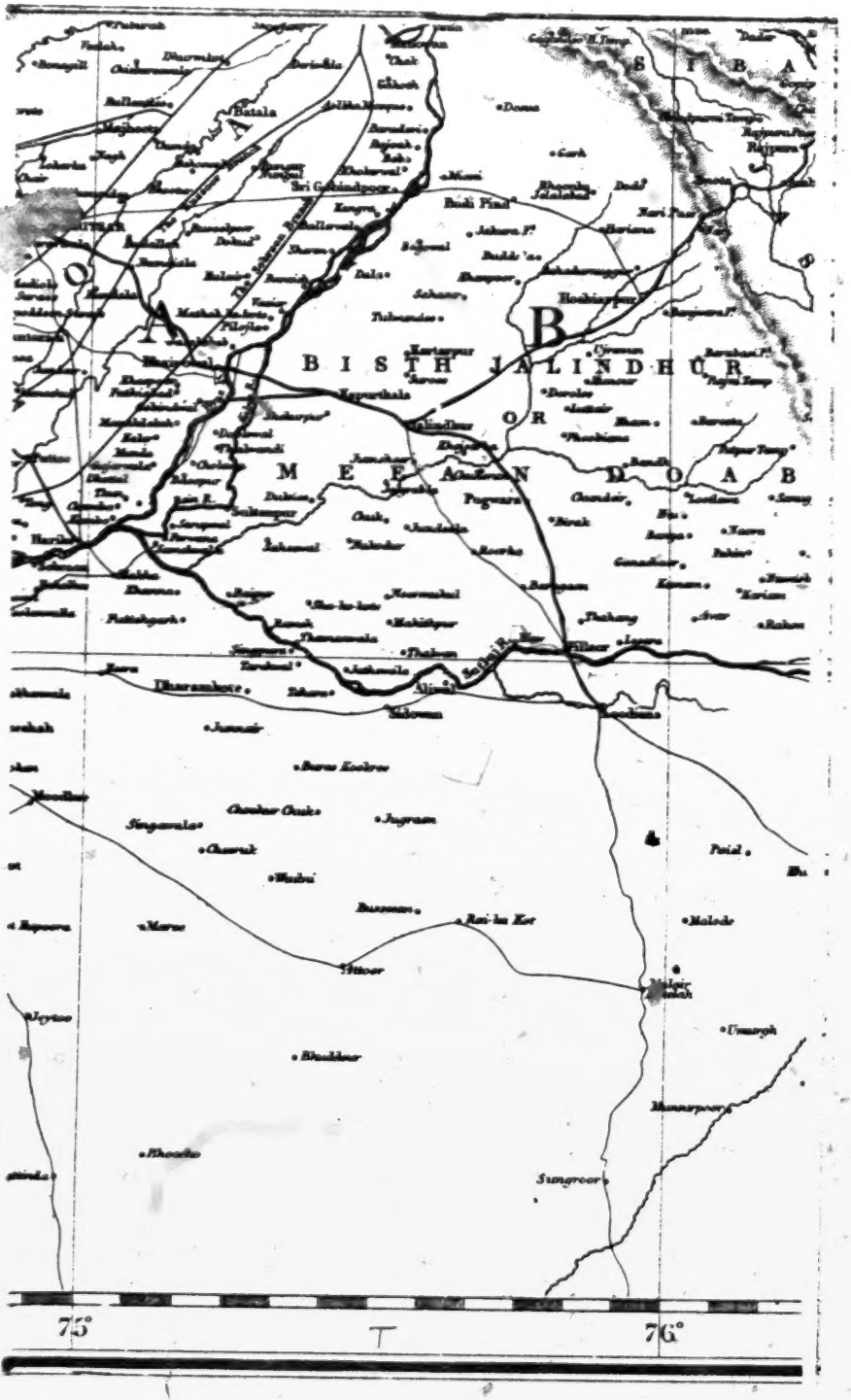

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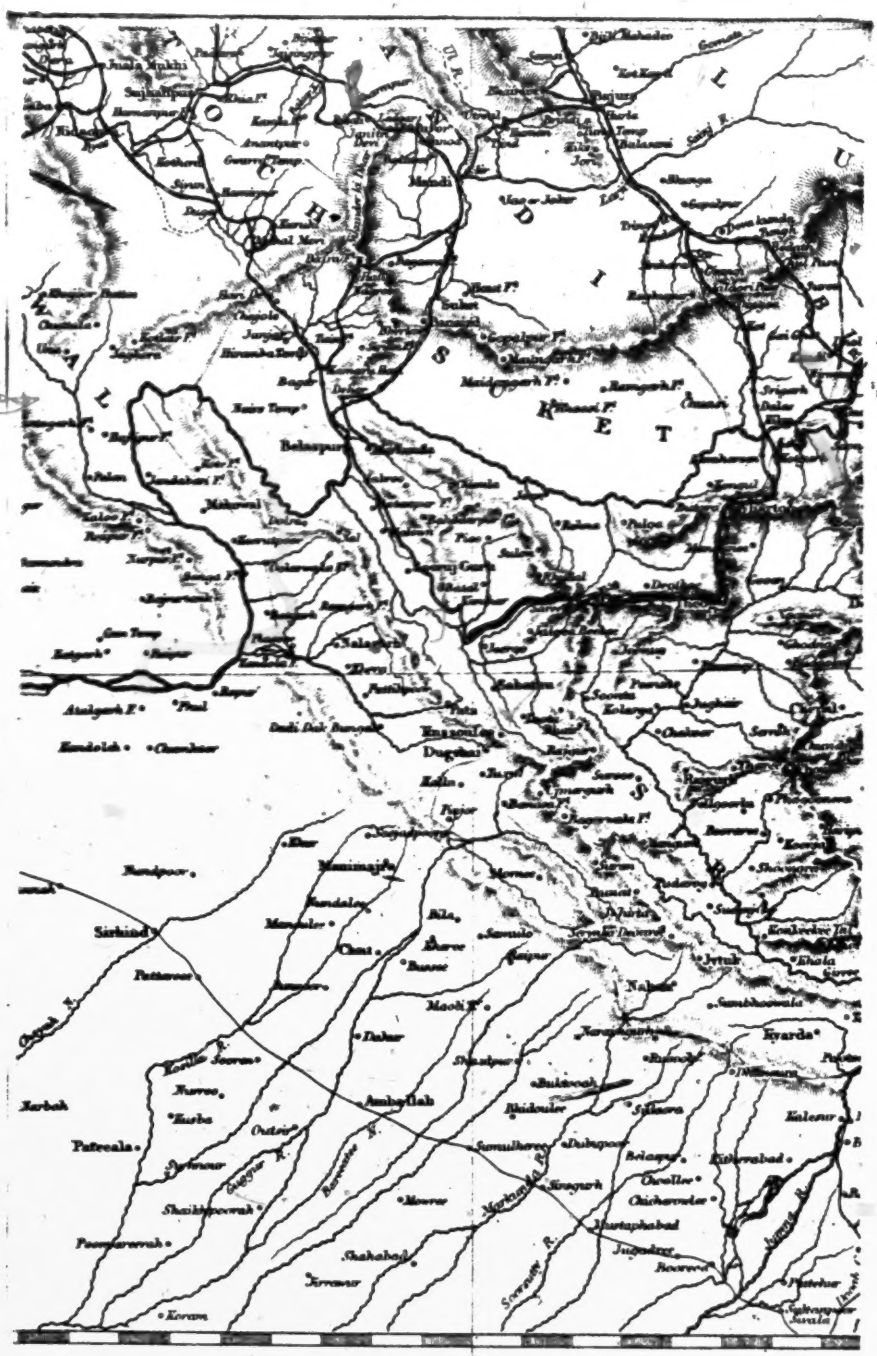

denhall Street London March 10th 1854.

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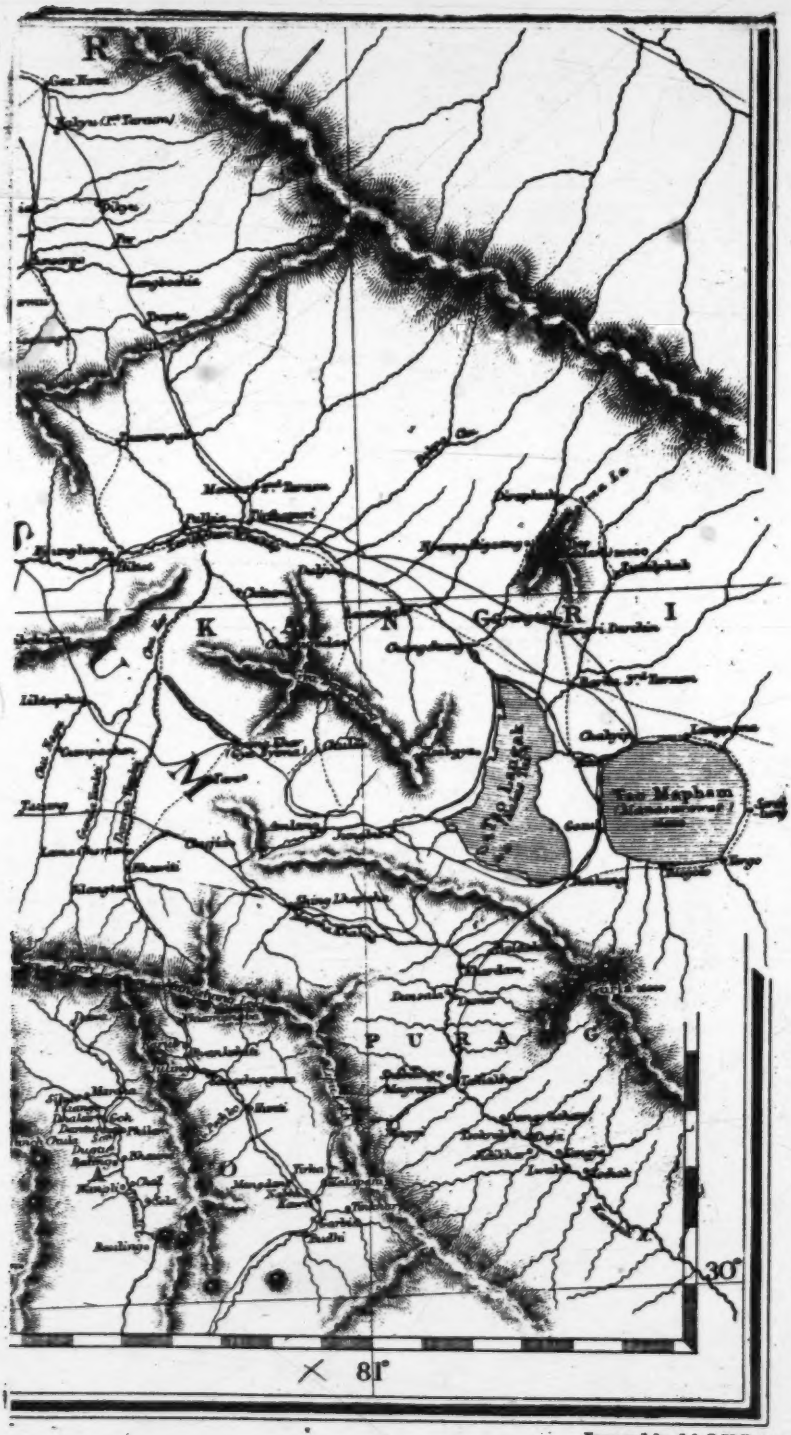

Engraved by J. & C. Walker.

Glossary

Chhu - "water," generally, a river
Chittak - a measure of weight; 2 ounces
Drona - a measure of weight; 64 lbs.
Lá - a mountain pass
Lam - road
Munshi - writer
Thanador - appointed official in charge of a district
Zam-pa - a bridge

1: Cunningham AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

721 [For wars and invasions under native rulers, see categories 175 or 116, pp. 316-333.]

1: Cunningham AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

197 [For "Comparison of the Various Alpine Dialects" see Category 116, pp. 397-419.]

133 [For data on geography, topography and related subjects, see category 116.]

197 [For "Comparison of the Various Alpine Dialects" see Category 116, pp. 397-419.]

1: Cunningham AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

113 [The following pages contain references to other works concerned with W. Tibet. They have not been marked for the 113 category or collated on a separate slip because of the inadequacy of the bibliographical information. --Analyst.]

Pp. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 43, 49, 51, 53, 55, 63, 69, 71, 84, 90, 101, 103, 132, 143, 149, 197, 201, 203, 205, 210, 227, 233, 264, 291, 298, 312, 317, 329, 359, 363, 369.

2: Ramsay G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

100

WESTERN TIBET

A PRACTICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LANGUAGE AND CUSTOMS OF THE DISTRICTS INCLUDED IN THE LADÁK WAZARAT.

BY
CAPTAIN H. RAMSAY,
Political Agent and British Joint-Commissioner in Ladák

LAHORE:
PRINTED BY W. BALL & Co., GOVERNMENT PRINTERS.
(Successors to the Punjab Printing Company).

1890.

2: Ramsay --i G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 121 114 128

PREFACE

No Dictionary has yet been published dealing with the language and customs of the several districts of Western Tibet, viz., Ladák, Nubra, Roopshoo, and Tángtsey, which are collectively spoken of by Europeans as "Ladák."

When first appointed here, I much felt the want of such a book, and, therefore, for my own use, commenced to compile notes and a vocabulary, which have, during the several years which have since passed, expanded to such dimensions that I last year asked the Government of India to print them. Recently the Government of India has kindly consented to do so.

The notes and vocabulary, which have been revised and much enlarged, are now published under the title of "Western Tibet." The title "Ladák" would for some reasons have been preferable had it not already been appropriated by General Cunningham for an excellent book published by him in 1854.

The present work was not originally intended for the Press, and it has no pretension to scholarly merit: indeed, in cases where the local idea is opposed to the correct classical view, the latter has been ignored, my object being to record only local ideas, customs, pronunciation, etc.

To my successors in office, and to any Europeans who may have occasion to visit this part of the world, I hope that "Western Tibet" may be useful, as supplying a practical guide to the language and customs of the country.

For the general public it is not intended.

H. RAMSAY, Captain,
British Joint-Commissioner, Ladák.

LEH:
20th June 1890.

2: Ramsay--ii G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

104

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION OF LETTERS

a	as	a	in	"woman"
á	"	a	"	"far"
ä	"	a	"	"care"
ai	"	ai	"	"aisle"
e	"	e	"	"men"
ee	"	ee	"	"see"
ey	"	ey	"	"they"
i	"	i	"	"in"
ioo	"	ieu	"	"lieu"
o	"	o	"	the French "mon"
ó	"	o	"	"old"
oo	"	oo	"	"cool"
ow	"	ow	"	"how"
u	"	u	"	"put"
c	"	c	"	"cart"
ch	"	ch	"	"child"
g	"	g	"	"gate"
gh	.	.	.	as an aspirated "g"
GH	as	gh	in	the Urdu word "ghareeb"
j	"	j	"	"jar"
kh	.	.	.	as an aspirated "k"
KH	as	kh	in	the Urdu word "khabar"
ks	"	x	"	"mix"
ng	"	ng	"	"hang"
NG	"	ng	"	the French word "sang"
ph	.	.	"	as an aspirated "p"
sh	.	.	.	as an aspirated "s"
SH	as	sh	in	"sharp"
th	.	.	.	as an aspirated "t"
yoo	as	yu	in	"yule"
zh	"	s	"	"leisure"

Note.--To facilitate the work of printing, accents have been left out in places where their omission will not cause the reader to mispronounce, e.g., in the case of the last letter in the word "speyra."

Whenever the final letter of a word is "a", pronounce it as "á."

and whenever the final letter is "o," pronounce it as "ó."

Owing to the deficiency of accentuated letters in the font of italic type at my disposal, I was obliged to resort to the awkward expedient of using Roman type in places where there should have been an accentuated italic "gh," "kh," etc.

The soft "th" and the peculiar Tibetan sibilants I have not attempted to transcribe. The student may become familiar with their sounds, but he is not likely to be able to reproduce them himself.

The spelling adopted is phonetic throughout. Many words will be found spelled either with or without an "r," e.g., "Thoogoo" or "Throogoo" (a child). In regard to these I would explain that the words are correctly spelt with the "r," but, to the European ear, Ladákis seem to omit the "r" sound.

[The author's original transcription of Tibetan words has been slightly changed. Where Ramsay uses italics we use roman type. Where Ramsay uses roman gh, kh, ng, sh we have substituted GH, KH, NG, SH.--Analyst]

423 [2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding,"
804 which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a
241 "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and
[651] a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

597 ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of
[583] from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children.
[428] Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak."

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
426
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 [10]
177 BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 600

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The 534
SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men).

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, 584
betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly [987]
point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, [993]
to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, 585
the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child pos- 768
sessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at 584
once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may [595]
have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but 585
it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride.

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning 600
"mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel".

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the 793
"laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, 788
or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills".

[1] [i.e, barley beer-- Analyst]

[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 195 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "môza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 576 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or
"botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and
short coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked
inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like
the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and
then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf
down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a
child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns* of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not
of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any
other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo" is red or burnt
brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to
scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in
Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens,
nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for
habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons* is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they
think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives.
The best bride is she who has the most property and is the
best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 595
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife,
so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure
as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage cere-
mony.

*[Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

[16]CALENDAR--Lótho (almanac). The Tibetan calendar is a very troublesome and inconvenient one, so much so that if occasion arises to ascertain the date of any old document, it is generally necessary to refer to an individual called an "onpo" or rtseespa" or "skartseespa". This man is by profession an astrologer and understands the calendar. Sixty years make a cycle or "rabjung" and a period of 12 years makes a "lóskor". The names of the 12 separate years in the "lóskor" are as follows:— 805 791 805

1st---byee	lo or Mouse	year.
2nd--hlang	lo or Ox	year.
3rd--stak	lo or Tiger	year.
4th--yós	lo or Hare	year.
5th--druk	lo or Dragon	year.
6th--brul	lo or Snake	year.
7th--sta	lo or Horse	year.
8th--lug	lo or Sheep	year.
9th--sprey	lo or Monkey	year.
10th--biá	lo or Bird	year.
11th--khee	lo or Dog	year.
12th--phok	lo or Pig	year.

Cunnigham gives the following description of the "rabjung".

"The cycle of 60 years is a much more elaborate reckoning. The first cycle is counted from A.D. 1026. The Hindus have a distinct name for each year of the cycle, but the Tibetans have adopted the Chinese nomenclature which is formed by coupling the names of the 12 animals of the cycle, with the names of the 5 elements, considered as both male and female alternately. The first element, male and female, is coupled with the first two animals, next with the eleventh and twelfth, and so on; by which the change of names is preserved throughout the whole series. The names in English are"-- [171]

1 Wood Mouse.	13 Fire Mouse
2 Wood Ox.	14 Fire Ox.
3 Fire Tiger.	15 Earth Tiger.
4 Fire Hare.	16 Earth Hare.
5 Earth Dragon.	17 Iron Dragon.
6 Earth Serpent.	18 Iron Serpent.
7 Iron Horse.	19 Water Horse.
8 Iron Sheep.	20 Water Sheep.
9 Water Ape.	21 Wood Ape.
10 Water Bird.	22 Wood Bird.
11 Wood Dog.	23 Fire Dog.
12 Wood Hog.	24 Fire Hog.

805

25 Earth Mouse.	37 Iron Mouse.	49 Water Mouse.
26 Earth Ox.	38 Iron Ox.	50 Water Ox.
27 Iron Tiger.	39 Water Tiger.	51 Wood Tiger.
28 Iron Hare.	40 Water Hare.	52 Wood Hare.
29 Water Dragon.	41 Wood Dragon.	53 Fire Dragon.
30 Water Serpent.	42 Wood Serpent.	54 Fire Serpent.
31 Wood Horse.	43 Fire Horse.	55 Earth Horse.
32 Wood Sheep.	44 Fire Sheep.	56 Earth Sheep.
33 Fire Ape.	45 Earth Ape.	57 Iron Ape.
34 Fire Bird.	46 Earth Bird.	58 Iron Bird.
35 Earth Dog.	47 Iron Dog.	59 Water Dog.
36 Earth Hog.	48 Iron Hog.	60 Water Hog.

According to Cunningham the different "Rabjungs" or cycles began in the following years:--

1st in 1026 A.D.	8th in 1446 A.D.
2nd in 1086 A.D.	9th in 1506 A.D.
3rd in 1146 A.D.	10th in 1566 A.D.
4th in 1206 A.D.	11th in 1626 A.D.
5th in 1266 A.D.	12th in 1686 A.D.
6th in 1326 A.D.	13th in 1746 A.D.
7th in 1386 A.D.	14th in 1806 A.D.

According to that calculation, the 15th Rabjung began in 1866 and the present year 1889 would be the 23rd year of the cycle. But according to Ladak astrologers today, 29th June 1889, is the 1st day of the 6th Month of the 26th year.

The months are twelve in number, but in Ladak they have no names, being spoken of only as the "first" month, "second" month or as the case may be. They usually consist of 30 days, but they sometimes contain 29 days, sometimes 31 days.

The months are not lunar months, and I cannot get any one to [791] explain the system according to which they are arranged. All the "onpo" or "astrologer" can say is that they are made according to the Tibetan book of calculations. In order to keep their calendar straight, it is frequently necessary to insert an extra day into a month or to omit a day. In the first case, some particular date, ascertained by rule, is repeated, thus for two days in succession it will be the 5th or 10th day etc., of the month. In the latter case a date is merely omitted.

[796] [17]The Tibetan New Year's day comes about 10th February, but the New Year's day festival, called "Losir" is observed on the 10th day of the month.

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number 805
and are named as follows:--

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc 291
cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the 195
close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress."

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as 352
carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen 513
carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i 286
stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair.

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása 492
word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used.
khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, 482
and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and [466]
Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. 463
An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man."

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treas- 645
urer, who is termed the "peyti-pa."

CASTE--riks or roospa.

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565 There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

The first class or "rigál riks" consists only of royal personages.

[295] The second class or "trangzey riks" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey riks" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang riks" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tólbey riks" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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CLASS I. Rgiál riks.	CLASS II. Trángzey riks.	CLASS III. Rjey riks.
SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or
	(5) Skarmápa ...	Hlardak ...
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlondrukpa	...
None	(Yellow Cap Sect	...
	(9) Geylukspa or..	
None	GHaldunpa...	...
	...	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV. Hmang riks.	CLASS V. Tólbey riks.
SUB-DIVISIONS	SUB-DIVISIONS
1 Nángso (kings treasurer).	1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
2 Chakdzot (steward)	2 Zópa (artizan).
3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).	3 Sárzópa (goldsmith).
4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).	4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
5 GHópa (doorkeeper).	5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)	6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).
7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)	7 SHingkhan (carpenter).
8 Chhoonpa (the waterer of the king's fields).	8 Rtsikspon (builder).
9 Rardzi (goatherd).	9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).
10 Bardzi (cowherd).	10 Mon (musician.)
11 Thralpa (cooly).	11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).	12 Beyda musician.
...	Malákhan juggler.

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 788

792 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of
them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into
which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a
room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and
where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep
the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol
room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but
a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used
for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[792] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the
monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for
the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch
as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They
attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-
shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instru-
ment is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after
having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on
the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while
the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called
"khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child).
áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo
goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo
(mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk,
dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull
and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little
milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the
dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but
it produces excellent butter.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

[30]

779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon
776 or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at
595 liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one
768 end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never
[478] divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an
779 arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided
586 "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If
428 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they remain with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison of fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang[1] very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

1 [i.e, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [473] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

428 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the
592 eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is
583 termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his
428 younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa"
591 has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the
592 daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her
586 parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees.
597 If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from
195 beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family 796
property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season 592
invite all members of the family to assemble at his house
for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them
a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and
when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the
centre, and into it butter is poured.

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am 171
indebted for the above account, that this exactly corres- 796
ponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where
butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding.

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea
is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical
of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the
idea of light which again is closely connected with the
idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal 796
dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are [643]
spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of
merriment.

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" [241]
or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls
about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning
to ripen. It is celebrated in every village.

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious
celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the
early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on
the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a
matter of fact, observed by the people of the country,
only once a year, when a great festival takes place at
Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival
which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th
day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June.
On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is 796
crowded with people who have come from all parts of 536
Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils"
dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis
monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is
rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their
richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely
handsome.

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--góboo.

778 *FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic]* usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [97]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48]FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

876 FRECKLE--teep-khap. Ladakis think that freckles are caused by looking at one's reflection in the unwiped mirror of another person, for this reason, before using another person's looking-glass, a Ladaki will be careful to wipe it thoroughly.

764 [49] FUNERAL--Buddhists in Ladák like to keep a dead body as long as possible, for the purpose of praying over it, and performing other religious ceremonies. For this reason it is considered bester that a man should die in winter, when his corpse can be kept for 15 or 16 days, than in summer when the body must be burnt on the third day after death. When a death occurs, intimation is sent to all relatives to come to the funeral. At the time of the funeral "chhang"[1] and "satoo"[2] is provided at the house of the deceased, but the guests are all silent, and pretend to be much affected. They will eat and drink sadly, so long as the corpse is in the house but when it has been removed, they will not eat or drink in that house for a month. At the time of the occurrence of a death, a "hlobon" or "abbot" is sent for, from the nearest monastery; this official reads some religious extracts (this is called phóa tap ches) for half an hour or so, while so doing he holds the sacred book (phóalung speycha) in one hand, and with the other hand he takes hold of the pigtail of the deceased, if a male, and of the hair of the deceased, if a female. While reading the funeral service, the Abbot keeps on pulling and jerking the hair of the corpse. If by the time the reading is finished, any blood has come from the nose of the corpse, it is considered a very happy sign, as proving that the spirit (sem soul or SHok or SHrok life) of the deceased has entered into the presence of the Divine Idea (konjok), i.e., has entered paradise (zhing-kham or thóris), and attained nirvana (stongpa ngyid).

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[75] If no blood is to be seen, it is considered a sign that the dead person's spirit is wandering about in space, awaiting re-embodiment. In this case payments have to be made to the Lámas to pray for the wandering spirit.

764 [50] Having completed the reading, the Abbot stands aside, and the "phas-spun" of the deceased come with ropes, and tie the deceased into a squatting position; knees, hands and neck all tied close together. If the corpse has got stiff, the bones are broken, so that the necessary squatting position may be attained.

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1 [BARLEY BEER--ANALYST] 2 [BASIC BARLEY FOOD--ANALYST]

764 614 The word "phas-spun" signifies the persons who perform the funeral ceremonies, in so far as these involve the touching of the corpse. The office of "phas-spun" is hereditary and unpaid, a male corpse is attended upon by male "phas-spun" and a female corpse by female "phas-spun". If a stranger comes to a village, where his family has no "phas-spun" it is necessary for him to get some one to agree to undertake the office, a dinner is then given, and the man to whom the feast is given becomes the family and hereditary "phas-spun" of the giver.

It never happens that a "phas-spun" declines to perform his part. If a person dies without any "phas-spun," his corpse is treated as that of an animal; no one will touch it, and no religious ceremonies are performed over it, a rope is tied round it, and it is dragged away and either thrown into the river Indus or buried. But to return to the narrative. When the "phas-spun" numbering from 7 to 9 persons, have tied up the corpse (ro) into the approved attitude, they put it into a cotton cloth bag (rôres), and then remove it from the room in which it is, and take it to the "Chhodkhang" room (see "Church ") of the house, and put it in a corner of the room, and stretch a shawl or other cloth across the corner, so as to hide the corpse. The Abbot (hlôbon) then comes into the "Chhodkhang" room, sits down just to the left front of the corpse and with his back to it, and other Lámás of lower rank also enter the room and sit facing the "Hlôbon." As soon as the corpse has been put in to the corner by the "phas-spun" these people retire, and none but priests are admitted into the "Chhodkhang," and these remain to pray, and to keep alight 101 brass lamps (chhodmey), and to offer food and drink to the deceased. The "phas-spun" and relatives of the deceased sit in another room. Till the time for the funeral or burning ceremony arrives, Lámás remain day and night in the "Chhodkhang" by day from seven to ten Lámás are probably present, and by night only one or two. The Lámás consult their books to see what is the auspicious time (zhák záng) for the corpse to be removed to the burning ground (turtsa). When the time arrives for removing the corpse, the "phas-spun" and the nearest relative, (i.e., heir) whether male or female enter the Chhodkhang, and the "phas-spun"

764 614 [778] 793 [787]

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lift the corpse, and place it upon the chief mourners back, the latter then, bends down leaning upon two sticks carried in the two hands, and aided by the "phas-spun" carries the corpse to the entrance of the house; here it is placed in a square shaped coffin or box (rdrGHam) provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. The rdrGHam is then carried either by the "phas-spun" or relatives of the deceased, to the burning ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not come to the burning ground, but, after having walked 3 times round the coffin and prostrated herself before it 3 times, she is conducted back to the house.

On the way to the burning ground, the Lámás go in front, praying and playing musical instruments, then follow the relatives, etc., and last of all comes the coffin. The corpse is placed in a sort of oven; the face being put down against the ground; the wood is then lighted and ghee is poured over the corpse by the Lámás.

When the first bone drops from the body, probably after 3 or 4 hours, the funeral ends, though the "phas-spun" remain to complete the burning. The Lámás take the bone back to the "Chhopkhang" of the deceased, and there pound it up, mix a little clay with it, and put it into a mould, which shapes it into a figure or idol (tshatsha). If the deceased was a rich man, this figure is built into a "Chhorten," (see Cenotaph) built for the purpose, and if he was poor man, the figure (tshátshá) is taken and placed in any old "chhorten". On the evening of this day, an open air feast is given to the mourners who then disperse.

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804 [51]FURLONG--The Ladákis do not measure distances as we do, but the Indian word "kós" or "kóso" is generally understood to mean about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Tibetan method of measurement is by the "migthoug," which means the distance, up to which a man can be clearly seen with the naked eye. In the clear atmosphere of Ladák, this would mean about 1 1/2 miles. Another method of measurement is by the "thang" or "plateau". This is of very little use, as the "thang" may be only a few hundred yards long, or it may be several miles long. For further information, see under "Lineal measure".

GAUDY--tshos lakmo bright coloured. Ladákis approve highly of bright colours therefore our "gaudy" corresponds with their "bright". 100

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GIPSY— khamba or khampa. No gipsies are found among Ladákis, who are a very well-to-do people. Wandering beggars come from the Lhása Province of "Kham," hence possibly the word "khamba." 735 568

[53]GOD--konjok is the general term, but it is hard to say what the Ladákis understand the word to mean, for according to European ideas they have no God. They have a kind of Trinity which they call the "Konjóksum" or "Konjok sumbo." It is made up as follows:--(1) sangiás (sangeys) konjok, i.e., Buddha the emblem of intelligence, and the head of the Buddhist faith and priesthood (2) chhos konjok, i.e., the religion deity; (3) gendun konjok, i.e., the priestly deity. From this it seems that the Ladákis have no God, and that they worship a Trinity representing--(1) Buddha; (2) priests of the religion of Buddha. Ordinary Ladákis have no idea of anything before and apart from Buddha, and they never trouble their heads about the Laws of Nature, and the Causer of Causes. They think that the world goes on in a never ending round of "kalpas" or periods, each of which has its own Buddha, and each of which is terminated by the destruction of the world by fire, as a punishment for the sins of mankind. After that, a fresh "kalpas" commences, and so on. 779 776 872

They cannot give any information as to their belief regarding the length of a "kalpas;" but they say that long long ago the age of man extended up to 800 years, that since then his life time has gradually been shortened, till now, his age rarely extends beyond 80 years, that the present is the last of the life shortening "kalpas," and that after the end of this "kalpas," man's life time will gradually be lengthened to its former limits.

In addition to the "konjoksum," the Ladákis have endless minor deities:"Hla" or more correctly "Lha" is the general term for a fairy, spirit, or deity; rgiachhen is Indra; tshángspa is Brahma; khiápjook is Vishuoo; wángchhook is Iswara; and dodhla is Cupid, in the evil sense of the God of lust. 776 779

Other minor gods are sa i hla the earth god, ree i hla the mountain

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "róm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply, when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid
427 yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srâchan or SHrâchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladâkis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistân and women of Ladâk.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladâk women to adopt the faith of Islâm, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladâk, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHôns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHôns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[590] an "árGHôn." ArGHôns are never polyandrists, and though

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladâki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the ârGHôn population of Ladâk, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladâkis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladâk), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladâk is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the ârGHôns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the ârGHôn women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 575

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHôns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladâk for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladâkis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

563 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary
583 advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of
851 society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than
114 the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find any-
105 where, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not
[473] clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by
[439] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or
563 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no
473 land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to
443 earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the
114 same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p.203) says that Tibetans
762 do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are
563 not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person. The former

291 301 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, generally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and occasionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these turquoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

[554] [583] [439]

784 291 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 772 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

lower classes know nothing of their religion in regard to heaven 779
and hell, beyond the fact that, when the end comes, their 772
souls or spirits will be dealt with according to their deserts, when the pious will at once enter heaven ("thoris thop ches") and the wicked will have to atone for sins by remaining for a certain time in one of the 18 Buddhist hells. A better educated Ladáki would say that the soul ("sem") was like a drop of water, a mere isolated atom, during the period of its connection with this world (jiksten), but that when it was admitted into heaven, i.e., attained nirvana ("stongpa ngyid thop ches"), it was absorbed into a sea of infinity. According to Buddhist ideas therefore, there can be no idea of heaven as a place of reward. Their heaven is a place of absorption into the absolute infinite, of escape from the troubles inseparable from life in this world, a place where all individuality ceases to exist; where there is no such thing as sensation either pleasurable or the reverse, in short it is a place of spiritual annihilation. It is very strange that Buddhism should have made such way in the world, for men are certainly not mostly philosophers, and yet we find some hundreds of millions of the human race, professing this very philosophic, matter of fact, unattractive religion, a religion which practically teaches its followers that life is a curse, and that the goal towards which they should struggle is the attainment of "nirvana", or in other words absolute extinction, both bodily and spiritual. There is in it no idea of a benign intercession, or a free forgiveness of sins, or of a better world to come, all is a matter of account, certain actions are equivalent to a certain amount of evil, others are equivalent to a certain amount of good, the debit and credit sides of the accounts are unerringly kept, and in the end, if the soul has no outstandings to pay off, it is extinguished, otherwise it must go to hell [60] for a time before reaching the goal of its ambition--annihilation. Is the Buddhist faith answerable for the stoical character of its adherents, or was it originally accepted by these, because it accorded with their temperament? However that may 779
be, it is certain that in Ladák, at any rate, Buddhists are now quite 797
satisfied with their own religion, and are not in the least inclined to embrace either Christianity or the more popular faith of Islam. On the 779
other hand, they regard persons of other religions with a benevolent indifference. The religion to which a person belongs, is, 798
in the opinion of Ladakis, a good enough religion for such

779 person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all
798 persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from
[797] religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells,
772 such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties
[181] are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) 241
thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.).

[63]
HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the 133
principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur.

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the 804
Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the 177
hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank.

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang 342
(of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work).

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]
HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". 601
Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists 590
of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are 428
closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the 583
family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife.

595 If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto"
428 husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some
583 of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal
601 roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two
[597] brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her
587 husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a
586 younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

428 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter
583 becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred
[595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

2: Ramsay--39 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok. In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 654 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

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775 In Ladák there are only four resident skooSHoks, who preside over the monasteries at Speetuk, Tiksay, Phiáng and Reyzong, respectively.

792 There is also a skooSHok belonging to Heymis the largest and richest of all the monasteries of Ladák, but, for some unexplained reason, some 3 or 4 births back, the skooSHok took birth at Lhása, and refused to come to Ladák, and since then, rebirths of this Heymis avatár have always taken place at Lhása.

The present incarnation must now be about 20 years of age. I am told that as he is a Lhása man, he does not care to come to Ladák, but that if ordered by the Kashmir Durbar to come, he would obey. The truth of the matter is probably that he, having been brought up at the holy city of Lhása, where the Buddhist priesthood reigns supreme, does not care to come to Ladák where the Dogras are masters and Lámás occupy a very subordinate position. The information which I have been able to gather as to the rules under which a spirit, for the first time, becomes an incarnation, is not very clear, but, apparently, when any great Láma or other very holy and virtuous man dies, his spirit, instead of being reborn in the ordinary way, may take rebirth in the form of a "sprulskoo" or incarnation--after this, provided the "sprulskoo" leads a virtuous life in this world, it is optional with him to attain nirvana at once, or should he so desire, his spirit, after his death, is repeatedly reborn as a "sprulskoo." If on the other hand an incarnation leads a wicked life in this world, his punishment is, that his spirit, instead of being reborn as an incarnation, will take any ordinary rebirth.

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An account of the different kinds of form in which a spirit may be re-embodied, will be found under the heading "Rebirth."

775 As regards the rebirth of the spirit of an incarnation, or sprulskoo the procedure is simple enough. Either the incarnation, before death, tells his disciples the circumstances under which, and the place in which, his spirit will be re-born, or should he die, without having given any such indication, his followers, the moment he dies, go and consult learned Lámás, who advise where the spirit will be reborn. The disciples then, in accordance with the instructions given, proceed to the spot indicated, and ascertain if any woman has conceived, or given birth to a child which may be the re-embodiment of the late skooSHok's spirit. If such is the case, they note the fact and go away for the time, but if it is not so, then they conclude that a mistake has been made, and they refer to the Lámas for fresh instructions and so

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on, until they succeed in finding a child which may be the one 775
for which they are looking. Having found their child, they 792
leave it in its own home till it attains the age of about four 787
years, then the disciples of the dead skooshok come to the child's house and bring with them, the prayer books praying wheel (mani chhos khor) sceptre (dorjey) bell (treeloo or more correctly dreelboo) rosary (thanga or thranga) and other property of the deceased, and after mixing them up with similar articles belonging to other persons, they call upon the child to prove that he is the incarnation of the deceased, by pointing out which of the articles he recognizes as having belonged to him in his former life. If the child does all this satisfactorily, and it is usually the case that he does, then he is announced to be a "skooskieys" or child skooSHok, and he is taken away from his home, never to return, and takes up his abode at the monastery (gonpa) of which his is the presiding spirit.

If the child fails to prove himself to be the sought for incarnation, it is assumed that a mistake has been made, and a fresh search is made in another place, and so on, until the disciples are satisfied that they have found the "skooskieys" they are looking for. Parents never object to their children being thus taken from them.

On arrival at the monastery, the child's education is taken in hand 792
by the monks, and when he reaches the age of about sixteen 874
years, he is sent off to Lhasa, the Rome of Buddhism, to complete his studies. After remaining there for from four to eight years, his education is complete and he returns to his own monastery as a sprulskoo, or skooshok or Incarnation.

A sprulskoo does not live inside the monastery, but in a small house 792
(called taSHak) attached to it-- [69] He does not eat with other 775
people, and though his parents and relatives may occasionally come to see him, they can not live with him, or he with them. It is thoroughly believed that he is an incarnation, and the consequences thereof are philosophically accepted.

The skooshok is the spiritual head of the monastery, and it is his duty to superintend everything concerning religion. He is not expected to interfere in worldly concerns, but occasionally may do so.

The only skooshok I have ever met is Lobzhang Beshes Stanbey Gialsam, (i.e. good dispositioned heavenly religion of Buddha flag of victory) the present avatar of the Speetuk monastery,

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[171] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgiont) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

251 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

565 463 LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101 LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syallable long and the second short.

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool; [173] (4) Máryool" or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101

The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning, "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása. 631

As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people." 101

I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyool" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángthang, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.

There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."

At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of 175 631 648

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

2: Ramsay--47 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhôt" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--láma or lámba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

T 792 builder, and first abbot khanpo), of the great Galdán or (GHaldán) monastery.

779 WT 792 779 Láma Tsongkhápa prohibited clerical marriages, and generally speaking re-introduced a stricter and more austere form of Buddhism or Lamaism, which was not approved of by all. The consequence was that a schism arose in the Buddhist church, which then divided itself into two sects.

T 792 795 779 The reformers, followers of Láma Tsongkhápa, assumed the title of "Geylukspa" or "the virtuous ones," while the conservative party was called Drukpa or Dukpa or "zhámár," e. i., "Red cap."

WT 792 795 779 The original dress of all Lamas was a red petticoat (SHamthap), a waistcoat (stotGHak) embroidered in gold and other colours, a red shawl (zanggos), thrown over the left arm and shoulder, and wrapped round the body, leaving the left arm bare, a red cap (zhamar or panjoo or teebee márpo), and a red cloth bag (chhapreel) about 12 x 6 inches, suspended from the left side by a string round the waist, and reaching half way down to the knee. In the neck of this bag is a pocket, in which is kept a small long-necked brass vessel (chhapluk), containing about an ounce of water, called "hngakschhoo" "or incantation water," with a drop or two of which the Lámás render themselves ceremonially pure, after performing the offices of nature and at certain other [80] times. The above is at present the dress of the "Red caps," who in Ladák are spoken of as "Drukpas" or "Dukpas" but never as "Zhámárs."

The "Geylukspa" dress is very nearly the same, neither sect wears trousers, both wear the red petticoat, red shawl, and many coloured waistcoat, but the cap and bag (chhapreel) of the Geylukspa, instead of being red, are of a darkish canary colour--beyond this, except on great occasions when Geylukspas of high rank wear a yellow silk coat under, or instead of, the red shawl, there is no difference in dress between the so-called "red" and "yellow" sects. In Cunningham's very excellent book on Ladák, there is a coloured picture of a Geylukspa. "Geytshul" or neophyte, dressed in a yellow garment reaching from neck to feet, and drawn in round the waist, by means of a dark coloured girdle. I showed this picture to the SkooSHok (avatár) of the Speetuk (Geylukspa) monastery, and asked him if Lámás of his sect ever dressed so. He replied that neither in Ladák or Lhása did they ever wear a yellow coat, but that he believed the Mongólian

Geylukspas (he referred I presume to the followers of the Táránáth Láma) did so.

Geylukspas are often spoken of as "serpogon" or "wearers of yellow clothes," so I imagine that, whatever may now be the custom, they originally dressed entirely in yellow. The Dalai Láma and the Tashi Lunpo avatar, both belong to the yellow sect, which in Lhasa is the more powerful, while in Ladák and Bhotan, the red sect is the more powerful.

The following account of Lámáism has been obtained by me, in part from the skooSHok of Speetuk, who is the head of the Ladak Geylukspa, or yellow cap sect, and in part from Hlóbon Topgeys, who was for long, the hlóbon or abbot, of Heymis, the chief monastery of the dukpa, or red cap sect. It very possibly may not be correct from a scholarly point of view, but it represents the local ideas on the subject.

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there was only one sect known as "kádampa" or "dulvápa."

The word "dulva" means "to subdue or discipline," and the "dulva" is one of the divisions of the "kagioor" (or translation from Sanscrit to Tibetan, of the mandates of Buddha). It contains two hundred and fifty orders relative to the disciplining of the mind and body.

The word "kadampa" means "bound by the orders," that is to say, by the orders contained in the "dulva."

In those days the Lámás never ate meat or drank intoxicating liquors, nor did they wear any covering to their heads or feet, and celibacy was the invariable rule among them. Their clothing was red. Gradually there was a falling away from this high standard, and in due course there arose a sect known as "rnikmápa" or "hnikmápa" or "snikmapa," so called from their being followers of the "rningpa" or "hningpa" or "ancient" or "old fashioned" religion. This sect permitted the use of wines and meats and did not enforce clerical celibacy.

After this, a great Láma, named Padma, Jungnes, a native of Urgian (Ujain ?), came to Lhása (according to Cunningham, this was about the middle of the eighth century) and founded a new sect, known as the "Urgiánpa," which differed but little from the "Hnikmápa" sect.

Later still a "skooSHok," or incarnation, named "Phakspa Jamspal" founded another sect called "Saskiapa," from "saskiá" the name of the monastery to which Phakspa Jamspal belonged.

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T This sect too resembled the "hnikmápa" sect.

792 Later again, a Láma, named "Paldan Drukpa," or Spaldan Drukpa"
795 of Lhása founded another sect, known as the "drukpa or dukpa"
779 or "kárgiootpa" sect. The word "ka" means "order" and "rgioot"
WT is the name of that division of the "kárgioor" which deals with
792 "Religious Mystical doctrines," called in Tibetan "Sanghngaks"
795 hence the "kárgiootpa" sect, is the sect believing in the "rgioot"
779 or book of Mystical doctrines, called in Sanscrit "tantra."

This sect, which is now the most powerful of all the red sects, is very similar in the matter of its somewhat lax morality, to the hnikmápa sect. Its Lámás eat meat, and drink intoxicating
T [588] liquors, and though they may not marry, so long as they remain in the [81] priesthood, their lives are not invariably virtuous,
WT [588] and, provided a show of secrecy is maintained, they may live with a nun or any other woman. The nuns indeed (of the red sect) are commonly supposed to be little else than the servants and concubines of the Lámás.

Soon after the founding of the Dukpa sect, three other sects arose. The first was the Skarmápa, or Karmápa, so called because its members were believers in the "efficacy of works" (in Sanscrit the word "Karma" means "deed.") Mr. Jáschke says the Karmápa was a philosophical school of Buddhism.

Then arose, simultaneously it is believed, the "Dreegongpa" or "Breegongpa" sect, and the Staklungpa sect. These sects were founded by disciples of the great "Paldan Drukpa" and derived their names from the monasteries of Dreegong and Staklung, to which the Lámas who founded them belonged.

About this time a Láma named Báráwar, a resident of "Hlo" (i.e. Bhutan), introduced among Lámás, the custom of wearing hats and shoes.

The next landmark is to be found in the person of Láma Tsongkhápa, the great reformer, who was born about 1357 and died in 1419.

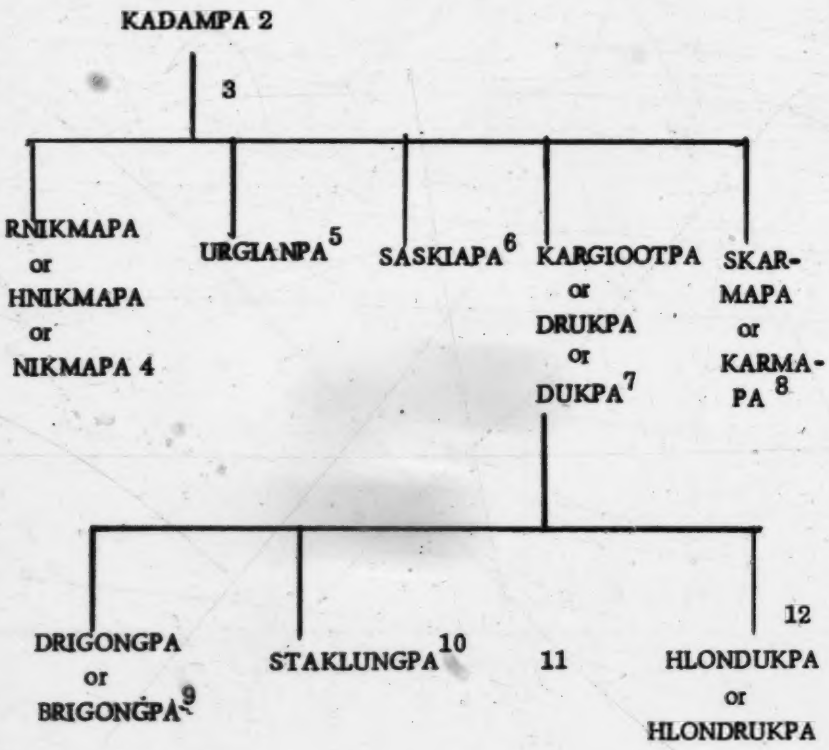
He viewed with disapproval the lax morality of the Lámás, which, he said, was not at all in conformity with the precepts of Buddha, and he founded a sect, whose conduct was to be in accordance with the original system of Lámáism. He prohibited the use of meat and wine among Lámás, he enforced clerical celibacy, he directed that the "Rgioot" or "Gioot," (that division of the "Kágioor" which deals with "Magic" or "Mystic Doctrines") should not be read, and he instituted the custom, which is still observed, of holding periodical conferences of

Lámás at Lhása. These reforms were not approved of by all, and the Buddhist church then divided into two great sects. T 792

The sect founded by Láma Tsongkhápa, was called "Geylukspa," and all other sects were treated as one, and termed "Drukpa." As a distinguishing mark, the Lámás of the "Geylukspa" sect adopted a yellow cap and yellow holy water bag as has already been explained. 795 779 WT 792

Since the days of Láma Tsongkhápa, the "Geylukspa" sect has remained unchanged and undivided, but one new sect of Drukpas has been founded, by a Láma named Ngakwang Namgial of Bhotan. This sect is called "Hlondrukpa" the word "Hlo" being the Tibetan for Bhutan. The above information may be thus conveniently tabulated. 795 779

[82]



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1. Meaning, persons accepting for guidance the 250 rules of "Discipline," contained in the "dulva," which is one of the "kargioor" or translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan, of the precepts of Buddha.
2. From "ka" meaning "order" and "rdamoa" meaning "to bind." That is to say those bound to observe the orders; meaning the orders contained in the "dulva."
3. The above is believed to have been the name of the original sect of Tibetan Buddhists, who established themselves in Lhása, about the year 200 B.C. The Lámás or priests, wore red clothing, but left the head and feet bare. They drank no intoxicating liquors, eat no meat, refrained from matrimony, and considered absolute celibacy, a necessity for their priesthood.
4. The date of the institution of this sect is unknown. The name should be "Hningmápa" or "Rningmápa" or even "Hningpa," which means "old." The name refers to the fact that this sect mixed up the observances of the religion of Buddha, with those of the epicurean atheism which existed in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism. The Lámás of this sect eat meat, drank wine, occasionally married, and were generally of lax morals. They wore red clothing like the "dulvas," but they wore caps, called "panjoo," of a red or black colour, and also wore shoes.
5. This sect, which much resembled the Rnikmapa sect, was founded about 750 A.D. by a Lámá of Urgian (Ujain ?) named Padma Jungnes.
6. The date of the foundation of this sect is unknown. It was very similar to the Rnikmápa sect. It derived its name from the Saskia monastery to which its founder Phakspa Jamspal belonged.
7. This sect, which was founded by Páldan (or Spálden) Dukpa (or Drukpa) accepts for its guidance the "ka" or "orders" contained in the "rgioot," which is the division of the kárgioor, which deals with "Religious Magic" or "Mystical doctrines." This sect is now, especially in Ladak, the most powerful of all the red-cap sects. It gave up the black cap, but has retained the red cap, called "panjoo."
8. This sect wear the black cap and never the red one. Its followers are believers in the efficacy of good works, and derive their name from the Sanskrit word "karma" which means "deed."

2: Ramsay--53 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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9. A Drukpa Láma of the Drigong or Brigong monastery introduced some small modifications into the old drukpa procedure and founded this sect.

10. A Drukpa Láma of the "Staklung" monastery, founded this sect which is almost the same as the old Drukpa sect.

11. At this period, namely between the introduction of the Staklungpa and Hlondukpa sects, the reforming Láma Tsongkhapa (who was born about 1357 and died about 1419 A.D.) raised his voice against the degenerate Drukpa priesthood, and founded the now famous "Geylukspa" or "virtuous" sect, also known as "Sárpogon" or "yellow clothes" owing to its Lamas having adopted, as a distinguishing mark, a yellow cap, and yellow bag for the bottle for the incantation water. Up to the present time the "Geylukspa" sect has remained undivided. Its Lamas eat no meat, drink no wine and celibacy is strictly observed by them. The Dalai Láma of Lhása belongs to this sect.

12. This sect was founded in the 15th century by a Drukpa Láma of Bhotan, named *Ngakwang. The Tibetan name for Bhotán is "Hlo" or "Hloyool" hence the name of the sect which is much the same as the old Drukpa sect.

[83]Most of the different sects of Lamas are represented in Ladák, having monasteries at the following places;--

I.--Geylukspa sect. At Speetuk (or Peetuk), Tiksay, Likir, Stok, Sáboo, Sangkar, Leh, Reyzong, Saspul, Deskit and Samthanling. The head-quarter monastery to which all important questions are referred is at Tashi Lunpo near Lhása.

II.-- Rnikmápa sect. At Taktak. Headquarter monastery is at Dorjeytrak near Lhása.

III.--Urgiánpa None. Headquarter monastery is at Sangling near Lhása.

IV.--Saskiápa. At Mátho (or Másho). Headquarter monastery at Ngor near Lhása.

V.--Kárgiootpa. At Hemis (or Heymis), Chimray, Ngiómá, Hanley, Kárzok, Gya, Meeroo, Bazgo, Teya, Tingmoghang, Alchee, Yarma and Shama. Head-quarter monastery is at Deychhenchhongghor near Lhása.

VI.--Skarmápa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Tshurboo near Lhása.

VII.--Drigonpa. At Lámáyooroo, Phiáng (i.e., Ghángngong), Shang, and Tángtsey (Shachhookhul). Head-quarter monastery is at Yángdreeghar near Lhása, and is presided over by the

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.
792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.
661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.
792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.
The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

"priesthood," and the latter "las-chetpa" or, "workers." The "workers" are nevertheless members of the priesthood. 792 795

The "gendun" class includes--

(1) The skooshok or sprulspoo or incarnation (if there is one) presiding over the monastery.

(2) The hlóbon or abbot. Properly speaking the hlóbon is an abbot of the red sect and the khampo is an abbot of the yellow sect, but in La lak the word hlóbon applies to abbots of either sect.

(3) oomdzat. He who leads the prayers and generally conducts religious services.

(4) oochhung. The assistant of the oomdzat.

(5) chhosthrimspa. He who sees to the discipline of the monastery.

(6) chhosSHumpa. He who offers up sacrifices, and sees that the [84] prayer books, prayer wheels, etc., are all in order.

(7) zhalthâwa. The Instructor.

(8) máchen. The cook.

The "las-chetpa" class includes--

(1) chhakdzot (chhagzot). The Steward of the monastery, who arranges for the cultivation of monastery lands, collection and payment of revenue, the lending on interest, of grain, to villagers, the repairs of the monastery, and in fact every thing not connected with religion.

(2) ngierpa. The chhakdzot's assistant.

(3) nangngier. The man who gives out grain or other stores required for consumption at head-quarters.

(4) cheengier or pheengier. The man who issues stores required to be sent away from the monastery.

All Lamas must keep their heads shaved, but the shaving of the hair on the face is optional with them. In all monasteries there is a room called "chhosdra," or vulgarly "chhóra," set apart for use as a school room, where all boys and girls, who are about to become monks and nuns, are educated. The Hlóbon and Oochhung are the officers responsible for the performance of the teaching, but other Lámás may also be required to assist them, or to carry on the teaching duties during their absence. It is generally believed, that credit is due to the Lámás, for educating the villagers, but as a matter of fact, no such credit is due to them, as they do nothing in the way of educating any person not intended to become a monk or nun. 792 874

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.
792 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
792 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.
688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
792 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.
792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

792 water, is performed.

The Hlóbon then takes a cotton scarf called "sungdrut," ties a knot in it, spits upon it, and ties it round the "Tsunchhung's" neck, muttering certain incantations while so doing. The "Tsunchhang" or "Geytshul" is then [85] made over to a Lama of the monastery, (selected either by himself, his friends, or the Hlóbon), who is termed his "Geyrgan" or "priestly teacher," and who becomes responsible for the education of his charge. The neophyte has then to learn by heart certain religious books, after which the Lámás assemble and examine him. If the result is satisfactory, he becomes a "Geylong" or full monk. If his circumstances permit of it, he is supposed to give a feast, (generally called "Mangja" and meaning "mangpo chha" or "much tea") to the Lamas consisting, in the case of red-caps, of tea (mangja) soup (paktsha) and glookchhang (examination beer), and in the case of yellow caps of tea only; at the same time he receives a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation" from the Hlobon, the Chhakdzot, his "Geyrgan" and from each of the "Geylongs" of his monastery, who congratulate him upon his admission into the priesthood.

After this, the monk has only three things to learn viz., (1) "kar" (Sanskrit word) or "rtseyches" (Tibetan word) i.e., the religious mumming dance (2) "thik" i.e., the steps, used when walking round in the intervals between the dances (3) yángs i.e., the way to intone the prayers.

[671] If a Láma, of whatever rank, wishes to leave the priesthood and return to secular life, he is at liberty to do so. According to civil law, he has the right to leave the priesthood whenever he pleases, but according to religious law, he cannot leave unless he has received permission from the monastery authorities, so to do. According to custom, he notifies to the Abbot his desire to go, and the Abbot then calls the Lámás together, explains the matter, and obtains from the meeting, permission for the monk to renounce his priestly calling.

A monk who has so left the priesthood is called "banlok."

792 795 688 Among the Geylukspa or yellow sect, if a monk commits a trivial offence, he is admonished for the first few times, and if this has no effect, he is turned out of the priesthood. If the offence committed is a grave one, the sinner is warned once, and on a repetition of the offence, he is scourged and expelled from the priesthood, or if the offence be a very heinous one, he is at

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792 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
795 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámas may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
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788 considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
648 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT
565] Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
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648 Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
554 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
661 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
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648 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
661 lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
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648 Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
439 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
554 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

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In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

WT 291 LEGGING--kángphees or kángpheeng (meaning, properly speaking, the felt leggings worn by Ladákis, but also used for leather gaiters, and Kashmir patties).

WT 426 [88]
LEND TO--skinba táng ches or respectfully karkeen sal ches (to lend money, etc., not on interest), bulon táng ches or phar la hmul tang ches (to lend money on interest) dres la nas táng ches (to lend grain on interest. The rate charged is always "sowái," that is to say, for every 4 lent, 5 have to be paid at the next harvest), yár ches or yártey táng ches (to lend anything, when the thing itself has to be returned to its owner).

T 101 631 WT 631 LHASA--Ladákis usually speak of the town as Hlása, but the correct name is Lhása ("Lha" means "a god" or "fairy" and "sa" stands for "sakiat," which means "place.") The country subject to the Lhasa authorities is also spoken of as "Lhása country." As a matter of fact, the country in question, consists of four provinces, viz., on the east "Kham," (meaning "side") then comes Oo (spelt "U" in our maps and meaning "centre") in, which is the town of Lhása, then comes "Tshang" (meaning "pure,") and then comes what was once Ngarees-khorsum (see under "Ladák.") Prior to the Dogra conquest of Ladák, the Ladákis used to look upon the Lhása Government as all powerful in things temporal, and spiritual. It is still regarded with great awe by Ladákis.

T 642 648 115 The Lhása Government, its constitution, and the extent to which it is subject to Chinese guidance, is a subject of which but little is generally known, and the following information, obtained by me from the SkooSHok (avatár) of Speetuk, and other persons who have resided at Lhása, may therefore be of interest, and is inserted accordingly, though beyond the ordinary scope of this work, which professes to deal only with Ladák or Western Tibet.

In olden days, Lhasa was governed by Kings, who to some extent were under the influence of China, but, according to Markham, Chinese power was first definitely established in Lhása in 1720, when resident Political Agents were appointed. In 1749 an insurrection against the Chinese broke out, which ended in favour of the Chinese, and resulted in the establishment, at Lhása of Lobzong Kalsang the sixth Dalái Láma, with two Chinese "Ambáns" or "Residents," to assist him in the administration of the affairs of the country.

T 642 Since then no fundamental change in the constitution of the Lhása

Government has taken place. The following is a list of the several names, by which each of the chief Lhása officials, is known to Europeans, to Tibetans, and to the Chinese, but which are, owing to their indiscriminate use, an occasional cause of confusion. 642

[89]

ENGLISH NAME	TIBETAN NAME	CHINESE NAME
(1) Grand Láma.	(1). (a). Giálwa Rinpochey or "the gem of Majesty" (b). Deyba Zhung or Deywa Jung or "happiness centre."	(1). (a). Dálai Láma or "ocean Láma." (b). Tali Lama or "Great Lama."
(2). The Tashi Lunpo Láma (or incarnation).	(2). (a). Panchen Rinpochey or "the gem of learning" (b). Tashi Lunpo or "mass of glory."	(2) .....
(3). The Ghaldan (or Galdan) Láma.	(3). GHaldan (or Galdan) Láma.	(3) .....
(4). Regent.	(4). (a). Giáltshaps Rinpóchey or "Vice-roy gem." (b). Pot Gialpo.	(4) Nómenkán.
(5). The Ta Láma	(5). Ta Láma this is, I think, the title of the Láma deputed either from Lhása to Pekin or "vice versa."	(5). Ta Láma.
(6). The 4 Ministers.	(6). The 4 kálons. These are never priests, and are always members of the old ruling family.	(6). .....

The Chinese Residents or "Ambáns" do not attend Durbar. They are supposed to rank next below the Grand Láma. They call on the Grand Láma, but he does not return their call. All other persons have to call on the Ambáns, but I do not know what calls are returned. The Ambáns live just outside the town of Lhása. 648 643

175 The following account of the establishment of the hierarchy of Grand
792 Lámás has been obtained from Cunningham's book on Ladák.

"In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lámá Tsongkhápa. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (Hod-pagmed), and others of Manjoo Sri (Jámia). He was born in 1355 and died in 1419. He built the temple of Ghaldan, and was the first great Abbot (Kanpo) who occupied the Ghaldan chair.....Previous to the establishment of the Ghaldan chair by Tsong-khápa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs or head Abbots..... but the principle being once established, the attainment of this rank became an object of ambition, and the great Abbots of Ghaldan were soon eclipsed, by the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the Abbots of Tashi Lunpo. But the fame of Tsong-khapa was confirmed. He..... had originated the great sect of Geylukspa (the virtuous) which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the Dalái Láma of Lhása and the Tashi Lama of Tashi Lunpo belong to it ..... Geydun Tubpa the founder of Tashi Lunpo .....built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death, he had supplanted the Abbots of Ghaldan in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established, for previous to his time, the great Abbots of Ghaldan, had been elected by the choice of the Lámás, but the bold and original mind of Geydun Tubpa, devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni, and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor Geydun Giatsho (the Ocean of Lámas), was discovered as an infant, by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, Navang Lozang Giátsho, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lámas at Lhása, in 1640, and made himself master of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650 [90] after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China."

Cunningham might have added that it was on the occasion of this visit, that the Emperor of China bestowed upon him the title of Dalái Lama," meaning "Ocean Láma."

From this point, Markham's account is clearer than Cunningham's; he says, speaking of the first Dalái Láma, 175 792

"After a long reign, he went away to reappear as two infants, if not three; for though he was the fifth Tashi Láma, he was the first Dalái; and since his time there have been two great incarnations of equal rank, the Dalái Láma at Poláta, who is an incarnation of the Buddhisatwa Avâloketeswára, and the Tashi Lama, at Tashi Lunpo, the incarnation of the Boddhisatwa Amitábha." 775

Avâloketeswára and Padma Páni are the same, the former is the Sanscrit, and the latter the Tibetan name. The same explanation is given by Cunningham, but nevertheless I doubt its accuracy, for as I understand the incarnation theory, it is impossible that the first Dalái Láma should have died, and then reappeared as two incarnations, for the spirit, which is the only part which takes re-birth, is one and indivisible. For further information on this point, see the article under the heading "Incarnation." When the Speetuk Incarnation was with me, I brought the point to his notice, and he said it was not correct that the first Dalái Láma had died, and re-appeared as more than a single incarnation. He admitted that the first Dalái Láma was the fifth Tashi Láma, but said that while the subsequent Dalái Lámás were incarnations of the first Dalái Lámás, the Tashi Lunpo Lámas were some other incarnation. [115]

This point is not of practical importance, for it is enough that we know that Tsong-khapa of Ghaldan, founded the yellow sect, that the fame of the Ghaldan Abbots was subsequently eclipsed by that of the Abbots of a junior monastery of their own sect, viz., Tashi Lunpo, that the fifth Tashi Lunpo Abbot became also master of all Tibet and the first Dalái Láma, and that since his death, the Dalái Láma and the Tashi Láma have reappeared as separate incarnations. 175 792 795

Under the heading "Incarnation," I have explained the ordinary method of ascertaining where a deceased Skooshok (Incarnation) has taken re-birth. In the case of the Dalái Láma, the procedure is but slightly different--among other things it is believed that when Lámas of Potála, (the monastery to which the Grand Lámas belongs), go out to find the newly born incarnation, the infant, in whom the late Grand Láma has really taken re-birth, obtains for a moment the power of speech, and informs his parents that the Lámas have left Potála to come and claim him. 775 792 787

792 It occasionally happens that persons who are ambitious enough to de-
775 sire that their son should become the Giálwa Rinpochey, are
787 wicked enough to make false representations regarding the
[662] existence of marks, and circumstances attending the re-birth of the true incarnation, and the result is that several infants are put forward, all claiming to be the incarnation of the last Dalái Láma. When this happens, one hundred and seventeen of the chief Lámas of Lhása assemble in Council, and to each of these is given a number of slips of paper, equal in number to the number of the infant candidates for the Dalái Lámáship; on each slip of paper, each Láma writes the name of one candidate. If there are three (or as the case may be) candidates, each Láma writes their three (or as the case may be) names on three separate slips, having done this, each slip is folded up and encased in a roll of paste. A vessel or water pot, called a "pungpa," is then brought round, and into this, each Láma puts the several rolls of paste he has made, each containing the name of a candidate. The "pungpa" is then closed and removed to the praying room, where it is kept for either seventy-one or thirty-one days, during the whole of which time, the Lámas, in relays, keep up a continuous service, praying to Buddha to enable them to select the true Incarnation.

[643] When the period of praying is over, the one hundred and seventeen Lámas again assemble, but this time, one of the two Chinese Ambáns is present, and [91] the "pungpa" is brought in, and placed before him; the lid is opened, and he is given a pair of brass pincers, with which he extracts from the "pungpa" one of the paste rolls. The roll thus extracted is then opened by the Amban, and the name written on the slip of paper enclosed therein, is announced by him to be the name of the successful
[648] candidate. Intimation of this fact is then immediately sent to the Emperor of China, not for confirmation or approval, but merely for information. After this, the infant incarnation is treated like any other incarnation, that is to say, he remains with his parents till he is about four years old, and then the ceremony is gone through of calling upon him to repeat the circumstances of his last life and death, and to identify property which belonged to him during his last life. When this ordeal has been gone through, the youthful Dalái Láma is removed to the Potála monastery, there to be educated, and to spend the rest of his life. As already explained, under the heading "Incarnation," it occasionally happens in the case of ordinary

incarnations, that the infant believed to be the incarnation, fails, when it has reached the age of about four years, to give a satisfactory account of its former life, and to identify its property. In such cases, the Lamas conclude that they have made a mistake, and they recommence their search for the true Incarnation. 792 775 787

I asked the Speetuk Incarnation what happened if an infant, declared and reported to the Emperor of China, to be the Dalái Lama, subsequently failed to give an account of his former life. He replied that such a thing never happened, for before the Ambán drew a name, the one hundred and seventeen Lámás had been praying for many days that the right name might be drawn, and after that, it was impossible that any but the right name should be drawn. [648] [643]

A Dalai Lama is a minor till he reaches the age of eighteen, and during his minority, a Regent, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, carries on the duties of his office. 792 643

Experience has shown, that Dalái Lámás frequently die during the period of their minority, and it is more than half suspected, that they are brought to an untimely end, by the Regent, who is thus enabled, during a further term of minority, to retain in his own hands, power which would otherwise pass to the Dalái Láma.

The ordinary civil and political administration of the country is not interfered with by the Dalái Láma, whose only duties are those which attach to him in his capacity as the head of the Buddhist faith. He is the supreme authority in all matters pertaining to religion, to the Lámás, and to the monasteries and their extensive properties. 642 792 423

The official next in rank to the Grand Láma, is the Tashi Lunpo Lama. He is an ordinary incarnation (of the Buddhisatwa Amitábha) and ordinarily lives at the Tashi Lunpo monastery. 792 643

The next official is the Abbot of Ghaldan, but of him nothing further need be said than that he usually resides at the Ghaldan monastery.

The official fourth in rank, is the Regent or "Giáltshaps" or "Pot Gialpo." When a Dalái Láma dies, a Regent is appointed to carry on his duties, till such time as he shall have taken rebirth, and attained the age of eighteen years, when he assumes full authority, and the post of Regent is abolished.

According to rule and custom, the "Giáltshaps" must be selected from among the five incarnations, who respectively preside 643 745

T 643 795 WT 795 T 643 792 795 648 T 647 792 T 642 565 T 648v 648 662v

over the monasteries of (1) Stangial Ling; (2) Tseychok Ling; (3) Ghaldan; (4) Goondey Ling; (5) Tsomon Ling. The people of Ladák are not permitted to become members of any of these monasteries. When it becomes necessary to appoint a Regent, all the leading Lámás meet, to consider which of the five candidates is best fitted for the post. If it is considered that only one of these is fit for the appointment, he is at once nominated by the Lámás, who then send intimation of the fact, to the Emperor of China, through the Ambáns. If, however, it is considered that several of the candidates are suitable for the appointment, their names are submitted to the Emperor of China, who then nominates one of them to the post of Regent.

The next greatest official is the Ta Láma, but of him nothing need be here said.

[92]The only remaining members of the Lhása Government, are the four Kálóns, who, except in regard to religion, monastery lands, discipline, etc., are the real rulers of the Lhása State. They must be men of aristocratic descent (roospathonpo), and are, as a rule, members of the family of the old Lhása Kings.

They must also be laymen, for no Láma can become a Kólón. A man who has once been made Kólón, retains the appointment for the rest of his life, or until he chooses to resign it.

When a death, or resignation, takes place among the Kálóns, the survivors consult together, as to the person to be selected to fill the vacancy, and after arriving at a decision among themselves, they embody their recommendations in reports, which they have to submit on the subject, to the Grand Láma, and the Chinese Ambans. The Speetuk Incarnation, who has lived at Lhása for many years, (and from whom I obtained the above information) informed me that, in the matter of appointments to a Kálónship, no reference is made to Pekin, but that, as a matter of fact, the Chinese Ambáns at Lhása, have sufficient influence to bring about the nomination of any eligible candidate, and to prevent the nomination of any person whose appointment would be distasteful to the Pekin Government. From this it would appear that, at any rate from a political point of view, the Lhása Government is substantially a Chinese Government, for the whole of the ministry, consists of men who have been practically selected by the Chinese Resident, and who may, therefore be considered as his creatures, and committed to a certain line of policy, dictated by the Chinese Government.

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4 inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard	= "	300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12 "

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbo or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

789 [95]MAGIC--thul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches (to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much

appreciated by foreigners, but constituting the national drink of 273
the people of Ladák.

[97]MARRIAGE--pakston or respectfully skoobak. After the "be- 584
trothal" ceremony (see Betrothal) has been performed, a month or two is usually allowed to elapse before the wedding takes place, though sometimes a year or more passes between the time of betrothal and the time of marriage. When a day has been fixed for the marriage, the procedure is as follows:--

On the day fixed, the relatives (nien) of the bride (pakma) assemble 585
at the bride's house, and those of the bridegroom (pakpho) at the bridegroom's house. At night-fall the bridegroom goes with from 5 to 7 of his friends (ngiópa) to the bride's house, he finds the outer door (giázGHo) of the yard (stárá) shut, and guarded by male relatives of the bride, he gives a few rupees to them and they then allow him to enter, but when passing between this gate and the door leading into the house itself (giázGHoi nángkuk) he is surrounded by the bride's female relatives, who pretend to be very angry, and beat him with small sticks. To these also the bridegroom has to give a few rupees, and he is then allowed to enter the house. The bridegroom, with his friends, is then feasted by the bride's relatives, but the bride does not appear. Much "chhang" drinking, music and dancing is indulged in, till about 1 or 2 o'clock the next morning, when the best man (ngiátheetpa or ngiáthritpa) accompanied by some of the older male relatives of the bridegroom, goes to the kitchen (mákhang) in company with the parents and relatives of the bride. The bridegroom and the rest of his party do not go to the kitchen.

The guests take their seats in the kitchen and each one puts his drinking cup (korey) on the ground in front of him and "chhang' is then handed round by a male relative of the bride's, accompanied by one of female relatives, who has a stick in one hand. The latter takes up the cup of each guest in turn and fills it, and if the guest fails to drink freely, she beats him. This ceremony is called "nanchhang" or "insistance chhang." During this time a ceremony known as "thóhloo" is taking place, it is enacted by two old men, one being a relative of the bride and the other a relative of the bridegroom. First the relative of the bride gets up and sings a sonnet in praise of the bridegroom; the other old man must then get up and reply, by singing a

585

similar sonnet in praise of the bride, after which the first man again sings, and so on for two or three times, if either singer fails to reply to the other, he has to give the other party a few rupees, or a goat, etc. At this time the bride's parents stretch a rope across the room, and on it they hang all the clothes, ornaments, etc., which constitute the "trousseau" of the bride, any cash there may be as a "dot" is counted and placed in a box. These clothes, etc., are called "raktak." A list of the [99] articles is then made out; it is called "zongeek," and is carefully kept, as a record of all the fine things given on the occasion. The best man then takes possession of the raktak and remarks that it is getting late, and that he would be glad if the bride could be made over to him.

The bride's relatives then protest that they don't know where the bride is, as her girl friends (yátodzámo) have hidden her. The best man has to give a few rupees to the yátodzámo, who then produce the bride who is in a flood of tears (often genuine), and lead her up to her mother. The bride then embraces the feet of her mother, father, brothers, sisters, and other relatives, after which the best man puts on to the bride's head a hat called "SHamskor-i teebi" (with very broad brim, fur-lined underneath and velvet covered above), and over that he fastens a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," and then the bride's mother's brother (azhung) takes the bride upon his back and carries her out to the "gíázGHo" where a horse is in waiting for her.

The first to leave the bride's house is the ngiátheetpa (best man) who is followed by the ngiópa (bridegroom's relatives), then comes the bridegroom (pakpho) then comes the bride (pakma), who has not yet been seen or spoken to, on that day, by the bridegroom, and the rear is brought up by the bride's friends, musicians and spectators. As the wedding party passes by other villages, on its way to the bridegroom's house, the villagers come out with offerings of satoo, ghee, etc., called "kalchhor." The ngiátheetpa touches these offerings and remits them, and gives a small present to the persons bringing them.

On arrival at the bridegroom's houses, the door is found open, and in front of it are some Lámás (priests). The bridegroom and his party dismount, and beg the bride to dismount; she, weeping all the time, refuses to do so, but eventually the bridegroom's friends give her a present of a horse or a rupee or two, according to their wealth, and she then dismounts. Bride and bridegroom

then stand up in front of the Lámás, with clasped hands and 585
bowed heads, and certain prayers are read. The prayer book is held by a novice or Lama of low rank, and the Hlóbon or head Lama reads from it. While doing so, he holds, in his left hand a bell (treeloo) and a small drum (daroo), and in his right hand, a sceptre (dorjey) and some grains of rice and barley. He rings the bell and sounds the drum with his left hand, and with the right he scatters the grain over the heads of the young couple. The bridal party then enter the bridegroom's house where they find two mystic signs, traced by the Lámás in barley or other grain, on the floor. On one of these the bride sits, and on the other the bridegroom.

Between them is placed a measure, filled with grain, in which is an arrow standing up, and having a small pinnacle of clarified butter affixed to its top. The bridegroom's mother then offers "chhang" to the bride and bridegroom, after which a Lama comes and sprinkles them with holy water. This completes the religious part of the ceremony. The bridegroom, with all the males of the party, then goes to another room where dancing and merriment takes place. The bride, with all the women of the party, remains behind. After remaining a while watching the dancing, the bridegroom is permitted to retire and rejoin his bride. During the whole of the next day, the merriment is kept up, and in the afternoon the bride, dressed out in all her best, and wearing all the jewels she possesses, comes out with her husband and walks round to show herself off. She has to dance with the ladies of the party, and the bridegroom with the men. Having done this, they are at liberty to retire. The feasting is kept up that night, and the next day the guests go off to their respective homes. For seven days, bride and bridegroom remain in their house, but on the eighth day they must start on a journey, to make their bow to all their relatives. Having performed this duty, they return to their home, and begin their ordinary married life.

If the parents of the bride and bridegroom are too poor to bear the 583
expense of a regular wedding, they arrange that the bridegroom shall come quietly some night, and elope with his lady love.

[99]In such cases, that is to say, in the absence of any merry-making, 585
no civil or religious marriage ceremony is performed. If at any future time, within a year or so, the parties concerned are in a position to give the marriage feast to friends and Lámás, they

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chánq-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chánq-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo: with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible. 264 262

The poor people eat only chheenan zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure). 804

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak	(Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer	(Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer	(Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Batti	(Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund	(Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 "	(Indian)	=	80 "

The lower classes are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer. [565]

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sär-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sär-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sär-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the following

804 table of the common measures may be useful. I caused the measures to be filled with barley, and I then had the barley weighed, so the figures below given must be accurate so far as they go, but I presume that no two "brey" or "bho" wooden measures, are of exactly the same size:--

		Srs.	Chtk.	Tola.
1 särdrey	=	0	8	3
1 yooldrey	=	0	10	3
1 Phoksdrey (or lchaksdrey)	=	0	11	4
1 särbo (or särbho)	=	2	11	0
1 yoolbo (or yoolbho)	=	3	2	0
1 phoksbo (or phoksbho)	=	3	11	4
1 särkhal (or 4 särbo)	=	10	8	0
1 yoolkhal (or 4 yoolbo)	=	12	8	0
1 yhokskhal (or 4 phoksbo)	=	14	12	0

I have tried to obtain the weights which would correspond to our Apothecaries' weights, but have failed. The two local medicine men, to whom I applied, said the names existed, but not the actual weights, these latter being used at Lhása, but not in Ladák, where medicine is measured out as amounting to the weight of a rupee, the tenth of a rupee, or as the case may be.

[101] In the Ladák Gazetteer certain measures called "Troy" and "Avoirdupois" are given, but as far as I can make out, in addition to the measures already herein given, there remains only one table of weights, which may be called either "Troy" or "Apothecaries," but not "Avoirdupois," and this, according to Strachey, is as follows:--

1 skarma	=	6 grains.
1 ka	=	15 "
1 sho or sro	=	1 drachm.
1 SHang or srang	=	1 1/4 ounces.

The (Lhása) "Troy weight" as given in the Gazetteer is as follows:--

1 skarma	=	1 grain.
2 1/2 skarma	=	1 kagang.
4 ka	=	1 SHógang.
10 SHo or sro	=	1 SHangang.
50 SHang or srang	=	1 SHilka or dotsat or Chinese silver ingot, weighing 166 2/3 Indian Tolahs.

000 MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 423

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chirmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "tháng," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "tháng" may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángtháng not in Ladak; they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256

316 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák,
466 are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to
645 say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime
631 Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is
647 governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

564 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The pro-
463 fessional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon"
533 castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]
797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry. 797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-tshal" is used. 195 805

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There
533 is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshuh (the lower part of face), khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tasháo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equiva-
781 lent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven." 000

[109]
NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]
NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who 792
having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the 795
sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. 795
No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes [241]
and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under [842]
the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who [184]
wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

792 195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564 681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be, Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

792 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751 PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Triloknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam"; "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhnkskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider
788 that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of
177 India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoo-
753 thung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

[131]
412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [184] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

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[581]

a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 [135]RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an
775 ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue ob-
656 tained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngieymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, 657
but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people 656
object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment
of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and 651
kind levied on land varies very much: thus the monasteries 423
pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay 565
about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay
about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of
land to be 17·6, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials
1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively.

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of 788
a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a
rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead
on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has
told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108
"thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113,
these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks
the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are
for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told."

As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme, hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng- 779
bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following 775
fanciful explanation is given:--

There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khoráoo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

779 so wander about for an indefinite period, and will not be ad-
775 mitted to paradise, merely because it cannot gain admission to any of the spheres for taking re-embodiment. But to return to the "kábum." The pious are informed that, with a pure
788 heart and humble voice, they should repeat the six mystic
779 syllables as often as possible, for that by so doing they close
775 the doors of the six spheres into which it would otherwise be possible for their souls to take re-birth.

Óm--repeated often enough closes the door of "hla-i-hnas" (fairy place).

Ma--repeated often enough closes the door of "hlámáeen-i-hnas" (demi-god place).

Nee--repeated often enough closes the door of "mee-i-hnas" (man place). [139]

Pat--repeated often enough closes the door of "tutro-i-hnas" (beast place).

Mey--repeated often enough closes the door of "eedak-i-hnas" (fore hell).

Hung--repeated often enough closes the door of "ngiálwa-i-hnas" (hell).

And it is added that if they are assiduous enough in this prayer, the result will be that they will escape the curse of re-birth, and will, when next they die, attain nirvána. The Incarnation of the Speetuk monastery gave me a slightly different version. He said, a body cannot be born unless good seed is sown; if a body is not born, a soul cannot be re-embodied. The result of repeating the six mystic syllables is, he said, to cause the "seed" of the gods, demi-gods, men, etc., not to germinate so far as concerns the soul of the person who has been diligent enough in repeating the mystic syllables.

I don't think any one in Ladák knows what the words or syllables really mean; the majority of the people don't even pretend to know.

865 [140]SABBATH--za-ngeema (Sunday). Ladákis do not keep one day
796 in seven as a day of rest and prayer, but the tenth day of every month, which is called tshesschoo (meaning "date ten"), is, or should be, observed as a day of praying and feasting.

788 SACRAMENT--Missionaries use the word "tamja" (meaning a "binding" or "making fast"). Tibetans have nothing quite like the Christian sacrament, but at the time of making a vow, they

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la táng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zár ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Phiemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mäneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹165 to ₹170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them: to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángtháng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 753

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a
352 man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where
439 most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick
439 tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 753

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years" trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

[439]

763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia" or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. Afte pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

57[illegible] VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
601

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 T 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

Tibet AJ1
WT 175 778 648 T 175 778 648

It was agreed as follows:--

(1) The boundaries fixed, in the beginning, when king Skyid-ldá ngeema-gon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained.

(2) Only Ladákis shall be permitted to enter into the Ngárees-khor-sum wool trade (i.e., to cross the Eastern frontier of Ladák, for the purpose of purchasing wool in the Gárdok, Poorang, and Googey Districts).

(3) No person from Ladák, except the royal trader of the Ladák Court, shall be permitted to enter Rudok.

(4) A royal trader shall be sent by the Deywa Zhung (i.e., the Grand Láma of Lhása), from Lhása to Ladák, once a year, with 200 horse-loads of tea-- (this is the "Chhaba," vide page 20).

(5) A "Lo-chhak" (vide page 85) shall be sent every third year from Leh to Lhá[illegible] with presents. As regards the quality and value of pres[illegible]s brought for all ordinary Lámás, the matter is of no consequence, but to the Lábrang Chhakdzot (i.e., the Treasurer of the Grand Láma of of Lhása) shall be given the following articles, viz.

(a) Gold dust--the weight of 1 zho 10 times i.e. about Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 worth.

(b) Saffron--the weight of 1 srang (or thoorsrang) 10 times, i.e., about Rs. 60 worth.

(c) Yarkhand cotton cloths--6 pieces.

(d) Thin cotton cloth--1 piece.

The members of the Lapchak Mission shall be provided with provisions, free of cost, during their stay at Lhása, and for the journey they shall be similarly provided with 200 baggage animals, 25 riding ponies, and 10 servants. For the uninhabited portion of the journey, tents will be supplied for the use of the Mission.

(6) The country of Ngárees-khor-sum (viz., Gárdok, Poorang and Googey) shall be given to the Omniscient Drukpa Láma, Mee-pham-wáng-po, and in lieu thereof the Deywa Zhung will give to the Ladák king three other districts (I don't understood [sic] this, perhaps this part of the treaty is genuine, but has never been given effect to) in Great Tibet.

[175](7) The revenue of the Ngárees-khor-sum shall be set aside for the purpose of defraying the cost of sacrificial lamps, and of religious ceremonies to be performed at Lhasa.

WT 175 728 648

(8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásarwar and Rakas Tál.

T 175 728 648

WT 631 478

With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

2: Ramsay
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[For information on artificial creation of "phas-spun" ties see category 116, p. 27]

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000 DROGPA NAMGYAL: THE LIFE OF A TIBETAN
(Drogpa Namgyal: Ein Tibeterleben)

By S. H. Ribbach

1940

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DROGPA NAMGYAL: THE LIFE OF A TIBETAN

by

S. H. Ribbach

(Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlag GMBH, München-Planegg, 1940) 000

/The first two (unnumbered) pages are covered with illustrations, the first of these with the subtitle: "Pyag-rdor (Chag dor), Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt) with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of the faith, also a rain god"; the second illustration is of a house with a group of masked figures standing underneath and the inscription RIBBACH DROGPA NAMGYAL. /

/9/

FOREWORD

The present description of the life of a Tibetan is based in its first part, up to marriage, upon the detailed accounts that the Tibetan teacher Gau Puntsong, a Buddhist, communicated to me at the time in Leh (in Ladakh). This man was considered one of the best-educated and one of the most intelligent among his countrymen, and he possessed such a thorough knowledge of the customs and practices, the religion and the folklore of his people as could scarcely be found in any other person. The "history" of the Tibetan Drogpa Namgyal (aBrogpa rNamrgyal) which is here told does not lay any claim to being narrative in the sense of a continuous, uninterrupted presentation of the career of one human being. In calling it "a Tibetan life" in the subtitle I wanted to indicate that an attempt has here been made to depict the life of a West Tibetan as it is conducted in a typical day-to-day manner. In so doing I wanted to weave into the narrative as much as was possible an account of the customs and practices, of the religious thought, and of the views and rites as they play their part in daily life, in order to give a picture of the thinking, feeling and actions of the people. 124 121

This history was originally intended for publication in the illustrated periodical of the Moravians, Kampf und Sieg /"Battle and

/Original page unnumbered/

776

'Pyag-rdor (Chag dor),
Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt)
with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of
faith, also a rain god

5: Ribbach--1 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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121 Victory"/ which, like so many others, has unfortunately fallen a victim to the inflation. The first part, dealing with the youth, was actually printed there in ten installments. Out of regard for a larger circle of readers, I have deemed it advisable to maintain the (purely fictitious) form of narrative. In this I was encouraged by the agreement of many an expert who advised me to stick to this mode of narrative. The lively, often dramatic accounts of Gau Puntsog were an incentive in themselves for choosing the fictional form, although he was actually not telling a story, but was often describing events that really took place. I consider this work of mine as an attempt to bring the curious people, the Tibetans, with their culture and their mixed religion, Lamaism, which are so difficult for us Westerners to understand, somewhat closer to the comprehension /10/ of those interested than most travel accounts are as a rule capable of doing. Towards this end the narrative form will probably supply the writer with a more effective means for acquainting the reader with the thoughts and sensations, and with the innermost motives for the actions of a people, than the purely systematic enumeration and description of customs and practices could do.

The narrative ends with the early death of the main character, Drogpa Namgyal. Then there follows, in the manner of a supplement, a description of the funerary customs from the pen of the Tibetan Joseph Gergan in Leh, which I have translated and supplied with annotations.

[114] With the hearty consent of my beloved former colleague, Professor Dr. A. H. Francke, I included in the narrative, during his lifetime, a part of the Tibetan wedding songs collected by him, partly in his, and partly in my own translation. Perhaps this will also serve the purpose of possibly finding a larger circle of readers for this valuable collection by Francke, which hitherto has only been known to a small group of experts in the field. By giving a literal rendering of a number of the song texts, proverbs, book titles and the like in Tibetan I aimed to be useful to those who have a knowledge of Tibetan or who are occupied with the study of the language. Tibetan has its own script, formed after the Indian Gupta script; it has 30 letters. Wherever it seemed advisable, I have added the names and literal citations in transcription (in Latin script, following Lepsius' system). This system supplies a number of signs for sounds lacking in German which have also been used so far as was possible.

The Author.

/11/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Ka1 itse lies yonder in the Ladakh high- 361
and, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the
Western Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading
mountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village
forms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming
apricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate,
projecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly
the fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike
our ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and
the call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the
Indus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded
beasts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main
town of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the
women who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise
everything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the
white-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue,
cloudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock 512
in the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to
his house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and every-
body takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal, 789

1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same 552
time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house- 551
owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has
its own name by which the present owner can likewise be
called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name
of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently
recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering,"
"Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other.
In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which
usually have a religious significance, the house names display
a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa),
Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

552 551 Ambassador (P'o-nya), and Castlecaptain (K'ar-dpon), the four latter all being titles from the time of the kingdom; furthermore there are animal names like Fox (Wa-tse-pa), Wolf (Sah-ku-pa); finally there are nicknames such as the Chewing-one (K'a-ldags-pa), Break-leg (rKah-cags-pa), Break-skull (mGo-cags-pa), the Thrown-out-one (P'ar-la-p'an), Thief's-son (sKu-p'rug), Cat's-mouth (Bi-la-k'a), Liar (Dzun-can), and other in part insulting names

789 which stands there at the foot of the steep cliff below the old castle ruin on the rocky floor of the valley closely nestled in a group of houses, there is lively activity even now during the hot, muggy afternoon. There is the hollow murmur from the rough throats of men, which occasionally /12/ swells to great strength; in between there can be heard dissonant and deep blasts of trumpets and the beating of drums. Five lamas (Buddhist monks) in red cowls from the nearby monastery Lamayuru are crouched there in the large living room-kitchen of the house with their legs folded under them on rough carpets made of goats' hair. In front of each one of them, on small tables no higher than a footstool and carved with beautiful designs, there are two piles of loose leaves which belong to a book. They are all reading at one and the same time in a loud, grating voice, each one from the leaf which happens to be lying in front of him. When a leaf is finished, it is placed on the pile of leaves that have been read. The leaves made of Tibetan paper were once grey. Now the paper is covered with a blackish layer gleaming with fat, especially in those places where they have come into contact with the lamas' fingers.

With the wild confusion of everybody reading at the same time it is impossible for us to make rhyme or reason of what is being read. Only here and there does our ear catch a few words: "Jis don bum (Tibetan: byis gdon abum)," "The 100,000 child demons!" Then we can make out here and there a few mysterious Sanskrit formulas and syllables, "Om! Hum! Shri!" Magical formulas, powerful exorcising words, partly in Tibetan, and partly in the old sacred Sanskrit language.

It is out of the question that the inhabitants of the house might be listening attentively. How would they ever be able to understand this babel of voices, after all? The evil spirits for whom these phrases of exorcism are designed will undoubtedly make some sense of them and feel their effect, so they think. They themselves go quietly about

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the 789
house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily
occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve
the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring
butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking
bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas
are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves [262]
with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with
the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the
flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful
meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer [273]
(chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite
of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt [783]
which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of
killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer
after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their
people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated
from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that
they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add an-
other request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in
heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of
monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow
on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have
not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility
for killing lies with others.

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire
day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival
of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly [787]
be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring
Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of
this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from
the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it
that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance
into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay [776]
on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied
kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in
this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous
intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for
from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

789 dangers which must be averted. This exorcism is accomplished by the lamas through the reading of that book with its powerful exorcising formulas, through magical gestures, through the swinging of the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and of the magical bell, as well as through the blasts of trumpets and the beats of the drum. This display of power is too much even for the hundred thousand, so that the latter have to yield the field.

By the time the day draws to a close and the sun has gone down in the west /14/ over there behind the jagged cliffs, everyone of the lamas has read through his pile of leaves; at the end there is still a lone straggler who reads by himself, an unpractised novice who still lacks the necessary experience in reading fast. A few more powerful "Om, hum, shri!"--boom, boom, boom! the great drum joins in resoundingly once more. Then everything becomes still. The "battle" has been won. The 100,000 child demons have been beaten and have, as the oldest lama confidently assures Lobsang Wanggyal, fled far away. The expected son and heir may now make his entrance into this evil world with good cheer. He has nothing more to fear from those hundred thousand.

The novice arranges the leaves of the pad according to the numbers printed on them, lays them with loving care between the two wooden covers and ties the book together with leather belts. The red-cowled men pour down a few more bowls of beer, then the lord of the house places a piece of money in the hand of each of them, and then the "victors" march off with a satisfied air. It was a successful day: it brought them "victory" and plenty to eat.

Lobsang Wanggyal calculates the expenses. They were considerable: the holy brothers consumed almost half a sheep, and in addition several pounds of rice, a lot of vegetables, apricots, flour, butter, and tea; and on top of that the money! Well, Lobsang Wanggyal can afford it; he is, even if not rich, at least the best-to-do farmer in the village. He has three horses and several yaks, a considerable number of cows, sheep, goats and donkeys, and the trade by exchange which takes him in the summer of every year to the distant highland steppes, to the nomads of Jangtang, also brings in a fair profit, and this past year it was particularly profitable. Thus he does not rue the expenses so long as the expected heir of the house remains protected from evil spirits and brings good fortune to the dwelling.

/15/ The Birth

He has arrived! The heir! It is really a boy! How clever the astrologist is after all! True, with Tsewang Paljor in the neighboring village his prediction did not prove correct last year. The onpo had calculated a boy, and a girl was born. Just a girl! The enraged father went to the onpo and demanded to have his fee for the false horoscope returned. The onpo laughed at the angry father and said boldly to his face: "Bon-bu-t'sogs (you ass)! Did you not tell me Capricorn, when I asked you the constellation under which your wife was born? And now it turns out to be Cancer," of whose existence the disappointed father did not have the faintest notion. The onpo swore by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood) that it was so; and this, of course, had thrown the entire calculation off its track. Thereupon Tsewang Paljor had to march off with a long face, one experience richer, and poorer by ten jau (equals two rupees which equals two Reichsmark), and he had to content himself with the thought that for the time being he would only be able to call a girl his own. But it was after all too stupid of Tsewang Paljor not to know the constellation of his wife's birth! Such a thing simply could not happen to Lobsang Wanggyal, so the latter thought to himself, and rejoiced over his bu-t'sa (boy). 787

Old Tsering Putrid, the mother of Lobsang Wanggyal, is an orderly, prudent and cleanly housewife. At the proper time she provides a warm "nest" for the expected grandson. She goes into the pantry and picks out from the old flour sacks made of goatskin one in which the mice have eaten a hole. That does no harm; she sews up the hole. After the little man has now made his entrance into the world with loud crying, he is first wrapped into a rough woollen coat of his father's by his aunt who has taken him in her arms. Grandmother Tsering Putrid meanwhile quickly runs into the goats' /16/ hut; there, in a corner, lies a small heap of old, dried-up goats' dung which she has previously rubbed into fine particles on a stone. Of this she puts six to eight handfuls into the sack. With this she mixes some of the dung of ibexes and wild sheep, which, at her command, her youngest boy has brought with him from the mountains where he has been guarding the goats. The dung from these nimble animals will make the new-born son quick of foot. This secret was once betrayed to her by an old aunt. The latter's son to whom she had applied this expedient, had become messenger for the galon (nobleman and district official). And 844

844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
894 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

Ro-nag-pa is a person who has become impure through the touching of a corpse. 783 844

will get the Lha (gods) and the Lu (water gods, snake gods) angry at us, and then they will cause our water to fail and the seed on the field to dry up!" Soon there are three, four, and more neighbors on the spot and they all talk excitedly to Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter insists on his good right. Today, he says, after eight days of drought, it is his turn for watering his ground. His brother, he goes on, who does not live in his house, has watered the fields down in the valley; he just wanted to water the clover field and the garden up here still; he had also been very careful not to jump over the ditch, which especially enrages the water nymphs. His drinking water, he says, his niece gets for him at the well. She lived, after all, in the neighboring house and had therefore not become impure, like he, by the birth in his house. His mother placed two earthen jars before the door every morning, which the niece would put back in the same place filled, so that she never had to set foot inside the house. Soon he would also throw a lu-stor, an offering of pills made of bread dough, in the lake and in the well for the water nymphs, in order to appease the Lu and to become absolved. He knew, too, what was fitting and proper for a pious Buddhist. Nobody could accuse him of not honoring and fearing the old gods of the land. But all his talking is of no avail. The old trouble-maker Yontan from the Break-all house will not let him go; he points to the ditch and says that one could see quite clearly that the ditch was already conducting much less water than it usually did in the late evening after a warm day and a great deal of melting of the snow in the mountains. That was, of course, Lobsang Wanggyal's 692 fault; he was going to bring action against him with the district's official. The p'a-spun (3) have to intervene because the men look

3. By p'a-spun, literally translated as "father-brothers," 608 that is to say, brothers who have a common father, the Tibetan means a closed fraternity within the village community, which is not necessarily constituted of blood relatives, but who all worship a common god (Tibetan: p'a-lha, that is, Father-God). At all important events within the family and tribe, such as birth, marriage, and death, the p'a-spun gather for joint action and mutual assistance; they are obligated to help each other in every way possible. Their relations and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

000 and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [785] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

part of whole, and in part of divided lines lying in threes over each other./19/. Further, there are the nine Mewa signs, quadrangles with numbers and in each one the name of one of the five "elements" (fire, water, earth, wood, and iron), in the corresponding five colors: red, blue, yellow, green, and white.

Next to the calendar there lies a large astrological table drawn on canvas, on which, like a chess board, a great number of squares in various colors are drawn up. Each of the colors designates one of the five "elements." Quite a few secret signs can also be seen on the table. We enter the room softly, look over the onpo's shoulder, and observe him and his strange doings. The eyes in the soothsayer's cunning face are rigidly turned upon his tables. His dirty fingers grasp for a pile of little disks (similar to the pieces used on a Checker board) which he arranges on the squares of his magical table. Then he moves these around, to and fro, up and down, according to certain rules, until he has finally filled a number of squares with the disks. Now he turns his gaze to the calendar with the animal and other signs. The onpo is continually mumbling to himself while his eyes and his fingers glide over the magical signs and ciphers. Mostly the sense of the words is obscure to us, but we do catch some sentences and words which give us an inkling as to what his art of soothsaying is aiming: "Fire is the child of wood which gives it food; the connection is harmless. But here! What is this? Ape and Tiger (in the zodiacal circle of the year). These are bitter enemies. That is bad. The years of birth of mother and child agree very badly with their zodiacal signs. This indicates that there will be struggle and misfortune through evil spirits." /Closing quotation mark left out in the text.--translator./ The onpo mumbles again and goes on moving his little disks back and forth on the colored squares. Now he takes out of an old, dirty little leather sack a handful of white and black round counters made of horn (similar to the round play counters of children), then he takes white and black counters one after another and lays them together in separate little piles. Again the lips mumble, the eyes stare intently at the signs, ciphers, and the counters. Then suddenly his eyes light up, and the words come loudly from the mouth of the devil-tamer: "The spirit-exorcising earth dagger has been pulled out of the earth! Woe to you, son of Lobsang Wanggyal! The earth and /20/ water spirits have been released and will cause you harm! And here the Mewa signs are bad. The elements are in conflict with each other. The

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons

[789] send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal, had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

for instance, in Tibet and China had two "eleventh" months. 805 In case the insertion of a whole month is too much, several 177 days can be omitted. Of course, the calendar-maker and the astrologist leaves out those days which he has calculated as unlucky days.

The Tibetan calendar reckons with year cycles of twelve years each which, in calculating the time, are added together and counted. The individual years within the cycle of twelve are not designated by numbers but by the names of one of the following twelve animals: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, ape, bird, dog, and pig. To calculate longer periods of time five cycles of twelve years are added together to constitute a larger cycle of sixty years in such a manner that every year within the cycle of twelve is connected with one of the five "elements" (wood, fire, earth, iron, water). (Compare Ramon, Hindu-Astrologie, same publisher.) If one asks a Tibetan for his age he will usually be able to give the animal designation of his year of birth, as, for instance: I am a snake-year person or a pig-year person (in the latter case, a lucky person). Now the snake-year, for instance, may be the year 1929, 1917, 1905, 1893, and so forth. If the person concerned also can tell how many year cycles his age comprises in this year (1936), then his age and his year of birth can easily be calculated. If, for instance, he says: Three (twelve) year cycles plus four years, that makes 40 years. In other words, he was born in 1896. Educated people can indicate the precise calendar designation of their year of birth. For instance: I am an iron-horse person (that is to say, born in 1870), an earth-pig person (therefore born in 1899), a wood-tiger person (thus born in 1914). When 805 he sets up the horoscope, it is very important for the soothsayer 787 to establish whether the animals and the elements in the year 177 cycles of the persons concerned are in a friendly, in a hostile, or in a neutral relation to each other. If, for instance, in the horoscopes of man and wife, mother and child, mutually hostile animal signs or elements appear over against each other, this indicates that there will be conflict, misfortune, and anger of the gods. Among the animals, for instance, horse and mouse, ox and sheep, tiger and ape are bitter enemies; among the elements water is the "mother" of wood because no tree grows

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without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other; iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

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The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa) each of which correspond to two of our hours.

1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

1 cu-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, 805
that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration. 177
1 dbugs has 60 ča-šags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cigand se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-šar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas byà = sundown--bird,
20 --22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are 787
neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn

7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the 775
good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

Tsan spirits and also the witches have become angered. Against this 787
you should make a cross of strings which closes the portal of earth 789
and the portal of heaven, and you should have the book of the "Golden Light of Help against the Demons" (9) read.

9. The Tibetan title of the book is: gser 'od gnyan skyabs.

Finally everything is written down. The onpo hastily scans 787
his work once more with an examining eye. In particular the devil-tamer's gaze lingers with satisfaction upon the numerous crosses which are portents of misfortune. This will mean good business; and after all the Dragschos can pay for it. Now the soothsayer smears some ink from his copper inkwell on the ball of his thumb with his reed pen, and on this "stamping pad" he presses his iron seal. Then he stamps his seal at the bottom of the document and mounts it on a silk cloth. Now everything is ready. With a satisfied air the devil-tamer rolls the document up and puts aside the roll, which contains good fortune and bad fortune for an unsuspecting child, ready for its anxious father.

The next morning Lobsang Wanggyal comes to get the horoscope of his little son and begins to study its dark contents, with which the onpo eagerly assists him. The young father assumes a worried expression at the thought of all the books that are to be read and of the expensive offerings and cermonies which are connected with it. Such reading requires a number of /22/ days during which he will have to provide the lamas with food and to pay them. He politely reminds the soothsayer of his promise and of the rupees paid to him in advance and mumbles something to himself: This is not the way he had imagined things to turn out. "Oh, just be glad, honored sir, that I have warned you in time with my horoscope of the threatening dangers that you know exactly how you can ward them off. Otherwise all these dangers would have broken in upon the child like wolves upon an unsuspecting sheep; in that case there would have been nothing to rescue it any more." Lobsang Wanggyal is silent; he rolls up the expensive document and pays the devil-tamer five rupees which the 436
latter examines carefully one by one and which he then throws up with practised fingers over a block of stone, letting them fall so that they strike it, in order to test their genuineness by the sound they make (10).

10. In India there exists a widespread practice of forging

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the réincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

near Leh, and he exercised a very powerful influence in his day. 792

So much depends upon the proper name. His poor neighbor, to save 553
expense, had chosen the names for his recently born son himself with the aid of the wise women of his tribe and of a lama who was related to him. "Sodnam Drandul" he had named his offspring. The first name (Sodnam, which is "merit") designates its bearer as a pious Buddhist who places value upon the gaining of virtuous merits; the second name (Drandul, which is "tamer of enemies") was to overcome by its magical power all enemies which might oppose themselves to its bearer, especially the innumerable evil spirits in the air, on earth, and under the earth. A powerful name works wonders as a protective means. But Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty. Such a holy, wise, and powerful skushog as Bakula could, after all, read quite differently in the pages of the dark future and would be able to avert threatening misfortune by a suitable name and by other means. After three days of traveling the Dragshos arrived at the monastery Spitug 553
/sic./. He was lucky; he was soon admitted into the presence of the 792
mighty one, a man in his middle years, corpulent, with a closely shaved head and an intelligent facial expression. With legs crossed under him he was sitting in his abbot's cell on a raised, flat seat covered with carpets. He was clothed with garments of heavy, yellow Chinese silk. In the presence of several serving lamas in the red dress of their order Bakula received the Dragshos. Lobsang Wanggyal handed one of the lamas a ka-btags (greeting band), a copper plate with dried apricots, almonds and sugar on it, as well as a rupee in silver, which the lama placed in front of the skushog. Now Lobsang Wanggyal bowed deeply three times before the holy man and with both hands embraced the latter's legs. The holy man thereupon accorded his blessing to the /24/ suppliant with a negligent movement of the hand. Then he presented him with a narrow, yellow strip of silk with a knot [789]
in it, a "magical knot" (gzuns-mdud), over which he had first repeated a powerful formula (gzuns) while breathing upon it. The recipient of this knot immediately fastened it as a protecting amulet to his cap.

But the Dragshos was not yet satisfied with this. Only now did he come forth with his real request and he added to it, that his little son already had fallen sick once of a bad intestinal disease, something which the angered water gods had probably afflicted him with. He was thinking in this case of his experience while watering his garden

553 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed
772 a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated
177 into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
551 these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 000
ff.)

Lobsang Wanggyal, as the pious Buddhist he is, first performs 788
another prayer before the image of Gautama Buddha and of the "Great Merciful One," Chanrezig, and donates five sacrificial lamps with the necessary butter (instead of oil). Then he set out on his way to 000
Leh which he reached after an hour on horseback. There he sold his apricots in the bazaar (market) and exchanged barley for them; aside from various necessary things he also bought for himself a shining green cap and a colored sash; for his wife he bought a pair of large turquoises, and for the cap of his little son a small silver amulet. After three days he rode homeward again from the barren, rough highlands to the milder, more fertile lower Ladakh and, upon his arrival 551
in Kalatse, he announced to wife and mother that his son was to be called Drogpa Namgyal. His mother, old Tsering Putrid, drew up her nose a little bit at the "Drogpa," but against the word of the great skushog there was no contradiction possible, and besides, one could never know what the evil Tsan and Lu demons still had in store for them. Her "deceased" (13) (gśin-po) had also had a protective name.

13. The relatives of a recently deceased person anxiously shy away from naming the latter by his name in the superstitious fear the dead person might be disturbed and would frighten the survivors.

He had been called Garra /25/ Lobsang (smith, equivalent to "good sense"), and he had been such a pious Buddhist; all the pilgrimages he had made, the holy places he had circled around, and how he had turned the prayer wheel! And yet he had been abruptly taken away by 761
the emissary of death (t'se-len); an avalanche of rocks had dragged him along as he was climbing a wall of boulders in order to rescue a goat which had gone astray. He had been found down below with his limbs shattered. True, the lamas had said that he had only himself to blame. After all, they had warned him to let the goat go, for just above that particular slope the Tsan-demons had settled in the rocks at that time. They, the lamas, knew this from unmistakable signs. Why did the man have to climb up just there and provoke the Tsan by his appearance!

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close 776] to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While 789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "Že-pa, Že-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

latter, amid continual murmuring of magical and exorcizing formulas, 752
cut off a lock of the child's hair and threw it away as an offering, in order to make the gods favorably disposed towards the child. For this the lama received a few silver coins.

Little Drogpa Namgyal thrived visibly; his cheeks and his limbs 754
became rounded and the women of the house were agreed with aunts, cousins and women of the paspun-ship (Sib) on this point: In the whole of Kalatse and surroundings, yes, in entire Lower Ladakh (so said he very wise) there was not another child so pretty as the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal. Over this there was joy and pride in the circle of relatives. But beauty is a dangerous privilege: A pretty face draws glances upon itself, and these glances are not always friendly. Grandmother Tsering Putrid had seen quite clearly the other day how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had given the child a completely evil look of jealousy. She also knew precisely why she had done so. The woman had a child who was as ugly as a little owl. /27/ The following night little Drogpa Namgyal had screamed continually. That woman had, of course, wished something evil upon the little one and this was now making itself felt. The grandmother had immediately taken her daughter-in-law to task and had blamed her for her carelessness. Such pretty children should not be exposed without protection to the glances of one's neighbors. Aside from the customary amulets on the coat and on the cap, a black soot stain on 751
the forehead wards off the Evil Eye. Thus, for the first three to four years of his life, the little boy always had his face made unsightly by an ugly soot spot. Immediately after his first sickness his mother affixed a new amulet to the boy's cap. This amulet consisted of a small slip of paper folded together, on which the lama had written a number of magical and exorcizing formulas, in part in Tibetan, in part in Sanskrit, and in part just a meaningless series of mystical Sanskrit words, as defense against the wily demons and against the Evil Eye. This slip of paper was sewn into a little bag of red wool and was hung to the cap by a string. Year after year, as the perils to young life increased, new amulets were added: now a red one, now a yellow one, a blue one, then also a silver one, until more than a dozen of such little bags and capsules swung from the coat and the cap of the ten-year old boy. The matter in the end did not turn out to be so expensive after all: for each of the amulets the father had had to pay the lama four to six annas (35 - 50 Pfennig), depending on the size of the misfortune that was presumably threatening The

751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

powerful formula of exorcism against the angered household deity. 755
Now he held the mirror in such a way towards the magical writing on 783
the piece of paper that its mirrored image became visible, and then he again poured hallowed water over the mirror so that the power of the formula might be transferred to the water. The mother had to catch the water that flowed down in a bowl. Of this water saturated with magical powers, a few spoonfuls were forced into the violently resisting child who spat them out again with all signs of disgust. /29/ The mother looked anxiously at the lama. Could the magic, then, work in this way? But the lama consoled her and said: "The power of this magical water is so great that the few drops which the child has swallowed will still have their effect " Furthermore the mother now had to finish the rest of the "wonder drink"; since she was the one who nursed the child, it would in this way benefit from the full power of the drink. So said the lama and assured her that by this double "baptism" (Tibetan: ak'rus, pronounced trus) the child was purified and the P'alha exorcized. He would not bother the child any more for the time being. True, it was a full fourteen days before the child gradually started recovering. But to most in the house it was certain that the recovery had been the effect of the "baptism" of the lama.

Little Drogpa Namgyal grew up to be a robust boy and soon 000
there was, in the circle of his playmates, no stronger, more skillful or livelier boy than he. As a son of the respected Dragshos and because of his superiority in all their boys' games he was well liked and respected by his companions They even endured his occasionally domineering behavior, mostly without contradiction, because on the other hand he showed himself as a good friend who was always ready to help.

/30/ EDUCATION FOR A HIGHLAND FARMER AND HERDER

Drogpa Namgyal Becomes Acquainted with All Kinds of Animals and with Sinister Powers.

When he was only three to four years of age Drogpa Namgyal 868
already accompanied his father and his mother to the fields and there began, without his being conscious of it, the school in which the person takes in a mass of observations, discoveries, impressions and opinions even without the compulsory attendance or discipline of a formal school, and without a book or writing implement. These

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dso (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest
[412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have
[177] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated.

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

the next day three small farmers who all had to finish with the watering 241
of their fields in one day. 312

The farmer in the mountainous wastes of Ladakh and Tibet where there is little rainfall ~~et~~ is totally dependent upon artificial methods of irrigation, for in the summer it often does not rain for weeks, yes, even for months. For this reason water is a very valuable commodity to the mountain inhabitant, the just distribution of which he jealously watches over; also, since time immemorial strict laws regulate the construction, maintenance, and use of the communal village pipeline. Every owner of a field, depending on the size of his property, must supply one or more persons for the communal work on this pipeline, [476] just as the length of time that he can use it is made to correspond to the size of the surface to be watered. Most water channels require considerable mending work year after year, since snow and mud avalanches often... large parts /there appears to be at least one line missing here in the original text, the preceding sentence being unfinished and the paragraph ending with the final part of another sentence:--translator./... all had to be ready with the watering in one day. /The latter is simply a repetition of the last line of the previous paragraph. --translator./

When the grain is about a span high the fields are weeded 241
with the care with which a gardener clears his cabbage patch of weeds. When the wheat is ripened it is not mowed with the blunt /32/ sickle [412] but is plucked out roots and all. The left hand grasps a bundle of stalks and the sickle in the right hand, which really acts more like a hook than like a cutting implement, plucks out the stalks. On the average the field holdings are very small and the harvest yield is scant in the high mountain areas, so that every inch of stalk is valuable as straw, as feed--not as litter--for the cattle. As a result the Tibetan farmer cannot afford to leave the stubbles standing. After the grain has been bound together in small sheaves and has been laid in rows on the field, in order to ripen fully after it has been gathered, it must be guarded against thieves; one of the men must "watch" among the sheaves at night; that is to say, he must sleep there, on the assumption that he will wake up at the slightest sound.

Among all peoples of the East threshing is done by cattle. Six to nine animals, oxen, cows, horses, and donkeys, often in variegated order, are tied together to a rope at short distances from each other. One end of the rope is fastened by a sling to a post which is planted in the middle of the circular threshing-floor. The threshing-floor is

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least they called it a wood, although it was often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

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/Following page 32/

Tibetan children

5: Ribbach--28 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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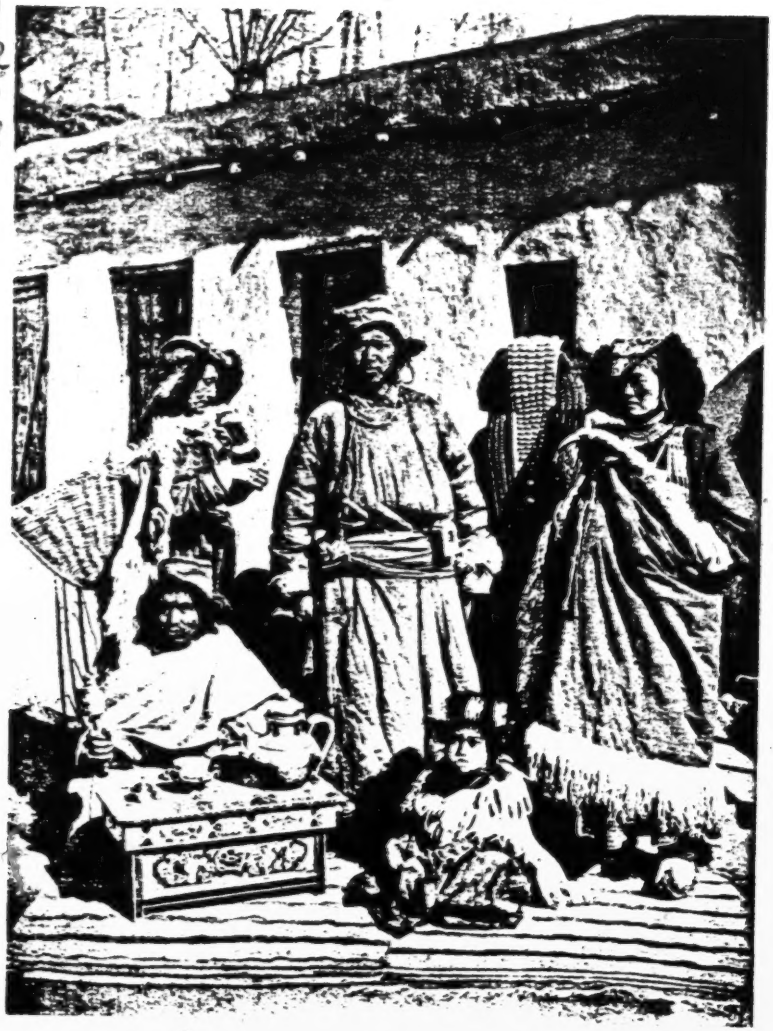

Inhabitants of Ladakh.

It was extremely seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in 137
rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [753]
branches from the trees and had taken them home /34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-śiṅ, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 372
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

372 415 because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering

551 14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain 231 476 and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an older companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley, 231 slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

This wool is spun from the delicate woolly down which the goat has under its coarse outside bristle hair. The Tibetan goats' home is Tibet and neighboring highlands. In Kashmir there is a large, hornless goat which does not possess the fine wool. The Tibetan goat has horns. 231

herd, and if it does not obey the warning shouts or whistles, then a well-aimed stone from the boy's slingshot whizzes with a loud buzz over it and strikes the boulders close to the goat so that the latter, warned in this way, quickly returns to the herd in a fright. True, it often happens that an animal is hit by the stone and many a limping animal shows the consequences of such unskillful use of the slingshot.

In this manner they slowly climb up to the slope, to the "meadow." Meadow? But where is there a meadow here? Here there is nothing to be seen that remotely resembles the juicy, green pastures and lush mountain meadows of Kashmir or of Lahul, of the highlands situated to the west and to the south. Steep, rocky slopes, marked by jagged boulders and sown with stone blocks, here and there a little tuft or a pad of hard, grey-green desert grass, between the rocks some desert plants and shrubs smelling of strong herbs, that is the "meadow" as this mountain wilderness offers it. But sheep and goat in these regions have practically no demands. With sureness they find out the often quite wooden plants which nevertheless supply them with sufficient nourishment, so that they prosper and remain robust. Climbing, jumping, they look for their food even on the highest rocky peaks and ledges and on the narrowest strip of a cliff. Not infrequently an animal climbs and wanders so far astray that it can move neither forwards nor backwards /36/, and in this way it becomes a helpless victim of the eagle; unless it is discovered by people who, in order not to lose its meat, try to throw large rocks from a nearby rock that can be scaled, so that the animal falls down.

Many dangers threaten man and animals in these high regions. And when Namgyal drove the herd into the mountains for the first time with a few companions of his own age instead of with an adult, the ordinarily plucky boy was a little frightened after all, for he had heard much about the animals of prey of the mountains and about how they are a terror to the herds and to the herders.

The Tibetans have in their Tibetan mastiff a magnificent type of dog which barely stands behind the Saint Bernard in size and strength and which is easily trained to be a shepherd dog. But the Tibetan is

231 not satisfied with that, even though these enormous dogs are able to do battle with any wolf. Thus the care for the protection of the herd rests solely upon the herder, whose only weapons are stick and slingshot. It was not to be a long time before Namgyal was to get an [136] impression of the activity of the wolves. One day, when he had lain down for a little while around noon time with his companion, just below an overhanging rock which supplied a protection against the scorching rays of the sun--most of the small animals of the herd had done the same and were resting here and there in the shadow of boulders, chewing the cud--suddenly just as if lightning had struck the herd, two wolves had, without being noticed, crept up between the mass of boulders, had seized a sheep and a goat and with their prey in their mouths they were making off. The two youthful herders jumped up, stoutly remained on their post, shouted after the robbers and threw large stones after them which, however, did not prevent the latter in the least from securing their prey.

[136] Another time an imperial eagle struck a small kid scarcely twenty paces away from Namgyal and carried it through the air away to its nest which was located high up in the ravine, out in the open, on a narrow projection of a perpendicular slate wall. From an adjoining rock the boys had been able to see into the nest in which a single young eagle was lying.

/37/ When in the evening Namgyal with a wildly beating heart told his father about the wolf's raid of the herd, the father did not say much and only admonished him to keep a good lookout; he knew only too well how rarely even a courageous herder succeeds in keeping the wolf away from the herd or in chasing it so that it must let go of the prey it once seized. He remembered that during such an attempt a wolf had once attacked him and had bitten his elbow, which he had held out against it, so viciously that even now he still felt frequent pains in his joint. On this occasion Lobsang Wanggyal [136] told his son how once yonder in Tagmachig during the winter a snow leopard (irbis or ounce, felis uncia) broke into a sheep stall and in one night strangled 26 sheep and goats. The robber hardly ate anything of the flesh of the animals; in the morning the startled farmer found the snow leopard still in the stall. It had been unable to get out because it could not open the door which had slammed shut from the inside. The animal was so drunk from the drinking of such quantities of blood that the farmer, together with two neighbors whom he had called in for help, was able to beat it to death with clubs and axes.

Whenever a snow leopard committed its outrages in a region, 136
as often happened in winter, it became advisable to avoid this region altogether for a while and rather to look for a new pasturing area. Bears and leopards, which did not inhabit his homeland, Namgyal did not become acquainted with until later during his travels to Kashmir and Lahul, where he had ample experience with them. He had a sharp eye for the doings of all animals and he observed them closely. More than once wild sheep had approached his goats and sheep while pasturing at the mountain without particularly taking notice of him. These wild sheep were fine animals almost the size of stags, of the brown color of deer, the old rams had horns which in their winding measured about 70 centimeters. Ibexes also approached sometimes with greater caution. Numerous flocks of rock-partridges enlivened the otherwise so barren mountain slopes, especially in the vicinity of the cultivated village oases; and from the cliffs up there near the snow field there frequently resounded the long drawn-out whistle of the snow pheasant (slope hen /rock-partridge?/). Great swarms of blue mountain doves nested in the precipitous walls, with their many caves, over there beyond the Indus, and in the /38/ air the mighty imperial eagles and the lammergeiers circled around. There was a colorful variety of small feathered inhabitants of these heights, from the wall-creeper, which climbs along rock faces like a woodpecker on a tree, and the wheat ear, which hops along between the boulders of the slope amid continual bobbing and gay twittering, to the many-colored, white-capped redstarts in the bottom of the valley and the sand martin in its simple blackish dress which dives after larvae down at the roaring brook. All these animals, and many more which inhabit the waste 775
heights and highland plateaus attracted Namgyal's attention with their activities, aroused his thirst for knowledge, and stimulated his imagination; all the more so since a lama had recently taught him that all forms of life, even the lowest, are beings that are in the cycle of the transmigration of souls and are striving for their final release but must always be embodied again in many different forms as a punishment for their sins. Since then Namgyal observed attentively the herd animals of the village and frequently asked himself which of the animals might lodge the souls of his grandfather and of his deceased aunt; but he did not dare ask anyone about it. The lama had made indications to that effect.

Did Namgyal also have an eye for the wonderful sublimity of 000
the mountain scenery of his homeland? A Tibetan hardly ever expresses

himself on this point. And what a picture there lay before his view spread out on these heights, a picture of tremendous, wild beauty! Over valleys, gorges and crevices, wildly jagged mountain chains and ridges, the vista sweeps along to the distant mountain faces yonder in the west, which shine in all colors from bright red to violet in the clear, glaring sunshine of these heights with their thin, dry air. Over there to the right there is a very extensive snow field whose melting water the brook carries down into the valley. To the left there are two mountain peaks crowned with glaciers. Over it all there is the arch of the deep blue, cloudless sky. A wonderful silence prevails in this wild mountain world into which Namgyal drove his herd, a silence which is only now and then interrupted by the bleating of a goat, the scream of the chough among the cliffs, the howling of a wolf yonder by the slope of the mountain.

/39/ No person can escape the stupendous impression of the majesty of this world of mountains; here live and rule supernatural powers; here divinity approaches directly the feeble man who penetrates into this empire; it lives in the towering cliff, in the glacier which on the heights embraces the tremendous mountain caps in its clutch, in the plant which grows forth from the cracks in the rock; the deity speaks from the brook which cleaves its roaring way through the rocky wall; it speaks from the tempestuous south wind which sweeps howling into the valley from the high mountains, as well as from the avalanche of rocks which looses itself from the precipice and roars thundering into the depths below.

551 Namgyal's receptive spirit could not possibly avoid these impressions. He was a plucky boy, a courageous climber and rider. Because of his courage in the brawls with his companions the latter had given him the nickname "Jigsmed" (Without-fear).

000 During the day the boy wandered through the mountains and the valleys without apprehension in spite of the wolves who are present everywhere, whenever it was necessary to look for a lost sheep. But when dusk settled down on the series of chasms and dark shadows spread out over mountain and slopes, our "Without-fear" was overcome by a secret terror. Then the jagged rocks and peaks turned into a thousand shapes which stretched their arms threateningly at him, and at this time voices became loud which had been silent during the day. From the plateau yonder he could hear the howling of the wolves, in the ravine there to the left a fox was barking, over there from the old ruin of [136] the Darden castle there resounded the call of the screech owl, and sounds

whose origin the boy could not explain intermingled with the howling 000
of the wind and the rushing of the Indus River. Namgyal's eye sharpened by his awakened imagination, then spied shadowy figures as they suddenly moved over the mountain slope and above him through the air. At those times the boy liked to be close to his companion. "Did you see that?" his comrade Puntsog asked him one evening as they were driving their herd along through the narrow gorge as darkness was descending upon them. They were late because they had had to spend a long time searching for animals that had strayed away from the herd. "There, up by the precipice it was rushing along!" "Yes, I saw it too," answered Namgyal, "it was a fox." "Yes, but didn't you see anything else? Someone was riding on the fox; /40/ it was gongpo with a large, round [776]
head, bristly hair and a hideous grimace, with bared teeth, two red eyes and a third eye on its forehead, and long claws on its fingers. It was shaking its hand threateningly at us. Come, let us hurry so we get home fast!"

When Namgyal came home he asked his grandmother, whose 538
favorite he was and who had already told him quite a lot of terrifying things about evil spirits who are housed in mountain and valley, what kind of a being that was they had seen and told her what they did. She answered: "Let Meme (the old) Konchog Trashi tell you that, nobody knows more about these spirits and their activities and no one knows the old sagas and fairytales as well as he."

What Old Konchog Trashi Told Namgyal about Gods and Demons

One of the following evenings Namgyal went to the old Gyamstopa (16) Konchog Trashi, the storyteller and narrator of legends who is

16. Written in Tibetan, rgya-mt'so-pa, it signifies "seaman," the house name of the person concerned.

known through the length and breadth of the land for his narrative skill. Namgyal arranged it so that he would not have to look up the old man [164]
in his own house because his wife had leprosy in the highest degree; for this reason Namgyal was afraid to come near to her. He met the storyteller as he was sitting under his large nut tree at the edge of the irrigation ditch where he was spinning threads from coarse yak's hair. At the request of Namgyal Konchog Trashi, a small figure with a

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the
776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered
[782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis-
[784] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt'san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and
[782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex-
776 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible.
783 The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again. " 776 783

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes. They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states which are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth, prospering, and welfare in the human world. When a human being angers them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease and death. 776

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase along as "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the [753] [754]

20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/, there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf, " said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

776 legs astride, a dwarf only a tru (21) high, his beard just as long, wearing

[804] 21. 1 tru (k'ru) is equivalent to the length of the lower arm of an adult person from the elbow to the tip of his extended middle finger.

a cap and carrying a stick The Balu (dwarf) had, as my neighbor told me, looked at him sharply and then he had laughted broadly and shrewdly at the man who almost fell off his little horse because he was so frightened and a little drunk with the beer."

One evening Konchog Trashi brought a picture along for his [532] young friend /43/ whose thirst for knowledge was a pleasure to him. The picture had been made by a mask maker and painter Ishe Lhundrub, who also produced the hideous devils' masks for the monastery and painted the pictures of the Buddhas, holy men, and gods. He had painted it on paper copying it from models in varied, shining colors and then he had mounted it on silk. It represented the terrible goddess of revenge dPal-ldan-Lha-mo (22). She is the wife of the god of death and

22. The dreadful goddess of terror Kali of Hindu mythology. There she is the wife of Shiva, the destroyer.

prince of hell Shin-je (gśin-rje, Sanskrit Yama). "This couple had a son. Father and son were enemies of the sacred teachings of Buddha," so recounted Konchog Trashi, "and the son attempted to extinguish this doctrine. Thereupon the mother who was a zealous adherent of the faith, became enraged, killed her disloyal son, skinned him, ate his heart and drank his blood from a bowl which she made from the skull of her son. Then she mounted her yellow mule upon which she had placed the skin of her son as a saddle-cloth and fled from the rage of her husband. Now Shin-je pursued his angry spouse and murderess of their child and shot a magic arrow at the fleeing goddess which hit the mule in the rear shank. Lhamo, however, transformed the wound by a magical formula into an eye and thus escaped the raging husband Since that time dPal-ldan Lha-mo has been the fiercest fighter for the sacred doctrine of Buddha."

Konchog Trashi showed his young, eager friend the picture of the Dreadful One. There she is shown riding along on her pale yellow mule through a sea of blood in which the hacked-off limbs of the enemies of Buddha, who have been killed in battle, are floating. The

skin color of the goddess is the blue of the terror deities; her bristling, 776
upright hair surrounds her huge head like flames, upon which has been placed a crown consisting of the skulls of killed enemies. From her three eyes she darts forth lightning. The goddess is dressed in only a loincloth of tiger skin and the skin of a human being; her belt is formed by snakes. Her right hand swings as a weapon the terrible trident, while in her left hand she holds the bowl of a skull filled with the blood of enemies. On the first day of the first month in the year a great mass is [782]
celebrated in honor of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the monastery temple in the neighboring Lamayuru monastery. This mass is performed in order to appease the anger of the feared goddess /44/, because the "unbelievers" constantly provoke her by their activity.

No wonder the imagination of Namgyal was most strongly aroused 000
by all these narratives and pictures--in time Konchog Trashi acquainted his knowledgeable pupil with a great mass of Tibetan-Buddhistic divinities, with Buddhas and demons--and no wonder fear constantly gained increasing dominance over the boy. At night when it was dark he scarcely dared to take the short path which led from their meeting place to his house. Every step of the way he was accompanied by pictures of those demons and terror gods whose figures and actions the old storyteller had so drastically placed before his eyes. Everywhere he thought he could see the hideous, grinning grimaces; in the rushing of the wind, in the gurgling of the river, in the shriek of the eagle, in the call of the stone-finch, the boy heard the voice of the Dreadful One, her furious, spine-tingling "Alala!" Fear held the hitherto so courageous boy in its ban for a long time and inhibited his activities and his development.

By now Namgyal had heard enough about gods and demons and 773
of their mostly pernicious activities. For the time being he had no desire to hear them any more. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the stories of a lama who wandered around the countryside. Once during the winter he came to the village and stayed there for an extended period of time. To the people who crowded around him every [532]
day he showed painted pictures mounted on linen cloth and supplied with a border of silk. These pictures had round sticks attached to them at the top and at the bottom and they could be rolled up like a geographical map which is hung on the wall. The pictures represented scenes from the life and legend of Gautama Buddha. The boy was particularly interested in the stories of the 550 births of Buddha which preceded his last birth and at which he was born now as a god and now

as a human being in the most different classes of society, as a nymph, as a water devil with an elephant's head, as an animal (lion, antelope, king of the rats, wood frog, vulture, crow, and so on); but in all these different states of existence he nevertheless always remained the Bodhisattva (23) who strives for release and who distinguishes himself

23 A Bodhisattva is a completely divine being which by its efforts, continued through many births, to achieve release from the bonds of terrestrial existence through striving after virtue and the performance of good works, has finally arrived at illumination (Bodhi) and with that at the expectancy of salvation by being blown away into nirvana. Out of pity for the living beings who are still suffering in the cycle of rebirths, the Bodhisattva as yet renounces his final dissolution in order to participate in the work of releasing those beings (human beings, animals, gods, and so on). Thus Gautama Buddha was a Bodhisattva until his "extinction" in nirvana.

by doing good, the being which is filled and led by love and compassion for all fellow beings.

The following is one of these stories about the pre-birth of the Buddha (Jataka /45/ narratives). Once the Bodhisattva, the later Gautama Buddha, was born as a king's son in India. One day he went for a walk in the jungle with his following. There he encountered a tigress with her young cub, who showed all signs of exhaustion. She seemed close to starvation. Filled by strong love and compassion, the prince left his retinue behind and went up to the tigress and lay down before her in order to have her tear him to pieces. But the animal was too exhausted and too tired to do so. Thereupon the king's son took a stone and scratched his skin in various places so that the blood came forth. Now the tigress licked the blood that welled forth and in so doing she was sufficiently strengthened so that she was able to consume her benefactor. The latter, however, on the basis of this new good deed, advanced another great step further on the way towards perfection, the way towards final complete salvation.

In the most widely different forms of existence Gautama sacrificed himself in this way for the benefit of other creatures. Once, when he was reborn in hell, he even released himself from damnation by expressing pity for the tortures of another damned being. Another

time Gautama was born in India as a fox with a valuable fur. The 773
reigning prince of the land saw this fox in a dream and ordered his hunters to get him this fur at any price. He threatened his huntsmen that they would all lose their lives if his wish should remain unfulfilled. Since the rajah was known to be cruel and unscrupulous, the threat aroused great fear among all the hunters. Meanwhile one of them was so lucky as to encounter the fox. The hunter had scarcely made preparations to catch the fox when the latter came up to him and surrendered himself into the hands of the hunter. But he made the condition to the hunter that he should not kill him but that he should skin him alive so that the sin of killing him might not rest as a burden on the hunter. By this the Bodhisattva saved the lives of all hunters in the country. The next consequence of this act of self-sacrifice was that thousands of flies, ants, and other insects settled on the skinned fox and consumed it. Such extraordinary acts attracted the attention of the gods and of all living beings, earthquakes and other natural phenomena /46/ broadcast them throughout the world, a rain of flowers fell down upon the Bodhisattva. And again he rose up another step on the way to perfection and release.

As fantastic as many of these stories were, they nevertheless made a deep impression upon Namgyal's sensitive mind which was oriented towards the religious. He thought a great deal about these matters, especially while tending the sheep and goats in the solitude of the mountains.

Sometimes Konchog Trashi also told Namgyal fairytales for the 539
latter's pleasure and for that of other listeners. So one day the old man told him the following tale.

The Fairytale of the Sly Fox, the Wolf and the Bear

The fox had already done much mischief and by sly means he had succeeded in killing the wolf, the bear, yes, even the lion, the king of the animals. Then one day there appeared a wolf and a bear, relatives of the killed, before the lion, the new king, and indicted the evil fox for his outrageous deeds. The king ordered them to bring the criminal before him. They found the fox and he went with them part of the way, even though he was very much afraid.

On the way to the judge they encountered a lama (monk) who was riding on his horse with his parasol opened up. On his back he was carrying the bag which contained his provisions for the journey. The

539 lama's feet were shod with large, red cloth boots. Then the fox said: "You wolf and you, bear! Look! We will take the parasol and the bag away from the lama." The other two answered: "Well, how should we go about doing that?" Then the fox answered: "We shall do it in this way: I shall pretend I am lame and shall limp along in front of the lama's horse. Then the lama will think that he can eaily grab me and he will dismount from his horse; he will put aside his parasol and his bag in order to be able to catch me more easily. Then you must come quickly, take the parasol and bag and run off. I shall then come to you again quickly!" Now the fox ran in front of the lama's horse limping miserably /47/. The monk, believing the fox to be lame, got off his horse, laid his parasol, his bag, and his heavy boots aside and ran after the limping fox. The latter at first let the lama get close to him and then he suddenly ran off at great speed. The bear and the wolf seized the parasol, the bag, and the boots, ran with them up the mountain and there met again with the fox. Now the lama returned completely exhausted, looked in vain for his belongings and finally mounted his horse with bare feet and completely dejected.

Then the fox said to the bear: "You bear! How glad your children would be with the parasol! Why don't you take it home with you!" And to the wolf the fox said: "You wolf! That you may be able to run better when you are chasing goats take these boots with you! Tie them firmly to your feet with strong laces then you will be able to run as fast as the wind and you will catch every goat." "And by the way, you bear! When you get to your children, open up the parasol! The children will enjoy that tremendously. Meanwhile I shall rest a little here and eat some flour porridge from the lama's bag."--"Yes, but after all we were supposed to go to the lion together first," his companions remonstrated. "Yes, yes, that's quite true," rejoined the fox, "but first why don't you just put the lama's boots on once and catch a goat as an experiment, you wolf! And you, bear! Why don't you first go to your children quickly with the parasol. You will see how much fun they are going to have with that thing."

Thereupon the two went off in good faith. The wolf tied the boots firmly to his feet. Soon thereafter he encountered a herd of goats and wanted to pounce on a goat. But the big heavy boots of the lama hindered him in running, the herders came to the spot and with their clubs they beat the wolf to death.

The bear came to his cave full of expectation, and with the parasol opened up he proudly marched to his children who jumped

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their fear they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the abyss they were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which

24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526]

25. A kind of hockey game.

free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

/Following page 48/

791

An onpo (soothsayer) and magician

/Following page 48/

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The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk.

622 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling
651 up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sack of barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too often. Yet he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still
876 on a very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored to initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not 876
know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing. They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise [802]
in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine.

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with 631
any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse, and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible means.

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. 871
The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say, despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he never- 868
theless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

868 spin thread on the hand spindle from coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which the village weaver then wove strong blankets and sacks. He sat firmly in the saddle and was a good polo player (26). Soon Namgyal

[526] 26. In the mountains of the Himalayas a riding game, polo, has been preserved. It originated with the ancient Persians and was subsequently introduced into their courts by the Byzantine emperors. For a long time the game appeared to be forgotten until the Mogul emperors of India again discovered it among certain mountain peoples and introduced it anew into their courts. This ball game on horseback makes tremendous demands upon the agility and adroitness of the rider as well as upon the speed and suppleness of the horse.

was superior to his elders in matter of practical common sense and caution, in industry and in courage, the latter probably an inheritance from his fathers, some of whom had proved themselves valiant heroes in the wars against the neighboring Baltis and the Dogras, an /52/ inheritance probably, also, from his energetic grandmother Tsering Putrid.

000 At the same time Namgyal had a strong tendency towards the religious, a tendency which, however, always remained unsatisfied. He often pondered over religious questions and brooded about the meaning of existence, the nature of the karma, the transmigration of souls, about the "eight-fold path" of release which Buddha had shown to his disciples, about the salvation activities of the Buddhistic "saviors"; but he also thought about the order of the monks and about the priests and their doings. But as often as he asked his teacher, the Lama Dondrub, and as often as he asked an explanation of deeper questions, the latter would put him off with a few superficial observations saying that he could not understand these matters yet; so that the young man's questions and the desires of his heart remained unsatisfied. The behavior and conduct of the greedy, sensual lama who was also given to drinking, was of such a kind that the belief of the young Namgyal in these members of the "Sacred Community of Monks, " to whom he was supposed to look up with reverence and awe as a pious Buddhist, became severely shaken. And his longing for peace and freedom remained unstilled. Even the well-intentioned instructions of the pious hermit Tsetan were unable to satisfy him.

/53/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S WEDDING

THE SEARCH FOR A BRIDE AND MATCH-MAKING

Discussions About Arrangements

"Beers"

Namgyal was now almost one and a half year-cycles (18 years) 581
old, and as such he had long since entered the marriageable age, according to the conception of the peoples of the East. He could have married three or four years earlier, but in the Dragshos house early marriage was not favored. Namgyal had taken a liking to pretty Trashi Rolma from the neighboring house of the Pahnpa. They had grown up and played together, had driven the goats into the mountains and gathered wood for fuel together; they had met almost every day in the village or in the field, and it seemed arranged between the two even without many words that they would some day become man and wife. So, too, thought many wise women of the neighborhood. But they hadn't reckoned with the host, that is to say the p'as-pun, the close relatives, and above all grandmother Tsering Putrid. They had quite different plans.

One evening in late autumn, after the wheat harvest had been brought in, the grain had been threshed and stored away in the granary, and, at a moment when there was time for such matters, the family council came together to discuss this important matter. Aside from the parents and the grandmother there were also gathered together two uncles who likewise belonged to the p'as-pun as well as a few other men from the neighborhood, members of the tribe. Amid the expenditure of many words and much beer (chang) (27) they discussed the problem /54/

27. The Tibetans brew a beer (chang, ĉan) from barley which is boiled, whereupon a leaven (p'abs) is added to the extract. After the fluid has fermented it gives off a somewhat sour beer which has an intoxicating effect. [273]

of whom Namgyal should marry. He himself was not consulted in this argument.

At first Namgyal's mother, Palskyid, risked a timid attempt to support his marriage to Trashi Rolma. She contended that she was a good girl and that no one could say anything bad about her; that she was

58 industrious and knew something about the mangement of a household and of fields; that one never saw her without the tsepo (the little carrying basket) on her back, a sign of how active she was in the gathering of fuel; in the evening she was always to be seen at home, she did not wander about like certain other girls, and--the two also liked each other. But with this she had little luck. Tsering Putrid, her mother-in-law, interrupted her and said: "Oh, what nonsense you are prattling. You know nothing about these matters! Nothing can come of those two. I do not want to say anything against Trashi Rolma; she may be a very nice girl. And her parents, our neighbors in the Pahnpa house, are sensible, pious people; but Trashi Rolma is no bride for my grandson. Her father is only a small farmer, he has only one horse which is blind in one eye, two cows and only about twenty sheep and goats; his field holdings are only average and they have a bad location. It is also whispered about that the Pahnpa owes the monastery Lamayuru 200 khal (1 khal equals 45 liters) of grain. And what is worst of all: [563] in the veins of the Pahnpa there is Drogpa blood. The grandmother of Trashi Rolma was a Drogmo (aBrog-mo, a woman from the Aryan tribe of the despised Drogpa) from Dah (28), and you know that we

28. Dah--a village on the upper Indus River which is entirely populated by the Aryan Drogpa (Dards).

Bodpa (Tibetans) have nothing in common with the Drogpas. Our race, the Dragshos, is an old, distinguished race; it belonged to the officials' nobility at the time of the Ladakh kings. I was actually supposed to have had a galon (nobleman) for husband, but since my father had lost a great deal of his property and was no longer wealthy, the galon got the other one who could bring a larger dowry with her. In no case may a Drogmo come into this house as a bride."

The relatives and p'as-pun could not remain uninfluenced by these weighty considerations. Mother Palskyid did not dare make any more objections. Namgyal, who had been standing by the door listening, heard with painful feelings how they went over his wishes and on to the agenda. There followed a discussion that lasted for hours /55/ and which became all the more excited as the chang flowed ever more plentifully. The women were ceaselessly pouring the beer for the men with a ladle into their little wooden drinking bowls which stood in front of them on the small, low tables, as soon as the bowls were so much as half empty. That was the custom. Nobody was supposed to be able to count how many kore (little bowls) he had drunk.

Someone suggested as a bride Palmo from the house of the Oil- 581
man (sNum-pa); she was a good girl and industrious, he suggested, and the property of her father was considerable and free of debt. But she too, was not agreeable to Tsering Putrid. She admitted that the girl was industrious and--so far as one knew--free of blame, but she was ugly and thick-set "like a chorten," and stupid as an ass; she would not do for her handsome and intelligent grandson. Moreover she was a blabbermouth. To her applied the proverb: The thundering cloud has [538]
no rain, the garrulous girl--no wedding. "Yes, talkativeness in general," said Tsering Putrid, "there are also blabbermouths among the men"; and in so saying she shot a glance at Bandhepa who was always swaggering. "Another proverb says: A big river has no ford, big words have no content!" This did not really fit into the argument, but the old woman was annoyed that Bandhepa made himself so important. With this the others agreed again and so Palmo was also finished as the future bride.

Finally, after long arguments back and forth, uncle Stobsldan ("the strong one"), the brother of Lobsang Wanggyal, declared: "I know a suitable bride. The daughter of the wealthy farmer Norbu Wangchug (precious stone--the mighty one) in Tingmogang (29). Her

29. Tingmogang--a large village in Lower Ladakh.

father owns two houses with the fields that belong to them, which all have a good location, as well as a lot of cattle; he also carries on exchange trade with the nomads Jangtang; he lends grain and money"--"at usurious rates" a voice interrupted him. "Quiet!" the others shouted. "He is the wealthiest man in the entire district." Bandhepa objected that there was all kinds of talk about that girl, Chosskyid; she was supposed to be frivolous, she was supposed to go around with young men, and other things of the kind. "Ah," said Tsang Sodnam, Namgyal's maternal uncle, "it won't be that bad; such a young, pretty girl likes to have her fun once in a while, and if one /56/ wanted to be sure that a girl was completely blameless one could search throughout Ladakh, in all the villages and drogs (outposts), and one would scarcely be able to find one. And moreover," and in saying this he looked at Bandhepa with a shrewd and malicious smile, "if a yak should run over <u>your</u> face [538]
you would not see it; but if a louse runs across someone else's face then you see it immediately." (30) At that Bandhepa was silent, the others

30. Tibetan proverb. Compare Matthew 7.3

581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again: "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh)." Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with the tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33)."

[565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility)."

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage. In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang

to buy some barley from Norbu Wangchug. It is true that he preferred 584
to buy from other farmers because the old Chirpon (34) had a mean

34. Chirpon is a corruption of ĉibs-dpon, in English "horse master" (stable master). It is one of the titles which stem from the time of the kings when the bearers of the title were court officials. The titles have been preserved in the names of the houses. [552]

trick of weighing his goods too short. He always weighed /57/ the [804]
things himself on his old scales with the wooden scale-beam and the balance-scales made of goat's leather. And when he weighed something before you, always two batti (equivalent of four pounds) at a time, it all looked quite correct; but if one later weighed it again at home, it was never right. But for the sake of his nephew the uncle was willing to take this into the bargain for this one time; including the haughty nature that Norbu liked to display. For--in a completely casual manner--Stobsldan was to ask Norbu whether a proposal on the part of Drogpa Namgyal for the hand of Chosskyid would have any prospect of success.

In the evening, as it was getting dark, he came back, with his head and his limbs again heavy from beer and talking. With difficulty and awkwardly he dismounted from his horse, and laboriously he climbed up the bad stone steps to his brother's house. He was received with questioning looks and words, and with comical weightiness and forced sureness he steered towards his seat at the stove in the chansa (living room-kitchen). Again the relatives and the tribe are all gathered together. After Stobsldan has emptied a few bowls of butter tea which the housewife has poured out for him, and after he has smoked a few draughts on the water pipe of the master of the house, he began his report. The parents of Chosskyid, he said, had at first been very cool and had behaved as though they were galons and he a begging beda. Nothing could come of the marriage; there had been so many who had asked this girl in marriage; if she wanted to she could hang a suitor from each of her fingers. And there were among these men of a quite superior rank to the Dragshos, against whom the father did not want to say anything otherwise, since after all he was a good friend of his father's. But <u>this</u> marriage could not possibly be brought about. While the girl's father had been talking, the men present in that house had made extensive fun of Stobsldan. But the latter had not given in; he

584 painted his nephew in glowing colors as the model of a young Tibetan farmer; he nettled the people from the Chirpon house by saying that the Dragshos had also once been highly respected officials of the kings and war heroes, that they were well-to-do if not rich, and that the fine property with the two summer places (35) in Nyermo and Skambur

[423] 35. "Summer place" (dbyar-sa) is the designation for the part of a farmer's landholding which lies apart from the rest of his fields in a highland plateau. Usually it has a house belonging to it from which one or two persons work and water the fields through the summer.

was free from encumbrance.

For a long time the arguments and counterarguments had gone back and forth, and time and again the old, sly Chirpon (Norbu Wangchug) boasted about the /58/ "brilliant matches" with the galons and nonos (titles of young noblemen) that his daughter could enter into. In answer to this Stobsldan repeated equally stubbornly the praises of the Dragshos people. As a final trump he characterized the "brilliant matches" with which he was perfectly acquainted. He said that the "aristocratic fathers" concerned, who desired Chosskyid as a bride for their sons, were both deeply in debt, one to the monastery Hemis, the other to the neighboring monastery Lamayuru, and moreover, the son of the galon was an extravagant, licentious person who through his wastefulness had brought his own father into misfortune and debts; also, the galon's son had already been a few days in jail in Leh once because of an evil prank. The other suitor, he continued, was a harmless but stupid person whose suit had already been refused by more than one girl, that is to say, by her father. At this Norbu Wangchug became more and more quiet, and when finally the conversation had come to an end and everything was properly splashed with beer, then, as the matchmaker was mounting on his horse, the housewife Deskyid had whispered to him: "Well, Acho! (older brother)! Try it some time soon with the "asking beer" (dri-ĉan)! After all, it is still possible to talk about the matter." When the initially shocked and disappointed parents and p'as-pun heard this, their faces lighted up again and that very same evening it was decided to send the asking beer soon to Tingmogang.

431 The Asking Beer (36)

36 Tibetan dri-ĉan, meaning "asking beer," also slon-ĉan,

meaning "request beer." To the "beers" described in this section we have parallels in the "beers" customary in several parts of Germany, such as "Kindelbier" (used at baptisms) /literally "child's beer" but translated into English as "christening feast."/, harvest beer, bock beer, honor beer, consolation beer (at funerals), and others of the same kind. 431

A few days after Stobsldan's mission two men with baskets on their backs were sent to Tingmogang. In each of the baskets there was a large, bulging clay vessel (dza-ma) which contained the important "asking beer." The wide, projecting upper rim of the vessel was covered with a wreath of small lumps of butter (37). A little way 584 431

37. The little lumps of butter (dkar-abyor). The Tibetan word can be translated by "rich possession." The wreath of little lumps of butter is symbolic of "fatness, wealth."

behind the two carriers there followed the two uncles of the suitor, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, on horseback. Once arrived at Tingmogang they dismounted from their horses in front of the Chirpon farm and lifted the heavy jugs of beer out of the baskets. Norbu Wangchug came out to meet them at /59/ the gate of the courtyard. He had a harmless, apparently unsuspecting and still somewhat patronizing air and he greeted them with, "Good day, you gentlemen! Are you in good health?" whereupon the latter answered: "Healthy, yes, thank you! And does the honored gentleman also feel well?" After the customary welcoming formalities had been exchanged with all ceremoniousness, Norbu Wangchug invited the two emissaries into his house. The large Tibetan mastiff which was furiously barking and tearing at its chain by the house door, was pushed down by the master of the house who sat down on the animal until his guests had entered. They went up the stairs into the living room-kitchen where the two uncles put down the chang kegs by the cooking stove on the wreaths of straw--the jugs have billowing bottoms--which had been placed in readiness there. Now the emissaries were invited to sit down near the stove on the felt carpets that had been spread along the wall. As by accident a number of men related to the family and of the tribe of the master of the house arrived, and soon a considerable company of men was sitting together to steaming butter tea; and the cozy gurgling of the circulating water pipe intermingled with the conversation of the [576]

[584] [631] men who apparently suspected nothing and talked about all sorts of things, of horse trading, the shearing of sheep, new tax burdens and the impending visit of a great holy lama; in fact, they talked of everything except about marriage and matchmaking. Finally beer was served. After both Kalatse men had hastily swallowed a few bowls of the beer and had sat in silence for a while, Stobsldan cleared his throat extensively and audibly, began to speak and presented the object of his visit. They brought, he said, 100,000 humble greetings from the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal in Kalatse to the gaga (honored gentleman) and the jojo (gracious lady) of the Chirpon house. They had come to look for a bride for the young man in the Dragshos house. Drogpa Namgyal, he stated, was an industrious, honest, energetic and pious boy, all the people of Kalatse could testify to that. And if one looked at the property of the Dragshos one would see that the boy was not a bad match. After all, they all knew the fine property which was free of any encumbrance. Surely it was superfluous to say anything about the virtue, industry and the beauty of the nomo (38) Chosskyid.

[576] 38. nomo, meaning "younger sister," is the way every younger female person is addressed by an older person. Even her own parents may address a girl as such.

She did not have her equal in the whole of Ladakh. The Dragshos asked the Chirpon for the girl as a bride for his son.

/60/ The matchmaker's speech was followed by a long silence which was only interrupted by the gurgling of the circulating water pipe which had just reached the master of the house. The latter took a few long draughts from it, put it down, gave the pipe to the person sitting next to him, raised his eyebrows and said: "Nonopale (noble gentlemen)! It is certainly a great honor for me that you have come in order to request my daughter in marriage on behalf of your nephew, the son of my honored friend; and the speech of your mouth is as sweet as sugar and as lovely as the twittering birds. Now you are praising my daughter as 'from one throat.' But how long will this last; after that you will speak nothing but evil words about the girl, then you will say: 'Your daughter has horns in the front of her head and a tail in her back' (that is to say, she is a cow), she is lazy and slovenly, knows nothing about housekeeping or managing the fields. And--moreover--there are so many who would like to have the girl, and there are some very distinguished suitors among them"--at these words Stobsldan nudged

584

Tsang Sodnam and both laughed secretly. "No, gentlemen, this marriage cannot take place. You will have to look for another bride for Namgyal; after all, there are enough girls in Lower Ladakh. Chosskyid is designated for another man." With these words Norbu Wangchug turned to the men of his tribe who answered with a dead-serious "drig yin (so it is)."

"Yes," Tsang Sodnam now objected, "it is admittedly true that it will be pure graciousness on your part if you give your daughter as a bride to the boy. But you must not say that he and his parents are such bad people. You may inquire in all of Lower Ladakh, and you will only hear them praised as "from one throat." The Dragshos are pious (39) and respectable people. And just think of the wonderful

39. Tibetan: dkon-mĉog-la ajigs-mk'an.

property they have in fields and cattle. All of you know quite well about that!"

At these words Stobsldan placed a beautiful coral necklace with [431] silver decorations on the little tea table in front of old Norbu which the latter pretended not to notice at all. All the more did the eyes of the tribe of the Chirpon, especially those of the women present, secretly examine and evaluate the necklace. Argument and counter-argument went back and forth. The beer flowed plentifully into the throats just as the words flowed forth from them in abundance; at first all talking, sueing and praising seemed to fail through the stubborn resistance of Norbu Wangchug /61/ who time and time again brought forth the argument of the "brilliant matches" which his Chosskyid could make. But towards the end of the damp-hot session, after the woman Deskyid, the wife of Norbu Wangchug, had whispered all sorts of things to her husband and after the p'as-pun had brought the old man somewhat to his senses in muted conversations by admonishing him finally to desist from boasting about the brilliant prospects of his daughter and telling him that nobody, after all, cared for those "distinguished suitors" of whom he was constantly speaking, and that the Dragshos son was a son-in-law who was not to be despised; after all this, finally, the father mumbled something between his lips made heavy by beer, which sounded like "talk about it once more." And when the two matchmakers finally arose with great difficulty as darkness was descending, their heads and limbs were heavy from beer and talk; but their hearts were light. Mother Deskyid had taken the necklace

584 destined for her daughter for herself and Norbu Wangchug had helped the two matchmakers get on their horses in a friendly manner, something which had not been quite superfluous. Then he had given Stobsldan's brown horse a blow on the rear shank with the flat of his hand so that the horse leaped forth and almost threw its rider into the brook which flowed along the side of the village path. And he had said, "Well, just bring the 'ransom' beer (hol-čan) soon."

It was a good thing that the horses of the Kalatse men knew the narrow, bad path so well, which leads from the valley steeply up to the highland plateau, and that they were able to find it with sureness even in the dark; it was further lucky that they did not stumble over the innumerable stones along the way or that they did not become frightened by the boulders that were loosened through their steps and which went thundering down the steep rocky slope. For the two riders completely entrusted themselves to the sharp senses and the sure footedness of their small, sturdy mountain horses. Not till the howling of a wolf sounded forth from up above along the edge of the plateau, which was soon answered by the howling of another wolf on the other side of the valley, and the horses became restless, did the men grasp the reins more firmly. Finally they had reached the plateau. On top there was blowing a strong gust from the west which cooled off and sobered the two heated heads. As they sobered up, however, the two otherwise quite courageous men were also overcome
776 by fear. On the level plateau there lived /62/ a dreadful Tsan-demon who occasionally appeared to wanderers. The men remembered the story which Konchog Trashi had recently told them. A company of men from the neighboring Teya once returned home to their village late in the evening after they had been drinking in Kalatse. On the plain the drunken men made a lot of noise and sang lewd songs and also reviled the lamas and the gods. Then suddenly a storm rushed along the plain, a cloud swept down from the mountains, and in the cloud Pagspa from the Shanku house (šan-ku, meaning "wolf") saw, as he recounted later, quite clearly the Tsan king with helmet and armor on his red horse, as he drew the bow and shot off an arrow. In the same instant Buchung screamed aloud, clasped his chest and slid off his horse. The Teya people brought him back to his home as a corpse. No wound was visible on him. He had been the loudest and the wildest reveller. Tsepell, too, is supposed to have been coughing blood since
900 that evening, which no lharje (Tibetan doctor) can cure. The men from Kalatse drove their horses on, which carried their riders in a

rapid amble to their home. In the house of Dragshos there was great 000
rejoicing over the result of the matchmaking, which finally could not be ignored even by the one who was most closely concerned by it: Drogpa Namgyal.

Again at the Soothsayer's

Yet there was still a great anxiety to be banished for Lobsang 787
Wanggyal: How would the gods and the demons be disposed towards the intended marriage? This could again only be found out by the soothsayer and astrologist Dordje Dud-joms, the devil-tamer, so he had been told. The day immediately following the carrying over of the asking beer Lobsang Wanggyal rode to Lamayuru to the soothsayer, for the first time in a long while. Since the time of the birth horoscope for his son, the Dragshos had carefully avoided the man; the latter had overdone things a little at that time with his calculation of misfortune, and the idea had dawned upon the Dragshos that there always existed a certain relationship between this activity and the /63/ money bag of the person who commissioned it. But one could scarcely go about arranging such an important matter as a marriage in the family without consulting the onpo at all. Who else knows how to read fate in the stars and to interpret the dark signs the way the onpo does? The latter had certainly noticed that the Dragshos had avoided him in the last few years and he was probably determined to be careful this time. It did not pay to spoil things with the Dragshos and his tribe. One should not lose such good customers.

The devil-tamer went to work immediately after the Dragshos had left his cell. He compared the horoscopes at birth of the prospective couple and tested to see whether the zodiacal signs of the years of birth, the elements and the constellations were in a friendly, hostile or neutral relationship to each other, whether the astrological signs for life, body, power, and "wind horse" (lun-rta) (40) of the two were

40. A mythical horse which carries on its back the valuable wishing gem (Tibetan, yid bźin nor-bu; Sanskrit cintamani) and which is supposed to bring people wealth and happiness. The "wishing horse" is often seen on prayer flags, magical pieces of paper, and the like, on which it is drawn. [777]

favorable and harmonized with each other or whether they were hostile

787 and presaged the anger of the gods. Dorje Dud-joms cut things short this time. When Lobsang Wanggyal asked for the horoscope two days later, the onpo received him with a friendly smile. "You can rejoice, gaga (gracious sir), your horoscope is not bad this time. The forces resisting the intentions of the betrothed couple are not too great. This might be quite different; all the things that we have seen in this respect!" The Dragshos could believe that fully, just judging from his own observations. "The mighty water deities especially are favorably inclined towards you--at least until now. Your ample lu-stor (offering to the water gods) and the reading of the book klu-abum (book of the 100,000 water gods) have put them into a favorable mood, too. Only the Don and Dre demons are not of a favorable disposition anyhow; you cannot trust them. Perhaps you have been somewhat negligent in recent times with your offerings and the reading of the necessary books. You should just catch up with what you have neglected; I have written down the books that you must have read and the offerings that should be presented. And--wait a minute! Something just occurs to me--I had almost forgotten about that. You want to hold the wedding in the [776] first month of the new year. In that month a new Lha (god) just wants /63/ to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, where you are going to have the first wedding festival. This god is as yet unknown and so he cannot be trusted. You must immediately put him in a good mood through offerings. He comes from Hundar. There he raged terribly and in his rage brought smallpox to the people of the village of Hundar. Surely you know that there and in the neighboring villages over eighty people died of smallpox. Then the lamas drove the Lha away by their formulas and exorcisms. Now he is about to move into the gods' trees in Tingmogang, as the lamas who live there have found out. Therefore, be careful and get yourself on good terms with the Lha right away so that he will not ruin your plans. The main wedding feast, which will be held in Tingmogang in the house of the bride's parents, should take place on the 21st of the first month. That is a Thursday (41), a propitious day for all marriages; the other days of the week are

777 41. Among the peoples of the East, as among those in the West, including also our Germanic ancestors, Thursday is accounted a lucky day for marriages; to the gza-p'ur-bu (Jupiter's day) there corresponds in Old High German Donar's day, the day of the Thunder (Storm) God Donar who with his weapon, the hammer, protected marriage, just like

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil 787
tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew that kind of paying too.

The Ransom Beer (42) 583

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-ĉan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and 584
rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven [431]
men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

[cf. Cat. 116, p. 60 - footnote 43 - analyst]

5: Ribbach--59 a. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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/Following page 64/

Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger

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/Following page 64/

"At the weaver's loom.

576 43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag), greeting cloth or greeting ribbon, usually a worthless strip of gauze-like material that is presented like a greeting card as a sign of respect and of the good wishes of the donor; if the lama has consecrated it, the k'atag is supposed to have magical powers.

584 of the house, and a second one on the edge of the stove for the lady of the house. Then the men sat down in silence on the felt carpets spread out along two walls of the room. They were seated in a long row, Lobsang Wanggyal next to the Chirpon (the master of the house), then the others ranged according to age, rank and titles, with the most distinguished nearest the stove. First the guests were treated to butter tea and flat bread cakes (ta-gir). Then they went over to the chang. The beer kegs from the Dragshos house were carried in, the women scooped the beer with ladles into the bowls of the men, and now they set about negotiating, at this ransom beer, the conclusion of the marriage contract.

583 584 After a number of less important points had been discussed, they arrived at the most important one--the purchase price of the bride.

A long pause interrupted the lively conversation; the men looked silently down at their beer mugs; the women, who were busily going up and down serving the beer, so that no bowl would become empty, stopped and looked with tense expressions at the men from Kalatse who were to speak the first word. Finally Stobsldan broke the silence: "Now, gracious sir, Norbu Wangchug, please, speak a word! How high is the price of the mother milk (44) to be? Tell us your

44. Tibetan a-mai o-mai rin, meaning "price of the mother's milk." The bride's mother must be paid for the raising and feeding of the bride.

wishes! It is, after all, pure graciousness on your part that you give your daughter to the Dragshos; if you burden us with wool (an easy burden), that will be graciousness; if you burden us with salt (a heavy burden) that will still be graciousness; ours is only to ask."

After prolonged silence during which he seemed to draw his thoughts out of the water pipe standing in front of him, Norbu Wangchug answered as all eyes were now turned upon him: "Rab, abrin, mt'a gsum. A lot, an average amount, and a little bit--there are three kinds of measures. What shall I say? It must be so that the wolf /66/

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and [291] partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

583 circumstantially set up a list of the things, counting on their fingers and
584 setting down the prices of the individual items. In doing so they were careful not to set the prices too low for the old Chirpon had impressed this point on them. He would like to shine with his ragt'ag and he would like to outtrump all bride's fathers in the whole of Lower Ladakh, /67/ who have married off daughters in the past few years. At the mention of many a price the people from Kalatse would nudge each other and laugh secretly. Finally the list was completely drawn up and the sum was calculated. Ishe Lhundrub placed the list on the little table of the master of the house. The latter's glance went over the lines and numbers with pleasure and then his glance moved over to the ragt'ag and the entire bride's trousseau, and finally it went over the faces of the Kalatse people, examining them one by one. Now it was their turn to calculate and to bid if they could. "There, listen, you gentlemen from Kalatse," the Chirpon now spoke forth. The "price list" (rinto) comes to 220 žo. (47) According to old Ladakh

[436]

47. 1 žo is equivalent to 6 rupees in old Tibetan currency, the rupee is equivalent to four jau (1 jau equals 3.25 anna, which in turn is equal to 28 Pfennige). The old Tibetan rupee had only four-fifths of the value of an Indian rupee. Thus 220 žo equal 1,320 Tibetan rupies, the equivalent of 1,056 Indian rupees, amounting to 1,408 mark.

custom the 'price of the mother milk' should amount to an ample fourth of the rinto. Give 60 žo, then the young gentleman Drogpa Namgyal may have the girl. You can see what kind of a bride's rope she is taking with her. Such a one there hasn't been since the days of our forefathers in Lower Ladakh." /The last quotation mark is conjectural since there is none in the original text--translator./

The Kalatse people bowed their heads That was a lot.. Typical of the Chirpon! This is the way they had known him. Always driving a bargain! This is the way he had acted also as village magistrate of Tingmogang. In all circumstances he knew how to feather his nest: when he collected the taxes, when he settled a dispute and otherwise whenever an opportunity presented itself; and now in haggling over the sale of his daughter. He would have been the last one to give his daughter away to one of those indebted "noble galon's sons" just to pay his debts off. But they knew how to take him. There now started a haggling and a bargaining which increased in violence in proportion

to the decreasing of the number of filled chang kegs. Their brown 583
faces assumed a shining copper color, the voices became increasingly 584
loud and more excited while the bride's father stuck to his demands with the stubbornness and obstinacy with which they were all familiar. Finally Stobsldan asked him, "Is this your final word, gaga?" Yes, my last, by the 'three jewels' (48)!" "This is too much," shouts

48. In Tibetan the oath goes: "dKon-mčog gsum" (pronounced "konchog sum!"), the "Three Jewels"; they are the components of the Buddhistic trinity: Buddha, the Law, and the Monkhood. The Buddhistic Tibetan has constant oaths on his lips with which he believes it necessary to reinforce even quite unimportant statements and assertions, a proof of how much and how readily the great majority of them lie. Other oaths are: "May the monastery get me (dgon-pas nam śig)!" by which the gods are meant, whose pictures are in the monastery; they are asked to "come and get" the person uttering the oath. The subordinate clause, "If my statement is not true," remains unexpressed. The form "sku t'san-mas nam śig, may all the gods get me!" also occurs. Another form which is to be heard daily, is "a-mai śa, or bu-t'sai sa," which means "the mother's flesh, the son's flesh," which is also used with he naming of a particular name, "T'serin-gi śa, Rol-mai śa, Tsering's flesh, Rolma's flesh." Tibetans explained to me that this meant: "If I have lied I shall eat the flesh of my mother, of my son, the flesh of Tsering, the flesh of Rolma," an oath which is supposed to derive from the time when cannibalism prevailed in Tibet. In court there often appear false witnesses who, bribed with a few annas, swear to everything that is demanded of them. [195]

Stobsldan, whose customary politeness had been smothered by alcohol, at the people from Tingmogang, "the old money-grabber wants to make a profit. The whole rope is not worth 120 žo. The gaga is trying the make a fool of us! Come, Lobsang Wanggyal, we shall go home! Your son /68/ can get ten brides if he wants them; there are many other pretty, decent and wealthy girls in Sham (Lower Ladahk). Give us back the coral necklace, Chirpon, and tomorrow we shall send you back the large copper pot (zan-bu) that you sent over to us. Then you may wait until a rGyallu (royal prince) courts

583 your daughter. Come, everyone, you Acho-No (older and younger
584 brothers)! We are all going home! The people here are like hungry wolves!"

Everybody looked at Norbu Wangchug who was sitting there with a sulien smile. Then fat Norpel, the brother of the lord of the house, got up clumsily, seized Lobsang Wanggyal who was just preparing to get up, by his sleeve, and said: "Please, please, my little brother! You should not get angry immediately. After all, one should be able to talk about business matters." And then turning to his brother he said: "Just be gracious, Acho (older brother)! Look at the grieved face of Lobsang Wanggyal! Think of the fine, elegant house and of the respectable, pious people to whom Chosskyid would come as a bride! If I had a daughter I would give her immediately to the Nono Drogpa Namgyal. What a fine boy that is. He has the gait and the posture of a prince. And he can ride and play polo, nobody equals him in that. At the same time he is an efficient farmer and takes religion seriously like all Dragshos. Do say another good word to the gentlemen from Kalatse!"

A long silence ensued. As though by accident, the water pipe had again come around to the old Chirpon, who drew forth from it thick clouds of smoke. Finally the gurgling of the pipe ceased and the old man, still very angered, exclaimed: "You gentlemen are surely sensible persons and not like a yak bull which has a red cloth put in front of it. After all, I am not a wolf who strangles sheep and goats out of greed, nor am I a fox who steals his neighbors' chickens. Ask the gentlemen of my tribe here, the p'as-pun and the neighbors in the entire valley whether I have wrongfully appropriated so much as a needle"--and in so saying he took one of the many large sewing needles which were stuck in a row in his hat, in his hand and held it up high. In the back two small farmers from Teya nudged each other significantly. They knew /69/ better. "Now look at this tagpa (rope)!" the Chirpon went on, "have you ever seen one like it? But so you can see that I am a reasonable, God-fearing man, I shall deduct five žo from the 'price of the mother's milk.' Give me 55 žo and you can have the girl!"

Lobsang Wanggyal nudged his brother: "My little brother, now you talk!" They quietly exchanged a few words and then Stobsldan spoke up: "55 žo is too much; far too much. Just consider, when Chosskyid comes into the Dragshos house, that house will be your house. If you ruin the house by your unreasonable demands you also

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 žo from the whole 584
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H. Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion? 533
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid? 534
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There just passed by a maiden fair,
Her body was as of pure gold.
/70/ First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a girl with hair so rich,

533
539

So full, like the leaves of the turquoise willow (51).

51. Which of the various types of willow that are to be found in the valleys of the Himalayas is meant, is impossible to tell Perhaps one is to think of the "yellow willow" (lcan-ser) which has light green ("turquois-colored") leaves and yellow twigs.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your companion, I know not.
A maiden passed by, shining like the moon.
As it can shine only on the fifteenth (52).

52. Around the 15th of the month of the moon year, there is a full moon.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There went by a maiden with eyebrows so fine,
They looked like a double naro sign (53).

53. The sign of the Tibetan vowel O (called naro), is reminiscent in shape of eyebrows.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a maiden with teeth white as milk,
That did gleam like pearls.
First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There went by a maiden, her waist was slim
As the thunderbolt handle (54) of the bell so smooth.

54. The handle of the bell (dril-bu) used by the lamas at the

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunder- 533
bolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the 539
lama magicians.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling 000
parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward.

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55)

55. Tibetan t'ig-čan and nyen-čan. 584

After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 žo for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that 585
should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 431

585 as many guests of a superior rank as possible, so that they could show
431 off with their aristocratic connections and also outdo the other side. Lobsang Wanggyal was less inclined towards this, since he favored a limited number of guests; but his mother insisted upon severe competition here. However, honor and dignity bring burdens with them (noblesse oblige). Every guest had to receive a gift, and the more aristocratic he was, the greater the gift would have to be. A considerable list of guests was finally drawn up. There was the galon from Jangpa near Leh who, the people in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang claimed, was related to them. According to custom /72/ he had to receive nine greeting ribbons of yellow silk (mt'san-pa); each of the five lamas who were asked to attend the engagement ceremony received 13 greeting ribbons, the lonpo from Domkhar, whom the Dragshos people invited as their relative, received nine, the three village magistrates of Kalatse, Teya, and Tingmogang each received seven greeting bands and the remaining farmer relatives and members of the clan, according to his standing, rank and property, were given five to seven tsanpa as a greeting and a mark of esteem. The best men, the bridesmaids and the female friends of the bride (bag-rogs) were each to obtain three rupees and four pieces of calico. As a formality the parents of the bride received the same present from the Dragshos house.

585 Finally they discussed what kind of expenses should be incurred at the wedding. Old Norbu Wangchug wanted to make a great display. He made his demands nonsensically high. The Kalatse people were in favor of a more modest celebration, for they and their clan had to pay most of the expenses. Finally they agreed upon five sheep that were to be killed, 40 chang (clay vessels of beer), 300 flat bread cakes, two bati (56) Ziegeltee /tile tea/, seven hide sacks of butter, and in

[804] 56. 1 bati is equivalent to four pounds of English weight, equalling 1,800 grams.

addition salt, natron, vegetables, onions as much as the cook would demand, the necessary greeting cloths, and other things of the kind.

000 Finally they were tired of haggling and for the rest of the evening they gave themselves over entirely to enjoyment and rejoicing. They ate, they drank, they sang, and they danced. Once even the bridegroom joined the men engaged in drinking and talking. But not for long. He did not enjoy noisy company. Once or twice the bride

showed herself beautifully dressed in the door of the room but then she disappeared again into an adjacent room for the remainder of the festivities.

The Consultation and the Ordering Beer (57)

57. Tibetan drabs-ĉan and bcol-ĉan.

Again a month passed by. The Kalatse family were pressing for haste with the wedding. They did not trust the old fox Norbu Wangchug, because with his greed he might again come with greater demands and overthrow all their plans. And so the Dragshos people soon gathered for their consultation beer. This time they were among themselves, without the Chirpon /73/ people. There the worthy men were again seated in a long row on the felt carpets along the two walls of the living room-kitchen; at the head was the lonpo from Domkhar, a tall, slender man of advanced years with an intelligent face which betrayed strong Aryan racial characteristics. Next to him sat the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal, then there followed a number of relatives and men of the clan. After everyone had emptied a few bowls of beer and a song had been sung, Lobsang Wanggyal got up, took a copper plate from the smoke-blackened wooden shelf on the wall, on which there lay some heaped-up grains of barley. On top of this he placed a piece of Tibetan paper which had been lightly rolled together and wound about with a tsanpa (greeting ribbon). Then he solemnly placed the plate with the paper on the little table in front of the lonpo without saying a word. The latter pretended not to notice anything, did not blink an eyelash, sat pondering for a while, took a deep draught of beer from the bowl, seized the paper, and said, interrupting the general silence: "You gentlemen! We have come together in order to consult with each other how we can help our friend and relative, the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal, since he wants to bring a bride to his son. You all know that this is an expensive proposition which one person alone cannot manage. Therefore we, his relatives and members of the tribe, must help. The Dragshos' cause must be our cause. As the proverb says: 'Joy, sorrow--turn of the goats, turn of the cows' (58). Just as the turn for guarding the goats or the cows in our village

58. Tibetan Skyid-sdug ra-res ba-res.

583 goes around from one to the other, so that today it is your turn and tomorrow mine, so does joy and sorrow alternate: today I am afflicted with sorrow and you are in joy, tomorrow it is the other way round. Today the Dragshos needs our help and we want to give it to him; next year he will perhaps have to help one of us who may be in distress. Thus we want to help our friend the Dragshos in bearing the heavy burden of the bride purchase and the expenses of the wedding." In so saying the lonpo carefully opened the metal pen case which he carried around stuck inside his sash, dipped the reed pen into a copper inkwell which hung on a little belt at his side, and wrote his contribution down on the slip of paper--30 rupees. Then followed the gopa (village magistrate) of Domkhar with 15 rupees, and the others with contributions /74/ of from five to seven rupees each. Everyone signed with his house name and with the name by which he was called; those who were unable to write put down their seal with the iron signet that they brushed with ink, or else they placed the impression of their blackened thumb next to the figure which someone able to write put down.

When this transaction had been finished Lobsang Wanggyal heaved a sigh of relief. His clan had not left him in the lurch. They had taken away from him a good part of the burden which he had had to shoulder. He could count himself lucky. Things rarely went as smoothly and without friction as they had in this case. It had often happened that at the consultation beer endless haggling and bargaining, quarrels and disputes within the clan and the circle of relatives had taken place.

584 A week later the families from both houses concerned already gathered for the final "beer" (59), the "Ordering beer" (bcol-ĉan).

59. If the wedding is postponed because the families cannot come to an agreement over the "price of the mother milk," the choice of guests, the distribution of the expenses, and other things of the kind, as this is often the case, then the "beers" named are followed by several others with always new names.

Aside from those already named, five young men, the Nyaopas (60),

60. Nyaopa (gnya-bo-pa) means witness. The Nyaopas are in a certain sense the marriage witnesses and at the wedding they also have the duties of best men. The often-used form

"Nyopa" is a corruption which has led to the translation "buyer," which in my opinion is incorrect. My informant Gau Puntsog always stuck to the form "Nyaopa." 584

the best men, were invited on this occasion. Under the leadership of the sNatridpa (sna-ak'rid-pa) these have the task at the main wedding of taking the bride from her father's house into that of the bridegroom. At the "ordering beer" they were entrusted with this duty, just as the five bridesmaids (bag-grogs) were entrusted with theirs. Furthermore, many another person was engaged to perform the many services necessary at the wedding celebration, not last nor least of these the cook and the water carrier. Again they consumed ample amounts of beer; once more the bridegroom's two uncles tried to bargain about the "price of the mother milk" in the interests of the Dragshos, and once more there began a haggling and quarreling until the old Chirpon started up angrily and said: "Da drig (now it's enough)! Now I'm sick of this haggling! If you don't want to give the 50 žo then you can get yourselves one of those dirty smith's daughters (gar-bai bo-mo) as a bride for Drogpa Namgyal!" This had its effect. The haggling, which the Dragshos disliked anyway, ceased; but something like that he would not take from the Chirpon people and so he decided the dispute by saying: "Now, just be satisfied, Acho (older brother)! You will get your 50 žo, by the Three Jewels! Surely you know that a Dragshos does not do things in a shabby manner." At the end there was yet another incident. After /75/ all offices and services had been distributed a lama who was present asked in what year the sNatridpa, the chief best man, was born. "I am a Paglopa, of the pig year," the latter answered himself. "Then everything is in order," the lama replied, "a pig year person brings luck into the house; it would have been bad if you had been of the dragon year, that would have brought misfortune. So it is a lucky coincidence that the chief best man is a pig year person.

/76/ The Wedding (61) ( )

61. Tibetan bag-ston, in polite speech sku-bag. 585

Now it was the eve of the great day of the wedding, the 21st of the first month, a Thursday (Donar's day, Jupiter's day), as it had been designated by the onpo (soothsayer). The guests had rushed to the spot from the surrounding mountain villages, some even from the

585 capital Leh and its surroundings; hardly anyone declined the invitation; they came together from places removed by three or four days' journey. After all, it was winter and everybody had time, for the work in the fields and in the summer places was at a standstill. At such times every change was welcome, and most of all a wedding in the house of a rich person. The Chirpon wanted to have a magnificent wedding, that they knew.

242 All the guests came dressed in their best festive clothing. Anyone who did not have a good suit--there were also some poor people among those invited--borrowed one from his neighbor who was better off and at least bought himself a new, bright red, green or blue cap, wrapped a new, brightly patterned long sash around his hips, and tied a white "handkerchief" onto the left side of the sash, less for practical use than for ornament. The women and the girls had put on their festive trinkets and garments: dresses in red, blue or green, with colored sashes and fur coverings, many turquoise and silver ornaments with which one tried to outdo the other.

585 Long before the winter sun had gone up in the Indus valley, which is very narrow here, the five best men, the Nyaopas, led by the sNatridpa and the Trashispa (bkra-śis-pa), appeared in the Dragshos house. They were all handsome young fellows dressed in colored cloth suits; each one had a long white or red shawl placed around his shoulders and wore on his head the pointed cone-shaped hat of the Nyaopas, covered with fine, glittering metal threads. These were joined by five /following p. 76 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle "Tibetan women in Ladakh (Original Tibetan drawing)."/ /77/ girls (dpa-mo, called "heroines") of the circle of relatives and of the clan, and five other fellows (dpa-bo, "heroes") for the bride's following. After all of them had been amply regaled with butter tea and flat bread cakes early in the morning in the chansa (living room-kitchen) and after they had danced there--the fellows by themselves and the girls by themselves--all of them got ready for the procession in order to fulfill their function at the wedding celebration, which was to take place during the day in the bride's house in Tingmogang.

Then the company breaks up in order to set out on the way to Tingmogang. The procession is headed by a pair from the group of dpa-bo and dpa-mo (neither of them may be orphans). The boy carries a clay dish with glimmering frankincense whose smell is intended to please the gods; the girl carries a brass beer jug at whose upper rim the usual lumps of butter are stuck on in a circle. The sNatridpa follows

/Following page 76/

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Tibetan women in Ladakh

(Original Tibetan drawing)

with the lucky arrow (mda-dar) (62) in his hand; to the arrow are 585

62. Literally "arrow with flag." Sometimes there are five little flags of various colors fastened to the lucky arrow.

fastened a long strip of white, gauze-like material and a small metal mirror. Then follow the four other Nyaopa in order, with the remaining dpa-bo and dpa-mo; further there marches the manager (nyer-dpon) of the wedding, a neighbor of the Dragshos, who is an expert in the secrets of Tibetan cooking and who has taken it upon himself to prepare, with a whole staff of helpers, the various wedding feasts of the following days at a considerable fee. Then comes the bridegroom with his father Lobsang Wanggyal, and the two uncles Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam. From the neighboring houses the procession is now joined by relatives and members of the clan, men and women; the ones bring clay dishes with glimmering frankincense, the others jugs of beer. Plates with flour, barley and rice are also brought out. All contributors put their gifts down on the ground and the Nyaopas dance around them three times in a circle. Then the best men, led by the sNatridpa, step forward and strew and throw some of the gifts up in the air: a food and drink offering to the village and house gods so that they may be favorably inclined towards the marriage and will not harm the expected bride. The best men are all the more energetic in this activity since the nyer-dpon (manager) has promised them /78/ half a rupee's worth of bakshi if they do it well.

Thereupon the procession starts. First it goes to the lhato, the 585
altar and living quarters of the village god (yul-lha) at the mouth of 789
the side valley there under the large, wide-branched poplar at the edge of the watering trench. The old devil-tamer Dud-joms, whom they also cannot get along without today, had gone to the spot. There he stands by the lhato and looks intently at the white-washed altar, at the horns of wild sheep and ibex that are piled up there and the twigs of tamarisks and juniper trees which are stuck between the horns. He stares as though he could see the Lha bodily before him. In the one hand he swings the magical dagger (p'ur-ba) and also the magical bell and in the other hand he holds the little rattling drum made of human skulls. He invokes the Lha and exorcizes him by powerful formulas as well as by the power of his magical dagger and of the music. Stobsldan plants a new flag with printed formulas of exorcism among those already present, places a few dishes with rice and barley

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demon)).""

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

the bridegroom. 585

The Nyaopas outside the gate and the Chirpon people in the yard now start a singing game, the meaning and content of which is the following: The five Nyaopas come to buy the bride in the name of the bridegroom's father. They claim to be the sons of god who have come from the realm of the gods on the high mountains, from the region of the glaciers. Their appearance arouses astonishment among the inhabitants of the house and their clan; for, as they believe, no one could escape from that realm which on all four "points of the compass" (above, below, to the right and to the left) is guarded by four female animals. The guards are: the white ice lion with the turquoise-colored mane (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can) above at the glacier; the little fish golden-eye (nya-mo gser-mig) below in the glacial brook; the wild queen of the birds (bya-rgyal rgod-mo) on the rock to the right; the giant striped tigress (rgya-stag k'ra-mo) in the sandal wood forest to the left. [776]

/80/ The people of the bride's house now jokingly put a long series of questions in the form of a song (63) to test the Nyaopas, which 585 533

63. The songs that now follow are taken from the collection Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/, collected by A. H. Francke, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, 1923. They have been translated by Francke from the Tibetan (Ladakh dialect), and Mrs. Paalzow has transposed them into their original meter. I am giving some of the songs in my translation. According to Francke some of the songs sung here represent a kind of catechism of the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans and give insights into the mythology and the cosmology of that period.

the latter answer by likewise singing a song. As soon as an answer is not made satisfactorily the gate is opened for just a moment from the inside, the boys and girls rush out and beat the Kalatse boys amid rough jokes. Then the Chirpon people withdraw again and lock the scarcely opened gate. The singing game begins. 585 533 539

The Chirpon people inside in the courtyard of the bride's house sing:

The Ice God closed off the three valleys

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High up above where the glacier lioness (64) lives,

[773]

64. The "white ice lioness with her turquoise-colored mane" (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can), a personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the goddess of heaven; she is one of the mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, which are there associated with the gods, just as /the "wild queen of the birds" and the other animals mentioned in note 65, which in the original text follows directly after note 64. --translator./

Dear guests, please tell us, how did you get through?
Thunderbolt rock is fenced off to the right
By the mountain where the Queen of the Birds (65) is on guard.

[773]

65. The "wild Queen of the Birds" (bya-rgyal rgod-mo), further the "giant, striped Tigress" (rgya-stag k'ra-bo), the (female) "Fish Golden-Eye" (k'yu-ru nya-mo--or--nay-mo gser-mig) and some others in verses 2, 3 and 4/are all mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, as explained in the previous note./

Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
To the left in the sandal wood forest.
The Giant Tigress lies lurking;
Dear guests please tell us how you got through?
Down below three of the valleys are closed off
By the brook where little fish Golden-Eye snaps.
Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
Heroes from the Nine-stone Castle! (66)

66. The sense of this first line of the verse is difficult to grasp. It is not clear what is to be understood by the Nine-stone Castle /"Neunsteinburg"/. Perhaps it would be more correct to translate it as "You wanderers over the Nine-stones."

What has brought you into this land,
Into the midst of this village, tell?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is that not right, worthy friends?

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The Nyaopas answer from outside:

Over the Ice God's three valleys,
Over the Lioness' glacier body
We swung ourselves with a leap.
We mounted over blocks of ice
And crushed with our feet crusts of ice.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the right by the thunderbolt mountain,
Over the body of the Queen of the Birds

/Following page 80 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)"; the second showing "Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders." / /81/

We flew from rock to rock,
Stepped over stone rubble
And stepped on firm ground.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the left through the sandal wood mountain,
Over the colored hide of the tigress
We slipped from tree to tree,
Then we walked through the underbrush
And stepped on many bushes.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
In the lower three valleys
We swam through deep streams
Where the little fish Golden-Eye swape,
We waded through rivers,
Then splashed through the little brooks.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.

Chorus of the people before the gate:

Is that all right, you mighty friends?

The Chirpon people in the yard go on asking:

Up there in the Ice God's highland valleys
The white Glacier Lioness stopped you.
Worthy guests, how did you get through?

/Following page 80/

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The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)

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Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders.

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On the thunderbolt rock to the right
The talon of the Queen of the Birds seized you.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
To the left in the dense sandal wood mountain
The tigress' claw must have held you fast.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
In three deep valleys surrounded by streams
Little fish Golden-Eye must have drawn you down.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is it not so, you mighty friends?

The Nyaopas outside answer:

Threefold in the Ice God's highland plateaus
Did the Glacier Lioness hold us imprisoned in her claws.
/82/ On the nine suns' brothers' day
There melted in the ice a very fine crack--
As wide as a helmet--but we got through it.
To the right on the thunderbolt enclosed mountain
The Queen of the Birds would not let us go.
But once she moved to the side
And a stone the size of a die
Was loosened--we slipped through.
To the left on the sandal wood enclosed mountain
The Giant Tigress put us under her charm.
But the K'alpa's (67) fire was burning hotly.

67. K'alpa (bskal-pa) an era in Buddhistic cosmology.

It created for us a clearing no larger
Then the size of a turquoise. We slipped through it.
In three lower valleys surrounded by streams,
You say, a little fish Golden-Eye held us fast.
There came of winter moons three--
There sprang up a well the size of a knothole,
And we slipped through that.

The people of the Chirpon house: 585 533 539

The tune was good! /or, "The way (of doing) was good"/

Now the Nyaopas are given a number of riddles in the form of songs by the Chirpon people:

Who measures the heavens' space,
Who the ether's space? (68)

68. Here the dictating Tibetan has, I believe, erroneously dictated "dbyibs-kyi ajal" instead of "dbyins-kyi ajal," or else the copyist made a mistake. That latter version fits much better into the context, and so I translated it as in the first line.

Say, who did measure out
The span from East to West?
And who did measure out
The span from South to North?
Who may have plumbed the depth?
And who measured the height?
Say, who measured the glacier mountain?
Who the slate rock?
Who measured the A and Om (69)

69. A and Om--two mystical syllables much used in prayers and in invocations to the gods and to Buddha. They are supposed to possess secret divine powers. [789]

In their depth and content?
Who did measure out the plateau?
Who the lower valley?
/33/ Say, who took the village's measurement?
Who measured out the home and dwelling place?
And with what measure?
Who measured the inside and the outside world?
And with what measure?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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Heaven's space and ether's space
Are measured by sun and moon.
The sun, the screen of the throne, measures
East and West.
And the measurement of South and North.
Is taken by the white moon.
Rainfall and damp dew
Measure height and depth.
Glacier mountain and slate rock
Were measured by the Glacier Lioness.
The two syllables hum and pad (70)

[789] 70. hum and pad are two more magical syllables.

Measure A and Om.
Plateau as well as lower valley
Were measured by the chilly wind.
King and minister probably did measure
The castle and the village,
Home and dwelling place were measured for us
By our ancestors.
Seven brothers then did measure
Both inner and outer space.

The Chirpon people in the yard call out:

Good, you mighty friends!

Now the people in the yard sing the song of the Osier Switch (71):

71. With the osier switches the Nyaopas were beaten whenever they gave unsatisfactory answers.

The turquoise-colored switch in my hand,
Whose home is India,
Grew up in the heart of Tibet
And grew to be strong and firm at the Dogri (72).

72. Name of a mountain.

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Behold the twig: it is of gold!
Its tip is green: it is turquoise (73).

73. Compare not 51.

/84/ Indra, lord of the Gods, gave us
The command: Strike!
Gave with it the sacred prophet's word:
Sun and moon, to the two
Will be born a son,
Companion to the planets and the moon.
Banish evil tricks!
Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

This is the story of the staffs.

The Nyaopas answer:

Do not hit with birch or barberry!
Nor hit us with juniper wood!
If you knock in our hats
With one of those three woods,
You will pay for it a thousandfold.
If the body is injured,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If you break the earring,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If the saddle tears
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.

The people:

Quite right, mighty friends! Hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

This green osier switch
Here in my hand

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Covers with turquoise-green stem,
Green leaves, the land of man.
The lord of the world (74), the king, issued

74. The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is designated as the "lord of the world" (also of the three worlds); Indra, too, often receives this title.

The command: Strike with it!
And also gave the sacred prophet's word:
"Prince of the Middle Fort!
A son issues from you,
The companion of the planets and the stars."
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks!
/85/ Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

Chorus: Hail to you!
May happiness and well-being accompany you!

The Nyaopas:

Do not hit with mountain willow or sallow,
Nor with bramble which pricks us!
If you knock in our hats
With those three woods,
You will rue it a thousand times, and so forth.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Good luck and hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

The turquoise osier switch here in my hand,
Whose root is of shell, covers
Deep down the land of the nymphs.
"Strike them!" is the wish

Of the Queen of the Nymphs Lchokpoma Drossilchan (75) 585
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75. Tibetan lcog-po-ma dros-sil-can, the "rocking, shade-supplying willow."

She also spoke the sacred prophet's word:
From the middle of the earth
There sprouts a nymph's son,
The village god is close to him. --
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks! and so forth.

Chorus: Om! Hail to you!

The Nyaopas:

Now, listen with your ears:
Neither walnut twig nor tamarisk,
Nor bramble take for beating!
If you hit with these three woods
And knock our hats in,
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

The people of the Chirpon house keep making attacks from the courtyard and beat down upon the Nyaopas with osier switches. /86/ But each time they are turned back with the assertion that the sticks are not of the right wood. They, the Nyaopas, are after all the sons of gods, and therefore they are only allowed to be beaten with twigs from the tree of the world which has it roots in the world of the nymphs (under the earth) and which grows through the earth (the realm of human beings) into the heavens (the world of the gods) (76).

76. According to the ancient, pre-Buddhistic cosmology.

The Chirpon again sally forth a number of times, on these occasions armed with different "woods": cooking spoons, soup ladles made of wood, wooden oven-rakes with charred tips, and the like, to the loud amusement of the crowd inside and outside.

585 The Nyaopas sing: Fire hooks, black-nosed (77),
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77. Oven-rakes (or pokers) made of wood, with a charred tip.

Soup and basting ladles? No!
If you knock our hats in
With those three woods
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

Since the Chirpon people cannot guess the right wood, the Nyaopas sing on:

There grows a wood with which one beats friends,
A magnificent, a supple wood, from
From the tree which has one root only,
And which still bears three tall tops,
Tops--three, branches--six.

Bird Garuda (78)

78. Garuda (so it is in Sanskrit); Tibetan k'yun, mythical bird of the world of Buddhistic sagas, which is in the service of the gods of terror. It constantly fights against the hostile Nagas (snake gods). In pictures it is represented as a creature with a human body and with wings, human arms, a half human head with horns and a beak, bird's legs and a bird's tail. Often the Garuda has a snake in both hands and bites into it with its beak.

Sits on the first branch,
Without the nest
Or the gold egg breaking,
Or the bird being frightened.
Bring that branch to us!
Beat us with that twig!
Strike us with that wood!
Hit with this stick
And knock our hats in with it,

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You will never rue it.
/87/ If you injure our body
You will never rue it.
If the ear turquoise breaks
You will never pay for it.
If the saddle cloth tears
You will never pay for it.
On the second branch
King of the birds is enthroned (79).

79. Tibetan bya-rgyal rgod-po.

His turquoise egg
And his nest you must spare!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that branch!
Beat us with that wood!
Strike us with that stick!
Even if you do knock in
Our hats with that one
You will never rue it.
If the body is injured,
You will never regret it.
If the ear turquoise is broken
You will never regret it.
If the saddle cloth is torn,
You will never regret it.
On the third branch
Sits eagle White-head (80).

80. Tibetan go-bo glad dkar; the form ldad dkar in Francke's manuscript I consider to be a slip of the pen; it would not make any sense here; ldad-pa, meaning "to chew," does not fit into the context; on the other hand, glad, meaning "head," fits into it very well.

Do not harm his nest
Or his mother-of-pearl egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!

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Beat us with that rod!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
So that you knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it.
If the body is injured
You will never rue it.
If the earring is broken
/88/ You will never rue it.
If the saddle cloth is torn
You will never rue it.
On the fourth branch
Eagle White-neck (81) perches.

81. Tibetan glag-mo mk'al-dkar; the form in Francke's manuscript must likewise be a slip of the pen; mk'al-ma means "kidney" and does not fit into the context; I am substituting for mk'al the word mgul which means "neck" and thus I arrive at the translation "eagle White-neck."

Do not harm his nest
Nor his silver egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!
Beat us with that club!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
And knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it, and so on.
On the fifth branch
Perches the bird of the gods (82).

82. Lha-bya gon-mo I translate by "bird of the gods" (female).

Do not harm his nest
Nor his coral egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that staff! and so on.
On the sixth branch

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Perches White Falcon.
Do not harm his nest
Nor his iron egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that rod! and so on.

After a few more alternate songs in this style there follow a few more riddles in verse. The people of the Chirpon house say: "Oh, you, who have come hither in order to have the truth of words tested!"

Say, who seizes the wild yak by its horn?
Say, whose fist grasps the wild tiger?
Say, who might catch water with snares?
Say, who builds a castle out of loose sand?
/89/ Who wounds the water by a blow of his sword?
Tell us, which bird brings forth young?
Tell us, which animal of prey lays eggs?
Who follows the trace of the pair of rock-partridges (83) on the mountain?

83. Gon-sreg, the rock-partridge, "Haldenhuhn" (tetraogallus tibetanus). /I have been unable to find an English equivalent for for this word but assume it to be synonymous with the preceding Berghuhn and Felsenhuhn, Steinhuhn, etc. --translator./. Francke's translation here reads: "Name two rock-partridges whose traces lose themselves in the mountains"; but rjes gcod-pa means "to follow a trace" and I translate it accordingly.

Who sends the many-colored splendor to the North's grey mist? (84)

84. Francke's translation reads here: "Who orders the giant burden of the many-colored reed in the North?" I have arrived at a divergent translation, to which the answer, the solution to the riddle fits.

Say, who sews the mantle for the slate mountain?
Which bird has teeth growing to its pair of wings?
Say, to whom are we giving these riddles, who solves them?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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The wild yak's horn is forced
By the hero Mogchen rem-pa (85).

[773] 85. rMog-ĉen rem-pa, meaning "great, strong helmet." This, like the names in verses 2 and 3, are the names of mythical heroes of pre-history.

The hero A-p'o bstan-yan (86)

86. Ap'o bstan-yan. Ap'o means "father" in the dialect of Baltistan and Lower Ladakh; these heroes are designated by this title.

Seizes the tiger with his fist:
Only Jaksha źon-t'og (87)

87. Yag-śa źon t'og in Tibetan.

Catches water with a sling.
Only the swallow bird
Builds a castle out of loose sand.
Only the water itself (88)

88. Here probably the waterfall is meant.

Wounds the water with swords.
A bird that gives birth to young
Is the bat (89).

[825] 89. It should not surprise us that the bat is counted among the birds by the Tibetans when we consider that in German medieval books of natural history the bat was classified in the same species.

An animal of prey which lays eggs
Is the quick weasel (90).

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90. The assertion that the weasel lays eggs is to be explained

from the fact that this evil robber of nests is often seen with an egg in its mouth, which led to the erroneous conclusion. 585 533 539

And the "rock-partridge's trace" which runs along the mountains there: [825]

They are veins in the rock (91).

91. Quartz vein in the slate cliff.

The crystal mistress who rules over a thousand colors the pale North

Is Bruguma (92)

92. aBru-gu-ma, the wife of the mythical king Kesar. The "colors of the North" seem to indicate the northern lights. [773]

The mantle for the large slate mountain
Is probably sewn by Vishvakarma, the heavenly smith (93).

93. The Hephaistos (Vulcan) of Hindu and Buddhist mythology is meant by this "heavenly smith."

Teeth in addition to its pair of wings
Has the bat in its mouth.
You people who are giving riddles and demanding a solution!
It will be necessary to take something away from you.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Om, hail to you!

/90/ After further examining questions in the form of a song there finally comes the following song as the concluding one, which is sung alternately:

The people of the Chirpon house are still singing with the gate locked:

Many a one is distinguished through his wisdom,
Many a one is so only by his birth
There are many who know nothing.

585 Therefore it's important to test for oneself.
533 Where distinguished parentage is paired
539 With much wisdom, there it's good.
A high-born person needs nine-fold wisdom,
A low-born person--ninefold wisdom.
Do you come as friends from a noble tribe?
Are you only striving for the money-bag?
If you came as noble ones, you came as friends.
If you came as mean ones, you came for the sake of grain.
Did you come without force? Do you want to make friends?
There are three kinds of enemies,
Three kinds of friends.
Enumerate them, the three!

Chorus: Right!

The Nyaopas answer singing:

Three kinds of enemies there are:
The enemy who wishes sickness upon you,
The enemy full of jeolousy,
The enemy who avenges himself with blood.--
We come not as enemies,
We are friends to you.
Three kinds of friends there are:
God, the helper-friend (94),

94. Tibetan dkon-mčog skyabs-kyi gnyen.

The bond of love between parents,
Blood relationship.
These the three kinds.

Chorus: So it is good.

585 With this song, the nineteenth of the whole series (of which we here are only giving a few samples), the scene in front of the bride's house is ended (95) The bride's relatives and the tribe have been /91/

95. Sometimes there are further obstacles to be overcome by

the Nyaopas. Thus there may have been groups of primitive altars erected in the courtyard, three, six, nine or more. Of these each group has a mythological significance which must be guessed by the Nyaopas. Once this has been done the Nyaopas may destroy the group concerned, until all these "altars" have been destroyed. 585

satisfied by the answers to their questions; now the gate is opened, the people from Kalatse enter the yard preceded by the Nyaopas and march towards the house door. There the female relatives, friends and bridesmaids are expecting the Nyaopas. They pretend to be angry and hit the "bride robbers" (96) over the back with osier switches. A few

96. This entire game, the beating of the Nyaopas as "robbers of the bride," the destruction of the altars in the yard, is a reminder of the fact that the stealing of the bride and the fighting for her, was formerly the universally customary form of obtaining the bride among the Tibetans as well as among other Mongolian and Aryan races (so it was among the Romans, Greeks and Germans). Among many of these peoples mock battles for the bride are still staged today before the wedding; they point to the bloody fights of former times, as, e.g., among the Semitic Bedouins in Iraq, in Egypt, and in India. Among the Russians there are also to be found customs which reflect the practice of stealing the bride, like driving the bride through the fire in a troika. In later times the somewhat milder practice of purchasing the bride took the place of the abduction of the bride. Even today it still happens in Tibet that the bride is "abducted" by her suitor. But this abduction (bag-ma rku-ba) is nowadays usually a completely bloodless undertaking, being often a preconcerted game between the two heads of families concerned, who want to bring the marriage about in the simplest and cheapest manner possible. Twice I have witnessed such a "bride abduction." In such a case the entire ceremonial and the expensive celebrations are omitted. [583]

rupees which the sNatridpa hand out to the fair ones, allay their assumed anger and now the Nyaopas may enter the house with the closest relatives. The company goes through the dark stable and

585 ascends the stone steps into the large living room-kitchen. There, at the door, three people again block their way: the (hired) cook (gsol-dpon) with a pot of tea in his hand, his female assistant (zan-ma) with a plate of rice, and the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma) with a filled brass beer jug. By paying a tribute of half a rupee to each the sNatridpa finally buys an entry into the living room-kitchen for the entire company of Kalatse relatives and friends.

Uncle Stobsldan now has someone give him a large, tin-plated copper plate while the others stand around engaged in lively conversation. On this plate he puts a few handfuls of barley grains and around the edge he puts in a circle the 50 ǰo (240 rupees), the stipulated "price of the mother milk," and further 20 rupees as a contribution to the first wedding celebration. On top of this the men from Kalatse carry in several rolls of Tibetan cloth, a large quantity of greeting cloths, two sacks of wheat, two sacks of barley. Everything is put down on or next to the hearth.

The relatives of the bridegroom then greet the bride's parents ceremoniously by bowing deeply before them, touching their own foreheads with the tips of their fingers: "ǰu, ǰu! Please accept these little gifts graciously, which we poor people presume to offer the noble parents of the bride." With these words Stobsldan, in the name of Lobsang Wanggyal, hands over the gifts and the purchasing price of the bride. Norbu Wangchug acknowledges them briefly with the words: "Thank you, thank you, noble people! It is gracious (of you)!" and now invites the Dragshos people and their tribe to go to the place of celebration, a large field terrace from which the snow has been carefully shovelled and swept away. Frankincense is always carried ahead /92/ and finally it is set up on the terrace in front of the open tent that has been put up there, to supply a "sweet savor" to men and gods. Inside the tent beautiful yarkand carpets are spread out for the guests of superior rank, and at both ends, in the shape of a horseshoe closed towards the outside, ordinary goat and yak hair blankets are laid out for the more lowly guests. Norbu Wangchug shows his guests to their places with politeness but nevertheless with a certain condescension. At the top the galon from Leh, next to him the lonpo from Domkhar, then two lamas from the bride's circle of relatives, the bridegroom, his father and his two uncles, the five Nyaopas, then Norbu Wangchug, the bride's father and a few of his brothers-in-law, the magistrates of Teya-Tingmogang and of Domkhar, and further the members of both tribes ranged according to rank and dignity, neighbors and friends;

most of them have to sit outside the tent on carpets. 585

In front of each guest there stands a small, low table with colorfully painted carvings. Every guest, after he has sat down with his legs crossed under him, places his own wooden drinking bowl on the little table (with the richer men the little drinking bowl is lined with silver on the inside). The village magistrates with their assistants distribute the flat bread cakes, the number depending upon the rank and standing--seven, five, three, starting with the persons of high rank, and so on down to the guests of lower standing. The latter soon begin to shove, push, and fight for the flat bread cakes, to the amusement of the rich and the satisfied. Now women pour out butter tea from beautiful copper and brass tea pots richly furnished with ornaments embossed in silver. When the guests have refreshed themselves for a while with tea, flat bread cakes, and roasted barley flour, there follows the warm meal after a short time: rice with mutton and vegetables cooked in a strong spice sauce. Each guest receives a heaped-up plateful of this food. For the most distinguished guests the choicest pieces of meat are picked out of the large meat dish. With it chang is served which the guests consume in great quantities; the pungent spice sauce creates a great thirst. Each of the distinguished guests now also has his greeting cloth placed on the table in front of him; he attaches it with a needle to his cap if there is room there; whatever there is no room for is fastened to the left shoulder.

/93/ All the guests were now able to eat their fill of the plentiful meal, only the places of the five Nyaopas were still empty. Soon after entering the house they had mounted up to the flat roof of the house, led by the sNatridpa, in order to present to the five lamas there the greeting cloths and the gift of a sum of money. The lamas had been there, in front of the small opened house temple, since early morning, engaged in reading mass, saying prayers and formulas for the well-being and good fortune of the betrothed pair. The lamas scarcely took any notice of the Nyaopas; firmly they went on saying their prayers, made food and incense sacrifices in order to call down the blessing of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and tutelary gods upon them. But it was also necessary to allay the anger of the gods and the demons through offerings, formulas of exorcism, magical gestures, swinging of the thunderbolt and of the magic bell, through the music of the drums and the trumpets. In this way all the misfortune that the old devil-tamer had figured out and predicted was to be averted. 585 782

The Nyaopas had to wait for quite a while until they could

585 hand over their gifts. Attentively they watched the activities of the
782 monks clothed in red. Then these interrupted their prayers and formulas, put their hands into the dishes that stood next to them, and scattered barley and rice across the flat roof and over its edge as a food offering to the gods. Crows, magpies, and sparrows came by and picked up the grains. The lamas also threw, amid the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, pyramid-shaped offering cakes (gtor-ma) mixed out of bread dough and butter and decorated with colored ornaments, in a wide arc over the edge of the roof. The red Tsan-demons were invoked and entreated to be satisfied with the offering and to leave the young couple in peace. The offering was soon consumed by dogs and birds. Then a drink offering (gser-skyems) was brought to the gods: beer was poured into a dish from a copper sacrificial tankard and was then sprinkled about in a high arc. Finally the wily household god with the pig's head was still to be appeased and to be exorcized by a food and incense offering and by an exorcizing formula. The conclusion was formed by a concert of all the instruments. From two powerful copper trumpets three meters long, blown by two corpulent lamas and held up in the air by their bell mouths by two monastery students /94/, there came forth deep, ill-sounding tones which swung across the wide valley and, breaking on the opposite rock face, sounded back in a seven-fold echo. With this there mingled the song from the lamas' throats, rough from the beer; now the big drum joined in as well as the cymbals and the trumpets, so that everything fused into a wild music which sounded like the howling of the storm and the roaring of the avalanche.

Old Dud-joms (the devil-tamer) later told the attentively listening farmers at a beer-drinking occasion that the house god with the pig's head had fled with a loud howl at the thunderous roar of the instruments; he had, so said the devil-tamer, heard it himself quite clearly; and then the frightened god had stayed for a whole month in the caves of the Skyinling gorge where his marrow-piercing screams had been heard every night. It was not till they had brought him new food and drink offerings that the lamas were able to persuade the god to return to the house where he could not be dispensed with as a protector after all.

Finally the instruments and the lamas' throats were silent, while the latter were moistened by an ample infusion of chang. The piles of leaves with the dreadful exorcizing formulas were pushed aside. The Nyaopas stepped forth and placed thirteen greeting cloths

before each lama, one of yellow silk, the others of light, gauze-like 585
cotton weave; next to these they put three rupees for each one of them 782
except the head lama who received five. They did not even glance at the greeting cloths; but every one of the "holy men" immediately reached for the silver coins and tested them for their genuineness. The lamas are usually good business people.

Now the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons in the house temple received their part of the wedding offering. According to their rank, each one of the mighty had a number of greeting cloths placed at its feet; offering lamps of brass fuelled with butter, dishes of rice, barley, and beer were placed on the altar in front of the statues. Gautama Buddha, the Great Compassionate Chanrezigs, and the kind Tara, the giver of marital happiness and of the mother's joys were honored by gifts of silk cloths; the other gods and the demons had to be contented with light muslin strips.

/95/ After the priests up above have received their share, the 585
Nyaopas descend to the terrace where the feasting and the drinking are going on in full swing. Between the rows of guests three enormous wedding cakes (97) have been erected of tiles which are made of barley

97. aBran-rgyas, literally "offering cake, food offering"; but of this cake only one "tile" is offered to the gods, the rest is consumed by the participants of the feast.

flour dough mixed with butter and sugar. Next to them stand five huge filled earthen beer jugs. To the sound of three clarinets, one lute, 585
and three kettle drums the Nyaopas now conduct a dance around the 535
cakes and the beer jugs. The musicians here are Bedas (see note 12)). The tune and the rhythm of the music sounds strange to our ears, more like a deafening noise that anything else. But this music drives the Tibetan dancers on, as the most beautiful march or waltz does the German youth. The rhythmical movements, first a slow walk and rocking of the hips, gradually goes over into a livelier tempo, a dance which becomes constantly more rapid and livelier, and which finally turns into wild jumping and hopping. While the legs march and spring to the beat of the music the arms and hands, which hold a long sash, are in constant rocking motion. Some men arise from the row of guests, stand by the dancers, beat out the rhythm with their hands, and by shouts incite the dancers to ever wilder movements which assume more and more the expression of wild abandonment.

585 Now the music is silent. The dance is at an end. The Nyaopas
533 go towards the tent. But still they may not give themselves over to
539 rest and enjoyment. The relatives of the bride go toward them and again a question and answer game in the form of a song starts up. The Nyaopas must pass another test before they may take their places in the row of guests. The people from the Chirpon house sing the Song of the Carpets (98).

98. From Ladakhi Songs by A. H. Francke, Leh, 1899. The translation of this song into German was done by the author of the present work.

Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high heavens be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high glacier be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high boulder be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
/96/ Might the high mountain lake be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might that high castle be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the wide earth be.
Who uses as carpet in this land
A saddle cloth with a blue edge?
Who for a carpet likes to use, you must tell me,
The wild sheep's brown fur?
Whom serves as carpet, tell me quick,
The meadow green and the forest thick?
Whose is that carpet? Whom do you think
This roll of cloth must serve?

The Nyaopas answer:

The high heavens so blue and clear
Must be the sun's (99) carpet and the moon's.

821 99. According to the astronomy of the Indians, Tibetans as well as of the Assyrians and Babylonians, sun and moon are

counted among the planets, and they are considered animate 821
divine beings which have an influence upon the fates of human beings and are worshipped as gods.

The glacier above is a carpet, I ween, 585
For the lion with the turquoise-colored mane. 533
The high rocks carpet are 539
For the large ibex quick as the wind.
The mountain lake blue as carpet may suffice
For the wife of the fish with the golden eyes.
The castle so high, so proud and so fine
Must the nobleman's carpet be.
The great earth's mighty spaces
Signify the Chinese Emperor's carpet.
In the saddle cloth with the blue edge
Agu Palle (100) his carpet found.

100. A-gu p'al-le, one of the 18 heroes of the Tibetan Kesar myth. [773]

The brown fur of the wild sheep must be
Agu Khru btungs' (101) carpet, I suppose.

101. A-gu k'ru btuns, another of these heroes who has the head of a falcon.

The meadows and woods must be
A carpet for birds large and small
This roll of cloth here? A carpet fine
For the seven (102) Nyaopa brothers it must be.

102. Seven Nyaopas may be active at a very large wedding.

The Chirpon people call out loud: "Good, you noble friends! 585
Now take your place and drink a little bowl of beer!" Finally /Following p. 96 there are two full-page illustrations, one of a "Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)"; the other of a "Bridegroom in Ladakh."/ /97/ the five "Nyaopa brothers" sit down on the carpet in the places appointed for them near the tent entrance, and then they are served with ample food and drink.

/Following page 96/

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Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)

5: Ribbach--97 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 96/

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"Bridegroom in Ladakh."

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women [562] go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. [273] A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-čaṅ). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

585 533 539 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

Not with your hand, lest it wither! 585
Oh, with your soul you must pick it well! 533
Into your heart you must lock it. 539

There now follows a series of songs about the origin of the reed (103) from which the lucky arrow (mda-dar) of the Natridpa is

103. Here, one after the other, the things that play a part at the wedding, are celebrated in song: the carpet, the arrow that brings luck, the beer, and the like. These songs are taken from the manuscript collection Trinklieder mit den fünf Blumen /Drinking songs with the five flowers/. (me-tog lña-ldan-gyi čan-glu), collected by Prof. Dr. A.H. Francke. Their translation into German was done by the author of the present work.

made. Again they are alternate songs.

The people of the Chirpon house sing:

Where may the first reed have grown?
And where did the second reed grow?
Say, where did the third reed grow?

The people from Kalatse answer:

First reed grew in China,
Second reed grew in Tibet,
Third reed grew in India;

The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: How the first knot (of the reed) grew, who saw it?
How the second knot did grow, who saw it?
How the thrid knot did grow, who saw it?

The Dragshos people answer:

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[772]

Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'aṅ-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

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Chorus of bystanders:

Good!

The Chirpon people sing:

Did the reed grow out of rock? In the meadow?
Did it grow amid the boulder rubble? In the mud?

The Dragshos people:

Not on rocks grew the reed,
Nor meadow brought it forth,
Nor did it grow amid the rubble,
Gold with glowing brought it forth.

Now there follows a series of songs in which are elaborately described the finding of the reed, its transportation, the making and effect of the lucky arrow. We only give the latter:

The Chirpon people sing: (107)

107. Number 11 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high rock flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
What news may you have of that?

/100/ The Dragshos people:

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
It brought the wings of the king of the birds.
When the arrow to the high cliff flew,

It brought the ibex' muscle fibres (108).

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108. Here I translate "Muscle fibres from the shoulder blade of the great ibex and of the old cow"; Tibetan: "skyin-ĉen ba-rgan-gyi sogs-rgyus k'yoṅs"; "sogs" seems to me to be the more correct form since "gsogs" does not make any sense here and is probably a mistake which slipped in during the dictation. Prof. Francke translated the sentence: "The arrow brought something of the treasures of the old, great female ibex down with it."

When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
It brought muscle meat of the wild yak bull.
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
It brought glue from the little fish Khyu-ru.
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
It brought the tiger's muscle fibres.

Now, after a few other songs, there follows one in which the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma), who has brewed the beer for the guests, is made fun of (109).

109. Number 15 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/.

The people from Kalatse sing:

Old brewer woman, your beer tastes strange!
You old brewer woman! What an evil brew!
It tastes like the singed wings of the king of the birds,
It tastes like the singed horn of the wild yak bull,
It tastes like the singed veins of the vain peacock,
It tastes like the singed scales of the little fish Rhyuru,
It tastes like the singed nails of a wicked wench;
I taste, old woman, five of the vile things.
Away with this beer! Away, we won't drink it!

The Chirpon people and the inhabitants of Tingmogang answer:

Without cause you scorn the old woman's beer.

The power of the white lioness' heart is in it. 585
Her gall is mixed with it; 533
Sparrow's quarrelsomeness is also in it, 539
And some of its gall is also mixed with it.
See, hence comes the drinkers' desire for quarrel.
See also the sheep's stupidity in it,
For sheep's gall is also mixed with it.
Does your dullness not come from that?
If a noble person gifted with good sense
/101/ And of high rank should come--we should invite him to the chang.
The Nyaopa brothers, too, the seven (110), we invite.

110. Compare not 102.

To a weakling we serve no beer.
If a noble person drinks it, it turns into life's elixir (111),

111. The life's elixir, really devil's elixir (Tibetan bdud-rtsi; Sanskrit amrita) plays an important part in the magical literature (Tantra) and in popular belief. Gods and men fight for this precious material which confers immortality, or at least a long life and magical powers. [789]

To the mean person it only works as a stupefier.

The people:

"Good, you noble gentlemen!"

Again the people from Kalatse sing:

Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the sky!
If the sky takes it, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up the rocks!
If it runs up the rock, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the glacier!
If a piece of ice so much as the size of a mirror (112) should melt, we'll drink.

112. A small, round metal hand mirror, the size of a serving

585
533
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plate.

Such beer one does not drink. Scatter it to the earth only!
If a picture (113) should arise, we would drink the beer.

[787]

113. A figure which is formed on the ground by the beer that has been poured out, by means of which one is supposed to foretell the future.

Such beer one does not drink. Just pour it into the water!
If a tress is braided there (114), we shall drink beer.

114. This refers to the ruffling of the surface of the water when something is poured on to it.

The Chirpon people answer:

Who in the sky takes the beer except sun and moon?
Sun and moon, those two you certainly do not resemble.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Who runs up the cliff? The old she-ibex it is (115),

115. The she-ibex /Steinziege/--the female of the ibex /Steinbock/ (Capra sibirica).

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
The size of a mirror a spot melted through sun and moon,
Do not worry! You do not resemble them.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Pictures on the earth are drawn by the black yak (116).

116. The yak's track on the earth is meant.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Little fish Golden Eye alone braids tresses in the water (117).

117. The ruffled course of the fish that swims at the surface of the water.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
Waste no words! Offer a draught! 533
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside. 585

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made 585 302 585 301

118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails. [825]

of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

585 The whole thing is covered with red material. The perag begins above
301 the forehead, where it is about three fingers wide, runs over the crown and back of the head, where it widens--with rich girls and women it becomes up to two hands wide. Then it goes down the back to the area of the hips, where it becomes narrower. The perag is covered with bright green turquoises which are attached in dense rows. Chosskyid's perag was a masterpiece of its kind; the rich Norbu had done his best /103/ in order that his only daughter should be distinguished from all the girls in Lower Ladakh by the size of her perag and the beauty of the stones. Nine rows of great stones were counted at the widest part of the perag, four to six rows, at the ends. Above her forehead between the turquoises were attached beautifully worked, silver amulet capsules guilded on top and covered with cornelians, rubies, and other, semi-precious stones. A second wide band covered with corals ran from her left shoulder along the perag to the end of the latter. A necklace of silver and corals decorated her neck, and furthermore there were silver pendants attached at the sides of the perag as well as to the left shoulder; large silver earrings hung on both sides almost down to her shoulders.

585 The ten tresses are doubled in their natural length by black
302 wool that is braided in with them. Up till now it had been light gray wool, which is the symbol of virginity; from now on black characterizes the woman. All the tresses come together around the calves of the legs. Here, at the end, a bundle of nine tassels is fastened, which reaches down to the ground.

585 Instead of the everyday dress made of red-colored Tibetan cloth,
292 the dsamos clothe the bride today in a dress of good, blue European
301 material, which the father has bought at the bazaar in Leh. The long dress, which extends down to the feet, is held together at the hips by colored sashes three meters long. The white handkerchief--essentially an ornament--is tied inside this sash and a pendant (do-len) made of shells, little pincases and all kinds of brass ornaments are attached to it on the left hand side. A beautiful shawl from Kashmir, worked in many different colors, which is fastened to the right shoulder with a brooch, is wound around the upper part of the body. The wrists are decorated with thick white rings which are made of large Indian snail-shells, as well as with silver bracelets which are in the form of snakes. The feet are shod with dainty Indian pointed shoes.

585 The dressing and ornamenting of the bride was a complicated and time-consuming affair to which the bridesmaids devoted themselves with zest. The matter proceeded amid endless talking, joking and laughing /104/, and when it was finally completed and everything had

met with the approval of the critical mother and the aunts, it had become late afternoon and way past the time when the sun had gone down behind the mountains. The old devil-tamer had calculated that the "ape hour" (119) (around four o'clock in the afternoon) would be the 585

119. Tibetan nyi-yur-spre, literally, the "sun's going-to-sleep--ape," that is, "ape hour," in which the sun prepares itself for "going to sleep." [305]

appropriate hour for the departure of the bride from her parents' house.

The Kalatse people now urged that everyone leave. The Nyaopas, still led by the sNatridpa, went to old Norbu Wangchug with the soothsayer's document in which the latter's directions were written down, and asked him to hand over the bride. The bride's mother went into the house with them to the door of the room in which the bride had been dressed. When they knocked at the bolted door a few girls came out and declared amid laughter that the bride had not yet finished dressing, that the perag was not yet fastened and that her ornaments had not yet been put on, and so forth. When, after a while, the Nyaopas, came back, the girls declared that the bride had run away from them, and that they were unable to find her. Thereupon the sNatridpa put three rupees in the first bridesmaid's hand and said: "All right, all right, I know! Just hurry up and get ready and bring out the bride; the days are short, the sun has already gone down, soon it will be dark and we have a long way to go before we are home." But still the bride did not appear. The people from Kalatse became impatient, the Nyaopas pounded on the door with their fists, which was answered by the girls with loud laughter. One of the girls came out and said that the shawl was still missing and that they were unable to find it. The father Norbu Wangchug went into the chamber, brought out a coral necklace belonging to his daughter, and gave it to Sodnam Wanggyal saying, "Here you have a pledge for the time being; just don't be angry little brother, the nomo ('younger sister,' here the bride) (120) will be right out. She

120. Compare note 38.

is drinking a bowl of tea. Just be patient for a little while longer, you gentlemen!"

It was another good half hour until the bride finally appeared, festively dressed, hung with ornaments, an attractive appearance. The

585 girl had a good figure, something which the wide, billowing dress could not conceal; her facial traits were regular /105/, the Mongolian elements in them were just barely suggested. The moment that the bride left the room in which she was dressed the sNatridpa stepped up to her, followed by the Trashispa and the other Nyaopas. The former held the bridal hat (źwa-mo) in his hand, a large felt hat trimmed with otter fur (sram). The sNatridpa put this hat on the bride's head and attached a long wishing band (k'a-btags) which in three places was tied into bows, along the edge of the hat. Now he led the bride by the hand into the chansa where in the meantime the relatives and the clan of the bride and the bridegroom had gathered. There a
789 beautiful yarkand carpet was spread out in front of the stove. On this carpet a lama had made a magical circle of good fortune (dga-dkyil) in the form of a rosette, from barley grains. Chosskyid (the bride) was now supposed to sit down on this circle. In front of her on a small table were placed bowls full of tea, beer, and rice: the farewell meal in the house of her parents. The power of the magical circle on which she was sitting was to have the effect that in her new home she would not lack in any of these good things. The bride had to consume a little bit of all these things.

Thereupon two uncles of the bride stepped into the middle of the room and stretched (as they had already done once at the holchang) the bridal rope (ras-t'ag, rag-t'ag) diagonally across the room. On this rope they again hung the clothes and the ornaments belonging to the bride. The rest of the things of the bride's trousseau were placed underneath the rope on the floor. Everything was then ceremoniously presented to the sNatridpa and the two uncles of the bridegroom together with a list of the objects (zon-yig), with the aid of which the two uncles carefully checked and counted them to see whether everything was in order.

585 Now the five lamas come down from the roof, where they have still been occupied with their ceremonies. They are now to perform the
789 ceremony which is intended to secure the good fortune of the bride and her relatives, and to break the spell of the hostile demons. The abbot of the Lamayuru monastery with four other monks places himself across from the bride who is sitting on the carpet above the magical circle; in his right hand the abbot holds the luck-bringing arrow (mda-dar) decorated with colored ribbons; in his left hand he has the holy water vessel made of copper (bum-pa), in whose narrow neck /106/ is stuck a peacock's feather. Now the abbot sprinkles the bride with holy

saffron water from the vessel; then he swings the vessel with the feather several times around above the girl's head. Then he invokes the village and household gods and the demon princes with their vast army, and conjures them with powerful texts not to inflict any harm upon the bride and her family, and not to let good fortune escape with the bride from the parental house. In chorus the lamas murmur their formulas of exorcism, first mumbling dully to themselves, then more and more loudly they swing about the thunderbolt and the magic dagger, the bell, the kettle-drum, and the cymbals which they hold in their hands sound softly at first, then--they swell, growing increasingly loud, to a deafening noise; the lamas call out: 585 789

From the East may good fortune come!
From the West may good fortune come!
From the North may good fortune come!
From the South may good fortune come!
Yan-agug! May good fortune come!

"Yan-agug! Yan-agug! " the bystanders join in in shouting. "Yan-agug! Yan-agug! " all of them yell, shout in confusion for two or three minutes. Then everything suddenly becomes still.

Now the lamas lead the bride up to the house temple to take leave from the household gods. Three times the girl prostrates herself before the statues and images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and demons. From that moment on the young woman is no longer permitted to set foot inside the parental household sanctum; from now on she enters into the tutelary and power domain of the gods of her husband's household. The jealousy of the deities of both households must be guarded against. 585 784

Then everyone descends to the chansa, and now the bagrogs and dsamo (the bridesmaids and her girl friends) lead the bride so that she may take leave of her parents who, together with the closest relatives, are already expecting her. Bowing down deep, crying loud and sobbing, Chosskyid embraces the legs of her mother, of her father, of her brothers, as well as those of her closest relatives and amid much bowing, at the same time knocking her wrists together so that the shell rings clatter, she calls out: "Farewell! Farewell! Do not forget 585
/Following page 106 there is a full-page illustration with the caption: "Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original

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/Following page 106/

Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original Drawing).

585 Drawing). "/ /107/ me! Do not forget me! Father, Mother! Older Brothers! Younger Brothers! All of you! Remember me!" The female part of the gathering joins in the loud crying. Even fat uncle Norpel wipes something moist out of his eyes with his sleeve a few times. This is the "bride crying," the bride sobbing (bag-ñus) which is required by custom. And in the case of Chosskyid and her mother the tears were genuine.

Now the relatives and the guests step up to the bride from all sides; each one of them hangs a k'atags on her until she is adorned with about thirty such greeting ribbons. Once again there are embraces, and the grasping of legs of bystanders, bowing, and crying; then the sNatridpa and the Trashispa step forward and both lead the bride by the hand between them up to the stairs. The five Nyaopas together step behind the bride and call out: "Yasa ho! Yasa ho! (dear ho!)"-- By this the gods are invoked and are asked to take the bride into their loving protection. All join in loudly, people and instruments. For the first time this day the bridegroom joins his bride. The uncle Ishe Lhundrub, who is still tolerably sober, steps up to them and carries (121) his niece on his back down the stairs, through the stable

121 The reason why the bride is carried out of the house is, in my opinion, to be seen in the naive conception that in this way the departure from the house can be kept secret from the jealous house and family gods whose anger is to be feared. In China the bride is for similar reasons carried in a sedan-chair from the parental house up to the house of the bridegroom. Her foot is not allowed to touch the ground lest the gods should get onto the track of the escaping bride.

and the courtyard up to the gate. The bridegroom's two uncles, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, remain upstairs a little longer and thank the bride's father, Norbu Wangchug, for having arranged the wedding so beautifully and and with such costly trappings. They place a katags and five rupees on the edge of the stove and give a katags to each of the bride's relatives. With the greeting: "Trashis punsum tsogspa (bkra-śis p'un-sum t'sogs-pa)," meaning "Good luck and ample prosperity!" the two uncles, as well as the Nyaopas, now also go down the stairs and the remaining company follows them. At the gate of the courtyard the neighboring women have gathered, having brought beer in metal jugs, as well as plates with flour, rice, butter and

apricots as wedding presents. The sNatridpa quickly touches the gifts with his finger as a sign of gratitude. 585

The people from Kalatse together with the bridal couple now press for the ride back home. The horses, which have long been saddled, are brought to the spot; the horses designated for the bride and groom are equipped with beautiful bridles and have colored Yarkand saddle cloths. All the people from Kalatse, at least insofar as they are still capable after /108/ the strenuous drinking, follow on horse, even if this is a very laborious undertaking for some of the men. The train is headed by the sNatridpa at whose side rides the Trashispa; then follows the bridegroom (bag-po) with one of the Nyaopas, behind him the bride with one of the bridesmaids; then follow the remaining Nyaopas, the relatives and the friends of the bridegroom in pairs. At the next fork in the road a hasty scattered offering is again presented to the devil of the road (lam-bgegs): a few handfuls of barley so that he will not inflict any harm upon the bride who is now leaving her birthplace. Now the train proceeds, amid loud conversations and light-hearted singing, right across the wide valley and over the bridge which arches over the village brook. Here they scatter another offering into the brook for the water gods so that they will let the bride pass unmolested; then they move along the steep path up the precipice to the plateau. The sun has long gone down, dusk lies over the mountain and the plain; the night wind blows and howls from the west over the desert, the mountains and ridges which surround them. The loud talking and the singing of the people returning home is silenced, everyone thinks again of the terrible Tsan and Gongpo (demons) who are especially hostile to wedding processions. The riders, ordinarily plucky men who are used to braving the dangers of the wild mountains, cluster together. Those who were lagging behind rush up hurriedly; fear has seized everyone, heated by the beer the brains paint images of terror before their mind's eye: the wild chase of the Tsan king races through the clouded sky. Many a one feels for his amulets to see if they are still hanging properly around his neck and at his cap. Many a one prays an "Om-ma-ni-pad me hum!" between chattering teeth. Then suddenly the moon rises above the jagged mountain massif yonder in the East and pours its faint light over the mountain waste. Now the hearts of the people are somewhat relieved and in a rapid amble they ride towards their destination.

Finally they reach Kalatse; but the house of the bridegroom may not yet be entered. At a crossing of the paths on the plateau to the side of the village everybody dismounts. First an offering meal 585 789

585 must be presented to the gods and the demons of the bride's new
789 dwelling place, in order to put them into a favorable mood lest they should oppose the new arrival. The abbot who had come along with /109/ four of his monks because he knew that there was still work for him to do, steps up to the crossing of the ways; on a copper plate he holds three little lamps (mčod-koń) in the shape of a chalice made of bread dough. Butter has been put into the hollow at the top, a wick has been put inside the butter, which was then lighted. Now the abbot steps before the bride, holding in his right hand the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and the magic bell (dril-bu), and in his left hand the plate with the little burning lamps. Three times he swings them slowly in a circle around the head of the bride who is crouching before him and exorcizes the demons with the following words: "None of the male or female
576 Gong (122), none of the male or female Dre, the Tsan, the Dud, none

122. The names cited here designate various kinds of demons.

of the 80,000 Gegs devils, none of the 424 kinds of Don with their entire following may ever harm this bride. May they eat their fill from this meal and then each one go to his place!" After this exorcism from the mouth of the abbot, in which the four other lamas join in with deep, rumbling voices, the instruments start up again with a shrill sound. A lama novice relieves the abbot of the three little lamps made of bread dough and flings them among the blocks of stone lying around by the crossing of the paths. Then another lama hands the abbot a clay pot (dza-blug) into which have been put all kinds of shabby remnants of the wedding feast: used tea leaves (ja-ro), brewer's grain (sbań-ma), remains of onions, garlic, radishes, a few bones that have been picked, and a piece of fur from one of the sheep that was consumed. The abbot places himself with the pot in front of a stone block on which a lama had previously drawn the figure of two crossed thunderbolts (rdo-rje rgya-dram), flings the pot with its appetizing content against the stone so that it breaks into pieces and the contents are scattered about. Now the demons may eat their fill from these "delicious" things and then they are to go each to his proper place (123).

123. This treatment of the demons on the part of the Tibetan lamas is reminiscent, as many of their defensive measures against the dieties are, of the conception of the "stupid devil" which one encountered until recent times also among the

German people. The sly person was able, according to this conception, to outwit and ward off the devil by means of all kinds of tricks. 585 789

During this activity of the lama magicians the bridegroom and the bride stand facing them with their hands folded over their breast and with their heads bent forward. After the exorcism the abbot reads one more prayer to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and tutelary spirits, asking for happiness and prosperity for the young couple; a prayer to the benign goddess Drolma (Tara) asking for the blessing of offspring. In so doing /110/ he again swings his magical bell and the dorje, as well as a small hand drum made of human skulls. Finally the abbot throws a few handfuls of rice over the bride and bridegroom as a symbol of fertility (124), while the lamas are performing on their instruments.

124. Compare the very similar custom at weddings in England.

Finally the procession moves on to the Dragshos house, the future dwelling place of the young married couple. Led by sNatridpa the bride enters the house followed by the bridesmaids. They pass through the dark stable, up the stone steps, and stand in front of the chansa. There the bride stops in front of the opened door and pretends to cry and to refuse to enter. Not till she has received the gift of one rupee from the sNatridpa, does she consent to enter and her "crying" stops (125). In the chansa the bride now greets the bridegroom's 585

125. This custom is not to be considered as having originated from the desire to exact money; rather it is to be interpreted as a symbolic expression for the fact that only through purchase does the bride enter into the possession of the bridegroom.

parents and relatives who have finally also arrived together with the bridegroom. The bride bows low, embraces their legs, says "žu" and claps together the rings on her wrists. Then she greets with a low bow the hearth at which she is to work in the future: the "sacred hearth," and in it the "royal goddess of the hearth" (t'ab-lha rgyal-mo), under whose protection her activities at the hearth are to be carried out.

Sideways from the hearth along the wall a beautiful Yarkand carpet is laid out. On this carpet a lama has marked out a Buddhistic swastika (yuń-druń) by means of barley grains; next to it he has put a 585 789

585 circle of good fortune (dga-skyil). In between the two magical figures
789 is placed a measure of grain (1 bre, around 1 liter) which is heaped full of barley. In it is stuck an arrow and on top of the barley has been placed a little lump of butter: a symbol of plenty, of abundance, of fatness, of fertility and of protection (the arrow).

The bride now sits down on the circle of good fortune of barley, the bridegroom sits down on the swastika, and between them stands the full measure of grain. Little tables are placed before them. The abbot steps before the couple and sprinkles them with holy saffron
585 water. Now the sNatridpa and the Trashishpa step forth and take the heavy bridal hat off the bride's head, and in so doing they sing a song related to this act (126). A large plate, heaped up with rice, meat,

126. Unfortunately I have not been able to obtain this poem up till now, which is entitled "źwa-p'ud" (taking off the hat).

vegetables, prepared with a strongly spiced sauce (curry) is placed on the little table in front of the couple. Both eat from /111/ one plate their first common meal in their common home. With it they drink tea, the bridegroom also beer. During the meal they exchange scarcely a word. They know that they are being carefully observed, for in the meantime the relatives and members of the tribe of the Dragshos house have gathered in the chansa; the five Nyaopas are also there in full force. Mother Palskyid now goes around among all of them and thanks them with deep bows and clapping together of the rings on her wrists for all the help and assistance and all the financial contributions which enabled them to bring about the wedding.

The male contingent of the relatives and of the p'as-pun now goes to the neighboring house of a relative where, despite the late hour of the evening, they are regaled with further food and drink at the expense of Lobsang Wanggyal. There they feast, drink, sing, and dance into the early hours of the morning. The bridegroom goes to join them for a little while; he sits down among the guests in order to watch the dances. This is demanded by custom even if he does not enjoy it. During this time the bride stays with the women of her new circle of relatives who most eagerly discuss the wedding feast and everything they experienced that day.

In the neighbor's house things get increasingly lively and noisier, and incessantly there resounds the singing of the men; the store of songs is inexhaustible; but as the time goes by the songs become more and

more inferior with respect to their content and form, until the singing 585
turns into the blaring of smutty and obscene songs. The dances also become increasingly wild and abandoned, an expression of the imagination and sensuality inflamed by the beer. Yet the group of drinkers and dancers becomes smaller and smaller. Many a one who had "enough" has gone on his way home with a heavy head and a dull tread; many a one has silently collapsed in the midst of the circle of drinkers and is laid down by the others in the back of the room, among them also Lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house who had been the worst with the drinking and telling of dirty jokes. The sky was already becoming ruddy in the East when the last ones who were still able to walk finally set out on their way home in the cold morning twilight. Part of the guests who had come from afar stayed over night at the Dragshos house, others in neighboring houses, and others simply where inebriation had caused them to collapse.

/112/ The bridegroom did not stay long among those who were still celebrating. Their wild doings repelled him; the smutty jokes and allusions of the drunken men offended his sensibility. When the latter had just started again with drinking and dancing, he quietly got up; his departure was scarcely noticed by the people there. Finally he felt himself released from the unpleasant obligation of being present at the celebration and went over to the house of his father. There his bride was still waiting eagerly for the bridegroom in the circle of the older women and of her bridesmaids. As time went by, he had won her heart more and more, despite the fact that they had seen each other so seldom. Now, finally, after long months of delay and anxiety the two had arrived at the goal of their desires. Namgyal took his bride by the hand and said: "Yoñ (come)!" Silently they both entered the room which was now to be their common living quarters. Only now did they fully realize that they belonged to each other.

On the day after the first wedding celebration most participants slept far into the forenoon, at least the male part of the guests. In the Dragshos house, however, the women, as well as some men who had remained tolerably sober during the festivities of the preceding day, already prepared for the further celebration which was to take place today in the Dragshos house: the "wedding of the young man (bu-t'sai bag-ston) (127)." Towards noon the Chirpon people came with their

127. The wedding celebration in the bride's house is accordingly called "the wedding of the girl (bo-moi bag-ston)."

585 entire clan to Kalatse to take part in the further celebration. The young couple went out to meet them. Accompanied by the Nyaopas and Bagrogs they went as far as the plain beyond the gorge in order to present themselves now as the newly married couple to the parents and to the relatives of the bride. The couple greet the parents with the customary bows, clasping of knees, and so forth. The best man and the bridesmaids each place a jug of tea and beer before the parents who have dismounted from their horses. The parents give the daughter a beautifully embroidered Kashmir cloth worked in different colors; to the son-in-law they give a colorful sash. The best men and the bridesmaids each receive a few silver coins. Then the whole company goes to the Dragshos house together, where the guests are very gradually reassembling; some of them do not get back until the afternoon.

/Following page 112 there are two full-page illustrations; one of a praying Buddha figure, without a subtitle; the second showing the "preparing of the butter tea" (subtitle)./

/113/ Since Lobsang Wanggyal's house was also unable to hold all the guests, the celebration took place in his apricot garden where the large tent was again erected for the benefit of the elegant guests. The others sat down on carpets outside and soon there developed the same picture as the one of the preceding day: They ate, they drank, they sang, they danced, and they gave themselves over to uninhibited
585 gaiety. But the element that gave this celebration its special character
431 was the fact that the relatives and the members of the clan, the closest neighbors and the elegant guests of the Dragshos, delivered the contribution, in so far they had not already done so. Large goat's hair sacks with wheat, barley, and flour; beer in enormous clay jugs, butter in hide sacks, salt, Teeziegel /tea tiles/; furthermore Tibetan cloth in rolls, articles of clothing; the lonpo donated an entire suit of clothing: jacket, trousers, shirt, leggings, and sash for Namgyal. Also a few sheep and goats were driven in as contributions, and finally the money promised by various individuals for Lobsang Wanggyal was given to the lonpo. The latter received all the contributions, wrote down all that had been supplied and all payments of money on a list, and then carefully compared what had been received with what everyone had promised at the consultation beer. The other men also examined closely what each individual had contributed. Most of them had brought exactly what they had promised, some even brought a little more in order to outdo the others. Some, only a few, came with empty hands but promised to bring in their contribution later. Shangkupa (in German:

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/Following page 112

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A praying Buddha figure

/Following page 112/

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Preparing of the butter tea

Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man. "--translator. /) 585
from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little 431
goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself, " Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, 585
the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, [563]
men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant 585
people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy 533
occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be 535
earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short 585
period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

585 more Chosskyid took an emotional farewell from her parents and from her relatives, with loud "bride's crying"; for now she stayed in the Dragshos house which had now become her home. The people from Tingmogang are supposed to have had a very bad time of it on their way home, but afterwards they did not like to talk about it. The people from Kalatse and a closer circle of guests from more distant villages stayed in the Dragshos house where they enjoyed themselves into the early hours of the morning with beer, singing, and dancing; until finally the lonpo stood up and in so doing gave the sign for everyone to depart.

/115/ On the third day separate parties were arranged in both houses, in the Dragshos house in Kalatse and in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang: the nyendron (party for relatives) to which all relatives and members of the tribe are invited who have in any way made contributions of some kind to the celebrations. If both houses had been in one place, nyendron would have been held for all those involved on two consecutive days, one day in one house, the next day in the other. On this third day the celebrations were a somewhat simplified repetition of those that had preceded them. At the end of this celebration each of the masters of the house thanked the guests with great politeness for their help and contributions. The Dragshos at that time also dismissed the five Nyaopas after an ample dinner and plentiful drink. Through the lonpo he presented each one of them with three rupees and ample provisions to eat along the way.

On the fourth day all those who had in some way or other served at the celebrations in both places were invited, in both houses, to the dronchung (little meal): the female cook (zan-ma), the female beer-brewer (čaṅ-ma), the female bread-baker (ta-gir-ma), the female water-carriers (ču-ma), the lampwoman (sgron-ma), and further the men and women who had performed all kinds of carrier services; the neighbors who had lent little tables, carpets, cooking pots, jugs and other utensils for the great celebration; the guard who had to look out that during the confusion of the banquet none of these utensils was carried off. All these faithful helpers were on this day able to enjoy their fill of food and drink as a reward for the services they rendered; and on this occasion the singing and the dancing was again not lacking. In the end everyone received, aside from a word of thanks from the m master of the house, a number of flat bread cakes and ample kollag as provisions along the way.

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests.

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!), " and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his experiences with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well- 000

128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same 594 855

594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house, when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the case
[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the death of the father. She has full authority over the property (the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband. If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something which happens quite often and is carried out without many scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same parents.

000 to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuń) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself

the possession of his wife to, whom he had become increasingly attached as time went by, instead of having to share in the possession of one woman with several brothers in a polyandrous marriage. (129)

129. In large parts of Tibet and of Ladakh there prevails the custom of marriage with many men (polyandry). In families with several sons, only the eldest son as a rule brings a wife into the house. This wife is after the wedding without further ceremony also considered the spouse of the remaining--rarely more than two--younger brothers. The oldest brother is regarded as the actual husband and owner of the woman, and he alone is entitled to rid himself of the woman through divorce when she has committed adultery or in any other way displeased him. The children are the property of the oldest brother, of the master of the house; they call him "great father (a-p'a ĉen-mo), " the youngest brother they call "little father (a-p'a ĉuñ-nuñ), " and the middle brother (of three) they call "ap'a /sic/ bar-ma, middle father." Often one of the brothers marries as Magpa into another house, especially when there are more than three brothers in one household; or one of the younger brothers enters the monastery as lama and is taken care of there. In this way, and also through the frequent absence on business trips of one or several of the woman's husbands, the unnatural and repulsive aspects of this custom are somewhat lessened. The custom has its motivation in the endeavor to prevent the splitting up into many small parts of the field holdings which are usually small, are acquired with much toil and are expensive to begin with; and also to avoid overpopulation. It is therefore a measure of purely economic and social significance. Through continued distribution of the land among the heirs, there would soon come into existence tiny properties which would be unable to maintain a family. Tibet still has practically no industry and the few handicrafts (smith, carpenter) are practised exclusively by the low caste Aryans (Mon, Garba). Thus the brothers mostly stay together in the paternal house where they are very welcome as working hands; even a small holding can in this manner feed its occupants at least precariously. In so doing the "system" practically fulfills its purpose. True, it is so designed as to destroy the woman's feeling for purity and dignity. But it must be said that

595 But it must be said that
562 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan
[789] woman to be sterile (mo-śam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign
[776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mĉod-gnas) a few rupees 842
"for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!"
He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled
and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing
of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously
and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara,
so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The
Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings;
the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single
lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit
Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves
swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore
two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the
ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the
house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was
increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to
one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! 595
The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling 837
and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands
to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a husband; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for
compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The
man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of
the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner;
even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise
to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only
a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things
and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents
his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a complete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently 586
brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of
continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness,
or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and
wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter
also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal
law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who
breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

586 money: One "coat lappet full" of money, that is, a certain sum of money which is to be put into the lappet of the long coat (t'o-sgaṅ) and is to be handed over in this manner. The concept to-sgaṅ points to the fact that the fine was originally a very high one. But the concept is extremely flexible and accordingly it is usually stretched--or shrunk--a great deal. In Tibet, too, there frequently prevails a "double standard" for man and woman. A proverb states, in the conciseness characteristic of the Tibetan language: "Man--coat lappet--cow; woman--coat lappet--horse"; that is to say, the man who breaks up the marriage pays as compensation the price of a cow; the woman in the corresponding case pays approximately threefold price of a horse. Often one party maliciously leaves the other and does not think of paying a sum of money as compensation. Then there are violent disputes between the families and the tribes of the persons involved, as well as protracted litigations in court.

ooo In comparison to this, the relationship between the young couple Namgyal and Chosskyid was distinguished very favorably by the fact that here each party was attached to the other by warm affection. Namgyal guarded his "migbras" (the apple of his eye) with love and with a wakeful eye and Chosskyid /119/ as time went by became increasingly a faithful helpmate and support to him in all his duties.

511 With respect to outward signs of good fortune, that is, material goods, Kubera, the god of wealth, had not provided the Dragshos family too liberally, according to the concept of their Tibetan neighbors and acquaintances. Despite their elegant descent they were nothing but farmers whose modest wealth consisted of their possession in the fields and cattle. Aside from fields and clover meadows the family owned three horses, a number of cows, a few yak oxen and donkeys, fifty odd sheep, and some goats as well as chickens. Cash was always quite scarce with them as it is with all Tibetan farmers. The money as a rule just sufficed for the payment of the heavy taxes, for the purchase of the greatest necessities, insofar as these could not be supplied by their own farm. The latter was, luckily, the case to a very large degree. Wheat, barley, and buckwheat were supplied by their fields. The grain [252] was ground at one of the small water mills by the brook; it was sifted through a sieve made of horse hair, and in this manner they obtained a coarse, nourishing flour. Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of

Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent <u>self-sufficient</u> 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in <u>exchange trade</u> the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious <u>work</u> were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The <u>plowing</u> of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the <u>watering</u> and <u>weeding</u> was done 462

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
286 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning-wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The
[82] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoñ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford 262
a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing 264
wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-t'ug, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy.

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/ Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of 342
their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had gradually become too cramped for the growing family. The old grandmother Tsering Putrid who with advancing age became increasingly strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to insist that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje Dud-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined.

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with 342 77
little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red," wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gnyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal

342 had to call in the lamas, even if he did so half against his will. They
777 came, five in number, and on the spot staked out for the construction, they read the book of the "heaped up good luck (bkra-śis rtsegs-pa)," the words of which allegedly possess the power to exorcise the entire legion of threatening demons, so that good fortune might be able to enter into the house unhampered.

/Following page 122 there is a full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool."/

342 /123/ On the appointed Thursday there appeared a group of men with hoes and spades on the building site. Jugs with beer were already standing there in readiness. The workers received a drink and each one of them was given a few copper coins. The "architect," a carpenter with very limited abilities, stepped forth and staked off the quadrangle of the house exactly by means of strings and stakes. At the sign from the master one of the laborers came forth and, as the first one, broke the ground with his hoe. He and no other one was allowed
[777] to do this: He was a "pig year person" (p'ag-lo-pa); such a person is considered as a person who brings luck, and whatever he starts is supposed to succeed. He is a man of "sharp speech" (k'a-gnon), the spirits fear his word and his hand, he has power over them. One blow with the hoe executed by him frightens the spirits and drives away the last ones that may have remained behind after the exorcism of the lamas. This "pig year person" also receives better pay than the other workers in order to make sure that he will stay till the building is completed. He had been fetched from a distant village, because no such lucky person was to be had just then in the neighboring villages. The higher pay induced him to lend his services to the builder until the end, a fact which was appreciated not because of his performance--he was the laziest of all the workers--but because of his supposed power of exorcizing the spirits, a power which was given him by his year of birth. His laziness was therefore taken into the bargain.

Weeks before they began building the men had broken rocks by the mountain and had rolled them down the steep slope close to the building site. Poplars had been felled for building wood; there was no better building wood on these mountain oases. The carpenter and his assistants chopped off the branches with their cross axes, peeled off the bark, and removed the roughest unevennesses of the trunk, but left it in its round shape. There is in the mountain wilderness a great lack of strong trunks which can be used as roof beams capable of supporting

/Following page 122/

335
412

Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool.

a certain load. For this reason the trunks are not made into square beams so that they will not become too weak to support the roof. 342

Then the tiles were formed from the loamy soil, such as is to be found nearby--a product of the decomposition of limestone and granite--in the glacial deposits of the valley. The "tile moulders" placed the tiles upright on their sides on the ground in rows /124/. The sun, which in these heights (3,300 meters), with their clear, thin air free of vapors, shines very hot as early as May and exerts its heating effect unhampered, can in a few days dry and bake these "air tiles" in such a way that they produce walls, which in the dry air of those highlands can last for centuries. For the burning of tiles there is no fuel in the practically woodless country. The Tibetan potter must laboriously gather the necessary shrubs in order to bake his pots and jugs. 342 333 [323

The ground, consisting of moraine deposits on which the entire village stood, was dug without difficulty to the depth of about half a meter. Then came the "bricklayers," that is to say, the farmers who knew a little more about bricklaying than the others. The foundation walls were constructed of rough, scarcely hewn stones up to a height of about half a meter above the ground. On top of this foundation wall was put a thin layer of planks; with such a plank layer the wall is also covered at the top. Loamy soil serves as mortar. It is true that there are entire mountain ranges consisting of lime nearby, but for lack of fuel no lime can be baked.

A wooden roof is an impossibility, due to the lack of suitable building wood. The ceiling beams are placed blunt and without joints on the upper plank layer of the wall at distances of about half a meter. For larger rooms a stronger main beam is placed in the middle, and from this beam weaker beams are placed at right angles on both sides towards the walls. On top of these are placed, close together, strong, straight, peeled osier sticks which have been cut to an even length. On top of this is placed a layer of any kind of shrubs or weeds, such as the region may provide. On top of this layer they put wet loamy soil which they then trample down. The roof is divided into several fields with a slight incline towards the edge of the roof, so that the rain water is conducted into the outer corners and can drain off through short wooden gutters. 342

The house has two stories which internally are connected by means of stairs made of rough stones. A ladder consisting of a beam into which the carpenter has cut indentations as steps /125/, leads from the upper story on to the flat topmost roof of the house. The

342 walls of the house are covered on the inside as well as the outside with a plaster which consists also of loamy or clay-containing soil like the rest of the walls. Then the whole thing is painted with a yellowish white marl, which gives the house a friendly appearance. The doors and window frames are roughly fashioned, and the windows are very small, in order to keep the rooms as warm as possible in winter. The floors are made of loam that has been stamped down; only in the houses of the rich does a part of the living quarters have wooden ceilings. Usually a small courtyard that is enclosed by a high wall surrounds the house.

One enters a Tibetan house, coming through the courtyard, by a low door, and first of all one finds oneself in the stable in which the horses and the cows belonging to the owner stand at their brick cribs. Going up the stone steps, one arrives at the roomy livingroom-kitchen (čan-sa); adjoining this is a larger room, a kind of "parlor," opening to the south with a balcony; adjacent to both these rooms are the bedrooms and the pantry. Frequently the living room-kitchen also has a balcony on which the people like to sit in the sun in summer and winter, when they don't prefer to stay on the flat roof. Sometimes only a part of the lower story has a second story built on top of it, so that one can walk about and sit on its roof. Often the house is built at a steep mountain slope; then people and animals can get on top of the roof without stairs by simply using the mountain slope. On top of the roof the sheep and goat stable is often to be found.

On the upper roof, the loft, well-to-do Buddhists have their household temple constructed. Below this temple, in the livingroom-kitchen, are the seats of the men running in a row along the wall; below this--the granary. The blessing of the Buddhas and of the tutelary gods, whose pictures are up above in the household sanctum, are supposed to stream down directly upon the people and the property of the house below.

The work now progressed rapidly. Not a single rainy day interrupted it; the tiles dried and hardened well and quickly in the hot sun /126/, and when in July the harvesting work started, which required the services of the workers, the construction was essentially finished. Namgyal regaled his workers with tea, flat bread cakes, and beer, and dismissed them all except two carpenters who still had to construct the last doors and window shutters. The new building of the Dragshos house stood, simple but trim, beside the old, which Namgyal had also had repained. His joy over the new construction was great.

Dedication of the House and Securing it Against Hostile Demons

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When the construction of the house was completed, Namgyal again called in the lamas. This is the way his relatives wanted it. For three days on end the lamas performed skurim (ceremonies), prayed to the Buddhas and to the tutelary spirits, asking them to protect the house and to give them blessing and prosperity in all their doing. It was especially important to protect the new house against the malicious earth spirits (sa-bdag) and their mistress, the old earth mother (ama-k'on-ma). This goddess wears a golden-yellow garment and she rides on a ram. In her hand she holds a loop of golden string. The most dreaded of the earth spirits are the Nyan (gnyan), who wander around in mountain and valley, and who nestle now in this, now in that rock or tree, and who send disease and death to man, when they are provoked, whether purposely or not. In order to fix these earth spirits of all kinds inside the earth, the lamas perform a ceremony which they call "the closing of earth's door." The lamas erect a long pole and construct a dosmo; from crossed sticks with wool threads stretched between them are constructed magical figures, parallelograms, pentagons, octagons, and stars, similar to the druidic foot of the medieval magician in Germany. These figures are fastened to the pole. Many of the figures are reminiscent of spider's webs; in addition there are little flags, arrows, and the like, which are stuck in between. Below, at the magical pole, a ram's skull is affixed. Inside the skull the lama magicians put all kinds of "valuable" offering gifts: gold leaf, a small piece of silver, a coin, a few turquoises, which are very cheap in Tibet, other semi-precious /127/ stones and small trinkets, wheat and rice kernels, peas, and the like. The quantity and the value of the offering gifts is determined by the money bag of the customer. A magical sign (sparka-k'on) is painted on the forehead of the skull; on the right jawbone is painted a sun, on the left jawbone a moon; above this are placed demons' masks, strips of silk, coins, and little sticks with little balls of wool at their tips (p'an-k'ra). At the very bottom of the pole the following crudely drawn pictures are attached: the picture of a man (the master of the house), of a woman with a spindle in her hand (the lady of the house), the children, the picture of the house, of a tree, and further magical signs (sparka and mewa), each of the latter on a little wooden tablet.

The entire dosmo is now fastened on the outside of the house

342 789 above the housedoor. It is supposed to fix the evil earth spirits firmly within the earth, lest they approach the house in a threatening manner. They are supposed to vent their rage upon the pictures by believing them to be the actual inhabitants of the house. Once the dosmo is attached, lama steps in front of the housedoor with his face turned towards the southwest, and calls upon the queen of the earth spirits, the old mother Khon, draws her attention to all the good things coveted by her, the ram's skull with sun and moon, the Khon sign, and all the valuable stones, and so forth, in the ram's skull. All this, he says, is being offered to her so that she may enjoy it. And now she might as well close the door of the earth for the owners of the house, who had brought her all these precious things as an offering, so that the army of earth spirits which was subordinated to her might not inflict any harm upon the inhabitants of the house. In future, too, when the latter should build a new house or improve the old, when they might plan a marriage or any other important matter, the earth mother is to remember this offering and is not to hinder the doings of the people, but to further them. In conclusion the lama claps his hands and exclaims: "Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!" (mystical Sanskrit formulas).

The housedoor of the new house also had to be well protected against the evil spirits. A picture of the house and hearth god with the pig's head (p'a-lha, t'ab-lha) was also fastened above its door. When all these ceremonies were completed, and the lamas had fortified themselves by an ample meal and ample drink, /128/ and after each one of them had received another gift of money, they departed with the greeting: "Tra-shis-shik! K'angpa nor pelchik! Hail! May your house and your property prosper!"

A Year in the House of the Dragshos and What Namgyal Experienced during it

527 In the house of the Dragshos the old popular customs were strictly observed. The inhabitants were firmly rooted in the soil of the popular national traditions and took part in the life of the people as it has been taking its course for thousands of years, year after year in the same way, connected in the closest possible manner with nature. Just as life in nature takes its course in the eternal consonance of the yearly cycle which is determined by the course of the sun, so, too, the life of the Tibetan passes in even rhythm. In this the turning points

in the course of the light-giving and life-giving sun are likewise the turning points in his life and activities. 527

The sun in winter runs its course in a low arc, scarcely rises above the tall mountain ridges and leaves innumerable valleys and many homesteads in darkness and cold. When, at the time of the winter solstice, it again rises victoriously and awakens to new life the nature which has been lying in a deathlike sleep, then joy and hope, which seek expression in a whole series of festivals, are aroused in the heart of the Tibetan.

In this respect it is strange first of all that the Tibetans have two New Year's celebrations. There is the people's New Year (lo-gsar) of ancient tradition, which is celebrated on a series of days beginning at the end of the tenth month; and there is the "King's New Year" (rgyal-poi lo-gsar), also called Dosmoche (gdos-mo-ce), which is observed on the first day of the first month. The first-named is in any case the older, more original festival which originated from the ancient winter solstice festival. It usually falls in the time between the last days of November and the 25th of December. Since the grain and provision chambers of the Tibetans are still relatively full around this time, there are no material prerequisites lacking for extensive celebrations. When--about two months later--the "King's New Year" is celebrated, and the supplies have been strongly depleted by family and tribal festivals, there may very easily be a lack of the necessary /Following page 128 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of a "Wedding feast in Stog (Ladakh). Behind the men have been constructed three wedding cakes (bran-rgyas) in the form of Buddhistic stupas, out of "cake tiles." The chang jug is circulating." (subtitle). The second illustration is of "A wedding in Ladakh" (subtitle). / /129/ "stuff" for celebrating; and, after all, the Tibetan likes to "splurge" at his festivals.

The lamas, it is true, look upon the King's New Year (Dosmoche) as the true New Year. It was probably introduced by the kings who had turned Buddhist at the urging of the Buddhist priesthood. (132)

132. A saga tells--under the presupposition that the "King's New Year," the later New Year celebrated in February, is the original one--that the king of Ladakh by the name of Jamgyang (1560-1590) wanted to wage war against the Muslim princes of neighboring Puri. But since winter was close at hand the lamas declared that it would not be advisable to start the war

/Following page

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Wedding feast in Stog (Ladakh). Behind the men have been constructed three wedding cakes (bran-rgyas) in the form of Buddhistic stupas out of "cake tiles." The chang jug is circulating.

5; Ribbach--133 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 128/

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A Wedding in Ladakh

527 before the New Year had been properly celebrated. Thereupon the king is supposed to have advanced the date of the New Year's festival by two months without a moment's hesitation. In this way the people of Ladak are said to have come to two New Year's celebrations, for the people refused to let the second festival go. Compare Francke, History of Western Tibet, p. 91.

With this was also connected the introduction of the calendar which which was borrowed from the Chinese. But the people will not let them-themselves be deprived of their first New Year (lo-gsar literally means "New Year"), and therefore they celebrate two festivals. The lamas have accommodated themselves to this national custom as they have to all others, and they secure their share and their rights in both festivals.

The first New Year (lo-gsar) begins on the 28th day of the tenth Tibetan month, the memorial day of the "ascent to Heaven" of the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsongkapa, the founder of the dominant reform sect of the Gelugpa (the "virtuous"). On this day he is supposed to have attained divine dignity, and he is supposed to have ascended up to the Tushita heaven, the abode of the Bodhisattvas. The Tibetans for this reason also call this holiday Galdan Namchoď (dga-ldan, meaning "realm of joy," Tushita; gnam, meaning "heaven"; mčod, meaning "offering"); Tsongkapa also named the large monastery near Lhasa which was founded by him, Galdan. There the festival of the lanterns is celebrated around this time, and in all the numerous monasteries of the "Virtuous" memorial celebrations are organized.

527 On this occasion the people present offering gifts to the monasteries.
782 Namgyal went to Tingmogang on the day before the beginning of the festival in order to donate a few brass offering lamps, as well as butter used for fuel in these lamps, barley, rice, and beer in brass bowls, at the monastery located there. The gifts were placed before the images of the gods. Outside on the door posts of his house and on the inside along the beams of the ceiling he fastened twigs of juniper just as everybody else did. By this, the evil spirits of the old year were to be exorcized so that they would leave the house peacefully to those of the new year. In his own household temple Namgyal placed bowls with fresh offerings before the statues and images of the Buddhas and gods, in order to maintain their favor; he decorated the house altar with dried flowers, placed burning offering lamps on it, and laid K'a-tags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods.

and laid k'atags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods. 000

/130/ On the first evening of the festival there had to be the 527
baba dumpling made of barley flour and mixed with butter and sugar, 262
as a part of the meal. Mother Tsering Putrid prepared it with her own hands, for, she said, nobody knew how to make them the way she had learned to make them from her mother. At supper the steaming, fragrant giant dumpling was then placed between the celebrants who were crouched on carpets on the floor. The master of the house made a hole in the middle, at the top, by means of a spoon, and into this Tsering Putrid poured melted butter. (133). Then the master of the

133. A similar custom is to be found in Sweden where a flour dish appears on the table at the New Year's eve dinner. This dish has a hollow at the top into which melted butter is poured. Compare note 37!

house was the first to break off with his little brass spoon a piece of the dumpling, --followed by all the others. Each dipped it into the butter, and soon the loud smacking of lips betrayed how well the baba tasted to all.

Everywhere from the king's castle to the hut of the small-holder 527
they celebrated, depending on their wealth they ate well and plentifully, and--the men--drank even more, they gathered for singing and dancing, for polo playing and horse racing. Everybody gave himself over to unbridled gaiety.

In one of the first years after his marriage Namgyal received a 527
letter. The letter was from the Gyalpo, the grandson of the king of 574
Ladakh, who was dethroned in 1840 and who lived in a castle on the other side of the Indus River across from Leh, and who there lived on a small state pension and large reminiscences from the time of his once mighty forebears. The letter contained an invitation to him from the "Ruler without land" to celebrate the festival in Leh with him and the galons, lonpos, and other great men. The king in his epistle addressed the young Dragshos with "No" (younger brother); he, as the offspring of the noble race of the Dragshos, whose valiant sons had once performed great services for the land of Ladakh and one of whose offspring had once been offered the royal hat, should not be absent from the festivities in Leh. The custom had existed, since the days of his forefathers, that the king celebrated the New Year's festival in Leh surrounded by his grandees and that he prayed together with them for

527 the well-being of the country and of the people.

574 Namgyal at first had very little desire to comply with the invitation. In the past few years his father had been in the habit of declining the same invitation under the pretense that as village magistrate he was unable to leave his post for such a long time. The real reason was /131/ that he knew from experience that this participation was an expensive matter. The great festivals in the royal palace in Leh cost a lot of money, and the king was totally unable to meet these expenses from his own modest income. Therefore, his "grandees" who had the honor to take part in the festivities, had to make considerable contributions. It even happened that after the celebration the royal pockets were so completely depleted that his "majesty" would approach one or the other of his noblemen for a loan, for the repayment of which the person concerned would then have to wait an extremely long time. Many of them had had bad experiences in these matters. One of them, for instance, had had to be contented with a very emaciated little ox as repayment for a considerable sum of money that he had lent. But finally Namgyal allowed himself to be persuaded by some friends and by his ambitious grandmother to go to the festival at Leh after all. It was, he was told, an honor for the house of Dragshos and for entire Lower Ladakh if he was gathered together with all the grandees around the king. After all, the lonpo from Domkhar, who was related to him, was also taking part. Finally, Namgyal himself wanted to experience for once the festivities days in May, of which he had heard so much. Perhaps, so he thought, he might even learn something from them.

574 Thus, shortly before the beginning of the celebrations Namgyal rode to Leh in two days. In Leh he moved in with a distant relative. On the evening of the first holiday, the 28th of the tenth month, he saw, for the first time, the illumination of the town; the houses at the foot of the mountain on which the castle was situated, and along the southern slope of the same, the castle, and the monasteries gleamed [790] in the shine of thousands of little lamps lit to celebrate this lamaistic "ascension festival," something which made a great impression upon Namgyal.

527 The following morning at the bazaar he met about twenty Tibetan gentlemen of nobility, galons, lonpos, and higher officials. on horseback, who were just about to fetch the king for the celebration of the festival. Namgyal, likewise on horseback, joined them. A

ride of a good hour at a steady amble brought the company to the village [527]
Stôg on the other side of the Indus where the king was already awaiting the gentlemen from Leh with a small following of relatives and farmers. All were on fine horses, the horses were beautifully bridled and equipped with fine, /132/ colorful Yarkand saddlecloths. The gentlemen from [576]
Leh greeted his dethroned majesty with the honors accorded to a king of the old time: "Hail! We, your humble servants, greet you most respectfully, you, the lofty king of Ladakh! Hail, good fortune, might, and long life be accorded to you!" On this occasion a special word from the courtly language was used for each of the words applied to the king. Furthermore, the gentlemen had all dismounted from their horses, they bowed down deeply before his majesty and embraced the royal legs. The king, a man of middle age, was, it is true, anything but a royal sight: his posture was slouching; sagging and expressionless were his facial traits; his one crossed eye gave his expression of a somewhate stupid appearance--the degenerate offspring of a once mighty and energetic tribe of rulers. He received the salutations of his grandees with an embarrassed gesture. And yet he was "the king" for the people of Ladakh during the brief days of celebration, and as such, royal respects had to be paid to him. This was required by the custom which the ruling Kashmir government suffered magnanimously to continue, since it was convinced of the harmlessness of the weakly Gyalpo.

Escorted by about thirty horsemen, the king now rode to Leh, crossing the Indus by a bridge. He rode across the bazaar and was greeted everywhere by the people of Ladakh in a most respectful manner. The people had come together in great numbers from all the neighboring villages, in part from very great distances. Today they were for once allowed to dream of ancient, long-past royal splendor. The procession rode up the steep mountain on which the castle stood, accompanied by crowds of the populace. In front of the lions' gate [532]
the riders dismounted. At their approach the lion who was roughly carved out of wood, and who peered out over the gate from a niche, had begun to growl violently, and at the same time there resounded the furious barking of dogs. A mighty Tibetan mastiff which was lying on the inside of the gate on a chain was connected by means of a string with the wooden lion up above. When the barking dog jumped around and tugged at the string, the wooden lion above the gate, through whose belly went an axle, began to skip about, and the populace gaped at

this wonder of technology,

600 at this wonder of technology.

527 The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following,
[344] was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears
[563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women
[526] separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang,
782 the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-koń), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the
527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful,
778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

their right-hand side. This they did so that all the prayer tablets 527
which were lying on the wall might send the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum 778
a thousandfold up to the great Merciful One. The chorten that flanked the 'manes' were circled about, amid prayers, in order to implore also, by this "praying," the blessing of the Buddhas and the gods upon the land and the people. For five days, Namgyal in this way celebrated with the grandees; during the day, at the bazaar and on the polo field, in the midst of the people, and in the evening in the castle in the narrow circle of his social peers; and thus he enjoyed the gay goings-on; in so doing he also believed to be contributing his share in making the gods favorably inclined, for, after all, it was in their honor that they were celebrating.

About two months later when the days had already become con- 527
siderably longer and the sun already shone quite warm into the valleys of the Ladakh during the hours of the midday, the people there prepared for the King's New Year, and again the king's invitation brought Namgyal to Leh. At this festival the king again wished to see as many of his grandees as possible around him, so that at least on these rare days he might be surrounded by a faint shimmer of royal splendor. All the more, since this also made a greater impression upon the divine helpers-in-need, who were again approached with prayers.

Grandmother Tsering Putrid this time talked with quite a special 527
urgency to her grandson, in order to persuade him to take part in the 777
festival at Leh: "Namgyal," she said, "when you tear down the great magical pole (dosmo) in Leh, you must see to it that you get hold of a large piece of a string star, wood with yellow, red, and blue strings. That will bring us luck in the new year and will keep away the evil spirits!" Namgyal had smiled at this and had said, "Oh, oh!" which sounded like half an assent. At this the old woman had become very angry and had added: "Don't you laugh, Namgyal! You have no idea how much magical power is contained in such a piece of the dosmo. When your mother bore you, I put such a bundle of sticks and colored strings from the last dosmo in her bed. Then everything went all right with the birth and afterwards. A year before, your mother had had a miscarriage and had to suffer a great deal. At that time, you see, I had no such amulet at hand. So it couldn't go right! And many years ago I once lost my coral necklace with the silver amulet up there by the slope of the mountain /135/ near the goats' huts. I looked for it for hours and could not find it. The following day I put the dosmo amulet inside the bosom of my dress, and lo and behold, I just went up

527 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming
777 between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first
805 half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos
789 first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma) (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

782 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering)
776 the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces 782
of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all 776
kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times.

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the 527
evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians 789
perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /136/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons.

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the dosmo. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

527 violent struggling and fighting in which everyone tries to seize as large
789 a piece of wood with colored wool threads as possible. Once someone has got hold of a piece he takes it home and keeps it carefully throughout the entire year as a valuable talisman serving as a protection against the evil spirits.

Namgyal did not dream of taking part in the brawl. Api Tsering Putrid just would have to see that she got along without such a amulet this year; he himself did not believe at all any more in the magical power of these things.

527 On the 30th day of the twelfth month, the end of the month and of the year, Namgyal again rode along in the retinue of the king, who had once more assumed royal dignity of the duration of the festival. This time they rode to Sheh and Trigtse. Again Namgyal was witness as the king performed prayers on behalf of the people in the monastery of Trigtse before the images of the divinities. And again the grandees as well as the little people celebrated /137/ the second New Year's festival extensively with feasting and drinking, with song, dance, and the playing of polo.

788 A few of Namgyal's friends urged him to stay a few days more in Leh since he was already there, so that he would be able to take part in the procession of entreaty (mgo-p'yag, really "head procession"). This procession was to take place on the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth day of the first month of the new year. Namgyal let himself be persuaded. From this exercise he expected more profit than from the New Year's celebrations with their wild revelries and their unbridled amusements. After all, this was an occasion of serious praying and of real effort to obtain the grace of the powers of the Beyond, so he was told.

After previous fasting, fervent praying, and all kinds of worthy activity of the part of the individual participants, about thirty men from Leh and the surrounding villages came together for the yearly procession of entreaty. On this occasion the suppliants must circle once around the mountain on which the monastery is situated, near Leh, within the space of three days. They have to walk in a closed chain, one behind the other at a distance from each other of a man's height. The steep mountain bears on its peak the little monastery of Namgyal Tsemo which overlooks the countryside as defiantly as a fortress from its high eminence. The worship is primarily directed towards the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with the eleven faces (spyan-ras gzigs bcu-gcig žal) and the thousand arms, whose gigantic image stands in this

monastery. An old lama has told Namgyal that in this shape the great Merciful One had quite special power, and that his compassion knew no bounds. With more than a thousand eyes (aside from the ordinary eyes each of the eleven faces has a third one on its forehead, and in each palm of the hand is another eye) the Redeemer looks with infinite compassion upon the suffering living creatures in the six worlds, all the way down into hell; and there the thousand strong arms are also outstretched to save and to release. And all this, Namgyal was told, the great Merciful One did from pure mercy; no special efforts were necessary, and no special virtuous performances on the part of the person to be released. Thus Namgyal had great expectations especially for this procession of supplication. 788

After some waiting the men are finally all gathered together in the snow-covered wilderness at the foot of the mountain on which the monastery stands. There are some /138/ highly-placed persons among them, two gentlemen of the nobility, a few officials from the Wasarat (the office of the Wasir), farmers, small-holders, and day-laborers: a colorful company. Some of the day-laborers had been hired by the rich to come along in exchange for payment. Credit and profit was to accrue to the givers of money for this. The well-to-do are dressed in warm, caftan-like cloth coats; some of them even wear a thick sheep's skin on top of this. The poor try, as best they can, to protect themselves against the penetrating cold of the early morning by at least putting on two quite ragged coats, one over the other, and a goat's skin which they hang over their backs with its hairy side on the inside. [291]

In silence the men arrange themselves in the prescribed order for the procession; at the head is the local magistrate of a neighboring village, who is considered a particularly pious person and who is skilled in the reciting of the prayers. All eyes now turn towards the monastery up on top of the mountain in which stands the image of the sPyan-ras-gzig, the great Merciful One, well-known to all. The man at the head of the procession begins to pray and all the others join him with prayers (136): "Thou, Oh ruler with the thousand arms, who leadest the cycle

136. The first prayer goes as follows in Tibetan:

P'yag stoń ak'or-lo sgyur-bai rgyal-po ston/
Spyan stoń bskal-pa bzań-po sańs-rgyas ston/
Gań-la gań ston de-la de ston-pa/
Ston-pa spyan-ras gzigs-la p'yag t'sal-lo.

The second prayer:

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Nga nam-mk'a daṅ mnyams-pai sems can t'ams-cad/
bLama sans-rgyas ĉos-kyi sku-la p'yag t'sal-lo/
bLama loṅs-spyod rdzogs-pai skul-la p'yag t'sal-lo/
bLama sans-rgyas rin-po-ĉe-la p'yag t'sal-lo/

(of metempsychosis)! Thou Buddha, with the thousand eyes who showest (us) the fortunate Kalpa (meaning, "world era"), thou who leadest one in this manner, the other in that! To thee, the 'teacher' Chanrezig, we pray!"

A second prayer addressed to Gautama Buddha in the "three bodies" goes as follows: "We innumerable living creatures all pray to you, the sublime Buddha in the body of the doctrine (Sanskrit, Dharma-k'aya) (137). We pray to thee, Oh thou sublime Buddha, in the body

[779]

137. The perfected Buddha who has attained the illumination (Bodhi), according to the Mahayana doctrine possesses three "bodies" or outward forms (Tibetan, sku; Sanskrit, K'aya): The completely spiritualized "body of the doctrine (Tibetan, ĉos-kyi sku; Sanskrit, dharmak'aya), " the incarnate Word"; the "body of blessedness (Tibetan, loṅs-spyod rdzogs-pai sku; Sanskrit, sambhogak'aya)" in which the Buddha enjoys perfect blessedness. These two are mentioned in the prayer. As a third one there is added to these the "body of transformation (Tibetan, sprul-sku; Sanskrit, nirmanak'aya), " the shape in which the Buddha appears visibly among the living creatures and in which he performs and teaches his saving work among them, until he finally dies for the last time in order to be completely "extinguished" at that time in the wholly attained Nirvana (Sanskrit, Parinirvana).

of perfect blessedness (Nirmanak'aya)!" Further prayers addressed to Chanrezig, to Maitreya, and to other deities, then follow.

The first prayer is uttered while the men stand and have their heads bared; the second they say kneeling, the third lying down so that their heads touch the ground (hence the name "head procession"). Then they all rise and march at a distance of a man's height from each other, until their feet arrive at the spot where there head was touching the ground earlier. Not a word is to be spoken outside of the prayers,

and their thoughts must be turned in contemplation upon the Sublime 788
One up there on the mountain. The goal of every day's journey along the way is marked by blocks of stone /139/ that stick out from under the snow. The way leads along the snow-covered mountain slope through the desert, across the saddle of a hill, and it finally ends on the third day up at the top of the mountain in front of the monastery temple.

The procession advanced along its way slowly and amidst constant praying. In front of Namgyal, who was a man of considerable height, the scribe from the Wasarat walked along laboriously, showing every sign of extreme exertion. His name was Dondrub and he was a man of considerable girth and slight height. Thus it happened that whenever the suppliants lay down to pray, Namgyal's head always came to rest on the feet of the man in front of him, which the latter had stretched out behind him; so that he had to turn his head to the side every time in order not to get kicked in the face accidentally. Namgyal observed how the fat scribe now and then produced a piece of bread from the bosom of his fur coat despite the strict injunction to fast. As the scribe was eating his bread Namgyal noticed how his praying had the dull sound of someone who is chewing. Namgyal also saw how the corpulent gentleman in front of him, one of the first worthies of the land of Ladakh, was now devoid of all dignity and how he let himself go. Namgyal heard how he arose from his prone position every time amid panting and coughing and noticed how he would then wipe the sweat off his forehead with his sleeve. Namgyal had gone to the Gotschag exercise in all earnestness of purpose and in all devoutness, but he also had a quick eye for the amusing side of life. For a few moments his concentrated devotion was gone and he felt the urge to laugh; he had to control himself very carefully not to break out into loud laughter. He knew the scribe well and he was acquainted with the reason for that honorable gentleman's considerable corpulence. But it did not take long for Namgyal to bring his laughing muscles and his thoughts fully under control again, and he once more turned his mind towards the Sublime One up there on the mountain. When the suppliants had arrived at the old water tower under the castle in the afternoon, the man who led the praying at the head of the procession stopped praying and the men dispersed in silence as they had come. The scribe Dondrub once more turned around to the man who had been walking behind him, cast a half desperate look towards him and whispered to him: "That was some drudgery! And this is to continue another two days!"

188 /140/ Namgyal went to his quarters, consumed his simple, scanty fasting-period meal and then went to bed very shortly. The peculiar pilgrimage of this day had been something unusual for him, but for a powerful man like him it had not been too strenuous. What might the scribe Dondrub feel like tonight!

The following morning the pious pilgrims again came together at the old water tower in the very spot where their "head procession" had ended the day before. Again the pilgrimage and the praying started up the way it had been the day before. But Namgyal looked around in vain for the man who had walked in front of him the previous day. He learned later that the scribe had notified the prayer leader that he was "sick," and that he had sent his servant in his place to do the praying. He had promised the servant a goodly bakshish (tip) for this. After all, it was a matter of complete indifference, the house chaplain, a lama in the service of Dondrub, is supposed to have said, who does the praying; so long as there is some one who takes part in the procession of supplication on behalf of the house, the Sublime One on the mountain would be contented.

This experience again made Namgyal pensive. The man who walked in front of him on this, the second, and on the third day of the procession, was a farmer from a neighboring village who had about the same shape and stature as Namgyal, and who performed the exercises with great earnestness and enthusiasm. Thus Namgyal was able to direct his thoughts undisturbed towards his prayer. When on the third day, as the sun was going down, the procession came to its conclusion in front of the Namgyal-Tsemo temple on top of the mountain, and the pilgrims had thrown themselves to the ground inside the monastery temple before the image of Chanrezig, praying to it three times, they dispersed in silence as they had come. Namgyal stayed up before the dying fire of the hearth in his shelter for a long time that evening. He thought about the things he had experienced in the last few days. The man must have asked himself a hundred times, after he had taken part in the laborious pilgrimage in a sincere search for peace: "Has all this made me better, happier, and stronger?" He found no answer to this question.

000 The majority of his pious fellow pilgrims, it is true, did not surrender themselves to such meditative reflections. They were of the opinion that an exertion had to be followed by "well-deserved" recreation. Thus they gathered with their less pious friends in the evening for a drinking bout which had quite an unholy ending. A brawl took

place /141/ during which a man was beaten till he bled, because he had needled the scribe Dondrub about his "sickness." 000

With tormenting doubts in his mind, Namgyal returned to Kalatse. The recent great exertion approaching the so highly praised bringers of salvation had left only a feeling of dissatisfaction again in his heart. Grandmother Tsering Putrid who had no understanding for his inner conflicts, even though she was constantly admonishing him to be "pious," reproached him bitterly for having neglected to bring home an amulet from the great dosmo in Leh for her. He had missed such a beautiful opportunity, she said, for bringing good fortune into the house and the family.

Soon after the return of her grandson, Api (grandmother), Tsering Putrid talked to him earnestly and said: "Namgyal, have you had a horoscope made yet for the new year? No? Then it is high time that you do so! How can you postpone an important matter like that for such a long time! Go to the old Dorje Dud-joms immediately and have him construct the year's horoscope for our family! That should have been taken care of two months ago. For how will you know otherwise what designs the evil demons have against us, unless the soothsayer warns us betimes!" 787

Namgyal had no desire to go to the sly old fox to consult him again, and so he said to the Api that the onpo himself knew no more than other people and that he was unable to look into the dark future. So frequently the people who consulted him had seen themselves swindled by the onpo. The only person who profited from this, he said, was the onpo. The Api was seriously angry at her grandson and said that if he refused to go she would go to the man herself.

So already on the following day, the old woman went the long way to the "devil-tamer," in order to have him look into the destiny for the year that had long since begun. The soothsayer was in a very bad mood and very short-tempered. He wrote down the titles of a few books for her which she was to have the lamas read. This was to ward off threatening misfortunes; further he prescribed for her a few offerings that were to be made and a skurim (ceremony) that was to be performed for the same purpose. He knew the old woman's avarice, and when she had left his hermitage /142/ he mumbled after her: "For those few measly coppers that you give me I am going to write you a long, beautiful horoscope!" Tired and humiliated the Api came home and she did not dare to show her grandson the document straight away. Not till a full week had gone by did she give it to him and merely said:

787 "Here on this slip of paper it is written how we are to ward off the evil spirits this year. Surely you are going to follow these directions? Isn't that so, Namgyal?" "Oh, oh!" said the latter and with complete calm he stuck the dirty slip of paper into a crack in the large beam of the ceiling in the chansa.

Many Tibetans who wanted to be quite sure in their doings and who could afford it, went to the oracle man (rtsis-pa) in the Lamayuru monastery around the turn of the year. The oracle man sold his wisdom at a greater price than did the onpo. The old teller of fairytales, Gyamtsopa, however, knew how to go about foretelling the future in a cheaper way than those mentioned above. He took the shoulder blade of a freshly killed sheep, cleaned off all particles of flesh, held it in the fire so that it bent and shrunk from the heat. Then he held it against the light and looked at the figures that had formed in the tissue. "There--a rider! A red Tsan-demon! There--a woman's figure with snakes above her head! An evil water nymph! Threatening figures! There a child's head--that means an increase in the family; an ear of grain--rich harvest! In a similar way fresh sheep's intestines prognosticated the future for him, as did, furthermore, the bones of birds or little stones that he threw on the ground with a practised hand. From the figures which are formed in this manner or which his imagination painted to him he gave the people who consulted him and who flocked to him in great numbers, "glimpses into the future." He made it cheap for them: a few measures of barley, a piece of butter, a jug of beer, a few anna (one anna equals eight and one-half Pfenning).

527 One to one and a half months after the dosmoche festival (from the middle to the end of March) the storlog (gtor-log) is celebrated in all the large and small villages. This is a spring festival at which the exorcism of the threatening demons is again in the foreground. This exorcism is carried out by means of a storma (gtor-ma), a scattered offering with the exorcising formulas belonging to it. Here too there are numerous amusements. The men shoot with arrows at targets that have been set up. Certainly /143/ this shooting of arrows originally had a mythological significance. This is indicated by the songs of the mythical great king Kesar, the "son of the gods," in which his heroic deeds are sung. On the occasion of this festival they shoot with bow [526] and arrow during the hours of daylight. Nowadays there is not much skill being demonstrated in this archery. When the Tibetans were still a warlike people, even when the musket flints had already come into use, the art of shooting arrows was practised industriously. During the long period of peace the art of archery [illegible] into disuse.

long period of peace the art of archery had fallen into disuse. 200

When the sun was describing increasingly higher arcs above the 241
mountains in the spring, and when under its beams, which were by now 787
already quite warm, the first greenery began to appear on the slopes and mountainsides, Namgyal said to his father one morning: "we might soon be able to start with the plowing. What do you think?" Father Lobsang Wanggyal replied: "Yes, if it were not for the lamas and the onpos, we certainly would be able to start with the plowing and the sowing But you know. They want to determine the time for this, because they say that only they can indicate the day on which the astrological signs are favorable and the gods are inclined towards us in a friendly manner. You know that I have doubted the wisdom of the soothsayers for a long time. It has so often turned out differently from the way they had foretold it, and although we followed their prescriptions, we frequently got bad harvests. But who knows whether it would not be worse if we freed ourselves from them. For the time being it will be better not to break off with them completely. Don't you want to go to the king's plowing in Leh, so that you will have seen that once. The onpo in Leh has set the day for this at the Dosmoche festival. It takes place in eight days and you will be able to learn all sorts of things there." Namgyal was willing to go. He had a certain respect for the dignity of the king, whose ancestors his fathers had once served so faithfully. Moreover, the thought that the knowledge he might gain there could be of use to him also persuaded him to go to Leh once more, in order to be present at the king's plowing about which he had heard so much. The people of Ladakh called it Sa-kha-che (sa-k'a-p'ye), usually abbreviated to Saka.

On the eve of the king's plowing Namgyal arrived in Leh. The 241
following day he went with some of his friends, following the human stream /144/ of novelty-seekers to the bazaar and watched how the farmers led a few dso (bastard oxen) to the place, the horns of which they had previously greased with butter--a symbol of fatness, of abundance. Now they let the animals run around for a while in the open and let them frisk and playfully spring about after they had spent the winter mostly in a narrow, dark stable. Then a delegation of farmers under the leadership of the local magistrates of Leh and of the neighboring villages, which is joined by Namgyal, goes to the castle, where the king is expecting them; they carry a large offering cake in the form of a chorten (bran-rgyas) made of bread dough mixed with butter. The cake is placed in the castle's kitchen and the men dance around it in a

241 circle. This cake chorten is later distributed during the feast, where it is eaten after a piece of it has been donated to the gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, Namgyal steps onto the rock terrace in front of the castle and watches as the scribe Dondrub, who has visibly recuperated from the exertions of the head procession, and who looks well nourished and flourishing, steps to the edge of the terrace. From there he calls with his peculiar stentorian voice in the direction of the town which lies at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is situated: "Sa-kha-che! The earth's door is open!" This means that the earth mother (Ama-Khon) has now opened the earth's door which was "locked" during the winter, and that the earth is now prepared to give from her lap the power that brings fertility. Then there followed [783] a warning to all those who for some reason or another had become ritually impure by touching a corpse, a newborn child, or by merely coming close to these, not to work on the irrigation ditches as soon as and so long as the fields are being irrigated from these ditches, which is now to start, not to step over any of these ditches, because otherwise the water gods (klu, Naga) and the earth spirits (sa-bdag) would be offended and enraged. The former would then hold back the water in the mountains, and the latter would, at the command of the earth mother, keep the gate of the earth locked so that the earth would hold back her productive powers.

Now the king appears with his retinue which /Following p. 144 there are two full-page illustrations, the first showing a "bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts" (subtitle); the second being a rear view of a "Ladakh woman in festive costume with turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band" (subtitle). / /145/ Namgyal had also joined, and at the head of a long procession of farmers he moves to a nearby field belonging to the king. There a plow stands in readiness. The oxen, which have again been caught, are yoked to the team, the halters are fastened to the roughly-worked yoke which lies without any cushioning on the necks of the animals. The king now plows a few furrows. Often the earth is still frozen solid and the plow just slides along the hard soil scratching it just slightly. This does not matter. Even in this manner the Tibetan sees the purpose of the custom fulfilled. Five lamas sit at the edge of the field, 241 789 and during the king's plowing they read the book, "The attained blessedness of the eight-fold illumination (snaṅ-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)"; in some places they also read the book of the "Liberation from the earth

/Following page 144/

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Bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts

/Following page 144/

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Ladakh woman in festive costume with
turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol)." All hostile demons of 241
the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the 789
field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water.

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse 000
and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come.

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar- 241
sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green 782
stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings.

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together 241
in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

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go back to the ancient Germanic processions around the fields which were held on the first Thursday (Donar's day) in March, June, and September, by the elders of the village and the district, in order to obtain a plentiful harvest blessing.

mendation of the lamas. Namgyal joined them. The lamas in the Tingmogang monastery gave out 84 books from the monastery library of the 108 books of the canon. Each of the participating men, among them also Namgyal, took three to four of these books tied together with a string, on their backs, and the carriers now circled around the entire complex of fields belonging to Kalatse; during this procession they went up the mountain, down the mountain, along steep and rocky mountain slopes and down deep into the gorge, so that even the tiniest piece of land of the size of a few square meters would share in the blessing which streamed down from the divine word upon the earth which was thus circled about.

In the early spring the ex-king in Leh, in conjunction with the Wasir, the governor of the ruling maharajah of Kashmir, called together a large number of lamas from all the many neighboring monastries to the "Great Reading." On this occasion all the 108 volumes of the canon are read through in such a manner that the loose leaves of the individual books are distributed among the lamas in the fashion already described; then each of the red-coats reads aloud through the leaves that have been placed before him as rapidly as possible. In this way, volume after volume is read through without regard for continuity. The divine power of the entire word (ĉos) supposedly effects, even in this manner, the outpouring of blessing, fertility, and ripening of a plentiful harvest, peace, good fortune, and prosperity for the entire people and country.

000 Namgyal, who had once watched this Great Reading, thought that if anything, this mass appeal to the grace of the Buddhas and the gods would surely have to /147/ be effective. And yet--were there not always again crop failures, droughts, epidemics, and famine? Where were the saving powers since they did not prevent all this misery? The doings of the lamas also repelled him: this spiritless mechanical recitation of the sacred texts, the debauchery and the laxity of many of them who, after all, acted the parts of soul savers and leaders of the people, and who let themselves be called "saviour" (skyabs-mgon).

789 A soothsayer in the monastery of the "Virtuous" in Ri-rdsong had--in contrast to the others who had predicted a fruitful year--prophesied

789

drought and crop failure for the new year. At this, the farmers of Kalatse were frightened, and some of them, the wealthiest among them, joined forces in order to do their utmost to ward off the threatening disaster, let the cost be what it would. That lama soothsayer had advised them, everyone individually, to have the rain-giving deities invoked once more in particular by one of his monastery brothers. In this way they would get to the right place. For, after all, it was these dieties who gave growth and prosperity with the necessary rain.

Thus, Namgyal also called in a Gelugpa monk in order to perform the prescribed ceremonies. The lama, who, as a "true believer," wore a yellow cap with the red dress of his order (the unreformed) lamas wear red caps) came, and after he had undertaken the ritual washings, he went into the adjoining valley, through which the water-supplying brook flows. There he sat down by a well and cleared the spot in the circumference of one meter. Then he set up a small brown statue of Tsongkapa, the great reformer; in front of this he placed a brass vase containing a bouquet of non-poisonous flowers as an offering gift, as well as some grain in a brass bowl, a white offering cake and a vase covered with jewels. In the latter the lama placed pills made of bread dough, spices, and flowers. Over each one of these pills the priest pronounces the magical formula of Tsongkapa 108 times, he blows at the pill, for his breath supposedly has magical powers, and then he places each individual pill inside the vase and covers the latter with a red cloth. Now the lama takes a book about rain magic (139)

139. The instructions for the conjuring of the Nagas (water gods) are contained in Tsongkapa's, the reformer's, book, dmigs brtse-ma las t'sogs; there Buddha, the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Manjushri are implored for rain. Tsongkapa is worshipped by the sect of the "Virtuous" (Tibetan, dge-lugs-pa) founded by him, and by the laymen served by this order. Images and statues of him are to be found in all Gelugpa monasteries and in many household temples, He, too, is considered a rain-giving deity. [776]

in his hand, whose author is supposed to have been the reformer who has long since risen to the dignity of a Bodhisattva /148/, and in his name he implores the rain-giving deities for the coveted moisture. The rain prayers contained in this book are supposed to be based on an ancient Indic Sutra (text) concerning the prayer addressed to the Great

789 Cloud (140) asking for rain. The Buddha is even designated by this

140. The Tibetan title of the book about the "Great Cloud" (meaning Buddha) is "gcig las ĉar-abebs skor, of the singular work of giving rain." Buddha is given the title "Almighty Naga King" in this book, and he is entreated to induce through his "blissful magical power" the Naga princess under him to give rain. Aside from those names, the thunderbolt carrier, Vjrapani (p'yag-rdor) is also often implored for rain. Among the ancient Romans, Jupiter had, aside from other functions, also that of "cloud gatherer" and "rain giver."

name in Mahayana Buddhism. In a book called "The Great Cloud," it is told how the Buddha teaches and admonishes the nagas (water gods) to supply rain.

Now the lama reads pieces from the book named. In so doing, he addresses the nagas in the following manner: "Oh, all you nagas, great as well as small! I come not in order to inflict harm upon you, but in order to implore you for rain for the benefit of the earth, especially for the benefit of this place. It is Tsongkapa's command that you obey. But if you do not obey, I will smash your skull with my mantra (magical formula). Therefore, give us rain now without delay, and do not leave this place until rain falls!" Then the lama places three stones at each of the four corners of the open space, calls out the names of the Jinas (rgyal-ba, the heavenly Buddhas) of the four corners of the earth, and places the vase with the pills into the water of the well so that it is no longer visible. He then proceeds to set up a small tent and places a little statue of Tsongkapa inside it, and in front of this statue he puts the "five kinds of offering": cake, grain, flowers, little lamps, and water (in place of the lacking wine).

The lama also calls upon the village god for assistance; magical formulas and exorcising texts are recited.

It is stated in the book of magic: "When all this has been done in the manner indicated, a beautiful picture of Tsongkapa will appear to the lama (who performs the exorcism) above each one of the lamps that has been set up. The picture shows Tsongkapa sitting on a naga (nymph) and scattering ambrosia down upon the nagas so that they experience the most extreme ecstasy, and let their lightning bolts shoot across the sky so that clouds are massed together, the thunder dragons

(141) roar, and rain falls." 789

141. According to the conception of the Tibetans (and similarly also of the Chinese), a rain storm arises from the fact that two dragons, a male and a female one, fight with each other so that the sparks (lightning) fly. Their angry roar is the thunder. On each of the dragons there rides a demon (lha-adre), and they, too, take part in the battle. Both riders have a sack from which they scatter hail and sleet down on the earth. According to the Chinese conception the thunder dragons and the sky Nagas cause the rain storm by rolling the thunder wheel at each other in battle and by spitting lightning. [821

The year in which all this took place was a good one for the Ladakh farmers. There was no dearth of water; in the early summer the rains started and continued for an unusually long period of time; the summer brought warm sunshine so that wheat, barley, and buckwheat in /149/ the fields turned out very well. The gods seemed graciously inclined and the lamas impressed upon the farmers how useful and necessary it was to invoke the gods in good time and to bring offerings to them. 000

So they all celebrated a merry "festival of the ears of grain," the Schrulblha (srub-lha). That took place in the beginning of July when the first ears appeared on the barley and wheat stalks. On the eve of this festival, Namgyal, like all his neighbors, brought in a bundle of green ears from the field, which he attached to the door posts, the beams, and the wooden columns of the house: an offering for the earth deities (sa-bdag) and for the household and local divinities. On the afternoon of the festival the villagers all gathered in the open place of the village where they ate, drank, and danced. They sang songs about the origin of the world and about the gods who brought the first grain kernels down to earth. 527

The beautiful weather lasted into the late autumn, and the people of Ladakh were able to bring in their harvest successfully and without being disturbed. The grain yield had been satisfactory and the people of Lower Ladakh, among them also the inhabitants of Kalatse, had also had a good harvest of apricots. Everybody was joyful and in good spirits, for the people had scarcely been afflicted with serious sickness this year. The farmers who owned horses had, moreover, been able to earn many a rupee by

527 transport services rendered for the Indian merchants and officials. Therefore the inhabitants of Kalatse decided to celebrate a large harvest festival that year. The hermit Tsetan, whose advice they liked to hear, had said: "By the grace of the "Three Jewels," you have had a good year, so you must also be thankful to them!" They followed his advice in their manner and decided to do something which they had not done for a long time, namely to offer a banquet to the gods and demons. And this could of course not be carried out without the cooperation of the lamas. Namgyal did not want to lag behind either in this great enterprise, in which all the greater farmers took part as paying contributors. After all, it might be of use.

On the day designated, therefore, eleven lamas from the Tingmogang monastery paraded with books, magical bell, dorje, with drums, kettle-drums, and the long trumpets, announcing that the banquet was to be prepared for the gods in the temple of that monastery.

557 776 A /150/ long series of gods of all classes was invited to this feast, in particular by the priests: The "Bodhisattva of contemplation" (Vajrasattva the god of death, Yama, the terrible judge of sinners in hell; furthermore the god of wealth, Kubera who holds the Ichneumon in his hand, which spits out jewels at his command; he was one of the rain-giving gods among the ancient Indians already, and was very popular; further there were invited the goddess who roamed around heaven (mk'a-agro-ma), the twelve dreadful Furies (stan-ma) whom one could not overlook unless one wanted to bring their wrath down upon one. In addition there were the mighty and moody local divinities, the nagas of the water, the earth, and of the sky. Tsongkapa, who had been turned into a god, could not be forgotten either; finally, and above all, the great Buddha himself had to be invited, for he, like the previously mentioned, also had power over the rain-giving deities. And lastly the heroes of Tibet's prehistory who had been advanced to the status of demigods, as well as a series of tutelary gods (Yidam) and rural deities, were likewise invited to the meal: altogether a colorful company. How may the great Gautama have felt when he was dragged out of his nirvana blessedness and placed in the midst of this company!

527 782 In the monastery everything had by now been prepared by the lamas for the meal of the gods. The offering gifts were placed on a stair-like scaffold in front of the gods' images: On the lowest of seven steps were placed 84 brass offering lamps; on the step above it stood little pyramids of butter in the same number; then on the remaining

steps there were offering cakes, rice, wine (or water) in little bowls, 527
and finally--up on top of the plate of the altar--there were large, 782
brightly painted sacrificial cakes decorated with arabesques, and furthermore bowls made of human skulls filled with beer, water, and tea. In some of the bowls filled with rice were stuck flowers and stalks of incense.

Then the invited invisible guests were invoked. One lama called out: "Come, come! Om! Oh thunderbolt (142)! Take and

142. The thunderbolt (Sanskrit, Vajra, Tibetan rdo-rje), the [589] magical weapon of the gods and of the magician lamas in their battle against the hostile demons. The word "Vajra" alone, in the mouth of the magician, has a spellbinding effect upon the gods and demons that have been invoked. Here it is an exclamation that is directed at those sinister powers. A bronze dorje belongs to the equipment of each lama, so that he can protect himself and other against evil spirits with it. The thunderbolt is also a symbol for the teachings of Buddha.

accept this offering! Behold: Wonderful river water to drink, cooling water to wash your feet, flowers to decorate your hair, the scent of costly incense, lamps to lighten the darkness, water with a pleasing odor to rub your bodies with, hallowed /151/ food, the music of the cymbals!" At this point the instruments started up with a loud and shrill kind of music. "Eat your fill! Swaha!" The invisible guests were called upon to sit down and to enjoy the food and the drinks. Then there followed a eulogy of those invited; their power and their work were praised. It was assumed that the gods took to themselves the essence of the food and of the drinks. Further prayers asking for blessing and prosperity were pronounced. A lama brought fresh sacrificial cakes, the tsogs cakes (tsogs, meaning, "for all"); amid renewed loud music a priest threw several of the tsogs cakes up in the air as an offering to all the demigods and the demons who were not expressly invited or who were not invited by name. This was done so that their favor would not be lost inadvertently. Then each of the participating lamas, one after the other, depending on his individual status and dignity, received a tsogs cake. They ate the cake, but each lama had to leave one piece of his cake; these pieces were then collected on one plate. An entire cake was then placed on top of piled-up pieces, and these remnants were flung on the ground before the door

527 of the temple by one of the priests with an expression of contempt for
782 those demons who had not yet surrendered to the "converters" of Tibet and to the great Buddha. This was the Lhagdor sacrifice (lhag-ador), the "cast offering of the remnants," by which these despised yet dreaded demons are appeased. With this act the banquet of the gods was concluded. There followed another plentiful meal for the officiating lamas, each of whom received a gift of money from the participating farmers, besides.

000 Namgyal then paid a visit to the house of his father-in-law Norbu Wangchung. There things were very merry. The Chirpon celebrated the harvest festival with some members of his tribe and a few neighbors in his fashion, with a great deal of beer and noisy revelry. Namgyal did not stay there long although the old man would have liked to keep him there longer. Namgyal never felt at ease in that house. He gave regards to her parents from his wife Chosskyid, sat for a little while among the carousing men, and then he took his leave. He was able to say with good reason that he was being awaited in Kalatse, for there they were also celebrating the harvest festival, though they kept it in moderate /152/ bounds, and all the farmers of the village were supposed to be gathered there, even those who had "regaled the gods" in Tingmogang.

Namgyal again returned to Kalatse with peculiar feelings. As a good Buddhist he believed to have performed his obligation, and he had followed the ceremonies in the monastery of Tingmogang with careful attention. He wanted to be sure to have done everything to obtain the favor of the great Unknown Ones in the dark Beyond, and to find peace for his soul. And now it happened again that he set out on his way home with a feeling of emptiness and gnawing doubts in his heart. With it possible, then, that those Mighty Ones in the Beyond, and that the great Gautama could be pleased by the goings-on in the monastery, and that they should be induced to help by such means? Where was the way that would lead him out of the labyrinth of these questions, out of the darkness of doubts into the bright light of understanding which as a Buddhist he was supposed to seek.

On a Business Trip.

437 In the year after the house had been built, when the fields had been tended and when the young grain began to sprout in the fields, it was decided to undertake a business trip. This plan was agreed upon

at various "beers" in the Dragshos house and in the houses of the circle 437
of relatives and of the tribe in Kalatse and Teya-Tingmogang. The trip was to be taken to the nomads of the Jangtang highland plateau, which lay in Tibetan territory in the northeastern part of Ladakh, in order to exchange goods with these inhabitants of the upland steppes. 437

The astrologist, who naturally had to be consulted in this in- 777
stance, prescribed to the people that the ninth day of the fifth month would be a suitable day for setting out on the journey. It was a Monday (moon day); the moon god who rules over this day, would be friendly towards their undertaking, while red (that is, "angry") Mars, who is in the ascendancy on Tuesday, was not to be trusted; the second, eighth, and fourteenth of the month were also not to be recommended as days on which to begin the journey, so said the onpo.

When the plan was established in every detail three lamas were 437
called into Namgyal's house because he was the leader of the enter- 789
prise. He led the priests to his threshing floor in the open field /153/ where they had to read the "travel blessing" from three books. The titles of the books were as follows: (143):

143. The titles of the books in Tibetan read:

1. P'yogs bcu mun sel;
2. Bar-cad lam sel;
3. bSam-pa lhun grub.

Aside from the eight points of the compass, familiar and [823]
current among us, Tibetan geography has two more: The upward (in the direction of the zenith), and the downward (in the direction of the nadir).

1. The Illumination of the Dark in the ten points of the compass.
2. The overcoming of the Dangers along the way.
3. The Fulfillment of all Wishes.

Further the priests read prayers to the god of riches (Kubera, rnam-tos-sras), and to the wealth-giving goddess Nor-rgyn-lha-ma with great zeal. Finally the luck-bringing yan-agug and pya-agug ceremony was again performed. The purpose of all these exercises and prayers was to exorcize the Don, Nyan, Tsan, Nodjin, and Gegs

437
789

demons that threatened the travelers along the way, so that the demons would not inflict any harm upon them; also that the travelers would have success and profit in their trading One or the other of the travelers had the lama make one or several new amulets, including one that acted as a protection against the bite of a dog. The great, strong mastiffs of the Tibetan nomads are much feared. The amulet contained a slip of paper on which was drawn a picture of a dog in rough outline. The dog's legs and mouth were bound with a chain which was secured at its end by a dorje. Around the figure of the dog was written a magical formula in Sanskrit script, which concluded with the words: "The mouth of the blue dog is tied fast, swaha!"

Another man prepared himself for possible clashes with the thieves of Jangtang by acquiring an amulet which was supposed to make the weafer immune towards sword, spear, and bullet. The amulet consisted of a piece of paper on which invocations by the heavenly Buddhas were printed so that they enclosed a lotus flower in concentric circles. On the eight petals of the lotus flower is written the magical syllable "hum," and in the four corners of the piece of paper are the signs of the Buddhistic trinity: Three gems standing for the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, and Monkhood); then--singly--the lotus flower (Buddha), the thunderbolt (Law), the magical dagger (Monkhood). The first formula on the magical piece of paper reads: "You Buddhas, gods, goddesses and great Gurus (teachers)! Protect the body, soul, and speech of the possessor of this charm!" To this are added a great number of magical formulas and syllables whose meaning is supposed to be such. The lama had made an incision with a knife into the muscular flesh of the arm of one /154/ of the men who wanted to have a particularly effective protection against injuries of all kinds. With the blood from this incision the lama had drawn a few magical signs and letters inside the innermost magical circle. This charm had to be be paid for more dearly, of course, than the others. The magical slips of paper were folded into small squares, they were covered with red or yellow silk, tied across the cross, and then they were attached to the cap or hung around the neck by a string; or else they were worn on the bare skin underneath the jacket so that they were invisible. Two people also wore a flattened lead bullet each, as a talisman, in a bag on their chest; the bullets had been found in the body of a wild sheep killed in hunting; and they were considered as effective means of protection against injury.

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He took his

hangers remained aloof from all this activity.

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muzzle-loader, which he could handle with skill; he had killed many ibex and many a wild sheep, and even wolves with it. He polished the gun, cast some bullets, and filled his powder flask with gunpowder which a Tibetan in Leh had prepared for him. Then he got out an old, short sword which had a beautifully worked sheath covered with turquoises. This sword was handed down to him from an ancestor who had been a valiant worrior. Towards the end of the eighteenth century 721 the people of Ladakh undertook frequent pillaging expeditions into the neighboring Baltistan. During these expeditions a Dragshos, who was among the leaders, particularly distinguished himself by his boldness. With his men he attacked by surprise a number of Balti villages and brought back home with him rich spoils of cattle and money. For this he received a piece of land near Kalatse from the king. Later, after the defeat of the last of the Ladakh kings, one of the Dragshos was offered the dominion over the land under the sovereignty of the Indian Dogras (conquerors); however, he declined this dubious honor.

Something of the warlike spirit was also in Namgyal. He was 000 courageous and enterprising and he trusted his strong arms and his weapons more than the magical arts of the lamas. His honest belief in the helping and saving deities only went to strengthen his courage. Thus, despite his youthfulness, he was the undisputed leader in all other matters /155/ in the village, as well as in this commercial undertaking.

The final preparations were now made. Wheat, barley, and 437 apricots were put into sacks; some had purchased cotton material, calico, cloth, colored sashes, dye-stuffs, spices, and tobacco from the Indian mercant, so that they would be able to do business in Jangtang. Everything was packed into sacks. Each person who took part in the expedition kept his wares strictly separate from those of the others. Several of the Kalatse men had rifles, old muskets, and muzzle-loaders which they brought out. Then they got the horses from the distant 231 meadow on the mountain, something which in itself took two days since the horses had strayed far afield in their search for food along the barren mountain slopes. The men mended the saddles and the horse's headgear, the sacks, blankets, and tents. Finally they were all ready. The horses had in the last few days received barley to eat in addition to their usual fare--clover hay mixed with chopped straw--so that they would be fortified for the journey. They looked good and some of them were wild and frisky during the shoeing. The latter operation was performed by the Kalatse men themselves. The most

231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 492 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to 15 kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

487 437 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely [233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

The people in the nomad camps liked to see the traders from Ladakh, simply even for the change that their appearance provided in the eternal monotony of the life in those wildernesses. Soon the trading got underway. Amid endless bartering and haggling the Ladakh people exchanged their wares for salt from the nomads, as well as natron, and sheeps' wool. They had already traded their own sheeps' wool along the way in the villages of Ladakh. In exchange for this, they purchased from the mountain shepherds some fine shawl wool which was gotten from the fine lower hair of the mountain goats and which they sold again at a profit in Kashmir. There shawls and other fine woven materials are produced from it. 437

The people from Kalatse had done good business; almost all of their exchange goods, even the Indian wares, they had been able to exchange at a good profit. Another even larger camp was to be visited, in which more natron (for the preparation of tea) was to be traded. /157/ The camp lay to the side of the ordinary trading route in a broad floor of a valley. One day, as the people of Ladakh were moving slowly and wearily along the sandy route in the scorching sun with their heavily laden animals, a shot was suddenly fired at extremely close range. This was soon followed by a second, a third, and a fourth shot, bullets whistled around their ears, a horse which had been shot through the neck with a bullet collapsed and rolled over in the sand with its load, a man, whose muscles on his left upper arm had been torn by a bullet and whose back had been grazed, fell down. In spite of their heavy burdens, the horses ran as if mad, scattering in various directions, even the loaded sheep and goats rushed off. Seventeen Tibetan horsemen galloped toward them. The Ladakh people skillfully looked for cover. Seven shots resounded one after the other from their rifles, one of the Tibetan riders who had been hit in the chest fell in the sand, two of the attackers' horses were shot from under their riders, but before the old-fashioned rifles could be reloaded, the Ladakh people were surrounded by the bandits who attacked them with lances and swords. The Ladakh people defended themselves with swords, pikes, and the butts of rifles in a very courageous manner; a furious battle developed in which Drogpa Namgyal distinguished himself particularly. The fighting spirit of the old Dragshos had been awakened in him. With blows of his sword he knocked two bandits down on the sand. But the bandits' superiority was none the less too great; they were all of them younger and strong men, while among the Ladakh people there were some old men. The battle ended with the Ladakh people being led off with 579

579 their hands tied together behind their backs. The bandits drove the scattered beasts of burden together again with great difficulty and led the captured caravan, people and animals, together with the stolen wares into a distant valley. They went along devious routes, avoiding the great caravan thoroughfare and, as darkness was falling, they arrived at their camp in the valley where the feet of the prisoners were also tied together. Thus the prisoners just had to lie on the ground and wait for whatever might happen. Late in the evening each of the prisoners was given a lump of kollag and a little bowl of sour milk. Then the men lying on the ground were pushed together, and the armed bandits lay down around them to sleep while two of them stood guard in turns. Despite the /158/ penetrating cold, no fire was lit, so that the attention of the Tibetan police patrols would not be drawn to them.

The next morning the bandits first debated amongst each other excitedly for a long time, then their chief announced to the Ladakh people that they were to appoint one of their group who had influence in their villages to ride as fast as possible to their native village and to bring back 200 rupees for each of the prisoners. He was then to return with the ransom money as rapidly as possible, and this money he was to bring to a certain spot in the neighborhood of the camp, alone and unarmed. The messenger rode away. The bandits threatened their prisoners that at the slightest attempt on their part to flee the persons concerned would be killed. Nevertheless, the robbers displayed human sentiment. During the day, the bonds on the prisoners' feet were loosened a little, they received the same simple food as their captors. The wound which one of the Ladakh men had received was [752] dressed scantily with old rags, fresh yak dung, and soot. His wound was not dangerous; matters were more critical with the man from Jangtang, who had a bullet from Drogpa Namgyal's rifle between his ribs, and another man's lower arm had been broken by a blow from Namgyal's sword. The bandits put the broken arm in a splint of stiff yak leather, the other wounded person had the bullet cut out, and his wound was burned around the edges with a red-hot iron. He was given musk to anesthetize him against the pain.

579 701 The imprisonment of the Ladakh men was not to be of long duration. On the second evening, as darkness was descending, the bandits were sitting around the smouldering camp fires to butter tea and tsampa. They were chatting, and again and again they were recounting their heroic deeds to each other, when suddenly, out of the dark, there appeared figures as though sprung from the ground--they

were about thirty Tibetan frontier soldiers who called upon them to surrender. The bandits seized their weapons, but already they were surrounded, and at rifle point they were forced to surrender. They were bound and would be brought before the nearest dsongpon (district captain) for judgment. The Ladakh men were freed. It is true that their liberators demanded as a compensation for their "selfless" effort a tribute of eight sheep, a sack of flour, two sacks made of hide filled with butter, and twenty rupees. They took an even greater tribute /159/ from the robbers, from whom there was also more to be had. This was an extortion, and the soldiers knew that. All of them, the soldiers as well as the bandits, were also acquainted with the command of Buddha, of whom the chieftan of the bandits always carried a small bronze statue around with him on a string: "Take nothing that is not given to you!" But--Heaven is high above, the Dalai Lama is far away, and Buddha has disappeared in the nirvana: finally one confesses it to the lama, and the latter imposes a small fine on one, a small offering of the "gain" is brought to the Buddhas, and with that the matter is closed, and the conscience is set at rest. 579 701

The people of Ladakh were glad to have got off so easily. If the soldiers had not turned up they would have lost everything and scarcely all would have reached their home alive. The following day they immediately set out on the way back, in order to reach as soon as possible the border of Ladakh and with it safer regions. To compensate for the two horses that had been shot they bought two of the "seized" yak oxen from the soldiers for little money. The wounded man was placed on top of the burden carried by one of the yaks. The flesh wound healed marvellously soon under "expert treatment." 000

The profit from the business expedition had in this manner shrunk to very little. The disappointed men had time on their long journey back to reflect about the usefulness and the effectiveness of the assistance of the lamas and the magicians as well as of the "divine" dispensers of protection and wealth, to obtain which had cost them so much. It was a slight consolation for the men of Kalatse that for once they were able to eat such plentiful amounts of meat. On the plateaus of Jangtang the wild yak still lives in larger herds, and other large wild animals are to be met with there. Namgyal succeeded in creeping up to a yak herd with great skill and to lay low a strong bull with a well-aimed shot. Later, he killed a few Tibetan antelopes and a great number of snow pheasants, so that for once the Ladakh people were able to feast on meat. They appeased their Buddhist consciences with

000 the statement that they would soon confess the "sin" to the lamas and that they would do penance for it with an offering /160/. When they spoke of the hunt, they never said: "Namgyal killed an antelope or a yak," but: "A yak, an antelope died (si-son)." Died? What from? From too much lead? (144)

262 231. 144. Few Tibetans abstain entirely from the eating of meat; even most lamas, except those of the strictest sects, are meat eaters In order to maintain the appearance of observing the prohibition to kill, there is a great deal of dissimulation. The meat is bought from the Muslim butcher, or the animal, sheep, goat, or yak, is brought to its death by tying its mouth and its nose so tightly with strings that the animal suffocates slowly amidst the severest pains. "It died," the people then say the themselves, "after all, we did not shed any blood."

000 The remainder of the journey passed by without special difficulties; one night wolves carried off two of their sheep and bit the neck of one horse so that it bled. But the other horses formed a circle and forcefully fended off the wolves, and with their hind hoofs they belabored one of the attackers so powerfully that he remained lying on the ground with broken limbs and ribs and could be beaten to death by the Ladakh men. A donkey and a horse with its load were carried off by the torrents at the crossing of one river and were lost. These were losses that were not easy to get over.

Quite discouraged and dejected, the travelers returned to Kalatse after an absence of just three months. Namgyal did not speak much about their experiences. The Break-leg man in (Kangchagspa) Yontan reported all the more about the battles with the bandits at which, in his presentation, he had performed heroic deeds. The people of Kalatse knew their Kangchagspa and teased him by having him tell the story over and over again because they knew that at each retelling the number of bandits "layed low" by the boaster, would increase.

Old Stobsldan, Namgyal's uncle, declared that never again he would take part in such a business trip which, after all, did not yield any profits anyway, and on which one risked one's life. The younger participants, on the other hand, said that if only all of them got good rifles they would go to Jangtang again the very next year.

Then they would handle the robbers all right 000

Drogpa Namgyal's Piety

As heir of the ancestors on his mother's side, Namgyal had inherited a tendency towards the religious. What the boy Namgyal had heard told by his father and by the old fairytale and saga narrator, Kontshog Trashi, as well as by the /following p. 160 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The great reading. Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of the country." The second with the subtitle: "A dosmo."/ /161/ hermit Tsetan, about the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, had made him think, had stimulated his imagination, but initially filled him with fear and terror. Often the boy stood lost in thought before the open door of the household temple, and with a silent horror looked at the figures of the various deities that were there portrayed in clay, in bronze, or in painted pictures. His father and the hermit had told him a number of things of the "Story and Legend of Gautama," of the prince Siddhart in India who finally became Buddha. He had heard in particular the stories of his many births in the shapes of gods, of human beings, and of animals, and how in his last visible existence he attained illumination (Bodhi) and with it the dignity of a Buddha. Namgyal knew of the great redeemer Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (spyan-ras-gzigs) (145) who, 776

145. Compare note 23!

animated by infinite love and mercy, is ceaselessly active in saving the suffering creatures of all kinds from the tortures of their changing existences, yes, even from hell. He often prayed to him, imploring him to lead him along the right path through all temptations and dangers of this earthly existence, into the Paradise of the West, the joyful realm Amitabhas, yes, even into nirvana.

On a trip with his father, Namgyal once saw the gigantic image of Maitreya (byans-pa) in Mulbekh. This is the Buddha of the future who, five thousand years after the passing of Gautama into nirvana, is to carry on as Redeemer the work of his predecessor. Supposedly, however, he is active even now from the Tushita heaven as the "Buddha of love" in the saving of tortured creatures, and he is highly honored by the Buddhists. Just like this "Saviour," Tara (sGrol-ma, Drolma), the benign goddess, the feminine counterpart of the Bodhisattva Chanrezig,

/Following page 160/

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The great reading Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of of the country.

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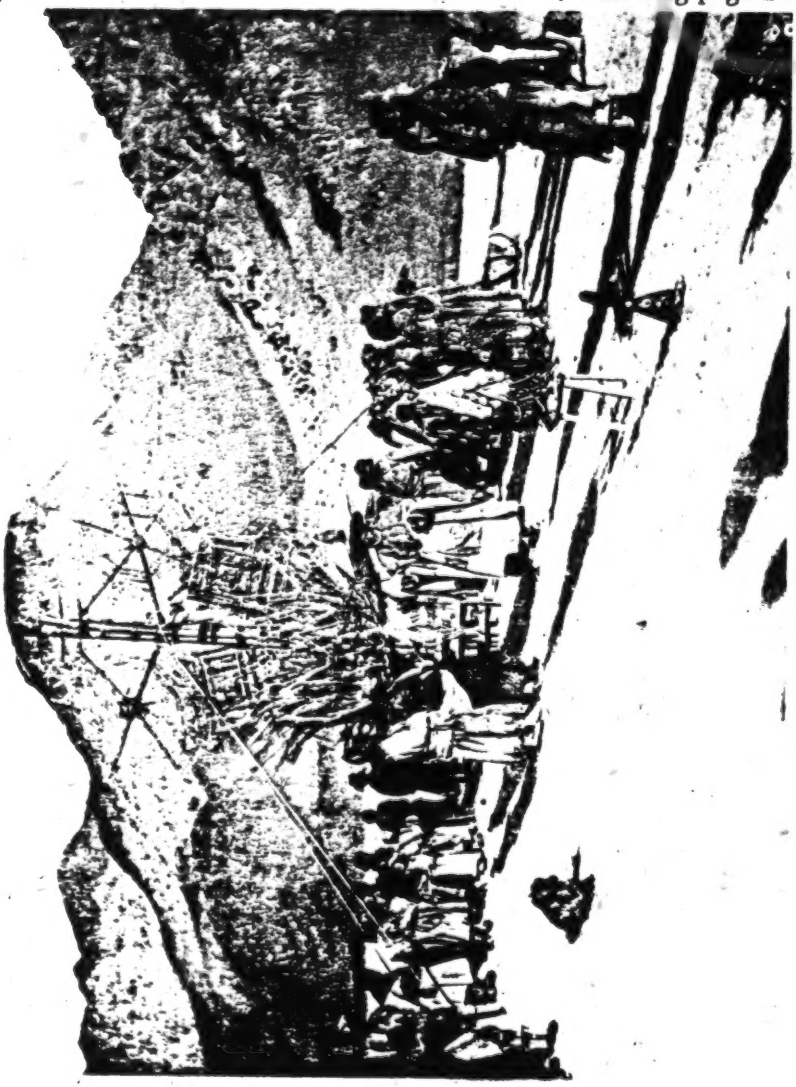
/Following page 160/



A dosmo.

776 also made a profound impression upon Namgyal at an early age. She is supposed to have come into being from the tears of Chanrezig, the tears which he shed from grief over suffering creatures. She is thought to be invested with the same power as the latter; she frees from all distress each person who approaches her, eradicates the sins of all births, defeats all enemies, even the demons, and finally leads those who put their trust in her into the painlessness of nirvana. She also bestows earthly goods, above /162/ all she bestows upon women the blessing of children that they have prayed for. Namgyal listened with deep emotion to the legends of this "most benign, most holy mother," which were told him, and at the command of his father he learned by heart a series of prayers addressed to her. Through his lively interest and eagerness to learn, Namgyal thus gradually became acquainted with many of the thousands of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, (all together about four million gods of all classes can be counted), from the narratives and pictures. In his thoughts he occupied himself with these, even if he did not succeed in discerning a clear line in the confusion of figures and ideas, which his thinking and his questions could pursue. The older he became, the more he recognized, partly through the instructions of the hermit, that the striving of the pious man must above all direct itself towards one point: the liberation from the entaglements of this world and with it from suffering. But it was just here that he missed the clear guidance. There was a mass of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saviours, and "redeemers." To each one were ascribed certain powers and qualities as a helper, "roads to salvation" were indicated, which, in part, ran in opposed directions. Namgyal searched in vain for the one straight path which led to true freedom. His awe of the great Unknown One, darkly surmised, and his feeling of dependence upon him, drove the boy and later the man to prayer as his educators and advisors taught him.

771 In order to understand Namgyal's pious striving, we must insert here a brief word concerning the praying of the Buddhist. Primitive Buddhism knew neither prayer nor ritual worship of deities, nor did it have a priesthood. In Buddhism, which is after all atheistic in essence, there was no room for the worship of a deity. The Buddha himself, it is true, did not deny the existence of gods, but to him they were beings which, like all others, are in need of redemption and which are not entitled to demand worship. Nor could the one who was "extinguished" in nirvana become the object of worship himself. According to Gautama Buddha's doctrine the seeker after salvation

did not require a redeemer, since the redemption was exclusively the 771
work of the pious person himself who brought about his liberation by turning away from the world, /163/severing all ties to the world, killing off all desires, and finally also killing off the will to live. But as time went by it became more and more recognized among the pious Buddhists, that the most devout of humans beings is incapable of effecting his salvation unaided. The seeker after salvation came to feel more and more, as his efforts towards liberating himself met with failure, the need to implore divine assistance in prayer; because he realized that without a divine helper standing over him he would be unable to walk along the difficult "eightfold path" to painlessness.

From this need there sprang the saving powers. People looked for helping divinities, and they believed they could find them. At first they thought in silent worship of the great master (Buddha) and of his great disciples; they sought the holy places which had been trodden by the master's foot, following ancient Indian custom they circled around the places hallowed by him, in pious memory of him, in the direction of the course of the sun (so that the sacred object is to one's right), they erected memorials (dagobas, stupas, chorten) over relics of Buddha and other Great Ones. The relic service was the first form of a cult in Buddhism. From this there developed, in the course of the centuries, a regular worship of Buddha, an adoration of the person of Him who was extinguished in the nirvana. The people were scarcely aware of the nonsensical nature of this activity. What they did in effect was to drag the Extinguished One, the Substanceless One back into the sphere of the corporeal, and in imagination they furnished him with divine characteristics and powers. They erected temples for him, in which his disciples who were pronounced saints, were worshiped along with him; here the person tortured by sorrows and frightened, approached with childish trust the "Three Jewels" (Sanskrit, triratna; Tibetan, dkon-mĉog gsum): the Buddha, the sacred Law (dharma), and the Monkhood (samgha), the trinity which may have remained impossible to grasp by his thought, but in which the pious person nevertheless surmised the power that brought salvation, and to which he went for refuge in case of external or of inner distress.

Gradually there was added to these "Three Jewels" an immense 776
legion of purely fabricated Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons. In the course of time the entire pantheon of Hinduism was /164/ incorporated into Buddhism, and upon the latter's migration to Tibet in the seventh and the eight centuries there was added again the entire

776 host of the local deities of this "sinister snow-covered country." The last-named, after they had been "converted" by Padmasambhava (146),

[777] 146. Padmasambhava, the Buddha priest and great Tantrik magician from Udyana (in present-day Afghanistan) came to Tibet with his priests and monks around the middle of the eighth century of our era, having been called in by king Trishrongldetsan. In an adventurous manner he then proceeded to "convert" the Tibetans to Buddhism, and in so doing he spread in that country the doctrine which had already been badly corrupted in India and particularly in his own home land. [773] According to the saga he defeated and "converted" the gods and demons of Tibet in violent battle. They were overcome by him and were bound by an oath not to fight against Buddhism henceforth, but to promote and protect it in the future. Concerning Padmasambhava, compare Ribbach, "Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft," Supplement No. 5, of the Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

were all more or less regarded as objects of worship, or at least they constantly had to be appeased through exorcisms and offerings. Finally the entire pantheon of the Bon religion was likewise readily incorporated into the Buddhistic pantheon.

782 The oldest form of prayer was the so-called "formula of refuge." We will give here one form of the expanded formula of refuge (skyabs-agro) of the unreformed lama sects: "All we living creatures take our refuge with Buddha on the basis of the intercession of the lamas; we take refuge with the Law (Dharma); we take refuge with the Monkhood (Samgha), with these Three Jewels. Further we take our refuge with the great army of gods (lha) and their following of tutelary deities, female demons, and defenders of the doctrine, who populate the Heavens."

There follows a long series of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demons, and the saints, with whom the praying person takes refuge; among these the primitive Buddha (Samantabhadra) and the founder of Lamaism, Padmasambhava, are particularly notable. Among the "reformed" lama sects (Gelugpa), Tsongkapa takes the place of the last-named.

Namgyal used to avail himself of an abbreviated formula of

refuge, such as the laity predominantly uses; the lamas do not permit laymen to appeal to the Buddhas directly; that is a prerogative reserved exclusively for them. 782

Here is another part of a prayer which the lamas are in the habit of saying in connection with the formula of refuge. In this case a deified lama is in particular called upon as an intercessor for blessing:

"Oh Lama! (147) Bless us, as you were blessed! Bless us with

147. The appeal is here addressed to a deceased lama who has been declared a saint. The prayers cited here are taken from Waddell's Lamaismus.

the blessing of the tantras (magical formulas): We implore you that you may bless us with Om (the magical syllable in which is contained power to bless)! That is the magical body. We implore you that you may purify /165/ us of the stains of the body! Increase our good fortune and keep away disease of the body! Give us the true, indestructible power of boldily life! We implore you that you may bless us with A (with the power of the magical syllable 'A')! That is the magical speech. Purify us from the stains of speech! Bestow upon us power of speech, the gift of perfect, victorious speech! We implore you that you may bless us with Hum (with the power of the magical syllable 'Hum'), which is secret (magical) thought! Purify us from the stains of thoughts! Give us understanding and a pure heart! Give us the four powers of the heart! We implore you that you may bestow upon us the powers of the true body, speech, and spirit! Om! A! Hum!

"O grant us the blessing which effaces all sins and all the stains of our evil deeds. We implore you that you allay the causes of sorrow, the sinful deeds of earlier existences! Bless us with spiritual guidance! Bless us soon with attainment of Buddha dignity (through attainment of Bodhi, that is to say, illumination)! Free us from deception (Maha) which holds up to our deceived eyes this world of appearances as reality, and in so doing produces the 'thirst' (Sanskrit, tanha) for life. Bless us by leading us on to the right, eightfold path of virtue and denial of the world! Let us serve each other in friendship! Grant us the ability to do good and to release all living creatures from suffering! Bless us with the knowledge of ourselves! Help us to be charitable from the bottom of our hearts! Help us to be as courageous as you are! Bless us through the magical might of the tantras (magical formulas), as you

782 yourself have been blessed by them! -- -- --"

"Cause us, all us animated creatures, to be freed from pleasure, from wrath, and from liking for worldly things, and teach us to recognize fully the true nature of religion! -- -- -- And now, Oh you Buddhas, demons, male as well as female, father, mother! Thou Samantabhadra (original Buddha), thou Supremely Gracious One in the 'Body of the Law,' and you Buddhas in the 'Body of Blessedness,' all you Gracious Ones and all you Wrathful Ones! Also thou, Oh great Lama Magician! All [illegible] whom I have called upon! I now entreat you that you may remove youselves!"

"You spirits of the departed heroes! You witches, you demons, you defenders of the Doctrine! You sacred guardians of the Law! /166/ All you to whom I have here prayed! I entreat you that you may all go away now!"

"Thou mighties king of the gods of wrath! Thou powerful Ishvara (Shiva), and the entire gost of local gods and tutelary deities! All of you, whom I called hither, with your entire following! I entreat you that you may all disappear now! Trashis shok! Let there be blessing upon us! And virtue! Geo!"

The prayer that is here set down and which I reproduce in an abbreviated form, indicates in what direction and in what forms the praying of the Buddhists moves. The layman, and thus also Namgyal, made use of a much shorter version in which, however, the main ideas constantly keep recurring: purification from the sins of earlier existences, release from the sufferings of this life and translation into nirvana, or at least into the "Joyful Paradise of the West (nub-p'yogs-bde-ba-can) (148)." "Let me be reborn in the Paradise of the West!" That is the

[775] 148. The later Mahayana Buddhism introduced another form of release in contradiction to the doctrine of the extinction of being in the nirvana. This took place in the "Paradise of the West" (Tibetan, nub bde-ba-can; Sanskrit, Sukhavati), in the realm of light of the heavenly Buddha Amithaba (Tibetan Od-dpag-med), where the pious people enjoy a conscious life in unspeakable joys as a recompense for their patient striving for release. However, this was considered merely a stage antecedent to the final release in nirvana.

refrain of all prayers said by the pious Tibetans, lamas as well as laymen. The entreaty for dissolution into nirvana recurs alongside of it,

but with less frequency. The notion of a life in the Joyful Paradise has infinitely more attraction for the healthy sense of the Tibetan, as well as of the Chinese, the Japanese and of the Mongolians, than the concept of a nebulous nirvana. 782

Frequently Namgyal prayed to the benign goddess Tara (sgrol-ma), the feminine Bodhisattva, the wife of the great Merciful One, Avalokitesvara (149). One of the prayers addressed to her went as

149. Mahayana Buddhism adopted a great many new ideas with much tolerance and adaptability during the first few centuries of our time in India. Among these belongs the concept of the pairs of deities. The Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, and the gods and demons were each given a female complement, a "Feminine Energy" (Sanskrit, Shakti, Tibetan, nus-ma). In this conjunction, special powers were supposed to be bestowed upon the gods. In art, in paintings and bronzes, these divine couples were represented in embrace. It is certain that strongly sexual motifs play their part here, even though the lamas try to deny this. The lamas explain that the union signified symbolically the animation of dead matter through the spirit, and similar things. These ideas constitute a part of the Tantra system which first entered Indian Buddhism during the seventh century A.D. The yogi (ascetic) of the older school of yoga, strove for union with the world soul (yoga) through fasting, asceticism, and meditation. Through becoming one with the world soul they wanted to achieve release from the bonds of earthly existence. Later, in the practice of the Tantra school, the forms became cruder. By means of Tantras (exorcisms) the magician invoked gods and demons with whom he pretended to enter into mystical union, thus appropriating their magical powers by means of which he was able to perform "miracles." [171]

follows:

"Hail to thee, Green Tara (150), thou releaser of all living

150. Tara had three phenomenal forms: There is a White Tara, a Green Tara, and a Golden Tara; the Green Tara is the most popular and the most widely worshiped one.

782 creatures! Come down, we pray you, from thy celestial abode! Descend with thy retinue of gods, giants and freers! In all humility we fall down before thy lotus feet! Release us from all distress! Oh sacred Mother!" (At this point the suppliant makes an offering of flowers, incense, rice, or little lamps before the statue or image of Tara.) "We praise thee, Oh exalted and adored Tara, thou who art adored by all kings and princes of the ten points of heaven /literally: "of the compass."--translator./, now, in the present, in the past, and in the future! We implore thee to receive graciously this offering of flowers, incense, lamps, food, music of the cymbols, and other gifts! In all sincerity we implore thee that thou mayst enjoy the food that is here offered to thee in all thy celestial shapes /167/! The most sinful hearts, nay, even the committers of the Ten Sins (151)

[779] 151. The "Ten Sins" correspond to the Ten Commandments of Buddhism, the trespasses of which they constitute: One must not kill any living creatures, one must not steal, not commit any unchaste deeds, not lie, one must not partake of inebriating beverages, and so forth; the "Five Enormous Sins" (sdig-pa t'sad-med lna) are: 1. Patricide; 2. Matricide; 3. The slander of the "Exalted Lama" (the chief Superior Lama); 4. The destruction of the image of the "Blissfully perfect." That is the designation for the (fabricated) six predecessors of Gautama Buddha (bde-bźin bśegs-pa; Sanskrit, Tathagata), who are frequently represented in a group on pictures; 5. To kill one's virtuous abbot.

and of the Five Enormous Sins (t'sad-med lňa), will obtain forgiveness and perfection of heart if they repentantly confess their sins to thee. When we (human beings) in the three regions (152) have amassed merit,

[772] 152. The three "Regions of the Heavens" are: 1. the region of desire; foolish desire leads to the formation of shapes and finally of living creatures; 2. the region of the shapes; 3. the formless world.

then we rejoice over this good fortune, all the more when we think of the lot of the animals who are miserably submerged in the sea of suffering. For their sake we are now turning the Wheel of the Law (153). We

153. To "turn the Wheel of the Law" is the Buddhistic expression

for "teaching, preaching." The wheel is here the symbol for the law, as well as of power and of victory. Having been turned, it rolls along victoriously, overcoming all enemies and the darkness of ignorance (Sanskrit, Avidya) /literally: "not-knowing."--translator./

implore thee to take mercy on all the animals and on us for the sake of all the merit that has been amassed! When our merit has become perfect, let us not, we pray thee, remain in this world any longer!"

The older Namgyal became, the more his yearning to penetrate more deeply into the mysteries of religion grew. Two forces were fighting for dominion in his soul, the old warlike spirit which had animated the ancestors on his father's side, and the penchant towards brooding and religious activity which had been lively in the forebears on his mother's side. The latter trait gained the upper hand more and more, and thus Namgyal searched for instruction in the field of religion, wherever he could find it. Frequently he would sit in the hermitage of the recluse in Skyinling, when the latter was just pausing in his meditations and for a brief period of time opened his usually locked hermitage. There he would ask questions that occupied his mind.

One day the abbot of the great Rirdsong monastery, who was considered an incarnation (transubstantiation) of a great saint of former ages, had made a procession through the country with a great retinue of lamas and serving laymen. Wherever this "skushog" came he was received by a respectful crowd of people with music and gifts. Sitting on a brick throne, he received the worshippers who saw in him a divine being, a Skyabsgon (saviour); he would bestow his blessing upon those who knelt before him, with a hasty movement of his hand, and he would give each of them a colored hallowed ribbon (k'a-btags), over which he had previously mumbled a magical formula and on which he had softly spat. The holy man's spittle was believed to possess magical powers. Such ribbons which were in this manner heaped with magical power /168/, were then attached by the men to their caps, and by the women to their left shoulder. The ribbon was supposed to keep away sickness, the malicious influence of spirits, as well as all other evil, and it was credited with bringing luck to its wearers. In exchange for this, the "believers" presented costly gifts to the skushog: before his throne there stood a great number of dishes with rice, wheat flour, barley, and dried apricots; one brought a sheep, another a goat, a sack of hide with butter, and the wealthier ones gave money.

175 A small, long-haired Lhasa bitch (a kind of spaniel) was led along by a leash, as well as a donkey, in the retinue of the skushog.[1] The village children wanted to play with the little dog. But a lama earnestly prohibited them from doing so, and threatening them with a stick he chased the children away. Then Namgyal asked a lama why the animals were being brought around in the procession, and why the donkey did not have a burden to carry. The skushog liked the animals, apparently, he suggested, and probably kept them for his pleasure. The lama then reproached him for his impertinent questions. With these he insulted the holy man, he said, and that was a sin. The skushog was not looking for any pleasure at all. He was traveling through the country in order to show the stupid and sinful people, who were all going along the wrong road, onto the way of Buddha, the way of liberation. The skushog's father, he said, had been reborn in the donkey. During his life he had always abused his donkeys very badly, had fed them poorly, had beaten them cruelly, and had always loaded heavy burdens on their backs time and again, despite the fact that their backs were sore. The skushog's mother had once flung a big stone in anger at a dog that had gone into her pantry. In so doing, she had smashed the dog's hip bone so that it had to limp miserably all its life. As a punishment for this the mother was reborn as a bitch, and in this way both his parents had to bear the consequences of their sins in the bodies of animals. For this reason, said the lama, the skushog led both his parents in animal bodies with him through the country as a warning, so that the people would earnestly seek the way to release.

At the next opportunity, Namgyal questioned his father's friend, the hermit, concerning this wondrous matter. The hermit explained to him the significance of the transmigration of souls. He spoke of the law of karma, the mysterious law of cause and /169/ effect (the law of causality). Like a dark power who judges invisible to men's eyes, this law is suspended over the world and living creatures, and it adjudges to the creature in each existence that reward or punishment which it has deserved on the basis of its deeds in earlier existences, so that the fate of each, be it joy or sorrow, is supposed to be always the consequence of that which results when the good deeds have been weighed off against the bad.

The hermit showed his young friend, furthermore, a picture in the shape of a wheel with six spokes (srid-pa k'or-lo, "Wheel of the creatures"); inside each one of the segments of the circle, the picture

[1] The incarnation of a great saint of former ages. Cf. cat. 116, 175 -- Analyst J

of one of the six realms of the creatures had been drawn in together 775
with a great number of figures: the realm of the gods, the realm of the giants who live in constant battle with each other, further the realm of human beings, in which picture the foolish and sinful actions of the human beings and the suffering which is caused by it are drastically represented: further, the realm of the animals, limbo /entrance to hell/, and hell itself where the sinners are subjected to horrible tortures. Inside a small circle in the center of the large circle three animals have been drawn in: a cock, a snake, and a pig; each of the animals is biting the tail of the animal in front. The pig is the image of ignorance, explained the hermit, which ignorance consists in the fact that man in his foolishness takes this world and all the phenomena in it, as well as all the joys and pleasures, for realities, whereas they are, after all, only appearance and deception. His spiritual blindness (Sanskrit moha, Tibetan ti-mug) prevents him from recognizing that everything to which his heart is attached in foolish desire, is only fantasy and bubbles of foam which burst as soon as one grasps for them. This foolish craving for the things of this life is the root of all evil, of all suffering. The creatures yearn to live, they lust after the seeming pleasures of life, their will to live (Sanskrit tangha, "thirst") drags them again and again, to their misfortune, into the cycle of rebirths, into new suffering. This "thirst" for life moreover leads to evil desire (the image of the cock), to sinful coveting,, and finally to the sinful deed. It leads further to hatred (the image of the snake), when people with the same sinful desire contest with each other for these apparent pleasures, and when one person opposes the /170/ other in a hostile manner. From these three roots of evil, desire, hatred, and ignorance (stupidity), there springs the evil seed of sin and of suffering, of the endless rebirths of which each brings new suffering again every time, until finally the human being is liberated from this wretched cycle by his own striving after viture and through helping "saviours" and redeemers.

Gautama Buddha showed those people who were seeking for salvation the eightfold path of virtue and denial of the world, of the right belief and the right life, by which, following his example, the pious person is to find liberation through his own forces from the bonds of existence, and illumination (Sanskrit bodhi, Tibetan, byaṅ-ĉub), and with it, nirvana (154); that condition in which all longing, and

154. Many commentators on Gautama Buddha's speeches

775 explain that the "master" himself gave his questioning disciples only very unwillingly and in dark language the information concerning that which he wanted them to understand by nirvana. And that by life he only wanted them to understand the present form of existence; a conscious life in another existential form was nonetheless thinkable even after the entry into nirvana.

with it also all suffering, consequently therefore also life and existence generally, came to an end. For life is, after all, simply synonymous with suffering in the teaching of the ancient Indic sages and also that of Buddha. There is no life without suffering. But to him whose strength and endurance are insufficient to free himself, the "Great Merciful One" (Tibetan, t'ugs-rje ĉen-po, Sankrit Avalokitesvara) proffers out of his mercy his assistance. Hearing the prayers of the people, he saves the suffering creatures from all tortures of existence, even from all the various hells, and translates them into the Paradise of the West.

792 "A pious and virtuous lama can be of great assistance on this way to liberation," said the hermit. "You call me Root Lama (rtsa-baibla-ma), and you are right in doing so. For just as this apricot tree draws up power and sap by the root, so the layman draws his strength from his Root Lama to whom he has attached himself so that he grows spiritually and bears good fruit, leads a pious life, does good deeds by people and by animals, and so that in this way the door to paradise is opened to him. The ignorant and slothful layman who has not the power to effect his salvation by himself, takes refuge with his Root Lama as well as with the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The Root Lama is the indispensable agent of salvation for the layman. A saying in one of our sacred books reads: 'Without the mediation of a lama, no one can approach the godhead.' The lama is the teacher of the layman and shows him onto the path of virtue, he imparts the blessing to the /171/ layman, hears his confession, gives him absolution, imposes penalties upon him, and leads the sinner to the redeeming Bodhisattva who in his mercy purifies him of his sins and who leads him towards release through all the temptations and perils of life. The Bodhisattva does all this from pure mercy, that is why he is called the Great Merciful One."

"It is true that this expression is much abused by the lamas. Unworthy ones presume to be mediators and leaders, and let themselves

be called 'saviour' (skyabs-mgon) and Right Reverend (rin-po-ĉe). 792
You know that many lamas lead a vicious life, and that they let the ignorant people pay dearly for their hypcritical prayers and masses, their magical arts and tricks. To such lamas apply the other words: 'If the lama cannot save his own head, how can he draw up the layman (from the morass of sins into paradise)' (155.). "

155. In Tibetan the saying reads: bla-ma raṅ-gi mgo ma ton-na/ skya-bo yar-dren ci-ltar bya.

Namgyal was a very eager student, and he endeavored to appropriate as much as possible of Buddhistic knowledge. He studied the books which his friend gladly lent him, and let himself be initiated into the mysteries of Buddhistic wisdom by his friend and also by a young lama who had recently completed his studies in Lhasa and had received his ordination there.

The hermit admonished his pupil time and again to study industriously the Chos (the law), and to observe the commandments. The importance of knowledge was to be impressed upon his mind by the following verse (156):

156. In Tibetan: rig-pa rnam-pa ci-yan slob/
t'se adir mk'as-pa ma agyur kyaṅ/
skye-ba rjes-mai bcol-ma yin/
nor de raṅ-nyid len-pa adra.

Learn the branches of knowledge well!
If this life brings not wisdom,
It is reserved for future ones.
It is like to self-earned treasure.

Namgyal prayed much, daily recited prayers that he had learned 788
by heart, and prayed "with hand and mouth," by turning the manual prayer wheel more industriously than others of his age--ordinarily only the old people who are no longer capable of working and who "have the time," are the ones who pray--and in so doing he sent up to the Great Merciful One a million times each day the wonderful six-syllable prayer "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!" (Om! Jewel--lotus! Hum!). He did this in the belief that, as he /172/ was taught, each of these magical syllables would unlock the door to one of the six realms, and

788 that when he died, he would be translated to Amitabha's realm of joys, after he had been released from the sufferings of the rebirths through the power of this prayer. Once he asked the hermit Tsetan concerning the significance of this to him totally incomprehensible formula. The hermit explained to him that this prayer was actually addressed to the gracious goddess sGrolma (Tara), the wife (shakti) of the great Merciful One. This goddess was also a mighty redeemer from all woe, and the prayer addressed to her was much more effective still, according to the hermit, than that to her spouse. These "female energies" (Tibetan nusma) were generally powerful beings, said the hermit, whose favor it was important to obtain.

782 The following event showed how the experiences and the anxieties of life often drove Namgyal to prayer. Namgyal was on a journey into the beautiful neighboring country of Kashmir with his uncle Stobsldan. One evening they had set up their tents in the densely forested Sind valley. Suddenly a very violent thunderstorm came upon them, which raged for hours into the early hours of the morning with unabated force. A hurricane-like gale broke loose and in no time at all the pegs of the tent had been torn out of the soft forest ground, and the tent itself was carried off by the gale into the darkness of the wood. Bolts of lightning flashed ceaselessly and the thunder rumbled. Twice lightning struck the tall pines extremely close to them. A cloudburst came down which, in a short period of time, transformed the forest floor into a morass. The two travelers were soaked to the skin and looked for shelter under a broad-limbed fur tree. Close by them the tremendously swollen torrential mountain brook rushed past them with a deafening roar, and it threatened to overflow its banks at any moment. Several avalanches of mud came down from the nearby slopes; the men heard the crashing of uprooted and splintering trees and the rumbling of boulders that were rolling down very close by, and yet they were unable to find a safe standing place in the darkness.

Stobsldan trembled with fear in his whole body. He was continually turning his prayer wheel which he had otherwise not used for a long time, and he prayed one "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum" after the other. Now he seized his nephew by the arm and said: "Namgyal! Did you see the riders up there in the clouds, the terrible Tsan king and his Wild Hunt? Can't you hear the roaring of the thunder /173/ dragons up there as they are fighting with each other? Now the Lha-adre (demons) who ride on the dragons are also throwing hailstones from their sacks down on us. They will kill us yet! Pray, Namgyal,

pray! You know so many prayers. I have forgotten them all. Perhaps 782
the Terrible Ones will then be appeased."

Then Namgyal said a prayer (157) which his father had once

157. The Tibetan text of the two prayers goes:

1. The one addressed to the 1,000 Buddhas, and so forth:
mt'o-bai sa-na bya-ra mdzod /
dma-bai a-na me-ltse mdzod /
mun-pai nan-la sgron-me sbor /
dgra-dpun śigs-la bdud-dpun ĉom /
sam-pa sgrub-la--re-ba skoń /
t'se-dbań lońs-spyod rgyas-pa dań /
bkra śis p'un-sum- t'sogs-par agyur.

2. The prayer addressed to the enemy god:
gańs dań seń-ge agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dan ma abral-źig /
k'yuń dań sog-sgro agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig /
stag-dań nag-t'sal agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig /
snya-mo ĉu dań agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig.

With respect to the first verse, second-to-last line, it should be noted: To obtain strength to live (t'se-dbań) and a long life (t'se-rin) is the desire and the endeavor of almost all Buddhists in Tibet, and it stands in crass contradiction to the Buddhistic doctrine according to which life simply means suffering, and is therefore not worth living. The Buddhist prays for a long life; he desires it for himself and for his children and friends; the beggar wishes his benefactor: "t'se-riń-źig, may your life be long!" Parents call their child T'sering or T'sewang (Live-long or Strength-to-live). In theory the Buddhist negates life, but in practice he affirms it in the strongest possible manner.

Gańs dań seń-ge (second verse, beginning), the "ice lion": compare this with note 64! Concerning the mythical bird Garuda (Tibetan, k'yuń) see note 78! The little fish

782 (second verse, last line but one) is here, as also frequently in other instances of its occurrence in myth, thought of as a female fish; snya-mo--the syllable "mo" indicates the feminine gender.

taught him. It was addressed to the thousand Buddhas, the entire crew of Bodhisattvas, the tutelary gods (Yidam), and to the country gods:

"Keep guard up above!
Keep guard down on earth!
Kindle light in the dark night!
Vanquish army of foe and fiend!
May hope and wish both be fulfilled!
Ample wealth and strength to live,
And good luck let us receive!"

"Just recite the prayer of the hostile god (dgra-lha), too," said Stobsldan; "I once knew it by heart but have forgotten it since. I have always prayed just the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum; but it is better to pray directly to the gods up above, for then they will spare us perhaps." /The last two quotation marks supplied by the translator./ Then Namgyal prayed:

"Just as the lion stays near the glacier, (see note 64!)
So enemy god always stay close to us!
Just as the tail to the Garuda,
So enemy god stay joined to us!
Just as tiger always lives near forest,
So enemy god always stay close to us!
Just as little fish always remainsiin water,
So enemy god never be far away!"

000 Namgyal was often overcome by the desire to withdraw to a hermitage like the recluse and like some others of his acquaintance. To give himself over to pious exercise and meditation so that he would gain a certain claim to liberation. But then his healthy desire to live would again take the upper hand, his joy in working, the happiness he derived from his wife and children, from home and property. And Grandmother Tsering Putrid said that he was now pious enough that his piety /174/ was sufficient for this life and for the one to come; whatever

might still be lacking, the lamas would get for him; after all, they were making enough money on him. 000

It is true that Namgyal donated ample gifts to the neighboring monastery and to the monks who were called in for the household ceremonies. He performed pilgrimages to all the holy places within reach, among others to the miracle-performing image of the Great Merciful One in Trilognath in Lahul; he also planned to perform the great pilgrimage to the sacred glacial mountain Gangsri, as well as that to the sacred lake Manasarowar in faraway Tibet, as soon as his official business matters as magistrate--the post had been transferred to him--would permit. The belief was that by means of such a pilgrimage the sins of all births were to be effaced and the way into Paradise was to be opened all at once. 788

Besides the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, the country gods, the village gods, and the household god were not forgotten either. Even though Namgyal was often beset by doubt as to their existence and their effective power, he nevertheless considered it advisable, if only for the sake of his relatives and the p'as-pun (clan), not to neglect them and to keep them favorably inclined and pacified by occasional offerings. 782

Each morning before sunrise Namgyal would bring the morning offering (ña-mčod) to the entire host of Buddhas and gods. It consisted of barley, rice, beer, water, and also flowers (zas-čaṅ-gi p'ud); everything was placed in front of the images of the deities in the house temple in brass bowls. Upon entering the sacred chamber Namgyal would fall down three times in adoration before the image of Avalokitsvara, and then he would present the offering and say a brief prayer. In the evening Namgyal would in like manner bring the evening offering (p'i-mcod).

His poor neighbor, Ngurub, who could not afford such offerings, contented himself with placing a clay bowl with smouldering juniper twigs in it, on the roof of his house, as an "offering to all." He used to say that even so the gods were just as favorable to him and that he was not afflicted with misfortune any more than the rich who presented more ample offerings. On the contrary. The gods loved the spicy, fragrant smoldering juniper above all, /175/ and they looked, so he said, graciously upon this offering. He stood quite well with those up there, he stated.

In the first "ascending" half of each month (yar-ño) (158), that 789

158. The first "ascending" half of the month" (yar-ño) is 821

821 considered the stronger one, auguring good fortune and success; the second "descending" one (mar-ño) as the "weaker," harboring little good fortune.

789 is to say, when the moon was waxing, a ceremony had to be performed, according to ancient custom, in the house, which the Tibetan designates as lha bsañs co-ces, which we would render by "appeasing the gods." At first Namgyal used to follow his father's precedent and call in three lamas on each of these occasions. The lamas would recite prayers and formulas of exorcism for a few hours and they would bring cast offerings (gtor-ma) to the gods. The master of the house himself would go through all the rooms of the house (bsañs-ak'or) with a bowl (bsans-ap'or) of incense, usually just smoldering juniper twigs, which he would continually fan by blowing. After having gone around he would add more frankincense (ldug-spos), bread dough mixed with butter, salt and onions, and then he would sprinkle beer over it from a jug, and place this food and incense offering on the edge of the stove in the living room-kitchen as refreshment and delightful fragrance for the gods. In the meantime the lamas up in the household temple would read from the book bsañs-dpe. These are not prayers of supplication. Without special marks of reverence the gods are requested to accept the offering in a friendly manner, to refresh themselves by it, and in exchange for it to spare those who brought the offering from hostile actions. Gradually Namgyal contented himself with calling in the lamas two or three times a year for the bsañs offering; for the rest he regarded his own offering as sufficient even without their presence and activity. As a reward for their efforts the lamas received, on this occasion, only ample food and beer, since they served two or three houses in one day. The actual compensation for their services took place in autumn all at once.

788 Once every year, in the fourth month, which is a special, festive month, Namgyal would call three to five lamas into his house for the great year-Rimdro (rim-agro, meaning "offering ceremony"). Everyone who could at all afford it, did this for the well-being of all inhabitants of the house, including the animals. On this occasion, the wealthy man is actually supposed to have /176/ the entire first part of the Buddhistic canon (collection of the sacred books, 108 volumes) read. The king in his time could afford to have this done, but it takes a long time and is very expensive. But in order to enable the less well endowed as well as the rich to hold the Rimdro, the lamas

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of 788
the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriñ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it.

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the white-washing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform 792
for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these 463
mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (com- 465
pare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 563

/Following page 176/

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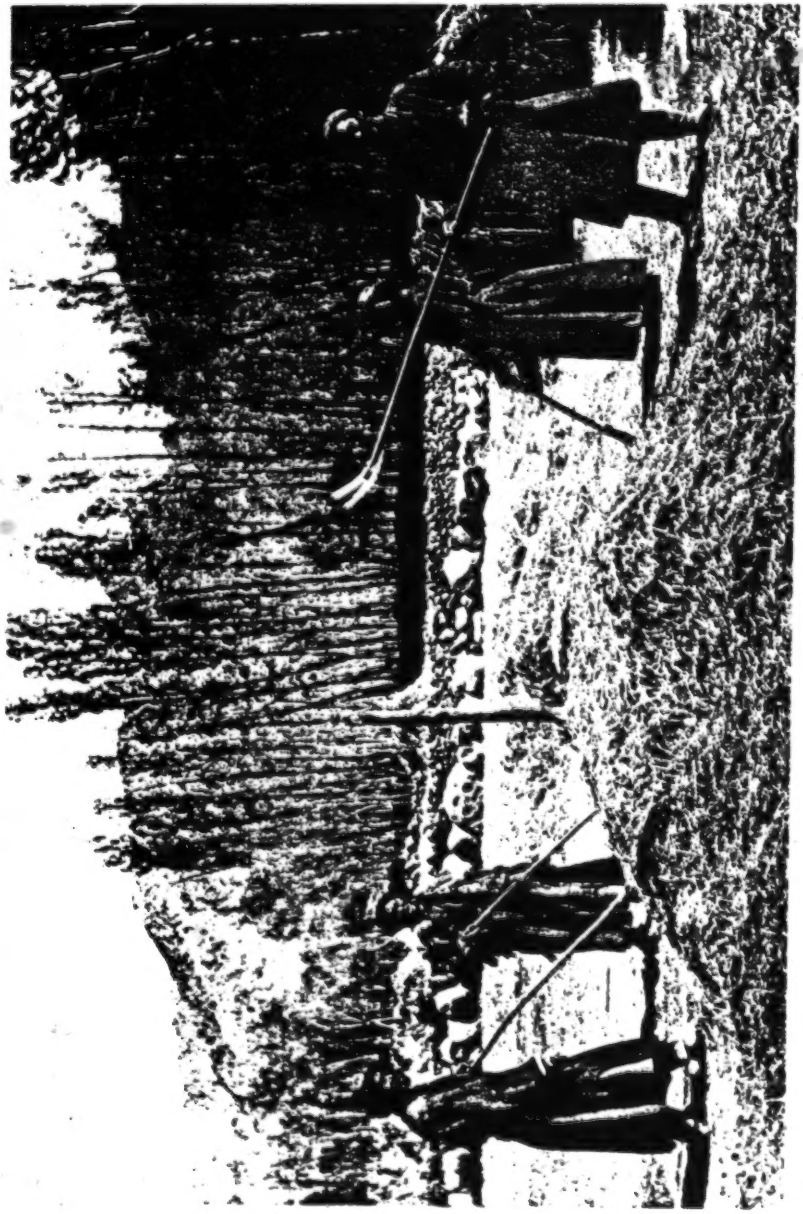

Threshing of the grain

/Following page 176/

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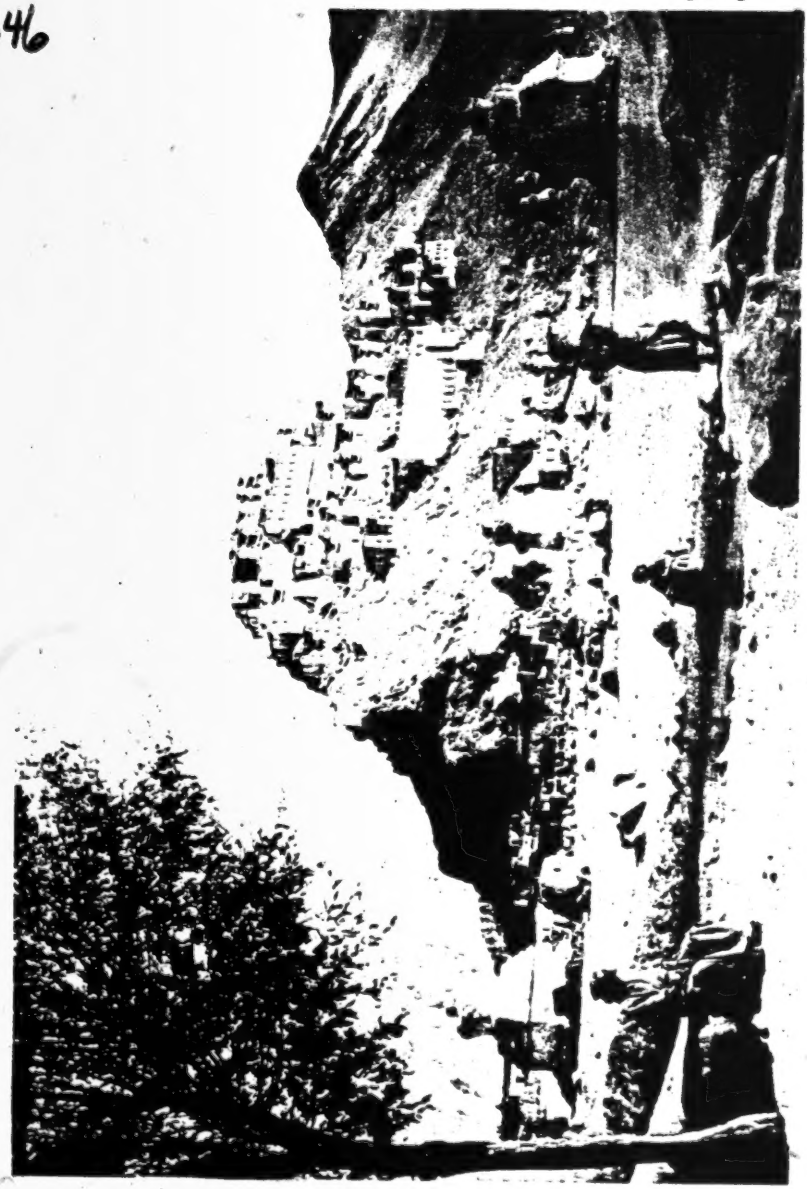

Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh

463 they performed for the farmers during the year: the maintenance of
465 the agricultural and other implements, the shoeing of the horses, all
363 kinds of carpentry work, and so forth. The musicians (Bedas, Mon) who have played and sung at the festivities, likewise receive their share. After they have been entertained, each of those who have rendered a service of some kind to the farmers receives a few measures of grain, depending on his performance, up to a weight of two kal (one kal being about 15 kilograms).

000 Namgyal's religious enthusiams led him to follow conscientiously all the commands of the doctrine and of the lamas. But all these pious exercises were unable to put an end to the restlessness of his heart. Even the pilgrimages to the holy places and to the Buddha images, which according to the statements of the lamas were bound to secure the pious person an entry into paradise, yes, even into nirvana, did not give him the peace of soul that he sought. The struggle for perfection and liberation from earthly bonds seemed hopeless, all divine and human Skyabsmgon (saviours) had disappointed him; he had seen too much of the sinful life of the great majority of the lamas to be able to entrust himself to their leadership with confidence. He could not do entirely without their spiritual assistance, for the sake of the family and the tribe who placed importance upon a good relationship with the lamas; and in order to do everything for his own salvation of soul, and that of his family, he observed the commandments and "acted religious," as the lamas demanded it. But his yearning for peace remained unsatisfied.

797 Around this time a missionary had moved into the valley and had built a house, in spite of furious resistance on the part of the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru. Together with his wife, the missionary now took loving concern with the poor and the afflicted. He spoke to the people about someone called Yeshu, the incarnation of the great single God and Creator in Heaven, who came down to earth himself in human form to save the bound and suffering human beings; and who made the bound people free and happy through his own suf-
000 ferings and death /178/. The message struck Namgyal like a flash of lightning, and a new conflict began inside of him. He could not get rid of the idea: What if it were true what the stranger said, that the belief in the act of redemption of this Yeshu was sufficient by itself, without any good works, and without all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to make man free from sin and suffering! And so Namgyal frequently visited the missionary's gatherings, despite the interdict of

the lamas and the grumbling of the tribe. He even sought out the mis- 000
sionary in person in order to have him tell more about this Yeshu whose personality attracted him so strongly, and who also, it is true, provoked his contradiction with his demand to accept salvation in humility as a gift of grace. And yet--did not the lamas teach something quite similar with respect to the "Great Merciful One," Avalokitesvara, who also offered salvation out of his mercy to him who reposed his trust in him?

Namgyal was unable to speak with his relatives about these things which caused him such a severe inner battle. As soon as he wanted to express himself about it towards them, he encountered first of all violent resistance and mockery. In particular his old grandmother Tsering Putrid was violently opposed: "So you want to become a Kristan? Then beware! Then you will drag us all into misfortune! Then the anger of all the gods will strike us; you will go to hell with the foreign tempter and the skushok will put us in his spell. Our relatives and the tribe will cast us out and we will be excommunicated."

The Earth-Tiger Year--A Year of Misfortune.

Namgyal's life had been a happy one since his marriage. He was joined more and more to his wife in sincere love, such as is rare in Tibetan marriages. Their three flourishing children, one boy and two girls, were their pride and joy. It is true that their mother often lacked wisdom in bringing them up, as well as the necessary firmness in taming the self-willed and violent boy and in getting him to obey. In those cases the father frequently had to speak a serious word, and occasionally he would have to make the boy understand by means of the horsewhip.

Through industry and shrewdness Namgyal had increased his property in the way of fields and of cattle. Later business trips to Jangtang /179/ had been more successful than the first one, and they had yielded a good profit. The children had grown up well and Namgyal enjoyed the respect of his compatriots far and wide. The people gradually came to put up with his inclination towards Christianity, since they saw that in spite of it he remained a good neighbor who was always ready to help. They valued him very highly as gopa (village magistrate) and they bragged that so long as people could remember they had not had such an incorruptible and wise magistrate. The

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

777 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: ños-ugrug-la aded-de mi non / rkyen-ñan-la śor-te mi bud.

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the soothsayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking 000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

757 177 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhistic canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bźi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

Chinese anatomy and medical science; nor are ancient Babylonians, Greek, and Persian influences absolutely excluded. The school of medicine on the Eisen /"Iron"/ Mountain (lcags-po-ri), a part of Potala Mountain, on which the palaces of the Dalai Lama is also situated, constitutes a part of the university for the lamas, at which they are prepared for their service. Here is likewise the medical faculty of the university. 757 177 [874]

Anatomy, as a science, is on a very low level among the Tibetans, since Tibetan physicians do not perform any dissection of corpses. Thus they know the inner parts of the human body at best through comparison with those of the animal body which they get to see--illicitly--at the killing of an animal, which is a sin for the Buddhist. (Compare Dr. Reinh. Müller, "Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien," in the Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin, Volume 15) The Tibetans have taken over their scientific anatomy from the Chinese, with all the errors and defects that were contained in it. Thus on old anatomical tables, for instance, the liver is drawn in on the lefthand side, and the spleen on the right. (Compare Reinh. Müller, "Über Skeletdarstellungen," in Asia Major, Volume 2.) The anatomical tables (Tibetan, p'yaṅ-k'og las-t'ig) copied from the Chinese, show, correspondingly, quite phantastic representations of the human body; they serve primarily to indicate the spots on the body that are suited to bleeding and burning (with red-hot iron). Both procedures are frequently applied to human beings as well as household animals by Tibetan doctors. Often they produce successful results. But quite often they use burning in quite a nonsensical manner, on sensitive parts of the body, such as, for instance, the eyelid, the burning of which causes very severe harm. 757 177 826

Tibetan pharmacy uses a great number of native plants, and often in a very effective way, in the form of decoctions, powders, and pills. Aside from this they use metals as curative agents, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, zinc, and mercury (the latter for syphilis); furthermore stones, minerals, and soils, such as, for instance, turquoises, pearls, snail shells, corals, cooking salt, natron, saltpeter, and sulphur. 278

The parts of animals' bodies play an important part in

278 Tibetan medicine, as they did earlier among all Aryan peoples. The gall of an ox is supposed to be good for eye diseases, the spleen for infections, the kidney for kidney ailments; blood, when drunk fresh, "draws the poison out of the blood," the tongue of a dog cures infections, pulverized dragon's teeth (probably crocodile's teeth) alleviate tooth aches. By means
752 of magnets the physician is supposed to draw arrow heads out of the wound.

Tibetan doctors are skillful in putting splints to simple bone fractures. In the case of broken ribs they very sensibly tie a wide strip of cloth around the chest and then cover it with loam, which forms a stiff dressing when the loam cools off. The European doctor achieves the same result by means of an adhesive dressing or a plaster cast. Thousands find a
743 cure for their ailments in the spas scattered throughout Tibet, as for instance, in Sabu (Ladakh), in Panamig (Nubra), and
757 in many other places. Massaging is practised by the Indians as well as by the Tibetans with considerable skill. Matters are terrible as far as the pulling of teeth is concerned. Since they do not have regular dentist's forceps, the person plagued by a toothache goes to the smith, because he is usually the only one who has a pair of pliers. Two men hold the patient who lies on his back on the ground. The smith kneels over him and with his blunt pliers he grips the diseased tooth and pulls at it. Something finally gives way: Sometimes the diseased tooth comes out, sometimes the jaw breaks, and it also happens that the pliers break and the tooth remains in the jaw.

000 We may wonder about, and laugh at, some of the curious remedies of Tibetan medicine. But we must remember that into the 18th, yes, even as recently as the 19th century, no less peculiar remedies were produced, praised, and eagerly bought in European pharmacies, including those in Germany, than we encounter in Tibetan pharmacy. Things like stork's fat, bear's fat, wolf's and fox's fat, worms, crabs' eyes and snake skin were since time immemorial considered highly effective cures. Quite especially coveted were remedies which were produced from parts of the human body, such as burned and pulverized human skull, blood, gall, and fat of human beings, and they were considered particularly effective if the

remedies were made from criminals or heretics. By hook or crook people tried to secure for themselves the blood of executed persons, so that they could drink it as a remedy for epilepsy and similar afflictions; and the executioners carried on a profitable business with these things. Well into the 18th century there was usually a department of the apothecary called the "ordure apothecary," in which pigeon droppings, mouse droppings, excrement of dogs, and other unclean matters were sold and realized a good profit. "Mumia" was highly coveted; it was a material manufactured from the parts of criminals' bodies, as a substitute for Egyptian mummies which were greatly coveted as a remedy but which were difficult to obtain and very expensive. It is possible that modern hormone research will prove that in the case of some of these remedies, which to us appear very strange, instinct and experience led man on to the right track. 000

The lamas

together with the lharje searched for the causes of the disease. Then one day grandmother Tsering Putrid, who was eagerly assisting in the search, found a goat's horn under the threshold of the door. In the hollow part of the horn was stuck a slip of paper on which a child had been drawn in rough outline. Around the picture magical formulas had been written, partly in incomprehensible Sanskrit words, and partly in Tibetan, whose meaning was to the effect that Namgyal's eldest son was to be sick and would die. Now the cause of the illness was known, she thought. But who had placed the goat's horn with the charm under the threshold? Tsering Putrid knew this, at least she asserted that she did. She said that she had recently observed how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had busied herself in a suspicious manner close by the house, where she had no business being in the first place. Really, those people from the Cat's-mouth house! They are a false crew! There had been a reason why at the time they and their house had been given the name "Cat's mouth": always friendly to your face, and behind your back false and malicious! It was definite that the Chondsom girl was behind the matter, she was going to fix her. To want to kill her great-grandson! She swore by the "Three Jewels" and by all the Buddhas and gods of the monastery, who were to "come and get her" if it wasn't true, that Chondsom and no one else wanted to murder the boy! She had always followed the handsome boy enviously with her "evil look." It was of no avail that 754

754 a much-traveled friend of Namgyal explained that the disease had an entirely natural cause, the immoderate eating of apricots as well as the uncleanliness of the people: Tsering Putrid stuck to her opinions stubbornly. The lamas were called in, they read, prayed to all the Buddhas and in particular to the medicine Buddha, they presented scattered offerings, and beat their drums--all in vain. Finally a man who had traveled around a great deal with an Indian doctor advised: "Don't give the boy any cow's milk or butter tea to drink any more. Give him thick flour soup and goat's milk to drink, then he'll get better!" The mother followed his advice and gradually he started to improve and finally was cured. For a long time it remained a mystery who had placed the goat's horn under the threshold /131/, and for a long time to come old Tsering Putrid followed Chondsom with hostile looks and allusions, until a woman from a neighboring house told that she had seen a vagabond from Greater Tibet, a Khampa, who went begging from house to house busying himself near Namgyal's house door. Now they remembered the incident. The man had stolen a [685] silver-plated drinking bowl in a neighbor's house; he had been caught and led before Namgyal as the village judge. The latter did not want to see a great trial made of the matter, otherwise he would have had to take the man to Leh himself, a trip of three days, in order to have him sentenced there. He did not want to do that: so he had made a brief procedure of it and had given the thief a sound thrashing with the horsewhip and then had let him go! For this the Khampa had wanted to avenge himself by means of the charm of the goat's horn.

753 Scarcely was the anxiety over the boy's sickness passed, when a new source of concern entered the Dragshos house. The mother of the boy, who had recovered, fell sick of acute pneumonia. The lharje was called in, he gave her medicine, bled the patient, and burned her chest and back with a red-hot iron. But nothing could help her. Again the lamas were called in, in order to ascertain the cause of the illness. For a long time they searched in vain for a tangible cause. "It is simply her karma," they said, "the consequence of sinful deeds which she has committed in past existences, and who knows those!"

The lamas meanwhile searched industriously for the cause of the illness. Usually it turned out that the demons had a hand in the matter despite karma and retribution. They asked the patient and her husband many questions: "Has a stranger come into the house recently, perhaps a 'heathen' (a non-Buddhist), a Mon, a Beda, a Muslim, or perhaps even a Kristan (Christian), or an impure person;

and had he perhaps sat down by the stove and in this way angered the 753
household god and the hearth god by making house and hearth impure by his presence?" With these and other, similar questions the patient was tormented; but all these questions were answered with no. Finally it turned out that the Mon, Chospell, (therefore an impure person) from the neighboring village, who was an enthusiastic huntsman /182/, had come into the house late one evening with the "red" (that is the fresh) meat of one of the wild sheep that he had shot, in order to pay off with the meat a debt of grain that he had with the Dragshos. Now this was a threefold transgression: first of all, killing was a great sin; secondly, the gods, especially the red Tsan-demons, were angered and provoked by the sight of this "red" meat; and thirdly, the household god was insulted by the sight of an impure person (the Mon) in the house. And in the tracks of such a visitor, if he was an impure one, there followed evil spirits into the house. These must now be exorcised by means of a scattered fire offering, and they must be chased away (t'sa-me p'an-ces). While the men were still talking the Mon, Chospell, who was a carpenter, came again in order to deliver a small table that he had made. He was not admitted, but had to wait outside away from the house for a long time.

Meanwhile the first lama had a flat, iron pan handed to him, 755
and said to Namgyal: "I want to show you how one makes a scattered fire offering and how one appeases and drives the evil spirits away with it." Namgyal had to put all kinds of leftovers from meals in the pan--pieces of bread, flour, rice, bones, onions, and salt--and on top of this he had to place red-hot coals and hot ashes, so that the house was soon filled with a stinking vapor. Now all the inhabitants of the house went through the stable down to the house door with the lama. The lama opened the door and threw some of the smoldering contents of the pan onto the threshold. The Mon who was still waiting outside to be let in, was now allowed to step over the vaporous mass and over the threshold and into the house, and to carry out his business. The 755
lama declared that the evil spirits, gods, and demons were now all 776
pacified and soothed: the red Tsan-demons, the Nod-jin (gnod-sbyin), who are the terror of the mountain passes, the devils (bdud), the water and earth deities (klu, sa-bdag), the Jungpo demons and fiends, the man-eating Shasa (śaza), the wondrous Mimchi (mi-am-ci), creatures half man, half god; the heavenly musicians (the Kinnara of Hindu mythology); the smell-eating Drisa (dri-za), angel-like creatures with wings, the "Non-gods" (lha-na-yin), the giants of the sacred Mountain

755 of the gods, Meru; the Dripo, the Drimo, the Poyong, the Moyong,
776 the Lhandre (lha-adre), all of these were /183/ now appeased and did not have to be feared any more, so the lama assured them; ~~lured by~~ the "sweet smell" of the food, they had, he explained, come to the spot immediately in order to enjoy it. And now, he stated, they were satisfied, had disappeared, and would no longer do the sick woman any harm, and she would certainly recover soon now.

753 Meanwhile the sick Chosskyid did not recuperate. Despite all
755 the statements of the lamas, the lharje, and the devil-tamer, foretelling her recovery, her condition became worse. There must be something special in the matter; certain gods are obviously still angry at the patient, said the great Lama Mipam. What in all the world has she done! They tortured the deathly weak woman with new questions. Finally came the answer: once she had accidently burned some dog's excrement with dry cow dung, and another time she had also burned
[776] an old rag in the stove. By these actions the hearth god (t'ab-lha) and apparently another god who just happened to be housed in a tree in the neighborhood, had been provoked. Their olefactory nerves, which in Tibet ordinarily were not spoiled, could not stand this stink. The gods demanded the "five pleasing offerings" (adod-yon-lha) for the five senses: for the taste--a food and drink offering: for the smell--flowers or incense offering: for the sense of sight--a mirror: for the hearing--musical instruments which, like the mirror, were placed before the altar: for the touch--silken clothes and similar articles.

753 Further, the confession was pressed out of the patient that during
776 the past autumn she had drunk from the well in the course of the grass gathering over there by the slope of the mountain beyond the Indus. At this well is housed the dreaded Lu, the water and snake god. She had been so thirsty that she just had to drink. But this had of course driven the Lu to anger, said the lama; for this he had made her ill. Finally Chosskyid also confessed that once in a great rush she had spilled a bucket of dish water over one of the red-painted stones before her house that are dedicated to the red Tsan god. That was another bad transgression which had aroused the fire in the gods.

755 To appease the Lu gods, the lamas read the book which they had brought along just in case, of the "hundred thousand Lu" (klu-abum); the Tsan deities received a storma (sacrificial cake for the /184/ cast offering), to which the lamas gave the shape of a human being and which they painted red. After reciting formulas of exorcism they carried the figure behind the house and into the adjoining desert and

there flung it among the boulders. The Tsan wanted to have his revenge, 755
and now he could spend his fury on this figure.

Finally another "important matter" came to light. The old 754
grandmother, who constantly observed the Chondsom girl from the Cat's-mouth house with suspicious glances, thought that she could remember that that evil woman had once spat (161) very conspicuously

161. The Tibetans have a special expression for this kind of [827]
spitting with the purpose of harming an enemy: nad-pai to-le adebs-pa, the "spitting for sickness," that is, with the intention of making the particular person sick. In spitting, a curse or evil wish is expressed.

in front of the Dragshos house, and that in so doing she had cast an evil glance at the house and mumbled a few evil words. Thereupon 755
the lharje was called in once more. He took a strip of paper, on this he wrote a few magical formulas, crumpled the paper up, and made little pellets out of it. These the patient was to swallow. The effect of this was that the woman, to whom all food was repugnant anyway, had to vomit. This concerned the lharje very little; he urged that the woman should swallow the paper pills amidst great pain, something which always had the same effect.

Meanwhile none of the natural or supernatural remedies brought 797
any improvement to the poor sick woman: for weeks she hovered between life and death and caused great concern to husband and children. Finally the missionary's medicine brought some improvement. The missionary had by now been called to the sick bed--up till then the lamas had been able to prevent his appearance. The strong constitution of the woman gradually gained the upper hand: she recovered to the great joy of her family. Namgyal brought an ample offering of thanks to the gods in his household temple and to those in the temple of the monastery in Tingmogang, because his relatives so demanded. He found no reason to give any presents to the lamas. On the other hand, he honored the missionary with a sheep, a large plate of dried fruit, and a greeting ribbon as a sign of his gratitude for the missionary's help; his trust in the missionary grew, and he became even more receptive to the new message which the missionary preached and testified to by his actions.

The year in which all this happened, the earth-tiger year, was 164
a year of misfortune for the entire village and neighboring /135/

164 villages in lower Ladakh too. Indian tradesmen who were traveling through had brought with them a malignant, typhus-like fever, to which many succumbed. Then the smallpox went through the land and claimed numerous victims. Like flies in late autumn people were dying. The villages, yes, even the individual houses of a village, barred themselves against each other. The well-to-do
751 farmers had the lamas make large and small dosmo (string crosses and stars), in order to exorcise the disease-bringing demons. Everywhere on paths and roads one could see lying these magical objects, which were supposed to bar the way for these fiends; the poor laid down thorny twigs and hoped for the same protection from these. A magical piece of paper was much in demand, on which two human figures were pictured in block printing, tied with chains on hand and foot: the spirits of disease who are tied by magic. The magical formulas were printed in a circle, which occupies the center of the picture. The lamas did good business with these magical slips of paper.

758 Some of the smallpox sufferers were tended by their family in the house. But other families, driven by fear of contagion, took their sick members into the desert directly outside their village. There these poor wretches looked for scanty protection among the large scattered stone blocks against the scorching rays of the sun and the sandstone. Daily the relatives would bring their sick people a bowl of food and a jug of butter tea; they would place both at some distance on the ground, they would call out a brief greeting to the sick, and then depart hastily. This sick person, who still had sufficient strength, would then drag himself laboriously to the spot in order to get the food. But it often happened that at the call no answer was made anymore. The following day the bowl would then stand still untouched; the sick person no longer needed any nourishment, he
766 had suffered the last. Then a few men of the tribe would come and would drag the corpse by a rope into the Indus and there leave it to the fish as a "burial." In the best case a paid lama would be present on the occasion, in order to read a very brief mass for the dead. Sometimes it happened that the corpse could not be found at first. Wolves had torn it apart and carried it off--"buried."

/186/ The Tibetans have no pangs of conscience about this kind of "burial." It is quite customary, even, and it is considered as particularly meritorious for the deceased because in this way he feeds the hungry animals even in death, something which is credited to his

karma as a service which furthers his final release from the bonds of being and from suffering. 766

Otherwise, too, there was much disease during this year. The Nardag (na-bdag), the "demon of disease," went around the country followed on its heels by Tselen, the messenger of the god of death, who carried off into the realm of the dead the human beings, man as well as woman, child as well as the aged, with his catching net. Many a one was struck by the Nardag with a violent and mysterious sickness which no doctor knew or could heal. 753

There was Rolma from the P'arlap'ang house (p'ar-la-p'aṅ), literally "the thrown-out one." She suddenly fell sick, complained about pains in her abdomen and in her back, her limbs became stiff and ached, the shivering ague and fever set in, and at times the sick woman lay there as if dead. The Tibetan doctors and magicians were at their wit's end. All their remedies failed, and even the cause of the illness was obscured to them. Finally they apparently came closer to the solution, as the lamas thought. Again, Khampas, men from greater Tibet, had had a hand in the matter. Recently a company of these Tibetans, Nask'orpas (gnas-ak'or-pa), literally translated, "Circlers of holy places," that is, pilgrims who walk around holy places amid prayers, had traveled through the country and had also come to Kalatse. These people had shown all kinds of tricks: one of them was able to make his body rigid at will, and then he would stick a large needle through his cheeks, knives through the muscles of his arms and thighs, without feeling any pain or so much as bleeding; lying on the ground he had a companion knock a large stone into pieces with a heavy hammer on his bare chest; he would swallow the blade of a sword, and perform other tricks of a similar nature. The people went from house to house, performed their tricks, and offered for sale to the inhabitants turquoises and tile tea, as well as all kinds of secret remedies. In one or two houses the Nask'orpas had also offered for sale a peculiar medicine, after they had found out 187/ shrewed inquiry and questioning that this or that villager lived at enmity with his neighbors. The people said that the Naskorpas had an eye for opportunities where they were able to offer such secret remedies and to find customers for them. It was a remedy which was designed to make an enemy sick, even if not to kill him outright. It consisted of pills which contain poisonous plant substances, as well as the "five unclean things" (162) which are 754 [789]

162. These "Five unclean Things" (rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lṅa)

754 which are mixed in with those pills, are called in Tibetan: sna-dri, rñul-ču, rkyag-pa, gcin, mñal-k'rag. There also exists, in Tibetan medicine, a compound of ten such unclean things.

derived from the human body. The pills may also be made entirely without the plant poisons. The pills are then secretly put in the food of the person one wants to harm, with a curse and an evil wish: "Become blind! Become mad! Lose your teeth! Become sick! Die!" and so forth. If the person threatened in this manner is born under a favorable star, and if his astrological signs (Sparka, Mewa, Lungrta, and others) are favorable ones, then the pills and the charm are incapable of harming the person in any way; if the case is otherwise, then they bring sickness, chronic ill health, yes, under certain circumstances even death, so say the Tibetans.

755 The lharje and the lamas exhausted their entire store of medicinal and magical lore; all was in vain. The woman from the "House of the Thrown-out" became increasingly worse instead of better. For days on end she lay in a feverish coma, then she fell into a deathlike condition so that her physicians gave her up for lost.

Finally there appeared a Lhapa (demon priest) from Lhasa who had been staying in Ladakh for some time and who traveled around in order to effect "cures." People flocked to him, and he was considered a great magical doctor. When he appeared the great man asked the people from the P'arlap'ang house what they wanted from him. The people asked him to call back the "escaped soul" of the woman. The Lhapa promised to do this. After having fasted and meditated briefly in his house, he came to the P'arlap'ang house and there made his preparations for the cure. He washed his hands, had a little table and a measure of barley brought to him. From the barley grains he formed a magical circle (dkyil-ak'or) on the little table; next to it he placed five small brass offering bowls, filling them in part with beer, and in part with barley grains. Then he threw juniper twigs and berries onto an iron pan with red-hot coals (me-ap'or), placed a crown made of papier-mache /188/ on his head, on the five leaves of which are painted the five Dhyani Buddhas. Then he took a small double drum constructed from two children's skulls; by quickly turning his hand to and fro he made a noise with it, caused by two small balls fastened to strings which alternately struck the two drum heads. With his other (left) hand he incessantly swung the magical bell and the magical dagger.

The Lhapa now invoked his tutelary demon who entered into him, so that the Lhapa entered into a state of ecstasy; he became excited, his eyes became glazed, he foamed at the mouth, he jumped up, uttering shrill screams he danced around madly. Now the spirit asked, speaking from the medium (the Lhapa): "Who has called me?" Someone answered: "The Lhapa! Who has caused the illness of the P'arlap'ang-Rolma girl?" The spirit answered: "The Naskorpas!" Someone asked: "What are we to do against the sickness? How are we to bring back the life that has fled from the woman?" The Lha (the spirit within the Lhapa) now commanded that a skurim (offering ceremony) was to be held and that a scattered offering was to be presented. The ceremony used here is called: "Lha-k'ug tse-k'ug." 755

All these instructions were followed by the lamas, the prayers and the ceremonies were performed and the offerings were presented. But the sick woman remained in her deathlike state. Then the lama brought 'mane' pills which he had brought with him from Lhasa. These pills had been prepared by the lama doctors of the school of medicine on the Lchakpori in Lhasa. In them was contained the wonderful power of the magical syllable "Shri" (Sanskrit, hri) which forced the "Great Merciful One," Avalokitesvara, to cure the sickness. The "Great Merciful One" appeared here in his manifestation as the "Lion-voiced One" (Simhanada) /in the form of the Lhapa, I presume, --translator./, in which he could "cure all sickness." All kinds of materials from the corpse of a saint who died in Tibet, were also supposed to be contained in the pills. The pills were administered to the sick woman in the following manner. The bronze figure of a Yidam (tutelary god), which was hollow on the inside, and which sat on its base with the mouth wide open, was placed on the patient's mouth so that the pills traveled through the figure into the mouth of the sick woman. This was supposed to heighten the healing power of the pills. But they, too, remained without effect.

/189/ Finally, when nothing was of any avail, the Lhapa declared that he now wanted to draw forth the poison of the dirt pills from the sick woman's body. He brought a wooden pipe the length of half a meter, and placing one end of the pipe on the woman's bare body he took the other end in his mouth and sucked at it energetically Then he swung the tube around, flinging a tough, greenish mass out of it onto the floor, and declared that it was the disease substance, the poison from those pills. He said that the woman would now recuperate. But the latter continued lying on her bed like a dead person. At last

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons, 766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

761 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest. But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened." (163).

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: nad daṅ sdug-bsñal gtam ñan gsum--sñon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.

/190/ The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'aṅ-ñu) as a reservation for his aging

> parents who are no longer able to work much or to help, and to assign to them a few fields for their livelihood. Often this reservation (property reserved for old people) turns out to be very scant, and the old parents are then forced to live a life of penury. 888

and for the grandmother Putrid, and apportioned them an ample amount of arable land from the yield of which his parents, who were still very active people, could live quite well. In the working of the fields, and in other respects, too, the son and grandson faithfully helped the old people who, in their turn, still assisted him as far as it was in their power to do so.

During this time Namgyal visited the missionary more frequently than usual. With him he read the story of Jesus from the Gospels. The reflective man was more and more strongly attracted by the person of Jesus. But he was still held by strong ties to Buddha and his teachings, and his regard for the powerful tribe restrained him from turning to Christianity in any decisive manner. 000

Now they had entered the Wood-Ape year. According to the various horoscopes constructed by the devil tamer and by the lama prophets, it was to be a particularly fortunate year for the entire country, and quite especially so for the house of the Dragshos. All the stars and astrological signs pointed to luck and prosperity, so said those wise men.

But again things turned out differently from the way they had been calculated by the wisdom of the prophets who, incidentally, had not been consulted by Namgyal but by the women of the house.

The winter from the Water-Sheep year to the Wood-Ape year was an unusually cold one, and one in which an unusually large amount of snow had fallen. The farmers' sheep and goats were in great distress because it was impossible to send them, as they usually did in winter, up the mountains for pasturing; and the little hay that had been gathered in autumn, was not even sufficient for the horses and the cattle. The traffic from village to village had been made difficult by the great masses of snow; some villages were completely cut off from any kind of communication with the outside; and the mountain passes were insurmountable. At the Sodshi pass, /191/ the entrance from Kashmir into Ladakh, three men, a postal courier and two companions, were engulfed in an avalanche and were killed. At Serkachan-La (pass) two men together with a loaded yak fell down the crack of a glacier 731

731 and could not be rescued. Driven by hunger, animals of prey frequently penetrated into the villages and carried off livestock wherever they could find it. The wolves and the wild dogs wrought particularly bad ravages among the villagers' sheep herds, so that the villagers scarcely dared to drive their sheep out for watering any more.

A very warm Spring brought with it the very sudden melting of the snow and great floods. The tiniest little brook was turned into a torrential stream, all the empty river beds and channels of the Ladakh wilderness were filled with water. In neighboring Domkhar, in Skyurbuchan, and in many villages along the Indus and its tributaries, torrential brooks and avalanches of mud tore away the farmers' laboriously constructed terraced fields together with the young seed. A mountain slide, caused by the melted water, dammed up the water of the powerful brook in the side valley of Domkhar, so that a large lake was formed. Two weeks later the dammed up floods had eaten their way through the dam; the water masses that hurtled down into the valley, destroyed all the best fields in the valley floor and high upon the slopes of the mountains; they tore open the bottom of the valley and carried down with them soil, stones, and large boulders, so that the floor of the valley was henceforth four to five meters lower than before; and the mills which before used to stand by the brook, now hung high above it along the wall of the valley, insofar as they had not been torn along. Two houses were carried off by the floods, and several cows, donkeys, and much small livestock perished in the inundation. Two women were also drowned as they were wading through a swollen brook.

In the early summer there were, contrary to all former experience, a great many violent thunder storms (165), such as the oldest

[132] 165. Thunder storms are rare and hardly ever violent in the high altitudes of Tibet (altitudes of over 3,000 meters). This is so because of the great dryness and minimal density of the atmosphere at these heights. For the very greatest part Tibet is a mountain wilderness. Its thin, dry atmosphere permits of only a slight formation of clouds and accumulation of electricity.

821 people could not remember ever having witnessed. In the fifth month there occurred an eclipse of the moon; the sixth month brought a total eclipse of the sun. Both astral phenomena created great agitation

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and 821
firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (166), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to

166. The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mythology has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply the earth with light night and day.

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer 731
was followed by a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the Kalatse reservoir and water-line [689]
strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community.

The lamas performed one procession after another, and the [789]
farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain. Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, which did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected.

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the 787
land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been

787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready. It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they had just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags stag-lo) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle)./ /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

789 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last
426 the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

/Following page 192/

759

A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book

/Following page 192/

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463

Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners

by them, the donations of pious Buddhists, they did business at huge 731
profits. Chirpon in Tingmogang, Namgyal's father-in-law, also 426
followed the example of these "spiritual gentlemen," in order to fill his money chest which during the past few years had been drained critically, since with increasing age he neglected his farm and gave himself over to drinking. Different was the behavior of his /194/ son-in-law Namgyal. He also lent out grain, but at moderate rates of interest; to many a needy one he gave grain from his own not very plentiful stock. His friend and teacher, the hermit Tsetan, did the same thing, helping the poor in distress and sharing with them that which pious admirers had donated to him.

Finally the Wasir (governor) even ordered his district officials to lend to the neediest grain from the government's granaries at moderate rates of interest; and in the worst cases to give it away in order to prevent the most extreme distress

Yet there remained much unrelieved distress; the distributions [661]
were also frequently carried out in an unjust manner. Many a timid poor man was overlooked, and many another one received abundantly because he had been able to win the favor of the officials.

Namgyal, the hermit Tsetan, and the missionary, these three 731
friends, attempted to console the people, and they helped wherever they were able. However, the distress rested as too heavy a burden on the people's minds. Many were close to desperation, believing themselves abandoned by man and the gods. "Lanchags, lanchangs! It's retribution! And yet we know not what for!" the people said.

Sprin ak'or (Thunderclouds)

The autumn of this terrible year was ushered in with sunshine 000
and glowing colors. The trees in the village oases shone in their yellow, green, and red glory, and up above the sky was resplendent with the gold of the sun and heavenly blue reflecting upon the mountains and slopes, upon glacier and snow peaks, painting them in all colors. But the people had no eye for all this autumnal splendor. The grey cloud of grief and anxiety rested heavily upon their minds. Winter was in the offing, and with it ceased every opportunity for the farmers to make money by means of carrier and transport services for the Indian merchants and officials. Also, many field terraces were still destroyed by the floods, and others lay covered under feet of avalanche debris. They lacked the strength and the courage to repair the damage.

000 "Sprin ak'or!" said the people, "Clouds are gathering!"

651 /195/ After the autumn labors had been substantially completed, and the grain had been threshed and brought in, Namgyal traveled to Leh in order to pay in to the state treasury the taxes gathered by him as gopa. At the same time he wanted to sell a foal that he had reared. He likewise had to make some purchases at the Leh bazaar.

The business matters in Leh were soon completed. The tax computation was found to be correct, in many cases the unpaid taxes were granted a delay, and for this time the Wasir, a cultured, understanding Hindu of high caste, dispensed with the customary strong measures of coercion brought to bear upon negligent taxpayers. He praised Namgyal's wise measures taken during the time of distress. He knew and valued the Dragshos as a reliable and industrious official. The beautiful young horse which Namgyal brought for sale to the bazaar found a buyer in no time, and so Namgyal prepared himself for the journey home.

674 Then it happened during his last stroll through the streets of
625 Leh that he unexpectedly found himself amidst a throng of excited people. He heard shouts: "Skunma! Skunma! Thief! Thief! Hold the thief!" A tussle, jostling to and fro, shouting, swearing, and four or five men were seized by the native policemen and taken away, then the crowd dispersed. Namgyal went to his temporary lodgings in order to prepare himself for the journey back to Kalatse. He was just about to saddle his horse when a native policemen, an Indian, came and took him to the police station. There he was received by the Indian police sergeant Gobinath who had the most evil reputation for his arbitrariness, corruptibility, and cruelty. Namgyal asked why he had been arrested--they had handcuffed him immediately--whereupon Gobinath answered, he himself should know that best, otherwise they would soon make it clear to him. Now Gobinath led Namgyal into the police prison where he personally interrogated him. He, Namgyal, was strongly suspected of having committed a bold robbery, or at least of having helped with it. It was not till this moment that Namgyal learned from the remarks of Gobinath that the dwelling of an Indian merchant on the bazaar had been broken into. The thief had broken a hole through the poorly constructed brick wall from the neighboring grounds /196/, and in this manner he had entered the room concerned. He had stolen turquoises, pearls, and silver to the value of several hundreds of rupees.

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed 578
Namgyal busying himself in a suspicious manner around this particular wall of the house. The witness, he said, was even a lama from Kalatse. Namgyal now soon learned that his accuser was the lama Dondrub, the man who had for a long time been persecuting Namgyal with slanders and hostile acts, and who had also accused him of bribery and embezzlement of tax money, and the like. This he did as the revenge for the fact that Namgyal had said to him publicly to his face that he was charging the people prices that were far too high for the household ceremonies that he performed: that he lent grain and money at usurious rates of interest, and that he led an immoral life. The lama Dondrub had chanced to meet Namgyal near this house as he was walking by himself, and he believed to have found an opportunity with this to rid himself of an inconvenient observer for awhile, in case his accusations brought Namgyal into jail. It later came to light that the lama had put a sum of money into Gobinath's hand, for which the latter promised "to do the thing right."

In the police prison Namgyal first of all witnessed how Gobinath 625
interrogated in turn four "suspects," and when they did not confess, how he whipped them in the most violent manner, tortured them with thumb screws (167) and other tools in the most pitiless way, in order

> 167. In Greater Tibet, in the realm of the Dalai Lama, even today the most horrible tortures are applied for the forcing of confessions. Of all the devilish inventions of the torturers we will only mention here, by way of suggestion, the following: thumb screws, whipping, drops of melted sealing wax on the bare parts of the body of the accused. The tortured victim is prevented from sleeping by means of two little iron hooks connected by a string which are hooked into the lower eyelids and the skin of the belly so that the lids are pulled down and cannot be closed. Many kinds of executions are correspondingly cruel.

to wring a confession out of them. In between he would frequently take a swallow from a brandy bottle that was standing by. Namgyal observed how Gobinath suddenly interrupted the torturing of one of his victims when the latter called to him amidst howls that he had something important to communicate. After the tortured man had then whispered something to his torturer the latter freed his victim. In Tibet, too, money loosens bonds.

625 661 After all four accused men had been "interrogated" in this cruel manner, during which none confessed the theft, it was Namgyal's turn. He knew that he had nothing good to expect from Gobinath. Two years before this police officer had once come up to him and said to him confidentially /197/ that he was in a position to procure the post of district official for him (Namgyal), if he would give him one hundred rupees. After all, Namgyal knew, he said, that this was a "good post." He also knew how much influence he (Gobinath) had with the Wasir. Namgyal had refused the offer in no uncertain terms and had brought the matter to the attention of the Tahsildar, the assistant to the Wasir. The latter had warned Gobinath to be "careful." One crow does not peck out the other crow's eyes. /Birds of a feather flock together/ Gobinath knew too much about his superior and his doings. But Gobinath learned of Namgyal's notification and waited for a long time for an opportunity to avenge himself on his opponent. He now believed to have found this opportunity.

625 Gobinath was just about to make preparations for whipping Namgyal, when in the last minute a messenger from the Wasir arrived with the order to free Namgyal. The messenger said that Namgyal had nothing to do with the theft. The lonpo (nobleman) from Dornkhar, who was related to the Dragshos, had, he said, proved without a doubt that Namgyal had been in his quarters at the time of the theft, something which could also be testified to by others. Thus Gobinath, to his anger, had to let Namgyal go, and the Lama Dondrub had to go away disappointed, with the two witnesses who had consented to swear for a few annas that they had seen Namgyal at the scene of the crime immediately after the theft (168). Gobinath released Namgyal with

168. See not 48!

the threat that he would find another opportunity to pay him back for his deeds. The thief had still not been tracked down; however many "suspects" were interrogated and tortured; finally all of them had to be released again for lack of proof.

787 Upon the advice of some Buddhistic lower officials, the Wasir then seized upon an unusual measure. He questioned the Lhapas (demon priests) of the monastery Mashro which lies beyond the Indus River at the foot of a gigantic, glacier crowned mountain-mass. Some of the monks of the lower orders there occupied themselves, after they had been so designated by lot, in a special way, with the exorcising

787

of spirits. In so doing, a certain demon was invoked by them after previous fasting and meditation. This demon was supposed to enter into the Lhapa and was then supposed to speak from the obsessed person and to answer the questions put to him. Only when they are forced by /198/ their superiors, did the Lhapas carry out this demon service of which at bottom they had a horror themselves. The Tibetans maintained that these spirits enter exclusively into persons with bad astrological signs. Among these spirits there are even such as belong to deceased persons.

With some servants and police soldiers the Wasir rode to Mashro. There he had two Lhapas come, and with them, with his servants and the superior lamas, he went into the gorge above the monastery where in two trees, by each of which there stood a lhato (idol altar), the Lhas supposedly have their dwelling places. There the Wasir now addressed three questions to the Lhapas who had already transported themselves into the correct ecstasy: "Who is the thief, and where is he keeping himself?" Upon the correct answering of this question each of the Lhapas was to receive twenty-five rupees. If they were unable to answer this question they were to indicate where the stolen goods were hidden. The correct answer was then to be rewarded with fifteen rupees for each. If the Lhapas were unable to answer this question likewise, then they were at least to say whether the thief was a native or a stranger, which way he had taken on his flight, and whether the stolen goods could even be found at all any more. The correct answer was to bring in a reward of ten rupees for each Lhapa. But if they left even this question unanswered, then the Wasir would have the lamas whipped thoroughly "until they burst."

The two Lhapas into whom the Lha was supposed to have entered, something which manifested itself through excited movements, glazed expressions, and foaming at the mouth, did not give an answer at first. The two unfortunates were apparently willy-nilly dragged this way and that by an invisible power. The superior lamas, who observed everything very carefully, said that the demons gave indications of departing because the Wasir had threatened too much. A few lamas attempted to hold on to the unwilling spirit by means of exorcisms and of music of trumpets, drums, and kettle drums. Finally, after a long wait, a spirit spoke forth from the Lhapa: "We are bound in the Beyond by the power of the great lama's magic. We may not name the name of the thief. But the stolen goods will not be lost, they will appear after a short while. The thief is no Tibetan, no /199/ man of Ladakh; he is

787 still in the country." In answer to the Wasir's question when the stolen goods would be found, there came the answer: "We know it not." After about a month the thief was apprehended. He was a native Indian soldier from the small garrison of the Dogra fort near Leh. The stolen goods were also found in a hideaway. The two Lhapas each received ten rupees from the Wasir as reward.

792 Namgyal returned to Kalatse richer by one experience. His fellow villagers received him with jubilation and many presents. They were all honestly overjoyed at his release from the claws of the hated Gobinath. The lama from the Break-leg house preferred not to show himself openly in Kalatse for a whole year long, although as a village priest he was responsible for the health of souls of the village inhabitants. His relatives--he also had a wife, like the majority of his "red" brothers in the order who had dropped celibacy--he had told that he was now "urgently needed" in the monastery. In his place a small, gentle little monk moved into his hermitage, who performed his office to the satisfaction of the villagers, because in his demands for the ceremonies to which he had been ordered, he kept strictly to the regulations, and because he did not practise usury.

539 The T'selen (Messenger of Death) Comes

The Song of Death

Human form you attain
With difficulty like rare lotus.
Therefore leave your laughter!
Follow sacred law!
You indulge in your pleasure,
You think not of dying--
And suddenly death hunts you
From behind, he seizes you.
As the wolf strikes the sheep,
The god of death grips you.
Therefore think in solitude,
Do penance in the desert!
/200/ Wealth leads to vice,
Offers you up to hell.
Unchaste, loving women,
You only look for yourself.

Quiet, well-behaved, you should
Only look up to heaven.
Clearly recognize the mirage!
You believers, consider
The fruits of your deeds,
Weighing good and evil!
If you always do what's right
You shall never be deceived.

From "Courtly Songs" (of the Tibetans),
Number 35. Edited by A.H. Francke.

There now followed for Namgyal a few quiet weeks in Kalatse during which he took care of his last autumn labors. During the evening hours he now visited the missionary even more frequently, in order to converse with him about the t'arlam, the way to salvation, a topic of conversation which occupied him strongly in recent times and which left him no rest. He came increasingly more to the conviction that the "way of Jesus" was the only right one, which led to inner freedom and with it to genuine happiness. In recent times it happened more frequently that, as he was coming home from the Brother, there was a radiance in his expression, as though he had experienced something great. Even his relatives noticed this, and they were unable to explain it to themselves.

During this time, Namgyal one day set out on his way to Domkhar. There he was going to help a relative who had suffered particularly great damage from the floods in the spring, in reclaiming his fields and in rebuilding his mill that had been left high and dry. His stay was only designed to last for half a month. Nevertheless his departure from wife and children was particularly difficult for the Dragshos this time. He could not explain why. He took his youngest child, the little Rinchen Stobsgyas, in his arms, called him the apple of his eye (migbras) and kissed him. "Lamla k'adar dzad! Brtan-po skyod, Gaga!" (Take care of yourself on the way! Look out when you walk, master!), his wife Chosskyid admonished her spouse lovingly and with /201/ accustomed reverence. Then Namgyal mounted his horse, a young, fiery stallion from Sangskar, an animal with "sinews like steel and hoofs like iron." As soon as it felt the reins, the animal immediately started out at a steady amble. The way followed at first the trading route from Leh to Srinagar and went close by the farmstead

000 of the missionary. As Namgyal came to the gate of the farmstead the Brother was just standing there as though he had waited for Namgyal. Namgyal rode close up to the gate and stepped down from the horse, in order to greet the Brother whom he loved and revered highly as a teacher.

The two shook hands and a short conversation ensued; when they parted the Brother said: "Do you still remember what we were talking about the other evening?" "Yes," said Namgyal, "I think of it constantly, it won't leave me. Yeshu Mashika (Jesus Christ) is greater than all the Buddhas and 'saviours' of whom the lamas speak and the books tell. I now take my refuge with Yeshu!" "Do that, then you will arrive at the goal." "Zu, zu!" The greeting went back and forth; the Dragshos was already in the saddle again and flying along on his cream-colored horse which all this time had been pawing the ground restlessly and had bitten excitedly into the snaffle. The Brother looked after his friend. How he knew how to rein in his restless horse! "A real Dragshos, a descendant of the warlike forebears... If this Dragshos were to become a fighter for Jesus!" So thought the Brother.

Already the rider had disappeared behind the prayer wall which ran alongside the street above the farmstead. A great and joyful hope, and yet at the same time also an inexplicable dread went through the Brother's soul.. If it should happen otherwise!

Namgyal had another encounter. He was just turning off from the great trade route and riding past the bridge of the Dogra fort, which here connects both banks of the Indus River; when a lama was coming along the way, likewise on horseback who had crossed the river on his way from Lamayuru. It was the Lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house, the man who had wanted to put Namgyal in jail. The lama wanted to ride on; but his horse would not allow him to do so. His horse was a stallion like Namgyal's /202/ cream-colored horse. In spite of all the lama's resistance and all the belaboring of his horse with whip and spurs, his horse, over which he had lost the mastery, made for the cream-colored one, reared itself furiously and neighed and looked like it was ready to do battle. The Dragshos tore his stronger horse back, but the lama's horse followed him constantly, and rearing itself it struck with its front hoofs at Namgyal's horse, which the latter returned with superior force. Then Namgyal's whip whistled through the air twice, hard by the lama's back on the haunches of his horse which now kicked its legs backward

and raced off with its rider. "Hold tight!" Namgyal shouted after the man who was frightened to death and who was clutching frantically his saddle and the mane of his horse. The Dragshos had just overcome a great temptation with this shout of admonition: When the lama's horse brought its rider so unintentionally within the reach of his whip, a feeling of anger was aroused in Namgyal's heart, and the idea came to him of meeting out a powerful punishment to his enemy. But he mastered himself. He thought of what he had read with the Brother about Jesus: "Love your enemies!" the latter had commanded his successors. Then his wrist twitched and the blow was aimed in another direction.

Exerting all his forces, Namgyal brought his excited horse to a more quiet pace. And that was necessary. The path, which here went along the Indus, became narrower and progressively worse. Leaving the bottom of the valley he now climbed up a steep mountain wall, across slopes covered with loose boulders. Where the road was built up along the wall of the cliff, by means of unhewn, loose stones, without mortar, it was so narrow that one loaded horse could scarcely pass another. Now Namgyal arrived at a sharp turn of the cliff where the path went steeply downhill, and the rider no longer saw a road before him, but only the roaring waters of the Indus. Namgyal knew the way. He had often ridden along it. With an iron grip he held the reins and spoke soothingly to the horse which went down the steep path ambling sideways, still resisting the reins and the pressure on its haunches. Namgyal was just about to tear his stallion at a right angle around the projection of the rock, when the horse suddenly took a leap /203/ to the side. A snow vulture had been frightened away from a carrion corpse up on the cliff, and flew rapidly close over the heads of rider and horse. In the jump the front feet of the frightened horse landed on the extreme edge of the road, the loosely heaped-up stones gave way, and horse as well as rider crashed down the perpendicular slope.

A number of Domkhar farmers who soon afterwards were traveling along this way with loaded dsos (bastard yaks), noticed the horse down below by the cliff. It lay there immobile, and they recognized it immediately. Its neck had been broken by the fall. With great difficulty the men climbed down and found the Dragshos who was silently lying there with shattered limbs and who did not give any sign of life. With extreme effort the Domkhar farmers carried the mortally wounded man up to the road by a roundabout way. They unloaded a dso and packed some straw-filled sacks on it. On top and in between these

000 sacks they laid the victim of the accident. In this manner they brought the Dragshos to his house in Kalatse.

Chosskyid felt as if lightning had struck her when they placed before her feet in the house the immobile body of her husband; her husband, the distinguished-looking, strong man of whom she was so proud, the good man whom she loved so much. At first the woman was stunned and close to fainting. Then her grief vented itself in a scream and in loud crying, finally she controlled herself and just cried quietly to herself as she laid her beloved man down on his bed. She knew that her husband had not liked the wailing of lamentation. And after all he was still alive. Perhaps he would not yet leave her. They sent for the lharje (doctor), who was not to be found; they sent for the missionary, but he too had ridden off in order to look after the sick people in Tingmogang. So they left the Dragshos lying, and Chosskyid washed his great, gaping head wound, while old Stobsldan sat down next to the mortally injured nephew and ceaselessly turned the prayer wheel. The children, Namgyal's parents, the grandmother Tsering Putrid as well as other relatives stood around the bed all crying loudly.

Hours later he once more regained conciousness. Namgyal recognized his wife and the children. In a low voice /204/ he told them what had happened and consoled his crying wife who was kneeling with the youngest child at her breast, beside the death-bed of her husband. He wanted to raise his hand in order to stroke the child's head; it was impossible; both arms, as well as his legs, were broken. The dull eyes of the dying man rested for a few moments with an expression of tender love upon the wife and the children; the Namgyal asked: "Where is the Sahib? Call the Sahib!" They had to tell him that the missionary was gone and that he could not be back before the evening. Then the old Tsering Putrid pressed forward to the bed and said: "Namgyal! Have the lamas called! Now you need the lamas so that they can pray and perform skurim!" "No," said Namgyal, "I do not need the lamas. Give my regards to the missionary and tell him that I am taking my refuge with Yeshu!" Another glance of the breaking eyes at wife and children, then the eyes closed, his breathing ceased, and Drogpa Namgyal's soul had fled from his body.

763 Deeply shaken, Chosskyid stood by the death bed of her husband. Her mourning was real, but she had learned to control her feelings; she bore her grief courageously. With all the greater abandonment did Tsering Putrid give herself over to grieving. She howled, lamented, tore her hair, was vociferous in her complaints against the missionary.

who, she said, was the fault of everything by having turned her grand- 763
son away from the faith of Buddha and having made him into a Kristan. For this reason they were all now struck by the anger of the Buddhas and the gods. The women of the tribe joined in the howling of lamentation. This was required by custom. Entire Kalatse and the neighboring villages mourned over the Dragshos who had been leader and adviser to them, such as they had not had before among their people.

Towards evening a high lama came into the house. He had 764
been called by Tsering Putrid to perform the first death ceremonies, so that her grandson would be accorded a proper Buddhistic burial; and so that the lamas would set right again what her grandson, misled by the Sahib (missionary), had "sinned" against the Buddhas and the sacred doctrine. The lama set about his work. He sat down by the side of the deathbed, on which the dead man was lying stretched out and covered with a white cloth. Then he proceeded to read passages /Following p. 204 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position."/ /205/ from the book t'os-grol, which are to show the soul the way into the Paradise of the West. Then the lama commanded the soul to leave the body and to release itself from all earthly matters, property, family, friendship, and so forth. He seized a small bush of hair on the dead man's skull and pulled it out, so that the soul would be able to escape through the resulting "opening," that is the openings which are thought to be created in the top of the skull. by means of this proceeding. Then the lama gave the soul further instructions as to how it could escape the dangers with which it would be threatened in Bardo--the space between earth and paradise--on the part of the innumerable demons. The lama wished the soul bon voyage into the Beyond. That is the "Changing of the Body" (Tibetan, ap'o-ba adebs-pa).

When the lama had left the house a few p'as-pun arrived, washed away the traces of blood from the face and hands of the corpse, and placed it upright in a corner of the living room-kitchen, near the place which the dead man had always occupied at meals. Tsering Putrid also had the old devil-tamer called in again, whom the dead man had long ago dismissed. The devil-tamer was requested to set up the death horoscope and to ascertain the type, time, and form of the interment, as well as the astrologically suitable members of the tribe who alone may touch the corpse and carry out the burial.

Late in the evening the missionary came to the house--he was

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Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position.

000 not allowed to enter--and spoke with Namgyal's parents, with Stobsldan, and with a few of the deceased man's relatives. He said a few words of consolation to the dead man's wife who stepped into the house door, and to the children who all liked him. He himself was profoundly grieved over the loss of his friend upon whom he had placed such high hopes. He spoke of Him who has overcome death and all demons, and who safely leads the believer into Paradise. Then he went back to his house, extremely saddened, and yet full of joyous assurance. Today the sun had gone up like a ball of red fire above the mountains. To the Brother it was like a symbol. His eye saw a dawn shining forth in the distance over the dark snow landscape of Tibet. This made him happy.

A little while later the hermit Tsetan arrived. The messenger of Namgyal's death had been brought to him in his lonely hermitage in the gorge. Contrary to all rules, he interrupted the meditations he had just commenced /Following p. 205 there are two full-page illustrations inserted in the text, the first with the subtitle: "Tibetan burden carrier"; the second of three squatting "Mon (musicians)" (subtitle)./ /206/ and came to the Dragshos house. As a distant relative and as a lama he was admitted into the house. Amid tears the warm-hearted, sensitive man saw his dead friend and pupil and looked into his rigid facial expression. He felt as though he had lost a son. When Tsering Putrid said to him in a tone of annoyance that her grandson had taken his refuge with the God of the Kristan, Yeshu, when he was dying, the hermit replied with a serious mien: "Do not be angry at him for that. Your grandson has taken a good way. I myself have come to recognize that the way and the teaching of Yeshu is good. It is wrong to believe in the thousands of Buddhas and gods, and to sacrifice to them; there is but <u>one</u> God and <u>one</u> Saviour; to believe in <u>Him</u> and to turn one's thoughts in meditation upon him, that is the true religion." The hermit had not yet finished speaking when the lonpo from Domkhar entered, who had been very close to the deceased person, his relative. For grief he was long incapable of producing a single word. But then he said, in connection with the hermit's words: "Yes, what you said just now, right reverend lama, that is correct and good. I, too, believe that the deceased has done right in taking his refuge with Yeshu. I also believe that the Sahib preaches the right and true religion. You will do well if you listen to him."

At these words of the lonpo, Chosskyid, who was now a widow, entered the room with the little Rinchen Stobgyas on her arm, and

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Tibetan burden carrier

5: Ribbach--216 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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Mon (musicians)

stood crying next to the lonpo. The latter continued, placing his hand on the child's little head: "Yeshu will one day carry off the victory over all Buddhas and gods of the land. And even if we old people will no longer accept his doctrine, at least these children will do so. And then happiness and peace will enter the dark snow-covered land of Tibet."

BURIAL CUSTOMS AMONG THE BUDDHISTIC TIBETANS

by

Josef Gergan (Leh, Ladakh)

Translated from the Tibetan and annotated

by

S. H. Ribbach

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FOREWORD

The work that I append here, dealing with burial customs and interment rites among the Tibetans, was written by Josef Gergan in Leh, Ladakh, a full Tibetan by race. Since my activity as a missionary came to a premature conclusion through the World War, after 21 years of service in Ladakh, it was not possible for me to conclude my studies in this very difficult field there on the spot. Gergan has done his work with thoroughness. As he has written to me, he has extensively questioned the abbot of a neighboring monastery belonging to the reformed Geldanpa sect, as well as a lama of the likewise reformed Drugpa sect (abrugpa), and also a soothsayer and magician (onpo) of the Bon religion. The latter religion stands next to Buddhism and

114 possibly holds an even stronger spell than it does, over the minds of the Tibetans. The information that Gergan received from these men he has written exactly. The Bon priest even supplied him with his "Introduction on how to set the death horoscope," so that he could copy it. Gergan gives in the following study a number of samples of this wisdom of the soothsayers and astrologers, in which frequently the wisdom of the old magicians of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, is reflected.

I have translated Gergan's essay from the Tibetan and have provided it with explanatory notes; for the rest (except for small changes in the order, which seemed necessary), I have changed nothing about the essay. What is here presented is therefore a reproduction of the original Tibetan document, which is faithful to the letter. The additions in parentheses and the majority of the headings are done by myself.

Unlike the reports by Emil Schlagintweit (Buddhism in Tibet), by Waddell (The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism), and the information that I am able to find scattered here and there in the travel accounts by Sven Hedin, Tafel, and others concerning the funeral practices of the Tibetans, Josef Gergan's presentation goes into details to a great extent, and it indicates by a concrete example the richly furnished cult of the dead among the Tibetans. In the same example is reflected the picture of the religion /210/ of Tibet, Lamaism. This religion presents itself to us as a confused tangle of elements belonging to the old animistic religion of the people, of Buddhism, of the Bon religion which penetrated into the country at approximately the same time, of Hinduism, and of other factors. But here our ears are also struck by the cry of fear of a tortured people's soul, tortured by the double fear: First of all of retribution for one's own sinful acts, through the sinister karma; and secondly of the numberless spirits that threaten the soul in all its existential forms both in this world and in the Beyond. And we witness the terrible thing, that the person so racked is driven into the arms of avaricious priests and magicians who swindle and deceive him in the most shameless manner.

S. H. Ribbach.

/211/ CONCERNING THE MANNER OF BURING THE DEAD 764

AND THE RITES OF THE DEAD AMONG

THE BUDDHISTIC INHABITANTS OF

LADAKH

The Burial of Children

When a baby or a one to two year old child dies, (the corpse) is laid inside an earthen vessel or in a little box, and thus walled up into the wall of its own house (of the parents). Until the age of eight no kind of funeral ceremony is performed for children, the corpse is not cremated; it is carried into the mountain wilderness and hidden there. A lama makes a scattered offering (gtor-ma) (1), pronounces

1. When this scattered offering is carried out, aside from water, also larger and smaller pills made of bread dough to the size of "sheep pills" (!)--108 of such pills--are presented to the gods: to the gods up above (in heaven) five such "meals"; to the Pretas down below in the underworld and in limbo, and to the others each five of such "meals." Offerings are made in this manner to the eight p'yi-lus, to the abyuṅ-po, and to the mi-ma-yin (spirits). This cast or scattered offering is presented according to (the instructions in) the book: P'al-ĉer brgya rtsa (the "Ordinary Hundred," namely, storma offerings).

a prayer, gives the children (present) little rolls (p'u-li), roasted barley, and the like. This is known as the children's meal (byis-ston). In general (it is so) that at the death of children who have passed the eighth year of their life, the same death and purification rites are observed as in the case of adults; but some people also say that when somebody under twelve years of age dies no death rites have to be undertaken. The fact that no funeral rites are performed for people under their eighth or twelfth year is explaining in the following manner:

764 children that young do not know as yet the difference between good and evil; therefore there is also no need for these ceremonies. If we people of Ladakh (so say these people) had to observe these rites even among those younger than the eight-year-olds, then the burden (the expenses) would become so heavy that we would be unable to bear it. Therefore we do not perform any rites.

First Considerations and Practices

In case a person suddenly dies and the flour, butter, beer, and so forth, (necessary for the mass of the dead) are not present in the house, the death is kept a secret for three to four days, until these things have been procured. Then, when everything is prepared, a lama, /212/ who has performed the "Four Exercises" (2) (t'un bźi-po

2. These "Exercises of the four times of the day (tun)" are performed in each case at daybreak (t'o-rańs sńa t'un), towards noon (nyin-p'yed dus guń t'un), towards six o'clock in the evening (p'yi-tog srod t'un), and towards midnight (t'san p'yed sńon-du dgońs). With these four segments of time the lama concerned must recite the formula of refuge 100,000 times, other formulas of adoration 100,000 times, 100,000 Mandala (dkyil-ak'or), 100,000 yig-brgya, and other formulas. In order to get through all these Exercises, (a lama) needs about five months. The whole thing represents a testing of the lama.

t'on-mk'an-gyi bla-ma), goes to call one of the p'as-pun. Those who already have everything in preparedness send a messenger immediately after the death (of the relative) out to the lama who takes care of the "changing of the body" (ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan).

Marks of the Virtuous and of the Sinner on the Dead Person

763 If the upper part of the dead person's body becomes cold while
775 the lower part of his body is still warm, then the deceased was a virtuous person in his lifetime. But if the upper part of his body is still warm while the lower part becomes cold, then this is taken as a sign that the person was a sinner. Why? The soul of the virtuous person escapes through an opening on top of the head in the fontanel, and

the body then cools off gradually from the top down to the feet; in the 763
case of great sinners, the soul escapes from the lower part of the body 775
through the rectum, and the body gradually cools off from down below up to the head, so it is said.

Behavior of the Deceased

It is said that for four days the dead person does not know that 775
he has died. The latter (during this time) keeps returning to his house, sits down in the circle (of the members of his household), and also speaks to them, but the latter do not answer him. But when he notices that his body does not cast a shadow any more and that (in walking) he leaves no footprints behind, only then does he know: I have died. It is also said that the dead person always resembles the animal of his birth year, for instance, the corpse of a pig year person is supposed to look like a dead pig (in his features).

When somebody has died, his understanding (his faculties) be- 775
come nine times as acute as before. For a good lama it is an easy 789
thing to effect that creatures in Bardo (3) (through his magical arts),

3. Bardo is the realm of the dead in which the deceased arrive first and where they stay for forty days until they are reborn in a new body. In the same place they are also tortured and frightened by horrible demons, if the power of their own virtuous accomplishments, or the prayers, masses, and offerings of the priests do not release them from it. --Compare Evans-Wentz: Tibetanisches Totenbuch, Zürich, 1937.

become so light that they become like beams (floating on the water) (4), so it says in the books, particularly in the "T'os-agrol." Until

4. The force of gravity is eliminated. A renowned magical trick of the lamas.

the funeral ceremonies are ended, the deceased person daily receives his favorite dishes.

/213/ Many Sects--Many Methods

Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, 000

764 Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely,
795 the Geldanpa sect (the Sect of the Virtuous reformed by Tsongkapa), the Drugpa sect, the Drikung sect, the Saskya sect, and the Nyingmapa sect (the non-reformed sect), so there are also five different books concerning funeral rites and the tutelary gods (to be invoked). Accordingly, if one were to describe everything in detail, this would result in a very large book. Now, since in Ladakh there are particularly many lay adherents (literally, "gift offerers," sbyin-bdag) of the reformed Geldanpa and Drugpa sects, I shall here treat the death rites of the Geldanpa sects in somewhat greater detail (5).

5. As is shown by the following, the activity even of the orthodox Geldanpa lamas can here not be separated from that of the representatives of black magic, the onpos (soothsayers, magicians), without whose cooperation no Buddhistic interment is possible; the activities of both here go hand in hand. The onpo does not allow himself to be pushed out even by his bitterest enemies, the Geldanpa lamas, and he demands his right and his compensation.

764 If an adult person (that is to say, in general, one over twelve years of age) dies, first of all the p'as-pun (members of the tribe), secondly the lamas, thirdly the onpos (dbon-po, soothsayers) are needed in any case. Although originally only the members of the paternal tribe were called p'as-pun, now all those members of the clan are called p'as-pun in Ladakh, who honor a common tutelary deity (p'a-lha). Aside from the p'as-pun no person may touch the corpse (and even the p'as-pun may do so only when the magical signs allow it; the touching of the corpse makes the person who touches it impure).

The lamas perform ceremonies designed to expiate the sins of the deceased and to translate him into paradise. The soothsayer (onpo) establishes in the death horoscope of the deceased, whence the demon of death (gšed, meaning "killer") came and whither he has gone, something which has to be done for defense against immediately threatening misfortune; the onpo further establishes when the corpse is to be carried out of the house, where (in which of the six realms) the soul is to be re-embodied, and the like.

The Wailing of Lamentation

As soon as the relatives, the p'as-pun, the neighbors and

friends have all heard the news of the death of a person, they go into 764
the house in which the death has taken place, in order to console (the relatives). This is called the Great Meeting (k'ab-ap'rad). As soon as one /214/ of the visitors enters the house, the women of the circle of relatives and of the tribe immediately start up a wailing of lamentation and amidst crying tell of the passing away. The visitors appear before each of the mourners and say: "Don't cry! Don't cry! Do not grieve!" They stay for a little while and then go home. Only the p'as-pun stay in the house and pray continually the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum while they turn the prayer wheel.

Rules Concerning Becoming Ritually Impure

When a woman's husband dies, the wife has to carry his corpse, 764
and in this way becomes (ritually) impure (yug-sa); if the woman dies 783
then her husband has to carry her corpse and becomes impure. The person who has become impure drapes a blackish blanket of goat's hair around himself in a dark corner, takes all his ornaments off, and puts on old clothes. The vessels, such as the kettle, the flour bowl, and so forth, of the person who has become impure (yug-sa-pa) are kept separate from those of the other inhabitants of the house. Since the surviving husband or wife is regarded as impure (6), the person con-

6. As "impure one" the person would otherwise offend and anger the earth, water, and household deities, and these would send sickness, drought, and crop failure upon the offenders.

cerned may not touch the hearth or the implements, in particular the eating and cooking implements in the living room; ordinarily this person may not leave the house either. If he leaves the house anyway, he may not cross over any irrigation ditches. If it is summertime, he may not go into the fields. Today there is still the chopped off and [688]
dried out hand of a woman to be seen in the monastery Gang-ngon (sgań-ńon) (7). This woman committed nine offenses of this kind (and

7. The monastery is at a distance of about fifteen kilometers from Leh.

was punished for them in this fashion).

783 In earlier times it used to be so, that, if a husband (or wife) died after the summer solstice, the surviving party had to be regarded as impure until the winter solstice. Nowadays the parties concerned need no longer remain separated from the other survivors for longer than a month. As soon as the month has elapsed, a lama brings the purification offering. Then each of the relatives and members of the tribe prepare a delectable meal and bring it together with beer (into the house of mourning). This is called the "meal of mourning" (sdug-bzan). With this the mourning is concluded (sdug-sdug-bsañs) (8).

8. This can also be translated: "The purification is completed."

The woman again washes (and braids) her hair, /215/ changes her clothes, the ornaments are again put on, they eat and drink and give themselves over to uninhibited gaiety.

The "Changing of the Body"

763 In the book t'os-agrol (9) it says that at the approaching death

9. The full title of the book is: t'os-pa t'sam-gyis agrol-ba t'ob-pai ^cos, the doctrine by the hearing of which a person is immediately saved.

(of a person) a lama of high rank must be present between the external breathing out and the (final) inner breathing out of the soul, in order to read the book t'os-agrol and to introduce the "changing of the body" (of existence, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). However, in most cases it is so, that when the dying person still feels healthy shortly before his death, he himself and the entire family hope for his recovery, yes, none of them even thinks of his dying. Finally, the relatives frequently do not think of calling in the lamas even in case of great danger of death. The custom of calling the lamas before the death exists neither in Ngari nor in Central Tibet (but it does exist in Western Tibet).

764 As soon, then, as death has actually set in and everything in the house is prepared, a p'as-pun is sent out in order to call a lama who has performed the "Four Exercises" and who has attained the rank of an abbot. The abbot sits down by the deceased and waits. It is not a general custom to serve the dead person any food aside from tea on this occasion. But some people do serve the dead person his favorite

dish at this "changing of the body." To begin with, now, the abbot 764
spreads the apo-rdzas, that is, the pills called "changing substance," rubbed into a powder and mixed with butter, on the skull of the deceased person. Then he recites a formula to exorcize the soul of the deceased person, which goes: "The truth of Buddha, the turth of the Law, the truth of the Monkhood (therefore the 'Three Jewels' which correspond to the concept of the divinity), the truth of the secret formulas of exorcism and of the family exorcizing formulas, the truth of the host of gods belonging to the tutelary god Amitabha (10). Trusting in the

10. Tibetan, Od-dpag med; he is one of the five "Heavenly Buddhas," the spiritual father of the Dhyanibodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the particular tutelary deity of Tibet.

power of this (fivefold) truth, may Tsering who has departed from this world into the Beyond, wheresoever the thinking substance (rnam-śes, Sanskrit, vijñana) (11) of his soul may be at the moment: in Bardo, or

11. "Thinking substance" translates the Sanskrit word vijna [761]
(Tibetan, rnam-śes). It designates according to ancient Indic philosophy one of the five skandha (elements of life) which in their composition constitute a living creature. At the death of a person this non-corporeal "substance" which comes into being through the slumbering impressions of previous existences (samskara) that have remained behind, stays behind as final germ of life. Unless these latent impressions and germs of life are destroyed by patient striving after the highest recognition (Bodhi), a new will to live is again awakened, new forms are fashioned, new reincarnations take place, and with them there comes new suffering.

in one /216/ of the four places of births, in whichsoever of the united four realms of the world he may be, may he rest here for a brief little moment!" This the priest whispered three times (into the ear of the dead man) and in the belief in Amitabha, the Buddha of the immeasurable light, he then read the book t'os-agrol and the book "Of the way of changing the body." Then he recited the prayer asking for translation into Paradise. When that was over, (one of the relatives of the deceased) gave the monk six or eight annas as "changing compensation" (ap'o-yon, compensation for the "changing of the body").

764 If a woman has died the topmost, best turquoise of the woman's head ornament may also be given as compensation in this case. It is said that some rich people give the lama even a horse or a yak as "changing compensation." In Central Tibet, when the lama (who has been called upon) is prevented by circumstances from coming to the house of the layman concerned (in which the death has taken place), the lama sends a messenger on horseback with the "changing material" (ap'o-rdzas) and performs the "body changing ceremony" in his monastery or in his hermitage. This is called "long-distance" (rgyaṅ ap'o-debs).

If the "gift offerer" (pious layman) belongs to the Drugpa sect, he has a Drugpa lama called, who has performed the "Four Exercises" (and therefore possesses the rank of abbot). This lama first of all recites an entrance formula, then formulas of exorcism, and then he calls upon the spirits; thereupon he reads the book entitled "Of the harmful rainbow" (12) concerning the "changing"; and as he now shouts

[821] 12. The rainbow, which in the astronomy of the ancient Indians was already reckoned among the planets, is thought of, like all the celestial bodies, as a divinity which is frequently hostile towards mankind, and which sends down upon it afflictions like epilepsy, brain hemorrhage, and the like.

"hik!" three times, and "pat!" once, he pulls out a few hairs from the dead man's head (13). This he does three to five times. By doing

[826] 13. The soul is presumed to make its exit by way of the little openings that have been created through pulling out the hairs. In the belief of the lamas, the hairs go all the way through the top of the head.

this the priest believes that the soul of the deceased is taken up in the soul of the sublime Dorje Chang (rdo-rje ac̆aṅ) (14), and that in this

14. In Sanskrit Vajradhara, a form of the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva.

way it arrives in Paradise. All this is done so that the soul of the deceased may be preserved against the terrors of Bardo or of a new rebirth. Later on, something will be said about the offerings and dishes presented on this occasion. The sign that the change (of the body)

has proceeded properly, is the secretion of seminal fluid in the case of the men, and of blood from the ear of the corpse in the case of women. After the cremation of the corpse there are supposed to be tiny openings in the top of the head (through which the soul is supposed to have escaped). 764

/217/ The Preparation of the Body for Burial

Until the ceremony of the "changing of the body" is completed, no one touches the corpse. It is feared that otherwise the soul will be driven out of the body prematurely by a shock, before the lama has shown it the certain way to release, and that it would then wander about restlessly and without protection in Bardo. When the process of the "changing of the body" is over, the p'as-pun take off all the ornaments that the dead person has on him. Some of the p'as-pun wash the corpse, others salve it with hot butter. (The corpse is then taken into the household temple and set down there.)

It is told that in earlier times in Tibet many dead persons had come back to life. From then on there arose the custom of making the doors of the household temple very low and tying the corpses down with strings. In Lahul the men as well as the women all wear a string of wool constantly slung under the sash around their body, so that, in case someone should die in a place where no string is available, (the corpse) can still be tied with the woollen string (and so that in this way the corpse that has come back to life cannot escape). For the person who has been resurrected from death is unable to bend down, and thus he is also unable to get out of the household temple, being prevented from doing so by the low door and the string. The corpse is now put into a crouching position: both knees of the corpse are pulled up to the chin, and both hands up to the ears; then (the body) is tied with strings and shaped into a bundle, in this position. It is said that this is the form of the Dorje (rdo-rje) (15). Now the corpse is put inside a linen sack,

15. The dorje (Sanskrit vajra, meaning "thunderbolt") is the magical weapon of the gods and the priests in their battle against the demons.

linen sack, called the winding sheet (ro-ras), and then it is placed inside the household temple (16) on a platform made of bricks. A curtain

16. In many parts of Tibet the corpse is placed in a squatting

764 position in a corner of the living room, unless the corner just happens to be inhabited by the household god: the onpo decides upon that. The corpse has its share of each meal placed in front of it.

is also hung in front of it.

/218/ THE ACTIVITY OF THE ONPOS (SOOTHSAYERS AND MAGICIANS), THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BON RELIGION (17), AT THE INTERMENT

771 17. Coming from present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion penetrated into Tibet at approximately the same time as Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced from present-day Afghanistan (Udyana). It (the Bon religion) represents a peculiar mixture of the ancient popular religion of the peoples of Persian race residing there and of Mahaya Buddhism which at that time was also widespread in that region. Despite the [798] similarity and close kinship of the two clashing religions in Tibet, there was kindled a very bitter war between the two religious forms in Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the rulers and their priests there attempted to make Buddhism into the dominant religion. But Buddhism has never been able to exterminate the Bon religion. Hence this existence side by side of lamaistic and of Bon practices.

791 There are three kinds of onpos: first, white ones, secondly, black ones, and such who practise black and white magic at one and the same time. The white magicians prepare the calendar and occupy themselves with the calculation of the retribution (abras-rtsis) of human deeds. The black magicians undertake their exercises according to the manner of the Bon religion. Since they know black as well as white magic, they also prepare the calendar. They perform religious exercises and rites in the manner of the Bon.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual 764
death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope.

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering 764
died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood- 787
Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the 784
"changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-rtsis kun gsal)." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This [776]
death demon (zá-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money)

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

The Year's Shed ("Offering")

764 Since Tsering was a snake year person, it says in the horoscope:
787 When a snake year person dies a bird year person and a pig year person
789 must be fetched. These persons hide a red or dark blue piece of cloth cut to measure, as well as any jewels that might be available, inside an old leather sack that has been slit open at the top, or inside a black vessel. (This is done as an offering to the Shed demon, the "killer.") These things are also covered with a hide or grains of barley; (in the former case) it must be the fresh hide of a black goat or of a yak killed by one of three Bon priests as a sacrifice to the Shed. The head of the (killed) /second parenthesis supplied by the translator, as it is missing in the text./ yak or of the goat is placed facing north, the right front leg towards the east, and the left towards the west. The spinal column is dragged along the earth. Sayings (mdo-mań, Mantra), among them the "Formula of the Crown of Hair," (20) are recited. The lha-gsol

20. In this case the thought is probably of hair belonging to Gautama Buddha, the Ushnisha (Tibetan, gtsug-tor), which is to be seen in all pictures of Buddha.

(invocation to the gods), the gyań-agug (good luck bringing) ceremony, as well as the ceremony of the "string cross of the tent" (gur-mdos), are performed. Thereupon the demon of death escapes to a woman who has a red dog with red flesh.

The Monthly Shed Offering

Since the 12th month (in which Tsering died) is the pig month, it says in the horoscope: He who dies in the pig /220/ month, had actually finished his life already in the snake month. The demon had carried him (that is, his soul) off to the northeast.

Since the 28th day of the 12th month is the "heavenly door of the grave" (because heaven is opened up for the death demons and they can escape from it), the black magician must close the heavenly portal in the following manner (21): above the front door of the house of the

21. This is done so that the demons of death will not harm the people.

deceased Tsering, a mouth, eyes, and so forth are painted with clay 764
on a ram's skull; (for the rest) the skull is covered with paint. On its 787
forehead is drawn the magical Sparka sign "Khen" (22) of Tsering. 789

22. Khen is the lord of the gods and the demons of heaven.

This skull is attached above the house door and over it is placed a mdos (string star) made of sticks and strings in five colors. This star is called "heaven." Again above this is put an arrow with narrow ribbons of five colors. On the right-hand side of the skull a spotted (probably by means of partial charring) arrow is affixed, to the left a spindle (23) spotted

23. Compare note 106 in its main part!

in like manner, and to the right of the spindle a board bearing the picture of a man's face is attached. Finally as many crosses are carved (into the board) as the number of years in the age of the surviving man (24) in the house. On the left-hand side on the board, a woman's face

24. Even if Tsering was the husband of a woman, it was still possible that a second or a third brother of Tsering lived as her husband in the house.

is to be seen and next to this as many crosses as the "pious offerer of gifts" (25) is old. If the woman (the widow) is for instance 25 years of

25. The widow of the deceased man, who offers up gifts for the salvation of her husband.

age, then 25 crosses are carved into the board. When all this is completed, the onpo offers up a drink offering (gser-skyem) before this whole (magical apparatus). This is called the "closing of the heavenly portal." If the heavenly portal were not to be closed, the inhabitants of the house would suffer harm (through the demons that have been set free). When the portal of the earth is opened and it is not closed, it is believed that damage will be suffered among the crosses in the livestock (26).

26. For instance, among the dso (a cross between a yak bull and an Indian cow) /second parenthesis supplied by translator,

764 since omitted in text./, the mules, and others.

787

789 The closing of the portal of the earth proceeds in the same way as the closing of the portal of heaven described above. However, in this case a dog's skull, instead of a ram's skull, is painted, and not the word "Khen," but the word "Khon" (27) is written on it. This is

27. The Old Khon, the earth mother, mistress of all earth demons and earth spirits, corresponds to the Old Khen, the lord of the heavenly spirits.

called the Great Seal (on the portal of the earth, which prevents the demons from escaping).

/221/ The Influence of the Day of Death and of the Hour of Death

Now, since Tsering died on the 28th day of the month, on the pig day, (so it says in the horoscope): He was born as a magician in a previous existence. (After that former existence) he died in the sixth month of the dragon year.

Since Tsering died around the dragon hour, after sunrise, (it says in the horoscope): He died around the time of the (first) warmth of the sun (around 10 o'clock) (28). The devil (bdud) deprived him of

28. In the narrow valleys of Tibet the sun rises, if at all, very late.

life at the break of day. The devils and the Tsan (bt'san) have acted upon him as killers (gśed). The killers accordingly came from the northwest, and used yellow leather things as a hiding place. Even now they are still hidden in them. Hang out a yellow flag and a hairy hide. At first the (chief) killer appeared as a dragon, then, after 11 days, as an ox. That is bad for the bird year and the ox year persons, as well as for the little boys in the house. Then, again, the death demon was changed into the body of a snake. You must make a picture of a snake and must set this up at a point where many roads meet, after you have pressed it inside a pig's skull. Later the demon again hid himself in a small leather sack in the East.

When a woman dies and her spirit walks about in the house,

powerful ceremonies must be held. She will assume the body of a horse for ten years. For the deceased woman (the book) rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoń-rtsa (the thousand Dorje Chodpa), and (the book) mdzańs-blun (the wise man and the fool), must be read. Then she will be born as the "Goddess of the small light." But unless this is done, she will be born in the body of the sublime White Bird (29). 764 787 789

29. Probably a mythical creature of Bon mythology. Compare notes 80 to 81 in the main sections!

Evil Magical Signs

Since Tsering's Sparka sign in his 42nd year of life (the year of his death) had turned out to be the Khon (sign), it says in the horoscope: When someone dies under the Khon sign, the Jaksha demons carry off (his soul). If a woman dies (under this /222/ sign), then her dying (being reborn) is all over. If a husband dies in this way, then matters are bad (for him); then the earth demons carry him (his soul) off. Tsering died with his face turned either to the south or to the north--the retribution for his "Black Changing" (30). It is (also) bad for the old

30. His dying in sin.

people and for the invalids, as well as for the livestock. If the person concerned (who dies under the Khon sign) is reborn, then he will take pleasure in continual eating and drinking (debauchery), and in bow and arrow (31).

31. The sinful weapons of murder.

Now the death demon is once again inside the black leather bag. The leather bag is to be placed down on the ground by a fork in the road. Then the demon will go to an old, invalid man. A hare's skull and various kinds of wood are to be placed on the corpse (of Tsering), in order to prevent this. Then the demon again hides in the northeast. He hides in the buttermilk of cow and sheep. Now in the southwest the demon slips into a sheep year woman. Later he goes again to where there is a cow and a yellow checkered watch dog (sgo-k'yi). Then again he conceals himself with a married couple in a box or in a roll of yellow cloth or in a front leg (of meat) which has been cut and

764 787 789 [827]

and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by

32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespa-gsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death, causing death."

the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of rebirth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order

33. Bumpa; meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

good to ascertain through the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug ceremony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam-dbyaṅs) is to be set up. 764 787 789

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated

35. The title of a book.

that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month: k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821]

the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

764 the purification of the sins of the year (lo-sgrib), the sins of the
787 month (zla-sgrib), and of the other sins; and he must also perform
789 other ceremonies, if necessary. Then the corpse may be carried out.

/224/ Since Tsering was a snake year person, the snake year persons among his tribe and among the inhabitants of his house are forbidden not only to touch the corpse, but also even to look at it. But if the magician gives them the Nag-po dgu-t'ub amulet (39), they

39. /The text has two footnotes numbered 38, the second being being clearly a misprint for 39. --translator./ The amulet which exorcizes the "Black Nine" (probably Bon demons).

may perform the preparations. Tsering's wife was undoubtedly supposed to carry her husband's body, but if she is a snake year woman she may not carry it either (nor touch it).

On the eight dates of the month, the first, the eighth, the ninth, the 18th, the 19th, 28th, 29th, and the 30th, no kind of preparations on the body are to be performed. On the other hand, the six dates of the fifth, the seventh, the 15th, 17th, 25th, and the 27th, are very favorable for these preparations; the remaining 16 dates have neither profit nor harm in them; this appears clearly from the book about the "calculation of retribution."

Since for seven days the disastrous elements (Sanskrit, skandha) (40), which fashioned the earthly body and which are called zin-puń,

40. Concerning the five skandha, see note 11.

float around, no kind of work, either good or evil, may be performed during these days. Now, if it is also stated that on the days of the zin-puń, the purification may not be carried out, then this means that as of recent times the onpos nevertheless do carry out the purification on the days named. Sometimes the corpse is even carried out of the house on these days.

The Signs of the Future Re-incarnation

"Since the Red Nine turned out to be the Mewa sign of the 42-year old Tsering, he would have to be reborn again as a dog and (later) as a donkey. But if you set up the image (the bronze or clay statue) of the Bodhisattva Byams-dbyańs (Sanskrit, Manjusri) in the

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, 764
in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of 787
the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 789
'Khorlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this
way, the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the cere-
monies resulting from them, to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo
performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion.
Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas)
are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises
of the onpos continue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer
fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the
birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures
(animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted
images (tanka) of the same.

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (ŝa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning towards Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests. [571]

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contra-
distinction to Those of the Onpos) 764

Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

764 (p'ud) consisting of flour, at the "changing of the body," no further offering is demanded on this occasion. On the occasion of the performance of the death rites and the "burning of the paper" (sog-pa sreg-pa) (42) by the (reformed) Geldanpa lamas, three sacrificial cakes

42. The death mask made of paper is meant.

which are made of roasted barley flour, and which are called the "Three Roots" (43) are presented; in addition, three little offering

43. Offerings for the destruction of the "Three Root Sins": evil desire, hatred, and stupidity (Tibetan, rtsa-da gsum).

lamps, three brass bowls filled with barley and called gzi-nas (44),

44. Probably because this offering is dedicated to the gźi-bdag, the local deity.

as well as five or seven brass dishes filled with water are offered up. This water is called the sacrificial water (and it is offered in place of wine). Sometimes a relative (of the dead man) will also present an offering of 100 lamps, which is called the offering of the hundred /226/ lamps (rgya-mčod), upon the occasion of the holding of the ceremonies.

Now, when, as in the case of the above-named Tsering, (funeral) ceremonies are held for four days on end, the expenses of one day are met by the house (of the deceased), the expenses of the three other days are paid by the relatives and the p'as-pun. Since the inhabitants
764 of the house honor the Yamantaka (Tibetan, ajigs-byed) as tutelary
789 deity, the lamas undertake the exorcisms which are called the bdag-skyed, mdun-skyed, bum-skyed, and bdog-ajug. When they perform these ceremonies they not only wear the bdaṅ dress (the magical vestment prescribed for this), but they also dress the corpse with this vestment (45). In winter they do not take this magical vestment off

45. To this also belong the magical implements: dorje, bell, drum, bone trumpet, and the like.

(the corpse) until the death ceremonies are completed. In summer the vestment (with the implements concerned) is taken off the corpse

as soon as the (above-named) exorcisms have been completed. 764

Poor people only have such exercises performed for one day. 789
Rich people, on the other hand, have them performed up to two weeks (and longer).

The "Burning of the Paper"
(The Paper Mask)

Four days after the death, on the first day of the second segment of time (consisting each of four days), the "burning of the paper," the byaṅ-ĉog, takes place. In the monastery, they (the monks) each have a carved printing plate with the picture of a man or a woman. Now since Tsering (the deceased) was a man, the picture of a man is printed on paper and his name--Tsering--is written on it. Then the (printed) paper is placed between the feathers of an arrow and a greeting ribbon (k'atag) is wound around the end of the (folded)together) paper. Now barley is poured into a measure (bre) (46) and placed before the

46. One bre (dry measure) contains two ample liters.

abbott (present). The arrow is stuck into the barley. Then the bdag-skyed and the other exercises are performed, as indicated above, and texts and formulas are recited. In order to annul the sins of the de- 764
ceased, because of his trespasses, scattered offerings (bgegs-gtor) are 783
presented to the demons /227/. Through the recital of magical texts the sins are also annulled. Furthermore, the purification from sins is brought about by the reading of the "Six Books of the Transcendent Wisdom (śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa; Sanskrit, prajnya paramita)"; further, the exculpation from sin is effected by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood); finally, also, sins are done away with through the "Four Elements" (47).

47. The four elements are: earth, water, fire, and air. Sometimes ether is added as the fifth element.

When according to the instructions of the books (concerned), 764
these exercises are completed, the corpse-bearer takes the arrow in place of the dead body, and sticks it in his sash (which he wears slung around his body), and sits down behind the seat of the deceased (which was his during his lifetime in the circle of his household companions).

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The Feeding of the Dead Person--
The Burning of the Paper
(The Paper Mask of the Dead Person)

Now the abbot makes a hollow in the middle of a large flour dumpling which is handed to him; into it he pours melted butter, sprinkles sugar on it, and on top of this he places a piece of meat, and further he puts bread and cake in a circle around the flour dumpling in a dish; in a second dish he puts rice, and he puts tea in a jug, fills beer into another jug and places everything down in front of the corpse. These are the dead person's favorite dish (48) which are

48. It is supposed that the soul of the dead person enjoys the essence of the dishes, so that afterwards the nutritive power of these has disappeared.

"pleasing to the taste." Now, after these dishes have been placed before the dead person according to the manner of the Bon, the abbot's servant takes a little something from the dishes, fashions from it a flat cake, and lays this down on the little table in front of the abbot. The latter takes the flat cake and holds it to a burning torch or to the burning sacrificial fire. Then, when (at the reciting of formulas) he comes to the particular place "of the burning of the paper," he takes the greeting ribbon off the arrow (the abbot receives this greeting ribbon), takes up the paper mask (with the picture of the deceased), holds it above the flame, and then, when the paper mask, lying on the flat cake, is completely burned, the abbot folds the ashes of the paper inside the flat cake, forms the latter into a lump, and hands it to one of the p'as-pun; the latter lays the /228/ lump down inside the household temple (in which the corpse is still laid out). As compensation for this "paper burning" the lamas receive an entire suit of clothing belonging to the deceased (49).

49. In my opinion the custom of burning the paper mask is founded upon the conception that by it the existence which is now concluded, is completely destroyed after the soul of the departed, whose reappearance is feared by the relatives, has also been appeased by the presentation of dishes. --In some parts of Tibet a rough doll is created on the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house. This crude doll is fashioned

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by hanging the clothes of the deceased on a block of wood, a chair, or the like. The doll is supposed to represent the deceased. In place of the face a printed picture is attached, which represents in rough outline a man or--in other cases--a woman. The figure in the picture sits in a posture of adoration. Underneath it is written the name of the deceased and a prayer addressed to the lamas, the Buddhas, the "Root Lama" and to the hosts of gods, asking for forgiveness of all sins, for blessing and for speedy attainment of the dignity of a Buddha. In front of this doll dishes of food and drinks are placed for seven weeks, instead of in front of the corpse which has been taken away. The burning of the paper mask represents, then, the last farewell from the departed and is intended to prevent his reappearance; it takes place at the conclusion of the seven weeks; as a rule the funeral rites are concluded with this ceremony. The doll is then undressed, and the lamas divide among themselves the clothes and other belongings of the dead person. During the burning of the paper mask, the lama determines from the form and the color of the flame, of what nature the new existential form of the departed person will be. If this is of an unfavorable kind, for instance a rebirth in the animal kingdom, or as a beggar, as one tortured in hell, new ceremonies are prescribed and held for the "salvation of the unfortunate." These ceremonies drag out for weeks. The ceremony of the "Western Paradise" is repeated until the end of the seven weeks every week, and the expenses of all these exercises are of such a kind that it is extremely rare that a single individual can bear them alone. The p'as-pun then help in bearing the burden. The poorer the relatives of the dead person are, the fewer exercises they have performed.

If the funeral ceremonies drag out into many days, the following books are also read (by the lamas): "the praise of the eight blissfully perfected (Buddhas) (bde-bar gśegs-pa brgyad-kyi bstod-pa), " the book "of the medicine Buddha (sman-bla), " the book of the "offering of the lamas, " of the "good metamorphosis (bzaṅ-spyod), " of the "beginning of the good metamorphosis (spyod-ajug), " of the "prayer for paradise (bde-ba-can-gyi smon-lam), " "of infinity (mt'a-yas-ma), " the Prayer to Maitreya (byams-pai smon-lam), " and so forth, as many books as possible, countless (books).

The Burial By Fire

764 First a "magical square" (t'ab-t'ig, literally, "oven picture") must be created and must be spread out in the cremating furnace of the fathers. A dorje (thunderbolt) is to be drawn into the fourth center field of a (probably squared?) piece of linen cloth. Eight fields are to be left open on the four sides of this, and inside these fields lotus flowers are to be drawn; further--fire-spewing mountains are to be drawn on all four sides around these flowers on an edge four fingers wide; then again on an edge four fingers wide a frame consisting entirely of dorjes is to be drawn. A half moon and a dorje are to be drawn in each of the four corners of the cloth. The p'as-pun spread this picture out on the floor of the cremating furnace.

On the day on which the corpse is carried out, one man from each house, in a small village, goes to meet the others in one place; in larger localities like Leh, the neighbors along the street come together, and according to the custom of the so-called "intimate meeting" each brings a jug of beer and a dish of flour with him. The closer relatives each come with a large loaf of bread, as well as with money (literally, "copper coins") for each of those who take part and the "wailers," and all gather in the house of mourning. On the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house, the neighbors along the street, the friends, and companions receive a donation of rice, tea, and beer, which is called the "friends' tribute."

/229/ When the lamas have finished the so-called "Great Litany," the corpse is carried out of the house at the time that has been designated by the soothsayer. In Upper and Lower Ladakh the women of the circle of relatives (of the dead person) circle three times around the corpse, as soon as the corpse-bearer has come out of the household temple with the corpse (and has set it down) (50).

50. The corpse remains tied in a squatting position the whole time.

In Central Ladakh (the region around Leh), however, the women do not do this. In Leh, the corpse-bearer first of all carries the corpse outside the household temple in front of the house door. Then the [783] corpse is placed in a sedan-chair (with carrying rods) and is carried in this by the p'as-pun, neighbors, and others (51) to the cremating

51. These others take upon themselves the odium of becoming impure in exchange for payment.

impure in exchange for payment. 000

furnace. In some villages the corpse is also carried in the following 764
manner: it is attached to a rod and this rod is again attached to the back of the two carriers.

When the corpse is carried out of the house (and buried), the lamas wear the required ornaments (with the crown made of papier-mache (dbaṅ-ĉas)and the implements used for the exorcism of the spirits), and amidst the blowing of the the large trumpets they go to the place of cremation. Neighbors and villagers who have gathered around, carry wood, glowing charcoal, and implements for the cremation of the corpse, as well as two food and drink offerings, and also the skulls of two sheeps. As they march along, they constantly mumble to themselves: "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!" The close relatives take off their caps and conceal them; the women go dressed without any shawls (52). Each of them carries a burning stalk of frankincense, and

52. Which under ordinary circumstances is considered unbecoming.

so they walk along behind the corpse. In Sangskar two men march in front of the corpse carrying a strip of white cloth to a length of from one to two dompa (about three meters) stretched out between them, in order to show the dead person the "White Path" (to Paradise). In Central Ladakh (the environs of Leh) this is not done (53).

53. In Central Tibet a ceremonious farewell is paid to the dead person, before the corpse is carried to the place of cremation. After the most delectable dishes, including also meat and drinks of all kinds, have been placed before him, a lama hands a greeting ribbon to the dead person and addresses him as follows: "You, Tsering! You have now received all these good dishes and drinks from your relatives. Enjoy the essence of these to the full, since you will not have any further opportunity to do so later! You must understand that you have died, and that your spirit must leave this place, and that it may not return and disturb or harm the relatives. Remember carefully the name of the lama who takes care of your soul, his name is Chospell. With his assistance, walk the right, the White Path (to Paradise)! Come, follow me!" With this, the

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lama goes ahead of the corpse-bearer carrying in his left hand the trumpet made of the bones of human legs, and in his right hand the little hand drum, as well as one end of the long, broad, white ribbon, the other end of which is tied around one arm of the dead man. In this way, the lama "leads" the dead man to the place of cremation amidst the blowing of the bone trumpet, the beating of the drum, and the reciting of a mass. --See Waddell, Lamaism!

As soon as the corpse has been set down inside of the cremating furnace, the lamas pray the "Great Litany" (p'yag-ĉen gsol adebs). In this litany, the "Great Merciful One" (Avalokitesvara) is called upon and asked to intercede on behalf of the deceased with the god of death and of hell, so that the latter may spare the dead person from the punishments of hell and so that the Great Merciful One may be able to lead the departed into the paradise of heavenly joys. The /230/ closer and more distant relatives circle around the cremating furnace three times, carrying burning stalks of incense in their hands, and three times they fall down on their faces in adoration.

Then the relatives go home. The people along the street and other villagers (who have helped) buy beer with the two to three rupees which they received from the "gift offerer," and then go with this "meeting beer" (ap'rad- lugskyi ĉaŭ) to an open place where they drink it. This is also called the "street beer-drinking."

After the praying of the "Great Litany" is ended, the lamas set about the cremating of the corpse. When (in the prayer) they come to the place which concerns the lighting of the cremating fire, a sacrificial servant takes the torch from one of the p'as-pun and gives it to the abbot. The latter pronounces a formula of purification over the fire, and gives the torch back to the sacrificial servant. The latter then ignites the pile of wood under the corpse (54).

54. The cylindrical furnace of cremation is built of bricks, and has openings at the bottom through which the fire is lit. On top, the oven is entirely open. These furnaces are situated outside the village, mostly in groups, since each of the clans (p'as-punships) has its own furnace. In the rite (purification of the fire), Iranian influences seem to make themselves felt.

Once the corpse is burnt, the lamas put the remains of the

bones that have not been consumed by the flames, which are called "flowers" (me-tog), inside a sack that they give to one of the p'as-pun to carry. Thereupon, amidst the blowing of the great trumpets, they return to the house of the "gift offerer."

The inhabitants of the house receive the lamas with a donation of money (p'ogs), with beer and jugs, two large dumplings which are called tsogs ak'or, two (roasted) sheep's heads, of which one is designated for the lamas, and the other for the p'as-pun. The lamas of the strict sect of the Geldanpa (who observe the interdicts regarding the eating of flesh), give their share to the beggars. Even ordinary people, laymen, often give their share to the beggars, "for the sake of blessing." As soon as the lamas have entered the house, rice and tea are placed before them. Thereupon the clothes of the deceased that are still there--insofar as they are to be given to the lamas--the dead man's household implements, his table, his blankets, his ornaments, and the like are placed in a heap inside the household temple for the lamas. The abbot says a formula of blessing over these things for the benefit of the deceased (so that these gifts will be accounted as a meritorious service by him). Then the lamas immediately and on the spot sell the dead man's bequest to the buyers (who have rushed to the spot) and distribute the profits in equal parts among themselves, return to their cells, and with this the funeral rites (as a rule) come to an end. If the /231/ corpse is not yet fully burned, the p'as-pun remain seated in front of the cremating furnace until this has happened. There they also consume the food that has been given them by the "gift offerer," and drink the tea and the beer that have been donated by him.

The lamas of the Drugpa sect (abrug-pa) (55), who honor the

55. A subordinate sect of the reformed Kargyupa sect.

Dhyanibuddha Dorje Chang (rdo-rje ačaṅ) and Mit'rugpa (mi-ak'rug-pa) (56) as their tutelary deities, perform the following prayers for a

56. The names of two (fictitious) Buddhas.

departed person: 1. Of the pious change (čos-spyod); 2. Of the good change (bźaṅ-spyod); 3. All secrets (gsaṅ-kun); 4. Paradise (bde-ba-can); 5. True joy (mṅon-par dga-ba); 6. The beginning of the change (spyod-ajug); 7. The long litany (smon-lam riṅ-mo); 8. The

764 simultaneously-born (lhan-skyes) (57); 9. The door of the works

57. It is supposed that together with the human being there is always born simulataneously a demon which dwells within him and which causes him harm.

(las-sgo) (58); 10. Mi-k'rug-pa (see note 56); 11. The way of sal-

58. The door opened by the good works (las) leads to paradise.

vation (t'ar-lam); 12. Of peace and passion (źi-k'ro); 13. The tearing-out out of the puddle of hell (na-rag don sprug).

Now, if the "gift offerer" is poor, not all of these prayers are recited, but only the following three: the "Mi-k'rug-pa," "Of peace and passion," and "The door of the works." On this occasion, as with the Geldanpa sect, the four parts of the Wang (dbaṅ) ceremony is performed, and at the burning of the paper mask the above-named prayers are also recited. The rite of the burning of the mask, as well as the recital of the prayers "Of the Dirt of Sins," are performed according to the book, "door of the works." When the corpse is being carried out of the house, the Drugpa lamas walk from the household temple to the cremating furnace amid constant reciting of the exorcising texts (59) from the Mikrugpa (book). The Drugpa lamas also observe

59. Prayers, magical texts, and exorcising formulas alternate with each other in these books of Tantra literature.

the rite of the t'ab-t'ig (furnace picture) of the magical square, and accordingly also carry out the cremation of the corpses.

The Bone Ceremony

765 Four days after the corpse has been carried out of the house, the second of the four parts (of the funeral ceremony) is held. On this occasion the lamas perform the so-called bone ceremony. If, for instance, the corpse has been carried out on the second day of the month /232/, the lamas put white paint (clay or marl) which has been dissolved in water, inside a vessel, and on the sixth day at the crack of dawn some p'as-pun go out to the place of cremation with an offering lamp and with a horse which they have bridled elaborately.

They take the ashes of the (cremated) corpse out of the furnace, and 765
put them inside a sack; then they paint the entire furnace white both inside and out. On top above the opening a roof is formed (out of stone and bricks). The holes (fire holes) down below are closed (with stones). On top of the roof of the furnace they stick a white flag. With the statement, "Now we carry off the 'flowers' (meaning, 'the remains of the bones and the ashes'), " the p'as-pun load the ashes of the corpse onto the horse. In this way two lamas take the ashes to the river (60)

60. In Ladakh it is usually the Indus River or one of its tributaries.

amidst the blowing of the large trumpets, and scatter it there.

On the very day on which the corpse is carried out (and burned), the bone ceremony is started on the (larger) remains of bones which have been brought into the house. This ceremony lasts one day. The crushed bones are mixed with the ashes of the burned paper mask, with loam, as well as with the shavings of jewels (turquoises, agates, and others) and metals, and with this mixture five, ten, even up to 100 and more pastes (impressions, Tibetan t'sa-t'sa), are created. (61). Some keep these impressions in their household temples, others

61. These pastes are pressed /or, printed/ with the help of very finely carved wooden moulds. On the front side they show pictures (reliefs) of Buddhas and other deities. Frequently they also bear the figure of a chorten.

build a special T'sat'sa shrine (t'sad-k'aṅ), shaped like a chorten, and put the pastes inside. Others again, place them inside an old chorten, and again others throw them away on the mountain or into the river. By the assertion of the practitioners of black magic, the lamas even consecrate (62) artfully created t'sat'sas with pictures of deities (in relief),

62. Through the consecration by the priests, the T'sat'sa images are supposed to be endowed with magical powers, and therefore [751] they are believed to be effective as an amulet for defense against disease and danger.

to be worn on a ribbon around the neck as amulets.

Now, after each (participating) lama has received a compensation

765 of one to two annas (in cash), these ceremonies (that is to say, the second part) are at an end. The lamas receive food to eat in proportion to the degree of elaborateness and the duration of the entire funeral rites.

It is true that sometimes a lama will read, at command, all parts of the book "T'os-agrol," for seven weeks or 49 days, counting from the day the death took place /233/. But nowadays (the lama) usually reads passages from the T'osgrol book only one day in each week during this period of time, consisting of seven times seven days.

Rites of Purification--Funeral Feast--
Feeding of the Manes

783 Once the corpse has been carried out of the house, only the Lhami (among the p'as-pun) are the ones who nowadays observe the laws of purification with respect to the dead. They may not eat anything in the house of mourning, nor may they drink anything there, and some even are afraid to inhale the smoke from the hearth and do not enter the house. Sometimes the relatives and friends bring so-called mourning food (sdug-bzan) into the house of mourning.

765 When the full moon sets in (after a death has occurred), some well-to-do people hold the festival of the full moon. On this occasion they again call in the lamas and again they have death ceremonies performed. At the festival of the full moon the rich give to each owner of a farmstead in the village two large flat bread cakes, and to each small-holder one of these. To the monastery they present a "Large Tea," that is, a tea for all the lamas. Every ordained monk receives two large flat bread cakes, and each novice receives one. Some, on the other hand, donate the bread cakes as described above, on 49th day (counting from the day of the death), and others do so after a year has elapsed.

Others, again, donate two measures of wheat or barley to each larger farm owner as "funeral treat" (adad), and one measure to each small-holder, at the time the corpse is being carried out of the house. In order to distribute this "funeral treat" (that is, grain), the village magistrate comes around with his foremen, consisting of from five to 10 farmers (bcu-lag, lña-lag) (and they take care of the distribution).

At New Year's, or on the 30th day of the 10th month, in the very early hours of the morning, yes, soon after midnight, the people all go, each to his (that is to say, the family's or tribe's) burial place,

and they all take the dishes called "schimi" (63) there: rice, bread, 765

63. Shimi (śi-mi) is simply what the dead person is called; but in this case it designates the food offering which is brought to the dead (manes).

cake, as well as meat, the 12th part of a killed animal, jugs full of beer, and many other things of the kind. The people place the dishes on a flat /234/ stone surface, and each one calls upon his deceased ancestors by name. (In conclusion) they then, after they have named the various names, call out: "You spirits of the earth and spirits of the rocks, kai, kai!" (64) They also call this "carrying breakfast to the

64. The restless spirits of the deceased are presumed to have turned into earth and rock spirits. "Kai, kai" means "listen, listen!"

plain." After the dishes, the tea, and the beer have been brought out to the dead in this manner, the people divide themselves into groups (according to the clans), and drink beer. The remains of the dishes are given to the beggars who gathered there.

Like their Buddhistic ancestors, the Muslims in Ladakh also had the custom of carrying out the shimi (food offering of the dead) onto the plain(the place of burial), within the year following the death; but a few years ago they gave up this practice. It is possible that in <u>some</u> villages the Muslims still offer up the shimi (65).

65. In parts of France, of Bretagne, and probably also of Russia, as well as in other Christian countries, the custom has still been preserved of bringing dishes of food, cake, sweets, and the like, out to the graves for the dead, on certain days. See, Waddell, <u>Lamaism</u>!

The Great Mass for the Dead

Some wealthy Buddhists in Ladakh also hold the so-called "Great Mass for the dead" (maṅ-ĉog). They consult the soothsayer regarding a suitable day for the occasion, and they request the abbot of a (nearby) monastery to hold the Great Mass for the dead. The lamas who celebrate the mass go together with the closest relatives of the dead

765 person into the meeting hall of the monastery. The dead person's relatives donate tea, soup, rice, and the like, to all the lamas; this is done five times. On this occasion the lamas wear the ornaments with the crown with the five leaves (on each leaf being the picutre of one of the five Heavenly Buddhas), as well as other magical emblems and implements. The "gift offerer" (who has ordered the ceremony to be performed) is likewise dressed with the same magical ornaments; then the "charm of the little incense bottle," "the charm of the crown," "the charm of the thunderbolt," "the charm of the bell," and the "charm of the name" are carried out. After this magical ceremony has been completed, each of the lamas receives a gift of eight annas or more. The lamas of the higher ranks receive more than those of the lower orders.

/235/ Other Ways of Burial

766 In Ladakh the Buddhists usually burn the corpses. The corpses of such (persons) as have died of contagious diseases (like small-pox, typhus, and others), are buried under ground. In Ladakh the corpses are not, as a rule, left for the birds of prey, the vultures, and ravens to consume, as they are in Central Tibet. When a person dies among the nomads of Rupchu and other upland plateaus, the people cover the dead man's face with a cloth at the spot where he died. The nomads (literally "tent people," re-bo-pa) leave the place and move to another. The corpse is then consumed by wolves, vultures, and by other animals (66).

66. Since the nomads have no fixed and settled dwelling places, they do not have any burial places either. For cremation of the corpses they do not have the wood on the treeless upland steppes. Among many Buddhists it is considered as a particulary meritorious service to leave the corpses to the wild animals for the latter to consume. By feeding these animals with their flesh, the deceased perform even in death a work of mercifulness towards them.

Restless Spirits--Endless Ceremonies

769 Sometimes the lamas or the onpos (perhaps also a "clairvoyant") find out that the soul of a departed person has not yet found a

satisfactory existence; that it is still wandering around in Bardo without peace; and that it disturbs the surviving relatives, something which manifests itself in bad dreams, in attacks of mental derangement, and in similar phenomena. This now requires new measures of defense and of bringing about salvation. The means already mentioned are repeated ad infinitum, and burnt offerings are presented. A small pyramid with three sides is constructed from little sticks, and around this the lama places the remains of meals, rags of cloth, twigs, the leaves of trees, and poison (!). Then he pours oil over everything and lights the whole affair. Then the lama holds a piece of paper bearing the name of the dead person in question, in the flames, so that it burns to ashes. By this operation the finished existence, with all germs of life that might still be able to revive, is supposed to be destroyed finally and conclusively, and the restless soul is finally to come to its rest. 769

FOR THE PRONUNCIATION

of the Tibetan words and sentences printed in italics, the following observation is to be made; the letters are to be pronounced as follows: 104

k	equals	German k	
k'	equals	k-h	(aspirated)
g	equals	g	
ń	equals	ng	
ĉ	equals	tsch	
c	equals	tsch-h	(aspirated)
j	equals	dsch	(as in Dschebel)
ny	equals	nj	(as in Njemen)
t	equals	t	
t'	equals	t-h	(aspirated)
d	equals	d	
n	equals	n	
p	equals	p	
p'	equals	p-h	(aspirated)

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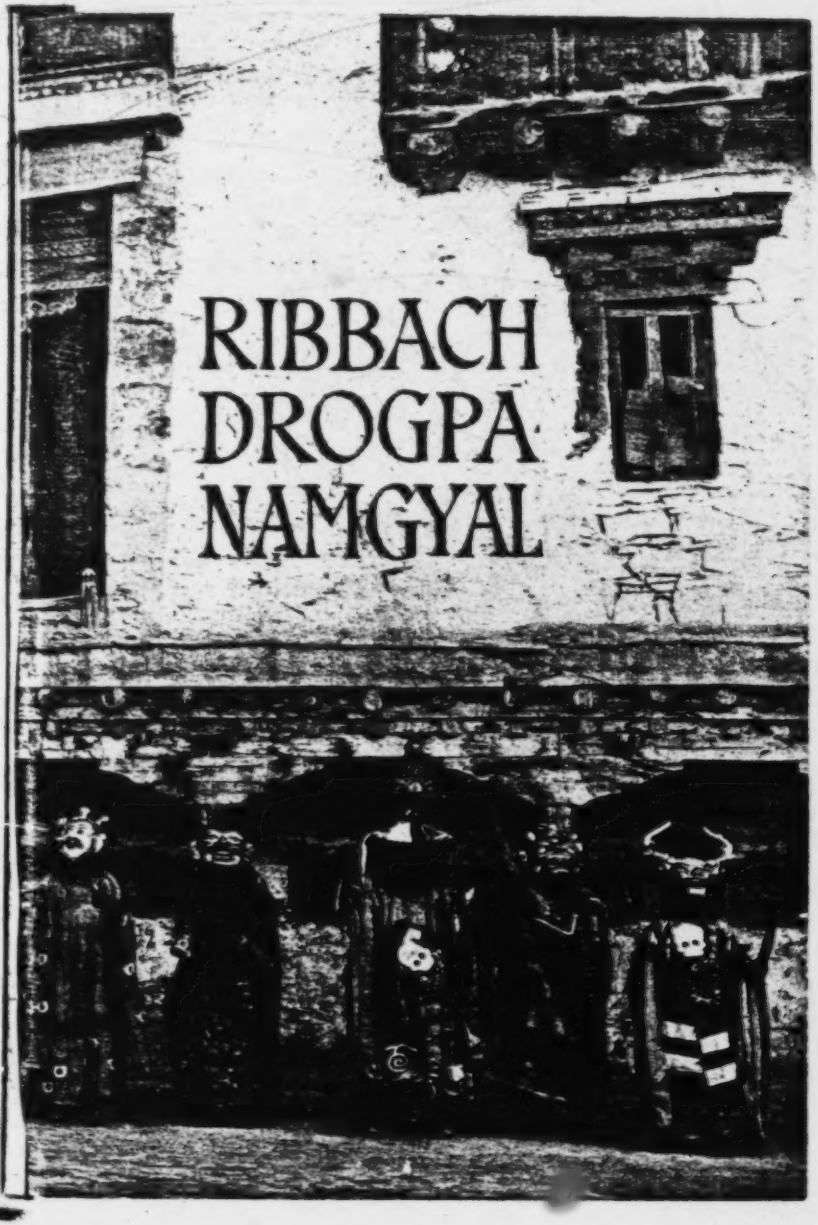
b	equals	b	
m	equals	m	
ts	equals	German z	
t's	equals	z-h	(hard, aspirated)
dz	equals	ds	(soft)
w	equals	w	
ź	equals	French j in "jour"	
z	equals	French z (soft)	
y	equals	German j	
r	equals	r	
l	equals	l	
ś	equals	sch	
s	equals	sharp s	
h	equals	h	

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, are pronounced as in German.



- FRONT COVER -

WEITERE WERKE UBER TIBET

Evans-Wentz

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- FRONT JACKET -

Pyag-rdor (Tschag dor)
sanskr. Vajrapani (der Donnerkeilträger) mit Dorje im Haar,
einer der Verteidiger der Lehre, auch Regengott

Facing P. 5

5: Ribbach AJ4 West Tibetans

S. H. RIBBACH

DROGPA NAMGYAL

EIN TIBETERLEBEN

1940

OTTO WILHELM BARTH-VERLAG GMBH
MÜNCHEN-PLANEGG

5.
(P. 6 blank)

ZUR EINFUHRUNG

Der Verfasser dieser Monographie, „Drogpa Namgyal, ein Tibeterleben", S. H. Ribbach, gehört sicherlich zu den Kennern von Land und Leuten in Tibet, da er mehr als 20 Jahre im Lande weilte (1892—1913). Zuerst in Kyelang (Laboul) tätig mit dem bedeutenden Erforscher der tibetischen Sprache, A. W. Heyde, der sich als Mitherausgeber des großen tibetisch-englischen Wörterbuchs von Sarat Chandra Das einen Namen machte, siedelte Ribbach später nach Leh über, um schließlich auf der von ihm angelegten Station Kalatse zu arbeiten, Orte, die im Gebiet des alten westtibetischen Königreichs Ladak am oberen Indus liegen.

Als der Verfasser 1913/14 auf Urlaub in der Heimat weilte, brach der Weltkrieg aus; das spätere Verbot der englischen Regierung einer Einreise in die nördlichen Grenzprovinzen Indiens verhinderte die erhoffte Rückkehr zu den früheren Arbeitsstätten. So war denn Ribbach in den Jahren 1915/17 auf Empfehlung von Prof. Dr. Karl Meinhof als Hilfsarbeiter am Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg tätig (unter Prof. G. Thilenius und Prof. Sten Konow, jetzt Oslo, dessen indischem Seminar er zugeteilt gewesen ist). Er bearbeitete in dieser Zeit die vom Museum neuerworbene reichhaltige tibetische Sammlung und gab als wissenschaftlichen Ertrag die ikonographische Studie: „Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft" heraus, die als 5. Beiheft zum Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten XXXIV, 1916, erschien. Noch während seines Aufenthalts in Tibet hatte Ribbach sich an der Übersetzung der von A. H. Francke herausgegebenen „Tibetan Ladakhi Songs" beteiligt und verschiedene Beiträge zu A. H. Franckes „Ladakhi Grammar" verfaßt.

Als seine Hauptarbeit aber darf die hier im Druck erscheinende Monographie angesehen werden; denn bereits während seines Aufenthalts in Tibet sammelte der Verfasser das Material dazu und

arbeitete in den Jahren seines Ruhestandes unermüdlich an der Fertigstellung seines nun durch das Entgegenkommen des Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlags in München-Planegg im Druck erscheinenden Werkes weiter. Es darf wohl als eine der wichtigsten Quellen für die Kenntnis der kulturell-religiösen Eigenart des tibetischen Volkes angesehen werden und ergänzt vorteilhaft die Forschungsergebnisse des allbekannten Sven von Hedin, mit dem der Verfasser vor vielen Jahren einen Weihnachtsabend in Leh verlebte, des Nationalpreisträgers W. Filchner, des verstorbenen Turfanologen A. von LeCoq, des Tibetologen Evans-Wentz u. a. Denn gerade für den Religionshistoriker wie für den Ethnologen bedeutet es einen wesentlichen Fortschritt, wenn er sich über den von magischer Religiosität stetig erfüllten und bestimmten Lebensgang des Tibeters, von den Geburtsriten bis zu den Totenzeremonien, zuverlässig orientieren kann.

Die vorliegende wertvolle Arbeit ist ein Beweis dafür, wie abseits vom zudringlichen Lärm des Tages in der Stille — der Verfasser stand Jahrzehnte im Dienst der Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine — wissenschaftliche Arbeit oft unter den schwierigsten Lebensverhältnissen geleistet wird. Es darf dem im hohen Lebensalter stehenden Verfasser eine gewisse Genugtuung bereiten, daß er seine selbstlos durchgeführten Studien nunmehr im Druck (mit zahlreichen zum Teil eigenen Bildaufnahmen) der Öffentlichkeit vorlegen kann.

Prof. Dr. R. F. Merkel, Universität München

V O R W O R T

Der vorliegenden Darstellung des Lebens eines Tibeters liegen im ersten Teil bis zur Heirat ausführliche Mitteilungen zugrunde, die mir der tibetische Lehrer Gau Puntsog, ein Buddhist, seinerzeit in Leh (in Ladak) gemacht hat. Er galt als einer der gebildetsten und klügsten unter seinen Landsleuten und besaß eine so gründliche Kenntnis der Sitten und Gebräuche, der Religion und der Folklore seines Volkes wie kaum ein anderer. Die hier erzählte „Geschichte" des Tibeters Drogpa Namgyal (aBrogpa rNamrgyal) erhebt nun nicht den Anspruch, eine Erzählung in dem Sinne einer lückenlosen Darstellung eines Menschenschicksals zu sein. Wenn ich sie im Untertitel „ein Tibeterleben" nannte, wollte ich damit andeuten, daß hier der Versuch gemacht werden sollte, das Leben eines Westtibeters zu schildern, wie es sich im allgemeinen abspielt, mit Einflechtung von möglichst vielem von dem, was an Sitten und Gebräuchen, an religiösem Denken, an Anschauungen und Riten hineinspielt, um so ein Bild von dem Denken, Empfinden und Handeln des Volkes zu geben.

Diese Geschichte war anfänglich zur Veröffentlichung in der bebilderten Zeitschrift der Brüdergemeine „Kampf und Sieg", die leider wie viele andere der Inflation zum Opfer gefallen ist, bestimmt gewesen. Der erste Teil, die Jugend, ist auch dort in zehn Abschnitten gedruckt worden. Mit Rücksicht auf den weiteren Leserkreis glaubte ich die Form der (rein fiktiven) Erzählung beibehalten zu sollen. Dabei hat mich die Zustimmung mancher Sachkenner ermutigt, bei dieser Form zu bleiben. Die lebendigen, oft dramatischen Schilderungen Gau Puntsogs waren an sich schon ein Anreiz, die erzählende Form zu wählen, obgleich er nicht eigentlich Geschichte erzählte, sondern oft erlebte Vorgänge schilderte. Ich sehe diese meine Arbeit als einen Versuch an, das so eigenartige Volk der Tibeter mit seiner uns Abendländern so schwer verständlichen Kultur und Mischreligion, dem Lamaismus, dem Verständnis

der Interessierten näher zu bringen, als es die meisten Reisewerke in der Regel vermögen. Und da gibt die erzählende Form dem Schreiber ein wohl wirksameres Mittel an die Hand, den Leser mit dem Denken und Empfinden, den innersten Triebfedern des Handelns eines Volkes bekannt zu machen, als es die rein systematische Aufzählung und Beschreibung von Sitten und Gebräuchen tun würde.

Die Erzählung endet mit dem frühen Tode der Hauptperson, des Drogpa Namgyal. Es folgt dann im Anhang eine Darstellung der Totengebräuche aus der Feder des Tibeters Josef Gergan in Leh, die ich übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen habe.

Mit der warmen Zustimmung meines lieben einstigen Mitarbeiters, Prof. Dr. A. H. Francke, habe ich noch bei seinen Lebzeiten einen Teil der von ihm gesammelten tibetischen Hochzeitslieder, teils in seiner, teils in meiner eigenen Übersetzung, in die Erzählung mit aufgenommen. Vielleicht dient dies auch dazu, daß diese wertvolle Sammlung Franckes, die bisher nur einem kleinen Kreis von Fachgelehrten bekannt war, nunmehr einen größeren Kreis von Lesern finden dürfte. Mit der wörtlichen Wiedergabe einiger Liedtexte, Sprichwörter, Buchtitel und ähnlichem in Tibetisch glaubte ich denen zu dienen, die Kenntnis des Tibetischen haben oder sich mit dem Studium der Sprache beschäftigen. Das Tibetische hat seine eigene, der indischen Guptaschrift nachgebildete Schrift; sie hat 30 Buchstaben. Wo es angezeigt erschien, habe ich die Namen und wörtlichen Anführungen in Umschrift (in lateinischer Schrift, nach Lepsius' System) beigefügt. Dieses System sieht eine Reihe von Zeichen für die im Deutschen fehlenden Laute vor, die auch hier soweit als möglich in Anwendung gebracht worden sind.

Ich möchte an dieser Stelle Herrn Prof. Lic. Dr. R. F. Merkel (Universität München) meinen warmen Dank aussprechen für mannigfache Beratung und freundliche Bemühung bei der Veröffentlichung der vorliegenden Studie, sowie auch seine Hilfe beim Lesen der Korrektur. Der Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlag G.m.b.H. habe ich zu danken für verständnisvolles Entgegenkommen bei der Veröffentlichung und der schönen Ausstattung der Arbeit.

Der Verfasser

5: Ribbach AJ4 W Tibetans

DROGPA NAMGYALS JUGEND

VOR DER GEBURT

Die Bannung der 100000 Kinderdämonen

STILL LIEGT DAS DORF KALATSE DORT IN DEM Ladaker Bergland tief eingebettet zwischen zwei gewaltigen Bergrücken des westlichen Himalaya, nicht weit vom Indus, der, hier noch ein reißender Bergstrom, in tief eingeschnittner Schlucht vorbeifließt. Das Dorf bildet eine liebliche Oase mit üppigen Weizen- und Gerstenfeldern, blühenden Aprikosenhainen inmitten ragender Bergriesen, öder, starrender Felswände und steiler Schutthalden. Still liegen die Berge und die Felder da. Nur das Rauschen des nahen Bergstromes in der Schlucht und der Ruf der Pferdetreiber, die dort auf der Straße am Indus hin auf ihren schwer beladenen Tragtieren die Handelsgüter der indischen Kaufleute nach dem Markte der Landeshauptstadt Leh befördern, sowie der eintönige Gesang der Frauen, die dort ihre Feldterrassen bewässern, tönen an unser Ohr. Sonst ist alles still. Aus den Dachluken der weißgetünchten Häuser der Tibeter steigt der Rauch zum blauen, wolkenlosen Himmel empor. Es ist nach dem Stande der Sonne etwa zwei Uhr nachmittags, die Zeit, da der Tibeter sich von Feld und Berg in sein Haus begibt, die Mittagssuppe gekocht und „getrunken" wird und jedermann sich einem Stündchen der Rast und Erholung hingibt.

¶ Nur im Dragschoshause[1], dem Hause des Lobsang Wanggyal, das dort am Fuße des steilen Felsens unterhalb der alten Burgruine auf dem steinigen Talboden eng angeschmiegt an eine Häusergruppe steht, geht es auch jetzt am heißen, schwülen Mittag lebhaft zu. Dumpfes Murmeln aus rauhen Männerkehlen, das gelegentlich

zu größerer Stärke anschwillt; dazwischen ungefüge, tiefe Posaunenstöße und Paukenschläge. Fünf Lamas (buddhistische Mönche) in roter Kutte aus dem nahen Kloster Lamayuru hocken da in der großen Wohnküche des Hauses mit untergeschlagenen Beinen auf groben Ziegenhaarteppichen. Vor sich auf kleinen Tischchen mit kunstvoller Schnitzerei, die nicht höher sind als eine Fußbank, hat jeder zwei Stöße loser Blätter, die einem Buche angehören, vor sich liegen. Alle lesen gleichzeitig mit lauter, plärrender Stimme, jeder von dem Blatt, das er gerade vor sich liegen hat. Ist ein Blatt abgetan, dann wird es auf den Stoß der abgelesenen Blätter gelegt. Die Blätter aus tibetischem Papier waren einst grau gewesen. Jetzt ist das Papier mit einer fettglänzenden, schwärzlichen Schicht überzogen, besonders an den Stellen, die mit den Lamafingern in Berührung kamen.

¶ Bei dem wüsten Durcheinander des Lesens ist es uns unmöglich, Sinn und Zusammenhang des Gelesenen zu erfassen. Nur hie und da fängt unser Ohr einige Worte auf: „Dschis don bum (tibetisch: *byis gdon abum)*", „die 100 000 Kinderdämonen!" Dann hie und da einige geheimnisvolle Sanskritformeln und -silben „Om! Hum! Schri!" Zauberformeln, kräftige Bannsprüche, teils in tibetischer, teils in der alten heiligen Sanskritsprache.

¶ Von einem andächtigen Zuhören der Hausbewohner ist keine Rede. Wie könnten sie auch dieses Durcheinander verstehen! Die bösen Geister, denen diese Bannsprüche gelten, werden sie sich schon zusammenreimen und ihre Wirkung spüren, denken sie. Sie selbst gehen in und bei dem Hause ruhig ihrer Beschäftigung nach. Die Mutter des Hausbesitzers, die brave Tsering Putrid, und seine Schwester sind eifrig am Herd beschäftigt, der im gleichen Raume steht, um die Rotröcke mit Speis und Trank zu bedienen. Aus einem großen Kupfertopfe wird ihnen fortwährend mit einer Kelle Buttertee in die auf den Tischchen stehenden Trinknäpfchen gegossen. Dazu essen die Lamas geröstetes Gerstenmehl (Tsampa), das sie sich selbst in ihren Näpfchen mit den Fingern, mit dem Tee vermischt, zu einem Teig (Kol-lag) kneten, sowie flache ohne Hefe gebackene Brotfladen aus Weizenmehl. Gegen Abend erhalten die Lamas noch eine reichliche Mahlzeit Reis mit Schöpsenfleisch und Gemüse, wozu Gerstenbier (Tschang) getrunken wird,

dem die Lamas wie auch dem Fleische, trotz des Verbotes der Mönchsregel, kräftig zusprechen. Um die Schuld zu tilgen, die sie mit dem Essen von Fleisch und damit der Mitschuld am Töten eines Tieres auf sich laden, setzen sie dem üblichen Tischgebet noch eine besondere Bitte hinzu. Nachdem sie für sich und alle ihre Angehörigen in allen sechs Existenzformen gebetet haben, daß sie nie von den „Drei Kostbaren" (Buddha, der Lehre, und der Mönchsgemeinde) getrennt werden und sämtlich einst die Buddhawürde erlangen möchten, fügen sie eine Bitte bei, daß das getötete Schaf im Himmel wiedergeboren werden möchte. So beschwichtigen diese Glieder der „Heiligen Mönchsgemeinde" ihre Gewissen und lassen sich auf ihrem glattgeschorenen Kopfe weiter kein graues Haar über die Sache wachsen. Sie haben mit eigener Hand kein Schaf getötet. Die Schuld des Tötens trifft ja andere.

¶ Aber was ist der Zweck dieser einen ganzen Tag lang währenden Zeremonie? In Lobsang Wanggyals Haus wird in nächster Zeit die Ankunft eines Stammhalters erwartet. Ein Junge wird es unbedingt sein. Das hat dem glücklichen „Vater in Hoffnung" der Onpo, der Wahrsager und Sterndeuter im benachbarten Lamayuru, ganz bestimmt versichert. Der mußte es ja wissen. Der hat es aus den Sternen und seinen verzwickten Tabellen herausgelesen und errechnet, was nur ein solch kluger Onpo machen kann.

¶ Nun ist der Lebenspfad des Tibeters schon vor seinem Eintritt in diese Welt des Leides, wie durch die ganze Zeit seines Erdenwallens von Tausenden und aber Tausenden von bösen Geistern der verschiedensten Art bedroht. Die ersten, die dem im Werden begriffenen Kinde in diesem frühesten Abschnitt seines Lebens in tückischer Absicht nahen, sind die 100 000 Kinderdämonen. Die gilt es zu bannen, denn von ihrer Seite drohen dem werdenden Menschen die 24 Gefahren, die es abzuwenden gilt. Diese Abwehr bewirken die Lamas durch das Lesen jenes Buches mit seinen kräftigen Bannsprüchen, durch magische Gesten, durch das Schwingen des bronzenen Donnerkeils (Dordsche) und der Zauberglocke, durch Trompetenstöße und Paukenschlag. Diese Entfaltung von Machtmitteln ist selbst jenen Hunderttausend zuviel, so daß sie das Feld räumen müssen.

¶ Als der Tag sich zur Rüste neigt und die Sonne dort im Westen

hinter den wildzackigen Schroffen untergegangen ist, hat sich ein jeder der Lamas durch seinen Blätterstoß durchgelesen; zuletzt liest noch ein einsamer Nachzügler allein, ein ungeübter Novize, dem es im Schnellesen noch an der nötigen Übung fehlt. Noch ein paar kräftige „Om, hum, schri"! — Bum, bum, bum! fällt die große Pauke noch einmal dröhnend ein. Dann wird es still. Die „Schlacht" ist geschlagen. Die 100 000 Kinderdämonen sind besiegt und haben, wie der älteste Lama dem Lobsang Wanggyal zuversichtlich versichert, das Weite gesucht. Der erwartete Sohn und Erbe mag nun getrost seinen Einzug in diese arge Welt halten. Von jenen Hunderttausend hat er nichts mehr zu fürchten.

¶ Der Novize ordnet die Blätter des Blocks nach den aufgedruckten Nummern, legt sie mit liebender Sorgfalt zwischen die zwei Holzdeckel und verschnürt das Buch mit dem Lederriemen. Noch ein paar Näpfchen Bier werden von den Rotröcken hinuntergegossen, der Hausherr drückt jedem ein Geldstück in die Hand, dann ziehen die „Sieger" mit befriedigter Miene ab. Es war ein erfolgreicher Tag: Er brachte ihnen „Sieg" und — reichliche Speisung.

¶ Lobsang Wanggyal überschlägt die Kosten. Sie waren beträchtlich: Fast ein halbes Schaf haben die frommen Brüder verzehrt, dazu mehrere Pfund Reis, eine Menge Gemüse, Aprikosen, Mehl, Butter, Tee; und nun noch das Geld! Nun, Lobsang Wanggyal kann sich das leisten; er ist, wenn auch nicht reich, doch der wohlhabendste Bauer im Dorfe. Er hat drei Pferde und mehrere Jaks, eine stattliche Anzahl von Rindern, Schafen, Ziegen und Eseln, und der Tauschhandel, der ihn alle Jahre im Sommer nach den fernen Hochsteppen zu den Nomaden von Dschangtang führt, wirft auch etwas ab und ist im letzten Jahre besonders einträglich gewesen. So sollen ihn die Kosten nicht reuen, wenn nur der erwartete Stammhalter vor den bösen Geistern bewahrt bleibt und Glück ins Haus bringt.

DIE GEBURT

¶ Er ist da! Der Stammhalter nämlich! Also wirklich ein Junge! Wie klug doch der Sterndeuter ist! Beim Tsewang Paldschor im Nachbardorfe hatte es letztes Jahr freilich nicht gestimmt. Der Onpo hatte einen Jungen ausgerechnet, und ein Mädchen stellte sich ein. Nur ein Mädchen! Der entrüstete Vater ging zum Onpo und verlangte seine Gebühren für das falsche Horoskop zurück. Der sah den Erzürnten lachend an und sagte ihm dreist auf den Kopf: „*Boṅ-bu-tsogs* (Du Eselsgleicher)! Hast du mir nicht, als ich dich nach dem Geburtsstern deiner Frau fragte, den Steinbock genannt? Und nun ist es der Krebs", von dessen Vorhandensein der enttäuschte Vater keine blasse Ahnung hatte. Der Onpo schwur bei den „Drei Kostbaren" (Buddha, Lehre, Mönchsgemeinde), daß es so wäre; das hätte natürlich die ganze Berechnung über den Haufen geworfen. Da mußte der Tsewang Paldschor mit langem Gesichte abziehen, um eine Erfahrung reicher und um zehn Dschau (= 2 Rupien = RM. 2.70) ärmer und sich mit dem Gedanken abfinden, zunächst nur ein Mädchen sein eigen nennen zu können. Der Tsewang Paldschor war aber auch gar zu dumm, das Geburtsgestirn seiner Frau nicht zu wissen! Das konnte dem Lobsang Wanggyal doch nicht widerfahren, so dachte dieser bei sich und freute sich seines *bu-tsa* (Jungen).

¶ Die alte Tsering Putrid, die Mutter des Lobsang Wanggyal, ist eine ordentliche, vorsorgliche und reinliche Hausfrau. Sie sorgt beizeiten für ein warmes „Nest" für den erwarteten Enkel. Sie geht in die Vorratskammer und sucht unter den alten Mehlsäcken aus Ziegenfell einen heraus, in den die Mäuse ein Loch gefressen haben. Das schadet nichts; es wird zugenäht. Nachdem der kleine Mann nun mit lautem Geschrei seinen Einzug in die Welt gehalten hat, wird er zunächst von der Tante, die ihn in Empfang genommen hat, in einen alten groben Wollrock des Vaters gewickelt. Großmama Tsering Putrid eilt währenddessen schnell in den Ziegen-

stall; dort liegt in einer Ecke ein Häufchen alter, trockener Ziegenmist, den sie vorher auf einem Stein fein gerieben hat. Von diesem werden 6—8 Hände voll in den Sack gefüllt. Darunter mischt sie noch etwas Mist von Steinböcken und Wildschafen, den ihr Jüngster in ihrem Auftrag von den Bergen vom Ziegenhüten mitgebracht hat. Der Mist dieser behenden Tiere macht schnellfüßig. Dieses Geheimnis hatte ihr einst eine alte Tante verraten. Deren Sohn, bei dem jene das Mittel angewandt hatte, war Bote beim Galon (Edelmann und Distriktsbeamten) geworden. Und wenn der mit einer wichtigen Botschaft von Ort zu Ort lief, hielt keiner mit ihm Schritt. Das machte der Steinbockmist.

¶ Nun ist das „Nestchen" (tibet. *T'saṅ-ṅu)* fertig. Da hinein wird der kleine Mann unter Schreien und Strampeln gesteckt, beruhigt sich aber sehr bald, sobald er und der übrige saubere Inhalt des „Nestchens" in die richtige Lage gebracht und er warm geworden ist. Er findet in seinem Nestchen alles, was ein tibetischer Säugling als erstes in dieser Welt verlangt: Ein warmes, weiches Lager und (tibetische) Sauberkeit in seinem Windelersatz aus trockenem Mist, und bald schläft er so tief und lang, wie nur ein kleiner Tibeter schlafen kann.

¶ An Nahrung fehlt es dem Kinde nicht. Die Mutter ist eine kräftige junge Frau; sie kann ihrem Kinde mindestens für die zwei nächsten Jahre, selbst wenn es schon längst gehen kann, die natürliche Nahrung bieten, bei der es gedeiht, wie die zahlreichen Kinder der Spatzenmutter, die oben im Dache nistet; und das bei einem erstaunlich geringen Aufwand von Mühe und Sorgfalt seitens der Mutter. Wo sollte sie auch die Zeit finden zu einer regelrechten Säuglingspflege nach europäischen Begriffen. Ihr ist ohnedies ein vollgerüttelt und geschüttelt Maß von Arbeit und Mühe zugemessen.

¶ Für die Wöchnerin hatte der Gatte längst ein Schaf bereit gehalten. Das wird am Tage nach der Geburt geschlachtet, und am Abend genießt die junge Frau mit Appetit eine tüchtige Mahlzeit Fleisch mit Reis. Was würden unsere deutschen Ärzte dazu sagen?

¶ Am gleichen Abend, als es dunkel geworden ist, verläßt Lobsang Wanggyal sein Haus. Er geht auf einem schmalen Pfade um das Dorf herum, sich gelegentlich scheu umsehend, ob ihn auch jemand

bemerke. Er gelangt an einen der Bewässerungsgräben, die das hier in den Hochtälern so kostbare Wasser aus dem Gletscherbach der nahen Schlucht zur Berieselung der Felder auf die Talsohle heranführen. Der Mann entfernt einige Steine und Rasenstücke aus dem niedrigen Damm des Grabens, läßt das Wasser in eine Zweigleitung laufen, die es nun seinem Kleefelde und seinem Obstgarten mit den vielen Aprikosenbäumen zuführt. Als er noch damit beschäftigt ist, ertönt eine rauhe Stimme: „Lobsang Wanggyal, du Unreiner *(Ba-(ṅag-pa)*[2]! was machst du dir an dem Graben zu schaffen? Du erzürnst uns die Lha (Götter) und die Lu (Wassergötter, Schlangengötter), und dann lassen sie uns das Wasser versiegen und die Saat auf dem Felde verdorren!" Bald sind drei, vier und mehr Nachbarn zur Stelle, die alle erregt auf den Lobsang Wanggyal einreden. Dieser pocht auf sein gutes Recht. Heute sei endlich, nach acht Tagen der Dürre, die Reihe des Bewässerns an ihm. Die Felder unten im Tale habe sein Bruder, der ja nicht in seinem Hause wohne, bewässert, nur das Kleefeld und den Garten hier oben habe er noch bewässern wollen; er habe sich auch ängstlich gehütet, den Graben zu überspringen, was die Wassernixen besonders in Zorn bringt. Das Trinkwasser hole ihm seine Nichte an der Quelle. Die wohne ja im Nachbarhause, und sei deshalb nicht, wie er, durch die Geburt im Hause unrein geworden; seine Mutter setze ihr alle Morgen zwei Tonkrüge vor die Haustür, die die Nichte dann gefüllt wieder hinstelle, ohne das Haus zu betreten. Er werde auch bald den Wassernixen ein *Lu-stor*, ein Opfer von Pillen aus Brotteig, in den Bach und die Quelle werfen, um die Lu auszusöhnen und sich reinsprechen lassen. Er wisse auch, was sich für einen frommen Buddhisten schicke. Niemand solle ihm nachsagen, daß er die alten Landesgötter nicht ehre und fürchte. Alles nutzt ihm nichts. Der alte Krakehler Yontan aus dem Beinbrechhause läßt nicht locker; er zeigt auf den Graben und sagt, man könne es ganz deutlich sehen, daß jetzt schon der Graben viel weniger Wasser führe, als sonst am späteren Abend nach einem warmen Tage und starker Schneeschmelze auf den Bergen. Daran sei natürlich Lobsang Wanggyal schuld; er werde ihn bei dem Bezirksamtmann verklagen. Die Paspun[3] müssen sich ins Mittel legen, weil die Männer Miene machen, den Streit mit ihren Holzschaufeln, den Werkzeugen

bei der Bewässerung, zum Austrag zu bringen, die sie drohend schwingen.

¶ Schließlich wird der Streit dem Gopa (Dorfschulzen) zur Entscheidung vorgelegt. Der entscheidet: Lobsang Wanggyal hat morgen früh vor Sonnenaufgang ein reichliches *Lu-stor* (Opfer) zu bringen, um die erzürnten Wassergötter zu versöhnen. Außerdem muß er drei Rupien Strafe an die „Geschädigten" zahlen. Diese verteilt der Gopa unter die betroffenen Nachbarn, ohne sich selbst dabei zu vergessen.

Beim Wahrsager und beim Skuschog

¶ In seiner engen, dunklen, rauchgeschwärzten Klause, die dort am steilen Felsen seitab vom großen Kloster Lamayuru wie ein Schwalbennest hängt, sitzt der Sterndeuter und Wahrsager (Onpo) Dordsche Duddschoms *(rdo-rje bdud ajoms)*, zu deutsch Donnerkeil-Teufelsbezwinger. Er hockt da in dem düsteren Raume, in tiefes Sinnen versunken. Eben hat er seinen Schutzdämon, den furchtbaren Tamdrin, „den mit dem Pferdenacken", dessen scheußliche Gestalt mit den acht Armen und Beinen, den drei zornwütigen Gesichtern mit je drei Augen und den drei Pferdeköpfen im struppigen Haare dort jenes gemalte Rollbild an der Wand darstellt, durch Fasten, meditierendes Sichversenken, Hermurmeln von Beschwörungsformeln und magische Gesten gebannt und herbeigerufen, so daß er den Furchtbaren leibhaftig vor sich zu sehen glaubt. In dem ekstatischen Zustand, in den er durch seine Übungen versetzt ist, vollzieht sich für sein Empfinden der Yogaprozeß, die mystische Vereinigung mit seinem Schutzdämon, der somit ihm dienstbar geworden ist und seine Zauberkräfte dem Teufelsbezwinger abgeben muß. Nun holt derselbe von einem Wandbrett einige alte wunderbare Tabellen herunter und breitet sie auf dem Tischchen, vor das er sich hinhockt, aus. Schmutzig von langem Gebrauch ist das Papier. Man sieht darauf das Bild einer Schildkröte, auf deren flachem Bauchpanzer ein astrologischer Kalender mit den „Tierzeichen" für die Jahre des Zwölferkreises, sowie andere Tiere, Ungeheuer, magische Zeichen und Zahlen aufgezeichnet sind. Da bemerken wir die acht Sparkazeichen, je drei übereinanderliegende,

teils ganze, teils geteilte Linien, ferner die neun Mewazeichen, Vierecke mit Ziffern und den Namen je eines der fünf „Elemente" (Feuer, Wasser, Erde, Holz, Eisen), in den entsprechenden fünf Farben: rot, blau, gelb, grün, weiß.

Neben dem Kalender liegt eine große, auf Leinwand gezeichnete astrologische Tabelle, auf der, ähnlich wie auf einem Schachbrett, eine Menge Quadrate in verschiedenen Farben aufgezeichnet sind. Jede Farbe bezeichnet eins der fünf „Elemente". Auch allerlei Geheimzeichen sehen wir auf der Tafel. Wir treten leise ein, sehen dem Onpo über die Schulter und beobachten ihn und sein seltsames Tun. Die Augen in dem verschmitzten Gesicht des Wahrsagers sind starr auf seine Tabellen gerichtet. Die schmutzigen Finger greifen nach einem Haufen Scheibchen (ähnlich den Steinen des Damenbretts), die er auf den Feldern seiner magischen Tabelle ordnet, um sie dann nach bestimmten Regeln hin und her, auf und ab zu schieben, bis er eine Anzahl Felder endgültig mit Scheibchen besetzt hat. Nun richtet sich sein Blick auf den Kalender mit den Tier- und anderen Zeichen. Der Onpo murmelt beständig vor sich hin, während seine Augen und Finger über die magischen Zeichen und Ziffern dahingleiten. Meist ist uns der Sinn der Worte dunkel, doch fangen wir einige Sätze und Wörter auf, die uns ahnen lassen, wohin die Wahrsagekunst zielt: „Feuer ist das Kind des Holzes, das ihm Nahrung gibt; die Verbindung ist harmlos. Aber hier! Was ist das? Affe und Tiger (im Zwölfer-Jahreskreis)! Das sind bittere Feinde! Das ist schlimm! Die Geburtsjahre von Mutter und Kind stimmen mit ihren Tierzeichen schlecht zusammen. Das deutet auf Kampf und Unheil durch böse Geister. Der Onpo murmelt wieder und schiebt seine Scheibchen weiter hin und her auf den bunten Feldern. Nun entnimmt er einem alten, schmutzigen Ledersäckchen eine Handvoll weißer und schwarzer runder Marken aus Horn (ähnlich den runden Spielmarken der Kinder), nimmt bald eine weiße, bald eine schwarze Marke und legt sie auf gesonderte Häufchen zusammen. Wieder murmeln die Lippen, stieren die Augen auf die Zeichen, Ziffern und Marken. Da leuchten die Augen auf, laut kommen die Worte aus dem Munde des Teufelsbezwingers hervor: „Der geisterbannende Erddolch ist aus der Erde herausgerissen! Wehe dir, Sohn des Lobsang Wanggyal! Die Erd- und

Wassergeister sind losgelassen und werden dir zu schaffen machen! Und hier! Die Mewazeichen sind schlecht! Die Elemente sind im Kampf miteinander. Die Tsan-Dämonen[4] und die Hexen der Berge sind in Wut. Das wird ja gut werden! Alala! Wart, mein Jungchen! Ich will dir schon ein Rezept schreiben!"

¶ Der Teufelsbezwinger nimmt einen langen, schmalen Streifen Papier zur Hand und schreibt, auf seiner Matte hockend und das Papier geschickt zwischen den Fingern der linken Hand haltend, nieder, was ihm die Sterne, seine Geheimzeichen und Zahlen und seine erfindungsreiche Phantasie im Verein anvertraut haben über das Lebensschicksal des Söhnchens des Lobsang Wanggyal, der am Morgen bei ihm war und ihn um ein Horoskop[5] für seinen Erstgeborenen bat. Beim Gehen drückte der besorgte Vater dem Wahrsager zwei Rupien (= M. 2.70) in die Hand mit den Worten: „Machs nur gut!" „Ja, ja! Keine Sorge! Ich werd's schon einrichten! Morgen früh kannst du dir das Horoskop abholen", hatte der Onpo erwidert und ihm vertraulich-verschmitzt zugeblinzelt.

¶ Und so schreibt der Teufelsbezwinger folgendes nieder: „Dieser Knabe, Sohn des Lobsang Wanggyal, ist geboren im Holz-Tigerjahre[6]. Seine Mutter im Feuer-Affenjahr. Feuer und Holz sind neutral, aber Tiger und Affe sind Feinde. Die bösen Mächte sind stärker als die guten." Nun malt der Onpo entsprechend den weißen und schwarzen Marken kleine Ringe als gute, Kreuze als schlimme Zeichen auf sein Blatt. Aus der Reihe der Sparka tritt das Zeichen „Khon" für Erde heraus. Das macht die Sache schlimmer. Wieder folgen Ringe, Kreuze. Die letzteren überwiegen anfangs. Andere Geheimzeichen kommen hinzu, die den Kampf etwas mildern, so daß schließlich am Ende des ersten Abschnittes das Gute überwiegt. Weiter schreibt der Onpo: „Die Zeichen für den Leib (des Kindes), die Macht und das Glück sind günstig, die für Leben und Verstand mittelmäßig. Das Himmelsseil[7] ist zerrissen. Der Erddolch ist aus der Erde herausgerissen! Die mächtigen Erdgeister *(Sa-bdag)* unter ihrer Königin Sai Lha-mo (der Erdgöttin) und die gewaltigen Lu-Götter (Wassergötter) sind entfesselt und in Wut. Zur Abwehr all dieser Geister sind viele kleine Ton-Tschortens[8] herzustellen, ferner ein großer Opferkuchen *(gtor-ma)* für die Sai Lhamo, endlich sind insonderheit für die Lu-Götter der

Quelle und des Dorfbachs zahlreiche Pillen aus Brotteig *(klu-stor)* als Opfergabe in diese Gewässer zu streuen.

¶ Das Sparkazeichen für ‚Erde' deutet ebenfalls darauf, daß die Erdgeister und die Erdgöttin erzürnt sind. Da ist große Vorsicht geboten. Hütet euch, in der Erde zu graben, im kommenden Jahr ein Haus zu bauen! Baut keine Rüben an, genießt auch solche nicht. Geht nach Sonnenuntergang nicht über einen frischgepflügten Acker.

¶ Auch die mächtigen Tsan-Dämonen der Berge sind feindlich gesinnt und werden besonders im sechsten Monat dem Kinde zu schaden trachten. Seid auf eurer Hut! Geht nie in südwestlicher oder nordöstlicher Richtung aus! Das Buch von den ‚100 000 Wassergöttern' *(klu-abum)*, ferner ‚das Heilige, Goldige Licht von der Besiegung der Don-Geister' muß in eurem Hause von den Lamas gelesen werden zur Bannung jener Dämonen.

¶ Das Mewazeichen ist das Kumar-Zeichen. Das bestätigt, daß die Tsan-Geister und auch die Hexen in Zorn geraten sind. Hiergegen mache ein Fadenkreuz, das die Erdpforte und die Himmelspforte schließt, und laß das Buch vom ‚Goldigen Licht der Hilfe gegen die Dämonen'[9] lesen!"

¶ Endlich ist alles niedergeschrieben. Der Onpo überfliegt noch einmal mit prüfendem Auge sein Werk; besonders auf den nicht wenigen unglückverheißenden Kreuzen ruht der Blick des Teufelsbezwingers mit Behagen. Das gibt ein gutes Geschäft; und der Dragschos kann es ja bezahlen. Nun schmiert der Wahrsager mit seiner Rohrfeder etwas Tinte aus seinem kupfernen Tintenfaß auf seinen Daumenballen und preßt auf dieses „Stempelkissen" sein eisernes Petschaft. Dann drückt er den Stempel unter das Schriftstück und zieht es auf ein seidenes Tuch auf. Nun ist alles fertig. Mit zufriedener Miene rollt es der Teufelsbezwinger zusammen und legt die Rolle, die Glück und Unglück eines ahnungslosen Kindes birgt, bereit für dessen besorgten Vater.

¶ Am nächsten Morgen holt Lobsang Wanggyal das Horoskop seines Söhnchens ab und fängt an, den dunklen Inhalt desselben zu studieren, wobei ihm der Onpo bereitwillig hilft. Der junge Vater macht ein besorgtes Gesicht beim Gedanken an alle die zu lesenden Bücher und die kostspieligen Opfer und Zeremonien, die damit zusammenhängen. Solches Lesen nimmt eine Reihe von

Tagen in Anspruch, während deren er die Lamas zu beköstigen und zu bezahlen hat. Er erinnert höflich den Wahrsager an seine Zusage, an die vorausbezahlten Rupien und murmelt etwas vor sich hin: So habe er sich die Sache nicht gedacht. „Ja, seid nur froh, gnädiger Herr, daß ich euch durch mein Horoskop rechtzeitig vor den drohenden Gefahren gewarnt habe, und daß ihr genau wißt, wie ihr sie abwehren könnt! Sonst wären alle diese Gefahren über das Kind hereingebrochen, wie die Wölfe über ein ahnungsloses Schaf; da gibt es dann auch kein Retten mehr." Lobsang Wanggyal schweigt, rollt das teure Schriftstück zusammen und zahlt dem Teufelsbezwinger fünf Rupien, die derselbe einzeln prüfend betrachtet, über einem Steinblock mit geübten Fingern in die Höhe schnellt und auffallen läßt, um am Klang die Echtheit zu prüfen[10].

¶ „Tschag t'sal, ich grüße dich ehrerbietigst!" Mit diesen Worten verabschiedet sich Lobsang Wanggyal höflich aber kühl von dem schlauen Wahrsager. Am liebsten würde er sich ganz lösen von dem Manne, von dem ihm sein gesunder Verstand sagt, daß er aus seiner Wahrsagerkunst ein einträgliches Geschäft mache, und doch — wußte der nicht mehr wie andere? „Traschis schig! Heil sei dir!" erwidert der Teufelsbezwinger, als ob sein Horoskop die Erfüllung dieses schönen Wunsches bringen sollte.

¶ Dem Lobsang Wanggyal klang es wie Hohn in den Ohren, nachdenklich ging er nach Hause. Wenn mir der Onpo noch öfter solche Rezepte schreibt, wird mich mein Sohn teuer zu stehen kommen. Aber — es ist ja zunächst nur der eine, und vorläufig bleibt es bei dem einen. Und da soll es mir auf ein paar Rupien mehr oder weniger nicht ankommen. Wenn mir der Junge nur erhalten bleibt!"

¶ Lobsang Wanggyals Nachbar, der Kleinhäusler Pagspa Ngurub, richtete sich's ja billiger ein. Der ließ Onpo Onpo sein und befragte das Schicksal mit Hilfe des Schulterblattes eines Schafes, oder mittels der Würfel, oder er zählte es an den Kugeln seines Rosenkranzes ab und beschwichtigte die bösen Geister durch ein kleines Streuopfer von Gerste und Bier. Das mochte der halten, wie er wollte. Lobsang Wanggyal wollte sicher gehen und gegen alle Tücke der Bösen gewappnet sein, koste es, was es wolle.

Wie soll der Junge heißen?

¶ Einen Monat nach der Geburt seines Stammhalters sattelt Lobsang Wanggyal eines Morgens sein Pferd und macht sich auf den Weg nach Leh, der Hauptstadt Ladaks, die drei Tagereisen oberhalb im Industale liegt. Er hat dort Handelsgeschäfte zu besorgen, aber daneben will er noch ein wichtiges Geschäft erledigen: Er will sich vom Skuschog[11] Bakula einen passenden Namen für sein Söhnchen angeben lassen. Auf den richtigen Namen kommt soviel an. Sein armer Nachbar hatte der Billigkeit halber für sein kürzlich geborenes Söhnchen mit Hilfe der weisen Frauen seiner Sippe und eines verwandten Lamas die Namen selber gewählt. „Sodnam Drandul" hatte er seinen Sprößling geheißen. Der erste Name (Sodnam = Verdienst) bezeichnet den Träger als einen frommen Buddhisten, der auf Erlangung von Tugendverdienst Wert legt; der zweite Name (Drandul = Feindbezwinger) sollte durch seine magische Kraft alle Feinde überwinden, die dem Träger sich in den Weg stellen würden, besonders die zahllosen bösen Geister im Luftraum, auf der Erde und unter derselben. Ein kräftiger Name wirkt Wunder als Schutzmittel. Aber Lobsang Wanggyal wollte sicher gehen. So ein heiliger, weiser und mächtiger Skuschog wie Bakula einer ist, konnte doch ganz anders auf den Blättern der dunklen Zukunft lesen und drohendes Unheil durch passende Namen und andere Mittel abwenden. Nach drei Tagereisen langte der Dragschos im Kloster Spitug an. Er hatte Glück; bald wurde er vor den Gewaltigen vorgelassen, einen Mann in mittleren Jahren, wohlbeleibt, mit glattgeschorenem Kopf und klugen Gesichtszügen. Er saß mit untergeschlagenen Beinen in seiner Abtszelle auf einem mit Teppichen belegten, erhöhten, flachen Sitz. Er war in weite Gewänder von schwerer, gelber chinesischer Seide gekleidet. Im Beisein mehrerer dienender Lamas in roter Ordenstracht empfing Bakula den Dragschos. Einem dieser Lamas überreichte Lobsang Wanggyal ein *k'a-btags* (Grußband), einen Kupferteller mit getrockneten Aprikosen, Mandeln und Zucker, sowie einer Rupie in Silber, den der Lama vor den Skuschog hinstellte. Nun verneigte sich Lobsang Wanggyal dreimal tief vor dem Heiligen und umfaßte mit beiden Händen die Beine desselben. Dieser erteilte dem

Bittenden mit einer nachlässigen Handbewegung den Segen und übergab ihm einen schmalen, gelben, mit einem Knoten versehenen Seidenstreifen, einen „Zauberknoten" *(gzuṅs-mdud)*, über den er erst unter Anhauchung einen kräftigen Spruch *(gzuṅs)* hergesagt hatte, und den sich der Empfänger sofort als schützendes Amulett an seine Mütze heftete.

¶ Damit war der Dragschos aber noch nicht zufrieden. Nun trug er erst sein eigentliches Anliegen vor und fügte hinzu, daß sein Söhnchen schon einmal an einem bösen Darmleiden erkrankt sei, was ihm wohl die erzürnten Wassergötter zugefügt hätten. Er dachte dabei an sein Erlebnis beim Bewässern seines Gartens am Abend nach der Geburt seines Söhnchens. Der Skuschog machte ein bedenkliches Gesicht und sann eine Weile nach, dann sagte er: „Die Lu (Wassergötter) zürnen deinem Söhnchen, auch die roten Tsandämonen sind ihm abhold; daran ist nicht zu zweifeln. Wir müssen einen guten, kräftigen Schutznamen wählen. Nenne deinen Sohn Drogpa Namgyal (tibet. *aBrog-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa* — Großer Sieger)[12]. Der Name hält alle bösen Geister fern."

¶ Nachdem Lobsang Wanggyal im Klostertempel als frommer Buddhist noch ein Gebet vor dem Bilde Gautama Buddhas und des „Großen Erbarmers" Tschanresig verrichtet und noch fünf Opferlampen mit der nötigen Butter (statt Öl) gestiftet hatte, machte er sich auf den Weg nach Leh, das er reitend in einer Stunde erreichte. Dort verkaufte er auf dem Basar (Markt) seine Aprikosen und tauschte dagegen Gerste ein, kaufte neben verschiedenen nötigen Dingen für sich eine leuchtend grüne Mütze und eine bunte Schärpe; für seine Frau ein paar große Türkisen, und ein kleines silbernes Amulett für das Mützchen seines Söhnchens. Nach drei Tagen lenkte er sein Pferd wieder heimwärts aus dem öden, rauhen Oberlande in das mildere, fruchtbarere Unterladak und verkündete, in Kalatse angekommen, Frau und Mutter, daß sein Sohn Drogpa Namgyal heißen solle. Seine Mutter, die alte Tsering Putrid, rümpfte zwar ein wenig die Nase über den „Drogpa", aber gegen den Spruch des großen Skuschog gab es keinen Widerspruch, und man konnte ja nicht wissen, was die bösen Tsan- und Lu-Dämonen noch alles im Schilde führen. Ihr „Verstorbener"[13] *(gśin-po)* hatte auch einen Schutznamen gehabt. Er hatte Garra

Lobsang (Schmied = Guter Verstand) geheißen, und er war so ein frommer Buddhist gewesen; was hatte der Wallfahrten gemacht, Heiligtümer umkreist, die Gebetsmühle gedreht! Und doch war er von dem Todesboten *(tse-len)* jäh weggeholt worden; eine Steinlawine hatte ihn mitgerissen, als er an einer Geröllwand hinkletterte, um eine Ziege, die sich verstiegen hatte, herunterzuholen. Mit zerschmetterten Gliedern hatte man ihn unten gefunden. Die Lamas hatten freilich gesagt, das hätte er sich selbst zuzuschreiben. Sie hätten ihn noch gewarnt, er solle lieber die Ziege fahren lassen, denn gerade über der Halde hätten sich zu der Zeit die Tsan-Dämonen in den Felsen festgesetzt, was sie, die Lamas, aus untrüglichen Zeichen wüßten. Warum mußte der Mann nun gerade da hinaufsteigen, und die Tsan durch sein Erscheinen reizen!

Kampf gegen finstre Mächte

¶ An einem der nächsten Tage kam der Dorfschmied in den Hof, um die Hacken und den Pflug für die Bestellung der Felder instandzusetzen. Bei der Mittagsmahlzeit bekam er auch seinen reichlichen Anteil an Buttertee und Baba, dickem, gekochtem Mehlpapp, der mit geschmolzener Butter gegessen wird. Der Schmied mußte aber abseits von der Reihe der Hausbewohner sitzen, denn hätte er sich mit ihnen nahe an den Herd in der Wohnküche gesetzt, dann wäre der Hausgott *(p'a-lha)* und Herdgott *(t'ab-lha)* erzürnt worden und würde den Bewohnern Krankheit und Not ins Haus geschickt haben. Während die Leute noch ihren Buttertee schlürften, trat die junge Mutter mit dem kleinen Drogpa Namgyal auf dem Arm ein. *„śe-pa, śe-pa! Da rgod-cig!* Liebling, Liebling! Da lach' doch mal!" herzte sie ihn. Da rief die alte Tsering Putrid ihrer Schwiegertochter zu: „Setz mal das Kind dem Garra (Schmied) auf den Schoß und laß es aus dessen Kore (Trinknapf) trinken; dann ist es ein echter Garprug (Schmiedssohn) geworden; wenn dann so ein Tsan oder Lu kommt, merkt der schon am Geruch, daß das Kind beim Garra gewesen ist, hält es für ein richtiges Schmiedskind und läßt von ihm ab, weil auch der Dämon einen schmutzigen Garra nicht berühren mag. Lieber so ein bißchen Schande tragen, als das Kind in steter Gefahr vor den bösen Mäch-

ten wissen. Man kann ja nie wissen — —!" Der weise Rat der Großmama wurde trotz alles Schreiens und Strampelns des Kleinen befolgt, der durchaus nicht zu dem schwarzen Mann mit dem rußigen Gesicht wollte. Aber alle fühlten etwas wie eine Erleichterung, als der Garra mit sauer-süßem Lächeln das Kind ein paar Augenblicke auf die Arme nahm und es an seinem Tee nippen ließ. Seine Bemühung wurde dann mit einigen weiteren Näpfchen besten fetten Buttertees und einem ganzen Stoß Brotfladen, sowie ein paar kleinen Silbermünzen belohnt. Dafür nahm er auch das Schimpfliche der Sache mit in Kauf.

¶ Als der kleine Drogpa Namgyal ein Jahr alt war, erschien eines Tages ein Lama aus der Verwandtschaft im Hause, setzte sich feierlich auf den Teppich nieder, wickelte ein Buch aus den Falten seines weiten Schaltuches und begann laut zu lesen. Während er las und dazwischen dem ihm gespendeten Buttertee reichlich zusprach, salbte die Mutter unter Beihilfe und Beratung der Schwiegermutter den kleinen dicken Kopf mit dem schon recht dichten, schwarzen Haar tüchtig mit Butter ein, bis er wie eine Speckschwarte glänzte. Dann mußte sich die Mutter mit dem Kleinen dicht vor den Lama hinsetzen; der schnitt unter beständigem Hermurmeln von Zauber- und Beschwörungsformeln dem Kinde ein Löckchen ab, das er wegwarf als ein Opfer, um die Götter dem Kinde geneigt zu machen. Dafür bekam der Lama ein paar Silbermünzen.

¶ Der kleine Drogpa Namgyal gedieh zusehends, seine Backen und Glieder rundeten sich, und darüber waren sich die Frauen des Hauses mit Tanten, Basen und Frauen der Paspunschaft (Sippe) einig: In ganz Kalatse und Umgegend, ja in ganz Unter-Ladak (so wollten es die ganz Klugen) gab es kein so hübsches Kind, wie das Söhnchen des Lobsang Wanggyal. Darüber herrschte Freude und Stolz im Kreis der Verwandten. Aber Schönheit ist ein gefährlicher Vorzug: Ein hübsches Gesicht zieht die Blicke auf sich, und diese Blicke sind nicht immer freundlich. Die Großmutter Tsering Putrid hatte neulich ganz genau gesehen, wie die Tschondsom aus dem Katzenmaulhause *(bi-la-k'a)* dem Kinde einen bitterbösen neidischen Blick zugeworfen hatte. Sie wußte auch ganz genau warum. Die Frau hatte ein Kind, häßlich wie eine kleine Eule.

Die darauffolgende Nacht hatte der kleine Drogpa Namgyal unaufhörlich geschrien. Jene Frau hatte dem Kleinen natürlich etwas Böses angewünscht, das machte sich nun geltend. Gleich hatte die Großmutter ihre Schwiegertochter ins Gebet genommen und ihr Vorwürfe gemacht wegen ihrer Sorglosigkeit. So hübsche Kinder dürfe man nicht ohne Schutz den Blicken der Nachbarn preisgeben. Ein schwarzer Rußfleck auf die Stirn lenkt neben den üblichen Amuletten am Röckchen und Mützchen den *Bösen Blick* ab. So trug denn das Bübchen die ersten 3—4 Jahre seines Lebens sein Gesicht stets mit einem häßlichen Rußfleck verunziert. Gleich nach der ersten Erkrankung heftete seine Mutter dem Jungen ein neues Amulett an sein Mützchen. Das bestand aus einem zusammengefalteten kleinen Zettel, auf den der Lama einige Zauber- und Bannformeln, teils in Tibetisch, teils in Sanskrit, geschrieben hatte, zum Teil eine sinnlose Aneinanderreihung mystischer Sanskritworte, als Abwehr der tückischen Dämonen und des Bösen Blicks. Dieser Zettel war in ein Täschchen von rotem Wollstoff eingenäht und wurde mit einem Faden an das Mützchen angehängt. Jahr für Jahr kamen mit der zunehmenden Gefahr des jungen Lebens neue Amulette hinzu: Bald ein rotes, bald ein gelbes, ein blaues, dann auch ein silbernes, bis an Rock und Mützchen des Zehnjährigen mehr als ein Dutzend solcher Täschchen und Kapseln baumelten. Die Sache war schließlich nicht gar so kostspielig: Für jedes hatte der Vater dem Lama 4 bis 6 Annas (35—50 Pfennig) je nach der Größe des angeblich drohenden Unheils, zahlen müssen. Das silberne hatte der Goldschmied in Leh, der auch, neben dem Frauenschmuck, viele Tempelgeräte herstellt, für zwei Rupien verkauft; das Weihen durch den Lama, der einen Zauberzettel einlegte, wodurch das Amulett erst Zauberkraft erhielt, kostete auch noch zwölf Anna (= RM. 1.—).

Trotz all dieser Schutzmaßregeln, trotz aller frommen Übungen und Beschwörungskünste der Priester erkrankte der kleine Drogpa Namgyal mit etwa zwei Jahren zur Zeit der Aprikosenreife heftig an einem bösen Magen- und Darmleiden, das keinem der angewandten Mittel, Mehlpappessen, Medizinen und dergleichen, weichen wollte. Wie war das möglich nach all den Schutzmaßnahmen, die man ergriffen hatte? Das mußte einen besonderen Grund haben.

Großmutter Tsering Putrid verlegte sich aufs Spüren. Sie wollte es doch herausfinden. Nach zwei Tagen kam sie, geladen mit Zorn, von den Nachbarinnen zurück, mit denen sie ein langes, erregtes Gespräch gehabt hatte. Nun hatte sie es gefunden. Die Nichte Yangdsom, die den Kleinen oft zu hüten hatte und ihn dann in einem breiten Schaltuch auf den Rücken gebunden herumtrug, war mit dem Kinde aus Neugier in das Haus des Dragtschanpa gegangen, dessen Frau vor kurzem gestorben war, um zu sehen, was die Lamas sich dort zu schaffen machten, die mit Büchern, Räucherschalen und Musikinstrumenten hineingegangen waren. Da war sie natürlich samt dem ahnungslosen Kinde auf ihrem Rücken unrein geworden und darüber war der Hausgott erzürnt. Das dumme Mädel! Für die Dummheit sollte sie ein paar Ohrfeigen haben, wenn sie erst wieder durch ein Opfer rein geworden war. Und was sollte mit dem kranken Liebling geschehen? Man rief den als Heiler viel gesuchten Lama Mipam ins Haus. Der Lama setzte sich neben die mit dem Kinde auf dem Schoß auf einem Teppich hockende Mutter, nahm ein Buch vor und begann Gebete an den Medizin-Buddha Manla (tibet. *sMan-bla*, in Sanskrit *Bhaischajyaguru)*, den großen Heiler aller Krankheiten, zu lesen. Dann holte er einen kleinen messingenen Metallspiegel hervor, der am Rande eine Öse hatte, in der ein Streifen weißer Seide eingeknüpft war. Diesen Spiegel hielt der Lama dem Kinde so vors Gesicht, daß dessen Bild im Spiegel sichtbar wurde. Dann sprengte er mehrmals unter beständigem Hermurmeln von Gebeten und Formeln geweihtes Wasser aus einem Metallkännchen über das Bild im Spiegel. Damit war, wie der Heilige erklärte, das Kind von aller Befleckung gereinigt.

¶ Dann nahm der Lama einen Zettel vor, darauf hatte er einen kräftigen Bannspruch gegen den erzürnten Hausgott geschrieben. Nun hielt er den Spiegel so gegen die Zauberschrift auf dem Zettel, daß deren Spiegelbild sichtbar wurde, goß wieder geweihtes Wasser über den Spiegel, damit die Kraft des Spruches in das Wasser überginge. Die Mutter mußte das abfließende Wasser in einem Napf auffangen. Von diesem zaubergetränkten Wasser wurden nun dem sich heftig sträubenden Kinde einige Löffel voll eingezwungen, das es mit allen Anzeichen des Ekels wieder ausspuckte.

Die Mutter sah den Lama besorgt an. Konnte denn der Zauber *so* wirken? Der Lama aber tröstete sie und sagte: „Die Kraft dieses Zauberwassers ist so groß, daß die paar Tropfen, die das Kind verschluckt, doch ihre Wirkung tun." Überdies mußte nun die Mutter den Rest des „Wundertrankes" austrinken; da sie ja das Kind stillte, würde ihm auf diese Weise die volle Kraft des Trankes zugute kommen, so sagte der Lama und versicherte, nun sei durch diese doppelte „Taufe" (tibet. *ak'rus*, gesprochen *trus*) das Kind gereinigt und der Palha gebannt. Er würde nun vorläufig das Kind nicht mehr behelligen. Es dauerte freilich noch reichlich vierzehn Tage, bis es allmählich besser mit dem Kinde wurde. Aber den meisten im Hause war es sicher, daß das die Wirkung der „Taufe" des Lamas gewesen sei.

Der kleine Drogpa Namgyal wuchs heran zu einem strammen Buben, und bald gab es im Kreise seiner Spielgefährten keinen kräftigeren, gewandteren und geweckteren Jungen als ihn. Als Sohn des angesehenen Dragschos und wegen seiner Überlegenheit bei all ihren Knabenspielen war er von jenen wohlgelitten und geachtet, ja sie ließen sich sein zeitenweise herrisches Auftreten meist ohne Widerrede gefallen, [illegible] doch andrerseits sich immer als guter, hilfsbereiter Ka[illegible]gte.

DIE ERZIEHUNG ZUM BERGBAUERN UND HIRTEN

Drogpa Namgyal macht Bekanntschaft mit allerlei Tieren und mit finsteren Mächten

¶ Schon mit 3—4 Jahren begleitete Drogpa Namgyal Vater und Mutter aufs Feld und es begann, ohne daß er sich dessen bewußt wurde, die *Schule*, in der der Mensch auch ohne Schulzwang, Buch und Schreibstift eine Fülle von Beobachtungen, Wahrnehmungen, Eindrücken und Anschauungen in sich aufnimmt, um sie dann weiter zu verarbeiten und im eigenen Handeln fruchtbar werden zu lassen. Da sah er, wie der Vater zwei Dso (Ochsen, eine Kreuzung von Jakochsen und gewöhnlicher Kuh) an einen sehr urwüchsigen Hakenpflug spannte, wie er dann mit dem Pfluge den steinigen Acker pflügte, auf den ein anderer Mann, der zur Hilfe bei der *Feldbestellung* eingestellt war, vorher den Samen (Weizen oder Gerste) ausgestreut hatte. Der Same wurde dann untergepflügt. Er sah, wie dann die Mutter mit Hilfe zweier Frauen mit der Liebe und Sorgfalt die Felder bewässerte, mit der man sonst einen Garten behandelt.

¶ Mit großem Geschick sind auf dem zum Teil steil ansteigenden, unebenen Talboden und an den Berglehnen die Felder in Terrassen angelegt, um zu steile Neigungen auszugleichen. Die *Bewässerung der Felder* zog die besondere Aufmerksamkeit des Drogpa Namgyal auf sich und reizte ihn mitzumachen. Allmählich erst fand er sich in dem vielverzweigten Netz von Bewässerungsgräben zurecht, das sich über die ganze Talsohle, ja noch an den Hängen hinzog. Diese kleinen Gräben *(yur-ba)* werden sämtlich aus einem Hauptgraben gespeist, der weit oben im Seitentale das Wasser des Baches aufnimmt, das dieser vom entfernten Schneefelde hoch oben auf den Bergen ihm zuführt. Mit großem Geschick und mit den einfachsten Mitteln — Spaten, Spitzhacke und Brech-

stange — werden die Wasserleitungen seit Jahrhunderten von den Tibetern angelegt, die diese Fertigkeit wahrscheinlich von den eingewanderten Ariern erlernt haben (vergl. Anm. 12). Der Bewässerungsgraben wird entweder aus dem vorhandenen Erdreich, wo dies möglich ist, herausgearbeitet, oder man stellt aus Steinen und Rasen eine künstliche Rinne her, die mit lehmiger Erde notdürftig abgedichtet wird. So wird die Leitung oft 4—5 und mehr Kilometer weit an kahlen, schroffen Felswänden hingeführt, wo sie häufig durch Mauern und Streben, die mühsamst in den Fels eingebaut werden, gestützt werden müssen, wenn die steile Berglehne keine Tragfläche bietet. Auf der Talsohle verzweigt sich dann der Hauptkanal in eine Menge kleiner Gräben, so daß jedes entlegenste Feldstück berieselt werden kann.

¶ Mit der Holzschaufel ausgerüstet leitete nun die Mutter das Wasser auf eine Feldterrasse nach [illegible]anderen, bis alle gründlich berieselt waren, so daß das Wasser eine Weile auf dem Acker stand und Zeit hatte, in das von der sengenden Sonne ausgedörrte Erdreich einzudringen. Lobsang Wanggyal mit seinem großen Feldbesitz durfte einen ganzen Tag lang das Wasser der Leitung benutzen; auf ihn folgten am nächsten Tage drei Kleinbauern, die mit dem Bewässern alle an einem Tage fertig werden mußten.

¶ Da der Bauer in den regenarmen Bergwüsten Ladaks und Tibets ganz auf die künstliche Bewässerung angewiesen ist, weil es im Sommer oft wochen-, ja monatelang nicht regnet, so ist dem Bergbewohner das Wasser ein kostbares Gut, über dessen gerechter Verteilung er eifersüchtig wacht, und *strenge Gesetze* regeln seit Urväterzeiten Bau, Instandhaltung und Benutzung der gemeinsamen Dorfleitung. Zu den gemeinsamen Arbeiten an derselben muß jeder Feldbesitzer nach Maßgabe seines Besitzes eine oder mehrere Personen stellen, wie sich auch die Dauer der Benutzung nach der Größe der zu bewässernden Fläche richtet. Die meisten Wasserleitungen erfordern Jahr für Jahr beträchtliche Ausbesserungsarbeiten, da Schnee- und Schlammlawinen oft große Teile mit dem Bewässern alle an einem Tage fertig werden mußten.

¶ Wenn das Korn etwa spannenlang ist, werden die Felder *gejätet* mit der Sorgfalt, mit der ein Gärtner sein Gemüsebeet von Unkraut reinigt. Ist das Getreide reif, wird es mit der stumpfen

Tibetische Kinder

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Sichel nicht gemäht, sondern ausgerauft mitsamt der Wurzel. Die linke Hand faßt ein Bündel Halme zusammen, die Sichel in der rechten, die mehr als ein Haken wie als Schneidewerkzeug wirkt, rauft die Halme aus. Bei dem durchschnittlich kleinen Feldbesitz und dem geringen Ernteertrag im Hochgebirge ist jeder Zoll des Halmes kostbar als Stroh, als Futter — nicht als Streu — fürs Vieh, so daß der tibetische Bauer es sich nicht leisten kann, die Stoppeln stehen zu lassen. Nachdem das Korn in kleinen Garben zum Nachreifen reihenweise auf dem Felde niedergelegt ist, muß es gegen Diebe gehütet werden; einer der Männer muß nachts zwischen den Garben „wachen", bzw. dort schlafen in der Annahme, daß er bei dem geringsten Geräusch aufwacht.

Das *Dreschen* besorgt bei allen Völkern des Ostens das Vieh. Sechs bis neun Tiere: Ochsen, Kühe, Pferde, Esel, oft in bunter Reihe, werden zusammen an ein Seil in kurzen Abständen gebunden, dessen eines Ende mit einer Schlinge an einem Pfahl festgemacht ist, der in der Mitte der kreisrunden Tenne fest eingerammt ist. Die Tenne ist im Freien an einer dem Winde ausgesetzten Stelle am Berghang hergerichtet, der Boden besteht aus festgestampftem Lehm, oder ist mit großen Schieferplatten belegt. Unter Gesang, lautem Zuruf und Schlägen werden nun die vierbeinigen Drescher unausgesetzt im Kreise um den Pfahl herumgejagt, bis das Korn von ihren Hufen — freilich nicht auf die reinlichste Weise — ausgetreten ist. Dann wird das Korn bei mäßigem Winde geworfelt, wobei ein nicht unschöner, eintöniger Gesang (*las-gso* = Arbeitsanfeuerung), der auch bei den meisten gemeinsamen Arbeiten erschallt, die eine körperliche Anstrengung bedingen, angestimmt wird. Ist das Korn durch *Worfeln* gereinigt, wird es in die festen, aus Ziegen- oder Jakhaaren gewebten Säcke gefüllt und ins Haus getragen. Hier wird es in den großen, aus Ziegeln gemauerten Behälter geschüttet. Nach Einfüllen des letzten Sackes drückt dann der Hausherr ein großes Siegel in Lehm mit dem aus Holz geschnitzten Petschaft auf die Fuge zwischen dem Holzdeckel und dem Rand des Behälters. Das buddhistische Hakenkreuz (Svastika) auf dem Siegel soll mit seiner Zauberkraft den kostbaren Erntesegen vor Diebeshand schützen und schützt ihn auch tatsächlich, weil der Dieb den Zauber fürchtet.

Ladaker

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Die *Kornkammer* ist im untersten Stockwerk, genau unter dem Haustempel eingerichtet.

¶ So lernte der Knabe vermöge seiner scharfen Beobachtungsgabe alle die Verrichtungen kennen, die mit dem Feldbau in jenen unwirtlichen Bergen zusammenhängen und gewann allmählich einen Einblick in den schweren Kampf, den der tibetische Bauer mit den Naturgewalten zu kämpfen hat, die in seiner Phantasie zu beseelten Wesen, zu Geistern, Göttern, Dämonen, Nixen und Kobolden werden, und hörte aus den Erzählungen der Eltern und Nachbarn, wie so oft der Mensch in diesem Kampfe erlag, weil, wie jene sagten, die furchtbaren Mächte für den gewöhnlichen Menschen unüberwindlich seien. Doch lernte der geweckte Junge auch früh zugreifen und nahm mit Eifer an den Arbeiten teil, soweit es seine Kräfte zuließen, bis er alle die Arbeiten selbst verrichten konnte und ein tüchtiger *tibetischer Bauer* wurde.

¶ Noch lieber als aufs Feld stieg Drogpa Namgyal mit dem Vater oder einem Verwandten auf die Berge, um „Holz" zu sammeln. So sagten sie wenigstens, obschon das Holz oft nichts anderes war als kleines Strauchwerk, das als *Heizstoff* diente. Bäume zu fällen gab es freilich in dieser regen- und baumarmen Wüste höchst selten. Außer Weiden, Pappeln, Aprikosen- und Nußbäumen und einigen wenigen Apfel- und Mandelbäumen im bewässerten Talgrund wuchsen nur am Bachrand im Seitentale noch einige Tamarisken und Hundsrosen, und oben in entlegenen Hochtälern einige wenige Wacholderbäume *(Juniperus excelsa)*; auf den Abhängen der Berge und auf den Hochebenen war meilenweit in der Runde weder Baum noch Strauch anzutreffen, nur hie und da Stauden von Burtse, einer holzigen, stark riechenden Erotiaart, Stechginster *(caragana versicolor)* und ähnliche holzige Stauden.

¶ Drüben jenseits des Indus stand freilich mitten an steiler, kahler Berghalde eine Gruppe von Pappeln, wilden Johannisbeersträuchern und Tamarisken an einer Quelle. Aber dort wagte niemand Holz zu schlagen. Dort hauste ein schrecklicher Lu an der Quelle, der Wasser und Gesträuch hütete. Die Frau des Kontschog Traschi, des alten Sagen- und Märchenerzählers, hatte einmal dort ein paar trockene Äste von den Bäumen abgeschlagen und nach Hause

genommen. Im nächsten Jahre brach bei ihr der Aussatz aus, die Lu-Krankheit *(klu-nad)*, wie der Tibeter sie nennt, den hatte der erzürnte Nix ihr angezaubert. Sie ist eines elenden Todes gestorben. „Das hat sie von ihrem Fürwitz", hatten die Lamas erklärt. Drogpa Namgyal wurde denn auch von Eltern und Großmutter scharf verwarnt, nie dort Holz zu holen, oder auch nur in die Nähe der Quelle zu gehen; ebensowenig sollte er Holz von den großen, schönen Wacholderbäumen im nahen Skyinlingtale schlagen, denn jene Bäume waren Lhasching *(lha-śiṅ,* Götterbäume), von Berggöttern bewohnt, die zu reizen gefährlich sei und den Frevler das Leben kosten könne.

¶ Es war eine mühsame Arbeit, mit der kleinen Spitzhacke die Burtsestauden mit dem holzigen Wurzelstock auszuroden und sie dann zu einer Traglast mit dem starken Strick aus Ziegen- oder Jakhaar zusammenzubinden. Früh lernte so der Knabe schon, eine beträchtliche Last auf dem Rücken zu tragen und auf schmalen, schlechten Pfaden ins Tal zu bringen. Manchmal, wenn es galt, eine größere Menge Brennstoff zu holen, wurden ein paar Esel mit auf den Berg genommen, um tragen zu helfen.

¶ Oft schickte die Mutter, noch öfter die Großmutter, den Jungen auf die nahe Karawanenstraße, um Rinder- und Pferdemist in einen Korb zu sammeln, der dann auf dem flachen Dache zum Trocknen ausgebreitet wurde, um als Brennstoff zu dienen. Drogpa Namgyal hörte einmal, wie seine Großmutter die Mutter scharf auszankte, weil diese mehrmals ohne den Tsepo (den strohgeflochtnen kleinen Tragkorb) auf dem Rücken ausgegangen war. Das täten nur die Schemas (Edelfrauen) oder liederliche Weiber, meinte die Alte. Ein Ausgang ohne Tsepo sei ein nutzloser, weil man die schöne Gelegenheit zum Mistsammeln versäume.

¶ Tat Namgyal[14] das Holzsammeln, wegen der damit verbundenen Gelegenheit, Berg und Tal zu durchstreifen, schon nicht ungern, so war es für ihn eine besondere Freude, mit dem Vater oder Onkel, oder später mit einem älteren Kameraden, die Schaf- und Ziegenherde des Dorfes auf die Berge zu treiben, falls die Reihe des Hütens an das Dragschoshaus kam. Wenn die Sonne dort über dem Doppelkegel des Brag-numa kaum aufgegangen war, machten sie sich auf. Die Mutter gab dem Jungen einen tüch-

tigen Klumpen Kollag (Kloß aus geröstetem mit Tee oder Bier zu einem festen Teig gekneteten Gerstenmehl) mit, den sich der Junge, in ein Tuch gewickelt, in seine lange Leibschärpe band. Jeder nahm einen handfesten Stock in die Hand, Namgyal knüpfte sich auch noch seine Schleuder in die Schärpe, dann ging es hinauf in die Berge.

¶ Die eigene Herde von etwa 50 Schafen und Ziegen wird aus dem engen, dunklen Stall getrieben, nun geht es die winkelige Dorfgasse entlang, bei jedem Gehöft schließt sich eine neue kleine Herde an, bei den Kleinhäuslern nur 5—6 Tiere, bis die ganze Herde beisammen ist. Man biegt in ein Seitental ein, langsam, durch lauten Zuruf die Herde antreibend und lockend, führen die jungen Hirten dieselbe am Bache hin, wo die Tiere in Reihen am Ufer den Morgentrunk nehmen. Bis zum Abend gibt es dann meist keinen Tropfen zu trinken in dieser Wüste. Will eine vorwitzige Ziege[15] sich gar zu weit von der Herde entfernen und gehorcht dem warnenden Zuruf oder Pfiff nicht, dann saust ein wohlgezielter Stein aus des Knaben Schleuder laut surrend über sie hin und schlägt dicht neben ihr ins Geröll, so daß die so Gewarnte erschreckt der Herde wieder zueilt. Oft wird freilich auch ein Tier von dem Stein getroffen, und manches Hinkende unter den Tieren zeigt die Folgen solch ungeschickten Schleuderns.

¶ So geht es in langsamem Steigen hinauf auf die Halde, auf die „Weide". Weide? Wo ist denn hier Weide? Da ist längst nichts mehr zu sehen von den saftigen, grünen Almen und üppigen Bergweiden Kaschmirs oder Lahuls, der westlich und südlich gelegenen Berglandschaften. Steile Geröllhalden, durchsetzt von zackigen Felsen und mit Steinblöcken besät, da und dort ein Büschel oder Polster harten, graugrünen Wüstengrases, zwischen den Steinen einzelne starkwürzig riechende Wüstenpflanzen und Stauden, das ist die „Weide", wie sie diese Bergwildnis bietet. Aber Schaf und Ziege in diesen Regionen sind anspruchslos. Mit Sicherheit finden sie die oft recht holzigen Pflanzen heraus, die ihnen gleichwohl genügenden Nährstoff bieten, daß sie kräftig gedeihen. Kletternd, springend suchen sie sich ihre Nahrung noch auf den höchsten Felszinnen und Graten, dem schmalsten Felsenband; nicht selten versteigt sich ein Tier derart, daß es weder vor- noch rückwärts

kann, und so hilflos eine Beute des Adlers wird, wenn es nicht Leute entdecken, die dann, um sich das Fleisch nicht entgehen zu lassen, wennmöglich von einem nahen, ersteigbaren Felsen aus mit großen Steinen das Tier zum Absturz bringen.

¶ Viele *Gefahren* drohen in diesen Höhen Menschen und Tieren. Und als Namgyal zum erstenmal statt mit einem Erwachsenen mit einigen gleichalterigen Kameraden die Herde auf die Berge trieb, kam den sonst beherzten Jungen doch die Furcht an, denn er hatte viel gehört von den *Raubtieren* der Berge und davon, wie sie ein Schrecken der Herden und Hirten sind.

¶ Zwar haben die Tibeter in ihrer tibetischen Dogge eine prachtvolle Hundeart, die an Größe und Stärke dem Bernhardiner kaum etwas nachgibt und sich leicht zum Hirtenhund erziehen ließe. Aber damit gibt sich der Tibeter nicht ab, obgleich diese gewaltigen Hunde jedem Wolfe im Kampf gewachsen wären. So fällt die Sorge für den Schutz der Herde auf den Hirten allein, dessen einzige Waffen Stock und Schleuder sind. Es sollte nicht lange dauern, bis Namgyal von dem Treiben der *Wölfe* einen Eindruck bekam. Eines Tages, als er mit seinem Kameraden um die Mittagszeit gerade unter einem überhängenden Felsen, vor den sengenden Strahlen der Sonne Schutz suchend, sich ein wenig hingelegt hatte — die meisten der kleinen Herdentiere hatten das gleiche getan und ruhten wiederkäuend da und dort im Schatten der Felsblöcke —, da fuhr es auf einmal wie ein Blitz in die Herde: Zwei Wölfe hatten sich unbemerkt in dem Felsgewirr herangeschlichen, hatten eine Ziege und ein Schaf erfaßt und suchten mit ihrer Beute im Maule das Weite. Die beiden Hirtenbuben sprangen auf, blieben beherzt auf ihrem Posten, schrien den Räubern nach und warfen große Steine nach ihnen, was jene aber nicht im geringsten hinderte, sich ihre Beute zu sichern.

¶ Ein andermal schlug ein *Steinadler* ein Zicklein kaum zwanzig Schritt von Namgyal entfernt und führte es in die Lüfte davon seinem Horste zu, der hoch oben in der Schlucht frei auf einem schmalen Vorsprung einer senkrechten Schieferwand sich befand. Die Burschen hatten von einem benachbarten Felsen in den Horst hineinsehen können, in dem ein einziges Junges lag.

¶ Als am Abend Namgyal dem Vater mit klopfendem Herzen von dem Einbrechen des Wolfes in die Herde erzählte, sagte der nicht viel, ermahnte ihn nur, gut aufzupassen; wußte er doch zu genau, wie selten es auch einem mutigen Hirten gelingt, den Wolf von der Herde fernzuhalten oder ihm gar die einmal erfaßte Beute abzujagen. Hatte ihn doch selbst einmal bei einem solchen Versuch der Wolf angenommen und ihm den entgegengehaltenen Ellbogen derart zerbissen, daß er noch jetzt oft Schmerzen im Gelenk verspürte. Bei dieser Gelegenheit erzählte Lobsang Wanggyal seinem Sohne, wie einmal drüben in Tagmatschig im Winter ein *Schneeleopard* (Irbis oder Unze, *felis uncia)* in einen Schafstall einbrach und in einer Nacht 26 Schafe und Ziegen erwürgte. Von dem Fleisch der Tiere fraß der Räuber kaum etwas; am Morgen fand der erschrockene Bauer den Schneeleoparden noch im Stalle. Er hatte nicht herausgekonnt, weil er die von innen zugeklappte Tür nicht zu öffnen vermochte. Das Tier war von dem Trinken des vielen Blutes so berauscht, daß der Bauer mit zwei Nachbarn, die er herbeirief, dasselbe mit Knütteln und Äxten totschlagen konnte.

¶ Wenn ein Schneeleopard in der Gegend sein Unwesen trieb, wie es im Winter oft vorkam, dann war es ratsam, diese Gegend eine Zeitlang ganz zu meiden und lieber ein anderes Weidegebiet aufzusuchen. Bären und Leoparden, die in seinem Heimatgebiet nicht vorkamen, lernte Namgyal später auf seinen Reisen nach Kaschmir und Lahul zur Genüge kennen. Für das Treiben aller Tiere hatte er ein offenes Auge und beobachtete sie scharf. Mehr als einmal hatten *Wildschafe,* schöne, fast hirschgroße Tiere von rehbrauner Farbe, deren alte Widder Hörner hatten, die in der Windung etwa 70 cm maßen, sich weidend am Berg seinen Ziegen und Schafen genähert, ohne ihn sonderlich zu beachten. Auch *Steinböcke* und *-ziegen* näherten sich mitunter mit größerer Vorsicht. Zahlreiche Völker von *Steinhühnern* belebten die sonst so öden Berghalden, besonders in der Nähe der bebauten Dorfoasen, und aus dem Geklüfte dort oben in der Nähe des Schneefeldes ertönte häufig der langgezogene Pfiff des *Schneefasans* (Haldenhuhns); große Schwärme von blauen *Felsentauben* nisteten in den schroffen, höhlenreichen Wänden dort jenseits des Indus, und in den

Lüften zogen der gewaltige *Steinadler* und der *Lämmergeier* ihre Kreise. Der kleinen befiederten Bewohner dieser Höhen war eine bunte Reihe, vom *Alpenmauerläufer*, der an den Felswänden wie ein Specht am Baume klettert, und dem *Steinschmätzer*, der zwischen den Steinblöcken der Halde unter beständigen Bücklingen und munterem Gezwitscher dahinhüpft, bis zu dem vielfarbigen weißköpfigen *Rotschwänzchen* im Talgrund und dem *Wasserschwätzer* in seinem schlichten schwärzlichen Gewande, der dort unten am tosenden Wildbach tauchend nach Larven fischt. All diese Tiere und noch viele andere, welche die wilden Höhen und Hochebenen bewohnen, fesselten mit ihrem Treiben die Aufmerksamkeit Namgyals und erregten seine Wißbegierde und Einbildungskraft; dies um so mehr, als ein Lama ihn kürzlich belehrt hatte, daß alle Lebewesen, auch die niedrigsten, Wesen sind, die sich im Kreislauf der Seelenwanderung befinden und ihrer endlichen Erlösung zustreben, aber immer wieder als Strafe für ihre Sünden in den verschiedensten Formen sich verkörpern müssen. Namgyal betrachtete aufmerksam seitdem die Herdentiere des Dorfes und fragte sich oft, welche der Tiere wohl die Seelen seines Großvaters und seiner verstorbenen Tante beherbergen möchten, er mochte aber niemanden darum fragen. Der Lama hatte solche Andeutungen gemacht.

¶ Ob Namgyal auch ein Auge für die wunderbare *Erhabenheit der Bergnatur* seiner Heimat hatte? Ein Tibeter äußert sich fast nie darüber. Und was für ein Bild lag da vor seinen Blicken auf diesen Höhen ausgebreitet, ein Bild von gewaltiger, wilder Schönheit! Über Täler, Schluchten und Schründe, wild zerrissene Bergketten und Grate schweifte der Blick hinüber zu den fernen Bergwänden drüben im Westen, die im klaren grellen Sonnenschein dieser Höhen mit ihrer dünnen, trocknen Luft in allen Farben von hellrot bis violett erstrahlten. Dort zur Rechten ein weitgedehntes Schneefeld, dessen Schmelzwasser der Wildbach ins Tal führt, zur Linken zwei gletschergekrönte Bergspitzen, und über alles wölbt sich der tiefblaue, wolkenlose Himmel. Eine wunderbare Stille herrscht in dieser wilden Bergwelt, in die Namgyal seine Herde trieb, nur hie und da unterbrochen durch das Meckern einer Ziege, den Schrei der Bergdohlen im Geklüfte, das Heulen eines Wolfes drüben am Berghang.

¶ Kein Mensch kann sich dem gewaltigen Eindruck der Majestat dieser Bergwelt entziehen; hier wohnen und walten überirdische Mächte, hier naht dem schwachen Menschen, der in dieses Reich eindringt, die Gottheit unmittelbar, sie lebt im ragenden Fels, im Gletscher, der dort auf den Höhen die gewaltigen Berghäupter umklammert, in der Pflanze, die hier aus den Ritzen des Gesteins hervorwächst; sie spricht aus dem Wildbach, der sich tosend seinen Weg durch die Felswand bahnt, aus dem wilden Föhn, der heulend von der Höhe ins Tal fegt, wie aus der Steinlawine, die sich dort drüben von den Schroffen löst und donnernd zur Tiefe rast.

¶ Namgyals empfängliches Gemüt vermochte sich diesen Eindrücken nicht zu entziehen. Er war ein beherzter Junge, ein mutiger Kletterer und Reiter. Wegen seines Mutes bei den Raufereien mit seinen Kameraden hatten ihm diese den Beinamen *„Dschigsmed"* (Ohnefurcht) gegeben.

¶ Bei Tage durchstreifte der Knabe trotz der überall vorhandenen Wölfe ohne Bangen die Berge und Täler, wenn es galt, ein verlorenes Schaf zu suchen. Aber wenn die Dämmerung sich auf das Geklüfte senkte, und dunkle Schatten sich über Berg und Hänge breiteten, überkam unsern „Ohnefurcht" doch ein geheimes Grausen. Da wurden die zackigen Felsen und Zinnen zu tausend Gestalten, die ihre Arme drohend gegen ihn reckten, da wurden Stimmen laut, die am Tage geschwiegen hatten. Von der Hochebene drüben hörte er das Heulen der Wölfe, in der Schlucht dort zur Linken bellte ein Fuchs, dort aus der alten Ruine des Dardenschlosses tönte der Ruf des Steinkauzes, und Laute, deren Ursprung sich der Knabe nicht erklären konnte, mischten sich in das Heulen des Windes und das Brausen des Indusstromes. Namgyals Auge, durch seine erwachte Einbildungskraft geschärft, sah dann schattenhafte Gestalten über die Berghalde und über sich durch die Luft dahinhuschen. Der Knabe hielt sich dann gern in der Nähe seines Gefährten „Hast du's gesehn?" fragte ihn eines Abends sein Kamerad, der Puntsog, als sie, verspätet durch langes Suchen abgeirrter Tiere bei einbrechender Dunkelheit ihre Herde durch die enge Schlucht dahintrieben. „Dort oben am Abhang huschte es dahin!" „Ja, ich sah es auch", antwortete Namgyal, „es war ein Fuchs." „Ja, aber sahst du nichts weiter? Auf dem Fuchs ritt einer,

das war ein Gongpo, mit einem großen, dicken Kopf, struppigen Haaren und einer greulichen Fratze, mit fletschenden Zähnen, zwei roten Augen und auf der Stirn noch ein drittes Auge, an den Fingern lange Krallen. Der schüttelte seine Hand drohend gegen uns. Komm, laß uns eilen, daß wir nach Hause kommen!"

¶ Als Namgyal nach Hause kam, fragte er seine Großmutter, deren Liebling er war, die ihm schon manches Schaurige von bösen Geistern, die in Berg und Tal hausen, erzählt hatte, was das für Wesen seien und was sie trieben. „Das laß dir von Meme (dem Alten) Kontschog Traschi erzählen", erwiderte sie, „niemand weiß um diese Geister und ihr Treiben so Bescheid und kennt die alten Sagen und Märchen so gut wie er."

Was der alte Kontschog Traschi dem Namgyal von Göttern und Dämonen erzählte

¶ An einem der nächsten Abende ging Namgyal zum alten Gyamtsopa[16] Kontschog Traschi, dem weit und breit im Lande bekannten Geschichten- und Sagenerzähler. Namgyal richtete es so ein, daß er den Alten nicht in dessen Hause aufsuchen mußte, denn die Frau desselben hatte den Aussatz im höchsten Grade; da fürchtete sich Namgyal in ihre Nähe zu kommen. Er traf den Erzähler unter dessen großem Nußbaum am Rande des Bewässerungsgrabens sitzend, wo er aus grobem Jakhaar Fäden spann. Kontschog Traschi, eine kleine Gestalt mit verwitterten Zügen, in einen alten, schmutzigen, unten stark zerschlissenen Rock gekleidet, erzählte auf dessen Bitte hin dem gespannt lauschenden Knaben von den alten *Königen* und *Helden*, die nach ihrem Tode zu Göttern geworden waren, vom mächtigen König Kesar und dessen Heldentaten, von *Göttern* und *Dämonen*, *Nixen* und *Zwergen*, die in Berg und Tal, in See und Sumpf ihr Wesen treiben.

¶ „Siehst du dort die alte knorrige Pappel am Bachrande?" fragte der Alte, „und den *Lhato* darunter, den aus unbehauenen Steinen roh gemauerten Altar? Ja! Du siehst auch den hohen Stoß von Hörnern von Steinböcken und Wildschafen, die man darauf auf-

getürmt hat, und die Zweige von Wacholder, Wildrosen und die bunten Fähnchen mit den aufgedruckten Gebeten und Beschwörungsformeln, die die Lamas gemacht und die wir dann dort aufgesteckt haben. Auf diesem Altar und in dem Baum wohnt der Yul-Lha, der Gott des Dorfes. Er ist uns meist freundlich gesinnt; nur darf man ihn nicht reizen, indem man etwas von dem Altar wegnimmt, oder einen Zweig vom Götterbaume *(Lha-śiṅ)* bricht, oder den Platz verunreinigt. Dann wird der *Yul-Lha* böse und schickt uns Krankheit und Viehsterben. Du siehst dort die Schälchen mit Opfergaben, Gerste, Reis, Bier, auch Blumen; solche Gaben bringen wir dem Gotte dar, um ihn freundlich zu stimmen. Wenn er einmal sehr zornig wird, und Unglück und Krankheit ins Dorf schickt, lassen wir den Lha durch ein paar Lamas beschwören und bannen; dann wird er eingeschüchtert und wir haben eine Zeitlang Ruhe vor ihm.

¶ Hast du einmal das Bild eures *Hausgottes* in dem Haustempel deines Vaters genau betrachtet? Auch über eurer Haustüre ist ein kleines Bildchen von ihm angebracht: Eine Menschengestalt mit einem Schweinskopf. Der Gott ist in einen weiten, fliegenden, vorn offenen Mantel gehüllt; in der einen Hand trägt er ein Siegesbanner *(rGyal-mt'san)*, in der anderen einen Dreizack. Das ist auch ein mächtiger Gott, dieser *Pa-Lha* (der Vätergott), mit dem man es nicht verderben darf. Du wirst bemerkt haben, daß dein Vater oder die Mutter alle Morgen in einer tönernen Schale auf dem Hausdach trockene Zweige von Wacholder auf glühenden Holzkohlen verglimmen läßt. Das ist das Rauchopfer für den Pa-Lha. Der schützt das Haus und den heiligen Herd, hält andere feindliche Geister fern, indem er sie durch sein furchtbares Grunzen und seine Zauberkraft schreckt, damit sie nicht Unglück und Krankheit ins Haus bringen. Freilich muß man sich ängstlich hüten, den Pa-Lha zu reizen. Im Zorn ist er furchtbar. Wenn ein Unreiner, ein Mohammedaner, ein Schmied, ein Beda oder ein Kristan (Christ) das Haus betritt, oder gar den Herd berührt, wenn jemand versehentlich am Herdfeuer einen alten Lappen, Hundemist oder sonst etwas verbrennt, das üblen Geruch verursacht, dann gerät der Pa-Lha in Wut, und es macht den Lamas große Mühe — und dem Hausbesitzer beträchtliche Kosten — den erzürnten Gott durch

Opfer, Gebete und Beschwörungen wieder zu beschwichtigen und zur Ruhe zu bringen."

¶ Noch manchen Abend saßen die Zwei zusammen in der Abenddämmerung unter dem Nußbaum, der Alte und der Junge, bis die schwarze Nacht sich auf Berg und Kluft herabsenkte, und Namgyal konnte nicht genug hören von den Göttern und Geistern, ihrem Treiben und Wesen. Kontschog Traschi erzählte dem aufhorchenden Jungen von den mächtigen *Lu (klu)*, den *Wassergöttern* und Nixen, die ihr Reich in den Tiefen der Erde, in Flüssen, Seen und Sümpfen, aber auch im Himmelsraum haben. Sie werden dargestellt mit menschlichem Körper, mit Schlangen, die vom Nacken her über den Kopf ragen, oder nur mit menschlichem Oberkörper, der unten in einen Schlangenleib übergeht. Auch nur als Schlangen erscheinen sie auf Bildern. Sie sind die Hüter unermeßlicher Schätze im Erdinnern. Ein andermal treten sie als Drachen auf, die den Regen spenden und den Lauf der Gewässer regieren. Sie bilden Staaten, die von mächtigen Königen regiert werden; von ihrer Gunst hängt Wachstum, Gedeihen und Wohlfahrt in der Menschenwelt ab. Wenn der Mensch sie erzürnt, so trifft ihn Dürre, Mißwachs, Krankheit und Tod.

¶ Auch von den roten *Tsan-(btsan)* Dämonen erzählte der Alte, die als „Wilde Jäger" über die Berge und durch die Wolken dahinjagen und deren abgeschossene Pfeile dem Menschen Krankheit und Tod bringen; weiter auch von *Hexen* und *Unholdinnen*, von *Kobolden* und *Zwergen*. Letztere treiben in den Ruinen des Balukhar, des „Zwergschlosses[20]", dort am Indusufer ihr Wesen. „Mein Nachbar, der Bandhepa, ist neulich einem Zwerg begegnet", erzählte der Alte, „als er spät von Nyurla (einem Nachbardorfe) nach einer Hochzeit mit Biergelage nach Hause ritt. Da stand das Männchen zwischen den großen Steinblöcken seitab vom Wege mit gespreizten Beinen, ein Zwerg, einen Tru[21] lang, ebenso lang sein Bart, seine Kappe und sein Stock. Der Balu (Zwerg) hatte, wie jener erzählte, ihn scharf angesehen und dann breit und verschmitzt gelacht über den Mann, der vor Schreck und Bierrausch fast von seinem Rößlein gefallen wäre."

¶ Eines Abends brachte Kontschog Traschi seinem jungen Freunde,

dessen Wißbegier ihm Freude machte, ein Bild mit, das hatte der Maskenmacher und Maler Ische Lhundrub, der die greulichen Teufelsmasken für das Kloster machte und die Bilder der Buddhas, Heiligen und Götter malte, angefertigt. Mit bunten, leuchtenden Farben hatte er es nach Schablonen auf Papier gemalt und dann auf Seide aufgezogen. Es stellte die schreckliche Rachegöttin *dPal-ldan-Lha-mo*[22] dar. Sie ist die Gattin des Todesgottes und *Höllenfürsten* Schin-dsche *(gśin-rje*, sanskr. *Yama)*. „Dieses Ehepaar hatte einen Sohn. Vater und Sohn waren Feinde der heiligen Lehre des Buddha", so erzählte Kontschog Traschi, „und der Sohn trachtete danach, diese Lehre auszurotten. Da ergrimmte die Mutter, die eine eifrige Anhängerin des Glaubens war, tötete den abtrünnigen Sohn, zog ihm die Haut ab, fraß sein Herz und trank sein Blut aus einer Schale, die sie aus des Sohnes Schädel herstellte. Dann bestieg sie ihr gelbes Maultier, dem sie die abgezogene Haut ihres Sohnes als Satteldecke aufgelegt hatte und floh vor dem Zorn ihres Gatten. Schindsche verfolgte nun die grimmige Gattin und Mörderin ihres Kindes und schoß einen Zauberpfeil auf die Fliehende ab, der den Hinterschenkel des Maultieres traf. Lhamo aber verwandelte durch Zauberspruch die Wunde in ein Auge und entkam dem wütenden Gatten. Seit jener Zeit ist *dPal-ldan Lha-mo* die wütendste Kämpferin für die heilige Lehre des Buddha."

Kontschog Traschi zeigte seinem jungen, eifrigen Freunde die Furchtbare im Bilde. Da reitet sie dahin auf ihrem falben Maultier durch einen See von Blut, in dem die abgehauenen Glieder der im Kampfe getöteten Buddhafeinde schwimmen. Die Hautfarbe der Göttin ist das Blau der *Schreckensgötter;* wie Flammen umgeben den riesigen Kopf die struppig emporstehenden Haare, dem eine Krone aus Schädeln getöteter Feinde aufgesetzt ist. Aus ihren drei Augen schießt sie Blitze. Bekleidet ist die Göttin nur mit einem Schurz aus Tigerfell und einer abgezogenen Menschenhaut; Schlangen bilden ihren Gürtel. Die Rechte schwingt als Waffe den furchtbaren Dreizack, die Linke hält die mit Feindesblut gefüllte Schädelschale. Am ersten Tage des ersten Monats im Jahre wird der *dPal-ldan Lha-mo* im Klostertempel im benachbarten Lamayuru-Kloster eine große Messe zelebriert, um den Zorn der Gefürchteten zu be-

schwichtigen, weil die „Ungläubigen" sie durch ihr Tun beständig reizen.

¶ Kein Wunder, wenn die Phantasie Namgyals durch all diese Erzählungen und Bilder — mit der Zeit machte Kontschog Traschi seinen gelehrigen Schüler mit einer Menge tibetisch-buddhistischer Gottheiten, mit Buddhas und Dämonen bekannt — auf das stärkste erregt wurde und die Furcht immer mehr die Herrschaft über ihn gewann. Kaum daß er wagte, abends im Dunkeln den Weg von wenigen Minuten von ihrem Treffplatz nach Hause zu gehen. Auf Schritt und Tritt begleiteten ihn die Bilder jener Dämonen und Schreckensgötter, deren Gestalten und Treiben ihm der alte Erzähler so drastisch vor Augen gestellt hatte. Überall glaubte er die greulichen, zähnefletschenden Fratzen zu sehen; im Brausen des Windes, im Rauschen des Flusses, im Schrei des Adlers, im Ruf des Steinkauzes tönte dem Knaben die Stimme der Furchtbaren, ihr zorniges, markerschütterndes „Alala!" entgegen. Die Furcht hielt lange Zeit hindurch den bisher so Tapferen in ihrem Bann und hemmte sein Tun und Werden.

¶ Namgyal hatte nun genug von Göttern und Dämonen und ihrem meist unheilvollen Treiben gehört. Ihn gelüstete vorläufig nicht nach mehr. Hingegen fesselte ihn die Erzählung eines herumziehenden Lamas, der einmal im Winter ins Dorf kam und sich dort längere Zeit aufhielt. Er zeigte den Leuten, die sich täglich um ihn scharten, gemalte, auf Leinwand aufgezogene und mit Seide umsäumte Bilder, die oben und unten mit runden Stäben versehen, sich aufrollen ließen wie Wandkarten. Die Bilder stellten Szenen aus dem *Leben und der Legende Gautama Buddhas* dar. Besonders interessierten den Knaben die Geschichten der 550 Geburten des Buddha, die seiner letzten Geburt vorangingen, bei denen er bald als ein Gott, bald als ein Mensch in den verschiedensten Klassen, als Nix, als ein Wasserteufel mit Elephantenkopf, als Tier (Löwe, Antilope, König der Ratten, Laubfrosch, Geier, Krähe usw.) geboren wurde; aber in all diesen Existenzen blieb er doch immer der nach Erlösung strebende, durch Gutestun sich auszeichnende *Bodhisattva*[23], das von Liebe und Erbarmen zu allen Mitwesen erfüllte und geleitete Wesen.

¶ Eine dieser Vorgeburtsgeschichten des Buddha (Dschataka-

Erzählungen) war die folgende. Einmal wurde der Bodhisattva, der spätere Gautama Buddha, als Königssohn in Indien geboren. Eines Tages machte er mit seinem Gefolge einen Spaziergang in den Urwald. Da begegnete ihm eine Tigerin mit ihren Jungen, die alle Anzeichen der Erschöpfung aufwies. Sie schien dem Hungertode nahe. Von heißer Liebe und Erbarmen erfaßt, ging der Prinz, seine Begleiter zurücklassend, zu der Tigerin, legte sich vor sie hin, um sich von ihr zerreißen zu lassen. Das Tier war aber zu erschöpft und ermattet, um dies zu tun. Da nahm der Königssohn einen Stein, ritzte sich die Haut an verschiedenen Stellen auf, daß Blut floß. Die Tigerin leckte nun das hervorquellende Blut. Dadurch wurde sie soweit gekräftigt, daß sie ihren Wohltäter auffressen konnte. Dieser rückte aber auf Grund dieser neuen guten Tat um eine große Stufe weiter auf dem Wege der Vollkommenheit, der endlichen völligen Erlösung entgegen.

¶ In den verschiedensten Daseinsformen hat sich Gautama so zum Besten anderer Geschöpfe aufgeopfert. Sogar, als er einmal in der Hölle wiedergeboren wurde, hat er sich dadurch aus der Verdammnis erlöst, daß er Mitleid mit den Qualen eines anderen Verdammten äußerte. Einmal wurde Gautama in Indien als Fuchs mit einem köstlichen Balg geboren. Der regierende Fürst des Landes sah diesen Fuchs im Traum und befahl seinen Jägern, ihm dessen Balg zu verschaffen, es koste was es wolle. Er drohte seinen Jägern an, es solle sie alle das Leben kosten, wenn sein Wunsch unerfüllt bliebe. Da der Radscha als grausam und bedenkenlos bekannt war, erregte die Drohung große Angst unter allen Jägern. Indes war einer unter ihnen so glücklich, den Fuchs anzutreffen. Als der Jäger noch kaum Anstalten getroffen hatte, den Fuchs zu fangen, kam dieser auf ihn zu und lieferte sich dem Jäger in die Hände, stellte aber die Bedingung, daß jener ihn nicht töte, sondern ihm die Haut bei lebendigem Leibe abziehe, damit die Sünde des Tötens nicht auf dem Jäger lasten möge. Damit rettete der Bodhisattva allen Jägern im Lande das Leben. Die nächste Folge dieser Opfertat war, daß Tausende von Fliegen, Ameisen und anderen Insekten sich auf den geschundenen Fuchs lagerten und ihn verzehrten. Solche außerordentliche Taten erregten die Aufmerksamkeit der Götter und aller Lebewesen, Erdbeben und andere Naturerschei-

nungen kündeten sie in allen Welten an, ein Regen von Blumen ging über den Bodhisattva nieder. Und wieder stieg er eine Stufe höher auf dem Wege zur Vollkommenheit und Erlösung.

¶ So phantastisch viele dieser Erzählungen auch waren, so machten sie doch auf Namgyals empfängliches, auf das Religiöse gerichtete Gemüt einen tiefen Eindruck, und er dachte viel über diese Dinge nach, besonders beim Hüten der Schafe und Ziegen in der Einsamkeit der Berge.

¶ Manchmal erzählte Kontschog Traschi dem Namgyal auch Märchen zu dessen und anderer Zuhörer Ergötzen. So erzählte der Alte ihm eines Tages

Das Märchen vom schlauen Fuchs, dem Wolf und dem Bären

¶ Der Fuchs hatte schon viele Untaten begangen und durch listige Mittel den Wolf, den Bären, ja den Löwen, den König der Tiere, zu Tode gebracht. Da erschienen eines Tages ein Wolf und ein Bär, Verwandte der Getöteten, vor dem Löwen, dem neuen König, und klagten den bösen Fuchs wegen seiner Schandtaten an. Der König befahl ihnen, den Verbrecher vor ihn zu bringen. Sie fanden ihn auch, und er ging, obschon er sich sehr fürchtete, ein Stück Wegs mit ihnen.

Auf dem Wege zum Richter begegnete ihnen ein Lama (Mönch), der mit aufgespanntem Sonnenschirm auf seinem Pferde ritt. Auf seinem Rücken hing die Tasche mit der Wegzehrung. Die Füße des Lamas steckten in großen, roten Tuchstiefeln. Da sagte der Fuchs zu den beiden anderen: „Du Wolf und du Bär! Seht mal! Wir wollen dem Lama seinen Sonnenschirm und seine Tasche wegnehmen." Jene beiden erwiderten: „Ja, wie sollen wir denn das machen?" Da antwortete der Fuchs: „So wollen wir es machen: Ich stelle mich lahm und hinke vor des Lamas Pferd her. Dann wird der Lama denken, er könne mich leicht greifen und wird vom Pferde steigen; er wird seinen Sonnenschirm und die Tasche ablegen, um mich leichter zu fangen. Da müßt ihr rasch herzulaufen, den Schirm und die Tasche nehmen und fortrennen. Ich komme dann schnell wieder zu euch!" Der Fuchs lief nun elend

hinkend vor des Lamas Pferd her. Der Mönch, in der Meinung, der Fuchs sei lahm, stieg ab, legte seinen Schirm, die Tasche und die schweren Stiefel ab und rannte hinter dem Hinkenden her. Der ließ den Lama dicht herankommen; dann rannte er auf einmal in gestrecktem Laufe davon. Der Bär und der Wolf ergriffen den Schirm, die Tasche und die Stiefel, rannten damit auf den Berg und trafen dort mit dem Fuchs wieder zusammen. Nun kam der Lama ganz erschöpft zurück, suchte vergeblich nach seinen Sachen und bestieg, barfuß und ganz niedergeschlagen, sein Pferd.

¶ Da sagte der Fuchs zum Bären: „Du Bär! Wie würden sich deine Kinder über den Sonnenschirm freuen! Nimm den nur mit nach Hause!" Und zum Wolf sagte der Fuchs: „Du Wolf! Damit du beim Fangen der Ziege besser laufen kannst, nimm diese Stiefel mit! Schnüre sie dir mit starken Senkeln fest an die Füße, dann kannst du laufen so schnell wie der Wind und jede Ziege erhaschen!" „Und übrigens, du Bär! Wenn du zu deinen Kindern kommst, spanne den Schirm auf! Das wird den Kindern großen Spaß machen! Ich werde unterdessen ein wenig hier ausruhen und Mehlpapp aus des Lamas Tasche essen!" — „Ja, aber wir müssen doch erst zusammen zum Löwen gehen", wandten seine Begleiter ein. „Ja, ja, ganz recht", erwiderte der Fuchs, „aber erst ziehe doch mal die Lamastiefel an und fange zur Probe eine Ziege, du Wolf! Und du Bär! Geh doch erst mal rasch mit dem Schirm zu deinen Kindern! Du wirst sehen, wie das Ding ihnen Spaß macht!"

¶ Da gingen die beiden im guten Glauben davon. Der Wolf schnürte sich die Stiefel fest an die Füße. Bald traf er auch eine Ziegenherde an und wollte sich auf eine Ziege stürzen. Aber die großen, schweren Lamastiefel hinderten ihn am Laufen, die Hirten kamen herbei und schlugen ihn mit Knütteln tot.

¶ Der Bär kam voller Erwartung an seine Höhle und marschierte stolz mit aufgespanntem Schirm auf seine Kinder los, die ihm entgegensprangen. Als sie aber das fremde Ding bemerkten, erschraken sie des Todes, rasten in ihrer Angst auf einen hohen Felsen, stürzten kopfüber in den Abgrund und zerschellten. Die erschrockene Mutter stürzte den Kindern nach, wollte sie noch beim Schwanze festhalten und fiel mit ihnen in die Tiefe; der Vater Bär, der die Mutter retten wollte, folgte ihr nach in den grausigen Abgrund.

Ein Onpo (Wahrsager) und Zauberer

Facing P. 48

So blieb niemand übrig, der dem Könige die neuen Untaten des Fuchses berichten konnte. Dieser ließ sich seinen Mehlpapp wohlschmecken, legte sich aufs Ohr und schlief, als ob nichts Unrechtes geschehen sei."

¶ Noch manche Geschichte vom schlauen Fuchs[24] und seinen Streichen erzählte Kontschog Traschi dem Namgyal und seinen Kameraden, die von den Knaben begierig aufgenommen und weitererzählt wurde.

Der inkarnierte Bakula (Muschog), Abt des Klosters Spituk

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NAMGYALS SCHULBILDUNG

¶ Als Namgyal einen Zwölferkreis *(lo-skor)*, d. h. zwölf Jahre alt war, sagte sein Vater an einem trüben Wintertage zu ihm, als er seinen Jungen mit einigen Kameraden auf einer schneefreien Feldterrasse Ball spielen[25] sah: „Du solltest lieber lesen und schreiben lernen, als hier die Zeit mit Spielen unnütz zu verbringen. Das wird dir nützlich sein, wenn du später Handel treiben willst. Da mußt du Rechnungen und Quittungen schreiben können, auch mal einen Brief abfassen; und solltest du einmal, wie ich jetzt, Dorfschulze werden, dann gibt es erst recht viel Schreiberei." Seit einem Jahre bekleidete Lobsang Wanggyal diesen Posten, war Dorfschulze *(go-pa)* von Kalatse. Er hatte als solcher die Steuern einzusammeln, um sie dem *Tahsildar* (Bezirksamtmann und -richter) in Leh abzuliefern; er hatte die Bauern zu Zwangsarbeiten (Wege-, Brückenbau, Transportdienst mit Pferden und Trägern u. dgl.) aufzurufen, welche die Regierung ausschrieb und war für Ruhe und Ordnung im Dorfe verantwortlich. Dieses Amt verursachte dem Vater manche Mühe und Sorge, auch manchen Ärger, wenn die Bauern sich seinen Anordnungen nicht fügen wollten oder die Steuern nicht bezahlten. Da mußte denn in schlimmen Fällen der Polizist, der den Bezirk bereiste, mit der Peitsche den Befehlen Nachdruck geben und tat dies auch ausgiebig, ausgenommen, wenn ihm ein Geldstück in die Hand gedrückt wurde, was ihn gewöhnlich sofort sehr nachsichtig stimmte.

¶ Mit diesen Aussichten machte Namgyal sich nun ans Lernen. Zwei- bis dreimal die Woche begab er sich mit einigen Kameraden zum Lama Dondrub, der dem großen Kloster Lamayuru im Nachbardorfe angehörte und hier in Kalatse am Dorfrande eine kleine Zelle bewohnte. Er entstammte dem Beinbrechhause und war, ähnlich seinem Bruder, listig, verschlagen, streitsüchtig und benutzte seinen Posten als Dorfpriester, um seine Dorfgenossen und „Beichtkinder" auszusaugen und zu plagen. Das Schulehalten

überließ man ihm, weil man niemand anders dafür hatte. Im Winter, wenn alle Feldarbeit ruhte, unterrichtete er die lernfreudige Jugend — nur Knaben, niemals Mädchen —, die auch nie sehr zahlreich war. Zur Belohnung für seine Bemühungen bekam er hie und da von dem Vater eines seiner Schüler einen Sack Gerste oder ein Stück Butter, aber nicht allzuoft, doch verstand er, sich schadlos zu halten. Die Bildung stand im Lande noch niedrig im Kurse. Lama Dondrub bemühte sich nun, seine Schüler in die Geheimnisse der tibetischen Schrift einzuführen. An sonnigen Wintertagen saß er mit den Lernbeflissenen auf dem flachen Dache eines Hauses, jeder ein Blatt rauhen, tibetischen Papiers in der Hand, auf das der Lama tibetische Buchstaben und Wörter geschrieben hatte. Mit laut plärrender Stimme las er vor. „ka, kha, ga, nga", die ersten Buchstaben des Alphabets, und der Chor antwortete in demselben Tone, wobei die kleinen ABC-Schützen ihren Körper ebenso hin- und herwiegten, wie ihr Lehrer. Wenn die 30 Buchstaben des Alphabets fest im Kopfe saßen und heruntergeschnurrt werden konnten, ging es an das Lesen und Buchstabieren einfacher Wörter. Es war eine mühsame, langsame Arbeit, ein mechanisches, ödes Vor- und Nachsprechen und Nachmachen, und doch war man am Ende des Winters soweit, daß kleine Sätze gelesen werden konnten. Schwierigkeit machten hauptsächlich die vielen Präfixe und Suffixe, den Wörtern und Silben vorgesetzte, jetzt meist verstummte Buchstaben, mit denen sie nichts anzufangen wußten. Mit dem Lesen ging das Schreiben Hand in Hand. Auf kleinen, schwarzlackierten Holztafeln wurde mit der breiten Rohrfeder und weißem, dickflüssigem Ton geschrieben. In drei Wintern brachte Dondrub seine Schüler soweit, daß sie einfache Sachen in der Druck- und Schreibschrift ziemlich geläufig lesen und schreiben konnten. Außer Lesen und Schreiben brachte der Lama den Knaben noch ein wenig Rechnen bei, doch ging er dabei nicht über den Zahlenkreis von 100 hinaus; weiter reichte sein eigenes Können nicht. Der Rosenkranz mit seinen 108 Kugeln mußte dabei — wie auch sonst bei Geldgeschäften der Tibeter — als Rechenmaschine dienen.

Mit anderen Wissenszweigen plagte Lama Dondrub weder sich noch seine Schüler. Die alten Sagen und Märchen erzählte ihnen

der alte Kontschog Traschi; von ihm hörten sie auch, wie das alte, einst mächtige westtibetische Königreich Ladak ein Ende fand, als die Dogras aus Nordwestindien (Dschammu) ins Land fielen und die schlecht bewaffneten und schlecht geführten, aber tapferen Ladaker nach sechsjährigem Kampfe besiegten, den König absetzten und die Herrschaft an sich rissen. Nun verstanden sie auch, warum in der Hauptstadt Leh ein Wasir schaltete und regierte, der nicht ihrem Volke angehörte, sondern ein Inder war, warum ihr Bezirk von einem indischen Bezirksamtmann und -richter verwaltet wurde, und warum in den Forts in Leh, in Kalatse und Kargil indische Soldaten lagen, die bald dahin bald dorthin geschickt wurden, um auf Ruhe und Ordnung zu sehen und säumige Steuerzahler und Zwangsarbeiter mit Gewalt an ihre Pflicht zu mahnen.

¶ Mit Schulweisheit nicht überlastet trat so Namgyal ins Leben ein. Das wenige Gelernte erhob ihn trotzdem über die Mehrzahl seiner Volksgenossen, die keine Schule besucht hatten, auch meist kein Verlangen danach trugen. „Wir sind dumm wie die Ochsen", pflegte der Nachbar Scherab zu sagen, ungeachtet seines stolzen Namens, der „Weisheit" bedeutet. „Unsre Väter haben nicht lesen und schreiben gekonnt, was sollen wir uns damit plagen? Wir haben mit unseren Feldern und dem Vieh Wichtigeres zu tun. Um Schulweisheit zu erlernen, hat ein Bauer keine Zeit, das ist Sache der Lamas."

¶ War es nun mit den Schulkenntnissen des Namgyal nicht weit her, so entwickelte er sich doch unter der Erziehung und Anleitung seines Vaters und seines Oheims Stobsldan, eines Vaterbruders, zu einem tüchtigen tibetischen Bauern. Er wußte bald mit Pferden, Eseln und Rindern, mit Schafen und Ziegen umzugehen, verstand es, den Pflug sicher durch den steinigen Acker zu führen, Feld und Garten richtig zu bewässern; er verstand, aus grobem Ziegen- oder Jakhaar mit der Handspindel Fäden zu spinnen, aus denen dann der Dorfweber feste Decken und Säcke webte. Er saß fest im Sattel und war ein guter Polospieler[26]. An praktischem Verstand und Umsicht, an Tatkraft und an Mut war Namgyal bald auch den Älteren überlegen, letzteres wohl ein Erbstück von den Vätern, von denen einige sich als tapfere Helden in den Kriegen gegen die benachbarten Baltis und die Dogras bewiesen hatten, ein

Erbstück wohl auch von seiner energischen Großmutter Tsering Putrid.

Dabei hatte Namgyal einen starken Hang zum Religiösen, der aber immer unbefriedigt blieb. Oft dachte er über religiöse Fragen nach und grübelte über den Sinn des Seins, das Wesen des Karma, die Seelenwanderung, über den „achtgliederigen Pfad" der Erlösung, den der Buddha seinen Jüngern gewiesen, über die Erlösertätigkeit der buddhistischen „Heilande", aber auch über das Mönchstum, die Priesterschaft und deren Treiben. So oft er aber seinen Lehrer, den Lama Dondrub, fragte und Aufschluß über tiefere Fragen verlangte, speiste ihn der mit ein paar oberflächlichen Bemerkungen ab, sagte, das verstünde er ja doch nicht, und das Fragen und Sehnen seines Herzens blieb unbefriedigt. Das Auftreten und die Führung des habgierigen, sinnlichen, dem Trunk ergebenen Lamas war derart, daß der Glaube des jungen Namgyal an diese Mitglieder der „Heiligen Mönchsgemeinde", zu der er als frommer Buddhist in Ehrfurcht aufschauen sollte, arg erschüttert wurde. Und sein Sehnen nach Frieden und Freiheit blieb ungestillt. Auch des frommen Klausners Tsetan wohlgemeinte Belehrungen konnten ihn nicht zufriedenstellen.

DROGPA NAMGYALS HEIRAT

BRAUTSUCHE UND BRAUTWERBUNG

Vorbesprechungen „Biere"

NAMGYAL WAR NUN FAST ANDERTHALB JAHRESkreise (18 Jahre) alt und damit nach der Auffassung der Völker des Ostens längst in das heiratsfähige Alter eingetreten. Er hätte schon drei, vier Jahre eher ehelichen können, aber im Hause Dragschos war man nicht für frühes Heiraten. Namgyal hatte an der schmucken Traschi Rolma aus dem Nachbarhause der Pahnpa Gefallen gefunden. Sie waren zusammen aufgewachsen, hatten miteinander gespielt, hatten zusammen die Ziegen auf die Berge getrieben und Brennholz gesammelt, waren sich fast täglich im Dorf oder auf dem Felde begegnet, und es schien beiden auch ohne viel Worte ausgemacht, daß sie einmal Mann und Frau werden würden. So dachten auch viele weise Frauen der Nachbarschaft. Aber sie hatten alle die Rechnung ohne den Wirt, d. h. die Paspun, die nahen Verwandten und vor allem ohne Großmutter Tsering Putrid gemacht. Die hatten ganz andere Pläne.

¶ Eines Abends im Spätherbst, nachdem die Getreideernte eingebracht, das Korn gedroschen, in der Kornkammer wohl verwahrt war, und man für dergleichen Zeit hatte, kam der Familienrat in dieser wichtigen Angelegenheit zusammen. Außer den Eltern und der Großmutter fanden sich noch zwei Oheime, die auch zur Paspunschaft gehörten und noch ein paar Männer aus der Nachbarschaft, Angehörige der Sippe, zusammen. Unter Aufwand von vielen Worten und viel Bier (Tschang)[27] wurde die Frage behan-

delt, wen Namgyal freien solle. Er selbst wurde zu der Beratung nicht hinzugezogen.

¶ Anfangs wagte Namgyals Mutter, die Palskyid, einen schüchternen Versuch, für eine Ehe mit der Traschi Rolma einzutreten. Sie sei ein braves Mädchen, der niemand etwas nachsagen könne, sie sei fleißig und verstünde etwas von Haus- und Feldwirtschaft, man sähe sie nie ohne den Tsepo (den kleinen Tragkorb) auf dem Rücken, ein Zeichen, wie eifrig sie im Sammeln von Heizstoff sei; abends träfe man sie immer zu Hause, sie treibe sich nicht herum, wie gewisse andere, und — die beiden hätten sich auch gern. Aber da kam sie schlecht an. Die Tsering Putrid, ihre Schwiegermutter, fiel ihr ins Wort und sagte: „Ach, was schwatzest du da. Du verstehst ja nichts davon! Daraus kann nichts werden. Gegen die Traschi Rolma will ich nichts sagen; die kann ja ganz brav sein. Und die Eltern, unsere Nachbarn im Pahnpahause, sind verständige, fromme Leute; aber die Traschi Rolma ist keine Braut für meinen Enkel. Der Vater ist nur ein Kleinbauer, hat nur ein Pferd, das auf einem Auge blind ist, zwei Kühe, an die zwanzig Schafe und Ziegen; sein Feldbesitz ist mittelmäßig und hat eine schlechte Lage. Auch munkelt man, daß der Pahnpa dem Kloster Lamayuru 200 Khal (1 Khal = 45 Liter) Korn schuldig sei. Und was das Schlimmste ist: In den Adern der Pahnpa rollt Drogpablut. Die Großmutter der Traschi Rolma war eine Drogmo *(aBrog-mo,* Frau aus dem arischen Stamme der verachteten Drogpa) aus Dah[28] und ihr wißt, daß wir Bodpa (Tibeter) mit den Drogpas keine Gemeinschaft haben. Unser Geschlecht, die Dragschos, sind ein altes, vornehmes Geschlecht; sie gehörten zum Beamtenadel in der Zeit der Ladaker Könige. Ich sollte auch eigentlich einen Galon (Edelmann) zum Manne haben, aber da mein Vater viel von seinem Besitz verloren hatte und nicht mehr reich war, kriegte der Galon die andere, die eine größere Aussteuer mitbringen konnte. Eine Drogmo darf jedenfalls hier nicht als Braut ins Haus."

¶ Diesen gewichtigen Gründen konnten die Verwandten und Paspun sich nicht verschließen. Mutter Palskyid wagte keine Einwendungen mehr. Namgyal, der horchend an der Tür gestanden hatte, hörte mit schmerzlichen Empfindungen, wie man drinnen über seine Wünsche zur Tagesordnung überging. Es folgte eine stundenlange

Verhandlung, die um so erregter wurde, je reichlicher der Tschang floß, den die Frauen unablässig den Männern mit der Schöpfkelle in die vor ihnen auf den niedrigen Tischchen stehenden hölzernen Trinknäpfchen gossen, sobald sie nur halbleer waren. So gebot es die Sitte. Niemand sollte zählen können, wie viele Kore (Näpfchen) er ausgetrunken hatte.

¶ Jemand schlug als Braut die Palmo aus dem Hause des Ülmann *(sNum-pa)* vor; die sei brav und tüchtig, und der Besitz des Vaters ansehnlich und schuldenfrei. Aber auch sie war der Tsering Putrid nicht recht. Sie sei zwar fleißig und — soviel man wüßte — unbescholten, aber häßlich und vierschrötig „wie ein Tschorten" und dumm wie ein Esel, die passe nicht zu ihrem hübschen und klugen Enkel. Außerdem sei sie geschwätzig. Auf die passe das Sprichwort: Die donnernde Wolke hat keinen Regen, das geschwätzige Mädchen — keine Hochzeit. „Ja, die Geschwätzigkeit, überhaupt", sagte Tsering Putrid, „es gibt auch Geschwätzige unter den Männern", und dabei warf sie einen Blick nach dem Bandhepa hin, der immer das große Wort führen wollte: „Ein anderes Sprichwort sagt: Ein großer Fluß hat keine Furt, große Rede hat keinen Gehalt!" Das gehörte eigentlich nicht hierher, aber die Alte ärgerte es, daß der Bandhepa sich so wichtig machte. Dem stimmten wieder die übrigen bei und damit war auch die Palmo als künftige Braut erledigt.

¶ Endlich nach langem Hin und Her erklärte Oheim Stobsldan (= der Starke), der Bruder des Lobsang Wanggyal: „Ich weiß eine Braut. Die Tochter des reichen Bauern Norbu Wangtschug (= Edelstein — der Mächtige) in Tingmogang[29]. Der Vater besitzt zwei Häuser mit den dazugehörigen Feldern, die alle eine gute Lage haben, und viel Vieh; auch treibt er Tauschhandel mit den Nomaden in Dschangtang, er leiht Getreide und Geld aus" — „zu Wucherzinsen" rief eine Stimme dazwischen. „Still!" riefen andere. „Er ist der reichste Mann im ganzen Bezirk!" Der Bandhepa wandte ein, daß über jenes Mädchen, die Tschosskyid, allerlei Gerede umgehe; sie sei leichtsinnig, treibe sich mit jungen Männern herum u.a.m. „Ach", sagte da Tsang Sodnam, der Mutterbruder Namgyals, „so schlimm ist das wohl nicht; so ein junges, hübsches Mädchen will auch mal sein Vergnügen haben, und wenn man

danach gehen wollte, ob ein Mädchen gänzlich unbescholten ist, könnte man ganz Ladak, alle Dörfer und Drogs (Außenplätze) absuchen, und würde kaum eines finden. Und übrigens", und dabei sah er den Bandhepa verschmitzt-boshaft lächelnd an, „wenn ein Jak über dein Gesicht läuft, siehst du es nicht; läuft aber eine Laus über das Gesicht eines anderen, dann siehst du es sofort[30]." Da schwieg der Bandhepa, die anderen lachten laut und ausgelassen. Nun fiel Stobsldan wieder ein: „Und denkt doch an das ‚Seil[31]', das die Tschosskyid mitkriegen wird; so eines gibt es in ganz Scham (Unterladak) nicht wieder." Da fiel Tsering Putrid ein: „Du hast recht, Atscho[32], wenn wir *das* Seil (Brautseil) für den Namgyal ins Haus kriegen, sind wir fein heraus, und alle Galons und Lonpos (Adligen) in ganz Ladak beneiden uns. Es ist ja wahr, sehr fleißig ist die Tschosskyid nicht; ich sehe sie kaum je mit dem Tsepo auf dem Rücken ausgehen oder im Gehen (mit der Handspindel) spinnen; aber laßt sie erst mal hier im Hause sein; das Arbeiten werde ich ihr schon beibringen. Dort die Palskyid, meine Schwiegertochter, die hat's doch auch nur von mir, daß sie so tüchtig in Haus und Feld sich rührt. Mit der Tschosskyid wird's schon auch noch werden, gebt mal Acht! Und ein schönes Mädchen ist sie, da hält keine im ganzen Bezirk den Vergleich mit ihr aus, und einen Gang und eine Haltung hat sie wie eine Schema[33] (Edelfrau)."

¶ Niemand wandte etwas ein; es blieb dabei: Es sollte für den Namgyal um die Tochter des Großbauern Norbu Wangtschug in Tingmogang bei deren Vater angehalten werden. Am Abend fragte der Vater den Namgyal, ob ihm das auch recht sei. Da antwortete der, wenn er schon die Traschi Rolma nicht haben solle, sei es ihm ganz einerlei, wen er heirate. Die Tschosskyid kenne er kaum, er habe auch gehört, daß die sich einen ganz anderen in den Kopf gesetzt habe; die wolle höher hinaus.

¶ Schon am folgenden Tage, aber nicht allzufrüh, denn der Kopf war ihm noch schwer von den Beratungen und vom Tschang des vorhergehenden Abends, sattelte Stobsldan sein Pferd und ritt nach Tingmogang, um Gerste von Norbu Wangtschug zu kaufen. Zwar kaufte er lieber bei anderen Bauern, denn der alte Tschirpon[34] hatte einen heillosen Trick, zu knapp abzuwiegen. Er wog

immer selber ab auf seiner alten Waage mit dem hölzernen Waagebalken und den Waagschalen aus Ziegenleder. Und wenn er einem vorwog, immer zwei Batti (= vier Pfund) auf einmal, sah alles ganz richtig aus; wog man's aber zu Hause nach, dann stimmte es nicht. Aber um des Neffen willen wollte es der Oheim diesmal in Kauf nehmen; auch das hochfahrende Wesen, das der Norbu gern an den Tag legte. Denn — so ganz beiläufig — sollte Stobsldan beim Ersteren anfragen, ob eine Werbung des Drogpa Namgyal um die Tschosskyid Aussicht auf Erfolg haben würde.

¶ Abends mit Dunkelwerden kam er zurück, Kopf und Glieder aufs neue schwer von Bier und Rede. Mühsam und schwerfällig stieg er vom Pferde, mühsam die schlechte Steintreppe in seines Bruders Hause hinauf. Mit fragenden Mienen und Worten wird er empfangen und mit komischer Gewichtigkeit und erzwungener Sicherheit steuert er seinem Sitzplatz am Herde in der Tschansa (Wohnküche) zu. Wieder sind die Verwandten und die Sippe vollzählig versammelt. Nachdem Stobsldan ein paar Schalen Buttertee, den ihm die Hausfrau einschöpfte, geleert und er ein paar Züge aus der Wasserpfeife des Hausherrn geraucht hat, hebt er mit seinem Bericht an. Die Eltern der Tschosskyid wären erst sehr kühl gewesen und hätten sich benommen, als ob sie Galons und er ein bettelnder Beda wäre. Aus der Heirat könne nichts werden; es hätten doch schon so viele um dies Mädchen angehalten; sie könnte, wenn sie wollte, an jeden Finger einen Freier hängen, und da wären noch ganz anders vornehme darunter, als der Dragschos, gegen den er sonst nichts sagen wolle, er wäre ja auch des Vaters guter Freund. Aber *die* Heirat könne nicht zustande kommen. Dabei hatten die dort anwesenden Männer den Stobsldan weidlich zum besten gehabt. Der aber ließ nicht locker, strich seinen Neffen gehörig heraus als das Muster eines tibetischen Jungbauern, rieb den Leuten aus dem Tschirponhause unter die Nase, daß die Dragschos auch einmal hochgeehrte Beamte der Könige und Kriegshelden waren, daß sie wohlhabend, wenn auch nicht reich seien, und das schöne Gut mit den zwei Sommerplätzen[35] in Nyermo und Skambur schuldenfrei sei.

¶ Lange gingen Rede und Gegenrede hin und her, immer wieder prahlte der alte, schlaue Tschirpon (Norbu Wangtschug) mit den

„glänzenden Partien" mit den Galons und Nonos (Titel junger Edelmänner), die seine Tochter machen könne; demgegenüber wiederholte Stobsldan ebenso beharrlich den Lobpreis der Dragschosleute, und als letzten Trumpf, den er ausspielte, brachte er eine Kennzeichnung der „glänzenden Partien", die er ganz genau kannte, daß nämlich die betreffenden „edlen Väter", die die Tschosskyid als Braut für ihre Söhne begehrten, beide tief verschuldet seien, der eine an das Kloster Hemis, der andere an das benachbarte Kloster Lamayuru, und überdies sei der Sohn des Galon ein ausschweifender, zügelloser Mensch, der durch seine Verschwendung seinen eigenen Vater ins Unglück und in Schulden gebracht habe, auch habe er bereits ein paar Tage in Leh im Gefängnis gesessen wegen eines üblen Streiches. Der andere Bewerber sei ein harmloser, aber blöder Mensch, dessen Werbung schon mehr als ein Mädchen bzw. dessen Vater ausgeschlagen habe. Da wurde der Norbu Wangtschug immer stiller, und als endlich die Besprechung zu Ende, alles gebührlich mit Bier begossen war, und der Brautwerber sein Pferd bestieg, hatte die Hausfrau Deskyid demselben zugeraunt: „Na, Atscho! (älterer Bruder)! Versuchs nur mal bald mit dem „Fragebier" *(dri-ĉaṅ)*! Man kann ja doch über die Sache reden!" Als das die anfangs bestürzten und enttäuschten Eltern und Paspun hörten, leuchteten die Gesichter wieder auf, und noch am gleichen Abend wurde beschlossen, bald das Fragebier nach Tingmogang zu schicken.

Das Fragebier[36]

¶ Einige Tage nach Stobsldans Sendung wurden zwei Männer mit Tragkörben auf dem Rücken nach Tingmogang geschickt. In jedem Korbe befand sich ein großes, bauchiges Tongefäß *(dza-ma)*, welches das wichtige „Fragebier" enthielt. Der weit ausladende obere Rand des Gefäßes war mit einem Kranze kleiner Butterklümpchen[37] besetzt. Den beiden Trägern folgten nach einer Weile die beiden Oheime des Freiers, Stobsldan und Tsang Sodnam, zu Pferde nach. In Tingmogang angelangt, stiegen sie vor dem Tschirpongehöft von den Pferden und hoben die schweren Krüge mit dem Bier aus den Körben. Norbu Wangtschug trat ihnen an

der Hoftür harmlos, scheinbar ahnungslos, immer noch etwas gönnerhaft entgegen und begrüßte sie: „Guten Tag, ihr Herren! Seid ihr gesund?" worauf jene antworteten: „Gesund, ja danke! Und befindet der gnädige Herr sich auch wohl?" Nachdem die üblichen Begrüßungsformeln mit aller Umständlichkeit ausgetauscht waren, nötigte Norbu Wangtschug die beiden Abgesandten ins Haus. Die große Tibetdogge, die dort an der Haustür wütend bellend an ihrer Kette riß, drückte der Hausherr auf den Boden und setzte sich darauf, bis die Gäste eingetreten waren. Es ging die Treppe hinauf in die Wohnküche, wo die beiden die Tschangkrüge beim Kochofen auf die dort bereit gelegten Strohkränze — die Krüge haben gewölbte Böden — niedersetzten. Nun wurden die Abgesandten genötigt, in der Nähe des Herdes auf den längs der Wand ausgebreiteten Filzteppichen Platz zu nehmen. Wie zufällig fanden sich eine Anzahl Männer der Verwandtschaft und Sippe des Hausherrn ein, bald saß eine ansehnliche Gesellschaft von Männern bei dampfendem Buttertee beisammen, und das behagliche Gurgeln der kreisenden Wasserpfeife mischte sich in das Gespräch der Männer, die scheinbar ahnungslos von allem Möglichen, von Pferdehandel, Schafschur, neuen Steuerlasten und dem bevorstehenden Besuch eines großen Lamaheiligen sprachen, nur nicht von Heiraten und Brautwerbung. Schließlich wurde Bier eingeschenkt. Nachdem die beiden Kalatseer ein paar Näpfe davon hastig ausgetrunken und eine Weile schweigend dagesessen hatten, räusperte sich Stobsldan ausgiebig und vernehmlich, begann zu sprechen und brachte sein Anliegen vor. Sie brächten 100 000 untertänige Grüße des Dragschos Lobsang Wanggyal in Kalatse an den Gaga (gnädigen Herrn) und die Dschodscho (gnädige Frau) vom Tschirponhause. Sie suchten eine Braut für den jungen Herrn im Dragschoshause. Drogpa Namgyal sei ein tüchtiger, ehrlicher, fleißiger und frommer Jüngling, das könnten alle Kalatseer bezeugen. Und wenn man auf den Besitz der Dragschos sähe, so sei der Junge keine schlechte Partie. Sie kennten ja alle das schöne schuldenfreie Besitztum. Über die Tugend, den Fleiß und die Schönheit der Nomo[38] Tschosskyid ein Wort zu sagen, sei ja überflüssig. Sie habe in ganz Ladak nicht ihresgleichen. Der Dragschos bäte den Tschirpon um das Mädchen als Braut für seinen Sohn.

¶ Langes Schweigen folgte der Rede des Brautwerbers, nur unterbrochen durch das Gurgeln der kreisenden Wasserpfeife, die eben beim Hausherrn angelangt war. Der tat einige lange Züge, setzte ab, gab die Pfeife dem Nächstsitzenden, zog die Augenbrauen hoch und sagte: „Nonopale (ihr edlen Herren)! Es ist mir gewiß eine große Ehre, daß ihr gekommen seid, um für euren Neffen, den Sohn meines geehrten Freundes, um meine Tochter zu werben, und die Rede eures Mundes ist süß wie Zucker und lieblich wie das Gezwitscher der Vögel. Jetzt lobt ihr meine Tochter ‚aus einem Halse'. Aber wie lange wird es dauern, dann habt ihr nichts wie böse Rede über das Mädchen, dann heißt es: ‚Eure Tochter hat vorn am Kopfe Hörner und hinten einen Schwanz' (d. h. sie ist ein Rindvieh), sie ist faul und liederlich, versteht nichts von Haus- und Feldwirtschaft. Und — außerdem — es gibt so viele, die das Mädchen gern haben möchten, und es sind sehr vornehme Freier darunter" — bei diesen Worten stieß Stobsldan den Tsang Sodnam an und beide lachten verstohlen. „Nein, ihr Herren, aus der Heirat kann nichts werden. Ihr müßt dem Namgyal eine andere Braut suchen; es gibt ja in Unterladak noch Mädchen genug. Die Tschosskyid ist für einen anderen bestimmt." Damit wandte sich Norbu Wangtschug an die Männer seiner Sippe, die mit einem todernsten „*drig yin* (so ist es)" antworteten.

¶ „Ja", wandte nun Tsang Sodnam ein, „es ist freilich die reine Gnade, wenn ihr dem Jungen eure Tochter zur Braut gebt. Aber, daß er und seine Eltern so böse Leute seien, dürft ihr nicht sagen. Ihr könnt in ganz Unterladak nachfragen, ihr werdet sie nur ‚aus einem Halse' loben hören. Die Dragschos sind fromme[39], redliche Leute. Und denkt doch an den schönen Besitz an Feld und an Vieh. Ihr wißt ja alle ganz genau darum Bescheid!"

¶ Bei diesen Worten legte Stobsldan eine schöne Korallenhalskette mit Silberzierat auf das Teetischchen vor den alten Norbu hin, die dieser scheinbar gar nicht beachtete. Um so gründlicher wurde sie von der Sippe der Tschirpon, besonders den anwesenden Frauen, mit den Augen verstohlen geprüft und abgeschätzt. Hin und her ging Rede und Gegenrede. Das Bier floß reichlich in die Kehlen, wie die Worte heraus; erst schien alles Reden, Werben, Preisen an dem eigensinnigen Widerstand des Norbu Wangtschug zu schei-

tern, der immer wieder die „glänzenden Partien" ins Feld führte, die seine Tschosskyid machen könnte. Aber gegen das Ende der feucht-heißen Sitzung, nachdem Frau Deskyid, die Frau des Norbu Wangtschug, ihrem Manne allerlei zugeraunt hatte und die Paspun den Alten in halblauter Rede etwas zur Vernunft gebracht hatten, indem sie ihn mahnten, er solle doch endlich aufhören mit den glänzenden Aussichten seiner Tochter zu prahlen, um *die* „vornehmen Freier", von denen er immer spräche, risse sich doch keiner, und der Dragschos-Sohn sei kein zu verachtender Schwiegersohn, murmelte er etwas zwischen seinen bierschweren Lippen, das klang wie „nochmal drüber reden"; und als die beiden Brautwerber mit einbrechender Dunkelheit sich etwas mühsam erhoben, waren wohl Kopf und Glieder schwer von Bier und Rede; aber die Herzen leicht: Mutter Deskyid hatte die für die Tochter bestimmte Halskette an sich genommen, und Norbu Wangtschug hatte den beiden Werbern beim Aufsteigen auf die Pferde ganz freundschaftlich geholfen, was nicht ganz überflüssig war; dann hatte er dem Braunen des Stobsldan einen Schlag mit der Hand auf den Hinterschenkel gegeben, daß er einen Satz machte und den Reiter fast in den Bach, der am Dorfwege vorbeifloß, geworfen hätte und hatte gesagt: „Na, bringt nur bald das Lösebier *(hol-ĉaṅ)!*"

¶ Es war gut, daß die Pferde der Kalatseer den schmalen, schlechten Pfad, der aus dem Tale steil zur Hochebene hinaufführt, so gut kannten und ihn auch im Dunklen mit Sicherheit fanden, daß sie auch nicht über die zahllosen Steine auf dem Wege stolperten oder durch das durch ihre Tritte losgelöste Gestein, das polternd die steile Schutthalde hinabraste, sich scheu machen ließen, denn die beiden Reiter überließen sich vertrauend ganz den scharfen Sinnen und den sicheren Füßen ihrer kleinen, starken Bergpferde. Erst als dort oben vom Rande der Hochebene das Geheul eines Wolfes ertönte, dem bald ein anderer auf der anderen Talseite antwortete und die Pferde unruhig wurden, griffen die Männer fester in die Zügel. Endlich war die Hochebene erstiegen. Oben wehte ein scharfer Wind aus West, der die heißen Köpfe abkühlte und ernüchterte. Mit der Ernüchterung kam aber auch die Furcht über die sonst recht mutigen Männer. Auf der Ebene hauste

ja ein furchtbarer Tsan-Dämon, der gelegentlich Wanderern erschien. Den Männern fiel die Geschichte ein, die Kontschog Traschi ihnen neulich erzählt hatte. Eine Gesellschaft von Männern aus dem benachbarten Teya kehrte einmal nach einer Zecherei in Kalatse spät heim in ihr Dorf. Auf der Ebene lärmten die Bezechten und sangen unflätige Lieder, schmähten auch die Lamas und die Götter. Da brauste auf einmal ein Sturmwind über die Ebene dahin, eine Wolke fegte von den Bergen herab, und in der Wolke sah der Pagspa aus dem Schanku-Hause (*śaṅ-ku* = Wolf), wie er hernach erzählte, ganz deutlich den Tsankönig mit Helm und Panzer auf seinem roten Pferde, wie er den Bogen spannte und einen Pfeil abschoß. In demselben Augenblick schrie der Butschung laut auf, griff sich an die Brust und glitt vom Pferde. Als Leiche brachten ihn die Teyaleute nach Hause. Eine Wunde war an ihm nicht zu sehen. Er war der lauteste und wüsteste Schreier gewesen. Auch der Tsepell soll seit jenem Abend seinen Bluthusten haben, den kein Lhardsche (tibetischer Arzt) heilen kann. Die Männer aus Kalatse trieben ihre Pferde an, die trugen ihre Reiter in schnellem Paßgang nach Hause. Im Hause Dragschos herrschte helle Freude über das Ergebnis der Brautwerbung, der sich schließlich auch *der* nicht verschließen konnte, den es am meisten anging: Drogpa Namgyal.

Wieder beim Wahrsager

Freilich galt es für Lobsang Wanggyal noch eine bange Sorge zu bannen: Wie würden sich die Götter und Dämonen zu der beabsichtigten Heirat stellen? Das konnte wieder nur der Wahrsager und Sterndeuter Dordsche Duddschoms, der Teufelsbezwinger, herausfinden, so hatte man ihm gesagt. Gleich am Tage nach der Überbringung des Fragebieres ritt Lobsang Wanggyal nach Lamayuru zu dem Wahrsager, seit langer Zeit zum erstenmal. Seit dem Geburtshoroskop für seinen Sohn hatte der Dragschos den Mann geflissentlich gemieden; der hatte es damals doch etwas zu grob gemacht mit dem Herausrechnen von Unheil, und dem Dragschos war ein Licht darüber aufgedämmert, daß immer ein gewisses Verhältnis besteht zwischen dieser Tätigkeit und dem

Geldbeutel des Auftraggebers. Aber ganz ohne den Onpo ließ sich eine so wichtige Sache wie eine Heirat in der Familie doch nicht gut bewerkstelligen. Wer sonst weiß denn das Schicksal in den Sternen zu lesen und die dunklen Zeichen zu deuten, als der Onpo? Dieser hatte es wohl gemerkt, daß ihm der Dragschos die letzten Jahre aus dem Wege gegangen war und war entschlossen, diesmal vorsichtig zu sein. Mit dem Dragschos und seiner Sippe durfte man es nicht verderben. Die Kundschaft durfte man sich nicht vergrämen.

¶ Der Teufelsbezwinger ging gleich ans Werk, nachdem der Dragschos seine Klause verlassen hatte. Er verglich die Geburtshoroskope der beiden künftigen Brautleute und prüfte, ob die Tierzeichen der Geburtsjahre, die Elemente und Sternbilder in beiden sich freundlich, feindlich oder neutral zueinander verhielten, ob die astrologischen Zeichen für Leben, Leib, Macht und „Windpferd" *(luṅ-rta)*[40] der beiden günstig seien und zueinander stimmten oder im Widerstreit stünden und auf den Zorn der Götter deuteten. Dordsche Duddschoms faßte sich diesmal kurz. Als Lobsang Wanggyal zwei Tage darauf nach dem Horoskop fragte, empfing ihn der Onpo mit einem sehr freundlichen Lächeln. „Ihr könnt euch freuen, Gaga (gnädiger Herr), euer Horoskop ist diesmal nicht schlecht. Die Widerstände gegen das Vorhaben der Brautleute sind nicht allzu groß. Die könnten ja ganz andere sein; was hat man da nicht schon alles erlebt!" Das glaubte der Dragschos nach seinen eigenen Beobachtungen ohne weiteres. „Die mächtigen Wassergötter zumal sind euch freundlich gesinnt — bis jetzt. Dein reichliches Lu-stor (Opfer für die Wassergötter) und das Lesen des Buches *klu-abum* (Buch von den 100 000 Wassergöttern) haben sie auch günstig gestimmt. Nur die Don- und Dredämonen sind nicht ohne weiteres freundlich gesinnt; ihnen ist nicht zu trauen. Vielleicht habt ihr sie in letzter Zeit etwas vernachlässigt mit Opfern und Lesen der betreffenden Bücher. Da holt nur das Versäumte nach; hier habe ich die Bücher aufgeschrieben, die ihr lesen lassen müßt, und die Opfer, die gebracht werden müssen. Und — wartet doch mal! Eben fällt mir noch etwas ein, was ich bald vergessen hätte. Ihr wollt die Hochzeit im ersten Monat des neuen Jahres machen. In dem Monat will

Lama mit Zauberglocke und Zauberdolch

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gerade ein neuer Lha (Gott) den Götterbaum in Tingmogang beziehen, wo ihr die erste Hochzeitsfeier abhalten wollt. Den Gott kennt man noch nicht, dem ist nicht zu trauen. Den müßt ihr gleich durch Opfer gut stimmen. Er kommt von Hundar her. Dort hat er furchtbar gewütet und hat in seinem Zorn den Hundarern die Pocken ins Dorf gebracht. Ihr wißt doch, daß dort und in den Nachbarorten über achtzig Leute an den Pocken gestorben sind. Da haben die Lamas durch ihre Bannsprüche und Beschwörungen den Lha vertrieben; er ist nun im Begriff, den Götterbaum in Tingmogang zu beziehen, wie die dortigen Lamas herausgekriegt haben. Also seid vorsichtig und stellt euch gleich gut mit dem Lha, damit er euer Vorhaben nicht zunichte macht. Die Haupthochzeitsfeier, die in Tingmogang im Hause der Brauteltern sein wird, haltet am 21. des ersten Monats, das ist ein Donnerstag[41], ein Glückstag für alle Eheschließungen; die anderen Wochentage sind entweder unglücklich oder doch wenig glücklich für den Zweck." Noch manchen „guten Rat" derart gab der heute sehr gut gelaunte Teufelsbezwinger dem Lobsang Wanggyal, bis dem der Kopf brummte und er nicht mehr wußte, ob das Horoskop eigentlich gut oder schlecht wäre. Das Honorar war diesmal für ein Heiratshoroskop mäßig — 5 Rupien. Aber beim Abschied rief der Onpo dem Lobsang Wanggyal noch zu: „Sei so gut und schicke mir bald einen Sack Gerste zu; ich habe kaum mehr eine Handvoll geröstetes Gerstenmehl zu Kollag und muß hungern, wenn ich nicht bald etwas bekomme; das ist mein letzter Kollag", damit zeigte der Onpo auf einen Kloß von doppelter Faustgröße. „Oh oh (Ja, ja)", erwiderte der Dragschos etwas ärgerlich im Hinausgehen, — er kannte „die Not" des Teufelsbezwingers zu genau — und bei sich murmelte er: „Mit der Gerste werde ich mir Zeit nehmen." Der Onpo hatte etwas von „Bezahlen" gemurmelt; aber *das* „Bezahlen" kannte der Dragschos auch.

Das Lösebier[42]

Einen Monat später ritt und wanderte eine kleine Karawane von Kalatseern über die Hochebene nach Tingmogang. Am frühen Morgen schon trugen sieben Männer und Frauen sieben Tonkrüge

Am Webstuhl

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mit Bier, jeder 8—10 Liter fassend, in Tragkörben dorthin. Etwas später folgte Lobsang Wanggyal mit seinem Bruder Stobsldan, seinem Schwager Tsang Sodnam und anderen Männern der Verwandtschaft und Paspunschaft zu Pferde nach. Man begab sich sogleich in Norbu Wangtschugs Haus. In der Wohnküche angekommen, legte Stobsldan ein Grußtuch *(K'a-btags)*[43] auf das Tischchen vor den Hausbesitzer, ein zweites auf den Herdrand für die Frau des Hauses nieder. Dann setzten sich die Männer schweigend in langer Reihe auf die an zwei Wänden des Raumes entlang ausgebreiteten Filzteppiche nieder, Lobsang Wanggyal neben den Tschirpon (den Hausherrn), dann die anderen nach Alter, Rang und Würden geordnet, die Vornehmsten dem Herde am nächsten. Zuerst wurden die Gäste mit Buttertee und flachen Brotfladen *(ta-gir)* traktiert. Dann ging man zum Tschang über. Die Bierkrüge aus dem Dragschoshause wurden hereingebracht, das Bier von den Frauen mit Kellen in die Näpfe der Männer geschöpft, und nun ging es bei diesem Lösebier ans Verhandeln, um zum Abschluß des *Heiratsvertrages* zu kommen.

¶ Nachdem eine Reihe weniger wichtiger Punkte besprochen war, kam man zu dem wichtigsten — dem *Kaufpreis der Braut.*

¶ Eine lange Pause unterbrach die lebhafte Unterhaltung; die Männer sahen schweigend auf ihre Biernäpfe herab, die Frauen, die bedienend geschäftig hin- und hergingen, damit kein Näpfchen leer würde, hielten ein und sahen mit gespannten Mienen auf die Kalatseer, die das erste Wort sprechen sollten. Endlich brach Stobsldan das Schweigen: „Nun gnädiger Herr Norbu Wangtschug! Bitte, redet ein Wort! Wie hoch soll der *Preis der Muttermilch*[44] sein? Nennt uns eure Wünsche! Es ist ja nur Gnade, wenn ihr eure Tochter dem Dragschos gebt; ladet ihr uns Wolle auf (eine leichte Last), so ist es Gnade; ladet ihr uns Salz auf (eine schwere Last), so ist es auch Gnade; wir haben nur zu bitten."

¶ Nach längerem Schweigen, bei dem er die Gedanken aus der vor ihm stehenden Wasserpfeife zu ziehen schien, antwortete Norbu Wangtschug, auf den sich nun aller Blicke richteten: *„Rab, abrin, mta gsum.* Viel, ein Mittelmaß, ein Restchen — dreierlei Maß gibt es. Was soll ich sagen? Es soll so sein, daß der Wolf

nicht verhungert, das Lämmchen auch nicht verschmachtet. Ihr Herren! Bringt mal das Seil her!"

Norpel und Ische Lhundrub, die beiden Oheime des Mädchens, stehen nun auf, spannen ein Seil quer über den ganzen Wohnraum und befestigen die Enden desselben am Hauptbalken der Decke. Dann gehen sie mit Mutter Deskyid in einen anstoßenden Vorratsraum und kommen bald zurück, beladen mit Kleidern, Frauenschmuck und allerlei Hausgerät. Die Kleider, teils aus weinrot gefärbtem tibetischem Tuch, teils aus blauem, grünem, braunem oder schwarzem europäischem Tuch, Satin oder Nesselstoff; da prangte auch der mit rotem und grünem Tuch besetzte, ärmellose Pelzbehang, bunte Schärpen, je 2—3 m lang, die Hemden mit den sehr langen Ärmeln, Beinkleider, deren Beine Rohren von etwa 1½ m Länge glichen, und — das Prachtstück und der Stolz der Braut — der Perag, der Kopfschmuck mit vielen Türkisen und silbernen, vergoldeten und mit bunten Halbedelsteinen besetzten Amulettbüchschen und -kapseln. Das alles wird an dem Seile aufgehängt, und besonders der Perag wird so gehängt, daß jeder ihn sehen und bewundern kann. Den übrigen reichen Schmuck: die Halskette aus Korallen und Silberzierat, das Ohrgehänge, das Schultergehänge u.a.m. legt die Mutter auf zwei bereitgestellten Tischchen aus. Daneben werden die Schuhe, zierliche indische Schnabelschuhe, neben plumperen tibetischen Schuhen aus buntem Tuch in Reih und Glied aufgestellt. Ferner werden da die kupfernen, innen verzinnten, henkellosen Kochtöpfe, die kupfernen Schüsseln und Teller, der Holzzylinder mit dem Kolben darin zum Mischen des Buttertees und das aus hartem, drahtartigem Gras[45] geflochtene Teesieb sowie alles sonstige Haus- und Küchengerät hingestellt. Das ist das *Ragtag*[46] der Braut, das Brautseil oder das Ausstattungsseil, das hier zur Schau gestellt wird, um den Kaufpreis der Braut, den *„Preis der Muttermilch"*, danach bemessen zu können. Die beiden Oheime der Braut stellen mit großer Umständlichkeit, mit Zählen an den Fingern eine Liste der Sachen mit Angabe der Preise der einzelnen Gegenstände auf, wobei sie bedacht sind, die Preise nicht zu niedrig anzugeben, denn der alte Tschirpon hat es ihnen eingeschärft; er will mit seinem Ragtag glänzen und alle Brautväter in ganz Unterladak,

die in den letztvergangenen Jahren Töchter verheiratet haben, übertrumpfen. Bei mancher Preisangabe stießen sich die Kalatseer an und lachten verstohlen. Endlich ist die Liste fertig geschrieben und die Summe ausgerechnet. Ische Lhundrub legt die Liste dem Hausherrn auf sein Tischchen. Mit Wohlgefallen gleiten dessen Blicke über die Zeilen und Ziffern, und dann über das Ragtag und den ganzen Brautschatz und schließlich über die Gesichter der Kalatseer dahin, dieselben prüfend. Nun war die Reihe an diesen zu rechnen und zu bieten, wenn sie konnten. „Da hört, ihr Herren aus Kalatse", läßt nun der Tschirpon seine Stimme vernehmen. 220 *źo*[47] macht die „Preisliste" *(rinto)* aus. Nach alter Ladaker Sitte soll der „Preis der Muttermilch" ein reichliches Viertel des Rinto betragen. Gebt 60 *źo*, dann kann der junge Herr Drogpa Namgyal das Mädchen haben. Ihr seht ja, was für ein Brautseil es mitbringt. So eines hat es seit der Väter Zeit in Unterladak nicht gegeben.

Die Kalatseer ließen die Köpfe hängen. Das war viel. Echt vom Tschirpon! So kannten sie ihn. Immer ein Geschäft machen! So hatte er es auch als Dorfschulze von Tingmogang gemacht, bei allem wußte er sein Schäfchen zu scheren: Beim Einziehen der Steuern, beim Streitschlichten und sonst bei allen Gelegenheiten, nun auch beim Verschachern seiner Tochter. Der wäre ja der letzte gewesen, seine Tochter so einem verschuldeten „edlen Galonssohn" zu geben, nur um dessen Schulden zu bezahlen! Aber, man würde ihn zu nehmen wissen. Es ging nun an ein Handeln und Feilschen, das an Heftigkeit zunahm in dem Verhältnis, als die Zahl der gefüllten Tschangkrüge abnahm. Die braunen Gesichter der Männer nahmen eine glänzende Kupferfarbe an, die Stimmen wurden immer lauter und aufgeregter, der Brautvater hielt mit der Zähigkeit und dem Eigensinn, den sie an ihm kannten, an seinen Forderungen fest. „Ist das euer letztes Wort, Gaga?" fragte ihn schließlich Stobsldan. „Ja, mein letztes, bei den ‚drei Kostbaren[48]'!" „Das ist zu toll", ruft Stobsldan den Tingmogangern zu, bei dem der Alkohol seine sonstige Höflichkeit erstickt hatte, „der alte Gierschlund will ein Geschäft machen. Das ganze Seil ist keine 120 *źo* wert. Der Gaga hat uns zum Narren! Komm, Lobsang Wanggyal, wir wollen nach Hause gehen! Dein Sohn

kriegt, wenn er sie haben will, zehn Bräute; es gibt in Scham (Unterladak) noch viele schöne, brave und wohlhabende Mädchen. Gebt uns das Korallenhalsband wieder her, Tschirpon, wir schikken euch den großen Kupfertopf *(Zan-bu)* morgen zurück, den ihr uns schicktet. Ihr könnt ja dann warten, bis ein *rGyallu* (königlicher Prinz) um eure Tochter freit. Kommt alle, ihr Atscho-No (ältere und jüngere Brüder)! Wir gehen nach Hause! Die Leute hier sind ja wie die hungrigen Wölfe!"

¶ Alle sahen auf Norbu Wangtschug, der mit verbissenem Lächeln dasaß. Da erhob sich der dicke Norpel, der Bruder des Hausherrn, schwerfällig, faßte Lobsang Wanggyal, der eben Anstalten machte, aufzustehen, am Ärmel und sagte: „Bitte, bitte, Brüderchen! Ihr müßt doch nicht gleich böse sein! Über Geschäfte muß man doch reden können!" Und dann zu seinem Bruder gewandt: „Mach's nur gnädig, Atscho (älterer Bruder)! Sieh das bekümmerte Gesicht des Lobsang Wanggyal! Denke daran, in was für ein gutes, vornehmes Haus und zu was für braven, frommen Leuten die Tschosskyid als Braut kommen würde! Wenn ich eine Tochter hätte, ich gäbe sie sofort dem Nono Drogpa Namgyal. Was das für ein feiner Junge ist! Einen Gang und eine Haltung wie ein Prinz! Und reiten kann er und Polo spielen, da tut es ihm keiner gleich. Dabei ist er tüchtig als Bauer und hält was auf Religion, wie alle Dragschos. Rede doch noch ein gutes Wort zu den Herren aus Kalatse!"

¶ Eine lange Stille folgte. Wie zufällig war die Wasserpfeife wieder beim alten Tschirpon angelangt, der er dichte Rauchwolken entlockte. Endlich hörte das Gurgeln der Pfeife auf, und der Alte stieß, noch stark verärgert, hervor: „Ihr Herren, seid doch vernünftig und nicht wie ein Jakbulle, dem man ein rotes Schaltuch vorhält. Ich bin doch kein Wolf, der Schafe und Ziegen aus Gier abwürgt, auch kein Fuchs, der seinen Nachbarn die Hühner stiehlt. Fragt hier die Herren von der Sippe, die Paspun und Nachbarn im ganzen Tale, ob ich auch nur so eine Nadel — und damit nahm er eine der vielen großen Nähnadeln, die in einer Reihe in seiner Mütze steckten, in die Hand und hielt sie in die Höhe — mir unrechtmäßig angeeignet habe." Hinten stießen sich zwei Kleinbauern aus Teya bedeutungsvoll an. Sie wußten's

anders. „Nun seht dieses Tagpa (Seil) an!" fuhr der Tschirpon fort, „habt ihr je so eines gesehen? Aber damit ihr seht, daß ich ein redlicher, gottesfürchtiger Mann bin, will ich am ‚Preis der Muttermilch' 5 źo ablassen. Gebt 55 źo, dann könnt ihr das Mädchen haben!"

¶ Lobsang Wanggyal stieß seinen Bruder an: „Brüderchen, rede du jetzt!" Sie wechselten leise ein paar Worte, dann sagte Stobsldan: „55 źo ist zuviel; viel zuviel! Bedenkt doch, wenn die Tschosskyid in das Dragschoshaus kommt, ist dann dieses Haus wie euer Haus. Wenn ihr es durch eure unvernünftigen Forderungen ruiniert, stürzt ihr auch eure Tochter ins Unglück. Damit ihr nun seht, daß wir redliche, vernünftige Leute sind, bieten wir von der Dragschossippe zusammen euch 50 źo, nicht einen Paisa[49] mehr. Wir haben zwar nicht die Hälfte in bar liegen, aber wir Paspun alle wollen zusammenschießen, und was dann noch fehlt, das borgen wir uns. Und beim Drabstschang und Nyentschang (den noch folgenden ‚Bieren') kommen wir ja noch einmal auf die Sache zurück." Norpel rief gemütlich dem Stobsldan zu: „*Drig, drig* (gut gut)! Kommt, trinkt noch eins! Ihr Bomo (Mädchen) schenkt doch ein!" Die weitere Rede ging im allgemeinen Stimmengewirr und Klappern der metallenen Bierkannen und der Näpfe unter.

¶ Auf einmal wurde es still. Zwei junge Frauen traten in den Raum, verneigten sich tief vor dem Hausherrn und den anderen Männern, indem sie abwechselnd die Stirn mit den Fingerspitzen beider Hände berührten und die Handgelenkringe aus Schneckengehäuse aneinander schlugen, daß es einen hellen Klang gab. Dabei riefen sie: „Bitte, erlaubt, daß wir ein Lied singen!" Und nun sangen die beiden

das Lied von der schönen Tseringskyid[50].

Erstes Mädchen Oh, sahst du meine Gefährtin nicht?
Sahst nicht meine Freundin Tseringskyid?

Zweites Mädchen Die Gefährtin dein, die kenne ich nicht,
Tseringskyid, deine Freundin, kenne ich nicht.
Vorbei ging eben ein Mädchen hold,
Deren Leib war wie von laut'rem Gold.

Erstes Mädchen Oh, sahst du meine Gefährtin nicht?
Sahst nicht meine Freundin Tseringskyid?

Zweites Mädchen Die Gefährtin dein, die kenne ich nicht,
Tseringskyid, deine Freundin, kenne ich nicht.
Daher schritt ein Mädchen mit Haar so reich,
So voll, dem Laub der Türkisweide[51] gleich.

Erstes Mädchen Oh, sahst du meine Gefährtin nicht?
Sahst nicht meine Freundin Tseringskyid?

Zweites Mädchen Die Gefährtin dein, die kenne ich nicht,
Tseringskyid, deine Freundin, kenne ich nicht.
Daher schritt ne' Maid, wie des Mondes Schein
Nur eben am Fünfzehnten glänzend kann sein[52]

Erstes Mädchen Oh, sahst du denn meine Gefährtin nicht?
Sahst nicht meine Freundin Tseringskyid?

Zweites Mädchen Die Gefährtin dein, die kenne ich nicht,
Tseringskyid, deine Freundin, kenne ich nicht.
Vorbei ging 'ne Maid, mit Augenbrau'n
Wie das Narozeichen[53] anzuschau'n.

Erstes Mädchen Oh, sahst du denn meine Gefährtin nicht?
Sahst nicht meine Freundin Tseringskyid?

Zweites Mädchen Die Gefährtin dein, die kenne ich nicht,
Tseringskyid, deine Freundin, kenne ich nicht.
Vorbei ging 'ne Maid mit Zähnen so weißen
Wie Milch, die täten wie Perlen gleißen.

Erstes Mädchen Oh, sahst du denn meine Gefährtin nicht?
Sahst nicht meine Freundin Tseringskyid?

Zweites Mädchen Die Gefährtin dein, die kenne ich nicht,
Tseringskyid, deine Freundin, kenne ich nicht.
Vorbei ging 'ne Maid, deren Taille war schlank,
Wie der Donnerkeilgriff[54] der Glocke so blank.

Erstes Mädchen Oh, sahst du denn meine Gefährtin nicht?
Sahst nicht meine Freundin Tseringskyid?

Zweites Mädchen Die Gefährtin dein, die kenne ich nicht,
Tseringskyid, deine Freundin, kenne ich nicht.
Vorbei sah ich gehn eine holde Maide,
Die spann einen Faden von reiner Seide.

¶ Nun schwieg der Gesang. Auch im Kreise der beratenden und feilschenden Parteien war es still geworden. Die altvertrauten Klänge des Wechselgesangs mit dem neckischen Spiel der beiden Mädchen hatten ihre Wirkung nicht verfehlt. Das eben noch hitzige Streiten wurde wieder zum friedlichen Plaudern und bald schwamm alles in Wonne und Freundschaft. Es war spät am Nachmittag. Die Sonne war längst hinter den Bergen untergegangen, die das Tal umsäumten, als die Kalatseer ihre Pferde bestiegen und heimwärts ritten.

Das Vertrags- und Verwandtenbier[55]

¶ Nach etwa vierzehn Tagen fanden sich die Verwandten und die Paspun beider Häuser in Lobsang Wanggyals Hause in Kalatse wieder zusammen zum *Vertragsbier*, das zugleich das „*Verwandtenbier*", d. h. die *Verlobungsfeier* sein sollte. Wieder wurde Buttertee mit Brotfladen angeboten, dann ging man zum Tschang über — in beiden Häusern wurde in diesen Monaten unablässig Bier in großen Tonkrügen gebraut — man aß, man trank und sang, bald die Männer, bald die Frauen und Mädchen, und als die Männer erst wieder in Stimmung waren, setzte das Handeln und Schachern um den „Preis der Muttermilch" von neuem ein. Nach langem Feilschen und Streiten hin und her und Drohen mit Abbrechen der Verhandlungen einigte man sich zunächst auf 50 %, doch hofften die Kalatseer bei den noch folgenden „Bieren" noch etwas davon abzuhandeln.

¶ Nun galt es, die Gäste zu bestimmen, die zur Hochzeit geladen werden sollten. Jede Seite war dabei bestrebt, möglichst viele vornehme Gäste zu laden, um mit den vornehmen Verbindungen protzen zu können und die andere Seite auszustechen. Weniger Lobsang Wanggyal, der mehr für eine beschränkte Zahl von Gästen war, aber seine Mutter drang hier auf einen scharfen Wettstreit. Jedoch — Ehre und Würde bringt Bürde. Jeder Gast mußte ein Geschenk erhalten, und — je vornehmer, desto mehr. Es kam eine stattliche Reihe zusammen. Da war der Galon aus Dschangspa bei Leh, von dem die Leute im Tschirponhause in Tingmogang behaupteten, er sei mit ihnen verwandt. Er mußte der Sitte ge-

mäß neun Grußbänder aus gelber Seide *(mtsan-pa)* bekommen; jeder der fünf Lamas, die zu der Vermählungszeremonie gerufen wurden, bekam 13 Grußbänder, der Lonpo aus Domkhar, den die Dragschosleute als Verwandten einluden, bekam 9, die drei Dorfschulzen von Kalatse, Teya und Tingmogang je 7 Grußbänder, und die übrigen bäuerlichen Verwandten und Sippenglieder, je nach Stand, Rang und Besitz 5—7 T'sanpa zu Gruß und Ehrung. Die Brautführer, die Brautjungfern und Freundinnen der Braut *(bag-rogs)* sollten je 3 Rupien und 4 Stücke Kattun erhalten. Der Form halber erhielten die Eltern der Braut das gleiche Geschenk vom Dragschoshause.

¶ Schließlich wurde darüber verhandelt, welcher Aufwand bei der Hochzeit gemacht werden sollte. Der alte Norbu Wangtschug wollte protzen. Er trieb die Forderungen unsinnig in die Höhe. Die Kalatseer waren für eine bescheidenere Feier, denn sie und ihre Sippe hatten die Hauptkosten zu tragen. Man einigte sich schließlich auf 5 Schafe, die geschlachtet werden sollten, 40 Tschang (Tonkrüge mit Bier), 300 Brotfladen, 2 Bati[86] Ziegeltee, 7 Fellsäcke mit Butter, dazu Salz, Natron, Gemüse, Zwiebeln soviel als der Koch fordern würde, die nötigen Grußtücher u. a. m.

¶ Endlich war man des Schacherns müde und gab sich für den Rest des Abends ganz dem Genuß und der Freude hin. Man aß, man trank, man sang und tanzte. Einmal gesellte sich auch der Bräutigam zu den Zechenden und Plaudernden. Aber nicht auf lange. Er liebte lärmende Geselligkeit nicht. Die Braut zeigte sich ein- oder zweimal schön angezogen in der Tür des Gemachs, verschwand dann aber wieder für den übrigen Teil der Feier in einem Nebenraum.

Das Beratungs- und Auftragsbier[87]

¶ Wieder verstrich ein Monat. Die Kalatseer trieben zur Eile mit der Hochzeit. Sie trauten dem alten Fuchs Norbu Wangtschug nicht, daß der in seiner Habgier nicht wieder mit höheren Forderungen kommen und alle Pläne über den Haufen werfen könnte. Und so kamen die Dragschosleute schon bald zu ihrem Beratungsbier zusammen. Diesmal waren sie unter sich, ohne die Tschirpon-

leute. Da saßen wieder die würdigen Männer in langer Reihe auf den Filzteppichen an zwei Wänden der Wohnküche entlang: obenan der Lonpo aus Domkhar, ein großer, schlanker Mann in vorgerückten Jahren mit klugem Gesicht, das starken arischen Einschlag verriet. Dann folgte neben ihm der Dragschos Lobsang Wanggyal, dann einige Verwandte und Männer aus der Sippe. Nachdem jeder ein paar Schalen Bier geleert, auch ein Lied gesungen worden war, steht Lobsang Wanggyal auf, nimmt von dem rauchgeschwärzten hölzernen Regal an der Wand einen Kupferteller, auf dem Gerstenkörner aufgehäuft liegen. Darauf legt er ein Stück leicht zusammengerolltes tibetisches Papier, das mit einem Tsanpa (Grußband) leicht umwickelt ist. Feierlich setzt er ohne Worte den Teller mit dem Papier vor den Lonpo auf dessen Tischchen hin. Der tut, als merke er nichts, verzieht keine Miene, sitzt eine Weile wie sinnend da, nimmt einen tiefen Schluck Bier aus der Schale, greift nach dem Papier und sagt, das allgemeine gespannte Schweigen unterbrechend: „Ihr Herren! Wir sind zusammengekommen, um zu beraten, wie wir unserem Freunde und Verwandten, dem Dragschos Lobsang Wanggyal, helfen können, da er seinem Sohne eine Braut zuführen will. Ihr wißt alle, daß das eine teure Sache ist, mit der einer allein nicht fertig wird. Da müssen wir Verwandten und Sippenglieder helfen. Des Dragschos Sache muß unsere Sache sein. Wie das Sprichwort sagt: ‚Freud, Leid — Ziegenreihe, Kuhreihe'[58]. Wie die Reihe des Ziegen- oder Kühehütens bei uns im Dorfe herumgeht, so daß sie heute dich, morgen mich trifft, so wechselt auch Freud und Leid: Heute trifft mich das Leid, dich die Freude, morgen ist es umgekehrt. Heute braucht der Dragschos unsere Hilfe, und die wollen wir ihm geben, nächstes Jahr muß er vielleicht einem von uns helfen, der in Not ist. Wir wollen also unserm Freunde, dem Dragschos, helfen, die schwere Last des Brautkaufes und Ausrichtens der Hochzeit zu tragen." Damit öffnete der Lonpo bedächtig die metallene Federbüchse, die er in seiner Schärpe eingesteckt trug, und ein kupfernes Tintenfaß, das an einem Riemchen an seiner Seite hing, tauchte die Rohrfeder ein und schrieb seinen Beitrag auf den Zettel — 30 Rupien. Dann folgte der Gopa (Dorfschulze) von Domkhar mit 15 Rupien, die übrigen mit Bei-

trägen von 5—7—10 Rupien. Jeder zeichnete mit seinem Haus- und Rufnamen; diejenigen, die nicht schreiben konnten, setzten ihr Siegel mit dem eisernen Petschaft, das sie mit Tinte bestrichen, oder den Abdruck des geschwärzten Daumens neben die Zahl, die ein Schreibkundiger hinschrieb.

¶ Als dieses Geschäft zu Ende geführt war, atmete Lobsang Wanggyal erleichtert auf. Seine Sippe hatte ihn nicht im Stiche gelassen. Sie hatten ihm ein gutes Teil der Last, die er zu tragen hatte, abgenommen. Er konnte sich glücklich schätzen. So glatt und reibungslos, wie in seinem Falle, ging die Sache selten ab. Gar häufig hatte es beim Beratungsbier endloses Schachern und Markten, Zank und Streit in Sippe und Verwandtschaft gegeben.

¶ Eine Woche später kam die Sippe aus beiden beteiligten Häusern schon zum letzten „Bier"[59], dem *„Auftragbier"* *(bcol-ĉaṅ)* zusammen. Außer den bereits Genannten wurden hierzu noch fünf junge Männer, die Nyaopas[60], die Brautführer, geladen, die unter der Leitung der sNatridpa *(sna-ak'rid-pa)* die Aufgabe haben, bei der Haupthochzeit die Braut aus ihres Vaters Hause in das des Bräutigams zu holen. Beim „Auftragbier" wurden sie zu diesem Dienste verpflichtet, ebenso auch die fünf Brautjungfern *(bag-grogs)* zu dem ihren. Ferner wurden noch manch andere für die vielen nötigen Dienstleistungen bei der Hochzeitsfeier gewonnen, nicht zuletzt der Koch und der Wasserträger. Wieder sprach man dem Bier reichlich zu; noch einmal versuchten die beiden Oheime des Bräutigams im Interesse des Dragschos vom „Preis der Muttermilch" etwas abzuhandeln, noch einmal setzte ein Feilschen und Streiten ein, bis der alte Tschirpon ärgerlich auffuhr und sagte: *„Da drig* (nun ist's genug)! Jetzt habe ich das Schachern satt! Wenn ihr die 50 ź̇o nicht geben wollt, dann holt euch so ein schmutziges Schmiedsmädel *(gar-bai bo-mo)* als Braut für den Drogpa Namgyal!" Das schlug durch. Das Feilschen, das dem Dragschos ohnedies zuwider war, hörte auf; das ließ er sich doch nicht von den Tschirponleuten sagen und entschied den Streit, indem er sagte: „Nun gib dich nur zufrieden, Atscho (älterer Bruder)! Deine 50 ź̇o sollst du bekommen, bei den Drei Kostbaren! Du weißt doch: Ein Dragschos läßt sich nicht lumpen!" Zum Schluß gab es noch einen Zwischenfall. Nach-

dem alle Ämter und Dienste vergeben waren, fragte ein anwesender Lama, in welchem Jahre der sNatridpa, der Hauptbrautführer, geboren sei. „Ich bin ein Paglopa, einer aus dem Schweinejahr", erwiderte der Betreffende selber. „Dann ist alles in Ordnung", antwortete der Lama, „ein Schweinejahrmensch bringt Glück ins Haus; schlimm wär's, wenn du einer aus dem Drachenjahre wärst, das gäbe Unglück. So war's ein glücklicher Zufall, daß der Hauptbrautführer ein Schweinejahrmensch ist."

Tibetische Frauen in Ladak

(Tibet. Originalzeichnung)

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DIE HOCHZEIT[61]

¶ Nun stand der große Tag der Hochzeit, der vom Onpo (Wahrsager) bezeichnete Einundzwanzigste des ersten Monats, ein Donnerstag (Donarstag, Jupitertag), vor der Tür. Die Gäste waren aus den umliegenden Bergdörfern, einige sogar aus der Hauptstadt Leh und deren Umgebung herbeigeeilt; kaum einer hatte abgesagt; aus drei, vier Tagereisen entfernten Orten kamen sie zusammen. Es war ja Winter und man hatte Zeit, denn die Arbeit auf den Feldern und Sommerplätzen ruhte. Da war jede Abwechslung willkommen, eine Hochzeit im Hause eines Reichen am meisten, und der Tschirpon wollte eine großartige Hochzeit haben, das wußte man.

¶ Alle Gäste kamen in ihrem besten Festtagsstaat. Wer keinen guten Rock hatte — es waren auch Arme unter den Geladenen — der borgte sich einen vom Nachbar, der besser daran war, und kaufte sich wenigstens eine neue, leuchtend rote, grüne oder blaue Mütze, schlang eine neue, bunt gemusterte lange Schärpe um die Hüfte, knüpfte ein weißes „Taschentuch" auf der linken Seite in die Schärpe hinein, weniger zum praktischen Gebrauch, als zum Staat. Die Frauen und Mädchen hatten ihren Festtagsschmuck angelegt: Kleider in Rot, Blau oder Grün, mit bunten Schärpen und Pelzbehang, viel Türkis- und Silberschmuck, mit dem die eine die andere zu übertreffen suchte.

¶ Längst, ehe die Wintersonne in dem hier engen Industale aufgegangen war, stellten sich die fünf Brautführer, die Nyaopas, geführt von dem sNatridpa und dem Traschispa *(bkra-śis-pa)*, im Dragschoshause ein. Es waren sämtlich schmucke, junge Burschen, in bunte Tuchröcke gekleidet; jeder hatte einen weißen oder roten langen Schal um die Schultern gelegt und trug auf dem Kopf den spitz-kegelförmigen, mit feinen glitzernden Metallfäden überzogenen Hut der Nyaopas. Zu ihnen gesellten sich fünf Mäd-

chen *(dpa-mo* = Heldinnen genannt) aus der Verwandtschaft und Sippe, und noch fünf weitere Burschen *(dpa-bo* = Helden) als Brautgefolge. Nachdem alle in der Morgenfrühe in der Tschansa (Wohnküche) reichlich mit Buttertee und Brotfladen bewirtet worden waren und dort getanzt hatten — die Burschen für sich und die Mädchen für sich — ordneten sich alle zum Zuge, um bei der Hochzeitsfeier, die an dem Tage im Brauthause in Tingmogang stattfinden sollte, ihres Amtes zu walten.

Nun bricht die Gesellschaft auf, um sich auf den Weg nach Tingmogang zu machen. Den Zug eröffnet ein Paar aus der Gruppe der *dpa-bo* und *dpa-mo* (beide dürfen keine Waisen sein). Der Bursche trägt eine tönerne Schale mit glimmendem Räucherwerk, dessen Geruch die Götter erfreuen soll, das Mädchen einen messingenen Bierkrug, an dessen oberem Rande die üblichen Butterklümpchen im Kreise angeklebt sind. Es folgt der sNatridpa mit dem Glückspfeil *(mda-dar)*[62] in der Hand, an dem ein langer Streifen aus weißem gazeartigem Stoff und ein kleiner Metallspiegel befestigt sind. Dann reihen sich die vier anderen Nyaopa mit den übrigen *dpa-bo* und *dpa-mo* an, weiterhin schreitet da der Ausrichter *(nyer-dpon)* der Hochzeit, ein Nachbar des Dragschos, der in den Geheimnissen der tibetischen Kochkunst erfahren ist, und der es übernommen hat, mit einem ganzen Stabe von Helfern die verschiedenen Hochzeitsgelage der folgenden Tage gegen gute Bezahlung auszurichten. Es folgt auch der Bräutigam mit dem Vater Lobsang Wanggyal und den zwei Oheimen Stobsldan und Tsang Sodnam. Aus den Nachbarhäusern kommen nun Verwandte und Sippengenossen, Männer und Frauen, herbei; die einen bringen Tonschalen mit glimmendem Räucherwerk, die anderen Krüge mit Bier. Auch Teller mit Mehl, Gerste und Reis werden herbeigebracht. Alle Spender setzen ihre Gaben auf den Boden nieder und die Nyaopas tanzen dreimal einen Reigen um dieselben herum. Dann treten die Brautführer, vom sNatridpa geführt, herzu und streuen und sprengen etwas von den Gaben in die Luft: Ein Speis- und Trankopfer für die Dorf- und Hausgötter, damit sie der Heirat geneigt werden und der erwarteten Braut keinen Schaden zufügen. Die Brautführer sind um so eifriger in dieser Tätigkeit, als der *Nyer-dpon* (Ausrichter) ihnen

je eine halbe Rupie Bakschis versprochen hatte, wenn sie's gut machten.

¶ Sodann setzt sich der Zug in Bewegung. Zunächst geht es zum Lhato, dem Altar, der Wohnung des Dorfgottes *(yul-lha)* an der Ausmündung des Seitentales dort unter der großen, breitästigen Pappel am Rande des Bewässerungsgrabens. Der alte Teufelsbezwinger Duddschoms, ohne den es auch heute nicht geht, hatte sich eingefunden. Da steht er bei dem Lhato, sieht starr auf den weißgetünchten Altar, auf die dort aufgeschichteten Wildschaf- und Steinbockhörner und die dazwischen aufgesteckten Tamarisken- und Wacholderzweige, als sähe er da den Lha leibhaftig vor sich; er schwingt in der einen Hand den Zauberdolch *(p'ur-ba)* und zugleich die Zauberglocke, in der anderen die kleine Rasseltrommel aus Menschenschädel, ruft den Lha herbei und bannt ihn durch kräftige Sprüche, die Kraft des Zauberdolches und der Musik. Stobsldan steckt eine neue Fahne mit aufgedruckten Bannsprüchen zu den schon vorhandenen, setzt ein paar Schalen mit Reis und Gerste unten an den Rand des Altars: Dann ruft er laut, und der ganze Chor der Umstehenden fällt ein in den gellenden Ruf: „*Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo!* (Oh, oh, wir rufen dich an, wir rufen dich an! Du, Gott, hast gesiegt (über die feindlichen Dämonen!)"

¶ Endlich besteigt die ganze Gesellschaft die bereitgehaltenen Pferde und reitet in gemächlichem Paßgang durch die Schlucht und über die Hochebene auf Tingmogang zu. Am Tage vorher hatte sich schon eine ganze Schar von Männern und Frauen dorthin begeben, schwer beladen mit Tragkörben, in denen sich Tonkrüge mit Bier, Brot, Mehl, Fleisch und andere Vorräte befanden. In anderthalb Stunden haben die Reiter den Rand der Hochebene erreicht, wo diese steil zu dem tief eingeschnittenen Tale abfällt, in dem das große Doppeldorf Teya-Tingmogang liegt, in dem heute die Hochzeitsfeier stattfinden soll. Öde und kahl liegt die Berglandschaft da, nur dort unten auf der breiten Talsohle sieht man hie und da eine Gruppe von Weiden, Pappeln und Aprikosenbäumen, die jetzt im Winter entblättert dastehen. Tal und Hänge sind mit Schnee bedeckt. Unter den Häusern der Bauern, die dort im Tale in Gruppen zerstreut liegen, fällt das große, stattliche Haus des

Norbu Wangtschug, das Tschirponhaus, auf, mit flachem Dach, vorspringendem, offenem Balkon wie alle die anderen, aber viel größer und besser gebaut, auch die Fenster sind größer und mit Gitterläden verschlossen. Keins der Häuser hat Glasfenster.

¶ Der Zug der Kalatseer ist nun den steilen Weg von der Hochebene herabgestiegen und bewegt sich langsam auf das Tschirponhaus zu. Aus allen Häusern und von den flachen Dächern her werden die Reiter mit „*źu, źu, no-no-pa-lel* (guten Tag, guten Tag, ihr Herren)" begrüßt. Nun sind sie an einer Weggabelung angelangt. Der Zug hält, ehe ein Reiter dieselbe passiert hat. Hier treibt ein Wegteufel *(lam-bgegs)* sein Wesen. Durch ein Rauch- und Streuopfer (von Gerste und Bier) und einen Tanz muß der Gefürchtete beschwichtigt werden. Dasselbe wiederholt sich noch zweimal, bis das weit oben im Tale gelegene Tschirponhaus erreicht ist.

¶ Nun steht der Zug der Kalatseer vor dem Tore des großen Gehöftes. Es ist verschlossen. Kein freundlicher Empfang wird dem Bräutigam und seinen Begleitern geboten. Aus dem Hofe dringt lautes Stimmengewirr an ihr Ohr, aufgeregtes Hin- und Herreden der Männer, Kichern und Schäkern der Frauen. Die Tschirponleute sind mit ihrer ganzen Sippe im Hofe versammelt, lassen aber die Nyaopas, die jetzt Einlaß begehren, um die Braut für den Bräutigam zu fordern, nicht hinein.

¶ Die Nyaopas vor dem Tore und die Tschirponleute im Hofe führen nun *ein Singspiel* auf, dessen Sinn und Inhalt folgender ist: Die fünf Nyaopas kommen, um die Braut im Auftrage des Vaters des Bräutigams zu kaufen. Sie geben sich als Göttersöhne aus, die aus dem Götterreich auf den hohen Bergen, aus der Region der Gletscher, kommen. Ihr Erscheinen erregt das Befremden der Hausbewohner und deren Sippe, da, wie diese meinen, niemand aus jenem Reiche entweichen könne, das in allen vier „Himmelsrichtungen" (oben, unten, rechts und links) von vier weiblichen Tieren bewacht wird. Die Wächter sind: Die weiße Eislöwin mit der türkisfarbigen Mähne *(seṅ-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can)* oben am Gletscher; das Fischlein Goldauge *(nya-mo gser-mig)* unten im Gletscherbach; die Wilde Vogelkönigin *(bya-rgyal rgod-mo)* auf dem Felsen zur Rechten; die riesige Gestreifte Tigerin *(rgya-stag k'ra-mo)* im Sandelholzwald zur Linken.

Der Einsiedler Tsetan — mit Gebetsmühle
(sein Haar ist in langen Strähnen um den Kopf gewunden)

Facing P. 80

¶ Die Leute vom Brauthause richten nun scherzend eine lange Reihe von prüfenden Fragen in Liedform[63] an die Nyaopas, die jene ebenfalls im Liede singend beantworten. Sobald eine Antwort nicht genügend ausfällt, wird das Tor von innen für einen Augenblick geöffnet, die Burschen und Mädchen stürmen heraus und schlagen unter derben Scherzworten auf die Kalatseer ein; dann ziehen die Tschirponleute sich zurück und schließen das kaum geöffnete Tor wieder. Das Singspiel beginnt.

Die Tschirponleute singen drinnen im Hofe des Brauthauses:

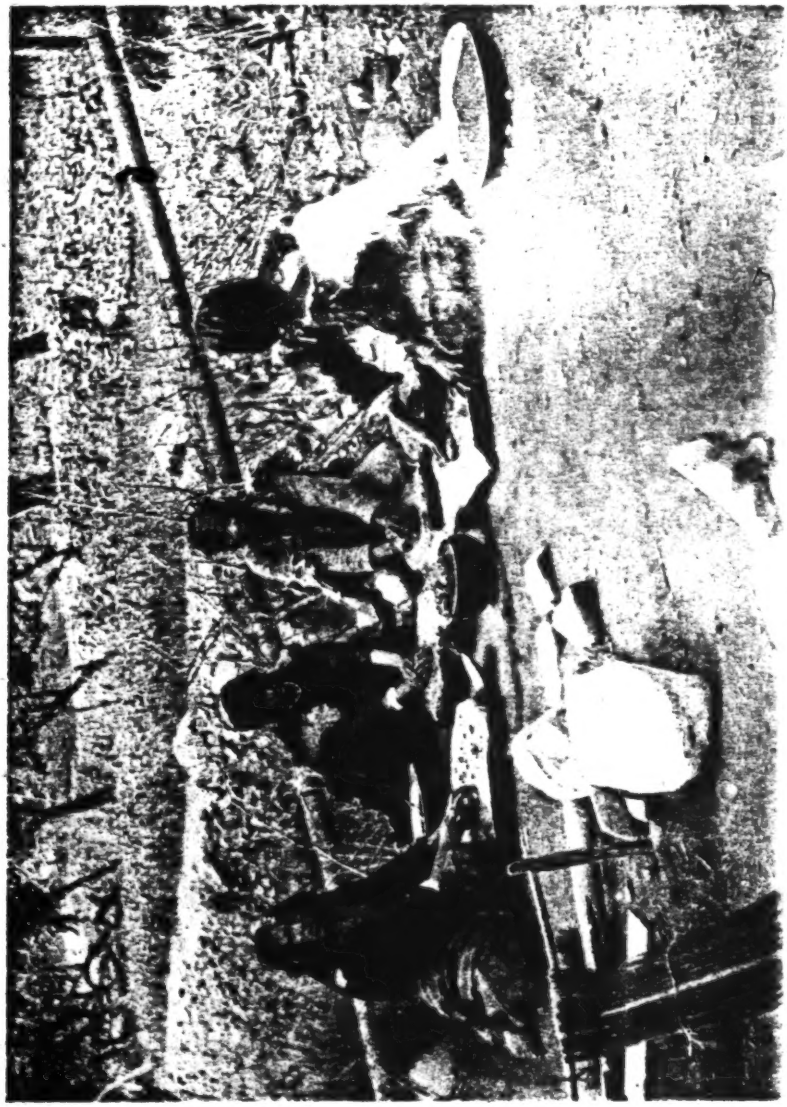
Eisgott schloß der Täler drei
Hoch, wo Gletscherlöwin[64] haust,
Gäste sagt, wie kamt ihr durch?
Donnerkeilfels zäunt der Berg
Rechts, wo Vogelkönigin[65] wacht.
Sagt, ihr Herrn, wie kamt ihr durch?
Links im Sandelholzgebirg'
Riesentigerin lauernd liegt;
Gäste, sagt, wie kamt ihr durch?
Drunten drei der Täler schließt
Flut, wo Fischlein Goldaug' schnappt.
Sagt, ihr Herrn, wie kamt ihr durch?
Helden von der Neunsteinburg[66]!
Was hat euch ins Land geführt,
In dies Dorf der Mitte, sagt?

Chor der Tschirponleute im Hofe:

Ist's nicht recht so, Freunde wert?

Die Nyaopas antworten von draußen:

Ob des Eisgotts Täler drei,
Ob der Löwin Gletscherleib
Schwangen springend wir uns fort.
Stiegen über Blöcke Eis
Und zertraten Krusten Eis.
Keiner blieb, heil sind wir da.
Rechts beim Donnerkeilgebirg',
Ob der Vogelkönigin Leib



Ladaker Frauen, aus Aprikosenkernen auf flachen Steinen Öl reibend

Facing P. 81

Flogen wir von Fels zu Fels,
Überschritten Steingeröll
Und betraten festen Grund.
Keiner blieb, heil sind wir da.
Links durchs Sandelholzgebirg',
Ob der bunten Tigerin Fell
Huschten wir von Baum zu Baum,
Zogen dann durchs Unterholz
Und zertraten viel Gesträuch.
Keiner blieb, heil sind wir da.
In den untern Tälern drei
Schwammen wir durch Ströme tief,
Wo das Fischlein Goldaug' schnappt,
Wateten durch Flüsse hin,
Patschten durch die Bächlein dann.
Keiner blieb, heil sind wir da.

Chor der Leute vor dem Tor:

Ist's recht so, ihr mächtigen Freunde?

Die Tschirponleute im Hofe fragen weiter:

Droben in des Eisgotts Hochlandstälern
Weiße Gletscherlöwin hielt euch fest.
Gäste wert, wie kamt ihr durch?
Auf dem Donnerkeilfels rechts
Griff der Vogelkönigin Kralle euch.
Gäste wert! Wie kamt ihr durch?
Links im dichten Sandelwaldgebirge
Hielt der Tigerin Tatze euch doch fest.
Gäste wert! Wie kamt ihr durch?
In drei stromumfloß'nen tiefen Tälern
Zog doch Fischlein Goldaug' euch herab.
Gäste wert! Wie kamt ihr durch?

Chor der Tschirponleute im Hofe:

Ist's nicht so, ihr mächtigen Freunde?

Die Nyaopas antworten draußen:

Dreifach in des Eisgotts Hochlandstälern
Hielt die Gletscherlöwin uns umkrallt.

Am Neunsonnenbrüdertag
Schmolz im Eis ein feiner Spalt —
Helmbreit — doch wir kamen durch.
Rechts auf donnerkeilumschloß'nem Berg
Gab die Vogelkönigin uns nicht frei.
Doch sie rückte mal beiseit;
Und ein Steinchen, würfelgroß,
Löste sich — wir schlüpften durch.
Links auf sandelwaldumschloß'nem Berg
Schlug die Riesentigerin uns in Bann.
Doch des Kalpas[67] Feuer brannte heiß.
Lichtung, nur türkisengroß,
Schuf es uns. Wir schlüpften durch.
In drei stromumfloß'nen Untertälern,
Sagt ihr, hielt uns Fischlein Goldaug' fest.
Kamen Wintermonde drei —
Astlochbreit entsprang ein Quell,
Und da schlüpften wir hindurch.

Die Leute vom Tschirponhause:

Die Weise war gut!

¶ Nun wird den Nyaopas von den Tschirponleuten eine Reihe von *Rätseln in Liedform* aufgegeben:

Wer mißt aus des Himmels Raum,
Wer des Äthers Raum[68]?
Sagt, wer maß von Ost nach West
Wohl die Spanne aus?
Und wer maß von Süd nach Nord
Wohl die Spanne aus?
Wer ermaß die Tiefe wohl?
Und wer maß die Höh'?
Sagt, wer maß den Gletscherberg?
Wer den Schieferfels?
Wer ermaß das A und Om[69]
Tiefe und Gehalt?
Wer maß wohl das Hochtal aus?
Wer das Untertal?

Sag', wer nahm des Dorfes Maß?
Wer des Schlosses Maß?
Wer maß Heim und Wohnstatt aus?
Und mit welchem Maß?
In- und Außenwelt wer maß?
Und mit welchem Maß?

Die Nyaopas antworten:

Himmels Raum und Äthers Raum
Messen Sonn' und Mond.
Sonne, Schirm des Thrones, mißt
Ost und West wohl aus.
Und das Maß von Süd nach Nord
Nimmt der weiße Mond.
Regenfall und feuchter Tau
Messen Höh' und Tief'.
Gletscherberg und Schieferfels
Gletscherlöwin maß.
Die zwei Silben Hum und Pad[70]
Maßen A und Om.
Hochtal und auch Untertal
Maß der kühle Wind.
König und Minister maß
Schloß und Dorf wohl aus,
Heim und Wohnstatt maßen uns
Unsre Ahnen aus.
Sieben Brüder maßen dann
In- und Außenraum.

Die Tschirponleute im Hofe rufen:

Gut, ihr mächtigen Freunde!

Nun singen die Leute im Hofe *das Lied von der Weidenrute*[71].

Die türkisfarbene Rute in meiner Hand,
Deren Heimat Indien ist,
Wuchs im Herzen Tibets auf,
Ward am Dogri[72] stark und fest.
Sieh' den Zweig: Er ist aus Gold!
Grün die Spitze: 's ist Türkis[73].

Indra, Herr der Götter, gab
Das Gebot uns: Schlaget zu!
Gab dazu das heilige Prophetenwort:
Sonn' und Mond, den Zwei'n,
Wird ein Sohn gebor'n,
Der Planeten und des Monds Gefährt'.
Böse Ränke bannt!
Schlimme Gäste scheucht!
Schläge regne, edler Stab,
Sausend auf ihr Prachtgewand!

Dies ist die Geschichte von den Stäben.

Die Nyaopas antworten:

Nicht mit Birk' und Berberitze
Schlagt! Auch mit Wacholder nicht!
Schlagt ihr mit den Hölzern drei
Uns die Hüte ein,
Büßt ihr's tausendfach.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt ihr's tausendfach.
Bricht das Ohrgehäng',
Büßt ihr's tausendfach.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt ihr's tausendfach.

Das Volk: Recht so, mächtige Freunde! Heil euch!

Die Tschirponleute: Dieser grüne Weidenstab
Hier in meiner Hand
Deckt mit türkisgrünem Stamm,
Grünem Laub, das Menschenland.
Herr der Welt[74], der König, gab
Das Gebot aus: Schlagt damit!
Gab dazu das heilige Prophetenwort:
„Fürst der Mittelburg!
Dir entsprießt ein Sohn,
Der Planeten und der Stern' Gefährt'."
Tückisch Feuer lösch'!
Böse Ränke bann'!

Schlimme Gäste scheuch'!
Schläge regne, edler Stab,
Sausend auf ihr Prachtgewand!

Chor: Heil euch!
Möge Glück und Heil euch begleiten!

Die Nyaopas: Schlagt mit Berg- und Salweid' nicht,
Nicht mit Ginster, der uns sticht!
Schlagt ihr mit *den* Hölzern drei
Uns die Hüte ein,
Büßt ihr's tausendfach, usw.

Chor: Gut, ihr mächtigen Freunde!
Glück und Heil über euch!

Die Tschirponleute: Der Türkisweidenzweig hier in meiner Hand,
Des Wurzel aus Muschel, deckt
Tief drunten das Nixenland.
„Schlagt sie!" ist der Nixenkönigin
Ltschokpoma Drossiltschan[75] Wunsch.
Sprach dazu das heilige Prophetenwort:
Mitten aus der Erd'
Sprießt ein Nixensohn,
Dorfgott ist ihm nah. —
Tückisch Feuer lösch'!
Böse Ränke bann'! usw.

Chor: Om! Heil euch!

Die Nyaopas: Nun, hört mit euren Ohren:
Walnußzweig und Tamarisk',
Dornstrauch nehmt zum Schlagen nicht!
Schlagt ihr mit den Hölzern drei
Uns die Hüte ein,
Büßt ihr's tausendfach.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt ihr's tausendfach, usw.

¶ Die Leute vom Tschirponhause machen immer wieder Ausfälle aus dem Hofe und schlagen mit Weidenruten auf die Nyaopas ein,

werden aber immer wieder zurückgewiesen mit der Behauptung, daß die Stäbe nicht aus dem rechten Holz bestünden. Sie, die Nyaopas, seien ja Göttersöhne, und die dürften nur mit Zweigen vom Weltenbaume geschlagen werden, der in der Nixenwelt (unter der Erde) wurzelte und durch die Erde (Welt der Menschen) in den Himmel (Welt der Götter) hineinwüchse[76].

¶ Die Tschirponleute machen wieder neue Ausfälle, diesmal mit anderen „Hölzern" bewaffnet: Kochlöffel, Suppenkellen aus Holz, hölzerne Schürhaken mit angekohlter Spitze u. a. m. zum lauten Ergötzen der Menge drinnen und draußen.

Die Nyaopas singen: Feuerhaken, schwarz genast[77],
Suppen-, Bratenlöffel? Nein!
Schlagt ihr mit *den* Hölzern drei
Uns die Hüte ein,
Büßt ihr's tausendfach.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt ihr's tausendfach, usw.

¶ Da die Tschirponleute das rechte Holz nicht erraten, singen die Nyaopas weiter:

Es wächst ein Holz, mit dem man Freunde schlägt,
Ein prachtvoll, ein geschmeidig Holz,
Vom Baum, der *eine* Wurzel nur,
Und doch drei große Wipfel trägt,
Wipfel — drei, Äste — sechs.
Vogel Garuda[78]
Sitzt auf dem ersten Ast,
Ohne daß das Nest,
Noch das Goldei bricht,
Noch der Vogel scheut.
Bringt *den* Ast uns her!
Schlagt uns mit *dem* Zweig!
Haut uns mit *dem* Holz!
Schlagt mit *diesem* Stock
Ihr den Hut uns ein,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.

Trefft ihr unsern Leib,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Bricht der Ohrtürkis,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Auf dem zweiten Ast
Vogelkönig thront[79].
Sein Türkisenei
Und sein Nest verschont!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht!
Bringt *den* Ast herbei!
Haut uns mit *dem* Holz!
Schlagt uns mit *dem* Stock!
Schlagt mit diesem ihr
Uns den Hut auch ein,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Bricht der Ohrtürkis,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Auf dem dritten Ast
Adler Weißkopf[80] sitzt.
Sehret nicht sein Nest,
Sein Perlmutterei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht!
Bringt *das* Holz uns her!
Schlagt uns mit *dem* Stab!
Haut uns mit *dem* Holz!
Schlagt mit *diesem* Stock
Ihr den Hut uns ein,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Bricht das Ohrgehäng',

Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Auf dem vierten Ast
Adler Weißhals[81] horst't.
Sehret nicht sein Nest,
Nicht sein Silberei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht!
Bringt *das* Holz uns her!
Schlagt uns mit *dem* Stab!
Haut uns mit *dem* Holz!
Schlagt mit *diesem* Stock
Ihr den Hut uns ein,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr, usw.
Auf dem fünften Ast
Göttervogel[82] horst't.
Sehret nicht sein Nest,
Sein Korallenei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht!
Bringt uns *dieses* Holz!
Schlagt uns mit *dem* Stab! usw.
Auf dem sechsten Ast
Horstet Weißer Falk'.
Sehret nicht sein Nest
Noch sein Eisenei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht!
Bringt uns *dieses* Holz!
Schlagt uns mit *dem* Stab! usw.

¶ Nach einigen weiteren Wechselgesängen in diesem Stil folgen nun noch einige *Rätsel* in Versen. Die Leute vom Tschirponhause sagen: „O ihr, die ihr die Wahrheit der Worte prüfen zu lassen hierhergekommen seid!"

Sagt, wer packt den wilden Jak am Horn?
Sagt, wes Faust den wilden Tiger greift?
Sagt, wer wohl mit Schlingen Wasser fängt?
Sagt, wer baut ein Schloß aus losem Sand?

Wer schlägt mit dem Schwert das Wasser wund?
Nennt den Vogel mir, der Junge wirft?
Sagt uns, welches Raubtier Eier legt?
Wer verfolgt die Spur des Berghuhnpaars[83] am Berg?
Wer schickt Nordens grauem Nebel vieler Farben Pracht[84]?
Sagt, wer näht den Mantel für den Schieferberg?
Welchem Vogel wachsen Zähne zu dem Flügelpaar?
Sagt, wem geben wir die Rätsel auf, wer löst sie?

Die Nyaopas antworten:

Den wilden Jakstier zwingt am Horn
Held Mog-tschen rem-pa[85].
Tiger greift mit seiner Faust
Held A-po bstan-yaṅ[86].
Wasser mit der Schlinge fängt
Jakscha źon-ṭog nur[87].
Schloß aus losem Sande baut
Vogel Schwalbe nur.
Wasser schlägt mit Schwertern wund
Nur das Wasser selbst[88].
Vogel, welcher Junge wirft,
Ist die Fledermaus[89].
Raubtier, welches Eier legt,
Ist das Wiesel[90] flink.
Und die „Steinhuhnspur", die dort am Berg hinläuft:
Adern sind's im Fels[91].
Die kristallne Herrin, die im fahlen Norden
über tausend Farben herrscht
Ist Bruguma[92].
Für den großen Schieferberg den Mantel näht
Vischvakarma wohl, der Himmelsschmied[93].
Zähne zu dem Flügelpaar
Hat im Maul die Fledermaus.
Leute, die ihr Rätsel aufgebt, Lösung heischet!
Euch was abzunehmen ziemt sich.

Chor: Wohl, ihr mächtigen Freunde!
Om, Heil über euch!

¶ Nach weiteren prüfenden Fragen in Liedform kommt endlich als letztes folgendes Lied, das im Wechsel gesungen wird:

Die Leute vom Tschirponhause singen noch bei verschlossenem Tore:

Mancher ist durch Weisheit würdig,
Mancher auch durch Herkunft nur.
Manche gibt's, die gar nichts können.
Drum ist's wichtig selbst zu prüfen.
Wo sich würd'ge Herkunft paaret
Mit viel Weisheit, da steht's gut.
Braucht ein Hoher neunmal Weisheit,
Ein Geringer — neunmal Weisheit.
Kommt als Freunde ihr aus edlem Stamme?
Trachtet ihr nur nach dem Beutel?
Kamt ihr als Edle, so kamt ihr als Freunde.
Kamt ihr als Gemeine, so kamt ihr Gewinnes willen.
Kamt ihr gewaltlos? Wollt ihr Freundschaft schließen?
Drei Arten Feinde gibt's
Drei Arten Freunde gibt's.
Zählt sie auf, die drei!

Chor: Recht so!

Die Nyaopas antworten singend:

Drei der Feinde gibt's:
Feind, der Krankheit anwünscht,
Feind voll Eifersucht,
Feind, der blutig rächt. —
Kommen nicht als Feinde,
Freunde sind wir euch.
Drei der Freunde gibt's:
Gott, der Helfer-Freund[94],
Elternliebesbund,
Blutsverbundenheit.
Dies die Arten drei.

Chor: So ist es gut!

¶ Mit diesem Lied, dem neunzehnten der ganzen Reihe (aus der wir hier nur einige Proben geben), ist die Szene vor dem Brauthause zu Ende[95]. Die Verwandten der Braut und die Sippe sind

durch die Beantwortung ihrer Fragen zufriedengestellt, das Tor wird geöffnet, die Kalatseer betreten unter Vorantritt der Nyaopas den Hof und schreiten auf die Haustür zu. Dort erwarten die weiblichen Verwandten, Freundinnen und Brautjungfern die Nyaopas. Sie stellen sich zornig und schlagen die „Brauträuber[98]" mit Weidenruten über den Rücken. Ein paar Rupien, die der sNatridpa den Holden verabreicht, beschwichtigen ihren gemimten Zorn und die Nyaopas dürfen nun mit den nächsten Verwandten in das Haus eintreten. Durch den dunklen Stall steigt die Gesellschaft die Steintreppe hinauf zur großen Wohnküche. An der Tür derselben versperren wieder drei Personen ihnen den Weg: Der (gemietete) Koch *(gsol-dpon)* mit einer Kanne Tee in der Hand, seine Gehilfin *(zan-ma)* mit einem Teller Reis und die Bierbrauerin *(ĉaṅ-ma)* mit einer gefüllten messingenen Bierkanne. Durch einen Tribut von je einer halben Rupie erkauft der sNatridpa schließlich für die ganze Gesellschaft der Kalatseer Verwandten und Freunde den Eintritt in die Wohnküche.

¶ Oheim Stobsldan läßt sich nun, während die anderen sich lebhaft unterhaltend herumstehen, einen großen, verzinnten Kupferteller geben; auf diesen tut er einige Hände voll Gerstenkörner und legt an den Rand im Kreise die 50 ź̇o (240 Rupien), den ausbedungenen „Preis der Muttermilch", ferner noch 20 Rupien als Beitrag zur ersten Hochzeitsfeier. Weiter werden mehrere Rollen tibetisches Tuch, eine ganze Menge Grußtücher, 2 Sack Weizen, 2 Sack Gerste von den Männern aus Kalatse herbeigebracht. Alles wird auf und neben den Herd niedergelegt oder -gesetzt.

¶ Feierlich begrüßen die Angehörigen des Bräutigams die Eltern der Braut, indem sie sich tief vor ihnen verneigen, die Stirn mit den Fingerspitzen berührend: *„źu, źu!* Bitte nehmt diese geringen Gaben gnädig an, die wir Armen dem edlen Elternpaar der Braut anzubieten wagen." Mit diesen Worten übergibt Stobsldan im Namen des Lobsang Wanggyal die Gaben, den Kaufpreis für die Braut. Norbu Wangtschug quittiert darüber kurz mit den Worten: „Danke, danke ihr Edlen! Es ist Gnade (von euch)!" und ladet nun die Dragschosleute und ihre Sippe ein, sich auf den Festplatz zu begeben, eine große Feldterrasse, von der man den Schnee sauber weggeschaufelt und -gekehrt hatte. Immer wird Räucherwerk voran-

getragen und schließlich auf der Terrasse vor dem dort aufgeschlagenen offnen Zelt aufgestellt, den Menschen und Göttern zu einem „süßen Geruch". Im Zelt sind schöne Jarkander Teppiche für die vornehmen Gäste ausgebreitet, an beiden Enden, in Hufeisenform nach außen anschließend, gewöhnliche Ziegen- und Jakhaardecken für die geringeren Gäste. Norbu Wangtschug weist höflich aber doch mit einer gewissen Herablassung den Gästen ihre Plätze an. Obenan der Galon aus Leh, neben ihm der Lonpo aus Domkhar, dann zwei Lamas aus der Verwandtschaft der Braut, der Bräutigam, dessen Vater und die zwei Oheime des ersteren, die fünf Nyaopas, dann Norbu Wangtschug, der Brautvater und ein paar Schwäger, die Schulzen von Teya-Tingmogang und Domkhar, und weiter, nach Rang und Würden geordnet, die beiderseitigen Sippenmitglieder, Nachbarn und Freunde; die meisten mußten außerhalb des Zeltes auf Teppichen sitzen.

¶ Vor jedem Gaste steht ein kleines, niedriges Tischchen mit bunt bemalter Schnitzerei. Darauf setzt jeder, nachdem er mit untergeschlagenen Beinen Platz genommen hat, sein eigenes hölzernes Trinknäpfchen, das bei den Reicheren inwendig mit Silber ausgeschlagen ist. Die Dorfschulzen mit ihren Gehilfen teilen die Brotfladen aus, je nach Rang und Stand — 7, 5, 3, bei den Hohen beginnend bis zu den Gästen niederen Standes. Bei diesen entsteht bald ein Drängen, Stoßen, Balgen um die Brotfladen, zur Belustigung der Reichen und Satten. Nun schenken Frauen Buttertee aus schönen kupfernen und messingenen, reich mit in Silber getriebenen Verzierungen versehenen Teekannen aus. Nachdem die Gäste sich eine Weile an Tee, Brotfladen und geröstetem Gerstenmehl gelabt haben, folgt nach einer kurzen Zeit das warme Essen: Reis mit Hammelfleisch und Gemüse, das in scharfer Gewürztunke gekocht ist. Jeder Gast erhält einen hochgehäuften Teller dieses Essens. Für die hohen Gäste werden die leckersten Stücke aus dem großen Fleischtopf ausgesucht. Dazu wird Tschang gereicht, dem reichlich zugesprochen wird; die scharfe Gewürztunke erregt den Durst. Jedem der vornehmen Gäste werden nun auch noch seine Grußtücher auf das Tischchen gelegt, die er sich mit einer Nadel an seiner Mütze ansteckt, soweit sie da Platz haben; was nicht Platz hat, wird an der linken Schulter befestigt.

¶ Alle Gäste konnten sich nun an dem reichlichen Mahle gütlich tun, nur die Plätze der fünf Nyaopas waren noch leer. Bald nach Betreten des Hauses waren sie, geführt vom sNatridpa, hinauf auf das flache Dach des Hauses gestiegen, um den fünf Lamas, die dort vor dem kleinen geöffneten Haustempel vom frühen Morgen an beschäftigt sind mit Messelesen, Gebete- und Formeln-Hersagen für das Heil und Glück des Brautpaares, die ihnen zustehenden Grußtücher und ein Geldgeschenk zu überreichen. Die Lamas beachteten die Nyaopas kaum, unentwegt sagten sie ihre Gebete her, brachten Speis- und Räucheropfer dar, um den Segen der Buddhas, Bodhisattvas und Schutzgötter herabzuflehen. Aber auch den Zorn der Götter und Dämonen galt es zu beschwichtigen durch Opfer, Bannsprüche, magische Gesten, Schwingen des Donnerkeils und der Zauberglocke, durch die Musik der Pauken und Trompeten. So sollte all das Unheil abgewandt werden, das der alte Teufelsbezwinger herausgerechnet und vorausgesagt hatte.

¶ Die Nyaopas mußten eine ganze Weile warten, bis sie ihre Gaben anbringen konnten. Aufmerksam sahen sie dem Treiben der Rotröcke zu. Jetzt unterbrachen diese ihre Gebete und Sprüche, griffen in die Schalen, die neben ihnen standen und streuten Gerste und Reis über das flache Dach und dessen Rand hinaus als Speisopfer für die Götter. Krähen, Elstern und Sperlinge kamen herbei und pickten die Körner auf. Auch pyramidenförmige Opferkuchen *(gtor-ma)* aus Brotteig mit Butter gemischt, mit bunten Ornamenten verziert, warfen die Lamas unter Hersagen von Bannformeln in weitem Bogen über den Dachrand. Die roten Tsandämonen wurden angerufen und beschworen, sich an dem Opfer genügen zu lassen und das junge Paar in Frieden zu lassen. Das Opfer war von Hunden und Vögeln bald verzehrt. Dann wurde den Göttern noch ein Trankopfer *(gser-skyems)* dargebracht: Bier wurde aus einer kupfernen Opferkanne in eine Schale gegossen und im Bogen ausgesprengt. Schließlich war der tückische, schweinsköpfige Hausgott noch zu beschwichtigen und zu bannen durch ein Speis- und Räucheropfer und einen Bannspruch. Den Schluß bildete ein Zusammenspiel aller Instrumente. Zwei mächtigen kupfernen Posaunen von drei Meter Länge, von zwei wohlbeleibten Lamas geblasen und von zwei Klosterschülern an den Schalltrichtern in die Höhe

gehalten, entquollen tiefe, ungefüge Töne, die über das weite Tal dahinschwingend sich an der gegenüberliegenden Felswand brachen und in siebenfachem Echo zurücktönten. Dazwischen mischte sich der Gesang aus den bierrauhen Kehlen der Lamas; nun fiel die große Pauke ein, die Becken und Trompeten, so daß alles sich zu einer wilden Musik mischte, die wie Sturmesheulen und Lawinengetöse anzuhören war.

¶ Der alte Duddschoms (der Teufelsbezwinger) erzählte später bei einem Biergelage den aufhorchenden Bauern, der schweinsköpfige Hausgott habe sich bei dem Donnergetöse der Instrumente mit lautem Geheul davongemacht, er habe es selbst deutlich gehört, dann habe sich der erschreckte Gott einen Monat lang in den Klüften der Skyinlingschlucht aufgehalten, wo man des Nachts immer sein markerschütterndes Geschrei gehört habe. Erst durch neue Speis- und Trankopfer hätten dann die Lamas den Gott wieder bewogen, ins Haus zurückzukehren, wo man ihn doch schließlich als Beschützer nicht entbehren konnte.

¶ Endlich schwiegen die Instrumente und Lamakehlen, und die letzteren wurden durch eine reichliche Zufuhr von Tschang angefeuchtet. Die Stöße von Blättern mit den furchtbaren Bannsprüchen wurden beiseite geschoben. Die Nyaopas traten herzu und legten vor jeden Lama dreizehn Grußtücher hin, eines aus gelber Seide, die anderen aus leichtem gazeartigem Baumwollgewebe, daneben für jeden drei Rupien, außer für den Oberlama, der fünf erhielt. Die Grußtücher wurden keines Blickes gewürdigt. Nach den Silbermünzen aber griff sofort jeder der „heiligen Männer" und prüfte sie auf ihre Echtheit. Die Lamas sind meist geschäftstüchtige Leute.

¶ Nun bekamen die Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Götter und Dämonen im Haustempel ihr Teil am Hochzeitsopfer. Je nach Rang und Würde wurden jedem der Mächtigen einige Grußtücher zu Füßen gelegt, Opferlampen aus Messing, mit Butter gespeist, Schalen mit Reis, Gerste und Bier auf den Altar vor den Statuen hingestellt. Gautama Buddha, der Große Erbarmer Tschanresigs, die gütige Tara, die Spenderin des Eheglücks und der Mutterfreuden, wurden durch die Spende seidener Tücher geehrt, die übrigen Götter und die Dämonen mußten mit leichten Muslinstreifen zufrieden sein.

¶ Nachdem oben die geistlichen Herren ihr Teil erhalten hatten, stiegen die Nyaopas hinunter auf die Terrasse, wo das Schmausen und Trinken in vollem Gange war. Zwischen den Reihen der Gäste waren drei gewaltige Hochzeitskuchen[97] aus Ziegeln aufgebaut, die aus Gerstenmehlteig, mit Butter und Zucker gemischt, hergestellt waren. Daneben standen fünf riesige gefüllte tönerne Bierkrüge. Um die Kuchen und Bierkrüge führen nun die Nyaopas einen Tanz auf zum Klang dreier Klarinetten, einer Laute und dreier Kesselpauken. Die Musiker sind hier Bedas (s. Anm. 12!). Die Weise und der Rhythmus der Musik mutet uns fremd an, mehr als ein ohrenbetäubender Lärm. Den tibetischen Tänzern aber fährt diese Musik in die Beine wie der deutschen Jugend der schönste Marsch oder Walzer. Die rhythmischen Bewegungen, erst ein langsames Schreiten und Wiegen in den Hüften, gehen dann allmählich in ein lebhafteres Tempo über, ein Tanzen, das immer schneller, lebhafter und schließlich ein wildes Springen und Hüpfen wird. Während die Beine nach dem Takt der Musik schreiten und springen, sind die Arme und die Hände, die eine lange Schärpe halten, in beständiger wiegender Bewegung. Einige Männer erheben sich aus der Reihe der Gäste, stellen sich zu den Tänzern, schlagen mit den Händen den Takt und feuern durch Zurufe die Tänzer zu immer wilderen Bewegungen an, die mehr und mehr den Ausdruck wilder Leidenschaft annehmen.

¶ Nun schweigt die Musik. Der Tanz ist zu Ende. Die Nyaopas gehen auf das Zelt zu. Aber noch dürfen sie sich nicht der Ruhe und dem Genuß hingeben. Die Verwandten der Braut treten ihnen entgegen, und es setzt noch einmal ein Frage- und Antwortspiel in Liedform ein. Die Nyaopas müssen noch eine Prüfung bestehen, ehe sie ihre Plätze in der Reihe der Gäste einnehmen dürfen. Die Leute vom Tschirponhause singen *das Lied von den Teppichen*[98].

Wessen Teppich, sagt mir frei,
Wohl der hohe Himmel sei.
Wessen Teppich, sagt mir frei,
Wohl der hohe Gletscher sei.
Wessen Teppich, sagt mir frei,
Wohl der hohe Felsen sei.
Wessen Teppich, sagt mir frei,

Tibetische Braut (ohne Brauthut)

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Wohl der hohe Bergsee sei.
Wessen Teppich, sagt mir frei,
Jenes hohe Schloß wohl sei.
Wessen Teppich, sagt mir frei,
Wohl die weite Erde sei.
Wem dient als Teppich hierzuland
'ne Satteldecke mit blauem Rand?
Wem mag als Teppich, ihr sollt mir's sagen,
Das braune Wildschaffell behagen?
Wem dient als Teppich, sagt mir's bald,
Die grüne Wiese, der wilde Wald?
Wes ist *der* Teppich? Was meint ihr wohl,
Wem dieser Ballen Tuch dienen soll?

Die Nyaopas antworten:

Der hohe Himmel, so blau und rein,
Muß der Sonne[99], des Mondes Teppich sein.
Der Gletscher droben ist Teppich, ich wähne,
Dem Leuen mit der türkisfarb'nen Mähne.
Die hohen Felsen Teppiche sind
Dem großen Steinbock, schnell wie der Wind.
Der Bergsee, der blaue, als Teppich mag taugen
Dem Weibchen des Fisches mit gold'nen Augen.
Das Schloß, so hoch, so stolz und fein
Muß Edelmannes Teppich sein.
Der großen Erde mächtige Weiten
Chinas Kaiser Teppich bedeuten.
In der Satteldecke mit blauem Rand
Agu Palle[100] seinen Teppich fand.
Das braune Wildschaffell, ich mein',
Muß Agu Khru btungs[101] Teppich sein.
Die Wiesen und Wälder müssen sein
Teppich für Vögel, groß und klein.
Die Rolle Tuch hier? Ein Teppich fein
Für die sieben[102] Nyaopabrüder muß sein.

¶ Die Tschirponleute rufen laut: „Recht so, ihr edlen Freunde! Nun nehmt Platz und trinkt ein Schälchen Bier!" Jetzt endlich

Bräutigam in Ladak

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lassen sich die fünf „Nyaopabrüder" auf dem Teppich an den für sie bestimmten Plätzen am Zelteingang nieder und es wird ihnen reichlich Speise und Trank gereicht.

¶ Bis zum späten Nachmittag gibt sich alles dem Genuß des Gebotenen hin. Ein Augenblick, auf den alle gespannt warten, ist der, wenn der große Hochzeitskuchen *(abran-rgyas)* auseinandergenommen wird. Zwei Männer aus der Sippe des Tschirpon besorgen das Geschäft. Der erste „Ziegel" wird in weitem Bogen über die Köpfe der Umstehenden fortgeschleudert, ein Opfer für die Götter. Die längst auf diesen Augenblick lauernden Hunde und Krähen nehmen wieder das Opfer gierig in Empfang. Dann werden die Tsampaziegel an die Gäste verteilt, jeder geladene Gast bekommt einen Ziegel, die etwa übrigen werden an die Armen verteilt, die sich zahlreich herzugefunden haben, wobei es erneut zu einer Balgerei kommt.

¶ Dem Bier wird von den Männern fleißig zugesprochen. Unablässig gehen Frauen durch die Reihen und schenken Bier in die Trinknäpfchen ein, ehe sie noch ganz geleert sind. Die Frauen haben keine Zeit, sich zu den Männern zu setzen, und mit ihnen zu schmausen und sich zu belustigen. Es ist auch nicht Sitte. Ihre Pflicht ist es, die Männer zu bedienen. Frau Deskyid, die Mutter der Braut, überwacht oben in der Tschansa und unten im Hofe das Kochen und Verteilen des Essens und der Getränke. Die Frauen der Verwandtschaft und Sippe besorgen das Bedienen und die vielen Handgriffe, die zu machen sind bei einer so großen Hochzeit. Zwischenein finden sie wohl ein paar Minuten Zeit, ein paar Bissen zu essen, eine Schale Tee zu trinken und vor allem zum Schwätzen. Ein paar Frauen gehen mit Weidenruten bewaffnet herum zwischen den zechenden Männern, und wenn sie finden, daß ein Mann nicht gehörig Bier trinkt, versetzen sie ihm unter Scherzworten ein paar Schläge über den Rücken. Das ist der Trinkzwang *(nan-čaṅ)*. Mäßiges Trinken gilt als dem Glück des Brautpaares abträglich.

¶ Zwischenein singen einzelne Männer Lieder. So sang zuerst ein junger Kalatseer das Lied von der „heimlichen Liebe"; man sagte, er hätte im stillen die Tochter des Tschirpon geliebt.

Droben auf grüner Halde
Blühet ein Blümlein hold.
Hör', Knabe du!
Lieblich erblüht es.
Hör', Knabe du!
Pflücke das Blümlein,
O Knabe du!
Pflücke die Holde und hüte sie fein!
Nicht mit der Hand, daß sie welke nicht!
Oh, mit der Seele mußt du sie pflücken fein!
In das Herz mußt du sie schließen ein!

¶ Es folgt nun eine Reihe von Liedern über den Ursprung des Rohres[103], aus dem der Glückspfeil *(mda-dar)* des sNatridpa gemacht ist. Wieder sind es Wechselgesänge.

Die Leute vom Tschirponhause singen:

Wo wuchs wohl das erste Rohr?
Und wo wuchs das zweite Rohr?
Sagt, wo wuchs das dritte Rohr?

Die Kalatseer antworten:

Erstes Rohr in China wuchs,
Zweites Rohr in Tibet wuchs,
Drittes Rohr in Indien wuchs.

Die Tschirponleute:

Recht so!

Dieselben:

Wie der erste Knoten (des Rohrs) wuchs, wer sah's?
Wie der zweite Knoten wuchs, wer sah's?
Wie der dritte Knoten wuchs, wer sah's?

Die Dragschosleute antworten:

Götter[104] sahn des ersten Knotens Wuchs,
Götter, hoch und hehr, sahn ihn geformt.
Nixen sahn des zweiten Knotens Wuchs,
Nixe Nor-dsom-mo, die hat's geschaut.
Menschen sahn des dritten Knotens Wuchs,
Menschen klugen Sinns sahn ihn entstehn.

Die Tschirponleute:

Recht so!

Dieselben:

Sagt, wie Rohres Vatername[105] heißt!
Rohres Mutternam' — wie heißt wohl der?
Und das Rohr nun selbst — wie wird's benannt?

Die Kalatseer (Dragschosleute) antworten:

Rohres Vaternam' ist „Großes Rohr" *(rgya-smyug)*,
Und sein Mutternam' ist — Spindelrohr[106] *(p'an-smyug)*,
Und sein eigner Name — Pfeilrohr — heißt *(mda-smyug)*.

Chor der Umstehenden:

Recht so!

Die Tschirponleute singen:

Wuchs das Rohr auf Fels? Im Wiesengrund?
Wuchs es im Geröllschutt? In dem Schlamm?

Die Dragschosleute:

Nicht auf Felsen wuchs das Rohr,
Wiese bracht' es nicht hervor,
Im Geröll auch wuchs es nicht,
Gold mit Glut hat's hergericht't.

¶ Nun folgt eine Reihe von Liedern, in der die Gewinnung des Rohrs, das Fortschaffen, die Bearbeitung und die Herstellung und Wirkung des Glückspfeils umständlich beschrieben wird. Wir geben hier nur das letztere.

Die Tschirponleute singen[107]:

Als der Pfeil zum hohen Himmel flog,
Was für Kunde habt ihr wohl davon?
Als der Pfeil zum hohen Felsen flog,
Was für Kunde habt ihr wohl davon?
Als der Pfeil zur hohen Alm hinflog,
Was für Kunde habt ihr wohl davon?
Als der Pfeil zum hohen Bergsee flog,
Was für Kunde habt ihr wohl davon?
Als der Pfeil zum hohen Bergwald flog,
Was für Kunde habt ihr wohl davon?

Die Dragschosleute:

Als der Pfeil zum hohen Himmel flog,
Brachte Vogelkönigs Schwingen er.
Als der Pfeil zum hohen Felsen flog,
Bracht' er Steinbocks Muskelfasern[108] her.
Als der Pfeil zur hohen Alm hinflog,
Bracht' er wilden Jakstiers Muskelfleisch.
Als der Pfeil zum hohen Bergsee flog,
Bracht' er Leim vom Fischlein Khyu-ru her.
Als der Pfeil zum hohen Bergwald flog,
Bracht' er Tigers Muskelfasern her.

¶ Jetzt folgt nach einigen anderen Liedern ein solches, in dem die Bierbrauerin *(ĉaṅ-ma)*, die das Bier für die Gäste gebraut hat, geneckt wird[109].

Die Kalatseer singen:

Alte Brauerin, dein Bier schmeckt sonderbar!
Brauerin, du Alte! Welch ein schlimm Gebräu!
's schmeckt wie Vogelkönigs Flügel angesengt,
's schmeckt wie wilden Jakstiers Horn wohl angesengt,
's schmeckt wie eitlen Pfaues Adern angesengt,
's schmeckt wie Fischlein Rhyurus Schuppen angesengt,
's schmeckt wie böser Dirnen Nägel angesengt;
Schmeck ich, Alte, doch der eklen Stoffe fünf.
Weg mit diesem Bier! Weg, wir trinkens nicht!

Die Tschirponleute und die Tingmoganger antworten:

Grundlos tadelt ihr der Alten Bier.
Weißer Löwin Herzkraft ist ja drin.
Ihre Galle mischt man mit hinein;
Sperlings Zanklust auch ist mit dabei,
Und von dessen Galle mengt man bei.
Seht, daher der Trinker Streitlust kam.
Seht des Schafes Dummheit auch darin,
Denn auch Schafes Galle fügt man bei.
Kommt nicht euer Stumpfsinn davon her?
Kommt ein Edler mit Verstand begabt,

Hohen Stands — wir laden ihn zum Tschang.
Nyaopabrüder auch, die sieben[110] laden wir.
Einem Schwächling reichen wir kein Bier!
Trinkt's ein Edler, wird's zum Lebenselixier[111],
Dem Gemeinen wirkt's Erblödung schier.

Das Volk:

„Recht so, ihr edlen Herren!"

Wieder singen die Kalatseer:

Solch Bier ziemt uns nicht! Sprengt's zum Himmel auf!
Nimmt's der Himmel an, trinken wir das Bier.
Solch Bier ziemt uns nicht! Sprengt's zum Felsen auf!
Läuft's den Fels hinauf, trinken wir das Bier.
Solch Bier ziemt uns nicht. Sprengt's zum Gletscher auf!
Schmilzt ein Eisstück nur von Spiegelgröße[112], trinken wir.
Solch Bier trinkt man nicht! Sprengt's zur Erde nur!
Falls ein Bild[113] entstünde, tränken wir das Bier.
Solch Bier trinkt man nicht. Gießt's ins Wasser nur!
Flicht man dort 'nen Zopf[114], trinken wir das Bier.

Die Tschirponleute antworten:

Wer am Himmel nimmt das Bier, als Sonn' und Mond?
Sonn' und Mond, den Zweien, gleicht ihr freilich nicht.
Spart die Rede euch! Opfert einen Trank!
Wer läuft den Fels hinauf? Alte Steinzieg' ist's[115],
Habt nur keine Sorg'! Denn der gleicht ihr nicht.
Spart die Rede euch! Opfert einen Trank!
Spiegelgroß ein Fleck schmolz durch Sonn' und Mond,
Habt nur keine Sorg'! Ihnen gleicht ihr nicht.
Spart die Rede euch! Opfert einen Trank!
Bilder auf die Erde zeichnet schwarzer Jak[116].
Habt nur keine Sorg'! Denn ihm gleicht ihr nicht.
Spart die Rede euch! Opfert einen Trank!
Fischlein Goldaug' nur Zöpf' im Wasser flicht[117].
Habt nur keine Sorg'! Denn ihr gleicht ihm nicht.
Spart die Rede euch! Opfert einen Trank!
Tadellos das Bier, das die Alte braut!

¶ So verrinnt Stunde um Stunde unter Gesang, Tanz, Neckerei, Schmausen und Zechen, die Kehlen der Sänger werden rauh und heiser, lautes, erregtes Schwatzen der vom Bier Erhitzten mischt sich in den Gesang, dazwischen Kichern und Aufkreischen der Mädchen, wenn die jungen Burschen sich einen groben Scherz mit ihnen erlaubt haben.

¶ Wo aber blieb während der ganzen Zeit das Brautpaar, um dessen willen doch alle diese Menschen feierten? Der Bräutigam saß zeitenweise zwischen Vater und Oheim in der Reihe der Gäste, verschwand aber dann wieder. Er fühlte sich in dieser Atmosphäre sichtlich unbehaglich. Die Braut bleibt für die Gäste ganz unsichtbar. Schon vom frühen Morgen an ist sie unterwegs, um, begleitet von ihren Freundinnen *(adza-mo)* und Gefährtinnen *(ya-do)*, Abschiedsbesuche in den Häusern der Verwandten und Freunde zu machen. Überall wird sie bewirtet und gefeiert. Um den Bräutigam und die Feier im Elternhause kümmert sie sich jetzt nicht. Das verlangt die Sitte nicht. Erst am Nachmittag kehrt sie mit ihren Begleiterinnen, unbemerkt von den Gästen draußen, ins Elternhaus zurück.

¶ Und nun beginnt für sie ein Hauptgeschäft des Tages: Die Brautjungfern und Freundinnen schicken sich an, die Braut für ihre Hochzeit anzukleiden und zu schmücken. Die zehn Zöpfe werden aufgelöst, das schwarze Haar gewaschen, die Zöpfe von den Freundinnen neu geflochten und das Haar mit Butter eingefettet, daß es glänzt. Dann werden die scheuklappenartigen mit Otterfell besetzten Dsarus seitlich in die Zöpfe eingenäht, und endlich wird das Hauptschmuckstück, der große Perag, der Türkisschmuck, oben auf dem Kopf im Haar befestigt. Dieser Perag[118] ist ein breites steifes Band, das aus mehreren Streifen Baumwollzeug besteht, die aufeinandergeklebt sind. Das Ganze ist mit rotem Stoff überzogen. Der Perag beginnt über der Stirn, wo er etwa drei Finger breit ist, läuft über den Scheitel und Hinterkopf, wo er sich verbreitert, bei reichen Mädchen und Frauen bis zu doppelter Handbreite, dann den Rücken herab bis in die Hüftgegend, wo er wieder schmäler wird. Der Perag ist mit hellgrünen Türkisen, die in dichten Reihen angeheftet sind, besetzt. Tschosskyids Perag war ein Prachtstück seiner Art; der reiche Norbu hatte etwas

darein gesetzt, daß seine einzige Tochter in der Größe des Perag und der Schönheit der Steine alle Mädchen in Unterladak ausstechen sollte. Neun Reihen großer Steine zählte man an der breitesten Stelle des Perag, an den Enden vier, bzw. sechs Reihen. Schön gearbeitete silberne, oben vergoldete Amulettkapseln mit Karneol, Rubinen und anderen Halbedelsteinen besetzt, waren über dem Vorderkopf zwischen den Türkisen angebracht. Ein zweites, breites, mit Korallen besetztes Band lief von der linken Schulter her am Perag entlang bis zum Ende des letzteren. Eine Kette aus Silber und Korallen zierte den Hals, außerdem waren noch Silbergehänge an den Seiten des Perag sowie an der linken Schulter angebracht; große silberne Ohrringe hingen an beiden Seiten fast bis auf die Schultern herab.

¶ Die zehn Zöpfe werden um das Doppelte der natürlichen Länge verlängert durch eingeflochtene schwarze Wolle. Bisher war es hellgraue Wolle gewesen, das Zeichen der Jungfrauschaft; die schwarze Wolle kennzeichnet von nun an die Frau. In der Wadengegend laufen alle Zöpfe zusammen. Hier am Ende wird ein Bündel von neun Troddeln befestigt, das bis auf den Boden reicht.

¶ Statt des Alltagskleides aus rotgefärbtem tibetischem Tuch ziehen die Dsamos der Braut heute ein Kleid aus gutem, blauem, europäischem Tuch an, das der Vater auf dem Basar in Leh gekauft hat. Das lange, bis auf die Füße herabreichende Kleid wird in der Hüfte von der drei Meter langen, bunten Schärpe zusammengehalten. Das weiße Taschentuch — im wesentlichen ein Schmuckstück — wird in diese hineingeknüpft und ein Gehänge *(Do-len)* aus Muscheln, Nadelbüchschen und allerlei messingenem Zierat wird auf der linken Seite darangehängt. Ein schönes, buntgewirktes Schaltuch aus Kaschmir, das mit einer Spange an der rechten Schulter befestigt ist, wird um den Oberkörper geschlungen. Die Handgelenke sind geziert mit dicken, weißen Ringen, die aus großen indischen Schneckengehäusen hergestellt sind, sowie mit silbernen Armringen, die die Form von Schlangen haben. Die Füße ſtecken in zierlichen indischen Schnabelschuhen.

¶ Das Anziehen und Schmücken der Braut war ein umständliches, zeitraubendes Geschäft, dem sich die Brautjungfern mit voller Hingabe widmeten. Unter endlosen Reden, Scherzen und Lachen ging

das Geschäft vor sich, und als es endlich beendet war und alles den Beifall der kritischen Mutter und der Tanten gefunden hatte, war es Spätnachmittag geworden und die Sonne längst hinter den Bergen untergegangen. Der alte Teufelsbezwinger hatte als die geeignete Stunde für den Auszug der Braut aus dem Elternhause die „Affenstunde"[119] (ungefähr 4 Uhr nachmittags) ausgerechnet.

¶ Die Kalatseer drängten jetzt zum Aufbruch. Die Nyaopas, immer geführt vom sNatridpa, gingen mit dem Schreiben des Wahrsagers, in dem seine Weisung stand, zum alten Norbu Wangtschug und baten ihn, er möchte ihnen nun die Braut übergeben. Die Mutter der Braut ging mit ihnen ins Haus an die Tür des Raumes, in dem die Braut angezogen worden war. Auf das Klopfen an der verriegelten Tür kamen ein paar Mädchen heraus und erklärten unter Lachen, die Braut sei noch nicht fertig angezogen, der Perag sei noch nicht befestigt, der Schmuck noch nicht angebracht usw. Als nach einer Weile die Nyaopas wiederkamen, erklärten die Mädchen, die Braut wäre ihnen weggelaufen, sie könnten dieselbe nicht finden. Da drückte der sNatridpa der ersten der Brautjungfern drei Rupien in die Hand und sagte: „Ja, ja, ich weiß schon! Macht nur schnell, daß ihr fertig werdet und gebt die Braut heraus, die Tage sind kurz, die Sonne ist schon untergegangen, bald wird es finster sein, und wir haben einen weiten Weg nach Hause." Aber noch immer erschien die Braut nicht. Die Kalatseer wurden ungeduldig, die Nyaopas pochten mit den Fäusten an die Tür, was von den Mädchen mit lautem Lachen beantwortet wurde. Eins der Mädchen kam heraus und sagte, das Schaltuch fehle noch und sei nicht zu finden. Da ging der Vater Norbu Wangtschug in die Kammer, brachte ein Korallenhalsband seiner Tochter heraus und gab es dem Sodnam Wanggyal mit den Worten: „Hier hast du vorläufig ein Pfand; sei nur nicht böse, Brüderchen, die Nomo (‚Jüngere Schwester', hier die Braut)[120] kommt sofort, sie trinkt noch eine Schale Tee. Geduldet euch noch einen kleinen Augenblick, ihr Herren!"

¶ Noch eine gute halbe Stunde dauerte es, bis die Braut endlich erschien, festlich gekleidet, mit Schmuck behangen, eine anmutige Erscheinung. Das Mädchen war von gutem Wuchs, was das weite, bauschige Kleid nicht verbergen konnte, die Gesichtszüge regel-

mäßig, das Mongolische darin schien nur angedeutet. In dem Augenblick, als die Braut den Raum verließ, in dem sie angekleidet wurde, trat der sNatridpa an sie heran, gefolgt vom Traschispa und den übrigen Nyaopas. Der erstere hielt den Brauthut *(źwa-mo)* in der Hand, einen großen, mit Otterfell *(sram)* verbrämten Samthut. Den setzte der sNatridpa der Braut auf und befestigte ein langes Wunschband *(k'a-btags)*, das an drei Stellen in Schleifen gebunden war, am Rande des Hutes. Nun führte er die Braut an der Hand in die Tschansa, wo sich mittlerweile die Verwandtschaft und Sippe der Braut und des Bräutigams versammelt hatte. Dort war vor dem Herde ein schöner Jarkander Teppich ausgebreitet. Auf diesem hatte ein Lama aus Gerstenkörnern einen magischen Glückskreis *(dga-dkyil)* in Form einer Rosette hergestellt. Auf diesen mußte sich nun Tschosskyid (die Braut) niedersetzen. Vor ihr wurden auf ein Tischchen Schalen voll Tee, Bier und Reis hingestellt: das Abschiedsmahl im Elternhause. Die Kraft des Zauberkreises, auf dem sie saß, sollte bewirken, daß es ihr im neuen Heim an all diesen guten Dingen nicht mangeln sollte. Von allem mußte die Braut ein wenig zu sich nehmen.

¶ Darauf traten zwei Oheime der Braut in die Mitte des Gemachs und spannten (wie schon einmal beim Holtschang) das Brautseil *(ras-tag, rag-tag)* quer über den Raum. Daran hingen sie wieder die Kleider und den Schmuck der Braut auf. Die übrigen Sachen der Brautausstattung wurden darunter auf den Boden gelegt und gestellt. Alles wurde feierlich dem sNatridpa und den beiden Oheimen des Bräutigams zusammen mit einer Liste der Gegenstände *(zon-yig)* überreicht, mit deren Hilfe die beiden Oheime genau nachprüften und -zählten, ob alles stimmte.

¶ Nun kamen die fünf Lamas vom Dach herunter, wo sie noch immer mit ihren Zeremonien beschäftigt gewesen waren, um nun die *(Yaṅ-agug)* Zeremonie vorzunehmen, die der Braut und ihren Angehörigen Glück sichern und die Macht der feindlichen Dämonen brechen soll. Der Abt des Lamayuru-Klosters mit vier anderen Mönchen stellte sich der auf dem Teppich über dem Zauberkreis sitzenden Braut gegenüber, in der rechten Hand den mit bunten Bändern geschmückten Glückspfeil *(mda-dar)*, in der linken das Weihwassergefäß aus Kupfer *(bum-pa)*, in dessen engem Halse

Abschiedszeremonie nach der Hochzeit
Die Lamas erflehen der Braut (mit Brauthut) Glück von den Göttern

(Tibet. Originalzeichnung)

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eine Pfauenfeder steckte. Nun besprengt der Abt die Braut dreimal mit geweihtem Safranwasser aus dem Gefäß, dann schwingt er das Gefäß mit der Feder mehrmals im Kreise über dem Kopf des Mädchens. Sodann ruft er die Dorf- und Hausgötter und die Dämonenfürsten mit ihrem unzählbaren Heere an und beschwört sie mit kräftigen Sprüchen, der Braut und den Ihren keinen Schaden zuzufügen und das Glück nicht mit der Braut aus dem elterlichen Hause entweichen zu lassen. Im Chore sagen die Lamas ihre Bannsprüche her, erst dumpf murmelnd, dann immer lauter, Donnerkeil und Zauberdolch werden geschwungen, die Glocke, die Pauke und die Becken, die sie in den Händen halten, ertönen, erst leise, dann — anschwellend, immer lauter zu einem ohrenbetäubenden Lärm; die Lamas rufen:

Von Osten komme das Glück herbei!
Von Westen komme das Glück herbei!
Von Norden komme das Glück herbei!
Von Süden komme das Glück herbei!
Yaṅ-agug! Das Glück komme herbei!

¶ „*Yaṅ-agug! Yaṅ-agug!*" fallen die Umstehenden ein. „*Yaṅ-agug, Yaṅ-agug!*" ruft, schreit alles durcheinander, zwei, drei Minuten lang, dann wird's auf einmal still.

¶ Die Lamas führen nun die Braut hinauf zum Haustempel zum Abschiednehmen von den Hausgöttern. Dreimal fällt dort das Mädchen vor den Statuen und Bildern der Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Götter und Dämonen nieder. Von da an darf die junge Frau nicht mehr in die Tür des elterlichen Hausheiligtums treten, sie tritt von jetzt an in den Schutz- und Machtbereich der Götter des Hauses ihres Mannes. Beider Eifersucht muß bedacht werden.

¶ Dann geht es hinunter in die Tschansa, und nun führen die *Bagrogs* und *Dsamo* (die Brautjungfern und Freundinnen) die Braut zum Abschiednehmen zu den Eltern, die sie mit den nächsten Verwandten schon erwarten. Sich tief verneigend, laut weinend, schluchzend umfaßt Tschosskyid die Beine der Mutter, des Vaters, der Brüder sowie der nächsten Verwandten und ruft unter vielen Verbeugungen, indem sie die Handgelenke zusammenschlägt, so daß die Muschelringe klappern: „Lebt wohl! Lebt wohl! Vergeßt

mich nicht! Vergeßt mich nicht! Vater, Mutter! Ältere Brüder! Jüngere Brüder! Ihr alle! Gedenket meiner!" In das Weinen fällt der weibliche Teil heulend mit ein. Selbst der dicke Onkel Norpel wischt sich mit dem Ärmel ein paarmal etwas Feuchtes von den Augen weg. Das ist das „Brautweinen", das Brautgeheul *(bag-ñus)*, das die Sitte fordert; und bei Tschosskyid und ihrer Mutter waren die Tränen echt.

¶ Nun treten von allen Seiten die Verwandten und Gäste an die Braut heran, jeder hängt ihr noch einen Katags an, bis sie mit etwa dreißig solcher Grußbänder geziert ist. Nochmals gibt es Umarmungen, Beinumfassen der Nächststehenden, Verbeugen, Weinen; dann tritt der sNatridpa und der Traschispa herzu, und beide führen die Braut an der Hand zwischen sich bis an die Treppe. Die fünf Nyaopas treten zusammen hinter die Braut und rufen: „*Yaśa ho! Yaśa ho!* (Liebe ho!)" —. Die Götter werden damit angerufen und gebeten, die Braut liebevoll in Schutz zu nehmen. Alles stimmt laut ein, die Menschen, die Instrumente. Zum erstenmal an diesem Tage gesellt sich der Bräutigam zu seiner Braut. Der Oheim Ische Lhundrub, der noch leidlich nüchtern ist, tritt an sie heran und trägt[121] seine Nichte auf dem Rücken die Treppe hinunter, durch den Stall und Hof bis ans Tor. Die zwei Oheime des Bräutigams, Stobsldan und Tsang Sodnam, bleiben noch oben und bedanken sich beim Brautvater Norbu Wangtschug dafür, daß er die Hochzeit so schön und reich hat herrichten lassen; sie legen einen Katags und fünf Rupien auf den Herdrand und geben jedem Verwandten der Braut einen Katags. Mit dem Gruße: „Traschis punsum tsogspa *(bkra-śis p'un-sum tsogs-pa)* = Glück und reiche Fülle)!" gehen die beiden, ebenso wie die Nyaopas nun auch die Treppe hinunter und die übrige Gesellschaft folgt ihnen nach. Am Hoftor haben sich die Nachbarinnen eingefunden, die Bier in Metallkannen, sowie Teller mit Mehl, Reis, Butter und Aprikosen als Hochzeitsgabe bringen. Der sNatridpa berührt die Gaben flüchtig mit dem Finger zum Zeichen des Dankes.

¶ Die Kalatseer mit dem Brautpaar drängen nun zum Heimritt. Die Pferde, längst gesattelt, werden herbeigebracht, die für das Brautpaar bestimmten Pferde sind schön aufgezäumt und haben bunte Jarkander Satteldecken. Alle Kalatseer, soweit sie es nach

der scharfen Zecherei noch imstande sind, folgen zu Pferde, wenn es auch bei manchen der Männer recht mühsam geht. Den Zug eröffnet der sNatridpa, an dessen Seite der Traschispa reitet, dann folgt der Bräutigam *(bag-po)* mit einem der Nyaopas, dahinter die Braut mit einer der Brautjungfern, dann folgen die übrigen Nyaopas, die Verwandten und Freunde des Bräutigams paarweise. An der nächsten Weggabelung wird dem Wegteufel *(lam-bgegs)* wieder ein flüchtiges Streuopfer gebracht, ein paar Hände voll Gerste, damit er der Braut, die nun ihren Geburtsort verläßt, kein Leid zufügt; nun geht es unter lauten Gesprächen und heiterem Gesang quer durch das breite Tal und über die Brücke, die den Dorfbach überspannt. Hier wird den Wassergöttern noch ein Opfer in den Bach gestreut, damit sie die Braut unbelästigt passieren lassen; dann geht es auf steilem Pfade den Abhang hinauf zur Hochebene. Die Sonne ist längst untergegangen, Dämmerung liegt über Berg und Ebene; heulend weht der Nachtwind aus West über die Wüste, die Berge und Grate, die sie umsäumen. Die laute Rede und der Gesang der Heimkehrenden ist verstummt, jeder denkt jetzt wieder an die furchtbaren Tsan und Gongpo (Dämonen), die es ganz besonders auf einen Hochzeitszug abgesehen haben. Die Reiter, sonst beherzte Männer, die den Gefahren des wilden Gebirges zu trotzen gewohnt sind, drängen sich zusammen, auch die Nachzügler kommen eilig heran, Furcht hat alle gepackt, die vom Bier erhitzten Gehirne malen ihnen Schreckbilder vor: die wilde Jagd des Tsankönigs jagt durch den Wolkenhimmel. Mancher fühlt nach seinen Amuletten, ob sie noch richtig am Halse und an der Mütze hängen, mancher betet mit lallendem Munde ein „*Om-mani-pad me hum!*" Da geht der Mond über dem zackigen Bergmassiv dort im Osten auf und gießt sein fahles Licht über die Bergwüste. Nun wird es den Leuten etwas leichter ums Herz und in flottem Paßgang reiten sie dem Ziele zu.

¶ Endlich ist Kalatse erreicht; aber noch darf das Haus des Bräutigams nicht betreten werden. An einer Wegkreuzung auf der Ebene seitwärts vor dem Dorfe steigt alles ab. Es muß nun erst den Göttern und Dämonen des neuen Wohnortes der Braut ein Opfermahl gespendet werden, um sie günstig zu stimmen, damit sie sich der Kommenden nicht feindselig entgegenstellen. Der Abt, der mit

vieren seiner Mönche mitgekommen war, weil er wußte, daß es noch Arbeit für ihn gab, tritt an die Wegkreuzung; auf einem Kupferteller hält er drei aus Brotteig hergestellte kelchförmige Lämpchen *(mčod-koṅ)*. In die Höhlung oben hat man Butter getan, dahinein einen Docht gelegt und angezündet. Der Abt tritt nun vor die Braut, in der rechten Hand den bronzenen Donnerkeil (Dordsche) und die Zauberglocke *(dril-bu)*, in der linken den Teller mit den brennenden Lämpchen. Er schwingt sie dreimal im Kreise langsam um den Kopf der vor ihm hockenden Braut und beschwört die Dämonen mit folgenden Worten: „Keins von den männlichen oder weiblichen Gong[122], den männlichen oder weiblichen Dre, den Tsan, den Dud, den 80,000 Gegsteufeln, den 424 Arten der Don mit ihrer gesamten Gefolgschaft möge jemals dieser Braut Schaden zufügen! Mögen sie sich an dieser Mahlzeit sättigen und dann ein jedes an seinen Ort verfügen!" Nach dieser Beschwörung aus dem Munde des Abtes, in die die übrigen vier Lamas mit tief brummenden Stimmen einfallen, setzen die Instrumente mit schrillem Klange ein. Ein Lama-Novize nimmt dem Abt die drei Brotteiglämpchen ab und schleudert sie zwischen die umherliegenden Steinblöcke an der Wegkreuzung. Dann reicht ein anderer Lama dem Abt einen Tontopf *(dza-blug)*, in den man allerlei schäbige Überbleibsel des Hochzeitsmahles getan hat: Ausgekochte Teeblätter *(ja-ro)*, Bierträber *(sbaṅ-ma)*, Reste von Zwiebeln, Knoblauch, Rettich, ein paar abgenagte Knochen, ein Stück Fell von einem der verzehrten Schafe. Der Abt stellt sich mit dem Topfe vor einen Steinblock, auf den ein Lama vorher die Figur zweier gekreuzter Donnerkeile *(rdo-rje rgya-dram)* gezeichnet hatte, schleudert den Topf mit dem appetitlichen Inhalt gegen den Stein, daß er zerschellt und der Inhalt umhergestreut wird. Nun mögen die Dämonen sich an diesen „leckeren" Dingen sättigen und dann ein jeder an seinen Ort verfügen[123].

¶ Während dieser Betätigung der Lama-Zauberer steht der Bräutigam und die Braut jenen gegenüber mit vor der Brust zusammengelegten Händen und vorgebeugtem Kopf. Nach der Beschwörung liest der Abt noch ein Gebet an die Buddhas. Bodhisattvas, Götter und Schutzgeister um Schutz, Glück und Gedeihen für das junge Paar, an die gütige Göttin Drolma (Tara) um Kindersegen, dabei

schwingt er wieder Zauberglocke und Dordsche, sowie eine kleine Handtrommel aus Menschenschädel. Schließlich wirft er einige Hände voll Reis und Gerste über das Brautpaar als Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit[124], während die Lamamusik spielt.

¶ Endlich bewegt sich der Zug dem Dragschoshause, der künftigen Wohnstätte des jungen Paares zu. Vom sNatridpa geführt, betritt die Braut das Haus, gefolgt von den Brautjungfern. Es geht durch den dunklen Stall, die Steintreppe hinauf, man steht vor der Tschansa. Da bleibt die Braut vor der geöffneten Tür stehen, tut, als ob sie weinte und weigert sich einzutreten. Erst nach Empfang einer Gabe von einer Rupie, vom sNatridpa verabfolgt, willigt sie ein, einzutreten und das „Weinen" hört auf[125]. In der Tschansa begrüßt nun die Braut die Eltern und Verwandten des Bräutigams, die sich mit diesem nun auch hier eingefunden haben, mit tiefen Verbeugungen, Umfassen der Beine, *źu*-sagen und Zusammenklappen der Handgelenkringe. Dann begrüßt sie mit tiefem Verneigen den Herd, an dem sie in Zukunft schalten soll, den „heiligen Herd", und in ihm die „königliche Göttin des Herdes" *(tablha rgyal-mo)*, unter deren Schutz ihr Schaffen am Herde sich vollziehen soll.

¶ Seitwärts vom Herde an der Wand ist ein schöner Jarkander Teppich gelegt. Darauf hat ein Lama aus Gerstenkörnern ein buddhistisches Hakenkreuz *(yuṅ-druṅ)* markiert; daneben einen Glückskreis *(dga-skyil)*. Zwischen beiden magischen Figuren steht ein Kornmaß (1 bre, ungefähr 1 Liter), welches gehäuft voll Gerste ist. Dahinein hat man einen Pfeil gesteckt, oben auf die Gerste ein Klümpchen Butter gelegt: Ein Symbol der Fülle, des Überflusses, des Fetten, der Fruchtbarkeit und des Schutzes (Pfeil).

¶ Die Braut setzt sich nun auf den Glückskreis aus Gerste, der Bräutigam auf das Hakenkreuz, zwischen ihnen steht das gefüllte Kornmaß. Tischchen werden vor sie hingesetzt. Der Abt tritt vor das Paar und besprengt es mit geweihtem Safranwasser. Nun kommt der sNatridpa und der Traschispa herzu und sie nehmen der Braut den schweren Brauthut ab, wobei sie ein hierauf bezügliches Lied singen[126]. Ein großer Teller, gehäuft voll von Reis, Fleisch, Gemüse, mit scharf-würziger Tunke *(curry)* angemacht, wird vor das Paar auf das Tischchen hingesetzt. Beide essen von

einem Teller ihre erste gemeinsame Mahlzeit im gemeinsamen Heim, dazu trinken sie Tee, der Bräutigam auch Bier, wobei sie kaum ein Wort wechseln; sie wissen sich scharf beobachtet, denn mittlerweile haben sich die Verwandten und Sippenglieder des Dragschoshauses in der Tschansa versammelt, auch die fünf Nyaopas sind vollzählig da. Mutter Palskyid geht nun bei allen herum und bedankt sich mit tiefen Verbeugungen und Zusammenklappen der Handgelenkringe für alle Hilfe und allen Beistand, alle Beisteuer zum Zustandekommen der Hochzeit.

¶ Der männliche Teil der Verwandten und Paspun begibt sich in das benachbarte Haus eines Verwandten, wo sie auf Kosten Lobsang Wanggyals noch weiter mit Speis und Trank bewirtet werden, trotz der späten Abendstunde. Bis in die Morgenstunden wird dort geschmaust, getrunken, gesungen und getanzt. Auf kurze Zeit geht der Bräutigam hinüber, setzt sich unter die Gäste, um sich die Tänze anzusehen, so will es die Sitte, wenn es ihn selbst auch nichthinzieht. Die Braut bleibt währenddessen bei den Frauen der neuen Verwandtschaft, die das Hochzeitsfest und alles Erlebte eifrigst besprechen.

¶ Im Nachbarhause wird es immer lebhafter, lärmender, unablässig tönt der Gesang der Männer, unerschöpflich ist der Schatz an Liedern, aber je weiter die Zeit vorrückt, desto minderwertiger werden sie nach Inhalt und Form, bis der Gesang zum Herplärren von schmutzigen Zotenliedern wird. Auch die Tänze werden immer wilder und ausgelassener, ein Ausdruck der durch das Bier erhitzten Phantasie und Sinnlichkeit. Doch wird der Kreis der Zecher und Tänzer immer kleiner. Manch einer, der „genug" hatte, hat sich mit schwerem Kopf und schwerem Schritt auf den Heimweg gemacht; manch einer ist im Kreis der Zecher still umgesunken und wird von den anderen im hinteren Teil des Raumes niedergelegt, unter ihnen auch der Lama Dondrub aus dem Beinbrechhause, der es mit Trinken und Zotenreißen am tollsten getrieben hatte. Schon rötete sich der Himmel im Osten, als die letzten, die noch gehen konnten, in der kalten Morgendämmerung sich auf den Heimweg machten. Die aus der Ferne gekommenen Gäste übernachteten teils im Dragschoshause, teils in Nachbarhäusern oder da, wo der Rausch sie grade übermannt hatte.

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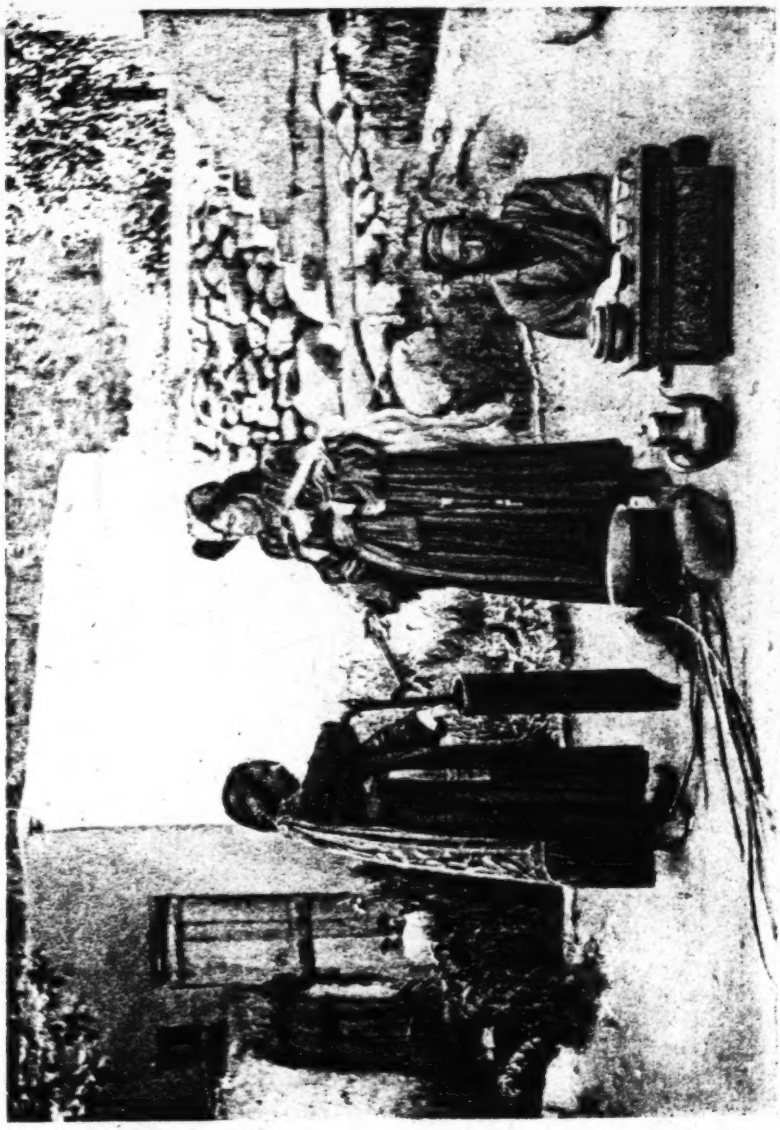
¶ Der Bräutigam blieb nicht lange unter den noch Feiernden. Das wüste Treiben stieß ihn ab; die unsauberen Witze und Anspielungen der Trunkenen verletzten sein Gemüt. Als jene eben mit Trinken und Tanzen aufs neue begonnen hatten, stand er still auf; sein Gehen wurde von den Leuten kaum bemerkt. Endlich fühlte er sich von aller lästigen Verpflichtung, dabei sein zu müssen, frei, ging hinüber ins väterliche Haus, wo seine Braut, noch immer im Brautschmuck, im Kreise der älteren Frauen und ihrer Brautjungfern sehnsüchtig auf den Bräutigam wartete, der je länger je mehr, trotz des seltenen Zusammentreffens, ihr Herz gewonnen hatte. Nun endlich, nach langen Monaten des Hangens und Bangens waren die Zwei am Ziel ihrer Wünsche angelangt. Namgyal faßte seine Braut an der Hand und sagte: „*Yoṅ* (komm)!" Still betraten die beiden den Raum, der nun ihre gemeinsame Wohnstätte sein sollte. Nun erst kam es ihnen voll zum Bewußtsein, daß sie einander gehörten.

¶ Am Tage nach der ersten Hochzeitsfeier schliefen die meisten Teilnehmer bis tief in den Vormittag hinein, wenigstens der männliche Teil der Gäste. Im Dragschoshause rüsteten freilich die Frauen und einige Männer, die sich bei der Feier am vorhergehenden Tage leidlich nüchtern gehalten hatten, schon für die weitere Feier, die heute im Dragschoshause stattfinden sollte: die „Hochzeit des Burschen *(bu-tsai bag-ston)*[127]". Gegen Mittag kamen die Tschirponleute aus Tingmogang mit der ganzen großen Sippe nach Kalatse zur Teilnahme an der weiteren Feier. Das junge Paar ging ihnen entgegen bis auf die Ebene jenseits der Schlucht, von den Nyaopas und Bagrogs begleitet, um sich den Eltern und Angehörigen der Braut nun als neuvermähltes Paar vorzustellen. Mit den üblichen Verbeugungen, Knieumfassen usw. werden die Eltern von dem Paare begrüßt. Die Brautführer und -jungfern setzen je eine Kanne Tee und Bier vor die Eltern hin, die von den Pferden gestiegen sind. Die Eltern geben der Tochter ein schönes, buntgewirktes und gesticktes Kaschmirtuch, dem Schwiegersohn eine bunte Schärpe. Die Brautführer und -jungfern erhalten jedes ein paar Silbermünzen. Dann geht die Gesellschaft zusammen ins Dragschoshaus, wo sich die Gäste sehr allmählich wieder zusammenfinden, manche kommen erst am Nachmittag.



Bereitung des Buttertees

Facing P. 113

¶ Da auch Lobsang Wanggyals Haus all die Gäste nicht fassen konnte, fand die Feier in seinem Aprikosengarten statt, wo wieder das große Zelt für die vornehmen Gäste aufgeschlagen wurde. Die anderen ließen sich auf Teppichen draußen nieder, und bald entwickelte sich das gleiche Bild wie am vorhergegangenen Tage: Man aß, man trank, man sang, tanzte und gab sich der ungehemmten Fröhlichkeit hin. Was aber dieser Feier das besondere Gepräge gab, war, daß die Verwandten und Angehörigen der Sippe, die nächsten Nachbarn und vornehmen Gäste des Dragschos die zugesagten Beiträge zur Hochzeitsfeier ablieferten, soweit sie das nicht schon vorher getan hatten. Große Ziegenhaarsäcke mit Weizen, Gerste und Mehl, Bier in gewaltigen Tonkrügen, Butter in Fellsäcken, Salz, Teeziegel; ferner tibetisches Tuch in Rollen, Kleidungsstücke; der Lonpo stiftete einen ganzen Anzug: Rock, Hose, Hemd, Beinwickel und Schärpe für Namgyal. Auch ein paar Schafe und Ziegen wurden herbeigetrieben, und schließlich wurde dem Lonpo das von den einzelnen versprochene Geld für Lobsang Wanggyal eingehändigt. Jener nahm alle Beiträge in Empfang, schrieb alle Lieferungen und Zahlungen auf einer Liste auf und verglich genau das Eingegangene mit dem, was jeder beim Beratungsbier versprochen hatte. Auch die anderen Männer prüften scharf die Leistungen der einzelnen. Die meisten hatten das Versprochene richtig gebracht, einige sogar etwas darüber, um die anderen zu übertrumpfen. Einige wenige kamen mit leeren Händen, versprachen aber ihren Beitrag später zu bringen. Der Schangkupa (zu deutsch: Wölfing) aus Teya hatte ein Schaf versprochen, nun brachte er nur ein Ziegenböcklein. „Der Wolf hat sein Schaf selbst aufgefressen", höhnte da der Bandhepa, der immer das große Wort führte, mit Anspielung auf den Namen des als geizig verschrienen Mannes. „Ja, ja, und der Bock stank ihm zu sehr, darum wollte er ihn los werden", fielen sofort einige andere ein. Die Sticheleien gingen so den ganzen Tag fort, daß es beinahe mit dem Wölfing zu einer Schlägerei gekommen wäre. Der Lonpo, der bei allen geachtet war, stellte schließlich die Ruhe wieder her.

¶ Die Feier währte wieder bis spät in die Nacht. Je später es wurde, desto wüster wurde das Treiben. Der Yon-tan aus dem Beinbrechhause, der Bruder des Dorflamas, stimmte Trinklieder

an, in denen die Gäste zum Trinken gereizt wurden; keiner wollte da zurückstehen, jeder suchte es dem anderen im Trinken zuvorzutun; wenige hielten sich nüchtern, wie Lobsang Wanggyal, der, obgleich ein Wirt, der sich gern nobel machte und gern fröhliche Gäste um sich sah, doch selbst im Trinken Maß hielt.

¶ Mit Einbruch der Dunkelheit erschien plötzlich eine Truppe Bedas, Männer und Frauen, Burschen und Mädchen arisch-indischer Herkunft, fahrendes Volk, Musiker und Gaukler, die sich immer da einstellen, wo fröhliche Feste gefeiert werden und es etwas zu verdienen gibt. Einige der Mädchen und Burschen hatten hübsche, regelmäßige Gesichtszüge, aber ihr Auftreten war dreist und herausfordernd. Die Bedas sangen zur Laute indische und tibetische Lieder, manche davon zarten, duftigen Inhalts; so waren auch ihre Tänze, die vom Klang der Laute und des Tamburins begleitet waren, nicht ohne Anmut. Je später es aber wurde, und je mehr das Blut aller in Wallung geriet, desto wilder und leidenschaftlicher wurden Lieder und Tänze, und die Feier drohte zu Zeiten in eine wilde Orgie auszuarten, was Lobsang Wanggyal aber zu verhüten wußte.

¶ Der junge Ehemann zeigte sich für kurze Zeit unter den Gästen und sah und hörte eine Weile, unter den Verwandten sitzend, dem Treiben zu. Aber gegen Abend, sobald es tunlich schien, verließ er die zechende und johlende Gesellschaft, an deren Treiben er keine Freude hatte. Die junge Frau sah mit ihren Bagrogs eine Weile, in der Tür stehend, den Tänzen zu, dann verschwand auch sie.

¶ Spät in der Nacht machten sich die Tingmoganger und die Gäste aus den Nachbardörfern auf den Heimweg. Noch einmal nahm Tschosskyid bewegten Abschied von Eltern und Verwandten mit lautem „Brautweinen", denn nun blieb sie im Dragschoshause, das nun ihr Heim geworden war. Die Tingmoganger sollen einen schlimmen Heimweg gehabt haben, doch sprachen sie hernach nicht gern davon. Die Kalatseer und ein engerer Kreis von Gästen aus entfernteren Dörfern blieben noch im Dragschoshaus zurück, wo sie bis in die Morgenstunden bei Bier, Gesang und Tanz sich ergötzten, bis endlich der Lonpo aufstand und damit das Zeichen zum allgemeinen Aufbruch gab.

¶ Am dritten Tage wurden in beiden Häusern, dem Dragschoshause in Kalatse und dem Tschirponhause in Tingmogang, getrennte Einladungen veranstaltet: Das Nyendron (Verwandteneinladung), zu der all die Verwandten und Sippenglieder geladen werden, die Beiträge irgendwelcher Art zu den Feiern gestiftet haben. Wären beide Häuser an einem Ort gewesen, so hätte man zwei Tage hintereinander Nyendron für alle Beteiligten in je einem der Häuser gehalten. An diesem dritten Tag waren die Feiern eine etwas vereinfachte Wiederholung der vorangegangenen. Am Schluß dieser Feier dankte jeder Hausherr den Gästen mit umständlicher Höflichkeit für ihre Hilfe und Beisteuer. Der Dragschos verabschiedete dann auch noch die fünf Nyaopas nach guter Bewirtung und reichlichem Trunk. Durch den Lonpo ließ er ihnen noch je drei Rupien und reichliche Wegzehrung überreichen.

¶ Am vierten Tage lud man in beiden Häusern alle diejenigen zum *Drontschung* (Kleinen Mahl) ein, die an beiden Orten in irgendeiner Weise bei den Feiern gedient hatten: Die Köchin *(zan-ma)*, die Bierbrauerin *(ĉaṅ-ma)*, die Brotbäckerin *(ta-gir-ma)*, die Wasserträgerinnen *(ĉu-ma)*, die Lampenfrau *(sgron-ma)*, ferner die Männer und Frauen, die allerlei Trägerdienste leisteten, die Nachbarn, die Tischchen, Teppiche, Kochtöpfe, Kannen und anderes Gerät geborgt hatten für die große Feier, den Wächter, der aufpassen mußte, daß bei dem Durcheinander des Gelages nichts von all den Geräten abhanden kam. Alle diese getreuen Helfer können nun heute zum Lohn für das Geleistete sich an Speis und Trank gütlich tun, wobei wieder Gesang und Tanz nicht fehlen. Jedes bekommt zum Schluß außer einem Dankeswort des Hausherrn noch einige Brotfladen und reichlich Kollag mit als Wegzehrung.

¶ Am längsten von allen Gästen blieben die Lamas im Dragschoshause. Sieben volle Tage lang saßen sie oben auf dem flachen Dache, solange die Wintersonne mild wärmend schien, vor dem geöffneten Haustempel gegenüber den Statuen der Buddhas und Dämonen, lasen Gebete, Messen und Bannsprüche, bliesen auf ihren Trompeten, trommelten und läuteten, um all die bösen Geister im voraus zu bannen, von denen dem jungen Paare nach der Vorhersage des Teufelsbezwingers Gefahr drohte. Aber endlich

zogen auch sie ab, voll befriedigt von dem Erfolg dieser Woche. Der Dragschos hatte nicht gegeizt mit Essen und Trinken und auch mit Geld, so hatten sie die Beschwörungen mit aller Gründlichkeit vorgenommen. Mindestens ein Jahr lang würden nun die Dämonen nicht wagen, sich dem Paare in böser Absicht zu nahen, hatte der Oberlama zu Lobsang Wanggyal gesagt. Der hatte sehr trocken „*oh, oh!* (gut, gut!)" dazu gesagt und hatte die Rotmützen mit kühlem Gruße gehen lassen. Er hielt nicht viel von ihrer Heiligkeit und Zauberkunst; er hatte zu üble Erfahrungen mit ihnen gemacht, aber um seiner Mutter und um der Sippe willen durfte er es mit den Lamas nicht verderben.

¶ Damit kam die Hochzeitsfeier zum Abschluß, manchem der Gäste viel zu früh, der gern noch ein paar Tage länger gefeiert hätte, wie es bei den ganz Großen wohl auch vorkam. Wenn aber jemand froh war, daß die Feier nun zum Ende gekommen sei, war es Lobsang Wanggyal und seine Frau Palskyid. Man hatte sich doch in leidlich mäßigen Grenzen gehalten, und die von der Sippe hatten wacker zu den Kosten beigetragen, und doch hatte sich Lobsang Wanggyal von dem Kaschmirer Kaufmann in Leh gegen Wucherzinsen Geld leihen müssen, um die Hochzeit anständig ausrichten zu können. Der alte Norbu Wangtschug hätte ja alles gern noch viel reichlicher und üppiger gehabt, zumal diesmal die Hauptkosten nicht auf ihn fielen. Aber schließlich waren alle übrigen zufrieden: Eine so große Hochzeit war in Unterladak seit langem nicht gewesen.

¶ Was wurde nun aus den *Geschwistern* des Namgyal? Er hatte zwei Brüder und zwei Schwestern. Der im Alter ihm nächste Bruder heiratete zwei Jahre nach ihm als Magpa[128] die Tochter des wohlhabenden Bauern Oltangpa (Hausname = Kleefelder) in dem Dorfe Tagmatschig, jenseits des Indus. Der jüngste der drei Brüder trat schon mit sieben Jahren als Schüler *(btsun-ĉuṅ)* in das eine Tagereise entfernte Kloster *Ri-rdsong* ein, dessen Mönche für ihre strenge Beobachtung der Ordensregeln bekannt waren. Dort rückte er im Laufe der Jahre auf der Stufenleiter der geistlichen Würden zum Abte *(slob-dpon)* auf. Die eine Schwester Namgyals heiratete als *bag-ma* in ein Haus in Tingmogang. Die jüngste ging als Nonne ins Kloster und bezog schließlich als Klausnerin eine

kleine Zelle in der Nähe der Klause des frommen Eremiten Tsetan in der nahen Skyinlingschlucht. Der Hang zur Weltflucht und Askese war von jeher bei manchen Gliedern des Geschlechts der Mutter stark hervorgetreten. Mehrere Glieder der Familie hatten als Äbte oder Klostervorsteher eine Rolle gespielt. Bei anderen Gliedern war der Zug zur „Welt" desto stärker gewesen.

¶ So fand das Problem der Unterbringung der Kinder im Hause Dragschos eine glückliche Lösung, und Namgyal sah sich in der bevorzugten Lage, sich allein des Besitzes seiner Frau, an die ihn je länger je mehr warme Liebe band, erfreuen zu können, anstatt in einer *polyandrischen Ehe*[129] sich mit mehreren Brüdern in den Besitz einer Frau teilen zu müssen.

Eheleben und Hausstand

¶ Drogpa Namgyal und Tschosskyid wurden in zunehmendem Maße ein glückliches Paar. Wohl war das Gerede von dem Hange zum Leichtsinn der Tschosskyid vor ihrer Ehe nicht ganz unbegründet gewesen. Der Ton im elterlichen Hause war kein guter, der Vater ein Lebemann, der es mit dem dritten buddhistischen Gebot[130] keineswegs genau nahm. Aber als sie der ungesunden Atmosphäre des elterlichen Hauses entrückt, unter den Einfluß des sie mit liebevoller und fester Hand stützenden Mannes und der Erziehung der energischen Großmutter desselben kam, entwickelte sie sich zu einer treuen Gattin und tüchtigen Hausfrau.

¶ Ein Schmerz war es für sie, daß ihr zwei Jahre lang ein Kind versagt blieb, um so mehr als es für eine tibetische Frau eine Schmach ist, unfruchtbar *(mo-śam)* zu sein. Auf den Rat des Klausners Tsetan rief ihr Mann fünf Lamas ins Haus, die zwei Tage lang Zeremonien *(sku-rim)* verrichteten und Gebete an die gütige Göttin, die erhabene Weiße Tara *(sgrol-dkar)* hersagten, daß sie der Tschosskyid einen Sohn bescheren möge, während welcher Zeit die Lamas gut und reichlich mit Speis und Trank bewirtet wurden. Auch drückte Lobsang Wanggyal jedem der Rotröcke beim Weggehen eine Silbermünze in die Hand. Trotzdem blieben der Tschosskyid weiterhin Mutterfreuden versagt. Da riet ihr der Klausner,

eine Wallfahrt nach dem nahen Kloster von Tingmogang zu machen und dort vor dem Bilde der Weißen Tara neue messingene Opferlampen aufstellen zu lassen. Das tat sie und gab dem Opferpriester *(mĉod-gnas)* noch ein paar Rupien „für das Kloster", worüber derselbe mit zufriedenem „*Oh, Oh!*" quittierte, ihr den Segen erteilte und sie versicherte, nun werde bald ihr Wunsch erfüllt werden und sie eines Knäbleins genesen. Das ließ indes noch auf sich warten. Die Lamas erklärten, die Dragschos müßten vielleicht unbewußt und ungewollt die Tara erzürnt haben, daß ihre Gebete und Opfer unwirksam geblieben wären. Die Dragschosleute ließen es jetzt drauf ankommen und brachten kein neues Opfer mehr dar, die Sache wurde zu kostspielig und Namgyal traute außer dem Klausner Tsetan keinem Lama seiner näheren Bekanntschaft mehr. Er und sein Vater hatten sich zu oft von ihnen betrogen gesehen. Innerhalb der folgenden drei Jahre wurden der Tschosskyid zwei Mädchen geboren; im sechsten Jahr der Ehe endlich erschien der heißersehnte Sohn, was große Freude im Hause Dragschos erregte. Dadurch wurde das Glück des jungen Paares noch erhöht und die Gatten noch inniger miteinander verbunden.

¶ Wie anders sah es da in manchem Hause des Dorfes aus! Das *polyandrische Verhältnis* war die Ursache von viel Unfrieden, Streit und Eifersucht; oft zog die Frau einen der jüngeren Gatten dem ältesten vor, der doch das erste Gattenrecht beanspruchte; oft genug suchten auch die jüngeren Männer der einen Frau für versagtes Eheglück Ersatz außer dem Hause. Nicht immer kann der Mann, der sich auf Reisen begibt, der Treue der zurückbleibenden Frau gewiß sein, zumal wenn er im Alleinbesitz derselben ist; noch viel weniger hält der Mann sich in der Zeit seiner Abwesenheit an ein Treugelöbnis gebunden. Vielfach sieht der Mann in der Frau nur die Magd, die sich in allem ihm unterzuordnen und all seinen Launen und Lüsten zu fügen hat. Oft macht er seinem Mißfallen in argen Mißhandlungen Luft, und häufig kommt es dann auch zum völligen Bruch, zur Scheidung[131].

¶ Dagegen stach das Verhältnis des jungen Paares, des Namgyal und der Tschosskyid, vorteilhaft ab, indem hier ein Teil dem anderen in warmer Neigung zugetan war. Namgyal hütete seinen „*Migbras*" (Augapfel) mit Liebe und wachsamem Auge, und Tschos-

skyid wurde ihm je länger je mehr eine treue Gehilfin und Stütze in all seinen Pflichten.

¶ Mit äußeren Glücksgütern hatte nach Auffassung der tibetischen Nachbarn und Bekannten Kubera, der Gott des Reichtums, die Dragschosfamilie nicht allzu reichlich bedacht; trotz ihrer vornehmen Herkunft waren sie nichts anderes als Bauern, deren bescheidener Reichtum in ihrem *Besitz* an Feld und Vieh bestand. Außer Äckern und Kleefeldern besaß sie drei Pferde, eine Anzahl Kühe, einige Jakochsen und Esel, einige fünfzig Schafe und einige Ziegen und Hühner. Bargeld war bei ihnen wie bei allen tibetischen Bauern stets knapp. Es reichte in der Regel nur grade zur Bezahlung der hohen Steuern, zur Beschaffung der nötigsten Bedürfnisse, soweit sie sich nicht aus der eigenen Wirtschaft befriedigen ließen. Dies war zum Glück in weitem Maße der Fall. Weizen, Gerste und Buchweizen lieferte der Acker. Das Getreide wurde in einer der kleinen Wassermühlen am Bach gemahlen, durch ein Sieb aus Roßhaar gesiebt und so ein grobes, nahrhaftes Mehl gewonnen. Aprikosen reifen in der heißen Sommersonne der Hochtäler bis zur Höhe von etwa 3500 Meter.

¶ Milch liefern die Kühe, die gewöhnliche indische Kuh, die Jakkuh und die Dsomo, eine Kreuzung des Jakbullen mit der gewöhnlichen Kuh. Fleisch für den, dem sein buddhistisches Gewissen es erlaubt, geben die Schafe und Ziegen. Wolle zum Spinnen und Weben der Kleiderstoffe kommt von den Schafen, doch muß da noch vom Händler Rohwolle hinzugekauft werden, der Ertrag der Schur der eigenen kleinen Herde reicht nicht aus. Grobe Wolle zum Weben von Decken, groben Teppichen, Sackzeug und Herstellen von Stricken bieten die Ziegen und Jaks.

¶ Ist der tibetische Bauer so weitgehend *Selbstversorger*, so bleiben doch noch eine ganze Anzahl Dinge, die bei ihm zu den Lebensnotwendigkeiten zählen, die er aber kaufen muß. Seinen Bedarf an Butter bei dem starken Verbrauch durch den Buttertee kann er nicht selbst decken. Er kauft von reisenden Händlern Butter, die in Ziegenfellen eingenäht ist und, was Sauberkeit anlangt, oft sehr zu wünschen übrig läßt. Das vielbegehrte Salz tauscht er gegen Getreide oder getrocknete Aprikosen von den Nomaden der Hochebenen von Rupschu oder Dschangtang ein, die es aus den zahl-

reichen ausgetrockneten Salzseebetten ihrer Heimat brechen und auf langer, mühseliger Wanderung von ihren Schafen und Ziegen in kleinen Säcken auf dem Rücken tragen lassen, um dagegen in den Nachbarprovinzen Ladak, Spiti, Lahul und Sangskar die genannten Waren und andere Handelsgüter im *Tauschhandel* zu erstehen. Auch das sehr geschätzte Natron (als Zusatz zum Buttertee) liefern ebenfalls jene Hochebenen, wo es an manchen Stellen als Rückstand ausgetrockneter Salzseen gefunden wird. Vom indischen Kaufmann erhandelt der Tibeter indischen Tee, Gewürze, Farbstoff zum Färben des Tuchs, Baumwollstoff aus indischen und englischen Webereien (Manchester), europäisches blaues, braunes oder rotes Tuch für Festtagskleider, Schärpen sowie allerlei Geräte, Kämme aus Hartholz, Spiegel, Messer, Nähzeug, billige Standuhren, Seife, Süßwaren, Tabak u.a.m.

¶ Im Hause Dragschos hielt man von jeher auf Ordnung und fleißige *Arbeit*. Vom zeitigen Frühjahr bis in den Spätherbst war man mit der Sonne auf und an der Arbeit, die erst meist mit sinkender Sonne und oft noch viel später bei eintretender Dunkelheit eingestellt wurde.

¶ Das *Pflügen* der Felder besorgte wie alle Bauern der Hausherr selbst; das *Bewässern* und *Jäten* war Sache der Frauen, die Erntearbeiten wurden von Männern und Frauen gemeinsam besorgt. Lobsang Wanggyal, der noch rüstige Vater, leitete noch, von Namgyal kräftig unterstützt, die Bewirtschaftung des Gutes. Ein Lohnarbeiter, der im Hause wohnte, half bei den Feldarbeiten. In die Wartung des Viehes teilten sich die Familienglieder. Die Bereitung des Essens und der Getränke (Buttertee und Tschang), sowie die Wartung der Kinder fällt der Frau zu. Da Namgyal und sein Vater die Kunst des Nähens nicht, wie manche ihrer Nachbarn, erlernt hatten, wurde von Zeit zu Zeit ein Schneider ins Haus gerufen, der nach althergebrachter Mode für alle Familienglieder die Kleider nähte, auch die Schuhe aus buntem Tuch herstellte und mit notdürftig gegerbtem Leder besohlte. Die Männer spannen mit der großen Handspindel Fäden aus grobem Ziegen- oder Jakhaar, aus denen dann ein Weber sehr feste Decken, Teppiche und Sackzeug in schmalen Streifen webte. Die feineren Fäden aus Schafwolle spinnen die Frauen mit der kleinen Handspindel sehr

geschickt; nie wird ein Spinnrad benutzt. Aus diesen Fäden webt der Weber derbes, festes Tuch zu Kleidern.

¶ Drei *Mahlzeiten* unterbrechen in der Regel die Tagesarbeit. Nachdem man schon zwei bis drei Stunden gearbeitet hat, setzt man sich im Hause oder auf dem Felde zum Frühstück *(tsal-ma)* nieder, das aus Buttertee mit geröstetem Gerstenmehl *(rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e)* besteht. Jeder Esser nimmt mit den Fingern etwas Mehl aus einem aus Holz gedrechselten Gefäß, das in der Mitte steht, mischt es in seinem stets in weiten Busen des Rockes mitgeführten hölzernen Trinknäpfchen mit Buttertee oder mit Bier in Ermangelung beider auch mit Wasser, knetet es zu einem steifen Teig und formt Bissen, die dann mit großer Sicherheit in den Mund geworfen werden. Ein zeitiges erstes Frühstück wird als Tschinnan *(mčin-nan)* bezeichnet, d. h. „Leber hinabdrücken". Das Hungergefühl, das sich in den Morgenstunden mit einem Gefühl der Leere im Magen einstellt, erklärt sich der Tibeter als ein „Hochsteigen der Leber". Das Frühstück drückt die Leber wieder hinunter in ihre gehörige Lage. Das Mittagessen *(dza-ra)* wird in den ersten Nachmittagstunden eingenommen. Es unterscheidet sich meist wenig vom Frühstück. In den Abendstunden, je nach der vorliegenden Arbeit früher oder später, findet man sich zum Abendessen *(dgoñ-zan)* zusammen, meist im Hause. Es besteht je nach der Vermögenslage des Hausherrn aus Brot *(ta-gir)*, flachen, runden, ohne Sauerteig am offnen Feuer schnell gebacknen Fladen aus Weizenmehl; bei Ärmeren kehrt auch hier der Mehlpapp wieder. Wohlhabende leisten sich eine Mahlzeit von Reis mit Fleisch und Gemüse (meist wildwachsendes Gemüse oder weiße Rüben), mit Gewürztunke *(curry)* oder auch Nudeln *(rgya-tug*, d. h. „chinesische Suppe"), oder *Drim-tug*, eine Suppe von Teigröllchen, öfters auch mit Fleisch und Gemüse, Klößchensuppe und noch manch andere Suppen. Sehr beliebt sind auch eine Art Knödel aus gewürztem Hackfleisch in einer Teighülle *(mog-mog)*. Als Getränk dient Bier oder Buttertee, selten, und nur bei Reichen, selbstgebrauter Reisbranntwein.

¶ Manchmal wird zwischen das Frühstück und die Mittagsmahlzeit noch eine Zwischenmahlzeit, *bar-ma* (= „das Mittlere") eingeschoben, wenn die Umstände es erfordern. Arme beschränken sich vielfach auf zwei, ja auch nur eine oft sehr ärmliche Mahlzeit am Tage.

Zimmermann
Er arbeitet mit dem Querbeil (ste-po), seinem Hauptwerkzeug

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HAUSBAU

¶ Nachdem mit dem Söhnchen das dritte Kind sich eingestellt hatte, faßte Namgyal, der nun die Bewirtschaftung des Gutes übernommen hatte, den Entschluß, ein neues Haus an das alte anzubauen, da der Raum für die wachsende Familie nachgerade zu eng wurde. Daß hierbei außer dem Vater der alte Sterndeuter und Teufelsbezwinger Dordsche Duddschoms wieder zu Rate gezogen werden mußte, darauf hielt schon die alte Großmutter Tsering Putrid, die mit zunehmendem Alter immer strenger in der Beobachtung aller Formen wurde. Vor allem mußte der rechte Zeitpunkt zum Beginn des Hausbaus bestimmt werden.

¶ Nach langem Rechnen und Zählen an den Fingern und mit Steinchen kam endlich der Bescheid von dem Wahrsager: Der Bau soll begonnen werden nach der Feldbestellung am dritten Tage des fünften Monats, einem Donnerstag (Jupiters Tag). Der zweite, achte, vierzehnte, zwanzigste und sechsundzwanzigste dieses Monats sind böse Tage, der dritte ist gut, wenn kein besonders schlimmes Anzeichen, etwa durch die Ankunft eines bösen Geistes an dem Platze oder ähnliches vorliegt. Der „Tag des Planeten Sonne" (Sonntag) und der Tag des „roten", zornigen Mars (Dienstag) sind beide „zornige Tage" und sind ängstlich zu meiden beim Beginn wichtiger Untnehmungen. Auf alle Fälle müßte mit dem feindlichen Widerstand der Erd- und Wassergötter, der sabdag, der klu und gnyan, die in den Tiefen der Erde und des Wassers unter der großen, alten Erdmutter *(Khon-ma)* ihr Wesen treiben, gerechnet werden. Um den Widerstand dieser Mächtigen zu brechen, mußte Namgyal, wenn auch halb widerwillig, die Lamas rufen. Sie kamen, fünf an der Zahl, und lasen auf der zum Bau abgesteckten Stelle das Buch vom „Aufgehäuften Glück *(bkra-śis rtsegs-pa)*", dessen Worte angeblich die Macht besitzen, das ganze drohende Dämonenheer zu bannen, so daß das Glück ungehindert in das Haus einziehen könne.

¶ Am festgesetzten Donnerstag erschien ein Trupp Männer mit Hacken und Spaten auf dem Bauplatz. Dort standen schon Krüge mit Bier bereit. Die Arbeiter erhielten einen Trunk und jeder ein paar Kupfermünzen. Der „Baumeister", ein Zimmermann mit sehr mäßigem Können, trat herzu und steckte mit Stricken und Pflöcken das Viereck des Hauses genau ab. Ein Arbeiter trat auf den Wink des Meisters herzu und schlug als erster seine Hacke in den Grund. Er und kein anderer durfte dies tun: Er war ein „Schweinejahrmensch" *(p'ag-lo-pa);* ein solcher gilt als ein Glücksmensch, was er anfängt, gelingt ihm; er ist ein Mann der „scharfen Rede" *(k'a-gnon),* sein Wort und seine Hand fürchten die Geister, er hat Macht über sie; ein Hieb mit der Hacke, von ihm geführt, setzt sie in Schrecken und vertreibt die letzten, die nach der Beschwörung der Lamas noch zurückgeblieben sein sollten. Dieser „Schweinejahrmann" bekommt auch eine bessere Bezahlung als die anderen Arbeiter, um ihn bis zur Vollendung des Baues festzuhalten. Man hatte ihn aus einem entfernten Dorfe geholt, weil in den Nachbarorten gerade kein solcher Glücksmensch zu haben war. Der höhere Lohn bewog ihn denn auch, bis zum Schluß dem Bauherrn seine Dienste zu leihen, die geschätzt wurden, nicht wegen seiner Leistung — er war der faulste von allen Arbeitern — aber wegen der angeblich geisterbannenden Kraft, die sein Geburtsjahr ihm verlieh. So nahm man seine Faulheit mit in Kauf.

¶ Wochen vor Beginn des Baues hatten schon die Männer Steine am Berge gebrochen und den steilen Abhang hinabgerollt bis nahe an den Bauplatz. Pappeln zu Bauholz waren geschlagen worden; besseres Bauholz gab es auf den Bergoasen nicht. Der Zimmermann und seine Gehilfen hieben mit der Queraxt die Äste ab, schälten die Rinde ab und entfernten die gröbsten Unebenheiten des Stammes, ließen ihm aber seine runde Form. Es herrscht in der Bergwüste ein großer Mangel an starken Stämmen, die tragfähige Dachbalken abgeben. Deshalb werden die Stämme nicht vierkantig behauen, damit sie nicht zu schwach werden, das Dach zu tragen.

¶ Nun wurden Ziegeln geformt aus der lehmhaltigen Erde, wie sie ganz in der Nähe — ein Verwitterungsprodukt aus Kalkstein und Granit — im Gletscherschutt des Tales zu finden ist. Die Ziegel stellten die „Streicher" aufrecht auf der Kante auf dem Boden in Reihen

auf. Die Sonne, die in diesen Höhen (3300 m) mit ihrer klaren, dünnen, dunstfreien Luft schon im Mai sehr heiß scheint, und ungehemmt ihre Kraft entfaltet, trocknet und dörrt in wenigen Tagen diese „Luftziegel" so, daß sie Mauern abgeben, die in der trockenen Luft jener Höhen Jahrhunderte überdauern können. Zum Brennen von Ziegeln fehlt es in dem holzarmen Lande an Brennstoff. Muß doch der tibetische Töpfer sich mühsam das nötige Gestrüpp zusammensuchen, um seine Töpfe und Krüge zu brennen.

¶ Der Grund wurde ohne Schwierigkeit in den Moränenschutt, auf dem das ganze Dorf stand, etwa einen halben Meter tief gegraben. Dann kamen die „Maurer", d. h. Bauern, die etwas mehr vom Mauern verstanden als die übrigen. Aus rohen, kaum behauenen Steinen wurden die Grundmauern aufgeführt bis etwa einen halben Meter über der Erde. Auf diese Grundmauer kam eine dünne Bohlenlage, auf diese wieder Ziegeln; in einem Abstand von einem bis anderthalb Meter folgt immer wieder eine dünne Bohlenlage; mit einer solchen schließt auch die Mauer oben ab. Als Mörtel dient lehmhaltige Erde. Zwar gibt es ganze Bergzüge von Kalk in der Nähe, aber aus Brennstoffmangel kann kein Kalk gebrannt werden.

¶ Ein gezimmertes Dach ist bei dem Mangel an geeignetem Bauholz eine Unmöglichkeit. Die Deckbalken werden stumpf ohne Verzapfung auf die oberste Bohlenlage der Mauer aufgelegt in Abständen von etwa einem halben Meter. Bei größeren Räumen wird ein stärkerer Hauptbalken in die Mitte gelegt, von diesem aus in rechtem Winkel nach den Mauern zu beiden Seiten schwächere Balken. Auf diese werden starke, grade, geschälte und gleichmäßig lang geschnittene Weidenstäbe dicht aneinander gelegt. Darauf kommt eine Lage von irgendwelchem Gestrüpp, Stauden, wie die Gegend sie gerade hervorbringt. Auf diese Schicht wird lehmige Erde naß aufgelegt und festgestampft. Das Dach wird in mehrere Felder eingeteilt mit schwacher Neigung nach dem Dachrand hin, so daß das Regenwasser, in die äußeren Ecken geleitet, durch kurze Holzrinnen ablaufen kann.

¶ Das Haus hat zwei Stockwerke, die inwendig durch eine Treppe aus rohen Steinen verbunden sind. Eine Leiter, die aus einem Balken besteht, in den der Zimmermann Zähne als Stufen hinein-

geschnitten hat, führt vom Oberstock auf das flache oberste Dach des Hauses. Die Wände des Hauses werden in- und auswendig mit einem Putz verkleidet, der auch aus lehm- oder tonhaltiger Erde besteht wie das übrige Mauerwerk. Dann wird das Ganze in- und auswendig mit gelblich-weißem Mergel angestrichen, was dem Hause ein freundliches Aussehen gibt. Die Türen und Fensterrahmen sind roh gezimmert, die Fenster sehr klein, um im Winter die Räume möglichst warm zu halten. Die Fußböden sind aus festgestampften Lehm hergestellt; nur bei Reichen ist ein Stück des Wohnhauses holzgedielt. Meist zieht sich ein kleiner Hof um das Haus herum, der von einer hohen Mauer eingeschlossen ist.

¶ Ein tibetisches Haus betritt man, vom Hofe kommend, durch eine niedrige Tür und befindet sich nun zunächst im Stalle, in dem die Pferde und Rinder des Besitzers an ihren gemauerten Krippen stehen. Die Steintreppe hinaufsteigend, gelangt man in die geräumige Wohnküche *(ĉan-sa);* daran anstoßend liegt ein größerer Raum, eine Art „gute Stube", nach Süden offen, mit einem Balkon; anstoßend an beide Räume liegen die Schlaf- und Vorratskammern. Oft hat auch die Wohnküche einen Balkon, auf dem die Leute im Sommer und Winter gern in der Sonne sitzen, wenn sie es nicht vorziehen, sich auf dem flachen Dach aufzuhalten. Manchmal wird nur ein Teil des Unterstocks überbaut, so daß man auch auf dem Dach desselben gehen und sitzen kann. Oft ist das Haus an steiler Berglehne erbaut; dann können Menschen und Tiere gleich ohne Treppe von der Berglehne auf das Dach des Unterstockes gelangen, auf dem sehr oft der Schaf- und Ziegenstall sich befindet.

¶ Auf dem oberen Dach, dem Söller, lassen wohlhabende Buddhisten ihren Haustempel bauen. Unter demselben in der Wohnküche befinden sich, in einer Reihe an der Wand hinlaufend, die Sitzplätze der Männer; darunter — die Kornkammer. Der Segen der Buddhas und Schutzgötter, deren Bilder sich oben im Hausheiligtum befinden, soll direkt auf die Menschen und den Besitz des Hauses herabströmen.

¶ Die Arbeit schritt nun rüstig fort. Kein einziger Regentag unterbrach dieselbe, in der heißen Sonne trockneten und erhärteten die

Ziegel gut und schnell, und als im Juli die Erntearbeiten einsetzten und die Arbeiter in Anspruch nahmen, war der Bau im wesentlichen fertig. Namgyal bewirtete seine Arbeiter mit Tee, Brotfladen und Bier und ließ sie gehen bis auf zwei Zimmerleute, die noch die letzten Türen und Fensterläden herzustellen hatten. Schlicht aber schmuck stand der neue Bau des Dragschoshauses neben dem alten, dem Namgyal auch einen neuen Anstrich geben ließ. Seine Freude über den Neubau war groß.

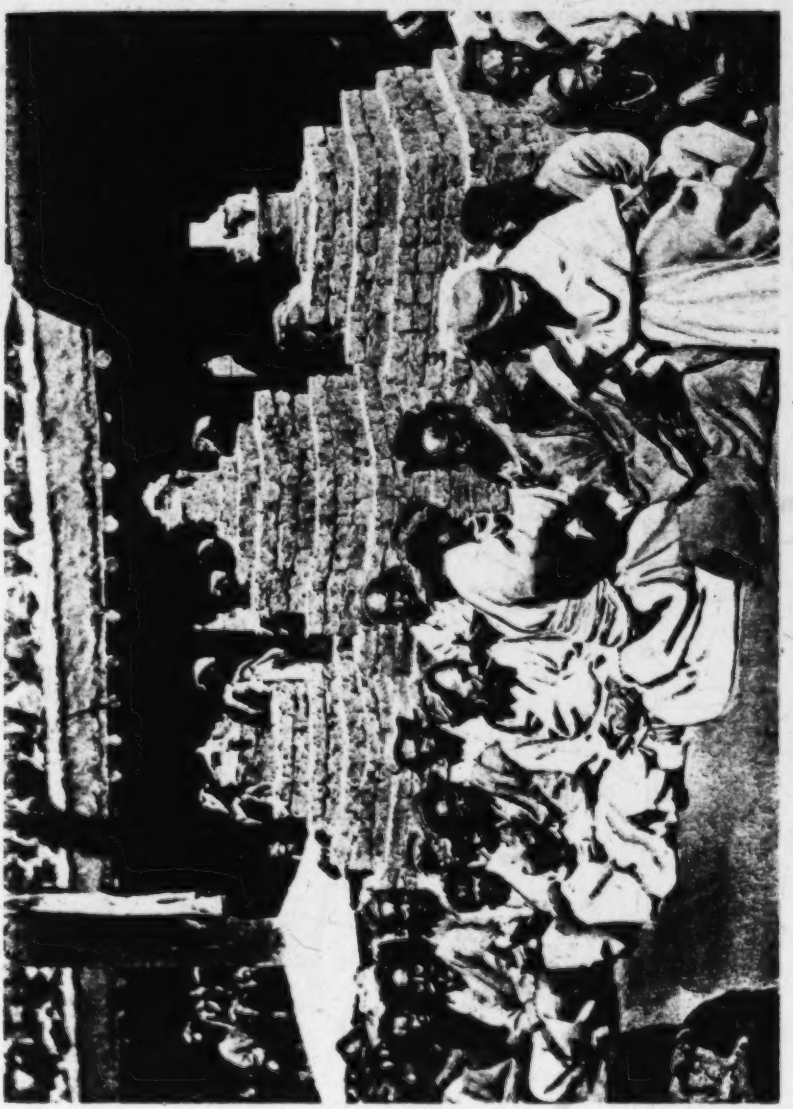
Hausweihe und Sicherung gegen feindliche Dämonen

¶ Als der Hausbau vollendet dastand, rief Namgyal wieder die Lamas. So wollten es die Angehörigen. Drei Tage lang verrichteten sie Skurim (Zeremonien), beteten zu den Buddhas und Schutzgeistern, daß sie das Haus schützen und Segen und Gedeihen zu allem Tun geben möchten. Es galt im besonderen das neue Haus gegen die tückischen Erdgeister *(sa-bdag)*, und ihre Herrscherin, die Alte Erdmutter *(ama-k'on-ma)*, zu schützen. Diese Göttin trägt ein goldgelbes Gewand, sie reitet auf einem Widder. In der Hand hält sie eine Schlinge aus Goldschnur. Die Gefürchtetsten der Erdgeister sind die Nyan *(gnyan)*, die, in Berg und Tal herumschweifend, sich bald in dem, bald in jenem Felsen oder Baum einnisten, und wenn sie, auch ungewollt, gereizt werden, den Menschen Krankheit und Tod senden. Um diese Erdgeister aller Klassen in die Erde festzubannen, nehmen die Lamas eine Zeremonie vor, die sie „das Schließen der Erdtüre" nennen. Die Lamas richten eine lange Stange auf und stellen ein *Dosmo* her; aus gekreuzten Stäben und dazwischen gespannten Wollfäden werden magische Figuren, Parallelogramme, Fünfecke, Achtecke, Sterne, ähnlich dem Drudenfuß der Zauberer des Mittelalters in Deutschland hergestellt. Diese Figuren werden an der Stange befestigt. Manche der Figuren erinnern an Spinnweben; dazu Fähnchen, Pfeile u. a. m., die dazwischen gesteckt werden. Unten an dem Zaubermast wird ein Widderschädel angebracht. In den Schädel tun die Lamazauberer allerlei „kostbare" Opfergaben: Blattgold, ein Stückchen Silber, eine Münze, ein paar Türkisen, die in Tibet billig zu haben sind, andere Halb-

edelsteine und kleine Schmucksachen, Weizen- und Reiskörner, Erbsen u. dgl. Die Menge und Kostbarkeit der Opfergaben richtet sich nach dem Geldbeutel des Auftraggebers. Auf die Stirn des Schädels wird ein magisches Zeichen *(sparka-k'on)* gemalt; auf die rechte Kinnlade eine Sonne, auf die linke ein Mond, darüber werden Dämonenmasken angebracht, Seidenstreifen, Münzen und Stäbchen mit Wollbällchen an der Spitze *(p'an-k'ra)*. Zu unterst am Mast werden die folgenden roh gezeichneten Bilder befestigt: das Bild eines Mannes (der Hausherr), einer Frau mit der Spindel in der Hand (die Hausfrau), der Kinder, das Bild des Hauses, eines Baumes, ferner magische Zeichen (Sparka und Mewa), jedes der letzteren auf ein Holztäfelchen.

¶ Das ganze Dosmo wird nun außen am Hause über der Haustür befestigt. Es soll die bösen Erdgeister fest in die Erde bannen, damit sie sich dem Hause nicht drohend nahen. An den Bildern sollen sie ihren Zorn auslassen, indem sie diese für die wirklichen Bewohner halten. Wenn das Dosmo nun befestigt ist, tritt ein Lama vor die Haustür, das Gesicht nach Südwest gewandt, und ruft die Fürstin der Erdgötter, die alte Mutter Khon, an, weist sie hin auf alle die von ihr begehrten guten Sachen, den Widderschädel mit Sonne, Mond, dem Khonzeichen und all den kostbaren Steinen usw. im Widderschädel, alles das sei ihr dargebracht, um sich daran zu erfreuen. Nun möge sie auch die Erdtüre für die Bewohner des Hauses schließen, die ihr all diese köstlichen Sachen geopfert hätten, damit das ihr unterstehende Heer der Erdgeister den Hausbewohnern keinen Schaden zufüge. Auch in Zukunft, wenn diese ein neues Haus bauen, oder das alte ausbessern, wenn sie eine Heirat oder sonst eine wichtige Sache planen, soll die Erdmutter, des Opfers eingedenk, das Tun der Menschen nicht hindern, sondern fördern. Am Schluß klatscht der Lama in die Hände und ruft aus: „*Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!*" (mystische Sanskritformeln).

¶ Auch die Haustür am neuen Hause mußte gegen die bösen Geister wohl verwahrt werden. Dort wurde über der Tür auch ein Bild des schweinsköpfigen Haus- und Herdgottes *(p'a-lha, tab-lha)* angebracht. Als alle diese Zeremonien vollendet waren und die Lamas durch ein reichliches Mahl und reichlichen Trank sich gestärkt,



Hochzeitsfest in Stog (Ladak)
Hinter den Männern drei Hochzeitskuchen (bran-rgyas) in Form von buddhistischen Stupas aus „Kuchenziegeln" erbaut. Die Tschang-Kanne kreist

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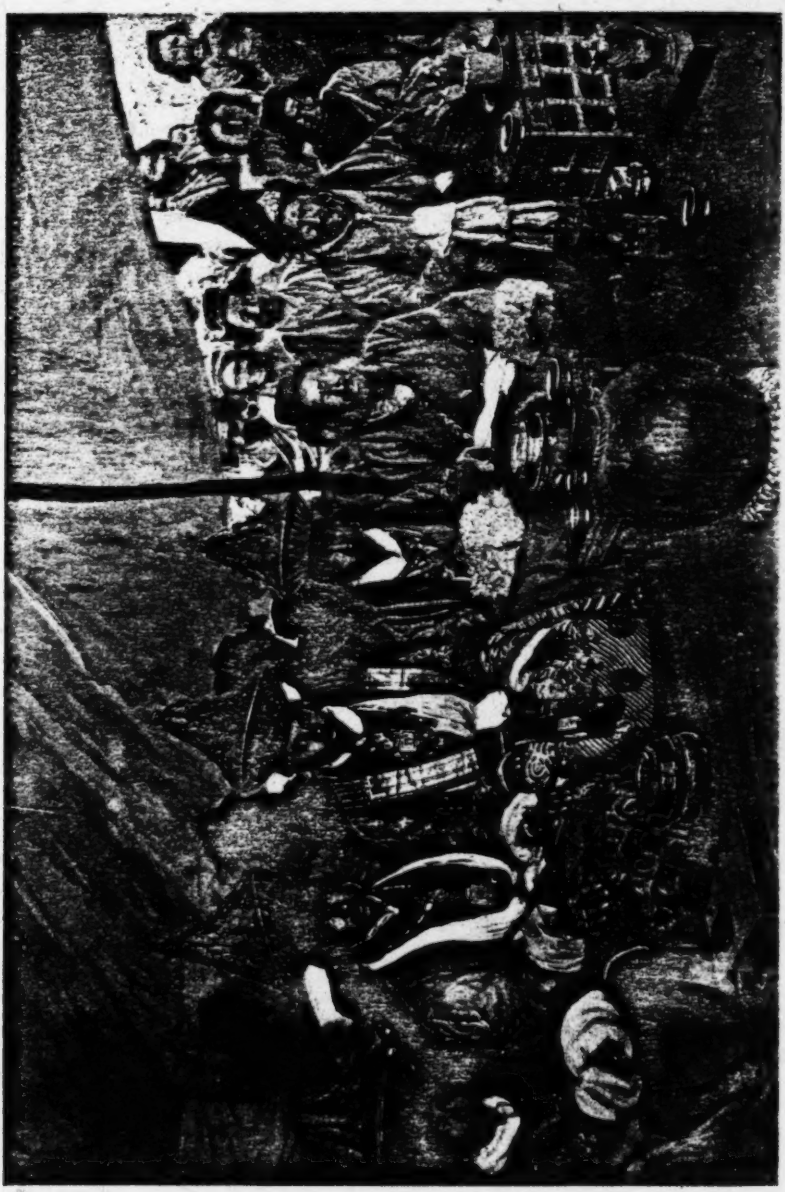
auch noch jeder ein Geldgeschenk erhalten hatte, schieden sie mit dem Gruße: *„Tra-schis-schik! K'angpa nor peltschik!* Heil! Möge dein Haus und dein Besitz wachsen!"

Ein Jahreslauf im Hause Dragschos und was Namgyal dabei erlebte

¶ Im Hause Dragschos hielt man streng auf die alten Volkssitten. Man wurzelte fest im Boden des Volkstums und nahm am Leben des Volkes teil, wie es seit Jahrtausenden, aufs innigste mit der Natur verbunden, Jahr für Jahr in gleicher Weise abläuft. So wie das Leben in der Natur im ewigen Gleichklang des Jahreskreislaufes, der durch die Sonnenbahn bestimmt wird, sich abspielt, so geht auch das Leben des Tibeters im gleichen Rhythmus dahin. Da sind denn die Wendepunkte im Laufe der Licht und Leben spendenden Sonne auch Wendepunkte in seinem Leben und Tun.

¶ Wenn die Sonne, die im Winter, in flachem Bogen kreisend, sich kaum über die hohen Bergkämme erhebt und unzählige Täler und viele Heimstätten in Dunkel und Kälte liegen läßt, nun zur Zeit der *Wintersonnenwende* wieder siegreich emporsteigt und die im Todesschlafe liegende Natur zu neuem Leben erweckt, regt sich im Herzen des Tibeters ein Freuen und Hoffen und sucht Ausdruck in einer ganzen Reihe von *Festen.*

¶ Da ist es zunächst befremdend, daß der Tibeter zwei *Neujahrsfeste* feiert. Das althergebrachte Volksneujahr *(lo-gsar),* das an einer Reihe von Tagen, am Ende des zehnten Monats beginnend, gefeiert wird, und das *„Königsneujahr" (rgyal-poi lo-gsar),* auch *Dosmotsche (gdos-mo-ĉe)* genannt, das am ersten Tage des ersten Monats begangen wird. Das erstgenannte ist jedenfalls das ältere, ursprüngliche Fest, das aus dem alten Sonnwendfest hervorgegangen ist. Es fällt meistens in die Zeit zwischen den letzten Novembertagen und dem 25. Dezember. Da um diese Zeit die Korn- und Vorratskammern der Tibeter noch leidlich gefüllt sind, fehlt es auch nicht an der stofflichen Vorbedingung zu ausgiebigem Feiern. Wenn — etwa zwei Monate später — das „Königsneujahr" gefeiert wird, und durch Familien- und Sippenfeste die Vorräte schon stark gelichtet sind, mangelt es dann leicht an dem nötigen



Eine Hochzeit in Ladak

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„Stoff" zum Feiern; und der Tibeter läßt doch gern bei seinen Festen etwas „draufgehen".

¶ Die Lamas betrachten freilich das *Königsneujahr* (Dosmotsche) als das wahre Neujahr. Wahrscheinlich wurde es von den ersten buddhistisch gewordenen Königen auf Betreiben der Priesterschaft eingeführt[132]. Damit war auch die Einführung des von den Chinesen entlehnten Kalenders verbunden. Das Volk läßt sich aber sein erstes Neujahr *(lo-gsar* heißt wörtlich Neujahr) nicht nehmen und feiert so zwei Feste, und die Lamas haben sich wie allen Landessitten so auch dieser anbequemt und sichern sich ihren Anteil und ihre Rechte an beiden.

¶ Das erste Neujahr *(lo-gsar)* beginnt am 28. des zehnten tibetischen Monats, dem Gedenktag der „Himmelfahrt" des großen Reformators des tibetischen Buddhismus Tsongkapa, des Stifters der herrschenden reformierten Sekte der Gelugspa (der „Tugendhaften"). Er soll an dem Tage göttliche Würde erlangt haben und in den Tuschitahimmel, den Aufenthaltsort der Bodhisattvas, aufgestiegen sein. Die Tibeter nennen deshalb auch diesen Festtag Galdan Namtschod *(dga-ldan* = Freudenreich, Tuschita; *gnam* = Himmel; *mĉod* = Opfer); Galdan nannte auch Tsongkapa das von ihm gegründete große Kloster bei Lhasa. Dort wird um diese Zeit das Laternenfest gefeiert, und in all den zahlreichen Klöstern der „Tugendhaften" werden Gedächtnisfeiern veranstaltet.

¶ Das Volk stiftet aus diesem Anlaß Opfergaben an die Klöster. Namgyal ging am Tage vor dem Beginn des Festes nach Tingmogang, um im dortigen Kloster einige messingene Opferlampen, sowie Butter zum Speisen derselben und Gerste, Reis und Bier in Messingschalen zu stiften, die vor den Götterbildern aufgestellt wurden. Zweige von Wacholder brachte er außen an den Türpfosten seines Hauses und im Inneren an den Deckbalken an, wie das alle anderen auch taten. Dadurch sollten die bösen Geister des alten Jahres gebannt werden, damit sie denen des neuen Jahres das Haus friedlich überließen. Im eigenen Haustempel stellte Namgyal vor den Statuen und Bildern der Buddhas und Götter Schalen mit frischen Opfergaben auf, um ihre Gunst zu erhalten, er schmückte den Hausaltar mit getrockneten Blumen, stellte brennende Opferlampen auf und legte Katags (Grußbänder) vor die Götterbilder hin.

¶ Am ersten Abend des Festes durfte bei der Mahlzeit der Babakloß aus Gerstenmehl, mit Butter und Zucker gemischt, nicht fehlen. Eigenhändig bereitete Mutter Tsering Putrid denselben, denn, sagte sie, das verstünde doch niemand so, wie sie es von ihrer Mutter gelernt habe. Beim Abendessen wurde dann der dampfende, duftende Riesenkloß zwischen die Festfeiernden, die auf Teppichen auf dem Boden hockten, hingesetzt. Mit einem Löffel machte der Hausherr oben in der Mitte ein Loch, da hinein goß Tsering Putrid geschmolzene Butter[133]. Dann stach zuerst der Hausherr, hernach alle anderen, ein jedes mit seinem kleinen Messinglöffel, ein Stück von dem Kloß ab, tauchte es in die Butter und bald verriet das laute Schmatzen, wie der Baba allen mundete.

¶ Überall vom Königsschloß bis in die Hütte des Kleinhäuslers wurde gefeiert, je nach Vermögen gut und reichlich gegessen, und — von den Männern — noch mehr getrunken, man kam zusammen zu Gesang und Tanz, zu Polospiel und Pferderennen, alles gab sich ungezügelter Fröhlichkeit hin.

¶ In einem der ersten Jahre nach seiner Verheiratung bekam Namgyal von dem Gyalpo, dem Enkel des 1840 entthronten Königs von Ladak, der in einem Schloß jenseits des Indus gegenüber von Leh wohnte und dort von einer kleinen Staatspension und großen Erinnerungen aus der Zeit seiner einst mächtigen Vorfahren zehrte, einen Brief, in dem ihn der „Herrscher ohne Land" einlud, mit ihm und den Galons, Lonpos und sonstigen Großen das Fest in Leh zu feiern. Der König redete in seinem Schreiben den jungen Dragschos mit „No" (jüngerer Bruder) an; er als der Sproß des edlen Geschlechts der Dragschos, dessen tapfere Söhne sich einst um das Land Ladak hohes Verdienst erworben hätten, und dessen einem Sproß einmal der Königshut angetragen worden war, dürfe bei den Feierlichkeiten in Leh nicht fehlen. Seit der Väter Zeit bestünde die Sitte, daß der König, umgeben von seinen Großen, das Neujahrsfest in Leh begehe und gemeinsam mit ihnen für das Wohl des Landes und Volkes bete.

¶ Namgyal verspürte anfangs wenig Lust, dem Rufe zu folgen. Sein Vater pflegte in den letzten Jahren die gleiche Einladung auszuschlagen unter dem Vorwand, er als Dorfschulze könne seinen Posten nicht solange verlassen. Der eigentliche Grund war der,

daß er aus Erfahrung wußte, daß dieses Mitmachen eine kostspielige Sache sei. Die großen Feiern im Königsschloß in Leh kosteten viel Geld, und der König war gar nicht imstande, aus seinen bescheidenen Einkünften diese Kosten zu bestreiten. Da mußten seine „Großen", die die Ehre hatten, an den Feiern teilzunehmen, gehörig mit beisteuern. Ja, es kam vor, daß nach der Feier die königlichen Taschen derart geleert waren, daß die „Majestät" den einen oder anderen seiner Edlen noch um ein Darlehen anging, auf dessen Rückzahlung der Betreffende dann sehr lange zu warten hatte. Manche hatten dabei üble Erfahrungen gemacht. Da hatte z. B. einer mit einem dürren Ochslein als Rückzahlung einer namhaften geliehenen Summe sich zufrieden geben müssen. Schließlich ließ sich aber Namgyal von einigen Freunden und von seiner ehrgeizigen Großmutter bereden, doch zu den Feiern nach Leh zu gehen, es sei doch eine Ehre für das Haus Dragschos und für ganz Unterladak, wenn er mit all den Großen um den König versammelt sei; der ihm verwandte Lonpo aus Domkhar beteilige sich ja auch. Schließlich wollte Namgyal die Festtage, von denen er soviel gehört hatte, einmal in Leh verlebt haben, vielleicht konnte er dabei auch etwas lernen, so dachte er.

¶ Namgyal ritt denn kurz vor dem Beginn der Feiern in zwei Tagen nach Leh und nahm dort bei einem weitläufigen Verwandten Quartier. Am Abend des ersten Feiertags, des 28. des zehnten Monats, sah er zum erstenmal die Beleuchtung der Stadt: die Häuser am Fuße des Schloßberges und am südlichen Hange desselben, das Schloß, die Klöster erglänzten im Scheine von Tausenden von Lämpchen zur Feier dieses lamaistischen „Himmelfahrtsfestes", was einen großen Eindruck auf Namgyal machte.

¶ Am folgenden Morgen traf er auf dem Basar gegen zwanzig tibetische adlige Herren, Galons, Lonpos und höhere Beamte zu Pferde, die im Begriff standen, den König zur Festfeier abzuholen. Namgyal, ebenfalls beritten, schloß sich ihnen an. Ein Ritt von einer guten Stunde in scharfem Paßgang brachte die Gesellschaft nach dem Dorfe Stog jenseits des Indus, wo schon der König vor dem Schloß mit seinem Bruder und einem kleinen Gefolge von Verwandten und Bauern auf die Herren aus Leh wartete. Alle waren gut beritten, die Pferde schön aufgezäumt und mit feinen,

bunten Jarkander Satteldecken versehen. Die Herren aus Leh begrüßten die entthronte Majestät mit den einem Könige der alten Zeit gebührenden Ehren: „Heil! Wir, deine geringen Diener, grüßen untertänigst dich, den erhabenen König von Ladak! Heil, Glück, Macht und langes Leben sei dir beschieden!" Hierbei wurde für jedes auf den König bezügliche Wort ein besonderes Wort der Höflichkeitssprache gebraucht. Dazu waren die Herren alle von den Pferden gestiegen, verneigten sich tief vor der Majestät und umfaßten die königlichen Beine. Der König, ein Mann in mittleren Jahren, war freilich alles andere als eine königliche Erscheinung: Schlaff die Haltung, schlaff und ausdruckslos die Gesichtszüge, das eine schielende Auge gab dem Ausdruck etwas Blödes — der entartete Sproß eines einst mächtigen, tatenlustigen Herrschergeschlechtes. Die Ehrenbezeugungen seiner Großen nahm er mit unbeholfener Geste entgegen. Und doch war er für die kurzen Tage des Feierns für die Ladaker „der König", dem königliche Ehren erwiesen werden mußten. So wollte es die Sitte, die die herrschende Kaschmirregierung großzügig duldete, da sie von der Ungefährlichkeit des schwächlichen Gyalpo überzeugt war.

Von etwa dreißig Reitern eskortiert ritt nun der König, den Indus auf einer Brücke überschreitend, nach Leh, über den Basar, überall von den Ladakern, die sich zahlreich aus allen, zum Teil weit entfernten, Nachbarorten zusammengefunden hatten, ehrerbietigst begrüßt. Heute durfte man nun einmal von alter, längst vergangener Königsherrlichkeit träumen. Der Zug ritt, von Scharen Volks begleitet, den steilen Schloßberg hinauf. Vor dem Löwentor stiegen die Reiter ab. Bei ihrer Annäherung hatte der aus Holz grob geschnitzte Löwe, der aus einer Nische über dem Tore herauslugte, wild zu rumoren angefangen, zugleich erscholl wütendes Hundegebell. Eine mächtige tibetische Dogge, die auf der Innenseite des Tores an der Kette lag, war durch einen Strick mit dem Holzlöwen oben verbunden. Wenn der Hund dann bellend herumsprang und an dem Strick zerrte, fing der hölzerne Löwe über dem Tore, durch dessen Bauch eine Achse ging, an zu hoppeln, und das Volk bestaunte dieses Wunder der Technik.

Das Schloß, in das der Gyalpo nun mit seinem Gefolge eintrat, war ein gewaltiger, massiger, neunstöckiger Bau, den einst der

mächtige König Sengge Namgyal (= Löwe — Großer Sieger) im 17. Jahrhundert errichtet hatte. Jetzt stand das riesige Gebäude meist leer und Ratten, Eulen und Fledermäuse hatten sich darin häuslich eingerichtet. Nur zu bestimmten Festzeiten öffnet sich das Löwentor und läßt edle Gäste einziehen in die öden, leeren Räume. Die alten Mauern hallen dann einige kurze Tage lang wieder von fröhlicher Musik und Festjubel. Fünf Tage lang feiern nun auch hier die Großen Ladaks mit ihrem König das Neujahr. Man ißt, man trinkt, die alten Lieder ertönen, in denen die Heldentaten des sagenhaften Königs Kesar, des „Göttersohnes", und der alten Ladaker Könige gepriesen, die Götter und die Lamas verherrlicht werden. Die Musikkapelle, die immer noch den stolzen Namen „Schloßkapelle" *(k'ar-mon)* führt, die aus lauter Mons (s. Anm. 12!) zusammengesetzt ist, spielt mit Klarinetten und Trommeln alte Weisen in wildem, aufpeitschendem Rhythmus. Die Tänzer, Männer und Frauen getrennt, wiegen sich im Tanze, Polospiel und Pferderennen werden veranstaltet, wozu die Herren sich auf den Poloplatz am Basar begeben. Am Polospiel beteiligte sich Namgyal eifrigst, er war einer der besten Spieler. Das Volk, sonst an Entbehrungen aller Art gewöhnt, genießt die seltenen Freuden in vollen Zügen und gibt sich ungehemmter Fröhlichkeit hin.

¶ Am dritten Feiertag, dem 30. des zehnten Monats, dem Namgang, dem letzten Tage des Mondmonats, an dem kein Mond den Abendhimmel erhellt, ritt Namgyal auf des Königs Geheiß mit ihm und den anderen Großen frühmorgens nach Scheh, einem Dorfe am Indus, etwa 7 km von Leh entfernt, wo auch ein Königsschloß steht; von dort ging es nach dem nahe dabei auf steilem Felsen gelegenen Kloster Trigtse. Dort betete der König mit seinen Gefolgsleuten vor dem großen Standbild Gautama Buddhas, und seine Leute füllten in seiner Gegenwart die etwa 1 m hohe, vor dem Bilde stehende, kelchförmige „Ewige Lampe" *(lo-koṅ)* mit neuer Butter, dem Buddha ein Opfer und ein „Gebet" für die Dauer des kommenden Jahres, damit die Gnade des Gewaltigen im dunklen Jenseits dem König und seinem Volke im neuen Jahre leuchten möge. Auf dem Rückwege, wie schon auf dem Herwege, ritten die Männer geflissentlich so, daß sie immer die am Wege errichteten langen Manes (Gebetsmauern), deren längste über 600 m lang ist,

auf der rechten Seite hatten, damit all die dort auf der Mauer liegenden Gebetstafeln das Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum tausendfach zu dem großen Erbarmer emporsenden sollten. Die die Manes flankierenden Tschorten wurden betend umkreist, um auch durch dieses „Beten" den Segen der Buddhas und Götter auf Land und Volk herabzuflehen. Fünf Tage lang feierte so Namgyal mit den Großen, tagsüber auf dem Basar und Poloplatz inmitten des Volkes, und abends im Schloß im engen Kreis der Standesgenossen und ergötzte sich an dem fröhlichen Treiben; er glaubte dabei auch das Seine zu tun, die Götter günstig zu stimmen, denn ihnen zu Ehren wurde ja gefeiert.

¶ Ungefähr zwei Monate später, als die Tage schon an Länge beträchtlich zugenommen hatten, und die Sonne bereits in den Mittagsstunden recht warm in die Täler Ladaks hineinschien, rüstete man dort auf das *Königsneujahr*, und wieder führte des Königs Ruf Namgyal nach Leh. Bei diesem Fest wünschte der König wieder möglichst viele seiner Großen um sich zu sehen, um wenigstens an diesen seltenen Tagen sich von einem Schimmer königlichen Glanzes umgeben zu lassen, schon weil das auch auf die göttlichen Nothelfer, denen man wieder bittend nahte, mehr Eindruck machte.

¶ Großmutter Tsering Putrid redete diesmal ihrem Enkel ganz besonders dringend zu, an dem Feste in Leh teilzunehmen. „Namgyal", sagte sie, „wenn ihr in Leh den großen Zaubermast *(Dosmo)* umreißt, dann sieh, daß du ein recht großes Stück von so einem Fadenstern erwischst, Holz mit gelben, roten und blauen Fäden. Das bringt uns Glück im neuen Jahr und hält die bösen Geister fern!" Namgyal hatte dazu lächelnd „oh,oh!" gesagt, was wie eine halbe Zusage klang. Da war die Alte ganz böse geworden und hatte hinzugefügt: „Lach nur nicht, Namgyal! Du weißt gar nicht, was für eine Zauberkraft in so einem Stück vom Dosmo steckt. Wie deine Mutter dich geboren hat, habe ich ihr so ein Bündel Stäbe und bunte Fäden vom letzten Dosmo ins Bett gesteckt, da ging dann alles gut mit der Geburt und nachher. Ein Jahr vorher hatte deine Mutter eine Fehlgeburt und mußte viel ausstehen. Da hatte ich eben kein solches Amulett zur Hand gehabt. Da konnte es ja nicht gut gehen! Und vor vielen Jahren verlor ich mal meine Korallenhalskette mit dem Silberamulett dort oben am Berghang

beim Ziegenhüten. Ich suchte stundenlang und konnte sie nicht finden. Am folgenden Tage steckte ich mir das Dosmoamulett in den Busen meines Kleides, und siehe da, ich gehe nur zweimal am Berghang hin und her, da sehe ich etwas glänzen zwischen zwei großen Steinen — meine Halskette! Das hatte das Dosmoamulett bewirkt". „*Yindro*" (= so war's vielleicht) sagte Namgyal trocken und machte sich an seine Reisevorbereitungen, denn er wollte wenigstens einmal das große Dosmofest miterlebt haben und auch dem Könige zu Gefallen sein. Am 25. des zwölften Monats reiste er nach Leh ab.

¶ Die Feier des Königsneujahrs oder Dosmotsche beginnt schon am 28. des zwölften Monats und dauert im ganzen wieder fünf Tage. Das Fest fällt meist in die erste Hälfte des Februar, aber der Zeitpunkt nach dem Gregorianischen Kalender schwankt wie bei allen tibetischen Daten, weil die beiden Kalender nie ganz in Einklang gebracht werden können.

¶ Am Morgen des ersten Festtages wird zunächst das große Dosmo (Zaubermast) auf einem freien Platze in der Wüste vor der Stadt Leh durch die Lamas und Onpos aufgerichtet. Das Dosmo ist schon früher beschrieben worden. Das hier gebrauchte zeichnet sich durch seine Größe und die Menge der an demselben angebrachten Fadensterne, -kreuze und Pentagramme[124] aus. Der Mast ist etwa 8 m hoch und alles in dem gleichen Verhältnis größer als bei anderen Gelegenheiten, Hausweihen, Bannung von Krankheitsdämonen u. dgl. Die Lamas und manche fromme Laien haben sich durch Fasten und Lesen der heiligen Bücher, Beten und Wallfahrten auf das Fest vorbereitet. Nachdem das große Dosmo aufgerichtet worden ist, wird von den Lamas ein Speis- und Trankopfer *(ser-skyems)* den Buddhas und Göttern dargebracht.

¶ Am 29. des zwölften Monats bringen die Lamas das Stormaopfer *(gtor-ma)*[125] dar. Dabei lesen die Mönche und Onpos getrennt Gebete und Bannformeln, um damit die bösen Geister des alten Jahres auszutreiben; auch die Tänze, welche die Zauberer, mit greulichen Dämonenmasken vor dem Gesicht und Zauberdolch und Schädeltrommel in den Händen, aufführen, haben den Zweck, jene feindlichen Geister zu bannen, damit sie im neuen Jahre die Menschen unbehelligt lassen. Es ist das die „Zeremonie des ster-

benden Jahres" *(lo-ši-sku-rim)*. Nach dem Lesen der betreffenden Formeln nimmt ein Lama den bereitstehenden, pyramidenförmigen Opferkuchen und trägt ihn hinaus an einen Kreuzweg in der Wüste. Dort schleudert er dieses Wurfopfer zwischen die Steine, daß es in zahllose Brocken zerstiebt und ruft die Geister herbei, sie möchten sich an der „kostbaren Speise" erlaben und dafür die Menschen im neuen Jahre in Ruhe und Frieden leben lassen, sie mit keinerlei Schaden und tückischen Angriffen heimsuchen. Manche Tibeter, die die Kosten dranwenden können, lassen gegen Bezahlung vom Lama ihr eigenes Wurfopfer schleudern, um gegen das böse Treiben der Dämonen ganz sicher zu sein.

¶ Gegen Abend wird der große Zaubermast mit allen Fadenkreuzen und Pentagrammen dem Volke, das in gespannter Erwartung das Dosmo umsteht, zum Umreißen preisgegeben. Namgyal stand mit einigen Freunden inmitten der aufgeregten Menge.

¶ Nun war alles zum Umreißen bereit. Noch ein letztes Tanzen der Onpos um den Mast, ein Hersagen von Bannformeln —, die Geister des alten Jahres werden aufgefordert, sich in die Fadensterne und Pentagramme zu begeben, eine wilde, schrille Musik fällt ein, dämonische Laute wie aus der Hölle, wüstes Schreien, Pfeifen, Johlen der Menge, dann fällt auf ein gegebenes Zeichen der Onpos das Volk über das Dosmo her, der Mast stürzt zu Boden, und nun setzt ein Raufen und Balgen ein, jeder sucht ein möglichst großes Stück Holz mit bunten Wollfäden zu erhaschen, trägt das Erbeutete nach Hause und bewahrt es sorgsam das ganze Jahr über als kostbaren Talisman zum Schutz gegen die bösen Geister.

¶ Namgyal dachte nicht daran, sich an der Balgerei zu beteiligen. Da mußte die Api Tsering Putrid schon sehen, wie sie dies Jahr ohne das Amulett auskam; er selbst glaubte schon gar nicht mehr an die Zauberkraft dieser Dinge.

¶ Am 30. des zwölften Monats, dem Monats- und Jahresende, ritt Namgyal wieder mit im Gefolge des Königs, der abermals für die Dauer des Festes königliche Würde angenommen hatte, nach Scheh und Trigtse. Wieder war Namgyal Zeuge, wie der König im Kloster des letzteren Ortes vor den Bildern der Gottheiten zum Besten des Volkes Gebete verrichtete, und wieder feierten die

Großen wie die Kleinen auch das zweite Neujahrsfest ausgiebig mit Schmausen und Trinken, mit Gesang, Tanz und Polospiel.

¶ Einige Freunde Namgyals drangen in ihn, noch ein paar Tage länger in Leh zu bleiben, da er nun einmal da sei, um auch noch die *Bittprozession (mgo-p'yag*, eigentlich *„Kopfprozession")* mitzumachen. Dieselbe sollte am 8., 9. und 10. des ersten Monats des neuen Jahres stattfinden. Namgyal ließ sich überreden; von dieser Übung versprach er sich mehr Gewinn, als von den Neujahrsfeiern mit ihren wüsten Gelagen und ihren ausgelassenen Lustbarkeiten. Sollte es sich doch hier um ein ernstes Beten und eine wirkliche Anstrengung, die Gunst der Mächte des Jenseits zu erlangen, handeln, so sagte man ihm.

¶ Nach vorherigem Fasten, eifrigem Beten und allerlei verdienstlichem Tun der einzelnen Teilnehmer kamen gegen dreißig Männer aus Leh und den umliegenden Orten zusammen zu der jährlichen Bittprozession. Es gilt dabei für die Beter in geschlossener Reihe, einer hinter dem anderen, mit einer Mannslänge Abstand, den Klosterberg bei Leh innerhalb von drei Tagen einmal zu umkreisen. Der steile Berg trägt auf seiner Spitze das kleine Kloster Namgyal Tsemo, das von dort oben trutzig wie eine Burg ins Land schaut. Die Verehrung gilt in erster Linie dem Bodhisattva Avalokiteschvara mit den elf Gesichtern *(spyan-ras gzigs bcu-gcig źal)* und den tausend Armen, dessen Riesenbild in jenem Kloster steht. Ein alter Lama hatte dem Namgyal gesagt, in dieser Gestalt hätte der Große Erbarmer ganz besondere Macht, und sein Erbarmen habe keine Grenzen. Mit mehr als tausend Augen (außer den gewöhnlichen Augen hat jedes der elf Gesichter noch ein drittes auf der Stirn, und in jedem Handteller befindet sich ein Auge) schaut der Erlöser mit unendlichem Erbarmen auf die leidenden Lebewesen in den sechs Welten, bis in die Hölle herab, und da sind auch die tausend starken Arme ausgestreckt, zu retten und zu erlösen. Und das alles täte der Große Erbarmer aus reiner Gnade, es bedürfe keiner besonderen Anstrengung und keines Tugendverdienstes seitens der zu Erlösenden. So setzte auch Namgyal große Hoffnung gerade auf diesen Bittumgang.

¶ Nach einigem Warten sind die Männer alle versammelt in der schneebedeckten Wüste am Fuße des Klosterberges. Es sind einige

Vornehme darunter, zwei Herren vom Adel, einige Beamte vom Wasarat (dem Amt des Wasirs), Bauern, Kleinhäusler und Tagelöhner, eine bunte Gesellschaft. Von den letzteren waren einige von den Reichen gemietet worden, sie sollten gegen Bezahlung für sie die Prozession mitmachen; Verdienst und Gewinn sollte den Geldgebern zugute kommen. Die Wohlhabenden sind in warme, kaftanartige Tuchröcke gekleidet, einige tragen darüber noch einen dicken Schafpelz; die Armen suchen sich wenigstens durch zwei recht zerlumpte Röcke, die sie übereinander anziehen, und ein Ziegenfell, das mit der haarigen Seite nach innen über den Rücken hängt, notdürftig gegen die empfindliche Kälte des Morgens zu schützen.

¶ Schweigend ordnen sich die Männer zum Zuge in der vorgeschriebenen Ordnung, voran der Ortsvorsteher eines Nachbardorfes, der als ein besonders frommer Mann gilt und sicher im Hersagen der Gebete ist. Aller Augen richten sich nun auf das Kloster oben auf dem Berge, in dem das allen wohlbekannte Bild des *sPyan-ras-gzigs*, des Großen Erbarmers, steht. Der Mann an der Spitze fängt an zu beten, alle fallen betend ein[136]: „Du Herrscher mit den tausend Armen, der du den Kreislauf (der Seelenwanderung) leitest! Du Buddha mit den tausend Augen, der du (uns) das glückliche Kalpa (= Weltperiode) weisest, den einen so, den anderen so leitest! Dich den ‚Lehrer' Tschanresig beten wir an!"

¶ Ein zweites Gebet, an Gautama Buddha in den „drei Leibern" gerichtet, lautet: „Wir unzählbaren Lebewesen alle beten dich, den erhabenen Buddha im Leib der Lehre (sanskr. *Dharma-kaya)*[137] an. Wir beten dich, den erhabenen Buddha, im Leib der vollkommenen Seligkeit *(Nirmanakaya)* an!" Weitere Gebete an Tschanresig, an Maitreya und andere Gottheiten folgen.

¶ Das erste Gebet wird stehend verrichtet, mit entblößtem Haupt; das zweite kniend, das dritte in liegender Stellung, so daß der Kopf die Erde berührt (daher der Name „Kopfprozession"). Dann erheben sich alle und schreiten im Abstand von einer Mannslänge so weit, daß die Füße an die Stelle kommen, wo vorher der Kopf lag. Kein Wort soll außer den Gebeten gesprochen, die Gedanken in Andacht auf den Erhabenen dort oben gerichtet werden. Das Ziel der Wegstrecke jedes Tages ist durch Steinblöcke bezeichnet,

die aus dem Schnee herausragen. Der Weg führt an der schneebedeckten Berglehne hin durch die Wüste, über einen Sattel und endet schließlich am dritten Tage oben auf der Spitze des Berges vor dem Klostertempel.

Die Prozession ging langsam, unter beständigem Beten, ihren Weg. Vor Namgyal, der ein Mann von stattlicher Größe war, schritt mühsam unter allen Anzeichen der Anstrengung, der Schreiber vom Wasarat, Dondrub, ein Mann von beträchtlichem Körperumfang und geringer Körpergröße. So kam es, daß wenn die Beter sich hinlegten, der Kopf Namgyals über die nach hinten ausgestreckten Füße des Vordermannes zu liegen kam, und er jedesmal den Kopf zur Seite drehen mußte, um nicht ungewollte Fußtritte ins Gesicht zu bekommen. Namgyal beobachtete, wie der dicke Schreiber ab und zu trotz des strengen Fastengebotes ein Stück Brot aus dem weiten Busen seines Pelzes hervorholte und verzehrte und merkte, wie dann dessen Beten den dumpfen Klang des Kauenden annahm. Auch sah Namgyal, wie der beleibte Herr vor ihm, einer der ersten Würdenträger des Ladaker Landes, hier aller Würde bar, sich gehen ließ und hörte, wie er jedesmal aus der liegenden Stellung unter Keuchen und Prusten sich erhob, worauf er dann mit dem Ärmel sich den Schweiß von der Stirne wischte. Namgyal war mit Ernst und Andacht an die Gotschag-Übung gegangen, aber er hatte auch einen offenen Blick für die heitere Seite des Lebens. Für ein paar Augenblicke war seine Andacht dahin, und das Lachen kam ihn an, er mußte sich zusammenreißen, um nicht in lautes Gelächter auszubrechen. Er kannte den Schreiber gut und wußte, was es mit der Körperfülle dieses Ehrenmannes für eine Bewandtnis hatte. Aber bald hatte Namgyal seine Lachmuskeln und seine Gedanken wieder in der Gewalt und richtete sein Sinnen auf den Erhabenen dort oben auf dem Berge. Als die Beter nachmittags bei dem alten Wasserturm unter dem Schloß angekommen waren, stellte der Vorbeter an der Spitze des Zuges sein Beten ein, und die Männer gingen schweigend, wie sie gekommen, auseinander. Der Schreiber Dondrub drehte sich noch einmal nach seinem Hintermann um, warf ihm einen halb verzweifelten Blick zu und raunte ihm zu: „War das eine Schinderei! Und das soll noch zwei Tage so fortgehen!"

¶ Namgyal ging in sein Quartier, verzehrte seine einfache, karge Fastenmahlzeit und legte sich dann bald schlafen. Die eigenartige Pilgerfahrt dieses Tages war ihm zwar etwas Ungewohntes, aber für den kräftigen Mann nicht allzu anstrengend gewesen. Wie mochte dem Schreiber Dondrub heute Abend zumute sein!

¶ Am folgenden Morgen trafen sich die frommen Pilger wieder beim alten Wasserturm an der Stelle, an der ihre „Kopfprozession" am Tage vorher ihr Ende gefunden hatte. Wieder setzte das Pilgern und Beten in derselben Weise ein wie am Vortage. Aber vergeblich sah sich Namgyal nach seinem Vordermann von gestern um. Er erfuhr später, dieser hätte sich bei dem Vorbeter „krank" gemeldet und statt seiner seinen Knecht zum Beten geschickt, dem er ein gutes Bakschisch (Trinkgeld) versprach. Es sei ja ganz gleich, hätte der Hauskaplan, ein Lama im Dienste des Dondrub, gesagt, *wer* bete, wenn nur *ein* Mann für das Haus den Bittumgang mitmache, sei der Erhabene auf dem Berge schon zufriedengestellt.

¶ Dieses Erlebnis gab Namgyal wieder viel zu denken. Sein Vordermann an diesem zweiten und dem dritten Tage des Bittumganges war ein Bauer aus einem Nachbarort, der ungefähr die gleiche Gestalt und Größe hatte wie Namgyal, und der mit Ernst und Inbrunst die Übungen verrichtete. So konnte Namgyal seine Gedanken ungestört auf sein Gebet richten. Als dann am dritten Tage mit sinkender Sonne der Bittumgang vor dem Namgyal-Tsemo-Tempel auf dem Berge seinen Abschluß fand und die Beter sich im Klostertempel dreimal anbetend vor dem Bilde Tschanresigs niedergeworfen hatten, gingen sie schweigend, wie sie gekommen, auseinander. Noch lange saß Namgyal an diesem Abend in seiner Herberge vor dem verglimmenden Feuer des Herdes und dachte über das in den letzten Tagen Erlebte nach. Wohl hundertmal fragte sich der Mann, der in ehrlichem Suchen nach Frieden den mühseligen Bittumgang mitgemacht hatte: „Hat mich das alles besser, froher und stärker gemacht?" Er fand keine Antwort.

¶ Die Mehrzahl seiner frommen Betgenossen gab sich freilich nicht solch grüblerischem Sinnen hin. Sie waren der Ansicht, einer Anstrengung müsse eine „wohlverdiente" Erholung folgen. So fanden sie sich denn abends mit ihren weniger frommen Freunden zu einem Trinkgelage zusammen, das recht unfromm endete. Es gab eine

Prügelei, bei der ein Mann blutig geschlagen wurde, weil er den Schreiber Dondrub wegen dessen „Erkrankung" gefoppt hatte.

¶ Mit quälenden Zweifeln im Herzen kehrte Namgyal nach Kalatse zurück. Die neue große Anstrengung, den so hochgepriesenen Heilbringern zu nahen, hatte bei ihm wieder nur ein Gefühl des Unbefriedigtseins in seinem Herzen zurückgelassen. Großmutter Tsering Putrid, die kein Verständnis für seine inneren Kämpfe hatte, obgleich sie ihn beständig ermahnte, „fromm" zu sein, machte ihm bittere Vorwürfe, weil er es unterlassen hätte, ihr ein Amulett vom großen Dosmo in Leh mitzubringen. Da habe er eine so schöne Gelegenheit versäumt, sagte sie, Glück in Haus und Familie zu bringen.

¶ Bald nach der Rückkehr ihres Enkels drang die Api (Großmutter) Tsering Putrid in ihn und sagte: „Namgyal, hast du schon für das neue Jahr das *Horoskop* stellen lassen? Nein? Dann ist es höchste Zeit! Wie kann man eine so wichtige Sache solange aufschieben! Geh nur gleich zum alten Dordsche Duddschoms und laß das Jahreshoroskop für unsere Familie stellen! Das hätte schon vor zwei Monaten gemacht werden müssen. Wer weiß denn sonst, was die bösen Dämonen alles gegen uns im Schilde führen, wenn der Wahrsager einen nicht beizeiten warnt!"

¶ Namgyal hatte keine Lust zu dem schlauen Alten zu gehen, um ihn wieder zu befragen und sagte zur Api, der Onpo wüßte auch nicht mehr als andere Leute und könne nicht in die dunkle Zukunft blicken, so oft schon hätten die Ratsuchenden sich von ihm betrogen gesehen. Der einzige, der dabei immer einen Gewinn hätte, sei der Onpo. Die Api war ernstlich böse auf ihren Enkel und sagte, wenn er schon nicht ginge, dann würde sie selber zu dem Manne gehen.

¶ So ging denn die Alte schon am folgenden Tage den weiten Weg zum „Teufelsbezwinger", um durch ihn das Schicksal für das längst begonnene Jahr befragen zu lassen. Der Wahrsager war sehr schlechter Laune und kurz angebunden. Er schrieb ihr ein paar Titel von Büchern auf, die von Lamas gelesen werden sollten zur Abwehr drohenden Unheils, dazu ein paar Opfergaben, die man darbringen sollte und ein Skurim (Zeremonie) zu gleichem Zweck. Er kannte den Geiz der Alten, und als sie seine Klause verlassen

hatte, murmelte er hinter ihr her: „Für die paar lumpigen Kupfer, die du mir gibst, soll ich dir wohl noch ein langes, schönes Horoskop schreiben!" Müde und kleinlaut kam die Api nach Hause und wagte nicht gleich, ihrem Enkel das Schriftstück zu zeigen. Erst nach einer reichlichen Woche gab sie es ihm und sagte nur: „Hier auf dem Papier steht, wie wir in diesem Jahre die bösen Geister abwehren sollen. Du wirst dich doch danach richten? Gelt, Namgyal?" „Oh, oh!" sagte der und klemmte seelenruhig den schmutzigen Zettel in einen Ritz des großen Deckbalkens in der Tschansa.

¶ Manch einer, der ganz sicher gehen wollte und es sich leisten konnte, ging um die Jahreswende zum Orakelmann *(rtsis-pa)* ins Lamayuru-Kloster, der seine Weisheit gegen eine höhere Bezahlung als der Onpo verkaufte. Der alte Märchenerzähler Gyamtsopa verstand sich aber auf das Wahrsagen auf billigere Weise, als die Vorgenannten. Er nahm das Schulterblatt eines frischgeschlachteten Schafes, säuberte es von allen Fleischteilen, hielt es ins Feuer, so daß es sich in der Hitze bog und schrumpfte. Dann hielt er es gegen das Licht und betrachtete die Figuren, die sich im Gewebe gebildet hatten. „Da — ein Reiter! Ein roter Tsandämon! Dort — eine Frauengestalt mit Schlangen über dem Kopfe! Eine böse Wassernixe! Drohende Gestalten! Dort ein Kinderkopf — das bedeutet Familienzuwachs; eine Kornähre — reiche Ernte!" In ähnlicher Weise kündeten ihm frische Schafdärme Zukünftiges, ferner Vogelknochen oder Steinchen, die er mit geübter Hand auf den Boden warf; aus den Figuren, die sich dabei bildeten, oder seine Einbildungskraft ihm vormalte, gab er dann seinen Befragern, die sich zahlreich bei ihm einstellten, „Blicke in die Zukunft". Er machte es billig: Ein paar Maß Gerste, ein Stück Butter, eine Kanne Bier, ein paar Anna (1 Anna = 8½ Pfennig).

¶ Einen bis anderthalb Monate nach dem Dosmotsche-Fest (Mitte bis Ende März) wird in allen großen und kleinen Dörfern das Storlog *(gtor-log)* begangen, ein Frühlingsfest, bei dem wieder die Bannung der drohenden Dämonen im Vordergrunde steht, was durch ein Storma *(gtor-ma)*, ein Streuopfer mit den dazu gehörigen Beschwörungen geschieht. Auch hier fehlen die Belustigungen nicht. Die Männer schießen mit Pfeilen nach aufgestellten Zielen. Gewiß

hat das Pfeilschießen hier auch ursprünglich mythologische Bedeutung gehabt. Darauf deuten die Lieder von dem sagenhaften großen König Kesar, dem „Sohn der Götter", in denen seine Heldentaten besungen werden. Bei diesem Fest wird während der hellen Tagesstunden mit Bogen und Pfeil geschossen, wobei heute kaum mehr besondere Kunst an den Tag gelegt wird. Als die Tibeter noch ein kriegsgewohntes Volk waren, selbst als die Luntenflinten schon aufgekommen waren, wurde die Kunst des Pfeilschießens eifrig gepflegt. In der langen Friedenszeit haben sie das Schießen verlernt.

¶ Als im Frühjahr die Sonne immer höhere Bogen über den Bergen beschrieb und unter ihren nun schon recht warmen Strahlen sich das erste Grün an den Berghängen und Halden hervorwagte, sagte Namgyal eines Morgens zu seinem Vater: „Wir könnten bald mit dem Pflügen anfangen. Was meinst du?" Vater Lobsang Wanggyal erwiderte: „Ja, wenn die Lamas und die Onpos nicht wären, könnten wir freilich mit dem Pflügen und Säen beginnen. Aber du weißt doch. *Die* wollen den Zeitpunkt dafür bestimmen, weil sie sagen, nur sie könnten den Tag angeben, an dem die astrologischen Zeichen günstig und die Götter uns freundlich gesinnt sind. Ich habe ja längst an der Weisheit der Wahrsager gezweifelt. So oft kam es anders, als sie geweissagt hatten, und trotzdem wir ihre Vorschriften befolgten, bekamen wir häufig schlechte Ernten. Aber wer weiß, ob es nicht noch schlimmer käme, wenn wir uns von ihnen lossagten. Vorläufig ist es wohl geraten, es mit ihnen nicht ganz zu verderben. Willst du nicht zum *Königspflügen* nach Leh gehen, damit du das einmal mit erlebt hast. Der Onpo in Leh hat am Dosmotsche-Fest den Tag dafür bestimmt. Es ist in acht Tagen, da kannst du allerhand lernen." Namgyal war willig zu gehen. Eine gewisse Achtung vor der Würde des Königs, dessen Vorfahren seine Ahnen einst so treu gedient hatten und der Gedanke, daß die dort gewonnene Kenntnis ihm von Nutzen sein könnte, bewog ihn, noch einmal nach Leh zu gehen, um bei dem Königspflügen zugegen zu sein, von dem er soviel gehört hatte. Die Ladaker nennen es Sa-kha-tsche *(sa-k'a-p'ye)*, meist abgekürzt Saka.

¶ Am Vortage des Königspflügens kam Namgyal nach Leh. Am folgenden Tage ging er mit einigen Freunden, dem Menschenstrom

Braut, Bräutigam (im spitzen Hut), Eltern des letzteren und Tanten

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der Neugierigen folgend, auf den Basar und sah, wie die Bauern ein paar Dso (Bastardochsen) heranführten, denen sie vorher die Hörner mit Butter eingefettet hatten — ein Symbol des Fetten, des Überflusses. Nun lassen sie die Tiere, die den Winter meist im engen, dunklen Stall zugebracht haben, eine Zeitlang frei herumlaufen und sich in übermütigen Sprüngen austoben. Dann begibt sich eine Abordnung von Bauern, der sich Namgyal anschließt, unter Führung der Ortsvorsteher von Leh und der Nachbardörfer ins Schloß, wo der König sie erwartet; sie tragen einen großen Opferkuchen in Form eines Tschorten *(bran-rgyas)* aus Brotteig mit Butter vermischt. Der Kuchen wird in der Schloßküche aufgestellt, und die Männer tanzen im Kreise um denselben herum. Dieser Kuchentschorten wird später beim Festgelage verteilt und gegessen, nachdem ein Stück davon den Göttern als Wurfopfer gespendet worden ist.

Nach dem Tanze tritt Namgyal mit den anderen auf die Felsterrasse vor dem Schloß und sieht, wie der Schreiber Dondrub, der sich sichtlich von den Anstrengungen der Kopfprozession erholt hat und wohlgenährt und blühend aussieht, an den Rand der Terrasse tritt. Von dort ruft er mit der Stentorstimme, die ihm eigen ist, in der Richtung der unterhalb am Fuße des Schloßberges liegenden Stadt: „*Sa-kha-tsche!* Die Erdtüre ist geöffnet!" Das bedeutet, daß die Erdmutter *(Ama-Khon)* die Erdtüre nun aufgemacht hat, die den Winter über „geschlossen" war, und die Erde nun aus ihrem Schoße die Fruchtbarkeit spendende Kraft herzugeben bereit ist. Dann folgt eine Warnung an alle diejenigen, die aus irgendeinem Grunde rituell unrein geworden sind durch Berühren einer Leiche, eines neugeborenen Kindes oder bloße Annäherung an diese, sich nicht an den Bewässerungsgräben zu schaffen zu machen, sobald und solange die Felder aus diesen Gräben berieselt werden, was nun beginnen soll, auch keinen dieser Gräben zu überschreiten, weil sonst die Wassergötter *(klu, Naga)* und die Erdgeister *(sa-bdag)* beleidigt und erzürnt würden. Die ersteren würden dann das Wasser auf den Bergen zurückhalten, und die letzteren würden auf Geheiß der Erdmutter die Erdtüre geschlossen halten, damit die Erde ihre zeugende Kraft zurückhält.

Nun erscheint der König mit seinem Gefolge, dem sich auch

Ladaker Frau in Festtracht mit türkisenbesetztem Kopfschmuck (Perag) und Korallenband

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Namgyal angeschlossen hat und begibt sich an der Spitze eines langen Zuges von Bauern auf ein nahes, dem König gehöriges Feld. Dort steht schon ein Pflug bereit. Die wieder eingefangenen Ochsen werden eingespannt, die Stränge sind an das roh gearbeitete Joch befestigt, das ohne alle Polsterung auf dem Nacken der Tiere liegt. Der König pflügt nun einige Furchen. Oft ist die Erde noch hart gefroren, der Pflug schlurft nur scharrend auf der harten Erde dahin. Das schadet nichts. Der Tibeter sieht auch so den Zweck des Brauches erfüllt. Fünf Lamas sitzen am Feldrand und lesen während des Königspflügens das Buch „Die erlangte Seligkeit der achtfachen Erleuchtung *(snaṅ-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)*"; an manchen Orten wird auch das Buch von der „Befreiung von den Erdgeistern und Dämonen *(sa-bdag gdon bsgrol)*" gelesen. Alle feindlichen Dämonen der Erde, des Luftraumes und des Wassers werden beschworen, daß sie die nun beginnenden Feldarbeiten nicht stören, und daß die Wassergötter reichlich Wasser spenden sollen.

¶ Für ihr Lesen und Beten werden die Lamas von den Bauern reichlich bezahlt. Wer hier geizt, der kann, so meinen sie, auch keine reiche Ernte erwarten. Der arme Kleinhäusler, der kein Geld hat, die Priester zu bezahlen, hilft sich auf billigere Weise, er vergräbt einen Ziegenschädel in einer Ecke seines Ackers oder schlägt die Hacke in den Boden und läßt sie dort stecken; beides soll zum mindesten die erzürnten Erdgeister für einige Zeit bannen und festhalten, und es kostet nichts.

¶ Nach dem Königspflügen kehrte Namgyal wieder nach Kalatse zurück und ging an die Frühjahrsbestellung seiner Felder. Das in Leh Erlebte gab ihm wieder viel und auf lange Zeit Stoff zum Nachdenken.

¶ Als die Felder beim Dorfe und auf den höher gelegenen Sommerplätzen *(yar-sa)* bestellt waren, und das Getreide in grünen Halmen auf den Feldterrassen stand, ließen die Bauern, die es sich leisten konnten, eine *Bittandacht (rim-agro)* abhalten. Auf der Dreschtenne, die im freien Felde liegt, werden von drei oder fünf Lamas Gebete gelesen. Namgyal ließ drei Lamas aus Tingmogang kommen, um das Rimdro abzuhalten. Auf der runden Dreschtenne ließen sich die Rotröcke auf ausgebreiteten Ziegenhaarteppichen nieder, und, nachdem sie gut gegessen und getrunken hatten, lasen

sie die vorgeschriebenen Gebete an den Gott des Reichtums Dsambhala (Kubera, tibet. *rnam-tos-sras)* und an die Göttin des Reichtums *(nor-rgyun-lha-ma)*. Auch die beiden Zeremonien *yan-agug* und *p'ya-agug* wurden verrichtet, weil der Dragschos gut zu bezahlen pflegte. Die Lamas versicherten am Abend dieses Tages, daß nun die angerufenen Gottheiten ohne Zweifel günstig gesinnt, die bösen gebannt seien, Scheuer und Geldsack werde ihm gefüllt und ihm Glück und Erfolg in all seinen Unternehmungen beschieden sein.

Schließlich taten sich auch noch einige wohlhabendere Kalatseer Bauern zusammen, um auf Empfehlung der Lamas hin einen *Bittumgang*[138] um die Felder zu veranstalten. Namgyal schloß sich ihnen an. Die Lamas im Tingmoganger Kloster gaben von den 108 Büchern des Kanons 84 aus der Klosterbücherei heraus, jeder der beteiligten Männer, unter ihnen auch Namgyal, nahm drei bis vier dieser Bücher, mit einem Strick zusammengebunden, auf den Rücken, und die Träger umkreisten nun den ganzen Felderkomplex von Kalatse; es ging dabei bergauf, bergab, an steiler, steiniger Berglehne hin und tief in die Schlucht hinab, damit auch das kleinste Feldstück von wenigen Quadratmetern Größe teilhabe an dem Segen, der aus dem göttlichen Wort auf die umkreiste Erde herabströmt.

¶ In Leh rief im zeitigen Frühjahr wie alljährlich der Exkönig im Verein mit dem Wasir, dem Statthalter des herrschenden Maharadscha von Kaschmir, eine große Schar von Lamas aus all den vielen benachbarten Klöstern zusammen zu dem „*Großen Lesen*". Dabei werden die ganzen 108 Bände des Kanons in der Weise durchgelesen, daß die losen Blätter der einzelnen Bücher in der schon beschriebenen Weise unter die Lamas verteilt werden und nun jeder der Rotröcke die ihm vorgelegten Blätter möglichst schnell laut abliest. In der Weise wird Band für Band ohne Rücksicht auf den Zusammenhang durchgelesen. Die göttliche Kraft des gesamten Wortes *(ĉos)* bewirkt auch so angeblich das Herabströmen des Segens, Fruchtbarkeit und Reifen einer reichen Ernte, Friede, Glück und Gedeihen für das ganze Volk und Land.

¶ Namgyal, der dieses Große Lesen einmal mit angesehen hatte, dachte, wenn etwas, dann müßte doch dieser Massenappell an die

Gunst der Buddhas und Götter wirksam sein. Und doch — gab es nicht immer wieder Mißernten, Dürre, Seuchen und Hungersnot? Wo waren die rettenden Mächte, wenn sie all das Elend nicht verhinderten? Auch stieß ihn das Treiben der Lamas ab: Das geistlose Herunterleiern der heiligen Texte, das Prassen und die Zuchtlosigkeit vieler derselben, die sich doch als Seelsorger und Leiter des Volkes aufspielten und sich „Heiland" *(skyabs-mgon)* nennen ließen.

¶ Ein Wahrsager im Kloster der „Tugendhaften" in Ri-rdsong hatte — im Gegensatz zu anderen, die ein fruchtbares Jahr vorhergesagt hatten — für das neue Jahr Trockenheit und Mißwachs prophezeit. Da erschraken die Bauern von Kalatse, und einige von ihnen, die wohlhabendsten, taten sich zusammen, um auch noch das Letzte zu tun, drohendes Unheil abzuwenden, koste es was es wolle. Jener Lama-Wahrsager hatte ihnen geraten, ein jeder für sich, durch einen seiner Klosterbrüder die regenspendenden Gottheiten noch besonders anrufen zu lassen. Da käme man an die richtige Stelle. Denn sie seien es schließlich, die mit dem nötigen Regen Wachstum und Gedeihen spendeten.

¶ So rief denn Namgyal auch einen Gelugspa-Mönch herbei, um die vorgeschriebenen Zeremonien zu verrichten. Der Lama, der als „Rechtgläubiger" eine gelbe Mütze zu seiner roten Ordenstracht trug (die Nichtreformierten tragen rote Mützen) kam herbei und, nachdem er die rituellen Waschungen vorgenommen hatte, ging er in das Seitental, das von dem wasserspendenden Bach durchflossen wird, setzte sich dort an eine Quelle und säuberte den Platz im Umkreis von einem Meter. Dann stellte er eine kleine Bronzestatue des Tsongkapa auf, des großen Reformators; vor dieselbe als Opfergaben einen Strauß nichtgiftiger Blumen in einer messingenen Vase, dazu etwas Korn in einer Messingschale, einen weißen Opferkuchen und eine mit Edelsteinen besetzte Vase. In diese tut der Lama Pillen aus Brotteig, Gewürz und Blumen. Über jede dieser Pillen spricht der Priester den Zauberspruch des Tsongkapa 108 mal, bläst die Pille an, denn sein Atem hat angeblich Zauberkraft, tut dann jede einzelne Pille in die Vase und deckt diese mit einem roten Tuche zu. Nun nimmt der Lama ein Buch über den Regenzauber[139] zur Hand, das den längst zur Bodhisattvawürde aufgestie-

genen Reformator zum Verfasser haben soll, und bittet im Namen desselben die regenspendenden Gottheiten um das ersehnte Naß. Die in diesem Buche enthaltenen Regengebete sollen gegründet sein auf ein altindisches Sutra (Lehrbuch) über das Gebet zur Großen Wolke[140] um Regen. Mit diesem Namen wird der Buddha selbst im Mahayanabuddhismus bezeichnet. In einem Buche „die Große Wolke" wird erzählt, wie Buddha die Nagas (Wassergötter) lehrt und ermahnt, Regen zu spenden.

¶ Der Lama liest nun Stücke aus dem genannten Buche. Er redet dabei die Nagas folgendermaßen an: „O ihr Nagas alle, große wie kleine! Ich komme nicht, euch ein Leid anzutun, sondern um euch um Regen zu bitten zum Nutzen der Erde, insonderheit dieses Ortes. Es ist der Befehl Tsongkapas, daß ihr gehorchen sollt. Wenn ihr aber nicht gehorcht, dann werde ich durch mein Mantra (Zauberspruch) euch den Schädel zerschmettern. Darum spendet jetzt ohne Zaudern Regen und verlaßt diesen Ort nicht, bis Regen fällt!" Dann legt der Lama je drei Steine an die vier Ecken des freien Platzes, ruft die Namen der Dschinas *(rgyal-ba,* der himmlischen Buddhas) der vier Himmelsrichtungen an, stellt die Vase mit den Pillen in das Wasser der Quelle, so daß sie nicht mehr sichtbar ist. Weiterhin schlägt er ein kleines Zelt auf, stellt eine kleine Statue Tsongkapas hinein und vor dieselbe die „fünf Arten des Opfers": Kuchen, Korn, Blumen, Lämpchen und Wasser (anstatt des fehlenden Weines).

¶ Auch den Dorfgott ruft der Lama um Beistand an, Zaubersprüche und Bannformeln werden hergesagt.

¶ Nun heißt es in dem Zauberbuch: „Wenn das alles so gemacht ist, erscheint dem Lama (der die Beschwörung veranstaltet) ein herrliches Bild des Tsongkapa über jeder der aufgestellten Lampen, wie er, auf einem Naga (Nix) sitzend, Ambrosia auf die Nagas herabstreut, so daß sie in äußerstes Entzücken geraten, ihre Blitze über den Himmel schießen lassen, so daß Wolken sich zusammenballen, die Donnerdrachen[141] brüllen und Regen fällt."

¶ Das Jahr, in dem sich dies alles zutrug, war für die Ladaker Bauern ein gutes. Es fehlte nicht an Wasser, im Frühsommer stellte sich Regen ein, der ungewöhnlich lang anhielt, der Sommer brachte warmen Sonnenschein, so daß Weizen, Gerste und Buchweizen auf

den Feldern gut gedieh. Die Götter schienen gnädig gesinnt und die Lamas schärften den Bauern ein, wie nützlich und nötig es wäre, die Götter beizeiten anzurufen und ihnen zu opfern.

¶ So feierten denn auch alle ein fröhliches „*Fest der Ähren*", das Schrublha *(srub-lha)*. Das war Anfang Juli, als die ersten Ähren auf den Gersten- und Weizenhalmen erschienen. Namgyal brachte am Vorabend dieses Festes, wie alle seine Nachbarn auch, ein Bündel grüner Ähren vom Felde herein, die er an den Türpfosten, den Balken und hölzernen Säulen des Hauses befestigte: Ein Opfer für die Erdgötter *(sa-bdag)* und die Haus- und Ortsgötter. Am Nachmittag des Festes kamen die Dörfler alle auf dem freien Dorfplatz zusammen, wo gegessen, getrunken und getanzt wurde. Man sang Lieder von der Entstehung der Welt und von den Göttern, die die ersten Getreidekörner auf die Erde brachten.

¶ Das schöne Wetter hielt bis in den Spätherbst an und die Ladaker konnten ihre Ernte gut und ungestört einbringen. Der Körnerertrag war zufriedenstellend gewesen und die Unterladaker, somit auch die Kalatseer hatten auch eine gute Aprikosenernte gehabt. Alles war fröhlich und guter Dinge, denn auch von Krankheit waren die Leute in dem Jahre kaum ernstlich heimgesucht worden, ebenso hatten die Bauern, die Pferde besaßen, durch Transportdienste für die indischen Kaufleute und Beamten manche Rupie verdienen können. So beschlossen denn die Kalatseer, in diesem Jahre ein großes *Erntefest* zu feiern. Der Klausner Tsetan, auf dessen Rat sie gern hörten, hatte gesagt: „Durch die Gnade der ‚Drei Kostbaren' habt ihr ein gutes Jahr gehabt, da seid ihnen auch dankbar!" Sie befolgten das in ihrer Weise und beschlossen, was sie seit langem nicht mehr getan hatten, den *Göttern und Dämonen ein Festmahl* zu geben, was natürlich nicht ohne Mitwirkung der Lamas ausgeführt werden konnte. Auch Namgyal wollte hier nicht zurückstehen, wo alle die größeren Bauern sich als Zahlende beteiligten. Es konnte ja doch von Nutzen sein.

¶ So zogen denn an dem bezeichneten Tage elf Lamas vom Tingmoganger Kloster mit Büchern, Zauberglocke, Dordsche, mit Trommeln, Pauken und den langen Posaunen auf, es sollte den Göttern in dem dortigen Klostertempel das Festmahl bereitet werden. Eine

lange Reihe von Göttern aller Klassen wurden dazu namentlich von den Priestern geladen: Der „Bodhisattva der Beschauung" (Vadschrasattva); der Todesgott Yama, der furchtbare Richter der Sünder in der Hölle; ferner der Reichtumsgott Kubera, der in seinen Händen das Ichneumon hält, das auf sein Geheiß Edelsteine ausspeit; er war schon bei den alten Indern eine der regenspendenden Gottheiten und ist sehr volkstümlich; weiter wurden geladen die Himmelswandlerinnen *(mk'a-agro-ma)*, die zwölf furchtbaren Furien *(stan-ma)*, die man nicht übersehen durfte, wollte man ihren Zorn nicht auf sich laden. Dazu kamen die mächtigen und launischen Ortsgottheiten, die Nagas des Wassers, der Erde und des Himmelsraumes. Nicht vergessen durfte man den zum Gott gewordenen Tsongkapa; endlich und vor allem mußte geladen werden der große Buddha selbst, denn er hatte ja, wie auch der Vorgenannte, Macht über die regenspendenden Götter. Schließlich wurden auch noch die zu Halbgöttern avancierten Helden der Vorzeit Tibets sowie eine Reihe von Schutzgöttern *(Yidam)* und Landesgöttern zum Mahl gerufen, eine bunte Gesellschaft. Wie mochte der große Gautama sich vorkommen, den man aus seiner Nirvanaseligkeit hervorzerrte und in diese Gesellschaft versetzte!

¶ Im Kloster war nun von den Lamas alles für das Göttermahl hergerichtet worden. Die Opfergaben waren auf einem treppenartigen Gestell vor den Götterbildern aufgestellt: Auf der untersten von sieben Stufen 84 messingene Opferlämpchen, auf der nächsthöheren Stufe kleine Pyramiden aus Butter in gleicher Zahl, dann folgen auf den weiteren Stufen Opferkuchen, Reis, Wein (oder Wasser) in Schälchen, endlich — oben auf der Platte des Altars — große, buntbemalte, mit Arabesken verzierte Opferkuchen, weiter Schalen aus Menschenschädeln, die mit Bier, Wasser und Tee gefüllt sind. In einigen der mit Reis gefüllten Schalen stecken Blumen und Räucherstengel.

¶ Nun werden die geladenen unsichtbaren Gäste herbeigerufen. Ein Lama ruft: „Kommt, kommt! Om! O Donnerkeil[142]! Nehmt diese Opfer an! Seht her: Herrliches Flußwasser zum Trinken, kühlendes Wasser, eure Füße zu waschen, Blumen, euer Haar zu schmücken, Duft köstlichen Räucherwerks, Lampen, die Dunkelheit zu erhellen, wohlriechendes Wasser, eure Körper einzureiben, ge-

weihte Speise, Musik der Zymbeln!" Hier fallen die Instrumente mit einer lauten, schrillen Musik ein. „Eßt euch satt! Swaha!" Die unsichtbaren Gäste werden aufgefordert, sich niederzulassen und die Speisen und Getränke zu genießen. Dann folgt ein Lobpreis der Geladenen; ihre Macht und ihr Wirken wird gepriesen. Man nimmt an, daß die göttlichen Gäste die Essenz der Speisen und Getränke in sich aufnehmen. Es folgen weiter Gebete um Segen und Gedeihen. Ein Lama bringt frische Opferkuchen herbei, die Tsogskuchen (*tsogs* = für alle); unter erneuter, lauter Musik wirft ein Priester mehrere der Tsogskuchen in die Höhe als ein Opfer für alle die Halbgötter und Dämonen, die nicht ausdrücklich und namentlich geladen waren, um auch ihre Gunst nicht zu verscherzen. Dann erhält jeder der teilnehmenden Lamas der Reihe nach, je nach Stand und Würde jedes einzelnen, einen Tsogskuchen. Der Kuchen wird gegessen, jeder Lama muß aber ein Stück seines Kuchens übriglassen; diese Brocken werden dann auf einem Teller eingesammelt. Ein ganzer Kuchen wird noch oben auf die aufgehäuften Brocken gelegt, und diese Rester werden vor der Tür des Tempels von einem der Priester mit dem Ausdruck der Verachtung auf den Boden geschleudert als ein Opfer für *die* Dämonen, die sich den „Bekehrern" Tibets und dem großen Buddha noch nicht unterworfen haben. Das ist das Lhagdor-Opfer (*lhagador*), das „Wurfopfer der Rester", mit dem man jene Verachteten und doch Gefürchteten beschwichtigt. Damit schloß dieses Festmahl der Götter ab. Es folgte noch eine reichliche Mahlzeit für die amtierenden Lamas, von denen jeder dazu noch von den beteiligten Bauern ein Geldgeschenk bekam.

Namgyal machte dann einen Besuch im Hause seines Schwiegervaters Norbu Wangtschug. Dort ging es lustig her. Der Tschirpon feierte mit einigen Sippengenossen und Nachbarn das Erntefest auf seine Weise mit viel Bier und lärmender Lustbarkeit. Namgyal hielt sich dort nicht lange auf, obgleich der Alte ihn gern dabehalten wollte. Namgyal fühlte sich in dem Hause nie wohl. Er richtete seiner Frau Tschosskyids Grüße an deren Eltern aus, saß eine kurze Weile unter den Zechenden, dann verabschiedete er sich. Er konnte mit gutem Grunde sagen, daß man in Kalatse auf ihn wartete, denn dort feierten sie auch Erntefest, aber in mäßigen

Grenzen, und da sollten alle Bauern des Dorfes beisammen sein, auch die, die in Tingmogang „die Götter gespeist" hatten.

¶ Namgyal kehrte wieder mit eigenartigen Empfindungen nach Kalatse zurück. Er glaubte als guter Buddhist seine Schuldigkeit getan zu haben und war den Zeremonien im Tingmoganger Kloster mit Aufmerksamkeit gefolgt. Er wollte alles getan haben, um sich die Gunst der großen Unbekannten im dunkeln Jenseits zu erwerben und Frieden für seine Seele zu finden. Und nun geschah es wieder mit einem Gefühl der Leere und nagenden Zweifeln im Herzen, daß er sich auf den Heimweg machte. Konnten jene Mächtigen im Jenseits, konnte der große Gautama an dem Treiben im Kloster Gefallen finden und durch *solche* Mittel sich zum Helfen bewegen lassen? Wo war der Weg, der aus dem Wirrsal dieser Fragen, aus dem Dunkel der Zweifel ihn zum hellen Licht der Erkenntnis führte, die er als Buddhist suchen sollte.

Auf Handelsreise

¶ Als im Jahre nach dem Hausbau die Felder bestellt waren und das junge Korn auf den Äckern zu sprießen begann, wurde bei verschiedenen „Bieren" im Dragschoshause und in den Häusern der Verwandtschaft und Sippe in Kalatse und Teya-Tingmogang der Plan gefaßt, eine *Handelsreise* zu den Nomaden der im Nordosten Ladaks auf tibetischem Gebiet liegenden Hochebene Dschangtang zu unternehmen, um mit jenen Hochsteppenbewohnern Handelsgüter auszutauschen.

¶ Der Sterndeuter, der natürlich befragt werden mußte, gab den Leuten den neunten Tag des fünften Monats als geeigneten Tag zum Aufbruch an. Es war ein Montag (Mondtag); der Mondgott, der diesen Tag regiert, würde freundlich auf ihr Unternehmen blicken, während dem roten (= zornigen) Mars, der am Dienstag die Herrschaft hat, nicht zu trauen wäre, auch der zweite, achte und vierzehnte des Monats seien nicht als Tage zum Beginn der Reise zu empfehlen, so sagte der Onpo.

¶ Als der Plan in allen Einzelheiten feststand, wurden drei Lamas in Namgyals Haus gerufen, weil er der Leiter des Unternehmens war. Er führte die Priester auf seine Dreschtenne auf freiem Felde,

dort mußten sie aus drei Büchern den „*Reisesegen*" lesen. Die Titel dieser Bücher waren die folgenden[143]:

1. *Das Aufhellen des Dunkels in den zehn Himmelsrichtungen,*
2. *Das Überwinden der Gefahren des Weges,*
3. *Die Erfüllung aller Wünsche.*

¶ Ferner lasen die Priester mit großem Eifer Gebete an den Gott des Reichtums *(Kubera, rnam-tos-sras)*, und die reichtumspendende Göttin *Nor-rgyun-lha-ma*. Endlich wurde wieder die glückbringende *yaṅ-agug* und *p'ya-agug*-Zeremonie vorgenommen. Der Zweck all dieser Übungen und Gebete war der, die den Reisenden auf dem Wege drohenden Don-, Nyan-, Tsan-, Noddschin- und Gegs-Dämonen zu bannen, damit sie den Reisenden keinen Schaden zufügten und ihnen Erfolg und Gewinn beim Handel beschert sei. Der eine oder andere der Reisenden ließ sich vom Lama noch ein oder mehrere neue *Amulette* anfertigen, so auch ein solches gegen Hundebiß. Die großen, starken Doggen der tibetischen Nomaden sind gefürchtet. Das Amulett enthielt einen Zettel, auf dem war in rohen Umrissen das Bild eines Hundes zu sehen, dessen Beine und Maul mit einer Kette gefesselt waren, die am Ende noch durch einen Dordsche gesichert war. Um die Figur des Hundes herum lief in Sanskritschrift ein Zauberspruch, der mit den Worten schloß: „Das Maul des blauen Hundes ist verschlossen, swaha!"

¶ Ein anderer Mann hatte sich im Hinblick auf etwa bevorstehende Kämpfe mit den Räubern Dschangtangs ein Amulett verschafft, das den Inhaber gegen Schwert, Speer und Kugel unverwundbar machen sollte. Das Amulett bestand aus einem Stück Papier, darauf waren Anrufungen der himmlischen Buddhas gedruckt, in konzentrischen Kreisen eine Lotosblume umschließend, auf deren acht Blütenblättern die magische Silbe „hum" steht und in den vier Ecken des Zettels die Zeichen der buddhistischen Dreieinigkeit: Drei Edelsteine für die „Drei Kostbaren" (Buddha, Lehre, Mönchsgemeinde); dann — einzeln — die Lotosblume (Buddha), der Donnerkeil (Lehre), der Zauberdolch (Mönchsgemeinde). Der erste Spruch auf dem Zauberzettel lautet: „Ihr Buddhas, Götter, Göttinnen und großen Gurus (Lehrer)! Hütet Leib, Seele und Rede des Inhabers dieses Zaubers!" Dazu treten eine Menge magischer Formeln und Silben, deren Sinn dunkel ist und sein soll. Einem

der Männer, der einen besonders wirksamen Schutz gegen Verwundungen aller Art haben wollte, hatte der Lama einen Schnitt mit dem Messer in das Muskelfleisch des Armes gemacht und mit dem Blute einige magische Zeichen und Buchstaben in den innersten der Zauberkreise gezeichnet. Dieser Zauber mußte natürlich teurer bezahlt werden als die anderen. Die Zauberzettel wurden zusammengefaltet zu kleinen Vierecken, in rote oder gelbe Seide eingeschlagen, übers Kreuz verschnürt und an der Mütze befestigt oder an einer Schnur am Halse oder unsichtbar unter dem Rock auf der bloßen Haut getragen. Zwei der Leute trugen auch in einem Beutel je eine abgeplattete Bleikugel als Talisman auf der Brust; die Kugeln waren im Körper eines erlegten Wildschafes gefunden worden und galten als gutes Schutzmittel gegen Verwundung.

¶ Namgyal hielt sich von all diesem Treiben fern. Er nahm seinen Vorderlader zur Hand, mit dem er wohl umzugehen wußte; manchen Steinbock und manches Wildschaf, auch Wölfe hatte er damit schon erlegt. Er putzte das Gewehr, goß Kugeln und füllte sein Pulverhorn mit Pulver, das ein Tibeter in Leh hergestellt hatte. Dann legte er ein altes, kurzes Schwert mit schön gearbeiteter, mit Türkisen besetzter Scheide bereit. Das stammte von einem Vorfahren, der ein tapferer Kriegsmann gewesen war. Als gegen Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts die Ladaker häufige Raubzüge in das benachbarte Baltistan unternahmen, zeichnete unter den Führern ein Dragschos sich besonders durch Kühnheit aus, überfiel mit seinen Männern eine Anzahl Baltidörfer und brachte reiche Beute an Vieh und Geld heim. Dafür erhielt er vom Könige ein Stück Land bei Kalatse. Später wurde nach der Besiegung des letzten Ladaker Königs einem Dragschos die Herrschaft über das Land unter der Oberherrschaft der indischen Dogras (der Eroberer) angeboten; er schlug aber die zweifelhafte Ehre aus.

¶ Etwas von dem kriegerischen Geiste wohnte auch in Namgyal. Er war mutig und unternehmend und traute seinen starken Armen und seinen Waffen mehr als den Zauberkünsten der Lamas. Sein ehrlicher Glaube an die helfenden und rettenden Götter stärkte noch seinen Mut. So war er auch trotz seiner Jugend wie sonst

im Dorfe, ebenso bei dem Handelsunternehmen der unbestrittene Leiter.

¶ Man traf nun die letzten Vorbereitungen. Weizen, Gerste und Aprikosen wurden in Säcke gefüllt; manche hatten in Kaschmir vom indischen Kaufmann Baumwollzeug, Kattun, Tuch, bunte Schärpen, Farbstoff, Gewürze und Tabak erhandelt, um damit in Dschangtang Geschäfte zu machen. Alles wurde in Säcke gepackt. Jeder Beteiligte hielt seine Waren streng gesondert. Mehrere der Kalatseer hatten Gewehre, alte Luntenflinten und Vorderlader, die sie hervorholten. Dann holte man die Pferde von der entfernten Weide vom Berge, was allein zwei Tage in Anspruch nahm, da die Pferde sich auf der Suche nach Futter an den öden Berghalden weit verstreut hatten. Sättel und Zaumzeug, Säcke, Decken und Zelte wurden von den Männern ausgebessert. Endlich war alles fertig. Die Pferde, die in den letzten Tagen zur Stärkung für die Reise neben dem üblichen Futter — Kleeheu mit Häcksel gemischt — auch noch Gerste zu fressen bekommen hatten, sahen gut aus und waren zum Teil wild und unbändig beim Beschlagen. Das letztere Geschäft besorgten die Kalatseer selber. Die wildesten Pferde mußten gefesselt und auf dem Boden liegend beschlagen werden. Das alles führten die Männer mit großer Gewandtheit und Sicherheit aus.

¶ Nun trieben die Leute etwa 200 Schafe und Ziegen aus ihren Ställen zusammen, die als Lasttiere die Reise mitmachen sollten. Jedes der Tiere bekam in einem Doppelsack eine Last von 14 bis 15 kg Getreide oder gedörrte Aprikosen, oder eine entsprechende Menge anderer Waren zu tragen; außerdem trug jedes der Tiere noch sein eigenes Vlies buchstäblich zu Markte. Die Bergschafe und Ziegen sind kräftig und äußerst gewandte Kletterer. Doch erliegen auch viele den Anstrengungen der langen Reise oder werden von Wölfen oder Schneeleoparden zerrissen.

¶ Die Reise ging in leichten Tagmärschen, um Menschen und Tiere zu schonen, dem Lauf des Indus im allgemeinen folgend, in drei Tagen nach Leh. Die meisten der neun Männer gingen zu Fuß, Drogpa Namgyal und zwei der Männer hatten außer den Packpferden noch je ein Pferd zum Reiten. Den Männern zu Fuß lag es ob, die Packpferde anzutreiben und auf den schmalen, schlechten

Saumpfaden zu führen, wie auch die Herde der beladenen Schafe und Ziegen zu leiten und zusammenzuhalten. In Leh auf dem Basar wurden noch die letzten Einkäufe von Lebensmitteln und Tauschwaren gemacht. Dann ging es weiter am Indus hin, durch öde Täler, enge Schluchten, sandige, steinige Wüsten, über hohe Pässe, durch reißende Bergströme, bald in glühendem Sonnenbrand, bald in eisiger Kälte, ja in grimmigem Schneesturm. So erreichten sie in etwa einmonatiger Reise, immer unterwegs handelnd, wo sich Gelegenheit bot, die große Hochebene von Dschangtang im Osten von Ladak, die im Gebiet von Großtibet, im Machtbereich des Dalai Lama liegt. Dort besuchten nun die Ladaker eine Reihe von weit zerstreuten Nomadenlagern. Diese Leute wohnen jahraus, jahrein in ihren aus Jakhaar gewebten, braunen Zelten *(re-po)* und hüten und hegen ihre Herdentiere, Schafe, eine große hochbeinige Rasse, Ziegen, Pferde, Esel und Jaks. Sie ziehen von einem Weideplatz zum anderen, je nachdem, wo es gerade genügende Weide und Wasser gibt. Große, starke, langhaarige Hunde (tibetische Doggen) helfen den Nomaden ihre Herdentiere zusammenzuhalten und gegen wilde Tiere zu schützen. Ihr ganzer Reichtum besteht in ihren Herden, dem Steinsalz, das sie aus den zahlreichen alten Seebetten brechen und dem Natron, das dort auf den Hochebenen gewonnen wird.

¶ In den Nomadenlagern sah man gern die Händler aus Ladak, schon um der Abwechslung willen, die ihr Erscheinen in das ewige Einerlei des Lebens in jenen Wüsten brachte. Bald kam das Geschäft in Gang. Unter endlosem Handeln und Feilschen tauschten die Ladaker von den Nomaden gegen ihre Waren Salz, Natron und Schafwolle ein. Ihre eigene Schafwolle hatten sie schon in den Dörfern Ladaks auf dem Wege verhandelt. Dagegen kauften sie von den Berghirten noch feine Schalwolle (Lena), die aus dem feinen Unterhaar der Bergziegen gewonnen und in Kaschmir mit Gewinn weiter verkauft wird. Dort werden Schals und andere feine Gewebe daraus hergestellt.

¶ Die Kalatseer hatten gute Geschäfte gemacht; fast alle ihre Tauschwaren, auch die indischen Sachen, hatten sie gut umsetzen können; noch ein größeres Lager sollte aufgesucht werden, in dem noch mehr Natron (zur Teebereitung) eingehandelt werden sollte.

Das Lager lag abseits von der gewöhnlichen Handelsstraße in einer breiten Talmulde. Als die Ladaker eines Tages mit ihren beladenen Tieren langsam und müde in der sengenden Sonne auf dem sandigen Wege dahinzogen, fiel plötzlich ein Schuß aus nächster Nähe, bald ein zweiter, dritter, vierter, Kugeln pfiffen ihnen um die Ohren, ein Pferd stürzte, von einer Kugel durch den Hals getroffen und wälzte sich mit seiner Last im Sande, ein Mann fiel hin, dem eine Kugel die Muskeln des linken Oberarmes zerrissen und den Rücken gestreift hatte. Die Pferde rannten trotz ihrer schweren Lasten wie toll in verschiedenen Richtungen davon, auch die beladenen Schafe und Ziegen stoben auseinander. 17 tibetische Reiter sprengten heran. Die Ladaker suchten mit Geschick Deckung. Sieben Schüsse krachten nacheinander aus ihren Gewehren, einer der tibetischen Reiter fiel, in die Brust getroffen, in den Sand, zwei der Pferde der Angreifer wurden unter ihren Reitern erschossen, aber ehe die Gewehre umständlich aufs neue geladen waren, waren die Ladaker von den Räubern umringt, die sie mit Lanzen und Schwertern scharf angriffen. Die Ladaker verteidigten sich mit Schwertern, Spießen und Gewehrkolben tapfer, ein wütender Kampf entbrannte, in dem sich Drogpa Namgyal besonders auszeichnete; der Kampfgeist der alten Dragschos war in ihm erwacht; er warf noch zwei Räuber mit Schwerthieben in den Sand. Aber die Übermacht war doch zu groß; die Räuber waren sämtlich jüngere starke Männer, während bei den Ladakern sich einige Alte befanden. Der Kampf endete damit, daß die Ladaker mit auf den Rücken gefesselten Händen abgeführt wurden. Die Räuber trieben die zerstreuten Lasttiere mit Mühe wieder zusammen und führten die erbeutete Karawane, Menschen und Tiere, mit den geraubten Handelsgütern auf Schleichwegen, die große Karawanenstraße meidend, in ein abgelegenes Tal, wo sie mit Einbruch der Dunkelheit in ihrem Lager eintrafen und wo den Gefangenen auch noch die Füße gefesselt wurden. So mußten sie, am Boden liegend, der Dinge warten, die kommen sollten. Spät abends gab man jedem Gefangenen einen Klumpen Kollag und ein Näpfchen saure Milch. Dann wurden die auf dem Boden Liegenden zusammengeschoben, rings um sie legten sich die bewaffneten Räuber zum Schlafe nieder, zwei hielten abwechselnd die Wache. Trotz der

empfindlichen Kälte wurde kein Feuer angezündet, um die Aufmerksamkeit der tibetischen Streifwachen nicht auf sich zu ziehen.

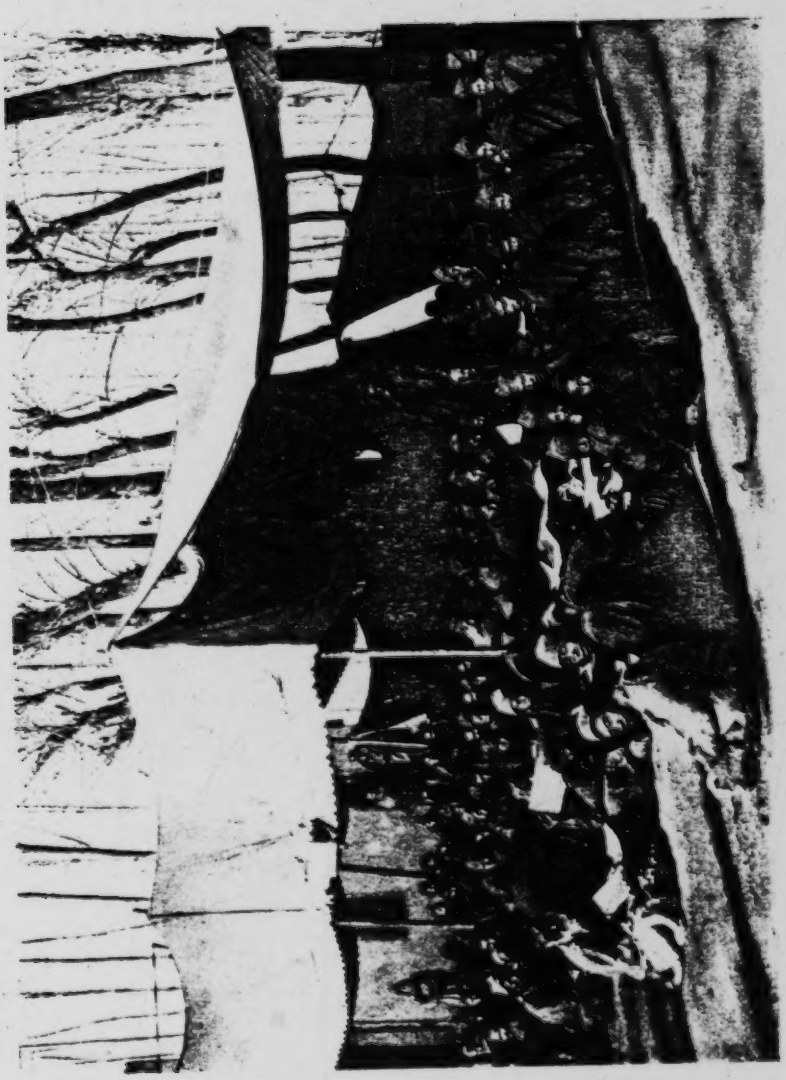
¶ Am nächsten Morgen berieten die Räuber unter sich erst lange und aufgeregt, dann kündigte der Hauptmann den Ladakern an, sie sollten einen der Ihren bezeichnen, der Einfluß habe in ihren Dörfern, der solle in Eilmärschen in ihr Heimatdorf reiten und für jeden Gefangenen 200 Rupien bringen. Er möge dann schnellstens mit dem Lösegeld, das er allein und unbewaffnet an eine bestimmte Stelle in der Nähe des Lagers bringen solle, zurückkehren. Der Bote ritt ab. Die Gefangenen wurden bedroht, beim geringsten Versuch zu fliehen, würden die Betreffenden getötet werden. Doch zeigten die Räuber menschliches Rühren. Während des Tages wurden den Gefangenen die Fesseln an den Füßen gelockert, sie bekamen dasselbe einfache Essen wie ihre Bezwinger; die Wunde des Ladakers wurde notdürftig mit alten Lappen, frischem Jakmist und Ruß verbunden. Seine Wunde war nicht gefährlich; bedenklicher stand es um den Dschangtanger, dem eine Kugel aus Drogpa Namgyals Gewehr zwischen den Rippen saß, und einem anderen hatte dessen Schwert den Unterarm gebrochen. Die Räuber schienten den Bruch mit steifem Jakleder, dem andern Verwundeten wurde die Kugel herausgeschnitten, die Wunde am Rande mit einem glühenden Eisen gebrannt, und man gab ihm Moschus ein zur Betäubung des Schmerzes.

¶ Die Gefangenschaft der Ladaker sollte von keiner langen Dauer sein. Als am zweiten Abend die Räuber bei eintretender Dunkelheit bei Buttertee und Tsampa plaudernd beim schwelenden Lagerfeuer saßen und sich immer aufs neue ihre Heldentaten gegenseitig erzählten, tauchten aus dem Dunkel plötzlich, wie aus dem Boden gewachsen, Gestalten auf — etwa 30 tibetische Grenzsoldaten, die sie anriefen, sie sollten sich ergeben; die Räuber griffen nach den Waffen, aber schon waren sie umringt, und mit vorgehaltenem Gewehr wurden sie gezwungen, sich zu ergeben. Sie wurden gefesselt, um dem nächsten Dsongpon (Bezirkshauptmann) zur Aburteilung vorgeführt zu werden. Die Ladaker wurden befreit; freilich forderten ihnen die Befreier für ihre „selbstlose" Bemühung einen Tribut von acht Schafen, einem Sack Mehl, zwei Fellsäcken mit Butter und 20 Rupien ab. Einen noch viel größeren Tribut nahmen

sie von den Räubern, bei denen auch noch mehr zu haben war. Wohl war das eine Erpressung, und das wußten die Soldaten auch. Sie kannten auch alle, die Soldaten wie die Räuber, das Gebot des Buddha, von dem der Räuberhauptmann beständig eine kleine Bronzestatue an einer Schnur bei sich trug: „Nimm nichts, was dir nicht gegeben wird!" Aber — der Himmel ist hoch, der Dalai Lama ist weit, und der Buddha ist im Nirvana entschwunden; schließlich beichtet man es dem Lama, der legt eine kleine Buße auf, den Buddhas wird ein kleines Opfer gebracht von dem „Gewonnenen", damit ist die Sache abgemacht und das Gewissen beruhigt.

¶ Die Ladaker waren froh, noch so glimpflich davongekommen zu sein. Wären die Soldaten nicht gekommen, dann hätten sie alles verloren und hätten kaum alle die Heimat lebend erreicht. Am nächsten Tage schon machten sie sich auf den Weg, um so bald wie möglich die Grenze Ladaks und damit sicherere Gegenden zu erreichen. Für die zwei erschossenen Pferde handelten sie von den Soldaten für wenig Geld zwei von jenen „beschlagnahmte" Jakochsen ein. Der Verwundete wurde über die Traglast auf den einen der Jaks gesetzt. Die Fleischwunde heilte unter „sachkundiger Behandlung" wunderbar schnell.

¶ Der Ertrag der Handelsreise war auf diese Weise freilich auf ein Geringes zusammengeschrumpft, und die Enttäuschten hatten Zeit, auf der langen Rückreise Betrachtungen über die Nützlichkeit und Wirksamkeit des Beistandes der Lamas und Zauberer sowie der „göttlichen" Spender von Schutz und Reichtum anzustellen, dessen Erlangung sie sich soviel hatten kosten lassen. Ein kleiner Trost war es den Kalatseern, daß sie sich einmal an Fleisch so recht gütlich tun konnten. Auf den Ebenen von Dschangtang lebt noch der wilde Jak in größeren Herden, auch anderes Großwild ist dort anzutreffen. Namgyal gelang es, sich mit großem Geschick an eine Jakherde anzupirschen und einen starken Bullen mit einem wohlgezielten Schuß zur Strecke zu bringen. Später erlegte er noch ein paar tibetische Antilopen und viele Schneefasanen, so daß die Ladaker einmal in Fleisch schwelgen konnten. Ihr buddhistisches Gewissen beschwichtigten sie mit dem Hinweis darauf, daß sie die „Sünde" bald dem Lama beichten und durch ein Opfer sühnen



Das große Lesen
Lamas lesen den buddhistischen Kanon zum Besten des Landes

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würden. Sprachen sie von der Jagd, dann wurde nie erzählt: „Der Namgyal hat eine Antilope, einen Jak getötet", sondern: „Ein Jak, eine Antilope ist gestorben *(śi-soṅ)*." Gestorben? Woran? An zuviel Blei?[144]

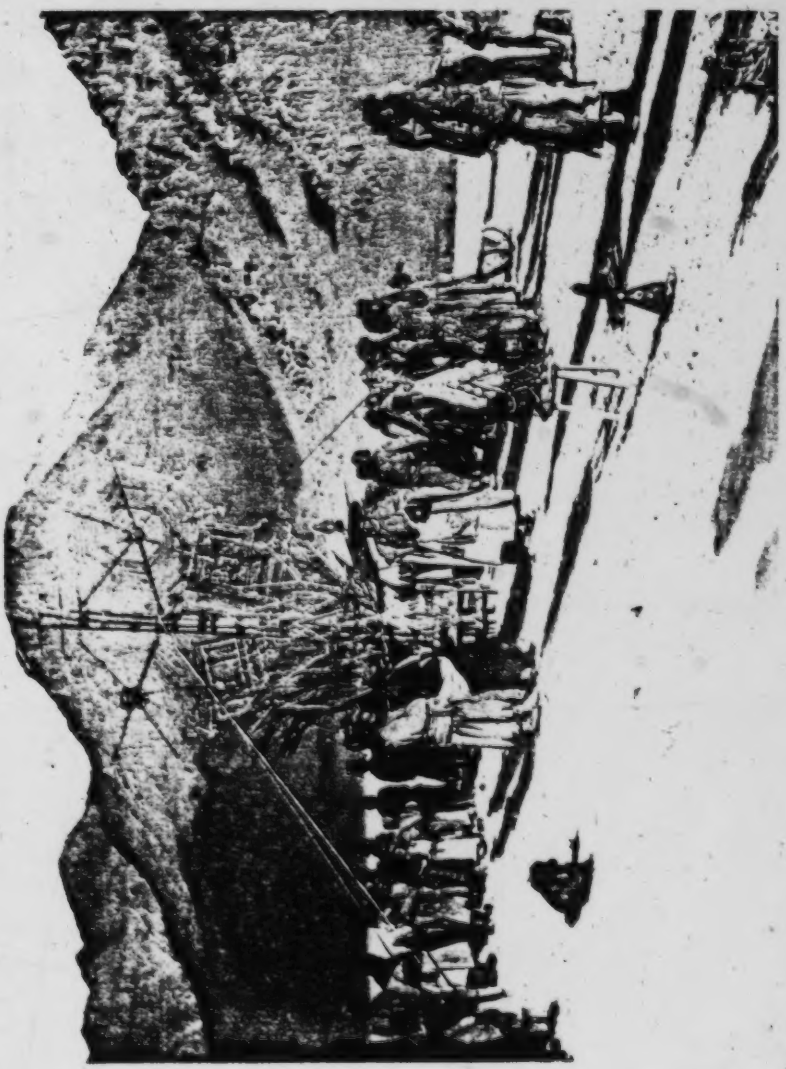
¶ Der übrige Teil der Reise verlief ohne besondere Schwierigkeit; eines Nachts holten ihnen die Wölfe zwei Schafe weg und bissen einem Pferde den Hals blutig. Aber die anderen Pferde wehrten, einen Kreis bildend, die Wölfe kräftig ab und bearbeiteten einen der Angreifer derart mit ihren Hinterhufen, daß er mit gebrochenen Gliedern und Rippen liegen blieb und von den Ladakern erschlagen werden konnte. Ein Esel und ein Pferd mit seiner Last wurden ihnen bei einem Flußübergang von den Fluten fortgeführt und gingen verloren. Das waren Verluste, die schwer verschmerzt werden konnten.

¶ Recht entmutigt und kleinlaut zogen die Reisenden nach knapp dreimonatiger Abwesenheit wieder in Kalatse ein. Namgyal sprach nicht viel von ihren Erlebnissen. Um so mehr hatte der Beinbrechmann (Kangtschagspa) Yontan zu berichten von den Kämpfen mit den Räubern, bei denen er nach seiner Darstellung Heldentaten verrichtet hatte. Die Kalatseer kannten ihren Kangtschagspa und foppten ihn, indem sie ihn die Geschichte immer aufs neue wieder erzählen ließen, weil sie wußten, daß bei jeder neuen Erzählung die Zahl der von dem Prahler „niedergestreckten" Räuber zunehmen würde.

¶ Der alte Stobsldan, Namgyals Oheim, erklärte, nie werde er wieder eine solche Handelsreise mitmachen, die doch nichts einbringe und auf der man noch sein Leben aufs Spiel setze. Die jüngeren Teilnehmer hingegen sagten, wenn sie nur alle gute Gewehre bekämen, dann würden sie gleich im nächsten Jahr wieder nach Dschangtang gehen; mit den Räubern wollten sie dann schon fertig werden.

Drogpa Namgyals Frömmigkeit

¶ Namgyal hatte als Erbe von seinen Vorfahren mütterlicherseits den Zug zum Religiösen überkommen. Was der Vater und der alte Märchen- und Sagenerzähler Kontschog Traschi sowie der



Ein Dosmo

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Klausner Tsetan dem Knaben Namgyal von den *Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Göttern* und *Dämonen* erzählt hatte, das hatte ihn zum Nachdenken gebracht, seine Phantasie erregt, ihn aber auch anfangs mit Furcht und Schrecken erfüllt. Oft stand der Knabe in Gedanken vertieft vor der geöffneten Tür des Haustempels und betrachtete mit leisem Grauen die Gestalten der verschiedenen Gottheiten, die da in Ton, in Bronze oder auf gemalten Bildern dargestellt waren. Sein Vater und der Klausner hatten ihm manches von der *Geschichte und Legende Gautamas,* vom Prinzen Siddharta in Indien, der dann zum Buddha wurde, erzählt, besonders die Geschichten von seinen vielen Geburten in der Gestalt von Göttern, von Menschen und von Tieren, und wie er dann in seiner letzten sichtbaren Existenz die Erleuchtung *(Bodhi)* erlangte und damit die Würde eines Buddha. Namgyal wußte von dem großen *Erlöserbodhisattva Avalokiteschvara (spyan-ras-gzigs)*[145], der, von unendlicher Liebe und Erbarmen beseelt, unablässig tätig ist, die leidenden Lebewesen aller Klassen aus den Qualen der wechselnden Existenzen, ja selbst noch aus der Hölle zu retten. Zu ihm betete er oft, daß er ihn den rechten Weg durch alle Anfechtungen und Gefahren dieses Erdendaseins hindurch in das Paradies des Westens, das Freudenreich *Amitabhas,* ja ins Nirvana führen möge.

¶ Auf einer Reise mit seinem Vater sah Namgyal einmal in Mulbek das in den Felsen gehauene Riesenbild des *Maitreya (byamspa),* des Buddhas der Zukunft, der 5000 Jahre nach dem Hingang Gautamas ins Nirvana als neuer Erlöser das Werk seiner Vorgänger fortführen soll, der aber angeblich schon jetzt vom Tuschitahimmel aus als der „Buddha der Liebe" für die Errettung der gequälten Wesen wirkt und von den Buddhisten hoch verehrt wird. So wie dieser „Heiland" machte auch *Tara (sGrol-ma, Drolma)* die gütige Göttin, das weibliche Gegenstück des Bodhisattva Tschanresig, schon früh auf Namgyal einen tiefen Eindruck. Sie soll aus den Tränen des Tschanresig entstanden sein, die er im Schmerz um die leidenden Wesen weinte. Sie ist mit gleicher Macht ausgestattet gedacht wie der letztere, sie befreit den ihr Nahenden aus aller Not, tilgt die Sünden aller Geburten, besiegt alle Feinde, auch die Dämonen, und führt schließlich den ihr Vertrauenden in die Leidlosigkeit des Nirvana. Auch irdische Güter spendet sie, vor

allem den Frauen den erbetenen Kindersegen. Namgyal hörte mit innerer Bewegung die Legenden von dieser „Allergütigsten, Heiligsten Mutter", die ihm erzählt wurden und lernte auf des Vaters Geheiß eine Reihe von Gebeten an sie auswendig. So lernte Namgyal bei seinem regen Interesse und Lerneifer allmählich viele der Tausende von *Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Göttern* und *Dämonen* (man zählt im ganzen etwa vier Millionen Götter aller Klassen) nach den Erzählungen und Bildern kennen und beschäftigte sich in seinem Denken mit ihnen, wenn es ihm auch nicht gelang, in dem Gewirr von Gestalten und Gedanken eine klare Linie zu erkennen, der sein Denken und Fragen folgen konnte. Je älter er wurde, desto mehr erkannte er, auch auf Grund der Belehrungen des Klausners, daß das Streben des Frommen sich vor allem auf eins richten müsse: die Befreiung aus den Verstrickungen dieser Welt und damit vom Leiden. Aber eben hier vermißte er die klare Wegweisung. Da waren eine Menge Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, *Heilbringer* und *„Erlöser"*, jedem wurden gewisse Kräfte und Helfereigenschaften zugeschrieben, „Heilswege" wurden gezeigt, die zum Teil in entgegengesetzter Richtung liefen. Namgyal suchte vergeblich nach dem einen geraden Weg, der zur wahren Befreiung führte. Die Ehrfurcht vor dem großen Unbekannten, dunkel Geahnten und das Gefühl der Abhängigkeit von ihm trieb den Knaben und Mann zum Beten, wie es seine Erzieher und Ratgeber ihn lehrten.

¶ Um Namgyals frommes Streben verstehen zu können, müssen wir ein kurzes Wort über das *Beten des Buddhisten* hier einfügen. Der Urbuddhismus kannte weder das Gebet noch eine rituelle Verehrung von Gottheiten, noch auch einen Priesterstand. Im Buddhismus, der ja seinem Wesen nach Atheismus ist, war für eine Gottesverehrung kein Raum. Der Buddha selbst leugnete zwar das Vorhandensein von Göttern nicht ab, aber sie waren ihm Wesen, die, wie alle anderen, erlösungsbedürftig sind und Verehrung nicht beanspruchen können. Noch auch konnte der im Nirvana „Erloschene" selbst Gegenstand der Verehrung sein. Eines Erlösers bedurfte nach Gautama Buddhas Lehre der Heilsuchende nicht, denn die Erlösung war ausschließlich das Werk des Frommen selbst, der die Befreiung zustande brachte durch Abkehr von der Welt,

Zerreißung aller Bindungen an dieselbe, Abtötung alles Begehrens und schließlich des Willens zum Leben. Aber je länger desto mehr brach sich bei den buddhistischen Frommen die Erkenntnis Bahn, daß der frömmste Mensch außerstande ist, seine Befreiung selbst zu bewerkstelligen. Immer mehr fühlte der Heilsucher, der mit seinem Mühen um Selbsterlösung zuschanden geworden war, der eingesehen hatte, daß er ohne einen über ihm stehenden göttlichen Helfer den schweren „achtgliederigen Pfad" zur Leidlosigkeit nicht wandeln könne, das Bedürfnis, göttliche Hilfe im Gebet zu erflehen.

¶ Aus dem Bedürfnis heraus erwuchsen die rettenden Mächte. Man suchte helfende Gottheiten und man glaubte sie zu finden. Man gedachte zuerst in stiller Verehrung des großen Meisters (Buddha) und seiner großen Jünger, man suchte die heiligen Orte auf, die des Meisters Fuß betreten, umkreiste nach altem indischem Brauch die durch ihn geweihten Stätten in frommem Gedenken in der Richtung des Sonnenlaufes (so, daß man den heiligen Gegenstand zur Rechten hat), man errichtete *Gedächtnismale* (Dagoben, Stupen, Tschorten) über Reliquien Buddhas und anderer Großer. Der *Reliquiendienst* war die erste Form des Kultes im Buddhismus. Aus diesem entwickelte sich im Lauf der Jahrhunderte eine regelrechte Buddhaverehrung, eine *Anbetung* der Person des im Nirvana Erloschenen, wobei man sich des Sinnwidrigen dieses Tuns kaum bewußt wurde. Man zog gleichsam den Erloschenen, Wesenlosen in die Sphäre des Wesenhaften zurück und stattete ihn in der Phantasie mit göttlichen Eigenschaften und Kräften aus. Man errichtete ihm *Tempel*, in denen man ihn und seine heiliggesprochenen Jünger verehrte; hier nahte der von Leiden gequälte und geängstete Mensch kindlich vertrauend den „Drei Kostbaren" (sanskr. *triratna;* tibet. *dkon-mčog gsum):* Dem *Buddha*, dem heiligen *Wort (dharma)* und der *Mönchsgemeinde (samgha)*, dieser Dreiheit, die seinem Denken wohl unfaßbar blieb, in der der Fromme aber doch die heilbringende Macht ahnte, zu der er in äußerer wie innerer Not seine Zuflucht nahm.

¶ Allmählich trat zu diesen „Drei Kostbaren" ein unübersehbares Heer rein erfundener *Buddhas, Bodhisattvas,* von *Göttern* und *Dämonen;* die ganze Götterwelt des Hinduismus wurde im Laufe

der Zeit in den Buddhismus übernommen, und bei seiner Wanderung nach Tibet im siebenten und achten Jahrhundert kam auch noch das ganze große Heer der *Landesgötter* dieses „finsteren Schneelandes" hinzu, die, nachdem Padmasambhava[146] sie „bekehrt" hatte, alle mehr oder weniger als Gegenstand der Verehrung angesehen wurden oder doch ständig durch Bannungen und Opfer beschwichtigt werden müssen. Endlich wurde auch noch die ganze Götterwelt der Bonreligion bereitwillig in den buddhistischen Götterhimmel aufgenommen.

¶ Die älteste Form des Gebets war die sogenannte *Zufluchtsformel.* Wir geben hier eine Form der erweiterten Zufluchtsformel *(skyabs-agro)* der nichtreformierten alten Lamasekten: „Wir sämtlichen Lebewesen nehmen auf Grund der Fürsprache der Lamas unsere Zuflucht zum Buddha; wir nehmen unsere Zuflucht zur Lehre *(Dharma)*; wir nehmen unsere Zuflucht zur Mönchsgemeinde *(Samgha)*, diesen Drei Kostbaren. Wir nehmen weiter unsere Zuflucht zu der Heerschar der Götter *(lha)* und ihrem Gefolge von Schutzgöttern, Dämoninnen und Verteidigern der Lehre, die den H[illegible] bevölkern."

¶ [illegible]olgt nun noch eine lange Reihe von Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Göttern, Dämonen und Heiligen, zu denen der Beter seine Zuflucht nimmt, unter denen der Urbuddha (Samantabhadra) und der Stifter des Lamaismus, Padmasam-bhava besonders bemerkenswert sind. Bei den „Reformierten" (Gelugspa) tritt Tsongkapa an Stelle des letzteren.

¶ Namgyal pflegte sich einer verkürzten Zufluchtsformel zu bedienen, wie sie Laien vorwiegend benutzen; diesen gestatten die Lamas nicht, die Buddhas direkt anzurufen; dies ist allein ihr Vorrecht.

¶ Hier noch ein Stück aus einem Gebet, wie es die Lamas in Verbindung mit der Zufluchtsformel herzusagen pflegen. Hier wird besonders ein vergotteter Lama als Vermittler des Segens angerufen:

¶ „O Lama![147] Segne uns, wie du gesegnet wurdest! Segne uns mit dem Segen der Tantras (Zaubersprüche): Wir bitten dich, du wollest uns mit Om (der magischen Silbe, der Segenskraft innewohnt) segnen! Das ist der magische Leib. Wir bitten dich, reinige

uns von der Befleckung des Leibes! Mehre unser Glück und halte Krankheit des Leibes fern! Gib uns die wahre, unzerstörbare Kraft leiblichen Lebens! Wir bitten dich, segne uns mit A (der Kraft der magischen Silbe ‚A')! Das ist die magische Rede. Reinige uns von der Befleckung der Rede! Verleihe uns Macht der Rede, die Gabe der vollkommenen, sieghaften Rede! Wir bitten dich, segne uns mit Hum (der Kraft der magischen Silbe ‚Hum'), welches ist das geheime (magische) Denken! Reinige uns von der Befleckung der Gedanken! Gib uns Verstand und ein reines Herz! Gib uns die vier Kräfte des Herzens! Wir bitten dich, verleihe uns die Kräfte des wahren Leibes, der Rede und des Geistes! Om! A! Hum!

¶ O verleihe uns den Segen, der alle Sünden und Befleckung unserer bösen Taten wegtilgt. Wir bitten dich, die Ursachen des Leides, die sündigen Taten früherer Existenzen zu mildern! Segne uns mit geistiger Leitung! Segne uns bald mit Erlangung der Buddhawürde (durch Erlangung von Bodhi, d. i. Erleuchtung)! Befreie uns von der Täuschung (Maya), die uns diese Scheinwelt als Wirklichkeit vortäuscht und so den ‚Durst' (sanskr. *taṅha*) nach dem Leben hervorruft! Segne uns, indem du uns auf den rechten, achtfachen Pfad der Tugend und Weltentsagung leitest! Lehre uns alle Dinge recht verstehen! Laß uns in Freundlichkeit einander dienen! Schenke uns die Fähigkeit, wohlzutun und die Lebewesen vom Leiden zu erlösen! Segne uns mit der Erkenntnis unserer selbst! Hilf uns von Herzensgrund gütig sein! Hilf uns, so tapfer zu sein, wie du bist! Segne uns durch die magische Kraft der Tantras (Zaubersprüche), so wie du selbst durch sie gesegnet bist! — — —"

„Laß uns, sämtliche beseelte Wesen, von der Lust, dem Zorn und dem Hängen an weltlichen Dingen befreit werden und lehre uns das wahre Wesen der Religion völlig erkennen! — — — Und nun, ihr Buddhas, Dämonen, männliche wie weibliche, Vater, Mutter! Du Samantabhadra (Urbuddha), du Allgütiger im ‚Leib der Lehre', ihr Buddhas im ‚Leib der Seligkeit', ihr Gütigen und ihr Zornigen alle! Dazu du großer Zauberlama! Ihr alle, die ich angerufen habe! Ich bitte euch, daß ihr euch nun alle entfernt!"

¶ „Ihr Geister der abgeschiedenen Helden! Ihr Hexen, ihr Dämonen, ihr Verteidiger der Lehre! Ihr heiligen Hüter des Gesetzes!

Ihr alle, die ich hierher gebeten habe! Ich bitte euch, daß ihr euch nun sämtlich entfernt!"

¶ „Du, mächtigster König der Zornesgötter! Du gewaltiger Ischvara (Schiwa) und das ganze Heer der Landesgötter und Schutzgötter! Ihr alle, die ich hierher geladen habe, mit eurem ganzen Gefolge! Ich bitte euch, daß ihr euch nun sämtlich entfernt! *Traschis schok!* Heil über uns! Und Tugend! *Geo!*"

¶ Das hier mitgeteilte Gebet, das ich gekürzt wiedergebe, zeigt, in welcher Richtung und in welchen Formen sich das Beten des Buddhisten bewegt. Der Laie, und so auch unser Namgyal, bediente sich einer viel kürzeren Form, in der aber doch die Hauptgedanken immer wiederkehren: Reinigung von den Sünden früherer Existenzen, Erlösung von den Leiden dieses Lebens und Versetzung ins Nirvana oder doch in das „Freudenparadies des Westens *(nub-p'yogs-bde-ba-can)*[148]". „Laß mich im Paradies des Westens wiedergeboren werden!" Das ist der Kehrreim aller Gebete frommer Tibeter, Lamas wie Laien, wenn auch die Bitte um Auflösung ins Nirvana daneben noch, aber seltener, wiederkehrt. Der Gedanke an ein Leben im Freudenparadies hat für den gesunden Sinn des Tibeters, wie auch ebenso des Chinesen, Japaners und Mongolen unendlich viel mehr Reiz als der Gedanke an das nebelhafte Nirvana.

¶ Oft betete Namgyal zur gütigen Göttin Tara *(sgrol-ma)*, dem weiblichen Bodhisattva, der Gattin des Großen Erbarmers Avalokiteschvara[149]. Eines der Gebete lautete:

¶ „Heil dir, Grüne Tara[150], Erlöserin aller Lebewesen! Komm herab, wir bitten dich, aus deiner himmlischen Wohnung! Komm mit deinem Gefolge von Göttern, Riesen und Befreiern! Wir fallen in Demut nieder vor deinen Lotosfüßen! Erlöse uns aus aller Not! O heilige Mutter!" (An dieser Stelle opfert der Betende vor der Statue oder dem Bilde der Tara Blumen, Weihrauch, Reis oder Lämpchen.) „Wir preisen dich, o erhabene, angebetete Tara, die du angebetet wirst von allen Königen und Prinzen der zehn Himmelsrichtungen in der Gegenwart, Vergangenheit und Zukunft! Wir bitten dich, nimm diese Opfer an Blumen, Weihrauch, Lampen, Speise, Musik der Zymbeln und andere Gaben gnädig an! Wir bitten dich aufrichtig, du wollest in allen deinen göttlichen Ge-

stalten die hier dargebrachte Speise genießen! Die sündigsten Herzen, ja selbst die Missetäter der Zehn Sünden[151] und der Fünf Maßlosen Sünden *(tsad-med lna)* werden, wenn sie dir reuevoll ihre Sünden bekennen, Vergebung und Vollkommenheit des Herzens erlangen. Wenn wir (menschlichen Wesen) in den drei Regionen[152] Verdienst angesammelt haben, so freuen wir uns dieses Glückes, zumal, wenn wir das Los der Tiere bedenken, die elend versunken sind in das Meer des Leidens. Um ihrer willen drehen wir jetzt das Rad der Lehre[153]. Wir flehen zu dir um all des angesammelten Verdienstes willen, dich all der Tiere, und auch unser in Gnaden anzunehmen! Wenn unser Verdienst vollkommen geworden ist, laß uns, wir bitten dich, nicht länger in dieser Welt verweilen!"

¶ Je älter Namgyal wurde, desto mehr wuchs sein Verlangen, in die *Geheimnisse der Religion* tiefer einzudringen. Zwei Mächte stritten sich um die Herrschaft in seiner Seele, der alte Kriegergeist, der die Vorfahren väterlicherseits beseelt hatte, und der Hang zum Grübeln und zu religiöser Betätigung, der in den Ahnen auf mütterlicher Seite lebendig gewesen war. Mehr und mehr gewann der letztere Trieb die Oberhand, und so suchte Namgyal Belehrung auf religiösem Gebiet, wo er sie finden konnte. Oftmals saß er in Skyinling in der Zelle des Klausners, wenn der gerade eine Pause in seinen Meditationen machte und seine verschlossene Klause auf kurze Zeit öffnete und stellte Fragen, die sein Gemüt beschäftigten.

¶ Da war eines Tages der Abt des großen Rirdsong-Klosters, der als eine *Inkarnation* (Fleischwerdung) eines großen Heiligen früherer Zeitalter galt, mit großem Gefolge von Lamas und dienenden Laien durch das Land gezogen. Wohin dieser „*Skuschog*" kam, wurde er von einer ehrfürchtigen Menge mit Musik und Geschenken empfangen. Auf einem gemauerten Thron sitzend, empfing er die Anbeter, die in ihm ein göttliches Wesen, einen *Skyabsgon* (Heiland) sahen, erteilte den vor ihm Knienden seinen Segen mit einer flüchtigen Handbewegung und gab jedem ein buntes geweihtes Band *(k'a-btags)*, über das er vorher einen Zauberspruch gemurmelt und leise darauf gespuckt hatte. Der Speichel des heiligen Mannes sollte Zauberkraft besitzen. Das so mit Zauberkraft gleich-

sam geladene Band wurde dann von den Männern an der Mütze, von den Frauen an der linken Schulter angeheftet. Es sollte Krankheit, schlimmen Geistereinfluß und alles Böse fernhalten und Glück bringen. Dafür stifteten die „Gläubigen" dem Skuschog reiche Gaben: Da standen vor seinem Throne eine Menge Teller mit Reis, Weizenmehl, Gerste und getrockneten Aprikosen; der eine brachte ein Schaf, ein anderer eine Ziege, einen Fellsack mit Butter, die Reicheren gaben Geld.

¶ In dem Gefolge des Skuschog wurde eine kleine, langhaarige Lhasahündin (eine Art Wachtelhündchen) an der Leine mitgeführt, ebenso auch ein Esel. Die Dorfkinder wollten mit dem Hündchen spielen. Das wehrte ihnen aber ein Lama ernstlich und jagte sie mit dem Stocke drohend weg. Da fragte Namgyal einen Lama, warum denn die Tiere mitgeführt würden, und warum der Esel nicht eine Last zu tragen bekomme. Der Skuschog habe wohl die Tiere gern und halte sie zum Vergnügen. Da verwies ihm der Lama seine fürwitzigen Fragen. Damit schmähe er den Heiligen, und das sei Sünde. Der Skuschog suche überhaupt kein Vergnügen. Er ziehe durch das Land, um die dummen, sündigen Menschen, die alle auf dem falschen Weg gingen, auf den Weg Buddhas, den Weg der Befreiung zu weisen. In dem Esel sei der Vater des Skuschog wiedergeboren worden. Er habe bei seinen Lebzeiten seine Esel immer arg geschunden, sie schlecht gefüttert, grausam geschlagen und trotz des wunden Rückens ihnen immer wieder schwere Lasten aufgeladen. Die Mutter des Skuschog hatte einst mit einem großen Stein, den sie im Zorn auf einen Hund schleuderte, der in ihre Vorratskammer eingedrungen war, dem Hunde das Hüftgelenk zerschmettert, daß er sein Lebenlang elend hinkte. Zur Strafe dafür wurde die Mutter als Hündin geboren und so mußten beide Eltern die Folgen ihrer Sünden im Tierleibe tragen. Deshalb führe der Skuschog seine beiden Eltern im Tierleibe zur Warnung mit sich durchs Land, damit die Menschen ernstlich den Weg der Erlösung suchen sollten.

¶ Bei der nächsten Gelegenheit befragte Namgyal seinen väterlichen Freund, den Klausner, über diese wunderbare Sache. Der erklärte ihm die Bedeutung der *Seelenwanderung*. Er sprach von dem *Karmagesetz*, dem geheimnisvollen Gesetz von Ursache und

Wirkung (Kausalitätsgesetz) das, gleich einer dunklen, im Verborgenen richtenden Macht über der Welt und den Lebewesen schwebt und in jeder Existenz denselben *das* an Lohn oder Strafe zumißt, was sie auf Grund ihrer Taten in früheren Existenzen verdienten, so daß das Lebensschicksal eines jeden, Freud oder Leid, immer das Ergebnis dessen sei, was sich bei gegenseitigem Abwägen der guten gegen die bösen Taten ergibt.

¶ Der Klausner zeigte seinem jungen Freunde weiterhin ein Bild in der Form eines Rades mit sechs Speichen *(srid-pa k'or-lo,* Rad der Lebewesen); in je einem der Kreisausschnitte war das Bild eines der *sechs Reiche der Lebewesen* mit einer Menge von Gestalten eingezeichnet: Das Reich der Götter, das Reich der Riesen, die in beständigem Kampfe gegeneinander leben, weiter das Reich der Menschen, auf welchem Bilde das törichte sündige Handeln der Menschen und das dadurch erzeugte Leiden drastisch dargestellt ist; weiterhin das Reich der Tiere, die Vorhölle und die eigentliche Hölle, wo die Sünder entsetzlichen Martern unterworfen werden. In einem kleinen Kreis in der Mitte des großen Kreises sieht man drei Tiere eingezeichnet: Einen Hahn, eine Schlange und ein Schwein; jedes der Tiere beißt das voranstehende in den Schwanz. Das Schwein ist das Bild der Unwissenheit, erklärte der Klausner, die darin besteht, daß der Mensch in seiner Torheit diese Welt, alle Erscheinungen in derselben und alle Freuden und Genüsse für Wirklichkeiten nimmt, während sie doch alle nur Schein, Täuschung sind. Seine geistige Blindheit (sanskr. *moha,* tibet. *ti-mug)* hindert ihn, zu erkennen, daß alles, woran er in törichtem Begehren sein Herz hängt, nur Wahngebilde, Schaumblasen sind, die platzen, sobald man darnach greift. Dieses törichte Begehren ist die Wurzel alles Übels, alles Leidens. Die Lebewesen begehren zu leben, es gelüstet sie nach den Scheinfreuden des Lebens, ihr Lebenswille (sanskr. *tangha,* der „Durst") reißt sie zu ihrem Unglück immer aufs neue wieder in den Kreislauf der Wiedergeburten, in neues Leiden hinein. Dieser „Durst" nach dem Leben führt weiterhin zur bösen Lust (Bild des Hahnes), zum sündlichen Begehren und schließlich zur sündigen Tat. Er führt weiter zum Haß (Bild der Schlange), wenn Menschen mit dem gleichen sündigen Begehren einander jene Scheinfreuden streitig machen und einer sich dem

anderen feindlich in den Weg stellt. Aus diesen *drei bösen Wurzeln*, der Lust, dem Haß und der Unwissenheit (Dummheit), entspringt die böse Saat der Sünde und des Leides, der endlosen Wiedergeburten, von denen jede immer neues Leiden bringt, bis endlich durch eigenes Tugendstreben und helfende „Heilande" und Erlöser der Mensch aus diesem unseligen Kreislauf freigemacht wird.

¶ Gautama Buddha zeigte den heilsuchenden Menschen den *achtgliederigen Pfad* der Tugend und Weltentsagung, des rechten Glaubens und rechten Lebens, auf dem nach seinem Beispiel der Fromme aus eigener Kraft Befreiung von den Fesseln des Daseins finden und die Erleuchtung (sanskr. *bodhi*, tibet. *byaṅ-ĉub)* und damit *Nirvana*[154] erlangen soll, jenen Zustand, in dem alles Begehren, damit auch alles Leid und folgerichtig auch das Leben und Sein überhaupt ein Ende hat, denn Leben ist ja schlechthin gleichbedeutend mit Leiden nach der Lehre der alten indischen Weisen und auch Buddhas; ein Leben ohne Leiden gibt es nicht. Wessen Kraft und Beharrlichkeit aber zur Selbsterlösung nicht ausreicht, dem bietet der „Große Erbarmer" (tibet. *tugs-rje ĉen-po*, sanskr. *Avalokiteschvara)* seine Hilfe aus Gnaden an, indem er auf das Gebet der Menschen hin die leidenden Lebewesen errettet aus allen Qualen des Daseins, auch selbst aus sämtlichen Höllen und sie in das Paradies des Westens versetzt.

¶ „Viel kann auf diesem Wege der Befreiung auch ein frommer, tugendhafter Lama helfen", sagte der Klausner. „Du nennst mich *Wurzellama (rtsa-baibla-ma)*, und das mit Recht. Denn wie dieser Aprikosenbaum Kraft und Saft aus der Wurzel zieht, so zieht der Laie seine Kraft aus seinem Wurzellama, dem er sich verbunden hat, so daß er geistlich wächst und gute Früchte bringt, ein frommes Leben führt, gute Taten vollbringt an Menschen und an Tieren, und sich so die Tür zum Paradies öffnet. Der unwissende und träge Laie, der nicht die Kraft hat, seine Rettung selbst zu bewerkstelligen, nimmt seine Zuflucht außer zu den Buddhas und Bodhisattvas auch zu seinem Wurzellama. Er ist für den Laien der unentbehrliche *Vermittler des Heils.* Ein Spruch in einem unserer heiligen Bücher lautet: ‚Ohne den Vortritt eines Lama kann niemand der Gottheit nahen.' Der Lama ist der Lehrer des Laien, der ihn auf den Pfad der Tugend weist, er erteilt dem

Laien den Segen, nimmt ihm die Beichte ab, erteilt Absolution, legt Bußen auf und führt den Sünder zum erlösenden Bodhisattva, der ihn in seinem Erbarmen von Sünden rein macht und ihn durch alle Versuchungen und Fährnisse des Lebens der Erlösung entgegenführt, und das alles aus Gnade; darum heißt er der Große Erbarmer."

¶ „Jenes angeführte Wort wird freilich von den Lamas viel mißbraucht. Unwürdige maßen sich an, Vermittler, Führer zu sein, lassen sich ‚Heiland' *(skyabs-mgon)* und Hochwürden *(rin-po-ĉe)* nennen. Du weißt, daß viele Lamas ein lasterhaftes Leben führen, ihre heuchlerischen Gebete und Messen, ihre Zauberkünste und Gaukeleien sich von den unwissenden Leuten teuer bezahlen lassen. Von solchen Lamas gilt das andere Wort: ‚Wenn der Lama seinen eigenen Kopf nicht retten kann, wie kann er den Laien heraufziehen (aus dem Sündensumpf ins Paradies)'[155]".

¶ Namgyal war ein lernbegieriger Schüler, er war bestrebt, sich soviel als möglich an buddhistischem Wissen anzueignen. Er studierte die Bücher, die sein Freund ihm bereitwillig lieh und ließ sich von ihm und von einem jungen Lama, der kürzlich seine Studien in Lhasa vollendet und dort die Weihen empfangen hatte, in die Geheimnisse buddhistischer Weisheit einführen.

¶ Der Klausner ermahnte seinen Schüler immer wieder zu eifrigem Studieren der *Tschos* (Lehre) und zum Beobachten der Vorschriften. Die Wichtigkeit des Wissens sollte ihm folgender Vers ins Gemüt prägen[156]:

Lern' des Wissens Zweige wohl!
Bringt *dies* Leben Weisheit nicht,
Bleibt's für künft'ge aufbewahrt.
Selbsterworb'nem Schatz ist's gleich.

¶ Namgyal betete viel, sagte täglich auswendig gelernte Gebete her, betete „mit Mund und Hand", indem er eifriger als andere seines Alters — sonst beten ausschließlich die Alten, nicht mehr arbeitsfähigen, die „Zeit haben" — die Handgebetsmühle drehte und sandte damit täglich millionenmal das wunderbare Sechssilbengebet „*Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!*" (Om! Kleinod — Lotos! Hum!) zum Großen Erbarmer auf in dem Glauben, daß, wie er

gelehrt wurde, jede dieser magischen Silben die Tür zu einem der sechs Reiche schließen und er durch die Kraft dieses Gebetes von den Leiden der Wiedergeburten erlöst, in *Amitabhas* Freudenreich versetzt werden würde, wenn er stürbe. Der Klausner Tsetan, den er einmal über die Bedeutung dieser ihm ganz unverständlichen Formel befragte, erklärte ihm, dieses Gebet sei eigentlich an die gütige Göttin *sGrolma (Tara)*, die Gattin *(Schakti)* des Großen Erbarmers gerichtet, die ja auch eine mächtige Erlöserin von allem Leid sei, und das Gebet an sie sei noch viel wirksamer als das an ihren Gatten. Diese „Weiblichen Energien" (tibet. *nus-ma)* wären überhaupt machtvolle Wesen, deren Gunst es zu gewinnen gelte.

¶ Wie die Erfahrungen und Ängste des Lebens Namgyal oft zum Beten trieben, zeigt folgendes Erlebnis. Namgyal befand sich mit seinem Oheim Stobsldan auf einer Reise in das schöne Nachbarland Kaschmir. In dem waldreichen Sindhthal hatten sie eines Abends ihr Zelt aufgeschlagen. Da zog ein sehr heftiges Gewitter auf, das stundenlang bis in die Morgenstunden mit unverminderter Gewalt tobte. Ein orkanartiger Sturm brach los, im Nu waren die Zeltpflöcke aus dem weichen Waldboden gerissen und das Zelt wurde vom Sturm in die Dunkelheit des Waldes entführt. Unaufhörlich zuckten die Blitze, rollte der Donner. Zweimal schlug der Blitz in nächster Nähe in die hohen Fichten. Ein Wolkenbruch ging nieder, der in kurzer Zeit den Waldboden in einen Sumpf verwandelte. Die beiden Reisenden suchten, durchnäßt bis auf die Haut, Schutz unter einer breitästigen Fichte. Dicht neben ihnen raste tosend der hochangeschwollene Wildbach vorbei, der jeden Augenblick aus seinen Ufern zu treten drohte. Mehrere Schlammlawinen gingen von dem nahen Hange nieder, die Männer hörten das Krachen der entwurzelten, zersplitternden Bäume und das Poltern der herabrollenden Steinblöcke in nächster Nähe und konnten in der Finsternis doch keinen sicheren Standort finden.

¶ Stobsldan zitterte vor Angst am ganzen Leibe. Unablässig drehte er seine sonst lange nicht benutzte Gebetsmühle und betete ein „*Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum*" nach dem andern. Jetzt faßte er seinen Neffen am Arm und sagte: „Namgyal! Hast du nicht die Reiter da oben in den Wolken gesehen, den furchtbaren Tsankönig und seine Wilde Jagd? Und hörst du nicht das Brüllen der Donner-

drachen da oben, die miteinander kämpfen? Nun werfen auch noch die *Lha-adre* (Dämonen), die auf den Drachen reiten, die Hagelkörner aus ihren Säcken auf uns herab. Sie werden uns noch töten! Bete doch, Namgyal, bete! Du weißt ja soviel Gebete. Ich habe sie alle vergessen. Vielleicht lassen sich dann die Furchtbaren da oben beschwichtigen."

¶ Da sagte Namgyal ein Gebet[157] her, das ihn einst sein Vater gelehrt hatte. Es war an die tausend Buddhas, die sämtlichen Bodhisattvas, die Schutzgötter (Yidam) und die Landesgötter gerichtet:

„Haltet in den Höhen Wacht!
Haltet Wacht auf nied'rer Erd!
Licht entzünd't in finstrer Nacht!
Feind- und Teufelsheer besiegt!
Wunsch und Hoffnung werd' gestillt!
Lebenskraft und Reichtums Füll'
Hohes Glück werd' uns beschert!"

¶ „Sag doch auch noch das Gebet vom Feindgott" *(dgra-lha)*, sagte Stobsldan; ich hab's einmal auswendig gekonnt, habe es aber vergessen. Ich habe immer nur das *Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum* gebetet; aber es ist doch besser, wenn man direkt zu den Göttern da oben betet, da verschonen sie uns vielleicht. Da betete Namgyal:

„Wie der Löw' beim Gletscher bleibt, (s. Anm. 64!)
Feindgott bleib uns immer nah!
Wie die Schwing' am Garuda,
So bleib Feindgott uns vereint!
Tiger stets beim Walde wohnt,
So bleib Feindgott uns stets nah!
Fischlein stets im Wasser bleibt,
So sei Feindgott uns nie fern!"

Oft regte sich der Wunsch in Namgyal, sich wie der Klausner und wie auch einige Laien seiner Bekanntschaft in eine Klause zurückzuziehen zu frommer Übung und Meditation, um sich ein sicheres Anrecht auf Erlösung zu erwerben. Aber dann gewann wieder die gesunde Lebenslust bei ihm die Oberhand, die Freude am Schaffen, die Freude an Weib und Kind, an Heimat und Besitz, und Großmutter Tsering Putrid sagte, er sei nun fromm genug, seine Fröm-

migkeit reiche aus für dieses Leben und das zukünftige; was etwa noch fehle, würden die Lamas schon für ihn besorgen, sie verdienten ja an ihm genug.

¶ In der Tat stiftete Namgyal reichlich *Gaben* an die benachbarten Klöster und an die Mönche, die zu den häuslichen Zeremonien gerufen wurden; er machte *Wallfahrten* nach allen erreichbaren Heiligtümern, u. a. zu dem wundertätigen Bilde des Großen Erbarmers in Trilognath in Lahul und beabsichtigte, die große Wallfahrt zum heiligen Gletscherberg Gangsri und dem heiligen See Manasarowar im fernen Tibet zu machen, sobald seine Amtsgeschäfte als Schulze — das Amt hatte man ihm übertragen — es erlauben würden, weil durch solche Wallfahrt die Sünden aller Geburten getilgt und der Weg ins Paradies mit einem Schlage geöffnet werden sollte.

¶ Neben den Buddhas und Bodhisattvas wurden auch die Landesgötter, die Dorfgötter und der Hausgott nicht vergessen. Überkam auch Namgyal oft ein Zweifel an deren Vorhandensein und Macht, so hielt er es doch für ratsam, schon um der Verwandten und der Paspun (Sippe) willen, sie nicht zu vernachlässigen, sie durch gelegentliche Opfer zu befriedigen und sich geneigt zu erhalten.

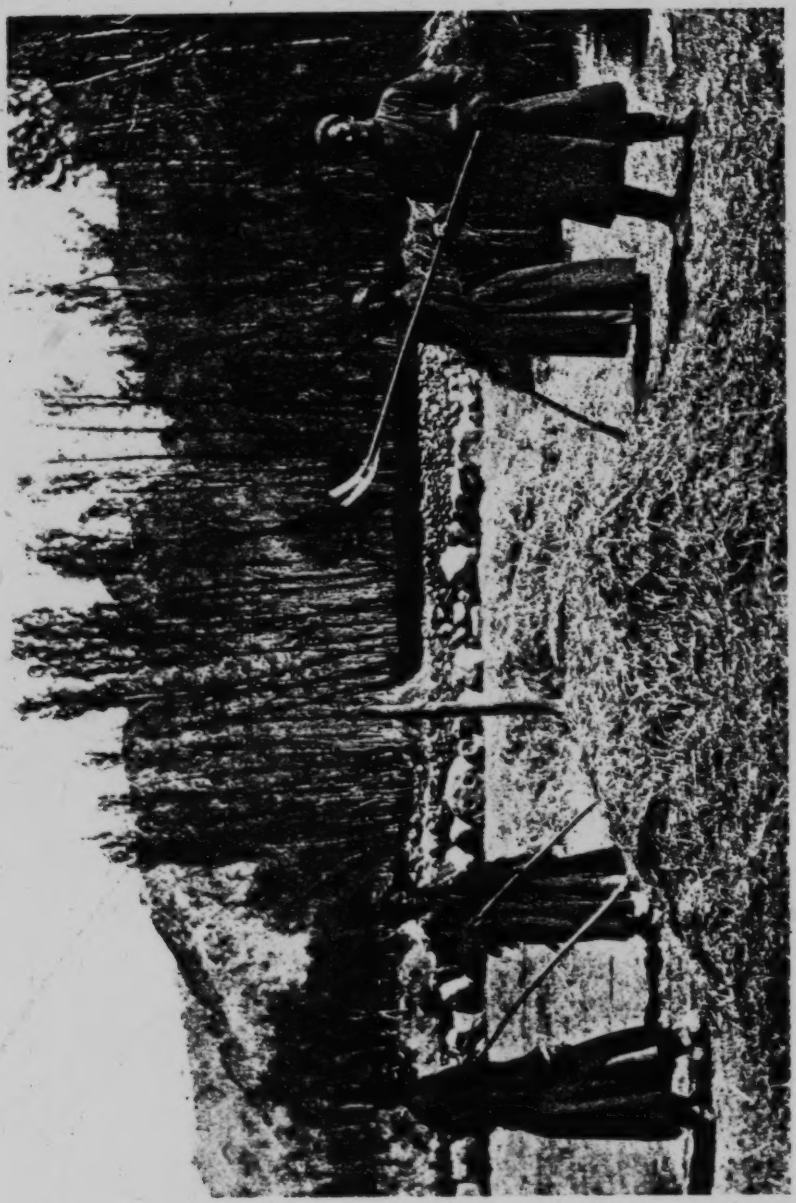
¶ Jeden Morgen bei Sonnenaufgang brachte Namgyal das *Morgenopfer (ṅa-mĉod)* für die ganze Schar der Buddhas und Götter dar. Es bestand in Gerste, Reis, Bier, Wasser, auch Blumen *(zas-ĉaṅ-gi p'ud);* alles wurde in Messingschalen vor den Götterbildern im Haustempel aufgestellt. Beim Eintritt in den heiligen Raum fiel Namgyal dreimal anbetend vor dem Bilde Avalokiteschvaras nieder, dann brachte er das Opfer dar und verrichtete ein kurzes Gebet. Am Abend brachte Namgyal in gleicher Weise das *Abend*opfer *(p'i-mĉod)* dar.

¶ Der arme Nachbar Ngurub, der derartige Opfer sich nicht leisten konnte, begnügte sich damit, eine Tonschale mit glimmenden Wacholderzweigen auf dem Dache seines Hauses als ein „Opfer für alle" aufzustellen. Er pflegte zu sagen, dabei wären ihm die Götter ebenso gewogen und ihn träfe auch nicht mehr Unglück als die Reichen, die reichere Opfer darbrächten. Im Gegenteil. Den würzigen Duft glimmenden Wacholders liebten die Götter über alles

und sähen dieses Opfer gnädig an. Er stünde sich ganz gut mit denen da oben.

¶ In der ersten „ansteigenden" Hälfte jedes Monats *(yar-ṅo)*[158] also bei zunehmendem Monde, mußte nach altem Brauch im Haus eine Zeremonie vorgenommen werden, die der Tibeter mit *lha bsaṅs co-ces* bezeichnet, was wir mit „die Götter versöhnen" wiedergeben können. Zunächst pflegte Namgyal nach des Vaters Vorgang jedesmal drei Lamas ins Haus zu rufen, die ein paar Stunden lang Gebete und Beschwörungsformeln hersagten und den Göttern Wurfopfer *(gtor-ma)* darbrachten. Der Hausherr selbst ging mit einer Schale *(bsaṅs-ap'or)* Räucherwerk, meist nur glimmenden Wacholderzweigen, durch alle Räume des Hauses *(bsaṅs-ak'or)*, die Glut beständig anblasend. Nach dem Rundgang tat er noch Räucherwerk *ldug-spos)*, mit Butter angerührten Brotteig, Salz und Zwiebeln hinzu, sprengte aus einer Kanne Bier darüber und stellte dieses Speis- und Räucheropfer den Göttern zur Labung und lieblichem Geruch auf den Herdrand in der Wohnküche. Währenddessen lasen die Lamas oben im Haustempel Stücke aus dem Buche *bsaṅs-dpe*. Es sind dies keine Bittgebete; die Götter werden ohne besondere Zeichen der Verehrung ersucht, das Opfer freundlich aufzunehmen, sich daran zu laben und dafür die Opfernden mit feindlichen Handlungen zu verschonen. Es ist hier mehr ein Geschäft als eine Verehrung der Angerufenen. Man zahlt ihnen einen Tribut und verlangt nun von ihnen, daß auch sie ihrer Verpflichtung nachkommen, sich wohl verhalten und den Spender mit Unheil verschonen. Allmählich begnügte Namgyal sich damit, die Lamas zwei- bis dreimal im Jahre zum *bsaṅs-Opfer* zu rufen; im übrigen hielt er sein eignes Opfer für genügend auch ohne deren Anwesenheit und Tätigkeit. Zum Lohne für ihre Mühe bekamen die Lamas bei dieser Gelegenheit, da sie zwei, drei Häuser an einem Tage bedienten, nur reichlich Essen und Bier. Die eigentliche Ablohnung erfolgte im Herbst auf einmal.

¶ Jährlich einmal, im vierten Monat, der ein besonderer Festmonat ist, rief Namgyal drei bis fünf Lamas zum großen *Jahres-Rimdro* *(rim-agro* = Opferzeremonie) ins Haus, wie jeder, der es sich irgend leisten konnte, zu tun pflegte zum Heil aller Bewohner des Hauses, einschließlich der Tiere. Der Reiche soll eigentlich hierbei



Worfeln des Getreides

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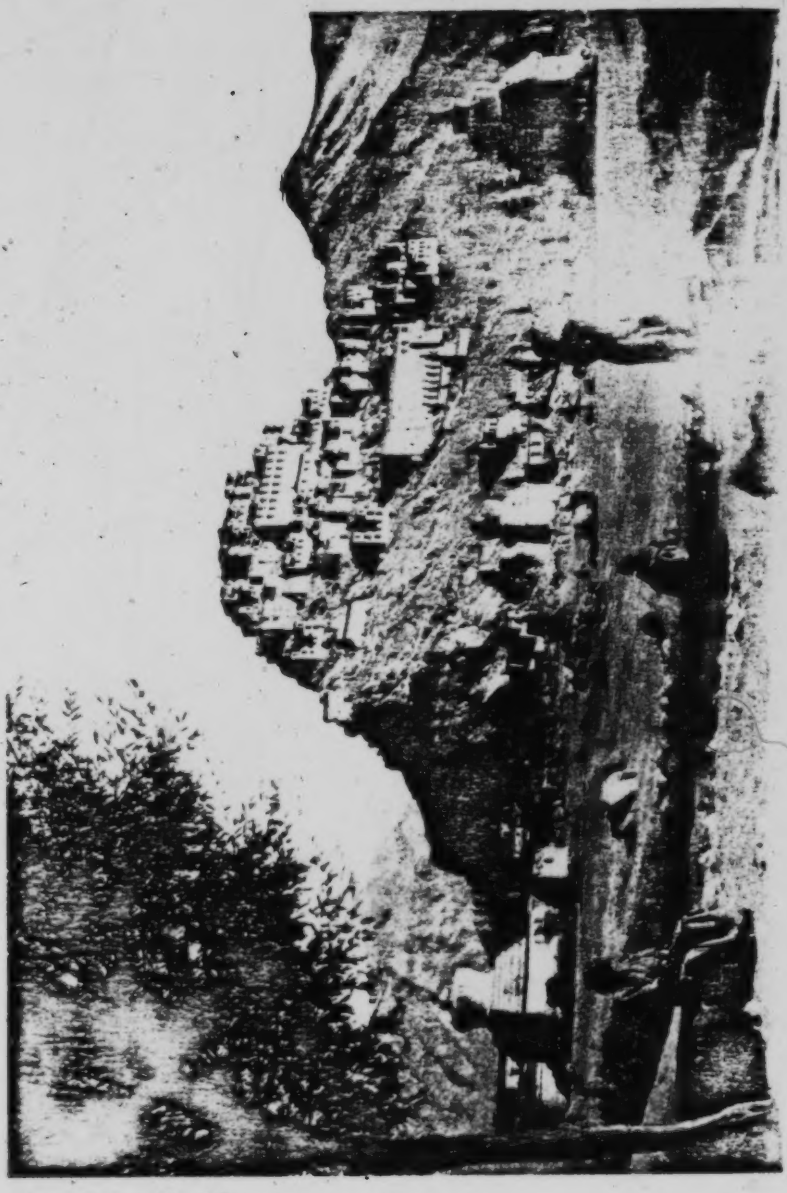
den ganzen ersten Teil des buddhistischen Kanon (Sammlung der heiligen Bücher, 108 Bände) lesen lassen. Das konnte sich der König seinerzeit leisten, aber das dauert lang und ist kostspielig. Um aber auch den Minderbemittelten neben den Reichen instand zu setzen, das *Rimdro* abzuhalten, richteten die Lamas, den Vermögensverhältnissen entsprechend, drei Klassen ein: Beim Rimdro erster Klasse *(rabs)* werden alle 108 Bände des Kangyur, des ersten Teiles des Kanon, gelesen; das kommt nur ganz vereinzelt bei den Großen des Landes in Frage. Beim Rimdro zweiter Klasse *(abriṅ)* kann die Hälfte, oder auch nur 12 Bände gelesen werden; bei einem Lesen dritter Klasse *(adus* oder *mta)* wird nur ein kurzer Auszug gelesen. Namgyal wählte die mittlere Klasse und ließ etwa dreißig Bände lesen. Das Lesen des „göttlichen" Wortes *(ĉos)* sollte ja Segen, Schutz und Gedeihen bringen durch die ihm innewohnende Kraft.

¶ Als Tag des Beginns dieser Ubungen, mit denen auch Opfer verbunden waren, wählte man den fünfzehnten des vierten Monats. Dieser Tag (wie auch der erste) gilt als besonders geeignet zum Beten, Lesen, Umkreisen heiliger Orte und Gabenspenden. An diesen heiligen Tagen betete auch Namgyal fleißig, umkreiste die Gebetsmauern und Tschorten am Dorfeingang, dabei seine Gebetsmühle drehend; auch gab er jedem an dem Tage bei ihm vorsprechenden Bettler oder Bettellama ein reichliches Almosen. Wo es anging, beteiligte sich Namgyal mit Eifer an größeren verdienstbringenden Werken, wie Weißen der Klosterwände, Bauen neuer Manes (Gebetsmauern) und Tschortens. Auf sein Betreiben taten sich auch einmal die Bauern zusammen und bauten eine große Gebetsmühle am Bach, deren Zylinder fast zwei Meter hoch war, die nun Tag und Nacht, vom Wasser getrieben, für die Bewohner des Dorfes und deren leibliches und geistliches Wohl „betete".

¶ Für die Dienste, welche die Lamas den Laien während des Jahres erweisen, erfolgt die *Ablohnung* im Spätsommer, wenn das Getreide ausgedroschen ist. Da stellen sich die Lamas der nächstgelegenen Klöster in Scharen ein, um ihren Anteil an der Ernte zu fordern. Die sieben reichsten Bauern von Kalatse sind seit alters verpflichtet, die Lamas nacheinander zu bewirten. Es kommt vor, daß dann ein Bauer an einem Tage 100 bis 150 Lamas zu



Kloster Trigtsee in Ladak

facing P.177

bewirten hat. Zu den Lamas und Nonnen, die ihren Lohn heischen, kommen auch noch die Schmiede und Zimmerleute, die Nachkommen der einst von den Tibetern unterjochten arischen Bewohner jener Berge (vgl. Anm. 12). Diese Handwerker werden nun abgelohnt für die Arbeiten, die sie während des Jahres für die Bauern geleistet haben: Instandhaltung der Acker- und anderer Geräte, Beschlagen der Pferde, allerlei Zimmerarbeit usw. Auch die Musiker (Bedas, Mon), die bei den Festlichkeiten aufgespielt und gesungen haben, erhalten ihr Teil. Nach der Bewirtung erhält jeder, der dem Bauern Dienste irgendwelcher Art geleistet hat, noch einige Maß Getreide, je nach seiner Leistung, bis zu zwei Kal Gewicht (1 Kal ungefähr 15 kg).

¶ Namgyals religiöser Eifer trieb ihn dazu, alle Vorschriften der Lehre und der Lamas gewissenhaft zu befolgen. Aber all diese frommen Ubungen konnten die Unruhe seines Herzens nicht stillen. Auch die Wallfahrten zu den Heiligtümern und Buddhabildern, die nach der Aussage der Lamas dem Frommen den Zugang zum Paradies, ja ins Nirvana sichern sollten, gaben ihm nicht den Frieden der Seele, den er suchte. Das Ringen nach Vollkommenheit und Befreiung von den irdischen Banden schien hoffnungslos, alle göttlichen und menschlichen *Skyabsmgon* (Heilande) hatten ihn enttäuscht; zuviel von dem sündigen Treiben der großen Masse der Lamas hatte er gesehen, um sich ihrer Führung vertrauend überlassen zu können. Ganz entraten konnte er ihres geistlichen Beistandes nicht, um der Familie, der Sippe willen, die auf ein gutes Verhältnis zu den Lamas hielt; und um alles für sein und der Seinen Seelenheil getan zu haben, beobachtete er die Gebote und „machte Religion", wie es die Lamas verlangten. Aber sein Sehnen nach Frieden blieb ungestillt.

¶ Um diese Zeit war ein *Missionar* ins Tal gezogen und hatte trotz des wütenden Widerstandes der Lamas des Klosters Lamayuru ein Haus gebaut und nahm sich nun im Verein mit seiner Frau der Kranken, der Armen und Bedrängten in Liebe an. Er redete zu den Leuten von einem *Yeschu*, der Inkarnation des großen einzigen Gottes und Schöpfers im Himmel, der zur Errettung der gebundenen leidenden Menschen selbst in Menschengestalt auf die Erde kam und durch Leiden und Sterben die Gebundenen

frei und glücklich machte. Die Botschaft schlug wie ein Blitz bei Namgyal ein, und ein neuer Kampf begann in seinem Innern. Er wurde den Gedanken nicht los: Wenn es wahr wäre, was der Fremde sagt, daß der Glaube an die Erlösertat jenes *Yeschu* allein, ohne alle verdienstlichen Werke, ohne alle Buddhas und Bodhisattvas, den Menschen frei von Sünde und Leiden macht! Und so besuchte Namgyal öfter, trotz des Verbotes der Lamas und Grollens der Sippe, die Versammlungen des Missionars, suchte ihn auch persönlich auf, um sich noch mehr von dem *Yeschu* sagen zu lassen, dessen Person ihn so stark anzog, freilich auch seinen Widerspruch herausforderte mit seiner Forderung, die Erlösung in Demut als ein Gnadengeschenk anzunehmen. Und doch — lehrten nicht die Lamas etwas Ähnliches in bezug auf den „Großen Erbarmer" Avalokiteschvara, der auch dem Vertrauenden die Rettung aus Gnaden anbot?

¶ Mit seinen Verwandten durfte Namgyal nicht über diese Dinge reden, die ihm einen so schweren inneren Kampf bereiteten. Sobald er sich ihnen gegenüber darüber äußern wollte, stieß er zunächst auf heftigen Widerstand und Spott. Besonders eiferte die alte Großmutter Tsering Putrid: „Du willst wohl ein Kristan werden? Dann wehe! Dann reißt du uns alle ins Unglück! Dann trifft uns der Zorn aller Buddhas und Götter, du fährst mit dem fremden Verführer in die Hölle und der Skuschok tut uns in den Bann, die Verwandten und die Sippe stoßen uns aus, wir sind Geächtete."

Das Erd-Tigerjahr — ein Unglücksjahr

¶ Namgyals Leben war seit seiner Verheiratung ein glückliches gewesen. Mit seiner Frau verband ihn je länger je mehr aufrichtige Liebe, wie sie in tibetischen Ehen selten ist. Ihre drei blühenden Kinder, ein Knabe und zwei Mädchen, waren ihre ganze Freude, Freilich fehlte der Mutter oft Erzieherweisheit und Festigkeit, den eigenwilligen, wilden Jungen zu bändigen und zum Gehorsam zu bringen. Da mußte oftmals der Vater ein ernstes Wort reden und den Jungen mit der Reitpeitsche zur Vernunft bringen.

¶ Durch Fleiß und Umsicht hatte Namgyal seinen Besitz an Feld und Vieh vermehrt, spätere Handelsreisen nach Dschangtang, die

erfolgreicher waren als die erste, hatten guten Gewinn gebracht; die Kinder waren gediehen und Namgyal genoß die Achtung seiner Volksgenossen in weitem Umkreis. Mit seiner Hinneigung zum Christentum fanden sich die Leute allmählich ab, da sie sahen, daß er ihnen trotzdem ein guter, stets hilfsbereiter Nachbar blieb. Als *Gopa* (Dorfschulze) schätzten sie ihn hoch und rühmten, sie hätten seit Menschengedenken keinen so unbestechlichen und umsichtigen Schulzen gehabt. Der vorige hatte durch Annahme von Bestechungsgeldern und Betrug beim Einziehen der Steuern sich beträchtlich bereichert (wie viele der höheren und niederen Beamten im Lande), was ihn schließlich ins Gefängnis brachte.

¶ Namgyal galt bei seinen Landsleuten als ein Glücksmensch. „Kein Wunder", sagten sie, „ist er doch unter einem glücklichen Stern geboren, seine Sparka-, Mewa- und Lungta-Zeichen (astrologische Zeichen) sind hoch, dem können die schlimmsten Dämonen nichts anhaben." Sie wandten auf ihn gern ein altes Sprichwort an: Den Glücksmenschen (der unter günstigen Sternen geboren ist) magst du jagen, du fängst ihn nicht; der Unglücksmensch mag fliehen, er entrinnt doch nicht[159].

¶ So schien es, daß auch das neunte Jahr von Namgyals Eheleben, das Erdtigerjahr, ein glückliches Jahr werden sollte. Der alte Teufelsbezwinger (Dordsche Duddschoms), der immer noch seine schwarze Kunst betrieb, ohne daß Namgyal, der seine Dienste jetzt ganz ablehnte, ihn befragt hätte, hatte gesagt, daß das neue Jahr nach allen Zeichen für ihn und sein Haus ein Jahr des Glückes werden würde. Namgyals Frau hatte im stillen den alten *Gya-mtso-pa*, den Märchenerzähler, gefragt. Der hatte auf seine Weise das Schicksal befragt. Nichts deute auf nahendes Unheil, sagte er. Die Dragschosleute könnten beruhigt sein.

¶ Namgyal war mit getrostem Mute an seine Frühjahrsarbeiten gegangen. Da zogen sich dunkle Wolken über seinem Hause zusammen.

¶ Sein Junge, Traschi Rigdsin, der bis dahin sich äußerst kräftig entwickelt hatte, ein strammer, lebens- und tatenfroher Bube, erkrankte im Sommer zur Zeit der Aprikosenreife an einem heftigen Darmleiden, so daß er in kurzer Zeit zum Skelett abmagerte. Alle Medizinen des *Lhardsche* (Zauberdoktors), Aderlaß, Brennen mit

glühendem Eisen, die Spiegelkur, die „Taufe" mit Trinken des Zauberwassers[160], alles half nichts. Die Lamas forschten mit dem Lhardsche zusammen nach den Ursachen der Krankheit. Da fand Großmutter Tsering Putrid, die eifrigst mitforschte, eines Tages ein Ziegenhorn unter der Türschwelle versteckt; in dessen Höhlung steckte ein Zettel, auf dem war in rohen Umrissen ein Kind gezeichnet; um das Bild herum waren Zaubersprüche geschrieben, teils in unverständlichen Sanskritworten, teils in tibetischen, die den Sinn hatten, daß Namgyals ältester Sohn krank werden und sterben sollte. Nun kannte man die Ursache der Krankheit, meinte sie. Aber wer hatte das Ziegenhorn mit dem Zauber unter die Schwelle gelegt? Tsering Putrid wußte es, sie behauptete wenigstens, sie wüßte es. Sie sagte, sie hätte kürzlich beobachtet, wie die Tschondsom aus dem Katzenmaulhause *(bi-la-k'a)* sich in verdächtiger Weise dicht am Hause zu schaffen gemacht habe, wo sie gar nichts zu suchen habe. Überhaupt, die Katzenmaulhäusler! Das sei eine falsche Bande! Nicht umsonst habe man seinerzeit ihnen und ihrem Hause den Namen „Katzenmaul" gegeben: Ins Gesicht immer freundlich, hinter dem Rücken falsch und tückisch! Sicher steckte die Tschondsom hinter der Sache, der wollte sie es schon eintränken. Ihren Urenkel töten zu wollen! Sie schwor bei den „Drei Kostbaren" und bei allen Buddhas und Göttern des Klosters, die sie „holen" sollten, wenn's nicht wahr wäre, daß die Tschondsom und keine andere den Jungen morden wollte! Die hätte den hübschen Jungen auch schon immer neidisch mit ihrem *„Bösen Blick"* verfolgt. Es half nichts, daß ein vielgereister Freund des Namgyal erklärte, die Krankheit hätte ganz natürliche Ursachen, das unmäßige Essen von Aprikosen sowie die Unreinlichkeit der Leute; Tsering Putrid blieb hartnäckig bei ihrer Meinung. Die Lamas wurden gerufen, sie lasen, beteten zu allen Buddhas und zum Medizinbuddha insonderheit, sie opferten Streuopfer, trommelten — alles umsonst. Endlich riet ein Mann, der viel mit einem indischen Arzte gereist war: „Gebt dem Jungen keine Kuhmilch und keinen Buttertee mehr zu trinken, gebt ihm dicke Mehlsuppe und zum Trinken Ziegenmilch, dann wird's besser werden!" Die Mutter befolgte den Rat, und allmählich trat eine Besserung, schließlich Genesung ein. Wer das Ziegenhorn unter die Schwelle

gelegt, blieb lange ein Rätsel, und lange verfolgte die alte Tsering Putrid die Tschondsom mit feindseligen Blicken und Anspielungen, bis eine Frau aus dem Nachbarhause erzählte, sie hätte gesehen, wie ein Vagabund aus Großtibet, ein *Khampa*, der bettelnd von Haus zu Haus ging, sich an Namgyals Haustür zu schaffen machte. Nun besann man sich auf den Vorfall. Der Mann hatte in einem Nachbarhause ein silberbeschlagenes Trinknäpfchen gestohlen, wurde ertappt und vor Namgyal als den Dorfrichter geführt. Der wollte keinen großen Prozeß aus der Sache gemacht sehen, sonst hätte er den Mann selbst nach Leh bringen müssen, ein Weg von drei Tagereisen, um ihn dort aburteilen zu lassen. Das wollte er nicht; da hatte er kurzen Prozeß gemacht und dem Dieb eine gehörige Tracht Prügel mit der Reitpeitsche gegeben und ihn dann laufen lassen. Dafür hatte der Khampa sich durch den Zauber mit dem Ziegenhorn rächen wollen.

¶ Kaum war die Sorge um die Krankheit des Knaben behoben, da kehrte neue Sorge im Dragschoshause ein. Die Mutter des genesenen Knaben erkrankte an heftiger Lungenentzündung. Der Lhardsche wurde gerufen, er gab Medizin, schröpfte die Kranke, brannte sie mit glühendem Eisen auf der Brust und am Rücken, nichts wollte helfen. Wieder wurden die Lamas gerufen, um die Ursache der Krankheit festzustellen. Lange suchten sie vergeblich nach einer greifbaren Ursache. „Es ist eben ihr Karma", sagten sie, „die Folge von sündigen Taten, die sie in vergangenen Existenzen begangen hat, und wer kennt denn die!"

¶ Die Lamas forschten indessen eifrig weiter nach der Ursache der Erkrankung. Meist hatten doch die Dämonen die Hand im Spiele trotz Karma und Vergeltung. Sie stellten viele Fragen an die Kranke und ihren Mann: „Ist kürzlich mal ein Fremder ins Haus gekommen, etwa ein ‚Heide' (ein Nichtbuddhist), ein Mon, ein Beda, ein Mohammedaner oder gar so ein Kristan (Christ), ein Unreiner, und hat sich vielleicht an den Herd gesetzt und dadurch den Hausgott und den Herdgott erzürnt, indem er durch seine Anwesenheit Haus und Herd unrein machte?" Mit diesen und anderen ähnlichen Fragen wurde die Kranke gequält; doch all diese Fragen wurden verneint. Schließlich kam heraus, daß der Mon Tschospell (also ein Unreiner) aus dem Nachbardorfe, der ein eifriger Jäger

war, spät abends mit dem „roten" (d. h. frischen) Fleisch eines von ihm geschossenen Wildschafes ins Haus gekommen war, um mit dem Fleisch eine Getreideschuld beim Dragschos abzutragen. Das war nun ein dreifaches Vergehen: Erstens war das Töten eine schwere Sünde, zweitens wurden durch den Anblick des „roten" Fleisches die Götter, besonders die roten Tsandämonen, erzürnt und gereizt, drittens wurde der Hausgott beleidigt durch den Anblick eines Unreinen (des Mon) im Hause; und im Gefolge so eines Besuchers, wenn er ein Unreiner ist, kommen böse Geister ins Haus. Die müssen nun durch ein Feuerstreuopfer gebannt und verjagt werden *(tsa-me p'aṅ-ces)*. Während noch die Männer redeten, kam wieder der Mon Tschospell, der Tischler war, um dem Namgyal ein von ihm gemachtes Tischchen abzuliefern. Er wurde nicht eingelassen, sondern mußte draußen lange warten, abseits vom Hause.

Unterdessen ließ sich der erste der Lamas eine flache, eiserne Pfanne reichen und sagte zu Namgyal: „Ich will dir zeigen, wie man ein Feuerstreuopfer macht und damit die bösen Geister beschwichtigt und vertreibt." Namgyal mußte allerlei Reste von Speisen, Brocken von Brot, Mehl, Reis, Knochen, Zwiebeln, Salz auf die Pfanne legen, darauf glühende Kohlen und heiße Asche, so daß das Haus bald von einem stinkenden Qualm erfüllt war. Nun gingen alle Hausbewohner mit dem Lama hinunter durch den Stall an die Haustür, die der Lama öffnete. Er warf etwas von dem qualmenden Inhalt der Pfanne auf die Schwelle. Der Mon, der noch draußen auf Einlaß wartete, durfte nun über diese qualmende Masse hinweg und über die Schwelle ins Haus steigen und sein Geschäft ausrichten. Der Lama erklärte, die bösen Geister, Götter und Dämonen seien nun sämtlich beruhigt und versöhnt: die roten Tsandämonen, die Noddschin *(gnod-sbyin)*, die der Schrecken der Bergpässe sind, die Teufel *(bdud)*, die Wasser- und Erdgötter *(klu, sa-bdag)*, die Dschungpo-Dämonen und Unholde, die menschenfressenden Schasa *(śaza)*, die wunderbaren Miamtschi *(mi-am-ci)*, Wesen halb Mensch halb Gott; die himmlischen Musiker (die Kinnara der Hindumythologie); die duftessenden Drisa *(dri-za)*, engelähnliche Wesen mit Flügeln, die „Nichtgötter" *(lha-ma-yin)*, die Riesen vom heiligen Götterberg Meru; die Dripo, Drimo, die Poyong, Moyong, die Lhandre *(lha-adre)*, sie sämtlich seien

nun versöhnt und nicht mehr zu fürchten, so versicherte der Lama, sie hätten sich gleich, angelockt durch den „süßen Duft" der Speisen, herbeigemacht, um ihn zu genießen; und nun seien sie befriedigt, wären verschwunden und sie würden nun auch der kranken Frau nichts Böses mehr antun, sie würde nun sicher bald genesen.

¶ Indes wurde die kranke Tschosskyid nicht gesund, ihr Zustand verschlimmerte sich trotz aller Heilung verheißenden Zusagen der Lamas, des Lhardsche und des Teufelsbezwingers. Da mußte doch etwas Besonderes vorliegen, gewisse Götter seien offenbar noch zornig auf die Kranke, sagte der große Lama Mipam. Was in aller Welt habe sie nur angestellt! Man quälte die Todschwache mit neuen Fragen. Endlich war es heraus: Sie hatte einmal aus Versehen mit dem trockenen Kuhmist etwas Hundekot, auch einmal einen alten Lappen am Herdfeuer verbrannt. Dadurch war der Herdgott *(tab-lha)* und angeblich noch ein gerade in der Nachbarschaft in einem Baum hausender Gott gereizt worden, den Gestank vertrugen selbst ihre in Tibet sonst nicht verwöhnten Geruchsnerven nicht. Die Götter verlangen die „fünf wohlgefälligen Opfer" *(adod-yon-lṅa)* für die fünf Sinne: Für den Geschmack — Speis- und Trankopfer, für den Geruch — Blumen oder Räucheropfer, für den Gesichtssinn — einen Spiegel, für das Gehör — Musikinstrumente, die man wie den Spiegel vor dem Altar niederlegt, für das Gefühl — seidene Kleider und ähnliches.

¶ Weiter wurde noch aus der Kranken herausgepreßt das Geständnis, sie habe im letzten Herbst beim Grassammeln drüben am Berghang jenseits des Indus aus der Quelle getrunken, bei der der gefürchtete *Lu*, der Wasser- und Schlangengott, haust; sie wäre so sehr durstig gewesen, da hätte sie trinken müssen. Aber das habe natürlich auch den Lu in Wut gebracht, sagte der Lama; dafür habe er sie krank gemacht. Endlich gestand Frau Tschosskyid auch noch, sie habe einmal in der Eile einen Eimer mit Spülwasser über einen der rotangestrichenen Steine vor ihrem Hause, die den roten Tsangöttern geweiht sind, ausgeschüttet. Das war noch ein arges Vergehen, das den Zorn der Götter erregt hätte.

¶ Zur Beschwichtigung der Lugötter lasen die Lamas das schon gleich mitgebrachte Buch von den „Hunderttausend Lu" *(klu-abum)*; die Tsangötter bekamen ein Storma (Opferkuchen zum

Wurfopfer), dem die Lamas die Gestalt eines Menschen gaben, den sie rot bemalten. Die Figur wurde nach Hersagen von Bannsprüchen hinter das Haus und in die angrenzende Wüste getragen und dort zwischen die Steinblöcke geschleudert. Der Tsan wollte seine Rache haben, die möchte er nun an dieser Figur austoben.

¶ Schließlich kam noch etwas „Wichtiges" zutage. Die alte Großmutter, die beständig die Tschondsom aus dem Katzenmaulhause mit mißtrauischen Blicken beobachtete, glaubte sich zu erinnern, daß jene böse Frau einmal sehr auffällig vor dem Dragschoshause ausgespuckt[161], dabei mit dem Bösen Blick nach dem Hause hingesehen und ein paar böse Worte gemurmelt habe. Da wurde der Lhardsche noch einmal gerufen. Der nahm einen Streifen Papier, auf den schrieb er einige Zaubersprüche, knüllte das Papier zusammen und machte kleine Kügelchen daraus. Die sollte die Kranke schlucken. Die Wirkung war, daß die Frau, der ohnedies alle Speisen zum Ekel waren, brechen mußte. Das rührte den Lhardsche wenig; er drang darauf, daß die Frau unter Qualen die Papierpillen schlucken mußte, was immer wieder die gleiche Wirkung hatte.

¶ Indes alle natürlichen wie übernatürlichen Mittel brachten der armen Kranken keine Besserung; wochenlang schwebte sie zwischen Tod und Leben und bangten Mann und Kinder um sie. Da endlich brachte die Medizin des Missionars, den man nun an das Krankenbett rief — bis dahin hatten die Lamas sein Erscheinen zu verhindern gewußt — eine Besserung, und die kräftige Natur der Frau gewann allmählich die Oberhand; sie genas zur großen Freude der Ihrigen. Namgyal brachte den Göttern in seinem Haustempel und denen im Klostertempel von Tingmogang ein reiches Dankopfer dar, weil die Verwandtschaft das verlangte. Die Lamas zu beschenken, fand er keine Veranlassung. Hingegen verehrte er dem Missionar ein Schaf, einen großen Teller mit getrockneten Früchten und ein Grußband zum Zeichen des Dankes für dessen Hilfe; sein Vertrauen zum Missionar wuchs und Namgyal wurde nun noch empfänglicher für die neue Botschaft, die der Missionar verkündigte und durch sein Handeln bezeugte.

¶ Das Jahr, in dem sich dies alles zutrug, das Erd-Tigerjahr, war ein *Unglücksjahr* auch für das ganze Dorf und die Nachbar-

orte in Unterladak. Durchziehende indische Händler hatten ein böses, typhusartiges Fieber eingeschleppt, dem viele erlagen. Dann gingen die Pocken durchs Land und forderten zahlreiche Opfer. Wie Fliegen im Spätherbst starben die Leute dahin. Die Dörfer, ja die einzelnen Häuser eines Dorfes sperrten sich gegeneinander ab. Die wohlhabenden Bauern ließen sich von den Lamas große und kleine Dosmo (Fadenkreuze und -sterne) machen, um die krankheitbringenden Dämonen zu bannen. Überall auf Wegen und Straßen sah man diese Zaubermittel liegen, die den Unholden den Weg versperren sollten; die Armen legten Dornzweige hin und erhofften von diesen den gleichen Schutz. Viel verlangt wurde ein Zauberzettel, auf dem in Blockdruck zwei menschliche Gestalten abgebildet waren, an Händen und Füßen mit Ketten gefesselt: Die Geister der Krankheit, die durch Zauber gebunden sind. Die Zaubersprüche waren in einen Kreis gedruckt, der die Mitte des Bildes einnimmt. Die Lamas machten gute Geschäfte mit diesen Zauberzetteln.

¶ Einzelne der Pockenkranken wurden von ihren Angehörigen im Hause gepflegt. Andere aber, von Furcht vor Ansteckung getrieben, brachten ihre Kranken in die unmittelbar an das Dorf angrenzende Wüste. Dort suchten die Ärmsten notdürftig Schutz zwischen den verstreuten großen Steinblöcken gegen die sengenden Strahlen der Sonne und die Sandstürme. Die Verwandten brachten täglich ihren Kranken einen Napf mit Essen und eine Kanne Buttertee, stellten beides in einiger Entfernung auf den Boden, riefen den Kranken ein kurzes Grußwort zu und entfernten sich eilends. Der Kranke, der noch soviel Kraft hatte, schleppte sich mühsam heran, um das Essen herbeizuholen. Oft geschah es aber, daß auf den Anruf keine Antwort mehr erfolgte. Der Napf stand dann am folgenden Tag noch unberührt; der Kranke brauchte keine Nahrung mehr, er hatte ausgelitten. Dann kamen ein paar Männer von der Sippe herbei, schleiften die Leiche an einem Strick in den Indus und überließen sie den Fischen zur „Bestattung". Im besten Falle war ein Lama dabei gegen Bezahlung, um eine ganz kurze Totenmesse zu lesen. Es kam auch vor, daß die Leiche erst nicht zu finden war; Wölfe hatten sie zerrissen und verschleppt — „bestattet".

¶ Über diese Art der „Bestattung" machen sich die Tibeter kein Gewissen, sie ist sogar ganz gebräuchlich und gilt als besonders verdienstlich für den Verstorbenen, weil er so im Tode noch die hungrigen Tiere speist, was ihm auf sein Karma angerechnet wird als Verdienst, das seine endliche Erlösung von den Fesseln des Seins und vom Leiden fördert.

¶ Auch sonst herrschte in diesem Jahre viel Krankheit. Der Nardag *(na-bdag)*, der „Dämon der Krankheit", ging im Lande um, und auf seinem Fuße folgte der *Tśelen*, der Bote des Todesgottes, der die Menschen, Mann wie Weib, Kind wie Greis, mit seiner Fangschlinge wegholte ins Totenreich. Manchen schlug der Nardag mit schwerer, rätselhafter Krankheit, die kein Arzt kannte und heilen konnte.

¶ Da war die Rolma aus dem Parlapang-Hause *(p'ar-la-p'aṅ)*, wörtlich „die Hinausgeworfenen". Die erkrankte plötzlich, klagte über Schmerzen im Leibe und im Rücken, die Glieder wurden steif und schmerzten, Schüttelfrost, Fieber stellten sich ein, zeitweise lag die Kranke wie tot da. Die tibetischen Ärzte und Zauberer waren ratlos. Alle ihre Mittel versagten, auch die Ursache der Krankheit war ihnen dunkel. Endlich kam man anscheinend der Lösung näher, wie die Lamas meinten. Wieder hatten Khampas, Männer aus Großtibet, die Hand im Spiele. Kürzlich war eine Gesellschaft dieser Tibeter, Naskorpas *(gnas-ak'or-pa)*, wörtlich übersetzt „Stättenumkreiser", d. h. Pilger, die die heiligen Stätten betend umkreisen, durchs Land gezogen und waren auch nach Kalatse gekommen. Die Leute hatten allerhand Kunststücke gezeigt: Der eine konnte seinen Körper willkürlich in Erstarrung versetzen, dann stach er sich große Nadeln durch die Backen, Messer durch die Arm- und Schenkelmuskeln, ohne daß er Schmerzen verspürte oder auch nur blutete; er ließ, auf dem Boden liegend, auf seiner nackten Brust von einem Gefährten mit einem schweren Hammer einen großen Stein in Stücke schlagen, verschluckte eine Schwertklinge und anderes mehr. Die Leute zogen von Haus zu Haus, machten ihre Kunststücke und boten den Leuten Türkisen und Ziegeltee, aber auch allerlei Geheimmittel zum Verkauf an. In einem oder zwei Häusern hatten die Naskorpas auch eine sonderbare Medizin angeboten, nachdem sie durch

schlaue Erkundung und Aushorchen herausgefunden hatten, daß die oder jene Dörfler in Feindschaft mit Nachbarn lebten. Die Leute sagten, die Naskorpas hätten schon einen Blick dafür, wo sie dergleichen Geheimmittel anbieten und Abnehmer finden können. Es handelte sich um ein Mittel, das bestimmt war, einen Feind krank zu machen, wenn nicht gar zu töten. Es waren Pillen, die giftige Pflanzenstoffe und die „fünf unreinen Dinge"[102], die vom menschlichen Körper herkommen, enthalten. Die Pflanzengifte können auch fehlen. Die Pillen werden dann der Person, der man schaden will, insgeheim ins Essen gemischt, mit einem Fluchwort und bösen Wunsch: „Werde blind! Werde blödsinnig! Verliere die Zähne! Werde krank! Stirb!" usw. Ist nun die so bedrohte Person unter einem günstigen Stern geboren und sind ihre astrologischen Zeichen (Sparka, Mewa, Lungrta u.a.) günstige, dann können die Pillen und der Zauber der Person nichts schaden; im anderen Falle bringen sie Krankheit, Siechtum, ja unter Umständen den Tod, so sagen die Tibeter.

Der Lhardsche und die Lamas erschöpften ihre ganze Heil- und Zauberkunst; alles war umsonst. Die Frau aus dem „Hause der Hinausgeworfenen" wurde immer kränker statt besser, tagelang lag sie in Fieberphantasien, dann verfiel sie in einen todähnlichen Zustand, daß ihre Ärzte sie schon aufgaben.

Endlich erschien ein *Lhapa* (Dämonenpriester) aus Lhasa, der sich seit einiger Zeit in Ladak aufhielt und herumreiste, um „Kuren" zu machen. Die Leute strömten ihm zu, er galt als ein großer Wunderdoktor. Bei seinem Erscheinen fragte der große Mann die Leute vom Parlapanghause, was sie von ihm wünschten. Die Leute baten ihn, er möge die „entflohene Seele" der Frau zurückrufen. Der Lhapa versprach dies zu tun. Nach kurzem Fasten und Meditieren in seiner Wohnung kam er ins Parlapanghaus und traf dort seine Vorbereitungen zur Kur. Er wusch sich die Hände, ließ sich ein Tischchen bringen und ein Maß Gerste. Aus den Gerstenkörnern formt er nun auf dem Tischchen einen Zauberkreis *(dkyil-ak'or)*, daneben stellt er fünf kleine messingene Opferschalen, füllt sie teils mit Bier, teils mit Gerstenkörnern, wirft Wacholderzweige und -beeren auf eine Eisenpfanne mit glühenden Kohlen *(me-ap'or)*, setzt sich eine Krone aus Papier-

maché auf, auf deren fünf Blättern die fünf Dhyanibuddhas gemalt sind; nun nimmt er eine kleine Doppeltrommel, die aus zwei Kinderschädeln hergestellt ist; durch schnelles Hin- und Herdrehen mit der Hand verursacht er damit einen Lärm, wobei zwei kleine an Fäden befestigte Kugeln immer abwechselnd an die zwei Trommelfelle schlagen; die andere (linke) Hand schwingt unablässig die Zauberglocke und den Zauberdolch. Der Lhapa ruft nun seinen Schutzdämon herbei, der in ihn fährt, der Lhapa gerät in Verzückung, er wird aufgeregt, die Augen blicken stier, Schaum tritt ihm vor den Mund, er springt auf, schrille Schreie ausstoßend, tanzt wild umher. Nun fragt der Geist aus dem Medium (dem Lhapa) heraus: „Wer hat mich gerufen?" Jemand antwortet: „Der Lhapa! Wer hat die Krankheit der Parlapang-Rolma verursacht?" Der Geist antwortet: „Die Naskorpas!" Jemand fragt: „Was sollen wir gegen die Krankheit tun? Wie das entflohene Leben der Frau zurückbringen?" Der Lha (der Geist im Lhapa) gibt nun an, ein Skurim (Opferzeremonie) solle abgehalten und ein Streuopfer dargebracht werden. Die hier angewandte Zeremonie heißt *„Lha-k'ug tse-k'ug"*.

Alle diese Vorschriften wurden von den Lamas befolgt, die Gebete und Zeremonien abgehalten, die Opfer dargebracht; aber die Kranke verharrte in ihrem todähnlichen Zustand. Nun brachte der Lama Manepillen herbei, die er aus Lhasa mitgebracht hatte. Die hatten die Lama-Doktoren der Medizinschule auf dem Ltschakpori in Lhasa hergestellt. In diesen Pillen war die wunderbare Kraft der magischen Silbe „Schri" (sanskr. *hri)* eingeschlossen, die den „Großen Erbarmer" Avalokiteschvara zwang, die Krankheit zu heilen, der hier in seiner Form als der „Löwenstimmige" *(Simhanada)* auftrat, in der er „alle Krankheit heilen" konnte. Auch allerlei Stoffe von der Leiche eines in Tibet verstorbenen Heiligen sollen darin enthalten sein. Die Pillen wurden der Kranken in der Weise eingegeben, daß derselben die Bronzefigur eines *Yidam* (Schutzgottes), die inwendig hohl war, und die mit weit aufgerissenem Munde auf ihrem hohlen Sockel saß, auf den Mund gesetzt wurde, so daß die Pillen dann durch die Figur hindurch in den Mund der Kranken gelangten. Das sollte die heilende Kraft noch verstärken. Aber auch diese Pillen blieben ohne Wirkung.

¶ Schließlich, als alles nichts half, erklärte der Lhapa, er wolle nun das Gift von den Dreckpillen aus dem Leibe der Kranken herausholen. Er brachte ein einen halben Meter langes, hölzernes Pfeifenrohr herbei, murmelte einige Zauberworte, dann setzte er das eine Ende des Rohres der Frau auf den bloßen Leib, nahm das andere in den Mund und sog nun kräftig daran. Dann schwang er das Rohr, schleuderte eine zähe, grünliche Masse heraus auf den Boden und erklärte, das sei der Krankheitsstoff, das Gift aus jenen Pillen. Die Frau werde nun genesen. Noch immer lag sie auf ihrem Lager wie eine Tote. Schließlich glaubten die Lamas, sie sei wirklich gestorben. Die Paspun (Sippengenossen) wurden gerufen, um der „Toten" die letzten Dienste zu erweisen. Da, als man sie nach einigen Stunden aufrichten und vorschriftsmäßig in die Hockstellung bringen wollte, schlug sie plötzlich die Augen auf und erholte sich innerhalb der nächsten 14 Tage langsam. Die Lamas sagten, das habe sie ihrem Skurim zu verdanken. Der Lhapa meinte, sein Zauber habe die Tote erweckt.

¶ Noch mehrere Wochen hindurch wütete der Todesgott und hielt reiche Ernte im Lande. Fast täglich stieg der Rauch aus den Verbrennungsöfen in der Kalatseer Schlucht auf. Auch zwei Aussätzige waren unter den Toten. Zuerst starb eine Frau. Deren Leiche wurde von ihrem Manne in den Indus geworfen. Die Leiche eines Jünglings trug der eigene Vater auf dem Rücken auf den Berg zur „Bestattung". Leichen von Aussätzigen dürfen nicht verbrannt werden; man fürchtet die Ansteckung durch den Rauch und den Zorn der beleidigten Götter. So überläßt man die Bestattung den Geiern und den Fischen.

¶ Endlich als der Winter, diesmal früh, mit Kälte und Schnee einsetzte, hörte Krankheit und Sterben auf, die aufgeregten Gemüter beruhigten sich allmählich. Aber schmerzliche Lücken waren gerissen. Auch unter den Jungen hatte der Todesgott diesmal seine Opfer gefordert. Es war ihr Karma, sagten die Lamas, Schuld der Sünden früherer Existenzen und führten einen alten Spruch an: „Krankheit, Leid und üble Nachrede, diese drei sind früherer Taten Frucht, die nun gereift ist"[163].

Das Karma reift

¶ Es folgten nun wieder einige ruhige Jahre für die Bewohner Unterladaks, Jahre, in denen sie von Krankheit und Mangel verschont blieben. Namgyal konnte in diesen Jahren sein Haus und seinen Besitz im Hinblick auf die wachsende Familie — noch ein Söhnchen war ihm geschenkt worden — weiter ausbauen. Er errichtete dicht neben seinem Haus noch ein kleineres als Altenteil[164] für seine Eltern und die Großmuter Putrid und wies ihnen reichlich Ackerland zu, von dessen Ertrag die Eltern, die noch rüstig waren, gut leben konnten. Bei der Bewirtschaftung der Äcker und auch sonst half der Sohn und Enkel treulich den Alten, die auch ihm noch nach Kräften beistanden.

¶ In dieser Zeit besuchte Namgyal häufiger als sonst den Missionar, der mit ihm die Geschichte von Jesus aus den Evangelien las. Die Person Jesu zog den nachdenksamen Mann immer stärker in ihren Bann. Doch hielten ihn noch starke Bande an Buddha und dessen Lehre gefesselt, und die Rücksicht auf die mächtige Sippe hielt ihn ab, sich dem Christentum entschieden zuzuwenden.

¶ Nun war man in das Holzaffenjahr eingetreten. Nach den verschiedenen Horoskopen des Teufelsbezwingers und der Lamapropheten sollte es ein besonders glückliches für das ganze Land und insonderheit für das Haus Dragschos werden. Alle Sterne und astrologischen Zeichen deuteten auf Glück und Gedeihen, so sagten jene Weisen.

¶ Aber es kam wieder anders, als es von der Weisheit der Propheten, die übrigens nicht Namgyal, sondern die Frauen des Hauses befragt hatten, ausgerechnet worden war.

¶ Der Winter vom Wasserschafjahr zum Holzaffenjahr war ein ungewöhnlich kalter und schneereicher gewesen. Die Schafe und Ziegen der Bauern litten Mangel, weil man sie nicht wie sonst im Winter auf die Berge zum Weiden schicken konnte, und das wenige im Herbst gesammelte Heu für die Pferde und Rinder nicht einmal ausreichte. Der Verkehr von Dorf zu Dorf war durch die Schneemassen erschwert, manche Dörfer von allem Verkehr abgeschnitten, die Pässe waren unübersteigbar. Am Sodschipaß,

dem Eingangstor von Kaschmir nach Ladak, wurden drei Männer, ein Postläufer und zwei Begleiter, von einer Lawine verschüttet und kamen ums Leben. Am Serkatschan-La (Paß) stürzten zwei Männer mit einem beladenen Jak in eine Gletscherspalte und konnten nicht gerettet werden. Die Raubtiere, vom Hunger getrieben, drangen häufig in die Dörfer ein und raubten Vieh, wo welches zu finden war. Die Wölfe und wilden Hunde hausten besonders arg unter den Schafherden der Dörfler, so daß diese ihre Schafe kaum noch zum Tränken hinauszutreiben wagten.

¶ Ein sehr warmes Frühjahr brachte eine rasche Schneeschmelze und große Überschwemmungen. Der kleinste Bach wurde zum reißenden Wildwasser, alle leeren Flußbette und Rinnsale der Ladaker Wüste füllten sich mit Wasser. Wildbäche und Schlammlawinen rissen den Bauern im benachbarten Domkhar, in Skyurbutschan und vielen Dörfern am Indus und seinen Nebenflüssen die mühsam erbauten Feldterrassen mitsamt der jungen Saat weg. Ein Bergsturz, durch die Schmelzwasser verursacht, staute das Wasser des starken Baches im Seitentale von Domkhar ab, so daß ein großer See entstand. Zwei Wochen später hatten die gestauten Fluten den Damm durchnagt; die zu Tal sich wälzenden Wassermassen zerstörten alle die besten Felder auf der Talsohle und bis hoch hinauf an den Berghängen, rissen den Talgrund auf und trugen Erdreich, Steine und große Blöcke hinab, so daß der Talboden hernach 4—5 m tiefer lag als vorher, und die Mühlen, die vorher am Bachrand gestanden hatten, nun hoch darüber an der Talwand hingen, soweit sie nicht mit fortgerissen waren. Zwei Häuser wurden mit weggeschwemmt, mehrere Kühe, Esel und viel Kleinvieh kamen in den Fluten um. Auch zwei Frauen ertranken beim Durchwaten eines angeschwollenen Baches.

¶ Im Frühsommer waren gegen alle Regeln viele starke Gewitter[165], wie die ältesten Leute sich nicht erinnern konnten, sie je erlebt zu haben. In den fünften Monat fiel eine Mondfinsternis, der sechste brachte eine totale Sonnenfinsternis. Beide Himmelserscheinungen versetzten die Tibeter in große Aufregung. Durch Geschrei, Trommeln und Abfeuern von Gewehren suchten sie den Dämon Rahu *(sgra-can)*[166], den wütenden Feind von Sonne und Mond (auch nach indischem Glauben), davon abzuschrecken, diese guten

Ein Lhardsche (Arzt) mit Arzneibeutel und Medizinbuch

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Gottheiten, die Tag und Nacht der Erde Licht spenden, zu verschlingen.

¶ Auf den Wasserüberfluß des Frühjahrs und Frühsommers folgte ein trockener Hochsommer. Die Schneemassen auf den Bergen waren zum großen Teil geschmolzen, und monatelang fiel kein Tropfen Regen, obgleich der Himmel vielfach wolkig-trüb, die Luft kühl gewesen zu einer Zeit, in der sonst beträchtliche Hitze die Regel war. Die Saat auf den vom Hochwasser verschonten Feldern, die schon kurz vor der Ährenbildung stand, vertrocknete, weil es an Wasser zur Berieselung fehlte. Der auf den Bergen noch übrige Schnee und das Gletschereis schmolz bei dem kühlen Wetter nicht, die Bäche führten nur wenig Wasser, die Staubecken standen oft leer. Namgyal ließ das Kalatseer Staubecken und die Wasserleitung bei Tag und Nacht streng bewachen und bestrafte als Dorfschulze mehrere Dörfler mit hohen Geldbußen, die insgeheim außer der Reihe das Wasser auf ihre Felder geleitet hatten, denn das war in dieser Zeit ein Frevel an der gesamten Dorfgemeinschaft.

¶ Die Lamas machten einen *Bittgang* nach dem anderen und die Bauern trugen die heiligen Bücher um die sämtlichen Felder; sie beteten zu allen regenspendenden Gottheiten, daß sie das durstende Land mit Regen tränken möchten. Alles war vergeblich. Der ersehnte Regen blieb aus; viele Bäche trockneten ganz aus, manche brachten erst spät nachmittags ein wenig Wasser zu Tal, weil nachts auf den hohen Bergen Frost eintrat und das wenige Schmelzwasser, das gegen Mittag erst abzufließen begann, einen langen Weg bis ins Tal zurücklegen mußte. Eine Mißernte war zu erwarten.

¶ Dazu ging wieder allerlei Krankheit durchs Land, Masern und Scharlach, auch einige Pocken- und Typhusfälle erschreckten aufs neue die Leute. Die Ladaker jammerten und klagten ihre „Propheten" an, sie hätten ein besonders glückliches Jahr geweissagt, stattdessen sei dieses böse Unglücksjahr gekommen. Der alte Teufelsbesieger hatte bald eine Erklärung bereit. Freilich wäre ihre Voraussage nicht eingetroffen. Aber das habe seine Gründe. Er und die Lamas hätten kein Horoskop des Exkönigs zur Hand gehabt, welches das Schicksal des ganzen Landes auch heute noch nach der Entthronung stark beeinflusse. Nun hätten sie erst erfahren, daß der König im Eisentigerjahr *(lcags stag-lo)* geboren

Barbier (Mohammedaner) und Messerschleifer

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sei, und das gegenwärtige sei das Holzaffenjahr. Dieses Zusammentreffen bedeute natürlich Kampf und Unheil. Denn Eisen sei der Feind des Holzes — die eiserne Axt hackt das Holz — und der Tiger ist der furchtbare Feind des Affen. Kein Wunder also, daß dieses Jahr soviel Unglück gebracht habe. Hätte man nur gleich das Horoskop des Königs zur Hand gehabt . . .

¶ Die Lamas beteten und verrichteten eine Zeremonie nach der anderen. Das Volk achtete nicht darauf, rief sie auch nicht mehr. Dumpfe Verzweiflung bemächtigte sich der Menschen, mancher verwünschte die faulen Drohnen in den Klöstern. Das Volk griff mehr als je zu den alten Zaubermitteln, die die Alten im Dorfe noch von ihren Vorfahren her kannten, sie warfen Gerste und Brotteigpillen in die versiegenden Quellen und Bäche als Opfer für die Wassergötter und bannten die Erdgeister durch Zauberdolche und Hacken, die sie in die Erde steckten, legten aus Stäben und Wollfäden hergestellte Drudenfüße, Fadenkreuze und Dornzweige um ihre Häuser und auf die Wege und sagten alte Bannsprüche her, die kein Lama kannte.

¶ Endlich im Spätsommer, als das Getreide schon in dünnen Ähren notreif auf den Äckern stand, kamen heiße Tage, die Schneefelder sandten endlich das lange entbehrte Wasser zu Tal, die Bäche und Kanäle füllten sich, aber es war zu spät, die Ernte zu retten. Mancher Kleinbauer und Kleinhäusler konnte seinen ganzen Ernteertrag in zwei, drei Säcken nach Hause tragen. Das Gespenst der Hungersnot schlich durch die Täler. Die Kornbehälter der Armen leerten sich, und wer noch etwas Getreide im Kasten hatte, hielt es zurück. Manche Reichen verkauften ihr seit Jahren aufgespeichertes Getreide zu Wucherpreisen oder liehen es zu Wucherzinsen aus. Das taten auch die Lamas des Klosters Lamayuru, sowie der Dorfpriester von Kalatse, der jenem Kloster angehörte, der Lama Dondrub aus dem Beinbrechhause. Mit dem von ihnen gesammelten Korn, der Spende frommer Buddhisten, trieben sie Wuchergeschäfte. Der Tschirpon in Tingmogang, Namgyals Schwiegervater, folgte auch dem Beispiel dieser „geistlichen Herren", um seine Kasse zu füllen, die sich in den letzten Jahren bedenklich geleert hatte, weil er mit zunehmendem Alter sein Gut vernachlässigte und sich dem Trunke hingab. Anders verhielt sich sein

Schwiegersohn Namgyal. Er lieh auch Getreide aus, aber zu mäßigem Zins; manchem Bedürftigen schenkte er Korn aus seinem auch nicht reichen Vorrat. Ein gleiches tat sein Freund und Lehrer, der Klausner Tsetan, der vielen Armen in der Not half und ihnen mitteilte von dem, was fromme Verehrer ihm gespendet hatten.

¶ Schließlich wies auch der Wasir (Statthalter) seine Bezirksamtleute an, den Bedürftigsten aus den Kornspeichern der Regierung Korn zu mäßigem Zins zu leihen, in schlimmsten Fällen zu spenden, um der ärgsten Not zu steuern.

¶ Doch blieb noch viel Not ungestillt; es ging auch bei der Verteilung vielfach ungerecht zu, mancher schüchterne Arme wurde übersehen, manch anderer erhielt reichlich, weil er sich bei den Beamten in Gunst zu setzen wußte.

¶ Namgyal, der Klausner Tsetan und der Missionar, die drei Freunde, versuchten die Leute zu trösten und halfen, wo sie konnten. Doch lastete die Not zu schwer auf den Gemütern. Viele waren der Verzweiflung nahe, sie glaubten sich von Menschen und Göttern verlassen. *„Lantschags, lantschags!* Vergeltung ist's! Und doch wissen wir nicht, wofür!" sagten die Leute.

Sprin ak'or (Wetterwolken)

¶ Der Herbst dieses schlimmen Jahres war eingezogen mit Sonnenschein und strahlenden Farben. Die Bäume auf den Dorfoasen prangten in Gelb, Grün und Rot, und aus der Höhe leuchtete es in Sonnengold und Himmelsbläue auf Berg und Halde, auf Gletscher und Firn herab und malte sie in allen Farben. Aber die Menschen hatten kein Auge für diese herbstliche Pracht. Die graue Wolke der Sorge lag auf den Gemütern. Der Winter stand vor der Tür und damit hörte jede Verdienstmöglichkeit für die Bauern, durch Träger- und Transportdienste für die indischen Kaufleute und Beamten auf. Noch lagen auch in den Dörfern viele Feldterrassen zerstört vom Hochwasser, andere metertief von Lawinenschutt bedeckt. Es fehlte an Kräften und an Mut, das Zerstörte wieder herzustellen. Die Aussichten für das neue Jahr waren trübe. *„Sprin ak'or!"* sagten die Leute, „Wolken ziehen sich zusammen!"

¶ Nachdem die Herbstarbeiten im wesentlichen beendet, das Korn gedroschen und eingebracht war, reiste Namgyal nach Leh, um die von ihm als Gopa eingesammelten Steuern an die Staatskasse einzuzahlen und zugleich ein von ihm aufgezogenes Fohlen zu verkaufen. Auch einige Einkäufe auf dem Leher Basar waren zu machen.

¶ Die Geschäfte in Leh waren bald erledigt. Die Steuerrechnung wurde richtig befunden, die rückständigen Steuern diesmal in vielen Fällen gestundet, von den üblichen harten Druckmitteln gegen lässige Steuerzahler sah der Wasir, ein gebildeter, einsichtsvoller Hindu hoher Kaste, diesmal ab. Für Namgyals kluge Maßnahmen in der Zeit der Not fand er anerkennende Worte. Er kannte und schätzte den Dragschos als zuverlässigen, tüchtigen Beamten. Das schöne, junge Pferd, das Namgyal zum Verkauf auf den Basar brachte, fand im Handumdrehen einen Käufer, und Namgyal rüstete sich zur Heimreise.

¶ Da geschah es, daß er auf einem letzten Gange durch die Straßen von Leh unvermutet in ein Gedränge aufgeregter Menschen geriet. Er hörte Rufe: „*Skunma! Skunma!* Dieb! Dieb! Haltet den Dieb!" Ein Handgemenge, Hin- und Herstoßen, Geschrei, Fluchen, vier, fünf Männer wurden von den eingeborenen Polizisten ergriffen und abgeführt, dann verlief sich die Menge. Namgyal ging in sein Gastquartier, um sich für die Rückreise nach Kalatse zu rüsten. Eben wollte er sein Pferd satteln, da kam ein eingeborener Polizist, ein Inder, und führte ihn auf die Polizeistation. Dort empfing ihn der indische Polizeisergeant Gobinath, der wegen seiner Willkür, Bestechlichkeit und Grausamkeit in übelstem Rufe stand. Namgyal fragte, warum er verhaftet sei — man hatte ihm gleich Handfesseln angelegt —, worauf Gobinath antwortete, das werde er ja selbst am besten wissen, sonst werde es ihm bald klar gemacht werden. Gobinath führte nun den Namgyal ins Polizeigefängnis, wo er selbst ein Verhör vornahm. Er, Namgyal, sei höchst verdächtig, einen frechen Einbruch verübt oder doch bei demselben mitgeholfen zu haben. Namgyal erfuhr jetzt erst aus den Äußerungen des Gobinath, daß in die Wohnung eines indischen Kaufmanns auf dem Basar ein Einbruch verübt worden sei. Der Dieb hatte vom Nachbargrundstück aus ein Loch durch die schlechte

Ziegelmauer gebrochen und war so in den betreffenden Raum gelangt. Er hatte Türkisen, Perlen und Silber im Werte von mehreren hundert Rupien gestohlen.

¶ Gobinath sagte, jemand habe ausgesagt, er habe beobachtet, wie Namgyal sich in verdächtiger Weise an jener Hausmauer zu schaffen gemacht habe. Der Zeuge sei sogar ein Lama aus Kalatse. Namgyal erfuhr nun bald, daß der Ankläger der Lama Dondrub sei, der Mann, der schon seit langem Namgyal mit Verleumdungen und Anfeindungen verfolgt, ihn auch der Bestechung und Unterschlagung von Steuergeldern u. dgl. bezichtigt hatte. Es geschah aus Rache dafür, daß Namgyal ihm öffentlich auf den Kopf zugesagt hatte, daß er den Leuten für die häuslichen Zeremonien, die er verrichtete, viel zu hohe Gebühren anrechne, Getreide und Geld zu Wucherzinsen ausleihe und einen unsittlichen Lebenswandel führe. Der Lama Dondrub hatte zufällig Namgyal in der Nähe jenes Hauses auf einem Gang allein getroffen und glaubte nun eine Gelegenheit gefunden zu haben, sich eines unbequemen Beobachters für einige Zeit zu entledigen, wenn seine Anklagen jenen ins Gefängnis brächten. Es kam später ans Licht, daß der Lama dem Gobinath Geld in die Hand gedrückt hatte, wofür dieser versprach, „die Sache richtig zu machen".

¶ Im Polizeigefängnis war Namgyal zuerst Zeuge, wie Gobinath nacheinander vier „Verdächtige" verhörte, und als sie nicht gestanden, in rohester Weise auspeitschte, mit Daumenschrauben[167] und anderen Werkzeugen aufs unbarmherzigste folterte, um ein Geständnis von ihnen zu erpressen. Zwischenein nahm er öfter einen Schluck aus einer bereitstehenden Branntweinflasche. Namgyal beobachtete, wie Gobinath plötzlich die Folter eines seiner Opfer unterbrach, als dieser ihm heulend zurief, er habe ihm etwas Wichtiges mitzuteilen. Nachdem dann der Gefolterte seinem Peiniger etwas zugeflüstert hatte, gab dieser sein Opfer frei. Geld sprengt auch in Tibet Fesseln.

¶ Nachdem alle vier Angeklagten auf diese grausame Art „verhört" worden waren, wobei keiner den Diebstahl eingestand, kam Namgyal an die Reihe. Er wußte, daß er von Gobinath nichts Gutes zu erwarten habe. Zwei Jahre vorher hatte dieser Polizeigewaltige sich einmal an ihn herangemacht und ihm im Vertrauen

gesagt, er wäre in der Lage, ihm (Namgyal) den Posten eines Bezirksamtmanns zu verschaffen, wenn er ihm 100 Rupien gäbe. Er wisse ja, daß das ein „guter Posten" wäre. Er wisse auch, wieviel Einfluß er (Gobinath) beim Wasir habe. Namgyal hatte das Anerbieten bestimmt abgewiesen und die Sache dem *Tahsildar*, dem Gehilfen des Wasirs, angezeigt. Der hatte den Gobinath gewarnt, „vorsichtig" zu sein. Eine Krähe hackt der andern die Augen nicht aus. Gobinath wußte zuviel von seinem Vorgesetzten und dessen Tun. Aber Gobinath erfuhr von Namgyals Anzeige und wartete lange auf eine Gelegenheit, sich an seinem Gegner zu rächen. Er glaubte diese nun gefunden zu haben.

¶ Schon traf Gobinath Vorbereitungen, Namgyal auszupeitschen, da kam in letzter Minute ein Bote vom Wasir mit dem Befehl, Namgyal freizulassen. Er habe mit dem Diebstahl nichts zu tun. Der mit dem Dragschos verwandte Lonpo (Adelige) von Domkhar habe einwandfrei nachgewiesen, daß Namgyal zur Zeit des Diebstahls sich bei ihm in seinem Quartier aufgehalten habe, was auch andere bezeugen konnten. So mußte Gobinath zu seinem großen Ärger Namgyal freilassen, und Lama Dondrub enttäuscht abziehen mit den zwei Zeugen, die zugesagt hatten, für wenige *Anna* zu beschwören, daß sie Namgyal gleich nach dem Diebstahl am Tatort gesehen hätten[168]. Gobinath entließ Namgyal mit der Drohung, er werde schon noch Gelegenheit finden, ihm für seine Taten heimzuzahlen. Noch war man dem Dieb nicht auf die Spur gekommen; soviel „Verdächtige" man auch verhörte und folterte; man mußte schließlich alle aus Mangel an Beweisen wieder freilassen.

¶ Da griff der Wasir auf den Rat einiger buddhistischer Unterbeamten zu einem ungewöhnlichen Mittel. Er befragte die *Lhapas* (Dämonenpriester) des Klosters Maschro, das jenseits des Indus am Fuß eines gewaltigen, gletschergekrönten Bergstocks liegt. Einige Mönche der niederen Grade dort gaben sich, durchs Los dazu bestimmt, in besonderer Weise mit der Beschwörung von Geistern ab. Hierbei wurde nach vorangegangenem Fasten und Meditation ein bestimmter Dämon von ihnen herbeigerufen, der angeblich in den Lhapa fuhr und dann aus dem so Besessenen heraus sprach und an ihn gestellte Fragen beantwortete. Nur gezwungen von

ihren Oberen übten die Lhapas diesen Dämonendienst aus, vor dem ihnen im Grunde selbst graute. Ausschließlich in Personen mit schlechten astrologischen Zeichen sollen die Geister, auch solche von Verstorbenen, fahren, behaupten die Tibeter.

¶ Der Wasir ritt mit einigen Dienern und Polizeisoldaten nach Maschro, ließ zwei der Lhapas kommen und begab sich mit ihnen, mit seinen Dienern und den Oberlamas in die Schlucht oberhalb des Klosters, wo in zwei Bäumen, bei denen je ein *Lhato* (Götzenaltar) stand, die Lhas angeblich ihre Wohnung hatten. Dort stellte der Wasir nun an die Lhapas, die sich bereits in die richtige Ekstase versetzt hatten, drei Fragen: „Wer ist der Dieb und wo hält er sich auf?" Bei richtiger Beantwortung dieser Frage sollte jeder der Lhapas 25 Rupien erhalten. Konnten sie diese Frage nicht beantworten, dann sollten sie angeben, wo das Diebsgut versteckt sei. Die richtige Antwort sollte dann mit je 15 Rupien belohnt werden. Konnten die Lhapas auch diese Frage nicht beantworten, so sollten sie wenigstens sagen, ob der Dieb ein Einheimischer oder ein Fremder sei, welchen Weg er bei der Flucht eingeschlagen habe und ob das Diebsgut überhaupt noch gefunden werden könne. Die richtige Antwort sollte jedem Lhapa 10 Rupien Belohnung eintragen. Würden sie aber auch diese Frage unbeantwortet lassen, dann würde der Wasir die Lamas durchpeitschen lassen, „bis sie platzten".

¶ Die zwei Lhapas, in die der Lha angeblich gefahren war, was sich durch ihr aufgeregtes Wesen, stiere Blicke, Schäumen des Mundes kundgab, gaben zunächst keine Antwort. Von einer unsichtbaren Macht wurden die zwei Unglücklichen scheinbar willenlos hin- und hergerissen. Die Oberlamas, die alles genau beobachteten, sagten, die Dämonen machten Anstalten auszufahren, weil der Wasir zu sehr gedroht habe. Ein paar Lamas suchten den widerwilligen Geist durch Beschwörungen und durch Musik der Posaunen, Trommeln und Pauken festzuhalten. Endlich, nach langem Warten sprach ein Geist aus dem einen Lhapa: „Wir sind durch die Macht des Zaubers des großen Lamas im Jenseits gebunden. Den Namen des Diebes dürfen wir nicht nennen. Aber das gestohlene Gut wird nicht verloren gehen, es wird nach kurzer Zeit zum Vorschein kommen. Der Dieb ist kein Tibeter, kein

Ladaker; er ist noch im Lande." Auf des Wasirs Frage, wann das gestohlene Gut gefunden werden würde, kam die Antwort: „Wir wissen es nicht." Nach etwa einem Monat wurde der Dieb gefaßt. Es war ein eingeborener indischer Soldat von der kleinen Besatzung des Dograforts bei Leh. Auch das gestohlene Gut wurde in einem Versteck gefunden. Die beiden Lhapas bekamen je zehn Rupien vom Wasir zur Belohnung.

¶ Namgyal kehrte nach Kalatse zurück, um eine Erfahrung reicher. Seine Dorfgenossen empfingen ihn mit Jubel und vielen Geschenken. Alle freuten sich aufrichtig seiner Befreiung aus den Krallen des verhaßten Gobinath. Der Lama aus dem Beinbrechhause zog es vor, sich ein ganzes Jahr lang in Kalatse nicht öffentlich blicken zu lassen, obgleich er als Dorfpriester verantwortlich für das Seelenheil der Dorfbewohner sein sollte. Seinen Angehörigen — er hatte auch eine Frau, wie die meisten seiner „roten" Ordensbrüder, die das Zölibat fallen gelassen haben — hatte er gesagt, im Kloster werde er jetzt „dringend gebraucht". An seiner Stelle zog ein kleines, gutmütiges Mönchlein in seine Zelle, das zur Zufriedenheit der Dörfler seines Amtes waltete, weil es sich in seinen Forderungen für bestellte Zeremonien streng an die Vorschriften hielt und keinen Wucher trieb.

Der T'selen (Todesbote) kommt

Das Lied vom Tode

Menschenform erringst du
Schwer wie seltnen Lotos.
Darum laß das Lachen!
Folge heil'ger Lehre!
Frönst du deinen Lüsten,
Denkst du nicht ans Sterben —
Plötzlich jagt der Tod dich
Hinterrücks, er greift dich.
Wie der Wolf das Schaf schlägt,
Packt der Todesgott dich.
Darum sinne einsam,
Büße in der Wüste!

Reichtum führt zum Laster,
Opfert dich der Hölle.
Unkeusch, Weiber liebend,
Suchst du nur dich selber.
Stille, sittsam, sollst du
Nur gen Himmel schauen.
Klar erkenn' das Trugbild!
Gläub'ge ihr, bedenket
Eurer Taten Früchte,
Wägend Gut und Böse!
Tust du stets, was recht ist,
Bist du nie betrogen.

Aus „Höfische Lieder" (der Tibeter), Nr. 35.
Herausgegeben von A. H. Francke.

¶ Es folgten nun für Namgyal einige ruhige Wochen in Kalatse, in denen er seine letzten Herbstarbeiten besorgte. In den Abendstunden besuchte er jetzt noch öfter den Missionar, um mit ihm sich über den *T'arlam*, den Weg der Erlösung, zu unterhalten, ein Gegenstand, der ihn in letzter Zeit stark beschäftigte und nicht zur Ruhe kommen ließ. Je länger, je mehr kam er zu der Überzeugung, daß der „Weg Jesu" der allein rechte sei, der zur inneren Befreiung und damit zum wahren Glück führe. Es geschah in letzter Zeit öfters, daß, wenn er von dem Bruder nach Hause kam, ein Leuchten in seinen Zügen stand, als ob er etwas Großes erlebt habe. Das merkten auch seine Angehörigen und konnten es sich nicht erklären.

¶ In dieser Zeit machte sich Namgyal eines Tages auf den Weg, um in Domkhar einem Verwandten, dem das Hochwasser im Frühjahr besonders viel Schaden verursacht hatte, beim Wiederherrichten seiner Felder und Neubau seiner trockengelegten Mühle zu helfen. Der Aufenthalt war nur auf einen halben Monat berechnet. Trotzdem wurde der Abschied von Frau und Kindern diesmal dem Dragschos schwer. Er konnte es sich nicht erklären, warum. Sein jüngstes Kind, den kleinen Rintschen Stobsgyas, nahm er auf seine Arme, nannte ihn seinen Augapfel *(Migbras)* und küßte ihn. *„Lamla k'adar dzad! brtan-po skyod, Gagal"* (Gib acht auf den Weg! Schreite sicher aus, Herr!), mahnte liebend und in

gewohnter Ehrfurcht Frau Tschosskyid ihren Gatten. Dann bestieg Namgyal sein Pferd, einen jungen, feurigen Hengst aus Sangskar, ein Tier mit „Sehnen wie Stahl und Hufen wie Eisen". Das Tier fiel sofort, als es den Zügel fühlte, in einen scharfen Paßgang. Der Weg folgte zuerst der Handelsstraße Leh-Srinagar und führte dicht am Gehöft des Missionars vorbei. Wie Namgyal an das Tor des Gehöftes kam, stand dort eben der Bruder, als ob er auf Namgyal gewartet habe. Namgyal ritt dicht ans Tor heran und stieg vom Pferde, um den Bruder zu begrüßen, den er liebte und als Lehrer hochschätzte.

¶ Die beiden gaben sich die Hand, ein kurzes Gespräch folgte; beim Abschied sagte der Bruder: „Denkst du noch an das, worüber wir neulich abends sprachen?" „Ja", sagte Namgyal, „ich muß immer daran denken, es läßt mich nicht los. Der *Yeschu Maschika* (Jesus Christus) ist doch größer als alle Buddhas und ‚Heilande', von denen die Lamas reden und die Bücher schreiben. Ich nehme meine Zuflucht jetzt zu dem Yeschu!" „Das tue, dann wirst du ans Ziel gelangen." *„źu, źu!"* ging der Gruß hin und her, schon saß der Dragschoß wieder im Sattel und flog auf seinem Falben dahin, der die ganze Zeit unruhig den Boden gescharrt und aufgeregt in die Trense gebissen hatte. Der Bruder sah seinem Freunde nach. Wie er sein unruhiges Pferd zu zügeln wußte! „Ein echter Dragschos, ein Nachkomme der kampfgewohnten Vorfahren. Wenn dieser Dragschos ein Kämpfer für Jesus würde!" so dachte der Bruder.

¶ Schon war der Reiter hinter der Gebetsmauer, die oberhalb des Gehöfts an der Straße hinlief, verschwunden. Ein großes freudiges Hoffen und doch auch eine ihm unerklärliche Angst zog durch des Bruders Seele. Wenn es doch anders käme!

¶ Noch eine Begegnung hatte Namgyal. Wie er eben, von der großen Handelsstraße abbiegend, an der Brücke des Dograforts vorbeiritt, die hier beide Indusufer verbindet, kam, ebenfalls beritten, ein Lama des Weges daher, der soeben, von Lamayuru kommend, die Brücke überschritten hatte. Es war der Lama Dondrub aus dem Beinbrechhause, der Mann, der Namgyal hatte ins Gefängnis bringen wollen. Der Lama wollte vorbeireiten; das ließ aber sein Pferd nicht zu. Das war ein Hengst, ebenso wie Nam-

gyals Falber. Trotz alles Widerstrebens des Lamas und alles Bearbeitens seines Pferdes mit Peitsche und Absätzen ging sein Pferd, über das er die Herrschaft verloren hatte, auf den Falben los, bäumte sich wütend wiehernd auf und machte Miene zu kämpfen. Der Dragschos riß sein stärkeres Pferd zurück, aber des Lamas Pferd folgte ihm unablässig und schlug aufbäumend mit den Vorderfüßen nach jenem, was dieser mit überlegener Kraft erwiderte. Da sauste Namgyals Peitsche zweimal durch die Luft, hart an des Lamas Rücken vorbei auf die Schenkel seines Pferdes, das nun, hinten ausschlagend, mit seinem Reiter davonjagte. „Halte dich fest!" rief Namgyal dem zu Tode Erschrockenen nach, der sich krampfhaft am Sattel und an der Mähne seines Pferdes festhielt. Eine große Versuchung hatte der Dragschos eben mit diesem Zuruf überwunden: Als des Lamas Pferd seinen Reiter so ungewollt in den Bereich seiner Peitsche brachte, stieg der Zorn in Namgyals Herz auf und der Gedanke, seinem Feinde eine kräftige Züchtigung zuteil werden zu lassen. Aber er überwand sich. Er dachte an das, was er mit dem Bruder von dem Jesus gelesen hatte: „Liebet eure Feinde!" hatte der seinen Nachfolgern geboten. Da zuckte es ihm im Handgelenk und der Schlag bekam eine andere Richtung.

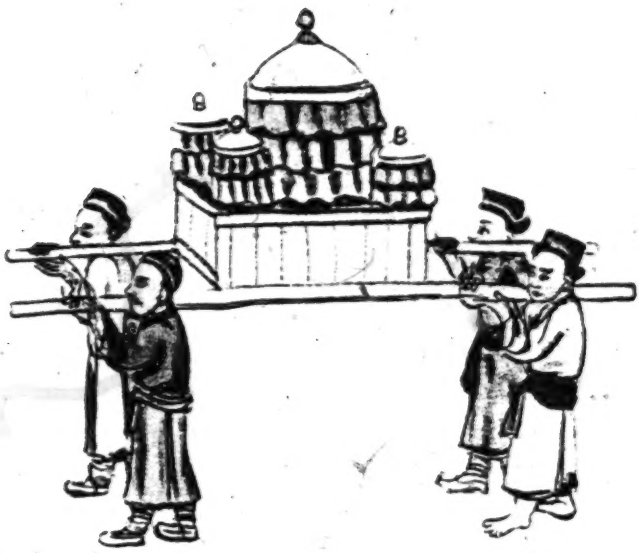
¶ Mit Aufbietung aller Kraft brachte Namgyal sein aufgeregtes Pferd in ruhigere Gangart. Und das war nötig. Der Weg, der hier am Indus entlang führte, wurde schmäler und immer schlechter. Die flache Talsohle verlassend, stieg er nun an steiler Bergwand hinauf, über lose Geröllhalden dahin. Wo die Straße an der Felswand aufgebaut war, aus unbehauenen, losen Steinen, ohne Mörtel, war sie schmal, so daß kaum ein beladenes Pferd an dem anderen vorbeigehen konnte. Nun kam Namgyal an eine scharfe Felsecke, wo der Pfad steil bergab ging und der Reiter vor sich keinen Weg mehr, sondern nur noch das tosende Wasser des Indus sah. Namgyal kannte den Weg. Er war ihn oft geritten. Mit eisernem Griff faßte er den Zügel und sprach seinem Pferde beruhigend zu, das, sich noch immer gegen Zügel und Schenkeldruck wehrend, seitwärts tänzelnd den steilen Weg hinunterging. Eben wollte Namgyal den Hengst im rechten Winkel um die Felsnase herumreißen, da machte das Pferd auf einmal einen Satz

zur Seite. Ein Schneegeier war, oben im Felsen vom Aase aufgescheucht, aufgeflogen und strich dicht über Reiter und Pferd dahin. Beim Sprunge kamen die Vorderfüße des scheuenden Pferdes auf den äußersten Wegrand zu stehen, die lose aufgebauten Steine gaben nach und Pferd und Reiter stürzten den senkrechten Hang hinab.

¶ Einige Domkharer Bauern, die mit beladenen Dsos (Bastardjaks) bald darauf des Weges kamen, bemerkten unten am Felsen das Pferd, das sie sofort erkannten, das regungslos dalag; es hatte sich das Genick gebrochen. Mit Mühe stiegen die Männer hinunter und fanden den Dragschos, der mit zerschmetterten Gliedern still dalag und kein Lebenszeichen von sich gab. Mit großer Mühe brachten die Domkharer den todwunden Mann auf einem Umweg hinauf auf die Straße, ein Dso wurde entladen, einige mit Stroh gefüllte Säcke aufgeladen und der Verunglückte auf und zwischen die Säcke gelegt. So brachten sie den Dragschos in sein Haus nach Kalatse.

¶ Tschosskyid war wie vom Schlage gerührt, als man ihr den reglosen Körper ihres Gatten im Haus vor die Füße legte, ihren Mann, den stattlichen, starken Mann, auf den sie so stolz war, den guten Mann, den sie so lieb hatte. Erst war die Frau wie betäubt und der Ohnmacht nahe. Dann machte sich ihr Schmerz in einem Aufschrei und lautem Weinen Luft, schließlich faßte sie sich und weinte nur immer leise vor sich hin, indem sie den Geliebten auf sein Lager bettete. Sie wußte, ihr Mann hatte das Klagegeheul nicht gern gehabt. Und er lebte ja noch. Vielleicht ging er noch nicht von ihr. Man schickte nach dem *Lhardsche* (Doktor), der war nicht zu finden; nach dem Missionar, auch der war fortgeritten, um nach den Kranken in Tingmogang zu sehen. So ließen sie den Dragschoß still liegen, Tschosskyid wusch ihm die große, klaffende Kopfwunde aus, und der alte Stobsldan setzte sich neben den todwunden Neffen und drehte unaufhörlich seine Gebetsmühle. Laut weinend standen die Kinder, Namgyals Eltern, die Großmutter Tsering Putrid und andere Verwandte um das Lager herum.

¶ Nach Stunden kehrte das Bewußtsein noch einmal zurück. Namgyal erkannte seine Frau und die Kinder. Mit leiser Stimme



Leichenbestattung
Die Leiche ist in Hockstellung in den „Sarg" gesetzt

Facing P. 204

erzählte er, was vorgefallen war und tröstete die weinende Gattin, die mit dem jüngsten Kinde an der Brust neben dem Lager ihres Mannes kniete. Er wollte die Hand heben, den Kopf des Kindes zu streicheln; es ging nicht; beide Arme wie auch die Beine waren gebrochen. Die matten Augen des Sterbenden ruhten ein paar Augenblicke mit dem Ausdruck zärtlicher Liebe auf der Frau, den Kindern; dann fragte Namgyal: „Wo ist der Sahib? Ruft den Sahib!" Sie mußten ihm sagen, daß der Missionar fort und vor dem Abend nicht zurück sein könne. Da drängte sich die alte Tsering Putrid ans Lager und sagte: „Namgyal! Laß doch die Lamas rufen. Jetzt brauchst du die Lamas, damit sie beten und lesen und Skurim machen!" „Nein", sagte Namgyal, „ich brauche die Lamas nicht. Grüßt den Missionar und sagt ihm, ich nehme meine Zuflucht zu dem Yeschu!" Noch ein Blick der brechenden Augen auf Weib und Kind, dann schlossen sich die Augen, der Atem stand still, Drogpa Namgyals Seele war entflohen.

¶ Tschosskyid stand tief erschüttert am Sterbelager ihres Mannes. Ihre Trauer war echt, aber sie hatte gelernt, ihre Gefühle zu beherrschen, sie trug ihr Leid tapfer. Ihr Mann war auch tapfer gewesen. Um so ungezügelter gab sich Tsering Putrid, die Großmutter des Toten, ihrem Schmerz hin. Sie heulte, klagte, zerraufte sich das Haar, erging sich in Anklagen gegen den Missionar, der an allem schuld sei, indem er ihren Enkel von dem Buddhaglauben abwendig und zu einem Kristan gemacht habe. Darum träfe sie nun alle der Zorn der Buddhas und Götter. Die Frauen der Sippe fielen in das Klagegeheul mit ein. So wollte es die Sitte. Ganz Kalatse und die Nachbarorte trauerten um den Dragschos, der ihnen ein Führer und Berater gewesen war, wie sie noch keinen aus ihrem Volke gehabt hatten.

¶ Gegen Abend kam ein hoher Lama ins Haus, den Tsering Putrid hatte rufen lassen, um die ersten Totenzeremonien zu verrichten, damit ihrem Enkel eine rechte buddhistische Bestattung zuteil werde, und die Lamas wieder gut machten, was ihr Enkel, verführt durch den *Sahib* (Missionar), gegen die Buddhas und die heilige Lehre „gesündigt" habe. Der Lama machte sich an seine Arbeit. Er setzte sich an das Sterbelager, auf dem der Tote ausgestreckt, zugedeckt mit einem weißen Tuch, lag und las Stücke

aus dem Buche *tos-grol*, die der Seele den Weg ins Paradies des Westens weisen sollen. Dann befahl der Lama der Seele, den Körper zu verlassen und sich von allem Irdischen, Besitz, Familie, Freundschaft usw., loszulösen, faßte ein kleines Haarbüschel auf dem Scheitel des Toten und zog es aus, damit die Seele durch die so entstandenen „Öffnungen" ausfahren könne, die man sich bei diesem Verfahren in der Schädeldecke entstanden denkt. Nun gibt der Lama der Seele noch Anweisungen darüber, wie sie den Gefahren, die ihr im Bardo, dem Raum zwischen Erde und Paradies, von seiten der zahllosen Dämonen drohen, entrinnen kann, dann wünscht der Lama ihr glückliche Reise ins Jenseits. Das ist das „Wechseln des Leibes" (tibet. *ap'o-ba adebs-pa)*.

¶ Als der Lama das Haus verlassen hatte, kamen einige Paspun herbei, wuschen die Blutspuren von Gesicht und Händen der Leiche ab und setzten sie aufrecht in eine Ecke der Wohnküche, nahe dem Platz, den der Tote bei den Mahlzeiten immer eingenommen hatte. Tsering Putrid ließ auch den alten Teufelsbezwinger wieder rufen, dem der Tote längst den Abschied gegeben hatte, damit der das Todeshoroskop aufstelle und die Art, Zeit und Form der Bestattung und die astrologisch passenden Sippenmitglieder feststelle, die allein die Leiche berühren und die Bestattung besorgen dürfen.

¶ Am späten Abend kam der Missionar an das Haus — hinein durfte er nicht — und sprach mit Namgyals Eltern, mit Stobsldan und einigen Verwandten des Verstorbenen. Der Frau desselben, die in die Haustür trat, und den Kindern, die ihn alle gern mochten, sagte er, selbst tief erschüttert über den Verlust des Freundes, auf den er so große Hoffnungen gesetzt hatte, ein paar Worte des Trostes; er sprach von Dem, der den Tod und alle Dämonen überwunden hat und den Glaubenden sicher in das Paradies führt. Dann ging er zurück in sein Haus, tief betrübt, und doch voll froher Zuversicht. Leuchtend rot war heute die Sonne über den Bergen aufgegangen. Dem Bruder wurde es zum Gleichnis. Sein Auge sah in der Ferne ein Morgenrot über dem finsteren Schneeland Tibet aufleuchten. Das machte ihn froh.

¶ Etwas später kam der Klausner Tsetan. Man hatte ihm die Todesnachricht in seine einsame Zelle in der Schlucht gebracht. Gegen alle Regeln unterbrach er seine eben begonnene Meditation

und kam ins Dragschoshaus. Als entfernten Verwandten und als Lama ließ man ihn ein. Weinend sah der warmherzige, empfindsame Mann dem toten Freunde und Schüler in die starren Züge. Es war ihm, als hätte er einen Sohn verloren. Als Tsering Putrid im Ton der Entrüstung sagte, ihr Enkel habe im Sterben seine Zuflucht zu dem Gott der Kristan, dem Yeschu, genommen, da erwiderte der Klausner mit ernster Miene: „Zürne ihm deshalb nicht. Dein Enkel ist einen guten Weg gegangen. Ich habe selbst erkannt, daß der Weg und die Lehre des Yeschu gut ist. Es ist verkehrt, an die Tausende von Buddhas und Götter zu glauben und ihnen zu opfern; es ist nur *ein* Gott und *ein* Heiland; an *den* zu glauben und seine Gedanken in Meditation auf ihn zu richten, das ist die wahre Religion." Der Klausner hatte noch nicht ausgeredet, als der Lonpo von Domkhar eintrat, der dem Verstorbenen, seinem Verwandten, sehr nahe gestanden hatte. Er war vor Ergriffenheit lange nicht fähig, ein Wort hervorzubringen. Dann aber sagte er, an die Worte des Klausners anknüpfend: „Ja, was du, hochwürdiger Lama, eben gesagt hast, das ist richtig und gut. Auch ich glaube, daß der Verstorbene recht getan hat, seine Zuflucht zu dem Yeschu zu nehmen. Ich glaube auch, daß der Sahib die rechte, wahre Religion verkündigt. Ihr tut gut, wenn ihr auf ihn hört."

¶ Bei diesen Worten des Lonpo trat Tschosskyid, die nun Witwe war, in den Raum ein mit dem kleinen Rintschen Stobgyas auf dem Arm und stellte sich weinend neben den Lonpo. Der fuhr fort, indem er seine Hand auf das Köpfchen des Kindes legte: „Der Yeschu wird einmal den Sieg über alle Buddhas und Götter des Landes gewinnen, und wenn wir Alten auch nicht mehr seine Lehre annehmen, dann werden es diese Kinder tun, und dann wird Glück und Friede im finsteren Schneelande Tibet einkehren."

5: Ribbach AJ4 West Tibetans

JOSEF GERGAN (Leh, Ladak)

TOTENBRÄUCHE DER BUDDHISTISCHEN TIBETER

Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt
und mit Anmerkungen versehen

von

S. H. RIBBACH

Tibetischer Lastträger

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Mon (Musiker)

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5: Ribbach AJ4 West Tibetans

V O R W O R T

Die hier angefügte Arbeit über Totenbräuche und Bestattungsriten der Tibeter stammt von Josef Gergan in Leh, Ladak, einem Volltibeter. Da meine Tätigkeit als Missionar nach 21 Jahren Dienst in Ladak durch den Weltkrieg ein vorzeitiges Ende fand, war es mir nicht möglich gewesen, dort an Ort und Stelle meine Studien auf diesem sehr schwierigen Gebiet zu Ende zu führen. Gergan hat gründlich gearbeitet. Wie er mir schreibt, hat er den Abt eines benachbarten Klosters der reformierten Geldanpasekte, einen Lama der ebenfalls reformierten Drugpasekte (abrugpa) sowie einen Wahrsager und Zauberer (Onpo) der Bonreligion, die neben dem Buddhismus und fast noch stärker als dieser die Gemüter der Tibeter in ihrem Banne hält, eingehend befragt. Das von ihnen Mitgeteilte hat er genau niedergeschrieben. Der Bonpriester überließ ihm sogar seine „Anleitung, das Sterbehoroskop zu stellen", so daß Gergan es abschreiben konnte. Er gibt im folgenden Proben dieser Weisheit der Wahrsager und Zeichendeuter, in der sich vielfach die Weisheit der alten Magier von Assyrien, Babylonien und Persien widerspiegelt.

Ich habe Gergans Aufsatz aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt und mit erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen, habe im übrigen (bis auf kleine Änderungen in der Anordnung, die nötig erschienen) nichts an dem Aufsatz geändert. Das hier Gebotene ist also eine wortgetreue Wiedergabe der tibetischen Urschrift. Die Zusätze in den Klammern und die meisten Überschriften sind von mir.

Gegenüber den Mitteilungen von Emil Schlagintweit (Buddhism in Tibet), von Waddell (The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism) und dem, was sich da und dort zerstreut in den Reisewerken von Sven Hedin, Tafel und anderen über die Totenbräuche der Tibeter findet, geht Josef Gergans Darstellung viel mehr ins einzelne und zeigt an einem konkreten Beispiel den reich ausgestatteten Totenkult der Tibeter. In demselben spiegelt sich das Bild der Religion

Tibets, des Lamaismus, der sich uns darstellt als ein wirres Durcheinander von Bestandteilen der alten animistischen Religion des Volkes, des Buddhismus, der ungefähr gleichzeitig eingedrungenen Bonreligion, des Hinduismus und anderer Elemente. Es tönt uns hier aber auch der Angstruf einer gequälten Volksseele entgegen, die gemartert ist von der doppelten Furcht: Erstens vor der Vergeltung der eigenen sündigen Taten durch das finstere Karma, zweitens vor den zahllosen Geistern, die die Seele in allen Daseinsformen im Diesseits und Jenseits bedrohen. Und wir erleben das Erschütternde, daß der so Gepeinigte dann in die Arme habgieriger Priester und Zauberer getrieben wird, die ihn in schamlosester Weise betrügen und aussaugen.

S. H. Ribbach.

UBER DIE WEISE DER TOTENBESTATTUNG UND DIE TOTENRITEN DER BUDDHISTISCHEN LADAKER

Die Bestattung von Kindern

¶ Wenn ein Säugling oder ein ein- bis zweijähriges Kind stirbt, wird (die Leiche) in ein Tongefäß oder in ein Kästchen gelegt und so in die Mauer des eigenen Hauses (der Eltern) eingemauert. Bis zum achten Jahre wird für Kinder keinerlei Totenzeremonie verrichtet, die Leiche wird nicht verbrannt; sie wird in die Bergwildnis gebracht und dort verborgen. Ein Lama bringt ein Sprengopfer *(gtor-ma)* dar[1], spricht ein Gebet, gibt den (anwesenden) Kindern Brötchen *(p'u-li)*, geröstete Gerste u. dgl. Das nennt man das Kindermahl *(byis-ston)*. Im allgemeinen (ist es so), daß beim Tode von Kindern, die das achte Lebensjahr überschritten haben, die gleichen Toten- und Reinigungsriten beobachtet werden wie bei Erwachsenen; aber manche Leute sagen auch, wenn jemand unter zwölf Jahren stirbt, brauchten keine Totenriten vorgenommen zu werden. Daß man vor dem vollendeten achten oder auch zwölften Lebensjahre keine Totenriten vornimmt, wird so begründet: So junge Kinder kennen noch nicht den Unterschied von Gut und Böse; deshalb bedarf es auch nicht dieser Zeremonien. Wenn wir Ladaker (so sagen jene) auch noch bei jüngeren als den Achtjährigen diese Riten beobachten müßten, dann würde die Last (die Kosten) so schwer werden, daß wir sie nicht tragen könnten. Somit verrichten wir keine.

Erste Erwägungen und Verrichtungen

¶ Wenn eine Person plötzlich stirbt und im Hause (das zur Totenfeier nötige) Mehl, Butter, Bier usw. nicht vorhanden ist, wird der Todesfall drei bis vier Tage geheim gehalten, bis diese Dinge herbeigeschafft sind. Wenn dann alles bereit ist, geht ein

Lama, der die „Vier Übungen[2]" absolviert hat *(tun bźi-po ton-mk'an-gyi bla-ma)*, um einen der Paspun zu rufen. Diejenigen, die schon alles in Bereitschaft haben, schicken sofort nach dem Tode (des Angehörigen) einen Boten nach dem Lama, der das „Wechseln des Leibes" *(ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan)* besorgt.

Kennzeichen des Tugendhaften und des Sünders am Toten

¶ Wenn der Oberkörper des Toten erkaltet, während der Unterkörper noch warm ist, dann ist er ein Tugendhafter gewesen. Ist aber der Oberkörper noch warm, während der Unterkörper erkaltet ist, so nimmt man das als ein Zeichen, daß er ein Sünder war. Warum? Die Seele des Tugendhaften entweicht durch eine Öffnung auf dem Scheitel in der Fontanelle, und der Körper erkaltet dann allmählich vom Kopf her bis zu den Füßen; bei großen Sündern entweicht die Seele am Unterkörper durch den Mastdarm, und der Körper erkaltet allmählich von unten her bis hinauf zum Kopfe, so sagt man.

Verhalten des Verstorbenen

¶ Man sagt, der Tote wisse vier Tage lang nicht, daß er gestorben sei. Derselbe kehrt (während dieser Zeit) immer noch in sein Haus zurück, setzt sich in die Reihe (der Hausgenossen) nieder, spricht auch, aber die letzteren geben keine Antwort. Wenn er aber nun merkt, daß sein Körper keinen Schatten mehr wirft, und sich (beim Gehen) keine Fußspuren mehr abdrücken, weiß er erst: Ich bin gestorben. Man sagt auch, der Tote sähe immer dem Tiere seines Geburtsjahres ähnlich, z. B. sähe die Leiche eines Schweinejahrmenschen (dem Gesichtsausdruck nach) einem toten Schwein ähnlich.
¶ Wenn einer gestorben ist, wird sein Verstand (seine Fähigkeiten) neunmal so scharf als vorher. Es ist einem tüchtigen Lama auch ein Leichtes, zu bewirken, daß Lebewesen im Bardo[3] (durch seine Zauberkunst) so leicht werden, daß sie wie ein (auf dem Wasser schwimmender) Balken werden[4], so steht es in den Büchern, besonders im „*T'os-agrol*" zu lesen. Bis die Totenzeremonien beendet sind, werden dem Toten täglich seine Lieblingsspeisen vorgesetzt.

Viele Sekten — viele Weisen

¶ Weil es nun in Ladak fünf buddhistische Sekten gibt, nämlich die Geldanpasekte (die durch Tsongkapa reformierte Sekte der Tugendhaften), die Drugpasekte, die Drikungsekte, die Saskyasekte und die Nyingmapasekte (die nichtreformierte Sekte), so gibt es auch fünf verschiedene Bücher über die Totenriten und die (anzurufenden) Schutzgötter. Wenn man demgemäß alles eingehend beschreiben wollte, würde es ein großes Buch ergeben. Da es nun in Ladak besonders viele Laienanhänger (wörtlich „Gabenspender", *sbyin-bdag)* der reformierten Geldanpa- und Drugpasekte gibt, will ich die Totenriten der Geldanpasekte hier etwas eingehender behandeln[5].

¶ Wenn eine erwachsene (d. h. im allgemeinen eine über zwölf Jahre alte) Person stirbt, werden erstens die Paspun (Sippenglieder), zweitens die Lamas, drittens die Onpos *(dbon-po,* Wahrsager) auf alle Fälle benötigt. Obgleich man ursprünglich nur die Glieder des väterlichen Geschlechtes Paspun nannte, so nennt man in Ladak jetzt alle diejenigen Glieder der Sippe Paspun, die einen gemeinsamen Schutzgott *(p'a-lha)* verehren. Außer den Paspun darf keine Person die Leiche berühren (und selbst die Paspun nur dann, wenn es die magischen Zeichen gestatten; das Berühren der Leiche macht unrein).

¶ Die Lamas verrichten nun Zeremonien, um die Sünden des Verstorbenen zu tilgen und ihn in das Paradies zu versetzen. Der Wahrsager (Onpo) stellt im Todeshoroskop des Abgeschiedenen fest, woher der Todesdämon *(gśed* = Töter) kam und wohin er gegangen ist, was zur Abwehr des unmittelbar drohenden Unheils zu tun ist, wann die Leiche aus dem Hause gebracht werden soll, wo (in welchem der sechs Reiche) die Seele wiederverkörpert werden soll u. a. m.

Das Klagegeheul

¶ Sobald die Verwandten, die Paspun, die Nachbarn und Freunde alle die Nachricht von dem Tode eines Menschen gehört haben, gehen sie in das Haus des Toten, um (die Angehörigen) zu trösten. Man nennt das das Große Treffen *(k'ab-ap'rad).* Sobald nun einer

der so Besuchenden das Haus betritt, stimmen die Frauen der Verwandtschaft und die Angehörigen sofort ein Klagegeheul an und erzählen unter Weinen den Hergang. Die Besuchenden treten vor jeden der Leidtragenden hin und sagen: „Weine nicht! Weine nicht! Gräm dich nicht!" Sie halten sich eine kleine Weile auf und gehen dann nach Hause. Nur die Paspun bleiben im Hause und beten unter Drehen der Gebetsmühle unausgesetzt das Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum.

Regeln über das Rituell-Unreinwerden

¶ Wenn der Gatte einer Frau stirbt, hat die Gattin dessen Leiche zu tragen und wird dadurch (rituell) unrein *(yug-sa)*; stirbt die Frau, dann hat der Mann die Leiche zu tragen und wird unrein. Die unrein gewordene Person hängt sich in einer dunklen Ecke eine schwärzliche Ziegenhaardecke um, nimmt allen Schmuck ab und zieht sich alte Kleider an. Für die unrein gewordene Person *(yug-sa-pa)* werden die Gefäße: Kessel, Mehlnapf usw. von denen der übrigen Hausbewohner getrennt gehalten. Da der überlebende Gatte oder die Gattin als unrein[6] angesehen werden, darf die betreffende Person den Herd sowie die Geräte, insonderheit die Eß- und Kochgeräte im Wohnraum, nicht anrühren; gewöhnlich darf diese Person auch nicht das Haus verlassen. Geht sie doch hinaus, so darf sie keinen Bewässerungsgraben überschreiten. Ist es Sommerszeit, so darf sie nicht in die Felder gehen. Heute noch ist im Kloster Gang-ngon *(sgaṅ-ṅon)*[7] die abgehauene verdorrte Hand einer Frau zu sehen, die sich neun Verstöße der Art zuschulden kommen ließ (und dafür so bestraft wurde).

¶ In früherer Zeit war es so, daß, wenn ein Gatte (oder Gattin) nach der Sommersonnenwende starb, so mußte der überlebende Teil bis zur Wintersonnenwende als unrein gelten. Jetzt brauchen die Betreffenden sich nicht länger als einen Monat abzusondern. Wenn der Monat abgelaufen ist, bringt ein Lama das Reinigungsopfer. Die Verwandten und Angehörigen bereiten dann jedes eine leckere Speise zu und bringen sie nebst Bier (ins Trauerhaus). Man nennt das die „Trauerspeise" *(sdug-bzan)*. Damit hört die Trauer auf *(sdug-bsaṅs)*[8]. Die Frau wäscht (und flicht) ihr Haar wieder, die

Kleider werden gewechselt, der Schmuck wieder angelegt, man ißt, trinkt und gibt sich ungehemmter Freude hin.

Das „Wechseln des Leibes"

¶ Wenn auch im Buche *tos-agrol*[9] gesagt ist, daß beim nahenden Tode (einer Person) zwischen dem äußeren Aushauchen und dem (letzten) inneren Aushauchen der Seele ein Lama hohen Ranges anwesend sein muß, um das Buch *tos-agrol* zu lesen und das „Wechseln des Leibes" (der Existenz, *ap'o-ba adebs-pa*) einzuleiten, ist es doch meist so, daß, wenn der Sterbende sich kurz vor dem Tode noch wie ein Gesunder fühlt, so hofft er selbst und die ganze Familie auf Genesung, ja sie denken alle nicht einmal ans Sterben. Schließlich denken oft die Angehörigen selbst bei großer Sterbensnot gar nicht daran, die Lamas zu rufen. Die Sitte, die Lamas vor dem Tode zu rufen, besteht weder in Ngaris noch in Mitteltibet (wohl aber in Westtibet).

¶ Sobald nun der Tod wirklich eingetreten und im Hause alles bereit ist, wird ein Paspun ausgeschickt, um einen Lama, der die „Vier Übungen" absolviert und den Rang eines Abtes erlangt hat, zu rufen. Ein anderer wird geschickt, um den Schwarzen Magier *(nag-rtsis-pa)* zu rufen. Der Abt setzt sich wartend vor den Verstorbenen hin. Es ist nicht allgemein Sitte, daß man dem Toten außer Tee hierbei eine Speise reicht. Manche Leute spenden aber doch dem Toten bei diesem „Wechseln des Leibes" seine Lieblingsspeise. Der Abt streicht nun zunächst die *apo-rdzas*, d. h. „Wechselstoff" genannten Pillen, zerrieben und mit Butter vermischt, auf den Scheitel des Toten. Dann sagt er, um die Seele des Verstorbenen zu beschwören, eine Formel her, die lautet: „Die Wahrheit Buddhas, die Wahrheit der Lehre, die Wahrheit der Mönchsgemeinde (also der ‚Drei Kostbaren', die dem Gottesbegriff entsprechen), die Wahrheit der geheimen Bannsprüche und der Familienbannsprüche, die Wahrheit des Götterheeres des Schutzgottes Amitabha[10]. Auf die Macht dieser (fünffachen) Wahrheit vertrauend, möge der aus dieser Welt ins Jenseits abgeschiedene Tsering, wo auch immer die Denksubstanz *(rnam-śes*, sanskr. *vijñana)*[11] seiner Seele augenblicklich sein möge: Im Bardo, oder an einem

der vier Orte der Geburten, in welchem der vereinigten vier Reiche der Welt er auch sei, möge er einen kleinen Augenblick hier verweilen!" So flüstert der Priester dreimal (dem Toten ins Ohr) und liest nun im Glauben an Amitabha, den Buddha des unermeßlichen Lichtes, das Buch *tos-agrol* und das Buch „Von der Weise, den Leib zu wechseln". Dann sagt er das Gebet um Beförderung ins Paradies her. Wenn das vorüber ist, gibt (ein Angehöriger des Verstorbenen) dem Mönch sechs oder acht Annas „Wechsellohn" *(ap'o-yon*, Lohn fürs „Wechseln des Leibes"). Ist eine Frau gestorben, dann gibt man ihm auch den obersten, besten Türkis vom Kopfschmuck der Frau als Lohn. Es heißt, daß manche Reiche dem Lama sogar ein Pferd oder einen Jak als „Wechsellohn" geben. Wenn in Zentraltibet der (bestellte) Lama durch Umstände verhindert ist, in das Haus des betreffenden Laien (in dem der Todesfall eingetreten ist) zu kommen, dann schickt der Lama durch einen reitenden Boten den „Wechselstoff" *(ap'o-rdzas)* und verrichtet in seinem Kloster oder in seiner Klause die „Leibwechselzeremonie". Das nennt man den „Fernwechsel" *(rgyaṅ ap'o-adebs)*.

Wenn der „Gabenspender" (fromme Laie) der Drugpasekte angehört, läßt er einen Drugpalama, der die „Vier Übungen" absolviert hat (also Abtsrang besitzt), rufen. Dieser sagt zuerst einen Eingangsspruch her, dann Beschwörungsformeln und ruft die Geister; dann liest er das „Vom schädlichen Regenbogen[12]" betitelte Buch über das „Wechseln"; und indem er nun dreimal „hik!" und einmal „pat!" ausruft, zieht er einige Haare aus dem Scheitel des Toten heraus[13]. Das tut er drei- bis fünfmal. Dabei glaubt der Priester, daß die Seele des Verstorbenen in die Seele des erhabenen Dordsche Tschang *(rdo-rje aĉaṅ)*[14] aufgenommen wird und damit ins Paradies gelangt. Das alles geschieht zu dem Zweck, daß die Seele des Verstorbenen von den Schrecken des Bardo oder einer neuen Wiedergeburt bewahrt werde. Von den dabei gespendeten Opfern und Speisen wird später etwas gesagt werden. Die Zeichen, daß der Wechsel (des Leibes) richtig vonstatten gegangen ist, ist die Ausscheidung von Sperma bei Männern und von Blut aus dem Ohre der Leiche bei Frauen. Nach dem Verbrennen der Leiche finden sich angeblich feine Öffnungen in der Schädeldecke (durch die die Seele entwichen sein soll).

Das Zurichten der Leiche zur Bestattung

¶ Bis die Zeremonie des „Wechselns des Leibes" beendet ist, rührt niemand die Leiche an. Man fürchtet, daß sonst die Seele durch die Erschütterung vorzeitig aus dem Körper getrieben würde, ehe der Lama ihr den sicheren Weg der Befreiung gewiesen hat, und daß sie dann ruhe- und schutzlos im Bardo umherirren würde. Wenn die Handlung des „Wechselns des Leibes" vorüber ist, nehmen die Paspun allen vorhandenen Schmuck von dem oder der Toten ab. Die einen waschen die Leiche, andere salben sie mit heißer Butter ein. (Die Leiche wird dann in den Haustempel gebracht und dort niedergesetzt.)

¶ Es wird erzählt, daß in früherer Zeit in Tibet viele Tote wieder lebendig geworden seien. Von da an kam die Sitte auf, die Türen der Haustempel niedrig zu machen und die Leichen mit Stricken zu binden. In Lahoul tragen Männer wie Frauen sämtlich beständig einen Wollstrick unter der Schärpe um den Leib geschlungen, damit, wenn jemand an einem Orte stürbe, wo kein Strick vorhanden ist, doch (die Leiche) mit dem Wollstrick gebunden werden kann (und damit die wiederbelebte Leiche nicht entweichen kann). Der wieder vom Tode Auferstandene kann sich nämlich nicht bücken, somit kann er dann auch nicht aus dem Haustempel heraus, die niedrige Tür und der Strick hindern ihn daran. Die Leiche wird nun in Hockstellung gebracht: Beide Knie der Leiche werden an das Kinn, beide Hände an die Ohren heraufgezogen; dann wird (der Körper) so mit Stricken gebunden und in ein Bündel geformt. Man sagt, das sei die Form des Dordsche *(rdo-rje)*[15]. Nun steckt man die Leiche in einen leinenen Sack, das Leichentuch *(ro-ras)* genannt, und setzt sie im Haustempel[16] auf einen Aufbau aus Ziegeln nieder. Auch ein Vorhang wird davor aufgehängt.

DIE TÄTIGKEIT DER ONPOS (WAHRSAGER, ZAUBERER), DER VERTRETER DER BON-RELIGION[17], *BEI DER BESTATTUNG*

¶ Es gibt drei Arten von Onpos: Erstens Weiße, zweitens Schwarze und solche, die die Weiße und die Schwarze Kunst gleichzeitig ausüben. Die Weißen Zauberer machen den Kalender und befassen sich mit der Berechnung der Vergeltung *(abras-rtsis)* der menschlichen Taten. Die Schwarzen Magier nehmen ihre Übungen nach der Weise der Bonreligion vor. Da sie die Weiße wie auch die Schwarze Kunst kennen, machen sie auch den Kalender. Religiöse Übungen und Riten nehmen sie nach der Weise der Bon vor.

¶ Von dem Tage an, der dem „Leibwechseln" folgt, beginnen die eigentlichen Totenzeremonien. Die Lamas sitzen im Haustempel, der der Schwarzen Kunst kundige Magier wird zusammen mit dem Lama, der das „Leibwechseln" besorgte, gerufen. Sie betreten aber den Tempel zunächst nicht, sondern setzen sich in einen anderen (anstoßenden) Raum und stellen das (Todes-)Horoskop.

¶ Hier ein Beispiel: Der Schlangenjahrmensch Tsering ist, 42 Jahre alt, am 28. Tage des 12. Monats des Holzschweinejahres, an einem Donnerstage in der Drachenstunde bei Sonnenaufgang gestorben. Nachdem nun das „Leibwechseln" vollzogen ist, muß der Onpo im Buch von den *za-adre* (den Dämonen, die den Tod der Menschen verursachen) nachsehen, wohin sich der Todesdämon des Tsering gewandt hat. Da steht nun beim 28. Tage des 12. Monats verzeichnet: An diesem „Schweinetag" hat der Todesdämon sich nach Osten gewandt. Er ist nur fünfzehn Schritte weit in das Haus eines Menschen mit einem lahmen Bein gegangen. Den in jenem Hause befindlichen zwei Menschen, dem Schlangenjahrmenschen und dem Schweinejahrmenschen wird Leid durch böse Geister widerfahren. Sie sollen schleunigst Zeremonien abhalten und Abwehropfer *(gtor-zlog)* bringen lassen. Wegen der weiteren (dort) abzuhaltenden Zeremonien sehe man nach in dem Buche

„Die sämtlichen klaren astrologischen Vorschriften für Tote *(gśin-rtsis kun gsal)*". Da so das Wandern des Todesdämons in dem kleinen Buche beschrieben ist, und auch wirklich östlich von dem Hause des verstorbenen Tsering ein Lahmer wohnt (!), wird der Onpo schnell gerufen, und man läßt ihn die betreffenden Übungen zur Abwehr vornehmen. Diesen Todesdämon *(za-adre)* fürchten alle Leute sehr. Sie sagen, ein Schritt dieses *za-adre* sei gleich dem Zwei-Ellen-Sprung des lebenden Menschen[18]. Nun folgen reichlich, wie beim (Geld-)Spenden einer noblen Königin, in dem Horoskop die Aufzählung der Sched *(gśed,* Dämonen oder Töter)[19] und die zu ihrer Abwehr nötigen Opfer.

Das Jahres-gśed (= Opfer)

¶ Da Tsering ein Schlangenjahrmensch war, heißt es im Horoskop: Wenn ein Schlangenjahrmensch stirbt, muß ein Vogeljahrmensch und ein Schweinejahrmensch herbeigeholt werden. In einen alten, oben aufgeschlitzten Ledersack, oder in ein schwarzes Gefäß wird durch jene ein zugeschnittenes Stück rotes oder dunkelblaues Tuch, sowie etwa vorhandene Edelsteine hinein verborgen (als Opfer für den Scheddämon, den „Töter"). Man deckt auch ein Fell oder Gerstenkörner über diese Sachen; es soll (im ersteren Falle) die frische Haut eines von drei Bonpriestern zum Schedopfer geschlachteten Jaks oder einer schwarzen Ziege sein. Der Kopf des (geschlachteten Jaks oder der Ziege wird nach Norden, das rechte Vorderbein nach Osten, das linke nach Westen gelegt. Die Wirbelsäule wird auf der Erde hingeschleift. Es werden Sprüche *(mdo-mań,* Mantra), so auch der „Spruch von der Haarkrone[20]" hergesagt. Die *lha-gsol* (Anrufung der Götter), *gyań-agug* (Glück bringende) Zeremonie sowie die Zeremonie vom „Fadenkreuz des Zeltes" *(gur-mdos)* wird verrichtet. Daraufhin entweicht der Todesdämon zu einer Frau, die einen roten Hund mit rotem Fleisch hat.

Das monatliche Schedopfer

¶ Da der zwölfte Monat (in dem Tsering starb) der Schweinemonat ist, so heißt es im Horoskop: Derjenige, der im Schweine-

monat stirbt, dessen Leben hat eigentlich schon im Schlangenmonat geendet. Der Dämon hatte ihn (d. h. seine Seele) nach Nordosten verschleppt.

¶ Da der 28. des 12. Monats die „Himmelstür des Grabes" ist (da der Himmel für die Todesdämonen geöffnet ist und sie daraus entweichen können), muß der Schwarze Zauberer die Himmelstür folgendermaßen verschließen[21]: Über der Eingangstür des Hauses des verstorbenen Tsering werden auf einem Widderschädel mit Lehm ein Maul, Augen usw. gemalt; er wird (im übrigen) mit Farbe bestrichen. Auf die Stirn wird das magische Sparkazeichen „Khen[22]" des Tsering gezeichnet. Dieser Schädel wird über der Haustür angebracht und darüber ein *mdos* (Fadenstern) aus Stäben und Fäden in fünf Farben, das man „Himmel" nennt. Darüber wieder befindet sich ein Pfeil mit schmalen Bändern in fünf Farben. Auf der rechten Seite des Schädels wird ein (wohl durch teilweises Ankohlen) gefleckter Pfeil, links eine ebenso gefleckte Spindel[23], rechts von derselben auf einem Brett das Bild eines männlichen Gesichtes angebracht. Endlich werden soviel Kreuze (in das Brett) eingeschnitten, als der im Hause noch lebende Mann[24] Lebensjahre zählt. Links auf dem Brett ist ein weibliches Gesicht zu sehen, und daneben soviel Kreuze, als die „fromme Gabenspenderin[25]" Jahre zählt. Wenn die Frau (die Witwe) z.B. 25 Jahre alt ist, werden 25 Kreuze in das Brett geschnitten. Wenn das alles fertig ist, bringt der Onpo vor diesem ganzen (Zauberapparat) ein Trankopfer *(gser-skyem)* dar. Das nennt man das „Verschließen der Himmelstür". Wenn die Himmelstür nicht verschlossen würde, dann würden die Hausbewohner Schaden leiden (durch die losgelassenen Dämonen). Wenn die Erdtüre sich auftut und nicht geschlossen wird, glaubt man, daß man Schaden unter den Kreuzungen beim Vieh[26] haben wird.

¶ Das Verschließen der Erdtüre geschieht zwar ebenso wie das oben beschriebene Verschließen der Himmelstüre, doch wird hier anstatt auf einen Widderschädel auf einen Hundeschädel gezeichnet, und zwar nicht das Wort „Khen", sondern das Wort „Khon[27]". Man nennt das das Große Siegel (auf die Erdtüre, das die Dämonen am Entweichen hindert).

Der Einfluß des Todestages und der Sterbestunde

¶ Da nun Tsering am 28. des Monats, am Schweinetag, gestorben ist (so heißt es im Horoskop): Er ist in einer früheren Existenz als Zauberer geboren worden. Er ist (nach jener früheren Existenz) im sechsten Monat des Drachenjahres gestorben.

¶ Da nun Tsering um die Drachenstunde, nach Sonnenaufgang, gestorben ist (heißt es im Horoskop): Er ist zur Zeit der (ersten) Sonnenwärme (gegen 10 Uhr) gestorben[28]. Der Teufel *(bdud)* hat ihn bei Tagesanbruch ums Leben gebracht. Die Teufel und die Tsan *(btsan)* haben bei ihm als Töter *(gśed)* gewirkt. Die Töter sind demnach von Nordwesten gekommen und haben gelbe, lederne Sachen als Versteck benutzt. Jetzt noch sind sie darin versteckt. Hängt eine gelbe Fahne und ein haariges Fell hinaus. Zuerst erschien der (Haupt-)Töter als ein Drache, dann, nach elf Tagen, als ein Ochse. Das ist schlimm für die Vogeljahr- und die Ochsenjahrmenschen sowie für die kleinen Knaben im Hause. Dann wieder ist der Todesdämon in den Leib einer Schlange verwandelt. Ihr müßt das Bild einer Schlange herstellen und dies, in einen Schweineschädel gepreßt, an einem Straßenknotenpunkt aufstellen. Später hat sich der Dämon wieder in einem kleinen Ledersack im Osten versteckt.

¶ Wenn eine Frau stirbt und ihr Geist im Hause umgeht, müssen starke Zeremonien abgehalten werden. Sie wird für zehn Jahre den Leib eines Pferdes annehmen. Für die Verstorbene muß (das Buch) *rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoṅ-rtsa* (die tausend Dordsche Tschodpa) und (das Buch) *mdzaṅs-blun* (der Weise und der Tor) gelesen werden. Dann wird sie als „Göttin des kleinen Lichtes" geboren werden. Tut man das aber nicht, dann wird sie im Leibe des erhabenen Weißen Vogels[29] geboren werden.

Schlimme magische Zeichen

¶ Da das Sparkazeichen des Tsering in seinem 42. Jahre (dem Todesjahr) sich als Khon(-Zeichen) herausgestellt hatte, heißt es im Horoskop: Wenn jemand unter dem Khonzeichen stirbt, schleppen die Jakscha-Dämonen (seine Seele) weg. Stirbt (unter diesem

Zeichen) eine Frau, dann ist es mit ihrem Sterben (und Wiedergeborenwerden) vorbei. Stirbt ein Gatte so, dann steht es schlimm (für ihn); dann schleppen die Erddämonen ihn (seine Seele) fort. Tsering starb mit dem Gesicht entweder nach Süden oder nach Norden gewandt — die Vergeltung für sein „Schwarzes Wechseln[30]". Es ist (auch) schlimm für die Alten und Siechen und für das Vieh. Wenn der Betreffende (der unter dem Khonzeichen stirbt) wiedergeboren wird, dann wird er Lust an beständigem Essen und Trinken (Prassen) und an Pfeil und Bogen haben[31].

¶ Nun ist der Todesdämon wieder einmal in dem schwarzen Lederbeutel. Man lege den Lederbeutel an einer Wegscheide nieder. Dann wird sich der Dämon zu einem alten, siechen Manne begeben. Man lege einen Hasenschädel und verschiedene Arten Holz auf die Leiche (des Tsering), um das zu verhindern. Dann verbirgt sich der Dämon wieder im Nordosten. Er versteckt sich in Buttermilch von Kuh und Schaf. Nun schlüpft er im Südwesten in eine Schafjahrfrau hinein. Später geht er wieder dahin, wo eine Kuh und ein gelbscheckiger Wachthund *(sgo-k'yi)* ist. Dann wieder verbirgt er sich bei einem Ehepaar, in einer Kiste oder in einer Rolle gelben Tuches oder in einer Vorderkeule (Fleisch), die man angeschnitten liegen ließ. Auf das schlimme Sparkazeichen ist der „Todessaft" *(gśin-rluṅ)*[32] zurückzuführen.

¶ Die Leichenhüllen müssen blau sein; die Tür der Wiedergeburt *(ĉad-sgo)* ist im Osten, weil im Südwesten der feindliche Erdgeist (Erdnaga) aufgestanden ist. Man baue einen Tschorten mit blauer Farbe[33]. An der Stufe des Tschorten zerstoße man Menschenknochen, um die bösen Geister zu überwinden. Man lasse die Bücher „Vom Grab" und „Von der Bitte der Greisin" *(abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa)* lesen. Die Tür des Grabes wird verschlossen durch Ochs und Schaf. Das Grab streicht oben weiß an[34]. Drückt das Siegel des Sparka-Khon darauf! Es ist gut, durch das „Verbrennen der Maske" festzustellen, ob (der Kampf) zu wagen ist oder nicht. Achtzehn Jahre — das ist eines Mannes Alter. Stirbt er aber durch Khon (den Zorn der Erdmutter), dann ist des Todes Tür geöffnet. Stirbt eine Greisin, dann ist des Todes Tür geschlossen. Da die Jahreszeichen eines Mausjahrmenschen und eines Schweinejahrmenschen (dem Tsering gegenüber) feindlich sind, dür-

fen diese Menschen keinerlei Verrichtungen an dem Toten vornehmen.

¶ Da als des Tsering Mewa-Zeichen die Rote Neun herauskam, heißt es im Horoskop: Wenn jemand unter der Roten Neun stirbt, dann versteckt sich der Todesdämon in einer Kuh oder einem roten Gegenstand. Man schaffe diese Dinge hinaus. Ist der Mann am Tage gestorben, dann lasse man die Zeremonie vom mächtigen Gott Schiwa *(lha-dbaṅ-p'yug)*, vom Goldnen Fadenstern *(zer-mdos)* und vom Blutfadenstern *(k'rag-mdos)* verrichten. Da Unheil im Anzug ist, soll die *Yang-agug*-Zeremonie verrichtet werden. Man stelle eine Statue des Bodhisattva Manjusri *(ajam-dbyaṅs)* auf.

Welche Wochentage, Monatsdaten und Tagesstunden für die Bestattung günstig sind

¶ In der „Berechnung der Vergeltung" *(abras-rtsis)*[35] heißt es, daß die vier Wochentage: Montag, Mittwoch, Donnerstag und Freitag für die Verrichtungen an der Leiche sehr günstig sind. Da Tsering am 28., einem Donnerstag, starb, können, nachdem am Donnerstag das „Leibwechseln" vorgenommen worden ist, von Freitag bis Sonntag, drei Tage lang, die religiösen Übungen abgehalten werden. Der Montag ist der zweite Tag des ersten, nämlich des Feuer-Maus-Monats; dessen Sternbild *(k'rums-smad)*[36] ist günstig für die Verrichtungen an der Leiche. Da nun aber Tsering ein Schlangenjahrmensch war, darf seine Leiche nicht zur Schlangenstunde[37] aus dem Hause getragen werden. Sie muß vorher oder nachher fortgebracht werden. Es gilt nicht nur in bezug auf den Verstorbenen, sondern auch in bezug auf die lebenden Hausbewohner[38], daß man bei Übereinstimmung der Tierbezeichnung des Geburtsjahres (der Betreffenden) mit der der Tagesstunde zu einer solchen Stunde die Leiche nicht hinaustragen darf. Wenn aber die Leiche unbedingt schnell hinausgebracht werden muß, dann muß der Schwarze Zauberer *(nag-rtsis-pa)* die Reinigung von den Sünden des Jahres *(lo-sgrib)*, den Sünden des Monats *(zla-sgrib)* und den anderen Sünden vornehmen, oder auch, soviel nötig ist, andere Übungen und Zeremonien abhalten. Dann darf die Leiche hinausgebracht werden.

¶ Da Tsering ein Schlangenjahrmensch war, dürfen die Schlangenjahrmenschen aus der Sippe oder den Hausbewohnern die Leiche nicht nur nicht berühren, sie dürfen sie auch nicht ansehen. Wenn ihnen aber der Zauberer das *Nag-po dgu-tub-Amulett*[39] gibt, dann dürfen sie die Verrichtungen vornehmen. Die Frau des Tsering sollte wohl die Leiche tragen, ist sie aber eine Schlangenjahrfrau, dann darf auch sie dieselbe nicht tragen (auch nicht berühren).

¶ An den acht Monatsdaten: dem 1., 8., 9., 18., 19., 28., 29. und 30. unterlasse man jegliche Verrichtungen an der Leiche. Die sechs Daten: der 5., 7., 15., 17., 25. und 27. sind hingegen für diese Verrichtungen sehr günstig; die übrigen 16 Daten bergen weder Nutzen noch Schaden, das geht aus dem Buche von der „Berechnung der Vergeltung" klar hervor.

¶ Da sieben Tage lang die den irdischen Leib bildenden unheilvollen Elemente (sanskr. *skandha*)[40], die *zin-puṅ* genannt werden, umherschweben, darf während *der* Tage keinerlei Werk, weder gutes noch böses, verrichtet werden. Wenn nun auch gesagt wird, man dürfe an den Tagen der *zin-puṅ* die Reinigung nicht vornehmen, so heißt es, daß neuerdings doch die Onpos die Reinigung an den genannten Tagen vornehmen. Die Leiche wird sogar manchmal an diesen Tagen hinausgetragen.

Die Zeichen der künftigen Wiederverkörperung

¶ „Da die Rote Neun sich als das Mewazeichen des 42 Jahre alten Tsering herausstellte, müßte er als Hund und (später) als Esel wiedergeboren werden. Wenn ihr aber, um das abzuwenden, das Bild (die Bronze- oder Tonstatue) des Bodhisattva *Byams-dbyaṅs* (sanskr. *Manjusri*) im Haustempel aufstellt und Mantras (magische Sprüche) hersagen laßt, wird er im Süden im Lande der Mon (Indien) als ein reicher Mann wiedergeboren werden. Diese Geburtszeichen sind aus dem Buche ‚Khorlo' (= Rad der Seelenwanderung) deutlich zu ersehen." So erklärt der Zauberpriester dem „Gabenspender" (Laien) eingehend die Geburtszeichen und die daraus sich ergebenden Zeremonien. Der Onpo verrichtet die nötigen Zeremonien nach der Weise der Bonreligion. Manchmal

geschieht es auch, daß, wenn die Übungen (der Lamas) schon beendet sind (die buddhistischen Charakter tragen), die Übungen der Onpos noch weitergehen. Der „Gabenspender" läßt durch einen Götzenmacher bis zu zweimal vier Tage lang, dem Geburtszeichen des Verstorbenen gemäß, Bilder (Tonfiguren) der vom Onpo bezeichneten Lebewesen (Tiere, Menschen, Götter) oder auch gemalte Bilder (Tanka) derselben herstellen.

¶ Die den Todesdämonen zum Versteck gegebenen Sachen werden nicht weggeworfen. Sie werden dem Zauberpriester übergeben. Nicht nur das, auch Kleider, Schuhe (vom Verstorbenen) und anderes bekommt der Schwarzkünstler, der die Übungen vorgenommen hat. Die sämtlichen Zeremonien, wie *gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos*, das mdos (Fadenkreuz, Fadenstern), das „Große Hirschgeweih" *(śa-baru-rgyas)*, die „Vier Siegel" und andere Übungen sind in der Tat sämtlich Bongebräuche. Ein Ausspruch der Bonanhänger lautet: Einen Parsen hast du überwunden, einen Zauberpriester hast du gemacht[41].

Die Totenbräuche der Lamas (im Gegensatz zu denen der Onpos)

¶ Selbst arme Hausbesitzer rufen vier bis fünf Lamas, die mit Trommeln, Zauberglocken, Becken und anderen Geräten ausgerüstet sind (ins Haus). Die Reichen rufen soviel Lamas als sie nur bekommen können, um die Totenzeremonien zu verrichten. Außer einer ersten Spende *(p'ud)* an Mehl beim „Leibwechseln" wird hierbei kein weiteres Opfer verlangt. Bei Gelegenheit der Verrichtung der Totenriten und des „Verbrennens des Papieres" *(śog-pa sreg-pa)*[42] durch die (reformierten) Geldanpalamas werden drei Opferkuchen, die aus geröstetem Gerstenmehl hergestellt sind und die „Drei Wurzeln[43]" genannt werden, dazu drei Opferlämpchen, drei Messingnäpfe mit Gerste gefüllt, die man *gźi-nas*[44] nennt, sowie fünf oder sieben Messingschalen mit Wasser gefüllt dargebracht. Dies (letztere) heißt das Opferwasser (das an Stelle von Wein dargebracht wird). Manchmal spendet auch ein Angehöriger (des Toten) ein Opfer von 100 Lampen, welches das Hundert-

lampenopfer *(rgya-mčod)* genannt wird, bei Gelegenheit der Verrichtung der Zeremonien.

¶ Wenn nun, wie bei dem obengenannten Tsering, vier Tage lang (Bestattungs-)Zeremonien verrichtet werden, so werden die Kosten eines Tages vom Hause (des Verstorbenen) aus, die Kosten der drei anderen Tage von den Verwandten und Paspun bestritten. Da die Hausbewohner den Yamantaka (tibet. *ajigs-byed)* als Schutzgott verehren, nehmen die Lamas die *bdag-skyed, mdun-skyed, bum-skyed* und *bdag-ajug* genannten Bannungen vor. Wenn sie dieselben vornehmen, tragen nicht nur sie die *dbaṅ*-Kleidung (die hierzu vorgeschriebene Zaubertracht), auch der Leiche legt man diese Tracht an[45]. Im Winter wird (der Leiche) diese Zaubertracht nicht abgenommen, bis die Totenzeremonien vorüber sind. Im Sommer wird die Tracht (mit den betreffenden Geräten) der Leiche abgenommen, sobald die (obengenannten) Bannungen vorüber sind.

¶ Arme lassen nur einen Tag lang solche Übungen vornehmen. Reiche hingegen bis zu zwei Wochen (und länger).

Das „Verbrennen des Papieres" (der Papiermaske)

¶ Vier Tage nach dem Tode, am ersten Tage des zweiten Zeitabschnitts (von je vier Tagen) nimmt man das „Verbrennen des Papiers", das *byaṅ-čog,* vor. Im Kloster haben sie (die Mönche) je eine geschnitzte Druckplatte mit dem Bilde eines Mannes oder einer Frau. Da nun Tsering (der Verstorbene) ein Mann war, wird das Bild eines Mannes auf Papier gedruckt und sein Name — Tsering — darauf geschrieben. Dann wird das (bedruckte) Papier zwischen die Federn eines Pfeils gesteckt und ein Grußband (Katag) um das Ende des (zusammengefalteten) Papiers gewunden. Nun wird Gerste in ein Maß *(bre)*[46] geschüttet und vor den (anwesenden) Abt hingestellt. Der Pfeil wird in die Gerste hineingesteckt. Dann werden, wie oben angedeutet, die *bdag-skyed* und die anderen Übungen vorgenommen, Sprüche und Formeln werden hergesagt. Um die Sünden des Verstorbenen zu tilgen, um seiner Übertretungen willen, werden den Dämonen Streuopfer *(bgegs-*

gtor) dargebracht. Es werden auch durch Hersagen magischer Sprüche die Sünden weggetilgt. Weiter wird die Reinigung von den Sünden bewirkt durch das Lesen der „Sechs Bücher von der transzendenten Weisheit *(śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa;* sanskr. *prajnya paramita)*"; ferner wird die Sündentilgung durch die „Drei Kostbaren" (Buddha, Lehre, Mönchsgemeinde) bewirkt; endlich werden durch die „Vier Elemente[47]" auch Sünden getilgt.

¶ Wenn nun dem Sinn der (betreffenden) Bücher gemäß diese Übungen beendet sind, nimmt der Leichenträger an Stelle des Toten den Pfeil, steckt sich denselben in seine Schärpe (die er um den Leib geschlungen trägt) und setzt sich hinter den Platz des Verstorbenen (der ihm in der Reihe der Hausgenossen bei Lebzeiten zustand).

Das Speisen des Toten — Das Verbrennen des Papiers (der Papiermaske des Toten)

¶ Nun macht der Abt in einem großen Mehlkloß, der ihm gereicht wird, in der Mitte eine Vertiefung, gießt geschmolzene Butter hinein, streut Zucker darauf und darauf legt er ein Stück Fleisch, ferner Brot und Kuchen im Kreise in einer Schüssel um den Mehlkloß herum; in eine zweite Schüssel tut er Reis, dazu Tee in eine Kanne, füllt Bier in eine andere Kanne und setzt alles vor die Leiche hin. Das sind die „dem Geschmack angenehmen" Lieblingsspeisen[48] des Toten. Wenn nun nach der Weise der Bon dem Toten diese Speisen vorgesetzt worden sind, nimmt der Diener des Abtes ein Weniges von den Speisen, formt daraus einen flachen Fladen und legt diesen auf das Tischchen vor dem Abt nieder. Dieser nimmt den Fladen und hält ihn an eine brennende Fackel oder an das brennende Opferfeuer, und wenn er nun (beim Hersagen der Sprüche) an die betreffende Stelle „vom Verbrennen des Papiers" kommt, nimmt er die Grußschleife von dem Pfeile ab (diese bekommt der Abt), ergreift die Papiermaske (mit dem Bilde des Verstorbenen), hält sie über die Flamme, und wenn die Papiermaske nun, auf dem Fladen liegend, verbrannt ist, hüllt der Abt die Asche des Papiers in den Fladen ein, formt denselben zu einem Klumpen und übergibt diesen einem der Paspun; der legt den

Klumpen im Haustempel nieder (in dem sich die Leiche noch befindet). Die Lamas bekommen als Lohn für dieses „Papierverbrennen" einen ganzen Anzug des Verstorbenen[49].

¶ Wenn sich die Totenzeremonien viele Tage in die Länge ziehen, dann werden (von den Lamas) noch folgende Bücher gelesen: „Der Lobpreis der Acht Selig Vollendeten (Buddhas) *bde-bar gśegs-pa brgyad-kyi bstod-pa)*", das Buch „Vom Medizinbuddha *(sman-bla)*", vom „Opfer der Lamas", vom „Guten Wandel *(bzaṅ-spyod)*", vom „Beginn des guten Wandels *(spyod-ajug)*", vom „Gebet um das Paradies *(bde-ba-can-gyi smon-lam)*", „Von der Unendlichkeit *(mta-yas-ma)*", das „Gebet an Maitreya *(byams-pai smon-lam)*" und so weiter, soviel als möglich, ungezählte (Bücher).

Die Feuerbestattung

¶ Zunächst muß ein „magisches Quadrat" *(tab-tig,* wörtlich „Ofenbild") hergestellt werden, welches im Verbrennungsofen der Väter auszubreiten ist. Man zeichne in das vierte Mittelfeld eines (wohl quadrierten?) Stückes Leinwand einen Dordsche (Donnerkeil). Man lasse auf den vier Seiten desselben je acht Felder frei und zeichne in diese hinein Lotosblumen; weiter — auf allen vier Seiten um diese herum, auf vier Finger breitem Rande, feuerspeiende Berge; dann wieder auf vier Finger breitem Rande eine Einfassung von lauter Dordsches. In die vier Ecken des Tuches zeichne man je einen Halbmond und einen Dordsche. Dieses Bild breiten die Paspun auf dem Boden des Verbrennungsofens aus.

¶ An dem Tage, an dem die Leiche hinausgetragen wird, versammeln sich in einem kleinen Dorf aus jedem Hause je ein Mann, an größeren Orten wie Leh kommen die Straßennachbarn herbei, und nach der Sitte des sogenannten „Intimen Treffens" bringt jeder eine Kanne Bier und eine Schüssel Mehl. Die näheren Angehörigen kommen mit je einem großen Brot sowie auch mit Geld (wörtlich „Kupfermünzen") für jeden der Teilnahme Bezeigenden und „Heulenden", und alle versammeln sich im Trauerhause. An dem Tage, an dem die Leiche aus dem Hause getragen wird, bekommen die Straßennachbarn, die Freunde und Genossen eine Spende an Reis, Tee und Bier, die „Freundestribut" genannt wird.

¶ Wenn die Lamas die sogenannte „Große Litanei" beendet haben wird die Leiche zu dem vom Wahrsager bezeichneten Zeitpunkt aus dem Hause herausgebracht. In Ober- und Unterladak umkreisen die Frauen der Verwandtschaft (des Toten) dreimal die Leiche, sobald der Leichenträger mit derselben aus dem Haustempel herausgekommen ist (und sie niedergesetzt hat)[50]. In Mittelladak (der Gegend um Leh) tun das die Frauen aber nicht. In Leh trägt der Leichenträger zunächst die Leiche aus dem Haustempel heraus bis vor die Haustür. Dann wird sie in einer Sänfte (mit Tragstangen) von den Paspun, Nachbarn und anderen[51] bis zum Verbrennungsofen getragen. In manchen Dörfern trägt man auch die Leiche so, daß sie an einer Stange festgemacht und diese wieder am Rücken der zwei Träger befestigt wird.

¶ Beim Hinaustragen (und Bestatten) der Leiche tragen die Lamas das entsprechende Ornat (mit der Krone aus Papiermaché *(dbañ-ĉas)* und den Geräten zur Bannung der Geister), und unter Blasen der großen Trompeten gehen sie zum Verbrennungsplatz hin. Nachbarn und Dörfler, die sich herzugefunden, tragen Holz, glühende Holzkohlen und Geräte zum Verbrennen der Leiche, ferner zwei Speis- und Trankopfer, sowie zwei Schafschädel. Indem sie so dahinschreiten, murmeln sie beständig vor sich hin: „Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!" Die nahen Verwandten nehmen ihre Mützen ab und verbergen sie; die Frauen gehen ohne Umschlagtücher[52]. Jedes trägt einen brennenden Räucherstengel in der Hand, und so gehen sie hinter der Leiche her. In Sangskar tragen zwei Männer, vor der Leiche hintereinander herschreitend, einen Streifen weißes Zeug von ein bis zwei Dompa (etwa 3 m) Länge zwischen beiden ausgespannt, um dem Toten den „Weißen Pfad" (ins Paradies) zu zeigen. In Mittelladak (der Umgebung von Leh) wird so etwas nicht gemacht[53].

¶ Sobald die Leiche in den Verbrennungsofen niedergesetzt worden ist, beten die Lamas die „Große Litanei" *(p'yag-ĉen gsol adebs)*. In dieser Litanei wird der „Große Erbarmer" (Avalokiteschvara) angerufen, er möge für den Verstorbenen Fürbitte bei dem Todes- und Höllengott Yama einlegen, daß dieser jenen mit den Höllenstrafen verschone, damit der Große Erbarmer den Abgeschiedenen in das Paradies der himmlischen Freuden einführen könne. Die

näheren und entfernteren Verwandten umkreisen mit brennenden Räucherstengeln in den Händen dreimal den Verbrennungsofen und fallen anbetend dreimal nieder auf ihr Angesicht.

¶ Dann gehen die Verwandten nach Hause. Die Leute von der Straße und andere Dörfler (die geholfen haben) kaufen sich für die vom „Gabenspender" erhaltenen 2—3 Rupien Bier, gehen mit diesem „Treffbier" *(ap'rad-lugskyi ĉaṅ)* an einen offenen Platz und trinken es dort. Das nennt man auch das „Straßenbiertrinken".

¶ Nachdem das Beten der „Großen Litanei" beendet ist, machen sich die Lamas an das Verbrennen der Leiche. Wenn sie (im Gebet) an die das Anzünden betreffende Stelle kommen, nimmt ein Opferdiener die Fackel einem der Paspun ab und gibt sie dem Abt. Der sagt einen Reinigungsspruch über das Feuer und gibt die Fackel dem Opferdiener zurück. Dieser zündet dann den Holzstoß unter der Leiche an[54].

¶ Ist die Leiche verbrannt, dann geben die Lamas die unverbrannten Knochenreste, die man „Blumen" *(me-tog)* nennt, in einem Sack einem der Paspun zu tragen. Sie gehen hierauf unter Blasen der großen Posaunen zum Hause des „Gabenspenders" zurück.

¶ Die Hausbewohner empfangen die Lamas mit einer Spende an Geld *(p'ogs)*, mit Bier in Krügen, zwei großen Klößen, die *tsogs ak'or* genannt werden, zwei (gebratenen) Schafköpfen, von denen einer für die Lamas, der andere für die Paspun bestimmt ist. Die Lamas der strengen Sekte der Geldanpa (die das Verbot des Fleischessens beachten), geben ihren Anteil den Bettlern. Selbst gewöhnliche Leute (Laien) geben oft ihren Teil den Bettlern „um des Segens willen". Sobald die Lamas ins Haus getreten sind, setzt man ihnen Reis und Tee vor. Sodann werden die noch vorhandenen Kleider des Verstorbenen, soweit sie den Lamas zukommen, sein Hausgerät, sein Tisch, seine Decken, sein Schmuck u. a. m. im Haustempel für die Lamas auf einen Haufen gelegt. Der Abt sagt über diese Sachen einen Segensspruch her zum Besten des Verstorbenen (daß ihm diese Gaben als Verdienst angerechnet werden sollen). Dann verkaufen die Lamas sofort an Ort und Stelle den Nachlaß des Toten an die (herbeigeeilten) Käufer und teilen den Erlös unter sich in gleiche Teile, begeben sich in ihre Zellen zurück, und damit finden (in der Regel) die Bestattungsriten ihr Ende. Ist die

Leiche noch nicht völlig verbrannt, bleiben die Paspun so lange vor dem Verbrennungsofen sitzen, bis dies geschehen ist. Dort verzehren sie auch das vom „Gabenspender" ihnen mitgegebene Essen und trinken den von ihm gespendeten Tee und das Bier.

¶ Die Lamas der Drugpasekte *(abrug-pa)*[55], die dem Dhyanibuddha Dordsche Tschang *(rdo-rje aćaṅ)* und dem Miťrugpa *(mi-ak'rug-pa)*[56] als ihren Schutzgottheiten huldigen, verrichten für einen Abgeschiedenen die folgenden Gebete: 1. Vom frommen Wandel *(ćos-spyod)*, 2. vom guten Wandel *(bźaṅ-spyod)*, 3. alle Geheimnisse *(gsaṅ-kun)*, 4. das Paradies *(bde-ba-can)*, 5. die wahre Freude *(mṅon-par dga-ba)*, 6. der Beginn des Wandels *(spyod-ajug)*, 7. die Lange Litanei *(smon-lam riṅ-mo)*, 8. die Zusammengeborenen *(lhan-skyes)*[57], 9. die Tür der Werke *(las-sgo)*[58], 10. *Mi-k'rug-pa* (siehe Anmerkung 56), 11. der Weg der Erlösung *(ťar-lam)*, 12. von Frieden und Leidenschaft *(źi-k'ro)*, 13. das Herausreißen aus dem Höllenpfuhl *(na-rag don sprug)*.

¶ Wenn nun der „Gabenspender" arm ist, werden nicht *alle* diese Gebete hergesagt, sondern nur die drei: das „Mi-k'rug-pa", „Von Frieden und Leidenschaft" und „die Tür der Werke". Hierbei werden, wie bei der dGe-ldan-pa-Sekte, die vier Teile der Wang-*(dbaṅ)* Zeremonie verrichtet und bei dem Verbrennen der Papiermaske auch die obengenannten Gebete hergesagt. Der Ritus des Verbrennens der Maske sowie das Hersagen der Gebete „Vom Sündenschmutz" wird nach dem Buche „Tür der Werke" verrichtet. Beim Hinaustragen der Leiche gehen die Drugpa-Lamas vom Haustempel bis zum Verbrennungsofen unter beständigem Hersagen der Bannformeln[59] des Mikrugpa(-Buches) dahin. Die Drugpa-Lamas beobachten auch den Ritus des *tab-tig* (Ofenbildes) des magischen Quadrats und führen auch die Verbrennung der Leichen dementsprechend aus.

Die Knochenzeremonie

¶ Vier Tage nach dem Hinausbringen der Leiche wird der zweite von den vier Teilen (der Bestattungszeremonie) abgehalten. Da verrichten die Lamas die sogenannte Knochenzeremonie. Wenn z. B. die Leiche am zweiten des Monats hinausgetragen worden ist,

tun die Lamas am fünften des Monats weiße Farbe (Ton oder Mergel), die in Wasser aufgelöst ist, in ein Gefäß, und am sechsten gehen im ersten Morgengrauen einige Paspun mit einer Opferlampe und mit einem Pferde, das sie schön aufgezäumt haben, hinaus auf den Verbrennungsplatz. Die Asche von der (verbrannten) Leiche nehmen sie aus dem Ofen heraus und legen sie in einen Sack; sie streichen dann den ganzen Ofen von innen und außen weiß an. Oben über die Öffnung wird (aus Steinen und Ziegeln) ein Dach gemacht. Die Löcher (Feuerlöcher) unten werden (mit Steinen) verschlossen. Auf das Dach des Ofens wird eine weiße Fahne aufgesteckt. Mit dem Ausspruch: „Nun tragen wir die ‚Blumen' (= die Knochenreste und Asche) fort", laden die Paspun die Asche der Leiche dem Pferde auf. Zwei Lamas bringen so unter Blasen der großen Posaunen die Asche zum Fluß[60], um sie dort auszustreuen.

¶ Noch am Tage des Hinausbringens (und Verbrennens) der Leiche wird über den (größeren) ins Haus gebrachten Knochenresten die Knochenzeremonie begonnen, die einen Tag lang dauert. Die zerstampften Knochen werden dann mit der Asche der verbrannten Papiermaske, mit Lehm sowie mit Feilspänen von Edelsteinen (Türkisen, Achaten u.a.) und Metallen gemischt und daraus werden 5, 10, ja bis zu 100 und mehr Pasten (Abdrücke, tibet. *tsa-tsa*) hergestellt[61]). Manche heben diese Abdrücke in ihren Haustempeln auf, andere bauen einen besonderen Tsatsaschrein *(tsad-k'an)*, ähnlich wie ein Tschorten geformt, und tun die Pasten hinein. Andere legen sie auch in einen alten Tschorten, wieder andere werfen sie auf dem Berge hin, oder auch in den Fluß. Nach der Aussage der Schwarzen Zauberer weihen[62] die Lamas sogar solche an einem Bande am Hals zu tragende, kunstvoll hergestellte Tsatsas mit Bildern von Gottheiten (in Relief) als Amulett.

¶ Nachdem nun jeder (beteiligte) Lama 1 bis 2 Anna als Lohn (in bar) bekommen hat, sind diese Zeremonien (d. h. der zweite Teil) zu Ende. Essen bekommen die Lamas im Verhältnis zur Ausführlichkeit und Dauer der ganzen Bestattungsriten.

¶ Manchmal freilich liest ein Lama noch auf Bestellung vom Todestage an gerechnet sieben Wochen oder 49 Tage lang alle Teile des

Buches „*T'os-agrol*". Aber heutzutage liest (der Lama) meist während dieses Zeitraumes von 7 mal 7 Tagen nur immer je einen Tag lang innerhalb einer Woche Stücke aus dem Tosgrol-Buch.

Reinigungsriten — Leichenschmaus — Speisung der Manen

¶ Wenn die Leiche aus dem Hause fortgebracht worden ist, dann beobachten heutzutage ausschließlich die Lhami (unter den Paspun) die Reinigungsgesetze in Hinsicht auf Tote. Sie dürfen im Trauerhause nichts essen und nichts trinken, manche scheuen sich sogar den Rauch des Herdes einzuatmen und betreten das Haus nicht. Die Verwandten und Freunde bringen mitunter sogenannte Trauerspeise *(sdug-bzan)* in das Trauerhaus.

¶ Wenn Vollmond eintritt (nach einem Todesfall), halten manche wohlhabende Leute die Vollmondsfeier ab, indem sie wieder die Lamas rufen und aufs neue Totenzeremonien verrichten lassen. Bei der Vollmondsfeier geben die Reichen jedem Hofbesitzer des Dorfes zwei große Brotfladen, und jedem Kleinhäusler einen solchen. Dem Kloster stiften sie einen „Großen Tee", d. h. einen Tee für alle Lamas. Jeder ordinierte Mönch erhält zwei große Brotfladen, und jeder Novize einen solchen. Manche wiederum spenden am 49. Tage (vom Todestage an gerechnet), wieder andere nach Ablauf eines Jahres die Brote wie oben angegeben.

¶ Wieder andere spenden zur Zeit des Hinaustragens der Leiche jedem größeren Hofbesitzer als „Leichenschmaus" *(adad)* je zwei Maß Weizen oder Gerste, und jedem Kleinhäusler ein Maß. Um diesen „Leichenschmaus" (d. h. das Getreide) zu verteilen, kommt der Dorfschulze mit den Obmännern von je 10, je 5 Bauern *(bcu-lag, lña-lag)* herbei (und sie besorgen die Verteilung).

¶ Zu Neujahr oder am 30. des zehnten Monats, in der ersten Morgenfrühe, ja bald nach Mitternacht, gehen die Leute alle, ein jeder an seinen (d. h. an der Familie oder Sippe) Bestattungsplatz und bringen die „Schimi" genannten Speisen[63] dorthin: Reis, Brot, Kuchen, ferner Fleisch, den zwölften Teil eines geschlachteten Tieres, Krüge voll Bier u. a. m. Die Leute legen die Speisen auf eine flache

Steinplatte und rufen ein jeder seine verstorbenen Vorfahren mit Namen herbei. Sie rufen dann (zum Schluß) nach Nennung der einzelnen Namen: „Ihr Erdgeister und Felsgeister, *kai, kai!*“[64] Man nennt dies auch „Frühstück auf die Ebene tragen“. Wenn so die Speisen, der Tee und das Bier den Toten dargebracht worden sind, teilen sich die Leute in Gruppen (nach den Sippen) und trinken Bier. Die Reste von den Speisen gibt man den dort sich einfindenden Bettlern.

¶ Die Mohammedaner in Ladak hatten, wie ihre buddhistischen Vorfahren, auch die Sitte, innerhalb des dem Tode folgenden Jahres das Schimi (Speisopfer der Toten) auf die Ebene (den Bestattungsplatz) zu bringen, aber diese Sitte haben sie seit einigen Jahren aufgegeben. In *einzelnen* Dörfern mögen die Mohammedaner wohl noch das Schimi spenden[65].

Die große Totenmesse

¶ Manche reiche Buddhisten in Ladak halten auch die sogenannte „Große Totenmesse“ *(maṅ-ĉog)* ab. Sie befragen den Wahrsager bezüglich eines geeigneten Tages und erbitten vom Abt eines (nahen) Klosters die Abhaltung der Großen Totenmesse. Die die Messe feiernden Lamas gehen mit den nächsten Verwandten zusammen in die Versammlungshalle des Klosters. Den sämtlichen Lamas spenden die Verwandten des Toten Tee, Suppe, Reis u. dgl.; dies geschieht fünfmal. Die Lamas tragen dabei das Ornat mit der Krone mit den fünf Blättern (auf jedem Blatt das Bild eines der fünf Himmlischen Buddhas) und andere magische Embleme und Geräte. Dem „Gabenspender“ (der die Handlung bestellt hat) wird auch das gleiche Zauberornat angelegt, und dann wird der „Zauber des Weihwasserfläschchens“, der „Zauber der Krone“, der „Zauber des Donnerkeils“, der „Zauber der Glocke“ und der „Zauber des Namens“ vollzogen. Wenn diese Zauberzeremonie beendet ist, bekommt jeder Lama eine Gabe von 8 Anna oder auch mehr. Die Lamas höheren Ranges bekommen mehr als die niederen Ranges.

Andere Bestattungsweisen

¶ In Ladak verbrennen die Buddhisten meistens die Leichen. Die Leichen solcher (Personen), die an ansteckenden Krankheiten (wie Pocken, Typhus u. a.) starben, werden begraben. In Ladak übergibt man in der Regel nicht, wie in Zentraltibet, die Leichen den Raubvögeln, den Geiern und Raben zum Fraße. Wenn bei den Nomaden von Ruptschu und anderen Hochsteppen eine Person stirbt, decken die Leute am Sterbeort dem Toten ein Tuch über das Gesicht. Die Nomaden (wörtlich „Zeltmenschen", *re-bo-pa)* verlassen den Ort und ziehen an einen anderen. Die Leiche wird dann von Wölfen, Geiern und anderen Tieren gefressen[68]

Ruhelose Geister — Endlose Zeremonien

¶ Manchmal finden die Lamas oder Onpos (vielleicht auch ein „Hellseher") heraus, daß die Seele eines Abgeschiedenen noch keine befriedigende Existenz gefunden hat, noch friedlos im Bardo umherirrt, und die Angehörigen beunruhigt, was sich in bösen Träumen, in Anfällen von Geistesgestörtheit und ähnlichem äußert. Das erfordert nun neue Abwehr- und Erlösungsmittel. Die bereits genannten werden ins Endlose wiederholt, es werden Brandopfer dargebracht; eine kleine dreiseitige Pyramide wird aus Stäbchen gebaut, um dieselbe legt der Lama Reste von Speisen, Tuchfetzen, Zweige, Blätter von Bäumen und Gift (!). Dann gießt er Öl über das Ganze und zündet es an. Nun hält der Lama einen Zettel mit dem Namen des betreffenden Toten in die Flamme, so daß er verbrennt. Damit soll die abgeschlossene Existenz mit allen Lebenskeimen, die noch aufleben könnten, endgültig vernichtet sein, und der Ruhelose endlich zur Ruhe kommen.

ANMERKUNGEN ZUM TEXTTEIL

[1]) „Dragschos" ist hier der Hausname und zugleich Bezeichnung des Geschlechts, der Familie des Hausbesitzers. Jedes Haus in Tibet und so auch in Ladak hat seinen Namen, mit dem ebenso auch der jeweilige Besitzer gerufen werden kann. Oft wird der Hausname dem Namen irgendeines Familiengliedes vorgesetzt, um bei der sehr häufigen Wiederkehr der gleichen Personennamen die verschiedenen „Traschi", „Tsering", „Lobsang" usw. voneinander unterscheiden zu können. Im Gegensatz zu der beschränkten Zahl der Personennamen, die meist religiöse Bedeutung haben, zeigen die Hausnamen eine große Mannigfaltigkeit. Da gibt es einen Kleefelder *(Ol-tań-pa)*, Ölmann *(sNum-pa)*, Koch *(Sol-dpon)*, Stallmeister *(C'ibs-dpon)*, Botschafter *(P'o-nya)*, Schloßhauptmann *(K'ar-dpon)*, die letzteren vier alles Titel aus der Königszeit; ferner Tiernamen wie Fuchs *(Wa-tse-pa)*, *Wolf (Sań-ku-pa)*; endlich Spottnamen wie der Kauende *(K'a-ldags-pa)*, Beinbrech *(rKań-cags-pa)*, Schädelbrech *(mGo-cags-pa)*, der Hinausgeworfene *(P'ar-la-p'ań)*, Diebssohn *(rKu-p'rug)*, Katzenmaul *(Bi-la-k'a)*, Lügner *(Dzun-can)*, u. a. zum Teil entehrende Namen.

[2]) *Ba-ńag-pa* ist die Bezeichnung für eine Person, die durch Berührung der Wöchnerin oder durch bloße Anwesenheit in einem Hause, in dem eine Entbindung stattfand, rituell unrein geworden ist. *Ro-ńag-pa* — ein durch Berührung einer Leiche unrein Gewordener.

[3]) Unter *p'a-spun*, wörtlich übersetzt „Vaterbrüder", d. h. Brüder, die einen gemeinsamen Vater haben, versteht der Tibeter eine geschlossene Bruderschaft innerhalb der Dorfgemeinschaft, die, nicht notwendig blutsverwandt, einen gemeinsamen Gott (tibet. *p'a-lha* = Vatergott) verehren. Bei allen wichtigen Ereignissen innerhalb der Familie und Sippe, wie Geburt, Heirat, Todesfall, treten die P'a-spun zusammen zu gemeinsamem Handeln und gegenseitiger Hilfeleistung; sie sind verpflichtet, sich untereinander in jeder Weise zu unterstützen. Ihre Beziehungen und Pflichten sind durch strenges Gesetz und Ritual geregelt.

[4]) Die roten Tsan- (tibet. *btsan*) Dämonen, deren Fürsten als geharnischte Reiter mit ihrem wilden Heere gleich Wodes Wilder Jagd durch die Wolken über die Berge dahinjagen, senden den Menschen, denen sie zürnen, Krankheit und Tod, indem sie Pfeile auf dieselben abschießen. Um sie fernzuhalten, bestreicht der Tibeter seine Türpfosten sowie vor dem Hause aufgestellte Steinblöcke mit roter Farbe, befestigt Zettel mit Bannsprüchen über seiner Haustür und läßt von Zeit zu Zeit die Gefürchteten durch die Lamas nach verschiedenen Methoden bannen.

[5]) Schicksalsvorhersage aus Sternen und magischen Geheimzeichen.

[6]) Die Tibeter haben von den Chinesen das Mondjahr mit zwölf Mondmonaten (zu je 30 Tagen) und 360 Tagen übernommen. Um aber dieses verkürzte Jahr immer wieder in Übereinstimmung mit dem Sonnenjahr zu bringen, muß öfter ein Tag, ja ein ganzer Monat eingeschoben werden. So hatte z. B. das dem Jahr 1933 entsprechende Jahr in Tibet und China zwei „elfte" Monate. Ist die Einschiebung eines

ganzen Monats zuviel, so können einzelne Tage weggelassen werden. Natürlich läßt der Kalendermacher und Astrologe die von ihm als Unglückstage ausgerechneten weg.

¶ Der tibetische Kalender rechnet mit Jahreskreisen von je zwölf Jahren, die bei der Zeitrechnung aneinandergefügt und gezählt werden. Die einzelnen Jahre innerhalb des Zwölferkreises werden nicht durch Zahlen, sondern durch den Namen eines der folgenden zwölf Tiere bezeichnet: Maus, Ochse, Tiger, Hase, Drache, Schlange, Pferd, Schaf, Affe, Vogel, Hund, Schwein. Für die Berechnung längerer Zeiträume werden je fünf Zwölferkreise zusammengefaßt zu einem größeren Kreis von sechzig Jahren in der Weise, daß jedes Jahr innerhalb des Zwölferkreises mit einem der fünf „Elemente" (Holz, Feuer, Erde, Eisen, Wasser) verbunden wird. (Vergleiche Ramon: „Hindu-Astrologie", im gleichen Verlag.) Fragt man einen Tibeter nach seinem Alter, so kann er einem meist die Tierbezeichnung seines Geburtsjahres angeben, so z. B.: Ich bin ein Schlangenjahrmensch, oder ein Schweinejahrmensch (in letzterem Falle ein Glücksmensch!). Das Schlangenjahr z. B. kann nun das Jahr 1929, 1917, 1905, 1893 usw. sein. Weiß der Betreffende nun auch anzugeben, wieviel Jahreskreise sein Alter in diesem Jahre (1936) beträgt, so läßt sich sein Alter und Geburtsjahr leicht berechnen. Gibt er z. B. an: Drei Jahres-(Zwölfer-)kreise plus vier Jahre, das sind 40 Jahre. Er ist also im Jahre 1896 geboren. Gebildete sind imstande, die genaue Kalenderbezeichnung ihres Geburtsjahres anzugeben. Zum Beispiel: Ich bin ein Eisenpferdmensch (also geboren 1870), ein Erdschweinmensch (also geboren 1899), ein Holztigermensch (also geboren 1914). Bei der Aufstellung des Horoskops spielt für den Wahrsager die Frage eine große Rolle, ob die Tiere und die Elemente in den Jahreskreisen der betreffenden Personen sich freundlich, feindlich oder neutral zueinander verhalten. Treten z. B. in den Horoskopen von Mann und Frau, Mutter und Kind, einander feindliche Tierzeichen oder Elemente sich gegenüber, so deutet das auf Kampf, Unheil, Zorn der Götter. Von den Tieren sind z. B. Pferd und Maus, Ochse und Schaf, Tiger und Affe, erbitterte Feinde; unter den Elementen ist Wasser die „Mutter" des Holzes, weil ohne Wasser kein Baum wächst, also freundlich; Eisen ist hingegen der erbitterte Feind des Holzes, denn die eiserne Axt fällt den Baum, spaltet das Holz.

¶ Die Woche wird nach arischem System, das die indischen Priester und Astrologen mit dem Buddhismus nach Tibet brachten, gerechnet. Die sieben Tage werden demgemäß nach den sieben Planeten der Astronomie der Alten benannt, wobei bekanntlich Sonne und Mond mit zu den Planeten gezählt werden. So entstehen die Namen „Planet Sonne" *(gza nyi-ma)* für Sonntag; „Planet Mond" *(gza lda-ba)* für Montag; „Planet Rotauge" *(gza mig-dmar;* Rotauge wegen des roten Lichtes des Mars) für Dienstag; „Planet Merkur" *(gza lhag-pa)* für Mittwoch; „Planet Jupiter" *(gza p'ur-bu)* für Donnerstag; „Planet Venus" *(gza pa-sańs)* für Freitag; „Planet Saturn" *(gza spen-pa)* für Sonnabend. Diese Bezeichnungen entsprechen also denen der Römer, Franzosen u. a. Wie bei den Römern sind auch bei den Tibetern sieben Zeichen für die sieben Wochentage eingeführt: Ein Kreis für Sonntag, eine Mondsichel für Montag, ein (rotes) Auge für Dienstag, eine Hand für Mittwoch, ein Dolch für Donnerstag (vgl. den Donnerkeil Jupiters, Indras, den Hammer Donars), ein Band mit einer Spitze nach rechts für Freitag, ein Bündel (wie Stäbe?) für Sonnabend. Jeder Tag der Woche wird wie die Jahre des Zwölferkreises mit einem der fünf Elemente in Verbindung gebracht und erhält dadurch seine Farbe und

seinen Charakter: Sonntag und Dienstag mit Feuer; sie sind demgemäß rote, „zornige" Tage, an denen man sich hüten muß, etwas Wichtiges zu unternehmen; Montag und Mittwoch sind blau, durch Wasser; der „blaue" Montag wie der „weiße" Donnerstag (Luft) sind gleicherweise Glückstage, für alle Verrichtungen Erfolg verheißend; der „blaue" Mittwoch und der „gelbe" Sonnabend (Erde) sind gut nur für das Empfangen (von Lohnzahlungen, Geschenken), nicht aber für das Geben und Bezahlen, ein „triftiger" Grund für Schuldner, das Zahlen zu unterlassen; der „gelbe" Freitag (Erde) ist neutral, nicht gut und nicht schlecht.

¶ Der Tag wird in zwölf Abschnitte *(k'yim, rag-pa)* eingeteilt, die je zwei unserer Stunden entsprechen.

1 *k'yim (rag-pa)* hat 5 *ĉu-tsod* zu je 24 Minuten,
1 *ĉu-tsod* hat 60 *ĉu-sraṅ* ($^2/_5$ Minuten = 24 Sekunden),
1 *ĉu-sraṅ* hat 60 *dbugs* (sprich ugs!) = Atemzüge, also $^2/_5$ Sekunden auf einen Atemzug.
1 *dbugs* hat 60 *ĉa-śags* = $^1/_{150}$ Sekunde.

Zur Bezeichnung des kürzesten Zeitmaßes gibt es noch folgende Ausdrücke: *skad cig* und *se-rgol*, welche beiden Worte einen Schnips mit dem Finger bedeuten; *srib cig, tun cig* = ein Augenblick; *mig adzum* = ein „Augenschließen".

¶ Die zwölf *k'yim* (Doppelstunden) des Tages haben Namen, die sich zusammensetzen aus der Bezeichnung der Tageszeit in Verbindung mit je einem der zwölf Tiernamen des Zwölfer-Tierkreises: Schaf, Affe, Vogel, Hund, Schwein, Maus, Ochse, Tiger, Hase, Schlange, Drache, Pferd. Demnach — Mitternacht

24— 2 Uhr, *mtsan-p'yed byi* = Halbnacht — Maus,
2— 4 Uhr, *mtsan smad glaṅ* = Nachtende — Ochse,
4— 6 Uhr, *to-raṅs stag* = Morgengrauen — Tiger,
6— 8 Uhr, *nam-laṅs yos* = Tagesanbruch — Hase,
8—10 Uhr, *nyi-śar abrug* = Sonnenaufgang — Drache,
10—12 Uhr, *nyi dros sbrul* = Sonnenwärme — Schlange,
12—14 Uhr, *nyi-p'yed rta* = Halbtag — Pferd,
14—16 Uhr, *p'yed-yol lug* = Nachmittag — Schaf,
16—18 Uhr, *nyi-gyur spre* = Sonnesinken — Affe,
18—20 Uhr *nyi-rgas bya* = Sonnenuntergang — Vogel,
20—22 Uhr, *sa-rub k'yi* = Dunkelheit — Hund,
22—24 Uhr, *srod ak'or p'ag* = völlige Dunkelheit — Schwein, (Mitternacht).

[7]) Nach einer landläufigen Vorstellung der Tibeter werden die Guten und Frommen nach ihrem Tode an einem unsichtbaren Seil in die himmlischen Regionen hinaufgezogen, wenn nicht etwa das Seil zerrissen ist.

[8]) Tschorten *(mĉod-rten)*, wörtlich Opferbehälter, in Sanskrit *Stupa Tschaitya*, sind geweihte Bauwerke, die zuerst in Indien zum Gedächtnis des Buddha oder großer Heiliger errichtet wurden und oft Reliquien bergen. Sie sind dreiteilig: Ein lang-kegelförmiger Oberteil, ein zwiebelförmiger Mittelteil und ein quadratischer, breiter Sockel mit mehreren Stufen. Durch die vom Priester vollzogene Weihe jedes neuen Tschorten wird dieser angeblich vom Geiste Buddhas beseelt und wird dann von Buddhisten angebetet. Die Herstellung eines Tschorten in allen Größen, vom hausgroßen Bauwerk bis zum Miniaturtschorten von wenigen Zentimeter Höhe gilt als verdienstliches Werk, ebenso das Umkreisen des Stupa durch die „Gläubigen".

[9]) Tibetischer Titel des Buches: *gser 'od gnyan skyabs.*

[10]) In Indien wird viel Falschmünzerei getrieben und dort wie in Ladak, Kaschmir und anderen Nachbarländern ist viel falsches Geld im Umlauf.

[11]) Ein Skuschog (tibet. auch *sprul-sku)* ist die Inkarnation eines Buddha oder eines Heiligen früherer Zeitalter. Der hier genannte Bakula ist die Wiederfleischwerdung des großen Arhat (Meisters) und Apostels des Buddhismus gleichen Namens. Skuschog Bakula spielte als Abt des Klosters Spituk bei Leh eine große Rolle und übte einen mächtigen Einfluß aus.

[12]) Die Drogpa *(abrog-pa)* sind ein in Westtibet von Nordwesten her eingedrungener arischer Stamm, Darden aus dem Bergland von Gilgit und Astor. Westtibet war früher nur von tibetischen Nomaden bewohnt. Dort in der Bergwüste legten die einwandernden Darden Felder an, bauten Dörfer, Städte und Burgen und lebten anscheinend anfangs friedlich neben den nomadischen Tibetern im Lande. Später wurden diese Drogpa von den Tibetern, die von ihnen wie von den indischen Mon den Ackerbau erlernt hatten, teils verdrängt, teils unterjocht, so daß sie heute nur noch in wenigen Dörfern anzutreffen sind. Trotzdem die Drogpa sich vielfach mit den Tibetern vermischten, sind sie doch heute von den letzteren verachtet. Das Wort Drogpa ist im Munde des Tibeters geradezu ein Schimpfname. Noch tiefer in der Achtung der Tibeter stehen die Mon, deren Vorfahren in den letzten Jahrhunderten v. Chr. mit indischer Kultur den Buddhismus aus ihrer Heimat in Nordwestindien nach Westtibet brachten und Klöster und Dörfer als Mittelpunkte ihrer missionierenden und kolonisierenden Tätigkeit bauten. Auch sie wurden schließlich von den Tibetern teils unterjocht, teils vertrieben. Heute trifft man die Mon nur noch in einzelnen Familien und Sippen in den Dörfern Ladaks an als Zimmerleute und Musiker, die zwar viel begehrt, aber doch sehr verachtet sind, ebenso wie die Schmiede *(gar-ba)*, die auch indischer Herkunft sind, wie auch die Beda, die als Musiker, Gaukler, fahrendes Volk das Land durchziehen. Alle diese verachteten Namen: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda werden oft als Schutznamen einem Kinde auf den Lebensweg mitgegeben, womit die naive Vorstellung verbunden ist, daß der böse Geist abgeschreckt wird, weil er hier hinter dem Namen einen wirklichen „schmutzigen Drogpa" oder „dreckigen Schmied" vermutet. (Vgl. „A History of Western Tibet" by A. H. Francke. London, Partridge & Co, S. 19 ff.)

[13]) Die Angehörigen eines kürzlich Verstorbenen hüten sich ängstlich, denselben bei seinem Namen zu nennen in der abergläubischen Furcht, der Tote könnte beunruhigt werden und die Hinterbliebenen ängstigen.

[14]) Die Verwandten nennen von jetzt ab den Knaben meist nur noch „Namgyal" und lassen den häßlichen Schutznamen „Drogpa" in der Regel weg, außer wenn sie drohende Geister wieder einmal mit dem Namen schrecken wollen, oder um ihn von anderen Gleichnamigen zu unterscheiden.

[15]) Die tibetische Ziege, die oft fälschlich als „Kaschmirziege" bezeichnet wird, ist ein kleines, äußerst gewandtes, sehr genügsames Tier, das mit der Sicherheit einer Gemse klettert. Sie liefert die feine Wolle, die in Kaschmir zu den berühmten Schals und zu ähnlichen feinen Geweben verarbeitet wird. Diese Wolle wird aus dem feinen Wollflaum gesponnen, den die Ziege unter den oberen groben Grannenhaaren trägt. Ihre Heimat ist Tibet und die benachbarten Bergländer. In Kaschmir ist eine große, hornlose Ziege heimisch, die jene feine Wolle nicht hat. Die Tibetziege ist gehörnt.

[19]) Tibetisch geschrieben *rgya-mtso-pa*, bedeutet Seemann, der Hausname des Betreffenden.

[20]) In Wirklichkeit ein Zollturm (Mautturm), der einst zur Erhebung von Zoll an der damals dort befindlichen Indusbrücke erbaut war.

[21]) 1 Tru *(k'ru)*, die Länge des Unterarmes eines erwachsenen Menschen vom Ellbogen bis zur Spitze des gestreckten Mittelfingers.

[22]) Die furchtbare Schreckensgöttin Kali der Hindumythologie. Dort ist sie die Gattin Schiwas, des Zerstörers.

[23]) Ein Bodhisattva ist ein vollkommenes göttliches Wesen, das auf Grund seiner durch viele Geburten fortgesetzten Anstrengungen zur Erlangung der Befreiung von den Fesseln irdischen Seins, durch Tugendstreben und gute Werke endlich die Erleuchtung (Bodhi) und damit die Anwartschaft auf die Erlösung durch Verwehen ins Nirvana erlangt hat. Aus Erbarmen zu den noch im Kreislauf der Wiedergeburten leidenden Lebewesen verzichtet der B. noch auf die endgültige Auflösung, um an dem Erlösungswerk jener Wesen (Menschen, Tiere, Götter usw.) teilzunehmen. So war Gautama Buddha bis zu seinem „Verlöschen" im Nirvana ein Bodhisattva.

[24]) Die Tibeter wie auch andere Völker Asiens haben eine Sammlung von Geschichten, die große Ähnlichkeit mit den Geschichten vom Reinecke Fuchs haben.

[25]) Eine Art Hockeyspiel.

[26]) In den Bergen des Himalaya hat sich ein Reiterspiel, das Polospiel, erhalten, welches von den alten Persern herstammt, dann von den byzantinischen Kaisern an ihren Höfen eingeführt wurde. Lange schien es vergessen, dann entdeckten die Mogulkaiser Indiens wieder das Spiel bei gewissen Bergvölkern und führten es aufs neue an ihren Höfen ein. Dieses Ballspiel zu Pferde stellt an die Gewandtheit und Sicherheit des Reiters wie an die Schnelligkeit und Wendigkeit des Pferdes große Anforderungen.

[27]) Die Tibeter bereiten ein Bier (Tschang, *čaṅ)* aus Gerste, die gekocht wird, worauf ein Gärstoff *(p'abs)* dem Absud zugesetzt wird. Wenn die Flüssigkeit ausgegoren ist, gibt sie ein säuerliches Bier ab, das berauschende Wirkung hat.

[28]) Dah — ein Dorf am oberen Indus, das ganz von arischen Drogpa (Darden) bewohnt ist.

[29]) Tingmogang — ein großes Dorf in Unterladak.

[30]) Tibetisches Sprichwort. Vgl. Matth. 7, 3!

[31]) Das Seil, an dem die zur Brautausstattung gehörigen Kleider, Wäsche, Schuhe u. dgl. aufgehangen werden.

[32]) Atscho *(a-jo)* = „älterer Bruder", wird ein älterer Mann von jüngeren, auch Frauen, angeredet; ein jüngerer — „*No*".

[33]) Schema = Edelfrau, Frau eines Galon oder Lonpo.

[34]) Tschirpon ist eine Abschleifung von *čibs-dpon*, zu deutsch „Pferdemeister" (Stallmeister). Es ist einer von den Titeln, die aus der Königszeit stammen, in der die Träger der Titel Hofbeamte waren. In den Hausnamen haben sich die Titel erhalten.

[35]) „Sommerplatz" *(dbyar-sa)* ist die Bezeichnung für den im Hochtal gesondert gelegenen Teil des Feldbesitzes eines Bauern, gewöhnlich mit einem Hause, von dem aus ein oder zwei Personen die Felder den Sommer durch bewirtschaften und bewässern.

36) Tibetisch *dri-čaṅ* = Fragebier, auch *sloṅ-čaṅ* = Bittbier genannt. Zu den in diesem Abschnitt aufgeführten „Bieren" haben wir Parallelen in den in manchen Teilen Deutschlands üblichen „Bieren" wie Kindelbier (bei Taufen), Erntebier, Bockbier, Ehrbier, Tröstelbier (bei Begräbnissen) und andere mehr.

37) Die Butterklümpchen *(dkar-abyor)*. Das tibetische Wort kann mit „reicher Besitz" übersetzt werden. Der Kranz von Butterklümpchen ist symbolisch für das „Fette, den Reichtum".

38) Nomo = jüngere Schwester, Anrede jeder jüngeren weiblichen Person seitens einer älteren. Selbst die Eltern können die eigene Tochter so anreden.

39) Tibetisch: *dkon-mčog-la ajigs-mk'an.*

40) Ein mythisches Pferd, das den kostbaren Wunschedelstein (tibet. *yid. bźin nor-bu;* sanskr. *cintamani)* auf dem Rücken trägt und dem Menschen Reichtum und Glück bringen soll. Man sieht das „Wunschpferd" häufig auf Gebetsfahnen, Zauberzetteln u. dgl. aufgedruckt.

41) Den Völkern des Ostens wie denen des Westens, auch unseren germanischen Vorfahren, galt der Donnerstag als ein glückverheißender Tag für Eheschließungen; dem *gza-p'ur-bu* (Jupiters Tag) entspricht im Althochdeutschen der Donarstag, der Tag des Donner- (Gewitter-) Gottes Donar, der mit seiner Waffe, dem Hammer, die Ehe beschützte, wie Jupiter mit dem Donnerkeil. Der Freitag galt als unheilvoller Tag.

42) Tibet. Holtschang *(hol-čaṅ)*. Das Wort deutet darauf, daß durch umständliche Verhandlungen und Kauf die Braut aus dem Machtbereich der Eltern und ihrer Sippe „gelöst" werden muß.

43) *k'a-btags* (sprich Katag!), Grußtuch oder Grußband, ein meist wertloser Streifen gazeartiges Zeug, das ähnlich wie eine Wunschkarte als Zeichen der Achtung und guter Wünsche überreicht wird; vom Lama geweiht, hat der Katag angeblich Zauberkraft.

44) Tibetisch *a-mai o-mai rin* = Preis der Muttermilch. Die Brautmutter muß für das Aufziehen und Nähren der Braut bezahlt werden.

45) Der botanische Name des Grases ist *Kobresia tibetica.*

46) Neben der Form *rag-tag* gibt es auch die Form *ras-tag*, was anscheinend mit „*ras*" = Leinwand, Kleidung zusammenhängt. Oft wird das Brautseil kurzweg „*tag-pa*" (= Seil) genannt.

47) 1 *źo* ist gleich 6 Rupien alter tibetischer Währung, die Rupie gleich 4 Dschau (1 Dschau = $3^1/_4$ Anna = 28 Pfennige). Die alte tibetische Rupie hat nur $^4/_5$ des Wertes der indischen. 220 *źo* sind demnach 1320 tibet. Rupien = 1056 indische Rupien = 1408 Mark.

48) Der Schwur lautet tibetisch: „*dKon-mčog gsum*" (sprich „Kontschog sum"!), die „Drei Kostbaren"; es sind die drei Stücke der buddhistischen Trinität: Buddha, die Lehre und die Mönchsgemeinde. Der buddhistische Tibeter hat beständig Schwüre auf den Lippen, mit denen er glaubt, selbst ganz unwichtige Aussagen und Behauptungen bekräftigen zu müssen, ein Beweis dafür, wieviel und wie leichtfertig die große Mehrheit dort lügt. Andere Schwüre sind: „Hol mich das Kloster *(dgon-pas nam śig)!*" gemeint sind dabei die Götter, deren Bilder im Kloster sind, die sollen den Schwörenden „holen". Der Nachsatz: „Wenn meine Aussage nicht wahr ist" bleibt unausgesprochen. Auch die Form „*sku tsaṅ-mas nam śig*, mögen mich alle Götter holen!" kommt vor. Eine andere Form, die man täglich hört, ist: „*a-mai śa, oder bu-tsai sa*" = der Mutter Fleisch, des Sohnes Fleisch", oder auch mit Nennung eines bestimmten

Namens „*T'seriṅ-gi śa, Rol-mai śa*, des T'sering Fleisch, der Rolma Fleisch". Tibeter erkärten mir, das heiße: „Wenn ich gelogen habe, will ich meiner Mutter, meines Sohnes, des T'sering, der Rolma Fleisch essen", ein Schwur, der noch aus der Zeit stammen soll, als in Tibet der Kannibalismus herrschte. Vor Gericht erscheinen oft falsche Zeugen, die, mit ein paar Anna bestochen, alles beschwören, was von ihnen verlangt wird.

[49]) 1 Paisa ist der 64. Teil einer Rupie indischer Währung.

[50]) Aus der Sammlung tibetischer Volkslieder: „Ladakhi Songs", edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach und Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H. Francke. Die Lieder dieser Sammlung sind von Prof. Francke ins Englische und z. T. auch ins Deutsche übersetzt. Die Übertragung des angeführten Liedes aus dem Tibetischen ins Deutsche ist vom Verfasser vorliegender Schrift.

[51]) Welche der verschiedenen in den Himalayatälern vorkommenden Weidenarten hier gemeint ist, ist nicht zu ersehen. Vielleicht ist an die „Gelbe Weide" *(lcaṅ-ser)* zu denken, die hellgrüne („türkisfarbige") Blätter und gelbe Zweige hat.

[52]) Um den 15. des Monats des Mondjahres ist der Mond voll.

[53]) Das Zeichen des tibetischen Vokals O (Naro genannt) erinnert in der Form an Augenbrauen.

[54]) Der Griff der bei Dämonenbeschwörungen von den Lamas benutzten Glocke *(dril-bu)* hat die Form eines halben Dordsche (Donnerkeils), der, in Erz gegossen, zur Ausrüstung des Lamazauberers gehört.

[55]) Tibet. *tig-ĉaṅ* und *nyen-ĉaṅ*.

[56]) 1 Bati = 4 Pfund engl. Gewicht = 1800 Gramm.

[57]) Tibet. *drabs-ĉaṅ* und *bcol-ĉaṅ*.

[58]) Tibet. *Skyid-sdug ra-res ba-res*.

[59]) Wenn die Hochzeit aufgeschoben wird, weil man sich nicht einigen kann über den „Preis der Muttermilch", die Wahl der Gäste, die Verteilung der Kosten u.a.m., wie dies oft der Fall ist, dann folgen den genannten „Bieren" noch verschiedene andere mit immer neuen Namen nach.

[60]) Nyaopa *(gnya-bo-pa)* heißt Zeuge. Die Nyaopas sind gewissermaßen die Trauzeugen und haben bei der Hochzeit die Pflichten von Brautführern. Die oft gebrauchte Form „Nyopa" ist eine Abschleifung, die zu der m. E. falschen Übersetzung „Käufer" geführt hat. Mein Gewährsmann Gau P'untsog blieb beharrlich bei der Form „Nyaopa".

[61]) Tibet. *bag-ston*, in der höflichen Sprache *sku-bag*.

[62]) Eigentlich „Pfeil mit Fahne". Manchmal sind fünf Fähnchen in verschiedenen Farben an dem Glückspfeil befestigt.

[63]) Die nun folgenden Lieder sind der Sammlung „Tibetische Hochzeitslieder", gesammelt von A. H. Francke, Prof. Dr. phil., Hagen i. W. und Darmstadt, Folkwang Verlag, 1923, entnommen. Sie sind von Francke aus dem Tibetischen (Ladaker Dialekt) übersetzt und von Frau Paalzow in die ursprünglichen Versmaße übertragen worden. Einige der Lieder gebe ich in meiner Übersetzung. Die hier gesungenen Lieder stellen nach Francke eine Art Katechismus der vorbuddhistischen Religion der Tibeter dar und geben Einblicke in die Mythologie und Kosmologie jener Periode.

[64]) Die „Weiße Eislöwin mit der türkisfarbenen Mähne" *(seṅ-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can)*, eine Personifikation des Gletschers, das Reittier der Himmelskönigin, ist eines der mythischen Tiere der alttibetischen Mythologie, die dort den Göttern beigesellt sind, so auch

[65]) die „Wilde Vogelkönigin" *(bya-rgyal rgod-mo)*, ferner die „Riesige gestreifte Tigerin" *(rgya-stag k'ra-bo)*, der (weibliche) „Fisch Goldauge" *(k'yu-ru nya-mo* oder *nya-mo gser-mig)* und einige andere in Vers 2, 3 u. 4.

[66]) Der Sinn dieser ersten Verszeile ist schwer verständlich. Es ist nicht klar, was unter der „Neunsteinburg" zu verstehen ist. Vielleicht wäre richtiger: „Ihr Wanderer über die Neunsteine" zu übersetzen.

[67]) K'alpa *(bskal-pa)* ein Zeitalter der buddhistischen Kosmologie.

[68]) Hier hat, wie ich glaube, der diktierende Tibeter fälschlich *„dbyibs-kyi ajal"* anstatt *„dbyiṅs-kyi ajal"* diktiert oder der Abschreiber einen Fehler gemacht. Die letztere Lesart paßt viel besser in den Zusammenhang, ich übersetzte demgemäß wie in Strophe 1.

[69]) A und Om — zwei mystische, in Gebeten und Anrufungen der Götter und Buddhas vielgebrauchte Silben, denen geheime göttliche Kräfte innewohnen sollen.

[70]) Hum und Pad sind zwei weitere magische Silben.

[71]) Mit den Weidenruten werden die Nyaopas für ungenügende Antworten geschlagen.

[72]) Name eines Berges.

[73]) Vgl. Anmerkung 51!

[74]) Der Bodhisattva Avalokiteschvara wird als „Herr der Welt" (auch der drei Welten) bezeichnet; auch Indra erhält oft den Titel.

[75]) Tibet. *lcog-po-ma dros-sil-can*, die „sich wiegende, schattenspendende Weide".

[76]) Nach der alten, vorbuddhistischen Kosmologie.

[77]) Schürhaken aus Holz, mit angekohlter Spitze.

[78]) Garuda (so in Sanskrit); tibet. *k'yuṅ*, mythischer Vogel der buddhistischen Sagenwelt, im Dienst der Schreckensgötter stehend, kämpft er beständig gegen die feindlichen Nagas (Schlangengötter). Auf Bildern wird er dargestellt als ein Wesen mit Menschenleib und Flügeln, menschlichen Armen, halbmenschlichem Kopf, mit Hörnern und Schnabel, Vogelbeinen und -schwanz. Oft hält der Garuda eine Schlange in beiden Händen und beißt mit dem Schnabel hinein.

[79]) Tibet. *bya-rgyal rgod-po.*

[80]) Tibet. *go-bo glad dkar;* die Form *ldad dkar* in Franckes Manuskript halte ich für einen Schreibfehler, sie hätte hier keinen Sinn; *ldad-pa* = kauen paßt nicht in den Zusammenhang; hingegen *glad* = „Kopf" paßt gut hinein.

[81]) Tibet. *glag-mo mk'al-dkar;* hier muß die Form in Franckes Manuskript *„mk'al-dkar"* ebenfalls ein Schreibfehler sein; *mk'al-ma* heißt Niere und paßt nicht in den Zusammenhang; ich setze hier für *mk'al — mgul* = Hals und komme zu der Übersetzung „Adler Weißhals".

[82]) *Lha-bya goṅ-mo* übersetze ich mit „Göttervogel" (weiblich).

[83]) *Goṅ-sreg*, das Berghuhn, Haldenhuhn *(tetraogallus tibetanus)*. Franckes Übersetzung lautet hier: „Nennt zwei Felsenhühner, deren Laufspur im Gebirge sich verliert"; *rjes gcod-pa* heißt aber „eine Spur *verfolgen*"; demgemäß übersetzte ich.

[84]) Franckes Übersetzung lautet hier: „Wer befiehlt der Riesenlast des bunten Schilfs im Nord?" Ich komme zu einer abweichenden Übersetzung, auf die auch die Antwort, die Lösung des Rätsels paßt.

85) *rMog-ĉen rem-pa* = „Großer, starker Helm". Dieser wie die Namen in Vers 2 und 3 sind Namen sagenhafter Helden der Vorzeit.

86) *Ap'o bstan-yaṅ. Apo* = „Vater" im Dialekt von Baltistan und Unterladak; mit diesem Titel werden jene Helden bezeichnet.

87) *Yag-ła łȯn tog* im Tibetischen.

88) Hier ist wohl an den Wasserfall gedacht.

89) Daß die Fledermaus von den Tibetern zu den Vögeln gerechnet wird, kann uns nicht wunder nehmen, wenn man bedenkt, daß in deutschen naturgeschichtlichen Büchern des Mittelalters die Fledermaus sich ebendort eingeordnet findet.

90) Die Behauptung, daß das Wiesel Eier legt, erklärt sich aus der Tatsache, daß dieser arge Nesträuber oft mit einem Ei im Maule gesehen wird, was zu dem falschen Schlusse führte.

91) Quarzader im Schiefergestein.

92) *aBru-gu-ma*, die Gattin des sagenhaften Königs Kesar. Die „Farben des Nordens" scheinen auf das Nordlicht zu deuten.

93) Der Hephästus (Vulkan) der Hindu- und buddhistischen Mythologie ist dieser „Himmelsschmied".

94) Tibet. *dkon-mĉog skyabs-kyi gnyen.*

95) Manchmal sind noch weitere Hindernisse für die Nyaopas zu überwinden. Da sind im Hofe Gruppen von primitiven Altären errichtet, drei, sechs, neun oder mehr, von denen jede Gruppe eine mythologische Bedeutung hat; diese muß von den Nyaopas erraten werden. Ist dies geschehen, dürfen die Nyaopas die betreffende Gruppe zerstören, bis alle diese „Altäre" zerstört sind.

96) Dieses ganze Spiel, das Schlagen der Nyaopas als der „Brauträuber", das Zerstören der Altäre im Hofe des Brauthauses erinnert daran, daß das Rauben der Braut, das Kämpfen um dieselbe, früher bei den Tibetern, wie auch bei anderen mongolischen wie arischen Völkern (so bei Römern, Griechen, Germanen) die allgemein gebräuchliche Form der Erwerbung der Braut war. Bei vielen dieser Völker werden heute noch vor der Hochzeit Scheinkämpfe um die Braut aufgeführt, die auf die blutigen Kämpfe früherer Zeit hindeuten, so u.a. auch bei den semitischen Beduinen im Irak, in Ägypten, in Indien. Auch bei den Russen finden sich Gebräuche, in denen sich die Sitte des Brautraubes spiegelt, so das Fahren der Braut in der Troika durchs Feuer. An die Stelle des Brautraubes trat in späterer Zeit die mildere Form des Brautkaufs. Noch heute kommt es in Tibet vor, daß die Braut von ihrem Freier „geraubt" wird. Doch ist dieses Rauben *(bag-ma rku-ba)* heute meist ein durchaus unblutiges Unternehmen, oft ein abgekartetes Spiel zwischen den beiden betreffenden Familienhäuptern, die die Heirat auf die einfachste und billigste Art zustande bringen wollen. Ich habe zweimal einen solchen „Brautraub" erlebt. Das ganze Zeremoniell und die kostspieligen Feiern fallen dabei weg.

97) *aBran-rgyas*, eigentlich „Opferkuchen, Speisopfer", doch wird von diesen Kuchen nur ein „Ziegel" den Göttern geopfert, das übrige von den Festteilnehmern verzehrt.

98) Aus „Ladakhi Songs" by A. H. Francke, Leh, 1899. Die Übertragung dieses Liedes ins Deutsche ist vom Verfasser der vorliegenden Schrift.

99) Sonne und Mond zählen nach der Astronomie der Inder, der Tibeter, wie auch der Assyrer und Babylonier zu den Planeten und sind

beseelte göttliche Wesen, die Einfluß auf die Menschenschicksale haben und göttlich verehrt werden.

[100]) *A-gu p'al-le*, einer der 18 Helden der tibetischen Kesarsage.

[101]) *A-gu k'ru btuṅs*, auch einer dieser Helden, der den Kopf eines Falken hatte.

[102]) Sieben Nyaopas können bei einer ganz großen Hochzeit in Tätigkeit treten.

[103]) Es werden hier nacheinander die Dinge besungen, die bei der Hochzeit eine Rolle spielen: Der Teppich, der Glückspfeil, das Bier u.a.m. Diese Lieder sind der handschriftlichen Sammlung „Trinklieder mit den fünf Blumen *(me-tog lṅa-ldan-gyi ĉaṅ-glu)*", gesammelt von Prof. Dr. A. H. Francke, entnommen. Die Übertragung ins Deutsche ist vom Verfasser der vorliegenden Schrift.

[104]) Das Rohr des Zauberpfeils wuchs „durch drei Reiche"; das sind die drei Reiche der alttibetischen Kosmologie: Das Reich der Götter, das der Menschen und das der Nixen (Nagas), letzteres unter der Erde.

[105]) Es ist hier von Vater, Mutter und Kind beim Schilfrohr die Rede. Buddhisten wie Hindus gelten alle Naturkörper als beseelte Wesen, sofern allen etwas von der Substanz der Weltseele (dem Brahma) innewohnt.

[106]) Die Spindel gilt als das Symbol des weiblichen, der Pfeil als das des männlichen Geschlechts. Vergleiche die Verwendung des „Speers des Mars" zur Bezeichnung des männlichen, des „Apfels der Aphrodite" zur Bezeichnung des weiblichen Geschlechts in der abendländischen Wissenschaft!

[107]) Nr. 11 der „Trinklieder".

[108]) Hier übersetzte ich „Muskelfasern vom Schulterblatt des großen Steinbocks und der alten Kuh; tibet. *skyin-ĉen ba-rgan-gyi sogs-rgyus k'yoṅs*"; „*sogs*" scheint mir die richtigere Schreibweise zu sein, da „*gsogs*" hier keinen Sinn ergibt, was ein beim Diktat untergelaufener Fehler sein wird. Prof. Francke übersetzte: „Der Pfeil brachte etwas von den Schätzen der alten, großen Steinbockkuh herab."

[109]) Nr. 15 der Trinklieder.

[110]) Vgl. Anmerkung 102!

[111]) Das Lebenselixier, eigentlich Teufelselixier (tibet. *bdud-rtsi;* sanskr. *amrita)* spielt in der Zauberliteratur (Tantra) und im Volksglauben eine große Rolle. Götter und Menschen kämpfen um diesen kostbaren Stoff, der Unsterblichkeit oder doch langes Leben und Zauberkräfte verleiht.

[112]) Ein kleiner, runder, metallener Handspiegel von der Größe eines Handtellers.

[113]) Eine Figur, die auf der Erde durch ausgegossenes Bier entsteht, mittels deren man wahrsagen soll.

[114]) Gemeint ist das Kräuseln der Oberfläche des Wassers beim Ausgießen auf die Wasserfläche.

[115]) Die Steinziege — das Weibchen des Steinbocks *(Capra sibirica)*.

[116]) Gemeint ist die Fährte des Jaks auf der Erde.

[117]) Die sich kräuselnde Bahn des an der Oberfläche des Wassers schwimmenden Fisches.

[118]) Der Perag gilt als ein Symbol der Schlange, die von den Tibetern wie anderen asiatischen Völkern von Alters her göttlich verehrt wird. Auf Bildern sind die Schlangenjungfrauen *(klui bu-mo;* sanskr. *Nagi*, die

Nixen der altdeutschen Sage) als schöne Mädchen dargestellt, über deren Köpfen Schlangen aufragen. Die Form des Perag erinnert an jene Schlangen, das Korallenband daneben an den schuppigen Schwanz derselben.

119) Tibet. *nyi-yur-spre*, wörtlich „Sonne-Schlafengehen — Affe", d. h. die „Affenstunde", in der die Sonne sich zum „Schlafengehen" anschickt.

120) Vgl. Anmerkung 38!

121) Der Grund, warum die Braut aus dem Hause *getragen* wird, ist m. E. in der naiven Vorstellung zu suchen, daß das Verlassen des Hauses dadurch den eifersüchtigen Haus- und Familiengöttern verheimlicht werden könne, deren Zorn zu fürchten ist. In China wird die Braut aus gleichen Gründen in einer Sänfte vom Elternhause bis in das Haus des Bräutigams getragen. Ihr Fuß darf den Boden nicht berühren, damit die Götter der Flüchtigen nicht auf die Spur kommen.

122) Die hier angeführten Namen bezeichnen verschiedene Arten von Dämonen.

123) Diese Behandlung der Dämonen seitens tibetischer Lamas erinnert, wie viele der Abwehrmaßnahmen, an die Auffassung vom „dummen Teufel", die bis in die neuere Zeit auch im deutschen Volke anzutreffen war. Der Schlaue konnte nach dieser Auffassung den Teufel durch allerlei Trugkünste überlisten und abwehren.

124) Man vergleiche den ganz ähnlichen Brauch bei Hochzeiten in England.

125) Dieser Brauch ist nicht als der Sucht, Geld zu erpressen entsprungen zu betrachten, vielmehr als ein symbolischer Ausdruck dafür, daß die Braut nur durch Kauf in den Besitz des Bräutigams übergeht.

126) Leider habe ich dieses Gedicht, „*źwa-p'ud* (Hutabnehmen)" betitelt, bisher nicht bekommen können.

127) Die Hochzeitsfeier im Hause der Braut heißt dementsprechend „die Hochzeit des Mädchens *(bo-moi bag-ston)*".

128) Wenn in einer Familie nur Töchter vorhanden sind, dann suchen die Verwandten und Paspun bei eintretender Volljährigkeit der ältesten (oder einzigen) Tochter, die vom zwölften Jahre an rechnet, für diese einen Bräutigam, der bei dieser Form der Ehe Magpa genannt wird und diese Bezeichnung auch als Gatte weiterhin behält. Seine Stellung im Hause der so gewonnenen Frau ist nicht die gleiche, wie die des Bagpo, der sich eine Braut *(bag-ma)* in sein väterliches Haus holt, in dem er als Erbe schließlich Herr über den gesamten Besitz wird, wenn der Vater ihm denselben übergibt. Beim Magpaverhältnis ist nach dem Tode des Vaters die Tochter, die den Magpa heiratete, die Erbin und Herrin im Hause. Sie hat freies Bestimmungsrecht über den Besitz (Haus, Feld, Vieh), über die Kinder, die dieser Ehe entsprossen und schließlich über ihren Mann. Kommt es mit diesem zum Streit, der ungeschlichtet bleibt, so hat die Frau das Recht, den Magpa aus dem Hause zu weisen und einen neuen zu wählen, was oft und recht leichtfertig geschieht. Wohl kommt es auch vor, daß der Magpa durch Tüchtigkeit eine geachtete Stellung und bestimmenden Einfluß im Hause und in der Sippe gewinnt. In Zentral- und Osttibet kommt es vor, daß auch zwei, drei Männer als Magpa eines oder mehrerer Mädchen, leiblicher Schwestern, in ein Haus genommen werden.

129) In großen Teilen Tibets und Ladaks herrscht die Sitte der Vielmännerei (Polyandrie). In Familien mit mehreren Söhnen bringt in der Regel nur der älteste eine Frau ins Haus, die nach der Hochzeit ohne

weiteres auch als Gattin der übrigen — selten über zwei — jüngeren Brüder gilt. Der älteste Bruder gilt als der eigentliche Gatte und Besitzer der Frau, er allein hat auch das Recht, sich der Frau durch Scheidung zu entledigen, wenn sie der ehelichen Untreue überführt ist oder sonst seine Gunst verliert. Die Kinder sind das Eigentum des ältesten Bruders, des Herrn im Hause; sie nennen ihn „Großer Vater *(a-p'a ĉen-mo)*", den jüngsten Bruder nennen sie „Kleiner Vater *(a-p'a ĉuṅ-ṅun)*" und den mittleren (von dreien) *„ap'a bar-ma,* Mittlerer Vater". Oft heiratet einer der Brüder als Magpa in ein anderes Haus, zumal wenn mehr als drei Brüder in einem Hause vorhanden sind; oder einer der jüngeren Brüder geht als Lama ins Kloster und ist dort versorgt. Dadurch, sowie durch die häufige Abwesenheit eines oder mehrerer der Gatten einer Frau auf Handelsreisen wird das Widernatürliche und Abstoßende dieses Brauchs etwas gemildert. Die Sitte hat ihren Grund in dem Bestreben, eine Zersplitterung des ohnedies meist kleinen, mühsam erworbenen und kostbaren Feldbesitzes zu verhindern und einer Übervölkerung vorzubeugen, ist also eine Maßnahme von rein wirtschaftlich-sozialer Bedeutung. Durch fortgesetzte Erbteilung würden bald winzige Besitztümer entstehen, die keine Familie ernähren könnten; Tibet hat noch so gut wie keine Industrie, und die wenigen Handwerke (Schmied, Zimmermann) werden ausschließlich von den niedrigkastigen Ariern (Mon, Garba) betrieben. So bleiben meist die Brüder im väterlichen Hause beisammen und sind dort als Arbeitskräfte sehr willkommen; selbst ein kleines Gut kann so die Insassen wenigstens notdürftig ernähren. Damit erfüllt dieses „System" praktisch seinen Zweck; es ist freilich auch dazu angetan, das Empfinden für Reinheit und Würde der Frau zu zerstören. Es muß aber gesagt werden, daß trotzdem die Stellung der Frau im allgemeinen eine viel höhere und würdigere ist, als die der Frau in Indien, zumal in Hindufamilien. Die tibetische Frau in der polyandrischen Ehe nimmt oft eine sehr geachtete, ja herrschende Stellung ein als Familienmutter und Herrin des heiligen Herdes. Ausnahmen bestätigen nur die Regel. Vgl. auch Tafel „Meine Tibetreise", Stuttgart, Berlin und Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, S. 342 ff.

130) „Man darf keinen unerlaubten Geschlechtsverkehr pflegen" lautet das dritte der Zehn Gebote der Buddhisten.

131) Ehescheidungen kommen in Tibet oft vor und werden nicht selten auf leichtfertigste Art bewerkstelligt. Bei dauernder Unfruchtbarkeit der Frau, Untreue derselben oder infolge von ernstem Zerwürfnis der Gatten entläßt der Mann seine Frau, häufig verläßt diese auch ihren Mann, wenn er sie schlecht behandelt. Das alte Königsgesetz *(rgyal-k'rims)* schreibt vor, daß der schuldige, die Ehe brechende Teil dem anderen ein Bußgeld zu geben hat: Einen „Rockzipfel voll" Geld, d. h. eine gewisse Summe Geldes, die im Zipfel des langen Rockes *(to-sgaṅ)* gefaßt und dargereicht werden soll. Der Begriff *to-sgaṅ* deutet darauf hin, daß die Geldbuße ursprünglich eine sehr hohe war. Aber der Begriff ist außerordentlich dehnbar und wird demgemäß auch meist stark gedehnt oder — schrumpfen gelassen. Auch in Tibet gilt vielfach „doppelte Moral" für Mann und Frau. Ein Sprichwort sagt in der der tibetischen Sprache eigenen Kürze: „Mann — Rockzipfel — Rind; Frau — Rockzipfel — Pferd", d. h. der die Ehe brechende Mann zahlt als Buße den Preis einer Kuh; die Frau im entsprechenden Falle den etwa dreifachen Preis eines Pferdes. Oft trennt sich der eine Teil böswillig vom anderen und denkt nicht an Bußezahlen. Es gibt dann bösen Streit zwischen den Familien und Sippen der Beteiligten und lange Prozesse vor Gericht.

132) Eine Sage erzählt — unter der Voraussetzung, daß das „Königsneujahr", das spätere im Februar gefeierte Neujahr, das ursprüngliche ist — der König von Ladak namens Dschamyang (1560—1590) wollte gegen die mohammedanischen Fürsten des benachbarten Purig ins Feld ziehen. Da aber der Winter vor der Tür stand, erklärten die Lamas, es wäre nicht ratsam, den Krieg anzufangen, ehe man Neujahr gebührend gefeiert habe. Daraufhin habe der König den Termin für das Neujahrsfest kurzerhand zwei Monate vorverlegt. So seien die Ladaker zu zwei Neujahrsfeiern gekommen, denn die zweite ließen sich die Leute auch nicht nehmen. Vgl. Francke „History of Western Tibet", S. 91.

133) Ein ähnlicher Brauch findet sich in Schweden, wo beim Silvesterschmaus eine Mehlspeise auf dem Tisch erscheint, die oben eine Höhlung hat, in die geschmolzene Butter gegossen wird. Vgl. Anmerkung 37!

134) Das Pentagramm oder der Drudenfuß war in der mittelalterlichen Magie ein vielgebrauchtes Abwehrzeichen gegen böse Geister. In „Faust", I. Teil, erklärt Mephisto sich gebannt durch einen Drudenfuß auf der Schwelle. Er braucht einen Rattenzahn, um den Zauber zu brechen.

135) Im Storma *(gtor-ma,* Wurf- oder Streuopfer) werden häufig dem Teig des Opferkuchens die „Drei Wohlgerüche" *(dri sna gsum)* beigemischt als besonderes Opfer für die Drisa-Geister (sanskr. *Gandharva),* die „Duftesser", engelähnliche Wesen, die, im Himmelsraum schwebend, sich an Wohlgerüchen aller Art erlaben, aber auch in der Gestalt von Fliegen und anderen Insekten Abfallhaufen und Dungstätten umschwirren, um auch dort „Duft zu essen"! Deshalb treten in diesem Stormaopfer oft Kot und andere Unreinheiten, die vom Menschen stammen, an Stelle der Wohlgerüche. Das Storma soll an Stelle der Menschenopfer getreten sein, die früher in der vorbuddhistischen Zeit den Göttern und Dämonen dargebracht wurden.

136) Das erste Gebet lautet tibetisch:

P'yag stoṅ ak'or-lo sgyur-bai rgyal-po ston /
Spyan stoṅ bskal-pa bzaṅ-po saṅs-rgyas ston /
Gaṅ-la gaṅ ston de-la de ston-pa /
Ston-pa spyan-ras gzigs-la p'yag tsal-lo.

Das zweite Gebet:

Nga nam-mk'a daṅ mnyams-pai sems can tams-cad /
bLama saṅs-rgyas ĉos-kyi sku-la p'yag tsal-lo /
bLama loṅs-spyod rdzogs-pai sku-la p'yag tsal-lo /
bLama saṅs-rgyas rin-po-ĉe-la p'yag tsal-lo.

137) Der vollendete Buddha, der die Erleuchtung *(Bodhi)* erlangt hat, besitzt nach der Mahayanalehre drei „Leiber" oder Erscheinungsformen (tibet. *sku;* sanskr. *K'aya):* Den völlig vergeistigten „Leib der Lehre (tibet. *ĉos-kyi sku;* sanskr. *dharmakaya)*", gleichsam das „Fleischgewordene Wort"; den „Leib der Seligkeit (tibet. *loṅs-spyod rdzogs-pai sku;* sanskr. *sambhogakaya)*", in dem sich der Buddha völliger Seligkeit erfreut; diese zwei sind in dem Gebet erwähnt. Als dritter tritt hinzu der „Leib der Verwandlung (tibet. *sprul-sku;* sanskr. *nirmanakaya)*", die Form, in der der Buddha sichtbar unter den Lebewesen erscheint, das Rettungswerk unter ihnen betreibt und lehrt, bis er schließlich zum letztenmal stirbt, um nun im völligen Nirvana (sanskr. *Parinirvana)* gänzlich zu „verlöschen".

138) Man wird hier an die heute noch in katholischen Gegenden üblichen Bittumgänge (Prozessionen) um die Felder erinnert, die den Zweck haben, die Felder vor Unwetter, Dürre und Mißwachs zu schützen und

eine gute Ernte zu sichern. Diese Bittumgänge gehen in ihrer Entstehung zurück auf die altgermanischen Flurumgänge, die am ersten Donnerstag (Donars Tag) im März, Juni und September von den Dorf- und Gauältesten veranstaltet wurden, um reichen Erntesegen zu erlangen.

[139]) Die Anweisungen zum Beschwören der Nagas (Wassergötter) sind enthalten in Tsongkapas, des Reformators, Buch *dmigs brtse-ma las tsogs;* dort werden Buddha, die Bodhisattvas Avalokiteschvara und Mandschuschri um Regen angerufen. Tsongkapa wird von der von ihm gestifteten Sekte der „Tugendhaften" (tibet. *dge-lugs-pa)* und den von diesem Orden geistlich bedienten Laien angebetet. Bilder und Statuen von ihm finden sich in allen Gelugpaklöstern und in vielen Haustempeln. Auch er gilt als regenspendende Gottheit.

[140]) Der tibetische Titel des Buches von der „Großen Wolke" (= Buddha) ist „*gcig las ĉar-abebs skor*, von dem einzigartigen Werk des Regenspendens". Buddha wird darin der Titel „Allmächtiger Nagakönig" gegeben und er gebeten, er möge mit seiner „segensreichen Zauberkraft" die ihm untergebenen Nagafürsten bewegen, Regen zu spenden. Außer den Genannten wird auch oft der Donnerkeilträger Vadschrapani *(p'yag-rdor)* um Regen angerufen. Bei den alten Römern hatte Jupiter neben anderen Funktionen auch die des „Wolkensammlers" und „Regenspenders".

[141]) Gewitter entsteht nach der Anschauung der Tibeter (und ähnlich auch der Chinesen) dadurch, daß zwei Drachen, ein männlicher und ein weiblicher, miteinander kämpfen, so daß die Funken (Blitze) sprühen. Ihr Wutgebrüll ist der Donner. Auf den Drachen reitet je ein Dämon *(lha-adre)*, auch sie nehmen am Kampfe teil. Die beiden Reiter haben je einen Sack an ihrem Reittier befestigt, aus dem sie Hagel und Graupel auf die Erde herabstreuen. Nach der chinesischen Auffassung verursachen die Donnerdrachen und Himmelsnagas das Gewitter, indem sie das Donnerrad im Kampfe gegeneinander rollen und Blitze speien.

[142]) Der Donnerkeil (sanskr. *Vadschra*, tibet. *rdo-rje)*, die magische Waffe der Götter und Zauberlamas im Kampfe gegen die feindlichen Dämonen. Das Wort „Vadschra" allein hat schon im Munde des Zauberers bannende Wirkung auf die angerufenen Götter und Dämonen. Hier ist es ein Ausruf, der an jene finsteren Mächte gerichtet ist. Ein bronzener Dordsche gehört zur Ausrüstung jedes Lamas, um sich und andere gegen die bösen Geister zu schützen. Der Donnerkeil ist auch das Symbol für die Lehre Buddhas.

[143]) Die Buchtitel in Tibetisch sind:

1 *P'yogs bcu mun sel,*
2 *Bar-cad lam sel,*
3 *bSam-pa lhun grub.*

Die tibetische Erdkunde kennt außer den uns geläufigen acht Himmelsrichtungen noch zwei weitere: Das Oben (Richtung des Zenits) und das Unten (Richtung des Nadirs).

[144]) Wenige Tibeter enthalten sich des Fleischgenusses ganz; selbst die meisten Lamas, ausgenommen die der strengsten Sekten, sind Fleischesser. Um den Schein des Innehaltens des Tötungsverbotes zu wahren, wird viel geheuchelt. Man kauft das Fleisch vom mohammedanischen Fleischer, oder man bringt das Schlachttier, Schaf, Ziege oder Jak, zu Tode, indem man ihm das Maul und die Nase derartig mit Stricken fest verschnürt, daß das Tier unter Qualen langsam erstickt. „Es ist gestorben" reden sich dann die Leute ein, „wir haben ja kein Blut vergossen".

[145]) Vgl. Anmerkung 23!

[146]) Padmasambhava, der Buddhapriester und große Tantriker (Zauberer) aus Udyana (im heutigen Afghanistan), der mit seinen Priestern und Mönchen um die Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts unserer Zeitrechnung, von dem König Trischrongldetsan gerufen, nach Tibet kam, „bekehrt" auf abenteuerliche Weise die Tibeter zum Buddhismus und breitet damit die in Indien und in seiner Heimat besonders schon arg verderbte Lehre dort aus. Er besiegt und „bekehrt" nach der Sage in schwerem Kampfe die Götter und Dämonen Tibets. Sie werden von ihm überwunden und durch Eid gebunden, fortan den Buddhismus nicht mehr zu bekämpfen, sondern zu fördern und zu schützen. Über Padmasambhava vgl. Ribbach „Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft", 5. Beiheft zum Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

[147]) Die Anrufung gilt hier einem verstorbenen, heiliggesprochenen Lama. Die hier angeführten Gebete sind entnommen Waddells „Lamaismus".

[148]) Der spätere Mahayanabuddhismus führte im Widerspruch zur Lehre vom Verlöschen des Seins im Nirvana eine andere Form der Erlösung ein im „Paradies des Westens" (tibet. *nub bde-ba-can;* sanskr. *Sukhavati),* im Lichtreich des himmlischen Buddha Amithaba (tibet. *Od-dpag-med),* wo die Frommen als Lohn ihres beharrlichen Strebens nach Erlösung ein bewußtes Leben in unaussprechlichen Freuden genießen; doch galt das nur als eine Vorstufe der engültigen Erlösung im Nirvana.

[149]) Zu den vielen neuen Ideen, die der Mahayanabuddhismus mit großer Duldsamkeit und Anpassungsfähigkeit in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung in Indien aufnahm, gehört auch die Vorstellung von den Götterpaaren. Dem Buddha, den Bodhisattvas, Göttern und Dämonen gab man je eine weibliche Ergänzung, eine „Weibliche Energie" (sanskr. *Schakti,* tibet. *nus-ma)* bei. In dieser Vereinigung sollten den Gottheiten besondere Kräfte verliehen sein. In der Kunst, in Gemälden und Bronzen werden diese Götterpaare in Umarmung dargestellt. Gewiß spielen hier stark sexuelle Motive mit, obgleich die Lamas versuchen, dies abzuleugnen. Sie erklären, die Vereinigung bedeute symbolisch die Belebung der toten Materie durch den Geist und ähnliches. Diese Gedanken bilden ein Stück des Tantrasystems, das ungefähr im 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. im indischen Buddhismus zuerst Eingang fand. Der Yogi (Asket) der älteren Yogaschule erstrebte durch Fasten, Askese und Medidation das Einswerden mit der Weltseele (Yoga) und damit Befreiung von den Fesseln des irdischen Daseins. Später in der Praxis der Tantraschule vergröberten sich die Formen. Durch Tantras (Beschwörungen) rief der Zauberer Götter und Dämonen herbei, mit denen er eine mystische Vereinigung einzugehen vorgab, sich deren magische Kräfte zu eigen machte, vermöge deren er „Wunder" tat.

[150]) Die Tara hat drei Formen: Es gibt eine Weiße Tara, eine Grüne und eine Goldene Tara; die Grüne ist die volkstümlichste, am meisten verehrte.

[151]) Die „Zehn Sünden" entsprechen den Zehn Geboten des Buddhismus, deren Übertretung sie sind: Man soll kein Lebewesen töten, nicht stehlen, keine unkeusche Handlung begehen, nicht lügen, keine berauschenden Getränke genießen usw.; die „Fünf Maßlosen Sünden" *(sdig-pa tsad-med lna)* sind: 1. Vatermord; 2. Muttermord; 3. das Schmähen des „Erhabenen Lamas" (des vorgesetzten Oberlamas); 4. das Zerstören des

Bildes der „Selig Vollendeten". Das ist die Bezeichnung für die (erfundenen) sechs Vorgänger Gautama Buddhas *(bde-bźin bśegs-pa;* sanskr. *Tathagata),* die oft in einer Gruppe auf Bildern dargestellt werden; 5. seinen tugendhaften Abt töten.

152) Die drei „Regionen des Himmels" sind: 1. die Region des Begehrens; das törichte Begehren führt zur Bildung von Formen und schließlich von Lebewesen; 2. die Region der Formen; 3. die formenlose Welt.

153) Das „Rad der Lehre drehen" ist der buddhistische Ausdruck für „lehren, predigen". Das Rad ist hier das Symbol der Lehre, wie auch der Macht, des Sieges. Gedreht — rollt es sieghaft dahin, alle Feinde und die Finsternis des Nichtwissens (sanskr. *Avidya)* überwindend.

154) Manche Ausleger von Gautama Buddhas Reden erklären, daß der „Meister", der selbst nur sehr widerwillig und in dunkler Sprache den fragenden Jüngern Auskunft über das, was er unter Nirvana verstanden wissen wollte, gegeben habe, unter Leben nur die gegenwärtige Existenzform verstanden haben wollte; ein bewußtes Leben in einer anderen Daseinsform sei gleichwohl auch nach dem Eingang ins Nirvana denkbar.

155) Der Spruch lautet in Tibetisch: *bla-ma zaṅ-gi mgo ma ton-na / skya-bo yar-dren ci-ltar bya.*

156) In Tibetisch: *rig-pa rnam-pa ci-yaṅ slob /*
tse adir mk'as-pa ma agyur kyaṅ /
skye-ba rjes-mai bcol-ma yin /
nor de raṅ-nyid len-pa adra.

157) Der tibetische Text der beiden Gebete lautet:

1. Das an die 1000 Buddhas usw. gerichtete Gebet:
mto-bai sa-na bya-ra mdzod /
dma-bai a-na me-ltse mdzod /
mun-pai naṅ-la sgron-me sbor /
dgra-dpuṅ śigs-la bdud-dpuṅ ĉom /
sam-pa sgrub-la — re-ba skoṅ /
tse-dbaṅ loṅs- spyod rgyas-pa daṅ /
bkra śis p'un-sum- tsogs-par agyur.

2. Das Gebet an den Feindgott:
gaṅs daṅ seṅ-ge agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi daṅ ma abral-źig /
k'yuṅ daṅ sog-sgro agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi daṅ ma abral-źig /
stag-daṅ nag-tsal agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi daṅ ma abral-źig /
snya-mo ĉu daṅ agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi daṅ ma abral-źig.

Zu Strophe 1, zweitletzte Zeile ist zu bemerken: Lebenskraft *(tse-dbaṅ)* und langes Leben *(tse-riṅ)* zu erlangen, ist Wunsch und Streben fast aller Buddhisten in Tibet und steht in krassem Widerspruch zur buddhistischen Lehre, wonach Leben schlechthin Leiden bedeutet und darum nicht lebenswert ist. Um langes Leben betet der Buddhist, er wünscht und erbittet es für sich, seine Kinder und Freunde, der Bettler wünscht dem Geber: „*tse-riṅ-źig,* lang sei dein Leben!" Eltern nennen ihr Kind T'sering oder T'sewang (Lebelang oder Lebenskraft). In der Theorie verneint der Buddhist das Leben, in der Praxis bejaht er es auf das stärkste.

Gaṅs daṅ seṅ-ge (2. Strophe, Anfang), der „Eislöwe", hierzu vgl. Anm. 64! Über den mythischen Vogel Garuda (tibet. *k'yuṅ)* siehe Anmerkung 78! Das Fischlein (2. Strophe, zweitletzte Zeile) ist hier wie auch sonst oft

in der Sage als *weiblicher* Fisch gedacht; *snya-mo* — die Silbe „*mo*" bezeichnet das weibliche Geschlecht.

158) Die erste „ansteigende" Monatshälfte *(yar-ño)* gilt als die „stärkere", Glück und Erfolg verheißende, die zweite „absteigende" *(mar-ño)* als die „schwächere", wenig Glück bergende Hälfte.

159) Das Sprichwort in Tibetisch lautet: *ños-agrub-la aded-de mi non/ rkyen-ñan-la ſor-te mi bud.*

160) Die *tibetische Heilkunde* ist in einer Reihe von Bänden (Blockdrucken) in dem großen Sammelwerk des buddhistischen Kanons *(bka-agyur*, sprich Kangyur!) niedergelegt. Das Hauptwerk derselben ist der Gyud-ji *(rgyud-bźi)*. Die tibetische ärztliche Wissenschaft beruht teils auf der indischen, teils auf der chinesischen Anatomie und Heilkunde, wobei altbabylonische, griechische und persische Einflüsse nicht ausgeschlossen sind. Die Medizinschule auf dem Eisenberg *(lcags-po-ri)*, einem Teil des Potalaberges, auf dem auch der Palast des Dalai Lama steht, bildet einen Teil der Hochschule der Lamas, auf der sie für ihren Dienst vorbereitet werden. Hier ist gleichsam die medizinische Fakultät der Hochschule.

¶ Die *Anatomie* der Tibeter steht auf einer sehr niedrigen Stufe, da die tibetischen Ärzte keine Sektion von Leichen vornehmen. So kennen sie die inneren Teile des menschlichen Körpers höchstens durch Vergleiche mit denen des Tierkörpers, die sie einmal zu sehen bekommen — verbotenerweise — bei einer Schlachtung, die für den Buddhisten Sünde bedeutet. (Vgl. Dr. Reinh. Müller „Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien", in „Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin", Bd. 15!) Die Tibeter haben ihre Anatomie von den Chinesen übernommen mitsamt den Fehlern und Mängeln, die sich bei jenen fanden. Da findet sich z. B. auf alten anatomischen Tafeln die Leber links, die Milz rechts eingezeichnet. (Vgl. Reinh. Müller „Über Skelettdarstellungen" in „Asia Major", Band 2.) Die den chinesischen nachgebildeten anatomischen Tafeln (tibet. *p'yaṅ-k'og las-tig)* zeigen dementsprechend sehr phantastische Darstellungen des menschlichen Körpers; sie dienen hauptsächlich zur Bezeichnung der Stellen am Körper, die sich zum Schröpfen und Brennen (mit glühendem Eisen) eignen. Beide Verfahren werden von tibetischen Ärzten viel bei Menschen wie bei Haustieren angewandt, nicht selten mit Erfolg. Aber mit dem Brennen wird oft geradezu Unfug getrieben, an empfindlichen Teilen des Körpers, wie z. B. am Augenlid, wird gebrannt und damit arger Schaden angerichtet.

¶ Die tibetische *Arzneikunde* wendet eine Menge dort einheimischer Pflanzen oft in sehr zweckentsprechender Weise in Form von Absuden, Pulvern und Pillen an. Daneben werden Metalle als Heilmittel verwendet wie Gold, Silber, Kupfer, Eisen, Messing, Zink, Quecksilber (letzteres gegen Syphilis); ferner Steine, Mineralien und Erden, so z. B. Türkisen, Perlen, Schneckengehäuse, Korallen, Kochsalz, Natron, Salpeter, Schwefel.

¶ Körperteile von Tieren spielen in der tibetischen Heilkunde, wie früher auch bei allen arischen Völkern, eine große Rolle. Die Galle des Ochsen ist gut gegen Augenkrankheiten, die Milz gegen Geschwüre, die Niere gegen Nierenleiden; das Blut, frisch getrunken, „zieht das Gift aus dem Blute", die Zunge des Hundes heilt Wunden, Hundegehirn ist gut gegen Starblindheit, Hundeleber gegen den Aussatz. Asche von verbrannten Hundehaaren heilt Geschwüre, Drachenzähne (wahrscheinlich Krokodilzähne) pulverisiert, lindern Zahnweh. Mit dem Magneten soll der Arzt Pfeilspitzen aus der Wunde ziehen.

¶ Die tibetischen Ärzte verstehen geschickt einfache Knochenbrüche an den Gliedern zu schienen. Bei gebrochenen Rippen wird sehr vernünftiger-

weise ein breiter Zeugstreifen fest um den Brustkorb gewickelt und dann mit Leim bestrichen, was beim Erkalten des Leims einen steifen Verband bildet. Der europäische Arzt erreicht dasselbe mit Heftpflaster- oder Gipsverband. Tausende finden Heilung ihrer Leiden an den in Tibet da und dort verstreuten Heilquellen, so z. B. in Sabu (Ladak), in Panamig (Nubra) und vielen anderen Orten. Massage wird wie von den Indern auch von den Tibetern mit beachtlichem Geschick ausgeübt. Schlimm steht es um das Zahnziehen. Da richtige Zahnzangen fehlen, geht der vom Zahnweh Geplagte zum Schmied, weil der meist der einzige ist, der eine Zange besitzt. Zwei Mann halten den Patienten, der auf der Erde auf dem Rücken liegt. Der Schmied kniet über demselben und faßt mit seiner stumpfen Zange den kranken Zahn und reißt daran. Irgend etwas gibt dann schließlich nach: Manchmal kommt der kranke Zahn heraus, manchmal bricht der Kiefer, es kommt auch vor, daß die Zange zerbricht und der Zahn im Kiefer stecken bleibt.

¶ Wir mögen uns über manche der seltsamen Mittel der tibetischen Heilkunde wundern und sie belachen. Wir müssen aber bedenken, daß noch bis in das 18., ja 19. Jahrhundert hinein in europäischen, auch deutschen Apotheken nicht minder seltsame Heilmittel hergestellt, angepriesen und eifrig gekauft wurden, als wie wir sie in der tibetischen Arzneikunde antreffen. Dinge wie Storchenfett, Bärenschmalz, Wolfs- und Fuchsfett, Regenwürmer, Krebsaugen und Schlangenhaut galten von alters her als sehr wirksame Medizinen. Ganz besonders begehrt waren Heilmittel, die aus Teilen des menschlichen Körpers hergestellt waren, wie gebrannte und pulverisierte menschliche Hirnschale, Blut, Galle und Fett von Menschen, besonders wirksam, wenn die Mittel von Verbrechern oder Ketzern kamen. Durch List und Gewalt suchte man sich Blut von Hingerichteten zu verschaffen, um es zu trinken als Mittel gegen die Fallsucht und ähnliche Leiden, und die Scharfrichter trieben einen schwunghaften Handel mit diesen Dingen. Selten fehlte bis ins 18. Jahrhundert hinein in der Apotheke eine Abteilung, „die Dreckapotheke", in der Taubendreck, Mäusedreck, Hundekot und andere unsaubere Dinge feilgehalten wurden und guten Absatz fanden. Sehr begehrt war „Mumia", ein Stoff aus Körperteilen von Verbrechern hergestellt, als Ersatz für ägyptische Mumien, die als Heilstoff stark begehrt, aber schwer erhältlich und teuer waren. Möglicherweise wird die moderne Hormonforschung den Beweis erbringen, daß bei manchen dieser seltsam erscheinenden Mittel Instinkt und Erfahrung die Menschen auf das Richtige geführt haben.

161) Für dieses Spucken in der Absicht, einem Feinde zu schaden, haben die Tibeter einen besonderen Ausdruck: *nad-pai to-le adebs-pa*, das „Spucken nach dem Kranken", d. h. in der Absicht, die betreffende Person krank zu machen. Beim Spucken wird ein Fluch oder böser Wunsch ausgesprochen.

162) Diese „Fünf unreinen Dinge" *(rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lṅa)*, die in solche Pillen gemischt werden, sind tibetisch benannt: *sna-dri, rṅul-ĉu, rkyag-pa, gcin, mṅal-k'rag*. Es gibt auch eine Zusammenstellung von zehn solchen unsauberen Dingen in der tibetischen Medizinkunde.

163) Der Spruch lautet tibetisch: *nad daṅ sdug-bsṅal gtam ṅan gsum — sṅon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.*

164) Es ist Sitte in Tibet, daß der Besitzer eines Hofes den alternden Eltern, die nicht mehr viel arbeiten und helfen können, ein kleines Haus *(k'aṅ-ṅu)* als Ausgedinge baut und ihnen zum Unterhalt einige Äcker zuweist. Oft fällt dieses Ausgedinge (Altenteil) sehr mager aus und die alten Eltern führen dann ein Hungerleben.

[165]) Gewitter sind in den hochgelegenen Teilen Tibets (in Höhen über 3000 m) selten und fast nie heftig. Es ist die Folge der großen Trockenheit und geringen Dichte der Luft in diesen Höhen. Tibet ist zum allergrößten Teil eine Bergwüste. Die dünne, trockene Luft läßt nur eine geringe Wolkenbildung und Ansammlung von Elektrizität zu.

[166]) Der Drache Rahu der buddhistischen und der Hindumythologie hat sein Gegenstück in dem Drachen Nidhogg, einer Nebenform des Fenriwolfs in der altgermanischen Mythologie, der auch bei Finsternissen Sonne und Mond zu verschlingen droht.

[167]) In Großtibet, im Reich des Dalai Lama, finden noch heute die gräßlichsten Foltern Anwendung zur Erpressung von Geständnissen. Von all den teuflischen Erfindungen der Martern seien hier nur andeutungsweise genannt: Die Daumschrauben, Geißelung, Tropfen von geschmolzenem Siegellack auf bloße Körperteile des Angeklagten. Man hindert den Gefolterten am Schlafen, indem man zwei eiserne Häkchen, die durch eine Schnur verbunden sind, so in die unteren Augenlider und die Haut des Bauches einhakt, daß die Lider herabgezerrt und nicht geschlossen werden können. Entsprechend grausam sind auch viele Arten der Hinrichtung.

[168]) Siehe Anmerkung 48!

[p. 256 blank]

ANMERKUNGEN ZUM ANHANG

[1]) Wenn dieses Sprengopfer gespendet wird, werden außer dem Wasser auch größere und kleinere Pillen aus Brotteig von der Größe der „Schafpillen" (!) — 108 solcher Pillen — gespendet: Den Göttern oben (im Himmel) fünf solche „Mahle", den Pretas unten in der Unterwelt und in der Vorhölle und den anderen je fünf solche „Mahle". Den acht *p'yi-lus*, den *abyuṅ-po* und den *mi-ma-yin* (Geistern) opfert man so. Dieses Wurf- oder Sprengopfer wird dargebracht nach (der Vorschrift in) dem Buche: *P'al-ĉer brgya rtsa* (die „Gewöhnlichen Hundert", nämlich Stormaopfer).

[2]) Diese „Übungen der vier Tageszeiten *(tun)*" werden vorgenommen jeweils bei Tagesanbruch *(to-raṅs sṅa tun)*, gegen Mittag *(nyin-p'yed dus guṅ tun)*, gegen sechs Uhr abends *(p'yi-tog srod tun)* und gegen Mitternacht *(tsan p'yed sṅon-du dgoṅs)*. Innerhalb dieser vier Zeitabschnitte muß der betreffende Lama hersagen: 100000mal die Zufluchtsformel, 100000 sonstige Anbetungsformeln, 100000 Mandala *(dkyil-ak'or)*, 100000 *yig-brgya* und andere Formeln. Um durch diese ganzen Übungen durchzukommen, braucht (ein Lama) etwa fünf Monate. Das Ganze stellt eine Prüfung des Lamas dar.

[3]) Bardo ist das Totenreich, in das die Gestorbenen zuerst gelangen, wo sie 40 Tage bleiben, bis sie in einem neuen Körper wiedergeboren werden, und wo sie von scheußlichen Dämonen gequält und geängstigt werden, wenn die Macht ihres eigenen Tugendverdienstes oder die Fürbitten, Messen und Opfer der Priester sie nicht daraus erlösen. — Vgl. Evans-Wenk: „Tibetanisches Totenbuch", Zürich 1937.

[4]) Die Schwerkraft ist aufgehoben. Ein vielgerühmtes Zauberkunststück der Lamas.

[5]) Wie das folgende zeigt, läßt sich die Tätigkeit auch der orthodoxen Geldanpalamas hier nicht trennen von der der Vertreter der Schwarzen Kunst, der Onpos (Wahrsager, Zauberer), ohne deren Mitwirkung keine buddhistische Bestattung in Tibet denkbar ist; beider Tätigkeit geht hier Hand in Hand. Der Onpo läßt sich auch von seinen schärfsten Gegnern, den Geldanpalamas, nicht von seiner Stelle drängen und fordert sein Recht und seinen Lohn.

[6]) Als „Unreine" würde die Person sonst die Erd-, Wasser- und Hausgötter beleidigen und erzürnen, und diese würden den Frevlern Krankheit, Dürre und Mißwachs senden.

[7]) Etwa 15 km von Leh ist das Kloster entfernt.

[8]) Man kann auch übersetzen: „Die Reinigung ist vollzogen."

[9]) Der volle Titel des Buches ist: *tos-pa tsam-gyis agrol-ba tob-pai ĉos*, die Lehre, durch deren Anhören ein Mensch augenblicklich errettet wird.

[10]) Tibetisch *Od-dpag med;* er ist einer der fünf „Himmlischen Buddhas", der geistige Vater des Dhyanibodhisattva Avalokiteschvara, der besonderen Schutzgottheit Tibets.

[11]) Mit „Denksubstanz" übersetzte man das Sanskritwort Vijna (tibet. *rnam-ies)*. Es bezeichnet nach der altindischen Philosophie eines der fünf Skandha (Lebenselemente), die in ihrer Zusammensetzung ein lebendes Wesen ausmachen. Beim Tode eines Menschen bleibt diese nicht körperliche „Substanz", die aus den zurückgebliebenen, schlummernden Eindrücken früherer Existenzen (Samskara) entsteht, als letzter Lebenskeim zurück. Wenn diese latenten Eindrücke und Lebenskeime nicht durch beharrliches Streben nach der höchsten Erkenntnis (Bodhi) vernichtet werden, kommt es wieder zum Erwachen neuen Willens zum Leben, zur Bildung von Formen, zu neuen Wiederverkörperungen und damit zu neuem Leiden.

[12]) Der Regenbogen, den die Himmelskunde der alten Inder schon zu den Planeten rechnete, wird wie alle Himmelskörper als Gottheit gedacht, die oft dem Menschen feindlich gesinnt, demselben Krankheit, wie Epilepsie, Hirnschlag u. a. sendet.

[13]) Die Seele nimmt angeblich ihren Weg durch die beim Ausziehen der Haare entstandenen kleinen Öffnungen, die nach dem Glauben der Lamas durch die Schädeldecke gehen.

[14]) In Sanskrit Vadschradhara, eine Form des Bodhisattva Vadschrasattva.

[15]) Der Dordsche (sanskr. Vadschra = Donnerkeil) ist die magische Waffe der Götter und der Priester im Kampf gegen die Dämonen.

[16]) In vielen Teilen Tibets wird die Leiche in Hockstellung in eine Ecke des Wohnraumes gesetzt, wenn die Ecke nicht gerade vom Hausgott bewohnt ist; darüber entscheidet der Onpo. Der Leiche wird ihr Anteil an jeder Mahlzeit vorgesetzt.

[17]) Die Bonreligion drang, vom heutigen Turkestan her kommend, ungefähr gleichzeitig wie der von dem heutigen Afghanistan (Udyana) her eingeführte Mahayanabuddhismus in Tibet ein. Sie stellt ein sonderbares Gemisch der alten Volksreligion der dortigen Völker persischen Stammes und des damals dort auch verbreiteten Mahayanabuddhismus dar. Trotz der Ähnlichkeit und nahen Verwandtschaft beider in Tibet aufeinanderstoßenden Religionen entspann sich im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert ein erbitterter Kampf beider Religionsformen in Tibet, als die dortigen Herrscher und ihre Priester den Buddhismus zur herrschenden Religion zu machen versuchten; aber nie hat der Buddhismus die Bonreligion auszurotten vermocht. Daher dieses Nebeneinander lamaistischer und Bongebräuche.

[18]) D. h. vor ihm gibt es kein Entrinnen.

[19]) *gied* (= Töter, Todesdämon) ein anderer Ausdruck für za-adre. Mit *gied* werden aber auch kurz die periodisch wiederkehrenden Opferzeremonien zur Bannung des betreffenden Dämons bezeichnet.

[20]) Hier ist wohl an die Haarkrone Gautama Buddhas, den Uschnischa (tibet. *gtsug-tor)* gedacht, der auf allen Bildern des Buddha zu sehen ist.

[21]) Dies geschieht, damit die Todesdämonen den Menschen nicht schaden sollen.

[22]) Khen ist der Fürst über die Götter und Dämonen des Himmels.

[23]) Vergleiche Anmerkung 106 im Hauptteil!

[24]) Wenn Tsering auch der Gatte einer Frau war, konnte doch mit ihr noch ein zweiter oder dritter Bruder des Tsering als Gatte im Hause leben.

[25]) Die Witwe des verstorbenen Mannes, die für die Erlösung ihres Mannes Gaben spendet.

[26]) Z. B. bei den Dso (Kreuzung von Jakbulle und indischer Kuh, den Maultieren u. a.

[27]) Dem Alten Khen, dem Fürsten der Himmelsgeister, entspricht die Alte Khon, die Erdmutter, Herrin aller Erddämonen und Erdgeister.

[28]) In den engen Tälern Tibets geht im Winter die Sonne, wenn überhaupt, sehr spät auf.

[29]) Wohl ein Fabelwesen der Bonmythologie. Vgl. Anmerkung 80—81 im Hauptteil!

[30]) Sein Sterben in Sünden.

[31]) Den sündigen Mordwaffen.

[32]) Nach der Physiologie der Tibeter und Inder, wie auch arischer Völker in alter Zeit, beruhen die Körper- und Geistesfunktionen des Menschen auf dem richtigen Funktionieren der drei Körpersäfte (humores, tibet. *nyespa-gsum)*, die in besonderen Bahnen im Körper kreisen; es sind Luft, Galle und Schleim. Ist die Funktion der „Drei Säfte" gestört, dann entstehen Krankheiten oder nervöse Störungen; *gśin-rlun* = Todessaft, verursacht Tod.

[33]) Bumpa = der zwiebelförmige Mittelteil des Tschorten.

[34]) Wohl durch Schädel dieser Tiere. Das Grabmal dient zur Aufnahme der Asche der verbrannten Leiche.

[35]) Titel eines Buches.

[36]) Die tibetische Astronomie nennt 30 Sternbilder, die der Mond innerhalb eines Monats durchläuft; *k'rums-smad* ist das 25. in der Reihe.

[37]) Ungefähr elf Uhr vormittags.

[38]) Sofern sie für das Tragen der Leiche in Frage kommen.

[39]) Das die „Schwarzen Neun" (wohl Bondämonen) bannende Amulett.

[40]) Betreffs der fünf Skandha siehe Anmerkung 11.

[41]) Unter den persischen Stämmen im heutigen Turkestan überwand die Bonreligion die dortige Volksreligion, und es entstand jene schon gekennzeichnete Mischreligion der Bon mit starker Anlehnung an den Mahayanabuddhismus. Doch blieb hier mehr wie in Indien und Tibet der Dämonenkult und die Zauberei ein wesentliches Stück der religiösen Betätigung der Priester.

[42] Gemeint ist die Totenmaske aus Papier.

[43]) Opfer zur Vernichtung der „Drei Wurzelsünden": Böser Lust, Haß, Dummheit (tibet. *rtsa-ba gsum)*.

[44]) Wohl weil dies Opfer dem *gźi-bdag*, dem Lokalgott, geweiht ist.

[45]) Hierzu gehören auch die Zaubergeräte: Dordsche, Glocke, Trommel, Knochentrompete u. a.

[46]) 1 Bre (Hohlmaß) faßt reichlich zwei Liter.

[47]) Die vier Elemente sind: Erde, Wasser, Feuer und Luft. Manchmal tritt als fünftes Äther hinzu.

[48]) Angeblich genießt die Seele des Toten die Essenz der Speisen, so daß hernach die Nährkraft derselben geschwunden ist.

[49]) Der Sitte des Verbrennens der Papiermaske liegt m. E. die Vorstellung zugrunde, daß damit die nun abgeschlossene Existenz völlig vernichtet wird, nachdem auch die Seele des Abgeschiedenen, deren Wie-

dererscheinen die Angehörigen fürchten, durch Darreichen von Speisen befriedigt worden ist. — In manchen Teilen Tibets wird an dem Tage, an dem die Leiche aus dem Hause getragen worden ist, eine rohe Puppe hergestellt, indem ein Holzklotz, ein Stuhl oder dergleichen mit den Kleidern des Verstorbenen behangen wird. Die Puppe soll den Verstorbenen darstellen. An Stelle des Gesichtes wird ein gedrucktes Bild, das in rohen Umrissen einen Mann oder — im anderen Falle — eine Frau darstellt, angebracht. Die Gestalt auf dem Bilde sitzt in anbetender Haltung. Darunter steht der Name des Verstorbenen und ein Gebet an die Lamas, die Buddhas, den „Wurzellama" und an die Götterheere um Vergebung aller Sünden, um Segen und um baldige Erlangung der Buddhawürde. Vor dieser Puppe werden nun an Stelle der fortgeschafften Leiche sieben Wochen lang Speisen und Getränke hingestellt. Das Verbrennen der Papiermaske stellt dann den letzten Abschied von dem Abgeschiedenen dar und soll sein Wiedererscheinen verhindern; es findet am Schluß der sieben Wochen statt; damit finden in der Regel die Bestattungsriten ihr Ende. Die Puppe wird dann ausgekleidet, die Kleider und sonstigen Sachen des Toten teilen die Lamas unter sich. Bei dem Verbrennen der Papiermaske bestimmt der Lama aus der Form und Farbe der Flamme, welcher Art die neue Existenzform des Abgeschiedenen sein wird. Ist diese ungünstiger Art, etwa eine Geburt im Tierreich, oder als Bettler, als ein in der Hölle Gepeinigter, dann werden neue Zeremonien vorgeschrieben und abgehalten zur „Rettung des Unglücklichen", die sich durch Wochen hinziehen. Die Zeremonie des „Westlichen Paradieses" wird bis zum Ende der sieben Wochen wöchentlich wiederholt, und die Kosten all dieser Übungen sind derart, daß der einzelne sie in den seltensten Fällen allein tragen kann. Die Paspun helfen dann die Lasten tragen. Je ärmer die Angehörigen des Toten sind, mit desto weniger Übungen begnügt man sich.

[50]) Die Leiche bleibt die ganze Zeit in Hockstellung gebunden.

[51]) Diese anderen nehmen das Odium des Unreinwerdens gegen Bezahlung auf sich.

[52]) Was sonst als unschicklich gilt.

[53]) In Zentraltibet wird der Tote vor der Überführung der Leiche nach dem Verbrennungsplatz feierlich verabschiedet. Nachdem ihm die leckersten Speisen, auch Fleisch und Getränke aller Art vorgesetzt worden sind, überreicht ein Lama dem Toten ein Grußband und redet ihn folgendermaßen an: „Du, Tsering! Du hast jetzt von deinen Verwandten alle diese guten Speisen und Getränke erhalten. Genieße reichlich die Essenz derselben, da du später keine weitere Gelegenheit dazu haben wirst! Du mußt verstehen, daß du gestorben bist, und daß dein Geist diesen Ort zu verlassen hat, daß er nicht zurückkehren und die Verwandten beunruhigen oder schädigen darf. Präge dir den Namen deines Lama-Seelsorgers ein, der Tschospell heißt. Mit dessen Beistand wandle den rechten, den Weißen Pfad (zum Paradies)! Komm, folge mir!" Damit geht der Lama dem Leichenträger voran, in der linken Hand die Trompete aus Menschenschenkelknochen, in der rechten die kleine Handtrommel, sowie das eine Ende des langen, breiten, weißen Bandes, dessen anderes Ende um einen Arm des Toten gebunden ist. So „führt" der Lama den Toten unter Blasen der Knochentrompete, Trommelwirbel und Hersagen einer Messe zum Verbrennungsplatz. — Siehe Waddell, „Lamaism"!

[54]) Der aus Ziegeln gemauerte, zylindrische Verbrennungsofen hat unten Öffnungen, durch die das Feuer angezündet wird. Oben ist der

Ofen ganz offen. Diese Öfen stehen außerhalb des Dorfes, meist in Gruppen, weil jede Sippe (Paspunschaft) ihren eigenen Ofen hat. In dem Ritus (Reinigung des Feuers) scheinen iranische Einflüsse sich geltend zu machen.

55) Eine Untersekte der reformierten Kargyupasekte.

56) Name zweier (erfundener) Buddhas.

57) Mit dem Menschen wird angeblich immer gleichzeitig ein ihm innewohnender Dämon geboren zu seinem Unheil.

58) Die durch die guten Werke (las) geöffnete Tür führt zum Paradies.

59) Gebete, magische Sprüche und Bannformeln wechseln in diesen Büchern der Tantraliteratur miteinander ab.

60) In Ladak ist es meist der Indus oder einer seiner Nebenflüsse.

61) Diese Pasten werden mit Hilfe von sehr fein geschnitzten hölzernen Formen gepreßt. Sie zeigen auf der Vorderseite Bilder (Reliefs) von Buddhas und anderen Gottheiten. Oft haben sie auch die Form eines Tschorten.

62) Durch die Weihe des Priesters sollen die Tsatsabilder magische Kraft erhalten und somit als Amulette zur Abwehr von Krankheit und Gefahr wirksam werden.

63) Schimi *(śi-mi)* heißt einfach der Tote; hier bezeichnet es aber das Speisopfer, das den Toten (Manen) dargebracht wird.

64) Die ruhelosen Geister der Verstorbenen sind angeblich zu Erd- und Felsgeistern geworden. „Kai, kai" heißt „hört, hört!"

65) In Teilen Frankreichs, der Bretagne und wohl auch Rußlands und in anderen christlichen Ländern hat sich noch die Sitte erhalten, den Toten an bestimmten Tagen Speisen, Kuchen, Süßigkeiten u. a. auf das Grab zu bringen. Siehe Waddell, „Lamaism"!

66) Da die Nomaden keine festen Wohnplätze haben, so haben sie auch keine Bestattungsplätze. Zum Verbrennen fehlt das Holz auf den baumlosen Hochsteppen. Die Leichen den wilden Tieren zum Fraß zu überlassen gilt vielen Buddhisten als besonders verdienstlich; indem sie mit ihrem Fleisch jene Tiere nähren, tun die Verstorbenen noch im Tode ein Werk der Barmherzigkeit an ihnen.

ZUR AUSSPRACHE

der in Kursiv gedruckten tibetischen Wörter und Sätze sei folgendes bemerkt; es ist auszusprechen:

k = deutsches k
k' = k-h (aspiriert)
g = g
ṅ = ng
c = tsch
ĉ = tsch-h (aspiriert)
j = dsch (wie in Dschebel)
ny = nj (wie in Njemen)
t = t
t' = t-h (aspiriert)
d = d
n = n
p = p
p' = p-h (aspiriert)
b = b

m = m
ts = deutsches z
ts = z-h (hart, aspiriert)
dz = ds (weich)
w = w
ź = französisch j in jour
z = französisch z (weich)
y = deutsches j
r = r
l = l
ś = sch
s = scharfes s
h = h
Die Vokale a, e, i, o, u, wie im Deutschen

[p. 262 blank]

Zwanzig Jahre Leben mit einem fremden Volk, im Zwang sich ganz in sein seelisches Vermögen und Fühlen hinzugeben, um ihm die eigene Erkenntnis religiöser Wahrheit mitzuteilen, ist gewißlich eine ungewöhnliche und besondere Art der Erforschung fremden Volkslebens. S. H. Ribbach hat als Missionar in Tibet vor dieser Aufgabe gestanden. Wie gründlich er sie gelöst, deß ist dies Buch Zeugnis, in dem er in einer selten intimen Art dies fremde Leben mit all seinen Gebräuchen, seinen Freuden und Nöten aufzeichnet. Und dieses genaueste Einfühlen in die fremde Seelenhaltung, das von einer großen Ehrfurcht getragen ist, ließ hier in der Nachformung eines Menschenlebens von der Wiege bis zum tragischen Ende ein Bild dieses fremden Lebens erstehen, das in schöner Eindringlichkeit und mit großer Wärme in der Form einer Erzählung unser ganzes Interesse in Anspruch nimmt. Hineinverwoben in dieses erzählte Leben sind eine Fülle von Volksbräuchen, sehr reizvolle Hochzeitslieder, während der Verfasser im Anhang noch eine Übersetzung eines tibetischen Manuskriptes über Totenbräuche gibt. So ergänzt dieses Buch in glücklicher Weise die Schilderungen der großen Forschungsreisen von Sven Hedin oder E. Schäfer, ebenso aber auch die religionswissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen einer David-Neel oder eines Evans-Wentz.

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PART III.

LAHAUL AND SPITI.

114 The following pages are not intended as a complete and independent account of Láhaul and Spiti; but merely as supplementary to the general description of the district contained in Part I, and of the sub-division contained in Part II. Matters special to Láhaul and Spiti are here discussed; and are, for convenience of reference, arranged under the same headings as in Part I. But for much that is common to the whole district, and especially for statistics, Parts I and II must be consulted.

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PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

Chapter I.

The District.

General description.

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The cantons or *wazíris* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 48′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazíris*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazíris*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

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The District.

101 Configuration and sub-divisions of 133 [illegible] Láhaul.

Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The [48] question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 30 feet per mile.

133 The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted [78] peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lhá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height [311] above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

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Chapter I. — The District. Configuration and sub-divisions of mauzá Láhaul.

lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi; here there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *omnái pádme hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chodhtes* or *Dangtes*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangger, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

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The District.

The Chandra and Bhága.

of 11,345 feet. Darcha and Khoksar, the highest villages in the upper valleys respectively of the Bhága and Chandra, are about 10,800 feet above the sea.

The source of the Chandra is in a huge snow-bed, more than 16,000 feet above the sea, on the south-east slopes of the Bára Lácha pass. From its very commencement a considerable stream, it becomes quite unfordable a mile from its source. Its course is south-east as far as the angle between the Kanzam range and the mid-Himalaya, a distance of 55 miles. Here, turned by the mountains, the river sweeps round to the north-west and skirts the base of the mid-Himalaya until it is joined by the Bhága at Tándi after a course of 115 miles. Its fall from its source to Tándi averages only 65 feet per mile. For the first 75 miles the valley of the Chandra is entirely uninhabited ; the hills sweep down wild and barren to the river, and end in broken cliffs, the base of which is choked with the *débris* of decomposing rock. Above, the scene is equally desolate. Not a tree or a bush breaks the monotony of the bleak hill sides, and grass even disappears at no great height. The pasturage, however, though scanty in appearance, is of a quality much valued for sheep and goats, and is annually sought by large flocks driven up in July and August from Kúlu and even Kángra. A lake, called the Chandra Tal, near the Pálamo pass, is a favourite halting-place for the shepherds. The lake is three-quarters of a mile or more in length and of considerable width. It is fed by springs and the melting snows, and the surplus water runs by an outlet into the Chandra.

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The first signs of permanent habitations are met with opposite the Hamtá pass at old Khoksar, where there is a village occupied by five families some 14 miles above Koksar at the foot of the Rohtang pass. Here "the river enters on a less uninviting country ; the valley widens considerably in several places, and there is a good deal of cultivated ground on the right bank, while on the left are a few scattered trees." As Ghondla is approached the country on the northern side still opens, and cultivation increases. The hamlets are larger, and the houses better built, and surrounded with groves of *pípal* and willow. The northern mountains too take a gentler slope ; but on the south, on the other hand, they hang over the river, in precipitous masses. Opposite Ghondla a precipice rises like a wall 11,000 feet sheer above the river-bed.

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The glaciers of the hills in the interior threaten the river in more places than one. The most noted glacier is that known as the *big shigri** at the south-eastern extremity of the interior range of hills. A fall of this glacier in 1836 caused a stoppage in the course of the river, and a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. Captain Harcourt, who crossed the glacier in 1869, puts its width at nearly two miles ; and, he adds, it "is steadily subsiding, and every year is getting lower and lower". In another passage, after alluding to the cataclysm of 1836, he says : "There can be little doubt, judging from the quantity of ice collected on the flanks

* *Shigri* is the local term for any glacier.

of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

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of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

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The District.

The Chandra and Bhága. 133

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The Bhága, rising on the north-west slopes of the Bára Lácha pass, has a course of 65 miles to Tándi, and an average fall of 125 feet per mile. For 30 miles, the valley resembles that of the Chandra, but in its lower part is rich in cultivation, large tracts of level and arable land lying between the mountains and the river. The banks of the stream itself are steep and rocky. It is in this valley, some five miles from Tándi, that Keylang, the principal village of Láhaul, is situated. The Chandra-Bhága, or Chenáb, after the junction of its two heads, continues to flow north-west with a fall of about 30 feet per mile, until at Tirot, 16 miles below Tándi, it passes into Chamba.

Bridges in Láhaul. 491

The rivers in Láhaul are crossed by means of suspension bridges of from 50 to 150 feet span, made of thick ropes of twisted birch twigs. Three ropes form the roadway, and two hand-rail ropes hang above, one on either side, and are attached to the roadway by small side ropes, fastened at intervals of a foot or two. The best of these bridges are passable for sheep and goats, and without danger if the sides are wattled in with wicker work and slabs of stone placed on the roadway. In a high wind many of them are dangerous to cross, even to a native of the country. They are called *chágzam* in Tibetan, and *jhúlá* or *áwá* in Hindí. The proper *jhúlá* is a different kind of bridge, which is not used in Láhaul. It consists of a seat in a loop hanging from a wooden saddle, which rides on a cable of thick grass rope, and is pulled across by a gay line. *Gharárá* is another name for this kind of bridge, which you use in crossing the Satlaj, the U'l and other rivers. Of late years, on the main road from Kúlu to Léh, the Chandra and Bhága rivers have been bridged with *sanga* bridges passable by cattle and horses. The *sanga* is composed of whole trunks of pine or cedar built into embankments on either side of the river in double or triple tiers, each tier projecting further from the embankment and supported by a prop on the end of the tier below. Two long trunks rest on and connect the ends of the highest tiers on either side, and form the roadway.

Climate of Láhaul 133

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The uppermost village in Rangloi is Purnia Khoksar, and in Gárá, Dárcha. Both these are about 10,800 feet above the sea; but there are higher villages lower down the valley in Gárá. For instance, Kangser (*i.e.*, the big house), where Wazir Tára Chand lives, has an elevation of 11,345 feet. Mr. Lyall estimates the average elevation of the cultivated or inhabited portion of Láhaul at a little less than 10,000 feet; while General Cunningham puts it at over 11,000. The mean temperature at Kardong in the valley of the Bhága is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows :—

March	48°	Fahrenheit.
June	[illegible]	"
September	[illegible]	"
December	29°	"
Year	44·9°	"

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The District.

Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley, not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

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Configuration of *wazíri* Spiti.

Spiti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spiti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spiti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spiti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

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The District.
Configuration of mainly Spiti.

narrow rocky gorges shut in by high precipices. On the other side of the main valley for two-thirds of its length from the base, there are high valleys or tablelands which contain some ten villages.

The mountains of Spiti are more lofty than those of Láhaul. In the outer-Himalaya is one peak of 23,064 feet, and many along the whole line are considerably over 20,000. Of the mid-Himálaya, two peaks exceed 21,000 feet, and in the southern range the Mánirang is 21,646 feet in height. From the main ranges transverse lines of mountains project far into the valley on either side, leaving in many cases only a narrow interval through which passes the Spiti river. Even these minor ranges contain peaks, the height of which in many instances exceeds 17,000 feet. The mean elevation of the villages in Spiti is considerably higher than in Láhaul. Mr. Lyall puts it at 12,000 feet. Several villages, he says, must be more than 13,000 feet above the sea, and one or two as high as 14,000. General Cunningham gives as the mean elevation of the Spiti valley, 12,981 feet.

Rivers.

The Spiti river, by which the drainage of the whole valley is collected, rises in the angle between the Kanzam and outer Himalayan ranges at the base of a peak 20,073 feet in height, and after a south-easterly course of ten miles is joined by another stream from the south-west, of nearly equal volume, the Líchu, which drains the mountains on either side of the Kanzím pass. Hence it flows eastwards for thirteen miles, washing the base of the outer Himalayas; then turning south-east it maintains this direction with no material deviation till it reaches Máni at the base of the southern hills. Here it sweeps eastwards and ultimately leaves Spiti at its north-east corner by a narrow gorge hemmed in on either side by lofty mountains. In Basáhir it turns southwards and joins the Satlaj after a course of over 120 miles, its fall averaging about 60 feet per mile.

The principal tributaries of the Spiti upon its left bank, are the Kibjuna, the Tánmu, the Lágudárni, the Párang, the Shilla and the Lingti. All these have their rise in the outer-Himalaya, and running in deep beds with precipitous sides, are quite valueless for purposes of irrigation. The Lágudárni rises in the Tákling pass, and the Párang in the pass of the same name. The Lingti, which rises in the highest peak of the whole range, is a considerable river and has a course of over thirty miles. On the right bank, the principal affluents are the Giundi, the Rátang, and the Pín. The Giundi has a course of about twenty miles, the Rátang, of rather more than twenty The Pín is described in greater detail below. The mountains drained by these and other river streams of the southern side of the valley, are utterly barren and uninhabited. The hills are devoid of vegetation; and the valleys, abrupt, rocky and shut in by precipices, are in many instances choked in with *débris* through which the streams have cut for themselves broad courses, sometimes from 300 to 500 yards in width, and having "straight sides like the banks of a canal" from 200 to 300 feet in height. The Pín is the most important tributary of the Spiti. It rises in the angle of the mid-Himalaya and Mánirang ranges, and with its affluent, the Parakio, or Parakís, a stream of nearly equal volume, drains fully one quarter of the Spiti valley.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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It[1] joins the Spiti after a course of 45 miles a short distance above Dankar, the principal village of the valley. The width of its bed near its mouth varies from 300 to 800 yards. The greater part of its course is through an uninhabited country, its valley forming no exception to the description given of the other streams which join the Spiti from the south and west. Near the mouth of the valley, however, the country opens, and affords space for cultivation. Here there are eleven villages, the only inhabited spots, not in the valley of the main river itself, in the southern half of Spiti.

312 Character of the Rivers: Bridges. 133

Running in deep courses, the sides of which are steep and friable, the water of the Spiti rivers is valueless for purposes of irrigation; and although artificial watering is a necessary condition for the production of a crop, and a plentiful supply of water, most plentiful in the hottest season, passes at his feet, the cultivator has to be content with the meagre supply obtainable from streamlets having their rise in the smaller ravines, some of which run low, or dry completely up before the close of the summer months. The water of the rivers, heavily charged with silt, is turbid and yellow in appearance. The flow is seldom deep, being distributed over broad courses, and often broken up into independent channels. The current, however, is sufficiently rapid to render fording, where not quite impossible, a matter of difficulty and danger; and when the streams are full, the ominous sound may be heard of rolling boulders knocking one against the other. Bridges, on the other hand, are rare, and cannot in any case, except that of the new *sangha* bridge at Rangrig over the Spiti river, be passed by the *yaks* or ponies with which most Spiti men travel. The people therefore are compelled to ford, and lives are frequently lost in consequence. At two points, above Kája and below Lithong, where the main stream is suddenly collected into a narrow channel by ridges of rock, *sanga* bridges have been erected for foot traffic, but the biggest timber in Spiti is too light for the construction of a bridge passable by *yaks* or ponies. Below Máni the river runs in a narrow channel and is crossed in three places by *jhúlá* bridges.

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361 Villages and scenery in Spiti.

On the Spiti the first inhabited spot is Losar twelve miles from the Kanzam pass. From this point downwards villages are frequent, occupying every available corner in the valleys, both of the main streams and of its tributaries from the north. A traveller passing down the Spiti valley would never suspect the existence of villages in these lateral valleys, for the streams which drain them run in deep canons or chasms with precipitous sides cut in the rock, and nothing can be seen but the mouths of these gorges from the main valley. Major Hay, in his account of Spiti, says that the soil is composed of lime and sandstone. It is evident that a river very easily cuts itself a deep channel in this formation, which is only hard so long as it keeps dry; and as very little rain falls, and the snow melts gently, the banks of the cutting remain very perpendicular. Curious examples of this quality of the soil are seen in many places, where the ground has melted away round certain points protected by slabs of slate or shale, leaving the slab high in the air supported by fantastic pillars or arches of the softer formation. One bad result of this peculiarity is that though water for irrigation

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[1] i.e., the Pín, a tributary of the Spiti river.—ANALYST.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The District. 312

Villages and scenery in Spiti.

is the great want in Spiti, yet the river itself and its tributaries, fed from immense glaciers, and at their fullest in the hottest weather, supply none; their beds are too deep, and their sides are too steep and friable, so that the *zamíndár's* only resource is in the water of small streamlets which flow from small ravines in the face of the mountains which shut in the main valley. Some of these dry up altogether, and others run very low towards the end of the summer. The main valley looks as if it had consisted originally of a level plain from a mile to two miles wide, but the greater part of this plain has been carried away by the river which now runs in rapid shallow streams scattered over a very broad bed shut in by steep cliffs; the remains of the plain form plateaus above the cliffs, and it is on these plateaus that the villages stand. From the plateaus the mountains rise up in long steep smooth slopes of *débris*, till near the top, rocks rise out of the slope in the shape of walls or jagged ridges, and end the view. The plateaus and slopes of *débris* look brown and bare; and the rocks are of all colours, shades of red and yellow predominating. There are no trees, and to get sight of green grass you must go up into the high lands on the left bank already mentioned. All available water seems to be carefully reserved for the fields, and there are no *dang* or irrigated hay-fields as in Láhaul. In place of hay a kind of thistle and a vetch, which grow wild in the valleys, are cut and stored for winter fodder. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the bed of the river, and lower down a prickly shrub (*Hippofa salicifolia*) is common in the same position, but they are neither big enough nor green enough to alter the prevailing barren tints of the scenery. At the lower end of the valley a few *shokpa* (*Juniperus excelsa*) and poplar and willow trees are to be seen. These, with the exception of a kind of dwarf birch which is found in one or two places, furze, broom, wild rose, and currant bushes, comprise all the trees and shrubs of the country. The Pín valley is more absolutely bare of tree or bush than any other part of Spiti, but there is more grass than in the main valley, which is probably due to a greater rainfall. In spite of the utter want of verdure, there is a great deal of beauty in the scenery; the hills near at hand have very quaint and picturesque outlines, and their scarped sides show a strange variety of strata, each with a different tint of colour; above them a glimpse is caught of some snowy peak standing back against a very blue sky; in front are the bold sweeps of the river and the cliffs, supporting the plateaus, upon which, at long distances, the white houses and green fields of the villages are conspicuous. All this, seen through an excessively clear and pure atmosphere, makes as pretty a picture as is possible in the absence of verdure and blue water. The only blue water in Spiti is contained in one or two lakes, to see which requires a long climb out of the valley; there is a small one above Dankar, and another of considerable size at the foot of the Mánirang pass. The water in the rivers is always thick and yellow, an unusual thing in the Himalayas, and due of course to the

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Villages and scenery in Spiti.

formation of sandstone and lime before alluded to. The valley is similarly described by Mr. Theobald :—

"All along the course of the Spiti river are seen old river terraces or deposits of shingle and sand, reaching to a height of some 400 feet above the present river level. Behind these regular deposits, rise almost mountainous accumulations of *débris*, precipitated by frost from the abruptly scarped limestone cliffs bounding the valley. The height of this gravelly mass mainly depends on the height of the cliff at whose base it has accumulated, but not uncommonly reaches to 1,500 or 2,000 feet above the river." In the depth of the valley the soft soil of the cliffs which shut in the river-bed has been hollowed out by the action of time and water into fantastic shapes. "Out of a soil of clay and bold rock," writes Captain Harcourt, "uprise rough monument-like masses that are not a little peculiar in appearance, for they are crenelated and honey-combed all over with deep holes and apertures as if scooped out by art, supporting on their summits great boulders of stone which in all probability have kept the masses underneath from wearing altogether away."

132 Climate of Spiti.

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The seasons in Spiti correspond generally with those of Láhaul; though the spring is somewhat later, and the winter of longer duration. The mean elevation of the villages is considerably higher than in Láhaul, averaging 12,000 feet or over, and rising as high as 14,000. Snow begins to fall in December, and remains on the ground until the end of April, but seldom exceeds a depth of 2½ feet, which is less than in Láhaul. The cold during the winter is very severe and is aggravated by violent and piercing winds. Slight showers of rain fall in July and August, though the district is beyond the regular influence of the monsoon; severe frosts set in before the close of September, in which month Mr. Lyall records that a stream of water he had observed at night running down a slope from a broken canal, was turned into solid ice by the morning. "The climate," he adds, "is a remarkably healthy one; excepting a few simple complaints, such as colic or rheumatism; sickness appears to be almost unknown." He saw in his sojourn in the valley no cases of goitre or critinism, and remarks that "the muscular development of both men and women looks large and hard compared with that of the people on the south side of the Himalayas." In the summer Captain Harcourt records that the days are exceptionally hot. The mean temperature of the Upper Spiti valley is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows :—

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January	17°
April	38°
July	60°
Autumn	39°
Year	39·4°

137 Flora.

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For an account of the flora and vegetable productions of Láhaul, reference should be made to Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal, which contains an excellent paper upon the subject by Dr. J. E. T. Aitchison, a Civil Surgeon on the Punjáb establishment, and late British Joint-Commissioner at Léh. The hills of Spiti are, as has been already stated, bare and devoid of forest. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bed of the rivers, and lower down a prickly shrub (*Hippofa salicifolia*) is common in the same position. At the lower end of the valley there is a sprinkling of pencil cedar (*Juniperus excelsa*—locally *shokpa*), poplar and willow trees, which, with the addition of a kind of dwarf birch (of which occasional specimens occur), furze, broom, wild rose and currant bushes, complete the catalogue of trees and bushes in the country. The Pín valley is more absolutely devoid of forest growth than any other part of Spiti; but, owing probably to a more liberal rainfall, is comparatively rich in grass.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

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History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *gálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon rái* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon rái* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Talái or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

† Moorcroft mentions that the Gálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Gálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subterraneon tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are occasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

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After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála.

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History of Láhaul.

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes :—

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"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

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* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 Chapter II. History. [173] History of Láhaul.

whole of Láhaul became tributary to the Rája of Chamba, and that the part now forming British Láhaul was subsequently transferred from Chamba to Kúlu. I have remarked points in one or two Láhaul traditions which support this view, and would agree with the account given by the present representative of the Kúlu Rája's family according to which his ancestor in the seventh generation, Rája Bidhi Singh, acquired Láhaul from Chamba. There is no reason, I think, to doubt the correctness of the account as to time, and it fixes the date of the first acquisition of British Láhaul by Kúlu at about 200 years ago. The Rájas of Chamba must have conquered the country before A.D. 1600, or Chovang Námgyál would have annexed it to Ladákh, but they must have governed through the *thákurs* and interfered very little, or there would be clearer traces of their seventy or eighty years' rule in the Láhaul traditions. As I have said before, I believe the Kúlu Rája's account to be correct as to time; but the explanation given in it, that Bidhi Singh got Láhaul as dower with a princess of the Chamba family, is generally discredited as a boastful attempt to increase the honour of the family by the invention of an alliance to which the Rája of Chamba would never have condescended. Moreover, it seems quite opposed to all custom for a Hindú Rája to give territory as dower with a daughter, and the story is not told by the people, who, if asked, say that they imagine Láhaul must have been forcibly annexed. No doubt that was the case, and from that time the history of Láhaul is included in that of the Kúlu principality. Budh or Bidhi Singh was son of Rája Jaggat Singh, who was a contemporary of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzib, and the date of the acquisition may therefore be placed approximately at 1700 A.D."

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It would appear, however, that subsequently to this the Láhaulis continued to pay a small annual tribute to Ladákh, probably to avert forays and to keep the roads open for trade. Indeed the Láhaulis, without orders, continued to pay this tribute to the governor at Léh up to 1862, when our Government, being informed of the fact, prohibited its payment in future. Moorcroft says in his travels that four villages in Láhaul in his time (A. D. 1820) paid revenue to the Giálpo of Ladákh, though they acknowledged military fealty to the Rája of Kúlu. He mentions that Thákur Dharam Singh, of Keylang, was then the officer in charge of the country, and was treated with profound respect by the people. Mr. Lyall says:—"This I can well believe, as I have never seen deeper respect shown anywhere to any one than was shown to his son *thákur* Tárá Chand, the late *wazír*, by the Láhaulis when I first knew them." Láhaul passed under British rule in 1846, together with Kúlu to which it was subject.

194 History of Spiti.

After the first formation of the kingdom of Ladákh, Spiti appears to have now and again been separated from it for a time, and attached to some other short-lived Tibetan principality, or to the country governed from Lhásá itself. It was perhaps independent for a time, as it is mentioned in the records procured from the *lámás* by General Cunningham as conquered by Singhi Námgyál, king of Ladákh, in about A.D. 1630, and, allotted by him, with Zánskár, to his third son, Tenchog, in about A. D. 1660. Soon after, it was incorporated in the Guge principality, which lay to the east, in what is now Chinese Tibet, and was not restored to Ladákh till about A. D. 1720, when the king of Ladákh, at the conclusion of a war with Guge and Lhásá, married the daughter of the Lhásá com-

[Petty barons --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpáon* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wazír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gatpos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpáon*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by forays. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Cháng Tháng, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wazír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

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1 [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

161 Chapter III, A.

Statistical.

Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

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The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson:—

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"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazíris*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

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"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irrigated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. P. 94

f: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

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Social and Religious Life.

Proportion of the sexes. 162

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census. [221] [188]

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Houses and furniture. 342

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul. [358] [350] 283 462

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range. 316

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Food.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *chang* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Chang*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Amusements.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdáng *sapláng*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *chang* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Constitution of the family.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *goupa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

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104 Constitution of the family.

"*Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.

"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.

"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*

"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dûtalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" [1]

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thâkur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thâkurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpan*, under the name of *dotoenzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thâkur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house- and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive, custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

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428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

* *Kang*, house; *big*; *chung*, small; *pa*=*wala* (Hindi); *yang*=*aur* or *par*, as in *parâdâ* (Hindi), one beyond.

[1 QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON.--ANALYST]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tábo*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chambo* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothés* Pin and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *pông chempa*, will claim as a kinsman and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kathi*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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776 Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *chéng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *chéng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognised, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognised way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries. 595 184

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relatives who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognised ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used. 585 184 586 184 587

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture. 764 184

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:— 595

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule, 177 [438] [582]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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177 only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devis* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

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* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonials of the Roman Catholic Church.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalaya.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tapá.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Musalmán.	Others.
Kúlu — —	19,[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Láhaul — —	4,[illegible]	—	25	20
Spiti — —	1	2,[illegible]	—	1

"In Kúlu, including *mahál* Rúpi and outer and inner Seerój, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used as early as 400 A. D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hindúism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hindúism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kúlu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hindúism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hindúism is advancing, the people declare that they are Hindú Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindú; and the Moravian missionaries at Keylang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The *lámás* of Láhaul will not eat with a European, while the *lámás* of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hindúism is ascribed in part to the influence of the *ṭhákurs* or barons of Láhaul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindú. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Bráhmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindú Kúlu as Hindús."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He is quoted at length in the following pages. Even the transition from Hindú to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible from the quotation from Mr. Anderson given below.

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhaul *lámás* save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hindúism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhaul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple, while Mr. Anderson says: "It is not improbable that the Dágis and low castes, and perhaps even the so-called Kanets, when they wish to indulge in beef, kill a cow or a bullock on the sly, though this is denied with indignation and disgust." Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Lhás*, or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindú brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhaul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanáwar; for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the recent Census the state of Basáhir returned only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhaul and Spiti were returned as Hindús, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts. In 1869, Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Láhaul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindús that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhaulis and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

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And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *choti* as does a *gossain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine *(dharmdand chostin)* in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

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The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

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"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhoditens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhai*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *Ihá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Kokó pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *Ihá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum* is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhoditen* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *mánis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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In the time when the *Lang pashki* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gárú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *goempas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khokasar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gárú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *goempas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thubbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágope in Tibetan (worshipped at Trilokináth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

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[Quote from Rev. Heyde]

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chang* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 "All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

795 [778] [782] 776 [754] "As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

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771 177 "As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

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244 The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jaschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *chéng* supplied jointly by all the land-holders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The *lámaic* system.

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámaic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

[See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

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influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

Monasteries or *gónpás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In the autumn the *nierpa* or treasurer, with some of the monastery tenants in attendance, goes through the whole country, and collects from every holding a customary fee called *dubri*, consisting of one *páth* of barley. In the spring a great festival takes place, known as the Ghantál Tchâchá, at which all comers are fed for one day. A long train of pilgrims may be seen engaged in making the circle on foot of the holy mountain,—a work of much religious efficacy, as it ought to be, seeing that it involves a trudge of about eighteen miles and an ascent and descent of several thousand feet. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"The third grand *lámá* of Tibet* visited Láhaul while I was there in 1867, inspecting the monasteries and giving his benediction to the people at places where he halted. He travelled in quaintly-shaped, bright-coloured tents carried on *gals*, with a considerable retinue of monks. I saw him seated on a throne or platform built up in the open air, dressed in a mitre and silken canonicals, extraordinarily like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates. The monks formed a lane in front of the throne, up which the Láhaulis advanced in the most reverential manner to receive the blessing, and a bit of silk to be worn, I believe, as a talisman. After backing out of the presence, they made the circle of the throne, praying aloud as they walked. I saw one poor man present a pony, so the value of the offerings must have been considerable."

The principal endowment of the five Spiti monasteries consists of the *pun* or assigned grain rents already described: the rent-free land they hold is of exceedingly trifling amount. The following table shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of *pun* they draw from each *kothí*:—

Name of monastery or *gúphe*.	Number of *lámás*.	Amount of "*pun*" collectable from each *kothí*.			Remarks.
		Name of *kothí*.	Khal.	Tsh.	
Dankar or Lówepo	90	Shám —	127	14	Seventeen khal assigned to the family of astrologers, and forty to the Pitto monastery in Ladákh, have to be added to make up the gross total of the pun, viz., 1,461 khal 7 tsh.
		Chusi —	190	—	
		Todpá —	73	17	
			331	11	
Tábo — —	88	Shám —	52	5	
		Chusi —	134	19	
		Todpá —	10	10	
			196	14	
Ki — —	100	Chusi —	379	4	
		Bárjik —	14	—	
		Todpá —	60	—	
			453	4	
Tángiut —	60	Chusi —	242	—	
		Bárjik —	67	16	
		Todpá —	9	12	
		Pin —	20	—	
			339	8	
Pin — —	100	Pin —	61	10	

* One of the three who is born again as soon as he dies; the man I saw was fair, plump and smooth faced, and not more than twenty years old I should say.—*Lyall.*

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Monasteries or *gúphs* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the fingers, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monasteries or *gómpas* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange stodied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

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Monks and friars.

through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:— A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om máni pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalised.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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ends in the wildest gyrations:—the little stage hemmed in by the quaintly-dressed crowd, and with the huge barren mountains towering behind for back ground, makes a picture not easily forgotten.

The Moravian Mission in Láhaul and Kánáwar. 797

The following account of the Protestant Mission in British Láhaul has been kindly furnished by the Rev. Mr. Heyde. The Mission belongs to the Church of the Moravians or United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). It was established in the year 1854. From the beginning its object was to reach the Mongol tribes of Central Asia who profess Buddhism. The first two Missionaries appointed in 1852 were to have gone by European Russia and Siberia into Central Asia, but after repeated applications had been made, the Russian Government refused to let them pass through their territories. After that the route by China would have been taken, but China being then still obstructive to Missionary enterprise, this way had also to be abandoned and a third to be chosen, *viz.*, that *viâ* Ladákh. From Ladákh the Missionaries were to penetrate to the Mongolian tribes of the Khalmaks who inhabit the northern parts of Eastern Turkistan. In Ladákh the first station was to have been established, it being hoped that from thence it would be possible to advance gradually. This, however, proved impracticable, as the Kashmír Government refused to give the necessary permission for the desired station. Thus it came to pass that Láhaul was fixed upon as a suitable place for a first settlement, the province being situated close to Ladákh, and because its inhabitants belong at least partly to the Mongolian race and profess Buddhism. From Láhaul the Mission hopes still to advance into Ladákh as soon as permission can be obtained to do so, thereby pursuing its original object. The name of the station in Láhaul is Kyelang, often spelt, "Kailang" or "Keylang," which is wrong. The Mission being still a small one, at present only two Missionaries carry on its work. Two more Missonaries have lately been appointed, who will increase its present staff soon. The "Mission Department" of the Moravian Church organisation is the directing board of this as well as all other Moravian Missions. A second station of the Moravian Mission in these parts was founded in 1865 among the Buddhists of Upper Kanáwar in the protected Hill State of Baséhir (Simla district). The name of this station is Pú, situated on the immediate frontier of Tibet proper, having been established with a view to extend its labours into that country. The Missionary in charge of it having lately died unexpectedly, the place is for the moment without a leader, but a successor is soon to arrive. The number of native Christians at both stations together is at present 35 including children, of which number three adults and three children are at Pú.

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door of the anchorite's cell to a creature in the form of a girl. Under the anchorite's care she grew up into a beautiful woman, was called sun-face, and married a king. The other queens conspired against her and accused her of being a witch and eating human flesh; they murder her child, and make the king believe she killed it to feast on its body. Sun-face is driven out and leads a wandering life in the forests till the king discovers the plot, puts the conspirators to death, and recalls her. 773

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Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

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797 As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 Education.

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In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spíti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spíti.

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142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spíti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognised in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti.

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti :—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *begár* and common expenses; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind: the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognised. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús; in bearing law

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralized lately by opportunity and impunity.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul :—

"The distribution into castes is as follows :—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágís 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botís or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangthal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gárs and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágís have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *ahoma*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, C. — Tribes and Castes and Leading Families. Distribution of property among castes in Láhaul.

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The following statement will show the distribution of property among different castes in Láhaul, as it stood at the revision of settlement:—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Castes.	Number of families.	Number of holdings or separate lots.	Number of shareholders.	Arable lands and hay fields.	Revenue demand.
Bráhmans	20	70	121	200	154
Thákurs, including Deóras ...	20	60	75	404	308
Kanets and Tibetans ...	470	790	1,267	5,884	2,461
Dágis and other low castes ...	43	104	145	195	94
Lands attached to temples or institutions	...	60	68	151	66

Of the *jeolas* or household allotments, which are described under the head of tenures, there are about 530, which are all held by men of the first three castes.

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Intercourse between castes in Láhaul.

The word used in Láhaul for *got* or clan, or rather for the corresponding idea, is *rus*, which means bone, and, as applied to a class, denotes those descended from a common ancestor. But there is as much license in Láhaul as in Kúlu with regard to intermarriage. The Thákurs take Kanet women as *arójat*, not as *lahri*; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered as pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal. These women are known as *chunna* or workers. Bráhmans also have Kanet women in their houses; and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers will not eat from their hands; but they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru*, and marry Kanets, or women of mixed caste if they can find any. There are many *gurus* in Láhaul, but they call themselves Bráhmans. Where the father is not known, or where there is any doubt, illegitimate children follow the caste of their mothers. Bráhmans, Thákurs and Kanets will smoke together in Láhaul; and Bráhmans will drink water, tea or *lugri* from the hands of a Kanet, but will not even eat *sachi roti*. The Kanets say they will not smoke with a Dágí (*sepi*). No Kanéts wear the *janeo* in Láhaul. Thákurs will eat *pukki* or *sachi roti* from the hands of a Kanet; but not *kachi roti*, except those Thákurs who do not wear the *janeo*. It is said that Lohárs, Hesnés, and Beráris intermarry and eat together. A Dágí (*sepi*) is considered above a Lohár. He will not eat with him, nor give him his daughter in marriage; but he will take a Lohár woman to wife. A Dágí and a Lohár will smoke together from the same pipe.

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Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

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"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zoho, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *hadá*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monda* or *mompa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethas correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mompa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka scude* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They never own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tshás* or *togochás*.

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures. Caste in Spiti.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *wazír* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Hira Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *wazír*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

Leading families.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Raniki consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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423 Sub-divisions in Láhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Láhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognised in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

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173 Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

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The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Ranglói, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1¼ or 1½. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

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The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháhrí* or *héng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothi* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothis* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nasorána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nasorána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothis* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnoosauls*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháhrís* or family retainers, or by his *héng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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427 Rights of the Thakúr and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeola*, a *kang chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *lohárs* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *henaís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *menzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *lohárs* and *henaís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior proprietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *lohárs*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *henaís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

There are

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certain patches of waste land known as *dang piri*, which are like the cultivated fields, the property of individuals, and included in their holdings; they are situated below the water channels or on the sides of the fields, and, with the help of irrigation, produce abundant crops of hay. The rest of the waste must be held to be the property of the Thákur, subject to the rights of use belonging by custom to the subordinate landholders.

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

The best way to describe the nature of the rents and services rendered to the Thákurs by the subordinate landholders will be to give a detail of them as they exist in one *jágír*. For example, *sethi* Ghumrang contains 58 *yulfa jeolas*, or full-sized villager's holdings, 24 full-sized holdings of *chátsis* or retainers, and eight of *king chumpás* or farm servants. The rent paid by the peasant proprietors on a full *jeola* or holding consists of the following items:—

No.	Name of item.	Rate per *jeola*.	REMARKS.
1	Old cash assessment ...	4-8-0	On fourteen *jeolas* Rs. 5 are taken.
2	Grain (*ustáli*)	3 *láhi* 3 *páih* of barley	Three *jeolas* pay 6, and three pay 4 *láhi*.
3	Phari (cloth)	1 Phari or eight annas in cash.	Cash now always taken.
4	Suri (lit. Bribes) ...	From Rs. 5-4 to 2-8.	
5	Betangna	Rs. 2 cash.	

The last item was put on by the Thákur at the Regular Settlement; the other items are all of old standing.

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The following is a list of the periodical services rendered to the Thákur by the men of this same class according to the custom of the manor of Ghumrang;—

(1) On certain days, known as *bésti* days, each *jeola* has to furnish one man to work on the Thákur's *garhpán* land. The Thákur supplies food and drink, but no pay. There are eleven *besti* days in the year, but two, the sowing and the mowing days, are distinguished as the big *bestis*; on them a man for each *jeola* attends, on the other nine only some fifteen or sixteen men who live handy actually attend; the others remain at home, and pay the Thákur annually, in lieu of attendance, the sum of one rupee under the name of *besti* money.

(2). Each *jeola* is bound to stable and feed, for the six months of the winter, one of the Thákur's horses; one horse to a *jeola* is allowed to be the old standard; but as the Thákur has not so many horses, it has been customary for two *jeolas* to divide between them the care and charges of one horse.

(3). Each *jeola* is bound to convey once in the year eight or nine *páih* or about sixteen pounds of rice (a light goat or sheep load) from the Kúlu valley to the Thákur's house in Láhaul.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

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(4). It is the custom in all *kothás* of Láhaul for the regular landholders each year to provide in turn a certain number of men to undertake the duty of supplying the common quarters of the *kothí* at Akhára, in Kúlu, with fuel. For the six winter months spent in Kúlu these men are steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they are in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, which sum is raised by a rate on all the *jeolas* of the *kothí*. In Ghumrang, each year four *jeolas* furnish four men for this duty, and they are also bound to carry loads for the Thákur in going to and from his house to Akhára, and to furnish him, as well as the subordinate landholders, with fuel while he remains there.

There are no *dotoen* or cadet families in the Ghumrang *jágír*. In other *jágírs* the *dotoen* are said after a time, when the sense of relationship to the Thákur has become faint, to be degraded into *cháksis*, and forced to do service for their holdings. A *cháksi* holding is held rent-free in lieu of the following services:—It is bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the Thákur, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, &c. As, however, there are many *cháksi* holdings in Ghumrang, the custom now is that three holdings at a time furnish one man each for ten days, and then re-call their men till their turn comes again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously, they pay the Thákur eight annas per month per holding, or six rupees per annum. A few of the *cháksis* are distinguished by the term of *lálok* or pass-crossers. These, instead of having to furnish a man for personal attendance, are only bound to furnish a man to cross a pass, either to Ladákh, Zánskár or Kúlu on the Thákur's business. If they cross a pass once in the year, the rest of it is their own, and they have no payment to make, but if not called upon to cross a pass, they pay seven rupees per annum as relief or *betangná*. Some *cháksis* of all kinds now pay seven rupees regularly in lieu of all services by agreement with the Thákur. All *cháksi* holdings send a man to work on the two big *besti* days, not on the others.

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Káng chumpá may be translated cottager. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the Thákur's house or on his *garhpán* land. Some holdings of this kind will be found near wherever the Thákur has *garhpán*. When there is much work, the head of the family attends in person, otherwise he sends his wife, or son, or daughter. The person who is in attendance gets food five times a day, and does field work of every kind, or cuts and brings in wood or grass, sweeps the house, or combs wool, &c. Those who live at a distance from the Thákur's house cannot practically attend; they, therefore, do only field work on the *garhpán* land near them; but as they in this way get off lighter than the others, they are bound to feed and keep one sheep for the Thákur during the winter months. Some *káng chumpás* now pay five rupees per annum to the Thákur in lieu of all service.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágíre*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned. 423 427 651

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sanea, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery [illegible] sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter [illegible]ing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c. 792 423 427

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

There is a fa[illegible] in Bir[illegible]gí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and [illegible] yet entirely out of possession. The present head is name[illegible] Tángán Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *taláddár* of a village in the plains. 427 651 [558]

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The 312 423 425 [681]

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dajoos*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kothí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, their power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Begár or forced abour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

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Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Lachá, Shinkíl or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Ropshá, over the Bára Lácha	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Lácha ...	Rupees 2 cash, 35lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkíl ...	Rupees 2 cash, 35lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 35lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are num[illegible] the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, there[illegible] each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State; on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothís* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognised limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothís* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Sing hon* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *sing hon chengpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *sing khon ftha*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

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423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *háng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *háng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as a hearth-tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of the land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *háng chimpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *rénki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *háng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *rénki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *háng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *háng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *rénki*

* In Pin *kéki* the *kesas* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprung, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

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In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *tão* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

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Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *mansing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *mansing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *mansing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzi *kothó*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhasing* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamindárs*, others by the *zamindárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa háng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *háng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemmo*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *kháf* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

423 Government control over waste.

In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in

649 *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *sawtor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négi* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négi* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Pattan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

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In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemno* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugún* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *wazír* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugún* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every

[651] payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Village officials.

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roster. In *kothi* Pin two men do the work of village messengers and policemen, and are paid three *khal* of barley per annum apiece out of the *setat* collections; the office goes by the name of *laspa*, and is held by the landholders in turn. Under the kings of Ladákh, a family in the village of Mani held the hereditary office of the *togochi* of Spiti. The *togochi* was a secretary and keeper of the records, and was associated with the *wazír* on an almost equal footing in all State business. The present head of the family, by name Sonám Tabgi, has been in the habit of assisting the *Nono* as a secretary.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

SECTION A.—AGRICULTURE AND ARBORICULTURE.

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Chapter IV, A.

Agriculture and Arboriculture.

Detail of area with reference to agriculture.

The areas of cultivation in Láhaul and Spiti as ascertained at the revision of Settlement by Mr. Lyall were respectively 3,096 and 1,184 acres. A detailed statement adapted from a return printed in Mr. Lyall's report is subjoined. Commenting, however, on the figures Mr. Lyall states his opinion that the "real cultivated area (in Spiti) is about half as much again as that shown in this return." It may, therefore, be approximately given as 1,775 acres.

Area (in acres) cultivated and barren in Láhaul and Spiti.

Subdivision.	Paying revenue to the State (*Khálsa*).		Revenue alienated or remitted (*Jágir* and *mafi*).		Total area assessed.
	Barren.	Cultivated.	Barren.	Cultivated.	
Láhaul	1,953,713	1,900	*250,207	1,027	1,477,816
Spiti	1,948,816	1,119	...	65	1,944,000
Total ...	2,896,529	3,119	250,207	1,162	2,751,816

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Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

Barley is the principal crop in both *tsazírio*; a very fine description of wheat, with six tiers of grain on each ear, is also grown in Pattan in Láhaul, and from Kibbar downwards in Spiti. Major Hay puts the return on seed sown in Spiti at 14 to 1 for barley, and from 10 to 12 to 1 for wheat. Mr. Lyall's enquiries led him to think that this estimate is about right as an average. As three *khal* or *lakh* (land measure) are found to be about equal to an acre, it may be estimated that an acre produces in Spiti 42 *khal*, or 12½ maunds of barley, and 36 *khal*, or 10¾ maunds of wheat; this is taking the *khal* at 12 *ser* only, which is rather less than its real capacity. In the upper villages the crops are occasionally blighted by early frosts, but on the whole the harvest must be unusually certain and invariable in amount. In Láhaul the outturn per acre must be rather less on the average, as the cloudy drizzly weather which sometimes prevails, particularly in Ranglói, must do harm. The other crops, besides wheat and barley, are peas, which are much grown in Spiti, but not in Láhaul, and buck-wheat which is common in Láhaul but very rare in Spiti. Mustard is sometimes, but rarely, grown in small quantities for oil. A little *china* is also sown in the lowest part of Spiti.*

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* An excellent account of the vegetable productions of Láhaul by Dr. Aitchison was published in Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal.

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Live-Stock.

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chárá* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul. [177]

Production and consumption of food grains. 433 241 439

Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangsed*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *boetsa*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Bashhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers. [437]

SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Livestock in Láhaul and Spiti. 233 [489]

In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

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Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts; one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, when fully broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

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For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

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Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

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Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul. [221]

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *siru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nighárs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *warisi* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nighárs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *phátis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *paráná* Koksar, which,

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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233 Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

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before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *pargana* Kokasr and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *nógi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *ban*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rípatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárd* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batakaré*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokaré*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *wand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

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The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *phátí* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

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SECTION G.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

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Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

6: Gazetteer G-S (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. — Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439 Chapter IV, D.

Weights and Measures, and Communications.

and the wooden vessels from Kanáwar, coarse cloth, dying drugs soda and yeast from Ladákh, and iron from Mandi and Kanáwar. For a reference to the trade in ponies, see *ante* page 136.

SECTION D.—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, AND COMMUNICATIONS.

000 Communications.

The communications of Láhaul and Spiti have been fully described in Parts I and II (pages 195-96 and Chapter IV, Section D).

Local measure.

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The mode of expressing the measurement of land in both Spiti and Láhaul resembles the method prevalent in Kúlu. The Láhaul denomination is the *lákh*, which contains 20 *páth*, both being primarily measures of seed. The *páth* as a measure of seed is equivalent to about one *seer* of standard weight. Three *khál* or *lákh* (land measure) are about equal to one standard acre. In Spiti the *khál* is the measure, and is based upon the load a sheep can carry. It contains 20 *teh*, and is smaller than the Láhaulí *lákh*, ranging in capacity between 24 and 32lbs. of grain. The two measures are really the same in origin and use, though differing in name and standard.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

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Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Láhaul.

The whole of Láhaul appears to have been at one time portioned out among a few petty barons or Thákurs, who were the lords of whom the *yulfa* or villagers held their holdings. Four of these baronial families have survived up to the present day, two in full and two in partial possession of their estates; the rest are said to have been gradually extirpated by the Rájas of Kúlu. Under the Rájas the Thákurs were allowed to exist supreme in their own estates, but paid a heavy annual tribute or *nazarána* for them in the shape of a certain number of ponies, pieces of cloth, &c. In the rest of the country, *i.e.*, the *khálsa* or royal *kothís*, the Rája took the place of the extinct Thákurs, and managed them through an official with the rank of a *wazír*. The Thákurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothís*, were compelled to attend the Rája at his capital Sultánpur for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them. This was the origin of the present annual emigration of a very large part of the Láhaul population to their winter quarters in Akhára, a suburb of Sultánpur. The *tal* or land-revenue of Láhaul was taken in fixed items of cash, grain, and cloth, levied at equal rates on all the *jeolas* in each *kothí*. This was the rule, but sometimes some small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water-supply. Another item of revenue was the *chatrí* or colts; a filly belonged to the owner of the mare, but all colts born in Láhaul went to the Rája in *khálsa*, and to the Thákur in *jágír kothís*.

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Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul).

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When the Sikhs ousted the Rája of Kúlu, they collected the cash and grain from the *khálsa kothís*, and the *nazarána* from the Thákurs as before; but on the pretence that they did not demand any service of either Thákur or landholder, they imposed an additional cess, under the name of *bolangná* of rupees six per *jeola* on every holding, whether in the *khálsa* or the *jágír kothís*. When three years later we took over the country from the Sikhs, we found it nominally assessed at Rs. 5,000, which included grazing dues on foreign sheep and fines, besides land-revenue. This was reduced to Rs. 4,200 at once, next year to Rs. 3,200, and at Regular Settlement to Rs. 2,150, of which Rs. 240 were tribute payable by the Thákurs, and Rs. 1,910 regular land-revenue. When, however, this last sum came to be distributed by the people themselves over the *jeolas* of the *khálsa kothís*, it proved to be in excess of the old fixed cash assessment, and the landholders were not apparently informed that the old grain assessment, and other items were abolished. They, therefore, argued among themselves that the excess

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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651 Land and Land Revenue.

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must be considered as part of the Sikh *betongná*, and distributed it equally on all *jeolas*, whether in *jágír* or *khálsa kothís*. In this way, on account of this excess, a sum of Rs. 150 out of the Rs. 1,910 was made payable by the Thákurs, who raised the money and something to spare, by imposing a new cess on the *jeolas* in their *jágírs*. The *khálsa jeolás* paid each their old cash assessment, plus a rateable share of the rest of the excess. No notice was taken in practice of the *khewat* or rent-roll, which had been made out by the *tahsíldár* of Kúlu under Mr. Barnes' orders. All old cesses were lawfully enough collected, as before, in *jágír kothís*, and in *khálsa* ones the *négi*, without authority, maintained most of them as perquisites of his office. Mr. Barnes had appointed one *négi* for the whole of Láhaul (in place of the *wazíre* of the Rájas), and one *lambardár* for each *kothí*. The *panchotra*, or fee ordinarily assigned to *lambardárs*, was divided between them and the *négi*. The first *négi* was a Bráhman of Pattan. It is not surprising that the *khewat* was not accepted by the Láhaulís, for it was in fact in every way a very inaccurate document, besides being in a form not easily to be understood by them. Mr. Barnes was never able to visit Láhaul himself: two or three hill *patwáris*, under no supervision, were sent over the passes, and brought back to the *tahsíldár* what purported to be appraisements of the arable lands held by the several landholders of each *kothí*. From them the *khewat* was made out at Sultánpur. The old cesses were maintained at first even in *khálsa kothís*. About the time when the original *négi* was dismissed and Thákur Tára Chand appointed in his stead, the grain dues ceased to be collected; but the *chatré* or colts, and the *dhárkar* or *rigatal* (that is, the rents of sheep-runs paid by Gaddís), still continued to go into the *négi's* pocket. In 1862, Mr. Lyall brought the fact to the notice of the Government. In the end the rents of the sheep-runs were formerly granted for life to Tára Chand in recognition of his services. With regard to the colts no decided orders were given; but two or three years ago, when the Government directed the *négi* of Láhaul to discontinue a certain tribute which the Láhaulís had been in the custom of paying through him to the representative of the Mahárájá of Jamú in Ladákh, Tára Chand, of his own accord, remitted taking the colts in *khálsa kothís*, on the ground that he had only taken them hitherto as a set-off against the expenses of the tribute in question. Regarding the Regular Settlement, Mr. Lyall writes:—

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"The administration papers for the *khálsa kothís* in Láhaul, prepared at Regular Settlement, were on the same model as those for Kúlu. In so far as they have affected the Láhaulís, they might, like the *khewats*, have just as well not been prepared at all. No records were prepared for *jágír kothís*. In them, therefore, in my opinion, the old customary tenure of land remains in force: in the *khálsa kothís* it must be considered to have been to some extent altered by arrangements made at Regular Settlement, and to be that which I have already described, as in my opinion the existing tenure in Kúlu and Seorój."

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Mr. Lyall redistributed Mr. Barnes' assessment, both over *kothís* and over *jeolas* or holdings.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Land and Land Revenue. 651

British assessment of Láhaul.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—

"The revenue assessed upon this tract was fixed entirely with reference to the trading pursuits of the inhabitants and the pastoral qualities of the country. The soil does not yield sufficient produce to maintain the people, much less to pay a land-tax. The *jama* levied by our predecessors and maintained at the Summary Settlement contained two items which, had they been ascertained at the time, would have been at once remitted. One was a demand of Rs. 500 annually for *firki*, or fines, which the people had to bear as an additional burden, and to distribute it as they best could among themselves. The second item was also for Rs. 500 on account of grazing dues exacted from the owners of sheep who resorted to Láhaul in the rainy season, as that region, being across the snowy range, is beyond the reach of the periodical monsoons. This revenue would be legitimate enough, only the graziers were residents of our own territory, who during the winter months had already paid a grazing tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 head in the valleys of Kángra. It would not be fair to make these flocks pay double rates, and, as the tax could be collected with greater facility in Kángra than in Láhaul, I determined to remit this item also. Still the balance which devolved upon the inhabitants of Láhaul pressed heavily upon them. The trade, moreover, had become greatly depreciated. The wool and produce of Ladákh were diverted by order of Mahárája Gúlab Singh to routes which led through his own country; for by their passage through our territory the Mahárája lost the opportunity of exacting transit tolls, and our accession had thrown open the carrying trade to any speculator who chose to venture under the rule of our predecessors; the fear of plunder, and the exactions of the Customs Officers, left the trade entirely in the hands of the Láhaulís. On these considerations I determined to reduce the assessment in Láhaul, and I was fortified in this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of travellers, such as Captain A. Cunningham and Captain William Hay, Assistant Commissioner, regarding the poverty of the country and the destitute condition of the inhabitants. The Summary Settlement was fixed originally at Rs. 4,200, but this was lowered the second year on the urgent remonstrance of the people to Rs. 3,200; and finally at the revised Settlement I considered an annual *jama* of Rs. 2,200 as much as the *taluka* could bear."

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

According to Major Hay, the king or Giálpo of Ladákh prior to 1839 took as revenue for Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 *khals* or *lákh* or grain, 100 *mandis* or iron crow-bars, 24 pieces of Barmaur cloth, and 132 reams (*shógu*) of paper. The crow-bars, or the iron to make them, came from Basáhir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles can be made in every house in the country. The paper is made from the fibre of a small plant or grass which grows wild in abundance. The cloth is of very close texture and very lasting. Spiti also paid a tribute of trifling amount to the Rájas of Basáhir and Kúlu, not in recognition in any sense of their sovereignty, but for the privilege of free access for trading purposes. Major Hay's account is, no doubt, generally accurate, but there are some mistakes in it, principally with regard to the grain revenue, the nature of which he does not appear to have fully understood. Each holding was assessed with a fixed number of measures of grain.

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6; Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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648 Land and Land Revenue.

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

Those assigned to the monasteries paid in grain only at from fifteen to twenty *lákh* each, and formed *kothí* Chuzi; those in other or *Khálsa kothís* paid a little grain, and also sums of cash, cloth, and paper, but the last two items were not assessed on all holdings. The cash assessment of all the holdings in a village was, with very few exceptions, the same, though the holdings seem to have always differed to some extent in size; the grain assessment varied from one to ten *khal* or *lákh* according to the amount and quality of the land held. The grain items in *Khálsa kothís* also had in many cases been from time to time assigned to monasteries. All the assigned grain was called *pun*, the unassigned grain was called *netal* or barley tax. The amount collected under the latter name on the king's account must have been more than 200 *lákh*; but probably those figures represent correctly the amount which went to Ladákh, for the greater part of the grain collections were spent year by year in Spiti in the king's name in certain annual ceremonies and State charges. This was the old state of things, which Major Hay evidently did not fully comprehend, for he states in his report that 50 Chinese families settled in Spiti, paid a tribute to China of 200 *lákh* of grain, and that an envoy from Tolang came to fetch it every year. Again, in another place, he mentions that the aforesaid Chinese families go by the name of Chuzi, and present annually 200 *lákh* to the chief monastery of Spiti. All this was a mistake: the Chuzi families were not Chinese, but the men of Chuzi *kothí*, the revenue of which was assigned to monasteries. One of these monasteries, to which something less than 200 *lákhs* were assigned, was at Tolang in Chinese Tibet; hence the story of tribute to China.

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Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

From 1839 to 1846 the Sikh *thánadár* at Ladákh took the revenue of Spiti. For the first four years Rs. 2,000, plus two ponies and 25 sheep, were exacted annually. For the last three years the cash was reduced to Rs. 1,031, but 100 iron crow-bars were added, and the number of sheep increased to sixty. A Sikh force also plundered the valley in these years. In the autumn of 1846 Mr. Vans-Agnew made a Summary Settlement, that is, he fixed the amount of revenue to be paid to Government at Rs. 753. No records were compiled of any kind, nor was any report submitted. When relieved of the pressure of the Sikh exactions, the Spiti people at once reverted to their old fiscal arrangements. Mr. Vans-Agnew probably knew nothing of the grain revenue assigned to the monasteries, as he merely passed quickly through a part of the country; and if he knew of the unassigned grain, he, no doubt, intended to abandon it. But the people considered the Rs. 753 to be in place only of the cash, cloth, and iron formerly paid to the kings of Ladákh, and divided it accordingly with strict regard to the old fixed assessment. The assigned grain or *pun* they paid as before to the monasteries, and the unassigned grain or *netal* to the representative of Government, who for the first three years was a *wazír* of the Basáhir Rája,* and after that the hereditary *wazír* of Spiti, commonly called the *Nono*. Most of it the *Nono* expended in the manner customary

* The 400 *lákhs* grain which Major Hay mentions as taken by the *wazír* in excess of Rs. 753 in 1846, and as collected again in 1849, were the *netal* collections, not the produce of the Government land at Dunka.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Land and Land Revenue.

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsíldár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pun* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorized collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognised as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

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* The *pun* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,461 *lábh* 7 *path*, and the *netal* to 456 *lábh* 11 *path*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *lábh* 18 *path*, which at 2 *lábh* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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651 Land and Land Revenue.

634 British assessment of Spiti.

was removed by a redistribution of the cash assessment; more than half their cash revenue being taken off their shoulders and distributed upon the other *kothás*.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—" Spiti had been assessed summarily by Mr. Vans-Agnew, afterwards murdered at Mooltan. He was deputed to that remote district in 1846 A. D., and settled the whole tract at Rs. 753 per annum. Compared with Láhaul, the rate is decidedly low, but the country is more inhospitable and dreary. It is not so easy of access, and is removed several hundred miles, and by lofty ranges of mountains, from the head-quarters of the district. It is surrounded, I may say, on all sides by Independent States. Its political position is singular, and at various periods, Spiti has been the feudatory of China, Bashir, Ladákh and Kúlu; and even at this time there are Chinese emigrants residing in Sipti, who pay a divided allegiance partly to us and to their mother country. From such a region, so peculiarly situated, revenue was a secondary object. The people, moreover, argued that Mr. Agnew had fixed the assessment for twenty years. I attached no weight to this argument, as their deed of lease specified no such conditions; but adverting to the remoteness and poverty of the country and its isolated position, I determined to make no enhancement. The present demand was quite sufficient to indicate the tenure of the British Government, and after this recognition of our claims, I saw no advantage in exacting an additional revenue, which, from its trifling amount, could be of no importance to the Government, and might entail distress upon the people. I accordingly left the demand of the Summary Settlement of Rs. 753 unaltered."

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS.

Chapter VI.

Principal places in Láhaul and Spiti.

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[997]
[205]
[87]

The principal villages of Láhaul are Kyelang, Kardong and Kolang. Kyelang is situated on the main trade route beween the Rohtáng and Bára Lácha passes, on the right bank of the river Bhága about four miles above its junction with the Chandra. Here a post office is maintained during the summer months, and a Moravian mission has been for some years established. The mission-house is a substantial residence, the lower apartment of which is used as a chapel. A school supported by a grant from the Government is managed entirely by the Missionaries.* Kardong lies on the left bank of the Bhága almost immediately opposite Kyelang, and is spoken of by Capt. Harcourt as at once the largest and most striking village in the valley. The houses are better built than in other villages. Kolang, which is the residence of the Thákur of Láhaul, is also situated in the Bhága valley, on the right bank about ten miles above Kyelang. The largest village probably in Spiti is Rangrig on the right bank of the Spiti river. The name is said to mean town. Dankar, the capital of Spiti, is a large village, 12,774 feet above the sea, built on a spur or bluff which stands out into the main valley and ends in a precipice. The softer parts of this hill have been worn away, leaving blocks and columns of a hard conglomerate, among which the houses are perched in curious and inconvenient positions. On the top of a hill is a large house known as the fort, which, with some cultivated land attached, belongs to Government. On a point of the hill lower down is a large monastery. The aspect of the whole place is very picturesque. It has been the seat of Government of the country from time immemorial.

* Capt. Harcourt pays a high tribute of admiration to the zeal and energy of the Missionaries, Mr Redler and Mr. Heyde, and acknowledges the important services rendered by them to the administration. They are looked up to as friends and protectors by every inhabitant of the valley, though in the matter of conversions to Christianity they have had but little success.

P. 149

Glossary

The following words appear frequently in the text. So far as possible, they have been defined as they are used in the text itself. Often, these are purely local meanings and have different associations in other parts of India. The capital I or T following the word indicates that it is either of Indo-European or Tibetan origin. If no symbol appears after the word, it has not been assigned by the Analyst or Research Associate to either of these language families.

Avatár (I) - incarnation
Bans - see dhárs
Béd - physician
Begár(I) - forced labor for the state
Betangna (I) - relief money
Bezing (T) - land held rent-free by musicians
Bozan - low order of strolling monks
Cháng (T) - a beer brewed from rice and barley
Chára - private grazing ground of villagers
Chatrú (I) - colts
Choti (I) - plait or a manner of tying the hair

Chám - religious plays
Chunma - worker
Dang piri - waste land
Devĭ (I) - gods
Dhár (I) - sheep runs for foreign shepherds
Dotoens (I) - second born son of a chief
Dotul (T) - laborer
Gapto (I) - a type of village headman
Garpáon (T) - governor
Gelong (T) - fully ordained monks or priests
Gonpa (T) - monastery
Got (I) - clan in Lahaul
Guru (I) - legitimate sons of a Brahman man and kanet (mixed caste) woman
Hensi (I) - musician
Jágĭr (I) - land grant
Jágĭr dar (I) - land grantee; holder of a jagir

Janeo (I) - cord worn by the twice-born
Jeolas (I) - land allotted to a household
Jodsi - astrologer
Kachi roti (I) - food cooked with water
Kanet (I) - a caste; here, a mixed caste
Khewat (I) - rent roll
Kothi (I) - district
Lambardár (I) - type of village headman
Lhá (T) - god
Lhazing (T) - god-land; land devoted to the support of a god
Lohár (I) blacksmith
Mantra (I) sacred texts
Manzing (I) - land held rent-free by physicians
Nazrána (I) - tribute; present
Netal (T) - unassigned grain; literally, barley tax
Nierpa (T) - treasurer
Nigáhrs - see dhárs
Onpozing (T) - land held rent free by astrologers

Pakki (I) - food cooked in ghee
Pattu - cloth
Phati - hamlet
Pun (T) - grain-rent assigned to a monastery
Rus (T) - "bone"; people descended from a common ancestor
Sachi roti (I) - a food
Tal (T) - rent or revenue
Talsichemno (T) - great tax audit
Tao (T) - see tázing
Tazing (T) - land for the maintenance of a lama
Thakur (I) - ruler of a small cluster of villages
Umchie (T) - hereditary practitioners of medicine
Wazir (I) - local chief
Waziri (I) - canton
Yulfa (T) - villagers
Yurzing (T) - canal land

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

A language map of West Tibet with notes.—By A. H. Francke.

(With Plate vii.)

197 For the benefit of students of my Ladakhi Grammar, J. A. S. B. Part I, Extra No. II, 1901, I am now adding a language map of the 194 ancient Ladakhi kingdom.

In the map special attention has been paid to the Tibetan dialects of the Indus valley. To distinguish the characteristics of the different dialects, it has been asked in which manner the following consonant combinations are pronounced in each single dialect :—

(1) sg, rg, sb, rb.
(2) sk, rk, sp, rp.
(3) by, py, phy.
(4) br, pr, phr.
(5) gr, kr, phr.

I. In the Rong-dialect the pronunciation is the following :—

(1) rg or sg = qh (like Urdu غ) ; sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = qh or h (like Urdu ح or خ) ; sp or rp = f.
(3) by = j ; py = c ; phy = ch.
(4) br = dr ; pr = tr ; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = غم ; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = hampo ; cospin = cofin.
(3) bya = ja ; phyogs = chogs.
(4) brag = drag ; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo ; khrims = thrims.

II. Leh-dialect:

(1) rg or sg = qh (like Urdu غ) ; sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = sk or rk ; sp or rp = sp or rp.
(3) by = j ; py = c ; phy = ch before a, o and u.

Before e and i the y disappears, and b, p, and ph retain their original sound.

(4) br = dr ; pr = tr ; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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Examples.

(1) sgam = [illegible]; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = skampo; cospin = cospin.
(3) bya = ja; phyogs = chogs; but byema = bema; phye = phe; phyila = phila.
(4) brag = drag; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo; khrims = thrims.

III. Sham-dialect:

(1) rg or sg = rg or sg; rb or sb = rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk = rk or sk; rp or sp = rp or sp.
(3) by = by; py = py; phy = phy.
(4) br = br, pr = pr; phr = phr.
(5) gr = dr; kr = tr; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = sgam; sbaste = sbaste.
(2) skampo = skampo; cospin = cospin.
(3) bya = bya; phyogs = phyogs.
(4) brag = brag; phrugu = phrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo; khrims = thrims.

IV. Purig and Balti dialects:

(1) rg or sg = rg or sg; rb or sb = rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk = rk or sk; rp or sp = rp or sp.
(3) by = by; py = py; phy = phy.
(4) br = br; pr = pr; phr = phr.
(5) gr = gr; kr = kr; khr = khr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = sgam; sbaste = sbaste.
(2) skampo = skampo; cospin = cospain (or byaspain).
(3) bya = bya; phyogs = phyogs.
(4) brag = brag; phrugu = phrugu.
(5) grangmo = grangmo; khrims = khrims.

Note: Examples for py, pr, and kr, have not been given. These combinations occur almost invariably with additional prefixes which make these cases more complicated and would take up too much space.

What has been said, only refers to the Indus valley. According to information received from natives the following may be added about other districts.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T 197 194

In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 174

The Dard question of West-Tibet. Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanised only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spunships*. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T D 174 614

(2) The *pha-spunships*. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spunship* have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spunship*. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spunship* of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spunships* of Khalatse are the following:

(a) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis beamphelpa.

(b) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa aNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

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(*c*) **Mi dponpa:** It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdsinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) **Rab blonpa:** It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Boso-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

T D 174 197 782 [776]

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni
Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni
Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངས་ནས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལ་ལྷ་ཞུ།
ཞུ་ཡི་ཞལ་ལ་ལྷ་ཞུ།
ཅི་ནས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལ་ལྷ་ཞུ།།

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

T D 539

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *sha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

T D 174 527 796

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

T D 174 533

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

T D 174

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174

to prove that the whole of Lower Ladakh was Dard before the Tibetan conquest, and I hope that in the next Census special attention will be paid to the *pha spun*ships. The only colony, which has remained entirely Dard to the present day, is the colony of Da and its neighbourhood. The Dards of Dras are not Dard colonists apparently, but have always been in direct connection with the Dard population of Gilgit.

T 174

Now I shall repeat once more that it is interesting to note that the most archaic type of Tibetan pronunciation is found in territories where Tibetan was a foreign language for a long time.

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From my limited knowledge of languages I may add two parallels: In Hanover where one of the purest Teutonic tribes is found in Germany, the development of the German language has been more rapid than in the southern mountainous districts, for instance, in Tirol or Styria, where there used to be a Celtic and Slav population before the advent of the Germans. The language of the Slav tribe of the Wends, between Berlin and Bautzen is in certain respects one of the most archaic Slav languages living. It is one of those few living Aryan languages which still make use of the Dual; and the Wends have been largely mixed with Germans.

On the other hand, I can give two examples, which would prove the contrary. French is one of the most advanced types of Roman speech (in the garb of its modern pronunciation); but here the Roman language was accepted by an originally Celtic population.—Hebrew is a far more advanced type of Semitic speech than Arabic, and yet the Jews were settlers among a partially non-Semitic population.

Thus apparently geographical and other questions will have to be taken into consideration; but it would certainly be an interesting task to examine those conditions which work for a speedy or a slow development not only of the Tibetan language, but of languages in general.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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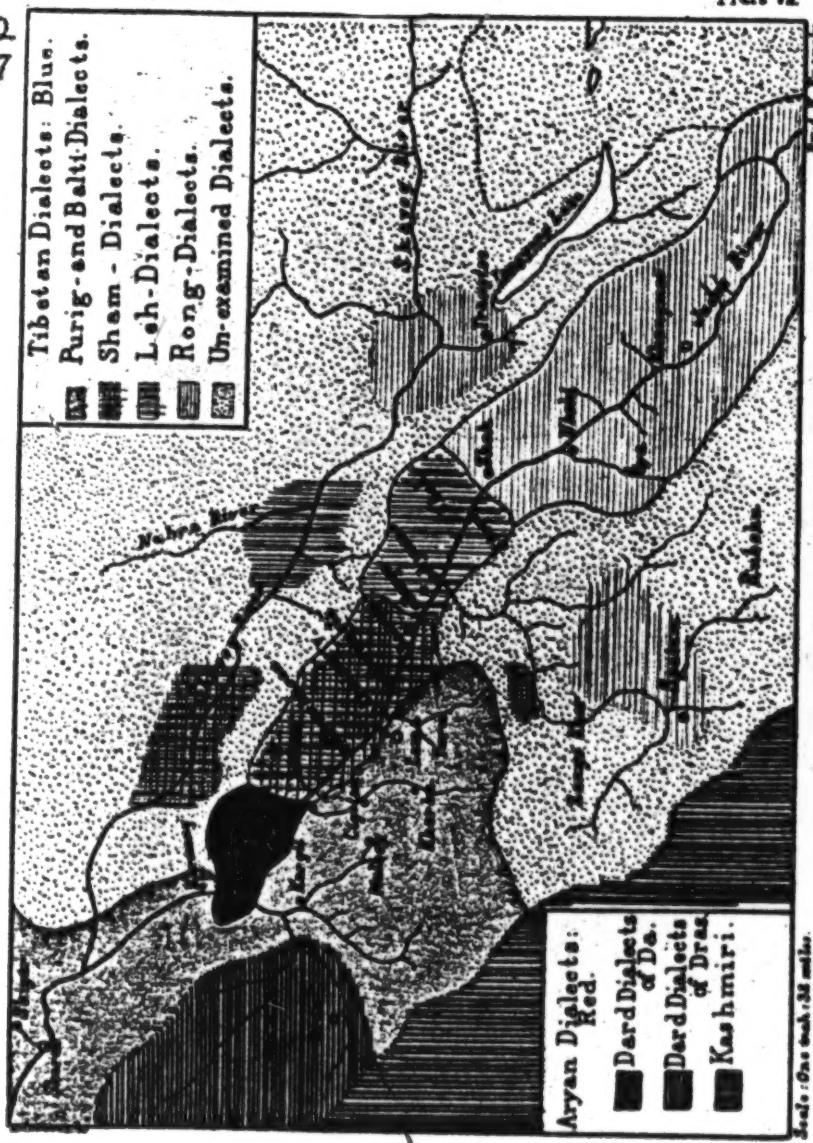

LANGUAGE MAP OF WEST-TIBET

[End Map]

8½ Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti MISCEL

[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the Kângrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khâtâ* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lâma* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lâma* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [614]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti 49a

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladákh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perfit* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 937

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lama* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khata*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lama* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *keser*, or green, water is kept; i.e., water in which *kesar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lama* sprinkles it with *kesar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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[565]

The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

[766]
[787]

If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—*Where there is no son.*

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—*Where there is no child.*

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—*The adopted son.*

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428
[792]

Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

597 582 It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

[P. 5]

Dancing

635 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535. Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits—to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,—and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

787 The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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51 a

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shun* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *lama* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ribong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732 777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

Glossary

[H or T following the words are abbreviations for Hindi and Tibetan, respectively. -- Analyst]

Deota (H)	god
Got (H)	sib
Khang chhen (T)	big house
Khang chung (T)	small house
Nono (T)	Title of the Chief of Spiti

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SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.
175 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years
436 ago, there do not seem to have been many silver
651 coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and
[437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 However, once a year the taxes due to the
436 Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver,
804 and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.
1 [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary -- ANALYST]

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651 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two
436 *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is
804 then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2¾ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet,
436 there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal
[435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

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THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

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SOME time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Késar-Myths of Western Tibet**. The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladákhis** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet**. I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences, are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

126

The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by the leader of the **Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin**, who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan**, and of other Ladákhis, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

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It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that the **four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist literature (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

[19] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in *Qor.* vi. 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf. S.* xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all these passages as Medinian. [FOOTNOTE DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THIS ARTICLE.--ANALYST]

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585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship. Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the Bon Religion, *yungdrung* 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

104 821 [773] It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *yyungdrung*, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima, occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name Khyung dkrung may have degenerated to become *yyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:—(1) a word *yyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *yyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyoni*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *yyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *y* of *yyung* and *yyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *yyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *yyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卐 *su* and 卐 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.

a

b

779 821 797 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *yyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

[See source No 10 in Tibet File AJ1 -- A-21456]

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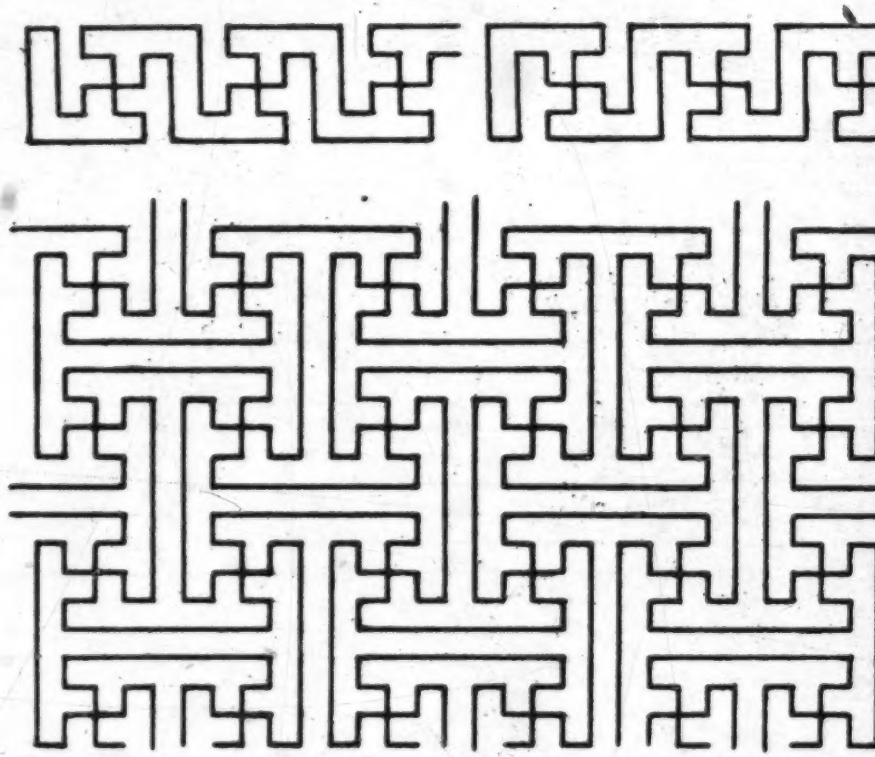
In the drawings below showing the *yyundrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.



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However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *yyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *swastika*.

The *yyungdrung*, is thought to be of great importance at the wedding ceremony, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *yyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

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bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcesni gin'i[2] dpecha yin.	This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the Nyopas, when the bride is given.

[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.

[2] A change is indicated by an apostrophe.

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om bkrashispar gyurcig, bkrashis bdeblags dang ldanpar gyurcig.

nangmas btang 'adug.

A.

I. A. 1. duba sngonmo de
stengdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

2. duba sngonmo de
bardu rgyugpa ci'i don.

3. duba sngonmo de
'ogtu rgyugpa ci'i don.

4. duba sngonmo de
sharla rgyugpa ci'i don.

5. duba sngonmo de
lhoru rgyugpa ci'i don.

6. duba sngonmo de
byangdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

7. duba sngonmo de
nubtu rgyugpa ci'i don.

8. duba sngonmo de
mkhardu rgyugpa ci'i don.

9. duba sngonmo de
yulla rgyugpa ci'i don.

10. duba sngonmo de
grongdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

B.

I. B. phyimas landu.

1. duba sngonmo de
stengdu rgyugpa de
lhai dbangpo rgya bzhinla rgolba
ma zhus sam

bsangshug phulba'i don.

2. duba sngonmo de
bardu rgyugpa de
btsan ama skyabs bdunla rgolba
ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

Om, may you be blessed! May the blessing come unto you speedily!

The people of the house say:

I. A. 1. That blue smoke,
Rising upwards, what does it mean?

2. The blue smoke,
Hanging over the ground, what does it mean?

3. The blue smoke,
Falling to the ground, what does it mean?

4. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards East, what does it mean?

5. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards South, what does it mean?

6. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards North, what does it mean?

7. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards West, what does it mean?

8. The blue smoke,
Rising to the castle, what does it mean?

9. The blue smoke,
Spreading over the country, what does it mean?

10. The blue smoke,
Spreading over the village, what does it mean?

I. B. People outside [the *Nyopas*] answer:

1. The blue smoke
Rises upwards,
I think, that the Lord of Heaven, dBangpo rgyabzhin's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

2. The blue smoke,
Is hanging over the earth,
I think, that the Earth-Mother, skyebsbdun's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to her.

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3. duba sngonma de
'ogtu rgyugpa de
klungyal lcogpola rgolba ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

3. The blue smoke
Is falling to the ground,
I think, that the Water-King, lCogpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

4. duba sngonmo de
shardu rgyugpa de
shar rdorje sems dp'ala rgolba ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

4. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards East,
I think, that the eastern rDorje sems dp'a's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

5. duba sngonmo de
lhomu rgyugpa de
lho rinchen byung ldanla rgolba ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

5. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards South,
I think, that the southern Rinchen byungldan's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

6. duba sngonmo de
byangdu rgyugpa de
byang donyod grubpala rgolb ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

6. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards North,
I think, that the northern Donyodgrubpa's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

7. duba sngonmo de
nubtu rgyugpa de
nub snangba mth'ayasla rgolba ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

7. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards West,
I think, that the western sNangba mthayas' anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

8. duba sngonmo de
mkhardu rgyugpa de
rtselha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
beang shug phulba'i don.

8. The blue smoke
Is rising to the castle,
I think, that rTselha snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

9. duba sngonmo de
yulla rgyugpa de
yulthsa snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
beang shug phulba'i don.

9. The blue smoke
Is spreading over the country,
I think, that Yulthsa snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

10. duba sngonmo de
grongla rgyugpa de

phalha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
beang shug phulba'i don.

10. The blue smoke
Is spreading over the peasants' [houses],
I think, that Phalha snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

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Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om šhreshipar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally : it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Késar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sem* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathangyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean: — 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthi*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[1]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The Nyopas (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Késar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thes* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thesthsa*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.

1. phuru yar ysigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

[1] [Cf. pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

[1] [Cf. pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

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2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang
γy'a chu khral khrol de

su dang ganggi chang.

3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang
γtsang chab sngonmo de
su dang ganggi chang.

4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
su dang ganggi chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chabrkyan nangdu

yang dkar naskyi chang
su dang ganggi chang.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones.
What and whose beer is it!

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head
The beer [made] of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

B.

Nyopas landu.

II. B. 1. phuru yar γzigs 'ang

gangs chu dkarpo de
dar sing γsoba'i chang.

2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang
γy'a chu khral khrol de

shaphran γsoba'i chang.

3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang
γtsang chab sngonmo de
nyaphran γsoba'i chang.

4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
ma shing γsoba'i chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chab rkyanla

yang dkar naskyi khuba de
nyo 'am spun bdungyi chang.

The *Nyopas* answer:

II. B. 1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer, nourishing the ice-lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer, nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water
Is the beer, nourishing the little fishes.

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there
Are the beer, nourishing the mother-fields.

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The fluid [made] of white barley
Is the beer of the *Nyopas* or the seven brethren.

Notes.

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A. 2. γyasha, this word is used here, so people tell me, for water with stones, not for stagnant water, *khrulkhrol*, noisy. 4. *kyal-kyil* scattered about. 5. *ma*, mother, used for everything large, here the large jar.

B. 4. *ma shing*, motherfield, a very fertile field. Instead of *kyalkyil-parpur* is also used in the same sense.

Notes.

A. 5. The mouth of the jar is formed like a snake's head. B. 1. The ice-lion with the blue locks [or mane] was originally the glacier itself, later on it developed into a fabulous being, which was thought to live there. 5. The number of the *Nyopas* ought to be seven.

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Song No. III.

A.

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III. A. snyan ysanpar mdzodcig.	III. A. Now listen with your ears!
1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms [plants, animals], By whom and how was it created?
2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	2. The existence of East and West, By whom and how was it created?
3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	3. The existence of South and North, By whom and how was it created?
4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	4. The existence of height and depth, By whom and how was it created?
5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley, By whom and how was it created?
6. mkhar dang ynlgyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	6. The existence of castle and village, By whom and how was it created?
7. yshis dang ynaskyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	7. The existence of hearth and home, By whom and how was it created?
8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside, By whom and how was it created?

B.

phyimas landu.	The Nyopas answer:
III. B. 1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de nyi zla ynyiskyis byas.	III. B. 1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms Was created by sun and moon.
2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de khri ydugs nyimas byas.	2. The existence of East and West Was created by the sun, the umbrella of the throne.
3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de zla mthsan dkarpos byas.	3. The existence of South and North Was created by the Moon, the whitener of the night.

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4. 'steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de
shang char silbas byas.

5. pha dang mdoyi mjalthsul de
skyesor[3] rlungpos byas.

6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de
rgyal dang blongyis byas.

7. yshis dang ynaskyi mjalthsul de
yoyendrung rnamskyis byas.

8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de
nyo'kn spun bdangyis byas.

4. The existence of height and depth
Was created by the dewy soaking rain.

5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley
Was created by *skyesor*, the wind.

6. The existence of castle and village
Was created by the king and the ministers.

7. The existence of hearth and home
Was created by you, our friends.

8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside,
Was created by the *Nyopas*, the seven brethren.

Notes.

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In the original *mjalthso* is given instead of *mjalthsul*, which is unintelligible. See more examples for elision of *l* at the end of a syllable in my *Ladákhi Grammar*, laws of sound 4. *dbyibs* is a word, not so easily understood, two kinds of *dbyibs* are mentioned in XIII., they are *namskha*, sky, heaven, and *chos*, religion. B. 5. *skyesor*, name of the wind god. May be either *skyesur*, the reborn one, see Kẹsar-Myth, or *skyebsor*, producer of coolness.

A. 8. This question refers to the scene created by the arrival of the *Nyopas*. B. 2. The sun is often called an umbrella on account of his circular shape. 3. Though the moon as representative of the night can be made to account for the North, it is difficult to see her relation to the South.

B. 4. Perhaps on account of the fact, that clouds show great varieties of altitude. 5. A strong draught is felt in every valley.

Song No. IV.

A.

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byonrabs yin.

IV. A. 1. 'adir byon rnams shargyi glingnas yongstsana
shar phyogs rgyalpo suzhig bshugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

2. lhoyi phyogsnas yongstsana
lho phyogs rgyalpo su zhig bshugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

This is about the origin [of the *Nyopas*].

IV. A. 1. When you came here from the eastern country,
Who was king there in the East?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

2. When you came here from the southern country,
Who was king there in the South?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

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[3] Having been questioned meanwhile by Regierungsrat Dr. E. Schlagintweit about the equation *Kesar* = *skyesur*, I wish to state the following facts: This equation was not worked out by myself, but received ready made from the natives, who explain the name in this way. According to a letter from Rev. Fr. Peter, Kyelang, the popular pronunciation of the same name in *Kyesar* in Lahoul. In a collection of popular songs which I received from Phyang three days ago, the king's name is invariably spelled *Kyesar*. In Leh ordinary people pronounce the name *Kesar*, but educated people, who know the myths from the epos, pronounce it *Gesar*. All the changes from *Kyesar* to *Gesar* can be accounted for, see my *Ladákhi Grammar*, Introduction, *Kyirma* = *girma*.

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3. kyed rnams nubkyi glingnas yongstsana	3. When you came here from the Western country,
nubphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bahugs	Who was king there in the West?
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar	Why may we call his subjects, and servants white?
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.	What is their shape and custom like?
4. kyed rnams byanggi glingnas yongstsana	4. When you came here from the northern country,
byangphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bahugs	Who was king there in the North?
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar	Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.	What is their shape and custom like?

B.

phinnas landu.	The Nyopas answer:
IV. B. 1. ngacag nyebo rnams sharyyi glingnas yongstsana	IV. B. 1. When we came here from the eastern country,
sharphyogs rgyalpo yul 'akhor srung	Yul 'akhor srung was king there in the East.
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar	For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug	Their shape and custom are good.
sharna khri ydugs nyima mchis	In the East there dwells the sun, the umbrella of the throne,
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.	If you want to hear some news, ask him!
2. nga nyebo lhoyi glingnas yongstsana	2. When we came here from the southern country,
lho phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bahugs	'aPhagskyed was king there in the South.
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar	For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug	Their shape and custom are good.
lhona 'abru sna 'adzommo dg'a	In the South they enjoy all kinds of grain,
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.	If you wish to hear some news, ask that!
3. nga nyebo nubkhyi glingnas yongstsana	3. When we came here from the western country,
nub phyogs rgyalpo spyan mig bzang bahugs	sPyanmig bzang was king there in the West.
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar	For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
dyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug	Their shape and custom are good.
nubna sman sna 'adzommo 'adug	In the West there are all kinds of medicines.
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.	If you wish to hear some news, ask them!

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4. ngacag nyebo rnams byanggi glingnas byongstsana
byang phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
byangna thoos sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

4. When we came here from the northern country,
'aPhagsakyed was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.

In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear some news, ask them.

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Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* *cin da*, ought to be spelt according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda*, *mda* (or perhaps *'ada*) meaning 'about.' The names of the kings mean B. 1. protector of the country. 2 and 4. the high-born one. 3. good eye. Very likely the original name of 4 had been lost and that of 2 was inserted instead. Each verse may also have a seventh concluding line: *ngacag nyebo rnamsla skalcha bshadrgyu med*, we friends do not know any news; *'adzommo* = *'adzompo*, plentiful. Instead of *bdelegs* the original has *bdelags*.

Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* White is the colour of the lha's and of all good things. B. As regards the products of the different countries, they are mentioned in about the same manner in *Ladakhi Songs* No. XV. Harvest festival at Skyurbuchan. They are perhaps more of a practical than of a mythological interest.

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The three names, given in this song, do not seem to be of Tibetan origin. They are probably the Tibetan names of the Indian *lôkapâlas*. Though there can be no doubt as to the pre-buddhist origin of this song as a whole, the names of the kings may be later Lamaist interpolations. I am rather inclined to believe, that an ancient version of this song had the names of those kings, who actually reigned in the respective regions many years ago. In this connection it may be added, that in Song No. X., where the four points of the compass come in again, actual geographical kingdoms, for instance China and India, are mentioned. Regarding the names, given in IV., compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 181; *spyanmig bsang*, instead of *mig mi bsang*, is probably a corruption, as it does not correspond to the Indian *virûpâksha*.

Song No. V.

A.

berrabs yin.
phyimas.
V. A. 1. shing stagpa skyerpa shagpa yaum
2. de yaum shing dang ma rdungshig

This is about the sticks.
The Nyopas say:—
V. A. 1. The birch, the alp-willow and the cedar,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

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[1] [cf pp 139 and 149 category 116 -- Analyst]

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3.	de ɣsum shing dang rdungserna	3.	If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4.	mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4.	Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5.	luskyi phe raina pheral stong dang len	5.	Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6.	snyangyi ɣyu 'achagna ɣyu 'achag stong dang len	6.	Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7.	'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7.	Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!
	legs bsama dbanggi nyebo.		Well thought, you mighty friends!

B.

	nangmas landu		People of the house say: —
V. B. 1.	bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing ɣyu lcang ldempa 'adi	V. B. 1.	This elastic stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2.	'akhrungna rgyagar yuldu 'akhrungs	2.	Arose in India, its birth-place.
3.	thsarna bodyul dbusu thsar	3.	It grew in dBus in Tibet, its growing place.
4.	lengstod serpo ɣserla yod	4.	Its flexible yellow upper half looks like gold.
5.	rtsemo sngonmo ɣyala byas	5.	Its blue tip was made of turquoise.
6.	lhayi dbangpo rgya bahinnas	6.	By the king of the gods, rGya bahin,
7.	lcags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	7.	[There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
8.	'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig ɣsang zerna	8.	If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
9.	nyi zlai bushig 'abrangs	9.	'A son of sun and moon may follow [you]!
10.	zla skar mdundu mchis	10.	The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
11.	don ngan phugsu 'akhrugs	11.	Bad speech ought to be blamed.
12.	phu ngan duba che	12.	If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
13.	mgron ngan ringdu mchis	13.	A bad guest be far away!'
14.	rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob	14.	Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks.
15.	nam bs'a rincangyi ldurcig phob.	15.	Beat them on their costly dress!

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Notes. [1]

A. 4. *Idem*, said to be the golden hat of the *Nyopas*, is called *Idem* either on account of its stiff shape or because of its being an emblem (allegory) of the sun. As will have been noticed in the preceding songs, the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun god. 5. *phe* = *phye*, perf. tense, of *'abyedpa*, to open, thus 'if you beat an opening of the body, "a wound,' the verb being used as a noun.

B. 3. *thesrus*, finishing place, when applied to men, it is the country, where maturity is attained. 4. *yserle yod*, it belongs to gold. 5. *yyula byas*, it was made [turned] into turquoise. 9. *'abrengs* = *'abrengs*, imperative tense. 10. instead of *mdundu* the original has *dendu*, instead of *mchis* it has *ches* and *che*; the same must be said of *mchis* in B. 13. *nambu'a* Ladakhi for *nabu'a*. *Idur* perhaps the same as *Idur Idur* in Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Notes. [1]

Because at the end of each verse in IV. the Nyopas failed to give a satisfactory account of the four countries, this is taken as a sufficient cause to beat them. For their defence they recite V. A., VI. A., and VII. A., and find fault with the sticks. On the other hand the bride's party praise their sticks as having been approved of by the king of heaven V. B., a king of the earth VI. B., and the king of the underworld [waters] in VII. B.

B. 9 and 10 is said to refer to the procession of the wedding party.

Song No. VI.

A.

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phyimas.

VI. A. 1. shing grama glangma lcangma yum
2. de yum shing dang ma rdung-shig
3. de yum shing dang rdung sema
4. mgoyi Idem 'achagma Idem 'achag stong dang len
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len
6. snyangyi yyu 'achagma yyu 'achag stong dang len
7. 'oggi sga 'achagma sga 'achag stong dang len.

legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.

The Nyopas say:—

VI. A. 1. The furze, the hill willow and the house willow,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood.
4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold!
7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

Well thought, you mighty friends!

B.

nangmas landu

VI. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing yyu lcang sngonpoi
2. skyedpa sngonpo yyula byas
3. lo 'adab 'adzamgling mi yul khyab

People of the house answer:—

VI. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. The blue middle was made of turquoise.
3. The leaves of the tree cover all 'aDzamgling the country of men.

[1] [illegible] category [illegible] — Analyst]

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4. rje mhdag rgyalpo lhhinnna
5. longs rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig.
6. 'adiln bk'alung yang dagpa zhig yang zerna
7. rgyalpoi bu zhig 'abrangs
8. zlaskar mdunda mchis
9. dou ngan phagpa 'akhrugs
10. phu ngan-dulu che
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis
12. rinchen dbyagpas char cig phob
13. nam ba'a riscangyi ldur cig phob.

Notes. [1]

4. By the king, the owner and lord of the earth
5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. 'A son of the king may follow [you]!
8. The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
9. Bad speech ought to be blamed,
10. If [the fire] is badly blown there is much smoke.
11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. Beat them on their costly drum.

Notes. [1]

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In B. two lines seem to have been lost, because for all the rest this song is in conformity with V. B. or perhaps V. B. 2, 3 are later additions. In 4 the king is mentioned as representative of the earth, an older version may have had Mother skyabs bdun, compare Song No. I. B. 2, *ante*, p. 134.

B. 3. 'aDzangling or 'aDzambugling comprised originally Tibet and India, later on all Asia or the whole earth, in the latter sense it is to be taken here. It is the Indian *Jambudvîpa*.

Song No. VII.

A.

phyimas

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VII. A. 1. shing sterbu 'mabu thurbu yzum
2. de yzum shing dang ma rdzung-shig
3. de yzum shing dang rdzung zerna
4. mgoyi ldom 'achagma ldom 'achag stong dang len
5. laskyi phe zalma phural stong dang len
6. myangyi yzu 'achagma yzu 'achag stong dang len
7. 'oggi sga 'achagma sga 'achag stong dang len.

The Nyopas say:—

VII. A. 1. The walnut-tree, the tamarisk and the thorn,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

B.

nangmas

VII. B. 1. bdaggi lagta yodpai shing yzu kzang mgonpoi

People of the house say:—

VII. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,

[1] [Cf. p. 143 category 116 -- Analyst]

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2. rtsaba dkarpo dungla byas.	2. The white root was made of a shell.
3. shathag 'og phyogs kluyul khyab	3. The roots [of the tree] cover all the lower underworld.
4. klurgyal kogpo m'a gros zilchen-nas	4. By the wise and glorious KCogpo, King of the Underworld,
5. kogs rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig yzang zerna	6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. klu phranbu zhig 'abrangs	7. 'A young kLu may follow [you]!
8. yul thea mdundu mchis	8. The village idol may be before [you]!
9. dzo ngan phugzu 'akhrugs	9. Bad speech ought to be blamed.
10. phu ngan duba che	10. If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob.	12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. zambu'a rincangyi ldar cig phob.	13. Beat them on their costly dress!

Notes. 1

VII. A. 1. 'zaibu = 'ombu, tamarisk. B. 7 *phran* is generally used only of young animals. In 11 the original has *song*, go, instead of *mchis*, be. This fact is perhaps the best justification for my putting *mchis* in the place of *che* and *chen* of the original.

Notes. 2

If we look at V. B. 4, VI. B. 2, and VII. B. 2, we see, that the stick of the turquoise willow is identified with the tree of the world, which we find in so many mythologies. The roots of this tree cover the underworld, VII. B. 3, the leaves cover the earth VI. B. 3, and the top reaches *stanglha*.

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Song No. VIII.

A.

phyimas

The Nyopas say:—

VIII. A. 1. skyaba zanthsan dang 'ulu thaigs bzad dang yogya snanag dang	VIII. A. 1. The soup-spoon, the gravy-spoon and the black-eared poker,
2. de yzum shing dang ma rdung-shig	2. With these three sticks do not beat us!
3. de yzum shing dang rdung nerna	3. If you beat us with these three sticks,
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. synangyi yya 'achagna yya 'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

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1 [cf. p. 144, category 116 -- Analyst]

2 [cf. pp 142 and 143, category 116 -- Analyst]

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B.

nangmas lan ma sheepas yang phyimas	Because the people of the house do not know what to answer, the Nyopas say
VIII. B. 1. nged nyebo rnamala rdungbai shing shig yod	VIII. B. 1. A wood to beat us, friends, does exist.
539 585 shing hala ldempai shing shig yod	It is a wonderfully elastic wood,
shing hula ldempai shing shig yod	It is a marvellously elastic wood.
shing rtsaba ycigla rtsemo ysum	There is a tree, the root of which has three stems.
rtsemo ysumla yalga drug.	These three stems have [together] six boughs.
2. yalga dangpora	2. On the first bough
bya chen khyunggi tshangs	There is the nest of the huge bird khyung.
yser sgong ma beagpa bya tshangs ma bshigpa bya de ma 'agrogspa shing de snamnas byon de dang rdung mdzod cig de dang rgyob mdzod cig de dang rdung mdzodna mgoyi ldem 'achagnayang ldem 'achag stong medd	Not breaking the golden egg, Not destroying the bird's nest, Not frightening the bird, Take a stick and come! With this stick do beat us! With this stick do whip us! If you beat us with this stick, Breaking our helmets, You need not return them a thousandfold.
luskyi phe ralna pherral stong meddo	Hurting our body, We shall not return it a thousandfold.
snyangyi yya 'achagnayang yya 'achag stong meddo	Breaking our earrings, You need not return them a thousandfold.
'oggi aga 'achagnayang aga 'achag stong yang med.	Breaking our saddles, You need not return them a thousandfold!
3. yalga yoyispara byargyal rgodpoi tshangs	3. On the second bough There is the nest of the wild eagle.
yyu sgong ma beagpa bya de ma 'agrogspa bya tshangs ma bshigpa shing de snamnas byon de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.* (see v. 2).	Not breaking the turquoise egg, Not frightening the bird, Not destroying the bird's nest, Take a stick and come! With this stick do beat us! *etc* (see 2).

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4. yalga ysumparu
mgobo ldad dkar thsangs

dung sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas slog
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

4. On the third bough
There is the nest of the bird 'white head.'
Not breaking the pearl-white egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

5. yalga bshiparu
glagmo mkhal dkar thsangs

dngul sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

5. On the fourth bough
There is the nest of the eagle 'white kidney.'
Not breaking the silver egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

6. yalga lngaparu
ribya gongmoi thsangs

byur sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

6. On the fifth bough
There is the nest of the snow partridge.
Not breaking the coral egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

7. yalga drugparu
khraskya dkarmoi thsangs

lcags sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

7. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

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Notes. [1]

A. 1. The expressions given here are colloquial Lower Ladakhi for soup-spoon, table-spoon and poker. B. 1. *hala* = *halas*, *hula* the same as *hala*, *rtsemo* means originally 'top.' 2. *sgong* = *sgonga*, egg. The termination *pa* in *bcagpa*, *bshigpa* and *'agrogspa* is Ladakhi for *par*, the supine being used here in a gerundial sense. 3. *mkhal dkar*, white kidney, *i. e.*, the feathers over the kidney are white. 6. *ribya*, another name of the same bird is *lhabya*.

[1] [cf pp 105 and 141, category 116 -- Analyst]

Notes. [2]

This song seems to contain a further description of the tree of the world. It is remarkable that the tree of the world is said to have six boughs, for I have not yet met with the number six in other books relating to Bonpa mythology. In this connection I should like to mention that according to the *Edda* there are six animals (a goat and five stags) feeding on the leaves of the tree of the world, and that the *Edda* (not *Simrock*) speaks of six worlds.

[2]

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Ladak

Song No. IX.

A.

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IX. A. 1. khyed nyebo me ma khrul	IX. A. 1. Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down!
2. da nang yongba gangnas yongs	2. Now, you, who enter, from where do you come?
3. 'agroba nyidcag gangdu 'agro	3. Then, where will you go to?
4. sdodpai bde lce gangna yod	4. Where will you be pleased to sit down?
5. dgospai skudon sala yod	5. For whose sake do you come?
6. yahungyul 'adiru cila byon.	6. Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

B.

phyimas.	The Nyopas say:—
IX. B. 1. yong da ngazha sharphyogs bdechen glingnas yongs.	IX. B. 1. We come from a happy country in the East,
2. 'agro da ngazha nubphyogs urgyan glingdu 'agro	2. We go to the country of the paradise in the West.
3. sdodpai bdelce de ma ynas 'adina yod	3. We shall be pleased to sit down here.
4. dgospai skudon ni yahungyul 'adina yod,	4. Our aim is here in the middle of village.
legs beams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

Notes.

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A. 1. *me ma khrul*, do not let the fire fall down, proverbial expression, for 'do not break down now, show your ingenuity!' 4. The original has *sala* instead of *gangna*, the lines 4 and 5 having been confounded. B. 2. urgyan, here in Lower Ladakh is understood to mean either Padmasambhava or the 'Western Paradise.' 1 and 2 again show, plainly, that the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun.

Notes.

This song IX. is generally the conclusion of the scene before the house, the Nyopas are invited to enter and tell the name of the girl. Then the bridal party, the Nyopas and the whole village sit down for a great feast, when the Chang glu (the continuation of the wedding song, given above) is sung. On the following morning a Buddhist Lama appears and reads a scripture portion from an orthodox Buddhist book. People tell me that he may read anything, he likes, because neither the Lama nor the bride are able to grasp the meaning, and the chief thing is the correct pronunciation. Then the bride and the Nyopas mount their horses and ride to the house of the bridegroom, where another feast is given.

Conclusion.

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Having thus arrived at the end of the first intelligible half of the wedding ritual, it will be as well to add a few words about the other less intelligible half, though the latter is not yet ready for publication. After a study of the verses contained in it, which can be understood fairly well, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called second half of the ritual is not the continuation of the first; but a composition apart. It is in reality a new ritual dating from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh, and is an attempt to replace the ancient Bonpa ritual by another, which, though not entirely Lamaist, tries to introduce Buddhist ideas by placing them side by side with Bonpa ideas. That this

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Ladak

compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kêsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern Lôka, pâla-Donyodgrubpa could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kêsar-Myths we learn, that Kêsar, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called Dongrub, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the Lôkapâla of the north (i. e., the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? Donyodgrubpa means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name Dongrub was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other Lôkapâlas. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero Kêsar, before his entering into action,' is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kêsar?

Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v sredneverkovym evropejskim epose*. Moskau, 1899.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Bergah, 59, i.
Bighâ; *s. v.* Bergah, 59, i, twice.
Bihar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihâr; *s. v.* Cometay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisht; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtî; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihishtî; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijaiâr; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bijapûr; *s. v.* Sabaio, 651, ii.
Bijâpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Bijapûr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijâpûr; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Coupetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bijâpûr; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremaloco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnaga, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 156, ii.

[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of reading Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wundermärchen*.

4 [Material pertains to a different article -- ANALYST]

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FIG. 1. SAWING OFF THE LEG.

764

FIG. 2. OPENING THE ABDOMEN, DECAPITATED HEAD ON RIGHT.

MUTILATION CEREMONY IN SPITI, WEST TIBET.

Photographs by Dr. Bhagwan Singh.

[Facing p 141]

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MAN

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XXXIII, 149-156 SEPTEMBER, 1933

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the 149
634 Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level.

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then
799 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow
144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan
177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations
793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 20th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localised in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/4 [See Source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analyst]

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Spiti

600 A local doctor (*Amchi*) was called in to attend the sick man, who was given certain purgatives which were vomited as soon as they were administered. The duration of the deceased's illness was only one day.

Having heard that the body was to be disposed of by mutilation, my curiosity was aroused, and I determined to witness the ceremony first-hand. To achieve this end I was obliged to simulate great interest in the local religion, and professed myself an ardent Buddhist. To my surprise I received consent to follow the funeral cortège, and to be present at the actual ceremony of mutilation.

764 The place where the mutilation ceremony was performed was on a small hillock by the side of the Spiti river, about a mile and a half from the village. Eight men carried the dead man on an improvised bier made of four rough pieces of wood crossed in such a way as to form a square shaped seat. Immediately after death the deceased's neck was broken by one of his relations. The lower part of his right leg having been flexed at the knee joint and placed over the middle third of the left thigh, so that the calf muscle was clearly in evidence, a yak hair rope was passed in a figure of eight round the leg, thigh, and neck, bringing the head down very close to the knee. The corpse thus trussed was placed on the bier, with two relatives leading the funeral procession. Behind the eight bearers of the corpse came some villagers amongst whom were two men, one carrying a log of wood, and the other an axe and hunting knife.

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FIG. 3. CARRYING THE DEAD MAN FOR MUTILATION.

About two furlongs from the village the procession reached a prayer wall. At this point the two men leading the procession returned to their own village bearing flags and a banner with a goddess painted upon it.

On arrival at the site of the mutilation ceremony, the body was taken out of the bier, and the clothes and funeral ornaments stripped from the dead man so as to expose him naked. Two lamas (priests) then took up a position about thirty feet from the corpse, and faced eastwards, whilst another lama squatted on the ground to the south of the site of mutilation. These men held ritualistic instruments in their hands, and muttered prayers.

764 In the meantime, the executioner on whom the main business of mutilation devolved, placing himself in front of the corpse drew
767 it over to a flat stone just visible above the ground. Then, after cutting the rope which secured the deceased lest he should rise and do some harm, he laid the dead body on the stone with its knees in a flexed position. This done, he placed the log of wood under the cervical region, cutting with his hunting knife the skin, fascia, muscles, and other soft structures of the neck. Then taking the axe from his girdle, he severed the head from the body, and placed it close by. He now proceeded to open up the abdomen. First, he caught the abdominal wall in the epigastric region with his left hand, and with his right he introduced his knife at the tip of the xiphoid and cut the abdominal wall horizontally, and the flap thus made was turned downwards over the pubic region.

[765] On opening the abdomen faculent fluid gushed out. The small and large intestines were semi-distended and bulging. It being of great importance to ascertain the disease which caused the deceased's death, the mutilator used a small piece of stick to elevate and examine the intestines. His verdict was that the man had died from a fatal bilious attack, though so far as I could see the liver was quite normal.

600 Standing close to the body I could see that the intestines were distended, and part of the small intestine was chocolate colour (gangrenous). Besides this it had the appearance of having been ruptured and perforated, which fact rather confirms my belief that the extremely violent aperients administered to the man during his brief illness produced these disastrous results.

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764 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-
767 femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fascia, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee
[718] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fascia were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, *i.e.*, intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et cetera. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated
787 parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead
782 cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.
767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged.

BHAGWAN SINGH.

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[Inside frmt cover - left side]

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[Inside frnt cover-right side]

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[Inside frmt cover- entire map]

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Beyond the High Himalayas

BY WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., GARDEN CITY, N.Y., 1953

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6 [pp. 1-5 are title page and blank pages]

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FOREWORD

When I flew out of New York City in 1951 for Karachi, Kabul, and Delhi, I planned to write a book about the famous mountains that stretch across northern India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The Himalayas, the Karakorams, and the Hindu Kush—all geologically one—had long fascinated me. The British expeditions to Everest, the American assault on K2 had excited me. I had read all the Himalayan literature on those and on other alpine expeditions in this region. Frank Smythe's book, *The Valley of Flowers,* finally decided me. I would explore the Himalayas on foot.

One who first goes to the Himalayas should talk with someone who has been there; and as he talks he should watch the eyes of his adviser for the great excitement his questions cause.

There will be memories of the moon turning glaciers to gold. Pieces of old Tibetan love songs will come floating down a canyon already drenched with loneliness. Drums once more will beat in such a frenzied rhythm that one will want to cast off convention, join the natives, and jump and whirl in a mad exciting

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000 dance. Miles of snow-capped peaks will suddenly appear far above the earth and disappear as quickly and as magically as they came. There will be the sweet voice of a lovely girl singing of love under a poplar tree in a tiny garden of a village. Once more the wind will whine off 25,000-foot peaks, carrying the sting of sleet on its wings. The shouts, the whistles, the cries of the muleteers, and the medley of dozens of bells of the mule train will fill the place. Acres of poppies once more will stretch as far as the eye can see. Deep-throated horns, blown by scraggy lamas, will echo and re-echo off canyon walls. Miles of cinquefoil will cover a mountain range with yellow and reds; and acres of geraniums will give a bluish cast to stands of fir and pine. And perhaps loveliest of all will be the sound of a flute—a flute blown by a lonely shepherd high on the crags, a flute whose music sounds like falling water.

122 I could not find in the United States the person who had the firsthand information about Himalayan treks which I needed. So I visited India in 1950 on a preliminary and exploratory trip. I arrived at Ranikhet late at night in a pouring rain. Ranikhet, an old British hill station presently garrisoned by the Indian Army, sits on a 6,000-foot ridge facing the Garhwahl Himalayas across an 80-mile valley. I despaired of seeing the Snows in the few days I had reserved for Ranikhet, as the monsoon lay heavily over the ranges. But my coming was a good omen. There had been no sun for thirty days. At dawn of the morning following my arrival the sky was clear. The Himalayas—200 miles of them—lay exposed in front of me. Nanda Devi, Trisul, and other giant peaks punched the sky at points where mountains are not supposed to be. Their grandeur left me without words. In the mornings I would be up before dawn waiting for the sun to hit the glaciers. One morning I saw a finger of light no bigger than a pencil race like mad across the 200-mile stretch of solid ice and snow. That night I saw the sun slowly form a band of light across the same 200-mile length of glaciers—a band that turned from gold to red to gray to purple and then, as the sun set, jumped off into space and disappeared, as if waved away by some magic wand.

These were startling experiences that whetted my appetite. I

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laid my plans carefully. I canvassed the problem of porters, of food, and of equipment at Ranikhet. I planned to return in June 1951, enter the Himalayas through Almora, and take a long trek to Kailas, a historic place of pilgrimage in Tibet. 122

These well-laid plans were changed by events. By the spring of 1951 Tibet was no longer hospitable to Americans. So I moved my operations westward and designed a trek from Manali to Leh. Even so the venture remained what it had been from the beginning—a mountain expedition. And the book was to be about glaciers, high passes, blue poppies, rhododendrons, snow leopards, geology, Himalayan sunsets, and the folk songs of the trails. It was in other words to be a mountain book. 121

But I planned in ignorance. Before I got where I was going I realized that I was traveling Central Asia as witness to one of the most dramatic and important political stories of the century. The mountains remained, serving as the backdrop for the story; but the story was new, exciting, and disturbing, with precious little relevance to the lofty peaks which looked down on the events that shaped the destiny of Central Asia.

Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts of Pakistan that nestle in the Karakorams are also Central Asia. They are *one world;* the Communist regimes that lie to the north are a *second world;* we of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we have done yesterday or where we are going tomorrow, are still a *third world.* It is the interplay of these *three worlds* that furnishes the underlying theme of the book.

I went first to Afghanistan, where I visited Kabul, the capital, and then turned north and crossed the Hindu Kush by the Shibar Pass, dropping down to the ancient Buddhist town of Bamian. Then I retraced my steps to Kabul and returned to West Pakistan over the Khyber Pass, stopping at the city of Peshawar. From there I went north to the Kingdom of Swat for a brief visit. Then I flew the western stretch of the Himalayas to Gilgit and took some trips into the area that stretches along the Sinkiang border. These journeys preceded the long trek which I made on foot and by pack train from Manali to Leh in the Indian Himalayas. Yet I 114

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114 have placed the account of the Himalayan crossing first, because that arrangement facilitates the telling of the political part of these chronicles.

121 The political story cannot be understood unless the country, the people, their institutions and problems, their worries and superstitions are known. One must walk or ride vast and empty regions to know these things about Central Asia. This is not easily done. It requires great physical exertion and adventure into high and distant places. This volume undertakes to present the grass-root environment of the area. I searched out villagers and goat-herds, wandering Tibetans, the men and women who bring the sheep trains down from Sinkiang and Tibet, lamas, and local officials. I tried to learn from them the political, economic, and social scheme of things in this area. I ate and drank and slept with them. I tried to lose myself in their environment in order to see the world through their eyes, to find the measure of their loyalties, to discover their aspirations, and to come to know their worries and fears. When the rigors of the region and the struggles of the people are known, the appalling nature of some of the major problems facing the West will be better understood.

An American mountain book on the Himalayas is yet to be done. If this volume inspires or encourages that project, there will be reward enough. For the Himalayas are the superlative among all peaks—the place which future generations of Americans should make a playground and a laboratory. There are untold peaks to climb, fauna and flora to discover, geological formations to explore, and high trails to traverse. The immediate rewards are exciting and untold; and there are rewards beyond the mountains themselves. One who goes to the Himalayas must first traverse the plains of Pakistan and India. He cannot do that without coming into touch with problems and people that will reach his heart and his mind. If he goes with humility and is patient, he will return with understanding; and understanding of Asia by the West will be the greatest reward which any Himalayan trek can offer.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Washington, D.C., June 12, 1952

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000 panion and patient interpreter—whose insight into the problems of India, Lahul, Ladakh, Tibet, and Sinkiang greatly enriched my journey.

During the Himalayan trek I pressed several hundred botanical specimens. They will be deposited in the Smithsonian when their classification is completed. With the help of Ram Lal Shah of Ranikhet I also collected the seeds of some eighty species of Himalayan wild flowers. The plants grown from these seeds are being propagated at the Finch Arboretum, Spokane, Washington, and at the U.S. Forest Service Experimental Station, Wind River, Washington.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

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CHAPTER 5

A LADY'S PROPOSAL

000 We paid off our porters at Koksar and they returned to Manali. These were not the type one reads about in Himalayan literature. They were villagers—farmers, hired hands, clerks in the bazaar at Manali. Had I planned a trek on foot, I would have arranged for professional porters, the best of whom are from Darjeeling far to the east of Manali. They have been trained by the Himalayan Club of India, beginning with the first British expedition to Everest in 1922. They are tireless travelers of the trail—efficient, loyal, and enduring. They would have been eager for the adventures of the highroad to Leh. Our Manali
482 porters were not. Moreover, the profession of the porter is not in
554 high esteem in the Kulu Valley. Carrying loads on one's back for
651 another man is looked down upon. The reason has its roots in history. In ancient days the Rajah of Kulu demanded labor of each man. So many days a year were owed the Crown. This was known as the *begar* system. The lowliest of *begar* labor was the coolie, who carried freight for the Rajah on his back. Carrying

482 the mail was less dishonorable. Providing wood and grass for the
554 Rajah's camps was higher on the scale. The *begar* system was
651 gravely abused. Many lost their health or their lives on dangerous missions for the Rajah. The work was looked down upon; a certain ignominy was attached to it.

That tradition has persisted. Porters are considered coolie labor, and coolie labor carries some of the disrepute of the *begar* system.

000 Our porters, however, were not in revolt or unhappy. That was not the reason why we paid them off. The reason was that at Koksar we found horses which would take us three stages, viz., to Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul. Rahul and I debated whether to gamble on another pack train at Kyelang. There was a half promise that we could get mules at Kyelang. We decided to take that chance.

465 The porters lined up for their pay the morning after we arrived at Koksar. The rate was three rupees a stage per man (about sixty cents), a stage usually being the distance between dak bungalows or about ten miles. Each porter was to get an additional 50 per cent of that amount each time we crossed a pass (there were six passes on our route from Manali to Leh). On the return trip they were to get one half the rate. They were also to get half rate whenever they laid over a day. Each porter was to supply his own food.

000 This morning at Koksar the main argument was over the computation of the amount I owed each one. There were many figures submitted, each man arguing for his own computation. It took about an hour to get the crowd to agree on a figure. And when it appeared that unanimity had been achieved, one lone dissenter spoke up. He maintained that he was entitled to one rupee more than all the others. And so he was. It happened this way.

As I said before, the first porters to arrive at our hotel in Manali took the lightest packs, leaving the heaviest for the late-

comers. This caused an argument that grew in intensity at Koti. The poor devil who was the last to pick up his pack at Koti was a short, squat man with a mustache, a square chin, and a bulldog nose. When he felt the weight of the duffel bag that had been left for him, he roared in protest. His face was black with rage; his words came in a torrent. He shook his fist angrily, threw down the bag, and walked menacingly toward the other porters. Budh Ram tried to calm him. He shook his finger under Budh Ram's nose and whirled on the other porters, venting verbal spleen. Some of them laughed, only increasing his fury.

Finally he announced in Hindustani, which even I could understand, that he was through, and then demanded his pay, saying he would return to Manali. This was mutiny, one of the worst disasters that can happen on any Himalayan trek. No other porters were available. If desertion were established as a precedent, I would have trouble all the way to Leh. And so I made a speech. I spoke of the admirable qualities of these porters. I said that they were my brothers and that I would treat them well. If any was sick, I would care for him, pay him his wages, and see that he got home safely. But if any quit me along the trail, that was desertion, entitling him to no pay whatsoever.

The speech had an electric effect. The stubborn porter, like a good soldier, immediately picked up the bag. When I helped him put it on his back, I felt the awful load he was carrying and knew at once that his protest was justified. It was well above sixty-five pounds, far too much for any man. He and I brought up the rear, and we had gone only a few hundred yards when I thanked him for his sportsmanship and said that in return I would pay him an extra rupee today. He smiled, bowed graciously, and took to the trail with a renewed vigor.

I saw the porters off at Koksar, greeting each one. There was a sadness in the parting, for we had had adventure together and felt the camaraderie of the trail. I stood and watched them until they were out of sight. The last man to disappear under a shoul-

000 der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

492 Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He
465 was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

492 By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

133 The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is
137 deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine
[231] trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washing-
[311] ton when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth*, which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

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The north bank of the Chandra, which the trail follows, is part 133
of a huge finger of land, a sort of peninsula many miles long and eighteen thousand feet or so high. The Chandra flows on one side of this peninsula, the Bhaga on the other. The Chandra and Bhaga rise on Baralacha Pass (which we later crossed), flow in opposite directions at the start, then parallel each other, and finally join about six miles west of Gundala. A historic short cut is from Koksar over the peninsula to the foot of Baralacha—a wild, broken stretch of mountains that claimed the life of Hilda Richmond in 1939. We took the long way, swinging around this long finger of land.

Opposite us was a mighty range capped by Snowy Peak or Gundala Peak, whose exploration is described in Bruce, *Kulu and Lahoul*. One looks almost straight up from the river ten thousand feet. There are cliffs that are sheer for several thousand feet. Glaciers run to their edges, tremendous ice fields impregnated with dust and dirt so that when the afternoon sun strikes them they turn to gold. Some of these glaciers not only grip the shoulder of the high cliffs but also droop down their sides like gargantuan icicles. Waterfalls drop from the cold lips of these glaciers; deep in one recess of these gargantuan rocks I saw three, each a thin, miniature Niagara but several times higher. They were falling unknown hundreds of feet in white, soundless spray, ending in milky streams that ran in torrents to the Chandra. The rocks sprayed by these falls were painted with moss and lichens. In the lower reaches some of the moisture from the ice fields watered high ledges and benches that were covered with a short green nap as smooth and as soft to the eye as velvet. The highest points, the topmost ledges, were filled with snow. The blizzard that we had traveled en route to Koti had left the high granite shafts that top the ridge freshly powdered.

Many tributaries feed the Chandra on its run to the confluence [136]
with the Bhaga. In the summer they are filled with a small snow trout, which I did not see but of which the natives boast. This day

133 even the tributaries were murky with silt. One side stream about twenty-five feet wide was on a rampage. It had freshly gouged out the mountainside, sweeping away a bridge, washing away many feet of trail, and biting deeply into a ravine. We had to climb high to cross it.

000 Several travelers of the trail had piled up at the one place where the stream was fordable. One train, made up of small donkeys, was being unpacked so that the animals could cross on their own. Men and women were fording the stream, stepping gingerly in the fast, dark water, leaning against the powerful current as they fought their way across.

I took the crossing lightly, as if it were only a casual thing. A thin, dark Lahuli, wiser than I, noticed my cavalier manner and happily waded into the stream to meet me. We met just in time, for I was not prepared for the tremendous onslaught. The main current had me off my feet when the strong arm of my unknown Lahuli friend caught me and half dragged me to shore. While I was waiting for my pack train to catch up with me, my Lahuli friend and I stood guard at the ford, helping all travelers who came along.

Among them were two women and a baby. My Lahuli friend waded across, took the baby from the mother, and brought it safely to the other side. I guided the women, giving one of them a hand and letting the other lean against me. They were wet and breathless when they reached the shore. There were thanks in their eyes and on their lips as they uttered strange words of appreciation, put the baby back in the sling that hung over the mother's shoulders, and took to the trail.

Later we passed them. And when we were having lunch on a huge rock that sat astride the trail, they caught up with us and began a long conversation with Rahul. As he talked I studied
142 these women. They were in their late twenties, with dark skin and coal-black hair. The Kulu women had been about as dark, but they had sharper features. These Lahuli women had more of

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the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli women— ANALYST]

562 Part of the loose morality is doubtless due to the fact that these
836 girls live along the caravan route where lonely, carefree men from Yarkand, Leh, and Manali travel. These caravan men laugh when anyone speaks of prostitutes. Of course there are no prostitutes. One takes what he wants and goes his way.

I did not know all of this as Rahul continued his long conversation with the two women I had helped ford the stream. I was to learn about Lahuli women later. I did know that something highly personal and intimate was being discussed because the women, at first bashful and coy, were now giggling and laughing. Finally I asked, "Rahul, what the devil goes on? Are you arranging a date come evening time?"

"No, no." He roared with laughter. "This woman with the child has been telling me what a wonderful person the other woman is. You see, they are sisters. This one without a child likes you. She wants you to stay with her tonight in their village of Sissu." By now the women stood watching me, grinning.

We were eating the condensed TF Army rations for lunch. I pretended to cogitate on the proposition as I finished a cereal bar and munched salted almonds. Finally I announced the decision. "Rahul, we'll compromise. Tell her that instead of staying in their village I will give each of them a present."

With that I reached into the TF rations, found four cookies, and gave two to the baby and one each to the women. As Rahul translated my message and presented the cookies, they gave us angry side glances and took the trail to Sissu.

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CHAPTER 6

A COURT IN LAHUL

The day I built the bridge at Koksar we went fourteen miles and spent the night at Gundala. Gundala is a small village of a score or so inhabitants. The houses are square affairs with flat slate roofs. Both outside walls and the roofs are plastered with a stucco made from mud. Some have two stories with the people above and the cattle below. Gundala runs at a steep pitch down a mountainside that is dotted with a thin stand of juniper. There are millet, barley, and wheat on the terraces that reach to the river; and willow trees and aspen keep most of the village in shade.

It is ten miles to Kyelang, a distance we covered in about three hours. We traveled in a light, cold rain and were accompanied all the way by the endless echoes of thunder rolling round and round in this narrow canyon of the Chandra. Kyelang is on the opposite side of the mountain behind Gundala. It is a village of several hundred people that sits prettily high on the banks of the Bhaga River. Across the river is a Buddhist monastery on a lonely

[Facing p 64]

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At Rothang Pass it seemed that I was on the threshold of another world—a world where magic played the major role, where one in quiet meditation could contact the spirits that occupy a place existing far above the earth.

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The women of Gya were giggling as they started to sing. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal and he is the singer.

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The Gya singers were accompanied by an orchestra of two musicians.

361 shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so
161 shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and
[132] narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

137 The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the
[132] Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[1] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

197 Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—*"Ram, ram"* or *"Namaste."* In Lahul they became Tibetan—*"Ju Ju"* or *"Ju Le."*

64 [1] [Headman-- Analyst]

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Budh Ram bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

Building my bridge at Koksar was a community project.

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[Facing p. 65]

Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century. In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, con-

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563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
533 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.
When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.
They married happily.
After marriage the girl left Lahul
And went and lived with her husband,
*Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.**

423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

*See page 333, category 116

December brings snow to the valleys. Thus Lahul is frozen tight 132
most of the year. There is no place for much stock. A dzo or a [422]
cow or two is all a family has.

Even the independent farmers work land that usually is not 423
theirs. They are largely squatters on government domain—families who have taken a likely-looking bench above a river, cleared it of rocks, and planted barley. Maybe the project prospered; more than likely it failed. And so one sees along the Chandra and the Bhaga grim outlines of old fields long forsaken. The family has moved on to another location, seeking brighter prospects.

I sat with my Sikh friend, Mahindar Singh Randhawa, the 695
Tehsildar of Kyelang, as he held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang. We sat in the open at a table on the edge of a stand of ancient juniper three or four feet in diameter while alpine choughs (glossy black with yellow beaks and red legs) soared overhead. Lahulis had come in from miles around for the court session. The men stood huddled around us, twisting their brimless and loosely woven wool caps. They were awed by the occasion—solemn and frightened too. This was the long arm of the law reaching out from remote Delhi to touch the lowliest of them. Their womenfolk and children had come to court with them. The women sat quietly in a circle on the perimeter of the court, knitting stockings and nursing babies. Women and children were also grim. There was no laughter in the crowd, no playfulness among the youngsters. This was the day of reckoning for their menfolk.

This court had no marshal, no court crier to announce it—no "oyez, oyez, oyez." The Tehsildar convened court by calling the names of the cases. The cases were actually *Punjab* vs. *Sonam*, *Punjab* vs. *Thundup*, *Punjab* vs. *Tsering*, etc. But this kind
and warmhearted judge merely called the names of the farmers, 695
and each replied. There were dozens of cases, and they took 687
hours. The following is typical.

"Sonam, where is your farm?"

695 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers
687 on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

[231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a
651 cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

in the dak bungalow—soup, hamburgers, cocoa, canned fruit, 687
and *chapattis*. Discussion turned to the court session. 651

"Are these families on this land legally?" I asked.

"No. They are all illegal squatters. The law of Punjab provides that a man may homestead public land and that he has a period of time to make payment for it. But he must pay."

"How much must he pay?"

"About two hundred rupees [forty dollars] an acre."

"Have any paid?"

"None."

"Do they all owe arrears in taxes?"

"Yes, all of them."

"What is the law of Punjab in such cases?"

"The squatters must be ejected."

"Is that what you are going to do tomorrow? Eject them?"

There was a long pause.

"None will be ejected," he finally replied with emphasis. "You are a judge and you know that law is law but that the law is not always justice."

I nodded but answered, "Yet this is public property."

"True," he replied, "but these farmers are India's outposts. They 168
occupy land bordering countries that may be unfriendly. It is important that India keep this border country populated. Certainly Soviet Communism exploits every discontent in India. It is better that India sacrifice her legal rights or even lose a part of her public domain and have happy people here than that she enforce her legal rights and end up with discontented citizens on this sensitive northern border."

"Why can't the people pay taxes?"

His eyes were now wide with seriousness. "Why, these people 735
only subsist. They raise barely enough to live. They trade barley 511
for wool from Tibet and make their own clothes. I suppose none of the families we saw this afternoon has a cash income each year of even ten rupees."

735 Ten rupees is only two dollars, I thought. With two dollars a
511 year per family the women could have a little talcum powder perhaps, a little hair oil, a few pieces of soap. There would be precious little, if any, for tobacco, for medicines, for sweets. I recalled a scene that had happened earlier this day. A dozen or more children from three to ten years old had gathered around me at Jispa. They were in tatters, a bit pinched in the face, very shy, and very dirty. I opened a small bag of chocolate drops. The children at once held out their dirty little hands, their eyes big with expectation. As I put one piece in each hand the fingers closed tightly on it. The first bite was taken carefully and tentatively. Then the expressions quickly changed—the eyes lighted, the tenseness was gone, the faces were happy and relaxed, and one little fellow actually shouted. The chocolates were wolfed down as quickly as a dog swallows a morsel of meat. In a few seconds each of the dirty little hands was stretched out to me again.

These little tots stood huddled together for hours, following me like a shadow wherever I went. And every time I looked at them they would shyly hold out their tiny hands palms up and look at me with eyes that carried as powerful a plea as man with all the skills known to drama could devise.

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CHAPTER 7

MY MUSICAL MULE TRAIN

Tashi and his horses took us to Kyelang and then left us, for he had a previous commitment to pick up freight with his pack train at his own village of Ramling (near Sissu). Our plans were uncertain. We might have to recruit porters among the villagers of Kyelang and go to Leh on foot. On the other hand, we might possibly have mules, for we had met in Koksar a young, amiable man in his twenties—Rup Singh—who said he would try to meet us at Kyelang the third day and take us to Leh with his mule train.

The third day came and went and there was no sign of Rup Singh and no word from him. The morning of the fourth day arrived and we were about resigned to completing our journey on our own. Rahul went to the village of Kyelang to arrange for porters or, if at all possible, for other transport. Meanwhile I climbed the range behind Kyelang to scout for wild flowers. I returned about noon and was on the porch of the dak bungalow showing Rahul the rewards of my climb. I had in my hand the

stickweed or forget-me-not, handling it as tenderly as a museum piece. When I found it near a stand of juniper, a great flood of memories poured through my mind. This was an old, familiar friend who seemed to me to be far from home. For the place where I best knew it—its accustomed place—was on the slope above my cabin in the high Wallowas of Oregon. Though it seemed strangely out of place here, this might well be closer to its home than Oregon, to which it may have been carried by animals or by planetary winds.

I was explaining this to Rahul when we heard bells. We gave them no particular attention because many caravans had bells and were continually passing along the trail just below the stone wall at the end of the slope in front of the dak bungalow. These bells got louder and louder, unlike any we had heard. They sounded as if they were the bells of dozens of caravans. We started to race down the slope to see what was about to pass under the stone wall in front of us, when the caravan turned onto our lawn.

Up front on a bay horse was Rup Singh, grinning and beaming. Behind him came ten mules heavily hung with bells. Behind them came two young men on foot—Chhomphel and Ram Chand—whistling and shouting and racing to keep the mules out of sheaths of barley freshly cut and piled behind our bungalow.

Some of these animals had the build of Missouri mules; some were closer to a donkey's stature. Two were gray; others were bay. There was one chestnut and one that seemed to have a touch of palomino in him. Most of them had tassels hanging from their necks—red or yellow and about two feet long. Each had bells. Some of the bells were eighteen inches or so long, as wide as a fruit jar, heavy and ponderous, and deep-throated. These were the basses. Some were tiny bells smaller than a walnut, with two dozen strung on a leather band that fastened around the neck, a bit reminiscent of Christmas sleigh bells. These were the sopranos. There were bells as big as apricots, similarly fastened to leather

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neck straps. These were the altos. A few of the mules had a half 492
dozen larger bells each—bells of the size of teacups. These were 534
the tenors. And a few of the mules had bells that were hung inside each other like camel bells of Persia. These bells ran almost a full scale.

Bells, bells, bells! What a din they made! Every movement of an animal rang a bell. As they milled around us the noise was so great we could hardly hear each other. I found myself shouting to Rahul and he in turn relayed the message in a shout to Rup Singh. It appeared that Rup Singh had had no lunch. He would get lunch, return at once, and we would push on to Jispa, fourteen miles distant, this afternoon. Rup Singh left with his mule train, and when the noise gradually died out a deep quiet settled over the peaceful dak bungalow. We sat on our packs until late afternoon. Rup Singh did not appear. We were up early the next morning and yet there was no sign of him. It was not until ten o'clock that he appeared. Our plan to reprimand him for his long delay immediately evaporated. As soon as the mules entered our gate we were drowned in music. Bells, bells, bells. They did something to us. We were at once relaxed, happy, excited. We greeted the smiling Rup Singh as a long-lost brother, forgetting to scold him. There was music in the air, music in our hearts. At last we were off to high adventure—adventure set to music, the haunting music of tinkling bells, booming bells, soft melodious bells, bells that set a tingling sensation running up and down the spine. The music of the bells had reflex effects in our fingers, our toes, our legs. I found myself trying to catch up with the music, trying to walk to its rhythm. And then a mule would break away, change his pace, and set up a discordant note. Then there would be more noise than music. Yet even so there was a melodious chant deep in the noise. Rup Singh's muleteers, Chhomphel and Ram Chand (two young men in their twenties), drove stakes and stretched a chain between them at ground level. When they tied the mules to this chain, the music subsided

492 except when a quarrel between two mules would end in biting.
534 But even so the effect of the music carried over. I noticed that Rup Singh as he loaded the mules (in a manner similar to our Montana packs) was softly, almost inaudibly singing.

"What is your song?" I asked.

"Not a song," he said. "I'm just talking to myself and the mules."

"What are you saying?"

He laughed as he replied, "Hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry."

Hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. That seemed to be the effect of the bells on both the mules and the men. Actually they may not have had any such effect. For as the days passed I noticed that my mule train could not be pushed above an average of two and one quarter miles an hour. Yet hour after hour, day after day, hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry seemed to be the message of the bells.

We skirted cliffs that dropped off a thousand feet below us. The bells rang out—hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We climbed steep pitches to reach high passes of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen thousand feet. In spite of the thin air, the command of the bells was always hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We swung down meandering canyons, forded streams, crossed high basins, passed through herds of wild asses, pushed into the nose of severe storms, threaded through narrow, rocky defiles, climbed to hogback ridges along swinging trails of switchbacks—and always the command of the bells was hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We were in the coarse sand of wind-blown ridges, or among rounded boulders of old river beds, or in rock fields of granite splintered by frost from overhanging cliffs, or on bleak and barren plateaus pock-marked with the huge holes of whistling, fat-bellied marmots, or in high meadows touched with green from a thinning turf. And the mule train played the same message—hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry.

Our first night out from Kyelang I asked Rup Singh about the bells. Most caravans had bells, but none ever had so many bells.

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These bells gave a complete orchestration. We could be heard 492
for a mile. Why so many bells? 534

Rup Singh grinned as he replied, "The music is good for the mules. The louder the music, the more contented they are. It keeps them from quitting—keeps them going."

Perhaps Rup Singh was right; perhaps he was only transferring to the mules his own attitude. Certain it is that the bells had a profound effect on us. They broke the monotony of bleak trails. They picked up one's spirits when physical fatigue set in. When one was aboard, they gave relief from the constant jogging of the animal. Even on the slowest stretches, the most grueling climbs, they produced the sense of motion, of progress, of achievement. They often produced these effects in curious ways.

Frequently it seemed to me that the mules were synchronizing their steps to produce familiar tunes. Up front was a big gray mule with a long, yellow tassel hanging from his neck. He led the way, picking the trail, choosing from among alternate routes, grinding steadily on, never stopping, not even nibbling, except for bites at overhanging boughs of willow trees. His role was one of steady industry. The other mules were not tied; each was on his own. For the most part they walked single-file, staying close together. Then the mule train would pick up a rhythm, and I would catch pieces of familiar tunes.

Occasionally on a fast pace I would hear a part of the refrain, *"It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and my heart's right there."* Usually the beat was slower, more measured, such as *"Old MacDonald had a farm, E–I–E–I–O."* The pace would slightly change, there would be discord, and then as clear as any bell would come:

> *There's a long, long night of waiting*
> *Until my dreams all come true.*

There would be another change and "The Tattooed Lady" would tumble out.

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492
534

Come on and see,
Come on and see
The famous picture gallery.

The pace would quicken, "The Tattooed Lady" would fade away, and in her place would gradually emerge:

How are you going to keep them down on the farm
After they've seen Paree?

During one day's travel pieces of dozens of familiar songs would be played on the bells. Medleys by the score would echo from granite cliffs in narrow canyons or wing away on the severe winds that howl across the high Himalayan basins. No piece would ever be completed. This was mutilated music—pieces of tunes strung together by jumbles of discordant notes. And yet there was a haunting quality about it. It had a quickening effect on tired muscles. It lifted up the heart. It seemed to make the seven of us humans and the eleven animals part and parcel of one endeavor, one adventure.

"Perhaps Rup Singh is right," I said to Rahul at one of our last camps. "The bells have helped carry me to great heights. That I know. They may also have helped the mules."

And Rahul, a brilliant product of the land where mysticism is supreme, nodded knowingly and said, "Of course, music helps every living thing."

There was another reason for the bells. Rup Singh, like his father before him, was in the caravan business. Sometimes he carried the goods of others. On this trek of mine he had two mules loaded with produce for Leh, some of it silk brocades from Bombay. Usually, however, Rup Singh carried goods of his own to sell along the way. The bells would tell the coming of the caravan.

I remember when we came to Upshi on the Indus, near the end of our trek, early one afternoon. The villagers heard our mule train at least a mile away. A ragged urchin scooted across a barley

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field headed for his house, shouting, "Here comes the caravan." 492
An old blind man sitting in the sun in a niche along a cobble- 534
stone way lifted his head, pounded on the wall with his cane, and called out, "Dolma, Diki, Zila, come quickly. Here's the caravan." Children rushed to the edge of flat roofs, pointing and shouting. Women cultivating the fields ran to the willows along the trail, excitement in their eyes and on their tongues. Men bestirred themselves and drifted down to the house of the head man of the village where we were going. Two women hurried to a balcony overlooking the path; and as we passed one of them said, "Now, Dolma, we can get some talcum powder at last."

The bells brought news and goods from the outside world, a world so far away, so remote, that the stories about it seemed like legends. Yet that strange world sent wondrous products to the farthest reaches. And my musical mule train told of their coming with its bells, bells, bells.

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CHAPTER 8

MY MAGICAL HAT

My magical hat was more of a helmet than a hat. It had inside an adjustable band that would fit any head; and, as in the case of most tropical headgear, this band held the helmet about a quarter of an inch away from the head. That feature of the helmet and its shape gave it a conventional appearance. But it was wholly unconventional in other respects.

It was made of a specially prepared opaque glass and was as white as snow. It was so rugged that it was proof against most accidents. It could not be broken with a hammer. It was as fireproof as asbestos. It was almost as light as cardboard. And it was waterproof. It never rained when I wore the hat, but I imagine that a Himalayan rain on the magical hat would have sounded like a hailstorm on a tin roof.

The fact that it never rained when I wore the hat was its most outstanding feature. Therein lay its magic. And when at times I began to wonder if the magic was fancied, not real, Budh Ram, Man Das, and Rup Singh would restore my faith. Maybe India

is the only place where one can find such faith. Maybe that faith 777 is part and parcel of the hillmen's belief in spirits that govern [776] man's destiny when he walks the treacherous Himalayan trails—evil spirits that plot his destruction through avalanches, roaring torrents of water, and blinding blizzards; good spirits that comfort and protect him and drive off the evil ones. These legends and beliefs may have prepared a fertile soil for the legend of my hat. But the hat itself produced the seed that grew and flourished in that soil.

I have related the story of our departure from Manali on foot—how the villagers of Manali prayed for rain, how rain threatened as we started the trek, how destructive the downpour that struck us before we reached Koti. If I had worn my magical hat that day, it would never have acquired the reputation that it enjoyed, or perhaps the rain would have passed us by. But that day the hat traveled in a pack; it was unable to work its magic, and we were all soaked through.

The day we left Koti to cross Rothang Pass I wore my glass hat. Remnants of the storm clouds still played around the summits. There were some showers along the ridges, but none touched us. When we reached Rothang, dark clouds were swirling. There was the threat of snow and rain. But none came. We reached Koksar in bright sun that afternoon.

The next day I wore the glass hat. And as I crossed the newly built bridge and headed for Gundala, I told Budh Ram, "I guess it won't rain today."

"Why do you say that, Sahib?"

"Because it never seems to rain when I wear the hat."

Budh Ram and Man Das passed the word along to Tashi. I quickly discovered that my hat was fast becoming an object of interest—interest that grew and grew when it turned out that we were in clear sunshine all day long.

That night as Budh Ram served dinner in the dak bungalow at Gundala he asked, "Sahib, why is there magic in the hat?"

[Chapter 2; Not processed for files -- Analyst]

I groped for an answer, thinking fast as I stirred my soup.

"It's the glass, I guess—the way the glass is made."

The next morning, as we were packing up at Gundala, I said to Budh Ram, "Let's pack the hat." Budh Ram hesitated, looked at the sky, spoke to Tashi, stood undecided for a moment, and then slowly pushed the hat into a duffel bag.

We had been on the trail only a half hour when it started to rain. And it rained all the way to Kyelang, a steady rain with much thunder and lightning. That night as we were unpacking at Kyelang, Rahul laughingly said, "Man Das says that if you had worn the glass hat none of us would have gotten wet."

After that I wore the hat. I wore it to Jispa, where the Tehsildar held court. I wore it the next day to Patseo and Zing Zing Bar. I wore it the following day when we crossed Baralacha Pass and dropped down to Kilung, and the next day when we wound down the canyon to the Tsarap River and then climbed to Chakchu, a notch in a rugged range where we camped beside a pure, cold waterfall. On none of these days was there even a dark cloud in the sky. They were brilliant days when the sun burned fiercely—so fiercely it blistered even Rahul's nose. The glass hat is made for rain, not for sun, and I grew uncomfortably hot when I wore it hour after hour in the brilliant sunshine.

As a result, when we left Chakchu I announced in a loud voice, "I'm tired of wearing this hat. I don't care if it does rain. Into the pack it goes." And Man Das dutifully packed it away.

That morning we crossed Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung [132] La Pass. We were now in the heart of Ladakh, where rainfall does not average over two inches a year, where the valleys are never deeper than six inches in snow, and where precious little dew falls. And yet bad weather was making up all around us and by noon was threatening. By the time we had reached the narrow canyon that has been cut by the clear water stream that flows north off La Chulung La Pass (which means the Pass of Water and Wind), it was raining. It started as a short, spattering

rain that came in gusts and soon settled down to a steady drizzle. 777 A few miles south of Toche Phirche (where a scrawny stand of green grass provides some grazing) the trail drops steeply for several hundred feet down a narrow treacherous defile only a few hundred feet wide. Here the wind was whistling. It had ice on its breath, and it whipped the rain into our faces until they stung. All of us were wet and chilled through. We were shaking with cold, our teeth chattering, as we made camp on the barren bench called Toche Phirche. We put up lean-tos for our beds and stretched tarps on sticks to make a covering for the kerosene stove and the kitchen. While Budh Ram and Man Das were unpacking, they came across the glass hat. Budh Ram was grinning as he held it up and said, "Sahib, why did you pack it and let us get wet?"

It rained all night long—a steady, persistent rain. The cold wind whipped our rubber tarps relentlessly as it whined down from Pagmur Pass ten miles or more to the north. It was a bitter cold night wrapped in a soggy blanket of clouds. At dawn the visibility was only a hundred yards or so; the sun was not even a dim spot. Even when the clock showed that the sun was high, it seemed as if we were deep in a dimly lighted dungeon.

Rahul came to me after a conference with Budh Ram and Rup Singh to announce that the men wanted to lay over a day.

"Nonsense," I replied.

"But it will be cold and wet all the way to Pagmur. They don't want to get chilled as they were last night."

"Tell them I will wear my hat—the glass hat that has the magic in it."

Rahul laughed as he returned to make the report to the kitchen. I put on the glass hat and joined the group. We sat together having tea. Budh Ram suddenly jumped up and shouted, "*Suraj, suraj.*" The sun was indeed out, streaming through a narrow, dark corridor of clouds. Though it quickly disappeared, it

777 was plain that the clouds were lifting and that the storm was breaking up.

By the time the mule train was packed, we were in streaming sunshine and Toche Phirche was beginning to lose some of its sogginess through steam. There were black, ominous clouds on a high ridge to the north, the direction we were headed. Budh Ram pointed to them, misgivings written in his face. I grinned, pointed to my hat, and then to the clouds.

133 I was a good prophet. We climbed a thousand feet or so as we
137 left Toche Phirche and soon came into a vast basin (called Kiangcha), mostly flat, fifteen or twenty miles wide, and stretching ahead and behind as far as the eye could see. This basin was covered with scattered patches of the *dama* (*Caragana versicolor*), a low bush clinging to the ground like heather. It is used as fuel in this region and has the interesting feature of burning even though green. A moss called *burtse* (Eurotia) also grew here, a moss I had seen ever since we left Chakchu. It grew in clumps as big as a saucepan and was dried by the natives for use
[196] as fuel. We traveled the basin for several hours. There were ibex above us on the canyon walls to the west, feeding off and on, then stopping to watch us, but always keeping a thousand yards or more distant. The storm that had been making up to the north swung east and then south, leaving us in brilliant sunshine all the way.

777 I stopped to put some flowers in my plant press and before mounting my mule made the announcement that I was tired of wearing my glass helmet. "Does anyone want to wear it?" I asked.

Rahul spoke up, so I gave it to him. We moved on—Rahul, the glittering white helmet, and the dappled gray mule in the rear. In an hour we had climbed a slight rise in the broad basin and faced Pagmur Pass to the north and a host of granite peaks and ice fields to the northwest. A storm that was brewing among the peaks soon moved toward us. It came faster than a horse

could run, sending out in front rough couriers of cold wind and 777
sleeting rain. These couriers seemed to be on a hunt, for they 136
chased before them a herd of wild asses. They were beautiful animals about the size of Missouri mules, with long tails, light tan bodies, dark brown splotches on their backs and heads.

They are animals that are very hard to domesticate. A young 136
one touched by man seems to have the mark of pestilence on it, for it will never be reclaimed by its mother. Its meat[1] is said to [262]
be very palatable; the Moslems of Ladakh have indeed a great fondness for it. Rup Singh up front rode to within thirty yards of the herd that had just come over Pagmur before they broke and ran. Before I could get my movie camera and telescopic lens into play, black clouds rolled over Pagmur like a wave and washed down on us. Photographing the wild asses was impossible. We leaned forward in our saddles, hugging the mules for warmth.

I shouted to Rahul, "The hat has lost its magic." 777

"With *me* it has," he laughingly replied. "*You* must wear it after this."

That night the word went through our camp (just below the north side of Pagmur) that Rahul did not have the magic, only Sahib. It poured that night, raining so hard we had to dig trenches around our pup tents for drainage. The morning was soggy; visibility was cut to a few hundred yards; the air was heavy with mist and the duffel bags heavy with moisture. I thought Budh Ram handed me the hat with extraordinary eagerness this morning, an eagerness that nevertheless was mixed with some doubt. There seemed to be working in his head a conflict between his desire to get rid of the rain and his fear of stretching the magic of the hat beyond the point where it could be effective. Certainly it seemed dubious if any power could protect us from the weight of the clouds that hung low over Pagmur. Today may be the end of my act with the hat, I said to myself. In a little while everyone will know this hoax for what it is.

The magic, however, held. A south wind streaked down from

1 [i.e. WILD ASSES -- ANALYST]

Pagmur Pass, cutting a corridor of clear sky for us. A part of the storm veered to the east; a part went northwest. Clouds hung low around the peaks on all sides of us. But in an hour we were in sunshine, and by the time we had gone the eight miles to Zara, where we got horses and yaks, the day had the brilliance of a cloudless sky at sixteen thousand feet.

And so each morning after Pagmur, Budh Ram would hand me the hat as we broke camp. Each morning there were threatening clouds. But each day we passed through a dry corridor, the rain falling all around us. On and on we went toward Leh. As the miles passed, I grew more and more tired of the hat.

"You carry it," I said to Budh Ram one morning. "And if you tire of it, hang it on a horse."

"May I wear it?" he asked.

"No, no," Rahul interposed with a grin on his face. "It has magic only when the Judge wears it. But the magic may still be strong if you carry it or hang it on a mule."

And that is the way we handled the matter. Thereafter the white glass helmet was never packed. Budh Ram either carried it or tied it on top of a pack in full view. Rain clouds swept the ridges around us, dousing them with cold water. But the rain never touched us.

Budh Ram explained it to the goatherds and villagers we met. His eyes were always wide as he said, "It never rains when Sahib wears the hat. And the magic is so strong that when we carry it we are always dry."

And when the clouds would gather at the head of a canyon or the top of a ridge we were climbing, Rup Singh would turn to me with his infectious grin, point to the clouds, then to the hat, and shake his head. The hat was a talisman of good luck that lightened the burden of the trail and gave each man a sense of security even on high passes where rain and sleet and snow operate under an evil command to strike men down.

CHAPTER 9

SHEEP ARE THE GOODS TRAINS

There is an old Tibetan saying that "sheep are the goods trains, ponies and mules the mail trains." It was above Jispa where the court had been held and not far below Baralacha Pass that I saw the first sheep train.

The trail north from Jispa follows the narrow, winding Bhaga canyon. After a few miles the juniper thins out, leaving hills that are mostly barren in August. Jispa, which lies at 10,500 feet, is dry and dusty; but there are basins in the towering canyon walls that are 16,000, 17,000, 18,000 feet high which show touches of light green. There are wild roses along the trail—white and blue. A host of tiny saxifrage grow in the rock fields. These delicate white flowers are hardy and widespread; yet I found an occasional dwarf mountain dandelion even higher than the saxifrage. The Bhaga canyon shows no other colors in August—no color other than the monotonous browns and grays of the slate and granite that dominate the ridges.

The trail skirts bleak cliffs that drop hundreds of feet to the

133 milky Bhaga, and at times climbs so high that the roar of the river (which drops 125 feet per mile) is lost. Clear water pours out of springs and snow fields high on the ridges and washes the trail; and occasionally a waterfall drops off ledges in cool spray that touches the faces of those who pass. But the total effect of the canyon is dryness and bleakness—a parched land that offers no shelter or shade.

499 Eleven miles above Jispa the canyon widens into a sloping
492 bench on the far side of the Bhaga. That is Patseo, which means Stone Bridge. The stone abutments of an ancient bridge across the Bhaga are, indeed, still standing. Today the bridge is a flimsy wooden affair that trembles and shakes when a man or animal walks it. It is only safe for passage one at a time. Each of our mules—wise in all hazards underfoot—sniffed at it and took a few tentative steps before taking the full risk. Ram Chand, the muleteer with the high forehead, thin face, and scrawny mustache, stood guard, letting only one animal on the bridge at a time. Each mule seemed to be as relieved at his safe crossing as I was at my own.

000 Patseo has the last dak bungalow on the way to Leh, a two-room building that sits close to the canyon wall without shade or grass. We did not stay there, as our destination was Zing Zing Bar, which lies six miles above Patseo and six miles below Baralacha Pass. We stopped at Patseo only for lunch and for a visit to the Patseo fair.

443 Bleak and barren, Patseo (12,400 feet) is an ancient market place. Merchants from Leh, Yarkand, and Tibet bring their produce there. Merchants from Kulu come up with freight. There bargains are made and barters effected.

492 Patseo is where I saw my first sheep train. Sheep and goats, a hundred or more in a band, were coming down from Baralacha Pass, loaded with little bags, one on each side, filled with salt. Up front was a big billy, aristocratic in his bearing. He kept to the trail, while the band that followed him was strewn above and

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo. 492

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug 438 up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation 804 of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years 492 Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that 438 were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They 221 grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with 492 salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to 439 form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

[804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

492 One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

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of all vegetation except red, yellow, and gray lichens and a few of the sturdy saxifrage.

At one time there had been a serai at Zing Zing Bar with rock walls and a galvanized iron roof stretched on steel rafters. But the weight of snow had crushed the serai, making it uninhabitable. I found a level spot in the vast rock field where I put my bedroll. And after inflating my air mattress and getting everything in condition for the night, I joined the muleteers.

They had piled some of our baggage in the form of an L to provide a windbreak, and they had a fire of mule dung going. They were making tea, a tea unlike anything we of the West know. It is called *gur gur cha*. The correct and proper way to make it is to brew the tea (which is kept in a bag) the day before, adding a pinch of soda and letting it simmer until it has a pinkish tinge. The next day put the brew in a churn, add salt and yak butter (*gie*), and mix thoroughly. Then heat the mixture until it is piping hot and serve.

Rup Singh omitted the first step. He had a tall, cylindrical, wooden churn in which, with the use of a plunger, he mixed water, salt, and yak butter. After the butter was dissolved he poured the contents of the churn into the teapot. When the tea had boiled, it was ladled out in cups. It sounds repulsive and sometimes is, when the yak butter is rancid. But Rup Singh's *gur gur cha* was good. A cold wind was sweeping down from Baralacha, chilling us. The *gur gur cha* seemed to have a special warmth. It was nourishing too. We sat in silence for perhaps a quarter hour sipping it.

Then the muleteers ate their supper. They had a sack of flour made from barley that is cut when slightly green, then baked and ground. This flour is carried in every caravan that travels Lahul, Ladakh, or Tibet. It is the mainstay of each meal along the trail. My muleteers ate it in the customary manner—they put a handful of it in a cup of *gur gur cha* and stirred it up until

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252 it made a thick paste. This is the famous dish that is called *sattu*
262 in Ladakh and *tsamba* in Tibet. My muleteers ate it with spoons, as we would eat porridge. Ram Chand had a method of his own. He mixed the paste so thick that he could dish it out with one finger as if it were cake dough.

262 This was the muleteers' dinner—*gur gur cha* and *sattu*. It was dinner in every caravan that was camped along the trails of the high Himalayas. It was Rup Singh's dinner every night during our trek—every night except the time we bought eggs and chickens and the day we were presented with rabbits as big as any in Arizona or New Mexico. *Gur gur cha* and *sattu* were also breakfast for the muleteers. But at breakfast they would also have *chapattis*, and each morning they would bake enough of them for lunch along the trail.

I talked to Rahul about the monotony of that diet. He agreed that it was monotonous, a monotony which the Lahulis, Ladakhis, and Tibetans try to break as frequently as possible with meat. "But it is a nutritious diet," he said. "*Gur gur cha* and *sattu* carry most of the natives over the Himalayas. There is energy in it. And look at their teeth! *Gur gur cha* and *sattu* may be flat and dull but they do not cause tooth decay."

000 I lay in my sleeping bag in the rock cairn at Zing Zing Bar watching the sky. Earlier I had seen a dipper teetering on a rock by the Bhaga River. Now a gray-backed shrike raced by. A few clouds showed in the west. Venus rode the skyline briefly to reappear hours later in Oregon. A wave of homesickness swept over me as I relived wonderful sunset hours in the Wallowas. Then Venus was gone. The wind died down and a whole host of miller moths descended on me, whirling around my head. They visited me very briefly, leaving as quickly and as mysteriously as they had arrived. Thousands of strange stars gradually appeared. A shoulder of Baralacha to the north blotted out the Big Dipper, though I thought I saw the end of its familiar handle sticking out above a lofty range. The stars kept coming out until it

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seemed that the firmament would burst. They hung low, scraping 000
the peaks. All was quiet except the roar of the Bhaga below me.

I lay there for perhaps an hour, absorbing the quiet beauty of the scene, when I heard music. It was a woman's voice, and it came from the trail a hundred yards or so below me.

Sheep caravans make leisurely treks. Their produce will not 492
spoil no matter how much time is spent along the trail. The caravan may start at a distant northern point in June and return in September. The profit of the caravan is not only in the wool and salt carried south and the grain carried north; but the sheep while en route must eat, and so the treks are designed to provide the summer's grazing as well. Well-traveled trails are abandoned for routes that will provide grass for the sheep. The daytime may indeed be spent grazing ridges adjacent to the trail, while the nighttime is used for travel.

That night at Zing Zing Bar a sheep train passed down the canyon. How large it was, how small, I do not know. I only heard the rustle of feet and the voice of a woman who accompanied them. She sang of love; and the song she sang was an old, 539
old love song of Tibet. I learned the full song later. This night I heard only snatches of it.

Like the fine and silky hair of our goats
Which climb up very high on the peaks
Of inaccessible Karakoram
So fine and silky is the hair of my girl.

Her eyes are soft as the eyes of the goats
That call their males on the mountain,
Her eyes are soft as the eyes of the goats
That hold the heavy teat to their young.

Her eyes have the color of topaz
With which she decks her head and neck
And this topaz has the soft color
Of the soft eyes, very soft eyes of our goats.

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539 *Her body apt for work is slight and supple,*
As slight and supple as the bounds
Which our goats make, when they leap
On the curved flanks of the summit of Dapsang.

Her cheeks are ever fresh to my lips,
Fresh like the milk I draw daily
When the goats come back to the stable
From the swelling udders that sweep the ground.

000 The voice was a beautiful contralto, and I could hear her faintly above the roar of the Bhaga long after she had passed our camp. It was a haunting melody that she sang, a melody conveying a sense of loneliness in a deep Himalayan canyon already drenched with loneliness.

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CHAPTER 10

NEHRU'S HORSEMEN

It was 3 P.M., August 9, 1951, and we were making 133
camp at Pagmur. There was hustle and bustle in the air. Pagmur had good feed for the mules, and we were hurrying to unpack so that they could graze. The meadow at Pagmur was not lush as we know meadows in our West. But the sod was solid, not broken; and it ran for perhaps fifty yards on each side of a small clear-water brook that poured down a shallow valley that looked like a wrinkle on the shoulder of the mighty range towering in the south. Pagmur was green, and the meadow was decorated with cinquefoil fresh and bright after the storm.

Another reason for the hustle and bustle was the weather. Pagmur sits at the head of a V, the valley widening as it runs away to the north. Far to the north were jagged fingers of granite and glaciers piercing the sky. Around these peaks another storm was gathering, and we could see long streamers of it stretching along the ridges that formed the sides of the V in which we sat.

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Beyond the High Himalayas

too We were going to be doused again. So we hastily put up pup tents and the canvas roof for the kitchen.

This job was finished and I was sorting the baggage when I looked down the valley. Here came four horsemen on a dead run. Their suits were gray, their hats squat, and over their shoulders they carried rifles. Their ponies were white. Three stood in their stirrups, leaning slightly forward; one bounced awkwardly on his horse and tried to keep up with the others. I went out to meet them, and in a few moments they reined up in front of me. The leader, a non-commissioned officer, dismounted, came three paces in front of me, brought his right heel against his left in a resounding click, saluted vigorously, and then addressed me in Hindustani.

I did not understand a word he said until he came to the last word, "Douglas."

"Douglas?" I said. "*Ha gee, ha gee* [Yes sir]."

He saluted again, turned sharply, walked to one of the horses, untied a large cardboard package, returned with it, saluted again, and delivered the package to me. Then he made another speech and presented me with a letter. The letter was from the adjutant of the Indian Army Post at Leh, explaining that at Nehru's request he was forwarding movie film and mail to me by courier and requesting a receipt for the package.

I went to my pup tent and opened the package. I fondled the movie film carefully—fifteen hundred feet of 16-millimeter colored film that had been misdirected to Bombay and that Nehru had promised to forward. The new supply lifted my heart, for I had none left. The letters from home were precious and gave me a gnawing sense of loneliness and homesickness, compounded by the realization that the weeks in which I was completely out of touch with the world still had substantial time to run.

By the time I rejoined the four horsemen, their baggage train had arrived—yaks driven by Ladakhis and supervised by another soldier on horseback. I invited the soldiers to make camp with

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us and to eat with Rahul and me. I had Budh Ram draw on our reserves—our only can of cheese, our last can of butter, one of the last tins of fruit. The non-commissioned officer gave orders and his men went out and shot rabbits—big, rangy rabbits, "coyote size." They brought back six of them—enough for the entire camp —and Budh Ram outdid himself in preparing a stew.

At dinner we learned how they had found us, and we talked of plans for the morrow. It seems that they had ridden hard for eight days, covering at least thirty miles a day, searching the caravan trails and the byways. We were on a detour, and it was only by chance that they had looked up this narrow V-shaped valley for us. Their instructions were to comb the country south of Leh and then to wait on the main caravan route at Toche Phirche for eighteen days. If they did not find us by then, their orders were to return to Leh.

Before dinner was over I learned I was a fool for going into this vast Trans-Himalayan hinterland unarmed. We did not have a gun or revolver in camp. I had secured the necessary permit to carry a rifle and a shotgun and to shoot game as we traveled and had arranged to borrow the guns in New Delhi. But at the last moment a friend dissuaded me. We would be safe, he thought, without guns. We would be traveling too fast for hunting, anyway. So I left Manali unarmed. My boldest weapon was the butcher knife.

I had become a bit apprehensive once we crossed Baralacha Pass. The next day at Serchu I saw my first armed Tibetans. Serchu (which means "gold water") is a bleak, flat basin, perhaps five miles wide, that lies around fifteen thousand feet, hemmed east and west by naked ridges and peaks reaching twenty thousand feet or higher. We had stopped for a brief visit with two Ladakhi women and two Ladakhi men who were returning on foot 240 miles to Leh after a shopping trip to Manali—characters whom I shall introduce in more detail later in this chronicle. As we visited I saw two tiny specks come round a point

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Above Zing Zing Bar and before Baralacha Pass, the trail enters a long valley and looks down on a blue and sterile lake called Suraj Dal, or Sun Lake—a lake with nothing but clay and rocks along its shores.

Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

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of land on the north end of the basin. They were hard-riding horsemen on white ponies, and as they drew close I could hear the bells on one. They soon pulled up in front of us in a flurry of dust and took the initiative in conversation.

"Where do you go?" "Who is the white man?" "Is he American or British?" "What is he doing here?" As Rahul talked with these Tibetans I surveyed them. They wore tight-fitting coats that came down over their thighs. One wore a nondescript cap, the other a tall-crowned hat with a small, turned-down brim. They both wore dark glasses and carried revolvers on their hips. I shook hands with each of them, giving them the Tibetan salutation, "*Ju Le, Ju Le*"; and the older of the two smiled in return, showing prominent front teeth. Then they were gone, whirling their horses on a dime and racing with the wind toward Baralacha.

"What's their destination?" I asked Rahul. He had not been able to find out. They were on a fast journey to Lahul. The Indian-Tibetan border is mostly unsurveyed. Until August 1951, it had few security outposts. The people of southwest Tibet moved south into India freely and without restraint. Some went on commercial missions, taking caravans to Indian centers. Others moved north to Tibet in the summer and down to India in the fall, grazing sheep as they went. Others went on Buddhist pilgrimages to shrines in India. And many Indians went on pilgrimages to shrines in Tibet. The truth is that the Buddhist holy places in this area have no nationality; long custom and practice have made them common property to all Buddhists. People by the thousands have moved with ease across this border from time immemorial. The men I met at Serchu did not seem to be pilgrims. Perhaps they were traveling on a commercial mission and hurrying in order to return to Tibet before the Tibetan-Indian border was closed.

In early August 1951, that border was still open. The Dalai Lama was still at Yatung on Tibet's southern border, negotiating with the representatives of the Red Chinese government. The

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695

My Sikh friend, Mihindar Singh Randhawa the Tehsildar of Kyelang, held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang.

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Moti was content to be the laziest, the most irresponsible, the least worthy mule in all of Lahul or Ladakh.

133

The day we left Chakchu we climbed steadily through strange and exciting country, headed for Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung La Pass.

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484 question whether he would return to Lhasa was still undecided.
648 Pending that decision, the Chinese Army was waiting a respectful distance from Lhasa. When the Dalai Lama reached Lhasa on August 17, 1951, the Chinese Red Army moved into action. Communist contingents poured into Lhasa and then fanned out racing across Tibet to posts on its southern frontier. But until that date the border was open.

000 I had seen again and again between Baralacha Pass and Pagmur these fast-moving Tibetan horsemen going like the wind and armed with either rifles or revolvers or both. There were a dozen or so in some bands. None had molested us. But the idea grew that perhaps some marauding band might.

579 This night at Pagmur I learned more startling news from my new Army friends. There were somewhere in this region two hundred armed bandits who had raided for years in Sinkiang and Tibet but who had moved south as the Communist influence became strong up north. These were the famous Kasak bandits who for years had made their living by raiding. They would kill if they were resisted. But their pattern of raiding was only to run off all livestock, to seize all guns and ammunition, to take all the food of a camp, and then on a selective basis take what other articles of clothing or equipment suited their fancy.

000 The rifles of these Indian soldiers looked more and more comforting and appealing to me as the story of the Kasak bandits was related at Pagmur.

"When do you return to Leh?" I asked the officer.

"In the morning."

"What will you do when you reach Leh?"

"Be assigned to garrison duty."

"Isn't it more fun to be on the trail, camping out every night?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then stay with me. We'll all go to Leh together."

"But my orders read—"

000 I interrupted. "I'll make it all right with your commanding officer, with the General of the Army, and with Nehru himself."

The officer talked with his men, stood and saluted, and said, "Very well, sir."

And the apprehension of banditry faded away completely from the trek.

That is the way we rode to Leh from Pagmur—armed soldiers ahead and behind, a gay, happy lot. We had dinner together in every camp and lunch together along the trail. The officer in charge would usually ride far ahead, advising villagers of our coming and arranging hours in advance for musicians to play and dancers to perform for my movies and for my tape recorder. These were hard-riding, efficient, capable mountain men. They did their work well; and they also had an eye for relaxation and camaraderie. The officer saved a bottle of rum for one evening and with it entertained the whole camp. It had an electric effect on morale. In a little while the muleteers were singing, Budh Ram was happy, and Man Das, who had tired of the trek before we crossed Rothang Pass, now agreed it was a wonderful journey.

When we arrived at Leh, I met General R. O. Karve of the Indian Army, who had arranged the scouting party. I was his guest at the Officers' Club at Leh. Shortly after my arrival, we sat on the lawn of the club having tea and admiring the great range of snow-capped peaks that stand perhaps twenty miles opposite the club across the wide valley where Leh is located.

I expressed to General Karve my appreciation for the film which he had sent me. I praised the four horsemen and inquired how he had selected them. It appeared that when the messenger had arrived by plane with the parcel for me, Karve lined up his regiment and announced in his booming voice that somewhere in the mountains to the south was an American judge who was headed for Leh.

"He must be found. I am not sure of the trail he is taking because the route he gave the Prime Minister is partially blocked.

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Nehru's Horsemen

My orders from General Cariappa [K. M. Cariappa, Commander in Chief of the Indian Army] are to find him and deliver an important package. Who will volunteer?" 000

The officer who headed the party stepped forward and saluted.

"Who else? I need men who are not afraid, men who know the mountains to the south. This is wild terrain, filled with high passes, bandits, and storms."

Another stepped forward; then a third and a fourth. And that is how the four horsemen were chosen.

There was a silence after General Karve finished giving me this account. An orderly poured black tea in large china cups and passed coarse sugar lumps, milk, and English cookies. Then Karve, gracious in every respect and generous to the smallest detail, turned to me and said, "We are proud of you, Judge. The Army figures on twenty days for your trek. You did it in fourteen days of actual travel. It's a new record."

And so my misdirected film and Nehru's mission had paid dividends which no master planner could have conceived.

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CHAPTER 11

HORSES, MULES, YAKS, AND MOTI

484 The ideal way to travel Central Asia is by horseback,
492 unencumbered by any pack train. That is the way the Tibetans and Ladakhis travel. They ride the small Tibetan horse that stands about ten hands high, has husky shoulders and small feet, and possesses great endurance. The natives travel for weeks on end in this way. They have no pack animals to slow them down. Their only baggage is what they carry in saddlebags
415 or in the roomy pockets of their heavy wool coats. One of them
484 will have a pot and another a small wooden churn for mixing
574 *gur gur cha*. Each will carry a bowl, usually one of wood inlaid with silver or gold. Indeed one who travels Ladakh or Tibet without a bowl usually gets no food when he visits another's camp. The guest is supposed to hand the host his bowl if he wants the hospitality of the camp. These fast Tibetan or Ladakhi travelers carry salt, tea, butter, and flour in small woolen bags. They make fire with flint rather than with matches, and the fuel is usually the low *dama* bush that burns even when green.

Camp is made at night wherever there are water and grass. 484
The men lie out in rock cairns. Their heavy woolen clothes are [291]
their night clothes too. They sleep on the ground, and are gone in the morning when the sky first turns to gray. They streak across high basins on a fast canter, climb the steepest pass with hardly a pause, and walk downhill, leading the saddle ponies.

I had seen my first Tibetans at Patseo—men, women, and boys 484
in charge of salt caravans. As I related earlier, I saw my first 205
armed and fast-riding Tibetans at Serchu. I kept seeing them day after day, going like the wind on their tiny ponies, taking short cuts across uncharted mountains, or eating their *sattu* and drinking their *gur gur cha* at their camps on sparsely green meadows. They would always be gone by daylight, moving fast and mysteriously, covering more ground in a day than we would often cover in three with our pack train. They had none of the conveniences of travel—no air mattresses, no tents, no canned food, no medical kit. But they could go with the wind, be swallowed up in deep canyons, streak like lightning along a high ridge, climb to the steepest pass, pick their way down rocky defiles, and shortly be cantering across a basin remote and isolated from all trails.

That is the way postmen in Ladakh have traveled from time immemorial. The head of each village furnishes a carrier to carry the mail from his village to the next one. And so it goes on horseback, twenty to thirty-five miles a day and, in emergencies, even farther.

That is the way I want to travel Central Asia. Being bogged 000
down with a pack train has its disadvantages.

I briefly experienced that kind of travel when Tashi took us out of Koksar. I rode most of the way from Gundala to Kyelang, keeping ahead of the pack train, racing along the narrow trail that threads along the Chandra. My pony and I traveled fast, and I felt for once the joy of a good horse under me and Central Asia and its vast reaches out in front.

Most of the way to Leh, Rahul and I traveled with the mule

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[757] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat* is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

*[of the marmot--Analyst]

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Horses, Mules, Yaks, and Moti

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera 000
equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American
ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are 233
pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks.
They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that
lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood
grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted 492
to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and
twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this
grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly
eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules,
put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves,
and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees [465]
eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara
to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders
of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns 231
and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh 492
and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are
widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; [757]
and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for
gur gur cha but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The
dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and
no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to
keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan
as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only
a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks
can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high
altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically
anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does
not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the
relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

1 [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

231 15,000 feet on up. Here it finds the velvety yak grass that is hardly
492 visible at a distance. Here it also finds moss and lichens, of which it is especially fond.

I found out how sturdy the yak is. I climbed aboard one to sample its riding qualities. I sat for a while on its broad back, my legs sticking out rather awkwardly. Then I hung onto its thick hair with one hand as I urged it into a walk with my heels. Suddenly the powerful beast, with a quick motion of its hind legs, tossed me as neatly as my mountaineer friend—the late Roy Schaeffer of Oregon—used to flip a flapjack. And before I could rise and restore my dignity, the yak turned, gave me a glowering look, and went groaning down the trail.

The yak does not move fast. It took our yaks eleven hours to go the twenty-four miles from Zara to Gya. They got a late start and did not arrive until 1:30 A.M. But they came through on a steady grind that took them through a blizzard atop Staglang La Pass, a blizzard that swept the peaks shortly after our horses and mules had crossed, a blizzard that at the altitude of Staglang La Pass might well have killed animals less sturdy.

000 The hard, fast ride I had on my Tibetan pony from Zara to Gya was exhilarating—as exhilarating as most (though not all) of the moments aboard Moti were dull.

Moti was my mule, a bay with a few white spots. Why I drew Moti from the musical eleven that we met in Kyelang I never knew. Perhaps it was because Rup Singh thought Moti met the requirements of the typical American mule and therefore would seem familiar and friendly to me. Perhaps it was an unkind fate that turned Moti toward me. Perhaps it was some old association with Moti's mottled nose—an association going back to the trails of Oregon or Washington—that caused my hand to caress it. Whatever the cause, Moti was mine a few minutes after the mule train met us at the dak bungalow. Moti was mine almost until "death do us part." And Moti did not wait long before flirting with destiny.

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Horses, Mules, Yaks, and Moti

The first dramatic moment with Moti happened on the way to Jispa. I had waited until the pack train had passed me to get some pictures of the caravans coming down from Patseo. When I was through, the pack train was perhaps a mile ahead. Moti, almost as anxious to catch up as I was, hurried. There were washouts across the trail, and at one point we had to climb several hundred feet on an improvised trail, skirt a cliff eight hundred feet or more high, and then drop down again to the established trail. Moti made the climb all right and was negotiating the cliff when the accident happened. The improvised trail as it skirted the edge of the cliff was only a few feet wide. The drop-off was, for all practical purposes, straight down. There was no apparent danger in this stretch of trail; the footing was secure, Moti was at a slow walk, and there was ample room for a loaded animal. How Moti got her two rear feet off the trail and over the edge of the cliff I do not know. The trail swung out to the corner of a shoulder of the mountain and then swung sharply back. It was on the turn that half of Moti left the trail and I found myself on a mule, hanging over an eight-hundred-foot cliff. Disaster raced through my mind. There was no opportunity to dismount without dropping hundreds of feet. What I did I did instinctively—I remember leaning forward on Moti and grunting. I remember starting a prayer, "Oh, God—" I remember the empty feeling in my stomach as I hung over eight hundred feet of air. I could hear Moti's hind feet scraping the sides of the cliff; I could hear rocks dropping into the pit below us. Then Moti was back on the trail, shaking herself. Neither then nor now could I give Moti any credit for the rescue. How she got back on the trail, how we were saved from complete destruction I do not know. My heart was racing like a trip hammer. It was several minutes before I was calm. Then I delivered myself of a lecture to Moti. The lecture started with the words, "You old fool," and ended with resounding kicks in Moti's ribs.

This matter of life and death, the agonizing ten seconds we

000 were suspended in space, seemed to make no difference to Moti. She was calm and relaxed and at once plodded forward at perhaps two miles an hour.

Shortly thereafter the trail took a deep swing into a ravine, and I stopped to take movies of the pack train as it came onto the trail opposite where I stood. When I resumed travel, the mule train was once again far ahead, and I urged Moti to hurry. My urging was not the cause of the second accident, for when it happened Moti was slowed to a snail's pace. At this point the trail had been washed out by a swollen stream. The temporary trail climbed fifty feet or so above the permanent one and crossed the stream at a broad, shallow point. The trail was wet, and the micaceous soil was slippery. Those are the extenuating circumstances for Moti. But she deserves no sympathy for what happened.

I had believed that a mule was the safest transport for mountain travel. The ones I knew in the States were both safe and comfortable. A mule might stumble, one foot might slip—accidents happen to every living thing—but I never dreamed that all four feet would go out from under a mule, except perhaps on ice. Yet that is precisely what happened to Moti. She was on the wet stretch of trail and about to cross the stream when all four feet went out from under her, and she fell on her left side.

As she went down, I kicked my right foot free of the stirrup. But my left foot was caught, for Moti lay on top of me. There was much thrashing and splattering of wet earth as Moti struggled to her feet. I tried to kick my left foot free; but the stirrup had twisted, holding my foot in a vise.

I called "Whoa" to Moti while I tried to kick loose. But Moti did not heed me, perhaps because she understood only Hindustani, not English. She started to cross the stream at her conventional speed. I was on my back, yelling and protesting and issuing idle commands while Moti dragged me through the creek. It was big enough to get me thoroughly soaked, rough enough on my back and hips to make me very angry, and yet not deep enough

to be dangerous. The danger started as Moti reached the other side and broke into a canter. I had not believed she had that energy. But it came in a flash. I was now shouting, screaming, threatening. I was also struggling with the stirrup. Though my screams were futile, by some miracle I was successful with the stirrup. My foot came loose, and I lay in the trail with a sprained wrist and a bruised back.

"Whoa, you old fool," I shouted. Moti turned to look at me, and I thought I detected a grin on her face. She played the role well, for now she broke into a full gallop, running with all her might and looking backward once in a while to see how close I was.

I did not pursue. I sat in the trail nursing my wounds and shaking my fist at Moti. And as I sat there, I thought of the minister in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon who went to that vast and desolate region to serve as an itinerant preacher. Some cowboys played a trick on him—they sold him a pair of balky mules—mules that refused to cross any rise in the road. The minister would whip them, shout at them, push them, get out and try to pull them. But he never succeeded in getting them up the first hill. One day, after an exasperating hour, he stood in front of the team and said, "If I were not a man of God, I'd tell you — — — exactly what I think of you."

The memory of this yarn made me laugh out loud in spite of the indignity I had suffered. So I brushed myself off and ran after Moti. But I caught the beast only after she had caught up with the pack train.

That night at Jispa I looked at Moti's feet. She had no shoes. We found some in the pack and put them on. But Moti was still pregnant with accidents. At Kilung, on the far side of Baralacha Pass, Moti was walking on flat, level ground with not a stone nor a stick to interfere. Suddenly she fell down, all four knees hitting the ground. She was up awkwardly in a flash. The fall must have done something to her pride, for she laid back her ears, bit the mule in front of her, swerved to the side of the trail, and for

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the first and only time while I rode her actually galloped. She galloped until she passed the lead mule, holding her head high as if to say, "So you think I can't even stand up. Well, I'll show the whole blooming lot of you that I can run faster than you can."

Once Moti passed the mule train, she settled down to her steady pace, and the mule train soon passed her. The mule train went two and a quarter miles an hour. Moti went one and a quarter miles an hour. I could outwalk Moti anywhere in the Himalayas and frequently did. But Moti never seemed to mind. She was not aroused by my outdistancing her on foot—no matter how invidious I made the comparison. Except for that one competitive spurt, Moti was content to be the laziest, the most irresponsible, the least worthy mule in all of Lahul or Ladakh.

After Moti fell on her knees with me aboard, I examined her legs. There seemed to be tenderness in the joints of her rear legs. The next morning one of her rear ankles was swollen. Rup Singh carried a needle about eight inches long which he used to sew up the sacks of food and clothing he carried in his personal pack. There was, I suspect, a tingling sense of joy in me when we borrowed that needle and with one hard, deep thrust punctured the pocket of water and drained it. But Moti did not seem to resent the assault. She limped for an hour or more and then stepped along the trail with more snap and vigor than she had ever displayed before.

We were talking about the episode at camp that night. "You see," Rahul said, "it is the flesh, not the spirit, of Moti that is at fault."

"I do not believe it," I growled, remembering the devilish look in Moti's eye the time she dragged me. And I felt my appraisal was the correct one by reason of what happened below Serchu.

The Tsarap River was swollen from rain the day we crossed it. It was black and angry and fordable only at one place. One had to pick his way carefully, because the water was so deep and so fast it could easily carry a man or an animal away.

The mule train crossed, leaving Moti and me on the bank. I kicked and I pounded. I shouted and I implored. Moti stood still, debating whether even to make a try at the crossing. In about five minutes Moti moved into the water. She went carefully and slowly, her movements being almost imperceptible. I kept my heels pounding her ribs so as not to lose the momentum of even the slow pace. In a few minutes we were in midstream and my stirrups were in water. To protect my feet, I lifted them onto Moti's shoulders. I talked to Moti, at first softly, then more loudly, until I realized I was fairly screaming. Moti stood still in the middle of the stream, the water washing her belly. I kicked her on the shoulders with my heels; I used threatening language. Moti stood still. I lashed at her with the tips of the leather reins. Moti stood still. I slipped the belt off my trousers and used it as a whip on Moti's flanks. Moti stood still. I repeated the series of verbal and physical assaults on Moti. Moti continued to stand still. My legs ached from the kicking, my voice was hoarse from the shouting, my arm ached from the whipping. Moti stood still. Now all was quiet, only the rush of the water against Moti's side. I looked at my watch and timed the performance. A full ten minutes passed and I was still on Moti in the middle of the Tsarap River.

I do not know what Moti was thinking about. I like to think it was something uncomplimentary to me. For my thoughts were dark and ugly. Finally I said in a low voice, "Moti, you are sadistic. You are trying to punish me for fancied insults. You like to see me suffer." There was again complete and utter silence. Minutes passed. I spoke again. "Moti, if you think you are going to make me get off and walk to shore, you're a mistaken mule." Perhaps those words stirred something deep inside Moti, demanding action. Perhaps she finally realized there was no use bluffing me. Perhaps, as Rahul later suggested, she had cooled off her undersides sufficiently in the water of the Tsarap. Whatever the reason, Moti finally moved; and slowly, almost painfully, she brought me to the far side.

000 "What is this name, Moti?" I asked at dinner that night.

"Moti means Pearl," Rahul replied. "Don't you think Moti is the real pearl of Ladakh?"

"Pearl?" I replied in disgust. "Pearl? Why, I can't even imagine that Moti's own mother in her most tender moment of motherhood would call her that."

Rahul laughed and said, "Moti should receive *some* credit."

"For what?"

"For not dropping you off the cliff, for not dragging you to death."

I presented the case against Moti with passion. When I ended, Rahul said, "Be charitable. Accidents happen to everyone. Remember the yak?"

The yak train was in a narrow canyon threading its way along a precipitous hillside above Serchu. Yaks are the most sure-footed animals in the Himalayas—as sure-footed as the ibex. But one of these yaks stepped on a loose rock, lost its footing, and rolled over and over and over. It was headed for destruction in the roaring Tsarap. It had less than twenty feet to roll before it would be over a cliff into the stream. There was a level spot a few feet from the abyss. As quick as a flash—as quickly as a cat comes to her feet—this yak straightened up, stuck out its feet, held its balance, and stopped rolling. It shook itself once or twice, nibbled at some grass along the water's edge, and started up the canyon wall to rejoin the pack train.

"Mountains *are* full of adventure, aren't they?" Rahul said, turning to me.

"Yes, and so are bathrooms," I replied, remembering my list of friends who had been more seriously injured in and around their own tubs than the yak, Moti, or I had been hurt in the high Himalayas.

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CHAPTER 12

THE SPIRIT OF SATAN

Rup Singh's smile was infectious. It was the thing that had captured us when he arrived hours late at Kyelang. We had been cross and impatient and had planned to take him to task for his delay. But his beaming face and cheery attitude won our hearts and made us forget our complaints. His smile and the music of the bells of our mule train augured well for the journey. Moreover, he had a happy way with him, singing as he worked and handling the men in an easy manner.

I did not see the other side of Rup Singh—the ugly side—until we reached Patseo. We had agreed to camp at Zing Zing Bar the morning we left Jispa. When we reached Patseo shortly after midday, Rup Singh changed his mind. He said there was grazing at Patseo and not at Zing Zing Bar. But the only grazing visible at Patseo was on benches three or four thousand feet above the valley; and horse feed certainly would not be any higher on the canyon walls at Zing Zing Bar, a scant six miles upstream. The real reason for his revolt was never disclosed. Perhaps there were

000 traders at Patseo with whom he wanted to dicker for caravan freight. Bales of wool, brought down from Tibet and traded for corn and barley, were stacked to form long, high walls as they waited for mule or horse transport to arrive from Manali. Perhaps Rup Singh saw a greater profit in a deal on that transportation than he did on the contract with me. Rahul suspected that was the reason for Rup Singh's change of mind. Perhaps he had seen at the Patseo fair some woman who promised excitement of the hunt and who was worth the expenditure of an evening. Perhaps the long, arduous trip to Leh seemed less attractive to him now that he faced Baralacha Pass than it had when we employed him.

Whatever the reason, Rup Singh went on strike. He sat down on a rock, dug angrily with the heel of his shoe, and spoke rapidly and contemptuously. Patseo was the best place to camp; he didn't like our attitude; these were his mules and they must be well fed; he and his men were tired, and a good rest at Patseo before tackling Baralacha would be the best for them. That was the tenor of his talk. I sought the shade of a tremendous rock while Rahul negotiated. Rahul won out, although it took an hour of heated argument to win Rup Singh over. Even then he was not convinced. Now the smile was gone, and he was sullen and quiet.

He wreaked some of his revenge at Zing Zing Bar. One of the muleteers took the animals across the Bhaga and turned them loose to graze. It was apparent that by morning they would be three thousand feet higher, on a green bench which I could see—a lush-looking pasture around sixteen thousand feet high. Since we were to be on the trail at 7 A.M. Rahul arranged for one of the muleteers to go for the mules at the first streaks of dawn. Rup Singh countermanded the order. He sent Ram Chand at seven; and we were not on the trail until close to noon.

133 There was much perpetual ice to cross above Zing Zing Bar, dirty ice a dozen or more feet thick. The trail now threaded through great fields of shale broken from the ridges above us and flowing down the canyon walls. This debris filled both sides of

the canyon for miles on end. The monotonous brown and gray of 133
the rock, the bright snow on the high reaches, the dazzling sun, the absence of even a breath of wind made the ascent a grinding, laborious ordeal. It seemed an interminable time before we reached what seemed to be the top. At this point the trail enters a long valley and looks down on a blue and sterile lake called Suraj Dal, or Sun Lake, a lake with nothing but clay and rocks along its shores. Above the lake were huge drifts of new snow. The snow blocked the trail and was too soft to hold a mule. Some of the smaller mules had to be unpacked; and even the more rangy, robust ones foundered awkwardly in the drifts. One got stuck and in his violent struggles to get loose somehow threw his head against the corner of a pack box, cutting a huge gash just below his right eye.

In about a mile we came to Baralacha Pass, lying 16,200 feet. Baralacha is a barren, rolling amphitheater, not a saddle. This day it was touched with snow and dripping wet. The peaks that surround it were gripped by ice but now looked no higher than the White Mountains of New Hampshire, for at this altitude they were 23,000-foot giant peaks shrunk to small, irregular ones.

We stopped at Baralacha to repack the entire mule train and 000
to attend to the wound of the injured mule. As we were about to commence the rocky descent to Kilung, Rup Singh, pointing to a sheep train headed for Patseo, told Rahul, "We have had so much trouble that it is time Sahib bought us a goat. We could have a real feast tonight if we had a goat."

"Sahib may not be in the mood to buy you a goat today," Rahul replied.

"Why not?" Rup Singh asked, his eyes blazing.

"Because you would not start today until noon and Sahib wanted to be on Baralacha by noon to get the best pictures."

Rup Singh was sullen all the way down the rocky trail that tumbles off Baralacha to Kilung in a steep funnel of a canyon. He was cross at the mules and at the caravans we met. But a

000 Tibetan, who carried a prayer wheel in his hand which he spun endlessly as he marched south with a caravan we met, beamed on all of us, including Rup Singh and the clouded face he wore.

Rup Singh was still sullen that night at Kilung, a sullenness much deeper than his headache and slight fever which I treated with my medical kit. He was also sullen the next morning as we started the easy and gradual descent down the long, winding canyon to Serchu. When we reached Serchu—a wide, bleak basin with thin, skimpy grass, lying at 14,000 feet—Rup Singh called a halt. We would camp here; he would go on to no other place.

"But we have come only nine miles," Rahul replied. "There's good grass below Chakchu and we can make that in a few hours." Rup Singh was adamant. "What difference does it make to you?" Rahul inquired. "Sahib pays you by the stage, not by the mile. Kilung to Serchu is one stage; Serchu to Chakchu is another. You earn as much whether you cover that distance in one day or in two days."

Rup Singh was silent for a few minutes. Then he changed his tack. He spoke to Budh Ram and Man Das, and they spoke to us.

"The Tsarap is too swollen to cross," Budh Ram said.

And Man Das, always homesick and easily frightened, quickly added, "We might be drowned crossing the river or lose a mule."

"But the water will be as high tomorrow as it is today," Rahul replied.

"Not in the morning," Budh Ram replied. "Rup Singh says there's not much snow water in the Tsarap in the early morning." It seemed as if we were about to lose our argument when the two armed Tibetans, whom I have already mentioned, appeared on their fast ponies. They had crossed the Tsarap within the hour.

"Any trouble fording the Tsarap?" Rahul asked the Tibetans.

The leader shook his head.

"How deep was the water?" The leader touched his knee, indicating two or three feet.

Rup Singh had nothing more to say. He lit one of the American

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cigarettes I had given him at Kilung and smoked it in silence. Then he mounted and turned the mules toward the river.

I have related the difficulty I had with Moti the mule on this crossing. I did kick Moti with my heels until the water washed the stirrups and then I rested my legs on her shoulders and pounded with my heels. All this was to no avail; Moti stood in midstream for over ten minutes and finished the crossing only when her mood dictated. Rup Singh had at first waited for me on a high cliff towering about a hundred feet above the river bed. Then he came down to the water's edge and shouted futile commands to Moti. When Moti finally reached the shore, Rup Singh's face was a black cloud. There was anger in his voice, and his words lashed at me.

"You have ruined Moti," he said to me in Hindustani, Rahul doing the translating.

"How?"

"By kicking her in the sides."

"Moti was already ruined."

"She was an excellent mule until you rode her." Nothing more was said until we had almost threaded our way up the winding path to the top of the cliff. Then Rup Singh turned in his saddle, his face still clouded, and shouted, "You have done at least eight hundred rupees' [two hundred dollars] worth of damage to Moti by kicking her."

"Tell Rup Singh that Moti, and her mother, and her grandmother wouldn't be worth eight hundred rupees. Maybe it's about time I gave Rup Singh a piece of my mind," I said to Rahul.

"Don't do it. He might use it as an excuse to dump our baggage right here on the desolate banks of the Tsarap."

"But I can tell him in English, which he will not understand. And it will do me good to get it off my chest."

"Anger, like love, is understandable in any language," Rahul wisely said. And so we rode along the north bank of the Tsarap in silence most of the afternoon, dropping slowly down a barren

000 canyon blazing in sunshine. No one said a word. The musical mule train was up front. Rup Singh and I brought up the rear; and Rup Singh, usually anxious not to be the last in line, now studiously kept behind me, counting the times my heels pounded Moti's ribs.

/31 It was eight miles from Serchu to the tall stone marker which indicates the boundary between Lahul and Ladakh. We swung by that in silence after I had attempted to resume a friendly conversation with Rup Singh. We went another three miles, keeping mostly a hundred feet or so above the river. Now the twisting canyon was becoming more narrow. The trail climbed steeply and then dropped again to a nulla (ravine) where a clear, cold stream ran—a place called Banglang Zu. This nulla was almost fifty yards wide and covered with a solid floor of round, smooth rocks.

000 The muleteers stopped to let the mules drink. Rahul and I, after watering our own mules, rode through the nulla, climbed the opposite bank, and started down the trail to Chakchu. We had gone only a short distance when I turned around and immediately shouted to Rahul. What I saw was disturbing. The muleteers were unloading the mules, throwing the baggage in the rocky bed of the nulla. We went back to see what was wrong.

"We go no further," Rup Singh said.

"This is no place to camp," I replied.

"This is the end of the trek," he answered. "We leave the baggage here and return to Kyelang in the morning."

"Don't leave the baggage in this river bed," I replied. "We can't make camp on the rocks. Bring it up to the shelf where the ground is smooth."

"Carry it up yourself," Rup Singh replied. "I am finished."

Turning to Budh Ram, I said, "You and Man Das load the baggage on the mules and bring it up to the shelf."

Budh Ram told Rup Singh what the orders were.

"No," shouted Rup Singh, his eyes blazing. "You cannot use my mules to move your baggage."

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The Spirit of Satan

Rahul and I had a conference. It was clear that we were in a serious predicament. We were four days' hard travel from Kyelang, the only place to the south where we could possibly get new transport. It was four days to Kyelang by mules or horses; it would be longer on foot. Ahead of us was vacant country with no villages. It would, in fact, be a week or ten days of travel to the north before we reached another village. The chances of getting transport along the trail were slight. All caravans we had met or passed were loaded. We could not possibly carry the camp on our backs, for without the muleteers there would be only four of us; and the baggage weighed about eight hundred pounds. Our only hope was to wait here until a caravan came along and arrange for it to return for us after it had finished its journey. We estimated that with good luck we could leave this nulla in ten days. Unless I abandoned the trek and our baggage, we might really be here for two or three weeks and consume our whole food supply in this bleak and desolate spot.

I called Budh Ram and gave orders to him and Man Das to bring the baggage by hand to the shelf above the nulla where we would camp. Rahul and I walked over to the muleteers. I put out my hand to Rup Singh and said, "Good-by, I hope you have a safe and pleasant journey home." Then I turned to go.

He called after me, "I want to be paid right now."

I came back to where he stood and said, "You don't get paid one rupee. You broke your contract to take me to Leh. If a caravan comes along tonight or in the morning that will take me to Leh right away and will not charge me more than your rates, then I will pay you. If one does not come by morning, I will not pay you. I may be forced to abandon the trip. I may lose my baggage. I may be put to great expense because of you. The chances are the damage you cause me will be many times more than what I owe you."

Rahul and I then climbed to the shelf and sat down, where we waited for more than an hour. Below us was the Tsarap, white

Below us was the Tsarap, white

133 with clay, very swift, and a hundred yards or more wide. On the opposite canyon wall was a band of white sheep grazing in green basins several thousand feet above us.

This canyon where we now sat was once covered by a great sea that stretched far north, overrunning all of Tibet. That was one hundred million years ago. About fifty million years ago, great horizontal forces bore down from the north. What these forces were is still unknown. Perhaps they resulted from the earth's contraction; perhaps from a change in the rate of the earth's rotation. But whatever their origin, they were so powerful that in time they made wrinkles running east and west for fifteen hundred miles and rising to an average altitude of nineteen thousand feet above the Ganges plain. There was great volcanic action about fifteen million years ago. Granite intruded. Then came lava flows. The granite cooled under the surface, and its original covering was blown and washed away. The Himalayas rose to form the highest mountain range in the world. Their greatest growth ended two million years ago; but since that time they have been rising, and their upward movement continues even to this day.

The ridges of the canyon where we camped had been cut into weird shapes by wind, frost, and rain. Some had points as sharp as needles. Stretches of the skyline were saw-toothed. Great massive walls rose four thousand feet or more almost straight up and down. They were colored yellow, green, and brown. Some had purplish streaks or reddish tinges. There were large areas of micaceous rock in this canyon, rock that looked wet as it glistened in the sun. Sandstone, limestone, granite, and slate were mixed in helter-skelter fashion to produce as exotic color patterns as one will find in our own Southwest or in the Hindu Kush of Afghanistan.

000 Now the sun was setting. The sky was brilliant with gold, blue, gray, brown, pink. The shades would quickly change as clouds first broke and then rearranged themselves. Soon the clouds were

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low on the ridge. Now the whole sky was rich in colors—as rich as Arizona could produce. Then in one swift moment it was dark. The Big Dipper showed to the northwest, close to the skyline, with its handle standing almost erect. The cold south wind —the prevailing daytime wind in Ladakh—had been whining down the Tsarap River from Baralacha Pass. Now it began to die down. In a few hours the prevailing nighttime wind—the chill wind from the north or northeast—would pick up. The white sheep across the canyon had bedded down. A tiny light high in a ravine marked the camp of their shepherd. Rup Singh and the muleteers were still huddled together in the nulla.

Rahul and I sat mostly in silence. Only once did we talk, and then it was about Rup Singh. We agreed to wait him out if it took all night. We speculated on Rup Singh's background and character. Rahul said, "I am a Buddhist, and Buddhists believe in transmigration of souls. We never speak of a man's dying; his soul merely leaves his body and goes to some other body. The important thing is not only what a man is but what he was before his present self. Is he better or worse? Is he going up or down the ladder?"

"What do you reckon Rup Singh was before he was Rup Singh?" I asked.

"R. S.," Rahul said as if talking to himself. "R. S. are his initials. Let's see what they might stand for."

"I have it," I shouted. "R. S. means the Reincarnated Satan." We both roared. And as we roared here came Rup Singh and his assistants and the mule train. He was beaming all over, as pleasant and gracious as the day we first met him at Kyelang.

"Speaking of the devil," I said teasingly. And before I could finish Rup Singh asked, "Is it all right if we camp with you? Then we can get a real early start tomorrow."

"To Patseo or to Leh?" I asked.

"To Leh, of course," he answered, a bit surprised that I need question it.

Beyond the High Himalayas

000 When we made camp the Big Dipper had dropped from sight and millions of new and strange stars were out. The cold wind had died. The faint roar of the Tsarap filled the canyon. The muleteers sat around a small fire of horse manure, laughing and talking. After a while Rup Singh came over for a conference.

"Make believe you are talking with Uncle Joe Stalin," I said to Rahul. "Be firm and precise."

In half an hour Rahul came over to my sleeping bag.

"Everything is wonderful," he said. "The Spirit of Satan is in a good mood. He knows he can't hold us up, for I refused to increase the rate of pay, and I gave him a lecture on morality. I did, however, agree that we would camp early tomorrow at Chakchu and give him the rest of the day off. But I made him agree to deliver us in Leh ten days from now—August 16. That's fast travel, for we stop two days at Hemis Monastery, and we are now 120 miles from Leh."

157 Thereafter Rup Singh was a happy, carefree, smiling young man. No shadow ever crossed his face all the way to Leh.

Three days later we were discussing the transformation at Pagmur.

"You are the foreigner in Asia," Rahul finally said. "And Rup Singh is the kind of a man who has to find out what kind of mettle the foreigner has."

"He won't go on strike again?"

"No. He's found out he can't scare you or blackmail you. And, moreover, from now on he would rather go to Leh than to Kyelang."

"Why?"

"Simple arithmetic. We're now closer to Leh." And then Rahul laughingly added, "You can with safety rely even on the word of the Spirit of Satan when your program matches his self-interest."

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CHAPTER 13

PASS POISON

The critical altitude for mountain sickness is usually 164 ten thousand feet. If one is not sick at that height, he probably will not be sick (except in the event of great exertion) until he passes his own effective altitude. That altitude varies with individuals. Rahul figures his at twenty-five thousand feet. I figure mine somewhat lower. Mountain sickness has seldom touched me, and I have been to eighteen thousand feet.

One who goes slowly to the heights acclimatizes himself gradually. The capacity of the human body to adjust itself to the thin air of high mountains is amazing, as the records of the Everest expeditions show. Mallory, Irvine, Smythe, and the others could in a few weeks bring themselves safely to twenty-eight thousand feet. At that altitude man is always tired and depressed and moves in somewhat of a trance. If he were suddenly dropped there without a supply of oxygen, or if, reaching there with oxygen, he had a failure in his oxygen tank, he probably would die. It takes time to adjust the body to altitudes above ten thousand feet. But if

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164 one goes slowly and takes his time in the early stages, he need not experience any great difficulty, so far as altitude is concerned, on any Himalayan trek.

Mountain sickness does not always come over one suddenly. Nor does it always start with nausea or headaches or dizziness. It may indeed start with a feeling of great exhilaration, as if good wine had suddenly gone to the head.

000 When we reached Baralacha Pass, it was late afternoon and we still had several miles to go to Kilung. We were anxious to be on our way; yet I was eager for pictures and anxious to search the pass for wild flowers for the plant press. We took a half hour on those missions. Baralacha lies at 16,200 feet; and at that altitude any human being must slow down. I, however, was so absorbed in my errands that I forgot to do so. I was dashing here and there taking black-and-white and color stills and color movies, and pressing plants. This altitude, I thought, was nothing to worry about. It seemed to me that I had licked that problem. I was good. I must be extra-good, I thought. Altitude bothered some people, but it certainly did not bother me. I was confident, elated, and relaxed. It seemed as if I walked on air. I felt wonderful. Imagine anyone worrying about altitude! Pshaw! It's largely mental attitude.

Those were my thoughts as I walked and ran here and there on my various errands. I did not seem to be out of breath. "I am in better shape than I thought," I said to myself.

I had packed my cameras and plant press and was ready to mount Moti, the mule. I put my left foot in the stirrup, took hold of the saddle, raised myself, and threw my right leg over. At that moment I almost blacked out. I was all right in a second or two, and the dizziness quickly passed. So did the feeling of confidence and exhilaration. I now had a slight headache that grew and grew and was pounding when we reached Kilung.

In those brief seconds when I almost passed out the words of a friend came back to me. A few weeks earlier I had had dinner

with him in the Gilgit area of northern Pakistan. In 1950 he was flying the Karakorams. His orders were not to fly above fourteen thousand feet without his oxygen mask. He tried fifteen thousand feet and felt no ill effects. He climbed to sixteen thousand feet and felt fine. Still without his oxygen mask, he went to seventeen thousand feet. He flew at seventeen thousand feet for fifteen minutes or so and did not put on his oxygen mask. "These rules are made for other men, not me," he said to himself. "I've apparently got this altitude problem licked." He felt wonderful. He felt like the champion who had had many drinks and was sure that one more would be just right for him. He felt a bit like Superman.

That was the last he remembered. He woke up twenty-three days later in a hospital in the Kingdom of Swat. His plane had gone into a spin and crashed, breaking most of his bones and causing a brain concussion.

Altitude, like alcohol, sometimes gives a false sense of strength, power, and poise. One who is not aware of this phenomenon may walk the high ridges like a fool.

The hill people of the Himalayas are aware of the grosser aspects of mountain sickness. They have seen horses and mules drop dead from overexertion at high altitudes. They have seen the minor symptoms of sleeplessness and the loss of appetite, and the major ones where the body swells, the lips turn black, the head and heart ache, the throat becomes parched, and the temperature falls. They know that one who has suffered one major attack of mountain sickness seldom survives another.

My trek produced no major mountain illness, although someone in the party was slightly ill after each pass we crossed. But the risk is prominent in every native's mind. This is pass poison. Passes are unhealthy places. One never stops there long; he hurries over. The places are occupied by gods and goddesses, some of whom are evil. They produce the storms that fell man and beast and leave their bones to bleach on these high and un-

753 healthy places. They also send poison to make men dizzy and sick at the stomach, to make them bleed at the nose and swell in the joints, to make them faint and unable to walk.

753 Whenever one gets over a pass without being afflicted by pass
782 poison or without suffering any other injury or disaster, the gods
778 have been good to him. And so he always celebrates the event. He does it in several ways. He builds a pile of stones at the pass—called *obos* in Ladakh and *oris* in Lahul—and each time a traveler passes that way he adds a stone. And so the piles grow into huge collections. Everyone adds to them. A lama of distinction who is carried across a pass in a chair or who rides in state will not go by without having a rock added to the pile. A servant will hand him one from the ground, and he will drop it with his own hand. And he more than likely will add a prayer banner to the rock cairn or stop and burn incense there. The *obos* is a dominant ornament on every pass; and it is found also in other dangerous places such as in the steep and treacherous gorge between La Chulung La Pass and Toche Phirche.

The *obos* usually has streamers of colored cloth tied to the rocks or fastened to sticks that are planted in the rock pile. Prayers are written on these pieces of cloth, and each wind that blows makes the cloth flutter, and each flutter sends the prayer winging to the god or goddess of the pass.

133 The day we left Chakchu we climbed steadily through strange and exciting country, headed for Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung La Pass. There had been no trees north of Baralacha. The whole stretch of land seemed to be desolate and heavily eroded. Now the marks of erosion were lying heavier and heavier on the land. Once these mountains and valleys may have been lush. Now there was only an occasional patch of grass standing like a tiny island in a sea of slate pumice. Many buttes mounted the canyon walls. They were brown, yellow, green, and red; and the highest of them were flecked with snow. There is much sandstone in this stretch of country; the wind had whipped it and the rain had

worked it into odd shapes—tall columns, peaked cones, cathedral- 133
like towers. Weird formations stood in stately rows along the sky-
lines for miles on end. And one massive butte, streaked with
color, towered over Gongrechen Pass.

On the pass was an *obos* flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram 788
Chand, one of the muleteers, brought a new streamer in his
pocket. He stopped at the *obos* and reverently added it to the
collection. His was a prayer for safe passage for himself.

My muleteers never failed to perform the ritual. Neither did
Budh Ram or Man Das. Rup Singh went about it eagerly, doing
with vim and vigor what most did in a perfunctory way.

The habit is deeply engrained. It goes back to the ancient re- 177
ligion of the Himalayas, to the practice of the Shaman religion. 788
Shamanism was a form of animism that is traceable in the rites 779
of North American Indians. One cult piled stones on passes
and other dangerous places to appease the spirit of the pass.
Hinduism came up from the south; Buddhism came down from
the north. The new institutions of religion absorbed the old.
Shamanistic elements, including the *obos*, were taken over by the
new churches. Thousands of years ago men piled stones at the
dangerous places; they pile stones there today, and will pile
stones there tomorrow. For the old superstition is so strong it
survives all religious change. And today the lamas indeed teach
the old and young alike that this ancient superstition should al-
ways be observed.

Another rite is performed on the passes where poison works up 788
into a potent force and often strikes men and animals down. It is
a shout that every traveler gives as he reaches the highest point.
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo is the Tibetan version—Let the gods con-
quer. It rings from the lips of every traveler, young and old. I
heard Rahul, Budh Ram, Man Das, Rup Singh and the other
muleteers shout it. On pass after pass the same words rang out—
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.

I had seen enough, as we neared the end of the trek, to ap-

788 preciate the sentiments behind these words. There is a power lurking in these Himalayas greater than any man. It slays and suffocates; it brings on dizziness and death; it causes men and beasts to stumble and fall and to lie gasping for breath while blood runs out of their noses or mouths. This power exacts a heavy annual toll. Before the trek's end I began to feel the relief the hillmen feel when I crossed a pass and started the descent. The relief was a natural feeling, whether one feeds on superstition or on cold reason. I found myself less and less inclined to make fun of the rites my men performed. I began to stop and reverently watch them add to the *obos*, tie up another streamer, or lift their faces to the sky and shout, "*Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.*" I was coming to be on an understanding basis with them.

000 I did not need to accept their spirits, their Shamanistic gods in order to respect their feelings and attitudes. One walks so far above the world, in a place so remote from civilization, at an altitude so high, that he feels the need for spiritual strength. We were 15,000 feet or higher for over a week. Perhaps that elevation makes those of us who were born and raised in the softer altitudes tense and nervous. I found myself on edge. I found myself preoccupied with worries that would never bother me in the Wallowas or Cascades. Perhaps that was another reason for my growing tolerance of the natives' superstitions. Perhaps I too was feeling a growing need for sustenance from a Power, wiser, more powerful and resourceful than man. Whatever the cause, when we reached Staglang La Pass, our highest one (17,479 feet), I too was caught up by the mood of the rite. I was on a gray Tibetan pony that, along with yaks, I had rented at Zara. It was a fast, sturdy horse, about ten hands. It had trotted most of the way up the long, narrow, sloping valley leading to Staglang La. The day was cool with a high, piercing wind coming off the pass. Storms had threatened all the way, spreading out on both sides of us and leaving us untouched. It was a good day for travel, and my pony and I made the best of it. We were the

first to reach the long switchbacks that climb two thousand feet from the head of the valley to Staglang La. And my pony was in such good shape that he stopped only once during the ascent. We were the first on top and stood a few moments waiting for the rest.

Soon they all assembled, and I turned to the man behind me—the officer in charge of the Indian Army unit that had brought me my movie films—and said, "Let's do it all together." And then I shouted, "*Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.*" He beamed as he caught on and, turning, shouted to Rup Singh, "*Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.*" And so it went from man to man until I heard the booming voice of Rahul far in the rear shout, "*Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.*"

We all knew this was the last pass, that from here on it was an easy downhill to Gya, Upshi, Hemis Monastery, and Leh. Each knew he had conquered the great hazards of the journey and would survive. Each was, I believe, a God-fearing man—from me, a Scotch Presbyterian, to Rup Singh, a Shamanistic Hindu, to Rahul, a devout Buddhist. And each in his own way knew that he did not travel these trails alone, that there was a God who oversaw the whole journey and was mindful of the woes and struggles of each of us. The adversities we had shared, even our little quarrels, had given us a unity. *Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo* on top of Staglang La was the final binding cement.

Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo was not a heathen shout meaning only "Let the gods conquer all the evil spirits." It was a thanksgiving prayer. It meant "Praise be to God." Our shouting it was an act of fellowship, a religious service as moving as any I have ever attended. And yet there were no candles, no altar, no organs, no stained-glass windows. All around us were soaring peaks, gripped by massive glaciers, and decorated with dazzling snow fields. Canyons a mile or more deep yawned at our feet. A howling wind blew like a blast from some Tibetan funnel over the coarse sand that covers Staglang La. The solitude and quiet were so deep they were overwhelming; there was grandeur as far as the eye

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could see. Staglang La was indeed a church, the most beautiful perhaps in all the world. It was there we worshiped. We stood alone before God and His startling creations and bowed in prayer.

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133

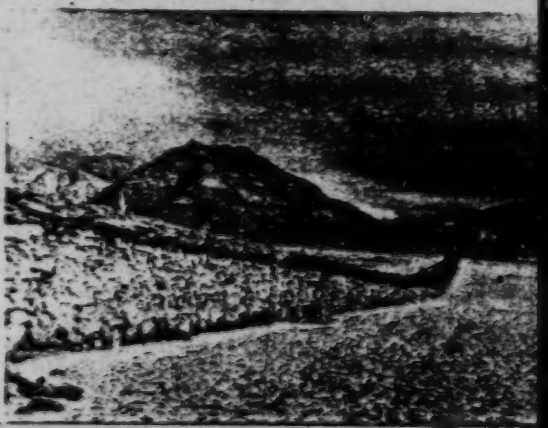
There is a power lurking in these Himalayas greater than any man.

142.

My most interesting patient was an old Ladakhi woman.

153

As one passes a mani wall, keeping it on his right, all the prayers engraved on the stones are said for him: Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.



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CHAPTER 14

MY MEDICAL PRACTICE

C'00

My medical kit had been assembled with a view to providing me and my staff with remedies for most of the ills or injuries which any of us might encounter. It included adhesive tape, bandages, gauze, absorbent cotton, iodine, scissors, spirits of ammonia, and the other customary articles in a first-aid kit. There were soda mints, aspirin, Empirin Compound, penicillin in disposable syringes and a few sleeping capsules, some Demerol tablets for pain, and a few eye lotions and salves. I had sunburn preventives and sunburn lotions (all of which mysteriously disappeared between Washington, D.C., and Manali). I had Atabrine and Aralen for malaria. I had no laxatives, as my anxiety was with dysentery and diarrhea. I had many bottles of water-purifying tablets, halazone, which kills practically all of the bacteria harmful to man except the amoebic sept. I carried bismuth and paregoric—bismuth to stop diarrhea, paregoric to stop the pain. My doctor, Hill Carter, assembled a variety of other drugs—sulfasuxidine, chloromycetin, aureomycin, strepto-

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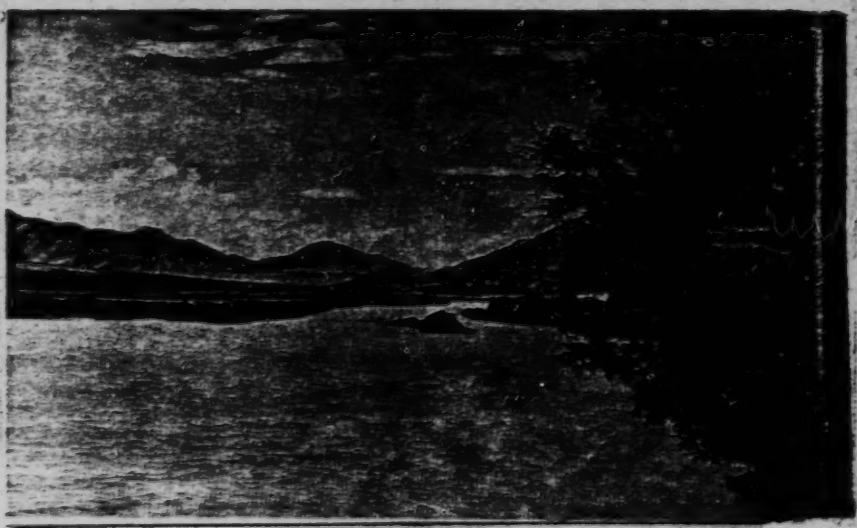
778

On Congrechen Pass was an obos flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram Chand, one of the muleteers, reverently added a new streamer to the collection.

The valley below Upshi is several miles wide and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

133



[facing p. 129]

000 mycin, and even the newest of the antibiotics, terramycin. And en route through Europe I put in a supply of Entero Vioform.

My emphasis was wrong in two respects. In the first place, I discovered that diarrhea and dysentery did not necessarily carry the grave threat I had imagined. In the previous two summers I had been ill at least once a week as I journeyed through the Middle East and Asia. I maintained that average no matter how much care I took. But I learned a valuable lesson in Karachi from 757 Mrs. Avra Warren, the wife of our Ambassador to Pakistan. It seems that the native remedy for diarrhea and dysentery is the psyllium seed. Mrs. Warren learned that the psyllium seed is also an excellent preventive. Take a small handful once a day for thirty days; then take that dosage once a week. Americans have learned that one who follows that routine seldom if ever has the intestinal disturbances that plague Asia. I learned by happenstance that one Entero Vioform tablet with each meal serves the same purpose. I followed that routine on my Himalayan trek, and I was never ill from stomach or intestinal troubles.

759 In the second place, I learned at Manali from Dr. H. W. Williams of the Lady Willingdon Hospital that my medical kit should have been designed not only for me and my staff's needs but for the needs of the natives as well. A foreigner who goes to these remote regions enters territory where doctors have never been. There are no medicines, no first-aid stations, no hospitals. A man coming from the outside world is expected to have medical remedies. The natives flock in at every camp for treatment.

But I learned this too late for me to enlarge my medical kit to any extent. I did, however, get several hundred aspirin from Dr. Williams as we left Manali. And that day was not gone before I started dispensing them.

164 The storm that caught us before we reached Koti the first day of the trek was a cold, devastating one. All of us, including the porters, were soaked through and chilled to the marrow. That evening at Koti six of them lined up in front of me.

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"My back aches, Sahib," the first one said, indicating the muscles along his spine. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime. 164 757

"My legs ache, Sahib," said the second, rubbing the muscles of his thighs. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My head aches, Sahib," said the third, touching his temples. He had no fever. Prescription: one aspirin now, one at bedtime.

The next two had simple headaches but no fever. Prescription: the same.

The sixth one puzzled me. He had a severe headache around his eyes and his temples. I had no fever thermometer, but I knew from his forehead that his temperature was well above one hundred. He had a nasty cough that sounded dry and rasping. The man was sick, and I was stumped. I decided to roll him up by the fire, give him two aspirin, and then see him again in an hour.

His son, aged ten, had followed him from the village of Koti, apparently apprised of the father's illness. As the man lay before the fire, the son sat at his head and massaged his temples. In an hour I asked the patient how he felt; but before he could reply the son spoke up.

"This is a cruel world. You are rich, we are poor. We have to work hard for our living. Father gets up at dawn and works until dark. So does Mother. We all work hard. It is not fair. It is not fair that you are so rich and we are so poor." 565 208

Turning to Rahul, I asked, "What is the meaning of this?"

"Communist propaganda," he replied. "In this part of the world the Communists try to plant simple and troublesome questions in the minds of the young."

"Ask again about my patient."

Once more the son responded, complaining of the gulf between the rich and the poor.

"I don't care right now about your political philosophy," I replied. "How's your father?"

000 The man spoke. "Your medicine has made me ill. Now I am worse than I was."

"Why do you say that?"

"Because my arms itch all over. They did not itch until you gave me the medicine."

"Maybe the man is allergic to aspirin," I said to Rahul. And so I changed the prescription: one Empirin Compound now, one more in an hour, one in case the patient wakes up during the night.

In the morning I saw the patient. The headache and fever were gone; but the dry, rasping cough was still there. He agreed with me that he should return to Manali and not attempt Rothang Pass. Rahul, my disbursing officer, paid him off, and I gave him several more Empirin Compound in case his fever returned. As he left with his son, he gave me the gracious Hindu salute and said, "Sahib, you are a wonderful doctor." And his son chimed in, "There is no one to take care of us poor people. The rich have all the medicines."

As long as the porters were with me, several of them came each night for simple treatments. When Tashi joined us at Koksar with his horses, I treated my first case of boils. Tashi had them on his arms. They were not ripe for lancing, so I bathed and dressed them and furnished him with salve, gauze, and tape when he left us at Kyelang.

Because of the wind, the dust, and the sun, sore eyes are one of the chief afflictions in Lahul and Ladakh. The sun in this dry altitude where the humidity is low has an intense burning power. Among dark-skinned people the eyes are the first to be affected.
293 Every traveler of the high trails wears sunglasses if he can get
000 them. The natives sometimes make them with crude wooden frames and horsehair stretched across for a lens. At Gundala a woman came to me with sore eyes. I bathed them in a solution of boric acid and filled them with a penicillin salve.

164 An old man, a Moslem, came to me at Gya with the earache. I

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warmed some Auralgan, put drops in each ear, and left with him 164
a good supply of aspirin.

There were cuts and bruises, aches and pains of the head and of numerous muscles, red and burning eyes, light fever, colds of the head and chest. These I treated daily.

There was also pass poison. The night we reached Kilung after crossing Baralacha everyone in camp was sick. I was sure no one's head could be throbbing worse than mine, but I had to care for my patients first. They lined up, and each got either an aspirin or an Empirin Compound, depending on the severity of his headache. Kilung, like all other stations north of Baralacha, has no dak bungalow. But, unlike most of the others, it has shelter. Under a huge cliff there is a crude stone serai with a galvanized iron roof strung on iron rafters. It has a few rooms with cement floors and open windows, and a courtyard for the animals. When we arrived several other parties were there, perhaps six people in all. They had come over Baralacha and they too had pass poison. When they learned that medicine was being distributed, they joined the line and received the ration of aspirin and Empirin Compound.

One afternoon Budh Ram came to me complaining. He felt sick; he was afraid he would die. He had indeed an awful fever; and, dark-skinned though he was, he looked ghostly. I immediately gave him two capsules of chloromycetin and ordered him to take two every four hours until the next night. By then the fever had gone and his appetite had returned. I gave him soup, continued the chloromycetin, and kept him in bed. The following morning he was bright and gay.

"Sahib, you are a wonderful doctor," he said. "My wife will be glad I lived."

"Tell your wife that you are the first man in Kulu or Lahul or Ladakh to be saved by chloromycetin."

"Chloro who?"

"Just tell her chloro saved you. And if she asks what chloro looked like, say she was swift, graceful, and had magic."

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164 "Yes, Sahib," said Budh Ram, his eyes dancing with pleasure at the prospect of teasing his bride about mysterious chloro.

My concern with diarrhea and dysentery at the time I made up the medical kit later caused me embarrassment. As I have said, I did not include a single laxative. Yet constipation is most common among the natives. Constipation, eye trouble, intestinal worms, venereal diseases, colds, and goiter are the chief ailments. There seems to be little tuberculosis or cancer. The importance of constipation was impressed on me with amazing clarity by Rup Singh.

Rup Singh stood before me, the corners of his mouth turned down and sorrow written on his face.

"I am sick, Sahib."

"What's wrong?"

"I feel sick here," he replied as he placed his hand on his stomach.

"Pain?"

"No, Sahib, no pain. I am constipated."

"How long since you had a bowel movement?"

"One week."

Here was a man who needed a simple medicine, a laxative; and I had none. I was puzzled. I had to do something, for my reputation was at stake, and one of my valuable men was ill. I fumbled in my medical kit, pretending to be looking for something as I tried to think of a remedy. As my hand touched a bottle of paregoric, I had an inspiration. Paregoric, undiluted in water, is raw and burning; it is supposed to have the opposite effect from a laxative; it indeed helps stop diarrhea. But I had learned of psychosomatic medicine from my friend, Dr. George Draper of New York City; and I knew that the mind and the subconscious play a powerful role in medicine. I also knew that Rup Singh lived in a world where spirits rule and where magic and mysticism play an important role. And so my decision was instant.

I borrowed a tablespoon from Budh Ram and poured it brim-

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ful of paregoric. I held it before Rup Singh and said, "This will /164
taste awful. It will burn all the way down. It will burn as badly as you imagine a powerful devil might burn if you swallowed him. But it won't hurt you. It will help. And the worse it tastes, the more good it will do."

Rup Singh nodded assent and understanding. He opened his mouth, and I poured the medicine down. His face showed the revulsion he felt; he gasped and sputtered and coughed. The next morning I asked him how he was. He beamed all over as he replied, "Sahib, you are a wonderful doctor."

And so my reputation as a doctor grew; and the word of my ability to cure constipation spread. Man Das was my next patient who suffered from constipation. I gave him the same prescription, and it had the desired effect. Goatherds, villagers, chowkidars, muleteers lined up. And to each I gave paregoric for their constipation. And with each dose of paregoric I gave an incantation, calling upon all the forces in the foul-tasting medicine to come to the patient's rescue. It always worked; and my worries on that phase of my medical practice disappeared so long as the paregoric held out.

My most interesting patient was a woman. I had first seen her at Serchu where she, a younger woman, and two men were resting on their packs beside the trail. I came to know them two nights later when we camped at Chakchu, in Ladakh. (*Chak* means "flint" and *chu* means "water.")

Chakchu is a rough, narrow defile on a hogback of a Himalayan /133
range. It lies at 15,800 feet and is the most unlikely spot for a camp one will find in any mountain. There is only one level piece of ground at Chakchu, a spot big enough for a couple of sleeping bags. There we put the kitchen. Rahul and I scrambled down a cliff and found, about a hundred feet below the ridge, a small shelf big enough for two bedrolls. This bedroom of ours had the shelter of an overhang of granite rock gaily painted with lichens. Below us was a yawning pit several thousand feet deep that ran

133 to the Tsarap River. Great jagged peaks dominated the skyline to the south and west. Tremendous chasms that grew in depth with lengthening shadows twisted and turned for miles on end where drainage of thousands of years had cut through rocks and sediment.

Not far below us a clear, cold stream dropped off a cliff and spattered the trail with a soft spray. It was the reason why Chakchu was a popular camp site. There was indeed no other good water for miles and miles. Chakchu was much used, carrying the black scars of many campfires.

136 We made camp early and then sat on our perch watching every movement of life in the vast canyons below us and on the high peaks above. A horned lark visited us—a bold bird, gray underneath and white on top, with two pointed tufts of black feathers above the eyes. Two huge, coal-black Tibetan ravens and an eagle with an eight-foot spread caught currents of air as they swooped below us and sailed gracefully into the void, looking with sharp, cold eyes for carrion. A finch with a black head hopped along the ridge, flying short distances, and feeding as he went.

000 There was no noise, no wind, not even a humming of the *dama* bush that colored the slopes with dark green splotches. There was solitude so deep one could almost hear his thoughts. This was a place so far removed from all my people and my problems, it seemed I was in another world. It seemed I sat in the heavens apart from the earth. It seemed that Chakchu was the place where man could best come to know his relations with his God, his relations with the diverse forces and powers within himself that produce discord where harmony is needed.

I sat for perhaps an hour lost in these thoughts, when my eye caught a movement along the trail below me. The trail cut a thin white line in the side of the mountain for a mile or so until it disappeared around a gargantuan shoulder of rock thrust out into the canyon. The figure was a man with a pack on his back. In ten

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minutes or so he was at the waterfall below us, making camp and 000
starting a small fire with the *dama* bush which he rooted up with his hands from the canyon wall.

In another ten minutes a woman turned the bend on the trail and shortly joined the man. She too had a pack; and after resting a moment she untied it, pulled out a kettle and some food, got water from the cliff, and started supper. In perhaps a half hour another woman appeared far down the trail. She was long in coming, for she stopped every fifty feet or so and rested. She too had a pack, and as she got nearer I noticed that it pressed heavily on her. When she rested she sat on the high bank bordering the trail, leaned forward, shifting the weight of the pack, and rested her head on her hands.

Before the second lady reached the waterfall, another man appeared far down the trail; and when these two joined the other couple, I went down for a visit.

Tibetans usually look younger than they are. To me the two 145
men appeared to be in their late thirties or early forties. The younger woman, short and stocky with a square, pleasant face, looked thirty-four. The other lady, who had lost many of her teeth and had a deeply wrinkled face toughened by sun and storm, was well over seventy. She wore heavy trousers and a skirt which was 291
part of a black wool dress with long sleeves. These clothes were heavy, for they served not only as protection against the weather, but as night clothes too. She had a moccasin-type shoe made of sheepskin, and over her shoulders she wore a shawl of the same material, which protected her back from the rain and served as a pillow or covering at night. It was the only blanket she had. To this point the old lady and the young one were dressed alike. But the old lady, unlike the younger one, had a distinctive headdress 291
known as the *perakh*. A *perakh* is a piece of leather six or eight 301
inches wide and about two feet long that is worn on the head. It runs from the forehead down the back of the neck to the shoulders. It is inlaid with stones, usually jade and turquoise. The

291 Queen of Ladakh (who is titular only now that Ladakh is a part
301 of Kashmir) is reported to have the most valuable *perakh* in this part of the world. But the one worn by the old lady at Chakchu seemed fancy enough. Its jade and turquoise were not polished, but they were well proportioned. Some were as large as fifty-cent pieces, some the size of quarters; others were circular and still others were cut into odd and irregular shapes.

291 The old lady also wore huge side flaps made of black wool, which looked like gargantuan ear muffs and stood out like sails. From a distance they made the woman look like a wolf. The *perakh* and the side flaps are typical Ladakh headdress. I never traced the origin of the *perakh*. But legend has it that the side flaps go back to articles designed for an ancient queen of Ladakh who had the earache. The flaps not only cured the earache; they proved to be so decorative that they became part of the conventional headdress.

164 I no sooner reached the camp of these Ladakhis than the old lady lay on her side and started to moan. I inquired if she were ill. She was; so I sent Man Das up to our camp to fetch my medical kit.

While he was gone I made my diagnosis. The old lady had perhaps a degree or two of fever and a splitting headache caused, I believe, by her supreme exertion at high altitudes under a burn-
484 ing sun. This old woman, her daughter, her son-in-law, and her neighbor lived near Leh. Last June, as soon as the passes were open, they started on foot to Manali, a trek of about 240 miles.

"Why did you go?" I asked.

"To do some shopping and to visit friends."

"Did you reach Manali?"

"Yes, and now we are returning home."

"How long will it take you?"

"Perhaps a month."

"What did you buy?"

"Talcum powder and hair oil."

I reached over and picked up the old lady's pack. It weighed at least forty pounds. I tried to lift the young lady's pack with my right hand, but I couldn't without an extreme exertion, for it weighed at least eighty pounds.

The old lady had climbed from 6,400 feet to 15,800 feet to reach Chakchu. She still had to climb to nearly 18,000 feet with her forty-pound pack. What women, I thought! What stamina and endurance! A shopping trip almost 500 miles on foot. A shopping trip that meant hiking over the Himalayas with a pack. I particularly marveled at the old lady, for I knew that she could probably outwalk me.

I gave her one Empirin tablet and a hot cup of *gur gur cha* and stretched her gently on the ground, using the edge of her pack for a pillow. I left two Empirin tablets with the daughter, one to be taken when the sun dropped below the ridge, the other to be taken if the old lady woke in the night. She was soon sound asleep.

I turned to the daughter and the men and offered them small packets of sugar. They took them and then handed them back, the young woman saying, "Salt would be better." They did, however, accept crackers, cookies, and cigarettes. The young woman was the first to light up. She sat by the small fire smiling as she inhaled deeply and blew the smoke from her nose.

"Do you smoke often?"

"Whenever I can get a cigarette."

"When did you have your last one?"

"Oh, several weeks ago at Manali."

They had *gur gur cha* and *sattu* for supper. Shortly they let their fire go out and bedded down for the night. They lay huddled together on the ground in their clothes, a piece of sheepskin under them, their arms for pillows.

My food was more nourishing, more appetizing than that of these Ladakhis. My down sleeping bag, laid on an U. S. Air Force air mattress, was warmer and much more comfortable than theirs.

000 And yet they could outdistance me, or anyone in my camp, for that matter. They were hardened to the trail; and even the seventy-year-old lady was as tough as nails. They had precious little, but they lived to the utmost of it. They were true to the old
538 Tibetan proverb, "Eat according to the height of your meal bag and walk according to the width of your track."

It seemed to me that civilization had made us soft and flabby. We were fat and weak in our protective environment. We had become so engrossed in living a life of ease that we had sacrificed our health and vigor. If we had the endurance of this old Ladakhi lady, there would be a profound effect on the spirit as well as on the flesh. Then we would regain our adventuresome spirit; then we would want to live boldly and dangerously; then we would not be caught up in the great drive for security. Security? What security has this old lady of Ladakh? What is security? Is not the greatest security the strength of the spirit?

And then I was asleep in a tiny alcove of a mighty cliff of the Himalayas, dreaming of strong, husky women who laughed and giggled at Rahul and me as we struggled to keep up with them along a tortuous Himalayan trail.

When I awoke the sky was turning gray though the sun was over an hour from the ridge. Already the Ladakhis were stirring in the camp below us. Their fire was going, and a pot was steaming. The sun was not yet on the trail when they loaded their packs and started to climb toward us. The old lady came first.

"How's my patient?" I asked.

The old lady bowed graciously and smiled, indicating complete recovery. And so I gave her the traditional Tibetan salutation on farewell, "*K'ali phe,*" which means, "Go slowly."

The one who leaves is then supposed to answer, "*K'ali shu,*" which means, "Sit slowly."

The old lady did not, however, give me that salutation. Instead she smiled and said, "*Sawp* [which is Tibetan for Sahib], you are a good doctor." And the young lady, who had now reached

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us, spoke up and said, "Mother is right. We have a request to make of you. You must come with us." 000

The farewell was touching. These Ladakhi folks, who had carried tremendous packs on a five-hundred-mile shopping trip, had reached my heart. There was pride in my eyes as I saw them follow the old lady up the steep trail that led to La Chulung La Pass (17,000 feet).

Those are the highlights of my medical practice on my Himalayan trek. I expected a dental practice too and I had in fact come well prepared for dental emergencies. Dr. Thomas Thompson of Walla Walla, Washington, assembled a dental kit for me. I had cement to replace fillings, a supply of a temporary filling, a liquid which, dropped in a cavity, would stop a toothache for a couple of days, and fancy dental tools. And my pride and joy were the forceps.

Dr. Thompson had given me a lesson in their use. I was particularly fascinated with the lesson he gave me for pulling a lower tooth. I was to sit the patient on the ground, hold his head with my knees, and then pull with all my might. I will not disclose the technique of pulling which I was taught, beyond the advice, "Once you grab hold, never let go."

"How about Novocain or some anesthetic?"

"It's too complicated and dangerous for your use," Dr. Thompson had explained. "Anyway, the Himalayan hill people will appreciate your services more if you hurt a little bit."

I boasted of my dental kit to Rahul at Manali. At night I would take out the forceps and go about camp looking for customers. None appeared. Day after day, week after week, I looked for customers.

"Budh Ram, doesn't your tooth ache?" "Man Das, ask that man coming toward us with the pack train if his teeth don't need pulling." "Rahul, how are your teeth today?" These were my inquiries; and the answers were always negative and disappointing.

I became tooth-conscious. The first thing I'd notice about a

000 man or a woman I'd meet in a village or along the trail would be
164 his or her teeth. Once in a while, as in the case of the old lady at Chakchu, I'd see that teeth were missing. But the teeth I saw were all glistening, gleaming teeth—perfect specimens.

"Not a cavity in a carload," Rahul would say with a chuckle. Village after village produced no dental patients, showed no dental problems. "It's the barley they eat," I said to Rahul. "It's the barley that is standing between me and a dental practice."

There are toothaches in Ladakh; and when the pain is acute the villager usually relies on the blacksmith for tooth extraction. But I found neither a throbbing tooth nor cavity all the way to
000 Leh. I ended by presenting the kit to Dr. and Mrs. Norman Driver of the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission that for a century has rendered a fine medical service in remote Ladakh.

One night at Leh I was talking with Rahul about the frustration of my dental practice.

"Yes," he grinned, "but you can get great satisfaction from your medical practice."

"I think I did alleviate pain and restore courage and confidence." And then I added, "You're right. I do have a new medical record, a notable one. I didn't lose a patient."

"Don't boast about that," Rahul said, his eyes twinkling. "After all, we broke camp almost every morning. You seldom saw the same patient twice."

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CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about 133
two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or [136]
chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were 233
being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. 411
These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which 231
they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

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133 This clear, cold stream runs into the Indus; and at their confluence sits the bleak village of Upshi.

The Indus rises in a Himalayan basin nearly seventeen thousand feet high. Once it was fed by numerous lakes. Now these lakes are mostly landlocked and turning to salt. The Indus is a powerful stream, cutting its way through the Ladakh range of the Himalayas. The Indus is an international waterway; it rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, traverses the length of Pakistan, and empties into the Indian Ocean near Karachi. It is cosmopolitan in character, giving its waters to a greater number [823] of races than any other stream in the world. The Indus is a legendary stream. The Tibetans call it the River of the Lion, since it is said to flow from a lion's mouth. The folklore is that those who drink the water of the Indus will be heroic like a lion. And the bed of the river is thought to be covered by sands of diamonds.

This day in August 1951, the Indus was swollen with snow water and running dark with clay. It poured through narrow channels with an angry roar and spread wide where the channel [311] flattened out. Crude irrigation canals led off to fields of barley and corn. The valley below Upshi is several miles wide; and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

About five miles below Upshi is Marchelang, a village of a few hundred people—a garden in a washed and rock-strewn land. At this point the Indus Valley runs east and west. A wide canyon opens to the north, a canyon leading to Tibet and China over the 18,370-foot Chang La Pass. To the south there is a small canyon 792 or nulla. It was to that one we turned, and in a few miles came 346 to Hemis Monastery.

Many monasteries in Ladakh and Tibet are castellated buildings perched on high cliffs and thus protected from marauders and invaders. Hemis, founded about A.D. 1047, holds no such strategic position. It lies deep in a narrow nulla which is from a

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quarter to a half mile wide. The canyon walls rise over Hemis 792
three or four thousand feet to peaks eighteen thousand feet and 346
more high. There are springs of pure cold water in the nulla; and thick stands of the Lombardy-type poplar fill the deep hollow with shade.

The main monastery building is a crude three-storied affair built in typical Tibetan fashion—low doors, rock walls, wood rafters, mud floors, and flat mud roofs. This massive building houses most of the lamas who make Hemis their home and headquarters. It feeds them in great dining halls and sleeps them in tiny cells. There are numerous small houses scattered along the nulla, residences of the Incarnate Lama, the higher-ranking lamas, and lamas who are married (Hemis is a monastery of the Red Sect, which, in contrast to the Yellow Sect, permits its lamas to marry). There is one house reserved for visitors. It lies in deep shade by a brook that runs below the main monastery building. It has one large room with a dirt floor and a covered veranda that opens on a grassless yard. The lama who greeted us took us there, and we were about to unload our pack train when the order was countermanded. We were invited instead to the residence of the Incarnate Lama.

We dropped to the creek bed and then climbed sharply to a 792
poplar orchard on the far side of which were several low houses. 231
Tibetans have a custom of chaining mastiffs to their houses. The Ladakhis follow suit. These mastiffs spend their lives tied by a chain fastened to massive collars. As a result of their confinement, they develop ferocious qualities. They lunge at passers-by, straining at their collars and growling viciously. There was such a mastiff on the top of the veranda of the house next to the home of the Incarnate Lama. Our coming produced a terrific uproar. The dog seemed to be almost choking with rage as he jumped at us again and again. The sight of us set up such a powerful turmoil in him that he barked the whole of the two days we were there. Every time I woke in the night he was still barking.

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792 Since the Incarnate Lama is a young boy of eleven, there is an older lama who serves as his teacher and *alter ego*. This lama is called a Lobon or Guru.

The Lobon is a famous institution in Lamaism. The Incarnate Lama is always a young boy who is trained by the Lobon. During the minority of the Incarnate Lama, the Lobon is regent. He is, in other words, head of the monastery until the Incarnate Lama comes of age. His authority is supreme in temporal and spiritual matters. He is also master of his pupil. He teaches the Incarnate Lama the Scriptures, or Buddha's sayings (of which there are 108 volumes), and then the Commentaries (of which there are 225 volumes). The Lobon is with the Incarnate Lama day and night, training him in the mysteries of Lamaism, speaking for him, acting in his stead, prompting him, and keeping him under constant surveillance. In Lamaism beatings of pupils by teachers are common. Even an Incarnate Lama can be beaten by his teacher. But when that happens, the teacher prostrates himself before the student to show there has been no disrespect of the person. And then the student prostrates himself before the teacher, thanking him for the punishment.

The Lobon met us at the entrance to the garden of the Incarnate Lama's house. He was sixty or more, a learned, devout man named Ngatun Phuntzog. His full, round face was beaming as he greeted us. His eyes are deep-set and lively. He has a thin, silky mustache and a skimpy beard. His voice is a deep guttural.
292 His hair is gray and thin. He wore the heavy dark red gown, which gave the effect of a bathrobe, the red girdle, and the red sandals of the lamas of the Red Sect.

000 While Budh Ram and Man Das were sorting the baggage, Rahul and I sat on the porch with Phuntzog. The porch opened on a walled garden green with grass and fringed with poplars. From one side wall a small cataract poured through a pipe, filling the place with music. All else was quiet except for the barking of the chained mastiff.

A dark, swarthy man in his forties, wearing the long, red robe 272
of the lamas, brought *gur gur cha.*[2] His face and head were 792
Mongol. He was barefooted. His black hair was long and unkempt; his skin was dark and grimy; he was the picture of the man who never bathed. In Ladakh, as in Tibet, the monks of a monastery are in various callings—from high priests to gardeners, to cooks, to coolies. This man in lama dress was apparently a novitiate in the monastery who served as a bearer for Phuntzog. He poured [576] the *gur gur cha* in large earthen cups; and as he handed them to us, he held a rag over his mouth (Tibetan fashion) to protect us from any foul breath he might have. The yak butter gave the tea a creamy appearance and a rancid taste. It was not tasty like the *gur gur cha* Rup Singh had made along the trail. It was indeed repulsive, something to which my tongue and stomach took an instant dislike. It was worse than any medicine I had ever taken or dispensed. I gulped half of the cup and had the uneasy feeling that I may have pushed my stomach beyond the point of tolerance. It was touch and go for perhaps a minute. I sat back in my chair, happy only in the thought that I had met the requirements of protocol. But I did not reckon with the eager novitiate who worked from sunrise to bedtime in order to please his master and his master's guests and to get merit in the next life for himself. This man was as quick as a cat and at once took on a sinister aspect. I had no sooner leaned back in the chair, wondering if the bitter liquid would make peace with my stomach, than he filled my cup again.

This time I did not thank him. I may even have given the good man an ugly look. For Rahul broke in with a chuckle and said, "This can go on for hours."

"You mean I must now drink more?"

"Certainly."

"This evil-looking bearer can force a gallon on me?"

"Certainly," said Rahul, laughing out loud.

"How do I stop him, short of insults and assault?"

2 [A Kind of tea -- Analyst]

272 "Just put your hand over your cup."

792 And so I poured another bitter libation into an angry stomach and by sheer will power kept it there. Then I gripped my cup, holding it in a vise and keeping it covered with my hand. Now I was resolved to defend it to the death and to ward off this evil spirit who flitted about like a big bird with a kettle of hot tea in his hand. He *is* a big bird, I thought—a big, Tibetan raven who watches every move of every living thing to see if it is going to drop dead. Dropping dead under the evil influence of rancid yak butter and *gur gur cha* seemed to me the worst of all possible deaths.

792 While my battle with the bearer was going on, Rahul and
521 Phuntzog had settled down to a serious conversation. They both spoke Tibetan; but, as is customary, a formal conversation between a high lama and a foreigner is carried on through an interpreter even though the host and guest speak the same tongue. (That is why high Tibetans talk with such low tones.) One of the Indian Army cavalrymen who had brought me my movie film acted as interpreter. Rahul spoke Tibetan to the cavalryman, who in turn spoke Tibetan to our host. When I joined the conversation, the dialogue became more complicated. Phuntzog's reply came back through three persons to me. The jokes I told Rahul were heard by Phuntzog twice. Once he laughed out loud both times. But Phuntzog, knowing that protocol required him to hold his laughter until the joke was told him officially, thereafter kept control of himself. At times he would swallow his laughter in his beard. But always his eyes would dance with merriment on the first telling. When the soldier told him the story officially, he would throw back his head in a hearty laugh. This Lobon was a healthy, outgoing person. He enjoyed life and was anxious that those around him share in the enjoyment. He was a relaxed, happy extrovert—an ideal teacher.

792 We talked for perhaps two hours. He told about the founding of Hemis Monastery, the organization of the lamas in the monas-

tery, the lama dances, the Incarnate Lama, and how he was discovered. He told how the Incarnate Lama is first taught the Scriptures—the text of what Buddha said—and then the Commentaries. This religious training is followed by reading, writing, and arithmetic. And when the boy reaches thirteen or fourteen he goes to Lhasa for ten years of indoctrination. Phuntzog, teacher to the present Incarnate Lama, was also teacher, as a young man, to the predecessor Incarnate Lama. 792

From these topics we turned to Communism, to the relation between the monasteries and the people, and to the host of problems of concern to Ladakh and Lamaism in 1951. The Lobon spoke freely and without restraint about all subjects but one. The one on which he froze was the land problem in Ladakh—the extent of the holdings of the monastery, the work of the lama who serves as the business head of Hemis, the system of land tenancy, and the rents which Hemis as landlord collects. On this subject he was silent. 521 [421]

Then, and at other times when there was a pause, I would bring the conversation back to the Incarnate Lama and Phuntzog's role as teacher. Near the end of our conversation, I told him about one of my own great teachers, Harlan Fiske Stone, who was Dean of the Columbia Law School when I enrolled as a first-year student in 1922. I took my first course in law from him, the course in Personal Property. When I graduated from law school, Stone was an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Fourteen years later I joined him there; and in a few years he became Chief Justice. As Chief he presided at our Saturday conferences where all the cases argued during the preceding week were discussd and voted upon. Stone, as is customary with every Chief Justice, stated each case and led the discussion on it. More often than not, Stone and I ended voting together. Sometimes we were on opposite sides of a case. Once when the vote was close, Stone looked down the table at me and said with a twinkle in his eye, "Douglas, I can understand how some of our brethren

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521 go astray and vote as they do. But for the life of me I can't understand your vote in this case."

I replied, "Chief, all the law I ever knew, I learned from you."

Stone then pounded the table and, raising his voice, said, "By golly, you never learned *that* from me."

That story delighted Phuntzog. His eyes danced with merriment during its telling, and he roared when it was finished. After a pause he said quite gravely, "In Buddhist history the disciple very often has outpointed his master." And then, bowing his head, he said in tribute to the Incarnate Lama, "Rinpoche [*n* pronounced as *m*] will surpass me."

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CHAPTER 16

AN INCARNATE LAMA

The founder of Hemis Monastery was Stagtsang 792
Raspa, a lama who in the eleventh century came to 175
the nulla where Hemis now stands, looking for a retreat where he could pray and commune. This nulla, narrow, secluded, and quiet, was ideal for his purpose. Willow, poplar, and alder trees shaded it. Clear, cold water poured from springs in bounteous supply. There was solitude broken only by water pouring over rocks, by wind in the trees, and by the harsh churr-churr of the mountain finch. Stagtsang Raspa spent many months in this primitive retreat, trying to make contact with his deity or god-protector (Yidam), who would lead him to the Highest Blessful State.

The lovely nulla visited by Stagtsang Raspa is no longer the quiet place he knew. It is today filled by a thriving monastery of five hundred lamas who keep the place bustling with energy. And 534
twice a day the canyon is filled with hundreds of deep-throated 792
echoes that seem to come from the bowels of the earth. These are the blasts of twelve-foot horns blown from the roof of the monastery to open the day at 5.30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M.

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792 tery to open the day at 5:30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M. The monks of Hemis sometimes follow the example of their founder and go into retreats, taking vows to immure themselves for three years in barren, single-room houses that have no windows, no furnishings, no utilities. Here they sit in prayer and meditation for three long and lonely years. Those who complete the three-year vigil are held in high esteem by monks and laymen alike. Few, however, come out alive because of the rigors of the ordeal. Yet those who start do not turn back, for in the Buddhist world one who violates his vows degrades himself and is held in contempt by the community. Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

538 One of these apocryphal tales concerns Jesus. There are those who to this day believe that Jesus visited the place, that he came here when he was fourteen and left when he was twenty-eight, heading west, to be heard of no more. The legend fills in the details, saying that Jesus traveled to Hemis under the name of Issa.

778 This is a land where legends readily grow. Hindus and Buddhists are, of course, not alone in believing that holy men have made certain places sacred. But they have a special theory about the phenomenon. The presence of holy men and the prayers they have recited have created spiritual vibrations that dominate the place. Pilgrims who go there and stay at least three nights can feel these vibrations and thus enrich their psychic and spiritual

776 life. Many places of pilgrimage are common to Hindus and Bud-

778 dhists alike e.g., Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar in Tibet. These places usually have a presiding deity and many dozens of demigods. There are said to be about 500,000 deities around Mount Kailas alone. But only the pious can see them. These gods are mountain gods, river gods, tree gods, family gods, field gods, house gods. They are the gods and spirits of the ancient religions on which Buddhism became engrafted. They and Buddhism have

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today been mixed in a religion which Buddha himself would hardly recognize.

Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama), whose home was in Nepal, lived from about 560 B.C. to about 480 B.C. He designed a beautiful religion, a religion more intellectual than emotional, one that made wisdom its main faith and righteous conduct its code. Buddha taught the "Noble Eightfold Path": (1) right views; (2) right aspirations; (3) right speech; (4) right conduct; (5) right livelihood; (6) right effort; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right rapture. This philosophy demanded (1) freedom from superstition; (2) noble thoughts worthy of the intelligent man; (3) speech that is truthful and generous; (4) conduct that is honest and peaceful; (5) actions that bring no injury to any living thing; (6) self-control that subjects the passions to control by the mind; (7) a mental attitude of active watchfulness; (8) deep meditation on the principles of life.

Buddha's tenets were based on the notion that the cause of all suffering is desire and that desire results from ignorance. Buddha believed in life after death, or rebirth. The Hindu belief in rebirth preceded Buddha in India. Man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and moves on to take possession of another body. One can, by his acts and mental attitudes, become reborn into a higher and nobler form; or he can debase himself and return to earth in a lowlier condition. He can, unaided, effect his own deliverance and gradually, in successive reappearances on this earth, attain the status of an Arhat or perfected man. This, briefly, is the doctrine of reincarnation. Every event is the result of prior causes and itself the cause of future events. What is done in this life shapes what happens in the next. One who lives a life of good works and good thoughts will move in the next life one step closer to Nirvana. But one who violates the teachings of the "Noble Eightfold Path" will in the next life move down the ladder; then he will have to start over and regain the ground he has lost in his struggle toward perfection.

779 This, in barest summary, was the teaching of Buddha; and it
177 became the main religion of India for the four centuries beginning in 300 B.C. Later it became corrupt and in India was supplanted mainly by Hinduism and by the faith of Islam. Buddhism moved south, east, and north. By 243 B.C. it had come to Ladakh and by A.D. 400 was the established religion there. It gradually spread north, going to Tibet about the middle of the seventh century. Meanwhile Buddhism, as Bell in *The Religion of Tibet*[1] shows, had absorbed much of the magic, mythology, rituals, and metaphysics of Lamaism and became clothed in garments that Buddha himself would not have recognized. But the central core of the religion was intact—the "Noble Eightfold Path." And the doctrine of reincarnation, originally derived from Hinduism, continued to flourish.

779 But the doctrine of reincarnation took a special twist in Tibet.
775 In the fifteenth century it was especially adapted to maintain the
792 authority of the priesthood and perpetuate the power of the
177 lamas in a peaceful way. The theory was developed that each Grand Lama was at once reborn in order to resume his life's work. The soul of the deceased lama took possession of a boy born shortly after his death. The problem was to identify the boy, raise him in the faith, keep his power in a regency until his maturity, and then turn over the power to him. The line of authority thus became clear. There was now no longer any contest among ambitious lamas who wanted to be spiritual leader of all Buddhism. The discovery of the baby to whom the soul of the deceased had passed answered all the questions and settled all the quarrels.

By the year 1542 this system had been adopted in Tibet for selection of the Dalai Lama. And it then became the method for determining the succession of spiritual sovereignty throughout the various lower echelons. The head of every monastery became an Incarnate Lama, who was the reincarnation of the holy man who had originally established the monastery. That is what hap-

 1/A [See Source NO.4, AJ1 Tibet AJ1- ANALYST]

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at 792
Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of 775
Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, 779
his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery. 177

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensi- 792
tive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is [292]
black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his 792
participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with 159
strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

792 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow
159 and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 The house[2] had a central hall that ran its length. My room was
346 on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. An-
262 other lama brought food from the kitchen. It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not
[576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis*, and *gur gur cha*. And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering
159 our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender
431 him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World*, the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

 1/1 [i.e., Hemis Monastery— ANALYST]

An Incarnate Lama

The day we left Hemis the Lobon summoned Rahul and me, 792
and as I stood before Rinpoche with outstretched arms, he de- 431
scended from the dais and placed a white silk scarf across them. I then placed the scarf around my neck. The Lobon presented me with a package of tea. The same gifts were presented to Rahul in the same ritual.

I did not, however, have a white scarf (*kathak*) to present. The gift I wanted especially to give was a fishing outfit. I had a fine, steel telescopic rod with a light reel, nylon line and leaders, dry flies, wet flies, and bait hooks. This, I thought, was the ideal gift for a boy, especially a boy who lived in remote Hemis, days and days of travel from the nearest city where such luxuries might be obtained. I inquired of the Lobon if that gift would be fitting. After weighing my question an appropriate minute he said no. Buddha's teaching was not to take life. All life became sacred, the [779] beasts of the field and the fish of the rivers included. The Lobon thought that if Rinpoche were to be raised in the Buddhist philosophy he should not have a fishing outfit.

"It might tempt him to catch fish," he stated.

"Tempt him?" I said, turning to Rahul. "It would create an irresistible impulse." And so I tendered less disquieting gifts: dried milk, sugar, candies, raisins, plastic spoons, tins of jam, crackers, and, to the special delight of Rinpoche, an air mattress.

It was an interesting and simple ceremony. Rahul and I took off our shoes and entered Rinpoche's room. He was seated on a dais, his back to the window. The Lobon, Phuntzog, sat on cushions below the level of the dais and to the left of the Rinpoche. I presented the gifts one at a time, handing them to the Lobon, who in turn gave them to my host, explaining each time what they were. The little fellow's eyes danced with excitement with each gift; and he was almost beside himself when the air mattress was presented, and at once insisted to the Lobon that he sleep on it that very night.

That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche 000

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche
796 the Lobon invited Rahul and me to attend Rinpoche's prayers. Rinpoche has two prayer meetings daily. The lamas of the monastery have three. They are held in the chapel. Rinpoche, during his minority, holds his prayer meetings in his room.

Rahul and I, our shoes off, sat on the floor facing Rinpoche. He was on a dais opposite us, his back to the window. Phuntzog sat on cushions against the wall to the left of Rinpoche. Next to Phuntzog sat two lamas. Against the wall to our left and facing the Lobon was the teen-age acolyte who was the playmate of Rinpoche.

792 A drum about two feet in diameter stood on a pedestal before
796 the Lobon, and attached to the drum were cymbals. A small bowl
534 of corn was at the Lobon's knees. Each of the lamas on his left had a large Tibetan trumpet. The acolyte across the room had a horn shaped like a hunting horn but made of silver. Before each person was a typical Tibetan prayer book—a collection of sheets of paper about six by eighteen inches, unbound, and held between two long, narrow boards.

On a low stand in front of Rinpoche was a gold *dilbu* or bell (female symbol of wisdom); a gold *dorje* or thunderbolt about six inches long, solid in the middle and slightly bulging and open at the ends (male symbol of method); and a feather duster in a holder.

The Lobon played the cymbals and beat the drum with a stick bent in the shape of a huge question mark. The two lamas blew on the trumpets; and the young acolyte tried to outdo them all by vigorous management of the silver hunting horn. The music filled the room with a deafening sound, for the space was small, not more than fourteen by eighteen feet. It was a rather monotonous chant, a simple tune played over and over again for an hour and a half. With the music came the prayers. Sometimes the prayers would cease while the music went on. Sometimes the music would cease while the prayers continued. But for the most part the prayers were read to the accompaniment of the music.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Once in a while Rinpoche would ring the gold bell with his left 792
hand or with his right hand take the feather duster out of its 796
holder and then put it back. Once in a while the Lobon would 534
toss a few grains of corn across the room in front of Rinpoche.

These were incidental. The main effect was in the music and the chanting. It was an almost magical effect. The beating of the drum and the cymbals, the sound of the trumpets and the horn became a primitive exercise and stirred something deep inside me. It seemed that these musicians were trying to call out the devils in all of us. Then came the incantations in pursuit, driving harder and harder, faster and faster, unending in their effort to suppress the evil forces. The voice of the Lobon was deep in bass. His words poured in a mad rush of syllables to form recitations almost unintelligible. On and on he went, supplying greater and greater emphasis. His deep voice rose and fell—rising in supplication, falling to a whisper, mounting to indignation, dropping to humble praise. Over and over again went the refrain.*

There was something at first harsh and repelling in the music. Then the horn and trumpets, though louder than any of the instruments, somehow faded to the background of consciousness. The cymbals, too, seemed to come from afar. The room was dominated by the drum, the rhythmic beating, beating, beating. And with the beating, beating, beating of the drums came the chant of the Lobon—deep and guttural, up and down, sad and plaintive, loud and demanding, soft and pleading.

It was a hypnotic ritual. The words seemed to be meaningless incantations, falling from the lips of the Lobon in indistinct guttural sounds. The words and the drum set up curious vibrations and cast a spell. Many times I have had the experience of being lost in the music of a symphony, carried away on clouds to worlds remote from the hall or library where I sat. This prayer meeting was different. This music and chanting were holding a man, drawing him like a magnet, pulling him into a strange, psychic vortex

*See page 333.

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Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

The lamas put on their dances, and even the most stupid person can see Lust, Anger, and Greed in all their ugliness.

535

[Facing, p. 160]

792 796 534

until he was swallowed by the beatings of the drum and the chanting of the Lobon.

I had read Forman, *Through Forbidden Tibet*, and his account of how sorcerers one day had conjured up before him and a group of lamas Yama, the King of Hell, and the attendants at Yama's court—Lust, Greed, and Anger. Forman with his own eyes thought he saw Yama, with his thirty-four arms and nine heads and a garland of human skulls about his shoulders. Perhaps he experienced mass hypnotism. Perhaps it was human television.

I had no such experience. But as I sat in Rinpoche's room with my head bowed and my eyes closed, listening to the beating of the drum and the incessant, liquid mutterings of the Lobon, I knew at once that hypnotism was real. I felt the power of music and the human voice and for the first time knew its vast potentiality. Though there was some force fastening itself onto me, I did not try to rebel. For an hour or more I submitted to its decree.

792 796 529

In the name of the Triad! O divine Lord, Mun!
In the name of the Triad! O Lotus-bearer, Hun!
In the name of the Triad! O Scepter-bearer, Hun!

In the name of the Triad! O immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, hu-lu! —hu-lu!—hun!—Phat!

In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! Ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence, Holy-one, Hun-hun!

O Mani, Mani, Great Mani, SAKYA-Mani, adoration!
O Lotus-bearer, hun!—*O fierce and greatly angry,* Hun-phat!

O Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya, adoration!

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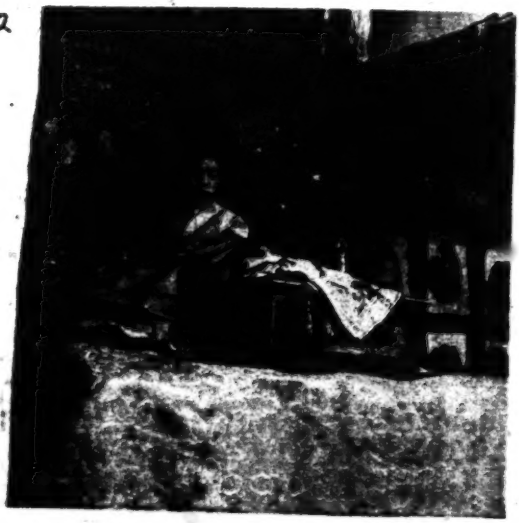

The boy of eleven is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery.

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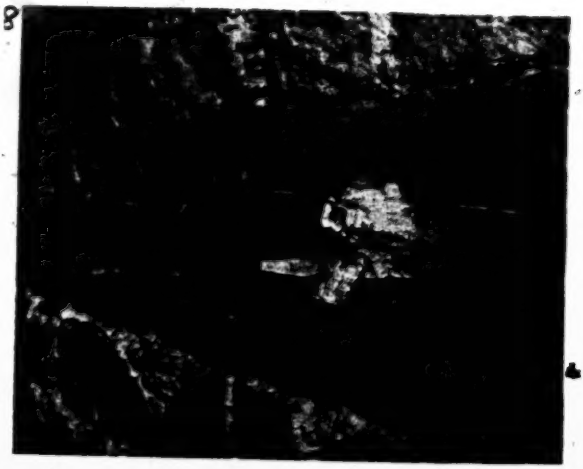

At Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing They are filled with prayers which are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year.

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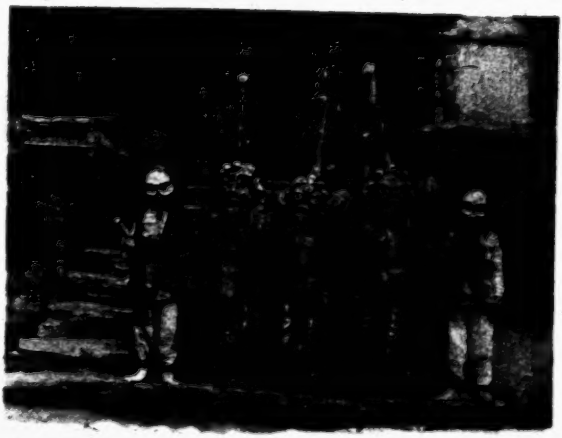

The lama dances, like the old morality plays in Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

[Facing p. 161]

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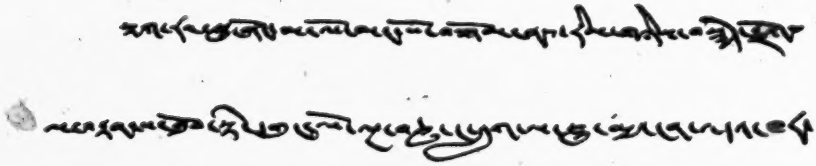
[539] 796 792 *O Divine Lord,* Mun! *O Lotus-bearer,* hun! *O Scepter-bearer, hun!*

This was the chant. Over and over, on and on, it went. It had a primitive rhythm, an incessant beat that held me. It was the music of a trance, an incessant repetition whose monotony produced a numbness. The noise of the orchestra filled the room. But it was mostly the Lobon that I heard—the deep, musical bass of Phuntzog. And high above his voice was the piping tenor of Rinpoche, coming lightly along behind the measured beat of his teacher.

After an hour or more I looked up. The chant was still in progress, the drum and cymbals still beating, the horns blaring. The Lobon was bowed in prayer, his lips barely moving as the guttural sound poured out. Rinpoche was as alert as a bird teetering on a rock. He kept up with the chant, his shrill voice now carrying above the Lobon's. As he chanted he weaved slightly to and fro. And all the while he kept peeking out the window where Rup Singh and Budh Ram were standing, watching the ceremony. And Rinpoche seemed to be telling them with his eyes that he hoped to get this business over with soon and come outdoors and join them.

792 159 The morning of the day we left Hemis I induced Phuntzog to tell me the story of the discovery of the Rinpoche; i.e., how the soul of Stagtsang Raspa was traced to this boy. He went into his room and was gone an hour or more. When he returned, he handed me the following manuscript in Tibetan script which he had prepared; and he recited it on my tape recorder.



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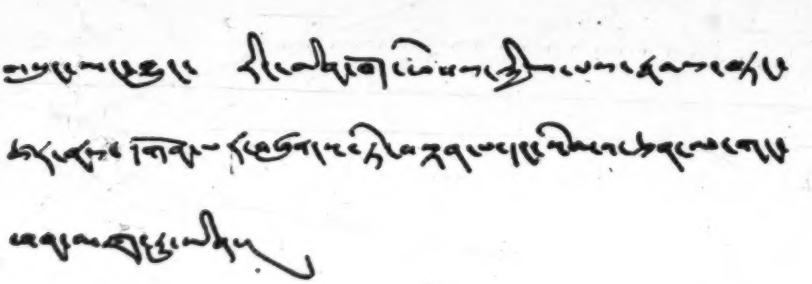

A free translation of this account is as follows:[1]

"The last Stagtsang Raspa told the senior lamas of his monastery [the Hemis Gonpa], when he was over fifty years old, that he was soon going to leave this world and that they should look for him in his new life after a few years' time somewhere in Tibet. Two years after 'the retiring of Raspa to heavenly fields,' the personal attendant of our Rinpoche and I, Ngatun Phuntzog, visited the Lhasa oracle, who told us vaguely of the rebirth of Raspa to a noblewoman who lived in the middle part of the U province of Tibet, a little to the northeast of Lhasa. After finding the family, we learned that the child Raspa began to say 'Ladakh, Ladakh' soon after he was reborn. The Gelung and I saw a sign on his left wrist which we recognized to be the sign of the watch of our last Rinpoche. We recognized the scar of a boil on the back of his neck and other familiar signs on the person of our Master. And when we told his noble parents that their child was the reincarnated Raspa, whom we had come to take to Ladakh, they gladly agreed to our request. When we returned to Lhasa, the Netchung [the oracle] approved our discovery of our Rinpoche. The Gyawa Rinpoche, the Dalai Lama, blessed the two-year-old Raspa and permitted us to take him out to our monastery in Ladakh. When we returned to Hemis, the present Raspa recognized the main gate of the monastery, the entrance to his personal rooms, etc. We installed him here at the age of six years and have been blissfully happy in the return of our Guru to Hemis."

1 [See pp. 161-163 for Tibetan text.--analyst]

792 Phuntzog talked at length about the discovery. He said that the
159 soul usually wanders two years before it decides what life to
789 enter. Two years from the date when an Incarnate Lama passes
775 to heavenly fields is, therefore, the critical date. The high lamas of the monastery then go to the oracle at Lhasa and say, "Two years ago on this date, this man retired to the heavenly fields. What life has his soul possessed?"

The oracle then describes the place in general terms. When that place is found, there may be more than one baby boy who fits the description. In that event they have to make a selection. They customarily bring along some of the possessions of the predecessor. They put these on a table and bring the little candidates in. One may touch a watch and say it is his. One may inquire about his favorite hat and describe it or say where it was last hanging. The lamas may question the boys about the events in the life of the predecessor. They keep up the search until they are convinced they have found the child who has been possessed by the soul of the deceased.

I asked why Phuntzog relied so heavily on the scar of the boil and the mark of the wrist-watch band. "They are not there now," I said.

He went on to explain that the predecessor had had a nasty boil on the back of his neck and that a native doctor had burned it off, leaving a deep scar. The mark was unmistakable. The mark of the wrist-watch strap was also plain. The man had seldom removed the watch; and when he did, a lighter-colored strip of skin was plain for all to see.

That was not all. This predecessor had spoken Arabic and English. "Only the other day," Phuntzog said, "Rinpoche, who has had no lessons in Arabic, started speaking it."

"How can that be?" I asked.

"The knowledge of the predecessor is in the boy," he replied. "It has to be revived. Some stimulus has to bring it to consciousness; but it is all there."

An Incarnate Lama

As we talked we walked through the vast poplar grove and 792
came to the main monastery building. A lama sat under a tree 159
from morning till night, day after day, reciting his prayers in a 787
singsong way. Our passing did not interrupt him. We climbed to the rooms of the Incarnate Lama—the rooms Rinpoche would occupy when he reached maturity. These were the rooms occupied by the predecessor. His portrait, done in oils, stood on the mantel. Phuntzog turned to me and said, "When Rinpoche first came to Hemis, he asked for his rooms; and when I brought him here he kept pointing out various articles that he recognized."

We walked to the mantel where the oil portrait of the predecessor stood. There was silence for several minutes. Then Phuntzog, turning to me, said, "The resemblance of the Rinpoche is plain, isn't it?"

I nodded, and then I looked to Rahul and saw that he nodded too. And Rinpoche, who had been eying us closely, grinned from ear to ear and, whirling on one foot, dashed out of the room, his little red robe flying.

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CHAPTER 17

OM MANI PADME HOOM

788 *Om Mani Padme*[1] *Hoom* is the mantra or devotional formula of Buddhism. In Ladakh it is repeated by all people while sitting, walking, or traveling. It is a mystic formula whose letters have a symbolic importance which I learned but did not understand. The repetition of these mystic words sets up a vibration. Some say the vibration improves one's physical health; some say it gives a spiritual benefit. I learned in Ladakh that it was supposed to do both.

Om Mani Padme Hoom—Om Mani Padme Hoom—Om Mani Padme Hoom—these are the words that I heard all the way along the 240 miles from Manali to Leh—on wind-swept passes, beside cool springs, at fords across angry rivers, in villages, beside shrines, in monasteries. These were the magic words on the lips of men, women, and children everywhere I went.

778 788 34b They also appeared on the *mani* walls. I saw my first one on the south side of the Himalayas between Koti and Rothang Pass.

[1]The *d* is silent, the first *a* is short, the second long.

It was about six feet wide, three feet tall, and fifteen feet long. 188
This rectangular pile of stones had been built by some lama on 178
his travels. He had placed on top several slabs of slate and en- 346
graved on each of them *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

Rahul told me at the time that this would be the smallest *mani* wall I would see. And it was. It seemed that the closer we got to Leh the longer the *mani* walls became. There were *mani* walls from ten to twenty-five yards long near every village. At Toche Phirche, where we camped in the rain, there was a *mani* wall fifty yards long against which we stretched rubber tarps to form lean-tos. At Gya—the first village north of Jispa—there were many *mani* walls, some one hundred yards long. And outside of Leh there was a *mani* wall fully a mile in length. It was a massive thing, perhaps five feet high and twelve feet wide. Its top was strewn with flat rocks on each of which had been engraved by some lama, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

One who passes a *mani* wall murmurs, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" And he always keeps it on his right. For there is an old Tibetan saying, respected in Ladakh, "Beware of the devils on the left-hand side." And as one passes a *mani* wall, keeping it on his right, all the prayers engraved on the stones of the wall are said for him. *Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

The *chhorten* is associated with *mani* walls, a large one tower- 346
ing perhaps thirty feet or more; a smaller one, ten. It is of pyramid design, made of stones and clay, and usually whitewashed. The architecture of the *chhorten* is symbolic of the basic five elements:

the lowest cubical part is the earth,
the spherical part is water,
the triangular part is fire,
the crescent part is air,
the moon on top is ether.

There are 108 different designs of the *chhortens.* They can be plain, simple, mud affairs, or they can be beautifully built out of

346 hewn rock and adorn[illegible]e top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

764 I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed
346 on the ground, and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not cus-
[775] tomary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten*. But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood—red and white.

788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten*, they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens*. They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens*, and as they walk they chant in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom*. The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

were following the small Yunan River down to Kilung. A Tibetan 788
who was bringing a caravan to Patseo twirled it as he followed rangy mules loaded with wool and marmot skins. And as he twirled it, he kept murmuring to himself, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

In the main monastery at Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are perhaps eight by eighteen inches and filled with prayers. They too are engraved with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* One spins them clockwise as he goes up or down the stairs, waiting, in case another has preceded him, until the earlier spin has ended. And as each spins, he murmurs, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Some prayer cylinders are spun by the wind. There is a large one at Hemis, about three feet long and eighteen inches wide, hitched up to paddles and turned by water. It too is filled with prayers that are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year. And the prayers say millions upon millions of times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are practically no doctors in Ladakh. Although each 759
monastery will have a lama trained in native medicine who will 793
take care of the illnesses of the monks, there is no medical service 756
for the people. A villager who is sick sends for a lama. A child or the wife makes the journey to the nearest monastery (perhaps thirty or forty miles) and brings back a lama. The family gives the lama his board and lodging and pays him as much per day as it can afford. A man with a special attachment to the lama may turn his wife over to him for the duration of the visit. For these considerations the lama prays. He sits by the bed of the sick person for hours, for days on end, driving away the evil spirits that have caused the illness. And as he sits, he chants endlessly, incessantly, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Buddha did not believe in mortification of the body as a means 779
of salvation. But that belief is a religious longing deeply rooted 783
788

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 in Asia, rooted so deeply that it cannot be dislodged. Lamaism
783 believes in it. A lama may walk years on his knees to atone for his
788 sins. In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet, he may do a prostration pilgrimage. He lies flat on the ground, both hands extended. He marks the point, stands up, steps forward to the mark, stretches flat again, and repeats this exercise again and again. It is common to find people doing a prostration pilgrimage around monasteries or holy places. A prostration pilgrimage of thirty or fifty miles is not unusual. It may last for weeks. One may do it for his own salvation—to get merit by sacrifice—or he may be hired to do it for another person or for the soul of a friend or relative.

One day I saw a lama coming up the Hemis nulla in a prostration pilgrimage. He was barefooted, with pads upon his knees. His robe was pulled up and fastened high. His hair was close-cropped, and he was filthy with dirt. Down he went on his stomach, then up on his knees and to his feet; then down again. And with each prostration he said twenty times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

788 The lamas gather in the chapel three times daily for prayers.
796 I did not attend any of these services at Hemis, but students of the subject say that the ritual is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Catholic Church. There is, however, usually the music of trumpets, drums, and cymbals. There is always the burning of incense. And as the lamas kneel in the pews, the hum of *"Om Mani Padme Hoom"* fills the place.

796 These monasteries observe monthly festivals and four annual festivals, from each of which they get revenue. The people bring
[777] gifts of grain, or goats, or cash. The lamas sell amulets, talismans, idols, and sacred paintings. They sell paper strips and pieces of cloth filled with symbolic figures.

The most notable of these festivals is Losar, the New Year's Feast, observed in February. It celebrates Buddha's victories over the heresies—the triumph of the true religion over infidelity. People come from far and wide to the monasteries and celebrate

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

for days on end. There are dancing and the exchange of presents; there are prayers before images of the deities, prayers in the chapels. There is no distinction between clergy and laymen, rich and poor, men and women. Beggars kneel in pews next to the elite. And the whole audience murmurs in unison, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

At the entrance to the main chapel of the Hemis Monastery there is painted on the right-hand wall the wheel of life, sacred in Buddhist symbolism. It has been beautifully described by Suydam Cutting in *The Fire Ox and Other Years:*

"The 'wheel of life' is a spoked disk, painted on a scroll. On the hub are painted a cock, a pig, and a snake, standing for lust, greed, and anger, the three vices that torment human beings. The rim is divided into twelve segments, representing such metaphysical concepts as 'sense surfaces and understanding,' 'indulgence,' and 'fuller life.' The area between hub and rim is divided into six compartments, sharply divided by the spokes. At the top is heaven, at the bottom hell. The other four spaces are devoted to human life, animal life, purgatory (tormented spirits), and titans.

"Closer inspection reveals a dolorous prospect—a multitude of pictographs illustrating Buddha's doctrine that suffering is inevitable—'All is transitory, painful, and illusory.' Life is an endless, wearisome round of rebirths. The pictographs illustrating human life, for instance, show birth, old age, sickness, death, ungratified desires, struggle for existence, punishments, bereavements, and offensive objects and sensations. Hell is no less graphic. There are eight hot hells and eight cold ones, with an additional outer hell through which escaping spirits must pass without a guide. Each of these has special tortures to suit various crimes and misdemeanors.

"The 'wheel of life' is held in the claws of a monster who symbolizes 'the hideousness of clinging to life,' and beyond the rim is shown Buddha, who has escaped the round of metempsychosis."

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788
778 As the lamas passed this scroll, I heard them mutter, *"Om Mani*
531 *Padme Hoom."*

788 To the center of the main chapel is an altar covered with bowls
782 filled with water and cereals. They are offerings to various gods. For the sake of prosperity, they are supposed always to be filled. I met the lama who attends them, a scraggy, barefooted man, and as he passed the altar I heard him mutter, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are thirteen large urns at Hemis, about four or five feet tall and three feet wide. They are filled each year with yak butter by some friend or benefactor, and lighted wicks stand in the middle. Each urn is supposed to burn a year. If the flame goes out, it is bad luck. The lama who had the main urn under his surveillance hovered near, wrapped in a soiled, red robe. As I went by I heard him murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

778 In the center of an adjoining chapel is a life-size statue of
788 Buddha, where the devout bow in worship, murmuring, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

785 Around Buddha are images of lesser deities and of Incarnate Lamas. There is one of Stagtsang Raspa, founder of Hemis. There is one of Mila Repa, the famous Tibetan poet who lived for eighty-three years and attained Buddhahood in that span even though
754 his early life was sinful. He had learned how to kill people by magic and for a while walked the path of darkness. Then he did penance under a Lobon (Guru) by the name of Marpa. Marpa made him build a house of stone, then tear it down and carry the stones back to where he had found them. He did this over and again, one time building and tearing down a house nine stories high. Marpa beat Mila Repa and gave him impossible chores to do in penance for his sins. Finally Marpa gave him the Initiation and the Teachings, and launched Mila Repa on a life of mortification of the body. He became a hermit in a cave on a high mountain, where he lived on nettles. He renounced food, clothing, and

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speech. He pondered on the lives of the saints, the causes and 785
effects of actions, the ends of worldly existence.

This poet-saint is loved in all Ladakh. His strong face, carved in stone, looks down on the inhabitants of Hemis. It shows tremendous concentration and an indomitable will. All who pass [788]
Mila Repa's statue at Hemis murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

One day while Mila Repa was moving to a new cave high on a shoulder of Mount Everest his only worldly possession, an earthen pot, broke. The loss was welcomed, not deplored. And Mila Repa, the poet, wrote:

> *The earthen pot now is, and now is not.*
> *My sole possession.*
> *By breaking it has become a lama,*
> *For it has preached an admirable discourse*
> *On the impermanence of things.*

And near the end of his life he wrote:

> *May the prayer regarding the death of this beggar*
> *Be fulfilled for the benefit of all beings.*
> *In a rocky cave in an uninhabited country*
> *There will my mind be fully content.*

The Buddhist world is filled with legends of Mila Repa. There 538
is the story of the frightened deer being pursued by a dog and a 788
hunter. The deer, crossing a ridge, saw Mila Repa in his cave and heard him chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The deer paused to listen and was so spellbound by the spiritual vibrations that its fears were forgotten. Shortly it lay down beside Mila Repa, serene and relaxed in the spiritual atmosphere of the place.

Along came the dog, who, seeing the deer, whirled to the attack. Then the dog heard Mila Repa chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The dog stopped and listened; it too became calm and serene, and shortly lay down beside the deer.

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538 Then came the hunter, who, seeing the deer and the dog lying
788 down together, believed the dog had been bewitched. So he drew his sword to kill the dog. As he approached, Mila Repa began to intone, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" The hunter was strongly affected by the chant. He stood undecided and torn. Before long he returned his sword to the scabbard and, approaching Mila Repa, prostrated himself before the Holy One.
535 A lama dance (*chham*) is built around these characters[1]—a play
796 illustrating the old Tibetan proverb and Buddhist teaching, "There is no sin so great as killing."

Phuntzog put on some lama dances for us. But the act of the deer, the dog, and the hunter was not included. The dances we saw, like the old morality plays of Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

They were performed in the courtyard in front of the main monastery building. Opposite the stairs leading down from the monastery sat the Rinpoche and the Lobon. Each of them is usually dressed in a long, flowing, dark red robe, wrapped toga-like around him so that his right arm is bare. Now the left arm was bare, and a bright yellow shawl was draped over the shoulders and around the waist. Rinpoche wore a peaked red hat that had no brim but came down over the back of his neck. Phuntzog wore a big red hat whose brim flared up and stood like great sails sewn together. Rinpoche sat on a dais with the gold bell and gold *dorje* in front of him. Phuntzog sat on his right. Farther to the right was a great array of musicians—trumpeters, drummers, and two men who blew giant horns. They were bedecked in gaily
[534] colored clothes and tall red hats of various designs. The trumpets were of the clarinet type, made of wood and brass. The drums stood on edge, held four or five feet off the ground by a pedestal, and attached to them were cymbals. The drums were struck by sticks bent into the shape of huge question marks. The two horns (*shawms*) were each twelve feet long. The larger end was about eighteen inches in diameter. It rested on the ground.

 1 [From legends. See p.173 -- ANALYST]

Om Mani Padme Hoom

The two lamas who played these horns were extraordinary men. 535 To be able to blow the horns at all seemed to me remarkable. The 796 fact is that one man cannot blow one horn for many consecutive seconds. That means that the other horn must come in and pick up the pitch where the first horn leaves it. This requires great skill, as one relieves the other over and again, hour after hour, while the orchestra drones on and on.

It takes hours to present the lama dances. The pageantry is superb; the story, exciting; the plot, simple; the moral, plain. They have been described by Ted Shawn in *Gods Who Dance*. The characters were all masked. Some wore masks of people; [532] others wore masks of lions, stags, oxen, and yaks. These masks—carved from solid blocks of wood and colored with a glossy and brilliant enamel—usually had grotesque expressions. Their hideous features, their terrifying grimaces led early European visitors to the monasteries to call these the Devil Dances. That is a misnomer. The dancers represented the forces of Good as well as the forces of Evil. The main emphasis of the theme was the struggle between the two. After a few serious scenes, the producer of the dance changed the pace and sent in comedy relief. These were gay, carefree, burlesque-type characters. After they left, the serious took up again. Apart from these interruptions, the story marched steadily onward—Good gaining the ascendancy; Evil gradually being routed.

A triangle had been drawn on the cobblestones of the courtyard and inside this triangle there was a small black image representing a human corpse. Dancers dashed madly around it, engaged in a foray of sickles and swords as they tried to snatch this corpse from the triangle. The lesson was plain—man is helpless and guideless; he lives among vast unkind elements of earth and sky that seek perpetually to destroy him. Only Dharma, man's good action in life, can guard him against the evil designs of the spirits.

The final act was put on by two characters representing virtue—the Stag and the Yak. The heads worn by the lamas in this dance

were huge and realistic. The Stag and the Yak each had swords. It soon appeared that their main objective was the Evil in man, who was represented by a dummy stuffed with straw. The act ended with the Stag and the Yak cutting this prostrate figure to pieces.

I was dashing about filming this dance and making a recording of the music. Once I stepped close to the Rinpoche and the Lobon. The Rinpoche, I noticed, reached out every few minutes and rang the gold bell. Its sound was drowned out in the tremendous rumblings from the giant horns, the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, and the shrill of the trumpets. But I could distinctly hear above all the clashing sounds of the orchestra the deep guttural of Phuntzog and the piping tenor of Rinpoche, chanting, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

It was at the beginning of my trek that Rahul first told me about this mantra. *Om Mani Padme Hoom* means "O Jewel of the Lotus." The lotus is the most beautiful of flowers, though in India it grows out of mud and filth. The lotus thrives in the most unattractive places; it adorns spots seared by plagues; it blossoms in an environment of oppressive poverty; it furnishes a breathless purity in yards contaminated by man and his creations.

Buddha was born in a lotus. Like it, he brought glory, purity, and beauty to oppressed and poverty-ridden people. Buddha, like the lotus, lived above his environment. He showed that the spirit of man can rise beyond the lowliest and filthiest source and find perfection even among the dregs of the earth. He showed how goodness can come out of misery, poverty, and dirt.

This is the immortal message of *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* It is on the lips of millions every minute of every hour. People who never saw a lotus chant it endlessly. Though its meaning may be lost to most of the millions who use it, in this part of the world it is the medium for communion, the symbol of reverence, the devotional exercise, the pious prayer, the sign of the cross.

I remembered that Rahul had said that holy men along the

trail in Ladakh and Tibet murmured it to passers-by, that it was 188
a greeting often given. And so it was that I used it as a salutation at Koksar. A red-hat lama was at Koksar, en route to some place of pilgrimage in the manner of the lama made immortal by Kipling's *Kim*. Rahul was talking with him as I came up. When I was introduced, I murmured, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

That night as we ate dinner, Rahul said, "You made quite a hit with the lama."

"How come?"

"Since you addressed him with *Om Mani Padme Hoom,*" Rahul said with a chuckle, "this lama thinks you are a lama from America."

"Did you disabuse him?"

"Certainly not. *Om Mani Padme Hoom* is going to help us through this country."

"Just how does *Om Mani Padme Hoom* help out?"

"These are peaceful people all the way through Ladakh and Tibet," Rahul explained. "They seldom use violence. Yet they are obedient to their lamas."

"I still do not understand how *Om Mani Padme Hoom* gives protection against a ruffian."

"No Ladakhi or Tibetan would move against a stranger unless directed by a lama. And no lama will ever give the order against a visitor who reverently greets him with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

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CHAPTER 18

HOW MANY HUSBANDS DO YOU HAVE?

595

Polyandry is a form of polygamy. But instead of the husband having several wives, the wife has several husbands. Ladakh is not the only place in the world where polyandric marriages have existed. But it is one of the few places where they still thrive. They thrive there despite the fact that Kashmir has outlawed them.

595 Some say polyandry exists where there is a scarcity of women;
182 that when there are not enough women to go around, a social-religious institution is created enabling one woman, with propriety, to do double or treble or quadruple service. That was probably the origin of polyandry in the plains of India where long ago there were in places a scarcity of women owing to female infanticide. Others say that polyandry was introduced into Ladakh and Tibet to take care of the special needs of family life there. The man of the house customarily spends more than half the year away from home with caravans, or with sheep and goats, or on pilgrimages. There is the need to protect the women and

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the children during his long absences and to maintain a standard 595
of connubial fidelity. So the wife is given protection and com- 182
panionship of extra husbands. Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., who passed through Ladakh about thirty years ago on a hunting expedition, reported in his book, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon,* that polyandry served greatly to ameliorate the lot of the woman in this region. I found no evidence of that. The woman in Ladakh is the work horse of the family. When she marries she takes up the great burden of children, the house, and the fields. Unmarried women are spry, pretty, and gay. Married women are old by thirty. A few years of married life makes them bent and silent and wan. Polyandry, if designed to cater to the woman, has failed in its purpose.

In some regions polyandry may have been designed to cut down 595
the number of babies. The scarcity of food is thought by some to 168
have been the reason for the introduction long ago of the polyandric marriage into a few remote sections of the Kulu Valley. A related reason is sometimes advanced for the introduction of polyandry into Tibet and Ladakh. The view is that it was imported by the lamas as an instrument of control. This region does not produce much food. If the population curve were to go up, there would not be enough food to go around. Population is held in check by reducing the number of wives. That means more food for everyone as fewer babies are born. That means that the monasteries, bulging with food, need not fear a growing discontent among the masses who starve so that the lamas may eat. The purpose, if such it was, is lost in history. But the effect of polyandry is plain. The population of Ladakh has long remained practically stationary; and the food supply of the lamas has in no way been threatened.

Another theory behind polyandry also traces to a purpose that 595
serves the interest of the monasteries. The idea is that if a woman 182
has several husbands there will likely be discontent and rivalry 792
among the men. The wife will have favorites; and there will be

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
182 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
792 monasteries to become lamas.

595 All of these reasons* may contribute to the invention and spread
428 of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each generation of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers. The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
[601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

 * [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

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practice she may reject the husbandly advances of any of the hus- 595
bands or she may demand the husbandly attentions of all of them.

But the polyandric system in Ladakh is not a pure and unadul- 595
terated one. It bows to expediency. In theory, there is only one 178
wife. Often there are two or perhaps three in a family. The first wife may be sickly. Or she may be so busy bearing children that she cannot work in the fields. Or the burden of the children, the house, and the fields may be too great for any one woman. And so another woman is brought in as wife; and the bedroom acquires a communistic cast.

At times there will be no son to inherit the land. In that event 595
the eldest daughter takes all. Yet, if she has sisters, they too must 428
be provided for. And so the institution of the *magpa* was invented. The father who has no male heir looks around for a likely son-in-law. When the father finds a suitable candidate, he makes a proposition to him. If the chap will give up his family name and take the family name of the other family, he can marry the eldest daughter and their son will inherit the property. If this chap marries the eldest daughter, he automatically becomes the husband of all of her sisters. He becomes the *magpa*, the new head of the sonless family. And so when Mr. Gyalang marries Miss Dombos, he becomes Mr. Dombos.

Thus primogeniture in Ladakh and in Tibet has produced both 595
polyandry and polygamy. These institutions today have a great 428
hold on the people. The Kashmir government is not proud of 182
them. The educated people look down on them. The best families in Leh do not like to discuss the problem. But the roots of polyandry are deep; they are tied to the economy as well as to the customs of the people. And behind the scenes the lamas give the system spiritual and moral support. For the institution of primogeniture has long been thought to be sound in a land where the margin between subsistence and starvation is so narrow. And polyandry is sound by the standards of the lamas, who measure

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595 428 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their 182 religious order.

595 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage 585 of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage 586 or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not 595
come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a 586
polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There 595
are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, 548
which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased 595
the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an 177
ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of [795]
Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn 797
to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck 177
pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric marriages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated, in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

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abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it. 595 428 [691]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless." [694]

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers. 593 184 [797]

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm 593 595 184

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593 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one
595 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this
184 ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and
[465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land
291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves,
515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night,
735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

she was nursing a child; and as the baby fed, Nordzin picked lice 515
off herself and off the child and cracked them with her fingernails. 735
Her hair was matted. Nordzin, about five feet eight and slight, had a flat face that was creased with care and worry and unhappiness. The faces of the children were as filthy as the rags they wore.

I inquired of Pamba why they were so poor when Phuntzog 735
made twelve dollars a month and the garden produced all the 274
vegetables they could eat. The answer was slow in coming, and even then it was evasive. It seems that a great portion of the income of the Gyalangs goes into the making of *chan*, the local barley beer. Indeed, one eighth of the farm production of Leh is used to make this brew. It stimulates many quarrels between the brothers. With the help of the *chan*, Phuntzog and Pamba raise their voices over Nordzin.

When I entered the Gyalang house, I began to understand the 593
basis for the friction. It is a one-room affair. A clay stove, built [511]
by Phuntzog, is against one wall. The floor is of mud and very dirty. There are no chairs, no table, no bed. The one wife, four children, and two husbands roll up together on the floor.

There was a scowl on Pamba's face when I asked him about Phuntzog.

"He's Nordzin's favorite," Pamba complained.

"But he's gone most of the day and many nights on his mail route," I said.

Pamba only shrugged his shoulders.

Later I talked with Phuntzog. The sun was just rising over Leh, and he was in a hurry to get started on the road to Spitok. He, like Pamba, is short, squat, round-faced, and bedraggled. Like Pamba, he was full of complaints. His brother was getting the best of the arrangement, he said. His long absences gave Pamba the advantage. It was he, Phuntzog, who owned the place; yet it was Pamba who acted like lord and master. And Pamba was lazy and made Nordzin do all the work.

593 At the end of our talk I put Phuntzog one question.

"Phuntzog," I said, "tell me the truth. Should a man keep one wife all to himself, or is it better that he share her with another man?"

Phuntzog looked at me for several seconds. His brown eyes were now hard, his face expressionless. Finally he muttered, "What do you think?"

And, turning on his heel, he started with his mail sack to Spitok.

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CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on con- 471
ditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it 423
was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast [463] majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geograph- 101
ically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh 631
has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom- 175

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It[1] was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[1] [Ladakh -- Analyst]

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792 175
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 668
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 631
Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the north- 175
west; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)(1953) A34 W. Tibetans A34

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Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha.

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The Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word.

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The castle of the King of Ladakh still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

534
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Zila played the daps and sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice.

[facing p. 192]

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

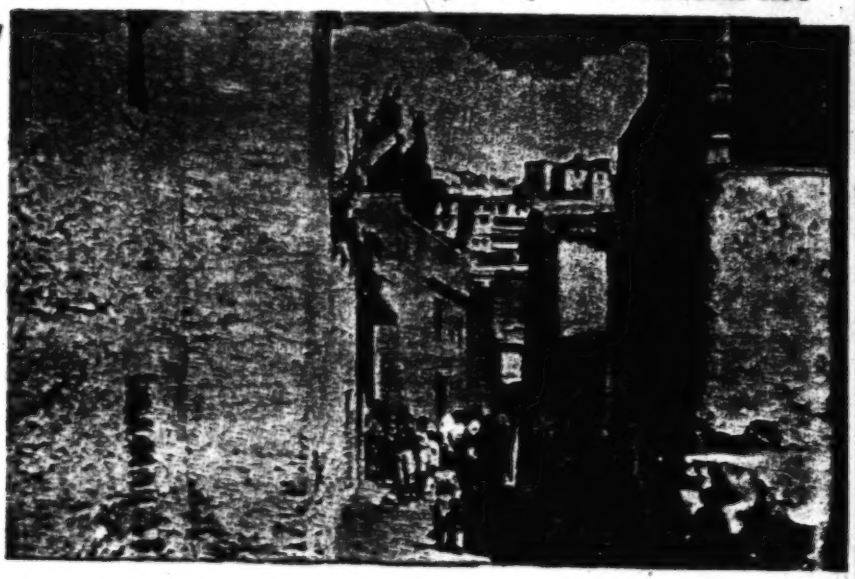
426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

341



Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars.

Jigmet, the headman of Upshi, is the richest man in the village.

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[facing p. 193]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

426 loans. But ancient habits are hard to break. I do not know the
456 extent to which these new Kashmir laws are observed. There are
671 ugly stories about current usurious practices. About 95 per cent of the agricultural loans in Ladakh are repayable in kind. Monasteries advance food in the winter to tenants. Barley advanced when the grain is sixty cents must be repaid when the grain is thirty cents. Isn't repayment of twice the amount of the loan a kind of usury?

423 Kashmir has gone far in breaking up its feudal system based
671 on landownership. Under its new law every landowner is en-
425 titled to keep 182 *kanals* of land. The government has taken the rest of each owner's holdings and distributed it to the tenants. In the vicinity of Leh over twenty thousand acres have passed from twenty-four landlords to the peasants. The distribution at Leh, as at other places in Ladakh, was free, the peasants not paying for the land. Nor, to date, has the government paid the owners any compensation. Whether or not they should pay is a political question that agitates Kashmir.

425 Payment of just compensation, in the American sense, is impossible. The holdings were so large and so vast that it would take all the wealth of the state to compensate the old owners by our constitutional standards. Nehru and I discussed the problem in Delhi in August 1951.

"If the former owners get paid the full value of their land they will still own the wealth of the nation," Nehru said. And they would. New people would own the land. But the bulk of the revenues would still flow to the old owners.

Various ideas are being discussed for compensating the owners: payment that avoids confiscation; an annuity to the owner for his life and a lesser annuity to his children for their lives. What Kashmir will eventually do has not been decided. But in two important respects Kashmir has not touched the land problem.

It has not distributed the landholdings of the King of Ladakh, who completely owns the village of Stok not far from Leh. It has

425 not distributed the landholdings of the monasteries. Though some twenty thousand acres were taken from twenty-four landlords in the vicinity of Leh, as I have said, nine thousand acres, belonging to the monasteries, were left untouched.

671/ The truth is that the Kashmir law excepts these holdings from
423 its operation. In the case of the King of Ladakh, the exception is
792 not important, for his holdings are not great. He probably was
425 excluded because the monasteries all around his estate were excluded. The monasteries were excluded because the power of the lamas is so great that the government did not deem it expedient to disturb the status quo.

I heard various versions of that decision. One official in Leh said to me, "If a monastery has five hundred lamas, in fairness each lama would be entitled to 182 *kanals* on a redistribution of the land. That would at times result in an increase in the holdings of the monastery."

Another official had a different view: "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, who will support them?" he asked. He went on to explain that, while the monasteries collect some funds from the people, these funds are inadequate for the support of the lamas. The people are poor and can give very little. What they do give are small sums on festival days, on marriages, and the like. There is no sustaining congregation as we know it. The monasteries are utterly dependent on the land for their support.

This official added, "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, then the government must support the monasteries. That would be bad."

"Because church and state should be separate?" I asked.

"No. Because the government could not afford to maintain the monasteries."

792 The bald truth is that the lamas are a powerful political force. The position of the lamas is strong. If A were running against B for public office and the lamas sent word down that B was hostile to the church, there is no doubt A would be elected.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Church as Landlord

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [143]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens,* and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

871 lighted and full of scheming devils, learns about the paintings
532 from the lamas. He first learns of devils and demons from the lips
869 of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up, from the legends of pass poison, evil demons, revengeful gods that men in the caravans relate. And when he goes to the monasteries, the stories he has heard at home are confirmed. The lamas put on their dances and out come Lust, Anger, and Greed in person. Even the most stupid person can see them in all their ugliness. Thus are the natives indoctrinated with fears and superstitions. The devils are always present; they are a factor never forgotten in the daily life of the Ladakhis. A Ladakhi burns incense to sanctify his house. He spins his prayer wheel and observes the ritual of the *mani* walls and *chhortens*. And to gain religious merit, he goes on a pilgrimage, sometimes to India proper, in search of the river of mystery in the fashion of the lama immortalized by Kipling's *Kim*.

792 Rahul, devout Buddhist and a prominent layman in the church,
876 made a speech a year or so ago saying the monasteries should become educational centers, bringing in the children from the surrounding areas and teaching them. The wrath of the lamas descended on Rahul. He was severely taken to task.

"Why?" I ventured to ask.

"Because the power of the lamas is in part due to the ignorance of the people," Rahul answered. "That is the reason why Tibet has been the forbidden land. The lamas do not want ideas from the outside world to reach their people. Ideas, you know, can be disturbing."

That is why travel of foreigners throughout the whole area was long restricted. That is why lamas, fearful of the importation of ideas, would sometimes turn bandits loose on travelers. That is why, even today, the educational activities of monasteries—apart from their perpetuation of superstition—are practically nil.

792 Lamaism has a vested interest not only in the ignorance of the people but in their poverty as well. Poverty and ignorance, in

fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for 792
promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*), but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the *konyer*). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot* and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job 792
is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their 426
cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable, whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in 735
which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, 511
and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture. They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The [262]
Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples, grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries. That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

735 an annual cash income of eighty dollars a year per family. But
511 that is far above what the average Ladakhi family will have in a year.

[342] At Upshi, where we first touched the Indus River, we stayed with the headman of the village, Jigmet. Jigmet's house has two stories. It is made of stone and mud with rafters of poplar wood. The ceilings are about six feet high. The floors are mud. The roof is flat, constructed of rocks and mud laid on top of boughs. The cooking is done in a fireplace located under a hole in the roof. The toilet is on an open balcony on the second floor. It consists only of a hole in the mud floor. There are no furnishings in the house—no chairs, no beds, no tables. There are no decorations on the walls, no carpets on the floors.

Jigmet is the richest man in the village. He owns the land he works—eighteen *kanals* or a little more than one acre. He has no sheep, no goats, no yaks. He has one dzo that he uses for plowing. For fuel he uses the dung of the dzo and the common sea buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides*)—a silvery-barked shrub with sharp spines and orange-yellow berries that flourishes in the valley of the Indus. He raises only barley, and he irrigates it from the Indus. He has a few chickens. Their eggs, the dzo's milk, and the barley are his income. He bragged that he had a cash income, over and above his living, of fifty dollars a year. A local official laughed at the idea. He said five dollars a year would be closer.

[291] Jigmet wore a gray wool gown, sandals, and a Ladakhi hat. The hat, distinguished by a rim made of black fur, had a round, squat top. Jigmet had one other adornment. In his right ear he wore a big gold earring about an inch and a half in diameter. His face was sad; his black eyebrows and thick, black mustache accentuated the severity of his countenance. Yet he was a gracious host. He showed us to our room on the second floor. The room had a small balcony big enough for a sleeping bag. It faced north, and I could see miles and miles up the Indus. We no sooner had unpacked than Jigmet's family appeared—a wife suckling a babe,

a grandmother, two small boys, a teen-age girl. I asked to get 511
their pictures in several different groupings. Jigmet directed them 735
to comply. After each picture, Jigmet came up and, with outstretched hand, said, "Bakshish" (an Arabic word meaning a tip, which the British introduced to Ladakh). Each time I gave him or the wife or the children something—candy, cigarettes, salt. The picture taking took a half hour or so. Jigmet and the family then left. When Rahul and I were eating dinner, Jigmet reappeared. He sat silently watching us for ten minutes or so. Then he got up, held out his hand, and said, "Bakshish." I gave him some more cigarettes. At the crack of dawn he was back, saying, "Bakshish." He followed me around as I took pictures of Upshi and its people.

I worked my way through his fields of beardless barley to get pictures of the Indus River, about a quarter mile distant. Every few yards, Jigmet, who followed me closely, pleaded, "Bakshish." That word came so frequently that it rang in my ears. By the time I had returned to the house, loaded my cameras, and started to leave, Jigmet had increased the frequency of the request. "Bakshish, bakshish, bakshish" came like a chant. I had paid him well for the lodgings. I did not know what the proprieties were. Rahul said I had paid enough; so did the Indian Army officer who was traveling with us from Pagmur to Leh.

I walked up to Jigmet and held out my hand to say good-by. He did not put out his hand but said, "If there is no bakshish, there is no use shaking hands."

I took his hand anyway and gave it a firm squeeze, saying, "This is the way we do it in America. Friendship is more important than bakshish."

Jigmet stood disconsolate as I rode off on Moti. Though Jigmet, 511
by Ladakhi peasant standards, was well off, he had not more than 735
ten dollars a year cash income. All who lived around him were 792
much poorer than he, held in a vicious serfdom under the monasteries. It was his duty to feed and care for every lama who went

511
735 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any pos-
792 sible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[642] The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people
578 of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as
522 well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a
578 serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of be-
522 ing a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.
792
539

Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Church as Landlord

As the women sang, they bent over until their backs were al- 578
most parallel to the ground. They shook their fingers at an im- 522
aginary figure at their feet as if they were scolding. As they 792
pretended to scold, they swayed back and forth. And as they sang and swayed, their eyes danced with merriment. For now they were making fun of their lord and master—the one who owns their souls, their houses, their menfolk, their babies, their fields—the big rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 20

COMMUNISM vs. BUDDHISM

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In the summer of 1951, the United States was busily engaged in hunting down Communists in our midst, in preparing our defenses against Soviet Russia, and in conducting a military program in Asia against Red China. While this was going on, while our sons were in training camps or on the battlefields, while our generals were seeking larger and larger appropriations for military ends and more and more laws to strengthen their hands, Soviet Russia was completing one of the most astute political maneuvers of her career. Some of the events which marked the political victory were noted in our press. But their full significance did not percolate through the military-mindedness which had possessed us. Few, even at top levels, knew and understood the master moves which Soviet Russia, acting through Red China, had made on the international chessboard. The move, although involving directly only Tibet, had a much larger prize in reach. That prize is the Buddhist world.

Communism vs. Buddhism

When the Chinese Communists, in January 1950, announced 175
their program for the "liberation" of Tibet, they were following 779
a traditional Chinese policy of intervention. In the ninth century, Tibet was at war with China. Tibet, the aggressor, was expanding east and west. But the Buddhist religious invasion of Tibet dramatically illustrates that religion makes a vast difference. When Buddhism became fastened on the Tibetans, war no longer became an instrument of policy. Buddha's command not to kill had profound political effects. Tibet became at times a subject nation. The Mongol Empire was extended over Tibet in A.D. 1200. By A.D. 1700 Chinese suzerainty began.

Tibet has never been a part of China, though Tibetan history, 175
written by the Chinese, has made it so. Tibet was strong and 648
independent when China was weak; Tibet was subservient when China was strong. Tibet has always been China's western neighbor. The boundary, which runs through vast, trackless expanses, has caused frequent disputes. The pressure of the western border people on China was often strong. China moved to a position of *influence or control in Tibet in order to guard her western* frontier.

The Chinese influence asserted itself in several ways. For centuries some lamas have received Chinese pensions and some monasteries have received generous Chinese donations. China has long demanded control of Tibet's foreign affairs and has always been jealous lest some other power align Tibet against China and thus create a menace from the rear. China has long paid the salary of the Tibetan Ambassador to Peking.

China has had at her command all the instruments of propa- 648
ganda. Her merchants, her books, her periodicals, her students 208
have gone throughout the world carrying the message of China's greatness and power. That message included the word that Tibet was a part of the great Chinese Empire. Tibet had no publicists, no ambassadors free of Chinese influence, no newspapers, no

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
775 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle 648
directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By select- 775
ing the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church 787
got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached 792
democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beauti- 792
fully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the 159
Saturday Evening Post for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born 787
after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of 792
Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They con- 159
sulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies fre- 775
quently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

787 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus
792 sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-
159 encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it ap-
775 peared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

648 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in
792 this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At
775 times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

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rate pieces of paper, wrapped each one in a piece of dough, put 648
the three in a wheel or drum, and whirled it. Out pops one; and 792
the man whose name is in the capsule is the Dalai Lama. How 775
they controlled the wheel so that the name of the candidate they preferred popped out is a mystery. But I learned from my early days with a carnival in this country that such mysteries are not profound. I am sure this one is not above the reach of the average pitch man.

The Chinese made the process easier to manipulate. In 1793 a golden urn was sent from China. The names of the boys who were likely candidates for the reincarnation were placed in the urn. Religious services were held, and then chopsticks were used to pick out one slip of paper. Manipulation within that scheme of things was a simple affair.

The Chinese have gone so far in their manipulation of the doctrine of reincarnation as to prohibit rebirth of a person deemed inimical to the welfare of the state. In 1882 Sing Chen helped a foreigner into Tibet and allowed him to visit Lhasa. The Chinese were displeased. They put Sing Chen to death and forbade him to reincarnate. Thus, long before the Communists came to control in China, the Chinese authorities used the doctrine of reincarnation to serve their ends and to perpetuate their authority.

The Chinese have used the Panchen Lama to further their 648
cause of subjecting Tibet. The Panchen Lama is second to the 792
Dalai Lama. But in some respects—too recondite for me to under- 642
stand—the Panchen Lama is "holier" than the Dalai Lama. He is a political invention of the fifteenth century—not an invention of the Chinese but of the ecclesiastical authorities who, on the growth of the political power of northern Tibet, created the Panchen Lama as the symbol of the north. But the south won out and the Dalai Lama remained supreme. Yet the Panchen Lama became a divisive influence in Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs.

The Panchen Lama has a large area of his own in Tibet over which he has control. His district is Tsang Province, where he

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648 exercises almost complete jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and
792 in temporal affairs. This region is his fief, and he is the supreme
642 overlord.

In recent years, the Chinese have capitalized on this strategic position of the Panchen Lama. The previous Panchen Lama in 1924 quarreled with the Dalai Lama and left Lhasa for China. He stayed there until his death in 1937. Then the Chinese, in control of the selection of his predecessor, chose the present Panchen Lama. Up to August 1951, this Panchen Lama had never left China, had never been in Lhasa. But he, the second-in-command, sat in China urging the Tibetans to make peace with Red China, pleading with them to submit to the "liberation" program which the Communists designed for Tibet.

648 The objective of the Chinese Communist government in the
792 summer of 1951 was to get the Dalai Lama under its control. He had become alarmed at the threat of the Red Army to Tibet. So he fled Lhasa, going with his entourage to Yatung, a small monastic town near Mount Everest on the Tibetan-Indian border. I had letters to the Dalai Lama and had arranged to visit him there. But before I arrived, a train of events had changed the course of history and sent the Dalai Lama north, a virtual captive of Red China.

The family of the Dalai Lama and many influential people in the hierarchy pleaded with him not to return to Lhasa. They pointed out that if he did, he would be a ready victim of Communist intrigue. The Communists would work to liquidate the system of landlordism on which the monasteries depended. The Communists would appropriate the wealth of Tibet to their own ends, robbing the church. The Communists would undercut the authority of the Dalai Lama, making him a mere vassal. The Communists would make the monasteries dependent on them for financial support; and once the Communists got effective control, the Dalai Lama and all other lamas would be mere puppets of the Red regime. There were personal reasons as well on the side of leaving Tibet. The Dalai Lama's mother had left Tibet. The

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Chinese sent his brother to Yatung to persuade the Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa. The brother passed through Yatung, crossed to India, and caught a plane to the United States. The weight of family influence was on the side of quitting Tibet. 648 792

These were the arguments of friends of the Dalai Lama who wanted him to quit Tibet and go to India. There were other arguments I was carrying to Yatung to present as forcefully as possible to the Dalai Lama. There is reason to believe that the Dalai Lama understood this point of view and was sympathetic with it. There is reason to think that if he had his real choice he would have left Tibet.

But the arguments advanced against that move were powerful ones. The Chinese, who had sent a large delegation to Yatung to negotiate with the Dalai Lama, had talking points. First, it was intimated that the Dalai Lama was not the true reincarnation, that he was an impostor, that the Chinese had found the true reincarnation and were ready to install him. Second, the Panchen Lama, long a rival of the Dalai Lama, had been "discovered" by the Chinese, was pro-Chinese in his attitude, and was ready to acquit himself properly should the Dalai Lama refuse to return. Third, Lhasa had long been the religious capital of the Buddhist world. It is to Buddhists what Rome is to Catholics. The great weight of sentiment was for the Dalai Lama to return to the ancient capital, even though it would now be enveloped in a hostile atmosphere. Fourth, many Buddhists thought that if the Dalai Lama returned he might be able to unify the lamas against the Communist influence and present a solid front against Communist infiltration of Lamaism. Fifth, lamas came down from remote monasteries with pleas that the Dalai Lama should not leave the country. These pilgrimages may have been inspired by the Communists. But the thousands of lamas who appeared were doubtless sincere in their requests. When word spread in Yatung that the Dalai Lama was planning to fly out of Yatung and go to India, the lamas lay down on the airport. Hundreds and hundreds

648 of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane
792 to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still
[787] uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

795 The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its
178 leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed
792 from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal 795
power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in 178
Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The 792
Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the
Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with 642
Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri 795
to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to 178
the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like 792
Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the 647
regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The govern- 792
ment posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. 574
We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this 792
highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

574 close with stale air; and finally we emerged into a room of abun-
792 dant light. Bakula was there to greet us. His dais was against one wall, raised about two feet from the floor. Against another wall was a bookcase behind whose glass doors I could see beautiful Buddhas, exquisitely bound books, colorful idols. Bakula sat opposite us on a cushion. In front of each of us was a small table. Bakula's table was higher than mine; mine was higher than Rahul's. Thus were the requirements of protocol met. A barefoot, scraggy lama appeared and placed food before us. There were many vegetables, all highly seasoned except the boiled rice. Bakula did not eat. He has but two meals a day, morning and noon. He did not even participate in the dessert—fresh apricots and tea. But while we ate, he talked. And most of the talk concerned Communism.

000 Bakula is short and wiry with deep-set eyes, high forehead, and a sharp-beaked nose. He is a quiet, introspective, scholar type of man in his early thirties. Bakula is a *geshes*—a professor of the University of Lhasa, where he spent twelve years poring over ecclesiastical texts. He seems to be the born teacher. But these days he is in active politics. He is a member of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir and greatly concerned with the necessities of social reform in Ladakh. These days Bakula gives a great deal of his time to public and secular activities. He is learned in worldly affairs as well as in the Scriptures. He has studied Communism and knows the way Soviet imperialism uses it to extend its domain. He knows its history and understands its techniques. He has learned how Communism operates, the fronts it uses, the propaganda it spreads, the frictions it seeks to develop between rich and poor, its hatred and suspicion of the church, the system of terror it employs to advance its ends.

Bakula wanted to know about Communism in the United States, its strength in the labor movement, its placement in government, its power in the Army and Navy, the number of its adherents. He wanted also to know how strong Communism was

growing in Europe and in the Middle East. His questions ranged 000
far and wide and were penetrating in their reach.

I turned the discussion back to Ladakh and Tibet and the Bud- 208
dhist world.

"What is the nature of Communist propaganda in Ladakh?" I asked.

"There is none," Bakula replied.

"No radio programs beamed to Ladakh?"

"There are not more than three radios in all of Ladakh."

"No literature distributed?"

"None."

"No agents nor provocateurs operating for the Communist cause?"

"None."

"No members of the Communist party in Ladakh?"

"Not a single one."

I was amazed at these statements. In most of the countries I had traveled in Asia and the Middle East, the Communists were extremely active—stirring discontent, exploiting popular causes, using democratic slogans, posing as the champions of the oppressed. To find an area where no Communists were busy or involved was a great surprise. I asked Bakula how he explained it.

"The Communist strategy in the Buddhist world is first to get 648
control of the church. That requires not propaganda but control 792
of the ecclesiastical hierarchy," he said.

"They have control of the Panchen Lama?"

"Yes, he is a Chinese sympathizer."

"They now have control of the Dalai Lama?"

Bakula was deep in thought for several minutes.

"No one knows what will happen," he finally replied. "All I can tell you is what I think will happen."

"What is your guess?"

He went on to describe the temporal as well as the spiritual power that is in the hands of the Dalai Lama. It is this temporal

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power that the Communists will try to get.[1] Perhaps they can get it, not by disturbing the form of the arrangements but by controlling the laymen and lamas appointed to the positions of authority. Such a move would result in changes almost imperceptible but nonetheless destructive of the Dalai Lama's temporal power. The Communists would then be in a position to exploit the differences between rich and poor, to breed discontent among the masses, to appropriate the wealth of the monasteries.

"Is that your prediction?" I asked.

"The Communists will use every means to get control of the wealth of the monasteries. My fear is that they will succeed."

"What will happen then?"

"The monasteries will then become so poor that they cannot carry on their work, or they will become dependent on the Communist government for their financial support."

"And in either case, become subservient to Communist influence?"

"Exactly."

"But that would affect only Tibet. What about Ladakh?"

"The Dalai Lama is the spiritual head of the Mahayan school of Buddhism, which embraces China, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Tibet, Ladakh, Bhutan, Lahul, Sikkim, and Spiti. Buddhists in these countries look to him as Catholics look to the Pope in Rome. If the Communists control the Dalai Lama, they are in a fair way of controlling that part of the Buddhist world."

These were the worries and concerns of Bakula. These are the worries and concerns of those who know the Buddhist world.

[1]One of the latest moves by the Communists in Tibet to dilute the temporal power of the Dalai Lama and to decentralize the authority of Lhasa over Tibet is the creation of an administrative council composed of the Dalai Lama and two pro-Communist Tibetans—the Panchen Lama and Sawang Ngabo. Thus the Panchen Lama is restored to the position of power he enjoyed last century. Moreover, the Chinese caused the Dalai Lama to dismiss the loyal Sawang Lukhang, who was Prime Minister and in charge of Tibet during the absence of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa.

Communism vs. Buddhism

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177 [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208

648 792 208 anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as they draw water from the wells.

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In the religious city of Lhasa this year
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [*rifles*] *in their hands*
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

648 792 668 The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese military strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

000 The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

[2]About five cents.
[3]About seventeen dollars.

at our feet, bathed in moonlight almost white in its intensity. This was the full moon, the time deemed most auspicious by the oracles of Lamaism for important decisions, for important action. The day of the full moon was indeed the time chosen for the Dalai Lama's return to Lhasa. The full moon would bring good luck even to his acceptance of a Communist regime in Tibet. The full moon would give a beneficent turn to the whole chain of events flowing from his agreement to live under the Communist Red Star.

That was the word on the lips of all the lamas in the Buddhist world. That was also the belief of those who sponsored the Communist cause—those who, like the Panchen Lama, saw power and privilege drifting their way when the hierarchy of Lamaism was finally controlled by the Chinese Communists.

These were my worries as Rahul and I picked our way down the rough, narrow footpath that runs through the barley fields stretching from Sankar to Leh. The full moon that this night was a good omen for Buddhists and Communists alike was an ill omen for the West. Soviet imperialism, with the aid of this brilliant moon, had this day gained a great victory. By reason of its hold on Red China it had swept within the orbit of its influence much of the Buddhist world. It needed no propaganda, no literature, no radio programs. It needed no agents working among the masses, stirring them to discontent. All it needed was control of the masters of those masses, and this day it had achieved that end.

This full moon that filled both Buddhists and Communists with hope filled my heart with despair. This night—August 17, 1951—I had the awful realization that Asia was fast being lost. Our policy in Asia was primarily military, not political. Under slogans of righteousness and justice we had entered our armies in Korea against an aggressor. We had not stopped there; we had taken—or been forced to take—further steps. Now we were in bloody conflict with the Chinese. We had taken on Red China in a

000 military project. Red China, battling the West, was being driven farther and farther into the arms of Soviet Russia. The alliance between Soviet Russia and Red China was indeed being cemented by our military attitude toward the problems of Asia. China was becoming more and more a junior partner of Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia was using her more and more as a pawn.

We had helped Yugoslavia free herself from Soviet imperialistic power. Yugoslavia, though still Communist, was no longer giving comfort to Soviet imperialism. Why could we not pry Red China loose from Russia? Why was not the grand play on the chessboard of Asian politics a political settlement with Red China, leading to recognition? If it were practical to effect one, if Red China would come halfway, we could work with her at the diplomatic level. Then we could widen the deep, basic conflicts between Russia and China and send whirling into opposition the clashing interests of Chinese nationalism and Soviet imperialism. Then we, rather than Russia, might become the indirect beneficiaries of the capture of the hierarchy of Buddhism by the Chinese.

The awful thought I had on this moon-drenched night above Leh was that our ignorance and arrogance were depleting our strength, impairing our power, and losing us our influence and prestige in Asia. We had mistaken our real enemy. Soviet Communism, evil as it is, is not our important enemy. Our real enemy —our implacable enemy—is Soviet imperialism that uses Communism as its instrument for expansion.

Now it was clear to me why we were losing Asia. Now the pattern of world politics was taking shape. The eerie moonlight above Leh seemed to make plain the great disaster that was being laid for the United States, the country I love. I could not sleep. I walked the valley of Leh for hours, this awful thought pounding in my head. And the depression that had seized me grew and grew as I realized the fury of the press, the fury of official Washington at anyone who would dare propose that our differences with Red China be resolved, a political settlement worked out, and recognition of Red China afforded.

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CHAPTER 21

JU LE, JU LE

Leh, a town of 4,000, lies at 11,555 feet in a vast, 361
sloping basin hemmed in on three sides by peaks 133
that rise to 25,000 feet and more. The south side—the side we entered—flows in a gentle, rocky decline to the Indus.

We had followed the Indus from Marchelang downstream ten 133
miles or more after we left Hemis. Higher up at Upshi the Indus had been a raging torrent pouring in a maddening roar through narrow gorges that served as fast, rock funnels for the dirty water. Below Marchelang it was as flat and calm as the Mississippi in summertime, spreading into estuaries and bays as it overran its banks and overflowing great reaches of bottom land. Not far below Marchelang the trail turns north and crosses the Indus. The Indus now divided into two main channels. Two rather primitive wooden bridges quivered at the touch of man or beast and shook nervously, permitting only one man or one animal on them at a time.

There is a grove of poplars on the far side of the bridges, and 000

000 it was there that we stopped for lunch. In this grove camel caravans were repacking for the trek downstream to Khargil. Farmers were gathered under the trees, gleaning news from the men of the caravans. Mule trains, carrying produce between the villages up and down the Indus in the manner of our locals, rested
132 in the shade. It was cool in the shade but blistering in the sun. Though this stretch of the Indus lay over eleven thousand feet high, the daytime temperature marched well over 100 degrees; and on some days it went into the 130's. The summer heat is so great and so sustained that it brings grain to maturity in two months' time.

487 The trail, after crossing the Indus, divides, one fork going south along the river's edge to Spitok, Khalatse, and Khargil, the other turning north to Leh, the Khardong Pass (18,380 feet), and Yarkand, an ancient trading center of Sinkiang. We took the right fork
137 and in four miles came to Leh. This approach to Leh is dreary and desolate. In early summer there are buttercups, columbine (called asses' sugar), and clematis in this area. Later come the vetches, lavender, bluebells, and cornflowers. There are great stands of iris, which is sometimes stacked and dried for winter fodder. These flowers bring color to the land. But by mid-August the gaiety is gone. The flush of light green from the tender spring grass has also passed. Now the slopes and nullas are dry and sear.

134 Monotonous browns and grays fill every stretch with desolation. Each view shows the end product of erosion. The ground has been endlessly pounded by the quick feet of goats and sheep; the protective covering of the earth has been eaten off or washed away; there is no topsoil left; every ravine tells the story of harsh runoffs of water; the fields and slopes are strewn with countless rocks, pitched up by the slow working of frost or exposed by the cutting wind that whines ceaselessly along the Indus. There is no shade, no touch of life, no bush, no scattered hummocks of the *dama* bush. There are distant snow-capped peaks to lift the heart; but there are only heat and dust and rubble underfoot.

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of 778
the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds [788]
of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monas- 471
teries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare 735
subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth. [792] 651

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern 423
world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding [493] streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 782 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

la ilaha illa–'llah:
Mohammed rasulu–'llah.
No god but Allah: Mohammed
is the messenger of Allah.

771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh—2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist coun- 797 try, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is 175 also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith 648 of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not 797
to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to 175
propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule 648
of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not 643
thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over 349
the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great 792
wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their 178
spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all 671
the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. 695
It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

671 dom to divine where the truth lay. Sometimes an accused would
685 have to draw a red-hot iron through his hand or take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil. If he did this without injury, he would be in the clear. (The legends persist that there was a secret art for protecting the hands against such ordeals.) Sometimes the judge, when confused by the evidence, would cast lots instead and in that way determine on which side the truth lay.

681 Capital punishment in Tibet was cruel—pushing red-hot irons
674 into the temples, hurling the convicted person from a great height, smashing his joints with a hammer. In Ladakh, when a temple was spoliated or a person horribly murdered, the guilty one was either crucified or bound hand and foot, weighted with stones, and thrown into the Indus to drown. The usual punishment for crimes—whether adultery or theft—was whipping, fine, or imprisonment. There was a mounting scale of fury which society directed against the thief. For the second offense of stealing, he lost his left hand; for the third, his right hand; for the fourth, he was drowned in the Indus.

[178] At Leh I inquired about these practices, and I learned that they are now mostly history. They are history not only because the Kashmir law is an ameliorating one but because the Buddhist religion has made a vast difference in the lives of the people. Thus I could find in Leh no modern record of a crime of violence—murder, manslaughter, rape, assault and battery.

674 "Don't put too much reliance on the absence of rape," a junior officer laughingly told me. "The resistance point of the average Ladakhi woman is pretty low."

"How about killings?"

"None."

"Assaults?"

"None."

"Not even between husbands in polyandric families where several brothers must share one wife?"

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at 674
each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded 719
the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to 438
Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when com- 487
merce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square— 443
where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where 178
the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls 458
are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and 439
fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with 178
merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
[548] be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

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years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 438
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its
Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient
city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will
shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an
extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the
use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale.
Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program
in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as
the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the
old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 159
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with
their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncompli-
cated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith.
The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to
them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people,
and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually
faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the chil-
dren, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoy-
ancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the
laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been
washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the
garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against
Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips,
gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

797 lished a century ago by devout Germans. It is now headed by two fine Britishers, Dr. and Mrs. Norman Driver, who dispense re-
164 ligion and pills with special emphasis on the medicines, for Leh is rife with venereal disease, intestinal worms, and goiter. Zila works for the Drivers; and one day in their garden I heard her singing. She played the *daps*—a skin stretched on a hoop about three feet in diameter. Zila sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice:

539 *When I approached the city gate,*
They shut it in my face.
I salute you,
The Rose of Ladakh.
I put my life in your hands.
I carry my cup and food,
And come with you.
I salute you,
*The Rose of Ladakh.**

000 I asked Zila to sing more. She went and brought back another girl and two men, and they sat for an hour or more beating the *daps* and singing folk songs. All of them had sad voices; all of them but Zila had sad faces. Her face was lighted with happiness; her eyes danced; her white teeth gleamed. She threw back her head and gave zest to the song about Tseringskyit. It was Zila who took the lead, the other girl and the two men making the response:

539 VERSE *Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*
RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her body is as though it were made of gold. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*
RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

*See page 335.

Ju Le, Ju Le

VERSE *Her brow is like the moon when full. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?* 539

RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her eyebrows are like the vowel sign. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*

RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her nose is like a copper tube. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*

RESPONSE *I have not seen your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her teeth are as beautiful as pearls. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?**

The searching for love and affection is endless. It goes on the world around. The search crosses the highest passes of the Himalayas. Tseringskyit—the one who has just passed by and yet is so remote and so elusive—is the smybol of that search in the wastelands of Ladakh. Tseringskyit, not Communism, carries the hopes of the people. For Tseringskyit knows tenderness and compassion; Tseringskyit has understanding. Yet Tseringskyit has beauty too—the beauty that lifts men above the sordid environment of their lives.

One night we sat at the Officers' Club in Leh, talking of the competition for men's souls. Communism professes love of mankind, but it preaches hate and practices terror. People want love and affection. It will be love and affection that will prevail in the universal, planetary scheme of things. It will be love and affection, not physical power, that will win Asia.

This theme is illustrated a thousand ways when one travels Asia with a sensitive ear. It cropped out this evening at the Officers' Club in Leh.

*See page 336.

000 I had come directly to the Officers' Club on our arrival. Rahul had tarried in the bazaar greeting old acquaintances. Now I saw him coming up the poplar-lined driveway of the club on his small Tibetan pony. Turning to a junior officer, I whispered, "Would it be all right if I introduced the General to a ghost?"

776 One does not speak lightly of ghosts in this land of mysticism where gods and goddesses, spirits and demons, deities and the 000 souls of the departed are everywhere. The face of the young officer was very serious, for the question troubled him. And not yet realizing the humor of my question, he replied quite formally, "I guess so, sir."

Rahul had met with an accident on one of the estuaries of the Indus River. After we had left Hemis en route to Leh, we picked up the Indus and followed it downstream several miles before leaving the river and turning north to Leh. At one point the Indus had inundated hundreds of acres of lowlands and left behind dozens of small lagoons, which we had to ford. Some of these passages were treacherous. The water was deep, there were unexpected holes, and the clay bottom was as sticky as glue. Rahul was riding an unusually small Tibetan pony, perhaps eight hands high. It was sturdy and fast, but it lacked the power and strength of the larger horses. I led the way across one small lagoon. Though the passage seemed safe enough, Rahul's horse either got stuck or stepped in a hole and foundered. In any event, the horse went over on its side and both he and Rahul disappeared for a second under the water.

They both came out without injury. Rahul was soaked through, and it took him several hours to get dry. He had about dried out when we arrived at Leh. The water which had soaked him was heavy with the milk of clay. So when Rahul got dry, he looked indeed like a ghost.

"May I present my ghost?" I asked as Rahul joined us at the Officers' Club. Rahul's warm brown eyes looked out from a calcimined face, the dark skin of his hands was powdered white,

and great clouds of dust rose from his shoulders as I pounded him with the deep affection I felt for the man who had brought me safely along a treacherous trail over the high Himalayas.

That night after dinner in the officers' mess Rahul and I sat an hour or more with General Karve and other Indian Army officers, talking of the problems of this border region.

We were breaking up for the evening when a Sikh, who was a captain on General Karve's staff, took me aside and said, "We can't begin to tell you what your coming means to us. This is probably the most remote military outpost in the world. Others have come the route you took. But they had to come. You are one of the few who came who didn't have to come. We know the dangers and the great exertions of the trek. The fact that you crossed the oceans in order to make this dangerous journey gives us all courage to carry on. On behalf of the General, the staff, and the men, sir, I thank you." And with that he saluted warmly and disappeared in the darkness.

I sat for a long time that night under the cottonwood trees in front of the Officers' Club, watching the moon and the clouds turn glaciers from silver to gold and then erase them completely. And as I sat I pondered on the strange and powerful planetary tides that throw the whole human race into bloody conflicts. As I sat there in the moonlight I remembered my arrival in Leh. I had entered the south gate with my musical mule train—the gate through which the Portuguese Jesuits, de Azevedo and de Oliviera, the first European visitors to Ladakh, passed in 1631.

The bells of my mule train had brought everyone running. A woman who had been sitting on the ground and picking lice from another woman's head jumped to her feet. Women who had been squatting in the street selling turnips and eggs stood up as if startled. Women who were bringing bundles of grass to the bazaar to exchange for cooking oil or talcum powder dashed around the corner to stare. Tibetans, one arm free of the sleeve of their jackets, Yarkandis with sad and forlorn faces, farmers

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006 dressed in rags—all stood poker-faced, looking my way. Young girls with sheepskins flying from their backs raced down narrow passageways to reach the bazaar. Youngsters in rags and tatters scooted out of doorways and windows to fill the street. Now I was surrounded by a mass of humanity so thick, so tightly packed, my mule train could hardly move.

I smiled and waved and shouted, *"Ju Le, Ju Le."* It was as if a miracle had happened. The curious, reserved, staring crowd relaxed. They too smiled. Some shouted. Men touched their foreheads and cried, *"Ju Le, Ju Le."* Women touched their foreheads and murmured, *"Ju Le, Ju Le."* And little children, four, five, eight years old, touched their foreheads, and they too shouted, *"Ju Le, Ju Le."*

Asia has never received much affection from the West. Asia has known the harsh, the rough, the exploitive characteristics of the West. Asia has rebelled at that side of us. Asia has grown more and more aloof, more and more remote, more and more severe in her attitudes. Asia is being lost because of it. And the tragedy is that Asia can be had for modest investments in affection.

Asia is the mother figure. So she has been throughout all time. From her have come the great streams of population. We trace back to her through the Aryans that poured from Central Asia. She has the fertility; and she also has the insight, the wisdom, the intuition, the perseverance, the courage that go with fertility. Among individuals there is no complete male, no complete female. Each person has both the male and the female component. Some women have prominent male characteristics. They are the andrics —the executives, the aggressive type, those who in the extreme are the Amazons. Some men have prominent female characteristics. They are the gynics—the artists, the leading conservationists, the most penetrating psychoanalysts.

What is true among individuals is, I believe, true among nations. Races are divided into andrics and gynics. Whole civilizations carry the marks of maleness on the one hand or female-

ness on the other. Asia is the gynic; we of the West are the andrics. We are the aggressive male figures that shake the earth and remake it. Asia is the female that silently creates, that builds slowly and patiently, that hangs on passionately to her past. We are the extroverts; Asia is brooding and introspective. We are doers; we like to show our strength. Asia likes to contemplate.

Asia cannot always be treated with tenderness. There are cunning and cruelty and deceit in Asia. Asia's unruly character is often expressed in actions more subtle than ours. Asia often needs discipline. Asia would not rebel at discipline any more than Rup Singh, my muleteer, rebelled at my treatment of him. Asia would indeed understand quick and severe punishment for unlawful acts. That is why the initial moves of the United Nations in Korea were psychologically sound by Asian standards.

But we must play the masculine role with intelligence. We cannot win Asia by long, drawn-out, indecisive military engagements such as we have been conducting in Korea.

We are pitting East and West in a bloody conflict. That is the way to make a tigress out of the female, an enemy more dangerous than any male can ever be. Asia needs more than a show of strength; Asia needs affection from those who represent the masculine component in the planetary scheme. If Asia knew our affection as well as our power, we could be wedded to her in great and noble deeds. The threat of Soviet imperialism would disappear as a mad dream of another psychopathic personality. Stalin would then have allied against him the most cunning, the most implacable, the most unforgiving enemy his godless creed has ever known. The energies, the schemes, the wiles of Asia would then be plotting against him day and night.

Asia needs us as much as we need Asia. We and Asia complement each other. We have the energy of the male, Asia the lasting wisdom of the female. Asia has a longing for us that can be turned into a mounting fury of tremendous destruction or into channels of co-operation and understanding and dependency.

These were my thoughts under the cottonwoods of Leh. I had missed this message in the hungry faces of Delhi and Calcutta. I had to sweat and struggle over six high passes of the Himalayas and settle down in the little village of Leh to learn that, while Asia will respect our strength, her hunger is for our friendship. I learned that lesson from the cunning Rup Singh. I learned it from Zila and her sweet song of Tseringskyit. I learned it from the little tots on the streets of Leh who opened their hearts to me. Their smiles were as eager as they were cheerful when they touched their foreheads and shouted, *"Ju Le, Ju Le."*

When I expounded these ideas to Rahul, his deep, warm eyes were lost in thought for several minutes. He finally answered, saying he was not sure of the femaleness of Asia and the maleness of the West. But he was certain of one thing; and his face lighted up when he announced it. "We want an enduring partnership with the West. Most of us and most of you are men of good will. We must find practical ways of forging a working alliance for the cause of peace. Dollars and earthly goods will not do it. It can be done only by ideas of brotherhood and fraternity."

There was a pause before he continued, "Asia has given the West many ideas. People forget that Asia gave the West its great religions. Jesus, Buddha, Mohammed, Confucius, all came from Asia. But the West also has an important message for Asia—a message from America's Declaration of Independence."

"And what is that?"

"The creed that all men are created equal and that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are their inalienable rights."

[Pp. 235-331 NOT PROCESSED--
ANALYST]

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APPENDIX 4

533

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTIONS by JENÖ TAKACS

UNDETERMINED PITCH =

Kulu song about Kunjva, the lover

(M.M. 80) MODERATO

CHORUS

SOLO

CHORUS

UNCLEAR

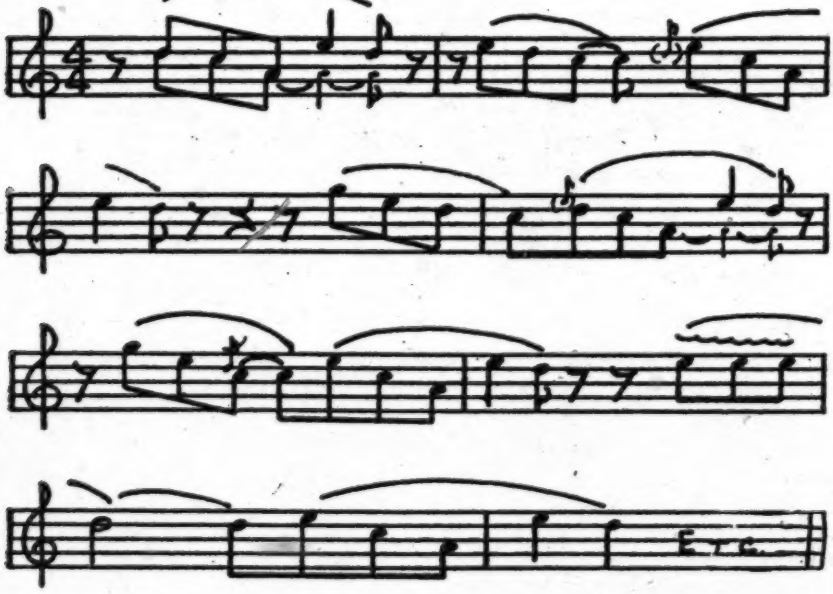
SOLO

CHORUS

Lahuli song about the girl, Angmo

533

(M.M. ♩= 92)



Lama chant from Hemis Monastery

(M.M. ♩= 160) FAST

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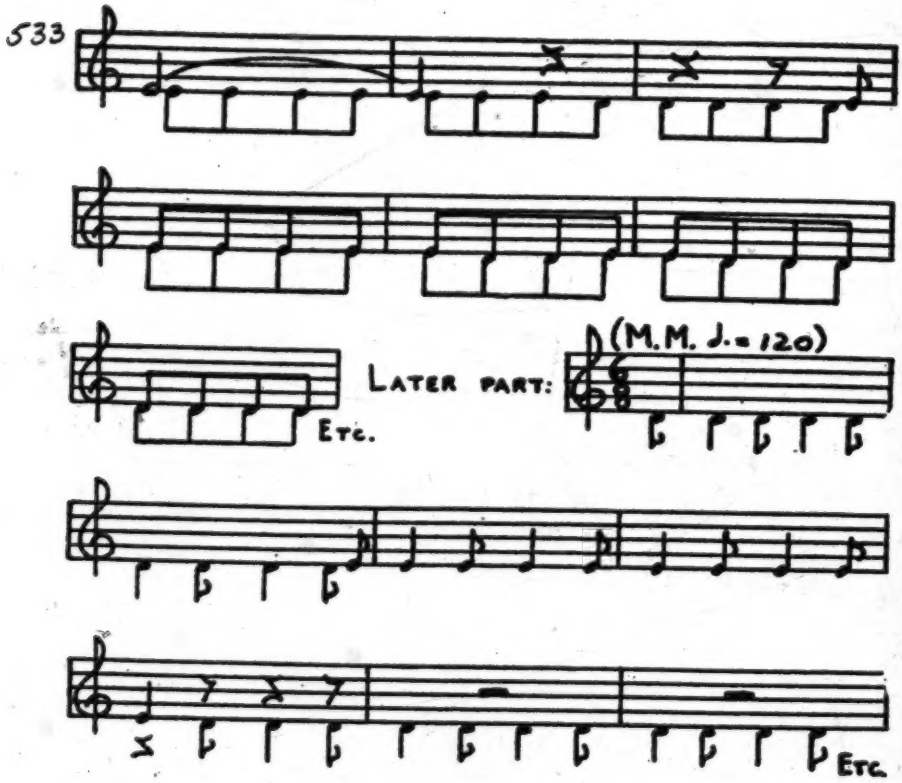
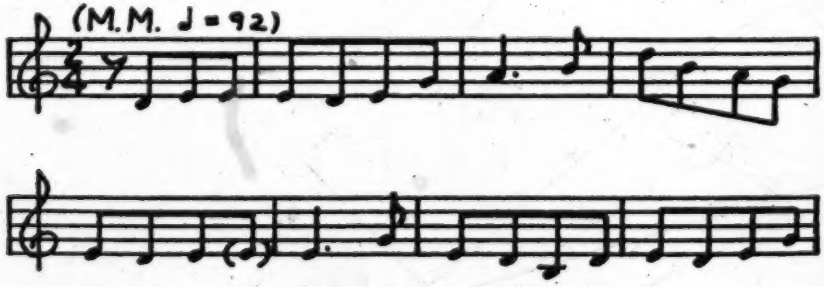


Ladakhi song about Tashiwangyal



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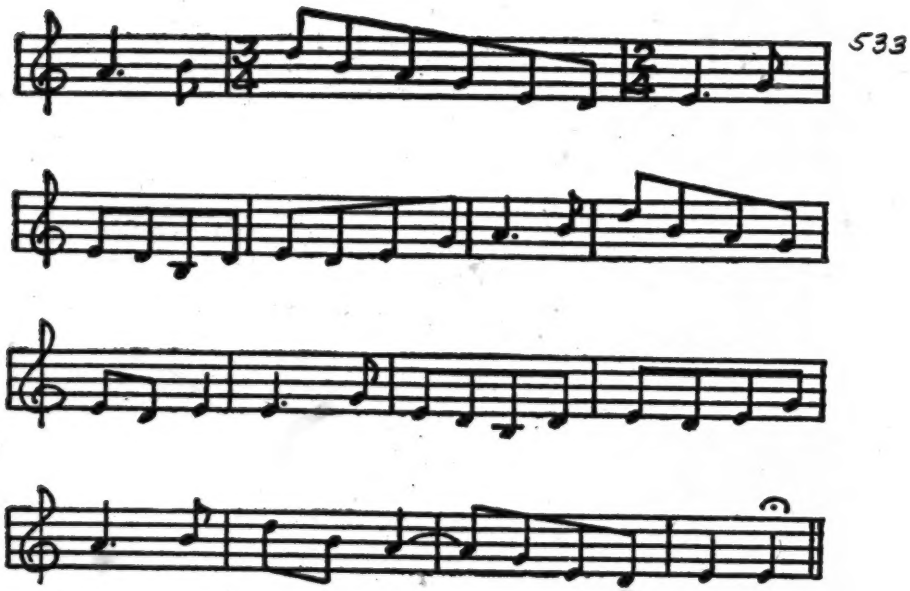
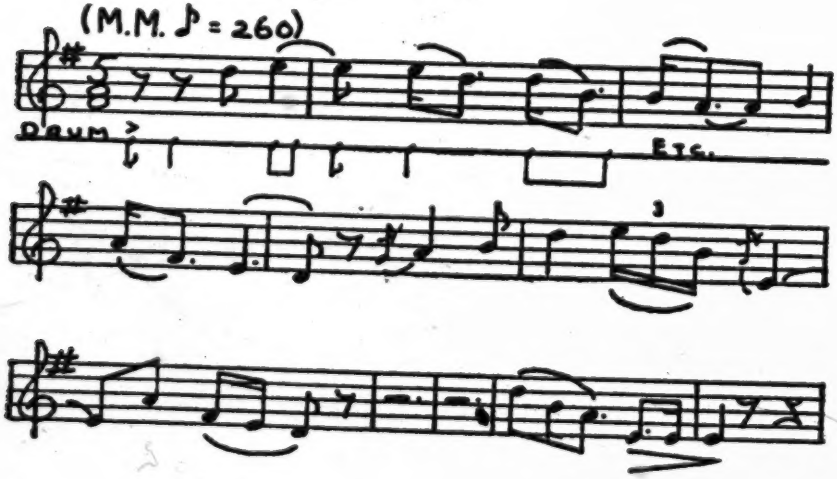


The Rose of Ladakh, by Zila in Leh



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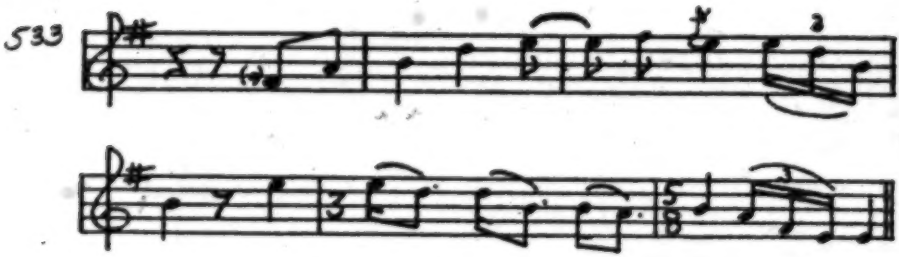
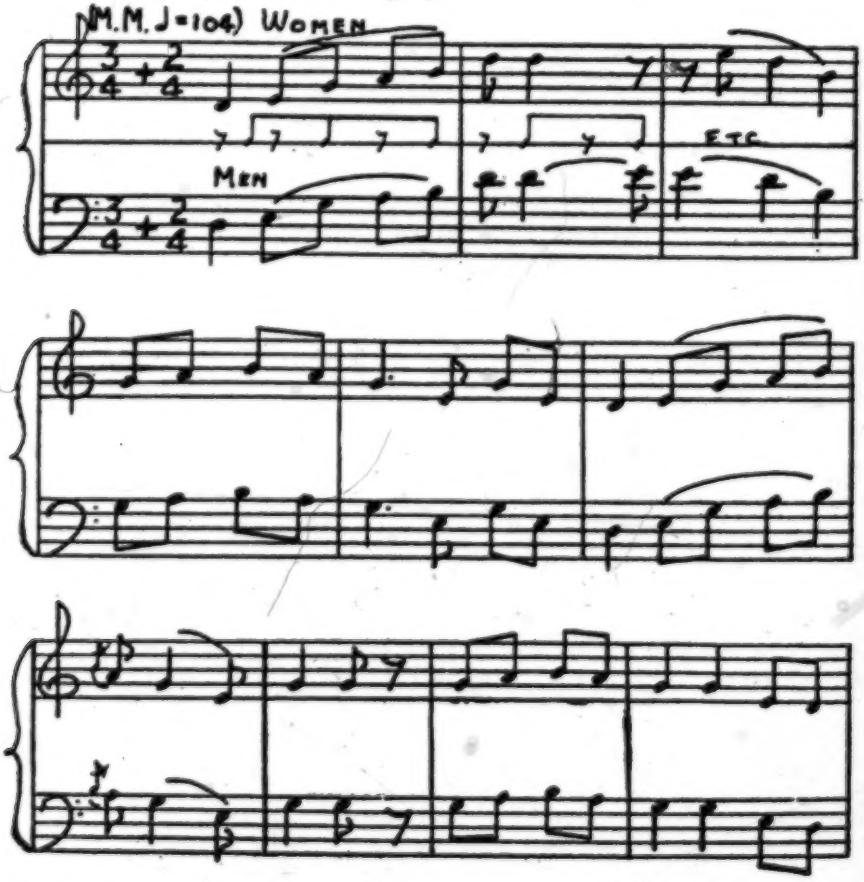


Ladakhi song about Tseringskyit



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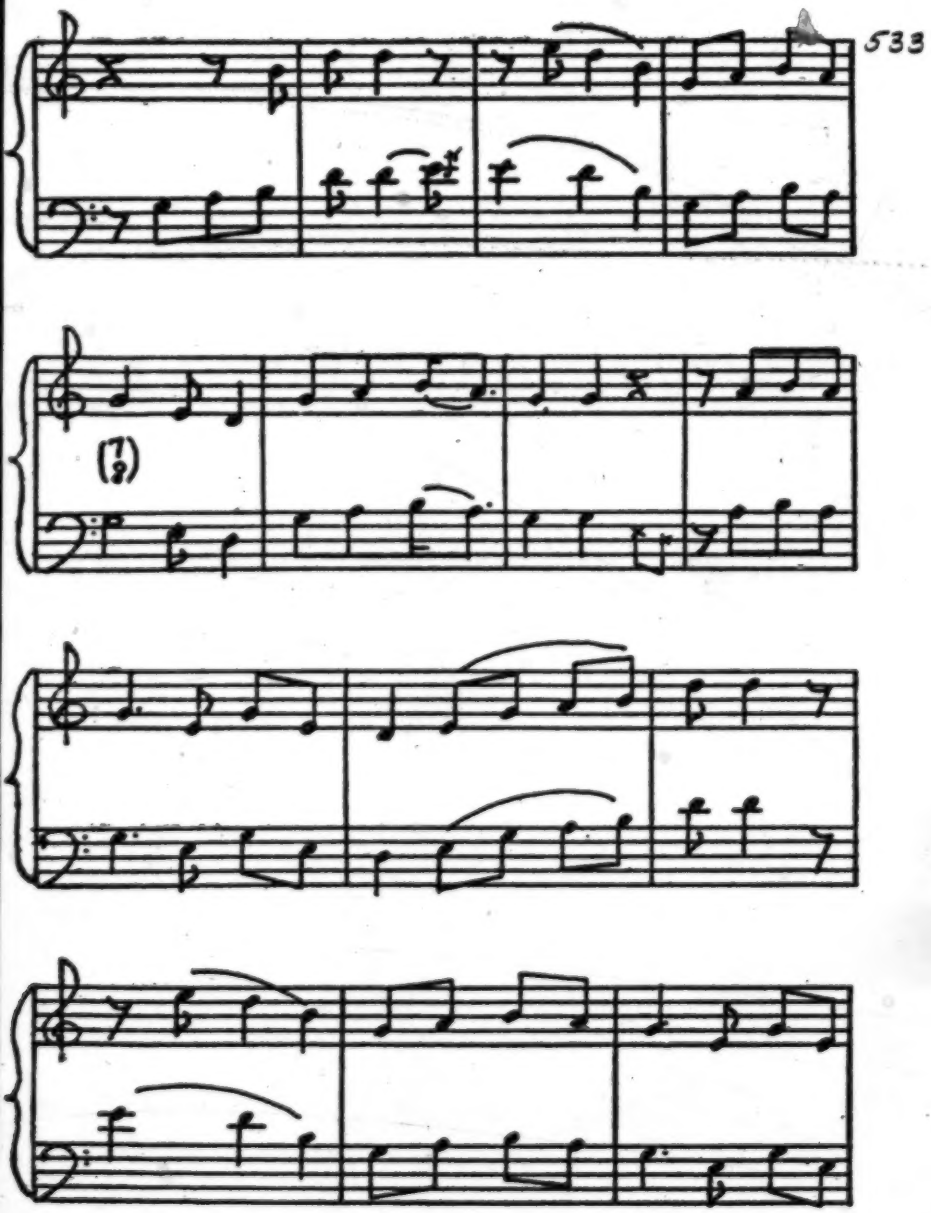

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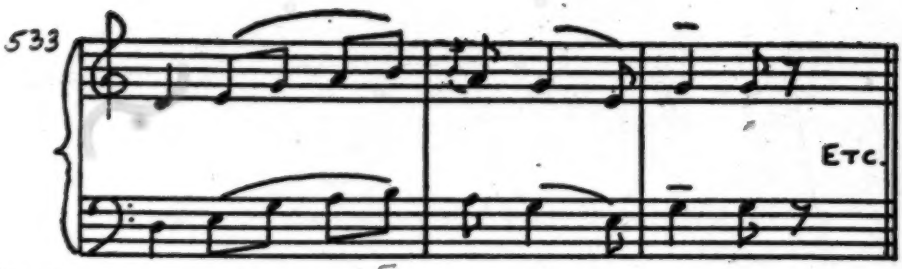
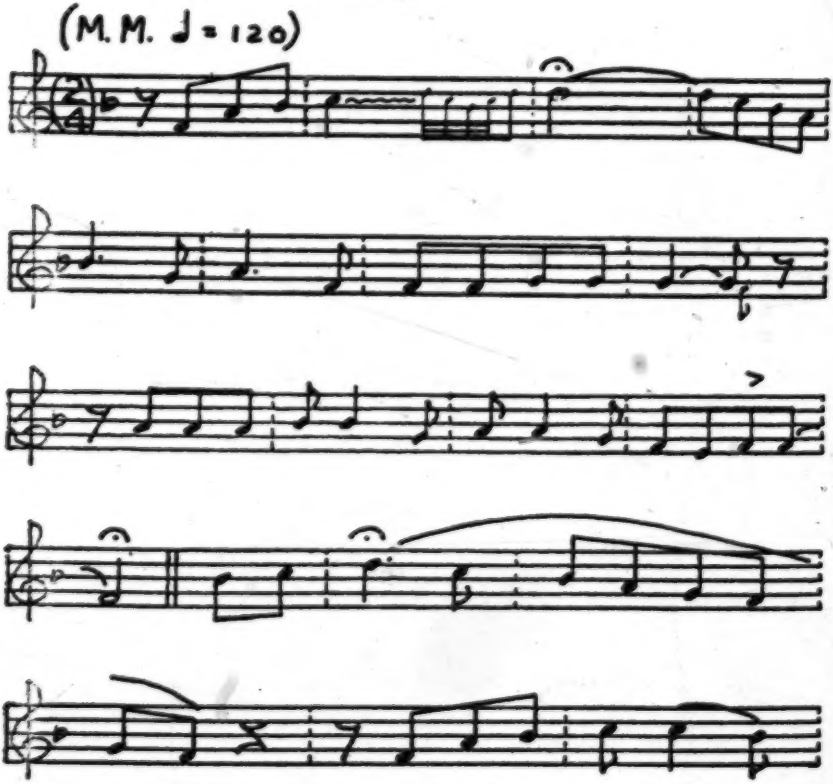


Nationalist song from Pakhtunistan



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Polo song from Gilgit

(M. M. ♩. = 92)

DRUMS: ? ? ETC.

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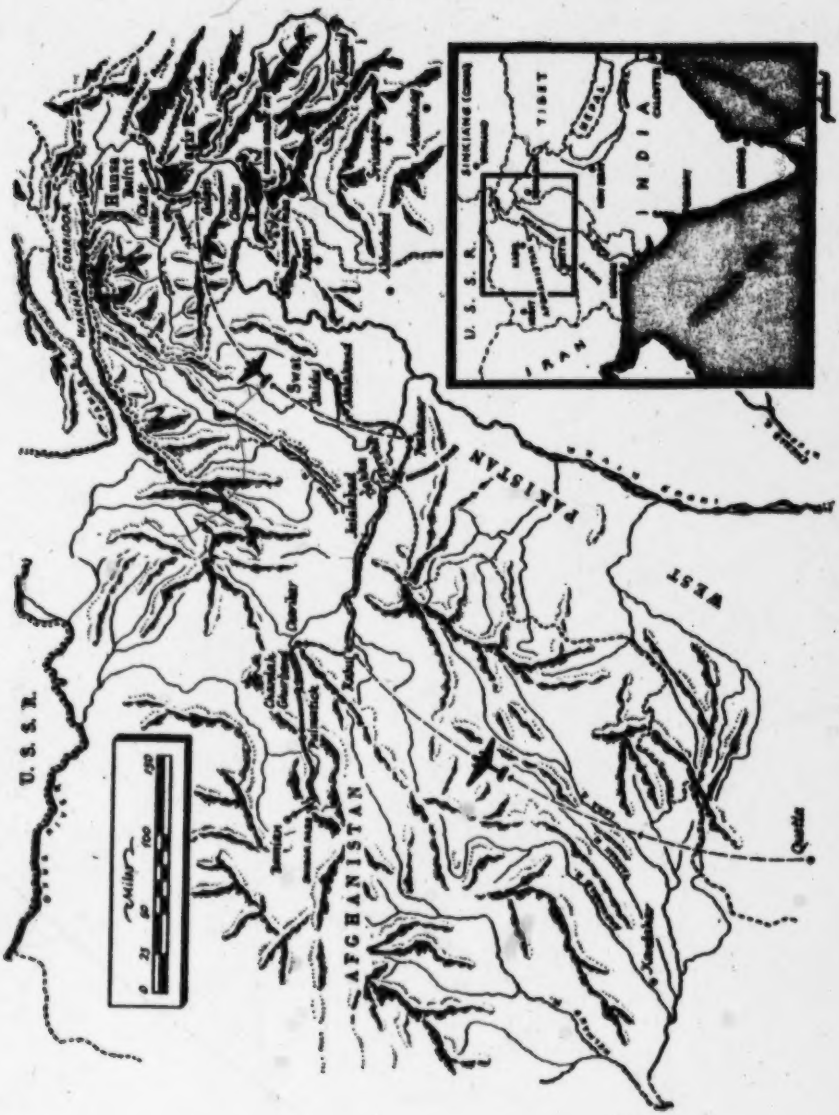

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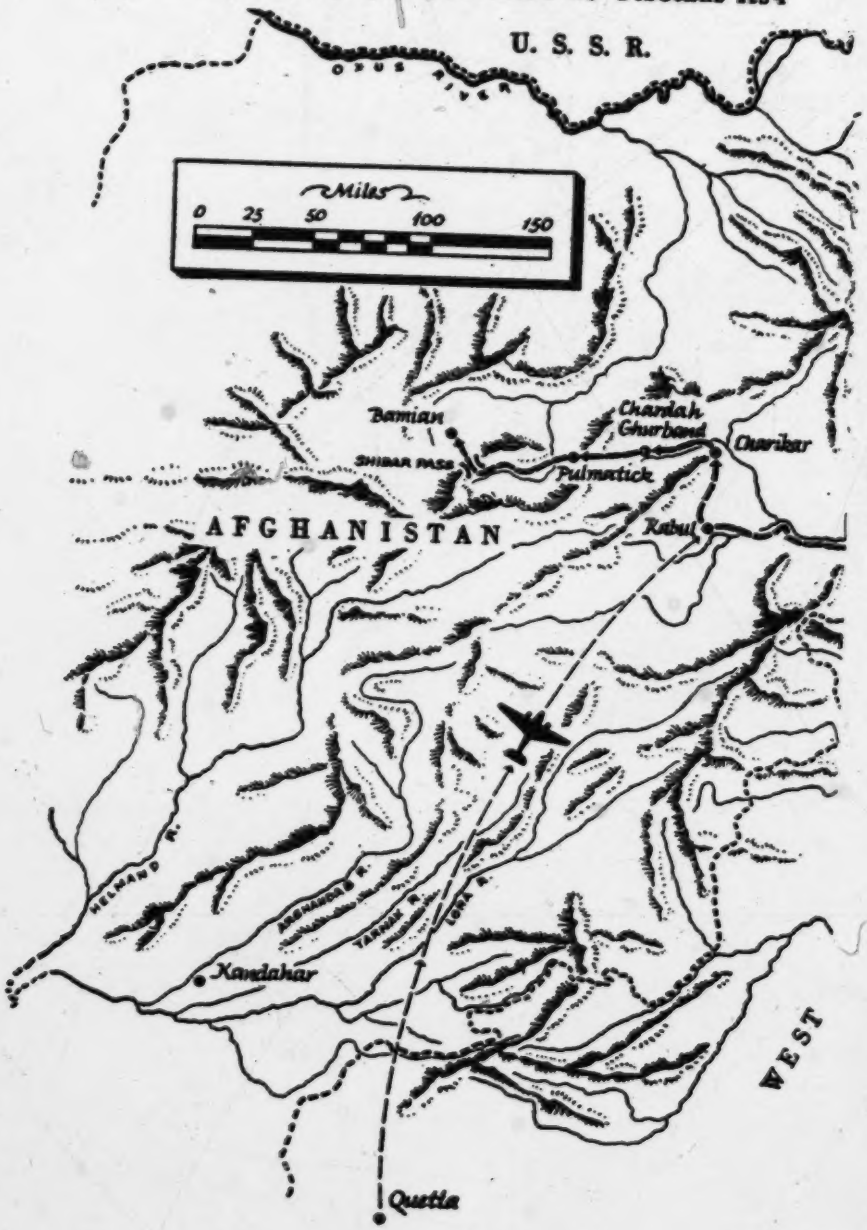

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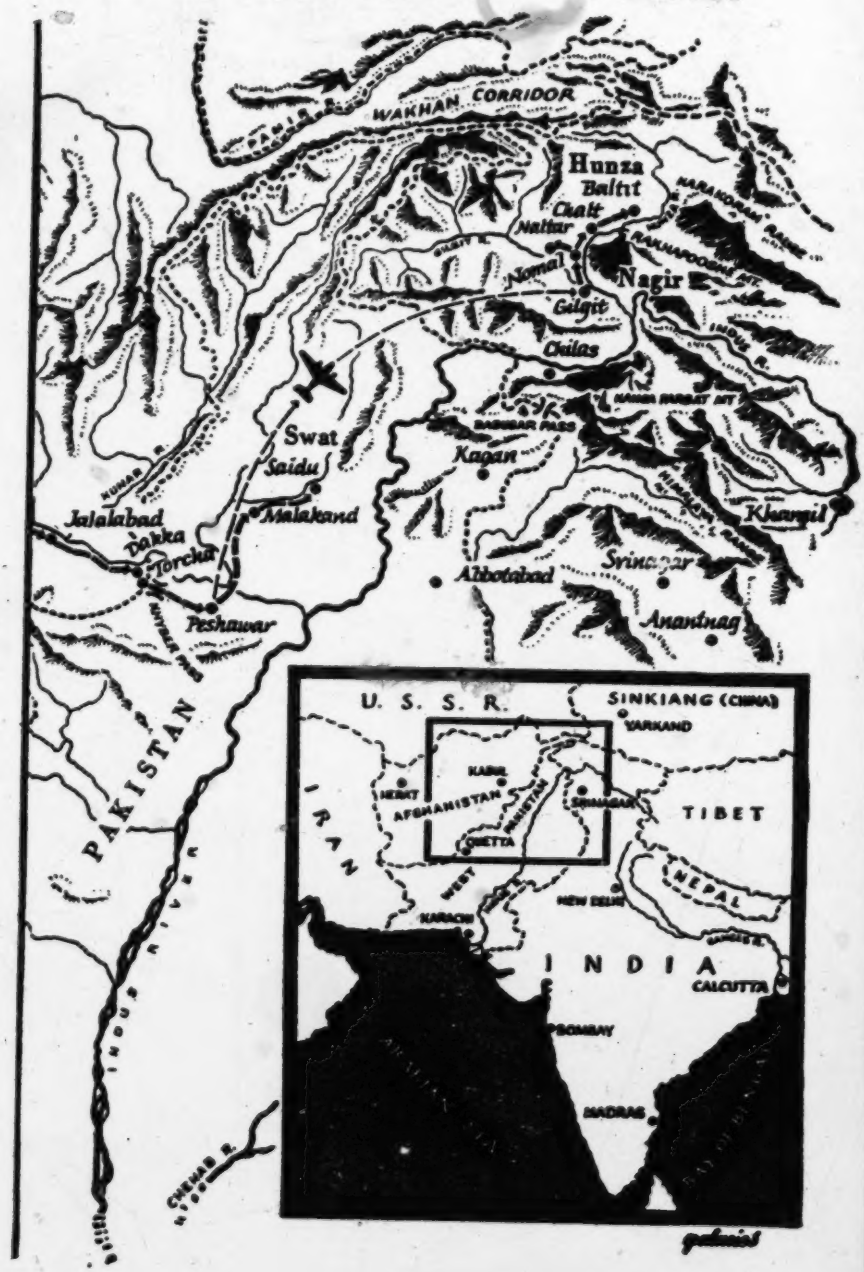

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Glossary

[The capital letter in parentheses following a word indicates that it is either Tibetan (T) or Hindi (H). Words about which there was doubt were not assigned to either of these languages. --Analyst]

Chhagzot (T) - managerial head of a monastery
Chham (T) - lama dance
Chhorten (T) - a tower associated with mani walls
Chan (T) - the barley beer of Ladakh
Chappatti (H) - wheat cake
Daps - musical instrument made from a skin stretched over a hoop
Dobdobs - police
Dzo (T) - a cross between a yak and a cow
Geshes (T) - high degree awarded at the academic monasteries
Gie - Yak butter
Guru (H) - older lama; spiritual teacher (see Lobon)
Gur Gur Cha - a kind of tea made with yak butter.
Kanal - a land measure; 1/16 of an acre
Kathak (T) - white silk scarf; traditional present to and from a high lama
Konyer (T) - treasurer of a monastery

Lobon (T) - older lama; teacher of the Incarnate Lama (see Guru)
Magpa (T) - a son-in-law who becomes the head of a sonless family
Mani - Walls with religious inscriptions
Obo (T) - rock cairn (see oris)
Oris (T) - rock cairn (see Obo)
Perakh (T) - headdress worn by older women
Poshel - egg-shaped pin worn as an ornament by women
Sattu (T) - a food made of barley flour. (see Tsamba)
Sawp - Tibetan for Sahib
Serai - stopping place for caravans
Skushak (T) - term of address to a spiritual head of a monastery
Tehsildar (H) - head of a tahsil (district)
Tsamba (T) - a food made of barley flour. (see Sattu)

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[For descriptions of the routes used by Justice Douglas, see category 133. --Analyst]

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The following books and articles are referred to by Justice Douglas:

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Bruce: Kulu and Lahoul
Forman: Through Forbidden Tibet
Kamal: Land Without Laughter
Thomas: Lowell Jr.: Out of this World
Roosevelt, T.: East of the Sun and West of the Moon
Shawn, Ted: Gods Who Dance
Steele: The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La. Saturday Evening Post, April 13, 1946
Cutting, Suydam: The Fire Ox and Other Years

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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006

IN HIMALAYAN TIBET

A RECORD OF 12 YEARS SPENT IN THE TOPSY-TURVY LAND OF LESSER TIBET WITH A DESCRIPTION OF ITS CHEERY FOLK, THEIR WAYS & RELIGION, OF THE RIGOURS OF THE CLIMATE & BEAUTIES OF THE COUNTRY, ITS FAUNA AND FLORA

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&

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS & MAP

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443
415

A TRAVELLING VENDOR.

Bringing his collection of curios for sale to shew the Dr. Sahib, and demonstrating with a song the excellence of his home-made fiddle. To the right is a lidded beer-pot, and on the small table a pot for pouring out libations.

[FRONTISPIECE]

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[pp. I-X CONTAIN NO TEXT]

Preface

000 IN writing the following pages, we are very conscious of the help we have received from many sources, for which we express our heartiest thanks.

115 First and foremost, we remember our many Tibetan friends who, by allowing us to enter their homes and to watch them at their work and play, have enabled us to learn much about their inner life. We bear in particular remembrance our two Ladaki friends, Nyenpo Joseph Gergan and Nyenpo Dawazung Dana, who so willingly put at our disposal their profound knowledge of their own country, its history and customs.

127 Without reference to Dr. A. H. Franke's historical researches our second chapter could not have been written. To him we also owe the two stories of Dardish heroes; and Colonel Waddell's "Lamaism" is a store of information.

000 We have further to mention some other friends, Mr. Basil Crump and Mrs. A. C. Cleather, whose knowledge of Buddhism is so profound. They have often shown us the significance of things not realized before, while Mr. Crump has most generously allowed us to draw on his splendid collection of photographs. Our gratitude is due also to Major Robson, I.A., a former British Joint Commissioner, and to Miss Lucy McCormick, for so very kindly allowing us to make use of some of their photographs.

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Finally we would thank Miss J. J. Ferguson for her invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript for the printers.

Our purpose in writing the book, was to fulfil an oft-expressed want for a popular and not highly technical account of the land and the people. There is still much to say about our Ladaki friends, but we hope that what we have been able to recount in the following pages will give the reader a real interest in these lovable inhabitants of the roof of the World.

KATHLEEN MARY HEBER.
A. REEVE HEBER.

LEH, *August* 4, 1925.

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[For pp. 1–16, the author used Roman numerals; for the text, proper, he used Arabic numerals. Thus, the text begins on p. 17 and follows consecutively after p. XVI. --ANALYST]

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IN HIMALAYAN TIBET

CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Land & People

"ONCE upon a time" is the orthodox beginning for all stories of fairy-land, and indeed the words "here and now" seem far too prosaic to introduce a new-comer into a land where those, who can still look out on the world with a child's wonderment and imagination, may actually see such living and moving embodiment of fairies, elves, quaint old witches, weird old wizards in such appropriately fantastic and grotesque settings that they may well feel they have reached the veritable home of merry sprites and strange goblins. Could anything be more gnome-like than the little children playing in the roads and lanes, peeping shyly round dark corners or out of mysterious cracked doors, or darting away down queer passages leading under and through houses, quaint little individuals with merry brown faces, sometimes flat and Mongolian in type, but often with large lustrous brown eyes, probably from a Kashmiri admixture. See these elf-like little faces framed in the astrakhan edging of their high fur-lined caps with turned-up corners, a fashion worn by all ages and sexes, including the pig-tailed men, these very corners being so typical of the whole goblin land. So, too, are the still taller peaked mitre-shaped hats of the lamas, red or yellow, while the national head-dress or "Perag" of the women, is the most extraordinary thing of

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all, and must have a detailed description later on. Then look at their dwellings, strange habitations of mud and stones, crudely put together with crooked lines and strange little tiny windows, with or without a rough wooden framework. The larger of these may have a wooden partition down the centre of the framework, and the upper edge of the latter is curved upwards in each partition, adding the expression of an eyebrow to the aperture. Through such windows it is quite common to see the solemn face of an old goat looking out, his long beard waggling to his meditative munch as he surveys the street below. How strange it seems to our Western ideas to have a goat upstairs and free to wander all over the house. But here we shall slowly find that in one example after another "the things go the other way." We are not exactly in Looking-glass Land, but we are certainly in some sort of Wonderland, where many things are upside-down, topsy-turvy or just the reverse of our notions of correctness, and where the strangest incongruities prevail.

To start with the houses, our best rooms are on the ground floor; as you ascend the rooms decrease in importance, and the uppermost ones are relegated to lumber or to the least important members of the household. In Ladak, on the contrary, the higher you go the better the rooms, and the flat roof is the most used place of all, especially in the sunny hours of winter, when many domestic activities can be carried out in the warm sunshine there, and thereby the precious fuel be saved. Often there is a small porch on one side, a shelter from the keen spring winds or a shade from the heat of summer. The fact that horse-manure or cows' dung is spread out in patches on the floor to dry, or that the chimney of the summer kitchen-room is busy fulfilling its functions near-by, does not at all detract from the desirability of this lofty open-air sitting room. Descending, we come to a large room with an open verandah, which can be closed in by

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short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely 342
carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The 231
ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the [310]
front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare 247
land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers [301]
is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is 513
not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at 291
being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible patching as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

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291 lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are
264 completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth
412 of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

576 With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching
291 head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as
782 out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature
241 seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the
759 mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

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able British Government is paying him some large salary for 759
his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and 796
rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the [778]
altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter 291
of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the 121
wrong way round in this strange land, where the term 186
mgologpa (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of [147]
conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

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121 tear, and keep your best one clean, yet availing yourself of
186 its warmth, instead of putting it away to get moth-eaten? How much better to have your garden on the roof, where the passer-by may not be tempted to snatch a blossom over an easily knocked-down mud wall, and as for having your best room at the top of the house, it certainly has the better view there, and is further removed from the dust and the smell of the narrow lanes, which are only scavenged by the unclaimed street-dogs and the indefatigable crows and ravens. Indeed, but for these unrecognized friends, aided by the dryness of the climate and the long winter frost, the town would soon be uninhabitable for lack of sanitation. So let us hope that living among these strange people may develop in us a sweet reasonableness as to differences of opinion, which perhaps some of our insulated compatriots may find it more difficult to obtain. As another colleague frequently reminds us, they think we are all mad, some more than others. True, we have invented "motres" (motors), telegraphy, electric lighting and other wonders seen in Srinagar, the nearest point of real civilization, but who, save more or less mad people could produce such strange inventions? Probably the demons have revealed such tricks to us. Was not the Great White Queen Victoria herself a demon, demonstrated by the fact that she rode side-saddle? At any rate if challenged as to the rightness of his methods, the Ladaki can point out that his civilization is older than ours, and this same antiquity is adduced by him as an argument in favour of his religion as compared with ours.

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CHAPTER II

The Past Story of Ladak

A VERY cursory glance at the country suffices to show how ancient their civilization must be. Almost every village has its ruins of castle or fort or monastery, perched up on the rocky hillside in apparently inaccessible positions, and in most places will be found the village bard who can recount strange tales of long ago, often breaking out into song in the course of his narrative. But there are many written records, too, for the Buddhist lamas have inscribed the happenings of olden times with golden ink on beautifully polished black paper (in fairy-land surely all records are kept in gold !), and Kings have acquired much merit for themselves by building long prayer walls, and much gratitude from the student of historical research by inserting a tablet of stone on which the name of the builder and certain valuable bits of historical information are engraved. By the laborious study of such records Dr. Francke, the modern historian of Western Tibet, has been able to piece together a connected, albeit fragmentary history of the country. A brief glance at this will give us the historical background necessary for the understanding of present conditions in Ladak.

The first mention of the country seems to have been made by Herodotus, who describes a land of wonderful ants, who in burrowing out their homes in the earth threw up gold. These ants were said to be nearly as large as dogs, and still more ferocious, with a keen sense of smell and great fleetness of

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174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the
361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers
162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense
771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of
233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its fuzzy little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have
[771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism
[797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion
162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus
792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest.
563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

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actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician 563
who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *ltadmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these 564
people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who 174
seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, 563
too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, 771
having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on con- 175
jecture and turn to that founded on written records either 798
inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been disinherited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger brother had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, managed to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a heavy hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

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175 triumph was short-lived. A Buddhist priest disguised in the
798 black sacerdotal robes of the *Bon Chos*, presented himself before the King with a petition, and, when near enough, drew from his ample robes a bow and arrow and killed the leader of his religious enemies. The assassin escaped by turning his coat inside out and showing the white lining.

175 Langdarma reigned about A.D. 900 and from him all the
631 kings of Ladak have descended, for although they are split up into two dynasties, the later one is traced from a younger brother of the last king of the first line. An account of what happened under the various kings of these dynasties would be beyond the scope of this book, but let us rapidly trace the fortunes of the Western Himalayan kingdom, now represented by Ladak, and formerly including also the province of Baltistan. At first various royal personages held sway in different parts of the country, but the one in Leh was a descendant of the King of the Central Kingdom (Tibet proper), while in another part there ruled a Dard King. Between these two Kings there was continual strife, but at last the Leh ruler seems to have won the mastery in matters temporal, and increasingly in matters spiritual. One King introduced Buddhist literature from Central Tibet, another made it obligatory on all candidates for the priesthood to go to Lhasa for their training. This can only be regretted by the student of Ladaki as distinct from Tibetan literature, for, besides putting a stop to the growth of Indian Buddhism, it also inhibited the literary genius of this people, whose tales of by-gone days indicate how their literature might have developed.

175 By about the time of the fourteenth century Buddhism
779 had quite prevailed, and, as is so often seen with this religion, having once subdued the indigenous faith, it incorporated much of the *Bon Chos* in its own tenets. The Lamaism of the present day thus consists of a large proportion of *Bon Chos* with a smaller mixture of Buddhism, the former still

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Balti AV2

making its old appeal to the illiterate people of the land, while only a few of the more erudite priests know anything of pure Buddhism. Even this mixed religion soon became corrupt, and in 1378 the Buddhist reformer of Tibet, Tsong-kapa, appeared, who tried to bring the priesthood back to the pure Buddhism of "Sangs rgyas," the Tibetan name for the Buddha, Sakya Muni. Finding the Tibetan priests wore red robes, while the true Buddhist priest should wear yellow, and, unable to get them to accept the orthodox dress, like a good Buddhist he compromised by insisting on yellow caps and sashes being worn with the former red gown. The reformed sect were not supposed to marry, but the unattractiveness of true celibacy could easily be overcome by a legal quibble applied to the prevalent custom of polyandry. The so-called "yellow lamas" were not allowed to eat meat, nor to drink "chang," the local beer. So now we get the two sects of yellow and red lamas existing side by side both in Tibet proper and in Ladak, in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants have existed side by side in Europe. Yet for a long time there was not much hostility between the two sects, though one king might favour one and another the other.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Lodros Chokldan was ruling in Leh, whilst at Tingmogang, situated on the old high road, where ruins of the old royal castle may still be seen, his cousin Bagan lived and ruled. The latter allied himself with a third ruler, and these two defeated the king of Leh. Bagan then ascended the throne, thus beginning the second dynasty, of whom the present ex.-ex. King is a descendant.

From now onwards, Ladak comes into conflict with peoples beyond her own borders. Although one Ladaki king had accepted the religion of Mahomet, the country remained faithful to Lamaistic Buddhism, whereas the neighbouring kingdom of Baltistan had been definitely converted to Moham-

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Balti AV2

WT 175 B1 175 721 WT [797]

medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

WT [778]

WT 175 795 721 648

The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

WT [792]

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promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon. 175 721 648 795

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the "Treaty Road" and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its "Babu" in charge, are also State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the 631 [643] 636

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631 Aksakal, who represents the British Government in assistin
636 Yarkandi traders, and the "Charas Officer" in charge of th
Indian hemp trade from Yarkand, both of the latter connecte
with the "Treaty Road," are also Imperial Governmen
563 servants. These officials and sub-officials are prominent i
631 the public life of Leh, taking their due precedence at publi
entertainments, and are all down-country men, mostl
Punjabis and Kashmiris. We look for the day when ther
will be enough educated Ladakis to take up these positions i
their own land.

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CHAPTER III

Nature's Setting

IT has often been pointed out that the characteristics of a people are moulded by the country and climate in which they live. Certainly for stolidity and endurance the Ladakis resemble the massive mountains and everlasting hills among which are their dwellings. The "Doctor Sahib" once accompanied a seasoned Alpine climber with his two Swiss guides in an attempt to scale the highest peak in a range of mountains beyond the Indus, facing Leh. The expedition was unsuccessful owing to the inclement weather and the pressure of time, as the mountaineers were on their return to Europe, but they spent two memorable days at the edge of the glacier capping this great peak, at about 18,000 feet in a tumult of wind, thunder, lightning, hail and snow so fierce that the snow was actually driven through the canvas of the Sahibs' little tent. This just accommodated their two beds, and, for the sake of warmth and protection, they remained in these for thirty-six hours. The Swiss guides also had a small tent, but the Ladaki coolies, who had left the main caravan to accompany them, lay down in the snow, covered only with their own garments and apparently took no harm. In the bitter morning of mid-winter, with the thermometer at somewhere below Fahrenheit zero, our Ladaki nurse tells us how, coming through the bazar from her home, she has passed small boys sleeping out in front of the shops as watchmen. Right on the ground, possibly having pushed aside a little snow, with little or no covering

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147 but their scanty garments, these small urchins spend the night with only a handful or two of barley-flour as a reward, but they call out a hearty greeting to our nurse as she passes, and neither spirit nor body appears to be chilled by the exposure.

We have already noticed the strange mixture of finery and rags, the incongruity of fine workmanship and adjacent tawdriness. Surely nature herself teaches them this odd combination of the sublime and the ridiculous. Think only of the many examples on the main road up from Srinagar to
133 Leh. As one emerges from the narrow defile which has
361 wound up slowly from Pashkim, just beyond Kargil, to the Mulbeck Valley and about three miles before the village of that name is reached, the gorge opens out into a broad cultivated valley with a great panorama of majestic mountains beyond. Here and there in the foreground are soft sandstone cliffs, behind, strange peaks with jagged pinnacles in their rugged outlines, rising higher yet sinking in perspective as they reach the horizon to stand out clear and sharp against the brilliant azure sky, the whole suggesting some gigantic upheaval of past ages. As one pursues the winding path in and out of soft red-brown sand-hills into the village, the nearer hills and the lower extraordinary formations of sandstone on the further side of the stream come into prominence. These are sculptured by wind, snow and rain into the most grotesque shapes, looking in some places like the ruins of some ancient village or even turretted castles, the rough outlines of the one-time windows presenting the most gnome-like suggestion of a forgotten civilization. In other places the stalagmite-looking relics are more statuesque, and, opposite the sharp turn of the high road to the left, may be seen across
342 the main valley a gigantic looking ruined model of a
133 mother with a child at her knees. Over the pass and into
361 the next village, again straggling along a wide valley, this formation is repeated, and one quaint little cluster of houses

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on the further side of the stream appears to be purposely designed to show the evolution of the house from the rock. Holes in the cliff itself slowly evolve into the apertures of a dwelling, and these merge into the more elaborate windows of a house in a graded transition before one's eyes, whilst portions of the rock are used as walls and foundations for the buildings, so that it is quite hard to distinguish across the valley which is nature's building and which is man's. Even in the people this similitude to the land and rocks amounts to a protective adaptation like that in wild animals and birds. How difficult it is to distinguish the ordinary coolie seen on the road in the distance. His undyed home-spun, his cap and even his face (for his cheeks receive just about as much washing as the land receives rain in this dry climate) are thoroughly impregnated with the dry dust of the desert. His movements alone distinguish him from the grey-brown rocks, stones and sand around. Very different indeed is the red-robed lama, who can be discerned from afar in a land where the atmosphere is so rarefied that distance is incredibly fore-shortened. Again it is often absurdly difficult to know whether a pile of stones set up by some passer-by to frighten away mischievous spirits is a human being standing or sitting until one is quite near by, when the stones may suddenly resolve themselves into a wayfarer who rises to ask you for some *m'a-ches* (matches) which will enable him to light his fire so much more quickly than the flint and tinder which depend from his waist. On the road between Bot Kharbu and Lamayuru one of the most quaint little clusters of transitional rock-dwellings suddenly comes into view up a narrow ravine on one's left, and one thinks of the inhabitants, the women especially, whose life and world is probably confined to this fantastic corner, appropriately named Henasku. But all these fantasies are only preparations [illegible] the incredible scene that lies before one as the final [illegible] is turned in the approach to Lamayuru.

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133 The Photu La, a 13,400 feet pass, has just been crossed,
776 at the top of which one seems to have had a bird's-eye view of a world of far-reaching mountain tops, so deserted of any sign of humanity that on looking upon this sea of mountains, one is reminded of Noah's dove who, having found " no rest for the sole of her foot," returned to the company of the Ark. So does one's eye return with a sense of common humanity and gratefulness to the unkempt, but triumphant ponymen of one's caravan, who, while their burdened steeds take breath after their exhausting climb, themselves pause to rest by the " Lhato " erected to mark the top of the pass. This structure is a collection of rocks and stones, supporting a crooked staff bearing some tags and rags with prayers inscribed on them, and with sundry marks of gratitude in the shape of old sheeps' and goats' horns, or best of all, a bit of yak's tail, thrown on to the pile. In the words *Sola, sola, sola,* the men express to the presiding genius of the pass their own relief and gratitude at once more having achieved the ascent, and then cheerfully start on the steep downward track. So it is with this majestic stretch of billowing mountains filling the mind that one proceeds on the way, and then rounds the last corner to see Lamayuru.

361 But who shall adequately describe this capital of Hob-
778 goblin-land in its setting of purple hills, distant snow peaks, and brilliant blue sky? Running down towards the village, interspersed with "chorten" fat round structures, rather like gigantic pepperpots, are long " mani walls " built of stones and surmounted by two flattened sides, gently sloping up to meet each other, these tops being formed of flat stones covered with prayers. Nearer the village they end in arches, often with *chortens* on the top, under which the road may run. The village itself is built on the rocky hillside, here formed into strange fissures and crags, bridged by crazy-looking shelves, which the builders have utilized as well as the firmer foundations. It looks as if one shake would topple the whole absurd

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structure on to the cultivated fields at the foot. Topping the 361
hill and weirdest sight of all stands the monastery, with its 346
flat roofs adorned at the corners with holy yak tails and
prayer-flags. When staying at the rest-house at the edge of 000
the fields below the village, the whole grotesque impression
is especially enhanced in the evening, when the voices of the
inhabitants going home from the day's work in the fields are
loudly amplified owing to some strange acoustic relationship
between the monastery hill and the one on the opposite side
of the narrow valley. Moreover, as some of these stragglers
ascend round the edge of the hill in the evening light, their
silhouettes are also magnified, so that the whole atmosphere of
this unparallelled and indescribable fortress of lamaism, makes
the traveller rub his eyes in the endeavour to awake from such
a fantastic dream. Before leaving this eerie wonderland there 133
appears again a most extraordinary stalagmite formation of
sandstone, as though whole cities had been tumbled out of
the bowels of the earth, a veritable disruption of Sodom and
Gomorrah after centuries of interment. After this, nature
provides a scene of her wildest and most rugged grandeur.
The road winds up and down the sides of a wonderful gorge,
crossing several times the little stream, which gradually
increases till it finally hurls itself into the Indus as a roaring
torrent. All the way down the ravine, the road now climbs
up far above the water, now descends close to it, but never
leaves its noise, while the rocks provide a constant feast for the
imagination, a succession of weird imagery, with variations in
colour and shade, now fantastically suggestive, now boldly
majestic, until at last the troubled waters are borne away by
Mother Indus.

Thus does the grotesqueness of the land constantly manifest 778
itself, so frequently emphasized by the human touch, as in
these long prayer-walls, the longest of which, just outside
[illegible]ch, stretches for half a mile across the desert, looking for all
[illegible] world as though some giant children had been playing

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778 trains in the sand, the *chortens* at both ends resembling clumsy engines, the lower one to give an extra push up the hill. Then there are the little piles of stones so often put up by lonely shepherds, or tired wayfarers, who have made their resting-places wherever a big rock will give them shade, these themselves in their sauciness looking more likely to attract evil sprites than repel them. Often on the tops of hills seen from the road side, but apparently on no beaten track, having simply invited attention because of their height or the suddenness, will be seen *lhatos* similar to those on the tops of passes.

133 Yet the strangeness of the land is after all but a minor aspect of these mountain uplands. The majesty of range after range of glistening peaks and shining glaciers in the regions of everlasting snow, their everchanging colour from morning to night, and from winter to summer, always new, always different, who shall tell of their never-failing inspiration, or of their picturesque parables? How can the wonderful autumn sunsets seen from Spitug close to the Indus in the valley five miles below Leh, be described? In a riot of crimson, the sun drops down behind the western gate of the valley, the gateway home for us of the far west, and leaves the mountains closing in the south-eastern gate, the way to the great closed land of Tibet, shrouded in mystery, while every possible shade of blue and purple and crimson and gold steal across the great ranges flanking each side of the long valley, and when to go out and wander along the green-turfed flats by the river is to go out to worship. Look at those rugged, jagged, cruel pinnacles of rock pointing upwards to the sky, as we ascend the Photila on the downward road to Kashmir. Do not their crude fingers remind us that even the difficult sorrow-filled times of our lives, have their directive function?

000 Living year in and year out in these valleys, bounded by their mighty ranges with their sense of mysteries guarded but capable of interpretation in some beautiful way infinitely

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beyond our limited human ken, can we not feel with the child of A. B. Paterson's poem :—

> "When people die
> They go to the country over the range."

and say with this Australian poet :

> "Ashes to ashes, and dust to dust :
> Our views by a range are bounded too ;
> But we know that God has this gift in store,
> That when we come to the final change,
> We shall meet with our loved ones gone before
> To the beautiful country over the range."

Then, too, there is such a joyousness in the land, between the long stretches of bare desert of rock and barren hill, which have their own beauty, especially when in an autumn setting of a blue-green river and an azure sky. Wherever a green village snuggles into the brown-red hillside, a rippling stream is heard and a cooling breeze felt in the little plantations of trees, whilst the soft evening light makes the green corn look like plush, or contrasts its autumn gold with the yellow glory of the poplars all set against a background of white snow peaks and blue sky. Nor must we omit the fairy touch of spring, which turns each nestling hamlet into a fairy-land of apricot blossom, exquisite prelude to the return of the green after the long, bare winter. Surely this joyousness gives our people their merry look, their cheerful willingness, and the happiness that bursts into song over every kind of work.

Was there ever a more striking example of the desert blossoming as a rose than is seen on the road between Shimshe Kharbu and Kargil, where in June and July the bushes are aflame with red and pink glory of wild rose, sometimes single as our English rose, sometimes double and varying from light pink to the deepest crimson, fit reward to the traveller who climbs the steep ascent and dares the precipitous paths that precede the flowery outburst. In some parts of Ladak bushes of yellow roses are to be found, having leaves scented like our

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137 English sweetbriar. Nestling in the crevices between the hard bare rocks and stones of the same march, the beautiful fragile-looking columbine rears its dainty white bells, and among the driest patches of stone, especially in the neighbourhood of Kalatse, flowers of the somewhat cyclamen-like caper rejoice the eye. One of the most beautiful pictures lingering in the memory of a journey from Srinagar to Leh in June is provided by the little village of Tashgam, two-thirds of the way from Dras to Shimshe Kharbu. Here at the further end of the village by the side of the Dras river is a little green plantation of trees, the usual halting place for tiffin ; near it a bubbling brook runs down to join the river, and scattered about in its course are beautiful bushes of tamarisk, waving their prolific feathery blossoms in the breeze in a setting of green fields with scattered poplars, and framed like most Ladaki pictures, by the softly-graded lights and shades of the near hills, between and behind which peep the greater white peaks lined against the deep blue of a cloudless sky. In the summer-time the village walls, formed loosely of stones set together with mud, give a foothold to all sorts of little feathery plants, one resembling a wild maidenhair with wee brown flowers ; but of ferns there seems to be only one species, which enjoys those parts of the wall over which the water flows to the next terrace in the process of irrigation. Ice plants, such as we conserve in pots and rockeries at home, with their pinky white flowers abound, and the walls are often overgrown with a wild clematis which has the quaintest little brown flowers, surely turning into little elves and gnomes when no human is at hand. The edges of the fields and watercourses are adorned with yellow members of the ranunculaceæ, vetches, purple representatives of the scrophulariaceæ, species of milkwort, wild parsley and mint, and even dandelions. Belladonna is plentiful to the verge of nuisance in our gardens, and lucerne crops up everywhere. Edelweiss grows in broad patches over the lawns of the Leh Residency,

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but Nature's most wonderful show is reserved, like the 137
peoples' little box gardens, for the roof of her world. On the Zogi Pass which is the same altitude (11,500 feet) as Leh, in the summer months one of the outstanding features is the profusion and luxuriance of the flowers. One visitor to Ladak, re-crossing the pass in autumn, counted seventy different kinds as she rode along on her pony. At the foot of the high Kardong Pass behind Leh, at an elevation of between 15,000 to 16,000 feet, many of the same varieties grow, but they need and amply repay a little search there, as they have not the grassy sward of the Zogi, but must seek shelter among the stones. Here on these heights, to mention a few only, are found yellow Iceland poppies, Michaelmas daisies, small deep-blue gentians, forget-me-nots, forming a carpet of blue on the Zogi stretches, but replaced by the deep-blue of the borage below the Kardong, deep purple orchids, primulas in all shades of magenta and purple, cow parsley, a kind of stinging nettle, asters, saxifrage, vetches, Canterbury bells, and on the Zogi the single anemone and the tall bunched Japanese variety, even the green foxglove and the coarse edelweiss.

The highest trees in the land are poplars and two or three kinds of willows. A little lower in a few restricted spots are pencil cedars, as at Hemis Shukpachan; these so-called [124]
"Shukpa" trees are holy, and their branches are made use of in religious rites. Donkey-loads are brought up to Leh a few weeks before Christmas for an annual religious festival, and the missionaries secure a load or two for making their own Christmas trees. The tree affording most grateful shade in Ladak, the Walnut, does not mature its fruit above Nurla, and apple-trees do not survive above the Basgo-Nyemo Valley, one march below Leh. Nor do apricots ripen much beyond stewing purposes in Leh, and our supplies are brought up from the lower villages. Wild currant bushes are sometimes seen in the lower valleys. Away on the bare hills one would

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137 hardly credit any green growth at all, yet even here all sorts of little herbs and flowering thistles grow, each showing marked adaptation to its very dry habitat. Most important of these is the pungent-smelling, low-growing, bushy herb called *Burtsa*, which in the wildest places, far from habitation and cultivation, serves as fuel for man and food for beast.

Even now we have forgotten one of the most typical and best-known flowers in Ladak, the little stunted blue and white iris that springs up all along the water courses, and is the first flower to gladden our winter-weary eyes. Like most species up here, of plants and animals and even men, it exhibits the dwarfed mountain habit, and would look insignificant beside its handsome counterpart in Kashmir.

136 As regards the fauna of the country, we can better describe it under transport and shikar, for under those two headings we meet with nearly all the species which occur, but we might here add a few words about the birds of the country.

In the summer of 1923, Mr. B. B. Osmaston, a keen ornithologist visited Ladak, and made a list of sixty-seven different species of birds that he found in this country. Let it be noted that for many of these, the Ladaki has his own Tibetan name, showing that he is not only an observer, but a lover of nature. We have our residents, and our summer and winter visitors. That the latter should find even Leh too warm in the summer is surprising. Let us begin with our residents. Of the crows and ravens, our friendly scavengers, to whom should be added the noisy magpies with their constant "cha, cha, cha, cha, cha, cha," we have already spoken, but we must not forget the chough with its red or yellow bill, who in the early spring builds his nest in the sandy cliff near Leh, while pigeons (Rock and Blue Hill) abound. Smaller birds on the whole, find the rigours of winter too severe, and many of them leave us, their places being taken by others, who descend from the higher regions. The sparrow we have always with us, and he is kept company by

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the little Grey Tit in his beautiful grey coat and black waistcoat and cap. We are not sure about the Dipper in his evening dress suit, nor the Crag Martin, but believe that both manage to hold out through the coldest months. The hardy Mountain Finches (Adams' and Brandt's), however, do not even come down from the neighbouring heights, where they manage somehow to find food all the winter, although quite a number of birds from the higher uplands visit us during the cold months. The Eagle and the Vulture, finding too much snow on the mountains, come down to obtain their food, leaving us in the Spring to make room for Hawk, Kite and Kestrel. The little Robin Accentor, with his dull red breast, also finds the mountains, his summer residence, too cold. When the down-country Rosefinch, the Common Redstart and the Field and Desert Larks leave us in the autumn, their half-brothers, Seventzov's Rose Finch, Guldenstadt's Redstart and Elwes' Horned Larks come to represent their families. Most of our Desert Chats leave us in spring, only a few staying behind to build a nest here and there in the deserts round Leh. The winter also provides excellent shooting for the sportsman. Besides the ducks, Mallard, Tufted Pochard, Ruddy Shelldrake, and Common Teal (to mention only a few), and Snipe, which can be found in all the swampy little rivulets, the mountains and hills will provide Chikor (the partridge so common in India) for his gun and his pot, whilst nearer Tibet, the Tibetan Sandgrouse can be obtained. If he wants pheasants, these, too, are represented up on the snows by the Tibetan or Himalayan Snow Cock, who draw immediate attention to themselves by their peculiar and shrill whistle which so rapidly ascends the scale. How sorry we are to lose the company of these in the spring, for not only does this spell the end of happy days in their company with a gun, but a return to the everlasting mutton, living as we do in a State over which a Hindu Maharajah rules. This too, however, has its compensation for now our summer

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136 migrants appear. First of all the Wagtails come (Hodgson's pied ; grey and yellow-headed), making the streams and rivulets bright with their graceful movements and undulating flight, soon to be followed by the Siberian Chiffchaff, with his monotonous "cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep," The common Redstart, too, is here now, whilst the Hoopoo calls his "Ooppooppoopp" (the Ladaki name for him) to the farmer, giving him permission to sow his fields, unafraid of serious harm to his crops from further cold. The Cuckoo, too, makes his song heard occasionally about this time, and now one can notice the Western Blue Rock Thrush, whose coat really does look a beautiful slaty blue as he sits in the sun. Above the river, Gulls and Tern wheel and sweep, and are kept company by Swift and Martin ; on the stones by its side, the Ibisbill finds his food, whilst the royal Heron meditates solemnly by the water's edge with his neck well tucked in. So we can boast of a varied ornithology, full of interest and change.

132 We have already made so many references to climate and altitude that the reader will have gathered a fair idea of both. The extremes of the climate may be summed up in the oft-told saying that if you sit in the shade of a rock, the part of your body within the shadow freezes, while that in the sunshine boils ! The heat of summer out in the desert is intense, for the long stretches of sand and the barren glaring rocks seem both to soak up sunshine and reflect it back as it pours out of a sky which is so often cloudless. Yet in the shade of rocks and trees and in the ordinary life in and about a house, it is never oppressive, and there are few summer
241 evenings in Leh when an extra wrap is not needed. The
132 short summer from June to mid-September sees the ripening of the wheat, barley and lucerne crops, the coarse grained barley being the more important source of food, and growing up to altitudes of over 14,000 feet. In the lower warmer
312 villages the summer is longer, and a second crop may be
241 raised. All this cultivation is entirely kept alive by irrigation,

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dependent on the melting of the winter snows, so that the stream from the Kardong which waters Leh is completely used up, and never reaches the Indus bed ; the average two inches of rain-fall is almost negligible. Although at such an altitude, the snowfall of Leh is also not severe, the snows exhausting themselves on the surrounding ranges, and it rarely exceeds two inches on the ground at a time. It seems to evaporate without any intermediate slushy stage and a sunny winter is quite pleasant owing to the dryness of the cold. It is even quite enjoyable to sit out-of-doors in the sunshine during the day time. Though the temperature may go down to minus ten degrees F. in mid-winter, and remain by day at about ten degrees below freezing point in a room without a fire, its dryness makes it much more bearable than a less cold, but damper climate, and for a similar reason the heat is much less oppressive than that in India; perspiration being hardly perceptible owing to swift evaporation. The spring, however, is heralded by bitter piercing winds, and often they raise little spiral hurricanes of dust seen chasing across the valley from afar, but woe if one of these " sand-devils " blows across your garden and catches up your verandah chairs in its wake or fills your room with dust.

The further effects of altitude and climate on the human beings, indigenous and foreign, who dwell in the land, need not be dealt with here, but when all is said, the flame of life on the whole burns brightly in this land of clear skies and bright sunshine.

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CHAPTER IV

Over the Zogi Pass

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THE road between Leh and Srinagar, the summer capital of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and a popular hill station for the white man, is one of the chief highways to Central Asia, bearing its trade to and from India.

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No wonder that one of the meanings attributed to the Zogi La, the dread pass that closes this road in winter, is the place of four meetings, for the roads from Tibet, Yarkand, Baltistan and Kashmir all converge here.

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This road has been described by so many travellers, that it would be redundant to add another detailed account of the journey up to Leh. Suffice it to mention some of the outstanding features and incidents that have impressed themselves on one who has traversed it several times, and for whom most of its turns and corners bring to memory an additional reminiscence. The lower or Kashmir side of the pass includes the first stage to Ganderbal which is generally accomplished either by motor, for a car may go even another five to six miles to the Suspension Bridge which spans the Sindh, or by boat down the Mar Canal and across the Anchar Lake when there is enough water, otherwise taking an extra night and going down the river Jhelum to its meeting place or "wedding" with the Sindh river at Shadipur and then up to Ganderbal. Having once effected a junction with the Sindh, the marches from Ganderbal onwards lead directly up the Sindh river to the foot of the Zogi La. This valley is known to so many thou-

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sands of summer tourists in the " Happy Valley " of Kashmir, and does not properly belong to our land at all, so we will leave it for others to describe. Its foaming river and beautiful forested hills, are perhaps seen at their best the latter half of May, when the fresh green of the early summer contrasts so vividly with the evergreen of pines and deodar. The snows then are low on the hills, and the glistening giant peaks peering over the forested edges of their humbler brethren are outlined against a blue sky flecked with soft white clouds, the air is still balmy, and the busy rushing torrent so often skirting the road not quite so thunderous as when the summer sun has brought the melted snows to swell it to a roaring river. This certainly is the most joyous time to travel upwards, though the wonderful autumn tints challenge any comparison with their own beauty, when the winter frost in the high sources of the river is already checking its flow, and the mad rush of melted snow gives place to a quiet flow of clear blue water. The summer heat is then over, but the chill in the air gives its presage of winter cold and bareness. So let us start in May, leave the early summer in Kashmir, already warm as an English mid-summer, and travel upwards towards the spring again, reaching Sonamerg, a favourite camping resort, the last week of that month, and wondering what awaits us on the Zogi, whither a mild winter and the news of an early opening have lured us, possibly, too soon. The crossing we now have in mind, perhaps the earliest in the year we have experienced, was accomplished together with Colonel Theodore and Mr. Kermit Roosevelt, sons of the famous President, who were travelling up with two other American gentlemen into Chinese Turkestan on a big game shooting and scientific expedition. With ourselves were two ladies, but this time no children, as one had gone home to school, and the other, together with her Tibetan nurse, had to be left temporarily with doctor friends in Kashmir, as her health would not stand a return to the altitude of Leh. Looking ahead we could see

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487 the Sindh valley narrowing and just make out the snow-covered crest of a mountain which barred its upper end and indicated the site of the pass, about which we must say a few words.

487 The name Zogi La has another meaning attributed to it by
133 the Tibetan, as well as the one just alleged, one which indicates
[103] the terrors that abound when winter holds it in its icy grip, namely the place of four demons. It is a pass of 11,500 feet, which separates Kashmir and what to many represents civilization, from the wild uplands of the Himalayas and the mysteries of the "distant morning lands" of Central Asia. Though its altitude is not very high for a pass, only equalling that of Leh, its difficulties are great. The summer road should be open from 15th May to 15th November, for on those dates the rates of transport alter from the high winter ones indicating coolie porterage only, to the lower summer ones of pony transport. In winter the difficulties are often insuperable owing to soft snow, blizzards and biting winds, and often the mails are delayed two or three weeks before the runners dare attempt the crossing, the telegraph wires themselves not infrequently breaking with the weight of snow. Traffic is at a standstill from mid-December to early March, save for adventurous travellers who, even then, it is stated, get themselves carried over in baskets on the backs of coolies, sturdy inhabitants of the villages bordering the Ladak side of
[485] the pass. In the centre of the Zogi La is a rest-house, often up
[205] to the eaves in snow, called Machoi, situated on the top of a small sharp hill, one side of which is sheltered from the prevailing winds, and has two or three small buildings, a serai and a telegraph office nestling under it. The telegraph master must have a dreary time in winter, and in the middle of May is moved to another post higher up on the road to
000 Leh. The winter of 1924–5 was exceptionally mild and very little snow fell on the pass. April in Kashmir was a very hot month, more like June, and it was expected that the pass

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would open earlier than usual. However, the weather broke again, and three or four weeks of thunderstorms and heavy rains both lowered the temperature and raised apprehensions as to the new snow which must lie on the pass, and we waited with some anxiety at Sonamerg for news of the road. Having greeted the Roosevelt party as they passed through on their way to the foot of the pass, and exchanged opinions as to its condition over a cup of tea in a tent open both ends to a glorious view of snow peaks and pine-covered hills, we settled down for a second night at Sonamerg expecting them to ascend the pass early next morning. We were in great hopes that their large caravan of 60 ponies would tramp out a good track for ourselves, and indeed open the summer road, which we heard had been mended that day and was ready for use. But, alas, mid-day brought clouds and the afternoon a gale followed by rain which continued all night, and we wondered if they had been able to push on, as this meant fresh snow on the pass. The morning was clear and fine, and then a few fresh clouds gave their showers, but again the sky cleared, and the early afternoon saw us on our way to Baltal, a charming halting place at the foot of the pass. As we neared it the noise of avalanches two or three times called our attention to the falling snows, but the sky was now cloudless, and the evening extraordinarily beautiful. We rode along the nine miles of valley and arrived at the rest-house to find our fellow travellers having tea, to which they invited us, in front of the bungalow with its beautiful surroundings, which increased in loveliness as the soft rays of evening played on the long vistas. We had indeed got back into spring, for the trees had hardly donned their fresh new dresses, and patches of short purple irises, frittilarias, primulas and other fascinating early flowers were peeping out of the grass all around. To-morrow we were to go back still further into winter snows, and pass over into the land of bare hills and scarce trees. After tea, Mr. Cherrie, the ornithologist of the expedition and

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DEDICATION OF A NEW MANI WALL.

At each end are *chortens*.

A MONASTIC BAND.

One small lay child supports the ends of two long shawms.

A GREETING.

Women who have come out to greet the British Joint Commissioner with flour, water, chang (local beer) and fire. To the right a "band" of welcome is provided by one gentleman!

[FACING p. 48]

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000 Colonel Roosevelt retired into the bungalow to continue their work of skinning and preparing birds, of which Mr. Cherrie had succeeded in getting twenty-two specimens in Baltal, and wanted to get them ready to pack before dark. The rest of the bungalow with its two main rooms and verandah was full of luggage under shelter. Our own camp soon went up, and both parties dined early out-of-doors, so as to be ready for an early start in the morning. If only we could get off while the snow was still frozen and before the hot sun softened the surface, how much easier the going would be. We arranged together that the Roosevelts should make a start at five a.m. and ourselves follow in their tracks at five-fifteen. The four members of the expedition slept in their small but serviceable little brown tents, bedding on the ground being much the warmest and best for these high uplands, and soon after dusk there was silence in both camps. Our own, depending on an alarum clock, which failed, rose an hour late to see our neighbours just before five a.m. finishing their breakfast at their out-of-doors table by the light of a candle lantern. However, we need none of us have made such efforts, for, alas, as is usual at this halt, the ponymen let us down. The grass round Baltal is poisonous, and ponies who eat it unwittingly become seriously ill, so overnight the owners of the hired transport drive their steeds away to the hills to graze, and have difficulty in finding and collecting them in the morning. Thus both camps had to wait about when all was packed up and ready to load. The Roosevelts had a fire of logs, which are easily collected in the vicinity, burning merrily, and we were all glad to warm our feet in the cold morning air as we waited. At last, past six o'clock, the bulk of the pack ponies were off, but some still had not been found. Two of our own riding ponies, which we discovered soon after we started, were grazing up towards the pass, while their owner had gone to look for them in the opposite direction, and one or two of the Roosevelt's pack ponies, for which Mr. Kermit Roosevelt waited by his

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000 fire, were also late. A stalwart figure he looked, ready to brave the elements in his solar topi, serviceable khaki shorts, leather waiscoat and short khaki coat with interesting bulges round the bottom which apparently was double so as to form a continuous pocket all round. He soon caught up his caravan, climbing the steep side of the valley, while we all wound up the zigzag summer road, a broad path cut high up in the side of the cliff. It was not under snow in the steep part of the ascent, though as it rounded a big bay there were two avalanches to cross by a narrow track; these always persist well into the summer. At the top of this steep ascent we came upon continuous snow, and our difficulties began. There was a big hold-up while coolies with spades dug a path across an avalanche which had been re-covered with fresh snow. It led down a short steep descent to the main valley, where the winter road up the central gorge joined the summer one. Huddled in the middle of a long line of ponies on the narrow snow track, with a precipice on one side sloping down to the valley, we could see ahead first one of the expeditionary sahibs with one or two servants, behind them their empty riding ponies, while further back the laden animals slowly began to flounder down the improvised path over the avalanche to the main valley. Some got on fairly well, others plunged about, one rolled over and his pack after him, but at the bottom seemed none the worse for his fall. In the valley again we tried to go ahead, but there were long waits while the four sahibs in the front made a track. At last we seemed to get a move on, unable, of course, as yet to ride, for by now the sun was quite warm, and the surface snow very soft. A little further on we passed a poor empty riding pony in trouble, for it had eaten the poisonous grass at Baltal and was grievously ill, in fact the unhappy beast had only been dragged up the steep ascent to die at the top, and had given up its life before we had all passed. In this sort of travelling each wayfarer must get on as best he can, and one passes and is passed

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000 according to the exigencies of the road, so that from time to time one's fellow travellers vary. In this way, the Doctor Memsahib, who was riding their well-known old pony, a sturdy white Zankskari who had been with the missionaries of Leh some thirty years and served them well in return for the care he had received from his babyhood, got ahead of the rest of the party, with one of their servants, and was able to ride every now and then, for Dromar is a wonderful old pony in the snow, and the more difficult the road, the more he raises his head and steps out to overcome the difficulty. Dismounting every now and again to let him be led swiftly alongside over the trackless soft snow, so as to get in front of another batch of slow-going laden ponies, then up again for a space over the trodden-out track till another lot of burdened toilers were passed, she soon got ahead. Here and there the laden animals sank very deeply, sometimes the snow lay on thin ice which would not bear the ponies' weight, and in they went to the shoulders, occasionally leaving their packs on the top of the snow. Even in walking one not infrequently stumbled into some softer underlayer and became wet to above the knees. Presently we came to a narrow ford, with the expeditionary sahibs waiting at the other side, and Mr. Cutting, their Cinema man, poised with his camera to catch the pack ponies as they floundered off the snow bank into the little stream and clambered up the ice and snow on its further edge. This ford seemed merely to add to Dromar's enjoyment, bringing, who knows, what reminiscences of high pass and mountain stream in his long life of faithful service. Somewhere about here we noted a telegraph wire sagging right down under the snow, no doubt broken by its weight. A little further on was a small hut, just a rude shelter of roof and wall. Here again the American Sahibs were waiting and looking back to see how their caravan was coming, and their care for their pack animals was again demonstrated, when, having crossed a snow bridge over the main stream of the

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watershed, now running in the opposite direction, the Doctor Memsahib came upon the party sitting on a ridge of bare earth and stones, which had thrust out from the surrounding snow, where it was more exposed to the sun and less could have settled. They explained that they did not like the look of that snow bridge and were waiting to see if it would stand the strain of pack animals, meanwhile cogitating where best to make a track down and across the stream should it show signs of giving. The Doctor Sahib and the other two ladies reached this spot just when the owner of the dead riding pony came up, howling with all his might, less for the fate of his animal than for the compensation he hoped to get by the compassion his noise inspired. The road soon re-crossed over a stronger snow bridge to the original side. About a mile beyond this round a corner came the welcome sight of the Machoi Bungalow, perched on its little hill athwart the valley, and with its proximal slope free of snow and showing the serais and other buildings offering their shelter. Dromar stepped from the heavy snow-path on to this terra firma with much vim, and ascended the hill with great zest as though only beginning his day's work. The Memsahib soon got the caretaker to unlock the bungalow, threw off wet boots and stockings, put them to dry in the sun, and in its warmth sat looking back and watching the long train of animals slowly moving over the snow, the black spots on the vast expanse of white like a veritable train of ants. The Doctor's party did not attempt to go further that day, but the Roosevelts waited a little in the vicinity till all their caravan had caught up, and then proceeded about two miles further, where the small plateau on the beginning of which Machoi stands again descends steeply to the main valley. On this descent also there was practically no snow, and they were able to pitch their tents while their ponies sought what grazing they could on the bare slope. But besides their sixty ponies and our twenty, another small caravan was crossing the pass that day,

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000 belonging to the Rajah of Khaplu, a gentleman distinguished by the title of "Jo," who was bringing his family home after the winter in Srinagar. His twelve ponies and those of some odd traders who had joined the procession brought the number of animals to well over one hundred, so that the long string of black ants on that white snow was a picture worth remembering. The Jo Sahib had a son about fifteen, one younger, a little girl of two, and his wife travelling with him. The latter being a purdah Mussulman lady, was conveyed in a dandy closed by curtains and carried by four coolies, changed at intervals. How this lady had endured the gyrations of her carriage as it swung about in every angle and in every plane, when first one and then another coolie stumbled and floundered in and out of the soft snow and up and down the rough road, it is hard to imagine. It would seem preferable to be carried on someone's back like the wee girl, and at least see the meaning of such alarming movements. But worse still was to come, at least to our Western minds. For when the traders brought up the rear of the procession, a pony was seen stumbling along with its usual pack burdens on each side, but sprawled across the top between them on her abdomen, face forwards, stockinged feet behind, her head covered with the usual *burkha*, and secured by a rope with the rest of the load, was a Yarkandi woman. Peeping through the eyelets of her headdress she could see all that was coming, and tied down as she was, must remain helpless, swaying with the rest of the pack in response to every stagger and stumble of her pony. Typical it seemed to Western eyes, of the place to which woman is too often relegated in these lands—a necessary, but onerous part of the baggage.

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CHAPTER V

Into Ladak

AT daybreak next morning we were off again. On the whole there was less snow on this side of the pass, and by about six a.m. we reached the Roosevelt's camping ground on the hillside, the front of their caravan just debouching down the valley, those in the rear still standing about in groups, as their loads were fastened on. Ahead of all could be seen the sun-helmeted figures of the four sahibs. The stretch of road now to be covered brought vividly to the Doctor Memsahib's mind the last time she travelled upwards over it. That year the winter snow had been excessive and though the Zogi was not crossed till the middle of June there were still long stretches completely covered with it. To grown-ups this would have been no obstacle but we had with us then our two children, Helen the elder being five, and Josephine the younger not seven months. The former rode a pony, and, having no khud sense at all, was perfectly happy save when fatigue overtook her. The wee mite was carried in a wicker cot with a pole which the coolies swung on their shoulders passing under wicker loops attached below the roof. In this nest she slept serenely, and, even when her blue eyes opened on the white world around, she was blissfully unconscious of all danger. It was the mother who was all too susceptible to every difficulty, potential as well as real. When one of the coolies slipped in the track on the steep hillside sloping acutely down to the rushing river below, and the little cot swayed dizzily

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for a moment, it was she who caught her breath in dread suspense; but there was always another figure in attendance who was quick to give an extra hand. This was Choskyit, the children's Ladaki nurse, a faithful, delightful woman, and a picturesque lady as she rode along in her dark plum-coloured, full-skirted Ladaki home-spun, with a fur-lined waistcoat fastened on the shoulder in Tibetan style, and her red velvet Ladaki hat turned up at the back and sides, showing the black lamb-skin lining. Large round hoops of seed pearls with a few small turquoises and red stones adorned her ears and framed her kind cheerful face, which gave the lie to the rather barbarous leather horsewhip she carried. Riding behind her baby's dandy, scolding the men roundly when they carried it crookedly or loitered, she was off her pony in a minute to lend her aid in any time of need, to adjust the curtain to a change in the direction of the sun at a turn in the road, or to see that the little one was comfortable and happy. So trustworthy was she that she and the baby were always sent off first in the early morning, the parents catching up before the stop for the roadside meal. And now again the Memsahib had reached the piece of road where the track led over the frozen ice and snow, undermined by the rushing river, so that every now and then it ended abruptly where another large piece had cracked off the bank and remained tilted up at an acute angle into the river. At such places a new path was beginning to be trodden out further up the hillside, but, when it joined the old one again, one wondered how long before any new piece would in turn yield to the pressure; whether perhaps one's own pony would prove to be "the last straw," and pony and rider suddenly find themselves taking a sideways somersault into the river. However, the baby was now safely in Srinagar, so there were no fears for her, and such dangers as the road presented merely acted as thrills to the grown-up mentality. Again Dromar went ahead and his rider found herself in the company of the head cook of the expedition. Going along

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together with his help every now and then to hold the stirrup for remounting after a nasty bit, and conferring with him as to the track advisable to pursue when the path suddenly broke off into the now increasing river, they conducted such conversation as the Memsahib's limited Hindustani would allow. So over snow and stream we journeyed, then, coming at last to an open plain free from snow, where Dromar could indulge in his favourite amble, we parted like "ships that pass in the night."

It was on this part of the pass that we distinguished the call of some of its inhabitants. Not only the shrill cry of the marmot was heard in the stillness of this wilderness of bare stone and rock peeping out of the patches of snow a silence only broken by the rushing stream, but even the spring call of the cuckoo came frequently across the clear air, while nearer Matayan the song of the soaring lark trilling in exquisite joyousness, floated on the air. The song of the cuckoo recalled a previous crossing in mid June of another year, with late snow, but far less than at this time, for just about the same place its call was heard, and could be traced to one pathetically lonely tree up on the hillside. Here also at a bend in the river, which was a fierce, wide, rushing torrent by June, a zo, the hybrid between the yak and the cow, was seen struggling in the water. We thought it had arrived there by a mishap, but were surprised to be forced to the conclusion that it was purposive, for, steering a calculated course very slantingly across the tremendous current, it ultimately was deposited on the other side, got out, shook itself, and walked calmly on to seek pasture, as though such an immersion were a daily occurrence.

Dromar soon overtook the walking expeditionary sahibs, and, as on the previous day, drew up at the head of the whole procession at Matayan Rest-house, the pass with all its dangers and difficulties now well behind. One pleasing ceremony was missing at this snowy crossing. It is usual when a white

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It is usual when a white
431 man crosses the pass for the first time, for the ponymen to present him as he nears the rest-house with a little posy of flowers, which he is supposed to acknowledge with the usual rupee, an exchange of mutual compliment and congratulation on the safe accomplishment of the crossing of man and beast, but with the pass covered in its white mantle, there was too much concern for real safety to attend to this little ritual, even had Nature been able to prepare her spring favours. It was amusing to recollect how on coming down from Leh one August with their five-and-a-half months' baby who had been born up there, the Doctor and his wife had paid toll for the infant's first crossing though they themselves were exempt.
164 On this second day several of the travellers suffered with sore eyes, and a bottle of eye lotion which the Doctor Memsahib happened to have with her was in great request. Two or three natives were passed, heads directed downwards, one with a precious umbrella, another even holding an end of his puggaree across his painful eyes. One of our party had a severely inflamed eye in spite even of glasses and veil, and this
000 snow blindness is extremely painful. Among the patients was the elder son of the Rajah of Khaplu, who was found with his family at Matayan, and, although we arrived there at just after nine a.m., they had not started off on the next march, Matayan being the full stage from Baltal which they had actually achieved the previous day. The Doctor Memsahib went in to see the purdah lady and found her perfectly composed and cheerful and ready for her next bumping. Meanwhile the Roosevelt party had passed on to Dras, twelve miles further, having only come four or five miles from their camping place. The Doctor's party stopped to lunch or rather "brunch" (for this roadside meal is usually a combination of breakfast and lunch) on the bungalow verandah, and, when the ponymen came up, they said they would prefer to go on to Dras rather than stay the night at Matayan, as there is no pony fodder there. So we took to the road again,

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the snow having now receded to the distant hills and left our path clear, and by about three p.m. reached Dras.

But we must not, in all fairness to the Zogi, leave it as though its presiding demons always held sway. In the three months of July, August and September, this dreaded road loses all its difficulties and is transformed into one of nature's most beautiful flower gardens. A visitor to Leh re-crossing it at the end of August describes it as follows : " The Zogi on our return journey was one vast flower garden and rockery, impossible in its wealth of beauty to describe. From my pony's back, I counted seventy different wild flowers crossing the Zogi La alone. There were carpets of edelweiss and blue gentian, mauve daisies, yellow ragwort, pink 'coralflower' and rich purple pelargonium. The whole hillside in one part would be sky blue with a sheet of forget-me-nots, further beyond the rich verdure of the grass there would be a mass of pink or mauve where the flower grew in rich profusion."* After the bare hills of Ladak, the green slopes are extraordinarily verdant, and large flocks of sheep and goats are brought up here from the Plains in summer to pasture. We were particularly interested, one August, when stopping for the night at Machoi on our way down, to notice one of these enormous flocks pass near the rest-house in single file. One after another they came in unceasing procession, over one thousand of them, tall Kashmiri goats with their look of foolish fearfulness ludicrously mixed with the patriarchal solemnity lent by their tufted beards, all of them so expressive, and many with irrisistibly humorous resemblances to one's human acquaintances, sheep of all sorts, mothers bleating and young ones following: it seemed as if they would never end. Fortunately for us their shepherds had set up a little camp quite near us at the foot of the great glacier behind Machoi, and we were able to procure a little fresh goat's milk from them instead of resorting to tins. With the words and tune of the

* *Tales of Tirah and Lesser Tibet.* Mrs. Lilian Starr.

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000 song "The Lord God planted a garden" running in the writer's ears, the following adaptation evolved in response to the surrounding scenery :

SONG OF THE ZOGI LA

The Lord God planted a garden,
  Up here on the roof of the world,
Where in winter the snow was warden,
  And the wild winds swept and whirled.
So near to the gates of heaven,
  Its Gardener lived in the sky,
And colour and fragrance blended
  To gladden the passer-by.

And there on the verdant hillside
Were pastures clean and sweet,
  Tucked in with fleecy cloudlets
Where sky and hilltop meet.
  And many a glistening glacier
Gave birth to a shining stream
  That bore the life-giving water
To where the great rivers gleam.

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CHAPTER VI

Back to Lamaland

AT Matayan we have really crossed the Zogi, but it is at Dras that we change our transport, and see the last of the steeds and their syces (grooms) who have brought us over. The former place consists of a few huts, a serai (caravanserai) and a bungalow, in a desolate wind-swept spot with practically no supplies accessible. Probably owing to wind and weather the traveller is here left to his own resources, with the result that several visitors have launched into poetry, of which there is an amusing collection of rhymes in the bungalow book. The rest-house has two small rooms with well-boarded windows and a limited verandah with a windscreened corner. Here the Memsahib has recollections of a real pressure of accommodation. Travelling down from Leh to send her elder child off home to school, and to try the effect of the lower altitude on the ill-health of her little one of two-and-a-half, an awkward incident occurred between Dras and Matayan, for one of the zos carrying luggage fell down the khud, and his load rolled on into the stream. The locks of a suitcase were broken on the boulders, and away floated all the baby's warm clothes for the return journey and daintier ones for the civilization of Srinagar, and also all the contents of a sewing basket, whose empty case remained in position in the crown of a hat, not a nice quandary to be left in with two children, and no needle or cotton, so far out in the wilds! A yakdan, with all the Memsahib's civilized clothes, shoes, books and incidentally money—was also

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brought out of the river broken and sopped through, but with all the contents intact. A little beyond the scene of the accident, news of which reached us at our roadside meal, we met over thirty ponies, the advance half of a caravan belonging to a party of seven Swedish missionaries who we knew were on the way up, bound for Yarkand, a month's journey beyond Leh. Since the Great War the members of this Mission have had to reach their posts by a three months' journey through India and over the Karakorums, whereas in times of peace it had taken them only three weeks to travel *via* Russia and the Transiberian railway. Now they could only get to and fro in early autumn, over roads and passes compared with which the Leh-Srinagar road is a promenade, yet in one year these heroic folk brought two babies under a year old through Leh, one travelling in each direction. We inquired from the ponymen where the sahibs were stopping, and they replied Machoi, so as soon as we reached Matayan we established ourselves literally all over the room, for the wet goods salvaged from the water were taken out and spread over every available shelf, peg, and article of furniture, as well as weighted down on the hot stones out in the sun and wind.

The other room of the bungalow was occupied by a Yarkandi lady and her family who were travelling down with us. This lady's husband had been Aksakal (a kind of minor Consul) for the British Government in Leh, but was now a trader. She was suffering from an abdominal tumour, for which she had steadily refused surgical interference until it was much too large to risk removal in the altitude of Leh, where collapse after such operations so often occurs. When at last her husband returned from a long trading visit to Yarkand, they were at length persuaded to come down to Srinagar under the Doctor Memsahib's wing, their two boys travelling with them, so that she might take her only remaining chance of life. The lady had been almost moribund in Leh, but with careful treatment and plenty of fresh air after years

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of purdah, when her roof or enclosed court-yard afforded the only resort for outdoor exercise, she so much improved that she arrived in Kashmir a different woman, having covered the miles mostly in a dandy but often astride on their own quiet horse. Here she was operated upon in the Zenana Mission Hospital by women surgeons, and a tumour weighing twenty-four pounds removed. She made such an uninterrupted recovery that she was able to return to Leh with her family before the winter closed the pass.

But to come back to Matayan, we had just finished spreading our things out to dry, and were beginning tea, when the seven missionaries bound for Yarkand arrived. In the evening, they found the wind too strong and the ground too dry and hard to hold their tent pegs, so eventually two of their ladies slept in a small room with the two children and their Ladaki nurse, the other two and the Doctor Memsahib and two gentlemen, on the small verandah, while a third gentleman, seized with a bad attack of malaria, had to suffer his high fever and rigors in the bathroom. Such is life on the road !

On the upward journey the path descends from Matayan by the side of the river, as it rushes off the Zogi, and trees have now been left behind, but the hills and rocks are very beautiful and the vegetation and flowers of great interest. In the village of Pandras, just across the first bridge, one is introduced to the gnomish dwellings and weird unkempt inhabitants of Ladak, though we are not in Buddhist country yet, but in the intermediate Mussulman province of Purig, where a mixed race of Ladakis and Baltis live. Passing down the gorge the only shelter for our roadside meal is a big rock on the right, near a waterfall tumbling over the cliff on the left, and on a hot day to sit under it is really to experience " the shadow of a mighty rock within a weary land."

The Dras bungalow is also famed for wind-and generally much abused, but we have always been glad to spread out in its many little rooms, and especially to enjoy a bath in the

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600 delightful little streamlets that come gurgling from the valley behind. Sad to say this naughty stream carried off the false teeth of a friend of ours on one occasion, so ablutions in its waters should be accomplished with care. Even this bungalow's accommodation was well taxed when the Doctor Memsahib came through with her children, and found a party there on their way down from Leh, with one gentleman suffering badly from altitude collapse, and a cook who was supposed to be taking drugs. Presently a third patient came up from a camp near-by whose history, past and present, like another famous person's, seemed to include every disease except housemaid's knee, and who certainly was the last sort of woman who should have attempted such a journey for pleasure.

The march from Dras to Shimshe Kharbu is one of the longest, and a pleasant memory comes of a lazy morning at the bungalow, and, after an early tea, a ride down the long sloping plain with its green fields and sparse clumps of trees, the soft lights of evening playing round the nearer green hills and the further bare or snowy ones. It was on this stretch of cultivation that a loose pony once suddenly rushed up and wantonly tried to bite our famous old Dromar with no provocation whatever. The latter's rider much regretted he had no whip in his hand, for Dromar needed no urging himself. Our evening ride brought us into camp at Dundeltang, a small riverside *bagh*, opposite a mighty glacier. Round a corner a mile or so beyond this was a precipitous bit of path where a luggage pony was edged over by his stronger brethren, whilst their guardians stopped to drink at a spring in the rock, and all curios collected in Ladak by the owner of the load, and his change of clothes, were drowned with it. Far more terrible was the tragedy which occurred at Dundeltang some years later, when a young American, travelling to Leh with friends, left his tent for an early morning stroll by the river, and was never seen alive again. His disappearance remained a com-

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plete mystery until his body was found some weeks later about thirty miles further down the river, after its junction with the Suru.

But let us get on to that beautiful little stopping place where we have our tiffin at the further end of Tashgam village, still by the river, which we have with us through the whole of this march. Here in June is that fairy-land of waving blossom to which we have already referred, its bushes dotted about the course of a tumbling stream, with a few tall poplars, standing up against the blue sky, and a background of great brown mountains relieved by a glistening glacier. Crossing a rough little bridge, or wading through the stream, we shall find a cool *bagh* awaiting us, with the river near enough to rejoice, but not disturb us. A little way beyond we cross another bridge over a very strongly rushing, angry bit of river, and just over it, with the path levelled on a precipitous cliff above the tumultuous waters, and the ground steeply rising above its inner side, we remember the thoughtlessness of some "zos," grazing on the almost bare hillside above the path, who, as they moved, loosened large stones which arrived in our vicinity, much to our ponies' alarm.

The next bungalow at Shimshe Kharbu is a nice roomy one. The river rushes along below a deep precipice on the left, though not too steep for us to find a way down to a delightful side-pool, inviting a dip in the cold invigorating water. The slope of the river-bed is so marked, and the rush of water so tremendous, that at night its very noise is apt to keep one awake. The cook-houses are opposite the bungalow and at right angles with it, and, when sitting, on the verandah, one's eyes are fascinated by the goblin-like expression of the nearest chimney, whose two slits look like mischievous eyes leering wickedly, the goblin impression being increased a hundred-fold as dusk creeps on, and curly blue smoke issues from the four sides. It was here that the Doctor Sahib gave one of his very rare beatings, for a pony came in heavily laden and

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000 terribly lame. Discovering the owner, that gentleman received a lesson on his back, which lost considerably in its application and came to a premature conclusion by the stick breaking on his heavy homespun garments.

The next day's march was also enlivened by a similar incident, for the Doctor as he walked, came up with a Yarkandi merchant urging his already well-laden pony along, and then added his own well-clad fat self to the load. Coming to a channel across the path the animal overladen with its double burden, did not jump with sufficient vigour, and the rider gave it a vicious beating. To his great surprise, he immediately felt a similar beating on his own back, and, stout of build as he was, he and his companions all dismounted at the command of the white man and continued on foot. Further on is a spot where we once saw a pony left to die by the roadside. It could still lift its head feebly, although the vultures had already removed the upper eye as it lay on its side. Unfortunately we had neither gun nor knife with us, and after discussing whether we should be successful in giving the *coup de grâce* with a big stone or merely add to its agony, we feared the latter, and had to pass on.

But there are other memories of this bit of road, for it was here that we saw one June "the wilderness blossoming as a rose," and not only as a rose, for in many little sheltered nooks and crannies of the big boulders white aquilegias clustered, so fragile-looking in their hard stone setting. Further on, just past a joyous "watersmeet" where another stream joins the Dras river, we always look for a funny little nook under a big overhanging slab of stone, so typical of the little sheltering places which meet the simple needs of our Ladaki brethren, as the traces in blackened stones put together for a camp fire, shew. But on the upward road we lunch at Chanegund, a little *bagh* on a small plateau with the village of Chuli Skampo (dry apricot) still higher on the hill above. We notice some houses and a little area of cultivation on the

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other side with tracks leading in and out, and we wonder at the inhabitants who spend their whole lives there, and possibly never even reach the bridge some four miles away, that would lead them to a comparative civilization. This is the suspension bridge over which the road branches off for Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, but we keep straight on and where the Dras river pours into the swiftly flowing Suru, turn a sharp corner, and slowly wend our way into Kargil, enjoying the gradual opening out into a broad valley, and the soft lights on the distant hills. Kargil is the capital of Purig, and even has a small bazaar, but its rest-house is famed among those of us who know the road well for the unpleasant amount of personal "shikar" (hunting) that must always be done there.

The next day we set out with pleasant anticipations, for we shall at last really re-enter Lamaland, our own Ladak. This is the longest march of all, and this, too, we have sometimes varied by getting the first few miles done the previous evening, and enjoying all the special glories of the westering sun. So we remember, as we round one corner, how the long rays caught the figure of a woman on the other side of the gorge, as she rounded the top of a small hill, and exaggerating the furry outline of her rough sheepskin and her unkempt hair, made our companion, new to the country, exclaim "Just look at that bear." For some miles along this march, we note the remains of a long aqueduct which was laid out to bring water to an extensive plateau just above Kargil, with the hope of transforming its desert barrenness into cultivated fields, but alas! when the source was directed into the channel it was inadequate and after all the expenditure incurred, not a drop reached the dry acres.

At the end of the first few miles is the village of Pashkyim, a long pleasant area of green valley reposing in its peaceful hills. Once when we camped there on our downward way it was anything but peaceful, for a wind-storm arose and blew masses of dust into our tents, and into a meal on which we

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were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGonpa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

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his wig standing over there, with a markedly malevolent look in one big bad eye, seeming to watch with great resentment the intrusion of our Western selves into his valley? Certainly that eye follows us till we are level with him, after which suddenly turning, we find that he too has turned back again to see what other intruders will follow, and we wonder how the rest of our party will stand his evil scorn. Then our eye falls on a giant emerging with his broom from his cave, from which we can trace the track down which he goes to fetch water. His face is hidden, but shoulder, arm and broom are clearly visible. What mystery is he brooming out with such persistence? A little further we spy a Mongolian-looking female, eyes closed, and flattened nose turned up in utter disgust at our European smell. So, though the last few miles are generally the longest, these are more than beguiled by all the strange wizard-like forms and fairy-like scenes we see depicted opposite, varied with glimpses into deep narrow ravines with more weird formations, suggesting the strangest mysteries.

Our attention is diverted, however, by Mulbek's monastery, perched high up on inaccessible-looking crags and dominating the whole valley. Strange and sudden on its perch, fascinating in its form and outline, we at last turn down under its very shadow to the polo ground, on the nearer side of which is the rest-house, and on the further side the central stream. All along we have been noting how exactly the strange dwellers of this valley fitted the scenery from head to foot, indeed especially head-dress and footgear, no doubt contributing to our feeling of being intruders. The chuckling fat babies with their nun's style of close-fitting cap, tucked into one of the aforementioned baskets, and left on the edge of the field in which their caretaker is busy, are particularly attractive. At the bungalow we find a lot of *respas* (turn-men) waiting to secure the job of our transport for the next day. In our staff is a coolie boy from a village near Leh, who came to us utterly destitute in

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735 Srinagar, wearing a puggaree, a pair of trousers, and a warm shirt with military breast pockets, in which he apparently carried all his worldly goods, rather to the confusion of the natural outlines of his broad manly chest. This boy, a Mussulman named Ibchung (little Abraham) constantly delighted us by his cheery ways, and naïve enjoyment of life. Seeing our interest in these strange people, he promptly marshalled them before us and shewed them off as though he had specially collected them for the purpose. Dirty and ragged, but delightfully cheery, enjoying us as we did them, all looked ready to pop into a fairy tale. One with a red cap was quite the dandy of the party, another wrinkled old man with hair untidily fringing out of his pigtail and round his face, had a big cavern between two isolated teeth. There was a boy with a coarsely-quilted sleeveless padded waistcoat, even at the end of May. Here was a living representative of Absalom, a Balti wearing a little round cap with rolled up edges, dark curling locks falling on to each shoulder, big black eyes, and, unlike our Buddhist Ladakis, an expression of utter gloom.

As we waited for our luggage, we noted the paraphernalia attached to the people, as demonstrated by Ibchung. One old chap with bracelets of wool on his arm was spinning from it on to a little wooden spindle. From his wool he would make sacks, carpets or ropes. His was black wool from a cow, while another, filling his enforced idleness with like industry, was spinning from the white wool of a goat, twirling the spindle almost unconsciously as he gazed at us. In their belts and about their persons was quite an array of instruments, such as flint and tinder, knife, long spoon, spectacles in case, sewing purse and pen-case, the last empty as is usual with these people. These were all depending from the waist, and often a large brass soup or tea ladle was stuck in the folds of their ample sash behind. In front, hanging by a small chain, one man had a little pair of broad-ended forceps for

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extracting thorns or obstrusive whiskers, the nasal vibrissae being special objects of dislike. Some wore necklaces of turquoise and coral or red beads, others had ear-rings and many had bracelets, often in the form of a clasp not quite meeting round the wrist, whose two ends represented the heads of snakes. As we turned to attend to our luggage we gave them a coloured picture torn from the back of a magazine, and they carried it off and discussed it with great joy.

The next day we still had to traverse the further half of the valley, and even in the prosaic morning time, we constantly noticed fantastic shapes in the rocks on the other side. There was a realistic statue of Judge Cockburn, a certain outline of Cardinal Wolsey, and, just as we turned to the left to leave the main valley, guarding the entrance to a small nullah on the opposite side, was that strangest formation of all, a high pinnacle of rock, left standing like a gigantic solitary stalagmite, whose outline was weathered into the irresistible suggestion of a maternal figure, with one child nestled at her knees and another peeping over her left shoulder. In strong contrast to the size of these figures one slowly descried a monastic house and a few less important dwellings built into the base of the pillar in the usual gnomish fashion, from whose chimneys the blue smoke rose to curl up like incense obscuring the Madonna's face.

Leaving this strange valley, which, for all its weird suggestiveness, has an atmosphere of pleasant peacefulness, we turn to the left and then to the right again, and slowly wend our way up a long bare ascent to the Namika La (the Sky-high Pass) of 13,000 feet. On the way a ragged picturesque man, and a little child who was far more so, were seen leading a flock of small sheep and goats along the hillside, though what sustenance they were going to find in this dry barrenness was hard to see. The top of the pass has a fine panoramic view, and, having dismounted from our panting ponies, who ascend the last steep bit with constant pauses and periodic breathing,

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133 we let them rest a few m[illegible]s, while we sit by the *lhato* and enjoy the sea of mountain tops all around. The path descends 369 into the open valley of Bot Kharbu, a long smiling stretch of cultivation with several small villages and a few ruined forts and castles on the hilltops. These were the scenes of fighting in the seventeenth century. Occasionally we note a rough bridge across the main stream, made just of the trunk of a tree or of two such logs side by side, of which one is a little lower, so that, if nervous, one could choose it and hold on to the higher. One noticeable cluster of houses, called Stagtse, is picturesquely grouped round a pointed rock on the other side of the stream. Near the rest-house, we see, on the further side also, that little collection of houses which gives the best example on all the road of how the native dwelling is fashioned like and merges into the surrounding rock.

Overhanging that part of the village in which the dak bungalow is to be found is a high rock with ruins of a castle or fort, conspicuous above which, and noticed from afar, is the figure of a man meditating over the valley, and brooding over the past history of its wars. When we arrive under it, we see it is only a sandstone figure, carved by the storms of centuries just as those seen on the day before.

133 The next day we leave the valley and enter a slowly narrowing long defile, leading to the foot of the highest pass we have to cross, and some six miles out of Kharbu we pass Henasku in a ravine on the left, already quoted as an example and, perhaps a better one than yesterday's, of a series of 758 transitional rock dwellings, and looking so lonely and so weird 484 on its high cliff. Pausing at the foot of the Pass, where there is water though no shade, for a meal, we then climb up to 13,500 feet, but just before the summit is reached, we come upon a nice group of Ladakis camping in that glorious scenery. We turn round to admire the way they have " parked out " their loads of bulging sacks into a wind shelter, against which they rest their own appropriate figures. Behind them is a magni-

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ficent stretch of mountains, its breadth and expanse exceeding those of yesterday's pass ; the glory of light and shade are indescribable, and this little group of humanity in the foreground just completes the picture. To their right by a tiny trickle of water behind a little rock, a delightful pair have detached themselves from the party to engage in " Chos Choches " (doing religion). One has a wee tray on a collapsible stand and a spoon, all of which can be shut up within a kind of teapot, its cover forming a second platter when reversed, and here he is busy with his libations and mumbling away at his prayers, though apparently only a layman, while the younger man assists him. Completing the ascent an equally wonderful view bursts on the sight, but there is no sign of cultivation on these bare brown or snowwhite peaks, and one really feels as though even at the " back of beyond " in every direction, there never would be human habitation again. But there just below us a yak tosses up his head, and gallops off, while soon our eyes light upon another picturesque camp arranged within a wall of sacks. One of our Tibetan friends, preferring a sun to a water-bath, has slipped his arms out of his wide sleeves and sits there bare to his waist, though we ourselves find the breeze quite chilly at these heights. Down, down, down again, and the big peaks vanish while the little hills rise. Round many corners we come to a bare wild ravine with a dark frowning hill behind, fit framing for a solitary *chorten*, throwing into relief its whitewashed base and red-ringed superstructure. Now we know a village must be near, and up a little zigzag path we go, and around another big *chorten*, then catch our breath at the picture that lies before us, a village we have already described as a suitable capital for " Hobgoblinland." Nor does this impression diminish, rather, each time one rounds that corner it strikes the imagination more forcibly, and seems as though it can only be some dreamland phantasm. Even as you come down upon the prosaic little rest-house on its platform below the hill, the

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TWO LADAKIS IN THE BAZAAR AT LEH.

The old Meme (grandfather) has his prayer-wheel with him in order to accumulate merit. He is wearing *charoks*, Yarkandi boots of thin red leather with a felt stocking inside. His companion prefers Ladaki footwear, of which the uppers are woven of coarse wool, sewn on to rope soles. The toes are turned up.

THE BABY SKUSHOG OF SPITUK

With his two lama "nurses." He is wearing the gilded official riding hat.

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361 chimneys of its cook-houses look up at you like unblinking owls. To visit the monastery the path leads up to turn 346 abruptly near a series of little dwelling places covering a small hill. Unrelieved by the usual balconies and adornments of village houses, they appear more like stables, but we are informed they are the abodes of the nuns. The *dGonpa* itself is very picturesque and a camera might be busy at each corner, 792 but the dirt and dust are terrible. The Lamas who belong to the red sect, are degraded looking, and the whole atmosphere 000 of the village is evil, as several travellers have noticed. What wonder that below the village we come upon that disinterred Sodom and Gomorrah already mentioned, perhaps more aptly described as a ruinous Gehenna with its twisted sulphurous [491] pillars. So we pass along the high road, meeting the Indus at the suspension bridge just below the village of Kalatse, and keeping it company to Saspola. It was when riding along this piece of road that seven year old Helen asked, as more mountains came into view, peering over their fellows, "Mummy, how 361 did the mountains make theirselves so big?" After a long uninhabited stretch of stony road we note a welcome green patch on the other side, where about three houses find enough cultivatable ground, fed from a falling stream, to support their inmates, and we are told that in winter they send their animals across the frozen river, now wide and rushing, to find what roots they can and to bask in the warmth on the sunny side. 491 As our destination approaches, a crazy-looking cantilever bridge with no side rails crosses the river. Though fairly broad, it spans a high gulf, and it is only certain local ponies who are used to it, whom one can dare to take over. Fortunately it is not on the high road, and we may pass on in peace of mind.

000 The following march ascends a *rong*, which may be defined as a pass "which goes up, but not down," a narrow defile which opens out eventually on to a broad plain, whence the snow crests surrounding the long broad Indus valley in the

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neighbourhood of Leh can be seen. But there is a sudden descent from this plateau into the pretty and quaint little village of Basgo, which, with its peculiar rocks and ruins, *chorten* gates and *mani* walls, appeals to some people more than Lamayuru. In spring it is certainly a gem in the bare hills, for on the verge of the plain one suddenly comes upon it as a mass of apricot blossom. Above the Basgo-Nyemo valley neither the apricot nor the apple ripen properly, and the Leh supplies come mostly from there or from Saspola. The main road, which we must occasionally remind ourselves is the high road to Central Asia, leading through the village, passes many tumbledown *chortens* and *mani* walls, and, in one little recess on the left, one sees a fine example of a prayer-wheel made of a kerosene tin. On the outskirts, a row of prayer-wheels may be noted on a roof, waiting to be turned by the wind.

Over a sandy four-mile plain with a long *mani* wall extending half-way, we reach Nyemo, which looked only about twenty minutes ride from Bazgo, and are glad to enter the shade of its large *bagh*, and new bungalow. Here we remember camping once and taking our meal in the open by our tents, when a group of traders and their servants from the serai came to watch this interesting performance. Wearying of their unabashed stare, the Doctor Sahib at length rose, and addressed them in their own language. Pointing solemnly to the members indicated, he said, " I too am a man, I have eyes, ears, nose and mouth." A grin slowly spread over their faces as they caught the rebuke, and they stole away to bother us no more.

Now we have one more *rong* to ascend, then we soon come out on to a long terraced plain with a glorious view of our own Leh valley, the Indus spreading out into several silver streaks as it winds in and out of its broad acres. Grateful after the narrow gorges and long defiles is this open expanse, ringed by range after range of peaks pointing up to some 20,000 feet above sea level, whose snow can never melt. " My very own

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hills" says our small Helen, returning to Leh from England at the age of five. "Not Daddy's nor Mummy's, but my very own Leh Mountains, I was borned there." The terraced plains are very long, but at length we pass Spitug with its monastery-crowned hill on our right, and turning a corner see Leh away up in the foothills to our left. Such a short journey it looks in this clear, rarefied air, but it is a good five miles uphill before we enter the "Sta-rgo," horse-gate, of the little town we have come so far to see. Once more we view with delight its broad bazar, headed by the mosque, its row of poplars on one side, its castle high on a hill to the right and behind it the mountains, over which the Kardong Pass leads to the Karakorums and distant Yarkand.

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CHAPTER VII

Over Many Passes

HAVING seen the high road to Leh, let us take a trip off the beaten track, along a much less prosaic road, for it is much more thrilling never to know what surprises lie just round the next corner. Towards the end of the march, however, there often seem to be endless " next corners " before the welcome sight of tent or dak-bungalow greets the eyes, with its promise of tea and a nap, the value of which are perhaps best realized after a hot march. Thus round such a corner may come into view the most ricketty of bridges sometimes made only of twigs and spanning a rushing river. Where the stream is smaller, not even this bridge is provided, and the only way across is to ford, which is no easy matter when the bed is not smooth but formed of huge boulders, so that one moment the pony is high up on a rock, the next plunges deep down between the stones. Then, too the boom boom of the swifter torrents filling one's ears inspires an additional fear of the onrush of these stones and smaller boulders which may catch the ponies' legs and break them. At times the road may lead along the bottom of a valley over the most stony of pathways imaginable, and with the overhanging rocks so low that man must " stoop to conquer," and even the ponies' saddles occasionally need to be shed and loads dropped to get underneath. Again, having climbed up a high pass there bursts on the view a panorama that defies description in its immensity and grandeur of upheaval. Moreover in these

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sparsely populated regions the people are so interesting, for the customs and ways of the unadulterated lamaism often differ considerably from those of the high road.

But let us now accompany the " padre " and the " doctor " in their trek from Ladak through Zankskar to Lahoul, and home *via* the Plains, thus traversing the whole of the Himalayan ranges from north to south, except the most northern, named the Karakoram Range. Leaving Leh we must first travel down the high road towards Kashmir for four days, that is along the Indus as far as the foot of the Lamayuru gorge. But let us remember the real name of this river is the " Senge Kabab," which means the one which " descends from the mouth of the Lion." The Tibetan names of the other rivers flowing from the region of the holy lake, Manosarowar, also indicate the true sources of their mighty waters, for does not the Sutlej or " Langchen kabab " descend from the mouth of the elephant, the Gogo is the " Mamzhi kabab " descending from the mouth of the peacock, while the Brahmaputra or " Damchog kabab " descends from the ear of the horse. In our Western ignorance we often garble these Tibetan names. Thus Darjeeling should be called " Dorjhe Ling " the " Country of the Thunderbolt," whilst Kalimpong is our distorted version of " Kalonpug," the cave of the prime minister. But let us get back to Lamayuru whence our road turns due south across that division of the Himalayas known as the "Ri-gyal" or mountain king range. Our first march takes us over a small pass to Wanla, and we must get used to Passes, as within a short period we have to cross fifteen, of which all but five are fairly high ones. Wanla is a pretty village and shows signs of having been an important one. Crowning the hill which dominates the village is a fine old ruin, and behind it a most peculiar built monastery, in many places resting on beams which look so insecure that they must give way on the slightest provocation. That they still hold is doubtless

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due to the fine water prayer-wheel in the village, which day and night turns round its prayers to benefit the community, while in the walls of the little shelter made to accommodate it four more rather large prayer-wheels are inserted to be worked by hand, so that the passer-by, giving them a meritorious twirl as he goes along, may add his contribution to the volume of prayer that brings favour to the village. Just now is the time of harvest in Wanla. Here the barley and wheat are cut and carried to the side of the hill to dry, a process which must soon be accomplished, for the heat from the stones is very great. In the evening a poor old man, blind in one eye arrives, and the cause being established as cataract, a temporary operating theatre is set up, instruments boiled and the trouble removed. Another poor old fellow completely blind, deaf and otherwise deformed, also asks for help, but alas, he is beyond the aid even of Western medical science, and, as he is very poor, the meagre solace of a little gift is all that can be done for him. There is hardly any operation so dramatic as that of cataract extraction, for the patient may be totally blind at one moment and the next receive his sight. It is all the more sad to have to tell some of these poor blind folk that it is impossible to give them back their vision, especially when so often that faculty might have been saved had they come to the doctor sooner.

Arrangements have now to be made for the next day's march, and we are told that the road is so bad that it will take all the Wanla horses and all the Wanla men to get us to Hunupata, the next village at which we halt ; nor is the picture overdrawn. Next morning all are busy. Breakfast is cooked and eaten, and wise is he who begins by shipping aboard plenty of food ! Stores and cooking utensils are packed into *yakdans* and *kiltas*, the Indian-made travelling boxes and baskets, one of which forms half-a-pony load, and we are off, enjoying the sheer delight of marching in the clear

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pure cool air of the early morning. Our road runs along the left bank of the Wanla stream for about three miles, then we have to cross it by such a bridge that those of us who are riding dare not trust our ponies to it, and must ford. Soon after the thrills promised by our friends in the village begin. The path runs along the cliff, varying from ten to two hundred feet above the river, which is now fairly deep and rushing. Often it is hardly wider than the hand can span, and, of course, the track always runs along the extreme edge, as roads in this country usually do, while over the edge is first a rapid decline, then a perpendicular drop straight down into the river. One slip off the road and the chances of recovery are practically nil, while the preliminary slither down the slope would just allow time to realize the pleasant drop which would occur when the perpendicular part was reached. Walking along this so-called bridle path, I remembered coming along the same road some years before in early summer, and how at one place the path, to add to its terrors, was actually covered with sloping ice, and I admit having shirked it by climbing up along the hill above. After a walk of two-and-a-half hours we reached the pretty little village, Panjila, but, before arriving could not help noting the only sign of vegetation on that bare hillside, one lonely pine tree of considerable age. Evidently it had found a little spring to sustain its life. So quaintly does the smallest rill or source of water permit the growth of one or two trees in such a dry stony land. No wonder that in its fantastic isolation the *shugpa* or pencil cedar of Ladak, is regarded as a holy tree and in it dwells a *Lha* or good spirit. Often an altar piled high with the horns of wild sheep or goats is built around the stem of such a tree, and of certain *shugpa* it is said that to break off a twig or branch will cause the death of the offender within a year. Thus, among the oldest trees in the land, where wood is in such demand for fuel, is the *Shugpa*, owing its existence to the protection of its gods.

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But the road does not mend, rather it grows worse; nevertheless he who braves it is fully repaid, for it leads to one of the most wonderful gorges in the world. Soon after leaving Panjila, we cross quite a short bridge, two hundred feet below which roars the river, running between high perpendicular cliffs. A little further down, it has hollowed out of some conglomerate rock a magnificent tunnel through which the waters thunder. The road has now become difficult enough, consisting of large slabs of slaty rocks which have descended irregularly from the cliffs, which rise up perpendicularly for some thousand feet at the side. How one would enjoy watching, from a safe distance, the descent of one of these large rocks. The Padre tells of how he was once belated on such a road, and suddenly the cliff above him and his servant began falling down. His Ladaki companion cried out, "Sahib, our end has come," but they pressed themselves tightly up against a rock, trusting their horses to do the same, and thus escaped. Now we come to a bridge, and what a bridge! Four poplar trees have been thrown across the stream, but wood has apparently been scarce, for on top of these large slabs of stone are placed, which bob up and down as the pony crosses over them. However, the drop is not more than eighty feet even if we should go over. Up and down the hillsides we go to avoid precipitous cliffs; then the brook must be forded, and, as the pony plunges up and down, one wonders how wet the tiffin bread in the saddle-bag is getting. Now we wander along the bed of the stream itself, not too full of water this time of the year, yet not without difficulties, for in three or four places the adjacent rocks overhang it, while in one place they are actually so low that the ponies can only pass underneath with their saddles removed. But look around at the view. Here by your side is a clear bubbling stream which can yet make a very respectable roar as it passes through its self-excavated tunnels. At its side grow rose bushes and tamarisks in profusion, while

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the wild red currants, now ripe, are wonderfully sweet to the taste. Then look up to right and left, and see the great slabs of cliffs, rising absolutely straight up from the river for over 1,000 feet; or, where they lean at all, the slope is inwards. Behind them are further tiers. Beyond, more cliffs, rising up to a similar height, look just like huge stalagmites, the formation of cliff and stalagmite together often suggesting one of nature's wonderful cathedrals with its many spires. The Ladaki would people them with his *lhas* (spirits), which he certainly believes inhabit the stalagmites.

At last we turn a corner and our hair might turn grey too, for the natural road stops abruptly at one of these perpendicular rocks, on to which human hands have built a kind of rough scaffolding. On every little projection from this rock stones have been merely laid to the desired level, and not even cemented with mud. Jutting out from the rock are beams ; how they have been fixed in it is impossible to say, and resting on these more beams parallel with the cliff, and finally, to give a firm footing, slabs of rock. Why the whole crazy structure does not topple down is past comprehension. The doctor, wishing to be whole in order to render first-aid to the Padre should calamity over-take him, crosses over first, to feel peculiar sensations up and down his spine as he watches his colleague follow after him. Even the horses seem to realize their precarious position, and press close up to the cliff. Having safely traversed this piece of road, we are not surprised to see a *chorten* and a *mani* wall, though still miles away from human habitation, for even the Ladaki must feel he needs a special safeguard for such a perilous passage.

From now our road descends until we reach Hanupata, where, although the onset of rain threatens to damp our welcome, the villagers make up for it in the heartiness of their greeting. The *mGopa* or headman begs us to come and rest in a "very nice room" of his house until our luggage

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arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through 622
dark alleys, up ricketty ladders, and under low portals, which 574
give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This " very nice
room " with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while 342
its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a
beautiful shining mohagany by years of smoke, a process
being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid
fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left
a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the
only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained
selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family 574
produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it
on the floor, so that we may both sit and " lay our table "
upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining,
sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or
two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained.
We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of
joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme,* is specially [272
interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar
type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest
inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at
weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled
over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was
introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is [276]
smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are con-
strained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such
relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He
replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hill-
side. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker
gives the old man some of his own " Country Life " tobacco
to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he
puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a
beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it
with a smile, for who could have believed even that old
friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

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Asked how he was enjoying it, he replied that if he smoked much more he would become intoxicated.

Having refreshed ourselves with tea, and the rain having ceased, we go to look for a good camping spot, and fix on a field already harvested. Soon our luggage arrives, and the ponymen tell us that for four miles they had to unload their ponies and carry the loads themselves. Fancy carrying a heavy tent over a bad road for four miles! Two of the ponies had fallen down the steep hillside with their loads tightly bound on their backs; but, fortunately for them, these were bedding and tents, so they did not hurt themselves seriously, and, fortunately for us, they just stopped short of the water, so we had dry beds that night. This part of the road has been described somewhat in detail, and, although all is perfectly true, yet it is not so bad in the actual going as it sounds, for one is much too occupied with the next step to worry about potential accidents, and it is only in prospect or retrospect that the perils of the road appal.

Early next morning we are off again, and soon come to the inevitable pass. Here the many marmots provide interest by announcing the coming of a stranger with a shrill policeman-like whistle, as they sit at the doors of their burrows. They are remarkably tame, for the Doctor stalked one and actually touched him with his stick as he disappeared down his hole, only to reappear a few minutes later. He was then about to reach his hand out to stroke him, but was warned by his Ladaki *zhabzhi* (foot-helper) that they bite hard. When travelling in another direction some weeks before this, my companion's dog noticed a marmot running hard for his hole. "Bunty" managed to head him off and bowl him over, biting him hard in the abdomen, but nowhere else, for friend marmot was a sportsman. He sat up on his hind legs held up his fists in the approved boxer fashion, and kept "Bunty" at bay. We were able to walk right up to the combatants, when, seeing the marmot was badly

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injured, he was given the *coup de grâce* with the business end of a riding-crop.

Horses and men being rather tired, we decided to give them a rest day, which we began by extracting two cataracts and excising a large tumour, following which medicines were dispensed. The sahibs being thus engaged, the servants took the opportunity of having a baking day, so as to substitute bread for the chupattis with which they had now provided us for some days. Baking in this part of the world is an interesting process. First the dough is made with leaven, placed in a covered tin, and put into the sun to ferment, but if there is no sunshine, it is kept warm by covering it with all the bedding of the servants, and wise is the sahib who does not scrutinize this covering too closely, remembering rather that what the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve over. While the dough is rising, the oven must be prepared. The walls of this are made of large dry plaques of cow manure, and the roof of a big slab of the same material. The latter interested us, and we inquired how it was procured. We were told that throughout the whole winter the stables are not cleared out, but the continual stamping of animals and men makes quite a hard floor of manure, which is cut out in large chunks in the spring. But if we wait too long for these explanations, our bread will be sour. The oven itself is now set on fire, and by the time the dough is ready the whole thing is glowing splendidly. The dough in its covered tin is placed inside, and a door of glowing dung closes the oven. The resulting bread is all one can wish! Having cooked the bread, the fire still functions, for on it the servants' Sunday dinner is cooked. A sheep has been killed for the sahibs, and the servants receive the head as their perquisite. The head, with hair, eyes, brain and everything intact, is placed in the fire of manure, the hair burns off, and a meal, fit for a Ladaki king at any rate, emerges.

On again next day over the "Sengela" or "lion pass."

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A long gradual ascent leads to it, covered with wonderful flowers, and as the doctor climbs up, he remembers an experience he had there some years before. His colleague's mare was taken ill when nearing the top, and was unable to proceed unaided. It was a matter of either deserting her or dragging her over, and as the last half mile of the pass was under deep snow, the latter proved to be an even harder task than anticipated. Holding with one hand to the tail of his Zankskar pony, and with the other pulling the mane of the sick mare, the former animal dragged both of them over a 16,600 feet pass through deep snow.

This pass brought us to Yulchung, from which we made a detour to Lingshed, but we will not linger there now, as we shall be referring to it elsewhere. Beyond it, the road runs along the side of the hills on the right bank of the river, whose left one would seem to have been shaped out by some Goliath into gigantic stalls to stable his horses. Next comes a steep drop down to the river, where a truly Ladaki bridge awaits us. No doubt some belated traveller, needing wood to provide himself with the consolation of his butter-tea, has helped himself to some of the flooring of the bridge. The next arrival has not been long troubled by this lack of boarding, for there are plenty of large slabs and stones about to place on the various gaps. As our pony stepped on to one of these, it tipped up, and a hundred and fifty feet below roared the Charab river. Such a place must abound with evil spirits, but nature has kindly provided a large rock, shaped like a sugar loaf, as a foundation for the propitiatory altar. On one side of it some human hands have managed to make another large stone rest, supporting others up to a level with the top of the sugar loaf, and across this peculiar base have balanced a huge flat slab of rock, piled high with the horns of wild sheep and goats. Facing this strange structure a throne of stone has been erected for the officiating *Skushog* or lama, when religious rites are performed here.

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From this point we slowly mounted for two days before reaching the "La ngo' or head of the pass. On the way a large avalanche had blocked the whole road, through which the river had eaten a channel. Here a council of war had to be held to decide whether to surmount the obstruction or get under it. The former involved a bad high jump for the ponies, the latter the enlarging of the entrance with a wood chopper. We decided that to go under would be the easier solution, as it generally is. Inside we found ourselves in a tunnel, about a hundred feet long, roofed by the frozen snow of the avalanche, floored by the river, and walled in by two mountains, along whose bases we crept. One of the ponies stepped on to a slippery rock, and fell into the river, knocking the man who was leading him over on to one side, and we all breathed a sigh of relief on finding neither man nor beast had broken a bone. At the outlet of the tunnel, a high wall of snow still remained, cutting us off from the road, out of which a slice had to be hacked with the chopper to allow access to the latter.

On the third day we reached Zangla, the first village in the province of Zankskar.

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CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a
792 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private
576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal ; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to
482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

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stick on a heavy load, he calls upon "dGonmchog Sum" (the 466
three Gods) to witness that this is not the stick of his choice; 482
but his neighbour's. Spitti's method is far superior, for there the dice settles the matter.

Another day's journey brings us to the capital of the 491
province, but before reaching this we have another type of bridge to cross, this time made of rope. From this place onwards we saw a good many of these, so it may be well to describe one. A prominent rock from which to sling the ropes, is selected on either side of the river. These ropes are made of the twigs of birch or poplar, plaited together. Four such ropes tied together constitute the actual pathway, just broad enough to accommodate a boot. On either side is a rail of the same material, connected by similar strands to the footway, and at each end the latter and the rails are wound and tied round beams, kept in position by large pieces of rock. Often, of course, pieces of this bridge completely disappear, but it is not till someone falls through and ends his present incarnation, that the Ladaki considers there is an indication for repairs to be undertaken. To cross this bridge we first mount the cliff over which its end is swung, then lean well forward to catch hold of one rail with each hand, and place the foot gingerly on the footway. It is impossible to grasp the whole handrail, for it is far too thick, and so rough that it may tear the hands. The bridge sags in the centre, so the first half descends at rather a steep angle, which does not make matters easier, for after about ten paces one cannot help catching sight of the swirling river some hundred feet below. Towards the middle the bridge begins to sway, as a slight wind is blowing, but there can be no turning back now; moreover the worst half is over, for from the centre the ascent to the further side begins. Looking back, we find that even our Ladaki cook has lost his nerve and will not venture. The prospect is bad,—no cook, no dinner. But the problem is soon solved, for a local man hoists him up and soon takes him over

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1. A LADAKI FROM A SIDE VALLEY.

One of the few old men who still wear regularly a turnover hat introduced by a former king.

2. A BREEZY DWELLING.

A Tibetan nomad looking through the aperture at the top of his quaint tent, which serves as chimney, ventilator and observatory.

3 & 4. HEAD TEACHER OF THE MONASTERY OF SANKAR.

He is the secular instructor of the Baby Skushog. He is wearing ceremonial hats used on different occasions.

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491 pick-a-pack. To the men of these parts their bridges offer no thrills ; they often carry cattle over on their backs, first taking the precaution of tying their legs. Some time after we had reached camp, our other two servants came in and told us of their experiences at that bridge. "Are you afraid ?" said one. "No, not a bit," replied his comrade, while in sheer fright the tears chased one another down his cheeks. However, one soon gets quite blasé about these bridges, and I crossed my fourth with a light heart. But how do the ponies fare ? They have to be relieved of their loads, which men carry over the bridge and they themselves must swim the torrent. Our own Mongolian pony was shown a horse on the further side, hoping that he would think it had arrived safely and would follow its good example, but he had to be driven in several times with much shouting and raising of arms before he would venture across, and the sturdy animal was quite out of breath on arriving at the other bank.

164 At Padum a day's rest was decreed, not only from marching, but also to extract fourteen cataracts, which were awaiting operation. The next day on again, until finally we reached the Shingkung La, the Pass which divides Zankskar from 342 Lahoul, and which took us four days to cross. Going to the foot of the Pass on the first day, we noticed some peculiar huts on the opposite side of the river which proved to be dwellings, built of yaks' dung. During the summer, when the yaks are allowed to graze the hillsides, their shepherds first build low walls of stone, then bring the plaques of dung, which they collect each day, to build a slanting roof, of which each superimposed layer overlaps slightly inwards. When winter comes, the yaks are driven back into the village, and the collections of dung taken home for the winter fuel.

000 Having reached the top of the Pass, a most wonderful view is unfolded. To right and left rise glorious peaks covered with glittering snowfields or glaciers, while our path itself lies across an avalanche, though it is difficult to realize this,

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as it is covered with a thick layer of stones and rocks. To the right the river torrent has cut a deep gully, walled-in by tall, perpendicular snow-banks. But we have still far to go, and must not linger. At the bottom of the pass a very welcome sight reaches us, for there a splendidly-built bridge spans the river, and from its further side winds a well-made road. After scrambling and slipping over the most appalling tracks for days, what a joy it is to plant one's foot fair and square on a well-metalled road. It is hardly necessary to state that we have now passed into the territory of the Government of India. About four miles further along, this road brings us to some very high cliffs to the right, whilst on the left and below us is a tremendous jumble of huge boulders and rocks. We were informed that it was the site of a once flourishing village, but one day part of the cliff crumbled away, burying all the dwellings and their inhabitants. Great treasures might be found on digging here, but an ogre, who has actually been seen by several people, guards them at nights, and no-one would ever be so foolhardy as to pass that way.

Soon after this we struck the Bhaga river, which comes from the Baralatcha, and a little further on joins the Chandra, also descending from the same pass, to form the Chenab, and thus, after marching for nearly a month, we accomplished the first half of our journey, and reached Kyelang in Lahoul. Here we had intended to stay for eight days, but, alas, on the seventh snow began to fall, and continued to do so without interruption for three days. Such a heavy fall so early in the year was unprecedented, and the results were most unfortunate. All the leaves being still on the trees, the snow they lodged proved too heavy a weight, and not only were large branches broken off, but numbers of big strong trees were uprooted. Most of the harvest was still standing, and it was a sad sight to see wheat, barley and rye laid flat on the ground. We ourselves were entirely cut off from the outer world, to

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the north by the Baralatcha, and to the south by the Rohtang Pass, the latter being the one over which the mails from India come in summer. After waiting patiently for a week, we thought we would try to open the Baralatcha, and get home to Ladak as originally planned *via* the Rupchu plateau. We reached the end of the first stage, only to find the snow was so deep that it was impossible to get ponies, and further progress was hopeless. As for the road itself, what a difference had occurred. Only a fortnight before it had been delightful travelling over it, but now large stretches had been completely carried away. We could hardly have believed it, had we not seen it with our own eyes. This happens every year, and every spring the Government of India repairs it.

Another week went by, and we thought we could try again, taking coolies right through. These were collected by order of the local Rajah, but they practically refused to go, and it began to look as if this road might have finally closed for the winter. Eventually we had to decide to cross the Rohtang Pass, march right through Kulu to the railhead at Pathancote, travel thence by rail to Amritzar and Rawalpindi, then along the motor road to Srinagar, and up to Leh along the usual sixteen marches.

This was going to be an expensive détour, so all possible kit was left at Kyelang till the next summer, including our Mongolian pony and two servants. On the third day we crossed over the Rohtang from Lahoul into Kulu, and, although the snow was still deep, by accomplishing the ascent in the early morning, it was hard underfoot and going was easy. The damage done on this pass was tragic. One avalanche carried away six hundred sheep and two shepherds, and a second accounted for four hundred sheep. Some weeks afterwards the sequel was published. One of the shepherds sheltered under a rock and was buried for fourteen days, but he happened to have some of the local butter or " ghee " with him, with which he kept himself alive, and finally managed to

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crawl out. A few days under normal conditions left him apparently none the worse for his terrible experiences. The Baralatcha also opened before winter, but of forty-two horses in a caravan travelling to Kyelang from Leh and caught on the Rupchu plateau at the time of the storm, only twenty-four reached their destination. Our further travels through Kulu and Mandi State are in better known regions, and need no description here, save that one cannot refrain from referring to the country there as one of the most beautiful handiworks of our Creator.

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CHAPTER IX

With Brogpa & Khampa

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WE have spent a good deal of time over our trip to Lahoul, where we met with some interesting folk, and now we must visit other parts of the country where we shall meet with the Dards and the Khampas.

Is there anywhere in the world a stranger set of men, than those who call themselves "Drogpas," although they write this, if they can spell at all, "Brogpa"? Soon after we had first arrived in Ladak, a deputation from these people waited upon us requesting us to visit their villages to vaccinate old and young. So one fine day we set off along the usual roads, of which some were good and some were bad. While riding along one of the latter kind, we had an uncomfortable experience, for one of the ponies slipped and fell, but instead of throwing his rider over a very nasty precipice sheer down to a rushing river, he dropped him on the inner side next the cliff, and it was comforting to be told that the Ladaki pony always acts in this considerate manner, more to save his own skin, one has to confess, than that of his rider, for he has no desire to go over the precipice either. Apart from this we can recount no thrilling incidents, though we derived considerable amusement from our nightly halting places. Having determined to travel lightly, we took neither tents nor camp-beds, but for the former trusted to the hospitality of the villagers, and for the latter we carried large empty sacks, to fill which we borrowed straw at each village, returning it on our

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departure. These mattresses placed on the ground, with our own bedding on top, provided comfortable and warm beds for the cold nights of early spring. And what pictures the words early spring conjure up in this part of the world. The snow is still low on the great mountains all around, but the mid-day sun is already hot, and the sky is an azure blue, flecked with white fleecy clouds.

Riding along the bare hillsides with the rivers hardly yet beginning to rise, their sources still icebound, round some corner suddenly comes into view a little gem of a village. The leaves are not yet in bud, but the apricot trees are in blossom, a veritable pink and white fairyland. At the approach is generally a picturesque *chorten*-topped gateway, often flanked with gay blossoming trees, and all about the village the little newly-melted rills with early green peeping out from the banks add their joyousness to the whole scene, set in a background of blue sky and snow-covered hill with distant white peaks peeping over. Sometimes we spent the night on a roof, partially covered or walled-round in places, sometimes a room was given us, and once even the portico of the village temple, where all night long a gay goddess painted on the wall never ceased to pluck at her stringed instrument as we slept at her feet, while at dusk our own feet were stepped over by a young attendant who went in to trim the temple lamps.

After a week of trekking we turned up a side valley which leads to one of the villages, whose inhabitants are exculsively Brogpas; but one also finds some of these people living scattered about in the ordinary hamlets of Ladak. On the road from Srinagar to Leh, Brogpas are met with in Dras. Here they are all Mohammedan, whilst in the village of Hanu the predominating religion is Buddhist. They are said to have originated from Gilgit, where they no doubt played the national game of polo and later introduced it to Ladak, in which a good many villages now have their own polo grounds.

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174 They must have been quite a brave people at one time and they still love to recount the deeds done by their forbears ; in [486] fact Dr. Francke says there are certain times when they like to forget that they are Ladakis, only remembering their Dardish descent. At such times they tell how siege was laid to one of their castles, food ran out, and it became a question of surrendering to the enemy or dying. Like brave men they decided on the latter. They all gathered in the large hall, and the oldest man was given the privilege of pushing away the stone on which stood the main pillar which supported the roof. Thus these courageous men passed into the Walhalla 174 of the Dards. Or they tell how a Ladaki king wished to 466 make his Dardish subjects do their share of forced labour, to which they objected. They therefore chose one of their old men to inform the king, that they never would be slaves, not even of a king. The old man received the reply that he himself would be the first who would be forced to work, but as he absolutely refused, they immured him. However his fellow countrymen were equally obstinate; so no forced labour could be extracted from any of them.

576 Now we meet our first representative of this race, who has come to welcome us from the village of Hanu. How quaint his greeting is ! He takes off his hat and twirls it round one of his fingers, reminding us rather of an English hip-hip-hurrah. 291 Of course his hat differs from any hat worn by anybody else in Ladak, where the hat is of great diagnostic value. It is not unlike the hat of the Ladaki, but the part which is turned up is not lined with lambskin, and is continuous all the way round. Those worn by the ladies are different again, the upper half being turned over somewhat like a billycock hat ; the side turned over and uppermost is usually a veritable needle-case with rows of needles stuck into it. We asked them why they carried all these in their hats, to which they replied that each needle had been given by and represented a friend. The popular Brogpa woman should therefore not

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be difficult to recognize, that is if those who are less so are 291
scrupulously honest ! Although they now speak a dialect of
Tibetan they must at one time have had a language of their 197
own of which one sometimes strikes peculiar remnants. At
Kalatse, for instance, the branches of the pencil cedar are 788
freshly put on one of their *lhatos* at the New Year, accompanied
by the mumbling of phrases which they do not understand
themselves, but which are usually remains of their own Dardish
language.

Nothing, however, can be more strange than their religious 162
arrangements. As has already been mentioned, the *Brogpa* 592
of Hanu and also of the village of Da, which is quite near-by, 771
is a Buddhist, but often in a Buddhist family one member
must of necessity be a Mohammedan. Of a similar, but
converse arrangement, a most striking example is told. We
passed through the village of Bot Kharbu on our way up to
Leh. Here there lives a family of Mohammedan Brogpas,
but one member of this family must always be a Buddhist [792]
priest of the neighbouring monastery of Lamayuru. Now
the Mohammedan is only allowed to eat the meat of an animal
that has been *hallalled*, that is to say has had its throat cut,
whilst the butcher says "Bismillah—it is the will of God,"
whereas the Buddhist eats meat killed in any way, so long as
he himself has not taken the life of the animal. This family [252]
avoids such complications by the simple expedient of cooking [264]
all the meat in one pot, irrespective of how the animal has been
killed, then inserts a bit of stick into the cooking pot, which
is said to separate off *hallalled* meat from *unhallalled*, and all
the Mohammedan has to be careful about is that he shall not
take meat from the wrong side of the stick. Another method
they have of keeping on good terms with the spirit powers of
both religions is to make members of successive generations
of the same family belong to the religion of Mahomet and the
lamas in turn. Thus the Brogpa supplies us with another
version of the Vicar of Bray story. Some authorities account

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D 162 for this extraordinary arrangement by the fact that originally
54v the Dards were Mohammedans, and presumably have not been
771 able entirely to throw off this allegiance. It is stated that in
D one of their villages, they actually found a burial ground;
[764] sure proof to them of a Mohammedan ancestry, for the
Buddhist burns his dead, whilst it is the Mohammedan that
D 764 inters. This may be a satisfactory explanation of their
religious ideas, but from whence have they derived all their
taboos? Thus the Brogpa must not raise fowl, nor may he
eat their eggs. The cow may be employed for the ploughing
of his fields, but the gods would most certainly be displeased
were he to drink their milk, or even use the butter which is
made from the same. In other villages the eating of fish is
taboo, and by the look and smell of them washing surely must
be also. In fact they avow that it is "Krims med"
D 751 not the custom. For some time it almost seemed to us as if
vaccination was also on their list of prohibitions, for, although
they had actually begged us to come for this very purpose, it
took the three of us quite a long time cajoling, threatening,
entreating and advising them, before they would undergo
this fearful operation. At last one faced it, soon to be followed
by the others, so that eventually we had quite a busy morning
vaccinating. A week later this must have been a sore village,
where most of the people wished vaccination had been taboo,
but by then we were well away with the knowledge that, should
smallpox attack Hanu, it would find the defences fairly strong.

WT Now let us pay a visit to the Khampas, although it wants a
563 George Borrow to describe these gipsies of Western Tibet.
443 Kham, from whence they come, is a province of Tibet, but
671 when we see the numbers of them who wander over the Indian
parts of the Himalayas, we begin to wonder whether any of
them are left "at home." Evidently the Khampa finds it
more lucrative to wander like our own gipsies than to stay on
his native soil. As the bazar in Leh provides most of the
things needed by the people who inhabit the upper valley of

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the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but 563
as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the 443
lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, 621
or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan fashion—" And the next, please." But not only does he sell things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them at three or four times that amount down-country. When it comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and thought we would try to get one from them. There at the foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary 342
poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones. At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are conveniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise. At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not 789
placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its representative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good. Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen 621
cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride 000

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As we ride
up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material. A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A *'Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

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"empty amble," for the pony uses it even when he is not 487
ridden, whilst the *labyor* or "learnt amble" can only be 563
obtained when a rider on his back holds the reins fairly firmly, 231
and unfortunately an animal, like his human rider, forgets his lesson in less time than it takes to learn it. A *labyor* therefore minimizes the value of a pony. To come back to our gipsy, he soon sends one or two of his servants for one of the said wonderful animals, which seems as good as its description. But we, too, know something about ponies, and, therefore, request the rider to dismount and drive the pony along empty, with the result that the amble disappears, for it is only a *labyor*. We then inquire the price of the beast, and are told that as a favour we shall have him for Rs160, but as our opinion on this score does not harmonize with his either, no deal results. This does not trouble our friend much, for he knows that by taking the pony down country he will get an even higher sum, and no inhabitant of the Himalayas ever argues that "time is money," or that a quick turnover of cash is a good business proposition.

This roving tribe, originating from Tibet, subscribes to 563
the Buddhist creed. Like our own gipsies they are properly 779
organized, having their own lawful king, and under him 621
Tehsildars (magistrate), headmen and other officials necessary to keep the community in order, and although they are to be met with here, there and everywhere, they seem to be under quite good control.

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CHAPTER X

"Curiouser & Curiouser"

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YET another trek awaits us, for we have not yet seen the Changpä, the nomad who wanders over the high plateaus of Western Tibet, and the Botpa who is the real inhabitant of the Closed

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Land. A dispute about the actual boundary between Ladak and Tibet must be settled on the border itself whither the British Joint Commissioner, Major Robson, who holds a watching brief for the Government of India, the Wazir Sahib, who represents his Highness, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Doctor Sahib, who accompanies the former, must travel to meet a gentleman who is styled the "Gaspon," and who acts on behalf of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

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The cause of the dispute was a Ladaki who had settled down in Tibet proper, where he had taken unto himself a lady of the country as wife, and had grown rich. As a result he became liable for the heavy Tibetan taxation, and, wishing to escape this, he returned to Ladak and settled down on his own side of the border. But our Tibetan friends were not to be done out of their taxes quite so easily, for they calmly entered Ladak, seized their man, and took him back again. His brother then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and the Government of India on his behalf, and these naturally objected to such high-handed procedure. Tibet tried to contest the matter by saying that the place from which they had removed the Ladaki was in Tibetan territory, but from

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the discussions which were subsequently held at this conference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they had no grounds at all for their contentions. 687 648

So off we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along. 000

We are now travelling with the representative of his Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle-drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative 576 534 [792]

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576 summons they produce. Next come those who blow the
534 flageolets, whilst the further end of the row is assigned to the long shawms, which are so long that, when they are put away, the three parts of which they consist have to be telescoped one into the other. Priestly music must be described elsewhere, but the greeting to the Commissioner consists of single notes blown on shawms, and flageolets, clanged on cymbals, and beaten on drums at the same time, with a slow rhythm. This is not nearly so discordant as might be imagined, and when produced in its own setting seems quite
576 harmonious. Again we are riding across a desert road with
534 a village well to the left. The inevitable band has been
292 sent to the roadside to play us their greeting, but next to them there is a group of four women, gay in their bright red and green, ceremonial or dancing cloaks, lined with long sheep-skins; one holds a pot of local beer, the next a plate of flour, the third a vessel of water, and the last presents glowing
000 embers. One's thoughts almost naturally revert to that scene in the Bible, where Abraham, having followed the army which had carried off his cousin Lot, returning victoriously was met by Melchizedek, King of Salem, with bread and wine. Thus does the unchanging East still keep up its ancient customs, even on the sandy plains of Western Tibet. Abraham no doubt took of the fare provided, but we had not been fighting an enemy, and did not feel the need of sustenance just then. In my politest Tibetan I explained that the Commissioner did not drink *Chang* (the local beer), which harmless and perfectly true remark only produced roars of laughter.

Now we have ascended the Changla, a pass of about 18,000 feet, and to right and left of our road have seen the most wonderful variety of wild flowers. Looking back from the head of the pass, we see about fifty feet below us a large, perfectly purple patch of ground, made up of a mass of wild primulas—surely a remarkable sight at such an elevation.

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Looking overhead into a clear azure sky we noticed two perfect and complete halos round the sun, and were informed by our servants that these signified either the crossing of the pass by some really great men, or the birth of a King.

Our camp had been pitched in a sandy plain surrounded by hills, through which a sluggish streamlet meandered, passing within a few yards of our tents. After a cup of tea, partaken of inside our temporary home as a cold wind was blowing outside, and a rest after the day's trek, we emerged for a walk, and to our surprise found that the whole plain had been converted into a lake. Literally within a space of three hours some giant must have dumped down this expanse of water, measuring about two hundred by one hundred and fifty yards. Next morning practically the whole had disappeared, and this seems to have happened daily for weeks. From here we passed over other plains where the same had occurred, till suddenly there lay before us a large green deep lake, from whose banks there rose a row of sandy mountains, behind which glorious snow-covered peaks stood sentinel. This large inland lake, called "The Panggong," runs far into Tibet, and is formed of brackish water. Seen in the morning light, it really is a fine sight.

Leaving it on our right, we reach the village of Pobrang. We may call it a village, for it can boast of two houses, and is certainly the last resort we could designate by such a name, until we get well into Tibet. Here we get our first glimpse of the Changpas or inhabitants of the Northern Plain. Rough and unkempt-looking, they are not altogether the sort of fellows one would like to meet alone by night, but their jolly smile would soon dispel all fears. Let us first describe them, as far as description is possible, and then glance at their dwellings. Their eyes are typically Mongolian, their noses large and firmly flattened. Long hair, which surely has not made the acquaintance of brush and comb for years, if ever, and which ends in a pigtail, surmounts faces

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THE TOWN BAND OF LEH

who appeared in the Moravian Mission Compound of their own accord to greet the bride and bridegroom on their return from Church on the rare occasion of a Sahib's wedding in Leh.

A PRIVATE CHAPEL.

The service resembling High Mass being held on the verandah of a "private chapel" in the summer residence of a prominent Tibetan in Leh.

Facing pg. 104

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142 unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are
291 cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed. On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick
342 soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but
[132] from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing, he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

133 Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many
226 delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

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two of which weighed about one pound. And how unsophisticated they were. At first we fished with a kind of larva as bait, but this was scarce, and we had to try how small chunks of mutton would do. They proved successful, and were taken with avidity. We were told that during the autumn the natives caught them in basketfuls, for at that time of the year they go upstream every night, to return in the morning, when they are trapped and then dried, thus providing meat for the winter.

From here we ascended the Kiula Pass, and on our way met our first flock of Changpa sheep, which were slowly grazing their way up the pass. The largest of them was carrying a load, which proved to be the shepherd's bedding and food. The weight did not seem to trouble the sheep at all, nor lessen its enjoyment of the grass. In this country sheep have to carry all sorts of things. Sometimes it is salt for selling in Leh, where its carrier is turned into mutton, and flavoured from its load. At other times it is bales of wool or it may be borax. Our camp that night was pitched at 17,000 feet, and was bitterly cold. This camp really must be described, for it was a fascinating picture.

The camping ground was so small and withal so terribly rocky and uneven, that a Public Health Officer of Camps, did such exist, would have condemned it for overcrowding. There were all sorts and conditions of tents ranging from the imposing ones of the B.J.C., in front of which flew the Union Jack, and the Wazir's, flying the flag of Kashmir, down to the airy tent of the Changpa. To our left were about thirty yaks, laden and ready to start off with our second lot of camp equipment to the next halting place, for now we are travelling *de luxe*, and we like to find our camp ready when we arrive, making it unnecessary to wait exposed to the cold wind. In the centre of the camp are the horses which have brought us to-day, tethered to each other by their forelegs. What are those sheep doing to our left? They look

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233 as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting.
377 Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of
252 *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups.
264 These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they
147 evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How
511 complex has become our civilization! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

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in bed sleeps on the outside," as the outside bed-fellow has one side relatively exposed. Sleep at an altitude of about 17,000 feet is fugitive; in fact neither of us got much that night, and, even when it did come, we woke up with a most disagreeable sensation, as if somebody were sitting on our chests so that we could not properly fill them with air.

We have finally arrived at Drogpo Karpo, where the conference is to take place. This is a large grassy plain, surrounded by snow mountains, at the further end of which the camp is pitched. In the centre are the tents of the Commissioner and Wazir with their respective flags. In front of these stands a square tent nicely carpeted, in which are a table and chairs. This is to serve as conference room. We had arrived a little before time, and before the Tibetans. They, however, turned up soon afterwards, and presented quite an impressive sight, as they rode, two and two, into camp. First came, not the standard bearer, but the Umbrella-of-State-Bearer. After these some soldiers, although we should not have recognized them as such, had we not inquired as to their function, for there was nothing very martial about them, save the muzzle-loaders they bore. They wore the usual dressing-gown coats of homespun held together round the waist by a big kammerbund, red Wellington boots with very thick soles and hats shaped somewhat like lemon squeezers. These were followed by various members of the staff, then the great man himself, whilst still others followed him. Having settled themselves into their quarters, the Wazir sent a message across to say that H.H. the Maharajah desired them to regard themselves as his guests. They on their part sent a delegation with twenty-five bricks of tea, and a piece of *snambu* (homespun) with the request that a time be fixed when their chief representative, the Gaspon, could come to pay his respects. Punctually to time he arrived. His dress consisted of a lovely blue skirt, and a Chinese coat of the same colour which was buttoned up to his neck. His

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hat was the same shape as that of the London messenger boy only with the addition of a large brim which was turned up all round, and on the top was a red knob made of coral. From the lobe of one of his ears depended an elongated earring made of turquoises. It would take a professional reporter of fashions to describe all the various kinds of hats worn, but perhaps the most favoured head-gear was an English felt hat, worn the wrong way round,—as it would be in this country,—that is the ordinary long axis going across the head. Others liked to flatten them into a round shape, like a padre's hat. Then there were hats made of papier mâché in almost any shape that might occur to the fancy. The Tehsildar seems to have desired to create the impression that he was wearing a *chorten* on his head, whilst the Gaspon's little son preferred the idea of a candle snuffer.

On arrival the Gaspon placed a salutation scarf round the neck of the Commissioner. Photographs were then taken, after which we entered the conference tent, where we sat round a table, and, by means of an interpreter some kind of conversation was sustained:—the word "sustained" is used advisably, for even our Ladaki servants who speak the language of Western Tibet, cannot understand these representatives from the forbidden land, so special interpreters are needed. Next to me sat a jolly old lama on whom I tried to air my Tibetan. He evidently could understand just sufficient to be thoroughly amused. He had quite a jovial face, and was evidently no ascetic, but resembled much more the good old English friar, so often represented in pictures engaged in piscatorial pleasures. Needless to say more presents were given. Business began next day, but one regrets to have to report that it was impossible to make our friends from across the border see reason, and so there was finally nothing for it, but to exchange still more presents, and to return to our various homes.

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CHAPTER XI

Domesticities

THE homes of Ladak, with the exception of those in its metropolis, Leh, and perhaps in the small town of Kargil, in Purig, are practically all village homes. In these desert uplands a village must centre round a stream, which brings its contribution from the glaciers of the great heights—ever in the background—to one of the smaller rivers, most of which eventually flow into the Indus. Where such a stream runs through a broadening valley, it is possible to lay out a series of terraced fields, which can be irrigated in turn by directing the supply into small artificial water-courses. Indeed the turns for sharing the precious water are often the subject of much quarrelling, hoarse shouting and invective, while some less fortunate inhabitants have sometimes to stay up all night to water their fields. Above the area of cultivated terraces, and at the foot of the actual hills, where it is too rocky and steep to plough and sow, the houses are clustered, approached by stony paths or tracks, and so built into the hillside that convenient pieces of rock are often used for wall or floor, and, where the rock overhangs, even for roof, while a little sunny platform will be enclosed with a rough wall to stable the animals by day in winter. The setting of roof and balcony is always arranged to catch the maximum sunshine, so that even in the low temperatures of winter, many domestic activities can be carried on out-of-doors. Crowning the chief hill of the village, and dominating its common life, as its position would suggest, is the monastery.

342 361 [241] [312] [346]

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346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
[423] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
731 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

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child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

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A Skushog and his Monastic Band

greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

The Big Drum.

A similar band, shewing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mark of interrogation.

The Chief Tibetan Representative and his Son

who have come to confer with the British and State (Wazir) Joint Commissioners of Ladak about a boundary dispute.

Opp. pg. 102

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here,[1]
788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
793 come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums, while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests must be both fed, and paid in money.

788 Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious
778 purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

554 One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best
[758] room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

342 The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

1 [i.e., in private chapels in better-class houses in town.—Analyst]

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342 fitting a series of short horizontal boards into the slots cut in the sides of the framework. The big family stove is built of
252 a special black mud, deposited at the bottoms of rivers or streams, or dug from under the damp turf on their banks, which becomes very hard when dried. The stove is roughly square in form, with a hole at two or more corners round which the hard mud is raised into three upward projections, thus
415 supporting the local rounded cooking-pots. These are made
376 of copper and tinned over by the local blacksmith. We Europeans have to be very careful to have this lining kept intact to avoid copper poisoning, but one often finds the Ladaki brewing his tea in a pot from which all traces of tin have long ago vanished. Perhaps this is why we are so often upset
252 when we accept invitations to meals in their houses. In
372 front of the stove on the right-hand side is a projection of the same hardened mud, which is to accommodate the right-hand of the "fire blower," as he operates on the bellows. These are very effective instruments with a large nozzle pushed well under the glowing fuel, and an elongated bag of goat-skin at the outer end of which two small bars of wood are attached, with small loops of strongly-twisted thread in the middle. Through these the thumb and fingers are placed to open and close the mouth, and though it sounds and looks a simple process a certain knack must be acquired to get a good fire.
[357] Children of the house often keep it going, but the fire-blower is generally a sooty-faced, ragged woman servant, the counterpart of the old scullery-maid in the West. The stove has a large central tunnel with branches radiating out to the corner holes, and in the middle is a depression for the biggest hole of all.

752 Here the large pot of butter-tea is generally brewing. The tea, of which the best variety comes from Lhasa (where it is used as coinage) in bricks, is stewed for some hours, then mixed up in a special churn, phonetically named a *gurgur*, with butter, soda, salt and milk. Some writers have said our

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752 Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one
262 or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates
[415] out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be
574 taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host
554 or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace
352 —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove
[354] opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished
000 member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

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The Doctor Memsahib once had 757

the privilege of coming upon a family unawares just at dawn in the middle of winter. She had been called out to a case in a village, nine miles from Leh, the last two miles of which had to be done in the dark, that is by snow and starlight, and she and her Ladaki nurse were glad to walk over the frozen snow a little to keep their feet from freezing. Already icicles stretched from upper to lower eye-lashes, and whiskers, formed by the frozen moisture of their breath, adorned their mouths. The patient's friends had sent for the Doctor three days too late; already two small lives were extinct, and the last dim hope of the mother lay in a surgical interference. An operation was performed, after sterilizing instruments in a cooking pot by the light of a fire of sticks on the mud floor, the nurse giving chloroform for the first time. But it was too late and, at about two a.m., the patient died. We sat on till the first dim light appeared, for out-of-doors we feared wolves in the dark, and a strange experience it was. On one side of the 593
room the corpse covered with sacking and filthy sheepskin, 764
near the fire on the floor quietly sobbing, was the unkempt, shaggy, ragged husband, who, for all his uncouth appearance, had exhibited the most extraordinary tenderness and patience with his suffering wife; near the stove his mother-in-law, a wrinkled old hag, who wailed intermittently. On the further side of the stove hens nestled. In the next cold fireless room two children were sleeping, and we were told that downstairs a blind old grandfather had been put in the straw cellar (again the "wrong way round" compared with our hayloft in the West) to keep warm in the horses' fodder. The Ladaki nurse spread her coat, lined with sheepskin in the corner by the stove for her Doctor, and fetched a thick horse-cover for herself. The fire of manure in the stove had gone out, and the two mourners occasionally added sticks to the one on the floor, but the room was bone cold. The family were so poor 511
that they had not offered us even a warm drink during the long, 574
bitter night, though, when they thought we were drowsing,

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they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. Nor was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, so our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

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of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

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262 feast, proceedings may begin with *gyatug*, a dish of long
574 vermicelli-like strips of flour-paste over which mincemeat in a nicely flavoured sauce is poured. Meat is also minced and made into delicious little dumplings, called *mok mok*, or well-flavoured and rolled up into sausages, which are eaten with
[565] rice—in fact in a rich house, after the plates of rice have been served, many kinds of subsidiary dishes are handed round with meat done up in different ways, sauces and vegetables, the last
[359] often soured. For a *dron* an experienced cook is hired to take charge of all the culinary operations, usually a Mussulman, otherwise one of the women of the house superintends
262 the kitchen. But in the villages where there are no butcher shops, and a sheep is killed only occasionally, the staple food is butter-tea and barley-flour, varied with all sorts of vegetables prepared in several ways. The poorest people mix the flour in water just as it is, eating it out of cheap little wooden cups with their fingers.

262 An ordinary middle class family will breakfast on butter-tea
565 and small breads, raised with leaven called *kambir*; at mid-day they will have more tea, and perhaps chupattis with a sauce of vegetables, mixed with buttermilk, while in the evening, tea may or may not be served again with flour kneaded into a paste in some form or other, and mixed with meat well stewed in a broth.

More usually as the hot tea is drunk, the butter floating on the top is blown to one side, and after many cups a nice little residue is left with which to mix up the raw flour with the aid of a finger.

252 In summer when milk is more plentiful, its various products
[262] are much used as a food. The milk is collected into a large pot at night and warmed, some sour buttermilk being added to make it curdle. The pot is then covered with garments and blankets so as to maintain the blood-heat for proper fermentation. Some of it may be set aside to eat as *zho*, this being a kind of junket, only less insipid, especially when well

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made of creamy milk; it then has a delicious fruity flavour with a slight suggestion of wine. By early morning the *zho* in the large pot will have set, and the house-mother must rise early to churn it. She has a long instrument with leather fans on the end, which must be kept twirling in the pot, and it is a matter of some skill both to keep the curdled milk at the right temperature by adding hot or cold water, and to twist the churn at the correct rate. An experienced housewife eventually separates out a fine cone of yellow butter, while in the pot the sour buttermilk is left, the remainder of which, after having retained enough for the household's needs, is taken to the bazar to be sold. It is used for various kinds of food. Vegetables, which we would consider weeds, are collected from garden and field, washed, boiled, washed again, then kneaded, fried with onions and added to the *darra* or buttermilk. This mixture is used as a sauce with *zan* or *baba*, which is made by boiling the milled flour of roast wheat, barley and peas into a mash. The peas are like our English ones, but harder and more flavourless. The milk curds when set are also hung up in a bag, and after all the whey has dripped out and the curd dried, it is well pressed and cut into strips,—perhaps fried in butter and used in soup. From Yarkand come dried curds of horses' milk, which is also used for this purpose. Other changes in diet are afforded by mixing barley-flour into paste with a little *chang* or native beer, and allowing it to ferment. This is then dipped into and eaten with more *chang*. Another delicacy is made by mixing good butter, sugar and, perhaps, currants into a paste and eating it with chupattis like jam.

At the New Year a special dish is provided by making a round flat barley-cake, and pouring a little butter into a hole in the middle.

All this use of flour, whether of wheat or barley, presupposes the long processes of cleaning the grain, shaking it up and down on a *shupu* (a kind of straw tray), so that the loose husks blow away, and the little stones and odd bits which get

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252 swept up with it from the threshing-floor are easily separated, washing it, spreading it out in the sun to dry, watching it the while so that birds do not steal it, then sending it to the miller in large sacks, and sitting to watch it being milled so that none is stolen by him, for which cause the flour should
256 also be weighed before and after grinding. The mill itself is as effective as it is simple. Below is a large flat stone, above and resting upon it is another, connected with a paddle on which the water impinges, thus driving it. In the centre of the upper mill-stone there is a hole through which the grain drops from a cone-shaped basket, getting thus between upper and nether mill-stone. To keep the cereal running gently, a goat's horn is attached to the basket and allowed at its other end to touch the rotating stone, whose roughness keeps the basket gently shaking. A trough is dug round the edge of the circular mill-stones, and in this the flour collects. The whole is picturesquely housed in a little stone and mud hut, which is placed over a rapidly flowing watercourse, the momentum of which is increased by a sudden drop before entering the mill.

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CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Changtang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

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175 subdued it for himself. The Ladaki King sent him some
439 *Snambu* or Ladaki home-spun, woven of *lena*, as a present, and he admired it so much that he introduced the import of the wool into Kashmir. He is said to have had it woven into the first two shawls, or *shal*, the word meaning "a board," a name which he seems to have given them *faut de mieux*, for it hardly suits such essentially fine soft cloth. Two Persians then came to Kashmir to buy saffron and cummin, and bought these shawls to take back to present to their King. Next year they tried to obtain more ; later the cloth was taken also to Alexandria, and so its fame slowly became world-wide. Thus these delicate soft shawls are really derived from the protection which nature has given to our long-haired Himalayan goats to withstand the excessive cold on the roof of the world.

283 But we must return to the large part played by wool in the
462 domestic activities of Ladak. First of all the raw product, arriving in rough twists, must be cleaned. If it is washed in water, the resulting cloth or *snambu* is said not to be so nice, but sometimes there is no choice, for the wool may be so impregnated with fatty grease that it has to be taken to the nearest spring or clear-running water to be cleansed, though it must never be squeezed or rubbed in the process. Sometimes it is further cleaned with white chalk from the cliffs near by, with which it is well mixed, then teased out. The next process, or *malches*, consists of the pulling out of the wool, and teasing out all little bits of tangled, extraneous matter, so that it is quite soft and ready to spin. Then comes the actual *kalches* or spinning, which is carried out on a slender cone of wood, elongated at both ends, called a *p'ang*. The end of this is supported in a little cup, either hollowed out of a small block of wood, or, what is infinitely preferable, made of the kernels of apricot-stones after all the oil has been pressed out, leaving a hard matrix or kind of oil-cake. The left hand manipulates the *p'ang*, twisting it to and fro in its little cup,

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while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls 283
it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and 462
kalches are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special 562
domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many 342
an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More [241
often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off 283
from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to 462
a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone 443
is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the 283
afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their
CUSTOMERS

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283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
46r is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[357] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

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of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in 651
lieu of taxation from each village.

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the 461
world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his 276
leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are.

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. 291
Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long 302
greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This 291
skerag, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for 293
many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy 302
mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda

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302 and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again.
291 The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners
177 is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the
576 edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion
[572] demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

302 The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance
291 is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

291 In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead
301 certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright
291 red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

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studded with small turquoises. Sometimes a large red 301
cornelian also varies the apex. This would seem startling 291
enough, but unfortunately a later Queen had an attack of earache, so attached a large piece of black lambskin each side to protect her ears. The court ladies must do likewise, so now every *perag* is accompanied by these large ear-flaps, and the *coiffure* is most wonderfully adapted to them by plaiting the hair into a number of small plaits, which are sewn into the ear-pieces at each side, and continued with wool down the back on both sides of the *perag* to unite below in a large tassel, which reaches to the bottom of the skirt. To one side of the *perag* a projection of silver from which rows of coral-beads depend is also fastened. This is said to represent the serpent's tail, though it seems to us to have become rather dislocated. In the villages there are only a few rows [369]
of turquoise on the average woman's *perag*, but the town ladies are very resplendent, and their head-dresses become so heavy with stones that they sometimes support them by a broad black tape passing under the armpits. The central portion is taken off at night, and sometimes when at work in the house, leaving the ear-pieces in place, stitched to the hair, for so elaborate a *coiffure* can only be taken down once a month, when the hair is washed, oiled and done up anew. For this process in the town a lady hairdresser attends, [463]
getting four to eight annas a day, and in addition food of the feasting standard. In the country the women have to oblige each other. Also occasionally the whole *perag* has to be taken to pieces, a new red cloth substituted, and the turquoises resewn, during which time the proud owner of a brilliant head-dress has to be content with her ordinary fur-lined hat. Small girls sometimes begin with a skimpy little *perag* at the age of five or six, bearing a single row of turquoises in front and ending in cowrie shells behind. The latter are slowly replaced as funds permit, and cowries should only be worn by unmarried girls. By the time she is grown up, a girl

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BALTI COOLIES.

They carry peculiar sticks in their hands on the march, like a short-crutch with rather a long cross-piece at the top. When they stop to rest, they pass the stick behind and under the load, so that it takes the weight off their backs.

A LADAKI WEDDING GROUP,

Shewing the rich Chinese robe of the bridegroom and his high tinsel-covered hat. He wears his nuptial white scarf and a gold amulet box studded with turquoises. His little wife is rather obscured by her large cape lined with sheepskin.

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By the time she is grown up, a girl
301 should thus have quite a good sized *perag*, which functions as
291 her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests
757 583 money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age.
478 The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at
[583] her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a
small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so
152 the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately
the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a
source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent
301 *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the
291 ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought
from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the
Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom trace-
able to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and
silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This
originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to
hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

301 The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of
seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round
the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the
bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased
gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or
other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little
silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast,
with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large
round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads
pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are
attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on
leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or
white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also
convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

291 Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas
European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate
(the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff),
both men and women in this country have them cut very

4 [i.e. turquoise studded headdress. – ANALYST]

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291 much longer than their arms. In winter this is very useful, as the hands can be threaded in the opposite sleeve to keep warm, and any surplus length in a man can always be turned back as a cuff. A woman's trousers are also far longer than her legs, and look very peculiar garments when spread out to dry. But the concertina-like creases into which they fold when worn, and which come right down to the ankle, add all the more warmth in winter. An unmarried girl wears white trousers, but a married woman must wear black, at any rate after the birth of her first son. A woman's *skerag* or waistband is also wide and very long, and wound round her very tightly. Her gown is shaped rather differently from a man's—the bodice and skirt being cut separately, and the latter sewn on to the former with very full pleats, and if it is a best dress the whole is edged with an effective little narrow bind-
301 ing of gay pattern. Occasionally she thinks to enhance her beauty by using the small berries of a common weed, and sticking them all over the upper part of her face, where they look
563 like little yellow spots. These berries are also said to relieve
291 headache, and withdraw superfluous serum. We must also mention the head-dress of the Mussulman women in Leh, for the town contains a large proportion of them. The *perag* is rightly considered an emblem of an idolatrous religion, and should be discarded on changing over to Mohammedanism. Then a white head-dress covering over a little round foundation cap, and hanging in folds to below the waist, is worn.
[301] In front is an ornament which may be quite costly, of seed-pearls and turquoises, often arranged to form the sign of the crescent.

144 Now we come to those important members of the home, the children, and it would be hard to find more fascinating little persons than the elfish little sprites whom we meet in Ladak. To our Western eyes the flattened face and large cheeks of a Mongolian type of baby are particularly quaint.

844 When Baby is coming, in contrast to the complicated

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844 layettes over which the occidental mother spends so many loving hours, no preparations of clothing are made, but as soon as he has arrived safely, some cloth is fetched from the bazar
843 in which to wrap him. Before his birth his mother must eat a great deal of fat to "oil the wheels" well for his arrival. One other
854 preparation has been made, for goat's dung has been collected, dried (and incidently somewhat sterilized) in the hot sun, then crushed up finely. This powder is then placed on a sheepskin, upon which Baby is laid, and thus all his excretions are absorbed, the powder being changed every day or two. Lactation is continued as long as possible, sometimes to the third year, but the child is also allowed to eat other food, just as he fancies. Some women once visited the Doctor Memsahib on a winter evening and were astonished when she took them to peep at her baby, for had she not left the sleeping child alone, in the dark, and in a cold room with the window wide open? Their babies on the contrary sit on their mothers' laps or crawl about until the grown-ups go to bed, tasting all the supper, and enjoying the warmth, not to say stuffiness, of the big stove, as well as all the light and conversation. While still a tiny mite, Baby is slung in a cloth over the back of his small sister, who makes a little picture of premature motherliness, as she goes to her work or play with a bobbing baby on her back.

857 It is extraordinary how alike childhood is all the world over. These children have a game called the wolf and lamb, very similar to our fox and sheep, in which they will sing "The wolf is not there; to the horse gate we'll go." Then the wolf comes out, and the mother sheep with outstretched arms has to try to protect her little ones, who stand behind her in order of height, while the bad wolf seizes the last and smallest, one after the other until all have been stolen. Then there is a kind of hopscotch, which has come up from India, and an indigenous hide-and-seek called *Yib-ches-lo-lo*. And of course the boys have their games of fashioning idols on the

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mountain side and imitating the lama's ritual, or pretending 857
to be kings and wazirs, with wars and fighting. The little girls—true daughters of Eve—interlace iris leaves to imitate *perags*, and exercise their housewifely instincts by making little houses and kitchens of stones and earth, and arranging quite nice little models of the family stove on which the most delicious *drons* are cooked, for, "lets' pretend" is a more potent spell than ever in this land "the wrong way round."

But soon work begins to be mixed with their play. Little 868
people early become expert with the bellows and can keep the fire going, while mother attends to the contents of the cooking pots, for to make bright flames is always fascinating. Quite small children can take out the sheep and goats, and even the cows, keeping them in sight on the damp turf near spring and stream, where there are all sorts of games to be played, stone throwing, bridge-building, dam-making to irrigate minute fields, and all the wide-world mud delights of children. In the autumn fuel must be collected for the cold, hard days of winter, and the boys and girls, slipping their old sheepskins on their backs to keep the baskets from wearing out their clothes, go off to the hills to follow up the tracks of donkeys, ponies, zos and yaks, picking up the manure and flinging it over their shoulders into their baskets, varying their work with laughter and fun, and many a game. Back for breakfast, then off again till midday, and then another basketful in the evening, till a goodly pile of dung is drying on the sunny roof. As the leaves fall, they too must be swept up with rough little brushes of straw tied together; basketfuls of these are taken home and used to roast the barley before it is milled. Still better are the long days of spring and early summer, when boys and girls go off to the neighbouring hills and valleys to collect *burtsa* and other roots. for fuel, or to mind the sheep and goats while they wander about in search of fodder. These long days in the mountains

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868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which 805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and 465 565 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving 782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not 614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must 776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The 778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and 782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into 792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

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pieces of silver and gold, and then a local *Skushog* or great 778
lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed 782
and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed 792
another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually. On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar, arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the 614
brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* [764]
may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* [585]
who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

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CHAPTER XIII

Professions & Industries

463 [511] WE have now to watch our Ladaki friends as they earn their livelihood, for not all are owners of fields, and even those who are find that an extra vocation allows of a dish of meat, rice and other luxuries on special occasions. Let us begin with the professional gentlemen. The clergy will be treated with elsewhere, but in addition there are doctor, horologist, teacher and nun to consider, all of whom, though not real priests, are 759 regarded as performing religious functions. There are quite a number of doctors, some of them doing useful work, although the treatment, by even the best of them, occasionally shows shocking results. Their method of training is much like that which obtained formerly in England, when he who aspired to medical knowledge became apprenticed to a practising physician, and thus by actual experience learnt his [777] trade. The theoretical knowledge is found in four large volumes, belonging to the *Kahgyur* which are the one hundred and eight large books containing the wisdom and knowledge of Lamaism. The doctor or *amchi* dons no distinctive dress, but he can always be recognized, for slung over his back he carries his medicines tied in a long cloth. These he has carefully collected on the hills during the spring and summer months, his knowledge of herbs being doubtless considerable, and to his stock he adds by purchases in the bazar from down-757 country merchants. See him as he climbs up the rickety staircase right on to the roof to visit one of his patients who

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lies huddled up in a corner, complaining of bad pains in his knees, one of the ills to which most Ladak is advanced in age seem to be heir. The bad knees are felt, the tongue looked at, and then the serious business of examining the pulses—in the plural—is undertaken. Although they are all found at the wrist where the Western physician looks for the single one, yet there are actually six pulses, three on each hand, so that not only may the pulse of the heart be examined, but also those of the stomach, lung, liver, kidney and spleen. This thorough examination finished, the doctor proceeds to treatment, which in this case is the cautery, a great stand-by of the *amchi*. This may do good if only it does not go septic; at any rate it is a strong counter-irritant. Some powder is then given, and the patient informed exactly how to take it, whether with hot, cold or lukewarm water. Food, too, has a most important bearing on the complaint, for, whilst the meat of a white sheep will do nothing but good, that of the black would aggravate the symptoms. As this patient has no fever, he may let himself go to sleep, but if a man has a temperature to let himself drift into such an unconscious state would certainly be fatal. Cupping, the raising of blisters, and venesection are other methods of curing all sorts of complaints.

Next to the Lama the *Onpo* or Horologist is perhaps the most important individual, for if you wish to plough your field, to call in the lamas for the reading of holy books, or desire to choose the best day on which to marry, in fact for the decision of all the important affairs of life, you must get him to settle the auspicious day. There is little to distinguish the *onpo* outwardly, but on official occasions he may dress like a lama, even to the wearing of a priestly cap, but his pigtail will distinguish him from the ecclesiastic. On his back he carries his bundle of books, and the Tibetan almanac. Puntzog, who is thirty years of age, visits the horologist, for he desires to attend the festival at Hemis, but he wants to leave Leh on the best day possible. Hemis occurs in the

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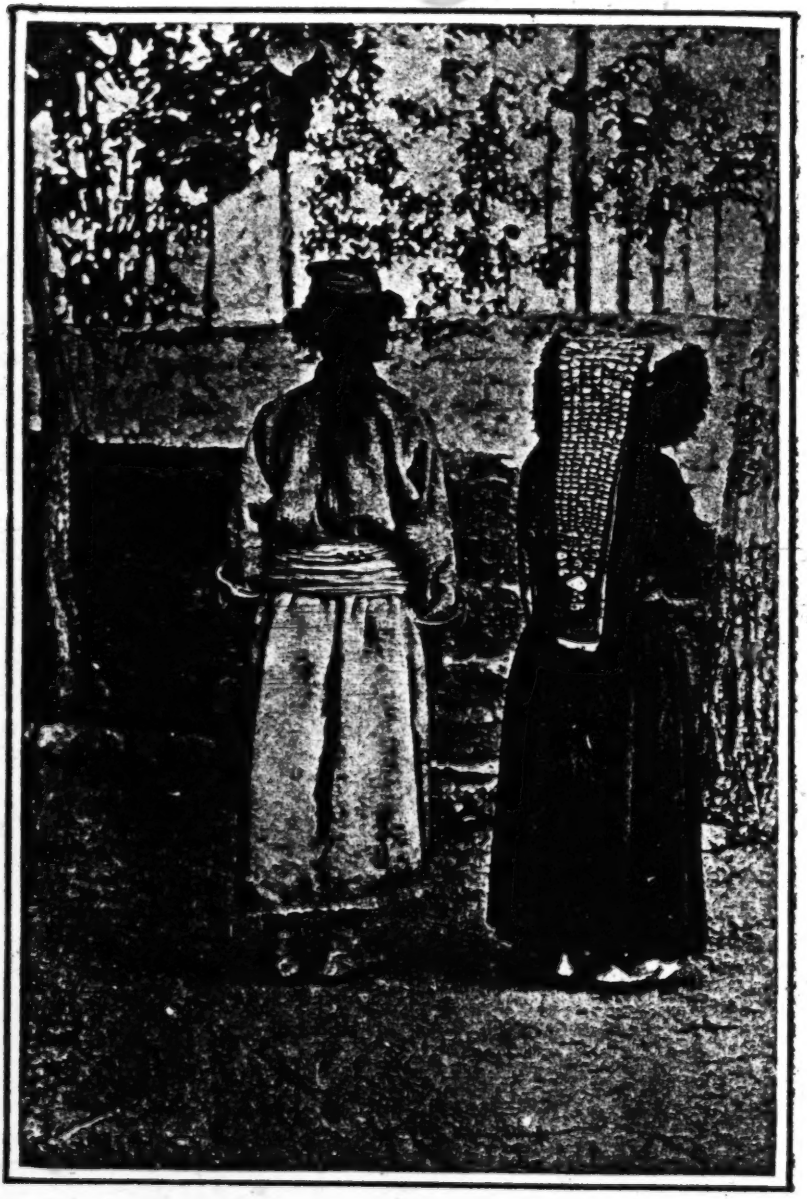

PIGTAIL AND PERAG.

A typical Ladaki man and woman taken in summer. The lady need not wear her cape in and about the house, and the sidepiece, or "tail of the serpent" is missing from her *perag*. The gentleman shews well the effect of the rubbing of his well-oiled pigtail on his natural-coloured homespun.

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787 fifth Buddhist month, and, referring to his books, the *onpo* finds that for him to travel in such a south-easterly direction on a Thursday in the fifth month is most auspicious. But consulting the star for that day he finds the fates are unkind, and that should Puntzog leave on Thursday, he will be robbed. What is to be done, for, in every other respect Thursday is so lucky? Further research into the horologist's library shows a way out of the dilemma. Let Puntzog go seven steps in the direction of Hemis the day before, returning then if he likes, and he can travel safely on Thursday. One day the *onpo* paid the Doctor Sahib a visit, and he, wishing to have horological proof of his married bliss and to be assured of its continuance, asked the *onpo* to read his nuptial horoscope. His age being forty-three years showed that he was born in the "water sheep" year, whilst his partner appeared in this incarnation in the "water snail" year. Now it is quite evident that water and water mix splendidly, so that divorce was out of the question. But he had had a narrow escape, for a year's difference would have been disastrous, as it would have involved the union of wood and water, and as the latter rots the former, married happiness would have been impossible. He then inquired whether his actual wedding day had been a good one, and a beam overspread the *onpo's* face when his books told him that both the day and the constellation pointed to the choice of a perfect day. Not only riches, but a quiver full of children would be our lot. The *onpo* also advised the Doctor to take a sea voyage this year, for he was born in the water year, and this is the wood year; a ship is made of wood and is meant to go in water, therefore such a journey would be most auspicious. As he was to travel to England this year he trusted the omens would not belie themselves.

792 Among professions a few words must be said about nuns. Most Buddhist families like to have one representative in the Church, but sometimes they have no boy or cannot spare one.

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792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

792 875 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand 788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the 779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar* 795 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the 872 children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of 875 course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

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acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

Next in importance, though not in status, come the musicians and minstrels. Although no function is complete without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

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gut, and the bow of horsehair. Let us listen to Tsiring 538
Rolmar, as she recounts to her husband and her two boys,
one of these stories. In the corner of their living-room is the [554]
stove, behind which sits the housefather on a slightly raised
platform, before him his cup of tea which he sips the while.
On the opposite side, also sitting cross-legged, is his lady, who
while she spins her yarn, blows the fire with her goatskin
bellows, and at her side her youngsters drink in the story.
Like all good tales hers begins—" Once upon a time," and 539
goes on to tell of King Sralkai, of his little son Ulastopgyes,
the princess Laches, and their cruel step-mother, who in order
to rid herself of her husband's children feigned illness, and
asked him to go to a certain old woman physician who lived
on a hill far away. While the King was on the road thither,
the wicked queen, successfully disguised, took a short cut and
arrived at the mountain first, then told the King that the only
cure for his queen was a meal made of the hearts of his two
children. Sadly he returned, and we follow the prince and
princess through a long and tedious history of various unsuc-
cessful attempts to murder them, until eventually Ulastopgyes
is recognized as a prince and is crowned king of a great
country. His thoughts return to his poor old father, and he
goes to rescue him from the wicked queen, who turns out to
be a witch and is slain, whilst, of course, the rest live happily
ever afterwards. But do not imagine this story is told in so
few words—an hour would not suffice for all the details, and
many cups of tea are drunk before the fortunate family is
eventually allowed to " live happily ever after." Of such
stories there must be hundreds, and for every myth or fairy-
tale which we have in the West, the Ladaki has his Tibetan
version. In the same way it would not be difficult to find a
Ladaki proverb similar to almost every English one. Besides 534
the story-teller and his fiddled accompaniment, there is the
amateur with musical propensities who can express his
feelings on a flute, also home-made, just a bit of hollow stick

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534 with the necessary holes and the mouth-piece. So one often hears a piping from the youths who stroll out in the fields on a summer evening, or finds a hidden talent being brought to light among one's servants round the camp fire in the leisure following the day's march and cooking.

443 But no description of Ladak could be complete which did
438 not consider the merchants who meet here from the four
439 points of the compass, especially during the months of September, October and early November. At this time the Leh bazar becomes full of all sorts and conditions of men—the fair Yarkandi jostling the slit-eyed Tibetan, the Kulu man or his neighbour from Lahoul doing business with the men from Baltistan, Kashmir and most provinces of Northern India. And what do all these folk bring? From the North comes the Yarkandi with carpets of garish colours, furs of snow-leopard, fox and wolf, stone martin and beaver, Khotan silks and thick felt mats. It has taken him a full month of most difficult travelling over vast mountain ranges to get here, in fact the road is marked out in some places by the bleaching skeletons of man and beast. Before he can sell his wares, he will have to travel another month to reach the Plains of India. Here he purchases cloth which he takes back to his home and sells there at a good price. Many of the Yarkandis combine religion and business, coming over the passes in the late summer of the year, and going *via* Bombay to Mecca, then, after the sacred pilgrimage has been accomplished, they return through India, still trading, to cross the passes the following autumn. In Leh, the Yarkandi has either to buy horses or sell them, for the Kashmir State makes its own transport arrangements between Leh and Srinagar, but from
437 here to Yarkand no such facilities exist. It is amusing to watch them doing a horse deal, for though it is done in public, outsiders are none the wiser concerning the purchase price. Each man places a hand up the voluminous sleeve of the other. Says the buyer—"I will give you *Imeme*" simul-

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taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but 437
he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who 443
has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the 438
Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The 439
nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

One would like to describe how the blacksmith makes a 376
hole in the ground and, with goatskin bellows and charcoal, gets quite a good fire in which he works his metal and makes his pots, pans and attractive teapots; also to tell of the 335
carpenter, sitting on the ground holding the plank with his two feet and one hand, while sawing with the other, and in

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335 order to make this possible has the teeth of his saw turned the opposite way to the English saw ; or of the seamster 294 making his Ladaki hats. But time and space will not permit ; suffice it to say, that, whenever possible, the Ladaki workman seems to do things " the wrong way round " as far as our point of view is concerned.

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CHAPTER XIV

Occidental Treatment for Oriental Maladies

PEACE, after the Great War, having been finally ratified in 1919, every important town throughout India had its celebrations, and Leh, the Capital of Western Tibet, could not, of course, omit them. There was no doubt as to the thoroughness of our rejoicings, which lasted for four whole days, but their ending was of a disastrous nature. Fireworks had never before been seen in Leh, and a generous Commissioner supplied the town with its first *tamasha* of the kind. In the centre of the square court in front of the Wazir's house, a large bonfire was made, but for some reason or other the Kaiser's effigy was not enthroned thereon. Surrounding this at some distance, a large crowd of men, women and children were gathered. The two local policemen were in charge of the display, and produced loud "*O—le's*" of wonder as they let off rockets, squibs, catherine wheels, crackers and Roman candles. Towards the end, however, some of the policemen's assistants got too near to the bonfire, with the result that the remaining fireworks ignited, and went up in a blaze of light, causing burns to about half-a-dozen people. One of these gentlemen, thinking no doubt that such a unique display would entrance the celebrations at his next wedding, had quietly filled his trouser pockets and other handy places in his garments, with fireworks. But, alas, his display came off rather sooner than he had anticipated, for he too caught fire, and provided quite an interesting spectacle as he rushed off to the nearest stream in which to put himself out, the while belching forth rockets and

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other magnificent lights from various parts of his person. But these had to be quenched as soon as he could possibly seat himself down in the brook, crushing in its covering of ice and snow to soak in the cool depths of its bed. Those injured adjourned to the Moravian Mission Hospital, where we concluded our celebrations by dressing their burns, but this gentleman, not wishing to disclose the fact of his unlawful annexations, went elsewhere to have his injuries treated. Weeks after, however, he came to us, still suffering from the effects; and we were able to cure him also. The initial item on our programme of peace celebrations was one entitled "Procession of Notables round the Town." The notables consisted of Tehsildar, Naib Tehsildar, Darogas, Naib Darogas, Policemen, Naib Policemen, Telegraph Master, Postmaster, Charas Officer and his staff of assistants, Aksakal and his clerks, and in fact anybody who could find a pony on which to ride. Among them figured also the Missionary "Padre" and Doctor, indeed these two considered themselves notable "Notables," for they were asked to head the procession, one on each side of the chief magistrate, and were preceded by our noble company of sepoys. If the common people of the town were not edified by this sight of their notables on horseback, their sense of the sublime must have been sadly lacking. So we feel we have every right to include ourselves among "other professional gentlemen" of the town, as representatives of Western Medicine. We cannot lay claim to being unique in this respect, for the Kashmir State has its Dispensary in the charge of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon.

So now let us visit the combined Moravian Mission Hospital and British Charitable Dispensary. Like all our houses in Leh, the Hospital buildings are made of mud-bricks. In the centre of the compound is the Hospital garden, which is enclosed by the wards and administrative buildings. Entering the out-patient room, we find a very cosmopolitan crowd awaiting attention. The greater number are, of course, Ladaki men

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and women, both Buddhists and Mohammedan, the latter revealing the fact by wearing turban or red fez, and their names often indicating that they were formerly Buddhists, who had been converted to the faith of the prophet ; this is done by adding the word " Sheik " to their new Mohammedan names. Then there are Baltis, ill-clad looking creatures with their meagre black skull-caps from under which appear long, curly, but unkempt-looking, locks. How different from the two or three well-dressed, distinguished-looking Yarkandis, who sit next to them, stalwart men from Chinese Turkestan. Their faces are almost as white as that of the European, with shortly-cropped black hair and black beards, and they wear nice warm wadded garments cut somewhat like a frock-coat with very long sleeves, but of less sombre colours, sometimes a silky glossy cloth of black or even nice blue. To brighten this a large gay coloured embroidered square scarf is worn, folded triangularly with the apex downwards in the middle of the waist behind. On their heads are green or other coloured caps, lined with fur and turned up round the edge, or white pugarees. Occasionally these gentlemen bring their wives with them. Being Mohammedan they may not show their faces to strange men, and they therefore cover them with a voluminous head-dress, with network squares let in over their eyes through which they can look. Then there are some Kashmiris, men with beautifully regular features, strongly reminding one of pictures of good-looking Jews and of stories of the lost ten tribes of Israel. Other down-country races, too, may be represented, such as the Punjabi, or perhaps a Sikh, with the fringe of his black beard neatly plaited, and often the proud Pathan or Afridi appears. That wild ferocious-looking fellow with long, untidy, straggling hair is, of course, one of the upland nomads, whilst the well-dressed man who is sitting on one of our two stools is a merchant priest from the closed land of Tibet. Now shall we stand at the doctor's side, and listen with him to some of the complaints of these patients.

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757 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly
164 addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its
754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive
175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old canni-
771 balism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without
757 our help! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the
826 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

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of former sins. Another patient—this time a Royal one be it noticed—asks for some medicine which will stop his beard from growing. Could such be produced much trouble might be saved for him as well as many others. The next comer informs us that he himself is not a patient, but that away at his home his little brother is suffering from headache, and is quite aggrieved that treatment without examination is refused. Now a Balti comes, who says he is perfectly well at present, but that he is quite certain one day he will have a pain in his digestive organs, and he would like to be prepared against that day. Another old gentleman has returned for more medicine, although only yesterday he had been provided for three days, and on being reproached for having disobeyed instructions, advances the perfectly reasonable argument that, if one dose of medicine is going to do him good, ten doses will multiply the good effect tenfold.

Having seen all our out-patients and attended to their treatment, we adjourn to the operating-room where a cataract is to be removed. To-day our patient is of noble rank, being the mother of the chief Rajah of Ladak. Some days previously the old King had asked us to operate on his maternal relative, and we actually fixed the date, but, alas! he found on consulting his horologist and books, that we had chosen a most inauspicious day and begged the Doctor to change it, which he did. There lies the old lady on the operating-table, her refined features and well-kept hands testifying to her good breeding. We scrub our hands so thoroughly that the onlookers, among whom is the King, no doubt feel this is part of a religious performance preceding the operation. Having arranged the sterile towels, we are just about to start, when the exalted son begins walking up and down the room rapidly, saying his *Om Mani pa dme hungs*, the while turning the beads of his rosary. This is hardly conducive to the stillness an English surgeon would desire when performing a cataract extraction. The obstructing lens is removed, how-

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757 ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again
565 see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

797 But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards
758 are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital,
593 he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not.
758 We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated
301 to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his
164 ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be
758 able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

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old lady who has had her cataract removed. She is lying on 758
the floor by the side of a nice spring bedstead, on which she had been placed yesterday after her operation. In reply to our query why she did not stay quietly on her bed, she says she felt so giddy sleeping so high up in the world, and more safe on the floor. True, she cannot fall out of bed now. In Ward 3 758
is a Yarkandi whose leg we have had to amputate to save his 563
life. He has come that difficult journey from Yarkand, over the Karakorum range of the Himalayas and the Dipsang plateau, and been overtaken by frost-bite. Very likely at the end of the hard day's march over the snow he was so exhausted that he fell asleep without troubling to take off his heavy boots, and the circulation had no chance to re-establish itself in the severe cold. In the next ward we find that a string has been 758
stretched across from one wall to the other, over which 251
strips of meat have been hung, and we are told that the family are drying their next winter's supply. One can just imagine the happy expression on the face of an English Surgeon, who on entering his ward found such activities being pursued. In the next ward we can see nothing, for it is filled with acrid smoke which so hurts our eyes that we beat a rapid retreat. Dinner is being cooked! But we must not linger longer with our in-patients, for we would like to take the reader with us on a medical tour.

When we visited Kyelang, it will be remembered that we 757
made a detour to a place called Lingshed. Messengers came 164
to beg us to go to this village in 1916, because it was so central, and they promised that blind folk from the whole surrounding district would gather there; the further inducement was held out that throughout the trip the question of supplies would be made easy for us. So one evening we found ourselves in our tents in Lingshed with about thirty blind folk sitting round. We examined their eyes, deciding 757
that some were operable, others not. The latter were in- 783
formed as kindly as possible that no operation on earth could

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757 cure them of their blindness, but our solicitude seemed
783 unnecessary, for they remained quite cheerful, merely saying "*Lanchaks*,"—that is "we are atoning for our sins in a former incarnation." No doubt those successfully operated upon are getting the reward for former good deeds, and for the successful operation it is quite unnecessary to thank the
757 Surgeon when virtue is being rewarded. The next question
778 is, where are we to operate? Under the open sky the sun is
797 too grilling and brilliant, and the tent is too small. We have detected a verandah which would make a most suitable temporary operating-theatre, in fact it is practically the only available spot, but, on suggesting this, are informed that this is a temple verandah and belongs to a very great and holy man. "There you cannot operate" we are told emphatically, and reply that the reason adduced makes the place more desirable than ever, and we must operate there or nowhere. This point is gained, or partly so. We might operate on the men there, but not the women, for they must not enter such a holy place. Alas! the Doctor Sahib must have had a strange upbringing, for he informs these Lingshed men that in the peculiar country whence he comes, the dictum is "Ladies first," and only when these are done can the Lords of Creation be tackled. That settles this point, but not even yet are all our difficulties overcome, for a very old lama finds his way to the Doctor, who having examined him, finds the eyes quite operable. He is, however, begged not to give the old fellow his sight, for he is so poor that he has not sufficient food to sustain him while the wounds heal, nor a helper to care for him during his time in bed. The former objection is easily overcome for we begin to charge in kind for the medicines we dispense, and soon the old fellow finds himself quite well off in flour, rice, and dried apricots, and a nurse is also provided for him. Preliminary arrangements having been completed, we make our way one fine morning to our temporary operating-theatre in the verandah of the temple. An old bedstead which cannot boast a spring-mattress, having only a rough

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network of rope, serves as operating-table. A small box does duty as instrument table, whilst an X travelling wash-stand must serve for the Surgeon's washing of hands and that, too, of his assistant. The first patient is brought in, a woman who prostrates herself before the door of the temple. One of the villagers has been impressed as an extra assistant, and is now instructed thoroughly to wash the lady's face with soap and water. She is then laid on the dirty bedstead, and her dirty clothes are covered first by a sheet of clean mackintosh, and then by towels which have been sterilized in Carbolic Acid, and her not overclean hair is likewise covered. Cocaine is then instilled into both eyes, the Surgeon and his assistant wash their hands, then kneeling at their very low operating-table proceed to extract the cataracts. This done, fingers are held up for the patient to count, and the onlookers reveal their interest and joy by ejaculations of "*wah!*," or "*tong dug*" —"she sees." Eyes are bandaged, and the next patient tackled. That day we did twenty-two cataract operations, and afterwards were inclined to boast about it till we met another Missionary Doctor,—Holland of Quetta,—who told us that he had done over ninety in one day. And the results? Of our twenty-two, eighteen received good sight, two were partially successful, whilst two were failures. Considering the dirty patients and dirtier surroundings, we felt the results quite justified the trip. We stayed a few days longer till it was safe to leave those on whom we had operated, and then began our return journey, thinking ruefully of how the deputation from Lingshed had promised to furnish us with supplies on the road, and had faithfully done so until the operations were over and there was little more to be got out of us. On the way home we were left to fend for ourselves, and our poor ponies had occasionally to go hungry. Ingratitude, and not gratitude, is one of the prominent characteristics of the Ladaki, for does not a good action bring its own reward, and the Doctor will have reaped much merit from his medical tour.

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CHAPTER XV

National Pastimes & Sports

600 "But their style of playing polo was irregular and rash
They had mighty little science, but a mighty lot of dash:
And they played on mountain ponies, that were muscular and strong
Though their coats were quite unpolished, and their manes and tails were long."

"When the Geebung boys got going it was time to clear the road;
And the game was so terrific that ere half the time was gone
A spectator's leg was broken—just from merely looking on."

A. B. PATERSON.

524 [538] "AS food without salt is savourless, so is work without play" says the Ladaki proverb, and, putting precept into practice, he flavours the toils of life with a variety of games which he begins early in life. The Leh youngster makes three little heaps of dust in the high street of the capital, places a stick in each, produces a home-made ball of rags, another larger stick for bat, and, like boys in the home-land, begins his game of cricket by a heated discussion as to who should have the privilege of first innings. If sticks are scarce, he takes a small one, about six inches long, points each end, then with a club he strikes one of the ends sharply; the stick rises up in the air, and as it falls he hits it again as hard as he can, and lays down the club. Then his opponent picks up the small stick and from where it has fallen throws it at the club which he tries to hit. Visions of small boys playing an exactly similar game in England come to the mind. Football, too, has become thoroughly acclimatized, and is played by old and young. The former, having raised a proper ball, tuck the

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bottoms of their dressing-gown coats into their ample belts, 524
and play with bare or merely stockinged feet, whilst their younger brothers enjoy their game just as thoroughly when they play it with a rag ball. The game of marbles too has found its way here, but must adapt itself to the poverty of the country. Stones as round as can be found are used, or if walnuts abound they do service for a similar game. A hole is dug in the ground or in the raised base of a *chorten*, and the aim is to throw as many of these walnuts into it as possible. Nor are the Ladaki lasses without their games. A finger or stick traces in the sand and dust the lines necessary for hopscotch just as efficiently as the chalk-line on a London pavement, and little Ladaki legs, although they are shod with clumsy native footgear, do their hopping just as nimbly as those of their English sisters.

The Ladaki also believes in the dictum, "what thy hand 526
findeth to do, do it with all thy might," at least as far as games are concerned, and with a little training he would compete on equal terms with our own countrymen. Those boys sent down-country to the Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe's splendid school rapidly pick up hockey, tennis, badminton, swimming and rowing, in fact, excel in all sports. But let us now watch them at their own national games, the favourite being polo. Ladak may not be the home of polo, but it certainly found [171]
its way here at an early date. Even if it arose in Persia, it very soon migrated to Gilgit, and the Dards, no doubt, brought it with them to Ladak, and now it is not even a hyphenated Ladaki game, for most good-sized villages have their own polo ground. In Leh, the capital, the game was 526
formerly played in the high street, but this evidently became 346
so dangerous for the shopkeepers that now we have a proper polo ground. This consists of a level space about two hundred yards long, which cannot boast of a blade of grass, but is covered by a layer of dust so thick that before play begins, it has to be laid with water. On one side it is bounded

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526 by the high wall of the Wazir's or State Commissioner's
345 garden, on the other by a low wall about one foot high built of large stones, piled one on top of the other without mortar or cement or even mud. Halfway along this, a platform of mud and stones has been erected, from the top of which "the notables" watch the game, a *Shamiana* or awning being erected on high days. Two large stones at either end are
[534] sufficient as goal-posts. On the ground itself to one side sits the band of four; two flageolets and two kettle-drums. These at one moment are announcing another goal obtained and at another are defending themselves from the polo sticks, for
526 the game is raging right in their midst. But now let us turn our attention to the players and their mounts. Here it is not the rich man's game, a stud of horses is quite unnecessary. Even a poor farmer possesses one pony, and if he makes himself a stick, he, too, can join in. The stick is quite easily manufactured, its shape being that of an English hockey stick, but with a longer handle. By making this and the striking end of two pieces, and letting the former into the latter, a rude splice is obtained. Rules for play there would seem to be none. If your opponent gets in your way, ride him down. If only six players have come, three a side will do, if ten players turn up, two fives make an equally good game. Although play can last for as long as you like, the same poor miserable pony is used the whole time, and will hardly enjoy it as much as the English one is said to do.

Now the play begins. The ball has been thrown into the centre of the course and four horsemen are trying to get it. A pig-tailed Ladaki has it, and is riding as hard as he can for his opponents' goal. His hitting is beautifully clean, and the playing of the band announces a goal for his side. His enemies' posts now become his own, which he has to defend. Now watch him carefully, for he will show you a pretty piece of play. He has dismounted, picked up the ball, and, remounting, takes both it and his stick in his right hand, then gallops

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down the field as hard as he can. Reaching the half-way 526
approximately, he throws up the ball, and, with the stick, which is still in the same hand, he hits the ball full and straight into the enemies' goal. To do this at such a pace needs good horsemanship and a wonderfully steady eye and aim. Ends are changed again and the ball is in play. There goes a little fellow from Chushot on his very disreputable pony with saddle tied on none too firmly. The ball is rather beyond his ordinary reach, but what matter, for he has only to lean right out of his saddle, so that, if desired, he could almost touch the ground ; by this means he reaches the ball. There he goes again, but alas, this time his saddle will not stand the strain, swings round with him, and leaves him lying somewhere beneath his pony. Listen to the roars of laughter which greet his performance. Now a Mohammedan from Leh has the ball. A good player that, but his shot has not been accurate, and instead of landing in between the goal-posts, it has gone straight into the crowd of spectators. " Was there a man dismayed ? " Not one, for if anybody has been hurt, he is nursing his pain in secret. Thus the game goes on; it may be for an hour or even more. Scoring is high, for there is not much ground between the opposing goal-posts.

During the summer months the British Joint Commissioner
sometimes likes to play. To provide him with regular sport, 661
a certain number of men from the village of Chushot are detailed to appear twice weekly and this is regarded as their share of forced labour. If they do not play well, a threat that no improvement in their style will spell the ordinary *begar* (forced labour) with its carrying of loads, soon mends
matters. One year we were able to play a game of England 526
versus Ladak. Two " Varsity " men were shooting up here, and they, with the Commissioner and the Doctor, represented Britain. Ladak certainly put one of its strongest teams on the field. Difficulties soon arose for the visitors, for they were not able tothrow the ball up and hit it while riding even at a

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526 slow trot. One alternative only remained: No. 1 had to drop the ball at the mid-line, whilst No. 2 who was riding immediately behind was expected to hit it. During the first half the European combination did wonders, and at half time were leading by four goals, but this put the home team on its mettle, and they gradually caught up. Time, however, was in favour of the visitors, who won their game by one goal. Will such a match ever be played again?

541 Next let us go to the bazar and watch the horse-racing. This peculiar species of horse-racing is quite in keeping with this quaint country. We take up our positions on the verandah of the post office. At the further end of the bazar 242 about thirty ponies and their jockeys are gathered. First 644 along the course comes a rider decked out in the most wonder- 30 ful garments. His dress is a beautifully embroidered Chinese mandarin's robe and the insignia of his office is a tigerskin tunic. On his head he wears a large round hat covered with gilt tinsel, the crown rising to a dome, surmounted by a knob to which streamers of gilt tinsel passing from the brim are attached. This is quite a personage, who assumes the title of *glabdag*, which means one to whom the gods are subject. The office boasts a long lineage and is traceable to pre-Buddhist times. Its representative is always chosen from one of three families, and his duty is to serve the King personally, one especial task being to change the pencil cedar on His Majesty's altar on New Year's day. When he rides ahead of all the 541 jockeys, he is acting as his King's Viceroy. Having led the way, the race can begin, but a starter is quite unnecessary. Each man starts off just when he likes and simply tears down the bazar as hard as his pony will carry him; though they often elect to start in a bunch, there seems to be no purposeful relationship between them, and odd ones left far behind carry on with equal zest. Needless to say bookies are unnecessary. Sometimes a wag will add to the delight of the spectators by performing gymnastic feats as he rides, possibly having dressed

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up to enhance the exhibition, which is loudly applauded. 541
When all have ridden the course, they canter back and repeat from the beginning. This goes on for two or three days, and Ladakis find it interesting to the end. Sometimes the amusement becomes intense, when, for instance, a horse has shed his rider, because the saddle had not been fixed on firmly, and the racer finishes his course with empty back.

Games on horseback are most desirable at this altitude, 576
where human lungs find scarcely enough oxygen for strenuous 177
exertion, and Ladak is adding a Yarkandi equestrian game to its repertoire. No sides are picked, but there is a goal. A dead sheep is thrown on to the ground. At one time no doubt they played with a live animal, for Yarkandis do not think much about "Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" Societies. A man catches up the sheep as best he can and then rides with it for the goal. If he accomplishes this, he may look forward to many a big supper of mutton, but all the other horsemen try to make this impossible. The falls, pullings, and pushings this piece of mutton gets, should go far to make it tender, whatever its age may be.

Another sport which the Ladakis thoroughly enjoy is arrow 576
shooting. This always takes place in the spring, just before [795]
the fields are sown, the Mohammedans and the Buddhists having each their own archery meeting. A garden or an enclosure with trees round an open space is chosen, at one end of which a heap of earth is piled up about four feet high. Into the centre of this is stuck a bull's-eye, about the size of a china plate and made of white clay. At the opposite end, about twenty yards from the target, are several tents, nicely decorated, in which sit those members of their respective community, who, by subscribing towards the shoot, have bought themselves the right to be present and take part. Others may join in, but are there on sufferance, and if they have not paid, even superb shooting will not obtain th

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526 applause of either the band or the onlookers. Is it necessary
[534] to say that the inevitable band is there[1] also? The shooting begins. An archer takes up his position, draws his bow, his friends encouraging him by calling: "*Shok, shok, shok, shok, shok, shok, shok,*" and continuing to do so until the shaft has flown. Should it break the clay, the band strikes up and is rewarded with a backsheesh, whilst the archer has a salutation scarf thrown round his neck. If an enemy should be shooting, he can be discouraged by shouting:—"*Kyor, kyor, kyor,*" which means "miss." All having loosed their arrows, of which each man shoots three, they retire for refreshments and conversation, whilst the arrows are fetched back. This competition also lasts three days, during which Leh is not allowed to forget it, for the continuous beating of the kettle-drums is constantly inviting more spectators to the show.

224 In concluding this chapter we would like to refer to some of the sport which the white man enjoys in this country. A certain number of shooting licences are given every year, namely twenty for the first half of the year and twenty for the second. These are generally used by Army officers, men of the
000 finest stamp. It is only the "stern strong souls, who love the wild," who would face the biting winds which howl across these upland plains, who would put up with the loneliness, and often the bad cooking and limited supplies, which shooting there entails, and who would follow their quarry even to 17,000 feet, though already lungs are working at bursting point. To have to shoot immediately after such a climb, when one is still breathing hard, the heart working at about one hundred and twenty to the minute, and the hands shaking from exertion, is no easy matter. And yet it is worth it all. Is there anything on God's earth more thrilling than a few days up in His hills with a good rifle in one's hands and a splendid animal to be stalked? It seems such a pity that the expense makes this almost prohibitive for our younger officers, for surely such a holiday must make them fitter for

1 [i.e., at archery contests.--ANALYST.]

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the service than a continuous whirl of social functions in some Indian hill-station. One thinks wistfully of two "subs." who had saved up for such a holiday, one of them being the son of a man who had shot up here years ago, when he himself was in the Indian Army. But, alas, having reached Leh, they found they had only sufficient money to get back to their station, and had to give up the idea of shooting. Of wild sheep we have several kinds, most of them having splendid horns. It is said that these are so heavy that eventually their owners die of starvation, as they get too feeble to carry them and go in search of food.

To begin with, we have the Sharpu, which live on the lower hills and during the winter come right down into the fields. Out shooting one day, my shikari, a Ladaki hunter, and I spotted five of these animals on a hill opposite to us, and soon after noticed a couple of wolves stalking them. I got within five yards of the latter, as they lay waiting behind a rock. By the time I had jumped off my pony and had loaded my gun, they had got quite out of range, although they seemed to be slinking away quite slowly. We then watched the Sharpu, and to our surprise they came clean across the valley to the very spot where the wolves had been waiting for them, and passed within ten yards of us, even stopping to look at us. Needless to say they were does, and ladies one does not shoot. Large numbers of these must be killed by other predatory animals. Another time we found a Sharpu with horns of thirty inches, which had only just been brought down by a snow-leopard. At last I hoped to get one of the latter, which are fairly plentiful, though as yet I had never met one. But, alas, he got wind, and evaded me. The Ladakis hate these snow-leopards for they do much harm to their flocks. In order to catch them, they dig deep holes in the ground and build overhanging walls round. They then put down the sheep, whose bleating attracts the leopard. Having jumped in, he cannot negotiate the overhanging wall and meets an

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224 ignoble death from stoning. The Ladakis assert that once down he is so scared that he does not attempt to kill the sheep, but this may be no truer than the statement that they hate them so much that they skin them alive. The people also make a very useful wolf-trap. One end of a large rock is balanced on a stick, to which they tie a piece of meat. A pull
136 on this brings the stone down on the animal's head. On the higher hills the burrhel can be found grazing sometimes in herds of fifty to a hundred. These seem to have as many lives as a cat, for on two occasions I have hit them, brought them rolling down the hill, but on approaching to gloat over my kill, they have calmly got up and walked off. After this, I learnt not to unload until my foot rested on the dead body of my victim. Much higher up one finds the Ovis Ammon, a magnificent animal, whose horns at the base measure about eighteen inches in girth, and whose length is about fifty inches when full-grown. The Ibex, a kind of goat, prefers the rockier regions and, although the Ladaki Ibex is not as fine as that from Baltistan, yet even he can boast of horns some forty inches long. Right on the uplands towards Tibet, one can also get antelope, with beautifully slender, graceful horns, which at their ends curl forwards, not backwards. At one time it was possible to shoot the wild yak, but, even were he not almost extinct now, it would not be permissible to shoot him in
224 the state of a Hindu Maharajah. It is surprising how these various animals keep to their own grazing grounds, and the native hunter, who is the gillie of Ladak, knows exactly on which slopes the various animals may be found. These gillies are remarkable for the way in which they can tell you the length of a horn to an inch or two, even at two hundred to three hundred yards. This is an essential qualification, for one is not allowed to shoot an animal unless his horns have reached
136 a certain length. During the winter small game abounds almost everywhere. On the rocks pigeons are plentiful, and twice I have killed thirteen pigeons—a lucky number this time—

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with my two barrels. On the sandy hill-sides one hears the clucking of partridges, and the creeks of the Indus abound with ducks. Among the snows are the snow cocks, and in the desert the hares. One day I had just raised my gun to shoot one of these, when, before I could pull the trigger, an eagle swooped down, caught him in his talons and soared away. It was a wonderful sight to watch him fly majestically with his prey right across the valley to his eyrie high up the mountain on the other side. His impudence had so nonplussed me that I had not pulled the trigger.

Thus the varied interest of the wild life in the mountains is never exhausted, and the remembrance of these happy days spent so close up to nature will always recall an experience which must closely approach " the top of the fulness of life."

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CHAPTER XVI

Merit & its Acquisition

779 SODNAM or *Gewa*, both of which mean merit, are perhaps the two religious expressions most commonly used by the people of Ladak. It has been said that "the acquisition of merit is the controlling motive for most of the religious acts of the average Buddhist." This is perfectly true of Lamaism. How one gets to dislike the word merit, which is so absolutely the expression of utter and [181] complete selfishness. The Ladaki simply does not believe in disinterested, unselfish action. True compassion is practically unknown. The cup of cold water is not given to quench the brother's thirst but to gain a reward. But whence does the Buddhist of Little Tibet get his idea of merit? Can it be from the Buddha, whose life was one of the most beautiful ever lived? This seems unlikely; in fact we are informed that he actually taught the utter uselessness of any action performed for the sake of obtaining merit, which thereby only defeats its own ends. Consciously he did not preach this appalling doctrine, and yet is it not an outcome of his teachings? This is not a treatise on Buddhist philosophy, and yet it is necessary to have a general idea of Gautama's teaching to be able to understand some part of the Ladaki's religious belief. To begin with it must be stated that it is very difficult to know what the Buddha really did teach, for the Pali writings are none too authentic, but there is no doubt that he connected all sorrow and trouble, sickness and death, with material existence, which he regarded as an illusion, and longed, not only for himself, but for all his

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brothers and sisters, the bliss of deliverance which comes 779
through the atrophy of personality. His views are well summed up in the four noble truths which he is said to have taught.

(1) Life is suffering.
(2) Life is the result of desire.
(3) Cessation of desire ends the life of suffering.
(4) Cessation of desire is attained by following the eightfold path.

What is the eightfold path? It consists of right belief; right aspirations; right speech; right actions; right livelihood; right effort; right mindfulness, and right contemplation. By what means can the Buddhist walk along these paths? By carrying out the Buddha's five commandments:—

(1) Do not kill.
(2) Do not steal.
(3) Do not commit adultery.
(4) Do not speak untruth.
(5) Do not taste intoxicating drinks.

This in a nutshell was Buddha's teaching, and, by the keeping [775]
of this law, he promised mankind that they would attain Nirvana, which is a state of unconscious bliss, when a personal existence is over and done with, and the liberated soul is at one and in harmony with the all-pervading. To attain this state, which the Ladaki calls "*Stongpa nid*," meaning "empty spirit," the soul has to work its way by re-incarnation through various existences of which there are six, until the balance of good actions over bad is so immense that the soul finds emancipation. Therefore every Buddhist takes such infinite pains to increase the credit side with good actions in order to obtain merit. Although all adherents of this religion do not admit it, yet most authorities agree that Gautama taught that no outside aid availed. Each man must work out his own salvation with fear and trembling.

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779 The Southern school of Buddhism, called Hinayana (the small
795 vehicle, for only the few can expect to reach Nirvana), still believes this,[1] but the time came when a split occurred, and as a result Northern Buddhism or Mahayana Buddhism arose. "The Buddhist cannot rid himself of the feeling that if there are consequences of deeds to be borne, there must be someone to bear them." For ordinary men and women the gospel of Buddha was only a message of despair, for the bands which bound them to the Wheel of Existence were far too tight for them to loosen. This need of the human heart for a Saviour resulted in the Mahayana doctrine, so-called because it means the greater vehicle or means by which every Buddhist may hope one day to attain the bliss of Nirvana. First Buddha himself was regarded as this Saviour, and later others were ranked with him to help struggling humanity towards the final goal. The Buddha had the perfect right to enter a well-earned Nirvana, but compassion for men and women, beasts and demons, made him renounce this until he had aided all things living to enter this same bliss with him. Thus arose the beautiful story of Avolakita, the all-merciful one, the all-pitying one, to which we shall refer later and of whom the
177 Dalai Lama is the living representative. Unfortunately this
797 new doctrine also opened the door to all sorts of national gods and demons which Buddhism encountered in its spread, for now, at about the end of the first century, Buddhism became a thoroughly missionary religion, carrying this good news of possible redemption far and wide. It reached Tibet about the middle of the 7th century, where it found the old *Bon Chos*, which was a Shamanistic devil-dancing religion. The followers of the new faith having subdued those of the old, then incorporated much of the old religion in their own, thus producing Lamaism. This consists therefore of a substratum of real Buddhist philosophy understood by the few, and a large proportion of demonology which appeals to the unlearned masses.

1 [IE, ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION ALONE.--ANALYST]

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Let us now consider some of the ceremonial of the religion 796
of these cheery folk, and to do this we cannot do better than 778
take an evening stroll to Changspa, which is a suburb of Leh and was formerly a place of pilgrimage. Our path leads us between fields of wheat and barley, now ripe for the harvest. Here our way is blocked because some *Zemindar* (farmer) is [241] directing the flow of the water into his crops. Further on we reach a larger stream over which we cross by means of stepping stones.

We meet an old grey-head emerging from the village, who 788
evidently feels that he has reached the age when he should be thinking of his next incarnation, for he is not only vigorously turning his prayer-wheel, but mumbling away at his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*. We stop to speak to him, for in this part of the world there is great friendliness. Our conversation by no means hinders his devotions, for he can still twirl his prayer-wheel, which with every turn is repeating hundreds of prayers for him, and in between his answers to us there are plenty of opportunities for saying his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*.

Being new to the country we perhaps try to ask him the meaning of his prayer, but generally he will reply that he has not the faintest idea, and most certainly will not give the translation one so often hears. "Oh thou jewel in the Lotus bud." If one regard the Jewel as the Divinity, and the lotus the body in which it resides, one surely approaches the teaching of the Buddha fairly closely. I have met only one or two [779] Buddhist Ladakis willing to enlighten me in respect to this mantra, who said that the wheel of life, consists of six existences, and this mantra with its six syllables closes the door of all these, thus providing an easy vehicle to "STONGPA NID." There are other mantra, but this beyond comparison is the favourite one, as it is that of Avolakita, the Merciful Lord, and it ensures an entrance into the Kingdom of Amitabha, the Sphere of Endless Light. The wheel must be turned in the direction in which the sun travels, that is of

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788 the hands of the clock, and not once or twice, but hundreds of times. To make this as easy as possible a weight on a short chain is attached, whose momentum makes it only necessary for the slightest movement of the hand to keep the wheel in almost perpetual motion. The number of *Om ma ni pa dme hum's* said need not to be counted, and yet it is good to know how much merit has been accumulated. Our old friend therefore carries in his other hand a rosary, which consists of one hundred and eight beads, usually red. This figure is a sacred one, being a multiple of twelve which is the Buddhist unit and not the ten which we use. To mark the beginning of this rosary three turquoises are strung together, doubtless representing "dGonmchog Sum," the Trinity of Lamaistic Buddhism.

[211] But the rosary is useful in other ways also, for if only the beads to the right of the short chain are regarded as units, and those to the left as twelves, quite a useful counter on which to 778 do one's temporal arithmetic is provided. Leaving our 788 elderly friend, we go past a short *mani* or prayer-wall, and then another round one. These are about the height of a man, and may be of any length. Just outside Leh there are two with only a short space between, which cover about half a mile. The tops of these slope slightly upwards towards the middle, and are covered by innumerable flat stones on which pious monks have engraved still more innumerable *Om ma-ni's*. To turn these prayers to good account, it is essential to pass the wall to one's right; by walking thus along the Leh *Mani Ringmo*, which means the long Ma-ni wall, a good hundred thousand prayers are said, and your stage pony, being usually of the Buddhist persuasion, will see to it that you do your religious duty in this respect by taking you along the left side. Whenever the road reaches a prayer-wall, it divides to enclose it, so that the traveller's prayers can avail in whichever direction his journey lies. In many of the larger prayer-walls there is a recess at one side containing a large tablet on which

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the occasion of the building of the wall is engraved. We pass on to a little streamlet in the village, and find that over it a little mud hut, about the size of a large dog kennel, has been erected, which houses another prayer-wheel. On the axle of this, below the receptacle for prayers, are paddles on which the running water impinges and thus keeps the wheel in perpetual rotation. The stream is often small, so that a light wheel is desirable, and what could be a better shell for enclosing the prayer paper than a Standard Oil kerosene tin, or a Mellin's Food tin, both of which are actually used. 778 788

The first house of the village belongs to the Kalon or former prime minister of Ladak, and in keeping with his exalted position, it is an imposing structure. On an outside wall we notice the skull of a goat, framed in small sticks tied together by twine, which is the *Storma* obtained at the New Year's festival, and keeps those in the house insured against sickness. The corners of the house have been painted a red colour, which effectually bars the entry of evil spirits. The Kalon does not seem to invite the good spirits to reside in his house, but others do. They only have to paint all over their walls white sickle-shaped smudges, and their invitations to these *lhas* will be accepted with alacrity. In the Kalon's court-yard is a high pole, to which is attached a strip of thin muslin about twelve inches broad and running the length of the flagstaff, which is surmounted by the black bushy tail of the holy yak. On the flag are printed a great number of prayers, with crude drawings of Tiger, Lion, Garuda and Dragon, all being mystical signs ensuring safety against enemies, earthly and celestial, increasing the number of children and wealth, in short achieving the entire health and happiness of the household. To set the necessary forces in action it only remains for the wind to flutter the flag on his roof. He also has a prayer-wheel which is so light that even the wind impinging on its vane will turn it. 342 788

We pass along the rough village lanes and everywhere 788

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1. MASKED DANCING
In the monastery adjoining the castle of Leh at the winter festival of the New Year.

2. A CHORTEN-CROWNED GATEWAY.
These usually mark the entrance and exit of a village.

3. A SACRED BANNER.
The large banner of the tutelary god of Hemis *dGonpa* (monastery), only displayed at the annual festival once in twelve years.

4. A HEMIS STREET
Just before the festival, shewing the tents put up for the traders.

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788 notice prayer-flags and *chortens*. Here there is a huge stone set up on end, on which has been engraven one large "Om ma-ni," and we might delay a few moments to examine it, 779 especially the first and last syllables. The first one "OVA" 788 consists of three signs, representing again the Trinity of Lamaism. Its chief letter is the capital "A" which stands for god. It should be written in white, as this is the colour [822] of the gods. The whole is surmounted by a circle. Does the yellow cap lama desire to make his mind a perfect blank, he places this mystical symbol before his mind's eye, meditates first on the "A," then on the "V" which surmounts this, and finally it travels round and round the mystic circle losing itself in *Stongpa nid*, the idea being that by these means the activity of the brain can be stilled and the spirit become at one with the Infinite. The last syllable in the Mantra, *Hung*, is supposed to stand for the Demon world, and therefore it is not surprising that the red sect lamas, who represent most closely the old *Bon chos* with its demonology, should use this in a similar manner for their meditation. The colour of this symbol is blue. This mark sometimes ends as *hung* and sometimes as *hum*, and there seems to be a real difference, for a Buddhist friend has assured me that, whilst *hung* is connected with evil influences, *hum* produces only the good.

778 We raise our eyes and see an enormous *chorten*, the largest 779 in Ladak, another mystical edifice allowing several explanations. These *chortens* are of eight different shapes, but of the most common form there are many sizes, ranging from small pocket editions, vulgarly called "potted lamas" for they are said to be made with the ashes of deceased monks, to structures larger than houses. From below upwards there is first a large square base, which is called the throne, on whole sides are painted figures of animals or holy eyes from which the throne derives its name, such as a Peacock or a Lion Throne. From this there rise five square steps, the lowest of which represents the holy carpet, for each lama sits

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on a holy carpet. Above this, two steps represent legs and two more arms. Then comes a large pudding-shaped arrangement to represent the head. The body seems to have been omitted. From this there rises a high cone made of red tiles and divided into thirteen rings; these are said to represent the thirteen ages (*Skalpas*, each of 100,000 years) of the Buddhist, of which the Ladakis say we are now living in the last ; this would make the present Dalai lama the last of this era. After this they begin again from the beginning.

Others have a different interpretation for the *Chortens*. From the axis of the earth there towers up Mount Meru, which supports the heavens. This is said to have twenty-five steps, which halved gives approximately enough thirteen, and the thirteen consecutive rings of the *chorten* cone represent those steps belonging to the earth. Surmounting this cone there is a large gilt ornament made of tin or some such metal which denotes the *Zarazak*, or the Umbrella of Office. Above this comes a globe for the sun, a crescent for the moon and a smaller globe for the stars, from which there rises up into "nothingness" a fine piece of wire. Yet a totally different explanation is given according to which, reading from below upwards, the *chorten* represents the five elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether. Round the great *chorten* at Changspa, there runs a passage, which is bounded on the outside by a wall consisting of one hundred and eight smaller *chortens*, again the mystic figure. Within this outer wall there stands a very old sacred tree and a small *chorten*, containing in a hollow recess the very small *chortens* made of the ashes of lamas and other men, also a few leaves from the holy book and some salutation scarves. Before entering into the passage, we notice a square building, in the upper part of which is a recess containing three *chortens*, which should be coloured respectively red, white and blue, and behind them drawings of various gods and goddesses. A little further on and to the right is a large stone with an image of *Byamspa*

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778 (Maitreya), the Buddha of the coming age who is the god of
779 love for whom the Buddhist is now waiting. According to the esoteric teaching of Buddhism, there are seven root races of mankind, of which the present one, the Aryan, is the fifth. To each one of these a Buddha has come in human form so that man shall be able to comprehend the unknowable. Each of these emanations is a Logos of the supreme Buddha. Maitreya will be the Buddha of the sixth root race, and after him will come he of the seventh, whose name is still obscure, for the need of the seventh race which he will have specially to meet is also unknown. Thus we get the septenary system,
781 belief in which is found to be so universal. To agree with this figure the most important mantra should really read *A-um-ma-ni-pa-dme-hum*. As one wanders round this little village of Changspa, one cannot help remembering Shakespeare's words,

> "Tongues in trees,
> Books in running brooks
> Sermons in stones
> And good in everything."

and wishing that the voices in this lamaistic land were living and spiritual rather than these mechanical and artificial forms of prayer, for to the ordinary man it is always a matter of *chos choches*, that is "doing religion," engaging in a mechanical, outward and superstitious form which has no relation to the man's spiritual life or to his moral conduct.

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CHAPTER XVII

Rites & Ceremonies

HAVING considered general every-day methods of 796 obtaining merit, let us turn our attention to the more specific and seasonal means, doing so in the order in which they occur annually. This makes 805 it necessary to say a few words about the Buddhist Calendar, [177] which seems to have been derived from the Chinese, and consists of sixty-year cycles, which are subdivided into five periods of twelve years each. The longer periods are named after the Buddhist elements of wood, fire, earth, iron and water, whilst the single years are called after various animals, such as mouse, ox, tiger or hare. The Ladaki does not therefore reckon his years in decades, but in dozens, so that when asked his age, he may inform you that, having been born in the sheep year of the water period, he must be three dozen and six year's old. Their year consists of three hundred and sixty days divided into lunar months, which the word for month, *zlaba*, pronounced *dawa*, implies. As this does not quite fit with the course of the sun, the Ladaki feels that he must try to humour him and his aberrations, by dropping days here and adding months there. He certainly feels that the sun [821] needs his aid at times, for when an eclipse occurs, he shouts at the top of his voice to scare off "the dragon from completely swallowing the sun." Their week, like ours, consists of seven days, which are devoted to deities similar to our own, such as Sunday and Monday to Sun and Moon. They have noticed that Mercury looks like a red eye, so Tuesday is called the day of the red eye. Wednesday is the day of

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805 Venus, whilst Thursday, the day of the dagger, must belong to the god of War. Jupiter and Saturn, even in Ladak, claim Friday and Saturday. The tenth day being the birthday of Padma Sambhava, their patron saint, who conquered all their demons, is regarded as holy.

796 The date of the new year varies, indeed in their topsy-turvy country they have two New Year days, one being the [172] Ladaki, the other the Tibetan, both of which are celebrated, 173 although for practical purposes the latter is used. The genesis of the Ladaki New Year is interesting. King Jamyang desired to wage war against the neighbouring kingdom of Purig, but was informed by the horologist that his venture would not be successful unless deferred till after New Year's day. Not wishing to wait, and no doubt thinking the stupid old sun would not notice, he decided that the New Year 796 should begin two months earlier. His anniversary usually 788 falls some [illegible] in December. It is chiefly marked by evening illumin[illegible] for every Buddhist house has a row of tiny lam[illegible] small wicks in little receptacles of oil, outlining either w[illegible]ow-sill, verandah, or roof, or all three, according to the state of the family exchequer, for kerosene is an expensive commodity by the time the former is carried up to Leh; and of mustard oil and that expressed from apricot kernels there [361] is very little. As most Tibetan villages are built in tiers up the hillside in order to leave the flatter terraces for cultivation, their rows of little lights give quite a fairyland effect. Dominating the whole in Leh is the fine old castle with its row of illuminations, while still higher are the twinkling lights round the crazy verandah of the "Tsemo" or small monastery, 796 perched on its high crags. The official New Year occurs later, and its chief feature is the celebration of *Dosmoche*, the great festival of the Scapegoat. This ceremony varies in different localities. In Leh a huge erection is made of sticks, tied together by twine, and looking like a vastly over-rigged mast. The component parts are prepared previously by the

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horologist, and, the day before, this strange ship of the wilderness is erected in the desert just outside Leh. 196

At about 3 p.m. we wend our way through the bazar, now crowded with folk in holiday mood and holiday attire, and take up our position in the small room built over the toll-gate giving admission to the capital, and underneath which, the procession will pass. The firing of a gun announces that it has left the castle and is descending the hill, and soon we descry it turning into the further end of the main street, near the large Mohammedan mosque. Slowly it approaches us to the droning of shawms, the blowing of trumpets, clanging of cymbals, and beating of drums, all of which go to make up ecclesiastical music. Let us watch them as they pass beneath us. Heading the procession come four lamas in their clerical red garments, and with their funny yellow, peaked hats. These are blowing their flageolets ; after an interval they are followed by two or three laymen, who have the supposed honour of being allowed to carry the *storma*, but one cannot help noticing that the *élite* do not trouble to obtain this distinction for themselves. *Storma* means a thing which is lost, and consists of effigies made in various sizes to represent men and demons. Again comes a group of lamas, dressed up in their fantastic devil-masks, and dancing as they move along. More laymen follow, bearing religious flags, and then there come four priests, blowing shawms so long that two small acolytes precede them, holding up the ends. Thus group after group passes through the gate till the celebrating abbot appears, to be followed by further priests and laymen carrying *storma*. Bringing up the rear are a number of [643] Buddhist horsemen, prominent among them the King. He wears for this ceremony a special hat, which is an imitation of King Langdarma's, from whom he claims descent and of whom he is said to be an incarnation. Langdarma belonged 193 to the old *Bon Chos*, and did his best to exterminate Buddhism in Tibet, positive proof of his demoniacal nature, of which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1924-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

173 the two horns which grew from his head were an outward and visible sign. It was to accommodate these he had to have this hat designed.

796 The procession has now passed through the bazar, and we follow it out to the desert. There the fires have been lit, illuminating the weird devil-dancing lamas as they gyrate and 796 jump round them. At a given moment all the *storma* are 783 thrown into the flames, and with their burning the sin and disease of the town are consumed. Soon after our first arrival in Leh, we witnessed these ceremonies, and, wishing in our ignorance to investigate the effigies, some were bought for a few *pice* (coppers) and brought to our houses. That year a serious epidemic of throat disease broke out in the country, carrying off old and young. What else could be expected when the scapegoats had been brought back into the town [789] instead of being thrown away? Now the erection of twigs is knocked over, and every man makes a mad rush to obtain even a small piece if he can, which is carried home in triumph and placed on one of the outer walls of the house, thus protecting its inmates from disease and death, or, if it is put into their store-room, much blessing will accrue to their grain.

A little later a similar ceremony is performed for the special benefit of the Maharajah. Holy books having been read for seven days, a scapegoat, consisting of an effigy the size of a man, is prepared. Placed in the region of its heart is a bottle of red fluid, and it is then set up in the wilderness. A company of sepoys in smart khaki uniforms marches out behind lamas dressed in fantastic clothes and devil-masks, the combination quite belying Kipling's statement that "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." They take careful aim, even lying down to do so, but in spite of many rounds being fired, the effigy is never hit, and eventually cruder methods have to be adopted for its destruction. This cannot be wondered at, for is not the effigy bewitched?

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The idea of the scapegoat is practised in some form or other everywhere in Lesser and Greater Tibet. In some places an actual goat is sent into the wilderness. In others even a man is chosen, who for a whole year has to leave his village and live elsewhere, at the end of which time some other is chosen to bear the sin of the village. It is a fair assumption that formerly this sinbearer was put to death.

Circumambulation, as every good Ladaki can demonstrate, is a splendid means of obtaining merit. Almost any religious object can be walked around. If there is no *thorten*, then walk round a temple containing some god. If you are getting old it is expedient to spend weary hours twirling your prayer-wheel, saying your *Om mani's*, and walking round and round a *mani* wall. Ten times round the great *chorten* at Jhangspa was the daily evensong of one picturesque, friendly old gentleman we used to meet with his prayer-wheel and rosary. If you can get one or two friends to come along too, it is certainly not quite so lonesome, even though they have to walk behind, for one can intersperse one's prayers with quite interesting snatches of conversation. The month in which this is most beneficial is the first of the year, and the greatest merit of all is obtained by going round the Tsemo, the monastery-crowned hill of Ladak, in whose chief temple resides a "Byamspa" god, so high that his head reaches into the second storey. This great *aKorches* (to round) is performed early in the year, by means of measuring your length the whole way along the route. Let us go into the desert to the south of Leh, where twenty to thirty young men are collected who have decided to perform this religious duty. They are drawn up in rows of twos or fours, about eight feet apart. Each man has tied round his waist a sheepskin apron, which hangs down over his knees. This both shields the knees from being cut, and good clothes from being torn. A low mumble begins, all saying the same phrase over and over again, which runs—"All living animals ask for Buddha's

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796 great emancipation." As the emphasis is always placed on
788 the beginning of the mantra, the prayer resembles a pulsating series of sounds. At the same time each man places his hands together in an attitude of prayer, and all simultaneously throw themselves on their knees, then on their chests, then reach out their arms as far as they can, make a mark in the sand or dust, jump up, place their feet on this mark, and then repeat the whole series of movements again; up and down, up and down, they go. After an hour or two they feel ready for refreshments. A nice spot is chosen where the devotees sit round in a circle, and to which lady friends bring tea, flour or *chang*, thereby themselves gaining merit also. The processionists have quite a merry session on these occasions, and will tell you with great virtue how much merit they are acquiring. In fact they are ready to break rank and have a little chat with the passer-by at the end of any series of movements. On resuming each man goes to the place where he left off, and again the prostrations are performed. If fortune smiles, the weather is good, but if not, their clothes are liable to get very dirty, for even a puddle of melted snow must not deflect the merit accumulator. From the desert the procession proceeds through the bazar and the town of Leh, then over a small pass behind the Tsemo, and coming down the other side, ends up in the desert at the spot from whence they started. The whole distance is about three miles, and it takes three days to be covered in this manner. The physical strain must be tremendous, and only the fit could possibly perform it. One might expect these young fellows to look jaded and depressed, but on the contrary they are all quite cheery.

There is, however, an easier method of obtaining merit for those not so strong. Stray old gentlemen, even a picturesque old lady, single or in twos and threes, sometimes an ancient husband and wife, we have seen traversing the same round as those who are prostrating themselves, but doing so at an

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ordinary walk, twirling their prayer-wheels and mumbling 796
their *Om mani's* as they go. Strange pathetic little humans 788
they are, set in a vast panorama of snow-covered mountains with giant peaks soaring up into the silences of the clear blue sky, and often in this frosty winter time tramping out their tiny track on a universal white mantle of snow. Then, too, above the temple which houses the "Byamspa" and on the same Tsemo, is another with three other deities. Round this is a most shockingly rickety verandah, which looks as if it might tumble down at the slightest provocation, and no doubt will do so some day. I myself have walked round this in fear and trembling, but now there is a column of men and women, one close on the heels of the other, and round and round the temple they walk, some turning prayer-wheels, and others saying the *Om mani.* Round and round they go until we feel giddy watching them. Even from below, right down in Leh, they can be seen circulating round their giddy parapet.

We now come to Spring, when everything is breaking out 796
into fresh life. At this season the lamas of Sankar remain in 792
their monastery for a whole month, during which special services are held. By this isolation they are deterred from taking life through stepping on insects as they pass along the roads. It is during this time that the service of making 796
"*Chos spun*" is performed, which actually means the "making 608
of the brethren of the religion." Those wishing to join this fraternity fast one whole day, during which they are not allowed to swallow even their own saliva. Then each man throws into a receptacle some personal belonging. The officiating priest takes these out in twos, thus making their owners spiritual brethren, after which ceremony, if one of them makes a feast, he must invite his brother, or if there is a festival, they must send one another presents.

A moveable ceremony is the celebration of the Buddhists' 796
High Mass. Its general likeness to our Christian service 174
makes one wonder whether Tibetan Buddhism did not get its

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ritual from Catholic missionaries, who formerly passed through Tibet or were working on the Chinese border of this now closed land. The rosary, the ecclesiastical vestments and mitred hats are also very suggestive of this. Their own explanation can be found in the following story. Raschung, the disciple of the great saint and singer, Milaraspa, was told by his master to fast for seven days, after which he was to go to the bazar where he would meet a Yogi of the name of Tipu, whom he would recognize by the fact that his face was blue, and his conjunctivæ red. He also would be wearing the skin of a striped antelope, and would be holding his trumpet up towards heaven and blowing it. Having found and identified him, Tipu prophesied to Raschung that he would die in fourteen days. When Raschung returned to Milaraspa with this sad news, his master informed him that he had sent him to Tipu as he was aware of this fact, but that if he fasted another week and then went to the goddess "*Ma chig grube rgyalmo*," she might be prevailed upon to prolong his life. Having followed out these instructions, the goddess inquired from him how much longer he wished to live. He answered "Until I myself feel I wish to die." She granted his request, handing to him the secret of the mystical rites of prolonging life. He lived just as long again, and then departed from this existence when he was eighty-eight years, and at the same age as his master, Milaraspa, died. It is said that these rites have been handed down since then by a regular episcopal succession, the names of those succeeding being actually given.

The auspicious day having been decided on by the *Onpo*, there is to be a celebration in the compound next to our house, so we will go to watch it. Along the length of the private dwelling, which was built recently with a view to religious ceremonies taking place there, runs a verandah raised about five feet above the court-yard in front. In the centre sits the *Skushog* on cushions behind a low ornamented table, on which

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is placed at his right hand the holy pot containing the peacock 796
feathers, in front of him the *Dorjhe* (thunderbolt) and 793
bell, and to his left a bowl containing rice. Behind him and
to the left is an altar, which is erected in the form of a pyramid
by means of steps, on each of which there are a great number [782]
of brass bowls containing offerings of butter, rice and water.
On the top is an image, most likely that of the tutelary deity
of the presiding *Skushog*. In the immediate vicinity of the
celebrating lama other priests are present to assist. Behind
these on either side sit the more prominent Buddhist laymen
of the town, all with heads reverently uncovered. In the
court-yard below the verandah, the poorer worshippers are
sitting on the ground, with the men generally in front. On
inquiry we are told that the celebrating priest has carefully
prepared himself for this ceremony. For twenty-four hours
he has sat alone in meditation, and, by means of the repetition
of many prayers has purified himself from all his sins. While
doing this he has the *Tsebum*, or "Vase of Life," in front of him.
He suddenly sees the *lha* (the god) enter it and says *Da drub
tsar*—" Now it is fulfilled." He then dons his ceremonial
hat and comes out to the congregation in order to distribute
life to those present. The service begins with the
reading of the holy books, by the *Skushog*, who holds in his
right hand the bell, which he rings at appropriate moments
and in his left the *Dorjhe*, which he turns, whilst the lamas
respond every now and again in a sing-song tone of voice,
blowing their shawms and clashing their cymbals. The
elements are now distributed. In front, walks the *Skushog*
with the "Vase of Life" in his hands. Passing along each
row, he touches each worshipper's head with it. Behind him
follows a priest with the " Wine of Life," of which he pours
a small quantity into the cupped hands of each communicant.
This is carried reverently to the forehead and to each eye in
turn and finally to the mouth to be drunk. The wine
is actually only made of water, coloured with saffron

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796 and sweetened with sugar. This distributed, the bread, or
793 " Balls of Life," are administered from a large dish. These are made of barley-flour, and not only does the participant receive one for himself, but he may obtain sufficient balls for those members of his family who were unable to attend. Now the *Skushog* ties a *srungdud* (Keeping knot), and gives one to each person present. He takes a small piece of rag, coloured red or green, makes it into a knot, breathing on it the while. This is then attached to the hat and preserves the the wearer from disease and death. Finally comes the collection, the worshippers filing past and presenting the *Skushog* with salutation ~~scarves~~, and money.

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CHAPTER XVIII

The Crises of Life

IN every country the crises of life—birth, marriage and death—are associated with ceremonies which are full of interesting customs. In busy England, where time is scarce, the wedding day is full of pleasant incidents, and even the funeral day is made impressive. Here, where time is plentiful, these two functions can be drawn out to last a week or more, but it is necessary to arrange that they shall not fall in those seasons when field work demands the energy of all those members of the household who can help. 000

Let us follow a Ladaki through life, watching him as his turn comes to be the leading personage in these important ceremonies.

Birth here, as in other countries, imposes a number of taboos, not only on the mother, but also on the father, the chief of these being that neither must go into cultivated fields for a whole month, though the main-roads are not forbidden them. Nor may the mother touch any of the utensils for cooking. Soon after the birth of a child, a near male relative comes to the house and into a pot filled with barley he implants an arrow, which brings much luck to the new arrival throughout life. As in ordinary illness the Ladaki thinks it is dangerous to let the patient fall asleep, so sometimes we meet poor mothers, who, fatigued after the strenuous duty of childbirth, are not allowed to recuperate themselves in slumber. As we write these lines, we have a patient who was made to get up the day after her first-born son had arrived, because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. 846 [513]

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because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, which means the "tying-on" of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

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At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except 852
a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically.

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite 584
unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have 591
arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The [421]
property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex.

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by 583
custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady.

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted
into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small 586
one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog."

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A BIRTHDAY ENTERTAINMENT.

Women dancing at an entertainment in Leh. The gesture indicates the plucking of a flower.

MEN DANCERS AT A WEDDING.

Resting between their performances. At the extreme left of the front row is the bridegroom, while the gentlemen in the upper row to the left with peculiar turnover hats are his uncles.

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585 The next day a deputation must go to the house from which the passive partner was stolen to say "*zhu*." They are accompanied by a rhetorician, and take with them some jars of beer, some bread, tea, butter and a salutation-scarf. If the parents are amenable to the transaction they accept the presents, and receive the deputation; but if they object to the alliance, the welcome of these representatives is all too warm—they are ejected with kicks and blows, while the parents and their supporters go to the temporary home of their child, try to wreck it, and recover the stolen one by force. Hence another proverb says: "The parents are their children's
583 judges." The causes which precipitate such a stolen marriage are (1) absolute inability to afford the orthodox nuptials; (2) temporary financial disability, as at any future time the arrangement may be ratified with full ceremonials; and (3) if the desired partner is betrothed to someone else, to secure him or her by theft; (4) if the *Onpo's* date does not satisfy the couple, they marry on their own day, and have the official rites on his.

585 Lastly there is the orthodox wedding with all its attendant
791 ceremonies. For this neither parents nor child must decide on their choice before they have consulted the *Onpo*. To this gentleman they tell the name and date of birth of the prospective mate, and can only proceed if he declares, after searching his books, that year and person are auspicious. Lamas, as a
585 rule, do not provide this information. The marriage may take place when the children are very young, but it is not consummated till after they are twelve, and, even at this tender age, little Ladaki girls sometimes become mothers.
584 Thus the Ladaki parents have to think about the future alliance when the child is still young; as their proverb says: "The difficulty of the father is to get a wife for his son."

Let us follow this father in his difficult path, supposing the child for whom he wishes to find a mate is a son. The first overtures are made by a third party, who must never go

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584 to the house of the bride-elect empty-handed, and the fateful
791 day on which he sets out must be decided by the *Onpo*. If the young lady's parents receive him favourably, more beer must be sent on several occasions, and a series of preliminary feasts, whose principal feature is beer drinking, is inaugurated. The first of these, called *holchan*, is only a small affair, but marks a definite betrothal. Subsequently more *chang* must be taken for the consumption of the relatives of the future bride, and at this feast or *nyenchang* (relation beer), it is decided what presents in kind and in cash these people must be given. The money present is said to be in payment of Nature's provision through the mother for the bride's first earthly nourishment! It may vary from Rs15 to Rs45, while the other presents include twenty-five to forty-five measures of *chang* (600–1,000 quarts), also tea, butter, *p'adings* (the local dried apricots), meat, rice, and salutation scarves.

The next feast is called the *trabschang* (conference beer), and its occasion is the assembly of all the relatives and friends some weeks before the wedding to decide upon and to distribute the responsibility of giving the various articles needed for the actual wedding-feast, such as the provision by the uncle of the bride of the *drangrgyas*, or cake, round which the dances will take place, and all the details of serving the courses
585 are arranged. The menu includes the following courses: (1) Tea; (2) a mixture of wholemeal flour, butter and dried curds, sugar, and tea; (3) *p'adings* and breads; (4) meat and a mixture of flour and water called *Boldra*; (5) beer; (6) *nanchang* or very strong beer, of which each partaker is obliged to drink one whole measure, which makes them thoroughly intoxicated; (7) *zilchang*, another kind of beer; (8) rice.

Nyobjhol is the procedure of fetching the bride (or bride-
292 groom). Those who carry this out are called *nyopas*, and their official costume consists of beautiful silk dresses, and high-crowned, gilt hats. Their number varies from five to

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585 eleven, and they set out early in the morning carrying beer. On their way to the bride's house, they may meet people with beer-pots, around the rims of which are many little pyramids of butter (*kal chor*), and reciprocal generosity supplies all parties with a further opportunity to indulge in "the cup that cheers." They will also find on their road about eighty pyramids of small stones set up, at each of which the leader must make a special speech, and, in the event of his forgetting one or more of these, he must pay some fine. He delivers them in answer to the questions put by a man who is a member of the bride's household. Quite near the house is a flag-staff bearing a flag of five colours, and above it the outline of a bird, while a stick has been hidden in the earth somewhere in front of the door. The leader of the *nyopas* has to find this by means of pacing. At the door they meet the relatives and friends bearing sticks, also the money and goods decided upon at the *nyenchang*. If all promises are paid up, the parties are admitted, but any defaulters are beaten with sticks. Throughout this procedure a boy and a girl (*spawo* and *spamo*) burn incense.

The *nyopas* now enter the house, and have three dances in the living-room, where they are provided with a menu similar to the foregoing one, after partaking of which they proceed outside, where a large crowd of onlookers will have collected, and dance round an erection of bread arranged round a central corpse of meat, flanked by two large pots of *chang*. The dancing includes that by the *spamo*, who dons [614] the bride's dresses, thus exhibiting the trousseau. In the evening the bread is shared out according to the contract made beforehand, the distributor being a member of the house of the bridegroom, whose badge of office is a silk cloth wrapped round his third finger. He is called a *paspun*, and performs this duty for all the members of his clan, who possess the same god and the same vows.

Now comes the time for giving the wedding-presents, and

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all go indoors and spend the time dancing until the fateful 585
hour foretold by the *Onpo* arrives, when the actual marriage takes place, and the bride appears. A scribe is present to write down everything which is taken away by the bride in case of a divorce. He, the friends, and the hairdressers will receive presents from the father or uncle. The hair of the bride (or bridegroom) has to be dressed that same evening, and she now puts on a white head-dress, the wearing of which is the actual wedding rite. Her dress is usually an ancient one, which goes from house to house. She comes into the living-room, and sits on a carpet on which the sign of *gyung-drung* (the Swastika) has been made in barley. Across the room a rope is stretched on which the father and mother place the clothes, while on the floor are the pots and pans which they are giving their daughter. The lamas now [793]
arrive to perform the *yangkuk* ceremonies (*yang* means blessing, *kuk* calling forth), so that the daughter may not take away with her the blessing of the house. The *nyopas* present each lama with a piece of cloth, which the latter place on their heads ; to the girl's parents they have to give a salutation-scarf, and to her relatives small pieces of white cloth. After this ceremony, the lamas leave, and now the parents of the bride also present her with salutation-scarves, which is a duty of each relative also. The bride then weeps copiously, and lauds all that has been done for her during her life. The [614]
leader of the *nyopas* now takes her into the small temple or private chapel of the house to say a last good-bye, for after this day she may never again enter this temple, having married into another *paspun* (clan). She is then taken on a pony to her new home by the *nyopas*, and this happens about midnight, for, if the bride be taken away by day, a fine has to be paid either to the King or to the neighbouring monastery. Before starting, the father and uncle of the bridegroom once more enter the house, and, again presenting salutation scarves and a small sum of money, thank the parents for the gift of the

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585 [789] bride. Before arriving at her future home, the bride and her escort are met by lamas who perform the service of *Gyagsrod*, that is, the driving away of any evil spirits which may have chosen to accompany the bride, and whose presence is not desired in her new abode. For this purpose the members of the future home have sent a new unused pot filled with dregs, which the lamas, after preliminary incantations, break, and with it throw away a *storma* or strewing oblation.

The lamas now enter the bridegroom's house, and the leader of the *nyopas* follows with the bride. Her new mother-in-law comes to meet her on the threshold of the living-room, bringing a plate on which is a present reposing on some barley, which latter serves to enhance the apparent size of the former. This plate is given to the bride's-maid, or *spamo*, but before receiving it, the bride must salute her new mother, [595] who reciprocates the greeting. The mother then leads her into the living-room, where, if she is only to marry one boy, she finds him sitting on a carpet, bearing the mystic sign and wearing the white head-dress; but if the brothers are also included, they all sit similarly side by side, while near them is an empty carpet for her, upon which is the sign "*nor bu gyas a kyil*," meaning "jewel."

When all, including the *nyopas*, are thus seated in a row, the bridegroom's mother rises and salutes the *nyopas* in turn, after which the bride and bridegroom are taken into the store-room and given refreshments, the leader of the *nyopas* accompanying them. Their plates having been filled, the leading *nyopa* removes their head-dresses, putting them on a plate. Then he says, "Which is quicker, bride or bridegroom?" at which challenge they compete with each other at snatching the food off their plates. In this little store-room the happy couple live for some days, and each of the near relatives brings them a small piece of the *drangyas* (cake) and presents. The *nyopas* spend the night dancing at the house, with only the shortest interval for sleep.

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The next day there is dancing again in front of a crowd 585
of spectators, and in the afternoon or evening of this day the bride also comes out to dance. If the bridegroom is only a *magpa* (that is, brought to the bride's house), he has to dance with the *nyopas* all day long. On this day the feasting proceeds according to the aforesaid menu, which is the same in both houses, and in the evening the *brangyas* are divided up and distributed, those in the bride's house being made of flour. Early in the morning of this day the bride and bridegroom have to go to salute the parents of the former, and the following night is again spent in dancing and feasting. Throughout, the *nyopas* and relatives take food and drink to the wedding pair, who also are invited to meals by the cook, brewer, and keeper of the store-room respectively, and whose hospitality they must return, while they must not omit to give food and a *jau* (As 3¼) per head to the *bedas* or bandsmen. This same evening the *nyopas* receive presents from the house, where dancing again takes place.

The following day is called the *nyendron* (relative feast) of the bridegroom. If the guests invited by the bride amount to one hundred, at the bridegroom's feast there will be one hundred and fifty visitors, such a proportion always being maintained.

The next day is called the *dronchung*, to which only the nearest relatives come, while a final day's feasting provides the servants with their turn, and so the festivities slowly wane.

By custom, nobody is permitted to marry the relatives of 582
either parents. Only on rare occasions very distant connections are married, for instance, if they are removed three or four generations. This close relationship is called *Rtsibma*, indicating that they are of one rib, whereas the ordinary word for relation signifies "of one race." In ancient times nobody was allowed to marry a personal relation unless removed by eight generations.

If the happiness of the couple inaugurated with such 586

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586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [538] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

586 614 If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 595 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

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of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792]
third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582]
pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764]
father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614]
heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593]
than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

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595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers.
473 The house and the land and all the children belong to the
478 eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre-
601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences,
764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms.
764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus
614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance
[791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

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The date of the funeral has arrived, and the brother of the 764
departed must carry his corpse from the temple into the [614]
street. If there is no brother, his wife, assisted by a *paspun*, does this duty. Here the body is placed into a kind of box, which any man may now carry on his back to the burning-ghats out in the desert. The procession is formed by relatives, friends and lamas. The body is placed into an oven made of mud-bricks, consisting merely of four walls with an opening at the bottom into which the firewood is placed. The corpse is consumed to the reading of holy books, clashing of cymbals, and blowing of the flageolet, while butter, rice, water and barley are thrown into the consuming fire to provide sustenance for the soul of the departed. The cortège then 768
returns home, where the dead man's effects are given to the priests to reward them for their services. In the case of a woman, however, her ornaments go to her eldest daughter, if she has one; if not, the lamas may auction them and retain the money. Next morning a relative goes to inspect 764
the ashes. If the footprints of a dog can be discerned in these, the deceased's soul will speedily be re-incarnated. Some of these ashes are then made into a small idol of Buddha or a tiny *Chorten* by mixing with clay, and these are placed inside some large *Chorten*. Should the dead man belong to some opulent family, his relatives, having ascertained what would be a propitious holy banner, will have one prepared and hung up in the family temple.

In Tibet proper the general method of disposing of the ooo
dead is to expose the body, which has first been dismembered, to the vultures, or throw it to the fishes, or bury it. Cremation is reserved for priests or those of high rank. Here, in Lesser 766
Tibet, however, most corpses are burnt. But even in their burial rites, these folk are the "wrong way round," for when cremation is most expedient, they bury. Has a man or woman died of infectious disease, his body is committed to the ground, to be disinterred and cremated about a year later.

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766 Two more exceptional methods of the disposal of the corpse remain. If a child dies, a brick is taken out of the living-room wall, its small body placed inside, and thus immured. A lama of high rank is said to be well salted first, and then placed inside a *Chorten*. This, however, has been vigorously denied.

763 To conclude this chapter perhaps we may recount the following amusing story of how the people of Kyelang tried unsuccessfully to cheat the King of Death. An old lady was near dissolution, and, wishing to save her from the dread potentate, her relatives made an effigy of her, taking scrupulous care that this should be her exact size, then dressed it up in her clothes. A proper mourning with much wailing was then instituted, after which the effigy was carried out to the desert for cremation with full ceremonies. A man was then told off to return to the village shouting, "This poor woman has now been dead nine days," for which service he was rewarded with a pair of grass shoes. But, alas! Death saw through the fraud, and took the dame as well.

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CHAPTER XIX

Rajahs & Royalties

ALTHOUGH the glory has departed from the present scion of a long line of rulers, yet we must speak of the King, who, although only an ex-ex-King, is still regarded by the true Ladaki as his sovereign lord, for as he walks along the road, his subjects bare their heads and bend low, whilst he touches them in blessing, for not only is he king, but priest also. 643

Let us, however, begin at the beginning and speak first of a dynasty of true Ladaki Kings, for although the present line has reigned for well-nigh a thousand years, yet even they are interlopers from the Central Tibetan Kingdom. In the monastery of Lamayuru, there is a record telling of how the upper part of the Indus valley was uninhabited desert, whilst in the lower dwelt the "Brogpas," who were continually fighting one another. At that time the site on which Lamayuru now stands was a lake, proof of which we still have to-day in the large lacustrine deposits to be found there. It was just before the time of the Buddhist reformer, Atisa, that the great King Khri dPon bHag rDar Skyabs ruled, his kingdom extending from the Zogi La to the Kardong, and his son enlarged this territory by adding villages in Kashmir and a part of Lahoul. This line of kings did much to civilize the country, and was the first to introduce Buddhism. It is regrettable that more is not known of these rulers. How their power waned and the Lha Chen dynasty from Central Tibet usurped their power has still to be elucidated. The 173

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173 first of these to rule in Lesser Tibet was Skyid Lde Nyima Gon, the great-grandson of the apostate King Langdarma. He took the reins of government about 950 A.D. The names of most of the kings of this dynasty include the word "Lha Chen," which means "great god," or "King of Heaven," and the Ladaki will explain how Langdarma counted among his forbears one who ruled in Central Tibet about 300 B.C., and was descended through King Kesar from that Supreme
173 Being. But who is this ancient King Kesar? Let us listen to one of the many wonderful stories extant of his mystical birth and heroic doings. The tale was narrated by Zodpel, our Moravian Mission Hospital Compounder, anaesthetist, dresser, and nurse, as follows.

Our great forefather sowed a tree, out of whose fruit grew worms which devoured each other till only one was left. It was transformed into a boy, who married eighteen girls, and these in turn became the respective mothers of eighteen heroes, around each of whom a wonderful story is woven. One of them aided the King of Heaven against the Demons, and in reward had his wish granted, namely that Dundrub, the son of the Celestial King, should be sent to rule this earth. Dundrub died in heaven, but descending as a hailstone, was swallowed on earth by a woman, and being re-born through her mouth returned to the earth-life as Kesar. Having attained maturity, Kesar left his country of Ling, and went to the "Horyul," the land of the north (now identified with Chinese Turkestan) to slay Akyung, the Demon King, whose widow he then married. She, wishing him to forget his home, and the wife he had left behind, drugged his food with a magic potion. During his absence the Turks came and conquered the country, killing his sons Buma and Labtsan, and taking captive a third son, Skelebuchung, with his mother Bruguma, Kesar's Queen. His castle they razed to the ground, the women, whose beauty equalled that of the fairies, were pulled about by their glorious tresses, whilst the heroes

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were chained by their necks. As fireplaces the Turks used golden hills, and their tents were pegged down with silver mountains. So terrible was the distress in the country that in desperation a council of all the families was called, over which the uncle of Kesar presided. After earnest deliberation they determined to send news of their distress to the King. A pair of cranes were caught, consecrated, and entrusted with the news of their trouble, but, although they flew to all the four continents of the world, they could not find him, for they had omitted to search a certain nose-shaped valley, and were sent off again, this time to be successful in their quest. In the meantime the spells of the Demon Queen had worked so perfectly that Kesar had forgotten home and wife, but one night he dreamed that he had seen a red wind blowing out of the sky, which had carried away his wife Bruguma and killed his sons, and that an army had taken his castle of Ling, destroyed his golden altars, were washing their utensils in his beautiful bowls, drying them with his own silken garments. Telling his dream to the She-Devil, she said that for every hundred dreams which come true, a thousand do not, and increased the strength of her potions of forgetfulness. But this availed her nothing, for one day Kesar heard the cranes, although she tried to drown their cry. Realizing they had a message for him, he invited them to descend and give him their news. This they did, and dropping an emetic into Kesar's mouth, he vomited the potion and found his dream had indeed come true. Arising, he went in search of his horse, and finding him, told him that he had to carry his master to Bruguma. His horse replied, reproaching him for having ever left her, the wife who had loved him, had patted him, fed him with barley, butter and sugar, had washed his sleek body with milk, and clothed him with silver trappings, and for having fallen a prey to the wiles of the Demon Queen, who had given him bad food, and so many heavy loads to carry that his back was covered with sores. This so angered Kesar that he

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773 slung a stone at him, but missed, for the horse had got behind a rock. The steed then said to his master, "Oh thou with the big head without brains, thou donkey without long ears, thou ox without horns, look at my sore back! How can I carry you? But quickly take the lancet placed by my good queen Bruguma in my left ear, and cut out my sores, then wash them with the lotion in my right ear, and I will get well immediately and bear you back to Ling." No sooner said than done, and they returned. Kesar re-conquered the country, liberated his Queen and her sons, and they lived happily ever after.

643 775 Thus runs the story, and to-day we have in Ladak two representatives of this hero King, for Kesar is re-incarnated in both father and son, Kings of Ladak. The question may be asked how the young King can be a re-incarnation of King Kesar during the lifetime of his father who is also a re-incarnation of the same? This is perfectly easy to explain, for Kesar appeared in many disguises, and they are incarnations of two of these. In like manner, the Queen Mother and the reigning Queen, both living, are each a re-incarnation of one goddess, the White Tara. In the case of the two Kings we have definite proof of this fact, for they have both of them a squint, although the son has only acquired his after years of 643 practice. It would seem strange in most countries for the son to be reigning while his father is still alive, but, in this back-to-front country, the heir-apparent, on reaching manhood, has for long been made co-ruler with his father. At the present time they have gone a step further, for the Father King has retired to a hermitage, where he tells his beads, says his *Ommanis*, and prepares himself for his next incarnation. The coronation of the present King took place soon after we arrived in Leh, and all the missionaries and their children were invited to be present at the ceremony. So on the morning of the coronation day we were requested to send up the chairs on which we were to sit. The Tibetan word for a chair, by the way, is *Khriushing*, which means a wooden

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throne, so that we also were enthroned, but not on a raised 643
platform. Although it was still winter, the afternoon sun was extraordinarily hot, as we toiled up the hill on which stands the castle, above the tiers of houses which form the chief part of Leh. This is a fine building, erected some 643
three hundred years ago. It consists of nine storeys, and is 344
built of stone and mudbricks. So high is it that the walls have had to be built with a slight slope inwards to keep them from bulging out. The roof is perfectly flat with a balustrade running all round. When the King or *Skushog* is in Leh, a band of lamas with shawms and trumpets stand at the edge of this to salute them, and make a charming picture outlined against the sky.

We entered under the porch, gaudily decorated with many colours. Above us, and on each side were gargoyles, which it was formerly possible to propel outwards and thus frighten the King's enemies. We walked along a dark passage, and up a flight of rude stone steps. This took us past the Royal Temple, in which are a few images, and a small library which could no doubt tell us a good deal about former kings who ruled here, but what we noticed most was a large heap of black leaves, inscribed with golden letters, which have been thrown on the floor in an untidy heap. They were placed there by the Dogra conquerors, and nobody has ever taken the trouble to sort them. Our way then ascended a rough wooden stair- 643
way, and, we eventually entered a large room. This was now filled with many people of high and low degree. In a corner a platform was raised about four feet above the people, and on it were enthroned the Incarnation of Hemis with the young King on his left. We were given seats in front, and had a plate of food placed before us. Hardly had the last member of our party been served, when a leading Ladaki came to us, thanked us in the politest and most elegant language he could command for the trouble we had taken in coming up to the castle on such a hot day, and hinted that we

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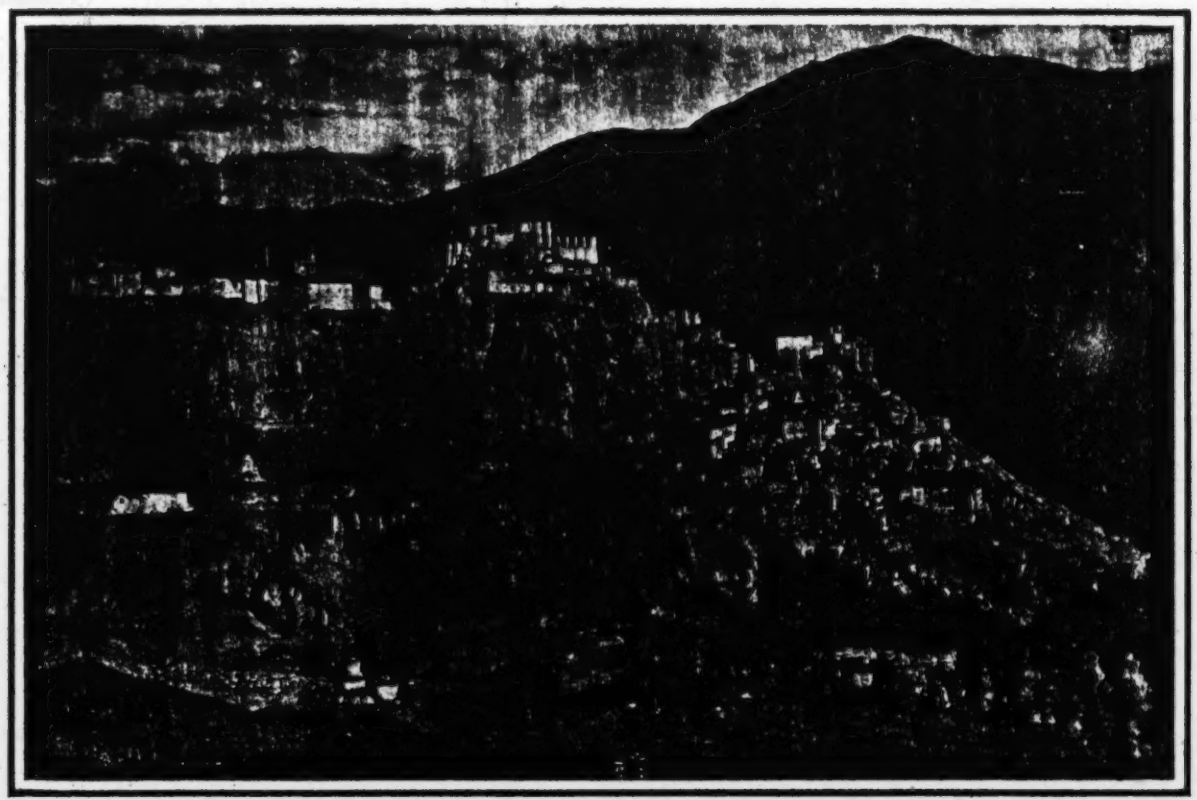

LAMAYURU.

"A fit capital for Hobgoblinland," shewing the monastery crowning the hill. Many chortens can be seen dotted about. The nuns' dwellings are below the hill in the foreground.

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643 might wish to be busy elsewhere. Understanding that they would prefer our room to our company, we again wended our way down the hill. During our short stay in the room of enthronement, no ceremonies whatever were performed, and no word was spoken. There sat the *Skushog* and the new King like two graven images. We asked them what they did to crown their King, and they replied that he was allowed to sit on a throne as high as that of the *Shushog*. But we could not help feeling that the haste with which they got rid of us indicated that we were not to see the real ritual, as the influence of our Occidental presences would not be auspicious, yet we appreciated the friendly spirit which did not wish to omit us entirely from their important celebrations.

643 574 The Royal ladies, too, have always given a welcome to visitors from Western lands, whether it be the missionary "Memsahibs," who live in Leh all the year round, or the summer travellers who may be taken to pay their respects to the reigning house at Stog.

When the family come to Leh for their winter visit, their presence being necessary at the great festivals of the New Year and *Dosmoche*, we usually go up to the castle to pay them a call. We first inquire if it would be convenient for us to come on a given afternoon, sending a present of a cabbage, turnip or some potatoes, all of which are real luxuries in this part of the world, and hardly-grown at all outside our own [352] and the Commissioner's compounds. The time having been fixed, we are led into the sitting-room of the two Queens, and take our seats near them on nice Tibetan rugs, well-padded underneath. The little princesses, aged about two and seven on the last occasion, were very interested in the foreign ladies and the baby especially was delighted at receiving a rubber doll with a squeak. Butter-tea, of course, was served, and a special brand of sweet shortbread made in the royal household provided. Once when we went down to Kashmir, the old Queen Mother kindly sent over a dozen of these, wrapped in a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 bit of Indian newspaper to help us on the road, while her
574 daughter-in-law sent a request for some mercury (called in Tibetan "silver water") for what purpose we could not gather, and also asked if we could refill for her a bottle of scented hair oil. Once the two Queens repaid our winter call, and came to visit us in the compound. In the morning they sent down to know if we would kindly provide a magic lantern show by way of an entertainment, for they knew the Mission possessed such an instrument, but in the Doctor's house we had other resources, for a Christmas tree had been made for the children, and we had this illuminated for our visitors. Removing all central furniture, we arranged little tables in front of small rugs and mats round the room, and, what with the ladies-in-waiting and attendant lamas, every place was filled, and our small room soon needed airing. On the tables we could only provide dry food, such as apricots, sugar, sweets, walnuts and sultanas, for they would not partake of anything we had cooked, and with our gramophone to entertain them, our guests seemed to enjoy their evening. We had to explain carefully of course, that the lighted Christmas tree was not an object of worship, but put up for the children's pleasure, while our Christian Hospital nurse briefly told our Christmas story as illustrated by little picture cards hung from the tree. But perhaps the greatest thrill of the evening was a tour of the sahib's house, where the bed-rooms and kitchen, and the baby sleeping quietly alone in the dark, caused the greatest interest.

643 The castle of Leh, however, is not the usual abode of their
644 Majesties, the King is in residence there only during the first Buddhist month of the year, and on other special occasions, and when the waters of the village where he resides in summer are all frozen, and must be melted before using. At other times he has his quarters in the castle of Stog, which lies a three hours' ride from Leh on the opposite side of the Indus.
643 When Zorowar conquered the great-grandfather of the present
651 young King, he banished him there, and since then Stog is

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643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, 788
eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the 792
stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. 643
Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his 788
chos, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief 631
ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor im- 643
portance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, [776]
whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* reincarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a [793]
Skushog, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor 662
old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

662 the enemy of his country. This poor "pretender" had got himself into trouble for wishing to rebuild the monastery on the hillock near his house, for this harmless action was construed into a desire to rebuild the fort and oppose Kashmir.

So we have many heads entitled to wear the crown in Lesser Tibet, but any uneasiness they may experience is generally due, not to the cares of sovereignity, but to the lack of that which is necessary for its due display.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 .V. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XX

Demons, Dances & Dinners

IN this country in which practically all the religious ritual is of the old demon worship origin, one would expect to find belief in the possession of man by demons. The Ladaki at any rate does not doubt the reality of such possession, and one is inclined to think that in spite of much fraud, there is a substratum of fact in it. Discussing this matter with a colleague one day, he affirmed that he had once had a woman patient who " really was possessed by a devil," and, in reply to the query as to how he had treated her, he said that a good dose of castor oil had cured her ! However, the reader shall judge for himself from the following experiences. 771

Some years ago we heard that in Marshro, a village situated a day's march from Leh, two brothers would become possessed by two very fierce demons, and my colleague and I decided to investigate the performance. Having arrived there, we were given a nice large room in the monastery, which proved somewhat too airy, as the time of year was mid-winter and one side of our apartment was completely open to the wintry air. However, by donning the rough native sheepskin coats, and ignoring their smell, we managed to make ourselves fairly comfortable, especially when we, with our servants, sat round a large pot of steaming Irish stew. As we enjoyed this warming and welcome dish, our table companions, waxing loquacious, told us of how these demons originally came from Central Tibet to reside in 787 776

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787 Ladak, and how they were now the fiercest in the whole
776 country. They said that these special demons always take possession once a year of two men belonging to two definite Marshro families. Sometimes they are the same two men for a number of successive years, at others they vary. The afflatus always occurs during the first Buddhist month. Should the chosen candidate be a new one, he has to prepare himself from three to four months before, but otherwise one is sufficient. When the time has arrived these two men, generally, if not always, lamas, repair to a mountain retreat. Here they sit in a box, which is so made that they can neither lie down, nor assume any attitude other than that of sitting absolutely upright, and they are only allowed out for a very short space of time in the morning, afternoon and evening. They do not divest themselves of their clothes the whole time, and so cramped do they become that a rope is fixed above their heads by which to pull themselves up. During this month they are supplied with food from the neighbouring monastery of Marshro. Their duties consist in the reading of holy books, and the innumerable repetitions of *Om manis*. The month completed, a crowd of people ride up to their retreat to escort these *Lhapas*, god-men as they are now called, back to the monastery. There can be no doubt of their possession now, for whilst the ponies of all their companions get very tired on this journey, those of the *Lhapas* are absolutely fresh throughout. Our informants then tell us of how the *Lhapas* will on the morrow cut themselves with swords without drawing blood, will run about on giddy heights without falling, and will foretell the future.

796 Next day we took our seats on the balcony overlooking the monastery courtyard with great expectations of a really thrilling show. There was a large crowd present, and soon an ordinary lama's dance was performed below us. These in their demon-masks were shortly joined by the *Lhapas*,

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who were naked to the waist, and, whilst dancing, each waved 796
about a sword which he carried in his right hand. At a given moment this weapon was brought across the other bare arm, but immediately it had arrived there, and before any harm could be done, several lamas rushed to them, pulled the swords away, and begged them not to harm themselves, a request in which they seemed only too pleased to acquiesce. This performance rather reminded one of the lamas of whom Waddell tells, who, when wearing the "sky-soaring" hat, have to be held down firmly to keep them from floating right out of sight. Our *Lhapas*, having tried to cut themselves several times, and being just as often restrained, eventually repaired with the other dancers into the temple. We sent a request that we might be allowed to come to examine them, which they granted. There we found two young men whose faces were rather pleasant, but in whose eyes there certainly was a strange, strained, wild look. They showed us their arms on which we descried a small straight scratch, but no blood! On closer examinaton we concluded that they had cut themselves some days before, had allowed this to scab over, then merely had to remove the scab and "they were able to cut themselves with swords, but without drawing blood"!

We now watched the second act. This begins with another devil dance, in the middle of which the two *Lhapas* rush to the top of the monastery running along the outer edge of the wall, with a distinctly nasty drop to one side of them, or jumping down from fairly high distances, an acrobatic feat which I personally would not like to perform, but one, on the other hand, which any good English gymnast with a little practice and a good head for dizzy heights, or a professional steeplejack, would find no difficulty in emulating.

Now came the grand final achievement—the act of pro- 787
phesying events to come during the ensuing year. We noticed 796
the *Lhapas* going from group to group, beginning with the royal family, and again we sent a polite message, asking them

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787 whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They
796 agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated
776 on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the
787 English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange
554 that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith
564 caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

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A similar rise in the social scale occurs with the Spiti 791
magicians, who visit Ladak every summer. These gentlemen 788
are of quite low caste in their own country, but here they are addressed in the language of respect, being known as the *Mani-pas* or "prayer-men." Wearing long red robes, they are, however, distinguished from lamas by the absence of caps, and by long hair plaited up in braids, close to their heads in front and hanging down to their waists behind, giving a curiously effeminate effect to their moustached faces. Their entertainments are closely bound up with religion, in fact their name, the *Mani-pa*, has been given to them on account of this and their constant attention to their hand *manis* or prayer-wheels. When about to give a show, they first arrange an 789
altar in the form of a couple of banners behind a table with 791
sacred lamps and vessels for barley and other offerings. In [782]
front of this they dance with swords, at first slowly, then with increasing excitement until the climax is reached by running forward, placing their feet on the ground, raising their bodies, and apparently balancing them on the points of their swords, which are placed in the armpits, abdomen, or even cheeks. This effect is really achieved by sufficiently straightening and stiffening the arms. They also pierce their cheeks, through an old scar, with swords and long needles. Their masterpiece of magic is the breaking of a large stone by one of them on the abdomen of the other. This, of course, is preceded by a lot of incantation and dancing round the latter, who lies on his back on the ground with the small boulder balanced carefully on his abdomen, and, at the right moment, this is made to fall apart into two halves by beating upon it with a big stone. For some days previously the actual boulder is sought for on the desert hillside around with considerable trouble and selected with great care, while the one on whom it is balanced has to hold his breath throughout the performance of the trick. They also beat the abdomen with swords, which process is also rendered harmless by the trick of inflation.

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789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[782] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal house-
535 hold. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

selected for either their youth or beauty. Other dances, such as the "pigeon" dance occur, in which both sexes join, though without touching each other as in the West, and the "shoulder" dance of women only, in which movement of the shoulder are prominent. In the *shondros*, also a woman's dance, the partners face each other, then wheel round till they come back to back, afterwards slowly reversing again till they face once more. At the end of the horse-racing in the New Year, a dance occurs in the middle of the bazar in which the women stand in a circle, and the men dance round them in pursuance of an old custom connected with royalty. A dance for both sexes, called the "peacock dance," has its song about that bird. Otherwise the Ladaki dancing differs from that of Tibet, which is said to be always accompanied by singing.

It has now become practically an annual event for the Wazir to have a display in honour of the British Joint Commissioner, at which other dances and plays are seen, and the stage properties of Leh obtain their yearly airing. To this *ltadmo* any Europeans who happen to be in Leh at the time are hospitably invited. The programme usually begins in the afternoon between two and three o'clock, when it is opened with some sort of prayer for His Imperial Majesty and H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The former may take the form of "God Save the King" sung by the Boys' School in English with their own peculiar accent. The boys of the State School then act a little play, more or less in costume, and always with a very powerfully pointed moral; and, of late, a demonstration of Boy Scouts of both State and Mission Schools has become a feature of the programme. This may be followed by a lama dance in devil-masks, and tea is usually served between four and five p.m. For this the *élite* withdraw from the covered balcony, from which they have been watching the performance, to tents or a simple pagoda in the Wazir's pleasant garden behind. The Europeans have one tent, the

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527 King and a *Skushog*, if present, and one or two Leh Buddhists
536 of high rank, another, Hindu and Mussulman officials have their separate resorts, and any other slightly less prominent townsmen or traders have their own places. The Europeans are provided with an English tea, for which, with good luck, the butter in the cakes is not too strong. After this refreshment they may adjourn to the adjoining polo ground to watch a match there.

The hours from six to eight are usually labelled "rest" on the programme, and we return from our homes to dine in the Wazir's house at eight. The number of Sahibs in Leh entertained thus lavishly, once reached seventeen, and the record number of courses at such a dinner was fifteen, but, on this occasion we were also celebrating the birth of a son to the Wazir, while the previous year, during the Great War, we had met to commemorate the British conquest of German West Africa. At one of these feasts our host was a Mussulman, who partook with us; so also a small son of his endeavoured to do, but there were many courses, and the day had already been so long and exciting, that the little fellow could not manage to keep awake. He would sit up for one or two courses, then, having fallen asleep, be removed to return after one or two more, and so food and sleep alternated with him throughout the meal. The elaborate menu of these meals is usually presided over by a Ladaki quite expert in Western cooking. After a short smoke we all return to the covered balcony, to find a large bonfire kindled on the open space in front of us, on which kerosene oil, so costly by the time it reaches Leh, is recklessly thrown at intervals, or when a special flare of illumination is required. The weird performances we are going to see are rendered far more effective by its flickering light, which also plays on the quaint brown faces of the spectators, packed closely together on the other three sides of the square, some sitting on the ground in front, others standing behind, women in blue turquoised *perags* and black

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earflaps, men and children in their turned-up caps, dotted about with Mussulmans in turbans, old and young all eager and expectant, for they love a *ltadmo*.

One of our annual friends opens the programme, a man on stilts concealed by long draperies, not very realistic, but a source of great delight to the child-like audience. He is followed by two large birds, with long necks (held up by an arm of the masquerader within) and vulture-like heads and beaks, the bodies covered with sheepskins. These extraordinary animals, programmed as "chicken," hop about, peck at each other, clean their feathers, and attend to their personal *shikar*, each action provoking a fresh outburst of amusement from the crowd.

Next comes a lion dance, in which two men are covered with a large skin, from which their human booted legs protrude as fore and hind legs in the most unabashed fashion. The face consists of a mask, and its attendants introduce it with antics of their own. The unwieldly lion makes grotesque leaps and bounds, and finally climbs up on to a table. The play was brought to Leh from Chinese Turkestan, where several tables are piled up high, and our nimble lion reaches the topmost. In Leh, however, a far more serious *dénouement* is achieved, for, with a series of rolls and contortions, a baby lion is born, to the unbounded delight of the audience, and suddenly appears on the table with its mother (the cub being a child also dressed in a skin). Waddell says that the play of this acrobatic lion was primarily derived from China, and has its origin in the "mythical lion of the Himalayan snows, which is believed to confer fortune on the country where it resides. One of these lions was enticed to China by a wizard, and the crops and cattle prospered as long as it lived, and when it died the Chinese stripped off its skin with which they conduct this dance."

Next comes a dragon dance, also originating from China, where the dragon is deified. It is supposed to follow after a

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177 man holding a ruby, which it wishes to devour. It is formed
527 by a masked leader, from whom long coloured strips of thin
536 cloth pass backwards over other men, who hold up lighted Chinese lanterns on sticks inside it, all their feet representing the dragon's legs. It certainly looks fantastic enough, with its illuminated sinuous snake-like outline darting to and fro in the darkness.

These plays are varied with dances, such as a torch dance, of Indian origin, in which a bare-footed man rushes about twirling a long torch lighted at each end, getting more and more furious as the burning ends approach his body, and the drums beat faster. Of sword dances there are two or three varieties; a slow quiet rhythmical one by a Balti with one sword only; one by a Pathan, lithe and rapid, with a sword in each hand; another slower one, when a Ladaki wields two swords, while in a fourth, two Pathan dancers, each with sword and shield, approach from opposite corners, and engage in mock fight.
174 This dance has come down from old Ladaki times, when our
536 peaceful Tibetans here more resembled their Pathan neighbours, and were probably more fierce and warlike in their mountain fastnesses.

527 Another amusing scene which is usually played on these
536 occasions is the representation of a Kashmiri pundit, who is a settlement officer, and goes round the countryside measuring fields and assessing taxes. He and his underlings are caricatured with floured faces, and good humoured fun made of their bribing methods.

But, perhaps the masterpiece and certainly the most amusing item of the show comes on towards the end, called "The Amban and the Boat." The Amban is a Chinese official on tour, who enters the scene of operations with his staff, and engages in his judicial duties. Then a messenger arrives and presents him with a red paper, informing him that his wife is coming to meet him. The lady is seen in the distance advancing towards her lord in a rickety boat over a rough

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sea. The boat is cleverly made with a framework of wood 527
and paper from which a cloth valance depends. In the middle 536
a small curtained canopy is erected, through which the lady's head can be dimly discerned, but her manly legs can be seen beneath as her impersonator works the boat, walking sideways here and there, and making the light craft rock and sway and gyrate violently as though in a heavy sea. An attendant guide or guardian and a boatman with an oar both accompany the lady, but outside the boat, so that the manipulations of the external oar add to the ludicrous effect produced, which in the bonfire light is grotesquely realistic and extraordinarily funny. As the boat approaches the Amban, the boatman makes a grave error in his nautical activities, and the boat with its precious occupant totters dizzily down to stillness. However it is not sunk to the depths of the ocean, for, after the Amban has manifested his anger and the boatman received a beating, the gay craft rises and once more rocks and sways, and, encountering boisterous seas, again vanishes into the distance, leaving the European element of the audience at least struggling between laughter and memories of *mal-de-mer*.

This little drama and that of the lion and dragon were 177
brought to Leh by traders and servants of sahibs who 536
travelled to Yarkand. "The Amban and the Boat" so impressed one of the latter when he saw it at Kashgar, that he introduced it into Leh for the first time as a fit entertainment for the wedding festivities of a friend, who, we hope, did not have to send for his bride across such perilous seas.

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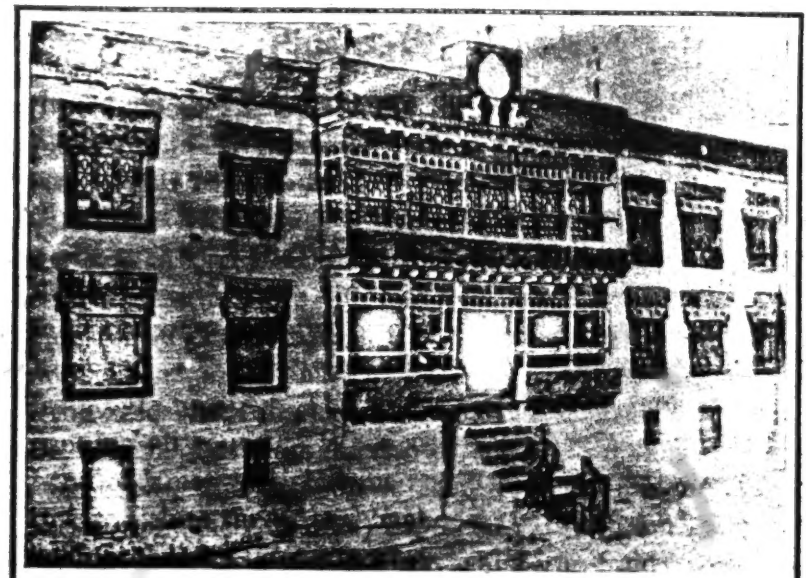

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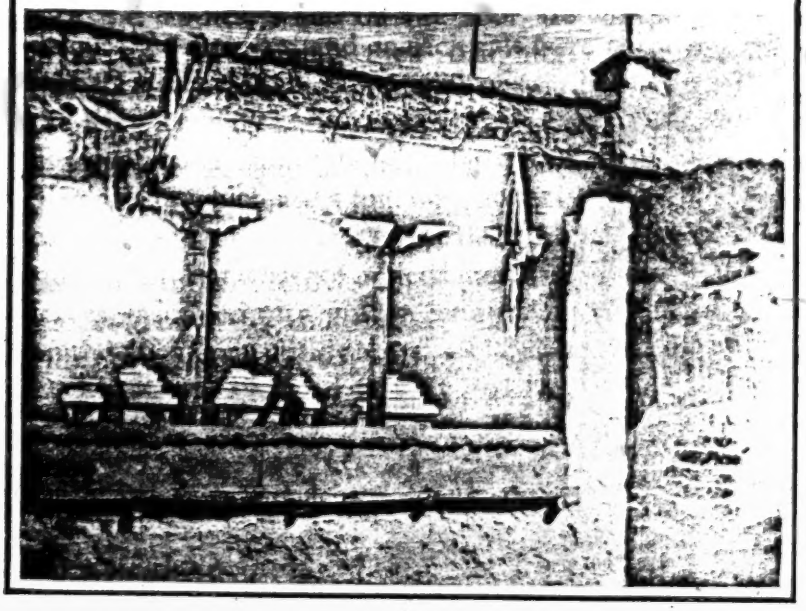

SANKAR DGONPA.

A small yellow-sect monastery close to Leh, shewing the main entrance.

A SHRINE.

The three *chortens* inside are usually coloured red, white and blue; and on the walls behind them various gods are depicted in bright colours.

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CHAPTER XXI

A Typical Monastery

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THIS is a country of monasteries, hardly a village is without one. In some it is imposing and situated on as high an eminence as can be found conveniently near the village. In others it is just a better class ordinary house with one or two lamas. Some monasteries belong to the Red sect, others to the Yellow. In some there is a resident Incarnation and others are only visited by one occasionally. It would be tedious to both reader and writer, to describe all these, so we will confine our attentions to one of the most pleasing and certainly one of the cleanest of monasteries which lies close to Leh, and may be reached by a twenty minutes' walk up through the fields behind the rest-house. A small village and a group of poplar trees, much above the average size, indicate the direction from afar, also the glint of the gilded wild goats represented just below the roof of the monastery can be descried from some distance. Having sent a message beforehand to the *sLob-dpon* (pronounced "Lobon") or head lama in charge, we meet for an early tea, and wend our way up along the stony paths by the side of the watercourse, skirting the corn-fields, so as to be able to use our cameras while the light is still good. This little monastery of Sankar is closely allied to the Yellow Cap one at Spitug, about five miles away, and is presided over by the same *Skushog* now incarnate in the small boy of whom we shall speak later.

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792 But during his minority the real presiding genius is Meme

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792 Lobzang, a delightful old gentleman with a benevolent face and a courteous manner, which are really quite charming. He is quite a good photographer, and this common hobby forms a natural link of friendship, including requests for the purchase of self-toning paper and other photographic requisites. He is expecting us, and stands in the side of the doorway with some of his lamas so that we may advance without fear of the monastery dogs, of which there are always some about, who generally announce the arrival of an intruder with considerable
346 and alarming vigour. The main doorway is lofty and deep,
792 with heavy wooden doors, but to-day it is closed, as inside
[351] carpenters are sitting under its shade sawing away for some builders, busy at a new balcony in a near corner of the building. The side door, a smaller one, is that generally in use, and admits to the corner of the large court-yard, in the middle of which are two walled enclosures round wild rose bushes, one a large yellow one, the other pink, with another bush whose pale yellow flowers, insignificant in themselves, have the
[188] strong scent of syringa, in bloom. In the centre there stands a high poplar wood pole, to the top of which is attached a black yak's tail, and running down its entire length a prayer-flag. To one side of the enclosure is a mounting block from which the *Skushog* can mount his steed.

Lying about the court-yard are a few dogs, but they seem quite peaceful and undisturbed by our advent. The main temple faces us as we enter, three storeys high, with the usual roof-edge of a layer of sticks about one foot broad, lying end-
[188] on, and painted with ochre. On this roof are erected at intervals long rough poles bearing prayer-flags, or yak's tails, or an umbrella-shaped structure consisting of long streamers of plaited yak's wool bound together by coarse strips of raw silk and surmounted by a trident. The windows, latticed-shaped but unglazed, are interlaced with wood, picked out in various colours, and, across the top of each, is a little valance, a frill of some coarse white cloth with a red

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346 striped border The other three sides of the court-yard are
792 filled in with the two storeyed private dwellings of the lamas. No pillared cloisters are these, but just an occasional flight of a few steps, then a door, and at the side a window at a level which may or may not be in relation with that of the other doors and windows, and over both apertures the same kind of valance. If the latter sags in the middle, there is no hurry to replace it, far less to wash it, but on the whole this *dGonpa*, presents quite a clean, brushed, cared-for, tidy appearance. Ascending the steps, we arrive in the large covered portico outside the main room or refectory of the
353 monastery. All round the three walls pictures are painted in
779 bright colours. On the left is the " Wheel of Life " held by
53v a dragon-like monster. This consists of an inner, a middle, and an outer circle the middle one being divided into six compartments. The inner circle represents by means of a dove, a serpent and a pig coloured respectively red, green and black the three vices, lust, ill-will and stupidity, which bind man to the wheel of existence. In the upper compartment of the middle circle are the gods, into this grows the tree whose fruit provides any food desired by the soul and whose roots lie in the world of the demi-gods, who continually wage war against the gods in order to obtain this fruit. In the upper left-hand compartment are men. The above three existences are superior, whilst below the equator are the inferior ones of beasts, then of *yidags*, poor miserable men with large bellies, but such small necks that their hunger can never be appeased through such constricted throats, and in the lowest section are the hells, both hot and cold. A cold hell seems rather a misnomer to English ears, but Ladakis, at any rate, know the terrors of extreme cold. Buddha himself is out of the circle, and yet his reflexes seem somehow to be still in the wheel of existence. In the outer circle are pictures illustrating various phases of life, such as birth, marriage, death, burial work.

Opposite the top of the steps, on each side of the door with

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its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the 353
compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these 779
figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right 532
wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering 346
the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, 352
lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an 792
inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be 264
seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a 352
collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside 792
down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the 352
Slobdpon is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the 792

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352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

792 Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again ~~by~~ the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

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often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain.

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands, each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate his many heads an attic projects up into an inner courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha, for permission to return and help him, he received this reply, "Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all, I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these heads represent four past races, and that actually there should be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating, but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate, it was "the light that failed." We pass into another room containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses of the "Wheel of Life," and with their
792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
352 the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

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and man, and he possesses 1000 heads. Thrown at his feet one notices many cowrie shells and Indian copper coins, the former brought by women to appease him. This image was only made a few years ago, and a special series of services were held to induce the god to enter the image. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting and dancing in the grove of large trees at the side of the monastery, while the actual ritual was performed on the roof, where Meme Lobzang (the *Skushog* being then a tiny baby) presided, assisted by a group of lamas, who helped him to pour the right libations and offerings from the many vessels and bowls before his throne into the large fire which leaped and crackled before him, accompanied by monotonous incantations and chants from a group of seated lamas, and, of course, the monastic band. To this roof we now duly ascended up another very steep ladder, where Meme Lobzang himself extended his hand to help the ladies with true Western gallantry. The view was magnificent, both behind towards the Kardong Pass and before down to Leh, whose trees blotted out the desert below, so that the cultivation and all its little square terraced fields might have extended to the foot of the mighty mountains on the further side of the Indus, all touched with the magic softness of the westering sun.

Retracing our steps down the steep staircases, through the dim passages and rooms, we emerged again into the portico, and viewed the lamas private dwellings ranged on the three sides in front of us as we descended the temple steps. In the left-hand corner was a peculiarly fantastic bit, so delightfully crazy it looked. A short flight of steps led up to two doors, each with an ancient padded curtain to keep out the draught, and a sagging valance above, whilst over one was a quaint little attic with a window of roughly-patterned lattice, its lines so fascinatingly crooked, and enhanced by a small awning, projecting from one side of the attic to shade the roof, on the edge of which was a series of rough window boxes,

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346 where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to
192 finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that grotesque little corner.

There was one more interesting little visit to be paid. Meme Lobzang actually consented to show us his own private compartments. There were eight of us, and the lamas had some whispered consultation as to whether we should all get in. Across the court-yard and up some steps to the right of the main entrance, under the valanced doorway, through a small vestibule in which we noticed a fascinating copper water pot, we entered a tiny room looking down towards Leh. We could just manage to sit down on the floor, the interested lamas peering in and
352 watching our every movement with amused curiosity. The
353 floor was covered with small mats over felt ones. The
192 *Slobdpon's* chief resting place and probably his bed, was rather more padded, and covered with an orange felt. He sat with his back to the small latticed window, a low tiny table in front, and at his side a higher one on which were sundry portraits, one of their Majesties, the King and Queen, one of the Dalai Lama, and one of the *Skushog* of Hemis in his festival dancing dress with high hat and overskirt of human bones, taken by the Doctor Sahib. A pickle bottle held a bunch of green from the shrub in the court-yard, and at the side was a low open bowl of rose petals. A small god like a doll, and a pot of charming design, the latter unfortunately dressed in lady-like petticoats, were also noticed, besides a printing frame, and another tiny god of doll's house size. Behind him on the windowsill sundry writing materials, religious books, and small ceremonial utensils lay about, a coloured portrait of the late King Edward hung on another wall; in fact every corner
574 of the room was used, yet the effect was clean and tidy. Stuffy it could not help being with so many visitors, and, after taking

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a dried apricot each (to dispose of later on by some other means than the mouth), from a plateful which he presented to us, we rose to go. On the way out he invited us to see his kitchen, another tiny, but tidy little apartment, with its cooking vessels clean and neatly arranged, and its low roof shiny with the polish of years of smoke. These rooms had not been tidied up for our reception, yet they completed the pleasant impression of order and cleanliness he had already given us, and it was with a real respect for the benevolent old gentleman that we bade him adieu, and passed down by the iris-bordered corn-fields in the soft evening light to our homes.

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CHAPTER XXII

Skushogs & Scandals

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AMONG the greater personages who periodically appear on the stage of public life in Leh are the *Skushogs* of the surrounding monasteries. The word Sku-shog, meaning literally "body-great," or translated freely, "your presence," is a title of honour used by Central Tibetans for any person of rank, including even the European occasionally, but in Western Tibet it is confined to clerical dignitaries, and, in practice, is only used to designate the head abbot of one or more monasteries. Such a man is regarded as having obtained sufficient holiness to reach Nirvana, but in his compassion for his fellows he voluntarily remains in the wheel of life, and comes back to help them by presiding over their *dGonpa*. Thus as soon as the head incarnation of a monastery dies, he is re-incarnated in a male baby born at the time of his death, this child then has to be discovered and brought to rule over his own lamasery when old enough. Here he is absolute monarch; he himself cannot do evil whatever sin he commits; he is a law-giver, but need not abide by the laws he lays down. The method of discovery and preparatory education of a *Skushog* may be best told by translating a short biography written in Tibetan by the *Skushog* of Hemis at our request.

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"My own home is not in Llasa itself, as my father was an assistant to the Yutog minister, whose house is connected with Lhasa by a bridge, covered by a roof set in turquoise-coloured baked bricks. My house-name is 'Yutog Shar.'

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The Yutog minister is the governor of twelve provinces and lives in the Kensdongrdzong. 792 159

"I was born when my father was in the employ of the Yutogpa. My birthday is in the fifteenth Rabjhung, in the year of the Sheep. According to the English calendar, this would be the year 1883 A.D. When I was eight 159 years old, that is in the end of the year of the Iron Tiger, 775 the steward of the Hemis monastery, whose name was 792 Ngagwang Chos Zang, and the Kashmir State sent to Llasa for me, where I was staying at Dechen Choskor, which means the Holy Wheel. That I was their *Skushog* was conclusively proved to the envoys, for when they asked the Yongdzin Incarnation to tell them where they could find their new incarnation, he told them my house-name, my father's name and the name of my birth-year quite distinctly and correctly, although it was impossible for him to have known anything about me. Having arrived at Lhaldang, they acquainted me with this prophecy. This 792 was in the ninth year of the Iron Rabbit. After doing 159 obeisance to the Dalai Lama with the *Lobchag* [this is the merchant who is sent from Ladak every two years by the Kashmir State to salute the Dalai Lama and to hand him a present of Rs.9,000]. I offered my first hair to the Yongdzin, who was my Arch-*Skushog* at Dechen Choskor, and was then decorated with the crown-name Ngag Wang Jhamspel Gelegs Rgyaltsan Lhundrup Chogslas Rnampar Rgyalwai Lde, after which I started on my journey; at Shigatse I went to meet Panchen Ertini (the Trashi Lama, who is next in rank to the Dalai Lama), and after this arrived safely and happily at my destination in Hemis. The next year my enthronement as the successor of former *Skushogs* took place, after which I returned to Lhasa, going on to Sangsngag where the Arch-*Skushog* lives, and where I met the head of the Red Sect Lamas, the Drugpa Rinpoche and the Yongdzin Rinpoche, and where I learnt the

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792 doctrinal truths, staying for some months. After this I
159 stayed in Gongkar Dechos until the Sheep year, and in the year of the Firemonkey I went to see the Galwa Rinpoche,
[554] that is the Dalai Lama. Having done obeisance to him, he conferred on me the rank of 'San-o-han-too,' which is a Mongolian word, and other honours which are only bestowed on men of high rank. [To show this rank he has an umbrella carried before him, and possesses his own flag.] I was also placed over other *Skushogs* and professors. I thus received such kindness and praise from the Dalai Lama. That year I returned to Ladak, and the next I passed my examination in doctrine. After this I went to the hermitage of Godtsang, where I lived as a hermit, meditated on the doctrines of Saskya Rnyingma and Drugpa, etc., and read the Kangyur and the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, and pondered their meaning. Here I remained for ten years, but in the Firemonkey year I came out of retirement, and from that time onwards I have been travelling about Upper and Lower Ladak and Kulu, visiting my congregations and giving money to a few lamas, and occasionally I stay in a hermitage."

792 Since he wrote this little history he has also made a grand
177 tour through India, Ceylon and Burmah to Lhasa, and has thus seen something of the impact of Western civilization, which interests him greatly. He has always been much attracted by small mechanical toys and Western devices, such as electric torches, clocks, watches, microscopes, etc., and is himself an expert photographer. Some visitors to Hemis were once amused to see on each side of the chief altar in his private apartment a pair of Odol bottles, their bent necks facing each other. When we first visited this room, they were replaced by Southwell jam jars containing artificial flowers. He is interested in Western medical science too, and gave a sum of money to the Doctor Sahib towards getting the operation theatre of the Moravian Mission Hospital in

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order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get 792
their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be 177
"the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, 792
and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty- [643]
three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill 792
suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting 361
which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, [795]
whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mountains, jutting out of a long range to the north of the valley. This is a Yellow-Cap monastery and therefore gives a cleaner impression than most of the red ones. Its present re-incarnation was the hero of a strange series of events during the time we lived in Leh.

It must have been in 1914 that we first made his acquaintance. We heard that the Trigtse *dGonpa* had been without a *Skushog* for years, but at last a deputation of lamas had visited Tibet, and declared that they must bring their *Skushog* back to take up his rule. The boy, who was then about nineteen, refused to come, and his father strongly advised the lamas not to take him, declaring they would only rue it. He was a head-strong youth with no ecclesiastical leanings at all, and had already, we were told, fought on the side of China against his own country. The lamas insisted however, and he was brought to Ladak and installed at Trigtse. He seems to have been anxious to make the acquaintance of the white man, and, thinking he must do in Rome as Rome does, he sent an envoy from Trigtse to Leh to seek out the correct clothing for his first call on the Sahibs. This man, having searched the bazar in vain, called at the Hospital and asked the Doctor Sahib where he could buy a solar topee. Now the doctor and his bride, when they first came to India, had been advised by ill-informed friends to be sure to purchase these topees at Trieste, their port of sail from Europe. Here, therefore, they invested in what proved to be most inappropriate policemen-like helmets, and a kindly sister in India at once saw to it that the Memsahib's was replaced by a more suitable one. Bringing the ugly old helmet to Leh, in case the better one broke, she little thought how august a wearer it would find, for the Doctor Sahib with sudden inspiration sent the man over to his house, where his wife unearthed the discarded topee for the servant to take to his master. She added a pair of speckled socks of her husband's of which she disapproved, an armful of picture papers, and

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some vegetables from the garden, and the man went off in high glee at the success of his expedition. 792 159

The next morning we were asked whether the *Skushog* of Trigtse might call upon us. We hastily arranged for an interpreter, for our Superintendent was away, and we were all new to the country; moreover, our guest's language of Central Tibet was quite a different dialect from that of Ladak. He duly arrived, dressed in his official robes and attended by two or three lamas, and was invited into the drawing-room. But he lingered in the hall, and to the Doctor's surprise began to undress. This process continued to such an alarming extent that he was led into the study. Two other ladies had just called to go out with the Memsahib, and great was the surprise of all three when the drawing-room door opened, and the *Skushog* entered. He wore the helmet-like topee, a Chinese type of frock-coat with paired pin-tucks across the back, brown trousers, a pair of bright yellowish socks, and some Chinese-looking attempts at European shoes. Invited to a chair, and the interpreter called, he entered into friendly talk. He announced among other things that he would like to become a Christian, but we did not take this seriously, and pointed out that he could not do that and retain his wealth and power as a *Skushog*. He then intimated that he would like to stay the night, a rather awkward proposition with our limited accommodation, but we said we could give him the verandah. His lamas whispered anxiously together and let him know it was time to go. Meanwhile they had boiled some tea for him on a little fire outside our kitchen in his own pots, as he must not take food of our cooking. After this the Doctor offered him a cigarette, not knowing in his ignorance of the country that it was against the rules. The *Skushog* made violent signs to him to withdraw into the study again, where, away from the eyes of the lamas, he enjoyed his smoke thoroughly. The latter were at last able to get him to go, and withdrew him on to the verandah where he changed

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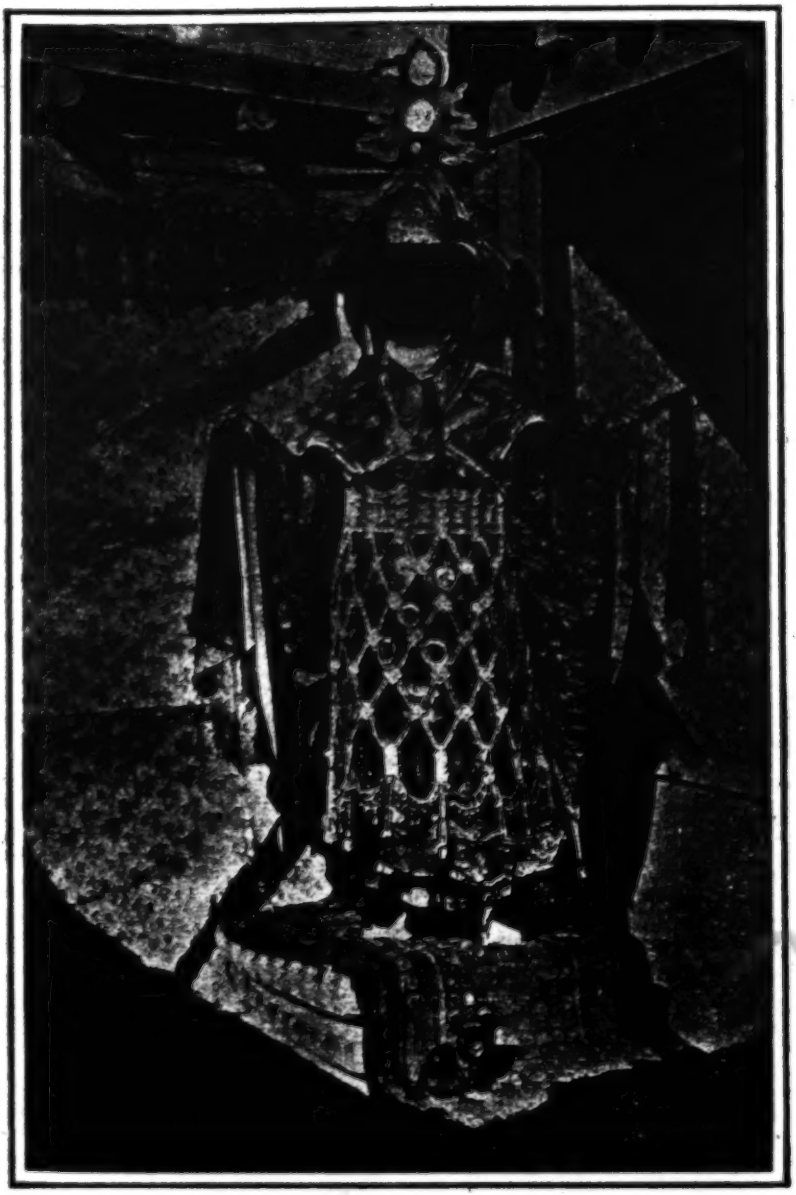

THE SKUSHOG (ABBOT) OF HEMIS DGONPA

In the robes in which he led off the first dance at the Festival of 1916. The overskirt is made of human bones, and in his right hand he holds a dagger. The cloth across his mouth is to keep out the dust raised by the dancing.

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back into his priestly vestures, which, needless to say, suited him far better. Before he finally retired to change into them, he straightened himself and squared his shoulders, in order to show us that he also possessed a waistcoat ; but, alas ! between the bottom of that garment and the top of his trousers was a hiatus in which his holy brown body was disclosed. Short of stature, with a strong convergent squint, and scarred by small-pox, indisputable signs of his being the true re-incarnation of his predecessors, for he was sure that he himself had never had small-pox since this re-birth, the foreign clothes hardly showed him off to advantage. The next occasion on which he visited us he retained his *Skushog's* garb and had a photograph taken of himself and his suite, the incongruous element being that his most intimate servant was not a lama, but a Mussulman with short hair and a Tibetan cap with four fur-lined flaps.

After his first call, we took the opportunity of a day's holiday to ride over to Trigtse and visit him. We found him encamped in a *bagh* below and about a mile away from the monastery, in a gorgeous tent with nice camp furniture. We ourselves had brought a picnic lunch, at which he elected to join us. The Memsahib was much amused to find that for her first attempt at meat patties, she had put sugar into the pastry instead of salt, but the *Skushog* seemed to find this quite to his taste, and enjoyed them immensely. Afterwards we all repaired to the monastery, riding our ponies up the steep ascent, and he showed us over it, including all his own private apartments.

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But things soon began to go wrong and all sorts of rumours reached Leh. The *Skushog* declared in public that he did not believe in his own office or his religion. When the common people knelt as he rode past, instead of placing his hand on their heads in benediction, he boxed their ears. He had no reverence for the holy property of the monastery, but sold many of its treasures to any good bidder ; he also had the

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idols out in a row to use as targets for a shooting practice. His colleague at Hemis sent him a letter, and this he returned with a donkey drawn across the bottom as his pertinent and only reply.

One day matters came to a crisis : his lamas gave him a severe beating and shut him up in solitary confinement. Yet by every token he was their *Skushog*, and one of them seems to have relented and released him. The two came to Leh, where the *Skushog* first went to the State Hospital to have his external wounds attended to by the Indian Sub-Assistant Surgeon, but his internal treatment he could only trust to the English doctor, so for that he came to the Mission Hospital, where he also received a lesson on Western professional etiquette. The monasterial difficulties resulted in a court case, following which certain of his lamas were sent to prison in Leh, which hardly bettered the relations between them and their spiritual head.

It was not now practicable for him to return to Trigtse, and the question arose as to what was to be done with him, for still he was their *Skushog* and entitled to the financial benefits of his office. The matter came up before the British Joint Commissioner, the Wazir or State Joint Commissioner, and eventually was taken to H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The result of it all was that in 1916 he went down to India, and for two or three years vanished into oblivion. Early in 1920 he again appeared in Ladak with one lama servant, giving stange accounts of his experiences in India. He said that he had served as a common sepoy in Baluchistan, alleged that in some capacity he had been as far as Basra, that he had acted as bearer to an English officer with alcoholic tendencies, and also that he had been connected with a Colonel Sahib in the neighbourhood of Madras, who had treated him as his own son, and of whom he always spoke with sincere and friendly gratitude. He still maintained his utter disbelief in the religion of his fathers. The people

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792 called him "the Mad Skushog," but, said he, "I am not mad,
159 I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenance
771 and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one else could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirely
[797] repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed him to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and the Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted that the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity, and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moravian missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficult situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipated life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruction, telling him that study and probation were necessary first. He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, who found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, to whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds were perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our minds can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could not believe.

[626] At about this time, living as he was with his one lama servant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist homes alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. After taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill, and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionaries and begged them to take him into their compound, where he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he was given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look up the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting on his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still sus-
[557] pected that the desire to join the Christian religion was secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found that he had hoped to get a political post under the British Government, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Without it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetans would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them up

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in yak's skins and casting them out in the desert to be shrivelled 792
to death. A Bishop was coming to visit the Mission, and the 159
British Joint Commissioner would soon be coming up for the 771
summer months, so he waited with us for both, though meanwhile he went away for two or three weeks to fetch some of his property from Zankskar. He took his lama servant with him, and, before starting, secured what he considered was an outfit of European clothes. When remonstrated with, he replied that he had thought over the matter carefully, and wished to show that he had made a clean cut with the old life. On his way down we heard that he stuck to his pro- [797]
fession of Christianity, asked a blessing before his meals, read his New Testament aloud, and, when the usual offerings were brought to him by ardent Buddhists,—for still he was a *Skushog*,—only took them under protest, saying that he himself had no blessing to give. Arrived at Zankskar he obtained his pony and goods, but his lama deserted him, in fact he seemed to have had a rough time, and he came back alone. Strange it was to think of this high-born ecclesiastical dignitary travelling in the Orient with no servant, though doubtless credulous Buddhists were still eager to obtain merit by providing for his wants at each stage. A short waiting time remained, during which he often came to meals with us, rode and talked with us, proving an entertaining companion and a gentlemanly guest. He also continued his instruction and attended church services regularly, sitting on the floor with the other members, and entering into the responses and hymns with apparent sincerity and enjoyment.

Finally, through the British Joint Commissioner, he was given a post in the Secret Service at Gyangtse, just across the Tibetan border on the Darjeeling side, and left Leh with letters of reference and recommendation, vowing that in two years he would come back to complete his instruction in the Christian faith.

So this strange youth vanished from our midst. We

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learned afterwards that with the Maharajah's sanction, he obtained Rs500 from the Trigtse *dGonpa* to help him to get home, though the lamas would commit themselves to no statement as to whether they still regarded him as their *Skushog* or not, but at the monastery itself they always refer to him as the "Mad Skushog" still, and can appoint no successor during his lifetime. The last news we were able to obtain was from a lama, returning from Lhasa and visiting relations near Leh, who said that he was still alive, and that he and his father had saved their skins owing to the latter's wise forethought at the time the deputation first fetched his son from Tibet Knowing the lad's extraordinary character, he had taken the precaution to draw up a document, stating that the Trigste lamas insisted on taking the boy away, both against his own will and the son's. This paper eventually saved their lives, but the father was subsequently dismissed from his high post in the government and relegated to a lower one, while the son seems to live in a place of internment somewhere in the Closed Land, though not in Lhasa itself, provided with a house and fields, but segregated with other renegades, where, as the Trigtse lamas put it, he has not now the power to do so much mischief.

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Coming down the valley we meet our next Incarnation at Spitug, another lamasery picturesquely perched on a hill. When we first came to Leh, he was personified by an old man bearing the pontifical name of Bacola whose reputation did not savour of holiness. His other, and smaller, monastery at Sankar, just behind Leh, often received visits from him, so that he was not infrequently met on the six miles of road between. He died in 1917, but it was not for two or three [775] years that we heard that he had been re-incarnated in the second son of the *rGyalpo* (King) of Marshro, a petty Rajahship some fourteen miles away. Through his mother, who, like the old Bacola, came from Zankskar, his present physical body is a great-nephew to his former one. When this small

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person reached the age of five, he was brought from his home and with elaborate ceremonies inducted into office, the rites being performed at Sankar. From this time he remained in the care of the lamas, Meme Lobzang, our old friend at Sankar, being his lay tutor, while his spiritual instruction was undertaken by the Sras *Skushog* of Ridzong, of whom more anon, and with whom he sometimes went away for long periods. The present Bacola is a charming little person, with a big head and large wondering childish eyes, in fact, it is quite pathetic to see him sitting on his little throne in his own private apartment at Spitug, with the insignia of his office replacing childhood's playthings on the table before him, and to hear his lamas instructing him as to what to say and do in their most polite and deferential language. Once one of these satellites arrived in Leh, and earnestly asked one of the Memsahibs for a cabbage. "But," said she, "it is late in the winter and all our cabbages are done. We have not enough for ourselves." But the lama pleaded and pleaded,—even a little tiny one would do,—for the Baby *Skushog* was crying and would not be comforted unless they procured a cabbage for him. So the Memsahib searched among the few old vegetables left, until she found a little one that would satisfy his baby desire.

The *Skushog* of Peyang does not often visit Leh, and we have rarely seen him, but he is reputed to be one of the most erudite scholars of his own religion. He is of the red variety and holds sway over the Lamayura *dGonpa* also.

Finally, a few words must be said about the incumbent of Ridzong lamasery, a few miles behind the hills of Saspola, who also rules a monastery in Nubra, so has constantly to cross the Kardong Pass. This gentleman, with his refined scholarly face, is perhaps the most spiritually-minded and learned of all the neighbouring abbots. A member of the reformed yellow sect for whom celibacy is decreed, he has yet dared to take and acknowledge a wife, instead of indulging

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 in the usual profligacy, which still must be legitimate for one
588 who is a law-giver, and who can do no sin. This lady, who is addressed by the honorific title of *Bûm*, often accompanies him on his visits to Leh; she is very resplendent with magnificent *perag* and jewels, but quite friendly, and when she visited us was most interested in our children and their toys and dolls, especially one of the latter with eyelashes!
775 The *Skushog* is generally known as the "Sras" or Son *Skushog*,
792 for he is one of a pair of incarnations, the "Yab," or Father *Skushog*, being the priest-king, we have already met on our tour to Zankskar. In the present re-birth the son happens to be older than the father, but that is a mere detail in this system of re-incarnation, where the physical body is of such minor importance.

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CHAPTER XXIII

Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

A DESCRIPTION of life in Ladak could not be complete without an account of one of the great annual festivals held in the monasteries in the valley, such as the *Gustor* (the offering on the ninth) at Trigtse and at Spitug, or the *Ghanggoni Thsedrup* (the fulfilment of life on the blue hill) at Peang, all of which take place in the winter, whilst the *Thseshu* is held at Hemis in the summer. The last is the most important, its chief feature being the presentation of the famous so-called "mystery play." The festival, as its name indicates, is held on the tenth day of the fifth Buddhist month, which is the birthday of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, and still the presiding genius of the red sect. According to records in Sikkim, he was a magician who came north in the seventh century, and convinced the lamas of Tibet that he was sent as an incarnation of the Buddha. But into the pure Buddhism, he introduces the old *Bon Chos* with its devil-worship, and encouraged the most sensual practices, also the eating of meat and drinking of wine, asserting that over-indulgence in all these passions would lead to a state of high trance. Strangely enough, when we were waiting in the ante-room on a visit to the *Skushog*, this sentiment was exactly borne out by a Ladaki, who was participating in the native beer and already in rather an expansive mood. To our remark that it was not right to get drunk and lose control of mind and body, he replied that it was good, for the soul then became happy and blessed.

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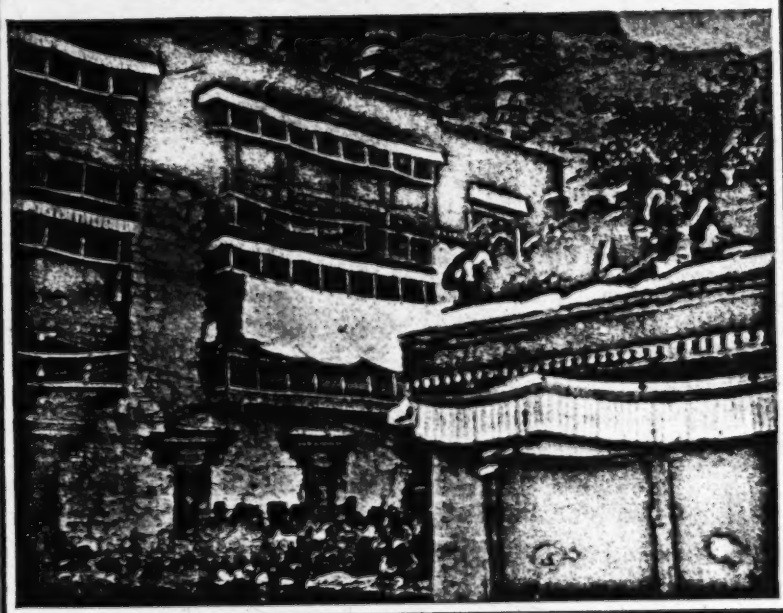

THE HEMIS FESTIVAL.

The dance of deities at the Hemis festival, showing the chief god descending the steps under his canopy, while those who precede him in the procession have already begun to dance.

THE "MYSTERY PLAY."

Spectators watching the "Mystery Play" at Hemis. The balcony with the curtain across it conceals the purdah lady guests of the monastery, such as the Hindu and Mahommedan wives of the down country officials at Leh.

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796 The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any time between the beginning of June and the middle of July. 361 The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to 79v get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod, towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to [178] the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the [244] approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten* with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base, until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees, pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English 574 countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious, spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

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are personally invited by him. At the lower end of the wood he has lately built a guest-house on the plan of the bungalows inhabited by the missionaries in Leh. On the side furthest from the road, directly opposite the monastery, the wood ends abruptly on the bare hillside of rock and stone. Climbing to a good vantage point on this, a delightful spot can be found to listen to the monastic evensong, and watch the shadows steal over the vast expanse of the river and valley spread out below.

Though the spur of hills cuts off the main Indus valley to the left, beyond it rises tier after tier of great bare lonely mountain tops, overwhelming in their immense majesty. Behind even these giants, the clouds lift to disclose still greater heights of everlasting snow. Truly one has now the impression of having arrived on "the roof of the world." In the valleys below, the lights and shades chase across hill and plain, and, as the moon comes up in the cloud-flecked sky behind and pursues her slow path through the white wind driven masses, the strangest wraith-like forms seem to rise and pass below. At first they appear to be white clouds tucked down between the lesser hills, but, as they move to and fro, it becomes evident that it is merely the effect of the moonlight between the passing clouds thrown on to the sandy spaces. Then across the stillness of that great expanse, hitherto only broken by the stream coursing down between the trees some way below and the breezes rustling their leaves, comes the strangest music, slowly rising in pitch and increasing in tone till the hills take hold of it, and roll its reverberations on among themselves, achieving an effect weird and fascinating beyond description. Turning in the direction of the sound, one sees to the left, in the darkness only, the faint outlines of the monastery building with dim lights shining in its windows, while other tiny ones twinkle fitfully in the quaint habitations merging into the hillside, whose queer ridged stratification is faintly perceptible, but one knows that on the roof of the

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533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
797 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
[291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

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side valleys, the latter at once detected by a slight difference in dress or dialect. Here came a group of Indian officials from Leh, in front the white turban and coat of the Tehsildar or chief magistrate on an alert little pony with one or two attendants, behind at a little distance his daughter in her closed dandy, then his wife in hers, and their carrying coolies singing as usual ; sometimes the wail of the baby was heard from within the curtain. Leh traders, who put up little temporary shops under canvas along the main street (a series of steps and platforms at the side of the monastery) a detachment of Gurkhas from the company stationed at Leh, two Ladaki girls riding on one pony with a male relation at the side, all these, and many more types we can study at leisure during the long intervals of the performance, which would be unutterably boring apart from the picturesque and varied audience, to whom we are as much a part of the show as they are to us. One more little group, passed as we neared the monastery, deserves mention. Placed on a sort of chair, railed on the four sides and fixed to his saddle, sits a wee baby *Skushog*, the Incarnation of the *dGonpa* at Stagna, about ten miles away. He wears the correct red *Skushog* robes, and processional riding-hat, and wobbles a bit with fatigue after his long ride. We stop to greet him and his attendant lamas, and find he is only six years old, in fact he looks less.

They draw aside to let us pass, and, as we look back to bid him adieu, the rich red of the lamas, the yellow-brown of his pony, with its small offspring sidling up to the mother adding a further baby element to the group, form such a picture against the green trees, *chorten* gate and distant mountainous background, that it makes us wish our camera was not packed up and ahead in our bedding. This tiny abbot re-appeared several times during the ensuing ceremonies, now on the roof, now in a balcony, now in a prominent corner just outside the main door of the *dGonpa*, always with his devoted lama nurse in attendance, and delighting us by his

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797 baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the
796 tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu" to her.

796 Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first
536 endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs, which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the
[565] monastery. These are four storeys high, the upper ones having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and
[643] only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable, but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view, while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

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that, in spite of every shade of that colour, scarlet, maroon, 796
crimson, puce, claret, magenta, prune, in every stage of new- 536
ness and fadedness being present, the total effect of what would ordinarily seem so clashing was a really artistic blend of colour, to which the eye constantly reverted.

To the right of the steps and at the level of the big doors, a platform projected from the main building, which accommodated a large number of spectators, and on the right-hand side of the courtyard were more steps and low roofs packed with onlookers. Another platform covered a roof which was [788]
entirely occupied by a gigantic prayer-wheel, so huge and heavy that two or three people must press against it with all their strength to start it revolving; but then what a mighty weight of prayer went round with each turn. Under the Westerners' balcony was the ecclesiastical band, the instruments being four pairs of cymbals and a dozen drums of the warming-pan shape with queer hooked beaters. Next to the musicians came the *Skushog's* throne, a raised platform with richly-cushioned seat and back, also long trappings, its high arch terminating the balcony above, while in front was placed a finely painted Tibetan table, flanked by vases of flowers. On the other side, level with the court-yard, were the remainder of the band, the two long shawms and the two flageolets or trumpets. In front of all the musicians were small tables which accommodated the holy books from which they chanted.

On the fourth and left side of the court-yard there was no [788]
wall, but a slight projection accommodated a large prayer-wheel about four feet high and three feet in diameter, which was constantly being set in motion during the waiting times. Beyond this was an open space prolonging the old quadrangle into another court-yard in front of the newer monastic buildings.

Between these two court-yards rough barriers, such as the trunk of a poplar or a piece of carved wood moulding from

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796 some destroyed roofing, were placed to complete the square
536 of the dancing theatre. The audience squatting on the ground were pushed back behind these as each scene opened.

[788] In the middle of the main court-yard, some distance apart from each other, and supported by round whitewashed mud platforms were two flagstaffs, capped by yaks' tails ; they were almost as high as the monastery, and from their sides floated out many long prayer-flags. The scene was completed on the first morning, after we had been sent for and had taken our seats, by the setting-up of a large banner, which was let down from the roof above the main door and steps, on which was portrayed a young man with the Buddha type of face. This we learnt represented " Padma Karpo " his real name being " Dugpa Rinpoche." The next morning he was replaced by a more elderly gentleman, called " Galsas Rinpoche," the tutelary god of Hemis. Once in twelve years a still more important deity is displayed, and rites and ceremonies are performed in his honour, while the common people prostrate themselves before him. Above these banners each day a large awning with a yellow silk valance was protruded, whether to shade them from the sun subjectively, or objectively as regards the colour of the cloth, it is hard to say.

796 But before the drama opens, we must devote a few words to our fellow spectators who will provide us with so much interest and amusement in the long intervals between the scenes. During one of the most tedious of these, when we could hear the drums throbbing for some ceremony within the monastery, a Ladaki informant alleged that the monks had been receiving and eating the offerings of food brought by the common people from near and far. Judging by the size of the congregation this must needs have been a proponled ritual and a sustining meal.

796 During the acting they crowded on to every available space,
184 roofs, balconies, galleries, steps, platforms, and blocked up all the egresses on the ground floor. Here and there were

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proud possessors of umbrellas, which went up for sun or showers. Many districts and dialects were represented. 796 184

Here were two *Jomos* or nuns from Zankskar, to whom we talked later on when gathered round their camp-fire with their fellow countrymen, young girls of about seventeen and nineteen, sisters, with course manly faces and necks under their tonsured heads and yellow caps. They had come a month's journey over many a difficult pass, but were as cheery as could be. Conspicious were some conjurers from Spitti, who come to Ladak every year, and whose display we had often witnessed in Leh. With uncovered heads, their long hair done in a large number of narrow plaits gave a strangely effeminate touch to their tall, well set-up bodies. Dotted about were ladies from the district of Hanle, some two to three weeks' journey further up the Indus valley, easily distinguished by their peculiar *perags*, which, instead of coming to a blunt point in front, were cut sharply off above the forehead by a straight bar of silver. Many of the women from Nubra and the less known valleys of Ladak wore picturesque dresses of narrow material sewn together in strips with circular patterns stamped on at intervals, giving a striped effect, so pleasing that one wished it had not been put out of fashion by the town ladies of Leh. One old Tibetan with a dark face, looking as if he might belong to the Hanuman tribe, sat devoutly under an umbrella the whole time, and, whenever we looked across, he was turning his two prayer-wheels, which he held one in each hand. Such devotion had no doubt prevented him from attending to his wild unkempt hair for many a long day. There were also many ladies wearing nothing on their heads to cover their untidy plaited hair: these were nomads from the Changtang, the great northern plains far away. Now a small person takes up a central position and serenely breaks open apricot stones to extract the kernels, using a stone to crack them on the base of the flagstaff. A gentleman with a yellow silk brocade dressing-gown and

796 184 291 [791]

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796 tremendous red hat is seen making his way purposefully
184 through the crowd, and one wonders what, whence, whither?
791 Then comes into view a curious figure with a tremendous prayer-wheel, a strange hat with a central peak, and a high scolloped turned-up brim, a conspicuous rosary, and two small
[791] drums on his back: a sort of gipsy lama, or shall we label him a mendicant magician in this land where priest-craft and devil-worship, ecclesiastical ritual and sorcery, are so closely mingled.

There we spy a typical Tibetan face, framed by a four-flapped dark orange cap; and now a pretty Ladaki girl, in a very Dutchy hat with turned-up corners and a little bit of gold embroidery, detaches herself from the crowd and makes signs to a friend on the roof above us, a delightful touch of colour being added by a yellow rose fastened in the side of her hat. Occasionally we spot a woman from Central Tibet with her round head-dress a strip of red-covered leather shaped into a ring, studded with turquoise and coral, and wearing the quaint striped apron which she and her sisters effect. In the corner, under the shelter of an overhanging roof, we find a little family comfortably ensconced, their baggage sacks having been arranged as pillows for a witchlike old lady who leans wearily back on them. Here and there stand out extra highly coloured hats on our own Ladaki neighbours, even the gentlemen having had their head-gear re-covered for such a festival. The flat Mongolian faces and quaint wee garments, generally raggedly elflike, of the babies, are particularly fascinating, especially one tiny man belonging to the front row in the quadrangle floor, who runs out into the arena every now and again to guilelessly practice the movements he has just witnessed, causing real joy to the crowd. One larger boy, caught trespassing by a monk with a whip, is seized and given a mock beating, which amuses him as much as the onlookers. Here are some Dard ladies from Hanu, far down the Indus valley, with their bag-like caps fastened down on one side and adorned with a row of needles (probably made in Birmingham).

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So from time to time one interesting type after another 796
appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the 184
picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the 291
lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next 792
to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he [554]
cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims 796
melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the 000

178 As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the river to make the return journey to Leh on the other side, we passed a large *chorten* surrounded by small trees, on which was painted a hideous three-eyed monster, the patron saint of Hemis, and then caught up with one more fascinating little group of pilgrims. This trio were returning up the Indus valley to the wilds, two women and a man in the dress of nomads. On their backs were strange casks like old beer barrels with the outlet well pegged. Looking in over the top we found they were lidless and contained all their cooking pots, while the remainder of their travelling requisites, probably all their worldly goods, were packed on the back of the donkey, whose foal trotted at her side.

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CHAPTER XXIV

Hemis Mystery Play—First Day

WITH this *mise-en-scène*, we must now try to convey some impression of the actual mystery play as performed at Hemis, and witnessed by us on two occasions at an interval of nine years. On the former of these the first dance was led off by the *Skushog* himself. His robes were very much like those of the other participants, but more ornate with many jewels, and he was distinguished by an overdress depending from the waist nearly to the bottom of his skirts, made of human bones connected into an interlacing pattern of real beauty. His mouth was covered with a thin white cloth, and an old lama with bare head and wispy grey locks, like a benign old wizard, went round at his side, and constantly wiped the perspiration from his face. This particular year was one of more elaborate ceremony, which only occurs every twelve years, including, as already mentioned, the display and worship of a particularly holy banner.

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But at the performance we saw nine years later, the *Skushog* only occupied his throne in the court-yard for the first dance, and then retreated to his private apartments, from the balcony of which he watched the play. His entrance was an imposing ceremony attended by two ordinary lamas, and two wearing extraordinary hats with large, scolloped, turned-up edges culminating in a peak in front. Over him was held a large umbrella with gay skirts, and he was led, amid blare of trumpets and clash of cymbals, to take his seat on the throne

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facing the main building, where his attendants prostrated themselves, and then retreated.

Two heralds then appeared on the roof in picturesque costumes : young lama boys with bare legs, short garments of the prevailing red, and yellow hats with turned-up brims. Their typical heraldic conches, from which depended banners decorated with dragons, now produced a very mournful sound, the great shawms of the band blew loudly their Wagnerian-like dragon music, and two masked figures appeared and ran down the steps. These were bare-legged, with short skirts of a pattern resembling an old chintz, hats with a low central peak and a round rolled brim to which a square piece of cheap red stuff was attached behind. Their right arms were sleeveless, and they carried the ordinary horsewhips of the country, a thong of leather on a short stick. These gentlemen combined the functions of police and jester throughout the ensuing ceremonies. They kept the crowds back, whipping even the ladies soundly, but harmlessly, with strong whacks on their sheepskin capes, and providing endless buffoonery to while away the tedium of the long intervals. Onlookers who passed to and fro across the open space were seen off with absurd gestures, or their gait grossly imitated as they unconsciously walked ahead. Small children were abstracted and nursed as babies, *pice* (the Indian farthing) were begged for with ludicrous entreaties, and all sorts of by-play indulged in to the huge delight of the audience. The favourite joke, which never palled, was to snatch off the hat of a casual passer-by, search it for undesirable inhabitants, pounce upon one in triumph, then throw away the cap in disgust. After they had executed a short dance, they at once began their policing operations by driving the crowds back with their whips, and entertaining them through an interlude of monotonous chanting by the musicians.

Then at last the real business began, the motive under-

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lying the whole thing apparently being the propitiation of evil deities and demon kings, and the exorcism of bad spirits in order to secure safety and good fortune during the coming year, and, additionally, to exploit ancient stories and superstitions in order to increase the merit and glorification of the lamas themselves, thus enhancing their sacerdotal powers. The common people also must become familiarized with the demons which will beset their spirits after leaving the body at death.

With a fanfare from the band, thirteen dancers were ushered on to the scenes, possibly the number having some relation to the thirteen ages represented by the thirteen red rings on the superstructure of the *chortens*. They were preceded by two ordinary lamas, and two with braziers of incense and with heraldic hats and gowns, who subsequently retreated. The dancers themselves wore enormous hats, with wide round brims having rounded edges, and a tall structure about one-and-a-half foot high rising from the crown, with a picture of a skull on it. From the backs of these hats a number of brightly coloured broad ribbons streamed down to well below the waist, smaller ones being attached to the front. Over their mouths were thin white cloths which the *Skushog* informed us were to keep out the dust raised by the dancing, a desirable custom which only obtained at Hemis. In each hand was a stick to which more streamers were attached. Their robes were of rich Chinese silk and brocade embroidered in most beautiful combinations of colour. Over their shoulders fell rich capes with deep, wide scollops, and in front they wore aprons, both of the same beautifully-patterned material, differing in each individual case. The skull in the hat, and another one represented at the waist in front were constant reminders that this life is an illusion in which mortality reigns, just as at our own ancient feasts a skeleton was brought in to remind the guests of the passing nature of this existence.

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Stretching out right and left arms alternately, advancing and retiring to and from each other and the centre of the circle, they slowly made their way round the court-yard in the direction of the hands of a clock. The dance was slow and stately, accompanied by the beat of drums and monotonous chanting, occasionally punctuated by cymbals. A curious effect contrasting with this measured solemnity was frequently produced by the cymbals making two or three loud crashes succeeded by a series combining *diminuendo* and *accelerando*, exactly imitated by the dancers raising their heels in time to the music and, as it were, settling down on to them. Each dancer was given a few pieces of sacred herb by a lama, and as they slowly neared the steps, two monks, one standing each side at the top, with heraldic hats and trumpets, blew a note at which sign the two leaders made their exit up the steps between the onlooking lamas. This was repeated for each pair of dancers as they neared the stairs, and was the signal for retirement in successive pairs throughout the play. The whole impression of this dance was introductory ; by incantation and movement to prepare the "astral light" for the mystery play, and by invocation to bring blessing on the performers.

At its close one of the police-jesters ran round the court-yard with a censer of burning embers for further purification, and a continued incantation was maintained by the musicians to sustain the "aura" produced, and keep away bad spirits.

Now, with much crashing and noise from the band, a troop of sixteen dancers emerged, each carrying a tambourine and bell. Their hats were of plaited straw with a flat sign on the top shaped like the eye of a peacock's feather, and five of these patterns were arranged round the front of the head-dress. Their faces were partly hidden by a sort of visor of brass, with expansions representing the nose and moustache, and large spaces for eyes and mouth. These danced in a similar way to their predecessors, droning, ringing bells, and rattling little

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drums, the latter shaped like a double tambourine, each with a bob on the end of a long string, which knocked the successive sides of the drums when rattled sufficiently. These performers receded in pairs in the usual manner, and all we could make of their dance was a further preparation by sound vibrations to frighten away evil influences. These noises are more potent if the metal which causes the vibrations is holy.

After a prolonged interlude, the band rises and stands outside the shelter of the gallery to greet a long procession of maskers, which slowly files down the steps. Meanwhile some rich strips of carpets have been placed on benches to the right of the court-yard, and another long strip on the ground to the left. First comes an ordinary lama carrying a flag, next one with a brass pot, its brim drawn out into a long spout and set with jewels, then a pair of lamas swinging censers, others carrying shawms with queer expanded ends, some with shorter trumpets, and then a series of masked figures, which come on so quickly and amidst such clatter and noise that it is impossible to distinguish forms and sounds until they have arranged themselves. Most prominent of all is a high umbrella-like canopy of red and yellow which is carried by a Chinese-looking individual with short black coat and long Chinese gown, wearing a hat of several embroidered sections, such as Tibetans use upside down under their head-gears for an eyeshade when travelling. He and another attendant hold the umbrella over a tall form clad in rich embroidered silk, the face hidden behind a huge mask portraying a benign countenance with converging eyes. Accompanying this being are seven other deities and two devil-masked persons. Of the other figures in the procession sixteen are dressed alike, unmasked, but with peculiar hats made of a triple crown of decreasing size, the topmost surmounted by a round knob. As all the figures proceed, acolytes swinging censers pass in and out between them, and

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THE INAUGURAL DANCE OF THE HEMIS FESTIVAL.

On the left is the balcony from which the Europeans watch the performance; next to it is the *Shashog's* throne.

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they gradually become distinguishable, the benign-faced gentleman under the umbrella taking his seat in the centre of the carpetted benches, with three of the deities on each side and a demon king sitting at each end. These two latter seemed to be guardians of the gods, who partake sufficiently of the nature of the demons from which these deities must be protected to be able to repulse them ; in other words, " Set a thief to catch a thief." They represent, according to Waddell, those deities of the old devil-worship religion, who, when Buddhism absorbed the latter, were forced to become *fidei defensores* of the new religion. Each of these demon kings has a third eye in his forehead, indicating that he can see on inner occult planes, the third eye showing that all things are known to him in all directions. The sixteen unmasked performers in turn move over to the carpet on the ground to our left, and sit there facing the deities, so that now we can sort out the minor personages. Attached to each row of sitters is a guardian with a cloth folded like a fan in his hand and wearing an ugly pink mask with a dropped gaping jaw which he can move up and down by means of his own chin. He walks along the front of his allotted row of figures fanning away evil influences, and every now and then has to divert his attention to ward off two apparently harmless imps wearing ugly masks, clad in yellow, each with a scarf and stick in his hands, and representing mischievous powers which try to intrude on the gathering. There also rushes in with shrill whistling, produced by placing the fingers in the mouth, four bare-legged short-skirted figures with three-cornered flags in their hats, whose capes are too scant to reach their bare waists. They seem to be high winds bringing messages from the four quarters, and each carries a *dorjhe* and tambourine-rattle. They do not seem to disturb the assembly for the guardian's fan is unperturbed, but the police-jesters have amusing encounters with them. We can now see also the other figures behind the seven seated deities, where

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the Chinese-looking and other attendant still hold the umbrella, and sundry acolytes or lama boys stand at one end of the row; one, a young novice, holds a small dough model of the organ of generation on a plate, whilst next to him another boy exhibits a large shell, and behind them stands a terribly dissipated-looking individual, masked with repulsive swollen cheeks.

There now enter four boys with warming-pan drums and hooked beaters, wearing hats of the inverted eyeshade type, like the Chinaman's, but with a large *Om* inscribed in the centre. These approach the deities, dancing, whilst the two imps of mischief try to get into the foreground, too. The boys range themselves in front, stop beating their drums and chant an incantation to which the Central Incarnation occasionally nods in assent, whilst the jesters and imps play about in the background of this solemn scene. These four boys having retired, the lesser deities rise in turn to execute a "pas seul," during which we can examine them more closely. In the centre we note that the chief personage, with the large passive face, holds in his right hand the *dorjhe* or thunderbolt, a symbol of great power, and a small bowl of corn—the first food given to man—in his left. He does not dance, but, beginning with the one on his right, the others rise alternately from each side of him. All are dressed in richest silk of most fascinating colours and embroidered with Chinese designs of dragons and skulls. Occasionally the jester goes round the scene with a censer, and the band of course continues to accompany the dancers.

The first of these has a mask with a blue face, a hat of three balls decreasing in size, one on top of the other, and carries a *dorjhe* and bell in his hands. At the close of his dance, the figure on the left of the chief god steps out—a deity with an insignificant small Buddha-like mask under a hat like a large stiffened lama's cap—who has to be fanned as he rises, and whose empty right hand placed against his chest is very

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tremulous as he executes his steps, whether voluntarily or not, is not evident, though it ceases when he resumes his seat. From the right side of the first dancer rises a figure with a grey hat, resembling a *chorten*, bearing a wreath round it, surmounting a flesh coloured face, and, depending by long threads from his ears representations of the eye of a peacock's feather. He carries a tambourine in one hand and a bowl in the other, probably made of part of a human skull. His dance is more spreading and cumbrous than that of the others. Next comes into the arena the god next but one to the left of the head deity, one with a red face, carrying a shield and tambourine-rattle adorned with many of the peacock-feather symbols. Another red face follows from the other end of the row with the same ornament and several small skulls on his head-dress. In his left hand he carries herbs and a disc ; in his right is a spear with streamers attached to the handle. The final lesser deity arises from the left end of the row, displaying an orange face and a blue head with tiny knobs all over it, crowned by a chignon of the same, the traditional head of the Mongolian Buddha.

Depending from the back of this head is a square of beautifully embroidered silk, from which one's glance falls to the hands to see them covered with dark yellow gloves, too long in the fingers and full of holes ! How one would like to be initiated into the meaning of all this strange symbolism which seems so incongruous to Western eyes. Waddell suggests that the chief deity is Padma Sambhava, the remainder being his other seven forms, but that sometimes he is said to be the Buddha himself, the group being that of the seven Buddhas. Or does it symbolize the seven principles of human nature, seven being the sum of four and three, and the basic number of the present period according to Buddhist philosophy. Hence, for instance, the seven notes of the musical scale, and the seven colours of the rainbow have their significance. (*See* Chapter XVI.)

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But the two demon kings have yet to take their parts. 796
First the one on the right of the presiding deity rises for his 536
dance, and, suddenly, with blare of trumpets, two more devils appear, also with the third eye, and wearing handsome dresses combining light saxe-blue and red in their magnificent colour scheme. Similarly when the turn of the other demon king, with his black woolly head, begins, another pair emerges to dance with him, also gowned exquisitely. This suggests the sudden increase of dancers at the witches' sabbath in Western mediæval magic. Finally, the sixteen unmasked figures arise from their carpets and approach the deities, and then with slow stately steps all proceed round the court-yard, and retire up the stairs into the porch. Thus after about two hours ended the first morning's performance, and we retired for lunch.

The first event of the afternoon was essentially a devil-dance, in which twelve masqueraders appeared either singly or in couples, each advent signalized by the picturesquely-hatted lama in the porch blowing his trumpet. The first couple were bestial with repulsive snouts, third eyes, and wearing aprons with skulls on them. Executing a few turns, they settled down to rest in time with the cymbals in the manner already described. Next to them came a black mask under a black wooden hat with a triangular flag projecting from the middle, the wearer carrying a big hammer with a *dorjhe* attached. Number four had horns and a black animal visage, while his neighbour's head-dress had a broad foundation with small skulls rimming the front, and piled all over it long coils representing a mixture of intestines and snakes, an end of one of the latter appearing over the front, showing its head, symbolic of desire and decay. The next-comer wore a hat with a chaplet of skulls round a woolly crown, and carried a sabre and a piece of wood like a knife-cleaning board. Three flags protruding from a turret-like structure decked the next head, then came another mask with five skulls over

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the top, while the next element represented must have been a good one, for the figure wore a beatific though inane-looking white-faced mask. This bright spot among the other black-faced, repulsive monsters, however, was more than set off by the next comer, whose black mask had a most appalling gape, while the rear was brought up by two monkeys with dropped jaws and bulging upper eyelids. Save for the last fur-covered representatives of the Hanuman tribe, these hideous beings all of whom had the third eye, wore most exquisite gowns and aprons of Chinese silk. Their purport was not revealed to us, for, after a dance of the usual type and a low chant, they retreated, as usual in twos at a signal from the trumpeters in the porch.

The next act of this extraordinary drama was preceded by the placing of two small carpets on the ground near the left-hand flagstaff. One was square with a broad red border having in its centre a smaller square of tigerskin. The other was of dark blue, with an inner line of light blue demarcating a central white triangle, on which lay a mysterious object covered with a bit of thin dark blue veiling. The square with its four sides, the number of which indicates this earthly plane, and the triangle, which, by its three sides stands for the higher elements, thus represented the whole universe of earth and heaven. Two unmasked lamas brought out beer in a brass chalice, in shape rather like a Western coffee-pot, with rounded lines and a pattern chased in the middle of both sides ; also a small plate of barley and a cup. A third lama in an expansive yellow silk robe stood on the square facing the triangle, holding a bell and a *dorjhe* with streamers attached. The cup is given into his right hand, and to the sound of solemn chanting some beer is poured into it from the chalice. With more incantations he throws this away in the direction of the flagstaff. Into the cup, apparently reversed, some rice is then placed by the other lama, and that is also thrown away to the accompaniment of low chanting.

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Next beer and barley are both placed in the cup, the ringing of the bell punctuating the droning song as this is done; these are poured away also, and this libation repeated twice, after which chalice, cup, and platter are all taken away. The yellow-robed priest then dons his mitred hat, waves his streamered *dorjhe* three times towards the hidden object, and retires.

Two ghouls now appear on each side of the court, their heads and bodies covered with skeletal white cloth on which skulls and ribs are inadequately depicted by red streaks. Round their waists are kilts made of silk scarves, and attached to waist and ankles small bells like those on a jester's hat. Two of them carry skulls on sticks, and all wear decrepit white gloves on hands and feet, which have never known a "stitch in time," nor ever will. The compartments for the toes are particularly incapable of retaining contents and flap absurdly over their respective digits. These ghouls execute a dance reminiscent of our Sir Roger de Coverley, advancing to meet in the middle then passing over to opposite sides. One snatches the veil from the hidden object, revealing an anthropomorphic effigy of dough; the lama replaces the veil at once, but again they approach and remove it, before making their exit with dancing.

There now enter four figures of the ogre type, with the third eye in their foreheads. One has an open mouth and protruding tongue curled upwards, another has a chaplet of skulls on his head-dress, while a third is an ogress with long trails of hair. Each holds a weapon with which to combat evil spirits: thus number one carries a sickle to pierce the heart, number two a charm to bind the body, number three a snare of rope to tie the hands, and number four a bell, whose tinkling will keep the spirits down. They are joined by ghouls in narrow trousers and tunics with ill-fitting toe-gloves, and all dance, finally leaving the arena together.

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796 Now another procession files down the steps, preceded by
636 the bearer of the jewel-rimmed, long-spouted beer-pot, the two lamas with musicians' hats swinging censers, and two more whose hats have scolloped up-turned brims, blowing their flageolets, all of whom move to one side when they have ushered in their ogre. He is a true King of Demons, with his big devil-mask, up-turned tongue between great tusks, and three eyes. For him a lama holds out the plate of barley, some of which he flings away four times, some to each of the four quarters of the earth. The remainder is placed by the uncovered effigy, which is left alone for a time. The heraldic five lamas leave the scene, and the Demon King advances in a slow dance to the music of flageolets, while four other demons emerge to join him, all with streamers in their hands, coloured rags covering the backs of their heads, and long earrings of the peacock-eye type ; all, too, have small skulls in their head-dresses, and a papier-maché one at the waist. A lama removes the platter of barley, then the Demon King approaches the dough figure and chops it up with his sabre, whereupon the lama distributes it to him and his four satellites, afterwards retreating to a low chant.

Again another type of demon comes upon the scenes dancing, and is joined by four others, one pair emerging from the crowd on the right, the other couple down the stairs on the left. Each carries a warming-pan drum and wears a yellow mask, yellow bodice and dark blue skirt, over which strips of tiger skin are arranged. On the tops of their heads are triangular flags. Again the priest approaches the dough figure and distributes portions to the five devils as they kneel round the triangle ; he then removes the remnants of the effigy and also the square carpet. Now, from right and left corners respectively, again approach two groups of five figures, demoniacal ogres with yellow, blue, red, and black masks bearing skulls, and all with three eyes. The five previously in the arena disappear as these ten new figures

13: Heber and Heber ~~D~~-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

rush into the centre, amid the beating of drums, whistling and yelling, whooping and running about, thus demonstrating their demoniacal glee at the destruction of the enemy. The ten now dance together, ranging themselves in opposing fives, beating their drums slowly and quietly, and executing a sort of " Sir Roger " again. The band now stops entirely, while one of the dancers beats on to the end, until they all go out. We, too, with weary eyes and confused brains, are glad to retreat to our quiet tents on the hillside, trusting that the morrow may bring some elucidation of the purpose and meaning of the strange things we have witnessed.

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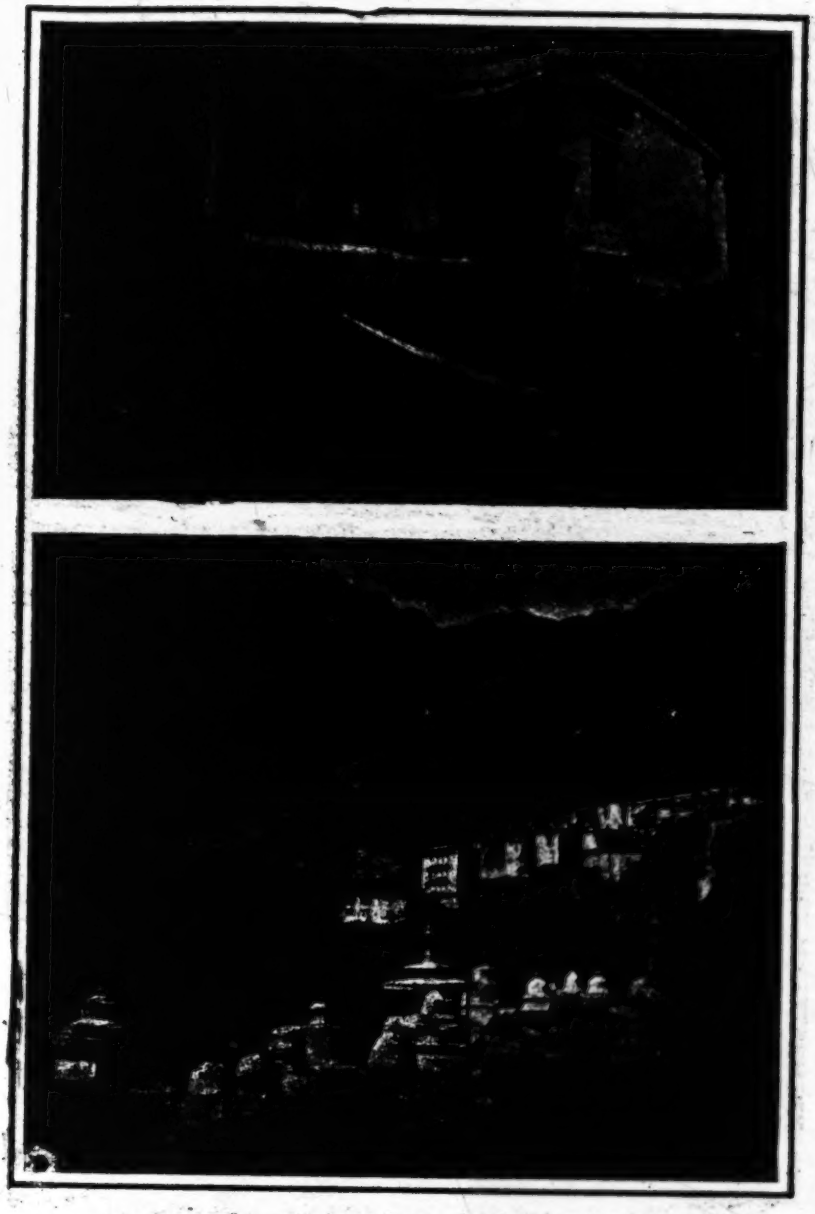

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THE FESTIVAL AT HEMIS.

Showing the lamas of the monastic band blowing their long *shawms*. To their left is the *Skushog's* throne, and to their right a large prayer-wheel framed in a projection of masonry.

HEMIS DGONPA.

With *chortens* in the foreground. This is the monastery where the great festival is held annually. Hidden among the foothills, it has escaped pillage. Hence its rich treasures.

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CHAPTER XXV

Hemis Mystery Play—Second Day

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THE morning of the second day was very disappointing, for, after a message having come for us to assemble just before ten o'clock, we had to sit expectantly for nearly two hours, and then were only rewarded by seeing a dance similar to the first one of the previous day. Our anticipation had been raised in vain several times by the fanfare from the heralds on the roof, or an overture by the band, and once even to high pitch by the sudden hurling of a number of lay-folk out of the porch and down the steps as though to clear the road, when they almost fell over each other in precipitous retreat from unseen forces behind, so that alarm for small boys in the crush was mingled with the joy of certainty that something was coming at last, only to settle once more into aggrieved patience. However, at last the band burst into full music, and a procession really appeared, preceded by the bearer of the jewelled beer-pot, at the side of which walked a lama with a whip, then two swingers of censers, then the two heralds, who led in apparently the same performers as in the first item of the previous day with the difference that a burning brazier was carried round to purify the way for an additional lama. This priest bore a ceremonial vase, something like a small tea-pot, adorned unfortunately by little tawdry skirts, and containing peacock's feathers. He led the way across the arena to a second outlet on the right where the dancers threw away sacred herbs. After this the dancing became more animated, with shrill

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 whistling, the beating of the drums and chanting being
536 continuous throughout, while occasionally a clash of cymbals inaugurated an acceleration, when hops and jumps varied the monotony. When the performers had danced slowly round the circle, the trumpeters on the steps played them out as usual.

In the afternoon we again waited from 3 till 5 p.m. witnessing the preparations for a rather interesting display. Three sturdy little well fed ponies were brought into the court-yard. One was very gaily caparisoned, first with a rich fringed cloth covering his whole body, over which a beautiful carpet was thrown, above that a gorgeous saddle, and surmounting all a cloth of tiger-skin with a red edge. The other two ponies were given just one covering coat of patchwork with a border inferior in quality, the whole badly needing the attentions of needle and cotton. During the long waiting time which followed, a gentleman, who had evidently been enjoying the local beer, staggered about in and out between the ponies and round the area with smoking embers in a rough frying pan, saying "*so-lo, solo,*" (hurrah), and emitting weird noises which were apparently intended to raise the excitement of the animals, though this was achieved to a greater extent by the smoking embers being pushed in under their noses and close to their bodies. A figure dressed in Chinese hat, black coat, and yellow silk robe, holding a salutation-scarf, stood up by the flag-staff. He was extraordinarily motionless throughout the long time of waiting. A lama, with bare head and rich yellow silk robes, carrying a wand also appeared, he being the man in charge of these animals throughout the year. Each pony was held by a man wearing a hat with an edging of white goat or sheepskin. Underneath our balcony we next descried three black dogs, of which one seemed to drop out later, also with cloths on their backs, once gorgeous, now old, torn and faded, while to the right of the quadrangle two grey-white goats stood waiting.

266 Hemis Mystery Play—Second Day

796 As they waited, a lama brought out some long strips of red
536 cloth printed with prayers, and climbing up the high flag-staffs, added them to the other prayer-flags for the wind to operate upon.

At last the ecclesiastical band appeared, on the roof this time, and the shawms and flageolets resounded ; then a lama brought out a silver tea-pot adorned with skirts and peacock feathers. He poured some of the contained beer into the hands of the patient Chinaman, on to the back of each of the animals, and some into the palms of each of their keepers, who drank it up with much relish. Then a battered old tin bowl containing blood-reddened clay was brought to each group of animals, and, their backs having been bared, they were well smeared with a bit of goat's hair dipped into the ruddy mixture. The ponies, now thoroughly excited, were led off at a gallop, and circling the monastery, were brought in at the opposite entrance, where cheered, hooted, and excited with much noise, they tore across the court-yard to re-appear and vanish again. The ponies thus circled the *d'Gonpa* altogether three times, the dogs only appearing once more, while the small timid goats were led slowly across once only, and then probably put aside for safety's sake. These animals represent the scapegoat idea as interpreted at Hemis, and once they have been chosen for this unusual ceremony are never allowed to work again, but fed and fattened at the expense of the monastery, and set aside for this ceremony until death. Some Ladaki informants also state that the ceremony is to dedicate the animals to the gods, the truth probably being that the gaily caparisoned one has some special purpose in this connection.

During this item a large pudding or cake made of some kind of flour mixed with water, the colour of mud and studded with white spots, was deposited on the ground in front of the empty *Skushog's* throne, and covered with a salutation scarf. This, according to a Ladaki onlooker, was to be dispensed

1a Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subsequently by the Abbot with his blessing. It was removed at the end of the sccapegoat performance, after which three ragged and dirty women brushed over the dusty courtyard with little bundles of reeds and sprinkled it with water. 796 536

In the early morning a low square platform of mud, about four inches high, and two inches square, had been made in the same place as the triangle and square carpet had been laid the previous day. Now a tray was placed on the platform containing a rough cup and some tins. Then a dancer emerged, with a three-cornered pennant projecting from a large round hat, wearing a rich cape over a dress of brocaded streamers and scarves, and carrying a small bowl made of a human skull in his hand. He upset the tray, but apparently this was unintentional, and a small lama replaced its contents.

Ten more maskers emerged in single file, dressed like the first, but one unfortunately had broken the stick supporting his pennant, and the resulting angle made it rather interfering in the ensuing mêlée. The three-cornered flags were of red with broad blue borders, jester's bells were jingling round the waists, while numbers one and ten had anklets of bells also. Their masks, with faces of blue, green, red, flesh-colour, and yellow, were merely hideous and leering, having no third eye, so they probably belonged to the class of earth-master-demons. The first comer, their chief would then be the "Great Guardian King," who stands in the middle, while they stand in two rows facing him. As they dance to an impressive boom of the long shawms, an ordinary priest and small lama boy busy themselves preparing a device on the mud platform, using pencils and colours from the tray and tins already there. The lama first draws a large triangle of purple, then an inner one of yellow ochre next a white outline to a broad light blue one edged within again with white, and within this a solid black triangle is painted. Selecting white chalk, he then sketches in flames all round the purple outside triangle, hieroglyphics in the light blue one, and a central device in the black. What

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these were we could not make out. Meanwhile the earth-master-demons have been trumpeted out in twos, and now two new heralds appear in the porch, young boys with white powdered faces, who, blowing the conches from the corners of their mouths, bend the knees outwards, as they finish each long note, as though to expel it more effectively. Their instruments have handsome long tassels, and are blown three times to usher in a long procession of dancers. Group one are unmasked, but dressed like the members of the inaugural dance on the previous day. Next to them the herald boys with their powdered faces take their place, and we note their green shorts of brocaded silk under a long scarf wound about their bodies, and looped up and down to form a skirt. Their hats are like red tea-cosies with bands wound round the base. The third group consists of four members with hats of a papier maché type, like a *Skushog's* riding hat. (These hats and all the masks are made at monasteries, and consist of cotton material bound together by a mixture of earth and water). Scarves hang down from under the hats behind, and their dresses are of yellow silk divided into large squares by broad bands of red, while in the right hand they carry long iron sticks with four projecting pieces at the top, bent down and hooked to receive four rings ; in their left hands are large black bowls. Another group of four follows, wearing black masks, all of whom have a terribly evil leer with mouth drawn down at the corners, as though saying a perpetual "ugh." The first and third, dressed in black, carry in the right hand a knifeboard and in the left what might be either a loop of intestine or merely a snare of rope. Numbers two and four hold in their right hands a flat object about two feet long cut in the shape of a human figure. Their raiment is fashioned of stuff resembling a leopard's skin, with a sleeveless bodice and a skirt cut into strips worn over navy shorts. The fifth and final group comprises four men, with the vizor masks we have already seen. In their hands they carry sword and shield,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Lametans AJ4

and to each of their backs is attached a quiver of arrows. 796
Beneath the fine silk, sleeveless overdresses of these warriors, 536
with streamers attached to the waistline, the warm homespun robes of the lama can be seen. The heralds, and, of course the gruesome quartette, are barefooted, but the rest wear ordinary lama boots. Each group in succession dances round the central mystic sign, sitting, when not their turn, on the carpetted benches in the corner of the quadrangle, which had been prepared as on the previous day.

The red square with its central tiger-skin was now produced again and laid down beside the painted triangles, on which another human effigy of dough under its blue veil was placed.

Now, preceded by heralds and swingers of censers, four figures dressed as in the first dance of the first day appear, each carrying a bell and *dorjhe*, accompanied by two lamas in their ordinary robes, one carrying the brazen chalice we have already seen, the other four cups on a tray. These two lamas pass to each dancer in turn, pouring into his cup a little beer, and adding a few grains of barley, while all chant in tone, and the band plays slow solemn music. This was, perhaps, the most impressive and stately act of the whole play. While the beer and barley were being actually served, the four performers were stationary, while the orchestra played and chanted a really beautiful theme, at the end of which the cups were emptied on the ground, the four figures bowed before the platform, themselves chanting, then, ringing their bells and holding out their *dorjhes*, again started their stately gyrations. This ceremony of filling and emptying the cups was performed six times; then the vessels were collected on a tray and removed.

With a whistle and flinging out of the dancers' scarves in time with the music, one of these priestly saints now takes his place on the square mat, the covering is removed from the effigy, and more incantations are intoned. Accompanied by

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796 more whistling and flinging of scarves and a wild reverberat-
536 ing crash of music from the band, the priest then leaves the square mat, and all join in a final dance, retreating in pairs.

The next act seems to begin within the monastery hall, for figures appear in the porch dancing to music, but retreat into the shadows again. One lama with censers, and one with the jewelled beer-jug come down into the quadrangle, and take up their positions by the right-hand flag-post. Again a figure with horns is seen gyrating within the porch, and anticipation is enhanced by the band bursting into wild crescendos. At last the procession emerges into view, first the bearer of the jewelled beer-jug, then two swingers of censers, then the heralds followed by a troop of three-eyed demon kings. The leader is he of the horned mask, bearing a sabre and a cup made of a human skull decked with streamers. All the rest have skulls on their head-dresses, rich embroidered silk robes with capes, aprons and streamers, capped by masks of green, red, yellow, white and brown. The horned gentleman is their *sLobdpon* or chief. He approaches the effigy and sprinkles it with barley from the plate which has been left at the side ; then a lama steps in and cuts the effigy up, giving each demon deity a portion. No doubt this ceremony is rooted in the old cannibalism of the *Bon Chos*. The effigy has now been killed, and four grave-yard ghouls come in to dispose of the corpse, though it is the lama who actually removes the last bits. The four dance about, two of them standing over the platform, and with alternate bare feet rhythmically wipe away, or rather smear out in its dust, all traces of the mystic triangles. They then dance altogether in ghoulish glee, while the horned gentleman, proceeding in solitary dignity, leads off his troupe in twos. The skeletal ones dance on, getting more joyful, jumping round and round themselves, and leaping to and from the empty platform until their turn also comes to depart.

It would leave a more profound impression if the play ended here, but a final foolish little act is introduced, serving as a

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complete anticlimax. A stool is placed near the *Skushogs'* throne, and the square carpet with the central tiger-skin, placed on it. An aged gentleman, with the large mask of an ordinary old man, but evidently very decrepit and tottery, is supported by five young boys with bare legs, short skirts, capes, and simple masks, with a bit of gay Yarkandi silk attached at the back to hide the hiatus between head and neck. A Ladaki onlooker says this gentleman is the one who attends to the feeding of all the masked lamas, and is called "rGyalpo (King) Achan." Supporting his failing steps, he leans heavily on his pupils, who eventually get him to the stool, accompanied by a masked and yellow-robed lama, carrying a warming-pan drum and a pair of cymbals, who squats on the ground at his side. One of the guardians with the moveable jaw, who watched over the row of benevolent deities on the first morning, enters with a brazier and rosary, and tries to help keep the high-spirited pupils in order. These jump about, laughing, boxing each other, fighting and playing, and making fun of their old preceptor. The old man gives them each some food, a piece of pudding made of uncooked barley mixed with water. He also offers them a piece of paper, and, as each in turn jumps to clutch it he whips them, to the great amusement of the crowd in the audience. On being handed the musical instruments he stands the warming-pan drum up on its handle, leaning it against his left knee, and, with his right hand, somehow manages both to beat it and to clash the cymbals on his right knee. To this music the small boys dance lightly and lithely round the flag-staff, receiving occasional whips from the guardian. They then jump about with whoops and cries, and carry on tedious little feeble bits of buffoonery, till even the audience gets weary and begins to disperse. The old man and his pupils in a close row prostrate themselves several times at full length before the *Skushog's* empty throne, obviously caricaturing this act of worship, then the boys stroke their aged teacher's head, tie a scarf round his

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neck, and lead him away. By this time the crowds are all straggling across the court-yard, and the exit takes place in oblivion, giving a most absurd and feeble finish to the long performance.

Thinking over the mystery play in quiet retrospect, trying to discover a sequence and a meaning in its confused medley of sights and sounds, one has to confess that at the end a "mystery" play it remains. The *Skushog* himself has confirmed the idea that the effigy of dough represents a *chos-la gnodpa gtong-kan*, that is, a doer of harm to religion.

Even the common people have some idea of this, for on questioning an ordinary Ladaki as to its significance, he told me that it was an evil spirit that had been made to flee, but had come down from the hills to harm religion again. But, as Waddell says, "it is used also to convey to the people a vivid conception of the manner in which devils attack a corpse, and the necessity for priestly services of a quasi-Buddhist sort to guard it and the soul."

The constant apposition of incongruities is particularly fitting to this land for ever exhibiting things "the wrong way round." Even Alice's "curiouser and curiouser" is far transcended by the grotesque weirdness of religious conception here manifested. The rich embroidered silks, the dirty tags of commonest bazar cloth (probably a rag blessed by the *Skushog*) appended to the same person, the voluminous skirts and stately movements of cumbrous-large-booted personages, the difficulty of description that involves the introduction of a homely English object, such as a coffee-pot or even a knife-cleaning board, the mixture of rare costliness with tawdry banality, the introduction of mischievous imps and jesters into solemn scenes, the caricaturing of religion by its own devotees, the simultaneous inspiration of laughter and fear, all contribute to the general impression of a land of dreams and unreality. In the most solemn scene, where the four priests were receiving holy grain and wine with which to

13: Heber and Heber-D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cast their spell over the effigy, when the dance was at its stateliest and the music most awe-inspiring and beautiful, the right contrasting note was produced by the Baby *Skushog*, who had been brought by his lama nurse to sit on a vantage point at the side of the porch. There, in view of all, he waved his little hand in time to the music, imitated the performers, clasped his lama nurse in a sudden ecstasy of baby emotion, picked up dust and threw it in the man's face, was scolded till baby tears overflowed, then taken up, comforted, and shewn the peacocks' feathers and other pretty things on the altar underneath the great banner, till his equanimity was restored, in fact provided quite a little unconscious entertainment of his own. In appreciating all these fantastic effects, one's reason abruptly brings one up against our Western ignorance: how little we can understand the complicated symbolism of the East, and how utterly ignorant we are of the customs embraced in their signification, traceable back to an antiquity so far exceeding any of which we have cognisance.

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CHAPTER XXVI

The Lure of Ladak

771 THE festival at Hemis is, as it were, a grand climax to all the strange things we see and find in this extraordinary country, which culminate in its religious practices. We have described lightly the outward ceremonies and appearances of the masque, emphasizing perhaps its humorous details, conscious and unconscious: yet, when we review it as a whole, we cannot but be appalled at its deeper significance, nor can we fail to realize that this country of cheery, attractive, lovable folk is a prey to the most rampant demonology. Where all the best religions of the world will at least point upwards, as it were, to "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" as worthy of contemplation, here the whole force of Lamaism directs the people's attention downwards to that which is impure, ugly, evil. Surely in spiritual matters they are "upside down"
787 rather than we. The study of their horoscopy alone impresses one with the terrible burden of it all, the endless costly offices imposed on the common ignorant, superstitious people by Lamaism. It is rightly stated that "one family alone is prescribed a sufficient number of sacerdotal tasks to engage a couple of lamas fairly fully for several months of the year."

788 The rites enjoined to overcome the difficulties of the conflict-
79v ing horoscopes of relations dwelling together, the ceremonies necessary to nullify evil influences in connection, not only with the crises of life to which we have referred, but with

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other lesser events in the family activities and even in the surrounding neighbourhood, all are used to exploit the credulity and fears of a primitive people for the enrichment in money and power of a set of priests, themselves with little education, save the reading of their "holy" books. Thus, apart from the exercise of these functions, the lamas, who are said to constitute almost one third of the population, lead useless lives of indolence and indulgence, contributing nothing to the economical and certainly not to the spiritual welfare of their fellow countrymen, but merely absorbing their hard-earned riches in parasitical luxury. As an observer from the Chinese side has recorded, "Lamaism is responsible for having sapped the manhood of Mongolia of its energy and initiative, and deadened its intellect." By segregating such a large proportion of its young manhood into an enforced and false celibacy, it lowers the birth-rate as well as the moral standard of the country. How infinitely removed are these evil practices from the pure teachings of the Buddha, whose name has been associated with the veneer of reform introduced into this devil-worship. The wonder is that the people remain as wholesome and cheery as they do, and no visitor to Ladak will deny the attractiveness of this sturdy hill race.

Indeed they are part of that lure of Ladak which every year provides the British Joint Commissioner with a waiting list for travellers desiring passes far longer than that of the successful applicants. Falling into a different category from the ordinary visitor is the sportsman, whose pass is included in his shooting license, men, and even women, to whose primeval hunting instincts the great hills call. The mere traveller may be lured by the everlasting hills also, or the peculiar bare country, or its strange inhabitants and their quaint customs. The mere joy of the road calls some, while few can on arrival resist being curio hunters, and during their brief visits concentrate their attention on any of the following: the cups of rare china, the more common wooden ones lined wtih silver,

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metal spoons, brass and copper tea-pots or other utensils, robes and other garments of Chinese design, turquoises, jade ornaments, furs and small carpets. Some of these visitors travel very simply, with minimum of servants and luggage; others prefer a voyage de luxe with a long train of both. The former when invited to dinner, would fain accept, but regret they "have only shorts," and are happy to be assured that this is quite correct evening kit in Leh. The latter bring full evening dress, and one of these evoked a facetious comment from our man-servant. Unlike the custom prevailing in India, we train women-servants for the work in the house, while a man combines all the functions of water-bringer, gardener, groom, etc. This gentleman was asked to light a fire on the second occasion when a certain Mem Sahib was expected to dinner, although in this land of scarce fuel we had not thought of beginning fires for ourselves yet. His concise comment was, "Much meat, little clothes."

Then there are visitors who are specialists in some particular line of research, and, in the short twelve years during which we have been closely connected with Ladak, we have had among our visitors botanists, geologists, ornithologists, archæologists and topographers; also devotees of the camera, even of the cinema, besides those of the brush, who comprise a list in themselves, from the mystic type of picture painter, the etcher, the futurist, and the straightforward colourist (if we may coin the term), to the lightning or snapshot sketcher. Some of these specialists have been organized into expeditions, such as the Anglo-Italian one, led by Sir Filippo De Filippi in 1913-14, and which passed on into the Karakorams and the Depsang Plateau, but was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the outbreak of the Great War. It comprised many experts in different sciences, and those who were engaged in gravimetric observations in the course of their investigations sent up several air balloons in Leh. These eventually descended in the surrounding

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villages, and were the cause of much wonder and fear, out of which the lamas made a rich harvest by exercising the evil influences they were supposed to disseminate. This expedition was also able to receive in Leh wireless messages from Dehra Dun, perhaps a foretaste of broadcasting, even across the Himalayas. The Dutch expedition of 1922, and again in 1925, as we write, at work on the glaciers of the Karakorums, led by Mr. and Mrs. Visser with their Swiss guides must also be noted. Then there are our political visitors in the consular service, who occasionally come through this way from Central Asia, and even China, to say nothing of the interesting patients we have, not only medical, but occasionally mental, and we may say even moral, referring to those who unfortunately did not feel bound by promises contained in their signed passports.

Not only do these people keep our small European community busy during the visiting season, but in the long closed winter, and indeed all the year round, they solicit many favours. Thus the Doctor Sahib himself has been asked to collect butterflies, birds and their eggs, algae and fungi, ferns, flowers, stamps, curios and even mosquitoes by sundry enthusiasts, to say nothing of requests being made for long dissertations on the Buddhism and mysteries of Tibet by unknown theosophists in the Antipodes. Thus, among our acquaintances made in this relatively isolated spot of Central Asia, we may number, besides those of adjacent countries and our own British Islands, men and women from America, Norway, Sweden, Holland Switzerland, France, Austria, Italy, Russia, Persia, China and Japan, so that there is no doubt that the lure of Ladak is a real fact. Some of these travellers rush into print on the subject of their visits here, and we read their journalistic efforts with interest, sometimes amusement, others weave light stories of travel, while some of the deeper students engage in profound treatises on their own special subjects. Even a close connection of twelve

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000 years with the country, however, can only touch the fringe of all there is to know of these interesting people, and we can only leave them regretfully, trusting that the future may bring tohers with more leisure and ability to tackle such an extensive subject.

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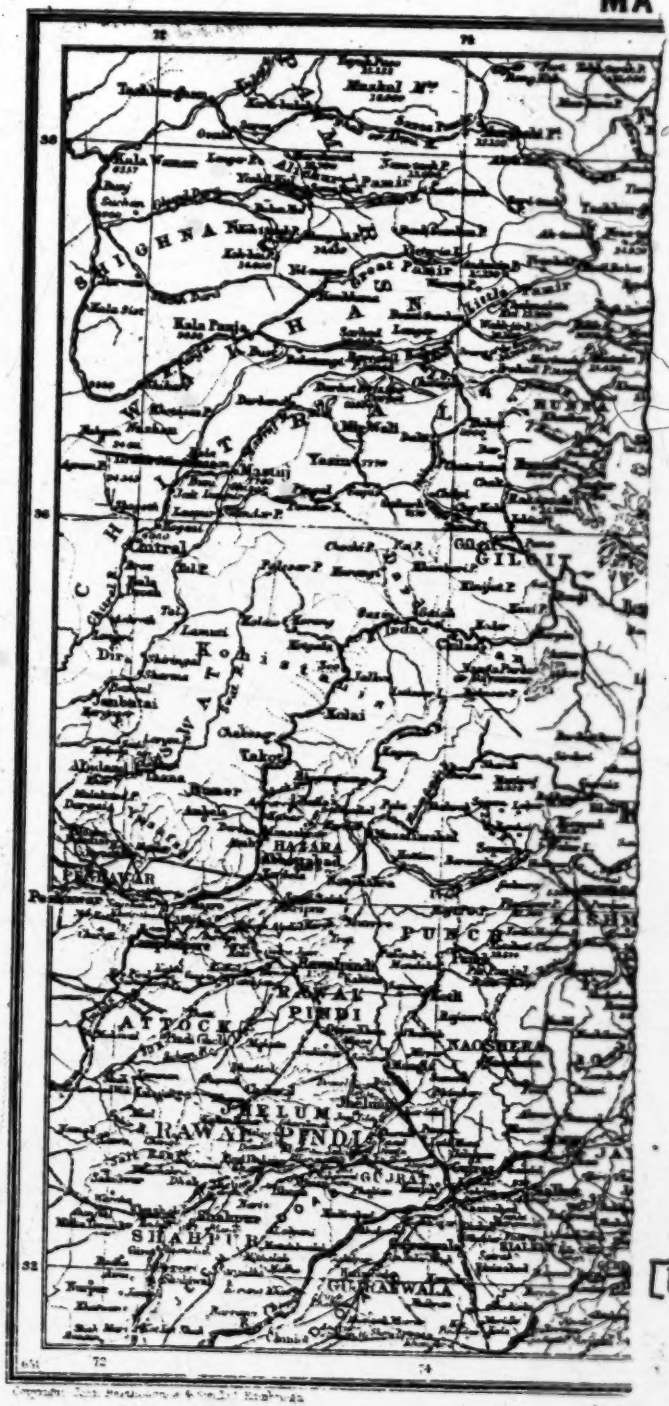

[End Map-a]

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[END MAP-b]

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[End Map-C]

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[For brief descriptions of representative and decorative religious art, see category 116, pp. 216-224, 246-268--Analyst]

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133, 487

[For descriptions of topography and routes on the authors' trip to Ladak, see category 116, Chapter VII, pp. 75-85--Analyst]

[For an account of the selection in Tibet from the family of Tibetan bureaucrat of a Skushog or abbot for service in West Tibet (Ladak) see 13: Heber and Heber, AJ4 West Tibetans, category 116, pp. 226-227--Analyst]

[For information on the use of the term "Skushog" as an honorific title in Tibet see 13: Heber and Heber, AJ4 West Tibetans, category 116, p. 226--Analyst]

[For information on the selection and training in Tibet of an incarnate Skushog or abbot for service in West Tibet (Ladak) see 13: Heber and Heber, AJ4 West Tibetans, category 116, pp. 226-228--Analyst]

[For a brief reference to the nature of the Tibetan territorial hierarchy see 13: Heber and Heber, AJ4 West Tibetans, category 116, pp. 226-227--Analyst]

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FARMERS AND FARMING IN LADAKH (TIBETAN KASHMIR)

By WALTER ASBOE

133 AN account of the cultivation of cereals in Ladakh presupposes a climate for their growth, bearing in mind the high altitude at which these cereals can thrive. In this lofty region of 10,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level it is amazing that anything grows at all.

133 The country is one vast expanse of sandy plain and deep-cut valleys 23 formed by colossal mountains and swift-flowing rivers. Upon the great plateaux large flocks of sheep laden with wool, borax, and salt move slowly over the tawny sand, raising clouds of dust as they proceed to the wool-clearing centre at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It is also from these elevated regions that the famous shawl wool generally known as Pashmina comes, its final destination being Kashmir. Dropping down from the arid plateaus of Rupshu to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, you come to the many hamlets snuggling in the shelter of great cliffs and rocky eminences, forming with the arable land around them patches of vegetation resembling an oasis in the midst of a desert of rock and sand.

132 The climate of Ladakh is favourable to the growth of cereals and is 241 a useful ally to the peasant living at high altitudes and subsisting on produce cultivated in ground which looks sterile and unpromising. Very little rain falls in Ladakh owing to the precipitation in the lower hills in the region of the Zogi Pass, which peters out by the time the higher altitudes are reached. The farmer has therefore to irrigate his fields artificially from rivers, mountain torrents derived from melting glaciers and the winter accumulations of snow. He is saved from the heart-breaking frustration of the English farmer, who must contend with capricious weather which so often ruins his crops just when he is ready to reap them. In Ladakh the peasant knows that the good weather of to-day will be followed by good weather to-morrow, so that he is saved much worry and extra work.

132 Frost and snow or sleet begin in September and continue in different districts without intermission until the beginning of May. The minimum temperature from December until February falls to −5° to −12° F., and there is no month in the year when there is not an occasional snow-fall on the summits of the mountains. The intense cold of winter is mitigated by a dry atmosphere, clear skies, and a sun which warms provided that you remain in its direct rays. The average temperature in the shade during summer is about 75° to 80°. Thus the shortness of the summer is compensated for by the powerful rays of the sun, which ripen the grain rapidly.

The various meteorological processes which combine to form a climate are, as everyone knows, generated by the sun. It is therefore not sur-

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prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

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476 556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

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241 of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

[372] Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun
[574] and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Recourse has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with
241 earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception
231 of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them.
[13] The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

241 According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

[231] Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

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241 light. It can easily be carried upon the shoulders and is not liable to get out of order. The iron point which contacts the furrow requires to be sharpened fairly frequently by the local blacksmith.

The ground is not much more than scratched, as it is dry and sandy, the furrow being only four or five inches from the top of the ridge to the bottom angle. The clods of earth are broken with mattocks by the women, and it is not unusual to see villagers dragging a large bundle of thorns across the field to act as a harrow.

The weeding of fields is general but by no means universal in the country, and the necessity of taking advantage of every available article of food for the cattle leads to a regular and effective method of weeding the corn fields. About three weeks after the first blades of corn have pushed through the earth, women and children overrun the fields every morning to collect the grass and weeds springing up with the grain. The stems get disturbed by the footsteps of the weeders but are never really trodden down, and they recover their erect position in a few hours after the field has been watered. Another benefit of weeding the fields is that the corn gets the full power of the soil and an access of light and air is admitted to the roots of the plants.

The cereals grown in Ladakh are barley, wheat, buckwheat, mustard seed, peas, and beans. At villages not higher than 10,000 feet above sea level it is usual to sow two crops annually. The first crop, which consists of barley, is sown on or about February 25, followed on August 25 by the sowing of a crop of buckwheat.

The order in which the various crops are sown is, first, beans, then wheat, peas, barley, mustard plant, and, lastly, buckwheat.

Barley is of two varieties, distinguished chiefly by the peculiarity of retaining or parting from the rough exterior capsule after the grain has left the ear. The first kind, called So-wa, is very much like the common barley grown in Europe. The second kind is called Shirok, of which there are five varieties—namely, (1) So Shirok, a slow or late barley; (2) Gyog Nas, quick or early barley; (3) Yangma or Yangkar, which is also early and of a whitish colour; (4) Nak Nas, black barley; (5) Drug-zur-Nas, or six-sided barley.

The husked barley has to be raised in places which are the warmest and most sheltered from the winds, and though the seeds of the Shirok can be sown in such situations the produce will be rough barley. The latter again yields naked barley at higher and colder altitudes, as in the lands round Leh (11,500 feet).

The So Shirok barley, or late barley, is sown in places where the temperature is not specially cold yet where the summer heat is not sufficient to permit the cultivation of two crops annually (one of barley and one of buckwheat).

The Gyog Nas is sown in very high altitudes (13,000 to 14,000 feet), where the days are very hot and the nights cold. It does not as a rule attain a greater height than one and a half feet.

241 Nas Yangma or Yangkar is cultivated everywhere and thrives in a
252 temperate to warm climate. It is the favourite variety of barley, as its yield is good and little inferior to wheat. The porridge made from this

241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely
[252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any
[262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[373] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces
[258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than seven-fold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con-
406 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

511 advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding
426 compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not
[783] attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

462 The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

181 Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.

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TIBETAN WEDDING SONGS

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Translated from Tag-Ma-Cig Manuscripts.
With an Introduction about the Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World and with Pictures. Mostly from Photographs taken by the Author.

by

A. H. Francke
Dr. Phil

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Anna Paalzow

Folkwang Verlag G. M. B. H., Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt

[p. i]

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/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism. 771 127

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival. 539

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann 539 594 113

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the 773 539 171

539 Chinese, and the dynasty that was ruling at that time (1836) even
171 recognized him as its tutelary spirit. Further, Schmidt states:
773 "Since Gesser-Chan is named in the saga as the ruler of three Tibetan tribes, the Tussa, Dongsar, and Lik, this fact has induced the Chinese to weave him into their history of the three empires, and to assign to him an epoch in their chronology, namely, the beginning of the third century." As long as only the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga was known, it remained of necessity undetermined whether the saga was of Mongolian or of Tibetan origin. But as soon as I published, in 1900, the first samples of the Tibetan Kesar saga as I had gathered it from oral sources (2), no disinterested

2. "Der Frühlingsmtthus der Kesarsage," Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougneme, No. XV. Helsinki, 1900. Improved /or Corrected/ English edition in the Indian Antiquary, 1902.

observer was in any further doubt that the homeland of the sagas was to be found in Tibet. Professor A. Grünwedei wrote in the Globus (3) at that time: "In contrast to the familiar (Mongolian

3. Vol. XXVIII, No. 6.

/2/) versions, which represent Ge-sar as warrior and hero, Francke's texts are of a much more original nature and have a predominantly mythological character." Grimm had already expressed the opinion in his Kinder- und Haysmärchen /children's and household fairy tales/ that the Kesar saga, which was known to him only in the Mongolian version, had in all probability originally come into existence in Tibet. As we have already seen, this saga is also known to the Chinese and to the Mongols. But not only that--traces of it are likdwise to be found among the Turkish tribes, the Tungus and Buryat, and so forth. It looks as though this saga material has been disseminated all over Asia. I regard Western Tibet, and Ladakh in particular, as the country of origin for the versions that have become known up to now. The old West Tibetan kingdom is designated in chronicles as well as in inscriptions by Khrom-ge-sar-gdan,
533 "market place, Kesar's throne." In this region the saga is at home
[564] to such an extent that each village has its own version, and the saga
539 is recited by musicians belonging to the caste of the Bhe-da. In their recital, the metrical parts of the saga are sung. But in this

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to generation, 539
in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. And this same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

539
113 gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, from which the text and the notes were published in J & P ASB., /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/ Vol. III, p. 121 ff.

539 In Khalatse, Situated on The Indus River about
115 forty English miles below Leh, I made the acquaintance of a man
[553] who was called dKon-mchog-bkra-shis. His surname name rGya-
113 mthso-pa derived from the circumstance that he had married into the house of rGya-mthsó-pa in Khalatse. Actually, however, he came from Lerdo (Lai-rdo) across from sKyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). This man possessed extensive knowledge about the Kesar saga, and for this reason he was invited to recite at all family festivals in the village. His version apparently originated in Lerdo in Purig. For many weeks I worked with this singer and with the scribe and teacher of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, and in this way I obtained the version of the Kesar saga that I have called the "Lower Ladakhi Version." This /3/ has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica under the numbers 1134, 1151, 1164, and 1218. dKon-mchog-brka-shis material was however, not yet exhausted with this. He continued with his narratives and now reported the adventures of the chief heroes of the sagas besides Kesar. I have published these sagas under the title: "The Paladins of the Kesarsaga," in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 10, Vol. III, No. 2, Vol. III, No. 5.

539 In all the publications in India I gave the text in its entirety, but
113 I had to dispense with a translation because of lack of time. Instead of a translation I appended to each chapter a detailed table of contents and lists of the proper names and of the uncommon words. The Lower Ladakhi Version contains the entire material of the Kesar saga, as indicated below. For the most part, therefore, it covers the same ground as the Sheh version. Yet it contributes not only new elements with respect to the style of the poetic passages, but also a great many interesting and important variants.

The collection, The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, on the other hand, contains entirely new material, under the following headings: 1. Kesar's beloved Mon (man of a low caste). 2. The story of the hero sKyaba-rgod-po (lJan war). 3. The story of the hero Shel-gyi-bu-zhun. 4. The story of the hero rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

585 II. The Wedding Songs (Nyo-pai-glu). At each wedding in the
539 region of the West Tibetans (Ladakh, Purig, and so forth), the following ceremony is performed: Seven friends of the bridegroom, who call themselves Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, "The buyers, the seven

brothers," go, if possible on horseback, to the bride's house in order 585
to buy the bride for the bridegroom. The bride's relatives will not 539
admit them until they have proved their honorable descent by answering a long series of questions addressed to them in the form of songs. As soon as an answer has been given incorrectly, the inhabitants of the house, who are armed with osier twigs, rain blows on the seven men. The songs used on this occasion represent a kind of catechism in the pre-Buddhistic religion of the country. The same thing applies to them as to the Kesar saga. The further West we go, the more complete they are. I first observed this particular ceremonial in the village of Stog, which lies opposite Leh. There they were finished with the question-and-answer ritual in the shortest possible time, and the wedding feast constituted the climax of the celebration. In Khalatse, to which I removed from Leh, the question-and-answer game lasted much longer. Since I was unable to understand anything of the content of the songs during the performance, I requested the leader of the Nyo-pa to dictate these questions and answers slowly to the [24]
scribe of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin. In this way I obtained a copybook of eighteen songs, each in two parts. I went through these carefully with the scribe and soon arrived at an understanding of the 595
first nine. These nine I published in the Indian Antiquary, giving 113
the text, a translation, and annotations. They appeared there under 539
the title, "The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual." Neither the scribe nor I understood the second part of the songs at that time. By now I am somewhat better able to recognize their meaning, and the songs of the second part will also be used in the following presentation. After the song of the Nyo-pa had been delivered to me, one day someone told me that the question-and-answer game of the wedding celebrants was not yet finished with these songs, and that this game was, in fact, continued during the wedding feast. At that time, he said, they sang the so-called chan-glu, the "beer song." Again I had a transcription made of this song, which I published at my own expense by having about fifty copies printed on the missionary lithographic press in Leh. These appeared (with text only) in 1903 under the title, "Die Trinklieder von Khalatse" /The Drinking Songs of Khalatse/. Although several of these songs have very important mythological content, many others are, nevertheless, of a purely diverting nature. They propose riddles such as one might expect on special occasions in gay circles among all peoples. /4/ [273]
Of special interest is the song which describes in detail the origin and preparation of Tibetan beer (chan).

585 While I was occupied with the study of these songs, I was told
127 that an ancient manuscript containing the wedding songs existed in
539 Tag-ma-cig, the neighboring village to the west of Khalatse. I immediately sent a messenger to that village in order to have the work delivered to me, but I was to learn that this could only be done in exchange for the payment of a fairly large sum of money. After this payment had been made, the manuscript was left with me for a month on a loan basis. This period of time was sufficient, however, for my faithful assistant, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, to copy the entire document. Unfortunately, the manuscript was so badly damaged in some places that several songs had to be left incomplete. Concerning the age of the manuscript nothing definite could be established. It was reported to me that they had begun writing them down only when there was danger that the old songs might be forgotten. The manuscript may perhaps be one hundred years old, and possibly a little more. According to my scribe's count, the booklet contains about sixty songs, mostly consisting of two parts. Quite a number of these correspond with the songs of Khalatse, and, in fact, there are repetitions both of the individual wedding songs
[533] and of the drinking songs. We observe that in Tag-ma-cig they did not differentiate at all between wedding songs and drinking songs. Yet the title of the entire collection is "Nyo-pas-sgo-la btan-ces-kyi-glu," "Songs of the Nyopa (Bride Buyers), To Be Sung at the Door." Even though at the time I was unable to understand much of the content of the songs, I nevertheless recognized immediately their extreme importance in the study of pre-Buddhistic religion, and I wished to make them accessible to the scholarly world. For this reason I had them multigraphed in twenty-eight copies with blue copy ink, but in this job I was quite unlucky. The impressions were for the most part so faint that they could not be deciphered. Fortunately, the copy made by Ye-shes-rig-adzin has been found again in the meantime and important data have been taken from it,
585 which will appear in the following pages. All these wedding songs
773 are particularly valuable because they contain a great deal of ma-
539 terial dealing with the Tibetan notions about the World Tree and the deities of the four points of the heavens. Later I was also supplied with wedding songs (nyo-pai-glu) from the villages of Shel and Phyi-dban. These are of a totally different nature, however. They are songs of praise addressed to kings and ministers who apparently celebrated their weddings in those localities. For the student of religion they are of no value.

III. The Hymns of the Spring Festival (Glin-glu). When the 796
spring festival is celebrated in Western Tibet (Ladakh, and so on), 113
hymns are sung which bear the name Glin-glu, "Songs from the 127
Land of Glin." In these hymns King Kesar and the deities mentioned 539
in the Kesar saga are honored. Without a certain knowledge of the Kesar saga, these songs would remain unintelligible. Without exerting myself particularly, I managed to get my hands on two such hymn collections as I was looking around for folk songs. From the village Phyi-dban, eight English miles below Leh, I obtained a manuscript prepared there, which contained the nine hymns of the Kesar festival that are customarily used in that village. In Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, who has already been mentioned above, wrote down for me the nine hymns that were sung there. I published the first collection in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, with text, English translation, and notes. The second collection is to be found in my "Ladakhi Songs," where it is printed under Nos. XXI-XXIX. These two important collections are accompanied by a briefer third one, consisting of five festival songs which a member of the Bheda caste in the village of Sheh (Shel) wrote down for me, songs traditional in that village. In addition, I should mention that scattered parts of such festival songs are also to be found here and there in my collections of folk songs, just as here and there some wedding songs are to be found taken out of their context. /5/ Such a one is to be found, for instance, in Ladakhi Songs, No. 30, "The Carpet of the Bride Buyers."

IV. Now, after the main sources of the Glin-chos have been 539
established, I must speak of yet a fourth type of songs of a religious 772
nature which, however, do not seem to fit into the framework of the Glin-chos. I published one of these in my Ladakhi Songs as No. 15. But this is not a happy example, since it is composed of two wedding songs, whereas the original song has been lost. Better types are afforded by my as yet unpublished collection of songs from Sheh. From this collection it appears that as a theme for the harvest songs they chose the creation of the world and the origin of the gifts of nature, in particular, wheat. But the myth of the creation of the world, as we find it here, is in contrast to the version in the Kesar saga. In the harvest song the earth rises up out of the waters of the ocean, while in the Kesar saga it is formed out of the body of a slain giant. 171
Now the myth in the harvest songs of Sheh (Shel) corresponds in a 773
curious way with the Dard song about the creation of the world, such as we find it written down in the Dard collection of hymns of

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
773

[113] 1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who intorduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situ-
776 ated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to
[823] the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already under-
[788] taken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-ryyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

dman-mo, "Spouse, revered woman." Many prayers in the Kesar saga are addressed to her in particular. She is apparently regarded as merciful and wise. /6/ This pair of heavenly monarchs had three sons, namely: 1. Don-yod, "having a purpose," 2. Don-idan, "having a purpose," and 3. Don-grub, "fulfilling his purpose." The latter name corresponds to the Indic Siddhartha, a name also applied to Buddha. The third son, Don-grub, surpasses his brothers both spiritually and physically. Later on he dies in heaven and is reborn on earth as King Kesar (Kyesar) of Glin.

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The lord and lady of heaven already appear in the texts and in the songs as ethical deities who desire the good and demand obedience from man. In the Glin-glu of Phyi-dban the following hymn is to be found under No. 5:

It is possible to escape a rolling boulder on a steep slope;
Certainly, I can escape from a rolling boulder on a steep slope;
But it is not possible to get away from the commands of the "Great Father";
No, the commands of the "King of the hundred thousand thrones" I cannot escape.
It is possible to escape the great floods through a ford,
Certainly, I can get away from the mighty floods through a ford,
But it is not possible to get away from the commands of the "Great Mother."
No, the commands of the "Queen of the hundred thousand thrones" I cannot escape.

As was already mentioned, the characteristics of a weather god like the ancient Indra are more to be encountered in Kesar than in the "father god." This finds very clear expression in the ninth song of the Glin-glu of Khalatse:

High up on the Sa-ri-can Pass black clouds are fathering.
High up on the Sa-ri Pass ragged clouds are flying about.
In the midst of the black clouds flashes of lightning spark from the sword of our good prince.
In the midst of the black clouds flashes of lightning spark from the sword of the divine King Kesar.

According to the popular tradition, Kesar hurls his lightning bolts at a dragon shrouded in the cloud. The thunder is the wounded dragon's roar of pain. In this connection it should also be pointed

773 out, however, that according to hymn No. 1 of the Glin-glu of
776 Khalatse, thunder is explained as being caused by the running of the gods in heaven.

The life of the gods is an idealized form of human life. The gods constitute a state in which there are a king, subjects, and servants. (See Winter Myth, Vol. V, p. 11.) They live in bliss and they grow old as we can tell from a passage in the Spring Myth. There, in Vol. VII, 21, 45, 62, it says: "May he who drinks a beer of blessing live as long as the gods." The possibility of death seems to exist for the gods, if we may draw this conclusion from the fact of Don-grub's death in heaven. The gods pasture goats (lha-ra, divine goats) on earth, and these must be defended against the devil (bdud). (See Spring Myth, Vol. I.) These goats apparently represent rain clouds which the dragon (here the devil) wants to steal, quite in accord with the Indra myths. It should also be noted that in other places in the Kesar saga the clouds are compared with cows, as in India. (See, A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Tale of Kesar's Marriage," No. 5, Yak Ri-ri; "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 2, Yak Kha-ra-kham-ba.) Of Yak Ri-ri it is told that he puts his head down on one mountain peak and his hind feet on another. But the similitude of the goats is carried out more consistently. In the Winter Myth, Vol. II, 17-29 we hear that Kesar finds in the realm of the devil a great many goats stolen from heaven.

The king of the gods, and likewise the queen, often change their shapes. Thus the king battling for the goats of heaven appears as a white bird (Spring Myth, Vol. I) or as a white yak (Lower /7/ Ladakhi Version, II, "Story of Kesar's Birth," 1). The queen of the gods frequently appears on earth in order to help her son Kesar. On these occasions she appears as a human woman (Spring Myth, Vol. IV, 8), as dzo (hybrid between a cow and a yak, Winter Myth, Vol. I, 53), as a turquoise-colored fly (Winter Myth, Vol. V, 35), and as a dove (Winter Myth, Vol. VIII, 16).

The king of heaven rides on a horse called lha-rta-nan-pa, "Cream-colored divine horse." On modern representations (in Changspa near Leh) it looks like a kiang. In the same place the queen of heaven is also represented. She is riding on a white lioness with turquoise-colored mane, the personification of the glacier. The upper garments of these gods are white, with many-colored hems; the under garments are colored (pictures in Changspa). According to Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, Vol. III), the sun rises over the shoulders of the god of heaven.

[See Category 116, pp 1-8, for references -- Analyst]

The total number of gods (lha) is given as 360 in the narrative Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, No. III), a number which is also to be found in the Bonpo works. In conclusion we should point out that occasionally a differentiation is made between dBan-po-brgya-byin, the ruler of the heavens, and sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, the "father of the gods" (pha-lha). The latter name is particularly used for the god of heaven as the father of Dun-grub-ke-sar. This usage seems subsequently to have led to the fact that different deities were understood by the two names. 773 776

2. Bar-btsan, the earth, literally, "the firm place in the middle." Other names are: Mi-yul, "land of human beings," Glin, "continent," "world." Later also, after the appearance of Indic concepts, aDzam-bu-glin, Sanskrit, Jambudvipa. The highest deity of the earth is Mother sKyabs-mdun, "helpful spouse." She seems to be identical with the goddess of the earth, brTan-ma, "the firm one" (Jäschke's Lexikon), or brTan-byed-ma (S. Ch. Das, Lexikon /Dictionary/). Father brTan-pa also occurs.

The world (glin) of mythology is, of course, Tibet. But if we look at the few place names that occur in the mythology and are identifiable, we are directed to the western part of the country, into the region of the great lakes. In the wedding songs, both great lakes, Ma-pham (Manasarowar) and La-nag, are frequently mentioned. The former of these two lakes is mentioned most frequently and the mountain Kailasa, which is near it, plays a not inferior role. In the Kesar saga and elsewhere, too, the mountain bears the name Ti-se (apparently a contraction of Khri-rtse, "throne peak"), or Gans-ri ("ice mountain"). Gans-ti-se also occurs. On top of the mountain, or close by it, stands Glin-mkhar-rtse-dgu, "the castle of Glin with the nine peaks." The silver mountain, the golden mountain, the blue mountain, and the slate mountain are in the closest proximity. This mountain range is thought of by the Tibetans as the point of origin for the four main rivers of the world (1), of which, in fact, 173 778

1. These four main rivers are also mentioned in No. X b. and in No. XVII of the wedding songs of Tag-ma-cig. There they are not mentioned individually by name, however. A similar saga is also to be found in the Ramayana, I, 44, "the descent of the Ganga." In that place not four but seven rivers are mentioned. [171

they enumerate the following in inscriptions and in their chronicle: 1. the Indus, which flows to the west, Sen-ge-kha-bab, or "lion

173 river," (2) 2. the Karnali-Ganges, which flows to the south, rMa-
773

2. Literally, "the (river) springing forth out of the mouth of the lion"; the literal meanings correspond in the case of the following names.

bya-kha-bab, or "peacock river," 3. the Brahmaputra, which flows towards the east, rTa-mchog-kha-bab, the "horse river," and 4. the Tarim or Sita, which flows to the north. Other systems add two more rivers, and leave out two of the preceding ones. The other two rivers are the Oxus or Rakshu, and the Sutlej or Glan-chen-kha-bab, or the "ox river." But whichever of these rivers we accept, the territory that their streams enclose is always the area of the ancient West Tibetan kingdom which included the district of the sacred lakes.

773 /8/ Three groups of sagas are concerned with the creation and
772 the populating of this world. Of these three groups, two belong to the Kesar saga, and one to the treasury of the Dard. The creation of the land of Glin according to the prelude to the Kesar saga (1):

1. A Lower Ladakhi Version, Prelude, No. 5.[1]

A hero of prehistory, by the name of Don-gsum-mi-la-snon-mo had killed a monster with nine heads and from the parts of its body he built the castle of Glin and the countryside of Glin. From the heads, legs, arms, and ribs he built the castle; from the lungs he built the golden mountain; from the heart the silver mountain; from the stomach the Groma plain; from the intestines the rGui-ma gorge; from the "little stomach" he built the hunting grounds of sPo-tho-han-ma; from the monster's eyes the spring Thsan-ya (probably the area of the lakes); from the nose the place sKad-snyan-glin-bu; from the kidneys he built the cliff rGyab-rten.

According to the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, Nos. 69 and 74)[1] the populating of the country took place in two ways. According to one version the different animals, but also the sun, the moon, and the stars, were immediately born of Gog-bzan-lha-mo, the mother of Kesar. According to the other version, the hero of prehistory brings dPal-le, mother animals and mother treasures (among them the progenitors of the sun, the moon, and so on) from a ruined castle (2). A terrible hailstorm descends upon

2. In the case of these treasures in the ruined castle,

1 [see pp. 1-8, Cat. 116 for references. -- Analyst]

the idea of the wreckage of an earlier world that has perished is probably to be thought of. 773 772

Gog-bzan-lha-mo, as well as upon the mother animals and treasures, and all begin to give birth.

According to the Dard version, which can be pursued from mDa all the way to Shel east of Leh, the earth rose up out of the world ocean and was then sown with seeds. Here we are dealing with trees and with types of grain (3).

3. This so-called Dard version probably came early to the Dard together with Buddhism. This saga is to be found in the Kandschur, La Vol. 26 of the mDo class. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, Csoma de Koros.) [113]

The contrast between Tibetan and Dard could not be expressed more clearly than is done in the myths about the origin of the world. The Tibetan as a nomad and a hunter speaks only of the animal world. The Dard, as an industrious tiller of the soil, speaks only of the plant world. On the other hand, neither tells of the first appearance of man. The "Prelude to the Kesar Saga" begins immediately with a "primitive father" and a "primitive mother," and these are assumed to have as independent an existence as the gods, the earth mother, and the Nagas.

Since the primitive animals play such an important part in the mythology, occupying a place next to the sun and the moon, yes, even at the side of the gods, the most important of them will be enumerated here: Of Gog-bzan-lha-mo are born: sun and moon high up in the sky; Sen-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise mane /literally: locks/," the personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the queen of heaven; on the high mountain, Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds," on the high cliff (according to another version Skyin-chen-ba-rgan, "the big old ibex" is born there): rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "White mouth, originating from the kiang," a horse of the steppes; Nya-mo-gser-mig, "fish golden eye," in the middle of the sea; aBron-byun-rog-po, "the evil one stemming from the wild yak," a yak, on the meadow; a few other animals, among them three frogs, a golden one, a blue one, and a white one, have become the best known. 776 773

Among the mother animals that have been taken from the ruined castle, the most famous ones are: Thsa-ldan, a mare; Khyi-mo-dkar-

776 mo, the white bitch; Gro-mo, a mother sheep; Thse-thse-nan-dmar,
773 a goat. Of the animals which the mother animals give birth to after the fructifying hailstorm, I shall mention only one that is particularly famous, namely, rKyan-byun-(db)yer-pa, "piebald horse, originating from the kiang," a horse which became Kesar's property.

773 /9/ Finally, the various types of plants which, according to the Dard versions, were given to the earth, should also be mentioned. Among the trees there arose the sandalwood (made known only by the Indians); the juniper (shug-pa); the birch (sTag-pa); the mountain willow (glan-ma); and the tamarisk (Om-bu). Nine types of grain were enumerated, namely, Yan-ma, ordinary barley; So-ba, coarse-grained barley; Shi-rog, early barley; Gro, wheat; Bra-bo, buckwheat; Kyer-ge, millet; sran-ma, the bean; nag-sran, the pea; Yuns-dkar, mustard. Now here there is a peculiar thing: The Tibetans in their beer songs speak about the origin of beer from barley. But when the question about the origin of barley as well as of the other types of grain comes up, they speak of the hunt. The primitive father caught all kinds of birds, and when he had caught the dove in the net, there were seven (not nine) different seed kernels in its stomach, from which all types of grain originated.

The land of Glin also possesses five types of gems which, according to the gZer-myig, are heaped up inside the mountain and are guarded by giants who stand outside, as well as dwarfs who live inside the mountain. According to the Kesar saga (manuscript of Gau-Phun-thsoys) these are the following kinds: gold, silver, turquoise, coral, and pearl or shell.

776 With respect to the goddess of the earth it should also be men-
773 tioned that as an active deity she recedes even more into the background than the rulers of the heavens do. Just as the role of the king of heaven has been transferred to Don-grub -Kesar, so that of the mother sKyabs-mdun has been transferred to Kesar's wife aBru-gu-ma. Although the Tibetan sagas offer no evidence for this, as far as I know to this date, I nevertheless believe it legitimate to assume that the original state of the mythology was as follows: The king of heaven wooed mother sKyabs-mdun, the earth, but (in winter) he lost this bride of his to the lord of the water spirits. Instead of this development we now find the same thing in the second generation: Kesar woos aBru-gu-ma, but again loses his wife to King "White Tent" (the king of the water spirits in the form of snow). aBru-gu-ma's origin from the earth deities is made probable by the fact that she is occasionally called the daughter of Father brTan-pa, and he, after all, is a divinity of the earth, as has

already been said. aBru-gu-ma's character as an earth deity appears 776
particularly clearly, however, when she receives her punishment for 773
having finally surrendered to King "White Tent." In this connection
it is told, among other things: "For punishment lucernes were sown
on her head and her head was plowed under with dzo oxen" (2). Un-

2. A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor,"
No. 9.

fortunately, the name aBru-gu-ma is not as transparent as many others.
Perhaps, however, it is connected with abru, "seed kernel." 532

Pictorial representations of the earth deity have not yet come to light. However, we read in the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 19-22), that she rides a horse called bTsan-rta-dmar-chun, "Little red earth horse." aBru-gu-ma is praised for her milk-white complexion. (3) Through her passing into the realm of the heavenly

3. Glin-glu of Phyi-dban, No. 4.

deities she has come to partake of their color. Of mother sKyabs-
mdun we read that she is seen by someone in a dream and appears to 823
him as though a snake were wound around her body (Shel-li-bu-zhun,
Paladins, III). But later it is explained that the apparent snake sym-
bolizes the hook-shaped land of Glin.

Through its high mountain peaks, on which the gods lived just as much as in heaven, Bar-btsan, the middle realm, touches the realm of the gods. The fact that there are also large lakes in the middle realm, connects it with the realm of the elves or Naga (Tibetan, Klu).

/10/ 3. Yog-klu, the realm of the water spirits, (Tibetan, Klu, [843]
Indic, Naga, English, "nymphs"). This realm is to be found in all the rivers and lakes and also below the earth, since the Tibetans believe that subterranean connections exist between the visible waters. The word Yog-klu signifies "the lower nymphs." Just like sTan-lha, Yog-klu is also a state. There a king rules over many servants and subjects who also distinguish themselves by their many children. (See Winter Myth, V, 17.)[1] The name of the king is written in my manuscripts, in accordance with the pronunciation, mostly lJogs-po, a word which is not to be found in the dictionaries. In the dictionaries, aJog-po is given as the name of a Naga king, but even aJog-po does not make any proper sense. The most probable thing is that lJogs-po is a dialectical variant of lCogs-po, which, according to

1 [See No. 116, pp 1-8 for references, --Analyst]

776 Jäschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is therefore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu of Kalatse,[1] aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

> Oh my wise king!
> When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
> And see all the nymphs of that land,
> Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[832] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to represent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[784] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the writing (1).

> 1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma," No. 7.[1]

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time. It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
751 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

human beings. This disease is called Klu-nad among the Tibetans, 776
and among the Indians Nagaroga (a disease caused by the nymphs). 773
The disease is ascribed to the nymphs because leprosy at first looks [751]
like snow. The passage cited from the chronicle of Ladakh seems to indicate that instead of one prince of Nagas, they conceived of two who lived in the Manasarowar Lake. This duality may be derived from the Indians. /11/ The Tibetans seem to have severed the adjective Zil-chen, "the radiant," from the name Ma-dros-zil-chen, and to have created a new divinity with it.

In the case of this king of the Nagas, Ma-dros or lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that he recedes into the background as an active deity as much as does the king of heaven and the goddess of the earth. He no longer goes out to rape the earth goddess. Rather, he has left this to younger persons, in particular to the king of Hor (Mongolia and Turkestan, countries to the north of Western Tibet). Winter is the time when the water masses, in the form of ice and snow, put the earth in their bondage, and winter's power penetrates from the north. In the Kesar saga we read that Kesar after his wedding goes off to the north in order to do battle against the Giant of the North, and that during this time King Gur-dkar (that is, "White Tent") of Hor rapes aBru-gu-ma. For many passages of the Kesar saga it appears that the Naga king was a divinity for human beings, and that, even though a third-class divinity, he received the same hommage accorded the god of heaven and the goddess of earth. From this ethically impeccable figure, however, there soon developed a new figure which embodied the evil principle. We shall speak later of this "devil" bDud.

Ancient representations of the Tibetan Klu, in particular of the [532] king, have not yet been found. From the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 27-30)[1] we see that King lJogs-po rides a horse called Klu-rta-snon-chun, "little blue nymph horse." In the dream song (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III)[1] we read that the king carries something in his mouth which at first glance looks like a black sheep. Later it turns out that the presumed sheep is actually a lotus flower.

The Colors of the Three Realms. The most original color system 773
is apparently to be found in a version of the Kesar saga of the village 822
of Sheh (Shel) as it is written down in the Spring and Winter Myths. There we frequently hear of three altars erected in honor of the deities of the realms of the world, which have white, red, and blue for their colors (1). According to this system, sTan-lha, the realm

1. Spring Myth, IV, 20-26; VII, 22, 30; IX, 1.
[See cat 116, pp. 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

773 of the "upper gods," is of a white color, probably because of the
822 light which predominates there. Bar-btsan, the realm of earth, is red. This is probably connected with the reddish color of the ground. In other countries there are also connections between the concepts red, earth, and man. As a byword for the earth we find often in the wedding songs the word gro-mo, which means "grayish red."

Yog-klu, the realm of the "lower nymphs," is blue. The Tibetan lakes are famous for their deep-blue color.

In the Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar saga, the color system appears somewhat different. Here we find the following: sTan-lha is white, Bar-btsan is red, and Yog-klu is black (2). The

2. Lower Ladakhi Version, pp. 37, 86, 288, etc.

practice of making blue and black synonymous has also been observed elsewhere among primitive peoples.

In the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga we find the color system even further advanced, perhaps on the basis of certain [illegible]y Tibetan forms of the saga. Here sTan-lha has the color [illegible]e; Bar-btsan is yellow; and Yog-klu is black (3). The trans-

3. Bogda gesser khan, pp. 163, etc.; p. 201.

formation of the color red into yellow is probably to be attributed to the reformation of Lamaism by Tson-kha-pa. One day, as I was standing in front of three chorten of white, yellow, and blue, and as I was speaking about these with the Kardar of Lower Ladakh, an educated Tibetan, this man told me that this group of chorten were of the right colors. He called wrong all groups painted red, white, and blue, /12/ which occurs much more frequently. He had arrived at this judgement in his capacity as a disciple of the teachings of Tson-kha-pa. As in this case of the garment of the lamas, he also wanted to see the color red replaced by yellow in the case of the chorten. Now, however, it seems probable to me that the colors white, red, and blue represent the oldest color system of the Tibetans with respect to the three realms of the world.

[See pp. 1-8, Cat. 116 for references --Analyst]

15: Francke--19 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Divinities of the Four Points of the Compass

Particularly in the wedding songs we find that the deities of the 776
four points of the compass play an important role. Yet even on 821
other occasions they sometimes become prominent. In some songs we find the Lokapalas, just as they are familiar to us from India even though they appear under Tibetan names. This is not to be wondered at if we remind ourselves that, after all, even Indra had been accepted by the Tibetans. We must try, with the aid of the songs, to become acquainted with the original songs of the Tibetans dealing with this matter. First of all, we should recall the songs that celebrate the points of the compass as bestowers of great gifts. In wedding songs X and XIII[1] it is stated that the East gives us the sun, but also the moon and the stars. The South provides grain and, with it, great wealth, even gold. From the West come the medicines, astronomy flourishes there too--because of the use of the Chinese diagrams, and also the art of prophecy. The North is praised for the gifts of the colors and of salt. Kesar's war (No. X)[1] is also supposed to take place there.

In the preceding pages something has already been said about 821
color. A color system was now connected with the points of the 822
compass, in such a way, in fact, that birds as well as eggs of a certain color were accommodated there. In wedding songs Nos. XV, XXXIX, and XLI,[1] we read that in the East a white bird and a white egg are to be found. In No. XV[1] the bird of the East is designated as Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "wild king of the birds." In the South lives a yellow bird, and a golden egg is also to be found there. The bird of the West is red, and the egg which exists there is called coral-red. The bird of the North is sometimes black, sometimes of a turquoise blue color. Sometimes it is a raven and sometimes a peacock. The egg is turquoise blue or iron black.

In wedding song No. XXXIX[1] we are now also introduced to per- 776
sons, perhaps deities of a sort, who live in the various points of the 821
compass. In the East, Sa-gon-bdag-po, the "owner of the earth," the king; probably Kesar as ruler of the earth. In the South, it is mThsan-ldan-bla-ma, "famous priest," an unknown figure; in the West, U-rgyan-padma-Padmasambhava, and in the North, mGar-mkhan-A-nag, the smith a-nag, and aBrug-u-ma, probably his daughter. If this system is not completely original, the one in song No. XXXVIII[1] is even less so. Here the points of the compass

1 [See pp. 1-8, Cat. 116 for references -- Analyst]

776 are occupied in the following way: the East: Shakya-thub-pa,
821 Buddha; South: aJam-dpal, Manjusir; the West: mKyen-rab, the founder of the Bon religion; the North: rGyal-rjes-dkar-po, the great white king, perhaps a variant of Gur-dkar, King "White Tent" (snow).

821 Now it is very peculiar that the Tibetans, when they related
823 real regions to the points of the compass, created a great deal of confusion. This came about because they established the gifts of the points of the compass first. When these gifts were established, they suddenly hit upon the idea of looking around for earthly countries which supplied such gifts in particular.

In wedding song No. X the East is brought into relation with India. This is to be explained in the following manner: The gift of the east is, above all, the sun. But Kesar too belongs to the East, and also Buddha (No. XXXVIII). Buddha came from India. Therefore India is placed in the East. The South supplies /13/ grain, and in so doing it leads to riches. At the time of the composition of the songs, Persia was known as the richest country. Consequently, Persia was connected with the South. The West was considered the realm of medicine; the spirits of medicine, called sMan, lived there. But all medicine men also busied themselves with astrology and prophecy, especially from the Chinese diagrams. Since the Chinese surpassed all their neighbors in these arts, China was connected with the West. The situation is probably most favorable in the North. Besides the colors, salt is supposed to be found in the North, and salt actually can be found in large quantities in the north Tibetan lake areas, Byan-than. These areas are also assigned to the North in the song (compare Ladakhi Songs, No. 15). By the land of "Kesar's war" in the North we are to understand in particular Hor or Turkestan.

776 We now come to the names of the Indian Lokapala, which have
821 penetrated into some wedding songs. In wedding song No. IX they are enumerated in the following way:

1. Yul-akhor-srun (Dhritarashta) . . . . . East
2. aPhags-skyed-po (Virudhaka) . . . . . South
3. sPyan-mig-bzan (Virupaksha) . . . . . West
4. rNam-thos-sras (Vaisravana or Kubera) . . North

In wedding songs No. II of Khalatse and No. XLII of Tag-ma-cig, however, four names of deities are given, which correspond completely to the Dhyanibuddhas of the Tantric school (according to De la Vallee Poussin). But here they have no relation to Dhyani or contemplation. Rather, they appear quite actually as kings of the four

[See PRI-8, category 116 for references --Analysis]

points of the compass. Their names are the following: 776

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajrasatva) . . . . . East 821
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan (Ratnasambhava) . . . South
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas (Amitabha) . . . . . West
4. Don-yod-grub-pa (Amoghasiddha) . . . . North.

Even the Indian Lokapala have connections with certain colors, 821
and it is now of some importance to establish how the Indic system 822
is related to the color system of the wedding songs, as it has been 171
described so far. In order to clarify the situation, I shall recapitulate the latter:

1. East . . . . . white.
2. South . . . . . yellow (gold).
3. West . . . . . red (once, No. XV, turquoise).
4. North . . . . . black (or blue).

The Indic Lokapalas are represented in Lamaism with the following skin colors:

1. Dhritarashta . . . . East . . . . . white.
2. Virudhaka . . . . . South . . . . blue.
3. Virupaksha . . . . . West . . . . . red.
4. Vaisravana (Kubera). North . . . . . yellowish gold.

We see that, except for white in the East, and red in the West, the two systems have no connection with each other. The Indic Lokapalas constitute an extrinsic element in the field of the popular religion of the Tibetans.

/14/ Things have advanced a little further, on the other hand, in 776
the case of the Dhyanibuddhas. In wedding song No. XLII[1] these have 821
been related to colors, and in this case it appears that the ancient 822
Tibetan system has penetrated almost in its entirety. In this song the following colors are named:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa . . . East . . . . white.
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan . . South . . . yellow.
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas . . . West . . . . blue.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa . . . North . . . . black.

To summarize, we may say that it appears from these old songs that the Tibetans had deities for the four points of the compass; further, that they first conceived of them in the form of birds and later apparently in human shape, and associated them with certain colors, originally, probably, white, yellow, red, and blue. In later times the names of Indic deities belonging to the points of the compass penetrated into the Tibetan system.

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116 for references --Analyst]

The Tree of the World and the Old Order of Prayer

773 The tree of the world is frequently mentioned in the old songs.
824 It is mentioned in greatest detail in No. VIIb[1] of the wedding songs. There its name is given as rGya-lcan, "great meadow," or rGyal-lcan, "king's meadow." In song No. XXXVI[1] it is named Shin-sde-rgyal, "king of the tree species," and in song No. XXXVII[1] the Indic name Jambuvriksha, "tree of Jambudvipa" is mentioned. In song No. VIIb[1] it is said, first of all, of this tree that it has three tops (rtse-mo-gsum). This is to be understood as signifying that the tree grows through all three worlds, the land of the nymphs, the land of human beings, and the land of the gods. In each of these three realms it appears as an independent tree, which touches with its top the roof of the world concerned. According to the same song, this tree has six branches. Seen from the land of human beings, this is to be understood as follows: A branch extends to each of the four points of the compass, a further branch (actually the main trunk) grows upward from the center of the earth, and another branch (actually the root) stretches downward from the center of the earth.

Song No. XXXIXa[1] confirms the fact that I have interpreted song No. VIIb correctly. In song No. XXXIXa[1] it is stated of the tree of the world that it has five tops or branches on one root. These are covered with nests and eggs, as was said of the previous tree. Since in this song the root is not counted as a branch, only five branches remain. In the same song it is also made clear that by the four branches the lines of the compass card are to be understood, while the eggs indicate the colors of the four points of the compass.

As we have seen, it is possible to think of five branches and eggs, in the case of the world tree, or, likewise, of six branches and with eggs. A seventh place may be considered, if not for the branches, at least for the nests, that is, the point in the center, from which all the branches proceed. This possibility has been carried out in wedding song No. XXXVI[1], where we actually hear of seven birds who guard the seven eggs on the tree of the world.

773 Now, as far as the colors of the birds and the eggs are concerned,
822 it must be admitted that, in view of the obscurity of the indications, it will scarcely be possible any longer to set up a definite system. This obscurity seems to have come about by the fact that nature hardly ever presented examples in which the colors of the birds'

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 11b, for references --Analyst]

feathers and of the eggs corresponded. Where do we find red birds 773
laying red eggs, /15/ or yellow birds laying yellow eggs? And while 822
in song No. XLI[1] nature was easily ignored, and they placed a yellow bird on a yellow egg (No. XXXIX)[1] in the South, in the West a red bird on a red egg, and so forth, they were more cautious in the case of song No. VIIb.[1] They accepted the color of the egg given in the song as binding, and then proceeded to look around in nature for birds that lay eggs of this particular color. They happened to know that the snow pheasant, which, after all, is of a pure white color, lays coral-red eggs, and therefore they placed it on the red egg of the branch concerned. To the white falcon is attributed an iron-colored egg, because its egg is supposed to resemble iron in nature, and so forth. The golden egg in this song is accorded to the bird Khyun, the sun bird, because the sun appears golden in color. However, it remains uncertain on which of the branches of the world tree we should place it, since it is impossible to determine which of the branches is to be considered the "first."

We can see from the songs about the tree of the world that in the 773
thoughts of the ancient Tibetans there was a connection between the 776
deities of the three worlds which lay on top of one another, and those of the four regions of heaven. They celebrated these gods in song not only in special groups consisting of the first three or the latter four, but they also composed songs in which all seven were celebrated together. Such a song is No. 1 of the wedding songs of Khalatse.[1] This [782]
song deals with an offering of incense. The smoke, it is said, rises upward, spreads out over the earth, sinks down, and moves to the four points of the compass in order to allay the anger of all these deities.

So long as the highest of the water spirits was still considered a beneficent deity, there were seven divinities who were invoked together in such songs. But as we have already said, the prince of the nymphs was excluded from the circle of the other gods as the devil. In this way the group of the six chief deities came into being, and we encounter this group in the Tag-ma-cig wedding song, No. X,[1] in which the blessings of the six places, heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass, are enumerated. It is peculiar that as the blessing of heaven rain is named in particular.

Here we notice the similarity with ancient Chinese mythology as it is reported in the Schu-king II, I, 6, "Emperor Schun brought a special offering, but employing the usual forms, to Schang-ti. He brought his offering to the six honorable ones (heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass). As was proper, he made an offering

1 [See pp 1-9, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

776 to the mountains and the rivers and extended his worship to the one
773 hundred spirits." A corresponding passage is to be found also in the book of rites, Li-chi, where it says: "The son of heaven made an offering to heaven and earth, the four points of the compass, the mountains and the rivers, to the land and to the grain; he also brought the five domestic offerings." We see that among the Chinese the six "honorable ones" precede, but that they can be followed by some lesser deities. The latter is also the case among the Tibetans, and in the song just mentioned about incense offerings, wedding song, No. I, after the seven main deities there come the following lesser ones: the god of the mountain peak, the god of the village, and the god of the household. In a similar manner, other songs also descend from sublime deities till they finally arrive at the members of the family.

171 In this arrangement, which corresponds among the Tibetans and
773 the Chinese, I believe I can recognize a sign of mythological relationship between these two peoples. It is true that the "three worlds" and the "four kings of the earth" are also to be found among many other peoples, from the Babylonians to the Indians. But only the Tibetans and the Chinese make these two groups into "highest divinities." It is of especial value to us that from this combination the world tree of Tibetan mythology with its six branches, can be explained.

/16/ The Devil bDud

773 Occasionally a fourth universal realm is added to the three
776 great realms of the world, sTan-lha, Bar-btsan, and Yog-klú, that is, the realm of the devil bDud. The color of the devil's realm is black according to the Sheh (Shel) version, and brownish-violet (smug-po) according to the Lower Ladakhi Version (1). In the

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the king of Hor," No. 6.[1]

Winter Myth, II, 21-26,[2] we read that Kesar on his journey found on four mountain passes four altars, which had been erected to the divinities of the three universal realms and to the devil and were white, red, blue, and black in color. Kesar worshipped at the three first altars by offering on them white, red, and blue material.

1 [See pp 1-8, Category 116, for references --Analyst]

The fourth altar, however, the devil's black altar, he destroyed completely, leaving not a trace of it behind. Looking at a passage like this, one might be led to the belief that the ancient Tibetans knew, side by side with the three realms of the world just described, a fourth, self-contained realm, that belonging to the devil. Since the devil is frequently designated by the modifier sdig-can, "sinful," we would here be dealing with an ethically condemned personality, while the deities of the other three realms are worthy of human worship. 773 776

However, several observations lead me to the belief that the figure of the devil has developed from the deities of the water world and of winter, which stand in opposition to the bright gods of heaven. Thus, the word bdud, "devil," serves to designate various beings in Tibetan mythology. The etymology of this name is not simple. It seems to me that bdud represents a denominative formation from dud, "smoke, and soot." Bdud could then mean "the sooty one," "the black one." This would correspond with his appearance in certain versions of the Kesar saga. Even though bdud is constantly translated by the Indic words mara and Kama, nevertheless it does not seem to me that we have here a case of translation from the Indic. The devil bdud was found fully developed by the Indians in Tibet. In the Kesar saga, the devil bird is designated by the name bdud. This bird goes out to steal the goats of heaven (Spring Myth, I); furthermore, the king of the North country, King White Tent (gur-dkar), who abducts Kesar's wife; and finally, the Giant of the North (Cu-ru-lu-gu), who keeps the Bam-za-abum-skyid imprisoned in a cage (Winter Myth, III). All these are surely forms of the powers of the water and of winter, and it is this circumstance which leads up to the conclusion that in their case the origin of the notion of the devil is to be sought among the Tibetans. 776 196 773

The realm of the devil is designated quite particularly as the castle of the Giant of the North, Cu-ru-lu-gu (Winter Myth, III, IV). The fount of nectar and milk is to be found there (IV, 17).[2] The word for nectar in Tibetan points directly to the devil bdud, for nectar is called bdud-rtsi, "devil's juice." Perhaps the food and drink of forgetfulness, which according to IV, 1,[1] are found there, are also connected with the well of nectar. According to the narrative Mon-gces-pa (Paladins), the land of the devil is also populated by poisonous snakes, which might point to Yog-klu, the realm of the nymphs. In view of his size, his hunger, and his stupidity, the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu is particularly reminiscent of the giants of the German world of saga and mythology, and thus at the 776 773

[2] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references --Analyst]

773 same time of the "stupid devil" of Europe.
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/17/ The Seven and the Eighteen Agus

773 Aside from Kesar, the eighteen or seven Agus, so-called, are
805 the greatest heroes of the Kesar saga. Kesar is the leader of these
776 heroes, and together with him they form a group of nineteen beings whom I am inclined to regard as personifications of an old calendar. The days of the week seem to have found their embodiment here, and perhaps the months, insofar as a connection exists between them and the constellations of the zodiac.

773 About the origins of the Agus we read in the Lower Ladakhi Ver-
776 sion of the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, I, "Prologue to the Kesar Saga"):[1] The forefather bKra-shis, together with his wife, seeded a field on which only a single tree was growing. From its fruits worms arose that ate one another until at the end only a single giant worm was left. This worm turned into a beautiful child, for whom eighteen brides were sought. All the brides became pregnant as soon as they looked at the child, and from them the eighteen Agus were born.

196 The word A-gu is the dialectal form of the Tibetan word A-khu,
[587] which means "uncle," "father's brother," but which in Western
773 Tibet can also mean "husband." The last-named meaning may be
776 connected with the fact that the brothers of the master of the house have a claim upon the master's wife. Moreover, it should be remembered that among the Dard of mDa, the word Mum-mo, which also means "uncle," is used, in their old songs, in the sense of "forebears." Some of this last meaning may also have penetrated into the Tibetan word A-gu.

773 The order of the eighteen Agus is given as follows in the para-
776 graph of the Kesar saga (Prologue):

1. Pasan-ldan-ru-skyes, with a goat's head.
2. An-gar-rtsans-po, with a lizard's head.
3. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun, with a hawk's head.
4. Kha-rgan-ga-ni, with a white beard.
5. sKya-ba-rgod-po, with a ladle for a head,
6. Zla-ba-bzan-po, with a moon for a head.
7. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, with an arrow tip fro a head.
8. A-la-jon-gol, with a boot sole for a head.
9. aBu-dmar-lam-btan, with an insect's head.
10. Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, with a mirror for a head.

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references--Analyst]

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11. Ga-nigon-ba, with a collar for a head.
12. Lag-lag-rins, with a hand for a head (1).

1. Or Khyab-pa-lag-rins.

13. rKan-rkan-rins, with a leg for a head.
14. Bon-nag-ldum-bu, with an ass's head.
15. bKa-blon-ldan-pa, with a hum head.
16. dPal-le-rgod-po, with an old man's head.
17. rNa-gYu-rna-athsal, with a turquoise for a head.
18. Zla-ba-dkar-po, with a white shell for a head.

The group of the seven Agus is likewise to be found in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 7. Here the following names are mentioned:

/18/ 1. dPal-le, cf. No. 16 of the previous series.
2. Ga-ni, cf. No. 11 of the previous series.
3. Gon-ma-bu-thsa.
4. lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, the sharp-sighted.
5. rNa-gYu-rna-athsal, the sharp hearer, compare No. 17 of the previous series.
6. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the able marksman, compare No. 7 of the previous series
7. dPal-moi-a-stag, the female Agu.

A somewhat different series of the seven Agus is to be found in Paladins, No. II, "Tale of sKya-ba-rgod-po.[1] Here the following names are given:

1. dPal-le-rgod-po.
2. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun.
3. An-gar-ltsans-pa.
4. Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, the heavy eater.
5. Lag-lag-rins, long hand.
6. rKan-rkan-rins, speedy runner.
7. sKya-ba-dkar-po.

In the group of the seven Agus there are always some Agus to be found who distinguish themselves by special faculties of the senses and the limbs. Their deeds are reminiscent of the deeds of European fairy-tale heroes, such as we find, for instance, in "Six Go Through the Entire World." Each group of the seven Agus contains three such artists, both together therefore six; there is, the sharp-eyed one, the sharp heater, the good marksman, the heavy eater, the speedy runner, and the man with the long hand. All these work for the benefit of a seventh, who is their king. Perhaps we have in these Agus,

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references --Analyst]

776 distinguished by their special faculties, with their leader, the
773 original group of the seven before us. Although most of the Agus from the group of seven are to be found again in the group of eighteen, there are nevertheless some who only appear in the group of seven. Such Agus are: Gon-ma-bu-thsa, lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, dPal-moi-a-stag, Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, sKha-ba-dkar-po. In the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, III, 25-45) we become acquainted with one Agu, Za, "eater," who may possibly be connected with the heavy eater among the Agus in the group of seven. So much, however, is certain, that the number of Agus, if we were to count up all the figures that we encounter here and there in sags and poems, would rise far above eighteen. I explain this from the fact that each village established its own Kesar saga. Each village may thus also have prepared its own list of the eighteen Agus. As the villages communicated with one another they exchanged names of the Agus, and in this way the present order was brought into the various systems. However the series of Agus may be composed, there seems always to be a traitor among them. Thus, Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun appears as traitor in abducting aBru-gu-ma, as well as in the death of her protector, aBu-dmar-lam-batan. (See A Lower Ledakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma.") Quite in accordance with this is the behavior of the same Agus during Kesar's expedition to China. (See A Lower Ladakhi Version.)

773 As has already been mentioned, a heroine is to be found in the
805 group of the seven Agus, dPal-moi-a-stag. This brings me to the
776 question as to whether we may be permitted to see embodiment of
821 the days of the week in the Agus. The Tibetan's week is the same as ours, that is, the system of the seven days named after the old planets, which probably originated from Babylonia and on its way through India came to the Tibetans too. Preceding the names of the days of the week is the word gZa, /19/ meaning "plantet." However, it must be said that the names of these planets are so unclear etymologically that they can be explained only with great difficulty. The names of the days of the week are:

gZa-nyi-ma, Sunday (nyi-ma, "sun).
gZa-zla-ba, Monday (zla-ba, "moon").
gZa-mig-dmar, Tuesday (mig-dmar, "red eye").
gZa-lhag-pa, Wednesday (lhag-pa, "provided with a hand").
gZa-phur-bu, Thursday (phur-bu, "thunderbolt").
gZa-pa-sans, Friday (pa-sans? sans, "pure").
gZa-spen-pa, Saturday (dpen-pa, "beautiful, charming").

[See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

The following Agus might have a connection with the days of the week: Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, or gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, the "crystal" or "mirror" or "gold son," the son of Kesar, for Sunday; Zla-ba-bzan-po, "good moon," or Zla-ba-dkar-po, "white moon," for Monday; for Tuesday we must go to a being which so far has not been designated as an Agu. This is the Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat, red eye," a bird (that is, star), which is named as the younger brother of the sun bird (see Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue").[1] Among the Agus it is approached most closely by aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, "red worm, road sign," which is designated as a younger brother of King Kesar. With respect to Wednesday, it is to be remarked that the spelling lhag-pa is perhaps incorrect, and for the following reason: In the pictures by which the days of the week are designated in the calendar, Wednesday is always indicated by a hand. Now, "hand," is not called lhag-pa, but lag-pa. I believe that, from the word lag-pa, "hand," first of all the word slag-pa, meaning "provided with a hand," was formed; slag-pa and lhag-pa are, however, pronounced identically. Lhag-pa should therefore mean "the one who is provided with a hand," and since Agu Lag-lag-rins is provided with a hand on his head, he might appear as the representative of Wednesday. Thursday has the phur-bu or vajra as a sign. In this place, therefore, a hero of the type of Jupiter would fit. Now, a thunderbolt hero is not to be found among the Agus, apparently for the reason that this weapon became known to the Tibetans only through the Indians. As the lexicon tells us, the word phur-bu signifies, first of all, any pointed iron, therefore also an arrowhead. It is therefore not impossible that in mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the "highest arrow master," we have the Agu of Thursday before us, especially since he has an arrowhead for a head (1). The

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1. Perhaps, however, Kesar himself should be inserted under Thursday, as a fighter against the dragon of the clouds. The "arrow master" as "archer" should probably be assigned to the zodiac.

Agu of Friday is immediately recognizable by his name. He is Pa-sans-ldan-ru-skyes, "owner of (the planet) Venus, growing horns." By these horns are meant the phases of Venus which the Tibetans were able to see just as clearly as the Babylonians. It is impossible to determine from the name whether the Agu was male or female. Perhaps in order to emphasize the feminine nature of this planet, the female Agu dPal-moi-a-stag, "(A-stag?) the glorious one," was created. She is famous as a fierce warrior with the spear. To this

1 [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references -- Analyst]

773 it should be added at once that the ancient Tibetans seem to have
776 been acquainted with the profession of battle maidens as much as
805 the ancient Germanic tribes. In wedding song No. XLIII,[1] in which
821 the guests have cups of different colors set before them according to their rank, there appear after the lama, the king, and the ministers, first of all the sTag-shar, the tiger heroes, then the sTag-dman, the tiger virgins, and finally the Na-chun, the ordinary virgins. The sTag-shar and the sTag-dman drink from golden cups, the ordinary virgins, on the other hand, drink from red cups. With respect to Saturday, I must /20/ confess that so far it seems to me impossible to connect an Agu with the Tibetan planet of this day.

773 Now as far as the relationship of the Agus to an ancient zodiac
776 is concerned, I would say that it is particularly the external appear-
805 ance of the Agus that makes their origin from a zodiac seem possi-
171 ble. The Agus are described as creatures of human shape, some of whom are provided with animal heads. In this connection, however, it should be said at once that the animals in the signs of the zodiac in use today in China as well as in Tibet, are the very ones that cannot be found among the animal heads of the Agus. It is well-known, however, that the zodiac in use today was not introduced into either country until historical times (before the seventh or eighth century). The zodiac symbolized in the Agus, on the other hand, may have originated in the prehistoric period of the two peoples.

The zodiac known today in China and Tibet has the following twelve animal signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, ape, hen, dog, and pig. The zodiac is used in the calendar to designate the years. The Tibetans report that this calendar was brought to them by the Chinese in the seventh century. It must therefore have been introduced into China somewhat earlier. The same animal names were then also used to designate the different months. As the excavations in Turkestan indicate, the Tibetans of the eighth century divided the year into twelve months, with three of the months constituting a season of the year. At that time they spoke of the second and the third spring month, and so forth. Each month, at that time, was reckoned at thirty days. I suspect this because the number 360 plays such an important role with the gods, the nymphs, and similar beings.

Although it is as yet impossible to equate all the Agus in the list given above with the known signs of the zodiac, the following should nevertheless be pointed out: An-gar-rtsans-po with the lizard's head can be compared with the snake of the Dodekaoros;

1/1 [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references, --Analyst]

Khrai-mgo with the hawk's head can be compared with the hawk of 773
the Dodekaoros; aBu-dmar-lam-bstan with the insect's head can be 776
compared with the beetle of the Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, "Old 805
Mouth," with the white beard, can be compared with the ape of the 171
Dodekaoros; Bon-mag with the donkey's head, with the donkey of the Dodekaoros. As has already been mentioned, mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the great arrow master, belongs perhaps to the "archer" of the Babylonian zodiac. As A. Jeremias observes in his "Handbuch," the previously mentioned zodiac of the Chinese, which begins with the rat, the ox, and the tiger, is related to the Hellenistic Dodekaoros. After what has just been said, it seems to me that the zodiac symbolized by the Agus comes much closer to the Dodekaoros. Here we have, perhaps, the intermediate link between the Asiatic West and East with respect to this calendar problem.

Favorite Numbers in the Ancient Mythology

Three is a particularly favored number. The world is composed 773
of three parts, the king of the heavens has three sons, King "White 801
Tent" must perform three labors, three Shar-an-dre, according to the Lower Ladakh Version, strive to kill the child Kesar. The Agu Khrai-thun needs three hats, three stirrups, and three dog collars ("Journey to China"). According to wedding song No. XIII[1] there are three famous castles, three lakes, three forms of greeting, of smiling, and of swearing; according to No. LIX,[1] there are three kinds of people, of cattle and of iron tools, and there are three kinds of fields.

The number seven appears somewhat less frequently. However, the smaller group of the Agus consists of seven heroes. According to the Sheh version there are seven An-dhe-ban-dhe who try to kill the infant Kesar. Seven /21/ types of grain seeds are found in the stomach of the dove that has been caught. Tag-ma-cig, (wedding song No. LIX.[1]) With seven bones and seven shells Dze-mo performs her magic on Cu-ru-lu-gu (in the Winter Myth, No. 3).[1]

The number nine occurs with special frequency. The monster from which gDon-gsum-mi-la constructs the world, has nine heads; the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu has nine lives; according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] Kesar is victorious in nine battles; according to Spring Myth, VI,[1] 29, nine little pieces of butter are spread along the edge of the beer jug in honor of the guest. Nine gods and nine Pisaca were born together with Kesar, according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] 34. In everyday life, the number nine is also in frequent use. A full rosette is

1 [See pp 1-8, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

773 one with nine rows; they travel over nine mountains and through
801 nine valleys. This frequent use of the number nine was probably what induced Schiefner to include the number under the plural designations. It is actually true that the number nine is frequently used as a loose designation for a large number. But in the majority of cases it is a matter of nine things or processes that have been counted.

Twice number nine, eighteen, is also quite frequent. The number of the Agus is eighteen. Eighteen splinters are broken out of the horn of the wild yak, by the Agu dPal-le (see "The Story of Kesar's Birth"). Eighteen An-dre-bar-an-dre of the East were born together with Kesar, according to the Winter Myth, VIII, 34. With respect to the number eighteen it should be observed that occasionally it is followed by the number nineteen. The people say: there were 18 or 19 lamas who came! Perhaps this has its origin in the fact that it is possible to add to the eighteen Agus Kesar as their leader, getting a group of nineteen heroes in this way.

Let us mention a few more numbers that play a lesser role but are nonetheless worth noting:

Thirteen. This number, which plays a significant part in the Bon religion that developed later, is only to be found once in the literature we are dealing with here, and that is in wedding song No. XXXII[1] of Tag-ma-cig, where all the numbers from one to thirteen are discussed and the chief use of each number is indicated. Although Buddhism and the Bon religion are also taken into account in this song, it will be well to cite the numbers it mentions:

1. One is the number of the central religion (thig-le-nyag), of the most important elements, in which all religions are at one.
2. Two is the number of the two means (apparently of salvation). Here the Bon religion and Buddhism seem to be meant.
3. Three is the number of the three Buddhistic jewels (triratna).
4. Four is the number of the guardians of the world, of the kings of the four points of the compass.
5. Five is the number of the five Dhyanibuddhas.
6. Six is the number of the six types of rebirth.
7. Seven is the number of the predecessors of Buddha.
8. Eight is the number of the eight provinces of the realms of the gods and the demons.

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. --Analyst]

9. Nine is the number of the heads of the nine-headed monster. 773 801

10. Ten is the number of the tips of the horn of the stag (Ru-bou).

11. Eleven is the number of the heads of Avalokitesvara.

12. Twelve is the number of the months.

13. Thirteen is the number of the religious ceremonies.

The number 27 is to be found once. aBru-gu-ma, who has been abducted by King "White Tent," receives, according to the Lower Ladakhi Version, a grace period of 27 years before she surrenders herself to her new lord and master.

The number 45 (five times nine) is given as the number of the pha-spun (the relatives on the father's side) and the ma-spun (the relatives on the mother's side) belonging to aBru-gu-ma (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 129).[1]

As has already been mentioned, 360 is the number of the gods as well as of the nymphs (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 192).[1]

Animism

In the following pages we shall summarize everything that can be said about the personification of the forces of nature in the ancient religion of the Tibetans. 774 821 773

The sun, the moon, and the stars (1) play an important part

1. Among the stars in particular the constellations rgyu-skar or houses of the moon.

here. Sometimes they are placed at the beginning of the songs, before all the gods even. (Wedding songs, Nos. XVIb, XLV.[1] Ladakhi Songs, No. XXX.[1]) In these songs the sun is frequently called Khri-gdugs-nyi-ma, "sun, the screen of the throne," apparently because of its round shape, which is reminiscent of a parasol. Even more frequently the sun is conceived of as a bird that flies across heaven. As a bird it has the name Bya-khyun-nyi-ma, "the bird Khyun-dkrun, the sun" (Frühlingsmythus, Appendices, No. 9), or Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, "bird, sun, Khyun-run" ("Prologue to the Kesarsaga," No. 9). These names are composed of meaningful words. It is very important that the words "bird" as well as "sun" appear in them in an unmistakable manner. The word Khyun is equated with the Indic word Garuda. With respect to Garuda, it has occasionally been denied that it had any kind of relationship to the sun and

1 [See Categ. p. 116, nn 1-8, for references --Analyst]

773 merely an obscure mythological phenomenon has been recognized
774 in it. However, the fact that the Tibetans connect the name Khyun
821 with the word for "sun" in one name, raises certain considerations. If in Tibet the sun and Khyun are combined in one name, then it is certainly possible that in India people also thought of the sun when they mentioned the name Garuda. The syllable dkrun, or, corrupted, run, gives the most trouble in the name. It may refer to the fact that no feet are visible on the bird of the sun. For sKyil-dkrun signifies sitting down with the feet drawn in. In the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue," No. 9,[1] we learn something about the ancestors of the sun bird. It is supposed to be the son of the bird No-ldo-re, and the latter is supposed to be the son of the bird Khu-byug-rgyal-po. While the name On-ldo-re cannot be translated, Khu-(b)yug-
[825] rgyal-po means "king cuckoo." The cuckoo is actually a particularly favorite bird among the Tibetans, and it also plays an important part in the mythology of the Bon religions. According to passages in the dictionary of S. Ch. Das, under "Khyun," it looks as though Khyun was originally used to designate the eagle. Khyun, On-ldo-re, and Khu-(b)yug are probably the names of three birds that were worshiped and that were all three equated with the sun. The story of the provenance of the sun bird in the "Prologue" is thus probably only intended to signify that the sun of the present day is the child of the sun of yesterday, and that the latter is again the child of the day before yesterday. The case is different with the birth of the sun from aBru-gu-ma, as we find it reported in the Spring Myth, Appendices, No. 3.[1] (Similarly in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," p. 69.) This event is best explained if we recognize, as we mentioned earlier, an earth goddess in aBru-gu-ma. When the sun rises in the morning, it is, after all, possible to say that it was born
[776] from the earth. A curious sun and moon myth is the story of the Agu Za in Spring Myth, II, 34-45.[1] Za means "eater," and this particular Agu devours not only Don-grub, the future King Kesar, but he also only surrenders Kesar again after he has been promised that the sun and the moon will be given him to eat for a year. Such devourers of the sun and the moon are not only the spirits of the eclipses of the sun and /23/ the moon, but also the mountain and cloud spirits. It is precisely the large mountains rising steeply from the river valleys that frequently prevent the appearance of the sun for several months during the winter. From the personifications of the mountains have arisen the spirits of the mountains or the giants.

The moon is also frequently conceived of as a bird. It is called Bya-mo-dkar-mo, the "white lady bird" (see Lower Ladakhi Version,

[1 [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references.-- ANALYS]

"aBru-gu-ma's Marriage to Kesar," No. 6).[1] The feminine gender (the syllable mo) of the moon also finds expression in the name Zla-mthsan-dkar-mo, "moon, whose sign is white." (Tag-ma-cig, wedding song IIIb.) In the passage just cited from "aBru-gu-ma's Marriage," Bya-mo-dkar-mo appears quite actually as the bride of Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run. They both live in a house which by an arrow's length touches neither earth nor heaven and is, therefore, in the universe. Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, the sun bird, just happens not to be at home. He is hidden in a hermitage from which he will come forth after twenty-two days. These twenty-two days are probably of purely local significance. It is possible that in Lerdo, the village of origin for this saga, the sun is not visible for that many days during the winter, when it is hidden by the tall mountains. The moon, however, is visible during this time, and in winter its course may also be along the zenith. In the house between heaven and earth, as the saga tells us, the entire family (gZhid-mad) of the sun bird lives. To this family there also belongs, as its third member, Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat red eye," a creature which keeps watch on a mountain peak while the sun bird is engaged in meditation. The bat red eye seems to be the personification of the planet Mars, which always stays in the neighborhood of the sun. The present passage of the Kesar saga contains a statement that seems very strange to us. There it says: When the sun bird has concluded its meditation, it will come forth in order to destroy the earth. This is the reason why Kesar has to oppose it in a hostile manner. The idea that the sun bird will destroy the earth undoubtedly originated from India, where the scorching power of the sun in summer prevents any natural growth from coming up out of the soil. This notion of the Indians concerning the destructive activity of the sun bird was taken over without thought by the Tibetans, for in their country the sun is known only as a dispenser of blessings.

While the sun always shows its round shape, the moon (as well as Venus) is constantly changing its form. A reference is made to the sickle of the moon in one name that occurs in the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," No. 6. (Likewise "Prologue," No. 9.)[1] Here there is mention of an axe sTa-ri-zla-ba-dkar-po, "axe, white moon." This axe is considered the archetype of all axes and hatchets. In the same place reference is also apparently made to the moon when the "jug with the slanting mouth" (or the slanting opening) is mentioned. This phrase, namely, occurs immediately after the "jug with the red mouth," or the sun. The moon is in a slanting position shortly before it becomes full.

[1] [See cat 116, pp. 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

773 All these peculiar names of the sun and the moon are to be found
774 in the reports about Kesar's birth. At Kesar's birth there is a general
821 giving of birth to various creatures. The old sun gives birth to a young sun, the old moon to a young moon, and all breeding animals, horses, oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and so forth, give birth to young. Among the creatures not belonging to the animal kingdom which reproduce themselves at this point we find the rainbow, rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "great, colored rope," and the cloud, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-ston-shon, the "white sack, container of a thousand." Just as the sickle of the moon is considered the original ancestor of all sickles, axes, and hatchets, so the rainbow is regarded as the original ancestor of all strings and ropes, and the cloud is looked upon as the original ancestor of all sacks. The trinity of moon sickle, rainbow rope, and cloud sack, incidentally, also plays a significant role in the Ron-no-rub-can, the Tibetan Vetala.

Scattered here and there we also find still other personifications of the phenomena of nature. In wedding song No. IIIb[1] the wind, sKye-ser-rlun-po, is called "wind, rouser of coolness." To it is attributed /24/ the feat of having hollowed out the valleys. This is, of course, quite reminiscent of the modern theories of wind erosion held by our geographers. In the same song the rain, under the name sBan char-zil-bu, "moist rain, dew," is also mentioned. To it is attributed the creation of the concepts "above" and "below." This perhaps because of the fact that rain originates above and dew down below.

As we have already seen above, the personification of the glacier is Sne-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." In the song just cited she appears as the mother of the glacier. She is of great importance because on her depends the supply of water for the land. This lioness, the riding animal of the mother of the gods, is frequently mentioned, together with types of animals considered as firm representatives of the animal kingdom. However, this is, after all also the case with the sun bird Khyun. (See Tag-ma-cig, wedding songs Nos. I and II.) Such representatives of the animal kingdom are: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds"; the eagle; Kyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big ibex, the old ox"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, the "female fish gold eye"; it is also called Nya-mo-khyu-ru; rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "the white mouth born from Kiang," a horse; aBron-
773 byun-rog-po, "the black one born from the wild yak," a yak.

776 gNyan are said to be spirits who carry on their nefarious activi-
753 ties in various places. According to S. Ch. Das's Wörterbuch

1 [see category 116, pp. 1-8, for references -- Analyst]

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

> At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
> Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
> In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
> In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet. 769 [775]

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form phai-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.) [95] [113]

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu (Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po, rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCI in my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water SNAKES.

776 snakes. On the pictures I have said that the Khyun is represented
778 in the act of devouring two of the Nagas. It is remarkable that among the eight mGon-po of Nub-ra there is also one that bears the name Nagaraksha, "water-snake demon" in the Indic language. His rock is in Ron-mdo. Apparently there is a rock formation in mGo-sbed which is reminiscent of a Khyun, and in Ron-mdo there is one that looks like a water snake (klu).

782 It is undoubtedly a fact that at one time offerings were made at these ancient cult places.[1] Certainly they also performed dances there and said prayers.

Concerning the offerings we learn a few isolated facts from the wedding songs.

[824] The first of the wedding songs of Khalatse deals with a smoke offering. According to this song the wood of the Shug-pa tree (Juniperus excelsa), a type of juniper, which smells very good when it is burned, is brought as an offering. This offering is called bsan-shug, "juniper food," in the song, apparently because it is to serve as nourishment for the gods. The main purpose of this offering is to maintain peace with the gods. The first verse runs:

This blue smoke rising,
What does it mean?
This blue smoke rising
/26/ Means that there will be no conflict with brGya-byin, lord of the gods
For that do we offer the nourishing juniper tree!

[776] In this way the smoke is presented as an offering to the deities of heaven, of earth, of the water world, of the four points of the compass, of the castle, the village, and the house. Everywhere the smoke is believed to have an appeasing effect. In Number 2
[824] of the drinking songs of Khalatse,[2] two other plants are also named as materials fro incense, aside from the shug-pa, the "wood of the gods." These are su-lu-gser-po and kham-pa-dkar-po. Neither is known to me.

782 A very peculiar kind of sacrificial gift is named in the Tag-ma-
826 cig; wedding song No. XXXIII:[2] To the gods are to be sacrificed the white teeth and the fingernails; to the solid earth, the red flesh and the red blood; to the dark powers (mun) the gall and blue water; to the black devil, though, the black hairs and the eyebrows are to be offered. All these are parts of the body which among primitive peoples are regarded as the seat of mysterious powers, and their acquisition is looked upon as particularly desirable. Is there perhaps an idea of presenting the best to the divinities?

In this connection it should, by the way, be observed directly

1 [See pp. 37-38 -- Analyst] 2 [See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

782 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters
826 of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called gsun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During
[764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the
[266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have col-
[113] lected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this practice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of
[533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

sacrifice was, in later times, probably during the nineteenth century, replaced by an animal sacrifice. If, therefore, human sacrifices once took place in Tibet, these were probably transformed into animal sacrifices at a much earlier time. Animal sacrifices, on the other hand, /27/ are still performed to this day in the area of the West Tibetan kingdom before altars of the pre-Buddhistic religion, which are called ha-tho. At this sacrifice the heart of the still living animal (ram) is ripped out by the priest with his bare hand. Such altars are nowadays mostly found in the neighborhood of villages. They are one or two meters high, provided at the top with a bundle of juniper twigs, and down below they are surrounded with horns of wild sheep and ibexes. 782 34½

A more harmless offering is represented in a rock drawing near Ke-sar-gyi-sga. There we see a Nyo-pa, "bride purchaser" or "bride beggar" (1) who is carrying a sword by his side and in his 782

1. He is probably the leader of the Nyopa. For in the picture in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 131, only the leader has an arrow in his hand.

right hand an arrow decorated with a little flag, and is standing in front of three beer jugs. Each jug is provided with little patties of butter along the edge, which signify that the beer is offered to a higher being (it might, it is true, also be a person to whom high respect is paid). The fact that the gods were actually presented with offerings of beer can be seen from No. 5 of the Trinklieder von Khalatse /Drinking Songs of Khalatse/.[1]

It is highly probable that dances were also performed at these ancient places of worship, for even today each festival of the ancient religion is accompanied by dancing. Usually the boys and the girls dance separately among themselves by pacing around an open wood fire in a long procession. It is seldom that the rows of boys and girls, arranged in lines opposite each other, move toward each other. In the dances of the girls, peculiar stiff movements of the hands are noticeable, which alternate with the bending of the upper part of the body toward the ground. As I was told by the natives, these movements are to be interpreted as gathering flowers and presenting them to the gods in heaven. These dances performed by the laity should probably be distinguished from the dances of the Buddhistic priests and from those executed by the migrant jugglers. 535 796

To the question as to what the people prayed for at the cult places of the ancient religion, we receive one answer from the 782

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references.—Analyst]

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113] 2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z.D.M.G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Ribbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

spindle (or the female sex organs) in Lahoul in the valley of the Bhaga River. I noticed only one rock drawing there of the male sex organs. In that region the name Bhaga, which can be translated by "sex organ," may have given rise to the practice of decking out the rocks with such emblems. That they had confidence in the ability of Kesar (and of aBru-gu-ma) to dispense children, we see from the saga about rGyal-sa-dkar-po (see Paladins). There Kesar prophesies to a girl that she will not only get a wealthy husband but also that she will bear seven children. 782 831 532 842

Festivals of the Ancient Tibetan Religion 796

1. The New Year's festival (Lo-gsar). Of this festival, which probably corresponds to the ancient winter solstice, I possess one description which the schoolteacher of Khalatse prepared in Tibetan. In this document it is stated: From the fifteenth of the tenth month to the twenty-fourth, children carry torches to a certain field. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth they light a fire on the public dancing place where all the people gather. All the farmers bake a kind of bread called ba-ga-tam, and this bread they store away. Then the children go to all the doors and say:

This is a good day, a good star.
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this day,
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this star!
Now every day is a lucky one!
May every year be a lucky one!
The boys get brides for themselves,
Wedding feasts are held,
White beer is poured out,
White pieces of butter are given with it!
A ram is killed.
May a son be born to you!
Give us a ba-ga-tam -- bread!

In this way the children collect many loaves of the bread, which they then distribute and eat.

The thirtieth day is called sTon (assistance). Then the relatives entertain one another. In the afternoon the men march out to the field with torches and music. Here they play the bra-sol (?). Thereupon the Mon (Indian caste of carpenters) must perform five exorcisms of the devil (skrad), during which rifles are fired and everybody shouts "te-ya-ho." Then the torches are heaped up in one pile and a dance is done around them with swords and rifles, as

796 though war were being waged. Now all the people return to their houses and decorate their household altars with new cedar twigs, whereupon they go and pay their respects to all their friends and relatives by carrying to the various houses beer jugs provided with little pieces of butter. When evening comes, some people are disguised as Ba-ba /29/ by being first washed and then smeared with soot and provided with head coverings made of straw. As soon as they appear on the festive place three dances are dedicated to them. Then, when all are dancing, the fire flares up high; it does this because the Ba-ba have run into the village and have stolen wood there, which they then throw onto the fire. Towards morning the Ba-ba, together with the Mon, go to the altar of the village deity (yul-lha) and there present the gods' roll of the drum (lha-rna). They celebrate for seven days in this way, and on the seventh day the Ba-ba and the Mon are invited one after the other by the farmers to eat with them and to drink beer.

On the third day of the eleventh month they hold a horse race seven times. Thereupon the people mount to their roofs with beer offerings, look up to the moon and pray to god (dkon-mchog):

This good year has now passed!
Let a good new year arise for us!

Thereupon each one of the farmers must fire one shot from his rifle.

On the seventh day of the month three masked persons dance in the evening, of whom two call themselves grandfather, and one grandmother, and they dance until all (three) are driven out. Then all the people return to their houses and entertain one another with bread and beer. Toward seven o'clock in the evening the farmers each bring a little flour, and one of them who is skilled in this, prepares a gTor-ma (offering) from it. If a lama is present, he takes over the preparation of the gTor-ma. Then they all come back to the village, on which occasion the farmers take the Ba-ba, the grandfathers and the grandmother into their midst, and now the boys and the girls perform a dance which is called bKra-shis-phob, "Bring down good luck." Then, when the gTor-ma (offering) is being carried off, the lama pronounces an exorcism. Then the Ba-ba take away the gTor-ma while all the people shout and fire rifles. Once it has been thrown away, the Ba-ba are washed in warm water and dressed in beautiful clothes. After that they still have to dance until ten o'clock in the evening. At that time everybody goes home and the new year is said to have begun.

To this description should be added the killing of the goat, a gruesome sacrifice in front of the altar of the village god (Yul-lha). To the living animal has its heart ripped out of its body. 796

With respect to the dances and the disguises, it should also be pointed out that we are here dealing with games that symbolize in substance the battle between the gods of light and the demons of darkness. These games later developed into the famous masked dances of the monasteries. In Lamayuru these masked dances still take place today during the winter. In Hemis, on the other hand, they are performed in June. The celebration in Hemis may well be connected with the summer solstice. 796 535

2. gTor-ma-phan-ces. As the preceding description has indicated, a type of this festival is already connected with the New Year's festival. For the throwing away of the gTor-ma offering is very reminiscent of the driving out of winter. This finds an even clearer expression later on. Then a human doll is fashioned out of lime in Khalatse (and also elsewhere). This doll is then carried, with much shouting and music, outside the village, where it is destroyed. In Leh the evil spirits of winter and of the diseases are trapped inside cages (dos-mo) constructed out of rods and strings and looking like spider webs, and these structures are then destroyed outside the village. 796

3. The Kesar festival. So far I have found this festival referred to as the "Kesar festival" only in Upper Kunawar. In Ladakh it is simply called mDa-phan-ces, "shooting with bow and arrow." It is celebrated in the spring. The songs that are known under the name of Glin-glu are sung, and the young people amuse themselves with archery. Just as the spindle is the emblem of aBru-gu-ma and of the female in general, so the arrow is considered the symbol of Kesar and the male. In the /30/ following I shall give the titles of the songs of the Glin-glu: In Phyi-dban the following songs are sung: 1. Kesar, the conqueror of the four worlds. 2. Slumber song for the little Kesar. 3. Kesar and the treasures of the giants. 4. Praise of the wisdom of aBru-gu-ma. 5. The almighty father of the gods and mother of the gods. 6. The return of Kesar and of aBu-gu-ma. 7. Don-grub, a voluntary savior of the world. 8. aBru-gu-ma's innocence. 9. The prayer of the king of Hor asking for his life. [831]

In Khalatse the following songs are sung: 1. Voices from heaven. 2. Dedication of the arrows. 3. Kesar's four victories. 4. Kesar and the mules. 5. Kesar's prayer on the Srar mountain pass. 6. Kesar's return to aBru-gu-ma. 7. aBru-guma's farewell

796 to Kesar. 8. Praise of the young Kesar. 9. Kesar, the god of lightning

In Sheh (Shel) the following five songs are sung: 1. aBru-gu-ma in search of Kesar. 2. aBru-gu-ma's message to Kesar through aBu-dmar-lam-bstan. 3. The song of victory of dPal les. 4. Praise of Kesar by the king of Hor. 5. Request from the king of Hor addressed to Kesar.

As an example I shall now present in translation the song of the "Dedication of the arrows":

On the beautiful plain there are wonderful arrow shafts,
On the beautiful plain there are magnificent arrow shafts,
The long sticks are shafts for heroes.
Put such long shafts in the hands of the Agus,
Put such long shafts in the hands of his servants, the Agus.
The short sticks are spindle sticks for the noblewomen.
Put these short sticks in the hands of the divine women.
Such spindle sticks you should place in the hands of
Ane-bkur-dman-mo.

Song No. 55 of Tag-ma-cig likewise belongs in the same group of ideas. In this song the origin of the arrow is celebrated.

[241] On the occasion of this song there are processions around the fields, in order to bless the fields for the time when they will be cultivated. The altars of the local deities (lHa-tho) are adorned with fresh twigs from the shug-pa tree and twigs from this tree are burned before the altars.

5. The harvest festival (Srub-lha). This festival may be of Dard origin, as is the entire agriculture of western Tibet. At this festival songs again play a significant part; I have four of the songs used on this occasion in my collections. One of these I had written down for me in Skyur-bu-can; where I witnessed the festival personally. The three other songs were sent to me from Shel (Sheh). These latter songs seem to me to be of a more original cast. The first of the songs from Shel speaks of an offering of great yellow flowers to the goddess lHa-chen-rdo-rje-chen-mo, to whom, at the end of the song, the following brief prayer is addressed:

Purify us of all stains of the body!
Fulfill all the wishes of the mind!

Who this unfamiliar goddess is becomes clear in the second of the songs. The second song describes in brief the genesis of the world from the ocean and the seeding of the world. This description concludes with an invocation of lHa-mo-abrug-mo, the goddess aBru-gu-ma. In the Kesar sagas it also happens that the form aBrug-mo, which resembles the word aBrug, meaning "thunder" or

"dragon," frequently alternates with aBrugu-ma. This goddess might have come by the name rDo-rje-chen-mo as the wife of Kesar, who, according to the Glin-glu song No. 9 of Khalatse, is shown to be a rDo-rje-pa, a wielder of the thunderbolt. In this song he flings a lightning bolt at the cloud dragon. The lightning proceeds, however, directly from the rdo-rje (or Indic vajra). It is, therefore, just at the harvest festival that honor is paid the goddess, /31/ who is usually called upon for the blessing of offspring. The third one of the songs of Shel contains a eulogy of the yak, which is of great importance during the harvesting, for one thing, as a beast of burden for the sheaves, and for another as the leader of all those animals that thresh the ears of grain by walking over the sheaves. The song of Skyur-bu-can contains in its main section a game of riddles concerning the treasures of the countries of the four points of the compass. In Skyur-bu-can I also got to see, as I have already mentioned, the peculiar dance of the flowers. The flowers needed for the flower offering are not taken from the gardens by the houses, but are gathered high up on the mountain slopes just below the snow boundary. These flowers, which exude an overpoweringly strong, sweet odor, are wound around long staffs, and, carrying these poles in their hands, the shepherd boys have to execute complicated round dances to the accompaniment of an oboe and kettledrums. As we know from the songs of Shel, the flowers are then supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess rDo-rje-mo. In Skyur-bu-can, though, I observed that these flower poles were laid down inside the Buddhist temple. The festival is, of course, connected with many dances of a general nature and with feasts at which beer prepared /taking bereites as a misprint for bereitetes--Translator./ from green barley grains, plays an important role. This leads us to the name of the festival. The syllable lha is the ordinary word for "god" (deva). The syllable srub, on the other hand, corresponds to the word srus, or srub, which means "ears of grain that are almost ripe." The Srub-lha festival is therefore the festival of the very earliest harvest. As can be seen from ancient rock drawings, people contented themselves at this festival with having larger animals, oxen, horses, and so forth, represented by throwing a blanket over several persons. 796 532

The Goal of the Ancient Religion

From the preceding it becomes apparent that the ancient Tibetans expected only earthly gifts from their gods. Kesar, the 771 773

771 son of the king of heaven, was worshiped on earth as the bringer of
773 spring. From him and from his wife aBru-gu-ma people expected the blessing of a harvest and of offspring. With respect to the life after death they had entirely animistic conceptions.

113 In the saga of "Kesar's Beloved Mon" (Journal and Proceedings
773 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II. p. 467) we read that this
775 Mon had been killed by being pushed off a cliff. When Kesar approached the corpse, he heard a voice speaking from it. He opened the dead body with his knife and out of it came two Mon devils, one male and one female. These devils Kesar carried home, wrapped up in a piece of cloth. In the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po we read the following (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 321): the Agu mDa-dpon-gon-ma had been killed and had been entombed in a stupa. But people were very much worried that he might still be full of thoughts of revenge. For this reason an old hermit advised them to walk respectfully around the stupa of the dead Agu until a lizard came out of it and nodded its head. All this is fulfilled, and the dead man, moreover, is kind enough to give his son, who is praying to him, a piece of advice. This advice concerns an arrow which would be of particularly great use to him in battle.

In the saga dealing with Kesar's victory over the devil (or giant) Khya-ba (Khya-ba (Khyab-pa)-lag-rins (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 1164, p. 278) it is stated that the enraged Bam-za-abum-skyid went to the grave of this giant, her former husband, and that she roared into the grave. As an answer to her roar there was an earthquake. (The giant moved in his grave.) Thereupon Kesar rushed to the giant's grave and chanted magical formulas into the grave until it became impossible for its occupant to leave it.

From all this we can see that, though it was impossible for the ancient Tibetans to conceive of death /32/ as a complete annihilation of life, nevertheless, after what has been stated above, there can be no question of a conception of an idealized form of existence that will take place after death.

Such a delightful, disembodied life is led on the Olympus of the Tibetans, the mountain peaks of the Gans-ri (Kailasa). In the account that I wrote of my journey from upper Sutlej to the upper Indus, in 1909 (see Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 37) there is the following passage with respect to the Pu-rgyal mountain peak: "The baggage carriers of Chan pointed to those mountain peaks and said
773 that up there was the magical country (aBa-yul), the dwelling place
775 of the spirits. The inhabitants of this place are supposed to be very

numerous. However, ordinary persons cannot see or hear anything of them. Only noble people or lamas are capable of observing anything of the life and the activities in aBa-yul. When such a pious man approaches the region of the perpetual snows he often hears the voices of the invisible inhabitants of the magic land and the barking of their dogs." These are the ideas of the present-day Tibetans concerning their Olympus. It is possible, of course, to think of its invisible inhabitants as the gods (lha). These are its original inhabitants. But in the course of time the souls of good, pure people seem to have been added to its population. In any case, the later systematized Bon religion points to such a population of "Olympus." Until these ideas received their full expression, it is possible that ideas among the people arose which postulated a life in the Beyond among the gods for the noblest of their priests and heroes. In this fashion the icy regions of the Himalayas became the universal paradise. 773 775

The Tag-ma-cig Wedding Songs

This collection of sixty songs falls into three parts. The first part contains nineteen songs which are to be sung outside the door by the purchasers of the bride (sGo-la-btan-ces-kyi-glu). The second part is called Tho-rabs. It deals with the journey of the bride purchasers from the gate to the place where the festivities are held. With each question that they answer correctly, the bride purchasers overcome one obstacle and thus come one step closer to the festive place. It is to be noted that this Tho-rabs is not known in Khalatse, whereas the first and the third part of the songs is known in Khalatse. The third part is sung on the festive place during the banquet. It is called chan-glu, beer song. In the following, the first nineteen songs are to be published first, and in the versification of the originals, into which the translations that I did purely according to the sense have been transferred with great skill by Mrs. Anna Paalzow. 585 539

I

Songs Sung in Front of the Bride's House

Ia. The people of the house say:

1. The ice god closed the valleys three
   High above where the glacier lioness lives.

585x
539x

Guests, tell us, how came you through?

2. Thunderbolt cliff surrounds the mountain
To the right where the bird king keeps watch.
Noble people, say, how came you through?

3. Left, in the sandalwood mountain
Lurks the giant tiger's body.
Guests, tell us, how came you through?

4. Down below, three of the valleys are closed
By the flood where little fish gold eye snaps.
Noble people, say, how came you through?

5. Heroes from the nine-stone castle,
What has brought you into the land?
What brought you into the heart of our village?

The people:

Mighty friends, pray tell us!

/34/ Ib. The bride purchasers say:

1. Despite the ice god's valleys three
Despite the lioness' glacier body
We skipped along in leaps and bounds.
Climbed over blocks of ice
And trod to pieces crusts of ice.
No one stayed. Safely we have arrived!

2. To the right by thunderbolt mountain
Despite the bird king's body
We flew from rock to rock,
Leaped over boulder rubble
And landed on firm ground.
No one stayed. Safely we have arrived!

3. To the left through the sandalwood mountain
Despite the colored tiger's hide
We slipped from tree to tree,
And then marched through the underbrush
And trod down many shrubs.

585 x
539 x

No one stayed. Safely we have arrived.

4. In the lower valleys three
We swam through deep rivers,
Where the little fish gold eye snaps,
We waded through rivers,
And then splashed through the little brooks.
No one stayed. Safely we have arrived!

The people:

Praises to the noble guests!

IIa. The people of the house say:

1. Up there in the ice god's upland valleys
Did not the glacier lioness attack you?
Great gentlemen, how got you away?

2. To the right on thunderbolt mountain
The bird king's talon seized you!
Noble gentlemen, how got you free?

/35/ 3. To the left in the dense sandalwood mountain
Did not the tiger's claw hold you tight?
Great gentlemen, how came you through?

4. In three lower valleys surrounded by rivers
Did not little fish gold eye draw you down?
Noble gentlemen, how got you free?

The people:

Now, worthy guests, speak!

IIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. Three times in the ice god's upland valleys
Did the glacier lioness hold us in her claws.
On the Nine-Sun-Brothers-Day
A small crack melted in the mountain
The width of a helmet -- but we slipped through.

585 X
539 X

2. To the right on thunderbolt mountain
The bird king did not free us.
But once he moved a little to the side,
And a little stone, the size of a die,
Was loosened -- we got through.

3. To the left on sandalwood mountain
The giant tiger took us captive.
Time threw fires from the sun!
A clearing, only the size of a turquoise,
Did it create for us. We got through.

4. In three lower valleys surrounded by rivers
As you say, little fish gold eye held us tight.
Came three winter moons --
To the breadth of a hatchet hole a spring dries up,
And through that we slipped.

The people say:

Noble gentlemen, the way was good.

Notes to Songs I and II[1]

The bride purchasers are identified by their clothing as children of the gods. As they try to get into the bride's house, the bride's parents and her brothers raise the question as to how it was possible for these children of the gods to get out of the well-guarded land of the gods. Just as no ordinary mortal may tread on Olympus, so the children of the gods may not depart from it. The animals which guard the gates of heaven, according to the two songs, are: 1. en-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane," the personification of the glacier. (See pictures.) 2. Bya-rgyal-rod-po, "the wild king of the birds." Instead of this bird other songs name sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big old ibex." 3. rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "giant colored tigress." 4. Khyu-ru, the "little fish." Ordinarily this is called Nya-mogser-mig, "little fish gold eye." All these animals, incidentally, are of the female sex.

/36/ IIIa. The people of the house say:

Now listen with your ears!

1 [See category 116, pp. 93, 97 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--53 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 west Tibetans AJ4

585x
539x

1. The dome of high heavens and its form
By whom and how were they created?

2. The East and West,
By whom and how were they created?

3. The South and North,
By whom and how were they created?

4. Height and depth,
By whom and how were they created?

5. Ice and slate,
By whom and how were they created?

6. What A and Om comprises,
By whom was that devised?

7. The existence of an upper and lower valley,
By whom and how were they created?

8. The existence of castle and the village,
By whom and how were they created?

9. Hearth and home,
By whom and how were they created?

10. The fact that some people are outside and some are inside,
Through whom and how did that come about?

IIIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. The dome of heaven and its form
Were created by sun and moon.

2. The East and West
Were created by the sun, umbrella of the throne.

3. The South and North
Were created by the moon, that makes night silvery white.

585 ✗
539 ✗

4. Height and depth
Were created by the dewy, soaking rain.

5. Ice and slate
Were created by the lioness of the glacier.

6. The two syllables Hum and Phad
Made up A and Om.

/37/ 7. The upper and the lower valley
Were created by the cool wind.

8. Castle and village
Were created by the king and by the ministers.

9. Hearth and home
Were created by our ancestors.

10. The fact that some people are outside and some inside.
Came about through the seven brethren

The people say:

Hail to you, mighty friends!

Notes to IIIa and b[1]

In its Khalatse form this song has already been published in the Indian Antiquary, 1901, song No. III. /The translation given above has been transcribed from the version mentioned here, to a substantial extent. There are considerable divergences in meaning, however, between the English and the German translations, and not all of these divergences have been taken into account in the transcription. --Translator/ Verses 5 and 6 were missing. Verse 6 is probably a later interpolation, dating from the period of the rise of Tantrism. Verses 2 and 3 must be taken together in order [821] to be understood. They evidently are intended to signify that the four points of the compass have been created by the sun and the moon. Verse 10 means that by the arrival of the seven purchasers of the bride the scene by the gate of the courtyard has been created, in which one party is outside and the others inside the yard.

1 [See Category 116, pp. 52-4 -- Analyst]

15. Francke--55 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

585 X
539 X

IVa. The People from the house say:

This pliant stick of the turquoise willow in my hand,
Arose in India, its birthplace.
It grew by the mountain Dog-ri, deep in Tibet, its growing place.
Its flexible yellow upper half looks like gold.
Its blue tip was made of turquoise.
By the king of the gods, Indra
An order /was issued/ to beat /with it/.
If you ask what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
"A son of sun and moon may follow /you/!
The moon and the stars may go before /you/!
Bad speech ought to be blamed.
If /the fire/ is badly blown, there is much smoke.
A bad guest be far away!"
Now let a rain /of blows/ with the costly sticks come down.
Beat them in their costly dress!

/38/ IVb. The bride purchasers say:

The birch, the alp willow, and the cedar,
With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
Hurting our bodies, we shall return it a thousandfold,
Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

The people say:

Quite so, noble friends! Om, May things go well with you!

Va. The people of the house say:

This green stick of the willow tree,
Here in my hand,

585 ×
539 ×

Covers with its blue turquoise stem
Jambudvip, the land of man.
The lord of the world, the king
Issued to us the command: Beat with it!
Along with it he gave the sacred prophetic word:
King of the middle land,
You will get a son.
Moon and stars are resplendent.
A bad fire smokes.
Banish evil intent!
Chase away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble stick,
Clattering on their precious garments!

The people:

Om, May things go well with you! May happiness and blessings accompany you!

Vb. The bride purchasers say:

The furze, the hill willow and the house willow,
With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
Breaking our helmets
/39/ You must return them a thousandfold,
Hurting our bodies,
We shall return it a thousandfold,
Breaking our earrings,
You must return them a thousandfold!
Breaking our saddles,
You must return them a thousandfold!

The people say:

Quite so, mighty friends! May happiness and blessings accompany you!

VIa. The people of the house say:

Of this green stick of the turquoise willow which is in my hand,

The white root was made of a shell. 585 X
The roots /of the tree/ cover all the underworld. 539 X
By the wise and glorious lJog-po-ma-dros-zil-chen,
King of the Underworld,
An order /was issued/ to beat /with it/.
If you ask what holy prophecy he gave regarding it
"A little son of a nymph may follow /you/!
The village idol may be before /you/!
Bad speech ought to be blamed.
If /the fire/ is badly blown, there is much smoke.
A bad guest be far away!"
Now let a rain /of blows/ with the costly sticks
come down,
Beat them in their costly dress!

The people:

Om, May things go well with you!

VIb. The bride purchasers say:

Now listen with your ears!

The walnut tree, the tamarisk, and the thorn,
With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat
us!
If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
Breaking our helmets,
You must return them a thousandfold,
Hurting our bodies,
We shall return it a thousandfold,
Breaking our earrings
You must return them a thousandfold,
Breaking our saddles,
You must return them a thousandfold!

/40/ Notes to IV a, b, V a, b, and VI a, b

These songs have already been published in the Indian Antiquary, 1901, in a somewhat different sequence. The people of the house constantly try to beat the bride purchasers, but each time they are sent back with the assertion that the sticks they were using to hit

585 them with are not made of the proper wood. As is then shown in
539 song No. VII, the children of the gods may only be hit with twigs taken from the tree of the world. This is known to the people of the house, and for this reason they explain that their sticks, which have actually been taken from the willow tree, and so forth, are
[773] related to the tree of the world. The tree of the world grows through the world of the nymphs, the earth, and heaven. In No. IVa, brGya-byin, Indra, the king of the gods, is named, in No. Va, the king of the earth, and in No. VI, lJog-po-ma-dros-zil-chen, the king of the nymphs.[1]

VIIa. The people of the house bring other kinds of wood and the bride purchasers say:

The soup spoon, the gravy spoon, and the black-nosed poker,
With these three sticks do not beat us!
If you beat us with these three sticks,
Breaking our helmets,
You must return them a thousandfold,
Hurting our bodies,
We shall return it a thousandfold,
Breaking our earrings,
You must return them a thousandfold
Breaking our saddles,
You must return them a thousandfold!

VIIb. Because the people of the house do not know what to answer, the bride purchasers say:

A wood to beat us, friends, does exist.
It is a wonderfully pliable wood,
It is a marvelously pliable wood,
There is a tree whose root has three stems.
These three stems /together/ have six boughs.
On the first bough
There is the nest of the huge bird Garuda.
Not breaking the golden egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick beat us!

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 55-7 for songs. --Analyst]

585
539

With this stick whip us!
/41/ If you beat us with this stick,
Breaking our helmets,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Hurting our bodies,
We shall not return it a thousandfold.
Breaking our earrings,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Breaking our saddles,
You need not return them a thousandfold!

2. On the second bough
There is the nest of the wild eagle. /So the version in the Indian Antiquary; the German version reads: "king of the birds."--Translator/
Not breaking the turquoise egg,
Not frightening the bird,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick beat us!
With this stick whip us!
If you beat us with this stick,
Breaking our helmets,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Hurting our bodies,
We shall not return it a thousandfold.
Breaking our earrings,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Breaking our saddles,
You need not return them a thousandfold!

3. On the third bough
There is the nest of the bird "white head."
Not breaking the pearl-white egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick beat us!
With this stick whip us!
If you beat us with this stick,
Breaking our helmets,
You need not return them a thousandfold.

585x
539x

Hurting our bodies,
We shall not return it a thousandfold.
Breaking our earrings,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Breaking our saddles,
You need not return them a thousandfold.

/42/ 4. On the fourth bough
There is the nest of the eagle "white kidney."
Not breaking the silver egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick beat us!
With this stick whip us!
If you beat us with this stick,
Breaking our helmets,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Hurting our bodies,
We shall not return it a thousandfold.
Breaking our earrings,
You need not return it a thousandfold.
Breaking our saddles,
You need not return it a thousandfold!

5. On the fifth bough
There is the nest of the snow partridge. /The German version reads: "the bird of the gods"--Translator./
Not breaking the coral egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick beat us!
With this stick whip us!
If you beat us with this stick,
Breaking our helmets,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Hurting our bodies,
We shall not return it a thousandfold.
Breaking our earrings,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Breaking our saddles,

You need not return them a thousandfold!

585 x
539 x

6. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick beat us!
With this stick whip us!
If you beat us with this stick,
/43/ Breaking our helmets,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Hurting our bodies,
We shall not return it a thousandfold.
Breaking our earrings,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Breaking our saddles,
You need not return them a thousandfold.

The people:

Good, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

Notes to VIIa and b[1]

This song, too, was already published in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, in the same form. /As has been noted, there are several differences between the two versions. --Translator/ In VIIb, the tree of the world is described, with its "three tops on one root." This means that it is believed possible to see its top in the underworld of the nymphs, on the earth, and in the land of the gods. The six branches of the tree have already been explained in the Introduction. The birds that have their nests on these various branches are called, by their Tibetan names: 1. Khyun, Garuda; 2. Bya-rgyal-rgod, "wild bird king, eagle"; 3. mGo-bo-ldad-dkar, "falcon white head"; 4. Glag-mo-mkhal-dkar, "eagle white kidney" /really "vulture"--Translator/; 5. lHa-bya-gon-mo, "bird of the gods or snow partridge"; 6. Kkraskya-dkar-mo, "white falcon."

773
585 x
539 x

[1] [See pp. 58-61, Category 116 -- Analyst]

585x VIIIa. The people of the house say:
539x

Now, friends, keep the fire going!
Guests, say, where do you come from,
When you go, where will you go?
Where will you be pleased to sit down?
For whose sake did you come?
Into the heart of our village?

VIIIb. The bride purchasers answer:

We come from a happy country, bDe-chen, in the East,
We are going to the land of paradise in the West, U-rgyan,
We shall be pleased to sit down here.
Our goal is here in the heart of the village.

The people:

Well thought, Hail to you, mighty friends! Om,
May things go well with you!

Notes to VIIIa and b

773 According to Buddhistic conceptions, the bDe-chen-yul,
585x Sukhavati, paradise, is situated in the West, high up on the moun-
539x tains with perpetual snow. U-rgyan, the goal of the bride pur-
chasers, is the Indic realm Udyana. This, too, is sometimes designated as a paradise. These have already appeared in the Indian Antiquary for 1901, as No. IV.

539x /44/ IXa. The people of the house say:
585x

1. When you came here from the eastern country,
Who was king there in the East?
Why may we call his subjects and his servants white?
What are their looks and their customs like?
All these questions do we ask.

2. When you came here from the southern country,
Who was king there in the South?

Why may we call his subjects and his servants white? 585 x
What are their looks and their customs like? 539 x
All these questions do we ask.

3. When you came here from the western country,
Who was king there in the West?
Why may we call his subjects and his servants white?
What are their looks and their customs like?
All these questions do we ask.

4. When you came here from the northern country,
Who was king there in the North?
Why may we call his subjects and his servants white?
What are their looks and their customs like?
All these questions do we ask.

IXb. The bride beggars say:

1. When we came here from the eastern country,
Dhritarastra was king there in the East.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and his servants white.
Their looks and their customs are good.
In the East there dwells the sun, the umbrella of the throne.
If you want to hear the news, ask him!

2. When we came here from the southern country,
Virudhaka was king there in the South.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and his servants white.
Their looks and their customs are good.
In the South they enjoy all kinds of grain,
If you wish to hear the news, ask that!

/45/ 3. When we came here from the western country,
Virupaksa was king there in the West.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and his servants white.
Their looks and their customs are good.
In the West there are all kinds of medicines.
If you wish to hear the news, ask them!

585 x
539 x

4. When we came here from the northern country,
Vaisravana was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and his servants white.
Their looks and their customs are good.
In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear the news, ask them.
We, their friends, will now be silent!

The people:

Om, May things go well with you, and may you be accompanied by happiness and blessings!

Notes to IXa and b [1]

585 x
539 x
776
822

Already appeared in the Indian Antiquary, 1901, as No. IX /actually No. IV. --Translator/ There the name of the king in the North was erroneously given as Virupaksha. The Tibetan text gives the names of these Lokapalas (guardians of the world), in their Tibetan form, as follows: 1. East, Yul-akhor-srun; 2. South, aPhags-skyed; 3. West, sPyan-mi /g/-bzan; 4. North, rNam-thos-sras. In its original form this song probably named birds instead of the great kings. The color white here symbolizes goodness, purity. Concerning the gifts of the various points of the compass, see the Introduction.

585 x
539 x

Xa. The people of the house say:

1. Rain comes down damp from above,
Is satisfied with its own falling,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone do we ask.

2. The meadow of turquoises deep
Sucks purity out of the soil,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone do we ask.

3. The umbrella of the throne, coming from the East,
Takes pains to cause the darkness to withdraw,

1 [See pp. 62-4, Cat. 116, --Analyst]

Is busy with itself and silent. 585x
You alone, therefore, do we ask. 539x

/46/ 4. All the grain of the South takes care
That hunger shall be stilled,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone, therefore, do we ask.

5. Medicinal herbs that grow in the West,
Are fearful of the nectar root,
Are busy with themselves and silent.
You alone do we ask.

6. All the colors of the North
Contend with night fourfold black,
Are busy with themselves and silent.
You alone do we ask.

The people:
Quite so.

Xb. The bride purchasers say:

1. The rain that descends from heaven,
Keeps four thousand rivers pure.

2. The turquoise root deep down
Keeps four thousand earths pure.

3. The umbrella of the throne coming from the East,
Leads the world to light out of the night.

4. The grain from the South
Stills the hunger of all the world.

5. The medicinal herb of the West
Frees the world of the nectar root.

6. The colors of the North
Free the world from four-thousandfold black.

Notes to Xa and b[1]

585x 539x 821 This song and the following ones have not been published before. Number X is one of those songs in which the ancient order of the prayer has been maintained. See the Introduction.[2] The umbrella of the throne in verse 3 is the sun. It almost looks as though the colors of the North refer to the northern lights.

585x 539x /47/ XIa. The people of the house say:

1. Through the gate in the East there entered
The religion of India. Tell us, how did you walk
The path of the sacred word?

2. Persia's wealth built the gate
To the South. The path is the guiding line
For noble uprightness. Did you walk it?

3. China's astronomy opened up for us
A western gate. How did you walk
The path of the diagram?

4. And the gate of the North is the site
Of King Kesar's battle. How did you walk
The path of the sword's blow?

5. Did you go through the crowd-thronged gate
Towards Lhassa, on the path
Which speaks to the seeker of truth?

The people:

Well done, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

XIb. The bride purchasers answer:

1. India's gateway is the East.
There we traveled honoring
Conversion, sacred word, and custom.

1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 64-66-- Analyst]
2 [See Cat. 116, pp. 1-8. -- Analyst]

2. Persia's wealth built the gate 585 539
To the South. Strictly did we follow
Always the guiding line of noble uprightness.

3. China's astronomy discloses for us
A western gate. Testing the numbers,
Good fortune was bestowed upon us.

4. The gate to King Kesar's battle
Is the North. With the clashing of swords
Did we conquer the people.

5. Then we traveled through
Lhassa's crowded gate, seeking for the truth,
Silently testing our souls.

The people:

Good, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

/48/ Notes to XIa and b

This is one of those songs in which the actual locations of the regions do not correspond with the directions indicated. From verse 3 we see that the Chinese diagrams, Tibetan, spar-kha-brgyad, were also known to the Tibetans. In stanza 4, Kesar's war in the North refers to his battle against the devil or giant of the North. Compare the "Wintermythus der Kesarsage" /Winter Myth of the Kesar Saga/, (Memoires de la Societe Finno-ougrienne, Vol. XV) and the corresponding narrative as told in A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga.[1]

XIIa. The people of the house say:

O you, who test the words of truth in the soul, and who have come hither!

1. Say who seizes the wild yak by its horn?
2. Say whose fist lays hold of the wild tiger?
3. Say who catches water with nets?
4. Say who builds a castle out of soft sand?
5. Say who wounds the water with a stroke of his sword?

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references.--Analyst]

585 ×
539 ×

6. Name the bird which casts its young?
7. Tell us, which animal of prey lays eggs?
8. Name two rock pheasants whose tracks are wiped away along the mountainside.
9. Who commands the huge load of the colored sedge in the North?
10. Say who sews the mantle for the field of slate?
11. Say which of the birds grows teeth as well as a pair of wings?
12. Say to whom do we give these riddles? Who will solve them for us?

The people:

Well done, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

XIIb. The bride purchasers answer:

1. The wild yak bull is dragged by its horn
By the hero rMog-chen-remba.

2. The tiger is seized by the fist
Of the hero A-po-bstan-yan.

3. Water is caught in a net
Only by Yaksha gZhon-thog.

4. A castle is built out of soft sand
Probably by the swallow.

5. Water is wounded with strokes of swords
Only by the water itself.

/49/ 6. The bird which casts its young
Is the bat.

7. An animal of prey that lays eggs
Is the swift weasel.

8. And the rock pheasants whose turning tracks
are wiped away along the mountainside,
Are veins in the mountain.

9. The crystalline queen who in the pale North 585X
rules over a thousand colors, 539X
That is aBru-gu-ma.

10. For the great fields of slate a mantle
Is sewn by the smith of heaven, Visvakarma.

11. Teeth, in addition to its pair of wings,
The bat has in its mouth.

12. However, you people who ask the riddles, demanding a solution, you proprietors will be glad
If something is taken away from you!

The people:

Good, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

Notes to XIIa and b[1]

The names mentioned in stanzas 1, 2, and 3 designate heroes 585X
of prehistory whom I have not as yet encountered elsewhere in 539X
Tibetan literature. In stanza 5, the water sword that strikes and 723
wounds the water is perhaps the stream of the waterfall. In stanza 7, the assertion that the weasel lays eggs I have also met elsewhere among the West Tibetans. As for stanza 8, this verse is difficult to understand. The arteries of the human body are evidently being compared with rock pheasants. The mountain is perhaps the body itself. As for stanza 9, this verse is also very difficult. The colors of the North seem to be the northern lights. Over them rules Charrje-sgam-po, as the text states. This unknown name is equated with aBru-gu-ma in a Tibetan note to the text. In stanza 10, the covering of the field of slate is the snow whose manufacturer is the divine smith Visvakarman. Originally, I am sure, it said Hemis here, who is the smith of the Kesar saga and whose name (Hem, Dard for "snow") in itself already points to the type of covering intended. As for stanza 12, this verse apparently refers to the taking away of the bride by the bride purchasers. In this song the meter has been strictly observed only through stanza 7. From stanza 8 on, the meter has been neglected /even/ in the original.

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 67-9 for songs. --Analyst]

15: Francke--70 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

585x/50/ XIIIa. The people of the house say:
539x

You, who came hither only the day before yesterday from the castle!

1. Name us three castles!
2. Three that are boundless!
3. Name us three lakes!
4. Name us three countries!

The people:

Now proceed, O mighty friends!

XIIIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. There are three castles:
The Khyun-lun-dnul-mo castle,
The Grogs-mo-ze-ma castle,
And the Ma-bzans-dril-bu castle.
Those must be the three.

2. Boundless is ever:
Heaven, roofless, wide,
Faith, complete, deep,
Gold never dies.
Those must be the three.

3. There are three lakes:
Ma-phan, the cleansing lake,
La-nag, the poison lake, and
sGo-mo, the shell lake,
Those must be the three.

4. There are three countries:
The land of the gods, dGa-ldan,
The land of men, dDzam-glin,
The land of the nymphs, Ma-dros.
Those must be the three.

The people:

Quite so mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

Notes to XIIIa and b

585* 534* In stanza 1 the names of the castles are new to me. It may be that they are of purely local interest. In stanza 3, the first two of the three lakes mentioned are well known. Ma-phan is the Manasarowar Lake, and La-nag is the Rakasta Lake. In stanza 4, dGa-ldan is the Tibetan designation for the Tushita heaven; aDzam-glin /spelled in the verse as given above: dDzam-glin. --Translator/ is the land of human beings, Jambu-dvipa, the earth. And finally, Ma-dros is Tibetan for Anavatapta, "not hot," a name for the Manasarowar Lake.

/51/ XIVa. The people of the house say:

Do service to the god of the upland valley,
Bring three greetings to him!

1. Name the three greetings!
2. Name the three smiles!
3. Name the three places!
4. Name the three types of oaths!
5. Name the three types of friends!

The people:

Well done, O mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

XIVb. The bride purchasers say:

Serve the god of the upland valley!
Bring him three greetings!

1. The three greetings are:
   Sunrise greeting,
   Farewell greeting toward the West,
   Then the servant's greeting.
   Those must be the three.

2. The three smiles are:
   Loud laughter baring the teeth,
   Smiling with the mouth,
   Smiling only with the soul.
   Those must be the three.

*585
*539

3. There are three places:
Where arrows are shot,
Where people dig for g[illegible]
Where the birds rest[illegible]
This must be the three.

4. There are three oaths:
Great, sacred oath,
Earnest oath by the fathers,
Son's and witness' oath.
There must be the three.

5. There are three kinds of friends:
God, who redeems us,
Friend through parents' hand,
Friend by flesh and blood.
These three friends there are.

The people:

Good, mighty friends!

/52/ Notes to XIVa and b[1]

*585
*539
576
821

In stanza 1, with respect to the greetings, it should be observed that in the morning the sun is greeted in the East and that in the evening the medicine gods are greeted in the West. The third greeting is that of the subordinate to his superior. In stanza 3, the three types of places evidently are of merely local concern. In stanza 4, the names of the three kinds of oaths: a) De-thsa-mna-mo-che, b) Yag-sdur-pha-yi-mna, c) dPe-thsor-skyes-pai-mna, are apparently legal technical expressions. In stanza 5, God is designated with dKon-mchog (ratna), without the number "three" added. By the words "friend through parents' hand" is meant a marriage brought about by the parents of the couple, whereas the words "friend by flesh and blood," on the other hand, are intended to express the idea of a marriage brought about by the love of the couple for each other.

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*539

XVa. The people of the house say:

1. The wide, white gap in the East
Is closed by the door white as shell.

[1] [See pp. 71-72 --Analyst]

There hangs a shell seal on it, 585x
With the bird king's tooth. 539x
Have you not harmed the tooth?
Did the seal remain safe and sound?
Noble gentlemen, how got you through?

2. The wide, golden gap in the South
Is closed by the gold-colored door.
There hangs a gold dust seal on it,
With the gold frog's golden tooth.
Have you not harmed the tooth?
Did the seal stay safe and sound?
Noble gentlemen, how came you through?

3. The wide, blue gap in the East
Is closed by the door of blue turquoise.
On it hangs a seal of turquoise dust,
With the proud peacock's tooth.
Have you not harmed the tooth?
Did the seal remain safe and sound?
Noble gentlemen, how got you through?

4. The wide, black gap in the North
Is closed by an iron-black door.
On it the seal of iron dust,
With the black raven's tooth.
Have you not harmed the tooth?
The seal, did it stay unharmed?
Noble gentlemen, how came you through?

The people:

Quite so.

/53/ XVb. The bride purchasers answer:

1. The wide, white gap in the East
By shell-white door is closed.
A seal of shell is hung on it,
With the bird king's tooth.
No damage was done to the tooth,
The seal remained unharmed.
But at the time of the summer heat

*585
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The bird king did fly out to eat --
And we soon slipped through.

2. The wide, golden gap in the South
By a gold-colored door is closed.
On it hangs a gold dust seal,
With the gold frog's golden tooth.
No damage is on the tooth, forsooth,
And unharmed remained the seal.
Lake Ma-phan swelled. Then with his suite
The gold frog went out to get something to eat. --
And we in haste slipped through.

3. The wide, blue gap in the West
By turquoise-blue portal is closed.
Seal made of turquoise dust
With the proud peacock's tooth.
No damage is on the tooth, forsooth,
And unharmed remained the seal.
When Dug-gil-lo swelled, then with his suite
The peacock went to get something to eat. --
And we in haste slipped through.

4. The wide, black gap in the North
By a black-colored door is closed.
On it a seal of iron dust,
With the black raven's tooth.
No damage was done to the tooth, forsooth,
Unharmed did the seal remain.
When the Byan-pa-gor-sa grew,
Out for food went the ravens' crew. --
And we in haste slipped through.

The people:

Right. Listen with your ears!

/54/ Notes to XVa and b[1]

531
317

This song has a similar character to that of songs 1 and 2. The "proud /really: joyful, --Translator/ peacock" in stanza 3 corresponds to the "dancing peacock" of Indic poetry. With respect to the seal it should be observed that the Tibetans like to use lime in sealing. They do this by pressing a wooden signet into the lime. [1] [See pp. 72-74--Analyst]

sealing. They do this by pressing a wooden signet into the lime. 000

XVIa. The people of the house say: 585* 539*

1. Out of the temple of the sun
2. Came the bride purchasers' gleaming host,
3. Bright as the glacier streams!
4. Salute the messengers of the gods
5. Who order the universe!
6. Salute the three worlds' deity
7. Which sank down upon the sea!
8. Greet the bones of Shakyas!
9. Wise men, hear the song of praise!
10. U-rgyan-grigs-po, lend your ear!
11. The fortress of divine belief is here!
12. Salute the remains of Heruka!
13. Salute sNgags-chan-grog-po!
14. Salute the tombs of forebears!
15. (Do honor to the wise of yore!)
16. Here is holy scriptures' explanation!
17. To mThso-phyed-gzhun-nu send salutation!
18. Greetings to you, you physicians!
19. Here the Thsa-gran is known precisely.
20. Salute the remains of Kesar!
21. You heroes, here the song that praises!
22. To rGyal-rmog-grog-po do you praises give!
23. Here only the hostile yak is made tame!
24. Salute the tomb of Khri-gron-lde-btsan!
25. Praise to you, O rulers of earth and man!
26. Here the custom of nobility is honored!
27. Salutations to the Gan-ga deity.
28. Virgins, listen to the song of praise!
29. Here is the home of dance and song forever,
30. Sing praise to Kon-jo, China's dead queen!
31. And praise also to the holy nuns!
32. The homeland of sacred dances is here!
33. To Rigs-bzan-yan-lag give cheer!
34. Listen, you children, to the praise!
/55/ 35. This is the home of gay games always!
36. Praise the market god of the village, and praise the people here!
37. Who spread far and wide like the branches of the forest:

*585
*539

38. You nine fathers, sitting there to the right,
39. Listen to the song of praise! Listen to it! You mothers,
40. Like peacocks that waddle about in the woods!
41. Hear us, godlike matchmakers,
42. Who have descended among us into the valley!

Lines which are only to be found in manuscript of Khalatse:

Between 4, and 5.

A world descended to the throne!
Oh salute it!

After 10.

Here is a doctrine of the Bon religion!
Doctrine of the swastika!
Praise the bones of Shel-lha-od-dkar!
Priests of Bon, listen to the song of praise!

After 13:

You girls glittering with turquoises, listen to it!
Here is a gathering place for people and the young men.

After 15.

dBu-thod-grogs-po, hear the song of praise!
Here all splendor is united!

After 31.

Hear it, Oh you adorned in white garments!

After 34.

gSer-ral-thib-se, hear the song of praise!

After 38.

Praise to you crooked, deaf oldsters!

Hear your praises, gods above, 585*
You who are radiant like meadow flowers! 539*

The people:

Quite so!

Notes to XVIa[1]

The relatives of the bride in this song for the first time recog- 776
nize the bride purchasers as the messengers of the gods, as the first 585*
lines indicate. This song seeks to do justice to all religious fac- 539*
tions, and for this reason it praises, aside from the gods of the lHa-chos, also Buddha (line 8) and the deities of the Bon religion (the lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, after line 10). The heroes of prehistory play an important part, and among them there are to be found a number of historical personages, such as, for instance, King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan of the eighth century A.D. (verse 24), Padmasombhava, his contemporary (verse 10), Queen Kon-jo of the seventh century. Among the rest the following are also familiar figures: Heruka, as a Tantra divinity (verse 12), who, incidentally, is here brought into connection with the old, old lHa-chos; King Kesar (verse /I am assuming that the "V." in the text stands for "verse" or "line"; however, the references seem unclear. --Translator/ 20) the hero of the saga world, and his son gSer-ral (lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 34). Shel-lha-od-dkar is probably the same as gShen-lha-od-dkar who, after gZer-mig, is a chief divinity of the Bon religion /56/ (lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 10). The name of the yak tamer rGyal-rmog-grog-po should be compared with the name of the yak tamer in song XIIb, line 1. Perhaps both refer to one and the same personage. dBu-thod-grogs-po, who occurs in the lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 15, should be compared with dBu-thod-rog-se in song XVIb, verse 10. The word Thsa-gran in verse 18 is the name of the hot and cold caves. It is peculiar that this word has been moved into close proximity to the physicians. It is as yet impossible to ascertain the reference of the remaining names. 585* 539*

XVIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. To you high in the heavens resounds the song of praise!

[1] [See pp. 75-77 -- Analyst]

*585
*539

2. From the gem of moon and sun,
3. From the glittering stone of the stars in the house of the moon,
4. From the towers of ice of Kailasa,
5. From the depths of Lake Ma-phan it resounds.
6. Out of the wide, gay, red earth!
7. Out of the long, blue rivers it resounds.
8. You high gods of heaven, listen to the song of praise,
9. You little gods who are led by the god Indra!
10. dBu-thod-rog-se, hear it!
11. Peoples of all the middle realms, hear it!
12. You who are ruled by the mother of the earth, sKyabs-mdun!
13. Hear it, rTa-mgo-rog-se!
14. Nymphs, you who are ruled by prince dGa-bo-ljogs-po,
15. Nymphs, deep down in the ground, listen to the song of praise!
16. Hear it, sBrul-mgo-rog-se!
17. You nine fathers to the right, Oh listen to the song of praise!
18. You who are sitting like gYag-po-che-sdeu, listen to it!
19. You nine mothers, like peacocks,
20. Waddling in the forest, listen to the song of praise!
21. God of the market on the market place! You people, listen to it!
22. You who look like large flowers in the meadow!
23. You children there on the side, looking like
24. Children of the gods descended from heaven, listen to the songs of praise!
25. Full of blessing is
26. Your happy land.

The people:
Quite so!

/57/ Notes to XVIb[1]

776
*539
*585

This song of praise sung by the purchasers of the bride contains fewer names than the previous one, and those names that it does contain can be more easily explained than the others. Verses from

[1] [See pp. 77-78--Analyst]

8 to 10 make reference to the realm of the gods in heaven. The king of heaven is first of all named dBan-po-brgya-byin, Satakratu, Indra. The name dBupthod-rog-se may possibly likewise refer to a heavenly deity. Verses 11 to 13 make reference to the realm of the earth. The name of the queen of the earth is sKyabs-mdun, as she is also known elsewhere. But rTa-mgo-rog-se, "with the head of a horse," also seems to be the name of a deity of the earth. Verses 14 to 16 refer to the realm of the waters. The name of the king of the nymphs is here given as dGa-bo-ljogs-po (ordinarily it is simply ljogs-po). sBrul-mgo-rog-se, "with the head of a snake," likewise appears to be a divinity of the waters. As for the being seated like gYag-po-che-sdeu, I am as yet unable to give any explanation. 776 585* 539X

585X 539X

XVIIa. The people of the house say:

1. Uncovered, wild head,
Wild hair stands up toward heaven!
Wild, naked body! It walks
Always dreadful the eternal way!
Wild foot walks without shoe. --
Its track carves pictures.

2. High above the ice god closed the three valleys.
Not a single little flake swirls up to heaven.

3. Water closes three valleys deep.
Little speck of iron dust flies not up.

4. Apes you are! Not human beings!
Your horses are the devil's animals!
Away with ape and devil's horse!

The people:
Quite so!

XVIIb. The people outside say:

1. -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
-- -- -- -- (missing).

2. When you say the ice god closed

585X
539X

Up on high the valleys three,
So that ne'er a little flake flew
Up to high heaven;
/58/ Two days ago
A yak was killed there --
Up above, something flew up --
Eighty planes -- white --
Ninety grounds -- white --
The vulture laughs like a man.
Little birds without number whirl about.
Did you not see it?

3. When you say: three lower valleys were closed
By water deep, so that not a single little particle of iron flew.
Yesterday iron child
Combed the ox.
Did you see it? Mountain and cliff
Became like valleys!

4. When I look at our men, they look like King Kesar;
When I look at our horses, they look like his riding steed.
Where, then, have you ever heard that the crew of matchmakers
With the iron-hoofed steeds could look like simian horsemen?
Observe! We do not come as enemies,
No, ever as dear friends we come.

The people:

Quite so.

Notes to XVIIa and b 1

776
585X
539X

This is a song which evidently has not been preserved in its complete form, or, in any case, it is impossible to interpret it clearly in all its parts. As verse 4 indicates, doubt again arises concerning the divine origin of the bride purchasers. From verses 2

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 79-80 for songs. --Analyst]

and 3 it seems to appear that the children of the gods are expected to come down from Olympus in a storm. The people of the house have not noticed any storm, and therefore the matchmakers' assertion that they are of high descent is repudiated as untrue. In XVIIb, the bride purchasers, thereupon, point to great snow and hailstorms which are supposed to have raged recently in the mountains. The storms are explained by the killing and combing of yak oxen. Just as in the Kesar saga, here, too, the clouds are compared with yak oxen.

XVIIIa. The people of the house say:

1. Who was the lord of eighty white planes?
2. Who was the lord of the ninety white gorges?
3. Who was lord of the vulture that laughs like a man?
4. Who was the lord of the numberless little birds?

/59/ XVIIIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. Garuda is the lord of eighty planes.
2. The bird king is lord of ninety gorges.
3. Thin of the vulture that laughs like a man.
4. And the lark is lord of all the little birds.

Seven little men, seven little women may not come together, Khyi-li-li!
Three very bad words should not be spoken by anyone, Tho-ro-ro!
Three well-known steps should not be taken by anyone, Sha-ra-ra!
What is being done, do you think?
And what may you need?

The people:

Quite so.

Notes to XVIIIa and b

Of the birds that are here designated as rulers over gorges and over other birds, Thin is as yet unknown. But from the position of

585 539 this word in the sentence it appears certain that we are to imagine a bird by the name Thin. The appendage to this song, the words Khyi-li-li, and so forth, is probably intended to indicate that the mission of the bride purchasers is concerned with sexual matters.

XIXa. The people of the house say:

1. Some people are made worthy through wisdom,
others only by their descent,
There are some who can do absolutely nothing.
Therefore it's important to test for ourselves.
Wherever worthy descent is united with a great
deal of wisdom, there it's good!
Does a person of high degree need wisdom nine-
fold?
Does one of low degree need wisdom ninefold?
Do you come to us as friends from a noble tribe,
Or do you want money only?
Did you come powerless? Do you want to conclude
a friendship?

2. There are three types of enemies!

3. There are three types of friends!
Enumerate them, those three!

The people:
Quite so.

/60/ XIXb. The bride purchasers say:

1. -- -- -- -- -- -- (missing).
2. There are three enemies:
The enemy who wishes sickness upon one,
The enemy who hates the soul,
The enemy who wreaks bloody revenge.
We come not as enemies,
We are friends to you.

3. There are three kinds of friends:
God who redeems us,
Parents' union of friendship,
Blood and love union.

These are the three kinds.

585 X
539 X

The people:

Quite so.

Notes to XIXa and b

The people in the house have finally understood that the question is one of matchmaking. However, they still hold back, as is indicated particularly by their question: "Or do you want money only?" The question concerning the three kinds of friends once more gives the matchmakers an opportunity to point to the purpose of their mission. With this song the scene before the house is concluded, the gate is opened, and the bride purchasers step inside the courtyard.

/61/ Supplement

The songs from the collection of Khalatse which are not included in the Tag-ma-cig manuscript.

Kh. Ia. The people of the house say:

1. That blue smoke
   Rising upward, what does it mean?

2. The blue smoke
   Hanging over the ground, what does it mean?

3. The blue smoke
   Falling to the ground, what does it mean?

4. The blue smoke
   Spreading toward the East, what does it mean?

5. The blue smoke
   Spreading toward the South, what does it mean?

6. The blue smoke
   Spreading toward the North, what does it mean?

585x
539x

7. The blue smoke
Spreading toward the West, what does it mean?

8. The blue smoke
Rising to the castle, what does it mean?

9. The blue smoke,
Spreading over the country, what does it mean?

10. The blue smoke
Spreading over the village, what does it mean?

/62/ Kh. Ib. The bride purchasers answer:

1. The blue smoke
That is rising upward
Is an offering to Indra
So that he will not be angry with us.

2. The blue smoke
Rising above the realm of earth
Is an offering to the Earth Mother
So that she will be gracious to us and save us.

3. That blue smoke
Falling back to earth
Is an offering to Ljogs-po, prince of the nymphs,
So that he will not be angry with us.

4. That blue smoke
Blowing toward the East
Is an offering to Vajrasattra
So that he will not be angry with us.

5. That blue smoke
Blowing toward the South
Is an offering to Ratnasamblava
So that he will not be angry with us.

6. That blue smoke
Blowing toward the West
Is an offering to Amitabha
So that he will not be angry with us.

7. That blue smoke 585x
Blowing toward the North 539x
Is an offering to Amoghasiddha
So that he will not be angry with us.

8. That blue smoke
Over the castle there
Is an offering to the god of the mountain peak
So that he will not be angry with us.

/63/ 9. That blue smoke
Above your village
Is an offering to the god of the village
So that he will not be angry with us.

10. That blue smoke
Blowing through the courtyard
Is an offering to the god of the house
So that he will not be angry with us.

The People:

Quite so. May all go well with you!

Notes to Supplement, Kh. Ia and b [1]

This is one of those songs that show the old arrangement of the 776
prayer. The deities of the three worlds are followed by the 585
divinities of the four points of the compass, and that in the order 539
of the course of the sun--, East, South, West, North. With respect to this arrangement, the ancient lHa-chos corresponds with Buddhism, whilst the Bon religion, as the gZer-mig indicates, for instance, always has the reverse order, that is, North, West, South, East. In accordance with this, lHa-chos and Buddhism also share the same swastika turned to the right, whereas that of the Bon religion is turned toward the left. The Tibetan manuscript gives the names of the Lokapalas in their Tibetan form, as follows: rDo-rje-sems-dpa, Rinchen-byun-ldan, sNan-ba-mtha-yas, Don-yod-grub-pa. The deities that follow after this are called: rTse-lha, Yul-thsa, Pha-lha.

This song is included in the manuscript of Khalatse at the

1 [See pp. 83-85, Category 116-- Analysis]

776 place of Tag-ma-cig, song number I, and it has already been pub-
539 lished in the Indian Antiquary, 1901. [See source #10. pp. 134-8
585 in cat. 116 -- ANALYST]

Kh. IIa. The people of the house say:

539x
585x

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
What white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones,
What and whose beer is it?

3. Look over there down below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

/64/ 4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The beer /made/ of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

The people:

Om, May things go well with you.

Kh. IIb. The bride purchasers, the seven brothers, answer:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer nourishing the ice lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there down below!
That blue river water
Is the beer nourishing the little fishes.

4. Look over there to the left! 539x
Those wells here and there 585x
Are the beer nourishing the mother fields.

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head
The fluid /made/ of white barley
Is the beer of the Nyopas or the seven brothers.

The people:

Om, May things go well with you!

Notes to Kh. IIa and b[1]

This song stands in the manuscript of Khalatse in the place of Tag-ma-cig, song II, and it has already been published once in the Indian Antiquary, 1901.

The beautiful Tibetan beer jugs made of copper or of brass are usually provided with a snout fashioned in the shape of a snake's head. [45]

/65/ A Song about Good Luck

Kh. XIIa. The people of the house say:

1. Feathers not made of gold
But taken from the wild bird:
If you have three of those, then give them!
If you have nothing, then go away!

2. Little flags for the arrow,
But not made of silk:
If you have five of those, then give them!
If you have nothing, then go away!

3. Five measures of the grain of the gods,
But not consisting of barley:
If you have some, then give it!
But if you have nothing, then go away!

1 [See pp. 86-7, Category 116 -- Analyst]

539 x
585 x

The people:

Om, May things go well with you!

Kh. XIIb. The bride purchasers answer:

1. Bird's feathers three,
Not of gold, those are three
Golden ears of grain.

2. Little flags, five for the arrow,
But not of taffeta, those must be
The colorful rainbow.

3. Five measures of the grain of the gods
Which are not barley,
They are the stars of heaven.

The people:

Om, May things go well with you!

Notes to No. XIIa and b

This song, which is readily comprehensible, as well as the following ones, have not been published before.

Kh. XVIIIa. The people of the house say:

1. Cite the saying of the mountain to the right!
May things go well with you!

2. Cite the saying of the mountain to the left!
May things go well with you!

/66/ 3. Of the mountain back there speak!
May things go well with you!

4. Speak of the mountain there before us!
May things go well with you!

5. Name four good corners for us!

539 x
585 +

May things go well with you!

6. Cite the saying about the beautiful castle!
May things go well with you!

7. Cite the saying about the wealthy village!
May things go well with you!

8. Cite the saying about the farmer's house!
May things go well with you!

9. Cite the saying about one's native land!
May things go well with you!

The people:

Well done, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

Kh. XVIIIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. The mountain to the right is floating
Like a large lioness.
May things go well with you!

2. The mountain on the left is like
A tigress stretching herself.
May things go well with you!

3. The mountain behind us is like
A king upon his throne.
May things go well with you!

4. The mountain before us is like
The greeting of a wise man.
May things go well with you!

5. Eagles' mates, to the number
Of perhaps one hundred thousand,
These the square there does resemble.

*539
*585

/6. The beautiful castle is like
God on the mountain heights,
May things go well with you!

/67/ 7. And the wealthy village
Resembles the wise village god.
May things go well with you.

8. A great farm resembles
The wise father god.
May things go well with you!

9. A good native land
Is like the mother goddess.
May things go well with you!/

Notes to Kh. XVIIIa and b

In manuscript b, verses 6 to 9 of this song are missing. The transcriber, or the person who recited it, has jumped from verse 5 of this song directly to verse 5 of song No. XIX.

The verses from 1 to 4 apparently speak of wondrous moutain formations which are reminiscent of all the different kinds of shapes. By the square in verse 5 is probably intended the four points of the compass, which other songs have reported as inhabited by birds.

Missing verses 6 to 9 have been reconstructed by me with the aid of Kh. Ib.

Kh. XIXa. The people of the house say:

/1. Who in the high mountains
Is protected by the god of ice?

2. In Lake Ma-dros
It sturdily carries lHun-grub.

4. In the sandalwood
It creeps along like a tigress./

5. In the beautiful castle
It lives like a prince.

539 X
585 X

6. Down below in the valley of the gods
It is like sKra-lo.

7. Who weaves
Silk a hundredfold in the valley of the women?

8. Who in the night guards the
Yaks' and horses' stable?

9. On good-luck mountain
Stand three food bowls.

/68/ 10. On the Shog-yan's plain
They dance nine times as swiftly.

11. In the valley of the Northland
The young man tames the yak.

12. A split in the rock presages
Grain three times as delicious.

13. On raven's cliff
The little maidens are blooming.

The people:

Oh, be kind enough to tell us why such excellent men and such fine racing horses come into our lucky village? It is indeed amazing!

Kh. XIXb. The seven brothers (bride purchasers) say:

1. If in the high mountains
The ice god protects anyone,
It is the brothers' god.

2. If in Lake Ma-dros
Anyone carries /Hun-grab/,
It is the brother's nymph.

3. If in the sandalwood
Something creeps like a tigress,
It is our watch dog.

539 X
585 X

4. If in the wooded valley
The cry of the cuckoo resounds,
That is our call.

5. If a tall castle
Stands or a weatherbeaten cliff,
It is our castle.

6. If in the valley of the gods
sKra-lo requests /conjectural--Translator/ protection,
It was at our urging.

7. If in the women's valley
Silk is woven,
It was for our dress.

8. Yaks' and horses' stable,
If they were guarded,
It was at our request.

/69/ 9. The three bowls
On top of good-luck mountain
Are the gift of our page!

/10. If on Shog-yan's plain
The dancing is nine times swifter,
It is the brothers' race.

11. If in the Northland's valley
A young man tames the yak,
It was our deed.

12. If in the mountain cleft
The food is three times more delicious
It is the pages' gift.

13. The blooming little maidens
On the raven's cliff --
Our brides they are! /

Notes to Kh. XIXa and b[1]

This song has not been preserved in its entirety either. The missing verses a, 1 to 4, it was easily possible to supply from b, 1 to 4. The missing conclusion b, 10 to 13, has been completed by me in the spirit of the preceding verses. The bride purchasers believe they make their divine origin most effectively clear by asserting that everything that goes on in nature and inside the house is connected with them or was caused by them. sKra-lo, in verse 6, is evidently a tutelary deity. The name might possibly signify "the one with the curly hair." The Shog-yan plateau in verse 10 is not yet known to me. But the North country in verse 11 is the well-known Byan-than plain. It is clear that the conclusion of this song in Khalatse is not nearly as satisfying as the conclusion of the song quoted above, No. XIX in Tag-ma-cig. 539* 585 [776]

Concluding Observations

It is my intention to follow up this part of the wedding songs with a second and a third part in a special publication. If this plan should be somewhat delayed, it will be due to the difficulty in translating. For the first part, two manuscripts were available. The second part can only be translated on the basis of one single manuscript, and this circumstance results in a great deal of uncertainty in view of the archaic nature of the language. The Tibetan text of all three parts, together with a literal translation printed alongside it, is to be published in the very near future in a scholarly periodical. 000

/70/ Rock Drawings

Table I[2]

Number 1, 2 and 3. The "white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." A personification of the glacier. (Compare photograph.) 531 821

Number 4. Kesar's horse (rKyan-byun-dbyer-pa). 773

" 5. Kesar on his horse engaged in hunting the antelope. On both sides are stupas, and over them branches of the sacred juniper tree. Unknown emblem (a square with diagonals). (Compare photograph.) 778 531

1 [See pp. 90-92, category 116 --Analyst]
2 [See p. 97, category 116 --Analyst]

15: Francke--94 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

778 " 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 821 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings[1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, category 116 - - Analysis]

531

number 26 from Lahul; numbers 27, 28, and 29 by the Indus River near Ha-ri-tse; number 30 from Khalatse; numbers 31, 34, and 36 from Nyer-mu; numbers 32, 33, and 37 from Khalatse. Number 35 from Pan-jid in Zans-dkhar. And numbers 38 and 39 from Khalatse.

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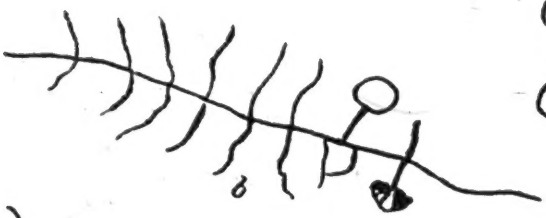

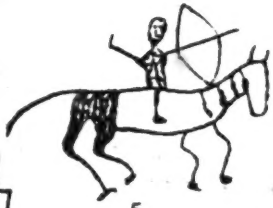
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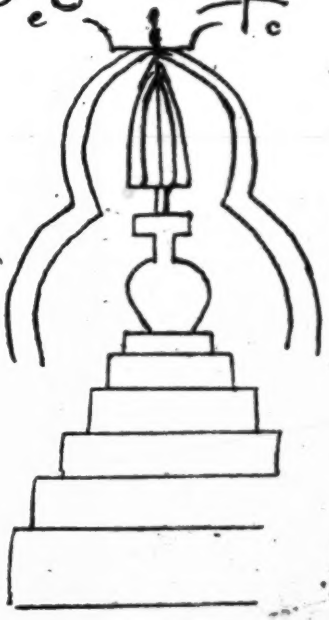

(See p. 93 for identification of drawings.)

15: Francke--98 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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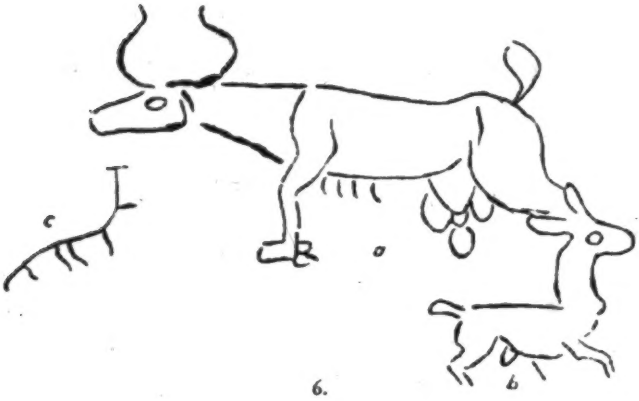

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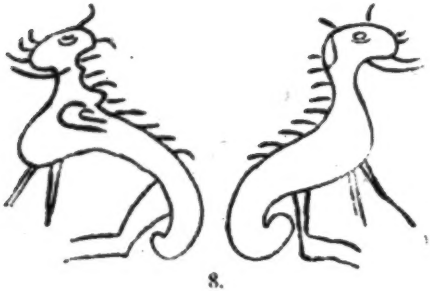

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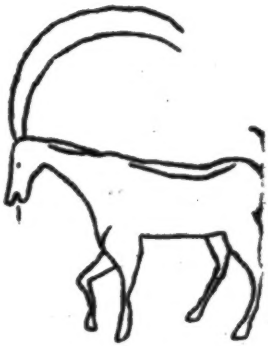

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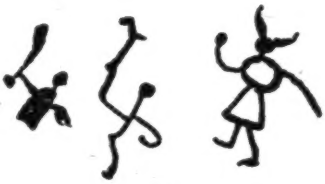

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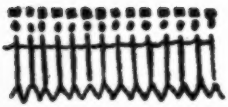

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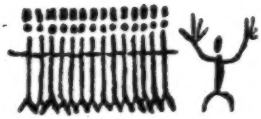

16.

[73]

Tafel II.

(See p. 94 for identification of drawings.)

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[74] Tafel III.

(See p. 94 for identification of drawings.)

15: Francke--100 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/Illustrations and Photographs. /[1]

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

53/ No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
/37 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailasas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116-- Analyst]

15: Francke--101 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116 -- Analyst]

755 /(12)/ No. 14.[1] Large dos-mo from the dos-mo festival in Leh.
796
778

The evil spirits of winter and of diseases are caught in the structures that resemble spiderwebs. After the exorcism, the frames are destroyed.

532 /(13)/ No. 15. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa)
776 near Leh.

Stars from the Kesar saga. The king's castle of Glin. Above it, in the clouds, are deities.

/(14)/ No. 16. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

On the right: A scene from the Kesar saga. King Kesar with the eighteen Agus. Three women from the right. In the clouds are the father of the gods and the mother of the gods, and their children (?). On the left: A scene from the Dogra war.

/(15)/ No. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar.

Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

No. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh.

(The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

1 [See pp. 114-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15; Francke --103 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Nr. 1. Caption for above picture appears on page 100

585
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Nr. 2.

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Nr. 3. Captions for above pictures on p. 100

[76]

15: Francke--105 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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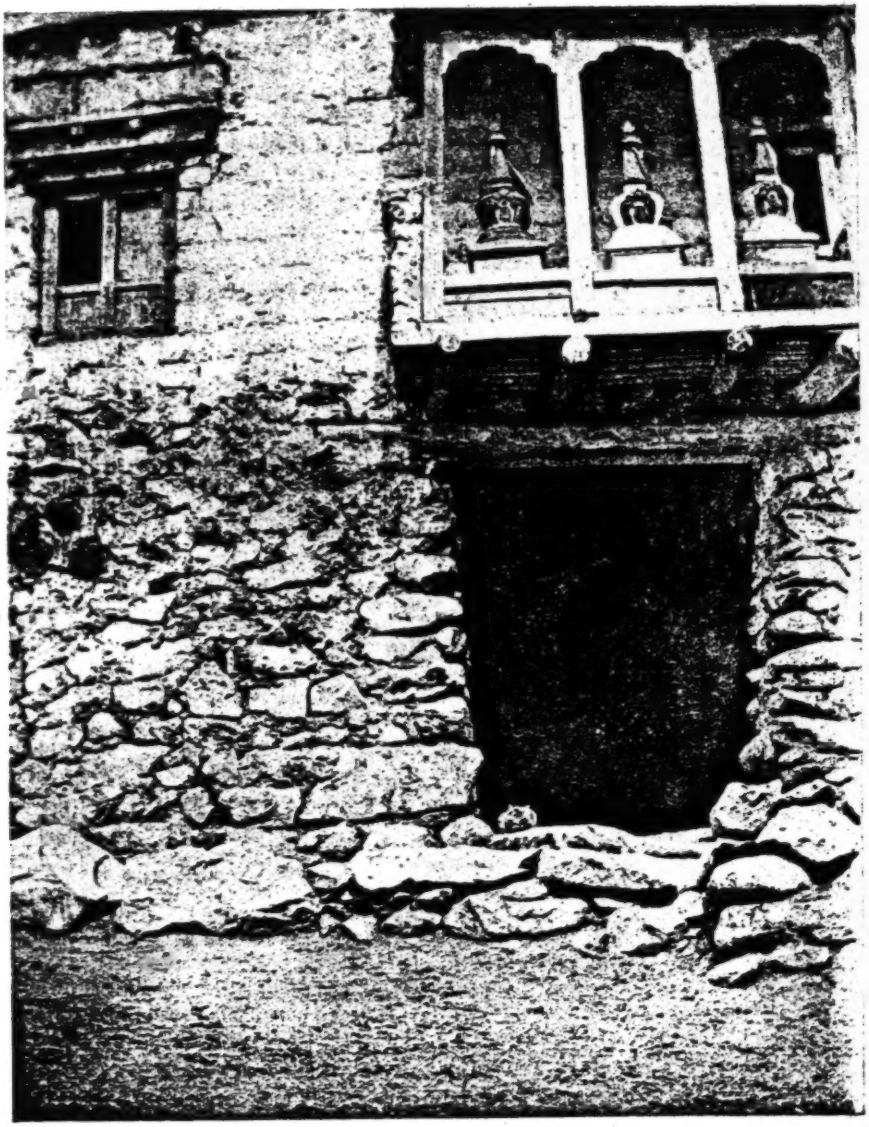

Nr. 4. Caption for above picture on p. 100

15: Francke -- 106 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Nr. 5. Caption for above picture on p. 100

[78]

15: Francke--107 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans #J4

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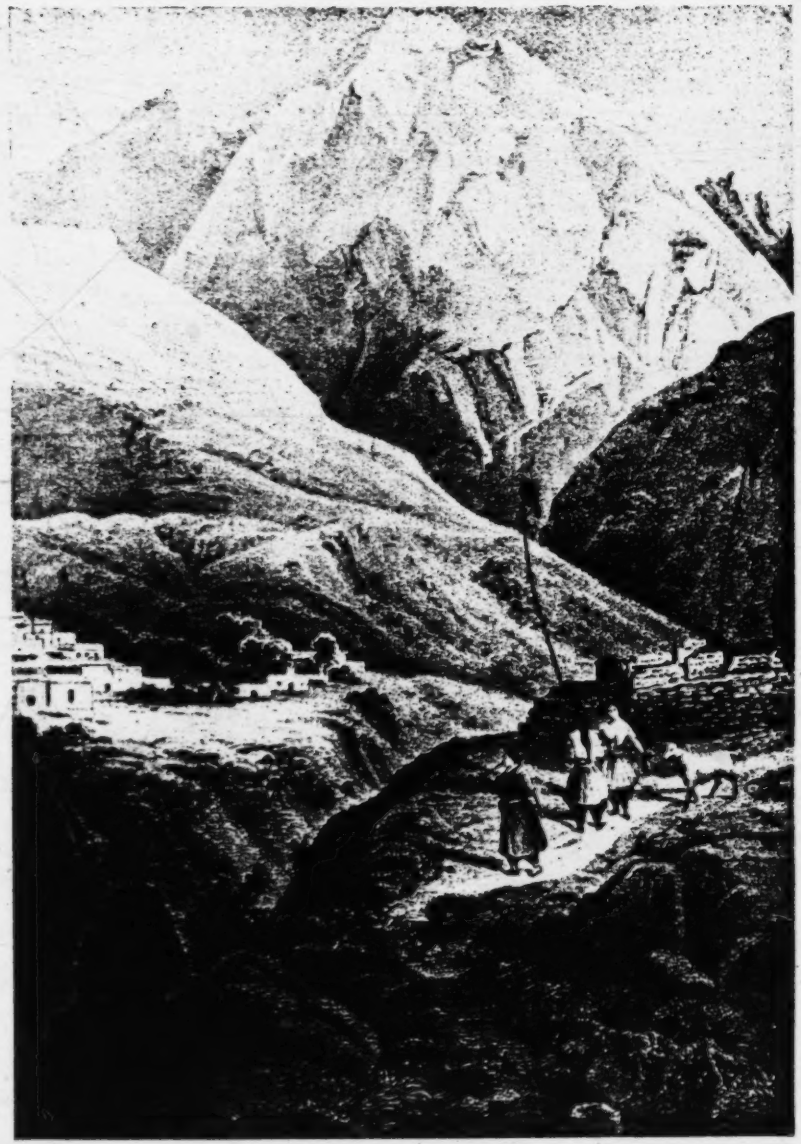

Nr. 6. Caption for above picture on p. 100.

[79]

15: Francke --108 ½-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans #J4

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No. 7. Caption for above picture on p. 102.

[80]

15: Francke--109 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Nr. 8.

Nr. 9.

Captions for above pictures on p. 101.

15: Francke --110 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans #J4

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Nr. 10 Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[82]

B: Francke --111 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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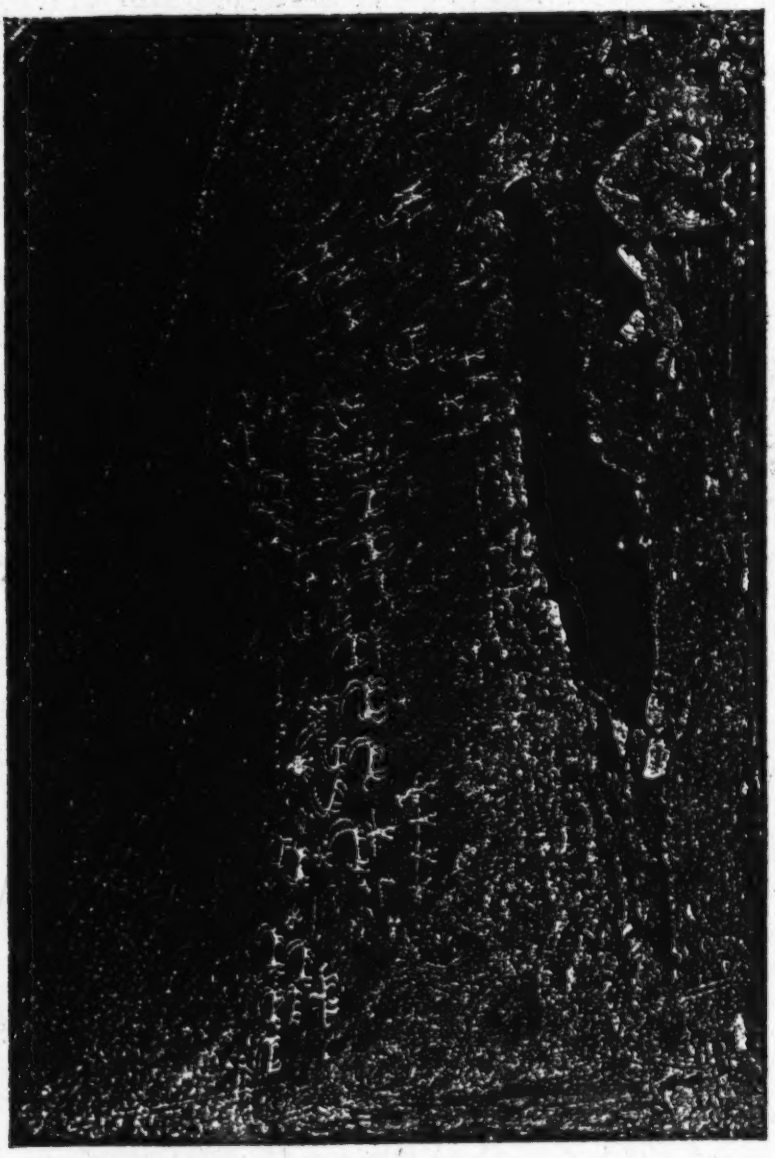

Nr. 11. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[83]

15: Francke --112 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Nr. 12. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[84]

15: Francke --113 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans #34

PS 133

Nr. 14. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

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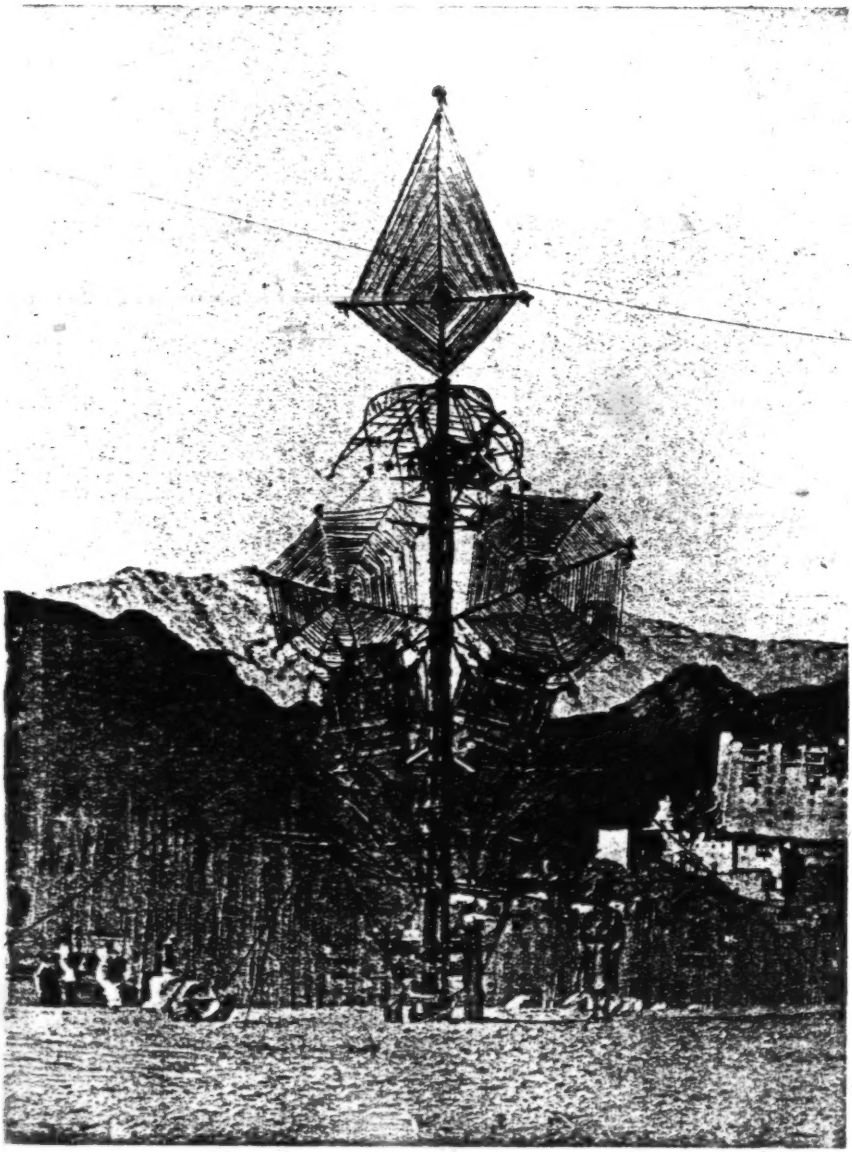

Nr. 14- [illegible] of above p[illegible] [illegible]

15; Francke --115 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans A74

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Nr. 15. Caption for above picture on p. 102.

15; Francke--116 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans A37
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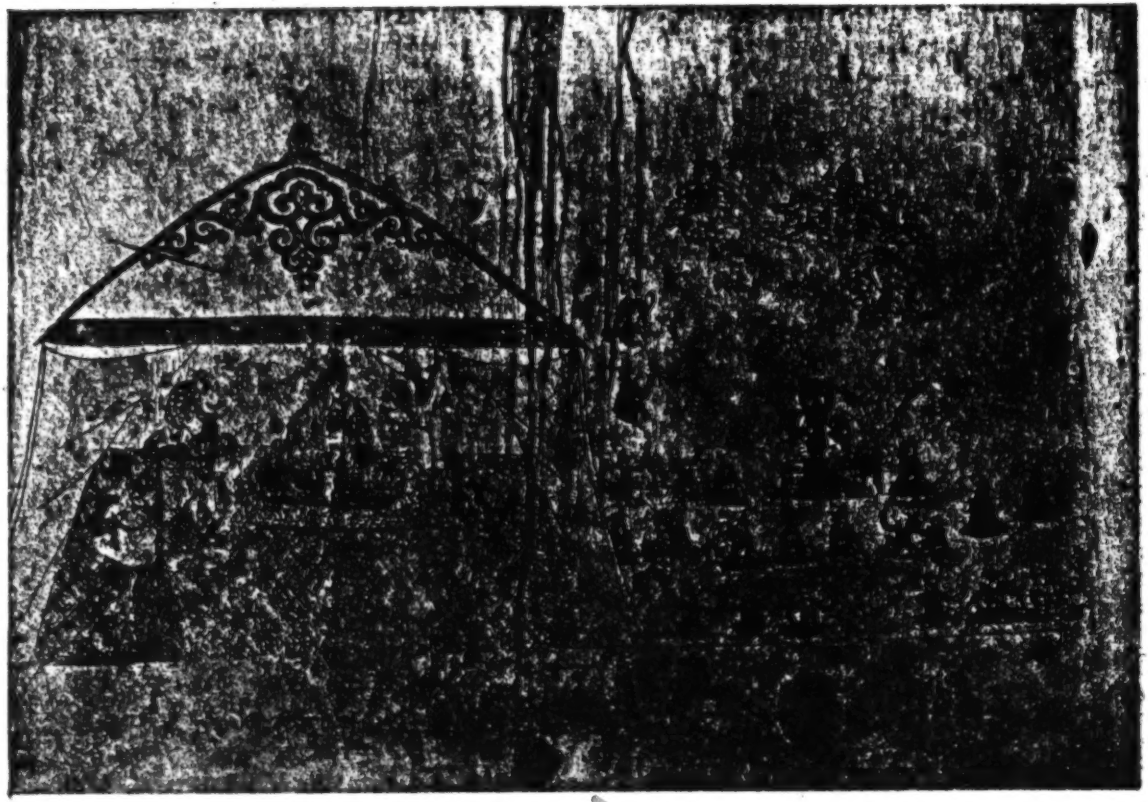

Nr. 16. Caption for above picture on p. 117.

15: Francke --117 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans A75

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Nr. 17. A[illegible] from Kanawar. Evidently [illegible] represented an Aga (hero).

Nr. 18. Mask of an Aga (hero) from Leh. (The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

15: Francke
539, 779

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/For additional texts of myths, see category 773. --Analyst/

/For details on the cosmology, see category 773. --Analyst/

15: Francke
539, 533

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/For songs connected with ceremonies other than the wedding ceremony see category 796. --Analyst/

/For theoretical analyses of songs which appear in this source as well as discussions of songs in other collections, see category 116, pp. 1-8. --Analyst/

15: Francke
539, 585

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/The wedding songs and the explanatory notes on pp. 49-93 have been marked for categories 539 and 585 but will appear only in category 116. --Analyst/

15: Francke
533

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/The various songs included in the text have been marked mainly for category 539. --Analyst/

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

15: Francke AJ4 W. Tibetans

Schriften-Reihe

KULTUREN DER ERDE

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TIBETISCHE HOCHZEITSLIEDER

1923

FOLKWANG-VERLAG G.M.B.H.

HAGEN i. W. UND DARMSTADT

15: Francke AJ4 W. Tibetans

TIBETISCHE HOCHZEITSLIEDER

ÜBERSETZT NACH HANDSCHRIFTEN VON TAG-MA-CIG.
MIT EINER EINLEITUNG ÜBER DIE MYTHOLOGIE
DER TIBETISCHEN SAGENWELT UND BILDERN,
MEIST NACH AUFNAHMEN DES VERFASSERS

VON

A. H. FRANCKE

DR. PHIL.

★

LIEDER

IN DIE URSPRÜNGLICHEN VERSMASZE ÜBERTRAGEN

VON

ANNA PAALZOW

1923

FOLKWANG VERLAG G. M. B. H.

HAGEN i. W. UND DARMSTADT

15: Francke AJ4 W. Tibetans

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EINLEITUNG.

I.

Die Mythologie der tibetischen Sagenwelt.

Als die vorbuddhistische Religion der Tibeter wird gewöhnlich die Bon-Religion angesehen. Die Gedanken dieser Religion finden wir niedergelegt in einer ganzen Anzahl von Schriften, welche bei den noch heute in gewissen Teilen von Tibet verbreiteten Bonpo zu haben sind. Von diesen Büchern ist erst weniges in europäische Sprachen übersetzt worden. Aus dem, was dargeboten worden ist, ergibt sich aber, daß die Bon-Religion durchaus kein urtümliches Gepräge zeigt. Sie stellt sich vielmehr dar als ein Gemisch von alttibetischen Gedanken mit dem Hinduismus und Buddhismus entlehnten Stoffen.

Als eine viel reichhaltigere Fundgrube für das vorbuddhistische Religionssystem der Tibeter erwies sich mir die Folklore des Landes. Hier waren drei Gruppen ganz besonders ertragreich, nämlich die Kesarsage (das Nationalepos des Landes); die Wechselgesänge bei Hochzeiten; und die Glin-glû genannten Hymnen, welche beim Frühlingsfest gesungen werden.

I. Fassen wir zuerst die Kesarsage ins Auge. Ihr Mittelpunkt ist König Kesar. (Im Westen wird dieser Name deutlich Ke-sar, sogar Kye-sar ausgesprochen, im Osten ist er in der abgeschliffenen Form Ge-sar bekannt. In ähnlicher Weise ist das Wort Kyir-mo, ein rundes Geldstück, eine Rupie, zu Gir-mo geworden.) Diese Sage ist den Europäern zuerst in mongolischer Fassung durch B. Bergmann und I. J. Schmidts Übersetzungen[1] bekannt geworden. Schmidt übersetzte nach einer mongolischen Ausgabe, welche 1716 in Peking auf Befehl des Kaisers Kanghi gemacht worden war. Das Werk heißt: „Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans". Wie Schmidt berichtet, steht Gesser-Chan auch bei den Chinesen in hohen Ehren, und die damals herrschende Dynastie (1836) erkannte ihn sogar als ihren Schutzgeist an. Ferner sagt er: „Da Gesser-Chan in der Sage als Beherrscher der drei tibetischen Stämme der Tussa, Dongsar und Lik genannt wird, hat dies den Chinesen Anlaß gegeben, ihn in ihre Geschichte der drei Reiche zu verflechten und ihm eine Epoche in ihrer Chronologie anzuweisen, nämlich den Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts". Solange nur die mongolische Fassung der Kesarsage bekannt war, mußte es unentschieden bleiben, ob die Sage mongolischen oder tibetischen Ursprunges ist. Sobald ich 1900 aber die ersten Proben der tibetischen Kesarsage nach mündlichen Quellen veröffentlichte[2], zweifelte kein Unbefangener mehr daran, daß die Heimat der Sagen in Tibet zu suchen ist. Professor A. Grünwedel schrieb damals im „Globus"[3]: „Im Gegensatz zu den bekannten (mon-

[1] B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. — I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg 1839. Schon vorher war Gesar erwähnt worden durch Pallas in seiner „Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches".

[2] Der Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsage, Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Nr. XV. Helsingfors 1900. Verbesserte englische Ausgabe im Indian Antiquary, 1902.

[3] Bd. XXVIII. Nr. 6.

golischen) Versionen, welche Ge-sar als Krieger und Helden darstellen, sind Franckes Texte viel urwüchsiger und tragen einen hervorragend mythologischen Charakter". Schon Grimm hat in seinen Kinder- und Hausmärchen die Meinung geäußert, daß die Kesarsage, die ihm nur in mongolischer Fassung bekannt war, ursprünglich, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, in Tibet entstanden ist. Wie wir schon sahen, ist diese Sage auch den Chinesen und Mongolen bekannt; aber nicht nur das: man trifft auf ihre Spuren auch bei den Türkstämmen, den Tungusen und Burjäten usw. Es sieht aus, als sei dieser Sagenstoff über ganz Asien getragen worden. Als das Heimatland der bis jetzt bekannt gewordenen Versionen sehe ich das westliche Tibet, im besonderen Ladakh, an. Das alte westtibetische Königreich wird in Chroniken sowohl wie in Inschriften mit Khrom-ge-sar-gdan „Marktplatz, Kesars Thron" bezeichnet. In diesem Gebiet ist die Sage in der Weise zu Hause, daß jedes Dorf seine eigene Version hat, und zwar wird die Sage von den zur Kaste der Bhe-da gehörigen Musikanten vorgetragen, wobei die metrischen Stellen gesungen werden. Es handelt sich dabei aber nicht um aus Büchern gelernte Stoffe, vielmehr sind die Sagen in der eigentümlichen Fassung der betreffenden Familien von Generation zu Generation mündlich weitergegeben worden. Was diese mündlichen Versionen der Kesarsage klar scheidet von den tibetischen literarischen Formen (es scheint mehrere zu geben)[1] und den auf diese gegründeten mongolischen Formen (welch letztere übrigens in Prosa geschrieben sind), ist der Umstand, daß sie ein Religionssystem enthalten, welches mit dem Buddhismus nichts zu tun hat, demselben geradezu feindlich gegenübersteht. Und dieses selbe Religionssystem findet sich ebenfalls in den Hochzeitsgesängen und in den beim Frühlingsfest gesungenen Hymnen. Der Gang der Entwicklung des Kesarepos scheint mir folgender zu sein: Zuerst gab es nur die mündlichen Versionen, welche in den Dörfern für sich gepflegt werden. Dann greift ein dem Buddhismus zugeneigter gebildeter Mann diese Stoffe auf, faßt sie zusammen und bildet daraus mit mancherlei Zutaten ein Epos, das Gesarepos, welches durch den Druck vervielfältigt wird und zu den Chinesen und Mongolen gelangt. Die Mongolen übersetzen das Epos in Prosa und ändern einige Stellen nach ihrem Geschmack ab.

Wir wenden uns nun den veröffentlichten Versionen der Kesarsage zu. Der von mir sogenannte Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsage wurde 1900 in Helsingfors veröffentlicht, und zwar der tibetische Text mit deutscher Übersetzung nach zwei Versionen[2], welche von den Bhedas (Kaste der Musikanten) in Scheh, sieben Meilen oberhalb Leh, aufgenommen worden war. 1902 folgte darauf die Veröffentlichung des von mir sogenannten Wintermythus, ebenfalls in Helsingfors, dessen Text zum größten Teil auch von den Bhedas von Scheh stammte. Der fehlende Schluß war in Khalatse nach der dortigen Version ersetzt worden. Diese Veröffentlichung enthielt ungefähr den Inhalt der Sage, wie er in Teil 2—6 der Sage zu finden ist.[3] In Khalatse, etwa 40 englische Meilen unterhalb von Leh am Indus gelegen, machte ich die Bekanntschaft eines Mannes, welcher dKon-mchog-bkra-shis hieß. Seinen Hausnamen rGya-mthso-pa hatte er daher, daß er in das Haus rGya-mthso-pa in Khalatse eingeheiratet hatte. Er stammte aber aus Lerdo (Lai-rdo) gegenüber s Kyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). Dieser Mann besaß ein großes Wissen in Sachen der Kesarsage und wurde deshalb bei allen Familienfesten im Dorfe zum Vortragen geholt. Seine Version stammt offenbar aus Lerdo in Purig. Diesen Sänger setzte ich nun mit dem Schreiber und Lehrer von Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-'adzin, viele Wochen lang zusammen, und so erhielt ich die von mir sogenannte Lower Ladakhi Version der Kesarsage, welche

[1] B. Bergmanns Version wird der Kleine Gesar genannt, Schmidts Version der Große Gesar.

[2] Das Mädchen Zar-ra, welches die erste Version von Scheh lieferte, gehörte auch zur Kaste der dortigen Bhedas.

[3] Dazu kommt noch die Geschichte des Helden gSer-gyi-bu-zhuñ, von welcher der Text und Noten in J & P ASB., Vol. III, p. 121 ff. veröffentlicht wurde.

in der Bibliotheca Indica unter den Nummern 1134, 1150, 1164 und 1218 veröffentlicht ist. Damit war aber der Stoff des dKon-mchog-brka-shis noch nicht erschöpft. Er fuhr fort im Erzählen und berichtete nun Abenteuer der Haupthelden der Sagen neben Kesar. Diese Sagen habe ich veröffentlicht unter dem Titel: The Paladins of the Kesarsaga, in Journal & Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, Nr. 10, Vol. III, Nr. 2, Vol. III, Nr. 5.

Bei all diesen Veröffentlichungen in Indien habe ich den Text vollständig gegeben, von einer Übersetzung aber abgesehen, und zwar aus Mangel an Zeit. Statt einer solchen habe ich jedem Kapitel eine ausführliche Inhaltsangabe und Listen der Namen und unbekannten Vokabeln beigefügt. Die Lower Ladakhi-Version enthält den gesamten Stoff der Kesarsage, wie weiter unten angegeben. Zum großen Teil geht sie also über denselben Grund wie die Sheh-Version. Sie bringt aber nicht nur Neues in bezug auf die Fassung der poetischen Stellen, sondern auch viele interessante und wichtige Varianten.

Die Sammlung The Paladins of the Kesarsage dagegen enthält vollständig neuen Stoff, unter folgenden Überschriften: 1. Kesars geliebter Mon (Mann niedriger Kaste). 2. Die Geschichte des Helden sKyaba-rgod-po (lJaṅ-krieg). 3. Die Geschichte des Helden Shel-gyi-bu-zhuṅ. 4. Die Geschichte des Helden rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

II. Die Hochzeitslieder (Nyo-pai-glu). Bei jeder Hochzeit im Gebiet der Westtibeter (Ladakh, Purig usw.) wird folgendes Schauspiel aufgeführt: Sieben Freunde des Bräutigams, welche sich Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, „die Käufer, die sieben Brüder", nennen, begeben sich, wenn möglich zu Pferde, zum Haus der Braut, um letztere für den Bräutigam zu kaufen. Sie werden von der Verwandtschaft der Braut nicht eingelassen, ehe sie nicht ihre ehrbare Herkunft durch Beantwortung einer langen Reihe von Fragen, die in Form von Liedern an sie gerichtet werden, bewiesen haben. Sobald eine Antwort falsch gegeben wird, schlagen die mit Weidenruten bewaffneten Bewohner des Hauses auf sie los. Die hierbei gebrauchten Lieder stellen eine Art von Katechismus der vorbuddhistischen Religion des Landes dar. Auch von ihnen gilt dasselbe wie von der Kesarsage. Sie nehmen an Vollständigkeit zu, je weiter wir nach dem Westen gehen. Zuerst beobachtete ich das erwähnte Zeremoniell in dem Dorf Stog, welches Leh gegenüber liegt. Dort war man in kürzester Zeit mit Frage und Antwort fertig, und das Hochzeitsmahl bildete den Höhepunkt der Feier. Viel länger dauerte das Frage- und Antwortspiel in Khalatse, wohin ich von Leh aus versetzt wurde. Da ich bei der Vorführung nichts vom Inhalt der Lieder verstehen konnte, bat ich den Führer der Nyo-pa, dieselben dem Schreiber von Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-'adzin, langsam zu diktieren. So erhielt ich ein Heft, welches mit 18 je zweiteiligen Liedern gefüllt war. Ich nahm dieselben mit dem Schreiber sorgsam durch und gelangte bald zum Verständnis der ersten neun. Diese gab ich mit Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen im Indian Antiquary heraus, wo sie 1901 unter dem Titel The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual erschienen. Beigedruckt war ein Bild, welches einen Tanz der Nyo-pa darstellt. Den zweiten Teil verstand damals weder der Schreiber, noch auch ich. Jetzt ist mir's eher möglich, dessen Sinn zu erkennen, und die Lieder auch des zweiten Teils sollen für die nachfolgende Darstellung benutzt werden. Nachdem mir das Lied der Nyo-pa abgeliefert worden war, machte mir jemand eines Tages die Mitteilung, daß mit jenen Liedern das Frage- und Antwortspiel der Hochzeiter noch nicht erschöpft sei, daß sich dasselbe vielmehr beim Hochzeitsmahl fortsetze. Dann werde das sogenannte Chaṅ-glu, das „Bierlied", gesungen. Auch von diesem ließ ich eine Niederschrift anfertigen und gab es im eigenen Verlag heraus, indem ich an der lithographischen Missionspresse in Leh etwa 50 Abdrucke anfertigen ließ. Dieselben sind (nur der Text) unter dem Titel „Die Trinklieder von Khalatse" 1903 erschienen. Obgleich mehrere dieser Lieder sehr wichtigen mythologischen Inhalt haben, sind doch andere nur unterhaltender Natur. Es werden in ihnen Rätsel aufgegeben, wie wir sie in fröhlichen Kreisen aller Völker erwarten können.

Von besonderem Interesse ist das Lied, welches die Herkunft und Zubereitung des tibetischen Bieres (Chaṅ) in ausführlicher Weise beschreibt.

Als ich gerade mit dem Studium dieser Lieder beschäftigt war, wurde mir gesagt, daß in Tag-ma-cig, dem westlichen Nachbardorfe von Khalatse, ein altes Manuskript der Hochzeitslieder vorhanden wäre. Ich schickte sofort einen Boten nach jenem Dorf, um mir das Werk aushändigen zu lassen, mußte aber erfahren, daß das nur gegen Auszahlung einer größeren Geldsumme geschehen könne. Nachdem die Zahlung erfolgt war, wurde mir das Manuskript auf einen Monat leihweise überlassen. Diese Zeit genügte aber für meinen treuen Gehilfen Ye-shes-rig-'adzin, das ganze Heft abzuschreiben. Leider war das Manuskript an einigen Stellen so schadhaft, daß mehrere Lieder unvollständig bleiben mußten. In betreff des Alters der Handschrift ließ sich nichts Bestimmtes feststellen. Es wurde mir nur berichtet, daß man an die Niederschrift gegangen sei, als man in Gefahr kam, die alten Lieder zu vergessen. Die Handschrift mag vielleicht hundert Jahre oder etwas mehr alt sein. Nach der Zählung meines Schreibers enthält das Heft etwa sechzig meist zweiteilige Lieder, von denen eine ganze Anzahl mit den Liedern von Khalatse übereinstimmen, und zwar finden sich sowohl Wiederholungen der einzelnen Hochzeitslieder, wie auch solche der Trinklieder. Wir sehen, daß man in Tag-ma-cig zwischen Hochzeits- und Trinkliedern überhaupt nicht unterschieden hat. Der Titel des Ganzen ist aber „Nyo-pas-sgo-la btaṅ-ces-kyi-glu, Lieder der Nyopa (Brautkäufer), an der Tür zu singen". Obgleich ich damals nicht viel von dem Inhalt der Lieder verstehen konnte, erkannte ich doch gleich die große Wichtigkeit derselben für das Studium der vorbuddhistischen Religion und wünschte, dieselben der gelehrten Welt zugänglich zu machen. Ich ließ sie deshalb 1904 mit blauer Kopiertinte in 28 Exemplaren vervielfältigen, hatte aber bei dieser Arbeit kein Glück. Die Abklatsche wurden größtenteils so undeutlich, daß sie nicht entziffert werden konnten. Zum Glück ist jene von Ye-shes-rig-'adzin gemachte Abschrift inzwischen wieder zum Vorschein gekommen, und ihr sollen manche wichtigen Angaben auf den folgenden Seiten entnommen werden. Alle diese Hochzeitslieder sind dadurch von besonderem Wert, daß sie viel Material über die tibetischen Anschauungen vom Weltenbaum und die Gottheiten der vier Himmelsrichtungen enthalten. Auch von den Dörfern Shel und Phyi-dbaṅ sind mir später Hochzeitslieder (Nyo-pai-glu) geliefert worden. Doch sind diese von ganz anderem Charakter. Es sind das Preislieder auf Könige und Minister, welche offenbar in jenen Ortschaften ihre Hochzeiten feierten. Sie sind von keinem Wert für den Religionsforscher.

III. Die Hymnen des Frühlingsfestes (Gliṅ-glû). Wenn im Frühling in Westtibet (Ladakh usw.) das Frühlingsfest gefeiert wird, werden Hymnen gesungen, welche den Namen Gliṅ-glû, „Lieder vom Land Gliṅ", tragen. In diesen Hymnen werden König Kesar und die in den Kesarsagen genannten Gottheiten verehrt. Ohne eine gewisse Kenntnis der Kesarsage würden diese Lieder unverständlich bleiben. Ohne daß ich besondere Anstrengungen gemacht hätte, kamen mir bei meiner Umschau nach Volksliedern zwei solche Hymnensammlungen in die Hände. Von dem Dorf Phyi-dbaṅ, acht englische Meilen unterhalb Leh, erhielt ich ein dort angefertigtes Manuskript, welches die in jenem Dorfe gebräuchlichen neun Hymnen des Kesarfestes enthielt. In Khalatse zeichnete mir der schon genannte Ye-shes-rig-'adzin die daselbst gesungenen neun Lieder auf. Die erstere Sammlung habe ich 1901 im Indian Antiquary erscheinen lassen mit Text, englischen Übersetzungen und Anmerkungen. Die zweite findet sich in meinen Ladakhi-Songs, wo sie unter Nr. XXI—XXIX abgedruckt ist. Zu diesen beiden wichtigen Sammlungen gesellte sich noch eine kürzere dritte, indem mir die Bhe-da vom Dorfe Scheh (Shel) die in jenem Dorfe gebräuchlichen fünf Festlieder aufzeichneten. Dazu sei noch erwähnt, daß sich versprengte Stücke solcher Festlieder noch hier und da in meinen Volksliedsammlungen finden; ebenso wie auch noch da und dort einige aus dem Zusammenhang gelöste

Hochzeitslieder vorkommen. Ein solches findet sich z. B. in „Ladakhi-Songs", Nr. 30, „Der Teppich der Brautkäufer".

IV. Nachdem nun die Hauptquellen der Gliñ-chos zusammengestellt sind, muß ich noch auf eine vierte Art von Liedern zu sprechen kommen, welche religiöser Natur sind, ohne daß sie doch in den Rahmen der Gliñ-chos zu passen scheinen. Es sind das die Lieder, welche beim Erntefest (Srublha) gesungen werden. Eines von denselben habe ich in meinen Ladakhi-Songs unter Nr. 15 erscheinen lassen. Doch ist dasselbe kein glückliches Beispiel, da es aus zwei Hochzeitsliedern zusammengesetzt ist, während das ursprüngliche Lied verloren gegangen ist. Bessere Typen zeigt meine noch unveröffentlichte Liedersammlung aus Scheh. Daraus ergibt sich, daß man als Thema zum Erntegesang die Erschaffung der Welt und die Herkunft der Naturgüter, im besonderen des Getreides, wählte. Die Weltentstehungssage, wie wir sie hier finden, steht aber im Gegensatz zu der Anschauung der Kesarsage. Hier steigt die Erde aus den Wassern des Ozeans empor, während sie in der Kesarsage aus dem Leib eines erschlagenen Riesen gebildet wird. Die Sage der Erntelieder von Scheh (Shel) stimmt nun merkwürdig überein mit dem dardischen Weltentstehungslied, wie wir das in der dardischen Hymnensammlnng des Bono-nä-Festes aufgezeichnet finden.[1] Es handelt sich beim Erntefest in Westtibet offenbar um einen dardischen Brauch. Die Darden sind es gewesen, welche den Ackerbau in Westtibet eingeführt haben. Die Tibeter sind von alters her Nomaden gewesen.

Die Kosmologie.

Die Welt besteht aus drei Reichen: 1. sTañ-lha, das obere Götterreich, 2. Bar-btsan, das mächtige Mittelreich, 3. gYog-klu, das untere Nixenreich (Nāgareich).

1. sTañ-lha, das obere Götterreich. Dasselbe liegt im Himmel, über den Wolken; doch scheinen manchmal die hohen Berggipfel eingeschlossen zu sein. Es wird von einem König regiert, welcher den Namen 'aBum-khri-rgyal-po „König der hunderttausend Throne" oder auch sKyer-rdzoñ-snyan-po „Wohlredender vom lichten Schloß" führt. Dieser Gott ist schon in ältester Zeit mit einem indischen Gott identifiziert worden. Solch eine Berührung der tibetischen mit der indischen Religion erklärt sich daraus, daß der altheilige Bezirk Tibets, die Gegend um den Manasarovar-See, auch den Indern heilig war. Wallfahrten zur Quelle des Ganges und der Ströme des Pandschab sind schon in ältester Zeit von den Indern unternommen worden, und diese Reisen führten die Inder in das Gebiet dieses Sees. Der indische Gott, welcher dem Himmelskönig der Tibeter gleichgeachtet wurde, ist Indra, und zwar der Indra der altvedischen Zeit, der Frühlingsgott, der Besieger der Riesen und Dämonen. Indras Eigenschaften finden wir aber nicht nur beim tibetischen Himmelskönig, sondern auch bei seinem Sohn, König Kesar, wieder. Der Name, unter dem Indra den Tibetern geläufig geworden ist, ist 'Satakratu, tibetisch brGya-byin, dialektisch rGyab-zhin, „der, welcher hundert Opfer gebracht hat". Tatsächlich findet sich der Name brGya-byin in den Dokumenten der vorbuddhistischen Religion viel häufiger als die alttibetischen Namen desselben Gottes. — Die Gemahlin dieses Himmelskönigs heißt 'aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, „Königin der hunderttausend Throne", oder bKur-dman-rgyal-mo, „Königin, verehrungswürdige Frau", auch A-ne-bkur-dman-mo, „Gattin, verehrungswürdige Frau". Zu ihr werden besonders viele Gebete in der Kesarsage gerichtet. Man hält sie offenbar für barmherzig und weise.

[1] The eighteen songs of the Bono-na-festival, Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. Hierzu ist zu bemerken, daß die Darden ihre Anschauung offenbar von den Buddhisten haben.

Diese Himmelsherrscher besitzen drei Söhne, nämlich: 1. Don-yod, „einen Zweck habend", 2. Don-ldan, „einen Zweck habend" und 3. Don-grub, „seinen Zweck erfüllend". Der letztere Name entspricht dem indischen Siddhärta, welchen Namen auch Buddha trug. Der dritte Sohn, Don-grub, ragt über seine Brüder hervor in geistiger und leiblicher Beziehung. Später stirbt er im Himmel und wird auf der Erde als König Ke-sar (Kyesar) von Gliñ wiedergeboren.

Der Herr und die Herrin des Himmels erscheinen in den Texten und Liedern schon als ethische Götter, welche das Gute wollen und von den Menschen Gehorsam verlangen. Im Gliñ-glu von Phyi-dbañ findet sich unter Nr. 5 folgende Hymne:

Es ist möglich, einem rollenden Felsblock auf steilem Hang zu entrinnen,
Gewiß, einem rollenden Felsblock auf steilem Hang kann ich entgehen;
Aber es ist nicht möglich, den Geboten des „Großen Vaters" aus dem Wege zu gehen;
Nein, den Geboten des „Königs der hunderttausend Throne" kann ich nicht entrinnen.
Es ist möglich, auf einer Furt den großen Fluten zu entrinnen,
Gewiß, auf einer Furt kann ich den mächtigen Fluten entkommen,
Aber es ist nicht möglich, den Geboten der „Großen Mutter" aus dem Wege zu gehen.
Nein, den Geboten der „Königin der hunderttausend Throne" kann ich nicht entrinnen.

Wie schon erwähnt, sind die Eigenschaften eines dem alten Indra gleichen Wettergottes mehr bei Kesar als bei dem „Vatergott" zu finden. Dies kommt deutlich zum Ausdruck in dem neunten Lied des Gliñ-glu von Khalatse:

Hoch oben auf dem Sa-ri-can-Paß sammeln sich schwarze Wolken.
Hoch oben auf dem Sa-ri-can-Paß fliegen zerfetzte Wolken umher.
In der Mitte der schwarzen Wolken zücken Blitze aus dem Schwert unseres guten Fürsten.
In der Mitte der schwarzen Wolken zücken Blitze aus dem Schwert des göttlichen Königs Kesar.

Nach der Volksüberlieferung schleudert Kesar seine Blitze gegen einen in die Wolke gehüllten Drachen. Der Donner ist das Schmerzgebrüll des getroffenen Drachen. Hierbei sei aber auch darauf hingewiesen, daß nach Hymne I des Gliñ-glu von Khalatse der Donner mit dem Laufen der Götter im Himmel erklärt wird.

Das Leben der Götter ist eine idealisierte Form des Menschenlebens. Sie bilden einen Staat, in welchem sich ein König, Minister, Untertanen und Diener vorfinden. (Siehe Wintermythus, V, 11.) Sie leben in Glückseligkeit und werden alt, wie wir aus einer Stelle im Frühlingsmythus ersehen. Da heißt es in VII, 21, 45, 62: „Wer ein Segensbier trinkt, der lebe so lang wie die Götter". Die Möglichkeit des Todes scheint für die Götter zu bestehen, wenn wir von Don-grubs Tod im Himmel aus so schließen dürfen. Die Götter weiden Ziegen (lha-ra, Götterziegen) auf der Erde, welche gegen den Teufel (bdud) verteidigt werden müssen. (Siehe Frühlingsmythus I.) Diese Ziegen stellen offenbar Regenwolken dar, welche der Drache (hier Teufel) rauben will; ganz entsprechend den Indramythen. Es sei auch bemerkt, daß an anderen Stellen der Kesarsage die Wolken mit Rindern, wie in Indien, verglichen werden. (Siehe A Lower Ladakhi Version, Tale of Kesar's Marriage, Nr. 5, Yak Ri-ri; Defeat of the King of Hor, Nr. 2, Yak Kha-ra-kham-ba.) Vom Yak Ri-ri wird erzählt, daß er seinen Kopf auf einen Berggipfel und seine Hinterfüße auf einen andern legt. Doch das Gleichnis der Ziegen ist klarer durchgeführt. Im Wintermythus II, 17—29 hören wir, daß Kesar eine ganze Anzahl entführter Himmelsziegen im Reich des Teufels wiederfindet.

Der Götterkönig sowohl wie die Königin verwandeln oft ihre Gestalt. So erscheint der König im Kampf um die Himmelsziegen als weißer Vogel (Frühlingsmythus I) oder als weißer Yak (Lower

Lad. Version, II, Story of Kesar's Birth 1). Die Götterkönigin erscheint mehrfach auf der Erde, um ihrem Sohn Kesar zu helfen, und zwar als menschliches Weib (Frühlingsmythus IV, 8), als Dzo (Hybride zwischen Rind und Yak, Wintermythus I, 53), als türkisenfarbige Fliege (Wintermythus V, 35), als eine Taube (Wintermythus VIII, 16).

Der Himmelskönig reitet auf einem Pferd, welches lha-rta-ñaṅ-pa „isabellfarbenes Götterpferd" genannt wird. Auf modernen Darstellungen (in Changspa bei Leh) sieht es wie ein Kiang aus. Am selben Ort ist auch die Himmelskönigin dargestellt, und zwar reitet sie auf einer weißen Löwin mit türkisenfarbigen Locken, der Personifikation des Gletschers. Die Oberkleider dieser Götter sind weiß mit farbigen Säumen, die Unterkleider bunt (Bilder in Changspa). Nach Shel-li-bu-zhuṅ (Paladins, III) geht über den Schultern des Himmelsgottes die Sonne auf.

Als Gesamtzahl aller Götter (lha) wird in der Erzählung Shel-li-bu-zhuṅ (Paladins, Nr. III) 360 angegeben, eine Zahl, die sich auch in den Bonpowerken findet. Zum Schluß sei noch darauf hingewiesen, daß gelegentlich geschieden wird zwischen dBaṅ-po-brgya-byin, dem Himmelsherrscher, und sKyer-rdzoṅ-snyan-po, dem „Vatergott" (pha-lha). Letzterer Name ist im besonderen gebraucht vom Himmelsgott als dem Vater Don-grub-ke-sars. Dieser Gebrauch scheint dann dazu geführt zu haben, unter beiden Namen verschiedene Gottheiten zu verstehen.

2. Bar-btsan, die Erde, wörtlich „der feste Platz in der Mitte". Andere Namen sind: Mi-yul, „Menschenland", Gliṅ, „Kontinent", „Welt". Später auch, nach dem Aufkommen von indischen Begriffen, 'aDzam-bu-gliṅ, Sanskrit Jambudvīpa. Die höchste Gottheit der Erde ist Mutter sKyabs-mdun, „Hilfreiche Gemahlin". Sie scheint mit der Erdgöttin brTan-ma, „Die Feste" (Jäschkes Lexikon) oder brTan-byed-ma (S. Ch. Das Lexikon) identisch zu sein. Auch Vater brTan-pa kommt vor.

Die Welt (gliṅ) der Mythologie ist natürlich Tibet. Sehen wir uns aber die wenigen Ortsnamen an, welche in der Mythologie vorkommen und sich identifizieren lassen, dann werden wir in den Westen des Landes, in das Gebiet der großen Seen, gewiesen. In den Hochzeitsliedern werden beide großen Seen, Ma-pham (Manasarovar) und La-ñag, mehrfach erwähnt, wobei allerdings der erstere den Preis davonträgt, und der in ihrer Nähe befindliche Kailāsaberg spielt keine geringere Rolle. In der Kesarsage und auch sonst führt er den Namen Ti-se (offenbar zusammengezogen aus Khri-rtse „Throngipfel") oder Gaṅs-ri (Eisberg); auch Gaṅs-ti-se kommt vor. Auf ihm oder in seiner Nähe befindet sich Gliṅ-mkhar-rtse-dgu, „das Schloß von Gliṅ mit den neuen Spitzen". Der silberne, der goldene Berg, der blaue Berg und der Schieferberg liegen in nächster Nähe. Dieser Gebirgsstock ist von den Tibetern gedacht als der Ausgangspunkt der vier Hauptflüsse der Welt[1], und zwar zählen sie in Inschriften und in ihrer Chronik die folgenden auf: 1. der Indus, der nach Westen fließt, Seṅ-ge-kha-bab oder Löwenfluß[2], 2. der Karnali-Ganges, der nach Süden fließt, rMa-bya-kha-bab oder Pfauenfluß, 3. der Brāhmaputra, der nach Osten fließt, rTa-mchog-kha-bab, der Pferdefluß, 4. der Tarim oder Sita, welcher nach Norden fließt. — Andere Systeme bringen noch zwei Flüsse hinzu, indem sie zwei von den vorhergehenden auslassen, nämlich den Oxus oder Rakshu und den Sutledsch oder Glaṅ-chen-kha-bab, oder den Ochsenfluß. — Welche von diesen Flüssen wir nun aber auch annehmen, das Gebiet, welches ihre Quellen umschließen, ist immer wieder der Bereich des alten westtibetischen Königreiches, welches den Distrikt der heiligen Seen einschloß.

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[1] Diese vier Hauptflüsse sind auch erwähnt in Nr. X b und XVII der Hochzeitslieder von Tag-ma-cig; doch sind sie da nicht einzeln mit Namen genannt. Eine ähnliche Sage findet sich auch im Rāmāyaṇa I, 44, die Herabkunft der Gangā. Da werden nicht vier, sondern sieben Ströme genannt.

[2] Wörtlich „der aus dem Maul des Löwen entspringende"; dementsprechend bei den folgenden Namen.

Mit der Schöpfung und Bevölkerung dieser Welt beschäftigen sich drei Sagenkreise, von welchen zwei der Kesarsage und einer dem Schatz der Darden angehören. — Die Schöpfung des Landes Gliṅ nach dem Vorspiel zur Kesarsage[1]: Ein Held der Vorzeit, namens Doṅ-gsum-mi-la-sñon-mo hatte ein Ungeheuer mit neun Köpfen getötet und baute aus dessen Körperteilen das Schloß von Gliṅ und die Landschaften von Gliṅ, und zwar aus Köpfen, Beinen, Armen und Rippen das Schloß; aus den Lungen den goldenen Berg, aus dem Herzen den silbernen Berg; aus dem Magen die Groma-Ebene; aus den Eingeweiden die rGyu-ma-Schlucht; aus dem „kleinen Magen" das Jagdgebiet von sPo-tho-ñaṅ-ma; aus den Augen die Quelle Thsaṅ-ya (wohl das Seengebiet); aus der Nase den Ort sKad-snyan-gliṅ-bū; und aus den Nieren den Fels rGyab-rten.

Die Bevölkerung dieses Landes fand nach der Kesarsage (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 69 und 74) auf zweierlei Weise statt. Nach der einen Version werden die verschiedenen Tiere, aber auch Sonne, Mond und Sterne von Gog-bzaṅ-lha-mo, der Mutter Kesars, gleich vor Kesar geboren. Nach der andern Version werden vom Helden der Vorzeit, dPal-le, Muttertiere und Mutterschätze (darunter die Vorfahren von Sonne, Mond usw.) von einem zerfallenen Schloß gebracht.[2] Es fällt ein fruchtbarer Hagel auf Gog-bzaṅ-lha-mo sowohl wie auf die Muttertiere und -schätze, und alle fangen an zu gebären.

Nach der dardischen Version, die sich von mDa bis nach Shel östlich von Leh verfolgen läßt, ist die Erde aus dem Weltmeer emporgestiegen und dann besät worden. Es handelt sich hier um Bäume und Getreidearten.[3]

Der Gegensatz zwischen Tibeter und Darde könnte nicht deutlicher ausgedrückt werden, als dies in den Weltentstehungssagen geschieht. Der Tibeter als Nomade und Jäger redet nur von der Tierwelt; der Darde als tüchtiger Landwirt redet nur von der Pflanzenwelt. Von der ersten Erscheinung des Menschen dagegen redet keiner. Das „Vorspiel zur Kesarsage" fängt gleich mit einem „Vorvater" und einer „Vormutter" an, und diese werden als ebenso selbständig existierend angenommen, als dies bei den Göttern, der Erdmutter und den Nāgas geschieht.

Da die Urtiere in der Mythologie eine so bedeutende Rolle spielen, indem sie gleich neben Sonne und Mond, ja neben die Götter gestellt werden, seien die wichtigsten hier aufgezählt: Von Gog-bzaṅ-lha-mo werden geboren: Sonne und Mond am hohen Himmel; Seṅ-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, „die weiße Löwin mit den Türkisenlocken", die Personifikation des Gletschers, das Reittier der Himmelskönigin, auf dem hohen Berge, Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, „der wilde Vogelkönig", auf dem hohen Felsen (nach anderer Version wird dort Skyin-chen-ba-rgan, „der große alte Steinbock", geboren); rKyaṅ-byuṅ-kha-dkar, „Weißmaul, vom Kiang stammend", ein Pferd, auf der Steppe; Nya-mo-gser-mig, „Fisch Goldauge" in der Mitte des Meeres; 'aBroṅ-byuṅ-rog-po, „Der vom wilden Yak stammende Böse", ein Yak, auf der Wiese; noch einige andere Tiere, unter welchen drei Frösche, ein goldener, ein blauer und ein weißer, am bekanntesten geworden sind.

Unter den Muttertieren, welche vom zerfallenen Schloß geholt worden sind, sind am berühmtesten: Thsa-ldan, eine Stute, Khyi-mo-dkar-mo, die weiße Hündin; Gro-mo, ein Mutterschaf; Thse-thse-ñaṅ-dmar, eine Ziege. Von den Tieren, welche die Muttertiere nach dem befruchtenden Hagel gebären, sei nur eins als besonders berühmt genannt, rKyaṅ-byuṅ-(db)yer-pa, „Schecke, vom Kiang stammend", ein Pferd, welches Kesars Eigentum wurde.

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[1] A Lower Ladakhi Version, Prelude, Nr. 5.

[2] Bei diesen Schätzen im zerfallenen Schloß ist wohl an Trümmer einer früheren, untergegangenen Welt zu denken.

[3] Diese sogenannte dardische Version ist wahrscheinlich mit dem Buddhismus schon früh zu den Darden gekommen. Wir finden diese Sage im Kandschur, La, 26. Bd. der mDo-Klasse. (J & P ASB., Vol. VII, Csoma de Körös.)

Schließlich seien auch noch die Pflanzenarten erwähnt, welche nach den dardischen Versionen der Erde gegeben wurden. An Bäumen entstand der Sandelbaum (nur durch die Inder bekannt gemacht); der Wacholder (shug-pa); die Birke (sTag-pa); die Alpenweide (glañ-ma); und die Tamariske (Om-bu). An Getreidearten werden neun aufgezählt, nämlich Yañ-ma, die gewöhnliche Gerste, So-ba, die grobhäutige Gerste; Shi-rog, die frühe Gerste; Gro, der Weizen; Bra-bo, der Buchweizen; Kyer-ze, die Hirse; sran-ma, die Bohne; nag-sran, die Erbse; Yuñs-dkar, der Senf. Hier ist es nun merkwürdig: die Tibeter kommen bei ihren Bierliedern auf die Herkunft des Bieres aus der Gerste zu sprechen. Als aber die Frage nach der Herkunft der Gerste sowie der Getreidearten aufgeworfen wird, redet man von der Jagd. Der Vorvater fängt allerhand Vögel, und als er die Taube im Netz gefangen hat, finden sich in ihrem Magen sieben (nicht neun) verschiedene Samenkörner, von welchen alle Getreidearten abstammen.

Das Land Gliñ besitzt auch fünf Arten von Kleinodien, welche, nach dem gZer-myig, im Berginnern aufgehäuft sind und von Riesen, die draußen stehen, und Zwergen, die drinnen hausen, bewacht werden. Nach der Kesarsage (Handschrift des Gau-Phun-thsoys) handelt es sich um folgende Arten: Gold, Silber, Türkis, Koralle und Perle oder Muschel.

In betreff der Erdherrin ist noch zu sagen, daß sie als tätige Gottheit noch mehr zurücktritt, als wie das bei den Himmelsherrschern der Fall ist. Wie die Rolle des Himmelskönigs auf Don-grub-Ke-sar übergegangen ist, so die der Mutter sKyabs-mdun auf Kesars Gemahlin, 'aBru-gu-ma. Obgleich die tibetischen Sagen keine Anhaltspunkte bieten, soweit sie mir bisher bekannt geworden sind, glaube ich doch annehmen zu dürfen, daß der ursprüngliche Stand der Mythologie folgender war: der Himmelskönig freite um Mutter sKyabs-mdun, die Erde, verlor diese seine Braut aber (im Winter) an den Herrn der Wassergeister. Statt dieses Vorganges finden wir nun dieselbe Sache in der zweiten Generation: Kesar freit um 'aBru-gu-ma, verliert diese seine Braut und Frau aber wieder an König „Weißzelt" (den König der Wassergeister in Form von Schnee). 'aBru-gu-mas Herkunft von Erdgottheiten wird dadurch wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß sie gelegenlich Tochter des Vater brTan-pa genannt wird[1], und letzterer ist ja eine Erdgottheit, wie schon gesagt. Ganz besonders klar kommt aber 'aBru-gu-mas Charakter als Erdgottheit zum Vorschein, als sie ihre Strafe erhält dafür, daß sie sich schließlich dem König „Weißzelt" ergeben hat. Da wird unter anderem erzählt: „Zu ihrer Strafe wurde drei Jahre lang Luzerne auf ihren Kopf gesät und der Kopf mit Dzo-Ochsen gepflügt".[2] Leider ist der Name 'aBru-gu-ma nicht so durchsichtig wie mancher andere. Vielleicht hängt er aber mit 'abru „Samenkorn" zusammen.

Bildliche Darstellungen der Erdgottheit sind noch nicht bekannt geworden. Doch lesen wir in der Kesarsage (Frühlingsmythus VII, 19—22), daß sie auf einem Pferd reitet, welches bTsan-rta-dmar-chuñ, „kleines rotes Erdroß", heißt. 'aBru-gu-ma wird wegen ihrer milchweißen Farbe gerühmt.[3] Durch ihren Übergang ins Reich der Himmelsgottheiten ist sie deren Farbe teilhaft geworden. Von Mutter sKyabs-mdun lesen wir, daß sie im Traum von jemand gesehen wird und so erscheint, als ob eine Schlange um ihren Leib läge (Shel-li-bu-zhuñ, Paladins III). Später wird aber erklärt, daß unter der scheinbaren Schlange das hakenförmige Land Gliñ zu verstehen ist.

Durch seine hohen Berggipfel, auf welchen die Götter ebenso hausen wie im Himmel, berührt Bar-btsan, das Mittelreich, das Reich der Götter. Dadurch, daß sich im Mittelreich aber auch große Seen befinden, hat es Anschluß an das Reich der Nixen oder Nāga (tibetisch Klu).

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[1] Lower Ladakhi Version, 'aBru-gu-ma's Marriage, Nr. 5, und Frühlingsmythus VII, 7.
[2] Lower Lad. Version, Defeat of the king of Hor, Nr. 9.
[3] Gliñ-glu von Phyi-dbañ, Nr. 4.

3. Yog-klu, das Reich der Wassergeister (tibetisch Klu, indisch Nāga, deutsch Nixen). Es befindet sich in allen Flüssen und Seen, aber auch unter der Erde, da die Tibeter glauben, daß sich unterirdische Verbindungen zwischen den sichtbaren Gewässern hinziehen. Das Wort Yog-klu bedeutet „die unteren Nixen". Ebenso wie sTaṅ-lha, ist auch Yog-klu ein Staat. Dort herrscht ein König über viele Diener und Untertanen, welche sich durch die große Menge ihrer Kinder auszeichnen. (Siehe Wintermythus V, 17.) Der Name des Königs wird in meinen Handschriften der Aussprache gemäß meist lJogs-po geschrieben, ein Wort, welches nicht in den Wörterbüchern zu finden ist. In diesen wird 'aJog-po als Name eines Nāga-Königs gegeben; doch gibt auch 'aJog-po keinen rechten Sinn. Das wahrscheinlichste ist, daß lJogs-po eine dialektische Form von lCogs-po ist, welches nach Jäschke „niedrig" heißt. Der Name könnte also wohl „der Untere" bedeuten. (Vgl. lji-ba und lci-ba, „schwer".) Die Klu-mo oder weiblichen Nixen sind wegen ihrer Schönheit berühmt und Kesar wird deshalb gewarnt, sich nicht in sie zu verlieben. In Nr. 7 des Gliṅ-Glu von Khalatse sagt 'aBru-gu-ma zu Kesar:

O mein kluger König!
Wenn du jetzt in das Land der Wassergeister hinabsteigst
Und siehst alle Nixen jenes Landes,
Dann vergiß nicht deine Gehülfin im Land der Menschen.

Die Ladakher Frauen wünschen den Nixen an Schönheit zu gleichen und tragen deshalb auf ihrem Kopfe einen breiten mit Türkisen besetzten Lederstreifen, welcher vom Kopf bis über die Mitte des Rückens hinabfällt. Dieser Lederstreifen, Pe-rag genannt, soll eine aus dem menschlichen Rücken herauswachsende Schlange darstellen, welche nach den Regeln der alten indischen Kunst das charakteristische Merkmal der Nāgas ist. In dieses Reich der Gewässer gehört nun alles, was sich im Wasser tummelt, also Fische, Frösche, und ganz im besonderen die Wasserschlangen. Da all diese Wesen menschliche Gestalt annehmen können, wenn auch mit dem genannten Abzeichen, mögen die Tibeter keins von ihnen essen. Nicht nur durch starke Vermehrung (man denke an die vielen Fischeier), sondern auch durch einen hohen Grad von Weisheit sollen sich die Nixen auszeichnen. Als Kesars Brief in Gliṅ ankommt, in welchem er seine Rückkehr aus dem Nordland ankündigt, ist eine Nixe die einzige Person, welche das Schreiben lesen kann.[1]

In betreff des Königs lJogs-po ist noch zu erwähnen, daß er nach dem Lied Nr. VIIb der Hochzeitslieder von Khalatse mit dem berühmten Ma-dros-zil-chen (Anavatapta, „Nicht-heiß") identisch ist. Dadurch wird uns zugleich der Wohnsitz angegeben. Es ist der vorher genannte Manasarowar-See, der See Ma-dros. In der Chronik von Ladakh lesen wir im Bericht des Königs Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, daß dieser menschliche König oder sein Freund, Padmasambhava, den Nixenkönig dadurch zum Auftauchen aus dem Manasarowar-See brachte, daß er einen Donnerkeil (Vajra) ins Wasser des Sees hielt. Die lesekundige Nixe, welche vorher erwähnt wurde, war nur dadurch aus ihrem Element gebracht worden, daß man Gift ins Wasser geworfen hatte. Der Nixenkönig mußte dem Menschenkönig versprechen, nie wieder Aussatz unter die Menschen kommen zu lassen. Diese Krankheit heißt bei den Tibetern Klu-nad und bei den Indern Nāgaroga (von den Nixen veranlaßte Krankheit). Sie wird den Nixen deshalb zugeschrieben, weil Aussatz zuerst wie Schnee aussieht. Aus der angeführten Stelle in der Chronik von Ladakh scheint sich zu ergeben, daß man statt eines Nāgafürsten sich deren zwei dachte, welche im Manasarowar-See hausten. Diese Zweizahl mag auf die Inder zurückzuführen sein.

[1] Lower Lad. Version, Capture of 'aBrugu-ma, Nr. 7.

Die Tibeter scheinen von dem Namen Ma-dros-zil-chen das Beiwort Zil-chen, „der strahlende", abgetrennt und mit ihm eine neue Gottheit geschaffen zu haben.

Auch bei diesem Nāgakönig, Ma-dros oder lJogs-po, muß erwähnt werden, daß er als handelnde Gottheit ebenso sehr zurücktritt wie der Himmelskönig und die Erdgöttin. Er zieht nicht mehr aus, die Erdgöttin zu rauben, sondern hat das jüngeren Gestalten überlassen, im besonderen dem König von Hor (Mongolei und Turkestan, Länder im Norden von Westtibet). Der Winter ist die Zeit, wenn die Wassermassen in Form von Eis und Schnee die Erde in Banden schlagen, und die winterliche Macht dringt von Norden her an. In der Kesarsage lesen wir, daß Kesar nach seiner Hochzeit nach Norden zieht, um gegen den Nordriesen zu kämpfen, und daß während dieser Zeit König Gur-dkar (d. h. „Weißzelt") von Hor die 'aBru-gu-ma raubt. Aus vielen Stellen der Kesarsage ergibt sich, daß für die Menschen der Nāgakönig eine Gottheit war, welche, wenn auch an dritter Stelle, die gleiche Ehre erhielt, die dem Himmelsgott und der Erdgöttin zuteil wurde. Aus dieser ethisch nicht anfechtbaren Gestalt entwickelte sich aber bald eine neue Figur, welche das Böse verkörperte. Von diesem „Teufel" bDud soll später gesprochen werden.

Alte Abbildungen der tibetischen Klu, im besonderen ihres Königs, sind noch nicht gefunden worden. Aus der Kesarsage (Frühlingsmythus VII, 27—30) ersehen wir, daß König lJogs-po ein Pferd reitet, welches Klu-rta-sñon-chuñ, „kleines blaues Nixenpferd", heißt. In dem Traumlied (Shel-li-bu-zhuñ, Paladins III) lesen wir, daß der König etwas im Mund trägt, was zuerst wie ein schwarzes Schaf aussieht. Später ergibt sich, daß das vermeintliche Schaf eine Lotosblume ist.

Die Farben der drei Reiche. Das ursprünglichste Farbensystem findet sich offenbar in der Fassung der Kesarsage des Dorfes Scheh (Shel), wie sie im „Frühlings- und Wintermythus" vorliegt. Dort hören wir öfters von drei Altären, welche den Gottheiten der drei Weltreiche errichtet sind und welche weiße, rote und blaue Farbe aufweisen.[1] Nach diesem System ist sTañ-lha, das Reich der „oberen Götter", von weißer Farbe, wahrscheinlich wegen des Lichtes, welches dort herrscht. Bar-btsan, das Reich der Erde, ist rot. Das hängt wohl zunächst mit der rötlichen Farbe des Erdbodens zusammen. Auch in anderen Ländern finden sich Zusammenhänge zwischen den Begriffen Rot, Erde und Mensch. Als Beiwort der Erde finden wir in den Hochzeitsliedern oft gro-mo, was „graurot" bedeutet.

Yog-klu, das Reich der „unteren Nixen", ist von blauer Farbe. Die tibetischen Seen sind berühmt wegen ihrer tiefblauen Farbe.

Etwas abgeändert zeigt sich das Farbensystem in der Unterladakher Fassung der Kesarsage. Hier finden wir das Folgende: sTañ-lha ist weiß; Bar-btsan ist rot, und Yog-klu ist schwarz.[2] Die Gleichstellung der blauen mit der schwarzen Farbe ist auch sonst bei primitiven Völkern beobachtet worden.

Noch weiter fortgeschritten finden wir das System in der mongolischen Version der Kesarsage, vielleicht auf Grund gewisser literarischer tibetischer Formen der Sage. Hier hat sTañ-lha die weiße Farbe; Bar-btsan ist gelb; und Yog-klu ist schwarz.[3] Die Umwandlung der roten Farbe in die gelbe ist möglicherweise auf Rechnung der Reformation des Lamaismus durch Tsoñ-kha-pa zu setzen. Als ich eines Tages vor drei Tschorten von weißer, gelber und blauer Farbe stand und mit dem Kardar von Unter-Ladakh, einem gebildeten Tibeter, über dieselben sprach, sagte dieser Mann, daß diese Gruppe von Tschorten die richtige Farbe zeige. Alle Gruppen, welche rot, weiß und blau gestrichen

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[1] Frühlingsmythus IV, 20—26, VII, 22, 30, IX, 1. Wintermythus II, 21—23.
[2] A Lower Lad. Version, p. 37; 86; 288 etc.
[3] Bogda Gesser Khan, p. 163 etc.; p. 201.

sind, was viel häufiger vorkommt, nannte er falsch. Zu diesem Urteil war er als Anhänger von Tsoń-kha-pas Lehre gekommen. Wie beim Kleid der Lamas wollte er auch bei den Tschorten die rote Farbe durch die gelbe ersetzt wissen. Mir scheint jetzt aber wahrscheinlich, daß die Farben weiß, rot, blau das älteste Farbensystem der Tibeter in bezug auf die drei Weltreiche darstellen.

Die Gottheiten der vier Himmelsrichtungen.

Es ist besonders in den Hochzeitsliedern der Fall, daß die Gottheiten der vier Himmelsrichtungen eine große Rolle spielen. Doch treten sie auch sonst gelegentlich hervor. In einigen Liedern finden wir die Lokapālas, wie sie uns von Indien her bekannt sind, wenn auch unter tibetischen Namen. Das ist nicht verwunderlich, wenn wir daran denken, daß ja auch Indra bei den Tibetern Eingang gefunden hatte. Wir müssen versuchen, an der Hand der Lieder die ursprünglichen Gedanken der Tibeter über diesen Gegenstand kennen zu lernen. Zunächst sei da an Lieder erinnert, welche die Himmelsrichtungen als Spender großer Gaben feiern: In den Hochzeitsliedern X und XIII wird gesagt, daß der Osten uns die Sonne, aber auch Mond und Sterne gibt; der Süden liefert Getreide und damit großen Reichtum, ja Gold; aus dem Westen kommen die Medizinen und dort blüht auch die Astronomie, ja wegen des Gebrauchs der chinesischen Diagramme auch die Wahrsagerei; der Norden aber wird gerühmt wegen der Farben und des Salzes. Dort soll sich auch Kesars Krieg (Nr. X) abspielen.

Im vorherigen ist schon etwas von Farben angedeutet; und ein Farbensystem wurde nun mit den Himmelsrichtungen in Verbindung gebracht, und zwar so, daß man dort sowohl Vögel wie auch Eier von bestimmter Farbe unterbrachte. In den Hochzeitsliedern XV, XXXIX, XLI lesen wir, daß sich im Osten ein weißer Vogel und ein weißes Ei befindet. In Nr. XV wird der Vogel des Ostens als Bya-rgyal-rgod-po „wilder Vogelkönig" bezeichnet. Im Süden haust ein gelber Vogel, auch gibt's da ein goldenes Ei. Der Vogel des Westens ist rot, und das dortige Ei wird korallenrot genannt. Der Nordvogel ist bald von schwarzer, bald von türkisenblauer Farbe. Manchmal ist es ein Rabe, manchmal ein Pfau. Das Ei ist türkisenblau oder eisenschwarz.

Im Hochzeitslied Nr. XXXIX werden uns nun auch Personen, vielleicht eine Art von Gottheiten, vorgeführt, die in den verschiedenen Himmelsrichtungen wohnen. Im Osten Sa-goń-bdag-po, der „Erdbesitzer", der König; wohl Kesar als Erdenherrscher; im Süden mThsan-ldan-bla-ma, „berühmter Priester", eine unbekannte Figur; im Westen U-rgyan-padma, Padmasambhava; und im Norden mGar-mkhan-A-nag, der Schmied A-nag, und 'aBrugu-ma, wohl seine Tochter. Ist schon dieses System nicht durchweg ursprünglich, so ist das noch weniger mit dem des Liedes Nr. XXXVIII der Fall. Hier sind die Himmelsrichtungen in folgender Weise besetzt: Osten: Shakya-thub-pa, Buddha; Süden: 'aJam-dpal, Mañjuśrī; Westen: mKhyen-rab, der Gründer der Bon-Religion; Norden: rGyal-rjes-dkar-po, der große weiße König, vielleicht eine Variante von Gur-dkar, König „Weißzelt" (Schnee).

Sehr merkwürdig ist nun, daß die Tibeter, als sie wirkliche Länder zu den Himmelsrichtungen in Beziehung setzten, ein großes Durcheinander anrichteten. Es ist das daher gekommen, daß sie zuerst die Gaben der Himmelsrichtungen festgestellt hatten. Als diese Gaben feststanden, kamen sie plötzlich darauf, sich nach irdischen Ländern umzusehen, welche solche Gaben im besonderen lieferten.

Im Hochzeitslied Nr. X wird der Osten mit Indien in Verbindung gebracht. Dies ist so zu erklären: Die Gabe des Ostens ist zunächst die Sonne; in den Osten gehört aber auch Kesar, ferner Buddha (Nr. XXXVIII). Buddha kam aus Indien. Also wird Indien in den Osten gesetzt. Der Süden liefert

Getreide, führt dadurch zu Reichtümern. Als reichstes Land war zur Zeit des Verfassens der Lieder Persien bekannt. Folglich wurde Persien mit dem Süden verbunden. — Der Westen galt als Reich der Medizin, in welchem auch sMan genannte Geister der Medizin hausten. Alle Medizinmänner beschäftigten sich aber auch mit Astrologie und Weissagung, besonders aus den chinesischen Diagrammen. Da in diesen Künsten die Chinesen alle Nachbarn übertrafen, wurde China mit dem Westen verbunden. Am günstigsten steht das Verhältnis wohl im Norden. Im Norden soll sich außer Farben auch Salz finden, und Salz gibt es auch viel in den nordtibetischen Seengebieten, Byaṅ-thaṅ. Diese Gebiete werden auch im Lïbd (vgl. Lad. Songs Nr. 15) dem Norden zugewiesen. Unter dem Land von „Kesars Krieg" im Norden haben wir uns im besonderen Hor oder Turkestan vorzustellen.

Wir kommen nun zu den Namen der indischen Lokapāla, welche in einige Hochzeitslieder eingedrungen sind. Im Hochzeitslied Nr. IX werden sie folgendermaßen aufgezählt:

1. Yul-'akhor-sruṅ (Dhṛitarashṭa) . . . . . Osten.
2. 'aPhags-skyed-po (Virūḍhaka) . . . . . Süden.
3. sPyan-mig-bzaṅ (Virupāksha) . . . . . Westen.
4. rNam-thos-sras (Vaiśravaṇa oder Kubera) . . . Norden.

In den Hochzeitsliedern Nr. II von Khalutse und Nr. XLII von Tag-ma-cig aber werden vier Namen von Gottheiten genannt, welche ganz den Dhyānibuddhas der Tantristen (nach de la Vallée Poussin) entsprechen. Hier aber haben sie mit Dhyāni oder Beschauung nichts zu tun. Sie erscheinen vielmehr ganz eigentlich als Könige der vier Himmelsrichtungen. Ihre Namen sind die folgenden:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajrasatva) . . . . . Osten.
2. Rin-chen-byuṅ-ldan (Ratnasambhava) . . . . . Süden.
3. sNaṅ-ba-mtha-yas (Amitābha) . . . . . Westen.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa (Amoghasiddha) . . . . . Norden.

Auch die indischen Lokapāla haben Beziehungen zu gewissen Farben, und es ist nun von einiger Wichtigkeit, festzustellen, wie sich das indische System zu dem bisher gezeichneten Farbensystem der Hochzeitslieder verhält. Um noch einmal die Sache klarzustellen, sei letzteres wiederholt:

1. Osten . . . . . weiß.
2. Süden . . . . . gelb (gold).
3. Westen . . . . . rot (einmal Nr. XV türkis).
4. Norden . . . . . schwarz (oder blau).

Die indischen Lokapālas werden im Lamaismus mit folgender Hautfarbe dargestellt:

1. Dhṛitarashṭa . . . . . Osten . . . . weiß.
2. Virūḍhaka . . . . . Süden . . . . blau.
3. Virupāksha . . . . . Westen . . . . rot.
4. Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) . . . . Norden . . . . goldgelb.

Wir sehen, daß bis auf das Weiß des Ostens und das Rot des Westens beide Systeme nichts miteinander zu tun haben. Die indischen Lokapālas erweisen sich als ein Fremdkörper im Gebiet der volkstümlichen Religion der Tibeter.

Etwas weiter ist man dagegen schon bei den Dhyānibuddhas gekommen. Im Hochzeitslied Nr. XLII sind dieselben zu Farben in Beziehung gesetzt, und dabei zeigt es sich, daß das alttibetische System fast vollständig durchgedrungen ist. In diesem Lied werden folgende Farben genannt:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa	Osten	weiß.
2. Rin-chen-byuṅ-ldan	Süden	gelb.
3. sNaṅ-ba-mtha-yas	Westen	blau.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa	Norden	schwarz.

Zusammenfassend können wir wohl sagen, daß aus den alten Liedern hervorzugehen scheint, daß die Tibeter Gottheiten der vier Himmelsrichtungen kannten, welche sie sich erst in Vogelgestalt, später offenbar in Menschengestalt vorstellten und zu bestimmten Farben, ursprünglich wohl: weiß, gelb, rot, blau, in Beziehung setzten. In späterer Zeit drangen die Namen indischer Gottheiten der Himmelsrichtungen in das tibetische System ein.

Der Weltenbaum und die alte Gebetsordnung.

Der Weltenbaum wird in den alten Liedern mehrfach erwähnt, am ausführlichsten wird er aber in Nr. VII b der Hochzeitslieder beschrieben. Dort wird sein Name als rGya-lcaṅ «Große Weide» oder rGyal-lcaṅ „Königsweide" gegeben. Im Lied XXXVI wird er Shiṅ-sde-rgyal „König der Baumarten", und im Lied XXXVII kommt der indische Name Jambuvriksha „Baum von Jambudvīpa" vor. Im Lied Nr. VII b wird von diesem Baum zunächst gesagt, daß er drei Wipfel (rtse-mo-gsum) habe. Dies ist so zu verstehen, daß er durch alle drei Welten, das Nixenland, das Menschenland und das Götterland, hindurchwächst. In jedem dieser Weltreiche erscheint er aber wie ein selbständiger Baum, der mit seinem Wipfel das Dach der betreffenden Welt berührt. Dieser Baum hat nach demselben Lied sechs Äste. Das ist vom Menschenland aus gesehen, wie folgt: In den vier Richtungen der Windrose erstreckt sich je ein Ast, ein weiterer Ast (eigentlich der Hauptstamm) wächst von der Erdmitte aus nach oben, und ein Ast (eigentlich die Wurzel) erstreckt sich von der Erdmitte aus nach unten.

Daß ich mit dieser Deutung des Liedes Nr. VII b das Richtige getroffen habe, bestätigt mir Lied Nr. XXXIX a. Hier wird von dem Weltenbaum gesagt, daß er auf einer Wurzel fünf Wipfel oder Zweige habe, welche, wie das auch vom vorigen Baum gesagt wurde, mit Nestern und Eiern belegt sind. Da in diesem Lied die Wurzel nicht als Zweig gerechnet ist, bleiben nur fünf Zweige übrig. Es wird auch in demselben Lied deutlich gemacht, daß unter den vier Zweigen die Linien der Windrose zu verstehen sind, indem bei den Eiern die Farben der vier Himmelsrichtungen angegeben werden.

Wie wir gesehen haben, kann man beim Weltenbaum an fünf Zweige und Eier, oder auch an sechs Zweige und Eiernester denken. Wenn auch nicht für die Zweige, so kann doch für die Nester noch ein siebenter Ort in Frage kommen, nämlich der Punkt in der Mitte, von welchem alle Äste ausgehen. Diese Möglichkeit ist im Hochzeitslied Nr. XXXVI ausgeführt, wo wir tatsächlich von sieben Vögeln hören, die sieben Eier auf dem Weltenbaum hüten.

Was nun die Farben von Vögeln und Eiern anbetrifft, so muß zugestanden werden, daß es bei der Unklarheit der Angaben kaum mehr möglich sein wird, ein sicheres System aufzustellen. Die Unklarheit scheint dadurch gekommen zu sein, daß die Natur kaum je Beispiele bot, bei denen die Farben der Vogelfedern und Eier übereinstimmte. Wo finden wir rote Vögel, die rote Eier legen,

oder gelbe Vögel, die gelbe Eier legen? Und während man im Lied Nr. XLI sich schnell über die Natur hinwegsetzte und im Süden einen gelben Vogel auf ein gelbes Ei (Nr. XXXIX) setzte, im Westen einen roten Vogel auf ein rotes Ei usw. brachte, war man beim Lied Nr. VIIb vorsichtiger. Man nahm die Farbe des im Lied gegebenen Eis für bindend an und sah sich nun in der Natur nach Vögeln um, welche Eier in der betreffenden Farbe legen. So wußte man, daß der Schneefasan, der doch von reinweißer Farbe ist, korallenrote Eier legt, und deshalb setzte man ihn auf das rote Ei des betreffenden Zweiges. Der weiße Falke kommt auf ein eisenfarbenes Ei, weil sein Ei in der Natur dem Eisen ähnlich sehen soll usw. Das goldene Ei wird aber in diesem Lied dem Vogel Khyuṅ, dem Sonnenvogel, zuteil, weil die Sonne nun einmal goldfarbig erscheint. Auf welchen der Zweige des Weltenbaumes wir ihn aber zu setzen haben, bleibt ungewiß, da sich nicht erkennen läßt, welcher Zweig als „erster" zu gelten hat.

An den Liedern vom Weltenbaum können wir erkennen, daß in den Gedanken der alten Tibeter eine Verbindung bestand zwischen den Gottheiten der drei übereinander liegenden Welten und denen der vier Himmelsgegenden. Man besang diese Götter nicht nur in besonderen Gruppen der ersten drei oder der letzteren vier, sondern verfaßte auch Lieder, in denen alle sieben vereint besungen wurden. Ein solches Lied ist Nr. I der Hochzeitslieder von Khalatse. Dasselbe handelt von einem Räucheropfer. Der Rauch, heißt es da, steigt nach oben, breitet sich über die Erde, sinkt nach unten, und zieht nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen, um den Zorn all dieser Gottheiten zu beschwichtigen.

So lang der oberste der Wassergeister noch als wohltätige Gottheit angesehen wurde, waren es sieben Gottheiten, die in solchen Liedern zusammen angerufen wurden. Wie wir aber schon erwähnt haben, wurde der Fürst der Nixen später als der Teufel aus dem Kreise der übrigen Götter ausgeschieden. So entstand die Gruppe der sechs Hauptgottheiten, und ihr begegnen wir im Hochzeitslied von Tag-ma-cig Nr. X, in welchem die Segnungen der sechs Orte, Himmel, Erde und der vier Himmelsrichtungen, aufgezählt werden. Eigentümlich ist es, daß als Segen des Himmels im besonderen der Regen genannt wird.

Da fällt uns die Ähnlichkeit mit der altchinesischen Mythologie auf. Wie im Schu-king II, I, 6 berichtet wird, „brachte Kaiser Schun ein besonderes Opfer, aber unter den gewöhnlichen Formen, dem Schang-ti dar. Er brachte seine Opfer den sechs Verehrungswerten (Himmel, Erde und den vier Himmelsrichtungen). Er opferte, wie es sich gehörte, den Bergen und Flüssen und dehnte seine Verehrung auf die 100 Geister aus." Eine entsprechende Stelle findet sich auch im Buch der Riten, Li-chi, wo es heißt: „Der Sohn des Himmels opferte Himmel und Erde, den vier Himmelsrichtungen, den Bergen und Flüssen, dem Land und Getreide; auch brachte er die fünf häuslichen Opfer dar." Wir sehen, daß bei den Chinesen die sechs „Verehrungswerten" vorangehen, daß ihnen aber noch einige kleinere Götter folgen können. Letzteres ist auch bei den Tibetern der Fall, und im eben erwähnten Lied vom Räucheropfer, Hochzeitslieder Nr. I, folgen auf die sieben Hauptgottheiten noch die folgenden kleinen: Der Gott des Berggipfels, der Gott des Dorfes und der Gott der Haushalte. In ähnlicher Weise wird auch in anderen Liedern von erhabenen Gottheiten abwärts geleitet, bis man schließlich bei den Familiengliedern ankommt.

In dieser Anordnung, welche bei Tibetern und Chinesen übereinstimmt, glaube ich ein Merkmal mythologischer Verwandtschaft zwischen diesen beiden Völkern erkennen zu dürfen. Zwar finden sich die „drei Welten" und die „Vier Erdkönige" auch bei vielen anderen Völkern, von den Babyloniern bis zu den Indern. Aber die Zusammenfassung dieser beiden Gruppen zu „Obersten Gottheiten" ist gerade den Tibetern und Chinesen gemein. Von ganz besonderem Wert ist es uns, daß sich aus dieser Zusammenfassung der sechsästige Weltenbaum der tibetischen Kosmologie erklärt.

Der Teufel bDud.

Gelegentlich wird zu den drei großen Weltreichen, sTaṅ-lhe, Bar-btsan und Yog-klu, noch ein viertes hinzugefügt, nämlich das des Teufels, bDud. Und dann erscheinen alle drei Reiche wie Verbündete dem Reich des Teufels gegenüber. Die Farbe des Reiches des Teufels ist schwarz nach der Version von Scheh (Shel) und braun-vio' (smug-po) nach der Unterladakher Fassung.[1] Im Wintermythus II, 21—26 lesen wir, daß Kesar auf seiner Reise auf vier Pässen vier Altäre fand, welche den Gottheiten der drei Weltreiche und dem Teufel errichtet waren, und weiße, rote, blaue und schwarze Farbe zeigten. Den drei ersten Altären zollte Kesar Verehrung, indem er auf ihnen Tücher von weißer, roter und blauer Farbe opferte. Den vierten, den Teufelsaltar von schwarzer Farbe, zerstörte er aber gründlich und ließ keine Spur von ihm übrig. Sieht man auf eine Stelle wie diese, so könnte man zu dem Glauben geführt werden, daß die alten Tibeter neben den drei vorher beschriebenen Weltreichen noch ein viertes in sich abgeschlossenes Reich, das des Teufels, gekannt hätten. Da der Teufel öfters mit dem Beiwort sdig-can, sündig, bezeichnet wird, hätten wir es hier mit einer ethisch tiefstehenden Persönlichkeit zu tun, während die Gottheiten jener drei Reiche der Verehrung der Menschen würdig sind.

Einige Beobachtungen führen mich aber zu dem Glauben, daß die Gestalt des Teufels sich aus Gottheiten der Wasserwelt und des Winters, welche zu den lichten Himmelsgöttern im Gegensatz stehen, entwickelt hat. So dient auch das Wort bdud Teufel zur Bezeichnung verschiedener Wesen in der tibetischen Mythologie. Die Etymologie dieses Namens ist nicht einfach. Mir scheint bei bdud eine Denominativbildung von dud, Rauch, Ruß, vorzuliegen; bdud könnte also dann „der Berußte", „der Schwarze" heißen, was mit seiner Erscheinung in gewissen Versionen der Kesarsage in Übereinstimmung sein würde. Wenn bdud auch beständig durch die indischen Worte māra und kāma übersetzt wird, scheint mir doch hier keine Übertragung aus dem Indischen vorzuliegen. Der Teufel bdud wurde von den Indern in Tibet fertig entwickelt vorgefunden. Mit dem Namen bdud wird in der Kesarsage der Teufelsvogel bezeichnet, welcher auf den Raub der Himmelsziegen ausgeht (Frühlingsmythus I); ferner der König des Nordlandes, der König Weißzelt (gur-dkar), welcher Kesars Gemahlin raubt; endlich der Nordriese (Cu-ru-lu-gu), der die Bam-za-'abum-skyid im Käfig gefangen hält (Wintermythus III). Alles dieses sind eben doch Gestalten der Wasser- und Wintermächte, und dieser Umstand treibt uns zu dem Schluß, daß bei ihnen der Ursprung der Teufelsidee bei den Tibetern zu suchen ist.

Als das Reich des Teufels wird ganz im besonderen das Schloß des Nordriesen Cu-ru-lu-gu bezeichnet (Wintermythus III, IV). Dort befindet sich die Quelle von Nektar und Milch (IV, 17). Das Wort für Nektar weist im Tibetischen ohne weiteres auf den Teufel bdud, denn Nektar heißt bdud-rtsi „Teufelssaft". Vielleicht steht der Trank und die Speise des Vergessens, welche nach IV, 1 dort gefunden wird, auch im Zusammenhang mit der Nektarquelle. Nach der Erzählung Mon-gces-pa (Paladins) ist das Land des Teufels auch von giftigen Schlangen bevölkert, was auf Yog-klu, das Nixenreich, deuten könnte. In Anbetracht seiner Größe, seines Hungers und seiner Dummheit erinnert der Teufel Cu-ru-lu-gu besonders stark an die Riesen der deutschen Sagen- und Mythenwelt und eben damit an den „dummen Teufel" Europas.

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[1] Lower Lad. Version, Defeat of the king of Hor. Nr. 6.

Die sieben und die achtzehn Agus.

Nächst Kesar sind die achtzehn oder sieben sogenannten Agus die größten Helden der Kesarsage. Kesar ist der Anführer dieser Helden, und mit ihm zusammen bilden sie eine Gruppe von 19 Wesen, welche ich geneigt bin, für Personifikationen eines alten Kalenders anzusehen. Wochentage scheinen hier ihre Verkörperung gefunden zu haben, und Monate vielleicht insoweit, als ein Zusammenhang zwischen ihnen und den Sternbildern des Zodiaks besteht.

Von dem Ursprung des Agus hören wir in der Unterladakher Fassung der Kesarsage (Lower Lad. Version, I. Prologue to the Kesarsaga): Der Vorvater bKra-shis besäte mit seiner Frau ein Feld, auf welchem nur ein einziger Baum wuchs. Aus dessen Früchten entstanden Würmer, die einander auffraßen, bis nur ein einziger riesiger Wurm übrig blieb. Dieser verwandelte sich in ein schönes Kind, für welches achtzehn Bräute gesucht wurden. Alle Bräute wurden schwanger, sobald sie das Kind zu sehen bekamen, und von ihnen wurden die achtzehn Agus geboren.

Das Wort A-gu ist die dialektische Form des tibetischen Wortes A-khu, welches „Onkel", „Vaters Bruder", im westlichen Tibet aber auch „Ehegemahl" heißen kann. Die letztere Bedeutung mag ja damit zusammenhängen, daß die Brüder des Hausherrn Anspruch auf dessen Gattin haben. Außerdem sei hier daran errinnert, daß bei den Darden von mDa das Wort Mum-mo, welches auch „Onkel" heißt, in ihren alten Liedern im Sinne von „Vorfahr", „Ahne" gebraucht wird. Etwas von dieser letzteren Bedeutung mag auch in das tibetische Wort A-gu eingedrungen sein.

Die Reihe der achtzehn Agus wird in dem schon erwähnten Abschnitt der Kesarsage (Prologue) wie folgt gegeben:

1. Pasaṅ-ldan-ru-skyes, mit einem Ziegenkopf.
2. Aṅ-gar-rtsaṅs-po, mit einem Eidechsenkopf.
3. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thuṅ, mit einem Habichtskopf.
4. Kha-rgan-ga-ni, mit einem weißen Bart.
5. sKya-ba-rgod-po, mit einem Schöpflöffel statt eines Kopfes.
6. Zla-ba-bzaṅ-po, mit einem Mond statt eines Kopfes.
7. mDa-dpon-goṅ-ma, mit einer Pfeilspitze statt eines Kopfes.
8. A-la-joṅ-gol, mit einer Stiefelsohle statt eines Kopfes.
9. 'aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, mit einem Insektenkopf.
10. Shel-gyi-bu-zhuṅ, mit einem Spiegel statt eines Kopfes.
11. Ga-ni-goṅ-ba, mit einem Kragen statt eines Kopfes.
12. Lag-lag-riṅs, mit einer Hand statt eines Kopfes.[1]
13. rKaṅ-rkaṅ-riṅs, mit einem Bein statt eines Kopfes.
14. Boṅ-nag-ldum-bu, mit einem Eselskopf.
15. bKa-blon-ldan-pa, mit einem Menschenkopf.
16. dPal-le-rgod-po, mit einem Greisenkopf.
17. rNa-gYu- rna-'athsal, mit einem Türkis statt eines Kopfes.
18. Zla-ba-dkar-po, mit einer weißen Muschel statt eines Kopfes.

Die Gruppe der sieben Agus findet sich ebenfalls in A Lower Ladakhi Version, Defeat of the King of Hor, Nr. 7. Hier werden folgende Namen genannt:

[1] oder Khyab-pa-lag-riṅs.

1. dPal-le, vgl. Nr. 16 der vorigen Reihe.
2. Ga-ni, vgl. Nr. 11 der vorigen Reihe.
3. Goṅ-ma-bu-thsa.
4. lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, der Scharfäugige.
5. rNa-gYu-ma-'athsal, der scharfe Hörer, vgl. Nr. 17 der vorigen Reihe.
6. mDa-dpon-goṅ-ma, der gute Schütze, vgl. Nr. 7 der vorigen Reihe.
7. dPal-moi-a-stag, der weibliche Agu.

Eine etwas abweichende Reihe der sieben Agus findet sich in Paladins, Nr. II, Tale of sKya-ba-rgod-po. Hier sind folgende Namen gegeben:

1. dPal-le-rgod-po.
2. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thuṅ.
3. Aṅ-gar-ltsaṅs-pa.
4. Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, der starke Esser.
5. Lag-lag-riṅs, Langhand.
6. rKaṅ-rkaṅ-riṅs, Schnelläufer.
7. sKya-ba-dkar-po.

In der Gruppe der sieben Agus finden sich immer einige Agus, welche sich durch besondere Fähigkeiten der Sinne und Glieder auszeichnen. Ihre Taten erinnern an Taten europäischer Märchenhelden, wie wir sie z. B. in „Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt" finden. Jede Gruppe der sieben Agus enthält drei solche Künstler, beide zusammen also sechs, nämlich den Scharfäugigen, den scharfen Hörer, den guten Schützen, den starken Esser, den schnellen Läufer und den Mann mit der langen Hand. Alle diese arbeiten zum Besten eines siebenten, der ihr Fürst ist. Vielleicht haben wir in diesen durch besondere Kräfte ausgezeichneten Agus mit ihrem Führer die ursprüngliche Gruppe der Sieben vor uns. Obgleich die meisten Agus aus der Siebener Gruppe in der Achtzehner Gruppe sich wiederfinden, erscheinen doch einige nur in der Siebener Gruppe. Solche Agus sind: Goṅ-ma-bu-thsa, lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, dPal-moi-a-stag, Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, sKya-ba-dkar-po. In der Kesarsage (Frühlingsmythus III, 25—45) lernen wir einen Agu Za „Esser" kennen, der möglicherweise mit dem starken Esser unter den sieben Agus zusammenhängt. So viel ist aber sicher, daß die Zahl der Agus, wenn wir alle uns jeweilig in Sage und Dichtungen begegnenden Gestalten zusammenzählen würden, weit über achtzehn steigen würde. Ich erkläre mir das aus dem Umstand, daß jedes Dorf seine eigene Kesarsage aufstellte. Jedes Dorf mag sich auch seine eigene Liste der achtzehn Agus angefertigt haben. Im Verkehr der Dörfer tauschte man Namen der Agus aus, und so kam Unordnung in die verschiedenen Systeme. Wie nun auch die Reihe der Agus zusammengesetzt sein mag, es scheint sich immer ein Verräter unter ihnen zu befinden. So erscheint Khrai-mgo-khrai-thuṅ als Verräter bei der Entführung der 'aBru-gu-ma sowohl wie bei dem Tod ihres Beschützers 'aBu-dmar-lam-bstan. (Siehe A Lower Lad. Version, Capture of 'aBru-gu-ma.) Ganz entsprechend ist das Verhalten des gleichen Agus bei Kesars Zug nach China. Siehe A Lower Ladakhi Version.

Wie schon erwähnt, befindet sich in der Gruppe der sieben Agus ein weiblicher Held, dPal-moi-a-stag. Dies bringt mich auf die Frage, ob wir in den Agus Verkörperungen der Wochentage sehen dürfen. Die Woche der Tibeter ist dieselbe wie unsere, d. h. das System der sieben nach den alten Planeten genannten Tage, welches wohl von Babylonien seinen Ausgang nahm und auf dem Weg über Indien auch zu den Tibetern gekommen ist. Allen Namen der Wochentage wird das Wort gZa,

„Planet", vorangestellt. Im übrigen muß gesagt werden, daß die Namen dieser Planeten etymologisch so undurchsichtig sind, daß sie sich nur schwer erklären lassen. Die Namen der Wochentage sind:

gZā-nyi-ma, Sonntag (nyi-ma, Sonne).
gZā-zla-ba, Montag (zla-ba, Mond).
gZā-mig-dmar, Dienstag (mig-dmar, Rotauge).
gZā-lhag-pa, Mittwoch (lhag-pa, mit Hand versehen).
gZā-phur-bu, Donnerstag (phur-bu, Donnerkeil).
gZā-pa-saṅs, Freitag (pa-saṅs? saṅs = rein).
gZā-spen-pa, Sonnabend (dpen-pa, schön, reizend).

Von den Agus könnten die folgenden Beziehungen zu Wochentagen haben: Shel-gyi-bu-zhuṅ oder gSer-gyi-bu-zhuṅ, der Kristall- oder Spiegel- oder Goldsohn, der Sohn Kesars, für den Sonntag; Zla-ba-bzaṅ-po „Guter Mond" oder Zla-ba-dkar-po „weißer Mond" für den Montag; für den Dienstag müssen wir zu einem Wesen gehen, welches zunächst noch nicht mit Agu bezeichnet wird. Es ist das Bya-so-mig-dmar „Fledermaus, Rotauge", ein Vogel (d. h. Stern), der als jüngerer Bruder des Sonnenvogels genannt wird (siehe Lower Lad. Version, Prologue). Unter den Agus kommt ihm am nächsten 'aBu-dmar-lam-bstan „Rotwurm, Wegweiser", der als jüngerer Bruder des Königs Kesar bezeichnet wird. In betreff des Mittwoch ist zu bemerken, daß die Schreibweise lhag-pa vielleicht unrichtig ist, und zwar deshalb, weil bei den Bildern, mit welchen die Wochentage im Kalender bezeichnet sind, der Mittwoch immer durch eine Hand deutlich gemacht wird. „Hand" heißt nun aber nicht lhag-pa, sondern lag-pa. Ich glaube, daß aus dem Worte lag-pa „Hand" zunächst ein Wort slag-pa „mit einer Hand versehen" gebildet wurde; slag-pa und lhag-pa werden aber gleich ausgesprochen. Lhag-pa soll also heißen „der mit einer Hand versehene", und da Agu Lag-lag-riṅs mit einer Hand auf dem Kopfe versehen ist, könnte er als Vertreter des Mittwoch erscheinen. Der Donnerstag hat den phur-bu oder vajra als Merkmal. Hierher würde also ein Held von der Art des Jupiter passen. Nun ist ein Donnerkeilheld unter den Agus nicht zu finden, offenbar deshalb, weil diese Waffe den Tibetern erst später durch die Inder bekannt gemacht wurde. Wie uns das Lexikon sagt, bedeutet das Wort phur-bu zunächst aber jedes zugespitzte Eisen, also auch eine Pfeilspitze. Es ist darum nicht ausgeschlossen, daß wir in mDa-dpon-goṅ-ma, dem „höchsten Pfeilmeister", den Agu des Donnerstags vor uns haben, zumal er eine Pfeilspitze statt eines Kopfes besitzt.[1] Der Agu des Freitags ist an seinem Namen sogleich deutlich zu erkennen. Es ist Pa-saṅs-ldan-ru-skyes, „Besitzer (des Planeten) Venus, Hörner wachsend". Mit diesen Hörnern sind die Phasen der Venus gemeint, welche die Tibeter offenbar ebenso deutlich sehen konnten, wie die Babylonier. An dem Namen des Agu läßt sich durchaus nicht erkennen, ob derselbe weiblichen oder männlichen Geschlechtes ist. Vielleicht, um die weibliche Natur dieses Planeten hervorzuheben, wurde noch der weibliche Agu dPal-moi-a-stag, „(A-stag?) die Glorreiche", geschaffen. Sie ist berühmt als wilde Speerkämpferin. Hierbei sei nun gleich eingefügt, daß die alten Tibeter die Zunft der Kampfjungfrauen ebenso wie die alten Germanen gekannt zu haben scheinen. Im Hochzeitslied Nr. XLIII, in welchem den Gästen Tassen von verschiedener Farbe je nach ihrem Rang vorgesetzt werden, erscheinen nach dem Lama, König und Minister zuerst die sTag-shar, die Tigerhelden, dann die sTag-dman, die Tigerjungfrauen, und schließlich die Na-chuṅ, die gewöhnlichen Jungfrauen. Die sTag-shar und die sTag-dman trinken aus goldenen Tassen, die gewöhnlichen Jungfrauen aber aus roten. In betreff des Sonnabends muß

[1] Vielleicht sollte beim Donnerstag aber Kesar selbst als Bekämpfer des Wolkendrachens eingesetzt werden. Der „Pfeilmeister" gehört wohl als „Schütze" in den Zodiak.

ich gestehen, daß es mir da noch nicht möglich erscheint, einen Agu mit dem tibetischen Planeten dieses Tages in Verbindung zu bringen.

Was nun das Verhältnis der Agus zu einem alten Zodiak betrifft, so ist es besonders die äußere Erscheinung der Agus, welche die Herkunft aus einem Zodiak möglich erscheinen läßt. Die Agus werden beschrieben als Wesen von menschlicher Gestalt, wenigstens zum Teil, welche mit einem Tierkopfe versehen sind. Ganz ebenso werden die Zeichen des Tierkreises bei den Chinesen dargestellt. Hierbei muß jedoch gleich bemerkt werden, daß die Tiere des heute in China wie in Tibet gebräuchlichen Tierkreises gerade nicht unter den Tierköpfen der Agus zu finden sind. Es ist aber bekannt, daß der heute gebräuchliche Tierkreis in beide Länder erst in historischer Zeit (vor dem 7. oder 8. Jahrhundert) eingeführt worden ist. Der hinter den Agus versteckte Tierkreis dagegen mag aus der Urzeit beider Völker stammen.

Der heute in China und in Tibet bekannte Tierkreis hat folgende zwölf Tiere: Ratte, Ochse, Tiger, Hase, Drache, Schlange, Pferd, Ziege, Affe, Huhn, Hund und Schwein. Er wird im Kalender zur Bezeichnung der Jahre gebraucht. Die Tibeter berichten, daß ihnen dieser Kalender im 7. Jahrhundert von den Chinesen gebracht worden sei. In China müßte er also schon etwas früher eingeführt worden sein. Dieselben Tiernamen wurden dann auch zur Bezeichnung der Monate gebraucht. Wie die Ausgrabungen in Turkestan zeigen, wurde von den Tibetern des achten Jahrhunderts das Jahr in zwölf Monate geteilt, von welchen je drei auf eine Jahreszeit kamen. Man sprach damals vom ersten, zweiten und dritten Frühlingsmonat usw. Jeder Monat wurde damals zu dreißig Tagen gerechnet. Dies vermute ich, weil die Zahl 360 bei Göttern, Nixen und ähnlichen Wesen eine so große Rolle spielt.

Obgleich es noch nicht möglich ist, alle Agus der obigen Liste mit den Figuren bekannter Tierkreise gleichzusetzen, sei doch auf folgendes hingewiesen: Aṅ-gar-rtsaṅs-po mit dem Eidechsenkopf kann mit der Schlange der Dodekaoros verglichen werden; Khrai-mgo mit dem Habichtskopf mit dem Habicht der Dodekaoros; 'aBu-dmar-lam-bstan mit dem Insektenkopf mit dem Käfer der Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, „Altmund" mit dem weißen Bart, mit dem Affen der Dodekaoros; Boṅ-mag mit dem Eselskopf, mit dem Esel der Dodekaoros. Wie schon erwähnt, gehört mDa-dpon-goṅ-ma, der große Pfeilmeister, vielleicht neben den „Schützen" des babylonischen Zodiak. Wie A. Jeremias in seinem „Handbuch" bemerkt, ist der vorher erwähnte Tierkreis der Chinesen, welcher mit Ratte, Ochse, Tiger beginnt, der hellenistischen Dodekaoros verwandt. Noch viel näher scheint mir nach dem eben Gesagten der hinter den Agus stehende Tierkreis an die Dodekaoros zu rücken. Hier haben wir vielleicht das Mittelglied zwischen asiatischem West und Ost in bezug auf diese Kalenderfrage.

Lieblingszahlen der alten Mythologie.

Eine besonders beliebte Zahl ist die Drei. Aus drei Teilen ist die Welt zusammengesetzt, drei Söhne besitzt der Himmelskönig, drei Arbeiten muß der König „Weißzelt" verrichten, drei Shar-an-dre suchen nach der Version von Unterladakh das Kind Kesar zu töten. Agu Kkrai-thuṅ braucht drei Hüte, drei Steigbügel und drei Hundehalsbänder (Journey to China). Nach Nr. XIII der Hochzeitslieder gibt es drei berühmte Schlösser, drei Seen, drei Arten des Grußes, des Lächelns, des Schwörens, nach Nr. LIX drei Arten von Menschen, von Rindern, von Eisengeräten, von Feldern.

Etwas weniger häufig tritt die Sieben auf. Aber aus sieben Helden besteht die kleinere Gruppe der Agus. Sieben An-dhe-ban-dhe suchen nach der Version von Sheh das Kind Kesar zu töten. Sieben

Arten von Getreidesamen finden sich im Magen der erbeuteten Taube. (Hochzeitslieder von Tag-ma-cig Nr. LIX.) Mit sieben Knöcheln und sieben Muscheln zaubert die Dze-mo bei Cu-ru-lu-gu (im Wintermythus Nr. 3).

Die Zahl Neun ist von ganz besonderer Häufigkeit. Das Untier, aus welchem gDoû-gsum-mi-la die Welt baut, hat neun Köpfe; der Teufel Cu-ru-lu-gu hat neun Leben; neun Siege sind es, die Kesar erkämpft, nach Wintermythus VIII; neun Butterstückchen werden nach Frühlingsmythus VI, 29 an den Rand des Biertopfes zur Ehrung des Gastes gestrichen. Neun Götter und neun Piśāca sind mit Kesar zusammen geboren, nach Wintermythus VIII, 34. Auch im täglichen Leben wird die Zahl Neun viel gebraucht. Eine gefüllte Rose ist eine neunreihige Rose; man reist über neun Berge, durch neun Täler. Dieser häufige Gebrauch der Zahl Neun mag wohl Schiefner bewogen haben, sie unter die Pluralbezeichnungen aufzunehmen. Tatsächlich wird die Zahl Neun öfters zur losen Bezeichnung einer Menge gebraucht. In den meisten Fällen handelt es sich aber um abgezählt neun Dinge oder Vorgänge.

Die Verdoppelung der Neun, die Achtzehn, ist auch recht häufig. Die Zahl der Agus ist achtzehn. Achtzehn Splitter werden von Agu dPal-le aus dem Horn des wilden Yak gebrochen (siehe The Story of Kesar's Birth). Achtzehn An-dre-bar-an-dre des Ostens sind mit Kesar zusammen geboren, nach Wintermythus VIII, 34. In betreff der Achtzehn sei bemerkt, daß sie gelegentlich von der Neunzehn gefolgt wird. Man sagt: Es kamen 18, 19 Lamas! Vielleicht hat dies seinen Ursprung in dem Umstand, daß man zu den achtzehn Agus noch Kesar als Anführer hinzufügen kann, und so eine Gruppe von 19 Helden erhält.

Es seien nun noch einige Zahlen genannt, die eine geringere Rolle spielen, aber doch auffallend sind:

Die Dreizehn. Diese Zahl, welche in der später entwickelten Bon-Religion eine große Rolle spielt, findet sich in der jetzt vorliegenden Literatur nur einmal, und zwar im Hochzeitslied Nr. XXXII von Tag-ma-cig, wo alle Zahlen von 1 bis 13 vorgenommen werden, und bei jeder ihr Hauptgebrauch angegeben wird. Obgleich bei diesem Lied auch der Buddhismus und die Bon-Religion berücksichtigt werden, seien einmal die Zahlen desselben hier vorgeführt.

1. Die Eins ist die Zahl der Zentralreligion (thig-le-nyag), des Wichtigsten, in welchem alle Religionen eins sind.
2. Die Zwei ist die Zahl der zwei Mittel (offenbar der Erlösung). Hier scheint man Bon-Religion und Buddhismus zu meinen.
3. Die Drei ist die Zahl der drei buddhistischen Kleinode (triratna).
4. Die Vier ist die Zahl der Welthüter, der Könige der vier Himmelsrichtungen.
5. Die Fünf ist die Zahl der fünf Dhyānibuddhas.
6. Die Sechs ist die Zahl der sechs Arten der Wiedergeburt.
7. Die Sieben ist die Zahl der Vorgänger Buddhas.
8. Die Acht ist die Zahl der acht Provinzen der Reiche der Götter und der Dämonen.
9. Die Neun ist die Zahl der Köpfe des neunköpfigen Ungeheuers.
10. Die Zehn ist die Zahl der Geweihenden des Hirsches (Ru-bcu).
11. Die Elf ist die Zahl der Häupter des Avalokiteśvara.
12. Die Zwölf ist die Zahl der Monate.
13. Die Dreizehn ist die Zahl der religiösen Zeremonien.

Die Zahl 27 findet sich einmal. Die von König „Weißzelt" geraubte 'aBru-gu-ma gewinnt, nach der Lower Ladakhi Version, 27 Jahre Frist, ehe sie sich ihrem neuen Herrn ergibt.

Die Zahl 45 (5 × 9) wird genannt als die Zahl der pha-spun (Verwandte väterlicherseits) und ma-spun (Verwandte mütterlicherseits) der 'aBru-gu-ma (Lower Lad. Version, p. 129).

360 ist, wie schon erwähnt, die Zahl der Götter sowohl wie die der Nixen (Lower Lad. Version, p. 192).

Animismus.

Im folgenden soll einmal alles das zusammengefaßt werden, was über die Personifikation der Naturkräfte in der alten Religion der Tibeter zu sagen ist.

Sonne, Mond und Sterne[1] spielen hier eine große Rolle. Sie werden manchmal an den Anfang der Lieder, noch vor alle Götter, gestellt. (Hochzeitslieder Nr. XVI b, XLV. Ladakhi Songs Nr. XXX.) In diesen Liedern wird die Sonne mehrfach Khri-gdugs-nyi-ma, „Sonne, Schirm des Thrones", genannt, offenbar wegen der runden Gestalt, die an einen Sonnenschirm erinnert. Noch häufiger wird sie als Vogel aufgefaßt, der über den Himmel fliegt. Als Vogel hat sie den Namen Bya-khyuṅ-dkruṅ-nyi-ma, „Vogel Khyuṅ-dkruṅ, die Sonne" (Frühlingsmythus, Nachträge Nr. 9), oder Bya-nyi-ma-khyuṅ-ruṅ, „Vogel, Sonne, Khyuṅ-ruṅ" (Prologue to the Kesarsaga, Nr. 9). Diese Namen sind aus bezeichnenden Worten zusammengesetzt. Sehr wichtig ist es, daß die Worte „Vogel" sowohl wie „Sonne" in nicht mißzuverstehender Weise darin erscheinen. Das Wort Khyuṅ wird mit dem indischen Wort Garuḍa gleichgesetzt. In betreff des Garuḍa hat man gelegentlich irgendwelche Beziehungen zur Sonne abgelehnt und in ihm nur eine unklare mythologische Erscheinung sehen wollen. Die Tatsache, daß die Tibeter den Namen Khyuṅ mit dem Wort für „Sonne" in einem Namen verbinden, gibt aber zu denken. Wenn man in Tibet Sonne und Khyuṅ in einem Namen zusammenfaßt, mag man in Indien bei Garuḍa wohl auch an die Sonne gedacht haben. Die Silbe dkruṅ oder abgeschliffen ruṅ ist die schwierigste im Namen. Sie mag sich darauf beziehen, daß man beim Sonnenvogel keine Füße sieht; denn sKyil-dkruṅ bezeichnet das Sitzen mit eingezogenen Füßen. — In der Lower Lad. Version, Prologue Nr. 9 hören wir etwas über die Vorfahren des Sonnenvogels. Er soll der Sohn des Vogels Oṅ-ldo-re, und letzterer der Sohn des Vogels Khu-byug-rgyal-po sein. Während der Name Oṅ-ldo-re noch nicht übersetzt werden kann, heißt Khu-(b)yug-rgyal-po „König Kuckuck". Der Kuckuck ist tatsächlich ein bei den Tibetern besonders beliebter Vogel, der auch in der Mythologie der Bon-Religion eine Rolle spielt. Nach Stellen im Lexikon des S. Ch. Das unter Khyuṅ sieht es aus, als ob man mit Khyuṅ ursprünglich den Adler bezeichnet hätte. Khyuṅ, Oṅ-ldo-re und Khu-(b)yug sind wohl die Namen von drei verehrten Vögeln, welchen allen dreien die Sonne gleichgesetzt wurde. Die Herstammungsgeschichte des Sonnenvogels im Prologue soll also wohl nur bedeuten, daß die Sonne des heutigen Tages das Kind der gestrigen Sonne, und diese wieder das Kind der vorgestrigen Sonne ist. — Anders liegt der Fall bei der Geburt der Sonne durch 'aBru-gu-ma, wie wir das im Frühlingsmythus, Nachträge 3, berichtet finden. (Ähnlich in A Lower Ladakhi Version, Kesar's Birth, p. 69.) Dieser Vorgang erklärt sich am besten, wenn wir, wie schon früher, in 'aBru-gu-ma eine Erdgottheit sehen. Wenn die Sonne am Morgen aufsteigt, kann man ja sagen, daß sie von der Erde geboren wird. — Eine eigentümliche Sonnen- und Mondmythe ist die Geschichte von Agu Za in Frühlingsmythus II, 34—45. Za heißt „Esser", und dieser Agu verschlingt nicht nur Don-grub, den künftigen König Kesar, sondern gibt letzteren auch nur gegen das Versprechen wieder heraus, daß ihm Sonne und Mond auf ein Jahr zu essen gegeben wird. Solche Sonnen- und Mondfresser sind nicht nur die Geister der Sonnen- und

[1] Unter den Sternen besonders die Sternbilder rgyu-skar oder Mondhäuser.

Mondfinsternisse, sondern auch Berg- und Wolkengeister. Gerade die großen Berge, welche steil aus den Flußtälern aufsteigen, verhindern oft das Erscheinen der Sonne während mehrerer Monate im Winter. Aus den Personifikationen der Berge sind die Berggeister oder Riesen hervorgegangen.

Auch der Mond wird oft als Vogel aufgefaßt. Er heißt Bya-mo-dkar-mo, der „weiße weibliche Vogel" (siehe Lower Ladakhi Version, 'aBru-gu-ma's Marriage to Kesar, Nr. 6). Das weibliche Geschlecht (die Silbe mo) des Mondes kommt auch zum Ausdruck in dem Namen Zla-mthsan-dkar-mo „Mond, dessen Zeichen das Weiß ist". (Hochzeitslieder von Tag-ma-cig IIIb.) In der eben angeführten Stelle aus „'aBru-gu-ma's Marriage" erscheint Bya-mo-dkar-mo ganz eigentlich als Gemahlin des Bya-nyi-ma-khyuñ-ruñ. Beide wohnen in einem Haus, welches bei einer Pfeillänge weder die Erde, noch den Himmel berührt, also im Weltenraum. Bya-nyi-ma-khyuñ-ruñ, der Sonnenvogel, ist aber gerade nicht zu Hause. Er ist versteckt in einer Einsiedelei, aus welcher er nach 22 Tagen hervorkommen wird. Diese 22 Tage sind wahrscheinlich von rein lokaler Bedeutung. In Lerdo, dem Herkunftsort der Sage, mag die Sonne während des Winters, durch die hohen Berge versteckt, auf so lange nicht sichtbar sein. Sie meditiert dann, wie es heißt, in ihrer Einsiedelei. Während jener Zeit kann aber der Mond, der auch im Winter seine Bahn gerade am Zenith haben mag, sichtbar sein. In dem Haus zwischen Himmel und Erde wohnt, wie die Sage erzählt, die ganze Familie (gZhid-mad) des Sonnenvogels. Zu dieser gehört noch als drittes Glied Bya-so-mig-dmar, „Fledermaus Rotauge", welches Wesen die Wacht auf einer Bergspitze hält, während der Sonnenvogel der Meditation obliegt. Die Fledermaus Rotauge scheint die Personifikation des Planeten Mars zu sein, welcher immer in der Nähe der Sonne bleibt. Die vorliegende Stelle der Kesarsage enthält einen Ausspruch, der uns befremdet. Es heißt da: Wenn der Sonnenvogel seine Meditation beendet haben wird, wird er hervorkommen, um die Erde zu zerstören. Dies ist der Grund, weshalb sich Kesar feindlich gegen ihn stellen muß. Der Gedanke, daß der Sonnenvogel die Erde zerstören will, stammt gewiß aus Indien, wo die Sonnenglut des Sommers kein Naturleben aufkommen läßt. Diese Rede der Inder von dem zerstörenden Werk des Sonnenvogels ist von den Tibetern gedankenlos übernommen worden, denn in ihrem Land ist die Sonne nur als Segensspenderin bekannt.

Während die Sonne immer ihre runde Gestalt zeigt, ändert der Mond (und auch die Venus) seine Gestalt beständig. Auf die Mondsichel wird Bezug genommen bei einem Namen, der sich in Lower Lad. Version, Kesar's Birth, Nr. 6 findet. (Ebenso Prologue, Nr. 9.) Hier wird von einer Axt sTa-ri-zla-ba-dkar-po, „Beil, weißer Mond", gesprochen. Diese Axt gilt als Urbild aller Äxte und Beile. An denselben Stellen wird offenbar auch vom Mond geredet, wenn der „Topf mit dem schiefen Mund" (oder: der schiefen Öffnung) erwähnt wird, und zwar gleich nach dem „Topf mit dem roten Mund", oder der Sonne. Schief ist der Mond, wenn er nicht weit vom Vollsein ist.

Alle diese merkwürdigen Namen von Sonne und Mond finden sich in den Berichten über Kesars Geburt. Bei Kesars Geburt findet ein allgemeines Gebären statt. Die alte Sonne gebiert eine junge Sonne, der alte Mond einen jungen Mond, und alle Stammtiere, Pferde, Ochsen, Ziegen, Schafe, Hunde, Katzen usw. bekommen Junge. Unter den nicht zur Tierwelt gehörigen Wesen, welche sich hier auch fortpflanzen, befindet sich der Regenbogen, rGya-stag-khra-bo, das „große, bunte Seil", und die Wolke, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-stoñ-shoñ, der „weiße Sack Tausendhalter". So wie der Sichelmond als Urahne aller Sicheln, Äxte und Beile gilt, gilt der Regenbogen als Urahne aller Stricke und Seile, und die Wolke als Urahne aller Säcke. — Die Dreiheit Mondsichel, Regenbogenseil und Wolkensack spielt übrigens auch im Ro-ñe-rub-can, dem tibetischen Vetāla, eine Rolle.

Zerstreut finden wir auch noch andere Personifikationen von Naturerscheinungen. Im Hochzeitslied Nr. IIIb wird der Wind sKye-ser-rluñ-po „Wind, Erreger der Kühle" genannt. Ihm wird zugetraut,

die Täler ausgehöhlt zu haben, was ganz an die modernen Theorien von der Winderosion bei unseren Geographen erinnert. Im selben Lied wird auch der Regen unter dem Namen sBaṅ-char-zil-bu „feuchter Regen, Tau" aufgeführt. Ihm wird die Erschaffung der Begriffe Oben und Unten zugetraut. Vielleicht, weil der Regen oben und der Tau unten entsteht.

Die Personifikation des Gletschers ist, wie wir schon vorher sahen, Seṅ-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, „die weiße Löwin mit den türkisfarbenen Locken". In dem eben angeführten Lied erscheint sie als Erschafferin des Gletschers. Sie ist von großer Wichtigkeit, denn von ihr hängt die Wasserversorgung des Landes ab. Diese Löwin, das Reittier der Gottmutter, wird häufig zusammengenannt mit Typen von Tieren, welche als feststehende Vertreter der Tierwelt gelten. Doch ist das ja auch beim Sonnenvogel Khyuṅ der Fall. (Siehe Hochzeitslieder von Tag-ma-cig, Nr. I und II.) Solche Vertreter der Tierwelt sind: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, der wilde Vogelkönig; der Adler; sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, der „große Steinbock, der alte Ochse"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, der „weibliche Fisch Goldauge"; er wird auch Nya-mo-khyu-ru genannt; rKyaṅ-byuṅ-kha-dkar, „dem Kiang entsprossenes Weißmaul", ein Pferd; 'aBroṅ-byuṅ-rog-po, „dem wilden Yak entsprossener Schwarzer", ein Yak.

gNyan sollen Geister sein, die an verschiedenen Orten ihr boshaftes Wesen treiben. Nach S. Ch. Das, Wörterbuch sollen sie im besonderen Pestbringer sein. Im Hochzeitslied Nr. XX werden vier Arten von gNyan aufgezählt:

Am blauen Zenith die gNyan von Sonne und Mond,
Am hohen Felsen die gNyan des Windes,
Im weiten Meer die gNyan des Plauderns, Rauschens (?),
Im fließenden Wasser die gNyan von lauter Stimme.

Dieser kleine Vers zeigt wieder die Welt in ihrer Dreiteilung von Himmel, Erde und Wasser und zeigt an, daß sich die Tibeter die ganze Welt von solchen kleinen boshaften Geistern bevölkert dachten.

Im Anschluß an das Vorhergesagte fragen wir uns, wie es wohl bei den Tibetern mit der Ahnenverehrung gestanden hat. Wenn wir gegenwärtig nicht viel davon finden, erklärt sich das aus der Einführung des Buddhismus. Der mit dem Buddhismus ins Land gekommene Glaube an die Seelenwanderung hat ja die Ahnen in neuen Geburten untergebracht. In den Liedern der Darden spielt der Mum-mo, eigentlich „Onkel", „Oheim", der Vorvater, eine bedeutende Rolle; bei den Tibetern ist mir aber eine ähnliche Gestalt noch nicht begegnet.

Vielleicht weisen aber einige Ausrufe der Bekräftigung, volkstümliche Eide, die von den Westtibetern gebraucht werden, doch auf etwas wie Ahnenverehrung. Der am meisten gehörte derartige Ausruf ist: A-bii-sha, „beim Fleisch der Großmutter". Im Bonpobuch gZer-mig findet sich als Bekräftigung sehr häufig das Wort phe-sha, offenbar ursprünglich phai-sha, „beim Fleisch des Vaters". (Das ist alles, was sich bisher auf diesem Gebiet hat finden lassen. Ein einziger Fall von Gebet zum verstorbenen und in einem stūpa beigesetzten Vater findet sich in der Sage von rGyal-sa-dkar-po [J. & P. A. S. B., vol. III, p. 322]. Der Sohn des mDapon-goṅ-ma war verwundet und besiegt worden. Er betete nun zu seinem toten Vater, und dieser zeigte ihm einen Pfeil, mit dessen Hilfe er den Sieg erlangen würde.)

Kultstätten der alttibetischen Religion.

Es ist mir gelungen, einige Kultstätten dieser alten Religion in der Nähe von Khalatse aufzufinden. Ich habe dieselben besprochen in Z. D. M. G., B. LXI, p. 583 usw. Es handelt sich dabei meist

um wunderbare Felsbildungen, welche an Gottheiten der alten Religion erinnern. Solche Stätten sind die folgenden: 1. Khyuṅ-raṅ-byon, „der von selbst erschienene Khyuṅ (Garuḍa, Sonnenvogel)". Ein Stein an dem so benannten Ort zeigt das ungefähre Bild eines Khyuṅ, welches noch immer mit Butter bestrichen wird als Zeichen der Verehrung. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, „Kesars Sattel". Ein Stein hat hier die Gestalt eines tibetischen Holzsattels. 3. 'aBru-gui-dabs-khor, „Tamburin der 'aBru-gu-ma". Hier findet sich ein Fels von der Gestalt einer kreisförmigen Scheibe. Flache Höhlen mit Kohlezeichnungen sind in der Nähe. 4. 'aBru-gui-phaṅ-lo, „Spindel der 'aBru-gu-ma". An dem Orte dieses Namens bemerken wir flache Höhlungen in einem großen Felsen. Der Fels innerhalb dieser Höhlungen hat viele natürliche gelbe Flecken von der Gestalt einer tibetischen Spindel. Allerhand Kohlezeichnungen, von denen einige auch die Spindel zeigen, finden sich in der Nähe. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khaṅ-pa, „Kesars Haus", ist ein großer Felsklotz, der auf der Westseite einen großen runden weißen Fleck zeigt. Letzterer wird die Tür des Hauses genannt.

Ganz ähnliche Kultstätten befinden sich in der Landschaft Nub-ra, nördlich von Ladakh. Während wir aber in Khalatse nur mit Mühe einige Spuren früheren Götzendienstes bei denselben finden können, werden die von Nub-ra noch immer gepflegt und von roten Lamas bedient. Missionar Redslob wurden zwei solch wunderbare Felsbildungen gezeigt. Bei A-ra-nu (Su-mur) war auf einer Felswand von heller Farbe das dunklere Bild eines gekrönten Löwen zu sehen. Ebenfalls einen Löwen glaubte Redslob zu erkennen auf einem Felsen bei Der-ze über Panimig. Die Eingeborenen mögen in diesen löwenähnlichen Gestalten Bilder des Gletscherlöwen erkennen. Die Leute von Nub-ra nennen alte Geister, welche an jenen wunderbaren Felsen ihrer Meinung nach herrschen sollen, mGon-po, Herrscher. Sie zählen acht Hauptherrscher dieser Art für ihr Land Nub-ra auf, und ich habe deren Liste in meinem Buch „Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft" p. 125 wiedergegeben. In dieser Liste finden wir einen Namen, der uns wieder an den „Sonnenvogel" von Khalatse erinnert. Der mGon-po von mGo-sbed heißt Bya-rog-gdoṅ-caṅ, „Wilder Vogel mit einem Gesicht". Bei späteren Darstellungen des Khyuṅ (Garuḍa) ist diesem Vogel ein menschliches Gesicht gegeben. (Siehe die Tafeln XIII und XLI in meinen Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Auch sind die „Ohren" des Vogels auf diesen Bildern recht deutlich zu sehen. Der Khyun gilt als Feind der Nāgas (kluṅ), welche oft die Gestalt von Wasserschlangen annehmen. Auf den erwähnten Bildern ist er dargestellt, wie er zwei derselben verzehrt. Es ist merkwürdig, daß sich unter den acht mGon-po von Nub-ra auch einer befindet, welcher den Namen Nāgarākṣha „Wasserschlangendämon" in indischer Sprache trägt. Sein Fels ist in Roṅ-mdo. Offenbar findet sich in mGo-sbed eine Felsbildung, die an einen Khyuṅ, und in Roṅ-mdo eine solche, die an eine Wasserschlange (kluṅ) erinnert.

An diesen alten Kultstätten wurden gewiß einmal Opfer dargebracht, Tänze aufgeführt und Gebete verrichtet.

Über die Opfer erfahren wir einiges wenige aus den Hochzeitsliedern.

Von einem Rauchopfer handelt das erste der Hochzeitslieder von Khalatse. Es wird nach diesem Lied Holz des Shug-pa-baumes (Juniperus excelsa), einer Wacholderart, welches beim Verbrennen sehr gut riecht, dargebracht. Dieses Opfer wird im Lied baṅ-shug, „Wacholderspeise", genannt; offenbar, weil es den Göttern zur Nahrung dienen soll. Der Hauptzweck dieses Opfers ist, den Frieden mit den Göttern zu erhalten. Der erste Vers lautet:

Dieser blaue Rauch, der nach oben steigt,
Was hat er wohl zu bedeuten?
Dieser blaue Rauch, der nach oben steigt,

bedeutet, daß mit brGya-byin, dem Herrn der
Götter, kein Unfriede entstehen möchte!
Darum opfern wir den nährenden Wachholderbaum!

In dieser Weise wird der Rauch den Gottheiten des Himmels, der Erde, der Wasserwelt, der vier Himmelsgegenden, des Schlosses, des Dorfes und des Hauses dargebracht. Überall soll er versöhnend wirken. In Nr. 2 der Trinklieder von Khaiatse werden außer dem Shug-pa, dem Götterholz, noch zwei andere Pflanzen als Räuchermittel genannt, nämlich Su-lu-gser-po und Kham-pa-dkar-po. Beide sind mir unbekannt.

Eine sehr merkwürdige Art von Opfergaben werden im Hochzeitslied Nr. XXXIII von Tag-ma-cig genannt: Den Göttern sind die weißen Zähne und Fingernägel darzubringen; der Erdfeste das rote Fleisch und das rote Blut; den dunklen Mächten (mun) die Galle und blaues Wasser; dem schwarzen Teufel aber die schwarzen Haare und die Augenbrauen. Alles dies sind Körperteile, welche bei primitiven Völkern als Sitz geheimnisvoller Kräfte gelten, und deren Erwerbung als besonders begehrenswert erscheint. Meint man hier vielleicht das Beste den Gottheiten darzubringen?

Hierbei soll übrigens gleich erwähnt werden, daß solche Körperreste, wie die eben genannten, auch Knochensplitter, Erdproben von berühmten Stätten, bei den Tibetern hoch gewertet werden. Sie bilden den Inhalt von Talismanen, kleinen Taschen, welche Srun-ba „Beschützer" genannt und am Hals getragen werden. Daß im Volk noch der Glaube an die geheimnisvolle Kraft gewisser Körperteile lebt, zeigt eine Beobachtung, die Missionar Heyde in Kyelang machte. Bei einer Leichenverbrennung sah er, daß plötzlich ein Mann aus der Zuschauermenge zu dem Toten hinsprang, ihm ein Auge ausriß und dasselbe sofort verschlang. Offenbar erhoffte er, auf diese Weise sich das scharfe Auge des Verstorbenen zu eigen zu machen.

Wir fragen uns nun, wie es bei den Tibetern mit Menschenopfern steht. Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß bei den angrenzenden Völkerschaften im westlichen Himalaya Menschenopfer an der Tagesordnung gewesen sind. Dort hat der Śiva-kult seine Urheimat. Von Śiva und Kālī erwarteten die Eingeborenen Fruchtbarkeitssegen für Feld und Familie und glaubten, solche Göttergaben durch Opfer erwidern zu müssen. Außer den Früchten des Feldes und der Herde brachten sie ihre eigenen Kinder jenen grausamen Gottheiten dar. Solche Menschenopfer sind auch in den jetzt tibetisierten Tälern von Lahoul und Kunawar Sitte gewesen, und ich habe die Berichte der Lahouler hierüber gesammelt. Siehe meine hektographierte Schrift „Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Überlieferungen der Lahouler". In der Nähe von Poo (sPu) in Kunawar entdeckte ich ein größeres Manuskript mit einer tibetischen Liedersammlung. Von diesen Liedern wurde behauptet, daß sie vor mehreren Generationen bei der Darbringung von Menschenopfern gesungen worden wären. Obgleich ich mich längere Zeit mit denselben beschäftigte, konnte ich doch nirgends in den Liedern irgendwelche Anspielungen auf solche Opfer finden.[1] Wie die in Lahoul gesammelten Erzählungen berichten, ist in späterer Zeit, vermutlich während des 19. Jahrhunderts, das Menschenopfer durch ein Tieropfer ersetzt worden. Sollten in Tibet also einmal Menschenopfer stattgefunden haben, dann sind dieselben wahrscheinlich in viel früherer Zeit schon in Tieropfer umgewandelt worden. Tieropfer werden aber

[1] Wie mir Rev. R. Schnabel von sPu schreibt, sagt man in sPu folgenden auf die Menschenopfer bezüglichen Vers: [Tārā] spricht:

„Zuerst, als ich aus Indien hierherkam,
Erhielt ich [jährlich] ein dreijähriges Rind und ein achtjähriges Kind."

Danach sieht es allerdings so aus, als ob diese grausame Sitte erst von Indien zu den Grenztibetern gebracht worden wäre.

im Gebiet des westtibetischen Königreiches noch immer vor den lHa-tho genannten Altären der vorbuddhistischen Religion dargebracht. Dabei wird das Herz des noch lebenden Tieres (Ziegenbock) von dem Priester mit der Hand herausgerissen. Solche Altäre finden wir heute meist in der Nähe der Dörfer. Sie sind 1—2 m hoch, oben mit einem Bündel von Wacholderzweigen versehen, unten mit Hörnern von Wildschafen und Steinböcken umgeben.

Ein harmloseres Opfer ist in einer Felszeichnung bei Ke-sar-gyi-sga dargestellt. Da sehen wir einen Nyo-pa, „Brautkäufer" oder Brautbitter[1], der an seiner Seite einen Säbel und in seiner Rechten einen mit einem Fähnchen verzierten Pfeil trägt, vor drei Biertöpfen stehen. Jeder Topf ist am Rand mit Butterstückchen versehen, welche bezeichnen, daß das Bier einem höheren Wesen (es könnte allerdings auch eine Respektperson sein) dargebracht ist. Daß den alten Göttern tatsächlich Bieropfer dargebracht wurden, ersehen wir aus Nr. 5 der Trinklieder von Khalatse.

Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß auch Tänze bei jenen alten Kultorten aufgeführt wurden; denn noch jetzt ist jedes Fest der alten Religion mit Tänzen verbunden. Meist tanzen die Burschen und die Mädchen getrennt für sich, indem sie in langer Reihe um ein offenes Holzfeuer herumschreiten. Nur selten bewegen sich die einander gegenüber aufgestellten Reihen der Burschen und Mädchen aufeinander zu. Bei den Tänzen der Mädchen sind sonderbare steife Handbewegungen auffallend, die mit Neigungen des Oberkörpers zur Erde abwechseln. Wie mir von den Eingeborenen gesagt worden ist, erklären sich diese Bewegungen als Abpflücken von Blumen und Darbringen von Blumenopfern an die Himmelsgötter. Diese Tänze der Laienwelt sind wohl zu unterscheiden von den Tänzen der buddhistischen Priester und denen der herumziehenden Gaukler.

Auf die Frage, um was an den Kultstätten der alten Religion gebetet worden ist, erhalten wir eine Antwort aus den dort noch vorhandenen Inschriften und Felszeichnungen. Eine Inschrift bei Ke-sar-gyi-sga, die noch nicht ganz und gar lesbar ist, endet mit den sehr deutlichen Silben bu-skyes, „ein Sohn wurde geboren". Vorher geht ein Datum im Zwölferzyklus, dann folgt ein Name und die Nachricht (wahrscheinlich), daß ein stūpa, ein Reliquienturm, dargebracht wurde.[2] Die Nachricht von der Geburt eines Sohnes an diesem Ort läßt darauf schließen, daß hier um Kindersegen gebetet wurde. Dies wird noch mehr zur Gewißheit, wenn wir die Felszeichnungen und Kohlezeichnungen an diesen Stätten in Betracht ziehen. Bei 'aBru-gui-phaṅ-lo finden sich nicht nur am Felsen natürliche Steinbildungen, welche an eine Spindel oder die weiblichen Geschlechtsorgane erinnern, sondern außerdem viele Kohlezeichnungen derselben Art. In 'aBru-gui-dabo-khor fand ich auf großen runden flachen Steinen angebrachte Kohlezeichnungen ähnlicher Art. Auf einem Stein waren die männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechtsteile zusammen gezeichnet. Auf einem andern begegnete ich den Bildern zweier Ziegen, offenbar einer männlichen und einer weiblichen, welche hintereinander herlaufen. In den Hinterleib der vorderen war eine kleine Ziege hineingezeichnet. Beide Zeichnungen halte ich für Bittgebete um Kindersegen. Im ersteren Fall soll die Zeichnung den Wunsch ausdrücken, die Geschlechtsorgane gehörig funktionieren zu lassen. Diese Erklärung ist gewiß nicht allzu gesucht. Auch Missionar Ribbach, früher in Leh, teilt mir mit, daß er schon öfters Darstellungen der männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechtsteile, aus Lehm geformt, gefunden habe. Auch er hält diese Darstellungen für Bittopfer. Es erinnert das an die an vielen Orten auftauchende Sitte, bildliche Darstellungen des kranken Körperteils zu opfern. Das vorher erwähnte Ziegenbild drückt die Bitte um ein Kind wohl

[1] Er ist wohl der Führer der Nyo-pa. Denn auf dem Bild im Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 131, hat nur der Führer einen Pfeil in der Hand.

[2] Siehe meinen Artikel «Historische Dokumente etc.», Z. D. M. G. Bd. LXI.

noch deutlicher aus. Der Ziegenbock, aber ebenso alle männlichen Tiere der Wildarten scheinen Kesar heilig zu sein. Anders ist die große Menge von dieselben darstellenden Felszeichnungen, die sicher nicht immer als Jagdberichte erklärt werden können, nicht zu verstehen. Dazu kommt die schon erwähnte Sitte, die Hörner des Wild an vorbuddhistischen Altären (lHa-tho) aufzuheben. In betreff der Felszeichnungen möchte ich noch erwähnen, daß ich ganz besonders viele Darstellungen der Spindel (oder der weiblichen Geschlechtsteile) in Lahoul im Tal des Bhāgaflusses gefunden habe. Von den männlichen Geschlechtsteilen habe ich dort nur eine Felszeichnung bemerkt. In jenem Lande mag der Name Bhāga, der mit „Geschlechtsteil" übersetzt werden kann, Veranlassung zu der Sitte, die Felsen mit solchen Emblemen zu versehen, geführt haben. Daß man Kesar (und 'aBru-gu-ma) zutraute, Kinder austeilen zu können, sehen wir aus der Sage von rGyal-sa-dkar-po (siehe Paladins). Da verheißt Kesar einem Mädchen, daß sie nicht nur einen reichen Mann zum Gemahl, sondern auch noch sieben Kinder bekommen würde.

Feste der alttibetischen Religion.

1. Das Neujahrsfest (Lo-gsar). Von diesem Fest, welches wohl der alten Wintersonnenwende entspricht, besitze ich eine Schilderung, welche der Schullehrer von Khalatse in Tibetisch angefertigt hat. Es heißt darin: Vom 15ten des zehnten Monats an bis zum 24ten tragen die Kinder Fackeln auf ein bestimmtes Feld. Vom 24ten bis zum 29ten zünden sie ein Feuer auf dem öffentlichen Tanzplatz an, wo sich alle Leute versammeln. Alle Bauern backen eine Art Brot, welche Ba-ga-tam genannt wird und heben es auf. Dann gehen die Kinder vor alle Türen und sprechen:

Dies ist ein guter Tag, ein guter Stern.
Ba-ga-tam gehört zu diesem Tag,
Ba-ga-tam gehört zu diesem Stern!
Jetzt ist jeder Tag ein glücklicher!
Möge jedes Jahr glücklich sein!
Die Burschen holen sich die Bräute,
Hochzeitsmahle werden gehalten,
Weißes Bier wird ausgeschenkt,
Weiße Butterstückchen werden dazu gegeben!
Ein Ziegenbock wird geschlachtet.
Möge euch ein Sohn geboren werden!
Gebt uns ein Ba-ga-tam — Brot!

So sammeln die Kinder viele Brote, welche dann verteilt und gegessen werden.

Der 30ste wird sTon (Beistand) genannt. Da bewirten sich die Verwandten gegenseitig. Nachmittags ziehen die Burschen mit Fackeln und Musik auf das Feld hinaus, und hier wird das Bra-sol (?) gespielt. Darauf müssen die Mon (Indische Kaste der Tischler) fünf Austreibungen (skrad) vornehmen, wobei mit Flinten geschossen und Te-ya-ho gerufen wird. Dann werden die Fackeln aufgehäuft und um sie herum ein Tanz mit Schwertern und Flinten aufgeführt, als ob Krieg geführt würde. Nun kehren alle Leute zu ihren Häusern zurück und versehen ihren Hausaltar mit neuen Zederzweigen, worauf sie alle Freunde und Verwandte begrüßen, indem sie mit Butterstückchen versehene Biertöpfe zu den verschiedenen Häusern tragen. Wenn es Abend wird, werden einige Leute als Ba-ba verkleidet,

indem sie erst gewaschen, dann mit Ruß beschmiert und mit Kopfbedeckungen aus Stroh versehen werden. Sobald sie auf dem Festplatz erscheinen, werden ihnen zuerst drei Tänze gewidmet. Wenn dann alle tanzen, loht das Feuer hoch auf und zwar dadurch, daß die Ba-ba ins Dorf laufen und von dort gestohlenes Holz ins Feuer werfen. Gegen Morgen begeben sich die Ba-ba mit den Mon zum Altar des Dorfgottes (yul-lha) und bringen dort den Göttertrommelwirbel (lha-rña) dar. So wird sieben Tage lang gefeiert, und am siebenten Tag werden die Ba-ba und die Mon von den Bauern der Reihe nach zum Essen und Biertrinken geladen.

Am dritten des elften Monats wird sieben Mal ein Pferderennen abgehalten. Darauf steigen die Leute mit Bieropfern auf die Dächer, blicken nach dem Mond und beten zu Gott (dkon-mchog):

„Dieses gute Jahr ist nun vergangen!
Laß uns ein neues gutes Jahr aufgehen!"

Darauf muß jeder Bauer einen Schuß mit der Flinte abgeben.

Am siebenten des Monats tanzen am Abend drei Masken, von welchen sich zwei Großvater und eine Großmutter nennen, bis sie alle (drei) ausgetrieben werden. Dann kehren alle Leute in die Häuser zurück und bewirten sich gegenseitig mit Brot und Bier. Gegen 7 Uhr abends bringen die Bauern, jeder ein wenig Mehl, und einer, der es versteht, macht daraus ein gTor-ma (Opfer) zurecht. Ist ein Lama vorhanden, so übernimmt er die Herrichtung. Dann kommen alle ins Dorf zurück, wobei die Ba-ba, Großväter und die Großmutter von den Bauern in die Mitte genommen werden, und nun wird von den Burschen und Mädchen der bKra-shis-phob, „Bring Glück herab", genannte Tanz aufgeführt. Wenn dann das gTor-ma (Opfer) fortgebracht wird, spricht der Lama die Beschwörung. Dann tragen die Ba-ba das gTor-ma davon, während alle Leute schreien und die Flinten abfeuern. Wenn es fortgeworfen ist, werden die Ba-ba mit warmem Wasser gewaschen und in schöne Kleider gesteckt, worauf sie noch bis zehn Uhr abends zu tanzen haben. Dann gehen alle nach Hause und das neue Jahr ist angebrochen.

Dieser Beschreibung ist noch hinzuzufügen, daß das Schlachten der Ziege ein grausames Opfer vor dem Altar des Dorfgottes (Yul-lha) ist. Es wird dem lebenden Tier das Herz aus dem Leib gerissen.

In betreff der Tänze und Vermummungen sei darauf hingewiesen, daß wir es hier mit Spielen zu tun haben, welche den Kampf der Lichtgötter mit den Dämonen der Finsternis zum Gegenstand haben. Diese Spiele haben sich später zu den berühmten Maskentänzen der Klöster entwickelt. In Lamayuru finden diese Maskentänze noch heute im Winter statt; in Hemis dagegen im Juni. Die Hemisfeier mag wohl mit der Sommersonnenwende zusammenhängen.

2. gTor-ma-phañ-ces. Eine Art von diesem Fest ist, wie die vorhergehende Beschreibung zeigt, schon mit dem Neujahrsfest verbunden. Denn das Fortwerfen des gTor-ma-opfers erinnert schon sehr an das Winteraustreiben. Noch deutlicher wird das etwas später zum Ausdruck gebracht. Dann fertigt man in Khalatse (und auch anderswo) eine menschliche Puppe aus Lehm an, trägt dieselbe mit viel Geschrei und Musik vors Dorf und zerstört sie dort. In Leh werden die bösen Geister des Winters und der Krankheiten in aus Stangen und Stricken gefertigte Gerüste (Dos-mo), die wie Spinnweben aussehen, gebannt, und diese werden dann außerhalb der Stadt zerstört.

3. Das Kesarfest. Die Bezeichnung dieses Festes als Kesarfest ist mir bisher erst in Oberkunawar entgegengetreten. In Ladakh nennt man es einfach mDa-phañ-ces, „Pfeilschießen". Es wird im Frühling gefeiert. Die unter dem Namen Glin-glu bekannten Lieder werden gesungen, und die Jugend belustigt sich mit Pfeilschießen. So wie die Spindel das Abzeichen 'aBru-gu-ma's und des weiblichen Geschlechtes überhaupt ist, gilt der Pfeil als Symbol Kesars und des männlichen Geschlechts. Im

folgenden seien die Titel der Lieder des Gliṅ-glu gegeben: In Phyi-dbaṅ werden die folgenden gesungen: 1. Kesar, der Eroberer der vier Welten. 2. Schlummerlied für den kleinen Kesar. 3. Kesar und die Schätze der Riesen. 4. Preis der Weisheit der 'aBru-gu-ma. 5. Die allmächtigen Gott-vater und Gott-mutter. 6. Kesars und 'aBru-gu-mas Rückkehr. 7. Don-grub, ein freiwilliger Heiland der Welt. 8. 'aBru-gu-mas Unschuld. 9. Des Königs von Hor Bitte um sein Leben.

In Khalatse werden die folgenden gesungen: 1. Stimmen vom Himmel. 2. Widmung der Pfeile. 3. Kesars vier Siege. 4. Kesar und die Maultiere. 5. Kesars Gebet auf dem Srar-Paß. 6. Kesars Rückkehr zu 'aBru-gu-ma. 7. 'aBru-gu-mas Abschied von Kesar. 8. Preis des jungen Kesar. 9. Kesar, der Gott des Blitzes.

In Scheh (Shel) werden folgende fünf Lieder gesungen: 1. 'aBru-gu-ma beim Suchen des Kesar. 2. 'aBru-gu-mas Botschaft an Kesar durch 'aBu-dmar-lam-bstaṇ. 3. dPal-les Siegeslied. 4. Preis Kesars durch den König von Hor. 5. Bitte des Königs von Hor an Kesar.

Als Beispiel sei nun das Lied „Widmung der Pfeile" in Übersetzung geboten.

Auf der schönen Ebene gibt es herrliche Pfeilschäfte,
Auf jener schönen Ebene gibt es prächtige Pfeilschäfte,
Die langen Hölzer sind Schäfte für Helden.
Solch lange Schäfte legt in die Hände der Agus.
Solch lange Schäfte legt in die Hände seiner Diener, der Agus.
Die kurzen Hölzer sind Spindelhölzer für die Edelfrauen.
Solch kurze Hölzer legt in die Hände der göttlichen Frau.
Solche Spindelhölzer legt in die Hände von Ane-bkur-dman-mo.

In den gleichen Gedankenkreis gehört auch Lied Nr. 55 von Tag-ma-cig, in welchem die Herkunft der Pfeile besungen wird.

Bei diesem Fest werden Prozessionen um die Felder herum vorgenommen, um dieselben für die Bestellung zu segnen. Die Altäre der Lokalgottheiten (lHa-tho) werden mit frischen Zweigen vom Shug-pa-baum geschmückt und Zweige von diesem Baum als Rauchopfer vor den Altären verbrannt.

4. Das Erntefest (Srub-lha). Dieses Fest mag wie die ganze Landwirtschaft Westtibets dardischen Ursprungs sein. Auch bei diesem Fest spielen Lieder eine Rolle, von welchen sich vier in meinen Sammlungen befinden. Eins davon ließ ich in Skyur-bu-can, wo ich das Fest selbst erlebte, aufschreiben. Die drei anderen wurden mir von Shel (Scheh) aus zugeschickt. Diese letzteren scheinen mir ursprünglicher zu sein. Das erste der Lieder von Shel spricht von einem Opfer von großen gelben Blumen an die Göttin lHa-chen-rdo-rje-chen-mo, an welche zum Schluß folgendes kurzes Gebet gerichtet wird:

Reinige uns von allen Flecken des Leibes!
Erfülle alle Wünsche der Gedanken!

Wer diese sonst nicht bekannte Göttin ist, scheint sich aus dem zweiten der Lieder zu ergeben, welches in kurzem die Entstehung der Welt aus dem Ozean und ihre Besähung schildert. Dieses endet mit einer Anrufung der lHa-mo-'abrug-mo, der Göttin 'aBru-gu-ma. Auch in den Kesarsagen wechselt die Form 'aBrug-mo, welche an das Wort 'aBrug, Donner oder Drachen erinnert, häufig mit 'aBrugu-ma ab. Zu dem Namen rDo-rje-chen-mo könnte diese Göttin gekommen sein als Gattin Kesars, der nach dem Gliṅ-glu Nr. 9 von Khalatse sich als ein rDo-rje-pa, ein Schwinger des Donnerkeils, erweist. In diesem Lied schleudert er den Blitz nach dem Wolkendrachen. Der Blitz geht aber gerade aus dem rdo-rje (oder indisch vajra) hervor. Es wird also beim Erntefest gerade der Göttin,

welche man sonst um Kindersegen anruft, gehuldigt. Das dritte der Lieder von Shel enthält einen Preis des Yaks, der bei der Ernte von Wichtigkeit ist, einmal als Transporttier für die Garben, und dann als Anführer all der Tiere, welche die Ähren ausdreschen, indem sie über die Garben hinlaufen. Das Lied von Skyur-bu-can enthält in seinem Hauptteil ein Rätselspiel über die Schätze der Länder der vier Himmelsrichtungen. In Skyur-bu-can bekam ich aber, wie schon erwähnt, den für das Fest merkwürdigen Blumentanz zu sehen. Die zum Blumenopfer benötigten Blumen werden nicht aus den Gärten bei den Häusern geholt, sondern hoch oben von den Almen unterhalb der Schneegrenze. Mit diesen Blumen, welche einen betäubend starken süßen Duft ausströmen, werden lange Stangen umwunden, und mit diesen Stangen in der Hand haben die Hirtenknaben zur Begleitung von Oboe und Kesselpauken komplizierte Reigen aufzuführen. Wie wir aus den Liedern von Shel wissen, sind die Blumen dann der Göttin rDo-rje-mo zu opfern. In Skyur-bu-can mußte ich's aber erleben, daß dieselben im buddhistischen Tempel niedergelegt wurden. Das Fest ist natürlich verbunden mit vielen Tänzen allgemeiner Art und Gelagen, bei welchen frisches, aus grünen Gerstenkörnern bereites Bier eine große Rolle spielt. Dies führt uns zu dem Namen des Festes. Die Silbe lha ist das gewöhnliche Wort für Gott (deva). Die Silbe srub aber entpricht dem Wort srus oder srub, welches „fast reife Ähren" bedeutet. Das Srub-lha-fest ist also das Fest der allerfrühesten Ernte. Wie wir aus alten Steinzeichnungen sehen, vergnügte man sich bei diesem Fest auch damit, daß größere Tiere, Ochsen, Pferde usw. dargestellt wurden, indem über mehrere Personen eine Decke geworfen wurde.

Das Ziel der alten Religion.

Aus dem Vorhergehenden ergibt sich, daß die alten Tibeter von ihren Göttern nur irdische Gaben erwarteten. Kesar, der Sohn des Himmelskönig, wurde für die Erde als Frühlingsbringer erbeten. Von ihm und seiner Gemahlin 'aBru-gu-ma wurde Ernte- und Kindersegen erwartet. In betreff des Lebens nach dem Tode herrschten ganz animistische Vorstellungen.

In der Sage von „Kesars geliebten Mon" (J & P A S B, vol. II, p. 467) lesen wir, daß jener Mon durch Hinabstoßen von einem Felsen getötet worden war. Als Kesar an den Leichnam herantrat, hörte er eine Stimme aus demselben sprechen. Er öffnete ihn mit seinem Messer, und heraus kamen zwei Mon-teufel, ein männlicher und ein weiblicher, die er in seinem Tuch nach Hause trug. — In der Sage von rGyal-sa-dkar-po lesen wir folgendes (J & P A S B, vol. III, p. 321): Der Agu mDa-dpon-goñ-ma war getötet worden und in einem stūpa beigesetzt. Man war aber noch in Sorge, daß er voller Rachegedanken sei. Deshalb riet ein alter Eremit, man solle den stūpa des Toten so lange ehrfurchtsvoll umwandeln, bis eine Eidechse aus demselben herauskommen und mit dem Kopfe nicken würde. Alles dieses kommt zur Erfülluug und der Verstorbene ist außerdem noch so gut, seinem Sohn, der zu ihm betet, einen Rat zu geben, und zwar in bezug auf einen Pfeil, der im Kampf von besonderem Nutzen sein würde.

In der Sage von Kesars Sieg über den Teufel (oder Riesen) Khya-ba (Khyab-pa)-lag-riñs (Bibliotheca Indica, Nr. 1164, p. 278) heißt es, daß die erzürnte Bam-za-'abum-skyid zum Grabe jenes Riesen, ihres früheren Gemahls, ging und da hinein brüllte. Als Antwort darauf kam ein Erdbeben. (Der Riese bewegte sich im Grabe.) Nun eilte Kesar zum Grab des Riesen und sang so lange Zaubersprüche in dasselbe hinein, bis es dem Inhaber unmöglich wurde, dasselbe zu verlassen.

Aus all diesem ersehen wir, daß es den alten Tibetern zwar unmöglich war, sich unter dem Tod

eine vollständige Vernichtung des Lebens vorzustellen. Von einer Vorstellung einer idealisierten Form des Lebens nach dem Tode kann aber nach dem Obigen nicht die Rede sein.

Solch ein herrliches körperloses Leben wird auf dem Olymp der Tibeter, den Bergspitzen des Gaṅs-ri (Kailāsa) geführt. Auf meiner Reise vom oberen Satledsch zum oberen Indus 1909 (siehe Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 37) findet sich folgendes in bezug auf die Pu-rgyul-spitze: „Die Gepäckträger von Chaṅ wiesen auf jene Bergspitzen und sagten, daß sich dort oben das Zauberland ('aBa-yul) befände, die Wohnung der Geister. Seine Bewohner sollen sehr zahlreich sein, doch können gewöhnliche Menschen nichts von ihnen sehen oder hören. Nur edle Menschen oder Lamas sind imstande, etwas von dem Leben und Treiben in jenem 'aBa-yul zu bemerken. Wenn solch ein frommer Mann sich der Region des ewigen Schnees nähert, bekommt er oft die Stimmen der unsichtbaren Bewohner des Zauberlandes und das Bellen ihrer Hunde zu hören." Das sind die Gedanken der heutigen Tibeter über ihren Olymp. Man kann bei seinen unsichtbaren Bewohnern natürlich an die Götter (lha) denken. Das sind die ursprünglichen Bewohner. Im Laufe der Zeit scheinen aber die Seelen der guten, reinen Menschen dazu gekommen zu sein. Solche Einwohnerschaft zeigt jedenfalls der Olymp der später systematisierten Bon-Religion. Bis dieselbe zum vollen Ausdruck kam, mögen sich Gedanken im Volke geregt haben, die für die edelsten der Priester und Helden ein Leben im Jenseits unter den Göttern forderten. So konnten die Eisregionen des Himalaya zum allgemeinen Paradies werden.

* * *

Die Hochzeitslieder von Tag-ma-cig.

Diese Sammlung von 60 Liedern zerfällt in drei Teile. Der erste Teil enthält 19 Lieder, welche vor der Tür von den Brautkäufern zu singen sind (sGo-la-btaṅ-ces-kyi-glu). Der zweite Teil heißt Tho-rabs. Er handelt vom Weg der Brautkäufer vom Tor bis zum Festplatz. Mit jeder richtig beantworteten Frage überwinden die Brautkäufer ein Hindernis und kommen so dem Festplatz ein Stück näher. Es ist zu bemerken, daß dieses Tho-rabs in Khalatse unbekannt ist, während der erste und dritte Teil der Lieder auch in Khalatse bekannt ist. Der dritte Teil wird auf dem Festplatz beim Gelage gesungen. Er heißt Chaṅ-glu, Bierlied. Im folgenden sollen zunächst die ersten 19 Lieder veröffentlicht werden, und zwar in den Versmaßen der Originale, in welche die von mir gemachten sinngemäßen Übersetzungen von Frau Anna Paalzow mit viel Geschick übertragen worden sind.

I.

Lieder, welche vor dem Hause der Braut gesungen werden.

Ia. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Eisgott schloß der Täler drei
Hoch, wo Gletscherlöwin haust.
Gäste, sagt, wie kamt Ihr durch?

2. Donnerkeilfels zäunt den Berg
Rechts, wo Vogelkönig wacht.
Edle, sagt, wie kamt Ihr durch?

3. Links im Sandelholzgebirg
Giert des Riesentigers Leib.
Gäste, sagt, wie kamt Ihr durch?

4. Drunten drei der Täler schließt
Flut, wo Fischlein Goldaug schnappt.
Edle, sagt, wie kamt Ihr durch?

5. Helden aus der Neunsteinburg,
Was hat Euch ins Land geführt?
Was zur Mitte unsres Dorfs?

Das Volk: Mächt'ge Freunde, saget an!

Ib. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. Ob des Eisgotts Täler drei,
Ob der Löwin Gletscherleib
Schwangen springend wir uns fort.
Stiegen über Blöcke Eis
Und zertraten Krusten Eis.
Keiner blieb. Heil sind wir da!

2. Rechts, beim Donnerkeilgebirg
Ob des Vogelkönigs Leib
Flogen wir von Fels zu Fels,
Überschritten Steingeröll
Und betraten festen Grund.
Keiner blieb. Heil sind wir da!

3. Links durchs Sandelholzgebirg
Ob des bunten Tigers Fell
Huschten wir von Baum zu Baum,
Zogen dann durchs Niederholz
Und zertraten viel Gesträuch.
Keiner blieb. Heil sind wir da!

4. In den untern Tälern drei
Schwammen wir durch Ströme tief,
Wo das Fischlein Goldaug schnappt,
Wateten durch Flüsse hin,
Patschten durch die Bächlein dann.
Keiner blieb. Heil sind wir da!

Das Volk: Lob und Preis den Gästen wert!

IIa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Droben in des Eisgotts Hochlandstälern
Fiel Euch doch die Gletscherlöwin an?
Große Herrn, wie kamt Ihr los?

2. Auf dem Donnerkeilfelsberge rechts
Griff des Vogelkönigs Kralle Euch!
Edle Herrn, wie kamt Ihr frei?

3. Links im dichten Sandelwaldgebirge
Hielt des Tigers Tatze Euch doch fest?
Große Herrn, wie kamt Ihr durch?

4. In drei stromumflossnen Untertälern
Zog doch Fischlein Goldaug Euch herab?
Edle Herrn, wie kamt Ihr los?

Das Volk: Nun Ihr hohen Gäste, sprecht!

IIb. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. Dreifach in des Eisgotts Hochlandstälern
Hielt die Gletscherlöwin uns umkrallt.
Am Neun-Sonnenbrüder-Tag
Schmolz im Berg ein feiner Spalt
Helmbreit — doch wir schlüpften durch.

2. Rechts auf donnerkeilumschlossnem Berge
Gab der Vogelkönig uns nicht frei.
Doch er rückte einst beiseit,
Und ein Steinchen, würfelgroß,
Löste sich — wir kamen durch.

3. Links auf sandelwaldumschlossnem Berge
Schlug der Riesentiger uns in Bann.
Sonnenbrände warf die Zeit!
Lichtung, nur türkisengroß,
Schuf sie uns. Wir kamen durch.

4. In drei stromumflossnen Untertälern,
Sagt Ihr, hielt uns Fischlein Goldaug fest.
Kamen Wintermonde drei —
Axtlochbreit versiegt' ein Quell,
Und da schlüpften wir hindurch.

Das Volk sagt: Edle Herren, der Weg war gut.

Anmerkungen zu den Liedern I und II.

Durch ihre Kleidung geben sich die Brautkäufer als Götterkinder zu erkennen. Sie wollen ins Haus der Braut, und da regt sich bei ihren Eltern und Brüdern die Frage, wie es denn möglich gewesen ist, daß diese Götterkinder aus dem wohlbewachten Götterland herauskommen konnten. Ebenso wie kein gewöhnlicher Sterblicher den Olymp betreten darf, dürfen auch Götterkinder nicht aus demselben hinaus. Die Tiere, welche nach den beiden Liedern die Himmelstore hüten, sind 1. ɔeñ-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, „die weiße Löwin mit den türkisfarbenen Locken", die Personifikation des Gle[illegible]ners. (Siehe die Bilder.) 2. Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, „der wilde Vogelkönig". Statt dieses Vogels nennen andere [illegible]eder auch sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, den „alten großen Steinbock". 3. rGya-stag-khra-bo, die „riesige bunte Tigerin". 4. Khyu-ru, das Fischlein. Gewöhnlich wird es Nya-mo-gser-mig, „Fischlein Goldauge", genannt. Alle diese Tiere sind übrigens weiblichen Geschlechts.

III a. Die Leute vom Hause sagen: Nun öffnet Eure Ohren!

1. Wer ermißt des Himmels Rund?
Und wer schuf die Form?

2. Sagt, wer mißt vom Ost zum West?
Wer erschuf sie einst?

3. Sagt, wer mißt vom Süd zum Nord?
Sagt, wer schuf sie wohl?

4. Wer mißt Tiefstes, wer die Höh?
Wer erschuf sie uns?

5. Wer mißt Eis und Schiefer aus?
Wer erschuf sie nur?

6. Wer des A und Om Gehalt?
Wer hat sie erdacht?

7. Wer das höchst' und tiefste Tal?
Wer ist's, der sie schuf?

8. Wer kennt Dorf und Schlosses Maß?
Wer ersann sie einst?

9. Wer maß Heim und Wohnstatt aus?
Wer entwarf sie wohl?

10. In- und Außenwelt, wer maß
Und wer schuf sie uns?

III b. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. Himmels Rund und seine Form
Messen Sonn' und Mond.

2. Sonne, Schirm des Thrones, mißt
Ost und West uns aus.

3. Und das Maß von Süd und Nord
Gibt der weiße Mond.

4. Regenfall und feuchter Tau
Messen Hoch und Tief.

5. Eises Maß und Schiefers Maß
Gletscherlöwin schuf.

6. Die zwei Silben Hum und Phad
Schufen A und Om.

7. Hochgebirg und tiefstes Tal
Mißt der kühle Wind.

8. König und Minister maß
Schloß und Dorf uns aus.

9. Unsere Ahnen maßen uns
Heim und Wohnort aus.

10. Sieben Brüder schufen dann
Inn- und Außenmaß.

Das Volk sagt: Heil Euch, Ihr mächtigen Freunde!

Anmerkungen zu III a und b.

Dieses Lied wurde in seiner Khalatseer Form schon veröffentlicht im Indian Antiquary 1901, Lied Nr. III. Dort fehlten Vers 5 und 6. Vers 6 ist wahrscheinlich eine spätere Zutat aus der Zeit des Aufkommens des Tantrismus. Vers 2 und 3 müssen zum Verständnis zusammengefaßt werden. Sie wollen offenbar bedeuten, daß durch Sonne und Mond die vier Himmelsrichtungen geschaffen worden sind. Vers 10 bedeutet, daß durch die Ankunft der sieben Brautkäufer die Szene am Hoftor, wo eine Partei draußen, die andere drinnen steht, geschaffen worden ist.

IV a. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

Der Türkisenweidenstock, hier in meiner Hand,
Dessen Heimat Indien ist,
Wuchs am Berge Dog-ri groß.
Tief in Tibet ward mit Gold
Dieser schwanke Stab verziert,
Seine Spitze ist Türkis.
Indra, Herr der Götter, gab
Das Gebot uns: Schlagt damit!
Gab dazu das heilige Prophetenwort:
Sonne, Sterne, Mond
Schaffen einen Sohn.
Schlechtes Feuer qualmt.
Böse Absicht bannt!
Schlimme Gäste scheucht!
Schläge regne, edler Stock,
Rauschend auf ihr Prachtgewand!

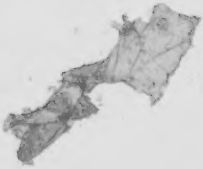
IV b. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

Nicht mit Birk' und Alpenweid
Schlagt! Auch mit Wacholder nicht!
Schlagt Ihr mit den Hölzern drei
Uns die Helme ein,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Bricht das Ohrgehäng,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.

Das Volk sagt: Recht so, edle Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

V a. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

Dieser grüne Weidenstock,
Hier in meiner Hand,
Deckt mit blautürkis'nem Stamm
Jambudvip, das Menschenland.
Herr der Welt, der König gab
Das Gebot uns: Schlagt damit!
Gab dazu das heilige Prophetenwort:
Fürst des Mittellands,
Dir entsprießt ein Sohn.
Mond und Stern erglänzt.
Schlechtes Feuer qualmt.
Böse Absicht bannt!
Schlimme Gäste scheucht!
Schläge regne, edler Stock,
Rauschend auf ihr Prachtgewand!



Volk: Om, möge es Euch wohlergehen! Möge Glück und Segen Euch begleiten!

V b. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

Schlagt mit Berg- und Hausweid nicht,
Nicht mit Ginster, der uns sticht!
Schlagt Ihr mit den Hölzern drei
Uns die Helme ein,

Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Bricht der Ohrtürkis,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.

Volk: Heil Euch, Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Glück und Segen begleite Euch!

VI a. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

Der Türkisenweidenstock, hier in meiner Hand,
Mit perlmuttner Wurzel deckt
Drunten tief das Nixenland.
Schlagt sie, ist des Nixenkönigs
lJog-po-ma-dros-zil-chen's Wunsch.
Sprach dazu das heilige Prophetenwort:
Aus der Erde sprießt
Kleiner Nixensohn.
Dorfgott ist ihm nah!
Schlechtes Feuer qualmt.
Böse Absicht bannt!
Schlimme Gäste scheucht!
Schläge regne, edler Stock,
Rauschend auf ihr Prachtgewand!

Volk: Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

VI b. Die Brautkäufer sagen: Nun hört mit Euren Ohren!

Walnußzweig noch Tamarisk,
Dornstrauch nehmt zum Schlagen nicht!
Schlagt Ihr mit den Hölzern drei
Uns die Helme ein,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Bricht das Ohrgehäng,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.

Anmerkungen zu IV a, b, V a, b und VI a, b.

Diese Lieder wurden schon veröffentlicht im Indian Antiquary 1901, in etwas anderer Reihenfolge. Die Leute vom Haus versuchen immer wieder, die Brautkäufer zu schlagen, werden aber jedesmal zurückgewiesen mit der Behauptung, daß die Stöcke zum Schlagen nicht aus dem rechten Holz bestünden. Wie sich dann in Lied Nr. VII zeigt, dürfen Götterkinder nur mit Zweigen vom Weltenbaum geschlagen werden. Das wissen auch die Leute vom Haus, und deshalb bringen sie ihre Stöcke, die tatsächlich von der Weide etc. genommen sind, in ihren Erklärungen in Beziehung zum Weltenbaum, der durch Nixenwelt, Erde und Himmel wächst. In Nr. IV a wird brGya-byin, Indra, der Herr der Götter genannt; in Nr. V a wird der Erdenkönig genannt, und in Nr. VI wird lJog-po-ma-dros-zil-chen, der Nixenkönig, genannt.

VII a. Die Leute vom Hause bringen andere Hölzer und die Brautkäufer sagen:

Feuerkratzer schwarz genast?
Suppen-, Bratenlöffel? Nein!
[illegible]hr mit den Hölzern drei
Uns [illegible] Helme ein,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Bricht der Ohrtürkis,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's tausendfach.

VII b. Da die Leute vom Hause keine Antwort wissen, sagen die Brautkäufer:

1. Es wächst ein Holz, mit dem man Freunde schlägt,
Ein prachtvoll und geschmeidig Holz
Vom Baum, der eine Wurzel nur
Und doch drei große Wipfel hat
Wipfel drei. Der Äste sechs.
Vogel Garuḍa
Sitzt auf erstem Ast.
Ohne daß das Nest
Noch das Goldei bricht,
Noch der Vogel schreckt,
Bringt den Ast uns her!
Schlagt uns mit dem Ast!
Haut uns mit dem Holz!

Schlagt mit diesem Stock
Ihr den Helm uns ein,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Trefft Ihr unsern Leib,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Bricht der Ohrtürkis,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.

2. Auf dem zweiten Ast
Vogelkönig thront.
Sehret nicht sein Nest,
Sein Türkisenei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht,
Bringt den Ast uns her!
Schlagt uns mit dem Ast!
Haut uns mit dem Holz!
Schlagt mit diesem Stock
Ihr den Helm uns ein,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr!
Bricht der Ohrtürkis,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.

3. Auf dem dritten Ast
Falke Weißkopf hockt.
Sehret nicht sein Nest,
Sein Perlmutterei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht,
Bringt den Ast uns her!
Schlagt uns mit dem Ast!
Haut uns mit dem Holz!
Schlagt mit diesem Stock
Ihr den Helm uns ein,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Bricht das Ohrgehäng,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.

4. Auf dem vierten Ast
Geier Weißnier' haust.
Sehret nicht sein Nest,
Nicht sein Silberei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht,
Bringt den Ast uns her!
Schlagt uns mit dem Ast!
Haut uns mit dem Holz!
Schlagt mit diesem Stock
Ihr den Helm uns ein,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Bricht das Ohrgehäng,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.

5. Auf dem fünften Ast
Göttervogel thront.
Sehret nicht sein Nest,
Sein Korallenei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht,
Bringt uns diesen Ast!
Schlagt uns mit dem Ast!
Haut uns mit dem Holz!
Schlagt mit diesem Stock
Ihr den Helm uns ein,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Wird der Leib verletzt,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Bricht der Ohrtürkis,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sattelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.

6. Auf dem sechsten Ast
Hockt der weiße Falk.
Sehret nicht sein Nest,
Noch sein Eisenei!
Schreckt den Vogel nicht,
Bringt uns diesen Ast!
Schlagt uns mit dem Ast!
Haut uns mit dem Holz!
Schlagt mit diesem Stock

Ihr den Helm uns ein,
Büßt ihr's nimmermehr.
Trefft Ihr unsern Leib,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Bricht das Ohrgehäng,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.
Reißt das Sanelzeug,
Büßt Ihr's nimmermehr.

Volk: Gut, Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlergehen!

Anmerkungen zu VIIa und b.

Auch dieses Lied wurde schon im Indian Antiquary 1901 in derselben Form veröffentlicht. Es schildert in b den Weltenbaum, der „auf einer Wurzel drei Wipfel hat". Dies ist so gemeint, daß man im Nisenland, auf der Erde und im Göuerland seinen Wipfel zu sehen meint. Die sechs Äste des Baumes sind schon in der Einleitung erklärt. Die dort hausenden Vögel heißen mit ihren tibetischen Namen: 1. Khyuṅ, Garuḍa; 2. Bya-rgyal-rgod, wilder Vogelkönig, Adler; 3. mGo-bo-ldad-dkar, Falke Weißkopf; 4. Glag-mo-mkhal-dkar, Geier Weißnicre; 5. lHa-bya-goṅ-mo, Göttervogel oder Schneefasan; 6. Kkraskya-dkar-mo, weißer Falke.

VIIIa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

Freunde, haltet's Feuer wach!
Gäste, sagt, woher Ihr kommt,
Wenn Ihr geht, wohin Ihr geht.
Sagt, wo Ihr zu rasten wünscht.
Wem zuliebe kamet Ihr
In die Mitte unsres Dorfs?

VIIIb. Die Brautkäufer antworten:

Sind vom Osten aus dem bDe-chen-Land.
Ziehn zum Westen hin nach U-rgyan-Land,
Wünschen hier in diesem Hause Rast.
Was wir suchen, ist in Eurem Dorf.

Das Volk: Heil Euch, Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlergehen!

Anmerkungen zu VIIIa und b.

Das bDe-chen-yul, Sukhavati, das Paradies liegt nach buddhistischen Begriffen im Westen, nach altbetischen Begriffen oben auf dem Schneeberge. U-rgyan, das Ziel der Brautkäufer ist das indische Reich Udyāna. Auch dieses wird manchmal als Paradies bezeichnet. Schon im Indian Antiquary 1901 als Nr. IV.

IX a. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Als Ihr kamt vom Osten her,
Wer war Ostlands König? sagt!
Sind dort Volk und Knechte weiß?
Wie sind Wandel und Gestalt?
All die Fragen fragen wir.

2. Als Ihr kamt vom Süden her,
Wer war Südlands König? sagt!
Schienen Volk und Knechte weiß?
Wie sind Wandel und Gestalt?
Diese Fragen fragen wir.

3. Als Ihr kamt vom Westen her,
Wer war Westlands König? sagt!
Schienen Volk und Knechte weiß?
Wie sind Wandel und Gestalt?
All die Fragen fragen wir.

4. Als Ihr kamt vom Norden her,
Wer war Nordlands König? sagt!
Schienen Volk und Knechte weiß?
Wie sind Wandel und Gestalt?
All die Fragen fragen wir.

IX b. Die Brautbitter sagen:

1. Dhṛitarāṣṭra herrscht im Ost.
Was die Religion betrifft,
Schimmern Volk und Knechte weiß.
Wandel und Gestalt sind licht.
Sonne, Schirm des Thrones, wohnt
Dort im Osten, fragt sie doch!

2. Virūḍhaka herrscht im Süd.
Was die Religion betrifft,
Schimmern Volk und Knechte weiß.
Wandel und Gestalt sind licht.
Reich an Kornfrucht ist das Land.
Wollt Ihr fragen, fragt sie doch!

3. Virūpākṣa herrscht im West.
Was die Religion betrifft,
Schimmern Volk und Knechte weiß.
Wandel und Gestalt sind licht.
Heilkraut wächst dort mannigfach.
Fragt es, wenn Ihr fragen wollt!

4. Vaiśravaṇa herrscht im Nord.
Was die Religion betrifft,
Schimmern Volk und Knechte weiß.
Wandel und Gestalt sind licht.
Tausend Farben prangen dort.
Wollt Ihr fragen, fragt sie doch!
Wir, die Freunde, schweigen nun!

Volk: Om, möge es Euch wohlergehen, möget Ihr von Glück und Segen begleitet sein!

Anmerkungen zu IXa und b.

Schon im Indian Antiquary 1901 als Nr. IX. Dort war der Name des Königs im Norden fälschlich als Virupākṣha gegeben. Der tibetische Text gibt die Namen dieser Lokapālas (Welthüter), in tibetischer Gestalt wie folgt: 1. Ost, Yul-'akhor-ersuṅ; 2. Süd, 'aPhags-skyed; 3. West, aPyan-mi[g]-bzaṅ; 4. Nord, rNam-thos-sras. In seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt nannte dieses Lied wahrscheinlich Vögel statt der großen Könige. Die Farbe weiß steht hier für gut, rein. Über die Gaben der verschiedenen Himmelsrichtungen siehe die Einleitung.

Xa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Regen feucht von oben strömt,
Hat am eignen Fall genug,
Hat mit sich zu tun und schweigt.
Euch allein nur fragen wir.

2. Die Türkisenweide tief
Aus dem Erdschutt Reinheit saugt,
Hat mit sich zu tun und schweigt.
Euch allein nur fragen wir.

3. Thronschirm, der vom Osten kommt,
Müht sich, daß das Dunkel weicht,
Hat mit sich zu tun und schweigt.
Euch allein drum fragen wir.

4. Alles Korn des Südens sorgt,
Daß der Hunger werd' gestillt,
Hat mit sich zu tun und schweigt.
Euch allein drum fragen wir.

5. Heilkraut, das im Westen wächst,
Um die Nektarwurzel bangt,
Hat mit sich zu tun und schweigt.
Euch allein nur fragen wir.

6. All die Farbe aus dem Nord,
Ringt mit vierfach schwarzer Nacht,
Hat mit sich zu tun und schweigt.
Euch allein nur fragen wir.

Volk: Recht so!

Xb. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. Regen, der vom Himmel strömt,
Hält viertausend Flüsse rein.

2. Die Türkisenwurzel hält
Tief viertausend Erden rein.

3. Thronschirm, der vom Osten kommt,
Führt die Welt aus Nacht zum Licht.

4. Aus dem Süden das Getreid'
Aller Welt den Hunger stillt.

5. Westens Heilkraut macht die Welt
Von der Nektarwurzel frei.

6. Nordens Farb' befreit die Welt
Von viertausendfachem Schwarz.

Anmerkungen zu Xa und b

Dies Lied und die folgenden sind noch nicht veröffentlicht. Nr. X ist eins von den Liedern, in welchen die alte Gebetsordnung eingehalten ist. Siehe die Einleitung. Der Thronschirm in Vers 3 ist die Sonne. Es sieht fast aus, als ob sich die Farben des Nordens auf das Nordlicht beziehen.

XI a. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Durch das Tor im Osten drang
Indiens Glaube. Sagt, wie gingt
Ihr den Weg des heilgen Worts?

2. Persiens Reichtum baut' das Tor
Südlich. Richtschnur ist der Pfad
Edlem Anstand. Gingt Ihr ihn?

3. Chinas Himmelskund' erschließt
Uns ein westlich Tor. Wie gingt
Ihr den Weg des Diagramms?

4. Und das Tor des Nordens ist
König Kesars Kampf. Wie gingt
Ihr den Weg des Schwerterschlags?

5. Zogt durchs dichtbegangne Tor
Ihr nach Lhassa auf dem Weg,
Der zum Wahrheitssucher spricht?

Volk: Wohl Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

XI b. Die Brautkäufer antworten:

1. Indiens Torweg ist der Ost.
Dort Bekehrung, heilig Wort,
Sitte ehrend reisten wir.

2. Persiens Reichtum baut' das Tor
Südlich. Streng befolgten wir
Edlen Anstands Richtschnur stets.

3. Chinas Himmelskund' erschließt
Uns ein westlich Tor. Uns ward,
Zahlen prüfend, Glück zuteil.

4. Tor zu König Kesars Kampf
Ist der Nord. Mit Schwertgeklirr
Unterwarfen wir das Volk.

5. Dann durch Lhassas volles Tor
Wahrheitsuchend zogen wir,
Unsere Seelen prüfend still.

Volk: Gut, Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

Anmerkungen zu XI a und b.

Dies ist eins von den Liedern, in denen die tatsächliche Lage der Länder nicht zu den angegebenen Richtungen stimmen will. Aus Vers 3 ersehen wir, daß die chinesischen Diagramme, tibetisch spar-kha-brgyad, auch den Tibetern bekannt gewesen sind. 4. Kesars Krieg im Norden ist sein Kampf gegen den Teufel oder Riesen im Norden. Vgl. den Wintermythus der Kesarsage (Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne XV) und die entsprechende Erzählung in A. Cunningham's Ladakhi Version of the Kesarsaga.

XII a. Die Leute vom Hause sagen: O Ihr, die Ihr die Worte der Wahrheit in der Seele prüfet und hierher gekommen seid!

1. Sagt, wer packt den wilden Yack am Horn?
2. Sagt, wes Faust den wilden Tiger greift?
3. Sagt, wer uns mit Schlingen Wasser fängt?
4. Sagt, wer baut ein Schloß aus leichtem Sand?
5. Wer schlägt mit dem Schwert das Wasser wund?
6. Nennt den Vogel, der die Jungen wirft?
7. Sagt uns, welches Raubtier Eier legt?
8. Nennt zwei Felsenhühner, deren Laufspur im Gebirge sich verwischt?
9. Wer befiehlt der Riesenlast des bunten Schilfs im Nord?
10. Sagt, wer näht den Mantel für das Schieferfeld?
11. Welchem Vogel wachsen Zähne zu dem Flügelpaar?
12. Sagt, wem geben wir die Rätsel auf? Wer löst sie uns?

Volk: Wohl Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

XII b. Die Brautkäufer antworten:

1. Wilden Yackstier zwingt am Horn
Held rMog-chen-remba.

2. Tiger greift mit seiner Faust
Held A-po-bstan-yan.

3. Wasser mit der Schlinge fängt
Yaksha gZhon-thog nur.

4. Schloß aus leichtem Sande baut
Vogel Schwalbe wohl.

5. Wasser streicht mit Schwertern wund
Nur das Wasser selbst.

6. Vogel, welcher Junge wirft,
Ist die Fledermaus.

7. Raubtier, welches Eier legt,
Ist das Wiesel flink.

8. Und die Felsenhühner, derer Laufspur im Gebirge
sich verwischt,
Adern sind's im Berg.

9. Die kristalline Herrin, die im bleichen Norden über
tausend Farben herrscht,
Ist 'aBru-gu-ma.

10. Für die großen Schieferfelder einen Mantel
Näht der Himmelschmied Viśvakarma.

11. Zähne zu dem Flügelpaar
Hat die Fledermaus im Maul.

12. Doch Ihr Leute, die Ihr Rätsel fraget, Lösung
heischend, Euch Besitzer freut's,
Nimmt man Euch was ab!

Volk: Gut, Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen

Anmerkungen zu XIIa und b.

Die in 1, 2, 3 genannten Namen bezeichnen Helden der Vorzeit, die mir in der tibetischen Literatur sonst noch nicht begegnet sind. 5. Das Wasserschwert, welches das Wasser wund schlägt, ist vielleicht der Wasserstrahl des Wasserfalles. 7. Die Behauptung, daß das Wiesel Eier legt, ist mir auch sonst bei den Westtibetern begegnet. 8. Dieser Vers ist schwer verständlich. Die Schlagadern des menschlichen Körpers werden offenbar mit Steinhühnern verglichen. Der Berg ist vielleicht der Körper selbst. 9. Auch dieser Vers ist sehr schwierig. Die Farben des Nordens scheinen die Nordlichter zu sein. Über sie herrscht Char-rje-sgam-po, wie der Text sagt. Dieser unbekannte Name wird in einer tibetischen Anmerkung mit 'aBru-gu-ma gleichgesetzt. 10. Der Überwurf des Schieferfeldes ist der Schnee, dessen Verfertiger der göttliche Schmied Viśvakarman ist. Ursprünglich stand hier gewiß Hemis, der Schmied der Kesarsage, dessen Name (Hem dardisch für Schnee) schon auf die Art des Überwurfs deutet. 12. Dieser Vers bezieht sich offenbar auf die Abnahme der Braut durch die Brautkäufer. — In diesem Lied ist das Metrum nur bis Vers 7 streng befolgt. Von 8 an ist das Metrum im Original aufgehoben.

XIII a. Die Leute vom Hause sagen: Ihr, die Ihr erst vorgestern vom Schloß hierher gekommen seid!

1. Nennt drei Schlösser uns!
2. Drei, die unbegrenzt!
3. Nennt drei Seen uns!
4. Nennt drei Länder uns!

Volk: Nun wohlan, Ihr mächtigen Freunde!

XIII b. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. Schlösser gibt es drei:
Khyuṅ-luṅ-dṅul-mo-Schloß,
Grogs-mo-ze-ma-Schloß,
Ma-bzaṅs-dril-bu-Schloß.
Das sind wohl die drei.

2. Unbegrenzt ist stets:
Himmel, dachlos, weit,
Glaube, restlos, tief,
Nimmer stirbt das Gold.
Das sind wohl die drei.

3. Seen gibt es drei:
Ma-phaṅ, Waschungssee,
La-ṅag, Giftsee, und
sGo-mo, Muschelsee.
Das sind wohl die drei.

4. Länder gibt es drei:
Götterland dGa-ldan,
Menschenland 'dDzam-gliṅ,
Nixenland Ma-dros.
Dies sind wohl die drei.

Volk: Recht so, Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

Anmerkungen zu XIII a und b.

1. Die Namen der Schlösser sind mir neu. Vielleicht sind sie nur von lokalem Interesse. 3. Von den drei Seen sind die beiden erstgenannten wohlbekannt. Ma-phaṅ ist der Manasarovarsee und La-ṅag ist der Rakastalsee. 4. dGa-ldan ist die tibetische Bezeichnung des Tushita-Himmels; 'aDzam-gliṅ ist das Menschenland Jambu-dvīpa, die Erde. Und Ma-dros ist tibetisch für Anavatapta «nicht heiß», eine Bezeichnung des Manasarovarsees.

XIVa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

Dient dem Hochtalsgott,
Bringt drei Grüße ihm!

1. Die drei Grüße nennt!
2. Die drei Lächeln nennt!
3. Die drei Orte nennt!
4. Nennt drei Arten Eid!
5. Freundesarten drei!

Volk: Wohl, Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

XIVb. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

Dient dem Hochtalsgott!
Bringt drei Grüße ihm!

1. Die drei Grüße sind:
Sonnenaufgangsgruß,
Heilkraftsgruß gen West,
Dann der Dienergruß.
Das sind wohl die drei.

2. Die drei Lächeln sind:
Zähnelachen laut,
Lächeln mit dem Mund,
Lächeln nur im Geist.
Das sind wohl die drei.

3. Orte gibt es drei:
Wo man Pfeile schießt,
Wo nach Ton man gräbt,
Wo die Vögel ruhn.
Dies sind wohl die drei.

4. Drei der Eide gibt's:
Großer, heiliger Eid,
Ernster Vatereid,
Sohns- und Zeugeneid.
Dies sind wohl die drei.

5. Drei der Freunde gibt's:
Gott, der uns erlöst,
Freund durch Elternhand,
Freund durch Fleisch und Blut.
Die drei Freunde gibt's.

Volk: Gut, Ihr mächtigen Freunde!

Anmerkungen zu XIVa und b.

1. Inbetreff der Grüße ist zu sagen, daß am Morgen die Sonne im Osten und am Abend die Medizingötter im Westen begrüßt werden. Der dritte Gruß ist der der Untergebenen an den Vorgesetzten. 3. Die drei Arten von Orten sind offenbar nur von lokalem Interesse. 4. Die Namen der drei Eide: a) De-thsa-mnä-mo-che, b) Yag-sdur-pha-yi-mnä, c) dPe-thsor-skyes-pai-mnä, sind offenbar juristische Fachausdrücke. 5. Gott wird hier mit dKon-mchog (ratna) bezeichnet, ohne daß das Zahlwort «drei» hinzugesetzt ist. Mit den Worten „Freund durch Elternhand" soll eine von den Eltern gestiftete Ehe, mit den Worten „Freund durch Fleisch und Blut" dagegen eine Liebesehe bezeichnet werden.

XVa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Weiten, weißen Spalt im Ost
Muschelweiße Tür verschließt.
Hängt ein Muschelsiegel dran
Mit des Vogelkönigs Zahn.
Habt Ihr nicht verletzt den Zahn?
Blieb das Siegel heil und ganz?
Edle Herrn, wie kamt Ihr durch?

2. Weiten, goldnen Spalt im Süd
Goldgefärbte Tür verschließt.
Hängt ein Goldstaubsiegel dran
Mit des goldnen Goldfroschs Zahn.
Habt Ihr nicht den Zahn verletzt?
Blieb das Siegel heil und ganz?
Edle Herrn, wie kamt Ihr durch?

3. Weiten, blauen Spalt im Ost
Blautürkisne Tür verschließt.
Siegel aus Türkisenstaub
Mit des frohen Pfauen Zahn.
Habt Ihr nicht den Zahn verletzt?
Blieb das Siegel heil und ganz?
Edle Herrn, wie kamt Ihr durch?

4. Weiten, schwarzen Spalt im Nord
Eisenschwarze Tür verschließt.
Siegel drauf aus Eisenmehl
Mit des schwarzen Raben Zahn.
Habt Ihr nicht den Zahn verletzt?
Blieb das Siegel unversehrt?
Edle Herrn, wie kamt Ihr durch?

Volk: Recht so!

XV b. Die Brautkäufer antworten:

1. Weiten weißen Spalt im Ost
Muschelweiße Tür verschließt.
Hängt ein Muschelsiegel dran
Mit des Vogelkönigs Zahn.
Nichts ist an dem Zahn zu sehn,
Unverletzt das Siegel blieb.
Doch zur Zeit der Sommerglut
Vogelkönig flog zum Fraß —
Und wir schlüpften schnell hindurch.

2. Weiten goldnen Spalt im Süd
Goldgefärbte Tür verschließt.
Hängt ein Goldstaubsiegel dran
Mit des Goldfroschs goldnem Zahn.
Nichts ist an dem Zahn zu sehn,
Unverletzt das Siegel blieb.
See Ma-phaṅ schwoll an. Da ging
Goldfrosch und sein Hof zum Fraß —
Und wir schlüpften schnell hindurch.

3. Weiten blauen Spalt im West
Blautürkisne Tür verschließt.
Siegel aus Türkisenstaub
Mit des frohen Pfauen Zahn.
Nichts ist an dem Zahn zu sehn,
Unverletzt das Siegel blieb.
Als Dug-gi-lo zunahm, ging
Pfauhahn und sein Hof zum Fraß —
Und wir schlüpften schnell hindurch.

4. Weiten schwarzen Spalt im Nord
Schwarzgefärbte Tür verschließt.
Siegel dran aus Eisenstaub
Mit des schwarzen Raben Zahn.
Nichts ist an dem Zahn zu sehn,
Unverletzt das Siegel blieb.
Als die Byaṅ-pa-gor-sa wuchs,
Ging die Rabenschar zum Fraß —
Und wir schlüpften schnell hindurch.

Volk: Recht! Horcht mit den Ohren!

Anmerkungen zu XVa und b.

Dieses Lied ist von ähnlichem Charakter wie I und II. Der „frohe Pfau" in Vers 3 entspricht dem „tanzenden Pfau" der indischen Poesie. Inbetreff der Siegel ist zu erwähnen, daß die Tibeter gern mit Lehm siegeln, in welchen sie ein Holzpenschaft drücken.

XVIa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Aus dem Tempel der Sonne hervor
2. Kam der Brautkäufer glänzende Schar,
3. Klar wie Gletscherströme!
4. Grüßt die Götterboten,
5. Die das Weltall ordnen!
6. Grüßt die Dreiwelt-Gottheit,
7. Die aufs Meer sich senkte!
8. Grüßt Shakyas Gebeine!
9. Weise, hört das Loblied!
10. U-rgyan-grogs-po, hör' es!
11. Festung göttlichen Glaubens ist hier!
12. Grüßt He-ru-kas Reste!
13. Grüßet sNgags-chaṅ-grog-po!
14. Grüßt der Ahnen Grüfte!
15. (Lobt verstorbne Weise!)
16. Hier wird ausgelegt heilige Schrift!
17. mThso-phyed-gzhun-nu grüßet!
18. Seid gegrüßt, Ihr Ärzte!
19. Hier erkennt man das Thsa-graṅ genau.
20. Kesars Reste grüßet!
21. Helden, hört das Loblied!
22. Lobet rGyal-rmog-grog-po!
23. Hier nur zähmt man den feindlichen Yack!
24. Grüßt Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan's Gruft!
25. Lob Euch Erdenherrschern!
26. Hier wird edelste Sitte gepflegt!
27. Gruß dem Gaṅ-ga-Gotte.
28. Jungfrau'n, hört das Loblied!
29. Hier ist Heimat für Tanz und Gesang.
30. Lobet Chinas tote Fürstin Koṅ-jo!
31. Lobet heil'ge Nonnen!
32. Heimstatt heiliger Tänze ist hier!
33. Lobet Rigs-bzaṅ-yan-lag!
34. Hört das Lob, Ihr Kinder!

35. Hier sind lustige Spiele zu Haus!
36. Preist des Dorfes Marktgott, preist das Volk hier!
37. Das sich breitet wie des Waldes Zweige:
38. Ihr neun Väter, sitzend dort zur Rechten,
39. Hört das Loblied! Hört es! Ihr neun Mütter,
40. Pfauen gleichend, die im Wald sich wiegen!
41. Hört uns, göttergleiche Brautbewerber,
42. Die zu uns Ihr in das Tal gestiegen!

Zeilen, welche sich nur im Manuskripte von Khalatse finden:

Zwischen 4 und 5. Eine Welt stieg zum Thron herab!
O grüßt sie!

Nach 10. Hier gibt's Lehre der Bon-Religion!
Lehre vom Hakenkreuze!
Shel-lha-'od-dkar's Gebeine lobet!
Priester des Bon, höret das Loblied!

Nach 13. Ihr türkisbesätten Mädchen, hört es!
Hier ist Sammelplatz für Volk und Burschen.

Nach 15. dBu-thod-grogs-po, hör' das Loblied!
Hier ist aller Glanz vereinigt!

Nach 31. Hört's, mit Lappen weiß geschmückte!

Nach 34. gSer-ral-thib-se, hör' das Loblied!

Nach 38. Lob Euch schiefen, tauben Alten!
Hört Euch loben, Götter droben,
Die Ihr strahlt wie Wiesenblumen!

Volk: Recht so!

Anmerkungen zu XVIa.

Die Verwandtschaft der Braut erkennt in diesem Lied zum erstenmal die Brautkäufer als Götterboten an, wie die ersten Zeilen zeigen. Dieses Lied sucht allen Religionsparteien gerecht zu werden, und deshalb preist es außer den Göttern der lHa-chos auch Buddha (8) und Gottheiten der Bon-Religion (Zeilen von Khalatse, nach 10). Helden der Vorzeit spielen eine große Rolle und unter ihnen befinden sich einige historische Personen, z. B. König Khri-srong-lde-btsan aus dem 8. Jahrh. n. Chr. (V. 24), Padmasambhava, sein Zeitgenosse (V. 10), die Königin Kong-jo aus dem 7. Jahrh. Sonst sind bekannt: Heruka als tantrische Gottheit (V. 12), die übrigens hier mit der alten lHa-chos in Verbindung gebracht wird; König Ke-sar (V. 20), der Held der Sagenwelt, und sein Sohn gSer-ral (Zeilen von Khalatse, nach 34). Shel-lha-'od-dkar ist wohl derselbe wie gShen-lha-'od-dkar, nach dem gZer-mig eine Hauptgottheit der Bon-Religion

(Zeilen von Khalatse, nach 10). Der Name des Yackbändigers rGyal-rmog-grog-po ist zu vergleichen mit dem Namen des Yackbändigers in XII b, 1. Vielleicht handelt es sich um ein und dieselbe Person. dBu-thod-grogs-po in Zeilen von Khalatse, nach 15, ist zu vergleichen mit dBu-thod-rog-se in XVI b, 10. Das Thsa-gran in V. 18 ist der Name der heißen und kalten Höllen. Merkwürdig, daß dieses Wort in die Nähe der Ärzte gerückt ist. Die übrigen Namen lassen sich noch nicht bestimmen.

XVIb. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. Euch in Himmelsmitten tönt das Loblied!
2. Aus dem Edelstein von Mond und Sonne,
3. Aus dem Glanzgestein der Mondhaussterne,
4. Aus dem Eisgetürme des Kailāsa,
5. Aus des Ma-phan-Sees Tiefen klingt es.
6. Aus der weiten, grauen, roten Erde!
7. Aus den langen, blauen Strömen tönt es.
8. Hohe Himmelsgötter, hört das Loblied,
9. Kleine Götter, die Gott Indra leitet!
10. dBu-thod-rog-se, hör' es!
11. Völker aller Mittelreiche, hört es!
12. Die beherrscht die Erdenmutter sKyabs-mdun!
13. Hör' es, rTa-mgo-rog-se!
14. Nixen, die regiert Fürst dGā-bo-ljogs-po,
15. Nixen tief im Grunde, hört das Loblied!
16. Hör' es, sBrul-mgo-rog-se!
17. Ihr neun Väter rechts, o hört das Loblied!
18. Die Ihr sitzt wie gYag-po-che-sdeu, hört es!
19. Ihr neun Mütter, die Ihr gleicht den Pfauen,
20. Die im Wald sich wiegen, hört das Loblied.
21. Marktgott auf dem Platze! Leute, hört es,
22. Die Ihr großen Wiesenblumen gleichet!
23. Kinder dort zur Seit', herabgestiegnen
24. Götterkindern gleichend, hört das Loblied!
25. Voller Segen ist
26. Euer glücklich Land.

Volk: Recht so!

Anmerkungen zu XVI b.

Dieses Loblied der Brautkäufer enthält weniger Namen als das vorige, und diese lassen sich leichter unterbringen als jene. Auf das Reich der Himmelsgötter beziehen sich V. 8—10. Der Himmelskönig wird zunächst dBaṅ-po-brgya-byin, Satakratu, Indra, genannt. Der Name dBu-thod-rog-se mag ebenfalls einer Himmelsgottheit angehören. — Auf das Erdreich beziehen sich V. 11—13. Der Name der Erdkönigin ist sKyabs-mdun, wie auch sonst bekannt. Aber auch rTa-mgo-rog-se, „Pferdeköpfig", scheint eine Erdgottheit zu sein. — Auf das Wasserreich beziehen sich V. 14—16. Der Name des Nixenkönigs wird hier als dGa-bo-ljogs-po (sonst nur ljogs-po) gegeben. Auch sBrul-mgo-rog-se, „Schlangenköpfig", scheint eine Wassergottheit zu sein. Was das Sitzen wie gYag-po-che-sdeu anbetrifft, so kann ich das noch nicht erklären.

XVIIa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Unbedecktes, wildes Haupt,
Wildes Haar gen Himmel sträubt!
Wilder, nackter Leib! Er geht
Ständig furchtbar ew'gen Weg!
Wilder Fuß geht ohne Schuh. —
Bilder meißelt seine Spur.

2. Hoch schloß Eisgott Täler drei.
Flöckchen keins zum Himmel schwirrt.

3. Wasser schließt drei Täler tief.
Eisenstäubchen fliegt nicht auf.

4. Affen seid Ihr! Menschen nicht!
Eure Rosse Teufelsvieh!
Fort mit Aff' und Teufelsroß!

Volk: Recht so!

XVIIb. Die Leute draußen sagen:

1. — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — (fehlt).

2. Wenn Ihr sagt, der Eisgott schloß
Droben hoch der Täler drei,
Daß auch nicht ein Flöckchen flog
Zu dem hohen Himmel auf;

Vor zwei Tagen ward,
Dort ein Yack erlegt —
Droben flog was auf —
Achtzig Flächen — weiß —
Neunzig Gründe — weiß —
Geier menschlich lacht.
Vöglein zahllos schwirr'n.
Habt Ihr's nicht geseh'n?

3. Wenn Ihr sagt: drei Untertäler schloß
Wasser tief, so daß kein Eisenteilchen flog.
Gestern Eisenkind
Hat den Ochs gekämmt.
Saht Ihr's? Berg und Fels
Wurden Tälern gleich!

4. Seh' ich unsre Männer an, seh'n sie König Kesar gleich;
Seh' ich unsre Pferde an, sind sie dessen Reitpferd gleich.
Wo denn habt Ihr je gehört, daß der Brautbewerber Schar
Mit den eisenhuf'gen Rossen Affenreitern gleichen könnten?
Merkt! Wir kommen nicht als Feinde,
Nein, als liebe Freunde stets.

Volk: Recht so!

Anmerkungen zu XVII a und b.

Ein Lied, welches offenbar nicht vollständig erhalten, jedenfalls nicht in allen Teilen klar zu durchschauen ist. Wie Vers 4 zeigt, regt sich wieder neuer Zweifel an der götlichen Herkunft der Brautkäufer. Aus V. 2 und 3 scheint sich zu ergeben, daß man von Götterkindern erwartet, daß sie im Wetter vom Olymp herabkommen. Vom Wetter hat man nichts bemerkt, und deshalb soll ihre Aussage von ihrer hohen Herkunft nicht wahr sein. In XVII b weisen nun die Brautkäufer auf große Schnee- und Hagelwetter, die vor kurzem im Gebirge getobt haben. Die Wetter werden erklärt mit dem Töten und Kämmen von Yackochsen. Wie in der Kesarsage, werden auch hier die Wolken mit Yackochsen verglichen.

XVIIIa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1 Wer war achtzig weißer Flächen Herr?
2 Wer der neunzig weißen Schluchten Herr?
3. Wer des Geiers, der wie Menschen lacht?
4 Wer der zahllos kleinen Vögel Herr?

XVIIIb. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. Garuda ist achtzig Flächen Herr.
2. Vogelkönig neunzig Schluchten Herr.
3. Thiñ des Geiers, der wie Menschen lacht,
4. Und die Lerche aller Vöglein Herr.

Sieben Männchen, sieben Weibchen dürfen sich nicht treffen, Khyi-li-li!
Drei sehr schlimme Worte sollte niemand sagen, Tho-ro-ro!
Drei bekannte Schritte sollte niemand machen, Sha-ra-ra!
Was wird wohl gemacht?
Und was braucht Ihr wohl?

Volk: Recht so.

Anmerkungen zu XVIIIa und b.

Von den Vögeln, die hier als Herren über Schluchten und Vögel bezeichnet werden, ist Thiñ noch unbekannt. Daß wir uns aber unter Thiñ einen Vogel zu denken haben, ergibt sich aus der Stellung dieses Wortes im Satz. — Der Anhang zu diesem Lied mit den Worten Khyi-li-li usw. soll wohl Andeutungen enthalten, daß die Sendung der Brautkäufer es mit geschlechtlichen Dingen zu tun hat.

XIXa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Mancher ist durch Weisheit würdig, mancher durch die Herkunft nur,
Manche gibt's, die gar nichts können.
Drum ist's wichtig, selbst zu prüfen!
Wo sich würd'ge Herkunft einet mit viel Weisheit, da ist's gut!
Braucht ein Hoher neunmal Weisheit?
Ein Geringer neunmal Weisheit?
Kommt als Freunde Ihr aus edlem Stamme,
Oder wollt Ihr nur den Beutel?
Kamt Ihr machtlos? Wollt Ihr Freundschaft schließen?

2. Drei Arten Feinde gibt's!

3. Drei Arten Freunde gibt's!
Zählt sie auf, die drei!

Volk: Recht so!

XIXb. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. — — — — — — — — (fehlt).

2. Drei der Feinde gibt's:
Feind, der Krankheit wünscht,
Feind, des Seele haßt,
Feind, der blutig rächt.
Kommen nicht als Feind,
Freunde sind wir Euch.

3. Drei der Freunde gibt's:
Gott, der uns erlöst,
Elternfreundschaftsbund,
Bluts- und Liebesbund.
Dies die Arten drei.

Volk: Recht so!

Anmerkungen zu XIXa und b.

Die Leute im Haus haben endlich verstanden, daß es sich um eine Brautwerbung handelt. Noch immer halten sie aber zurück, wie besonders ihre Frage „Oder wollt Ihr nur den Beutel?" zeigt. Die Frage nach den drei Arten von Freunden gibt den Brautkäufern abermals Gelegenheit, auf die Bedeutung ihrer Sendung hinzuweisen. — Mit diesem Lied ist die Szene vor dem Haus zu Ende, das Tor wird geöffnet und die Brautkäufer treten in den Hof.

* * *

Nachtrag.

Die Lieder aus der Sammlung von Khalatse, welche sich nicht in der Handschrift von Tag-ma-cig finden.

Kh. Ia. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Was bedeutet wohl
Blauer Rauch, der aufwärts steigt?

2. Was bedeutet wohl
Blauer Rauch, der niedrig zieht?

3. Was bedeutet wohl
Blauer Rauch, der abwärts fällt?

4. Was bedeutet wohl
Blauer Rauch, der östlich zieht?

5. Was bedeutet wohl
Blauer Rauch, der südwärts zieht?

6. Was bedeutet wohl
Blauer Rauch, der westwärts zieht?

7. Was bedeutet wohl
Blauer Rauch, der nordwärts zieht?

8. Was bedeutet wohl
Rauch, der überm Schlosse steht?

9. Was bedeutet wohl
Rauch, der übers Land hinzieht?

10. Was bedeutet wohl
Rauch, der überm Dorfe schwebt?

Kh. Ib. Die Brautkäufer antworten:

1. Jener blaue Rauch,
Der nach oben zieht,
Ist ein Opferrauch.
Will, daß Indra nicht
Auf.... zornig sei!

2. Blauer Rauch, der flieht
Übers Erdreich hin,
Ist ein Opferrauch.
Erdenmutter soll
Rettend gnädig sein!

3. Jener blaue Rauch,
Der nach unten fällt,
Ist ein Opferrauch.
Ljogs-po, Nixenfürst,
Soll uns zürnen nicht!

4. Jener blaue Rauch,
Der nach Osten zieht,
Ist ein Opferrauch.
Vajrasattva soll
Mit uns zürnen nicht!

5. Jener blaue Rauch,
Der nach Süden zieht,
Ist ein Opferrauch.
Ratnasambhava
Soll uns zürnen nicht!

6. Jener blaue Rauch,
Der nach Westen zieht,
Ist ein Opferrauch.
Amitābha soll
Mit uns zürnen nicht!

7. Jener blaue Rauch,
Der nach Norden zieht,
Ist ein Opferrauch.
Amoghasiddha
Soll uns zürnen nicht.

8. Jener blaue Rauch
Überm Schlosse dort
Ist ein Opferrauch,
Daß des Gipfels Gott
Mit uns zürne nicht!

9. Jener blaue Rauch
Über Eurem Dorf
Ist ein Opferrauch,
Daß der Gott des Dorfs
Mit uns zürne nicht!

10. Jener blaue Rauch,
Der den Hof durchzieht,
Ist ein Opferrauch,
Daß des Hauses Gott
Mit uns zürne nicht!

Volk: Recht so! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

Anmerkungen zu Nachtrag, Kh. I a und b.

Dies ist eins von den Liedern, welche die alte Gebetsordnung zeigen. Auf die Gottheiten der drei Welten folgen die Gottheiten der vier Himmelsrichtungen, und zwar in der Ordnung des Sonnenlaufs, Ost, Süd, West, Nord. In bezug auf diese Ordnung geht die alte lHa-chos mit dem Buddhismus zusammen, während die Bon-Religion, wie z. B. das gZer-mig zeigt, immer die umgekehrte Ordnung. Nord, West, Süd, Ost hat. Dementsprechend haben auch lHa-chos und Buddhismus das gleiche, rechts gerichtete Svastika, während das der Bon-Religion links gerichtet ist. Das tibetische Manuskript gibt die Namen der Lokapālas in tibetischer Form, wie folgt: rDo-rje-sems-dpā, Rinchen-byuṅ-ldan, sNaṅ-ba-mthā-yas, Don-yod-grub-pa. Die darauf folgenden Gottheiten heißen: rTse-lha, Yul-thsa, Pha-lha.

Dieses Lied steht im Manuskript von Khalatse an Stelle des Liedes Nr. I von Tag-ma-cig und wurde schon veröffentlicht im Indian Antiquary, 1901.

Kh. IIa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Blickt zum Hochtal hin!
Wasser, eisig weiß,
Wessen Bier ist's wohl?

2. Quell, der oben rechts
Über Schiefer braust,
Wessen Bier ist's wohl?

3. Blickt zum Tal hinab!
Stromes Wasser blau,
Wessen Bier ist's wohl?

4. Schaut einmal nach links!
Jener Murmelquell,
Wessen Bier ist er?

5. Krug mit Schlangenkopf,
Drin die Gerste schäumt,
Wessen Bier ist das?

Volk: Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

Kh. IIb. Die Brautkäufer, die sieben Brüder, antworten:

1. Seht zum Hochtal hin!
Eisig Wasser ist
Gletscherlöwin Bier.

2. Rechts der Quell, der wild
Über Schiefer braust,
Ist jung Wildschafs Bier.

3. Blickt zum Tal hinab!
Blaues Flüßchen ist
Kleiner Fische Bier.

4. Dort der Murmelquell
Ist das Bier, das speist
Mutterboden rings.

5. Krug mit Schlangenkopf
Birgt das Gerstenbier,
Das uns Brüder nährt.

Volk: Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

Anmerkungen zu Kh. II a und b.

Dieses Lied steht im Manuskript von Khalatse an Stelle des Liedes Nr. II von Tag-ma-cig und wurde schon einmal veröffentlicht im Indian Antiquary, 1901.

Die schönen tibetischen Biertöpfe aus Kupfer oder Messing sind gewöhnlich mit einer Schnauze versehen, die wie ein Schlangenkopf gestaltet ist.

Ein Lied vom Glück.

Kh. XIIa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Federn nicht aus Gold,
Doch vom Vogel wild:
Habt Ihr drei, so gebt!
Habt Ihr nichts, so geht!

2. Fähnchen für den Pfeil,
Doch aus Seide nicht:
Habt Ihr fünf, so gebt!
Habt Ihr nichts, so geht!

3. Fünf Maß Götterkorn,
Doch aus Gerste nicht:
Habt Ihr sie, so gebt!
Habt Ihr nichts, so geht!

Volk: Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

Kh. XIIb. Die Brautkäufer antworten:

1. Vogelfedern drei,
Nicht aus Gold, das sind
Goldne Ähren drei.

2. Fähnchen, fünf zum Pfeil,
Nicht aus Taft, sind wohl
Regenbogen bunt.

3. Fünf Maß Götterkorn,
Die nicht Gerste sind,
Himmelssterne sind's.

Volk: Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

Anmerkungen zu Kh. XII a und b.

Dieses Lied, welches ohne weiteres verständlich ist, ist, ebenso wie die folgenden, noch nicht veröffentlicht worden

Kh. XVIIIa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

1. Sagt den Spruch vom Berge rechts!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

2. Sagt den Spruch vom Berge links!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

3. Von dem Berg dort hinten sprecht!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

4. Von dem Berg dort vor uns sprecht!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

5. Nennt vier gute Ecken uns!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

6. Sagt den Spruch vom schönen Schloß!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

7. Sagt den Spruch vom reichen Dorf!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

8. Sagt den Spruch vom Bauernhof!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

9. Sagt den Spruch vom Mutterland!
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

Das Volk: Wohl, Ihr mächtigen Freunde! Om, möge es Euch wohlgehen!

Kh. XVIIIb. Die Brautkäufer sagen:

1. Berg zur Rechten schwebt
Großer Löwin gleich.
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

2. Berg zur Linken gleicht
Tig'rin, die sich streckt.
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

3. Berg im Rücken gleicht
König auf dem Thron.
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

4. Vorn der Berg ist gleich
Eines Weisen Gruß.
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

5. Adlerweibchen, stark,
Hunderttausend wohl,
Dort das Viereck gleicht.

6. Gott auf Bergeshöh'n
Gleicht das schöne Schloß.
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

7. Und das reiche Dorf
Klugem Dorfgott gleicht.
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

8. Großer Hof ist gleich
Weisem Vatergott.
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!

9. Gutes Mutterland
Muttergöttin gleicht.
Mög's Euch wohlergeh'n!]

Anmerkungen zu Kh. XVIII a und b.

Von diesem Lied fehlt im Manuskript b, 6—9. Der Schreiber oder der Rezitator war von Vers 5 dieses Liedes gleich zu Vers 5 von XIX a abgeirrt.

Die Verse 1—4 reden offenbar von wunderbaren Bergformen, die an allerlei Gestalten erinnerten. Mit dem Viereck in Vers 5 sind wohl die Himmelsrichtungen gemeint, von denen ja andere Lieder meldeten, daß sie von Vögeln bewohnt sind.

Die fehlenden Verse 6—9 habe ich ergänzt in Anlehnung an Kh. I b.

Kh. XIXa. Die Leute vom Hause sagen:

[1. Wen im Hochgebirg
Schützt des Eises Gott?

2. In dem See Ma-dros
Trägt es lHun-grub stark.

3. In dem Sandelwald
Schleicht's der Tig'rin gleich.

4. In dem Waldestal
Schallt's wie Kuckucksruf.]

5. In dem schönen Schloß
Wohnt es Fürsten gleich.

6. Drunt' im Götertal
Ist's der sKra-lo gleich.

7. Wer webt hundertfach
Seid' im Weibertal?

8. Wer schützt in der Nacht
Yack- und Pferdestall?

9. Auf dem Glücksberg steh'n
Speisenäpfe drei.

10. Auf dem Shog-yaṅs-Plan
Tanzt es neunfach schnell.

11. Auf des Nordlands Grund
Zähmt der Bursch den Yack.

12. Felsenspalte beut
Dreifach leck'res Mal.

13. Auf dem Rabenfels
Blüh'n die Jüngferlein.

Das Volk: He, seid so gut und sagt uns, weshalb so ausgezeichnete Männer und Rennpferde in unser beglücktes Dorf kommen? Das ist ja ganz erstaunlich!

Kh. XIXb. Die sieben Brüder (Brautkäufer) sagen:

1. Wenn im Hochgebirg
Eisgott wen beschützt,
Ist's der Brüder Gott.

2. Wenn im See Ma-dros
Hun-grub jemand trägt,
Ist's der Brüder Nix.

3. Wenn im Sandelwald
Eine Tig'rin schleicht,
Unser Wachthund ist's.

4. Wenn im Waldesgrund
Kuckucksruf erschallt,
Ist das unser Ruf.

5. Wenn ein hohes Schloß
Steht auf Wetterfels,
Ist's unser Schloß.

6. Wenn im Götterial
sKra-lo Schutz ausübt,
War's auf unsern Rat.

7. Wenn im Weibertal
Seide wird gewebt,
War's für unser Kleid.

8. Yack und Pferdestall,
Wurden sie geschützt,
War's auf unsern Wunsch.

9. Auf des Glücksbergs Höh'
Die drei Näpfe sind
Unsres Knappen Gab'!

[10. Wird auf Shog-yaṅs-Plan
Neunfach schnell getannt,
Ist's der Brüder Lauf.

11. Zähmt auf Nordlands Grund
Junger Bursch den Yack,
War es unsre Tat.

12. Steht im Felsgeklüft
Dreimal leckre Speis',
Ist's der Knappen Gab'!

13. Blüh'nde Jungfräulein
Auf dem Rabenstein
Unsre Bräute sind's!]

Anmerkungen zu Kh. XIX a und b.

Auch dieses Lied ist nicht vollständig erhalten. Die fehlenden Verse a, 1—4 ließen sich leicht aus b, 1—4 ergänzen. Den fehlenden Schluß b, 10—13 habe ich im Sinne der vorhergehenden Verse ergänzt. Die Brautkäufer meinen ihren göttlichen Ursprung am besten dadurch klarzustellen, daß sie von allem, was in Natur und Haus vor sich geht, behaupten, daß es sich auf sie beziehe oder von ihnen veranlaßt sei. sKra-lo in V. 6 ist offenbar eine Schutzgottheit. Der Name bedeutet vielleicht „Die Lockige". Die Shog-yaṅs-Ebene in V. 10 ist mir noch nicht bekannt; aber das Nordland in V. 11 ist die bekannte Byaṅ-thaṅ-Ebene. Es ist klar, daß der Abschluß mit diesem Lied in Khalatse längst nicht so befriedigend ist wie der Abschluß mit obigem Nr. XIX in Tag-ma-cig.

* *

Schlußbemerkung.

Es besteht die Absicht, diesem ersten Teil der Hochzeitslieder auch noch einen zweiten und dritten Teil in einer besonderen Veröffentlichung folgen zu lassen. Sollte sich diese noch etwas verzögern, so liegt das an der Schwierigkeit der Übersetzung. Für den ersten Teil lagen zwei Manuskripte vor. Der zweite Teil kann nur auf Grund eines einzigen übersetzt werden, und dieser Umstand bringt bei der Altertümlichkeit der Sprache große Unsicherheit mit sich. Der tibetische Text aller drei Teile mit nebenstehender wörtlicher Übersetzung soll demnächst in einer wissenschaftlichen Zeitschrift erscheinen.

* * *

Steinzeichnungen.

Tafel I.

Nr. 1, 2, 3. Die „weiße Löwin mit den türkisfarbenen Locken". Personifikation des Gletschers (vgl. Photogr.).
„ 4. Kesars Pferd (rKyaṅ-byuṅ-dbyer-pa).
„ 5. Kesar zu Pferd auf der Antilopenjagd, zu beiden Seiten Stūpas, darüber Zweige des heiligen Wacholderbaumes. Unbekanntes Emblem (Viereck mit Diagonalen). (Vgl. Photogr.)

Tafel II.

Nr. 6. Die „Wunschkuh des Paradieses" ('aDod-'ajoi-ba). (Vgl. Photogr.) Darunter ein Moschustier. Letztere Zeichnung wurde später zerstört.
„ 7, 10. Der „alte große Steinbock". Personifikation des Felsen. Über Nr. 7 eine Weihgabe.
„ 8. Zwei Garuḍa (Khyuṅ), sogenannte „Ohren-garuḍa"
„ 9. Der gehörnte Agu Pa-saṅ-ldan-ru-skyes.
„ 12. Derselbe Agu im Kampf.
„ 11. Zwei Wasserschlangen (Nāga).
„ 13. Priester der alten Religion, sogenannter On-po.
„ 14, 16. Religiöse Tänze. Die Tänzer stehen in Gänsereihe hintereinander. In Nr. 16 der Führer außer der Reihe.
„ 15. Bieropfer der Brautkäufer. Drei Bierkrüge, am oberen Rand mit Butterstückchen (ka-lcor) verziert. Der Führer der Brautkäufer hat einen mit Fähnchen verzierten Pfeil in seiner Rechten.

Tafel III.

Nr. 17, 18. Weihgaben, Mehl und Kuchen.
„ 19. Kleiner Altar der alten Religion.
„ 20. Wahrscheinlich ein Dos-mo (vgl. Photogr.).
„ 21. Weihgabe von Blumen oder Wacholderzweigen.
„ 22. Der Ohrengaruḍa (rNa-khyuṅ), davor ein Fuchs, dahinter unlesbare Buchstaben.
„ 23. Männliche und weibliche Geschlechtsorgane (Bitte um Kindersegen).
„ 24. Spindeln oder Formen der Yoni (Bitten um Kindersegen.)
„ 25. Kleine Ziege im Hinterleib der großen (Bitte um Kindersegen).
„ 26. Spindel oder Yoni.
„ 27, 31, 35. Sonnensymbole.
„ 36. Mondsymbol.
„ 28, 29, 30. Spiele bei religiösen Festen (Erntefest). 28, 29 auf dem Pferd stehen, 30 ein fabelhaftes Tier wird dargestellt, indem über mehrere Leute ein Tuch geworfen wird.

Nr. 32, 33, 34, 37. Formen des Svastika. 32, 33, 37 sind Formen der offiziellen Bon-Religion. 34 ist die Form des Buddhismus sowohl wie die der Mythologie der Sagenwelt.
„ 38, 39. Hände (Bezeichnung des Mittwoch?).

Herkunft der Felszeichnungen.

Tafel I: Sämtlich vom Indusufer bei Khalatse.
„ II: Nr. 6 und 10 vom Indusufer bei Khalatse, Nr. 7 und 11 vom Lithmyed-Paß in Zaṅs-dkar, Nr. 8 von sBa-lu-mkhar, Nr. 9 von A-ci-na-thaṅ, Nr. 12 von Khalatse, Nr. 15 von Kesars Sattel bei Khalatse, Nr. 14 und 16 von mDá.
„ III: Nr. 17 von sNye-tse in Zaṅs-dkar, Nr. 18 und 19 vom Lithmyed-Paß in Zaṅs-dkar, Nr. 20 von Hu-nu-pa-ta, Nr. 21 von mDo-mkhar, Nr. 22, 23 und 25 von 'aBru-gui-dabs-khor, Nr. 24 von Khyuṅ-raṅ-byon, Nr. 26 von Lahul, Nr. 27, 28 und 29 am Indus bei Ha-ri-tse, Nr. 30 von Khalatse, Nr. 31, 34 und 36 von Nyer-ma, Nr. 32, 33 und 37 von Khalatse. Nr. 35 von Pan-jid in Zaṅs-dkar, Nr. 38 und 39 von Khalatse.

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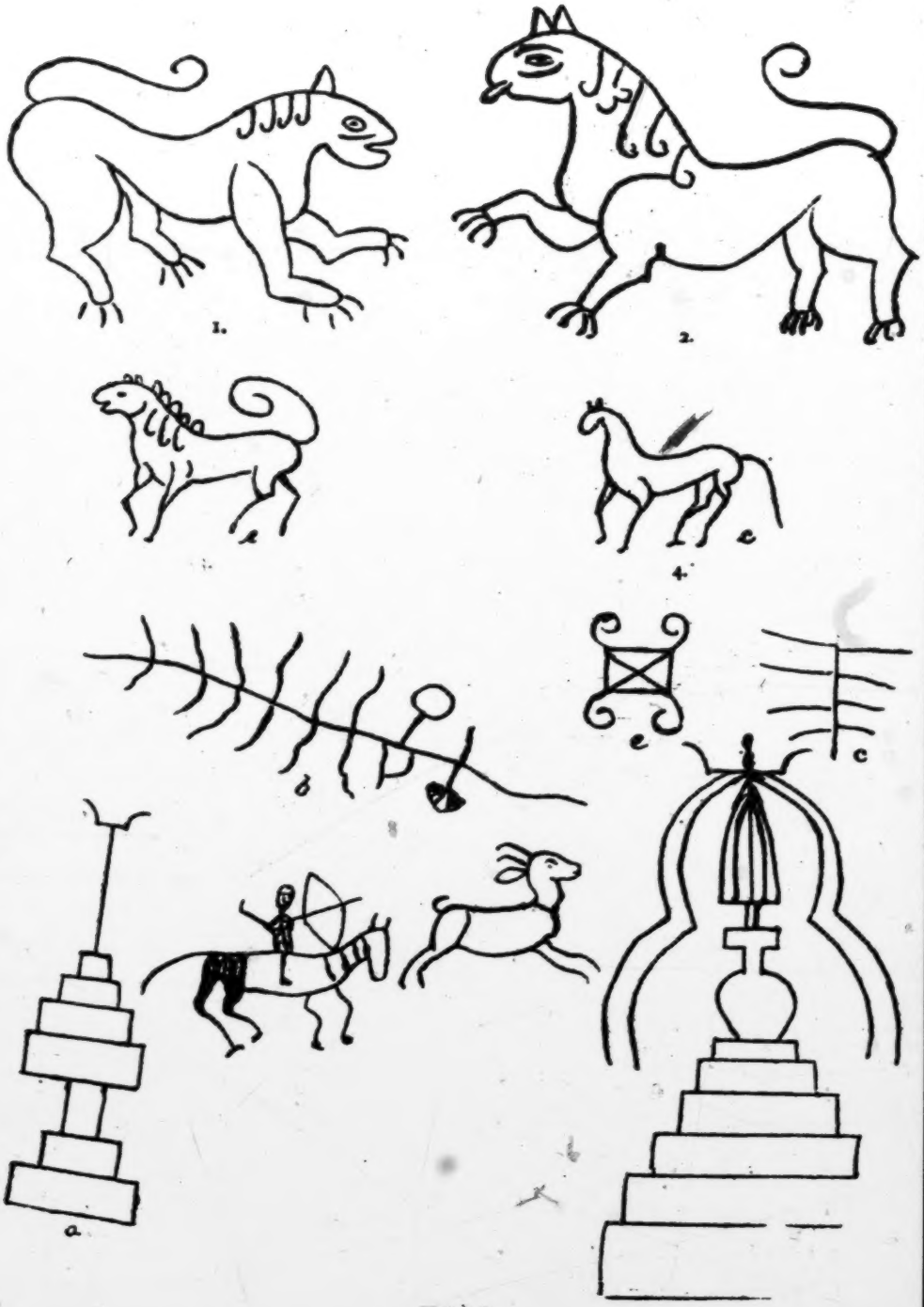
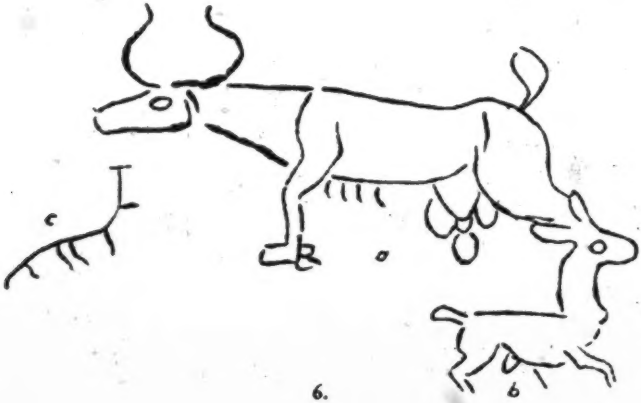


Tafel I



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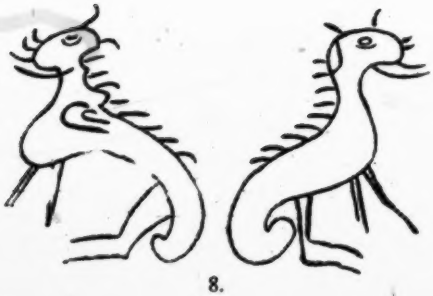

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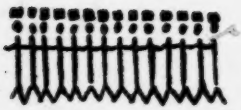

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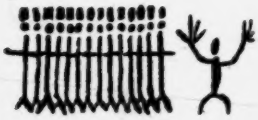

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Tafel II.

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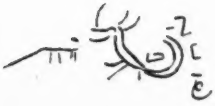
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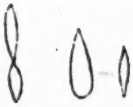
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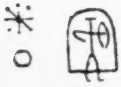
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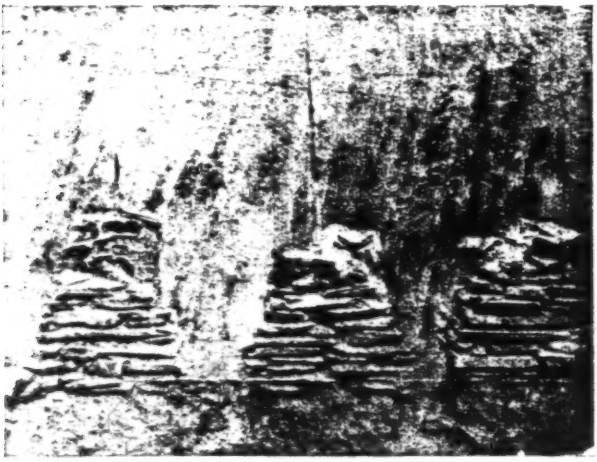
Tafel III.

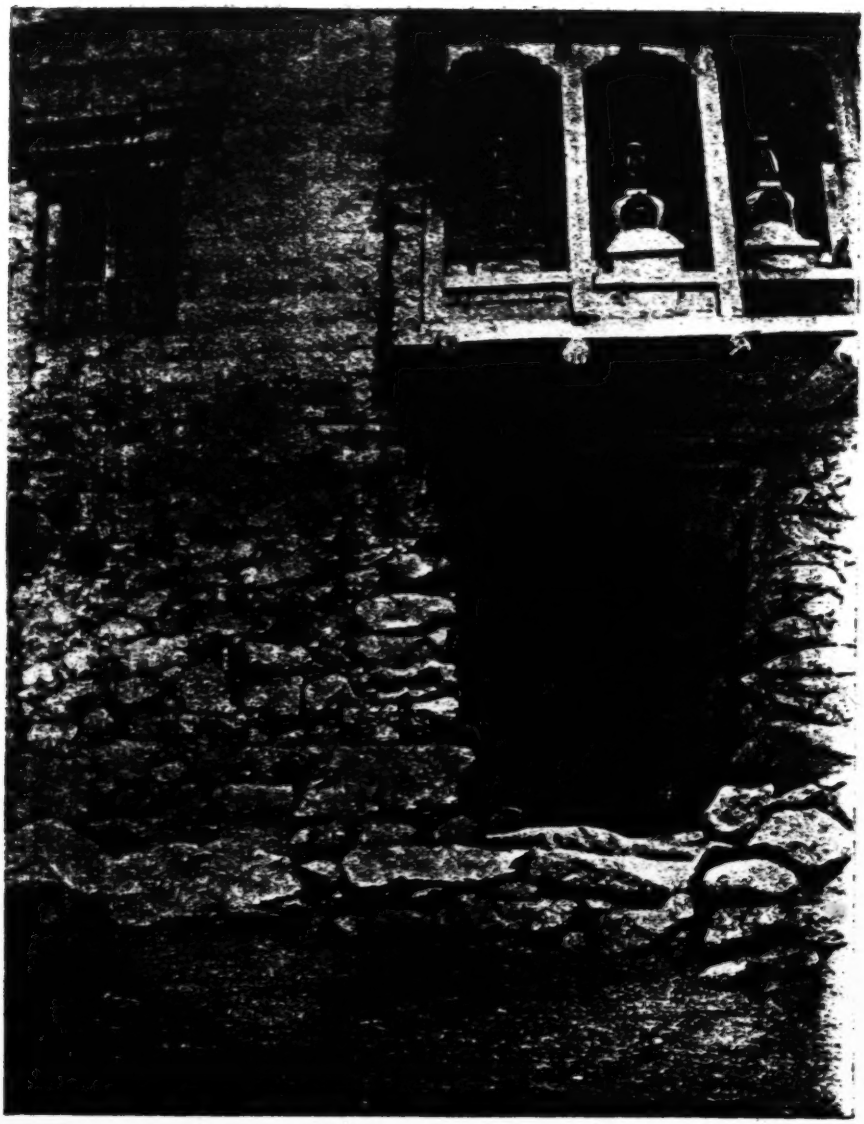
Nr. 1. Tanz der Brautkäufer (Zeichnung eines eingebornen Künstlers in Ladakh).

Die Brautkäufer (hier fünf statt sieben) sind kenntlich an ihren hohen goldenen Hüten, die sie als „Götterkinder" kennzeichnen. Der Führer hat einen Pfeil mit Fähnchen in der Hand. Sie tanzen, indem sie einen Schal wie eine Schlange über die Schulter gleiten lassen. Musik: Zwei Oboebläser, zwei Trommler mit je zwei Kesselpauken und zwei Tamburinschläger. Das Volk schlägt den Takt mit den Händen. Familie der Braut unter dem Zelt. Bierkrüge aus Ton und Messing.



Nr. 2. Zerfallene Altäre, die den drei Weltreichen gewidmet und wahrscheinlich blau, rot und weiß gestrichen waren. Skinlingtal bei Khalatse.

Nr. 3. Felszeichnungen am Indus bei Khalatse.
Buddhistische Stupas, zwischen ihnen ein kleiner gehörnter Altar der vorbuddhistischen Religion. Zweige des Kaperstrauches.



Nr. 4. Rig-'adzin-mgon-po von Gad-pa bei Leh.

Drei Stupas von blauer, weißer und roter Farbe. Weiterleben der ebenso gefärbten Altäre der alten Religion ivi Buddhismus.

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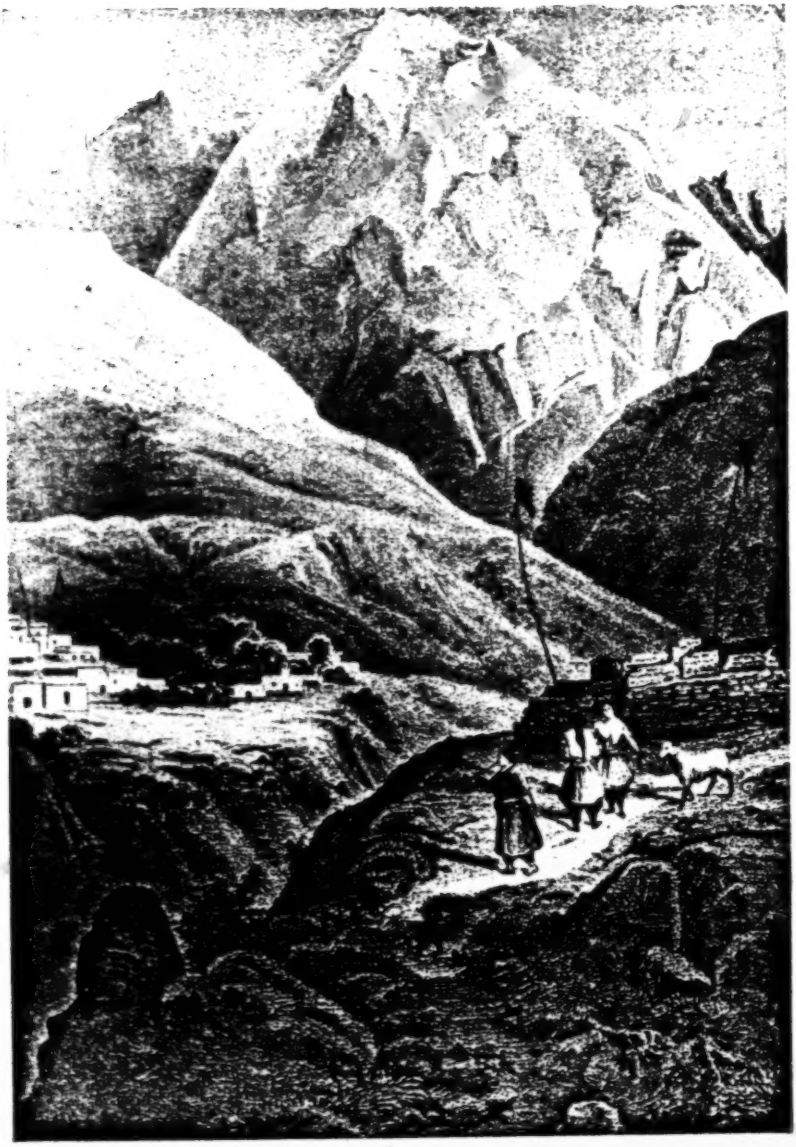
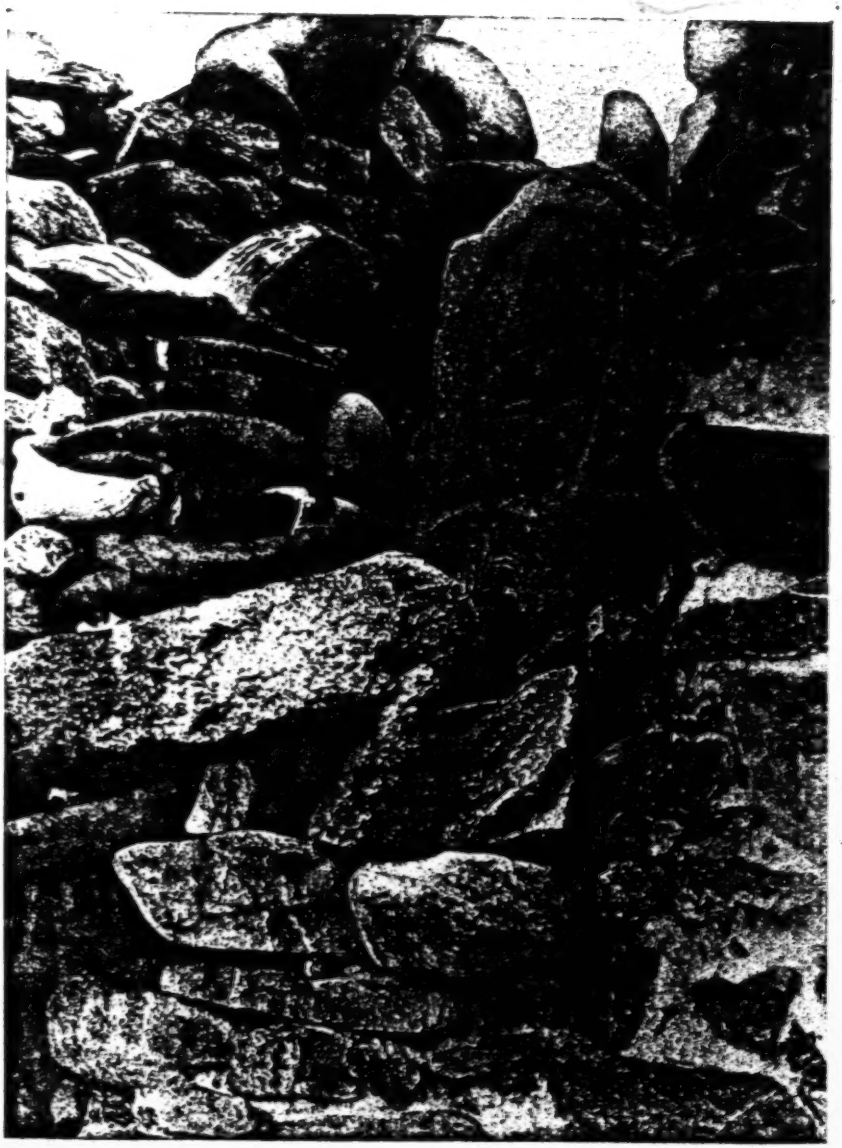
Nr. 5. Blick in den tibetischen Teil des oberen Satletschtales.
Roher Altar der vorbuddhistischen Religion.
Zeichnung des Prinzen Waldemar von Preußen (1845).



Nr. 6. Der heilige Berg Purgyul am oberen Satletsch.

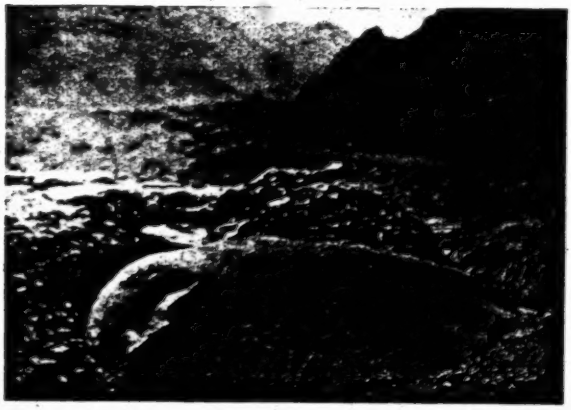
Er gehört wie der Kailāsa zum tibetischen Olymp. Oben wohnen die Götter und die erlösten Menschen. Zeichnung des Prinzen Waldemar von Preußen (1845).



Nr. 7. Verlassenes Dorf dGon-pa bei Leh.

Rohe alte Skulptur einer Bodhisatva, welche an einem Kultplatz der vorbuddhistischen Religion aufgestellt wurde. Deshalb werden ihr noch immer die Hörner des Steinbocks und Wacholderzweige als Opfer dargebracht. Auch wird ihr der Mund mit Butter bestrichen.

Nr. 8. Felszeichnung vom Brückenschloß bei Khalatse.
Kesar als Bogenschütze zu Pferde jagt eine Antilope. Auf beiden Seiten buddhistische Stupas. Darüber ein Zweig des heiligen Wacholderbaumes (Shug-pa).



Nr. 9. Felszeichnung der weißen Löwin mit den Türkisenlocken (Gletscher). Felszeichnung vom Indus bei Khalatse.

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Nr. 10. Felszeichnung vom Indus bei Khalatse.

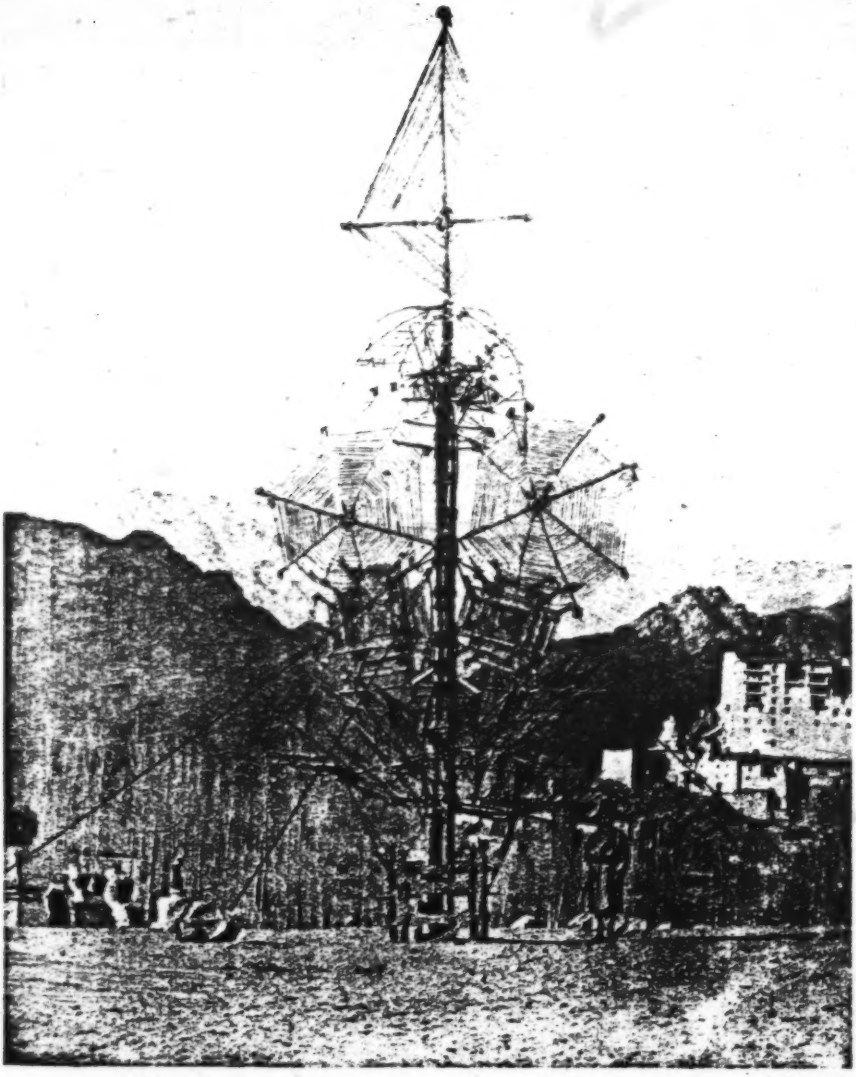
Die Wunschkuh (rib. 'aDod-'ajol-ba). Sie gewährt im Himmel der Götter alle Wünsche.

Nr. 11. Felsen bei dem jetzt mohammedanischen Dorf Doń-ga in Purig.

Die Zeichnungen stammen zum Teil noch aus der buddhistischen Zeit des Dorfes. Die vielen Steinböcke, auch aus neuester Zeit, stellen Dankgebete an Kesar für Kindersegen dar.

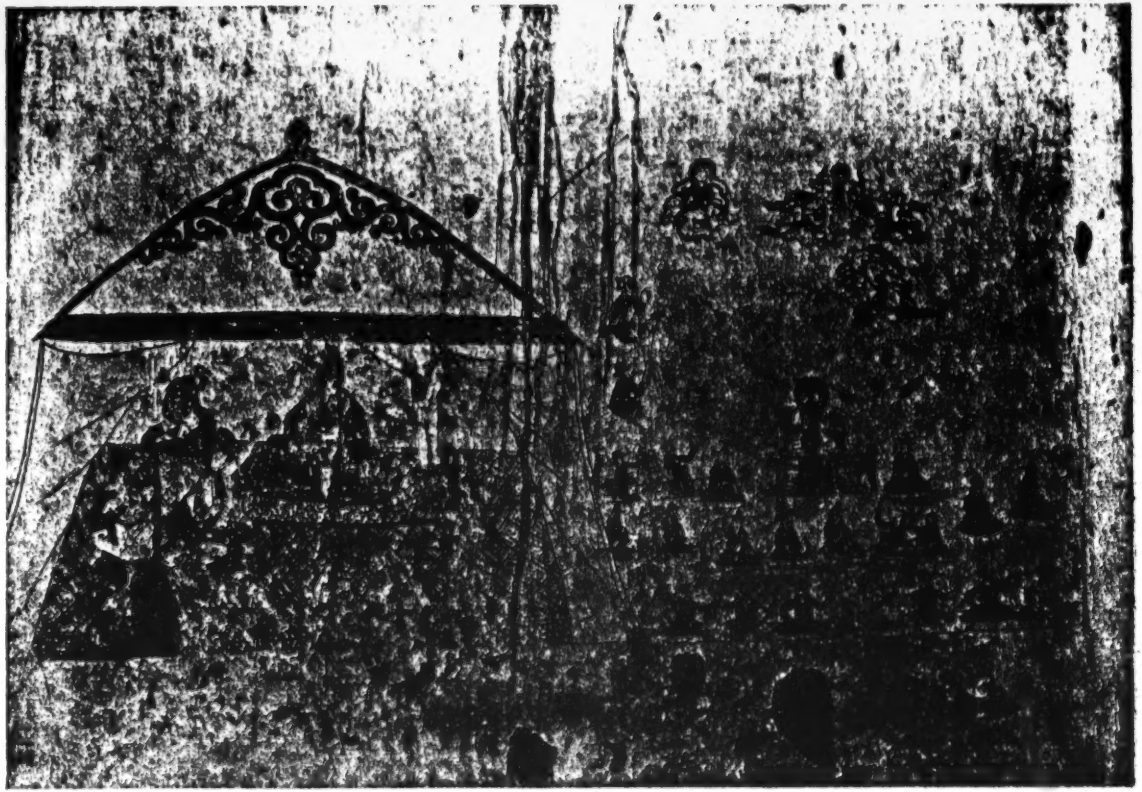
Nr. 12. Felsen bei dem jetzt mohammedanischen Dorf Don-ga in Pu-rig.
Die Zeichnungen stammen zum Teil noch aus der buddhistischen Zeit des Dorfes.
Die Steinböcke stellen Dankgebete an Kesar für Kindersegen dar.

Nr. 13. Ein heiliger Ort auf dem Ro-thang-Paß (Lahul).
Die Quelle des Biasflusses. Viele aufrecht gestellte spitze Steine.



Nr. 14. Großes Dos-mo vom Dos-mo-Fest in Leh.
Die bösen Geister des Winters und der Krankheiten fangen sich in den Spinnweben ähnlichen Gebilden. Nach der Bannung werden die Gerüste zerstört.

Nr. 15. Alte Wandmalerei aus Chaṅs-pa (Byams-pa) bei Leh.
Szene aus der Kesarsage. Das Königsschloß von Glin. Darüber Gottheiten in den Wolken.



Nr. 16. Alte Wandmalerei aus Chaṅs-pa (Byams-pa) bei Leh.

Rechts: Szene aus der Kesarsage. König Kesar mit den 18 Agus. Drei Frauen von rechts. In den Wolken Gottvater und Gottmutter und deren Kinder (?). Links: Szene aus dem Dograkrieg.

Nr. 17. Alte geflickte Maske aus Kunawar.
Stellte offenbar auch einen Agu (Helden) dar.

Nr. 18. Maske eines Agu (Helden) aus Leh.
(Der Helm ist mit Fähnchen besteckt.)

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SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN LAHUL, KĀNGRA DISTRICT, PANJĀB.

By Walter Asboe.

The chief social functions in Lahul occur during the first two months of the Tibetan year which begins in February. When making detailed enquiries about the various festivals held by the people, my informant began his account by saying: "In ancient times humans and gods mixed freely with one another, but in those far off days, men were grossly ignorant. In course of time they grew intelligent, taking no heed of the gods, and placing no faith in them. The gods, however, on realizing that the humans were becoming too wise for them, grew jealous and made themselves invisible. They then took vengeance upon humans by causing their crops to fail, bringing disease upon the cattle, and doing all manner of harm. In this way the gods caused men to put their faith in them; since when, everyone down the ages has endeavoured to propitiate them." 796 773

With this statement as a background for an account of social functions in Western Tibet, one can the more readily understand the meticulous attention paid to the performance of numerous sacrifices of food to the gods. 796

New Year Festival.

The New Year Festival begins on the tenth to the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the Tibetan calendar, care being taken that the New Year Festival shall not fall on a Saturday or a Sunday. This festival lasts seven days

On the evening of the first day, the ceremony of burning the *Haldra*[1] (bundles of juniper sticks) at the cross-roads is performed. 796

The various offerings made to the gods during the *haldra* ceremony are :— 782

1. *Haldra*—a bundle of sticks of varying sizes, made out of pieces cut from the cypress-like juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*) and tied together with willow twigs. Three dried flowers are also inserted between the sticks.
2. *Mar-zan*—barley flour, salt, butter, and water mixed together, and hollowed so as to allow melted butter to be poured in it, the whole being placed in a bell metal vessel.
3. *Kal-chor*—a beer pot containing beer. On each side of the spout a thumb print (*tshod*) of butter and flour is made, and one at a point where the handle of the pot meets the rim.
4. *Sang-shū*—a metal vessel containing juniper berries, and young pointed sprouts of this tree. Upon these a few live coals (charcoal) are placed resulting in a smoke with a pungent odour. This is used at almost all sacred ceremonies. (See illustrations below).

[1] *Haldra*, also *hal-do* in Lahul Tibetan.—H. I. S.

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Lahul

796 782 The New Year Festival celebrations begin when the *haldra* is placed leaning obliquely against the wall of the living room. One *haldra* is made for each male in the household, though none are provided for the women. This operation completed, the *mar-zan* is offered and scattered before the *haldra*, after which follows the *kal-chor* offering which is sprinkled with a small branch of the juniper. The *sang-shū* is in the meanwhile lit and kept burning.

[787] The villagers have now to await instructions from the *Tsis-pa* (*T. rtsis-pa*, the man who calculates the readings of the Tibetan calendar) for the propitious moment for emerging from their houses. When this notice is served, the remainder of the *mar-zan* offering is transferred to the

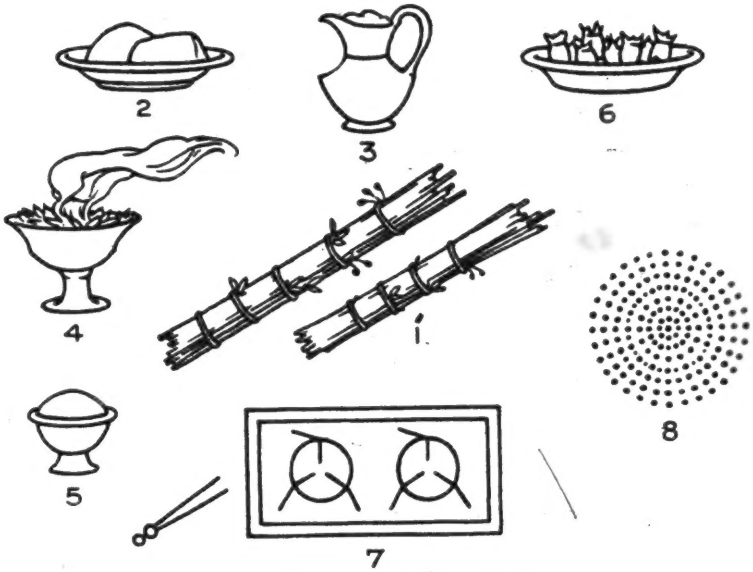

FIG. 1.—OFFERINGS AT THE *haldra* CEREMONY.

1. *haldra*; 2. *mar-zan*; 3. *kal-chor*; 4. *sang-shū*; 5. *rai-gen*; 6. *mar-mar-zad*; 7. *tab-ka*; 8. *shis-kar-appa*.

rai-gens (? T. *ra-gan*, brass vessel) (5), a cup made of various metals. This is then placed in the fold of the Tibetan robe above the waistband, one such cup being carried by the sons in each house. The *mar-mar-zad* (6) offering consisting of barley, juniper berries, and sprouts, and butter mixed together, and tied up with yarn. Round small pieces of beech bark is similarly secreted in the folds of the dress. Finally, the *haldra* is lit from the family hearth or *tab-ka* (7) [= T. *thab*] and all emerge from their respective houses. At a certain field called *rūt*, one *mar-mar-zad* is offered; then at another spot further on a second *mar-mar-zad* is scattered, and about 200 yards further still the third offering of *mar-mar-zad* is made.

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Lahul

When all the male members of the community have assembled at a given spot, their lighted *haldras* are all piled in a heap to form a large bonfire. Whilst this is burning, the *rai-gen* offering is produced, and pills of this are scattered towards a sacred juniper tree, whilst the remainder of this offering is thrown to the blacksmiths engaged to beat the village drums. This done, the males, each seizing a burning stick from the bonfire, form themselves into a circle. Holding the blazing sticks, one of the number beating time the while, says in a sing-song voice: *Hai sha mai sha* (a magic spell with no meaning that I can discover), whereupon all repeat the spell in unison. 796 782 [789]

Old man (in the crowd): *Kar-dang rana ba-wa*—(a curse on a Rāṇa of Kardang who in ancient times oppressed the Lahulis).[1]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Gus-pa rana sho sha (a curse on a Rāṇa at Gus).[2]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Chū-mig' cham chim (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Lang-ma pan-pōn (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Then in great excitement, with drums beating, and shrill whistling with fingers placed to the mouth, all the lighted sticks are thrown hither and thither. The cup which contained the *rai-gen* offering is now filled with snow. This is carried in the hand and deposited on a shelf in one of the apartments of the house. When the snow in this receptacle melts, the water is poured into the family ration of soup or tea.

The same night on which the *haldra* ceremony is held, the first circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions is made on the wall of each house. For each day a similar circle is described until the seventh day. This is called *Shis-kar-appa* (8).

Second day (*Shil*).—At daybreak, a woman in the house must rise and make a circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the *shis-kar-appa*. Whilst performing this duty she says: *Chod, chod* (Eat this offering), addressing the god of the New Year. She next sprinkles the *kal-chor* offering with a small branch of juniper. Then, offering the following prayer, she continues making her butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the wall:—

Rgyal-po Bal-la-raza
(Oh King Balaraza)

Ser-gi ka-i bara chod gyō (*Ser* = T. *gser*, gold)
(Grant me a pillar of gold);

Mul-gi ka-i bara chod gyō (*Mul* = T. *dngul*, silver)
(Grant me a pillar of silver);

Yu-i ka-i dung-ma bara chod gyō (*yu-i* = T. *gyu*, turquoise: *dung-ma* = T. *gdung-ma*, beam—H. L. S.)
(Grant me a cross-beam of turquoise);

[1] Probably means "Shoot (ba-ga) the rāṇa of Kardang."
[2] Probably means "May the rāṇa of Gus be destroyed,"—H. L. S.

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Hara mu-tig' bara chod gyō
(Grant me a pearl necklace);

Dukah po-shel-gyi bara chod gyō
(Grant me two large beads of coral);

Rin-po-che-i sna-tshogs-gi bara chod gyō
(Grant me various kinds of precious jewels);

Lu-gu dro-mar ya-so chan-gyi bara chod gyō
(Grant me a sheep with red and yellow on the breast, and black and white on its hind-quarters, and one with upper teeth);

Gi-ling sta-i bara chod gyō
(Grant me a unicorn).

Third day (*Tshod*).—At daybreak, two men from each house go to the village sacred tree taking Flour and water offering (*Drang-rgyas*), *Kal-chor*, Butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gyen-tsi*) about 3 inches long, *Sang-shū*.

When offering these they say :—

Chod, chod yul-la dai-ling dai-dai kyen (Oh worshipful Dayling god);
Innog' sol-tang ra-zhi (May the offering never be exhausted);

Hing zhog' za-tang tung tang ra-zhi (May we always have food and drink);
Lo lag' zhi panta bir-zhi (May we have a happy and prosperous year);

Nad' don tsa-i gulai kuat-chi want-i-ra (May disease of every kind be abolished).
Chod (saying this, parts of offering are scattered).

Chod, chod yul-la dai dai kor-shig' yor-shig' kyen (Oh worshipful god and your hosts):
A-kung-chi so-a-ti bon-cha tad-da (May not a single tooth fall out of my mouth);

Bu shag'-chi kra ti-ki bon-cha tad-da (May not a hair fall from my head);
Bang dog' tsō-ag'-ti zuk dai tad-da (May not a thorn pierce my foot).

Ma shes ma rig' tham-chad zod-par sol-tira (If I have erred unwittingly by failing to pay you reverence, please forgive).
Chod (saying this, more offerings are scattered).

Fourth Day (*Bang-mur*).—A little before sunset, all the villagers assemble before a neighbour's house, each householder carrying *mur* (a vessel containing sprouts of juniper, and balls of butter the size of a tennis ball), and a plate holding five measures of roasted barley (*buk*), also a butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gi-ra-bo*). Whilst offering these the prayer already quoted is offered to the village god. The remainder of the roasted barley and butter are then mixed together in a large vessel, and divided amongst the villagers who take it to their homes.

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When darkness falls, all make their way to another house in the village, each householder carrying a pot of beer, offering part to the village god, and sharing the remainder with his neighbours. The men folk then join in chorus singing their New Year Festival hymn addressed to the local god. Translated into English, it runs thus :—

A.

"In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of gold was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the celestial regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Ō-pam* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a silver throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the central regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Tsan Rgyab-ri* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of turquoise was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the nether regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The serpent demon *Hlu-bu-nor* sat there. (*Hlu*, T. *Klu*. S. *nāga*.—H. L. S.)
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a conch shell throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The Ruler of men was seated there.
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

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In ancient times the age was propitious;
When a throne of glass was erected;
Someone was seated on that throne.
Who was seated there?
Rejoicing relations and friends were seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed are they who sit in the midst of the throne."

Then follows an invocation to the local god, sung to a different tune:—

B.

"In a house like this may a son be born to me;
May I be preserved from attack by enemies and robbers;
May I get a field large enough to be ploughed by a hundred yoke of oxen; and may no hail fall upon it;
May I receive beer as sweet as treacle to dissipate disease;
May I receive a hundred thousand thrones of gold;
May the All-conquering *Shakya Thubpa* who delivers men from hell, lead us in this life and the next into the path to heaven.
May I have a benign father wearing an ear ornament on his person, a mother who suckles me, a loving sister, and a hundred thousand thrones of gold.
May I obtain a dwelling good for my soul, a loving wife, a good watch dog to guard me day and night, and a hundred thousand thrones of gold.
May I get a swift pony, heedless of ups and downs, a good tent, and a hundred thousand relatives as useful to me as my own shoulder."

This invocation sung, another hymn to the local deity is raised by the assembled people:—

C.

"At the summit of the Eastern hills the trunks of the beeches have grown;
There the king of the birds of prey settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Southern hills the trunks of the sandal tree have grown;
There the king of the peacocks settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Western hills, the reeds have grown;
There the talking parrot settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Northern hills,
The trunks of the willow trees have grown.
There the king of the sparrows settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

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796 At the summit of the celestial mountains,
The broom has grown.
533 There the ravens settle.
May we prosper, may we prosper."

796 On the fifth and sixth days of the New Year Festival, no special ceremony is performed, except that the flour-and-water thumb impression is made on the wall by the housewife.

782 On the seventh day the ceremony of ringing out the New Year Festival is performed. This ceremony is called *Appa Bar-cha*. About 10 o'clock in the morning, two women from the house, walking slowly, approach the flour-and-butter thumb impressions on the wall (these being held to be the temporary residence of the god of the New Year). One carries *Sang-shū* and the *Kal-chor*, the other, a vessel with flour mixed in water. When before the god, the woman carrying the flour and water dips a branch of juniper tree in the mixture, and makes three vertical marks over the circles, and then three similar marks on the outside lintel of each door of the house. On the outermost door (the front door as we would say) the *Kal-chor* is sprinkled and offered simultaneously with this prayer :—

D.

"About this time you came to us.
Until you arrive again at this time next year,
May neither disease nor fever overtake us."

With this prayer, the god is dismissed. Just before sunset of this last day of the New Year festivities, each householder takes three large unleavened breads, about the size of a dinner plate, to a neighbour's house. One of the breads has a representation of a sun and a moon in flour. These breads and a *drang-ryyas* are then offered to the village god, portions of it being consumed by the people.

Interchange of feasts goes on amongst the villages from the 12th month, and the 10th–15th day, until the 1st month and the 3rd–5th day of the Buddhist year. Only when this ceremony of *Appa Bar-cha* has been performed, do the villagers have free intercourse with one another in the matter of giving and returning feasts. A feast during the New Year celebrations consists of :—in the morning, three buckwheat cakes, three cakes of leavened wheat flour and butter, and tea per head ; and in the evening, meat, rice, vegetables, beer and ardent spirits.

Immediately following the New Year celebrations, a social function called *Go-tsi* is celebrated (1st month, 3rd to 5th day). The ceremony of *Thars* (Saved) is then performed.

At sunrise the villagers take a *drang-ryyas* with an effigy of a ram upon it, and sacrifice it to the village god. Then follows another offering of *Mar-gyen-tsi* (a ram made of butter), a pot of beer (*kal-chor*) and also the *Sang-shū* (which is an inseparable part of the sacrifices offered in this country). To offer these the various households have each to supply one plate of barley flour, and 2 oz. of butter. When the ceremony of *Thars* is thus completed, the people are allowed access to the houses of other villagers where a similar ceremony has already been performed.

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At dusk a large party of youths and young women goes in a body to a neighbouring village, and after copious draughts of beer and ardent spirits, the assembled crowd dividing into two parties, compete with each other in singing songs, the winners being those who can remember the words of the entire song. That same night the keeper of the village god (*Hla-bdag-pa*) with a companion (*Hla-u-pa*), having adorned themselves with appropriate festal robes, remain all night in front of a fire lit in the village temple. Next morning the father of a male born in the old year has to give a feast to the community. Then five or seven men and one woman, suitably attired, go to an appointed place where the rest of the villagers have already assembled. There the parents of male children born in the previous year have each to distribute to the community at least nine measures of barley flour, and 40 pounds of beer. An additional gift of one bottle of ardent spirits has to be presented to the *Hla-bdag-pa* and *Hla-u-pa*. All then return to their houses, where their share of the food is consumed.

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Before emerging from their houses to complete the ceremony of *Go-tsi*, a sacrifice of meat and salt (*tshō-sha*), bread (*ta-gir*), biscuit (*khur-ra*), roasted barley flour (*tsam-pa*), entrails of a sheep (*gyu-ma*), wheat flour and butter (*pai-mar*) is made. This done, one woman is deputed to carry the *kul-chor*, whilst three men carrying a skin of a sheep dressed to represent a real sheep (*kul-tsi*), a bundle of sticks (*kaldra*) and a *drang-ryyas* between them, walk through the village saying, "*Hai sharā-gai ri-lo*" (a boy has been born).

In the meantime the *Hla-bdag-pa*, with his escort, carrying a *kaldra* and *kul-chor* appears on the scene, when roasted barley and balls of butter (*mur*), *kul-chor*, and *drang-ryyas* are sacrificed. Then follows the ceremony of shooting arrows at the *kul-tsi*. The skin of a sheep is stuffed with juniper, and small pieces of sticks with flowers attached are stuck in the skin to represent a live sheep. The *Hla-bdag-pa*, dressed in black, shoots seven, nine, or eleven, times with a set of four arrows, and all dance to the accompaniment of the village drums beaten by the blacksmiths.

At the festival of *Ak-ring* (1st month, 18th–19th day) a sheep is sacrificed by the usual method in Lahul, of tearing out its heart and casting it before the local deity, and much drinking of beer and ardent spirits is indulged in. In the evening is a function called *La-murts*, when the males of the village join in singing the following song :—

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E.

"They say,

This year will be a prosperous one,
On the plain a fire is burning;
There is a yak on the plain,
There is a *dzo-po* on the plain.
There is a ram on the plain.
There is a house on the plain.
There is a man carrying a load of barley until a sore breaks out on his back.
There is a man cutting meat until the wood block wears out.
There is man ladling out melted butter until the iron ladle wears out.
With snow on his head to the height of one cubit, a man goes into his house."

WALTER ASBOE.—*Social Functions in Lahul, Kāngra District, Panjāb.*

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FIG. 2.—OFFERINGS FOR THE *Go-tsi* FESTIVAL.

1a AND 1b. *Drang-rgyas*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH; 2. *Haldra*, JUNIPER STICKS; 3. *Kal-tsi*, SHEEPSKIN TARGET; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 5. *Pui-mar*, WHEAT, FLOUR AND BUTTER; 6. *Tshā-sha*, PIECE OF MEAT AND SALT; 7. *Mar*, BALLS OF BUTTER ON ROASTED BARLEY GRAIN; 8. *Ta-gir*, BREAD; 9. *Gya-ma*, INTESTINES OF A SHEEP; 10. *Tsom-pa*, BARLEY FLOUR; 11. *Khur-ra*, BUTTER-AND-FLOUR CAKES; 13. *Mar-gyen-tsi*, OFFERING OF AN EFFIGY OF A RAM (BUTTER); 14. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 15. *Drang-rgyas-ra-bo-chen*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH OFFERING SURMOUNTED BY AN EFFIGY OF A RAM (BUTTER); 16. *Sang-sha*, INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 17. *Pous*, A BUCKWHEAT CAKE TARGET TO REPRESENT SHEEP.

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796 After another bout of beer drinking, the youths career round the village, climbing the roofs of the houses and calling *Tsa-tsai-mo-la* down the chimneys. The male members who happen to be in the houses at the time, emerge carrying a plate of flour, and join the rest of the revellers. The flour thus collected is given to the children, who make dough effigies of a ram and present each householder with one. In return for this, the children receive flour and butter with which to hold feasts amongst themselves.

796 78r The next day the ceremony of *Buna* takes place. Each woman in the village then takes a cake of buckwheat, and *mur* (sprouts of juniper and balls of butter) to a neighbour's house, where part is sacrificed and part consumed by the assembled people. On this occasion, when the food is being distributed, the children scramble for pieces of food thrown to them.

796 The festival of *Gam-tsa* which occurs during the 1st month and the 18th–19th day, is the appointed time for arrow-shooting competitions. The target is made of a huge buckwheat cake 1¾ feet long, 1 foot wide, and 4 inches thick, with horns and tail to represent a sheep. This is divided into three sections. All then shoot their arrows simultaneously. If an archer hits the left-hand section, he receives that part as his share, similarly the middle section. The right-hand section of the cake whether hit by an arrow or not, is divided amongst all the archers.

The festival of the She-Demon's New Year (*Lai-tsog'*) in the 1st month and the 27th day, is marked by an orgy of beer drinking, and the burning of straw in front of the houses. The duty of lighting the straw devolves upon the womenfolk, who sing a maledictory song to the she-
796 533 demon, whose physical proportions are supposed to be anything but flattering. They sing :—

F.

"The *Lai-tsog'* she-demon *Drang-gog-ma* who has breasts reaching to her waist, and hair reaching to her heels,
Go away.
Oh, *Drai-ni-rag'-sa-ni*, make an offering lamp of dung, with a wick of a loin cloth.
Burn urine for oil.
Ride astraddle on the beam of a weaving loom, using a besom as a whip.
With one canine tooth growing upwards, and one downwards, depart without even looking back."

796 The festivities during the first month of the Buddhist calendar terminate with the ceremony of *Dam-pa-rig'*, at which a full choral service is held for two days by the priests, followed in the evening and well through the night by heavy drinking and village dancing. For the sustenance of the entire community, each householder must supply 40 lb. of barley, one measure of rice, one measure of barley flour, and ¼ lb. of butter. When these are all collected, the villagers pool the rations amongst themselves, and feast for seven days consecutively.

Five festivals occur during the second month of the Buddhist year. They are *Ringo*, *La-ma Chod-pa*, *Tsu-go-ki-la*, *Dun-chang*, and *Chai-dro-li*.

796 78r *Ringo* (2nd month).—Three households have to provide the beer for the community, and also offer a *Drang-rgyas* to the local god, after which all enjoy themselves by drinking and gambling. Two or three days having elapsed a similar function is held.

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On the 15th day of the 2nd month another festival called *Tsu-go-ki-la* follows, during which the usual orgy of drinking and dancing goes on. This time each household has to provide 10 lb. of barley which is brewed into beer for the village carousals. At the *Dun-chang* festival a sheep is sacrificed in the usual way customary in Lahul, whilst the *la-ma-chod-pa* festivities are introduced by a choral religious service, when each house provides 10 lb. of rice, 4 oz. of butter, and 1 lb. of barley, the total amount of food, etc., being consumed by the villagers over a period of three days.

The *Chai-dro-li* festival marks the time when the low-class blacksmiths circumambulate the prayer-walls and *chorten* (cenotaphs of departed saints) beating their drums the while. This

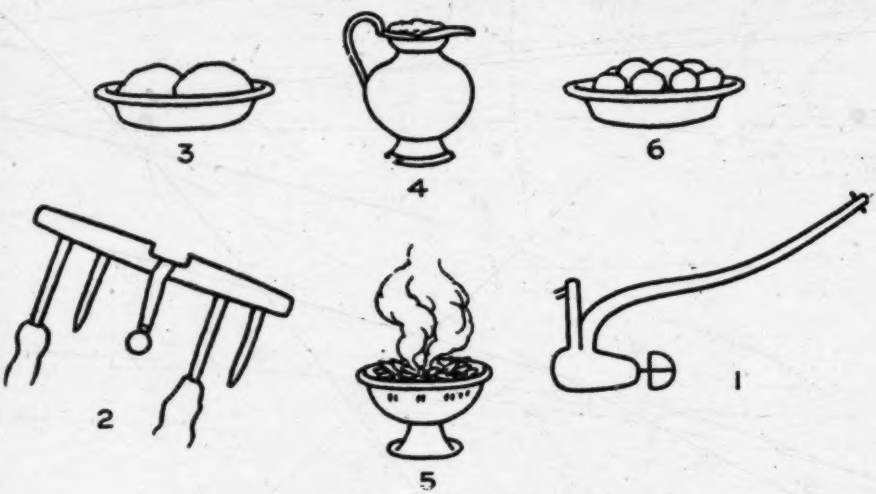

FIG. 3.—OFFERINGS AT THE SEASON OF PLOUGHING.

1. *Shol*, A PLOUGH; 2. *Nye-shing*, A YOKE FOR THE OXEN; 3. *Mar-zan*, A FLOUR-AND-BUTTER OFFERING; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER OFFERING; 5. *Sang-shö*, AN INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 6. *La-shen*, BUCKWHEAT CAKE OFFERING.

religious exercise completed, they collect alms from the villagers, each house providing as alms, one large plate of barley flour, one of wheat flour, one of buckwheat flour, and a pot of beer. It is also customary for each person to place a *mar-zan* (butter and flour) or buckwheat flour on a slab of stone for the ravens to eat.

During the third month the festival of *Bri-shu* is held, when all the cattle which have been fed through the winter for neighbours unable owing to scarcity of fodder to feed their own animals, have to be returned to their original owners. The usual quantity of beer is again collected for a communal beer-drinking feast, and an offering of *drang-ryyas* made to the local god. It is at this time too, that the communal shepherds are chosen, and the "Masters-of-ceremony" for the ensuing year are elected.

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796 782 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-shen* (roasted buckwheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-shen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 793 The *Ma-ṇi Tsai-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

796 78r [776] At the *Chog'-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-pa* (one in whom a god is supposed to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of blood.

[793] Following closely on this function, comes the *Tsai-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned, perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-sa-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rag'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rang*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 533 78r Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place during the ninth month, one *drang-ryyas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung :—

G.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"
The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dzo's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dzo-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

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They are now fat like balls of butter, 796
In winter they will shrivel with leanness. 533
Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*" 782

The youths become stout-hearted,
The maidens' countenances become like mirrors.
Refrain : " *Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

In the morning the *dzo-mo* goes to the hills,
In the evening she returns to be milked.
Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The threshing floor pole is propitious like silver,
The barley is heaped on the outer edge of the threshing floor.
Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

When the straw is trodden out fine we are pleased,
When it is wet, it goes hard with the cattle.
Refrain : " *Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

From early morning you endure hardship,
Try hard, and continue to go round (the threshing floor).
Refrain : " *Tulu-ja, tulu-ja.*"

If you go to the top of the hills you reach a glacier,
If you go to the turf, you eat summer flowers.

Then having released the oxen from the threshing floor, and patting them on their backs with a besom, the peasant addresses them thus :—

H.

" May the grain increase ;
As the oxens' horns become like cornelians,
So may the grain increase.
As your ears become like copper, so may the grain increase.
As your noses become like pipes of copper, so may the grain increase.
As your eyes become like the vowel " O," so may the grain increase.
As your lungs become like glistening white glaciers, so may the grain increase.
As your livers become reddish brown, to may the grain increase.
As your intestines become like a zig-zag path, so may the grain increase.

This ends the social functions for the year. They are observed punctiliously, and the 796
method of celebrating them varies not at all, for the people's slavish adherence to the proper 791

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796 observance of rites and ceremonies has become to them a religion, refraction of which is regarded
771 in the light of a heinous offence. Moral delinquencies pale in significance before what is thought to be the *summum bonum* of life—the right etiquette in regard to rites and ceremonies.

NOTES.

533 Note A.—Original version. (Bunan dialect).

Ngon-tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Ser tri zhangso la yang ma hlai lo
De ser tri zhangso
Dai-ru la so zhuk lo
Dai-ru dai sumi zhughso.
Dai-ru la tangi dai Hla zhughso
Ma hlai lo, dai hla yang zhughso
Hla Ō-pam towi lo dai dai nas zhughs
Küli dai nas Hla zhughi lo dai trashin dzoddo.
Ngonsai kalpa hla zangboi lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Ma hlai lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Dai-ru su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru bar-gi hla dai tsan-i zhughso
Ma hlai lo dai tsan yang zhughs
Tsan ryyabri la zombai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Küli dai nas hla zhugghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngontshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai yu tri zhangso
Dai-ru la sui zhangso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la ok-i dai hlu yang zhughso
Ma hlai hlai lo dai hlu yang zhughs
Hlu Bunor hla zombai lo dai dai nas zhughs
Küli hlai lo dai nas zhoghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai dung tri zhangso
Dai-ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la dag' shar lo dai dai nas zhughso
Ma hlai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Küli dai nas la zhughs lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai shel tri zhangso
Ma hlai lo dai shel tri zhangso
Dai ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso.
Dai ru la gid-gi la nyen drung zhughso
Küli dai nas la zhughi lo dai trashis zoddo.

Note B.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

You-i lai la gung-kar drawai shai gung ka toi bu dai
You-i dru dang jagpa medpai shai monlam gyang nas zig'.

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Yow-i lai la ma zhing drawai shai ma zhing gai dor dai.
Yow-i lai la sa dang ser-wa medpai shai monlam gyang nas zigs
Yow-i nyun zhi gur chang sahwai shai monlam gyang nas zigs
Yow-i dai sum ser dang shai gung la tri chig' bum
Ngansong tilnas drenpai shai chomldan shag' dang chig'
Yow-i toris lam la drenpai shai monlam zang dang nies
Yow-i tshei di chima zhalwai shai dor-rjei sum
Yow-i dai sum ser dang drawai shai gungla tri chig' bum
Yow-i lus la along nampai shai a zang yab dang chig' shay a zang yab dang chig'
Yow-i ma zhow ngarmo sahwai shai a zang yum dang nies
Yow-i zhim chu ngar chu sahwai bu ering zang dang sum
Yow-i dai sum dang drawai shai gung la tri chig' bum.
Yow-i rinchen shrog' la panpai shai ma kang zang dang chig'
Yow-i darzha nampai zhidmad zang dang nies
Yow-i nyn sum tsan sum tsugpa shai go ki zang dang su
Yow-i dai sum ser dang drawai shai gong la tri chig' bu
Yow-i gen med tur med gyuk pai shai kiling zang dang chig'
Yow-i dra dang garui tog' du pup chung zang dang nies
Yow-i bumpa lag' nas tenpai shai pa spun zang dang sum
Yow-i dai sum drawai shai gong la tri chig' bum.

Note C.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Chogha shar chogha la yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sai ru ri sai ru.
Shing markal la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar jar rgyud la yang godpo ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod
Chogha lo choghela yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sai ru ri sai ru.
Shing tsan danla yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar mab jar la yang godpo ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi-li baba sang la yang la ba sang yang la lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chogha nub choghela yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sai ru ri sai ru
Shing nyugu la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar naitso la yang ta lam kan ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chogha jang choghela yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sai ru ri sai ru
Shing jang kar la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar kya-ow la yang rgyalpo ya-la-lo

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Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chogha u-chophala yang riqui ya-la-lo
Ri asi ru ri asi ru
Shing bur tshai la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar po-rog' la yang nak chung ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.

782 Note D.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tun sung tai lag' dog' chi
Or shet tai lag' as tog'
Nad tsad ma ai yog' ku.

533 Note E.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tsa tsai mi ma
Tsa tsai mi ma
Trashis ru dang lowi shang
Trashis tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Tsa tsai mi ma
Tsa tsai mi ma
Zin zin ru dang lowi shang
Zin zin tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Zhong zhong ru dang lowi shang
Zhong zhong tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gir gir ru dang lowi shang
Gir gir tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gling ru dang lowi shang
Gling tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Breng breng tai gyul cha stog' wanz gel kak lowi shang
Dampa gro gyastog' sha tup chag' lowi shang
Chag' dad gro gyastog' mar pya chag' lowi shang
Pu shag' krui mun ang ling goi tsa lowi shang.

Note F.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Lai tsog' ma drang gog ma
Bai bai biang nang bai nu ral
Ral nang tai shyo
Drai ni rag' as ni bolo gyongbu
Nang kai shettai sar nang jar
Ki mar mai nang kri chai
Shrangs nang shir pet gi stal
Chag' dang gang chai wa as rog'
Gang chaiwa nam dog' korek
Ma engs ka tai shyo
Ki tsi ni bi tsai ni.

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Note G.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Lang chen tanna hiri do
Hiri do hiri do
Dzo-poi rucho dung gi rucho
[Note: A "dzo" is a cross between a cow and a yak. A dzo-mo is the female animal.]
Dzo-moi ngama dar gi poll dur
Hiri do hiri do
Krondri da krondri da mar krondri
Krondri da krondri bear krondri
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Kyogtong dar rgyu naro
Nachung mai long yallo
Hiri do hiri do
Ngaro dzomo ri show ma
Ptdro dzomo jon show ma
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Ül tag' trashi gormow
Sermo nai sil sillo
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Tāl tāl tāl na anga
Jib jib jib na nyallo
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Nam langs gi ma turi ku ku woh
Ya ratana hiri do
Tulu ja tulu ja
Ri stot touma gang stot
Bangs yeri mentog' don kan gün

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Note H.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Hong bo ro hong bo ro'
Chong gi ryucho-i ka nai hong bo ro
Na ua zungs ki pa tep ka nai hong bo ro
Na zungs mai pur-i ka nai hong bo ro
Mig' ga kai ka nai hong bo ro
Hlo-ua gang ri karpo-i ka nai hong bo ro
Chinba ba ju sha mukpo-i ka nai hong bo ro
Gyuma kyog' lam kyag' lam ka nai hong bo ro

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[Secular aspects of Lahul ceremonials and festivals are so intimately fused with their religious aspects that no effort was made to isolate them. All descriptions of such activities have been included in category 796.]

Tibet.

THE SCAPE-GOAT IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the N. India.*

WT 783 T 783

96 The releasing of a scape-goat is thought by the peasants of Western Tibet to be an effective means of obtaining absolution from the moral impurities in the individual or the community.

Noxious diseases, failure of the crops, or some catastrophic event which have thrown the community into confusion, are the chief reasons assigned for employing the scape-goat as a vehicle for carrying off the moral rubbish and transferring it elsewhere.

WT 783 796 T 783 796

A learned lama informed me that in Central Tibet it is customary for the ecclesiastics to set free a scape-man triennially. The purpose of this practice is to absolve themselves, and incidentally the community as a whole, of an evil influence which is supposed to militate against the well-being of the country and its people. The scape-man thus chosen is usually a destitute or criminally-disposed person for whom the community has no use. The ceremony of *Tsay-tar* (saving one's life) is then performed, when the scape-man is lavishly fed, adorned with ornaments, supplied with money and provided with a pony and comforts for the journey and released. He must wander for the rest of his life in foreign countries, with no expectation of ever visiting his native land. It is said that the scape-man rarely lives long, for he

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either dies prematurely through disease, or meets a tragic end through his own or someone else's fault.

When releasing a scape-goat (or sometimes a scape-sheep) the following is the ritual at the ceremony of *Tsay-tar*. The diseased or noxious person brings a goat led by a black rope before the community. A man then, stepping up to the animal, simulates cutting its throat with his hunting knife. In the meanwhile the owner of the goat pleads loud and long that the animal be spared, promising to pay compensation in money or kind provided that no blood is shed. The goat is now regarded as a fitting substitute for the penalty which should otherwise be paid for the sins of the individual or community, since it must undergo banishment from the flock. When the amount of money to be exacted from the owner of the goat is decided, the black rope is substituted for a white one, and this is tied round the neck of the animal. It is then gaily adorned, well fed, and driven to the hills to wander hither and thither until the cause of its banishment is removed. During the period of exile, no one may place a load on the scape-goat, nor even so much as touch it. If the animal should die before the moral impurity of the community is purged, another scape-goat is chosen, though the ceremony of *Tsay-tar* is not repeated.

There seems to be no regularity in Western

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Tibet as regards the performance of this ceremony of releasing a scape-goat, for this is contingent on the moral condition of the community. The imposition of this form of

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absolution for the sins of the people rests in the hands of the lamas (priests), whose function it is to decide whether or not such ceremony should be performed.

782 **SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET.** *By the Rev.*

771 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held
609 an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 Two stories of the last human sacrifices in
173 Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree
[114] in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

" A man had to be killed every year for the
[241] " benefit of the fields of the community. The " peasants were to offer the victim in turns. " (They probably kept slaves, and these were " generally killed). One year it was a poor " widow's turn, and as she had no servants it " was understood that her only son was to be " sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly " about this, a wandering hermit came to her " house and offered to die in the place of her " son, if she would feed him well until the day " of execution. The widow gladly accepted the " offer, and on the appointed day the hermit " was led with much noise before the wooden " idol of the god of the fields. When the " executioner walked up with his axe to the " hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "' friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "' the god really wants to take my life.' Then " he stepped with the axe before the idol and " said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "' want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "' take yours.' As there was no reply, the " hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in " pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 " the river, and everybody went home."

173 The other story related to me concerning
114 the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

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782 of it) was that of a woman who was buried
173 alive.
114 Local tradition has it that she pronounced a curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

782 In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrified in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously; their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcases offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

[231] It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrified triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,

782 and finally sacrificed. At a marriage conducted
585 on a large scale, a sheep is thrown headlong from
782 the roof of a house, and its heart torn out.
Similarly, when sickness occurs threatening the
755 life of the patient, a sheep has to be sacrificed.

782 The animal is covered with a shroud to impersonate a corpse. In the meanwhile, the relations of the sick man call him repeatedly by name, and to the accompaniment of loud lamentations the sheep is led to the cremating ground and burnt alive.

000 Though in theory the taking of life and the

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Though in theory the taking of life and the
779 offering of bloody sacrifices are revolting to the
782 Tibetan Buddhist, the sacrificing of animals goes on unchecked by the Buddhist hierarchy in many parts of Western Tibet.

782 A section of the community, however, reluctant to shed blood when sacrificing to the local deities, makes dough images of animals for sacrificial purposes.

177 With the advance of civilization and education
782 in the secluded valleys of Western Tibet, bloody sacrifices will no doubt sink into the limbo of forgotten things.

[76 (a)]

101 241 231

AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

241 462 Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461] The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred [437] shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

[132] 221 241 In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

221 **TERN TIBET.** *By Walter Asboe.*

241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 From December until spring farming pursuits
286 cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

656 Lahoul being under British administration, the
425 acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

241 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the
787 people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

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241 787 before a verdict as to the propitious moment for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 685 691 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that [273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 624 An adequate supply of water from rivers, glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water 241 supply). In cases where there is a communal reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 312 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

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country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [76]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [77]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

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A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough

[231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

Letting Land.

427 It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

Rusta (Inula Helenium).

249 Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

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476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (Len-mi).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds (Lug-rdzi).*

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

439 grain from Kulu, a neighbouring state. Thus
273 the wholesale manufacture of beer from locally-grown produce has an economic significance as serious as it is unwise.

The Care of Livestock.

231 The people are on the whole kind to their animals and feed them as well as they are able with the limited yield of fodder at their disposal.

From December until April, the heavy snowfall in Lahoul precludes the possibility of grazing cattle. The animals have therefore to be housed on the ground floor of the houses. They are never bedded as in western countries.

When the supply of hay is exhausted the cattle are fed entirely on straw, this being again supplemented in the spring by the bark of willow branches cut and thrown into the pen to be peeled off by the sheep, goats and cows.

The willow tree is extensively cultivated owing to its use both for fodder and fuel.

It is customary for a peasant with more cattle than he can conveniently feed, to hand his surplus livestock to a neighbour to keep and feed from December to April, the price for the cattle thus treated being three rupees per head, and four or

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

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Ladak

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SOCIAL FESTIVALS IN LADAKH KASHMIR

184 In that part of Western Tibet called Ladakh social functions differ in certain respects from those which exist in Lahul, though the inhabitants in both districts share a common language, Tibetan.

A

796 The New Year[1] festival begins on the 10th month of the
373 Tibetan calendar, continuing from the 25th until the 30th day. On the 25th day of that month each household prepares 30–40 little receptacles which serve as small lamps for illuminating the house. These are called *Bu-La*, and are made from the residue of mustard seed from which the oil has been extracted by pressure. The mustard oil is then poured into one such little lamp and a wick put in to float in it. These little lamps are lit at 8 o'clock in the evening. One such lamp is placed in the window of each room in the

[1] *New Year*

My Tibetan informant told me that originally the Ladakhis celebrated their New Year in the 12th month of their calendar as is the custom in other parts of Tibet, but in 1841–42 when the Dogras invaded Western Tibet and subjugated it, the Ladakhis decided to celebrate their new year in the 10th month so as to enable them to fight the invader. It is said that a large number of the Ladakhis having determined to take their wives and children along with them to the war, they were finally induced to forgo fighting altogether rather than expose their families
[113] to the dangers and rigours of war. (For information concerning the conquest of the Western Empire of Tibet, see Dr. A. H. Francke's "A History of Western Tibet".) The Ladakhi new year has therefore been observed in the 10th month ever since.

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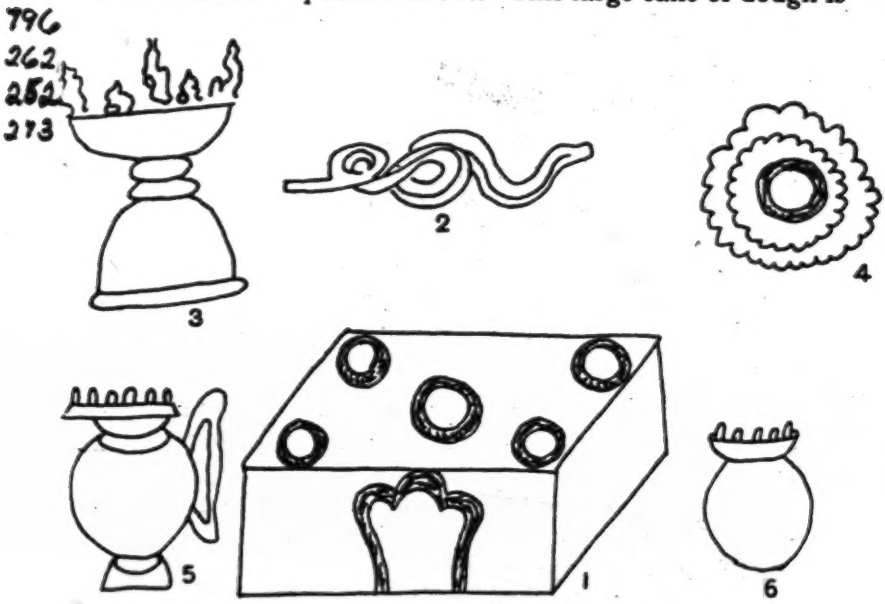
Ladak

796 house, whilst a number of them are arranged in a row near
373 the awning of the dwelling.

The members of the household then partake of *Tab-*
796 *Zan*. This consists of a large dish of parched barley dough
262 in the middle of which a hollow is made to receive the mustard oil which is poured into it. This large cake of dough is



1. *rGya-Tab* (Stove). This is the common earthen stove used by Ladakhis. It is 3 feet square and 1 foot high. In the front there is an aperture for putting in the fuel of sticks and dried manure, and on the top of it there are three holes for placing the cooking utensils. 2. *Dib-Rug*. Sheep's intestines. 3. *Bu-La*. Little lamps made of dough. 4. *Tab-Zan*. Parched barley dough with a hollow in the centre in which mustard oil is poured. 5. *Kal-jor*. Beer pot. 6. *Za-rgyan*. An earthen vessel in which beer is kept. Sometimes used instead of the *Kal-jor*. Both are ornamented with butter pats on special occasions, and also serve as butter offerings.

796 then divided into four equal parts, one part (*Tab La Rgya-*
262 *Mo*), being placed on the earth stove (*Tab*) as an offering to the god of the hearth, one part (*Mag-Dung Rgya-Mo*) stuck on a large horizontal beam in the apartment, and one piece (*Sgo-Tag-Rgya-Mo*) stuck on the lintel of the front

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796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
262 holder says :

> " Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)." [2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.
796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect* :

> Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
> Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong.

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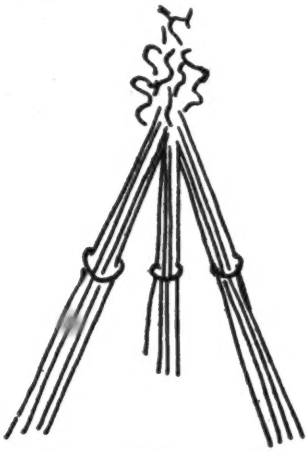
Directly after sunset the *Me-To* (3 bundles of willow and juniper branches) is carried outside each house together with a *Kal-Jor* offering (a pot of beer on the handle of which a butter impression called *Yar* has been made). A small quantity of beer is then sprinkled on the *Me-To*, and small fragments are taken from the *Yar* and smeared on the rims of the drinking cups belonging to the people assembled, and similar butter impressions made on the forehead of each person. The remainder of the beer having been imbibed, all return to their houses.



1. *Me-To*. Three bundles of willow branches kindled at the New Year celebrations.

The little lamps (*Bu-La*) are now lit once again, and all peer from their houses to see if the nobleman of the village (*Lon-Pu*) has kindled his *Me-To* (he having ascertained the propitious moment for performing this operation from the local astrologer (*Rtsi-Pa*). The signal thus given, all emerge, light the *Me-To*, and carry the burning pieces of sticks to a piece of ground contiguous to a main thoroughfare. Throwing the kindled sticks on the ground one man says: *Ra lon ni gon-pa rtsi rug* (a spell against evil spirits) and all reply: *Ha sha la ha sha mi ka khyi ka* (a spell to prevent sickness, dog bite, and other kinds of misfortune).

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796 On the 1st day of the 11th month, each household makes
782 a dough effigy of an ibex (*Skyin*), a cake of unleavened bread with its edges turned up and inwards (*Pe-Rak*), parched barley flour placed in a wooden flour bowl (*Pe-Pud*) is prepared. A vessel of beer (*Nang-mChod*) and one of water (*Chu-Pud*) are also placed alongside of all these offerings, the whole being laid on a shelf in the apartment for three days.

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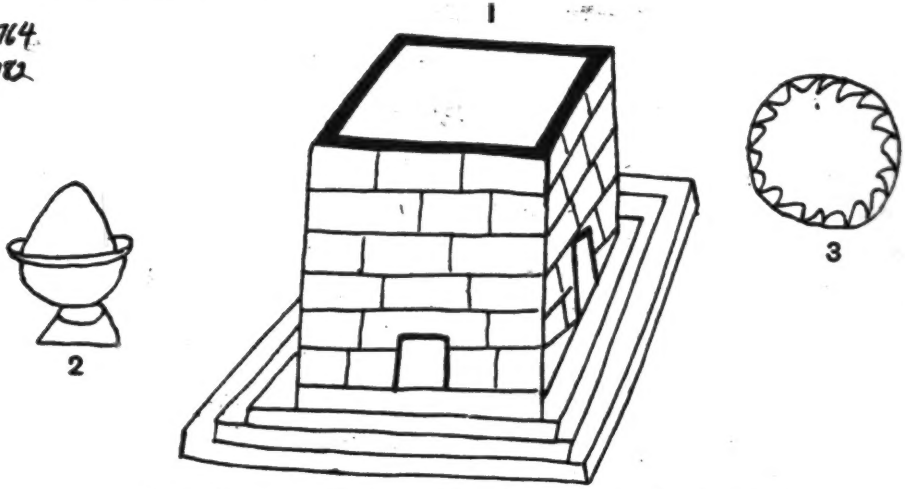

1. *Dur-Kung*. An earthen cremating oven set up on a plinth of earth. There is an aperture on each of the four sides to allow of ventilation, and ensuring a draught so as to expedite the burning of the corpse which is placed in it in a doubled up posture. The whole is made of dried mud bricks. 2. *Pe-Pud*. An offering of flour. 3. *Pe-Rak*. A cake of unleavened bread with edges turned inwards.

796 Friends, relations, and neighbours now call on each other
574 carrying with them small vessels of beer and 5, 7, or 9
685 breads (the taking of six breads being contra-indicated). The children of the village in the meantime make a house to house collection of meat, bread, and other eatables. Whilst the housewife is engaged in producing the food thus claimed, a diversion is afforded when the children surreptitiously steal the *Skyin*, *Pe-Rak*, *Pe-Pud*, *Nang-mChod*, and the *Chu-Pud*, though receiving their ration of food from the incautious housewife.

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On the 3rd day part of the offerings already mentioned 796
are devoted to the moon with the words: "Happy life,
happy new year, happy day, happy stars." In cases where 782
the housewife has not been able to forestall the theft of the
offerings by the children, fresh ones must be made and

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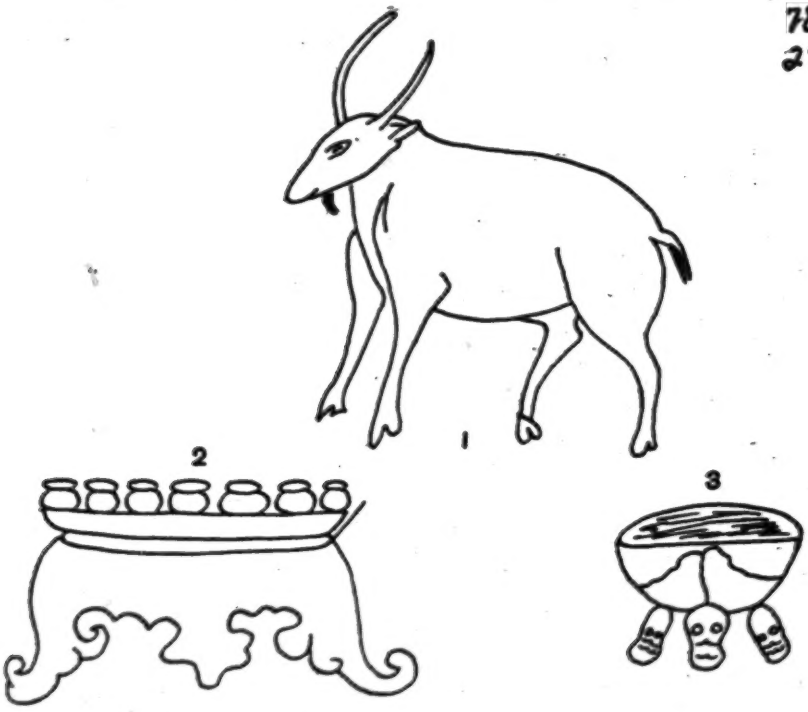

1. *Skyin.* Dough effigy of an Ibex. (4" long from crest to rump.) 2. *Chu-Pud.* These 7 cups of water used for sacrificial purposes are placed on a table as illustrated. 3. Nang-mchod. Vessel of beer made from a human skull. Sometimes the blood of sacrificed animals is placed in this bowl.

offered. The remainder of the *Skyin* and *Pe-Rak* offerings 796
are then distributed to the children, a girl giving the *Pe-* 789
Rak offering to another of her own sex, and a boy bestowing 782
the *Skyin* offering to a male companion. The sport of
arrow-shooting (*Da Rgyab-Ches*) is indulged for two days,
followed ten days subsequently by one day of this sport.

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B

796 On the 28th day of the 12th month, a festival called
778 *Doss-Mo-Che*[3] is held in Leh the capital of Ladakh. People
751 from far and near attend this important function. The

1. *Doss-Mo-Che.* An effigy of a man with the yak's horns filled with blood. The whole is carried on a plank.

Lamas (priests) make a life-size effigy of a man (*Doss-Mo-Che*) with straw, adorning it with coloured garments. This effigy is then placed in a prominent position in the dancing

[3] *Doss-Mo-Che*

It seems that the un-Tibetan part of the *Doss-mo-che* ceremony when the Sepoys of the Kashmir State play their part in destroying the effigy, is a concession to the now ruling Maharajah who is a Hindu and identifies himself with the Buddhistic practices observed in Ladakh. Once a year the Maharajah causes prayers to be read by the Buddhist clergy, and defrays the expense of feeding them during this period.

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floor of the monastery, and beer and grain are offered to it. 776
This is followed by a devil dance, the Lama performers 778
being arrayed in special dancing regalia and masks. The 751
next morning another devil dance is held; and about [illegible] p.m. the effigy is carried with great solemnity on a plank to an open piece of ground outside the town. Two yak horns (*Yak-I-Ru-Cho*) are filled with blood, and fixed one on either breast of the effigy. A platoon of local sepoys belonging to the Kashmir State then open fire on the horns as a target, but fail to hit the mark. It is believed that as the *Sku-Shog* (a high Buddhist ecclesiastic) has pronounced a charm upon the yak horns they thereby become invulnerable so long as that important personage remains near them. When, however, this church dignitary takes his departure, the sepoys return to the assault of the effigy, and succeed in hitting the mark. This is the signal for the people to rush in pell-mell with thorns which they lay at the foot of the effigy and burn it. This ceremony is performed in order to forestall sickness and other misfortunes to the community.

C

On the 8th day of the 1st month a *Tse Shu* (popular amusement or sport) is held for all the villagers. This function occurs once a month, when barley flour dumplings are made, the various households taking it in rotation to provide food and drink for those who assemble to dance and amuse themselves in various ways.

D

On the 15th day of the 1st month, males and females circumambulate prayer walls and monasteries in order to obtain merit. They perform this ceremony in procession. If a woman in the procession meets anybody she must give

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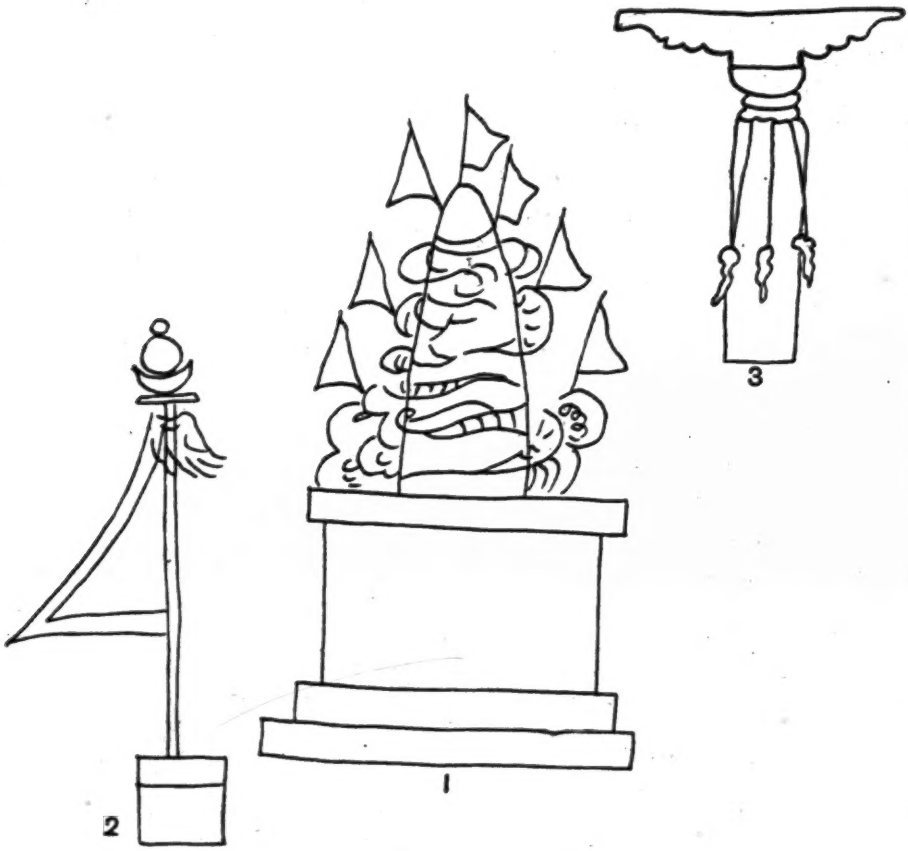
796 that person a handful of roasted barley (*Skor-Yos*). On
782 this day the Rajah of Stog (a village in the Indus valley near Leh) sends three *Kal* (120 lbs) of roasted wheat to certain villages in which he has a special interest in land



1. *Hla-To*. A cairn with a pole in the middle round which horns of animals, flags and other relics are placed. 2. *Dar-Chen*. The flag pole with a yak's tail on it, which is erected near the *Hja-To*. 3. *Shrub-Hla*. The first fruits of the harvest attached to an upright post supporting the roof of a house.

or other property. This store of wheat is placed at the confluence of three roads through which the circumambulators will pass, and his agent doles out a cupful of grain to each devotee. Moreover, such of the villagers who desire to obtain merit and have not joined the procession, take it

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upon themselves to regale the pilgrims with grain, and beer. 796
This is, however, a purely voluntary act. 782

E

The act of ploughing and seeding (at the end of the 4th 796
and beginning of the 5th month) is preceded by an offering 782
of butter, flour, and beer, a small pat of butter being stuck on the crown of each man's head. The handle of the plough (*Shol*), the oxens' heads, and the handle of the wood spade (*Pak-Tsa*) with which the women harrow or beat the clods of earth after ploughing are similarly dealt with. Whilst the assembled people eat and drink the remainder of the offerings, the following prayer is offered:

[4] May the plough remain unbroken;
May a good harvest and blessings to our house ensue;
Sow the seed.
May the youths and maidens gather in a good harvest;
May the carrying in of the harvest by the maidens have no end;
May the reaping by 100 youths have no end;
May the yatra [5] festival and weddings ensue;
Cause 100 large bins of grain to be filled.

[4] *Original Ladakhi dialect*

A kanas ma ka nas
a chi li gi man dra li
Sa bon debs
Nyi ma da bi ta yang shog
Na chung rgya si skyas te mi tsar ches
Kyogtong rgya si rnga ches mi tsar ches
Ya tra dang bag ston btang ches yong chu ga mdzad
Rgya bang rgya gang chu ga mdzad.

[5] *Ya-tra*

Is a feast when the villagers are regaled with beer, dumplings, and [769]
pastry. It is held in autumn and winter in memory, and for the benefit of the souls of those that died during the last year.

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F

796 On the 10th day of the 7th month the festival of *Shrub*
252 *Hla* (god of the ears of corn) is held. This ceremony institutes the reaping of the harvest. No one may put his hand to a sickle until this function is celebrated. Barley and wheat are boiled until the grain is soft, when it is spread out to dry. It is then roasted, milled into flour, and finally kneaded into dough balls. The first ears of corn and the first fruits of the pea and buckwheat crop are next mixed into the dough balls, each family taking this to its family cremating[6] oven. Sheaves of grain are then fixed to the beams of the household temple, and also on cairns (*Hla-Tl*) in the neighbourhood.

796 On the completion of a feast in celebration of the in-
783 gathering of the crops, three men proceed to the nearest brook, taking a live sheep with them. There they have to bathe their bodies, and also dip the sheep in the water by way of purifying themselves and the animal. It is believed that once the sheep has been thus cleansed, it does not attempt to wander or escape. Leading the sheep, the trio makes for the local cairn (*Hla-To*) to which sheaves of corn, coloured rags, willow branches, and the tail of a yak are attached. Lots are now drawn amongst the three men to ascertain who must carry out the ceremony of sacrificing the sheep to the god.

796 The man thus chosen then proceeds to make a large incision in the breast of the sheep and tearing out its heart

[6] *Cremating Oven*

764 This oven is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Its dimensions are: 3 feet square and 4 feet high. On each of the sides is a small aperture about a foot from the bottom of the oven as vent holes. The corpse's back is broken immediately after death and the knees are drawn up to the head and tied securely. It is then carried on a man's back to the oven in which it is placed resting on stones placed at the base of it to serve as a grid. The more opulent prepare a box in which they place the corpse.

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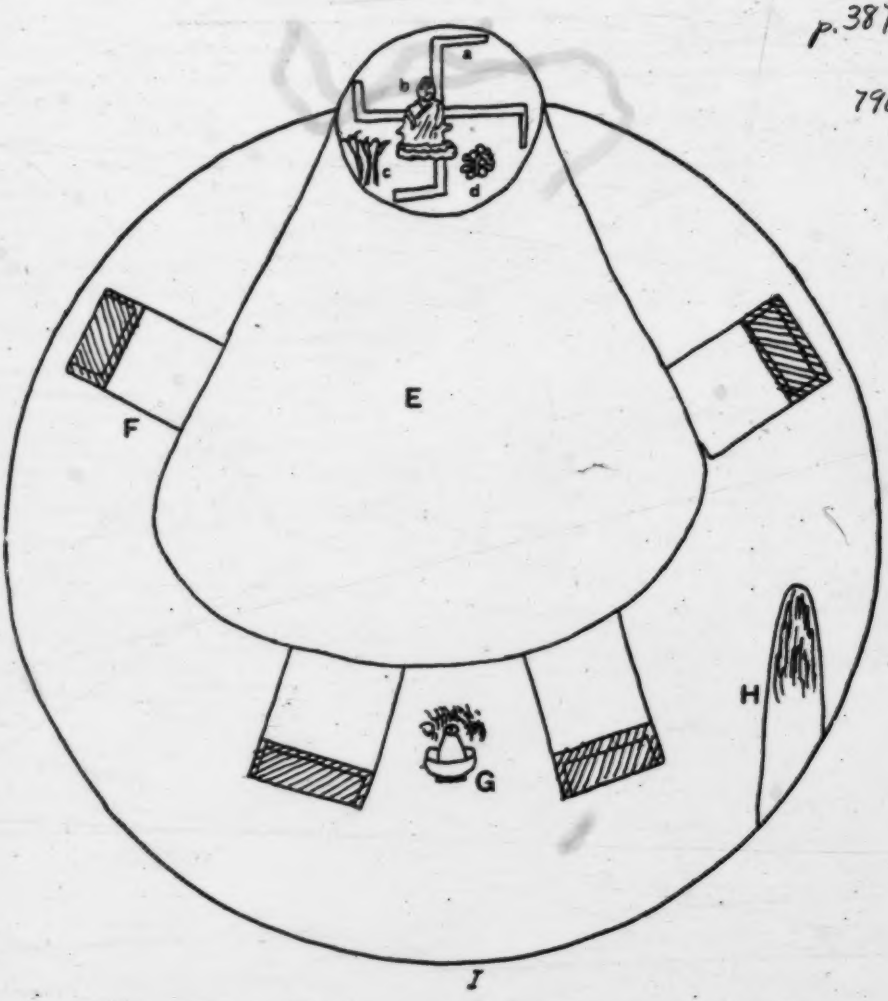
796



I. The large circle " I " represents the threshing floor. (*Ul-tag*) (*Wonos*).

E. Is the heap of grain piled in the centre of the threshing floor. In the small circle which is the flattened portion of the pile of grain are placed :

(*a*) Grain hollowed out in the form of a swastika (*Yun-drung*).
(*b*) An image of the Buddha (*Sku-dra*).
(*c*) First ears of grain harvest. (*Shrub*).
(*d*) A small pile of oxen's droppings. (*Lcha*).

F. The four bags (grain. *Tib. Pad*) with their open ends close to the heap of grain, and the closed ends doubled back.

G. Flour and rancid butter on the top of which are placed live charcoal causing smoke and an offensive smell which is supposed to be pleasing to the god. This offering is called *Sur*.

H. A long stone sprinkled with vermilion (*mTsan-rdo*) erected on the edge of the threshing floor to keep down the vampires and thereby prevent the grain from decreasing. In other parts of Western Tibet, the long stone is substituted by an axe which is supposed to be equally effective.

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796 with all speed and placing it on the cairn of stones. He next skins the sheep and distributes portions of the flesh to the assembled people, each person receiving a portion which he holds over a fire which has previously been lit, until the meat is singed. This he eats immediately. All then return to a specified meeting-place where several large earthen vessels (*Za-Ma*) of beer are imbibed. This done all the males belonging to a group of villages proceed to a pond where they wash their bodies.

G

796 During the 9th month when threshing the grain on the
533 threshing floor the following eulogy of the oxen is sung:

[7] May the grain increase like the ring marks on your horns;
Your eyes are like black pupils;
Your nostrils like pipes of brass;
Your upper lips are like a golden tablet;
Your lower lips like a turquois tablet;
Your tongues are like knotted ice;
Your throats like a pipe of beads (rosary);
Your livers glisten like ice;
Your lungs are like a red lake;
Your abdomens are like a square temple;
Your hides like a black and white plain;

[7] *Original Ladakhi dialect*

Ru cho chong ri mug chung wongs kyong wong bo rog
Mig mo nag ga pa ni
Na kung zang si pu ri
Al pags gser gi lag shing
Mal pags u-i lag shing
Lche mo dar gi dud pa
Ol dong mig pai trang
Chin pa gangs ri dkar po
Hlo wa mtso mo ma bang
Jang kok hla kang dru bzhi
Pags po tang kar tang-nak
Nga ma dir kak gyun dra
Ldad pa chu ton ton skor pin
Nye chu tung du cha cha skor pin

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Your tails are as fine as a sinew; 796
You have gone round the threshing floor until the 533
sweat broke upon you;
You have gone round until your tendons contracted.

When the grain threshed by the oxen has been winnowed, 796
the ceremony of blessing the grain is performed. Around 782
the heap of grain four grain sacks, with their open ends facing the heap, are laid in the form of a square. Fried barley flour and butter (*Sur*) is placed on the threshing floor at the circumference of the heap of grain, whilst the droppings of the cattle (*Lcha*), an image of the god of harvest (*Sku-Dra*), and a few grains of corn (*Shrub*) are imbedded in the pile of grain. Scattering a few grains of corn hither and thither, a man invokes the god by saying:

I offer this;
Oh Aria the Lord of wealth, may the grain increase
as the droppings from the oxen.[8]

The 17th and 18th days of the 10th month are times 585
specially assigned for the celebration of marriages. These ceremonies held in Ladakh suffer very little modification or addition in ritual, for departure from the accepted customs handed down by tradition is considered to be an affront to the communal conscience.

WALTER ASBOE

AN IRISH FOLK-POEM

THE following poem was taken down, in 1933, on the Great Blasket Island, Kerry, from the singing of Peig Sayers the story-teller (see *Béaloideas*, vol. II, p. 108). As I have never seen another version in any collection of Irish folk-poems or elsewhere, it may be of interest to have it recorded here, in the Blasket dialect,

[8] *Original Ladakhi dialect*
mChod
Nor gi bdag po a-ri-a rdzam pa la.

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Western Tibet. **Asboe.**

Notes on Childbirth in Manchat (Western Tibet). *By Walter Asboe.*

841 Certain taboos exist in Manchat in respect to women during their period of menstruation, and also for expectant mothers. During menstruation a woman is not allowed to approach the family hearth, but must eat her food, and perform her household duties at a reasonable distance from the fireplace. She may not wash or handle the kitchen utensils during this period, for she is regarded as ceremonially unclean; and any infraction of the taboo imposed upon her is thought to be a direct affront to the god of the family hearth. **161**

843 No restrictions, however, in the way of performing the ordinary domestic duties are laid upon the pregnant woman except that she must be on her guard against the influence of the 'Evil Eye.'
844 She will therefore retire discreetly on the approach of a stranger. A woman may not on any account bear her child in the vicinity of the household temple, or where there are any images of the gods. An apartment in the rear of the house is therefore reserved for this purpose, and failing this, she must retire to an outhouse or shed.

To cite a personal experience, I was once called to a case of difficult labour, and I found the patient lying in a dark room quite by herself. On urging the occupants of the house to remove the expectant mother to another room where one could at least enjoy the advantage of light and air, they replied that they could not comply with my request, as, by so doing, they would incur the displeasure of their household gods. Further, it is taboo for the daughter of the house to give birth to her child in her own home, so that what frequently happens is that she must find refuge in the shelter of the cowshed.

At a confinement, any cooked food which happens to be in the house is taboo, and must be thrown away, or given to the cattle. Following the birth of a child, the mother is obliged to emerge from the house, accompanied by one or two women, and proceed to the nearest spring. On arrival there, a screen of blankets is erected, behind which she must perform her ablutions. After the birth of the first child, the mother has to wash herself three times, whilst the husband must also purify himself by bathing. By way of propitiating the evil spirits, the mother scatters grain or food hither and thither as she proceeds to the village spring to cleanse herself.

It is also customary to stick an iron trident and an axe into the ground when the ablutions have been performed. In the meantime the placenta is buried in the earth, the hole being dug with the knife which was used for cutting the cord, and the handle of the knife is buried also. During the woman's absence, the floors of the house are freshly mud-washed, and all utensils thoroughly scoured. Should another house lie contiguous to the one in which a confinement occurs, the occupants behave as if the birth had actually taken place in it. On the completion of the ceremonial purification, the mother is covered in a large blanket with two slits in it for the eyes, and returns to her home.

WALTER ASBOE.

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A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.—*By* THE REV. H. FRANCKE, *Moravian Missionary, Leh. Communicated by the Philological Secretary.*

[Read June, 1899.]

538 805 577 The Ladakhi word for proverb is *gtamdpe* [pronounced *stamspe*] which means 'word example.' *Stamspe* is the general term for what might be called quotations, the shepherd's calender and the popular moral code.

538 126 Ladakhi popular poetry has become famous for the frequent application of the laws of 'parallelism.' Many beautiful examples, illustrative of this form of poetry, will be noticed in the proverbs.

In the following each proverb will be treated in this way—

(*a*) the Proverb in the orthography of Ladaki letter writing, (*b*) pronunciation, (*c*) literal translation [does not claim to be good English], (*d*) application, (*e*) grammatical and other notes.

Concerning the orthography of (*b*) the following will suffice: The vowels are the Italian vowels[1], *ä* rather like *e*. All accents given, refer only to the stress. *sh*=ཤ, *zh*= ཞ, *ng*=ང, *c*=ཙ, *ch*=ཚ, *j*=ཛ, *ts*=ཟ, *ths*=ཛ. The unaspirated Tenuis holds the mean between English tenuis and media. Single *r*=Hindustani *r*. The *r* preceding a consonant is like the German guttural *r*, following a consonant it is like the English *r*, spoken quickly.

THE PROVERBS.

539 1. (*a*) དཔེ་ཉིན་རིང་མོ་ལམ་བྱང་གསུམ་དང་དྲོ་གསུམ།
མི་ཚེ་རིང་མོ་ལག་སྐྱེད་གསུམ་དང་ལྡུག་གསུམ།།

(*b*) spid' nyin ring'moa drang' sumdang dro' sum
mi'thse ring'moa skyid' sum dang dug' sum.

[1] They are long, when ending a syllable, short in all other cases.

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(*c*) On a spring day [there are] three colds and three warmths In a lifetime [there are] three happy [hours] and three unfortunate [hours].

(*d*) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.

000

(*e*) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determina tivum* formed from *spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosum*, etc., must be considered as *Composita*, which accounts for the missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.

539 2. (*a*) སྐྱིད་ལྡུག་མི་ལ། མཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ།

(*b*) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.

(*c*) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.

(*d*) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain people.

000

(*e*) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum.*

539 3. (*a*) ཐིག་ས་པ་བསྣ་ནས་ཀྱ་མཚོ་གང་།

(*b*) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.

(*c*) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.

000

(*d*) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without an article to express the adjective "full."

539 4. (*a*) ཟླ་ལྷོ་ནི་ནག་ར་ང་ད་ང་ལུག་ཁོག་ཟམ།

ས্লེ་ལ་མདོས་མོ་ཆེ་ད་ང་ཡག་ཁོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.

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(*c*) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro [the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of a Yak.

(*d*) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro, it is warmer then.

000

(*e*) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

[135]

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corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nagrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

539 [643] [301] 527 [789]

5. (*a*) དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་བཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu*=29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

539 527 [346 789

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་ཐུག་རེ།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

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7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྒང་ཏུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་འབུད་དེ་ཅི་ཟ་ཡི་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zä dus'.

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(*c*) The time when the fly turns [flies] round the mouth, is the time of taking off all clothing and eating everything.

(*d*) A description of summer in the peasant's calendar.

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(*e*) About *kha* instead of *khala* see 1 (*e*). If an *r* follows a muta, the muta is often dropped in Ladakhi, thus *rang* is said instead of *brang*; *ci* 'what' is used here in the sense of whatever.

539 8. (*a*) མགར་ཟོང་ངི་ཡལ་ཆུ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟ།
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ཆུ་སྦྱིའི་ལྡམ་ཆུ་ཡང་འཕྲད།

(*b*) khar'zongi yachula lta'lta,
chu'bii ldam'chu yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the glacier water of the Kharzong pass the gathered water of Chubi (a village) is also lost.

(*d*) take what is nearest!

(*e*) refers to the system of irrigation. Notice the re-duplication of the verb, implying a durative sense = whilst.

577 9. (*a*) ར་མའི་ཁྲོ་ལ་གོ་བ། ལུག་གི་ཁྲོ་ལ་བེ་ཡ།།
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(*b*) ra'mā thro'a go'a, lug'gi thro'abe'a.

(*c*) In the company of goats [he says] *goa*, in the company of sheep [he says] *bea*.

(*d*) Said of a man, who has no will of his own,

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(*e*) *Goa* and *bea* imitate the voices of goats and sheep respectively.

539 10. (*a*) དགོ་བའི་ལས་དུས། ལོ་ཏོ་སྡུ་ལས།།
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(*b*) spid'bad'dus' ston'rdu'dus'.

(*c*) Spring is the time of working, autumn the time of gathering.

(*d*) Do everything at the proper season.

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(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a three-syllabled *Comps. determ.*

539 11. (*a*) དགོ་བའི་ལས་ཡ་མ་ལས་ན། ལོ་ཏོ་ཡ་ལས་ལ་ཕྱོད་ལ་ཏུ།།
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(*b*) spid' baddusla mabad'na, ston'rdudusla gyod'dug.

(*c*) If you do not work in the spring working time, you will repent in the autumn gathering time.

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(*e*) Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rdu* = gather.

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12. (*a*) ལադ་གས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཤོས་དང་མཉམ་པོ་འབྲུ་ལ།
མདོ་ཤ་གི་ལིད་ལ་སྟོན་ཐོག་ཐོབ་འདུག།

(*b*) Ladag'skyi zhing'shmos dang nyam'po dr[illegible]ldir'na,
do'sha gil'idla ston'thog thob'dug.

(*c*) When at the time of ploughing in Ladakh the thunder sounds, they receive a harvest in *dosha* [lower Ladak] and Gilgit.

(*d*) Peasant's calendar. Lower Ladak and Gilgit have an earlier harvest than Leh.

(*e*) *Ldirces* is the Ladakhi for *adirba*. In this Proverb the Genitive in *kyi* is pronounced in full. The ordinary Ladaki Genitive has a simple *i*.

13. (*a*) ཡུན་རིང་ན་བ་རོས་ལྡོང་པོ་ཆོད།

(*b*) yŭnring'na ja'ros ldong'bo chod'.

(*c*) After a long time a dead bird [which is blown by the wind against the trunk of a tree] cuts the trunk.

(*d*) With perseverance great things can be done.

(*e*) *Ldongbo* = *sdongbo*.

14. (*a*) སྒང་ལྷས་ཀྱི་ཡང་མ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟ།
དཔེ་ཁྲག་གི་སོ་སྐོབ་ཡང་འབུད།

(*b*) gang'lessi yang'mala lta'lta.
spid'thuggi sor'gob yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the good barley of Gangles (a village) the rough straw of Spithŭg is lost.

(*d*) See 8 (*d*).

(*e*) About *ltalta*, see 8 (*e*).

15. (*a*) བ་ཚང་མ་བ་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང།
བ་ངན་ཏུ་ཏ་ཏ་ཏོ་ཤུལ་མཐུ་ལ་ཐུལ།

(*b*) ja'thsang'ma ja'yulla song'
jangan' ututu'tse shul'juglalus'.

(*c*) All birds have gone to birdland.
The bad [stupid] bird hoopoe has remained to the last.

(*d*) When a bad thing has been done by several, all who can, disappear, the one who remains, is punished for all.

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539 577 16. (*a*) དབྱར་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་དྲོད་མི་དབབ།
དགུན་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་གྲང་མི་དབབ།།

(*b*) yar'nyin log'ste man'ne drob' mi bab',
gun'yinlog'ste man'ne drang' mi bab'.

(*c*) Unless the summer-day returns, heat will not come down.
Unless the winter-day returns, cold will not come down.

(*d*) Everything will come at the proper season.

000 (*e*) *Mannas*, a gerund of *man* = to be not, used in the sense of unless, besides, etc., *yarnyin*, *gunnyin*, see *spidnyin* in 1.

539 577 17. (*a*) མཚན་སྟོད་ལ་དགོན་མཆོག་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བདབ་དགོས།
མཚན་དཀྱིལ་ལ་གཉིད་ལོག་དགོས།
མཚན་སྨད་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལས་ལ་བསམ་བ་བདང་དགོས།།

(*b*) thsanstod'la konchog'la so'va tab'rgos
thsanskyil'la nyid'log rgos.
thsan smad'la jig'stenni las'la sam'ba tang' rgos.

(*c*) In the first part of the night you must pray to God.
In the middle of the night you must sleep.
In the last part of the night you must think of the work of this world.

000 (*e*) For *sova* instead of *solva*, see 4 (*e*). In *dgos*, must, the *d* is turned into *r*, *rg* is pronounced like *ch* in Loch, lake.

539 18. (*a*) ཤ་བ་རི་དྭགས་རི་ན་འགྲུལ་བ་མིག་གི་རྒྱན།
དམན་ཚར་མོ་སྲང་ན་འགྲུལ་བ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན།།

(*b*) sha va ri'dags ri'na drul'va mig'gi gyan',
sman thsar'mo shrang'na drul'va id'kyi gyan'.

(*c*) The deer Shava walking in the hills is the delight of the eye, a fine girl walking in the street is the delight of the heart.

000 (*e*) Notice the classical Participle in *va* in *drulva*. In proper Ladakhi the ending *khan* would be used.

539 577 19. (*a*) སྟག་ནཱ་ཞོ་རས་མ་སྨྲི་ཞོ་རེ་ལ་ཁྲེལ་འདུག།།

(*b*) Stag'nā sho'res Mash'roi sho'rela threl'dug.

(*c*) The harelipped man of Stagna [a village] laughs at the harelip of Mashro.

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(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own. 539
(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*. 577 000

20. (*a*) ཆུའི་ཁོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྦར་བཟུམ་མ་བདང་།། 539 577

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.
(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.
(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).
(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first. 000

21. (*a*) དཔ'ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང'ཞོན'ལག'ཆག།། 539 577 492

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.
(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.
(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.
(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.* 000

22. (*a*) དཔ'ལ་ཤྱིག'པ'རྒྱབ'ཅེས'མཐོང'སྟེ། 539 231 577

བོང'ཏུའི'ར'གོ'མ'རྒྱང'།།

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.
(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].
(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བུ'ལོན'མེད'ན'ལག'ཤི'དང།། 539 577 426

ཚེར'ཀ'མེད'ན'དཀར'ཉོས།།

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'
(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!
(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

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24. (*a*) ཨ་བ་ཤི་ཡིན་བསམ་སྤྱིན།
ཏ་ཀན་ཁྱི་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོ་ས།།

(*b*) a'ba shi'in sam'spinna
star'gan cig'la cila ma tsong's.
(*c*) If you thought [knew], that father will die,
Why did you not sell him [before dying] for an old horse.
(*d*) Used derisively. You could not help your misfortune just as you cannot sell your father.
(*e*) *Samspin* a contraction of *bsamspa yin.*

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25. (*a*) བཟོད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་དགེ་བ་མེད།
ཞེ་སྡང་ལྟ་བུའི་ཕྱིག་པ་མེད།།

(*b*) zod'pa lta'bui ge'va med
zhed'dang lta'bui dig'pa med.
(*c*) There is no virtue like patience;
There is no sin like hatred.

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26. (*a*) ཟླ་མ་རང་མགོ་མ་འཐོན་ན།
གཤིན་པོའི་ཡར་འདྲེན་ཅི་བཅོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) La'ma rang'go ma thon'na
shin'poi yar'dren ci co'in.
(*c*) If the Lama's own head does not come out [cleanly], how will he manage (do) the drawing upwards of the dead.
(*d*) Used for deriding the immoral life of the lamas.
(*e*) *Thonces* is verb neuter of *btonces*, to put out.

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27. (*a*) ཤི་སོང་ཤི་སོང་ཟེར་ན།
གཤིན་མིག་རི་ནས་ལྟ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) shi'song shi'song zer'na
shin'mig ri'nä lte'n.
(*c*) If you say "he is dead, he is dead,"
The eye of the dead will look out of the hill.
(*d*) Ladakhi superstition. It is not good to speak much of a dead man, his eye might frighten the speaker.

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(*e*) For the *n* in *shinmig* or *shinpo* see also *nyin* derived from *nyima*. Syllables ending in a vowel are inclined to add a final *n*, see also *mentog* from *metog* and many others. 000

28. (*a*) རང་སྐྱོན་ཕད་གང་འབོར་ཏེ།
ཨི་སྐྱོན་རྒྱ་གང་ལ་མ་ཁྲིལ།། 577 539

(*b*) rang'skyon phad'gang bor'te
mi'skyon rgye'gangla mathrel'.

(*c*) Putting aside the large bag [*phad*] filled with your own faults, do not mock at the little bag [*rgye*] of your neighbour's faults.

(*e*) *Rang skyonphad gang* and *misky on rgye gang* are *Compos. determ.* Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rgye*. 000

29. (*a*) རང་གདོང་མ་མཐོང་སྟེ།
ཨི་གདོང་ལ་སྡད་མོ།། 577 539

(*b*) rang'dong ma thong'ste
mi'dongla stad'mo.

(*c*) Not seeing your own [ugly] face, [you make] a scene about your neighbour's face

(*d*) See 28.

(*e*) *Ltadmo* derived from *ltaces*, to look at. 000

30. (*a*) ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཡོག་པོ་ཡིན།
གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ་ཡིན།། 555 539

(*b*) lag'shes gun'gyi yog'po in'
stam'shes gun'gyi spon'bo in.

(*c*) Who is clever with his hands, is servant of all, who is clever in his speech, is master of all.

(*e*) The ending *gyi* is retained here. The proper Ladakhi would be *gunni*. The silent *g* and *d* in *gtam* and *dpon bo* become *s*. 000

31. (*a*) ཆག་པོས་འགས་པོ་ལ་མ་ཁྲིལ།། 577 539

(*b*) chag'poo gas'pola ma threl'.

(*c*) What is broken, must not laugh at what is cracked.

(*d*) See 28 and 29.

(*e*) *Chagpo* and *gaspo* are substantives derived from verbs. 000

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273 539 32. (*a*) མ་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་འདུག་ན་སྒྲན་མའི་ཕྱན་ཆང་སྟེར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) mashi'tbse ring'dugna shran'mā shran'chang ster'rin.

(*c*) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.

(*d*) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.

000 (*e*) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb.* and *copulat.*

593 539 33. (*a*) མ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་རྒྱ་ཚོད་མས་ཆོད།།

(*b*) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na
thsalrgo thsod'mā chod'.

(*c*) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].

(*d*) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.

000 (*e*) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*

539 34. (*a*) བསམ་པ་སྔོན་ལ་མ་བདང་ན།
འགྱོད་པ་རྗེ་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།

(*b*) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na
gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.

(*c*) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.

577 793 539 35. (*a*) བོང་ཏྲའི་རྣ་མཆོག་ལ་སེར་ལྷུག་ན། ཡང་ནས་ལ་ཐལ་ལྷུག་ན།
ཆོས་ཡིན།།

(*b*) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, teogs'in.

(*c*) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.

(*d*) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.

000 (*e*) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.

539 36. (*a*) སྒྲན་ལ་སྒག་ལག་ན། རྗེ་ལ་དགོད་ལ་ཤོར།།

(*b*) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.

(*c*) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

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(*d*) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you. 539

(*e*) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee. 000

37. (*a*) སྟག་ནས་ཁྱི་ཡོང་འདུག་ཟེར་ཏེ།
ཞ་འབུག་ནས་རྡོ་བཀྲུར་ཏེ་ཆ་རུག།

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(*b*) stag'nanā khyi'yongdug zer'te
zha'bugnā rdo'a khurte cha'rug.

(*c*) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.

(*d*) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.

(*e*) *Zhabug*=*zhabub*=falling headlong into a bog; *charug*=cha'adug; the *d* of *'adug* becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel. 000

38. (*a*) ཨི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ཆ་ན།
ཤིང་ངན་དཀུ་དང་ཐུག།

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(*b*) mi'ngan thsogs' sebla cha'na
shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.

(*c*) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.

(*d*) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.

(*e*) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped. 000

39. (*a*) ཨི་ལ་སྐྱིད་ཨི་ཐག།
རྭ་ལ་ཚིལ་ཨི ཐག།

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(*b*) mi'la skyid' mithag'
ra'la thsil' mi thag'.

(*c*) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.

(*e*) *Thagces*=*thegpa*. 000

40. (*a*) ཁྱི་ལ་སྒལ་དང་བེ་དཔལ་ཤོལ།།

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(*b*) khyi'a sgal'dang be'daa shol.

(*c*) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.

(*d*) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

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000 [564] (*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been originally ཨཔྷ་ཚདོལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

539 41. (*a*) རྟས་འཕང་ཉོ་ངམ། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྱོན་ཉོ་ངམ།།

(*b*) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

000 (*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

561 42. (*a*) ཐྲུ་གུ་ལ་དགེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་རྒྱང་ལ་ཇཱུ།།

793 (*b*) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

436 (*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

539 (*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

[000] (*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = 3¼ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

793 43. (*a*) ཁྭ་དགས་ཀོ་ལྷག་ཟེར་ས་དང་ཟླ་མའི་ཏོ་ལྷང་ཟེར་ས་ལ་སྒྲོགས་འདུག།

539 (*b*) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

000 (*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin. trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

539 44. (*a*) ལྦལ་དི་ཉིང་ཅན་ནི་ཉིང་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ།

བོད་ཉིང་མེད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་སྟོར།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la
bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

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539

(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) ཉམ་པོ་འདུག་པ་ཟླ་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད།།

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793

(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'.

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama. 609

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance. 192

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) ཨ་ནར་ཨ་ནར་ཨ་ཟེར་ར་ནི་མི་ཡི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན།

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562

རྒྱབ་ལ་གཡུ་ཞུང་བཏགས་ཀ་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན།།

301

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor iu'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁ་ཏས་ཀོ་ལྭགས་ཟེར་པ། ཕྱུང་ཀའི་མིག་འཁྲུལ།།

539

(*b*) Kha'tä ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kä mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

48. (*a*) ཟ་བོ་ཁྭ་དེས་ཟོས། ཐུང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་པོ།། 539

(*b*) za'o kha'tä zos', cung kä kha' marpo'.

(*c*) The [stolen] food was eaten by the crow [but the beak of the raven is red.

(*d*) Often the wrong person is caught instead of the guilty one.

(*e*) *Zos*=*bzas*, *zos* is the only past tense in Ladakhi, which changes the vowel. 000

49. (*a*) ཚིལ་མཐོང་སྟེ་ཁ་འགས།། 539 262

(*b*) thsil'thong'ste kha'gas'.

(*c*) [When] seeing grease, the mouth cracks [open].

(*d*) When you see something nice you want to have it.

(*e*) *Thsil*=mutton grease, a very desirable thing in Ladakh.

50. (*a*) ནོར་མེད་ཚོང་སལ་ཆ་ན། ཉྱོ་འདོད།། 539 577

(*b*) nor'med thsong'sala cha'na, nyo'dod.

(*c*) Who goes to the shop without money, likes foolishness.

(*d*) Do nothing unprepared, you might be laughed at.

(*e*) *Nyodod* is *Compos. determ.*=a liker of foolishness. 000

51. (*a*) སྟོད་ན་སྟོད་ནའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་ལས་སྟོད། 539 577

སྨད་ན་སྨད་ནའི་སངས་ཐུས་པས་སྨད།།

(*b*) stod'na stod'na ngä' sang gyal'lä stod'
smad'na smad'na, ngä' sang thus'pä smad'.

(*c*) Who praises me, is a better man than I am.
Who despises me, is a worse man than I am.

(*d*) Said by a man who has heard that slander is going on about him.

(*e*) For *sang* with the comparative, see Jäschke's grammar; *rgyallas* and *thuspas* are Instrumentals, *gyalla*=a good man. 000

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

SPECIAL L[ECTURE]

TIBETAN, TODA, AND TIYA POLYANDRY: A REPORT ON FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

By H. R. H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE*

The present paper on polyandry in those parts of Asia I have visited has, so far, been given to but a few audiences, for various reasons. It was presented once in London and once in Paris, and I attempted to give it in Cairo during the war, but, interestingly enough, the Egyptian government banned the lecture because it was about polyandry—a subject which they felt might be detrimental to Moslem customs and give ideas to Moslem ladies! Happily, such a development is not likely to take place in this country.

The basic idea behind my investigations was to go out into the field and get an up-to-date knowledge of polyandry by using the psychoanalytical discoveries of the beginning of this century, attempting to work these in with our ethnological and anthropological knowledge of primitive peoples. The material gathered, therefore, will be presented here in this spirit. Unfortunately, after two years and a half in the field, war broke out and I had to interrupt my work in order to go back and fight. This, naturally, was more important at the time, but it did interrupt the work. I am planning, now, to go out again this year with a Danish Expedition, first to southern India and then to Tibet to finish off what was begun earlier.

I am sure many people are wondering why I hit upon polyandry as a special study. I chose it for the following reasons: What interests the psychologists in the West, I should say, is to get as many comparative facts as possible about the psychology of people living in other parts of the world, and especially living in an entirely different family setup, since the

* This paper, illustrated by lantern slides and motion pictures, was presented at a Special Lecture of the Academy on March 9, 1948.

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LECTURE

121 results we have obtained clinically in the psychoanalytical field in the West are all based upon our organization, with the father being the head of the family, the inheritance going through the father's line and the child being brought up in that environment. It is of great interest to the psychoanalysts to be able to find societies in which people live under a different family organization, since the structure of the human psyche, as found in the West, is very closely linked with the family organization we have there.

The most obviously different organization seemed to me, to begin with, to be the matriarchal family, as it is known, that is to say, one in which the mother is head of the family and inheritance goes through her family. But, by all known investigations in anthropology, it is obvious that the matrilineal type of family is one in which the mother's brother, that is, the maternal uncle, plays so important a role that the children growing up in such an environment have only a father-substitute in him. Thus, the setup which we have in the West is very similar to the one in the matriarchal family. I thought, therefore, that it would be of greater interest to go out and find something *entirely* different, even more so than the matrilineal family, and polyandry seemed to be the most radically different type or organization because, here, you have a number of fathers, indiscriminate as fathers as we know them, and one mother. The children brought up in this society are surely living in an entirely different setup from ours, and entirely different, too, from the matrilineal and matriarchal tribal societies.

Also, polyandry is little known from an anthropological point of view, and it was worth while to investigate it purely from that angle. The difficulty which I came up against in the beginning was, where to find polyandrous peoples. They are not

121 well known and have not been extensively
114 studied or recorded. In a book by Pro-
171 fessor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I chose India and Tibet because, from the
128 abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
103 active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
162 tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
16 Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
361 The former kings of Tibet have taken
341 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
131 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
175 is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[50] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

2125

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis around which the system functions. In
592 taking down genealogical notes I have, therefore, always given the family the name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called Tsungarpa who married one woman,
428 the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE 1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
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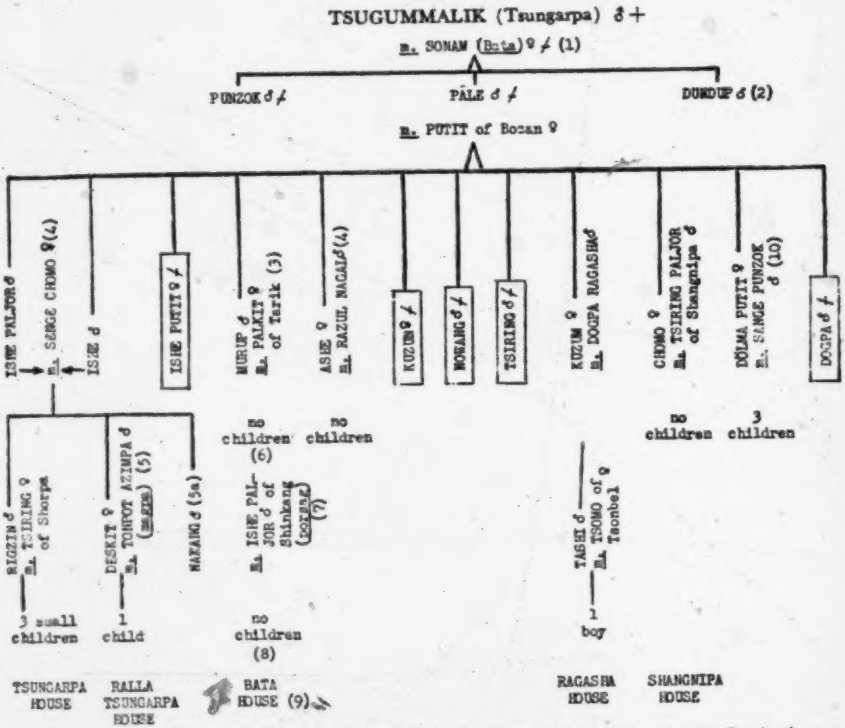

FIGURE 1. The Tsungarpa house. (1) Heiress to the Bata house—all brothers dead. (2) Put in charge of the lone Bata house. (3) Given the Bata house. (4) A Mohammedan—the woman takes the man's religion. (5) Land only held in tenancy. (5a) Becomes a Lama at Himis monastery. (6) After 20 years. (7) Murup is single-handed. (8) After 4 years. (9) Could adopt a child to carry on. (10) No land, as formerly Mohammedan; messenger at Himis monastery. † Deceased.

-- 213c (Figure 1) --

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually by the parents. But this is not always the
588 case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

584 the same property, which is built especially
593 for that purpose. This custom is known
[104] as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them
[104] (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age, usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three generations back. I have never found a case of
152 its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as polyandry is an institutionalized social system,
178 they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
178 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

216a

595 pean travelers were introducing the bad
178 habit of monogamous marriage, and that
the young men were getting more and more
428 immoral. I suppose he was quite right,
and as I was interested to hear his point
of view we had quite a conversation about
it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we
managed to remain wealthy without being
polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in
Tibet we haven't enough to go around and
as we don't want to divide the property up
we have to be polyandrous so that we
inherit the property without its being
divided. But how do you Europeans do
it? How do you remain wealthy by being
monogamous and dividing up your property?"

595 I must say I had not thought of this
178 before. It only occurred to me when I
was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes,
428 now that I think of it, it is probably true
that in Europe we do things in a different
329 way. When we marry, each man goes off
with his wife and they try to fend for
themselves, build up their own family and
get their own source of revenue. That is
the way we do it. There is enough wealth
to go around to found other families."
"Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I
have noticed among the Tibetans who
have become Moslems that this is also the
case. They cease being polyandrous, and
because of that they then divide up the
property. There is not enough to go
around. The eldest brother usually gets
it and the youngest brothers have to go off
with their wives elsewhere to find some
work. I have also noticed here that nearly
all the Mohammedan families seem to go
to Burma and work in the ruby mines
there. That is obviously for the same
reason you are telling me now about Europeans." Then he was silent for a moment
and looked at me in a pensive fashion until
suddenly he said, "Now I understand why
you Europeans come here. That is why
you have got colonies. If you were polyandrous you wouldn't need to!"

152 One question I am very often asked is,
428 does jealousy exist within the various

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152 houses? I have the impression that it does
428 exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 As it is, there seem to be some outlets
595 for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 A certain amount of neurotic cases
762 among brothers can also be noticed, which
593 shows that jealousy certainly exists unconsciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

152 762 593 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

837 595 684 There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 597 793 548 276 [824] Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 000 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

WT 838 181 595 But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT 779 595 174 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti 595 341 WT 341 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a [108] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchamadoong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchamadoong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

Ti 595 587 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

Ti 595 587 entitled to share the daughter-in-law with their sons. That, as I say, is practiced only in central Tibet but is well known in the entire country. The children issued from such a marriage legally have as fathers those to whom the wife was officially married at the moment of the birth. That is, if widowers share their daughter-in-law with their sons, the children of that woman are the children of the sons, so that your legal grandchildren can be your own physiological children and, *vice versa,* if it is the fathers who are legally married to the woman, your legal brother can well be your own physiological son!

Ti 595 587 WT 183 777 I understand that Tibetans from other parts of the country rather despise this form of marriage. I have caught my caravaneers openly insulting central Tibetans as being *tchamadoong*-practicing. Also, when they are playing dice, I noticed that sometimes they invoke the *tchamadoong* to produce luck for them, so that she is a double kind of figure to whom they cannot be entirely indifferent: they despise her and yet, at the same time, she can bring them luck.

Ti 595 587 I do not know how far the existence of the *tchamadoong* has been reported in anthropological circles heretofore. Personally, I have never heard of this system before, except on the spot, and I am very keen to go back and study it. The case to which we came closest was the governor in the western province of Tibet, named Ngari Korsum. He was living in the capital, Gartok, when we were there. He was a central Tibetan sent by the central government to govern that province, and with him were his two sons and their one wife. She was a *tchamadoong,* the wife of the boys, the father sharing her with his sons. I was shown a photograph of her, taken by a Tibetan who had a camera from India, and that is the closest I have been, so far, to such a woman. I understand that in southern India there is a similar practice, in which a father is entitled to enjoy his daughter-in-law as long as his son is a minor, but this practice

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is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

To
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The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

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Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

To 2196
302 have any except buffalo butter, which they
524 rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To
595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which
To polyandry turns.

595 Three brothers married, polyandrously,
582 a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She
422 was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of
To the common property.

595 The two others tried to marry a woman
583 called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started
592 haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

To 595 422 592

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second brother had also left, when he ran away in a huff, with one-third plus two of the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 wTi 595 [592]

The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

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Ti 516 or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 582 586 wTi 584 Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

To 595 wTi [595] Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans

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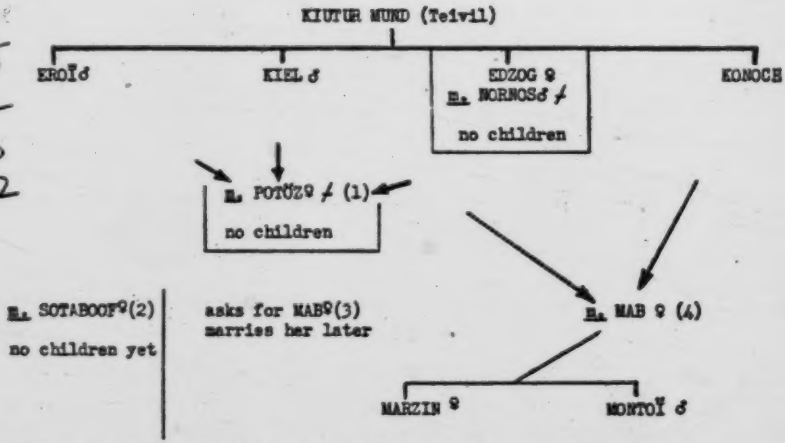

FIGURE 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Kazan when two years old. (2) Becomes a government peon; takes one-third of the buffalo plus two away. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo but comes back and marries Mab after his brother, Konoch, has already married her. (4) Konoch originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel joins in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

-- p. 220c (Figure 2) --

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To x36 784 154 618 123

interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154

I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595

Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 515 wTi 595

As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

TO 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 586 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

TODA AW 60
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K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

Ti 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 182 To 595 182 Ti 595 182 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
TODA AW60
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K 595 182 Ti 595 182 To 595 182

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 K 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

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It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

T, 162 792 To 847 162

As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162

As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanatio

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To would give the following interpretation
829 of the polyandrous systems found: It
595 seems to me that polyandry is "not neces-
121 sarily a primitive institutional form of
182 marriage, but that it is due to the psycho-
T logical reaction of individuals living in
communities subject to environmentally
829 poor and insecure economic conditions,
595 persisting, in the case of the Tibetans,
121 through isolation from other communities,
182 or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of
K defense mechanism against invasion by
[121] other cultures." I have not included the
Tiyas in this definition because I do not
know them sufficiently and would like to
go more thoroughly into their polyandry
before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti Now, if I take this definition, instance
595 by instance, I shall be able to interpret
114 exactly what I mean by it. When I first
212 say that polyandry is "not necessarily a
primitive institutional form of marriage,"
I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans
are all literate and educated people, with
whom you can speak quite freely, who have
a v[illegible]nounced sense of reality and do
no[illegible]ny way seem like a primitive
peop[illegible]. It thus looks as if polyandry were
a system entirely outside of the usual
evolutionary stages of marriage, in which
anthropology puts the matriarchal before
the patriarchal system.

To Next, I say that polyandry is "due to
595 the psychological reaction of individuals
114 living in communities subject to environ-
[182] mentally poor and economically insecure
[593] conditions," by which I mean, living in a
physical environment which leads to a
miserable economy. This economy makes
Ti them very interdependent, within each
595 family, upon the help of each other, and
114 this interdependence, in turn, which is
[182] stressed very highly in these families be-
[593] cause of the necessity of sticking together
under the difficult physical conditions,
calls for less aggression among the mem-
bers of the family itself and among groups
of them. It seems to me that this stress
on the condemnation of aggression is such
that even something approaching incest

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 Ti 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

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relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous people they are very proud of it and boast of it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

000 I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.

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A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

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BY

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OF GREECE AND DENMARK
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CHAPTER 4

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS

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Tibetan culture is not restricted to the actual political boundaries of the area marked on the map as Tibet. Fluctuating and ill-defined as these boundaries are in themselves (Amdo (*A-mDo*),[1] in north-eastern Tibet and the eastern part called Kham (*K'hams*) were looked upon by China until lately as provinces of her own, respectively named Tsinghai and Si-kang), they still lie well within the far more extensive region where Tibetan culture is to be found. The total area over which the Dalai Lama and his government recently held sway was generally considered to cover 600,000 square miles – a very vast one. The five million or so inhabitants of this country have, despite their small numbers, produced a culture which is original, peculiarly adapted to the extraordinary environment in which the pople live, and sufficiently characteristic to be immediately recognizable when it is encountered outside its boundaries.

The extensive distribution and general uniformity everywhere of Tibetan culture are aspects which travellers in the regions where it is to be found have often remarked upon. From the east on the borders of Chinese Szechwan, to Kashmir in the west, from lake Koko Nor in the north to the Himalayas and even beyond them to the south (see Map 5), that is over thousands of miles, Tibetan culture forms an entity of its own, in which those who have elaborated it for their use move

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[1] Romanization of Tibetan spelling is in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ka, k'ha, ga, nga,	*tsa, ts'ha, dza, wa,*
cha, ch'ha, ja, nya,	*zha, za, a, ya, ra, la,*
ta, t'ha, da, na,	*sha, sa, ha, a,*
pa, p'ha, ba, ma,	*i, u, e, o,* (phonetically modified vowels shows as: *ä, ü, ö*); *wazur* = *w*.

Prefixed and superscribed consonants are shown by a small letter before a capital; thus *rGya*. Tibetan names and words in the text are given phonetically in accordance with the local pronunciation, followed by the actual Tibetan orthography, romanized in brackets.

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about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

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The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

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In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

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In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of Ü (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as Ü-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

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In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-

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tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son 114
polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them 595
since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

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The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within 101
Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two 131
others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan 648
culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families. WT

My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of 114
India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

WT
The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yül 101
(*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

WT
Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part 133
of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see [131]
Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[Text Continues on P 305]

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Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

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Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [312]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

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Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

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Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy. 771 793

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries. 197 212

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears. 144 291

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed 291 301 302 [184] 291

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Lahul

291 stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

175 Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which
698 Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading
[63] house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

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4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country. 105 631 [651]

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants. [115]

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size. 105 423 [631] [651] [241]

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields [631]

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105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
[966] labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
227 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

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exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

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595 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu
795 Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not.
631 As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there
[342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father.
[291] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden
[574] table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

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had come to live with her husbands in Kyelang. I asked if I could photograph the family, and on receiving permission to do so, asked for the younger husbands to be included. They posed unabashed but the elder boy and his bride looked shy. The Thakur said that this was because husband and wife should not really be seen very much together in public. 595

Further questioning elucidated that property of the household was common to the family, the mother and her three sons having inherited the land and house from the deceased husband. By marrying one wife, the brothers avoided partition and jointly shared their estate, their wife, and the children they might have. Asked if the younger brothers could marry another woman if they wished, the Thakur assured me that they could; he said that they could also bring her home, if the others agreed to it, and have her living with them in the common house. In my notes I have written: "Thus polygyny and polyandry are united under one roof, the first marriage of the three brothers to one wife not being dissolved when a new wife is brought home." [428]

The following day, June 22nd, the Wazir took me to some other households in the town. The first one, called Mion Zukshi, was polygynous and polyandrous as theoretically described above. Four brothers lived with two wives, without dividing their belongings and apparently in complete harmony. I did not know enough at the time to investigate the relations of these people, but I did gather one wife had been the spouse of all four brothers first, until the third one had gone out and brought himself another girl back, with the consent of his brothers.

In the next household, called Ralwa Karpa, one man was married to three women. Unfortunately my notes do not give any details and I am mentioning it here only as a indication that polygyny does exist in the valley of Lahul as, in fact, it exists everywhere else in areas of Tibetan culture.

The third household was the main one from which the previous one had broken away (*Ralwa*, it seems, means "cleft" locally). It consisted of two men living together undivided property with a wife each. The particularity of this family was, however, that both brothers had been married first to one of the women, until the older man had brought in a new wife. The first woman then became exclusively the wife of the younger brother. I made a rough sort of genealogy (the first I ever did) which I give opposite (Table 26). 1/1 595 601

From this genealogy I learned that polyandry earlier on had been much more pronounced. Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup had two elder

1/1 [See category 116, p. 317 -- Analyst]

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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [594] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [788] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, [795] in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 178 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

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made clear to me exactly what was meant by this name (on the 25th June, 1938). 575 428

Lahulis, the Moravian missionary told me, are very keen not to divide up their property and anxious, also, not to let their family name die out. [182] In order to attain these two objectives, they practise polyandry and both patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance, the latter type, however, only in the case of there being no male heir, so that a generation in which there are only girls may be bridged over.

He compared the Lahuli household to a pivot around which all the interests of the family revolved. Polyandry was practised because in this way a number of brothers living on a family property could keep it undivided by taking one wife in common and sharing her, the land and the children between themselves. Usually inheritance was patrilineal, boys inheriting jointly and without division from their fathers, and then marrying polyandrously as the latter had done, and so on and so on through the future generations.

Matrilineal succession was resorted to when there was no male heir or heirs. In that case, if there were more than one girl, the eldest became the heiress, while the others were married off into other families, usually polyandrously, to brothers. In the case of one female heir, she, like the eldest of many daughters, inherited the whole property from her parents, undivided, and then was free to take as many husbands as she wished with whom to procreate offspring for the household. If she had boys, they inherited as described above; if she in turn only had girls, the same procedure as that which had been followed in her own case was again made use of.

The first type of marriage, the Reverend Peter said, that in which the sons of a Lahuli family took one wife in common, was the most widespread and was called a *bag-ma* marriage (*Bag-ma*, meaning "bride" in Tibetan). It was patrilocal and patrilineal. The other type of marriage, the one in which a daughter inherited all the property alone and took as many husbands as she wished, was more exceptional. Its name was a *mag-pa* marriage (from *Mag-pa*, "son in law" or "bridegroom" in Tibetan), an appellation by which the woman's husband or husbands were also known in that case (see genealogy of the Karpa family in which this term is used). [601]

My informant told me that in Leh, Ladak, he had known a woman with three *mag-pas*, all unrelated, so that this is a form of non-fraternal polyandry. He said that the younger brothers of a *mag-pa* do not have access to his wife, as it is he who has married into her household and

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595 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal
428 polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out
[586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female,
597 household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gum-
[595] ling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be
[601] seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young wom-
[273] an beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only
[564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith
[533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

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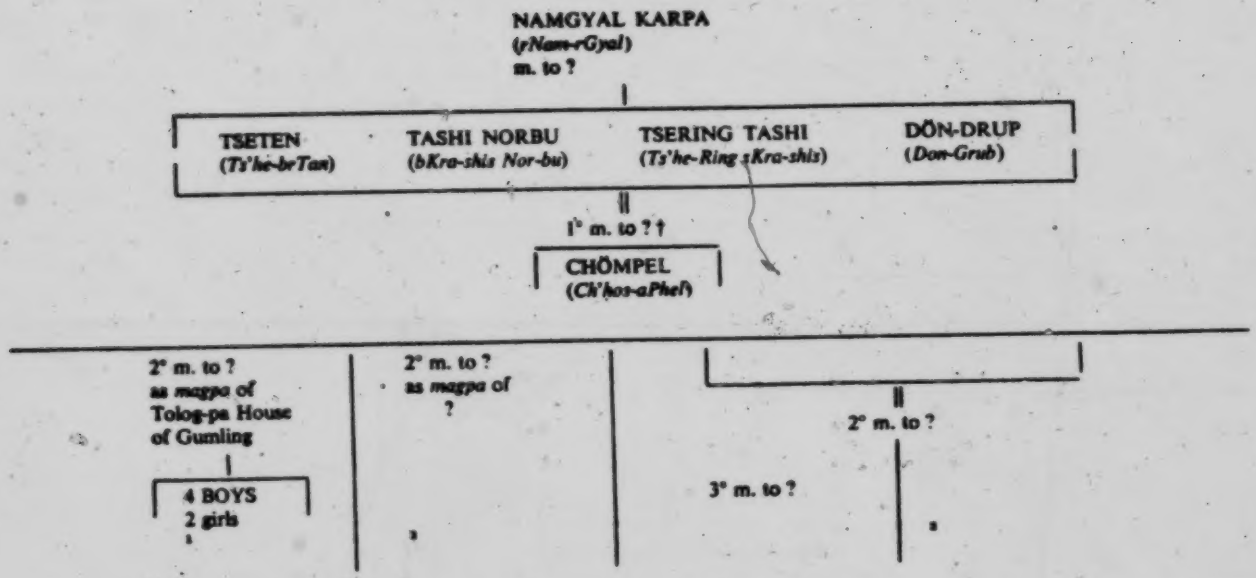
TABLE 26. HOUSE OF KARPA.



[1] House of Tolag-pa of Gumling.
[2] House of the family into which Tashi Norbu was married as *magpa*.
[3] House of Karpa continued by Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup.

Males in Capital letters
Females in small lettering
m. = married
† = dead

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585 on the floor in a deep niche for us to sit upon. Other guests, native, were already there, and they greeted us politely as we sat down.

We had hardly been there a few minutes, when the bridal procession was heard arriving. Two drumming Garas preceded it, and they were followed by the bride herself, completely trussed up in a white sheet and carried bodily on the back of a man. These two were followed in turn by a crowd of women led by three young men whom I heard are called *nya-opa* (*gNya-ao-pa*) meaning "witness". They had flowers and bits of straw in their hats and wore colourful clothes. It seemed that three of them (including the man carrying the bride) had always to be related to the bridegroom, while the two others need only be of his village.

All these people had been to fetch the bride from her home, and they [583] had done it in the traditional way, which was to steal her. She had been surprised in the fields while she was at work, covered by the sheet in which she was now wrapped, and carried away by one of the *nya-opa*, the *Na-tri-pa* (*sNa-aK'hrid-pa*), literally "the one who conducts (the bride) by the nose". She put up a show of resistance and, as she arrived near the house in which we waited, she was crying out and bemoaning her fate in truly traditional way. This is compulsory, it appears, in order to give the impression that the girl is modest and respectable, unwilling to leave her parents and be married off to some strange man (or men). Should she walk of her own accord to her future hunsbands' house, for instance, it would be considered the height of indecency, giving the impression that she wanted to leave her old home and go to that of her betrothed.

The white bundle which was the bride was deposited in the yard of the house at the feet of a woman standing there. Upon enquiry, I heard that the latter was a relative of the bridegrooms, and now had a role to play. Sure enough, as soon as the bride touched the ground, the woman sat down beside her, and the new arrival collapsed ceremoniously across her knees, continuing to wail and to cry out in a perfect performance. The Gara drummers settled down opposite, on the other side of the yard, and continued to beat their instruments as loudly as they could, as if they wanted to drown the laments of the wailing bride.

585 Three lamas from the local monastery then came out of the house.
589 The first one carried a stone slab with three little figures kneaded out of *tsampa* (*Tsam-pa*) (barley flour) on it, one of them with a lighted candle in front of it and another with a little pillar, also made of *tsampa*, standing before it. These were called *tsa-sum* (*Ts'ha-gSum*), and were

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figures connected with getting rid of evil spirits. The second monk carried a *drilbu* (*dril-bu*) or bell, and a *dorje* (*rDorJe*) or *vajra* thunderbolt, those ubiquitous instruments of Tibetan lamaist ritual. The third one carried a plate full of glowing charcoal embers. 585 789

On reaching the sobbing bride and the woman over whose knee she was bent, the priests lit the candle of the *tsa-sum* and dropped powdered incense onto the burning coals. The plate containing these, now smoking copiously, was placed below the girl's dress so as to fumigate her from below of any evil that she might have brought with her. The *tsa-sum* was passed repeatedly and slowly over her, clockwise, to the accompaniment of muttered prayers, and then thrown away over a nearby hedge with much whistling and shouting from the onlookers and even the sound of a shot being fired somewhere close to the house. Thakur Partap Chand explained that the *tsa-sum*, loaded with the evil which the girl had brought with her and which had been chased out of her by the fumes and smoke from the charcoal, had now been thrown away; a gun had been fired to kill the devils who were trying to escape, while the object of the shouting and whistling by the onlookers was to frighten away those devils who had not been hit.

Once all this was finished, the *Nya-opa* put shoes on the bride, who had arrived without any. She struggled and protested against this action, saying, as she traditionally should, that she did not want them. Ornaments were next placed on her while she made further protests, refusing to change her posture which was still that of lying prostrate over her woman companion's knee. The girl in the elaborate dress who had offered us *chang* when we arrived, then came out and gave a drink of the beer to each of the men. She poured it into their palms, from which they drank, and then went over to the bride to do the same. I was surprised to see the latter lap it up without making any fuss. 585 [273]

After this, the *Na-tri-pa* picked the bride up again and carried her into the house. As I wanted to see what was going to happen now, we left the roof from where we had been watching up to this point, and climbed down the steps to the main room, on the ground floor of the house, into which the bundle which still constituted the bride was being carried. We got there just a few seconds ahead of her, and sat down quickly at the far end in front of the window, next to the three lamas who had also settled down. Sketch 1, below, is a rough plan of our respective positions.

To our left, two of the bridegrooms, seated cross-legged on the floor, awaited their future spouse. A couple of them sufficed, it seemed, the

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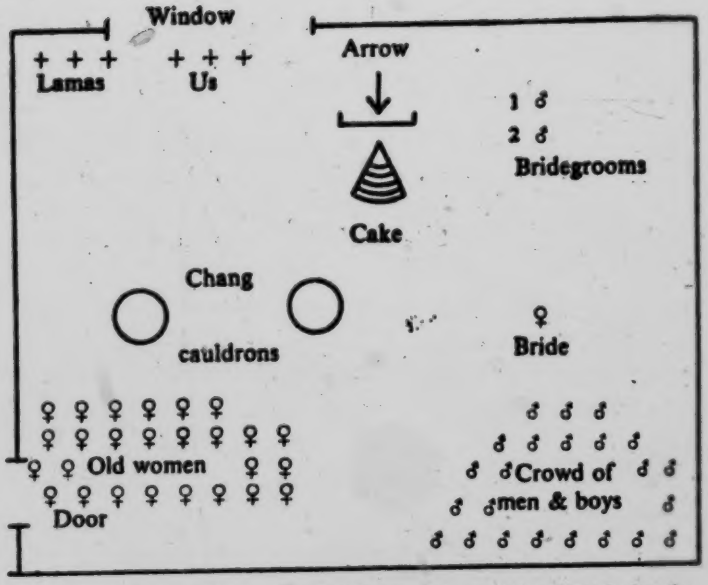

Sketch 1. Plan of main room of Tolag-pa House of Gumling during the polyandrous wedding there on the 1st July, 1938.

other two being very young and fidgety and incapable of behaving as they should at their wedding. The eldest of the brothers was on the [292] right and he wore a yellow silk gown with a bright green sash diagonally across it, a charm box round his neck and a little Lahuli embroidered hat on his head. His brother was plainly dressed in everyday clothes and was seated on his left.

In front of the eldest brother, in a square box full of grain, stood a [782] tall arrow with prayer flags attached to the head. Next to it, and in front of the second bridegroom, there was a conical cake of *tsampa* with the small figure of a goat fashioned out of butter at the top. In the centre of the room were two huge cauldrons of *chang*, enough to keep the party going for quite some time. The back of the room, facing us, was full of people, many old women on our right, and a mixed group of men and boys just opposite.

The bride was brought in and dumped near the younger brother, to his left. She remained lying there without moving, still gently moaning [354] but having given up her violent protests. The room was in darkness when she was carried in, but no sooner had she been put down on the

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floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony. 585 354

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard. 585 782

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval. 585 787

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights. 585 [273]

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

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585 men for another half hour and, on the stroke of midnight, they went up to the bridal chamber where the eldest brother was put to bed in another bed than the one in which his bride was already lying. This is the usual custom, I was assured, when the couple is not notoriously in love, and parents have arranged the match. They could sleep in the same bed together if it were otherwise. An old woman was left in the room all night to watch over them and see how they behaved, and this appeared to be an indication that the young people had, nevertheless, had a word to say in the choice of whom they would marry, because if they had not and the parents alone had arranged everything, two men and two women would have been on guard all night.

Thakur Partap Chand assured me that newly married couples never consummate the marriage on the first night; they only have physical relations with one another on their wedding day if they have had some before. Intercourse between husband and wife may not take place until a week later, I heard (I must say with some incredulity), or sometimes until after a month or even one year. The only explanation that I could find for such a curious statement was that perhaps in the case of arranged marriages, the partners are not keen to know each other, and postpone this duty as long as they can. But I cannot believe that so much delay is observed in the case of newly married couples who have voluntarily chosen each other.

In the early morning, the women fetched the bride out and, having dressed her in all her finery, brought her down to the main room again. The bridegroom and his brother were likewise taken down, adorned in their best clothes by their male friends and relatives. We found them sitting in state in the reception room where they had been seated during the wedding, but with the bride now relaxed and upright, and all the other paraphernalia removed – except the *chang* cauldrons.

[203] From the latter, an ample supply was served to the guests, together with tea. We were continually being pressed to drink, and after sipping our cups a few times, got tired of it and left the room. I took advantage of this to question the Thakur as to who the other people in the room were. He told me that they were relatives and friends of the bridegrooms' family. The bride was not represented, he assured me, because it was very rare that members of the bride's family should attend her wedding, never if they did not approve of the match. If their consent [584] has been obtained, they must first receive some assurance that their daughter will receive enough revenue from the land of her future husbands to satisfy them before they consent to appear. They will then do

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so, but always two days later, and when they make their appearance, 585
everyone on the bridegrooms' side is very polite to them, for they protest against the violent way in which their daughter has been abducted, in accordance with the best traditions.

We went off to lunch after that, and on returning in the afternoon, 585
visited the private chapel of the house, the *lha-k'hang* (*lha-k'hang*), 782
where the three lamas were busy preparing offerings which still had to be made to the gods so that the wedding should be auspicious. They had consulted the scriptures, they told us, and the things which we could see on the altar were those that they considered appropriate for this occasion. Before a large statue of Buddha, together with the usual presentations of water, grain and *tsampa* moulded *tormas* (*gTor-ma*) or dough figures, there were a leg of mutton, the arrow with the streamers to it, standing in a box of grain, which we had seen in front of the senior bridegroom at the ceremony of the previous day, and a platter upon which stood the large figure of a stag also moulded in dough, with twelve points to its antlers, surrounded by small, coloured flags and two *dos* (*mDos*) or string-cross traps for evil spirits. The lamas were most obliging and pleasant, and although we interrupted their devotions, took great pains to show us everything. They told us that the stag would be [789]
thrown away and burned before the wedding festivities had come to an end.

Next, we went up onto the roof again, attracted there by various 585
curious visitors from Tibet who had stopped off on their way south to 273
see what was going on in the Tolag-pa house. There we found a space filled with a lot of men from the party, sitting round the wall, while in the centre, before them, huge cauldrons of *chang* were being prepared. Upon asking, I was given to understand that the bride was shortly coming up to give flowers to each of the men in exchange for small coins which they would give her for good luck. The *chang*-girl, whom we knew from the first day, was there distributing the alcoholic beverage to all in turn, still dressed in all her finery. Below this space on the roof, I heard that there was another room for tea drinkers, and that a similar ceremony would take place there, too.

The bride did come up soon after that, and she duly distributed flowers and received money in exchange. Everybody then got very drunk [789]
on the *chang* until the lamas came out with the stag offering and threw it away into a specially built bonfire below the house, while everyone hissed loudly at the devils which were being thus destroyed. Dancing followed, the men nearly all reeling drunk, but then I was told that for

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585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she
[591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accom-
[115] panied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

423 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
428 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
595 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re-
[584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

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In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garhpan*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur. 595 428

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said. 595 342 574

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli. 595 [578]

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father, [851]

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595 although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that
[851] when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an
[842] attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I
855 was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience show-
428 ed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put
[626] pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There
[578] was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this
[187] matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *meme* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

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The Lahuli term for father is *apa* (*Ap'ha*), and a distinction is made between eldest father, *apa chembo* (*Ap'ha ch'hen-po*), middle father, *apa chung-ngan* (*Ap'ha ch'hung-ngu*) or *apa panna* (probably an Indian term), and the youngest, *agu* (*A-gu*), by which term (which strictly means paternal uncle), all other younger brothers of the eldest fathers are called. 601 595

The mother is known as *ama* (*A-ma*). Husband and wife are both called *zhidmat* (*Zhid-sMat*) or *troks* (*Drogs*). A wife calls her eldest husband *ajo* (*A-jo*) or more respectively *ga-ga* (*Ga-ga*), and the younger ones *no* (*No*) or honorifically *ga-ga chung-ngan* (*Ga-ga ch'hung-ngu*). The eldest husband calls his wife *ache* (*A-ch'he*), (which is another word for sister); the oher husbands call her *nomo* (*No-mo*), while all of them, speaking of her to each other, refer to her as *ane* (*A-ne*) (which also has the meaning of aunt), or *zhidmat*. People outside the family will speak of the wife also as *zhidmat* and of the husbands as *go-bu* (*mGo-Bu*), for the eldest, *panna* (Indian?) for the middle one, and *t'ha-chung-ngan* (*mT'ha-ch'hung-ngu*) for the youngest.

In a polygynous household, the eldest wife goes by the name of *chan-chen* (*Byan-ch'hen*), the second one by that of *Chan-chung-ngan* (*Byan-ch'hung-ngu*), and the youngest is called *yang-chung-ngan* (*Yang-ch'hung-ngu*). Eldest boys, before they are married, are known as *gaga* (*Ga-ga*), and youngest as *no-no* (*No-no*). I have already said that a man called in to a family to produce children when the husbands have failed to do so with their common wife is called a *p'horjag*. Sometimes, a second man is also asked to assist if the first one fails, in which case he is called a *po-chung-ngan* (*P'ho-ch'hung-ngu*). Sons go by the name of *bu-tsa* (*Bu-ts'ha*), while daughters are called *bu-mo* (*Bu-mo*). [842]

The Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity belong also to various patrilineal clans, each one descendant from a common ancestor. These are called *rü* (*Rus*), meaning "bone", and those belonging to them are known as *rü-pa* (*Rus-pa*). The Thakur gave me a list of some of the main ones, the name they bore, he said, being that of the ancestor. They are the following: 614

1. Guram Shing-pa (*Gur-ram Shing-pa*) or Jo (*Jo*), meaning "Sugar cane one" or "Lord", the clan to which he himself belonged. They were descendants, he told me, of the preserved semen of a Tibetan ascetic which had been fertilized on a piece of sugar cane.
2. Lön-chen-pa (*bLon-ch'hen-pa*), "Minister one".
3. Miru-pa (*Mi-rus-pa*), "Human bone one" or "Villager from Miru" (in Ladak).

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614 4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

[582] Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been [626] a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

114 Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation cere- [115] monies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

114 Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, 852 a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet 852 twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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164 He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods:
257 venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epi-
[199] lepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least ob-
595 served). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his re-
158 marks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in
762 Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

759 Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next
[115] went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan
[759] medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century
158 A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied
759 that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

158 Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously
595 to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they
578 were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

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There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name). 757 833 [832]

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax. 115 847 [839]

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born. 775 842

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains. 484 [439]

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Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

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(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576]
they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

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595 563 as it did among all Tibetans, that is also among the sedentary population. Since many authors have denied the existence of polyandry among nomads in Tibet, while others have stated that it does exist, the pronouncement was of interest to me.

I asked whether the few animals which the nomads did own themselves were held in common in one family unit, as the land was in Lahul. Although I had expected an affirmative answer to this question, the one that I received was in the negative. Why then did nomads live in polyandry? I enquired what the incentive might be, since there did not appear to be an economic one. The reply given was that it was a Tibetan custom which everyone in Tibet had always practised. Against this, I argued that by dividing up the family into as many units as there were sons to marry, each with his wife and children, since property was already individual, it would be possible to increase the livestock and raise the standard of living among nomads. This, however, did not seem to impress my informants, the abbot and the *goba*, at all; they simply repeated that nomads were Tibetans like others and therefore followed the customs of their country.

I have thus come to the conclusion that the nomads of Tibet practise polyandry exactly as the sedentary population does, out of social conformity. Being Tibetans, they often combine other forms of marriage with polyandry as well and, while I was in Rupchu, I heard about a prominent case of polygyny which, it seemed, had attracted a certain amount of attention, even in this society.

A man named Sönam Murup (*bSod-Nams dNgos-Grub*), unfortunately absent at the time of my visit, was the *mag-pa* husband of a young woman whose two other sisters were married out in *bag-ma*. These, however, had divorced and returned home to their sister, and from that moment had become the junior wives of Sönam Murup. No marriage ceremony had been performed so that they were free to leave again and to remarry, but in the meantime, the children that they had had with the *mag-pa* were considered as those of the family of his first wife.

[114] It was at Korzok *gompa* that I was given details about the polyandry practised by the Lhasa officials in Ngari Korsum province, and particularly about the way in which the Gar-pön and his son lived together with a common wife. I shall not go into this here, however, but will hold it in reserve for the division dealing particularly with this subject, as part of the description of the polyandry that is practised in Tibet proper.

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2. LADAK

a) *Preliminary Description*

I would like to begin with a brief description of Ladak and of Leh, the setting in which my research work was carried out, before accounting for the polyandry of this region.

1. *Environment*

Ladak (often spelt Ladak*h* in English, from the Hindi, whereas in Tibetan it is *La-Dwags*),[1] is really the most westerly part of the high plateau of Tibet, today included in Kashmir as a *tehsil* or administrative sub-division of that state (see Map 5). It is limited in the north by the Karakorum mountains and the Kara Tagh, which are westerly continuations of the Kwen Lun mountains of northern Tibet; in the south, by an artificial frontier drawn along the foot of the Zangskar and main Himalayan ranges; in the east, by an equally unnatural boundary with Tibet which runs from the Karatagh south-west of the Lingzi T'hang (plain) to the Pangkong Tso, and from there, south-east, to the upper Indus valley; in the west, by the other Kashmir sub-divisions of Zangskar and Baltistan.

The area covered by the sub-division is 82,000 square miles, of which only 47,762 are cultivated. It is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, the inhabited part ranging from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet, and even more in Rupchu, as we have just seen. It is traversed from the south-east to the north-west by the Indus river, and in the north-western part another large watercourse takes its source, the Shyok river, into which runs the Nubra. It is these valleys which constitute the fertile areas where habitation is possible, agriculture fed from river and glacier water being the mainstay of the village.

As in Lahul, and even more so here, because of the altitude everywhere, the climate is a cold one for the greater part of the year, only the brilliant tropical sun of India bringing some warmth during the day in the summer months. The rainfall is scanty but, during the winter, an appreciable amount of snow does fall. Temperatures in the inhabited parts of Ladak, that is at a mean altitude of 11,000 feet, vary between a maximum of 62° and a minimum of 23°, on average.

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

[1] Another Tibetan name for Ladak is *Mar-yul (dMar-yul)*, the "red country".

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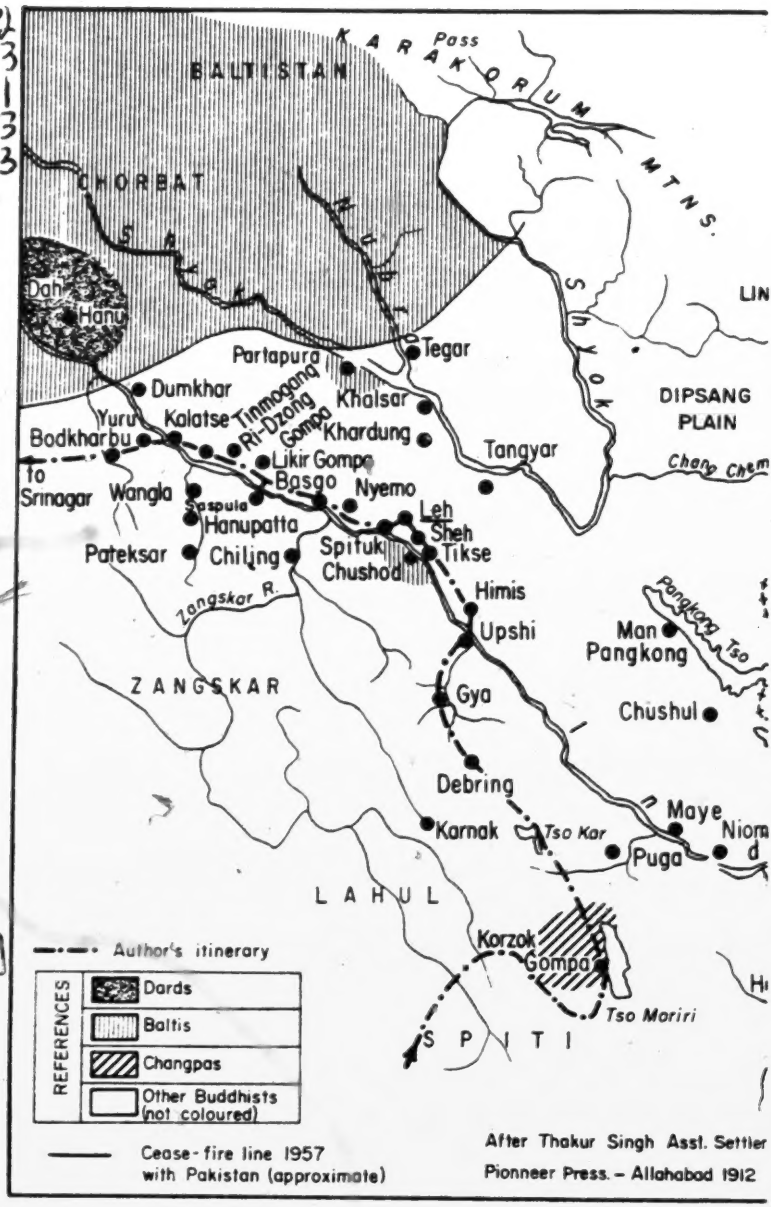

[114]

Map V. Sketch map of Ladak.

[facing P 335-A]

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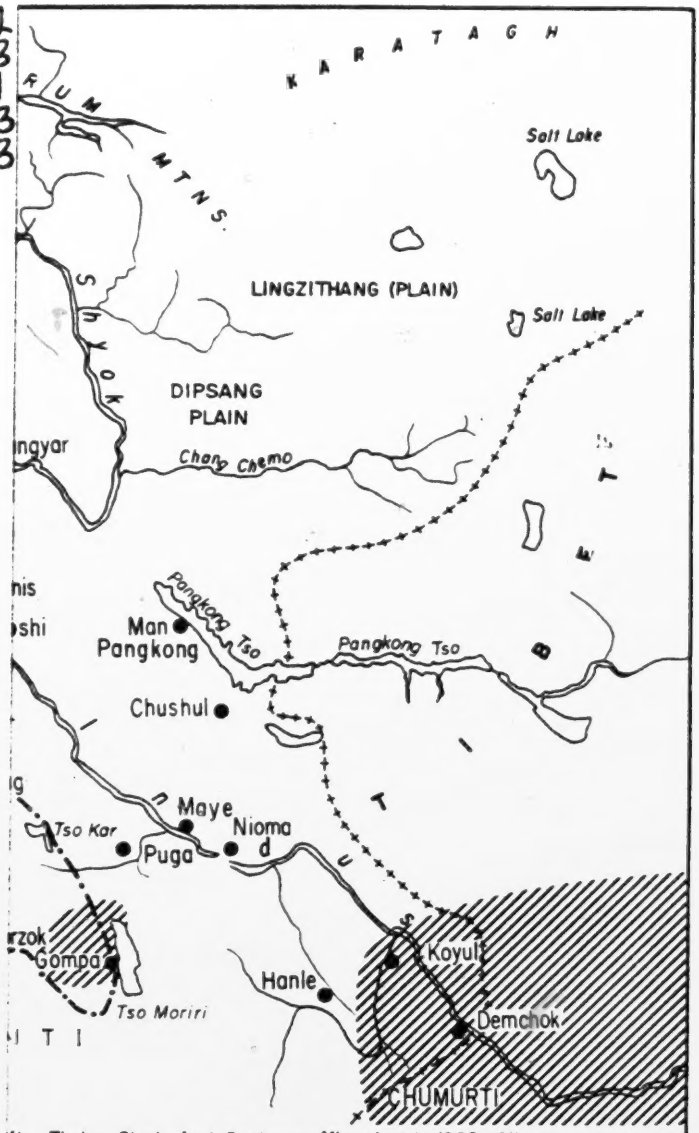

After Thakur Singh Asst. Settlement-officer, Ladak, 1968-1911
Pioneer Press. – Allahabad 1912

[facing P. 335-B]

0 15 30 miles

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Ladak

Trade routes

131 Through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Kara-
487 korum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

133 Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rup-
[101] chu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder en-
[137] vironment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks
[361] of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls
778 and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist,
782 Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

162 The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999.
995 It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[564] [1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

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resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

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3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but [101] Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emigrants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races inter- [144] mingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

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Ladak king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his [illegible] to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists. 175 648

After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line. [631] [595]

In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis. [631]

Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that [631]

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175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these 175 631 clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

648 In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the [939] supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [985]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nangdzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 933 651

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105 423 651 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. *Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid,* but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 423 427 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 241 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the [134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing [23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

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The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

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b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

1. *Generalities*

595 From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of poly-
[795] androus families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something un-
170 desirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in
595 Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who
795 had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the
[626] rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün
[115] (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at
[563] home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

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temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

595 whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant
428 of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment
[423] and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand.
[586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patri-
[184] lineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called
842 in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not
[177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar-
[585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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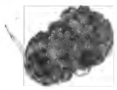

the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595
the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597
is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; [428]
the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584
with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787]
parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583]
"relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421]
loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

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584 tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This
[583] will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called
[421] *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston*
[585] (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will
[936] amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their
[583] daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

[584] In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

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although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree. 582- 611 614 [184]

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail. 585

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness". [535] [087]

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

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585 their destinaton, the people in the procession are intercepted by members of the girl's family, both male and female, called either *Nang-mi* (*Nang Mi*) "people of the interior", or *Yado Dzao* (*Ya-do mDza-bo*) "companion-friends". These beat them with sticks and make a pretence of holding them up. The bridegroom's relatives offer pieces of cloth, *khatags*, and cash (annas) to appease the trouble-makers, and they are then subject to questioning and answering in song form, based on the eighteen Puranas, called on this occasion *Nya-rabs Chop-gyat* (*gNya-rabs bCho-brGyad*) "the eighteen legends of the witnesses".

The same show of resistance is made again at the door of the girl's house (including thorns put deliberately on the ground to impede sitting down) and more offerings are made to remove the obstacles. The leaders of the procession then state the object of their visit, and proceed to dance round a *tsampa* and bread image called *Drangyas* (*Brang-rGyas*) which has been put up in the yard together with the carcass of a whole sheep or *Sha-kog* (*Sha-k'hog*). Lamas who are present here, begin worship while the dance is still on.

A feast follows, during which the bride is hidden away, her horse is stolen, she is not allowed to go to the toilet, etc., and is generally bothered by her relatives who express in this way their (feigned) disinclination to let her go. Her father and *azhang* are paid some nominal sum of money so that an end is put to this mischief, and the girl is produced. She then has a *khatag* wound round her head and is led into the kitchen, where the lamas conduct a religious ceremony called *yang-kug* (*gYang-k'hug*) which is an evocation of blessing addressed to the pre-Buddhist god of wealth, in order to secure happiness and prosperity for the bride.

Clothes, ornaments, horses, yaks, sheep, goats, grain and cash are now offered to the boy's family by that of the bride. The bridegroom's relatives pay back with Rin-t'ho, as decided earlier, and by offering a purely nominal sum of two or three rupees as the price of the milk of the bride's mother, called *Omä Rin* (*aO-mai Rin*) "milk price". Then they all settle down, on both the bride's and the bridegroom's side, to the serious business of drafting the marriage contract.

585 675 In this document, the details of the girl's dowry are listed, what the property of the bridegroom will be is specified, the "assistance" which the bride will have from a number of other husbands, i.e. the brothers of the eldest one, is recorded, and sometimes a clause is inserted that if the husband does not turn out to be up to the mark, she will be authorized to bring in a *mag-pa* of her choice. All men present are

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witness to the signature of this document. Those who sign are the *Nya-pön*[1] and the father of the bridegroom; the latter adds a pledge that he is bound to carry out his promises as to the amount of property which will be that of the young people when they are married. The original goes to the bride's relations, and the boy's family retains a duplicate. 585 [675]

The bridal party remains the night in the house and in the morning sets out for the bridegroom's house, taking the bride with them, and the second phase of the wedding ceremony begins.

The bride is received at the entrance of the bridegroom's house by two or more lamas, reciting prayers. They hold an earthenware vessel full of foodstuffs (*chang*, *tsampa*, rice, tea, dried apricots, and various varieties of vegetables) called *Zablug* (*Za-bLugs* (*-sku*) or "victual earthen vessel", which one of them whirls around the head of the bridegroom as he stands on the doorstep waiting for his future wife. The pot is then taken to a large stone standing close by, upon which crossed *dorjes* (*rDo-rJe*) have been drawn with a piece of charcoal, and is broken upon it. This initial ceremony is called *Gyag-chod* (*rGyag-ch'hod*) meaning "casting the hindrance away".

Then everybody troops into the house and a feast begins in which there is much singing and dancing and the expenses of which are paid by the bridegroom's *azhang*. The bride is brought in, and is seated with her bridegroom and his brothers (today, usually only the next eldest brother) in the kitchen on a white piece of cloth upon which grain has been strewn. They are made to eat out of the same plate, and one of the witnesses, who now assumes the role of *Na-tri-pa*, as we have already seen in Lahul, puts a *go-ras* or cotton cloth on the head of the boys.

The third phase of the marriage, the most important one, follows. The *Na-tri-pa*, who is also known as the *Tashi-pa* (*bKra-shis-pa*) or "lucky one", in Ladak, conducts the bride into the store room of the house. He carries a *Da-dar* (*mDa-dar*) or arrow with flags in the five colours of Buddhism, a mirror, a sheep's ankle bone, and a *khatag*, and is followed by the bridegroom or bridegrooms. Once they have all got into the room, the match-maker (for that is what the "nose-conducting-one" is) removes the *go-ras* which the bride has been wearing since she was taken from her house, and those of the men which have just been put on in the kitchen, and lays them down on a plate containing barley grains which is standing on a table or a ledge close by. He then hooks the bride by the collar from behind with the *Da-dar*, as a symbol of taking her out from among other girls whom the men

[1] [i.e., The "Chief Witness" -- Analyst]

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585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery *in* Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not [675] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time 425 has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the 428 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who 886 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part [585] of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the [888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

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595 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also
425 have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These
428 things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary
888 from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-*
425 *chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights
428 that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look
[851] after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the
[1992] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-*
796 *bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regu-
651 larly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted
595 to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-
586 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households
591 in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents
888 and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she [968]

[See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355 -- Ah.]

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586 refuses to live any longer – she will sometimes tie a thread between one
[768] of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to show that she is free.

Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus
[839] sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent.

A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatability of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and divorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable
[595] position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great impor-
586 tance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Mos-
797 lem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife, simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to do so.

586 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

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on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind.

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule.

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama".

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way.

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be

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837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

839 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none [735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing [792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

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called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 768

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later. [936]

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tang-tse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [925] [932]

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114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase 115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their 428 eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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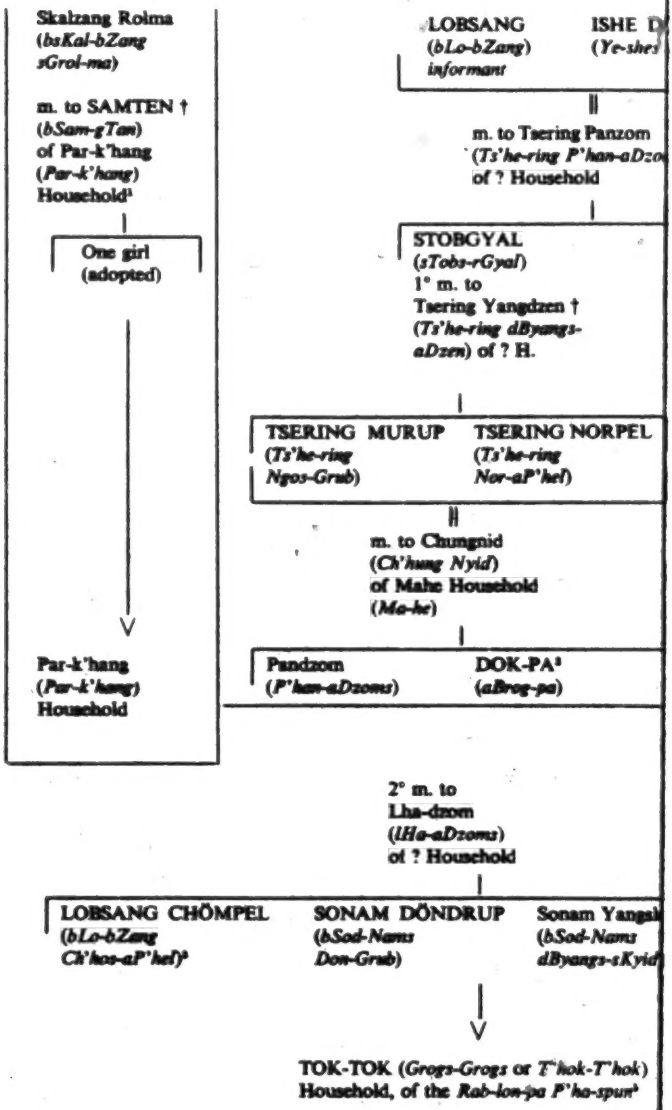
TABLE 27. GENEALOGY OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'ho*



[1] Skalzang Rolma is a widow and owns her late husband's house for the time being. She ha
this child will inherit the Par-k'hang Household at the death of her mother by adoption,
comes first.

[154] [2] This little boy has no real name yet; the one he bears means "nomad" and has been given to
[551] He is a Gelug-pa lama, and lives in Lhasa.

[4] This little boy has also been given a provisional name, as above, for the same reason;
(*aBrog-mo*) alternatively, meaning "female nomad".

[5] See list of Ladak *P'ha-spuns*.

Capital letters denote males. Small characters are women. † = dead. m. = married. H. =

[Facing P. 360-A]

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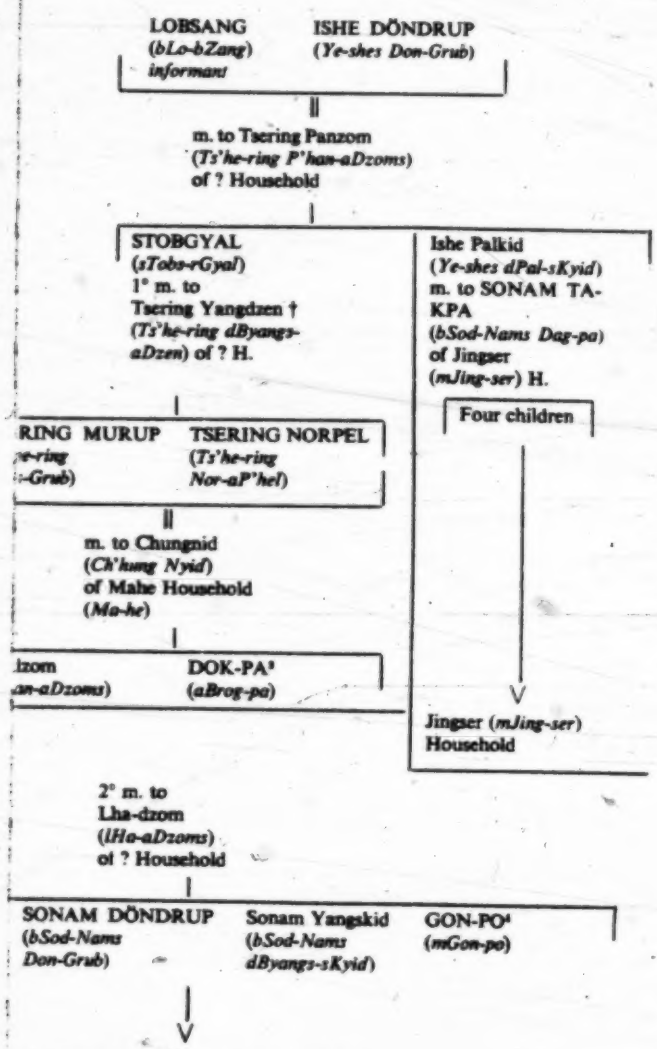
OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*) HOUSEHOLD. 595 601



TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*)
Household, of the *Rab-lon-pa P'ha-spun*[5]

husband's house for the time being. She has adopted a little girl relative of her husband and
d at the death of her mother by adoption, or when she herself marries a *mag-pa*, whichever

ars means "nomad" and has been given to him provisionally to avert the evil eye from him. [154]

al name, as above, for the same reason; it means "protector". He is also called Dok-mo [551]
ad".

women. † = dead. m. = married. H. = Household

[facing p. 360 - B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom.

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37).

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage.

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

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He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

595 425 428 [182]

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 425 428 795 [WA]

Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

595 123 182

[TEXT Continues on P. 364]

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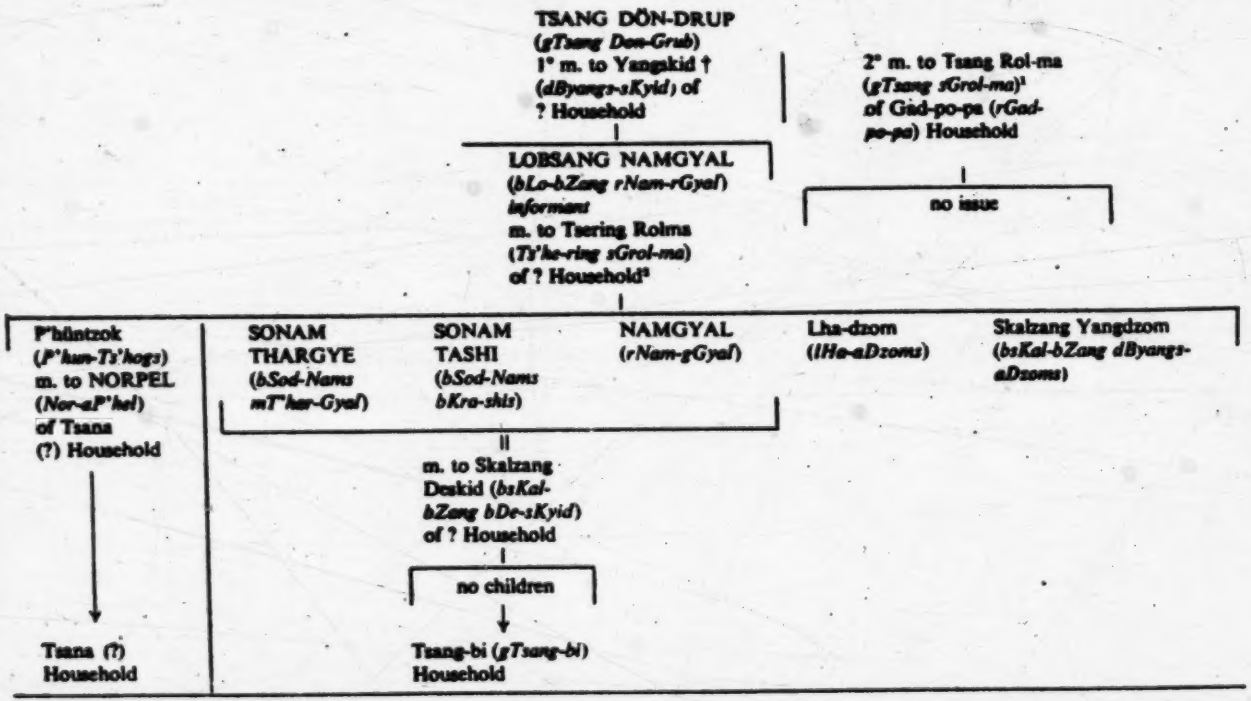
TABLE 28. GENEALOGY OF TSANG-BI (*gTsang-bi*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Living in the *k'hang-gu*. See Table 32.
[2] Parents, five children and the wife of the three boys all living in the *k'hang-chen*.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,[1] now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

541 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
[585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[888] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry,
[591] occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

[1] [i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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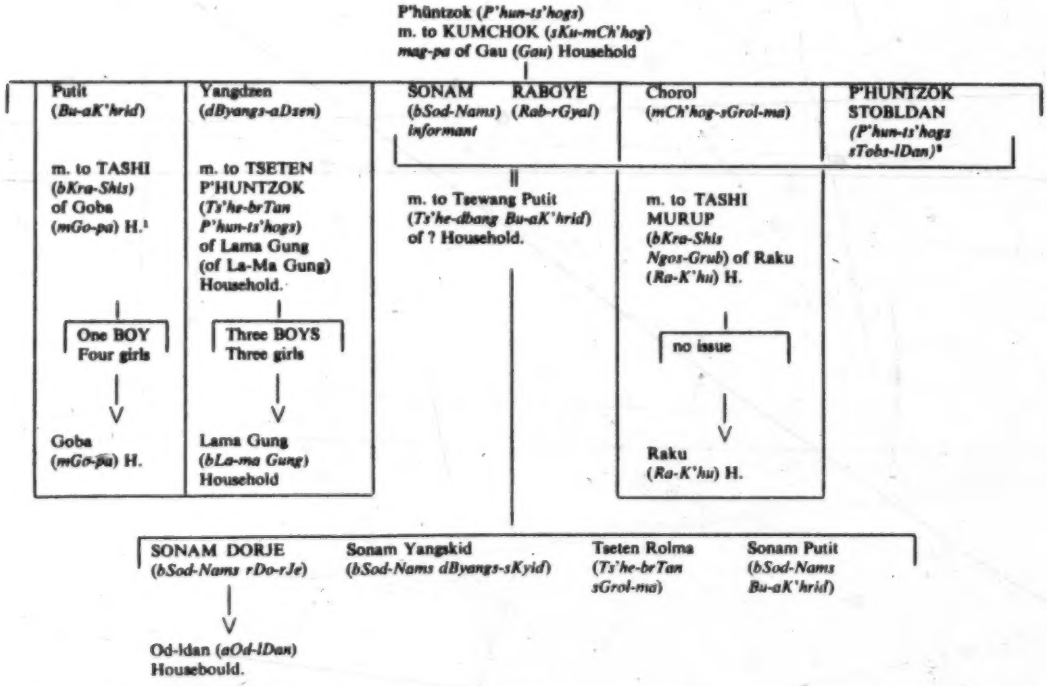
TABLE 29. GENEALOGY OF OD-LDAN (*aOd-lDan*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Tashi has two brothers, and Putit is married polyandrously to these, too.
[2] He is the third husband of Tsewang Putit.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 [115] [591] [888] Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] [591] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

[114] [194] Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

595 85 [126]

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous 595
people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan househould, 851
that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-
zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children,
without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or
little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household 591
close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the mar- 595
ried children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-* 888
chen. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received [115]
us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I [601]
give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous house- 595
hold of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the 361
town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage
between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

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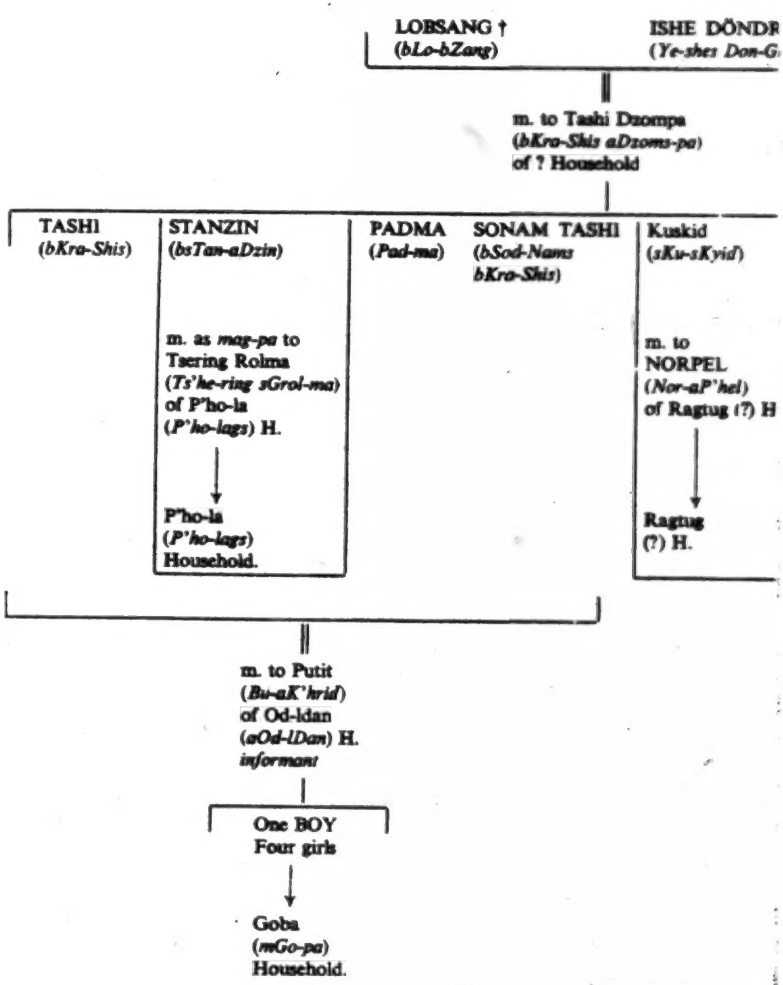
TABLE 30. GENEALOGY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*



[1] Name unknown because Tsering Palkid was married off in *bag-ma* so early that it is alle
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 367-A]

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3Y OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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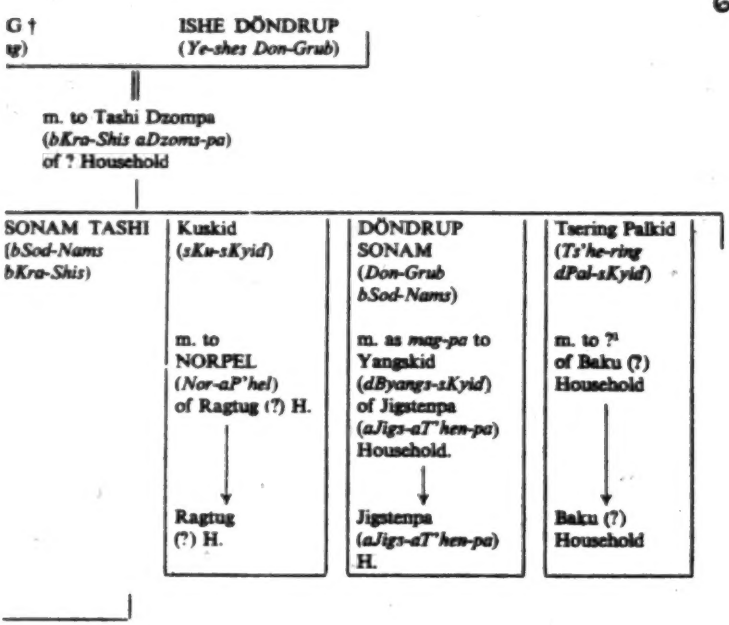

off in *bag-ma* so early that it is allegedly not remembered.

[facing P. 367 - B]

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There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

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TABLE 31. GENEALOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*)

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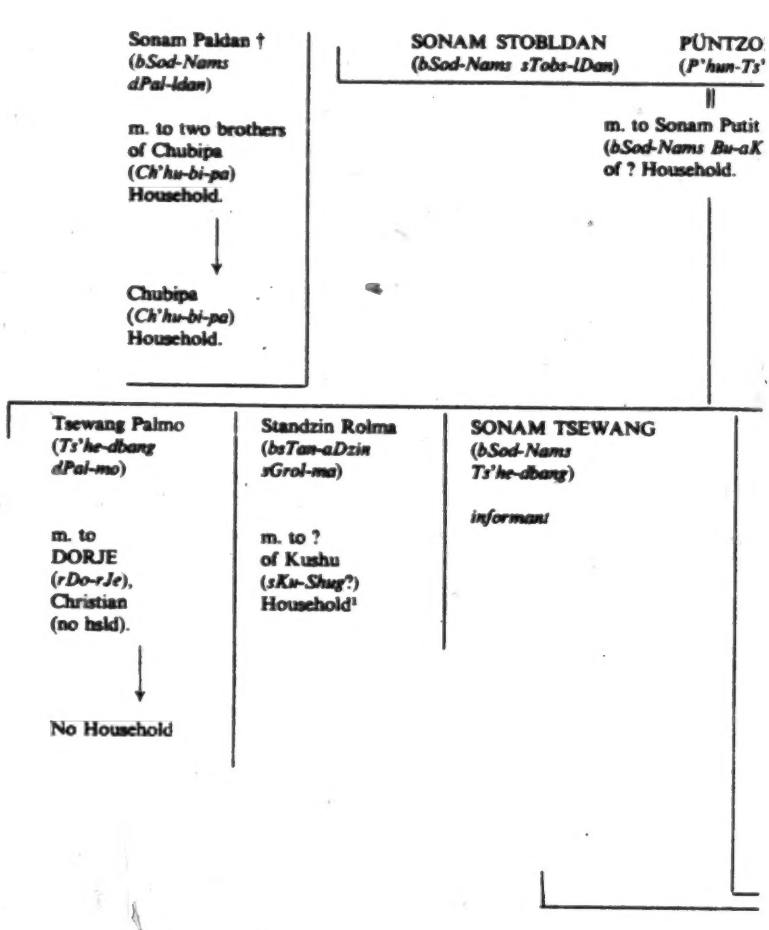

[1] She has divorced her husband and has returned to live with her brothers.
[2] See Table 27.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 368-A]

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Ladak

LOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*) HOUSEHOLD.

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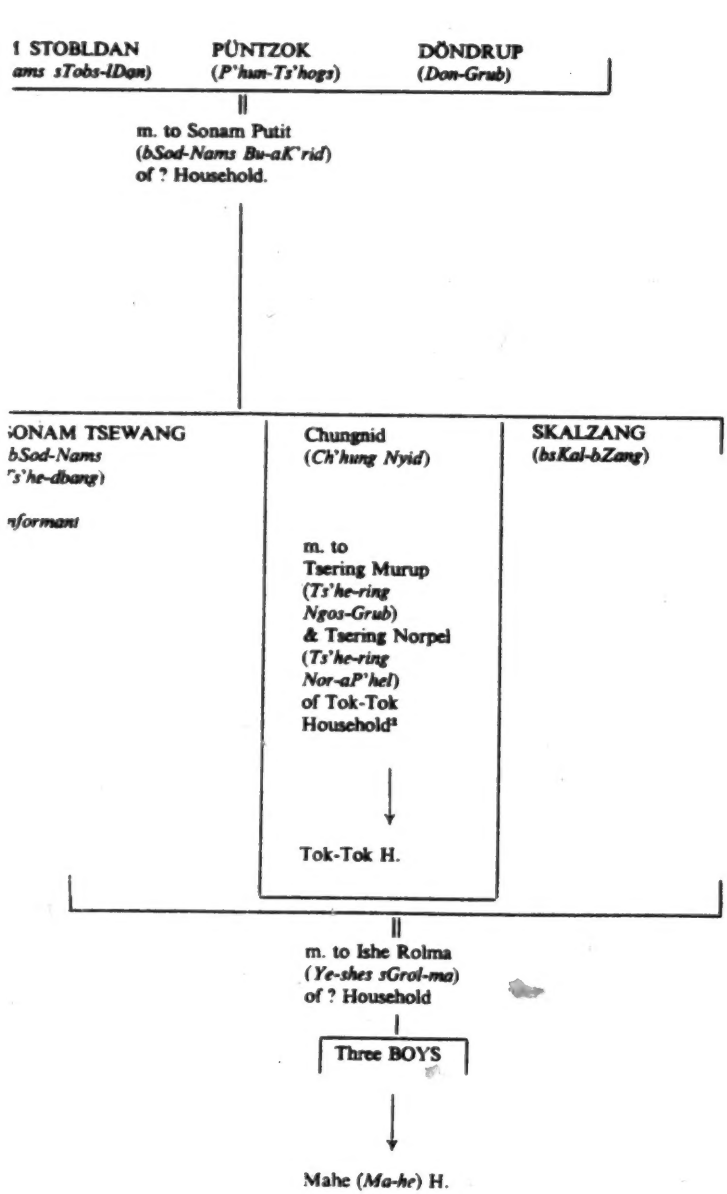

e with her brothers.

[facing P. 368-B]

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profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family 595
lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a [059]
doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habit- [463]
ual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. 595
They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be [115]
Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, [162]
opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, 595
however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man 601
brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with [842]
their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its oc- 595
cupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

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595
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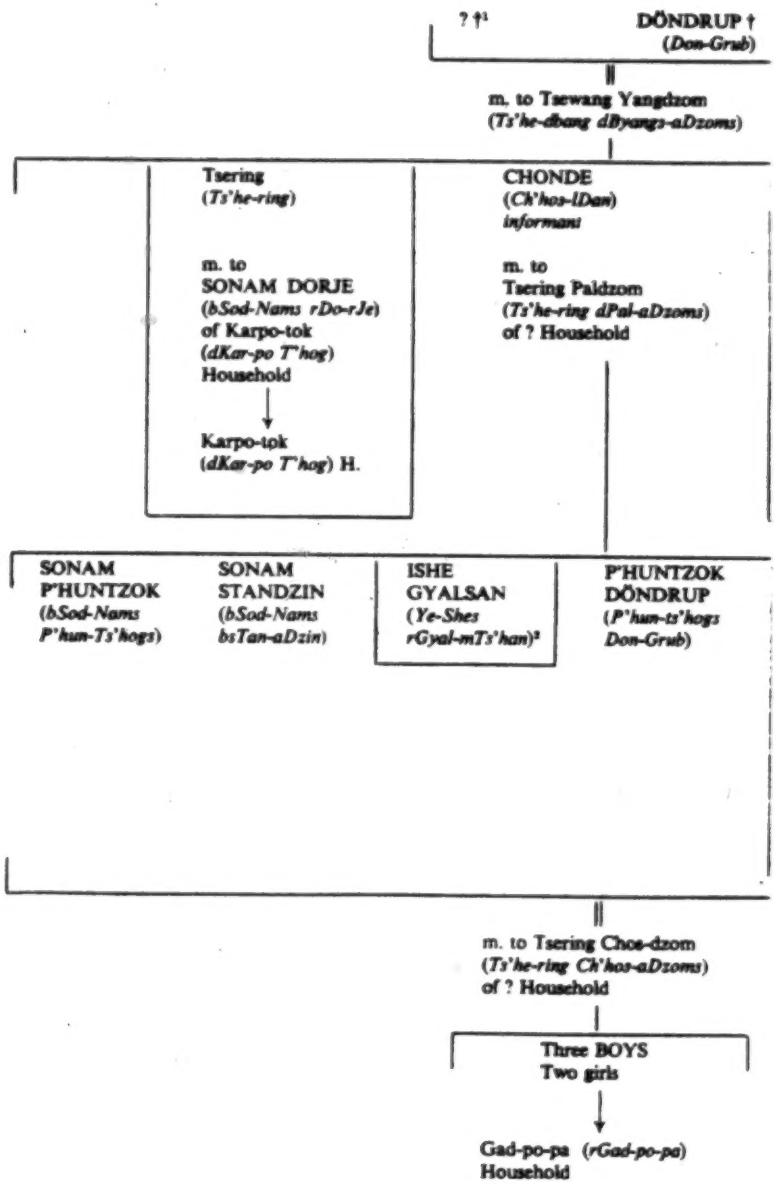
TABLE 32. GENEALOGY OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGa*



[1] Name unreadable in my notes.
[2] Has become a Gelug-pa lama in the Sankar gompa.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 369-A]

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OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGad-po-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

595
601

DÖNDRUP †
(*Don-Grub*)

m. to Tsewang Yangdzom
(*Ts'he-dbang dByangs-aDzoms*)

CHONDE
(*Ch'hos-lDan*)
informant

m. to
Tsering Paldzom
(*Ts'he-ring dPal-aDzoms*)
of ? Household

Tsewang Rolma
(*Ts'he-dbang sGrol-ma*)

m. to
TSANG DÖNDRUP
(*gTsang Don-Grub*)
of Tsang-bi
(*gTsang-bi*)
Household

Tsang-bi
(*gTsang-bi*)
Household

SAN
(*Ts'han*)

P'HUNTZOK
DÖNDRUP
(*P'hun-ts'hogs Don-Grub*)

SKALZAN
(*bsKal-bZang*)

m. as *mag-pa* to
Sonam Kuskid
(*bSod-Nams sKu-sKyid*)
of Amchi
(*Am-ch'hi*) H.

Amchi
(*Am-chi*) H.

LOBSANG TEMPA
(*bLo-bZang bsTan-pa*)

m. to Tsering Chos-dzom
(*Ts'he-ring Ch'hos-aDzoms*)
of ? Household

Three BOYS
Two girls

Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*)
Household

[facing P. 369-B]

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595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 372]

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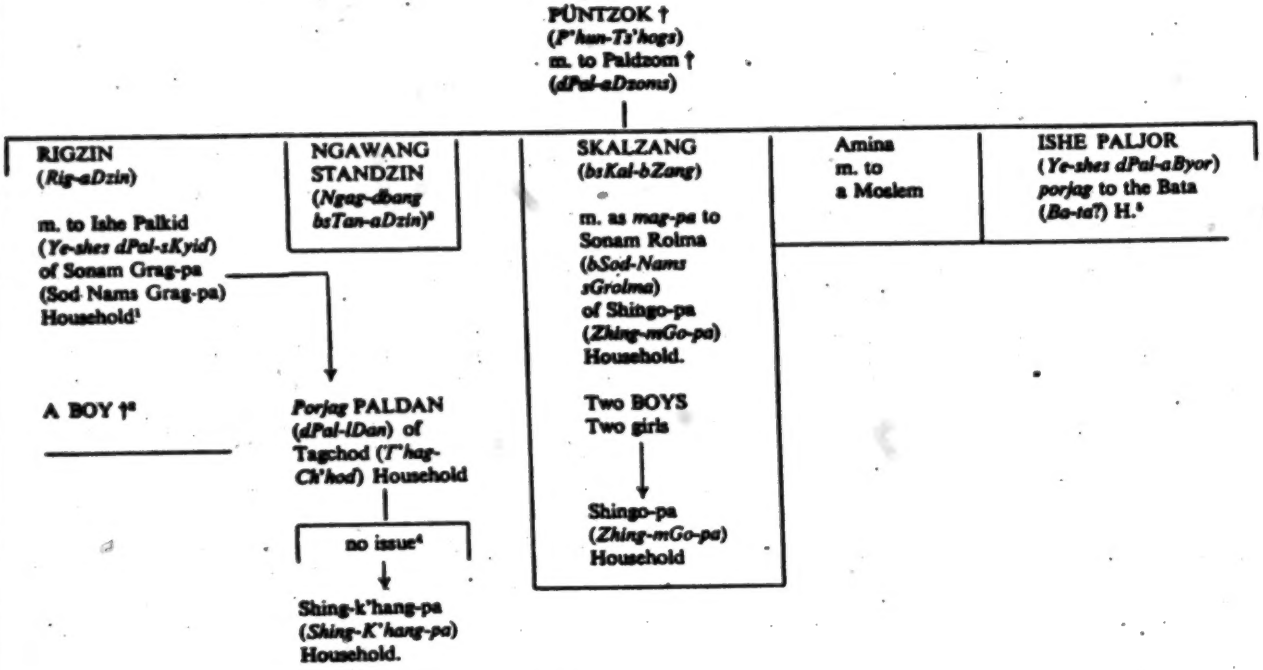
595
601

TABLE 33. GENEALOGY OF THE SHING-K'HANG-PA (*Shing-K'hang-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Ishe Palkid was married when she was twenty-one years old.
[2] The child was still-born.
[3] A lama.
[4] They are thinking of adopting a child to continue the household.
[5] See Table 34.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-*
[591] *chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in
[126] the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[428] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[1199] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

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TABLE 34. GENEALOGY OF TSONG-K'HAR-PA (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*)

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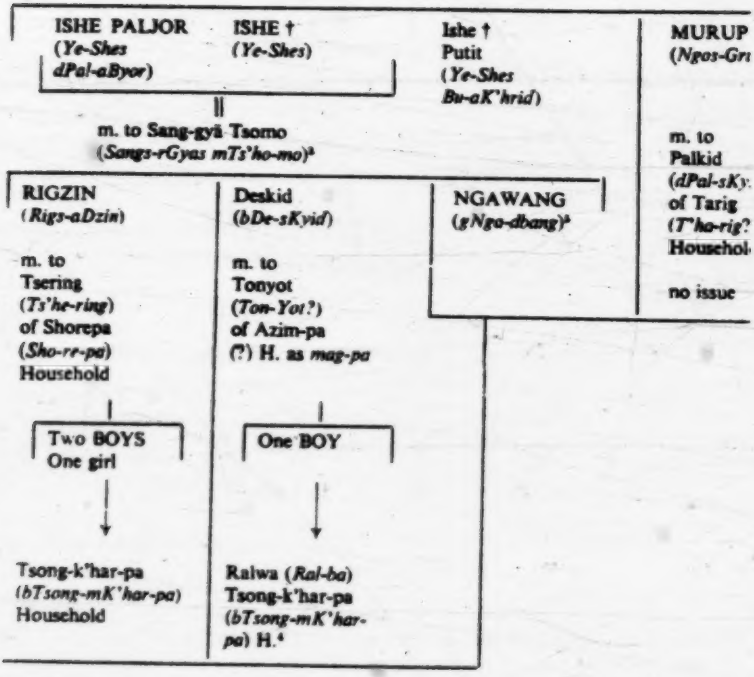

[551] "Little Tsong king", obviously a nickname with a Moslem connotation (Malik = Arabic for "king").

[2] Dondrup received the Bata household, as all his mother's brothers died without heirs.

[3] She was a Moslem, but changed religion and name to marry her husband.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 372-A]

Tsong-mK'har-pa) HOUSEHOLD.

595
601
[561]

TSONG-GU-MALIK †
(*Ts'hong-gu Malik*)[1]

m. to Sonam (*bSod-Nams*) †
of Bata (*Ba-ta*) Household

P'HUNTZOK †
(*P'hun-Ts'hogs*)

PE-LEG †
(*dPal-legs*)

m. to Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
of P'ho-sang (*P'ho-bZang*)
Household.

MURUP
(*Ngos-Grub*)[6]

m. to
Palkid
(*dPal-sKyid*)
of Tarig
(*T'ha-rig?*)
Household

no issue

Aisha
m. to
RASUL,
a Moham-
medan.[9]
no H.

Kundzom †
(*Kun-aDzoms*)

NGAWANG †
(*gNga-dbang*)

Porjag[7]
ISHE PALJOR
(*Ye-Shes*
dPal-aByor)
of Shing-k'hang-pa
(*Shing-k'hang-pa*) H.

no issue[8]

Bata (*Ba-ta?*)
Household

otation (Malik =

ners died without

husband.

[4] Deskid was a tenant without occupation on some land *mag-pa* ad founded the Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa H.

[5] He is a lama at Himis gompa.

[6] Murup received the Bata H. and continued it, while Ish the Tsong-k'har-pa Household.

[facing P. 392-B]

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595
601

IG-GU-MALIK †
ng-gu Malik)[1]

Sonam (*bSod-Nams*) †
a (*Ba-ta*) Household

PE-LEG †
(*dPal-legs*)

DÖNDRUP
(*Don-Grub*)[2]

Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
o-sang (*P'ho-bZang*)
hold.

NGAWANG †
(*gNga-dbang*)

TSERING †
(*Ts'he-ring*)

Kundzom
(*Kun-aDoms*)[10]

m. to
DOGPA
(*aBrog-pa*)
of Ragasha
(*Rag-k'ha-sha*)
H.

TASHI
(*bKra-Shis*)

m. to
Sonam Tsomo
(*bSod-Nams mTs'ho-mo*)
of Chömpel
(*Ch'hos-aP'hel*)
H.

One BOY

Ragasha
(*Rag-k'ha-sha*)
Household

Tsomo
(*mTs'ho-mo*)

m. to
TSERING
PALJOR
(*Ts'he-ring dPal-aByor*)
of Azhang-ni
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*)
Household

no issue

Azhang-ni-p
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*) H.

ccupation on some land of her brother: she took a
Tsong-k'har-pa H.

d continued it, while Ishe Paljor and Ishe continued

7 *Porjag* taken after
8 Childless still after
9 Moslem name as m
10 Same name as earli
11 Moh. convert to B
12 No name: this one

[facing P. 372-C]

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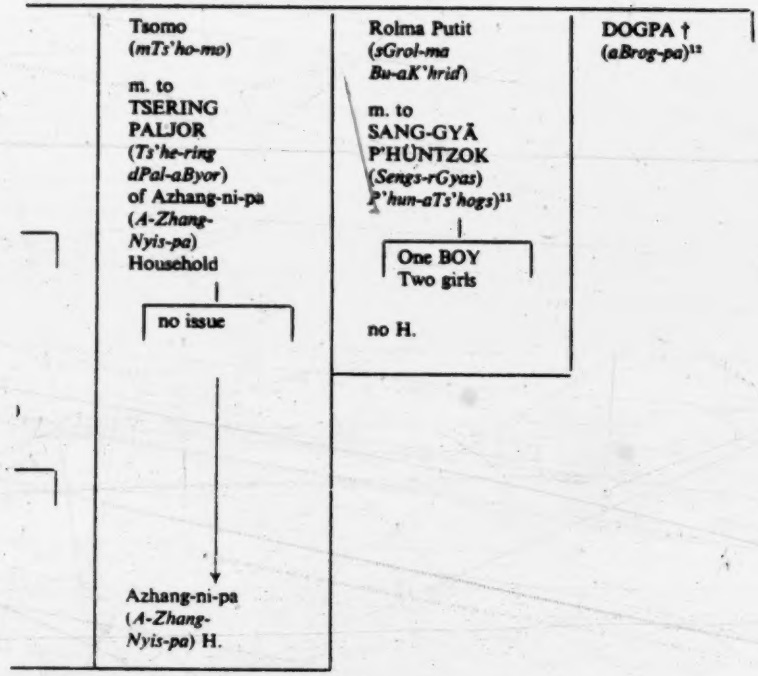
595
601



[7] *Porjag* taken after 20 years of childless marriage.
[8] Childless still after 4 years could adopt a child.
[9] Moslem name as married a Moslem.
[10] Same name as earlier dead girl in commemoration.
[11] Moh. convert to Budh. Is now manager of Himis gompa.
[12] No name; this one against the evil eye (means "nomad").

[551]
[159]

[facing P. 372-D]

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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

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595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
[797] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

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It all depends upon how people feel about such things, my informants said. Sometimes, the wife will regulate who, of her many husbands, should be with her; at other times, one of the brothers will do so, not necessarily the eldest, but generally the one with the most personality, the one who has the greatest influence with them all. Again, it is possible for the brothers to agree among themselves as to who shall go with their wife for the night, while it is not excluded that they should all of them have relations with her in the same night. Things can be done discreetly, in the dark, with some item of furniture in front of the bed for greater privacy. But this is not always the case, and often relations between husbands and the wife take place with a lamp lit, and in full view of the others, including the children. Not much clothing, however, is discarded, partly out of modesty, but also because it is cold.

I asked here, too, if signals were ever made use of at the door, should the marriage not be consummated in the common room. This question was usually received with great guffaws of laughter; the very idea seemed to amuse them. No, they said, there were no signals; nobody ever left anything at the door. As far as they knew, it had never been done, either.

To my question as to how, then, did they decide who should sleep with the common wife, one of my informants (at the Od-ldan household) looked at me slily and asked if I were, myself, married. When I answered that I was, he asked whether, then, I decided with my wife that, as let us say seven p.m. tonight, we would have intercourse? Naturally not, and he laughed; well, then it was the same with them. Such things took place tacitly, by implicit understanding, and with tact, not in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.

My investigations as to the possibility of jealousy affecting the relations between the husbands of a polyandrous Ladaki family led to the same results as in Lahul. I was told that nobody could afford to be jealous, that it was a luxury in which those who were rich enough to divide up property in other, less austere environments than theirs, could indulge. The Reverend W. Asboe was of the opinion that the ordinary average Ladaki was "not very passionate" as he put it, and that for this reason, they could not really feel the pangs of jealousy. He attributed this lack of passion to the altitude and to the climate which was so cold, and as proof of his allegation, he said that the Moslems, who elsewhere were so fiery about sexual matters and men's honour in these things, were also devoid of passion in Ladak, and often accepted situations there which they would have violently rebelled against elsewhere. No-

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595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
[853] tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
514 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest, as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

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imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*. 595 855

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age. 864

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made. [861] [858]

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India). 864 861 [754] [563]

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade. 872 [876] [868]

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culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

(iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

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A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647). 595 114

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms 601 184

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601 [184] being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-plin* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only [609] used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

614 [184] The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and [176] foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

[171] It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

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595 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably
614 be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy
582 playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same
842 one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth
765 pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to
783 the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above
846 about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that
[264] people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated
[789] period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with mem-
846 bers of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have
264 nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period
783 of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irri-
789 gating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The
[241] mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which
783 follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies,
765 the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts
[264] of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

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264 614 783 765 [784]

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

846 852 783 [853]

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

[787] [614]

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

[302] [301]

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

846 852 431 [614]

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

846 852 292 604

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

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846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
852 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[242] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

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so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions. 114 158

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places. 164 [115] [143] 158 164 [055]

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character. 164 [833] [158] 838 792

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness 158 164 [115] [833] 158 [753]

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158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[153] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
[755] were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[943] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also infor-
mative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[164] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
[833] and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
548 dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
[595] liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
[795] tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[795] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[833] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts,
never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

276 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

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smoking was looked upon as so heinous an offence. He replied that it was because, so the lamas said, tobacco was a weed grown from the menstrual flow of a prostitute who had prayed that it might fertilize a plant that would be the joy of mankind. For this reason, lamas could not think of smoking, and they naturally opposed it in the lay population as well.

WT 276 171

c) *Investigation of polyandry along the Leh-Srinagar Treaty Road*

T 115

1. *Information gathered at Spituk and Ri-dzong*

At our first halt after leaving Leh, I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in the central Tibetan provinces from the acting chief abbot of the monastery, who had studied in Lhasa. I shall revert to what he told me when we come to Part II, where I shall deal with the polyandry of Tibet proper.

WT T 115

At Ri-dzong, the Tibetan bandit, Norgyäs, had much to tell me also. He told me a certain amount about the marital customs of those parts of Tibet which he knew personally, but also about those specifically appertaining to Western Tibet. It is these which I shall account for here.

It seemed that my informant was born in Ngari Korsum and had only later in his life taken to banditry. At the age of nine, he was adopted by a lama, the assistant of the Garpön of Gartok, that is of the Tibetan Government official whose residence was in the capital of Ngari Korsum.

The lama's name was De-chen-la (*bDe-Ch'hen-lags*) and he had a sister living with him who was married and had a son, Dön-stob-la (*Don-sTobs-lags*), of the same age as Norgyäs. Although there was a relation of master to servant between the two boys (the lama's nephew being the superior), a very intimate bond was formed between the two. When Dön-stob-la married, Norgyäs was allowed to share the wife with him, and this because the two had become what he called *skyidug-chik-pa* (*sKyid-sDug-gChig-pa*).

This long word has the meaning of "Happiness-Grief-Identical" and such a relation is very often entered into in Tibet between close friends. Norgyäs said that, in his case, it was only a minor variety of the relation because, normally, it is a much more formal and binding connection.

WT T 572 837

Thus in Tibet, and also in Ladak, two old friends who had known each other for a long time could become *skyidug-chik-pa* in the following way. They make a vow, clasping each other's middle finger, in which they swear to share undividedly everything that they have for the rest of their lives, and even in the next one that awaits them. If

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one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

WT T 839

Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

WT 595 601 WT [115] WT [591]

2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[Text continues on p. 390]

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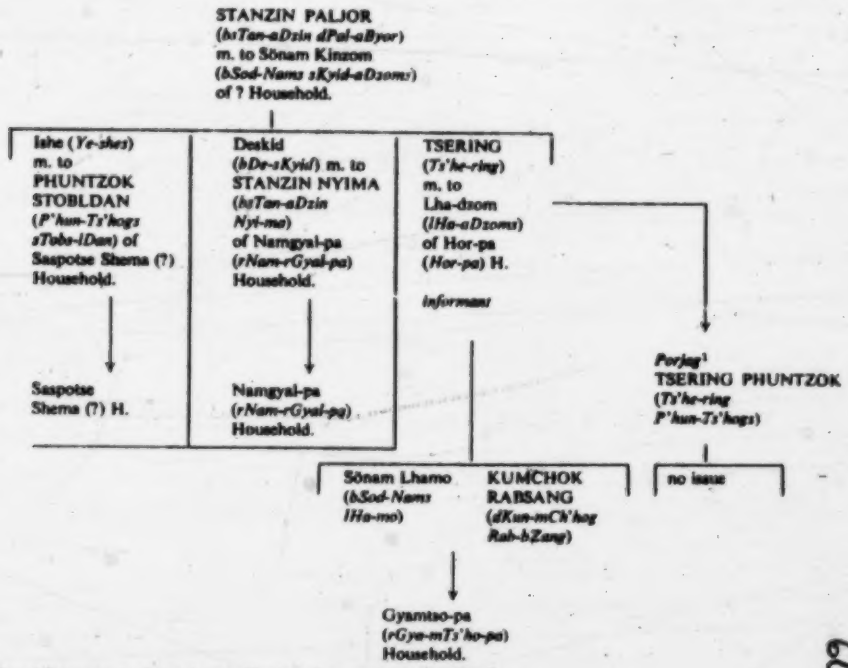
TABLE 35. GENEALOGY OF THE GYAMTSO-PA (*rGya-mTs'ho-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Married after eighteen years of marriage to Tsering, three years ago in 1938.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 I enquired from the informant why she had married a second husband in this way, considering that she had had children by her first one and that, consequently, it did not seem at all necessary for her to take so drastic a step. Her answer confirmed my belief that a second husband is often brought in in order to acquire more labour for the cultivation of the family plot, for she replied: "I married Tsering P'hüntzok because Tsering was old and unable to work very well any more." She then added the informative remark: "It is cheaper to take an extra husband than a servant."

Neighbours, whom Joseph and I questioned later about this family, assured us, nevertheless, that Lha-dzom had not spoken the truth to us. They scoffed at her statements that she needed more labour on her husband's estate, and said that she was a very ardent woman, whom old Tsering could no longer satisfy sexually. So she had taken Tsering P'hüntzok who was much younger (28 years old, they said), and Tsering had agreed to it because he was tired of his wife's sexual appetite anyway. I must say that in my interview with the woman, I did form the impression that there probably was some truth in the neighbour's gossip. It did not mean, however, that what Lha-dzom had told us was not true; both pronouncements could be correct, for having a new husband, while very pleasant from the matrimonial point of view, was also useful in what concerned the cultivation of the fields. Pleasure and business thus appeared admirably combined in Lha-dzom's case, and Tsering, who could have objected and might have been the major obstacle, made no trouble and accepted the situation. He probably got something out of it, too.

834 124 595 I had heard so much about these people's sexual life during these interviews, that it came as a surprise to me when I asked Joseph to enquire if anybody knew anything about father and son polyandry in Kalatse and he refused to do so. We were in conversation with a female neighbour at the time, and Joseph flatly refused to enquire about the subject upon which I wanted information because, he said, it is not possible to question a woman about sexual matters in Tibet if she is either younger or older than yourself. The same applied to close relatives, and the prohibition was called *ka-dzem-ches* (*K'ha-aDzem-Ches*) meaning "mouth to shrink from". What we had been told about Lha-dzom did not come under the category of questioning the woman on sexual affairs, it seemed, since she had volunteered the information which we had heard. What was not possible, I gathered, was for Joseph to put queries about sex to the woman. So I was not able to get the

[TEXT continues on P. 392]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

601
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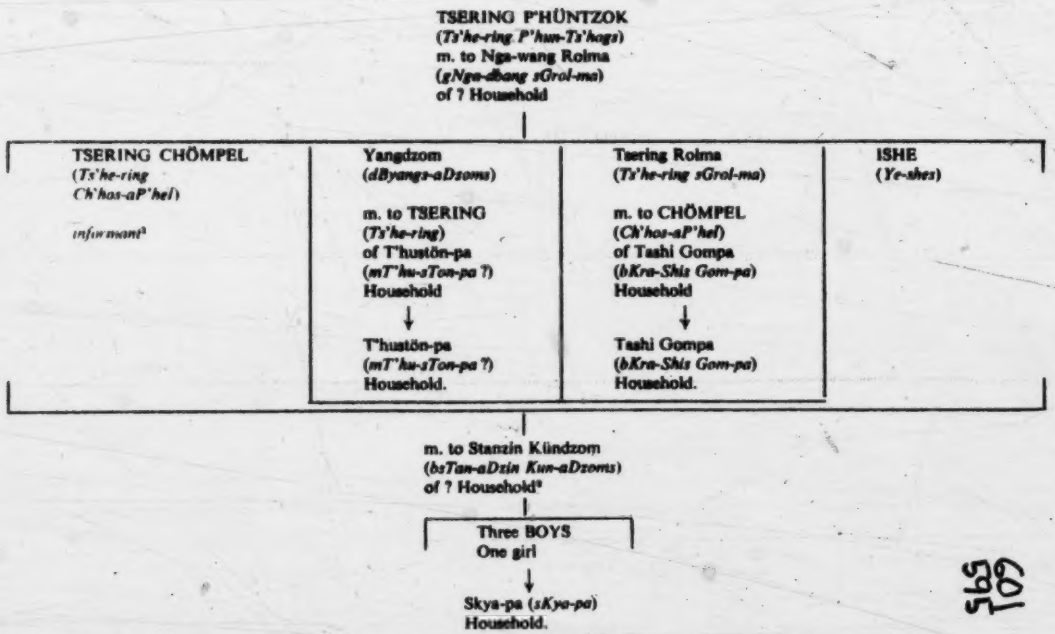
TABLE 36. GENEALOGY OF SKYA-PA (*sKya-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Officially the only one married, and head of the family.
[2] She said that she would only speak if I paid her.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks. 595 124

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen,* the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children. [591]

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis. 595 601 [115] 792 782 595 601

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen,* which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table. 595 601

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were [792]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

TABLE 37. GENEALOGY OF YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'h*

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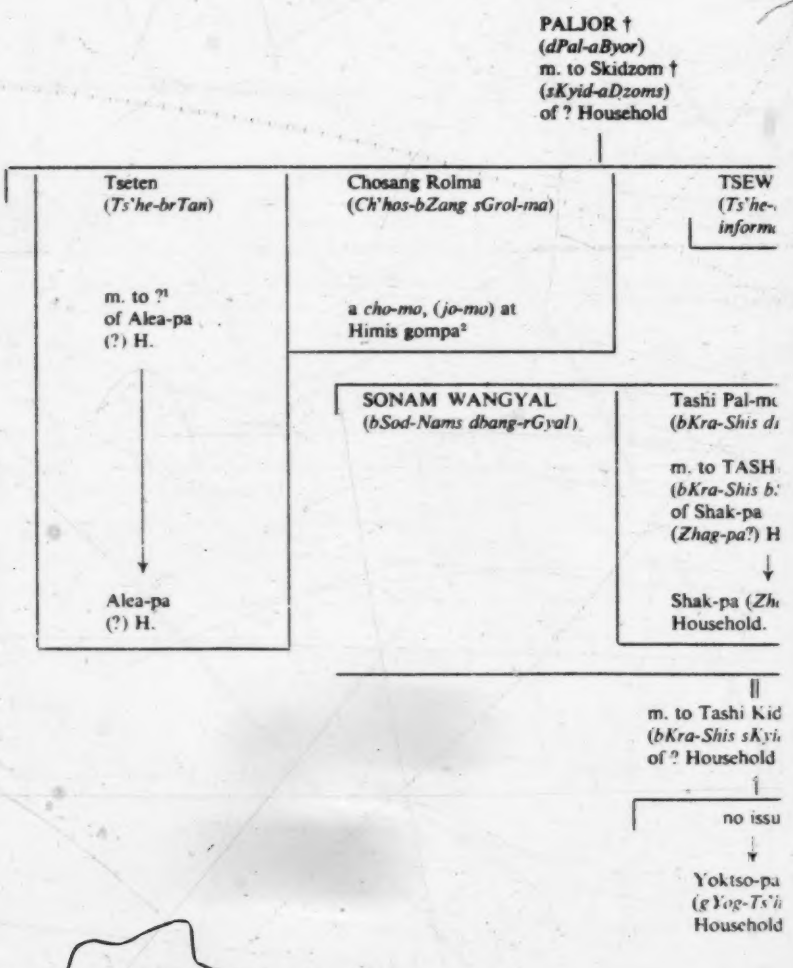

[1] Married to three brothers, names unknown.
[2] She nearly died as a child and was dedicated to the monastery if she survived.
[3] A lama, whose existence was kept secret from me; being of the un-reformed, Red-hat se
brothers with them.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 393-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

595
601

PALJOR †
(*dPal-aByor*)
m. to Skidzom †
(*sKyid-aDzoms*)
of ? Household

-ma)

TSEWANG
(*Ts'he-dbang*)
informant

TSEWANG PALJOR ?
(*Ts'he-dbang dPal-aByor*)[a]

m. to Nordzom Rolma
(*Nor-aDzoms sGrol-ma*)
of ? Household

'AL
rGyal)

Tashi Pal-mo
(*bKra-Shis dPal-mo*)

m. to TASHI SONAM
(*bKra-Shis bSod-Nams*)
of Shak-pa
(*Zhag-pa?*) H.

↓

Shak-pa (*Zhag-pa?*)
Household.

TSEWANG TASHI
(*Ts'he-dbang bKra-Shis*)

m. to Tashi Kidzom
(*bKra-Shis sKyid-aDzoms*)
of ? Household

no issue

↓

Yoktso-pa
(*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*)
Household.

tery if she survived.
f the un-reformed, Red-hat sect *Nyingma-pa*, he shared the common wife of his

[facing P. 393-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 177 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

000 ### *THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER*

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

Bagma marriage - marriage in which the sons of a family take one wife in common [bagma - "bride," wife in a bagma marriage]

Magpa marriage - marriage in which the daughter inherits all property (when there are no male heirs) and takes as many husbands as she wishes. [magpa = "bridegroom," husband in a magpa marriage]

P'horjag (porjag) - an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife (he is treated as a brother after joining the others in marriage)

K'hang-chen - the main portion of the family (ancestral) property occupied by the sons and their wife.

K'hang-gu - the smaller portion of the family (ancestral) property occupied by the fathers, mother and unmarried sisters.

P'haspun - patrilineal clan

Jagir khoti - land of the landlords

Khalsa khoti - government land, which is allotted to individuals who pay taxes and render services to the government

[Zhing - kham - In Ladak this is comparable to the khalsa khoti of Lahul]

[Information on the maintenance of estates intact within a polyandrous family through joint ownership of land by brothers who are co-husbands will be found in category 428.]

592

[For information on polyandrous households see category 595.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W, Tibetans AJ4

PREFACE.

121 I HAVE endeavoured in the following pages to give, to the best of my ability, and according to my means of information, a full and accurate account of Ladák. I have twice visited the country, in 1846 and again in 1847, and on each occasion by a different route; I have read every work that I could procure (and I have neither spared pains nor expense) regarding Ladák or Tibet. I therefore am willing to think that the various information which I have collected, may not prove altogether uninteresting, even to the general reader. For the antiquary and scientific enquirer, there are several subjects which I would fain hope may merit attention. The subjects for the antiquary are:—

1. The identification of Ladák, or *Khá-chan*, with the *Akhassa Regio* of Ptolemy, and with the *Kie-chha* of Fa Hian.—Chap. I.

2. The proof that *Graucasus* was a Tibetan word, and the consequent deduction that the Tibetan people and language were once spread over a much greater extent of country than they now occupy.—Chap. XIV.

3. A copious vocabulary of the Tibetan language

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/2/ compared with the various dialects of the Dards, of the Afghans and Kashmiris, of the Hindu races of the Himálaya, and of the Indo-Tibetans of Kanáwar.—Chap. XV.

4. A concise account of the religious belief and practice of the Tibetan Buddhists, and of the rise of the present grand Lamas; with a description of the different buildings, rites and ceremonies, and ritualic instruments of their religion.—Chap. XIII.

The subjects for the man of science are:—

1. The determination of the snow-line on the several mountain-ranges of the Panjáb.—Chap. II.

2. The length of course, and the minimum discharge of the rivers of the Panjáb, compared with that of the Ganges.—Chap. III.

3. The cataclysms of the Indus and the Sutluj; the former caused by a glacier, the latter by the fall of a mountain.—Chap. III.

4. The determination of the cause of the prevailing day and night wind in Ladák.—Chap. VII.

5. The observations for temperature, Chap. VII.; and the Tables of Magnetical and Meteorological Observations.—Chaps. XVI. and XVII.

6. The discovery of fossil *fresh-water* shells in the sandy-clay formations above the level of the present *salt-water* lakes of Ladák, proving that the lakes were once *fresh*, and of much greater extent.

7. The tables of the stature and longevity of the people of Ladák, and the accurate measurements and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

drawings of skulls compared with those of the Kashmiris. 121

To several kind friends I am indebted for valuable assistance in this work. 000

To Colonel Bates, for the landscape-views which bear his name, and for many important observations for temperature.

To Dr. Carter, A.B., for the different qualitative analysis of the salts and waters of the lakes and hot springs.

To Lieut. Maclagan, Bengal Engineers, for the survey of the Pin Valley, in Spiti.

ALEX^R CUNNINGHAM,
Brevet Major, Engineers.

SIMLA,
30*th August*, 1853.

[p. viii is blank]

2: Ramsay --i G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 121 114 128

PREFACE

No Dictionary has yet been published dealing with the language and customs of the several districts of Western Tibet, viz., Ladák, Nubra, Roopshoo, and Tángtsey, which are collectively spoken of by Europeans as "Ladák."

When first appointed here, I much felt the want of such a book, and, therefore, for my own use, commenced to compile notes and a vocabulary, which have, during the several years which have since passed, expanded to such dimensions that I last year asked the Government of India to print them. Recently the Government of India has kindly consented to do so.

The notes and vocabulary, which have been revised and much enlarged, are now published under the title of "Western Tibet." The title "Ladák" would for some reasons have been preferable had it not already been appropriated by General Cunningham for an excellent book published by him in 1854.

The present work was not originally intended for the Press, and it has no pretension to scholarly merit: indeed, in cases where the local idea is opposed to the correct classical view, the latter has been ignored, my object being to record only local ideas, customs, pronunciation, etc.

To my successors in office, and to any Europeans who may have occasion to visit this part of the world, I hope that "Western Tibet" may be useful, as supplying a practical guide to the language and customs of the country.

For the general public it is not intended.

H. RAMSAY, Captain,
British Joint-Commissioner, Ladák.

LEH:
20th June 1890.

5: Ribbach--1 M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

DROGPA NAMGYAL: THE LIFE OF A TIBETAN

by

S. H. Ribbach

(Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlag GMBH, München-Planegg, 1940) 000

/The first two (unnumbered) pages are covered with illustrations, the first of these with the subtitle: "Pyag-rdor (Chag dor), Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt) with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of the faith, also a rain god"; the second illustration is of a house with a group of masked figures standing underneath and the inscription RIBBACH DROGPA NAMGYAL./

/9/

FOREWORD

The present description of the life of a Tibetan is based in its first part, up to marriage, upon the detailed accounts that the Tibetan teacher Gau Puntsong, a Buddhist, communicated to me at the time in Leh (in Ladakh). This man was considered one of the best-educated and one of the most intelligent among his countrymen, and he possessed such a thorough knowledge of the customs and practices, the religion and the folklore of his people as could scarcely be found in any other person. The "history" of the Tibetan Drogpa Namgyal (aBrogpa rNamrgyal) which is here told does not lay any claim to being narrative in the sense of a continuous, uninterrupted presentation of the career of one human being. In calling it "a Tibetan life" in the subtitle I wanted to indicate that an attempt has here been made to depict the life of a West Tibetan as it is conducted in a typical day-to-day manner. In so doing I wanted to weave into the narrative as much as was possible an account of the customs and practices, of the religious thought, and of the views and rites as they play their part in daily life, in order to give a picture of the thinking, feeling and actions of the people. 124 121

This history was originally intended for publication in the illustrated periodical of the Moravians, Kampf und Sieg /"Battle and

•121 Victory"/ which, like so many others, has unfortunately fallen a victim to the inflation. The first part, dealing with the youth, was actually printed there in ten installments. Out of regard for a larger circle of readers, I have deemed it advisable to maintain the (purely fictitious) form of narrative. In this I was encouraged by the agreement of many an expert who advised me to stick to this mode of narrative. The lively, often dramatic accounts of Gau Puntsog were an incentive in themselves for choosing the fictional form, although he was actually not telling a story, but was often describing events that really took place. I consider this work of mine as an attempt to bring the curious people, the Tibetans, with their culture and their mixed religion, Lamaism, which are so difficult for us Westerners to understand, somewhat closer to the comprehension /10/ of those interested than most travel accounts are as a rule capable of doing.
Towards this end the narrative form will probably supply the writer with a more effective means for acquainting the reader with the thoughts and sensations, and with the innermost motives for the actions of a people, than the purely systematic enumeration and description of customs and practices could do.

The narrative ends with the early death of the main character, Drogpa Namgyal. Then there follows, in the manner of a supplement, a description of the funerary customs from the pen of the Tibetan Joseph Gergan in Leh, which I have translated and supplied with annotations.

[114] With the hearty consent of my beloved former colleague, Professor Dr. A. H. Francke, I included in the narrative, during his lifetime, a part of the Tibetan wedding songs collected by him, partly in his, and partly in my own translation. Perhaps this will also serve the purpose of possibly finding a larger circle of readers for this valuable collection by Francke, which hitherto has only been known to a small group of experts in the field. By giving a literal rendering of a number of the song texts, proverbs, book titles and the like in Tibetan I aimed to be useful to those who have a knowledge of Tibetan or who are occupied with the study of the language. Tibetan has its own script, formed after the Indian Gupta script; it has 30 letters. Wherever it seemed advisable, I have added the names and literal citations in transcription (in Latin script, following Lepsius' system). This system supplies a number of signs for sounds lacking in German which have also been used so far as was possible.

The Author.

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

121 539 585 SOME time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Kösar-Myths of Western Tibet**. The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladákhis** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet**. I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

126 The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by the **leader of the Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin**, who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan**, and of other Ladákhis, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

585 539 821 000 It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that **the four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist literature (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

[3] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in *Qor.* vi. 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf. S.* xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all these passages as Medinian. [FOOTNOTE DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THIS ARTICLE.--ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

laid my plans carefully. I canvassed the problem of porters, of food, and of equipment at Ranikhet. I planned to return in June 1951, enter the Himalayas through Almora, and take a long trek to Kailas, a historic place of pilgrimage in Tibet. 122

These well-laid plans were changed by events. By the spring of 1951 Tibet was no longer hospitable to Americans. So I moved my operations westward and designed a trek from Manali to Leh. Even so the venture remained what it had been from the beginning—a mountain expedition. And the book was to be about glaciers, high passes, blue poppies, rhododendrons, snow leopards, geology, Himalayan sunsets, and the folk songs of the trails. It was in other words to be a mountain book. 121

But I planned in ignorance. Before I got where I was going I realized that I was traveling Central Asia as witness to one of the most dramatic and important political stories of the century. The mountains remained, serving as the backdrop for the story; but the story was new, exciting, and disturbing, with precious little relevance to the lofty peaks which looked down on the events that shaped the destiny of Central Asia.

Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts of Pakistan that nestle in the Karakorams are also Central Asia. They are *one world;* the Communist regimes that lie to the north are a *second world;* we of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we have done yesterday or where we are going tomorrow, are still a *third world.* It is the interplay of these *three worlds* that furnishes the underlying theme of the book.

I went first to Afghanistan, where I visited Kabul, the capital, and then turned north and crossed the Hindu Kush by the Shibar Pass, dropping down to the ancient Buddhist town of Bamian. Then I retraced my steps to Kabul and returned to West Pakistan over the Khyber Pass, stopping at the city of Peshawar. From there I went north to the Kingdom of Swat for a brief visit. Then I flew the western stretch of the Himalayas to Gilgit and took some trips into the area that stretches along the Sinkiang border. These journeys preceded the long trek which I made on foot and by pack train from Manali to Leh in the Indian Himalayas. Yet I 114

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

114 have placed the account of the Himalayan crossing first, because that arrangement facilitates the telling of the political part of these chronicles.

• 121 The political story cannot be understood unless the country, the people, their institutions and problems, their worries and superstitions are known. One must walk or ride vast and empty regions to know these things about Central Asia. This is not easily done. It requires great physical exertion and adventure into high and distant places. This volume undertakes to present the grass-root environment of the area. I searched out villagers and goat-herds, wandering Tibetans, the men and women who bring the sheep trains down from Sinkiang and Tibet, lamas, and local officials. I tried to learn from them the political, economic, and social scheme of things in this area. I ate and drank and slept with them. I tried to lose myself in their environment in order to see the world through their eyes, to find the measure of their loyalties, to discover their aspirations, and to come to know their worries and fears. When the rigors of the region and the struggles of the people are known, the appalling nature of some of the major problems facing the West will be better understood.

An American mountain book on the Himalayas is yet to be done. If this volume inspires or encourages that project, there will be reward enough. For the Himalayas are the superlative among all peaks—the place which future generations of Americans should make a playground and a laboratory. There are untold peaks to climb, fauna and flora to discover, geological formations to explore, and high trails to traverse. The immediate rewards are exciting and untold; and there are rewards beyond the mountains themselves. One who goes to the Himalayas must first traverse the plains of Pakistan and India. He cannot do that without coming into touch with problems and people that will reach his heart and his mind. If he goes with humility and is patient, he will return with understanding; and understanding of Asia by the West will be the greatest reward which any Himalayan trek can offer.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Washington, D.C., June 12, 1952

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Finally we would thank Miss J. J. Ferguson for her invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript for the printers.

121

Our purpose in writing the book, was to fulfil an oft-expressed want for a popular and not highly technical account of the land and the people. There is still much to say about our Ladaki friends, but we hope that what we have been able to recount in the following pages will give the reader a real interest in these lovable inhabitants of the roof of the World.

KATHLEEN MARY HEBER.
A. REEVE HEBER.

LEH, *August* 4, 1925.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

able British Government is paying him some large salary for 759
his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and 796
rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the [778]
altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter 291
of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the 121 ●
wrong way round in this strange land, where the term 186
mgologpa (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of [147]
conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

121 186 tear, and keep your best one clean, yet availing yourself of its warmth, instead of putting it away to get moth-eaten? How much better to have your garden on the roof, where the passer-by may not be tempted to snatch a blossom over an easily knocked-down mud wall, and as for having your best room at the top of the house, it certainly has the better view there, and is further removed from the dust and the smell of the narrow lanes, which are only scavenged by the unclaimed street-dogs and the indefatigable crows and ravens. Indeed, but for these unrecognized friends, aided by the dryness of the climate and the long winter frost, the town would soon be uninhabitable for lack of sanitation. So let us hope that living among these strange people may develop in us a sweet reasonableness as to differences of opinion, which perhaps some of our insulated compatriots may find it more difficult to obtain. As another colleague frequently reminds us, they think we are all mad, some more than others. True, we have invented "motres" (motors), telegraphy, electric lighting and other wonders seen in Srinagar, the nearest point of real civilization, but who, save more or less mad people could produce such strange inventions? Probably the demons have revealed such tricks to us. Was not the Great White Queen Victoria herself a demon, demonstrated by the fact that she rode side-saddle? At any rate if challenged as to the rightness of his methods, the Ladaki can point out that his civilization is older than ours, and this same antiquity is adduced by him as an argument in favour of his religion as compared with ours.

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

SPECIAL L[ECTURE]

TIBETAN, TODA, AND TIYA POLYANDRY: A REPORT ON FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

By H. R. H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE*

000 The present paper on polyandry in those parts of Asia I have visited has, so far, been given to but a few audiences, for various reasons. It was presented once in London and once in Paris, and I attempted to give it in Cairo during the war, but, interestingly enough, the Egyptian government banned the lecture because it was about polyandry—a subject which they felt might be detrimental to Moslem customs and give ideas to Moslem ladies! Happily, such a development is not likely to take place in this country.

121 The basic idea behind my investigations was to go out into the field and get an up-to-date knowledge of polyandry by using the psychoanalytical discoveries of the beginning of this century, attempting to work these in with our ethnological and anthropological knowledge of primitive peoples. The material gathered, therefore, will be presented here in this spirit. Unfortunately, after two years and a half in the field, war broke out and I had to interrupt my work in order to go back and fight. This, naturally, was more important at the time, but it did interrupt the work. I am planning, now, to go out again this year with a Danish Expedition, first to southern India and then to Tibet to finish off what was begun earlier.

I am sure many people are wondering why I hit upon polyandry as a special study. I chose it for the following reasons: What interests the psychologists in the West, I should say, is to get as many comparative facts as possible about the psychology of people living in other parts of the world, and especially living in an entirely different family setup, since the

000 * This paper, illustrated by lantern slides and motion pictures, was presented at a Special Lecture of the Academy on March 9, 1948.

LECTURE

121 results we have obtained clinically in the psychoanalytical field in the West are all based upon our organization, with the father being the head of the family, the inheritance going through the father's line and the child being brought up in that environment. It is of great interest to the psychoanalysts to be able to find societies in which people live under a different family organization, since the structure of the human psyche, as found in the West, is very closely linked with the family organization we have there.

The most obviously different organization seemed to me, to begin with, to be the matriarchal family, as it is known, that is to say, one in which the mother is head of the family and inheritance goes through her family. But, by all known investigations in anthropology, it is obvious that the matrilineal type of family is one in which the mother's brother, that is, the maternal uncle, plays so important a role that the children growing up in such an environment have only a father-substitute in him. Thus, the setup which we have in the West is very similar to the one in the matriarchal family. I thought, therefore, that it would be of greater interest to go out and find something *entirely* different, even more so than the matrilineal family, and polyandry seemed to be the most radically different type or organization because, here, you have a number of fathers, indiscriminate as fathers as we know them, and one mother. The children brought up in this society are surely living in an entirely different setup from ours, and entirely different, too, from the matrilineal and matriarchal tribal societies.

Also, polyandry is little known from an anthropological point of view, and it was worth while to investigate it purely from that angle. The difficulty which I came up against in the beginning was, where to find polyandrous peoples. They are not

121 well known and have not been extensively
114 studied or recorded. In a book by Pro-
171 fessor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I
128 chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
103 active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is very barren and, because of the altitude
595 and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[161] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
this is not practised any longer, but that it
121 used to be a custom two or three genera-
291 tions back. I have never found a case of
152 its actually being practised today and, for
this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical
suspicions that it has never been practised,
but that this story has been put out by
polyandrous people as an indication of,
what I should call popularly, "wishful
thinking." Each of the brothers would
like, in some way, to have the common
wife all to himself and would like to mani-
fest this virility on his part by hanging up
some emblem at the door. The sword, the
stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the
beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols
of virility, and it seems as if the men would
like to have this custom which, possibly,
has never existed, and each of them gains
a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a
virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
andry is an institutionalized social system,
178 they stick to it very strictly. If you ask
missionaries who have been among poly-
androus people, they will, of course, tell
you that polyandry is a very immoral prac-
tice. But if you speak to the people them-
selves, they, on the contrary, consider it
highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If
we take as the definition of morality, con-
formity to the social standards of the set-
ting in which one lives, then one can say
that polyandrous people, at least in this
area which I studied, are very moral. The
old people complain that today the young
ones are getting highly immoral and lax
in not carrying out the tradition of poly-
andry. Certainly, on the borders of India,
where the people come in contact with the
monogamous families of India, or with
Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some
extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanatio

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To 329 595 121 182 Ti 329 595 121 182 K 121

would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212

Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 182 593 Ti 595 114 182 593

Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions,[9] by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
TibeT AJ 1

about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of Ü (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as Ü-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-

000 dance. Miles of snow-capped peaks will suddenly appear far above the earth and disappear as quickly and as magically as they came. There will be the sweet voice of a lovely girl singing of love under a poplar tree in a tiny garden of a village. Once more the wind will whine off 25,000-foot peaks, carrying the sting of sleet on its wings. The shouts, the whistles, the cries of the muleteers, and the medley of dozens of bells of the mule train will fill the place. Acres of poppies once more will stretch as far as the eye can see. Deep-throated horns, blown by scraggy lamas, will echo and re-echo off canyon walls. Miles of cinquefoil will cover a mountain range with yellow and reds; and acres of geraniums will give a bluish cast to stands of fir and pine. And perhaps loveliest of all will be the sound of a flute—a flute blown by a lonely shepherd high on the crags, a flute whose music sounds like falling water.

• 122 I could not find in the United States the person who had the firsthand information about Himalayan treks which I needed. So I visited India in 1950 on a preliminary and exploratory trip. I arrived at Ranikhet late at night in a pouring rain. Ranikhet, an old British hill station presently garrisoned by the Indian Army, sits on a 6,000-foot ridge facing the Garhwahl Himalayas across an 80-mile valley. I despaired of seeing the Snows in the few days I had reserved for Ranikhet, as the monsoon lay heavily over the ranges. But my coming was a good omen. There had been no sun for thirty days. At dawn of the morning following my arrival the sky was clear. The Himalayas—200 miles of them—lay exposed in front of me. Nanda Devi, Trisul, and other giant peaks punched the sky at points where mountains are not supposed to be. Their grandeur left me without words. In the mornings I would be up before dawn waiting for the sun to hit the glaciers. One morning I saw a finger of light no bigger than a pencil race like mad across the 200-mile stretch of solid ice and snow. That night I saw the sun slowly form a band of light across the same 200-mile length of glaciers—a band that turned from gold to red to gray to purple and then, as the sun set, jumped off into space and disappeared, as if waved away by some magic wand.

These were startling experiences that whetted my appetite. I

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

laid my plans carefully. I canvassed the problem of porters, of food, and of equipment at Ranikhet. I planned to return in June 1951, enter the Himalayas through Almora, and take a long trek to Kailas, a historic place of pilgrimage in Tibet. 122

These well-laid plans were changed by events. By the spring of 1951 Tibet was no longer hospitable to Americans. So I moved my operations westward and designed a trek from Manali to Leh. Even so the venture remained what it had been from the beginning—a mountain expedition. And the book was to be about glaciers, high passes, blue poppies, rhododendrons, snow leopards, geology, Himalayan sunsets, and the folk songs of the trails. It was in other words to be a mountain book. 121

But I planned in ignorance. Before I got where I was going I realized that I was traveling Central Asia as witness to one of the most dramatic and important political stories of the century. The mountains remained, serving as the backdrop for the story; but the story was new, exciting, and disturbing, with precious little relevance to the lofty peaks which looked down on the events that shaped the destiny of Central Asia.

Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts of Pakistan that nestle in the Karakorams are also Central Asia. They are *one world;* the Communist regimes that lie to the north are a *second world;* we of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we have done yesterday or where we are going tomorrow, are still a *third world.* It is the interplay of these *three worlds* that furnishes the underlying theme of the book.

I went first to Afghanistan, where I visited Kabul, the capital, and then turned north and crossed the Hindu Kush by the Shibar Pass, dropping down to the ancient Buddhist town of Bamian. Then I retraced my steps to Kabul and returned to West Pakistan over the Khyber Pass, stopping at the city of Peshawar. From there I went north to the Kingdom of Swat for a brief visit. Then I flew the western stretch of the Himalayas to Gilgit and took some trips into the area that stretches along the Sinkiang border. These journeys preceded the long trek which I made on foot and by pack train from Manali to Leh in the Indian Himalayas. Yet I 114

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
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Tibet AJ1

TO 115 In 1931, he married a Tamil woman (that is, someone not of his community) and his eldest son was born in 1932. He subsequently had two more children, two daughters, in 1943 and 1936.

It was in 1935 that he began acting as interpreter and "guide", as he termed it, to Dr. M. B. Emeneau, and he continued to do so until 1938. He also served others in the same capacity during this time, and his health, happily, remained good. In 1939, he acted as my interpreter, but in 1942 he became seriously ill again with his old affliction, and, in Travancore, in the American Hospital of Trivandrum, was successfully operated upon for a second time. On his return he became an influential member of the Toda Welfare Committee, a body set up by the Collector of the Nilgiris to assist the community.

Since then, he has been residing at the Toda Christian colony near Fern Hill, Ootacamund, where he has a small plot of land and a vegetable garden, the produce of which he sells in the local market. From the latest news that I have received from him, I understand that he is still carrying on with these same occupations, working hard and with a considerable measure of success to improve the lot of his fellow Todas, to whom he is attached with a devotion amounting nearly to a fanatical "nationalism", for he refuses to let his erstwhile connection with a Christian Mission "detribalize" him in any way.

T WT 124 115 Those who have helped me in the same way as the informants and interpreters mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, have been far greater in number in the areas of Tibetan affinity, in the Himalayas, than in any other of the fields which I visited. In addition to assistants and interpreters of the kind I have already described, they also include Tibetologists and teachers from whom I obtained, not only information about Tibetan polyandry, but also a general knowledge of everything Tibetan which has stood me in good stead.

WT 115 First and foremost among such helpers should be mentioned Dr. George Nikolaivitch Roerich. Initially, we became acquainted in 1938, when he was residing with his father, the late Professor Nicolas Roerich, his mother and his brother, Svetoslav, at Nagar, in the Kulu valley of the Punjab. It was through him that I met the Gya-kar K'ham-pa chieftain, Tsewang Norbu, and the former monk, Lobsang, from Shigatse. Through his intermediary too, my wife and I equipped ourselves properly for the 600 miles trek from Kulu to Kashmir over Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak.

WT [122]

T 115 Our second meeting was in Kalimpong, West Bengal, in 1950. Disturbances resulting from the partition of India into India proper and

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
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the ways of the Ladakis enabled the Reverend Asboe to enrich greatly my store of knowledge.

Through his intermediary, I made the acquaintance of the late Joseph Gergan (*dGe-rGan*), native minister of the Mission, and of his son-in-law, Nono Tseten P'hüntzok (*Ts'he-brTan P'hun-Ts'hogs*). The first of these two outstanding Christian personalities of Ladak acted as my mentor and teacher in the Tibetan dialect of Ladak; he was also my guide during my leisurely return to Srinagar from Leh. His son-in-law was my interpreter and helper during my interviews with polyandrous households in the country round Leh and, later, even in Kalimpong, he was most helpful in furnishing me with additional material and information as well as in assisting me to give greater accuracy to the data collected.

At the other end of India, during the years in which I was in residence in Kalimpong after World War II, I made considerable use of the knowledge and good will of Mr. G. Tharchin of the Tibetan "Mirror" Press in that town. I had already met this learned man, proficient in both English and Tibetan, a native of Kunu (*K'hu-nu* (*Kunawar*) or Rampur Bashahar), in the U.P., during my first visit to Kalimpong in 1938–39. He had just returned from Lhasa at the time, after having accompanied there the late Theos Bernard as guide and interpreter. On my return eleven years later, he not only helped me to collect the material that I wanted and to make Tibetan contacts such as I desired, but also gave me lessons in the language and taught me the rudiments of reading and writing Tibetan.

Earlier on, soon after my arrival in Kalimpong in 1950, Dr. George Roerich had found me an excellent first teacher in Tibetan. His name was Champa Sangta (*Pyams-pa gSang-bTag*) and he was a refugee in India. Formerly, he had been jester and handyman to the Regent of Tibet, Radeng Rimpoche (*Rwa-gDeng Rin-po-ch'he*), assassinated in 1947 in an obscure political intrigue. Reprisals had been taken by the Tibetan Government against the partisans of the murdered leader, and Champ Sangta being one of these, he had escaped over the border to avoid capture. He spoke an excellent Lhasa dialect (the *lingua franca* of the country) and was, besides, well versed in honorific terms, so important for a foreigner to learn if he does not wish to be accused of speaking "coolie language". He was also one of the three best singers of Tibet and often gave me examples of his art, some of which I sound-recorded. Unfortunately, he was illiterate, and could neither read nor write. He spoke no other language than his own, and this forced me to

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

T. 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 182 To 595 182 Ti 595 182 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

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The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom. 591 595 888

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37). 595 123 [354] [126]

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage. 595 199

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

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He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

595 425 428 [182]

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, too, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism were the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 425 428 [KA]

Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

595 123 187

[TEXT Continues on P. 364]

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595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,[1] now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
[585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family
[888] called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[591] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry, occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

1 [i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
[853] tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
514 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest, as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

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DROGPA NAMGYAL: THE LIFE OF A TIBETAN

by

S. H. Ribbach

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/The first two (unnumbered) pages are covered with illustrations, the first of these with the subtitle: "Pyag-rdor (Chag dor), Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt) with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of the faith, also a rain god"; the second illustration is of a house with a group of masked figures standing underneath and the inscription RIBBACH DROGPA NAMGYAL. /

/9/ FOREWORD

The present description of the life of a Tibetan is based in its first part, up to marriage, upon the detailed accounts that the Tibetan teacher Gau Puntsong, a Buddhist, communicated to me at the time in Leh (in Ladakh). This man was considered one of the best-educated and one of the most intelligent among his countrymen, and he possessed such a thorough knowledge of the customs and practices, the religion and the folklore of his people as could scarcely be found in any other person. The "history" of the Tibetan Drogpa Namgyal (aBrogpa rNamrgyal) which is here told does not lay any claim to being narrative in the sense of a continuous, uninterrupted presentation of the career of one human being. In calling it "a Tibetan life" in the subtitle I wanted to indicate that an attempt has here been made to depict the life of a West Tibetan as it is conducted in a typical day-to-day manner. In so doing I wanted to weave into the narrative as much as was possible an account of the customs and practices, of the religious thought, and of the views and rites as they play their part in daily life, in order to give a picture of the thinking, feeling and actions of the people. 124 121

This history was originally intended for publication in the illustrated periodical of the Moravians, Kampf und Sieg /"Battle and

brothers," go, if possible on horseback, to the bride's house in order 585
to buy the bride for the bridegroom. The bride's relatives will not 539
admit them until they have proved their honorable descent by answering a long series of questions addressed to them in the form of songs. As soon as an answer has been given incorrectly, the inhabitants of the house, who are armed with osier twigs, rain blows on the seven men. The songs used on this occasion represent a kind of catechism in the pre-Buddhistic religion of the country. The same thing applies to them as to the Kesar saga. The further West we go, the more complete they are. I first observed this particular ceremonial in the village of Stog, which lies opposite Leh. There they were finished with the question-and-answer ritual in the shortest possible time, and the wedding feast constituted the climax of the celebration. In Khalatse, to which I removed from Leh, the question-and-answer game lasted much longer. Since I was unable to understand anything of the content of the songs during the performance, I requested the leader of the Nyo-pa to dictate these questions and answers slowly to the [24] ●
scribe of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin. In this way I obtained a copybook of eighteen songs, each in two parts. I went through these carefully with the scribe and soon arrived at an understanding of the 595
first nine. These nine I published in the Indian Antiquary, giving 113
the text, a translation, and annotations. They appeared there under 539
the title, "The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual." Neither the scribe nor I understood the second part of the songs at that time. By now I am somewhat better able to recognize their meaning, and the songs of the second part will also be used in the following presentation. After the song of the Nyo-pa had been delivered to me, one day someone told me that the question-and-answer game of the wedding celebrants was not yet finished with these songs, and that this game was, in fact, continued during the wedding feast. At that time, he said, they sang the so-called chan-glu, the "beer song." Again I had a transcription made of this song, which I published at my own expense by having about fifty copies printed on the missionary lithographic press in Leh. These appeared (with text only) in 1903 under the title, "Die Trinklieder von Khalatse" /The Drinking Songs of Khalatse/. Although several of these songs have very important mythological content, many others are, nevertheless, of a purely diverting nature. They propose riddles such as one might expect on special occasions in gay circles among all peoples. /4/ [273]
Of special interest is the song which describes in detail the origin and preparation of Tibetan beer (chan).

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temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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595 I enquired from the informant why she had married a second husband in this way, considering that she had had children by her first one and that, consequently, it did not seem at all necessary for her to take so drastic a step. Her answer confirmed my belief that a second husband is often brought in in order to acquire more labour for the cultivation of the family plot, for she replied: "I married Tsering P'hüntzok because Tsering was old and unable to work very well any more." She then added the informative remark: "It is cheaper to take an extra husband than a servant."

Neighbours, whom Joseph and I questioned later about this family, assured us, nevertheless, that Lha-dzom had not spoken the truth to us. They scoffed at her statements that she needed more labour on her husband's estate, and said that she was a very ardent woman, whom old Tsering could no longer satisfy sexually. So she had taken Tsering P'hüntzok who was much younger (28 years old, they said), and Tsering had agreed to it because he was tired of his wife's sexual appetite anyway. I must say that in my interview with the woman, I did form the impression that there probably was some truth in the neighbour's gossip. It did not mean, however, that what Lha-dzom had told us was not true; both pronouncements could be correct, for having a new husband, while very pleasant from the matrimonial point of view, was also useful in what concerned the cultivation of the fields. Pleasure and business thus appeared admirably combined in Lha-dzom's case, and Tsering, who could have objected and might have been the major obstacle, made no trouble and accepted the situation. He probably got something out of it, too.

834 ●124 595 I had heard so much about these people's sexual life during these interviews, that it came as a surprise to me when I asked Joseph to enquire if anybody knew anything about father and son polyandry in Kalatse and he refused to do so. We were in conversation with a female neighbour at the time, and Joseph flatly refused to enquire about the subject upon which I wanted information because, he said, it is not possible to question a woman about sexual matters in Tibet if she is either younger or older than yourself. The same applied to close relatives, and the prohibition was called *ka-dzem-ches* (*K'ha-aDzem-Ches*) meaning "mouth to shrink from". What we had been told about Lha-dzom did not come under the category of questioning the woman on sexual affairs, it seemed, since she had volunteered the information which we had heard. What was not possible, I gathered, was for Joseph to put queries about sex to the woman. So I was not able to get the

[TEXT continues on P. 392]

information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

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Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks. 595 124

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen*, the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children. [591]

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis. 595 601 [115] 792 782 595 601

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table. 595 601

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were [592]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
Toda AW60
Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4
[p. 584]

APPENDIX 2

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In all four fields of my ethnographical research, Ceylon, Kerala, the Nilgiris and the Himalayas, I was obliged to make use of informants and interpreters in order to carry out the work. Only in Kalimpong, when I had set up my headquarters there from 1950 to 1956, did I eventually do without interpreters, having learnt Tibetan sufficiently well towards 1952 to be be able to dispense with assistance of this kind. Nevertheless, I remained, of course, dependent on informants.

To all these helpers in the field I am extremely grateful, because without their aid it would have been impossible to carry out the ethnographic study. Except for Kerala, where I have been expressly asked not to make any specific mentions, I would like to thank each and every one personally by name. In the case of the interpreter with whom I worked among the Todas, I would also like to give a short synopsis of his personality and life-history, because it appears to me essential that it is realized fully through what human medium the necessary information was gathered and contact with the tribe established.

In Ceylon, concerning Mr. G. H. Ellawala with whom I worked in Ratnapura, I cannot sufficiently express how great is my debt towards him. Not only did he take time off to accompany me to the dwellings of some of his poorest and most humble tenants (and all those of my readers who know the Orient will appreciate what this means), but he also acted as interpreter himself during our visits and supplied me with much honest and outspoken information in explanation of the material that I was gathering. Long after I had left Ceylon, he furthermore very willingly wrote to me additional data of which I was in need, replying promptly and fully to the, sometimes for him, obscure questions which I put to him about marriage rules and the patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups in the Kandyan provinces.

In Kerala, thanks to the kindness and hospitality of the managing director of the Metal Industries Ltd., Shoranur, Sri A. N. Poduval, I

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
West Tibetans AJ4
Toda AW60
Tibet AJ1

TO 115

In 1931, he married a Tamil woman (that is, someone not of his community) and his eldest son was born in 1932. He subsequently had two more children, two daughters, in 1943 and 1936.

It was in 1935 that he began acting as interpreter and "guide", as he termed it, to Dr. M. B. Emeneau, and he continued to do so until 1938. He also served others in the same capacity during this time, and his health, happily, remained good. In 1939, he acted as my interpreter, but in 1942 he became seriously ill again with his old affliction, and, in Travancore, in the American Hospital of Trivandrum, was successfully operated upon for a second time. On his return he became an influential member of the Toda Welfare Committee, a body set up by the Collector of the Nilgiris to assist the community.

Since then, he has been residing at the Toda Christian colony near Fern Hill, Ootacamund, where he has a small plot of land and a vegetable garden, the produce of which he sells in the local market. From the latest news that I have received from him, I understand that he is still carrying on with these same occupations, working hard and with a considerable measure of success to improve the lot of his fellow Todas, to whom he is attached with a devotion amounting nearly to a fanatical "nationalism", for he refuses to let his erstwhile connection with a Christian Mission "detribalize" him in any way.

T WT 124 115

Those who have helped me in the same way as the informants and interpreters mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, have been far greater in number in the areas of Tibetan affinity, in the Himalayas, than in any other of the fields which I visited. In addition to assistants and interpreters of the kind I have already described, they also include Tibetologists and teachers from whom I obtained, not only information about Tibetan polyandry, but also a general knowledge of everything Tibetan which has stood me in good stead.

WT 115

First and foremost among such helpers should be mentioned Dr. George Nikolaivitch Roerich. Initially, we became acquainted in 1938, when he was residing with his father, the late Professor Nicolas Roerich, his mother and his brother, Svetoslav, at Nagar, in the Kulu valley of the Punjab. It was through him that I met the Gya-kar K'ham-pa chieftain, Tsewang Norbu, and the former monk, Lobsang, from Shigatse. Through his intermediary too, my wife and I equipped ourselves properly for the 600 miles trek from Kulu to Kashmir over Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak.

WT [22]

T 115

Our second meeting was in Kalimpong, West Bengal, in 1950. Disturbances resulting from the partition of India into India proper and

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

T 115

Pakistan had forced his family – minus his father who had died during the war – to move their residence from Kulu, and they had settled down temporarily in this small frontier town at the end of the Trade Route to Lhasa. Dr. Roerich was instrumental in obtaining good Tibetan teachers for me; he greatly assisted me in the task of meeting prominent personalities from Tibet and in obtaining the ethnographical artefacts and books which I had been assigned to purchase for the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia. A great Tibetan scholar of a quality rarely to be found today, he was unfailing in his willingness to help and gave me great assistance, during the seven years that I was in residence in Kalimpong, in my efforts to learn Tibetan correctly and to gather information about the customs and ways of the people of Tibet. I was indeed fortunate in having made the acquaintance and gained the friendship of so outstanding an authority.

WT 115

During my stay in Lahul in the summer of 1938, I was greatly assisted in the initial research work by the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kyelang. Through him I came into contact with my first polyandrous families, and his knowledge of the region and of its inhabitants freely put at my disposal, was a very great help at a time when I was beginning my exploration of Tibetan culture.

Through the Reverend Peter I got to know the principal chieftain of the valley of Lahul, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand. This man, who spoke perfect English and was unfailing in his desire to be of assistance and to receive me with proper hospitality in his domain, gave me considerable information concerning the polyandry of the valley. Always outspoken and sincere, he made no attempt to disguise the nature of the institution as practised in Lahul, and the data that I gathered through his intermediary is among the best that I have.

WT 124

In Rupchu, I was left more or less to myself and, in the absence even of interpreters, had to make the best of my English-speaking Punjabi bearer and of the Hindusthani which he and Lobsang could speak together.

At Leh, however, in Ladak, during my stay there of over a month, I again found invaluable helpers and interpreters, through whom material of even greater value to my research work was gathered.

WT 115

Thus my thanks are due to the Reverend Walter Asboe, superintendent of the Moravian Mission, who welcomed me on arrival in Leh and never ceased during the whole period of my visit to take an interest in my quest and to put everything he knew of the people and customs at my disposal. A long experience and a sympathetic understanding of

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

121 539 585

SOME time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Kêsar-Myths of Western Tibet**. The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladâkhis** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet**. I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences, are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

●126

The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by the **leader of the Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin**, who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan**, and of other Ladâkhis, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

585 539 821 000

It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that **the four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist literature (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

[18] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in *Qor.* vi. 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf. S.* xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all those passages as Medinian. [FOOTNOTE DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THIS ARTICLE.--ANALYST]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.—*By* THE REV. H. FRANCKE, *Moravian Missionary, Leh. Communicated by the Philological Secretary.*

[Read June, 1899.]

538 805 577 The Ladakhi word for proverb is *gtamdpe* [pronounced *stamspe*] which means 'word example.' *Stamspe* is the general term for what might be called quotations, the shepherd's calender and the popular moral code.

538 126 Ladakhi popular poetry has become famous for the frequent application of the laws of 'parallelism.' Many beautiful examples, illustrative of this form of poetry, will be noticed in the proverbs.

In the following each proverb will be treated in this way—

(*a*) the Proverb in the orthography of Ladaki letter writing, (*b*) pronunciation, (*c*) literal translation [does not claim to be good English], (*d*) application, (*e*) grammatical and other notes.

Concerning the orthography of (*b*) the following will suffice: The vowels are the Italian vowels[1], *ä* rather like *e*. All accents given, refer only to the stress. *sh* = ཤ, *zh* = ཞ, *ng* = ང, *c* = ཛ, *ch* = ཚ, *j* = ཇ, *ts* = ཙ, *ths* = ཚ. The unaspirated Tenuis holds the mean between English tenuis and media. Single *r* = Hindustani *r*. The *r* preceding a consonant is like the German guttural *r*, following a consonant it is like the English *r*, spoken quickly.

THE PROVERBS.

539 1. (*a*) དཔེད་ཉིན་རིང་མོ་ལམ་གང་གསུམ་དང་ནོ་གསུམ།
ཟི་ཚེ་རིང་མོ་ལས্ཀྱིད་གསུམ་དང་ནུག་གསུམ།།

(*b*) spid' nyin ring'moa drang' sumdang dro' sum
mi'thse ring'moa skyid' sum dang dug' sum.

[1] They are long, when ending a syllable, short in all other cases.

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can
do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
592 around which the system functions. In
taking down genealogical notes I have,
therefore, always given the family the
name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
428 Tsungarpa who married one woman,
the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE
1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom.

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37).

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage.

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 [115] [591] [888] Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] [591] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

[114] [194]

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

595 85 [126]

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-*
[591] *chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close
[126] to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[428] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[199] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[pp. I–X CONTAIN NO TEXT]

Preface

IN writing the following pages, we are very conscious of the help we have received from many sources, for which we express our heartiest thanks.

First and foremost, we remember our many Tibetan friends who, by allowing us to enter their homes and to watch them at their work and play, have enabled us to learn much about their inner life. We bear in particular remembrance our two Ladaki friends, Nyenpo Joseph Gergan and Nyenpo Dawazung Dana, who so willingly put at our disposal their profound knowledge of their own country, its history and customs.

Without reference to Dr. A. H. Franke's historical researches our second chapter could not have been written. To him we also owe the two stories of Dardish heroes; and Colonel Waddell's "Lamaism" is a store of information.

We have further to mention some other friends, Mr. Basil Crump and Mrs. A. C. Cleather, whose knowledge of Buddhism is so profound. They have often shown us the significance of things not realized before, while Mr. Crump has most generously allowed us to draw on his splendid collection of photographs. Our gratitude is due also to Major Robson, I.A., a former British Joint Commissioner, and to Miss Lucy McCormick, for so very kindly allowing us to make use of some of their photographs.

15: Francke--1 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism. 771

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival. 127.01 539

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann 539 194 113

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the 773 539 171

585 While I was occupied with the study of these songs, I was told
127 that an ancient manuscript containing the wedding songs existed in
539 Tag-ma-cig, the neighboring village to the west of Khalatse. I immediately sent a messenger to that village in order to have the work delivered to me, but I was to learn that this could only be done in exchange for the payment of a fairly large sum of money. After this payment had been made, the manuscript was left with me for a month on a loan basis. This period of time was sufficient, however, for my faithful assistant, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, to copy the entire document. Unfortunately, the manuscript was so badly damaged in some places that several songs had to be left incomplete. Concerning the age of the manuscript nothing definite could be established. It was reported to me that they had begun writing them down only when there was danger that the old songs might be forgotten. The manuscript may perhaps be one hundred years old, and possibly a little more. According to my scribe's count, the booklet contains about sixty songs, mostly consisting of two parts. Quite a number of these correspond with the songs of Khalatse, and, in fact, there are repetitions both of the individual wedding songs
[533] and of the drinking songs. We observe that in Tag-ma-cig they did not differentiate at all between wedding songs and drinking songs. Yet the title of the entire collection is "Nyo-pas-sgo-la btan-ces-kyi-glu," "Songs of the Nyopa (Bride Buyers), To Be Sung at the Door." Even though at the time I was unable to understand much of the content of the songs, I nevertheless recognized immediately their extreme importance in the study of pre-Buddhistic religion, and I wished to make them accessible to the scholarly world. For this reason I had them multigraphed in twenty-eight copies with blue copy ink, but in this job I was quite unlucky. The impressions were for the most part so faint that they could not be deciphered. Fortunately, the copy made by Ye-shes-rig-adzin has been found again in the meantime and important data have been taken from it,
585 which will appear in the following pages. All these wedding songs
773 are particularly valuable because they contain a great deal of ma-
539 terial dealing with the Tibetan notions about the World Tree and the deities of the four points of the heavens. Later I was also supplied with wedding songs (nyo-pai-glu) from the villages of Shel and Phyi-dban. These are of a totally different nature, however. They are songs of praise addressed to kings and ministers who apparently celebrated their weddings in those localities. For the student of religion they are of no value.

III. The Hymns of the Spring Festival (Glin-glu). When the spring festival is celebrated in Western Tibet (Ladakh, and so on), hymns are sung which bear the name Glin-glu, "Songs from the Land of Glin." In these hymns King Kesar and the deities mentioned in the Kesar saga are honored. Without a certain knowledge of the Kesar saga, these songs would remain unintelligible. Without exerting myself particularly, I managed to get my hands on two such hymn collections as I was looking around for folk songs. From the village Phyi-dban, eight English miles below Leh, I obtained a manuscript prepared there, which contained the nine hymns of the Kesar festival that are customarily used in that village. In Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, who has already been mentioned above, wrote down for me the nine hymns that were sung there. I published the first collection in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, with text, English translation, and notes. The second collection is to be found in my "Ladakhi Songs," where it is printed under Nos. XXI-XXIX. These two important collections are accompanied by a briefer third one, consisting of five festival songs which a member of the Bheda caste in the village of Sheh (Shel) wrote down for me, songs traditional in that village. In addition, I should mention that scattered parts of such festival songs are also to be found here and there in my collections of folk songs, just as here and there some wedding songs are to be found taken out of their context. /5/ Such a one is to be found, for instance, in Ladakhi Songs, No. 30, "The Carpet of the Bride Buyers."

IV. Now, after the main sources of the Glin-chos have been established, I must speak of yet a fourth type of songs of a religious nature which, however, do not seem to fit into the framework of the Glin-chos. I published one of these in my Ladakhi Songs as No. 15. But this is not a happy example, since it is composed of two wedding songs, whereas the original song has been lost. Better types are afforded by my as yet unpublished collection of songs from Sheh. From this collection it appears that as a theme for the harvest songs they chose the creation of the world and the origin of the gifts of nature, in particular, wheat. But the myth of the creation of the world, as we find it here, is in contrast to the version in the Kesar saga. In the harvest song the earth rises up out of the waters of the ocean, while in the Kesar saga it is formed out of the body of a slain giant. Now the myth in the harvest songs of Sheh (Shel) corresponds in a curious way with the Dard song about the creation of the world, such as we find it written down in the Dard collection of hymns of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

2: Ramsay --i G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 121 114 128

PREFACE

No Dictionary has yet been published dealing with the language and customs of the several districts of Western Tibet, viz., Ladák, Nubra, Roopshoo, and Tángtsey, which are collectively spoken of by Europeans as "Ladák."

When first appointed here, I much felt the want of such a book, and, therefore, for my own use, commenced to compile notes and a vocabulary, which have, during the several years which have since passed, expanded to such dimensions that I last year asked the Government of India to print them. Recently the Government of India has kindly consented to do so.

The notes and vocabulary, which have been revised and much enlarged, are now published under the title of "Western Tibet." The title "Ladák" would for some reasons have been preferable had it not already been appropriated by General Cunningham for an excellent book published by him in 1854.

The present work was not originally intended for the Press, and it has no pretension to scholarly merit: indeed, in cases where the local idea is opposed to the correct classical view, the latter has been ignored, my object being to record only local ideas, customs, pronunciation, etc.

To my successors in office, and to any Europeans who may have occasion to visit this part of the world, I hope that "Western Tibet" may be useful, as supplying a practical guide to the language and customs of the country.

For the general public it is not intended.

H. RAMSAY, Captain,
British Joint-Commissioner, Ladák.

LEH:
20th June 1890.

121 well known and have not been extensively
114 studied or recorded. In a book by Pro-
171 fessor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I
128 chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 175 101 Now, one of these relics (the alms-dish) still exists in a temple to the north of Lé. It is a large earthenware vase, similar in shape to the two largest steatite vases extracted from the Bhilsa Topes.* But Ladák also possessed a tooth of Buddha, which was formerly enshrined at Lé in a *dung-ten*, or solid mound of masonry similar to the Topes of Bhilsa and of Afghanistan. The *dung-ten* still exists, though ruinous: but the holy tooth is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher, of Balti, upwards of 200 years ago, when Ladák was invaded and plundered by the Musalmáns of the west, who, most probably, threw the much-prized relic contemptuously into the Indus. At any rate, it has never since been heard of.

101 131 175 4. Lastly, the name of *Kie-chha*, and the designation of the people as "men of the snowy mountains," both point unmistakably to Ladák, which is still known as *Kha-pa-chan*, or *Kha-chan*, "abounding in snow," or Snow-land, and the people as *Kha-pa-chan-pa*, or *Kha-chan-pa*, "men of the snowy land."†

5. In the *Cesi* of Pliny, and in the *A-khassa regio* of Ptolemy, I believe that we have the earliest mention of Ladák. Of the former Pliny‡ says, "hos includit Indus montium coronâ circumdatos et solitudinibus." This description is literally true of the people of *Kha-pa-chan*, or Snow-land, whose whole country lies along

* By Lieutenant Maisey and myself. See my account of the opening and examination of "The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India," printed for Smith, Elder, & Co. (1853).

† *Kha*, or *Kha-pa*, is "snow," and *chan* means "full." Perhaps Náser-ud-din *Kabáchak*, who reigned in Multan and Sindh, and afterwards disputed the empire of India with Altanish, was a Ladáki. Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* is no doubt *Kha-chan-yul*, "Snow-land," or Ladák.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. c. 20.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it
131 is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains.
175 The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is
175 made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

177 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that
212 interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.

† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

whole of the petty commerce of our hill states with Tibet. It was possible also that our peaceful relations with the Chinese emperor might be considerably embarrassed by his Celestial Majesty's ignorance of any distinction between the rulers of India and the rulers of Kashmir. As it seemed desirable to prevent the chance of such an occurrence, the British Government determined to remove the most common cause of all disputes in the East,—an unsettled boundary. For this purpose two officers were deputed, in August 1846, to the Tibetan frontier of Ladák, to ascertain the ancient boundaries between the two countries, and to lay down the boundary between the British territories and those of Mahárája Guláb Sing. The settlement of this boundary was one of some importance to the hill states, and more especially to our new acquisition of Nurpur, which received all its shawl wool from the traders of the eastern hill states, and not from Kashmir. Immediately after the war, I had pointed out that, by giving up to Mahárája Guláb Sing the southern dependencies of Ladák, we had actually interposed a rival territory between our own provinces on the Sutluj and the shawl-wool districts of Cháng-Tháng. The southern boundary of Spiti was, in fact, not more than thirty miles from Rámpur, on the Sutluj. As the annual revenue of the Spiti district, derived from all sources, does not amount to more than seven hundred rupees, no difficulty was experienced in making an exchange of territory with Mahárája Guláb Sing, and Spiti was added to the British dominions.

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It then became necessary to define the northern boundary of Spiti, with the other districts of Ladák. The two commissioners deputed for this purpose were

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the late lamented Vans Agnew and myself. We left Simla on the 2nd August, 1846, and proceeded due north through Mandi, Kullu, and Láhul, to the Bara Lácha Pass, just beyond which stands the well-known *phálang-danda*, or boundary-stone, between the British province of Láhul and the Ladáki district of Zanskar. From this point we proceeded to the Tshomoriri lake, and I mapped in the British boundary from the *phálang-danda* to the Chinese frontier.

We were accompanied by Anant Rám, the Vazir of Shassa, in Kanáwar, who was deputed to attend us by the Raja of Bisahar, because he knew Hindustani, and could both speak and write Tibetan. To him we intrusted the Governor-General's letter addressed to the Chinese Governor of Lhasa. Anant Rám proceeded by Tashigong and the valley of the Indus to Gáro. On his arrival, the people at first refused to let him see the Governor; but as he persisted (according to his instructions) in declining to make over the letter to any one but the Governor himself, he was at length admitted within the fort, and then presented the letter. The Governor remarked that no letter had ever yet been received from the British authorities, and that his only communications to the westward were with the Raja of Bisahar. Anant Rám replied that he was the servant of the Bisahar Raja, who had directed him to accompany the British officers to the Chinese frontier, for the purpose of delivering the letter in question. On this, the Governor remarked that he would forward the letter to Lhasa, but that an answer could not be received for a whole year. A tent was then provided for Anant Rám, and he remained at Gáro for eight days, and was well treated the whole time.

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Early the following year, as soon as the passes were open, the Raja of Bisahar reported that some Chinese authorities had arrived at Gáro, and that they had been despatched by the Governor of Lhasa. It was therefore determined to send a second commission to the Tibetan frontier for the purpose of laying down the ancient boundary between Ladák and Tibet. Three commissioners were appointed,— 131 648

Captain (now Major) Alexander Cunningham, of the Engineers.

Lieutenant (now Captain) Henry Strachey.

Dr. Thomas Thomson.

Captain Henry Strachey had already distinguished himself by his bold and successful visit to the holy well of Mánasarovara in the previous year, and Dr. Thomas Thomson was well known as one of the first botanists in India. The mission was supplied with portable magnetic and meteorological instruments; but as only one barometer was procurable, the observations for atmospheric pressure were confined to the parts of the country which Captain Strachey visited. My observations for temperature and moisture were continued from the south-eastern boundary of Spiti, throughout Ladák and Kashmir, to Shamsábád on the western frontier of the Panjáb. I observed the magnetic dip, declination, and intensity at Puga, Lé, and Molbil in Ladák, at Trinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and at Shamsábád. All these observations, with the exception of those at Ladák, were taken on the regular term-days laid down for monthly magnetic observation. 000

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The territory of Ladák is one of the most elevated 133
regions of the earth. Its different valleys lie along the head-waters of the Indus, the Sutluj, and the Chenáb; and the joint effects of elevation and of isolation amidst 132
snowy mountains produce perhaps the most singular climate in the known world. Burning heat by day is succeeded by piercing cold at night, and everything is parched by the extreme dryness of the air. The rarefied atmosphere offers but little impediment to the sun's rays, which during a short summer are sufficiently powerful to ripen barley at an elevation of 15,000 feet, although the temperature falls below the freezing point every night. This climate is equally favourable to animal life. The plains between 16,000 and 17,000 feet [136] are covered with wild horses and hares and immense flocks of domestic goats and sheep; and the slopes of the hills up to 19,000 feet abound with marmots and Alpine hares. Such is the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, that no rain falls and but little snow, and both meats and fruits are cured by mere exposure to the air.

2.—BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

Ladák is the most westerly country occupied by the 101
Tibetan race who profess the Buddhist faith. On the 131
north it is divided by the Kárákoram mountains from the Chinese district of Kotan. To the east and south-east are the Chinese districts of Rudok and Chumurti; and to the south are the districts of Lahul and Spiti, now attached to British India, but formerly belonging to Ladák. To the west lie Kashmir and Balti, the former separated by the western Himalaya, and the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 latter by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of
131 the Dras river to the sources of the Nubra river.

131 Its greatest extent is from north-west to south-east, from the head of the Dras river, in longitude 75° 30′, to Chibra, on the Indus, in longitude 79° 10′, a distance of 240 miles. Its greatest breadth is 290 miles, from the Kárákoram Pass, in north latitude 35° 10′, to the Rotang Pass in Lahul, in latitude 32° 25′. Its mean length is 200 miles, and its mean breadth 150 miles. Its whole extent is therefore only 30,000 square miles.

634 The natural divisions of the country are: 1st, Nubra on the Shayok: 2nd, Ladák Proper, on the Indus: 3rd, Zanskar, on the Zanskar river: 4th, Rukchu, around the lakes of Tshomo Riri and Tsho-Kar: 5th, Purik, Suru, and Dras, on the different branches of the Dras river: 6th, Spiti, on the Spiti river: and 7th, Lahul, on the Chandra and Bhaga, or head-waters of the Chenáb. These also are the actual divisions of the country, for the natural boundaries of a mountainous district generally remain unaltered, in spite of the changes wrought by war and religion.

636 Ladák is divided politically between Maharaja Guláb Sing and the East-India Company. To the former belong all the northern districts, to the latter only the two southern districts of Lahul and Spiti.

3.—DIFFERENT NAMES OF LADÁK.

101 Ladák, in Tibetan *La-tags*, is the most common
103 name of the country; but it is also called *Mar-yul*,* or

* *dMar-yul* or d*Mar-po-yul*, "Red-land." Csoma de Körös spells the name *Mar-yul*, the "low-country;" but as Hwan Thsang, in A.D.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Ladák, but to the north of *Ngari*, lies the extensive province of *Chang Thang*, or the "northern plains." Ladák itself is called Mar-yul or Low-land, perhaps from its inferior elevation to all the surrounding districts. 634 103

Nubra,* or the north-western district of Ladák, includes all the country drained by the Nubra and Shayok rivers. It is by far the largest district in the country, being about 128 miles in length by 72 miles in breadth, with an area of 9,200 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Kárákoram mountains, and on the south by the Kailas range, which divides the Indus from the Shayok; and it extends from the frontier of Balti, in east longitude 77°, to the Pangkong lake on the borders of Rudok. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts of the country, from an average of fourteen observations at different places, is 12,763 feet. 634 131 133

Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called *Mang-yul*, or the "district of many people." It stretches along the Indus in a north-westerly direction from Rukchu to the frontier of Balti, a length of 120 miles, with an average breadth of 33 miles. Its area is about 4,000 square miles, and the mean elevation of the inhabited portions, as deduced from observations along the Indus, is 11,500 feet. [103] [131] [162]

Zanskar includes all the country lying along the two great branches of the Zanskar river, in a general direction from south-east to north-west. It is bounded by Ladák on the north, by Rukchu on the east, by Lahul on the south, and by the small districts of Purik and Wanla on the west. The southern boundary is formed by the

* *Nub-ra*, western.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 great Himálaya itself, the western boundary by the
131 transverse range of Singgé Lá, and the northern boun-
133 dary by the Trans-Himálayan chain. Its greatest length is 72 miles, but its mean length is not more than 56 miles, and its mean breadth is about the same, or 55 miles. It has an area of 3,000 square miles, and a mean elevation of 13,154 feet, as deduced from seven different observations along the course of the valley. The name [103] of *Zangs-kar** means "white copper" or brass; but I have no idea why it is so named.

Rukchu is the most elevated district in Ladák, and one of the loftiest inhabited regions in the known world. The mean height of the plains, as determined from twenty-one different spots where I encamped in 1846 and 1847, is 15,634 feet. This is the mean height of the great plain of Kyang, which extends from the foot of the Thung-lung Pass to the fords of the Sum-Gal, a length of 35 miles. It is also the height of the plains around the *Tsho-kar*, or White Lake, and of the long sloping plains from the Lanák ridge to the Para river. Rukchu is bounded on the north by Ladák Proper, on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti, on the south by Lahul and Spiti, and on the west by Zanskar. Its length from the Thung-lung Pass to the head of the Hanlé river is 90 miles, and its mean breadth about 62 miles, which give an area of 5,500 square miles.

Purik, *Suru*, and *Dras*† are three small districts to

* *Zangs-dKar*, "copper-white."

103 † These names are not all Tibetan, as Dras is the Kashmiri name for the district of *Hem-babs*. In Tibetan they are written *Pu-rig*; *Su-ru*; and *Hem-babs*. The last name means "snow-fed or snow-descended,"

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634 131 133 the west of Zanskar, on the high road between Kashmir and Lé. To *Purik* belong the villages of the Waka and Phugal rivers, from their sources in the transverse range of Singgé Lá to Kargyil, below their junction. The principal places in Purik are Mulbil, Paskyum, and Sod, each of which once had a petty chief of its own. *Suru* also owned a petty chief who lived at Lung Kartse, the principal place in the valley. The river is sometimes called by this name, but more generally by that of Suru. The Suru river joins the Waka-chu immediately below Kargyil. *Dras* is the most westerly of these small [103] districts. Its Tibetan name of Hem-babs (snow-fed or snow descended) is descriptive of its most striking peculiarity, as the most snowy district of Ladák. [132] It owes this peculiarity to the great depression in the Himálaya, at the head of the Dras river, which allows the constantly humid vapours of Kashmir to pass to the north of the mountains, where they become condensed by the cold, and are precipitated in rain or snow, according to the season of the year. These small districts extend in length from the frontier of Balti to Zanskar, a distance of 84 miles, and in breadth from the head of the Suru valley to the Photo-la, a distance of 50 miles. The area is 4,200 square miles, and the mean height of the inhabited parts, as determined by the elevation of thirteen camps, is 11,196 feet.

*Spiti** is bounded on the north by Rukchu, on the

Hem being the Sanscrit *Hima*, which has long been naturalized in Tibet. See Csoma's Tibetan Dictionary, *in voce*.

* *Spi-ti*. In Kullu and Kanáwar this district is generally called Piti, but the proper name is Spiti.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu,
[144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion,
[134] with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate
187 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the
132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,068 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of mountains, which I propose to call the *Trans-Himálaya*, the *Chushal*, and the *Kárákoram*, or *Trans-Tibetan* chains. These names are by no means intended to supersede any that may now exist, but only as descriptive appellations of extensive mountain-ranges which at present have no general names.

1st. The *Trans-Tibetan* range is that which we call the Bolor and Kárákoram, on the west; and which probably merges into the Kuen-lun, on the east.* It is in fact the northern limit of the Tibetan people, and of their peculiar language. To the north are the people of Balti, Ladák, and Chang-Thang, who were known to Ptolemy as the Byltæ and *Chatæ Scythæ*.

2nd. The *Kailás*, or *Gangri* range, runs through the midst of western Tibet, along the right bank of the Indus, to the junction of the Shayok. Neither Moorcroft nor Vigne has given any name to this range, though both of them crossed it several times, and in different places. I have ventured to call it the *Kailás*, or *Gangri* range, because those names are equally celebrated by the Hindus and Tibetans. *Kailás*, or "Ice-mountain," is the Indian Olympus, the abode of Siva and the celestials. *Gang-ri*, or "Ice-mountain," is called *Ri-gyal*, or King of Mountains, by the Tibetans, who look upon Ti-se, or the Kailás Peak, as the highest mountain in the world.†

* Humboldt's Cosmos, vol. ii. p. 154. "The Hindu Kush, or Indian Caucasus, is a continuation of the Kuen-lun of North Tibet."

† *Kailás* means "crystalline, or icy," and is derived from *Kelás*, crystal, which is itself a compound of *ke*, water, and *las*, to shine. The Tibetan name of Gangri (*Gangs-Ri*) means "ice-mountain," and *Rigyal* (*Ri-r Gyal*) means "mountain king." This is the origin of the name of Mount *Argillos*, which Plutarch (De Fluviis) gives to the mountain on which Bacchus was born. Mount *Righi*, in Switzerland, is the same as the Tibetan *Ri-ga*, the mountain.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 rivers, and clay-slate towards the source of the Shayok. The limestone continues towards Ruthog, and the waters of the Pangkong lake hold a sufficient quantity of lime to form a calcareous deposit, which cements the pebbles together in patches of concrete at the bottom of the lake. But the mass of mountain is composed of granite and gneiss, which in this, as well as in the other lofty ranges of India and Tibet, form the highest peaks and crests of the ridges.

III.—2nd. KAILÁS RANGE.

The *Kailás* or *Gangri* range runs through the midst of Western Tibet along the right bank of the Indus, from its source to the junction of the Shayok. At this point it is cut both by the Indus and by the Shigar river; beyond which it stretches to the north-west, dividing the two valleys, and is terminated at the junction of the Hunza and Nager rivers. The general direction is from south-east to north-west, and the whole length of the range from the celebrated peak of Kailás to Hunza-Nager is not less than 550 miles. In many of our maps the main stream of the Indus or Singgé-chu, is laid down to the northward of the Kailás mountains, and the Garo river or Higong-chu is degraded to a mere tributary, which falls into the great river at Tashigong. But all my informants agreed in stating that the Garo river was the *Singgé-chu* or Indus, and that the stream which joined it at Tashigong was not larger than the Hanlé river. The Kailás or Gangri range therefore extends in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shayok. It [131] forms the natural boundary between Ladák, Balti, and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Rongdo on the south, and Ruthog, Nubra, Shigar, and Hunza-Nager on the north. 133 [13]

This range has been often crossed by Europeans, but always on the same high roads, which generally lead over the lowest and easiest passes. We have the heights of six of these passes in different parts of the range. [487]

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Tsaka-la	15,000	Trebeck.
2	Kongta-la	15,495	Moorcroft, MS.
3	Chang-la	18,105	Ditto do.
4	Lazgung or Sabu-lá ...	17,666	Dr. Thomson.
5	Lé Pass	17,600	Ditto.
6	Hanu Pass	16,890	Col. Bates.
	Mean height	16,792 or 16,800 feet.	

As the average height of these passes approaches 17,000 feet, the general elevation of the range may be estimated at not less than 20,000 feet. The height of the celebrated Kailás peak has been determined by Lieut. R. Strachey at 20,700 feet. A peak which I measured on one of the spurs of the range to the north of Mahé was 18,500 feet. In this part, as we may see from the heights of the Kongta-la and Tsakala Passes, the range is much depressed, but in the neighbourhood of Lé, wherever I could see the ridge, it was entirely covered with snow in the beginning of October. As the lofty passes to the northward of Lé are said to be always clear of snow at the end of summer, the snow-line on the Kailás or Mid-Tibetan range may be estimated at 19,000 feet,* or more, on the southern face; [132]

* In the Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 302, Lieut. R. Strachey estimates the snow-line on the southern face of Kailás at not less than 19,500 feet, which agrees with my observations. See Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Drás river at a narrow gorge called the Wolf's Leap;* but beyond this point it stretches in one unbroken chain to the great southward sweep of the Indus at the junction of the Gilgit river. Its general direction is from south-east to north-west, and its extreme length is upwards of 350 miles. It forms the natural boundary between Ladák, Balti, and Rongdo on the north, and Rukchu, Zanskar, Purik, Drás, and Astor, on the south.

This range is much better known than either of the preceding chains. I have the measurement of four peaks determined by myself in 1847, and of no less than eleven passes, of which I have myself crossed five. The following are the heights of peaks in the neighbourhood of Hanlé, and in other parts of the range.

	Peaks.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Rongo Peak	20,786	A. Cunningham.
2	Changlung, N. Pk. ...	20,357	Ditto.
3	Changlung, S. Pk. ...	20,141	Ditto.
4	Hanlé Peak	20,650	Ditto.
5	Lának Peaks	20,000	Ditto.
6	Tshomoriri Peaks ...	21,000	Ditto.
7	Gya Peak, W. of Gya ...	21,000	Ditto.
8	Tok Peak (S. of Lé) ...	21,000	Ditto.
	Mean height	20,616 feet.	

The mean height of the peaks in the eastern part of the range, is therefore not less than 20,500 feet.

The following table shows the height of different passes in the eastern half of the range.

* Vigne, Map and Travels in Kashmir, vol. ii.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 described, from south-east to north-west. The whole length of the chain from the peak of Monomangli to the sources of the Gilgit and Kunar rivers is not less than 650 miles. It is pierced in three places by rivers, by the Sutluj and Para at the base of Porgyal, and by the Indus at the foot of Dayamur. Its greatest elevation is the lofty peak of Nanda Devi (Jawáhir) 25,749 feet, and its greatest depression, the pass of Seoji-lá, 11,700 feet, between Kashmir and Ladák. Throughout its[1] whole extent it forms the boundary between the races of Hindu origin and the pure Tibetans of Ladák and Balti. To the south-east it divides the Tibetan district of Garo from the Indian province of Kumaon. Midway it separates the Ladáki districts of Rukchu, Zanskar, Purik, and Drás, containing only pure Botis or Tibetans, from the provinces of Spiti, Kullu, Lahul, Kashtwar, and Kashmir, whose inhabitants are chiefly a mixed race of Indo-Tibetans. To the westward it was once the boundary between the Dards of Chelás and the Tibetans of Astor and Gilgit; but the Dards have since penetrated to the northward, and the Gilgitis of the present day are a mixed race of Dardo-Tibetans.

131 144

133 To the south of the Sutluj the heights of many of the loftiest peaks have been determined by Webb, Hodgson, and the Gerards, but to the north of the Sutluj, no heights were ascertained by them, except only that of Porgyal by Alexander Gerard. Beyond this, not more than five peaks have been measured, with more or less precision, but the general accuracy of these measurements is proved by the ascertained elevation of several passes. The following table gives all the heights to the south of the Sutluj.

[1 i.e., the western Himalayas. - ANALYST]

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

●131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca.1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

[634] 101 ●131 133 [161]

Chapter I.

The District.

General description.

The cantons or *wazíris* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazíris*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazíris*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

[651] [563]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

131 Chapter I.

The District.

101 Configuration and sub-divisions of *tasíl* Láhaul.

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Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 30 feet per mile.

133

The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lhá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 Chapter I. The District. Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley, not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

[164] [731] [787]

"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

● 131 133 361 Configuration of *wazírí* Spíti.

Spíti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tíbet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spíti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spíti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spíti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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133

Chapter I.

The District.

Configuration of *mazárí* Spiti.

narrow rocky gorges shut in by high precipices. On the other side of the main valley for two-thirds of its length from the base, there are high valleys or tablelands which contain some ten villages.

The mountains of Spiti are more lofty than those of Láhaul. In the outer-Himalaya is one peak of 23,064 feet, and many along the whole line are considerably over 20,000. Of the mid-Himálaya, two peaks exceed 21,000 feet, and in the southern range the Mánirang is 21,646 feet in height. From the main ranges transverse lines of mountains project far into the valley on either side, leaving in many cases only a narrow interval through which passes the Spiti river. Even these minor ranges contain peaks, the height of which in many instances exceeds 17,000 feet. The mean elevation of the villages in Spiti is considerably higher than in Láhaul. Mr. Lyall puts it at 12,000 feet. Several villages, he says, must be more than 13,000 feet above the sea, and one or two as high as 14,000. General Cunningham gives as the mean elevation of the Spiti valley, 12,981 feet.

Rivers.

The Spiti river, by which the drainage of the whole valley is collected, rises in the angle between the Kanzam and outer Himalayan ranges at the base of a peak 20,073 feet in height, and after a south-easterly course of ten miles is joined by another stream from the south-west, of nearly equal volume, the Líchu, which drains the mountains on either side of the Kanzím pass. Hence it flows eastwards for thirteen miles, washing the base of the outer Himalayas; then turning south-east it maintains this direction with no material deviation till it reaches Máni at the base of the southern hills. Here it sweeps eastwards and ultimately leaves Spiti at its north-east corner by a narrow gorge hemmed in on either side by lofty mountains. In Basáhir it turns southwards and joins the Satlaj after a course of over 120 miles, its fall averaging about 60 feet per mile.

The principal tributaries of the Spiti upon its left bank, are the Kibjuna, the Tánmu, the Lágudársi, the Párang, the Shilla and the Lingti. All these have their rise in the outer-Himalaya, and running in deep beds with precipitous sides, are quite valueless for purposes of irrigation. The Lágudársi rises in the Tákling pass, and the Párang in the pass of the same name. The Lingti, which rises in the highest peak of the whole range, is a considerable river and has a course of over thirty miles. On the right bank, the principal affluents are the Giundi, the Rátang, and the Pín. The Giundi has a course of about twenty miles, the Rátang, of rather more than twenty. The Pín is described in greater detail below. The mountains drained by these and other river streams of the southern side of the valley, are utterly barren and uninhabited. The hills are devoid of vegetation; and the valleys, abrupt, rocky and shut in by precipices, are in many instances choked in with *débris* through which the streams have cut for themselves broad courses, sometimes from 600 to 500 yards in width, and having "straight sides like the banks of a canal" from 200 to 300 feet in height. The Pín is the most important tributary of the Spiti. It rises in the angle of the mid-Himalaya and Mánirang ranges, and with its affluent, the Parakio, or Parakís, a stream of nearly equal volume, drains fully one quarter of the Spiti valley.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the Kângrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khâta* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lama* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lama* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [614]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people WHO CANNOT WRITE IS A SIGN OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE SENDER.

000 canyon blazing in sunshine. No one said a word. The musical mule train was up front. Rup Singh and I brought up the rear; and Rup Singh, usually anxious not to be the last in line, now studiously kept behind me, counting the times my heels pounded Moti's ribs.

• /31/ It was eight miles from Serchu to the tall stone marker which indicates the boundary between Lahul and Ladakh. We swung by that in silence after I had attempted to resume a friendly conversation with Rup Singh. We went another three miles, keeping mostly a hundred feet or so above the river. Now the twisting canyon was becoming more narrow. The trail climbed steeply and then dropped again to a nulla (ravine) where a clear, cold stream ran—a place called Banglang Zu. This nulla was almost fifty yards wide and covered with a solid floor of round, smooth rocks.

000 The muleteers stopped to let the mules drink. Rahul and I, after watering our own mules, rode through the nulla, climbed the opposite bank, and started down the trail to Chakchu. We had gone only a short distance when I turned around and immediately shouted to Rahul. What I saw was disturbing. The muleteers were unloading the mules, throwing the baggage in the rocky bed of the nulla. We went back to see what was wrong.

"We go no further," Rup Singh said.

"This is no place to camp," I replied.

"This is the end of the trek," he answered. "We leave the baggage here and return to Kyelang in the morning."

"Don't leave the baggage in this river bed," I replied. "We can't make camp on the rocks. Bring it up to the shelf where the ground is smooth."

"Carry it up yourself," Rup Singh replied. "I am finished."

Turning to Budh Ram, I said, "You and Man Das load the baggage on the mules and bring it up to the shelf."

Budh Ram told Rup Singh what the orders were.

"No," shouted Rup Singh, his eyes blazing. "You cannot use my mules to move your baggage."

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

neighbourhood of Leh can b[illegible]. But there is a sudden descent from this plateau into the pretty and quaint little village of Basgo, which, with its peculiar rocks and ruins, *chorten* gates and *mani* walls, appeals to some people more than Lamayuru. In spring it is certainly a gem in the bare hills, for on the verge of the plain one suddenly comes upon it as a mass of apricot blossom. Above the Basgo-Nyemo valley neither the apricot nor the apple ripen properly, and the Leh supplies come mostly from there or from Saspola. The main road, which we must occasionally remind ourselves is the high road to Central Asia, leading through the village, passes many tumbledown *chortens* and *mani* walls, and, in one little recess on the left, one sees a fine example of a prayer-wheel made of a kerosene tin. On the outskirts, a row of prayer-wheels may be noted on a roof, waiting to be turned by the wind.

Over a sandy four-mile plain with a long *mani* wall extending half-way, we reach Nyemo, which looked only about twenty minutes ride from Bazgo, and are glad to enter the shade of its large *bagh*, and new bungalow. Here we remember camping once and taking our meal in the open by our tents, when a group of traders and their servants from the serai came to watch this interesting performance. Wearying of their unabashed stare, the Doctor Sahib at length rose, and addressed them in their own language. Pointing solemnly to the members indicated, he said, "I too am a man, I have eyes, ears, nose and mouth." A grin slowly spread over their faces as they caught the rebuke, and they stole away to bother us no more.

Now we have one more *rong* to ascend, then we soon come out on to a long terraced plain with a glorious view of our own Leh valley, the Indus spreading out into several silver streaks as it winds in and out of its broad acres. Grateful after the narrow gorges and long defiles is this open expanse, ringed by range after range of peaks pointing up to some 20,000 feet above sea level, whose snow can never melt. "My very own

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
103 active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is very barren and, because of the altitude
595 and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[161] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
783 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
361 The former kings of Tibet have taken
341 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
131 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
175 is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
428 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

T 114 595

tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

WT 101 131 648

The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families.

WT 114

My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

WT 101

The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yül (*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

WT 133 [131]

Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[Text Continues on P. 305]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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●131
133

[114]

Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

0 5 10 miles

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [312]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

2. LADAK

a) *Preliminary Description*

I would like to begin with a brief description of Ladak and of Leh, the setting in which my research work was carried out, before accounting for the polyandry of this region.

1. *Environment*

Ladak (often spelt Ladak*h* in English, from the Hindi, whereas in Tibetan it is *La-Dwags*),[1] is really the most westerly part of the high plateau of Tibet, today included in Kashmir as a *tehsil* or administrative sub-division of that state (see Map 5). It is limited in the north by the Karakorum mountains and the Kara Tagh, which are westerly continuations of the Kwen Lun mountains of northern Tibet; in the south, by an artificial frontier drawn along the foot of the Zangskar and main Himalayan ranges; in the east, by an equally unnatural boundary with Tibet which runs from the Karatagh south-west of the Lingzi T'hang (plain) to the Pangkong Tso, and from there, south-east, to the upper Indus valley; in the west, by the other Kashmir sub-divisions of Zangskar and Baltistan.

The area covered by the sub-division is 82,000 square miles, of which only 47,762 are cultivated. It is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, the inhabited part ranging from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet, and even more in Rupchu, as we have just seen. It is traversed from the south-east to the north-west by the Indus river, and in the north-western part another large watercourse takes its source, the Shyok river, into which runs the Nubra. It is these valleys which constitute the fertile areas where habitation is possible, agriculture fed from river and glacier water being the mainstay of the village.

As in Lahul, and even more so here, because of the altitude everywhere, the climate is a cold one for the greater part of the year, only the brilliant tropical sun of India bringing some warmth during the day in the summer months. The rainfall is scanty but, during the winter, an appreciable amount of snow does fall. Temperatures in the inhabited parts of Ladak, that is at a mean altitude of 11,000 feet, vary between a maximum of 62° and a minimum of 23°, on average.

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

[1] Another Tibetan name for Ladak is *Mar-yul (dMar-yul)*, the "red country".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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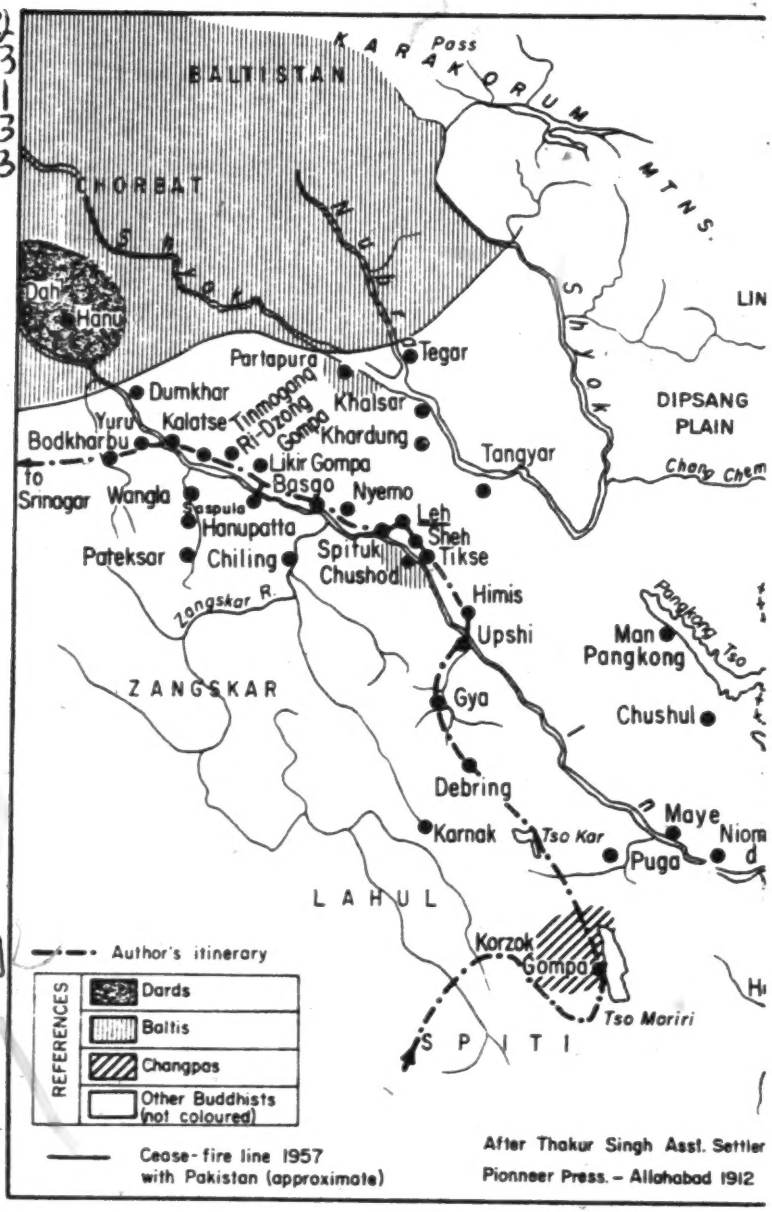

[114]

Map V. Sketch map of Ladak.

[facing p 335-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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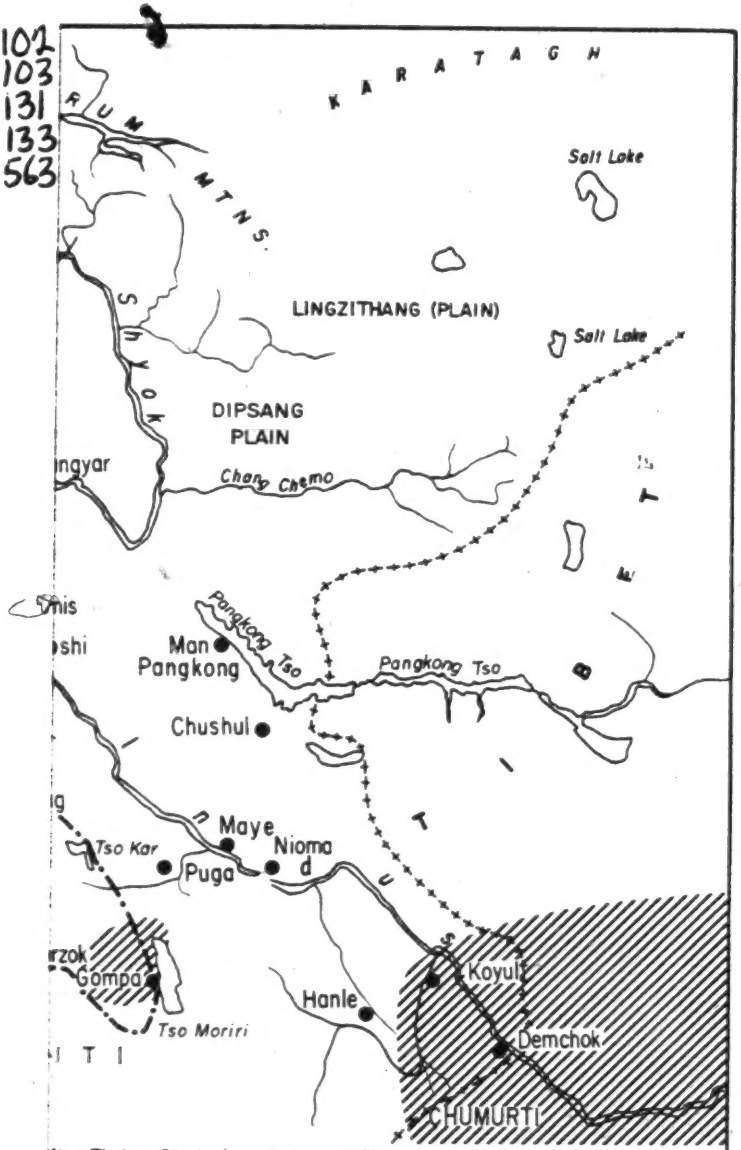

After Thakur Singh Asst. Settlement-officer, Ladak, 1968-1911
Pioneer Press. – Allahabad 1912

[facing P. 335-B]

0 15 30 miles

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

T 103 102 131 133
WT 102 131

Map VI. Map of Tibet.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII.

LADĀKH: THE INHABITANTS.

LADĀKHĪS — CHĀMPĀS — COLONIES IN LADĀKH — MODE OF LIVELIHOOD — POSITION OF THE WOMEN — CERTAIN CUSTOMS — MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

144 OF the four races of men who inhabit the country on the north-east of the main chain of mountains—the country which drains into the Indus—whose names are Chāmpā, Ladākhī, Baltī, and Dārd, the first three belong to the Tibetan race. People of this Tibetan race extend over an enormous extent of high ground at the back of the Himalayas, from the borders of China proper to the territories we are dealing with. We are here, in Ladākh and Baltistān, at the most north-westerly spots occupied by them.

101 The first of the three subdivisions of Tibetans—the Chāmpās
● 131 —are those who lead a nomadic life on the upland valleys,
563 places which, being too elevated for cultivation to bring a living, are fit only for pastoral uses. The second, the Ladākhīs, are those Tibetans who have settled in the valley, and in the side valleys, of the Indus; who have formed villages and have occupied nearly all the ground fit for cultivation; and who still retain the Buddhist faith which is held by the Tibetans to the south-east and east. Thirdly, the Baltīs are that branch of the Tibetan race, who, at one time identical with the Ladākhīs, spread farther down the Indus Valley and then became converted to the Muhammadan faith.* Deferring our say about the Baltīs until we come to describe the region they inhabit, we will in this chapter look at the characteristics of the other two branches, the inhabitants of Ladākh both settled and wandering, and will tell something as to their mode of life.

* The geographical distribution of these races is clearly expressed on the Race Map.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by 291
felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry.

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is 564
that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry.

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is 793
not hereditary.

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the 131
Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places.

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different 563
occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was 142
that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 181

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Trek through Ladekh to Leh

101 131 THE State of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely confined to the valley though. Through the passes to north, east and west are other provinces which all come within its boundaries, although their peoples differ in appearance, language and religion.

[175] I suppose the most interesting of these is the province of Ladakh which some people refer to as "Little Tibet", for the people are in all respects more like those of Tibet than of the valley. The history of the country was close to that of Tibet for many hundreds of years extending back to at least the tenth century, the religious bond with Central Tibet being made the closer about the fourteenth century. One reads of their "King Deleg invoking the help of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the fall of the western Lama Kingdom", then of the Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu sending a Dogra leader, Zorawar, to subdue Ladakh and Baltistan, of his being enticed to further expeditions in his search after the hidden gold of Lhasa, going high into the snowy mountains, there to perish with his whole army. Finally of Ladakh being made over to Gulab Singh by the treaty which also gave him Kashmir.

131 133 In these days it takes about an hour to fly from Srinagar to Leh the capital of Ladakh; it takes days—weeks sometimes—on foot by the old caravan routes through the passes which are closed for half the year, and from the numbers of books written upon the journey about the turn of the century, it would appear to have been a favourite one with those who were seeking out the unusual yet interesting places and people. Ladakh, a province of over thirty thousand square miles, is one of the highest habitations in the world; there are very few parts which are

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ 4

under eight thousand feet high, while most of the people live at an elevation of between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand feet, no wonder that few venture from their country, and when they do, have soon to return or die in the denser air of the lower countries. During the days of the summer months it is exhaustingly hot, in winter, freezing cold; the summer nights can also be bitter. 131 133 132

Routes are divided up into so many "marches"; in the old days a march was considered the distance which could be reasonably covered in a day, providing at the end a good camping ground for the night, and usually places where fresh coolies could be employed. 487

The route from Srinagar to Leh which goes by way of Sonamarg, Dras and Kargil is broken up into sixteen marches, the first portion to Sonamarg being divided up into four, whereas in these days it can easily be done in a day, and providing the weather is good, this also applies to some extent to a few of the other marches laid down for other parts of the journey which is a distance over all of two hundred and forty-two miles. Since it is one of the main trade routes into Kashmir it is not astonishing that the road, when passable, is good; by that I mean good the whole of the way for horses and pack mules, and with a surprising number of quite reasonable rest houses on the way. [485]

The first pass to be traversed after leaving Sonamarg is eleven thousand, three hundred feet high and between Beltal and Matayan. It is usually open for horses from June to December, though we soon discovered that we had been well advised to employ Dras ponymen for that part of the journey; they know the route and the short cuts as well as the diversions to save hard climbing, in addition to being able to forecast accurately the weather in the mountains. 487 133

This pass is considered to be very dangerous with sudden storms and avalanches descending upon in it the early part of the year, so that the advice always given is that there must be at least two fine crisp days after such a happening before one attempts a crossing. On the occasion when we went over, our men had refused to move for two days and then insisted on starting from Baltal, the last stage, in the early hours of the

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. **Physical aspects.** WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [232]

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. **Botany.** WT 137 WT [245]

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and **Fauna.** WT 136

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The territory of Ladák is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Its different valleys lie along the head-waters of the Indus, the Sutluj, and the Chenáb; and the joint effects of elevation and of isolation amidst snowy mountains produce perhaps the most singular climate in the known world. Burning heat by day is succeeded by piercing cold at night, and everything is parched by the extreme dryness of the air. The rarefied atmosphere offers but little impediment to the sun's rays, which during a short summer are sufficiently powerful to ripen barley at an elevation of 15,000 feet, although the temperature falls below the freezing point every night. This climate is equally favourable to animal life. The plains between 16,000 and 17,000 feet are covered with wild horses and hares and immense flocks of domestic goats and sheep; and the slopes of the hills up to 19,000 feet abound with marmots and Alpine hares. Such is the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, that no rain falls and but little snow, and both meats and fruits are cured by mere exposure to the air.

2.—BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

Ladák is the most westerly country occupied by the Tibetan race who profess the Buddhist faith. On the north it is divided by the Kárákoram mountains from the Chinese district of Kotan. To the east and south-east are the Chinese districts of Rudok and Chumurti; and to the south are the districts of Lahul and Spiti, now attached to British India, but formerly belonging to Ladák. To the west lie Kashmir and Balti, the former separated by the western Himalaya, and the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 131 133 the west of Zanskar, on the high road between Kashmir and Lé. To *Purik* belong the villages of the Waka and Phugal rivers, from their sources in the transverse range of Singgé Lá to Kargyil, below their junction. The principal places in Purik are Mulbil, Paskyum, and Sod, each of which once had a petty chief of its own. *Suru* also owned a petty chief who lived at Lung Kartse, the principal place in the valley. The river is sometimes called by this name, but more generally by that of Suru. The Suru river joins the Waka-chu immediately below Kargyil. *Dras* is the most westerly of these small [103] districts. Its Tibetan name of Hem-babs (snow-fed or snow descended) is descriptive of its most striking peculiarity, as the most snowy district of Ladák. [132] It owes this peculiarity to the great depression in the Himálaya, at the head of the Dras river, which allows the constantly humid vapours of Kashmir to pass to the north of the mountains, where they become condensed by the cold, and are precipitated in rain or snow, according to the season of the year. These small districts extend in length from the frontier of Balti to Zanskar, a distance of 84 miles, and in breadth from the head of the Suru valley to the Photo-la, a distance of 50 miles. The area is 4,200 square miles, and the mean height of the inhabited parts, as determined by the elevation of thirteen camps, is 11,196 feet.

*Spiti** is bounded on the north by Rukchu, on the

Hem being the Sanscrit *Hima*, which has long been naturalized in Tibet. See Csoma's Tibetan Dictionary, *in voce*.

* *Spi-ti*. In Kullu and Kanáwar this district is generally called Piti, but the proper name is Spiti.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu,
[144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion,
[134] with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate
187 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the
132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
133

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 will also be seen that the western, as well as the eastern chain, separates the great Hindu family of India from [144] the Botis of Tibet.[1] Some mixed races are found to the south of each chain: the Láhulis and Kanáwaris to the [132] west, and the Gorkhas and Bhutánis to the east. Lastly, it will be seen that both ranges form the lines of demarcation between the cold and dry climate of Tibet, with its dearth of trees, and the warm and humid climate of India, with its luxuriance of vegetable productions. These facts, joined to the great elevation of the range, are, I think, sufficient to warrant the selection of the Bara-Lacha chain as the continuation of the true Himálaya. But there is one marked difference between the eastern and western ranges which can scarcely fail in striking the most casual observer. The inferior mountains of the eastern chain generally run at right angles to its axis, whereas those of the western chain are mostly disposed in subordinate parallel ranges. The general parallelism of the principal mountain-ranges of the world,—of the Himálayas and the Altai, in Asia,—of the Atlas, in Africa,—and of the Alps and Apennines, the Pyrenees and Carpathians, in Europe,—has already been noticed by Humboldt and others. But this parallelism also exists in the subordinate ranges of the western Himálaya. Thus we find no less than two distinct and independent ranges to the south of the western Himálaya, both stretching in the same general direction from south-east to north-west. These ranges I propose to call the *Mid-Himálaya*, and the *Outer*, or *Sub-Himálaya*, leaving the name of Sewálik unchanged for the lowermost sandstone ranges.

Beyond the Himálaya the same system of parallel chains will be observed in at least three distinct ranges

[1 of the Himalayas - ANALYST.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan: AJ4

Vigne* was informed by the Yarkandi merchants that "the snow does not remain upon Kárákoram for the greater part of the year." But my informants, who were also Yarkandi merchants, stated exactly the reverse; and we know that Izzet Ullah, in the beginning of November, found snow and ice the whole way over the pass. It is always difficult to ascertain the snow limit from the information of travellers and merchants, who, though they generally discriminate sporadic falls of snow, yet very rarely make any distinction between beds of snow sheltered in ravines, and the mass of exposed snow on the mountains that braves the noon-day heat of a whole summer. I believe that the Kárákoram Pass is rarely, if ever, entirely free from snow, although at no period of the year does the snow accumulate upon it in any great mass. There was of course much snow on the pass when Dr. Thomson ascended it in July 1848, and it was lying much lower on the northern than on the southern face. The probability is that the Kárákoram Pass has about the same elevation as the snow-line of the range, and this would at once account for the discrepancies of the different authorities. I would therefore fix a height of 18,500 feet as the snow limit on the southern face, and of 18,000 feet or even less, for the northern face.† For the snow-line, which in Rukchu is about 20,000 feet, has already begun to descend, and in the Pamer range to the north of the Kárákoram has been estimated by Wood at rather more than 17,000 feet.‡ 132

In the Shayok and Nubra valleys, the prevailing rock is limestone.§ Granite occurs in the ridge between the 133X

* Kashmir, II. p. 364.

† See Plate I.

‡ Wood's Oxus, p. 364.

§ Izzet Ullah, Dr. Thomson.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Rongdo on the south, and Ruthog, Nubra, Shigar, and Hunza-Nager on the north. 133 [13]

This range has been often crossed by Europeans, but always on the same high roads, which generally lead over the lowest and easiest passes. We have the heights of six of these passes in different parts of the range. [487]

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Tsaka-la	15,000	Trebeck.
2	Kongta-la	15,495	Moorcroft, MS.
3	Chang-la	18,105	Ditto do.
4	Lazgung or Sabu-lá ...	17,666	Dr. Thomson.
5	Lé Pass	17,600	Ditto.
6	Hanu Pass	16,890	Col. Bates.
	Mean height	16,792 or 16,800 feet.	

As the average height of these passes approaches 17,000 feet, the general elevation of the range may be estimated at not less than 20,000 feet. The height of the celebrated Kailás peak has been determined by Lieut. R. Strachey at 20,700 feet. A peak which I measured on one of the spurs of the range to the north of Mahé was 18,500 feet. In this part, as we may see [132] from the heights of the Kongta-la and Tsakala Passes, the range is much depressed, but in the neighbourhood of Lé, wherever I could see the ridge, it was entirely covered with snow in the beginning of October. As the lofty passes to the northward of Lé are said to be always clear of snow at the end of summer, the snow-line on the Kailás or Mid-Tibetan range may be estimated at 19,000 feet,* or more, on the southern face;

* In the Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 302, Lieut. R. Strachey estimates the snow-line on the southern face of Kailás at not less than 19,500 feet, which agrees with my observations. See Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/133 X

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Pass above Chumur ...	18,500	Capt. H. Strachey.
2	Lának	18,746	A. Cunningham.
3	Nakpo-Gonding ...	18,000	Ditto.
4	Polokonka	16,500	Ditto.
5	Thunglung	17,500	Ditto.
6	Kandu Lá	16,600	Moorcroft.
7	Pangache Lá	16,495	Dr. Thomson.
8	Singgé Lá	16,952	Ditto.
	Mean height	17,911 feet.	

The Western half of the range beyond the valley of Zanskar becomes gradually lower and lower until it sinks suddenly into the Indus at the precipitous defile of Makpon-i-Shang-Rong. The following are the heights of some of the western passes.

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Namyika	13,000	A. Cunningham.
2	Burgi Pass on Deotsu ...	15,600	Dr. Falconer.
3	Alampi Lá	15,500	Vigne corrected.
4	Sir-i-Kotul	16,000	Ditto.
5	Harpo-Lá	12,100	Col. Bates.
	Mean height	14,440 feet.	

/32 /133X On this half of the range the snow annually disappears, excepting on some of the loftier peaks which have not yet been measured. To the northward of Paskyum, I saw snow still lying in October 1847, but it was probably only new snow, which had been falling for some days before. I estimate the highest peak of this portion of the range at 17,000 feet. On the eastern half of the range in Rukchu and Ngári, the mean height of the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

snow-line is about 20,000 feet. Dr. Gerard* indeed asserts that on the southward aspect the snow "has no well-defined boundary at 21,000 feet;" and further that some of the points which he measured had "an absolute height of 22,000 feet free of snow." But a very slight examination of his own data will show that his most elevated snow-line was under 21,000 feet. In the month of September for two successive years, 1846 and 1847, I found snow lying on the ridges to the east and west of the Tshomoriri Lake, which rise to an elevation of 20,000 feet. This agrees with Dr. Gerard's observation, also made in the month of September, that the snow-line on the mountains to the north of the lake rose to a height of "20,000 feet and upwards."† Above this, he says, the snow rested "in vast bodies, having a cliff of several hundred feet." As he afterwards adds, that "it had ceased to melt," 20,000 feet or upwards (or about 20,000 feet) must be taken as the snow limit, as determined by Dr. Gerard's observations for the Tshomoriri mountains. In September 1847, I found the Lának Pass (18,746 feet) perfectly bare, but the peaks to the north and south of the pass (about 19,500 feet)

* Researches, Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xviii. pp. 254-56. But when he wrote the first account of his travels, which was read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, his altitude of the snow line was less lofty. I quote his own words: "The whole circumference of Lake Chimorerel is embayed by mountains, but hillward, on its north-eastern shore, the mass of elevated land rose very abruptly from the water's edge, and entered the regions of snow, which had an *uniform margin* of 19,000 feet." This was the south-western aspect. See Plate I.

† As we have already seen, by the last note, that Dr. Gerard estimated the snow-line on these mountains at only 19,000 feet, the "20,000 feet and upwards," is perhaps intended for the actual height of the mountains themselves. Mr. Agnew and myself estimated them at between 20,000 and 21,000 feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/32 /33 had still large patches of snow upon their eastern and northern slopes. In the same month, the four peaks which I measured in the neighbourhood of Hanlé at different heights between 20,000 and 21,000 feet, and averaging 20,483 feet, were all partially covered with snow. The general height of the ridge was about 20,000 feet, and the snow was lying along nearly the whole line of crest to the west. On the eastern face it evidently descended lower, as on the Lának peaks. I estimate the snow-line of Rukchu at not more than 20,000 feet on the western and southern slopes, and at 19,500 feet, or even less, on the eastern and northern slopes.*

The great height of the snow-line on this range is caused chiefly by the radiation of heat from the elevated plains of Rukchu and Gáro, and by the reverberation of heat from the bare sides of the mountains. It is in part also due to its situation in the midst of lofty snowy mountains, which intercept the ascending vapours on all sides, and prevent the precipitation of moisture within this ice-bound region. As the mass of land rises, the snow-line recedes higher and higher, notwithstanding the increase of the latitude. This is shown clearly in Plate 1, which exhibits a section of the mountains from the southern base of the Himálaya to the northern foot of the Kárákoram. In this section the snow-line is seen to rise with the mass of land until both attain their greatest elevation in Rukchu. From this tract the snow-line descends as the country falls to the northward towards Yarkand and Kotan. But the fall is less rapid than the rise. From the eastern peaks of Kullu in latitude 31½°

* Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

to the Lának and Hanlé ranges in Rukchu, the rise of the snow-line is fully 4,000 feet, while the increase of latitude is only one degree; but from Rukchu to Pamer the increase of latitude is five degrees, while the fall of the snow-line is only 3,000 feet. We must therefore attribute the greatest part of this difference to the influence of latitude. 132 x 133 x

Of the geological structure of this range I can only speak generally. The Lának ridge consists of a core of granite nearly overlaid by clay-slate. To the west of the pass, the plain of Dongan is strewn with rolled boulders of granite for several miles. Thence to the Thung Lung Pass the higher ridges are of gneiss, and the slopes of mica and clay-slates. Throughout Zanskar from the Lachalang Pass to the Singgé-lá the chief formation is limestone, and beyond that the ridge consists of mica and clay-slates crested by granite, which is the prevailing rock on the table-land of Deotsu. Trap occurs in the volcanic district between Hanlé and the hot-springs of Puga. 133 x

V.—4th. THE WESTERN HIMÁLAYA.

The great Himálaya forms a natural boundary between India and Tibet. On the east it presents the lofty peaks of Kanchinjinga and Dhwalagiri, which rise to the vast height of more than 28,000 feet. To the westward it is less known, but the peaks that have been measured between the sources of the Sutluj and the Chenáb give an average elevation superior to that of the Andes.

The general direction of the western Himálaya is the same as that of the other chains which have just been

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 mean height of the crest of the western Himálaya, from Monomangli to the source of the Gilgit river, may be assumed at 19,000 feet.

133 On this range the snow-line can be determined within 132 very narrow limits. On the three passes crossed by Lieut. R. Strachey,* each about 17,700 feet, no snow was found in September. The Lakhar Pass, 18,300 feet, and the Jayanti Pass, 18,500 feet, were also free from snow. "But the line of perpetual snow was evidently near, for though the Jayanti ridge was quite free, and some of the near peaks were clear, to perhaps upwards of 19,000 feet, yet in more sheltered situations, unbroken snow could be seen considerably below the ridge:" and Lieut. Strachey concluded "that 18,500 feet must be nearly the average height of the snow-line at that place."†

Alexander Gerard found no snow on the Kyobrang Pass (18,313 feet), even in July, and it was equally bare when visited by Jacquemont. On Porgyal, in October, the Gerards‡ found no old snow below 19,400 feet, and their station on the Chang-Razing mountain, 20,400 feet, was also clear; but as Dr. Gerard mentions a range due north, and a peak to the westward, while he is perfectly silent regarding the lofty peaks to the south, it seems certain that their station was on the northern exposure of Porgyal. I can myself vouch for its southern faces being covered with masses of snow in the end of August

* Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. pp. 298, 299.

† See Plate I.

103 ‡ Researches Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 254. The name of Por-Gyal is written *Spor-r Gyal*, the "lofty twins," the double Peak of Por-Gyal being compared to the constellation Gemini (*r Gyal*) the *s* is sometimes pronounced, just as in the name of Spiti, which is also called Piti, although it is invariably written Spiti by the Lamas.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and beginning of September 1847, when the northern side seemed generally bare. The absence of snow on the Pyramidal Peak of Porgyal, 20,106 feet, is more to the purpose, as it is certain that the Gerards could only have seen this peak from the south and west. On crossing the Manerang Pass, on the 30th of August, Alexander Gerard found the last half mile was over the perpetual snow, which he distinguishes from the fresh covering of the former night, in which the foot sank from three to twelve inches. On descending the Pass to the north, he "travelled over the snow for a mile." On recrossing the Pass, on the 7th September, he found that "the snow had not descended above 400 feet; but the great field of ages had a new and deep covering."* The snow, therefore, remains for the whole year on the Manerang Pass.

From the Manerang Pass, Alexander Gerard observed "very distinctly the Paralasa (Bara Lácha) range, covered with snow." I estimate the height of this part of the range at 19,500 feet. On the 8th September, 1847, I found no snow on the southern face of the Parang Pass, 18,500 feet, but there was a glacier one mile and a half in length, on the northern face, on which the snow was frozen hard. Snow was lying in patches on many of the peaks, at about 19,000 feet, but chiefly on the western and southern faces. The exposed faces to the north and east were bare. In September 1846, I crossed the Bara Lácha Pass, 16,500 feet, twice; and on both occasions found it entirely free from snow. The Umási-lá, 18,123 feet, was crossed by Dr. Thomson, in June, at which time it was, of course, covered with snow: but it was not clear in October 1846, when traversed by Vazir Gusaun, the minister of the Mandi Raja. In this part

* Alexander Gerard's Tour of 1821, pp. 155-56, Calcutta edition.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 of the range, therefore, the snow limit does not exceed
133 18,000 feet, and is probably not more than 17,500 feet. On the Baltal Peak, 19,000 feet, close to the Seoji-lá, the snow remains throughout the year. Dayamur, or Nanga Parbat (the bare mountain) is, as its name implies, free from snow; but this is owing entirely to its precipitousness, which prevents the snow from finding any resting-place. Snow, however, does lie in the hollow between the peaks.

The following are the different heights of the snow limit on the western Himálaya.

Snow Limit.		Height.	Authority.
1	On the Kumaun Range	18,500	Lieut. R. Strachey.
2	Pyramidal Pk. of Porgyal	20,106	A. and J. Gerard.
3	Mauerang Range ...	18,000	A. Gerard.
4	Parang Range	19,000	A. Cunningham.
5	Bara Lácha to Umasi ...	17,500	Ditto.
	Mean height	18,021 feet.	

This height agrees so closely with the elevation deduced by Lieut. R. Strachey, that we may conclude, with some confidence, that the snow-line, on the southern face of the western Himálaya, is between 18,500 feet and 19,000 feet. On the northern exposure, the snow limit is somewhat higher. The Gerards, as we have seen, found the northern face of Porgyal bare, to a height of 20,400 feet. In September 1847, I observed very little snow on the northern faces of the Parang Peaks, about 19,500 feet, while in September 1846, the crest of this range, as I saw it from the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, was sheeted in snow. To the westward, as the ridge diminishes in height, with the general

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fall of the country, the snow-line falls somewhat lower, and in the neighbourhood of the Bara-Lacha Pass is not more than 18,000 feet. The mean of these observations is 19,133 feet, or in round numbers, upwards of 19,000 feet.* 132 133x

The mass of the western Himálaya, from the Sutluj to the Indus, is limestone. The ridges of Kyobrang, Parang, and Umási-Lá, are all limestone, while the sides are chiefly overlaid with clay-slate. At Seoji Lá, the formation is mica-slate, but the mass of the northern mountains of Kashmir, and the peaks of the magnificent Dayamur, are all of limestone. 133x

VI.—5th. THE MID-HIMÁLAYA, or PIR-PANJÁL RANGE.

This chain consists of four distinct masses of mountain, which may be styled the Bisahar, the Láhul, the Pir-Panjál, and the Swát ranges. The Bisahar range is an offshoot of the western Himálaya, extending for about sixty miles, from the lofty cluster of Jamnotri peaks to the Sutluj, below Shatúl. It is continued to the north of the Sutluj by the Láhul range, which stretches to the north-west for 160 miles, to the great southward sweep of the Chenáb, in Káshtwár. Beyond this again, it is continued in the same direction by the well-known Pir-Panjál, to the great southward sweep of the Jehlam, at Mozafarábád, and across the Jehlam to the Indus, at Derband. To the west of the Indus it terminates in the Swát mountains, which extend for about seventy miles to the junction of the Swát and Panjkora rivers. This portion of the chain, though not remarkable for its height, is worthy of most particular examination, for the

* See Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The mean of the mean heights of the peaks and passes is 12,322 feet, which agrees with the mean before deduced from the greatest elevation and greatest depression. /133x

Of the height of the Swát range I cannot speak with any certainty. The peak of Mahában, as seen from the Yusufzai plain, at different distances between twenty-five and thirty miles, I estimated at 6,000 feet, or rather more, and the highest point in the range is probably not more than 7,000 feet.

On the Pir-Panjál and Swát ranges, the snow entirely disappears; but it remains throughout the year on the lofty ranges of Bisahar and Láhul. Of the glacial lines of the Bisahar ranges, we know but little, although the Gerards made a special excursion to most of the passes in this range for the purpose of ascertaining the snow-limit. The following passages, however, bear upon the subject and corroborate each other. /132 /133x

In describing the Buranda Pass (15,179 feet), which they visited in October, 1818,* the two brothers, Dr. John Gerard and Captain Alexander Gerard, state that "the eastern wall rises with a considerable inclination for 500 or 600 feet; thence starting backwards, it terminates in a crown of snow, perhaps 1,500 or 2,000 feet higher." * * * "Its western side rises to a towering summit deeply clad in snow, and corresponds with the opposite or eastern one, being about 2,000 feet in height." From these statements, we learn that both flanks of the pass were certainly bare of snow to 15,179 + 600 = 15,799 feet, and most probably much higher; for the eastern peak is said to terminate in a "crown of snow," and the western peak in a "summit

* Tour of 1818, p. 22, Calcutta edition.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 deeply clad with snow." Now, as the height of the
132 peaks on both sides is stated at 17,000 feet or somewhat less, we may fairly estimate the snow-line on the southern faces of the Bisahar range at about 16,000 feet.

Another passage* leads to a similar conclusion: "Tufts of moss and grass with a light soil are seen all the way to the top (of the Buranda Pass), and even rise on each side to 200 and 300 feet, while higher up on the rugged cliffs that are doomed to sustain perpetual snow, animated nature finds a habitation." The snow-limit by this account was therefore certainly as high as 15,179 + 300 = 15,479 feet, which was the boundary of vegetable life, and was no doubt somewhat higher.

Again, some days later, on the Rupin Pass, 15,460 feet, at the head of the Pabar river, Alexander Gerard† describes the strata of the range to the south of the Pabar as vertical, and that above the summit of this "mural portion," which "preserves an elevation of between 15,000 and 16,000 feet, to near Jangleg," the "rocks slant towards the summit, and upon the slope lie banks of congealed snow and ice, having a perpendicular brow of packed appearance, so much resembling blocks of marble and quartz, that I doubted for some time of their reality." This account is more explicit than any other that I have seen in Alexander Gerard's travels. From the Rupin Pass to near Jangleg, a distance of about eight miles, banks of snow lay upon the slope of the ridge, while the summit was entirely covered with packed snow. This agrees with the other statements that no exposed snow was seen below 15,500 feet; that above that line it was observed in banks or patches; and

* Tour of 1818, p. 24, Calcutta edition. † Ditto, p. 27.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that everywhere at 17,000 feet the snow was lying in undisturbed masses. 132 133x

The Rupin Pass, 15,460 feet, was crossed by Captain Herbert and Captain Patrick Gerard, on the 30th September, 1819. In his map, Herbert writes along the upper course of the Rupin river, "all snow in September;" but Patrick Gerard describes the snow which they found on their way to the Rupin Pass in detail.* "Distance from encamping-ground to large snow-bed 2¼ miles, where crossed a dangerous chasm. Steep ascent through patches of snow (half a mile), fresh and melting fast. A quarter of a mile farther on, *no snow*. To pass over snow, *soft*, knee-deep, thigh-deep, and neck-deep, 3½ miles across eternal snow." The soft knee-deep and neck-deep snow was of course freshly fallen. We have thus another independent and distinct proof that the Rupin Pass (15,460 feet) was clear of old snow on the last day of September.

These different observations of the Gerards on the Bisahar range may be taken as sufficient evidence to prove that there is no perpetual snow below 15,500 feet, and that the actual snow-limit is somewhere about 16,000 feet.

On the 17th September, 1849, I took from Simla the bearings and altitudes of several peaks and snow-lines in the Láhul range with a very good theodolite, reading to half-minutes. To test the performance of the instrument, I first took the altitude of the Sháli Peak, which gave an elevation of 9,629 feet above the sea, or six feet in excess of that determined by the trigonometrical survey. I next turned it upon the Tural Peak, which is the highest in the Dhaola Dhar or Kangra range,

* Patrick Gerard's Manuscript Journals. Tour of 1819.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/32 with a result equally satisfactory; the deduced altitude
/33 being 16,167 feet, or ten feet less than the mean altitude obtained from my former observations at Kangra and Nurpur. Lastly, I took the altitude of the Kotgarh peak beyond the Sutluj, to the north of Rámpur. The altitude obtained was 17,353 feet, or eighty-one feet less than Captain Herbert's elevation by trigonometrical survey. These altitudes do not of course pretend to any very great accuracy, but they may be depended upon as near approximations to the truth. Their errors will arise chiefly from the difficulty of obtaining the correct distances of points that have not yet been laid down by a regular trigonometrical survey. The following table gives the heights of the snow-lines on the Láhul range as observed from Simla.*

		Height of Pk.	Lower Edge of Snow.	
				Mean.
1	On c	19,948	17,656	
2	„ e	19,366	16,837	17,297
3	„ f	19,310	17,399	
4	„ g, Kotgrah Peak ...	17,434	15,983	
5	„ j, Obelisk Peak ...	18,062	16,179	16,034
6	„ k	17,730	15,940	
		Mean height		16,665

The difference between the heights of the snow-line is simply accounted for by the difference of position in the observed points. The first three are situated in the Kullu range, and are fully exposed to the action of the south-west monsoon, which blows direct up the valleys of the Parbati, Gomati, and Sainj rivers. The other points are situated at the intersection of the lofty trans-

* See Plate I.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

verse chain which forms the watershed between the valleys of the Byâs and Sutluj rivers, and which runs in the same direction as the monsoon. In its passage along the ridge, the heat of the blast is gradually abstracted, until when it reaches the snow it is reduced to the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere.

We have thus four distinct and independent observations for the height of the southern snow-line in different parts of the Mid-Himálayan range.

		Feet.	Authority.
1	In Kumaun	16,000	Lieut. R. Strachey.
2	In S. Bisahar	16,000	The Gerards.
3	In N. Bisahar	16,034	A. Cunningham.
4	In E. Kullu	17,297	Ditto.
	Mean height	16,333 feet.*	

On the same range, but farther north, I found the Kali Debi Pass, 16,700 feet, covered with snow in July, and I was assured that the snow never disappeared from the crest of the Pass. On the whole, therefore, the mass of observations agree in fixing the snow-limit on the southern exposure of this range, at 16,000 feet and upwards.

On the northern exposure, the snow-line is probably about 17,000 feet. On crossing the Rotang Pass, in the end of August, 1846, I observed that the snow on the northern face of the Láhul range did not generally descend below 17,000 feet, although on particular peaks it was lying in masses as low as 16,500 feet. On the

* Even if we allow only 15,500 feet for the height of the snow-line in the South Bisahar range, as observed by the Gerards, the mean height of the southern exposure of the outer Himálaya will be 16,208 feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132, 133x Bisahar range, as we have already seen from the observations of the Gerards, the snow remains throughout the year; and as the mean height of the peaks which came under their observation, does not exceed 17,200 feet, it is certain that the northern snow-line cannot be higher than 17,000 feet. From the correspondence of these observations with my own, we may conclude that the northern snow-line of the Bisahar and Láhul ranges is somewhat under 17,000 feet.

133x According to Herbert, the great mass of the Bisahar range is gneiss. The same rock occurs in the Láhul range, on both flanks of the Rotang Pass: but beyond this it is succeeded by limestone, which forms the crest of the Káli Debi ridge, flanked by silicious schist on the north, and by trap on the south. Beyond this, at the Saj Pass, Dr. Thomson found mica and clay slates; and limestone at the Banahál Pass, on the Pir-Panjál. But the mass of the Pir-Panjál, according to Vigne, is basaltic.

VII.—6th. THE DHAOLA DHÁR or OUTER HIMÁLAYA.

The outer, or Sub-Himálaya, stretches from the bend of the Byâs, at Mandi, to the well-known peak of Gandgarh, on the Indus. It attains its greatest height between the Byâs and Rávi, in the precipitous range of hills called the *Dhaola Dhár*,* or White Mountain, to

103 * This range is called by several names in our maps; as, "*Mony Mas Kidar*," that is, *Mani-Mahes-ki-dhar*, or the mountain of the holy lake of Mani-Mahes, which, however, is not situated in this range, but beyond the Rávi. Hugel calls the range "Pálam Kidar" and "Chamba Kidar," from the names of the districts to the north and south of the range. The true name is *Dhaola*, from the Sanscrit *Dhavala*, white; and this was most probably the original name written by Abu Rih'án,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the north of Kangra. The general direction is from south-east to north-west, as in the other ranges, and the whole length is nearly 300 miles. The Sub-Himálaya is pierced by the Rávi, the Chenáb, the Punach, and the Jehlam rivers, which divide it into several distinct ridges.

The most easterly of these separate ridges is the Dhaola Dhár, which forms the natural boundary between Kullu and Mandi, and between Chamba and Kangra. It is about eighty miles in length, and is of sufficient height to be covered with snow for about eight months of the year. I have observed this range for four successive years, and I can state positively that the snow entirely disappears from it every year, although the crest of the ridge has an average height of 15,000 feet. In the end of November, 1846, I marched from Kangra to Nurpur, and observed these mountains daily, and they were then entirely bare of snow. On the night of the 30th November, snow fell in considerable quantities, and did not disappear until the end of the following rains. In September and October, 1848, when I was at Simla, I observed this range carefully with a telescope, and could not discover a speck of snow on any part of it. Again, on the 16th and 17th of September, 1849, before leaving Simla, and when not a patch of snow was visible with a telescope sufficiently powerful for observing the occultation of Jupiter's satellites, I took the bearing and altitudes of several peaks and passes, for the purpose of verifying the measurements which I had formerly made from Kangra and Nurpur. The following table gives the results of all these measurements.

who calls these mountains بهاتل *Bhátel*, an easy corruption of دهاول *Dhaola*. See Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes et Persans," p. 94.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

average elevation of the range by more than thirty-four feet. By striking out this one observation, the average height will be 15,054 feet. /33X

The elevation of this range is of considerable importance in determining the long-unsettled question of the snow-line, which, on the joint authority of the great Humboldt and the learned Colebrook, had been fixed at 13,000 feet, between 30½ and 32° of latitude. Lieut. Richard Strachey,* of the Engineers, was the first to correct this error, and to determine by observation that "the height of the snow-line on the more prominent points of the southern end of the belt, may be fairly reckoned at 16,000 feet, at the very least." This conclusion is fully borne out by my own observations, one half of which were made before the publication of Lieut. Strachey's paper. The ascertained height of the Dhaola Dhár, which rises abruptly from the low plains of Kangra, 3,000 feet, to a mean elevation of 15,000 feet, and of 16,000 feet in its loftiest peaks, proves most clearly that the snow-line, in the southern Himálaya, cannot be under 16,000 feet. /33 /32

The geological structure of this range is almost unknown. In 1839, when I descended the valley of the Rávi, along the northern spurs of the Dhaola Dhár, I noted that the whole of the formations, at from 3,000 to 8,000 feet, were of clay and mica slates, and mostly of a very fine description, well adapted for roofing. The crest of the ridge is, however, most probably granite and gneiss, both of which I found on crossing the Chûari /33X

* Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 292. Since the publication of this paper, however, Alex. Keith Johnston, in his beautiful Physical Atlas, p. 16, has stated the height of the southern snow-line on the Himálaya at 15,000 feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 was formerly employed on the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and afterwards in the Observatory of the King of Oude. The measurements were taken above Comercolly and Pubna, and included the streams of the Jalinghi and Bhágirathi, as well as the main river. The discharge of the Ganges at this point was found to be 96,000 cubic feet, or more than three and a half times that of the Indus. The maximum discharge of the Ganges at Ghazipur, calculated from the data furnished by the Rev. R. Everest, I find to be 476,761 cubic feet, or more than double that of the Indus at its greatest height. The maximum discharge of the Ganges, at the head of the Delta, cannot therefore be estimated at less than 1,500,000 cubic feet, or just six times that of the Indus. George Prinsep* states the maximum discharge at Sikrigali, at 1,850,000 cubic feet; but my calculation, from his data, gives only 1,430,800 cubic feet. This result might have been anticipated from the much greater extent of the Himálayan chain, drained by the Ganges, and from the known greater fall of rain in the Gangetic basin. The latter cause is probably the chief one, as it is known that the annual fall of rain increases rapidly from the Jamna, eastward.

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III.—THE SHAYOK RIVER.

133 The principal mountain tributary of the Indus is the Shayok, or Khundan river, which rises in the Kárákoram mountains, to the northward of Lé, in N. latitude 35°, and E. longitude 78°, and to the south-eastward of the Kárákoram Pass. From its source to the neighbourhood of Sassar, it makes a bold sweep of sixty miles

* Gleanings in Science, III. p. 185.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133* the year, Dr. Gerard* could not find any water-mark above five feet, which he consequently fixed as the limit of fluctuation; but I doubt whether the rise and fall of
132 the lake amount to so much as one foot. In the middle of May, Trebeck† says that it is "frozen over sufficiently to be crossed by a man;" and according to the information that I received, it is usually frozen over by the end of October. During the winter there can be no fluctuation of level, as the whole surface of the ice is protected from the sun's rays by a mass of snow about knee deep. Towards the end of May or the beginning of June the ice breaks up and melts, and by the end of July the surface of the lake attains its highest level, which from the water-marks that I saw, cannot be more than one foot above the winter level.

133* [103] *Thogji-Chanmo* is the name of the "Salt-covered Plain,"‡ in the midst of which lies the *Tsho-Kar*, or "White Lake," or as it is called by the Hindus of Chamba and Bisahar, *Khaori-Talao*, or the Salt Lake. It is situated about thirty miles to the north-west of the Tshomoriri, in N. latitude 33° 15′, and E. longitude 77° 50′, at an elevation of 15,684 feet§ above the sea. It is extremely irregular in shape; its greatest length from east to west being about five miles, and its extreme breadth about two and a half miles. It is supplied at its south-eastern corner by a small stream ten feet broad and one foot deep, which flows slowly from a small fresh-water lake. In the middle of the south side, where a

* Researches As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 259.

† Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 52.

‡ The proper name is probably *Thang-Tsha-chan-mo*, "Plain-salt-full-of."

§ Dr. Gerard, As. Res. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 260, makes the elevation 15,500 feet.

[i.e., the lake Chomo-Riri - ANALYST.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the Wanla-chu to its junction with the Indus, below the bridge of Khallach, where it crosses the river to its right bank. From this point it ascends the Indus, past the villages of Nurla, Saspul, Bazgo, and Nyimo, to Pitak, where it leaves the river and turns to the north-east for a few miles to the city of Lé. The whole distance from Kashmir to Lé is 228 miles.

I have travelled this road myself, and I can vouch for its being one of the most excellent and most easy routes to be found throughout the Alpine Punjab. It is passable from March till November, when it is closed by the vast masses of snow that accumulate on the Kashmir side of the Scoji La, and which render the passage very dangerous, both in March and April as well as in November. The greater portion of this road which lies in Ladák was made by Zorawar Sing after the conquest of the country in 1834. The large bridge over the Indus at Khallach, as well as the smaller bridges on this road over the Wanlá, Kanji, Waká, Suru, and Dras rivers, were all built by the energetic invaders, who, knowing the value of good communications, have since kept them in excellent repair. No road can well be worse than the few marches on the Kashmirian side of the pass, which are still in the same state as described by Izzet Ullah* in 1812: "The road is difficult and rocky, so as to be impassable to a mounted traveller." This is the most frequented of all the roads into Ladák, with perhaps the single exception of the northern line from Yarkand to Lé.

The following table shows the names and distances of the stages.

* Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March 1823, p. 104.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

X.—PASSAGE OF RIVERS.

491 501 The great rivers of Ladák are crossed by ferries, fords, and bridges. Fording is the most usual means of crossing both the Indus and the Shayok, in the upper parts of their sources, where their waters are widely spread and shallow. In the neighbourhood of Lé, where the Indus becomes deep and rapid, it is spanned by three bridges, and just below Lé, where the current is less rapid, people are ferried across on inflated skins. The Zanskar river is bridged in two places: and is not I believe ever fordable. In Láhul the Chandra and Bhaga rivers are both bridged; but I have seen the Chandra forded at Koksar in October, and I have been ferried across it at the same place in September. In Spiti, the Párá river is crossed by a natural bridge formed of an enormous mass of rock that has fallen across the stream; and the Spiti river itself is bridged in several places. In the winter season it is fordable in many places.

103 A ford is called *Gal* in Tibetan; and the name is applied to one of the principal branches of the Zanskar river, which is called *Sum-gal*, or the "Three Fords," because it is formed of three streams that are forded one after the other just above their junction. In the summer 491 132 the fording of many of the streams can only be accomplished in the morning; for after ten and eleven o'clock the waters are so much increased by the melted snows that they become quite unfordable. This I have myself witnessed with the Chandra river in October, and with the Charpa river in September; and I have ascertained that it is also the case with the Spiti river.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 phenomena of nature. In the Trans-Himálayan districts of Ladák, the dry wind is nearly always southerly and westerly, both in summer and in winter. This fact was partially observed by Alexander Gerard,* who remarks, that "on peaks upwards of 20,000 (feet) and at heights of 16,000 (feet) the winds were always W. or S.W." The same fact was also noticed by my brother, Captain Joseph Cunningham, who resided for nearly a whole year, including one entire winter season of 1841-42, in the districts of Upper Kanáwár, Spiti, and Chumurti. He observed that "the winds blew almost constantly from the south or south-west, as noticed by the Gerards. A northerly wind was of rare occurrence."†

When I first observed the steadiness of the day-breeze in these regions, I was under the impression that the wind blew constantly in the same direction from the south-south-west and west, but after a few days' observation I found that the morning wind blew generally from the north-east. It then struck me that the prevailing winds alternated day and night, like the land and sea breezes on the coast of India. I was confirmed in this opinion by finding on one occasion a due northerly wind blowing about midnight, and when I afterwards began to observe the magnetical instruments, I always found a light northerly breeze from two to five in the morning, which, as the day broke, gradually took a north-easterly direction. I then observed the course and strength of the wind at half-hour intervals, and my first day's

* Kanawar, p. 62.

† Moorcroft rarely mentions the winds; but in one place he incidentally alludes to them. Speaking of the sheep-folds of Kakjung on the Indus, he says that they were "screened from the *prevailing* winds by the hills to thei *south*."—I. 440.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

observations at once convinced me that my opinion was right. I continued my observations at different places during August, September, and October, and always with the same results. Since then my opinion has been most completely substantiated by my brother's observations for one whole year in Spiti. /32

The generality of travellers get too much fatigued with their exertions by day to be able to make any observations at night; and thus the south-westerly wind, which was found to prevail during the day, was supposed to last through the night, and to be a mere continuation of the south-westerly monsoon, which blows up the valleys of the Chenáb, the Byâs, and the Sutluj. But as the day-and-night wind of Ladák blows throughout the entire year, it is clear that it must be due to some other cause; for in the intertropical regions the course of the wind is dependent upon the sun's declination, which when northerly attracts the ascending current of heated equatorial air in its own direction, thus producing a south wind. But as this stream of air, when it reaches the higher northerly latitudes, where the surface motion of the earth is less rapid, still retains its superior equatorial velocity, it gains daily more and more upon the easterly motion of the earth, until at length, when it descends to the surface, it becomes a south-westerly breeze, which blows steadily during the six months of the sun's northern declination. But when the declination becomes southerly, just the reverse of this process takes place; for the ascending current of heated air follows the sun towards the south, thus producing a northerly breeze, which, owing to the difference of rotatory velocities before mentioned, gradually becomes a north-westerly breeze, which blows steadily during the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 six months of the sun's southern declination. These are the monsoons or seasonal winds, which depend entirely upon the sun's position in the ecliptic; the south-westerly monsoon being the summer wind, and the north-easterly monsoon the winter wind. But the alternation of the day-and-night wind throughout Ladák is constant throughout the year; and as the subject is one of some interest, I will here attempt to explain what appears to me to be the cause that generates it, and that afterwards carries it round all the points of the compass.

[133] This cause is, I believe, the great mid-day radiation of heat from the bare surface of the vastly elevated plains of Ladák and the neighbouring districts, which have a mean height of 13,000 feet above the sea. The following table shows the extent and mean elevation of these great masses of table-land.

EXTENT AND MEAN HEIGHT OF THE TIBETAN TABLE-LAND.

Districts.	Extent.		Height.	
	Sq. miles.	Total.	Sq. miles.	Mean.
Rukchu	5,580		15,634	
Gáro	6,500		15,500	
Rudok	4,800		14,500	
		16,880		15,211
Zanskár	3,080		13,154	
Spiti	2,312		12,986	
Nubra	9,216		12,763	
Ngári	9,000		12,500	
		23,608		12,851
Ladák	3,960		11,500	
Purik	4,200		11,196	
Láhul	1,872		10,535	
		10,032		11,077
	Sq. miles	50,520	Mn. height	13,026

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Now as nearly one-half of our terrestrial atmosphere lies beneath the level of these elevated regions, the highly rarefied air offers but little check to the direct transmission of the solar rays, which are more powerful in Ladák, at a height of 15,000 feet, than in the low-lying plains of India. At Gwalior the greatest heat of the sun's rays in the hot winds of 1850 was 133°; at Simla, 7,500 feet, it was 134°; but in Rukchu, 15,500 feet, Trebeck observed a solar heat of 144°, and in the same district Gerard measured the incredible rise of 158°, which is only 27° below the boiling point of water in that district. 132

Towards mid-day the lower strata of the atmosphere become rapidly heated, and the rarefied air begins streaming towards the north pole, as a light southerly breeze. As the day advances, the current of air quickly increases in strength until it becomes a high wind, which blows steadily during the afternoon, with occasional gusts of great violence. In the evening it becomes fainter. The progress of this wind is well shown in the following observations made by myself with Lind's wind-gauge.

DIRECTION AND PRESSURE OF THE WIND.

Time.	Direction.	Pressure.
10h. 30m. A.M.	N.E.	faint
11 00 "	E.	very faint
11 30 "	S.	light puffs
Noon.	S.W.	0·2
12 30 P.M.	W.S.W.	0·4
1 00 "	W.S.W.	0·5
1 30 "	W.	0·8
2 00 "	W.	1·0
2 30 "	N.W.	1·2
3 00 "	W.N.W.	0·8
3 30 "	N.W.	0·8
4 00 "	N.N.W.	1·0
4 30 "	N.N.W.	0·4

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 132 The greatest pressure was at 2h. 30m. P.M., when the wind exerted a force of 6·25 lbs. per square foot. This is a single example of what I observed daily. The day-breeze or southerly wind always began to blow before mid-day, and continued rising and veering towards the west with frequent strong gusts until three or four o'clock in the afternoon, when it reached its greatest force, and remained steady for some time. Towards sunset it changed to the west-north-west, and gradually lessened, until at 9 P.M. it was only a gentle breeze from the north-west. At midnight there was always a light northerly wind, which became fainter towards the morning, when it often freshened into a north-easterly breeze.

The following extracts in support of my opinion are taken from my brother's journal.

1842.

Jan.	3	*from noon to* 4 P.M. a strong *southerly* wind.
	5	*southerly wind after* 2 P.M.
	10	*afternoon*, wind *southerly*, blowing in violent gusts.
	11	after 9 A.M. wind southerly in strong gusts.
	18	after 5 P.M. light snow with north wind.
	19	*night*, a *light northerly wind.*
	20	*morning*, a *light northerly wind.*
		afternoon, south wind blowing in gusts.
	21, 22	*afternoon*, strong *south* wind chiefly in gusts.
	23	strong wind from south and south-west.
	24	a light *northerly* wind *until noon.*
	28	wind in gusts from *south after* 10 A.M.
	30	*northerly* wind *until* 10 A.M.
Feb.	4	*early morning, wind northerly*, afterwards, gusts from south.
	6	*until* 10 A.M. *northerly wind.*
	7, 8	*ditto* *ditto.*
	25	*afternoon*, wind *southerly.*
March	22	afternoon, wind in gusts from south.
	29	ditto ditto.

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1842.		
April	8	puffs of wind from south.
	12—18	ditto ditto.
		A very cloudy month.
May	14	mid-day, strong south wind.
	16, 17	noon to evening, light south wind.
	18, 19	after 9 A.M. strong southerly wind.
	21	after 10 A.M. strong southerly wind chiefly in gusts.
	24	after 11 A.M. light southerly wind chiefly in prolonged puffs.
	26 to 31	afternoon, moderate south wind.
June	1 to 4	afternoon, ditto.
	5	from 9 A.M. high southerly wind to 7 P.M.
	6 to 9	ditto ditto until dusk.
	10—12	after 10 A.M. strong south wind.
	14	after 2 P.M. light south wind.
	15	after 11 A.M. south wind.
		The same for the rest of the month.
July	1 to 31	south wind for 28 days.
August	1 to 31	south wind every day.
Sept.	1 to 30	south wind ditto.
October		no observations.
November		strong south wind.

In these observations it will be observed that whenever the morning wind is recorded it is always northerly, and that the southerly wind never rises until 9 A.M., and usually later. The constancy of the southerly wind here recorded is simply accounted for by the fact, that the valleys of the Lé and Párá rivers, where my brother's observations were made, run almost due north and south. The course of the wind was therefore influenced by the direction of the valleys. This is proved by the change of the wind at Sumra, on the Spiti river, where the direction of the valley being from east to west, my brother found the afternoon wind blowing from the east. I found the same in the Spiti valley during

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132 August and September, when the wind was always up the valley or easterly during the heat of the day. On the Parang river, on the contrary, the wind was south-westerly during the afternoon, but north-easterly before mid-day, both the up and down currents taking the direction of the valley. At the foot of the Lanak Pass the wind was north-easterly and unsettled until noon, after which it blew steadily from the south-west up the valley.

I have already stated that the cause of the southerly or day breeze is the intense solar heat and greatly increased radiation, which are due to the vast elevation of the mass of the table-land of Ladák and the neighbouring districts. The air, rarefied by the heat radiated from the soil, streams towards the north pole in a southerly current. As it advances, it is gradually deflected to the south-west and west by the greater rotatory velocity which it possesses; and as the evening approaches, it unites with the north wind, and becomes a north-westerly breeze. This northern or night breeze is due to the intense cold generated by the great nocturnal radiation, and which begins in the loftier snowy regions at 3 P.M. The condensed air finds an outlet to the south towards the low plains of India, and becomes a northerly current of air. At first it is deflected into a north-westerly current by its meeting with the westerly breeze of the afternoon, but as the evening grows colder, the nocturnal breeze prevails, and streams gently southward towards the plains. As it advances towards the equator, its inferior rotatory velocity causes it to be deflected gradually towards the north-east and east until the sun has again raised the southern wind, and then the gentle breeze of night becomes fainter and fainter, and dies gradually away.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 132 This explanation seems to me sufficient to account for the constancy of the day and night breezes of the table-land of Ladák; but the violent gusts which my brother mentions, and which I have myself experienced, are due to another cause. The lighter gusts in a single valley are most probably caused by the small eddies of wind meeting the onward current at every turn; but the violent gusts which I have felt at the Thung-Lung Pass, can only be attributed to the meeting of two strong currents of the same southerly breeze, which have been deflected during their courses into almost opposite winds. Thus, the day wind, which blows up the plain of Kyang towards the Thung-Lung Pass, is a south-westerly current, while that which blows up the Puga rivulet and over the plain of Tsho-kar towards the same point, is an easterly current. The meeting of these two strong currents blowing from opposite directions, would produce small whirlwinds and most violent gusts.

III.—RAIN AND SNOW.

The quantity of rain and snow that falls in Ladák is exceedingly small. In the more elevated districts of Rukchu, Nubra, Zanskar, and Ladák Proper, it rains, or rather drizzles, for an hour or two about three times a year.* Snow falls much oftener, but not in any quantity, and in Ladák and Rudok it is never more than six inches deep. In Rukchu, as a Lama of the Korzo Gonpa on the Tshomo-Riri Lake told me, the winter snow is never more than knee-deep, and the people reside at the monastery during the whole year.

* During Moorcroft's residence in Ladák, it rained only *ten* times in two years, and then only in very small quantities.—I. 269.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 Light falls of snow occur at night, even in the middle of summer, as the nocturnal temperature is generally below freezing. In the end of September, 1846, I was encamped on the bank of Tshomo-Riri Lake, in a snow-storm which lasted for twenty-two hours, but the snow was not more than six inches deep, and it disappeared during the following day. In Drás the fall of snow is so great, that by the end of November the Seoji-lá Pass into Kashmir is always closed, from which the district takes its Tibetan name of Hem-babs, or "snow-fed." In Láhul and Spiti, the snow falls to a very great depth, and in many places is doubled by accumulations of drift. The suspension-bridge at Koksar, in Láhul, is annually carried away by a mass of drift-snow, which buries it during the winter. In both these districts whole villages are occasionally snowed up for three weeks at a time; but so long as the houses stand, the people suffer but little inconvenience. In 1838, however, the village of Tunda, near Treloknáth, was overwhelmed by a mass of snow, when several houses were thrown down, and sixteen people perished. The temple of Treloknáth was half-buried, and the bed of the river was filled with snow.

Heavy showers of rain fall along the Chandra river in Láhul during July and August; but after the end of September the snow begins to fall, at first in small quantities which soon disappear; but the fall gradually increases until November, when the snow ceases to melt, and the passes are finally closed.

In Spiti the fall of snow is much less than in Láhul, its greatest depth, where not drifted, being only two feet and a half. During my brother's residence* in Spiti

* Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, XIII. p. 238.

1: Gunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the snow "commenced regularly on the 27th November, and from that date until the end of February, 1842, it snowed more or less heavily, and nearly all day and night, for thirty-nine days. It was cloudy or hazy and snowing on the heights for thirty-four days, leaving twenty-one fine clear days out of ninety-four." During July and August, light showers of rain were frequent, but only one heavy fall occurred during the whole year. 132

IV.—TEMPERATURE.

The climate of Ladák is characterized by great extremes of heat and cold, and by excessive dryness. If the earth did not possess an atmosphere, the extremes of burning heat by day and of freezing cold by night would be unbearable. It follows, therefore, that the rarer the atmosphere becomes as one ascends above the general surface-level of the earth, so much greater will be the extremes of temperature between the day and the night. This is a general rule when the atmospheric changes are not otherwise affected by peculiar circumstances. It is thus in Ladák, and more particularly in Rukchu, where the dry and highly evaporative day breeze exhausts the little moisture held in the atmosphere, and the clear dry air becomes intensely cold by the great terrestrial radiation under a cloudless sky. In the elevated district of Rukchu it freezes almost every night during summer; but the highly rarefied atmosphere offers so slight a check to the transmission of the sun's rays, that the noon-day sun is sometimes 25° hotter than it is in any part of India. In the less lofty districts in Spiti, both the cold and the heat decrease; but in Spiti the noon-day sun is still 15°

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 hotter than in India, while in Ladák it is about the same. The extremes of cold are equally great, and in the more elevated districts the winters are particularly severe. In Rukchu the thermometer falls as low as +9° of Fahrenheit, even in September, and the minimum temperature of the month is only 23·5°, while the mean temperature is 42° 93′. In Spiti, during the same month, the minimum temperature is only 37° 2′, and I have seen the thermometer as low as 22°, the mean temperature being 55° 5′. Most of the travellers who have visited Rukchu have been there in September. Trebeck, it is true, traversed it alone in June, yet both Moorcroft and Dr. Gerard passed through it in September, and I have twice visited it in that month. We have, therefore, good observations for the temperature of September, while that of the rest of the year is almost unknown. But as the climate of Spiti approaches nearest to that of Rukchu, both in its extremes of temperature and in its excessive dryness, we may obtain a tolerably accurate approximation to the annual mean temperature of the latter district by a comparison with that of the other. The following table gives the result of all my brother's observations for one whole year in Spiti, with the addition of my own for the months of August and September.

TEMPERATURE OF SPITI.

—	Temperature.			Extremes.		Moisture.			Sum.
	−	+	Max.	−	+	Dry Bulb.	Wet.	Diff.	
January ..	11·7	31·0	19·18	−11	35				50
February ..	7·3	35·0	18·68	− 6	40				56
March ..	10·8	40·0	24·46	− 4	45				71
April ..	31·5	5[illegible]·0	40·89	+26	65				84

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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—	Temperature.			Extremes.		Moisture.			Sum.
	−	+	Max.	−	+	Dry Bulb.	Wet.	Diff.	
May	38·0	60·0	49·00	34	75				95
June.. ..	45·0	74·0	59·50	44	85				120
July	48·0	80·0	63·60	46	95·0				148
August ..	43·0	74·3	58·60	41	83·5	78·25	53·25	25	98
September ..	37·2	75·3	55·50	22	84·5	70	45	25	97·6
October ..	28·0	56·0	40·12	20	65				80
November ..	17·0	35·0	22·85	+16	50				60·5
December ..	2·5	35·7	14·35	−13	42				50·7
Mean annual temperature 38·89									

By this table it will be seen that the mean annual temperature in Spiti is just one-third less than the mean temperature of September. On applying the same rule to the September mean temperature of Rukchu, 43·08°, we obtain 28·72° for the mean annual temperature. The extreme of cold is probably between twenty and thirty degrees below zero,* and the mean temperature of the winter months cannot be more than a few degrees above zero.

For Ladák Proper, I possess observations for the months of September and October, which, when compared with the Spiti observations, would give a mean annual temperature of 39° for the valley of the Indus. The following are the observations.

—	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Extremes.	
				−	+
September ...	44·93	70·00	57·01	24·0	82·0
October ...	22·22	60·87	38·95	0	66·5

* Dr. Gerard, Asiat. Res. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 252, supposes −20° to −25°. He observed −2° in November, but this must have been in Spiti.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 By deducting one-third from the September mean, we get 38·01° for the annual mean temperature, and by deducting one-twentieth from the October mean, we get 37·00°. The mean of these two gives 37·5° as the mean annual temperature of the valley of the Indus in Ladák.

The climate of Zanskar is like that of Spiti, and that of Nubra like that of the valley of the Indus. The climate of Láhul is similar to that of Kanáwar, but somewhat colder, as Láhul is more elevated. The mean height of Láhul is 10,535 feet, while that of Kánam, in Kanáwar, is only 9,296 feet. The following results are calculated from the observations made for two successive years by the celebrated Tibetan scholar Csoma de Körös, while he was studying with a Lama in the monastery of Kánam.*

TEMPERATURE OF KANÁWAR.

———	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Extremes.	
				—	—
January ...	24·87	40·00	34·00	14	
February ...	28·82	46·00	36·00	21	
March	30·04	52·37	40·49	18	
April	4 ·23	59·23	49·88	26	68
May	50·30	68·80	59·77	40	78
June	57·60	74·94	66·28	48	82
July	61·26	77·59	69·22	56	80
August ...	59·91	75·40	67·65	56	79
September ...	54·78	73·71	63·90	49	78
October ...	47·27	67·82	56·16	40	74
November ...	36·46	55·43	43·[illegible]8	32	67
December ...	30·71	49·05	37·25	26	
Mean Annual temperature 52·02					

* In *Manuscript*, taken at Dr. Gerard's request; these observations are now in my possession.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Láhul is subject to greater extremes both of heat and cold than Kanáwar. The greatest temperature observed by Csoma de Körös was only 82°, whereas I have seen the thermometer at 84° on the 2nd September in Láhul. The lowest temperature of Kanáwar in August was only 56°, but in Láhul the minimum temperature is always under 50°, and the lowest that I observed was 42°. The temperature of Láhul for several days in August was 132

Min.	Max.	Mean.	Extremes.	
			−	+
46·00	78·2	62·1	42	84

From the similarity of climate and of geographical position, the mean annual temperature of Láhul may be deduced from its September temperature by taking the same proportion as we find in the Kanáwar observations. This proportion will give a mean annual temperature of 47° 30′ for the inhabited parts of Láhul. The uninhabited portions of the district on the upper courses of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers partake more of the climate of Spiti.

The mean annual temperature for the whole of Ladák may be obtained approximately from the details before given. See also the detailed Meteorological Observations, Chapter XVII.

TABLE OF ANNUAL MEAN TEMPERATURE.

Districts.	Height.	Annual Temperature.
		°
Rukchu	15,634	28·72
Garo	15,500	28·62
Rudok	14,500	30·00
Zanskar	13,154	39·00
Spiti	12,986	38·89

t: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Districts.	Height.	Annual Temperature.
Nubra	12,763	39°·00
Ngári	12,500	38·00
Ladák	11,500	37·00
Purik	11,196	42·00
Láhul	10,535	47·30
Mean	13,026	36·85

The following table shows the mean daily range of the thermometer; by which it will be seen that the difference between the temperature of day and night increases with the elevation.

DAILY RANGE OF TEMPERATURE.

Districts.	Height.	Daily Range.	Extreme Range.
Rukchu	15,634	40°·28	57°·00
Spiti	12,986	36·00	43·50
Ladák	11,500	33·00	39·75
Purik	11,196	32·50	39·50
Láhul	10,535	31·14	34·00

V.—MOISTURE.

The excessive dryness of the climate of Ladák is due chiefly to elevation, by which the air is so rarefied as to be incapable of holding much moisture in suspension. It is also partly due to the great radiation of heat from the bare soil, by which any moisture is rapidly evaporated. The dryness of the climate increases with the height, and the temperature of the dew-point is so very low, that the deposition of dew is quite unknown in the more elevated districts. The depression of the wet-bulb

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

thermometer in different districts of Ladák is shown in the following table, to which I have added for comparison the mean of one week's observations at Gwalior during the hot winds in the end of May 1850, and the mean of another week in the end of March and beginning of April, which is the more correct time for comparison. 132

TABLE OF MOISTURE.

Month.	Districts.	Height.	Moisture.			Dew Point.	Greatest Depᵃ.
			Dry.	Wet.	Depᵃ.		
			°	°	°	°	°
September	Rukchu	15,634	67·5	40·5	27·0	18·9	31·0
September	Spiti	12,986	70·0	45·0	25·0	25·0	30·0
September	Ladák	11,500	65·7	42·9	22·8	24·6	23·5
October	Purik	11,196	55·8	37·2	18·6	20·5	19·7
August	Láhul	10,535	74·3	52·9	21·4	38·0	28·0
May—June	Gwalior		110·12	33·80	33·80	35·32	38·5
Mar.—Apr.	Ditto		91·75	25·83	25·83	42·68	28·75

The hottest time in India is the end of May and the beginning of June, and the hottest month in Ladák is July. The fairest comparison therefore that can be made between the dryness of the two climates is that of September in Ladák, and of the end of March and the beginning of April in India. By this comparison it will be seen, that the plains of India are less arid than the lofty table-land of Rukchu, and that their dryness is about equal to that of the Spiti valley. The most convincing proof which I can give of the excessive dryness of the climate of Rukchu is the fact, that the stock of my gun, which had been exposed to *fourteen* hot seasons in India, shrank at least one-eighth of an inch during a single month's residence in Rukchu.

1: Cunningham G-8 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VI.—RADIATION.

132 I have already observed that the noon-day radiation of heat from the elevated table-lands of Ladák is one of the principal causes of the great dryness of the climate. The following table exhibits the maximum radiation of solar heat at about 1 P.M. in different districts of Ladák during the months of September and October, and in the plains of India in May and June, and in March and April. The observations were taken with a black-bulb thermometer, by Newman, the instrument being invariably placed at a height of three inches above the ground, and fully exposed to the sun.

TABLE OF SOLAR RADIATION.

Month.	District.	Height.	Air.	Black Bulb.	Diff.	Greatest Diff.
September	Rukchu	15,634	65°·75	86°·75	23°·00	23°·5
September	Spiti	12,986	70·00	91·31	21·31	28·5
October	Ladák	11,500	58·54	85·33	26·79	39·5
October	Purik	11,196	55·83	73·16	17·33	25·5
May—June	Gwalior		109·87	129·66	19·46	23·75
Mar.—April	Ditto		88·37	111·40	23·37	26·25

As the climate of India during March and April is just two months removed from the hottest season of the year, a fair comparison can be made between it and the climate of Ladák during the month of September. The comparison shows that the mean noon-day radiation of solar heat throughout Ladák is about the same as it is in the plains of India.

My observations for the terrestrial radiation of Ladák were all taken during the day, as I was afraid to leave the instrument exposed on a dark night amongst loose

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cattle. The instrument was one of Newman's register spirit thermometers, with the bulb fixed in the focus of a parabolic metallic mirror exposed to the clear northern sky. Compared with the observations taken on the plains of India for March and April, the terrestrial radiation of Ladák is extremely great. The lowest temperature observed at Gwalior was 10° below the external air, and the mean of the minima was only 6° below it. The minimum generally occurred about sunrise.

TABLE OF TERRESTRIAL RADIATION.

	Hours.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	Noon.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	Mean daily dep.
Puga	Air	18	25	38·5	45·7	54	56	58	61·75	59·75	56	50·5	
	Rad. Th.	9	18	27·5	35·0	43	45	49	55	52·5	48	44	
	Diff.	9	7	11	10·7	11	11	9	6·75	7·25	8	6·5	8·84
Gya	Air			39	40	40·75	45·5	45·75	45	47			
	Rad.				31	32	36	36·5	36·5	38			
	Diff.				9	8·75	9·5	9·25	8·5	9			9·00
Lé	Air		38	46	48·5	55	56·5	58·5		60·5	57	58	
	Rad.		33	37	42	48	49	49		55	51	47	
	Diff.		5	9	6·5	7	7·5	9·5		5·5	6	11	6·80
Lé	Air		36	39	41·5	45·5	53	52·25					
	Rad.		31	32	36	40	47	47·5					
	Diff.		5	7	5·5	5·5	6	4·75					5·80
Gwalior	Air			78·5			86·25			87·75			
	Rad.			77·0			87·00			87·00			
	Diff.			1·5			0			·75			

In the lofty table-land of Ladák, the greatest depression, which usually took place at 9 A.M., was 11° lower than the temperature of the external air. This was in Rukchu; but even in Ladák Proper the depression was no less than 9°. The mean hourly depression throughout the day was 8° 92′ in Rukchu, but only 6° 30′ in Ladák.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VII.—SUPPOSED MILDNESS OF FORMER CLIMATE.

/32 Various circumstances induce me to believe that the climate of Ladák was formerly much milder and much
/72 less dry than it is at present. The occurrence of vast quantities of fossil *fresh-water* shells in the sandy alluvium above the level of the present *salt-water* lakes of Ladák, proves that these lakes must once have been very extensive sheets of fresh water. In the case of the *Tsho-kar* or "White Lake," this is proved beyond all doubt, by the occurrence of fossil shells on the plain of Kyang, and in the deep gorge through which the waters of the lake once had exit into this place. As the plain itself had a gradual slope from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the Sumgal River, the whole extent of this double lake can be seen by a glance at the accompanying sketch-map,* which illustrates the ancient lake system of Ladák in those parts of the country which I have visited.

/33 1. The *Kyang-Tsho* formerly extended from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to near the source of the Sumgal River, a length of thirty-five miles. It is difficult to ascertain the mean breadth, but it must have been about five miles. This would give an area of 175 square miles.

2. The *Tsho-kar* formerly flowed into the Kyang-Tsho, and was about twenty-five miles in length by five miles in breadth. The old beach-marks are distinctly visible on the mountain-sides, both to the north and south of the lake. I traversed along the southern end of the Tsho-kar in two different directions in 1846, and in 1847 along the northern end, and through the gorge which

* See Plate VI.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Cyclas rivicola, which is only found of very small size preserved in the interior of the larger shells.* As these mollusca do not now exist in Ladák at a greater elevation than between eleven and twelve thousand feet, it seems a probable conclusion that the country must at some former period have enjoyed a very much milder climate than that of the present day. This conclusion might indeed have been deduced from the former existence of the vast lakes which have been described. For the waters vapourized by the sun must have been condensed by the cold of night, and the plains would then have been fertilized by rain, and the mountains covered by snow. Numerous streams would have flowed down the hill-sides in all directions, and the overflowing lakes would have formed mighty rivers. [133] [172] 132

Throughout Ladák there are numbers of vast ravines, many of them 500 feet deep, and as many yards broad, which could not possibly have been formed by the scanty brooks that are now nearly lost in their meanderings from side to side of these enormous channels. In one of these vast river-beds the scanty rill of the Sum-gal now purls along at the southern end of the plain of Kyang. The sides of this channel are masses of alluvial boulders and gravel, which once formed the bed of the Kyang-Tsho. The rocky barrier, below the junction of the Sum-gal rivers, was probably worn away, gradually at first, until the plain of Kyang became almost dry: after which, on the occurrence of any sudden disruption, the waters of the Sum-gal would have rushed violently onward, cutting for themselves a deep channel in the soft bed of the lake. The Kyang-Tsho must have been 133

* See Plate IX. for these shells.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AM W Tibetans AJ4

MOLLUSCA.

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172 The only existing mollusk I observed in Ladák was the *Lymnæa auricularia*. In Plate IX. I have given three specimens, from Pitak and Nubra in Ladák, and from Skardo in Balti. Beside them I have placed for comparison a specimen of the same mollusk from Kashmir; and above them two extinct specimens from the old lacustrine formations on the banks of the *Thogji Chenmo* and *Pangong* salt lakes. The superior size of the Kashmir specimen is perhaps no more than might be expected from the greater mildness of the climate; but that of the extinct species is most remarkable. The largest existing specimen from Pitak measures only six-eighths of an inch in length, and rather less than five-eighths in breadth; whereas the extinct specimens are upwards of an inch in length, and more than three-quarters of an inch in breadth.

These fresh-water fossil shells are found in a fine yellow sandy clay, many feet above the present level of the salt-water lakes. When they existed, the lake of Thogji Chenmo must have been a noble sheet of fresh water, upwards of forty miles in length by about twenty miles in extreme breadth, covering the whole plain of Kyung, from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the rocky glen of the Sumgyel (triple junction) River. These fossil shells are now lying in myriads in the narrow pass between the old bed of the Thogji Lake and the plain of Kyung, and they are equally numerous in the upper part of the plain of Kyung.

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132
172 At what period these vast plains were covered with water will be an interesting subject of inquiry for the geologist; but the mind gets bewildered in trying

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 to pierce the infinite obscurity of bygone ages. One
132 point alone seems clear; that when all these lakes
172 existed, more moisture must have been evaporated, and more snow must have fallen as well as more rain; and the humid atmosphere would have produced a milder climate more favourable to animal and vegetable life. The hills would, perhaps, have been clothed with trees, and the still waters of the magnificent lakes would have teemed with myriads of *Lymnæa*, of which only the shells now remain. But the gradual wearing down of the water-courses, and the continual bursting of the lakes, have nearly dried up all the primeval waters of Ladák; and the consequent loss of moisture has occasioned the present general scarcity of rain and snow, and that extreme dryness of atmosphere which has caused the total dearth of trees. The only sheets of water that now exist are landlocked and salt.

172 A second extinct species of shell is a bivalve (*Cyclas*); but as all the specimens that have been found were preserved inside the *Lymnæa*, they are necessarily small; it is now perhaps impossible to determine exactly whether they are river or lake shells.

Fossil shells are also found in the fine clay deposits near Skardo, of which I have given a specimen in Fig. 4, Plate IX., which contains a *Planorbis* and a *Luccinea* (or perhaps a small *Lymnæa*). One specimen of the existing Planorbis of Skardo is given in Fig. 9.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

281 The domestic animals of Ladák are ponies, asses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs. The Argons, or mixed race of half-Kashmiris half-Botis, resident at Lé, now keep a number of common fowls, but they have only

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fifty grains each, and the same number of ears of 241
beardless barley, from the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, gave a return of forty-five grains each. Moorcroft, however, mentions that the Hasora wheat grown in Ladák yields from forty to seventy grains in each ear.* From these statements it is clear that not more than one-fourth of the seed can germinate. Much of it is, no doubt, eaten by the vast flocks of pigeons and chakors, which abound in Ladák; but the greater proportion, perhaps, rots. Many of the young plants must be [132] destroyed by the night frost; for in most of the districts of Ladák it freezes almost every night, even during the month of June.

The total produce of Ladák may be ascertained approximately in the following manner. In 1847 I obtained the census and other statistical details of 142 villages in the different districts of Ladák, containing 1,890 houses, with 20,815 *kháls* of cultivable land, or just 11 *kháls* per house. As the total number of landed or paying houses† in Ladák is 18,000, the whole amount of cultivable land throughout the country may be reckoned at 198,000 kháls, or about 66,000 acres. Each khál requires 16 seers of seed, and yields about ten-fold. The total available produce for food is therefore only nine-fold, or about 28,512,000 seers, equal to 1,000,000 bushels, which, with the former population of 165,000, would not give more than 7 chittaks (14 oz.) of food to each person daily, while the average consumption is at least 8 chittaks (1 lb.). The deficiency is about 24 seers [435] for each person; which, at the rate of 16 seers per

* Travels, I. p. 275.

† In Ladák no houses are taxed except those which have lands attached to them.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Accordingly, in the end of the year 1840, the Vazir assembled an army of 15,000 men, and a large body of Ladákis, for the conquest of Balti. Ahmed Shah also prepared himself for the struggle, and was joined by a large party of discontented Ladákis, who, after crossing the Indus, destroyed the bridge, to delay the advance of the Dogras. Zoráwar Sing was obliged, therefore, to march down the right bank of the river, which he followed steadily for twenty-five days, receiving the submission of the chiefs of Khatakchau and Khapolor, but without finding any place where the army could be crossed. He then detached Mia Nidhân Sing, with a body of 5,000 men, by way of Shigar, to look for a road, and to collect provisions, which had now become very scarce in the Dogra camp. But the Baltis kept a good look-out, and had early intelligence of this movement. Mia Nidhân Sing was allowed to advance unmolested for about fifteen miles, when his party were surrounded and attacked by thousands, and he himself was cut off with nearly the whole of his detachment.

About 400 men only managed to find their way back to the Dogra camp with the tale of their defeat. At the same time the winter set in with a heavy fall of snow,* and as provisions were extremely scarce, the Dogra troops became so much dispirited, that their discipline was seriously affected. With an impassable river in their front, and certain starvation both from cold and hunger, whether they retreated or remained in their present position, the majority of the troops paid no attention to orders, and of the few who still obeyed, none did so with alacrity.

* Vigne, II. p. 266, states that there are occasional winters of great severity.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its camp-followers to 6,000 men, not more than 1,000 escaped alive, and of these some 700 were prisoners of war.

The Indian soldiers of Zoráwar Sing fought under very great disadvantages. The battle-field [illegible] upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing-point, and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. For several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes; and all were more or less frost-bitten. The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire; and the more reckless soldiers had actually burned the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. On the last fatal day not one-half of the men could handle their arms; and when a few fled, the rush became general. But death was waiting for them all; and the Chinese gave up the pursuit to secure their prisoners and plunder the dead, well knowing that the unrelenting frost would spare no one. A few men made their way to their brethren at Takla-Khar; but that garrison was so dismayed by the defeat, that they fled precipitately, even over the snowy mountain-range, near the head of the Kali river, into the British province of Kumaon. But even in this unopposed flight one-half of the men were killed by frost, and many of the remainder lost their fingers and toes. These few, and the prisoners, form the whole number that escaped with their lives.*

* In this very month, and in the same year, 1841, the British army, of about the same strength, was destroyed at Kabul.

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns* of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo" is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons* is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 595
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

*[Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

731 and could not be rescued. Driven by hunger, animals of prey frequently penetrated into the villages and carried off livestock wherever they could find it. The wolves and the wild dogs wrought particularly bad ravages among the villagers' sheep herds, so that the villagers scarcely dared to drive their sheep out for watering any more.

A very warm Spring brought with it the very sudden melting of the snow and great floods. The tiniest little brook was turned into a torrential stream, all the empty river beds and channels of the Ladakh wilderness were filled with water. In neighboring Domkhar, in Skyurbuchan, and in many villages along the Indus and its tributaries, torrential brooks and avalanches of mud tore away the farmers' laboriously constructed terraced fields together with the young seed. A mountain slide, caused by the melted water, dammed up the water of the powerful brook in the side valley of Domkhar, so that a large lake was formed. Two weeks later the dammed up floods had eaten their way through the dam; the water masses that hurtled down into the valley, destroyed all the best fields in the valley floor and high upon the slopes of the mountains; they tore open the bottom of the valley and carried down with them soil, stones, and large boulders, so that the floor of the valley was henceforth four to five meters lower than before; and the mills which before used to stand by the brook, now hung high above it along the wall of the valley, insofar as they had not been torn along. Two houses were carried off by the floods, and several cows, donkeys, and much small livestock perished in the inundation. Two women were also drowned as they were wading through a swollen brook.

In the early summer there were, contrary to all former experience, a great many violent thunder storms (165), such as the oldest

[132] 165. Thunder storms are rare and hardly ever violent in the high altitudes of Tibet (altitudes of over 3,000 meters). This is so because of the great dryness and minimal density of the atmosphere at these heights. For the very greatest part Tibet is a mountain wilderness. Its thin, dry atmosphere permits of only a slight formation of clouds and accumulation of electricity.

821 people could not remember ever having witnessed. In the fifth month there occurred an eclipse of the moon; the sixth month brought a total eclipse of the sun. Both astral phenomena created great agitation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

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The District.

The Chandra and Bhága. 133

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The Bhága, rising on the north-west slopes of the Bára Lácha pass, has a course of 65 miles to Tándi, and an average fall of 125 feet per mile. For 30 miles, the valley resembles that of the Chandra, but in its lower part is rich in cultivation, large tracts of level and arable land lying between the mountains and the river. The banks of the stream itself are steep and rocky. It is in this valley, some five miles from Tándi, that Keylang, the principal village of Láhaul, is situated. The Chandra-Bhága, or Chenáb, after the junction of its two heads, continues to flow north-west with a fall of about 30 feet per mile, until at Tirot, 16 miles below Tándi, it passes into Chamba.

Bridges in Láhaul. 491

The rivers in Láhaul are crossed by means of suspension bridges of from 50 to 150 feet span, made of thick ropes of twisted birch twigs. Three ropes form the roadway, and two hand-rail ropes hang above, one on either side, and are attached to the roadway by small side ropes, fastened at intervals of a foot or two. The best of these bridges are passable for sheep and goats, and without danger if the sides are wattled in with wicker work and slabs of stone placed on the roadway. In a high wind many of them are dangerous to cross, even to a native of the country. They are called *chúgzam* in Tibetan, and *jhúlá* or *dwá* in Hindí. The proper *jhúlá* is a different kind of bridge, which is not used in Láhaul. It consists of a seat in a loop hanging from a wooden saddle, which rides on a cable of thick grass rope, and is pulled across by a gay line. *Gharárá* is another name for this kind of bridge, which you use in crossing the Satlaj, the U'l and other rivers. Of late years, on the main road from Kúlu to Léh, the Chandra and Bhága rivers have been bridged with *sanga* bridges passable by cattle and horses. The *sanga* is composed of whole trunks of pine or cedar built into embankments on either side of the river in double or triple tiers, each tier projecting further from the embankment and supported by a prop on the end of the tier below. Two long trunks rest on and connect the ends of the highest tiers on either side, and form the roadway.

Climate of Láhaul 133

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The uppermost village in Rangloi is Purnia Khoksar, and in Gárá, Dárcha. Both these are about 10,800 feet above the sea; but there are higher villages lower down the valley in Gárá. For instance, Kangser (*i.e.*, the big house), where Wazír Tára Chand lives, has an elevation of 11,345 feet. Mr. Lyall estimates the average elevation of the cultivated or inhabited portion of Láhaul at a little less than 10,000 feet; while General Cunningham puts it at over 11,000. The mean temperature at Kardong in the valley of the Bhága is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows:—

March	...	...	...	46°	Fahrenheit.
June	...	...	...	59°	"
September	...	...	...	55°	"
December	...	...	...	29°	"
Year	...	...	...	44·9°	"

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter I.

The District.

Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley, not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

[164] [731] [787]

"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

131 133 361

Configuration of *wazírí* Spiti.

Spiti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spiti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spiti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spiti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 **Chapter I.**

The District.

Villages and scenery in Spiti.

formation of sandstone and lime before alluded to. The valley is similarly described by Mr. Theobald:—

"All along the course of the Spiti river are seen old river terraces or deposits of shingle and sand, reaching to a height of some 400 feet above the present river level. Behind these regular deposits, rise almost mountainous accumulations of *débris*, precipitated by frost from the abruptly scarped limestone cliffs bounding the valley. The height of this gravelly mass mainly depends on the height of the cliff at whose base it has accumulated, but not uncommonly reaches to 1,500 or 2,000 feet above the river." In the depth of the valley the soft soil of the cliffs which shut in the river-bed has been hollowed out by the action of time and water into fantastic shapes. "Out of a soil of clay and hold rock," writes Captain Harcourt, "uprise rough monument-like masses that are not a little peculiar in appearance, for they are crenelated and honey-combed all over with deep holes and apertures as if scooped out by art, supporting on their summits great boulders of stone which in all probability have kept the masses underneath from wearing altogether away."

132 Climate of Spiti.

[133]

The seasons in Spiti correspond generally with those of Láhaul; though the spring is somewhat later, and the winter of longer duration. The mean elevation of the villages is considerably higher than in Láhaul, averaging 12,000 feet or over, and rising as high as 14,000. Snow begins to fall in December, and remains on the ground until the end of April, but seldom exceeds a depth of 2½ feet, which is less than in Láhaul. The cold during the winter is very severe and is aggravated by violent and piercing winds. Slight showers of rain fall in July and August, though the district is beyond the regular influence of the monsoon; severe frosts set in before the close of September, in which month Mr. Lyall records that a stream of water he had observed at night running down a slope from a broken canal, was turned into solid ice by the morning. "The climate," he adds, "is a remarkably healthy one; excepting a few simple complaints, such as colic or rheumatism; sickness appears to be almost unknown." He saw in his sojourn in the valley no cases of goitre or critinism, and remarks that "the muscular development of both men and women looks large and hard compared with that of the people on the south side of the Himalayas." In the summer Captain Harcourt records that the days are exceptionally hot. The mean temperature of the Upper Spiti valley is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows:—

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[142]

January	...	...	...	...	17°
April	...	...	...	...	35°
July	...	...	...	...	60°
Autumn	...	...	...	...	29°
Year	...	...	...	...	39·1°

137 Flora.

[13]

For an account of the flora and vegetable productions of Láhaul, reference should be made to Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal, which contains an excellent paper upon the subject by Dr. J. E. T. Aitchison, a Civil Surgeon on the Punjáb establishment, and late British Joint-Commissioner at Léh. The hills of Spiti are, as has been already stated, bare and devoid of forest. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 233

Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *siru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *wand*, each *wand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *wariá* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *phátis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Kokzar, which,

[221] [57] [439] 423 233 [425]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

361 shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so
161 shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and
[132] narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

137 The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the
[133] Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[1] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

197 Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—"*Ram, ram*" or "*Namaste.*" In Lahul they became Tibetan—"*Ju Ju*" or "*Ju Le.*"

 [1] [Headman--Analyst]

563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
533 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

> *Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.*
> *When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.*
> *They married happily.*
> *After marriage the girl left Lahul*
> *And went and lived with her husband,*
> *Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.**

423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

•132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

*See page 333, category 116

December brings snow to the valleys. Thus Lahul is frozen tight 132
most of the year. There is no place for much stock. A dzo or a [422]
cow or two is all a family has.

Even the independent farmers work land that usually is not 423
theirs. They are largely squatters on government domain—families who have taken a likely-looking bench above a river, cleared it of rocks, and planted barley. Maybe the project prospered; more than likely it failed. And so one sees along the Chandra and the Bhaga grim outlines of old fields long forsaken. The family has moved on to another location, seeking brighter prospects.

I sat with my Sikh friend, Mahindar Singh Randhawa, the 695
Tehsildar of Kyelang, as he held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang. We sat in the open at a table on the edge of a stand of ancient juniper three or four feet in diameter while alpine choughs (glossy black with yellow beaks and red legs) soared overhead. Lahulis had come in from miles around for the court session. The men stood huddled around us, twisting their brimless and loosely woven wool caps. They were awed by the occasion—solemn and frightened too. This was the long arm of the law reaching out from remote Delhi to touch the lowliest of them. Their womenfolk and children had come to court with them. The women sat quietly in a circle on the perimeter of the court, knitting stockings and nursing babies. Women and children were also grim. There was no laughter in the crowd, no playfulness among the youngsters. This was the day of reckoning for their menfolk.

This court had no marshal, no court crier to announce it—no "oyez, oyez, oyez." The Tehsildar convened court by calling the names of the cases. The cases were actually *Punjab* vs. *Sonam*, *Punjab* vs. *Thundup*, *Punjab* vs. *Tsering*, etc. But this kind
and warmhearted judge merely called the names of the farmers, 695
and each replied. There were dozens of cases, and they took 687
hours. The following is typical.

"Sonam, where is your farm?"

777 I groped for an answer, thinking fast as I stirred my soup.

"It's the glass, I guess—the way the glass is made."

The next morning, as we were packing up at Gundala, I said to Budh Ram, "Let's pack the hat." Budh Ram hesitated, looked at the sky, spoke to Tashi, stood undecided for a moment, and then slowly pushed the hat into a duffel bag.

We had been on the trail only a half hour when it started to rain. And it rained all the way to Kyelang, a steady rain with much thunder and lightning. That night as we were unpacking at Kyelang, Rahul laughingly said, "Man Das says that if you had worn the glass hat none of us would have gotten wet."

After that I wore the hat. I wore it to Jispa, where the Tehsildar held court. I wore it the next day to Patseo and Zing Zing Bar. I wore it the following day when we crossed Baralacha Pass and dropped down to Kilung, and the next day when we wound down the canyon to the Tsarap River and then climbed to Chakchu, a notch in a rugged range where we camped beside a pure, cold waterfall. On none of these days was there even a dark cloud in the sky. They were brilliant days when the sun burned fiercely—so fiercely it blistered even Rahul's nose. The glass hat is made for rain, not for sun, and I grew uncomfortably hot when I wore it hour after hour in the brilliant sunshine.

As a result, when we left Chakchu I announced in a loud voice, "I'm tired of wearing this hat. I don't care if it does rain. Into the pack it goes." And Man Das dutifully packed it away.

That morning we crossed Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung [132] La Pass. We were now in the heart of Ladakh, where rainfall does not average over two inches a year, where the valleys are never deeper than six inches in snow, and where precious little dew falls. And yet bad weather was making up all around us and by noon was threatening. By the time we had reached the narrow canyon that has been cut by the clear water stream that flows north off La Chulung La Pass (which means the Pass of Water and Wind), it was raining. It started as a short, spattering

000 it was there that we stopped for lunch. In this grove camel caravans were repacking for the trek downstream to Khargil. Farmers were gathered under the trees, gleaning news from the men of the caravans. Mule trains, carrying produce between the villages up and down the Indus in the manner of our locals, rested
•132 in the shade. It was cool in the shade but blistering in the sun. Though this stretch of the Indus lay over eleven thousand feet high, the daytime temperature marched well over 100 degrees; and on some days it went into the 130's. The summer heat is so great and so sustained that it brings grain to maturity in two months' time.

487 The trail, after crossing the Indus, divides, one fork going south along the river's edge to Spitok, Khalatse, and Khargil, the other turning north to Leh, the Khardong Pass (18,380 feet), and Yarkand, an ancient trading center of Sinkiang. We took the right fork
137 and in four miles came to Leh. This approach to Leh is dreary and desolate. In early summer there are buttercups, columbine (called asses' sugar), and clematis in this area. Later come the vetches, lavender, bluebells, and cornflowers. There are great stands of iris, which is sometimes stacked and dried for winter fodder. These flowers bring color to the land. But by mid-August the gaiety is gone. The flush of light green from the tender spring grass has also passed. Now the slopes and nullas are dry and sear.

134 Monotonous browns and grays fill every stretch with desolation. Each view shows the end product of erosion. The ground has been endlessly pounded by the quick feet of goats and sheep; the protective covering of the earth has been eaten off or washed away; there is no topsoil left; every ravine tells the story of harsh runoffs of water; the fields and slopes are strewn with countless rocks, pitched up by the slow working of frost or exposed by the cutting wind that whines ceaselessly along the Indus. There is no shade, no touch of life, no bush, no scattered hummocks of the *dama* bush. There are distant snow-capped peaks to lift the heart; but there are only heat and dust and rubble underfoot.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 migrants appear. First of all the Wagtails come (Hodgson's pied ; grey and yellow-headed), making the streams and rivulets bright with their graceful movements and undulating flight, soon to be followed by the Siberian Chiffchaff, with his monotonous " cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep," The common Redstart, too, is here now, whilst the Hoopoo calls his " Ooppooppoopp " (the Ladaki name for him) to the farmer, giving him permission to sow his fields, unafraid of serious harm to his crops from further cold. The Cuckoo, too, makes his song heard occasionally about this time, and now one can notice the Western Blue Rock Thrush, whose coat really does look a beautiful slaty blue as he sits in the sun. Above the river, Gulls and Tern wheel and sweep, and are kept company by Swift and Martin ; on the stones by its side, the Ibisbill finds his food, whilst the royal Heron meditates solemnly by the water's edge with his neck well tucked in. So we can boast of a varied ornithology, full of interest and change.

● 132 We have already made so many references to climate and altitude that the reader will have gathered a fair idea of both. The extremes of the climate may be summed up in the oft-told saying that if you sit in the shade of a rock, the part of your body within the shadow freezes, while that in the sunshine boils ! The heat of summer out in the desert is intense, for the long stretches of sand and the barren glaring rocks seem both to soak up sunshine and reflect it back as it pours out of a sky which is so often cloudless. Yet in the shade of rocks and trees and in the ordinary life in and about a house, it is never oppressive, and there are few summer 241 evenings in Leh when an extra wrap is not needed. The 132 short summer from June to mid-September sees the ripening of the wheat, barley and lucerne crops, the coarse grained barley being the more important source of food, and growing up to altitudes of over 14,000 feet. In the lower warmer 312 villages the summer is longer, and a second crop may be 241 raised. All this cultivation is entirely kept alive by irrigation,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dependent on the melting of the winter snows, so that the stream from the Kardong which waters Leh is completely used up, and never reaches the Indus bed ; the average two inches of rain-fall is almost negligible. Although at such an altitude, the snowfall of Leh is also not severe, the snows exhausting themselves on the surrounding ranges, and it rarely exceeds two inches on the ground at a time. It seems to evaporate without any intermediate slushy stage and a sunny winter is quite pleasant owing to the dryness of the cold. It is even quite enjoyable to sit out-of-doors in the sunshine during the day time. Though the temperature may go down to minus ten degrees F. in mid-winter, and remain by day at about ten degrees below freezing point in a room without a fire, its dryness makes it much more bearable than a less cold, but damper climate, and for a similar reason the heat is much less oppressive than that in India, perspiration being hardly perceptible owing to swift evaporation. The spring, however, is heralded by bitter piercing winds, and often they raise little spiral hurricanes of dust seen chasing across the valley from afar, but woe if one of these " sand-devils " blows across your garden and catches up your verandah chairs in its wake or fills your room with dust.

The further effects of altitude and climate on the human beings, indigenous and foreign, who dwell in the land, need not be dealt with here, but when all is said, the flame of life on the whole burns brightly in this land of clear skies and bright sunshine.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed. On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing, he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

FARMERS AND FARMING IN LADAKH (TIBETAN KASHMIR)

By WALTER ASBOE

133 AN account of the cultivation of cereals in Ladakh presupposes a climate for their growth, bearing in mind the high altitude at which these cereals can thrive. In this lofty region of 10,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level it is amazing that anything grows at all.

133 The country is one vast expanse of sandy plain and deep-cut valleys 236 formed by colossal mountains and swift-flowing rivers. Upon the great plateaux large flocks of sheep laden with wool, borax, and salt move slowly over the tawny sand, raising clouds of dust as they proceed to the wool-clearing centre at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It is also from these elevated regions that the famous shawl wool generally known as Pashmina comes, its final destination being Kashmir. Dropping down from the arid plateaus of Rupshu to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, you come to the many hamlets snuggling in the shelter of great cliffs and rocky eminences, forming with the arable land around them patches of vegetation resembling an oasis in the midst of a desert of rock and sand.

132 The climate of Ladakh is favourable to the growth of cereals and is 241 a useful ally to the peasant living at high altitudes and subsisting on produce cultivated in ground which looks sterile and unpromising. Very little rain falls in Ladakh owing to the precipitation in the lower hills in the region of the Zogi Pass, which peters out by the time the higher altitudes are reached. The farmer has therefore to irrigate his fields artificially from rivers, mountain torrents derived from melting glaciers and the winter accumulations of snow. He is saved from the heart-breaking frustration of the English farmer, who must contend with capricious weather which so often ruins his crops just when he is ready to reap them. In Ladakh the peasant knows that the good weather of to-day will be followed by good weather to-morrow, so that he is saved much worry and extra work.

132 Frost and snow or sleet begin in September and continue in different districts without intermission until the beginning of May. The minimum temperature from December until February falls to −5° to −12° F., and there is no month in the year when there is not an occasional snow-fall on the summits of the mountains. The intense cold of winter is mitigated by a dry atmosphere, clear skies, and a sun which warms provided that you remain in its direct rays. The average temperature in the shade during summer is about 75° to 80°. Thus the shortness of the summer is compensated for by the powerful rays of the sun, which ripen the grain rapidly.

The various meteorological processes which combine to form a climate are, as everyone knows, generated by the sun. It is therefore not sur-

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately [484] the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 556 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. 427 This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

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AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

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Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461]

The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

[437]

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

[132]
221
241

In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

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(*c*) On a spring day [there are] three colds and three warmths
In a lifetime [there are] three happy [hours] and three unfortunate [hours].

(*d*) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.

000 (*e*) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determinativum* formed from *spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosum*, etc., must be considered as *Composita*, which accounts for the missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.

539 2. (*a*) སྐྱིད་སྡུག་མི་ལ། མཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ།

(*b*) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.

(*c*) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.

(*d*) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain people.

000 (*e*) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum*.

539 3. (*a*) ཐིགས་པ་བསྣ་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གང་།

(*b*) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.

(*c*) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.

000 (*d*) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without an article to express the adjective "full."

539 4. (*a*) མ་སྤྲོ་ནི་ནག་རང་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་བཟམ།

ཟླ་ལ་མདོས་མོ་ཆེ་དང་གཡག་ཁོག་བཟམ།

(*b*) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.

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132
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(*c*) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro [the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of a Yak.

(*d*) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro, it is warmer then.

000 (*e*) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

[135]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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132
805

(*c*) The time when the fly turns [flies] round the mouth, is the time of taking off all clothing and eating everything.

(*d*) A description of summer in the peasant's calendar.

000

(*e*) About *kha* instead of *khala* see 1 (*e*). If an *r* follows a muta, the muta is often dropped in Ladakhi, thus *rang* is said instead of *brang*; *ci* 'what' is used here in the sense of whatever.

539 8.
577
312

(*a*) མཁར་རྫོང་ཡི་གཡའ་ཆུ་ལྟ་ལྟ།
ཆུ་སྦྱིའི་ལྡམ་ཆུ་ཡང་འཐུད།

(*b*) khar'zongi yachula lta'lta,
chu'bii ldam'chu yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the glacier water of the Kharzong pass the gathered water of Chubi (a village) is also lost.

(*d*) take what is nearest!

(*e*) refers to the system of irrigation. Notice the re-duplication of the verb, implying a durative sense = whilst.

577 9.
539

(*a*) རྭ་མའི་ཁྲོ་ལ་གོ་བ། ལུག་གི་ཁྲོ་ལ་བེ་ཡ།།

(*b*) ra'mā thro'a go'a, lug'gi thro'abe'a.

(*c*) In the company of goats [he says] *goa*, in the company of sheep [he says] *bea*.

(*d*) Said of a man, who has no will of his own,

000

(*e*) *Goa* and *bea* imitate the voices of goats and sheep respectively.

539 10.
132
577

(*a*) དཔེད་འབད་དུས། ལྷོན་སྡུ་དས།།

(*b*) spid'bad'dus' ston'rdu'dus'.

(*c*) Spring is the time of working, autumn the time of gathering.

(*d*) Do everything at the proper season.

000

(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a three-syllabled *Comps. determ.*

539 11.
132
577

(*a*) དཔེད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། ལྷོན་སྡུ་དུས་ལ་འཆོད་འདུག།།

(*b*) spid' baddusla mabad'na, ston'rdudusla gyod'dug.

(*c*) If you do not work in the spring working time, you will repent in the autumn gathering time.

000

(*e*) Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rdu* = gather.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [317]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

2. LADAK

a) *Preliminary Description*

I would like to begin with a brief description of Ladak and of Leh, the setting in which my research work was carried out, before accounting for the polyandry of this region.

1. *Environment*

Ladak (often spelt Ladak*h* in English, from the Hindi, whereas in Tibetan it is *La-Dwags*),[1] is really the most westerly part of the high plateau of Tibet, today included in Kashmir as a *tehsil* or administrative sub-division of that state (see Map 5). It is limited in the north by the Karakorum mountains and the Kara Tagh, which are westerly continuations of the Kwen Lun mountains of northern Tibet; in the south, by an artificial frontier drawn along the foot of the Zangskar and main Himalayan ranges; in the east, by an equally unnatural boundary with Tibet which runs from the Karatagh south-west of the Lingzi T'hang (plain) to the Pangkong Tso, and from there, south-east, to the upper Indus valley; in the west, by the other Kashmir sub-divisions of Zangskar and Baltistan.

The area covered by the sub-division is 82,000 square miles, of which only 47,762 are cultivated. It is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, the inhabited part ranging from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet, and even more in Rupchu, as we have just seen. It is traversed from the south-east to the north-west by the Indus river, and in the north-western part another large watercourse takes its source, the Shyok river, into which runs the Nubra. It is these valleys which constitute the fertile areas where habitation is possible, agriculture fed from river and glacier water being the mainstay of the village.

As in Lahul, and even more so here, because of the altitude everywhere, the climate is a cold one for the greater part of the year, only the brilliant tropical sun of India bringing some warmth during the day in the summer months. The rainfall is scanty but, during the winter, an appreciable amount of snow does fall. Temperatures in the inhabited parts of Ladak, that is at a mean altitude of 11,000 feet, vary between a maximum of 62° and a minimum of 23°, on average.

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

[1] Another Tibetan name for Ladak is *Mar-yul (dMar-yul)*, the "red country".

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AV4

133x fallen masses. On the south side of the valley there is first a low ridge, and then above that tower great precipices of limestone rock. The Drās River enters the valley by a gorge, flows through it 25 feet below the level of the lowest alluvial terrace, and leaves by a similar narrow rock-passage.

●132 137 The barrenness of the hill-sides is caused by the absence of moisture in the air and of any but the very slightest fall of rain. The range we passed through, and which in a former chapter was described in some detail, and shown to be generally a very lofty one, intercepts the moisture, whose source is the sea, obliges it to be precipitated on the outer side, and shelters this Ladākh country from the periodical rains, cutting off the supply of moisture to such an extent that the hill-sides are not only bare of trees, but of grass as well, free from forest and without herbage.

133x This is the character of all the country we have now to traverse, not only as far as Leh, but all that we have left to describe; so that when not specially mentioned, it must be remembered and taken for granted that the surface of the mountains is bare rock or loose stone.

132 And not only is the contrast great between the look of the green-clothed, forest-clad hill-sides of Kashmir and the arid, bare, and stony mountains of this Tibetan country, but the feel of the air too is very different; here in Ladākh is a clear light-blue sky and bright sun, with a brisk keen air; it is more a climate of extremes, in that the sun's rays are powerful, being less weakened in traversing the smaller thickness of atmosphere, so powerful as to heat quickly the rocky ground exposed to them, while, from its rarity, the air both receives less heat from the sun's rays, and in the evening allows of a quick radiation from the day-heated ground, so that cold nights suddenly succeed to days that have been felt to be hot by those exposed to the sun. As compared with this Ladākh country the air even of the higher parts of Kashmir is soft and mild.

The valley of the Drās River, though generally bearing out what has just been said as to climate, has not the Tibetan characteristics in the highest degree; the gap of the Pass allows some

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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moisture-bearing air and even cloud-carrying wind to come through; here occur a greater number of slight showers during the summer than in the other valleys of Ladākh; but the difference is slight as compared with the great difference between the two sides of the Pass, and is most chiefly shown in winter, when the snow lies thicker in Drās than it does farther to the east. 132

The passage from Bāltal to Drās, a distance of 30 miles, generally done in two long days, is, in the summer, from June onwards, a not difficult road as things go in this country; it can be passed without difficulty by horses; nor does the first fall of snow (which may happen in the end of October or in November) commonly shut the road for them; but later on, usually by some time in December, the snow has become so thick that for horses to attempt the passage is rash, and only men so hardy and persevering as some of the tribes who live about Drās, or else those who get their aid, as I have done—aid that well deserves acknowledgment and thankfulness—can hope to get over in safety. Thus—although in the winter the Drās people, by watching their opportunity and waiting for some days when necessary, will keep up communication between Kashmir and Ladākh, and even carry merchandise over on their backs—the road is not thoroughly open again, ponies cannot attempt it, till the end of May. 487

The first village that we come to on the eastern side of the Pass, the highest in the valley, is Matāyan, which is 16 miles short of Drās; the next is Pān Drās,* five or six miles farther on; in the more open valley of Drās itself we find numerous hamlets scattered about. 361

Here, as in all the countries on this side of the main range, there is nothing grown without irrigation; at Drās, barley, and the variety of it called grim, are the grains mostly cultivated, for these can ripen in the time that the short summer allows. The villages 241 000

* Without attempting myself to give a derivation of the word "Pān" in the name of this village, I must protest against the connecting of it with the Persian word *Pāin*, lower. It will be enough if I point out that Pān Drās is higher up the valley and at a higher absolute level than Drās.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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we do not in our route to Leh follow it so far, but turn round a corner to the right, and take to the valley of the Surū River (one of about equal volume with that from Drās), passing here round a rock that the road has very imperfectly been cut in, so that in places the roadway has had to be constructed of poles lodged in projections of the cliff; these are loosely covered with slabs. In a few miles after this we come to the collection of villages which bear the name of Kargil.

At Kargil is another of the wider openings between the hills; up to this spot the granitic hills had continued—bare, rocky, and lofty; but now on the east there appear lower hills of a softer material, alternating beds of clay and sandstone. Between the Pāskim stream and the Surū River is an alluvial expanse of some square miles, a succession of terraces of alluvial gravel. These plains are uncultivated; hitherto the work necessary for bringing the water of the Pāskim stream on to the lower wide terrace, though once or twice commenced, has not been successfully accomplished; but narrow strips not very high above the two streams are watered by small canals led from them.

The villages here are about 8900 feet above the sea; partly from this somewhat less altitude as compared with Drās, and partly from the place being less in the way of the comparatively moist air that steals into this country through the Drās Pass, there is both less snow in winter and a greater force of sun and warmth in summer to help on vegetation. Here wheat flourishes as well as barley; but the great difference to be observed was the growth of many fruit-trees (chiefly mulberry and apricot), as well as willows and poplars, along the watercourses that are led over the terraced fields. Such villages as we now see are narrow strips of ground, artificially banked and levelled into still narrower terrace-fields, and backed by great rocks that with a favourable aspect reflect the heat and act almost like the walls of our fruit-gardens. They are richly carpeted with heavy-eared crops and crowded with fruit-trees, the bright greenness of whose leaves delights the eye of the traveller, who for many miles has wearied under the sameness of gazing at nothing but rock and loosened stones, and the shade

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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subject of them wants to be treated in a technical way; a notice of these I hope to communicate to the Geological Society. 133

Of the inhabitants of the villages from Sanācha to Hanū I have purposely refrained from saying anything here. They have characteristics indeed of the greatest interest, but I keep back the description of these in order to bring it into connection with that of the other Dārds, for to the Dārd race the people here belong. The reader should look for the ethnological peculiarities of this tract in Chapter XVIII., under the heading "Buddhist Dārds."[1] From the next village, Achīnathang, upwards, the people are thorough Ladākhīs in race and language. 563

At Achīnathang the Indus Valley begins to be rather less confined; the road along it is such that one can ride. Achīnathang itself is a neat and pretty village, on a plateau of river-alluvium 200 feet above the water. Near this place, in the pebbly alluvium formerly deposited by the river, at a height of 120 feet above it, are to be seen shallow pits, from which Baltī gold-washers had dug earth which they carried down to the water side to wash for gold. Every few miles, on each side of the river, are seen little tracts of cultivated ground. One was a continuous strip on a narrow plateau, a mile in length and but fifty yards wide. Sometimes, as at Skirbichan, is a wider expanse. Each tract has on it a collection of houses in proportion to the area, at the rate of a house to three or four acres. These white houses, half hidden by the foliage, and the spread of green fields, contrasting with the bare surrounding country, make each little village a charming sight. In this part the Ladākhīs are well grown; they are taller than those of the neighbourhood of Leh. This I connect with the somewhat milder climate and the consequently less severe life experienced. 364 132 142

Besides the villages which we see along the Indus Valley there are several in the side valleys which join from both right and left. At the mouth of these valleys one sees but a narrow opening; from this they often stretch up for miles, and contain cultivated land and several hamlets. Of these the higher ones endure a distinctly more severe climate than do the villages of the main VALLEY. 132

[1] [See category 116 -- pp. 430-432 -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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361 valley. Above the cultivation the ravines lead up into rocky
133 wastes in the heart of the hills; those on the right bank lead to the watershed of the Leh Range; sometimes they lead to a more or less frequented Pass, as did the Hanū Valley, sometimes to a rocky ridge that man never reaches, for the reason that there is nothing to draw him, sometimes to ground so precipitous and impracticable that mortal foot cannot tread it.

Next above the part of the Indus we have been speaking of we come to a village mentioned two chapters back, Khalsī, the place where the road from Kashmir reaches the Indus Valley. But the route we followed in the march did not altogether keep to the valley, which now therefore remains to be spoken of. Along the valley is a succession of villages, but not a quick succession; two on a day's march are as many as one meets. Nurla and Sāspūl are the most important of those we pass; they both are near the river. Of the hills that here bound the valley, those on the right bank are not lofty; as was explained in Chapter IX., a range of secondary height intervenes before the great granite mountains are reached. On the left bank the prominent mountains are 2000 feet or so high above the valley; these are but the ends of spurs from a range that rises 6000 or 7000 feet higher, namely, to 18,000 or 19,000 feet above the sea.

Above Sāspūl the river in places flows where the road cannot follow it, in narrow inaccessible gorges. The Zānskār River, of great volume, here joins the Indus. As we approach Pitak we rise to the more open part of the valley.

132 I have described what kind of travelling it is to traverse the valley below Khalsī in summer time—toiling on foot along rough stony tracks or up rocky slopes under a powerful sun. This present part I have gone over both in summer and in winter; and, in spite of a severity of cold in the air far greater than I have ever experienced in England, I have been more comfortable on the winter journey. It was in January; the snow was falling lightly, keeping, as it fell, dry and powdery; the river was frozen in more than one place, so that we could cross, and choose which bank to go along, while near Nurla we were able to ride for a mile

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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or two on the ice over the Indus itself. Thus by ice and snow the way was made smoother; lambskin coats and caps and felt stockings kept out the cold, and the best houses of the villages afforded at every stage a shelter that in that season was welcome and comfortable. 132 [485]

Nearing Leh, we find that the ranges of mountains, on opposite sides of the valley, rise to about equal height, and for a considerable distance seem equal and parallel. But each has a character of its own. The one on the south-west rises, in a direct distance of nine miles, to a ridge which is commonly 19,000 feet high; just in front of the town of Leh is a peak of 20,000 feet, which retains perpetual snow; indeed there are on the range some fields of snow with small glaciers leading down from them; the lower limit of perpetual snow here is 18,500 feet. This ridge is indented by ravines in regular succession that open to the Indus Valley; the spurs between the ravines rise, at the last, where they near the main valley, to greater heights than they have in the parts near the ridge; so there is a second line of eminences, overlooking the Indus flat; these (which are composed of strata of shale and sandstone, dipping inwards), when viewed from certain spots, appear to form a continuous ridge; but in truth they are separated from each other by the ravines, and are each joined by a neck to the range behind; looked at from the flat these heights are seen to rise along a well-marked straight line. The alternating ravines have narrow openings from which project alluvial fans, which, meeting, form a sloping stony tract between the hills and the flatter alluvium of the main river. From the foot of these mountains, across the valley, to the nearest beginning of the opposite hills, is from two to three miles. These others are of a form different. The summit line indeed of this ridge also, as has been pointed out, is 19,000 or 20,000 feet in altitude; snow and small glaciers are found at the highest parts, but on the whole the ridge has a rocky surface. The difference of form lies in the character of the spurs. Sharp-ridged spurs descend from the central ridge to the Indus Valley; though possessing some irregularity of outline they decline without any great interruption, and project in long 133

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361 133* flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on [246] their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

132 231 For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night [246] are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty 241 pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place 563 for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the 142 head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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face of the mound. The place is dilapidated; ruin and decay are shown both in the substance of the hill—the waste of mountains—and in the human habitations that were built on it. Such instances of moraines could be multiplied. Not far from Padam is a conspicuous group of very large erratic blocks. Just south-west of Thonde, nine miles from Padam, where the valley is about a mile and a half wide, there stretches right across it—except for the channel that the river flows in—an irregular moundy tract of stones and sand. This is clearly a moraine; its width, measured in the direction of the run of the valley, is half a mile; it contains pieces of gneiss, which must have come from the mountains south-west of Padam. 133

The climate of Zānskār is severe. The spring, summer, and autumn together last little more than five months, after which snow falls, and at once winter closes in, confining the people and the cattle within doors for the space of half the year. A much greater depth of snow falls here than in Central Ladākh. In the spring it causes avalanches from the mountains to such an extent that in the Nunak Valley the people cannot till a month has passed get about from village to village for fear of them. To clear the snow from the fields in time for the sowing requires special contrivance. During summer and autumn the people collect earth and store it in their houses in considerable quantities. In the spring, when they deem the time of snow-fall to be over, and the snow in the fields is partly melted and has begun to cake with the sun's rays, they spread the earth, which absorbs warmth from the sun, and melts the snow in contact with it. Sometimes snow falls afresh, and the labour is lost and has to be repeated. In 1869 there were three or four layers of earth and snow thus accumulated before the work was done. The villages of Zānskār are not so comfortable nor so picturesque in look as those we have seen in other parts of Ladākh. Trees are extremely rare; the continuance of snow and the force of the wind are much against their growth; there are a few plantations of poplars grown for the sake of timber, and lately the authorities have increased their number, but the trees produce nothing more than slender poles. 132 311 313

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W. Tibetans A J4

133+ 487 But to reach those parts we have to cross the Toglung Pass, of 17,500 feet elevation, which we approach by continuing up the same valley for some 14 miles more; it gradually increases in slope, but even at the end is not steep; a smooth neck of ground makes the Pass, and the hills near are themselves rounded. From the summit we obtain a view which gives us some insight into Rupshu. There is a pretty steep slope beneath us of near 1500 feet, and then a flat valley extending long to the south-east and widening, thus showing us far off, 18 miles distant, the blue waters of one of the lakes which we shall visit—the Salt Lake. The flat bottom of the valley is bounded by smooth naked hills. It is such valleys as this, varying from a mile to (rarely) six miles in width, and enclosed by mountains rising sometimes 2000 feet and sometimes as much as 5000 feet above them, that make what are called the uplands, or sometimes the table-lands, of Rupshu.

Before detailing the many interesting phenomena in physical geography which are presented to us in the various portions of this district, we will look at those circumstances which affect the peopling of it; which cause it in a certain degree to be fit as a dwelling-place for man, yet limit narrowly the number of people it can support.

RUPSHU AS INHABITED.

132 133+ With an elevation of 14,000 and 15,000 feet for the valleys, the climate is necessarily extremely severe in point of temperature; it is at the same time of an extreme dryness. The character of the summer climate of Rupshu is warmth of sun and constant coolness of the air. At midday the sun's rays are exceedingly powerful; on the decline one experiences cold, which is intensified by the biting wind that commonly springs up in the afternoon. At night, even in the height of summer, except when the sky may be overcast, water freezes; in the beginning of August I have seen ice caking the pools. The snow limit is about 20,000 feet; this great height of it is due to the dryness of the air, to the small amount of snowfall of each year, an amount so small that below that level it all becomes melted during summer. Mountains that

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high in [illegible] OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 The summer encampment is not close to Karzok, but it is made two
321 or three miles up the side valley; at that distance up the ravine widens out, and on a stony expanse, through which a stream flowed watering a narrow green strip, were about fifty black tents of the Chāmpās, and a few white ones of merchants from Kulū, who had come to trade with them; this was the encampment of that half of the Rupshu tribe which keeps to the south-eastern pastures. The flocks were spread over the hills, seeking for the scarce herbage.

241 Karzok is one of the two or three places in Rupshu where there is cultivation; here some 12 acres are sown with naked barley. Close upon 15,000 feet, it is the highest cultivation that I know of. When I was there the crop was thriving, but in some years it fails of ripening. The land is irrigated from the stream of the side valley, that which made the delta before spoken of, which is one of the chief affluents to the lake.

132 The climate of this part is thoroughly Tibetan. Snow falls in winter, but not to a great depth. In summer the air is usually clear and cloudless. The year I was at Tsomoriri, however, 1871, was an exceptional one all over Ladākh, and rain fell in showers such as had seldom been seen, accompanied by thunder. In these storms we saw the mountains in colours different from those native ones which the glaring sun had brought out so strongly. Before, the lofty hills, except where whitened by a capping of snow, had shown nothing but rocks and stony or earthy slopes of brown and grey, the distant ones seeming close from the rarity and clearness of the air. But now, with the clouds overhead and the storms filling the valley, the recesses of the purpled mountains seemed more distant; yet we saw deeper and deeper into them as the various shades showed out the successive spurs and ridges, and the water of the lake formed a bright belt in front of the richly-tinted hills.

TSO KYAGHAR.

133* North of Karzok a high ridge of mountains edges Tsomoriri on the west, having high cliffs in its upper part and sloping more

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we
361 come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve
[241] houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the
[137] former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of
[132] willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the
[101] plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs
[221] both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133x Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

foundation soil of the whole is exposed on the surface or is strewn /33X over or covered with stones. It is indeed "a weary waste, expanding to the skies."

If, from upon this plain, we survey the mountains around, we see that on the south, the side we have come from, it is bounded by low-sloping hills. On the west come bolder hills and even snowy peaks; in these there is a gap, to follow which would lead one down to the river Shāyok. All along the north of the plain is the range of the Lokzhung Mountains, whose direction is west-north-west and east-south-east; this begins on the west with two peaks between 20,000 and 21,000 feet, and continues at from 18,000 to 19,000 feet, a range of irregular hills, steep, rocky, and peaked. To the east-south-east the plain at first seems boundless, but again, from some points, summits of mountains become visible, which probably belong to an enclosing ridge.

The climate of this high plain is one of almost daily extremes. /33X The sun may rise in a clear sky, and, as it climbs, warm the /32 ground with a speed proportioned to the thinness of the air that the rays have to pass through, increasing its warmth till two or three hours past noon; the air being still, the lowermost layer of it becomes somewhat raised in temperature, but the traveller feels chiefly the double effect of the direct rays and the radiation from below, and he labours over the desert plain oppressed by the heat. When the sun has declined but half-way to the horizon, there springs up a wind from the south-west or west-south-west, a keen and searching wind, that quickly makes one suffer from cold more than before one did from the heat. So it continues till nightfall, then gradually the wind dies away; in the still night the ground loses its heat, and a severe frost occurs by morning. On the 26th August 12°, and on the 11th September 10° Fahr. were the temperatures recorded by my minimum thermometer. This, I think, is the usual course in summer time, but, exceptionally, cloud, or a storm of wind, comes on that tends to lower the day and perhaps to raise the night temperature. One cannot tell to what depth snow falls on this plain in winter; I have never heard of anyone having traversed it at that season,

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

132 but I saw it white with snow on the 12th September; the whole
133 plain was covered with snow, while of the bounding mountains the lower slopes were of the brown colour of their own rocks, their summits only being whitened by the fresh fall; but at that time of year such a fall would be sure to melt. The winter's snow certainly stays on the hills till summer is well on. The streams which the melting snow supplies are apt to dry up by the middle of August; in crossing the plain at that time, and again in September, I found but a few pools of water in one of the chief stream-courses; of these one was brackish and one fresh. One day I was on the look out, as the goal of the day's march, for the salt lake marked in Mr. Johnson's map. Several times a mirage deceived us by imitating a lake; at last we reached the very spot where it was marked to be, and there found but the bed of the lately-dried-up lake. The lake seemed to have been three miles across, but very shallow; doubtless it fills in the early summer, receiving the drainage of some of the southern and of the western portion of the plain. By evaporation it becomes saline, and as the season advances dries up altogether. This wide plain, dry and bare, and exposed at noonday to rays of the sun untempered by thick air, is well calculated to produce mirage, which depends on the differing temperatures (and therefore differing densities) of different horizontal layers of air. The first time I crossed it, a striking and somewhat puzzling mirage prevailed. Eastwards the plain seemed to end in a boundless ocean, in which were strange-shaped islands, some bearing masses of snow; the inverted image of them was reflected from below, and a repetition of the double image beneath that. As one stoops low to the ground the ocean seems to ripple to but a hundred yards from one; sometimes the appearance of water was very distinct to us as we were seated, but disappeared on our rising. From other points the mirage made the plain look like a beautiful lake with steep banks, backed by high snowy mountains.

133x The area of the plain itself and of the inner slope of the surrounding mountains makes an isolated basin of drainage.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ 4

under eight thousand feet high, while most of the people live at an elevation of between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand feet, no wonder that few venture from their country, and when they do, have soon to return or die in the denser air of the lower countries. During the days of the summer months it is exhaustingly hot, in winter, freezing cold; the summer nights can also be bitter. /31 /33 /32

Routes are divided up into so many "marches"; in the old days a march was considered the distance which could be reasonably covered in a day, providing at the end a good camping ground for the night, and usually places where fresh coolies could be employed. 487

The route from Srinagar to Leh which goes by way of Sonamarg, Dras and Kargil is broken up into sixteen marches, the first portion to Sonamarg being divided up into four, whereas in these days it can easily be done in a day, and providing the weather is good, this also applies to some extent to a few of the other marches laid down for other parts of the journey which is a distance over all of two hundred and forty-two miles. Since it is one of the main trade routes into Kashmir it is not astonishing that the road, when passable, is good; by that I mean good the whole of the way for horses and pack mules, and with a surprising number of quite reasonable rest houses on the way. [485]

The first pass to be traversed after leaving Sonamarg is eleven thousand, three hundred feet high and between Beltal and Matayan. It is usually open for horses from June to December, though we soon discovered that we had been well advised to employ Dras ponymen for that part of the journey; they know the route and the short cuts as well as the diversions to save hard climbing, in addition to being able to forecast accurately the weather in the mountains. 487 133

This pass is considered to be very dangerous with sudden storms and avalanches descending upon in it the early part of the year, so that the advice always given is that there must be at least two fine crisp days after such a happening before one attempts a crossing. On the occasion when we went over, our men had refused to move for two days and then insisted on starting from Baltal, the last stage, in the early hours of the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
181 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides,
526 behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
● 132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

2: Gervis Γ-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next 342
morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer 132
outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a
difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny 132
courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be 354
had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in 793
meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the 793
Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron- 292
coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish
shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasion- [795]
ally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great 793
monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that 361
every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. **Physical aspects.** WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [132]

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. **Botany.** WT 137 WT [245]

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and **Fauna.** WT 136

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, 136
and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx). Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:--

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is ex- 132
tremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:--

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

K
History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab 175
Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately con- [648]
nected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a WT
Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were 642
driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior 175
to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a 792
mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

113, 133 W. Tibetans AJ4

[For information pertaining to topography, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 222-238, 260-355.]

1: Cunningham AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 [For data on geography, topography and related subjects, see category 116.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From [133] Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over [131] the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardu districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

101 3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem
175 to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák. [778] *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—GEOGRAPHY.

1.—GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

133 THE most striking feature in the physical aspect of Ladák is the parallelism of its mountain-ranges, which stretch through the country from south-east to north-west. This general direction of the mountain-chains determines the courses of the rivers as well as the boundaries of the natural divisions of the country. The general aspect of Ladák is extreme barrenness. Seen from above, the country would appear a mere succession of yellow plains and barren mountains capped with snow, and the lakes of Pangkong and Tshomo Riri would seem like bright oases amidst a vast desert of rock and sand. No trace of man nor of human habitations would meet the eye: and even the large spots of cultivated land would be but small specks on the mighty waste of a deserted world. But a closer view would show many fertile tracts along the rivers, covered with luxuriant crops, and many picturesque monasteries, from which the chant of human voices ascends on high in daily prayer and praise. The yellow plains along the Indus would then be seen covered with flocks of the shawl-wool goat, and all the principal thoroughfares of the country dotted with numerous flocks of sheep laden with the merchandise of China and of India.

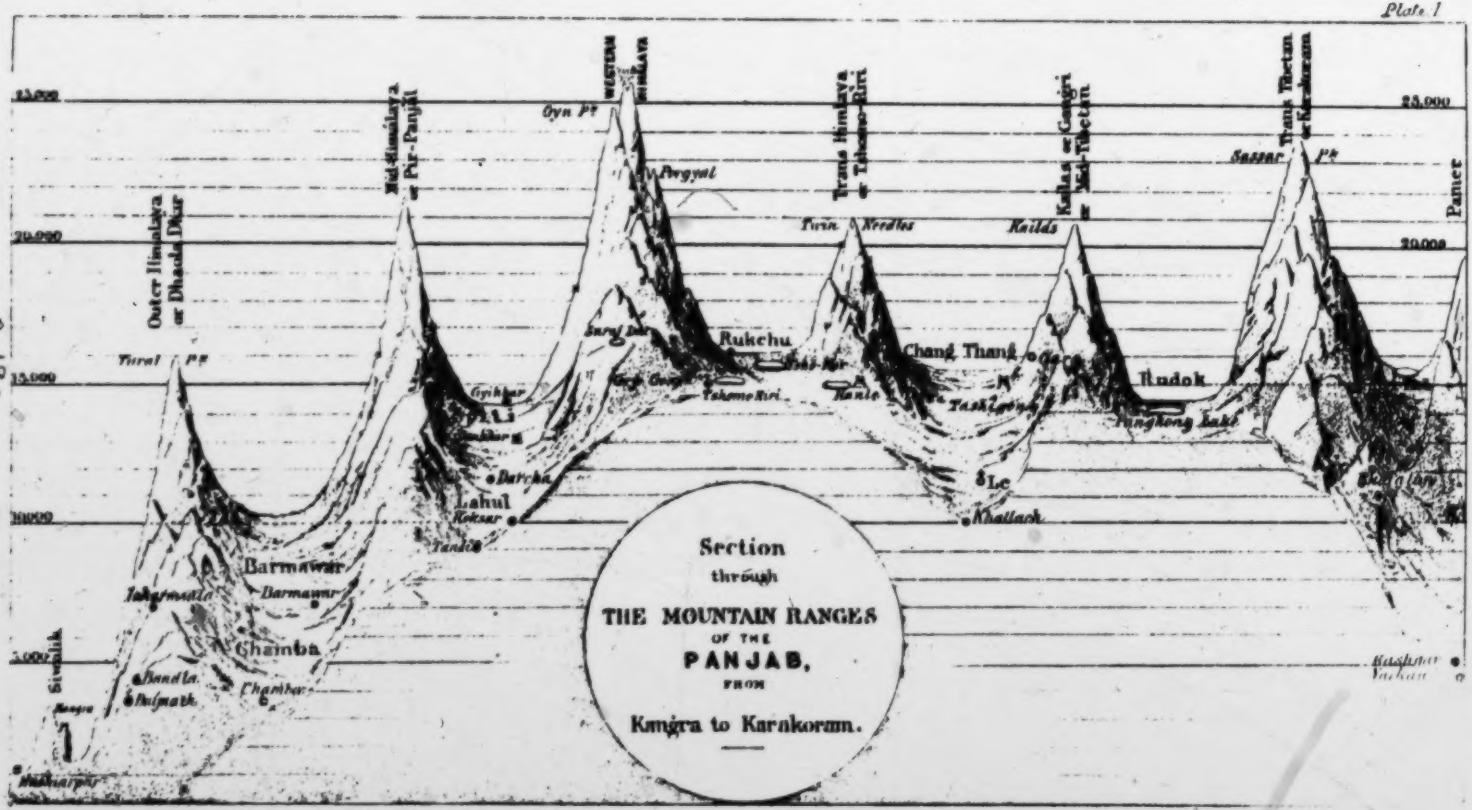
1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The territory of Ladák is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Its different valleys lie along the head-waters of the Indus, the Sutluj, and the Chenáb; and the joint effects of elevation and of isolation amidst snowy mountains produce perhaps the most singular climate in the known world. Burning heat by day is succeeded by piercing cold at night, and everything is parched by the extreme dryness of the air. The rarefied atmosphere offers but little impediment to the sun's rays, which during a short summer are sufficiently powerful to ripen barley at an elevation of 15,000 feet, although the temperature falls below the freezing point every night. This climate is equally favourable to animal life. The plains between 16,000 and 17,000 feet are covered with wild horses and hares and immense flocks of domestic goats and sheep; and the slopes of the hills up to 19,000 feet abound with marmots and Alpine hares. Such is the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, that no rain falls and but little snow, and both meats and fruits are cured by mere exposure to the air.

2.—BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

Ladák is the most westerly country occupied by the Tibetan race who profess the Buddhist faith. On the north it is divided by the Kárákoram mountains from the Chinese district of Kotan. To the east and south-east are the Chinese districts of Rudok and Chumurti; and to the south are the districts of Lahul and Spiti, now attached to British India, but formerly belonging to Ladák. To the west lie Kashmir and Balti, the former separated by the western Himalaya, and the

Plate 1



1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Ladák, but to the north of *Ngari*, lies the extensive province of *Chang Thang*, or the "northern plains." Ladák itself is called Mar-yul or Low-land, perhaps from its inferior elevation to all the surrounding districts. 634 100

Nubra,* or the north-western district of Ladák, includes all the country drained by the Nubra and Shayok rivers. It is by far the largest district in the country, being about 128 miles in length by 72 miles in breadth, with an area of 9,200 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Kárákoram mountains, and on the south by the Kailas range, which divides the Indus from the Shayok; and it extends from the frontier of Balti, in east longitude 77°, to the Pangkong lake on the borders of Rudok. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts of the country, from an average of fourteen observations at different places, is 12,763 feet. 634 131 133

Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called *Mang-yul*, or the "district of many people." It stretches along the Indus in a north-westerly direction from Rukchu to the frontier of Balti, a length of 120 miles, with an average breadth of 33 miles. Its area is about 4,000 square miles, and the mean elevation of the inhabited portions, as deduced from observations along the Indus, is 11,500 feet. [103] [131] [162]

Zanskar includes all the country lying along the two great branches of the Zanskar river, in a general direction from south-east to north-west. It is bounded by Ladák on the north, by Rukchu on the east, by Lahul on the south, and by the small districts of Purik and Wanla on the west. The southern boundary is formed by the

* *Nub-ra*, western.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 great Himálaya itself, the western boundary by the
131 transverse range of Singgé Lá, and the northern boun-
133 dary by the Trans-Himálayan chain. Its greatest length is 72 miles, but its mean length is not more than 56 miles, and its mean breadth is about the same, or 55 miles. It has an area of 3,000 square miles, and a mean elevation of 13,154 feet, as deduced from seven different observations along the course of the valley. The name
[103] of *Zangs-kar** means "white copper" or brass; but I have no idea why it is so named.

Rukchu is the most elevated district in Ladák, and one of the loftiest inhabited regions in the known world. The mean height of the plains, as determined from twenty-one different spots where I encamped in 1846 and 1847, is 15,634 feet. This is the mean height of the great plain of Kyang, which extends from the foot of the Thung-lung Pass to the fords of the Sum-Gal, a length of 35 miles. It is also the height of the plains around the *Tsho-kar*, or White Lake, and of the long sloping plains from the Lanák ridge to the Para river. Rukchu is bounded on the north by Ladák Proper, on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti, on the south by Lahul and Spiti, and on the west by Zanskar. Its length from the Thung-lung Pass to the head of the Hanlé river is 90 miles, and its mean breadth about 62 miles, which give an area of 5,500 square miles.

Purik, *Suru*, and *Dras*† are three small districts to

* *Zangs-dKar*, "copper-white."

103 † These names are not all Tibetan, as Dras is the Kashmiri name for the district of *Hem-babs*. In Tibetan they are written *Pu-rig*; *Su-ru*; and *Hem-babs*. The last name means "snow-fed or snow-descended,"

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 131 133 the west of Zanskar, on the high road between Kashmir and Lé. To *Purik* belong the villages of the Waka and Phugal rivers, from their sources in the transverse range of Singgé Lá to Kargyil, below their junction. The principal places in Purik are Mulbil, Paskyum, and Sod, each of which once had a petty chief of its own. *Suru* also owned a petty chief who lived at Lung Kartse, the principal place in the valley. The river is sometimes called by this name, but more generally by that of Suru. The Suru river joins the Waka-chu immediately below Kargyil. *Dras* is the most westerly of these small [103] districts. Its Tibetan name of Hem-babs (snow-fed or snow descended) is descriptive of its most striking peculiarity, as the most snowy district of Ladák. [132] It owes this peculiarity to the great depression in the Himálaya, at the head of the Dras river, which allows the constantly humid vapours of Kashmir to pass to the north of the mountains, where they become condensed by the cold, and are precipitated in rain or snow, according to the season of the year. These small districts extend in length from the frontier of Balti to Zanskar, a distance of 84 miles, and in breadth from the head of the Suru valley to the Photo-la, a distance of 50 miles. The area is 4,200 square miles, and the mean height of the inhabited parts, as determined by the elevation of thirteen camps, is 11,196 feet.

*Spiti** is bounded on the north by Rukchu, on the

Hem being the Sanscrit *Hima*, which has long been naturalized in Tibet. See Csoma's Tibetan Dictionary, *in voce*.

* *Spi-ti*. In Kullu and Kanáwar this district is generally called Piti, but the proper name is Spiti.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu,
[144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion,
[134] with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate
137 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the
132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
133

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the different districts of Ladák is added for the sake of comparison.

		Extent in sq. miles.		Mean height.
M. Gulab Sing.	Nubra	9,216		12,763
	Ladák	3,960		11,500
	Zanskar	3,080		13,154
	Rukchu	5,580		15,634
	Purik-Suru-Dras	4,200		11,196
			26,036	
British.	Spiti	2,312		12,986
	Láhul	1,872		11,063
			4,184	
	Total sq. miles		30,220	Mean height 12,613

5.—NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

The countries to the north, the west, and the south of Ladák are inhabited by people who speak at least four languages quite distinct from Tibetan. To the north the people of Yarkand and Kotan speak Turki; to the west, beyond Balti, the people of Astor, Gilget, and Hunza Nager speak different dialects of Dardu, while the Kashmiris have a language peculiar to themselves; and to the south the people of Chamba, Kullu, and Bisahar speak a dialect of Hindi, which is chiefly derived from Sanskrit. To the east and south-east the people of Rudok, Chang-Thang, and Ngari speak Tibetan only.

To the north of the Kárákoram range, lie the Chinese districts of Yarkand, Kotan, and Káshgár, which, with the exception of the Chinese functionaries, and Tartar soldiers, are wholly peopled by Musulmáns. As I found it difficult to obtain any truth-like information regarding the statistics of these countries, I confined my inquiries to their natural productions, in the hope of meeting with

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

average elevation of the range by more than thirty-four feet. By striking out this one observation, the average height will be 15,054 feet. /33X

The elevation of this range is of considerable importance in determining the long-unsettled question of the snow-line, which, on the joint authority of the great Humboldt and the learned Colebrook, had been fixed at 13,000 feet, between 30½ and 32° of latitude. Lieut. Richard Strachey,* of the Engineers, was the first to correct this error, and to determine by observation that "the height of the snow-line on the more prominent points of the southern end of the belt, may be fairly reckoned at 16,000 feet, at the very least." This conclusion is fully borne out by my own observations, one half of which were made before the publication of Lieut. Strachey's paper. The ascertained height of the Dhaola Dhár, which rises abruptly from the low plains of Kangra, 3,000 feet, to a mean elevation of 15,000 feet, and of 16,000 feet in its loftiest peaks, proves most clearly that the snow-line, in the southern Himálaya, cannot be under 16,000 feet. /33 /32

The geological structure of this range is almost unknown. In 1839, when I descended the valley of the Rávi, along the northern spurs of the Dhaola Dhár, I noted that the whole of the formations, at from 3,000 to 8,000 feet, were of clay and mica slates, and mostly of a very fine description, well adapted for roofing. The crest of the ridge is, however, most probably granite and gneiss, both of which I found on crossing the Chûari /33X

* Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 292. Since the publication of this paper, however, Alex. Keith Johnston, in his beautiful Physical Atlas, p. 16, has stated the height of the southern snow-line on the Himálaya at 15,000 feet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 unknown; but from the neighbourhood of Ruthog to its north-western extremity beyond Pangmik, the Pangkong Lake is not less than eighty-five miles in length, with an average breadth of about three miles.* The extent of the known portion is, therefore, upwards of 250 square miles, or about the same size as the holy lake of Manasarovara. The superior size of this lake may be inferred [103] from the probable etymology of its name, *Pang-kong*, which means the "extensive concavity" or hollow; or *Pang-khung*, the "extensive pit." The water is clear and extremely salt.† This lake has been surveyed by Captain H. Strachey, whose observations place it at an elevation of 14,224 feet above the sea. In former ages there can be no doubt that the Pangkong Lake had an outlet at its north-western extremity, through a gorge in the limestone cliffs,‡ into the present scanty stream that passes by Muglib, and joins the Shayok river just above the village, which gives its name to the stream. At some remote period, therefore, the waters of the Pangkong Lake must have been fresh; a fact which has been placed beyond all doubt by Captain H. Strachey's discovery of fossil shells of *Lymnæa auricularia* in the ancient clay deposits above the present level of the lake. The mountain-ranges at the north-western extremity of the lake are of limestone, which probably affects the waters of the lake, as the small pebbles on its shores are firmly united together by calcareous matter.

103 The *Tsho-Rul*,§ or "Bitter Lake," is situated about 133 five miles to the south of Pangkong. It is about sixteen miles in length, and somewhat less than two miles in breadth.

* Moorcroft, I. p. 435. † Ibid. I. pp. 434-35.

‡ This gorge was traversed by Moorcroft (I. 434.)

§ *Rui-ba* bad, fetid, bitter.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 [133]

From Lhasa, which I do not think can be less than ten or eleven thousand feet above the sea, the road ascends the Sanpu river, past Tashi Lhunpo and Gáldán to its source on the eastern face of the Kailas mountain. It then crosses this mountain to the northern bank of the holy Manasarovara Lake (15,200 feet). The direct distance between these points on the map is upwards of 10° of longitude, which in the 30th degree of latitude are equal to 600 English miles, to which one-half* more must be added for the windings and ascents and descents of a road in a mountainous country. This will give a distance of 900 miles, equal to a journey of three months, which the people always state it to be. From the Manasarovara Lake to Garo the road has been traversed by Moorcroft. The distance is about 110 miles, or ten days' journey—past the Lake of Rawan Hrad, and over several lofty spurs of the Kailas range, which give rise to numerous small feeders of the Sutluj and Indus. Garo itself is situated, according to my information, on the main branch of the Indus, which is there called the Higong-chu or Higong river, simply because it flows past the village of that name. From Garo to Chibra, and thence to Lé, the road lies down the valley of the Indus, and generally along the bank of the river. The distance from Garo to Lé is not less than 350 miles, or

* This is not a mere assumption, but a fact deduced from actual surveys. Thus my survey makes the distance between Lé and Kashmir 228 English miles. The difference of longitude is 2° 40′, which, in the latitude of 34°, is equal to 154 miles; to which by adding one-half more, we obtain 231 miles, which is within three miles of the actual measurement. Again, the difference of latitude between Mandi and Lé is 2° 30′, equal to 174 English miles. By adding one-half more, we obtain 260 miles, the measured distance, according to my survey, being 283 miles.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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		Miles.		
	Brought forward ...	93	=139½	
15	Khafalun	9	= 13½	
16	Aktagh	10	= 15	
17	Surighout	9	= 13½	
18	Camp	7	= 10½	foot of Karakoram Pass.
		128	=192 miles.	
1	Camp to S. of Pass ...	10	= 15	
2	Yapchan	10	= 15	
3	Khundan	10	= 15	right bank of Shayok.
4	Chong Tash	9	= 13½	right ditto.
5	Yartobi	7	= 10½	
6	Mandalik	5	= 7½	left ditto.
7	Dong Bailak	10	= 15	left ditto.
8	Chong Aolang ...	9	= 13½	right ditto.
9	Chong Jangal ...	4	= 6	right ditto.
10	Chunchar	9	= 13½	right ditto.
11	Dakchu Dunga ...	4	= 6	right ditto.
12	Adgam	7	= 10½	left ditto.
13	Digar	...	4½	
14	Camp	...	12	
15	Lahu	...	7½	cross a Pass.
16	Lé	...	7½	
	Karakoram to Lé	...	172½ miles.	
18	Yarkand to Karakoram	...	192	
	34 marches. Total	...	364½ miles.	

Dr. Thomson's route from Lé to Karakoram Pass is a more direct one, and consequently a shorter one; the whole distance being only 147½ miles, or twenty-five miles less than Izzet Ullah's route. But the longer route up the Khundan river had the advantage of being tolerably level, whereas the present route crosses no less than three lofty passes, and is besides much more rugged and difficult. The Karakoram Pass is not less than 491 18,600 feet above the sea, and it is perhaps very nearly 133 19,000 feet high. M

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 upper course of the river, which is crossed a second time, and over another range of mountains to the head of the Charpa river. From the bed of the Charpa different routes were followed over the mountains to the upper and uninhabited course of the Chandra river, from whence the northern road leads over the Bara Lacha Pass into Láhul, and the southern road direct into Kullu by the Parbati river.

IX.—PASSES.

133 A Pass in Tibetan is called *Lá*. The crest of a Pass is named *La-tse*, and the foot of a Pass *La-tsa*.* The last word is variously pronounced: by some it is called Larsa, of which spelling many examples may be found in our maps at the bottom of Passes; by others it is called Lacha, as in Bara Lacha (for Bara Latsa). Others again pronounce the *s* distinctly; which last has given rise to Dr. Gerard's spelling of Para Lassa. *Rong* is a defile, and *chong-rong* is a narrow defile. The principal passes have already been mentioned in my description of the high-roads of Ladák; but a tabular enumeration of them may be useful for comparison.

Names.	Heights.	Authorities.	Positions.
Karakoram ...	18,660	Dr. Thomson ...	Head of Shayok river.
Sassar	17,500	Ditto ...	between Nubra and Shayok river.
Hanu	16,890	Col. Bates ...	between Indus and Shayok river.
Lé Pass ...	17,966	Dr. Thomson ...	between Lé and Nubra.
Lazgung ...	17,500	(estimated) ...	ditto ditto.

* *Lá* is the simple form. *La-r Tse*, is the crest of a Pass.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ3 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Names.	Heights.	Authorities.	Positions.
Changlá ...	18,105	Moorcroft, MS.	between Indus and Long Kongma.
Kongta-la ...	15,495	Ditto ...	between Long Kongma and Chushal.
Singgé ...	16,952	Dr. Thomson ...	between Zanskar and Lama Yurru.
Vinggé ...	—		
Pangache ...	16,495	Dr. Thomson ...	in Zanskar.
Photo Lá ...	13,240	A. Cunningham	between Kashmir and Lé.
Namyika ...	13,000	Ditto ...	ditto ditto.
Thung Lung ...	17,500	Ditto ...	South of Lé.
Polokonka ...	16,500	Ditto ...	near the Tsho-kar.
Nakpo Gonding	18,000	Ditto ...	to North of Tshomo Riri lake.
Lanak	18,746	Ditto ...	between Tshomo Riri and Hanle.
Lunga Lácha ...	17,000	Ditto ...	between Zanskar and Rukchu.
Párang Lá ...	18,502	Ditto ...	North of Spiti.
Bára Lacha ...	16,500	Ditto ...	between Lahul and Zanskar.
Umási Lá ...	18,123	Dr. Thomson ...	between Kashtwar and Zanskar.
Seoji Lá ...	11,634	A. Cunningham	between Kashmir and Dras.
Harapo Lá ...	12,104	Col. Bates ...	in Astor.
Kutzum ...	14,851	Capt. Broome ...	between Lahul and Spiti.
Manerang ...	18,612	A. Gerard ...	between Kanawar and Spiti.
Tari Pass ...	15,282	Lieut. Maclagan	ditto ditto.
Rotang Joth ...	13,000	A. Cunningham	between Kullu and Lahul.
Kali Joth ...	16,700	Ditto ...	between Lahul and Chamba.
Saj Joth ...	15,500	Dr. Thomson ...	ditto ditto.
Pir Panjal ...	11,970	A. Cunningham	South of Kashmir.
Tural Pass ...	14,808	Ditto ...	between Kangra and Chamba.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 six months of the sun's southern declination. These are the monsoons or seasonal winds, which depend entirely upon the sun's position in the ecliptic; the south-westerly monsoon being the summer wind, and the north-easterly monsoon the winter wind. But the alternation of the day-and-night wind throughout Ladák is constant throughout the year; and as the subject is one of some interest, I will here attempt to explain what appears to me to be the cause that generates it, and that afterwards carries it round all the points of the compass.

[133] This cause is, I believe, the great mid-day radiation of heat from the bare surface of the vastly elevated plains of Ladák and the neighbouring districts, which have a mean height of 13,000 feet above the sea. The following table shows the extent and mean elevation of these great masses of table-land.

EXTENT AND MEAN HEIGHT OF THE TIBETAN TABLE-LAND.

Districts.	Extent.		Height.	
	Sq. miles.	Total.	Sq. miles.	Mean.
Rukchu	5,580		15,634	
Gáro	6,500		15,500	
Rudok	4,800		14,500	
		16,880		15,211
Zanskár	3,080		13,154	
Spiti	2,312		12,986	
Nubra	9,216		12,763	
Ngári	9,000		12,500	
		23,608		12,851
Ladák	3,960		11,500	
Purik	4,200		11,196	
Láhul	1,872		10,535	
		10,032		11,077
	Sq. miles	50,520	Mn. height	13,026

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VII.—SUPPOSED MILDNESS OF FORMER CLIMATE.

132 Various circumstances induce me to believe that the climate of Ladák was formerly much milder and much
172 less dry than it is at present. The occurrence of vast quantities of fossil *fresh-water* shells in the sandy alluvium above the level of the present *salt-water* lakes of Ladák, proves that these lakes must once have been very extensive sheets of fresh water. In the case of the *Tsho-kar* or "White Lake," this is proved beyond all doubt, by the occurrence of fossil shells on the plain of Kyang, and in the deep gorge through which the waters of the lake once had exit into this place. As the plain itself had a gradual slope from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the Sumgal River, the whole extent of this double lake can be seen by a glance at the accompanying sketch-map,* which illustrates the ancient lake system of Ladák in those parts of the country which I have visited.

133 1. The *Kyang-Tsho* formerly extended from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to near the source of the Sumgal River, a length of thirty-five miles. It is difficult to ascertain the mean breadth, but it must have been about five miles. This would give an area of 175 square miles.

2. The *Tsho-kar* formerly flowed into the Kyang-Tsho, and was about twenty-five miles in length by five miles in breadth. The old beach-marks are distinctly visible on the mountain-sides, both to the north and south of the lake. I traversed along the southern end of the Tsho-kar in two different directions in 1846, and in 1847 along the northern end, and through the gorge which

* See Plate VI.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

formed its old exit into the Kyang-Tsho. Its principal feeder is a small fresh-water lake to the south, which once formed part of the old lake. The greatest extent of the Tsho-kar must have been about twenty-five miles by five miles, or 125 square miles. The two lakes together covered about 300 square miles. /33

3. The *Tshomo-Riri* formerly included a small salt-water lake, now lying about eight miles to the northward of it. The greatest extent was about twenty-five miles by five miles, or 125 square miles. It seems highly probable that it once had an exit from its southern end into the Párá River, or perhaps into the Sumgal River.

4. The *Hanlé* Lake is still of considerable size; but the clay deposits, which are found adhering in horizontal strata to the small isolated hills in the middle of the valley, and in sheltered positions at the sides, show that this lake must once have been one of the largest sheets of water in Ladák. Its greatest extent must have been about twenty-five miles by twelve miles, or 300 square miles, with a mean depth of at least 100 feet.

5. *Lam-Tsho* is now only a small piece of fresh water, but it was most probably once a fine sheet of water about fifteen miles long by three miles broad, or forty-five square miles in extent.

6. The bed of the Indus, like that of all the other rivers, has once been crowded with a series of lakes. Two of these which came under my observation are shown in Plate VI. The smaller one must have filled the valley, opposite Nyimo and Mûd, for a length of twenty-five miles by three miles, or for about seventy-five square miles.

7. Above Lé, the vast plain of Chachot must once have

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 been covered with water for some miles above Marchalang down to Lé and Pitak. At Pitak, the lacustrine deposits of fine clay are still adhering to the rocks in horizontal strata, to a height of 750 feet above the level of the river. The whole extent must have been about thirty-five miles by six miles, or 210 square miles. Below Pitak, the former channel of the Indus can be traced for many miles, by Phyang and Tharu, to Nyimo.

It is impossible to say what may have been the whole extent of the former lakes of Ladák, but as the ancient lakes of Rukchu, which I have described, must have covered a space of 840 square miles, or nearly one-sixth of the whole extent of the district, a vague idea may be formed of the general extent of the lake system, which must once have prevailed over Ladák. The vast lake of Pang-kong was probably not less than twenty miles in breadth by 100 miles in length, and must have covered an area of 2,000 square miles. This lake, with the others which I have described, would have occupied about one-tenth of the whole extent of the country.

The former existence of these vast sheets of fresh water rests neither upon general appearances nor upon the vague assertions of tradition, but upon the distinct evidences of vast beds of fine clay, which are found adhering to the rocks in horizontal strata, and which could only have been deposited in comparatively still water. Their existence is further proved by the [170] abundance of fossil *fresh-water* shells that are found in the sandy clay deposits around the present *salt-water* lakes, and on the dry plain of Kyang. These shells are of two kinds,—*Lymnæa auricularia* of all sizes, and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Cyclas rivicola, which is only found of very small size preserved in the interior of the larger shells.* As these mollusca do not now exist in Ladák at a greater elevation than between eleven and twelve thousand feet, it seems a probable conclusion that the country must at some former period have enjoyed a very much milder climate than that of the present day. This conclusion might indeed have been deduced from the former existence of the vast lakes which have been described. For the waters vapourized by the sun must have been condensed by the cold of night, and the plains would then have been fertilized by rain, and the mountains covered by snow. Numerous streams would have flowed down the hill-sides in all directions, and the overflowing lakes would have formed mighty rivers. [133] [172] 132

Throughout Ladák there are numbers of vast ravines, many of them 500 feet deep, and as many yards broad, which could not possibly have been formed by the scanty brooks that are now nearly lost in their meanderings from side to side of these enormous channels. In one of these vast river-beds the scanty rill of the Sum-gal now purls along at the southern end of the plain of Kyang. The sides of this channel are masses of alluvial boulders and gravel, which once formed the bed of the Kyang-Tsho. The rocky barrier, below the junction of the Sum-gal rivers, was probably worn away, gradually at first, until the plain of Kyang became almost dry: after which, on the occurrence of any sudden disruption, the waters of the Sum-gal would have rushed violently onward, cutting for themselves a deep channel in the soft bed of the lake. The Kyang-Tsho must have been 133

* See Plate IX. for these shells.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/33 gradually drained; but I have a suspicion that the Tshomo-Riri Lake once had an exit into the Sum-gal, and that its accumulated waters were suddenly drained off by the disruption of the Sum-gal barrier. That the subsidence of the waters of the Kyang-Tsho must have been very gradual is proved by the abundance of shells now lying on the upper part of the plain, all of which would have been swept away by even a moderate current. Is it possible that the whole mass of the country can have been gradually elevated?

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 A14 W Tibetans AJ4

MOLLUSCA.

136
172 The only existing mollusk I observed in Ladák was the *Lymnæa auricularia*. In Plate IX. I have given three specimens, from Pitak and Nubra in Ladák, and from Skardo in Balti. Beside them I have placed for comparison a specimen of the same mollusk from Kashmir; and above them two extinct specimens from the old lacustrine formations on the banks of the *Thogji Chenmo* and *Pangong* salt lakes. The superior size of the Kashmir specimen is perhaps no more than might be expected from the greater mildness of the climate; but that of the extinct species is most remarkable. The largest existing specimen from Pitak measures only six-eighths of an inch in length, and rather less than five-eighths in breadth; whereas the extinct specimens are upwards of an inch in length, and more than three-quarters of an inch in breadth.

These fresh-water fossil shells are found in a fine yellow sandy clay, many feet above the present level of the salt-water lakes. When they existed, the lake of Thogji Chenmo must have been a noble sheet of fresh water, upwards of forty miles in length by about twenty miles in extreme breadth, covering the whole plain of Kyung, from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the rocky glen of the Sumgyel (triple junction) River. These fossil shells are now lying in myriads in the narrow pass between the old bed of the Thogji Lake and the plain of Kyung, and they are equally numerous in the upper part of the plain of Kyung.

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132
172 At what period these vast plains were covered with water will be an interesting subject of inquiry for the geologist; but the mind gets bewildered in trying

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 to pierce the infinite obscurity of bygone ages. One
132 point alone seems clear; that when all these lakes
172 existed, more moisture must have been evaporated, and more snow must have fallen as well as more rain; and the humid atmosphere would have produced a milder climate more favourable to animal and vegetable life. The hills would, perhaps, have been clothed with trees, and the still waters of the magnificent lakes would have teemed with myriads of *Lymnæa*, of which only the shells now remain. But the gradual wearing down of the water-courses, and the continual bursting of the lakes, have nearly dried up all the primeval waters of Ladák; and the consequent loss of moisture has occasioned the present general scarcity of rain and snow, and that extreme dryness of atmosphere which has caused the total dearth of trees. The only sheets of water that now exist are landlocked and salt.

172 A second extinct species of shell is a bivalve (*Cyclas*); but as all the specimens that have been found were preserved inside the *Lymnæa*, they are necessarily small; it is now perhaps impossible to determine exactly whether they are river or lake shells.

Fossil shells are also found in the fine clay deposits near Skardo, of which I have given a specimen in Fig. 4, Plate IX., which contains a *Planorbis* and a *Luccinea* (or perhaps a small *Lymnæa*). One specimen of the existing Planorbis of Skardo is given in Fig. 9.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

231 The domestic animals of Ladák are ponies, asses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs. The Argons, or mixed race of half-Kashmiris half-Botis, resident at Lé, now keep a number of common fowls, but they have only

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) 241
thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.).

[63]
HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the 1330
principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur.

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the 804
Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the 177
hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank.

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang 342
(of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo(a small hut)GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work).

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]
HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". 601
Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists 590
of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are 428
closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the 583
family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca.1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

Chapter I.

The District.

General description.

[634] 101 131 133 [161]

The cantons or *wazírís* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazírís*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazírís*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The District.

101 **Configuration and sub-divisions of** *wazírí* **Láhaul.**

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Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 30 feet per mile.

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The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lhá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Configuration and sub-divisions of *mazári* Láhaul.

lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi; here there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *ommáni pádme hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chodhten* or *Dangten*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangser, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Chandra and Bhága.

of 11,345 feet. Darcha and Khoksar, the highest villages in the upper valleys respectively of the Bhága and Chandra, are about 10,800 feet above the sea.

The source of the Chandra is in a huge snow-bed, more than 16,000 feet above the sea, on the south-east slopes of the Bára Lácha pass. From its very commencement a considerable stream, it becomes quite unfordable a mile from its source. Its course is south-east as far as the angle between the Kanzam range and the mid-Himalaya, a distance of 55 miles. Here, turned by the mountains, the river sweeps round to the north-west and skirts the base of the mid-Himalaya until it is joined by the Bhága at Tándi after a course of 115 miles. Its fall from its source to Tándi averages only 65 feet per mile. For the first 75 miles the valley of the Chandra is entirely uninhabited; the hills sweep down wild and barren to the river, and end in broken cliffs, the base of which is choked with the *débris* of decomposing rock. Above, the scene is equally desolate. Not a tree or a bush breaks the monotony of the bleak hill sides, and grass even disappears at no great height. The pasturage, however, though scanty in appearance, is of a quality much valued for sheep and goats, and is annually sought by large flocks driven up in July and August from Kúlu and even Kángra. A lake, called the Chandra Tal, near the Pálamo pass, is a favourite halting-place for the shepherds. The lake is three-quarters of a mile or more in length and of considerable width. It is fed by springs and the melting snows, and the surplus water runs by an outlet into the Chandra.

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The first signs of permanent habitations are met with opposite the Hamtá pass at old Khoksar, where there is a village occupied by five families some 14 miles above Koksar at the foot of the Rohtang pass. Here "the river enters on a less uninviting country; the valley widens considerably in several places, and there is a good deal of cultivated ground on the right bank, while on the left are a few scattered trees." As Ghondla is approached the country on the northern side still opens, and cultivation increases. The hamlets are larger, and the houses better built, and surrounded with groves of *pípal* and willow. The northern mountains too take a gentler slope; but on the south, on the other hand, they hang over the river, in precipitous masses. Opposite Ghondla a precipice rises like a wall 11,000 feet sheer above the river-bed.

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The glaciers of the hills in the interior threaten the river in more places than one. The most noted glacier is that known as the *big shigri** at the south-eastern extremity of the interior range of hills. A fall of this glacier in 1836 caused a stoppage in the course of the river, and a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. Captain Harcourt, who crossed the glacier in 1869, puts its width at nearly two miles; and, he adds, it "is steadily subsiding, and every year is getting lower and lower". In another passage, after alluding to the cataclysm of 1836, he says: "There can be little doubt, judging from the quantity of ice collected on the flanks

* Shigri is the local term for any glacier.

of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

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The Bhága, rising on the north-west slopes of the Bára Lácha pass, has a course of 65 miles to Tándi, and an average fall of 125 feet per mile. For 30 miles, the valley resembles that of the Chandra, but in its lower part is rich in cultivation, large tracts of level and arable land lying between the mountains and the river. The banks of the stream itself are steep and rocky. It is in this valley, some five miles from Tándi, that Keylang, the principal village of Láhaul, is situated. The Chandra-Bhága, or Chenáb, after the junction of its two heads, continues to flow north-west with a fall of about 30 feet per mile, until at Tirot, 16 miles below Tándi, it passes into Chamba.

Bridges in Láhaul. 491

The rivers in Láhaul are crossed by means of suspension bridges of from 50 to 150 feet span, made of thick ropes of twisted birch twigs. Three ropes form the roadway, and two hand-rail ropes hang above, one on either side, and are attached to the roadway by small side ropes, fastened at intervals of a foot or two. The best of these bridges are passable for sheep and goats, and without danger if the sides are wattled in with wicker work and slabs of stone placed on the roadway. In a high wind many of them are dangerous to cross, even to a native of the country. They are called *chúgzam* in Tibetan, and *jhúlá* or *áwá* in Hindí. The proper *jhúlá* is a different kind of bridge, which is not used in Láhaul. It consists of a seat in a loop hanging from a wooden saddle, which rides on a cable of thick grass rope, and is pulled across by a gay line. *Gharárá* is another name for this kind of bridge, which you use in crossing the Satlaj, the U'l and other rivers. Of late years, on the main road from Kúlu to Léh, the Chandra and Bhága rivers have been bridged with *sanga* bridges passable by cattle and horses. The *sanga* is composed of whole trunks of pine or cedar built into embankments on either side of the river in double or triple tiers, each tier projecting further from the embankment and supported by a prop on the end of the tier below. Two long trunks rest on and connect the ends of the highest tiers on either side, and form the roadway.

Climate of Láhaul 133

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The uppermost village in Rangloi is Purnia Khoksar, and in Gárá, Dárcha. Both these are about 10,800 feet above the sea; but there are higher villages lower down the valley in Gárá. For instance, Kangser (*i.e.*, the big house), where Wazír Tára Chand lives, has an elevation of 11,345 feet. Mr. Lyall estimates the average elevation of the cultivated or inhabited portion of Láhaul at a little less than 10,000 feet; while General Cunningham puts it at over 11,000. The mean temperature at Kardong in the valley of the Bhága is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows:—

March	...	...	...	46°	Fahrenheit.
June	...	...	...	59°	"
September	...	...	...	48°	"
December	...	...	...	29°	"
Year	...	...	...	44·9°	"

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 Chapter I. The District. Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley, not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

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"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

131 Configuration of *wazíri* Spiti.

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Spiti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spiti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spiti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spiti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Configuration of *mazárí* Spiti.

narrow rocky gorges shut in by high precipices. On the other side of the main valley for two-thirds of its length from the base, there are high valleys or tablelands which contain some ten villages.

The mountains of Spiti are more lofty than those of Láhaul. In the outer-Himalaya is one peak of 23,064 feet, and many along the whole line are considerably over 20,000. Of the mid-Himálaya, two peaks exceed 21,000 feet, and in the southern range the Mánirang is 21,646 feet in height. From the main ranges transverse lines of mountains project far into the valley on either side, leaving in many cases only a narrow interval through which passes the Spiti river. Even these minor ranges contain peaks, the height of which in many instances exceeds 17,000 feet. The mean elevation of the villages in Spiti is considerably higher than in Láhaul. Mr. Lyall puts it at 12,000 feet. Several villages, he says, must be more than 13,000 feet above the sea, and one or two as high as 14,000. General Cunningham gives as the mean elevation of the Spiti valley, 12,981 feet.

Rivers.

The Spiti river, by which the drainage of the whole valley is collected, rises in the angle between the Kanzam and outer Himalayan ranges at the base of a peak 20,073 feet in height, and after a south-easterly course of ten miles is joined by another stream from the south-west, of nearly equal volume, the Láchu, which drains the mountains on either side of the Kanzám pass. Hence it flows eastwards for thirteen miles, washing the base of the outer Himalayas; then turning south-east it maintains this direction with no material deviation till it reaches Máni at the base of the southern hills. Here it sweeps eastwards and ultimately leaves Spiti at its north-east corner by a narrow gorge hemmed in on either side by lofty mountains. In Basáhir it turns southwards and joins the Satlaj after a course of over 120 miles, its fall averaging about 60 feet per mile.

The principal tributaries of the Spiti upon its left bank, are the Kibjuna, the Tánmu, the Lágudársi, the Párang, the Shilla and the Lingti. All these have their rise in the outer-Himalaya, and running in deep beds with precipitous sides, are quite valueless for purposes of irrigation. The Lágudársi rises in the Tákling pass, and the Párang in the pass of the same name. The Lingti, which rises in the highest peak of the whole range, is a considerable river and has a course of over thirty miles. On the right bank, the principal affluents are the Giundi, the Rátang, and the Pín. The Giundi has a course of about twenty miles, the Rátang, of rather more than twenty The Pín is described in greater detail below. The mountains drained by these and other river streams of the southern side of the valley, are utterly barren and uninhabited. The hills are devoid of vegetation; and the valleys, abrupt, rocky and shut in by precipices, are in many instances choked in with *débris* through which the streams have cut for themselves broad courses, sometimes from 600 to 500 yards in width, and having "straight sides like the banks of a canal" from 200 to 300 feet in height. The Pín is the most important tributary of the Spiti. It rises in the angle of the mid-Himalaya and Mánirang ranges, and with its affluent, the Parakio, or Parakís, a stream of nearly equal volume, drains fully one quarter of the Spiti valley.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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It[1] joins the Spiti after a course of 45 miles a short distance above Dankar, the principal village of the valley. The width of its bed near its mouth varies from 300 to 800 yards. The greater part of its course is through an uninhabited country, its valley forming no exception to the description given of the other streams which join the Spiti from the south and west. Near the mouth of the valley, however, the country opens, and affords space for cultivation. Here there are eleven villages, the only inhabited spots, not in the valley of the main river itself, in the southern half of Spiti.

312 Character of the Rivers: Bridges. 133

Running in deep courses, the sides of which are steep and friable, the water of the Spiti rivers is valueless for purposes of irrigation; and although artificial watering is a necessary condition for the production of a crop, and a plentiful supply of water, most plentiful in the hottest season, passes at his feet, the cultivator has to be content with the meagre supply obtainable from streamlets having their rise in the smaller ravines, some of which run low, or dry completely up before the close of the summer months. The water of the rivers, heavily charged with silt, is turbid and yellow in appearance. The flow is seldom deep, being distributed over broad courses, and often broken up into independent channels. The current, however, is sufficiently rapid to render fording, where not quite impossible, a matter of difficulty and danger; and when the streams are full, the ominous sound may be heard of rolling boulders knocking one against the other. Bridges, on the other hand, are rare, and cannot in any case, except that of the new *sangha* bridge at Rangrig over the Spiti river, be passed by the *yaks* or ponies with which most Spiti men travel. The people therefore are compelled to ford, and lives are frequently lost in consequence. At two points, above Kája and below Lithong, where the main stream is suddenly collected into a narrow channel by ridges of rock, *sanga* bridges have been erected for foot traffic, but the biggest timber in Spiti is too light for the construction of a bridge passable by *yaks* or ponies. Below Máni the river runs in a narrow channel and is crossed in three places by *jhilá* bridges. 491 133

361 Villages and scenery in Spiti.

On the Spiti the first inhabited spot is Losar twelve miles from the Kanzam pass. From this point downwards villages are frequent, occupying every available corner in the valleys, both of the main streams and of its tributaries from the north. A traveller passing down the Spiti valley would never suspect the existence of villages in these lateral valleys, for the streams which drain them run in deep canons or chasms with precipitous sides cut in the rock, and nothing can be seen but the mouths of these gorges from the main valley. Major Hay, in his account of Spiti, says that the soil is composed of lime and sandstone. It is evident that a river very easily cuts itself a deep channel in this formation, which is only hard so long as it keeps dry; and as very little rain falls, and the snow melts gently, the banks of the cutting remain very perpendicular. Curious examples of this quality of the soil are seen in many places, where the ground has melted away round certain points protected by slabs of slate or shale, leaving the slab high in the air supported by fantastic pillars or arches of the softer formation. One bad result of this peculiarity is that though water for irrigation 133 133 312

[1] i.e., the Pín, a tributary of the Spiti river.— ANALYST.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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is the great want in Spiti, yet the river itself and its tributaries, fed from immense glaciers, and at their fullest in the hottest weather, supply none; their beds are too deep, and their sides are too steep and friable, so that the *zamíndár's* only resource is in the water of small streamlets which flow from small ravines in the face of the mountains which shut in the main valley. Some of these dry up altogether, and others run very low towards the end of the summer. The main valley looks as if it had consisted originally of a level plain from a mile to two miles wide, but the greater part of this plain has been carried away by the river which now runs in rapid shallow streams scattered over a very broad bed shut in by steep cliffs; the remains of the plain form plateaus above the cliffs, and it is on these plateaus that the villages stand. From the plateaus the mountains rise up in long steep smooth slopes of *débris*, till near the top, rocks rise out of the slope in the shape of walls or jagged ridges, and end the view. The plateaus and slopes of *débris* look brown and bare; and the rocks are of all colours, shades of red and yellow predominating. There are no trees, and to get sight of green grass you must go up into the high lands on the left bank already mentioned. All available water seems to be carefully reserved for the fields, and there are no *dang* or irrigated hay-fields as in Láhaul. In place of hay a kind of thistle and a vetch, which grow wild in the valleys, are cut and stored for winter fodder. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the bed of the river, and lower down a prickly shrub (*Hippofa salicifolia*) is common in the same position, but they are neither big enough nor green enough to alter the prevailing barren tints of the scenery. At the lower end of the valley a few *shokpa* (*Juniperus excelsa*) and poplar and willow trees are to be seen. These, with the exception of a kind of dwarf birch which is found in one or two places, furze, broom, wild rose, and currant bushes, comprise all the trees and shrubs of the country. The Pín valley is more absolutely bare of tree or bush than any other part of Spiti, but there is more grass than in the main valley, which is probably due to a greater rainfall. In spite of the utter want of verdure, there is a great deal of beauty in the scenery; the hills near at hand have very quaint and picturesque outlines, and their scarped sides show a strange variety of strata, each with a different tint of colour; above them a glimpse is caught of some snowy peak standing back against a very blue sky; in front are the bold sweeps of the river and the cliffs, supporting the plateaus, upon which, at long distances, the white houses and green fields of the villages are conspicuous. All this, seen through an excessively clear and pure atmosphere, makes as pretty a picture as is possible in the absence of verdure and blue water. The only blue water in Spiti is contained in one or two lakes, to see which requires a long climb out of the valley; there is a small one above Dankar, and another of considerable size at the foot of the Mánirang pass. The water in the rivers is always thick and yellow, an unusual thing in the Himalayas, and due of course to the

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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formation of sandstone and lime before alluded to. The valley is similarly described by Mr. Theobald :—

"All along the course of the Spiti river are seen old river terraces or deposits of shingle and sand, reaching to a height of some 400 feet above the present river level. Behind these regular deposits, rise almost mountainous accumulations of *débris*, precipitated by frost from the abruptly scarped limestone cliffs bounding the valley. The height of this gravelly mass mainly depends on the height of the cliff at whose base it has accumulated, but not uncommonly reaches to 1,500 or 2,000 feet above the river." In the depth of the valley the soft soil of the cliffs which shut in the river-bed has been hollowed out by the action of time and water into fantastic shapes. "Out of a soil of clay and bold rock," writes Captain Harcourt, "uprise rough monument-like masses that are not a little peculiar in appearance, for they are crenelated and honey-combed all over with deep holes and apertures as if scooped out by art, supporting on their summits great boulders of stone which in all probability have kept the masses underneath from wearing altogether away."

132 Climate of Spiti.

[133]

The seasons in Spiti correspond generally with those of Láhaul; though the spring is somewhat later, and the winter of longer duration. The mean elevation of the villages is considerably higher than in Láhaul, averaging 12,000 feet or over, and rising as high as 14,000. Snow begins to fall in December, and remains on the ground until the end of April, but seldom exceeds a depth of 2½ feet, which is less than in Láhaul. The cold during the winter is very severe and is aggravated by violent and piercing winds. Slight showers of rain fall in July and August, though the district is beyond the regular influence of the monsoon; severe frosts set in before the close of September, in which month Mr. Lyall records that a stream of water he had observed at night running down a slope from a broken canal, was turned into solid ice by the morning. "The climate," he adds, "is a remarkably healthy one; excepting a few simple complaints, such as colic or rheumatism; sickness appears to be almost unknown." He saw in his sojourn in the valley no cases of goitre or critinism, and remarks that "the muscular development of both men and women looks large and hard compared with that of the people on the south side of the Himalayas." In the summer Captain Harcourt records that the days are exceptionally hot. The mean temperature of the Upper Spiti valley is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows :—

[164]

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January	17°
April	35°
July	60°
Autumn	39°
Year	39·4°

137 Flora.

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For an account of the flora and vegetable productions of Láhaul, reference should be made to Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal, which contains an excellent paper upon the subject by Dr. J. E. T. Aitchison, a Civil Surgeon on the Punjáb establishment, and late British Joint-Commissioner at Léh. The hills of Spiti are, as has been already stated, bare and devoid of forest. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 Chapter V, B.

651 Land and Land Revenue.

634 British assessment of Spiti.

was removed by a redistribution of the cash assessment; more than half their cash revenue being taken off their shoulders and distributed upon the other *kothis*.

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Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—"Spiti had been assessed summarily by Mr. Vans-Agnew, afterwards murdered at Mooltan. He was deputed to that remote district in 1846 A. D., and settled the whole tract at Rs. 753 per annum. Compared with Láhaul, the rate is decidedly low, but the country is more inhospitable and dreary. It is not so easy of access, and is removed several hundred miles, and by lofty ranges of mountains, from the head-quarters of the district. It is surrounded, I may say, on all sides by Independent States. Its political position is singular, and at various periods, Spiti has been the feudatory of China, Baséhir, Ladákh and Kúlu; and even at this time there are Chinese emigrants residing in Sipti, who pay a divided allegiance partly to us and to their mother country. From such a region, so peculiarly situated, revenue was a secondary object. The people, moreover, argued that Mr. Agnew had fixed the assessment for twenty years. I attached no weight to this argument, as their deed of lease specified no such conditions; but adverting to the remoteness and poverty of the country and its isolated position, I determined to make no enhancement. The present demand was quite sufficient to indicate the tenure of the British Government, and after this recognition of our claims, I saw no advantage in exacting an additional revenue, which, from its trifling amount, could be of no importance to the Government, and might entail distress upon the people. I accordingly left the demand of the Summary Settlement of Rs. 753 unaltered."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS.

Chapter VI.

Principal places in Láhaul and Spiti.

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The principal villages of Láhaul are Kyelang, Kardong and Kolang. Kyelang is situated on the main trade route beween the Rohtáng and Bára Lácha passes, on the right bank of the river Bhága about four miles above its junction with the Chandra. Here a post office is maintained during the summer months, and a Moravian mission has been for some years established. The mission-house is a substantial residence, the lower apartment of which is used as a chapel. A school supported by a grant from the Government is managed entirely by the Missionaries.* Kardong lies on the left bank of the Bhága almost immediately opposite Kyelang, and is spoken of by Capt. Harcourt as at once the largest and most striking village in the valley. The houses are better built than in other villages. Kolang, which is the residence of the Thákur of Láhaul, is also situated in the Bhága valley, on the right bank about ten miles above Kyelang. The largest village probably in Spiti is Rangrig on the right bank of the Spiti river. The name is said to mean town. Dankar, the capital of Spiti, is a large village, 12,774 feet above the sea, built on a spur or bluff which stands out into the main valley and ends in a precipice. The softer parts of this hill have been worn away, leaving blocks and columns of a hard conglomerate, among which the houses are perched in curious and inconvenient positions. On the top of a hill is a large house known as the fort, which, with some cultivated land attached, belongs to Government. On a point of the hill lower down is a large monastery. The aspect of the whole place is very picturesque. It has been the seat of Government of the country from time immemorial.

* Capt. Harcourt pays a high tribute of admiration to the zeal and energy of the Missionaries, Mr Behler and Mr. Heyde, and acknowledges the important services rendered by them to the administration. They are looked up to as friends and protectors by every inhabitant of the valley, though in the matter of conversions to Christianity they have had but little success.

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Spiti

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the 149
634 Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level.

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then
779 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow
144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan
177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations
793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localised in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See Source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analyst]

000 der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

492 Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He
465 was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

492 By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

● 133 The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is
137 deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine
[231] trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washing-
[311] ton when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth*, which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

The north bank of the Chandra, which the trail follows, is part 133
of a huge finger of land, a sort of peninsula many miles long and eighteen thousand feet or so high. The Chandra flows on one side of this peninsula, the Bhaga on the other. The Chandra and Bhaga rise on Baralacha Pass (which we later crossed), flow in opposite directions at the start, then parallel each other, and finally join about six miles west of Gundala. A historic short cut is from Koksar over the peninsula to the foot of Baralacha—a wild, broken stretch of mountains that claimed the life of Hilda Richmond in 1939. We took the long way, swinging around this long finger of land.

Opposite us was a mighty range capped by Snowy Peak or Gundala Peak, whose exploration is described in Bruce, *Kulu and Lahoul*. One looks almost straight up from the river ten thousand feet. There are cliffs that are sheer for several thousand feet. Glaciers run to their edges, tremendous ice fields impregnated with dust and dirt so that when the afternoon sun strikes them they turn to gold. Some of these glaciers not only grip the shoulder of the high cliffs but also droop down their sides like gargantuan icicles. Waterfalls drop from the cold lips of these glaciers; deep in one recess of these gargantuan rocks I saw three, each a thin, miniature Niagara but several times higher. They were falling unknown hundreds of feet in white, soundless spray, ending in milky streams that ran in torrents to the Chandra. The rocks sprayed by these falls were painted with moss and lichens. In the lower reaches some of the moisture from the ice fields watered high ledges and benches that were covered with a short green nap as smooth and as soft to the eye as velvet. The highest points, the topmost ledges, were filled with snow. The blizzard that we had traveled en route to Koti had left the high granite shafts that top the ridge freshly powdered.

Many tributaries feed the Chandra on its run to the confluence [134]
with the Bhaga. In the summer they are filled with a small snow trout, which I did not see but of which the natives boast. This day

• /33 even the tributaries were murky with silt. One side stream about twenty-five feet wide was on a rampage. It had freshly gouged out the mountainside, sweeping away a bridge, washing away many feet of trail, and biting deeply into a ravine. We had to climb high to cross it.

000 Several travelers of the trail had piled up at the one place where the stream was fordable. One train, made up of small donkeys, was being unpacked so that the animals could cross on their own. Men and women were fording the stream, stepping gingerly in the fast, dark water, leaning against the powerful current as they fought their way across.

I took the crossing lightly, as if it were only a casual thing. A thin, dark Lahuli, wiser than I, noticed my cavalier manner and happily waded into the stream to meet me. We met just in time, for I was not prepared for the tremendous onslaught. The main current had me off my feet when the strong arm of my unknown Lahuli friend caught me and half dragged me to shore. While I was waiting for my pack train to catch up with me, my Lahuli friend and I stood guard at the ford, helping all travelers who came along.

Among them were two women and a baby. My Lahuli friend waded across, took the baby from the mother, and brought it safely to the other side. I guided the women, giving one of them a hand and letting the other lean against me. They were wet and breathless when they reached the shore. There were thanks in their eyes and on their lips as they uttered strange words of appreciation, put the baby back in the sling that hung over the mother's shoulders, and took to the trail.

Later we passed them. And when we were having lunch on a huge rock that sat astride the trail, they caught up with us and began a long conversation with Rahul. As he talked I studied
142 these women. They were in their late twenties, with dark skin and coal-black hair. The Kulu women had been about as dark, but they had sharper features. These Lahuli women had more of

361 shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so
161 shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and
[132] narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

137 The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the
[133] Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[2] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

197 Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—*"Ram, ram"* or *"Namaste."* In Lahul they became Tibetan—*"Ju Ju"* or *"Ju Le."*

[2] [Headman--Analyst]

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[Facing p 64]

133

At Rothang Pass it seemed that I was on the threshold of another world—a world where magic played the major role, where one in quiet meditation coul[illegible]ct the spirit[illegible]y a place [illegible]ting far above the earth.

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The women of Gya were giggling as they started to sing. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal and he is the singer.

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The Gya singers were accompanied by an orchestra of two musicians.

777 was plain that the clouds were lifting and that the storm was breaking up.

By the time the mule train was packed, we were in streaming sunshine and Toche Phirche was beginning to lose some of its sogginess through steam. There were black, ominous clouds on a high ridge to the north, the direction we were headed. Budh Ram pointed to them, misgivings written in his face. I grinned, pointed to my hat, and then to the clouds.

133 I was a good prophet. We climbed a thousand feet or so as we
137 left Toche Phirche and soon came into a vast basin (called Kiangcha), mostly flat, fifteen or twenty miles wide, and stretching ahead and behind as far as the eye could see. This basin was covered with scattered patches of the *dama* (*Caragana versicolor*), a low bush clinging to the ground like heather. It is used as fuel in this region and has the interesting feature of burning even though green. A moss called *burtse* (Eurotia) also grew here, a moss I had seen ever since we left Chakchu. It grew in clumps as big as a saucepan and was dried by the natives for use
[196] as fuel. We traveled the basin for several hours. There were ibex above us on the canyon walls to the west, feeding off and on, then stopping to watch us, but always keeping a thousand yards or more distant. The storm that had been making up to the north swung east and then south, leaving us in brilliant sunshine all the way.

777 I stopped to put some flowers in my plant press and before mounting my mule made the announcement that I was tired of wearing my glass helmet. "Does anyone want to wear it?" I asked.

Rahul spoke up, so I gave it to him. We moved on—Rahul, the glittering white helmet, and the dappled gray mule in the rear. In an hour we had climbed a slight rise in the broad basin and faced Pagmur Pass to the north and a host of granite peaks and ice fields to the northwest. A storm that was brewing among the peaks soon moved toward us. It came faster than a horse

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 9

SHEEP ARE THE GOODS TRAINS

There is an old Tibetan saying that "sheep are the goods trains, ponies and mules the mail trains." It was above Jispa where the court had been held and not far below Baralacha Pass that I saw the first sheep train.

The trail north from Jispa follows the narrow, winding Bhaga canyon. After a few miles the juniper thins out, leaving hills that are mostly barren in August. Jispa, which lies at 10,500 feet, is dry and dusty; but there are basins in the towering canyon walls that are 16,000, 17,000, 18,000 feet high which show touches of light green. There are wild roses along the trail—white and blue. A host of tiny saxifrage grow in the rock fields. These delicate white flowers are hardy and widespread; yet I found an occasional dwarf mountain dandelion even higher than the saxifrage. The Bhaga canyon shows no other colors in August—no color other than the monotonous browns and grays of the slate and granite that dominate the ridges.

The trail skirts bleak cliffs that drop hundreds of feet to the

133 milky Bhaga, and at times climbs so high that the roar of the river (which drops 125 feet per mile) is lost. Clear water pours out of springs and snow fields high on the ridges and washes the trail; and occasionally a waterfall drops off ledges in cool spray that touches the faces of those who pass. But the total effect of the canyon is dryness and bleakness—a parched land that offers no shelter or shade.

499 Eleven miles above Jispa the canyon widens into a sloping
492 bench on the far side of the Bhaga. That is Patseo, which means Stone Bridge. The stone abutments of an ancient bridge across the Bhaga are, indeed, still standing. Today the bridge is a flimsy wooden affair that trembles and shakes when a man or animal walks it. It is only safe for passage one at a time. Each of our mules—wise in all hazards underfoot—sniffed at it and took a few tentative steps before taking the full risk. Ram Chand, the muleteer with the high forehead, thin face, and scrawny mustache, stood guard, letting only one animal on the bridge at a time. Each mule seemed to be as relieved at his safe crossing as I was at my own.

000 Patseo has the last dak bungalow on the way to Leh, a two-room building that sits close to the canyon wall without shade or grass. We did not stay there, as our destination was Zing Zing Bar, which lies six miles above Patseo and six miles below Baralacha Pass. We stopped at Patseo only for lunch and for a visit to the Patseo fair.

443 Bleak and barren, Patseo (12,400 feet) is an ancient market place. Merchants from Leh, Yarkand, and Tibet bring their produce there. Merchants from Kulu come up with freight. There bargains are made and barters effected.

492 Patseo is where I saw my first sheep train. Sheep and goats, a hundred or more in a band, were coming down from Baralacha Pass, loaded with little bags, one on each side, filled with salt. Up front was a big billy, aristocratic in his bearing. He kept to the trail, while the band that followed him was strewn above and

492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

[804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

492 One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

• 133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of all vegetation except red, yellow, and gray lichens and a few 133
of the sturdy saxifrage. 137

At one time there had been a serai at Zing Zing Bar with rock walls and a galvanized iron roof stretched on steel rafters. But the weight of snow had crushed the serai, making it uninhabitable. I found a level spot in the vast rock field where I put my 000
bedroll. And after inflating my air mattress and getting everything in condition for the night, I joined the muleteers.

They had piled some of our baggage in the form of an L to provide a windbreak, and they had a fire of mule dung going. They were making tea, a tea unlike anything we of the West 272
know. It is called *gur gur cha*. The correct and proper way to make it is to brew the tea (which is kept in a bag) the day before, adding a pinch of soda and letting it simmer until it has a pinkish tinge. The next day put the brew in a churn, add salt and yak butter (*gie*), and mix thoroughly. Then heat the mixture until it is piping hot and serve.

Rup Singh omitted the first step. He had a tall, cylindrical, wooden churn in which, with the use of a plunger, he mixed water, salt, and yak butter. After the butter was dissolved he poured the contents of the churn into the teapot. When the tea had boiled, it was ladled out in cups. It sounds repulsive and sometimes is, when the yak butter is rancid. But Rup Singh's *gur gur cha* was good. A cold wind was sweeping down from Baralacha, chilling us. The *gur gur cha* seemed to have a special warmth. It was nourishing too. We sat in silence for perhaps a quarter hour sipping it.

Then the muleteers ate their supper. They had a sack of flour 252
made from barley that is cut when slightly green, then baked 262
and ground. This flour is carried in every caravan that travels Lahul, Ladakh, or Tibet. It is the mainstay of each meal along the trail. My muleteers ate it in the customary manner—they put a handful of it in a cup of *gur gur cha* and stirred it up until

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 10

NEHRU'S HORSEMEN

It was 3 P.M., August 9, 1951, and we were making 133 camp at Pagmur. There was hustle and bustle in the air. Pagmur had good feed for the mules, and we were hurrying to unpack so that they could graze. The meadow at Pagmur was not lush as we know meadows in our West. But the sod was solid, not broken; and it ran for perhaps fifty yards on each side of a small clear-water brook that poured down a shallow valley that looked like a wrinkle on the shoulder of the mighty range towering in the south. Pagmur was green, and the meadow was decorated with cinquefoil fresh and bright after the storm.

Another reason for the hustle and bustle was the weather. Pagmur sits at the head of a V, the valley widening as it runs away to the north. Far to the north were jagged fingers of granite and glaciers piercing the sky. Around these peaks another storm was gathering, and we could see long streamers of it stretching along the ridges that formed the sides of the V in which we sat.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 133

Above Zing Zing Bar and before Baralacha Pass, the trail enters a long valley and looks down on a blue and sterile lake called Suraj Dal, or Sun Lake—a lake with nothing but clay and rocks along its shores.

Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

133

[facing p. 96]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

695

My Sikh friend, Mihindar Singh Randhawa the Tehsildar of Kyelang, held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang.

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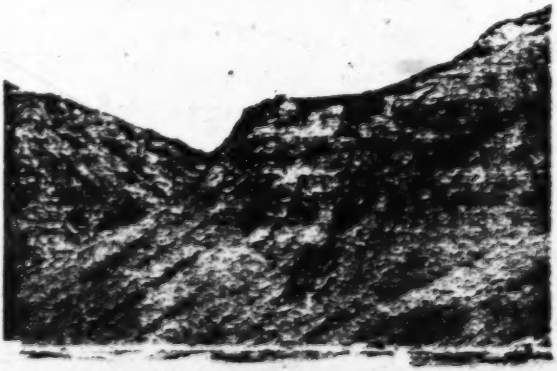
Moti was content to be the laziest, the most irresponsible, the least worthy mule in all of Lahul or Ladakh.

• 133



The day we left Chakchu we climbed steadily through strange and exciting country, headed for Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung La Pass.

[facing p 97]

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

•133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[757] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat* is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

*[of the marmot--Analyst]

900 traders at Patseo with whom he wanted to dicker for caravan freight. Bales of wool, brought down from Tibet and traded for corn and barley, were stacked to form long, high walls as they waited for mule or horse transport to arrive from Manali. Perhaps Rup Singh saw a greater profit in a deal on that transportation than he did on the contract with me. Rahul suspected that was the reason for Rup Singh's change of mind. Perhaps he had seen at the Patseo fair some woman who promised excitement of the hunt and who was worth the expenditure of an evening. Perhaps the long, arduous trip to Leh seemed less attractive to him now that he faced Baralacha Pass than it had when we employed him.

Whatever the reason, Rup Singh went on strike. He sat down on a rock, dug angrily with the heel of his shoe, and spoke rapidly and contemptuously. Patseo was the best place to camp; he didn't like our attitude; these were his mules and they must be well fed; he and his men were tired, and a good rest at Patseo before tackling Baralacha would be the best for them. That was the tenor of his talk. I sought the shade of a tremendous rock while Rahul negotiated. Rahul won out, although it took an hour of heated argument to win Rup Singh over. Even then he was not convinced. Now the smile was gone, and he was sullen and quiet.

He wreaked some of his revenge at Zing Zing Bar. One of the muleteers took the animals across the Bhaga and turned them loose to graze. It was apparent that by morning they would be three thousand feet higher, on a green bench which I could see—a lush-looking pasture around sixteen thousand feet high. Since we were to be on the trail at 7 A.M. Rahul arranged for one of the muleteers to go for the mules at the first streaks of dawn. Rup Singh countermanded the order. He sent Ram Chand at seven; and we were not on the trail until close to noon.

• 133 There was much perpetual ice to cross above Zing Zing Bar, dirty ice a dozen or more feet thick. The trail now threaded through great fields of shale broken from the ridges above us and flowing down the canyon walls. This debris filled both sides of

the canyon for miles on end. The monotonous brown and gray of the rock, the bright snow on the high reaches, the dazzling sun, the absence of even a breath of wind made the ascent a grinding, laborious ordeal. It seemed an interminable time before we reached what seemed to be the top. At this point the trail enters a long valley and looks down on a blue and sterile lake called Suraj Dal, or Sun Lake, a lake with nothing but clay and rocks along its shores. Above the lake were huge drifts of new snow. The snow blocked the trail and was too soft to hold a mule. Some of the smaller mules had to be unpacked; and even the more rangy, robust ones foundered awkwardly in the drifts. One got stuck and in his violent struggles to get loose somehow threw his head against the corner of a pack box, cutting a huge gash just below his right eye. 133

In about a mile we came to Baralacha Pass, lying 16,200 feet. Baralacha is a barren, rolling amphitheater, not a saddle. This day it was touched with snow and dripping wet. The peaks that surround it were gripped by ice but now looked no higher than the White Mountains of New Hampshire, for at this altitude they were 23,000-foot giant peaks shrunk to small, irregular ones.

We stopped at Baralacha to repack the entire mule train and to attend to the wound of the injured mule. As we were about to commence the rocky descent to Kilung, Rup Singh, pointing to a sheep train headed for Patseo, told Rahul, "We have had so much trouble that it is time Sahib bought us a goat. We could have a real feast tonight if we had a goat." 000

"Sahib may not be in the mood to buy you a goat today," Rahul replied.

"Why not?" Rup Singh asked, his eyes blazing.

"Because you would not start today until noon and Sahib wanted to be on Baralacha by noon to get the best pictures."

Rup Singh was sullen all the way down the rocky trail that tumbles off Baralacha to Kilung in a steep funnel of a canyon. He was cross at the mules and at the caravans we met. But a

Below us was the Tsarap, white

•133 with clay, very swift, and a hundred yards or more wide. On the opposite canyon wall was a band of white sheep grazing in green basins several thousand feet above us.

This canyon where we now sat was once covered by a great sea that stretched far north, overrunning all of Tibet. That was one hundred million years ago. About fifty million years ago, great horizontal forces bore down from the north. What these forces were is still unknown. Perhaps they resulted from the earth's contraction; perhaps from a change in the rate of the earth's rotation. But whatever their origin, they were so powerful that in time they made wrinkles running east and west for fifteen hundred miles and rising to an average altitude of nineteen thousand feet above the Ganges plain. There was great volcanic action about fifteen million years ago. Granite intruded. Then came lava flows. The granite cooled under the surface, and its original covering was blown and washed away. The Himalayas rose to form the highest mountain range in the world. Their greatest growth ended two million years ago; but since that time they have been rising, and their upward movement continues even to this day.

The ridges of the canyon where we camped had been cut into weird shapes by wind, frost, and rain. Some had points as sharp as needles. Stretches of the skyline were saw-toothed. Great massive walls rose four thousand feet or more almost straight up and down. They were colored yellow, green, and brown. Some had purplish streaks or reddish tinges. There were large areas of micaceous rock in this canyon, rock that looked wet as it glistened in the sun. Sandstone, limestone, granite, and slate were mixed in helter-skelter fashion to produce as exotic color patterns as one will find in our own Southwest or in the Hindu Kush of Afghanistan.

000 Now the sun was setting. The sky was brilliant with gold, blue, gray, brown, pink. The shades would quickly change as clouds first broke and then rearranged themselves. Soon the clouds were

753 healthy places. They also send poison to make men dizzy and sick at the stomach, to make them bleed at the nose and swell in the joints, to make them faint and unable to walk.

753 Whenever one gets over a pass without being afflicted by pass
782 poison or without suffering any other injury or disaster, the gods
778 have been good to him. And so he always celebrates the event. He does it in several ways. He builds a pile of stones at the pass—called *obos* in Ladakh and *oris* in Lahul—and each time a traveler passes that way he adds a stone. And so the piles grow into huge collections. Everyone adds to them. A lama of distinction who is carried across a pass in a chair or who rides in state will not go by without having a rock added to the pile. A servant will hand him one from the ground, and he will drop it with his own hand. And he more than likely will add a prayer banner to the rock cairn or stop and burn incense there. The *obos* is a dominant ornament on every pass; and it is found also in other dangerous places such as in the steep and treacherous gorge between La Chulung La Pass and Toche Phirche.

The *obos* usually has streamers of colored cloth tied to the rocks or fastened to sticks that are planted in the rock pile. Prayers are written on these pieces of cloth, and each wind that blows makes the cloth flutter, and each flutter sends the prayer winging to the god or goddess of the pass.

• 133 The day we left Chakchu we climbed steadily through strange and exciting country, headed for Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung La Pass. There had been no trees north of Baralacha. The whole stretch of land seemed to be desolate and heavily eroded. Now the marks of erosion were lying heavier and heavier on the land. Once these mountains and valleys may have been lush. Now there was only an occasional patch of grass standing like a tiny island in a sea of slate pumice. Many buttes mounted the canyon walls. They were brown, yellow, green, and red; and the highest of them were flecked with snow. There is much sandstone in this stretch of country; the wind had whipped it and the rain had

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

worked it into odd shapes—tall columns, peaked cones, cathedral- 133
like towers. Weird formations stood in stately rows along the sky-
lines for miles on end. And one massive butte, streaked with
color, towered over Gongrechen Pass.

On the pass was an *obos* flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram 188
Chand, one of the muleteers, brought a new streamer in his
pocket. He stopped at the *obos* and reverently added it to the
collection. His was a prayer for safe passage for himself.

My muleteers never failed to perform the ritual. Neither did
Budh Ram or Man Das. Rup Singh went about it eagerly, doing
with vim and vigor what most did in a perfunctory way.

The habit is deeply engrained. It goes back to the ancient re- 177
ligion of the Himalayas, to the practice of the Shaman religion. 188
Shamanism was a form of animism that is traceable in the rites 179
of North American Indians. One cult piled stones on passes
and other dangerous places to appease the spirit of the pass.
Hinduism came up from the south; Buddhism came down from
the north. The new institutions of religion absorbed the old.
Shamanistic elements, including the *obos*, were taken over by the
new churches. Thousands of years ago men piled stones at the
dangerous places; they pile stones there today, and will pile
stones there tomorrow. For the old superstition is so strong it
survives all religious change. And today the lamas indeed teach
the old and young alike that this ancient superstition should al-
ways be observed.

Another rite is performed on the passes where poison works up 188
into a potent force and often strikes men and animals down. It is
a shout that every traveler gives as he reaches the highest point.
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo is the Tibetan version—Let the gods con-
quer. It rings from the lips of every traveler, young and old. I
heard Rahul, Budh Ram, Man Das, Rup Singh and the other
muleteers shout it. On pass after pass the same words rang out—
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.

I had seen enough, as we neared the end of the trek, to ap-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 133

There is a power lurking in these Himalayas greater than any man.

142.

My most interesting patient was an old Ladakhi woman.

133

As one passes a mani wall, keeping it on his right, all the prayers engraved on the stones are said for him: Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.

[Facing p 128]

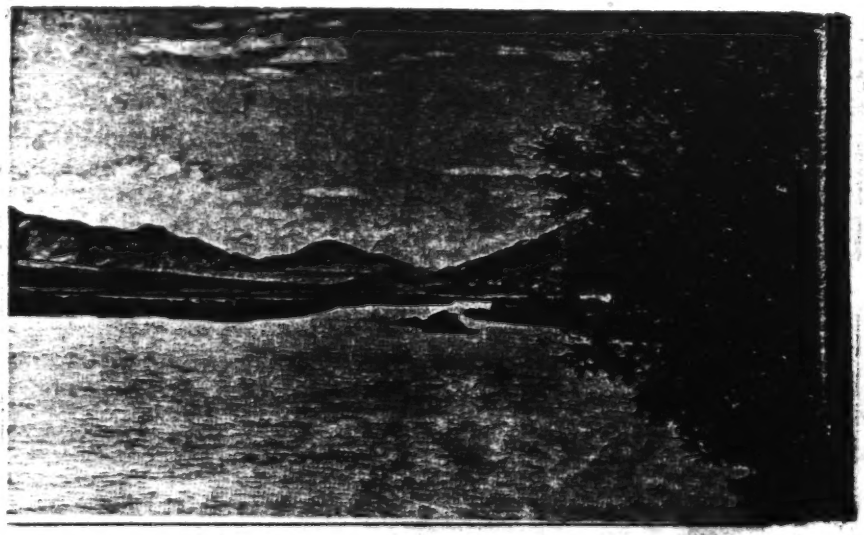
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778

On Gongrechen Pass was an obos flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram Chand, one of the muleteers, reverently added a new streamer to the collection.

The valley below Upshi is several miles wide and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

133



[facing p. 129]

ful of paregoric. I held it before Rup Singh and said, "This will /64
taste awful. It will burn all the way down. It will burn as badly as you imagine a powerful devil might burn if you swallowed him. But it won't hurt you. It will help. And the worse it tastes, the more good it will do."

Rup Singh nodded assent and understanding. He opened his mouth, and I poured the medicine down. His face showed the revulsion he felt; he gasped and sputtered and coughed. The next morning I asked him how he was. He beamed all over as he replied, "Sahib, you are a wonderful doctor."

And so my reputation as a doctor grew; and the word of my ability to cure constipation spread. Man Das was my next patient who suffered from constipation. I gave him the same prescription, and it had the desired effect. Goatherds, villagers, chowkidars, muleteers lined up. And to each I gave paregoric for their constipation. And with each dose of paregoric I gave an incantation, calling upon all the forces in the foul-tasting medicine to come to the patient's rescue. It always worked; and my worries on that phase of my medical practice disappeared so long as the paregoric held out.

My most interesting patient was a woman. I had first seen her at Serchu where she, a younger woman, and two men were resting on their packs beside the trail. I came to know them two nights later when we camped at Chakchu, in Ladakh. (*Chak* means "flint" and *chu* means "water.")

Chakchu is a rough, narrow defile on a hogback of a Himalayan /33 •
range. It lies at 15,800 feet and is the most unlikely spot for a camp one will find in any mountain. There is only one level piece of ground at Chakchu, a spot big enough for a couple of sleeping bags. There we put the kitchen. Rahul and I scrambled down a cliff and found, about a hundred feet below the ridge, a small shelf big enough for two bedrolls. This bedroom of ours had the shelter of an overhang of granite rock gaily painted with lichens. Below us was a yawning pit several thousand feet deep that ran

• 133 to the Tsarap River. Great jagged peaks dominated the skyline to the south and west. Tremendous chasms that grew in depth with lengthening shadows twisted and turned for miles on end where drainage of thousands of years had cut through rocks and sediment.

Not far below us a clear, cold stream dropped off a cliff and spattered the trail with a soft spray. It was the reason why Chakchu was a popular camp site. There was indeed no other good water for miles and miles. Chakchu was much used, carrying the black scars of many campfires.

136 We made camp early and then sat on our perch watching every movement of life in the vast canyons below us and on the high peaks above. A horned lark visited us—a bold bird, gray underneath and white on top, with two pointed tufts of black feathers above the eyes. Two huge, coal-black Tibetan ravens and an eagle with an eight-foot spread caught currents of air as they swooped below us and sailed gracefully into the void, looking with sharp, cold eyes for carrion. A finch with a black head hopped along the ridge, flying short distances, and feeding as he went.

000 There was no noise, no wind, not even a humming of the *dama* bush that colored the slopes with dark green splotches. There was solitude so deep one could almost hear his thoughts. This was a place so far removed from all my people and my problems, it seemed I was in another world. It seemed I sat in the heavens apart from the earth. It seemed that Chakchu was the place where man could best come to know his relations with his God, his relations with the diverse forces and powers within himself that produce discord where harmony is needed.

I sat for perhaps an hour lost in these thoughts, when my eye caught a movement along the trail below me. The trail cut a thin white line in the side of the mountain for a mile or so until it disappeared around a gargantuan shoulder of rock thrust out into the canyon. The figure was a man with a pack on his back. In ten

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about /133
two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or [136]
chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were 233
being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. 411
These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which 281
they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 133 This clear, cold stream runs into the Indus; and at their confluence sits the bleak village of Upshi.

The Indus rises in a Himalayan basin nearly seventeen thousand feet high. Once it was fed by numerous lakes. Now these lakes are mostly landlocked and turning to salt. The Indus is a powerful stream, cutting its way through the Ladakh range of the Himalayas. The Indus is an international waterway; it rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, traverses the length of Pakistan, and empties into the Indian Ocean near Karachi. It is cosmopolitan in character, giving its waters to a greater number [823] of races than any other stream in the world. The Indus is a legendary stream. The Tibetans call it the River of the Lion, since it is said to flow from a lion's mouth. The folklore is that those who drink the water of the Indus will be heroic like a lion. And the bed of the river is thought to be covered by sands of diamonds.

This day in August 1951, the Indus was swollen with snow water and running dark with clay. It poured through narrow channels with an angry roar and spread wide where the channel [311] flattened out. Crude irrigation canals led off to fields of barley and corn. The valley below Upshi is several miles wide; and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

About five miles below Upshi is Marchelang, a village of a few hundred people—a garden in a washed and rock-strewn land. At this point the Indus Valley runs east and west. A wide canyon opens to the north, a canyon leading to Tibet and China over the 18,370-foot Chang La Pass. To the south there is a small canyon 792 or nulla. It was to that one we turned, and in a few miles came 346 to Hemis Monastery.

Many monasteries in Ladakh and Tibet are castellated buildings perched on high cliffs and thus protected from marauders and invaders. Hemis, founded about A.D. 1047, holds no such strategic position. It lies deep in a narrow nulla which is from a

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 21

JU LE, JU LE

Leh, a town of 4,000, lies at 11,555 feet in a vast, 361 133
sloping basin hemmed in on three sides by peaks that rise to 25,000 feet and more. The south side—the side we entered—flows in a gentle, rocky decline to the Indus.

We had followed the Indus from Marchelang downstream ten 133
miles or more after we left Hemis. Higher up at Upshi the Indus had been a raging torrent pouring in a maddening roar through narrow gorges that served as fast, rock funnels for the dirty water. Below Marchelang it was as flat and calm as the Mississippi in summertime, spreading into estuaries and bays as it overran its banks and overflowing great reaches of bottom land. Not far below Marchelang the trail turns north and crosses the Indus. The Indus now divided into two main channels. Two rather primitive wooden bridges quivered at the touch of man or beast and shook nervously, permitting only one man or one animal on them at a time.

There is a grove of poplars on the far side of the bridges, and 000

13: Heber and Heber AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

133, 487

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[For descriptions of topography and routes on the authors' trip to Ladak, see category 116, Chapter VII, pp. 75-85--Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

147 but their scanty garments, these small urchins spend the night with only a handful or two of barley-flour as a reward, but they call out a hearty greeting to our nurse as she passes, and neither spirit nor body appears to be chilled by the exposure.

We have already noticed the strange mixture of finery and rags, the incongruity of fine workmanship and adjacent tawdriness. Surely nature herself teaches them this odd combination of the sublime and the ridiculous. Think only of the many examples on the main road up from Srinagar to 133 Leh. As one emerges from the narrow defile which has 361 wound up slowly from Pashkim, just beyond Kargil, to the Mulbeck Valley and about three miles before the village of that name is reached, the gorge opens out into a broad cultivated valley with a great panorama of majestic mountains beyond. Here and there in the foreground are soft sandstone cliffs, behind, strange peaks with jagged pinnacles in their rugged outlines, rising higher yet sinking in perspective as they reach the horizon to stand out clear and sharp against the brilliant azure sky, the whole suggesting some gigantic upheaval of past ages. As one pursues the winding path in and out of soft red-brown sand-hills into the village, the nearer hills and the lower extraordinary formations of sandstone on the further side of the stream come into prominence. These are sculptured by wind, snow and rain into the most grotesque shapes, looking in some places like the ruins of some ancient village or even turretted castles, the rough outlines of the one-time windows presenting the most gnome-like suggestion of a forgotten civilization. In other places the stalagmite-looking relics are more statuesque, and, opposite the sharp turn of the high road to the left, may be seen across the main valley a gigantic looking ruined model of a 347 mother with a child at her knees. Over the pass and into 133 the next village, again straggling along a wide valley, this 361 formation is repeated, and one quaint little cluster of houses

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

on the further side of the stream appears to be purposely designed to show the evolution of the house from the rock. Holes in the cliff itself slowly evolve into the apertures of a dwelling, and these merge into the more elaborate windows of a house in a graded transition before one's eyes, whilst portions of the rock are used as walls and foundations for the buildings, so that it is quite hard to distinguish across the valley which is nature's building and which is man's. Even in the people this similitude to the land and rocks amounts to a protective adaptation like that in wild animals and birds. How difficult it is to distinguish the ordinary coolie seen on the road in the distance. His undyed home-spun, his cap and even his face (for his cheeks receive just about as much washing as the land receives rain in this dry climate) are thoroughly impregnated with the dry dust of the desert. His movements alone distinguish him from the grey-brown rocks, stones and sand around. Very different indeed is the red-robed lama, who can be discerned from afar in a land where the atmosphere is so rarefied that distance is incredibly fore-shortened. Again it is often absurdly difficult to know whether a pile of stones set up by some passer-by to frighten away mischievous spirits is a human being standing or sitting until one is quite near by, when the stones may suddenly resolve themselves into a wayfarer who rises to ask you for some *m'a-ches* (matches) which will enable him to light his fire so much more quickly than the flint and tinder which depend from his waist. On the road between Bot Kharbu and Lamayuru one of the most quaint little clusters of transitional rock-dwellings suddenly comes into view up a narrow ravine on one's left, and one thinks of the inhabitants, the women especially, whose life and world is probably confined to this fantastic corner, appropriately named Henasku. But all these fantasies are only preparations [illegible] the incredible scene that lies before one as the final [illegible]r is turned in the approach to Lamayuru.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 The Photu La, a 13,400 feet pass, has just been crossed, 776 at the top of which one seems to have had a bird's-eye view of a world of far-reaching mountain tops, so deserted of any sign of humanity that on looking upon this sea of mountains, one is reminded of Noah's dove who, having found " no rest for the sole of her foot," returned to the company of the Ark. So does one's eye return with a sense of common humanity and gratefulness to the unkempt, but triumphant ponymen of one's caravan, who, while their burdened steeds take breath after their exhausting climb, themselves pause to rest by the " Lhato " erected to mark the top of the pass. This structure is a collection of rocks and stones, supporting a crooked staff bearing some tags and rags with prayers inscribed on them, and with sundry marks of gratitude in the shape of old sheeps' and goats' horns, or best of all, a bit of yak's tail, thrown on to the pile. In the words *Sola, sola, sola,* the men express to the presiding genius of the pass their own relief and gratitude at once more having achieved the ascent, and then cheerfully start on the steep downward track. So it is with this majestic stretch of billowing mountains filling the mind that one proceeds on the way, and then rounds the last corner to see Lamayuru.

361 But who shall adequately describe this capital of Hob- 778 goblin-land in its setting of purple hills, distant snow peaks, and brilliant blue sky? Running down towards the village, interspersed with "chorten" fat round structures, rather like gigantic pepperpots, are long " mani walls " built of stones and surmounted by two flattened sides, gently sloping up to meet each other, these tops being formed of flat stones covered with prayers. Nearer the village they end in arches, often with *chortens* on the top, under which the road may run. The village itself is built on the rocky hillside, here formed into strange fissures and crags, bridged by crazy-looking shelves, which the builders have utilized as well as the firmer foundations. It looks as if one shake would topple the whole absurd

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

structure on to the cultivated fields at the foot. Topping the 361
hill and weirdest sight of all stands the monastery, with its 346
flat roofs adorned at the corners with holy yak tails and
prayer-flags. When staying at the rest-house at the edge of 000
the fields below the village, the whole grotesque impression
is especially enhanced in the evening, when the voices of the
inhabitants going home from the day's work in the fields are
loudly amplified owing to some strange acoustic relationship
between the monastery hill and the one on the opposite side
of the narrow valley. Moreover, as some of these stragglers
ascend round the edge of the hill in the evening light, their
silhouettes are also magnified, so that the whole atmosphere of
this unparallelled and indescribable fortress of lamaism, makes
the traveller rub his eyes in the endeavour to awake from such
a fantastic dream. Before leaving this eerie wonderland there 133 ●
appears again a most extraordinary stalagmite formation of
sandstone, as though whole cities had been tumbled out of
the bowels of the earth, a veritable disruption of Sodom and
Gomorrah after centuries of interment. After this, nature
provides a scene of her wildest and most rugged grandeur.
The road winds up and down the sides of a wonderful gorge,
crossing several times the little stream, which gradually
increases till it finally hurls itself into the Indus as a roaring
torrent. All the way down the ravine, the road now climbs
up far above the water, now descends close to it, but never
leaves its noise, while the rocks provide a constant feast for the
imagination, a succession of weird imagery, with variations in
colour and shade, now fantastically suggestive, now boldly
majestic, until at last the troubled waters are borne away by
Mother Indus.

Thus does the grotesqueness of the land constantly manifest 778
itself, so frequently emphasized by the human touch, as in
these long prayer-walls, the longest of which, just outside
Leh, stretches for half a mile across the desert, looking for all
the world as though some giant children had been playing

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 trains in the sand, the *chortens* at both ends resembling clumsy engines, the lower one to give an extra push up the hill. Then there are the little piles of stones so often put up by lonely shepherds, or tired wayfarers, who have made their resting-places wherever a big rock will give them shade, these themselves in their sauciness looking more likely to attract evil sprites than repel them. Often on the tops of hills seen from the road side, but apparently on no beaten track, having simply invited attention because of their height or the suddenness, will be seen *lhatos* similar to those on the tops of passes.

● 133 Yet the strangeness of the land is after all but a minor aspect of these mountain uplands. The majesty of range after range of glistening peaks and shining glaciers in the regions of everlasting snow, their everchanging colour from morning to night, and from winter to summer, always new, always different, who shall tell of their never-failing inspiration, or of their picturesque parables? How can the wonderful autumn sunsets seen from Spitug close to the Indus in the valley five miles below Leh, be described? In a riot of crimson, the sun drops down behind the western gate of the valley, the gateway home for us of the far west, and leaves the mountains closing in the south-eastern gate, the way to the great closed land of Tibet, shrouded in mystery, while every possible shade of blue and purple and crimson and gold steal across the great ranges flanking each side of the long valley, and when to go out and wander along the green-turfed flats by the river is to go out to worship. Look at those rugged, jagged, cruel pinnacles of rock pointing upwards to the sky, as we ascend the Photila on the downward road to Kashmir. Do not their crude fingers remind us that even the difficult sorrow-filled times of our lives, have their directive function?

000 Living year in and year out in these valleys, bounded by their mighty ranges with their sense of mysteries guarded but capable of interpretation in some beautiful way infinitely

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV

Over the Zogi Pass

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439

THE road between Leh and Srinagar, the summer capital of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and a popular hill station for the white man, is one of the chief highways to Central Asia, bearing its trade to and from India.

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No wonder that one of the meanings attributed to the Zogi La, the dread pass that closes this road in winter, is the place of four meetings, for the roads from Tibet, Yarkand, Baltistan and Kashmir all converge here.

467

This road has been described by so many travellers, that it would be redundant to add another detailed account of the journey up to Leh. Suffice it to mention some of the outstanding features and incidents that have impressed themselves on one who has traversed it several times, and for whom most of its turns and corners bring to memory an additional reminiscence. The lower or Kashmir side of the pass includes the first stage to Ganderbal which is generally accomplished either by motor, for a car may go even another five to six miles to the Suspension Bridge which spans the Sindh, or by boat down the Mar Canal and across the Anchar Lake when there is enough water, otherwise taking an extra night and going down the river Jhelum to its meeting place or " wedding " with the Sindh river at Shadipur and then up to Ganderbal. Having once effected a junction with the Sindh, the marches from Ganderbal onwards lead directly up the Sindh river to the foot of the Zogi La. This valley is known to so many thou-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 the Sindh valley narrowing and just make out the snow-covered crest of a mountain which barred its upper end and indicated the site of the pass, about which we must say a few words.

487 The name Zogi La has another meaning attributed to it by
●133 the Tibetan, as well as the one just alleged, one which indicates
[103] the terrors that abound when winter holds it in its icy grip, namely the place of four demons. It is a pass of 11,500 feet, which separates Kashmir and what to many represents civilization, from the wild uplands of the Himalayas and the mysteries of the "distant morning lands" of Central Asia. Though its altitude is not very high for a pass, only equalling that of Leh, its difficulties are great. The summer road should be open from 15th May to 15th November, for on those dates the rates of transport alter from the high winter ones indicating coolie porterage only, to the lower summer ones of pony transport. In winter the difficulties are often insuperable owing to soft snow, blizzards and biting winds, and often the mails are delayed two or three weeks before the runners dare attempt the crossing, the telegraph wires themselves not infrequently breaking with the weight of snow. Traffic is at a standstill from mid-December to early March, save for adventurous travellers who, even then, it is stated, get themselves carried over in baskets on the backs of coolies, sturdy inhabitants of the villages bordering the Ladak side of
[485] the pass. In the centre of the Zogi La is a rest-house, often up
[205] to the eaves in snow, called Machoi, situated on the top of a small sharp hill, one side of which is sheltered from the prevailing winds, and has two or three small buildings, a serai and a telegraph office nestling under it. The telegraph master must have a dreary time in winter, and in the middle of May is moved to another post higher up on the road to
000 Leh. The winter of 1924–5 was exceptionally mild and very little snow fell on the pass. April in Kashmir was a very hot month, more like June, and it was expected that the pass

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGonpa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

extracting thorns or obstrusive whiskers, the nasal vibrissae being special objects of dislike. Some wore necklaces of turquoise and coral or red beads, others had ear-rings and many had bracelets, often in the form of a clasp not quite meeting round the wrist, whose two ends represented the heads of snakes. As we turned to attend to our luggage we gave them a coloured picture torn from the back of a magazine, and they carried it off and discussed it with great joy.

The next day we still had to traverse the further half of the valley, and even in the prosaic morning time, we constantly noticed fantastic shapes in the rocks on the other side. There was a realistic statue of Judge Cockburn, a certain outline of Cardinal Wolsey, and, just as we turned to the left to leave the main valley, guarding the entrance to a small nullah on the opposite side, was that strangest formation of all, a high pinnacle of rock, left standing like a gigantic solitary stalagmite, whose outline was weathered into the irresistible suggestion of a maternal figure, with one child nestled at her knees and another peeping over her left shoulder. In strong contrast to the size of these figures one slowly descried a monastic house and a few less important dwellings built into the base of the pillar in the usual gnomish fashion, from whose chimneys the blue smoke rose to curl up like incense obscuring the Madonna's face.

Leaving this strange valley, which, for all its weird suggestiveness, has an atmosphere of pleasant peacefulness, we turn to the left and then to the right again, and slowly wend our way up a long bare ascent to the Namika La (the Sky-high Pass) of 13,000 feet. On the way a ragged picturesque man, and a little child who was far more so, were seen leading a flock of small sheep and goats along the hillside, though what sustenance they were going to find in this dry barrenness was hard to see. The top of the pass has a fine panoramic view, and, having dismounted from our panting ponies, who ascend the last steep bit with constant pauses and periodic breathing,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 we let them rest a few minutes, while we sit by the *lhato* and enjoy the sea of mountain tops all around. The path descends 361 into the open valley of Bot Kharbu, a long smiling stretch of cultivation with several small villages and a few ruined forts and castles on the hilltops. These were the scenes of fighting in the seventeenth century. Occasionally we note a rough bridge across the main stream, made just of the trunk of a tree or of two such logs side by side, of which one is a little lower, so that, if nervous, one could choose it and hold on to the higher. One noticeable cluster of houses, called Stagtse, is picturesquely grouped round a pointed rock on the other side of the stream. Near the rest-house, we see, on the further side also, that little collection of houses which gives the best example on all the road of how the native dwelling is fashioned like and merges into the surrounding rock.

Overhanging that part of the village in which the dak bungalow is to be found is a high rock with ruins of a castle or fort, conspicuous above which, and noticed from afar, is the figure of a man meditating over the valley, and brooding over the past history of its wars. When we arrive under it, we see it is only a sandstone figure, carved by the storms of centuries just as those seen on the day before.

133 The next day we leave the valley and enter a slowly narrowing long defile, leading to the foot of the highest pass we have to cross, and some six miles out of Kharbu we pass Henasku in a ravine on the left, already quoted as an example and, perhaps a better one than yesterday's, of a series of transitional rock dwellings, and looking so lonely and so weird 788 on its high cliff. Pausing at the foot of the Pass, where there is 484 water though no shade, for a meal, we then climb up to 13,500 feet, but just before the summit is reached, we come upon a nice group of Ladakis camping in that glorious scenery. We turn round to admire the way they have " parked out " their loads of bulging sacks into a wind shelter, against which they rest their own appropriate figures. Behind them is a magni-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sparsely populated regions the people are so interesting, for the customs and ways of the unadulterated lamaism often differ considerably from those of the high road.

But let us now accompany the "padre" and the "doctor" in their trek from Ladak through Zankskar to Lahoul, and home *via* the Plains, thus traversing the whole of the Himalayan ranges from north to south, except the most northern, named the Karakoram Range. Leaving Leh we must first travel down the high road towards Kashmir for four days, that is along the Indus as far as the foot of the Lamayuru gorge. But let us remember the real name of this river is the "Senge Kabab," which means the one which "descends from the mouth of the Lion." The Tibetan names of the other rivers flowing from the region of the holy lake, Manosarowar, also indicate the true sources of their mighty waters, for does not the Sutlej or "Langchen kabab" descend from the mouth of the elephant, the Gogo is the "Mamzhi kabab" descending from the mouth of the peacock, while the Brahmaputra or "Damchog kabab" descends from the ear of the horse. In our Western ignorance we often garble these Tibetan names. Thus Darjeeling should be called "Dorjhe Ling" the "Country of the Thunderbolt," whilst Kalimpong is our distorted version of "Kalonpug," the cave of the prime minister. But let us get back to Lamayuru whence our road turns due south across that division of the Himalayas known as the "Ri-gyal" or mountain king range. Our first march takes us over a small pass to Wanla, and we must get used to Passes, as within a short period we have to cross fifteen, of which all but five are fairly high ones. Wanla is a pretty village and shows signs of having been an important one. Crowning the hill which dominates the village is a fine old ruin, and behind it a most peculiar built monastery, in many places resting on beams which look so insecure that they must give way on the slightest provocation. That they still hold is doubtless

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

142 unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are
291 cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed. On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick
342 soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but
132 from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing, he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

● 133 Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many
226 delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

FARMERS AND FARMING IN LADAKH (TIBETAN KASHMIR)

By WALTER ASBOE

133 AN account of the cultivation of cereals in Ladakh presupposes a climate for their growth, bearing in mind the high altitude at which these cereals can thrive. In this lofty region of 10,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level it is amazing that anything grows at all.

133 The country is one vast expanse of sandy plain and deep-cut valleys 232 formed by colossal mountains and swift-flowing rivers. Upon the great plateaux large flocks of sheep laden with wool, borax, and salt move slowly over the tawny sand, raising clouds of dust as they proceed to the wool-clearing centre at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It is also from these elevated regions that the famous shawl wool generally known as Pashmina comes, its final destination being Kashmir. Dropping down from the arid plateaus of Rupshu to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, you come to the many hamlets snuggling in the shelter of great cliffs and rocky eminences, forming with the arable land around them patches of vegetation resembling an oasis in the midst of a desert of rock and sand.

132 The climate of Ladakh is favourable to the growth of cereals and is 241 a useful ally to the peasant living at high altitudes and subsisting on produce cultivated in ground which looks sterile and unpromising. Very little rain falls in Ladakh owing to the precipitation in the lower hills in the region of the Zogi Pass, which peters out by the time the higher altitudes are reached. The farmer has therefore to irrigate his fields artificially from rivers, mountain torrents derived from melting glaciers and the winter accumulations of snow. He is saved from the heart-breaking frustration of the English farmer, who must contend with capricious weather which so often ruins his crops just when he is ready to reap them. In Ladakh the peasant knows that the good weather of to-day will be followed by good weather to-morrow, so that he is saved much worry and extra work.

132 Frost and snow or sleet begin in September and continue in different districts without intermission until the beginning of May. The minimum temperature from December until February falls to −5° to −12° F., and there is no month in the year when there is not an occasional snow-fall on the summits of the mountains. The intense cold of winter is mitigated by a dry atmosphere, clear skies, and a sun which warms provided that you remain in its direct rays. The average temperature in the shade during summer is about 75° to 80°. Thus the shortness of the summer is compensated for by the powerful rays of the sun, which ripen the grain rapidly.

The various meteorological processes which combine to form a climate are, as everyone knows, generated by the sun. It is therefore not sur-

/Illustrations and Photographs. /[1]

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by a native artist in Ladakh).
585
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531/ No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

● 133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailasa it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116 -- Analysis]

15: Francke--101 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

[1] [See pp. 103-117, category 116 -- Analysis]

15; Francke -- 106 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Nr. 5. Caption for above picture on p. 100

15; Francke --113 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans #34

278
133

Nr. 13. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

539

(*d*) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you.

(*e*) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee. 000

37. (*a*) སྟག་ནས་ཁྱི་ཡོངས་འདུག་ཟེར་ཏེ།
ཞ་བུག་ནས་རྡོ་ཁུར་ཆ་རུག།

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(*b*) stag'nanā khyi'yongdug zer'te
zha'bugnā rdo'a khurte cha'rug.

(*c*) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.

(*d*) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.

(*e*) *Zhabug* = *zhabub* = falling headlong into a bog; *charug* = cha'adug; the *d* of *'adug* becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel. 000

38. (*a*) མི་ངན་ཚོགས་ས་ཕན་ཆ་ན།
ཤིང་ངན་དཀུ་དང་ཐུག།

539

(*b*) mi'ngan thsogs' sebía cha'na
shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.

(*c*) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.

(*d*) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.

(*e*) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped. 000

39. (*a*) མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་མི་ཐུག།
ར་ལ་ཚིལ་མི ཐུག།

539

(*b*) mi'la skyid' mithag'
ra'la thsil' mi thag'.

(*c*) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.

(*e*) *Thagces* = *thegpa*. 000

40. (*a*) ཁྱི་ལ་སྒལ་དང་བེ་ཏ་ལ་ཤོལ།།

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(*b*) khyi'a sgal'dang be'daa shol.

(*c*) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.

(*d*) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families.

My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yül (*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[Text Continues on P 305]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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[114]

Map IV. Sketch map of Lahul.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [312]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

2. LADAK

a) *Preliminary Description*

I would like to begin with a brief description of Ladak and of Leh, the setting in which my research work was carried out, before accounting for the polyandry of this region.

1. *Environment*

Ladak (often spelt Ladak*h* in English, from the Hindi, whereas in Tibetan it is *La-Dwags*),[1] is really the most westerly part of the high plateau of Tibet, today included in Kashmir as a *tehsil* or administrative sub-division of that state (see Map 5). It is limited in the north by the Karakorum mountains and the Kara Tagh, which are westerly continuations of the Kwen Lun mountains of northern Tibet; in the south, by an artificial frontier drawn along the foot of the Zangskar and main Himalayan ranges; in the east, by an equally unnatural boundary with Tibet which runs from the Karatagh south-west of the Lingzi T'hang (plain) to the Pangkong Tso, and from there, south-east, to the upper Indus valley; in the west, by the other Kashmir sub-divisions of Zangskar and Baltistan.

The area covered by the sub-division is 82,000 square miles, of which only 47,762 are cultivated. It is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, the inhabited part ranging from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet, and even more in Rupchu, as we have just seen. It is traversed from the south-east to the north-west by the Indus river, and in the north-western part another large watercourse takes its source, the Shyok river, into which runs the Nubra. It is these valleys which constitute the fertile areas where habitation is possible, agriculture fed from river and glacier water being the mainstay of the village.

As in Lahul, and even more so here, because of the altitude everywhere, the climate is a cold one for the greater part of the year, only the brilliant tropical sun of India bringing some warmth during the day in the summer months. The rainfall is scanty but, during the winter, an appreciable amount of snow does fall. Temperatures in the inhabited parts of Ladak, that is at a mean altitude of 11,000 feet, vary between a maximum of 62° and a minimum of 23°, on average.

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

[1] Another Tibetan name for Ladak is *Mar-yul (dMar-yul)*, the "red country".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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[114]

Map V. Sketch map of Ladak.

[facing p 335-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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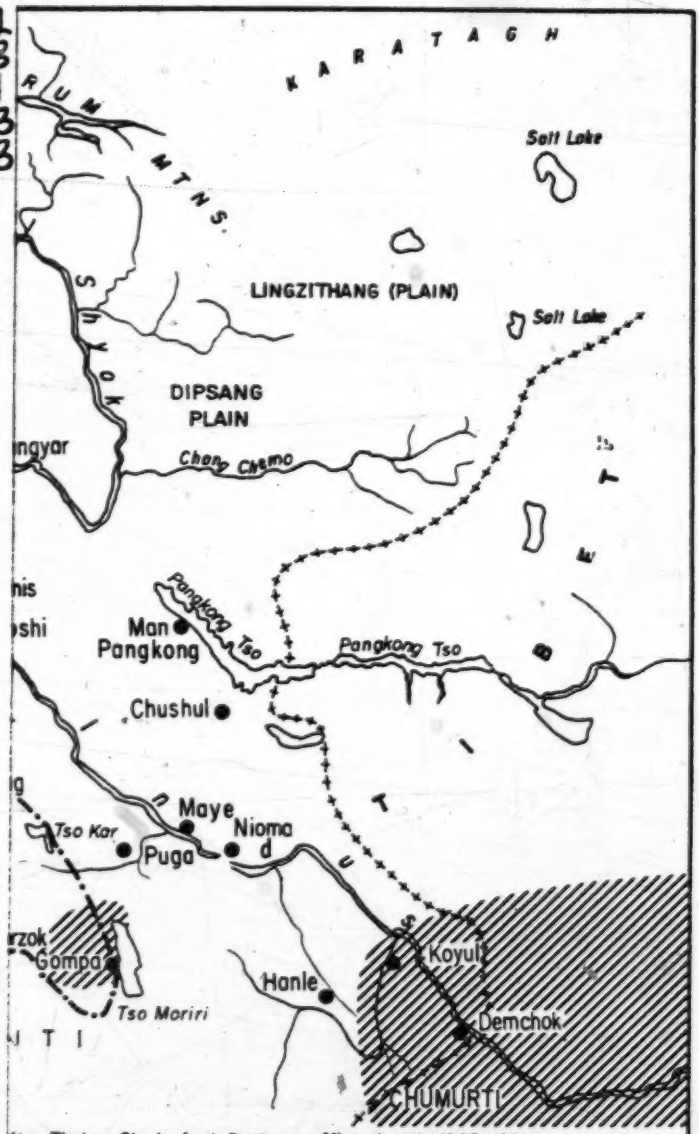

After Thakur Singh Asst. Settlement-officer, Ladak, 1968-1911
Pioneer Press. – Allahabad 1912

[facing P. 335-B]

0 15 30 miles

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes

131 Through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Kara-
487 korum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

● 133 Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rup-
[101] chu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder en-
[137] vironment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the
[361] long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls
708 and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist,
782 Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

162 The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999.
795 It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[564] [1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Trek through Ladekh to Leh

101 131 THE State of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely confined to the valley though. Through the passes to north, east and west are other provinces which all come within its boundaries, although their peoples differ in appearance, language and religion.

[175] I suppose the most interesting of these is the province of Ladakh which some people refer to as "Little Tibet", for the people are in all respects more like those of Tibet than of the valley. The history of the country was close to that of Tibet for many hundreds of years extending back to at least the tenth century, the religious bond with Central Tibet being made the closer about the fourteenth century. One reads of their "King Deleg invoking the help of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the fall of the western Lama Kingdom", then of the Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu sending a Dogra leader, Zorawar, to subdue Ladakh and Baltistan, of his being enticed to further expeditions in his search after the hidden gold of Lhasa, going high into the snowy mountains, there to perish with his whole army. Finally of Ladakh being made over to Gulab Singh by the treaty which also gave him Kashmir.

131 In these days it takes about an hour to fly from Srinagar to Leh the capital of Ladakh; it takes days—weeks sometimes—on 133 foot by the old caravan routes through the passes which are closed for half the year, and from the numbers of books written upon the journey about the turn of the century, it would appear to have been a favourite one with those who were seeking out the unusual yet interesting places and people. Ladakh, a province of over thirty thousand square miles, is one of the highest habitations in the world; there are very few parts which are

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ 4

under eight thousand feet high, while most of the people live at an elevation of between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand feet, no wonder that few venture from their country, and when they do, have soon to return or die in the denser air of the lower countries. During the days of the summer months it is exhaustingly hot, in winter, freezing cold; the summer nights can also be bitter. 131 133 132

Routes are divided up into so many "marches"; in the old days a march was considered the distance which could be reasonably covered in a day, providing at the end a good camping ground for the night, and usually places where fresh coolies could be employed. 487

The route from Srinagar to Leh which goes by way of Sonamarg, Dras and Kargil is broken up into sixteen marches, the first portion to Sonamarg being divided up into four, whereas in these days it can easily be done in a day, and providing the weather is good, this also applies to some extent to a few of the other marches laid down for other parts of the journey which is a distance over all of two hundred and forty-two miles. Since it is one of the main trade routes into Kashmir it is not astonishing that the road, when passable, is good; by that I mean good the whole of the way for horses and pack mules, and with a surprising number of quite reasonable rest houses on the way. [485]

The first pass to be traversed after leaving Sonamarg is eleven thousand, three hundred feet high and between Beltal and Matayan. It is usually open for horses from June to December, though we soon discovered that we had been well advised to employ Dras ponymen for that part of the journey; they know the route and the short cuts as well as the diversions to save hard climbing, in addition to being able to forecast accurately the weather in the mountains. 487 133

This pass is considered to be very dangerous with sudden storms and avalanches descending upon in it the early part of the year, so that the advice always given is that there must be at least two fine crisp days after such a happening before one attempts a crossing. On the occasion when we went over, our men had refused to move for two days and then insisted on starting from Baltal, the last stage, in the early hours of the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

497 morning so that we reached the summit with the dawn. There
133 the wind was bitterly cold; we followed the lower track, for the road along the face of the cliff was impossible.

The Tibetan name for the pass is Zoji La; this was the first time that we discovered that most of the places from there on had two names, a Kashmiri one and a Tibetan one. Unfortunately the map seemed to have mixed them up, probably using the best known, but we did not always strike men of the country who recognised them.

[485] Once over the pass the country changes completely; there is already a Tibetan atmosphere in the air. Going down the other side there are numerous little dak huts built by the roadside for the use of those who chance the journey too late and get caught by the weather.

361 We came upon what we at first imagined would be the start of
136 a village, but found it to consist of a house or two, a telegraph post and a rest house. At many places tracks led off, some to lone, distant "farms", some to parts which were known to be good for shikar, for game is plentiful for the sportsman in parts of Ladakh. It is the home of the ibex and the markhor; both are of the wild goat family; there are wild sheep and kiang—sandy red, wild asses with dark manes and standing about twelve hands high—which are impossible to break; then there are red bear, snow leopard and in parts wolves are to be found; antelope and gazelle are common as are the reddish-brown marmot.

491 Here and there places had been marked on the Srinagar-printed map as the spot where a bridge would be found over the river, but there was no sign of it, probably the floods of the last season had carried it away, and we had to ford the waters; then on closer examination of the map we noticed a mark at the spot we had selected and decided that the printer had forgotten to make up his letterpress to include it in the key, or perhaps we were credited with enough common sense to know.

485 The first night we reached a rest house, and were there only just in time, for a quarter of an hour later a large party of men from Leh arrived; a few remained to sleep under the verandahs
515 outside—the stench of bodies was overpowering. I have been assured that the men of Ladakh are bathed three times only in their lives, when they are born, when they marry and when they

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AVT
W. Tibetans AJ4

die, and I have no reason to disbelieve this. One of the difficulties is that there is practically no rainfall in this land either in summer or winter. Water comes from the snows, these feed the rivers, but much of the snow simply evaporates at this height; the mountains are arid; among the rocks bushes occasionally grow which carry few leaves on their green twigs, but sufficient to feed the wild goats. The only sign of vegetation is either along the river banks or in the nullahs and protected valleys through which the snow waters flow for a while and which do not take the glare of the sun which pours with great power through the clear air. From above it appears as if a giant flame-thrower has scorched the earth, which in different parts takes on all the colours of a burned brick, and in its destruction has missed those valleys tucked away. All around us were giant chocolate-coloured rock cliffs which hold the snow deep during the winter months, and permit the sun to shine for but a few hours on the small village.

Dras—known by the Tibetans as Hembas—seems to be not one but a number of villages spread over a quite fertile undulating valley which is enclosed within a ring of hills but at a height of ten thousand feet and so placed that the bitter winter winds sweep down on it. When we were there the clumps of willows were green with young leaves and they told us that by by the time we returned the skylarks would have come from Kashmir.

Oddly enough there are a few European-style houses standing in their own gardens, and a rest house of similar design, built with a high pitched roof and tall chimneys, but looking strange, for it was without the verandahs which one has become so used to in India and Kashmir. The sand and dust gets in through all the cracks, in winter it is carried there by the icy blast, yet it must be a comfortable haven to those who are stranded there.

The valley narrows as one goes on past small fields which would appear to have been scratched out from the rock-covered surface of the ground; I can well remember being shown by a proud "farmer"—the father of one of the horsemen who came the whole way with us—a large patch scattered with stones as big as my fist, in which surely not more than a thousand green spears of barley had just come through. Anywhere else the sowing

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V1~~
W. Tibetans AJ

133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost 361
impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes.

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the [133]
easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen [136]
thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex
ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour
from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of
the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched
them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreci-
ate the height we had reached and how it affected one by
slackening movements.

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to
Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously
coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley
with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens,
the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery
built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, 491
with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on 172
the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the
whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old
Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle
of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150.

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It 346
seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings,
some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow
passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts
there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows
and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably
for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of 778
Chubrezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its back-
ground is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has
eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the
others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out
tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being
held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a
jewel in the other.

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the 788
foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven,

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Physical aspects.

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [242]

Botany.

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. WT 137 WT [245]

Fauna.

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and WT 136

A Trip to Ladakh

000 a friend's house. Personally I possess a bearer who knows this trick, and he always asks me to ask my friends to allow their servants to count over the spoons and forks, etc., before leaving the house, to see, of course, that they have not left anything of their master's property behind.

276 Another custom I discovered of quite a different kind, which interested me.

I saw a coolie sprawling on the road with his mouth on the ground and apparently blowing smoke. On asking what it meant I was told that the man not having brought his hookah was not going to be done out of his smoke. He had made a small tunnel. At one end he had placed his tobacco and lighted it, and was sucking the smoke through the tunnel into his mouth. How one lives and learns!

346 After leaving Mulbe we turned off the caravan road in order to return via Suru under Nun Kun and down the Wardwan nullah.

We passed the monastery of Shergol. It is built into the rock. The windows seem to be in the face of a 406 precipice. The entrance and exit is peculiar, for a basket is let down by a rope, in which the visitor sits and is pulled up—a most excellent arrangement for keeping 133 out undesirables. Our first view of the Suru river was superb, and reminded me of pictures of heaven which I had seen in children's picture books. We were up on a ridge and looked down upon the river where it widened out and was full of islands covered with willow-trees, and giant peaks rising behind and above the nearer hills forming the valley.

492 When we reached the bridge we found that it was far too frail for our ponies. The river itself could not be forded, and was too swift and dangerous to permit of the

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

ponies swimming. What was to be done? The question was soon answered by the pony-men taking the loads off the ponies and carrying them across, then tying a rope round a pony's neck, the pony being forced into the river whilst the rope was held by the man who walked across the bridge, thus keeping the pony's head up-stream, so that the strain was lessened. In this way all our ponies came across safely, but the man on the bridge had some difficulty in keeping his feet as the strain on the rope was fairly severe, especially in mid-stream. 492

The village of Suru lies under Nun Kun, a fine pile of rock, the summit being 23,500 feet above sea-level. It is one of the peaks that we can see from near Srinagar, and looks like a white pyramid. From where we stood, looking up from the Suru river, it was just magnificent, its great glaciers shining in the sunlight. 361 133

Just outside the village is a lonely grave, that of Captain Christian, who died of typhoid whilst on a shooting expedition. We spoke to the head of the village about safeguarding the grave.

On our march from Suru we came across a great number of marmots, living in communities like rabbits. They are of a reddish brown colour and of the size of a small fox. They place sentinels around their village, who sit on the top of a rock to enable them to get a good view of their enemies, and whistle louder and louder as they see one approaching and then dart into their burrows. They are most fascinating animals. They seem to like the wild garlic that grows profusely in these regions. 136

We entered the Wardwan Valley by the Do Nullah Pass, and had to walk for seven miles on a glacier; it was exciting work jumping the crevasses. We were careful to take off some inches on this side and land with plenty 133

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A14

A Trip to Ladakh

133 of ice to spare on the other side, in case of the ice being rotten. One of our coolies did fall into a crevasse, but he was saved by the load on his back getting hitched on to the ice. We were glad when all our party reached camp safely. We were careful to select a safe place for our tents, for we passed the spot where Lieutenant Genge, I.M.S., encamped, and during the night he with all his servants was swept away by an avalanche. The Wardwan is an exceptionally narrow valley, and hence the mountain-sides are very steep and precipitous, so that snow-slides and avalanches are very common, and one has to keep one's weather-eye open for them.

797 During our march Dr Neve managed to fit in a good
164 deal of medical work. He would see the patients after our tea, and also, if necessary, in the morning before starting. Some patients followed us from camp to camp, when it was necessary for them to have continual treatment. Dr Neve during this tour performed forty-two operations for cataract. It was great to see the delight of the people who received sight. After the operation, which was accomplished in a marvellously short time, Dr Neve would hold up his fingers and ask the patient to count them. When the patient found that he was correct in his counting, and could really see, a smile began to pervade the face, which grew wider and wider as he realised that it was no dream or sorcery, but naked fact, that his sight was restored. Of course the eye was bandaged up directly, and the patient was given strict orders not to undo the bandage for two weeks. The removal of the cataract is a wonderfully neat and quick operation, and one envies those who have the power to give such joy in so few seconds; it is very little short of the miraculous.

000 And then there is the greater joy of the missionary doctor who bestows the great gift freely and without payment,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu,
[144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion,
[134] with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate
137 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the
132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
133

000 it was there that we stopped for lunch. In this grove camel caravans were repacking for the trek downstream to Khargil. Farmers were gathered under the trees, gleaning news from the men of the caravans. Mule trains, carrying produce between the villages up and down the Indus in the manner of our locals, rested
132 in the shade. It was cool in the shade but blistering in the sun. Though this stretch of the Indus lay over eleven thousand feet high, the daytime temperature marched well over 100 degrees; and on some days it went into the 130's. The summer heat is so great and so sustained that it brings grain to maturity in two months' time.

487 The trail, after crossing the Indus, divides, one fork going south along the river's edge to Spitok, Khalatse, and Khargil, the other turning north to Leh, the Khardong Pass (18,380 feet), and Yarkand, an ancient trading center of Sinkiang. We took the right fork
137 and in four miles came to Leh. This approach to Leh is dreary and desolate. In early summer there are buttercups, columbine (called asses' sugar), and clematis in this area. Later come the vetches, lavender, bluebells, and cornflowers. There are great stands of iris, which is sometimes stacked and dried for winter fodder. These flowers bring color to the land. But by mid-August the gaiety is gone. The flush of light green from the tender spring grass has also passed. Now the slopes and nullas are dry and sear.

•134 Monotonous browns and grays fill every stretch with desolation. Each view shows the end product of erosion. The ground has been endlessly pounded by the quick feet of goats and sheep; the protective covering of the earth has been eaten off or washed away; there is no topsoil left; every ravine tells the story of harsh runoffs of water; the fields and slopes are strewn with countless rocks, pitched up by the slow working of frost or exposed by the cutting wind that whines ceaselessly along the Indus. There is no shade, no touch of life, no bush, no scattered hummocks of the *dama* bush. There are distant snow-capped peaks to lift the heart; but there are only heat and dust and rubble underfoot.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being
556 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.
436 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large
427 extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the
161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro-
595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great
181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious
787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist
805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For
[114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the
134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

105 423 651 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 423 429 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 241 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the [134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing [23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
361 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

● 134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 Pass, to the south of Chamba. Between Chamba and Chúari, the gneiss was overlaid by chlorite and mica slates. On the south of the range, the same fine roofing-slates (both mica and clay) are found to the north of Kangra, and to the north of Mandi. Both on the north and south of the range, the beds of some of the small streams are washed for iron-sand, which, after washing, yields as much as 90 per cent. of pure metal. The same iron ore is worked at Kumán, near Mandi, where it occurs in thin black, sparkling ribands, in a soft grey sandstone. The sandstone is pounded with a hard round boulder, and after washing yields about the same quantity of metal as the other.

133 The second portion of the Sub-Himálayan range extends from the Rávi to the Chenáb, a distance of fifty-five miles, and forms the natural boundary between Chamba and Bhadrwár, on the north, and the small districts of Chaneni, Bandrálta, and Baláwar, on the south. Between Bhadrwár and Chamba, the passes of Bhadr Dhár and Chatr Dhár are upwards of 10,000 feet in height, and the ridge may therefore have an elevation of 12,000 feet, or even more. To the south of Chaneni it breaks into a remarkable triple-peaked mountain, which is held sacred by the Hindus, under the name of Tré-kuta Devi (the three-peaked or trident goddess).

The central portion of the Sub-Himálaya is the well-known Ratan Panjál, which is crossed by the Bhimbar road to Kashmir. The pass of Ratan Pir, from which the mountain (*Panjál*) derives its name, has an elevation of 7,700 feet, and the highest peaks rise to about 11,000 feet. It is clothed to the very summit with magnificent trees, and its glens are not surpassed in

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133x insignificant, that the Suraj Dal may fairly be considered, as it is reputed to be, the source of the Bhágá river. But the Chandra Dal, although double the size of the Suraj Dal, is situated at least twenty-five miles below the real source of the Chandra river, in the Bara Lacha Pass. It is, however, always spoken of as the source of the Chandra river. Dal is a Kashmiri term for any sheet of water, whether large or small: but it is also a Tibetan word, signifying "still, quiet."*

103

133y Many hot springs exist in different parts of Ladák; but the best known are those of Nubra, Puga, and Chushul. The first two were visited by Moorcroft, who found the waters "quite clear, and of the same temperature of 167°, at mouths distant two hundred yards from each other." Below the springs were beds of soda.

133x The hot springs of *Puga*,† I have myself examined.
135 The springs occur in the bed of a rivulet called the Rulang-chu, for a length of about two miles. The springs vary in strength, from gentle bubbling to strong ebullition, and in temperature from 80° to 148°, the hottest containing chloride of soda and sulphuretted hydrogen in solution, and those of low temperature containing chloride and borate of soda, both in solution. Sulphur occurs on the northern bank of the rivulet in pure transparent crystals, and in thin laminæ disseminated throughout the gypsum rock. The volcanic neighbourhood of Puga is something like that of the Tuscan lagoons near Monte Cerbole, which now supply Europe with the same minerals: "These lagoons consist of springs in a furious state of ebullition, whose vapours

* *Dal*, "quiet;" compare the English "dull."

† *Bu-ga*, a hole.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

contain boracic acid, and the ground is covered with crystallizations of sulphur and other minerals."* The volcanic agency is still active in Tuscany; in Ladák, though not extinct, it is evidently dying. /133x /135●

The hot spring of Chushul was visited by Moorcroft and Trebeck. It is without taste or smell, but is said to have medicinal properties. Its temperature is 96°.

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary—Art. Borax.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

TWO ROUTES FROM PHADAM IN ZANSKAR TO LÉ. 491

Winter Route.	Direct Route.
1 Muni.	1 Tondé.
2 Yang Jhul.	2 Jand-lá.
3 Maleng.	3 Sumdo.
4 Kina Jhula.	4 Dagmoche.
5 Zongmar.	5 Karna Sumdo.
6 Chumik Marpo.	6 Rabrang.
7 Tokpo Soma.	7 Marka.
8 Charáp.	8 Kyo (Skyo or Skio).
9 Dong chéchan.	9 Shingo (Pass).
10 Pachálong.	10 Rumbak.
11 Kyang-cho.	11 Pitak.
12 Rukchin.	12 Lé.
13 Debraug.	
14 Gya.	
15 Miru.	
16 Ugshi.	
17 Hemis.	
18 Thagna Goupa.	
19 Chachot.	
20 Lé.	

IV.—3rd. THE SOUTHERN ROAD.

By this route the shawl wool is brought to the large 491
cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana, all of which 439
make a return in manufactured shawls and coarse brocades. The roads from all these places meet at Mandi (the market) or Maudinagur (market-city) on the Byas river, the capital of the small state of that name. From Nurpur the merchants proceed viâ Kangra and Baijnath; from Amritsar, viâ Hushiyarpoor and Nadon; and from Ludiana, viâ Ropar and Bilaspur; the distances of the first and last being about 120 miles; of the second, about 150 miles.

From Mandi this road proceeds by the iron-mines of 491
Kumán to Sultânpur, the capital of Kullu. From [135]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—MINERAL PRODUCTIONS.

The mineral productions of Ladák are more interesting to the geologist than important to the economist. The most striking geological features, and the principal localities of some of the prevailing rocks, have already been noticed in my description of the mountains: but the more useful minerals still remain to be mentioned. /135

Slate.—"The use of slates,"* says McCulloch, "is entirely European. From the Hellespont to China there is not a single slated house." This statement is correct, as far as my observation goes in the *plains* of India, where slates cannot be procured, but in the *hills* the use of slates is very common. The best slates that I have seen are those of the clay-slate formation, in the *Dhaola-Dhar* range, between Kangra and Chamba. There are quarries on both sides of the range. The roof of the great temple at *Mahila*, on the Rávi, is roofed with large slates, which are nailed to the planking in the usual manner. On the south sides of the range, the use of slates is universal. All the houses in the large towns of Kangra, Tira, and Jwála-Mukhi, are roofed with slates of a very fine description. All the temples, and many of the houses in the districts around Simla, are also roofed with slates, but of an inferior kind. In Mandi and Kullu, however, the mica-slate formation yields very large thin slates of an excellent description. In Láhul and Ladák the clay and mica schists could be split into slates of a smaller size; but the extreme scarcity of timber prevents the construction of large rooms, and for small ones the people find that flat roofs are the simplest and the most commodious.

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary, art. SLATE.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 *Lime.*—The most prevalent rock in Ladák is limestone. In Spiti, the whole formation is of this rock, excepting near Losar, where it changes into clay slate. It forms the range that divides Rukchu from Zanskar, and again changes into clay slate near the junction of the Sum-gyel rivers.

It pervades Zanskar, and is found on both banks of the Indus; in the Photo Lá and Hánu passes. It occurs at both ends of the Pangkong lake, and extends from Sassar to the crest of the Kárákoram range. Notwithstanding this general prevalence of the rock, the scarcity of wood is so great that none but the wealthy can afford to use lime mortar in their houses.

333

Marble.—For ornamental purposes none of the Ladáki limestones that I have seen would be considered of any value;* but the fossiliferous limestone of Kashmir takes a very high polish, and the splendid pillars of the Shálimar are the only beautiful things now remaining in that once celebrated garden.

Gypsum.—This useful mineral is found at the sulphur-mines, on the banks of the Puga rivulet, either in pure white flakes regularly disposed, or in a compact rock, with crystals of sulphur attached to it, and thin veins of nearly pure sulphur desseminated through it. It occurs also on the right bank of the Spiti river, below Losar, at the celebrated cave of Amaranáth, in Kashmir, and on the banks of the Shigar river, in Balti.† No use whatever is made of it by the people.

Clay.—Extensive deposits of the finest clays of all

* Mir Izzet Ullah, however, mentions a striped marble-like Sulimáni stone as occurring in the bed of the Shayok river, between Chong-Ulang and Dong-Bailák.—Quart. Orient. Magazine, 1825, p. 113.

† See Vigne's map for Gypsum.

135 colours are found throughout Ladák. They are all lacustrine formations, and are seen adhering to the sides of ravines, and attached to steep cliffs that have once been washed by the great rivers. In the gap between the monastery of Pitak and the end of the granite range, to the west of Lé, there is an immense mass of indurated clay, disposed in horizontal layers of different shades, but chiefly of a pale yellow and light lavender colour. Beyond Pitak the same clay strata occur again in a recess of the hills on the right bank of the Indus. But the most remarkable deposits of clay are immediately below Lama-Yúrrú, where a pale straw-coloured clay is seen in all places in the bed of the stream, in small patches on the summits of detached rocks, and in large masses overlying the slate to a height of at least one thousand feet above the present bed of the stream.* A similar coloured clay occurs in a ravine of the Yunam river, just above the Yunam lake. At different places in the Nubra valley, Dr. Thomson observed similar deposits of bluish-coloured clay; and near Skardo he found one containing fossil remains of Planorbis and Succinea. Near Rámu-Serai, in Kashmir, I found beds of highly indurated clay, mixed with boulders, which rose to a height of 150 feet above the plain. This lacustrine formation would alone prove the existence of a vast lake, that once covered the whole valley of Kashmir to a depth of about 200 feet.

Steatite was found by Vigne on the banks of the Drás

173 * The Lamas of this place have a tradition that a lake formerly existed on the spot, that the rock was cut through by Naropa, a Lama from Brigúng, near Lhasa, and that the present monastery of Yung-Dung Gonpa was built by him. Lámá Yúrrú is the Kashmirian name of the place. All clays are called *rDze-ma*.

.: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

135 316 173 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo. [776] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is [784] prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than [136] those of any other part of the river. But the gold of the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

marmots (*Arctomys*) and rat-hares (*Lagonys*) of Tibet, which in making burrows "throw up the earth wherein the ore is contained, from which the Indians extract gold." On the plains along the banks of the Indus and Shayok, the marmots still throw up the earth mixed with gold-dust, from which the Indians of Balti occasionally extract a few grains of gold. Megasthenes confesses that he had not seen the animals themselves, but only their skins, which had been brought by the Macedonian soldiers into Alexander's camp. The skin of the marmot is the commonest of all the furs now brought to India.* Its Tibetan name is *Phyi-pa* or *Chipa* (or *Chupa*), which was probably confounded by Alexander's soldiers with the Indian *Chúntá*, the name of the large ant; or *Phyi-pa* may have been confounded by the Indians themselves with *Pippilaka*, the Sanscrit and Bengali name of the large ant.†

The same story of the ants as big as foxes is told by Herodotus; and Professor H. H. Wilson‡ has aptly illustrated it by a passage from the Mahábhárata, which relates that "the people who dwell under the pleasant shade of the *Kichaka-venus* (a kind of willow) and along the Sailodá river, between the Méru and Mandara mountains, the Khasas, Prádaras, Páradas, Ekásanas, Arkas, Kulindas, Tanganas, and Paratanganas, brought to Yudhishthira lumps of gold, a *drona* (64 lb.) in weight, of the sort called *paippílika*, "or ant gold," which was so called because it was exfodiated by the

* The same holds good to the eastward, for Mr. Hodgson says, "In the extensive peltry trade carried on between Nepál and Tibet, no skin is more commonly met with than that of the marmot."—Journal As. Soc. Bengal, X. p. 777.

† *Phyi-pa*, commonly pronounced *Chi-pa*.

‡ Journal Roy. As. Soc. VII. p. 143.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/135 *pippílaka*, or common large ant." This belief, however
/136 erroneous, as the learned professor observes, was neither
/173 extravagant nor irrational. A yet earlier mention of the gold of Alpine India is that of Ctesias; but he distinctly states that it was not obtained by washing, as in the river Pactolus.* Gold is called *Ser*, gold-dust *Ser-dul*, and the gold-washer *Ser-pa*. This name I believe to have been the origin of the classical *Seres*. In Tibetan
[103] *Serki-yul* means the "gold country;" and as the affix *yul* can be omitted at pleasure, the names of Serki and Serika are almost identical.†

/135 *Copper.*—According to Moorcroft, "some copper-mines are said to have been discovered towards Kashmir."‡ This statement is probably correct, as Jacquemont found copper ore in the Lidar valley, on the south-west side of the range which divides Kashmir from the Ladáki district of Suru. If any trust can be put in a name, I should suppose that copper (*zangs*) had been found in *Zangskar*, but I could not learn that it had been discovered there.

Lead and *Iron* are, according to Moorcroft, found in pits in the mountain districts remote from Lé.

Plumbago is found in Balti; but the specimens which I procured are of an inferior description. They are gritty, and will not mark paper without scratching; but as they were most probably taken from the long-exposed surface, good black lead may still perhaps be found in the same place.

Sulphur, called *Muzi*, is obtained only at Puga, in

* Fragments of Ctesias by Lion. Indica, XII. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ χώρᾳ, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς εὑρισκόμενος καὶ πλυνόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Πακτωλῷ ποταμῷ.

† *gSer*, gold; *gSer-rDul*, gold dust. ‡ Travels, 1. p. 313.

i: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Ladák; but the sulphur of Chang-thang is so easily 135 obtainable, that the Puga mine is almost neglected. The bed of the small rivulet Rulang-chu, which traverses the glen of Puga, is full of hot springs, varying in temperature from 80° to 148°. The hottest springs are strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The sulphur itself is found on the left bank of the rivulet, where a small hole has gradually been excavated by the shepherds. It occurs in pure transparent crystals attached to the gypsum, or in thin opaque laminæ disseminated through the rock. The quantity exported is [439] very small, but I was informed by the shepherds that as much as 100 small maunds (of 16 seers each) are sometimes mined. In 1847 I saw twelve sheep-loads (or twelve maunds) of sulphur that had been taken from this mine; but I feel satisfied that the average quantity of sulphur annually mined cannot be more than fifty maunds, and is probably much less. No duty is taken at the mine; [651] and the export duty, which is only a quarter of a rupee per maund, can often be evaded.

Borax, in Tibetan *Tshalé*, is thrown up in the form of boracic acid by the hot springs of lowest temperature in the valley of Puga. The banks of the rivulet, for about two miles in length, are quite white with the saline matters that are continually being precipitated. These salts are chloride of soda and borate of soda. They are carefully scraped from the surface, as the under-coating is only the refuse of former years. Those of a faint pinkish hue, inclining occasionally to green, are preferred; but these colours entirely disappear as the salts become dry. This impure mixture is the tincal of commerce, from which the borax (borate of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 soda) is obtained in India in the shape of crystals, by solution and evaporation.

Soda.—The banks of the Thogji Chanmo lake, in Rukchu, are incrusted with masses of saline matter; and in passing round its southern end, the crisp, hardened surface of salt yields and crackles beneath the feet of the traveller. The lake is commonly called *Tsho-kar*, or the White Lake, by the Botis, and *Khaori Talao*, or Salt Lake, by the Hindus of Bisahar, Chamba, and Kullu. The salt is natron, or sub-carbonate of soda. No use is made of it.

Magnesia.—The salts deposited on the banks of the great Tshomoriri lake are common salt and muriate (hydrochlorate) of magnesia. These salts do not occur in any great heaps, like those on the Tsho-kar; but as the Tshomoriri lake is sixteen miles in length, a considerable quantity might no doubt be obtained annually along its forty miles of shore.

Salt, in Tibetan *Tshá*, is found on the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, in combination with the magnesia. I was informed that no use whatever was made of it, as rock salt (from Lahor) was procurable without difficulty.

Garnets of an inferior description, and of a dark brown colour, were found at Puga by Dr. Thomson in a coarse grit stone rock. The natives were not aware of their existence.

Momiai, a mineral substance of a dirty brownish-black colour, is found in Balti. It has a strong unpleasant smell, and it burns with a thick black smoke, leaving a considerable quantity of dark-coloured ashes. It is probably petroleum, the quantity of ash perhaps

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arising from the admixture of some foreign substance, /35 employed either to collect or to solidify the native liquid. The common *momiai* of Indian medicine is of course a manufactured article; although not made, as generally asserted, of the melted fat of Abyssinian boys, who have been roasted for the purpose. The *momiai* of Balti is said to be a natural product. The original *momiai* was only mummy,* which, at one time, was held in much repute, even in Europe.

* The name of *Momiai* مومياي is derived from *Momia* مومیا, or Mummy.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sulphur, and dried fruits, of which only the first is of any consequence, and even that is not of sufficient importance to deserve more than a slight notice. 439

Wool, in Tibetan *Bal*, is the chief product of Ladák. It is of two kinds: goat-wool, or *Le-na*, which is used for shawls, and sheep-wool, or *Bal*, which is used for blanketing and coarse clothing, and for stuffing pillows and bedding.

The quantity of home-produced shawl-wool annually exported from Ladák averages 2,400 small maunds, or 76,800 lb. The value in Ladák is the same amount in rupees (Rs. 76,800), at the rate of two rupees per seer. The shawl-wool is exported to Kashmir, Nurpur, Amritsar, and Rampur.

The commoner sheep-wool is produced in much greater quantities, and the general amount of export (5,000 maunds) more than doubles that of the finer wool. The value at eight seers per rupee is only 2,000 rupees.

Borax.—The borax and sulphur-mines are found together at an uninhabited spot named Puga, on the Rulang-chu, a small stream which is full of hot springs, and which joins the Indus on its left bank, miles above Lé. Puga stands in N. latitude 33° 12′, and E. longitude 78° 16′, at an elevation of 15,264 feet above the sea. The borax is ejected in the bed of the stream by the numerous hot springs at various temperatures, from 80° upwards. The salt (borate of soda) is found along both banks of the rivulet for about two miles, in conjunction with chloride of soda. It is in a damp state, owing to the vapours emitted by the hot springs. In collecting the borax, the surface of the salt, which is generally of a light pink creamy hue (sometimes in- 135 [316]

)3 Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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439

clining to green), is carefully scraped and collected in bags. When dry, it is of a dull white colour. In this state it is collected by the shepherds, who pasture their flocks on the rich summer grass of the plains of Rukchu. The quantity of this borax annually exported is stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb.; the value, at the rate of sixteen seers per rupee, being only Rs. 500.

Sulphur.—The Puga sulphur-mine is situated at a short distance from the stream, at the foot of a gypsum cliff. The mineral occurs chiefly in the form of thin laminæ disseminated throughout the rock; but in all the fissures there are numerous detached crystals, quite transparent and of all sizes, from that of a grain of sand to one-eighth of an inch. In detaching the sulphur, the crystals are mostly reduced to powder and partially mixed with the gypsum rock; and in this state it is carried to the markets of Nurpur, Kangra, and Rampur. The vague statements of the shepherds make the annual supply about 500 maunds, or 3,200 lb., but I should think that it rarely amounted even to one-half of that quantity.

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Dried Fruits.—These consist of apricots and small seedless raisins (commonly called currants). I have no means of making even a guess at the amount of this export, but the quantity must be considerable. I never found a single trader or shepherd without numerous bags of them; and I have procured them in all the bazaars in the hill states from Kashmir to Kangra and Simla. In the Simla bazaar they are sold at from two to two and a half seers per rupee.

The whole value of the foreign trade of Ladák, in home produce, does not exceed Rs. 80,000 or £8,000.

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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(*c*) On a spring day [there are] three colds and three warmths
In a lifetime [there are] three happy [hours] and three unfortunate [hours].

(*d*) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.

000

(*e*) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determina tivum* formed from *spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosum*, etc., must be considered as *Composita*, which accounts for the missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.

539 2. (*a*) སྐྱིད་སྡུག་མི་ལ། མཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ།

(*b*) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.

(*c*) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.

(*d*) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain people.

000

(*e*) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum.*

539 3. (*a*) ཐིགས་པ་བསག་ནས་ཀྱུ་མཚོ་གང་།

(*b*) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.

(*c*) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.

000

(*d*) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without an article to express the adjective "full."

539 4. (*a*) བླ་ཤྲོ་ནི་ནག་རང་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་ཟམ་།
ཟླེ་ལ་མདོས་མོ་ཆེ་དང་གཡག་ཁོག་ཟམ་།

(*b*) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.

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(*c*) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro [the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of a Yak.

(*d*) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro, it is warmer then.

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(*e*) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

● [135]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AJ4

133x [35]

and ultimately a precipitation, of the saline materials they contained and were being supplied with, were going on. For this tract is the one of all where there is the greatest deposit of salts. At other parts, indeed, there had been seen a thin cake, or else an efflorescence, of salts, sometimes of carbonate of soda and sometimes of sulphate of magnesia. But here, over many square miles, is a thick bed of salt which I believe to be chiefly sulphate of magnesia. There are three or four forms in which this occurs; first mixed with sand to a depth of many inches, but with a thin cake of unmixed saline matter at the surface; as one passes over this, the foot, crackling through the cake at top, sinks deep in the soft saline sand; secondly, a powdery form of the white salts, this being probably a changed state of the material to be mentioned next; lastly, a hard crystalline colourless cake of the salt; to what depth this may reach I do not know, but as much as 10 feet of thickness have I seen. The surface of this cake is often irregular, in hard rough narrow ridges, two or three feet high, of the consolidated salt, with the soft powdery salt, or the mixture of earth and salt, between them *; these may have been forced up by the frost at the margin of the lake, in the same way as the frost-margins are made which we saw by Pāngkong Lake; for I observed such a line of ridge along the edge of one of the present pools of water.

The water of the small lake now remaining, though very saline, yet was frozen when I saw it on the morning of the 6th September; for the cold had even then begun to be intense. Where the flat widens out, and connects eastward with the rest of the Plains, its surface bears much less of the salts.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

We have now considered these uplands in their separate divisions of the two plains and the dividing mountains. There are yet some observations to be made which will refer more generally to the whole tract.

First we will recapitulate the facts which have been more or

* It will be understood that I am not speaking of common salt, but of the same compound as before.

[i.e, of the Plains of Ladakh. -- ANALYST]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 position. Then I heard that many years ago when the country
778 was invaded by the Muslims, the whole of this carved cliff face was encased by the Tibetans behind buildings which were hastily made to hide the sacred Buddha, since the Mohammedans looked upon such carvings as idols and would have defaced it. Now the Buddha stands in a perfect state of preservation wearing bracelets, a double necklace, earrings and a headpiece, and with four arms, two of which are held up, the others hanging by his side have a serpent entwined around them. It is really a fine piece of work with details such as even the stomach muscles carved.

There was then no doubt as to our having entered the land in which all were his followers; every village has its monastery; bits of rags fluttered from poles on the roofs of houses—prayer flags; chortens and manis are to be found everywhere, just as are the prayer wheels, some set upright so that those who pass can revolve them by hand, others placed near to a stream for the water to turn them, and on each revolution a prayer is automatically sent to heaven. The people carry these prayer wheels on a stick in their hands; usually they are made of copper, the wealthier among them have them studded with coral, turquoise and decorated, but they all contain prayers which have been written down from one of the holy books. If the prayer is written one hundred times, then with one turn of the wheel a hundred prayers are sent up to heaven.

135 The day following we had another pass to cross over. This,
439 the Namikha La, is close on thirteen thousand feet high, but was far easier going than the first. What amazed us was that the white which we had imagined to be snow on its summit, we found to be salt. Salt is one of Ladakh's principal exports; this is transported in small sacks strapped like saddle-bags on the backs of goats, herds of them being used for this purpose and occasionally met with on the road.

361 Going down to the string of villages we saw the old castle on the top of the hill; now a ruin, it was once the scene of bitter fighting in the sixteen hundreds. The village is at the foot of the hill, but the extraordinary thing is that on the steep hill sides, which would seem impossible to climb, there are many dwellings which appear to be stuck on; the rooms run into the hill

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872] Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The territory of Ladák is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Its different valleys lie along the head-waters of the Indus, the Sutluj, and the Chenáb; and the joint effects of elevation and of isolation amidst snowy mountains produce perhaps the most singular climate in the known world. Burning heat by day is succeeded by piercing cold at night, and everything is parched by the extreme dryness of the air. The rarefied atmosphere offers but little impediment to the sun's rays, which during a short summer are sufficiently powerful to ripen barley at an elevation of 15,000 feet, although the temperature falls below the freezing point every night. This climate is equally favourable to animal life. The plains between 16,000 and 17,000 feet are covered with wild horses and hares and immense flocks of domestic goats and sheep; and the slopes of the hills up to 19,000 feet abound with marmots and Alpine hares. Such is the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, that no rain falls and but little snow, and both meats and fruits are cured by mere exposure to the air.

2.—BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

Ladák is the most westerly country occupied by the Tibetan race who profess the Buddhist faith. On the north it is divided by the Kárákoram mountains from the Chinese district of Kotan. To the east and south-east are the Chinese districts of Rud[illegible] and Chumurti; and to the south are the districts of Lahul and Spiti, now attached to British India, but formerly belonging to Ladák. To the west lie Kashmir and Balti, the former separated by the western Himalaya, and the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

rocky promontory juts out into the lake, the water is very deep. On the north and east sides it is shallow; but on the west, the steep slope of the mountains appears to be continued beneath the surface. The water is exceedingly brackish and bitter, and the whole of the ground on the south-eastern shore glitters with a saline matter, which forms a thick crust of some extent. The southern road passes over this vast cake of salt, which cracks and crunches beneath the feet of the traveller. The salt is natron, or sub-carbonate of soda. On all sides the mountains still retain the ancient beach-marks in distinct lines, at all heights up to about 150 feet above the present level of the lake. In the numerous deposits of fine alluvial clay, both white and yellow, we found myriads of fossil shells of the *Lymnæa auricularia*, and a few specimens of a *Cyclas*, preserved inside the Lymnæa. When these animals existed, the lake must have formed a vast sheet of fresh water with a narrow passage to the westward, which connected it with a second and larger lake, that must have covered the whole of the present plain from Kyang, from the foot of the Thung Lung Pass to the forks of the Sum Gal river, a length of about thirty-five miles. In the clay deposits of this plain, as well as in the connecting gorge, we found myriads of the same fossil shells (*Lymnæa auricularia*) before mentioned. The Tsho-kar lake abounds with many kinds of water-fowl, especially with wild geese and wild ducks. To the south of the Tsho-kar there is a small fresh-water lake of no great depth, that supplies the salt-water lake. It is a very favourite haunt of the *Kyang*, or wild horse.

The *Yunam Tsho* is a small sheet of fresh water in the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 bed of the Yunam river, which flows through it. In former times it must have been of some extent, and of considerable depth. When I saw it, in September, 1846, it was only 1,000 yards long and 500 yards broad. Moorcroft was informed "that it had been more extensive, but had been contracted by the falling into it of masses of rock." The gradual decrease in size has, however, been brought about by a very different cause; by the constant wearing away of the rocky barrier, which once dammed the river about one mile below the present end of the lake. Between these points the river has worn a channel through a mass of fine cream-coloured clay,* which once formed the bed of the Yunam lake. I found the lake of a very pale yellowish colour, which it had received from the cream-coloured clay deposits in the bed of a small stream upwards of half a mile above the lake. The extreme length must once have been about three miles, and the breadth varying from a quarter of a mile to more than a mile.

The *Hánlé-Tsho* is the largest sheet of fresh water that to my knowledge exists in Ladák. The extent of open water is not great, but the whole extent of swamp is between three and four miles in length. It is principally supplied by a rivulet called the Kongra-chu, which drains the lofty range of mountains to the westward of the Tshomoriri lake as far south as the Lának Pass. A second feeder flows from a southern range of mountains, that divide Rukchu from the Chinese district of Chumur-ti. [136] A third small stream, which joins it from the north-west, is full of fish, which attain a size of fourteen [192] or fifteen inches. To the east of the lake is situated the

* Moorcroft, I. p. 217, also notices this fine clay.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VIII.—PRODUCTIONS.

I.—ANIMAL.

● /36 THE animal productions of Ladák are particularly interesting, as they comprise the wild horse, the yák, or long-haired bull, whose tail furnishes the Indian *chaori*, the shawl-wool goat, whose fine under-fleece is woven into the beautiful Kashmirian shawls, and the púrik sheep, of which some twenty specimens have been exhibited in the Zoological Gardens of London.

WILD ANIMALS.

The wild animals of Ladák are both numerous and interesting. "The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the conies."* The elevated plains of the Indus and the lofty table-lands of Ṛukchu abound with the wild horse, the marmot, and the hare: while the snowy mountains and rugged glens teem with many varieties of the wild goat, sheep, and deer, some of which are most probably still unknown.

The *Kyang*,† which has been called a horse by some, and an ass by others, is the *Equus hemionus* of Pallas, and the *Equus Kyang* of Moorcroft. The animal when

* Psalm civ. 18.

† The male is called simply *rKyang*, and the female *Mo-rKyang*. See Plate VI. for four views of the Kyang's skull.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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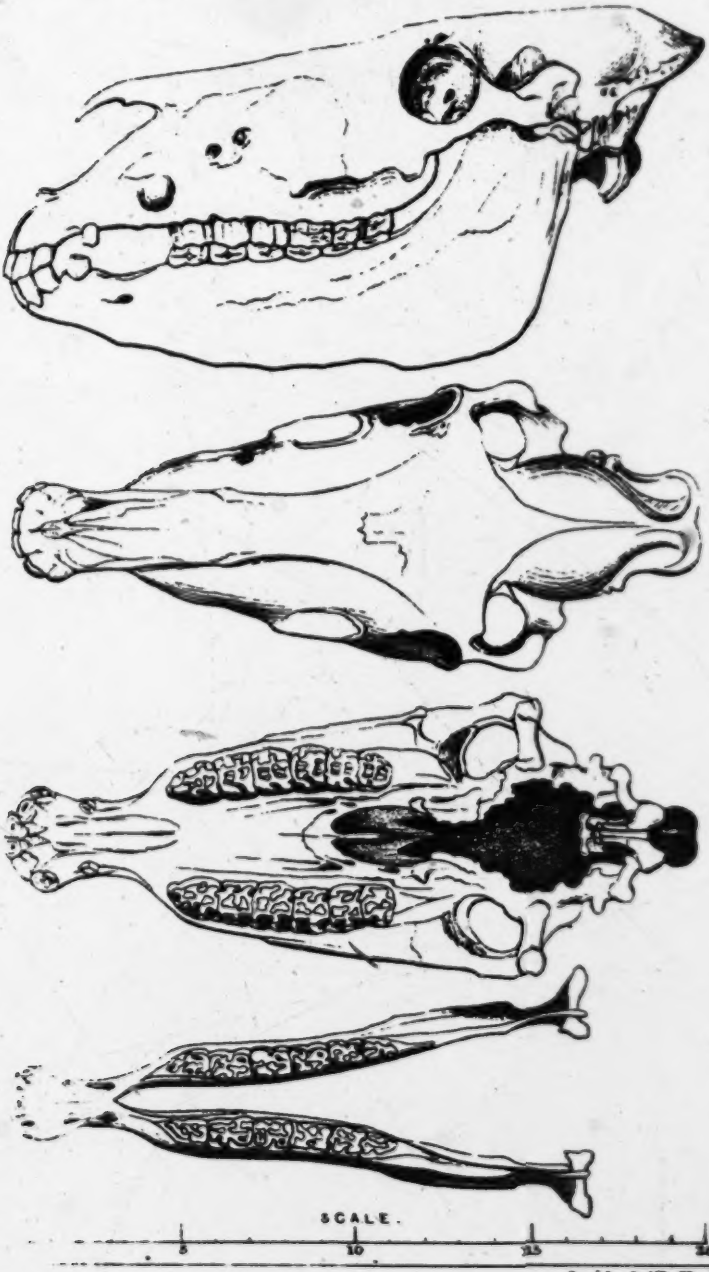
The KYANG, or Wild Horse. Equus Kyang.



Day & Son Lith. To The Queen

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 full grown is about fourteen hands high: the facial line is highly arched, like that of the zebra and quagga, and the ears (like theirs) are longer than those of a horse, but much shorter than those of an ass. A line of black hair extends along the whole of the back, but there are no cross stripes across the withers as in the ass. The tail has a long tuft of hair at the end like the zebra. The general colour is reddish-brown on the back and sides, and white on the stomach. Moorcroft* remarks, that it is certainly not the *gorkhar*, or wild ass of Sindh, and I can vouch that it is quite different from the gorkhar of the Bikanar and Baháwalpur desert. Trebeck,† who saw herds of them on his trip to Chibra, to the south-east of Lé, states his opinion of the Kyang's shape as follows. "The form, from the fore to the hind leg and feet, to a level with the back, is more square than that of an ass, his back is less straight, and there is a dip behind the withers and rounding of the crupper, which is more like the shape of the horse. His neck is also more erect and arched than that of the ass." The following are the dimensions of a skull in my possession.

	Ft.	In.
Greatest length	1	9½
„ depth	0	10
„ breadth	0	8½
	lb.	oz.
Weight of upper jaw	5	0½
„ lower jaw	3	15½
Weight of skull	9	0

Lastly, the Kyang *neighs* like a horse, which in my judgment is conclusive that he does not belong to the

* Travels, I. p. 311. † In Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 443.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

genus *Asinus*, but is very nearly allied to the *Equus caballus*. If the Kyang is a different genus from the *Equus hemionus* of Pallas, he should be called *Equus Tibetanus*. A living specimen of the animal has been sent to England by the Hon. Mr. Thomason, the Governor of Agra, but as the naturalists of Europe have not, I believe, yet had an opportunity of examining the skeleton, I have given several careful drawings of the skull of a Kyang, which I shot in 1846, at an elevation of 17,000 feet, on the summit of the *Nakpo Gonding* Pass, to the north of the *Chomoriri* Lake. This skull has forty teeth; and there is now no trace of any premolar teeth in the upper jaw, such as have been found in other specimens, and which led Mr. Hodgson to give the Kyang the new name of *Equus polyodon*,* or rather *Asinus polyodon*.

The wild yák, called *Brong* or *Dong*,† is said to inhabit the grassy plains on the upper courses of the Sutluj and Sangpo. The people generally believe in their existence, but I could neither procure any of their horns, nor find any person who had actually seen the living animal. Vigne‡ was informed that the wild yák was to be found "on the northern slopes of the Himálaya that descend upon the plains of Yarkand." Mr. Blyth§ quotes Wood to the same effect. My brother‖ also mentions that wild yáks are to be found "to the north and east of Garo," that is, in the district of Gnári. As the tame yák has been domesticated from time

* Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XVI. p. 354. Note by Blyth.

† *hBrong*. The female is called *hBrong-hBri*, which is commonly pronounced *Dong-di*.

‡ Vigne's Travels in Kashmir, Ladák, II. p. 277.

§ Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XI. p. 282, note.

‖ Ditto ditto, XII. p. 222.

136 immemorial, the existence of wild herds in the same country may perhaps be doubted; but the general prevalence of the belief is worthy of being recorded.

[782] The largest of the wild sheep is the *Nyan* or *Ovis Ammon* of naturalists. It is found only in the most inaccessible places, near the snow-limit. Specimens of the horns may generally be seen along with those of the ibex and shá (*Ovis montana*) on the religious piles of stones called *Maná*, where they are placed by the shepherds as votive offerings. The *Nyan* of the Tibetans is closely allied to the Kachkar of Badakshán and Chitrál. Mr. Blyth has, however, distinguished them by separate names, calling the latter *Ovis Polii*, after Marco Polo, who gave the first description of the animal.

Another species of wild sheep is the *Ná*. Vigne* calls it *Sná*, and describes it as of "the size of an ordinary sheep; of a dull brownish-gray colour, with curved, smooth, and four-sided horns." Csomo de Körös calls it a "large sheep-like deer." It is apparently the same as the *Náhur* of Nepal, and the *Ovis Náhur* of Hodgson and Blyth.†

A third species of wild sheep is the *Shá*,‡ which I have seen browsing in large flocks on the mountains, on the left bank of the Indus below Lé. The animal is as large as a stag, with strong wiry hair of a reddish-brown colour on the back, gradually changing to white on the stomach. The chest is covered with a long fringe of

* Travels, II. p. 280. The name is written *rNa*, in Tibetan. See also Csomo de Körös, Dict. in voce.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XVI. p. 360.

‡ *Shá-ba*, and the female *Shá-mo*. Csomo de Körös calls the *Shá*, a stag (Dict. in voce); but the real stag is called *Shu*. The horns of the *Shá* are shown in Plate VIII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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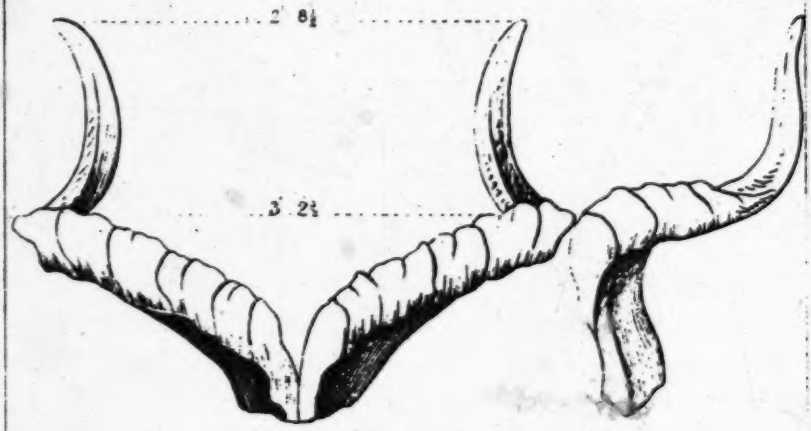
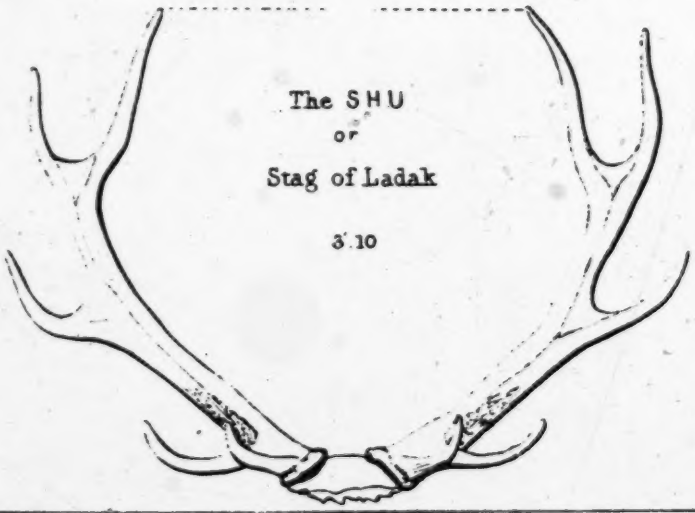
HORNS.

The SHA of Ladak, a Wild Sheep.

The RAPHO-CHHE (Markhor) or Large Wild Goa.





A. Cunningham del.

Day & Son Lith. to the Queen

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136 dirty black hair. The massive horns, which touch at their bases, are curved backward and downward, the tips being turned forward, upward, and inward. Each horn thus forms about three-quarters of a circle. The *Shá* is the *Ovis montana* of naturalists. The horns of a specimen, which I obtained on the banks of the Indus, below Lé, have the following measurements.

	Ft.	In.
Length of horn	2	4¼
Base of horn, greatest depth	0	3¾
" " breadth	0	3
Extreme interval	1	8
Interval between tips	1	0½
Greatest circumference	0	10½
Weight ... 12 lbs.		

The age of this specimen was nearly seven years, the *rugæ* of the third year being the boldest and most deeply marked.

The wild goat called *Rápho-chhé*,* or the "great goat," is the *Már-khor*, or "snake-eater" of the Musalmáns. It is common in Balti, and in Badakshán and Chitrál; but I was unable to procure any specimen of its horns in Ladák. A pair obtained by Colonel Bates in Balti is represented in Plate VII. These horns meet at the base, rise straight upward, then turn backward and again upward. The following are the measurements:—

	Ft.	In.
Length of horn	3	9
Circumference of base	0	11
Breadth of widest face	0	4
Perpendicular rise	2	3½
Extreme width	3	2½
Width from tip to tip	2	8½

* *Rá-pho-chhé*, or simply *Rá-chhe;* the female *Rá-mo-chhe*. Mr. Vigne says that *Rawa* means a horn, and *chæyho*, great; but *rárácho* is simply a "horn," and not a "great horn." See Plate VII. for a pair

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136 No specimen of this magnificent goat has, I believe, yet been obtained by any naturalist, nor have I heard of any traveller who has seen the animal. I would suggest that it might be called *Capra megaceros*.

236 [136] Another species of wild goat is the Tibetan ibex, or *Skyin*.* Mr. Vigne procured a pair of horns that were four feet three inches in length. In his opinion the Skyin "is larger than the European ibex, and the horns are longer, more curved, and more tapering." The Skyin frequents the most inaccessible rocks, and the animal, when shot, is frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. Vigne states that between one and two hundred of them are killed in Balti during the winter, when they are forced to descend into [224] the valleys.† In Ladák they are also snared at night, and shot in the grey dawn of the morning, when they venture down to the streams to drink. They are killed for the sake of the soft under-fleece, which, in Kashmir, [434] is called *Asali Tus*.‡ This is an exceedingly fine and soft wool of a light brown colour, which is exported to Kashmir, where it is used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It is also woven into a very fine cloth, called *Tusi*, of a soft and delicate texture, which is much prized for its warmth. The high price of the Tus is caused by the difficulty of procuring the animal, and by the uselessness of the hair. The person who separates the hair from the wool of the domestic shawl-

* *Skyin;* the female is called *Don-mo*. In Kullu and Spiti, the Skyin is called Kyin; and Spiti is called Piti, but the spelling in Tibetan always preserves the initial *s*.

† Vigne's Travels, II. p. 279.

‡ اصلي توس means simply "genuine *Tus*," or the wool of the *wild* goat; *Tus* means "n ıture."

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goat is paid by the hair itself, which is manufactured 236
into coarse blanketing for tents, and twisted into ropes. But the hair of the wild goat is short, wiry, and coarse, and the cost for picking is charged to the price of the Tus, or fine wool. Moorcroft says that neither the domesticated shawl-goat, nor the Vigogna,* furnishes a wool so full and rich to the feel, nor has so fine a material ever yet graced a British loom.

The frequent occurrence of ibex-horns on the temples 778
of Kanáwar, Láhul, and Chamba has often suggested to me the idea that a similar religious feeling amongst the Greeks may have prompted the dedication of real ox-skulls, perhaps of animals that were slain in sacrifice, in the ancient Hellenic temples. In process of time, when the rude posts became Doric pillars, and the rough ends of the sloping beams were carved into triglyphs, the real ox-skulls were supplanted by their sculptured representations, which afterwards adorned the metopes of the Doric frieze. At least it seems difficult to account for their frequent representation on any other supposition.

The *Shu* or Tibetan stag has been described by Mr. 136 ●
Hodgson† from a specimen obtained near Phári, in Tsáng, the central province of Tibet. A second specimen was procured from the district of Chúmbi, to the south of Phári, where the country is more wooded and less arid than most other districts of Tibet. In 1839 I procured a most magnificent pair of stag's horns from the upper glens of the Lidar valley, in Kashmir; and in 1847 I obtained a second but smaller pair from the same valley.‡ The former pair had six snags on each horn, and was

* Transactions Roy. As. Soc. I. p. 53.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIX. p. 466; and XIX. p. 518.

‡ See Plate VIII.

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136 therefore a genuine *Barah-singha* (twelve-horned). The latter specimen agrees in all respects, save that of size, with those described by Mr. Hodgson. One of his specimens was procured from the most southern part of Tibet, where the climate is less rigorous and the country more wooded. My specimens were obtained in the upper course of the Lidar river, in the eastern end of Kashmir towards Ladák, where the climate may be called half-Tibetan from its dryness. The horns of my Kashmirian specimen are represented in Plate VII. Their dimensions are the following, which I have placed beside those of Mr. Hodgson's Tibetan specimen.

	Kashmirian.			Tibetan.	
	Ft.	In.		Ft.	In.
Length of horn	3	4¼	...	3	10½
Girth above burr	0	7½	...	0	7¾
Chord of arc, or bend of horn	0	10	...	1	0½
Basal interval between horns	0	3¼	...	0	4½
Interval between extreme snags	3	5	...	3	9
" " " tips	2	0	...	2	6½

The Musk deer, called Lá,* is found both in Tibet and in Kashmir, but I had no opportunity of procuring any specimens. Vigne mentions the Kashmirian Lá, and states that Dr. Falconer thought it was a new species.

Other wild animals of Tibet are the leopard, the bear, the wolf, the fox, and the dog. The leopard, wolf, and fox, are described by Mr. Hodgson, and noticed by Vigne.† Moorcroft ‡ adds the ounce and the lynx. The

* *gLá-ba*, or simply *gLá*; and the female *gLá-mo*.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XI. p. 275, and Vigne's Travels, II. p. 281. The leopard is called *Zig* (*-gZig*); the bear, *Dom*; the dog, *Khyi*; and the fox, *Mikpa* (*dMig-pa*); from *dMig*, a hole; it is also called *dByi*.

‡ Travels, I. p. 312.

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dog is mentioned by Mr. Hodgson only, who describes it as a rare animal of a pale wolf-like colour. /36

The hare, called *Ri-bong*, is abundant amongst the rocks on the grassy plains of Rukchu. It is called Ri-bong, or the "hill-ass," on account of the length of its ears.* The Botis do not eat hares, as they consider the animal as a species of donkey. In 1846 I shot five in half an hour in one of the glens to the eastward of the plain of Kyung. They sit behind the rocks, with their long ears pricked, and half their heads just raised above the stone. When roused they run from rock to rock, reminding one of the words of the Psalmist, "The rocks are a refuge for the conies." The Ri-bong is as large as an English hare, has longer ears, and is of a bluish-grey or slate-colour. It is the *Lepus pallipes* or "white-foot" of Mr. Hodgson, who gives the following dimensions of his specimen.† [262]

	Ft.	In.
Length from head to tail	0	11
" of tail	0	4
" of head	0	4¼
" of ear	0	4¾

Mr. Hodgson describes a second species of Tibetan hare under the name of *Lepus oïostolus*, and he refers to Moorcroft as his principal authority for this variety.‡ But on a reference to Moorcroft (I. 225), I find that the hares shot by Trebeck and himself on the plain of Rukchu, were of a "bluish-white colour, and not much larger than English rabbits." Both in 1846 and in 1847 I shot these bluish-coloured hares on the plains of

* Ri-bong, and also Phyi-pa. *Ri-bong* means the "hill-ass." The Hindus also liken the ass to a hare, by naming the wild ass *Ghor-khar*, or the "horse-hare."

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XI. p. 288.

‡ Ditto ditto, XI. p. 288.

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● 136 Rukchu, and I feel satisfied that they are the same as the *Lepus pallipes* of Mr. Hodgson; and the more so, as several that I shot were fully as large as any English hare. Moorcroft evidently saw only one species, as he refers to the Rukchu hares a second time.*

The smaller species of hare, or *Lagonys*, is extremely common all over Tibet. It is the *Lepus alpinus* of Pallas. I have shot them near the summit of the LÁnak Pass, 18,750 feet above the sea, and on the very crest of the Pir Panjál Pass at 12,000 feet. The table-lands of Rukchu, and the plains along the Yunam River, are literally honey-combed with their burrows. The Tibetan *Lagonys* is named *Shippi*, or the "whisperer," and is thus closely allied to the "calling hare" of America.

The marmot of Tibet, according to Mr. Hodgson,† is of two distinct species, the large and the small, which he has distinguished by the names of *Arctomys Tibetensis*, and *Arctomys hemachalanus*. The former obtains a length of two feet, with a tail of six inches. The latter does not reach more than thirteen inches in length. I have seen only the larger animal, which is common on the sandy plains of Rukchu. Moorcroft‡ mentions that he obtained the skin of the squirrel in Ladák; by which I believe that he meant the Arctomys.

Of the *Mustelidæ*, or weasel tribe, I am acquainted with only one species,—the *Mustela*, or true weasel. I saw one specimen of it in 1846 near the Polokonka Pass, at an elevation of 16,000 feet; and in 1847 I shot one close to the crest of the LÁnák Pass, 18,700 feet. The

* Travels, I. p. 312.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XII. p. 409.

‡ Travels, I. p. 312.

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skin and skull were preserved by Dr. Thomson, in whose collection they have been carried to England. The length of body was about seven or eight inches, the legs short, and the nose long, and the whole of a light sandy colour. 136

Mr. Hodgson* has described a second species of *Mustelidæ*, in the Tibetan polecat, and he refers to a third in the Tibetan badger.

BIRDS.

The larger birds of Ladák are not many, and few of them, I believe, are peculiar to the country. The gigantic *Chakor*, or snow-pheasant, is found in Láhul and Spiti, and also in Kanâwar, but only near the snow. The common Chákor, *Rekpa*,† is abundant throughout the cultivated part of the country. Moorcroft invariably identifies the Chákor with the Francolin, or Greek partridge. According to Griffith,‡ Perdrix *Francolinus* is the black partridge of India, and Swainson§ calls it the Francolin *Chætopus*, and associates it with the grey partridge of India (Chæt. Pondicerianus).

The eagle (*Cha-nak*,‖ or the "black bird") and the kite (*Chákor*, or the "white bird") are common enough, and so is the large raven. Smaller birds also are numerous, but I had no opportunity of procuring specimens. On the western side of the Lánák Pass, about 16,500 feet, I saw a hoopoe.

* Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XVIII. p. 448.

† *sRey-pa*, pronounced *Rekpa*.

‡ MS. note by Griffith in his copy of Swainson's Birds.

§ Swainson's Birds, II. p. 344.

‖ *Bya*, generally pronounced *Cha*, is simply a bird. *Bya-nag*, is the "black bird;" and *Bya-dKar*, means the "white bird."

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136 The water-fowl, *Chhu-cha*,* swarm on the lakes and on the still waters of the Upper Indus. I have shot the wild goose, *Nang-gyod*, on the Thogji Chenmo and Chomoriri lakes, at 15,000 feet, and Colonel Bates and I shot three teal on the Suraj Dal, or small lake at the head of the Bhága River, at an elevation of upwards of 16,000 feet. I have shot both ducks and teal on the banks of the Indus below Hanlé, and in the swamps of Chachot just above Lé.

REPTILES.

The only reptile that I saw in Ladák was a single species of lizard, from four to seven inches in length. I noticed them on the lofty table-land between Gurkhyam and Hanlé, at an elevation of 15,000 feet. I captured one lizard as a specimen, but it managed to make its escape before I reached Hanlé.

FISH.

"Fish† abound in all the streams; but the chariness of life which is taught by the religion of Buddha, prevents their being caught." We procured fish from fourteen to fifteen inches in length in the stream at Hanlé, at an elevation of 15,000 feet, and again in the Puga rivulet at the same height. They were a kind of trout. Opposite the villages of Múd and Nyimo I observed fish jumping in the Indus. Vigne‡ mentions that the fish in the Indus at Skardo were all of one species of Himálayan trout, the largest weighing between two and three pounds.

* *Chhu-bya*, the "water-bird."

† Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 313. Fish are called *Nya*.

‡ Travels, II. p. 282.

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MOLLUSCA.

136 172 The only existing mollusk I observed in Ladák was the *Lymnæa auricularia*. In Plate IX. I have given three specimens, from Pitak and Nubra in Ladák, and from Skardo in Balti. Beside them I have placed for comparison a specimen of the same mollusk from Kashmir; and above them two extinct specimens from the old lacustrine formations on the banks of the *Thogji Chenmo* and *Pangong* salt lakes. The superior size of the Kashmir specimen is perhaps no more than might be expected from the greater mildness of the climate; but that of the extinct species is most remarkable. The largest existing specimen from Pitak measures only six-eighths of an inch in length, and rather less than five-eighths in breadth; whereas the extinct specimens are upwards of an inch in length, and more than three-quarters of an inch in breadth.

These fresh-water fossil shells are found in a fine yellow sandy clay, many feet above the present level of the salt-water lakes. When they existed, the lake of Thogji Chenmo must have been a noble sheet of fresh water, upwards of forty miles in length by about twenty miles in extreme breadth, covering the whole plain of Kyung, from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the rocky glen of the Sumgyel (triple junction) River. These fossil shells are now lying in myriads in the narrow pass between the old bed of the Thogji Lake and the plain of Kyung, and they are equally numerous in the upper part of the plain of Kyung.

133 132 172 At what period these vast plains were covered with water will be an interesting subject of inquiry for the geologist; but the mind gets bewildered in trying

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135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

185 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and
316 of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely
173 carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo.
[776] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is
[784] prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than those of any other part of the river. But the gold of
136 the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

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marmots (*Arctomys*) and rat-hares (*Lagonys*) of Tibet, /35
which in making burrows "throw up the earth wherein /73
the ore is contained, from which the Indians extract /36
gold." On the plains along the banks of the Indus and Shayok, the marmots still throw up the earth mixed with gold-dust, from which the Indians of Balti occasionally extract a few grains of gold. Megasthenes confesses that he had not seen the animals themselves, but only their skins, which had been brought by the Macedonian soldiers into Alexander's camp. The skin of the marmot is the commonest of all the furs now brought to India.* Its Tibetan name is *Phyi-pa* or *Chipa* (or *Chupa*), which was probably confounded by Alexander's soldiers with the Indian *Chúntá*, the name of the large ant; or *Phyi-pa* may have been confounded by the Indians themselves with *Pippilaka*, the Sanscrit and Bengali name of the large ant.†

The same story of the ants as big as foxes is told by Herodotus; and Professor H. H. Wilson‡ has aptly illustrated it by a passage from the Mahábhárata, which relates that "the people who dwell under the pleasant shade of the *Kichaka-venus* (a kind of willow) and along the Sailodá river, between the Meru and Mandara mountains, the Khasas, Prádaras, Páradas, Ekásanas, Arkas, Kulindas, Tanganas, and Paratanganas, brought to Yudhishthira lumps of gold, a *drona* (64 lb.) in weight, of the sort called *paippílika*, "or ant gold," which was so called because it was exfodiated by the

* The same holds good to the eastward, for Mr. Hodgson says, "In the extensive peltry trade carried on between Nepál and Tibet, no skin is more commonly met with than that of the marmot."—Journal As. Soc. Bengal, X. p. 777.

† *Phyi-pa*, commonly pronounced *Chi-pa*.

‡ Journal Roy. As. Soc. VII. p. 143.

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135 *pippílaka*, or common large ant." This belief, however
● 136 erroneous, as the learned professor observes, was neither
173 extravagant nor irrational. A yet earlier mention of the gold of Alpine India is that of Ctesias; but he distinctly states that it was not obtained by washing, as in the river Pactolus.* Gold is called *Ser*, gold-dust *Ser-dul*, and the gold-washer *Ser-pa*. This name I believe to have been the origin of the classical *Seres*. In Tibetan
[103] *Serki-yul* means the "gold country;" and as the affix *yul* can be omitted at pleasure, the names of Serki and Serika are almost identical.†

135 *Copper.*—According to Moorcroft, "some copper-mines are said to have been discovered towards Kashmir."‡ This statement is probably correct, as Jacquemont found copper ore in the Lidar valley, on the south-west side of the range which divides Kashmir from the Ladáki district of Suru. If any trust can be put in a name, I should suppose that copper (*zangs*) had been found in *Zangskar*, but I could not learn that it had been discovered there.

Lead and *Iron* are, according to Moorcroft, found in pits in the mountain districts remote from Lé.

Plumbago is found in Balti; but the specimens which I procured are of an inferior description. They are gritty, and will not mark paper without scratching; but as they were most probably taken from the long-exposed surface, good black lead may still perhaps be found in the same place.

Sulphur, called *Muzi*, is obtained only at Puga, in

* Fragments of Ctesias by Lion. Indica, XII. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ χώρᾳ, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς εὑρισκόμενος καὶ πλυνόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Πακτωλῷ ποταμῷ.

† *gSer*, gold; *gSer-rDul*, gold dust. ‡ Travels, I. p. 313.

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[292]

278 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

●136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

4 [i.e, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

231 not satisfied with that, even though these enormous dogs are able to do battle with any wolf. Thus the care for the protection of the herd rests solely upon the herder, whose only weapons are stick and slingshot. It was not to be a long time before Namgyal was to get an [136] impression of the activity of the wolves. One day, when he had lain down for a little while around noon time with his companion, just below an overhanging rock which supplied a protection against the scorching rays of the sun--most of the small animals of the herd had done the same and were resting here and there in the shadow of boulders, chewing the cud--suddenly just as if lightning had struck the herd, two wolves had, without being noticed, crept up between the mass of boulders, had seized a sheep and a goat and with their prey in their mouths they were making off. The two youthful herders jumped up, stoutly remained on their post, shouted after the robbers and threw large stones after them which, however, did not prevent the latter in the least from securing their prey.

[136] Another time an imperial eagle struck a small kid scarcely twenty paces away from Namgyal and carried it through the air away to its nest which was located high up in the ravine, out in the open, on a narrow projection of a perpendicular slate wall. From an adjoining rock the boys had been able to see into the nest in which a single young eagle was lying.

/37/ When in the evening Namgyal with a wildly beating heart told his father about the wolf's raid of the herd, the father did not say much and only admonished him to keep a good lookout; he knew only too well how rarely even a courageous herder succeeds in keeping the wolf away from the herd or in chasing it so that it must let go of the prey it once seized. He remembered that during such an attempt a wolf had once attacked him and had bitten his elbow, which he had held out against it, so viciously that even now he still felt frequent pains in his joint. On this occasion Lobsang Wanggyal [136] told his son how once yonder in Tagmachig during the winter a snow leopard (irbis or ounce, felis uncia) broke into a sheep stall and in one night strangled 26 sheep and goats. The robber hardly ate anything of the flesh of the animals; in the morning the startled farmer found the snow leopard still in the stall. It had been unable to get out because it could not open the door which had slammed shut from the inside. The animal was so drunk from the drinking of such quantities of blood that the farmer, together with two neighbors whom he had called in for help, was able to beat it to death with clubs and axes.

Whenever a snow leopard committed its outrages in a region, 136
as often happened in winter, it became advisable to avoid this region altogether for a while and rather to look for a new pasturing area. Bears and leopards, which did not inhabit his homeland, Namgyal did not become acquainted with until later during his travels to Kashmir and Lahul, where he had ample experience with them. He had a sharp eye for the doings of all animals and he observed them closely. More than once wild sheep had approached his goats and sheep while pasturing at the mountain without particularly taking notice of him. These wild sheep were fine animals almost the size of stags, of the brown color of deer, the old rams had horns which in their winding measured about 70 centimeters. Ibexes also approached sometimes with greater caution. Numerous flocks of rock-partridges enlivened the otherwise so barren mountain slopes, especially in the vicinity of the cultivated village oases; and from the cliffs up there near the snow field there frequently resounded the long drawn-out whistle of the snow pheasant (slope hen /rock-partridge?/). Great swarms of blue mountain doves nested in the precipitous walls, with their many caves, over there beyond the Indus, and in the /38/ air the mighty imperial eagles and the lammergeiers circled around. There was a colorful variety of small feathered inhabitants of these heights, from the wall-creeper, which climbs along rock faces like a woodpecker on a tree, and the wheat ear, which hops along between the boulders of the slope amid continual bobbing and gay twittering, to the many-colored, white-capped redstarts in the bottom of the valley and the sand martin in its simple blackish dress which dives after larvae down at the roaring brook. All these animals, and many more which inhabit the waste 775
heights and highland plateaus attracted Namgyal's attention with their activities, aroused his thirst for knowledge, and stimulated his imagination; all the more so since a lama had recently taught him that all forms of life, even the lowest, are beings that are in the cycle of the transmigration of souls and are striving for their final release but must always be embodied again in many different forms as a punishment for their sins. Since then Namgyal observed attentively the herd animals of the village and frequently asked himself which of the animals might lodge the souls of his grandfather and of his deceased aunt; but he did not dare ask anyone about it. The lama had made indications to that effect.

Did Namgyal also have an eye for the wonderful sublimity of 000
the mountain scenery of his homeland? A Tibetan hardly ever expresses

himself on this point. And what a picture there lay before his view spread out on these heights, a picture of tremendous, wild beauty! Over valleys, gorges and crevices, wildly jagged mountain chains and ridges, the vista sweeps along to the distant mountain faces yonder in the west, which shine in all colors from bright red to violet in the clear, glaring sunshine of these heights with their thin, dry air. Over there to the right there is a very extensive snow field whose melting water the brook carries down into the valley. To the left there are two mountain peaks crowned with glaciers. Over it all there is the arch of the deep blue, cloudless sky. A wonderful silence prevails in this wild mountain world into which Namgyal drove his herd, a silence which is only now and then interrupted by the bleating of a goat, the scream of the chough among the cliffs, the howling of a wolf yonder by the slope of the mountain.

/39/ No person can escape the stupendous impression of the majesty of this world of mountains; here live and rule supernatural powers; here divinity approaches directly the feeble man who penetrates into this empire; it lives in the towering cliff, in the glacier which on the heights embraces the tremendous mountain caps in its clutch, in the plant which grows forth from the cracks in the rock; the deity speaks from the brook which cleaves its roaring way through the rocky wall; it speaks from the tempestuous south wind which sweeps howling into the valley from the high mountains, as well as from the avalanche of rocks which looses itself from the precipice and roars thundering into the depths below.

551 Namgyal's receptive spirit could not possibly avoid these impressions. He was a plucky boy, a courageous climber and rider. Because of his courage in the brawls with his companions the latter had given him the nickname "Jigsmed" (Without-fear).

During the day the boy wandered through the mountains and the valleys without apprehension in spite of the wolves who are present everywhere, whenever it was necessary to look for a lost sheep. But when dusk settled down on the series of chasms and dark shadows spread out over mountain and slopes, our "Without-fear" was overcome by a secret terror. Then the jagged rocks and peaks turned into a thousand shapes which stretched their arms threateningly at him, and at this time voices became loud which had been silent during the day. From the plateau yonder he could hear the howling of the wolves, in the ravine there to the left a fox was barking, over there from the old ruin of [136] the Darden castle there resounded the call of the screech owl, and sounds

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The north bank of the Chandra, which the trail follows, is part 133
of a huge finger of land, a sort of peninsula many miles long and eighteen thousand feet or so high. The Chandra flows on one side of this peninsula, the Bhaga on the other. The Chandra and Bhaga rise on Baralacha Pass (which we later crossed), flow in opposite directions at the start, then parallel each other, and finally join about six miles west of Gundala. A historic short cut is from Koksar over the peninsula to the foot of Baralacha—a wild, broken stretch of mountains that claimed the life of Hilda Richmond in 1939. We took the long way, swinging around this long finger of land.

Opposite us was a mighty range capped by Snowy Peak or Gundala Peak, whose exploration is described in Bruce, *Kulu and Lahoul*. One looks almost straight up from the river ten thousand feet. There are cliffs that are sheer for several thousand feet. Glaciers run to their edges, tremendous ice fields impregnated with dust and dirt so that when the afternoon sun strikes them they turn to gold. Some of these glaciers not only grip the shoulder of the high cliffs but also droop down their sides like gargantuan icicles. Waterfalls drop from the cold lips of these glaciers; deep in one recess of these gargantuan rocks I saw three, each a thin, miniature Niagara but several times higher. They were falling unknown hundreds of feet in white, soundless spray, ending in milky streams that ran in torrents to the Chandra. The rocks sprayed by these falls were painted with moss and lichens. In the lower reaches some of the moisture from the ice fields watered high ledges and benches that were covered with a short green nap as smooth and as soft to the eye as velvet. The highest points, the topmost ledges, were filled with snow. The blizzard that we had traveled en route to Koti had left the high granite shafts that top the ridge freshly powdered.

Many tributaries feed the Chandra on its run to the confluence [134]
with the Bhaga. In the summer they are filled with a small snow trout, which I did not see but of which the natives boast. This day

777 was plain that the clouds were lifting and that the storm was breaking up.

By the time the mule train was packed, we were in streaming sunshine and Toche Phirche was beginning to lose some of its sogginess through steam. There were black, ominous clouds on a high ridge to the north, the direction we were headed. Budh Ram pointed to them, misgivings written in his face. I grinned, pointed to my hat, and then to the clouds.

133 I was a good prophet. We climbed a thousand feet or so as we
137 left Toche Phirche and soon came into a vast basin (called Kiangcha), mostly flat, fifteen or twenty miles wide, and stretching ahead and behind as far as the eye could see. This basin was covered with scattered patches of the *dama* (*Caragana versicolor*), a low bush clinging to the ground like heather. It is used as fuel in this region and has the interesting feature of burning even though green. A moss called *burtse* (Eurotia) also grew here, a moss I had seen ever since we left Chakchu. It grew in clumps as big as a saucepan and was dried by the natives for use
[136] as fuel. We traveled the basin for several hours. There were ibex above us on the canyon walls to the west, feeding off and on, then stopping to watch us, but always keeping a thousand yards or more distant. The storm that had been making up to the north swung east and then south, leaving us in brilliant sunshine all the way.

777 I stopped to put some flowers in my plant press and before mounting my mule made the announcement that I was tired of wearing my glass helmet. "Does anyone want to wear it?" I asked.

Rahul spoke up, so I gave it to him. We moved on—Rahul, the glittering white helmet, and the dappled gray mule in the rear. In an hour we had climbed a slight rise in the broad basin and faced Pagmur Pass to the north and a host of granite peaks and ice fields to the northwest. A storm that was brewing among the peaks soon moved toward us. It came faster than a horse

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

could run, sending out in front rough couriers of cold wind and 777
sleeting rain. These couriers seemed to be on a hunt, for they 136
chased before them a herd of wild asses. They were beautiful animals about the size of Missouri mules, with long tails, light tan bodies, dark brown splotches on their backs and heads.

They are animals that are very hard to domesticate. A young 136
one touched by man seems to have the mark of pestilence on it, for it will never be reclaimed by its mother. Its meat[1] is said to [62a]
be very palatable; the Moslems of Ladakh have indeed a great fondness for it. Rup Singh up front rode to within thirty yards of the herd that had just come over Pagmur before they broke and ran. Before I could get my movie camera and telescopic lens into play, black clouds rolled over Pagmur like a wave and washed down on us. Photographing the wild asses was impossible. We leaned forward in our saddles, hugging the mules for warmth.

I shouted to Rahul, "The hat has lost its magic." 777

"With *me* it has," he laughingly replied. "*You* must wear it after this."

That night the word went through our camp (just below the north side of Pagmur) that Rahul did not have the magic, only Sahib. It poured that night, raining so hard we had to dig trenches around our pup tents for drainage. The morning was soggy; visibility was cut to a few hundred yards; the air was heavy with mist and the duffel bags heavy with moisture. I thought Budh Ram handed me the hat with extraordinary eagerness this morning, an eagerness that nevertheless was mixed with some doubt. There seemed to be working in his head a conflict between his desire to get rid of the rain and his fear of stretching the magic of the hat beyond the point where it could be effective. Certainly it seemed dubious if any power could protect us from the weight of the clouds that hung low over Pagmur. Today may be the end of my act with the hat, I said to myself. In a little while everyone will know this hoax for what it is.

The magic, however, held. A south wind streaked down from

1 [I.e. WILD ASSES -- ANALYST]

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

• 136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[751] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat* is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

*[of the marmot--Analyst]

133 to the Tsarap River. Great jagged peaks dominated the skyline to the south and west. Tremendous chasms that grew in depth with lengthening shadows twisted and turned for miles on end where drainage of thousands of years had cut through rocks and sediment.

Not far below us a clear, cold stream dropped off a cliff and spattered the trail with a soft spray. It was the reason why Chakchu was a popular camp site. There was indeed no other good water for miles and miles. Chakchu was much used, carrying the black scars of many campfires.

• 136 We made camp early and then sat on our perch watching every movement of life in the vast canyons below us and on the high peaks above. A horned lark visited us—a bold bird, gray underneath and white on top, with two pointed tufts of black feathers above the eyes. Two huge, coal-black Tibetan ravens and an eagle with an eight-foot spread caught currents of air as they swooped below us and sailed gracefully into the void, looking with sharp, cold eyes for carrion. A finch with a black head hopped along the ridge, flying short distances, and feeding as he went.

000 There was no noise, no wind, not even a humming of the *dama* bush that colored the slopes with dark green splotches. There was solitude so deep one could almost hear his thoughts. This was a place so far removed from all my people and my problems, it seemed I was in another world. It seemed I sat in the heavens apart from the earth. It seemed that Chakchu was the place where man could best come to know his relations with his God, his relations with the diverse forces and powers within himself that produce discord where harmony is needed.

I sat for perhaps an hour lost in these thoughts, when my eye caught a movement along the trail below me. The trail cut a thin white line in the side of the mountain for a mile or so until it disappeared around a gargantuan shoulder of rock thrust out into the canyon. The figure was a man with a pack on his back. In ten

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about /133
two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or [136] •
chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were 233
being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. 411
These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which 281
they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

137 hardly credit any green growth at all, yet even here all sorts of little herbs and flowering thistles grow, each showing marked adaptation to its very dry habitat. Most important of these is the pungent-smelling, low-growing, bushy herb called *Burtsa*, which in the wildest places, far from habitation and cultivation, serves as fuel for man and food for beast.

Even now we have forgotten one of the most typical and best-known flowers in Ladak, the little stunted blue and white iris that springs up all along the water courses, and is the first flower to gladden our winter-weary eyes. Like most species up here, of plants and animals and even men, it exhibits the dwarfed mountain habit, and would look insignificant beside its handsome counterpart in Kashmir.

136 As regards the fauna of the country, we can better describe it under transport and shikar, for under those two headings we meet with nearly all the species which occur, but we might here add a few words about the birds of the country.

In the summer of 1923, Mr. B. B. Osmaston, a keen ornithologist visited Ladak, and made a list of sixty-seven different species of birds that he found in this country. Let it be noted that for many of these, the Ladaki has his own Tibetan name, showing that he is not only an observer, but a lover of nature. We have our residents, and our summer and winter visitors. That the latter should find even Leh too warm in the summer is surprising. Let us begin with our residents. Of the crows and ravens, our friendly scavengers, to whom should be added the noisy magpies with their constant "cha, cha, cha, cha, cha, cha," we have already spoken, but we must not forget the chough with its red or yellow bill, who in the early spring builds his nest in the sandy cliff near Leh, while pigeons (Rock and Blue Hill) abound. Smaller birds on the whole, find the rigours of winter too severe, and many of them leave us, their places being taken by others, who descend from the higher regions. The sparrow we have always with us, and he is kept company by

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the little Grey Tit in his beautiful grey coat and black waistcoat and cap. We are not sure about the Dipper in his evening dress suit, nor the Crag Martin, but believe that both manage to hold out through the coldest months. The hardy Mountain Finches (Adams' and Brandt's), however, do not even come down from the neighbouring heights, where they manage somehow to find food all the winter, although quite a number of birds from the higher uplands visit us during the cold months. The Eagle and the Vulture, finding too much snow on the mountains, come down to obtain their food, leaving us in the Spring to make room for Hawk, Kite and Kestrel. The little Robin Accentor, with his dull red breast, also finds the mountains, his summer residence, too cold. When the down-country Rosefinch, the Common Redstart and the Field and Desert Larks leave us in the autumn, their half-brothers, Seventzov's Rose Finch, Guldenstadt's Redstart and Elwes' Horned Larks come to represent their families. Most of our Desert Chats leave us in spring, only a few staying behind to build a nest here and there in the deserts round Leh. The winter also provides excellent shooting for the sportsman. Besides the ducks, Mallard, Tufted Pochard, Ruddy Shelldrake, and Common Teal (to mention only a few), and Snipe, which can be found in all the swampy little rivulets, the mountains and hills will provide Chikor (the partridge so common in India) for his gun and his pot, whilst nearer Tibet, the Tibetan Sandgrouse can be obtained. If he wants pheasants, these, too, are represented up on the snows by the Tibetan or Himalayan Snow Cock, who draw immediate attention to themselves by their peculiar and shrill whistle which so rapidly ascends the scale. How sorry we are to lose the company of these in the spring, for not only does this spell the end of happy days in their company with a gun, but a return to the everlasting mutton, living as we do in a State over which a Hindu Maharajah rules. This too, however, has its compensation for now our summer

13: Heber and Heber D-8 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 migrants appear. First of all the Wagtails come (Hodgson's pied ; grey and yellow-headed), making the streams and rivulets bright with their graceful movements and undulating flight, soon to be followed by the Siberian Chiffchaff, with his monotonous "cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep," The common Redstart, too, is here now, whilst the Hoopoo calls his "Ooppooppoopp" (the Ladaki name for him) to the farmer, giving him permission to sow his fields, unafraid of serious harm to his crops from further cold. The Cuckoo, too, makes his song heard occasionally about this time, and now one can notice the Western Blue Rock Thrush, whose coat really does look a beautiful slaty blue as he sits in the sun. Above the river, Gulls and Tern wheel and sweep, and are kept company by Swift and Martin ; on the stones by its side, the Ibisbill finds his food, whilst the royal Heron meditates solemnly by the water's edge with his neck well tucked in. So we can boast of a varied ornithology, full of interest and change.

132 We have already made so many references to climate and altitude that the reader will have gathered a fair idea of both. The extremes of the climate may be summed up in the oft-told saying that if you sit in the shade of a rock, the part of your body within the shadow freezes, while that in the sunshine boils ! The heat of summer out in the desert is intense, for the long stretches of sand and the barren glaring rocks seem both to soak up sunshine and reflect it back as it pours out of a sky which is so often cloudless. Yet in the shade of rocks and trees and in the ordinary life in and about a house, it is never oppressive, and there are few summer
241 evenings in Leh when an extra wrap is not needed. The
132 short summer from June to mid-September sees the ripening of the wheat, barley and lucerne crops, the coarse grained barley being the more important source of food, and growing up to altitudes of over 14,000 feet. In the lower warmer
312 villages the summer is longer, and a second crop may be
241 raised. All this cultivation is entirely kept alive by irrigation,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

574 Asked how he was enjoying it, he replied that if he smoked much more he would become intoxicated.

000 Having refreshed ourselves with tea, and the rain having ceased, we go to look for a good camping spot, and fix on a field already harvested. Soon our luggage arrives, and the ponymen tell us that for four miles they had to unload their ponies and carry the loads themselves. Fancy carrying a heavy tent over a bad road for four miles! Two of the ponies had fallen down the steep hillside with their loads tightly bound on their backs; but, fortunately for them, these were bedding and tents, so they did not hurt themselves seriously, and, fortunately for us, they just stopped short of the water, so we had dry beds that night. This part of the road has been described somewhat in detail, and, although all is perfectly true, yet it is not so bad in the actual going as it sounds, for one is much too occupied with the next step to worry about potential accidents, and it is only in prospect or retrospect that the perils of the road appal.

Early next morning we are off again, and soon come to the [136] inevitable pass. Here the many marmots provide interest by announcing the coming of a stranger with a shrill policeman-like whistle, as they sit at the doors of their burrows. They are remarkably tame, for the Doctor stalked one and actually touched him with his stick as he disappeared down his hole, only to reappear a few minutes later. He was then about to reach his hand out to stroke him, but was warned by his Ladaki *zhabzhi* (foot-helper) that they bite hard. When travelling in another direction some weeks before this, my companion's dog noticed a marmot running hard for his hole. "Bunty" managed to head him off and bowl him over, biting him hard in the abdomen, but nowhere else, for friend marmot was a sportsman. He sat up on his hind legs held up his fists in the approved boxer fashion, and kept "Bunty" at bay. We were able to walk right up to the combatants, when, seeing the marmot was badly

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the service than a continuous whirl of social functions in some Indian hill-station. One thinks wistfully of two "subs." who had saved up for such a holiday, one of them being the son of a man who had shot up here years ago, when he himself was in the Indian Army. But, alas, having reached Leh, they found they had only sufficient money to get back to their station, and had to give up the idea of shooting. Of wild sheep we have several kinds, most of them having splendid horns. It is said that these are so heavy that eventually their owners die of starvation, as they get too feeble to carry them and go in search of food.

To begin with, we have the Sharpu, which live on the lower hills and during the winter come right down into the fields. Out shooting one day, my shikari, a Ladaki hunter, and I spotted five of these animals on a hill opposite to us, and soon after noticed a couple of wolves stalking them. I got within five yards of the latter, as they lay waiting behind a rock. By the time I had jumped off my pony and had loaded my gun, they had got quite out of range, although they seemed to be slinking away quite slowly. We then watched the Sharpu, and to our surprise they came clean across the valley to the very spot where the wolves had been waiting for them, and passed within ten yards of us, even stopping to look at us. Needless to say they were does, and ladies one does not shoot. Large numbers of these must be killed by other predatory animals. Another time we found a Sharpu with horns of thirty inches, which had only just been brought down by a snow-leopard. At last I hoped to get one of the latter, which are fairly plentiful, though as yet I had never met one. But, alas, he got wind, and evaded me. The Ladakis hate these snow-leopards for they do much harm to their flocks. In order to catch them, they dig deep holes in the ground and build overhanging walls round. They then put down the sheep, whose bleating attracts the leopard. Having jumped in, he cannot negotiate the overhanging wall and meets an

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

224 ignoble death from stoning. The Ladakis assert that once down he is so scared that he does not attempt to kill the sheep, but this may be no truer than the statement that they hate them so much that they skin them alive. The people also make a very useful wolf-trap. One end of a large rock is balanced on a stick, to which they tie a piece of meat. A pull
● 136 on this brings the stone down on the animal's head. On the higher hills the burrhel can be found grazing sometimes in herds of fifty to a hundred. These seem to have as many lives as a cat, for on two occasions I have hit them, brought them rolling down the hill, but on approaching to gloat over my kill, they have calmly got up and walked off. After this, I learnt not to unload until my foot rested on the dead body of my victim. Much higher up one finds the Ovis Ammon, a magnificent animal, whose horns at the base measure about eighteen inches in girth, and whose length is about fifty inches when full-grown. The Ibex, a kind of goat, prefers the rockier regions and, although the Ladaki Ibex is not as fine as that from Baltistan, yet even he can boast of horns some forty inches long. Right on the uplands towards Tibet, one can also get antelope, with beautifully slender, graceful horns, which at their ends curl forwards, not backwards. At one time it was possible to shoot the wild yak, but, even were he not almost extinct now, it would not be permissible to shoot him in
224 the state of a Hindu Maharajah. It is surprising how these various animals keep to their own grazing grounds, and the native hunter, who is the gillie of Ladak, knows exactly on which slopes the various animals may be found. These gillies are remarkable for the way in which they can tell you the length of a horn to an inch or two, even at two hundred to three hundred yards. This is an essential qualification, for one is not allowed to shoot an animal unless his horns have reached
136 a certain length. During the winter small game abounds almost everywhere. On the rocks pigeons are plentiful, and twice I have killed thirteen pigeons—a lucky number this time—

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..ibetans AJ4

with my two barrels. On the sandy hill-sides one hears the clucking of partridges, and the creeks of the Indus abound with ducks. Among the snows are the snow cocks, and in the desert the hares. One day I had just raised my gun to shoot one of these, when, before I could pull the trigger, an eagle swooped down, caught him in his talons and soared away. It was a wonderful sight to watch him fly majestically with his prey right across the valley to his eyrie high up the mountain on the other side. His impudence had so nonplussed me that I had not pulled the trigger.

Thus the varied interest of the wild life in the mountains is never exhausted, and the remembrance of these happy days spent so close up to nature will always recall an experience which must closely approach " the top of the fulness of life."

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

133* on a large evaporating area being formed the water may begin in some degree to get saline even before the outflow has ceased; wherever there is less outflow than inflow there must be concentration of salts, and there will be less outflow than inflow for any lake of large area even if it have an outlet.

A few facts must be given about the lacustrine deposits that have been formed and are now forming. At the south end of the lake there is a flat plain about 20 feet above the water level; this lies between the shore of the lake and the Phirsa fan, extending for about two miles; the surface is clayey, and sections show interstratifications of finely laminated brown clay and very fine sand; the laminæ are sometimes curved about on a small scale, making as it were pot-holes in the clay filled with sand. This is clearly a lacustrine deposit: it was made when the lake was about at its highest. There are traces of the same deposit along the eastern bank of the lake, for a mile and a half or so north of the north-east corner of it. To a great extent the material must have been supplied by the branching streams of the Phirsa River; but some of it may have been derived from the waste of the lake-side rocks by wave-action. This supply of material to form lacustrine beds *close to the outlet*, brought down by the stream that formed the fan that makes the dam, is a circumstance that I have never seen noticed in any account of a lake, but it is one that must often have occurred. Where the Karzok stream comes down is a very similar deposit. A flat 15 feet above the water extends out for half a mile from the hills; it is composed of beds of clay and sand, some of the latter very fine, and on the surface a fine shingle is strewn; this was the subaqueous delta of the Karzok stream, formed when the lake was higher than now; it ends off in a low cliff to the lake. At the north end of the lake, where another stream comes in, is a flat partly of shingle partly of sand; the sand from it has been blown up into small hillocks.

133* 136 The *island* is about half a mile from the shore, near midway in the length of the western side; it may be 100 yards from corner to corner in one direction and 60 yards in another; it is of gneiss rock, rising only nine or ten feet above the water; the soundings

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between the island and the near shore. This little place, being ordinarily undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladākhī is called *Chagharatse;* the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of these must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chāmpās that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panbuk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be 3¼ inches by 2¼, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomorīrī are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the head-quarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty-five Lāmās; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far, and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

* The barred-goose; in Ladākhī, *sangpā*.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

133* is continued more to the east than before, while in the line of its
341 original direction are some more hills which are joined to the
221 other ridge by a neck called on the Survey Map "Chang Pass"; this Pass is practically the boundary of Chinese Tibet in that direction; in the Indus Valley the boundary will be a day or two's march beyond Dora.

136 It is natural that the more favourable circumstances of this part of the Indus Valley should encourage animal life to a greater extent than is common in Rupshu. I saw here some small herds of the Tibetan antelope, and the Tibetan hare is common here as well as lower down towards Nimū and again towards Chushal; it is a large hare, with much white, the back of a brownish grey. But the animal one sees most of in these parts is the Kyang or wild ass—wild horse it has sometimes been called—an animal which is met with singly or in twos and threes in many parts of Rupshu (as, for instance, the Salt Lake plain) but here is in far greater number than anywhere else. In a day's march I saw some 300 kyang, as many as 100 at one view. There were several different herds; they all let us come to about 250 yards from them and then trotted off, or if frightened by noise galloped away, often leaving the low ground and taking to the stony slopes. This animal is decidedly nearer the ass than the horse, but in outward appearance is much more like a mule than either. He is like a good mule such as one gets in the upper part of the Punjāb, about Rāwal Pindī.* The colour is brown, but white under the belly; there is a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. Of a full-grown male, a fine handsome animal, that I shot in order to make closer observations, the following are some measurements:

Height	54 inches (13 hands 2 in.)
Length of head (from point of muzzle to root of ear)	21½ "
Length of ear	9½ "
Fore hoof, length	5 "
" width	4 "
Hind hoof, length	4⅞ "
" width	3½ "

* Trebeck, Moorcroft's companion, wrote that the kyang is neither horse nor ass, that his shape is as much like one as the other.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

On getting as near as we could to one of the herds and dispersing it, we separated and at last with some difficulty caught a colt of fifteen days or a little more. He was 35 inches high, his head was 13 inches long, his ear 6 inches; his coat was thick but soft, the mane short and curly, the tail short and bushy. His voice, as well as the voice of full-grown ones that we got pretty near to, was almost exactly like that of a mule—a subdued grunt or abortive bray. This little fellow soon lost his shyness and would let anyone come near him without fear; we tried hard to rear him, but he died in two or three days. Several attempts have been made to tame the kyang, but little success has attended them. I have eaten the flesh of kyang in the form of steak, and found it very like beefsteak, but rather coarser; the Chāmpās are glad to eat it when they get a chance. 136 [262]

PANGKONG LAKE.

In entering another of the high-level valleys of Ladākh we leave the area draining directly into the Indus, and come to where the drainage either communicates or has communicated with the river Shāyok. We saw that the neck of the Tsāka Pass is a point on the watershed between the two basins. From its summit there is an easy descent into a very gradually sloping valley, which, in less than 30 miles, leads us past the village of Chushal to the shores of the Pāngkong Lake. 133

The series of lakes in one and the same line of valley, but just separated from each other, the lowest of which bears the name of Pāngkong or Pāngong, occupy a length of valley of 90 miles, or it may be more; the eastern end is unexplored, but the people about speak of its being an eight days' journey from end to end of the lakes. The upper part of Pāngkong itself and the lake next above are known to us only through the explorations (made in 1863) of Major H. H. Godwin-Austen, of the G. T. Survey, whose journal gives an admirable account of it,* and whose topographical work on the Survey Map is a most valuable guide to anyone who may

* Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxxvii., part ii.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

133X themselves, by their currents and their shore-action, had accumulated deposits along the line of the Lokzhung Mountains, which, on their retreating, became bars separating the two watery tracts, and have since become the watershed between the two enclosed drainage-areas.

136 There is another subject—the extent to which this region can
137 support animal or vegetable life—about which the little I have to say may be worth telling, since the place is so seldom visited. In the description hitherto little has been spoken of but earth and stones and rocks; but in this I have been guilty of hardly any omission, so few are the traces of either animal or vegetable life. Vegetation exists but here and there; generally every 10 or 15 miles is to be found some *burtse*, or Eurotia, the plant that serves for fuel, though at one halting-place moss is obtained in its stead, and at another neither *burtse* nor moss can be got. Pasture is still rarer; on leaving the last halting-place in the Chonglung branch of the Chāngchenmo Valley we had to pass over 60 or 70 miles before reaching any grass; the first find was at Lokzhung, a halting-place in the middle of the mountains of the same name. On the Kuenlun Plains grass is equally scarce, and it is only when one gets well into the Eastern Kārakāsh Valley that this cause of difficulty in keeping one's baggage animals alive dis-
136 appears. Of wild animals one would think from the foot-prints that great numbers must live in the plains and the surrounding mountains; but one sees few, and on reflection it appears that the many foot-prints are the work of a comparatively small number of individuals, for in this country a mark made may stay unobliterated for years. I saw Kyang, the Wild Ass, but only singly, at Thaldat, which is a watering-place of his; a track had been made straight to it for two miles, beaten and cleared of stones by continual passage. Hare also are now and then to be seen, and foot-prints of Antelope were observed at various places on the plains. Beyond, on the Eastern Kārakāsh, Kyang, and Antelope, and Hare were more plentiful. A beast I had not before seen, was the wild yāk; him I met among the Lokzhung

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. ... A J4

Mountains—a solitary bull—an animal in form exactly like the domesticated yāk, but of larger bulk; from his sides hung long hair, but his back was comparatively bare. At first, on seeing us, he went away with a short quick trot, but he afterwards broke into a heavy lumbering gallop. It has been doubted whether the domestic yāk comes from this wild one, or whether the wild yāk may not have sprung from some that have escaped from the camps of travellers, for every now and then these beasts of burden are overcome, and, unable to carry their loads, are relinquished; these may, perhaps, recover, and, finding subsistence on some scant pasture, live and reproduce their kind in a wild state. 136

There is one other phenomenon that deserves a moment's attention before we leave this interesting ground. There are at least two instances of *ice-beds*, or, as some have called them, *snow-beds*, occurring in the plains. I prefer the former name as being more truly descriptive, although at first sight they look just like beds of snow. Colonel H. Strachey described two or three of these in Rupshu and Pāngkong, but gave no explanation of their origin. Mr. Johnson mentioned the one at Thaldat, which was the first I ever saw. On the plain, a mile or two from the nearest hill, a space about a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide is occupied by the ice-bed; it lies in the bed of a stream, with the water flowing beneath part of it; the greatest thickness that I saw was four feet; some of it was like *nevé*, and some was more icy. A similar bed which I saw in Rupshu (one of those noticed by Colonel Strachey), I find described in my notes as being made in great part of layers from a quarter inch to one and a half inch thick of prismatic ice, the prismatic crystals being of course at right angles to the surface of the layers; there, too, was some that is described as like *nevé*. At other parts, again, the length of the prisms (and therefore the thickness of one layer of ice) was as much as eight inches. 133x

I think that these ice-beds are the unmelted ice of the streams, formed especially in spring, when the successive rising levels of the water that flowed from the melting snows would make layer after layer of ice, as the still severe cold at that time

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

487 morning so that we reached the summit with the dawn. There
133 the wind was bitterly cold; we followed the lower track, for the road along the face of the cliff was impossible.

The Tibetan name for the pass is Zoji La; this was the first time that we discovered that most of the places from there on had two names, a Kashmiri one and a Tibetan one. Unfortunately the map seemed to have mixed them up, probably using the best known, but we did not always strike men of the country who recognised them.

[485] Once over the pass the country changes completely; there is already a Tibetan atmosphere in the air. Going down the other side there are numerous little dak huts built by the roadside for the use of those who chance the journey too late and get caught by the weather.

361 We came upon what we at first imagined would be the start of
136 a village, but found it to consist of a house or two, a telegraph post and a rest house. At many places tracks led off, some to lone, distant "farms", some to parts which were known to be good for shikar, for game is plentiful for the sportsman in parts of Ladakh. It is the home of the ibex and the markhor; both are of the wild goat family; there are wild sheep and kiang—sandy red, wild asses with dark manes and standing about twelve hands high—which are impossible to break; then there are red bear, snow leopard and in parts wolves are to be found; antelope and gazelle are common as are the reddish-brown marmot.

491 Here and there places had been marked on the Srinagar-printed map as the spot where a bridge would be found over the river, but there was no sign of it, probably the floods of the last season had carried it away, and we had to ford the waters; then on closer examination of the map we noticed a mark at the spot we had selected and decided that the printer had forgotten to make up his letterpress to include it in the key, or perhaps we were credited with enough common sense to know.

485 The first night we reached a rest house, and were there only just in time, for a quarter of an hour later a large party of men from Leh arrived; a few remained to sleep under the verandahs
515 outside—the stench of bodies was overpowering. I have been assured that the men of Ladakh are bathed three times only in their lives, when they are born, when they marry and when they

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost 361
impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes.

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the [133]
easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen [136]
thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex
ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour
from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of
the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched
them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreci-
ate the height we had reached and how it affected one by
slackening movements.

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to
Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously
coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley
with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens,
the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery
built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, 491
with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on 172
the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the
whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old
Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle
of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150.

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It 346
seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings,
some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow
passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts
there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows
and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably
for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of 778
Chubrezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its back-
ground is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has
eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the
others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out
tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being
held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a
jewel in the other.

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the 788
foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven,

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. **Physical aspects.** WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [32]

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. **Botany.** WT 137 WT [245]

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and **Fauna.** WT 136

the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx). Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:-- 136

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is extremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:-- 132

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately connected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

K 175 [648]

WT 642 175 792

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

ponies swimming. What was to be done? The question was soon answered by the pony-men taking the loads off the ponies and carrying them across, then tying a rope round a pony's neck, the pony being forced into the river whilst the rope was held by the man who walked across the bridge, thus keeping the pony's head up-stream, so that the strain was lessened. In this way all our ponies came across safely, but the man on the bridge had some difficulty in keeping his feet as the strain on the rope was fairly severe, especially in mid-stream. 492

The village of Suru lies under Nun Kun, a fine pile of rock, the summit being 23,500 feet above sea-level. It is one of the peaks that we can see from near Srinagar, and looks like a white pyramid. From where we stood, looking up from the Suru river, it was just magnificent, its great glaciers shining in the sunlight. 361 133

Just outside the village is a lonely grave, that of Captain Christian, who died of typhoid whilst on a shooting expedition. We spoke to the head of the village about safeguarding the grave.

On our march from Suru we came across a great number of marmots, living in communities like rabbits. They are of a reddish brown colour and of the size of a small fox. They place sentinels around their village, who sit on the top of a rock to enable them to get a good view of their enemies, and whistle louder and louder as they see one approaching and then dart into their burrows. They are most fascinating animals. They seem to like the wild garlic that grows profusely in these regions. 136

We entered the Wardwan Valley by the Do Nullah Pass, and had to walk for seven miles on a glacier; it was exciting work jumping the crevasses. We were careful to take off some inches on this side and land with plenty 133

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li
101 (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear
175 that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From
[133] Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over
[131] the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardù districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

101 3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem
175 to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák.
[778] *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu,
[144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion,
[134] with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate
● 137 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the
132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
133

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(Hugh Murray) has apparently corrected the Palow of the older copy to agree with his own identification, and has moreover changed the direction from north-east by *east*, to north-east by *north*, perhaps with a view of bringing it nearer to the true bearing of Kashgár, which is the next place mentioned. Now it is evident from Hwan-Thsang's* statement, that the district of *Pa-lo-lo*, or Bolor, must, in his day, have extended to the north of the Kárákoram range, and that the northern portion from Sir-i-kol to Khafalun, was then, as now, almost uninhabited. This, therefore, in my opinion, is the country which Marco Polo describes. /75

The Kárákoram Pass was traversed by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian, in A.D. 399.† He calls the range *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains," a name which they must have received from the number of wild leeks that grow upon them, and scent the air in all directions. They were found by Dr. Thomson on the elevated plateaux to the south of the pass. Mir Izzet Ullah no doubt alludes to the strong and unpleasant smell of these wild leeks, when he ascribes the headache and difficulty of breathing that are usually attendant on ascending great heights, to the *Esh*, which is a Turki word, signifying "smell."‡ /133X /103 /137

The actual height of only one point in this range has /133X

* Fo-kwe-ki. Appendix. The situation of Belor to the *South* of the Kárákoram is also distinctly proved by the testimony of Abu Rihán, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi to India. Speaking of Kashmir he says, "La partie située au midi et à l'orient appartient aux Indiens, et la partie qui se trouve à l'occident dépend de plusieurs rois, dont *le plus proche* est Belor Shah," that is, the king of Balti.

† Fo-kwe-ki, c. iv.

‡ Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March, 1825, p. 113. The Gerards attributed their headaches to the same cause.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

beauty by anything that I have seen in the Himálaya, always excepting the lovely valley of the Byâs. The length of this ridge is eighty miles, from the neighbourhood of Chaneni to the southern bend of the Punach river.

The fourth portion of the Sub-Himálaya is altogether unknown. It extends from Koteli to Dhángali, the Ghakar capital on the Jehlam, a distance of twenty-five miles.

The fifth, and most westerly portion of the Sub-Himálaya, stretches from the Jehlam to the Indus, a distance of nearly seventy miles. It rises to an elevation of more than 7,000 feet, and is well clothed with trees on its northern slopes.

In this general survey of the mountain-ranges that bound the Panjáb to the north, I have purposely omitted all mention of the vegetable products that occur at different heights, as this subject naturally forms a part of Dr. Thomson's botanical labours. I have also omitted all notice of glaciers: not that I am unaware of their existence, but because I have seen so few of them that I have nothing to say of them which is worth recording. In 1839, I traversed a magnificent glacier which spanned the valley of the Cheli rivulet, below the Kali Debi Pass (16,700 feet). It was fissured in all directions, and down the main fissure, which was five feet wide, I saw the stream trickling at a depth of more than 300 feet. The surface was covered with hardened snow and imbedded stones; but the mass, as seen in the fissures, was clear transparent ice, filled with white specks. This glacier was about one mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad, with an average depth of 200 or 300 feet. In

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

236 goats in Ladák must be about 80,000. The average price of a shawl-wool goat is four rupees, and the total value of the flocks of Ladák Rs. 3,20,000, or £32,000.

231 *Dog.*—The domestic dog* of Ladak is the well-known shepherd's dog, or Tibetan mastiff. They have shaggy coats, generally quite black, or black and tan; but I have seen some of a light-brown colour. They are usually ill-tempered to strangers; but I have never found one that would face a stick, although they can fight well when attacked. The only peculiarity that I have noticed about them is that the tail is nearly always curled upward on to the back, where the hair is displaced by the constant rubbing of the tail.

II.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

I.—TREES.

137 The vegetable productions of Ladák are few and unim-
245 portant. The trees consist of willow, two varieties of poplar,† a kind of tamarisk, the pencil-cedar, and the *Elæagnus Moorcroftii.*‡ The tamarisk and the pencil-

* The Tibetan name for a dog is *Khyi.*

† *gShol-po* and *dByar-pa.*

‡ Capt. Madden, in the Horticultural Society's Journal, has quoted a passage from Moorcroft, to the effect that "a few willows and poplars are the *only trees* in Ladák," and he then produces the authority of Capt. H. Strachey to show that Moorcroft was wrong. But the fact is, that Moorcroft is right *in what he does say*, for either Capt. Madden or Capt. Strachey has misquoted him. In his Travels, I. p. 267, Moorcroft distinctly states that willows and poplars are the *only timber-trees* in Ladák; and in I. p. 306, he repeats the same thing. But in both places he says *timber-trees;* and he is right; for the *Shukpa* (*Shug-pa*) is too small a tree to yield timber, although, if not held sacred, it might yield wood for boxes. Capt. Madden should have recollected that the *Ser-shing* had been first described by Moorcroft, and was therefore named *Elæagnus Moorcroftii.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cedar (*Shukpa*) are indigenous; the others are all regularly planted. The plane-tree has been introduced into Skardo, where its size and beauty have obtained for it the name of *Shing-Gyal*, "the prince of trees." The poplar is the most valuable wood in the country, as its long straight bole is particularly adapted for bridges, and for the rafters and beams of houses. It is generally planted in straight rows. The willow abounds in all the water-courses, but generally in the state of a pollard, as its supple twigs and branches are extensively used for baskets of all kinds and hurdles. These two trees were first met with at Gya, at a height of 13,500 feet. They furnish the only fire-wood procurable in Ladák; but wood is too valuable in this barren country to be thus wasted, and the principal fuel used by the people is short Tibetan furze, called *Dáma*, and dried dung of all kinds. The Elæagnus is an ornamental tree with a yellow flower, from which it derives its name of *Ser-shing*, or yellow tree. It is the Persian *Sanjit*. The tamarisk is abundant in the narrow glen of the Rulang-chu, or Puga rivulet, below the hot springs, where they attain fifteen and sixteen feet in height, the warmth of the water, 66°, being favourable to their growth.

The fruit-trees are the apple, the apricot, the walnut, the mulberry, and the vine.* The apricot is the only one found as high as Gya, 13,500 feet. The vine and apple make their first appearance at Bazgo and Sáspul, the walnut at Sáspul, and the mulberry at the monastery of Tamisgong. The apples, which are plentiful along the Indus, are of large size and good flavour. The apricots are large, but not so well flavoured as those of Balti. The grapes are much inferior to the splendid fruit of

* The vine is called *Gun*, *rGun*.

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [473] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhâsa territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

[434] 563 473 443

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdár-ships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

It was extremely seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in 137
rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [753]
branches from the trees and had taken them home /34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-sin, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 372
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and [291] partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter I.

The District.

Configuration and sub-divisions of *mustri* Láhaul.

lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi; here there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *ommání pádmę hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chodhten* or *Dangten*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangser, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Villages and scenery in Spiti.

is the great want in Spiti, yet the river itself and its tributaries, fed from immense glaciers, and at their fullest in the hottest weather, supply none; their beds are too deep, and their sides are too steep and friable, so that the *zamíndár's* only resource is in the water of small streamlets which flow from small ravines in the face of the mountains which shut in the main valley. Some of these dry up altogether, and others run very low towards the end of the summer. The main valley looks as if it had consisted originally of a level plain from a mile to two miles wide, but the greater part of this plain has been carried away by the river which now runs in rapid shallow streams scattered over a very broad bed shut in by steep cliffs; the remains of the plain form plateaus above the cliffs, and it is on these plateaus that the villages stand. From the plateaus the mountains rise up in long steep smooth slopes of *débris*, till near the top, rocks rise out of the slope in the shape of walls or jagged ridges, and end the view. The plateaus and slopes of *débris* look brown and bare; and the rocks are of all colours, shades of red and yellow predominating. There are no trees, and to get sight of green grass you must go up into the high lands on the left bank already mentioned. All available water seems to be carefully reserved for the fields, and there are no *dang* or irrigated hay-fields as in Láhaul. In place of hay a kind of thistle and a vetch, which grow wild in the valleys, are cut and stored for winter fodder. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the bed of the river, and lower down a prickly shrub (*Hippophæ salicifolia*) is common in the same position, but they are neither big enough nor green enough to alter the prevailing barren tints of the scenery. At the lower end of the valley a few *shokpa* (*Juniperus excelsa*) and poplar and willow trees are to be seen. These, with the exception of a kind of dwarf birch which is found in one or two places, furze, broom, wild rose, and currant bushes, comprise all the trees and shrubs of the country. The Pin valley is more absolutely bare of tree or bush than any other part of Spiti, but there is more grass than in the main valley, which is probably due to a greater rainfall. In spite of the utter want of verdure, there is a great deal of beauty in the scenery; the hills near at hand have very quaint and picturesque outlines, and their scarped sides show a strange variety of strata, each with a different tint of colour; above them a glimpse is caught of some snowy peak standing back against a very blue sky; in front are the bold sweeps of the river and the cliffs, supporting the plateaus, upon which, at long distances, the white houses and green fields of the villages are conspicuous. All this, seen through an excessively clear and pure atmosphere, makes as pretty a picture as is possible in the absence of verdure and blue water. The only blue water in Spiti is contained in one or two lakes, to see which requires a long climb out of the valley; there is a small one above Dankar, and another of considerable size at the foot of the Mánirang pass. The water in the rivers is always thick and yellow, an unusual thing in the Himalayas, and due of course to the

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 **Chapter I.**

The District.

Villages and scenery in Spiti.

formation of sandstone and lime before alluded to. The valley is similarly described by Mr. Theobald :—

"All along the course of the Spiti river are seen old river terraces or deposits of shingle and sand, reaching to a height of some 400 feet above the present river level. Behind these regular deposits, rise almost mountainous accumulations of *débris*, precipitated by frost from the abruptly scarped limestone cliffs bounding the valley. The height of this gravelly mass mainly depends on the height of the cliff at whose base it has accumulated, but not uncommonly reaches to 1,500 or 2,000 feet above the river." In the depth of the valley the soft soil of the cliffs which shut in the river-bed has been hollowed out by the action of time and water into fantastic shapes. "Out of a soil of clay and bold rock," writes Captain Harcourt, "uprise rough monument-like masses that are not a little peculiar in appearance, for they are crenelated and honey-combed all over with deep holes and apertures as if scooped out by art, supporting on their summits great boulders of stone which in all probability have kept the masses underneath from wearing altogether away."

132 Climate of Spiti.

[133]

The seasons in Spiti correspond generally with those of Láhaul; though the spring is somewhat later, and the winter of longer duration. The mean elevation of the villages is considerably higher than in Láhaul, averaging 12,000 feet or over, and rising as high as 14,000. Snow begins to fall in December, and remains on the ground until the end of April, but seldom exceeds a depth of 2½ feet, which is less than in Láhaul. The cold during the winter is very severe and is aggravated by violent and piercing winds. Slight showers of rain fall in July and August, though the district is beyond the regular influence of the monsoon; severe frosts set in before the close of September, in which month Mr. Lyall records that a stream of water he had observed at night running down a slope from a broken canal, was turned into solid ice by the morning. "The climate," he adds, "is a remarkably healthy one; excepting a few simple complaints, such as colic or rheumatism; sickness appears to be almost unknown." He saw in his sojourn in the valley no cases of goitre or critinism, and remarks that "the muscular development of both men and women looks large and hard compared with that of the people on the south side of the Himalayas." In the summer Captain Harcourt records that the days are exceptionally hot. The mean temperature of the Upper Spiti valley is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows :—

[164]

[148]

January	17°
April	33°
July	60°
Autumn	39°
Year	39·4°

● 137 Flora.

[113]

For an account of the flora and vegetable productions of Láhaul, reference should be made to Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal, which contains an excellent paper upon the subject by Dr. J. E. T. Aitchison, a Civil Surgeon on the Punjáb establishment, and late British Joint-Commissioner at Léh. The hills of Spiti are, as has been already stated, bare and devoid of forest. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bed of the rivers, and lower down a prickly shrub (*Hippofa salicifolia*) is common in the same position. At the lower end of the valley there is a sprinkling of pencil cedar (*Juniperus excelsa*—locally *shokpa*), poplar and willow trees, which, with the addition of a kind of dwarf birch (of which occasional specimens occur), furze, broom, wild rose and currant bushes, complete the catalogue of trees and bushes in the country. The Pin valley is more absolutely devoid of forest growth than any other part of Spiti; but, owing probably to a more liberal rainfall, is comparatively rich in grass.

der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washington when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth*, which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

361 shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so
161 shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and
[132] narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

• 137 The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the
[133] Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[1] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

197 Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—"*Ram, ram*" or "*Namaste.*" In Lahul they became Tibetan—"*Ju Ju*" or "*Ju Le.*"

 [1] [Headman--Revenue]

777 was plain that the clouds were lifting and that the storm was breaking up.

By the time the mule train was packed, we were in streaming sunshine and Toche Phirche was beginning to lose some of its sogginess through steam. There were black, ominous clouds on a high ridge to the north, the direction we were headed. Budh Ram pointed to them, misgivings written in his face. I grinned, pointed to my hat, and then to the clouds.

133 I was a good prophet. We climbed a thousand feet or so as we
137 left Toche Phirche and soon came into a vast basin (called Kiangcha), mostly flat, fifteen or twenty miles wide, and stretching ahead and behind as far as the eye could see. This basin was covered with scattered patches of the *dama* (*Caragana versicolor*), a low bush clinging to the ground like heather. It is used as fuel in this region and has the interesting feature of burning even though green. A moss called *burtse* (Eurotia) also grew here, a moss I had seen ever since we left Chakchu. It grew in clumps as big as a saucepan and was dried by the natives for use
[136] as fuel. We traveled the basin for several hours. There were ibex above us on the canyon walls to the west, feeding off and on, then stopping to watch us, but always keeping a thousand yards or more distant. The storm that had been making up to the north swung east and then south, leaving us in brilliant sunshine all the way.

777 I stopped to put some flowers in my plant press and before mounting my mule made the announcement that I was tired of wearing my glass helmet. "Does anyone want to wear it?" I asked.

Rahul spoke up, so I gave it to him. We moved on—Rahul, the glittering white helmet, and the dappled gray mule in the rear. In an hour we had climbed a slight rise in the broad basin and faced Pagmur Pass to the north and a host of granite peaks and ice fields to the northwest. A storm that was brewing among the peaks soon moved toward us. It came faster than a horse

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 9

SHEEP ARE THE GOODS TRAINS

There is an old Tibetan saying that "sheep are the goods trains, ponies and mules the mail trains." It was above Jispa where the court had been held and not far below Baralacha Pass that I saw the first sheep train.

The trail north from Jispa follows the narrow, winding Bhaga canyon. After a few miles the juniper thins out, leaving hills that are mostly barren in August. Jispa, which lies at 10,500 feet, is dry and dusty; but there are basins in the towering canyon walls that are 16,000, 17,000, 18,000 feet high which show touches of light green. There are wild roses along the trail—white and blue. A host of tiny saxifrage grow in the rock fields. These delicate white flowers are hardy and widespread; yet I found an occasional dwarf mountain dandelion even higher than the saxifrage. The Bhaga canyon shows no other colors in August—no color other than the monotonous browns and grays of the slate and granite that dominate the ridges.

The trail skirts bleak cliffs that drop hundreds of feet to the

492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

[804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

49 One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
•137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of all vegetation except red, yellow, and gray lichens and a few of the sturdy saxifrage.

At one time there had been a serai at Zing Zing Bar with rock walls and a galvanized iron roof stretched on steel rafters. But the weight of snow had crushed the serai, making it uninhabitable. I found a level spot in the vast rock field where I put my bedroll. And after inflating my air mattress and getting everything in condition for the night, I joined the muleteers.

They had piled some of our baggage in the form of an L to provide a windbreak, and they had a fire of mule dung going. They were making tea, a tea unlike anything we of the West know. It is called *gur gur cha*. The correct and proper way to make it is to brew the tea (which is kept in a bag) the day before, adding a pinch of soda and letting it simmer until it has a pinkish tinge. The next day put the brew in a churn, add salt and yak butter (*gie*), and mix thoroughly. Then heat the mixture until it is piping hot and serve.

Rup Singh omitted the first step. He had a tall, cylindrical, wooden churn in which, with the use of a plunger, he mixed water, salt, and yak butter. After the butter was dissolved he poured the contents of the churn into the teapot. When the tea had boiled, it was ladled out in cups. It sounds repulsive and sometimes is, when the yak butter is rancid. But Rup Singh's *gur gur cha* was good. A cold wind was sweeping down from Baralacha, chilling us. The *gur gur cha* seemed to have a special warmth. It was nourishing too. We sat in silence for perhaps a quarter hour sipping it.

Then the muleteers ate their supper. They had a sack of flour made from barley that is cut when slightly green, then baked and ground. This flour is carried in every caravan that travels Lahul, Ladakh, or Tibet. It is the mainstay of each meal along the trail. My muleteers ate it in the customary manner—they put a handful of it in a cup of *gur gur cha* and stirred it up until

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[757] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat* is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

•137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

*[of the marmot--Analyst]

000 it was there that we stopped for lunch. In this grove camel caravans were repacking for the trek downstream to Khargil. Farmers were gathered under the trees, gleaning news from the men of the caravans. Mule trains, carrying produce between the villages up and down the Indus in the manner of our locals, rested
132 in the shade. It was cool in the shade but blistering in the sun. Though this stretch of the Indus lay over eleven thousand feet high, the daytime temperature marched well over 100 degrees; and on some days it went into the 130's. The summer heat is so great and so sustained that it brings grain to maturity in two months' time.

487 The trail, after crossing the Indus, divides, one fork going south along the river's edge to Spitok, Khalatse, and Khargil, the other turning north to Leh, the Khardong Pass (18,380 feet), and Yarkand, an ancient trading center of Sinkiang. We took the right fork
• 137 and in four miles came to Leh. This approach to Leh is dreary and desolate. In early summer there are buttercups, columbine (called asses' sugar), and clematis in this area. Later come the vetches, lavender, bluebells, and cornflowers. There are great stands of iris, which is sometimes stacked and dried for winter fodder. These flowers bring color to the land. But by mid-August the gaiety is gone. The flush of light green from the tender spring grass has also passed. Now the slopes and nullas are dry and sear.

134 Monotonous browns and grays fill every stretch with desolation. Each view shows the end product of erosion. The ground has been endlessly pounded by the quick feet of goats and sheep; the protective covering of the earth has been eaten off or washed away; there is no topsoil left; every ravine tells the story of harsh runoffs of water; the fields and slopes are strewn with countless rocks, pitched up by the slow working of frost or exposed by the cutting wind that whines ceaselessly along the Indus. There is no shade, no touch of life, no bush, no scattered hummocks of the *dama* bush. There are distant snow-capped peaks to lift the heart; but there are only heat and dust and rubble underfoot.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

beyond our limited human ken, can we not feel with the child of A. B. Paterson's poem :—

> "When people die
> They go to the country over the range."

and say with this Australian poet :

> "Ashes to ashes, and dust to dust :
> Our views by a range are bounded too ;
> But we know that God has this gift in store,
> That when we come to the final change,
> We shall meet with our loved ones gone before
> To the beautiful country over the range."

Then, too, there is such a joyousness in the land, between the long stretches of bare desert of rock and barren hill, which have their own beauty, especially when in an autumn setting of a blue-green river and an azure sky. Wherever a green village snuggles into the brown-red hillside, a rippling stream is heard and a cooling breeze felt in the little plantations of trees, whilst the soft evening light makes the green corn look like plush, or contrasts its autumn gold with the yellow glory of the poplars all set against a background of white snow peaks and blue sky. Nor must we omit the fairy touch of spring, which turns each nestling hamlet into a fairy-land of apricot blossom, exquisite prelude to the return of the green after the long, bare winter. Surely this joyousness gives our people their merry look, their cheerful willingness, and the happiness that bursts into song over every kind of work.

Was there ever a more striking example of the desert blossoming as a rose than is seen on the road between Shimshe Kharbu and Kargil, where in June and July the bushes are aflame with red and pink glory of wild rose, sometimes single as our English rose, sometimes double and varying from light pink to the deepest crimson, fit reward to the traveller who climbs the steep ascent and dares the precipitous paths that precede the flowery outburst. In some parts of Ladak bushes of yellow roses are to be found, having leaves scented like our

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1920 J4 W. Tibetans AJ4

137 English sweetbriar. Nestling in the crevices between the hard bare rocks and stones of the same march, the beautiful fragile-looking columbine rears its dainty white bells, and among the driest patches of stone, especially in the neighbourhood of Kalatse, flowers of the somewhat cyclamen-like caper rejoice the eye. One of the most beautiful pictures lingering in the memory of a journey from Srinagar to Leh in June is provided by the little village of Tashgam, two-thirds of the way from Dras to Shimshe Kharbu. Here at the further end of the village by the side of the Dras river is a little green plantation of trees, the usual halting place for tiffin ; near it a bubbling brook runs down to join the river, and scattered about in its course are beautiful bushes of tamarisk, waving their prolific feathery blossoms in the breeze in a setting of green fields with scattered poplars, and framed like most Ladaki pictures, by the softly-graded lights and shades of the near hills, between and behind which peep the greater white peaks lined against the deep blue of a cloudless sky. In the summer-time the village walls, formed loosely of stones set together with mud, give a foothold to all sorts of little feathery plants, one resembling a wild maidenhair with wee brown flowers ; but of ferns there seems to be only one species, which enjoys those parts of the wall over which the water flows to the next terrace in the process of irrigation. Ice plants, such as we conserve in pots and rockeries at home, with their pinky white flowers abound, and the walls are often overgrown with a wild clematis which has the quaintest little brown flowers, surely turning into little elves and gnomes when no human is at hand. The edges of the fields and watercourses are adorned with yellow members of the ranunculaceæ, vetches, purple representatives of the scrophulariaceæ, species of milkwort, wild parsley and mint, and even dandelions. Belladonna is plentiful to the verge of nuisance in our gardens, and lucerne crops up everywhere. Edelweiss grows in broad patches over the lawns of the Leh Residency,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

but Nature's most wonderful show is reserved, like the peoples' little box gardens, for the roof of her world. On the Zogi Pass which is the same altitude (11,500 feet) as Leh, in the summer months one of the outstanding features is the profusion and luxuriance of the flowers. One visitor to Ladak, re-crossing the pass in autumn, counted seventy different kinds as she rode along on her pony. At the foot of the high Kardong Pass behind Leh, at an elevation of between 15,000 to 16,000 feet, many of the same varieties grow, but they need and amply repay a little search there, as they have not the grassy sward of the Zogi, but must seek shelter among the stones. Here on these heights, to mention a few only, are found yellow Iceland poppies, Michaelmas daisies, small deep-blue gentians, forget-me-nots, forming a carpet of blue on the Zogi stretches, but replaced by the deep-blue of the borage below the Kardong, deep purple orchids, primulas in all shades of magenta and purple, cow parsley, a kind of stinging nettle, asters, saxifrage, vetches, Canterbury bells, and on the Zogi the single anemone and the tall bunched Japanese variety, even the green foxglove and the coarse edelweiss.

The highest trees in the land are poplars and two or three kinds of willows. A little lower in a few restricted spots are pencil cedars, as at Hemis Shukpachan; these so-called "Shukpa" trees are holy, and their branches are made use of in religious rites. Donkey-loads are brought up to Leh a few weeks before Christmas for an annual religious festival, and the missionaries secure a load or two for making their own Christmas trees. The tree affording most grateful shade in Ladak, the Walnut, does not mature its fruit above Nurla, and apple-trees do not survive above the Basgo-Nyemo Valley, one march below Leh. Nor do apricots ripen much beyond stewing purposes in Leh, and our supplies are brought up from the lower villages. Wild currant bushes are sometimes n in the lower valleys. Away on the bare hills one would

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

137 hardly credit any green growth at all, yet even here all sorts of little herbs and flowering thistles grow, each showing marked adaptation to its very dry habitat. Most important of these is the pungent-smelling, low-growing, bushy herb called *Burtsa*, which in the wildest places, far from habitation and cultivation, serves as fuel for man and food for beast.

Even now we have forgotten one of the most typical and best-known flowers in Ladak, the little stunted blue and white iris that springs up all along the water courses, and is the first flower to gladden our winter-weary eyes. Like most species up here, of plants and animals and even men, it exhibits the dwarfed mountain habit, and would look insignificant beside its handsome counterpart in Kashmir.

136 As regards the fauna of the country, we can better describe it under transport and shikar, for under those two headings we meet with nearly all the species which occur, but we might here add a few words about the birds of the country.

In the summer of 1923, Mr. B. B. Osmaston, a keen ornithologist visited Ladak, and made a list of sixty-seven different species of birds that he found in this country. Let it be noted that for many of these, the Ladaki has his own Tibetan name, showing that he is not only an observer, but a lover of nature. We have our residents, and our summer and winter visitors. That the latter should find even Leh too warm in the summer is surprising. Let us begin with our residents. Of the crows and ravens, our friendly scavengers, to whom should be added the noisy magpies with their constant "cha, cha, cha, cha, cha, cha," we have already spoken, but we must not forget the chough with its red or yellow bill, who in the early spring builds his nest in the sandy cliff near Leh, while pigeons (Rock and Blue Hill) abound. Smaller birds on the whole, find the rigours of winter too severe, and many of them leave us, their places being taken by others, who descend from the higher regions. The sparrow we have always with us, and he is kept company by

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the snow having now receded to the distant hills and left our path clear, and by about three p.m. reached Dras.

But we must not, in all fairness to the Zogi, leave it as though its presiding demons always held sway. In the three months of July, August and September, this dreaded road loses all its difficulties and is transformed into one of nature's most beautiful flower gardens. A visitor to Leh re-crossing it at the end of August describes it as follows : " The Zogi on our return journey was one vast flower garden and rockery, impossible in its wealth of beauty to describe. From my pony's back, I counted seventy different wild flowers crossing the Zogi La alone. There were carpets of edelweiss and blue gentian, mauve daisies, yellow ragwort, pink 'coralflower' and rich purple pelargonium. The whole hillside in one part would be sky blue with a sheet of forget-me-nots, further beyond the rich verdure of the grass there would be a mass of pink or mauve where the flower grew in rich profusion."* After the bare hills of Ladak, the green slopes are extraordinarily verdant, and large flocks of sheep and goats are brought up here from the Plains in summer to pasture. We were particularly interested, one August, when stopping for the night at Machoi on our way down, to notice one of these enormous flocks pass near the rest-house in single file. One after another they came in unceasing procession, over one thousand of them, tall Kashmiri goats with their look of foolish fearfulness ludicrously mixed with the patriarchal solemnity lent by their tufted beards, all of them so expressive, and many with irrisistibly humorous resemblances to one's human acquaintances, sheep of all sorts, mothers bleating and young ones following: it seemed as if they would never end. Fortunately for us their shepherds had set up a little camp quite near us at the foot of the great glacier behind Machoi, and we were able to procure a little fresh goat's milk from them instead of resorting to tins. With the words and tune of the

* *Tales of Tirah and Lesser Tibet.* Mrs. Lilian Starr.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

244 of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

[372] Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun
[514] and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Recourse has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with
241 earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception
231 of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them.
[137] The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

241 According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

[23] Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

/Illustrations and Photographs. /[1]

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531/ No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailasas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116-- Analysis]

778
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Nr. 2.

531
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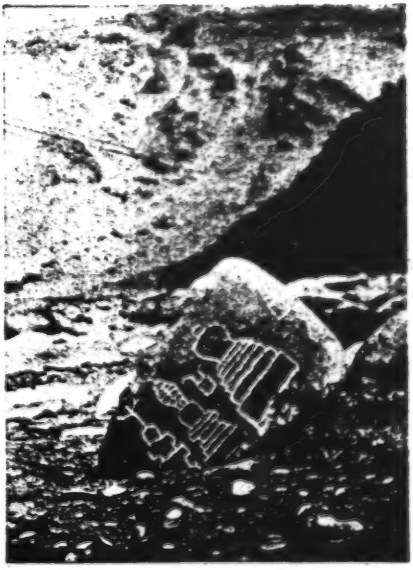

Nr. 3. Captions for above pictures on p. 100

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [312]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133x fallen masses. On the south side of the valley there is first a low ridge, and then above that tower great precipices of limestone rock. The Drās River enters the valley by a gorge, flows through it 25 feet below the level of the lowest alluvial terrace, and leaves by a similar narrow rock-passage.

132 137 The barrenness of the hill-sides is caused by the absence of moisture in the air and of any but the very slightest fall of rain. The range we passed through, and which in a former chapter was described in some detail, and shown to be generally a very lofty one, intercepts the moisture, whose source is the sea, obliges it to be precipitated on the outer side, and shelters this Ladākh country from the periodical rains, cutting off the supply of moisture to such an extent that the hill-sides are not only bare of trees, but of grass as well, free from forest and without herbage.

133x This is the character of all the country we have now to traverse, not only as far as Leh, but all that we have left to describe; so that when not specially mentioned, it must be remembered and taken for granted that the surface of the mountains is bare rock or loose stone.

132 And not only is the contrast great between the look of the green-clothed, forest-clad hill-sides of Kashmir and the arid, bare, and stony mountains of this Tibetan country, but the feel of the air too is very different; here in Ladākh is a clear light-blue sky and bright sun, with a brisk keen air; it is more a climate of extremes, in that the sun's rays are powerful, being less weakened in traversing the smaller thickness of atmosphere, so powerful as to heat quickly the rocky ground exposed to them, while, from its rarity, the air both receives less heat from the sun's rays, and in the evening allows of a quick radiation from the day-heated ground, so that cold nights suddenly succeed to days that have been felt to be hot by those exposed to the sun. As compared with this Ladākh country the air even of the higher parts of Kashmir is soft and mild.

The valley of the Drās River, though generally bearing out what has just been said as to climate, has not the Tibetan characteristics in the highest degree; the gap of the Pass allows some

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tib

137 The villages are bare of trees; only at one or two places a few willows and poplars are to be seen.

563 The inhabitants are of two, or even it may be said three, distinct races; Matāyan has Kashmīrī who have been settled there for some generations; the hamlets of Drās are partly Dārd and partly Baltī; of these people I propose to defer the account till later.

631 We have spoken of Drās as one of the valleys of Ladākh. The bounds of Ladākh may be taken differently, according as we consider it politically or from any other point of view. Drās has not the same inhabitants nor the same religion as the central part of Ladākh, being in these respects more allied to Baltistān; but in the time of the old rulers Drās was part of the kingdom of Ladākh, and we too will reckon it as coming under that name, although latterly, for administrative purposes, it has been put with Baltistān.

DRAS TO KARGIL: THREE MARCHES.

133x The distance from Dras to Kargil is 40 miles; it makes two good marches and a short one. The road continues down the same valley, over stony ground, along the foot of great rocky [361] mountains. Few villages are passed, and even those one goes near are not always visible from the path, for some are situated hundreds of feet above, on plateaus, the remains of denuded alluvial fans.

I have used this word "fan" before, and I shall in the future so often have to repeat it, applying it to a certain form of alluvial deposit, that it will be well here to explain the exact meaning attached to it.

When a side-stream debouches from a narrow gorge into a wide valley it is apt to deposit the material it carries down (washed from the mountains behind) in a fan-like form at the mouth of the ravine. This fan is part of a low cone, having its apex at the point of debou[illegible]ment; the slope of it, which may be a few degrees, is very regular along each radius; the spread of it may vary from a few hundred yards to a few miles; the thickness of the

[On the [illegible]de of the Dras - Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/4

deposit, the height of the apex above the plain or the main-valley bottom, is often many hundred feet. 133x

The fans frequently have become denuded, that is to say, cut up; their remains are sloping plateaus (with a slight curvature of surface) attached to the hill-sides in front of the ravines; these plateaus are commonly divided into halves by a gulley, through which the side-stream now flows at a low level, and they may end in a cliff towards the main river. The importance of these fans (whether they be whole or denuded ones) with respect to the habitation of the country consists in this, that it is chiefly, though not universally, upon them that cultivated ground occurs, the water of the side-streams being led over them for irrigation.*

To return to our route. Below Tashgām we come into a granite country; the mountains rise on both sides to a great height; not always are they seen thus lofty from the valley, but from any vantage ground above we look on to serrated ridges of 17,000 and 18,000 feet, the whole vertical height from that level down to the river, which is at little more than 9000, being of bare, irregular, [311] broken cliffs and their débris. The sketch on the next page shows a view up a side-valley that penetrates into the mountain mass to one of the lofty ridges; its whole sides are naked, but a narrow strip of watered and cultivated ground lies in the bottom.

The mountains, though at the first glance they show no trace of herbage, yet do bear a little; this is sought out by the small herds of goats that are driven to the more favourable places. Along part of this road two or three kinds of bush occurred pretty plentifully; one is the pencil cedar (*Juniperus excelsa*), which sometimes grows low and sometimes taller and tree-like; another is a bush called by the people "umbū" (a *Myricaria*); then there were currant bushes and numbers of red-rose trees, each tree being magnificently furnished with flowers, this was in the middle of June; all these were on the lower slopes among dry stones, flourishing where no grass would grow. 137

The Drās River goes on north-north-westward to join the Indus; 133x

* For details about the formation and denudation of fans in Ladākh I must again refer to the paper before mentioned, in the Quarterly Journal Geological Society, xxix. 8

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/4

inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, 133
originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down 361
to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsí.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove 137
of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there 778
grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 10 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or 712
tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards 175
the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly 792
ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support 361
the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tarūtse, which we made the halting-place, was reached.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans A14

alluvial flats of the two rivers and the lofty mountains bounding them, with ravines, seldom habitable, that lead down from the heart of those mountains.* 133x

At the junction of the rivers the valley of the Shāyok is some four miles wide; that of the Nubrā River is from two to three. The flat is in part sandy and shingly, in part occupied by jungle-patches of a low growth of tamarisk and myricaria, or umbū. The line at the edge of the plain is sharply drawn; the mountains rise from it suddenly in rocky masses, and they rise to a great height. Sometimes one sees only the ends of spurs, but even these may tower above one with 7000 or 8000 feet of bare rock; sometimes the eye reaches to lofty yet massive peaks, may be rocky, may be snow-capped, of much greater height, with great spurs and buttresses coming forward from beneath them. The stupendous size and the suddenness of the mountains give a character of grandeur to the scenery of this district. [32]

On looking at the two valleys which make the habitable part of it I find a cheerfulness in the general aspect of Nubrā beyond that of the rest of Ladākh. This perhaps may be put down to the fact of the valley being so open that the eye reaches from village to village, and is able at the same time to overlook several green expanses of low jungle and of pasture. But it must not be thought that the cultivation bears any large proportion to the whole area. The villages occur each at the mouth of a ravine on the undenuded fan that projects from it; still it is only a small part of the surface of the fan that is tilled; much of the ground is impracticable for the plough on account of the masses of rock that have been strewn over the surface by the stream-floods. The space occupied by the village is green and pretty. Groups of fruit-trees and many poplars and willows 361 133x

* The following names are given to different parts of Nubrā: *Gyen* is that part of the Shāyok Valley which lies above the junction of the Shāyok and Nubrā rivers so far as habitation extends. *Shāmā* is the part of the Shāyok Valley from the junction downward to the boundary of Baltistān. *Tsurkā* is the valley of the Nubrā River below Panimik, on the right bank. *Farkā* is the valley of the Nubrā River below Panimik, on the left bank. *Yarmā* is the valley of the Nubrā River above Panimik.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve [241] houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the [137] former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of [132] willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the [101] plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs [221] both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133x Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133x themselves, by their currents and their shore-action, had accumulated deposits along the line of the Lokzhung Mountains, which, on their retreating, became bars separating the two watery tracts, and have since become the watershed between the two enclosed drainage-areas.

136 There is another subject—the extent to which this region can
137 support animal or vegetable life—about which the little I have to say may be worth telling, since the place is so seldom visited. In the description hitherto little has been spoken of but earth and stones and rocks; but in this I have been guilty of hardly any omission, so few are the traces of either animal or vegetable life. Vegetation exists but here and there; generally every 10 or 15 miles is to be found some *burtse*, or Eurotia, the plant that serves for fuel, though at one halting-place moss is obtained in its stead, and at another neither *burtse* nor moss can be got. Pasture is still rarer; on leaving the last halting-place in the Chonglung branch of the Chāngchenmo Valley we had to pass over 60 or 70 miles before reaching any grass; the first find was at Lokzhung, a halting-place in the middle of the mountains of the same name. On the Kuenlun Plains grass is equally scarce, and it is only when one gets well into the Eastern Kārakāsh Valley that this cause of difficulty in keeping one's baggage animals alive dis-
136 appears. Of wild animals one would think from the foot-prints that great numbers must live in the plains and the surrounding mountains; but one sees few, and on reflection it appears that the many foot-prints are the work of a comparatively small number of individuals, for in this country a mark made may stay unobliterated for years. I saw Kyang, the Wild Ass, but only singly, at Thaldat, which is a watering-place of his; a track had been made straight to it for two miles, beaten and cleared of stones by continual passage. Hare also are now and then to be seen, and foot-prints of Antelope were observed at various places on the plains. Beyond, on the Eastern Kārakāsh, Kyang, and Antelope, and Hare were more plentiful. A beast I had not before seen, was the wild yāk; him I met among the Lokzhung

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. **Physical aspects.** WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [132]

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. **Botany.** WT 137 WT [245]

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and **Fauna.** WT 136

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 Mongolian origin. Their superiority in bodily strength
147 is perhaps owing partly to the bracing climate of their elevated country, and partly to the former infusion of Hindu blood. I have had practical proof of this superiority amongst the Botis of Láhul, Kanáwar, and Spiti. In 1846 the short Láhuli women carried with the greatest ease, day after day, the roof of my tent, which the taller and finer-looking men of Kullu and Simla refused on account of its weight. Again in 1847 the Kanáwari and Spiti women carried loads at which the pampered Simla coolis had grumbled. I have repeatedly seen a box weighing sixty pounds carried by girls of sixteen and eighteen years of age over the high passes of Kanáwar.

● 141 Regarding their alleged superiority of stature I am rather sceptical. But as no detailed accounts of the average heights of the different Mongolian races are accessible to me, I can only quote the statement of Pallas, that the Kalmaks are "generally of a moderate height," and "rather small than large." The following table shows the stature of the Boti race in different parts of Ladák and Balti, according to the average measurements of from five to seven persons of each sex in many different villages, always including the tallest and shortest men and women that could be found.

TABLE OF STATURE.

	Districts.	Men.			Women.			Landlords.		
		Tallest.	Shortest.	Average	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average
		ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Buddhists.	Rukchu	5 1·5	5 0·0	5 0·9	5 0·0	4 1·0	4 8·2	5 3·0	5 1·0	5 2·5
	Spiti	5 6·5	5 0·0	5 2·4	5 2·5	4 1·0	4 8·9	5 7·5	5 4·0	5 5·7
	Nubra	5 7·0	5 4·0	5 2·7	4 7·0	4 0·0	4 9·8			
	Ladák	5 5·0	4 10·0	5 1·4	5 4·0	4 1·0	4 10·1	5 9·0	5 2·0	5 5·3
	Average			5 1·8			4 9·2			5 4·5

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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	Districts.	Men.			Women.			Landlords.		
		Tallest.	Shortest.	Average	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average
		ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Muslimáns.	Chhorbad	5 8·0	4 8·0	5 0·9	5 0·0	4 4·0	4 9·3			
	Khapolor	5 7·0	4 6·0	5 0·7	5 2·0	4 2·0	4 9·1			
	Keris	5 5·0	5 0·0	5 2·9	4 11·0	4 8·0	4 10·6			
	Parguta	5 9·0	4 10·0	5 3·5	5 4·0	4 4·0	4 8·5			
	Skardo	5 11·0	4 9·0	5 2·3	5 0·0	4 6·0	4 9·7			
	Shigar	5 5·0	4 4·0	5 0·4	4 11·0	4 8·0	4 9·4			
	Rongdo	5 7·0	4 9·0	5 2·1	5 0·0	4 7·0	4 9·7			
	Average			5 1·8			4 9·5			
	Average of Botis			5 1·8			4 9·35			
Hindu Botis.	Upper Kanáwar	5 6·0	4 11·0	5 1·9	5 1·5	4 4·5	4 9·0	5 8·0	5 4·0	5 5·9
	Middle Kanáwar	5 6·0	4 9·0	5 2·0	5 5·0	4 9·0	4 11·1	5 8·0	5 0·0	5 5·3
	Lower Kanáwar	5 9·2	4 11·0	5 4·1	5 6·0	4 10·0	5 1·2	5 7·0	5 7·0	5 7·0
	Average			5 2·0			4 9·7			5 6·1

144

In this table the effect of the admixture of Hindu blood will be seen at once in the superior stature of the people of Lower Kanáwar.* Those of Middle Kanáwar also occasionally intermarry with the Hindus; for I found a woman, named Charanu, a native of Saráhan, near Rampur, who was wedded to two husbands in the village of Kala, opposite Labrang, in Middle Kanáwar. In fact the people of Kanáwar generally are called Kanets, a name which is said to designate a people of mixed race. The proper name of the country is therefore most probably *Karanáwara*, the country of *Karanas*, or people of mixed race, a name usually applied to the offspring of a degraded Khsatriya and a Khsatriya

[103]

* The Botis are shorter than the Kirghiz of Wakhan and Pamer who were measured by Wood.—Oxus, pp. 338—372.

	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.
Men	5 5·5 ...	5 2·0 ...	5 3·2
Do.	5 7·2 ...	5 1·7 ...	5 4·5
		Mean ...	5 3·85

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 female. The same name is applied by Marco Polo to
[103] another mixture of the same races—Tartars and Indians. There are indeed Kanets in other parts of the Himálayas, but only in those districts which border upon Ladák; as in Bisahar, Kullu, Chamba, and Kashtwar.

● 141 The average stature of the Botis of Ladák appears to
146 me to be very short indeed when compared with that of their Hindu and Chinese neighbours; but that this is chiefly, if not wholly, the effect of poor food and of privation of all kinds, is proved by the average stature of the landlords, or head men, of the different villages. These never carry burdens on their backs, are better fed, and better clothed; and (when they travel) usually ride from one place to another, instead of toiling up and down the steep and rugged passes of their native mountains. This shows the beneficial effect of wholesome food and of comparative comfort even in the most rigorous climate.

141 The stature of the women seems to be particularly low. This is not, however, shown in the averages, which exhibit a difference of only four inches between the men and the women. But the number of very short women is much greater than that of very short men. In Ladák I saw only six men that were under five feet in height; of whom two were four feet eleven inches; three were four feet ten inches; and one was only four feet nine inches. Amongst the women of Ladák, however, I saw no less than ten that were under four feet five in height. Of these, one was four feet four and a half; two were four feet four; one was four feet three; two were four feet two; one of forty years of age was four feet one and a half; and three were only four feet one inch in height. I am unable to say positively what may be the cause of

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the great number of very short women; but I am 141 ●
inclined to attribute it partly to the system of polyandry 595
which prevails among them. This system is, I believe, ?
almost universal amongst the mixed race of Kanetis throughout Kanawar and the other Kaneti districts, but as far as I could learn it is not so prevalent amongst the pure Botis of Ladák. The custom has therefore most probably been borrowed from the polyandrous Hindu race of Himálayan Kshatriyas, amongst whom it has been preserved for at least twenty-five centuries, since the Pandavan brothers jointly espoused the princess Draupadi.

The great differences observable in the stature of the 000
Musalmán races of Shigar on the north and of Skardo on the south, must no doubt be attributed to the mixture of other races; of the diminutive Kirghiz of Pamer with the first, and of the tall Kashmìri with the second. The people of Shigar were once, I believe, pure Kirghiz.

In general the Botis have short, squat, stout figures, 142
with broad, flat, ugly faces; but occasionally amongst the better classes I have seen both men and women who were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy colour in their cheeks. Indeed, I have even seen a few of the women that were really handsome, with good regular features and fine figures. But in general they are all, both men and women, not only ugly but hideous, and more especially the old women. Dr. Gerard's amusing description of these people is too graphic to be omitted.* "In figure they are stout, waddling, and dumpy; * * * in face they are not [145]
beautiful, even when young; when past their climacteric, very unseemly; and when old, a picture of horrid ugliness.

* Asiatic Researches, XVIII. p. 249.

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

•141

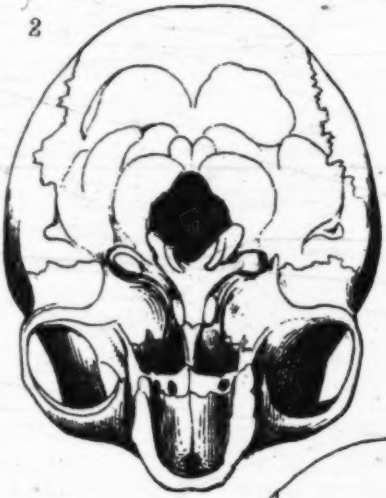
Plate X.

Nomadic BOTI of LADAK, Hánle

1

1/3rd Nat: Size:

2



3

Fac: Ang: 80°

4

Cran: Cap: 74·5 c°in.

Pl 296a

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

142 part to any natural tendency to curl, but solely to the tangled and thickly agglomerated matting of the hair, consequent upon its never having been combed or washed from first to second childhood.

141 In the accompanying plates* I have exhibited four different views of two Botian skulls which I procured at Hanlé and at Lé. The first is a specimen of the nomadic dwellers in tents, the second of the settled inhabitants of houses. There is a considerable difference in the shapes of these two skulls, but I believe that the Lé specimen is a departure from the usual type; its elongated form being most probably due to some malformation at the time of birth. This is I think fully proved by the continuation of the longitudinal suture from the top of the cranium down to the nose. As a second skull from Lé, which I have in my possession, resembles very closely that of the nomadic Boti of Hanlé, this cranium may be taken as a very good specimen of the Ladáki type of Boti.

The characteristics of this type are almost the same as those of the Mongolian. The more striking are a round and globular shape of cranium, and a great lateral extension of the zygomatic arches, coupled with a narrow forehead, which gives what Prichard has called a pyramidal form to the front view of the skull; that is, if lines be drawn from the outside of the cheek-bones touching the temples, they will meet in a point at a short distance above the head. This form is quite different from that of the European skull, in which the width of the forehead is often greater (but I believe
144 never less) than that of the cheek-bones. In other respects these Boti skulls appear to resemble very closely

* Plates X. and XI.

I: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

141

Plate XI.

Settled BOTI of LADAK, Lé.

1/8th Nat. Size.

3

4

Ang. 88°

Cran. Cap. 72.7 cub. in.

Swain Lith. 7 Ye The Sun

297a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 those of the civilized Chinese. Indeed, if the statements of their own historians* are to be credited, that the Chinese originally came from the Shensi forests of the frontiers of Tibet, we can scarcely come to any other conclusion than that they were originally of the same stock as the people of Tibet, or in other words, that they were actually Botis. The Mongolian origin of the Chinese and of the Botis is, I believe, universally admitted; and I would attribute the differences between them and the present nomadic Mongols partly to the early civilization of the Botian race, and partly to the admixture of Hindu blood. The form of the skulls in my possession, and more particularly of the frontal bone, also shows a considerable affinity to the Hindu race. In corroboration of this view, I am happy to quote the opinion of M. D'Halley,† who says, "Peut-être que les Bhots sont des Hindus modifiés par leur mélange avec des Mongols."

141 The following table exhibits the facial angle, the cranial capacity, and the present weight of the four Botian skulls, three of which are in my possession.

Skulls.	Facial angle.	Cranial capacity.	Weight.
		Cubic in.	lb. oz.
No. 1 from Hanlé	80°	74·5	1 4·44
2 „ Lé	68°	72·7	1 6·44
3 „ Lé	73°	70·0	1 7·46
4 „ Balti	75°	72·0	1 2·40
	74°	72·3	1 5·18

The facial angle in these specimens ranges from 68°

* Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 227.

† Des Races Humaines, p. 128, note.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

to 80°; but as there is good reason for supposing that the skull which yields the lower number has been a malformation, I would deduce the mean facial angle from the other three skulls, which agree with each other in general appearance. This would fix the facial angle of the Botis at 76°, which is somewhat less than the European average of 80°, but at the same time it is a considerable improvement upon the Mongolian and Kalmuk average of 70°. That some individuals may occasionally approach the Caucasian standard, we have an example in the cranium of the nomadic Boti of Hanlé, which has a facial angle of 80°. 141

The amount of the cranial capacity is another distinguishing characteristic of different races. In this respect the Botis are remarkably deficient, but perhaps not more so than might be expected from the small size of the race generally. Taking the average height of Europeans at five feet and a half, and the average capacity of their skulls at eighty-eight cubic inches, then the cranial capacity of a Boti five feet in height should be ten-elevenths of the other, or eighty cubic inches. But the average of the three Botian skulls in my possession falls much below this number; that of the most capacious being only seventy-four cubic inches and a half.

The three Botian skulls now described agree very closely, in their respective weights, with that of a Chinese, recorded by Prichard, which weighed 1 lb. 7½ oz. Had the teeth been perfect, the agreement would have been still more close: for No. 1 has but half a tooth; No. 2 has only three teeth, while No. 3 has twelve teeth.

The true average would therefore most probably range

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

141 from 1 lb. 7 oz. to 1 lb. 8 oz. These skulls are all thin and smooth, and of compact texture, excepting only the jaws, which appear to me to be rather massive for the size of the head.

Of the configuration of the Boti skeleton, I can give but little positive information. The shoulders are square and broad, and the trunk is rather long in proportion to the stature. I obtained the pelvis* belonging to No. 1 cranium, which has a longitudinal axis of 3·75 inches, and a transverse axis of 3·6 inches, with a form inclining to the square. According to Professor Weber, as quoted by Prichard, this shape prevails generally amongst people who resemble the Mongolians.

144 The Botian tribe would, therefore, seem to possess the same physical characteristics, both in outward form and in their bony structure, as those which distinguish the Mongolian race generally, with only some slight modifications, which are most probably due to their connection and occasional mixture with the Caucasian race of India.

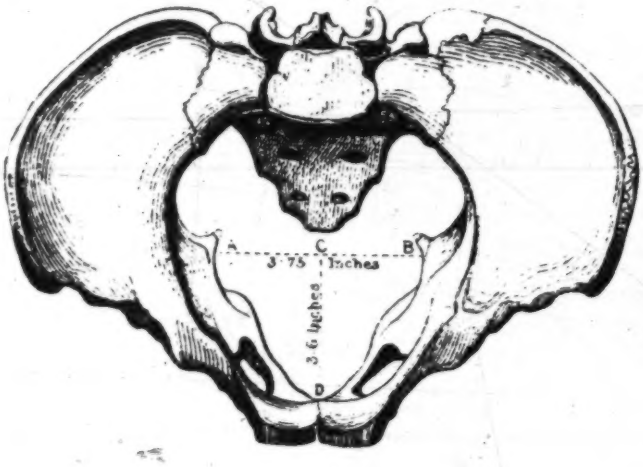
000 For the sake of comparison I have given sketches of two Kashmirian skulls,† one male and one female, which I procured in the city of Kashmir. The differences are very striking; but more particularly the oval shape of the skull, the flattened form of the zygomatic arches, and the narrowness of the jaws; all of which peculiarities are characteristic of the Caucasian race. The measurements of my Kashmiri skulls are as follows:—

* See Plate XII. † Plates XIII. and XIV.

141

Plate XII

Pelvis from Hánlé

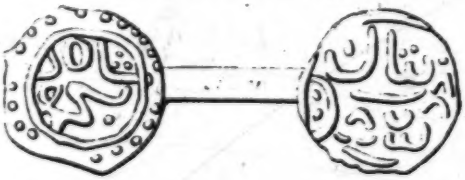


292

Cap of the GVALPO of Ladak.

301

The JAO of Ladak (6)



A. Cunningham del

p. 300 a

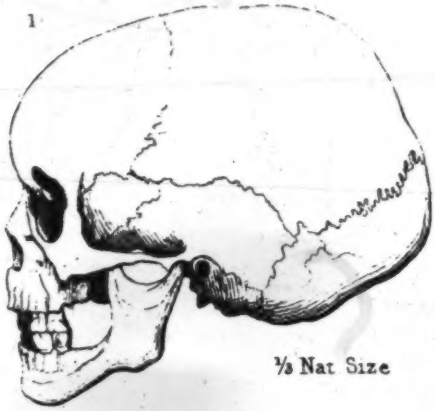
1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

141

Plate XIV.

Female KASA of KASHMIR City

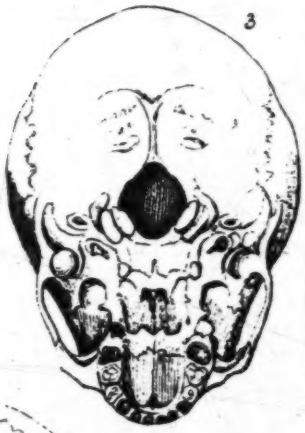
1



⅓ Nat Size

2

3



4

Fac Ang 85°

Cran Cap: c° in.

A Cunningham del

Day & Son Lith to the Queen

p. 300b

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

●141

	Facial angle.	Cranial capacity.	Weight.
			lb. oz.
Male	73·5°	97	1 14·4*
		Cubic in.	
1st Female	85°	68	1 5·2
2nd Female	84°	67·5	
Average Female	84·5°	67·75	

LONGEVITY.

165 One of the most interesting subjects of inquiry which I pursued daily in Ladák was the extreme ages attained by the oldest people in all the villages in my route. To test the value of the information thus collected, I have added to the following table the number of persons per cent. of each sex who reach the respective ages of seventy, eighty, and ninety years throughout the whole of Great Britain. The table requires little explanation. The first and second columns give the actual number of males and females in the several villages where the ages of the people were ascertained. It is necessary that this should be stated, as it will at once account for the great per-centage of females in Rukchu who had passed the patriarchal age of seventy. The number is 2·45 per cent., or three out of 122. But the general average is still much below that of Britain; and I feel satisfied that the whole table gives a very fair approximation to the truth. I have added a column showing the duration of life in Balti and the small Musalman states on the

* This very large skull wants the lower jaw, and has only three teeth in the upper jaw; but the bone of the skull averages about one quarter of an inch in thickness. The whole weight, if complete, would be nearly 2½ lb.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

●142 unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are
291 cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed. On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick
342 soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but
[132] from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing, he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

133 Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many
226 delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the great number of very short women; but I am 141
inclined to attribute it partly to the system of polyandry 595
which prevails among them. This system is, I believe, almost universal amongst the mixed race of Kanetis throughout Kanawar and the other Kaneti districts, but as far as I could learn it is not so prevalent amongst the pure Botis of Ladák. The custom has therefore most probably been borrowed from the polyandrous Hindu race of Himálayan Kshatriyas, amongst whom it has been preserved for at least twenty-five centuries, since the Pandavan brothers jointly espoused the princess Draupadi.

The great differences observable in the stature of the 000
Musalmán races of Shigar on the north and of Skardo on the south, must no doubt be attributed to the mixture of other races; of the diminutive Kirghiz of Pamer with the first, and of the tall Kashmiri with the second. The people of Shigar were once, I believe, pure Kirghiz.

In general the Botis have short, squat, stout figures, 142
with broad, flat, ugly faces; but occasionally amongst the better classes I have seen both men and women who were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy colour in their cheeks. Indeed, I have even seen a few of the women that were really handsome, with good regular features and fine figures. But in general they are all, both men and women, not only ugly but hideous, and more especially the old women. Dr. Gerard's amusing description of these people is too graphic to be omitted.* "In figure they are stout, waddling, and dumpy; * * * in face they are not beautiful, even when young; when past their climacteric, [145]
very unseemly; and when old, a picture of horrid ugliness.

* Asiatic Researches, XVIII. p. 249.

302 ness. Not regardless of the aid of artificial charms, their hair, glistening with rancid oil, hangs loosely round their sunburnt necks. Sometimes it is woven into tresses which braid the contour of the face; but it is commonly unregarded, and blows out in the wind, giving them a shaggy appearance like wild beasts." Gerard's travels were confined to the southern districts of Láhul, Spiti, and Rukchu; in which the climate is much more rigorous than in the districts along the Indus, where apples, grapes, and walnuts are cultivated with success; and where alone I saw the fine-looking women mentioned above.

142 The face of the Boti is broad, flat, and square, with high cheek-bones, large mouth, and narrow forehead. The nose is broad and flat, and generally much turned up, with wide nostrils, and with little or no bridge. The eyes are small and narrow, and the upper eyelids usually have a peculiar and angular form that is especially ugly. The eyes are nearly always black; but brown, and even blue eyes, are seen occasionally. The inner corners are drawn downwards, by the tension of the skin over the large cheek-bones; the eyelids are therefore not in one straight line, parallel to the mouth, as is the case with Europeans, but their lines meet in a highly obtuse angle pointing downwards. This gives an appearance of obliquity to the eyes themselves that is very disagreeable. The ears are prominent, very large, and very thick. They have also particularly long lobes, and are altogether about one-half larger than those of Europeans. The mouth is large, with full and somewhat prominent lips. The hair is black, coarse, and thick, and usually straight and crisp. Bushy heads of hair are sometimes seen, but I believe that the frizzly appearance is not due even in

1:Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

142 part to any natural tendency to curl, but solely to the tangled and thickly agglomerated matting of the hair, consequent upon its never having been combed or washed from first to second childhood.

141 In the accompanying plates* I have exhibited four different views of two Botian skulls which I procured at Hanlé and at Lé. The first is a specimen of the nomadic dwellers in tents, the second of the settled inhabitants of houses. There is a considerable difference in the shapes of these two skulls, but I believe that the Lé specimen is a departure from the usual type; its elongated form being most probably due to some malformation at the time of birth. This is I think fully proved by the continuation of the longitudinal suture from the top of the cranium down to the nose. As a second skull from Lé, which I have in my possession, resembles very closely that of the nomadic Boti of Hanlé, this cranium may be taken as a very good specimen of the Ladáki type of Boti.

The characteristics of this type are almost the same as those of the Mongolian. The more striking are a round and globular shape of cranium, and a great lateral extension of the zygomatic arches, coupled with a narrow forehead, which gives what Prichard has called a pyramidal form to the front view of the skull; that is, if lines be drawn from the outside of the cheek-bones touching the temples, they will meet in a point at a short distance above the head. This form is quite different from that of the European skull, in which the width of the forehead is often greater (but I believe
144 never less) than that of the cheek-bones. In other respects these Boti skulls appear to resemble very closely

* Plates X. and XI.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291
301
142

Women of Lower KANAWAR

Kanet
aged 30
LABRANG

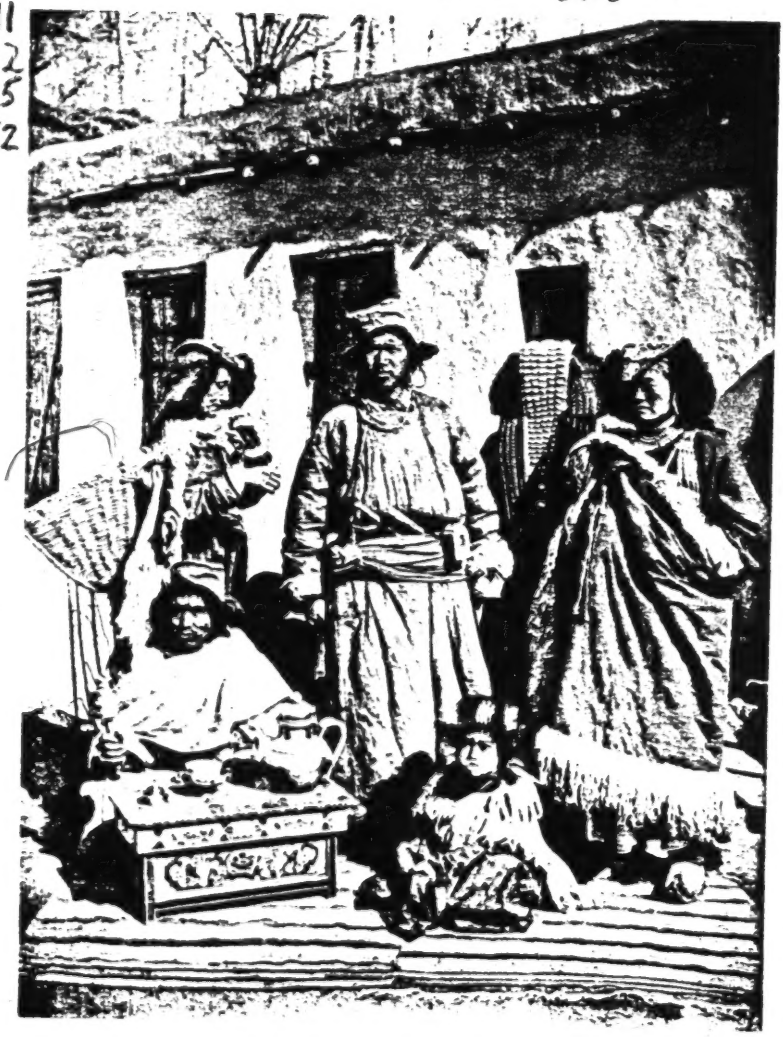
Kanet
5 ft 0 1/4in.

Girl
aged 18
LIPÉ

5: Ribbach--28 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 32/

291
142
415
352



Inhabitants of Ladakh.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 **Chapter I.**

The District.

Villages and scenery in Spiti.

formation of sandstone and lime before alluded to. The valley is similarly described by Mr. Theobald :—

"All along the course of the Spiti river are seen old river terraces or deposits of shingle and sand, reaching to a height of some 400 feet above the present river level. Behind these regular deposits, rise almost mountainous accumulations of *débris*, precipitated by frost from the abruptly scarped limestone cliffs bounding the valley. The height of this gravelly mass mainly depends on the height of the cliff at whose base it has accumulated, but not uncommonly reaches to 1,500 or 2,000 feet above the river." In the depth of the valley the soft soil of the cliffs which shut in the river-bed has been hollowed out by the action of time and water into fantastic shapes. "Out of a soil of clay and bold rock," writes Captain Harcourt, "uprise rough monument-like masses that are not a little peculiar in appearance, for they are crenelated and honey-combed all over with deep holes and apertures as if scooped out by art, supporting on their summits great boulders of stone which in all probability have kept the masses underneath from wearing altogether away."

132 Climate of Spiti.

[133]

The seasons in Spiti correspond generally with those of Láhaul; though the spring is somewhat later, and the winter of longer duration. The mean elevation of the villages is considerably higher than in Láhaul, averaging 12,000 feet or over, and rising as high as 14,000. Snow begins to fall in December, and remains on the ground until the end of April, but seldom exceeds a depth of 2½ feet, which is less than in Láhaul. The cold during the winter is very severe and is aggravated by violent and piercing winds. Slight showers of rain fall in July and August, though the district is beyond the regular influence of the monsoon; severe frosts set in before the close of September, in which month Mr. Lyall records that a stream of water he had observed at night running down a slope from a broken canal, was turned into solid ice by the morning. "The climate," he adds, "is a remarkably healthy one; excepting a few simple complaints, such as colic or rheumatism; sickness appears to be almost unknown." He saw in his sojourn in the valley no cases of goitre or critinism, and remarks that "the muscular development of both men and women looks large and hard compared with that of the people on the south side of the Himalayas." In the summer Captain Harcourt records that the days are exceptionally hot. The mean temperature of the Upper Spiti valley is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows :—

[64]

[48]

January	...	...	...	...	...	17°
April	...	...	...	...	...	38°
July	...	...	...	...	...	60°
Autumn	...	...	...	...	...	39°
Year	...	...	...	...	...	39·4°

137 Flora.

[13]

For an account of the flora and vegetable productions of Láhaul, reference should be made to Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal, which contains an excellent paper upon the subject by Dr. J. E. T. Aitchison, a Civil Surgeon on the Punjáb establishment, and late British Joint-Commissioner at Léh. The hills of Spiti are, as has been already stated, bare and devoid of forest. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 Chapter III, B.

871 Social and Religious Life.

Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

[972]

797

As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 Education.

871

212

In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

[651]

142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognized in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti.

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti :—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *beydr* and common expenses; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind: the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognized. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús; in hearing law

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralized lately by opportunity and impunity.

133 even the tributaries were murky with silt. One side stream about twenty-five feet wide was on a rampage. It had freshly gouged out the mountainside, sweeping away a bridge, washing away many feet of trail, and biting deeply into a ravine. We had to climb high to cross it.

000 Several travelers of the trail had piled up at the one place where the stream was fordable. One train, made up of small donkeys, was being unpacked so that the animals could cross on their own. Men and women were fording the stream, stepping gingerly in the fast, dark water, leaning against the powerful current as they fought their way across.

I took the crossing lightly, as if it were only a casual thing. A thin, dark Lahuli, wiser than I, noticed my cavalier manner and happily waded into the stream to meet me. We met just in time, for I was not prepared for the tremendous onslaught. The main current had me off my feet when the strong arm of my unknown Lahuli friend caught me and half dragged me to shore. While I was waiting for my pack train to catch up with me, my Lahuli friend and I stood guard at the ford, helping all travelers who came along.

Among them were two women and a baby. My Lahuli friend waded across, took the baby from the mother, and brought it safely to the other side. I guided the women, giving one of them a hand and letting the other lean against me. They were wet and breathless when they reached the shore. There were thanks in their eyes and on their lips as they uttered strange words of appreciation, put the baby back in the sling that hung over the mother's shoulders, and took to the trail.

Later we passed them. And when we were having lunch on a huge rock that sat astride the trail, they caught up with us and began a long conversation with Rahul. As he talked I studied
• 142 these women. They were in their late twenties, with dark skin and coal-black hair. The Kulu women had been about as dark, but they had sharper features. These Lahuli women had more of

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142•
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter,* though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[Facing p. 64]

133

At Rothang Pass it seemed that I was on the threshold of another world—a world where magic played the major role, where one in quiet meditation could contact the spirits that occupy a place existing far above the earth.

291
142

The women of Gya were giggling as they started to sing. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal and he is the singer.

142
534

The Gya singers were accompanied by an orchestra of two musicians.

133

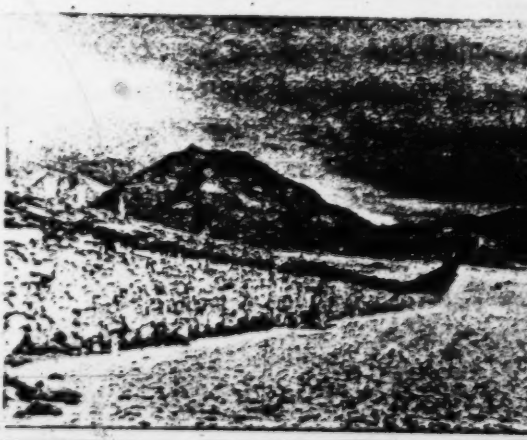
There is a power lurking in these Himalayas greater than any man.

142.

My most interesting patient was an old Ladakhi woman.

132

As one passes a mani wall, keeping it on his right, all the prayers engraved on the stones are said for him: Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.



[Facing p 128]

Dr. Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292

Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha.

291
●142

The Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word.

341

The castle of the King of Ladakh still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

534
291

Zila played the daps and sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice.

[facing p. 192]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Looking overhead into a clear azure sky we noticed two perfect and complete halos round the sun, and were informed by our servants that these signified either the crossing of the pass by some really great men, or the birth of a King.

Our camp had been pitched in a sandy plain surrounded by hills, through which a sluggish streamlet meandered, passing within a few yards of our tents. After a cup of tea, partaken of inside our temporary home as a cold wind was blowing outside, and a rest after the day's trek, we emerged for a walk, and to our surprise found that the whole plain had been converted into a lake. Literally within a space of three hours some giant must have dumped down this expanse of water, measuring about two hundred by one hundred and fifty yards. Next morning practically the whole had disappeared, and this seems to have happened daily for weeks. From here we passed over other plains where the same had occurred, till suddenly there lay before us a large green deep lake, from whose banks there rose a row of sandy mountains, behind which glorious snow-covered peaks stood sentinel. This large inland lake, called "The Panggong," runs far into Tibet, and is formed of brackish water. Seen in the morning light, it really is a fine sight.

Leaving it on our right, we reach the village of Pobrang. We may call it a village, for it can boast of two houses, and is certainly the last resort we could designate by such a name, until we get well into Tibet. Here we get our first glimpse of the Changpas or inhabitants of the Northern Plain. Rough and unkempt-looking, they are not altogether the sort of fellows one would like to meet alone by night, but their jolly smile would soon dispel all fears. Let us first describe them, as far as description is possible, and then glance at their dwellings. Their eyes are typically Mongolian, their noses large and firmly flattened. Long hair, which surely has not made the acquaintance of brush and comb for years, if ever, and which ends in a pigtail, surmounts faces

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 37. The Tok-Tok family: left to right: Lobsang, Ishe Döndrup, Stobgyes, Chungnid, Sonam Döndrup, Gon-po. Chungnid is holding Dok-pa in her arms.

Fig. 38. The Old-Idan family: left to right: P'hüntzok, Kumchok, Putit, Sonam with Sonam Putit in his arms, and Tsewang Putit.

[P. 480-B]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 41. The Bata section of the Tsong-k'har-pa family: left to right: Döndrup, Murup, Palkid, Ishe Paljor, the *porjag* of Shing-k'hang.

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Fig. 42. Dorje Yöndron with her step-son and husband No. 2, Sönam Wang-chuk Dele Rabden Sä I, at Kalimpong.

[P. 480-D]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

LADĀKHIS.

The Ladākhis have the Turanian cast of feature—that which we are apt to call Chinese, from our having become most familiar with it through the Chinese division of the Turanian family. They have it not perhaps in its greatest intensity, but still unmistakably. The cheek-bones are high; from them downwards the face rapidly narrows; the chin is small and usually retreats. The most persistent peculiarity is that of the eyes, of which the outer corners are drawn out and the upper eyelids are overhung by a fold of the skin above. The eyes are brown in colour. The nose is pressed, so to say, into the face; and it is often, but not always, depressed at the bridge. The mouth is large and inexpressive; the lips project, but are not thick. The hair, which is black, is cut quite close in front and at the sides of the head; behind, it is collected into a plait or pigtail, which reaches about to the small of the back. Moustaches are always or nearly always present, but they are small, and the beard is very scant. 142 [302]

In stature the Ladākhis are short, several inches below the English middle height. Cunningham gives nearly 5 feet 2 inches as the height of the men and 4 feet 9¼ inches as that of the women. Both sexes are broad-made and strong. There is no doubt that they are an ugly race; their best friends cannot deny it. As to the women, the best that can be said of their looks is that some of the younger ones are "not so bad looking."

One is glad, on coming to the subject of their character, to find more to be praised. The Ladākhis are cheerful, willing, and good-tempered; they are very ready for a laugh; they are not quarrelsome, unless it be when excited by their intoxicating drink, *chang*, and if over that they do get to wrangling or fighting, no bad blood remains afterwards. They are by no means ingenious; simplicity and clumsiness are characteristics of them. There could hardly be two national characters more opposed than those of the Ladākhis and the Kashmīris; these latter, quick, versatile, and plausible; the others slow, inapt, 181

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by 291
felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry.

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is 564
that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry.

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is 793
not hereditary.

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the 131
Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places.

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different 563
occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was 142
that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 181

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lambskin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
56 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADĀKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

subject of them wants to be treated in a technical way; a notice of these I hope to communicate to the Geological Society. 133x

Of the inhabitants of the villages from Sanācha to Hanū I have purposely refrained from saying anything here. They have characteristics indeed of the greatest interest, but I keep back the description of these in order to bring it into connection with that of the other Dārds, for to the Dārd race the people here belong. The reader should look for the ethnological peculiarities of this tract in Chapter XVIII., under the heading "Buddhist Dārds." From the next village, Achīnathang, upwards, the people are thorough Ladākhīs in race and language. 563

At Achīnathang the Indus Valley begins to be rather less confined; the road along it is such that one can ride. Achīnathang itself is a neat and pretty village, on a plateau of river-alluvium 200 feet above the water. Near this place, in the pebbly alluvium formerly deposited by the river, at a height of 120 feet above it, are to be seen shallow pits, from which Baltī gold-washers had dug earth which they carried down to the water side to wash for gold. Every few miles, on each side of the river, are seen little tracts of cultivated ground. One was a continuous strip on a narrow plateau, a mile in length and but fifty yards wide. Sometimes, as at Skirbichan, is a wider expanse. Each tract has on it a collection of houses in proportion to the area, at the rate of a house to three or four acres. These white houses, half hidden by the foliage, and the spread of green fields, contrasting with the bare surrounding country, make each little village a charming sight. In this part the Ladākhīs are well grown; they are taller than those of the neighbourhood of Leh. This I connect with the somewhat milder climate and the consequently less severe life experienced. 364 133x 142

Besides the villages which we see along the Indus Valley there are several in the side valleys which join from both right and left. At the mouth of these valleys one sees but a narrow opening; from this they often stretch up for miles, and contain cultivated land and several hamlets. Of these the higher ones endure a distinctly more severe climate than do the villages of the main VALLEY. 132

[Cf. category 116 -- pp. 430-432 -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a
133* better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on
[246] their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

132 For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same
231 as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night
[246] are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty
241 pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place
563 for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the
142 head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came. 361 [346]

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage". 361 [487] 439 563 [797]

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very 142 [522] 291

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4

142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear
291 flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu,
[144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion,
[134] with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate
187 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the
132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 will also be seen that the western, as well as the eastern chain, separates the great Hindu family of India from [144] the Botis of Tibet. Some mixed races are found to the south of each chain[1]: the Láhulis and Kanáwaris to the [132] west, and the Gorkhas and Bhutánis to the east. Lastly, it will be seen that both ranges form the lines of demarcation between the cold and dry climate of Tibet, with its dearth of trees, and the warm and humid climate of India, with its luxuriance of vegetable productions. These facts, joined to the great elevation of the range, are, I think, sufficient to warrant the selection of the Bara-Lacha chain as the continuation of the true Himálaya. But there is one marked difference between the eastern and western ranges which can scarcely fail in striking the most casual observer. The inferior mountains of the eastern chain generally run at right angles to its axis, whereas those of the western chain are mostly disposed in subordinate parallel ranges. The general parallelism of the principal mountain-ranges of the world,—of the Himálayas and the Altai, in Asia,—of the Atlas, in Africa,—and of the Alps and Apennines, the Pyrenees and Carpathians, in Europe,—has already been noticed by Humboldt and others. But this parallelism also exists in the subordinate ranges of the western Himálaya. Thus we find no less than two distinct and independent ranges to the south of the western Himálaya, both stretching in the same general direction from south-east to north-west. These ranges I propose to call the *Mid-Himálaya*, and the *Outer*, or *Sub-Himálaya*, leaving the name of Sewálik unchanged for the lowermost sandstone ranges.

Beyond the Himálaya the same system of parallel chains will be observed in at least three distinct ranges

[1 of the Himalayas - ANALYST.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 described, from south-east to north-west. The whole length of the chain from the peak of Monomangli to the sources of the Gilgit and Kunar rivers is not less than 650 miles. It is pierced in three places by rivers, by the Sutluj and Para at the base of Porgyal, and by the Indus at the foot of Dayamur. Its greatest elevation is the lofty peak of Nanda Devi (Jawáhir) 25,749 feet, and its greatest depression, the pass of Seoji-lá, 11,700 feet, between Kashmir and Ladák. Throughout its[1] whole extent it forms the boundary between the races of Hindu origin and the pure Tibetans of Ladák and Balti. To the south-east it divides the Tibetan district of Garo from the Indian province of Kumaon. Midway it separates the Ladáki districts of Rukchu, Zanskar, Purik, and Drás, containing only pure Botis or Tibetans, from the provinces of Spiti, Kullu, Lahul, Kashtwar, and Kashmir, whose inhabitants are chiefly a mixed race of Indo-Tibetans. To the westward it was once the boundary between the Dards of Chelás and the Tibetans of Astor and Gilgit; but the Dards have since penetrated to the northward, and the Gilgitis of the present day are a mixed race of Dardo-Tibetans.

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144

133 To the south of the Sutluj the heights of many of the loftiest peaks have been determined by Webb, Hodgson, and the Gerards, but to the north of the Sutluj, no heights were ascertained by them, except only that of Porgyal by Alexander Gerard. Beyond this, not more than five peaks have been measured, with more or less precision, but the general accuracy of these measurements is proved by the ascertained elevation of several passes. The following table gives all the heights to the south of the Sutluj.

[1 i.e., the western Himalayas. - ANALYST]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
• 144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Botis must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and moral, may be easily accounted for by the severe cold and extreme dryness of the Tibetan climate, and by the former intimate connection of the people with the Caucasian Hindus of India for many centuries during the flourishing period of Buddhism. 177

The great mass of the people of Ladák are all of one race or caste. They intermarry and eat together, and are all eligible as members of the national priesthood. But in the northern provinces of Ladák there is a numerous class called *Bem*,* or "low," which includes all the dancing-women and their attendant musicians, all smiths and carpenters, and in fact handicraftsmen of every kind. In Lé itself, and in Chachot, there are small colonies of Kashmiris, whose connection with the native Botis has produced a mixed race called Argon.† These same hybrids between the Kashmiris and the native races are also found in Kashgar, Yarkand, Aksu, and Kotan. 564 144

III.—PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

Of the physical characteristics of the Botis, little has been made known beyond the facts that they have "a strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and that they are superior both in vigour of body and in stature to the other Mongolian races of Kalmaks and Tungusis."‡ Their peculiarly Tartarian physiognomy must be considered as a presumptive proof of their 144

* The men are called *hBems-pa;* the women *hBems-mo*, or *Bem-mo*.

† This is probably the Turki word *Arghun*, ارغون, "fair;" the mixed race of half Kashmiris being much fairer than the people of the country.

‡ Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 217.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 147 Mongolian origin. Their superiority in bodily strength is perhaps owing partly to the bracing climate of their elevated country, and partly to the former infusion of Hindu blood. I have had practical proof of this superiority amongst the Botis of Láhul, Kanáwar, and Spiti. In 1846 the short Láhuli women carried with the greatest ease, day after day, the roof of my tent, which the taller and finer-looking men of Kullu and Simla refused on account of its weight. Again in 1847 the Kanáwari and Spiti women carried loads at which the pampered Simla coolis had grumbled. I have repeatedly seen a box weighing sixty pounds carried by girls of sixteen and eighteen years of age over the high passes of Kanáwar.

141 Regarding their alleged superiority of stature I am rather sceptical. But as no detailed accounts of the average heights of the different Mongolian races are accessible to me, I can only quote the statement of Pallas, that the Kalmaks are "generally of a moderate height," and "rather small than large." The following table shows the stature of the Boti race in different parts of Ladák and Balti, according to the average measurements of from five to seven persons of each sex in many different villages, always including the tallest and shortest men and women that could be found.

TABLE OF STATURE.

	Districts.	Men.			Women.			Landlords.		
		Tallest.	Shortest.	Average	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average
		ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Buddhists.	Rukchu	5 1·5	5 0·0	5 0·9	5 0·0	4 1·0	4 8·2	5 3·0	5 1·0	5 2·5
	Spiti	5 6·5	5 0·0	5 2·4	5 2·5	4 1·0	4 8·9	5 7·5	5 4·0	5 5·7
	Nubra	5 7·0	5 4·0	5 2·7	4 7·0	4 0·0	4 9·8			
	Ladák	5 5·0	4 10·0	5 1·4	5 4·0	4 1·0	4 10·1	5 9·0	5 2·0	5 5·3
	Average			5 1·8			4 9·2			5 4·5

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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	Districts.	Men.			Women.			Landlords.		
		Tallest.	Shortest.	Average	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average
		ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Muslmáns.	Chhorbad	5 8·0	4 8·0	5 0·9	5 0·0	4 4·0	4 9·3			
	Khapolor	5 7·0	4 6·0	5 0·7	5 2·0	4 2·0	4 9·1			
	Keris	5 5·0	5 0·0	5 2·9	4 11·0	4 8·0	4 10·6			
	Parguta	5 9·0	4 10·0	5 3·5	5 4·0	4 4·0	4 8·5			
	Skardo	5 11·0	4 9·0	5 2·3	5 0·0	4 6·0	4 9·7			
	Shigar	5 5·0	4 4·0	5 0·4	4 11·0	4 8·0	4 9·4			
	Rongdo	5 7·0	4 9·0	5 2·1	5 0·0	4 7·0	4 9·7			
	Average			5 1·8			4 9·5			
	Average of Botis			5 1·8			4 9·35			
Hindu Botis.	Upper Kanáwar	5 6·0	4 11·0	5 1·9	5 1·5	4 4·5	4 9·0	5 8·0	5 4·0	5 5·9
	Middle Kanáwar	5 6·0	4 9·0	5 2·0	5 5·0	4 9·0	4 11·1	5 8·0	5 0·0	5 5·3
	Lower Kanáwar	5 9·2	4 11·0	5 4·1	5 6·0	4 10·0	5 1·2	5 7·0	5 7·0	5 7·0
	Average			5 2·0			4 9·7			5 6·1

In this table the effect of the admixture of Hindu blood will be seen at once in the superior stature of the people of Lower Kanáwar.* Those of Middle Kanáwar also occasionally intermarry with the Hindus; for I found a woman, named Charanu, a native of Saráhan, near Rampur, who was wedded to two husbands in the village of Kala, opposite Labrang, in Middle Kanáwar. In fact the people of Kanáwar generally are called Kanets, a name which is said to designate a people of mixed race. The proper name of the country is therefore most probably *Karanáwara*, the country of *Karanas*, or people of mixed race, a name usually applied to the offspring of a degraded Khsatriya and a Khsatriya

144 ●

[103]

* The Botis are shorter than the Kirghiz of Wakhan and Pamer who were measured by Wood.—Oxus, pp. 338—372.

	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.
Men	5 5·5 ...	5 2·0 ...	5 3·2
Do.	5 7·2 ...	5 1·7 ...	5 4·5
		Mean ...	5 3·85

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 [103] female. The same name is applied by Marco Polo to another mixture of the same races—Tartars and Indians. There are indeed Kanets in other parts of the Himálayas, but only in those districts which border upon Ladák; as in Bisahar, Kullu, Chamba, and Kashtwar.

141 146 The average stature of the Botis of Ladák appears to me to be very short indeed when compared with that of their Hindu and Chinese neighbours; but that this is chiefly, if not wholly, the effect of poor food and of privation of all kinds, is proved by the average stature of the landlords, or head men, of the different villages. These never carry burdens on their backs, are better fed, and better clothed; and (when they travel) usually ride from one place to another, instead of toiling up and down the steep and rugged passes of their native mountains. This shows the beneficial effect of wholesome food and of comparative comfort even in the most rigorous climate.

141 The stature of the women seems to be particularly low. This is not, however, shown in the averages, which exhibit a difference of only four inches between the men and the women. But the number of very short women is much greater than that of very short men. In Ladák I saw only six men that were under five feet in height; of whom two were four feet eleven inches; three were four feet ten inches; and one was only four feet nine inches. Amongst the women of Ladák, however, I saw no less than ten that were under four feet five in height. Of these, one was four feet four and a half; two were four feet four; one was four feet three; two were four feet two; one of forty years of age was four feet one and a half; and three were only four feet one inch in height. I am unable to say positively what may be the cause of

1:Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

142 part to any natural tendency to curl, but solely to the tangled and thickly agglomerated matting of the hair, consequent upon its never having been combed or washed from first to second childhood.

141 In the accompanying plates* I have exhibited four different views of two Botian skulls which I procured at Hanlé and at Lé. The first is a specimen of the nomadic dwellers in tents, the second of the settled inhabitants of houses. There is a considerable difference in the shapes of these two skulls, but I believe that the Lé specimen is a departure from the usual type; its elongated form being most probably due to some malformation at the time of birth. This is I think fully proved by the continuation of the longitudinal suture from the top of the cranium down to the nose. As a second skull from Lé, which I have in my possession, resembles very closely that of the nomadic Boti of Hanlé, this cranium may be taken as a very good specimen of the Ladáki type of Boti.

The characteristics of this type are almost the same as those of the Mongolian. The more striking are a round and globular shape of cranium, and a great lateral extension of the zygomatic arches, coupled with a narrow forehead, which gives what Prichard has called a pyramidal form to the front view of the skull; that is, if lines be drawn from the outside of the cheek-bones touching the temples, they will meet in a point at a short distance above the head. This form is quite different from that of the European skull, in which the width of the forehead is often greater (but I believe
144 never less) than that of the cheek-bones. In other respects these Boti skulls appear to resemble very closely

* Plates X. and XI.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 those of the civilized Chinese. Indeed, if the statements of their own historians* are to be credited, that the Chinese originally came from the Shensi forests of the frontiers of Tibet, we can scarcely come to any other conclusion than that they were originally of the same stock as the people of Tibet, or in other words, that they were actually Botis. The Mongolian origin of the Chinese and of the Botis is, I believe, universally admitted; and I would attribute the differences between them and the present nomadic Mongols partly to the early civilization of the Botian race, and partly to the admixture of Hindu blood. The form of the skulls in my possession, and more particularly of the frontal bone, also shows a considerable affinity to the Hindu race. In corroboration of this view, I am happy to quote the opinion of M. D'Halley,† who says, "Peut-être que les Bhots sont des Hindus modifiés par leur mélange avec des Mongols."

141 The following table exhibits the facial angle, the cranial capacity, and the present weight of the four Botian skulls, three of which are in my possession.

Skulls.	Facial angle.	Cranial capacity.	Weight.
		Cubic in.	lb. oz.
No. 1 from Hanlé	80°	74·5	1 4·44
2 „ Lé	68°	72·7	1 6·44
3 „ Lé	73°	70·0	1 7·46
4 „ Balti	75°	72·0	1 2·40
	74°	72·3	1 5·18

The facial angle in these specimens ranges from 68°

* Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 227.

† Des Races Humaines, p. 128, note.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

141 from 1 lb. 7 oz. to 1 lb. 8 oz. These skulls are all thin and smooth, and of compact texture, excepting only the jaws, which appear to me to be rather massive for the size of the head.

Of the configuration of the Boti skeleton, I can give but little positive information. The shoulders are square and broad, and the trunk is rather long in proportion to the stature. I obtained the pelvis* belonging to No. 1 cranium, which has a longitudinal axis of 3·75 inches, and a transverse axis of 3·6 inches, with a form inclining to the square. According to Professor Weber, as quoted by Prichard, this shape prevails generally amongst people who resemble the Mongolians.

144 The Botian tribe would, therefore, seem to possess the same physical characteristics, both in outward form and in their bony structure, as those which distinguish the Mongolian race generally, with only some slight modifications, which are most probably due to their connection and occasional mixture with the Caucasian race of India.

For the sake of comparison I have given sketches of two Kashmirian skulls,† one male and one female, which I procured in the city of Kashmir. The differences are very striking; but more particularly the oval shape of the skull; the flattened form of the zygomatic arches, and the narrowness of the jaws; all of which peculiarities are characteristic of the Caucasian race. The measurements of my Kashmiri skulls are as follows:—

* See Plate XII. † Plates XIII. and XIV.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. 142 [152] [144]

the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognised in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti. 157

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti :—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative ; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *begár* and common expenses ; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners ; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other ; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race ; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair ; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects ; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind : the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognised. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús ; in hearing law [624] [273] [83]

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers ; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralised lately by opportunity and impunity. 177 685

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chapter III, C. Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures. Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tárwás* or *togochís*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the
b3 4 Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner **149**
Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level.

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then
779 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow
144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan
177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations
793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localized in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See Source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IN HIMALAYAN TIBET

CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Land & People

"ONCE upon a time" is the orthodox beginning for all stories of fairy-land, and indeed the words "here and now" seem far too prosaic to introduce a new-comer into a land where those, who can still look out on the world with a child's wonderment and imagination, may actually see such living and moving embodiment of gnomes, elves, quaint old witches, weird old wizards in such appropriately fantastic and grotesque settings that they may well feel they have reached the veritable home of merry sprites and strange goblins. Could anything be more gnome-like than the little children playing in the roads and lanes, peeping shyly round dark corners or out of mysterious cracked doors, or darting away down queer passages leading under and through houses, quaint little individuals with merry brown faces, sometimes flat and Mongolian in type, but often with large lustrous brown eyes, probably from a Kashmiri admixture. See these elf-like little faces framed in the astrakhan edging of their high fur-lined caps with turned-up corners, a fashion worn by all ages and sexes, including the pig-tailed men, these very corners being so typical of the whole goblin land. So, too, are the still taller peaked mitre-shaped hats of the lamas, red or yellow, while the national head-dress or "Perag" of the women, is the most extraordinary thing of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Looking overhead into a clear azure sky we noticed two perfect and complete halos round the sun, and were informed by our servants that these signified either the crossing of the pass by some really great men, or the birth of a King.

Our camp had been pitched in a sandy plain surrounded by hills, through which a sluggish streamlet meandered, passing within a few yards of our tents. After a cup of tea, partaken of inside our temporary home as a cold wind was blowing outside, and a rest after the day's trek, we emerged for a walk, and to our surprise found that the whole plain had been converted into a lake. Literally within a space of three hours some giant must have dumped down this expanse of water, measuring about two hundred by one hundred and fifty yards. Next morning practically the whole had disappeared, and this seems to have happened daily for weeks. From here we passed over other plains where the same had occurred, till suddenly there lay before us a large green deep lake, from whose banks there rose a row of sandy mountains, behind which glorious snow-covered peaks stood sentinel. This large inland lake, called "The Panggong," runs far into Tibet, and is formed of brackish water. Seen in the morning light, it really is a fine sight.

Leaving it on our right, we reach the village of Pobrang. We may call it a village, for it can boast of two houses, and is certainly the last resort we could designate by such a name, until we get well into Tibet. Here we get our first glimpse of the Changpas or inhabitants of the Northern Plain. Rough and unkempt-looking, they are not altogether the sort of fellows one would like to meet alone by night, but their jolly smile would soon dispel all fears. Let us first describe them, as far as description is possible, and then glance at their dwellings. Their eyes are typically Mongolian, their noses large and firmly flattened. Long hair, which surely has not made the acquaintance of brush and comb for years, if ever, and which ends in a pigtail, surmounts faces

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 much longer than their arms. In winter this is very useful, as the hands can be threaded in the opposite sleeve to keep warm, and any surplus length in a man can always be turned back as a cuff. A woman's trousers are also far longer than her legs, and look very peculiar garments when spread out to dry. But the concertina-like creases into which they fold when worn, and which come right down to the ankle, add all the more warmth in winter. An unmarried girl wears white trousers, but a married woman must wear black, at any rate after the birth of her first son. A woman's *skerag* or waistband is also wide and very long, and wound round her very tightly. Her gown is shaped rather differently from a man's—the bodice and skirt being cut separately, and the latter sewn on to the former with very full pleats, and if it is a best dress the whole is edged with an effective little narrow bind-
301 ing of gay pattern. Occasionally she thinks to enhance her beauty by using the small berries of a common weed, and sticking them all over the upper part of her face, where they look
563 like little yellow spots. These berries are also said to relieve
291 headache, and withdraw superfluous serum. We must also mention the head-dress of the Mussulman women in Leh, for the town contains a large proportion of them. The *perag* is rightly considered an emblem of an idolatrous religion, and should be discarded on changing over to Mohammedanism. Then a white head-dress covering over a little round foundation cap, and hanging in folds to below the waist, is worn.
[301] In front is an ornament which may be quite costly, of seed-pearls and turquoises, often arranged to form the sign of the crescent.

● 144 Now we come to those important members of the home, the children, and it would be hard to find more fascinating little persons than the elfish little sprites whom we meet in Ladak. To our Western eyes the flattened face and large cheeks of a Mongolian type of baby are particularly quaint.

844 When Baby is coming, in contrast to the complicated

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but [101] Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emigrants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races inter- [144] mingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII.

LADĀKH: THE INHABITANTS.

LADĀKHĪS — CHĀMPĀS — COLONIES IN LADĀKH — MODE OF LIVELIHOOD — POSITION OF THE WOMEN — CERTAIN CUSTOMS — MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

144 OF the four races of men who inhabit the country on the north-east of the main chain of mountains—the country which drains into the Indus—whose names are Chāmpā, Ladākhī, Baltī, and Dārd, the first three belong to the Tibetan race. People of this Tibetan race extend over an enormous extent of high ground at the back of the Himalayas, from the borders of China proper to the territories we are dealing with. We are here, in Ladākh and Baltistān, at the most north-westerly spots occupied by them.

101 The first of the three subdivisions of Tibetans—the Chāmpās
131 —are those who lead a nomadic life on the upland valleys,
563 places which, being too elevated for cultivation to bring a living, are fit only for pastoral uses. The second, the Ladākhīs, are those Tibetans who have settled in the valley, and in the side valleys, of the Indus; who have formed villages and have occupied nearly all the ground fit for cultivation; and who still retain the Buddhist faith which is held by the Tibetans to the south-east and east. Thirdly, the Baltīs are that branch of the Tibetan race, who, at one time identical with the Ladākhīs, spread farther down the Indus Valley and then became converted to the Muhammadan faith.* Deferring our say about the Baltīs until we come to describe the region they inhabit, we will in this chapter look at the characteristics of the other two branches, the inhabitants of Ladākh both settled and wandering, and will tell something as to their mode of life.

* The geographical distribution of these races is clearly expressed on the Race Map.

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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[794]
[778]

The people.

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

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The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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241
511
[582]
[372]
[313]

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the great number of very short women; but I am 141
inclined to attribute it partly to the system of polyandry 595
which prevails among them. This system is, I believe, almost universal amongst the mixed race of Kanetis throughout Kanawar and the other Kaneti districts, but as far as I could learn it is not so prevalent amongst the pure Botis of Ladák. The custom has therefore most probably been borrowed from the polyandrous Hindu race of Himálayan Kshatriyas, amongst whom it has been preserved for at least twenty-five centuries, since the Pandavan brothers jointly espoused the princess Draupadi.

The great differences observable in the stature of the 000
Musalmán races of Shigar on the north and of Skardo on the south, must no doubt be attributed to the mixture of other races; of the diminutive Kirghiz of Pamer with the first, and of the tall Kashmiri with the second. The people of Shigar were once, I believe, pure Kirghiz.

In general the Botis have short, squat, stout figures, 142
with broad, flat, ugly faces; but occasionally amongst the better classes I have seen both men and women who were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy colour in their cheeks. Indeed, I have even seen a few of the women that were really handsome, with good regular features and fine figures. But in general they are all, both men and women, not only ugly but hideous, and more especially the old women. Dr. Gerard's amusing description of these people is too graphic to be omitted.* "In figure they are stout, waddling, and dumpy; * * * in face they are not [145] ●
beautiful, even when young; when past their climacteric, very unseemly; and when old, a picture of horrid ugliness.

* Asiatic Researches, XVIII. p. 249.

/Following page 32/

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145

Tibetan children

minutes or so he was at the waterfall below us, making camp and 000
starting a small fire with the *dama* bush which he rooted up with his hands from the canyon wall.

In another ten minutes a woman turned the bend on the trail and shortly joined the man. She too had a pack; and after resting a moment she untied it, pulled out a kettle and some food, got water from the cliff, and started supper. In perhaps a half hour another woman appeared far down the trail. She was long in coming, for she stopped every fifty feet or so and rested. She too had a pack, and as she got nearer I noticed that it pressed heavily on her. When she rested she sat on the high bank bordering the trail, leaned forward, shifting the weight of the pack, and rested her head on her hands.

Before the second lady reached the waterfall, another man appeared far down the trail; and when these two joined the other couple, I went down for a visit.

Tibetans usually look younger than they are. To me the two 145 •
men appeared to be in their late thirties or early forties. The younger woman, short and stocky with a square, pleasant face, looked thirty-four. The other lady, who had lost many of her teeth and had a deeply wrinkled face toughened by sun and storm, was well over seventy. She wore heavy trousers and a skirt which was 291
part of a black wool dress with long sleeves. These clothes were heavy, for they served not only as protection against the weather, but as night clothes too. She had a moccasin-type shoe made of sheepskin, and over her shoulders she wore a shawl of the same material, which protected her back from the rain and served as a pillow or covering at night. It was the only blanket she had. To this point the old lady and the young one were dressed alike. But the old lady, unlike the younger one, had a distinctive headdress 291
known as the *perakh*. A *perakh* is a piece of leather six or eight 301
inches wide and about two feet long that is worn on the head. It runs from the forehead down the back of the neck to the shoulders. It is inlaid with stones, usually jade and turquoise. The

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 488
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its
Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient
city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will
shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an
extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the
use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale.
Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program
in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as
the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the
old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 159
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with
their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncompli-
cated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith.
The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to
them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people,
and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually
faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the chil-
dren, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoy-
ancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the
laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been
washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the
garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against
Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips,
gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4

142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear
291 flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 female. The same name is applied by Marco Polo to
[103] another mixture of the same races—Tartars and Indians. There are indeed Kanets in other parts of the Himálayas, but only in those districts which border upon Ladák; as in Bisahar, Kullu, Chamba, and Kashtwar.

141 The average stature of the Botis of Ladák appears to
● 146 me to be very short indeed when compared with that of their Hindu and Chinese neighbours; but that this is chiefly, if not wholly, the effect of poor food and of privation of all kinds, is proved by the average stature of the landlords, or head men, of the different villages. These never carry burdens on their backs, are better fed, and better clothed; and (when they travel) usually ride from one place to another, instead of toiling up and down the steep and rugged passes of their native mountains. This shows the beneficial effect of wholesome food and of comparative comfort even in the most rigorous climate.

141 The stature of the women seems to be particularly low. This is not, however, shown in the averages, which exhibit a difference of only four inches between the men and the women. But the number of very short women is much greater than that of very short men. In Ladák I saw only six men that were under five feet in height; of whom two were four feet eleven inches; three were four feet ten inches; and one was only four feet nine inches. Amongst the women of Ladák, however, I saw no less than ten that were under four feet five in height. Of these, one was four feet four and a half; two were four feet four; one was four feet three; two were four feet two; one of forty years of age was four feet one and a half; and three were only four feet one inch in height. I am unable to say positively what may be the cause of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

144 Mongolian origin. Their superiority in bodily strength
147 is perhaps owing partly to the bracing climate of their elevated country, and partly to the former infusion of Hindu blood. I have had practical proof of this superiority amongst the Botis of Láhul, Kanáwar, and Spiti. In 1846 the short Láhuli women carried with the greatest ease, day after day, the roof of my tent, which the taller and finer-looking men of Kullu and Simla refused on account of its weight. Again in 1847 the Kanáwari and Spiti women carried loads at which the pampered Simla coolis had grumbled. I have repeatedly seen a box weighing sixty pounds carried by girls of sixteen and eighteen years of age over the high passes of Kanáwar.

141 Regarding their alleged superiority of stature I am rather sceptical. But as no detailed accounts of the average heights of the different Mongolian races are accessible to me, I can only quote the statement of Pallas, that the Kalmaks are "generally of a moderate height," and "rather small than large." The following table shows the stature of the Boti race in different parts of Ladák and Balti, according to the average measurements of from five to seven persons of each sex in many different villages, always including the tallest and shortest men and women that could be found.

TABLE OF STATURE.

	Districts.	Men.			Women.			Landlords.		
		Tallest.	Shortest.	Average	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average.	Tallest.	Shortest.	Average
		ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
Buddhists.	Rukchu	5 1·5	5 0·0	5 0·9	5 0·0	4 1·0	4 8·2	5 3·0	5 1·0	5 2·5
	Spiti	5 6·5	5 0·0	5 2·4	5 2·5	4 1·0	4 8·9	5 7·5	5 4·0	5 5·7
	Nubra	5 7·0	5 4·0	5 2·7	4 7·0	4 0·0	4 9·8			
	Ladák	5 5·0	4 10·0	5 1·4	5 4·0	4 1·0	4 10·1	5 9·0	5 2·0	5 5·3
	Average			5 1·8			4 9·2			5 4·5

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

able British Government is paying him some large salary for 759
his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and 796
rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the [778]
altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter 291
of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the 121
wrong way round in this strange land, where the term 186
mgologpa (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of [147]
conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

13. Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III

Nature's Setting

IT has often been pointed out that the characteristics of a people are moulded by the country and climate in which they live. Certainly for stolidity and endurance the Ladakis resemble the massive mountains and everlasting hills among which are their dwellings. The "Doctor Sahib" once accompanied a seasoned Alpine climber with his two Swiss guides in an attempt to scale the highest peak in a range of mountains beyond the Indus, facing Leh. The expedition was unsuccessful owing to the inclement weather and the pressure of time, as the mountaineers were on their return to Europe, but they spent two memorable days at the edge of the glacier capping this great peak, at about 18,000 feet in a tumult of wind, thunder, lightning, hail and snow so fierce that the snow was actually driven through the canvas of the Sahibs' little tent. This just accommodated their two beds, and, for the sake of warmth and protection, they remained in these for thirty-six hours. The Swiss guides also had a small tent, but the Ladaki coolies, who had left the main caravan to accompany them, lay down in the snow, covered only with their own garments and apparently took no harm. In the bitter morning of mid-winter, with the thermometer at somewhere below Fahrenheit zero, our Ladaki nurse tells us how, coming through the bazar from her home, she has passed small boys sleeping out in front of the shops as watchmen. Right on the ground, possibly having pushed aside a little snow, with little or no covering

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

147 but their scanty garments, these small urchins spend the night with only a handful or two of barley-flour as a reward, but they call out a hearty greeting to our nurse as she passes, and neither spirit nor body appears to be chilled by the exposure.

We have already noticed the strange mixture of finery and rags, the incongruity of fine workmanship and adjacent tawdriness. Surely nature herself teaches them this odd combination of the sublime and the ridiculous. Think only of the many examples on the main road up from Srinagar to Leh. As one emerges from the narrow defile which has wound up slowly from Pashkim, just beyond Kargil, to the Mulbeck Valley and about three miles before the village of that name is reached, the gorge opens out into a broad cultivated valley with a great panorama of majestic mountains beyond. Here and there in the foreground are soft sandstone cliffs, behind, strange peaks with jagged pinnacles in their rugged outlines, rising higher yet sinking in perspective as they reach the horizon to stand out clear and sharp against the brilliant azure sky, the whole suggesting some gigantic upheaval of past ages. As one pursues the winding path in and out of soft red-brown sand-hills into the village, the nearer hills and the lower extraordinary formations of sandstone on the further side of the stream come into prominence. These are sculptured by wind, snow and rain into the most grotesque shapes, looking in some places like the ruins of some ancient village or even turretted castles, the rough outlines of the one-time windows presenting the most gnome-like suggestion of a forgotten civilization. In other places the stalagmite-looking relics are more statuesque, and, opposite the sharp turn of the high road to the left, may be seen across the main valley a gigantic looking ruined model of a mother with a child at her knees. Over the pass and into the next village, again straggling along a wide valley, this formation is repeated, and one quaint little cluster of houses

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347 133 361

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting. Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups. These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How complex has become our civilization! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately 484 the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 536 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to pur- 427 chase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A1+

482 With such food and drink as has been described the Ladākhīs
147 are one of the hardiest of races. As coolis, for carrying loads, they are admirable—not only the men but the women too. I have had women employed to carry my baggage, according to the custom of the country, who have done twenty-three or twenty-four miles with sixty pounds on their back, and have come in at the end singing cheerfully. Against cold, too, they are very strong. Not that they equal in this respect the Chāmpās, who live at still greater heights, and can hardly bear to be as low down as 11,000 feet. Still the people of Central Ladākh and of Zānskār are very hardy in this respect also; on a frosty night, with nothing but the clothes they go in, they will coil themselves up and sleep
513 comfortably on the bare stony ground. All have a
515 rooted objection to washing. I was told that there was a custom of bathing once a year, but I could never get any satisfactory corroboration of the report. Their clothes, worn next them, are never washed, but are affectionately kept around them until they fall to pieces.

372 Of the wants rife in a barren country like Ladākh, there are two which (perhaps without, or at all events in addition to, other difficulties) seem to make impossible either any great addition to the population or increase of their comforts. These are want of fuel and want of timber. For fuel the dung of cattle is carefully stored. This is supplemented in some parts by a bush which they pull from the hills that they call *burtse* (Eurotia). This plant is indeed a great resource for travellers in out-of-the-way parts; it is a small low-growing bush, the woody underground stem of which makes a good fuel. Then, in the high valleys, there is a plant like our furze, called *dāma*. On some hill-sides there is the pencil-cedar, a strong-burning wood; and lastly, in certain ravines, there is willow growing wild. All these, however, from their distance, require much labour to collect; they are seldom used by the Ladākhīs in their own houses, but are chiefly got by them for travellers and for the
313 town consumption. The timber-trees are willow and poplar. These are planted either along the watercourses between

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

payment; sometimes it is in cash sometimes in grain; with one or 439
two slight exceptions, all the farinaceous food they consume is 492
imported, Kulū and Lāhol supplying the greater part of it.

The intermediate position of Rupshu is such that many travel- 439
ling merchants come through the country. The tea-merchants of Lhāsa—a shrewd and eager set of men—yearly come this way with their venture of brick tea for Leh; their merchandise is carried free by the Rupshu people, according to an old arrangement between the authorities of Lhāsa and of Leh, but for their riding and light baggage they have with them a number of fine mules of rare pace. From Kunāwar in the Sutlej Valley come the Kunūs, a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian breed; from Lāhol and Kulū come others of pure and of mixed Tibetan blood; these have in many cases their own sheep to carry their merchandise. Of late years there has been a greater through traffic from the Panjāb to Leh, and even Yārkand, by the road that goes through Rupshu. Panjābī, Pathān, and Yārkandī merchants have all passed this way, which, indeed, as far as the road is concerned, is now the best by far between Eastern Turkistān and the Panjāb. The objection to the route is that the Pass over the Snowy Range may close before the circumstances of the trade allow the merchant to get away from Leh for the downward journey.

Although, then, Rupshu possesses so inhospitable a climate, though it is at one and the same time both parched and bleak, though its hills are barren and its valleys desolate, yet a busy life exists at times in certain portions of it. After travelling for some days without seeing a trace of man, one may come on an encampment of traders with some hundreds of sheep to carry their merchandise, their loads carefully piled up and protected by white tent-cloths; or one may meet on the road the merchants on their ponies, jingling with bells, accompanying their heavy-laden and somewhat unmanageable flock.

For people who are natives of temperate climes, the air of 147
Rupshu in summer, though somewhat trying, is not too severe when the constitution is strong and the system in good order. The extreme cold of winter also could probably be endured if one

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

147 had the appliances one is used to where it is much less intense. But the Chāmpās weather it in their tents. The hardiness of these people, the way in which they enjoy rather than endure their climate, is an instance somewhat remarkable of the power of adaptation that the human race possesses. These men consider Leh as a place that should only be approached in winter, and Kashmir as a country hot and unhealthy, much in the same way as we, on better grounds, look on the Gold Coast.

RARITY OF THE AIR.

133* 147 There is one characteristic of Rupshu that is always making itself felt by those who use to dwell at lower altitudes. This is the rarity of the air.

In the valleys water boils at about the temperature of 187°, which corresponds to a barometer-height of 17·8 inches; hence the amount of air—and of oxygen—taken into the lungs with an ordinary inhalation is only $\frac{7}{12}$ths of what would enter them were one at the level of the sea. How this is compensated in the case of the Chāmpās I do not know for certain; I think, for one thing, that there is less waste of tissue in their bodies, as compared with those living in lower and warmer regions; they do not use such an amount of muscular exertion as the people of some of the neighbouring countries; walking it is true they are good at, but they are not always practising it, and loads they will not carry. The tending of flocks and herds is not an occupation that brings the muscles into powerful use. Still this will not account for all; there must be some compensating habit which enables them to take in a large volume of the thin air; probably they have an unconscious way of inhaling deeply.

147 With us the system tries in the simplest and most direct way to make up its wonted supply of oxygen; the breathing becomes both quicker and more powerful, that is to say there is an effort to increase both the number of inhalations and the volume of each. The intensity of this effect increases with every rise when once above the altitude where one's ordinary breathing—or an increase in it which is not enough to produce a consciousness

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetaps A14

of change—suffices. At the greater heights, besides the feeling of oppression and shortness of breath, there comes on a headache and feeling of sickness such as one often has at the beginning of fever or sea-sickness, but this is not accompanied by either increased heat or cold of the body. With some, at the higher levels, vomiting comes on, but serious results do not seem to follow, and relief is felt almost at once on descending to a lower level.* 147

The height at which these effects are observed varies much, and it is not always easy to trace the cause of the irregularities. A great deal depends on habit of body; a man in good condition will hold out much higher than one who is unused to exercise. One first notices it when using some more than ordinary exertion, as when running or when walking up hill; in this way, for people who live below 6000 feet, the effects generally come on between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. At 14,000 and 15,000 feet one is liable, at times, to have an attack, as it were, of shortness of breath even when in repose. When I first visited Rupshu (15,000 feet), this came upon me when lying down at night and lasted for half an hour or so; but after a week I got over that liability, and never afterwards, when at rest, felt a want of breath, even when the camp was 2000 or 3000 feet higher still. Again, I have known a native of the Panjāb—one it is true little used to physical exertion—have a like attack at 11,000 feet. But though one may get so far used to the rarity of the air as not to feel it thus, yet any but the most ordinary exertion will surely remind one of it. At 15,000 feet the least slope upward in the path will make one as much out of breath as if one were, at a lower altitude, pressing up a steep mountain side. Talking when walking, even on a level, soon brings its own conclusion from want of breath. And when one comes to the greater heights—for here every thousand feet distinctly tells—ascending a slope becomes a painful labour. I have crossed a pass at 19,500 feet (one that lower down would have been an easy walk) where, on the ascent, at every fifty or

* This is only true if the organs are thoroughly sound; the rarity is very likely to find out any defect in either the lungs or the heart.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

147 sixty steps, one was absolutely obliged to halt and pant to recover breath; then, however, I felt neither headache nor other bad effect; the usage of a month or two at high levels had done something to harden one to the circumstances.

The natives whose lot occasionally leads them into the highlands, very commonly attribute these results of rarefied air to some plant, which, for the purposes of their argument, they invest with the power of poisoning the air. Some of the herbs at high elevations give out a smell when rubbed, and these are brought in to account for the sickness. The much-abused onion, which grows wild in some parts at a good height up, often has these things laid to it. Of course an easy answer to this hypothesis is that the effect is greatest at those heights whence all these plants, and even all vegetation, are absent.

THE SALT LAKE VALLEY.

133* We will now begin to examine in detail various portions of Rupshu and some of the physical phenomena which it presents, commencing with the Salt Lake Valley. This is the widest opening in the whole of Rupshu; the length, in a direction north-north-west and south-south-east, is 13 miles, and along a considerable part of that length the valley is five miles wide; the level of it is 14,900 feet. It is a flat surrounded by hills, occupied partly by land and partly by water. The original outlet—an opening between the hills on the north-west—is now filled up to some 70 feet above the plain, so that there is no passage for the waters that collect in the valley, which, therefore, with its enclosing hills, forms a separate drainage-basin. The hills are for the most part low in comparison with the mountains we have met with, all are bare of visible vegetation; as a rule they are not rugged, but have smooth surfaces of loosened stones. The surface of the plain is varied; in parts there is sand and gravel; in other parts an expanse of white clay; this again is sometimes caked with a thin covering, still whiter, of salts, various in composition; lastly, a not inconsiderable portion is occupied by two lakes—about a square mile by the one of them

* [SEE CAT. 116, PP. 290-291.—ANALYST]

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147]

There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

[582] [562]

563 588 [567]

In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361]

The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4 inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard	= "	300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12 "

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 1520 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbo or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

By the time she is grown up, a girl
301 should thus have quite a good sized *perag*, which functions as
291 her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests
757 money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age.
583 The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at
Hr8 her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a
[583] small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so
the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately
●152 the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a
source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent
301 *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the
291 ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought
from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the
Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom trace-
able to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and
silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This
originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to
hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

301 The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of
seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round
the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the
bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased
gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or
other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little
silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast,
with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large
round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads
pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are
attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on
leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or
white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also
convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

291 Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas
European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate
(the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff),
both men and women in this country have them cut very
4 [i.e. turquoise studded headdress. – ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D<3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXIII

Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

A DESCRIPTION of life in Ladak could not be complete without an account of one of the great annual festivals held in the monasteries in the valley, such as the *Gustor* (the offering on the ninth) at Trigtse and at Spitug, or the *Ghanggoni Thsedrup* (the fulfilment of life on the blue hill) at Peang, all of which take place in the winter, whilst the *Thseshu* is held at Hemis in the summer. The last is the most important, its chief feature being the presentation of the famous so-called "mystery play." The festival, as its name indicates, is held on the tenth day of the fifth Buddhist month, which is the birthday of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, and still the presiding genius of the red sect. According to records in Sikkim, he was a magician who came north in the seventh century, and convinced the lamas of Tibet that he was sent as an incarnation of the Buddha. But into the pure Buddhism, he introduces the old *Bon Chos* with its devil-worship, and encouraged the most sensual practices, also the eating of meat and drinking of wine, asserting that over-indulgence in all these passions would lead to a state of high trance. Strangely enough, when we were waiting in the ante-room on a visit to the *Skushog*, this sentiment was exactly borne out by a Ladaki, who was participating in the native beer and already in rather an expansive mood. To our remark that it was not right to get drunk and lose control of mind and body, he replied that it was good, for the soul then became happy and blessed.

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three generations back. I have never found a case of
152 its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

131 The morality of the polyandrous people
594 is very high. I mean by this that, as polyandry is an institutionalized social system,
178 they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
428 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

216a

595 pean travelers were introducing the bad
178 habit of monogamous marriage, and that
the young men were getting more and more
428 immoral. I suppose he was quite right, and as I was interested to hear his point of view we had quite a conversation about it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we managed to remain wealthy without being polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in Tibet we haven't enough to go around and as we don't want to divide the property up we have to be polyandrous so that we inherit the property without its being divided. But how do you Europeans do it? How do you remain wealthy by being monogamous and dividing up your property?"

595 I must say I had not thought of this
178 before. It only occurred to me when I
was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes,
428 now that I think of it, it is probably true
that in Europe we do things in a different
329 way. When we marry, each man goes off with his wife and they try to fend for themselves, build up their own family and get their own source of revenue. That is the way we do it. There is enough wealth to go around to found other families." "Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I have noticed among the Tibetans who have become Moslems that this is also the case. They cease being polyandrous, and because of that they then divide up the property. There is not enough to go around. The eldest brother usually gets it and the youngest brothers have to go off with their wives elsewhere to find some work. I have also noticed here that nearly all the Mohammedan families seem to go to Burma and work in the ruby mines there. That is obviously for the same reason you are telling me now about Europeans." Then he was silent for a moment and looked at me in a pensive fashion until suddenly he said, "Now I understand why you Europeans come here. That is why you have got colonies. If you were polyandrous you wouldn't need to!"

152 One question I am very often asked is,
428 does jealousy exist within the various

216b

152 428 houses? I have the impression that it does exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 595 As it is, there seem to be some outlets for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 767 573 A certain amount of neurotic cases among brothers can also be noticed, which shows that jealousy certainly exists unconsciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

152 762 593 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

857 595 684 There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 597 793 548 276 [824] Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 000 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

It all depends upon how people feel about such things, my informants said. Sometimes, the wife will regulate who, of her many husbands, should be with her; at other times, one of the brothers will do so, not necessarily the eldest, but generally the one with the most personality, the one who has the greatest influence with them all. Again, it is possible for the brothers to agree among themselves as to who shall go with their wife for the night, while it is not excluded that they should all of them have relations with her in the same night. Things can be done discreetly, in the dark, with some item of furniture in front of the bed for greater privacy. But this is not always the case, and often relations between husbands and the wife take place with a lamp lit, and in full view of the others, including the children. Not much clothing, however, is discarded, partly out of modesty, but also because it is cold. 595 833

I asked here, too, if signals were ever made use of at the door, should the marriage not be consummated in the common room. This question was usually received with great guffaws of laughter; the very idea seemed to amuse them. No, they said, there were no signals; nobody ever left anything at the door. As far as they knew, it had never been done, either.

To my question as to how, then, did they decide who should sleep with the common wife, one of my informants (at the Od-ldan household) looked at me slily and asked if I were, myself, married. When I answered that I was, he asked whether, then, I decided with my wife that, as let us say seven p.m. tonight, we would have intercourse? Naturally not, and he laughed; well, then it was the same with them. Such things took place tacitly, by implicit understanding, and with tact, not in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.

My investigations as to the possibility of jealousy affecting the relations between the husbands of a polyandrous Ladaki family led to the same results as in Lahul. I was told that nobody could afford to be jealous, that it was a luxury in which those who were rich enough to divide up property in other, less austere environments than theirs, could indulge. The Reverend W. Asboe was of the opinion that the ordinary average Ladaki was "not very passionate" as he put it, and that for this reason, they could not really feel the pangs of jealousy. He attributed this lack of passion to the altitude and to the climate which was so cold, and as proof of his allegation, he said that the Moslems, who elsewhere were so fiery about sexual matters and men's honour in these things, were also devoid of passion in Ladak, and often accepted situations there which they would have violently rebelled against elsewhere. No- 595 518 157 [184]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
[853] tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
54 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest, as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

Ti 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 182 To 595 182 Ti 595 182 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognised in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti.

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti :—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative ; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *begár* and common expenses ; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners ; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other ; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in consider[illegible] standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally [illegible]inking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want [illegible]ty is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láh[illegible]acy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion [illegible] women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of th[illegible]railties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are [illegible] subject to them) to be an eminently religious race ; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair ; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects ; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind : the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognised. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús ; in hearing law

142 [152] [144] 157 [674] [273] [831]

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers ; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days Besides they have been demoralised lately by opportunity and impunity.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chapter III, C. — Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 233

Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul. [22]

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave [illegible] in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green co[illegible] called *siru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *wariá* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár;* but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *pátis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Koksar, which,

[157] [439] 423 233 [425]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423 Chapter IV, C.

233 Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

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before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Koksar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *négi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *slokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

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The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *phátí* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

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SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

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Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. — Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

When we made camp the Big Dipper had dropped from sight and millions of new and strange stars were out. The cold wind had died. The faint roar of the Tsarap filled the canyon. The muleteers sat around a small fire of horse manure, laughing and talking. After a while Rup Singh came over for a conference.

"Make believe you are talking with Uncle Joe Stalin," I said to Rahul. "Be firm and precise."

In half an hour Rahul came over to my sleeping bag.

"Everything is wonderful," he said. "The Spirit of Satan is in a good mood. He knows he can't hold us up, for I refused to increase the rate of pay, and I gave him a lecture on morality. I did, however, agree that we would camp early tomorrow at Chakchu and give him the rest of the day off. But I made him agree to deliver us in Leh ten days from now—August 16. That's fast travel, for we stop two days at Hemis Monastery, and we are now 120 miles from Leh."

Thereafter Rup Singh was a happy, carefree, smiling young man. No shadow ever crossed his face all the way to Leh.

Three days later we were discussing the transformation at Pagmur.

"You are the foreigner in Asia," Rahul finally said. "And Rup Singh is the kind of a man who has to find out what kind of mettle the foreigner has."

"He won't go on strike again?"

"No. He's found out he can't scare you or blackmail you. And, moreover, from now on he would rather go to Leh than to Kyelang."

"Why?"

"Simple arithmetic. We're now closer to Leh." And then Rahul laughingly added, "You can with safety rely even on the word of the Spirit of Satan when your program matches his self-interest."

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 438
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its
Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient
city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will
shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an
extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the
use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale.
Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program
in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as
the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the
old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 157
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with
their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncompli-
cated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith.
The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to
them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people,
and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually
faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the chil-
dren, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoy-
ancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the
laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been
washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the
garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against
Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips,
gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epilepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his remarks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
857 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[292] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

or about £8,000 sterling. The last item is the gross amount derived from a heavy tax which has been imposed on all the *gonpas*, or monasteries, throughout the country. The sums paid by the different religious establishments were thus stated to me— 651 793

Monastery of Hemis (with Hanlé)	... ...	Rs. 900
" Chimra	... ...	900
" Thigsé	... ...	500
" Pitak	... ...	500
" Gáwan	... ...	900
" Láma Yúrrú	... ...	900
Twenty-five smaller monasteries at Rs. 60 each	=	1,500
		Rs. 6,300

The charge incurred in the maharaja's government of Ladák, I found it impossible to ascertain with any degree of precision, as it was a delicate subject to make inquiries about. From various sources I could only learn that the country is divided into districts, over each of which is appointed a thanadar on a small salary, varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 a month. There are five of these thanadars in Ladák, each independent of the others, and accountable only to the maharaja himself. The principal of them is Basti Rám, the thanadar of Lé, a shrewd and intelligent man, and a tried soldier. He is a native of Káshtwár, and was a petty officer under Zoráwar Sing on the first invasion of Ladák. He was present at the surrender of Skardo, the capital of Balti; and he was one of the few survivors of Zoráwar Sing's unfortunate expedition into Great Tibet in the winter of 1841, A.D. His quickness and experience, combined with a frank and easy manner, secured him the confidence of the maharaja; and after successfully ruling the district of Zanskar during a very turbulent period, he has now obtained one of the highest posts in 634 634 159

159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income,
[439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own
[643] dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at 792
Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of 775
Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, 779
his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery. 177

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensi- 792
tive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is 292
black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his 792
participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with 159
strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

792 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow
• 159 and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 The house[2] had a central hall that ran its length. My room was
346 on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. An-
262 other lama brought food from the kitchen. It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not
[576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis,* and *gur gur cha.* And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering
159 our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender
431 him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World,* the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

 1/1 [i.e., Hemis Monastery— ANALYST]

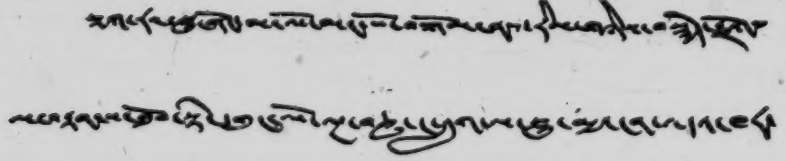
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

[539] 796 792 *O Divine Lord,* Mun! *O Lotus-bearer,* hun! *O Scepter-bearer, hun!*

This was the chant. Over and over, on and on, it went. It had a primitive rhythm, an incessant beat that held me. It was the music of a trance, an incessant repetition whose monotony produced a numbness. The noise of the orchestra filled the room. But it was mostly the Lobon that I heard—the deep, musical bass of Phuntzog. And high above his voice was the piping tenor of Rinpoche, coming lightly along behind the measured beat of his teacher.

After an hour or more I looked up. The chant was still in progress, the drum and cymbals still beating, the horns blaring. The Lobon was bowed in prayer, his lips barely moving as the guttural sound poured out. Rinpoche was as alert as a bird teetering on a rock. He kept up with the chant, his shrill voice now carrying above the Lobon's. As he chanted he weaved slightly to and fro. And all the while he kept peeking out the window where Rup Singh and Budh Ram were standing, watching the ceremony. And Rinpoche seemed to be telling them with his eyes that he hoped to get this business over with soon and come outdoors and join them.

792 •159 The morning of the day we left Hemis I induced Phuntzog to tell me the story of the discovery of the Rinpoche; i.e., how the soul of Stagtsang Raspa was traced to this boy. He went into his room and was gone an hour or more. When he returned, he handed me the following manuscript in Tibetan script which he had prepared; and he recited it on my tape recorder.



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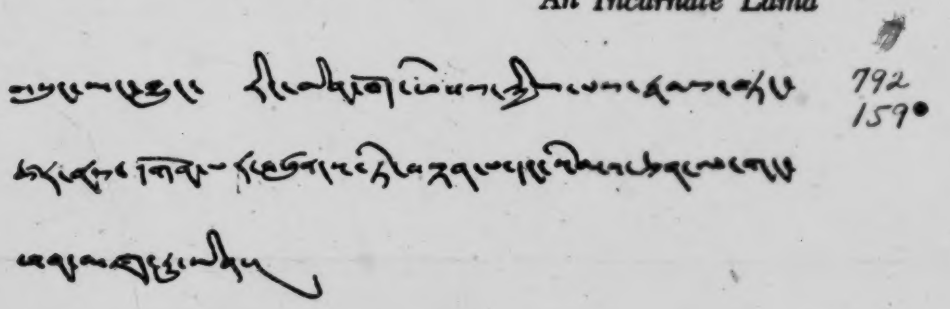
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



A free translation of this account is as follows:[1]

"The last Stagtsang Raspa told the senior lamas of his monastery [the Hemis Gonpa], when he was over fifty years old, that he was soon going to leave this world and that they should look for him in his new life after a few years' time somewhere in Tibet. Two years after 'the retiring of Raspa to heavenly fields,' the personal attendant of our Rinpoche and I, Ngatun Phuntzog, visited the Lhasa oracle, who told us vaguely of the rebirth of Raspa to a noblewoman who lived in the middle part of the U province of Tibet, a little to the northeast of Lhasa. After finding the family, we learned that the child Raspa began to say 'Ladakh, Ladakh' soon after he was reborn. The Gelung and I saw a sign on his left wrist which we recognized to be the sign of the watch of our last Rinpoche. We recognized the scar of a boil on the back of his neck and other familiar signs on the person of our Master. And when we told his noble parents that their child was the reincarnated Raspa, whom we had come to take to Ladakh, they gladly agreed to our request. When we returned to Lhasa, the Netchung [the oracle] approved our discovery of our Rinpoche. The Gyawa Rinpoche, the Dalai Lama, blessed the two-year-old Raspa and permitted us to take him out to our monastery in Ladakh. When we returned to Hemis, the present Raspa recognized the main gate of the monastery, the entrance to his personal rooms, etc. We installed him here at the age of six years and have been blissfully happy in the return of our Guru to Hemis."

1 [See pp. 161-163 for tibetan text.--analyst]

792 Phuntzog talked at length about the discovery. He said that the
• 159 soul usually wanders two years before it decides what life to
787 enter. Two years from the date when an Incarnate Lama passes
775 to heavenly fields is, therefore, the critical date. The high lamas of the monastery then go to the oracle at Lhasa and say, "Two years ago on this date, this man retired to the heavenly fields. What life has his soul possessed?"

The oracle then describes the place in general terms. When that place is found, there may be more than one baby boy who fits the description. In that event they have to make a selection. They customarily bring along some of the possessions of the predecessor. They put these on a table and bring the little candidates in. One may touch a watch and say it is his. One may inquire about his favorite hat and describe it or say where it was last hanging. The lamas may question the boys about the events in the life of the predecessor. They keep up the search until they are convinced they have found the child who has been possessed by the soul of the deceased.

I asked why Phuntzog relied so heavily on the scar of the boil and the mark of the wrist-watch band. "They are not there now," I said.

He went on to explain that the predecessor had had a nasty boil on the back of his neck and that a native doctor had burned it off, leaving a deep scar. The mark was unmistakable. The mark of the wrist-watch strap was also plain. The man had seldom removed the watch; and when he did, a lighter-colored strip of skin was plain for all to see.

That was not all. This predecessor had spoken Arabic and English. "Only the other day," Phuntzog said, "Rinpoche, who has had no lessons in Arabic, started speaking it."

"How can that be?" I asked.

"The knowledge of the predecessor is in the boy," he replied. "It has to be revived. Some stimulus has to bring it to consciousness; but it is all there."

An Incarnate Lama

As we talked we walked through the vast poplar grove and 792
came to the main monastery building. A lama sat under a tree 159
from morning till night, day after day, reciting his prayers in a 787
singsong way. Our passing did not interrupt him. We climbed to the rooms of the Incarnate Lama—the rooms Rinpoche would occupy when he reached maturity. These were the rooms occupied by the predecessor. His portrait, done in oils, stood on the mantel. Phuntzog turned to me and said, "When Rinpoche first came to Hemis, he asked for his rooms; and when I brought him here he kept pointing out various articles that he recognized."

We walked to the mantel where the oil portrait of the predecessor stood. There was silence for several minutes. Then Phuntzog, turning to me, said, "The resemblance of the Rinpoche is plain, isn't it?"

I nodded, and then I looked to Rahul and saw that he nodded too. And Rinpoche, who had been eying us closely, grinned from ear to ear and, whirling on one foot, dashed out of the room, his little red robe flying.

lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle 648
directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By select- 775
ing the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church 787
got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached 792
democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beauti- 792
fully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the 159
Saturday Evening Post for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born 787
after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of 792
Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They con- 159
sulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies fre- 775
quently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

787 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus
792 sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-
• 159 encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it ap-
775 peared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

648 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in
792 this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At
775 times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXII

Skushogs & Scandals

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[554]

AMONG the greater personages who periodically appear on the stage of public life in Leh are the *Skushogs* of the surrounding monasteries. The word Sku-shog, meaning literally "body-great," or translated freely, "your presence," is a title of honour used by Central Tibetans for any person of rank, including even the European occasionally, but in Western Tibet it is confined to clerical dignitaries, and, in practice, is only used to designate the head abbot of one or more monasteries. Such a man is regarded as having obtained sufficient holiness to reach Nirvana, but in his compassion for his fellows he voluntarily remains in the wheel of life, and comes back to help them by presiding over their *dGonpa*. Thus as soon as the head incarnation of a monastery dies, he is re-incarnated in a male baby born at the time of his death, this child then has to be discovered and brought to rule over his own lamasery when old enough. Here he is absolute monarch; he himself cannot do evil whatever sin he commits; he is a law-giver, but need not abide by the laws he lays down. The method of discovery and preparatory education of a *Skushog* may be best told by translating a short biography written in Tibetan by the *Skushog* of Hemis at our request.

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"My own home is not in Llasa itself, as my father was an assistant to the Yutog minister, whose house is connected with Lhasa by a bridge, covered by a roof set in turquoise-coloured baked bricks. My house-name is 'Yutog Shar.'

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Yutog minister is the governor of twelve provinces and lives in the Kensdongrdzong. 792 159

"I was born when my father was in the employ of the Yutogpa. My birthday is in the fifteenth Rabjhung, in the year of the Sheep. According to the English calendar, this would be the year 1883 A.D. When I was eight 159 years old, that is in the end of the year of the Iron Tiger, 775 the steward of the Hemis monastery, whose name was 792 Ngagwang Chos Zang, and the Kashmir State sent to Llasa for me, where I was staying at Dechen Choskor, which means the Holy Wheel. That I was their *Skushog* was conclusively proved to the envoys, for when they asked the Yongdzin Incarnation to tell them where they could find their new incarnation, he told them my house-name, my father's name and the name of my birth-year quite distinctly and correctly, although it was impossible for him to have known anything about me. Having arrived at Lhaldang, they acquainted me with this prophecy. This 792 was in the ninth year of the Iron Rabbit. After doing 159 obeisance to the Dalai Lama with the *Lobchag* [this is the merchant who is sent from Ladak every two years by the Kashmir State to salute the Dalai Lama and to hand him a present of Rs.9,000]. I offered my first hair to the Yongdzin, who was my Arch-*Skushog* at Dechen Choskor, and was then decorated with the crown-name Ngag Wang Jhamspel Gelegs Rgyaltsan Lhundrup Chogslas Rnampar Rgyalwai Lde, after which I started on my journey; at Shigatse I went to meet Panchen Ertini (the Trashi Lama, who is next in rank to the Dalai Lama), and after this arrived safely and happily at my destination in Hemis. The next year my enthronement as the successor of former *Skushogs* took place, after which I returned to Lhasa, going on to Sangsngag where the Arch-*Skushog* lives, and where I met the head of the Red Sect Lamas, the Drugpa Rinpoche and the Yongdzin Rinpoche, and where I learnt the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

doctrinal truths, staying for some months. After this I stayed in Gongkar Dechos until the Sheep year, and in the year of the Firemonkey I went to see the Galwa Rinpoche, that is the Dalai Lama. Having done obeisance to him, he conferred on me the rank of 'San-o-han-too,' which is a Mongolian word, and other honours which are only bestowed on men of high rank. [To show this rank he has an umbrella carried before him, and possesses his own flag.] I was also placed over other *Skushogs* and professors. I thus received such kindness and praise from the Dalai Lama. That year I returned to Ladak, and the next I passed my examination in doctrine. After this I went to the hermitage of Godtsang, where I lived as a hermit, meditated on the doctrines of Saskya Rnyingma and Drugpa, etc., and read the Kangyur and the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, and pondered their meaning. Here I remained for ten years, but in the Firemonkey year I came out of retirement, and from that time onwards I have been travelling about Upper and Lower Ladak and Kulu, visiting my congregations and giving money to a few lamas, and occasionally I stay in a hermitage."

Since he wrote this little history he has also made a grand tour through India, Ceylon and Burmah to Lhasa, and has thus seen something of the impact of Western civilization, which interests him greatly. He has always been much attracted by small mechanical toys and Western devices, such as electric torches, clocks, watches, microscopes, etc., and is himself an expert photographer. Some visitors to Hemis were once amused to see on each side of the chief altar in his private apartment a pair of Odol bottles, their bent necks facing each other. When we first visited this room, they were replaced by Southwell jam jars containing artificial flowers. He is interested in Western medical science too, and gave a sum of money to the Doctor Sahib towards getting the operation theatre of the Moravian Mission Hospital in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mountains, jutting out of a long range to the north of the valley. This is a Yellow-Cap monastery and therefore gives a cleaner impression than most of the red ones. Its present re-incarnation was the hero of a strange series of events during the time we lived in Leh.

It must have been in 1914 that we first made his acquaintance. We heard that the Trigtse *dGonpa* had been without a *Skushog* for years, but at last a deputation of lamas had visited Tibet, and declared that they must bring their *Skushog* back to take up his rule. The boy, who was then about nineteen, refused to come, and his father strongly advised the lamas not to take him, declaring they would only rue it. He was a head-strong youth with no ecclesiastical leanings at all, and had already, we were told, fought on the side of China against his own country. The lamas insisted however, and he was brought to Ladak and installed at Trigtse. He seems to have been anxious to make the acquaintance of the white man, and, thinking he must do in Rome as Rome does, he sent an envoy from Trigtse to Leh to seek out the correct clothing for his first call on the Sahibs. This man, having searched the bazar in vain, called at the Hospital and asked the Doctor Sahib where he could buy a solar topee. Now the doctor and his bride, when they first came to India, had been advised by ill-informed friends to be sure to purchase these topees at Trieste, their port of sail from Europe. Here, therefore, they invested in what proved to be most inappropriate policemen-like helmets, and a kindly sister in India at once saw to it that the Memsahib's was replaced by a more suitable one. Bringing the ugly old helmet to Leh, in case the better one broke, she little thought how august a wearer it would find, for the Doctor Sahib with sudden inspiration sent the man over to his house, where his wife unearthed the discarded topee for the servant to take to his master. She added a pair of speckled socks of her husband's of which she disapproved, an armful of picture papers, and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

some vegetables from the garden, and the man went off in high glee at the success of his expedition. 792 159

The next morning we were asked whether the *Skushog* of Trigtse might call upon us. We hastily arranged for an interpreter, for our Superintendent was away, and we were all new to the country; moreover, our guest's language of Central Tibet was quite a different dialect from that of Ladak. He duly arrived, dressed in his official robes and attended by two or three lamas, and was invited into the drawing-room. But he lingered in the hall, and to the Doctor's surprise began to undress. This process continued to such an alarming extent that he was led into the study. Two other ladies had just called to go out with the Memsahib, and great was the surprise of all three when the drawing-room door opened, and the *Skushog* entered. He wore the helmet-like topee, a Chinese type of frock-coat with paired pin-tucks across the back, brown trousers, a pair of bright yellowish socks, and some Chinese-looking attempts at European shoes. Invited to a chair, and the interpreter called, he entered into friendly talk. He announced among other things that he would like to become a Christian, but we did not take this seriously, and pointed out that he could not do that and retain his wealth and power as a *Skushog*. He then intimated that he would like to stay the night, a rather awkward proposition with our limited accommodation, but we said we could give him the verandah. His lamas whispered anxiously together and let him know it was time to go. Meanwhile they had boiled some tea for him on a little fire outside our kitchen in his own pots, as he must not take food of our cooking. After this the Doctor offered him a cigarette, not knowing in his ignorance of the country that it was against the rules. The *Skushog* made violent signs to him to withdraw into the study again, where, away from the eyes of the lamas, he enjoyed his smoke thoroughly. The latter were at last able to get him to go, and withdrew him on to the verandah where he changed

792v 159 574 [797] [276]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 back into his priestly vestures, which, needless to say,
159 suited him far better. Before he finally retired to change
594 into them, he straightened himself and squared his shoulders, in order to show us that he also possessed a waistcoat ; but, alas ! between the bottom of that garment and the top of his trousers was a hiatus in which his holy brown body was disclosed. Short of stature, with a strong convergent squint, and scarred by small-pox, indisputable signs of his being the true re-incarnation of his predecessors, for he was sure that he himself had never had small-pox since this re-birth, the foreign clothes hardly showed him off to advantage. The next occasion on which he visited us he retained his *Skushog's* garb and had a photograph taken of himself and his suite, the incongruous element being that his most intimate servant was not a lama, but a Mussulman with short hair and a Tibetan cap with four fur-lined flaps.

After his first call, we took the opportunity of a day's holiday to ride over to Trigtse and visit him. We found him encamped in a *bagh* below and about a mile away from the monastery, in a gorgeous tent with nice camp furniture. We ourselves had brought a picnic lunch, at which he elected to join us. The Memsahib was much amused to find that for her first attempt at meat patties, she had put sugar into the pastry instead of salt, but the *Skushog* seemed to find this quite to his taste, and enjoyed them immensely. Afterwards we all repaired to the monastery, riding our ponies up the steep ascent, and he showed us over it, including all his own private apartments.

792 But things soon began to go wrong and all sorts of rumours
159 reached Leh. The *Skushog* declared in public that he did
771 not believe in his own office or his religion. When the common people knelt as he rode past, instead of placing his hand on their heads in benediction, he boxed their ears. He had no reverence for the holy property of the monastery, but sold many of its treasures to any good bidder ; he also had the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 idols out in a row to use as targets for a shooting practice. ●159 His colleague at Hemis sent him a letter, and this he returned 771 with a donkey drawn across the bottom as his pertinent and only reply.

[626] One day matters came to a crisis : his lamas gave him a severe beating and shut him up in solitary confinement. Yet by every token he was their *Skushog*, and one of them seems to have relented and released him. The two came to Leh, where the *Skushog* first went to the State Hospital to have his external wounds attended to by the Indian Sub-Assistant Surgeon, but his internal treatment he could only trust to the English doctor, so for that he came to the Mission Hospital, where he also received a lesson on Western professional etiquette. The monasterial difficulties resulted in a court case, following which certain of his lamas were sent to prison in Leh, which hardly bettered the relations between them and their spiritual head.

It was not now practicable for him to return to Trigtse, and the question arose as to what was to be done with him, for still he was their *Skushog* and entitled to the financial benefits of his office. The matter came up before the British Joint Commissioner, the Wazir or State Joint Commissioner, and eventually was taken to H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The result of it all was that in 1916 he went down to India, and for two or three years vanished into oblivion. Early in 1920 he again appeared in Ladak with one lama servant, giving stange accounts of his experiences in India. He said that he had served as a common sepoy in Baluchistan, alleged that in some capacity he had been as far as Basra, that he had acted as bearer to an English officer with alcoholic tendencies, and also that he had been connected with a Colonel Sahib in the neighbourhood of Madras, who had treated him as his own son, and of whom he always spoke with sincere and friendly gratitude. He still maintained his utter disbelief in the religion of his fathers. The people

792 called him "the Mad Skushog," but, said he, "I am not mad,
• 159 I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenance
771 and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one else could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirely
[797] repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed him to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and the Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted that the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity, and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moravian missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficult situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipated life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruction, telling him that study and probation were necessary first. He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, who found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, to whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds were perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our minds can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could not believe.

[626] At about this time, living as he was with his one lama servant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist homes alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. After taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill, and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionaries and begged them to take him into their compound, where he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he was given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look up the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting on his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still sus-
[557] pected that the desire to join the Christian religion was secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found that he had hoped to get a political post under the British Government, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Without it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetans would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them up

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..betans AJ4

in yak's skins and casting them out in the desert to be shrivelled to death. A Bishop was coming to visit the Mission, and the British Joint Commissioner would soon be coming up for the summer months, so he waited with us for both, though meanwhile he went away for two or three weeks to fetch some of his property from Zankskar. He took his lama servant with him, and, before starting, secured what he considered was an outfit of European clothes. When remonstrated with, he replied that he had thought over the matter carefully, and wished to show that he had made a clean cut with the old life. On his way down we heard that he stuck to his profession of Christianity, asked a blessing before his meals, read his New Testament aloud, and, when the usual offerings were brought to him by ardent Buddhists,—for still he was a *Skushog*,—only took them under protest, saying that he himself had no blessing to give. Arrived at Zankskar he obtained his pony and goods, but his lama deserted him, in fact he seemed to have had a rough time, and he came back alone. Strange it was to think of this high-born ecclesiastical dignitary travelling in the Orient with no servant, though doubtless credulous Buddhists were still eager to obtain merit by providing for his wants at each stage. A short waiting time remained, during which he often came to meals with us, rode and talked with us, proving an entertaining companion and a gentlemanly guest. He also continued his instruction and attended church services regularly, sitting on the floor with the other members, and entering into the responses and hymns with apparent sincerity and enjoyment.

Finally, through the British Joint Commissioner, he was given a post in the Secret Service at Gyangtse, just across the Tibetan border on the Darjeeling side, and left Leh with letters of reference and recommendation, vowing that in two years he would come back to complete his instruction in the Christian faith.

So this strange youth vanished from our midst. We

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 learned afterwards that with the Maharajah's sanction, he
●159 obtained Rs500 from the Trigtse *dGonpa* to help him to
771 get home, though the lamas would commit themselves to no statement as to whether they still regarded him as their *Skushog* or not, but at the monastery itself they always refer to him as the "Mad Skushog" still, and can appoint no successor during his lifetime. The last news we were able to obtain was from a lama, returning from Lhasa and visiting relations near Leh, who said that he was still alive, and that he and his father had saved their skins owing to the latter's wise forethought at the time the deputation first fetched his son from Tibet Knowing the lad's extraordinary character, he had taken the precaution to draw up a document, stating that the Trigste lamas insisted on taking the boy away, both against his own will and the son's. This paper eventually saved their lives, but the father was subsequently dismissed from his high post in the government and relegated to a lower one, while the son seems to live in a place of internment somewhere in the Closed Land, though not in Lhasa itself, provided with a house and fields, but segregated with other renegades, where, as the Trigtse lamas put it, he has not now the power to do so much mischief.

792 Coming down the valley we meet our next Incarnation at Spitug, another lamasery picturesquely perched on a hill. When we first came to Leh, he was personified by an old man bearing the pontifical name of Bacola whose reputation did not savour of holiness. His other, and smaller, monastery at Sankar, just behind Leh, often received visits from him, so that he was not infrequently met on the six miles of road between. He died in 1917, but it was not for two or three
[775] years that we heard that he had been re-incarnated in the second son of the *rGyalpo* (King) of Marshro, a petty Rajahship some fourteen miles away. Through his mother, who, like the old Bacola, came from Zankskar, his present physical body is a great-nephew to his former one. When this small

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XI.—PEOPLE.

I.—POPULATION.

In A.D. 1822 Moorcroft* estimated the population of Ladák at about 165,000 persons, of whom he thought that not less than two-thirds were females. But Csoma de Körös,† who resided for some time in Zanskar, shortly after Moorcroft's visit, says the people of Ladák consisted of 20,000 families. Now, by an accurate census of the two Botian districts of Lahul and of Spiti, it appears that the average number of persons in one family is 6·7. As the different climates of these two districts exhibit the extremes of the Ladáki climate, the mean of the two may be taken as fairly representing the true number of persons in each house or family throughout Ladák. At this rate the 20,000 families of Csoma de Körös would amount to no more than 134,000 persons; to whom must be added about 12,000 lamas and nuns, who dwell apart in the monasteries and convents; thus making the whole population of Ladák (between 1820 and 1830) not more than 146,000 persons. But this estimate is certainly too low.

The information which I obtained in 1847 was derived from various independent sources, all of which agreed

* Travels, I. p. 320.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, I. p. 121. Geographical notice of Tibet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

161 in stating that the total number of houses was formerly
[657] 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population
[162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

793 In stating the number of professed religionists at
162 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve
161 thousand. The total amount of population (between 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each. 702

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at. 161 164 [515]

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands. 727 798

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zoráwar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination. 751

798 or about 9,000 persons, are said to have left their native land, and to have found refuge in the numerous monasteries of Great Tibet.

727 During the wars from 1834 to the close of 1841, it is said that about 15,000 Ladákis perished, and that about 1,000 (who were chiefly Musalmans) emigrated to Balti and the neighbouring districts. Of the 4,000 Ladákis who accompanied Zoráwar Sing on his inroad into the Lhasan territory, it is well known that nearly the whole perished in the snow. A few made their way back to Ladák; and some four or five hundred, who were made prisoners, are said to be most strictly confined at Lhasa.

162 In 1847 I found, by a census of 1,890 houses, that the
• 161 average number of persons per house was 4·147; but as a very considerable number of people were absent from their homes, the true rate per house could not have been less than five persons, or about the same as that of the district of Spiti, which I ascertained to be 5·3 persons per house. The number of inhabited houses is said to be 23,000, which at this rate, and allowing the present number of lamas and nuns to be only 3,000, will make the total amount of the population 124,900, or in round
161 numbers, 125,000 persons. The decrease in the population, since Moorcroft's time, is, therefore, not less than 40,000 persons. The causes of this decrease are the following:—

	Persons.
Carried off by small-pox in 1834	14,000
Lamas emigrated	9,000
Perished during the wars	15,000
Emigrated (chiefly Musalmans)	1,000
Total decrease	40,000
Moorcroft's census	165,000
Present census	125,000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Including Spiti and Láhul, the present population is /61 therefore not more than 4·333 persons per square mile.

The census of the two districts of Spiti and Láhul is 162 as follows:—

—	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Spiti ..	38	262	460	226	686	503	218	721	1,407	5·3	6·9
Lahul ..	43	594	1,033	1,470	2,503	1,389	945	2,334	4,837	8·1	13·8
Total ..	81	856			3,189			3,055	6,244	6·7	10·8

Neither of these districts is so well peopled as Ladák, the number of persons per square mile being 2·58 in Láhul and only ·608 in the barren and rocky Spiti.

In 1847 I made a census of most of the villages along my route through Ladák, which embraced about one-twelfth part of the whole country.

The following table shows the relative numbers of males and females in the Buddhist country of Ladák, compared with the same in the various Musalman districts on the Indus.

—	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Ladák ..	142	1,890			3,646			4,192	7,838	4·147	13·3
Balti, &c.	158	6,406			13,662			13,387	23,394	4·235	34·4
					17,308			17,579		4·181	23·85

In the Buddhist country it will be observed that the females outnumber the males, while the reverse is the case in the Musalman districts along the Indus. This is just what might have been expected from the different habits of the people. The Musalmani girl is married at ten or twelve years of age, and becomes a mother before she has acquired either the strength or stature of a

Kangra District.)
6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca.1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

Chapter I.

The District.

General description.

[634] 101 131 133 [161]

The cantons or *wazírís* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazírís*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazírís*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

[651] [563]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

161

Chapter III, A.

Statistical.

Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

[162]

The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson :—

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"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazíris*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

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[161]

[312]

"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irrigated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. P. 94

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 6

A COURT IN LAHUL

The day I built the bridge at Koksar we went fourteen miles and spent the night at Gundala. Gundala is a small village of a score or so inhabitants. The houses are square affairs with flat slate roofs. Both outside walls and the roofs are plastered with a stucco made from mud. Some have two stories with the people above and the cattle below. Gundala runs at a steep pitch down a mountainside that is dotted with a thin stand of juniper. There are millet, barley, and wheat on the terraces that reach to the river; and willow trees and aspen keep most of the village in shade.

It is ten miles to Kyelang, a distance we covered in about three hours. We traveled in a light, cold rain and were accompanied all the way by the endless echoes of thunder rolling round and round in this narrow canyon of the Chandra. Kyelang is on the opposite side of the mountain behind Gundala. It is a village of several hundred people that sits prettily high on the banks of the Bhaga River. Across the river is a Buddhist monastery on a lonely

361 shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so
• 161 shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and
[132] narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

137 The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the
[133] Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[1] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

197 Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—"*Ram, ram*" or "*Namaste.*" In Lahul they became Tibetan—"*Ju Ju*" or "*Ju Le.*"

[1] [Headman--Analyst]

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which " there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

reached northwestern India, or, rather, the foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people. We went up to where they were reported to exist and found that polyandry had died out, but kept on looking further until we finally ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabitants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

The people living in western Tibet live in an isolated position. The country is very barren and, because of the altitude and the difficulties of travel, the people are very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

The polyandry practised among the Tibetans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 [565] Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances. 595 161

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the women to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladākh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation. [311] [439]

It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject. [589]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

K 161 decennial increase comes to 5·64 per cent. against 3·1 of the previous decade representing a fairly satisfactory state of affairs for these tracts.

K [131] The total area of this division is 63,560 square miles or three-fourths of the area of the entire State while the population supported by this huge area amounts to only 288,584 persons *i. e.*, 7·9 per cent. of the total population leading to a resultant density of only 5 persons to a square mile against 183 of the Kashmir Province and 144 of the Jammu Province inclusive of Jagirs. The figures of density offer their own commentry and no words are needed to establish the extreme sparseness of the population in these parts. Taking into consideration of variation from decade to decade it will be evident that internally the tract has grown in population from 160,225 in 1891 to 288,584 in 1931 yielding a total increase of 128,359 persons or 80·1 per cent. in the forty years which represents the highest increase over this long period as compared with the other two provinces or any of the districts. But a study of the figures of percentage variation of this division in the Subsidiary Table No. III shows that there is a progressive decline in the percentage increase rate from decade to decade as is evidenced by the big fall from 44·0 per cent. decennial increase in 1891-1901 to 14·2 in 1901-1911 and to 3·1 in 1911-1921. This leads us to the conclusion that the figures of the earlier Census of these tracts were far from being accurate and as each succeeding decennium is condusive to greater accuracy we may rightly conclude that the rate of increase which is manifesting itself at the recent decades represent the true state of affairs and the figures of the remote decades are not free from suspicion.

Coming to density proper the present Census gives a record of 5 persons to a square mile against 4 of the last Census which naturally means an increase in density by 25 per cent. but looking deeper into the figures we see that the actual density in 1921 was 4·29 and in 1931 it is 4·54 which gives a net increase of ·25 and reduces the percentage increase to a reasonable figure of 5·8 per cent. from 25 per cent. shown above on the basis of round figures.

K 133 241 The reasons for this dearth of population in this part of the State are not too far to seek as the highly mountainous character of the tract coupled with vast treeless deserts at an altitude of 17 or 18 thousand feet above the see-level offers very little attractions to settlers who will scarcely find any land available for cultivation here especially when only ·3 per cent. of the total area is fit for cultivation and the normal rainfall does not exceed 5·7″ which is hardly suitable for growing any crops. The passes remain closed during the winter when communications are generally cut off and the transmission of post is also attended with considerable difficulty. There are no roads worth the name.

K 161 The decade under report presents a record of increase in all the constituent units and the variation from 1·7 to 4·72 in the Ladakh district marks a decided improvement while the lowering of the percentage increase in Gilgit and Political Iilaqas is due to more careful enumeration leading to greater accuracy. It is a patent fact that at the present Census efforts have been made for the first time to obtain more detailed data of the Frontier Illaqas which hithertofore were enumerated on a special form having four or five columns instead of the General Census Schedule provided with eighteen columns.

W.T. 161 **49. Ladakh District.**—Having said so much by way of introduction we shall review the tehsil comprising this district in passing with the help of the marginal table. Starting with the Ladakh district having an area

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of Variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Ladakh District ..	288,138	4	+ 4·72	− 1·7	....
1. Ladakh Tehsil ..	34,433	1	+ 4·14	− 2·9	....
2. Kargil	80,338	7	+ 5·26	− ·1	....
3. Skardu	167,477	13	+ 4·60	− 3·6	....

1/1 [Errata: cf. category 116, p. 329 for corrections -- Analyst]

W. Tibetans AV4
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

of 45,762 square miles and a population of 192,138 persons it will at once appear that the Ladakh tehsil though possessing the greatest area supports the smallest number of people. Its density is, one per square mile, the lowest figure in the whole State. Kargil and Skardu, however, with their respective densities of 9 and 13 present a better record the latter supporting 107,477 persons. All the three tehsils of the districts show a plus variation ranging between 4 and 5 per cent. which bear a happy contrast to the all-round decrease registered by these tehsils at the 1921 Census. WT 161

Of the total area of the Ladakh district only ·28 per cent. is cultivable which in plain language means that out of a total area of 45,762 square miles only 129 square miles are cultivable. Again out of ·28 per cent. cultivable area 91·7 per cent. is net cultivated and there are very little prospects of agricultural expansion in this district. WT 241

The normal rainfall is 6·7″ only. The entire gross cultivated area has to depend upon irrigation for growing crops. Rice, Bajra, maize are conspicuous by their absence, wheat only occupies an inferior position having under it 17·5 per cent. of the cultivable area, 47 per cent. being under other food-crops including pulses of which giram is the chief staple.

50. Gilgit District.—The district consists of only one tehsil (Gilgit) with an area of 3,118 square miles and a population of 31,902 persons which gives a resultant density of 10 persons to a square mile. The increase at the present Census comes to 11·13 per cent. which compares well with other districts. D 161

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Gilgit District ..	31,902	10	+ 11·13	+ 19·8	....
1. Gilgit Tehsil	31,902	10	+ 11·13	+ 19·8	....

Of the total area ·8 per cent. is cultivable out of which 81·8 is net cultivated, the balance still available for being brought under crops being about 18 per cent. The normal rainfall being very low *i. e.*, 4·77″ the entire agriculture depends upon irrigation which has received good attention from the Government during the present decade as has already been shown under paragraphs dealing with irrigational improvements. To counteract Nature's frugality in the matter of rainfall human effort has shown itself at its best in providing irrigational facilities as is reflected by the fact that 99·9 per cent. of the gross cultivated area is irrigated which conclusively proves that natural rainfall by itself would not help even an acre to produce crops. D 241

Here 35·6 per cent. of the area is under wheat, 9·7 per cent. under barley, 36·7 per cent. under other food-crops including pulses while 23·4 per cent. is taken up by miscellaneous crops. The supply for the military garrisons located at Gilgit is provided through a special "Supply and Transport Department".

51. Frontier Illaqas.—With an area of 14,680 square miles and a population of 64,544 persons the Frontier Illaqas show an increase of 5·82 per cent. over the last Census and the variation in each of the constituent units is shown by the marginal table. D 161 B 161

Name of District or Illaqa.	Population 1921.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.	
				1921-1931.	1911-1921.
1. Hunza ..	12,117	12,941	3	+ 9·27	+ 19·7
2. Nagar ..	14,188	13,672	9	− 3·63	+ 0·3
3. Punial ..	5,402	6,108	4	+ 11·31	+ 24·2
4. Yasin ..	7,065	8,063	7	+ 14·4	+ 11·9
5. Kuh ..	2,246	2,886	6	+ 23·7	+ 10·9
6. Ghizar ..	3,953	4,112	3	+ 4·02	+ 2·6
7. Ishkoman ..	2,753	2,966	2	+ 7·46	+ 30·3
8. Chilas ..	13,135	13,534	5	+ 3·03	+ 5·01

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Ladák, but to the north of *Ngari*, lies the extensive province of *Chang Thang*, or the "northern plains." Ladák itself is called Mar-yul or Low-land, perhaps from its inferior elevation to all the surrounding districts. 634 103

Nubra,* or the north-western district of Ladák, includes all the country drained by the Nubra and Shayok rivers. It is by far the largest district in the country, being about 128 miles in length by 72 miles in breadth, with an area of 9,200 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Kárákoram mountains, and on the south by the Kailas range, which divides the Indus from the Shayok; and it extends from the frontier of Balti, in east longitude 77°, to the Pangkong lake on the borders of Rudok. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts of the country, from an average of fourteen observations at different places, is 12,763 feet. 634 181 133

Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called *Mang-yul*, or the "district of many people." It stretches along the Indus in a north-westerly direction from Rukchu to the frontier of Balti, a length of 120 miles, with an average breadth of 33 miles. Its area is about 4,000 square miles, and the mean elevation of the inhabited portions, as deduced from observations along the Indus, is 11,500 feet. [103] [131] [162]

Zanskar includes all the country lying along the two great branches of the Zanskar river, in a general direction from south-east to north-west. It is bounded by Ladák on the north, by Rukchu on the east, by Lahul on the south, and by the small districts of Purik and Wanla on the west. The southern boundary is formed by the

* *Nub-ra*, western.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XI.—PEOPLE.

I.—POPULATION.

In A.D. 1822 Moorcroft* estimated the population of Ladák at about 165,000 persons, of whom he thought that not less than two-thirds were females. But Csoma de Körös,† who resided for some time in Zanskar, shortly after Moorcroft's visit, says the people of Ladák consisted of 20,000 families. Now, by an accurate census of the two Botian districts of Lahul and of Spiti, it appears that the average number of persons in one family is 6·7. As the different climates of these two districts exhibit the extremes of the Ladáki climate, the mean of the two may be taken as fairly representing the true number of persons in each house or family throughout Ladák. At this rate the 20,000 families of Csoma de Körös would amount to no more than 134,000 persons; to whom must be added about 12,000 lamas and nuns, who dwell apart in the monasteries and convents; thus making the whole population of Ladák (between 1820 and 1830) not more than 146,000 persons. But this estimate is certainly too low. /161 [162]

The information which I obtained in 1847 was derived from various independent sources, all of which agreed

* Travels, I. p. 320.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, I. p. 121. Geographical notice of Tibet.

161 in stating that the total number of houses was formerly
[657] 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population
[162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

793 In stating the number of professed religionists at
162 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve
161 thousand. The total amount of population (between 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

798 or about 9,000 persons, are said to have left their native land, and to have found refuge in the numerous monasteries of Great Tibet.

727 During the wars from 1834 to the close of 1841, it is said that about 15,000 Ladákis perished, and that about 1,000 (who were chiefly Musalmans) emigrated to Balti and the neighbouring districts. Of the 4,000 Ladákis who accompanied Zoráwar Sing on his inroad into the Lhasan territory, it is well known that nearly the whole perished in the snow. A few made their way back to Ladák; and some four or five hundred, who were made prisoners, are said to be most strictly confined at Lhasa.

162 In 1847 I found, by a census of 1,890 houses, that the
161 average number of persons per house was 4·147; but as a very considerable number of people were absent from their homes, the true rate per house could not have been less than five persons, or about the same as that of the district of Spiti, which I ascertained to be 5·3 persons per house. The number of inhabited houses is said to be 23,000, which at this rate, and allowing the present number of lamas and nuns to be only 3,000, will make the total amount of the population 124,900, or in round
161 numbers, 125,000 persons. The decrease in the population, since Moorcroft's time, is, therefore, not less than 40,000 persons. The causes of this decrease are the following:—

	Persons.
Carried off by small-pox in 1834	14,000
Lamas emigrated	9,000
Perished during the wars	15,000
Emigrated (chiefly Musalmans)	1,000
Total decrease	40,000
Moorcroft's census	165,000
Present census	125,000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Including Spiti and Láhul, the present population is therefore not more than 4·333 persons per square mile. /61/

The census of the two districts of Spiti and Láhul is as follows:— 162

—	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Spiti ..	38	262	460	226	686	503	218	721	1,407	5·3	6·9
Lahul ..	43	594	1,033	1,470	2,503	1,389	945	2,334	4,837	8·1	13·8
Total ..	81	856			3,189			3,055	6,244	6·7	10·8

Neither of these districts is so well peopled as Ladák, the number of persons per square mile being 2·58 in Láhul and only ·608 in the barren and rocky Spiti.

In 1847 I made a census of most of the villages along my route through Ladák, which embraced about one-twelfth part of the whole country.

The following table shows the relative numbers of males and females in the Buddhist country of Ladák, compared with the same in the various Musalman districts on the Indus.

—	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Ladák ..	142	1,890			3,646			4,192	7,838	4·147	13·3
Balti, &c.	158	6,406			13,662			13,387	23,394	4·235	34·4
					17,308			17,579		4·181	23·85

In the Buddhist country it will be observed that the females outnumber the males, while the reverse is the case in the Musalman districts along the Indus. This is just what might have been expected from the different habits of the people. The Musalmani girl is married at ten or twelve years of age, and becomes a mother before she has acquired either the strength or stature of a

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.
792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.
661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.
792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.
The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

161 Chapter III, A.

Statistical.

Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

[167]

The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson :—

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"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazíris*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

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"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irrigated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. P. 94

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. 438

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Proportion of the sexes. 162 [221] [788]

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul.

Houses and furniture. 342 [353] [352] 283 462

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range. 316

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Mussalmán.	Others.
Kúlu	99,[illegible]	...	633	61
Láhaul	6,[illegible]	...	35	30
Spiti	1	2,[illegible]	...	1

"In Kúlu, including *mazári* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorij, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the 361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers ●162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense 771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of 233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have [771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism [797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion 162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus 792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. 563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER X

"Curiouser & Curiouser"

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YET another trek awaits us, for we have not yet seen the Changpä, the nomad who wanders over the high plateaus of Western Tibet, and the Botpa who is the real inhabitant of the Closed

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Land. A dispute about the actual boundary between Ladak and Tibet must be settled on the border itself whither the British Joint Commissioner, Major Robson, who holds a watching brief for the Government of India, the Wazir Sahib, who represents his Highness, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Doctor Sahib, who accompanies the former, must travel to meet a gentleman who is styled the "Gaspon," and who acts on behalf of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

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The cause of the dispute was a Ladaki who had settled down in Tibet proper, where he had taken unto himself a lady of the country as wife, and had grown rich. As a result he became liable for the heavy Tibetan taxation, and, wishing to escape this, he returned to Ladak and settled down on his own side of the border. But our Tibetan friends were not to be done out of their taxes quite so easily, for they calmly entered Ladak, seized their man, and took him back again. His brother then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and the Government of India on his behalf, and these naturally objected to such high-handed procedure. Tibet tried to contest the matter by saying that the place from which they had removed the Ladaki was in Tibetan territory, but from

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

other lesser events in the family activities and even in the surrounding neighbourhood, all are used to exploit the credulity and fears of a primitive people for the enrichment in money and power of a set of priests, themselves with little education, save the reading of their "holy" books. Thus, apart from the exercise of these functions, the lamas, who are said to constitute almost one third of the population, lead useless lives of indolence and indulgence, contributing nothing to the economical and certainly not to the spiritual welfare of their fellow countrymen, but merely absorbing their hard-earned riches in parasitical luxury. As an observer from the Chinese side has recorded, "Lamaism is responsible for having sapped the manhood of Mongolia of its energy and initiative, and deadened its intellect." By segregating such a large proportion of its young manhood into an enforced and false celibacy, it lowers the birth-rate as well as the moral standard of the country. How infinitely removed are these evil practices from the pure teachings of the Buddha, whose name has been associated with the veneer of reform introduced into this devil-worship. The wonder is that the people remain as wholesome and cheery as they do, and no visitor to Ladak will deny the attractiveness of this sturdy hill race.

Indeed they are part of that lure of Ladak which every year provides the British Joint Commissioner with a waiting list for travellers desiring passes far longer than that of the successful applicants. Falling into a different category from the ordinary visitor is the sportsman, whose pass is included in his shooting license, men, and even women, to whose primeval hunting instincts the great hills call. The mere traveller may be lured by the everlasting hills also, or the peculiar bare country, or its strange inhabitants and their quaint customs. The mere joy of the road calls some, while few can on arrival resist being curio hunters, and during their brief visits concentrate their attention on any of the following: the cups of rare china, the more common wooden ones lined wtih silver,

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau,
103 about 12,000 feet up, and found a very active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[10] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12.000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

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KERALA AW11

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stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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To 114 reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

To 595 114 T, 595 114 K 114 595

As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

T, 162 792 To 847 162

As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To 162

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [594] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [988] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 [795] To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 178 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lambskin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADAKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
439 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[651] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

792 [795] [162]

There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Christian missions. 797

The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Agriculture. 241

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy

6:India G-3 (1931)1933 AVI Kashmir AVI
W. Tibetans AJ4

countries in Europe itself as also in Asia, Africa, and America offer a strong contradiction of this law by showing a higher record of males than females. The following proportion of females per 1,000 males in different countries has been worked out from the latest Census figures recorded in the statistical year-book of the League of Nations 1931-1932 (Geneva). 000

The countries arranged on the left side of the marginal table all show an excess of males over females and consequently carry a strong refutation of the charge levelled against the Indian Census where excess of males is wrongly imputed by these critics to the errors of omission. If these countries in spite of their having most up-to-date methods of taking Census and being sufficiently advanced to over-ride the prejudice against female enumeration can still show a preponderance of males it can be safely concluded that the attempt of these critics to declare the results of Western Europe as ideal is futile and no Census law demanding a preponderance of females in all populations can be laid down.

Females per 1,000 males.			
A.		B.	
1. U. S. A.	.. 976	1. United Kingdom	.. 1,086
2. Canada (1921)	.. 940	2. Hungary	.. 1,048
3. Alaska	.. 939	3. Spain	.. 1,027
4. Newzealand	.. 959	4. Germany	.. 1,066
5. Union of South Africa	.. 959	5. Austria	.. 1,085
6. Japan	.. 990	6. Belgium	.. 1,019
7. Newfound Land	.. 942	7. Australia	.. 1,004
8. Bulgaria	.. 907		
9. India (1931 Census)	.. 940		

K 162x

126. General Proportions of the Sexes by Natural Divisions.—Out of the total population of 3,646,243 enumerated at the current Census 1,938,338 are males and 1,707,905 females which gives an excess of 230,433 males over the females. The proportion of females to 1,000 males at the current Census works to 881 against 890 of the 1921 Census and 887 of the 1911 Census. Instead of showing an increase the feminine proportion at the current Census has on the other hand actually decreased by 9 per 1,000 as compared with the preceding Census and the decrease has taken place in all the four Natural Divisions as will be seen from the marginal table.

Division.	No. of females per 1,000 of males.		
	1911.	1921.	1931.
Jammu and Kashmir State ..	887	890	881
1. The Sub-montane and Semi-mountainous Tract ..	846	894	864
2. The Outer Hills ..	918	923	905
3. The Jhelum Valley ..	872	857	852
4. The Indus Valley ..	978	966	940

The downward tendency is largely contributed by the comparatively large decreases of female proportion (20 per 1,000 males) in the Sub-montane and the Outer Hills Divisions *i. e.*, the Jammu Province which at the last Census showed large increases as compared with 1911.

Next comes the Jhelum Valley whose feminine proportion has dwindled (from 857 to 852) by 5 per thousand while in the Indus Valley the fall has been 16 per thousand.

Apart from the variation the above table shows that of the four Natural Divisions the proportion of females in the Indus Valley is the highest (940), then follow the Outer Hills (905), Sub-montane Tract (864) and the Jhelum Valley (852)

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The Indus Valley.—This Natural Division comprising the districts of Ladakh, Gilgit and the Frontier Illaqas possesses the highest proportion of

WT 162

females i. e., 940 females per 1,000 males which is mainly contributed by the Ladakh district which possesses an approximately equal proportion of females per 1,000 of males. In Ladakh the Budhists have 1,008 females for every 1,000 males while amongst the Muslims who constitute the majority of the population the proportion is also highly satisfactory being 996 per 1,000 males. The population being mainly drawn from the Muslim and the Budhist religions which do not share the strong Hindu prejudice against female births naturally shows a favourable proportion of females which also receives great stimulus from the absence of the practice of female-infanticide prevalent among some Rajputs. The Muslim population of Ladakh district is composed of the adventurous Baltis with strong emigrating propensities and their absence from homes in search of labour swells the proportion of females during the winter when Census is generally taken. Moreover, the comparative late marriages amongst both the communities and especially the Budhists further lessen the female deaths by avoiding premature child-birth, and the agricultural and out-door life of the entire population keeps the females who materially assist their husbands in cultivation in a high tone of health and vitality which considerably reduces the incidence of mortality on the females. This is proved by the high proportion of the Budhist and Muslim females in the age-group 60 and over which has 988 Budhist and 897 Muslim females per 1,000 males as compared to 250 Hindu females per 1,000 males for which the fact that the Hindu and Sikh population of this division being mostly constituted of traders, shopkeepers and Government servants who are generally unaccompanied by their wives is also partly responsible. The proportion of female births in this division shown by the age-group 0-1 also discloses that Muslims and Budhists have 982 and 979 female children per 1,000 male children between (0-1) while Hindus and Sikhs have only 541 and 571 respectively which means that masculinity is low at birth among the Budhists and the Muslims of Ladakh.

K *162

In the Gilgit and the Frontier Illaqas the proportion of females is 778 and 882, the low proportion (778) of Gilgit being due to the presence of a large number of troops and State offficials who come to this distant tract single leaving their families behind. As regards the Frontier Illaqas which has 882 females per mille of males no remarks are needed since the proportion is on par with that of the whole State.

The Outer Hills.—The female proportion of the division is 905 per 1,000 males which is contributed materially by the Poonch Jagir having a high proportion of 950 females, partly due to number of its sons being employed in the rank and file of the British Army residing away from their homes.

Next come the Basohli tehsil and Udhampur district with 941 and 903. Reasi district (895), Kotli tehsil (888) and Chenani Jagir (842).

Sub-montane and Semi-mountainous Tract.—In this division the Mirpur and Bhimber tehsils show a better proportion of 936 females while Kathua and Jammu districts possess only 827 and 825. In the case of Mirpur the agricultural production being insufficient for the needs of the population a large amount of male population emigrates to the adjoining British districts to supplement their income by labour, service in the British Army or on the ships as sailors. This raises the proportion of the other sex. Further the population being predominantly Muslim in this district shows like Poonch a higher proportion than the proportion in the districts with a preponderance of Hindus such as Kathua and Jammu.

The Jhelum Valley.—The general proportion of females is 952 per 1,000 males. In this valley we find that Muzaffarabad has the highest proportion (881) while Kashmir South has the lowest (842) the intermediate position being occupied by the Kashmir North (Baramulla district). Although with a strong emigration current from the Kashmir valley to the plains during the winter due to the departure of large number of Kashmiri male labourers for work on the plains as also the movement of a large number of clerks unaccompanied by their families to Jammu one would have expected Kashmir to show a better proportion

1/1 [Errata: read "852" for "952"; cf. errata sheet, P. 329, category 116 -- Analyst]

A Trip to Ladakh

341 fat; grease pervaded the atmosphere, in fact everything
792 the monks touched, for they were filthily dirty, their red garments being more or less black with grease. Fortunately their heads were shorn. They seemed to be a happy lot of brothers, always ready to laugh and joke, in fact, just like the pictures of the monks of the West in days gone by.

792 There are nuns who live in separate buildings. Many of them are so like the monks that it is difficult to tell one from the other, at least to an unpractised eye, as the following incident will show.

797 A few days later I was in Leh with Dr Neve. He was in the hospital helping people to get well quickly. I stayed outside to try and cheer up the patients who were waiting their turn outside, as many of them seemed to be rather nervous and frightened. I noticed one person who seemed to look very depressed, who I thought was a monk and not living up to his usual jovial self, so I poked him in the ribs and told him to cheer up, when a voice called out to me from behind, but too late: "Take care what you are doing, for that lady is a nun." It was a Moravian missionary who spoke too late. Well, I did all that an English gentleman could do. I apologised most humbly, but the nun would not have any, and I failed to cheer her up.

361 Well, our triumphal march to the capital, Leh (a town
162 with a population of 3000 in the winter, which grows to 6000 in the summer, when all the traders from east and west come in), was as entertaining as it was interesting.
574 Monastery bands, town bands, feasts and polo matches succeeded one another, but the reception given to the Commissioner Sahib at Leh was the culmination of great doings. Seven miles from Leh, in the valley of the Indus, a large sandy plain, there met us a great cavalcade of

probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each. 702

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at. 161 164 [515]

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands. 727 798

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zoráwar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination. 751

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

whose origin the boy could not explain intermingled with the howling 000
of the wind and the rushing of the Indus River. Namgyal's eye sharpened by his awakened imagination, then spied shadowy figures as they suddenly moved over the mountain slope and above him through the air. At those times the boy liked to be close to his companion. "Did you see that?" his comrade Puntsog asked him one evening as they were driving their herd along through the narrow gorge as darkness was descending upon them. They were late because they had had to spend a long time searching for animals that had strayed away from the herd. "There, up by the precipice it was rushing along!" "Yes, I saw it too," answered Namgyal, "it was a fox." "Yes, but didn't you see anything else? Someone was riding on the fox; /40/ it was gongpo with a large, round [776]
head, bristly hair and a hideous grimace, with bared teeth, two red eyes and a third eye on its forehead, and long claws on its fingers. It was shaking its hand threateningly at us. Come, let us hurry so we get home fast!"

When Namgyal came home he asked his grandmother, whose 538
favorite he was and who had already told him quite a lot of terrifying things about evil spirits who are housed in mountain and valley, what kind of a being that was they had seen and told her what they did. She answered: "Let Meme (the old) Konchog Trashi tell you that, nobody knows more about these spirits and their activities and no one knows the old sagas and fairytales as well as he."

What Old Konchog Trashi Told Namgyal about Gods and Demons

One of the following evenings Namgyal went to the old Gyamstopa (16) Konchog Trashi, the storyteller and narrator of legends who is

16. Written in Tibetan, rgya-mt'so-pa, it signifies "seaman," the house name of the person concerned.

known through the length and breadth of the land for his narrative skill. Namgyal arranged it so that he would not have to look up the old man [164] ●
in his own house because his wife had leprosy in the highest degree; for this reason Namgyal was afraid to come near to her. He met the storyteller as he was sitting under his large nut tree at the edge of the irrigation ditch where he was spinning threads from coarse yak's hair. At the request of Namgyal Konchog Trashi, a small figure with a

there flung it among the boulders. The Tsan wanted to have his revenge, 755
and now he could spend his fury on this figure.

Finally another "important matter" came to light. The old 754
grandmother, who constantly observed the Chondsom girl from the Cat's-mouth house with suspicious glances, thought that she could remember that that evil woman had once spat (161) very conspicuously

161. The Tibetans have a special expression for this kind of [827]
spitting with the purpose of harming an enemy: nad-pai to-le adebs-pa, the "spitting for sickness," that is, with the intention of making the particular person sick. In spitting, a curse or evil wish is expressed.

in front of the Dragshos house, and that in so doing she had cast an evil glance at the house and mumbled a few evil words. Thereupon 755
the lharje was called in once more. He took a strip of paper, on this he wrote a few magical formulas, crumpled the paper up, and made little pellets out of it. These the patient was to swallow. The effect of this was that the woman, to whom all food was repugnant anyway, had to vomit. This concerned the lharje very little; he urged that the woman should swallow the paper pills amidst great pain, something which always had the same effect.

Meanwhile none of the natural or supernatural remedies brought 797
any improvement to the poor sick woman: for weeks she hovered between life and death and caused great concern to husband and children. Finally the missionary's medicine brought some improvement. The missionary had by now been called to the sick bed--up till then the lamas had been able to prevent his appearance. The strong constitution of the woman gradually gained the upper hand: she recovered to the great joy of her family Namgyal brought an ample offering of thanks to the gods in his household temple and to those in the temple of the monastery in Tingmogang, because his relatives so demanded. He found no reason to give any presents to the lamas. On the other hand, he honored the missionary with a sheep, a large plate of dried fruit, and a greeting ribbon as a sign of his gratitude for the missionary's help; his trust in the missionary grew, and he became even more receptive to the new message which the missionary preached and testified to by his actions.

The year in which all this happened, the earth-tiger year, was 164
a year of misfortune for the entire village and neighboring /135/

•164 villages in lower Ladakh too. Indian tradesmen who were traveling through had brought with them a malignant, typhus-like fever, to which many succumbed. Then the smallpox went through the land and claimed numerous victims. Like flies in late autumn people were dying. The villages, yes, even the individual houses of a village, barred themselves against each other. The well-to-do
751 farmers had the lamas make large and small dosmo (string crosses and stars), in order to exorcise the disease-bringing demons. Everywhere on paths and roads one could see lying these magical objects, which were supposed to bar the way for these fiends; the poor laid down thorny twigs and hoped for the same protection from these. A magical piece of paper was much in demand, on which two human figures were pictured in block printing, tied with chains on hand and foot: the spirits of disease who are tied by magic. The magical formulas were printed in a circle, which occupies the center of the picture. The lamas did good business with these magical slips of paper.

758 Some of the smallpox sufferers were tended by their family in the house. But other families, driven by fear of contagion, took their sick members into the desert directly outside their village. There these poor wretches looked for scanty protection among the large scattered stone blocks against the scorching rays of the sun and the sandstone. Daily the relatives would bring their sick people a bowl of food and a jug of butter tea; they would place both at some distance on the ground, they would call out a brief greeting to the sick, and then depart hastily. This sick person, who still had sufficient strength, would then drag himself laboriously to the spot in order to get the food. But it often happened that at the call no answer was made anymore. The following day the bowl would then stand still untouched; the sick person no longer needed any nourishment, he
766 had suffered the last. Then a few men of the tribe would come and would drag the corpse by a rope into the Indus and there leave it to the fish as a "burial." In the best case a paid lama would be present on the occasion, in order to read a very brief mass for the dead. Sometimes it happened that the corpse could not be found at first. Wolves had torn it apart and carried it off--"buried."

/186/ The Tibetans have no pangs of conscience about this kind of "burial." It is quite customary, even, and it is considered as particularly meritorious for the deceased because in this way he feeds the hungry animals even in death, something which is credited to his

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 **Chapter I.**

The District.

Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley, not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

[164] [731] [787]

"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

131 133 361

Configuration of *wazíri* Spiti.

Spiti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spiti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spiti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spiti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 Chapter I. The District. Villages and scenery in Spiti.

formation of sandstone and lime before alluded to. The valley is similarly described by Mr. Theobald :—

"All along the course of the Spiti river are seen old river terraces or deposits of shingle and sand, reaching to a height of some 400 feet above the present river level. Behind these regular deposits, rise almost mountainous accumulations of *débris*, precipitated by frost from the abruptly scarped limestone cliffs bounding the valley. The height of this gravelly mass mainly depends on the height of the cliff at whose base it has accumulated, but not uncommonly reaches to 1,500 or 2,000 feet above the river." In the depth of the valley the soft soil of the cliffs which shut in the river-bed has been hollowed out by the action of time and water into fantastic shapes. "Out of a soil of clay and bold rock," writes Captain Harcourt, "uprise rough monument-like masses that are not a little peculiar in appearance, for they are crenelated and honey-combed all over with deep holes and apertures as if scooped out by art, supporting on their summits great boulders of stone which in all probability have kept the masses underneath from wearing altogether away."

132 Climate of Spiti.

[133]

The seasons in Spiti correspond generally with those of Láhaul; though the spring is somewhat later, and the winter of longer duration. The mean elevation of the villages is considerably higher than in Láhaul, averaging 12,000 feet or over, and rising as high as 14,000. Snow begins to fall in December, and remains on the ground until the end of April, but seldom exceeds a depth of 2½ feet, which is less than in Láhaul. The cold during the winter is very severe and is aggravated by violent and piercing winds. Slight showers of rain fall in July and August, though the district is beyond the regular influence of the monsoon; severe frosts set in before the close of September, in which month Mr. Lyall records that a stream of water he had observed at night running down a slope from a broken canal, was turned into solid ice by the morning. "The climate," he adds, "is a remarkably healthy one; excepting a few simple complaints, such as colic or rheumatism; sickness appears to be almost unknown." He saw in his sojourn in the valley no cases of goitre or critinism, and remarks that "the muscular development of both men and women looks large and hard compared with that of the people on the south side of the Himalayas." In the summer Captain Harcourt records that the days are exceptionally hot. The mean temperature of the Upper Spiti valley is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows :—

[64]

[142]

January	17°
April	35°
July	60°
Autumn	39°
Year	39·4°

137 Flora.

[13]

For an account of the flora and vegetable productions of Láhaul, reference should be made to Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal, which contains an excellent paper upon the subject by Dr. J. E. T. Aitchison, a Civil Surgeon on the Punjáb establishment, and late British Joint-Commissioner at Léh. The hills of Spiti are, as has been already stated, bare and devoid of forest. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 13

PASS POISON

The critical altitude for mountain sickness is usually 164 ten thousand feet. If one is not sick at that height, he probably will not be sick (except in the event of great exertion) until he passes his own effective altitude. That altitude varies with individuals. Rahul figures his at twenty-five thousand feet. I figure mine somewhat lower. Mountain sickness has seldom touched me, and I have been to eighteen thousand feet.

One who goes slowly to the heights acclimatizes himself gradually. The capacity of the human body to adjust itself to the thin air of high mountains is amazing, as the records of the Everest expeditions show. Mallory, Irvine, Smythe, and the others could in a few weeks bring themselves safely to twenty-eight thousand feet. At that altitude man is always tired and depressed and moves in somewhat of a trance. If he were suddenly dropped there without a supply of oxygen, or if, reaching there with oxygen, he had a failure in his oxygen tank, he probably would die. It takes time to adjust the body to altitudes above ten thousand feet. But if

• 164 one goes slowly and takes his time in the early stages, he need not experience any great difficulty, so far as altitude is concerned, on any Himalayan trek.

Mountain sickness does not always come over one suddenly. Nor does it always start with nausea or headaches or dizziness. It may indeed start with a feeling of great exhilaration, as if good wine had suddenly gone to the head.

000 When we reached Baralacha Pass, it was late afternoon and we still had several miles to go to Kilung. We were anxious to be on our way; yet I was eager for pictures and anxious to search the pass for wild flowers for the plant press. We took a half hour on those missions. Baralacha lies at 16,200 feet; and at that altitude any human being must slow down. I, however, was so absorbed in my errands that I forgot to do so. I was dashing here and there taking black-and-white and color stills and color movies, and pressing plants. This altitude, I thought, was nothing to worry about. It seemed to me that I had licked that problem. I was good. I must be extra-good, I thought. Altitude bothered some people, but it certainly did not bother me. I was confident, elated, and relaxed. It seemed as if I walked on air. I felt wonderful. Imagine anyone worrying about altitude! Pshaw! It's largely mental attitude.

Those were my thoughts as I walked and ran here and there on my various errands. I did not seem to be out of breath. "I am in better shape than I thought," I said to myself.

I had packed my cameras and plant press and was ready to mount Moti, the mule. I put my left foot in the stirrup, took hold of the saddle, raised myself, and threw my right leg over. At that moment I almost blacked out. I was all right in a second or two, and the dizziness quickly passed. So did the feeling of confidence and exhilaration. I now had a slight headache that grew and grew and was pounding when we reached Kilung.

In those brief seconds when I almost passed out the words of a friend came back to me. A few weeks earlier I had had dinner

000 mycin, and even the newest of the antibiotics, terramycin. And en route through Europe I put in a supply of Entero Vioform.

My emphasis was wrong in two respects. In the first place, I discovered that diarrhea and dysentery did not necessarily carry the grave threat I had imagined. In the previous two summers I had been ill at least once a week as I journeyed through the Middle East and Asia. I maintained that average no matter how much care I took. But I learned a valuable lesson in Karachi from 757 Mrs. Avra Warren, the wife of our Ambassador to Pakistan. It seems that the native remedy for diarrhea and dysentery is the psyllium seed. Mrs. Warren learned that the psyllium seed is also an excellent preventive. Take a small handful once a day for thirty days; then take that dosage once a week. Americans have learned that one who follows that routine seldom if ever has the intestinal disturbances that plague Asia. I learned by happenstance that one Entero Vioform tablet with each meal serves the same purpose. I followed that routine on my Himalayan trek, and I was never ill from stomach or intestinal troubles.

759 In the second place, I learned at Manali from Dr. H. W. Williams of the Lady Willingdon Hospital that my medical kit should have been designed not only for me and my staff's needs but for the needs of the natives as well. A foreigner who goes to these remote regions enters territory where doctors have never been. There are no medicines, no first-aid stations, no hospitals. A man coming from the outside world is expected to have medical remedies. The natives flock in at every camp for treatment.

But I learned this too late for me to enlarge my medical kit to any extent. I did, however, get several hundred aspirin from Dr. Williams as we left Manali. And that day was not gone before I started dispensing them.

• 164 The storm that caught us before we reached Koti the first day of the trek was a cold, devastating one. All of us, including the porters, were soaked through and chilled to the marrow. That evening at Koti six of them lined up in front of me.

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"My back aches, Sahib," the first one said, indicating the muscles along his spine. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime. 164 757

"My legs ache, Sahib," said the second, rubbing the muscles of his thighs. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My head aches, Sahib," said the third, touching his temples. He had no fever. Prescription: one aspirin now, one at bedtime.

The next two had simple headaches but no fever. Prescription: the same.

The sixth one puzzled me. He had a severe headache around his eyes and his temples. I had no fever thermometer, but I knew from his forehead that his temperature was well above one hundred. He had a nasty cough that sounded dry and rasping. The man was sick, and I was stumped. I decided to roll him up by the fire, give him two aspirin, and then see him again in an hour.

His son, aged ten, had followed him from the village of Koti, apparently apprised of the father's illness. As the man lay before the fire, the son sat at his head and massaged his temples. In an hour I asked the patient how he felt; but before he could reply the son spoke up.

"This is a cruel world. You are rich, we are poor. We have to work hard for our living. Father gets up at dawn and works until dark. So does Mother. We all work hard. It is not fair. It is not fair that you are so rich and we are so poor." 565 208

Turning to Rahul, I asked, "What is the meaning of this?"

"Communist propaganda," he replied. "In this part of the world the Communists try to plant simple and troublesome questions in the minds of the young."

"Ask again about my patient."

Once more the son responded, complaining of the gulf between the rich and the poor.

"I don't care right now about your political philosophy," I replied. "How's your father?"

000 The man spoke. "Your medicine has made me ill. Now I am worse than I was."

"Why do you say that?"

"Because my arms itch all over. They did not itch until you gave me the medicine."

"Maybe the man is allergic to aspirin," I said to Rahul. And so I changed the prescription: one Empirin Compound now, one more in an hour, one in case the patient wakes up during the night.

In the morning I saw the patient. The headache and fever were gone; but the dry, rasping cough was still there. He agreed with me that he should return to Manali and not attempt Rothang Pass. Rahul, my disbursing officer, paid him off, and I gave him several more Empirin Compound in case his fever returned. As he left with his son, he gave me the gracious Hindu salute and said, "Sahib, you are a wonderful doctor." And his son chimed in, "There is no one to take care of us poor people. The rich have all the medicines."

As long as the porters were with me, several of them came each night for simple treatments. When Tashi joined us at Koksar with his horses, I treated my first case of boils. Tashi had them on his arms. They were not ripe for lancing, so I bathed and dressed them and furnished him with salve, gauze, and tape when he left us at Kyelang.

Because of the wind, the dust, and the sun, sore eyes are one of the chief afflictions in Lahul and Ladakh. The sun in this dry altitude where the humidity is low has an intense burning power. Among dark-skinned people the eyes are the first to be affected.
293 Every traveler of the high trails wears sunglasses if he can get them. The natives sometimes make them with crude wooden
000 frames and horsehair stretched across for a lens. At Gundala a woman came to me with sore eyes. I bathed them in a solution of boric acid and filled them with a penicillin salve.

• 164 An old man, a Moslem, came to me at Gya with the earache. I

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warmed some Auralgan, put drops in each ear, and left with him a good supply of aspirin. 164 •

There were cuts and bruises, aches and pains of the head and of numerous muscles, red and burning eyes, light fever, colds of the head and chest. These I treated daily.

There was also pass poison. The night we reached Kilung after crossing Baralacha everyone in camp was sick. I was sure no one's head could be throbbing worse than mine, but I had to care for my patients first. They lined up, and each got either an aspirin or an Empirin Compound, depending on the severity of his headache. Kilung, like all other stations north of Baralacha, has no dak bungalow. But, unlike most of the others, it has shelter. Under a huge cliff there is a crude stone serai with a galvanized iron roof strung on iron rafters. It has a few rooms with cement floors and open windows, and a courtyard for the animals. When we arrived several other parties were there, perhaps six people in all. They had come over Baralacha and they too had pass poison. When they learned that medicine was being distributed, they joined the line and received the ration of aspirin and Empirin Compound.

One afternoon Budh Ram came to me complaining. He felt sick; he was afraid he would die. He had indeed an awful fever; and, dark-skinned though he was, he looked ghostly. I immediately gave him two capsules of chloromycetin and ordered him to take two every four hours until the next night. By then the fever had gone and his appetite had returned. I gave him soup, continued the chloromycetin, and kept him in bed. The following morning he was bright and gay.

"Sahib, you are a wonderful doctor," he said. "My wife will be glad I lived."

"Tell your wife that you are the first man in Kulu or Lahul or Ladakh to be saved by chloromycetin."

"Chloro who?"

"Just tell her chloro saved you. And if she asks what chloro looked like, say she was swift, graceful, and had magic."

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• 164 "Yes, Sahib," said Budh Ram, his eyes dancing with pleasure at the prospect of teasing his bride about mysterious chloro.

My concern with diarrhea and dysentery at the time I made up the medical kit later caused me embarrassment. As I have said, I did not include a single laxative. Yet constipation is most common among the natives. Constipation, eye trouble, intestinal worms, venereal diseases, colds, and goiter are the chief ailments. There seems to be little tuberculosis or cancer. The importance of constipation was impressed on me with amazing clarity by Rup Singh.

Rup Singh stood before me, the corners of his mouth turned down and sorrow written on his face.

"I am sick, Sahib."

"What's wrong?"

"I feel sick here," he replied as he placed his hand on his stomach.

"Pain?"

"No, Sahib, no pain. I am constipated."

"How long since you had a bowel movement?"

"One week."

Here was a man who needed a simple medicine, a laxative; and I had none. I was puzzled. I had to do something, for my reputation was at stake, and one of my valuable men was ill. I fumbled in my medical kit, pretending to be looking for something as I tried to think of a remedy. As my hand touched a bottle of paregoric, I had an inspiration. Paregoric, undiluted in water, is raw and burning; it is supposed to have the opposite effect from a laxative; it indeed helps stop diarrhea. But I had learned of psychosomatic medicine from my friend, Dr. George Draper of New York City; and I knew that the mind and the subconscious play a powerful role in medicine. I also knew that Rup Singh lived in a world where spirits rule and where magic and mysticism play an important role. And so my decision was instant.

I borrowed a tablespoon from Budh Ram and poured it brim-

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ful of paregoric. I held it before Rup Singh and said, "This will taste awful. It will burn all the way down. It will burn as badly as you imagine a powerful devil might burn if you swallowed him. But it won't hurt you. It will help. And the worse it tastes, the more good it will do." /164

Rup Singh nodded assent and understanding. He opened his mouth, and I poured the medicine down. His face showed the revulsion he felt; he gasped and sputtered and coughed. The next morning I asked him how he was. He beamed all over as he replied, "Sahib, you are a wonderful doctor."

And so my reputation as a doctor grew; and the word of my ability to cure constipation spread. Man Das was my next patient who suffered from constipation. I gave him the same prescription, and it had the desired effect. Goatherds, villagers, chowkidars, muleteers lined up. And to each I gave paregoric for their constipation. And with each dose of paregoric I gave an incantation, calling upon all the forces in the foul-tasting medicine to come to the patient's rescue. It always worked; and my worries on that phase of my medical practice disappeared so long as the paregoric held out.

My most interesting patient was a woman. I had first seen her at Serchu where she, a younger woman, and two men were resting on their packs beside the trail. I came to know them two nights later when we camped at Chakchu, in Ladakh. (*Chak* means "flint" and *chu* means "water.")

Chakchu is a rough, narrow defile on a hogback of a Himalayan range. It lies at 15,800 feet and is the most unlikely spot for a camp one will find in any mountain. There is only one level piece of ground at Chakchu, a spot big enough for a couple of sleeping bags. There we put the kitchen. Rahul and I scrambled down a cliff and found, about a hundred feet below the ridge, a small shelf big enough for two bedrolls. This bedroom of ours had the shelter of an overhang of granite rock gaily painted with lichens. Below us was a yawning pit several thousand feet deep that ran /33

291 Queen of Ladakh (who is titular only now that Ladakh is a part
301 of Kashmir) is reported to have the most valuable *perakh* in this part of the world. But the one worn by the old lady at Chakchu seemed fancy enough. Its jade and turquoise were not polished, but they were well proportioned. Some were as large as fifty-cent pieces, some the size of quarters; others were circular and still others were cut into odd and irregular shapes.

291 The old lady also wore huge side flaps made of black wool, which looked like gargantuan ear muffs and stood out like sails. From a distance they made the woman look like a wolf. The *perakh* and the side flaps are typical Ladakh headdress. I never traced the origin of the *perakh*. But legend has it that the side flaps go back to articles designed for an ancient queen of Ladakh who had the earache. The flaps not only cured the earache; they proved to be so decorative that they became part of the conventional headdress.

• 164 I no sooner reached the camp of these Ladakhis than the old lady lay on her side and started to moan. I inquired if she were ill. She was; so I sent Man Das up to our camp to fetch my medical kit.

While he was gone I made my diagnosis. The old lady had perhaps a degree or two of fever and a splitting headache caused, I believe, by her supreme exertion at high altitudes under a burn-
484 ing sun. This old woman, her daughter, her son-in-law, and her neighbor lived near Leh. Last June, as soon as the passes were open, they started on foot to Manali, a trek of about 240 miles.

"Why did you go?" I asked.

"To do some shopping and to visit friends."

"Did you reach Manali?"

"Yes, and now we are returning home."

"How long will it take you?"

"Perhaps a month."

"What did you buy?"

"Talcum powder and hair oil."

000 man or a woman I'd meet in a village or along the trail would be
•/14 his or her teeth. Once in a while, as in the case of the old lady at Chakchu, I'd see that teeth were missing. But the teeth I saw were all glistening, gleaming teeth—perfect specimens.

"Not a cavity in a carload," Rahul would say with a chuckle. Village after village produced no dental patients, showed no dental problems. "It's the barley they eat," I said to Rahul. "It's the barley that is standing between me and a dental practice."

There are toothaches in Ladakh; and when the pain is acute the villager usually relies on the blacksmith for tooth extraction. But I found neither a throbbing tooth nor cavity all the way to
000 Leh. I ended by presenting the kit to Dr. and Mrs. Norman Driver of the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission that for a century has rendered a fine medical service in remote Ladakh.

One night at Leh I was talking with Rahul about the frustration of my dental practice.

"Yes," he grinned, "but you can get great satisfaction from your medical practice."

"I think I did alleviate pain and restore courage and confidence." And then I added, "You're right. I do have a new medical record, a notable one. I didn't lose a patient."

"Don't boast about that," Rahul said, his eyes twinkling. "After all, we broke camp almost every morning. You seldom saw the same patient twice."

797 lished a century ago by devout Germans. It is now headed by two fine Britishers, Dr. and Mrs. Norman Driver, who dispense re-
• 164 ligion and pills with special emphasis on the medicines, for Leh is rife with venereal disease, intestinal worms, and goiter. Zila works for the Drivers; and one day in their garden I heard her singing. She played the *daps*—a skin stretched on a hoop about three feet in diameter. Zila sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice:

539

When I approached the city gate,
They shut it in my face.
I salute you,
The Rose of Ladakh.
I put my life in your hands.
I carry my cup and food,
And come with you.
I salute you,
The Rose of Ladakh.•

000 I asked Zila to sing more. She went and brought back another girl and two men, and they sat for an hour or more beating the *daps* and singing folk songs. All of them had sad voices; all of them but Zila had sad faces. Her face was lighted with happiness; her eyes danced; her white teeth gleamed. She threw back her head and gave zest to the song about Tseringskyit. It was Zila who took the lead, the other girl and the two men making the response:

539 VERSE *Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*
RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her body is as though it were made of gold. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*
RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

•See page 335.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

It is usual when a white

431 man crosses the pass for the first time, for the ponymen to present him as he nears the rest-house with a little posy of flowers, which he is supposed to acknowledge with the usual rupee, an exchange of mutual compliment and congratulation on the safe accomplishment of the crossing of man and beast, but with the pass covered in its white mantle, there was too much concern for real safety to attend to this little ritual, even had Nature been able to prepare her spring favours. It was amusing to recollect how on coming down from Leh one August with their five-and-a-half months' baby who had been born up there, the Doctor and his wife had paid toll for the infant's first crossing though they themselves were exempt.

164 On this second day several of the travellers suffered with sore eyes, and a bottle of eye lotion which the Doctor Memsahib happened to have with her was in great request. Two or three natives were passed, heads directed downwards, one with a precious umbrella, another even holding an end of his puggaree across his painful eyes. One of our party had a severely inflamed eye in spite even of glasses and veil, and this snow blindness is extremely painful. Among the patients was the elder son of the Rajah of Khaplu, who was found with his family at Matayan, and, although we arrived there at just after nine a.m., they had not started off on the next march, Matayan being the full stage from Baltal which they had actually achieved the previous day. The Doctor Memsahib went in to see the purdah lady and found her perfectly composed and cheerful and ready for her next bumping. Meanwhile the Roosevelt party had passed on to Dras, twelve miles further, having only come four or five miles from their camping place. The Doctor's party stopped to lunch or rather "brunch" (for this roadside meal is usually a combination of breakfast and lunch) on the bungalow verandah, and, when the ponymen came up, they said they would prefer to go on to Dras rather than stay the night at Matayan, as there is no pony fodder there. So we took to the road again,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

due to the fine water prayer-wheel in the village, which day 788
and night turns round its prayers to benefit the community, 346
while in the walls of the little shelter made to accommodate it four more rather large prayer-wheels are inserted to be worked by hand, so that the passer-by, giving them a meritorious twirl as he goes along, may add his contribution to the volume of prayer that brings favour to the village. Just now is the time of harvest in Wanla. Here the barley 241
and wheat are cut and carried to the side of the hill to dry, a process which must soon be accomplished, for the heat from the stones is very great. In the evening a poor old 164
man, blind in one eye arrives, and the cause being established as cataract, a temporary operating theatre is set up, instruments boiled and the trouble removed. Another poor old fellow completely blind, deaf and otherwise deformed, also asks for help, but alas, he is beyond the aid even of Western medical science, and, as he is very poor, the meagre solace of a little gift is all that can be done for him. There is hardly any operation so dramatic as that of cataract extraction, for the patient may be totally blind at one moment and the next receive his sight. It is all the more sad to have to tell some of these poor blind folk that it is impossible to give them back their vision, especially when so often that faculty might have been saved had they come to the doctor sooner.

Arrangements have now to be made for the next day's 000
march, and we are told that the road is so bad that it will take all the Wanla horses and all the Wanla men to get us to Hunupata, the next village at which we halt; nor is the picture overdrawn. Next morning all are busy. Breakfast is cooked and eaten, and wise is he who begins by shipping aboard plenty of food! Stores and cooking utensils are [482]
packed into *yakdans* and *kiltas*, the Indian-made travelling boxes and baskets, one of which forms half-a-pony load, and we are off, enjoying the sheer delight of marching in the clear

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 pick-a-pack. To the men of these parts their bridges offer no thrills ; they often carry cattle over on their backs, first taking the precaution of tying their legs. Some time after we had reached camp, our other two servants came in and told us of their experiences at that bridge. "Are you afraid ?" said one. "No, not a bit," replied his comrade, while in sheer fright the tears chased one another down his cheeks. However, one soon gets quite blasé about these bridges, and I crossed my fourth with a light heart. But how do the ponies fare ? They have to be relieved of their loads, which men carry over the bridge and they themselves must swim the torrent. Our own Mongolian pony was shown a horse on the further side, hoping that he would think it had arrived safely and would follow its good example, but he had to be driven in several times with much shouting and raising of arms before he would venture across, and the sturdy animal was quite out of breath on arriving at the other bank.

●16 At Padum a day's rest was decreed, not only from marching, but also to extract fourteen cataracts, which were awaiting operation. The next day on again, until finally we reached the Shingkung La, the Pass which divides Zankskar from
342 Lahoul, and which took us four days to cross. Going to the foot of the Pass on the first day, we noticed some peculiar huts on the opposite side of the river which proved to be dwellings, built of yaks' dung. During the summer, when the yaks are allowed to graze the hillsides, their shepherds first build low walls of stone, then bring the plaques of dung, which they collect each day, to build a slanting roof, of which each superimposed layer overlaps slightly inwards. When winter comes, the yaks are driven back into the village, and the collections of dung taken home for the winter fuel.

000 Having reached the top of the Pass, a most wonderful view is unfolded. To right and left rise glorious peaks covered with glittering snowfields or glaciers, while our path itself lies across an avalanche, though it is difficult to realize this,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and women, both Buddhists and Mohammedan, the latter revealing the fact by wearing turban or red fez, and their names often indicating that they were formerly Buddhists, who had been converted to the faith of the prophet ; this is done by adding the word " Sheik " to their new Mohammedan names. Then there are Baltis, ill-clad looking creatures with their meagre black skull-caps from under which appear long, curly, but unkempt-looking, locks. How different from the two or three well-dressed, distinguished-looking Yarkandis, who sit next to them, stalwart men from Chinese Turkestan. Their faces are almost as white as that of the European, with shortly-cropped black hair and black beards, and they wear nice warm wadded garments cut somewhat like a frock-coat with very long sleeves, but of less sombre colours, sometimes a silky glossy cloth of black or even nice blue. To brighten this a large gay coloured embroidered square scarf is worn, folded triangularly with the apex downwards in the middle of the waist behind. On their heads are green or other coloured caps, lined with fur and turned up round the edge, or white pugarees. Occasionally these gentlemen bring their wives with them. Being Mohammedan they may not show their faces to strange men, and they therefore cover them with a voluminous head-dress, with network squares let in over their eyes through which they can look. Then there are some Kashmiris, men with beautifully regular features, strongly reminding one of pictures of good-looking Jews and of stories of the lost ten tribes of Israel. Other down-country races, too, may be represented, such as the Punjabi, or perhaps a Sikh, with the fringe of his black beard neatly plaited, and often the proud Pathan or Afridi appears. That wild ferocious-looking fellow with long, untidy, straggling hair is, of course, one of the upland nomads, whilst the well-dressed man who is sitting on one of our two stools is a merchant priest from the closed land of Tibet. Now shall we stand at the doctor's side, and listen with him to some of the complaints of these patients.

797 563 563 757 164

757 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly
● 164 addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its
754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive
175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old canni-
771 balism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without
757 our help! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the
876 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

757 ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again
565 see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

797 But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards
758 are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital,
593 he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not.
758 We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated
301 to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his
164 ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be
758 able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

old lady who has had her cataract removed. She is lying on 758
the floor by the side of a nice spring bedstead, on which she
had been placed yesterday after her operation. In reply to our
query why she did not stay quietly on her bed, she says she
felt so giddy sleeping so high up in the world, and more safe on
the floor. True, she cannot fall out of bed now. In Ward 3 758
is a Yarkandi whose leg we have had to amputate to save his 563
life. He has come that difficult journey from Yarkand, over
the Karakorum range of the Himalayas and the Dipsang
plateau, and been overtaken by frost-bite. Very likely at the
end of the hard day's march over the snow he was so exhausted
that he fell asleep without troubling to take off his heavy boots,
and the circulation had no chance to re-establish itself in the
severe cold. In the next ward we find that a string has been 758
stretched across from one wall to the other, over which 251
strips of meat have been hung, and we are told that the family
are drying their next winter's supply. One can just imagine
the happy expression on the face of an English Surgeon, who
on entering his ward found such activities being pursued.
In the next ward we can see nothing, for it is filled with acrid
smoke which so hurts our eyes that we beat a rapid retreat.
Dinner is being cooked! But we must not linger longer with
our in-patients, for we would like to take the reader with us
on a medical tour.

When we visited Kyelang, it will be remembered that we 757
made a detour to a place called Lingshed. Messengers came 164
to beg us to go to this village in 1916, because it was so
central, and they promised that blind folk from the whole
surrounding district would gather there; the further
inducement was held out that throughout the trip the question
of supplies would be made easy for us. So one evening we
found ourselves in our tents in Lingshed with about thirty
blind folk sitting round. We examined their eyes, deciding 757
that some were operable, others not. The latter were in- 783
formed as kindly as possible that no operation on earth could

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inh[illegible]ed by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancien[illegible]form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[502] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
428 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

164 He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: 757 venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epi- [177] lepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his re- 595 marks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in 158 Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter 762 dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

759 Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next [115] went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan [757] medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century 158 A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied 759 that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

158 Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously 595 to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they 578 were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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A Trip to Ladakh

133 of ice to spare on the other side, in case of the ice being rotten. One of our coolies did fall into a crevasse, but he was saved by the load on his back getting hitched on to the ice. We were glad when all our party reached camp safely. We were careful to select a safe place for our tents, for we passed the spot where Lieutenant Genge, I.M.S., encamped, and during the night he with all his servants was swept away by an avalanche. The Wardwan is an exceptionally narrow valley, and hence the mountain-sides are very steep and precipitous, so that snow-slides and avalanches are very common, and one has to keep one's weather-eye open for them.

797 During our march Dr Neve managed to fit in a good
164 deal of medical work. He would see the patients after our tea, and also, if necessary, in the morning before starting. Some patients followed us from camp to camp, when it was necessary for them to have continual treatment. Dr Neve during this tour performed forty-two operations for cataract. It was great to see the delight of the people who received sight. After the operation, which was accomplished in a marvellously short time, Dr Neve would hold up his fingers and ask the patient to count them. When the patient found that he was correct in his counting, and could really see, a smile began to pervade the face, which grew wider and wider as he realised that it was no dream or sorcery, but naked fact, that his sight was restored. Of course the eye was bandaged up directly, and the patient was given strict orders not to undo the bandage for two weeks. The removal of the cataract is a wonderfully neat and quick operation, and one envies those who have the power to give such joy in so few seconds; it is very little short of the miraculous.

000 And then there is the greater joy of the missionary doctor who bestows the great gift freely and without payment,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
●165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Bo is must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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	Facial angle.	Cranial capacity.	Weight.
			lb. oz.
Male	73·5°	97	1 14·4*
		Cubic in.	
1st Female	85°	68	1 5·2
2nd Female	84°	67·5	
Average Female	84·5°	67·75	

LONGEVITY.

●165 One of the most interesting subjects of inquiry which I pursued daily in Ladák was the extreme ages attained by the oldest people in all the villages in my route. To test the value of the information thus collected, I have added to the following table the number of persons per cent. of each sex who reach the respective ages of seventy, eighty, and ninety years throughout the whole of Great Britain. The table requires little explanation. The first and second columns give the actual number of males and females in the several villages where the ages of the people were ascertained. It is necessary that this should be stated, as it will at once account for the great per-centage of females in Rukchu who had passed the patriarchal age of seventy. The number is 2·45 per cent., or three out of 122. But the general average is still much below that of Britain; and I feel satisfied that the whole table gives a very fair approximation to the truth. I have added a column showing the duration of life in Balti and the small Musalman states on the

* This very large skull wants the lower jaw, and has only three teeth in the upper jaw; but the bone of the skull averages about one quarter of an inch in thickness. The whole weight, if complete, would be nearly 2½ lb.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

165 Indus. The differences between this and the average of the Ladákis can only be accounted for by the general dissoluteness of all Musalmáns, and the consequent spread of loathsome and fatal diseases.

TABLE OF LONGEVITY PER CENT.

	Numbers.		70 to 80.		80 to 90.		90 to 100.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Rukchu	113	122	0·880	2·459	0·880	0·820	—	—
Spiti	656	751	1·157	1·164	0·291	0·693	—	—
Ladák	1,342	1,492	0·745	0·670	0·447	0·268	0·074	—
Purik.....	867	883	1·268	0·905	0·807	0·792	0·115	0·113
Nubra	788	1,030	1·269	2·336	0·507	0·777	0·127	0·194
Average	3,796	4,278	1·064	1·507	0·586	0·670	0·063	0·061
Balti, &c.	13,662	13,387	0·537	0·527	0·184	0·175	0·070	0·022
Great Britain			2·218	2·401	0·700	0·756	0·059	0·074

I heard of only one person who was more than 100 years of age. She was an old nun of Sakté, in the Chimra valley, whose sons were seventy and eighty years old. She was said to be 110 years of age. I had no means of ascertaining the rate of mortality; but different people stated the annual number of deaths at Lé at from twenty-five to fifty, or about forty persons. As the population of the capital is nearly 4,000 persons, the annual mortality will be rather more than one per cent. The population of the country, except in times of war or disease, remains nearly stationary; but this is not owing to any unhealthiness of climate, but to the system of polyandry, which most effectually checks any increase. In 1822 the number of houses in Spiti was 267,* and in 1847 the number was 262.

* Trebeck in Moorcroft, II. p. 71.

Kashmiri AV4
W. Tibetans AJ4

In summer people from Muzaffarabad tehsil, Chilas and Kagan migrate with their live-stock to the rich pasture grounds of this tehsil and with the advent of cold season return to their homes. Ki 166

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From the eastern part of the tehsil zamindars emigrate to the Rawalpindi district in the Punjab where they work as coolies.

Muzaffarabad.—1. Bakarwals have acquired cultivable land in the tehsil.

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Kashmiri Muslims especially Khojas, Sheikhs migrated from Kashmir and settled in Muzaffarabad tehsil driven by a famine in the past and have now permanently adopted it.

Pathans from Hazara and Rawalpindi similarly settled here in the long past. But these tribes have now risen to the status of locals.

(*xii*) **Frontier Districts : *Ladakh.***—The Ladakhis are not accustomed to migration to any appreciable extent. In summer a number of European visitors and the Punjab and Yarkand traders go to Ladakh and provide the locals with enough labour which renders emigration unnecessary. In winter the Zojila Pass blocks the path with snow and makes exodus impossible. Further the Buddhist custom of inheritance of property by the eldest son and his consequent responsibility for supporting the family coupled with their instinctive contentment acts as a bar on emigration. It may be remembered that the Buddhists in Ladakh practice both polygamy and polyandry which check any abnormal increase in population and have so far enabled the people to live contentedly with the limited means of subsistence available. WT 167 166

As regards immigrants, barring overseas immigrants who go to view its natural scenery, the traders of Hoshiarpur and Kangra numbering between 40 and 50 go there annually. The Kangra traders generally do not stir out of Ladakh tehsil but dispose of their merchandise there while the Hoshiarpur merchants often go to Yarkand and Kashgar. The imports into Ladakh consist of piece-goods, crockery, tea, oil etc. and exports from Yarkand include Namdas, Silk, Carpets, Charas, raw cotton, wool and leather. This stream of migration is periodic *i. e.*, for four months in the year from Sawan to Maghar. At the time of Census about 15 of such traders were enumerated in the tehsil of Ladakh. From Yarkand a counter current of slender volume enters Ladakh. Only three persons from Yarkand have settled permanently in Ladakh during the last decade.

The Kashmiri Muslims have settled in Ladakh of long and have married local women. Their descendants are called Arghun.

Some of the permanent settled immigrants are of the Balti tribe of Skardu. They came in the past for trade but finding that it paid better to stay than to return home they adopted the former course, some marrying Ladakhi

[Errata: add "outside"; cf. errata sheet, p. 329, category 116 -- Analyst]

W. Tibetans AJ4
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WT 166 167 D 167

women while others importing their own Balti wives. These people live in Leh or the villages surrounding it and carry on trade in butter, salt, wool, apricot etc.

(*xiii*) *Gilgit.*– Several tribes from Yaghistan, Afghanistan, Chitral, Hazara, Hunza, Nagar, Kashmir and the Punjab have come and settled in Gilgit. Some of the Yaghistanis have migrated to Gilgit and settled there. Others have fled from the country to escape the penalty attendant on family fueds so common among primitive and uncivilized people. Some have been driven by poverty and debt to come to Gilgit from Yaghistan. Some of them have succeeded even in acquiring land. These people are generally habitual criminals and constitute a scourge to the local inhabitants whose morals have also been affected by coming in contact with them.

From Afghanistan, Chitral and Hazara in the N. W. F. Province have come Pathans, Shins and Yashkuns. Their chief occupations are service, labour- and trade. The Punjab has contributed some Hindus and Sikhs who are mainly engaged in trade.

From the Jammu Province some Hindus have migrated on trade mission and some Gujjars have also settled in the area and follow their own calling.

A large number of Kashmiri Muslims from the province of Kashmir have gone to Gilgit for purposes of trade and settled there.

From Ladakh have come Baltis who are usually labourers or are employed in some sort of service. The postmen in Gilgit are generally of Balti tribe. The Baltis stay there for a year or so and return home after that period. Some of them have married local women and thereby acquired land. In Baltistan they are divided into separate tribes but here they are labelled as Yashkum without distinction.

Trade in this part of the country holds out bright prospects which have attracted immigrants of so many countries and parts of countries to settle in Gilgit.

The local inhabitants are generally landholders who do not take kindly to labour. There are no black-smiths, cobblers or carpenters in the country. Naturally therefore labourers from Baltistan, Hunza and Nagar and the artisans are hired into the place and return home after making money.

Before Gilgit passed under the Dogra rule there were no roads. The paths led over mountains and were perilous in the extreme. Such a state of affairs interdicted immigration of the trading community though it did not present an insurmountable obstacle to agriculturists and pastoral people. After the establishment of Dogra rule communications underwent a distinct improvement which led people to keep ponies for transport. In Astore at present the people generally depend on this form of transport for a major part of their income. In Gilgit proper even carts are maintained by some zamindars now.

Labour in Gilgit especially for construction of roads and bridges comes from Hunza, Nagar, Baltistan and other surrounding villages.

Were there no Burzil pass between Kashmir and Gilgit migration would expand but the pass remains closed for nearly six months of the year and permanently bars egress and ingress. Gilgit, however, does not hold out unlimited possibilities for immigrants as the population is on the rise while the culturable land is limited and the produce insufficient.

D 771 177

Immigration has affected the customs of the people. The Yaghistanis are Sunnis while the people of Gilgit belong to the Shia sect. In the past the Gilgit-walas observed no distinction between Sunnis and Shias and mutual

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian 797
congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious 595
considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the 779
faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never 114
agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist [674]
population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry [311]
to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, [167]
where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry.

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) 195
ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema 805
ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-tshal" is used.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter I.

The District.

Configuration and sub-divisions of *mastri* Láhaul.

lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi; here there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *ommání pádme hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chodhten* or *Dangten*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangser, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

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Chapter III, A.

Statistical.

Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

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The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson :—

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"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazíris*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

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"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irrigated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. P. 94

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. [782]
Social and Religious Life. [776]
Religion of Láhaul and Spiti. 174

In the time when the *Lung pachhoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

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"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

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"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

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"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

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"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

[778]
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1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ+
e. Professional beggars who come from Tibet to
in the summer. Analyst]

a poor country as the higher parts of Ladākh for the exercise of 565
their calling; but the Bhots, though poor, are charitable. These Khambas, too, give themselves a religious air, as do most beggars in the East, and that may help them. But in truth, in their ways, they are more like to the gipsies than to devotees. They have their wives and children with them, and these all come round in succession to beg, as if independent of each other. They live in the smallest of tents; these are only just high enough for one to seat oneself on the floor beneath them. The tent and their other traps are carried on the backs of a few of the load-carrying goats which they always possess. The Maharaja's authorities have tried to [667]
persuade some of these Khamba to take to agriculture, and a bit of land has been given for this object by the Pāngkong Lake. I saw one family there, who had commenced to till, and had left off their inveterate habit of begging; but they were still in tents, and had not begun to build a house.

The next colonizers to be mentioned are *Baltis*. This race of 563
Baltis will be more fully spoken of in the chapter which treats 167
of their own country, Baltistān; here I will only name their settlements in Ladākh. In the first place, there are Baltis inhabiting the valleys of Drās and Surū, and the tract about Pāskim, which is called Purik. These are not geographically separated from the main body of their countrymen in Baltistān, which district borders on Drās; but they have some slight differences. Then there is an isolated colony of Baltis right in the middle of the Bhot country, only a few miles from Leh. The largest tract of cultivated land in Ladākh is in great part held by them; this is at a place called Chushot, on the left bank of the Indus, from five to ten miles from Leh. These immigrant Baltis came four or five generations back, some from Purik and some from Skārdū.

Dārds are found in Drās and in several places along the valley of the Drās River, and again in a few villages in the valley of the Indus, being there interpolated between the Baltis and the Ladākhis. It is at these last places that some Buddhist Dārds occur; these make small and very much isolated communities.

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

563 There are some ethnological facts connected with them, which are
167 of great interest; these will be given in one of the chapters on Dārdistān (Chap. XVIII.).

563 In the town of Leh are a good many families of *half-castes*, born of Bhot women, the fathers being merchants of different races who have frequented the market at that place. There has for long been a commercial connection between Leh and Kashmir, and families of Kashmir merchants have settled in Leh. There is now, and probably there has been for generations, a hybrid class, brought into being by the intermarriage of these Kashmirī with women of the country, who have been and are ready to turn Muhammadan—or to any other religion—in order to marry. Again, the Turkī merchants, from the direction of Yārkand, are responsible for another set of half-
567 castes. A third class has sprung into existence since the conquest of Ladākh by the Dogrās, from the connection of Dogrā sepoys with Ladākhī women. These are, or were, called *Ghulāmzādas*, that is to say, "slave-born."* The theory was that, being born out of wedlock, they belonged to Government; this theory was so far carried into practice that they used to receive their daily bread from Government, and to give, unwillingly, their labour in return, in such work as wool-cleaning.† They were, indeed, bondmen, unable to leave their country or to get their living in it in their own way. Some years ago an attempt was made to get them to settle on a bit of land lately enclosed, and to follow agriculture; but their want of skill, as well as want of capital, made this to fail. When I was at Leh, in 1871, I was enabled, by orders from the Maharaja, to set them free to go where they pleased. They had diminished to quite a small number; they were all ready to sacrifice the Government daily ration for the sake of liberty. Before manumitting them I ascertained that there was a prospect for each of them of a living to be got, and I hope that by this time they are absorbed in the general population.

* The two former half-caste breeds are called "Arghaun."

† A great deal of hand labour of a light sort is required in picking the pashm or underwool of the shawl-goats free from hair before it is sent down to Kashmir.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhi women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, [565] plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

Kashmiri AV4
W. Tibetans AJ4

In summer people from Muzaffarabad tehsil, Chilas and Kagan migrate with their live-stock to the rich pasture grounds of this tehsil and with the advent of cold season return to their homes. Ki 166

In Drawa Illaqa of the tehsil, however, some three Kaganis are said to have settled under the impulse of marriage. 167 221

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Pathans from Hazara and Rawalpindi similarly settled here in the long past. But these tribes have now risen to the status of locals.

(*xii*) **Frontier Districts : *Ladakh.***—The Ladakhis are not accustomed to migration to any appreciable extent. In summer a number of European visitors and the Punjab and Yarkand traders go to Ladakh and provide the locals with enough labour which renders emigration unnecessary. In winter the Zojila Pass blocks the path with snow and makes exodus impossible. Further the Buddhist custom of inheritance of property by the eldest son and his consequent responsibility for supporting the family coupled with their instinctive contentment acts as a bar on emigration. It may be remembered that the Buddhists in Ladakh practice both polygamy and polyandry which check any abnormal increase in population and have so far enabled the people to live contentedly with the limited means of subsistence available. WT 167 166

As regards immigrants, barring overseas immigrants who go to view its natural scenery, the traders of Hoshiarpur and Kangra numbering between 40 and 50 go there annually. The Kangra traders generally do not stir out of Ladakh tehsil but dispose of their merchandise there while the Hoshiarpur merchants often go to Yarkand and Kashgar. The imports into Ladakh consist of piece-goods, crockery, tea, oil etc. and exports from Yarkand include Namdas, Silk, Carpets, Charas, raw cotton, wool and leather. This stream of migration is periodic *i. e.*, for four months in the year from Sawan to Maghar. At the time of Census about 15 of such traders were enumerated in the tehsil of Ladakh. From Yarkand a counter current of slender volume enters Ladakh. Only three persons from Yarkand have settled permanently in Ladakh during the last decade.

The Kashmiri Muslims have settled in Ladakh of long and have married local women. Their descendants are called Arghun.

Some of the permanent settled immigrants are of the Balti tribe of Skardu. They came in the past for trade but finding that it paid better to stay than to return home they adopted the former course, some marrying Ladakhi

[Errata: add "outside". cf. errata sheet, p. 329, category 116 -- Analyst]

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women while others importing their own Balti wives. These people live in Leh or the villages surrounding it and carry on trade in butter, salt, wool, apricot etc.

(*xiii*) *Gilgit.*– Several tribes from Yaghistan, Afghanistan, Chitral, Hazara, Hunza, Nagar, Kashmir and the Punjab have come and settled in Gilgit. Some of the Yaghistanis have migrated to Gilgit and settled there. Others have fled from the country to escape the penalty attendant on family fueds so common among primitive and uncivilized people. Some have been driven by poverty and debt to come to Gilgit from Yaghistan. Some of them have succeeded even in acquiring land. These people are generally habitual criminals and constitute a scourge to the local inhabitants whose morals have also been affected by coming in contact with them.

From Afghanistan, Chitral and Hazara in the N. W. F. Province have come Pathans, Shins and Yashkuns. Their chief occupations are service, labour and trade. The Punjab has contributed some Hindus and Sikhs who are mainly engaged in trade.

From the Jammu Province some Hindus have migrated on trade mission and some Gujjars have also settled in the area and follow their own calling.

A large number of Kashmiri Muslims from the province of Kashmir have gone to Gilgit for purposes of trade and settled there.

From Ladakh have come Baltis who are usually labourers or are employed in some sort of service. The postmen in Gilgit are generally of Balti tribe. The Baltis stay there for a year or so and return home after that period. Some of them have married local women and thereby acquired land. In Baltistan they are divided into separate tribes but here they are labelled as Yashkum without distinction.

Trade in this part of the country holds out bright prospects which have attracted immigrants of so many countries and parts of countries to settle in Gilgit.

The local inhabitants are generally landholders who do not take kindly to labour. There are no black-smiths, cobblers or carpenters in the country. Naturally therefore labourers from Baltistan, Hunza and Nagar and the artisans are hired into the place and return home after making money.

Before Gilgit passed under the Dogra rule there were no roads. The paths led over mountains and were perilous in the extreme. Such a state of affairs interdicted immigration of the trading community though it did not present an insurmountable obstacle to agriculturists and pastoral people. After the establishment of Dogra rule communications underwent a distinct improvement which led people to keep ponies for transport. In Astore at present the people generally depend on this form of transport for a major part of their income. In Gilgit proper even carts are maintained by some zamindars now.

Labour in Gilgit especially for construction of roads and bridges comes from Hunza, Nagar, Baltistan and other surrounding villages.

Were there no Burzil pass between Kashmir and Gilgit migration would expand but the pass remains closed for nearly six months of the year and permanently bars egress and ingress. Gilgit, however, does not hold out unlimited possibilities for immigrants as the population is on the rise while the culturable land is limited and the produce insufficient.

D 771 177

Immigration has affected the customs of the people. The Yaghistanis are Sunnis while the people of Gilgit belong to the Shia sect. In the past the Gilgit-walas observed no distinction between Sunnis and Shias and mutual

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Ki 167

Srinagar District (excluding city)—Has a lesser number of outsiders than even Baramulla, the number being 2,053 only, out of which 1,805 belong to the N. W. F. Province and 212 to the Punjab. The U. P. of Agra and Oudh resume their position amongst the remaining provinces.

This number, however, represents semi-permanent and permanent migration and does not reflect casual migration which swells to several thousands in summer when the valley is free from snow.

Muzaffarabad District—Has 2,447 immigrants, the largest number in Kashmir. The N. W. F. Province retains its premier position by accounting for 1,735 persons while the Punjab has 624 to its credit and the U. P. of Agra and Oudh occupy the 3rd position as in the case of Srinagar district.

WT 167

Ladakh District—Belongs to that part of the State which is isolated from the rest of the world for a number of months. The journey occupies a number of days and the room for migration is limited. It has, however, ties of religion and trade with Tibet, China and Turkistan dating from ancient times and a few families of enterprising Punjabis have settled there and some also migrate to the country periodically for purposes of trade as Ladakh is the emporium of Central Asian Trade.

D 167

The total number of Indian immigrants as is naturally to be expected is 133 out of which 38 are females pointing to the hardships of travel in those parts which makes the immigrants reluctant to take their families with them. Out of these 120 are Punjabis while 6 persons are residents of U. P. of Agra and Oudh.

Gilgit District—Gilgit shows a better record of 230 out of which 50 per cent. is contributed by the Punjab and 71 persons by the N. W. F. Province, the U. P. of Agra and Oudh occupying the 3rd position.

Frontier Illaqas—The Indian immigrants total upto 447 and N. W. F. Province stands first with 157 while the Punjab has only 92, the U. P. of Agra and Oudh being 3rd.

K 167

104. Migration between the State and other Asiatic Countries.—The number of immigrants from Asiatic countries beyond India is only 2,786 the major portion of which is absorbed by Gilgit, Frontier Illaqas and Kashmir South. Afghanistan, Chinese Turkistan and Tibet are the most notable contributors and the reason is apparent. They are contiguous to the Frontier Districts just as the Punjab is to the Jammu Province. The Central Asian Trade attracts them all. As regards Tibet and China, the Buddhists of Ladakh belong to the Tibetan race and are their kinsmen in religion. The country was under the Tibetan rule prior to its conquest by W. Zorawar Singh under Maharaja Gulab Singh as stated in the historical survey.

105. Inter-District Migration.—To understand the causes of migration and its course it is necessary to refer to the geographical situation of the districts. To make the discussion easily understood the districts contiguous to each district are given in the margin. Coming to each district we shall see how contiguous areas play a great part in exchanging migrants. The statistics of immigrants and emigrants are given in the table below:—

District.	Contiguous Areas within the State.
Jammu ..	Reasi, Kathua, Udhampur and Mirpur.
Kathua ..	Udhampur, Jammu.
Udhampur ..	Kathua, Jammu, Reasi, Chenani, Ladakh, Srinagar.
Rèasi ..	Jammu, Udhampur, Mirpur, Poonch.
Mirpur ..	Reasi, Jammu, Poonch.
Poonch ..	Reasi, Mirpur, Baramulla, Srinagar, Muzaffarabad.
Baramulla ..	Poonch, Muzaffarabad, Srinagar, Ladakh, Gilgit.
Srinagar ..	Udhampur, Reasi, Ladakh, Baramulla.
Muzaffarabad ..	Poonch, Baramulla, Gilgit, Chilas.
Ladakh ..	Udhampur, Srinagar, Baramulla, Gilgit.
Gilgit ..	Ladakh, Chilas, Punyal, Hunza, Nagar, Baramulla, Srinagar.
Frontier Illaqas ..	Gilgit, Ladakh, Muzaffarabad.

in the dak bungalow—soup, hamburgers, cocoa, canned fruit, 681
and *chapattis*. Discussion turned to the court session. 651

"Are these families on this land legally?" I asked.

"No. They are all illegal squatters. The law of Punjab provides that a man may homestead public land and that he has a period of time to make payment for it. But he must pay."

"How much must he pay?"

"About two hundred rupees [forty dollars] an acre."

"Have any paid?"

"None."

"Do they all owe arrears in taxes?"

"Yes, all of them."

"What is the law of Punjab in such cases?"

"The squatters must be ejected."

"Is that what you are going to do tomorrow? Eject them?"

There was a long pause.

"None will be ejected," he finally replied with emphasis. "You are a judge and you know that law is law but that the law is not always justice."

I nodded but answered, "Yet this is public property."

"True," he replied, "but these farmers are India's outposts. They 168 •
occupy land bordering countries that may be unfriendly. It is important that India keep this border country populated. Certainly Soviet Communism exploits every discontent in India. It is better that India sacrifice her legal rights or even lose a part of her public domain and have happy people here than that she enforce her legal rights and end up with discontented citizens on this sensitive northern border."

"Why can't the people pay taxes?"

His eyes were now wide with seriousness. "Why, these people 735
only subsist. They raise barely enough to live. They trade barley 511
for wool from Tibet and make their own clothes. I suppose none of the families we saw this afternoon has a cash income each year of even ten rupees."

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the children during his long absences and to maintain a standard 595
of connubial fidelity. So the wife is given protection and com- 182
panionship of extra husbands. Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., who passed through Ladakh about thirty years ago on a hunting expedition, reported in his book, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon,* that polyandry served greatly to ameliorate the lot of the woman in this region. I found no evidence of that. The woman in Ladakh is the work horse of the family. When she marries she takes up the great burden of children, the house, and the fields. Unmarried women are spry, pretty, and gay. Married women are old by thirty. A few years of married life makes them bent and silent and wan. Polyandry, if designed to cater to the woman, has failed in its purpose.

In some regions polyandry may have been designed to cut down 595
the number of babies. The scarcity of food is thought by some to 168
have been the reason for the introduction long ago of the polyandric marriage into a few remote sections of the Kulu Valley. A related reason is sometimes advanced for the introduction of polyandry into Tibet and Ladakh. The view is that it was imported by the lamas as an instrument of control. This region does not produce much food. If the population curve were to go up, there would not be enough food to go around. Population is held in check by reducing the number of wives. That means more food for everyone as fewer babies are born. That means that the monasteries, bulging with food, need not fear a growing discontent among the masses who starve so that the lamas may eat. The purpose, if such it was, is lost in history. But the effect of polyandry is plain. The population of Ladakh has long remained practically stationary; and the food supply of the lamas has in no way been threatened.

Another theory behind polyandry also traces to a purpose that 595
serves the interest of the monasteries. The idea is that if a woman 182
has several husbands there will likely be discontent and rivalry 792
among the men. The wife will have favorites; and there will be

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—FORMER LIMITS OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE.

171 199 The Tibetan language is now confined to the mountain valleys of the Tsangpo and Indus, and to the upper courses of the Sutluj, the Sarju, and the Chenáb. But in ancient days it probably extended over the greater part of the Cis-Himálayas,* as I can trace by the Tibetan names of the smaller streams. All the larger rivers have been re-named by the Brahmans; but the smaller streams still retain their old names. Thus I find, within a few miles of Simla, the *Andre-ti*, or water of the Andar village; the *Ghail-ti*, or water of the Ghail valley; the *Khanyao-ti*, or water of the Khanethu district; and the *Gumo-ti*, or water of the Gumo valley. Other names are the *Chahi-ti*, the *Manyao-ti*, the *Chigaun-ti*, and the *Wal-ti*, all of which preserve the Tibetan word *ti*, "water." It is, perhaps, idle to speculate at what period the Tibetans could have possessed the present districts of Bisahar, Kyonthal, and Sarmar; but it must have been many centuries ago, before the Khasas† were driven into the hills by the conquering Hindus.

197 In Kanâwar, where the Indian and Tibetan languages meet, there are two dialects, which partake more or less of the one or of the other. The *Milchang*, or common language of Lower Kanâwar, is so called by the people of

* Pliny, VI. c. 17, Scythæipoi Caucasum montem (appellavere) *Graucasum*, hoc est *nive candidum;* and Isidor (according to Wilford) states that *Kroakasis* means "white" in the eastern tongue. Now, the only eastern language which approaches these words is the Tibetan, in which *Kar-khá-chan*, pronounced *Kar-khá-tsan*, means "white-snow-full-of," which is exactly Pliny's "nive candidum."

† The Kanets of the hills are all Khasas; and in Chamba, Kullu, and Kanâwar, they interpose between the Hindus and Tibetans.

[16]CALENDAR--Lótho (almanac). The Tibetan calendar is a very troublesome and inconvenient one, so much so that if occasion arises to ascertain the date of any old document, it is generally necessary to refer to an individual called an "onpo" or rtseespa" or "skartseespa". This man is by profession an astrologer and understands the calendar. Sixty years make a cycle or "rabjung" and a period of 12 years makes a "lóskor". The names of the 12 separate years in the "lóskor" are as follows:— 805 791 805

1st---byee	lo or Mouse	year.
2nd--hlang	lo or Ox	year.
3rd--stak	lo or Tiger	year.
4th--yós	lo or Hare	year.
5th--druk	lo or Dragon	year.
6th--brul	lo or Snake	year.
7th--sta	lo or Horse	year.
8th--lug	lo or Sheep	year.
9th--sprey	lo or Monkey	year.
10th--biá	lo or Bird	year.
11th--khee	lo or Dog	year.
12th--phok	lo or Pig	year.

Cunnigham gives the following description of the "rabjung".

"The cycle of 60 years is a much more elaborate reckoning. The first cycle is counted from A.D. 1026. The Hindus have a distinct name for each year of the cycle, but the Tibetans have adopted the Chinese nomenclature which is formed by coupling the names of the 12 animals of the cycle, with the names of the 5 elements, considered as both male and female alternately. The first element, male and female, is coupled with the first two animals, next with the eleventh and twelfth, and so on; by which the change of names is preserved throughout the whole series. The names in English are"-- [71]

1 Wood Mouse.	13 Fire Mouse
2 Wood Ox.	14 Fire Ox.
3 Fire Tiger.	15 Earth Tiger.
4 Fire Hare.	16 Earth Hare.
5 Earth Dragon.	17 Iron Dragon.
6 Earth Serpent.	18 Iron Serpent.
7 Iron Horse.	19 Water Horse.
8 Iron Sheep.	20 Water Sheep.
9 Water Ape.	21 Wood Ape.
10 Water Bird.	22 Wood Bird.
11 Wood Dog.	23 Fire Dog.
12 Wood Hog.	24 Fire Hog.

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MąSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family 796
property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season 592
invite all members of the family to assemble at his house, for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the centre, and into it butter is poured.

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am 171●
indebted for the above account, that this exactly corres- 796
ponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding.

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the idea of light which again is closely connected with the idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal 796
dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are [648]
spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of merriment.

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" [241]
or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning to ripen. It is celebrated in every village.

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a matter of fact, observed by the people of the country, only once a year, when a great festival takes place at Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June.
On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is 796
crowded with people who have come from all parts of 536
Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils" dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely handsome.

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

564 Chapter III, C.
565 Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.
184 Caste in Spiti.

[171]

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

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"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *keddi*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monóa* or *mowpa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethus correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mowpa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bottoms of their dressing-gown coats into their ample belts, 524
and play with bare or merely stockinged feet, whilst their younger brothers enjoy their game just as thoroughly when they play it with a rag ball. The game of marbles too has found its way here, but must adapt itself to the poverty of the country. Stones as round as can be found are used, or if walnuts abound they do service for a similar game. A hole is dug in the ground or in the raised base of a *chorten*, and the aim is to throw as many of these walnuts into it as possible. Nor are the Ladaki lasses without their games. A finger or stick traces in the sand and dust the lines necessary for hopscotch just as efficiently as the chalk-line on a London pavement, and little Ladaki legs, although they are shod with clumsy native footgear, do their hopping just as nimbly as those of their English sisters.

The Ladaki also believes in the dictum, "what thy hand 526
findeth to do, do it with all thy might," at least as far as games are concerned, and with a little training he would compete on equal terms with our own countrymen. Those boys sent down-country to the Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe's splendid school rapidly pick up hockey, tennis, badminton, swimming and rowing, in fact, excel in all sports. But let us now watch them at their own national games, the favourite being polo. Ladak may not be the home of polo, but it certainly found [171] ●
its way here at an early date. Even if it arose in Persia, it very soon migrated to Gilgit, and the Dards, no doubt, brought it with them to Ladak, and now it is not even a hyphenated Ladaki game, for most good-sized villages have their own polo ground. In Leh, the capital, the game was 526
formerly played in the high street, but this evidently became 345
so dangerous for the shopkeepers that now we have a proper polo ground. This consists of a level space about two hundred yards long, which cannot boast of a blade of grass, but is covered by a layer of dust so thick that before play begins, it has to be laid with water. On one side it is bounded

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The idea of the scapegoat is practised in some form or other everywhere in Lesser and Greater Tibet. In some places an actual goat is sent into the wilderness. In others even a man is chosen, who for a whole year has to leave his village and live elsewhere, at the end of which time some other is chosen to bear the sin of the village. It is a fair assumption that formerly this sinbearer was put to death. 171 783

Circumambulation, as every good Ladaki can demonstrate, is a splendid means of obtaining merit. Almost any religious object can be walked around. If there is no *thorten*, then walk round a temple containing some god. If you are getting old it is expedient to spend weary hours twirling your prayer-wheel, saying your *Om mani's*, and walking round and round a *mani* wall. Ten times round the great *chorten* at Jhangspa was the daily evensong of one picturesque, friendly old gentleman we used to meet with his prayer-wheel and rosary. If you can get one or two friends to come along too, it is certainly not quite so lonesome, even though they have to walk behind, for one can intersperse one's prayers with quite interesting snatches of conversation. The month in which this is most beneficial is the first of the year, and the greatest merit of all is obtained by going round the Tsemo, the monastery-crowned hill of Ladak, in whose chief temple resides a "Byamspa" god, so high that his head reaches into the second storey. This great *aKorches* (to round) is performed early in the year, by means of measuring your length the whole way along the route. Let us go into the desert to the south of Leh, where twenty to thirty young men are collected who have decided to perform this religious duty. They are drawn up in rows of twos or fours, about eight feet apart. Each man has tied round his waist a sheepskin apron, which hangs down over his knees. This both shields the knees from being cut, and good clothes from being torn. A low mumble begins, all saying the same phrase over and over again, which runs—"All living animals ask for Buddha's 788 796 788

15: Francke--1 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism. 771

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival. 127 539

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann 539 794 113

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the 773 539 171

539 Chinese, and the dynasty that was ruling at that time (1836) even
171 recognized him as its tutelary spirit. Further, Schmidt states:
773 "Since Gesser-Chan is named in the saga as the ruler of three Tibetan tribes, the Tussa, Dongsar, and Lik, this fact has induced the Chinese to weave him into their history of the three empires, and to assign to him an epoch in their chronology, namely, the beginning of the third century." As long as only the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga was known, it remained of necessity undetermined whether the saga was of Mongolian or of Tibetan origin. But as soon as I published, in 1900, the first samples of the Tibetan Kesar saga as I had gathered it from oral sources (2), no disinterested

2. "Der Frühlingsmtthus der Kesarsage," Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougneme, No. XV. Helsinki, 1900. Improved /or Corrected/ English edition in the Indian Antiquary, 1902.

observer was in any further doubt that the homeland of the sagas was to be found in Tibet. Professor A. Grünwedel wrote in the Globus (3) at that time: "In contrast to the familiar (Mongolian

3. Vol. XXVIII, No. 6.

/2/) versions, which represent Ge-sar as warrior and hero, Francke's texts are of a much more original nature and have a predominantly mythological character." Grimm had already expressed the opinion in his Kinder- und Haysmärchen /children's and household fairy tales/ that the Kesar saga, which was known to him only in the Mongolian version, had in all probability originally come into existence in Tibet. As we have already seen, this saga is also known to the Chinese and to the Mongols. But not only that--traces of it are likdwise to be found among the Turkish tribes, the Tungus and Buryat, and so forth. It looks as though this saga material has been disseminated all over Asia. I regard Western Tibet, and Ladakh in particular, as the country of origin for the versions that have become known up to now. The old West Tibetan kingdom is designated in chronicles as well as in inscriptions by Khrom-ge-sar-gdan,
533 "market place, Kesar's throne." In this region the saga is at home
[564] to such an extent that each village has its own version, and the saga
539 is recited by musicians belonging to the caste of the Bhe-da. In their recital, the metrical parts of the saga are sung. But in this

III. The Hymns of the Spring Festival (Glin-glu). When the spring festival is celebrated in Western Tibet (Ladakh, and so on), hymns are sung which bear the name Glin-glu, "Songs from the Land of Glin." In these hymns King Kesar and the deities mentioned in the Kesar saga are honored. Without a certain knowledge of the Kesar saga, these songs would remain unintelligible. Without exerting myself particularly, I managed to get my hands on two such hymn collections as I was looking around for folk songs. From the village Phyi-dban, eight English miles below Leh, I obtained a manuscript prepared there, which contained the nine hymns of the Kesar festival that are customarily used in that village. In Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, who has already been mentioned above, wrote down for me the nine hymns that were sung there. I published the first collection in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, with text, English translation, and notes. The second collection is to be found in my "Ladakhi Songs," where it is printed under Nos. XXI-XXIX. These two important collections are accompanied by a briefer third one, consisting of five festival songs which a member of the Bheda caste in the village of Sheh (Shel) wrote down for me, songs traditional in that village. In addition, I should mention that scattered parts of such festival songs are also to be found here and there in my collections of folk songs, just as here and there some wedding songs are to be found taken out of their context. /5/ Such a one is to be found, for instance, in Ladakhi Songs, No. 30, "The Carpet of the Bride Buyers."

IV. Now, after the main sources of the Glin-chos have been established, I must speak of yet a fourth type of songs of a religious nature which, however, do not seem to fit into the framework of the Glin-chos. I published one of these in my Ladakhi Songs as No. 15. But this is not a happy example, since it is composed of two wedding songs, whereas the original song has been lost. Better types are afforded by my as yet unpublished collection of songs from Sheh. From this collection it appears that as a theme for the harvest songs they chose the creation of the world and the origin of the gifts of nature, in particular, wheat. But the myth of the creation of the world, as we find it here, is in contrast to the version in the Kesar saga. In the harvest song the earth rises up out of the waters of the ocean, while in the Kesar saga it is formed out of the body of a slain giant. Now the myth in the harvest songs of Sheh (Shel) corresponds in a curious way with the Dard song about the creation of the world, such as we find it written down in the Dard collection of hymns of

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
773

1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian
[113] Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who introduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situ-
776 ated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to
[823] the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already under-
[788] taken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-rgyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

The total number of gods (lha) is given as 360 in the narrative Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, No. III), a number which is also to be found in the Bonpo works. In conclusion we should point out that occasionally a differentiation is made between dBan-po-brgya-byin, the ruler of the heavens, and sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, the "father of the gods" (pha-lha). The latter name is particularly used for the god of heaven as the father of Dun-grub-ke-sar. This usage seems subsequently to have led to the fact that different deities were understood by the two names. 773 776

2. Bar-btsan, the earth, literally, "the firm place in the middle." Other names are: Mi-yul, "land of human beings," Glin, "continent," "world." Later also, after the appearance of Indic concepts, aDzam-bu-glin, Sanskrit, Jambudvipa. The highest deity of the earth is Mother sKyabs-mdun, "helpful spouse." She seems to be identical with the goddess of the earth, brTan-ma, "the firm one" (Jäschke's Lexikon), or brTan-byed-ma (S. Ch. Das, Lexikon /Dictionary/). Father brTan-pa also occurs.

The world (glin) of mythology is, of course, Tibet. But if we look at the few place names that occur in the mythology and are identifiable, we are directed to the western part of the country, into the region of the great lakes. In the wedding songs, both great lakes, Ma-pham (Manasarowar) and La-nag, are frequently mentioned. The former of these two lakes is mentioned most frequently and the mountain Kailasa, which is near it, plays a not inferior role. In the Kesar saga and elsewhere, too, the mountain bears the name Ti-se (apparently a contraction of Khri-rtse, "throne peak"), or Gans-ri ("ice mountain"). Gans-ti-se also occurs. On top of the mountain, or close by it, stands Glin-mkhar-rtse-dgu, "the castle of Glin with the nine peaks." The silver mountain, the golden mountain, the blue mountain, and the slate mountain are in the closest proximity. This mountain range is thought of by the Tibetans as the point of origin for the four main rivers of the world (1), of which, in fact, 173 773

1. These four main rivers are also mentioned in No. X b. and in No. XVII of the wedding songs of Tag-ma-cig. There they are not mentioned individually by name, however. A similar saga is also to be found in the Ramayana, I, 44, "the descent of the Ganga." In that place not four but seven rivers are mentioned. [171]

they enumerate the following in inscriptions and in their chronicle: 1. the Indus, which flows to the west, Sen-ge-kha-bab, or "lion

points of the compass. Their names are the following: 776

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajrasatva) . . . . . East 821
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan (Ratnasambhava) . . . South
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas (Amitabha) . . . . . West
4. Don-yod-grub-pa (Amoghasiddha) . . . . North.

Even the Indian Lokapala have connections with certain colors, 821
and it is now of some importance to establish how the Indic system 822
is related to the color system of the wedding songs, as it has been 171
described so far. In order to clarify the situation, I shall recapitulate the latter:

1. East . . . . . white.
2. South . . . . . yellow (gold).
3. West . . . . . red (once, No. XV, turquoise).
4. North . . . . . black (or blue).

The Indic Lokapalas are represented in Lamaism with the following skin colors:

1. Dhritarashta . . . . East . . . . . white.
2. Virudhaka . . . . . South . . . . blue.
3. Virupaksha . . . . . West . . . . . red.
4. Vaisravana (Kubera). North . . . . . yellowish gold.

We see that, except for white in the East, and red in the West, the two systems have no connection with each other. The Indic Lokapalas constitute an extrinsic element in the field of the popular religion of the Tibetans.

/14/ Things have advanced a little further, on the other hand, in 776
the case of the Dhyanibuddhas. In wedding song No. XLII[1] these have 821
been related to colors, and in this case it appears that the ancient 822
Tibetan system has penetrated almost in its entirety. In this song the following colors are named:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa . . . East . . . . white.
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan . . South . . . yellow.
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas . . . West . . . . blue.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa . . . North . . . . black.

To summarize, we may say that it appears from these old songs that the Tibetans had deities for the four points of the compass; further, that they first conceived of them in the form of birds and later apparently in human shape, and associated them with certain colors, originally, probably, white, yellow, red, and blue. In later times the names of Indic deities belonging to the points of the compass penetrated into the Tibetan system.

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116 for references --Analyst]

776 to the mountains and the rivers and extended his worship to the one
773 hundred spirits." A corresponding passage is to be found also in the book of rites, Li-chi, where it says: "The son of heaven made an offering to heaven and earth, the four points of the compass, the mountains and the rivers, to the land and to the grain; he also brought the five domestic offerings." We see that among the Chinese the six "honorable ones" precede, but that they can be followed by some lesser deities. The latter is also the case among the Tibetans, and in the song just mentioned about incense offerings, wedding song, No. I, after the seven main deities there come the following lesser ones: the god of the mountain peak, the god of the village, and the god of the household. In a similar manner, other songs also descend from sublime deities till they finally arrive at the members of the family.

171 In this arrangement, which corresponds among the Tibetans and
773 the Chinese, I believe I can recognize a sign of mythological relationship between these two peoples. It is true that the "three worlds" and the "four kings of the earth" are also to be found among many other peoples, from the Babylonians to the Indians. But only the Tibetans and the Chinese make these two groups into "highest divinities." It is of especial value to us that from this combination the world tree of Tibetan mythology with its six branches, can be explained.

/16/ The Devil bDud

773 Occasionally a fourth universal realm is added to the three
776 great realms of the world, sTan-lha, Bar-btsan, and Yog-klu, that is, the realm of the devil bDud. The color of the devil's realm is black according to the Sheh (Shel) version, and brownish-violet (smug-po) according to the Lower Ladakhi Version (1). In the

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the king of Hor," No. 6.[1]

Winter Myth, II, 21-26,[1] we read that Kesar on his journey found on four mountain passes four altars, which had been erected to the divinities of the three universal realms and to the devil and were white, red, blue, and black in color. Kesar worshipped at the three first altars by offering on them white, red, and blue material.

1 [See pp 1-8, Category 116, for references -- Analyst]

773 it should be added at once that the ancient Tibetans seem to have
776 been acquainted with the profession of battle maidens as much as
805 the ancient Germanic tribes. In wedding song No. XLIII,[1] in which
821 the guests have cups of different colors set before them according to their rank, there appear after the lama, the king, and the ministers, first of all the sTag-shar, the tiger heroes, then the sTag-dman, the tiger virgins, and finally the Na-chun, the ordinary virgins. The sTag-shar and the sTag-dman drink from golden cups, the ordinary virgins, on the other hand, drink from red cups. With respect to Saturday, I must /20/ confess that so far it seems to me impossible to connect an Agu with the Tibetan planet of this day.

773 Now as far as the relationship of the Agus to an ancient zodiac
776 is concerned, I would say that it is particularly the external appear-
805 ance of the Agus that makes their origin from a zodiac seem possi-
171 ble. The Agus are described as creatures of human shape, some of whom are provided with animal heads. In this connection, however, it should be said at once that the animals in the signs of the zodiac in use today in China as well as in Tibet, are the very ones that cannot be found among the animal heads of the Agus. It is well-known, however, that the zodiac in use today was not introduced into either country until historical times (before the seventh or eighth century). The zodiac symbolized in the Agus, on the other hand, may have originated in the prehistoric period of the two peoples.

The zodiac known today in China and Tibet has the following twelve animal signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, ape, hen, dog, and pig. The zodiac is used in the calendar to designate the years. The Tibetans report that this calendar was brought to them by the Chinese in the seventh century. It must therefore have been introduced into China somewhat earlier. The same animal names were then also used to designate the different months. As the excavations in Turkestan indicate, the Tibetans of the eighth century divided the year into twelve months, with three of the months constituting a season of the year. At that time they spoke of the second and the third spring month, and so forth. Each month, at that time, was reckoned at thirty days. I suspect this because the number 360 plays such an important role with the gods, the nymphs, and similar beings.

Although it is as yet impossible to equate all the Agus in the list given above with the known signs of the zodiac, the following should nevertheless be pointed out: An-gar-rtsans-po with the lizard's head can be compared with the snake of the Dodekaoros;

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references, --Analyst]

Khrai-mgo with the hawk's head can be compared with the hawk of the Dodekaoros; aBu-dmar-lam-bstan with the insect's head can be compared with the beetle of the Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, "Old Mouth," with the white beard, can be compared with the ape of the Dodekaoros; Bon-mag with the donkey's head, with the donkey of the Dodekaoros. As has already been mentioned, mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the great arrow master, belongs perhaps to the "archer" of the Babylonian zodiac. As A. Jeremias observes in his "Handbuch," the previously mentioned zodiac of the Chinese, which begins with the rat, the ox, and the tiger, is related to the Hellenistic Dodekaoros. After what has just been said, it seems to me that the zodiac symbolized by the Agus comes much closer to the Dodekaoros. Here we have, perhaps, the intermediate link between the Asiatic West and East with respect to this calendar problem. 773 776 805 171

Favorite Numbers in the Ancient Mythology

Three is a particularly favored number. The world is composed of three parts, the king of the heavens has three sons, King "White Tent" must perform three labors, three Shar-an-dre, according to the Lower Ladakh Version, strive to kill the child Kesar. The Agu Khrai-thun needs three hats, three stirrups, and three dog collars ("Journey to China"). According to wedding song No. XIII[1] there are three famous castles, three lakes, three forms of greeting, of smiling, and of swearing; according to No. LIX,[1] there are three kinds of people, of cattle and of iron tools, and there are three kinds of fields. 773 801

The number seven appears somewhat less frequently. However, the smaller group of the Agus consists of seven heroes. According to the Sheh version there are seven An-dhe-ban-dhe who try to kill the infant Kesar. Seven /21/ types of grain seeds are found in the stomach of the dove that has been caught. Tag-ma-cig, (wedding song No. LIX.[1]) With seven bones and seven shells Dze-mo performs her magic on Cu-ru-lu-gu (in the Winter Myth, No. 3).[1]

The number nine occurs with special frequency. The monster from which gDon-gsum-mi-la constructs the world, has nine heads; the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu has nine lives; according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] Kesar is victorious in nine battles; according to Spring Myth, VI,[1] 29, nine little pieces of butter are spread along the edge of the beer jug in honor of the guest. Nine gods and nine Pisaca were born together with Kesar, according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] 34. In everyday life, the number nine is also in frequent use. A full rosette is

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

121 well known and have not been extensively
114 studied or recorded. In a book by Professor Westermark, *"The History of*
171 *Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I chose India and Tibet because, from the
128 abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

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601 [184] being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only [609] used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

614 [184] The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

[964] It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

[171] It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

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846 852 [604] [292] headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if [603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] [302] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 [551] A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

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and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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smoking was looked upon as so heinous an offence. He replied that it was because, so the lamas said, tobacco was a weed grown from the menstrual flow of a prostitute who had prayed that it might fertilize a plant that would be the joy of mankind. For this reason, lamas could not think of smoking, and they naturally opposed it in the lay population as well.

c) *Investigation of polyandry along the Leh-Srinagar Treaty Road*

1. *Information gathered at Spituk and Ri-dzong*

At our first halt after leaving Leh, I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in the central Tibetan provinces from the acting chief abbot of the monastery, who had studied in Lhasa. I shall revert to what he told me when we come to Part II, where I shall deal with the polyandry of Tibet proper.

At Ri-dzong, the Tibetan bandit, Norgyäs, had much to tell me also. He told me a certain amount about the marital customs of those parts of Tibet which he knew personally, but also about those specifically appertaining to Western Tibet. It is these which I shall account for here.

It seemed that my informant was born in Ngari Korsum and had only later in his life taken to banditry. At the age of nine, he was adopted by a lama, the assistant of the Garpön of Gartok, that is of the Tibetan Government official whose residence was in the capital of Ngari Korsum.

The lama's name was De-chen-la (*bDe-Ch'hen-lags*) and he had a sister living with him who was married and had a son, Dön-stob-la (*Don-sTobs-lags*), of the same age as Norgyäs. Although there was a relation of master to servant between the two boys (the lama's nephew being the superior), a very intimate bond was formed between the two. When Dön-stob-la married, Norgyäs was allowed to share the wife with him, and this because the two had become what he called *skyidug-chik-pa* (*sKyid-sDug-gChig-pa*).

This long word has the meaning of "Happiness-Grief-Identical" and such a relation is very often entered into in Tibet between close friends. Norgyäs said that, in his case, it was only a minor variety of the relation because, normally, it is a much more formal and binding connection.

Thus in Tibet, and also in Ladak, two old friends who had known each other for a long time could become *skyidug-chik-pa* in the following way. They make a vow, clasping each other's middle finger, in which they swear to share undividedly everything that they have for the rest of their lives, and even in the next one that awaits them. If

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X [172] breadth. Its waters are extremely bitter. On its shore Captain H. Strachey likewise found fossil shells of the *Lymnæa auricularia* and of some kind of *Helix*, of which the specimens are perhaps too small to be identified with certainty. The waters of this lake must, therefore, once have been fresh.

133X The *Tshomoriri*,* or "Mountain Lake," is a very fine 103 sheet of water, about sixteen miles in length from north to south, and from two to three miles in breadth. It is situated in the middle of the elevated district of Rukchu, in N. latitude 32° 50′, and E. longitude 78° 15′, at a height of 15,000 feet above the sea. Its name is characteristic of its situation in the midst of mountains, by which it is completely shut in. The summits of these mountains rise to a height of about 5,000 feet above the 823 lake, and 20,000 above the sea. To account for its name, 103 the Ladakis have invented a story, which though silly enough, is quite as good as many that have been gravely recorded by learned Greeks. The story was probably originated by the inventive Kashmiris. "A woman riding a yák was carried into the lake. At first the yák swam boldly out, and the woman was delighted: but after a time the animal grew tired, and sank deeper in the water. The woman (*chomo*) became frightened, and screamed out *Ri-Ri*, *Ri-Ri*,† until the yák sank and she

* *Tsho-mo-Rhi-ri*, "Lake Mountainous."—Running water, being active, is considered as a male, as *Tsang-po*, the river of *Tsang*;—and still water, being passive, as a female, as *Tsho-mo*. *Po* and *Mo* are the masculine and feminine affixes, but they are seldom used in composition. *Ri* is a mountain; and *Rhi-ri-yi*, or simply *Rhi-ri*, is the adjective, mountainous.

† *A-ra-ra*, commonly pronounced *Re-re*, or *Ri-ri*, is the Tibetan exclamation of surprise or fear. As the word is written with an initial vowel, it is certainly borrowed from the Indian *Ari-ari*, for there is no word in the Tibetan language beginning with a vowel that is not of foreign origin.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

rocky promontory juts out into the lake, the water is very deep. On the north and east sides it is shallow; but on the west, the steep slope of the mountains appears to be continued beneath the surface. The water is exceedingly brackish and bitter, and the whole of the ground on the south-eastern shore glitters with a saline matter, which forms a thick crust of some extent. The southern road passes over this vast cake of salt, which cracks and crunches beneath the feet of the traveller. The salt is natron, or sub-carbonate of soda. On all sides the mountains still retain the ancient beach-marks in distinct lines, at all heights up to about 150 feet above the present level of the lake. In the numerous deposits of fine alluvial clay, both white and yellow, we found myriads of fossil shells of the *Lymnæa auricularia*, and a few specimens of a *Cyclas*, preserved inside the Lymnæa. When these animals existed, the lake must have formed a vast sheet of fresh water with a narrow passage to the westward, which connected it with a second and larger lake, that must have covered the whole of the present plain from Kyang, from the foot of the Thung Lung Pass to the forks of the Sum Gal river, a length of about thirty-five miles. In the clay deposits of this plain, as well as in the connecting gorge, we found myriads of the same fossil shells (*Lymnæa auricularia*) before mentioned. The Tsho-kar lake abounds with many kinds of water-fowl, especially with wild geese and wild ducks. To the south of the Tsho-kar there is a small fresh-water lake of no great depth, that supplies the salt-water lake. It is a very favourite haunt of the *Kyang*, or wild horse.

The *Yunam Tsho* is a small sheet of fresh water in the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VII.—SUPPOSED MILDNESS OF FORMER CLIMATE.

132 Various circumstances induce me to believe that the climate of Ladák was formerly much milder and much 172 less dry than it is at present. The occurrence of vast quantities of fossil *fresh-water* shells in the sandy alluvium above the level of the present *salt-water* lakes of Ladák, proves that these lakes must once have been very extensive sheets of fresh water. In the case of the *Tsho-kar* or "White Lake," this is proved beyond all doubt, by the occurrence of fossil shells on the plain of Kyang, and in the deep gorge through which the waters of the lake once had exit into this place. As the plain itself had a gradual slope from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the Sumgal River, the whole extent of this double lake can be seen by a glance at the accompanying sketch-map,* which illustrates the ancient lake system of Ladák in those parts of the country which I have visited.

133 1. The *Kyang-Tsho* formerly extended from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to near the source of the Sumgal River, a length of thirty-five miles. It is difficult to ascertain the mean breadth, but it must have been about five miles. This would give an area of 175 square miles.

2. The *Tsho-kar* formerly flowed into the Kyang-Tsho, and was about twenty-five miles in length by five miles in breadth. The old beach-marks are distinctly visible on the mountain-sides, both to the north and south of the lake. I traversed along the southern end of the Tsho-kar in two different directions in 1846, and in 1847 along the northern end, and through the gorge which

* See Plate VI.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 been covered with water for some miles above Marchalang down to Lé and Pitak. At Pitak, the lacustrine deposits of fine clay are still adhering to the rocks in horizontal strata, to a height of 750 feet above the level of the river. The whole extent must have been about thirty-five miles by six miles, or 210 square miles. Below Pitak, the former channel of the Indus can be traced for many miles, by Phyang and Tharu, to Nyimo.

It is impossible to say what may have been the whole extent of the former lakes of Ladák, but as the ancient lakes of Rukchu, which I have described, must have covered a space of 840 square miles, or nearly one-sixth of the whole extent of the district, a vague idea may be formed of the general extent of the lake system, which must once have prevailed over Ladák. The vast lake of Pang-kong was probably not less than twenty miles in breadth by 100 miles in length, and must have covered an area of 2,000 square miles. This lake, with the others which I have described, would have occupied about one-tenth of the whole extent of the country.

The former existence of these vast sheets of fresh water rests neither upon general appearances nor upon the vague assertions of tradition, but upon the distinct evidences of vast beds of fine clay, which are found adhering to the rocks in horizontal strata, and which could only have been deposited in comparatively still water. Their existence is further proved by the [172] abundance of fossil *fresh-water* shells that are found in the sandy clay deposits around the present *salt-water* lakes, and on the dry plain of Kyang. These shells are of two kinds,—*Lymnæa auricularia* of all sizes, and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Cyclas rivicola, which is only found of very small size [133] preserved in the interior of the larger shells.* As these [172] mollusca do not now exist in Ladák at a greater elevation than between eleven and twelve thousand feet, it 132 seems a probable conclusion that the country must at some former period have enjoyed a very much milder climate than that of the present day. This conclusion might indeed have been deduced from the former existence of the vast lakes which have been described. For the waters vapourized by the sun must have been condensed by the cold of night, and the plains would then have been fertilized by rain, and the mountains covered by snow. Numerous streams would have flowed down the hill-sides in all directions, and the overflowing lakes would have formed mighty rivers.

Throughout Ladák there are numbers of vast ravines, 133 many of them 500 feet deep, and as many yards broad, which could not possibly have been formed by the scanty brooks that are now nearly lost in their meanderings from side to side of these enormous channels. In one of these vast river-beds the scanty rill of the Sum-gal now purls along at the southern end of the plain of Kyang. The sides of this channel are masses of alluvial boulders and gravel, which once formed the bed of the Kyang-Tsho. The rocky barrier, below the junction of the Sum-gal rivers, was probably worn away, gradually at first, until the plain of Kyang became almost dry: after which, on the occurrence of any sudden disruption, the waters of the Sum-gal would have rushed violently onward, cutting for themselves a deep channel in the soft bed of the lake. The Kyang-Tsho must have been

* See Plate IX. for these shells.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AI4 W Tibetans AJ4

MOLLUSCA.

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The only existing mollusk I observed in Ladák was the *Lymnæa auricularia*. In Plate IX. I have given three specimens, from Pitak and Nubra in Ladák, and from Skardo in Balti. Beside them I have placed for comparison a specimen of the same mollusk from Kashmir; and above them two extinct specimens from the old lacustrine formations on the banks of the *Thogji Chenmo* and *Pangong* salt lakes. The superior size of the Kashmir specimen is perhaps no more than might be expected from the greater mildness of the climate; but that of the extinct species is most remarkable. The largest existing specimen from Pitak measures only six-eighths of an inch in length, and rather less than five-eighths in breadth; whereas the extinct specimens are upwards [illegible] inch in length, and more than three-quarters of an inch in breadth.

These fresh-water fossil shells are found in a fine yellow sandy clay, many feet above the present level of the salt-water lakes. When they existed, the lake of Thogji Chenmo must have been a noble sheet of fresh water, upwards of forty miles in length by about twenty miles in extreme breadth, covering the whole plain of Kyung, from the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass to the rocky glen of the Sumgyel (triple junction) River. These fossil shells are now lying in myriads in the narrow pass between the old bed of the Thogji Lake and the plain of Kyung, and they are equally numerous in the upper part of the plain of Kyung.

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At what period these vast plains were covered with water will be an interesting subject of inquiry for the geologist; but the mind gets bewildered in trying

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 to pierce the infinite obscurity of bygone ages. One
132 point alone seems clear; that when all these lakes
172 existed, more moisture must have been evaporated, and more snow must have fallen as well as more rain; and the humid atmosphere would have produced a milder climate more favourable to animal and vegetable life. The hills would, perhaps, have been clothed with trees, and the still waters of the magnificent lakes would have teemed with myriads of *Lymnæa*, of which only the shells now remain. But the gradual wearing down of the water-courses, and the continual bursting of the lakes, have nearly dried up all the primeval waters of Ladák; and the consequent loss of moisture has occasioned the present general scarcity of rain and snow, and that extreme dryness of atmosphere which has caused the total dearth of trees. The only sheets of water that now exist are landlocked and salt.

172 A second extinct species of shell is a bivalve (*Cyclus*); but as all the specimens that have been found were preserved inside the *Lymnæa*, they are necessarily small; it is now perhaps impossible to determine exactly whether they are river or lake shells.

Fossil shells are also found in the fine clay deposits near Skardo, of which I have given a specimen in Fig. 4, Plate IX., which contains a *Planorbis* and a *Luccinea* (or perhaps a small *Lymnæa*). One specimen of the existing Planorbis of Skardo is given in Fig. 9.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

281 The domestic animals of Ladák are ponies, asses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs. The Argons, or mixed race of half-Kashmiris half-Botis, resident at Lé, now keep a number of common fowls, but they have only

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans

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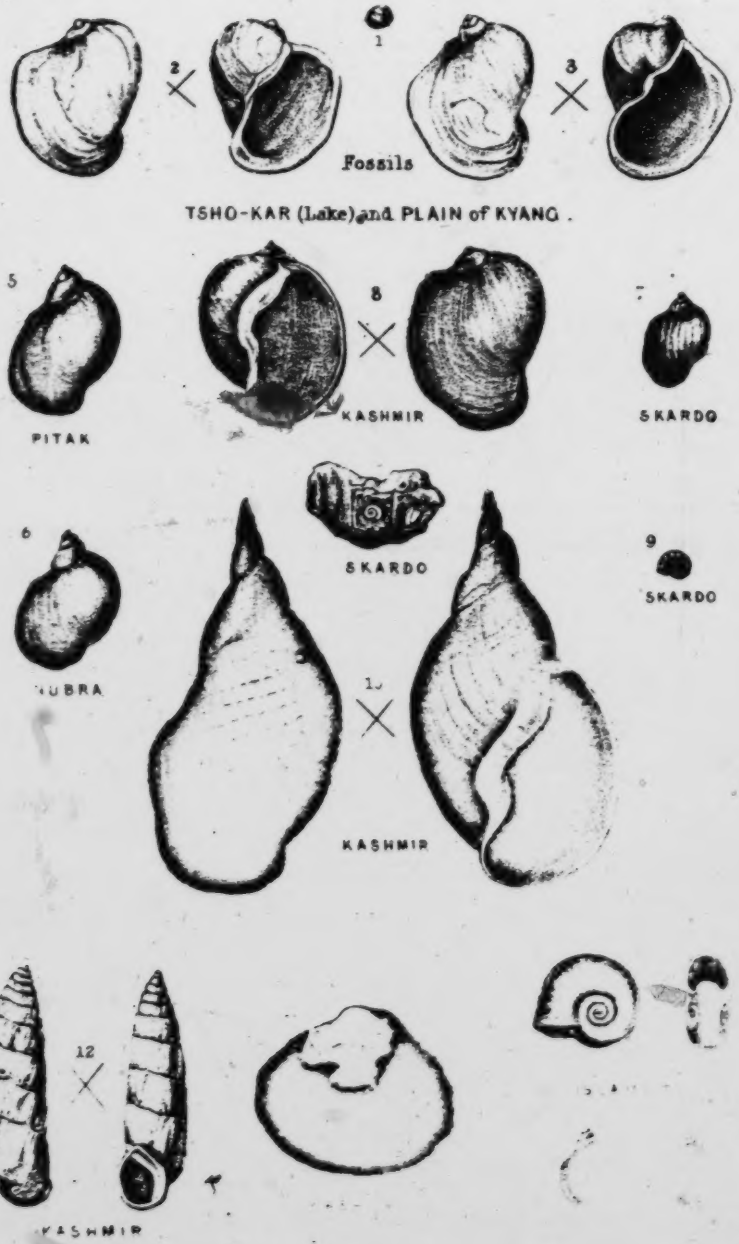
EXTINCT and EXISTING SHELLS.
from Ladak, Balti, and Kashmir.



A. Cunningham, del.

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2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost 361
impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes.

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the [133]
easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen [136]
thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex
ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour
from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of
the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched
them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreci-
ate the height we had reached and how it affected one by
slackening movements.

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to
Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously
coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley
with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens,
the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery
built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, 491
with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on 172
the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the
whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old
Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle
of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150.

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It 346
seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings,
some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow
passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts
there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows
and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably
for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of 778
Chubrezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its back-
ground is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has
eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the
others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out
tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being
held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a
jewel in the other.

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the 788
foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

173 very year in which Sikander Butshikan, the Idol-breaker of Kashmir, died. The coincidence of time is curious, and it is not improbable that Sultan Yagu may have been despatched by the bigoted Sikander to propagate the religion of Muhammed amongst the Tibetans on the Indus.

GYALPOS OF KHAPOLOR.

	Names.	Probable Date.	
1	Sultan Sikandar		
2	" Ibrahim		
3	" Ishák		
4	Abdul Ralimad		
5	Mir Barâhîr		
6	Arman Samáhir		
7	Beshrab Nam		
8	Tinlu Tung		
9	Sultan Mahmud		
10	Mehndi Ghazáli		
11	" Ibrahim		
12	" Malik Haider Shah		
13	Sultan Malik Ghazáli		
14	" Malik Shah		
15	" Juned Shah		
16	" Haider Shah		
17	" Haider Karár		
18	" Shah Ibrahim		
19	" Johar Fani		
20	" Najm Malik		
21	" Malik Rustam		
22	" Mehndi Mir		
23	" Malik Mir		
24	" Malik Jahar		
25	Sáad Ulla Khan		
26	" Karun Beg		
27	" Jalil Khan		
28	" Rustam Beg		
29	" Atta Ulla Khan		
30	" Khalil Khan		

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
BALTI A' 2

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	Names.	Probable Date.	
31	Saád Yakub Khan		
32	" Mir Ghazi		
33	" Malik Purnur		
34	" Babúr Malik		
35	" Mokhim Khan		
36	" Shah Azim Beg		
37	" Gohar Beg		
38	" Malik Shah Shujá	A.D.	
39	Sultan YAGU	1410	
40	" Yagu Latif Beg	1425	
41	" Yagu Sher Ghazi ...	1440	
42	" Yagu Ahmed Ghazi ...	1455	
43	" Nur Ghazi	1470	
44	" Alemgir Ghazi	1485	
45	" BIWÂN-CHO	1500	
46	" Hil Ghazi	1515	
47	" Sher Ghazi	1530	
48	" Beg Mantar	1545	
49	" Torab Khan	1560	
50	" Sálmundé	1575	
51	" Brol Dé	1590	
52	" Malik Baz	1605	
53	" Arzona	1620	
54	" Tikam	1635	
55	" Bikam	1650	
56	" Kurkor	1665	
57	" Bairam	1680	
58	" Mir Khan	1695	
59	" Ibrahim	1710	
60	" Ghazi Mir Cho	1725	
61	" Husen Khan	1740	
62	" Rahim Khan	1755	
63	" Hatim Khan	1770	
64	" Daolut Khan	1785	
65	" Mahmud Ali Khan ...	1800	
66	" Yahia Khan	1815	
67	" Daolut Ali Knan ...	1830	now reigning.
	has a son, Md. Ali Khan.		

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 colours are found throughout Ladák. They are all lacustrine formations, and are seen adhering to the sides of ravines, and attached to steep cliffs that have once been washed by the great rivers. In the gap between the monastery of Pitak and the end of the granite range, to the west of Lé, there is an immense mass of indurated clay, disposed in horizontal layers of different shades, but chiefly of a pale yellow and light lavender colour. Beyond Pitak the same clay strata occur again in a recess of the hills on the right bank of the Indus. But the most remarkable deposits of clay are immediately below Lama-Yúrrú, where a pale straw-coloured clay is seen in all places in the bed of the stream, in small patches on the summits of detached rocks, and in large masses overlying the slate to a height of at least one thousand feet above the present bed of the stream.* A similar coloured clay occurs in a ravine of the Yunam river, just above the Yunam lake. At different places in the Nubra valley, Dr. Thomson observed similar deposits of bluish-coloured clay; and near Skardo he found one containing fossil remains of Planorbis and Succinea. Near Rámu-Serai, in Kashmir, I found beds of highly indurated clay, mixed with boulders, which rose to a height of 150 feet above the plain. This lacustrine formation would alone prove the existence of a vast lake, that once covered the whole valley of Kashmir to a depth of about 200 feet.

Steatite was found by Vigne on the banks of the Drás

● 173 * The Lamas of this place have a tradition that a lake formerly existed on the spot, that the rock was cut through by Naropa, a Lama from Brigúng, near Lhasa, and that the present monastery of Yung Dung Gonpa was built by him. Lámá Yúrrú is the Kashmirian name of the place. All clays are called *rDos-ma*.

.: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

/135 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and
316 of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely
●173 carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo.
[776] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is
[784] prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than
[136] those of any other part of the river. But the gold of the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

marmots (*Arctomys*) and rat-hares (*Lagonys*) of Tibet, /35
which in making burrows "throw up the earth wherein /73
the ore is contained, from which the Indians extract /36
gold." On the plains along the banks of the Indus and Shayok, the marmots still throw up the earth mixed with gold-dust, from which the Indians of Balti occasionally extract a few grains of gold. Megasthenes confesses that he had not seen the animals themselves, but only their skins, which had been brought by the Macedonian soldiers into Alexander's camp. The skin of the marmot is the commonest of all the furs now brought to India.* Its Tibetan name is *Phyi-pa* or *Chipa* (or *Chupa*), which was probably confounded by Alexander's soldiers with the Indian *Chúntá*, the name of the large ant; or *Phyi-pa* may have been confounded by the Indians themselves with *Pippilaka*, the Sanscrit and Bengali name of the large ant.†

The same story of the ants as big as foxes is told by Herodotus; and Professor H. H. Wilson‡ has aptly illustrated it by a passage from the Mahábhárata, which relates that "the people who dwell under the pleasant shade of the *Kichaka-venus* (a kind of willow) and along the Sailodá river, between the Meru and Mandára mountains, the Khasas, Prádaras, Páradas, Ekásanas, Arkas, Kulindas, Tanganas, and Paratanganas, brought to Yudhishthira lumps of gold, a *drona* (64 lb.) in weight, of the sort called *paippílika*, "or ant gold," which was so called because it was exfodiated by the

* The same holds good to the eastward, for Mr. Hodgson says, "In the extensive peltry trade carried on between Nepál and Tibet, no skin is more commonly met with than that of the marmot."—Journal As. Soc. Bengal, X. p. 777.

† *Phyi-pa*, commonly pronounced *Chi-pa*.

‡ Journal Roy. As. Soc. VII. p. 143.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 *pippílaka*, or common large ant." This belief, however
136 erroneous, as the learned professor observes, was neither
173 extravagant nor irrational. A yet earlier mention of the gold of Alpine India is that of Ctesias; but he distinctly states that it was not obtained by washing, as in the river Pactolus.* Gold is called *Ser*, gold-dust *Ser-dul*, and the gold-washer *Ser-pa*. This name I believe to have been the origin of the classical *Seres*. In Tibetan
[103] *Serki-yul* means the "gold country;" and as the affix *yul* can be omitted at pleasure, the names of Serki and Serika are almost identical.†

135 *Copper.*—According to Moorcroft, "some copper-mines are said to have been discovered towards Kashmir."‡ This statement is probably correct, as Jacquemont found copper ore in the Lidar valley, on the south-west side of the range which divides Kashmir from the Ladáki district of Suru. If any trust can be put in a name, I should suppose that copper (*zangs*) had been found in *Zangskar*, but I could not learn that it had been discovered there.

Lead and *Iron* are, according to Moorcroft, found in pits in the mountain districts remote from Lé.

Plumbago is found in Balti; but the specimens which I procured are of an inferior description. They are gritty, and will not mark paper without scratching; but as they were most probably taken from the long-exposed surface, good black lead may still perhaps be found in the same place.

Sulphur, called *Muzi*, is obtained only at Puga, in

* Fragments of Ctesias by Lion. Indica, XII. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ χώρᾳ, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς εὑρισκόμενος καὶ πλυνόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Πακτωλῷ ποταμῷ.

† *gSer*, gold; *gSer-rDul*, gold dust. ‡ Travels, I. p. 313.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were exactly the same as our drum-head courts-martial; and their sentences were accordingly termed *Makkhrim*,* or martial law.

The soldiers were obliged to find their own food. Each man was therefore generally attended by another male member of his house or family, who carried the joint provisions on his back during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Occasionally they relieved one another. In case of a casualty also the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes, and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

Although these bodies of undisciplined militia were not deserving of the name of an army, yet they were generally strong enough to repel all attacks of their immediate neighbours of Balti, Rudok, and Chumurti, who were as poor and as unsoldierly as themselves; while the great poverty of the country, and the extreme rigour of the climate, were sufficient to deter the effeminate Kashmiris from even thinking of such a project without a shudder. In fact, there is no record of any invasion of Ladák by the Kashmiris; on the contrary, the Raja Taringini relates the entire conquest and occupation of Kashmir by the Boti *Rinchana*, or, as he is more commonly called in Kashmir to this day, *Ratanjo*,† about the middle of the fourteenth century. Rinchana was the son of *Bakhtán Bhot*; that is, he was probably of the *Yasan* family, which still bears the title of *Bakhto*. Being driven from his native country, he naturally fled

* *dMag-khrims*, "war-law."

† *Jo* or *Cho* is the Tibetan *mChhog*, the common title of a chief amongst the Boti Mahomedans.

: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

721 to the Botis of the east, which will account for his
173 entering Kashmir by Gagangir on the Drás road, as related in the Rajá Taringini.

712 The forts of Eastern Ladák were nearly all castellated
793 monasteries, the defence of which was intrusted to the
[701] unwarlike monks, assisted by a few of the armed peasantry, who performed the duty by turns, under the command of one who was dignified with the title of *Kharpon*, or governor.* In Western Ladák there were several castles belonging to petty chiefs, such as Paskyum and Soth, which were better calculated for defence. The
[312] monastic castles were mostly perched on high rocks quite destitute of water, and it was a part of the daily duty of the garrison to fetch water for the monks. Had any of these castles possessed a proper supply of water, their generally inaccessible positions would have rendered them safe against all common attacks. I have seen the monasteries of Hanlé, Hémis, Thigsé, Shé, Lé, Pitak, Phyang, Bazgo, Láma Yúrrú, Hesku, Kharbu, Thakshé, and Mulbil, as well as the ruined forts of Balukhar and Paskyum. The monasteries are all built on steep cliffs, more or less high, with stone walls coloured white and red, and surmounted with an endless number of small flags. They are generally difficult of access, and always picturesque. Perhaps the most remarkable is that of Thakshé, on the right bank of the Kánji river. It is perched on a lofty isolated cliff, bluff and overhanging on the north side, and with a precipitous slope of about 65° on the south side. The only ascent is by a very steep pathway.

* *mKhar-dPon*, "fort-chief." A fort is also called *rDsong*, and the governor *rDsong-dPon*. Every commandant of a castle, or military post, even if his garrison does not amount to more than four men, is dignified with the title of *Kharpon*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Christian era, and into Great Tibet in the middle of the seventh century.

Previous to the occupation of Tibet by Khri-Tsampo, in about 250 B.C., there is nothing known of its history, excepting the fact that the people were of the Bon or Pon religion, which, like that of the Indian *Tirthakaras*, was an epicurean atheism. According to the Mogul author Sanang Setzen, Khri-Tsampo was an Indian prince of the Litsabyi (or Lichhavi) race, who, being conquered in war, had sought refuge in Tibet, where he was hospitably received, and afterwards proclaimed king by the people, who are called the *Debchin Bonbo* of heaven, and the *Yang Bonbo* of earth.* Csoma de Körös repeats a similar story, with the addition that Nya-Khri-Tsampo, "being defeated in battle," fled to Tibet, where he was acknowledged as king by the *Pons*. The date of 250 B.C., assigned to this event by Csoma, makes the Lichhavi prince a contemporary of the great Buddhist king Asoka, by whom he was most probably expelled from India; for the Lichhavi family had been the leading people in the community of Vaisáli for many centuries, during which time they distinguished themselves by their fierce opposition to the Buddhists. They opposed Sakya himself in argument, and were silenced, but not convinced by him. The Lichhavis of Vaisáli professed entire belief in Swasti, from which they derived their name of *Swástikas*, or followers of

* M. Schmidt supposes that these terms indicate the people of the mountains and valleys. They may, however, denote only different sects; the one affecting heavenly aspirations, the other leaning to earthly objects. *Debchin* is most probably Tibetan,—the "blissful,"—which is used by the Tibetans as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sugata*, the "well-gone," or blessed, an epithet of former Buddhas. *Yang* may be the Tibetan *Yangs*, great, vast.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

introduced for more than seventy years, until, in A.D. 971, it was finally restored, and has since continued to be the dominant religion of Tibet.

The great spread of the *Pon-gyi-chho*, or Pon religion, can be best appreciated by the traces of its former existence in the widely distant regions of Arakan and Ladák. The people of Arakan give a long line of fifty-five *Pun-na* princes* as their earliest sovereigns, a dynasty which must have reigned for at least 600 years. In Ladák the great monastery of *Lama Yurru* is still called *Yung-druny-Gonpa*, or the "monastery of the mystic cross." The establishment of this monastery is attributed to Naropa, a Lama from Brigung, near Lhasa; but it seems more probable that the name of *Lama Yurru* was derived from the Lama, because he had suppressed the faith of the mystic cross (*yung-drung*), and had established the Lamaïc doctrine of Buddhism.

But Buddhism was the prevailing religion of Ladák from the conversion of the people by Asoka's missionaries down to A.D. 400, when Fa Hian visited India. At that time he found Buddhism flourishing in the little state of *Kia-chhe*, or Ladák, as well as in Kotan and other small states to the northward of the Tsung Ling, or Karakoram. The king of *Kie-chha* (Kha-chan, or "Snow-land)" still celebrated the great quinquennial assembly † of the Srámanas which had been established by Asoka. The ceremony, which lasted for one month, was conducted with becoming gravity, and closed by the

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 31,—Captain Latter.

† In the Gyalpo's time, the Lamas assembled annually at Lé, in the month of *Táng-po* (March), and were dismissed with presents. They now assemble at Hemis, in June. In this monastery there are still 160 Lamas.

2: Ramsay--44 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

565 463 LABOURER--hiápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101 LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syallable long and the second short.

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool; (4) Máryool" or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

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The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

175 **Chapter II.**

History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *giálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon ráj* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon ráj* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Talái or Mán Sarówár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

† Moorcroft mentions that the Giálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Giálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 Chapter II. History. [173] History of Láhaul.

whole of Láhaul became tributary to the Rája of Chamba, and that the part now forming British Láhaul was subsequently transferred from Chamba to Kúlu. I have remarked points in one or two Láhaul traditions which support this view, and would agree with the account given by the present representative of the Kúlu Rája's family according to which his ancestor in the seventh generation, Rája Bidhi Singh, acquired Láhaul from Chamba. There is no reason, I think, to doubt the correctness of the account as to time, and it fixes the date of the first acquisition of British Láhaul by Kúlu at about 200 years ago. The Rájas of Chamba must have conquered the country before A.D. 1600, or Chovang Námgyál would have annexed it to Ladákh, but they must have governed through the *thákurs* and interfered very little, or there would be clearer traces of their seventy or eighty years' rule in the Láhaul traditions. As I have said before, I believe the Kúlu Rája's account to be correct as to time; but the explanation given in it, that Bidhi Singh got Láhaul as dower with a princess of the Chamba family, is generally discredited as a boastful attempt to increase the honour of the family by the invention of an alliance to which the Rája of Chamba would never have condescended. Moreover, it seems quite opposed to all custom for a Hindú Rája to give territory as dower with a daughter, and the story is not told by the people, who, if asked, say that they imagine Láhaul must have been forcibly annexed. No doubt that was the case, and from that time the history of Láhaul is included in that of the Kúlu principality. Budh or Bidhi Singh was son of Rája Jaggat Singh, who was a contemporary of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzíb, and the date of the acquisition may therefore be placed approximately at 1700 A.D."

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It would appear, however, that subsequently to this the Láhaulis continued to pay a small annual tribute to Ladákh, probably to avert forays and to keep the roads open for trade. Indeed the Láhaulis, without orders, continued to pay this tribute to the governor at Léh up to 1862, when our Government, being informed of the fact, prohibited its payment in future. Moorcroft says in his travels that four villages in Láhaul in his time (A. D. 1820) paid revenue to the Giálpo of Ladákh, though they acknowledged military fealty to the Rája of Kúlu. He mentions that Thákur Dharam Singh, of Keylang, was then the officer in charge of the country, and was treated with profound respect by the people, Mr. Lyall says:—"This I can well believe, as I have never seen deeper respect shown anywhere to any one than was shown to his son *thákur* Tárá Chand, the late *wazír*, by the Láhaulis when I first knew them." Láhaul passed under British rule in 1846, together with Kúlu to which it was subject.

194 History of Spiti.

After the first formation of the kingdom of Ladákh, Spiti appears to have now and again been separated from it for a time, and attached to some other short-lived Tibetan principality, or to the country governed from Lhásá itself. It was perhaps independent for a time, as it is mentioned in the records procured from the *lámás* by General Cunningham as conquered by Singhi Námgyál, king of Ladákh, in about A.D. 1630, and, allotted by him, with Zánakár, to his third son, Tenchog, in about A. D. 1660. Soon after, it was incorporated in the Guge principality, which lay to the east, in what is now Chinese Tibet, and was not restored to Ladákh till about A. D. 1720, when the king of Ladákh, at the conclusion of a war with Guge and Lhásá, married the daughter of the Lhásá com-

[Petty barons --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 Chapter III, B.

795 Social and Religious Life.

Monks and friars.

through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes ; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey ; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks ; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances :— A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo ; the child grew up a saint and a reformer ; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen ; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint : the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar ; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om máni pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalized.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says :—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes :—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted ; the gist of it was as follows :—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 Chapter III, D.

621 Village Communities and Tenures.

423 Sub-divisions in Láhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Láhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

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173 423 Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Rangloi, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1½ or 1¼. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháksi* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháksis* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

13a Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

805 Venus, whilst Thursday, the day of the dagger, must belong to the god of War. Jupiter and Saturn, even in Ladak, claim Friday and Saturday. The tenth day being the birthday of Padma Sambhava, their patron saint, who conquered all their demons, is regarded as holy.

796 The date of the new year varies, indeed in their topsy-turvy country they have two New Year days, one being the [177] Ladaki, the other the Tibetan, both of which are celebrated, •173 although for practical purposes the latter is used. The genesis of the Ladaki New Year is interesting. King Jamyang desired to wage war against the neighbouring kingdom of Purig, but was informed by the horologist that his venture would not be successful unless deferred till after New Year's day. Not wishing to wait, and no doubt thinking the stupid old sun would not notice, he decided that the New Year 796 should begin two months earlier. His anniversary usually 788 falls some time in December. It is chiefly marked by evening illuminations, for every Buddhist house has a row of tiny lamps, small wicks in little receptacles of oil, outlining either window-sill, verandah, or roof, or all three, according to the state of the family exchequer, for kerosene is an expensive commodity by the time the former is carried up to Leh; and of mustard oil and that expressed from apricot kernels there [361] is very little. As most Tibetan villages are built in tiers up the hillside in order to leave the flatter terraces for cultivation, their rows of little lights give quite a fairyland effect. Dominating the whole in Leh is the fine old castle with its row of illuminations, while still higher are the twinkling lights round the crazy verandah of the "Tsemo" or small monastery, 796 perched on its high crags. The official New Year occurs later, and its chief feature is the celebration of *Dosmoche*, the great festival of the Scapegoat. This ceremony varies in different localities. In Leh a huge erection is made of sticks, tied together by twine, and looking like a vastly over-rigged mast. The component parts are prepared previously by the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horologist, and, the day before, this strange ship of the wilderness is erected in the desert just outside Leh. 796

At about 3 p.m. we wend our way through the bazar, now crowded with folk in holiday mood and holiday attire, and take up our position in the small room built over the toll-gate giving admission to the capital, and underneath which, the procession will pass. The firing of a gun announces that it has left the castle and is descending the hill, and soon we descry it turning into the further end of the main street, near the large Mohammedan mosque. Slowly it approaches us to the droning of shawms, the blowing of trumpets, clanging of cymbals, and beating of drums, all of which go to make up ecclesiastical music. Let us watch them as they pass beneath us. Heading the procession come four lamas in their clerical red garments, and with their funny yellow, peaked hats. These are blowing their flageolets ; after an interval they are followed by two or three laymen, who have the supposed honour of being allowed to carry the *storma*, but one cannot help noticing that the *élite* do not trouble to obtain this distinction for themselves. *Storma* means a thing which is lost, and consists of effigies made in various sizes to represent men and demons. Again comes a group of lamas, dressed up in their fantastic devil-masks, and dancing as they move along. More laymen follow, bearing religious flags, and then there come four priests, blowing shawms so long that two small acolytes precede them, holding up the ends. Thus group after group passes through the gate till the celebrating abbot appears, to be followed by further priests and laymen carrying *storma*. Bringing up the rear are a number of [643] Buddhist horsemen, prominent among them the King. He wears for this ceremony a special hat, which is an imitation of King Langdarma's, from whom he claims descent and of whom he is said to be an incarnation. Langdarma belonged 173 ● to the old *Bon Chos*, and did his best to exterminate Buddhism in Tibet, positive proof of his demoniacal nature, of which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

173 the two horns which grew from his head were an outward and visible sign. It was to accommodate these he had to have this hat designed.

796 The procession has now passed through the bazar, and we follow it out to the desert. There the fires have been lit, illuminating the weird devil-dancing lamas as they gyrate and 796 jump round them. At a given moment all the *storma* are 783 thrown into the flames, and with their burning the sin and disease of the town are consumed. Soon after our first arrival in Leh, we witnessed these ceremonies, and, wishing in our ignorance to investigate the effigies, some were bought for a few *pice* (coppers) and brought to our houses. That year a serious epidemic of throat disease broke out in the country, carrying off old and young. What else could be expected when the scapegoats had been brought back into the town [789] instead of being thrown away? Now the erection of twigs is knocked over, and every man makes a mad rush to obtain even a small piece if he can, which is carried home in triumph and placed on one of the outer walls of the house, thus protecting its inmates from disease and death, or, if it is put into their store-room, much blessing will accrue to their grain.

A little later a similar ceremony is performed for the special benefit of the Maharajah. Holy books having been read for seven days, a scapegoat, consisting of an effigy the size of a man, is prepared. Placed in the region of its heart is a bottle of red fluid, and it is then set up in the wilderness. A company of sepoys in smart khaki uniforms marches out behind lamas dressed in fantastic clothes and devil-masks, the combination quite belying Kipling's statement that "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." They take careful aim, even lying down to do so, but in spite of many rounds being fired, the effigy is never hit, and eventually cruder methods have to be adopted for its destructtion. This cannot be wondered at, for is not the effigy bewitched?

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XIX

Rajahs & Royalties

ALTHOUGH the glory has departed from the present scion of a long line of rulers, yet we must speak of the King, who, although only an ex-ex-King, is still regarded by the true Ladaki as his sovereign lord, for as he walks along the road, his subjects bare their heads and bend low, whilst he touches them in blessing, for not only is he king, but priest also. 643

Let us, however, begin at the beginning and speak first of a dynasty of true Ladaki Kings, for although the present line has reigned for well-nigh a thousand years, yet even they are interlopers from the Central Tibetan Kingdom. In the monastery of Lamayuru, there is a record telling of how the upper part of the Indus valley was uninhabited desert, whilst in the lower dwelt the "Brogpas," who were continually fighting one another. At that time the site on which Lamayuru now stands was a lake, proof of which we still have to-day in the large lacustrine deposits to be found there. It was just before the time of the Buddhist reformer, Atisa, that the great King Khri dPon bHag rDar Skyabs ruled, his kingdom extending from the Zogi La to the Kardong, and his son enlarged this territory by adding villages in Kashmir and a part of Lahoul. This line of kings did much to civilize the country, and was the first to introduce Buddhism. It is regrettable that more is not known of these rulers. How their power waned and the Lha Chen dynasty from Central Tibet usurped their power has still to be elucidated. The 173

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

173 first of these to rule in Lesser Tibet was Skyid Lde Nyima Gon, the great-grandson of the apostate King Langdarma. He took the reins of government about 950 A.D. The names of most of the kings of this dynasty include the word "Lha Chen," which means "great god," or "King of Heaven," and the Ladaki will explain how Langdarma counted among his forbears one who ruled in Central Tibet about 300 B.C., and was descended through King Kesar from that Supreme
173 Being. But who is this ancient King Kesar? Let us listen to one of the many wonderful stories extant of his mystical birth and heroic doings. The tale was narrated by Zodpel, our Moravian Mission Hospital Compounder, anaesthetist, dresser, and nurse, as follows.

Our great forefather sowed a tree, out of whose fruit grew worms which devoured each other till only one was left. It was transformed into a boy, who married eighteen girls, and these in turn became the respective mothers of eighteen heroes, around each of whom a wonderful story is woven. One of them aided the King of Heaven against the Demons, and in reward had his wish granted, namely that Dundrub, the son of the Celestial King, should be sent to rule this earth. Dundrub died in heaven, but descending as a hailstone, was swallowed on earth by a woman, and being re-born through her mouth returned to the earth-life as Kesar. Having attained maturity, Kesar left his country of Ling, and went to the "Horyul," the land of the north (now identified with Chinese Turkestan) to slay Akyung, the Demon King, whose widow he then married. She, wishing him to forget his home, and the wife he had left behind, drugged his food with a magic potion. During his absence the Turks came and conquered the country, killing his sons Buma and Labtsan, and taking captive a third son, Skelebuchung, with his mother Bruguma, Kesar's Queen. His castle they razed to the ground, the women, whose beauty equalled that of the fairies, were pulled about by their glorious tresses, whilst the heroes

The total number of gods (lha) is given as 360 in the narrative 773
Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, No. III), a number which is also to be 776
found in the Bonpo works. In conclusion we should point out that
occasionally a differentiation is made between dBan-po-brgya-byin,
the ruler of the heavens, and sKyes-rdzon-snyan-po, the "father of
the gods" (pha-lha). The latter name is particularly used for the
god of heaven as the father of Dun-grub-ke-sar. This usage seems
subsequently to have led to the fact that different deities were under-
stood by the two names.

2. Bar-btsan, the earth, literally, "the firm place in the mid-
dle." Other names are: Mi-yul, "land of human beings," Glin,
continent," "world." Later also, after the appearance of Indic
concepts, aDzam-bu-glin, Sanskrit, Jambudvipa. The highest deity
of the earth is Mother sKyabs-mdun, "helpful spouse." She seems
to be identical with the goddess of the earth, brTan-ma, "the firm
one" (Jäschke's Lexikon), or brTan-byed-ma (S. Ch. Das, Lexikon
Dictionary/). Father brTan-pa also occurs.

The world (glin) of mythology is, of course, Tibet. But if we 193
look at the few place names that occur in the mythology and are 773
identifiable, we are directed to the western part of the country, into
the region of the great lakes. In the wedding songs, both great lakes,
La-pham (Manasarowar) and La-nag, are frequently mentioned.
The former of these two lakes is mentioned most frequently and the
mountain Kailasa, which is near it, plays a not inferior role. In the
Gesar saga and elsewhere, too, the mountain bears the name Ti-se
(apparently a contraction of Khri-rtse, "throne peak"), or Gans-ri
(ice mountain"). Gans-ti-se also occurs. On top of the mountain,
close by it, stands Glin-mkhar-rtse-dgu, "the castle of Glin with
the nine peaks." The silver mountain, the golden mountain, the
blue mountain, and the slate mountain are in the closest proximity.
This mountain range is thought of by the Tibetans as the point of
origin for the four main rivers of the world (1), of which, in fact,

1. These four main rivers are also mentioned in No. X
b. and in No. XVII of the wedding songs of Tag-ma-
cig. There they are not mentioned individually by [171]
name, however. A similar saga is also to be found in
the Ramayana, I, 44, "the descent of the Ganga." In
that place not four but seven rivers are mentioned.

They enumerate the following in inscriptions and in their chronicle:
the Indus, which flows to the west, Sen-ge-kha-bab, or "lion

173 river," (2) 2. the Karnali-Ganges, which flows to the south, rMa-
773

2. Literally, "the (river) springing forth out of the mouth of the lion"; the literal meanings correspond in the case of the following names.

bya-kha-bab, or "peacock river," 3. the Brahmaputra, which flows towards the east, rTa-mchog-kha-bab, the "horse river," and 4. the Tarim or Sita, which flows to the north. Other systems add two more rivers, and leave out two of the preceding ones. The other two rivers are the Oxus or Rakshu, and the Sutlej or Glan-chen-kha-bab, or the "ox river." But whichever of these rivers we accept, the territory that their streams enclose is always the area of the ancient West Tibetan kingdom which included the district of the sacred lakes.

773 /8/ Three groups of sagas are concerned with the creation and
772 the populating of this world. Of these three groups, two belong to the Kesar saga, and one to the treasury of the Dard. The creation of the land of Glin according to the prelude to the Kesar saga (1):

1. A Lower Ladakhi Version, Prelude, No. 5.[1]

A hero of prehistory, by the name of Don-gsum-mi-la-snon-mo had killed a monster with nine heads and from the parts of its body he built the castle of Glin and the countryside of Glin. From the heads, legs, arms, and ribs he built the castle; from the lungs he built the golden mountain; from the heart the silver mountain; from the stomach the Groma plain; from the intestines the rGui-ma gorge; from the "little stomach" he built the hunting grounds of sPo-tho-han-ma; from the monster's eyes the spring Thsan-ya (probably the area of the lakes); from the nose the place sKad-snyan-glin-bu; from the kidneys he built the cliff rGyab-rten.

According to the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, Nos. 69 and 74)[1] the populating of the country took place in two ways. According to one version the different animals, but also the sun, the moon, and the stars, were immediately born of Gog-bzan-lha-mo, the mother of Kesar. According to the other version, the hero of prehistory brings dPal-le, mother animals and mother treasures (among them the progenitors of the sun, the moon, and so on) from a ruined castle (2). A terrible hailstorm descends upon

2. In the case of these treasures in the ruined castle,

1 [see pp. 1-8, Cat. 116 for references. -- Analyst]

SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the Rev.*

782 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held
771 an important place in the religion practised
609 in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 Two stories of the last human sacrifices in
● 173 Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree
[114] in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

" A man had to be killed every year for the
[241] " benefit of the fields of the community. The
" peasants were to offer the victim in turns.
" (They probably kept slaves, and these were
" generally killed). One year it was a poor
" widow's turn, and as she had no servants it
" was understood that her only son was to be
" sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly
" about this, a wandering hermit came to her
" house and offered to die in the place of her
" son, if she would feed him well until the day
" of execution. The widow gladly accepted the
" offer, and on the appointed day the hermit
" was led with much noise before the wooden
" idol of the god of the fields. When the
" executioner walked up with his axe to the
" hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear
"' friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if
"' the god really wants to take my life.' Then
" he stepped with the axe before the idol and
" said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really
"' want my life, take it please; if not, I shall
"' take yours.' As there was no reply, the
" hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in
" pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 " the river, and everybody went home."

173 The other story related to me concerning
114 the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

782 of it) was that of a woman who was buried alive.

●173 Local tradition has it that she pronounced a
114 curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

782 In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrified in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously; their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcases offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

[231] It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrified triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
Kashmiri AV4
W. Tibetans AJ4

000 WT 795 173

lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

It was he who reminded the Head Lama to repeat to me that which he had told many visiting Europeans for scores of years past. It is the belief of the lamas, and accepted by a certain sect of the Christians, that Jesus the Christ during "the hidden years of his life" spent about seven of them in meditation and study within the walls of the monastery.

K 795 173

I then remembered that on an occasion whilst sitting alone on Char Chinar, an Indian youth had come softly ashore from a shikara, and after we had talked for a while, I commented upon the quiet serenity which surrounded the island, at which he confidently assured me that this was because the Master Jesus had many times, when he was in Kashmir, preached from the silver isle to the many who had gathered round it in shikaras to listen to him.

There is a sect in Kashmir known as the Quadiani who believe that Christ lived there for some time; they showed me a grave at Khanayar in Srinagar where they insist that he was buried, saying that he was there known as Hazrat Yuz Asaf, but on further enquiring and searching records, I found that Yuz Asaf, the supposed descendant of Moses was ambassador from the King of Egypt to the court of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din. Strangely enough though, according to Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini*, during the reign of Jayendra who ruled between about 61 B.C. and A.D. 24, there was a minister by name Samdhimati-Aryaraaja, described as "the greatest of sages", who lived a life of poverty, suffered imprisonment for many years, and then "met his death at the stake", afterwards "coming to life again and in answer to the prayers of the people, ruled over Kashmir for forty years". He seems to have just faded out of the picture, since there is no mention of his final going and there is no suggestion that he might have been a mythical and not an historical individual.

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Some of the old books in the monastery library were in rolls and written by hand, others, more recent, had been printed on paper which is made there and called *par-shog*; the leaves, which are about four inches wide, are not uniform in length, some are a foot, others eight or ten inches long, they are folded and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

• 174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Botis must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subterranean tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are occasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

Chapter II. History.

175

After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála.

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History of Láhaul.

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes :—

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"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

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* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 Chapter II. History. [173] History of Láhaul.

whole of Láhaul became tributary to the Rája of Chamba, and that the part now forming British Láhaul was subsequently transferred from Chamba to Kúlu. I have remarked points in one or two Láhaul traditions which support this view, and would agree with the account given by the present representative of the Kúlu Rája's family according to which his ancestor in the seventh generation, Rája Bidhi Singh, acquired Láhaul from Chamba. There is no reason, I think, to doubt the correctness of the account as to time, and it fixes the date of the first acquisition of British Láhaul by Kúlu at about 200 years ago. The Rájas of Chamba must have conquered the country before A.D. 1600, or Chovang Námgyál would have annexed it to Ladákh, but they must have governed through the *thákurs* and interfered very little, or there would be clearer traces of their seventy or eighty years' rule in the Láhaul traditions. As I have said before, I believe the Kúlu Rája's account to be correct as to time; but the explanation given in it, that Bidhi Singh got Láhaul as dower with a princess of the Chamba family, is generally discredited as a boastful attempt to increase the honour of the family by the invention of an alliance to which the Rája of Chamba would never have condescended. Moreover, it seems quite opposed to all custom for a Hindú Rája to give territory as dower with a daughter, and the story is not told by the people, who, if asked, say that they imagine Láhaul must have been forcibly annexed. No doubt that was the case, and from that time the history of Láhaul is included in that of the Kúlu principality. Budh or Bidhi Singh was son of Rája Jaggat Singh, who was a contemporary of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzíb, and the date of the acquisition may therefore be placed approximately at 1700 A.D."

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It would appear, however, that subsequently to this the Láhaulis continued to pay a small annual tribute to Ladákh, probably to avert forays and to keep the roads open for trade. Indeed the Láhaulis, without orders, continued to pay this tribute to the governor at Léh up to 1862, when our Government, being informed of the fact, prohibited its payment in future. Moorcroft says in his travels that four villages in Láhaul in his time (A. D. 1820) paid revenue to the Giálpo of Ladákh, though they acknowledged military fealty to the Rája of Kúlu. He mentions that Thákur Dharam Singh, of Keylang, was then the officer in charge of the country, and was treated with profound respect by the people. Mr. Lyall says:—"This I can well believe, as I have never seen deeper respect shown anywhere to any one than was shown to his son *thákur* Tárá Chand, the late *wazír*, by the Láhaulis when I first knew them." Láhaul passed under British rule in 1846, together with Kúlu to which it was subject.

174 History of Spiti.

After the first formation of the kingdom of Ladákh, Spiti appears to have now and again been separated from it for a time, and attached to some other short-lived Tibetan principality, or to the country governed from Lhásá itself. It was perhaps independent for a time, as it is mentioned in the records procured from the *lámás* by General Cunningham as conquered by Singhi Námgyál, king of Ladákh, in about A.D. 1630, and, allotted by him, with Zánskár, to his third son, Tenchog, in about A. D. 1660. Soon after, it was incorporated in the Guge principality, which lay to the east, in what is now Chinese Tibet, and was not restored to Ladákh till about A. D. 1720, when the king of Ladákh, at the conclusion of a war with Guge and Lhásá, married the daughter of the Lhásá com-

[Petty barons --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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History of Spiti. [36]

mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpón* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wazír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gatpos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpón*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by foraya. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Cháng Tháng, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wazír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

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1 [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhodtens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *mání* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om mání padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *mánis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *mání* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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In the time when the *Lung pachhoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

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"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

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"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

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7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 174

The Dard question of West-Tibet. Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

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(2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(*a*) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis beamphelpa.

(*b*) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa aNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

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(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni
Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni
Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངལ་ཆགས་ཞིག་ལ་ལྷ་ཡ་ཞུ།
ངན་ཐུ་ཡོ་ཆ་ལ་ལྷ་ཡ་ཞུ།
ངན་ཐ་ཞིག་ལ་ལྷ་ཡ་ཞུ།།

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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to prove that the whole of Lower Ladakh was Dard before the Tibetan conquest, and I hope that in the next Census special attention will be paid to the *pha-spun*ships. The only colony, which has remained entirely Dard to the present day, is the colony of Da and its neighbourhood. The Dards of Dras are not Dard colonists apparently, but have always been in direct connection with the Dard population of Gilgit.

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Now I shall repeat once more that it is interesting to note that the most archaic type of Tibetan pronunciation is found in territories where Tibetan was a foreign language for a long time.

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From my limited knowledge of languages I may add two parallels: In Hanover where one of the purest Teutonic tribes is found in Germany, the development of the German language has been more rapid than in the southern mountainous districts, for instance, in Tirol or Styria, where there used to be a Celtic and Slav population before the advent of the Germans. The language of the Slav tribe of the Wends, between Berlin and Bautzen is in certain respects one of the most archaic Slav languages living. It is one of those few living Aryan languages which still make use of the Dual; and the Wends have been largely mixed with Germans.

On the other hand, I can give two examples, which would prove the contrary. French is one of the most advanced types of Roman speech (in the garb of its modern pronunciation); but here the Roman language was accepted by an originally Celtic population.—Hebrew is a far more advanced type of Semitic speech than Arabic, and yet the Jews were settlers among a partially non-Semitic population.

Thus apparently geographical and other questions will have to be taken into consideration; but it would certainly be an interesting task to examine those conditions which work for a speedy or a slow development not only of the Tibetan language, but of languages in general.

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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Notes on the Tibetan Text.

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om khrashispar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally: it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Késar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean:— 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthsa*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Késar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thsa* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thsathsa*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs beams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.

1. phuru yar ysigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

[Cf pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

[Cf pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II

The Past Story of Ladak

A VERY cursory glance at the country suffices to show how ancient their civilization must be. Almost every village has its ruins of castle or fort or monastery, perched up on the rocky hillside in apparently inaccessible positions, and in most places will be found the village bard who can recount strange tales of long ago, often breaking out into song in the course of his narrative. But there are many written records, too, for the Buddhist lamas have inscribed the happenings of olden times with golden ink on beautifully polished black paper (in fairy-land surely all records are kept in gold !), and Kings have acquired much merit for themselves by building long prayer walls, and much gratitude from the student of historical research by inserting a tablet of stone on which the name of the builder and certain valuable bits of historical information are engraved. By the laborious study of such records Dr. Francke, the modern historian of Western Tibet, has been able to piece together a connected, albeit fragmentary history of the country. A brief glance at this will give us the historical background necessary for the understanding of present conditions in Ladak.

The first mention of the country seems to have been made by Herodotus, who describes a land of wonderful ants, who in burrowing out their homes in the earth threw up gold. These ants were said to be nearly as large as dogs, and still more ferocious, with a keen sense of smell and great fleetness of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

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[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have [771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism [797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

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actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *lhamo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on conjecture and turn to that founded on written records either inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been disinherited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger brother had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, managed to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a heavy hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

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ordinary walk, twirling their prayer-wheels and mumbling 796
their *Om mani's* as they go. Strange pathetic little humans 788
they are, set in a vast panorama of snow-covered mountains with giant peaks soaring up into the silences of the clear blue sky, and often in this frosty winter time tramping out their tiny track on a universal white mantle of snow. Then, too, above the temple which houses the "Byamspa" and on the same Tsemo, is another with three other deities. Round this is a most shockingly rickety verandah, which looks as if it might tumble down at the slightest provocation, and no doubt will do so some day. I myself have walked round this in fear and trembling, but now there is a column of men and women, one close on the heels of the other, and round and round the temple they walk, some turning prayer-wheels, and others saying the *Om mani.* Round and round they go until we feel giddy watching them. Even from below, right down in Leh, they can be seen circulating round their giddy parapet.

We now come to Spring, when everything is breaking out 796
into fresh life. At this season the lamas of Sankar remain in 792
their monastery for a whole month, during which special services are held. By this isolation they are deterred from taking life through stepping on insects as they pass along the roads. It is during this time that the service of making 796
"*Chos spun*" is performed, which actually means the "making 608
of the brethren of the religion." Those wishing to join this fraternity fast one whole day, during which they are not allowed to swallow even their own saliva. Then each man throws into a receptacle some personal belonging. The officiating priest takes these out in twos, thus making their owners spiritual brethren, after which ceremony, if one of them makes a feast, he must invite his brother, or if there is a festival, they must send one another presents.

A moveable ceremony is the celebration of the Buddhists' 796
High Mass. Its general likeness to our Christian service 174
makes one wonder whether Tibetan Buddhism did not get its

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 ritual from Catholic missionaries, who formerly passed through
174 Tibet or were working on the Chinese border of this now closed land. The rosary, the ecclesiastical vestments and mitred hats are also very suggestive of this. Their own
773 explanation can be found in the following story. Raschung, the disciple of the great saint and singer, Milaraspa, was told by his master to fast for seven days, after which he was to go to the bazar where he would meet a Yogi of the name of Tipu, whom he would recognize by the fact that his face was blue, and his conjunctivæ red. He also would be wearing the skin of a striped antelope, and would be holding his trumpet up towards heaven and blowing it. Having found and identified him, Tipu prophesied to Raschung that he would die in fourteen days. When Raschung returned to Milaraspa with this sad news, his master informed him that he had sent him to Tipu as he was aware of this fact, but that if he fasted another week and then went to the goddess "*Ma chig grube rgyalmo*," she might be prevailed upon to prolong his life. Having followed out these instructions, the goddess inquired from him how much longer he wished to live. He answered "Until I myself feel I wish to die." She granted his request, handing to him the secret of the mystical rites of prolonging life. He lived just as long again, and then departed from this existence when he was eighty-eight years, and at the same age as his master, Milaraspa, died. It is said that these rites have been handed down since then by a regular episcopal succession, the names of those succeeding being actually given.

796 The auspicious day having been decided on by the *Onpo*,
793 there is to be a celebration in the compound next to our house, so we will go to watch it. Along the length of the private dwelling, which was built recently with a view to religious ceremonies taking place there, runs a verandah raised about five feet above the court-yard in front. In the centre sits the *Skushog* on cushions behind a low ornamented table, on which

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789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[782] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal house-
535 hold. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 man holding a ruby, which it wishes to devour. It is formed
527 by a masked leader, from whom long coloured strips of thin
536 cloth pass backwards over other men, who hold up lighted Chinese lanterns on sticks inside it, all their feet representing the dragon's legs. It certainly looks fantastic enough, with its illuminated sinuous snake-like outline darting to and fro in the darkness.

These plays are varied with dances, such as a torch dance, of Indian origin, in which a bare-footed man rushes about twirling a long torch lighted at each end, getting more and more furious as the burning ends approach his body, and the drums beat faster. Of sword dances there are two or three varieties; a slow quiet rhythmical one by a Balti with one sword only; one by a Pathan, lithe and rapid, with a sword in each hand; another slower one, when a Ladaki wields two swords, while in a fourth, two Pathan dancers, each with sword and shield, approach from opposite corners, and engage in mock fight.
● 174 This dance has come down from old Ladaki times, when our
536 peaceful Tibetans here more resembled their Pathan neighbours, and were probably more fierce and warlike in their mountain fastnesses.

527 Another amusing scene which is usually played on these
536 occasions is the representation of a Kashmiri pundit, who is a settlement officer, and goes round the countryside measuring fields and assessing taxes. He and his underlings are caricatured with floured faces, and good humoured fun made of their bribing methods.

But, perhaps the masterpiece and certainly the most amusing item of the show comes on towards the end, called "The Amban and the Boat." The Amban is a Chinese official on tour, who enters the scene of operations with his staff, and engages in his judicial duties. Then a messenger arrives and presents him with a red paper, informing him that his wife is coming to meet him. The lady is seen in the distance advancing towards her lord in a rickety boat over a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXIII

Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

A DESCRIPTION of life in Ladak could not be complete without an account of one of the great annual festivals held in the monasteries in the valley, such as the *Gustor* (the offering on the ninth) at Trigtse and at Spitug, or the *Ghanggoni Thsedrup* (the fulfilment of life on the blue hill) at Peang, all of which take place in the winter, whilst the *Thseshu* is held at Hemis in the summer. The last is the most important, its chief feature being the presentation of the famous so-called "mystery play." The festival, as its name indicates, is held on the tenth day of the fifth Buddhist month, which is the birthday of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, and still the presiding genius of the red sect. According to records in Sikkim, he was a magician who came north in the seventh century, and convinced the lamas of Tibet that he was sent as an incarnation of the Buddha. But into the pure Buddhism, he introduces the old *Bon Chos* with its devil-worship, and encouraged the most sensual practices, also the eating of meat and drinking of wine, asserting that over-indulgence in all these passions would lead to a state of high trance. Strangely enough, when we were waiting in the ante-room on a visit to the *Skushog*, this sentiment was exactly borne out by a Ladaki, who was participating in the native beer and already in rather an expansive mood. To our remark that it was not right to get drunk and lose control of mind and body, he replied that it was good, for the soul then became happy and blessed.

WT 838 181 595 But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT 779 595 174 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti 595 341 WT 341 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a [109] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchamadoong,* which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchamadoong,* they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

Ti 595 587 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

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stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but [101] Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emigrants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races inter- [144] mingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

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I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. The earliest authentic notices of Ladák scarcely reach so far back as the beginning of the Christian era. In A.D. 399-400, when the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian,* Hoeï-King, and others, reached *Yu-thian* (or Kotan), the former determined to remain behind for some time to witness the procession of images, while Hoeï-King proceeded in advance to *Kie-chha.* After the procession had taken place, Fa-Hian travelled by *Tsu-ho* and *Yu-hoeï*, and over the *Tsung-Ling* mountains southward to *Kie-chha*, where he rejoined Hoeï-King. On those mountains, which were one month's journey in breadth, the snow, it is said, never melted, and the natives of the country were known by the name of "men of the snowy mountains." From *Kie-chha* the pilgrims proceeded westward to *Tho-ly*, which they reached in one month. From this account, it appears to me that there can be no doubt of the identity of the ancient *Kie-chha* with the modern Ladák. 101 175

2. To reach Ladák from Kotan there were two roads open to the pilgrims, the western by Kukeyar and the southern by Ruthog (or Rudok). By either route the 487 175

* See the *Fo-kue-ki*, by Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, or the Translation by Laidlay.

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487 travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li
101 (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear
175 that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From
[133] Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over
[131] the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardu districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

101 3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem
175 to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák.
[778] *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

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778 175 101 Now, one of these relics (the alms-dish) still exists in a temple to the north of Lé. It is a large earthenware vase, similar in shape to the two largest steatite vases extracted from the Bhilsa Topes.* But Ladák also possessed a tooth of Buddha, which was formerly enshrined at Lé in a *dung-ten*, or solid mound of masonry similar to the Topes of Bhilsa and of Afghanistan. The *dung-ten* still exists, though ruinous: but the holy tooth is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher, of Balti, upwards of 200 years ago, when Ladák was invaded and plundered by the Musalmáns of the west, who, most probably, threw the much-prized relic contemptuously into the Indus. At any rate, it has never since been heard of.

101 131 175 4. Lastly, the name of *Kie-chha*, and the designation of the people as "men of the snowy mountains," both point unmistakably to Ladák, which is still known as *Kha-pa-chan*, or *Kha-chan*, "abounding in snow," or Snow-land, and the people as *Kha-pa-chan-pa*, or *Kha-chan-pa*, "men of the snowy land."†

5. In the *Cesi* of Pliny, and in the *A-khassa regio* of Ptolemy, I believe that we have the earliest mention of Ladák. Of the former Pliny‡ says, "hos includit Indus montium coronâ circumdatos et solitudinibus." This description is literally true of the people of *Kha-pa-chan*, or Snow-land, whose whole country lies along

* By Lieutenant Maisey and myself. See my account of the opening and examination of "The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India," printed for Smith, Elder, & Co. (1853).

† *Kha*, or *Kha-pa*, is "snow," and *chan* means "full." Perhaps Náser-ud-din *Kabáchah*, who reigned in Multan and Sindh, and afterwards disputed the empire of India with Altanish, was a Ladáki. Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* is no doubt *Kha-chan-yul*, "Snow-land," or Ladák.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. c. 20.

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101 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it
131 is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains.
● 175 The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is
175 made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

177 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that
212 interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.
† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

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of the Kashmirian characters, which remain unchanged to this day.* 177 212

8. In the beginning of the eleventh century Palgyi-gon occupied Ladák, and Tashi-Degon took possession of Purang.† In A.D. 1314, Rinchana Bhoti invaded Kashmir.‡ As he entered the valley by Gagangir, on the Sindh river, he must have advanced through Drás, one of the districts of Ladák. It is probable, therefore, that he was the ruler of Ladák. At that time Kashmir had been invaded by an army of 60,000 horse, under the command of Dallach, the minister of a neighbouring chief, named Karma Sena. The invaders advanced to the capital, which, being deserted by the Raja Sena Deva, was plundered and burned. Dallach continued his devastations to the eastern end of the valley, and retired by the Pass of Tár-bal.§ Numbers of the Kashmiris then waited upon Rinchana, who was emboldened to advance against the troops of the Raja Sena Deva. The raja fled; the Bhotiyan chief was victorious, and assumed the sovereignty of the country. He strengthened himself by marrying the daughter of Rama Chandra, the general of Sena Deva; and reigned for three years, from A.D. 1315 to 1318, the undisputed master of Kashmir. 175

9. Half a century before this time the celebrated Marco Polo had visited the court of the great Kublai, Emperor of China. He had sojourned in the hills of Badakshán for the sake of his health; and he describes the countries of Wakham, Pamer, Bolor, and Kashmir.

* Csoma de Körös, Tibetan Grammar, p. 178.

† Csoma, in Prinsep's useful tables, p. 131. The names are written *dPal-gyi-mGon* and *bKra-shis-lDe-mGon*.

‡ Raja Tarangini. § That is, the "Tar-hill" in Kashmiri.

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175 By some it has been supposed that he must have entered Tibet; but the wonderful account which he gives of the people proves that his information could only have been obtained by hearsay. Indeed, notwithstanding the early and wide-spread fame of Prester John, there is no authentic record that Tibet had been visited by any European prior to the seventeenth century.

797 10. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 175 when the Jesuits and Capuchins possessed several monasteries in Lhasa, a considerable number of missionaries must have resided for many years in Tibet; and yet no more than two of these religious fraternities have left any record of their travels and observations behind them.

11. The first of these is Le Père Hippolyte Desideri,* who travelled for six months, between August 1715 and March 1716, through the greater part of the country, from Ladák through Ruthog to Lhasa. Of his travels, the only account that I have seen is that which was published by Klaproth. It is a concise, but very useful geographical account.

12. The second is Frà Franciso Orazio della Penna di Billi, a Capuchin, who travelled to Lhasa in 1730, and resided for some years in the monastery of his order in that city. His account is exceedingly valuable, notwithstanding his prosy repetitions.† He was a man of observation, and his account of the Buddhist religion, as practised in Tibet, is full and accurate.

175 13. In A.D. 1774 George Bogle‡ was deputed to

* Nouveau Journal Asiatique, tom. viii. pp. 117—121, by the celebrated Klaproth.

† Nouveau Journal Asiatique, tom. xiv.

‡ See the Preface to Turner's Tibet, pp. xiv—xvi.

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Tibet by Warren Hastings. The Dalai Lama,* or Grand Lama of Lhasa, was then in his minority, and the country was ruled by the Tashi Lama of Tashi Lhunpo. No account of this mission has been preserved, which is the more to be regretted as Bogle would seem to have been a man of superior intelligence. 175

14. In A.D. 1783 a second mission was despatched by Warren Hastings to Tibet. Captain Turner, the head of the mission, succeeded in reaching Tashi Lhunpo, but he was prevented from going to Lhasa "by a consideration of the present state of that government,"† as the *Gyat sub Rinpoche* "had usurped, even from the hands of the Dalai Lama, the greatest portion of his temporal power." The Regent of Tashi Lhunpo also dissuaded ‡ the envoy from making the attempt, for fear of offending the Chinese. Captain Turner's account of his embassy is the most curious and interesting work on Tibet that has yet appeared.

A Chinese work, called "Notice of the Provinces of Weï and Tsang," was written by *Ma-shao-yun*, the Commissary-General of the Chinese army, which was sent to expel the Gorkhas from Tibet in 1786.§ His account is short but interesting, especially in the notices of the various religious festivals. 175 113

The adventurous Moorcroft lived for two whole years in Ladák, from September 1820 to September 1822. His account of the country is marked by great shrewdness of observation, and by the most scrupulous accuracy. A more truthful chronicler than Moorcroft never lived. 175

* *Tu-lhi-b La-ma*, is the Dalai Lama of Europeans.

† Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet, by Capt. Samuel Turner. ‡ Turner's Tibet, 4to. p. 253.

§ Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, tom. iv. et vi.

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175 The Botis of Ladák, the Kahlon of Lé, the merchants of Kashmir, and the Rajah of Rajaore, all spoke to me of the English traveller with the highest respect.* As there has always been a suspicion of foul play in the manner of his death, the second of the following letters, addressed by Trebeck to Syad Muhammad Shah, is of considerable interest and importance, as it distinctly states that Moorcroft *died* at Andkhuï, *after some days' illness.*

000 Translation of a *parwánah* addressed by Moorcroft to Syad Muhammud Shah Kashmiri :—

" Your letter has arrived, and your faithful services have become known to us. The paper bearing the seals of the merchants and other friends at that place (Kábul), addressed to Muhammad Murád Beg, the ruler of Kunduz, which you forwarded, has been shown. Our escape has been effected, and we have started for Bokhára. Remain in Kábul until our return, and consider your salary fixed at the same rate as formerly. Take fifty pieces of gold from Khoda Baksh Khán, the merchant, for your expenses, and continue day and night to note whatever takes place. More is superfluous."

Syad Muhammad Shah was a young Kashmiri, who had accompanied Moorcroft from his native country to Kashmir. On the departure of the travellers for Balkh, he was discharged at his own request; but as he remained in Kábul, he was employed by them as a news-writer, and on the occasion of Moorcroft's deten-

* Burnes has recorded the estimation in which Moorcroft's memory was held by the people of Balkh; and I am happy to add here the testimony of Major Edwardes (A Year in the Panjab, i. 52) to the same effect. " I am glad to be able to contribute the smallest white pebble to poor Moorcroft's cairn; and cannot pass on without recording that my friend Swahn Khan spoke of him highly in every way."

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000 under the seals of Yár Muhammad Khán and Sultán Muhammad Khán. The original is now in my possession. In this certificate they state that, "when the *Sáhibs* arrived at Kúndúz, they got into trouble, and were relieved from their difficulties by the services of the Syad, who was then at Kábul, and that, in consequence of his zeal and devotion, the *Sáhibs* begged him to remain in Kábul until their return."

I obtained all these documents in original from the Syad himself, who, as a Shiah Musulmán, had sought and obtained service at the Shiah court of Lucknow.

● 175 648 Towards the end of the year 1834, the eccentric Dr. Henderson reached Lé, the capital of Ladák, disguised as a Musulmán, calling himself Ishmaïl Khan. His disguise was soon penetrated, but he was kindly treated by the Gyalpo, who at once saw, in the opportune arrival of a British officer, a possible means of averting the ultimate conquest of his kingdom. In August 1834, Ladák had been invaded by Zoráwar Sing, the local Governor of Káshtwár, under Raja Guláb Sing, of Jammu. At the time of Dr. Henderson's arrival at Lé, the invaders had taken possession of the western provinces of Suru and Drás, and had advanced into the valley of Paskyum. Henderson's presence immediately recalled to the Gyalpo's memory the offer which he had once before made, through Moorcroft, of allegiance to the British Government. The rulers of India had already snatched Sindh from the rough grasp of the Lion of Lahor, and the simple Tibetan vainly thought that they would be equally willing to save Ladák from the arms of his lieutenant. Dr. Henderson was therefore applied to; but as he had crossed the British frontier against the positive prohibition of his

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Government, and was now in Ladák when he ought to 175
have been in Calcutta, he was unwilling to make any 648
communication which would at once expose his violation of the orders of his Government. The draft of the original tender of allegiance which was forwarded by Moorcroft was shown to him; but his position prevented him from acting as Moorcroft had done. His refusal irritated the Gyalpo, and he was prevented from leaving Ladák without being actually imprisoned.* Meanwhile the people were informed that a British envoy had arrived, and that the invaders would speedily be obliged to depart. Zoráwar Sing immediately reported the circumstance to his master, Raja Guláb Sing, who applied to the Maharaja. Ranjit Sing at once "addressed the political agent at Ludiána to ascertain the meaning of such proceeding. The agent satisfied Ranjit Sing with an assurance that Dr. Henderson, the traveller, had passed the Sutlej in direct violation of the orders of his Government; and that there was not the slightest idea of interfering with Ranjit's plan of extending his conquests northwards. Zoráwar Sing, after this explanation, was desired to proceed with his operations;"† upon which Henderson was allowed to depart. In fact, he was detained so long as his presence was of service to the Gyalpo in delaying the loss of his kingdom.‡

Dr. Henderson was provided with instruments; and 175
as, according to Baron Hugel, he had some tact for

* My information agrees with Hugel's. The Baron obained his version from Henderson himself. I got mine from the Botis of Ladák, and the officers of Zoráwar Sing's force.

† Quoted from Hugel's Travels, p. 102.

‡ Vigne, vol. ii. p. 337, says that Henderson himself complained to Ranjit of his detention at Lé.

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175 observation, an account of his travels would have been particularly valuable. He was probably the first European who had ever visited *Skardo*, or Little Tibet. He took that route to avoid the invading army of Dogras, and succeeded in reaching Kashmir in November 1835. All his observations were lost, along with his baggage, on the road between Ladák and Kashmir.* In 1847, I made repeated inquiries for English books, or English writing, with the hope of recovering some of Henderson's notes, but all in vain.

Ladák was visited by Mr. Vigne shortly after *Moré-Tátsi* had been placed on the throne by Zoráwar Sing. From Balti he proceeded through Lé to the Nubra valley, and returned by the same route. His short stay in Ladák was unfortunate; for, owing to the mutual jealousy of himself and the Dogra authorities, he was deprived of all means of obtaining information. His notice of Ladák is therefore the least interesting part of his rambles in the Alpine Panjáb. His accounts of Kashmir and Balti are full of valuable information, which is half lost for want of arrangement.

Early in 1846, when the result of the first Sikh war had made Raja Guláb Sing the undisputed master of Ladák and its dependencies, and he had no longer to guard himself against the power of the Sikh chiefs, it seemed not improbable that the hope of plunder and the desire of revenge might tempt him to repeat the expe-
175 dition of 1841 into the Lhasan territory. Such an
459 occurrence would at once have stopped the importation of shawl wool into our territory, and have closed the

* Baron Hugel's Travels, pp. 129, 151. Henderson's servant reported that his baggage was lost in the snow in the *Naubak* Pass. I presume that the *Namyika* Pass is intended.

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whole of the petty commerce of our hill states with Tibet. It was possible also that our peaceful relations with the Chinese emperor might be considerably embarrassed by his Celestial Majesty's ignorance of any distinction between the rulers of India and the rulers of Kashmir. As it seemed desirable to prevent the chance of such an occurrence, the British Government determined to remove the most common cause of all disputes in the East,—an unsettled boundary. For this purpose two officers were deputed, in August 1846, to the Tibetan frontier of Ladák, to ascertain the ancient boundaries between the two countries, and to lay down the boundary between the British territories and those of Mahárája Guláb Sing. The settlement of this boundary was one of some importance to the hill states, and more especially to our new acquisition of Nurpur, which received all its shawl wool from the traders of the eastern hill states, and not from Kashmir. Immediately after the war, I had pointed out that, by giving up to Mahárája Guláb Sing the southern dependencies of Ladák, we had actually interposed a rival territory between our own provinces on the Sutluj and the shawl-wool districts of Cháng-Tháng. The southern boundary of Spiti was, in fact, not more than thirty miles from Rámpur, on the Sutluj. As the annual revenue of the Spiti district, derived from all sources, does not amount to more than seven hundred rupees, no difficulty was experienced in making an exchange of territory with Mahárája Guláb Sing, and Spiti was added to the British dominions.

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It then became necessary to define the northern boundary of Spiti, with the other districts of Ladák. The two commissioners deputed for this purpose were

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133 which it has borne for many centuries. In A.D. 632-40,
175 the Chinese pilgrim Hwan-Thsang mentions the district of *Pho-mi-lo*, or Pamer, which he makes 167 miles in length from west to east. To the south of Pamer he places *Po-lu-lo*, or Bolor, of which he says that the south-eastern part of the district is inhabited, and that the country produces much gold. Both these facts are true of the present Bolor or Balti; the higher mountains, moreover, abound in rock-crystal, which is consequently called the Belor-stone, or simply Belor. The transverse north and south range of mountains is called *Belut-Tágh*, or the "Cloudy Mountains;" and this name has,
175 I believe, been confounded with Bolor.* Marco Polo is the next who mentions Pamer and the neighbouring districts: I have two copies of his works before me, but they differ so much that I feel quite puzzled which to follow. After the mention of Pamer, the earlier copy has the following—"From hence, the way to Kathay leads for forty days' journey between the *east* and the north-east, through mountains, hills, and valleys, in which there are many rivers, but no villages, except that some huts and cottages are to be seen amongst the mountains. * * * * The country is called *Palow*." The other copy thus renders the above—"Leaving this place, he (the traveller) has to go on forty days between *north* and north-east, and passes many rivers and deserts; and in all this journey finds neither verdure nor habitation. This country is called Belor. The people live in very lofty mountains." In the later copy, the editor

* In speaking, the two T's in Belut-Tágh would coalesce, and the traveller, who knew that *Tágh* meant a mountain, would conclude that *Belu-Tagh* was the true name, which would at once be confounded with Belur-Tágh.

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(Hugh Murray) has apparently corrected the Palow of the /175 ●
older copy to agree with his own identification, and has moreover changed the direction from north-east by *east*, to north-east by *north*, perhaps with a view of bringing it nearer to the true bearing of Kashgár, which is the next place mentioned. Now it is evident from Hwan-Thsang's* statement, that the district of *Pa-lo-lo*, or Bolor, must, in his day, have extended to the north of the Kárákoram range, and that the northern portion from Sir-i-kol to Khafalun, was then, as now, almost uninhabited. This, therefore, in my opinion, is the country which Marco Polo describes.

The Kárákoram Pass was traversed by the Chinese /133X
pilgrim Fa-Hian, in A.D. 399.† He calls the range /103
Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains," a name which they /137
must have received from the number of wild leeks that grow upon them, and scent the air in all directions. They were found by Dr. Thomson on the elevated plateaux to the south of the pass. Mir Izzet Ullah no doubt alludes to the strong and unpleasant smell of these wild leeks, when he ascribes the headache and difficulty of breathing that are usually attendant on ascending great heights, to the *Esh*, which is a Turki word, signifying "smell."‡

The actual height of only one point in this range has /133X

* Fo-kwe-ki. Appendix. The situation of Belor to the *South* of the Kárákoram is also distinctly proved by the testimony of Abu Rihán, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi to India. Speaking of Kashmir he says, "La partie située au midi et à l'orient appartient aux Indiens, et la partie qui se trouve à l'occident dépend de plusieurs rois, dont *le plus proche* est Belor Shah," that is, the king of Balti.

† Fo-kwe-ki, c. iv.

‡ Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March, 1825, p. 113. The Gerards attributed their headaches to the same cause.

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VI.—ROADS, PASSES, BRIDGES.

I.—ROADS.

491 In Tibetan every road is called *Lam;* but the high-roads are distinguished by the name of *Lam-chhen*, or "Great Roads," and *Gya Lam*, or "Passable Roads."* The principal road is that between Kashmir and Yarkand; the next in importance is the road to Lhasa, viâ Garo, and the third is that which leads through Rukchu, Láhul, and Kullu, to the cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana. Some of the other roads, though not much frequented by merchants, are still deserving of notice, as they have on three different occasions been made use of by the conquerors of Ladák. About A.D. 1600, the Musalmans of Balti, under Ali Sher, invaded Ladák on the west by the valley of the Indus. In 1836, the Sokpos or Sacæ invaded it on the east by the Rudok road; and in 1834, the Hindus of Jammu, under Zorawar Sing, invaded it on the south by the route from Kashtwar into Suru. Moorcroft mentions another commercial line between India and Kotan,† "which was frequented in the time of Shah Jehan and closed by the Chinese subsequently to their acquisition of Kashgar."

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* *Lam*, a road; *Lam-chhen*, a great road; *bYa-lam*, a passable road.

† Transactions Royal Asiat. Soc., I. p. 55.

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X.—GOVERNMENT.

I.—NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.—VARIOUS OFFICERS.

THE government of Ladák was formerly a mild [642] despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo.* 643 The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the 645 prime minister, or *Kahlon;* and the king was well 175 satisfied both with his minister and with his subjects, if the former gave him sufficient means† for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure, and if the latter never disturbed his quiet ease with their complaints. The king literally 643 did nothing, except when roused to exertion by some 175 unusual occurrence. His subjects could behold his royal presence only by the presentation of an offering in money, according to their circumstances. But this was a costly pleasure; and the mental abstraction of the Buddhist prince was rarely disturbed by the curiosity, or loyal zeal, of his people. Occasionally an ambitious prince would arise, who (like Singhé Namgyal) retained the whole power in his own hands.

* The ruler was usually called *rGyal-po*, or the emperor; and the queen was called *rGyal-mo*, or the empress. In writing more formality was used, and the ruler was either entitled *rGyal-po-chen-po*, "the great emperor," or he was designated by his own name *Singgé-rNam-rGyal*, "King Singge."

† The prime minister was always the Gyalpo's treasurer, or keeper of the privy purse.

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645 the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power
175 of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the
[197] monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.

000 In Great Tibet the *Kahlons* of the four chief provinces of *Ngári*, *U*, *Tsáng*, and *Khám*, were elected by the civil power in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior *Kahlons*, and all other petty officers of state,
645 were elected by the four chief *Kahlons*. But in Ladák
634 the prime minister's office was almost hereditary; that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal *Kahlons*, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations. The Kahlon of Moorcroft's time was the Kahlon or petty Gyalpo of the Chimra valley; and the power remained in the hands of his family until the final settlement of Zoráwar Sing, at Lé.

622 Many of the principal nobility of Ladák were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a *Gyalpo* in Nubra; another in Gya; a third in Spiti; a fourth in Zanskar; a fifth in Paskyum; a sixth in Soth; a seventh in Suru; and an eighth in Hembabs, or Drás. The chiefs of Paskyum and of Soth distinguished themselves by their protracted resistance on the first invasion of Ladák by Zoráwar Sing.

645 The prime minister was simply styled *Kahlon*, or "the minister," or *Bangki-Kahlon*, "the chief minis-

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XII.—HISTORY.

I.—UNDER NATIVE RULERS.

175 642 "THE earlier history of Ladák is that of Tibet in general, as it originally formed one of the provinces of that kingdom, governed as to temporal matters by an independent prince, and in spiritual affairs by the Guru Lama, or chief pontiff of Lhása." Such was Moorcroft's opinion;* and such also is that of the present inhabitants: and there can be no reasonable doubt that such was the usual position of Ladák, although its political dependence was more nominal than real. Under vigorous rulers, such as Palgyi-Gon in the tenth century, and Singgé Namgyal in the seventeenth century, its entire independence was asserted and upheld. But the original dependence at some distant period is, I think, clearly proved by the acknowledged descent of the Ladáki princes from Khri-Tsaupo, the first recorded king of Great Tibet.

175 779 The earliest historical notice of Ladák is that of the Chinese pilgrim *Fa-Hian*, in A.D. 400.† At that time

* Travels, I. p. 336.

† *Fo-kwe-ki*. French translation by Remusat, &c., p. 26. *Fo-kwe-ki*. English translation by J. W. Laidlay, p. 27, note 1. This translation is enriched by many valuable notes, both geographical and religious. It should be in the possession of every one who takes any interest in the ancient history of India.

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the country had a king, and a numerous clergy, all of whom were strongly attached to the popular Buddhistical doctrine of the "*Lesser-advancement*," which consisted of outward observances, both moral and religious. The ceremonial of the *quinquennial assembly*, which was originally established by Asoka, about B.C. 250, was duly performed with much rude magnificence, and with becoming gravity. Buddhism was then the prevailing religion of Ladák; and there seems good reason to believe that it had been firmly rooted there for upwards of 400 years, since the first century before the Christian era, when the Buddhistical doctrines were first *widely* spread throughout Tibet by the preaching of 500 Kashmirian missionaries.* 175 779

In the tenth century, when the empire of Great Tibet was finally broken up, several of the outlying districts were separated by ambitious chiefs, and erected into independent kingdoms. Thus Purang was occupied by Tashi-Degon, and Ladák by Palgyi-Gon.† From that time down to the end of the sixteenth century, no historical records now exist in Ladák itself, although it is possible that a copy of the royal genealogy may yet be found at Lhása. Csoma de Körös was certainly misinformed regarding the existence of a book at Lé containing the "names of the kings that successively reigned in that principality."‡ For, during the invasion of Ladák in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Ali Mir, the Musulmán chief of Skardo, all 175 [798]

* Klaproth's Chinese Chronology, in Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 128. It was however first introduced about B.C. 240.

† Csoma de Körös, Kings of Tibet. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 131. See also Deguigne's Hist. des Huns, &c. tom. i. p. 165.

‡ Note appended to his list of Tibetan kings. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 132.

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175 [798] the temples and monasteries of the country are said to have been destroyed, and their libraries thrown into the Indus. To this cause the Lamas attribute the entire want of all historical documents prior to that time; and their only record accordingly begins with the conquest of the country by *Chovang-Namgyal*,* a descendant of *Khri-Tsampo*,† the first king of Tibet. No date is given: but as his brother's son was a contemporary of the emperor Jehángir, this conquest could not have taken place much earlier than A.D. 1600, or perhaps about 1580.

During my stay in Ladák I had a copy of the existing history of the country transcribed for me in the original Tibetan. The historical portion of this work is brief, as the greater part of the volume consists of the Lamaïc ideas of the cosmogony and theogony. When in Ladák I had the principal historical parts read and explained to me, of which I made notes at the time; and I had also an abstract prepared by a Munshi in Urdu. From these I have now arranged the only interesting parts of the history, extending over a century and a half, during which period Ladák was conquered three different times.

Chovang-Namgyal, a descendant of the ancient kings of Tibet, being expelled from Lhása, took refuge in Ladák, where he established himself about A.D. 1580. He afterwards extended his conquests into the neighbouring districts of *Changmarangi*, *Lodang*, *Purang*, *Gugé*, *Lhojumlang*, *Lungti*, *Shigar*, *and Khabkar*.‡ He

* *Chho-dVang-rNam-rGyal*, that is, king Chovang.

† *Khri-rTsam-po*, pronounced *Thi-Tsanpo* in Great Tibet.

‡ The names of these places are thus written in Tibetan: *Byang-dMa-rangis*, *bLo-dang*, *Bu-rang*, or *sPu-rangs*, *Lho-hJum-lang*, *Lung-ti*, *Shi-dKar*, *Khab-dKar*. Purang lies to the S.E. of Ladák, and Shigar

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then returned to the capital to make preparations for 175
the invasion of Yarkand by the Nubra road. On hearing of his intentions, the chief men of Nubra at once waited upon Chovang at Lé, to tender their submission, and a trustworthy officer was despatched to receive charge of the district. After this, Chovang 651
imposed a yearly tribute of one hundred golden *tillas** 176
upon the landlords of *Kukiwála*, and upon those of *Rudok* a yearly tribute of 207 golden *tillas*, besides one horse and ten unicorns.† He also levied a considerable sum from the neighbouring districts.

Having acquired a large sum of money by these 175
conquests, Chovang Namgyal resolved upon erecting an 778
image of Buddha, under the name of *Sankya-Bidung*, or the "replete with extreme holiness." When the image was finished, all the people assembled to make their offerings, and a great feast was celebrated upon the occasion. Some time afterwards, about A.D. 1600, when he was meditating the erection of other images, he was prevented by death, and having no children, he was succeeded by his brother.

The new king, named *Jámya Namgyal*,‡ upon his 175

to the N.W. of it. The ambitious Chovang therefore would seem to have aspired to the conquest of *Ngári*, and of *Balti*, as well as to that of Ladák. But the historian has most probably dignified some successful plundering expeditions with the name of conquests.

* A *tilla* is worth about six rupees. The proper name for the gold coin is *sir-jao*, or a golden *jao*.

† In the original, *bSe-ru*, an animal with one horn. Csoma de Kőrös calls it a kind of deer (see Dict. in voce). Klaproth has a long note upon this animal (see Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. vi. pp. 229, 230, 231). He states that Mr. B. H. Hodgson's *Chiru* of southern Tibet is the same as the *Seru*; of which I think there can be no doubt. Mr. Hodgson himself assigns the animal to the "open plains of N.E. Tibet," but he has published no description. See Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, IV. p. 522.

‡ *hJam-dVyangs*, "sweet harmony."

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●175 accession, received the usual offerings of submission from all the Ladákis, excepting only a petty chief of Purik who was in the interest of Ali Mir, the Gyalpo of Balti. Chovang Malig, the head chief of Purik and the elder brother of the rebel, applied to Jámya for a small force to coerce the refractory chief. The king assented and accompanied his troops to the Purik district, where they were suddenly overtaken by a violent snowstorm. The royal troops were dispersed; and the king and many of his principal followers were taken prisoners by the rebel and sent to Skardo,* where they were confined. The remainder of the troops were permitted to return to Ladák.

175 798 Ali Mir, the ruler of Skardo, taking advantage of the helpless state of the country, immediately marched upon Lé with a large force, and took possession of the whole of Ladák.† The temples and monasteries were burned;‡ the images of Buddha and of his various personified emanations were destroyed by the bigoted Mahomedans; and all the religious and historical books were thrown into the Indus. The conquest was complete; and arrangements having been made for the future government of Ladák, Ali Mir marched back to Skardo.

175 Shortly after his return, the conqueror released Jámya, the imprisoned Gyalpo of Ladák, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. No reason is assigned for

* *Skar-mDo*, pronounced *Skardo*, "the starry place," or "starry fort."

† This conquest is also recorded in Vigne's brief historical notice of Balti (Kashmir, II. p. 253); but the chief of Skardo is there called Ali Sher, and not Ali Mir. Ali Sher is the true name, as all the petty chiefs of the Balti district claim their descent from him.

342 ‡ The buildings in Ladák are readily burned down, as all the walls are bonded together with timber, which in so dry a climate is readily ignited.

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a proceeding so foreign to the usual tyrannical bigotry of a Musalmán. It is probable that Ali Mir, finding it difficult to retain Ladák as a permanent province of his kingdom, thought it more politic to secure by a display of apparent generosity, even the lukewarm friendship of the king of Ladák, than to encounter the active hostility of a whole people. 175

Jámya's return was hailed with joy by his people, who all hastened to present their offerings of submission and congratulation, and to beg that he would restore the temples and images of Buddha, and procure new copies of their sacred books from Lhása. All this he was able to effect by his prudent management, as well as to extend the boundary of his dominions to *Tanchi*.

By the Baltian princess, Jámya had two sons, named *Singgé Namgyal* and *Norbu Namgyal*. The former was married to the daughter of *Chovang Gyalmo*,* who bore him two sons, named *Navang Namgyal* and *Tanjin Namgyal*. On this occasion the king sent a costly present of money, gold, silver, pearls, and coral to the temple of *Joborinché*, at *Brakpipulka*,† near *Lhása*. He also ordered to be copied in letters of gold, silver, and copper, the two books called *Gyatokisangsum*,‡ after which he is said to have died of grief or chagrin upon learning that two temples of Buddha still remained

* *rGyal-mo*, a "queen." She must have been one of the petty princesses of the country.

† *hBrag-p,hi-sbrul-ku*, pronounced *Brakpipulka*. The neighbourhood of Lhása is literally a vast suburb of temples. The names of many are given by Father Hyacinthe in his translation from the Chinese, but I can find no mention of *Joborinché*. See Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. iv. pp. 294-5-6.

‡ *rGya-tog-gSeng-gSum*, the "three secrets of *Gyatok*." The lamas read "*two*" to me; but as *gSúm* means "*three*," there are probably three books of this name.

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●175 unfinished. His reign probably extended from A.D. 1600 to 1620.

Jámya was succeeded by his eldest son *Singgé Namgyal*, who, feeling emulous of the military fame of his uncle *Chovang*, began his reign by conducting an expedition into the districts of *Gugé*, *Kiprok*, and *Tipichangyap*, from which he carried off many cattle and other property of the zamindars. During his reign
175 a monk, named *Staktshang-Raspa*, who had travelled
778 through *Gyagarnag*, *Urgyan*, and *Kháché*,* arrived at the village of *Tamosgang*,† in Ladák, where he made and consecrated an image of Chamba.‡ To this image he attached five monks for the performance of daily service, and having seen the complete establishment of the worship, he gave away in alms all that he possessed and departed.

175 After this Ahmed Khán, the chief of Balti, with the assistance of Jehángir Shah, invaded Ladák with a very large force; but *Singgé Namgyal* having collected his own troops to oppose them,§ the invaders were defeated

103 * *rGya-gar-nag*, literally the "white and black plains," that is, India and China. *U-rgyan*, the country of mixed races, perhaps the Indo-Persian district of *Udyána*, and the valley of the Kábul river. *Kháchhe*, Kashmir.

† *gTang-mo-sgang*, on the right bank of the Indus below Lé. It is now the most populous village in Ladák.

‡ *Byams-pa*, pronounced *Chamba*, the "Clement." This saint is now very popular in Ladák. He is the future Buddha, MAITREYA.

§ Jehángir reigned from A.D. 1605 to 1628. The defeat of the Baltis may therefore be placed about A.D. 1625. This defeat is confirmed by the chronicles of Skardo, which (according to Vigne, *Kashmir*, II. p. 253) refer the loss of Ladák to the reign of Ahmed Khan, the son of Ali Sher. The subsequent invasion of the Lhásan territory probably took place in 1630. It is at least certain that these events could not have occurred later than 1630–1635, because in 1640 the celebrated and

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with great slaughter at *Kharbu*.* After this victory the king returned to his capital, and then proceeded at once against the people of *Gugé*, *Chaprang*, and *Lomostang*, who had taken advantage of the Muhammadan invasion to rebel against the authority of Ladák. They were quickly reduced by the active Singgé, and at the same time he took the opportunity of adding the neighbouring district of Rudok to his kingdom. Flushed with success, Singgé Namgyal next determined to attack Lhása itself; but when he had advanced as far as *Sri Kirkir*,† he was met by a deputation from the people of the country, headed by *Deba-Changpa*, with several mule-loads of gold, silver, tea, and other articles as a peace-offering. On receipt of this present, Singgé Namgyal consented to evacuate the Lhásan territory. Accordingly he fell back to Lomostang,‡ and afterwards took possession of the districts of *Purang*, *Gugé*, *Zanskar*, *Spiti*, *Purik*, *Mangyumla*, *Sedakh*, and *Shakyamcho*.§

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ambitious Grand Lama *Nawang-Lozang* had conquered the whole of Tibet.

* *Khar-bu*. There are two places of this name in Ladák, the larger of which is situated on the left bank of the Kanji river. The other stands on the right bank of the Drás river. The battle must have been fought at the former place, because it is on the high road from Balti to Lé, whereas the Kharbu of Drás is out of the way.

† *Shi-ri-Kyir-kyir*. This means a "winding or whirling stream," and is probably the river *Sekor* of our maps, which joins the *Tsangpo* about half-way between Lé and Lhása. *Kyir-kyir*, "circular," is evidently the same word as the Latin *circulus*, and the Greek κυκλος.

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‡ This is probably the Stang of our maps on the right bank of the Sutluj, and on the high road between Spiti and Garo.

§ *Purang*, a district of Ngári to the west and south of the Mánasarovar lake, and the *Pruang* of Capt. H. Strachey's map. *Gu-gé* is also a district of *Ngári* to the west of *Purang*; its chief places are Chaprang and Toling. The districts of Zanskar and Spiti are well known. *Pu-rig* lies upon the Kanji and Waká rivers, to the eastward of Suru; its chief places are Kharbu and Paskyum. *Mang-yum-la* is certainly the district

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● 175 Singgé Namgyal had three sons, named *Deldan Namgyal*, *Indra Namgyal*, and *Tenchhog Namgyal*, amongst whom, by the advice of the lama *Thunshak*,* he divided his dominions. To Deldan he gave *Ladák*, *Purik*, *Rudok*, and *Mangyum*, as far as *Dáh*, on the Indus; to Indra he gave the district of *Gugé*; and to Tenchhog he gave *Spiti* and *Zanskar*. By this division of his territories the province of Ngári was finally alienated from Ladák, and was soon after lost by the family of Indra Namgyal to the Lhásan authorities.† Singgé Namgyal reigned from about A.D. 1620 to 1670.

Singgé Namgyal was succeeded by his son Deldan Namgyal in the government of Ladák, Rudok, and the

of Katakshe or *Mang-khar*, on the Indus, which still includes the large village of *Dah*. Katakshe usually belonged to Balti. *Sed-kha* and *Shag-kyar-r Gyam-chho* are unknown to me.

* *Thun-shags*; in Sanskrit *Amogha Siddha*.

† It is to this petty state that Moorcroft alludes when he says that "Chanthan was formerly subject to independent princes, but their authority gradually merged into the supremacy of the chief pontiff at Lhása." (Travels, I. p. 364.) According to the information obtained by my brother, Capt. J. D. Cunningham (see Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 231), it would appear that the Gyalpo of Gugé was killed in a war with the Ladákis. The invaders were however expelled by a force from Lhása, which the last chief had asked for, and the Lhásan authorities afterwards retained the province in their own hands. A treaty was then formed with the ruler of Ladák, who married the daughter of the Lhásan commander, and received the district of Spiti as the bride's dowry. This is stated to have taken place about the beginning of the last century, or about A.D. 1720, that is, some fifty or sixty years after the division of his territories by Singgé Namgyal, and the foundation of the principality of Gugé by his son Indra Namgyal. As the district of Spiti is said to have belonged to Gugé, the family of Then-chhog Namgyal must have been dispossessed by that of Indra Namgyal some time beforehand. According to the above account also, the Spiti district must have been alienated from the kingdom of Ladák from about A.D. 1660 to 1720, when it was reconquered by the Ladáki ruler Delek Namgyal.

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western districts of Purik, Suru, and Hembabs. He 175
began his reign with a display of great zeal in the cause of religion by constructing a large image of gold and silver in the village of Shé.* He also built a lofty tomb with a pinnacle of gold and silver, to the memory of his father, and constructed a wall around the monument of his mother. He erected temples at Zanskar, 778
Pushbuz, and Tumnuz, each at a cost of Rs. 10,000. In the fort of Lé, also, he set up an image of Chandra,† and appointed several priests for the performance of daily worship. In the same place too he consecrated a silver image of Chanrazik, the god of the dead.‡

The appointment of *Shakya-gya-cho* to the post of 175
chief minister having produced a revolt in the district of Purik, the minister with a large force marched in person to Kharbu, where, having seized the principal officers, he returned to Lé and imprisoned them in the fort of Hemis. About a year afterwards the people of Chigtan, Shako, and Sôd,§ rebelled against the government. The minister was again despatched to quell the disturbance, which he effected without any difficulty; and *Thai Sultán*, the author of the rebellion, being

* This image, which still exists at Shé, has now lost all its gilding. It is a colossal copper figure of *Shakya Thubba*, or Shakya in a *squatting* posture. *Shé* is on the right bank of the Indus, a few miles above Lé.

† *lCham-hdré*. Moorcroft calls this image by the name of *Chamba* (*Byams-pa*, the "Clement"), but his description of it differs somewhat from the paintings of Chamba which I possess. (See Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 343.)

‡ *Spyan-ras-rigs*, pronounced *Chan-razik*. It is equivalent to the Sanscrit *Avalokita* or *Avalokiteswara*, the "seen." This image is also described by Moorcroft, and most accurately (I. p. 342).

§ *Chigtan*, *Sha-rkar* or *Shako*, in the Suru valley. *Sôd*, near Paskyum in Purik.

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●175 seized at the village of Karchu,* was sent as a prisoner to Lé.

After this the minister with a large army invaded the district of Khapalor, one of the dependencies of Balti. On his way he took possession of the district of Chhorbat; and at Thorchekhar, near Khapolor, he received the submission of Hatim Khán, Sultán Khán, and Ali Khán, the chiefs of the district.† But the chiefs of Karchu and Balti having obtained aid from the Mahomedan governor of Kashmir, advanced against the invaders, whom they encountered at Sariru.‡ The Ladákis, under their leader *Parak Namgyal*, gained a signal victory; the Kashmiris having lost many of their officers as well as their colours and drums. In consequence of this victory, the chiefs of Karchu and Balti tendered their submission, and became tributary to Ladák.

But this success was shortly followed by an alarming invasion of Sokpos.§ Under their leaders, named *Galdan Chobar Jongar* and *Lobzang Sherab*,‖ these marauders routed the Ladáki troops at *Dalang-*

* This place is the chief town of the Suru district. It is the same as Moorcroft's Lang-kartsé.

† *Kha-po-lor* and *hChhor-hBad* are both upon the Sháyak river, and were both dependencies of Balti until the Dogra conquest in 1840. *Tho-rche-mKhar* is perhaps the *Hajacha* of Vigne's map, which lies immediately to the eastward of Khapolor. Hatim Khan was the chief of Pargutu, and Ali Khan of Keris.

‡ *Sa-ri-ru*, position unknown.

§ *Sog-po*, the people of the *Sog* tribe. They are the *Sákas* of the Hindus, the Σακαι and Σαγαραυκαι of the Greeks, and the *Mogals* of the present day, who, under the celebrated Janghez Khan, only a few centuries ago, spread terror throughout Europe. Their country is called *Sog-yul*, and also *Li-yul*, or Brass-land.

‖ *dGah-ldan-Chho-dBar*, with the affix of *hJong-hGar*. The name of the other leader was *bLo-bzang-She-rab*.

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Kharmar, and pursued them as far as *Lung-Khung*; but being afterwards worsted by the Ladákis, they retired to their own country. In the following year, however, they again invaded Ladák, and having again defeated the Gyalpo's troops, at *Balaskya*, they took possession of the village of *Chang-la*.* Here they were joined by the people of Gugé, and having advanced as far as Sakti, near the pass of Chang-la, they halted while the Ladáki troops retreated upon Lé. This took place in the year of *Chhumo-phag-lo*, or the "water-hog," the sixtieth year of the Tibetan cycle, equivalent to A.D. 1685-86.

After this the Sokpos took possession of the whole country as far as Nyimo,† excepting only the forts of Tashigang, Baku, and Chimra.‡ Having failed in an attempt upon the fort of Tumnuz, they encamped at Bazgo,§ where they halted for six months. During that time repeated skirmishes took place between the two armies; and the Sokpo chief, Galdan Jongar, tried in vain to destroy a bridge by throwing stones upon it. These events occurred in the year of *Shingpho-byi-lo*,‖

* *Byang-la*, pronounced *Chang-la*. From this and the following mention of the village of Sakti, it appears that the Sokpos invaded Ladák from the side of Ruthog (or Rudok) by the Chang-la pass. The Sakti fort was in fact dismantled by the Sokpos. (See Moorcroft, I. p. 427.)

† *Nyi-mo*, on the right bank of the Indus, about twenty miles below Lé.

‡ Chimra is most probably the village of *Chum-ri*, at the junction of the Chang-la rivulet with the Indus.

§ *Baz-go*, a large village on the right bank of the Indus, about twenty-four miles below Lé.

‖ In the original this date is written *Shing-pho-khyi-lo*, or the "wood-dog-year," which is the eleventh of the Tibetan cycle, and equivalent to either A.D. 1637 or 1697, neither of which is admissible. I have

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175 or the "wood-mouse," the first year of the Tibetan cycle, which is equivalent to A.D. 1686-87.

The Ladákis now implored the aid of the Muhammadan governor of Kashmir, who, with the permission of Aurang Shah (the emperor Aurangzeb), despatched a force of 600,000 men (most probably about 6,000) under Nawáb Fatch Khán, Murid Khán, Lashkar Khán, Kahgán Sultán Khán, Yahia Khán, and Jahángir Khán, to the assistance of the Gyalpo. They crossed the Indus at *Khallach*,* by two wooden bridges; and at *Thanskya-tanag* they encountered and completely defeated the Sokpos. The Musulmáns pursued them as far as *Pitak*,† and having taken that fort, they put the garrison to death, whilst the main body of the Sokpos took refuge in the fort of Lé. After this the invaders having agreed to quit Ladák, retired to Kashún, on which the Mahomedans returned to Kashmir, accompanied by *Jig-bal Namgyal*, the younger son of the Gyalpo. This happened in the year of *Shingmo-lang-lo*, or "the wood-ox," which is the second of the Tibetan cycle, and equivalent to A.D. 1687-88.

In the following year, however, the Sokpos again invaded Ladák, and destroyed the fort of Lé. But, afterwards, through the mediation of a lama, named *Brug-pa-Pham-Bangpo*, the Sokpos agreed to retire on receiving possession of the district of Rudok. A large stone was then set up as a permanent boundary between

therefore made a slight correction by changing *khyi* to *byi*, which is fully justified by its tallying with the other recorded dates.

* *Khal-lach*. The principal bridge across the Indus, on the high road from Kashmir to Lé, is still at this place.

† *Pi-tag*, a small rock-fort on the right bank of the Indus, only four miles from Lé.

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the two countries, the line of demarcation being drawn from the village of *Dechhog* to the hill of *Karbonas*. 175

This invasion of Ladák by the Sokpos is thus related by Moorcroft.* "About a century and a half ago the Kalmak Tartars invaded Ladák and occupied Lé, and the Raja flew to Kashmir and implored the aid of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of that province in the reign of Aurangzeb. With the permission of the emperor, and on the condition that the Raja became a Musalmán, Ibrahim Khan led a body of troops into Ladák, expelled the Tartars, and replaced the Raja on the throne by the title of Akabal Mahmud, conformably to his new faith. A mosque was erected in Lé, which is still kept up. The son and successor of the Raja reverted to the national creed, and the apostasy was overlooked at Delhi in consideration of the encouragement given to Mahomedanism in the country, and a small annual tribute or present paid to the governor of Kashmir, as the representative of the emperor." A similar account is given by Mir Izzet Ullah,† who says, however, that the title given to the Raja was *Akabet* Mahmud Khan, and that "the Hakims at Kashmir still address the raja of Tibet by that designation." Izzet Ullah farther states that the Raja "coins the *Júd*‡ in the name of Mahmud Shah." This last fact seems to be conclusive of the Gyalpo's apostasy; and I may add that the Dogra soldiers always called the last Gyalpo by the name of Akabet Mahmud Khán. The people, however, both lamas and laymen, whom I interrogated upon this subject, stoutly denied that the Gyalpo had 797 175

* Travels, I. pp. 336, 337.

† Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. V. p. 109.

‡ "Four *júds* make one rupee."—Izzet Ullah.

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797 ever become a Musalmán, although they acknowledge
175 that from that time Ladák had continued to pay tribute to the governors of Kashmir. The real truth no doubt is, that the chief made an open profession of the Muhammadan faith in the presence of the Musalmán troops at Lé; but after their retirement to Kashmir he naturally reverted to his own creed. It is probable that the Gyalpo's younger son, Jigbal, who accompanied the Musalmán troops on their return to Kashmir, may have become a Musalmán; and that the governor may have been satisfied with the real conversion of the son, and the permanent establishment of a masjid at Lé.*

175 *Deldan Namgyal* had several sons, one of whom, *Jigbal*, accompanied the Muhammadan army to Kashmir. Another, named *Banchak*, proceeded to Lhása with the Sokpos, at the request of their leader. Of a third, called *Thuptan*, nothing is related. A fourth, named *Delek*, succeeded his father, who abdicated in his favour, and afterwards resided in the fort of Stuklakté. The reign of Deldan Namgyal probably extended from A.D. 1670 to 1705.

Delek Namgyal married the princess, or Gyalmo, of Lomostang, by whom he had five sons: 1st, *Nyima;* 2nd, *Navang;* 3rd, *Dechok;* 4th, *Choltan-grub;* and 5th, *Chortan.*† Delek Gyalpo probably reigned from A.D. 1705 to 1740. It was during his reign that the district of Spiti was re-annexed to the kingdom; and it was

* Vigne (II. p. 253) says that "the name of the first Ali Sher Khan, or Shah Murad, is still to be seen upon a mosque at Lé." Moorcroft, however (I. p. 337), refers the building of the masjid to the period of the Gyalpo's conversion, and so does Izzet Ullah.

† These names are written thus: 1st, *Nyi-ma;* 2nd, *Nga-dVang;* 3rd, *bDe-skyong;* 4th, *Chho-dVal-ton-grub;* 5th, *Chho-rtan.*

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perhaps towards the end of his reign, or more probably in the beginning of his successor's reign, that Ladák was invaded and conquered by Murád, the chief of Balti,* who reigned from about A.D. 1720 to 1750. 175

From that time down to A.D. 1834, when the country was conquered by the Dogras under Zoráwar Sing, the general of Raja Guláb Sing of Jammu, the history, as related to me, was uninteresting. I find, however, that Vigne† mentions an invasion of Balti by an army of Ladákis, during the reign of Ali Sher, the father of Ahmed Shah, the last chief of Balti. The invaders were defeated and obliged to surrender. As this must have happened not more than twenty or twenty-five years prior to Moorcroft's visit to Ladák, it is strange that he makes no mention of it. Vigne's account is farther confirmed by the existence of a tree, which was pointed out to him on the Ladáki frontier near Khallach on the Indus, which was said to have grown from a stick planted there by Ali Sher Khan on his return from a victory in Ladák.‡

When Moorcroft visited Ladák in 1822, the Gyalpo paid an annual tribute to the governor of Kashmir, with which Ranjit Sing was probably contented. But the recent conquest of Kashmir, and the threats of the Sikh governor, had even then alarmed the Gyalpo, who made a tender of his allegiance§ to the British Government, which, unfortunately for the prosperity of

* Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 253. † Kashmir, II. p. 254.

‡ Kashmir, II. p. 254. It is possible, however, that this may refer to the conquest of Ladák by the first Ali Sher Khán.

§ Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 420. I agree with Professor Wilson, Preface, p. xxxix, that "a friendly footing in Ladák would be highly favourable for establishing a beneficial trade with Tartary and Turkistan."

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● 175 Ladák and the commerce of British India, was refused. From that time the Gyalpo lived in continual apprehension of an invasion of his territory by the Sikhs from Kashmir; but the governors of that district were too frequently changed, and too closely watched by the emissaries of the Jammu brothers, to be able to carry out such a design, even if they had formed it. For Raja Dhyán Sing, who was omnipotent in the Sikh durbar, was resolved that no one but his elder brother Raja Guláb Sing should obtain possession of Ladák and Balti. The invasion of these countries was therefore postponed until Guláb Sing had consolidated his power in his newly-acquired territory of Káshtwár,* which he had lately wrested from its hereditary chief.† Accordingly, in 1834, when the power of the Jammu brothers had been extended over all the hill states lying between the Jehlam and the Ravi, excepting only Kashmir, a large body of Dogra troops under the Vazir Zoráwar Sing invaded Ladák from the Káshtwár valley. The following account of this invasion was kindly dictated, at my request, by Mehta Basti Ram,‡ now governor of Lé, who was one of the principal officers of the expedition. As an authentic record of an interesting event, of which no other account exists to my knowledge, I should have

* *Káshtavára*, abounding in wood.

[797] † The representative of this family is now a Christian residing at Simla. He formerly lived at Ludiana, where he was converted by the American missionaries.

‡ Mehta Basti Ram is a Hindu rajput of Káshtwár. He was the governor of Takla-khar, or Takla-kot, near the source of the Sarju or Ghágra river, at the time of Zoráwar Sing's defeat and death, when he made his escape to the British provinces of Almora. He speaks in high terms of the kindness shown to him by the British resident, Mr. Lushington.

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preferred giving the narrative almost literally, but I found that in this shape it would entail the insertion of too many foot-notes, which would have completely distracted the attention of the reader. I have therefore re-written the account entirely, and have given the Tibetan names, which my knowledge of the localities enabled me to do without much difficulty. The narrative was of course dictated in the first person, for which I have throughout substituted the name of "Dogra" and "the Dogra troops." 175

II.—CONQUEST OF LADÁK BY THE DOGRAS.

1. The chief officers engaged in this expedition under the Vazir Zoráwar Sing, were, 1st, Mia Rai Sing; 2nd, Mehta Basti Rám; 3rd, Mirza Rasul Beg; 4th, Rána Zálim Sing; 5th, Singhé Mankotiah; 6th, Mian Tuta; 7th, Sirdar Uttam Sing; and 8th, Vazir Khojah Bhunjah.

2. The Dogra troops marched from Káshtwár, and entered the Ladák territory by the pass at the head of the Suru valley,* where, on the 16th of August, 1834, they were opposed by the Boti leader Mangal, at the head of 5,000 men. The Dogras advanced to the attack up a hill, which was obstinately defended for a whole day, and at last succeeded in dislodging the Ladákis with a loss of only six or seven killed, and five or six wounded; whilst the enemy lost thirty killed, and as many wounded. They encamped on the north side of the hill for the night, and on the next morning marched to Suru, where they halted for eight days. During that time the Vazir

* This pass was described to me as being extremely easy on the northern side, but very steep and difficult on the south.

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175 prohibited his troops from cutting the corn, which was then ripe, and his politic conduct was rewarded by the immediate submission of the zamindars, who came over to him in a body, and placed themselves under his protection. The Vazir then built a small fort,* which he occupied for a month. He next advanced to *Shakhar*,† where there was a fort belonging to Thai Sultán, and having reinstated the zamindars of Janguri and Shakhar in their villages, he made a summary settlement of the district by imposing a tax of four rupees upon each house.

3. Leaving thirty-five men in the fort and ten men over the bridge, the Dogras advanced by *Langkarchu* ‡ and *Manji* to the bridge of Paskyum, where they were again opposed by the Ladákis. The struggle was desultory and protracted, the Dogras losing only seven killed, while the Botis had fifty or sixty killed, and a greater number wounded. By a skilful manœuvre the Ladákis effected their retreat across the bridge,§ which they then broke down. On the following day, however, the Dogras managed to cross the river on inflated skins without opposition; on which the chief of the place abandoned Paskyum, and fled to the fort of Sôd,‖ where, with the zamindars of the district, he determined to hold out.

* This is the fort in Vigne's map called "Kilah Suru Kurri," belonging to Gulâb Sing.

† *Shá-mKhar*, the fort of *Sha*.

[103] ‡ The Lang-kartse of Moorcroft. The true name I believe is "*Lungkarj-chu*," or the "valley of the Karj river." The bridge here mentioned is that which was crossed by Moorcroft on his journey to Drás.

§ The Wakâ-chu is not fordable at Paskyum, and the bridge is within musket-range of the fort, and of numbers of houses on the northern bank of the stream.

‖ *Sôd*, the Soth of Moorcroft, who mentions an interview that he had with the Raja at Paskyum.

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4. The Dogras advanced towards the place and raised a battery against it; but after ten days' firing nothing had been effected, although they had lost forty men in killed and wounded. The Vazir, who had remained behind at Paskyum, then ordered Mehta Basti Rám, with a party of 500 men, to make a vigorous assault upon the place. Accordingly, early the next morning, whilst it was still dark, the attack was begun by a discharge from the battery, under cover of which the Dogras advanced rapidly to the assault. By daybreak they had gained possession of the place, and had captured the Gyalpo. Altogether the number of prisoners taken at Paskyum and at Sôd amounted to 6,000 men. A whole month was then wasted in fruitless negotiations with the zamindars of the district, who would not agree to the terms of settlement proposed by the Vazir. /75

5. In the mean time Akabat Mahmúd Khan, the Gyalpo of Ladák, with the *Banka Kahlan** and four chiefs, named Gapaju, Dorje Namgyal, Chang or Chovang Nabdan,† the Kahlon of Bazgo, and Rahim Khan, of Chachot, accompanied by a force of about 22,000 men, arrived at Mulbil. From thence they despatched envoys to the camp, who at first talked boldly, and tried to frighten the Dogras, but they afterwards

* *bKah-bLon*, the prime minister; but the term is also applied to the chief men of all the districts. At this time the Kahlon of Chimra was the prime minister.

† This man accompanied the unfortunate expedition of Zoráwar Sing into the Lhásan territory. After the Vazir's death he was made prisoner and carried to Lhása, where he is said to be now kept in rigorous confinement. His wife, a buxom-looking dame, who manages the estate of Bazgo, informed me that she had sent several persons to Lhása, not one of whom had been able to communicate with her husband.

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175 declared their readiness to agree to honourable terms, and proposed that some respectable and confidential agents should be sent back with them to treat with their chiefs regarding the terms of accommodation. To this the Vazir consented, and after having feasted the envoys and placed turbans on their heads, he deputed Mehta Basti Rám, with some other Dogra officers and a guard of 500 matchlock-men, to accompany them. When the men were ready to start, the Vazir was requested not to send so large a party, as their number would be more likely to alarm than to pacify the minds of their countrymen. Accordingly only five men, with two respectable zamindars, named Gola and Nanda, were sent with the envoys. On their arrival in the Ladáki camp, these men were treacherously seized by the chiefs, and despatched under a guard of 500 men to the bridge of Darkech. One of the men, however, a Suwar, named Ratan Sing, managed to escape, and returned to the Dogra camp. In the mean time Banka Kahlon, by a circuitous route, attacked the Dogras in their rear, and made many prisoners, who were thrown bound into the river in sight of their comrades. On this the Vazir, seeing the danger of his situation, ordered a retreat, which with some difficulty was effected to Lang-Karchu, in the Suru valley, to the fort of Thai Sultan. There the Dogras remained unmolested for four months, procuring a precarious subsistence by plunder alone.

6. At the end of that time Banka Kahlon with his 22,000 men advanced towards Langkarchu; but the Vazir, having received intelligence of their movements, despatched a party of 100 men to oppose them, when they were within one kos (one mile and a half) of the place. Now the straggling manner in which the Dogras

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were obliged to wade through the snow, and the unsoldier-like way in which their tents were scattered over the open country completely deceived the Ladákis as to the real number of their enemies. They were, besides, quite exhausted with their long and fatiguing march through the snow; and therefore, instead of attacking the Dogras at once, they halted for a consultation, which ended in the whole body sitting down to prepare their evening meal of tea and wheaten flour. On seeing this the Dogras attacked them with their swords, and after five or six were killed on each side, and several were wounded, Banka Kahlon and the other Ladáki leaders became alarmed, and fled with numbers of their men. The remainder of the Dogras, who had hitherto held aloof, now rushed to the attack, and completed the rout of the Botis; 400 Ladákis, in attempting to escape along the bank of the river, were overwhelmed by the fall of a snow-bed, and 1,200, who had been concealed behind a hill, were made prisoners, along with Moru Tádsi,* the Káhlon of Bazgo, and his son Gyurmed.† The Dogras lost three of their leaders, namely, Uttam Vazir, Hazru Vazir of Una, and Surtu Rana, with twenty men, and between fifty and sixty wounded.

7. After this victory the Dogras were again enabled to advance to Paskyum by making use of their prisoners for the carriage of their baggage. From thence they marched by Shergol to Mulbil, where they halted for fifteen days, and then proceeded by Kharbu to Lama-

* *Mo-ru-rTá-rDsi*, or *Moru*, master of the horse. Vigne (Kashmir, II. p. 352) calls him Marut Tanzin. He was the Káhlon of Chimra, a district to the S.E. of Lé, on the Rudok road. See Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 425.

† *hGyur-med*, pronounced *Yurmed* in Great Tibet.

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175 Yurru, where they were met by an envoy with a letter from Sultán Akabat Mahmud Khán,* suing for peace. Eight months,† he said, had now elapsed in the vain struggle for independence, and that, if the Vazir would promise faithfully that he should not be seized, he would himself come to treat about the terms of peace. To this the Vazir at once assented, adding that the king need not be under any alarm, as the Dogras wanted nothing more than the payment of a regular tribute to their master, Maharaja Guláb Sing. On this the Gyalpo advanced to Bazgo, and intimated his wish to have an interview, provided the Vazir would not bring a large body of men with him. Accordingly the Vazir, Zoráwar Sing, with Mehta Basti Rám and 100 men, waited upon the Gyalpo, whom they found encamped upon the plain of Bazgo,‡ with a party of 2,000 men. The Gyalpo received the Vazir kindly, and begged that he would move his camp to Bazgo, which was soon afterwards done.

8. When ten days had elapsed, the King wished the Vazir to accompany him to Lé, but with only a small party, lest the inhabitants should become alarmed. Zoráwar Sing assented, and started for Lé with only 100 men. Soon after their arrival the Vazir waited upon the Gyalpo, and was preparing to make his usual offering

* This is the name by which the Dogras always knew this chief. They had received it from the Muhammadans of Káshtwar, who of course used no other name for the descendant of one who was said to have been converted. The Gyalpo's real name was Tonduk Namgyal.

† As the advance was made in the middle of August, 1834, the defeat of the Ladákis must therefore have taken place in the middle of April, 1835. Vigne (II. p. 353) says the spring of 1835.

‡ Bazgo is a very picturesque place situate on the right bank of the Indus, twenty miles below Lé.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of a *Sadka* of Rs. 100 * to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan, then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo, when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning. 175

9. For four months † the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo should pay Rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of Rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of Rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of Rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of Rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru. 175 651 727

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort, and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles ‡ in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged [727]

* A bag of money waved around the head by the person who presents it.

† As the march from Suru to Lé, with ten days' halt at Bazgo, must have occupied nearly a whole month, the Vazir could not have left Lé until the middle of October, 1835.

‡ Twenty-five *kos*, each kos being as nearly as possible one mile and a half.

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[727] upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

175

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with fifty men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

[651] 12. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku * or Zanskar, the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

669 175

13. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé; that the Gyalpo, at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants;† that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tâdsi and the Banka Káhlon, and that he had imprisoned and tortured his Munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he had determined to march at once. Every one professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named

* *Zangs-mKar*, which the Dogras invariably call *Jasku*, and which is the *Zanskar* of our maps.

† Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Midphi Sata offered his services, to whom the Vazir gave a present of a pair of golden bracelets, worth Rs. 500, besides two rupees a day, and the promise of the district of Zanskar in perpetuity. 175 669

14. With twelve seers of wheaten flour, and a bag of barley upon each horse, the party, under the direction of their guide, marching from forty-five to sixty miles* a day, in ten days reached the village of Tsumur,† where they most unexpectedly heard that the wife and son of the Gyalpo were then residing. A party of 500 horsemen was sent forward to capture them; but they received early intelligence of the movement, and fled to Lé. On this the Gyalpo waited upon the Vazir at Chachot,‡ and expressed his sorrow and contrition for what had occurred. The Vazir demanded why he had so shamefully broken his promises, and added, "Although

* From thirty to forty kos a day; but this is impossible in such a country. The probable length of each day's march cannot be estimated at more than thirty miles, which would give a total distance of 300 miles in ten days. The exaggeration, however, is natural to men in such circumstances. This march must have taken place in the end of November, 1835, at a season of the year when the winter's snow has already set in throughout Ladák, and when all the higher passes are finally closed. Their route was therefore most probably up the Zanskar river, and over the Lunga Lách and Thung-Lung passes to the Indus below Gya. By this route they would have travelled about 300 miles. I know of no other route that would be passable in November. The direct route to Gya from Zanskar is open but for a few months, and that which lies down the course of the Zanskar river, and over the Singé Lá to Lama Yurru, is closed in October. Besides which, the distance by either of these routes would not have been even 150 miles.

† This is no doubt the large village of *Chumri* or *Chimra*, on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Marchalang, and on the high road leading to Rudok. This position must have been chosen by the raja's family for the convenience of escape into the Chinese district of Rudok.

‡ Chachot is on the left bank of the Indus, between Chumri and Lé. It is the Chushut of Moorcroft.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 we conquered your country with 10,000 men, we did not
669 place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom." The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

175 15. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied
651 by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to Rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first, the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu, offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jaghir.* A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tâdsi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.†

175 16. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai‡ and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé.§ Ac-

* This was the large village of Tok, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to Lé. It is still held by the Gyalpo's grandson, although three-fourths of the perquisites formerly attached to it have been resumed.

† This must have taken place in the spring of 1836, according to the narrative, soon after which Vigne appears to have visited Lé, where he found that the new king, called "Marut Tanzin," was installed, while the old king "was living at Tok, over the river, opposite to Lé."—Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 354.

‡ Lakpat Rai was the governor of Kashmir in 1846, and was killed in the early part of the rebellion of Shekh Imám-ud-din.

§ Baldé or Paldér, the Phaldam of Moorcroft, is the chief place in Zanskar.

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cordingly they marched with fifteen hundred foot-soldiers by the Zanskar road to Baldé, where they were opposed by Budhi Sing Mithania, the chief of the district. Victory declared for the Dogras, with a loss of eighteen or twenty men killed on their side, and about twenty or twenty-five on that of the enemy. After a halt of seventeen days, they proceeded towards Jammu, leaving a garrison of twenty men in the fort of Chatrgarh.* /75

17. Maharaja Gulâb Sing and the Mia† were both very much displeased with the Vazir Zoráwar Sing for having made over the country to Moru Tâdsi, who had no claim to it. The Vazir replied that Moru Tâdsi belonged to the royal family of Ladák; but that since his elevation was displeasing to the Maharaja, he would depose him on his return to Lé. One year after this, [669] news was brought that the new king had revolted, that he had killed the thanadar of Baldé and his twenty men, that twenty others had been made prisoners; and that the Dogra troops throughout the country were beleaguered in their different forts.

18. On hearing this, the Vazir started at once with a body of three thousand infantry, and in two months reached the district of Baldé; but owing to the swollen state of the river he was unable to accomplish anything for two months more.‡ At the end of that time, when the river had become passable, the Dogras attacked the

* Chatrgarh is on the right bank of the Chanâb river.

† Uttam Sing, the eldest son of Gulâb Sing, a fine soldier-like young man, was killed at Lahor, along with No Nihâl Sing, by the falling of a gateway.

‡ The swollen state of the river points to the months of July and August. The capture was, therefore, most probably made in September.

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each side; on which he was taken back to Lé and imprisoned. 175

The old Gyalpo, Akabat Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tâdsi, were both brought before the Vazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former, upon the old terms of Rs. 23,000 yearly tribute, but with the stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him. [651]

The Vazir then again proceeded to Jammu, where he remained for a whole year,* after which he returned to Ladák with 5,000 men, for the purpose of seizing Moru Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, and Chang Nabdan, the Káhlon of Bazgo, both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo Mahmud Khan.†

They had been in correspondence with Ahmed Shah of Balti, whom they wished to engage in a general rise against the Dogra authority. The Balti chief imprudently lent too willing an ear to their overtures, and by a subsequent act furnished the long-looked-for pretext for invasion, which Zoráwar Sing was but too glad to seize upon. Early in 1835 Ahmed Shah being dissatisfied with his eldest son Muhammed Shah, had formally disinherited him by the inauguration of his younger brother Muhammed Ali. On that occasion Muhammed Shah fled to the camp of Zoráwar Sing in Suru, and claimed his protection. This the wily Vazir readily granted; but not wishing to embroil himself with the chief of Balti while the campaign in Ladák was still before him, he contented himself with giving promises

* From different statements in the narrative, Zoráwar Sing's residence at Jammu must have been during the latter half of 1838 and the beginning of 1839.

† Basti Ram's narrative ends here. The remainder of this history has been compiled from other information.

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175 of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time
643 the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation
645 could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son, to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

III.—CONQUEST OF BALTI.

175 When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar and heard of
727 the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and
175 annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

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Accordingly, in the end of the year 1840, the Vazir assembled an army of 15,000 men, and a large body of Ladákis, for the conquest of Balti. Ahmed Shah also prepared himself for the struggle, and was joined by a large party of discontented Ladákis, who, after crossing the Indus, destroyed the bridge, to delay the advance of the Dogras. Zoráwar Sing was obliged, therefore, to march down the right bank of the river, which he followed steadily for twenty-five days, receiving the submission of the chiefs of Khatakchau and Khapolor, but without finding any place where the army could be crossed. He then detached Mia Nidhân Sing, with a body of 5,000 men, by way of Shigar, to look for a road, and to collect provisions, which had now become very scarce in the Dogra camp. But the Baltis kept a good look-out, and had early intelligence of this movement. Mia Nidhân Sing was allowed to advance unmolested for about fifteen miles, when his party were surrounded and attacked by thousands, and he himself was cut off with nearly the whole of his detachment.

About 400 men only managed to find their way back to the Dogra camp with the tale of their defeat. At the same time the winter set in with a heavy fall of snow,* and as provisions were extremely scarce, the Dogra troops became so much dispirited, that their discipline was seriously affected. With an impassable river in their front, and certain starvation both from cold and hunger, whether they retreated or remained in their present position, the majority of the troops paid no attention to orders, and of the few who still obeyed, none did so with alacrity.

* Vigne, II. p. 266, states that there are occasional winters of great severity.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● /75 The Dogra army had halted in this position for fifteen days, exposed to frost by night and to hunger by day. Many had sought shelter from the snow amongst the overhanging rocks, and there they sat listless and vacant, and utterly indifferent whether they should be cut off by the sword of the enemy, or be frozen to death by the cold. The Vazir saw the desperate state in which he was placed, and roused himself to discover a passage across the river, but after several hours' vain search he returned in the evening wearied and desponding. Upon this Mehta Basti Rám and some others, to the number of about forty, determined to make a last effort to extricate themselves from their difficulties. At midnight, with only one companion, Basti Rám examined the bank of the river for several miles, while his party kept up a smart fire upon the Botis on the opposite bank, to distract their attention. At length they discovered a place where the river was frozen over sufficiently thick to bear a man's weight, save about twenty feet in the middle, where the ice was thin. Then, sending for assistance, they cut down trees and placed them over the weaker parts of the ice, and by five o'clock in the morning the Indus was passable.

Intelligence was sent at once to the Vazir, by whose order this small party of forty men was the first to cross the Indus; but they had been so benumbed by their night's work, and by their previous exposure, that ten of them sank down exhausted, and afterwards lost their hands and feet, and eighteen others were unable to get through the snow. Basti Rám was then left with only twelve men, which the Botis perceiving, they moved to attack him; but, in the mean time, Zoráwar Sing, having roused a number of his men, pointed out to them

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that the river was passable, and that it had already been crossed by some of their more adventurous fellow-soldiers. Upon this a number of Dogras advanced gladly to the attack. The Indus was rapidly passed, and the small party of daring men, after a smart fight, was safe. The Botis retreated, leaving 200 men dead on the field, and 100 men wounded. The Dogras lost only 25 killed, and 15 or 16 wounded in the action; but they had about 500 men more or less disabled by the loss of hand or foot during the exposure to the snow of the last few days. 175

The retreating Botis were pursued, and slaughtered for nine miles, as far as Marwan, where the victorious Dogras pitched their camp. The Vazir halted there for a few days to re-organize his troops, and to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the last action. To Mehta Basti Rám he gave Rs. 500 and a pair of gold bangles, and to thirty-two others of his party he gave similar presents of less value, to some Rs. 100, to some Rs. 50, and to others Rs. 40, according to their deserts.

Zoráwar Sing then advanced to Skardo, and after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmed Shah for want of water.* He was shortly afterwards deposed by Zoráwar Sing, who installed his eldest son Muhammed Shah in his room, on the promised payment of an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000. But the astute commander, who had profited by his experience in Ladák, would not leave this new conquest to the doubtful faith of a son of Ahmed Shah. A small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in a new fort on the bank of the river, to confirm the faithfulness of the new king, and Ahmed Shah and his favourite son

* Ahmed Shah retired to the fort before Zoráwar's arrival, having first set fire to his own palace.

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175 were carried off as prisoners to Ladák. In this campaign the invaders lost about 200 men, and the Botis about 300 men.

Previous to the conquest of Skardo, the old king of Ladák, Tonduk Namgyal (or Akabat Mahmud), had been accused of having intrigued with Ahmed Shah for a simultaneous and organized rising of the Tibetans of Ladák and Balti. He may, perhaps, have been wrongfully accused; but as his feelings must naturally have inclined him to think favourably of any enemy of the Dogras, it would have been impolitic to have left him behind, as the absence of the conquering troops might have tempted him to rebel. Zoráwar Sing therefore carried Tonduk Namgyal with him on his expedition against Skardo. The old man had outlived the downfall of his country; he had survived close personal restraint and bitter indignity; but when his last hope was cut off with the fall of Skardo, he gave way to despondency, and being attacked with small-pox, he died within a month after the annexation of Balti to the Jammu viceroyalty of the Sikh dominions. On the death of Akabat Mahmud, his grandson Jigmet Singgé Namgyal, a mere boy, was acknowledged as Gyalpo by Zoráwar Sing. The father of this lad, Prince Chovang (or Chang) Raphtan Namgyal, fled first to Hundar in Nubra, and afterwards to Spiti, on the deposal of Akabat Mahmud. In October, 1837, he reached Sarâhan, in Bisahar; and in April, 1838, he came to Kotgurh, where he resided until his death in 1839. He was then about twenty-one years of age. His wife, a daughter of the Káhlon Chovang Tandup, remained in Ladák with her young son Jigmet Singgé.

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IV.—INVASION OF TIBET.

Elated with his success, Zoráwar Sing now threatened the neighbouring states, and even talked of invading Yárkand. But the Lhásan provinces of Rudok and Ngári were more accessible; and the unscrupulous conqueror revived the old claims of Ladák to those districts which had been alienated since the time of Singgé Namgyal. It was enough for him that the monasteries were known to possess vessels and instruments of gold and silver for the service of religion; and that the country produced the finest shawl-wool. The plunder of the first would enrich himself and his soldiers, and the acquisition of the latter would be highly pleasing to his master, as it would throw the whole trade in shawl-wool into the hands of the Jammu Raja. 175

In the month of May, 1841, with an army of 5,000 men, he advanced up the valley of the Indus, and plundered the monasteries of Hanlé and Tashigong. His troops penetrated to Rudok and Gáro, both of which submitted without striking a blow. The conqueror then passed the sources of the Indus, and established his head-quarters on the Sutluj at Tirthapuri, in Gugé, the principal place in the holy district of Lake Manasarovara. The whole country was now occupied by parties of Dogra and Ladáki soldiers. Basti Rám was stationed at Takla-Khar, on the Karnali or Gogra river, close to the frontiers of Kumaon and Népal. Rahim Khán, a half-blood Musalmán of Chachot, was placed over Spiti, while Ghulám Khán, his son-in-law, was employed in the congenial occupation of plundering the monasteries and temples. This work he executed with iconoclastic fury. The gold and the 175 798

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silver were reserved for his master; but the plastic images of clay, the books and the pictures, excited the religious bigotry of the Musalmán, and were indiscriminately destroyed.

The news of this invasion was speedily carried to Lhasa; and about the 7th of November, Zoráwar Sing first heard of the approach of a Chinese force. He at once detached a small party of 300 men, under Nono-Sungnam,* to oppose the advance of the Chinese; but the detachment was surrounded at Kar-dam-Khar, to the south of the Ráwan-Hrad lake, and almost cut to pieces. The Nono himself escaped, and was again detached on the 19th of November, with a larger force of 600 men, under the joint command of himself and Ghulam Khán; but this party was also surrounded and cut to pieces, and the leaders were both made prisoners.

Zoráwar Sing, still treating the Chinese with contempt, although they numbered about 10,000 men, or three times the strength of his own force, at once advanced from his position at Tirthapuri with the whole of his available troops. The two armies first met on the 10th December, and began a desultory fire at each other, which continued for three days. On the 12th Zoráwar Sing was struck in the shoulder by a ball, and as he fell from his horse the Chinese made a rush, and he was surrounded and slain. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and fled on all sides, and his reserve of 600 men gave themselves up as prisoners. All the principal officers were captured, and out of the whole army, amounting with

* *No-no* is the title given to a younger brother. Nono Sungnam (or Sodnam) was the younger brother of Chang Raphtan, the Káhlon of Bazgo.

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its camp-followers to 6,000 men, not more than 1,000 escaped alive, and of these some 700 were prisoners of war.

The Indian soldiers of Zoráwar Sing fought under very great disadvantages. The battle-field was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing-point, and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. For several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes; and all were more or less frost-bitten. The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire; and the more reckless soldiers had actually burned the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. On the last fatal day not one-half of the men could handle their arms; and when a few fled, the rush became general. But death was waiting for them all; and the Chinese gave up the pursuit to secure their prisoners and plunder the dead, well knowing that the unrelenting frost would spare no one. A few men made their way to their brethren at Takla-Khar; but that garrison was so dismayed by the defeat, that they fled precipitately, even over the snowy mountain-range, near the head of the Kali river, into the British province of Kumaon. But even in this unopposed flight one-half of the men were killed by frost, and many of the remainder lost their fingers and toes. These few, and the prisoners, form the whole number that escaped with their lives.*

* In this very month, and in the same year, 1841, the British army, of about the same strength, was destroyed at Kabul.

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Amongst the prisoners were Ahmed Shah, the ex-ruler of Skardo, and his favourite son Ali Muhammed, whom Zoráwar Sing was afraid to leave behind. The old man was treated with kindness, and even with distinction; but his heart was broken, and he pined and died in a few months. Other prisoners of distinction were, 1st, *Rai Sing*, Zoráwar's second in command, for whose liberation Maharaja Guláb Sing wished the Governor-General to intercede with the Lhásan authorities.

2nd. *Chang-Nabdan*, the Káhlon of Bazgo, whose wife, a buxom rosy-cheeked dame, came crying to me in 1847 at Nyimo, to do something for her husband's release. She had written every year to him by different persons, but had never got any reply, as no communications were allowed with the prisoners.

3rd. *Nono-Sungnam*, the brother of the last. These two brothers were considered particular friends of the invaders, and were therefore treated more harshly than the multitude.

4th. *Ghulám Khán*, the active plunderer and desecrator of the Buddhist temples, was tortured with hot irons. His flesh was picked off in small pieces with pincers; and, mangled and bleeding, he was left to learn how slow is the approach of death to a wretch lingering in agony.

During the winter the Chinese re-occupied the whole of the Gáro territory, and early in the spring of 1842 a body of about 3,000 men advanced into Ladák, and laid siege to the new fort at Lé.* They were joined by the boy-king Jigmet Namgyal, and the unwarlike Tibetans

* The people of Balti also rose; but they were soon reduced by a small force under Vazir Lakpat, who destroyed the fort and palace, to prevent the chance of another insurrection.

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once more began to dream of independence. But after a short reign of six weeks, Dewán Hari Chand and Vazir Ratanu advanced with fresh troops, and the Tibetans were rudely awakened from their dream of liberty by the musketry of their old enemies, and the 3,000 would-be heroes who had talked of invading Kashmir, fled ignominiously towards Rudok. There they recovered themselves, and taking up a strong position, they determined to await the approach of winter, and then join in a general rising against the Indian invaders. But the simple Tibetan was no match for the wily Indian, and the Lhásan commander was soon made a prisoner by stratagem. The strong position of the Tibetans was shortly afterwards turned; and the Lhásan Vazir was glad to be permitted to retire on the single condition that the old boundary between Ladák and China should be re-established. 175

In the autumn of 1846, during the rebellion of Shekh Imámuddin in Kashmir, there was a slight disturbance in Zanskar, which was promptly repressed by the Vazir Basti Ram, who is now one of the confidential servants of Maharaja Guláb Sing. Since then the whole country has been quiet; and the passive Tibetans have yielded to a power which they find it unsafe to resist. The neighbouring districts of Gilgit and Chalás have been added to the Maharaja's kingdom; and the same prince, whose dominions only twenty years ago were limited to the petty state of Jammu, now rules undisputed master of Kashmir and Western Tibet, from the sources of the Shayok to the head of the Gilgit river.

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795 the "mystic cross," which was a monogrammatic sign, formed of the letters *su* and *ti*. The combination *suti* is the Pali form of the Sanskrit *swasti*, which is compounded of *su*, well, and *asti*, it is. Wilson gives the meaning of "so-be-it;" but both versions equally imply complete resignation under all circumstances, which was the chief dogma of the fatalist *Swástikas*. These followers of the mystic cross held the doctrine of eternal annihilation after death; from which they derived their Tibetan name of *Mu-stegs-pa*, or "Finitimists."* According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress, and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves *Tirthakara*, or "pure doers;" and the synonymous name of *Punya*, "the pure," was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages, and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Khan.

● 175 According to the Chinese, the founder of the doctrine
779 of the *Tao-sse*, or Rationalists, was *Laotze*, who lived from about B.C. 604 to 523. He was therefore a contemporary of Sakya Muni, by whom he is said to have been worsted in argument. By the Tibetan Buddhists he is called Sen-rabs;† but this perhaps signifies nothing more than that he was of the race or family of Sena. His faith continued paramount in Great Tibet for nine centuries, until Buddhism was generally introduced by Srong-Stan in the middle of the seventh century. But
798 the followers of the *Yung-drung-pa*, or "mystic cross,"
779 were still powerful; and in A.D. 899 Buddhism was formally abolished by *Lang Tarma*, and was not again

* Csoma de Körös, Grammar, p. 192.

† Id. ibid. p. 181.

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III.—DIFFERENT SECTS—LAMAS.

During the palmy days of Indian Buddhism, the faith of the Tibetans most probably partook of all the different fluctuations of belief that prevailed in India. The most ancient religious sect that is now known is the *Nyimapa*, all of whom wear red dresses. Most of the Lamas in Ladák and Ngari are of this sect. In the middle of the eighth century *Urgyan Rinpoche* (the gem of Urgyan, or Padma Sambhava) was invited into Tibet by Khrisrong De-tsan. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitabha (*Hod-pag-med*). He was the founder of a new sect, who differ from the *Nyimapas* chiefly in their worship of this incarnation. In the eleventh century Tibet was visited by *Chovo-Atisha*, a Bengali Pundit, who infused new vigour amongst the votaries of Buddhism. His pupil *Bromston* founded the Rareng monastery, and originated the *Káhdampa** sect, or those who are content with the observance of the "precepts" (*kah*), without caring for the acquirement of the higher branches of transcendental wisdom. The followers of these three sects all wear red dresses. Another sect, the *Sákyapas*, also wear red; but I know nothing of their peculiar tenets.

In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lama *Tsong khapa*. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (*Hod-pag-med*), and others of Manju Sri (*Jámya*). He was born in 1355, and died in 1419. He built the temple of *Gáhldán*, and was the first great abbot (*khánpo*), who occupied the Gáhldán

* *bKah-gDams-pa*, "followers of the precepts."—Csoma, Grammar, p. 197.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots
793 down to the present day.
175 The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following :*—

795

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born 1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán 1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born 1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	„ 1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„ 1436
5.	Logros Chhos	„ 1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„ 1461
7.	Logros Tanpa	„ 1471
8.	Mon Lampal	„ 1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the
554 attainment of this rank became an object of ambition,
795 and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by
175 the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsong-
[176] khapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's
[778] memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery. 178

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

295 175 [176] 175 793

* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 occupied the chair of Tashi Lhunpo. Since his time
793 there have been two great Lamas, the one called the Dalai Lama, occupying the chair at Lhasa, and the other called the Tashi Lama, filling the chair at Tashi Lhunpo. Precedence is given to the Dalai Lama, both in writing and in conversation; but their influence is pretty equally divided. Both chairs are filled by a succession of supposed incarnations, and generally the elder of the two is the most influential. The succession from *Gedun Tubpa* down to the present day is the following:

—	Written Names.	Spoken Names.	Date. A.D.	Remarks.
1	dGe-hDun-Grub-pa ..	Gedun-Tubba ..	1389	Born. Founded Tashi Lhunpo 1445.
2	dGe-hDun-rGya-mTsho ..	Gedun-Gyatsho ..	1474	
3	bSod-nams-rGya-mTsho ..	Sonam-Gyatsho ..	1541	Visited Altun Khán.
4	Yon-tan-rGya-mTsho ..	Yontan-Gyatsho ..	1587	
5	Nag-dVang-bLo-bZang ..	NAVANG LOZANG ..	1615	Established himself as Dalai Lama; 1640 conquered Tibet; and visited the Emperor of China 1650.
6	Rin-chhen-Tshangs-dByangs	Rinchhen Tshang Chang	1690	?
7	bLo-bZang-skal-lDan ..	Lozang-Kaldan	1725	?
8	bLo-bZang-hJam-dPal ..	Lozang-Jampal ..	1760	A minor in 1774.
9	Lung-rTogs-rGya-mTsho ..	Lumtok Gyatsho ..	1790	?
10	Tshul-khrims-rGya-mTsho ..	Tshul-thim Gyatsho ..	1817	?
11	dGe-dMu-reGya-mTsho ..	Gemure Gyatsho ..	1835	Nine years in 1844.

795 But besides these two great Lamas of the yellow sect of
793 Gelukpa, there is a third great Lama in Bhutan, called the *Dharma Raja*, who is the head of the *Dukpa* sect, all of whom wear red dresses. Dharma Raja is his usual title amongst the people of Bhután, but amongst the Tibetans he is generally called *Jigten Gonpo** (Lord of the World). The Dalai Lama is called *Gyalba Rinpochhe*,

* See Plate XXII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788 The earliest mention of the prayer-cylinder is by the
175 Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian,* in A.D. 400, who saw it in the hands of the Srámanas of *Kie-chha* (Ladák). Klaproth states that this instrument is not mentioned in any Indian books; and I can vouch that I have never seen it represented on any piece of Indian sculpture. It was, however, in very early use in North-western India, where it was introduced by the Indo-Scythian princes about the beginning of the Christian era. On the gold coins of Hoërki, or Hushka, the Indo-Scythian prince is generally represented holding the prayer-cylinder in his right hand.† The same object is no doubt represented on the large medallion in the accompanying plate; but the figure holding it is most probably the chief patriarch of the Buddhist religion.

788 These instruments are found of all sizes and in all positions. Cylinders, about one foot in height, are placed in rows around the temples, and are turned by the votaries before entering. Larger cylinders are found near villages, turned by water, which keeps them perpetually
000 revolving day and night. The device is so ingenious as to induce a hope that it may be adopted in Roman Catholic countries, where the time now spent in telling beads and reciting pater-nosters and ave-marias might be more profitably employed in worldly matters, while the beads were told, and the prayers were repeated by machinery. An ingenious mechanist might form small prayer-boxes, which could be wound up to produce a certain number of revolutions of an inclosed pater-noster or ave-maria; and thus any number might be got through during the night. Indeed, I am not sure that Roman

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. V. † See Plate XXVII.

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101

The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning, "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása. 631

As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people." 101

I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyool" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángtháng, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.

There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."

At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of 1756 631 648

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
717 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

Tibet AJ1

WT 175 778 648 T 175 778 648

It was agreed as follows:--

(1) The boundaries fixed, in the beginning, when king Skyid-lda ngeema-gon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained.

(2) Only Ladákis shall be permitted to enter into the Ngárees-khor-sum wool trade (i.e., to cross the Eastern frontier of Ladák, for the purpose of purchasing wool in the Gárdok, Poorang, and Googey Districts).

(3) No person from Ladák, except the royal trader of the Ladák Court, shall be permitted to enter Rudok.

(4) A royal trader shall be sent by the Deywa Zhung (i.e., the Grand Láma of Lhása), from Lhása to Ladák, once a year, with 200 horse-loads of tea-- (this is the "Chhaba," vide page 20).

(5) A "Lo-chhak" (vide page 85) shall be sent every third year from Leh to Lhása with presents. As regards the quality and value of presents brought for all ordinary Lámás, the matter is of no consequence, but to the Lábrang Chhakdzot (i.e., the Treasurer of the Grand Láma of of Lhása) shall be given the following articles, viz.

(a) Gold dust--the weight of 1 zho 10 times i.e. about Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 worth.

(b) Saffron--the weight of 1 srang (or thoorsrang) 10 times, i.e., about Rs. 60 worth.

(c) Yarkhand cotton cloths--6 pieces.

(d) Thin cotton cloth--1 piece.

The members of the Lapchak Mission shall be provided with provisions, free of cost, during their stay at Lhása, and for the journey they shall be similarly provided with 200 baggage animals, 25 riding ponies, and 10 servants. For the uninhabited portion of the journey, tents will be supplied for the use of the Mission.

(6) The country of Ngárees-khor-sum (viz., Gárdok, Poorang and Googey) shall be given to the Omniscient Drukpa Láma, Mee-pham-wáng-po, and in lieu thereof the Deywa Zhung will give to the Ladák king three other districts (I don't understood [sic] this, perhaps this part of the treaty is genuine, but has never been given effect to) in Great Tibet.

[175](7) The revenue of the Ngárees-khor-sum shall be set aside for the purpose of defraying the cost of sacrificial lamps, and of religious ceremonies to be performed at Lhasa.

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(8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásarwar and Rakas Tál.

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With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

175

Chapter II.

History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *giálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon ráj* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon ráj* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Taláí or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

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† Moorcroft mentions that the Giálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Giálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

P. 90

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subterranean tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are occasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

Chapter II. History. 175

After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála. 175 636 651

History of Láhaul. 174

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes :—

[636]

"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

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* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

9:Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.

● 175 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years
436 ago, there do not seem to have been many silver
651 coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and
[437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 However, once a year the taxes due to the
436 Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver,
804 and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.

1 [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary - ANALYST]

9: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

651 436 804 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2⅘ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

●175 436 As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet, there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal [435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

CHAPTER 16

AN INCARNATE LAMA

The founder of Hemis Monastery was Stagtsang 792
Raspa, a lama who in the eleventh century came to 175
the nulla where Hemis now stands, looking for a retreat where he could pray and commune. This nulla, narrow, secluded, and quiet, was ideal for his purpose. Willow, poplar, and alder trees shaded it. Clear, cold water poured from springs in bounteous supply. There was solitude broken only by water pouring over rocks, by wind in the trees, and by the harsh churr-churr of the mountain finch. Stagtsang Raspa spent many months in this primitive retreat, trying to make contact with his deity or god-protector (Yidam), who would lead him to the Highest Blessful State.

The lovely nulla visited by Stagtsang Raspa is no longer the quiet place he knew. It is today filled by a thriving monastery of five hundred lamas who keep the place bustling with energy. And 534
twice a day the canyon is filled with hundreds of deep-throated 792
echoes that seem to come from the bowels of the earth. These are the blasts of twelve-foot horns blown from the roof of the monas-
tery to open the day at 5.30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792 175
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 668
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 631
Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the north- 175
west; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Communism vs. Buddhism

When the Chinese Communists, in January 1950, announced 175 •
their program for the "liberation" of Tibet, they were following 779
a traditional Chinese policy of intervention. In the ninth century, Tibet was at war with China. Tibet, the aggressor, was expanding east and west. But the Buddhist religious invasion of Tibet dramatically illustrates that religion makes a vast difference. When Buddhism became fastened on the Tibetans, war no longer became an instrument of policy. Buddha's command not to kill had profound political effects. Tibet became at times a subject nation. The Mongol Empire was extended over Tibet in A.D. 1200. By A.D. 1700 Chinese suzerainty began.

Tibet has never been a part of China, though Tibetan history, 175
written by the Chinese, has made it so. Tibet was strong and 648
independent when China was weak; Tibet was subservient when China was strong. Tibet has always been China's western neighbor. The boundary, which runs through vast, trackless expanses, has caused frequent disputes. The pressure of the western border people on China was often strong. China moved to a position of influence or control in Tibet in order to guard her western frontier.

The Chinese influence asserted itself in several ways. For centuries some lamas have received Chinese pensions and some monasteries have received generous Chinese donations. China has long demanded control of Tibet's foreign affairs and has always been jealous lest some other power align Tibet against China and thus create a menace from the rear. China has long paid the salary of the Tibetan Ambassador to Peking.

China has had at her command all the instruments of propa- 648
ganda. Her merchants, her books, her periodicals, her students 208
have gone throughout the world carrying the message of China's greatness and power. That message included the word that Tibet was a part of the great Chinese Empire. Tibet had no publicists, no ambassadors free of Chinese influence, no newspapers, no

648
208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
175 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding [493] streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 782 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

la ilaha illa–'llah:
Mohammed rasulu–'llah.
No god but Allah: Mohammed
is the messenger of Allah.

771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh—2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist coun- 797 try, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is •175 also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith 648 of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician 563
who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *ltadmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these 564
people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who 174
seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, 563
too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, 771
having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on con- 175
jecture and turn to that founded on written records either 798
inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been disinherited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger brother had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, managed to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 triumph was short-lived. A Buddhist priest disguised in the
798 black sacerdotal robes of the *Bon Chos*, presented himself before the King with a petition, and, when near enough, drew from his ample robes a bow and arrow and killed the leader of his religious enemies. The assassin escaped by turning his coat inside out and showing the white lining.

175 Langdarma reigned about A.D. 900 and from him all the
631 kings of Ladak have descended, for although they are split up into two dynasties, the later one is traced from a younger brother of the last king of the first line. An account of what happened under the various kings of these dynasties would be beyond the scope of this book, but let us rapidly trace the fortunes of the Western Himalayan kingdom, now represented by Ladak, and formerly including also the province of Baltistan. At first various royal personages held sway in different parts of the country, but the one in Leh was a descendant of the King of the Central Kingdom (Tibet proper), while in another part there ruled a Dard King. Between these two Kings there was continual strife, but at last the Leh ruler seems to have won the mastery in matters temporal, and increasingly in matters spiritual. One King introduced Buddhist literature from Central Tibet, another made it obligatory on all candidates for the priesthood to go to Lhasa for their training. This can only be regretted by the student of Ladaki as distinct from Tibetan literature, for, besides putting a stop to the growth of Indian Buddhism, it also inhibited the literary genius of this people, whose tales of by-gone days indicate how their literature might have developed.

175 By about the time of the fourteenth century Buddhism
779 had quite prevailed, and, as is so often seen with this religion, having once subdued the indigenous faith, it incorporated much of the *Bon Chos* in its own tenets. The Lamaism of the present day thus consists of a large proportion of *Bon Chos* with a smaller mixture of Buddhism, the former still

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

WT 175 779

making its old appeal to the illiterate people of the land, while only a few of the more erudite priests know anything of pure Buddhism. Even this mixed religion soon became corrupt, and in 1378 the Buddhist reformer of Tibet, Tsong-kapa, appeared, who tried to bring the priesthood back to the pure Buddhism of "Sangs rgyas," the Tibetan name for the Buddha, Sakya Muni. Finding the Tibetan priests wore red robes, while the true Buddhist priest should wear yellow, and, unable to get them to accept the orthodox dress, like a good Buddhist he compromised by insisting on yellow caps and sashes being worn with the former red gown. The reformed sect were not supposed to marry, but the unattractiveness of true celibacy could easily be overcome by a legal quibble applied to the prevalent custom of polyandry. The so-called "yellow lamas" were not allowed to eat meat, nor to drink "chang," the local beer. So now we get the two sects of yellow and red lamas existing side by side both in Tibet proper and in Ladak, in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants have existed side by side in Europe. Yet for a long time there was not much hostility between the two sects, though one king might favour one and another the other.

WT 795 175

WT 175

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Lodros Chokldan was ruling in Leh, whilst at Tingmogang, situated on the old high road, where ruins of the old royal castle may still be seen, his cousin Bagan lived and ruled. The latter allied himself with a third ruler, and these two defeated the king of Leh. Bagan then ascended the throne, thus beginning the second dynasty, of whom the present ex.-ex. King is a descendant.

WT 175 721 B 175 721

From now onwards, Ladak comes into conflict with peoples beyond her own borders. Although one Ladaki king had accepted the religion of Mahomet, the country remained faithful to Lamaistic Buddhism, whereas the neighbouring region of Baltistan had been definitely converted to Moham-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

WT 175 721 B 175 721 WT [797]

medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

WT [798]

WT 175 795 721 608

The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

WT [797]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the " Treaty Road " and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its " Babu " in charge, are State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Changtang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 subdued it for himself. The Ladaki King sent him some
439 *Snambu* or Ladaki home-spun, woven of *lena*, as a present, and he admired it so much that he introduced the import of the wool into Kashmir. He is said to have had it woven into the first two shawls, or *shal*, the word meaning "a board," a name which he seems to have given them *faut de mieux*, for it hardly suits such essentially fine soft cloth. Two Persians then came to Kashmir to buy saffron and cummin, and bought these shawls to take back to present to their King. Next year they tried to obtain more ; later the cloth was taken also to Alexandria, and so its fame slowly became world-wide. Thus these delicate soft shawls are really derived from the protection which nature has given to our long-haired Himalayan goats to withstand the excessive cold on the roof of the world.

283 But we must return to the large part played by wool in the
462 domestic activities of Ladak. First of all the raw product, arriving in rough twists, must be cleaned. If it is washed in water, the resulting cloth or *snambu* is said not to be so nice, but sometimes there is no choice, for the wool may be so impregnated with fatty grease that it has to be taken to the nearest spring or clear-running water to be cleansed, though it must never be squeezed or rubbed in the process. Sometimes it is further cleaned with white chalk from the cliffs near by, with which it is well mixed, then teased out. The next process, or *malches*, consists of the pulling out of the wool, and teasing out all little bits of tangled, extraneous matter, so that it is quite soft and ready to spin. Then comes the actual *kalches* or spinning, which is carried out on a slender cone of wood, elongated at both ends, called a *p'ang*. The end of this is supported in a little cup, either hollowed out of a small block of wood, or, what is infinitely preferable, made of the kernels of apricot-stones after all the oil has been pressed out, leaving a hard matrix or kind of oil-cake. The left hand manipulates the *p'ang*, twisting it to and fro in its little cup,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

757 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly
164 addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its
754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive
● 175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old canni-
771 balism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without
757 our help! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the
876 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

291 stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

175 648 Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading [63] house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but [101] Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emigrants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races inter- [144] mingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Ladaki king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his saviour to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists.

After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line.

In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis.

Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

175 631 648

In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

[439]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans AJ4

inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, 133 x
originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down 361
to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsi.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to
Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove 137
of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there 778
grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 10 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or 712
tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards 175
the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly 792
ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support 361
the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tarūtse, which we made the halting-place, was reached.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 1

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Trek through Ladekh to Leh

101 THE State of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely confined to
131 the valley though. Through the passes to north, east and west are other provinces which all come within its boundaries, although their peoples differ in appearance, language and religion.

[175] I suppose the most interesting of these is the province of Ladakh which some people refer to as "Little Tibet", for the people are in all respects more like those of Tibet than of the valley. The history of the country was close to that of Tibet for many hundreds of years extending back to at least the tenth century, the religious bond with Central Tibet being made the closer about the fourteenth century. One reads of their "King Deleg invoking the help of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the fall of the western Lama Kingdom", then of the Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu sending a Dogra leader, Zorawar, to subdue Ladakh and Baltistan, of his being enticed to further expeditions in his search after the hidden gold of Lhasa, going high into the snowy mountains, there to perish with his whole army. Finally of Ladakh being made over to Gulab Singh by the treaty which also gave him Kashmir.

131 In these days it takes about an hour to fly from Srinagar to
133 Leh the capital of Ladakh; it takes days—weeks sometimes—on foot by the old caravan routes through the passes which are closed for half the year, and from the numbers of books written upon the journey about the turn of the century, it would appear to have been a favourite one with those who were seeking out the unusual yet interesting places and people. Ladakh, a province of over thirty thousand square miles, is one of the highest habitations in the world; there are very few parts which are

the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, 136
and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx). Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:--

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is ex- 132
tremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:--

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

K
History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab 175
Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately con- [648]
nected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a WT
Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were 642
driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior 175
to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a 792
mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

642 175 792 [796] [778]

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

361 563 144 181

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

463 241 511 [582] [372] [313]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots
793 down to the present day.

175 The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following:*—

795

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born 1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán 1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born 1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	" 1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	" 1436
5.	Logros Chhos	" 1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	" 1461
7.	Logros Tanpa	" 1471
8.	Mon Lampal	" 1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the
554 attainment of this rank became an object of ambition,
795
175 and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsong-
[176] khapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's
[778] memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word "lump;" and the Greek Ο-λυμπο-ς.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery. 178

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of 795
Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the 175
temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of [176] *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded 175
the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and 793
made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it
131 is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains.
175 The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is
175 made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

● 177 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that
212 interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.
† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the Kashmirian characters, which remain unchanged to this day.* 177 212

8. In the beginning of the eleventh century Palgyigon occupied Ladák, and Tashi-Degon took possession of Purang.† In A.D. 1314, Rinchana Bhoti invaded Kashmir.‡ As he entered the valley by Gagangir, on the Sindh river, he must have advanced through Drás, one of the districts of Ladák. It is probable, therefore, that he was the ruler of Ladák. At that time Kashmir had been invaded by an army of 60,000 horse, under the command of Dallach, the minister of a neighbouring chief, named Karma Sena. The invaders advanced to the capital, which, being deserted by the Raja Sena Deva, was plundered and burned. Dallach continued his devastations to the eastern end of the valley, and retired by the Pass of Tár-bal.§ Numbers of the Kashmiris then waited upon Rinchana, who was emboldened to advance against the troops of the Raja Sena Deva. The raja fled; the Bhotiyan chief was victorious, and assumed the sovereignty of the country. He strengthened himself by marrying the daughter of Rama Chandra, the general of Sena Deva; and reigned for three years, from A.D. 1315 to 1318, the undisputed master of Kashmir. 175

9. Half a century before this time the celebrated Marco Polo had visited the court of the great Kublai, Emperor of China. He had sojourned in the hills of Badakshán for the sake of his health; and he describes the countries of Wakham, Pamer, Bolor, and Kashmir.

* Csoma de Körös, Tibetan Grammar, p. 178.

† Csoma, in Prinsep's useful tables, p. 131. The names are written *dPal-gyi-mGon* and *bKra-shis-lDe-mGon*.

‡ Raja Tarangini. § That is, the "Tar-hill" in Kashmiri.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

712 well-dressed artillerymen. Altogether I was as much pleased with the orderly appearance, as with the judicious situation, of this fort.

The new fort of *Kargyil* is situated on the left bank of the Suru river, immediately above the junction of the *Waká-chu*. It is a square of about sixty yards, with round towers at the angles, and a square tower with a small outwork in the middle of the river-front. This work forms a difficult entrance, and at the same time insures a supply of water. The walls are loopholed throughout, and the garrison can sweep the bridge over the Suru river with deadly effect. The position was admirably chosen, as it completely commands the high-road to and from Kashmir.

The new fort of Drás is similar to those of Lé and Kargyil. It is situated on the left bank of the Drás river, and commands the passage of the valley.

The bridge-head of Khallach is on the right bank of the Indus. It consists of a square loopholed tower, built of large sun-dried bricks, with an inclosure surrounded by a high loopholed wall. The garrison of twelve men is furnished from Lé, and is relieved every three months. This work completely commands all approach to the bridge on each bank of the river.

643 In my opinion, the measures which the maharaja has
177 taken for the maintenance of his power in Ladák are
578 judicious and effective. Many people grumble; but the dissatisfaction is principally confined to the upper classes, who have lost all their power; and to the Kashmiri Mahomedans, a despicable race, who are ever wishing for change, and who, if they were under the British to-morrow, would long for the Chinese on the next day. To the lower classes the change of govern-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; 643
for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount 651
than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a 177
less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the 578
country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent 177
roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people 491
whose principal means of livelihood are derived from 643
the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are 205
simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village [648]
couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Botis must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and moral, may be easily accounted for by the severe cold and extreme dryness of the Tibetan climate, and by the former intimate connection of the people with the Caucasian Hindus of India for many centuries during the flourishing period of Buddhism. 177

The great mass of the people of Ladák are all of one race or caste. They intermarry and eat together, and are all eligible as members of the national priesthood. But in the northern provinces of Ladák there is a numerous class called *Bem*,* or "low," which includes all the dancing-women and their attendant musicians, all smiths and carpenters, and in fact handicraftsmen of every kind. In Lé itself, and in Chachot, there are small colonies of Kashmiris, whose connection with the native Botis has produced a mixed race called Argon.† These same hybrids between the Kashmiris and the native races are also found in Kashgar, Yarkand, Aksu, and Kotan. 564 144

III.—PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

Of the physical characteristics of the Botis, little has been made known beyond the facts that they have "a strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and that they are superior both in vigour of body and in stature to the other Mongolian races of Kalmaks and Tungusis."‡ Their peculiarly Tartarian physiognomy must be considered as a presumptive proof of their 144

* The men are called *hBems-pa*; the women *hBems-mo*, or *Bem-mo*.

† This is probably the Turki word *Arghun*, ارغون, "fair;" the mixed race of half Kashmiris being much fairer than the people of the country.

‡ Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 217.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XIII.—RELIGION.

I.—EARLY RELIGION OF TIBET.

THE religion of Tibet is a modified form of Indian Buddhism. This faith was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asoka, upwards of 2,000 years ago, when that great follower of Buddha was propagating his new religion with all the zealous ardour of a proselyte. In 241 B.C., at the close of the third synod, numerous missionary teachers were despatched to all the surrounding countries to spread the peaceful doctrines of Sakya Muni. The *Thero-Majjhantiko* (Sanskr. *Sthavira Madhyamika*) was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara ;* and, upwards of six centuries afterwards, the people on the Indus still attributed the spread of Buddhism "beyond the river" to some Sramanas (or ascetics) who came with sacred books, 300 years after the Nirvana of Buddha,† or in B.C. 243. The agreement of these dates gives to the two events the relation of cause and effect, the conversion of the people having been the result of the mission.

The spread of Buddhism in Ladák was followed by its introduction into China, about the beginning of the

* Mahawanso, p. 71. † Fo-kwe-ki, c. VII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ledged in Tibetan Buddhism. All these are celestial 779
beings, the spontaneous emanations from the Divinity, who have never been subject to the pains of transmigration. Inferior to them are the created or mortal beings, who are divided into six classes, named *Droba-Rikdruk*, the "six advancers or progressors," because their souls progress by transmigration from one state to a better state, until they finally attain absorption into the divine essence; after which they are no longer subject to transmigration. These six classes are—

1. *Lhá*, "Gods," equivalent to the Hindu *Sura* and *Deva*.
2. *Lhá-ma-yin*, or *Lhá-min*, "Demi-gods or Titans," equivalent to the Hindu *Asura* and *Daitya*.
3. *Mi*, "Man;" the Sanskrit *Manushya*.
4. *Dudro*, "Brutes;" in Sanscrit *Tiryyaka*, "crookedly," because they walk a little out of the right path.
5. *Yidok*, "Goblins;" in Sanscrit *preta*.
6. *Myalba*, "the damned;" in Sanscrit *Náraka*.*

It is one of the most essential dogmas of the doctrine 775
of transmigration that the disembodied soul is incapable of receiving either reward or punishment. Hence the belief in other grades of mortal beings, both superior and inferior to man. The good man, after death, is supposed to be raised to the dignity of a *Lhamayin*, or demi-god, while the bad man is degraded to the state of a *Dudro*, or brute. These different orders of beings were 777
not the invention of the Buddhists, for they existed long 779
before the rise of Buddhism, and were the offspring of man's yearning for a future and better state. Like as in India, where the Brahmans have declared all the ancient

* The hells are divided into eight cold and sixteen hot hells, which 772
are favourite subjects of representation with the Chinese and Tibetan painters. The punishments are *not everlasting*; finite sin is expiated by finite punishment; and when the expiation is completed, the person is born again. See also Fra Orazio, Nouv. Jour. As. tom. XIV. p. 410.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 village *Thakurs* and *Debis* to be only so many different
779 forms of Mahadeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the Lamas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient
776 gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. Some of these divinities are the following:—

1.	*Rihi-Lhá* ...	... Mountain Gods, or Oreades.
2.	Chhuhi-Lhá ...	... River Gods, or Naiädes.
3.	Shinggi-Lhá ...	... Tree Gods, or Dryades.
4.	Zhi-Lhá* ...	... Family Gods, or Lares.
5.	Zhing-Lhá ...	... Field Gods, or Leimoniades.
6.	Khyim-Lhá ...	... House Gods, or Penates.

177 In after-times the mystical system of the Tantrists
779 was engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepál and Tibet; and the pictures of the prevailing red and yellow sects are [illegible]ed with representations of the three-eyed destroying [illegible]rochuk (Iswara), and of his blood-drinking spouse ([illegible]ng-Summa (the three-eyed goddess *Trilochana*). These doctrines were named *Nang-pa*, the esoteric or orthodox, in contradistinction to the Phyipa, exoteric or heterodox. With them, I believe, originated the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyani Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part.

* *Zhi-Lhá*. *Lha* is the generic name of God; hence, Buddha is called *Cha-wi-Lhá*, the "God of Gods." The similarity of this name to the Roman *Lar*, and to the old Arabic *Ilah*, God, is very striking. I may notice here, that the usual translation of the Musalmán Kalimeh, [illegible] *La Ilah ila Allah*, "there is no God but God," is a manifest [illegible] The true translation is, "there is no God but *Allah*."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

197 *chang* and *Tibar-skad* of Kanáwar. This comparison will give a much better idea of the language than any thing that I can say.

III.—PRINTING.

213 Printing has long been known and practised in Tibet, but only by engraved stereotype wooden blocks, and not by moveable types. The printing of a new work is therefore a most expensive and laborious process. The accompanying specimen of a Tibetan horn-book, or primer, is printed from one of these engraved planks.* The letters are most beautifully cut, but the block has been so much used, that the original sharpness is now quite gone.

The first or middle circle is blank.

The second circle contains a mystic formula, which I cannot decipher.

The third circle contains the ejaculation *hih*, eight times repeated.

The fourth circle contains the ejaculation *hún*, ten times repeated.

The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet, arranged according to the Sanscrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirates complete. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanscrit names; as for instance, the *ṇ* in *Padmapaṇi*. It is remarkable that the *ch*, *chh*, and *j* have all got the mark placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to *ts*, *tsh*, and *ds*. This 212 is, I think, a direct proof that the Tibetans obtained 177 their knowledge of Sanscrit, as well as their alpha-

* See Plate XLIV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 212 bet, from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these letters in the above manner, as *Pandsál* for Panjál.

The sixth circle I cannot decipher, but I can trace the repeated ejaculations of hun-hun! hun-hun! hun-hun! hun!

The seventh circle is one of the most interesting, as it contains the famous Indian enunciation of the Buddhist faith, which I found inscribed on a stone which I extracted from the great tope of *Sárnáth*, near Benares. This is the only instance in which I have seen it used in Tibet. 539

Aum! Muni, Muni, Mahá-Munayé, swáhá!
Yé dharma[illegible]rabhavá hetun teshán Tathágato
hyavadat teshán[illegible]a yá nirodha evam vadi Mahasramanas.

"In the name of the Triad! O, Muni, Muni, great Muni, adoration! Of all things springing from cause, that cause hath the Tathágata explained; the cause of their extinction also hath the great As-cetic declared."

213 New works are rarely undertaken, but the printing of their standard religious works is still carried on by the Tibetans with the same old blocks that were in use upwards of 100 years ago. [788] The great mass of printing, however, is chiefly confined to the production of the innumerable quantity of prayers and mystical formulæ that are required by the people. I have seen many rolls containing many hundred repetitions of the same sentences. They are printed on sheets of a thin brownish paper called *Grega* (or *Tega*), but the books are printed on a much smoother paper called *Par-shog*, or "printer's paper." The ink is called *Par-snag*, or "printer's ink." The printer himself is named *Par-pa*, and where several are employed the head printer is called *Par-pon*. The printing board, or table, is *Par-shing*, and "copy" is called *Par-bri-pa*. The engraved block is named *Zhi*,

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 426 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 [10]
177 BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) 241
thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.).

[63]
HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the 133
principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur.

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the 804
Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the 177
hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank.

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang 342
(of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work).

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]
HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". 601
Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists 590
of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are 428
closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the 583
family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife.

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider
788 that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of
●177 India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways: hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za" means 'epilepsy" and "chhoo-
753 thung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

[131]
412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons

[789] send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

for instance, in Tibet and China had two "eleventh" months. 805
In case the insertion of a whole month is too much, several 177
days can be omitted. Of course, the calendar-maker and the astrologist leaves out those days which he has calculated as unlucky days.

The Tibetan calendar reckons with year cycles of twelve years each which, in calculating the time, are added together and counted. The individual years within the cycle of twelve are not designated by numbers but by the names of one of the following twelve animals: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, ape, bird, dog, and pig. To calculate longer periods of time five cycles of twelve years are added together to constitute a larger cycle of sixty years in such a manner that every year within the cycle of twelve is connected with one of the five "elements" (wood, fire, earth, iron, water). (Compare Ramon, Hindu-Astrologie, same publisher.) If one asks a Tibetan for his age he will usually be able to give the animal designation of his year of birth, as, for instance: I am a snake-year person or a pig-year person (in the latter case, a lucky person). Now the snake-year, for instance, may be the year 1929, 1917, 1905, 1893, and so forth. If the person concerned also can tell how many year cycles his age comprises in this year (1930), then his age and his year of birth can easily be calculated. If, for instance, he says: Three (twelve) year cycles plus four years, that makes 40 years. In other words, he was born in 1896. Educated people can indicate the precise calendar designation of their year of birth. For instance: I am an iron-horse person (that is to say, born in 1870), an earth-pig person (therefore born in 1899), a wood-tiger person (thus born in 1914). When 805
he sets up the horoscope, it is very important for the soothsayer 787
to establish whether the animals and the elements in the year 177
cycles of the persons concerned are in a friendly, in a hostile, or in a neutral relation to each other. If, for instance, in the horoscopes of man and wife, mother and child, mutually hostile animal signs or elements appear over against each other, this indicates that there will be conflict, misfortune, and anger of the gods. Among the animals, for instance, horse and mouse, ox and sheep, tiger and ape are bitter enemies; among the elements water is the "mother" of wood because no tree grows

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[787]

without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other: iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

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The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa) each of which correspond to two of our hours.

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1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

1 cu-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, 805
that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration. 770
1 dbugs has 60 ĉa-śags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cigand se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-śar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas byà = sundown--bird,
20--22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are 787
neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn

7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the 775
good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions

553 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed
792 a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

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12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
551 these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dso (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest [412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have [177] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

777 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: ños-agrug-la aded-de mi non / rkyen-ñan-la śor-te mi bud.

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the soothsayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking 000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

757 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes
●177 (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhistic canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bźi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

Chinese anatomy and medical science; nor are ancient Babylonians, Greek, and Persian influences absolutely excluded. The school of medicine on the Eisen /"Iron"/ Mountain (lcags-po-ri), a part of Potala Mountain, on which the palaces of the Dalai Lama is also situated, constitutes a part of the university for the lamas, at which they are prepared for their service. Here is likewise the medical faculty of the university. 757 177● [874]

Anatomy, as a science, is on a very low level among the Tibetans, since Tibetan physicians do not perform any dissection of corpses. Thus they know the inner parts of the human body at best through comparison with those of the animal body which they get to see--illicitly--at the killing of an animal, which is a sin for the Buddhist. (Compare Dr. Reinh. Müller, "Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien," in the Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin, Volume 15) The Tibetans have taken over their scientific anatomy from the Chinese, with all the errors and defects that were contained in it. Thus on old anatomical tables, for instance, the liver is drawn in on the lefthand side, and the spleen on the right. (Compare Reinh. Müller, "Über Skeletdarstellungen," in Asia Major, Volume 2.) The anatomical tables (Tibetan, p'yaṅ-k'og las-t'ig) copied from the Chinese, show, correspondingly, quite phantastic representations of the human body; they serve primarily to indicate the spots on the body that are suited to bleeding and burning (with red-hot iron). Both procedures are frequently applied to human beings as well as household animals by Tibetan doctors. Often they produce successful results. But quite often they use burning in quite a nonsensical manner, on sensitive parts of the body, such as, for instance, the eyelid, the burning of which causes very severe harm. 757 177 826

Tibetan pharmacy uses a great number of native plants, and often in a very effective way, in the form of decoctions, powders, and pills. Aside from this they use metals as curative agents, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, zinc, and mercury (the latter for syphilis); furthermore stones, minerals, and soils, such as, for instance, turquoises, pearls, snail shells, corals, cooking salt, natron, saltpeter, and sulphur. 278

The parts of animals' bodies play an important part in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

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Chapter II.

History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *giálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon ráj* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon ráj* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Talái or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

† Moorcroft mentions that the Giálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Giálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

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Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

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Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

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"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devís* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

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* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hindúism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hindúism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kúlu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hindúism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hindúism is advancing, the people declare that they are Hindú Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindú; and the Moravian missionaries at Keylang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The *lámás* of Láhaul will not eat with a European, while the *lámás* of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hindúism is ascribed in part to the influence of the *thákurs* or barons of Láhaul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindú. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Bráhmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindú Kúlu as Hindús."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He is quoted at length in the following pages. Even the transition from Hindú to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible, from the quotation from Mr. Anderson given below.

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhaul *lámás* save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hindúism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhaul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple, while Mr. Anderson says: "It is not improbable that the Dágis and low castes, and perhaps even the so-called Kanets, when they wish to indulge in beef, kill a cow or a bullock on the sly, though this is denied with indignation and disgust." Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Lhás*, or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindú brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhaul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanáwar; for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the recent Census the state of Basáhir returned only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhaul and Spiti were returned as Hindús, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts. In 1869, Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Láhaul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindús that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *choti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chostím*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

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Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

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"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhoditens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hun'* is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhoditen* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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In the time when the *Lung pashói* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men. 779

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time. 177 564 167

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis. 184 779

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all. [564] 795

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gompas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gompas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spití, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir [778] [782]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chang* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 795 [778] [782] 776 [754]

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothás* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

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"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

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The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Sreg mackhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture. 812

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

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The *lámaic* system. 779 792 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámáic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámáic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

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The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

792 794 — Monasteries or *gónpás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monks and friars.

through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:—A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om mani pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalized.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

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‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognized in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti.

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti :—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *begár* and common expenses; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind: the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognised. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús; in hearing law

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralised lately by opportunity and impunity.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágís 360, Lohárs 277, Baráras 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágís have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Baráras are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháksi* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháksis* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 241

Live-Stock.

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrú* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul. [177]

Production and consumption of food grains. 433 241 439

Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers. [437]

SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti. 233 [439]

In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423 Chapter IV, C.

233 Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

[427]

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Koksar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *négi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

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423
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[782]

The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *pháti* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

[427]

SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

157 Occupations.

177

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV. C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship. Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the Bon Religion, **yungdrung** 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

104 821 [773] It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *yyungdrung*, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima, occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name Khyung dkrung may have degenerated to become *yyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:— (1) a word *yyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *yyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *yyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *y* of *yyung* and *yyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *yyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *yyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卍 *sü* and 卐 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.

a

b

779 821 797 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *yyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

[See source No. 10 in Tibet File AJ1 -- Analyst]

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 634 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level. **149**

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then 779 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow 144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan 177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations 793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localized in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See Source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analy-I]

A Court in Lahul

Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century. In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, con-

worked it into odd shapes—tall columns, peaked cones, cathedral- 133
like towers. Weird formations stood in stately rows along the sky-
lines for miles on end. And one massive butte, streaked with
color, towered over Gongrechen Pass.

On the pass was an *obos* flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram 788
Chand, one of the muleteers, brought a new streamer in his
pocket. He stopped at the *obos* and reverently added it to the
collection. His was a prayer for safe passage for himself.

My muleteers never failed to perform the ritual. Neither did
Budh Ram or Man Das. Rup Singh went about it eagerly, doing
with vim and vigor what most did in a perfunctory way.

The habit is deeply engrained. It goes back to the ancient re- 177
ligion of the Himalayas, to the practice of the Shaman religion. 788
Shamanism was a form of animism that is traceable in the rites 779
of North American Indians. One cult piled stones on passes
and other dangerous places to appease the spirit of the pass.
Hinduism came up from the south; Buddhism came down from
the north. The new institutions of religion absorbed the old.
Shamanistic elements, including the *obos*, were taken over by the
new churches. Thousands of years ago men piled stones at the
dangerous places; they pile stones there today, and will pile
stones there tomorrow. For the old superstition is so strong it
survives all religious change. And today the lamas indeed teach
the old and young alike that this ancient superstition should al-
ways be observed.

Another rite is performed on the passes where poison works up 788
into a potent force and often strikes men and animals down. It is
a shout that every traveler gives as he reaches the highest point.
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo is the Tibetan version—Let the gods con-
quer. It rings from the lips of every traveler, young and old. I
heard Rahul, Budh Ram, Man Das, Rup Singh and the other
muleteers shout it. On pass after pass the same words rang out—
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.

I had seen enough, as we neared the end of the trek, to ap-

Beyond the High Himalayas

779 This, in barest summary, was the teaching of Buddha; and it
• 177 became the main religion of India for the four centuries beginning in 300 B.C. Later it became corrupt and in India was supplanted mainly by Hinduism and by the faith of Islam. Buddhism moved south, east, and north. By 243 B.C. it had come to Ladakh and by A.D. 400 was the established religion there. It gradually spread north, going to Tibet about the middle of the seventh century. Meanwhile Buddhism, as Bell in *The Religion of Tibet*[1] shows, had absorbed much of the magic, mythology, rituals, and metaphysics of Lamaism and became clothed in garments that Buddha himself would not have recognized. But the central core of the religion was intact—the "Noble Eightfold Path." And the doctrine of reincarnation, originally derived from Hinduism, continued to flourish.

779 But the doctrine of reincarnation took a special twist in Tibet.
775 In the fifteenth century it was especially adapted to maintain the
792 authority of the priesthood and perpetuate the power of the
177 lamas in a peaceful way. The theory was developed that each Grand Lama was at once reborn in order to resume his life's work. The soul of the deceased lama took possession of a boy born shortly after his death. The problem was to identify the boy, raise him in the faith, keep his power in a regency until his maturity, and then turn over the power to him. The line of authority thus became clear. There was now no longer any contest among ambitious lamas who wanted to be spiritual leader of all Buddhism. The discovery of the baby to whom the soul of the deceased had passed answered all the questions and settled all the quarrels.

By the year 1542 this system had been adopted in Tibet for selection of the Dalai Lama. And it then became the method for determining the succession of spiritual sovereignty throughout the various lower echelons. The head of every monastery became an Incarnate Lama, who was the reincarnation of the holy man who had originally established the monastery. That is what hap-

 1 [See Source NO.4, AJ1 Tibet AJ1- ANALYST]

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery.

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensitive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not 595
come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a 586
polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There 595
are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, 548
which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased 595
the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an 177 •
ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of [795]
Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn 797
to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck 177
pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

797 177 lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

595 I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric mar-
593 riages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

595 The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated,
671 in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her
428 devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177• [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

302 and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again.
291 The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners
● 177 is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the
576 edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion
[512] demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

302 The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance
291 is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

291 In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead
301 certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright
291 red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

up to enhance the exhibition, which is loudly applauded. 541
When all have ridden the course, they canter back and repeat from the beginning. This goes on for two or three days, and Ladakis find it interesting to the end. Sometimes the amusement becomes intense, when, for instance, a horse has shed his rider, because the saddle had not been fixed on firmly, and the racer finishes his course with empty back.

Games on horseback are most desirable at this altitude, 526
where human lungs find scarcely enough oxygen for strenuous 177 ●
exertion, and Ladak is adding a Yarkandi equestrian game to its repertoire. No sides are picked, but there is a goal. A dead sheep is thrown on to the ground. At one time no doubt they played with a live animal, for Yarkandis do not think much about "Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" Societies. A man catches up the sheep as best he can and then rides with it for the goal. If he accomplishes this, he may look forward to many a big supper of mutton, but all the other horsemen try to make this impossible. The falls, pullings, and pushings this piece of mutton gets, should go far to make it tender, whatever its age may be.

Another sport which the Ladakis thoroughly enjoy is arrow 526
shooting. This always takes place in the spring, just before [795]
the fields are sown, the Mohammedans and the Buddhists having each their own archery meeting. A garden or an enclosure with trees round an open space is chosen, at one end of which a heap of earth is piled up about four feet high. Into the centre of this is stuck a bull's-eye, about the size of a china plate and made of white clay. At the opposite end, about twenty yards from the target, are several tents, nicely decorated, in which sit those members of their respective community, who, by subscribing towards the shoot, have bought themselves the right to be present and take part. Others may join in, but are there on sufferance, and if they have not paid, even superb shooting will not obtain th

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 The Southern school of Buddhism, called Hinayana (the small
795 vehicle, for only the few can expect to reach Nirvana), still believes this, but the time came when a split occurred, and as a result Northern Buddhism or Mahayana Buddhism arose. "The Buddhist cannot rid himself of the feeling that if there are consequences of deeds to be borne, there must be someone to bear them." For ordinary men and women the gospel of Buddha was only a message of despair, for the bands which bound them to the Wheel of Existence were far too tight for them to loosen. This need of the human heart for a Saviour resulted in the Mahayana doctrine, so-called because it means the greater vehicle or means by which every Buddhist may hope one day to attain the bliss of Nirvana. First Buddha himself was regarded as this Saviour, and later others were ranked with him to help struggling humanity towards the final goal. The Buddha had the perfect right to enter a well-earned Nirvana, but compassion for men and women, beasts and demons, made him renounce this until he had aided all things living to enter this same bliss with him. Thus arose the beautiful story of Avolakita, the all-merciful one, the all-pitying one, to which we shall refer later and of whom the
●177 Dalai Lama is the living representative. Unfortunately this
797 new doctrine also opened the door to all sorts of national gods and demons which Buddhism encountered in its spread, for now, at about the end of the first century, Buddhism became a thoroughly missionary religion, carrying this good news of possible redemption far and wide. It reached Tibet about the middle of the 7th century, where it found the old *Bon Chos*, which was a Shamanistic devil-dancing religion. The followers of the new faith having subdued those of the old, then incorporated much of the old religion in their own, thus producing Lamaism. This consists therefore of a substratum of real Buddhist philosophy understood by the few, and a large proportion of demonology which appeals to the unlearned masses.

* [IE, ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION ALONE -- ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

Rites & Ceremonies

HAVING considered general every-day methods of 796 obtaining merit, let us turn our attention to the more specific and seasonal means, doing so in the order in which they occur annually. This makes 805 it necessary to say a few words about the Buddhist Calendar, [177] which seems to have been derived from the Chinese, and consists of sixty-year cycles, which are subdivided into five periods of twelve years each. The longer periods are named after the Buddhist elements of wood, fire, earth, iron and water, whilst the single years are called after various animals, such as mouse, ox, tiger or hare. The Ladaki does not therefore reckon his years in decades, but in dozens, so that when asked his age, he may inform you that, having been born in the sheep year of the water period, he must be three dozen and six year's old. Their year consists of three hundred and sixty days divided into lunar months, which the word for month, *zlaba*, pronounced *dawa*, implies. As this does not quite fit with the course of the sun, the Ladaki feels that he must try to humour him and his aberrations, by dropping days here and adding months there. He certainly feels that the sun [821] needs his aid at times, for when an eclipse occurs, he shouts at the top of his voice to scare off "the dragon from completely swallowing the sun." Their week, like ours, consists of seven days, which are devoted to deities similar to our own, such as Sunday and Monday to Sun and Moon. They have noticed that Mercury looks like a red eye, so Tuesday is called the day of the red eye. Wednesday is the day of

13 Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

805 Venus, whilst Thursday, the day of the dagger, must belong to the god of War. Jupiter and Saturn, even in Ladak, claim Friday and Saturday. The tenth day being the birthday of Padma Sambhava, their patron saint, who conquered all their demons, is regarded as holy.

796 The date of the new year varies, indeed in their topsy-turvy country they have two New Year days, one being the [172] Ladaki, the other the Tibetan, both of which are celebrated, 173 although for practical purposes the latter is used. The genesis of the Ladaki New Year is interesting. King Jamyang desired to wage war against the neighbouring kingdom of Purig, but was informed by the horologist that his venture would not be successful unless deferred till after New Year's day. Not wishing to wait, and no doubt thinking the stupid old sun would not notice, he decided that the New Year 796 should begin two months earlier. His anniversary usually 788 falls some time in December. It is chiefly marked by evening illuminations, for every Buddhist house has a row of tiny lamps, small wicks in little receptacles of oil, outlining either window-sill, verandah, or roof, or all three, according to the state of the family exchequer, for kerosene is an expensive commodity by the time the former is carried up to Leh; and of mustard oil and that expressed from apricot kernels there [361] is very little. As most Tibetan villages are built in tiers up the hillside in order to leave the flatter terraces for cultivation, their rows of little lights give quite a fairyland effect. Dominating the whole in Leh is the fine old castle with its row of illuminations, while still higher are the twinkling lights round the crazy verandah of the "Tsemo" or small monastery, 796 perched on its high crags. The official New Year occurs later, and its chief feature is the celebration of *Dosmoche*, the great festival of the Scapegoat. This ceremony varies in different localities. In Leh a huge erection is made of sticks, tied together by twine, and looking like a vastly over-rigged mast. The component parts are prepared previously by the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

earflaps, men and children in their turned-up caps, dotted about with Mussulmans in turbans, old and young all eager and expectant, for they love a *ltadmo*.

One of our annual friends opens the programme, a man on stilts concealed by long draperies, not very realistic, but a source of great delight to the child-like audience. He is followed by two large birds, with long necks (held up by an arm of the masquerader within) and vulture-like heads and beaks, the bodies covered with sheepskins. These extraordinary animals, programmed as "chicken," hop about, peck at each other, clean their feathers, and attend to their personal *shikar*, each action provoking a fresh outburst of amusement from the crowd.

Next comes a lion dance, in which two men are covered with a large skin, from which their human booted legs protrude as fore and hind legs in the most unabashed fashion. The face consists of a mask, and its attendants introduce it with antics of their own. The unwieldly lion makes grotesque leaps and bounds, and finally climbs up on to a table. The play was brought to Leh from Chinese Turkestan, where several tables are piled up high, and our nimble lion reaches the topmost. In Leh, however, a far more serious *dénouement* is achieved, for, with a series of rolls and contortions, a baby lion is born, to the unbounded delight of the audience, and suddenly appears on the table with its mother (the cub being a child also dressed in a skin). Waddell says that the play of this acrobatic lion was primarily derived from China, and has its origin in the "mythical lion of the Himalayan snows, which is believed to confer fortune on the country where it resides. One of these lions was enticed to China by a wizard, and the crops and cattle prospered as long as it lived, and when it died the Chinese stripped off its skin with which they conduct this dance."

Next comes a dragon dance, also originating from China, where the dragon is deified. It is supposed to follow after a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 man holding a ruby, which it wishes to devour. It is formed
527 by a masked leader, from whom long coloured strips of thin
536 cloth pass backwards over other men, who hold up lighted Chinese lanterns on sticks inside it, all their feet representing the dragon's legs. It certainly looks fantastic enough, with its illuminated sinuous snake-like outline darting to and fro in the darkness.

These plays are varied with dances, such as a torch dance, of Indian origin, in which a bare-footed man rushes about twirling a long torch lighted at each end, getting more and more furious as the burning ends approach his body, and the drums beat faster. Of sword dances there are two or three varieties; a slow quiet rhythmical one by a Balti with one sword only; one by a Pathan, lithe and rapid, with a sword in each hand; another slower one, when a Ladaki wields two swords, while in a fourth, two Pathan dancers, each with sword and shield, approach from opposite corners, and engage in mock fight.
174 This dance has come down from old Ladaki times, when our
536 peaceful Tibetans here more resembled their Pathan neighbours, and were probably more fierce and warlike in their mountain fastnesses.

527 Another amusing scene which is usually played on these
536 occasions is the representation of a Kashmiri pundit, who is a settlement officer, and goes round the countryside measuring fields and assessing taxes. He and his underlings are caricatured with floured faces, and good humoured fun made of their bribing methods.

But, perhaps the masterpiece and certainly the most amusing item of the show comes on towards the end, called "The Amban and the Boat." The Amban is a Chinese official on tour, who enters the scene of operations with his staff, and engages in his judicial duties. Then a messenger arrives and presents him with a red paper, informing him that his wife is coming to meet him. The lady is seen in the distance advancing towards her lord in a rickety boat over a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sea. The boat is cleverly made with a framework of wood 527
and paper from which a cloth valance depends. In the middle 536
a small curtained canopy is erected, through which the lady's head can be dimly discerned, but her manly legs can be seen beneath as her impersonator works the boat, walking sideways here and there, and making the light craft rock and sway and gyrate violently as though in a heavy sea. An attendant guide or guardian and a boatman with an oar both accompany the lady, but outside the boat, so that the manipulations of the external oar add to the ludicrous effect produced, which in the bonfire light is grotesquely realistic and extraordinarily funny. As the boat approaches the Amban, the boatman makes a grave error in his nautical activities, and the boat with its precious occupant totters dizzily down to stillness. However it is not sunk to the depths of the ocean, for, after the Amban has manifested his anger and the boatman received a beating, the gay craft rises and once more rocks and sways, and, encountering boisterous seas, again vanishes into the distance, leaving the European element of the audience at least struggling between laughter and memories of *mal-de-mer*.

This little drama and that of the lion and dragon were 177
brought to Leh by traders and servants of sahibs who 536
travelled to Yarkand. "The Amban and the Boat" so impressed one of the latter when he saw it at Kashgar, that he introduced it into Leh for the first time as a fit entertainment for the wedding festivities of a friend, who, we hope, did not have to send for his bride across such perilous seas.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 doctrinal truths, staying for some months. After this I
159 stayed in Gongkar Dechos until the Sheep year, and in the year of the Firemonkey I went to see the Galwa Rinpoche, that is the Dalai Lama. Having done obeisance to him, [554] *he conferred on me the rank of* 'San-o-han-too,' which is a Mongolian word, and other honours which are only bestowed on men of high rank. [To show this rank he has an umbrella carried before him, and possesses his own flag.] I was also placed over other *Skushogs* and professors. I thus received such kindness and praise from the Dalai Lama. That year I returned to Ladak, and the next I passed my examination in doctrine. After this I went to the hermitage of Godtsang, where I lived as a hermit, meditated on the doctrines of Saskya Rnyingma and Drugpa, etc., and read the Kangyur and the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, and pondered their meaning. Here I remained for ten years, but in the Firemonkey year I came out of retirement, and from that time onwards I have been travelling about Upper and Lower Ladak and Kulu, visiting my congregations and giving money to a few lamas, and occasionally I stay in a hermitage."

792 Since he wrote this little history he has also made a grand
177 tour through India, Ceylon and Burmah to Lhasa, and has thus seen something of the impact of Western civilization, which interests him greatly. He has always been much attracted by small mechanical toys and Western devices, such as electric torches, clocks, watches, microscopes, etc., and is himself an expert photographer. Some visitors to Hemis were once amused to see on each side of the chief altar in his private apartment a pair of Odol bottles, their bent necks facing each other. When we first visited this room, they were replaced by Southwell jam jars containing artificial flowers. He is interested in Western medical science too, and gave a sum of money to the Doctor Sahib towards getting the operation theatre of the Moravian Mission Hospital in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get 792
their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be 177
"the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, 792
and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty- [643]
three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill 792
suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting 361
which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, [795]
whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. And this same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

18: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1936 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

Though in theory the taking of life and the
779 offering of bloody sacrifices are revolting to the
782 Tibetan Buddhist, the sacrificing of animals goes on unchecked by the Buddhist hierarchy in many parts of Western Tibet.

782 A section of the community, however, reluctant to shed blood when sacrificing to the local deities, makes dough images of animals for sacrificial purposes.

●177 With the advance of civilization and education
782 in the secluded valleys of Western Tibet, bloody sacrifices will no doubt sink into the limbo of forgotten things.

[76 (a)]

19: Asboe M-3 (no date)1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [76]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [77]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epilepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his remarks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [485]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nang-dzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 423 651

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

1. *Generalities*

595 From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of poly-
[795] androus families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something un-
177 desirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in
595 Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who
795 had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the
[626] rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün
[115] (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I
[563] got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

595 428 [423] whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. [586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 [184] Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] 842 The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not [177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar- [585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom.

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37).

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage.

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 177 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

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THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJK

562 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what
595 would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of
428 a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū
177 custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery. 178

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

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* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Song No. IX.

A.

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IX. A. 1. khyed nyebo me ma khrul	IX. A. 1. Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down!
2. da nang yongba gangnas yongs	2. Now, you, who enter, from where do you come?
3. 'agroba nyidcag gangdu 'agro	3. Then, where will you go to?
4. sdodpai bde lce gangna yod	4. Where will you be pleased to sit down?
5. dgospai skudon sala yod	5. For whose sake do you come?
6. yshungyul 'adiru cila byon.	6. Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

B.

phyimas.

The Nyopas say:—

IX. B. 1. yong da ngazha sharphyogs bdechen glingnas yongs.	IX. B. 1. We come from a happy country in the East,
2. 'agro da ngazha nubphyogs urgyan glingdu 'agro	2. We go to the country of the paradise in the West.
3. sdodpai bdelce de sa ynas 'adina yod	3. We shall be pleased to sit down here.
4. dgospai skudon ni yshungyul 'adina yod,	4. Our aim is here in the middle of village.
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

Notes.

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A. 1. *me ma khrul*, do not let the fire fall down, proverbial expression, for 'do not break down now, show your ingenuity!' 4. The original has *sula* instead of *gangna*, the lines 4 and 5 having been confounded. B. 2. **urgyan**, here in Lower Ladakh is understood to mean either **Padmasambhava** or the '**Western Paradise.**' 1 and 2 again show, plainly, that the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun,

This song IX. is generally the conclusion of the scene before the house, the Nyopas are invited to enter and tell the name of the girl. Then the bridal party, the Nyopas and the whole village sit down for a great feast, when the **Chang glu** (the continuation of the wedding song, given above) is sung. On the following morning a Buddhist Lama appears and reads a scripture portion from an orthodox Buddhist book. People tell me that he may read anything, he likes, because neither the Lama nor the bride are able to grasp the meaning, and the chief thing is the correct pronunciation. Then the bride and the Nyopas mount their horses and ride to the house of the bridegroom, where another feast is given.

Conclusion.

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Having thus arrived at the end of the first intelligible half of the wedding ritual, it will be as well to add a few words about the other less intelligible half, though the latter is not yet ready for publication. After a study of the verses contained in it, which can be understood fairly well, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called **second half of the ritual** is not the continuation of the first; but a composition apart. It is in reality a **new ritual dating from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh**, and is an attempt to replace the ancient Bonpa ritual by another, which, though not entirely Lamaist, tries to introduce Buddhist ideas by placing them side by side with Bonpa ideas. That this

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kēsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern Lōka, pāla-Donyodgrubpa could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kēsar-Myths we learn, that Kēsar, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called Dongrub, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the Lōkapāla of the north (i. e., the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? Donyodgrubpa means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name Dongrub was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other Lōkapālas. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero Kēsar, before his entering into action, is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kēsar?

Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v sredneverkhovym jevropejskim epose*. Moskau, 1899.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i.
Bighā; *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i, twice.
Bibar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihār; *s. v.* Comotay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisnt; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijalár; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bījapūr; *s. v.* Sabaio, 851, ii.
Bijāpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijápér; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Cospetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bijāpār; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremaluco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Narsinga, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 158, ii.

[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wandermärchen*.

4 [Material pertains to a different article -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

practice she may reject the husbandly advances of any of the hus- 595
bands or she may demand the husbandly attentions of all of them.

But the polyandric system in Ladakh is not a pure and unadul- 595
terated one. It bows to expediency. In theory, there is only one 178
wife. Often there are two or perhaps three in a family. The first wife may be sickly. Or she may be so busy bearing children that she cannot work in the fields. Or the burden of the children, the house, and the fields may be too great for any one woman. And so another woman is brought in as wife; and the bedroom acquires a communistic cast.

At times there will be no son to inherit the land. In that event 595
the eldest daughter takes all. Yet, if she has sisters, they too must 428
be provided for. And so the institution of the *magpa* was invented. The father who has no male heir looks around for a likely son-in-law. When the father finds a suitable candidate, he makes a proposition to him. If the chap will give up his family name and take the family name of the other family, he can marry the eldest daughter and their son will inherit the property. If this chap marries the eldest daughter, he automatically becomes the husband of all of her sisters. He becomes the *magpa*, the new head of the sonless family. And so when Mr. Gyalang marries Miss Dombos, he becomes Mr. Dombos.

Thus primogeniture in Ladakh and in Tibet has produced both 595
polyandry and polygamy. These institutions today have a great 428
hold on the people. The Kashmir government is not proud of 182
them. The educated people look down on them. The best families in Leh do not like to discuss the problem. But the roots of polyandry are deep; they are tied to the economy as well as to the customs of the people. And behind the scenes the lamas give the system spiritual and moral support. For the institution of primogeniture has long been thought to be sound in a land where the margin between subsistence and starvation is so narrow. And polyandry is sound by the standards of the lamas, who measure

148 of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane
792 to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

[787] After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

795 The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its
•178 leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed
792 from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal 795
power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in 178
Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The 792
Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the
Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with 642
Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri 795
to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to 178
the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like 792
Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the 647
regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The govern- 792
ment posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. 574
We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this 792
highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not 797
to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to 175
propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule 648
of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not 643
thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over 349
the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great 792
wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their 178
spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all 671
the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. 695
It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

671 dom to divine where the truth lay. Sometimes an accused would
685 have to draw a red-hot iron through his hand or take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil. If he did this without injury, he would be in the clear. (The legends persist that there was a secret art for protecting the hands against such ordeals.) Sometimes the judge, when confused by the evidence, would cast lots instead and in that way determine on which side the truth lay.

681 Capital punishment in Tibet was cruel—pushing red-hot irons
674 into the temples, hurling the convicted person from a great height, smashing his joints with a hammer. In Ladakh, when a temple was spoliated or a person horribly murdered, the guilty one was either crucified or bound hand and foot, weighted with stones, and thrown into the Indus to drown. The usual punishment for crimes—whether adultery or theft—was whipping, fine, or imprisonment. There was a mounting scale of fury which society directed against the thief. For the second offense of stealing, he lost his left hand; for the third, his right hand; for the fourth, he was drowned in the Indus.

[178] At Leh I inquired about these practices, and I learned that they are now mostly history. They are history not only because the Kashmir law is an ameliorating one but because the Buddhist religion has made a vast difference in the lives of the people. Thus I could find in Leh no modern record of a crime of violence—murder, manslaughter, rape, assault and battery.

674 "Don't put too much reliance on the absence of rape," a junior officer laughingly told me. "The resistance point of the average Ladakhi woman is pretty low."

"How about killings?"

"None."

"Assaults?"

"None."

"Not even between husbands in polyandric families where several brothers must share one wife?"

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at each other and argue, but they do not come to blows." 674

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes. 719

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when commerce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square—where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth. 438 487 443 178

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to 458 439 178

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
[548] be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three generations back. I have never found a case of
152 its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as polyandry is an institutionalized social system,
178 they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
178 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

595 pean travelers were introducing the bad
178 habit of monogamous marriage, and that
428 the young men were getting more and more immoral. I suppose he was quite right, and as I was interested to hear his point of view we had quite a conversation about it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we managed to remain wealthy without being polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in Tibet we haven't enough to go around and as we don't want to divide the property up we have to be polyandrous so that we inherit the property without its being divided. But how do you Europeans do it? How do you remain wealthy by being monogamous and dividing up your property?"

595 I must say I had not thought of this
178 before. It only occurred to me when I
428 was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes, now that I think of it, it is probably true
829 that in Europe we do things in a different way. When we marry, each man goes off with his wife and they try to fend for themselves, build up their own family and get their own source of revenue. That is the way we do it. There is enough wealth to go around to found other families." "Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I have noticed among the Tibetans who have become Moslems that this is also the case. They cease being polyandrous, and because of that they then divide up the property. There is not enough to go around. The eldest brother usually gets it and the youngest brothers have to go off with their wives elsewhere to find some work. I have also noticed here that nearly all the Mohammedan families seem to go to Burma and work in the ruby mines there. That is obviously for the same reason you are telling me now about Europeans." Then he was silent for a moment and looked at me in a pensive fashion until suddenly he said, "Now I understand why you Europeans come here. That is why you have got colonies. If you were polyandrous you wouldn't need to!"

152 One question I am very often asked is,
428 does jealousy exist within the various

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [504] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [1988] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, [795] in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 198 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she [168]

[See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355 -- Ah.]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans AJ4

562 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which
778 point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his [178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās [647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats [788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [4r3] [439] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

563 4r3 443

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

779 798 [792] person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 772 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells, such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties [181] are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IN HIMALAYAN TIBET

CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Land & People

"ONCE upon a time" is the orthodox beginning for all stories of fairy-land, and indeed the words "here and now" seem far too prosaic to introduce a new-comer into a land where those, who can still look out on the world with a child's wonderment and imagination, may actually see such living and moving embodiment of gnomes, elves, quaint old witches, weird old wizards in such appropriately fantastic and grotesque settings that they may well feel they have reached the veritable home of merry sprites and strange goblins. Could anything be more gnome-like than the little children playing in the roads and lanes, peeping shyly round dark corners or out of mysterious cracked doors, or darting away down queer passages leading under and through houses, quaint little individuals with merry brown faces, sometimes flat and Mongolian in type, but often with large lustrous brown eyes, probably from a Kashmiri admixture. See these elf-like little faces framed in the astrakhan edging of their high fur-lined caps with turned-up corners, a fashion worn by all ages and sexes, including the pig-tailed men, these very corners being so typical of the whole goblin land. So, too, are the still taller peaked mitre-shaped hats of the lamas, red or yellow, while the national head-dress or "Perag" of the women, is the most extraordinary thing of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Ladetans AJ4

network of rope, serves as operating-table. A small box does duty as instrument table, whilst an X travelling wash-stand must serve for the Surgeon's washing of hands and that, too, of his assistant. The first patient is brought in, a woman who prostrates herself before the door of the temple. One of the villagers has been impressed as an extra assistant, and is now instructed thoroughly to wash the lady's face with soap and water. She is then laid on the dirty bedstead, and her dirty clothes are covered first by a sheet of clean mackintosh, and then by towels which have been sterilized in Carbolic Acid, and her not overclean hair is likewise covered. Cocaine is then instilled into both eyes, the Surgeon and his assistant wash their hands, then kneeling at their very low operating-table proceed to extract the cataracts. This done, fingers are held up for the patient to count, and the onlookers reveal their interest and joy by ejaculations of "*wah!*," or "*tong dug*" —"she sees." Eyes are bandaged, and the next patient tackled. That day we did twenty-two cataract operations, and afterwards were inclined to boast about it till we met another Missionary Doctor,—Holland of Quetta,—who told us that he had done over ninety in one day. And the results? Of our twenty-two, eighteen received good sight, two were partially successful, whilst two were failures. Considering the dirty patients and dirtier surroundings, we felt the results quite justified the trip. We stayed a few days longer till it was safe to leave those on whom we had operated, and then began our return journey, thinking ruefully of how the deputation from Lingshed had promised to furnish us with supplies on the road, and had faithfully done so until the operations were over and there was little more to be got out of us. On the way home we were left to fend for ourselves, and our poor ponies had occasionally to go hungry. Ingratitude, and not gratitude, is one of the prominent characteristics of the Ladaki, for does not a good action bring its own reward, and the Doctor will have reaped much merit from his medical tour.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVI

Merit & its Acquisition

779 SODNAM or *Gewa*, both of which mean merit, are perhaps the two religious expressions most commonly used by the people of Ladak. It has been said that "the acquisition of merit is the controlling motive for most of the religious acts of the average Buddhist." This is perfectly true of Lamaism. How one gets to dislike the word merit, which is so absolutely the expression of utter and complete selfishness. The Ladaki simply does not believe in disinterested, unselfish action. True compassion is practically unknown. The cup of cold water is not given to quench the brother's thirst but to gain a reward. But whence does the Buddhist of Little Tibet get his idea of merit? Can it be from the Buddha, whose life was one of the most beautiful ever lived? This seems unlikely; in fact we are informed that he actually taught the utter uselessness of any action performed for the sake of obtaining merit, which thereby only defeats its own ends. Consciously he did not preach this appalling doctrine, and yet is it not an outcome of his teachings? This is not a treatise on Buddhist philosophy, and yet it is necessary to have a general idea of Gautama's teaching to be able to understand some part of the Ladaki's religious belief. To begin with it must be stated that it is very difficult to know what the Buddha really did teach, for the Pali writings are none too authentic, but there is no doubt that he connected all sorrow and trouble, sickness and death, with material existence, which he regarded as an illusion, and longed, not only for himself, but for all his

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which " there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

511 advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding
426 compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not
[783] attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

462 The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

181 Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) ཉམ་པོ་འདུག་པ་ན་ཟ་ལ་ཁྱོད།།

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(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'.

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama.

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance.

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) ནའ་ན་ནའ་ཟ་ཟེར་ར་ནི་མི་ཡི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན།

ཐུ་ལ་ལ་ཡུ་ཞུང་བཏག་ག་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན།།

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(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor in'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁ་ཏཱ་ཀོ་འགག་ཟེར་པ། ཁུང་ཀའི་མིག་འཁྲུལ།།

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(*b*) Kha'tā ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kā mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three generations back. I have never found a case of
152 its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as polyandry is an institutionalized social system,
178 they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that, in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

WT 838 ●181 595 But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT 719 545 174 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti 595 341 WT 341 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchamadoong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchamadoong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

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Ti 595 587 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

LADĀKHIS.

The Ladākhis have the Turanian cast of feature—that which we are apt to call Chinese, from our having become most familiar with it through the Chinese division of the Turanian family. They have it not perhaps in its greatest intensity, but still unmistakably. The cheek-bones are high; from them downwards the face rapidly narrows; the chin is small and usually retreats. The most persistent peculiarity is that of the eyes, of which the outer corners are drawn out and the upper eyelids are overhung by a fold of the skin above. The eyes are brown in colour. The nose is pressed, so to say, into the face; and it is often, but not always, depressed at the bridge. The mouth is large and inexpressive; the lips project, but are not thick. The hair, which is black, is cut quite close in front and at the sides of the head; behind, it is collected into a plait or pigtail, which reaches about to the small of the back. Moustaches are always or nearly always present, but they are small, and the beard is very scant. 142 [302]

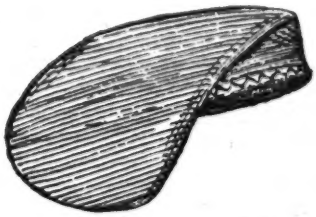
In stature the Ladākhis are short, several inches below the English middle height. Cunningham gives nearly 5 feet 2 inches as the height of the men and 4 feet 9¼ inches as that of the women. Both sexes are broad-made and strong. There is no doubt that they are an ugly race; their best friends cannot deny it. As to the women, the best that can be said of their looks is that some of the younger ones are "not so bad looking."

One is glad, on coming to the subject of their character, to find more to be praised. The Ladākhis are cheerful, willing, and good-tempered; they are very ready for a langh; they are not quarrelsome, unless it be when excited by their intoxicating drink, *chang*, and if over that they do get to wrangling or fighting, no bad blood remains afterwards. They are by no means ingenious; simplicity and clumsiness are characteristics of them. There could hardly be two national characters more opposed than those of the Ladākhis and the Kashmiris; these latter, quick, versatile, and plausible; the others slow, inapt, 181

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

181 and much given to truth-telling. The Ladākhīs, however, have by no means poor understandings; they are not muddle-headed, but will learn to understand clearly if given a fair time and opportunity. Major Godwin-Austen has with truth remarked that in one respect the Ladākhī writers far excel the munshīs, or writers, of India—that is, in the understanding of a map.

291 Their dress is simple; it is all woollen, of a coarse and thick, but not very closely-woven, home-made cloth, of a natural drab colour. The men wear a *choga*, or wide and long coat, folded over double in front, and confined at the waist by a woollen kamarband, or scarf. They wear nothing beneath this; with boots and cap, and may be an extra wrapper, their attire is complete. As to cap, there is an old and a new fashion. The old sort of cap, still a great deal worn, but chiefly in those parts that are out of the way of traffic from foreign countries, is of the peculiar form shown in the cut. The part that falls over, as far as I could make out, does no good to the wearer. The Kashmīrīs have an absurd story about these caps, that their origin was from the time when a force of Mughal soldiers from Kashmir, under Ibrāhīm Khān, came to help the Ladākh ruler against the Sokpo invaders. When this force was retiring, one of the troopers dropped his horse's *tobrā*, or nose-bag, which a Ladākhī, picking it up, wore for a cap; and the fashion was so much admired that it became general. The other sorts of head-dress are a jaunty skull-cap, which is the newer fashion, and a comfortable lamb-skin cap, with large ear-flaps, which in summer are stuck up behind in a curious way, but in winter they make the best possible protection against the severe cold. To the Ladākhī his boots are a matter of great importance. The stony ground, and in winter the biting snow, require precautions. A piece of thick leather makes the sole, and is moulded round for the sides of the feet as well; a felt or a cloth top is joined on to



LADĀKHĪ CAP.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by 291
felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry.

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is 564
that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry.

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is 793
not hereditary.

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the 131
Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places.

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different 563
occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was 142
that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 181

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 Ladākhis, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
● 181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhis, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lambskin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhis do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADAKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
439 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[651] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
181 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides,
526 behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean
[356] and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 18

HOW MANY HUSBANDS DO YOU HAVE?

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Polyandry is a form of polygamy. But instead of the husband having several wives, the wife has several husbands. Ladakh is not the only place in the world where polyandric marriages have existed. But it is one of the few places where they still thrive. They thrive there despite the fact that Kashmir has outlawed them.

595 Some say polyandry exists where there is a scarcity of women; 182 that when there are not enough women to go around, a social-religious institution is created enabling one woman, with propriety, to do double or treble or quadruple service. That was probably the origin of polyandry in the plains of India where long ago there were in places a scarcity of women owing to female infanticide. Others say that polyandry was introduced into Ladakh and Tibet to take care of the special needs of family life there. The man of the house customarily spends more than half the year away from home with caravans, or with sheep and goats, or on pilgrimages. There is the need to protect the women and

the children during his long absences and to maintain a standard 595
of connubial fidelity. So the wife is given protection and com- 182
panionship of extra husbands. Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., who passed through Ladakh about thirty years ago on a hunting expedition, reported in his book, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*, that polyandry served greatly to ameliorate the lot of the woman in this region. I found no evidence of that. The woman in Ladakh is the work horse of the family. When she marries she takes up the great burden of children, the house, and the fields. Unmarried women are spry, pretty, and gay. Married women are old by thirty. A few years of married life makes them bent and silent and wan. Polyandry, if designed to cater to the woman, has failed in its purpose.

In some regions polyandry may have been designed to cut down 595
the number of babies. The scarcity of food is thought by some to 168
have been the reason for the introduction long ago of the polyandric marriage into a few remote sections of the Kulu Valley. A related reason is sometimes advanced for the introduction of polyandry into Tibet and Ladakh. The view is that it was imported by the lamas as an instrument of control. This region does not produce much food. If the population curve were to go up, there would not be enough food to go around. Population is held in check by reducing the number of wives. That means more food for everyone as fewer babies are born. That means that the monasteries, bulging with food, need not fear a growing discontent among the masses who starve so that the lamas may eat. The purpose, if such it was, is lost in history. But the effect of polyandry is plain. The population of Ladakh has long remained practically stationary; and the food supply of the lamas has in no way been threatened.

Another theory behind polyandry also traces to a purpose that 595
serves the interest of the monasteries. The idea is that if a woman 182
has several husbands there will likely be discontent and rivalry 792
among the men. The wife will have favorites; and there will be

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
• 182 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
792 monasteries to become lamas.

595 All of these reasons[1] may contribute to the invention and spread
428 of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each generation of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers. The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
[601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

 [1] [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

practice she may reject the husbandly advances of any of the hus- 595
bands or she may demand the husbandly attentions of all of them.

But the polyandric system in Ladakh is not a pure and unadul- 595
terated one. It bows to expediency. In theory, there is only one 178
wife. Often there are two or perhaps three in a family. The first wife may be sickly. Or she may be so busy bearing children that she cannot work in the fields. Or the burden of the children, the house, and the fields may be too great for any one woman. And so another woman is brought in as wife; and the bedroom acquires a communistic cast.

At times there will be no son to inherit the land. In that event 595
the eldest daughter takes all. Yet, if she has sisters, they too must 428
be provided for. And so the institution of the *magpa* was invented. The father who has no male heir looks around for a likely son-in-law. When the father finds a suitable candidate, he makes a proposition to him. If the chap will give up his family name and take the family name of the other family, he can marry the eldest daughter and their son will inherit the property. If this chap marries the eldest daughter, he automatically becomes the husband of all of her sisters. He becomes the *magpa*, the new head of the sonless family. And so when Mr. Gyalang marries Miss Dombos, he becomes Mr. Dombos.

Thus primogeniture in Ladakh and in Tibet has produced both 595
polyandry and polygamy. These institutions today have a great 428
hold on the people. The Kashmir government is not proud of 182
them. The educated people look down on them. The best families in Leh do not like to discuss the problem. But the roots of polyandry are deep; they are tied to the economy as well as to the customs of the people. And behind the scenes the lamas give the system spiritual and moral support. For the institution of primogeniture has long been thought to be sound in a land where the margin between subsistence and starvation is so narrow. And polyandry is sound by the standards of the lamas, who measure

595
428 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their
182 religious order.

595 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage
585 of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage
586 or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

TODA AW 60
KERALA AW 11

K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiva Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

Ti 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 182 To 595 182 Ti 595 182 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

TODA AW60
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K 595 182 Ti 595 182 To 595 182

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

To 829 595 121 182 Ti 829 595 121 182 K [121] would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Ti 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

made clear to me exactly what was meant by this name (on the 25th June, 1938). 595 428

Lahulis, the Moravian missionary told me, are very keen not to divide up their property and anxious, also, not to let their family name die out. [182] In order to attain these two objectives, they practise polyandry and both patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance, the latter type, however, only in the case of there being no male heir, so that a generation in which there are only girls may be bridged over.

He compared the Lahuli household to a pivot around which all the interests of the family revolved. Polyandry was practised because in this way a number of brothers living on a family property could keep it undivided by taking one wife in common and sharing her, the land and the children between themselves. Usually inheritance was patrilineal, boys inheriting jointly and without division from their fathers, and then marrying polyandrously as the latter had done, and so on and so on through the future generations.

Matrilineal succession was resorted to when there was no male heir or heirs. In that case, if there were more than one girl, the eldest became the heiress, while the others were married off into other families, usually polyandrously, to brothers. In the case of one female heir, she, like the eldest of many daughters, inherited the whole property from her parents, undivided, and then was free to take as many husbands as she wished with whom to procreate offspring for the household. If she had boys, they inherited as described above; if she in turn only had girls, the same procedure as that which had been followed in her own case was again made use of.

The first type of marriage, the Reverend Peter said, that in which the sons of a Lahuli family took one wife in common, was the most widespread and was called a *bag-ma* marriage (*Bag-ma*, meaning "bride" in Tibetan). It was patrilocal and patrilineal. The other type of marriage, the one in which a daughter inherited all the property alone and took as many husbands as she wished, was more exceptional. Its name was a *mag-pa* marriage (from *Mag-pa*, "son in law" or "bridegroom" in Tibetan), an appellation by which the woman's husband or husbands were also known in that case (see genealogy of the Karpa family in which this term is used). [601]

My informant told me that in Leh, Ladak, he had known a woman with three *mag-pas*, all unrelated, so that this is a form of non-fraternal polyandry. He said that the younger brothers of a *mag-pa* do not have access to his wife, as it is he who has married into her household and

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that
[851] when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an
[842] attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I
595 was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the
855 fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience show-
428 ed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put
[626] pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There
[598] was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this
[187] matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *meme* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

595 425 428 [182]

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 425 428 595 [VKA]

Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

595 123 182

[Text continues on p. 364]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 123 182 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 601 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,[1] now lived with his wife and [115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our informant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was [888] [591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 595 888 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some- [435] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly [428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to [585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 601 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*, [888] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry, [591] occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

[1 [i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

212b

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

Ti 595 587

entitled to share the daughter-in-law with their sons. That, as I say, is practiced only in central Tibet but is well known in the entire country. The children issued from such a marriage legally have as fathers those to whom the wife was officially married at the moment of the birth. That is, if widowers share their daughter-in-law with their sons, the children of that woman are the children of the sons, so that your legal grandchildren can be your own physiological children and, *vice versa,* if it is the fathers who are legally married to the woman, your legal brother can well be your own physiological son!

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I understand that Tibetans from other parts of the country rather despise this form of marriage. I have caught my caravaneers openly insulting central Tibetans as being *tchamadoong*-practicing. Also, when they are playing dice, I noticed that sometimes they invoke the *tchamadoong* to produce luck for them, so that she is a double kind of figure to whom they cannot be entirely indifferent: they despise her and yet, at the same time, she can bring them luck.

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I do not know how far the existence of the *tchamadoong* has been reported in anthropological circles heretofore. Personally, I have never heard of this system before, except on the spot, and I am very keen to go back and study it. The case to which we came closest was the governor in the western province of Tibet, named Ngari Korsum. He was living in the capital, Gartok, when we were there. He was a central Tibetan sent by the central government to govern that province, and with him were his two sons and their one wife. She was a *tchamadoong,* the wife of the boys, the father sharing her with his sons. I was shown a photograph of her, taken by a Tibetan who had a camera from India, and that is the closest I have been, so far, to such a woman. I understand that in southern India there is a similar practice, in which a father is entitled to enjoy his daughter-in-law as long as his son is a minor, but this practice

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

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Amusements. 541

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

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Constitution of the family. 592

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

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"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gompa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

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* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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"*Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.

"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.

"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*

"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" [1]

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thákur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thákurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpan*, under the name of *dotonzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thákur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house- and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive, custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

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428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

* *Kang*, house; big; *chung*, small; *ya*=*ndia* (Hindi); *yang*=*aur* or *par*, as in *paráda* (Hindi), one beyond.

[1 QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON. -- ANALYST]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Laddkh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Muhammadan.	Others.
Kúlu	60,000	...	823	21
Láhaul	5,[illegible]	...	21	30
Spiti	1	2,[illegible]	...	1

"In Kúlu, including *wazírí* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorój, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

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retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hindúism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hindúism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kúlu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hindúism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hindúism is advancing, the people declare that they are Hindú Kaneta, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindú; and the Moravian missionaries at Keylang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The *lámás* of Láhaul will not eat with a European, while the *lámás* of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hindúism is ascribed in part to the influence of the *ráháurs* or barons of Láhaul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindú. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Bráhmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindú Kúlu as Hindús."

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Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He is quoted at length in the following pages. Even the transition from Hindú to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible from the quotation from Mr. Anderson given below.

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhaul *lámás* save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hindúism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhaul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple, while Mr. Anderson says: "It is not improbable that the Dágis and low castes, and perhaps even the so-called Kaneta, when they wish to indulge in beef, kill a cow or a bullock on the sly, though this is denied with indignation and disgust." Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Láás*, or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindú brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhaul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanáwar; for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the recent Census the state of Basáhir returned only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhaul and Spiti were returned as Hindús, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts. In 1869, Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Láhaul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindús that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

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And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *choti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chostím*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhodtens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

346 782 104

* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *mánis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life. [776]

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti. 174

In the time when the *Lung pachhei* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *Ishás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men. 779

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time. 177 564 167

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis. 184 779

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all. [564] 795

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gompas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gompas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Trilokináth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir [778] [782]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[Quote from Rev. Heyde]

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[786] Social and Religious Life.

184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chánig* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 "All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

795 [778] [782] "As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

776 [754] 778 782 177

771 177 "As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 241 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Sreg machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life. 241

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system. 779 792 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámáic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámáic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 Chapter III, B.

871 Social and Religious Life.

Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sewing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

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As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

● 184 Education.

In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

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[651]

142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

564 565 184 [171]

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Caste in Spiti.

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

564 565 582 264

"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *haddi*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

564

The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monba* or *monpa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethus correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *monpa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

SECTION A.—AGRICULTURE AND ARBORICULTURE.

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Chapter IV, A.

Agriculture and Arboriculture.

Detail of area with reference to agriculture.

The areas of cultivation in Láhaul and Spiti as ascertained at the revision of Settlement by Mr. Lyall were respectively 3,096 and 1,184 acres. A detailed statement adapted from a return printed in Mr. Lyall's report is subjoined. Commenting, however, on the figures Mr. Lyall states his opinion that the "real cultivated area (in Spiti) is about half as much again as that shown in this return." It may, therefore, be approximately given as 1,775 acres.

Area (in acres) cultivated and barren in Láhaul and Spiti.

Subdivisions.	Paying revenue to the State (*Khálsa*).		Revenue alienated or remitted (*Jágir* and *máfi*).		Total area assessed.
	Barren.	Cultivated.	Barren.	Cultivated.	
Láhaul	1,053,713	1,999	350,807	1,097	1,407,616
Spiti	1,242,816	1,119	...	65	1,344,000
Total ...	2,296,529	3,118	350,807	1,162	2,751,616

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Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

Barley is the principal crop in both *wazíris*; a very fine description of wheat, with six tiers of grain on each ear, is also grown in Pattan in Láhaul, and from Kibbar downwards in Spiti. Major Hay puts the return on seed sown in Spiti at 14 to 1 for barley, and from 10 to 12 to 1 for wheat. Mr. Lyall's enquiries led him to think that this estimate is about right as an average. As three *khal* or *lakh* (land measure) are found to be about equal to an acre, it may be estimated that an acre produces in Spiti 42 *khal*, or 12½ maunds of barley, and 36 *khal*, or 10¾ maunds of wheat; this is taking the *khal* at 12 *ser* only, which is rather less than its real capacity. In the upper villages the crops are occasionally blighted by early frosts, but on the whole the harvest must be unusually certain and invariable in amount. In Láhaul the outturn per acre must be rather less on the average, as the cloudy drizzly weather which sometimes prevails, particularly in Rangloi, must do harm. The other crops, besides wheat and barley, are peas, which are much grown in Spiti, but not in Láhaul, and buck-wheat which is common in Láhaul but very rare in Spiti. Mustard is sometimes, but rarely, grown in small quantities for oil. A little *china* is also sown in the lowest part of Spiti.*

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* An excellent account of the vegetable productions of Láhaul by Dr. Aitchison was published in Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal.

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abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it. 595 428 [691]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless." [694]

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers. 593 184 [797]

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm 593 595 184

593 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one
595 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this
184 ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and
[465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land
291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves,
515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night,
735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
797 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
[291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
● 184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

side valleys, the latter at once detected by a slight difference in dress or dialect. Here came a group of Indian officials from Leh, in front the white turban and coat of the Tehsildar or chief magistrate on an alert little pony with one or two attendants, behind at a little distance his daughter in her closed dandy, then his wife in hers, and their carrying coolies singing as usual ; sometimes the wail of the baby was heard from within the curtain. Leh traders, who put up little temporary shops under canvas along the main street (a series of steps and platforms at the side of the monastery) a detachment of Gurkhas from the company stationed at Leh, two Ladaki girls riding on one pony with a male relation at the side, all these, and many more types we can study at leisure during the long intervals of the performance, which would be unutterably boring apart from the picturesque and varied audience, to whom we are as much a part of the show as they are to us. One more little group, passed as we neared the monastery, deserves mention. Placed on a sort of chair, railed on the four sides and fixed to his saddle, sits a wee baby *Skushog*, the Incarnation of the *dGonpa* at Stagna, about ten miles away. He wears the correct red *Skushog* robes, and processional riding-hat, and wobbles a bit with fatigue after his long ride. We stop to greet him and his attendant lamas, and find he is only six years old, in fact he looks less.

They draw aside to let us pass, and, as we look back to bid him adieu, the rich red of the lamas, the yellow-brown of his pony, with its small offspring sidling up to the mother adding a further baby element to the group, form such a picture against the green trees, *chorten* gate and distant mountainous background, that it makes us wish our camera was not packed up and ahead in our bedding. This tiny abbot re-appeared several times during the ensuing ceremonies, now on the roof, now in a balcony, now in a prominent corner just outside the main door of the *dGonpa*, always with his devoted lama nurse in attendance, and delighting us by his

796 some destroyed roofing, were placed to complete the square
536 of the dancing theatre. The audience squatting on the ground were pushed back behind these as each scene opened.

[788] In the middle of the main court-yard, some distance apart from each other, and supported by round whitewashed mud platforms were two flagstaffs, capped by yaks' tails ; they were almost as high as the monastery, and from their sides floated out many long prayer-flags. The scene was completed on the first morning, after we had been sent for and had taken our seats, by the setting-up of a large banner, which was let down from the roof above the main door and steps, on which was portrayed a young man with the Buddha type of face. This we learnt represented " Padma Karpo " his real name being " Dugpa Rinpoche." The next morning he was replaced by a more elderly gentleman, called " Galsas Rinpoche," the tutelary god of Hemis. Once in twelve years a still more important deity is displayed, and rites and ceremonies are performed in his honour, while the common people prostrate themselves before him. Above these banners each day a large awning with a yellow silk valance was protruded, whether to shade them from the sun subjectively, or objectively as regards the colour of the cloth, it is hard to say.

796 But before the drama opens, we must devote a few words to our fellow spectators who will provide us with so much interest and amusement in the long intervals between the scenes. During one of the most tedious of these, when we could hear the drums throbbing for some ceremony within the monastery, a Ladaki informant alleged that the monks had been receiving and eating the offerings of food brought by the common people from near and far. Judging by the size of the congregation this must needs have been a proponled ritual and a sustining meal.

796 During the acting they crowded on to every available space,
• 184 roofs, balconies, galleries, steps, platforms, and blocked up all the egresses on the ground floor. Here and there were

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

proud possessors of umbrellas, which went up for sun or showers. Many districts and dialects were represented. 796 184

Here were two *Jomos* or nuns from Zankskar, to whom we talked later on when gathered round their camp-fire with their fellow countrymen, young girls of about seventeen and nineteen, sisters, with course manly faces and necks under their tonsured heads and yellow caps. They had come a month's journey over many a difficult pass, but were as cheery as could be. Conspicious were some conjurers from Spitti, who come to Ladak every year, and whose display we had often witnessed in Leh. With uncovered heads, their long hair done in a large number of narrow plaits gave a strangely effeminate touch to their tall, well set-up bodies. Dotted about were ladies from the district of Hanle, some two to three weeks' journey further up the Indus valley, easily distinguished by their peculiar *perags*, which, instead of coming to a blunt point in front, were cut sharply off above the forehead by a straight bar of silver. Many of the women from Nubra and the less known valleys of Ladak wore picturesque dresses of narrow material sewn together in strips with circular patterns stamped on at intervals, giving a striped effect, so pleasing that one wished it had not been put out of fashion by the town ladies of Leh. One old Tibetan with a dark face, looking as if he might belong to the Hanuman tribe, sat devoutly under an umbrella the whole time, and, whenever we looked across, he was turning his two prayer-wheels, which he held one in each hand. Such devotion had no doubt prevented him from attending to his wild unkempt hair for many a long day. There were also many ladies wearing nothing on their heads to cover their untidy plaited hair: these were nomads from the Changtang, the great northern plains far away. Now a small person takes up a central position and serenely breaks open apricot stones to extract the kernels, using a stone to crack them on the base of the flagstaff. A gentleman with a yellow silk brocade dressing-gown and

796 184 291 [791]

tremendous red hat is seen making his way purposefully through the crowd, and one wonders what, whence, whither? Then comes into view a curious figure with a tremendous prayer-wheel, a strange hat with a central peak, and a high scolloped turned-up brim, a conspicuous rosary, and two small drums on his back: a sort of gipsy lama, or shall we label him a mendicant magician in this land where priest-craft and devil-worship, ecclesiastical ritual and sorcery, are so closely mingled.

There we spy a typical Tibetan face, framed by a four-flapped dark orange cap; and now a pretty Ladaki girl, in a very Dutchy hat with turned-up corners and a little bit of gold embroidery, detaches herself from the crowd and makes signs to a friend on the roof above us, a delightful touch of colour being added by a yellow rose fastened in the side of her hat. Occasionally we spot a woman from Central Tibet with her round head-dress a strip of red-covered leather shaped into a ring, studded with turquoise and coral, and wearing the quaint striped apron which she and her sisters effect. In the corner, under the shelter of an overhanging roof, we find a little family comfortably ensconced, their baggage sacks having been arranged as pillows for a witchlike old lady who leans wearily back on them. Here and there stand out extra highly coloured hats on our own Ladaki neighbours, even the gentlemen having had their head-gear re-covered for such a festival. The flat Mongolian faces and quaint wee garments, generally raggedly elflike, of the babies, are particularly fascinating, especially one tiny man belonging to the front row in the quadrangle floor, who runs out into the arena every now and again to guilelessly practice the movements he has just witnessed, causing real joy to the crowd. One larger boy, caught trespassing by a monk with a whip, is seized and given a mock beating, which amuses him as much as the onlookers. Here are some Dard ladies from Hanu, far down the Indus valley, with their bag-like caps fastened down on one side and adorned with a row of needles (probably made in Birmingham).

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

So from time to time one interesting type after another appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the
178 river to make the return journey to Leh on the other side, we passed a large *chorten* surrounded by small trees, on which was painted a hideous three-eyed monster, the patron saint of Hemis, and then caught up with one more fascinating
484 little group of pilgrims. This trio were returning up the Indus
184 valley to the wilds, two women and a man in the dress of
291 nomads. On their backs were strange casks like old beer barrels with the outlet well pegged. Looking in over the top we found they were lidless and contained all their cooking pots, while the remainder of their travelling requisites, probably all their worldly goods, were packed on the back of the donkey, whose foal trotted at her side.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

COLLECTANEA

SOCIAL FESTIVALS IN LADAKH KASHMIR

184 In that part of Western Tibet called Ladakh social functions differ in certain respects from those which exist in Lahul, though the inhabitants in both districts share a common language, Tibetan.

A

796 The New Year[1] festival begins on the 10th month of the
373 Tibetan calendar, continuing from the 25th until the 30th day. On the 25th day of that month each household prepares 30–40 little receptacles which serve as small lamps for illuminating the house. These are called *Bu-La*, and are made from the residue of mustard seed from which the oil has been extracted by pressure. The mustard oil is then poured into one such little lamp and a wick put in to float in it. These little lamps are lit at 8 o'clock in the evening. One such lamp is placed in the window of each room in the

[1] *New Year*

My Tibetan informant told me that originally the Ladakhis celebrated their New Year in the 12th month of their calendar as is the custom in other parts of Tibet, but in 1841–42 when the Dogras invaded Western Tibet and subjugated it, the Ladakhis decided to celebrate their new year in the 10th month so as to enable them to fight the invader. It is said that a large number of the Ladakhis having determined to take their wives and children along with them to the war, they were finally induced to forgo fighting altogether rather than expose their families
[113] to the dangers and rigours of war. (For information concerning the conquest of the Western Empire of Tibet, see Dr. A. H. Francke's "A History of Western Tibet".) The Ladakhi new year has therefore been observed in the 10th month ever since.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is *attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head.* Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

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Ladak

temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

595 428 [423] whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. [586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 [184] Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] 842 The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not [177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar- [585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak 582

(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree. 611 614 [184]

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail. 585

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness". [535] [187]

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

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595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
[791] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

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It all depends upon how people feel about such things, my informants said. Sometimes, the wife will regulate who, of her many husbands, should be with her; at other times, one of the brothers will do so, not necessarily the eldest, but generally the one with the most personality, the one who has the greatest influence with them all. Again, it is possible for the brothers to agree among themselves as to who shall go with their wife for the night, while it is not excluded that they should all of them have relations with her in the same night. Things can be done discreetly, in the dark, with some item of furniture in front of the bed for greater privacy. But this is not always the case, and often relations between husbands and the wife take place with a lamp lit, and in full view of the others, including the children. Not much clothing, however, is discarded, partly out of modesty, but also because it is cold.

I asked here, too, if signals were ever made use of at the door, should the marriage not be consummated in the common room. This question was usually received with great guffaws of laughter; the very idea seemed to amuse them. No, they said, there were no signals; nobody ever left anything at the door. As far as they knew, it had never been done, either.

To my question as to how, then, did they decide who should sleep with the common wife, one of my informants (at the Od-ldan household) looked at me slily and asked if I were, myself, married. When I answered that I was, he asked whether, then, I decided with my wife that, as let us say seven p.m. tonight, we would have intercourse? Naturally not, and he laughed; well, then it was the same with them. Such things took place tacitly, by implicit understanding, and with tact, not in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.

My investigations as to the possibility of jealousy affecting the relations between the husbands of a polyandrous Ladaki family led to the same results as in Lahul. I was told that nobody could afford to be jealous, that it was a luxury in which those who were rich enough to divide up property in other, less austere environments than theirs, could indulge. The Reverend W. Asboe was of the opinion that the ordinary average Ladaki was "not very passionate" as he put it, and that for this reason, they could not really feel the pangs of jealousy. He attributed this lack of passion to the altitude and to the climate which was so cold, and as proof of his allegation, he said that the Moslems, who elsewhere were so fiery about sexual matters and men's honour in these things, were also devoid of passion in Ladak, and often accepted situations there which they would have violently rebelled against elsewhere. No-

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A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647). 595 114

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms 601 184

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Ladak

601 [184] being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only [609] used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

614 [184] The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

[164] It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

[171] It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 852 [604] [242] headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if [603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] [302] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 [551] A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 175
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 668
Tibet today. 631

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the north- 175
west; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 438
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its
Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient
city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will
shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an
extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the
use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale.
Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program
in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as
the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the
old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 157
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with
their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncompli-
cated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith.
The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to
them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people,
and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually
faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the chil-
dren, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoy-
ancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the
laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been
washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the
garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against
Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips,
gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately [484] the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 556 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. 427 This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

able British Government is paying him some large salary for 759
his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and 796
rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the [778]
altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter 291
of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the 121
wrong way round in this strange land, where the term 186
mgologpa (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of [147]
conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

121 tear, and keep your best one clean, yet availing yourself of
186 its warmth, instead of putting it away to get moth-eaten? How much better to have your garden on the roof, where the passer-by may not be tempted to snatch a blossom over an easily knocked-down mud wall, and as for having your best room at the top of the house, it certainly has the better view there, and is further removed from the dust and the smell of the narrow lanes, which are only scavenged by the unclaimed street-dogs and the indefatigable crows and ravens. Indeed, but for these unrecognized friends, aided by the dryness of the climate and the long winter frost, the town would soon be uninhabitable for lack of sanitation. So let us hope that living among these strange people may develop in us a sweet reasonableness as to differences of opinion, which perhaps some of our insulated compatriots may find it more difficult to obtain. As another colleague frequently reminds us, they think we are all mad, some more than others. True, we have invented "motres" (motors), telegraphy, electric lighting and other wonders seen in Srinagar, the nearest point of real civilization, but who, save more or less mad people could produce such strange inventions? Probably the demons have revealed such tricks to us. Was not the Great White Queen Victoria herself a demon, demonstrated by the fact that she rode side-saddle? At any rate if challenged as to the rightness of his methods, the Ladaki can point out that his civilization is older than ours, and this same antiquity is adduced by him as an argument in favour of his religion as compared with ours.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

846 because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, 852 and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of 553 the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, 784 which means the " tying-on " of a name, is postponed till a con- 186 venient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is 789 requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants ? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child ! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival ? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

T 595 114 [184] during all my field work, both before and after World War II, with data and recorded facts which now make it possible for me to affirm without any hesitation that polyandry between father and sons is practised in Tibet, particularly in the two central provinces of Ü and Tsang, where it is most widespread. The following is the history of the progress of my investigation, which started with the collection of information from those who knew about the custom and ended with my actually meeting cases and interviewing them to find out how the arrangement functions.

T WT 595 I began in Lahul. It will be recalled that when I visited that valley, on the 21st of June, 1938, Thakur Partap Chand took me to see a polyandrous family in a house called Barun-pa (see above page 312–312). I took advantage of the cordiality which the Wazir of Lahul showed towards me to question him on the subject of the polyandry of fathers and sons about which I had heard from Dr. Kanshi Ram.

The informant immediately confirmed its existence and said that it was common knowledge, even in his part of the world, that, in Central Tibet, fathers and sons share a common wife in the same family, although the woman in this case must never be the mother of the boys. WT [186] Nevertheless in Lahul the custom appeared rather strange and even repulsive, and it was quite usual for Tibetans from Tibet proper to be laughed at for this form of matrimony by the local inhabitants. They were accused of being "step-mother sharing people" which was meant WT [525] [111] as an insult. But at the same time, when playing dice, it was the custom to evoke such a shared step-mother as a means of bringing good luck to the thrower. When a seven was wanted, for instance, a special formula evoking the step-mother shared by both fathers and sons was repeated several times.

WT 595 Another confirmation of the true existence of polyandry between fathers and sons in Tibet was obtained from the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kye-lang on the 24th of June, 1938. He told me that the institution existed when the Mission was established in Lahul in 1854 as ancient records showed. At the time that his father, the late Bishop Peter, was appointed to the Lahuli capital in 1898, there were still some cases of this special form of polyandry to be found in the valley. The Reverend Peter said that he had heard that it had not yet died out in Spiti, although it was difficult to make sure because the local people kept it secret and unavowed. (As far WT [171] [428] as I know, polyandry in general is not officially practised in Spiti, the surplus males of a family becoming monks while the eldest alone inherits the family property. A certain amount of clandestine polyan-

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

539

(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) ཉམ་པོ་འདུག་ས་ལ་ཟླ་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད།།

539
793

(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'.

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama. 609

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance. 192

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) མ་ནད་མ་མ་ནད་ཟ་ཟ་ར་ནི་མི་ཡི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན།

539
562

རྒྱབ་ལ་གཡུ་ཞུང་བཏགས་ཀ་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན།།

301

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor in'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁ་ཏཱ་ཀོ་ལྭགས་ཟེར་པ། ཕུང་ཀཱ་དེ་མིག་འཁྲུལ།།

539

(*b*) Kha'tā ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kā mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

XIV.—LANGUAGE.

I.—ALPHABET—PRONUNCIATION.

THE alphabetical character of the Tibetans is the Devanágari that was current in India in the seventh century. It was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir by Thumi Sambhota.* The alphabet is called *Ka-ga* (or A B C), because *k* and *g* are the first letters. There are thirty consonants, arranged in eight classes, as follows :— 194 212

1.	ka	kha	ga	nga
2.	cha	chha	ja	nya
3.	ta	tha	da	na
4.	pa	pha	ba	ma
5.	tsa	tsha	dsa	wa
6.	zha	za	ha	ya
7.	ra	la	sha	sa
8.	'ha'	á		

The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th, correspond with the arrangement of the Nágari alphabet, excepting only in the omission of the second set of aspirates, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, and *bh*. The hissing palatals of the 5th and 6th classes are almost peculiar to the Tibetan language. The *tsa* and *dsa* are, however, in constant use by the Kashmiris.

The vowels are five, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, which are pronounced as in Italian. The vowel *a* is inherent in every consonant, excepting the few silent prefixes. The other vowels

* Csoma's Grammar, p. 178.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

194 are formed by marks placed either above or below the consonants.

212 The Tibetan language is written syllabically, the different syllables being separated by a small wedge-like point, called *Tsheg*, thus ▼. The sentences also are divided by signs or marks of punctuation, called *Shad*. Thus, one mark, ⁞, is equivalent to a comma; a double mark, ⁞⁞, to a colon; and four marks ⁞⁞⁞⁞ to a full stop. The semicolon is formed by joining the intersyllabic point *Tsheg* to the single punctuation mark *Shad*, from which it receives its name of *Tsheg-Shad*. It is formed thus ▼⁞, and is almost the same as our own semicolon.*

197 Of the Tibetan language I am not confident to speak; but, as far as my knowledge of it enables me to offer an opinion, I should say that it has no affinity with any of the surrounding dialects. A few words are of course the same as in Sanscrit; such as *khar*, a fort (Sanscrit, *garh*). But for every word similar to Sanscrit I think that I could point out one similar to English; thus, *brang* means to bring; *kyan* is a "can;" *thwore* is "to-morrow;" *skyur* is "sour;" *dal* means "dull;" *tuk* is "thick;" *bal* is "wool;" *lhunpo* is a "lump;" *tsem* is a "seam;" *dir* is "here;" and *der* is "there;" *tar* is "tired;" *rog* is a "rogue" (the crow being called *cha-rog*, or the "bird-rogue"); *yahba* is a "yawn;" and *ikhug* is a "hiccough." The last two are, however,
212 imitative sounds. But there is another resemblance between English and Tibetan, which is of a totally different kind. This is the difficulty of ascertaining how to pronounce a word from its spelling. A foreigner is

* The marks of punctuation are called *rKyang-shad*, the comma; *gZhis-shad*, the colon; *bZhi-shad*, the full stop; and *Tsheg-shad*, the semicolon.

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A language map of West Tibet with notes.—By A. H. Francke.

(With Plate vii.)

197 For the benefit of students of my Ladakhi Grammar, J. A. S. B. Part I, Extra No. II, 1901, I am now adding a language map of the 194 ancient Ladakhi kingdom.

In the map special attention has been paid to the Tibetan dialects of the Indus valley. To distinguish the characteristics of the different dialects, it has been asked in which manner the following consonant combinations are pronounced in each single dialect:—

(1) sg, rg, sb, rb.
(2) sk, rk, sp, rp.
(3) by, py, phy.
(4) br, pr, phr.
(5) gr, kr, phr.

I. In the Rong-dialect the pronunciation is the following:—

(1) rg or sg = gh (like Urdu غ); sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = gh or h (like Urdu ح or خ); sp or rp = f.
(3) by = j; py = c; phy = ch.
(4) br = dr; pr = tr; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr; kr = tr; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = غم; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = hampo; cospin = cofin.
(3) bya = ja; phyogs = chogs.
(4) brag = drag; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo; khrims = thrims.

II. Leh-dialect:

(1) rg or sg = gh (like Urdu غ); sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = sk or rk; sp or rp = sp or rp.
(3) by = j; py = c; phy = ch before a, o and u.

Before e and i the y disappears, and b, p, and ph retain their original sound.

(4) br = dr; pr = tr; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr; kr = tr; khr = thr.

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Examples.

(1) sgam = ڤمر ; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = skampo ; cospin = cospin.
(3) bya = ja ; phyogs = chogs ; but byema = bema ; phye = phe ; phyila = phila.
(4) brag = drag ; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo ; khrims = thrims.

III. Sham-dialect:

(1) rg or sg = rg or sg ; rb or sb = rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk = rk or sk ; rp or sp = rp or sp.
(3) by = by ; py = py ; phy = phy.
(4) br = br, pr = pr ; phr = phr.
(5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = sgam ; sbaste = sbaste.
(2) skampo = skampo ; cospin = cospin.
(3) bya = bya ; phyogs = phyogs.
(4) brag = brag ; phrugu = phrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo ; khrims = thrims.

IV. Purig and Balti dialects:

(1) rg or sg = rg or sg ; rb or sb = rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk = rk or sk ; rp or sp = rp or sp.
(3) by = by ; py = py ; phy = phy.
(4) br = br ; pr = pr ; phr = phr.
(5) gr = gr ; kr = kr ; khr = khr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = sgam ; sbaste = sbaste.
(2) skampo = skampo ; cospin = cospain (or byaspain).
(3) bya = bya ; phyogs = phyogs.
(4) brag = brag ; phrugu = phrugu.
(5) grangmo = grangmo ; khrims = khrims.

Note: Examples for py, pr, and kr, have not been given. These combinations occur almost invariably with additional prefixes which make these cases more complicated and would take up too much space.

What has been said, only refers to the Indus valley. According to information received from natives the following may be added about other districts.

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Dard AV3

T 197 194

In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 174

The Dard question of West-Tibet. Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T D 174 614

(2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(*a*) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis beamphelpa.

(*b*) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa aNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

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T D 174

to prove that the whole of Lower Ladakh was Dard before the Tibetan conquest, and I hope that in the next Census special attention will be paid to the *pha-spun*ships. The only colony, which has remained entirely Dard to the present day, is the colony of Da and its neighbourhood. The Dards of Dras are not Dard colonists apparently, but have always been in direct connection with the Dard population of Gilgit.

T 194

Now I shall repeat once more that it is interesting to note that the most archaic type of Tibetan pronunciation is found in territories where Tibetan was a foreign language for a long time.

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From my limited knowledge of languages I may add two parallels: In Hanover where one of the purest Teutonic tribes is found in Germany, the development of the German language has been more rapid than in the southern mountainous districts, for instance, in Tirol or Styria, where there used to be a Celtic and Slav population before the advent of the Germans. The language of the Slav tribe of the Wends, between Berlin and Bautzen is in certain respects one of the most archaic Slav languages living. It is one of those few living Aryan languages which still make use of the Dual; and the Wends have been largely mixed with Germans.

On the other hand, I can give two examples, which would prove the contrary. French is one of the most advanced types of Roman speech (in the garb of its modern pronunciation); but here the Roman language was accepted by an originally Celtic population.—Hebrew is a far more advanced type of Semitic speech than Arabic, and yet the Jews were settlers among a partially non-Semitic population.

Thus apparently geographical and other questions will have to be taken into consideration; but it would certainly be an interesting task to examine those conditions which work for a speedy or a slow development not only of the Tibetan language, but of languages in general.

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INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism. 771 127

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival. 539

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann 539 194 113

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the 773 539 171

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 [115] [591] [888] Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] [591] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

[114] [194]

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

595 85 [126]

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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puzzled with our *plough*, *dough*, and *slough* or *enough*, 212
and with our *rite*, *write*, *right*, and *wright*. But the Tibetans are equally capricious in their pronunciation. *Spyan* they pronounce *shan* and *chan*, *phyag* they pronounce *chhag*, and *byang** they pronounce *chang*. Then again, they pronounce *do* (two), *bDo* (abundance), *mDo* (a short treatise or district), *hDo* (an answer), *rDo* (a stone), and *sDo* (danger), all in the same manner. And these, again, are confounded with the several words that are spelt with *t* and *th*.† It is in fact equally difficult to know how to spell a word from its pronunciation as to pronounce one from its spelling. In correct speaking, 195
the silent initial letters should be rapidly sounded; and they are so by the more learned Lamas, *but by them only*. It is true that Vigne writes *Erganak* for *rGyanak* (the "black plain," the Tibetan name of China); but Moorcroft wrote *Guinnak*. Again, the pronunciation 197
tion varies in different districts: thus, the compounds in *kh*, as *khy*, and *khr*, are pronounced *thy* and *thr* in Lhasa. *Khyi*, a dog, is called *thyi*; and *khrimpon*, a judge, is called *Thimpon*; but in Ladák they are pronounced as they are spelt. In Lhasa the final *s* in *Shags* is silent, as *shak*, justice. In Ladák it is pronounced *Shaks*. One of the most violent mispronunciations is *Tashi* for *bKra-shis*, as in *Tashi-Lhunpo*. Another is *U*, for *dBus*, the name of a district in Central Tibet. In the time of Ptolemy, however, this word must have been pronounced according to its spelling; for there can be no reasonable doubt that the people, whom he calls *Dabasæ*, are the inhabitants of *Dabus*, now *dBus*.

* In Kanâwar, however, the word is pronounced *Byang*, as in *Byangi*, wool, from which comes Chang Thang.

† So also *dMigs*, object; *dMig*, a hole; *Mig*, an eye; *rMig*, a hoof; *rMigs*, a worm; are all pronounced *Mik*.

[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 195 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 576 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 466 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

428 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the
592 eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her
parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is
583 termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his
428 younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa"
591 has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the
592 daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her
586 parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step
removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out
at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of
his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter
from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a
woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees.
597 If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted;
for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading
"adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls
on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see
under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows
little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which
is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána"
or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no
God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being
into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand
"deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and
peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained
only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period
of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from
195 beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans,
whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians
in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand
a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The
ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the
Indian word "Sáhib."

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian 797
congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious 595
considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the 779
faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never 114
agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist [674]
population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry [311]
to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, [167]
where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry.

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) 195 ●
ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema 805
ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhaktshal" is used.

792 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where
195 all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltasnang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton
681 ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la táng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zár ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 ●195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boc." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 286 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

589 601 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

to the decreasing of the number of filled chang kegs. Their brown faces assumed a shining copper color, the voices became increasingly loud and more excited while the bride's father stuck to his demands with the stubbornness and obstinacy with which they were all familiar. Finally Stobsldan asked him, "Is this your final word, gaga?" Yes, my last, by the 'three jewels' (48)!" "This is too much," shouts 583 584

48 In Tibetan the oath goes: "dKon-mčog gsum" (pronounced konchog sum!"), the "Three Jewels"; they are the components of the Buddhistic trinity: Buddha, the Law, and the Monkhood. The Buddhistic Tibetan has constant oaths on his lips with which he believes it necessary to reinforce even quite unimportant statements and assertions, a proof of how much and how readily the great majority of them lie. Other oaths are: "May the monastery get me (dgon-pas nam śig)!" by which the gods are meant, whose pictures are in the monastery; they are asked to "come and get" the person uttering the oath. The subordinate clause, "If my statement is not true," remains unexpressed. The form "sku t'san-mas nam śig, may all the gods get me!" also occurs. Another form which is to be heard daily, is "a-mai śa, or bu-t'sai sa," which means "the mother's flesh, the son's flesh," which is also used with the naming of a particular name, "T'serin-gi śa, Rol-mai śa, Tsering's flesh, Rolma's flesh." Tibetans explained to me that this meant: "If I have lied I shall eat the flesh of my mother, of my son, the flesh of Tsering, the flesh of Rolma," an oath which is supposed to derive from the time when cannibalism prevailed in Tibet. In court there often appear false witnesses who, bribed with a few annas, swear to everything that is demanded of them. [195]

Stobsldan, whose customary politeness had been smothered by alcohol, at the people from Tingmogang, "the old money-grabber wants to make a profit. The whole rope is not worth 120 žo. The gaga is trying the make a fool of us! Come, Lobsang Wanggyal, we shall go home! Your son /68/ can get ten brides if he wants them; there are many other pretty, decent and wealthy girls in Sham (Lower Ladahk). Give us back the coral necklace, Chirpon, and tomorrow we shall send you back the large copper pot (zan-bu) that you sent over to us. Then you may wait until a rGyallu (royal prince) courts

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet. 769 [775]

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.) [95] [113]

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

The fourth altar, however, the devil's black altar, he destroyed completely, leaving not a trace of it behind. Looking at a passage like this, one might be led to the belief that the ancient Tibetans knew, side by side with the three realms of the world just described, a fourth, self-contained realm, that belonging to the devil. Since the devil is frequently designated by the modifier sdig-can, "sinful," we would here be dealing with an ethically condemned personality, while the deities of the other three realms are worthy of human worship. 773 776

However, several observations lead me to the belief that the figure of the devil has developed from the deities of the water world and of winter, which stand in opposition to the bright gods of heaven. Thus, the word bdud, "devil," serves to designate various beings in Tibetan mythology. The etymology of this name is not simple. It seems to me that bdud represents a denominative formation from dud, "smoke, and soot." Bdud could then mean "the sooty one," "the black one." This would correspond with his appearance in certain versions of the Kesar saga. Even though bdud is constantly translated by the Indic words mara and Kama, nevertheless it does not seem to me that we have here a case of translation from the Indic. The devil bdud was found fully developed by the Indians in Tibet. In the Kesar saga, the devil bird is designated by the name bdud. This bird goes out to steal the goats of heaven (Spring Myth, I); furthermore, the king of the North country, King White Tent (gur-dkar), who abducts Kesar's wife; and finally, the Giant of the North (Cu-ru-lu-gu), who keeps the Bam-za-abum-skyid imprisoned in a cage (Winter Myth, III). All these are surely forms of the powers of the water and of winter, and it is this circumstance which leads up to the conclusion that in their case the origin of the notion of the devil is to be sought among the Tibetans. 776 196 773

The realm of the devil is designated quite particularly as the castle of the Giant of the North, Cu-ru-lu-gu (Winter Myth, III, IV). The fount of nectar and milk is to be found there (IV, 17).[2] The word for nectar in Tibetan points directly to the devil bdud, for nectar is called bdud-rtsi, "devil's juice." Perhaps the food and drink of forgetfulness, which according to IV, 1,[1] are found there, are also connected with the well of nectar. According to the narrative Mon-gces-pa (Paladins), the land of the devil is also populated by poisonous snakes, which might point to Yog-klu, the realm of the nymphs. In view of his size, his hunger, and his stupidity, the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu is particularly reminiscent of the giants of the German world of saga and mythology, and thus at the 776 773

[1] [2] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

773 same time of the "stupid devil" of Europe.
776

/17/ The Seven and the Eighteen Agus

773 Aside from Kesar, the eighteen or seven Agus, so-called, are
805 the greatest heroes of the Kesar saga. Kesar is the leader of these
776 heroes, and together with him they form a group of nineteen beings whom I am inclined to regard as personifications of an old calendar. The days of the week seem to have found their embodiment here, and perhaps the months, insofar as a connection exists between them and the constellations of the zodiac.

773 About the origins of the Agus we read in the Lower Ladakhi Ver-
776 sion of the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, I, "Prologue to the Kesar Saga"):[1] The forefather bKra-shis, together with his wife, seeded a field on which only a single tree was growing. From its fruits worms arose that ate one another until at the end only a single giant worm was left. This worm turned into a beautiful child, for whom eighteen brides were sought. All the brides became pregnant as soon as they looked at the child, and from them the eighteen Agus were born.

196 The word A-gu is the dialectal form of the Tibetan word A-khu,
[589] which means "uncle," "father's brother," but which in Western
773 Tibet can also mean "husband." The last-named meaning may be
776 connected with the fact that the brothers of the master of the house have a claim upon the master's wife. Moreover, it should be remembered that among the Dard of mDa, the word Mum-mo, which also means "uncle," is used, in their old songs, in the sense of "forebears." Some of this last meaning may also have penetrated into the Tibetan word A-gu.

773 The order of the eighteen Agus is given as follows in the para-
776 graph of the Kesar saga (Prologue):

1. Pasan-ldan-ru-skyes, with a goat's head.
2. An-gar-rtsans-po, with a lizard's head.
3. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun, with a hawk's head.
4. Kha-rgan-ga-ni, with a white beard.
5. sKya-ba-rgod-po, with a ladle for a head,
6. Zla-ba-bzan-po, with a moon for a head.
7. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, with an arrow tip fro a head.
8. A-la-jon-gol, with a boot sole for a head.
9. aBu-dmar-lam-btan, with an insect's head.
10. Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, with a mirror for a head.

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references--Analyst]

197 [For "Comparison of the Various Alpine Dialects" see Category 116, pp. 397-419.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

194 are formed by marks placed either above or below the consonants.

212 The Tibetan language is written syllabically, the different syllables being separated by a small wedge-like point, called *Tsheg*, thus ▼. The sentences also are divided by signs or marks of punctuation, called *Shad*. Thus, one mark, ⁞, is equivalent to a comma; a double mark, ⁞⁞, to a colon; and four marks ⁞⁞⁞⁞ to a full stop. The semicolon is formed by joining the intersyllabic point *Tsheg* to the single punctuation mark *Shad*, from which it receives its name of *Tsheg-Shad*. It is formed thus ▼⁞, and is almost the same as our own semicolon.*

197 Of the Tibetan language I am not confident to speak; but, as far as my knowledge of it enables me to offer an opinion, I should say that it has no affinity with any of the surrounding dialects. A few words are of course the same as in Sanscrit; such as *khar*, a fort (Sanscrit, *garh*). But for every word similar to Sanscrit I think that I could point out one similar to English; thus, *brang* means to bring; *kyan* is a "can;" *thwore* is "to-morrow;" *skyur* is "sour;" *dal* means "dull;" *tuk* is "thick;" *bal* is "wool;" *lhunpo* is a "lump;" *tsem* is a "seam;" *dir* is "here;" and *der* is "there;" *tar* is "tired;" *rog* is a "rogue" (the crow being called *cha-rog*, or the "bird-rogue"); *yahba* is a "yawn;" and *ikhug* is a "hiccough." The last two are, however,
212 imitative sounds. But there is another resemblance between English and Tibetan, which is of a totally different kind. This is the difficulty of ascertaining how to pronounce a word from its spelling. A foreigner is

* The marks of punctuation are called *rKyang-shad*; the comma; *gZhis-shad*, the colon; *bZhi-shad*, the full stop; and *Tsheg-shad*, the semicolon.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

puzzled with our *plough*, *dough*, and *slough* or *enough*, 212
and with our *rite*, *write*, *right*, and *wright*. But the Tibetans are equally capricious in their pronunciation. *Spyan* they pronounce *shan* and *chan*, *phyag* they pronounce *chhag*, and *byang** they pronounce *chang*. Then again, they pronounce *do* (two), *bDo* (abundance), *mDo* (a short treatise or district), *hDo* (an answer), *rDo* (a stone), and *sDo* (danger), all in the same manner. And these, again, are confounded with the several words that are spelt with *t* and *th*.† It is in fact equally difficult to know how to spell a word from its pronunciation as to pronounce one from its spelling. In correct speaking, 195
the silent initial letters should be rapidly sounded; and they are so by the more learned Lamas, *but by them only*. It is true that Vigne writes *Erganak* for *rGyanak* (the "black plain," the Tibetan name of China); but Moorcroft wrote *Guinnak*. Again, the pronunciation varies in different districts: thus, the compounds in *kh*, as *khy*, and *khr*, are pronounced *thy* and *thr* in Lhasa. *Khyi*, a dog, is called *thyi;* and *khrimpon*, a judge, is called *Thimpon;* but in Ladák they are pronounced as they are spelt. In Lhasa the final *s* in *Shags* is silent, as *shak*, justice. In Ladák it is pronounced *Shaks*. One of the most violent mispronunciations is *Tashi* for *bKra-shis*, as in *Tashi-Lhunpo*. Another is *U*, for *dBus*, the name of a district in Central Tibet. In the time of Ptolemy, however, this word must have been pronounced according to its spelling; for there can be no reasonable doubt that the people, whom he calls *Dabasæ*, are the inhabitants of *Dabus*, now *dBus*.

* In Kanâwar, however, the word is pronounced *Byang*, as in *Byangi*, wool, from which comes Chang Thang.

† So also *dMigs*, object; *dMig*, a hole; *Mig*, an eye; *rMig*, a hoof; *rMigs*, a worm; are all pronounced *Mik*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—FORMER LIMITS OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE.

171 The Tibetan language is now confined to the mountain
197 valleys of the Tsangpo and Indus, and to the upper courses of the Sutluj, the Sarju, and the Chenáb. But in ancient days it probably extended over the greater part of the Cis-Himálayas,* as I can trace by the Tibetan names of the smaller streams. All the larger rivers have been re-named by the Brahmans; but the smaller streams still retain their old names. Thus I find, within a few miles of Simla, the *Andre-ti*, or water of the Andar village; the *Ghail-ti*, or water of the Ghail valley; the *Khanyao-ti*, or water of the Khanethu district; and the *Gumo-ti*, or water of the Gumo valley. Other names are the *Chahi-ti*, the *Manyao-ti*, the *Chigaun-ti*, and the *Wal-ti*, all of which preserve the Tibetan word *ti*, "water." It is, perhaps, idle to speculate at what period the Tibetans could have possessed the present districts of Bisahar, Kyonthal, and Sarmar; but it must have been many centuries ago, before the Khasas† were driven into the hills by the conquering Hindus.

197 In Kanâwar, where the Indian and Tibetan languages meet, there are two dialects, which partake more or less of the one or of the other. The *Milchang*, or common language of Lower Kanáwar, is so called by the people of

* Pliny, VI. c. 17, Scythæipoi Caucasum montem (appellavere) *Graucasum*, hoc est *nive candidum;* and Isidor (according to Wilford) states that *Kroakasis* means "white" in the eastern tongue. Now, the only eastern language which approaches these words is the Tibetan, in which *Kar-khá-chan*, pronounced *Kar-khá-tsan*, means "white-snow-full-of," which is exactly Pliny's "nive candidum."

† The Kanets of the hills are all Khasas; and in Chamba, Kullu, and Kanâwar, they interpose between the Hindus and Tibetans.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Bisahar; the Kanâwaris themselves call it *Milchanang*. This name is most probably only the Tibetan word *Mingchang* (pronounced *Milchang*), "notorious or very common, vulgar." This dialect prevails over Lower Kanáwar, and along the left bank of the Sutluj in Upper Kanáwar. The *Tibar-skad*, or "*Tibar* language," is a dialect peculiar to Sungnam, Kánam, Lipe, and other places in Upper Kanáwar. It differs from the *Milchang* chiefly in shades of pronunciation, and in the changes of some initial consonants.

English.	Milchang.	Tibarskad.	Tibetan.
Three ...	súm ...	hum ...	sum.
A horse ...	rang ...	shang ...	tá.
A star ...	skara ...	karma ...	skarma.
Snow ...	pang ...	ang ...	kha.
A house ...	khim ...	khyim ...	khyim.
White ...	thog ...	thungni ...	kar.
Name ...	namang ...	ming ...	ming.
Green ...	rag ...	zangu ...	jangu.

In these examples there is, as might be expected, a greater admixture of Tibetan words in the dialect of Upper Kanáwar, which lies next to Tibet. In that of Lower Kanáwar there is one Hindu word, *namang*, a name.

In the following chapter I have given a copious vocabulary of the Tibetan language, compared with all the surrounding languages: with the *Arniyá*, *Shiná*, and *Khajunah* of the Dards; with the *Pushtu* of the Afghans, and with the *Kashmiri* of the Kasas; with the *Hindi* dialects of the people of Chamba, Kullu, Handur, and Garhwál, as well as with the Indo-Tibetan *Mil-*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

197 *chang* and *Tibar-skad* of Kanáwar. This comparison will give a much better idea of the language than any thing that I can say.

III.—PRINTING.

213 Printing has long been known and practised in Tibet, but only by engraved stereotype wooden blocks, and not by moveable types. The printing of a new work is therefore a most expensive and laborious process. The accompanying specimen of a Tibetan horn-book, or primer, is printed from one of these engraved planks.* The letters are most beautifully cut, but the block has been so much used, that the original sharpness is now quite gone.

The first or middle circle is blank.

The second circle contains a mystic formula, which I cannot decipher.

The third circle contains the ejaculation *hih*, eight times repeated.

The fourth circle contains the ejaculation *hún*, ten times repeated.

The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet, arranged according to the Sanscrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirates complete. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanscrit names; as for instance, the *n* in *Padmapani*. It is remarkable that the *ch*, *chh*, and *j* have all got the mark placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to *ts*, *tsh*, and *ds*. This
212 is, I think, a direct proof that the Tibetans obtained
177 their knowledge of Sanscrit, as well as their alpha-

* See Plate XLIV.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chapter III, C. Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágís 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Suuyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágís have probably the least admixtnre of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

A language map of West Tibet with notes.—By A. H. Francke.

(With Plate vii.)

197 194 For the benefit of students of my Ladakhi Grammar, J. A. S. B. Part I, Extra No. II, 1901, I am now adding a language map of the ancient Ladakhi kingdom.

In the map special attention has been paid to the Tibetan dialects of the Indus valley. To distinguish the characteristics of the different dialects, it has been asked in which manner the following consonant combinations are pronounced in each single dialect :—

(1) sg, rg, sb, rb.
(2) sk, rk, sp, rp.
(3) by, py, phy.
(4) br, pr, phr.
(5) gr, kr, phr.

I. In the Rong-dialect the pronunciation is the following :—

(1) rg or sg = gh (like Urdu غ) ; sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = gh or h (like Urdu ح or خ) ; sp or rp = f.
(3) by = j ; py = c ; phy = ch.
(4) br = dr ; pr = tr ; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = غم ; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = hampo ; cospin = cofin.
(3) bya = ja ; phyogs = chogs.
(4) brag = drag ; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo ; khrims = thrims.

II. Leh-dialect :

(1) rg or sg = gh (like Urdu غ) ; sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = sk or rk ; sp or rp = sp or rp.
(3) by = j ; py = c ; phy = ch before a, o and u.

Before e and i the y disappears, and b, p, and ph retain their original sound.

(4) br = dr ; pr = tr ; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

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Examples.

(1) sgam = ; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = skampo ; cospin = cospin.
(3) bya = ja ; phyogs = chogs ; but byema = bema ; phye = phe ; phyila = phila.
(4) brag = drag ; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo ; khrims = thrims.

III. Sham-dialect :

(1) rg or sg = rg or sg ; rb or sb = rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk = rk or sk ; rp or sp = rp or sp.
(3) by = by ; py = py ; phy = phy.
(4) br = br , pr = pr ; phr = phr.
(5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = sgam ; sbaste = sbaste.
(2) skampo = skampo ; cospin = cospin.
(3) bya = bya ; phyogs = phyogs.
(4) brag = brag ; phrugu = phrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo ; khrims = thrims.

IV. Purig and Balti dialects :

(1) rg or sg = rg or sg ; rb or sb = rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk = rk or sk ; rp or sp = rp or sp.
(3) by = by ; py = py ; phy = phy.
(4) br = br ; pr = pr ; phr = phr.
(5) gr = gr ; kr = kr ; khr = khr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = sgam ; sbaste = sbaste.
(2) skampo = skampo ; cospin = cospain (or byaspain).
(3) bya = bya ; phyogs = phyogs.
(4) brag = brag ; phrugu = phrugu.
(5) grangmo = grangmo ; khrims = khrims.

Note : Examples for py, pr, and kr, have not been given. These combinations occur almost invariably with additional prefixes which make these cases more complicated and would take up too much space.

What has been said, only refers to the Indus valley. According to information received from natives the following may be added about other districts.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T 197 194

In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 174

The Dard question of West-Tibet. Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T D 174 614

(2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(*a*) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis bsamphelpa.

(*b*) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa sNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

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(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

T D 174 197 782 [776]

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di sha nomo hla shuni
Shuni bi sha nomo hla shuni
Sinani bi sha nomo hla shuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངས་ཆགས་ཀྱི་ལས་ལ་ལྷ་ཡ་ཡ།
ངས་ཀུ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ།
ངས་ཀ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ ॥

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LANGUAGE MAP OF WEST-TIBET

[End Map]

361 shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so
161 shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and
[132] narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

137 The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the
[133] Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[2] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

•197 Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—"*Ram, ram*" or "*Namaste.*" In Lahul they became Tibetan—"*Ju Ju*" or "*Ju Le.*"

 [2] [Headman -- Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

622 As we ride up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long 741 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material. A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's ● 197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among 437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we 563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this 731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A '*Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
439 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[451] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but it
used to be a custom two or three generations
201 tions back. I have never found a case of
152 its actually being practised today and, for
this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical
suspicions that it has never been practised,
but that this story has been put out by
polyandrous people as an indication of,
what I should call popularly, "wishful
thinking." Each of the brothers would
like, in some way, to have the common
wife all to himself and would like to mani-
fest this virility on his part by hanging up
some emblem at the door. The sword, the
stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the
beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols
of virility, and it seems as if the men would
like to have this custom which, possibly,
has never existed, and each of them gains
a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a
virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
595 andry is an institutionalized social system,
they stick to it very strictly. If you ask
178 missionaries who have been among poly-
androus people, they will, of course, tell
you that polyandry is a very immoral prac-
tice. But if you speak to the people them-
selves, they, on the contrary, consider it
highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If
we take as the definition of morality, con-
formity to the social standards of the set-
ting in which one lives, then one can say
that polyandrous people, at least in this
area which I studied, are very moral. The
old people complain that today the young
ones are getting highly immoral and lax
in not carrying out the tradition of poly-
andry. Certainly, on the borders of India,
where the people come in contact with the
monogamous families of India, or with
Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some
extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
178 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; 643
for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount 651
than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a 177
less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the 578
country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent 177
roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people 491
whose principal means of livelihood are derived from 643
the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are 205
simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village [648]
couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W_Tibetans AJ4

205 but merchants always send special couriers of their own. The poorer classes have no correspondence; and the limited intercommunications of the upper classes, amongst whom each family has generally one member in government employ, are all conveyed by the Tázampas.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS.

Chapter VI.

Principal places in Láhaul and Spiti.

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133
[997]
[905]
[71]

The principal villages of Láhaul are Kyelang, Kardong and Kolang. Kyelang is situated on the main trade route beween the Rohtáng and Bára Lácha passes, on the right bank of the river Bhága about four miles above its junction with the Chandra. Here a post office is maintained during the summer months, and a Moravian mission has been for some years established. The mission-house is a substantial residence, the lower apartment of which is used as a chapel. A school supported by a grant from the Government is managed entirely by the Missionaries.* Kardong lies on the left bank of the Bhága almost immediately opposite Kyelang, and is spoken of by Capt. Harcourt as at once the largest and most striking village in the valley. The houses are better built than in other villages. Kolang, which is the residence of the Thákur of Láhaul, is also situated in the Bhága valley, on the right bank about ten miles above Kyelang. The largest village probably in Spiti is Rangrig on the right bank of the Spiti river. The name is said to mean town. Dankar, the capital of Spiti, is a large village, 12,774 feet above the sea, built on a spur or bluff which stands out into the main valley and ends in a precipice. The softer parts of this hill have been worn away, leaving blocks and columns of a hard conglomerate, among which the houses are perched in curious and inconvenient positions. On the top of a hill is a large house known as the fort, which, with some cultivated land attached, belongs to Government. On a point of the hill lower down is a large monastery. The aspect of the whole place is very picturesque. It has been the seat of Government of the country from time immemorial.

* Capt. Harcourt pays a high tribute of admiration to the zeal and energy of the Missionaries, Mr Beyler and Mr. Heyde, and acknowledges the important services rendered by them to the administration. They are looked up to as friends and protectors by every inhabitant of the valley, though in the matter of conversions to Christianity they have had but little success.

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2: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Camp is made at night wherever there are water and grass. 484
The men lie out in rock cairns. Their heavy woolen clothes are [291]
their night clothes too. They sleep on the ground, and are gone in the morning when the sky first turns to gray. They streak across high basins on a fast canter, climb the steepest pass with hardly a pause, and walk downhill, leading the saddle ponies.

I had seen my first Tibetans at Patseo—men, women, and boys 484
in charge of salt caravans. As I related earlier, I saw my first 205
armed and fast-riding Tibetans at Serchu. I kept seeing them day after day, going like the wind on their tiny ponies, taking short cuts across uncharted mountains, or eating their *sattu* and drinking their *gur gur cha* at their camps on sparsely green meadows. They would always be gone by daylight, moving fast and mysteriously, covering more ground in a day than we would often cover in three with our pack train. They had none of the conveniences of travel—no air mattresses, no tents, no canned food, no medical kit. But they could go with the wind, be swallowed up in deep canyons, streak like lightning along a high ridge, climb to the steepest pass, pick their way down rocky defiles, and shortly be cantering across a basin remote and isolated from all trails.

That is the way postmen in Ladakh have traveled from time immemorial. The head of each village furnishes a carrier to carry the mail from his village to the next one. And so it goes on horseback, twenty to thirty-five miles a day and, in emergencies, even farther.

That is the way I want to travel Central Asia. Being bogged 000
down with a pack train has its disadvantages.

I briefly experienced that kind of travel when Tashi took us out of Koksar. I rode most of the way from Gundala to Kyelang, keeping ahead of the pack train, racing along the narrow trail that threads along the Chandra. My pony and I traveled fast, and I felt for once the joy of a good horse under me and Central Asia and its vast reaches out in front.

Most of the way to Leh, Rahul and I traveled with the mule

487 the Sindh valley narrowing and just make out the snow-covered crest of a mountain which barred its upper end and indicated the site of the pass, about which we must say a few words.

487 The name Zogi La has another meaning attributed to it by
133 the Tibetan, as well as the one just alleged, one which indicates
[103] the terrors that abound when winter holds it in its icy grip, namely the place of four demons. It is a pass of 11,500 feet, which separates Kashmir and what to many represents civilization, from the wild uplands of the Himalayas and the mysteries of the "distant morning lands" of Central Asia. Though its altitude is not very high for a pass, only equalling that of Leh, its difficulties are great. The summer road should be open from 15th May to 15th November, for on those dates the rates of transport alter from the high winter ones indicating coolie porterage only, to the lower summer ones of pony transport. In winter the difficulties are often insuperable owing to soft snow, blizzards and biting winds, and often the mails are delayed two or three weeks before the runners dare attempt the crossing, the telegraph wires themselves not infrequently breaking with the weight of snow. Traffic is at a standstill from mid-December to early March, save for adventurous travellers who, even then, it is stated, get themselves carried over in baskets on the backs of coolies, sturdy inhabitants of the villages bordering the Ladak side of
[485] the pass. In the centre of the Zogi La is a rest-house, often up
[205] to the eaves in snow, called Machoi, situated on the top of a small sharp hill, one side of which is sheltered from the prevailing winds, and has two or three small buildings, a serai and a telegraph office nestling under it. The telegraph master must have a dreary time in winter, and in the middle of May is moved to another post higher up on the road to
000 Leh. The winter of 1924–5 was exceptionally mild and very little snow fell on the pass. April in Kashmir was a very hot month, more like June, and it was expected that the pass

The Church as Landlord

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [943]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens,* and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"My back aches, Sahib," the first one said, indicating the muscles along his spine. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime. 164 757

"My legs ache, Sahib," said the second, rubbing the muscles of his thighs. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My head aches, Sahib," said the third, touching his temples. He had no fever. Prescription: one aspirin now, one at bedtime.

The next two had simple headaches but no fever. Prescription: the same.

The sixth one puzzled me. He had a severe headache around his eyes and his temples. I had no fever thermometer, but I knew from his forehead that his temperature was well above one hundred. He had a nasty cough that sounded dry and rasping. The man was sick, and I was stumped. I decided to roll him up by the fire, give him two aspirin, and then see him again in an hour.

His son, aged ten, had followed him from the village of Koti, apparently apprised of the father's illness. As the man lay before the fire, the son sat at his head and massaged his temples. In an hour I asked the patient how he felt; but before he could reply the son spoke up.

"This is a cruel world. You are rich, we are poor. We have to work hard for our living. Father gets up at dawn and works until dark. So does Mother. We all work hard. It is not fair. It is not fair that you are so rich and we are so poor." 565 208

Turning to Rahul, I asked, "What is the meaning of this?"

"Communist propaganda," he replied. "In this part of the world the Communists try to plant simple and troublesome questions in the minds of the young."

"Ask again about my patient."

Once more the son responded, complaining of the gulf between the rich and the poor.

"I don't care right now about your political philosophy," I replied. "How's your father?"

Communism vs. Buddhism

When the Chinese Communists, in January 1950, announced 175
their program for the "liberation" of Tibet, they were following 779
a traditional Chinese policy of intervention. In the ninth century, Tibet was at war with China. Tibet, the aggressor, was expanding east and west. But the Buddhist religious invasion of Tibet dramatically illustrates that religion makes a vast difference. When Buddhism became fastened on the Tibetans, war no longer became an instrument of policy. Buddha's command not to kill had profound political effects. Tibet became at times a subject nation. The Mongol Empire was extended over Tibet in A.D. 1200. By A.D. 1700 Chinese suzerainty began.

Tibet has never been a part of China, though Tibetan history, 175
written by the Chinese, has made it so. Tibet was strong and 648
independent when China was weak; Tibet was subservient when China was strong. Tibet has always been China's western neighbor. The boundary, which runs through vast, trackless expanses, has caused frequent disputes. The pressure of the western border people on China was often strong. China moved to a position of influence or control in Tibet in order to guard her western frontier.

The Chinese influence asserted itself in several ways. For centuries some lamas have received Chinese pensions and some monasteries have received generous Chinese donations. China has long demanded control of Tibet's foreign affairs and has always been jealous lest some other power align Tibet against China and thus create a menace from the rear. China has long paid the salary of the Tibetan Ambassador to Peking.

China has had at her command all the instruments of propa- 648
ganda. Her merchants, her books, her periodicals, her students 208
have gone throughout the world carrying the message of China's greatness and power. That message included the word that Tibet was a part of the great Chinese Empire. Tibet had no publicists, no ambassadors free of Chinese influence, no newspapers, no

648
208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
175 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

growing in Europe and in the Middle East. His questions ranged 000
far and wide and were penetrating in their reach.

I turned the discussion back to Ladakh and Tibet and the Bud- 208 •
dhist world.

"What is the nature of Communist propaganda in Ladakh?" I asked.

"There is none," Bakula replied.

"No radio programs beamed to Ladakh?"

"There are not more than three radios in all of Ladakh."

"No literature distributed?"

"None."

"No agents nor provocateurs operating for the Communist cause?"

"None."

"No members of the Communist party in Ladakh?"

"Not a single one."

I was amazed at these statements. In most of the countries I had traveled in Asia and the Middle East, the Communists were extremely active—stirring discontent, exploiting popular causes, using democratic slogans, posing as the champions of the oppressed. To find an area where no Communists were busy or involved was a great surprise. I asked Bakula how he explained it.

"The Communist strategy in the Buddhist world is first to get 648
control of the church. That requires not propaganda but control 792
of the ecclesiastical hierarchy," he said.

"They have control of the Panchen Lama?"

"Yes, he is a Chinese sympathizer."

"They now have control of the Dalai Lama?"

Bakula was deep in thought for several minutes.

"No one knows what will happen," he finally replied. "All I can tell you is what I think will happen."

"What is your guess?"

He went on to describe the temporal as well as the spiritual power that is in the hands of the Dalai Lama. It is this temporal

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177 [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208•

648 anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song
792 from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as
•208 they draw water from the wells.

538 *In the religious city of Lhasa this year*
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [rifles] in their hands
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

648 The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the
792 Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese mili-
668 tary strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

000 The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

[2]About five cents.
[3]About seventeen dollars.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788 the hands of the clock, and not once or twice, but hundreds of times. To make this as easy as possible a weight on a short chain is attached, whose momentum makes it only necessary for the slightest movement of the hand to keep the wheel in almost perpetual motion. The number of *Om ma ni pa dme hum's* said need not to be counted, and yet it is good to know how much merit has been accumulated. Our old friend therefore carries in his other hand a rosary, which consists of one hundred and eight beads, usually red. This figure is a sacred one, being a multiple of twelve which is the Buddhist unit and not the ten which we use. To mark the beginning of this rosary three turquoises are strung together, doubtless representing "dGonmchog Sum," the Trinity of Lamaistic Buddhism.

[211] But the rosary is useful in other ways also, for if only the beads to the right of the short chain are regarded as units, and those to the left as twelves, quite a useful counter on which to 778 do one's temporal arithmetic is provided. Leaving our 788 elderly friend, we go past a short *mani* or prayer-wall, and then another round one. These are about the height of a man, and may be of any length. Just outside Leh there are two with only a short space between, which cover about half a mile. The tops of these slope slightly upwards towards the middle, and are covered by innumerable flat stones on which pious monks have engraved still more innumerable *Om ma-ni's*. To turn these prayers to good account, it is essential to pass the wall to one's right; by walking thus along the Leh *Mani Ringmo*, which means the long Ma-ni wall, a good hundred thousand prayers are said, and your stage pony, being usually of the Buddhist persuasion, will see to it that you do your religious duty in this respect by taking you along the left side. Whenever the road reaches a prayer-wall, it divides to enclose it, so that the traveller's prayers can avail in whichever direction his journey lies. In many of the larger prayer-walls there is a recess at one side containing a large tablet on which

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it
131 is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains.
175 The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is
175 made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

177 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that
212 interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.

† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-49) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the Kashmirian characters, which remain unchanged to this day.* 177 212

8. In the beginning of the eleventh century Palgyi-gon occupied Ladák, and Tashi-Degon took possession of Purang.† In A.D. 1314, Rinchana Bhoti invaded Kashmir.‡ As he entered the valley by Gagangir, on the Sindh river, he must have advanced through Drás, one of the districts of Ladák. It is probable, therefore, that he was the ruler of Ladák. At that time Kashmir had been invaded by an army of 60,000 horse, under the command of Dallach, the minister of a neighbouring chief, named Karma Sena. The invaders advanced to the capital, which, being deserted by the Raja Sena Deva, was plundered and burned. Dallach continued his devastations to the eastern end of the valley, and retired by the Pass of Tár-bal.§ Numbers of the Kashmiris then waited upon Rinchana, who was emboldened to advance against the troops of the Raja Sena Deva. The raja fled; the Bhotiyan chief was victorious, and assumed the sovereignty of the country. He strengthened himself by marrying the daughter of Rama Chandra, the general of Sena Deva; and reigned for three years, from A.D. 1315 to 1318, the undisputed master of Kashmir. 175

9. Half a century before this time the celebrated Marco Polo had visited the court of the great Kublai, Emperor of China. He had sojourned in the hills of Badakshán for the sake of his health; and he describes the countries of Wakham, Pamer, Bolor, and Kashmir.

* Csoma de Körös, Tibetan Grammar, p. 178.

† Csoma, in Prinsep's useful tables, p. 131. The names are written *dPal-gyi-mGon* and *bKra-shis-lDe-mGon*.

‡ Raja Tarangini. § That is, the "Tar-hill" in Kashmiri.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

XIV.—LANGUAGE.

I.—ALPHABET—PRONUNCIATION.

THE alphabetical character of the Tibetans is the Devanágari that was current in India in the seventh century. It was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir by Thumi Sambhota.* The alphabet is called *Ka-ga* (or A B C), because *k* and *g* are the first letters. There are thirty consonants, arranged in eight classes, as follows :— 194 212

1.	ka	...	kha	...	ga	...	nga
2.	cha	...	chha	...	ja	...	nya
3.	ta	...	tha	...	da	...	na
4.	pa	...	pha	...	ba	...	ma
5.	tsa	...	tsha	...	dsa	...	wa
6.	zha	...	za	...	ha	...	ya
7.	ra	...	la	...	sha	...	sa
8.	'ha	...	á				

The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th, correspond with the arrangement of the Nágari alphabet, excepting only in the omission of the second set of aspirates, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, and *bh*. The hissing palatals of the 5th and 6th classes are almost peculiar to the Tibetan language. The *tsa* and *dsa* are, however, in constant use by the Kashmiris.

The vowels are five, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, which are pronounced as in Italian. The vowel *a* is inherent in every consonant, excepting the few silent prefixes. The other vowels

* Csoma's Grammar, p. 178.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

194 are formed by marks placed either above or below the consonants.

212 The Tibetan language is written syllabically, the different syllables being separated by a small wedge-like point, called *Tsheg*, thus ▼. The sentences also are divided by signs or marks of punctuation, called *Shad*. Thus, one mark, ⁞, is equivalent to a comma; a double mark, ⁞⁞, to a colon; and four marks ⁞⁞⁞⁞ to a full stop. The semicolon is formed by joining the intersyllabic point *Tsheg* to the single punctuation mark *Shad*, from which it receives its name of *Tsheg-Shad*. It is formed thus ▼⁞, and is almost the same as our own semicolon.*

197 Of the Tibetan language I am not confident to speak; but, as far as my knowledge of it enables me to offer an opinion, I should say that it has no affinity with any of the surrounding dialects. A few words are of course the same as in Sanscrit; such as *khar*, a fort (Sanscrit, *garh*). But for every word similar to Sanscrit I think that I could point out one similar to English; thus, *brang* means to bring; *kyan* is a "can;" *thwore* is "to-morrow;" *skyur* is "sour;" *dal* means "dull;" *tuk* is "thick;" *bal* is "wool;" *lhunpo* is a "lump;" *tsem* is a "seam;" *dir* is "here;" and *der* is "there;" *tar* is "tired;" *rog* is a "rogue" (the crow being called *cha-rog*, or the "bird-rogue"); *yahba* is a "yawn;" and *ikhug* is a "hiccough." The last two are, however,
212 imitative sounds. But there is another resemblance between English and Tibetan, which is of a totally different kind. This is the difficulty of ascertaining how to pronounce a word from its spelling. A foreigner is

* The marks of punctuation are called *rKyang-shad*, the comma; *gZhis-shad*, the colon; *bZhi-shad*, the full stop; and *Tsheg-shad*, the semicolon.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

puzzled with our *plough*, *dough*, and *slough* or *enough*, 212
and with our *rite*, *write*, *right*, and *wright*. But the Tibetans are equally capricious in their pronunciation. *Spyan* they pronounce *shan* and *chan*, *phyag* they pronounce *chhag*, and *byang** they pronounce *chang*. Then again, they pronounce *do* (two), *bDo* (abundance), *mDo* (a short treatise or district), *hDo* (an answer), *rDo* (a stone), and *sDo* (danger), all in the same manner. And these, again, are confounded with the several words that are spelt with *t* and *th*.† It is in fact equally difficult to know how to spell a word from its pronunciation as to pronounce one from its spelling. In correct speaking, 195
the silent initial letters should be rapidly sounded; and they are so by the more learned Lamas, ***but by them only***. It is true that Vigne writes *Erganak* for *rGyanak* (the "black plain," the Tibetan name of China); but Moorcroft wrote *Guinnak*. Again, the pronunciation 197
varies in different districts: thus, the compounds in *kh*, as *khy*, and *khr*, are pronounced *thy* and *thr* in Lhasa. *Khyi*, a dog, is called *thyi;* and *khrimpon*, a judge, is called *Thimpon;* but in Ladák they are pronounced as they are spelt. In Lhasa the final *s* in *Shags* is silent, as *shak*, justice. In Ladák it is pronounced *Shaks*. One of the most violent mispronunciations is *Tashi* for *bKra-shis*, as in *Tashi-Lhunpo*. Another is *U*, for *dBus*, the name of a district in Central Tibet. In the time of Ptolemy, however, this word must have been pronounced according to its spelling; for there can be no reasonable doubt that the people, whom he calls *Dabasæ*, are the inhabitants of *Dabus*, now *dBus*.

* In Kanâwar, however, the word is pronounced *Byang*, as in *Byangi*, wool, from which comes Chang Thang.

† So also *dMigs*, object; *dMig*, a hole; *Mig*, an eye; *rMig*, a hoof; *rMigs*, a worm; are all pronounced *Mik*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

197 *chang* and *Tibar-skad* of Kanáwar. This comparison will give a much better idea of the language than any thing that I can say.

III.—PRINTING.

213 Printing has long been known and practised in Tibet, but only by engraved stereotype wooden blocks, and not by moveable types. The printing of a new work is therefore a most expensive and laborious process. The accompanying specimen of a Tibetan horn-book, or primer, is printed from one of these engraved planks.* The letters are most beautifully cut, but the block has been so much used, that the original sharpness is now quite gone.

The first or middle circle is blank.

The second circle contains a mystic formula, which I cannot decipher.

The third circle contains the ejaculation *hih*, eight times repeated.

The fourth circle contains the ejaculation *hún*, ten times repeated.

The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet, arranged according to the Sanscrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirates complete. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanscrit names; as for instance, the *ṇ* in *Padmapaṇi*. It is remarkable that the *ch*, *chh*, and *j* have all got the mark placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to *ts*, *tsh*, and *ds*. This 212 is, I think, a direct proof that the Tibetans obtained 177 their knowledge of Sanscrit, as well as their alpha-

* See Plate XLIV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 bet, from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these
212 letters in the above manner, as *Pandsál* for Panjál.

The sixth circle I cannot decipher, but I can trace the repeated ejaculations of hun-hun! hun-hun! hun-hun! hun!

The seventh circle is one of the most interesting, as it contains the famous Indian enunciation of the Buddhist faith, which I found inscribed on a stone which I extracted from the great tope of *Sárnáth*, near Benares. This is the only instance in which I
539 have seen it used in Tibet.

Aum! Muni, Muni, Mahá-Munayé, swáhá!
Yé dharma hetu prabhavá hetun teshán Tathágato
hyavadat teshán cha yá nirodha evam vadi Mahasramanas.

"In the name of the Triad! O, Muni, Muni, great Muni, adoration! Of all things springing from cause, that cause hath the Tathágata explained; the cause of their extinction also hath the great As-cetic declared."

213 New works are rarely undertaken, but the printing of their standard religious works is still carried on by the Tibetans with the same old blocks that were in use up-
[788] wards of 100 years ago. The great mass of printing, however, is chiefly confined to the production of the innumerable quantity of prayers and mystical formulæ that are required by the people. I have seen many rolls containing many hundred repetitions of the same sentences. They are printed on sheets of a thin brownish paper called *Grega* (or *Tega*), but the books are printed on a much smoother paper called *Par-shog*, or "printer's paper." The ink is called *Par-snag*, or "printer's ink." The printer himself is named *Par-pa*, and where several are employed the head printer is called *Par-pon*. The printing board, or table, is *Par-shing*, and "copy" is called *Par-bri-pa*. The engraved block is named *Zhi*,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 Chapter III, B.

871 Social and Religious Life.

Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

[872]

797 As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 Education.

871

212

In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

[651]

142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

The Church as Landlord

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [143]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens*, and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
and keep the property. This is called a
[601] *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
511 there are only girls in the family, what
592 usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

To 829 595 121 182 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 829 595 121 182 K [121]

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

Ti 595 114 [182] [593]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

1; Drew G-3 (1863-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

It would hardly be looked for that of these Bhots a considerable number should be able to read and write; but it is the case that a far larger proportion than among their neighbours—the Kashmīrīs for instance, to say nothing of the Baltīs and the Dārds—have these accomplishments. A predisposing cause to this doubtless is the length of time, during the winter, when agricultural work is stopped and occasion for indoor pursuits arises. Probably the practice of one son out of each family commonly being set apart to become a Lāmā has distinctly aided the progress of this elementary education. In almost every village there are some who can write freely and accurately. 212 872

There are certain traits of manners in a people that a traveller is very likely to miss altogether, that one only occasionally—when some unusual event brings them to view—has an opportunity of observing. Such an event was my own coming to Leh in 1871. I had visited the place before when examining into the mineral resources of the country; but that year I came to take up the Governorship of Ladākh, to which the Maharaja had appointed me. Thus I was able to observe the way in which these people receive those to whom they wish to do honour. People of all classes turned out at every inhabited place we came near. The villagers collect at the entrance of the village, with the musicians in attendance playing on flageolet and tom-tom. The women in their brightest petticoats and gayest ornaments are drawn up in line, each holding a vessel containing either barley-meal, or milk, or chang, or some other thing to eat or to drink. But these offerings are not intended to be taken as provision; they are not as the *dālis* in India, where a very substantial amount of eatables is often given; here they are tokens merely. Lastly, some of the women carry earthen vessels in which burn chips of pencil-cedar, whose perfume is counted holy and pure. As one comes up, all place their vessels on the ground, and make profound and not undignified bows. At each village in succession that we passed through for some six days' march was this repeated. At one part of the journey we passed at a distance of a mile or two from a large monastery. A deputation of Lāmās came down to the road 576 [534]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
181 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the
526 main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
Kashmiri AV4
W. Tibetans AJ4

000 WT 795 173

lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

It was he who reminded the Head Lama to repeat to me that which he had told many visiting Europeans for scores of years past. It is the belief of the lamas, and accepted by a certain sect of the Christians, that Jesus the Christ during "the hidden years of his life" spent about seven of them in meditation and study within the walls of the monastery.

K 795 173

I then remembered that on an occasion whilst sitting alone on Char Chinar, an Indian youth had come softly ashore from a shikara, and after we had talked for a while, I commented upon the quiet serenity which surrounded the island, at which he confidently assured me that this was because the Master Jesus had many times, when he was in Kashmir, preached from the silver isle to the many who had gathered round it in shikaras to listen to him.

There is a sect in Kashmir known as the Quadiani who believe that Christ lived there for some time; they showed me a grave at Khanayar in Srinagar where they insist that he was buried, saying that he was there known as Hazrat Yuz Asaf, but on further enquiring and searching records, I found that Yuz Asaf, the supposed descendant of Moses was ambassador from the King of Egypt to the court of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din. Strangely enough though, according to Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini*, during the reign of Jayendra who ruled between about 61 B.C. and A.D. 24, there was a minister by name Samdhimati-Aryaraaja, described as "the greatest of sages", who lived a life of poverty, suffered imprisonment for many years, and then "met his death at the stake", afterwards "coming to life again and in answer to the prayers of the people, ruled over Kashmir for forty years". He seems to have just faded out of the picture, since there is no mention of his final going and there is no suggestion that he might have been a mythical and not an historical individual.

WT 779 212

Some of the old books in the monastery library were in rolls and written by hand, others, more recent, had been printed on paper which is made there and called *par-sbog*; the leaves, which are about four inches wide, are not uniform in length, some are a foot, others eight or ten inches long, they are folded and

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans A54

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published. 779 212 213

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With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking. 533 535 [515] [777] 535

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

197 *chang* and *Tibar-skad* of Kanáwar. This comparison will give a much better idea of the language than any thing that I can say.

III.—PRINTING.

● 213 Printing has long been known and practised in Tibet, but only by engraved stereotype wooden blocks, and not by moveable types. The printing of a new work is therefore a most expensive and laborious process. The accompanying specimen of a Tibetan horn-book, or primer, is printed from one of these engraved planks.* The letters are most beautifully cut, but the block has been so much used, that the original sharpness is now quite gone.

The first or middle circle is blank.

The second circle contains a mystic formula, which I cannot decipher.

The third circle contains the ejaculation *hih*, eight times repeated.

The fourth circle contains the ejaculation *hún*, ten times repeated.

The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet, arranged according to the Sanscrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirates complete. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanscrit names; as for instance, the *n* in *Padmapaṇi*. It is remarkable that the *ch*, *chh*, and *j* have all got the mark placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to *ts*, *tsh*, and *ds*. This
212 is, I think, a direct proof that the Tibetans obtained
177 their knowledge of Sanscrit, as well as their alpha-

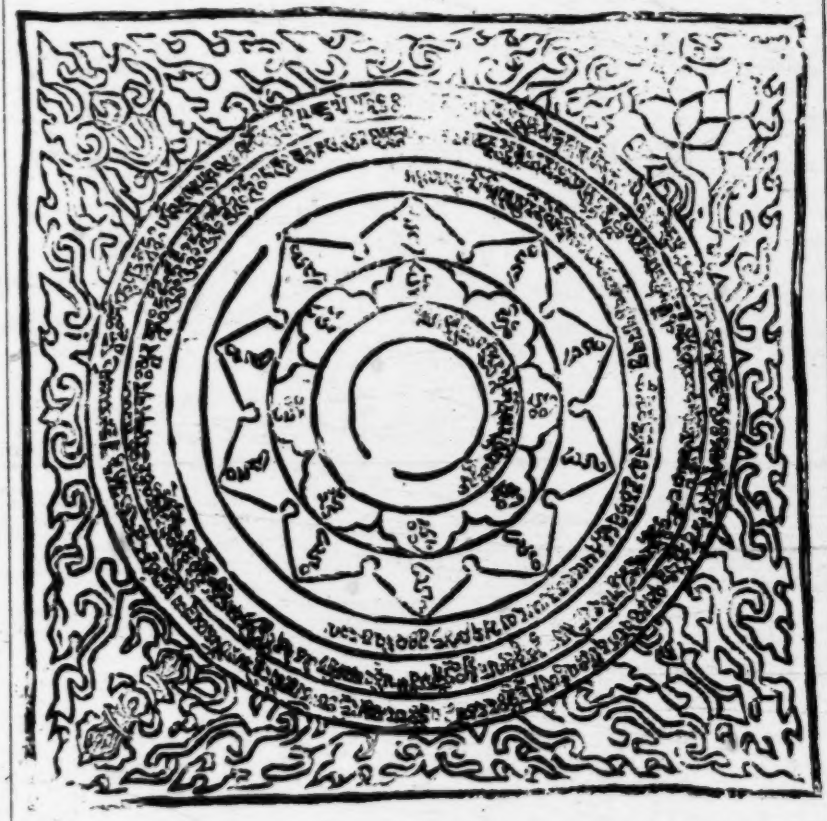
* See Plate XLIV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 A34 W. Tibetans A34

213

THE TIBETAN HORN-BOOK

from a Tibetan Wooden Block



p. 392 a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 bet, from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these
212 letters in the above manner, as *Pandsál* for Panjál.

The sixth circle I cannot decipher, but I can trace the repeated ejaculations of hun-hun! hun-hun! hun-hun! hun!

The seventh circle is one of the most interesting, as it contains the famous Indian enunciation of the Buddhist faith, which I found inscribed on a stone which I extracted from the great tope of *Sárnáth*, near Benares. This is the only instance in which I
539 have seen it used in Tibet.

Aum! Muni, Muni, Mahá-Munayé, swáhá!
Yé dharma hetu prabhavá hetun teshán Tathágato
hyavadat teshán cha yá nirodha evam vadi Mahasramanas.

"In the name of the Triad! O, Muni, Muni, great Muni, adoration! Of all things springing from cause, that cause hath the Tathágata explained; the cause of their extinction also hath the great As-cetic declared."

● 213 New works are rarely undertaken, but the printing of their standard religious works is still carried on by the Tibetans with the same old blocks that were in use up-
[788] wards of 100 years ago. The great mass of printing, however, is chiefly confined to the production of the innumerable quantity of prayers and mystical formulæ that are required by the people. I have seen many rolls containing many hundred repetitions of the same sentences. They are printed on sheets of a thin brownish paper called *Grega* (or *Tega*), but the books are printed on a much smoother paper called *Par-shog*, or "printer's paper." The ink is called *Par-sno*, or "printer's ink." The printer himself is named *Par-pa*, and where several are employed the head printer is called *Par-pon*. The printing board, or table, is *Par-shing*, and "copy" is called *Par-bri-pa*. The engraved block is named *Zhi*,

2/3 and the engraver *Par-ko-pa*. The printing-house is called *Par-khang*, and the book, when completed, is named *Par-ma*, a "printed work."

A book consists of numerous loose leaves, from one to two feet long, and from three to four inches in width. These are numbered, and secured between two planks. The title and number of the volume are sewn upon a piece of silk and inserted at one end.*

IV.—RECKONING OF TIME.

805 The Ladákis make use of two modes of reckoning time. the cycle of twelve years for common computations, suc as a man's age, or the date of any recent event; bu both in writing and in accounts they always use th cycle of sixty years, which they borrowed from India.†

In the cycle of twelve years, each year is named after a particular animal, as follows:—

1.	Byi-lo	the Mouse year.
2.	gLang-lo	the Ox year.
3.	Stag-lo	the Tiger year.
4.	Yos-lo	the Hare year.
5.	hBrug-lo	the Dragon year.
6.	sBrul-lo	the Serpent year
7.	rTa-lo	the Horse year.
8.	Lug-lo	the Sheep year.
9.	Spre-lo	the Ape year.
10.	Bya-lo	the Bird year.
11.	Khyi-lo	the Dog year.
12.	Phog-lo	the Hog year.

My first acquaintance with this cycle was rather startling. I asked a jolly-looking dame, named Thájang,

* A volume in my possession is entitled *Chhos-rGyan*—D—that is, "The Ornament of Religion," 11th vol.

† Csoma's Grammar, pp. 147, 148.

●213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider
788 that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of
177 India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways: hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoo-
753 thung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epileptic

[131]
412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans A54

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Proportion of the sexes.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul.

Houses and furniture.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 233

Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul. [221]

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *niru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *warisi* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *phátis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Koksar, which,

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[425]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpahú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpahú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

Chapter V, B. Land and Land Revenue. 421 651

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Láhaul.

The whole of Láhaul appears to have been at one time portioned out among a few petty barons or Thákurs, who were the lords of whom the *yulfa* or villagers held their holdings. Four of these baronial families have survived up to the present day, two in full and two in partial possession of their estates; the rest are said to have been gradually extirpated by the Rájas of Kúlu. Under the Rájas the Thákurs were allowed to exist supreme in their own estates, but paid a heavy annual tribute or *nazaráne* for them in the shape of a certain number of ponies, pieces of cloth, &c. In the rest of the country, *i.e.*, the *khálsa* or royal *kothís*, the Rája took the place of the extinct Thákurs, and managed them through an official with the rank of a *wazír*. The Thákurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothís*, were compelled to attend the Rája at his capital Sultánpur for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them. This was the origin of the present annual emigration of a very large part of the Láhaul population to their winter quarters in Akhára, a suburb of Sultánpur. The *tal* or land-revenue of Láhaul was taken in fixed items of cash, grain, and cloth, levied at equal rates on all the *jeolas* in each *kothí*. This was the rule, but sometimes some small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water-supply. Another item of revenue was the *chetrú* or colts; a filly belonged to the owner of the mare, but all colts born in Láhaul went to the Rája in *khálsa*, and to the Thákur in *jágír kothís*.

[221]

Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul). 649 651 421

When the Sikhs ousted the Rája of Kúlu, they collected the cash and grain from the *khálsa kothís*, and the *nazaránes* from the Thákurs as before; but on the pretence that they did not demand any service of either Thákur or landholder, they imposed an additional cess, under the name of *betangná* of rupees six per *jeola* on every holding, whether in the *khálsa* or the *jágír kothís*. When three years later we took over the country from the Sikhs, we found it nominally assessed at Rs. 5,000, which included grazing dues on foreign sheep and fines, besides land-revenue. This was reduced to Rs. 4,200 at once, next year to Rs. 3,200, and at Regular Settlement to Rs. 2,150, of which Rs. 240 were tribute payable by the Thákurs, and Rs. 1,910 regular land-revenue. When, however, this last sum came to be distributed by the people themselves over the *jeolas* of the *khálsa kothís*, it proved to be in excess of the old fixed cash assessment, and the landholders were not apparently informed that the old grain assessment, and other items were abolished. They, therefore, argued among themselves that the excess

P. 143

563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
533 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.
When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.
They married happily.
After marriage the girl left Lahul
And went and lived with her husband,
*Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.**

423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
• 221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

*See page 333, category 116

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo. 492

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug 438
up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation 804
of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years 492
Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that 438
were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They 221
grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with 492
salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to 439
form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

of land on the north end of the basin. They were hard-riding horsemen on white ponies, and as they drew close I could hear the bells on one. They soon pulled up in front of us in a flurry of dust and took the initiative in conversation.

"Where do you go?" "Who is the white man?" "Is he American or British?" "What is he doing here?" As Rahul talked with these Tibetans I surveyed them. They wore tight-fitting coats that came down over their thighs. One wore a nondescript cap, the other a tall-crowned hat with a small, turned-down brim. They both wore dark glasses and carried revolvers on their hips. I shook hands with each of them, giving them the Tibetan salutation, "*Ju Le, Ju Le*"; and the older of the two smiled in return, showing prominent front teeth. Then they were gone, whirling their horses on a dime and racing with the wind toward Baralacha.

"What's their destination?" I asked Rahul. He had not been able to find out. They were on a fast journey to Lahul. The Indian-Tibetan border is mostly unsurveyed. Until August 1951, it had few security outposts. The people of southwest Tibet moved south into India freely and without restraint. Some went on commercial missions, taking caravans to Indian centers. Others moved north to Tibet in the summer and down to India in the fall, grazing sheep as they went. Others went on Buddhist pilgrimages to shrines in India. And many Indians went on pilgrimages to shrines in Tibet. The truth is that the Buddhist holy places in this area have no nationality; long custom and practice have made them common property to all Buddhists. People by the thousands have moved with ease across this border from time immemorial. The men I met at Serchu did not seem to be pilgrims. Perhaps they were traveling on a commercial mission and hurrying in order to return to Tibet before the Tibetan-Indian border was closed.

In early August 1951, that border was still open. The Dalai Lama was still at Yatung on Tibet's southern border, negotiating with the representatives of the Red Chinese government. The

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the 361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers 162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense 111 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of 233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have [771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism [799] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion 162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus 792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. 563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

101 241 231

AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

241 462

Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461]

The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

[437]

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

[132] 221 241

In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 286 From December until spring farming pursuits cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

256 425 Lahoul being under British administration, the acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

241 287 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to vil-
lagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
[466] labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
221 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

1: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
● [221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lambskin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADAKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

1. Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV. Kashmir
W. Tibetans A34

from the ground, while the pent-up air itself becomes hot and gives no relief. But after a toilsome drag for some miles over this waste of heated rocks, he reaches one of the little villages that are made at the mouths of side ravines, if haply there can be found a few acres of flat ground for cultivation. These villages are to the traveller a most welcome and lovely sight; a space covered with crops of a brilliant green overshadowed by luxuriant fruit-trees in the midst of the barest rocks gives a relief equally to the eye, the mind, and the body of the wayfarer. 361 133

Garkon is the one of these villages most curious in its situation. It consists of very narrow strips or ledges of flat watered ground, between separate stages of a great river-cliff, so that on one side there is a precipitous fall of ground while on the other vertical cliffs overhanging the narrow fields, which, receiving their radiated heat, quickly ripen the crops; even at night the place does not lose its heat. Water is led over the fields from a ravine that comes from the high mountains. Apple-trees, apricot, mulberry, and the vine are cultivated, in company with the cereals, on the narrow space, and flourish well with the combination of moisture and warmth. In going from Garkon to the next village, called *Dāh*, we have passed from Baltistān into Ladākh. The Baltis were in former times apt to make raids upon their more peaceable neighbours. Dāh, as the frontier village, protected itself by the agglomeration of its houses together to form a sort of fort; on two sides protection is given by a steep cliff, on two by a wall, with a good tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure. Now that all are under one government, and perfect peace has ensued, the dwellings are scattered; but still in winter time the people from the outlying houses and hamlets join to live within the enclosure, for warmth and for mirth's sake. Within its walls the ground is almost all roofed over, hardly any space is left for alleys, passages from one house to another are led beneath the rooms of a third; the whole is a strange crowding together of hovels. In this part side valleys of various degrees of importance reach down to the Indus; some are mere rocky ravines, others hold hamlets and villages. I visited the *Hanū*

[312] [241] [221] [221]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans AV4

221 361 [792]

With the exception of the Lāmās, the people of the village live on the rock in winter only; for summer they have other dwellings scattered about by their fields, but for warmth in winter they crowd to their old fortress. Here the buildings are crowded so close together, the space occupied is so completely roofed over—pathways and all—that when filled with human beings and with cattle it must indeed be warm.

133x

A great part of the rock on which Charāsa is built * is rounded, smoothed, and even polished. It is a *roche moutonnée.* On the smoothed surface there are in several places very distinct grooves or scratches which most clearly denote the movement over it of a glacier. The grooves are to be seen close down to the level of the alluvium and up for more than 100 feet above it. The very summit cannot be examined on account of the buildings; but I have no doubt that the ice of the glacier completely covered it and extended to an enormous thickness above, and at the same time occupied the whole width of the valley, a width, which both here and for some distance up, is about 2½ miles. There is a slight difference in the direction of the scratches on the two sides of the rock. On the east side they are exactly with the run of the valley, namely, about north-north-west, while on the west they run north and south; this shows that the stream of the ice of the glacier separated, and part of it deviated a little, on coming to the obstruction of the rock.

This is by no means the only instance of ice-marks in the valley. A projecting rock about two miles above Charāsa is very distinctly polished and striated. Two rocks projecting out of the fan by the village of Kūrī have the form that denotes ice-moulding; and behind that village we see the same phenomenon extending for 700 feet up the hill-side. On the left bank, at Panimik, are low isolated hills, about 200 feet high, surrounded by the alluvium; they are of a dark metamorphosed slate; everywhere, except at the broken and weathered parts, are they ice-moulded and striated. In one of these little hills is

* The rock is a hardened, altered, shale, graduating into a crystalline rock, which also I take to be metamorphic.
[i.e, Charāsa, on the Nubra River.--ANALYST]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in 132
the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy 133
area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks [241] and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Culti- [231] vation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square 161
miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have 101
been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as 221
the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, 621
the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black 342
hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly 595
attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between the island and the near shore. This little place, being ordinarily undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladākhī is called *Chagharatse;* the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of these must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chāmpās that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panbuk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be 3¼ inches by 2¼, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomorīrī are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the headquarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty-five Lāmās; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far, and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

* The barred-goose; in Ladākhī, *nangpā*.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 The summer encampment is not close to Karzok, but it is made two
221 or three miles up the side valley; at that distance up the ravine widens out, and on a stony expanse, through which a stream flowed watering a narrow green strip, were about fifty black tents of the Chāmpās, and a few white ones of merchants from Kulū, who had come to trade with them; this was the encampment of that half of the Rupshu tribe which keeps to the south-eastern pastures. The flocks were spread over the hills, seeking for the scarce herbage.

241 Karzok is one of the two or three places in Rupshu where there is cultivation; here some 12 acres are sown with naked barley. Close upon 15,000 feet, it is the highest cultivation that I know of. When I was there the crop was thriving, but in some years it fails of ripening. The land is irrigated from the stream of the side valley, that which made the delta before spoken of, which is one of the chief affluents to the lake.

132 The climate of this part is thoroughly Tibetan. Snow falls in winter, but not to a great depth. In summer the air is usually clear and cloudless. The year I was at Tsomorīrī, however, 1871, was an exceptional one all over Ladākh, and rain fell in showers such as had seldom been seen, accompanied by thunder. In these storms we saw the mountains in colours different from those native ones which the glaring sun had brought out so strongly. Before, the lofty hills, except where whitened by a capping of snow, had shown nothing but rocks and stony or earthy slopes of brown and grey, the distant ones seeming close from the rarity and clearness of the air. But now, with the clouds overhead and the storms filling the valley, the recesses of the purpled mountains seemed more distant; yet we saw deeper and deeper into them as the various shades showed out the successive spurs and ridges, and the water of the lake formed a bright belt in front of the richly-tinted hills.

TSO KYAGHAR.

133* North of Karzok a high ridge of mountains edges Tsomorīrī on the west, having high cliffs in its upper part and sloping more

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

133X tion of the origin of this lake, but I have turned over in my mind two or three hypotheses. The alluvium might at one time have filled the basin, which doubtless was originally but part of a valley tributary to that down which flows the stream; then, during some part of the glacial period, a glacier from the north-east may have scooped the hollow out of the gneiss and of the alluvium; thus the hollow would be a rock basin, counting the alluvium as part of the rock. Another theory is that at the time this tributary valley opened out to the larger one it was occupied by a glacier, and then the alluvium of the larger valley was deposited *against that glacier;* then, later, the ice disappearing left the hollow. The difficulty in the way of this is to know why no outlet was kept open by the water that must have flowed from the glacier. Altogether this little lake is about the most puzzling one I have met with.

INDUS VALLEY.

East of Tsomoriri there is a part of Rupshu which I have never visited—the valley of Hanle. It seems from the accounts to be another of these flat, high-level, alluvium-filled valleys, bounded by mountains which soon rise up to a height of 4000 or [361] 5000 feet or more above it. At Hanle, which is 14,276 feet high, [221] is a monastery built on a rocky spur some hundred feet above the plain. Passing by this tract, of which I have no personal knowledge, let us go to the Indus Valley, which, in the highest part of it included in the Maharaja's dominions, forms a portion of Rupshu, and is periodically visited by the Rupshu tribe with their flocks.

133X From the south-east corner of the Salt Lake plain there leads 487 a valley, which, followed up, brings one to an easy Pass, by name Folokonka, about 16,500 feet high, and beyond that one comes [312] into the valley of Pūga, a place where borax and sulphur are dug. The road from Tsomoriri, by the little lake Tso Kyāghar, also leads over a saddle of rock down into the Pūga Valley, which, farther followed down, brings us in a few miles to the Indus River. [221] The former of these two paths is the way taken by the Rupshu Chāmpās in the course of their migrations. The portion

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we
361 come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve
[241] houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the
[137] former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of
132 willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the
101 plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs
221 both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133x Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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eight miles distant; a succession of spurs come down from it; 138x
between them are hollows from which come out, at their base, wide spreading fans. The hill-sides are completely bare of vegetation. On the slopes of the northern ridge, up to 2000 feet, blown sand has accumulated, sand blown up from the river plain; this sometimes lies in masses in the hollows, sometimes is spread on the hill-sides in varying thicknesses, in places it has been washed down again into the valleys on to the other débris. The different colour of this sand from that of the rock gives a strange look to the hills; it often reverses the usual light and shade, making the hollows bright and leaving the projections dark.

I went about 20 miles farther, south-eastwards up the valley, along the alluvial plain between the mountains. After that, as I could see, the space between the mountains narrowed; in the line of the valley there seemed to be an opening like a gateway; it is through this that goes the road into the Chinese territory; the river is deflected to the north-east, flowing in a narrow space, but after another 20 miles up the two valleys or hollows reunite.

Our farthest camp was at a place called Dora. This is where 361
the Chāmpās of Rupshu spend the winter. Here are built some 221
low walled spaces for sheltering cattle at night; there were many 342
small hollows dug two feet deep in the ground with a course or two of sun-dried brick above, these are made for the tents to be pitched in them; at one end is a rude house built for the headman—low walls washed over with a glittering micaceous mud and roofed in with sticks covered with turf. When I was there, in August, there was not a soul in the settlement. At Dora falls hardly any snow. This is why the place is chosen for winter quarters, the sheep and the cattle being thus able to graze on the extensive though thin pasture found on the flat. Close by is a small shallow lake in the alluvium; it is about three-quarters of a mile long and a furlong wide, of clear fresh water. Two or three miles off are some little salt ponds in the alluvium; the water of these tastes both salt and bitter. About north-north-east from Dora the northern mountain-ridge changes in point of composition from granite to a more or less altered shale; the line of it

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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133 is continued more to the east than before, while in the line of its
361 original direction are some more hills which are joined to the
221 other ridge by a neck called on the Survey Map "Chang Pass"; this Pass is practically the boundary of Chinese Tibet in that direction; in the Indus Valley the boundary will be a day or two's march beyond Dora.

136 It is natural that the more favourable circumstances of this part of the Indus Valley should encourage animal life to a greater extent than is common in Rupshu. I saw here some small herds of the Tibetan antelope, and the Tibetan hare is common here as well as lower down towards Nimū and again towards Chushal; it is a large hare, with much white, the back of a brownish grey. But the animal one sees most of in these parts is the Kyang or wild-ass—wild horse it has sometimes been called—an animal which is met with singly or in twos and threes in many parts of Rupshu (as, for instance, the Salt Lake plain) but here is in far greater number than anywhere else. In a day's march I saw some 300 kyang, as many as 100 at one view. There were several different herds; they all let us come to about 250 yards from them and then trotted off, or if frightened by noise galloped away, often leaving the low ground and taking to the stony slopes. This animal is decidedly nearer the ass than the horse, but in outward appearance is much more like a mule than either. He is like a good mule such as one gets in the upper part of the Punjāb, about Rāwal Pindī.* The colour is brown, but white under the belly; there is a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. Of a full-grown male, a fine handsome animal, that I shot in order to make closer observations, the following are some measurements:

Height	54 inches (13 hands 2 in.)
Length of head (from point of muzzle to root of ear)	21½ "
Length of ear	9½ "
Fore hoof, length	5 "
" width	4 "
Hind hoof, length	4⅞ "
" width	3½ "

* Trebeck, Moorcroft's companion, wrote that the kyang is neither horse nor ass, that his shape is as much like one as the other.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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moraine;* it is composed of blocks, some angular, some half-rounded, and stones, many of them rounded, chiefly of granite and gneiss, but also of white crystalline limestone, sandstone, and shale; there are many very large blocks, one (of gneiss) measured 27 feet by 20 by 9 as seen above the ground, probably there was more than as much again beneath, and there were several others of about the same dimensions. The height of the mounds is often 250 feet above the low parts of the flat where two streams are flowing, and very likely this is the thickness of the moraine-stuff at those places, but the average thickness over the area may be less. This moraine is evidently the deposit of a glacier that occupied not only that valley which still, as the map shows, holds a glacier of a considerable size, but also those branches which extend to the north-east; it very probably rose over the low spur behind Lukung; this is about 250 feet high, and nearly to the summit, quite up to 200 feet above the valley, *on the south side of it*, I observed transported blocks of granite, and the glacier may have entered, and even crossed, the valley of the Pāngkong Lake.†

The last hamlet in this valley, the last in Ladākh in this direction, is Phobrang, some five miles above Lukung; it is 14,500 feet above the sea, there are one or two houses, occupied in summer for the sake of the cultivation of some naked barley on the alluvial flat, and deserted in winter for Lukung itself. A little higher up is Chagrā, 15,000 feet, a place of encampment, at some seasons, of a few families of Chāmpās. From Chagrā the road takes to an easterly branch of the valley and rises gradually, with hills on either side rounded in form and stony in surface. Thus we get to the Pass which is a little below the level of the hills on each side, though at some distance they rise nearly 2000 feet higher; they

* A good view of this is obtained from the spur behind the village of Lukung, over which a path goes, an alternative to the valley road.

† If the doubtful margin-marks 900 feet above the present lake (as described at p. 324 in a note) turn out to be real, I should be inclined to attribute the damming to such a great depth to this glacier, of whose existence and importance we have such good evidence.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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are of a dark-brown colour, in form for the most part rounded; their whole surface is covered with loose stones, either taluses or else rock disintegrated into angular blocks, remaining as yet unmoved. On the farther side comes a stony valley similar to the one we have just left; down this we continue for a day and a half's march, going sometimes across taluses, sometimes along alluvial terraces, over stony ground, gradually descending till we reach the Chāng-chenmo River itself. Here is a valley stretching straight east and west for far, the bottom of it a stony tract with the river flowing through it in many channels. In front of us, on the north side, is a bold line of mountains 5000 or 6000 feet above us, rocky in face, rising to a rugged ridge. 133x

Below this spot where we first reach it (called both Pāmzāl and Tsolū) I have not followed the Chāngchenmo Valley; I believe it in that part to be a rapid stream flowing between narrowing rocky mountains. Above, the valley is partly occupied by the wide gravelly river-bed and partly by alluvial terraces, all stony and bare; the hills that bound this vary much in height and steepness, some are smooth-sided and comparatively low, others both lofty and steep. A branch from the main valley leads to the north, up to the plateaus that will be described in the next chapter; it contains a stream of as great volume as the other. Gogrā is a place where a rest-house has been built a few miles up that valley, soon above which it divides into Kugrāng, the westerly branch, and Chonglung, the north-easterly. [485]

The places where the three requisites for travellers in these regions occur together, namely, water, grass, and fuel, are found several miles apart. One is Pāmzāl, already mentioned; here is some pasture, and, close by, a great supply of fuel in the bushy growth of myricaria (umbū) and of tamarisk on the alluvium. Then there is a stretch of over 12 miles before any more vegetation is met with. Then at Kyam, where some hot springs come out, there is a spread of grass extending some way up the valley, and there is brushwood also, and farther up, to the very head, there is grass to be found in places. Again, at Gogrā, in the side valley, [372] 22 311 133x

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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221
311
133X

there is fuel and a little pasture. Thus scattered and scant is the vegetation; excepting these far-between patches the whole surface is a waste of rock or stone. Still the vegetation, scarce though it be, is enough to help on the traveller, and even to support the following of one or two families of tent-dwellers who pass a portion of the year in Chāngchenmo.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 No specimen of this magnificent goat has, I believe, yet been obtained by any naturalist, nor have I heard of any traveller who has seen the animal. I would suggest that it might be called *Capra megaceros*.

236 [136] Another species of wild goat is the Tibetan ibex, or *Skyin*.* Mr. Vigne procured a pair of horns that were four feet three inches in length. In his opinion the Skyin "is larger than the European ibex, and the horns are longer, more curved, and more tapering." The Skyin frequents the most inaccessible rocks, and the animal, when shot, is frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. Vigne states that between one and two hundred of them are killed in Balti during the winter, when they are forced to descend into [224] the valleys.† In Ladák they are also snared at night, and shot in the grey dawn of the morning, when they venture down to the streams to drink. They are killed for the sake of the soft under-fleece, which, in Kashmir, [439] is called *Asali Tus*.‡ This is an exceedingly fine and soft wool of a light brown colour, which is exported to Kashmir, where it is used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It is also woven into a very fine cloth, called *Tusi*, of a soft and delicate texture, which is much prized for its warmth. The high price of the Tus is caused by the difficulty of procuring the animal, and by the uselessness of the hair. The person who separates the hair from the wool of the domestic shawl-

* *Skyin;* the female is called *Dan-mo*. In Kullu and Spiti, the Skyin is called Kyin; and Spiti is called Piti, but the spelling in Tibetan always preserves the initial *s*.

† Vigne's Travels, II. p. 279.

‡ اصلي توس means simply "genuine *Tus*," or the wool of the *wild* goat; *Tus* means "n ıture."

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhathum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 applause of either the band or the onlookers. Is it necessary
[534] to say that the inevitable band is there[1] also? The shooting begins. An archer takes up his position, draws his bow, his friends encouraging him by calling: "*Shok, shok, shok, shok, shok, shok, shok,*" and continuing to do so until the shaft has flown. Should it break the clay, the band strikes up and is rewarded with a backsheesh, whilst the archer has a salutation scarf thrown round his neck. If an enemy should be shooting, he can be discouraged by shouting:—"*Kyor, kyor, kyor,*" which means "miss." All having loosed their arrows, of which each man shoots three, they retire for refreshments and conversation, whilst the arrows are fetched back. This competition also lasts three days, during which Leh is not allowed to forget it, for the continuous beating of the kettle-drums is constantly inviting more spectators to the show.

● 224 In concluding this chapter we would like to refer to some of the sport which the white man enjoys in this country. A certain number of shooting licences are given every year, namely twenty for the first half of the year and twenty for the second. These are generally used by Army officers, men of the
000 finest stamp. It is only the "stern strong souls, who love the wild," who would face the biting winds which howl across these upland plains, who would put up with the loneliness, and often the bad cooking and limited supplies, which shooting there entails, and who would follow their quarry even to 17,000 feet, though already lungs are working at bursting point. To have to shoot immediately after such a climb, when one is still breathing hard, the heart working at about one hundred and twenty to the minute, and the hands shaking from exertion, is no easy matter. And yet it is worth it all. Is there anything on God's earth more thrilling than a few days up in His hills with a good rifle in one's hands and a splendid animal to be stalked? It seems such a pity that the expense makes this almost prohibitive for our younger officers, for surely such a holiday must make them fitter for

1 [i.e., at archery contests.--ANALYST.]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the service than a continuous whirl of social functions in some Indian hill-station. One thinks wistfully of two "subs." who had saved up for such a holiday, one of them being the son of a man who had shot up here years ago, when he himself was in the Indian Army. But, alas, having reached Leh, they found they had only sufficient money to get back to their station, and had to give up the idea of shooting. Of wild sheep we have several kinds, most of them having splendid horns. It is said that these are so heavy that eventually their owners die of starvation, as they get too feeble to carry them and go in search of food.

To begin with, we have the Sharpu, which live on the lower hills and during the winter come right down into the fields. Out shooting one day, my shikari, a Ladaki hunter, and I spotted five of these animals on a hill opposite to us, and soon after noticed a couple of wolves stalking them. I got within five yards of the latter, as they lay waiting behind a rock. By the time I had jumped off my pony and had loaded my gun, they had got quite out of range, although they seemed to be slinking away quite slowly. We then watched the Sharpu, and to our surprise they came clean across the valley to the very spot where the wolves had been waiting for them, and passed within ten yards of us, even stopping to look at us. Needless to say they were does, and ladies one does not shoot. Large numbers of these must be killed by other predatory animals. Another time we found a Sharpu with horns of thirty inches, which had only just been brought down by a snow-leopard. At last I hoped to get one of the latter, which are fairly plentiful, though as yet I had never met one. But, alas, he got wind, and evaded me. The Ladakis hate these snow-leopards for they do much harm to their flocks. In order to catch them, they dig deep holes in the ground and build overhanging walls round. They then put down the sheep, whose bleating attracts the leopard. Having jumped in, he cannot negotiate the overhanging wall and meets an

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

224 ignoble death from stoning. The Ladakis assert that once down he is so scared that he does not attempt to kill the sheep, but this may be no truer than the statement that they hate them so much that they skin them alive. The people also make a very useful wolf-trap. One end of a large rock is balanced on a stick, to which they tie a piece of meat. A pull
136 on this brings the stone down on the animal's head. On the higher hills the burrhel can be found grazing sometimes in herds of fifty to a hundred. These seem to have as many lives as a cat, for on two occasions I have hit them, brought them rolling down the hill, but on approaching to gloat over my kill, they have calmly got up and walked off. After this, I learnt not to unload until my foot rested on the dead body of my victim. Much higher up one finds the Ovis Ammon, a magnificent animal, whose horns at the base measure about eighteen inches in girth, and whose length is about fifty inches when full-grown. The Ibex, a kind of goat, prefers the rockier regions and, although the Ladaki Ibex is not as fine as that from Baltistan, yet even he can boast of horns some forty inches long. Right on the uplands towards Tibet, one can also get antelope, with beautifully slender, graceful horns, which at their ends curl forwards, not backwards. At one time it was possible to shoot the wild yak, but, even were he not almost extinct now, it would not be permissible to shoot him in
224 the state of a Hindu Maharajah. It is surprising how these various animals keep to their own grazing grounds, and the native hunter, who is the gillie of Ladak, knows exactly on which slopes the various animals may be found. These gillies are remarkable for the way in which they can tell you the length of a horn to an inch or two, even at two hundred to three hundred yards. This is an essential qualification, for one is not allowed to shoot an animal unless his horns have reached
136 a certain length. During the winter small game abounds almost everywhere. On the rocks pigeons are plentiful, and twice I have killed thirteen pigeons—a lucky number this time—

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

142 unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are
291 cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed. On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick
342 soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but
132 from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing, he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

133 Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many
226 delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

two of which weighed about one pound. And how unsophisticated they were. At first we fished with a kind of larva as bait, but this was scarce, and we had to try how small chunks of mutton would do. They proved successful, and were taken with avidity. We were told that during the autumn the natives caught them in basketfuls, for at that time of the year they go upstream every night, to return in the morning, when they are trapped and then dried, thus providing meat for the winter.

From here we ascended the Kiula Pass, and on our way met our first flock of Changpa sheep, which were slowly grazing their way up the pass. The largest of them was carrying a load, which proved to be the shepherd's bedding and food. The weight did not seem to trouble the sheep at all, nor lessen its enjoyment of the grass. In this country sheep have to carry all sorts of things. Sometimes it is salt for selling in Leh, where its carrier is turned into mutton, and flavoured from its load. At other times it is bales of wool or it may be borax. Our camp that night was pitched at 17,000 feet, and was bitterly cold. This camp really must be described, for it was a fascinating picture.

The camping ground was so small and withal so terribly rocky and uneven, that a Public Health Officer of Camps, did such exist, would have condemned it for overcrowding. There were all sorts and conditions of tents ranging from the imposing ones of the B.J.C., in front of which flew the Union Jack, and the Wazir's, flying the flag of Kashmir, down to the airy tent of the Changpa. To our left were about thirty yaks, laden and ready to start off with our second lot of camp equipment to the next halting place, for now we are travelling *de luxe*, and we like to find our camp ready when we arrive, making it unnecessary to wait exposed to the cold wind. In the centre of the camp are the horses which have brought us to-day, tethered to each other by their forelegs. What are those sheep doing to our left? They look

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 to pierce the infinite obscurity of bygone ages. One
132 point alone seems clear; that when all these lakes
172 existed, more moisture must have been evaporated, and more snow must have fallen as well as more rain; and the humid atmosphere would have produced a milder climate more favourable to animal and vegetable life. The hills would, perhaps, have been clothed with trees, and the still waters of the magnificent lakes would have teemed with myriads of *Lymnæa*, of which only the shells now remain. But the gradual wearing down of the water-courses, and the continual bursting of the lakes, have nearly dried up all the primeval waters of Ladák; and the consequent loss of moisture has occasioned the present general scarcity of rain and snow, and that extreme dryness of atmosphere which has caused the total dearth of trees. The only sheets of water that now exist are landlocked and salt.

172 A second extinct species of shell is a bivalve (*Cyclas*); but as all the specimens that have been found were preserved inside the *Lymnæa*, they are necessarily small; it is now perhaps impossible to determine exactly whether they are river or lake shells.

Fossil shells are also found in the fine clay deposits near Skardo, of which I have given a specimen in Fig. 4, Plate IX., which contains a *Planorbis* and a *Luccinea* (or perhaps a small *Lymnæa*). One specimen of the existing Planorbis of Skardo is given in Fig. 9.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

● 281 The domestic animals of Ladák are ponies, asses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs. The Argons, or mixed race of half-Kashmiris half-Botis, resident at Lé, now keep a number of common fowls, but they have only

1. Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

within the last few years been introduced from Kashmir. 231

Ponies.—The ponies, according to Moorcroft,* who was a good judge, are "small, active, and hardy, but not numerous nor much used." At least one-half of the ponies used in Ladák are brought from Yarkand; but they are all geldings. The asses are small, and only equal to half-pony loads.†

Oxen.—The oxen are the *Yák*, or Chaori-tailed bull, and the yák cow, *Brimo* or *Dimo*, and their hybrid produce with the common cattle.

The *Yák* ‡ is short, but broadly and strongly built, with a small head, short horns, and a wild-looking eye. His long black hair reaches close to the ground before it is cut, and he has usually a shaggy and savage appearance. The *Yák* is used chiefly for carrying loads, as he is generally too intractable for the plough. The cow is kept only for milk.

The most valuable hybrids are the *Dso* bull and the *Dso-mo* cow, which are the produce of the male yák and the common cow. The *Dso* is used, throughout Ladák, for the plough as well as for carrying loads, as he is much more tractable than the yák and quite as strong. The *Dso-mo* yields much more milk than the yák cow, and of a much richer quality. The milk is used chiefly [262] for butter, of which almost every Ladáki consumes a certain quantity daily in his tea, in the same way as milk is used in England. The *Dso* is a very handsome

* Travels, I. p. 309.

† Ponies of all sizes are called *Tá* (in Tibetan *rTa*). Asses are called *Bong*.

‡ The Yák (in Tibetan *gYag*) is the *Bos grunniens*, or grunting ox. The bull is called *Pho-gYag*, or *Pho-yak*; and the cow *hBri-mo*. See Plate XLII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 animal, with long shaggy hair, mostly black and white, but frequently reddish-brown and white, and sometimes altogether white. The hair is cut annually like that of the yák, and is used for the same purposes. The price of a good *Dso* varies from sixteen to twenty rupees.

The other hybrids are little valued. The *Drepo* or *Drelpo* is the male produce between the common bull and the *Dso-mo;* but it is inferior in strength, and the *Dremo*, or female, does not yield more milk than a common cow. The cross between the yák and the *Dsomo* is still less valued. Other crosses are few and accidental; as the produce of all these hybrids quickly degenerates.*

The number of neat cattle I had no accurate means of ascertaining; but as amongst the encampments I generally found that there was about one yák for every ten sheep, the present number may be estimated at about 25,000. Their total value, at the average rate of sixteen rupees each, will be Rs. 3,40,000, or £34,000.

Sheep.—The Ladáki sheep are of two distinct kinds, the tall black-faced *Huniya*, which is used chiefly for carrying burdens, and the pretty diminutive sheep of *Purik*, which is used only for food. All sheep are called by the general name of *Luk;* a flock is called *luk-khyu;* the shepherd, *luk-pa* or *luk-dsi;* and the sheepfold, *luk-ra.*†

The common sheep is the *Huniya*, which, with the exception of the pretty little Purik breed, is almost the only kind of sheep to be found throughout Tibet. This fine sheep is much larger than any of the Indian breeds,

* Moorcroft, I. p. 309, and my brother, Capt. J. D. Cunningham, in Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 221, both say the same thing.

† *Lug*, pronounced *Luk*, *Lug-khyu*, *Lug-pa*, *Lug-r-Dsi*, *Lug-ra*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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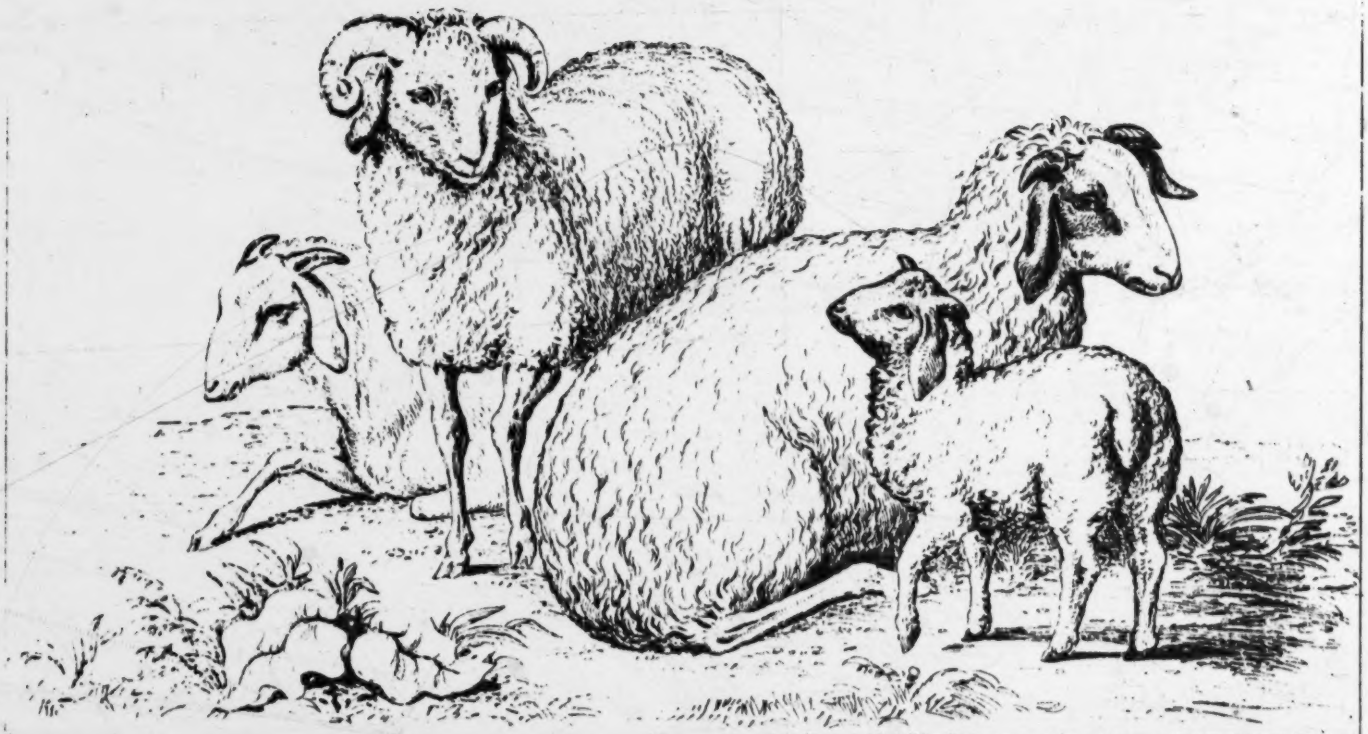
The PURIK SHEEP



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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. It might, therefore, with advantage be crossed with the 492 common small sheep of our hill provinces. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladák is transported on these sheep. They are food, clothing, and carriage, and form the principal wealth of the people of Ladák. I have seen a single flock of six hundred sheep, entirely laden with wool; and in one day I have counted as many as from five to six thousand sheep laden with shawl wool and common wool, borax and sulphur, and quantities of dried apricots, all making their way to the hill provinces 556 on the south-west. The *Huniya** is, therefore, much prized; and a man's wealth is generally estimated by the number of his sheep. The average price is two rupees and a half (or five shillings), but fine strong rams are worth from three to four rupees.

231 The whole trade of Ladák does not exceed 30,000 [439] small maunds of sixteen seers each, equivalent to the same number of sheep-loads. But the large importation of grain, which took place yearly before the population had been thinned by disease, emigration, and war, must have employed some 400,000 sheep. Of these, probably about one-half belonged to the Ladákis, and the other half to the hill people of Káshtwár, Chamba, Láhul, Kullu, and Kanáwar. After making a due allowance for lambs, I should estimate the former number of sheep at upwards of 300,000, or rather more than twelve sheep per house. At present the number is not so great, probably not more than 250,000. At the rate of 2 seers (4 lb.)† per sheep, the annual produce of wool

* *Huniya* is the Indian term, of which the Tibetans have made *Hunhi-yi*. The sheep is called *Huniyi-luk*.

† The English sheep yield an average of 4 lb. each, and even the little Purik sheep of Ladák yield 3 lb. See Moorcroft, I. p. 310.

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231 would be about 400,000 seers, or 25,000 small maunds, of which about 5,000 maunds are exported. The remainder is consumed in the country; which gives an allowance of one maund per house, or of 2½ seers (5 lb.) annually, for each individual for clothing and other purposes. This is probably correct, as each person possesses at least the following amount of woollen garments.

One blanket 7 × 5 feet, weighing	4 lb.
One whole fleece, for a cloak	4 „
Two fleeces for bedding and stuffing of pillows ...	8 „
A woollen choga, or coat	5 „
Cap, waistband, stockings, boots	3 „
Seers 12 =	24 „

Allowing a change of clothing about every five years, the annual consumption of wool will be two seers and two-fifths for each person, or 300,000 for the whole population. To this must be added the number of blankets used by the rich and consumed in the manufacture of bags for the conveyance of grain and other produce. *Atta* (coarse flour) is always carried in skin bags: but I would estimate the number of blanket bags at about one-half of the whole. The number of sheep employed in carriage being 200,000, the quantity of blanketing will be 100,000 yards, weighing 17,500 seers. The total produce and consumption may therefore be thus stated.

	Maunds.	Value.
Wool, exported	5,000	... Rs. 10,000
„ for home consumption	20,000	... 40,000
Total produce ...	25,000	... Rs. 50,000
	or 800,000 lb.	... £5,000

The value of the sheep at an average price of two rupees and a half each, will be Rs. 6,25,000, or £62,500.

The Purik sheep attracted the particular attention of

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Moorcroft,* whose account of them has been publishe in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions. He was so impressed with the value of this breed, that he collected a small flock for transmission to England: but unfortunately just as he was leaving Ladák the whole flock of sixty-seven was carried off by the chief of Hasora.† It was Moorcroft's opinion that the British cottager might keep three of these sheep with more ease than he now supports a cur-dog; and that every small farmer might maintain fifteen or twenty of them without any extra expense: as they would be entirely supported on that kind of produce which now runs wholly to waste or is thrown out on the dunghill. The Purik sheep will eat crumbs and parings of all kinds. Apricot-skins, turnip-peelings, pea-shells, and tea-leaves are eagerly picked up by this domestic animal; which, as Moorcroft has also noticed, will not disdain to nibble a bone. It will also eat grass, straw, chaff, and leaves. I brought a small flock of twenty from the Purik district to Simla, from whence they were despatched to England by the Governor-General. The Court of Directors presented them to Prince Albert, by whom they were first exhibited in the Zoological Gardens, and afterwards distributed to different persons interested in the breeding of sheep.

This pretty little sheep when full grown is not larger than a South-down lamb of five or six months: but "in the fineness and weight of its fleece, and in the flavour of its mutton it is equal," says Moorcroft, "to any race hitherto discovered." It gives two lambs within twelve months. It is twice shorn during the year, and the total clip yields fully three pounds of wool, of which

* Transactions Royal As. Soc. I. p. 49; and Travels, I. p. 310. The name is written *Pu-rig* and *Bu-rig*, but always pronounced Purik.

† Travels, II. p. 92.

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231 the first clip in Moorcroft's estimation was "fine enough for tolerably good shawls." The Purik sheep is much prized for the flavour and delicacy of its mutton; and in the western districts of Ladák, scarcely any other meat is eaten. In Lé, the average price of a fine Purik sheep is about two rupees, but in their native district they can be procured at one rupee each, and at this price I purchased the little flock that was sent to England. The accompanying sketch of these animals was published in the *Illustrated News*.* The total number of this particular breed cannot be more than one-tenth of the whole, or about 25,000. The flocks may be thus distributed throughout the different districts.

	Huniya.		Purik.
In Drás	25,000	...	—
Suru	25,000	...	—
Purik	25,000	...	25,000
Kánji, Wanlá ...	25,000	...	—
Ladák proper ...	75,000	...	—
Nubra	25,000	...	—
Zanskar	20,000	...	—
Rukchu	5,000	...	—
	225,000	+	25,000
Total ...	250,000		

Goats.—The common domestic goat† of Ladák is the well-known shawl-goat, which thrives only in the most elevated districts. It is bred in Nubra, Zanskar, and Rukchu; but the finest wool is brought from Ruthog and Ngári, which formerly belonged to Ladák, and from Chang Thang, or the southern and mountainous districts of Kotan. The fleece of the shawl-kid is soft, curly, and beautifully glossy. It is used as a lining for cloaks by the more wealthy, and is exceedingly warm and comfortable. The shawl-goat is only shorn once a

* Plate IX.

† All goats are called *Ra-ba*, or simply *Rá*.

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year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Drás	0	3	0	
" Gagangir	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig ...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal... ...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána	0	8	0	
Total ...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only ... Rs.	2	0	0	

showing a difference of 2 11 0, or of 5s. on every load.

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na;* the common wool, *Bal;* and the hair, *sPu.* The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal,* or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal,* are the same as the Latin *lana,* and the English *wool.*

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236 goats in Ladák must be about 80,000. The average price of a shawl-wool goat is four rupees, and the total value of the flocks of Ladák Rs. 3,20,000, or £32,000.

231 *Dog.*—The domestic dog* of Ladak is the well-known shepherd's dog, or Tibetan mastiff. They have shaggy coats, generally quite black, or black and tan; but I have seen some of a light-brown colour. They are usually ill-tempered to strangers; but I have never found one that would face a stick, although they can fight well when attacked. The only peculiarity that I have noticed about them is that the tail is nearly always curled upward on to the back, where the hair is displaced by the constant rubbing of the tail.

II.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

I.—TREES.

137 The vegetable productions of Ladák are few and unim-
245 portant. The trees consist of willow, two varieties of poplar,† a kind of tamarisk, the pencil-cedar, and the *Elæagnus Moorcroftii.*‡ The tamarisk and the pencil-

* The Tibetan name for a dog is *Khyi*.

† *gShol-po* and *dByar-pa*.

‡ Capt. Madden, in the Horticultural Society's Journal, has quoted a passage from Moorcroft, to the effect that "a few willows and poplars are the *only trees* in Ladák," and he then produces the authority of Capt. H. Strachey to show that Moorcroft was wrong. But the fact is, that Moorcroft is right *in what he does say*, for either Capt. Madden or Capt. Strachey has misquoted him. In his Travels, I. p. 267, Moorcroft distinctly states that willows and poplars are the *only timber-trees* in Ladák; and in I. p. 306, he repeats the same thing. But in both places he says *timber-trees;* and he is right; for the *Shukpa* (*Shug-pa*) is too small a tree to yield timber, although, if not held sacred, it might yield wood for boxes. Capt. Madden should have recollected that the *Ser-shing* had been first described by Moorcroft, and was therefore named *Elæagnus Moorcroftii*.

792 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of
them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into
which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a
room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and
where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep
the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol
room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but
a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used
for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[792] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the
monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for
the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch
as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They
attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-
shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instru-
ment is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after
having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on
the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while
the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called
"khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child).
áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo
goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo
(mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk,
dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull
and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little
milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the
dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but
it produces excellent butter.

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that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

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The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

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FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

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FIRST BORN--góboo.

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FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

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FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

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FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--gisbang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rom khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chang-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chang-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

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311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

372 because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the
415 little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering

551 14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain
231 and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd
476 of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an older companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley,
231 slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

This wool is spun from the delicate woolly down which the goat has under its coarse outside bristle hair. The Tibetan goats' home is Tibet and neighboring highlands. In Kashmir there is a large, hornless goat which does not possess the fine wool. The Tibetan goat has horns. 231.

herd, and if it does not obey the warning shouts or whistles, then a well-aimed stone from the boy's slingshot whizzes with a loud buzz over it and strikes the boulders close to the goat so that the latter, warned in this way, quickly returns to the herd in a fright. True, it often happens that an animal is hit by the stone and many a limping animal shows the consequences of such unskillful use of the slingshot.

In this manner they slowly climb up to the slope, to the "meadow." Meadow? But where is there a meadow here? Here there is nothing to be seen that remotely resembles the juicy, green pastures and lush mountain meadows of Kashmir or of Lahul, of the highlands situated to the west and to the south. Steep, rocky slopes, marked by jagged boulders and sown with stone blocks, here and there a little tuft or a pad of hard, grey-green desert grass, between the rocks some desert plants and shrubs smelling of strong herbs, that is the "meadow" as this mountain wilderness offers it. But sheep and goat in these regions have practically no demands. With sureness they find out the often quite wooden plants which nevertheless supply them with sufficient nourishment, so that they prosper and remain robust. Climbing, jumping, they look for their food even on the highest rocky peaks and ledges and on the narrowest strip of a cliff. Not infrequently an animal climbs and wanders so far astray that it can move neither forwards nor backwards /36/, and in this way it becomes a helpless victim of the eagle; unless it is discovered by people who, in order not to lose its meat, try to throw large rocks from a nearby rock that can be scaled, so that the animal falls down.

Many dangers threaten man and animals in these high regions. And when Namgyal drove the herd into the mountains for the first time with a few companions of his own age instead of with an adult, the ordinarily plucky boy was a little frightened after all, for he had heard much about the animals of prey of the mountains and about how they are a terror to the herds and to the herders.

The Tibetans have in their Tibetan mastiff a magnificent type of dog which barely stands behind the Saint Bernard in size and strength and which is easily trained to be a shepherd dog. But the Tibetan is

•231 not satisfied with that, even though these enormous dogs are able to do battle with any wolf. Thus the care for the protection of the herd rests solely upon the herder, whose only weapons are stick and slingshot. It was not to be a long time before Namgyal was to get an [136] impression of the activity of the wolves. One day, when he had lain down for a little while around noon time with his companion, just below an overhanging rock which supplied a protection against the scorching rays of the sun--most of the small animals of the herd had done the same and were resting here and there in the shadow of boulders, chewing the cud--suddenly just as if lightning had struck the herd, two wolves had, without being noticed, crept up between the mass of boulders, had seized a sheep and a goat and with their prey in their mouths they were making off. The two youthful herders jumped up, stoutly remained on their post, shouted after the robbers and threw large stones after them which, however, did not prevent the latter in the least from securing their prey.

[136] Another time an imperial eagle struck a small kid scarcely twenty paces away from Namgyal and carried it through the air away to its nest which was located high up in the ravine, out in the open, on a narrow projection of a perpendicular slate wall. From an adjoining rock the boys had been able to see into the nest in which a single young eagle was lying.

/37/ When in the evening Namgyal with a wildly beating heart told his father about the wolf's raid of the herd, the father did not say much and only admonished him to keep a good lookout; he knew only too well how rarely even a courageous herder succeeds in keeping the wolf away from the herd or in chasing it so that it must let go of the prey it once seized. He remembered that during such an attempt a wolf had once attacked him and had bitten his elbow, which he had held out against it, so viciously that even now he still felt frequent pains in his joint. On this occasion Lobsang Wanggyal [136] told his son how once yonder in Tagmachig during the winter a snow leopard (irbis or ounce, felis uncia) broke into a sheep stall and in one night strangled 26 sheep and goats. The robber hardly ate anything of the flesh of the animals; in the morning the startled farmer found the snow leopard still in the stall. It had been unable to get out because it could not open the door which had slammed shut from the inside. The animal was so drunk from the drinking of such quantities of blood that the farmer, together with two neighbors whom he had called in for help, was able to beat it to death with clubs and axes.

namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He t...
muzzle-loader, which he could handle with skill; he had killed many 411
ibex and many a wild sheep, and even wolves with it. He polished the gun, cast some bullets, and filled his powder flask with gunpowder which a Tibetan in Leh had prepared for him. Then he got out an old, short sword which had a beautifully worked sheath covered with turquoises. This sword was handed down to him from an ancestor who had been a valiant worrior. Towards the end of the eighteenth century 721
the people of Ladakh undertook frequent pillaging expeditions into the neighboring Baltistan. During these expeditions a Dragshos, who was among the leaders, particularly distinguished himself by his boldness. With his men he attacked by surprise a number of Balti villages and brought back home with him rich spoils of cattle and money. For this he received a piece of land near Kalatse from the king. Later, after the defeat of the last of the Ladakh kings, one of the Dragshos was offered the dominion over the land under the sovereignty of the Indian Dogras (conquerors); however, he declined this dubious honor.

Something of the warlike spirit was also in Namgyal. He was 000
courageous and enterprising and he trusted his strong arms and his weapons more than the magical arts of the lamas. His honest belief in the helping and saving deities only went to strengthen his courage. Thus, despite his youthfulness, he was the undisputed leader in all other matters /155/ in the village, as well as in this commercial undertaking.

The final preparations were now made. Wheat, barley, and 437
apricots were put into sacks; some had purchased cotton material, calico, cloth, colored sashes, dye-stuffs, spices, and tobacco from the Indian mercant, so that they would be able to do business in Jangtang. Everything was packed into sacks. Each person who took part in the expedition kept his wares strictly separate from those of the others. Several of the Kalatse men had rifles, old muskets, and muzzle-loaders which they brought out. Then they got the horses from the distant 231
meadow on the mountain, something which in itself took two days since the horses had strayed far afield in their search for food along the barren mountain slopes. The men mended the saddles and the horse's headgear, the sacks, blankets, and tents. Finally they were all ready. The horses had in the last few days received barley to eat in addition to their usual fare--clover hay mixed with chopped straw--so that they would be fortified for the journey. They looked good and some of them were wild and frisky during the shoeing. The latter operation was performed by the Kalatse men themselves. The most

231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats
492 from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to 15 kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

487 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy
437 daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely
[233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

000 the statement that they would soon confess the "sin" to the lamas and that they would do penance for it with an offering /160/. When they spoke of the hunt, they never said: "Namgyal killed an antelope or a yak," but: "A yak, an antelope died (śi-soń)." Died? What from? From too much lead? (144)

262
231

144. Few Tibetans abstain entirely from the eating of meat; even most lamas, except those of the strictest sects, are meat eaters In order to maintain the appearance of observing the prohibition to kill, there is a great deal of dissimulation. The meat is bought from the Muslim butcher, or the animal, sheep, goat, or yak, is brought to its death by tying its mouth and its nose so tightly with strings that the animal suffocates slowly amidst the severest pains. "It died," the people then say the themselves, "after all, we did not shed any blood."

000 The remainder of the journey passed by without special difficulties; one night wolves carried off two of their sheep and bit the neck of one horse so that it bled. But the other horses formed a circle and forcefully fended off the wolves, and with their hind hoofs they belabored one of the attackers so powerfully that he remained lying on the ground with broken limbs and ribs and could be beaten to death by the Ladakh men. A donkey and a horse with its load were carried off by the torrents at the crossing of one river and were lost. These were losses that were not easy to get over.

Quite discouraged and dejected, the travelers returned to Kalatse after an absence of just three months. Namgyal did not speak much about their experiences. The Break-leg man in (Kangchagspa) Yontan reported all the more about the battles with the bandits at which, in his presentation, he had performed heroic deeds. The people of Kalatse knew their Kangchagspa and teased him by having him tell the story over and over again because they knew that at each retelling the number of bandits "layed low" by the boaster, would increase.

Old Stobsldan, Namgyal's uncle, declared that never again he would take part in such a business trip which, after all, did not yield any profits anyway, and on which one risked one's life. The younger participants, on the other hand, said that if only all of them got good rifles they would go to Jangtang again the very next year.

000 der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

492 Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He
465 was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

492 By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

133 The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is
137 deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine
• [231] trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washing-
[311] ton when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth*, which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

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563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
533 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

> *Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.*
> *When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.*
> *They married happily.*
> *After marriage the girl left Lahul*
> *And went and lived with her husband,*
> *Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.**

423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

*See page 333, category 116

695 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers
687 on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

• [231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a
651 cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera 000
equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American
ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are 233
pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks.
They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that
lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood
grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted 492
to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and
twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this
grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly
eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules,
put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves,
and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees [465]
eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara
to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders
of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns 231
and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh 492
and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are
widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; [757]
and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for
gur gur cha but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The
dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and
no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to
keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan
as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only
a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks
can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high
altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically
anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does
not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the
relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

[1] [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

231 15,000 feet on up. Here it finds the velvety yak grass that is hardly
492 visible at a distance. Here it also finds moss and lichens, of which it is especially fond.

I found out how sturdy the yak is. I climbed aboard one to sample its riding qualities. I sat for a while on its broad back, my legs sticking out rather awkwardly. Then I hung onto its thick hair with one hand as I urged it into a walk with my heels. Suddenly the powerful beast, with a quick motion of its hind legs, tossed me as neatly as my mountaineer friend—the late Roy Schaeffer of Oregon—used to flip a flapjack. And before I could rise and restore my dignity, the yak turned, gave me a glowering look, and went groaning down the trail.

The yak does not move fast. It took our yaks eleven hours to go the twenty-four miles from Zara to Gya. They got a late start and did not arrive until 1:30 A.M. But they came through on a steady grind that took them through a blizzard atop Staglang La Pass, a blizzard that swept the peaks shortly after our horses and mules had crossed, a blizzard that at the altitude of Staglang La Pass might well have killed animals less sturdy.

000 The hard, fast ride I had on my Tibetan pony from Zara to Gya was exhilarating—as exhilarating as most (though not all) of the moments aboard Moti were dull.

Moti was my mule, a bay with a few white spots. Why I drew Moti from the musical eleven that we met in Kyelang I never knew. Perhaps it was because Rup Singh thought Moti met the requirements of the typical American mule and therefore would seem familiar and friendly to me. Perhaps it was an unkind fate that turned Moti toward me. Perhaps it was some old association with Moti's mottled nose—an association going back to the trails of Oregon or Washington—that caused my hand to caress it. Whatever the cause, Moti was mine a few minutes after the mule train met us at the dak bungalow. Moti was mine almost until "death do us part." And Moti did not wait long before flirting with destiny.

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CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about 133
two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or [136]
chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were 233
being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. 411
These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which 231
they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

quarter to a half mile wide. The canyon walls rise over Hemis 792
three or four thousand feet to peaks eighteen thousand feet and 346
more high. There are springs of pure cold water in the nulla; and thick stands of the Lombardy-type poplar fill the deep hollow with shade.

The main monastery building is a crude three-storied affair built in typical Tibetan fashion—low doors, rock walls, wood rafters, mud floors, and flat mud roofs. This massive building houses most of the lamas who make Hemis their home and headquarters. It feeds them in great dining halls and sleeps them in tiny cells. There are numerous small houses scattered along the nulla, residences of the Incarnate Lama, the higher-ranking lamas, and lamas who are married (Hemis is a monastery of the Red Sect, which, in contrast to the Yellow Sect, permits its lamas to marry). There is one house reserved for visitors. It lies in deep shade by a brook that runs below the main monastery building. It has one large room with a dirt floor and a covered veranda that opens on a grassless yard. The lama who greeted us took us there, and we were about to unload our pack train when the order was countermanded. We were invited instead to the residence of the Incarnate Lama.

We dropped to the creek bed and then climbed sharply to a 792
poplar orchard on the far side of which were several low houses. 231
Tibetans have a custom of chaining mastiffs to their houses. The Ladakhis follow suit. These mastiffs spend their lives tied by a chain fastened to massive collars. As a result of their confinement, they develop ferocious qualities. They lunge at passers-by, straining at their collars and growling viciously. There was such a mastiff on the top of the veranda of the house next to the home of the Incarnate Lama. Our coming produced a terrific uproar. The dog seemed to be almost choking with rage as he jumped at us again and again. The sight of us set up such a powerful turmoil in him that he barked the whole of the two days we were there. Every time I woke in the night he was still barking.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

all, and must have a detailed description later on. Then look at their dwellings, strange habitations of mud and stones, crudely put together with crooked lines and strange little tiny windows, with or without a rough wooden framework. The larger of these may have a wooden partition down the centre of the framework, and the upper edge of the latter is curved upwards in each partition, adding the expression of an eyebrow to the aperture. Through such windows it is quite common to see the solemn face of an old goat looking out, his long beard waggling to his meditative munch as he surveys the street below. How strange it seems to our Western ideas to have a goat upstairs and free to wander all over the house. But here we shall slowly find that in one example after another "the things go the other way." We are not exactly in Looking-glass Land, but we are certainly in some sort of Wonderland, where many things are upside-down, topsy-turvy or just the reverse of our notions of correctness, and where the strangest incongruities prevail.

To start with the houses, our best rooms are on the ground floor; as you ascend the rooms decrease in importance, and the uppermost ones are relegated to lumber or to the least important members of the household. In Ladak, on the contrary, the higher you go the better the rooms, and the flat roof is the most used place of all, especially in the sunny hours of winter, when many domestic activities can be carried out in the warm sunshine there, and thereby the precious fuel be saved. Often there is a small porch on one side, a shelter from the keen spring winds or a shade from the heat of summer. The fact that horse-manure or cows' dung is spread out in patches on the floor to dry, or that the chimney of the summer kitchen-room is busy fulfilling its functions near-by, does not at all detract from the desirability of this lofty open-air sitting room. Descending, we come to a large room with an open verandah, which can be closed in by

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 / AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely 342
carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The 231
ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the [31] front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare 247
land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers [301]
is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is 513
not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at 291
being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

622 As we ride up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long 291 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material. 301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's 197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Althoug[illegible] dialect is quite different from theirs, they understan[illegible] only ours, but that of most of the people among 437 [illegible] they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we 563 [illegible], and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this 731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A '*Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

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"empty amble," for the pony uses it even when he is not ridden, whilst the *labyor* or "learnt amble" can only be obtained when a rider on his back holds the reins fairly firmly, and unfortunately an animal, like his human rider, forgets his lesson in less time than it takes to learn it. A *labyor* therefore minimizes the value of a pony. To come back to our gipsy, he soon sends one or two of his servants for one of the said wonderful animals, which seems as good as its description. But we, too, know something about ponies, and, therefore, request the rider to dismount and drive the pony along empty, with the result that the amble disappears, for it is only a *labyor*. We then inquire the price of the beast, and are told that as a favour we shall have him for Rs160, but as our opinion on this score does not harmonize with his either, no deal results. This does not trouble our friend much, for he knows that by taking the pony down country he will get an even higher sum, and no inhabitant of the Himalayas ever argues that "time is money," or that a quick turnover of cash is a good business proposition.

This roving tribe, originating from Tibet, subscribes to the Buddhist creed. Like our own gipsies they are properly organized, having their own lawful king, and under him Tehsildars (magistrate), headmen and other officials necessary to keep the community in order, and although they are to be met with here, there and everywhere, they seem to be under quite good control.

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346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
[473] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
● 231 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the service than a continuous whirl of social functions in some Indian hill-station. One thinks wistfully of two "subs." who had saved up for such a holiday, one of them being the son of a man who had shot up here years ago, when he himself was in the Indian Army. But, alas, having reached Leh, they found they had only sufficient money to get back to their station, and had to give up the idea of shooting. Of wild sheep we have several kinds, most of them having splendid horns. It is said that these are so heavy that eventually their owners die of starvation, as they get too feeble to carry them and go in search of food.

To begin with, we have the Sharpu, which live on the lower hills and during the winter come right down into the fields. Out shooting one day, my shikari, a Ladaki hunter, and I spotted five of these animals on a hill opposite to us, and soon after noticed a couple of wolves stalking them. I got within five yards of the latter, as they lay waiting behind a rock. By the time I had jumped off my pony and had loaded my gun, they had got quite out of range, although they seemed to be slinking away quite slowly. We then watched the Sharpu, and to our surprise they came clean across the valley to the very spot where the wolves had been waiting for them, and passed within ten yards of us, even stopping to look at us. Needless to say they were does, and ladies one does not shoot. Large numbers of these must be killed by other predatory animals. Another time we found a Sharpu with horns of thirty inches, which had only just been brought down by a snow-leopard. At last I hoped to get one of the latter, which are fairly plentiful, though as yet I had never met one. But, alas, he got wind, and evaded me. The Ladakis hate these snow-leopards for they do much harm to their flocks. In order to catch them, they dig deep holes in the ground and build overhanging walls round. They then put down the sheep, whose bleating attracts the leopard. Having jumped in, he cannot negotiate the overhanging wall and meets an

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

[372] Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun
[374] and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Recourse has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with
241 earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception
231 of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them.
[137] The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

241 According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

[23] Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

On the 15th day of the 2nd month another festival called *Tsu-go-ki-la* follows, during which the usual orgy of drinking and dancing goes on. This time each household has to provide 10 lb. of barley which is brewed into beer for the village carousals. At the *Dun-chang* festival a sheep is sacrificed in the usual way customary in Lahul, whilst the *la-ma-chod-pa* festivities are introduced by a choral religious service, when each house provides 10 lb. of rice, 4 oz. of butter, and 1 lb. of barley, the total amount of food, etc., being consumed by the villagers over a period of three days.

The *Choi-dro-li* festival marks the time when the low-class blacksmiths circumambulate the prayer-walls and *chorten* (cenotaphs of departed saints) beating their drums the while. This

FIG. 3.—OFFERINGS AT THE SEASON OF PLOUGHING.

1. *Shol*, A PLOUGH; 2. *Nyu-shing*, A YOKE FOR THE OXEN; 3. *Mar-zan*, A FLOUR-AND-BUTTER OFFERING; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER OFFERING; 5. *Sang-shö*, AN INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 6. *La-shen*, BUCKWHEAT CAKE OFFERING.

religious exercise completed, they collect alms from the villagers, each house providing as alms, one large plate of barley flour, one of wheat flour, one of buckwheat flour, and a pot of beer. It is also customary for each person to place a *mar-zan* (butter and flour) or buckwheat flour on a slab of stone for the ravens to eat.

During the third month the festival of *Bri-shu* is held, when all the cattle which have been fed through the winter for neighbours unable owing to scarcity of fodder to feed their own animals, have to be returned to their original owners. The usual quantity of beer is again collected for a communal beer-drinking feast, and an offering of *drang-ryyas* made to the local god. It is at this time too, that the communal shepherds are chosen, and the "Masters-of-ceremony" for the ensuing year are elected.

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782 of it) was that of a woman who was buried
173 alive.

Local tradition has it that she pronounced a
114 curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

782 In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrified in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously; their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcases offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

[231] It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrified triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

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Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461]
[437]

The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

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In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

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A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

241 *Method of Sowing.*

The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough

● [231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta (Inula Helenium).*

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

439 grain from Kulu, a neighbouring state. Thus
273 the wholesale manufacture of beer from locally-grown produce has an economic significance as serious as it is unwise.

The Care of Livestock.

231 The people are on the whole kind to their animals and feed them as well as they are able with the limited yield of fodder at their disposal.

From December until April, the heavy snowfall in Lahoul precludes the possibility of grazing cattle. The animals have therefore to be housed on the ground floor of the houses. They are never bedded as in western countries.

When the supply of hay is exhausted the cattle are fed entirely on straw, this being again supplemented in the spring by the bark of willow branches cut and thrown into the pen to be peeled off by the sheep, goats and cows.

The willow tree is extensively cultivated owing to its use both for fodder and fuel.

It is customary for a peasant with more cattle than he can conveniently feed, to hand his surplus livestock to a neighbour to keep and feed from December to April, the price for the cattle thus treated being three rupees per head, and four or

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own. 539
(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*. 577 000

20. (*a*) ཆུ་འི་ཚོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྦར་བཟུམ་མ་བདང་།། 539 577

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.
(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.
(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).
(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first. 000

21. (*a*) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།། 539 577 492

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.
(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.
(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.
(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.* 000

22. (*a*) རྟ་ལ་རྨིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཐོང་སྟེ། 539 231● 577
བོང་དྭངས་ར་གོ་མ་རྒྱང་།།

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.
(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].
(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བྱ་ལོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་དང་། 539 577 426
ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་དར་ཀན་ཉོས།།

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'
(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!
(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*d*) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you. 539

(*e*) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee. 000

37. (*a*) སྟག་ལྷ་ནས་ཁྱི་ཡོངས་འདུག་ཟེར་ཏེ། 133 539

ཞ་འབུག་ནས་རྡོ་བ་ཁུར་ཏེ་ཆ་རྒུག།

(*b*) stag'nanā khyi'yongdug zer'te
zha'bugnā rdo'a khurte cha'rug.

(*c*) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.

(*d*) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.

(*e*) *Zhabug* = *zhabub* = falling headlong into a bog; *charug* = cha'adug; the *d* of *'adug* becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel. 000

38. (*a*) མི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ལ་ཆ་ན། 539

ཤིང་ངན་དཀུ་དང་ཐུག།

(*b*) mi'ngan thsogs' sebla cha'na
shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.

(*c*) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.

(*d*) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.

(*e*) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped. 000

39. (*a*) མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་མི་ཐག། 539

ར་ལ་ཚོལ་མི ཐག།

(*b*) mi'la skyid' mithag'
ra'la thsil' mi thag'.

(*c*) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.

(*e*) *Thagces* = *thegpa*. 000

40. (*a*) ཁྱི་ལ་སྒལ་དང་བེ་དཔ་ཤོལ།། 539 231 463

(*b*) khyi'a sgal'dang be'daa shol.

(*c*) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.

(*d*) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke beimg allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

105 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the
423 soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of
651 unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of
423 Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals
429 as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in
241 Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the
[134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing
[23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

565 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of
241 by employing labourers.
651

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the
241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim,
[438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a
133+ better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on
[246] their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

132 For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same
231 as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night
[246] are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty
241 pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place
563 for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the
142 head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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high; in one of these lives a whole family. The sheep
231 and goats are very numerous. At evening time one sees the
236 flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at
[492] the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is of a large kind; it is here made use of for carrying loads; the salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.; the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of the two kinds of goat kept here is made use of in just the same
[438] way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals. The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an undergrowth at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs, and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh, where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on to Kashmir. It must not be supposed that the greater part of the shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of
231 Kāshgar's country. The horned cattle are all of the
492 yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild, not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on their backs like the Ladākhīs, they depend entirely on their cattle, on their sheep and goats for merchandise that is easily divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this
439 way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between Central
492 Ladākh on the one hand and Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhol in the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good
[Life in Rupshu - Analyst]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4

142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear
291 flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V1~~
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a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elaborately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from whieh the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

241 range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A14

A Trip to Ladakh

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ceremony in a real monastery. The people all round were thoroughly enjoying the play and were laughing heartily.

I could not find out the reason for this last act, but I suppose it was to show that the monks when engaged in their religious duties were too deeply engrossed to be disturbed by assaults of the devils. Well, it was a great show, and one wondered how much of it was believed by the people who had come from such long distances to see their religion acted.

It seemed to me that they were too jolly and cheery a lot to believe much in devils; they evidently saw the humour of it all. The abbot of the monastery told us that the monks had been practising for a whole year at the play, and showed us the rod of correction which he used on those monks who failed in their parts. It was a thick black stick weighted with brass. I felt sorry for those monks who did not live up to the form of Friar Tuck, and had not a good cushion of fat to protect their bones when the brass stick descended. But perhaps they knew the schoolboy's copy-book trick.

231

The great monastery mastiffs interested us, but we were thankful that they were chained. We were told that the dogs used to be kept in lieu of graves for the monks, or, in other words, to eat up the dead members of the brotherhood.

Some of them are very savage brutes. A friend of mine who was attacked by one had a bad time, although he himself was an athlete; he was obliged to go to bed for a day or two after the attack. I myself had a narrow shave one day. I went into a monastery uninvited to have a look round. When coming through a very narrow passage I saw one of these dogs fast asleep, as I imagined, and foolishly thought I could pass him if I walked

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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delicately. But no such thing. The sleeping dog was very much awake, and unfortunately was not chained and came for me at once. I fortunately had an alpenstock in my hand, which I immediately presented to his open mouth; but the passage we were in being narrow, I had no spare room for wielding my weapon. I of course stood perfectly still, and then commenced to back slowly. The beast followed me inch by inch as I retreated inch by inch, with the point of my stick ready to jab in his mouth. That mastiff saw me off those premises all right, and I was glad to have got clear without damage. It taught me to be careful when visiting my clerical brethren in their religious houses.

We had now to turn our faces towards Leh and then to Srinagar. At Hemis we bade farewell to Phelps and Church, who started off on their long trail for the Tibetan plateau in search of their big game, ovis ammon and ovis poli.

We reached Leh on the second day, where we bade our kind friends the Commissioner and missionaries good-bye and started on our way west.

At the stages we always preferred to pitch our tents and sleep in them rather than face the champion hoppers in the dak bungalows. At one of the stages a young officer asked us to dine with him, and Neve noticed that he had some plate belonging to himself. This curious phenomenon was not difficult to explain, as this officer had been a guest in Dr Neve's house and so had his servant, and the servant in the interests of his master had annexed the said articles, thinking it would be more worthy of his master than that which his master possessed. This is not an uncommon custom of servants who visit houses with masters who do not know of this custom, and do not overhaul their property before leaving

231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats
492 from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to 15 kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

487 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy
437 daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely
[233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 241

Live-Stock.

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrú* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul. [177]

Production and consumption of food grains. 433 241 439

Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers. [437]

SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti. 233 [439]

In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Live-Stock.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts; one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, when fully broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

[431] [432] [557]

For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

[439] [483]

Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 233

Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul. [221]

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *niru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leáves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *wariát* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *pátis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Koksar, which,

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423 Chapter IV, C.

233 Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

[427]

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Koksar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *négi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

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The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *pháti* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

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SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

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Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera 000
equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American
ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are 233
pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks.
They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that
lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood
grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted 492
to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and
twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this
grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly
eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules,
put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves,
and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees [465]
eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara
to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders
of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns 231
and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh 1192
and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are
widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; [757]
and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for
gur gur cha but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The
dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and
no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to
keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan
as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only
a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks
can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high
altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically
anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does
not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the
relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

[1] [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about 133
two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or [136]
chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were 233 •
being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. 411
These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which 281
they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the
361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers
162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense
771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of
233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have
[771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism
[797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion
162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus
792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest.
563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the snow having now receded to the distant hills and left our path clear, and by about three p.m. reached Dras.

But we must not, in all fairness to the Zogi, leave it as though its presiding demons always held sway. In the three months of July, August and September, this dreaded road loses all its difficulties and is transformed into one of nature's most beautiful flower gardens. A visitor to Leh re-crossing it at the end of August describes it as follows : " The Zogi on our return journey was one vast flower garden and rockery, impossible in its wealth of beauty to describe. From my pony's back, I counted seventy different wild flowers crossing the Zogi La alone. There were carpets of edelweiss and blue gentian, mauve daisies, yellow ragwort, pink 'coralflower' and rich purple pelargonium. The whole hillside in one part would be sky blue with a sheet of forget-me-nots, further beyond the rich verdure of the grass there would be a mass of pink or mauve where the flower grew in rich profusion."* After the bare hills of Ladak, the green slopes are extraordinarily verdant, and large flocks of sheep and goats are brought up here from the Plains in summer to pasture. We were particularly interested, one August, when stopping for the night at Machoi on our way down, to notice one of these enormous flocks pass near the rest-house in single file. One after another they came in unceasing procession, over one thousand of them, tall Kashmiri goats with their look of foolish fearfulness ludicrously mixed with the patriarchal solemnity lent by their tufted beards, all of them so expressive, and many with irresistibly humorous resemblances to one's human acquaintances, sheep of all sorts, mothers bleating and young ones following: it seemed as if they would never end. Fortunately for us their shepherds had set up a little camp quite near us at the foot of the great glacier behind Machoi, and we were able to procure a little fresh goat's milk from them instead of resorting to tins. With the words and tune of the

* *Tales of Tirah and Lesser Tibet.* Mrs. Lilian Starr.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

two of which weighed about one pound. And how unsophisticated they were. At first we fished with a kind of larva as bait, but this was scarce, and we had to try how small chunks of mutton would do. They proved successful, and were taken with avidity. We were told that during the autumn the natives caught them in basketfuls, for at that time of the year they go upstream every night, to return in the morning, when they are trapped and then dried, thus providing meat for the winter.

From here we ascended the Kiula Pass, and on our way met our first flock of Changpa sheep, which were slowly grazing their way up the pass. The largest of them was carrying a load, which proved to be the shepherd's bedding and food. The weight did not seem to trouble the sheep at all, nor lessen its enjoyment of the grass. In this country sheep have to carry all sorts of things. Sometimes it is salt for selling in Leh, where its carrier is turned into mutton, and flavoured from its load. At other times it is bales of wool or it may be borax. Our camp that night was pitched at 17,000 feet, and was bitterly cold. This camp really must be described, for it was a fascinating picture.

The camping ground was so small and withal so terribly rocky and uneven, that a Public Health Officer of Camps, did such exist, would have condemned it for overcrowding. There were all sorts and conditions of tents ranging from the imposing ones of the B.J.C., in front of which flew the Union Jack, and the Wazir's, flying the flag of Kashmir, down to the airy tent of the Changpa. To our left were about thirty yaks, laden and ready to start off with our second lot of camp equipment to the next halting place, for now we are travelling *de luxe*, and we like to find our camp ready when we arrive, making it unnecessary to wait exposed to the cold wind. In the centre of the camp are the horses which have brought us to-day, tethered to each other by their forelegs. What are those sheep doing to our left? They look

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting. Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups. These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How complex has become our civilization! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more men or women as permanent servants. These
464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

● 233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
[466] labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
221 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]

W. Tibetans AJ4

142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear
291 flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

511

the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 No specimen of this magnificent goat has, I believe, yet been obtained by any naturalist, nor have I heard of any traveller who has seen the animal. I would suggest that it might be called *Capra megaceros*.

236 [136] Another species of wild goat is the Tibetan ibex, or *Skyin*.* Mr. Vigne procured a pair of horns that were four feet three inches in length. In his opinion the Skyin "is larger than the European ibex, and the horns are longer, more curved, and more tapering." The Skyin frequents the most inaccessible rocks, and the animal, when shot, is frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. Vigne states that between one and two hundred of them are killed in Balti during the winter, when they are forced to descend into the valleys.† In Ladák they are also snared at night, and shot in the grey dawn of the morning, when they venture down to the streams to drink. They are killed for the sake of the soft under-fleece, which, in Kashmir, is called *Asali Tus*.‡ This is an exceedingly fine and soft wool of a light brown colour, which is exported to Kashmir, where it is used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It is also woven into a very fine cloth, called *Tusi*, of a soft and delicate texture, which is much prized for its warmth. The high price of the Tus is caused by the difficulty of procuring the animal, and by the uselessness of the hair. The person who separates the hair from the wool of the domestic shawl-

[224] [434]

* *Skyin*; the female is called *Dan-mo*. In Kullu and Spiti, the Skyin is called Kyin; and Spiti is called Piti, but the spelling in Tibetan always preserves the initial *s*.

† Vigne's Travels, II. p. 279.

‡ اصلي توس means simply "genuine *Tus*," or the wool of the *wild* goat; *Tus* means "n ıture."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

goat is paid by the hair itself, which is manufactured into coarse blanketing for tents, and twisted into ropes. But the hair of the wild goat is short, wiry, and coarse, and the cost for picking is charged to the price of the Tus, or fine wool. Moorcroft says that neither the domesticated shawl-goat, nor the Vigogna,* furnishes a wool so full and rich to the feel, nor has so fine a material ever yet graced a British loom.

The frequent occurrence of ibex-horns on the temples of Kanáwar, Láhul, and Chamba has often suggested to me the idea that a similar religious feeling amongst the Greeks may have prompted the dedication of real ox-skulls, perhaps of animals that were slain in sacrifice, in the ancient Hellenic temples. In process of time, when the rude posts became Doric pillars, and the rough ends of the sloping beams were carved into triglyphs, the real ox-skulls were supplanted by their sculptured representations, which afterwards adorned the metopes of the Doric frieze. At least it seems difficult to account for their frequent representation on any other supposition.

The *Shu* or Tibetan stag has been described by Mr. Hodgson† from a specimen obtained near Phári, in Tsáng, the central province of Tibet. A second specimen was procured from the district of Chúmbi, to the south of Phári, where the country is more wooded and less arid than most other districts of Tibet. In 1839 I procured a most magnificent pair of stag's horns from the upper glens of the Lidar valley, in Kashmir; and in 1847 I obtained a second but smaller pair from the same valley.‡ The former pair had six snags on each horn, and was

* Transactions Roy. As. Soc. I. p. 53.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIX. p. 466; and XIX. p. 518.

‡ See Plate VIII.

439 In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the
[435] regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kashmiri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer.
236 It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days, disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice is first soaked for three or four days in water until it begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool
[285] is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown, which are spun into thread. This work is all done by the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	20¼	Rs. weight, or	¼th.
Brown wool	...	5¼	"	$\frac{1}{16}$th.
Common wool	...	54¼	"	$\frac{11}{16}$ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs called pattu.

443 The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by
435 the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness, and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed threads are—

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

443
436

	Weight.		
Of very fine white single thread	1¼	Rupee for	1 Rupee.
" " double "	1½	"	"
" light brown (*phiri*)	5¼	"	"
Fine white silky (*reshami*)	3¾	"	"
Very fine brown (*khudrang*)	3	"	"
Fine ditto ditto	4½	"	"

The thread-merchants are contented with the usual custom (*dasturi* of India) of half an anna in each rupee, or about six per cent.

I have now traced the gradual additions in price of the shawl-wool from the time that it leaves the hands of the producer, at one rupee per seer, until it is spun into thread and sold to the shawl-merchant at ten times the original price. About one-third of this increased price might be avoided by cleaning the wool more thoroughly in Ladák, and by the direct purchase by the shawl-merchant from the producer.

The intervention of three different traders, the Ladáki, and Kashmiri wool-merchant and the Kashmir thread-merchant, between the producer and the manufacturer, enhances the price by at least six per cent. each, or about twenty per cent. altogether.

439 The average quantity of shawl-wool exported to Kashmir is the same as in Moorcroft's time, about 800 loads, or 3,200 small maunds of sixteen seers each; and about [435] the same quantity is exported to all other places. The average price in Ladák is about two rupees per seer, or Rs. 2,04,000 (£20,400). Of the 6,400 maunds exported, about 4,000 maunds are imported from Chang-thang, Ruthog, and Ngári; and the remaining 2,400 maunds are the home produce of the highlands of Nubra, Ladák, • 236 Zanskar, and Rukchu. As the usual yield of fine wool for shawls and *pattus* is half a seer, the total number of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

236 goats in Ladák must be about 80,000. The average price of a shawl-wool goat is four rupees, and the total value of the flocks of Ladák Rs. 3,20,000, or £32,000.

231 *Dog.*—The domestic dog* of Ladak is the well-known shepherd's dog, or Tibetan mastiff. They have shaggy coats, generally quite black, or black and tan; but I have seen some of a light-brown colour. They are usually ill-tempered to strangers; but I have never found one that would face a stick, although they can fight well when attacked. The only peculiarity that I have noticed about them is that the tail is nearly always curled upward on to the back, where the hair is displaced by the constant rubbing of the tail.

II.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

I.—TREES.

137 The vegetable productions of Ladák are few and unim-
245 portant. The trees consist of willow, two varieties of poplar,† a kind of tamarisk, the pencil-cedar, and the *Elæagnus Moorcroftii.*‡ The tamarisk and the pencil-

* The Tibetan name for a dog is *Khyi.*

† *gShol-po* and *dByar-pa.*

‡ Capt. Madden, in the Horticultural Society's Journal, has quoted a passage from Moorcroft, to the effect that "a few willows and poplars are the *only trees* in Ladák," and he then produces the authority of Capt. H. Strachey to show that Moorcroft was wrong. But the fact is, that Moorcroft is right *in what he does say*, for either Capt. Madden or Capt. Strachey has misquoted him. In his Travels, I. p. 267, Moorcroft distinctly states that willows and poplars are the *only timber-trees* in Ladák; and in I. p. 306, he repeats the same thing. But in both places he says *timber-trees;* and he is right; for the *Shukpa* (*Shug-pa*) is too small a tree to yield timber, although, if not held sacred, it might yield wood for boxes. Capt. Madden should have recollected that the *Ser-shing* had been first described by Moorcroft, and was therefore named *Elæagnus Moorcroftii.*

Barley matures in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent <u>self-sufficient</u> 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in <u>exchange trade</u> the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious <u>work</u> were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The <u>plowing</u> of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the <u>watering</u> and <u>weeding</u> was done 462

FARMERS AND FARMING IN LADAKH (TIBETAN KASHMIR)

By WALTER ASBOE

133 AN account of the cultivation of cereals in Ladakh presupposes a climate for their growth, bearing in mind the high altitude at which these cereals can thrive. In this lofty region of 10,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level it is amazing that anything grows at all.

133 The country is one vast expanse of sandy plain and deep-cut valleys 236 formed by colossal mountains and swift-flowing rivers. Upon the great plateaux large flocks of sheep laden with wool, borax, and salt move slowly over the tawny sand, raising clouds of dust as they proceed to the wool-clearing centre at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It is also from these elevated regions that the famous shawl wool generally known as Pashmina comes, its final destination being Kashmir. Dropping down from the arid plateaus of Rupshu to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, you come to the many hamlets snuggling in the shelter of great cliffs and rocky eminences, forming with the arable land around them patches of vegetation resembling an oasis in the midst of a desert of rock and sand.

132 The climate of Ladakh is favourable to the growth of cereals and is 241 a useful ally to the peasant living at high altitudes and subsisting on produce cultivated in ground which looks sterile and unpromising. Very little rain falls in Ladakh owing to the precipitation in the lower hills in the region of the Zogi Pass, which peters out by the time the higher altitudes are reached. The farmer has therefore to irrigate his fields artificially from rivers, mountain torrents derived from melting glaciers and the winter accumulations of snow. He is saved from the heart-breaking frustration of the English farmer, who must contend with capricious weather which so often ruins his crops just when he is ready to reap them. In Ladakh the peasant knows that the good weather of to-day will be followed by good weather to-morrow, so that he is saved much worry and extra work.

132 Frost and snow or sleet begin in September and continue in different districts without intermission until the beginning of May. The minimum temperature from December until February falls to −5° to −12° F., and there is no month in the year when there is not an occasional snow-fall on the summits of the mountains. The intense cold of winter is mitigated by a dry atmosphere, clear skies, and a sun which warms provided that you remain in its direct rays. The average temperature in the shade during summer is about 75° to 80°. Thus the shortness of the summer is compensated for by the powerful rays of the sun, which ripen the grain rapidly.

The various meteorological processes which combine to form a climate are, as everyone knows, generated by the sun. It is therefore not sur-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

high; in one of these [illegible] whole family. The sheep
231 and goats are very [illegible]erous. At evening time one sees the
236 flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at
[492] the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is of a large kind;[1] it is here made use of for carrying loads; the salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.; the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of the two kinds of goat kept here is made use of in just the same
[438] way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals. The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an under-growth at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs, and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh, where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on to Kashmir. It must not be supp[illegible]ed that the greater part of the shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of
231 Kāshgar's country. The horned catt[illegible] are all of the
492 yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild, not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on their backs like the Ladākhīs, they depend entirely on their cattle, on their sheep and go[illegible] for merchandise that is easily divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this
439 way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between C[illegible]tral
492 Ladākh on the one hand [illegible]nd Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhul in the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good

[1] [i.e. in Rupshu -- Analyst]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer--Analyst]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

245 Kashmir, but they had a peculiarity which was new to me; the same bunch would yield large grapes an inch and a half in length, and small round seedless grapes like black currants. The latter are dried in the sun, and [435] find their way to the Zimla bazaar, where they are kept by the merchants in large earthenware jars, duly labelled as "fine Zante currants," and sold at the rate of two rupees a pound, the proper price being about one quarter of a rupee per pound. The cherry is found in the warm districts.

II.—GRAINS.

241 The crops consist of bearded and beardless barley, common wheat and buck-wheat, peas, turnips, and mustard. In the southern province of Spiti, wheat* grows at a height of 13,000 feet (at Lárá and Lidang above Dangkhar). In the valley of the Indus it first appears at Ugshé and Chimra, between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. Buck-wheat† generally affects the same elevations as common wheat. Both kinds of barley‡ are grown at an elevation of 15,000 feet; at Hanlé, at the Korzo Gonpa, on the bank of the *Tshomoriri* lake, and above Gyihbar in Spiti.

Peas§ are cultivated at Gyihbar and Loxar, the loftiest villages in Spiti, between 14,000 and 15,000 feet, and at Miru, in the Gya valley, from 12,500 and 13,500 feet. Mustard also is found at the same elevation; at Gyihbar in Spiti, and at Gya and at Miru in Ladák proper. Turnips are grown at 15,000 feet at the Korzo Gonpa, on

* Wheat is called *Gro*, which in some districts is pronounced *To*.

† *Bro*, by many pronounced *Do*.

‡ *Nas* is the name for all kinds of barley. *Nas-karmo* is white barley, and *Nak Nas* is black barley.

§ *Honma*, which is spelt *Sronma*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the banks of the Chomoriri lake, but they are small and 241
hard. The turnips at Lé and at Tamisgong are good and palatable.

III.—CULTIVATION.

All cultivable land is called *Zhing*,* and this term is also generally used for a field of any kind. Good rich land is called *Zhing-zang;* stony land is called *Ri-zhing*, that is literally, "hilly land;" and meadow land is called *Thang-zhing*, that is, "plain land." All the cultivable 311
land in Ladák lies along the courses of the small streams, and in patches on the banks of the great rivers. In the bed of the Indus especially there are large tracts of grass-land which are never brought under cultivation, but are kept solely for the grazing of cattle.

Landlords are called *Zhing-pa* and *Zhing-dag*. The 423
poor cultivate the lands themselves, but the wealthy 462
employ regular labourers. The *Glapa*,† or labouring 465
man, holds the plough (*thong* or *shól*‡), while the *Glapa-mo*, or labouring woman, breaks the clods or digs the upturned earth. The women also irrigate the fields, and cut the crops. The ploughman, *Thong-pa* or *Moba*, and the diggers, *Ko-pápo* and *Kopámo*,§ are usually paid by the month (*da-phok*‖). Yáks are employed in drawing the 241
plough, which is of wood, the share being only tipped with iron; but many of the fields are dug by the hand with a peculiarly-shaped mattock, *ko-byed*,¶ of which

* *Zhing*, arable land; *Zhing-bZang*, rich land; *Ri-Zhing*, hilly land; *Thang-Zing*, plain land.

† *Gla-pa*, a labouring woman is called *Gla-pa-mo*.

‡ *Thong* or *Shol*, or sometimes *Thong-shol*.

§ *Thong-pa* or *rMo-ba*, a ploughman. The diggers are *rKo-pa-po* and *rKo-pa-mo*.

‖ *Zla-Phogs*, pronounced *Da-Phok*, "monthly pay."

¶ *rKo-byed*, called also *Tog-tse*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 the handle forms a very acute angle with the blade. After ploughing, the fields are prepared with manure, *lúd*,* which consists either of *Yák-lúd*, yák's dung, or of *Lúk-lúd*, sheep's dung. Occasionally they use cow-
[372] dung, *Yák-chi* or *Ba-chi*. But in a country where fire-wood is so scarce as not to be obtainable by any but the richest classes, all kinds of dung are in daily use as fuel, and but little can be spared for enriching the land.

In a dry country like Ladák, where it seldom snows and scarcely ever rains, the harvest is entirely dependent upon artificial irrigation. The waters of the smaller streams are arrested by dams (*chhu-lon*), and conducted with considerable skill and care from terrace to terrace, and from field to field. I was particularly struck with the laborious irrigation bestowed upon the rich lands of Sáspul, and with the bold ingenuity displayed in the aqueducts of Kambo and Hardas. The former is a small village on the left bank of the Purik river (the Waká-chu). The latter is on the left bank of the Drás river. The Kambo aqueduct is only about one mile in length, but the Hardas aqueduct is nearly three miles long. These canals, which are conducted several hundred feet above the villages, are mostly built up with a retaining wall, and puddled with clay to hold the water. In a few places the rock itself was excavated to form a passage for the water, but in other places, where the hill was too precipitous, or the rock was too hard, the water was passed along hollow poplar and willow trunks, which were supported by uprights standing on ledges of the rock, or on huge pegs driven into its crevices.

804 The land in Ladák is all measured by the *Khál*, or

* *Lúd*, dung. Cow-dung is called *gYag-lChi* or *Ba-lChi*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

England, I should estimate the khál of land at about one-third of an English acre, or even more.

The seed is sown in May, and the crops are cut in September, before the first fall of snow. On the 16th of September, 1846, on the bank of the Tshomoriri lake, at an elevation of 15,000 feet, I found the Lamas of the Korzo Gonpa (monastery) cutting a field of unripe barley. The sky was very cloudy and threatening, especially to the southward, and the poor Lamas expected snow, which, if it fell upon the standing crop, would, they said, destroy it. The crop was all cut by the evening, and removed, and the next day it snowed without intermission for twenty-four hours. The crops are either pulled up by the roots or cut close to the roots, with a *zorpa*, or sickle, to get as much straw as possible for the winter fodder of the cattle. When cut, it is generally spread out on the ground to ripen and dry, but occasionally it is loosely bound in sheaves.* The return varies according to the quality of the soil and the quantity of manure. In Drás, Moorcroft heard that it was "about twenty for one;" but according to my informants, the best lands in Ladák Proper, at Sabu, near Lé, and at Sakté, in the Chimra valley, do not yield more than ten-fold; while the poorer lands give a return of only five or six-fold, or on an average eight-fold. But the richer lands, in the Suru valley, and on the Waká and Drás rivers, which enjoy a milder climate and a moister atmosphere, generally yield from ten to fifteen-fold. The average return for the whole of Ladák may therefore be estimated at about ten-fold, or perhaps less.

Two ears of bearded barley from Lé gave a return of

* A sheaf is called *Chhun-po*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

fifty grains each, and the same number of ears of beardless barley, from the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, gave a return of forty-five grains each. Moorcroft, however, mentions that the Hasora wheat grown in Ladák yields from forty to seventy grains in each ear.* From these statements it is clear that not more than one-fourth of the seed can germinate. Much of it is, no doubt, eaten by the vast flocks of pigeons and chakors, which abound in Ladák; but the greater proportion, perhaps, rots. Many of the young plants must be destroyed by the night frost; for in most of the districts of Ladák it freezes almost every night, even during the month of June. 241 [132]

The total produce of Ladák may be ascertained approximately in the following manner. In 1847 I obtained the census and other statistical details of 142 villages in the different districts of Ladák, containing 1,890 houses, with 20,815 *kháls* of cultivable land, or just 11 *kháls* per house. As the total number of landed or paying houses† in Ladák is 18,000, the whole amount of cultivable land throughout the country may be reckoned at 198,000 kháls, or about 66,000 acres. Each khál requires 16 seers of seed, and yields about ten-fold. The total available produce for food is therefore only nine-fold, or about 28,512,000 seers, equal to 1,000,000 bushels, which, with the former population of 165,000, would not give more than 7 chittaks (14 oz.) of food to each person daily, while the average consumption is at least 8 chittaks (1 lb.). The deficiency is about 24 seers for each person; which, at the rate of 16 seers per [435]

* Travels, I. p. 275.

† In Ladák no houses are taxed except those which have lands attached to them.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 [435] rupee,* would entail an annual outlay of Rs. 1. 8 a. (about 3s.), or a total importation of Rs. 2,47,500 worth of grain. This sum, divided over the whole adult male population of about 40,000, shows an annual expenditure of six rupees per man; or, if divided amongst the whole number of 24,000 houses, about ten rupees per house. 439 This sum was defrayed entirely by the profits of the carrying trade, of which the Ladákis have an entire monopoly between Yarkand and Kashmir.

241 With the present population of 125,000 people, the land would yield fully enough for home consumption, or 9 chittaks (1 lb. 2 oz.) daily for each person; but scarcely more than three-fourths of the lands are now under cultivation. The present annual produce is, therefore, not more than twenty-two millions of seers, or somewhat less than 800,000 bushels, which will yield only 7¾ chittaks (15½ oz.) of food for each person daily. The deficiency is half an ounce daily for each individual, or about 5½ seers annually, equal to 5½ annas (about 9d.). The whole annual importation is, therefore, only 687,500 seers, in value about Rs. 43,000. This sum divided over the whole adult male population of 30,000 persons, shows an annual expenditure of Rs. 1. 6 a., or if divided over the 18,000 houses, about Rs. 2. 6 a. 2 p. per house.

There is a curious custom in Ladák, which has a counterpart in the *arwan* of India and the *neck* of England. At every harvest the farmer selects a small bundle of the finest ears of barley, which he fastens round

* This was the rate in Lahul in 1846, and at Lé in 1847; but in the grain-growing districts I was informed that wheat was sold at thirty-two seers, and even at thirty-six seers per rupee. The individual expense of each family or house was therefore perhaps not more than half of the sum stated above.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the neck of a pillar in the largest room of his house. At Gya, I was told that the first cuttings were thus dedicated on the occasion of every harvest. Moorcroft* was informed that it was the custom "to consecrate the two or three first handfuls of each year's crop to a spirit who presides over agriculture." The necks of pillars would appear to have been the usual in-door place for the deposit of votive offerings of every kind; for Captain Turner,† when leaving *Tashi-Lhunpo*, bound a white scarf round the capitals of each of the four columns of the apartment which he occupied. He did this "in conformity with the custom of those regions." At Lé, Moorcroft saw ears of wheat: at Gya, Bazgo, and Sáspul, I noticed only ears of barley. Perhaps different places may have different customs, as wheat is used in England and barley in India for the same purpose; but as no wheat is grown at Gya, the use of barley was there a matter of necessity. In India, the first cuttings of barley (*arwan*) are brought home to be eaten by the family, and presented to the houshold gods and Brahmins. The grain is mixed with milk and sugar, and tasted seven times by each member of the family. The festivity of the season is proverbial.‡

Phula, phula, kyun phiré? Ghar Arwan áya.
Jhuka, jhuka, kyun phiré? Piyáda áya.

Why so very, very glad?
Because it's harvest-home.
Why so very, very sad?
The collector 's come.

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* Travels, I. p. 318. † Turner's Tibet, p. 329.

‡ Sir H. M. Elliot's Glossary. Every page of this valuable work teems with most interesting information regarding the history of India, and the manners and customs of its people.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 In Devonshire, the "neck" consists of the finest ears of wheat, which are selected and tied up in a small sheaf by some old man, who stands in the midst of the reapers holding the "neck" with both hands. It is possible that the name may be derived from the sheaf having once been carried home and fastened round the neck of a pillar or wooden post, as in Ladák.

In Scotland, the farmers have a custom similar to one which prevails amongst the Botis of Spiti, Hangorang, and Kanáwar. The Scotch farmer weaves the first-cut corn into a threefold plait, which he places over his chimney-piece until the next harvest. The Boti peasant fixes three or more ears of barley outside his own door, and makes a votive offering of three or five, or some odd number of ears to his native divinity in the village *Thákúrdwára.**

241 782

000 All these various customs would seem to have a common origin in the celebration of the harvest season, which in every country has been a time of rejoicing. The *adwan* and *juri* of the Hindus and the harvest-home of the English are similar to the private *ambarvalia* of the Romans. So also the votive offerings of the Tibetans were consecrated for the same object as the *lustratio* of the Romans. The former offered his first cuttings of corn with a prayer for a plentiful harvest, the latter performed their lustrations (ambarvalia) immediately before the sickle was put to the corn, to obtain the blessing of the gods on the fields which were thus lustrated.

* Gerard's Kanáwar, p. 98, and Capt. J. D. Cunningham's Notes on Moorcroft and Gerard, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. xiii. p. 246.

423 804 241 [2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding," which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

[651]

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

597 ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children. Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

[583]

[428]

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khíoo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family 796
property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season 592
invite all members of the family to assemble at his house
for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them
a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and
when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the
centre, and into it butter is poured.

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am 171
indebted for the above account, that this exactly corres- 796
ponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where
butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding.

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea
is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical
of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the
idea of light which again is closely connected with the
idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal 796
dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are [243]
spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of
merriment.

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" [241]
or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls
about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning
to ripen. It is celebrated in every village.

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious
celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the
early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on
the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a
matter of fact, observed by the people of the country,
only once a year, when a great festival takes place at
Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival
which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th
day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June.
On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is 796
crowded with people who have come from all parts of 536
Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils"
dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis
monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is
rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their
richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely
handsome.

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--góboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [473] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by [439] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. 563 473 443 The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p.203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

● 241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) 241 ●
thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.).

[63]
HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the 133
principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur.

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the 804
Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the 177
hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank.

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang 342
(of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work).

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]
HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". 601
Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists 590
of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are 428
closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the 583
family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife.

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.
792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.
661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.
792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.
The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

WT 792 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
795 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which
T is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
788 considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
648 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT 565 Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
WT 648 Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
554 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
661 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
T but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
648 lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
661 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT 648 Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
439 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
554 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven." 000

[109]
NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhásha are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]
NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. 792 795
The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. 795
No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes [241] and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who [842] wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is [182] made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dzo (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest
[412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have
[177] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated.

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

the next day three small farmers who all had to finish with the watering 241 ●
of their fields in one day. 312

The farmer in the mountainous wastes of Ladakh and Tibet where there is little rainfall it is totally dependent upon artificial methods of irrigation, for in the summer it often does not rain for weeks, yes, even for months. For this reason water is a very valuable commodity to the mountain inhabitant, the just distribution of which he jealously watches over; also, since time immemorial strict laws regulate the construction, maintenance, and use of the communal village pipeline. Every owner of a field, depending on the size of his property, must [476]
supply one or more persons for the communal work on this pipeline, just as the length of time that he can use it is made to correspond to the size of the surface to be watered. Most water channels require considerable mending work year after year, since snow and mud avalanches often... large parts /there appears to be at least one line missing here in the original text, the preceding sentence being unfinished and the paragraph ending with the final part of another sentence:--translator/... all had to be ready with the watering in one day. /The latter is simply a repetition of the last line of the previous paragraph. --translator./

When the grain is about a span high the fields are weeded 241
with the care with which a gardener clears his cabbage patch of weeds. When the wheat is ripened it is not mowed with the blunt /32/ sickle [412]
but is plucked out roots and all. The left hand grasps a bundle of stalks and the sickle in the right hand, which really acts more like a hook than like a cutting implement, plucks out the stalks. On the average the field holdings are very small and the harvest yield is scant in the high mountain areas, so that every inch of stalk is valuable as straw, as feed--not as litter--for the cattle. As a result the Tibetan farmer cannot afford to leave the stubbles standing. After the grain has been bound together in small sheaves and has been laid in rows on the field, in order to ripen fully after it has been gathered, it must be guarded against thieves; one of the men must "watch" among the sheaves at night; that is to say, he must sleep there, on the assumption that he will wake up at the slightest sound.

Among all peoples of the East threshing is done by cattle. Six to nine animals, oxen, cows, horses, and donkeys, often in variegated order, are tied together to a rope at short distances from each other. One end of the rope is fastened by a sling to a post which is planted in the middle of the circular threshing-floor. The threshing-floor is

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least they called it a wood, although it was often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 ● as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
286 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The
[82] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoñ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

long period of peace the art of archery had fallen into disuse. 200

When the sun was describing increasingly higher arcs above the mountains in the spring, and when under its beams, which were by now already quite warm, the first greenery began to appear on the slopes and mountainsides, Namgyal said to his father one morning: "we might soon be able to start with the plowing. What do you think?" Father Lobsang Wanggyal replied: "Yes, if it were not for the lamas and the onpos, we certainly would be able to start with the plowing and the sowing But you know. They want to determine the time for this, because they say that only they can indicate the day on which the astrological signs are favorable and the gods are inclined towards us in a friendly manner. You know that I have doubted the wisdom of the soothsayers for a long time. It has so often turned out differently from the way they had foretold it, and although we followed their prescriptions, we frequently got bad harvests. But who knows whether it would not be worse if we freed ourselves from them. For the time being it will be better not to break off with them completely. Don't you want to go to the king's plowing in Leh, so that you will have seen that once. The onpo in Leh has set the day for this at the Dosmoche festival. It takes place in eight days and you will be able to learn all sorts of things there." Namgyal was willing to go. He had a certain respect for the dignity of the king, whose ancestors his fathers had once served so faithfully. Moreover, the thought that the knowledge he might gain there could be of use to him also persuaded him to go to Leh once more, in order to be present at the king's plowing about which he had heard so much. The people of Ladakh called it Sa-kha-che (sa-k'a-p'ye), usually abbreviated to Saka. 241 787

On the eve of the king's plowing Namgyal arrived in Leh.' The following day he went with some of his friends, following the human stream /144/ of novelty-seekers to the bazaar and watched how the farmers led a few dso (bastard oxen) to the place, the horns of which they had previously greased with butter--a symbol of fatness, of abundance. Now they let the animals run around for a while in the open and let them frisk and playfully spring about after they had spent the winter mostly in a narrow, dark stable. Then a delegation of farmers under the leadership of the local magistrates of Leh and of the neighboring villages, which is joined by Namgyal, goes to the castle, where the king is expecting them; they carry a large offering cake in the form of a chorten (bran-rgyas) made of bread dough mixed with butter. The cake is placed in the castle's kitchen and the men dance around it in a 241

241 circle. This cake chorten is later distributed during the feast, where it is eaten after a piece of it has been donated to the gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, Namgyal steps onto the rock terrace in front of the castle and watches as the scribe Dondrub, who has visibly recuperated from the exertions of the head procession, and who looks well nourished and flourishing, steps to the edge of the terrace. From there he calls with his peculiar stentorian voice in the direction of the town which lies at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is situated: "Sa-kha-che! The earth's door is open!" This means that the earth mother (Ama-Khon) has now opened the earth's door which was "locked" during the winter, and that the earth is now prepared to give from her lap the power that brings fertility. Then there followed [783] a warning to all those who for some reason or another had become ritually impure by touching a corpse, a newborn child, or by merely coming close to these, not to work on the irrigation ditches as soon as and so long as the fields are being irrigated from these ditches, which is now to start, not to step over any of these ditches, because otherwise the water gods (klu, Naga) and the earth spirits (sa-bdag) would be offended and enraged. The former would then hold back the water in the mountains, and the latter would, at the command of the earth mother, keep the gate of the earth locked so that the earth would hold back her productive powers.

Now the king appears with his retinue which /Following p. 144 there are two full-page illustrations, the first showing a "bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts" (subtitle); the second being a rear view of a "Ladakh woman in festive costume with turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band" (subtitle). / /145/ Namgyal had also joined, and at the head of a long procession of farmers he moves to a nearby field belonging to the king. There a plow stands in readiness. The oxen, which have again been caught, are yoked to the team, the halters are fastened to the roughly-worked yoke which lies without any cushioning on the necks of the animals. The king now plows a few furrows. Often the earth is still frozen solid and the plow just slides along the hard soil scratching it just slightly. This does not matter. Even in this manner the Tibetan sees the purpose of the custom fulfilled. Five lamas sit at the edge of the field, 241 789 and during the king's plowing they read the book, "The attained blessedness of the eight-fold illumination (snaṅ-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)"; in some places they also read the book of the "Liberation from the earth

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol). " All hostile demons of the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water. 241 789

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come. 000

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar-sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings. 241 782

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 241 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

•241 788

go back to the ancient Germanic processions around the fields which were held on the first Thursday (Donar's day) in March, June, and September, by the elders of the village and the district, in order to obtain a plentiful harvest blessing.

mendation of the lamas. Namgyal joined them. The lamas in the Tingmogang monastery gave out 84 books from the monastery library of the 108 books of the canon. Each of the participating men, among them also Namgyal, took three to four of these books tied together with a string, on their backs, and the carriers now circled around the entire complex of fields belonging to Kalatse; during this procession they went up the mountain, down the mountain, along steep and rocky mountain slopes and down deep into the gorge, so that even the tiniest piece of land of the size of a few square meters would share in the blessing which streamed down from the divine word upon the earth which was thus circled about.

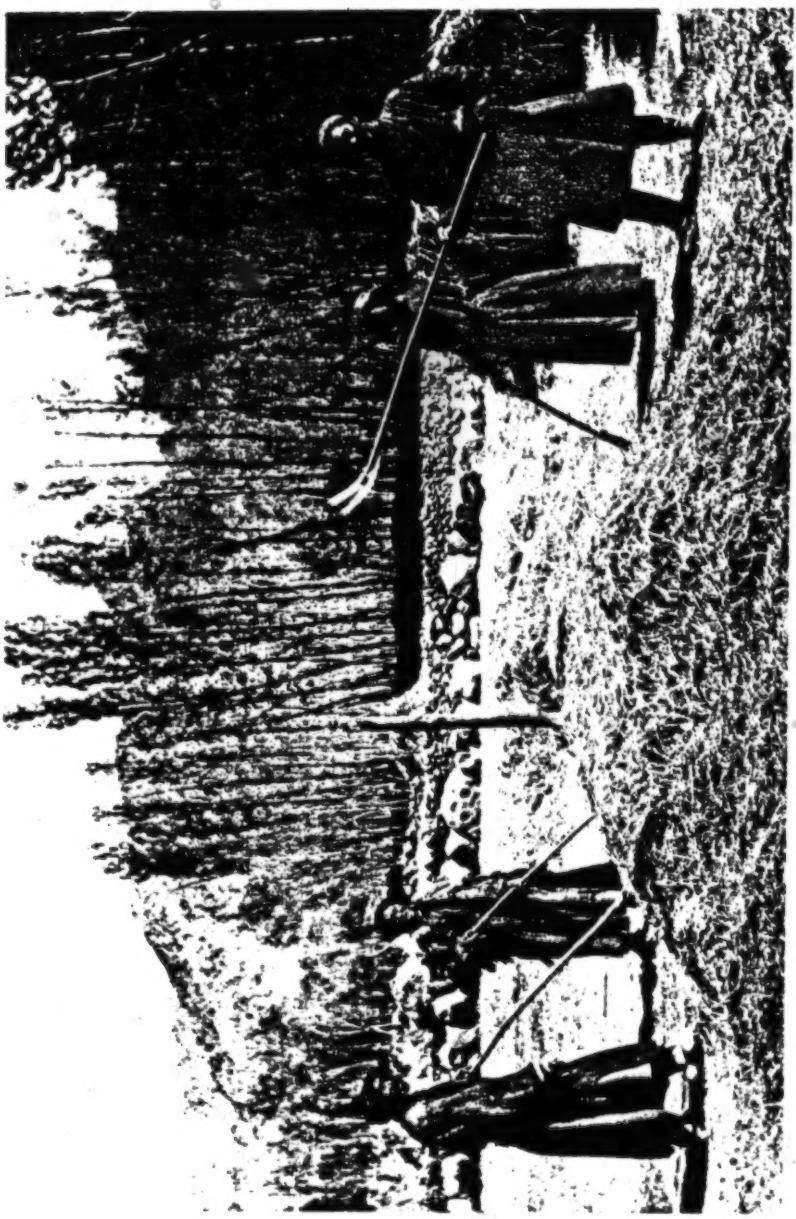
In the early spring the ex-king in Leh, in conjunction with the Wasir, the governor of the ruling maharajah of Kashmir, called together a large number of lamas from all the many neighboring monastries to the "Great Reading." On this occasion all the 108 volumes of the canon are read through in such a manner that the loose leaves of the individual books are distributed among the lamas in the fashion already described; then each of the red-coats reads aloud through the leaves that have been placed before him as rapidly as possible. In this way volume after volume is read through without regard for continuity. The divine power of the entire word (ĉos) supposedly effects, even in this manner, the outpouring of blessing, fertility, and ripening of a plentiful harvest, peace, good fortune, and prosperity for the entire people and country.

000 Namgyal, who had once watched this Great Reading, thought that if anything, this mass appeal to the grace of the Buddhas and the gods would surely have to /147/ be effective. And yet--were there not always again crop failures, droughts, epidemics, and famine? Where were the saving powers since they did not prevent all this misery? The doings of the lamas also repelled him: this spiritless mechanical recitation of the sacred texts, the debauchery and the laxity of many of them who, after all, acted the parts of soul savers and leaders of the people, and who let themselves be called "saviour" (skyabs-mgon).

789 A soothsayer in the monastery of the "Virtuous" in Ri-rdsong had--in contrast to the others who had predicted a fruitful year--prophesied

/Following page 176/

241



Threshing of the grain

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

[788] Chapter III, B.

[786] Social and Religious Life.

184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *cháng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 795 [778] [782] 776 [754]

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

778 782 177

"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

771 177

796 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

244

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

797

* *Sreg machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. — Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system.

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámaic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

SECTION A.—AGRICULTURE AND ARBORICULTURE.

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Chapter IV, A.

Agriculture and Arboriculture.

Detail of area with reference to agriculture.

The areas of cultivation in Láhaul and Spiti as ascertained at the revision of Settlement by Mr. Lyall were respectively 3,096 and 1,184 acres. A detailed statement adapted from a return printed in Mr. Lyall's report is subjoined. Commenting, however, on the figures Mr. Lyall states his opinion that the "real cultivated area (in Spiti) is about half as much again as that shown in this return." It may, therefore, be approximately given as 1,775 acres.

Area (in acres) cultivated and barren in Láhaul and Spiti.

Subdivision.	Paying revenue to the State (*Khálsa*).		Revenue alienated or remitted (*Jágir* and *mafi*).		Total area assessed.
	Barren.	Cultivated.	Barren.	Cultivated.	
Láhaul ...	1,053,713	1,999	350,807	1,097	1,407,616
Spiti	1,942,816	1,119	...	65	1,344,000
Total ...	2,996,529	3,118	350,807	1,162	2,751,616

241

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

Barley is the principal crop in both *wazíris*; a very fine description of wheat, with six tiers of grain on each ear, is also grown in Pattan in Láhaul, and from Kibbar downwards in Spiti. Major Hay puts the return on seed sown in Spiti at 14 to 1 for barley, and from 10 to 12 to 1 for wheat. Mr. Lyall's enquiries led him to think that this estimate is about right as an average. As three *khal* or *lakh* (land measure) are found to be about equal to an acre, it may be estimated that an acre produces in Spiti 42 *khal*, or 12½ maunds of barley, and 36 *khal*, or 10¾ maunds of wheat; this is taking the *khal* at 12 *ser* only, which is rather less than its real capacity. In the upper villages the crops are occasionally blighted by early frosts, but on the whole the harvest must be unusually certain and invariable in amount. In Láhaul the outturn per acre must be rather less on the average, as the cloudy drizzly weather which sometimes prevails, particularly in Rangloi, must do harm. The other crops, besides wheat and barley, are peas, which are much grown in Spiti, but not in Láhaul, and buck-wheat which is common in Láhaul but very rare in Spiti. Mustard is sometimes, but rarely, grown in small quantities for oil. A little *china* is also sown in the lowest part of Spiti.*

[184]

* An excellent account of the vegetable productions of Láhaul by Dr. Aitchison was published in Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 241

Live-Stock.

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrá* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul. [177]

Production and consumption of food grains. 433 241 439

Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers. [437]

SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti. 233 [489]

In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century. In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, con-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are
264 completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth
412 of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

576 With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching
291 head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as
782 out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature
241 seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the
759 mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

136 migrants appear. First of all the Wagtails come (Hodgson's pied ; grey and yellow-headed), making the streams and rivulets bright with their graceful movements and undulating flight, soon to be followed by the Siberian Chiffchaff, with his monotonous " cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep," The common Redstart, too, is here now, whilst the Hoopoo calls his " Ooppooppoopp " (the Ladaki name for him) to the farmer, giving him permission to sow his fields, unafraid of serious harm to his crops from further cold. The Cuckoo, too, makes his song heard occasionally about this time, and now one can notice the Western Blue Rock Thrush, whose coat really does look a beautiful slaty blue as he sits in the sun. Above the river, Gulls and Tern wheel and sweep, and are kept company by Swift and Martin ; on the stones by its side, the Ibisbill finds his food, whilst the royal Heron meditates solemnly by the water's edge with his neck well tucked in. So we can boast of a varied ornithology, full of interest and change.

132 We have already made so many references to climate and altitude that the reader will have gathered a fair idea of both. The extremes of the climate may be summed up in the oft-told saying that if you sit in the shade of a rock, the part of your body within the shadow freezes, while that in the sunshine boils ! The heat of summer out in the desert is intense, for the long stretches of sand and the barren glaring rocks seem both to soak up sunshine and reflect it back as it pours out of a sky which is so often cloudless. Yet in the shade of rocks and trees and in the ordinary life in and about a house, it is never oppressive, and there are few summer
● 241 evenings in Leh when an extra wrap is not needed. The
132 short summer from June to mid-September sees the ripening of the wheat, barley and lucerne crops, the coarse grained barley being the more important source of food, and growing up to altitudes of over 14,000 feet. In the lower warmer
312 villages the summer is longer, and a second crop may be
241 raised. All this cultivation is entirely kept alive by irrigation,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dependent on the melting of the winter snows, so that the stream from the Kardong which waters Leh is completely used up, and never reaches the Indus bed ; the average two inches of rain-fall is almost negligible. Although at such an altitude, the snowfall of Leh is also not severe, the snows exhausting themselves on the surrounding ranges, and it rarely exceeds two inches on the ground at a time. It seems to evaporate without any intermediate slushy stage and a sunny winter is quite pleasant owing to the dryness of the cold. It is even quite enjoyable to sit out-of-doors in the sunshine during the day time. Though the temperature may go down to minus ten degrees F. in mid-winter, and remain by day at about ten degrees below freezing point in a room without a fire, its dryness makes it much more bearable than a less cold, but damper climate, and for a similar reason the heat is much less oppressive than that in India, perspiration being hardly perceptible owing to swift evaporation. The spring, however, is heralded by bitter piercing winds, and often they raise little spiral hurricanes of dust seen chasing across the valley from afar, but woe if one of these " sand-devils " blows across your garden and catches up your verandah chairs in its wake or fills your room with dust.

The further effects of altitude and climate on the human beings, indigenous and foreign, who dwell in the land, need not be dealt with here, but when all is said, the flame of life on the whole burns brightly in this land of clear skies and bright sunshine.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

due to the fine water prayer-wheel in the village, which day and night turns round its prayers to benefit the community, while in the walls of the little shelter made to accommodate it four more rather large prayer-wheels are inserted to be worked by hand, so that the passer-by, giving them a meritorious twirl as he goes along, may add his contribution to the volume of prayer that brings favour to the village. Just now is the time of harvest in Wanla. Here the barley and wheat are cut and carried to the side of the hill to dry, a process which must soon be accomplished, for the heat from the stones is very great. In the evening a poor old man, blind in one eye arrives, and the cause being established as cataract, a temporary operating theatre is set up, instruments boiled and the trouble removed. Another poor old fellow completely blind, deaf and otherwise deformed, also asks for help, but alas, he is beyond the aid even of Western medical science, and, as he is very poor, the meagre solace of a little gift is all that can be done for him. There is hardly any operation so dramatic as that of cataract extraction, for the patient may be totally blind at one moment and the next receive his sight. It is all the more sad to have to tell some of these poor blind folk that it is impossible to give them back their vision, especially when so often that faculty might have been saved had they come to the doctor sooner.

Arrangements have now to be made for the next day's march, and we are told that the road is so bad that it will take all the Wanla horses and all the Wanla men to get us to Hunupata, the next village at which we halt ; nor is the picture overdrawn. Next morning all are busy. Breakfast is cooked and eaten, and wise is he who begins by shipping aboard plenty of food ! Stores and cooking utensils are packed into *yakdans* and *kiltas*, the Indian-made travelling boxes and baskets, one of which forms half-a-pony load, and we are off, enjoying the sheer delight of marching in the clear

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XI

Domesticities

THE homes of Ladak, with the exception of those in its metropolis, Leh, and perhaps in the small town of Kargil, in Purig, are practically all village homes. In these desert uplands a village must centre round a stream, which brings its contribution from the glaciers of the great heights—ever in the background—to one of the smaller rivers, most of which eventually flow into the Indus. Where such a stream runs through a broadening valley, it is possible to lay out a series of terraced fields, which can be irrigated in turn by directing the supply into small artificial water-courses. Indeed the turns for sharing the precious water are often the subject of much quarrelling, hoarse shouting and invective, while some less fortunate inhabitants have sometimes to stay up all night to water their fields. Above the area of cultivated terraces, and at the foot of the actual hills, where it is too rocky and steep to plough and sow, the houses are clustered, approached by stony paths or tracks, and so built into the hillside that convenient pieces of rock are often used for wall or floor, and, where the rock overhangs, even for roof, while a little sunny platform will be enclosed with a rough wall to stable the animals by day in winter. The setting of roof and balcony is always arranged to catch the maximum sunshine, so that even in the low temperatures of winter, many domestic activities can be carried on out-of-doors. Crowning the chief hill of the village, and dominating its common life, as its position would suggest, is the monastery.

342 361 [241] [312] [346]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls 283
it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and 462
kalches are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special 562
domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many 342
an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More [241
often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off 283
from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to 462
a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone 443
is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the 783
afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

CUSTOMERS

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Let us now consider some of the ceremonial of the religion 796
of these cheery folk, and to do this we cannot do better than 778
take an evening stroll to Changspa, which is a suburb of Leh and was formerly a place of pilgrimage. Our path leads us between fields of wheat and barley, now ripe for the harvest. Here our way is blocked because some *Zemindar* (farmer) is [241] directing the flow of the water into his crops. Further on we reach a larger stream over which we cross by means of stepping stones.

We meet an old grey-head emerging from the village, who 788
evidently feels that he has reached the age when he should be thinking of his next incarnation, for he is not only vigorously turning his prayer-wheel, but mumbling away at his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*. We stop to speak to him, for in this part of the world there is great friendliness. Our conversation by no means hinders his devotions, for he can still twirl his prayer-wheel, which with every turn is repeating hundreds of prayers for him, and in between his answers to us there are plenty of opportunities for saying his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*.

Being new to the country we perhaps try to ask him the meaning of his prayer, but generally he will reply that he has not the faintest idea, and most certainly will not give the translation one so often hears. "Oh thou jewel in the Lotus bud." If one regard the Jewel as the Divinity, and the lotus the body in which it resides, one surely approaches the teaching of the Buddha fairly closely. I have met only one or two [779]
Buddhist Ladakis willing to enlighten me in respect to this mantra, who said that the wheel of life, consists of six existences, and this mantra with its six syllables closes the door of all these, thus providing an easy vehicle to "STONGPA NID." There are other mantra, but this beyond comparison is the favourite one, as it is that of Avolakita, the Merciful Lord, and it ensures an entrance into the Kingdom of Amitabha, the Sphere of Endless Light. The wheel must be turned in the direction in which the sun travels, that is of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

240 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

796 The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any time between the beginning of June and the middle of July. 361 The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to 79v get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod, towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to [178] the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the [244] approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten* with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base, until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees, pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English 574 countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious, spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

FARMERS AND FARMING IN LADAKH (TIBETAN KASHMIR)

By WALTER ASBOE

133 AN account of the cultivation of cereals in Ladakh presupposes a climate for their growth, bearing in mind the high altitude at which these cereals can thrive. In this lofty region of 10,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level it is amazing that anything grows at all.

133 The country is one vast expanse of sandy plain and deep-cut valleys 23 formed by colossal mountains and swift-flowing rivers. Upon the great plateaux large flocks of sheep laden with wool, borax, and salt move slowly over the tawny sand, raising clouds of dust as they proceed to the wool-clearing centre at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It is also from these elevated regions that the famous shawl wool generally known as Pashmina comes, its final destination being Kashmir. Dropping down from the arid plateaus of Rupshu to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, you come to the many hamlets snuggling in the shelter of great cliffs and rocky eminences, forming with the arable land around them patches of vegetation resembling an oasis in the midst of a desert of rock and sand.

132 The climate of Ladakh is favourable to the growth of cereals and is ● 241 a useful ally to the peasant living at high altitudes and subsisting on produce cultivated in ground which looks sterile and unpromising. Very little rain falls in Ladakh owing to the precipitation in the lower hills in the region of the Zogi Pass, which peters out by the time the higher altitudes are reached. The farmer has therefore to irrigate his fields artificially from rivers, mountain torrents derived from melting glaciers and the winter accumulations of snow. He is saved from the heart-breaking frustration of the English farmer, who must contend with capricious weather which so often ruins his crops just when he is ready to reap them. In Ladakh the peasant knows that the good weather of to-day will be followed by good weather to-morrow, so that he is saved much worry and extra work.

132 Frost and snow or sleet begin in September and continue in different districts without intermission until the beginning of May. The minimum temperature from December until February falls to −5° to −12° F., and there is no month in the year when there is not an occasional snow-fall on the summits of the mountains. The intense cold of winter is mitigated by a dry atmosphere, clear skies, and a sun which warms provided that you remain in its direct rays. The average temperature in the shade during summer is about 75° to 80°. Thus the shortness of the summer is compensated for by the powerful rays of the sun, which ripen the grain rapidly.

The various meteorological processes which combine to form a climate are, as everyone knows, generated by the sun. It is therefore not sur-

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately [484] the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 536 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. 427 This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

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476 556 436 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

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241 of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

[372] Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun [574] and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Recourse has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with 241 earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception 231 of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them. [137] The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

241 According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

[231] Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

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241 light. It can easily be carried upon the shoulders and is not liable to get out of order. The iron point which contacts the furrow requires to be sharpened fairly frequently by the local blacksmith.

The ground is not much more than scratched, as it is dry and sandy, the furrow being only four or five inches from the top of the ridge to the bottom angle. The clods of earth are broken with mattocks by the women, and it is not unusual to see villagers dragging a large bundle of thorns across the field to act as a harrow.

The weeding of fields is general but by no means universal in the country, and the necessity of taking advantage of every available article of food for the cattle leads to a regular and effective method of weeding the corn fields. About three weeks after the first blades of corn have pushed through the earth, women and children overrun the fields every morning to collect the grass and weeds springing up with the grain. The stems get disturbed by the footsteps of the weeders but are never really trodden down, and they recover their erect position in a few hours after the field has been watered. Another benefit of weeding the fields is that the corn gets the full power of the soil and an access of light and air is admitted to the roots of the plants.

The cereals grown in Ladakh are barley, wheat, buckwheat, mustard seed, peas, and beans. At villages not higher than 10,000 feet above sea level it is usual to sow two crops annually. The first crop, which consists of barley, is sown on or about February 25, followed on August 25 by the sowing of a crop of buckwheat.

The order in which the various crops are sown is, first, beans, then wheat, peas, barley, mustard plant, and, lastly, buckwheat.

Barley is of two varieties, distinguished chiefly by the peculiarity of retaining or parting from the rough exterior capsule after the grain has left the ear. The first kind, called So-wa, is very much like the common barley grown in Europe. The second kind is called Shirok, of which there are five varieties—namely, (1) So Shirok, a slow or late barley; (2) Gyog Nas, quick or early barley; (3) Yangma or Yangkar, which is also early and of a whitish colour; (4) Nak Nas, black barley; (5) Drug-zur-Nas, or six-sided barley.

The husked barley has to be raised in places which are the warmest and most sheltered from the winds, and though the seeds of the Shirok can be sown in such situations the produce will be rough barley. The latter again yields naked barley at higher and colder altitudes, as in the lands round Leh (11,500 feet).

The So Shirok barley, or late barley, is sown in places where the temperature is not specially cold yet where the summer heat is not sufficient to permit the cultivation of two crops annually (one of barley and one of buckwheat).

The Gyog Nas is sown in very high altitudes (13,000 to 14,000 feet), where the days are very hot and the nights cold. It does not as a rule attain a greater height than one and a half feet.

241 Nas Yangma or Yangkar is cultivated everywhere and thrives in a
252 temperate to warm climate. It is the favourite variety of barley, as its yield is good and little inferior to wheat. The porridge made from this

241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely
[252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any
[262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[373] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces
[258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con-
426 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
773

1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian
[173] Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who introduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situ-
776 ated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to
[823] the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already under-
[788] taken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-rgyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

796 to Kesar. 8. Praise of the young Kesar. 9. Kesar, the god of lightning

In Sheh (Shel) the following five songs are sung: 1. aBru-gu-ma in search of Kesar. 2. aBru-gu-ma's message to Kesar through aBu-dmar-lam-bstan. 3. The song of victory of dPal les. 4. Praise of Kesar by the king of Hor. 5. Request from the king of Hor addressed to Kesar.

As an example I shall now present in translation the text of the "Dedication of the arrows":

On the beautiful plain there are wonderful arrow shafts,
On the beautiful plain there are magnificent arrow shafts,
The long sticks are shafts for heroes
Put such long shafts in the hands of the Agus,
Put such long shafts in the hands of his servants, the Agus.
The short sticks are spindle sticks for the noblewomen.
Put these short sticks in the hands of the divine women.
Such spindle sticks you should place in the hands of
Ane-bkur-dman-mo.

Song No. 55 of Tag-ma-cig likewise belongs in the same group of ideas. In this song the origin of the arrow is celebrated.

[241] On the occasion of this song there are processions around the fields, in order to bless the fields for the time when they will be cultivated. The altars of the local deities (lHa-tho) are adorned with fresh twigs from the shug-pa tree and twigs from this tree are burned before the altars.

5. The harvest festival (Szub-lha). This festival may be of Dard origin, as is the entire agriculture of western Tibet. At this festival songs again play a significant part; I have four of the songs used on this occasion in my collections. One of these I had written down for me in Skyur-bu-can; where I witnessed the festival personally. The three other songs were sent to me from Shel (Sheh). These latter songs seem to me to be of a more original cast. The first of the songs from Shel speaks of an offering of great yellow flowers to the goddess lHa-chen-rdo-rje-chen-mo, to whom, at the end of the song, the following brief prayer is addressed:

Purify us of all stains of the body!
Fulfill all the wishes of the mind!

Who this unfamiliar goddess is becomes clear in the second of the songs. The second song describes in brief the genesis of the world from the ocean and the seeding of the world. This description concludes with an invocation of lHa-mo-abrug-mo, the goddess aBru-gu-ma. In the Kesar sagas it also happens that the form aBrug-mo, which resembles the word aBrug, meaning "thunder" or

782 **SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET.** *By the Rev.*

771 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held
609 an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 Two stories of the last human sacrifices in
173 Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree
[114] in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

[241] "A man had to be killed every year for the "benefit of the fields of the community. The "peasants were to offer the victim in turns. "(They probably kept slaves, and these were "generally killed). One year it was a poor "widow's turn, and as she had no servants it "was understood that her only son was to be "sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly "about this, a wandering hermit came to her "house and offered to die in the place of her "son, if she would feed him well until the day "of execution. The widow gladly accepted the "offer, and on the appointed day the hermit "was led with much noise before the wooden "idol of the god of the fields. When the "executioner walked up with his axe to the "hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "'friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "'the god really wants to take my life.' Then "he stepped with the axe before the idol and "said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "'want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "'take yours.' As there was no reply, the "hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in "pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 "the river, and everybody went home."

173 The other story related to me concerning
114 the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

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101 **AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES**

241 231 **90** The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

241 462 Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461] The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred [437] shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

[132] In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, 221 the time for beginning agricultural operations 241 varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

221 **TERN TIBET.** *By Walter Asboe.*

241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 From December until spring farming pursuits
286 cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

656 Lahoul being under British administration, the
425 acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

241 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the
287 people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

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241 787 before a verdict as to the propitious moment for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 685 691 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government. [273]

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 624 An adequate supply of water from rivers, glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water supply). In cases where there is a communal reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share. 241 312

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

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country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [176]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [177]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

A Second Crop.

● 241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).
[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough
[231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

Letting Land.

427 It often happens that a farmer will let his land
241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

Rusta (Inula Helenium).

249 Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are
[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

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476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Luy-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

12. (*a*) ལադ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་མོས་དང་མཉམ་པོ་འབྲུག་ལྡིར་ན།
མདོ་ཤ་གི་ཡིད་ལས་སྟོན་ཐོག་ཐོབ་འདུག།

(*b*) Ladag'skyi zhing'shmos dang nyam'po drug' ldir'na,
do'sha gil'idla ston'thog thob'dug.

(*c*) When at the time of ploughing in Ladakh the thunder sounds, they receive a harvest in *dosha* [lower Ladak] and Gilgit.

(*d*) Peasant's calendar. Lower Ladak and Gilgit have an earlier harvest than Leh.

(*e*) *Ldirces* is the Ladakhi for *adirba*. In this Proverb the Genitive in *kyi* is pronounced in full. The ordinary Ladaki Genitive has a simple *i*.

13. (*a*) ཡུན་རིང་ན་བྱ་རོས་ལྡོང་པོ་ཆོད།

(*b*) yŭnring'na ja'ros ldong'bo chod'.

(*c*) After a long time a dead bird [which is blown by the wind against the trunk of a tree] cuts the trunk.

(*d*) With perseverance great things can be done.

(*e*) *Ldongbo* = *sdongbo*.

14. (*a*) སྒང་ལྷས་ཀྱི་ཡང་མ་ལ་ལྟ།
དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་སོ་སྐོབ་ཡང་འབྱུད།

(*b*) gang'lessi yang'mala lta'lta.
spid'thuggi sor'gob yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the good barley of Gangles (a village) the rough straw of Spithŭg is lost.

(*d*) See 8 (*d*).

(*e*) About *ltalta*, see 8 (*e*).

15. (*a*) བྱ་ཚང་མ་བྱ་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང།
བྱ་ངན་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཙེ་ཤུལ་མཐུ་ལ་ལུས།

(*b*) ja'thsang'ma ja'yulla song'
jangan' ututu'tse shul'juglalus'.

(*c*) All birds have gone to birdland.
The bad [stupid] bird hoopoe has remained to the last.

(*d*) When a bad thing has been done by several, all who can, disappear, the one who remains, is punished for all.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [312]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

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Lahul

4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country. 105 631 [651]

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants. [115]

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size. 105 423 {631} {651} [241]

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields [631]

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Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

105 423 651 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 423 427 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 241 [134] [231] Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, fe[illegible]em, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

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Ladak

same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans A14

moisture-bearing air and even cloud-carrying wind to come through; here occur a greater number of slight showers during the summer than in the other valleys of Ladākh; but the difference is slight as compared with the great difference between the two sides of the Pass, and is most chiefly shown in winter, when the snow lies thicker in Drās than it does farther to the east. 132

The passage from Bāltal to Drās, a distance of 30 miles, generally done in two long days, is, in the summer, from June onwards, a not difficult road as things go in this country; it can be passed without difficulty by horses; nor does the first fall of snow (which may happen in the end of October or in November) commonly shut the road for them; but later on, usually by some time in December, the snow has become so thick that for horses to attempt the passage is rash, and only men so hardy and persevering as some of the tribes who live about Drās, or else those who get their aid, as I have done—aid that well deserves acknowledgment and thankfulness—can hope to get over in safety. Thus—although in the winter the Drās people, by watching their opportunity and waiting for some days when necessary, will keep up communication between Kashmir and Ladākh, and even carry merchandise over on their backs—the road is not thoroughly open again, ponies cannot attempt it, till the end of May. 487

The first village that we come to on the eastern side of the Pass, the highest in the valley, is Matāyan, which is 16 miles short of Drās; the next is Pān Drās,* five or six miles farther on; in the more open valley of Drās itself we find numerous hamlets scattered about. 361

Here, as in all the countries on this side of the main range, there is nothing grown without irrigation; at Drās, barley, and the variety of it called grim, are the grains mostly cultivated, for these can ripen in the time that the short summer allows. The villages 241

* Without attempting myself to give a derivation of the word "Pān" in the name of this village, I must protest against the connecting of it with the Persian word *Pāin*, lower. It will be enough if I point out that Pān Drās is higher up the valley and at a higher absolute level than Drās.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

we do not in our route to Leh follow it so far, but turn round a corner to the right, and take to the valley of the Surū River (one of about equal volume with that from Drās), passing here round a rock that the road has very imperfectly been cut in, so that in places the roadway has had to be constructed of poles lodged in projections of the cliff; these are loosely covered with slabs. In a few miles after this we come to the collection of villages which bear the name of Kargil. 13 X

At Kargil is another of the wider openings between the hills; up to this spot the granitic hills had continued—bare, rocky, and lofty; but now on the east there appear lower hills of a softer material, alternating beds of clay and sandstone. Between the Pāskim stream and the Surū River is an alluvial expanse of some square miles, a succession of terraces of alluvial gravel. These plains are uncultivated; hitherto the work necessary for bringing the water of the Pāskim stream on to the lower wide terrace, though once or twice commenced, has not been successfully accomplished; but narrow strips not very high above the two streams are watered by small canals led from them. [312]

The villages here are about 8900 feet above the sea; partly from this somewhat less altitude as compared with Drās, and partly from the place being less in the way of the comparatively moist air that steals into this country through the Drās Pass, there is both less snow in winter and a greater force of sun and warmth in summer to help on vegetation. Here wheat flourishes as well as barley; but the great difference to be observed was the growth of many fruit-trees (chiefly mulberry and apricot), as well as willows and poplars, along the watercourses that are led over the terraced fields. Such villages as we now see are narrow strips of ground, artificially banked and levelled into still narrower terrace-fields, and backed by great rocks that with a favourable aspect reflect the heat and act almost like the walls of our fruit-gardens. They are richly carpeted with heavy-eared crops and crowded with fruit-trees, the bright greenness of whose leaves delights the eye of the traveller, who for many miles has wearied under the sameness of gazing at nothing but rock and loosened stones, and the shade 361 [132] 241

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 of whose boughs, as, after the glare that one is exposed to on a
241 summer day's march among these bare mountains, one lies by the stream that ripples beneath them, is itself a reward for the exposure and toil.

KARGIL TO KHALSI: FOUR MARCHES.

133x It will take us four marches to reach the valley of the Indus; for though at Kargil we are only 12 or 13 miles away from that river, yet the more favourable course is to avoid it for a few days' journey still, to keep in the valleys of certain tributary streams whose direction lies well in the line of our road. The ground we shall go through is occupied by the ramifications of a great range of mountains that lies between the main chain on the south-west and the Indus River on the north-east. This range is irregular both in course and height; from some directions it is to be traversed only by very high Passes, but, as we are going, we shall cross two ridges that belong to it by comparatively low gaps quite easy to surmount.

133x From Kargil we first go over the stony alluvial plain, which is bare of vegetation, and then, after five miles, descend to the village of Pāskim, a large village watered by cuts from the stream
[712] called Wakha; these watercourses are bordered by many willows and some tall poplar-trees. Nearly a thousand feet above the village, on the edge of a cliff, are some remains of a fort that used to be held by a Rajah tributary to Ladākh; an account of the taking of this place by the Dogrās is given in General Cunningham's book. The valley now narrows, and for 12 miles the road takes us up between dark rocky hills whose near slopes, those within sight, are not lofty. The halting-place is Shargol, 20 miles from Kargil. A more even division of the distance would have been to make Pāskim the stage instead of Kargil, but this latter is the more usual rest-place, as it is now the head-quarters of the district, and besides it is often convenient to make marches of different lengths, for a quite short one will give the camp a long leisure for rest, or for repairs, or other business.

000 Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monas-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/V

491 plan of crossing the stream three times, by wooden bridges, we
133* pass the difficulties and find our way to the valley of the Indus itself, and, after another mile or two and after crossing the river, to the village and halting-place of Khalsi.

KHALSI TO LEH: FOUR MARCHES.

491 The Indus is spanned by a wooden bridge where rocks narrow
712 it up to a width of 60 or 70 feet only. The bridge is com-
361 manded by a small fort on the higher bank; the path from the
241 bridge, indeed, is led along the covered way half round the fort. The village of Khalsi is on a plateau about 250 feet above the river; there is here a long strip of cultivated land watered from a side-stream; crops and fruit-trees grow on it well, and even luxuriantly; walnuts and apricots ripen, though the height above the sea is something over 10,000 feet.

133* From this place upwards, to near Leh, the Indus Valley has one character. The river flows either between rocks or against alluvial cliffs, according to whether the mountain spurs reach the water or strips of alluvium-terrace intervene. The hills that are
[361] seen are not very lofty; all are bare and extremely dry. The
[241] only green visible is on those spots where the streams from the mountains on the north-east are brought on to the alluvial plateaus and enable the ground to be tilled; there villages have been formed, and we see the verdure of corn-fields and of orchards, or rather of the lines of fruit-trees that have been planted along the watercourses that skirt the little fields.

487 For the next three days' journey there are two routes that may be taken; they unite again one march short of Leh. The first is along the valley, keeping as near to the river as the ground will allow; the other is a higher route along a series of plateaus behind the former; it is this latter that we choose; the valley itself will be again spoken of in a later chapter.

133* After continuing for a few miles in the immediate Indus Valley,
361 we turn up a ravine to the left, and, rising some 1500 feet, we get on to a high plain between an outer, low, range of hills and the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīrī half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid. 563

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhīs are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing 463 565 241 651 [428]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

565 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of
241 by employing labourers.
651

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the
241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim,
[438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

1. Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV. Kashmir
W. Tibetans A34

from the ground, while the pent-up air itself becomes hot and gives no relief. But after a toilsome drag for some miles over this waste of heated rocks, he reaches one of the little villages that are made at the mouths of side ravines, if haply there can be found a few acres of flat ground for cultivation. These villages are to the traveller a most welcome and lovely sight; a space covered with crops of a brilliant green overshadowed by luxuriant fruit-trees in the midst of the barest rocks gives a relief equally to the eye, the mind, and the body of the wayfarer.

Garkon is the one of these villages most curious in its situation. It consists of very narrow strips or ledges of flat watered ground, between separate stages of a great river-cliff, so that on one side there is a precipitous fall of ground while on the other vertical cliffs overhanging the narrow fields, which, receiving their radiated heat, quickly ripen the crops; even at night the place does not lose its heat. Water is led over the fields from a ravine that comes from the high mountains. Apple-trees, apricot, mulberry, and the vine are cultivated, in company with the cereals, on the narrow space, and flourish well with the combination of moisture and warmth. In going from Garkon to the next village, called *Dāh*, we have passed from Baltistān into Ladākh. The Baltis were in former times apt to make raids upon their more peaceable neighbours. Dāh, as the frontier village, protected itself by the agglomeration of its houses together to form a sort of fort; on two sides protection is given by a steep cliff, on two by a wall, with a good tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure. Now that all are under one government, and perfect peace has ensued, the dwellings are scattered; but still in winter time the people from the outlying houses and hamlets join to live within the enclosure, for warmth and for mirth's sake. Within its walls the ground is almost all roofed over, hardly any space is left for alleys, passages from one house to another are led beneath the rooms of a third; the whole is a strange crowding together of hovels. In this part side valleys of various degrees of importance reach down to the Indus; some are mere rocky ravines, others hold hamlets and villages. I visited the *Hanū*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a
133+ better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on
[246] their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

132 For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same
231 as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night
[246] are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty
241 pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place
563 for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the
142 head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

CHAPTER XIV.

LADĀKH: THE HIGHER VALLEYS.

RUPSHU — RUPSHU AS INHABITED — RARITY OF THE AIR — SALT LAKE VALLEY — TSOMORĪRĪ — TSO KYĀGHAR — INDUS VALLEY — PĀNGKONG LAKE — CHĀNGCHENMO.

WE now come to that lofty part of Ladākh where the lowest ground touched is as much as 13,500 feet above the sea, where there are long flat valleys at 15,000 feet, while the mountains that include these keep to the same height of 20,000 and 21,000 feet, which we have seen to be so general over a great part of the country. 133x

RUPSHU.

The first that shall be described of these high tracts is that called Rupshu or Rukshu. It is a district at the south-east end of Ladākh, lying between the Watershed Range and the Indus. From the side of Leh it is approached by leaving the Indus at Upshi and following up the narrow ravine which there joins in from the south. In this, for many miles, the road continues gradually rising; it is a good road for this country, having now been made fit for the passage of camels in case the owners of any from Yārkand should bring them this way towards the Panjāb. The ravine is narrow; it is immediately bounded by no lofty mountains, but by bare slopes of earth and rock, composed of shale and sandstone. After 13 or 14 miles we come to Gyā, the last village in this direction, a place elevated 13,500 feet above the sea; it is a village of some forty houses, with a proportionately wide area of cultivation; both at Gyā and at an outlying hamlet, which is some 300 feet higher still, naked barley ripens and nothing else; peas are grown, but only for green food. It is one of the most, but not quite the most, elevated of all the villages in the country. At this place we leave houses behind, for at the next inhabited parts we shall come to, tents are the only dwellings. [492 361 241

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans Ad4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khīma-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 The summer encampment is not close to Karzok, but it is made two
221 or three miles up the side valley; at that distance up the ravine widens out, and on a stony expanse, through which a stream flowed watering a narrow green strip, were about fifty black tents of the Chāmpās, and a few white ones of merchants from Kulū, who had come to trade with them; this was the encampment of that half of the Rupshu tribe which keeps to the south-eastern pastures. The flocks were spread over the hills, seeking for the scarce herbage.

241 Karzok is one of the two or three places in Rupshu where there is cultivation; here some 12 acres are sown with naked barley. Close upon 15,000 feet, it is the highest cultivation that I know of. When I was there the crop was thriving, but in some years it fails of ripening. The land is irrigated from the stream of the side valley, that which made the delta before spoken of, which is one of the chief affluents to the lake.

132 The climate of this part is thoroughly Tibetan. Snow falls in winter, but not to a great depth. In summer the air is usually clear and cloudless. The year I was at Tsomoriri, however, 1871, was an exceptional one all over Ladākh, and rain fell in showers such as had seldom been seen, accompanied by thunder. In these storms we saw the mountains in colours different from those native ones which the glaring sun had brought out so strongly. Before, the lofty hills, except where whitened by a capping of snow, had shown nothing but rocks and stony or earthy slopes of brown and grey, the distant ones seeming close from the rarity and clearness of the air. But now, with the clouds overhead and the storms filling the valley, the recesses of the purpled mountains seemed more distant; yet we saw deeper and deeper into them as the various shades showed out the successive spurs and ridges, and the water of the lake formed a bright belt in front of the richly-tinted hills.

TSO KYAGHAR.

133x North of Karzok a high ridge of mountains edges Tsomoriri on the west, having high cliffs in its upper part and sloping more

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve [241] houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the [137] former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of [132] willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the [101] plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs [221] both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133x Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ4

die, and I have no reason to disbelieve this. One of the difficulties is that there is practically no rainfall in this land either in summer or winter. Water comes from the snows, these feed the rivers, but much of the snow simply evaporates at this height; the mountains are arid; among the rocks bushes occasionally grow which carry few leaves on their green twigs, but sufficient to feed the wild goats. The only sign of vegetation is either along the river banks or in the nullahs and protected valleys through which the snow waters flow for a while and which do not take the glare of the sun which pours with great power through the clear air. From above it appears as if a giant flame-thrower has scorched the earth, which in different parts takes on all the colours of a burned brick, and in its destruction has missed those valleys tucked away. All around us were giant chocolate-coloured rock cliffs which hold the snow deep during the winter months, and permit the sun to shine for but a few hours on the small village. 515 312 133

Dras—known by the Tibetans as Hembas—seems to be not one but a number of villages spread over a quite fertile undulating valley which is enclosed within a ring of hills but at a height of ten thousand feet and so placed that the bitter winter winds sweep down on it. When we were there the clumps of willows were green with young leaves and they told us that by by the time we returned the skylarks would have come from Kashmir. 361

Oddly enough there are a few European-style houses standing in their own gardens, and a rest house of similar design, built with a high pitched roof and tall chimneys, but looking strange, for it was without the verandahs which one has become so used to in India and Kashmir. The sand and dust gets in through all the cracks, in winter it is carried there by the icy blast, yet it must be a comfortable haven to those who are stranded there.

The valley narrows as one goes on past small fields which would appear to have been scratched out from the rock-covered surface of the ground; I can well remember being shown by a proud "farmer"—the father of one of the horsemen who came the whole way with us—a large patch scattered with stones as big as my fist, in which surely not more than a thousand green spears of barley had just come through. Anywhere else the sowing 133 241

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A-1
W. Tibetans AJ

133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

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142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear
291 flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
● 241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V1~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
361 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Physical aspects.

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [132]

Botany.

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. WT 137 WT [245]

Fauna.

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and WT 136

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

642 175 792 [794] [778]

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

361 563 144 181

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush, known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

463 241 511 [582] [372] [313]

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

792

power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

[795]

[162]

Christian missions. 797

There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Agriculture. 241

The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

W. Tibetans AV4
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

of 45,762 square miles and a population of 192,138 persons it will at once appear that the Ladakh tehsil though possessing the greatest area supports the smallest number of people. Its density is, one per square mile, the lowest figure in the whole State. Kargil and Skardu, however, with their respective densities of 9 and 13 present a better record the latter supporting 107,477 persons. All the three tehsils of the districts show a plus variation ranging between 4 and 5 per cent. which bear a happy contrast to the all-round decrease registered by these tehsils at the 1921 Census. WT 161

Of the total area of the Ladakh district only ·28 per cent. is cultivable which in plain language means that out of a total area of 45,762 square miles only 129 square miles are cultivable. Again out of ·28 per cent. cultivable area 91·7 per cent. is net cultivated and there are very little prospects of agricultural expansion in this district. WT 241

The normal rainfall is 6·7″ only. The entire gross cultivated area has to depend upon irrigation for growing crops. Rice, Bajra, maize are conspicuous by their absence, wheat only occupies an inferior position having under it 17·5 per cent. of the cultivable area, 47 per cent. being under other food-crops including pulses of which giram is the chief staple.

50. Gilgit District.—The district consists of only one tehsil (Gilgit) with an area of 3,118 square miles and a population of 31,902 persons which gives a resultant density of 10 persons to a square mile. The increase at the present Census comes to 11·13 per cent. which compares well with other districts. D 161

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Gilgit District ..	31,902	10	+ 11·13	+ 19·8	....
1. Gilgit Tehsil	31,902	10	+ 11·13	+ 19·8	....

Of the total area ·8 per cent. is cultivable out of which 81·8 is net cultivated, the balance still available for being brought under crops being about 18 per cent. The normal rainfall being very low *i. e.*, 4·77″ the entire agriculture depends upon irrigation which has received good attention from the Government during the present decade as has already been shown under paragraphs dealing with irrigational improvements. To counteract Nature's frugality in the matter of rainfall human effort has shown itself at its best in providing irrigational facilities as is reflected by the fact that 99·9 per cent. of the gross cultivated area is irrigated which conclusively proves that natural rainfall by itself would not help even an acre to produce crops. D 241

Here 35·6 per cent. of the area is under wheat, 9·7 per cent. under barley, 36·7 per cent. under other food-crops including pulses while 23·4 per cent. is taken up by miscellaneous crops. The supply for the military garrisons located at Gilgit is provided through a special "Supply and Transport Department".

51. Frontier Illaqas.—With an area of 14,680 square miles and a population of 64,544 persons the Frontier Illaqas show an increase of 5·82 per cent. over the last Census and the variation in each of the constituent units is shown by the marginal table. D 161 B 161

Name of District or Illaqa.	Population 1921.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.	
				1921-1931.	1911-1921.
1. Hunza ..	12,117	12,241	3	+ 9·27	+ 19·7
2. Nagar ..	14,188	13,672	9	− 3·63	+ 0·3
3. Punial ..	5,498	6,109	4	+ 11·21	+ 24·2
4. Yasin ..	7,065	8,083	7	+ 14·4	+ 11·9
5. Kuh ..	2,596	2,888	6	+ 22·7	+ 10·9
6. Ghizar ..	3,953	4,112	3	+ 4·02	+ 8·6
7. Ishkoman ..	2,753	2,966	2	+ 9·48	+ 30·3
8. Chilas ..	12,135	13,254	5	+ 9·02	+ 5·01

Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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316
439

clining to green), is carefully scraped and collected in bags. When dry, it is of a dull white colour. In this state it is collected by the shepherds, who pasture their flocks on the rich summer grass of the plains of Rukchu. The quantity of this borax annually exported is stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb.; the value, at the rate of sixteen seers per rupee, being only Rs. 500.

Sulphur.—The Puga sulphur-mine is situated at a short distance from the stream, at the foot of a gypsum cliff. The mineral occurs chiefly in the form of thin laminæ disseminated throughout the rock; but in all the fissures there are numerous detached crystals, quite transparent and of all sizes, from that of a grain of sand to one-eighth of an inch. In detaching the sulphur, the crystals are mostly reduced to powder and partially mixed with the gypsum rock; and in this state it is carried to the markets of Nurpur, Kangra, and Rampur. The vague statements of the shepherds make the annual supply about 500 maunds, or 3,200 lb., but I should think that it rarely amounted even to one-half of that quantity.

439
243

Dried Fruits.—These consist of apricots and small seedless raisins (commonly called currants). I have no means of making even a guess at the amount of this export, but the quantity must be considerable. I never found a single trader or shepherd without numerous bags of them; and I have procured them in all the bazaars in the hill states from Kashmir to Kangra and Simla. In the Simla bazaar they are sold at from two to two and a half seers per rupee.

The whole value of the foreign trade of Ladák, in home produce, does not exceed Rs. 80,000 or £8,000.

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
426
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

● 243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

776 777 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing), fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

[439]

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rôm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 262 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them: to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--phâyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángthâng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Beyond the High Himalayas

695 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers
687 on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

[231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a
651 cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

000 the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads,
342 miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing
563 like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

361 When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found
[233] some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of
[563] yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

[133] The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was
[792] not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

792 This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood
[441] from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads
[243] from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

563 The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) be-
[101] cause they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into
[631] contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*
[651]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

236 goats in Ladák must be about 80,000. The average price of a shawl-wool goat is four rupees, and the total value of the flocks of Ladák Rs. 3,20,000, or £32,000.

231 *Dog.*—The domestic dog* of Ladak is the well-known shepherd's dog, or Tibetan mastiff. They have shaggy coats, generally quite black, or black and tan; but I have seen some of a light-brown colour. They are usually ill-tempered to strangers; but I have never found one that would face a stick, although they can fight well when attacked. The only peculiarity that I have noticed about them is that the tail is nearly always curled upward on to the back, where the hair is displaced by the constant rubbing of the tail.

II.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

I.—TREES.

137 The vegetable productions of Ladák are few and unim-
245 portant. The trees consist of willow, two varieties of poplar,† a kind of tamarisk, the pencil-cedar, and the *Elæagnus Moorcroftii.*‡ The tamarisk and the pencil-

* The Tibetan name for a dog is *Khyi*.

† *gShol-po* and *dByar-pa*.

‡ Capt. Madden, in the Horticultural Society's Journal, has quoted a passage from Moorcroft, to the effect that "a few willows and poplars are the *only trees* in Ladák," and he then produces the authority of Capt. H. Strachey to show that Moorcroft was wrong. But the fact is, that Moorcroft is right *in what he does say*, for either Capt. Madden or Capt. Strachey has misquoted him. In his Travels, I. p. 267, Moorcroft distinctly states that willows and poplars are the *only timber-trees* in Ladák; and in I. p. 306, he repeats the same thing. But in both places he says *timber-trees;* and he is right; for the *Shukpa* (*Shug-pa*) is too small a tree to yield timber, although, if not held sacred, it might yield wood for boxes. Capt. Madden should have recollected that the *Ser-shing* had been first described by Moorcroft, and was therefore named *Elæagnus Moorcroftii*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cedar (*Shukpa*) are indigenous; the others are all regularly planted. The plane-tree has been introduced into Skardo, where its size and beauty have obtained for it the name of *Shing-Gyal*, "the prince of trees." The poplar is the most valuable wood in the country, as its long straight bole is particularly adapted for bridges, and for the rafters and beams of houses. It is generally planted in straight rows. The willow abounds in all the water-courses, but generally in the state of a pollard, as its supple twigs and branches are extensively used for baskets of all kinds and hurdles. These two trees were first met with at Gya, at a height of 13,500 feet. They furnish the only fire-wood procurable in Ladák; but wood is too valuable in this barren country to be thus wasted, and the principal fuel used by the people is short Tibetan furze, called *Dáma*, and dried dung of all kinds. The Elæagnus is an ornamental tree with a yellow flower, from which it derives its name of *Ser-shing*, or yellow tree. It is the Persian *Sanjit*. The tamarisk is abundant in the narrow glen of the Rulang-chu, or Puga rivulet, below the hot springs, where they attain fifteen and sixteen feet in height, the warmth of the water, 66°, being favourable to their growth.

The fruit-trees are the apple, the apricot, the walnut, the mulberry, and the vine.* The apricot is the only one found as high as Gya, 13,500 feet. The vine and apple make their first appearance at Bazgo and Sáspul, the walnut at Sáspul, and the mulberry at the monastery of Tamisgong. The apples, which are plentiful along the Indus, are of large size and good flavour. The apricots are large, but not so well flavoured as those of Balti. The grapes are much inferior to the splendid fruit of

* The vine is called *Gun*, *rGun*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

245 Kashmir, but they had a peculiarity which was new to me; the same bunch would yield large grapes an inch and a half in length, and small round seedless grapes like black currants. The latter are dried in the sun, and find their way to the Zimla bazaar, where they are kept by the merchants in large earthenware jars, duly labelled as "fine Zante currants," and sold at the rate of two rupees a pound, the proper price being about one quarter of a rupee per pound. The cherry is found in the warm districts.

[435]

II.—GRAINS.

241 The crops consist of bearded and beardless barley, common wheat and buck-wheat, peas, turnips, and mustard. In the southern province of Spiti, wheat* grows at a height of 13,000 feet (at Lárá and Lidang above Dangkhar). In the valley of the Indus it first appears at Ugshé and Chimra, between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. Buck-wheat† generally affects the same elevations as common wheat. Both kinds of barley‡ are grown at an elevation of 15,000 feet; at Hanlé, at the Korzo Gonpa, on the bank of the *Tshomoriri* lake, and above Gyihbar in Spiti.

Peas§ are cultivated at Gyihbar and Loxar, the loftiest villages in Spiti, between 14,000 and 15,000 feet, and at Miru, in the Gya valley, from 12,500 and 13,500 feet. Mustard also is found at the same elevation; at Gyihbar in Spiti, and at Gya and at Miru in Ladák proper. Turnips are grown at 15,000 feet at the Korzo Gonpa, on

* Wheat is called *Gro*, which in some districts is pronounced *To*.

† *Bro*, by many pronounced *Do*.

‡ *Nas* is the name for all kinds of barley. *Nas-karmo* is white barley, and *Nak Nas* is black barley.

§ *Honma*, which is spelt *Sronma*.

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which mis-
behaved has a child, in which case the young child is re-
tained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are,
turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to
this, the family property is equally divided between the
adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand
what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in
gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing
which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel."
konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither
form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor
deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see
under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of
dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák,
Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot
trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra
and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The com-
mon small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning,
or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost
as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i
marnak."

Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belongs to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting. Kr 631

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul. WT 101 131

Physical aspects.

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. WT 133 WT [241] WT [241] WT [242]

Botany.

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. WT 137 WT [245]

Fauna.

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. vignei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and WT 136

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a
1337 better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on
[246] their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

132 For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same
231 as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night
[246] are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty
241 pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place
563 for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the
142 head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely 342
carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The 231
ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the [31]
front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare 247
land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers [301]
is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is 513
not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at 291
being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough

[231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

Letting Land.

427 It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

Rusta (Inula Helenium).

249 Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son.

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but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

184 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

352 Food.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

251 184

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

184 262 [273]

291 Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

291 301 293 [302] 292 291

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

old lady who has had her cataract removed. She is lying on 758
the floor by the side of a nice spring bedstead, on which she had been placed yesterday after her operation. In reply to our query why she did not stay quietly on her bed, she says she felt so giddy sleeping so high up in the world, and more safe on the floor. True, she cannot fall out of bed now. In Ward 3 758
is a Yarkandi whose leg we have had to amputate to save his 563
life. He has come that difficult journey from Yarkand, over the Karakorum range of the Himalayas and the Dipsang plateau, and been overtaken by frost-bite. Very likely at the end of the hard day's march over the snow he was so exhausted that he fell asleep without troubling to take off his heavy boots, and the circulation had no chance to re-establish itself in the severe cold. In the next ward we find that a string has been 758
stretched across from one wall to the other, over which 251
strips of meat have been hung, and we are told that the family are drying their next winter's supply. One can just imagine the happy expression on the face of an English Surgeon, who on entering his ward found such activities being pursued. In the next ward we can see nothing, for it is filled with acrid smoke which so hurts our eyes that we beat a rapid retreat. Dinner is being cooked! But we must not linger longer with our in-patients, for we would like to take the reader with us on a medical tour.

When we visited Kyelang, it will be remembered that we 757
made a detour to a place called Lingshed. Messengers came 164
to beg us to go to this village in 1916, because it was so central, and they promised that blind folk from the whole surrounding district would gather there; the further inducement was held out that throughout the trip the question of supplies would be made easy for us. So one evening we found ourselves in our tents in Lingshed with about thirty blind folk sitting round. We examined their eyes, deciding 757
that some were operable, others not. The latter were in- 783
formed as kindly as possible that no operation on earth could

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
262 holder says :

> " Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)." [2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.

796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect* :

> Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
> Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong.

/Following page 80/

•252

Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders.

586 money: One "coat lappet full" of money, that is, a certain sum of money which is to be put into the lappet of the long coat (t'o-sgań) and is to be handed over in this manner. The concept to-sgań points to the fact that the fine was originally a very high one. But the concept is extremely flexible and accordingly it is usually stretched--or shrunk--a great deal. In Tibet, too, there frequently prevails a "double standard" for man and woman. A proverb states, in the conciseness characteristic of the Tibetan language: "Man--coat lappet--cow; woman--coat lappet--horse"; that is to say, the man who breaks up the marriage pays as compensation the price of a cow; the woman in the corresponding case pays approximately threefold price of a horse. Often one party maliciously leaves the other and does not think of paying a sum of money as compensation. Then there are violent disputes between the families and the tribes of the persons involved, as well as protracted litigations in court.

000 In comparison to this, the relationship between the young couple Namgyal and Chosskyid was distinguished very favorably by the fact that here each party was attached to the other by warm affection. Namgyal guarded his "migbras" (the apple of his eye) with love and with a wakeful eye and Chosskyid /119/ as time went by became increasingly a faithful helpmate and support to him in all his duties.

511 With respect to outward signs of good fortune, that is, material goods, Kubera, the god of wealth, had not provided the Dragshos family too liberally, according to the concept of their Tibetan neighbors and acquaintances. Despite their elegant descent they were nothing but farmers whose modest wealth consisted of their possession in the fields and cattle. Aside from fields and clover meadows the family owned three horses, a number of cows, a few yak oxen and donkeys, fifty odd sheep, and some goats as well as chickens. Cash was always quite scarce with them as it is with all Tibetan farmers. The money as a rule just sufficed for the payment of the heavy taxes, for the purchase of the greatest necessities, insofar as these could not be supplied by their own farm. The latter was, luckily, the case to a very large degree. Wheat, barley, and buckwheat were supplied by their fields. The grain [252] was ground at one of the small water mills by the brook; it was sifted through a sieve made of horse hair, and in this manner they obtained a coarse, nourishing flour. Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of all vegetation except red, yellow, and gray lichens and a few of the sturdy saxifrage. 133 137

At one time there had been a serai at Zing Zing Bar with rock walls and a galvanized iron roof stretched on steel rafters. But the weight of snow had crushed the serai, making it uninhabitable. I found a level spot in the vast rock field where I put my bedroll. And after inflating my air mattress and getting everything in condition for the night, I joined the muleteers.

They had piled some of our baggage in the form of an L to provide a windbreak, and they had a fire of mule dung going. They were making tea, a tea unlike anything we of the West know. It is called *gur gur cha*. The correct and proper way to make it is to brew the tea (which is kept in a bag) the day before, adding a pinch of soda and letting it simmer until it has a pinkish tinge. The next day put the brew in a churn, add salt and yak butter (*gie*), and mix thoroughly. Then heat the mixture until it is piping hot and serve. 272

Rup Singh omitted the first step. He had a tall, cylindrical, wooden churn in which, with the use of a plunger, he mixed water, salt, and yak butter. After the butter was dissolved he poured the contents of the churn into the teapot. When the tea had boiled, it was ladled out in cups. It sounds repulsive and sometimes is, when the yak butter is rancid. But Rup Singh's *gur gur cha* was good. A cold wind was sweeping down from Baralacha, chilling us. The *gur gur cha* seemed to have a special warmth. It was nourishing too. We sat in silence for perhaps a quarter hour sipping it.

Then the muleteers ate their supper. They had a sack of flour made from barley that is cut when slightly green, then baked and ground. This flour is carried in every caravan that travels Lahul, Ladakh, or Tibet. It is the mainstay of each meal along the trail. My muleteers ate it in the customary manner—they put a handful of it in a cup of *gur gur cha* and stirred it up until 252 262

• 252 it made a thick paste. This is the famous dish that is called *sattu*
262 in Ladakh and *tsamba* in Tibet. My muleteers ate it with spoons, as we would eat porridge. Ram Chand had a method of his own. He mixed the paste so thick that he could dish it out with one finger as if it were cake dough.

262 This was the muleteers' dinner—*gur gur cha* and *sattu*. It was dinner in every caravan that was camped along the trails of the high Himalayas. It was Rup Singh's dinner every night during our trek—every night except the time we bought eggs and chickens and the day we were presented with rabbits as big as any in Arizona or New Mexico. *Gur gur cha* and *sattu* were also breakfast for the muleteers. But at breakfast they would also have *chapattis*, and each morning they would bake enough of them for lunch along the trail.

I talked to Rahul about the monotony of that diet. He agreed that it was monotonous, a monotony which the Lahulis, Ladakhis, and Tibetans try to break as frequently as possible with meat. "But it is a nutritious diet," he said. "*Gur gur cha* and *sattu* carry most of the natives over the Himalayas. There is energy in it. And look at their teeth! *Gur gur cha* and *sattu* may be flat and dull but they do not cause tooth decay."

000 I lay in my sleeping bag in the rock cairn at Zing Zing Bar watching the sky. Earlier I had seen a dipper teetering on a rock by the Bhaga River. Now a gray-backed shrike raced by. A few clouds showed in the west. Venus rode the skyline briefly to reappear hours later in Oregon. A wave of homesickness swept over me as I relived wonderful sunset hours in the Wallowas. Then Venus was gone. The wind died down and a whole host of miller moths descended on me, whirling around my head. They visited me very briefly, leaving as quickly and as mysteriously as they had arrived. Thousands of strange stars gradually appeared. A shoulder of Baralacha to the north blotted out the Big Dipper, though I thought I saw the end of its familiar handle sticking out above a lofty range. The stars kept coming out until it

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

injured, he was given the *coup de grâce* with the business end of a riding-crop.

Horses and men being rather tired, we decided to give them a rest day, which we began by extracting two cataracts and excising a large tumour, following which medicines were dispensed. The sahibs being thus engaged, the servants took the opportunity of having a baking day, so as to substitute bread for the chupattis with which they had now provided us for some days. Baking in this part of the world is an interesting process. First the dough is made with leaven, placed in a covered tin, and put into the sun to ferment, but if there is no sunshine, it is kept warm by covering it with all the bedding of the servants, and wise is the sahib who does not scrutinize this covering too closely, remembering rather that what the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve over. While the dough is rising, the oven must be prepared. The walls of this are made of large dry plaques of cow manure, and the roof of a big slab of the same material. The latter interested us, and we inquired how it was procured. We were told that throughout the whole winter the stables are not cleared out, but the continual stamping of animals and men makes quite a hard floor of manure, which is cut out in large chunks in the spring. But if we wait too long for these explanations, our bread will be sour. The oven itself is now set on fire, and by the time the dough is ready the whole thing is glowing splendidly. The dough in its covered tin is placed inside, and a door of glowing dung closes the oven. The resulting bread is all one can wish! Having cooked the bread, the fire still functions, for on it the servants' Sunday dinner is cooked. A sheep has been killed for the sahibs, and the servants receive the head as their perquisite. The head, with hair, eyes, brain and everything intact, is placed in the fire of manure, the hair burns off, and a meal, fit for a Ladaki king at any rate, emerges.

On again next day over the "Sengela" or "lion pass."

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as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting. Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups. These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How complex has become our civilization! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

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child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS

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342 fitting a series of short horizontal boards into the slots cut in the sides of the framework. The big family stove is built of
● 252 a special black mud, deposited at the bottoms of rivers or streams, or dug from under the damp turf on their banks, which becomes very hard when dried. The stove is roughly square in form, with a hole at two or more corners round which
415 the hard mud is raised into three upward projections, thus
376 supporting the local rounded cooking-pots. These are made of copper and tinned over by the local blacksmith. We Europeans have to be very careful to have this lining kept intact to avoid copper poisoning, but one often finds the Ladaki brewing his tea in a pot from which all traces of tin have long ago vanished. Perhaps this is why we are so often upset
252 when we accept invitations to meals in their houses. In
372 front of the stove on the right-hand side is a projection of the same hardened mud, which is to accommodate the right-hand of the "fire blower," as he operates on the bellows. These are very effective instruments with a large nozzle pushed well under the glowing fuel, and an elongated bag of goat-skin at the outer end of which two small bars of wood are attached, with small loops of strongly-twisted thread in the middle. Through these the thumb and fingers are placed to open and close the mouth, and though it sounds and looks a simple process a certain knack must be acquired to get a good fire.
[357] Children of the house often keep it going, but the fire-blower is generally a sooty-faced, ragged woman servant, the counterpart of the old scullery-maid in the West. The stove has a large central tunnel with branches radiating out to the corner holes, and in the middle is a depression for the biggest hole of all.

752 Here the large pot of butter-tea is generally brewing. The tea, of which the best variety comes from Lhasa (where it is used as coinage) in bricks, is stewed for some hours, then mixed up in a special churn, phonetically named a *gurgur*, with butter, soda, salt and milk. Some writers have said our

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●752 Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one
262 or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates
[415] out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be
574 taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host
554 or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace
352 —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove
[354] opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished
000 member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

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of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

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262 574 feast, proceedings may begin with *gyatug*, a dish of long vermicelli-like strips of flour-paste over which mincemeat in a nicely flavoured sauce is poured. Meat is also minced and made into delicious little dumplings, called *mok mok*, or well-flavoured and rolled up into sausages, which are eaten with [565] rice—in fact in a rich house, after the plates of rice have been served, many kinds of subsidiary dishes are handed round with meat done up in different ways, sauces and vegetables, the last [357] often soured. For a *dron* an experienced cook is hired to take charge of all the culinary operations, usually a Mussulman, otherwise one of the women of the house superintends 262 the kitchen. But in the villages where there are no butcher shops, and a sheep is killed only occasionally, the staple food is butter-tea and barley-flour, varied with all sorts of vegetables prepared in several ways. The poorest people mix the flour in water just as it is, eating it out of cheap little wooden cups with their fingers.

262 565 An ordinary middle class family will breakfast on butter-tea and small breads, raised with leaven called *kambir*; at midday they will have more tea, and perhaps chupattis with a sauce of vegetables, mixed with buttermilk, while in the evening, tea may or may not be served again with flour kneaded into a paste in some form or other, and mixed with meat well stewed in a broth.

More usually as the hot tea is drunk, the butter floating on the top is blown to one side, and after many cups a nice little residue is left with which to mix up the raw flour with the aid of a finger.

252 [262] In summer when milk is more plentiful, its various products are much used as a food. The milk is collected into a large pot at night and warmed, some sour buttermilk being added to make it curdle. The pot is then covered with garments and blankets so as to maintain the blood-heat for proper fermentation. Some of it may be set aside to eat as *zho*, this being a kind of junket, only less insipid, especially when well

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made of creamy milk; it then has a delicious fruity flavour with a slight suggestion of wine. By early morning the *zho* in the large pot will have set, and the house-mother must rise early to churn it. She has a long instrument with leather fans on the end, which must be kept twirling in the pot, and it is a matter of some skill both to keep the curdled milk at the right temperature by adding hot or cold water, and to twist the churn at the correct rate. An experienced housewife eventually separates out a fine cone of yellow butter, while in the pot the sour buttermilk is left, the remainder of which, after having retained enough for the household's needs, is taken to the bazar to be sold. It is used for various kinds of food. Vegetables, which we would consider weeds, are collected from garden and field, washed, boiled, washed again, then kneaded, fried with onions and added to the *darra* or buttermilk. This mixture is used as a sauce with *zan* or *baba*, which is made by boiling the milled flour of roast wheat, barley and peas into a mash. The peas are like our English ones, but harder and more flavourless. The milk curds when set are also hung up in a bag, and after all the whey has dripped out and the curd dried, it is well pressed and cut into strips,—perhaps fried in butter and used in soup. From Yarkand come dried curds of horses' milk, which is also used for this purpose. Other changes in diet are afforded by mixing barley-flour into paste with a little *chang* or native beer, and allowing it to ferment. This is then dipped into and eaten with more *chang*. Another delicacy is made by mixing good butter, sugar and, perhaps, currants into a paste and eating it with chupattis like jam.

At the New Year a special dish is provided by making a round flat barley-cake, and pouring a little butter into a hole in the middle.

All this use of flour, whether of wheat or barley, presupposes the long processes of cleaning the grain, shaking it up and down on a *shupu* (a kind of straw tray), so that the loose husks blow away, and the little stones and odd bits which get

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252 swept up with it from the threshing-floor are easily separated, washing it, spreading it out in the sun to dry, watching it the while so that birds do not steal it, then sending it to the miller in large sacks, and sitting to watch it being milled so that none is stolen by him, for which cause the flour should
256 also be weighed before and after grinding. The mill itself is as effective as it is simple. Below is a large flat stone, above and resting upon it is another, connected with a paddle on which the water impinges, thus driving it. In the centre of the upper mill-stone there is a hole through which the grain drops from a cone-shaped basket, getting thus between upper and nether mill-stone. To keep the cereal running gently, a goat's horn is attached to the basket and allowed at its other end to touch the rotating stone, whose roughness keeps the basket gently shaking. A trough is dug round the edge of the circular mill-stones, and in this the flour collects. The whole is picturesquely housed in a little stone and mud hut, which is placed over a rapidly flowing watercourse, the momentum of which is increased by a sudden drop before entering the mill.

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241 light. It can easily be carried upon the shoulders and is not liable to get out of order. The iron point which contacts the furrow requires to be sharpened fairly frequently by the local blacksmith.

The ground is not much more than scratched, as it is dry and sandy, the furrow being only four or five inches from the top of the ridge to the bottom angle. The clods of earth are broken with mattocks by the women, and it is not unusual to see villagers dragging a large bundle of thorns across the field to act as a harrow.

The weeding of fields is general but by no means universal in the country, and the necessity of taking advantage of every available article of food for the cattle leads to a regular and effective method of weeding the corn fields. About three weeks after the first blades of corn have pushed through the earth, women and children overrun the fields every morning to collect the grass and weeds springing up with the grain. The stems get disturbed by the footsteps of the weeders but are never really trodden down, and they recover their erect position in a few hours after the field has been watered. Another benefit of weeding the fields is that the corn gets the full power of the soil and an access of light and air is admitted to the roots of the plants.

The cereals grown in Ladakh are barley, wheat, buckwheat, mustard seed, peas, and beans. At villages not higher than 10,000 feet above sea level it is usual to sow two crops annually. The first crop, which consists of barley, is sown on or about February 25, followed on August 25 by the sowing of a crop of buckwheat.

The order in which the various crops are sown is, first, beans, then wheat, peas, barley, mustard plant, and, lastly, buckwheat.

Barley is of two varieties, distinguished chiefly by the peculiarity of retaining or parting from the rough exterior capsule after the grain has left the ear. The first kind, called So-wa, is very much like the common barley grown in Europe. The second kind is called Shirok, of which there are five varieties—namely, (1) So Shirok, a slow or late barley; (2) Gyog Nas, quick or early barley; (3) Yangma or Yangkar, which is also early and of a whitish colour; (4) Nak Nas, black barley; (5) Drug-zur-Nas, or six-sided barley.

The husked barley has to be raised in places which are the warmest and most sheltered from the winds, and though the seeds of the Shirok can be sown in such situations the produce will be rough barley. The latter again yields naked barley at higher and colder altitudes, as in the lands round Leh (11,500 feet).

The So Shirok barley, or late barley, is sown in places where the temperature is not specially cold yet where the summer heat is not sufficient to permit the cultivation of two crops annually (one of barley and one of buckwheat).

The Gyog Nas is sown in very high altitudes (13,000 to 14,000 feet), where the days are very hot and the nights cold. It does not as a rule attain a greater height than one and a half feet.

241, 252 Nas Yangma or Yangkar is cultivated everywhere and thrives in a temperate to warm climate. It is the favourite variety of barley, as its yield is good and little inferior to wheat. The porridge made from this

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241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely
[252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any
[262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[373] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces
[258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con-
426 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

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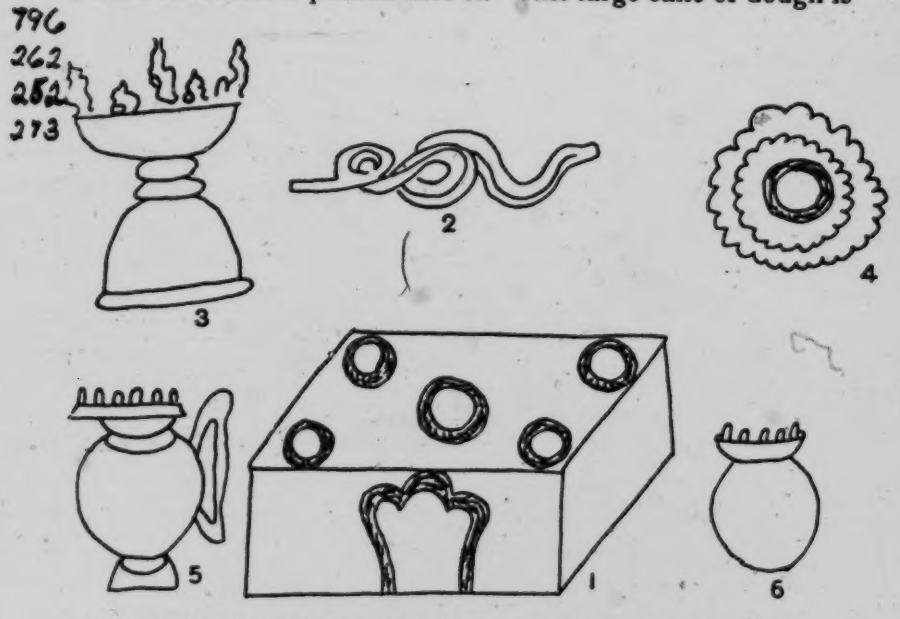
796 house, whilst a number of them are arranged in a row near
373 the awning of the dwelling.

The members of the household then partake of *Tab-*
796 *Zan*. This consists of a large dish of parched barley dough
262 in the middle of which a hollow is made to receive the mustard oil which is poured into it. This large cake of dough is



1. *rGya-Tab* (Stove). This is the common earthen stove used by Ladakhis. It is 3 feet square and 1 foot high. In the front there is an aperture for putting in the fuel of sticks and dried manure, and on the top of it there are three holes for placing the cooking utensils. 2. *Dib-Rug*. Sheep's intestines. 3. *Bu-La*. Little lamps made of dough. 4. *Tab-Zan*. Parched barley dough with a hollow in the centre in which mustard oil is poured. 5. *Kal-jor*. Beer pot. 6. *Za-rgyan*. An earthen vessel in which beer is kept. Sometimes used instead of the *Kal-jor*. Both are ornamented with butter pats on special occasions, and also serve as butter offerings.

796 then divided into four equal parts, one part (*Tab La Rgya-*
262 *Mo*), being placed on the earth stove (*Tab*) as an offering to the god of the hearth, one part (*Mag-Dung Rgya-Mo*) stuck on a large horizontal beam in the apartment, and one piece (*Sgo-Tag-Rgya-Mo*) stuck on the lintel of the front

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796 On the 10th day of the 7th month the festival of *Shrub*
252 *Hla* (god of the ears of corn) is held. This ceremony institutes the reaping of the harvest. No one may put his hand to a sickle until this function is celebrated. Barley and wheat are boiled until the grain is soft, when it is spread out to dry. It is then roasted, milled into flour, and finally kneaded into dough balls. The first ears of corn and the first fruits of the pea and buckwheat crop are next mixed into the dough balls, each family taking this to its family cremating[6] oven. Sheaves of grain are then fixed to the beams of the household temple, and also on cairns (*Hla-Tl*) in the neighbourhood.

796 On the completion of a feast in celebration of the in-
783 gathering of the crops, three men proceed to the nearest brook, taking a live sheep with them. There they have to bathe their bodies, and also dip the sheep in the water by way of purifying themselves and the animal. It is believed that once the sheep has been thus cleansed, it does not attempt to wander or escape. Leading the sheep, the trio makes for the local cairn (*Hla-To*) to which sheaves of corn, coloured rags, willow branches, and the tail of a yak are attached. Lots are now drawn amongst the three men to ascertain who must carry out the ceremony of sacrificing the sheep to the god.

796 The man thus chosen then proceeds to make a large incision in the breast of the sheep and tearing out its heart

[6] *Cremating Oven*

764 This oven is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Its dimensions are: 3 feet square and 4 feet high. On each of the sides is a small aperture about a foot from the bottom of the oven as vent holes. The corpse's back is broken immediately after death and the knees are drawn up to the head and tied securely. It is then carried on a man's back to the oven in which it is placed resting on stones placed at the base of it to serve as a grid. The more opulent prepare a box in which they place the corpse.

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup tang ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángthang want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 753

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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The universal food of the people is barley-meal, made from grim; it is either made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a sort of dough and eaten with butter-milk if that can be got. They generally have three meals; one an hour or two after sunrise, of the barley-broth; one at mid-day, of the dough; a third after sunset, of the broth again. In this way they consume some two pounds' weight of meal a day. To the broth they put any addition they can get; sometimes it is vegetable, sometimes meat, and sometimes tea. 262 264

Unlike the natives of India, the Ladākhīs are not particular as to their feeding. They obey few restrictions as to what to eat or how to eat it, or as to the method of slaughtering. One way they have of killing an animal for food is to tie up the mouth and let it be suffocated. Another practice of theirs (I am not sure that it is common) is to drain the blood of the animal into their broth and warm all up together. [263]

The drink of the Ladākhīs is *chang*, a light beer made without hops.* They have no good vessels to keep it in, so it usually is sour by the time it is drunk. As I have drunk it, it tasted like a cross between home-brewed beer and farmhouse cider; it is not a bad beverage on a warm day, but these people will enjoy it in the depth of a severe winter. There is also a spirit sometimes made—a whisky, but this is proscribed by law. Through the Maharaja's territories generally the making and the drinking of intoxicating liquors is forbidden †; at one time an order was made that in accordance with this rule the drinking of chang should be put down; but on the representations of the Ladākhīs that it had been the beverage of their nation from time immemorial, and that it would be impossible to endure the cold of their climate without it, they were allowed the malt-liquor; the restriction as to the spirit however remains. Tea is another favourite drink in this country, but the poor people—that is nearly all the population—seldom are able to afford it; it is made in a churn, with butter added. 273 272

* For the better brews a plant brought from Baltistān is used in the same way and with somewhat the same effects as are hops in our beer.

† Christians are specially exempted from the operation of this law.

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 423

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chirmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "tháng," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "tháng" may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángtháng not in Ladak; they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256●

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

252 swept up with it from the threshing-floor are easily separated, washing it, spreading it out in the sun to dry, watching it the while so that birds do not steal it, then sending it to the miller in large sacks, and sitting to watch it being milled so that none is stolen by him, for which cause the flour should 256 also be weighed before and after grinding. The mill itself is as effective as it is simple. Below is a large flat stone, above and resting upon it is another, connected with a paddle on which the water impinges, thus driving it. In the centre of the upper mill-stone there is a hole through which the grain drops from a cone-shaped basket, getting thus between upper and nether mill-stone. To keep the cereal running gently, a goat's horn is attached to the basket and allowed at its other end to touch the rotating stone, whose roughness keeps the basket gently shaking. A trough is dug round the edge of the circular mill-stones, and in this the flour collects. The whole is picturesquely housed in a little stone and mud hut, which is placed over a rapidly flowing watercourse, the momentum of which is increased by a sudden drop before entering the mill.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely [252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any [262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[373] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces [258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con-
426 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dog is mentioned by Mr. Hodgson only, who describes it as a rare animal of a pale wolf-like colour. /36

The hare, called *Ri-bong*, is abundant amongst the rocks on the grassy plains of Rukchu. It is called Ri-bong, or the "hill-ass," on account of the length of its ears.* The Botis do not eat hares, as they consider the animal as a species of donkey. In 1846 I shot five in half an hour in one of the glens to the eastward of the plain of Kyung. They sit behind the rocks, with their long ears pricked, and half their heads just raised above the stone. When roused they run from rock to rock, reminding one of the words of the Psalmist, "The rocks are a refuge for the conies." The Ri-bong is as large as an English hare, has longer ears, and is of a bluish-grey or slate-colour. It is the *Lepus pallipes* or "white-foot" of Mr. Hodgson, who gives the following dimensions of his specimen.† [262]

	Ft.	In.
Length from head to tail	0	11
" of tail	0	4
" of head	0	4¼
" of ear	0	4¼

Mr. Hodgson describes a second species of Tibetan hare under the name of *Lepus oïostolus*, and he refers to Moorcroft as his principal authority for this variety.‡ But on a reference to Moorcroft (I. 225), I find that the hares shot by Trebeck and himself on the plain of Rukchu, were of a "bluish-white colour, and not much larger than English rabbits." Both in 1846 and in 1847 I shot these bluish-coloured hares on the plains of

* Ri-bong, and also Phyi-pa. *Ri-bong* means the "hill-ass." The Hindus also liken the ass to a hare, by naming the wild ass *Ghor-khar*, or the "horse-hare."

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XI. p. 288.

‡ Ditto ditto, XI. p. 288.

1. Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

within the last few years been introduced from Kashmir. 231

Ponies.—The ponies, according to Moorcroft,* who was a good judge, are "small, active, and hardy, but not numerous nor much used." At least one-half of the ponies used in Ladák are brought from Yarkand; but they are all geldings. The asses are small, and only equal to half-pony loads.†

Oxen.—The oxen are the *Yák*, or Chaori-tailed bull, and the yák cow, *Brimo* or *Dimo*, and their hybrid produce with the common cattle.

The *Yák* ‡ is short, but broadly and strongly built, with a small head, short horns, and a wild-looking eye. His long black hair reaches close to the ground before it is cut, and he has usually a shaggy and savage appearance. The *Yák* is used chiefly for carrying loads, as he is generally too intractable for the plough. The cow is kept only for milk.

The most valuable hybrids are the *Dso* bull and the *Dso-mo* cow, which are the produce of the male yák and the common cow. The *Dso* is used, throughout Ladák, for the plough as well as for carrying loads, as he is much more tractable than the yák and quite as strong. The *Dso-mo* yields much more milk than the yák cow, and of a much richer quality. The milk is used chiefly [262] for butter, of which almost every Ladáki consumes a certain quantity daily in his tea, in the same way as milk is used in England. The *Dso* is a very handsome

* Travels, I. p. 309.

† Ponies of all sizes are called *Tá* (in Tibetan *rTa*). Asses are called *Bong*.

‡ The Yák (in Tibetan *gYag*) is the *Bos grunniens*, or grunting ox. The bull is called *Pho-gYag*, or *Pho-yak*; and the cow *hBri-mo*. See Plate XLII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

●262 The food of the common people usually consists of
565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

264 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that
565 may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for
262 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu
784 Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is
565 the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
426
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

2: Ramsay--5 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 195 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 576 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

● 262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595
[554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

•262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

776 777 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing), fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a [439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rom khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 262 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

563 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary
583 advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of
851 society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than
114 the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find any-
105 where, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not
[473] clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by
[434] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or
563 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no
473 land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to
443 earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmirí.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the
114 same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans
● 762 do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 HAREM--ãney (or bómo) duksa khángpa. The Ladáki women are
563 not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chang-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chang-khee is the Changthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhasa; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-thang (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 ●262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible. 264 262

The poor people eat only chheenan zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure). 804

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak	(Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer	(Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer	(Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Batti	(Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund	(Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 "	(Indian)	=	80 "

The lower classes are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer. [565]

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sär-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sär-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sär-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the following

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹165 to ₹170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer (chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add another request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility for killing lies with others.

789 [262] [273] [783]

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

[787]

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

[776]

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While 789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "Že-pa, že-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
281 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

● 262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The
[82] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoñ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-t'ug, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy 262 264

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/ Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had gradually become too cramped for the growing family. The old grandmother Tsering Putrid who with advancing age became increasingly strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to insist that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje Dud-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined 342

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red, " wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gnyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal 342 77

and laid k'atags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods. 000

/130/ On the first evening of the festival there had to be the 527
baba dumpling made of barley flour and mixed with butter and sugar, 262
as a part of the meal. Mother Tsering Putrid prepared it with her own hands, for, she said, nobody knew how to make them the way she had learned to make them from her mother. At supper the steaming, fragrant giant dumpling was then placed between the celebrants who were crouched on carpets on the floor. The master of the house made a hole in the middle, at the top, by means of a spoon, and into this Tsering Putrid poured melted butter. (133). Then the master of the

133. A similar custom is to be found in Sweden where a flour dish appears on the table at the New Year's eve dinner. This dish has a hollow at the top into which melted butter is poured. Compare note 37!

house was the first to break off with his little brass spoon a piece of the dumpling, --followed by all the others. Each dipped it into the butter, and soon the loud smacking of lips betrayed how well the baba tasted to all.

Everywhere from the king's castle to the hut of the small-holder 527
they celebrated, depending on their wealth they ate well and plentifully, and--the men--drank even more, they gathered for singing and dancing, for polo playing and horse racing. Everybody gave himself over to unbridled gaiety.

In one of the first years after his marriage Namgyal received a 527
letter. The letter was from the Gyalpo, the grandson of the king of 574
Ladakh, who was dethroned in 1840 and who lived in a castle on the other side of the Indus River across from Leh, and who there lived on a small state pension and large reminiscences from the time of his once mighty forebears. The letter contained an invitation to him from the "Ruler without land" to celebrate the festival in Leh with him and the galons, lonpos, and other great men. The king in his epistle addressed the young Dragshos with "No" (younger brother); he, as the offspring of the noble race of the Dragshos, whose valiant sons had once performed great services for the land of Ladakh and one of whose offspring had once been offered the royal hat, should not be absent from the festivities in Leh. The custom had existed, since the days of his forefathers, that the king celebrated the New Year's festival in Leh surrounded by his grandees and that he prayed together with them for

000 the statement that they would soon confess the "sin" to the lamas and that they would do penance for it with an offering /160/. When they spoke of the hunt, they never said: "Namgyal killed an antelope or a yak," but: "A yak, an antelope died (śi-soń)." Died? What from? From too much lead?

•262 231 144. Few Tibetans abstain entirely from the eating of meat; even most lamas, except those of the strictest sects, are meat eaters. In order to maintain the appearance of observing the prohibition to kill, there is a great deal of dissimulation. The meat is bought from the Muslim butcher, or the animal, sheep, goat, or yak, is brought to its death by tying its mouth and its nose so tightly with strings that the animal suffocates slowly amidst the severest pains. "It died," the people then say the themselves, "after all, we did not shed any blood."

000 The remainder of the journey passed by without special difficulties; one night wolves carried off two of their sheep and bit the neck of one horse so that it bled. But the other horses formed a circle and forcefully fended off the wolves, and with their hind hoofs they belabored one of the attackers so powerfully that he remained lying on the ground with broken limbs and ribs and could be beaten to death by the Ladakh men. A donkey and a horse with its load were carried off by the torrents at the crossing of one river and were lost. These were losses that were not easy to get over.

Quite discouraged and dejected, the travelers returned to Kalatse after an absence of just three months. Namgyal did not speak much about their experiences. The Break-leg man in (Kangchagspa) Yontan reported all the more about the battles with the bandits at which, in his presentation, he had performed heroic deeds. The people of Kalatse knew their Kangchagspa and teased him by having him tell the story over and over again because they knew that at each retelling the number of bandits "layed low" by the boaster, would increase.

Old Stobsldan, Namgyal's uncle, declared that never again he would take part in such a business trip which, after all, did not yield any profits anyway, and on which one risked one's life. The younger participants, on the other hand, said that if only all of them got good rifles they would go to Jangtang again the very next year.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

184 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

352 Lâhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Lâhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basâhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

251 The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Lâhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. 184 In Lâhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhâga valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then 184 keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the 262 delicacy to the taste of a Lâhauli. The principal food of the Lâhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Lâhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular [273] articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Lâhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dâgis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barârars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

291 Dress of Lâhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, 301 and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a 298 knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. [302] Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not en- 292 gaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace; the cut of their coat and boots is the 291 same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 Aj4 W. Tibetans Aj4

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shun* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *láma* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

●262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ríbong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732
777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

could run, sending out in front rough couriers of cold wind and 777
sleeting rain. These couriers seemed to be on a hunt, for they 136
chased before them a herd of wild asses. They were beautiful animals about the size of Missouri mules, with long tails, light tan bodies, dark brown splotches on their backs and heads.

They are animals that are very hard to domesticate. A young 136
one touched by man seems to have the mark of pestilence on it, for it will never be reclaimed by its mother. Its meat[1] is said to [262] •
be very palatable; the Moslems of Ladakh have indeed a great fondness for it. Rup Singh up front rode to within thirty yards of the herd that had just come over Pagmur before they broke and ran. Before I could get my movie camera and telescopic lens into play, black clouds rolled over Pagmur like a wave and washed down on us. Photographing the wild asses was impossible. We leaned forward in our saddles, hugging the mules for warmth.

I shouted to Rahul, "The hat has lost its magic." 777

"With *me* it has," he laughingly replied. "*You* must wear it after this."

That night the word went through our camp (just below the north side of Pagmur) that Rahul did not have the magic, only Sahib. It poured that night, raining so hard we had to dig trenches around our pup tents for drainage. The morning was soggy; visibility was cut to a few hundred yards; the air was heavy with mist and the duffel bags heavy with moisture. I thought Budh Ram handed me the hat with extraordinary eagerness this morning, an eagerness that nevertheless was mixed with some doubt. There seemed to be working in his head a conflict between his desire to get rid of the rain and his fear of stretching the magic of the hat beyond the point where it could be effective. Certainly it seemed dubious if any power could protect us from the weight of the clouds that hung low over Pagmur. Today may be the end of my act with the hat, I said to myself. In a little while everyone will know this hoax for what it is.

The magic, however, held. A south wind streaked down from

1 [i.e. WILD ASSES -- ANALYST]

of all vegetation except red, yellow, and gray lichens and a few of the sturdy saxifrage.

At one time there had been a serai at Zing Zing Bar with rock walls and a galvanized iron roof stretched on steel rafters. But the weight of snow had crushed the serai, making it uninhabitable. I found a level spot in the vast rock field where I put my bedroll. And after inflating my air mattress and getting everything in condition for the night, I joined the muleteers.

They had piled some of our baggage in the form of an L to provide a windbreak, and they had a fire of mule dung going. They were making tea, a tea unlike anything we of the West know. It is called *gur gur cha*. The correct and proper way to make it is to brew the tea (which is kept in a bag) the day before, adding a pinch of soda and letting it simmer until it has a pinkish tinge. The next day put the brew in a churn, add salt and yak butter (*gie*), and mix thoroughly. Then heat the mixture until it is piping hot and serve.

Rup Singh omitted the first step. He had a tall, cylindrical, wooden churn in which, with the use of a plunger, he mixed water, salt, and yak butter. After the butter was dissolved he poured the contents of the churn into the teapot. When the tea had boiled, it was ladled out in cups. It sounds repulsive and sometimes is, when the yak butter is rancid. But Rup Singh's *gur gur cha* was good. A cold wind was sweeping down from Baralacha, chilling us. The *gur gur cha* seemed to have a special warmth. It was nourishing too. We sat in silence for perhaps a quarter hour sipping it.

Then the muleteers ate their supper. They had a sack of flour made from barley that is cut when slightly green, then baked and ground. This flour is carried in every caravan that travels Lahul, Ladakh, or Tibet. It is the mainstay of each meal along the trail. My muleteers ate it in the customary manner—they put a handful of it in a cup of *gur gur cha* and stirred it up until

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

it made a thick paste. This is the famous dish that is called *sattu* in Ladakh and *tsamba* in Tibet. My muleteers ate it with spoons, as we would eat porridge. Ram Chand had a method of his own. He mixed the paste so thick that he could dish it out with one finger as if it were cake dough.

This was the muleteers' dinner—*gur gur cha* and *sattu*. It was dinner in every caravan that was camped along the trails of the high Himalayas. It was Rup Singh's dinner every night during our trek—every night except the time we bought eggs and chickens and the day we were presented with rabbits as big as any in Arizona or New Mexico. *Gur gur cha* and *sattu* were also breakfast for the muleteers. But at breakfast they would also have *chapattis*, and each morning they would bake enough of them for lunch along the trail.

I talked to Rahul about the monotony of that diet. He agreed that it was monotonous, a monotony which the Lahulis, Ladakhis, and Tibetans try to break as frequently as possible with meat. "But it is a nutritious diet," he said. "*Gur gur cha* and *sattu* carry most of the natives over the Himalayas. There is energy in it. And look at their teeth! *Gur gur cha* and *sattu* may be flat and dull but they do not cause tooth decay."

I lay in my sleeping bag in the rock cairn at Zing Zing Bar watching the sky. Earlier I had seen a dipper teetering on a rock by the Bhaga River. Now a gray-backed shrike raced by. A few clouds showed in the west. Venus rode the skyline briefly to reappear hours later in Oregon. A wave of homesickness swept over me as I relived wonderful sunset hours in the Wallowas. Then Venus was gone. The wind died down and a whole host of miller moths descended on me, whirling around my head. They visited me very briefly, leaving as quickly and as mysteriously as they had arrived. Thousands of strange stars gradually appeared. A shoulder of Baralacha to the north blotted out the Big Dipper, though I thought I saw the end of its familiar handle sticking out above a lofty range. The stars kept coming out until it

792 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow
159 and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 The house had a central hall that ran its length. My room was
346 on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. An-
• 262 other lama brought food from the kitchen. It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not
[576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis,* and *gur gur cha.* And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering
159 our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender
431 him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World,* the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

 1/1 [i.e., Hemis Monastery— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for 792
promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*), but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the *konyer*). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot* and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job 792
is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their 426
cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable, whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in 735
which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, 511
and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture. They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The [262] •
Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples, grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries. That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

752 Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one
262 or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates
[415] out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be
574 taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host
554 or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace
352 —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove
[354] opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished
000 member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

262 feast, proceedings may begin with *gyatug*, a dish of long 574 vermicelli-like strips of flour-paste over which mincemeat in a nicely flavoured sauce is poured. Meat is also minced and made into delicious little dumplings, called *mok mok*, or well-flavoured and rolled up into sausages, which are eaten with [565] rice—in fact in a rich house, after the plates of rice have been served, many kinds of subsidiary dishes are handed round with meat done up in different ways, sauces and vegetables, the last [357] often soured. For a *dron* an experienced cook is hired to take charge of all the culinary operations, usually a Mussulman, otherwise one of the women of the house superintends 262 the kitchen. But in the villages where there are no butcher shops, and a sheep is killed only occasionally, the staple food is butter-tea and barley-flour, varied with all sorts of vegetables prepared in several ways. The poorest people mix the flour in water just as it is, eating it out of cheap little wooden cups with their fingers.

262 An ordinary middle class family will breakfast on butter-tea 565 and small breads, raised with leaven called *kambir*; at mid-day they will have more tea, and perhaps chupattis with a sauce of vegetables, mixed with buttermilk, while in the evening, tea may or may not be served again with flour kneaded into a paste in some form or other, and mixed with meat well stewed in a broth.

More usually as the hot tea is drunk, the butter floating on the top is blown to one side, and after many cups a nice little residue is left with which to mix up the raw flour with the aid of a finger.

252 In summer when milk is more plentiful, its various products [262] are much used as a food. The milk is collected into a large pot at night and warmed, some sour buttermilk being added to make it curdle. The pot is then covered with garments and blankets so as to maintain the blood-heat for proper fermentation. Some of it may be set aside to eat as *zho*, this being a kind of junket, only less insipid, especially when well

241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely
[252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any
[262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[373] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces
[258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

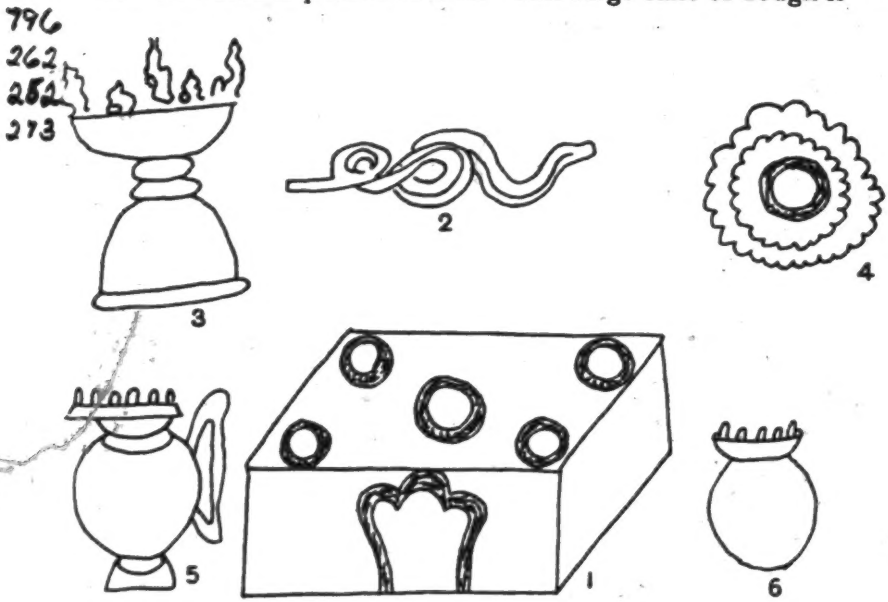
Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con-
426 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 house, whilst a number of them are arranged in a row near
373 the awning of the dwelling.

The members of the household then partake of *Tab-*
796 *Zan*. This consists of a large dish of parched barley dough
262 in the middle of which a hollow is made to receive the mustard oil which is poured into it. This large cake of dough is



1. *rGya-Tab* (Stove). This is the common earthen stove used by Ladakhis. It is 3 feet square and 1 foot high. In the front there is an aperture for putting in the fuel of sticks and dried manure, and on the top of it there are three holes for placing the cooking utensils. 2. *Dib-Rug*. Sheep's intestines. 3. *Bu-La*. Little lamps made of dough. 4. *Tab-Zan*. Parched barley dough with a hollow in the centre in which mustard oil is poured. 5. *Kal-jor*. Beer pot. 6. *Za-rgyan*. An earthen vessel in which beer is kept. Sometimes used instead of the *Kal-jor*. Both are ornamented with butter pats on special occasions, and also serve as butter offerings.

796 then divided into four equal parts, one part (*Tab La Rgya-*
262 *Mo*), being placed on the earth stove (*Tab*) as an offering to the god of the hearth, one part (*Mag-Dung Rgya-Mo*) stuck on a large horizontal beam in the apartment, and one piece (*Sgo-Tag-Rgya-Mo*) stuck on the lintel of the front

796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
262 holder says :

> " Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)." [2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.

796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect* :

> Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
> Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

48. (*a*) ཟ་བོ་ཁྭ་དེས་ཟོས། ཕུང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་པོ།། 539

(*b*) za'o kha'tä zos', cung kä kha' marpo'.

(*c*) The [stolen] food was eaten by the crow [but the beak of the raven is red.

(*d*) Often the wrong person is caught instead of the guilty one.

(*e*) *Zos*=*bzas*, *zos* is the only past tense in Ladakhi, which changes the vowel. 000

49. (*a*) ཚིལ་མཐོང་སྟེ་ཁ་འགས།། 539 262

(*b*) thsil'thong'ste kha'gas'.

(*c*) [When] seeing grease, the mouth cracks [open].

(*d*) When you see something nice you want to have it.

(*e*) *Thsil*=mutton grease, a very desirable thing in Ladakh.

50. (*a*) ནོར་མེད་ཚོང་སལ་ཆ་ན། སྨྱོ་འདོད།། 539 577

(*b*) nor'med thsong'sala cha'na, nyo'dod.

(*c*) Who goes to the shop without money, likes foolishness.

(*d*) Do nothing unprepared, you might be laughed at.

(*e*) *Nyodod* is *Compos. determ.*=a liker of foolishness. 000

51. (*a*) སྟོད་ན་སྟོད་ན་ངའི་སང་རྒྱལ་ལས་སྟོད།

539 577

smad'na smad'na, ngä' sang thus'pä smad'.

(*b*) stod'na stod'na ngä' sang gyal'lä stod'

smad'na smad'na, ngä' sang thus'pä smad'.

(*c*) Who praises me, is a better man than I am.
Who despises me, is a worse man than I am.

(*d*) Said by a man who has heard that slander is going on about him.

(*e*) For *sang* with the comparative, see Jäschke's grammar; *rgyallas* and *thuspas* are Instrumentals, *gyalla*=a good man. 000

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetan. ASf

The universal food of the people is barley-meal, made from 262
grim; it is either made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into 264
a sort of dough and eaten with butter-milk if that can be got. They generally have three meals; one an hour or two after sunrise, of the barley-broth; one at mid-day, of the dough; a third after sunset, of the broth again. In this way they consume some two pounds' weight of meal a day. To the broth they put any addition they can get; sometimes it is vegetable, sometimes meat, and sometimes tea.

Unlike the natives of India, the Ladākhīs are not particular as to their feeding. They obey few restrictions as to what to eat or how to eat it, or as to the method of slaughtering. One way they have of killing an animal for food is to tie up the mouth and let it [253] be suffocated. Another practice of theirs (I am not sure that it is common) is to drain the blood of the animal into their broth and warm all up together.

The drink of the Ladākhīs is *chang*, a light beer made without 273
hops.* They have no good vessels to keep it in, so it usually is sour by the time it is drunk. As I have drunk it, it tasted like a cross between home-brewed beer and farmhouse cider; it is not a bad beverage on a warm day, but these people will enjoy it in the depth of a severe winter. There is also a spirit sometimes made—a whisky, but this is proscribed by law. Through the Maharaja's territories generally the making and the drinking of intoxicating liquors is forbidden †; at one time an order was made that in accordance with this rule the drinking of chang should be put down; but on the representations of the Ladākhīs that it had been the beverage of their nation from time immemorial, and that it would be impossible to endure the cold of their climate without it, they were allowed the malt-liquor; the restriction as to the spirit however remains. Tea is another favourite drink 272
in this country, but the poor people—that is nearly all the population—seldom are able to afford it; it is made in a churn, with butter added.

* For the better brews a plant brought from Baltistān is used in the same way and with somewhat the same effects as are hops in our beer.

† Christians are specially exempted from the operation of this law.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

On getting as near as we could to one of the herds and dispersing it, we separated and at last with some difficulty caught a colt of fifteen days or a little more. He was 35 inches high, his head was 13 inches long, his ear 6 inches; his coat was thick but soft, the mane short and curly, the tail short and bushy. His voice, as well as the voice of full-grown ones that we got pretty near to, was almost exactly like that of a mule—a subdued grunt or abortive bray. This little fellow soon lost his shyness and would let anyone come near him without fear; we tried hard to rear him, but he died in two or three days. Several attempts have been made to tame the kyang, but little success has attended them. I have eaten the flesh of kyang in the form of steak, and found it very like beefsteak, but rather coarser; the Chāmpās are glad to eat it when they get a chance. 136 [262]

PĀNGKONG LAKE.

In entering another of the high-level valleys of Ladākh we leave the area draining directly into the Indus, and come to where the drainage either communicates or has communicated with the river Shayok. We saw that the neck of the Tsāka Pass is a point on the watershed between the two basins. From its summit there is an easy descent into a very gradually sloping valley, which, in less than 30 miles, leads us past the village of Chushal to the shores of the Pāngkong Lake. 133

The series of lakes in one and the same line of valley, but just separated from each other, the lowest of which bears the name of Pāngkong or Pāngong, occupy a length of valley of 90 miles, or it may be more; the eastern end is unexplored, but the people about speak of its being an eight days' journey from end to end of the lakes. The upper part of Pāngkong itself and the lake next above are known to us only through the explorations (made in 1863) of Major H. H. Godwin-Austen, of the G. T. Survey, whose journal gives an admirable account of it,* and whose topographical work on the Survey Map is a most valuable guide to anyone who may

* Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxxvii., part ii.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

I can well imagine the shock any high-minded Englishman or woman must suffer after they have been reminded, as I was by the Head Lama, that it is known that when Julius Caesar first went to England, he discovered that polyandry was a common practice in the country. 000

If there are more than three brothers, unless the wife is prepared to cope with extra husbands, then those remaining have the choice of either becoming a lama and entering the monastery or becoming a coolie; unless of course one is born fortunate enough to catch the eye of an heiress. 595 793

These lamas who are both male and female, usually remain single, though there is no bar against their marriage. The women lamas or nuns, known as chamos, live in different buildings, but they do not live entirely separate from each other, the nuns undertaking many of the household duties in the monasteries, such as baking bread, cooking and so on. 793

It is not unknown for a family to dedicate their first born, or even the favourite son to this religious life. In that event he is sent to a monastery school—which is residential—from the age of eight years, passing through all the stages of pupil, probationer and finally fully ordained monk. As such he has to observe some two hundred and fifty-three vows, and monastic life—at least of the yellow order—imposes a hard discipline upon the monks, including celibacy and abstinence. His diet consists of barley, wheat or buckwheat and occasionally rice. The only meat allowed to be eaten is either sheep, goat or yak, and the chief beverages are soup, milk and tea. 793 705 [262]

In every village we had passed through we had seen belonging to practically every house a little boy wearing a lama's hat or a little girl wearing the cap of a chamo. They had been dedicated as the one of the family to enter the monastery or nunnery school as soon as they were old enough. 793

The monks, in addition to being divided into sects, are separated into two classes; one, those who would in any event have entered the monastery, devote their time to meditation, prayers and the spiritual side "their life being on a higher spiritual plane", and two, those who beg for alms, cultivate the land, look after the rents and so on. The doctors among them—those I met anyway,—had started in the first class and then

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.**

Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.**

Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *paṭṭū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.**

The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.**

[691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

2: Blacoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmir
(i). Tibetans AJ4
796
262

Photo by] [Vishu Nath.

LAMA ACTORS IN THEIR RELIGIOUS PLAYS.

Note the resemblance to Chinese rather than to Indian decoration and design in these figures.

[facing p. 224]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

262 The food of the common people usually consists of
565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

264 565 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for 262 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu 784 Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 565 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

2: Ramsay--5 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 195 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 576 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

● 264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chấng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chấng-khee is the Chấngthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhấsa; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladấk, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsấma or tsấlma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible. 264 262

The poor people eat only chheenan zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure). 804

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak	(Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer	(Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer	(Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Batti	(Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund	(Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 "	(Indian)	=	80 "

The lower classes are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer. [565]

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sär-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sär-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sär-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the following

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
281 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to
● 264 breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ńam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The
[82] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoń-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford 262
a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing 2640
wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-t'ug, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/ Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of 342
their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had gradually become too cramped for the growing family. The old grandmother Tsering Putrid who with advancing age became increasingly strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to insist that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje Dud-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with 342/77
little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red," wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gnyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

564 Chapter III, C.
565 Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.
184 Caste in Spiti.
[171]

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

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"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *haddi*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monâa* or *mowpa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethus correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mowpa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are
264 completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth
412 of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

576 With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching
291 head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as
782 out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature
241 seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the
759 mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

injured, he was given the *coup de grâce* with the business end of a riding-crop.

Horses and men being rather tired, we decided to give them a rest day, which we began by extracting two cataracts and excising a large tumour, following which medicines were dispensed. The sahibs being thus engaged, the servants took the opportunity of having a baking day, so as to substitute bread for the chupattis with which they had now provided us for some days. Baking in this part of the world is an interesting process. First the dough is made with leaven, placed in a covered tin, and put into the sun to ferment, but if there is no sunshine, it is kept warm by covering it with all the bedding of the servants, and wise is the sahib who does not scrutinize this covering too closely, remembering rather that what the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve over. While the dough is rising, the oven must be prepared. The walls of this are made of large dry plaques of cow manure, and the roof of a big slab of the same material. The latter interested us, and we inquired how it was procured. We were told that throughout the whole winter the stables are not cleared out, but the continual stamping of animals and men makes quite a hard floor of manure, which is cut out in large chunks in the spring. But if we wait too long for these explanations, our bread will be sour. The oven itself is now set on fire, and by the time the dough is ready the whole thing is glowing splendidly. The dough in its covered tin is placed inside, and a door of glowing dung closes the oven. The resulting bread is all one can wish! Having cooked the bread, the fire still functions, for on it the servants' Sunday dinner is cooked. A sheep has been killed for the sahibs, and the servants receive the head as their perquisite. The head, with hair, eyes, brain and everything intact, is placed in the fire of manure, the hair burns off, and a meal, fit for a Ladaki king at any rate, emerges.

On again next day over the "Sengela" or "lion pass."

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting. Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis ; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups. These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea ?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How complex has become our civilization ! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. Nor was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, so our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the 353
compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these 779
figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right 532
wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering 346
the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, 352
lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an 792
inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be 264
seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a 352
collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside 792
down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the 352
Slobdpon is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the 792

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably
614 be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy
582 playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same
842 one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth
765 pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to
783 the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (vary-
846 ing from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that
[264] people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated
[789] period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with mem-
846 bers of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have
264 nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period
783 of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irri-
789 gating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils,
[241] the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which
783 follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies,
765 the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts
[264] of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetan. AS f

The universal food of the people is barley-meal, made from grim; it is either made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a sort of dough and eaten with butter-milk if that can be got. They generally have three meals; one an hour or two after sunrise, of the barley-broth; one at mid-day, of the dough; a third after sunset, of the broth again. In this way they consume some two pounds' weight of meal a day. To the broth they put any addition they can get; sometimes it is vegetable, sometimes meat, and sometimes tea. 262 264

Unlike the natives of India, the Ladākhīs are not particular as to their feeding. They obey few restrictions as to what to eat or how to eat it, or as to the method of slaughtering. One way they have of killing an animal for food is to tie up the mouth and let it be suffocated. Another practice of theirs (I am not sure that it is common) is to drain the blood of the animal into their broth and warm all up together. [253]

The drink of the Ladākhīs is *chang*, a light beer made without hops.* They have no good vessels to keep it in, so it usually is sour by the time it is drunk. As I have drunk it, it tasted like a cross between home-brewed beer and farmhouse cider; it is not a bad beverage on a warm day, but these people will enjoy it in the depth of a severe winter. There is also a spirit sometimes made—a whisky, but this is proscribed by law. Through the Maharaja's territories generally the making and the drinking of intoxicating liquors is forbidden †; at one time an order was made that in accordance with this rule the drinking of chang should be put down; but on the representations of the Ladākhīs that it had been the beverage of their nation from time immemorial, and that it would be impossible to endure the cold of their climate without it, they were allowed the malt-liquor; the restriction as to the spirit however remains. 273

Tea is another favourite drink in this country, but the poor people—that is nearly all the population—seldom are able to afford it; it is made in a churn, with butter added. 272

* For the better brews a plant brought from Baltistān is used in the same way and with somewhat the same effects as are hops in our beer.

† Christians are specially exempted from the operation of this law.

782 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters
826 of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called srun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During
[764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the
[266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have collected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this prac-
[113] tice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of
[533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

262 The food of the common people usually consists of
565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
● 272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 352 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 439 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

● 272 439 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-~~r~~sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[139] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the T 175 648 721 Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

/Following page 112/

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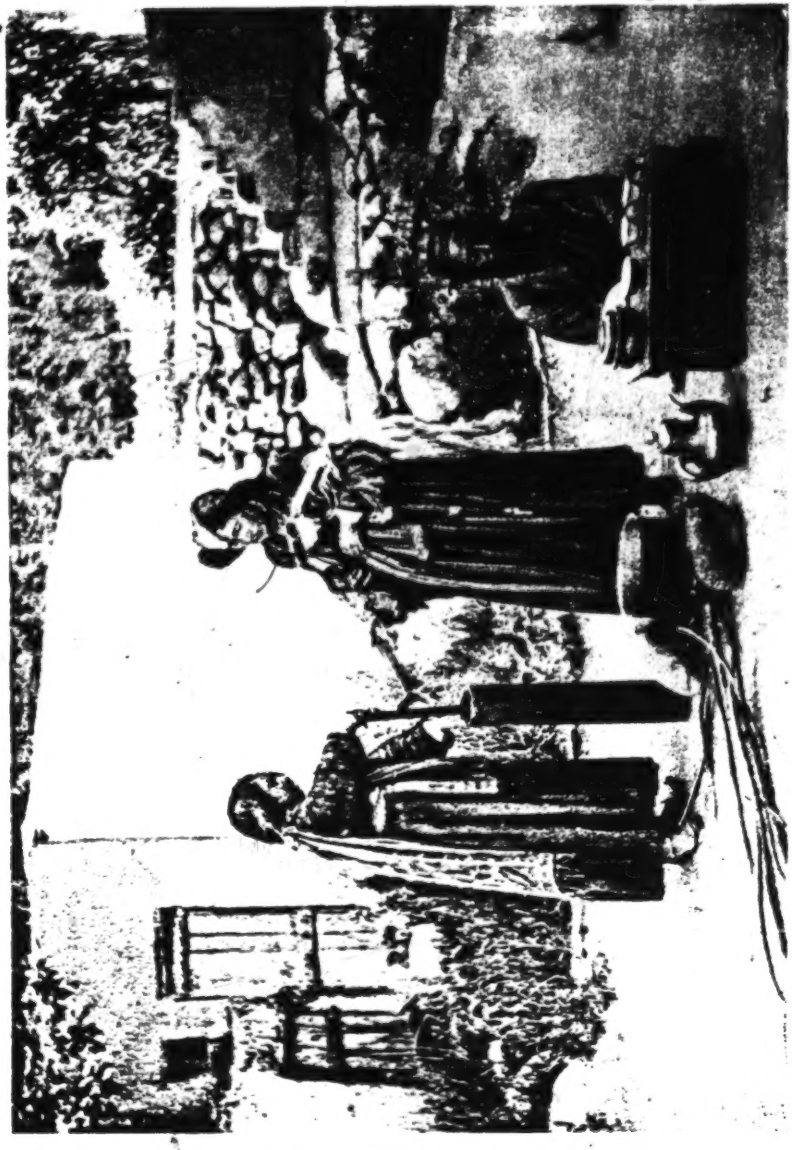
415



Preparing of the butter tea

of all vegetation except red, yellow, and gray lichens and a few of the sturdy saxifrage.

At one time there had been a serai at Zing Zing Bar with rock walls and a galvanized iron roof stretched on steel rafters. But the weight of snow had crushed the serai, making it uninhabitable. I found a level spot in the vast rock field where I put my bedroll. And after inflating my air mattress and getting everything in condition for the night, I joined the muleteers.

They had piled some of our baggage in the form of an L to provide a windbreak, and they had a fire of mule dung going. They were making tea, a tea unlike anything we of the West know. It is called *gur gur cha*. The correct and proper way to make it is to brew the tea (which is kept in a bag) the day before, adding a pinch of soda and letting it simmer until it has a pinkish tinge. The next day put the brew in a churn, add salt and yak butter (*gie*), and mix thoroughly. Then heat the mixture until it is piping hot and serve.

Rup Singh omitted the first step. He had a tall, cylindrical, wooden churn in which, with the use of a plunger, he mixed water, salt, and yak butter. After the butter was dissolved he poured the contents of the churn into the teapot. When the tea had boiled, it was ladled out in cups. It sounds repulsive and sometimes is, when the yak butter is rancid. But Rup Singh's *gur gur cha* was good. A cold wind was sweeping down from Baralacha, chilling us. The *gur gur cha* seemed to have a special warmth. It was nourishing too. We sat in silence for perhaps a quarter hour sipping it.

Then the muleteers ate their supper. They had a sack of flour made from barley that is cut when slightly green, then baked and ground. This flour is carried in every caravan that travels Lahul, Ladakh, or Tibet. It is the mainstay of each meal along the trail. My muleteers ate it in the customary manner—they put a handful of it in a cup of *gur gur cha* and stirred it up until

Hemis Monastery

A dark, swarthy man in his forties, wearing the long, red robe of the lamas, brought *gur gur cha.*[2] His face and head were Mongol. He was barefooted. His black hair was long and unkempt; his skin was dark and grimy; he was the picture of the man who never bathed. In Ladakh, as in Tibet, the monks of a monastery are in various callings—from high priests to gardeners, to cooks, to coolies. This man in lama dress was apparently a novitiate in the monastery who served as a bearer for Phuntzog. He poured the *gur gur cha* in large earthen cups; and as he handed them to us, he held a rag over his mouth (Tibetan fashion) to protect us from any foul breath he might have. The yak butter gave the tea a creamy appearance and a rancid taste. It was not tasty like the *gur gur cha* Rup Singh had made along the trail. It was indeed repulsive, something to which my tongue and stomach took an instant dislike. It was worse than any medicine I had ever taken or dispensed. I gulped half of the cup and had the uneasy feeling that I may have pushed my stomach beyond the point of tolerance. It was touch and go for perhaps a minute. I sat back in my chair, happy only in the thought that I had met the requirements of protocol. But I did not reckon with the eager novitiate who worked from sunrise to bedtime in order to please his master and his master's guests and to get merit in the next life for himself. This man was as quick as a cat and at once took on a sinister aspect. I had no sooner leaned back in the chair, wondering if the bitter liquid would make peace with my stomach, than he filled my cup again.

This time I did not thank him. I may even have given the good man an ugly look. For Rahul broke in with a chuckle and said, "This can go on for hours."

"You mean I must now drink more?"

"Certainly."

"This evil-looking bearer can force a gallon on me?"

"Certainly," said Rahul, laughing out loud.

"How do I stop him, short of insults and assault?"

[2] [A kind of tea -- Analyst]

• 272 "Just put your hand over your cup."

792 And so I poured another bitter libation into an angry stomach and by sheer will power kept it there. Then I gripped my cup, holding it in a vise and keeping it covered with my hand. Now I was resolved to defend it to the death and to ward off this evil spirit who flitted about like a big bird with a kettle of hot tea in his hand. He *is* a big bird, I thought—a big, Tibetan raven who watches every move of every living thing to see if it is going to drop dead. Dropping dead under the evil influence of rancid yak butter and *gur gur cha* seemed to me the worst of all possible deaths.

792 While my battle with the bearer was going on, Rahul and
521 Phuntzog had settled down to a serious conversation. They both spoke Tibetan; but, as is customary, a formal conversation between a high lama and a foreigner is carried on through an interpreter even though the host and guest speak the same tongue. (That is why high Tibetans talk with such low tones.) One of the Indian Army cavalrymen who had brought me my movie film acted as interpreter. Rahul spoke Tibetan to the cavalryman, who in turn spoke Tibetan to our host. When I joined the conversation, the dialogue became more complicated. Phuntzog's reply came back through three persons to me. The jokes I told Rahul were heard by Phuntzog twice. Once he laughed out loud both times. But Phuntzog, knowing that protocol required him to hold his laughter until the joke was told him officially, thereafter kept control of himself. At times he would swallow his laughter in his beard. But always his eyes would dance with merriment on the first telling. When the soldier told him the story officially, he would throw back his head in a hearty laugh. This Lobon was a healthy, outgoing person. He enjoyed life and was anxious that those around him share in the enjoyment. He was a relaxed, happy extrovert—an ideal teacher.

792 We talked for perhaps two hours. He told about the founding of Hemis Monastery, the organization of the lamas in the monas-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetan. AJ f

The universal food of the people is barley-meal, made from grim; it is either made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a sort of dough and eaten with butter-milk if that can be got. They generally have three meals; one an hour or two after sunrise, of the barley-broth; one at mid-day, of the dough; a third after sunset, of the broth again. In this way they consume some two pounds' weight of meal a day. To the broth they put any addition they can get; sometimes it is vegetable, sometimes meat, and sometimes tea. 262 264

Unlike the natives of India, the Ladākhīs are not particular as to their feeding. They obey few restrictions as to what to eat or how to eat it, or as to the method of slaughtering. One way they have of killing an animal for food is to tie up the mouth and let it be suffocated. Another practice of theirs (I am not sure that it is common) is to drain the blood of the animal into their broth and warm all up together. [253]

The drink of the Ladākhīs is *chang*, a light beer made without hops.* They have no good vessels to keep it in, so it usually is sour by the time it is drunk. As I have drunk it, it tasted like a cross between home-brewed beer and farmhouse cider; it is not a bad beverage on a warm day, but these people will enjoy it in the depth of a severe winter. There is also a spirit sometimes made—a whisky, but this is proscribed by law. Through the Maharaja's territories generally the making and the drinking of intoxicating liquors is forbidden †; at one time an order was made that in accordance with this rule the drinking of chang should be put down; but on the representations of the Ladākhīs that it had been the beverage of their nation from time immemorial, and that it would be impossible to endure the cold of their climate without it, they were allowed the malt-liquor; the restriction as to the spirit however remains. Tea is another favourite drink in this country, but the poor people—that is nearly all the population—seldom are able to afford it; it is made in a churn, with butter added. 273 272

* For the better brews a plant brought from Baltistān is used in the same way and with somewhat the same effects as are hops in our beer.

† Christians are specially exempted from the operation of this law.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

264 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that
565 may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for
262 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu
784 Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

● 273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is
565 the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and 527
every event is made the pretext for a feast, which
usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in [273]
general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the
chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and
the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these
occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer
is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a
drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a
principal part of an entertainment; but the performers
are more remarkable for their costume than for their
graceful movements. The principal occasions on which
these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and
deaths. The ceremonies are the following:

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the 852
mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at
her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests
make presents to the mother, according to their means,
of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money.
The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with
a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one 846
month.

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our 553
christening, is held just one year after the birth. The
child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an
offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or
barley, according to the means of the parties. The
lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the
usual entertainment of dinner and chang.

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal 585
business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

● 273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

[1.e, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

● 273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much appreciated by foreigners, but constitutint the national drink of the people of Ladak.

appreciated by foreigners, but constituting the national drink of the people of Ladák. 273

[97]MARRIAGE--pakston or respectfully skoobak. After the "betrothal" ceremony (see Betrothal) has been performed, a month or two is usually allowed to elapse before the wedding takes place, though sometimes a year or more passes between the time of betrothal and the time of marriage. When a day has been fixed for the marriage, the procedure is as follows:-- 584

On the day fixed, the relatives (nien) of the bride (pakma) assemble at the bride's house, and those of the bridegroom (pakpho) at the bridegroom's house. At night-fall the bridegroom goes with from 5 to 7 of his friends (ngiópa) to the bride's house, he finds the outer door (giázGHo) of the yard (stárá) shut, and guarded by male relatives of the bride, he gives a few rupees to them and they then allow him to enter, but when passing between this gate and the door leading into the house itself (giázGHoi nángkuk) he is surrounded by the bride's female relatives, who pretend to be very angry, and beat him with small sticks. To these also the bridegroom has to give a few rupees, and he is then allowed to enter the house. The bridegroom, with his friends, is then feasted by the bride's relatives, but the bride does not appear. Much "chhang" drinking, music and dancing is indulged in, till about 1 or 2 o'clock the next morning, when the best man (ngiátheetpa or ngiáthritpa) accompanied by some of the older male relatives of the bridegroom, goes to the kitchen (mákhang) in company with the parents and relatives of the bride. The bridegroom and the rest of his party do not go to the kitchen. 585

The guests take their seats in the kitchen and each one puts his drinking cup (korey) on the ground in front of him and "chhang' is then handed round by a male relative of the bride's, accompanied by one of female relatives, who has a stick in one hand. The latter takes up the cup of each guest in turn and fills it, and if the guest fails to drink freely, she beats him. This ceremony is called "nanchhang" or "insistance chhang." During this time a ceremony known as "thóhloo" is taking place, it is enacted by two old men, one being a relative of the bride and the other a relative of the bridegroom. First the relative of the bride gets up and sings a sonnet in praise of the bridegroom; the other old man must then get up and reply, by singing a

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the 789
house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily
occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve
the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring
butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking
bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas [262]
are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves
with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with
the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the
flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful
meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer [273]
(chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite
of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt [783]
which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of
killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer
after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their
people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated
from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that
they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add an-
other request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in
heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of
monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow
on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have
not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility
for killing lies with others.

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire
day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival
of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly [787]
be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring
Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of
this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from
the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it
that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance
into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay [776]
on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied
kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in
this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous
intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for
from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

/53/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S WEDDING

THE SEARCH FOR A BRIDE AND MATCH-MAKING

Discussions About Arrangements

"Beers"

Namgyal was now almost one and a half year cycles (18 years) 581
old, and as such he had long since entered the marriageable age, according to the conception of the peoples of the East. He could have married three or four years earlier, but in the Dragshos house early marriage was not favored. Namgyal had taken a liking to pretty Trashi Rolma from the neighboring house of the Pahnpa. They had grown up and played together, had driven the goats into the mountains and gathered wood for fuel together; they had met almost every day in the village or in the field, and it seemed arranged between the two even without many words that they would some day become man and wife. So, too, thought many wise women of the neighborhood. But they hadn't reckoned with the host, that is to say the p'as-pun, the close relatives, and above all grandmother Tsering Putrid. They had quite different plans.

One evening in late autumn, after the wheat harvest had been brought in, the grain had been threshed and stored away in the granary, and, at a moment when there was time for such matters, the family council came together to discuss this important matter. Aside from the parents and the grandmother there were also gathered together two uncles who likewise belonged to the p'as-pun as well as a few other men from the neighborhood, members of the tribe. Amid the expenditure of many words and much beer (chang) (27) they discussed the problem /54/

27. The Tibetans brew a beer (chang, ĉan) from barley which is boiled, whereupon a leaven (p'abs) is added to the extract. After the fluid has fermented it gives off a somewhat sour beer which has an intoxicating effect. [273]

of whom Namgyal should marry. He himself was not consulted in this argument.

At first Namgyal's mother, Palskyid, risked a timid attempt to support his marriage to Trashi Rolma. She contended that she was a good girl and that no one could say anything bad about her; that she was

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women [562] go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking [273] men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-čaṅ). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

585 533 539 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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352 Lâhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Lâhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basâhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

251 184 The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Lâhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Lâhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhâga valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Lâhauli. The principal food of the Lâhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Lâhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Lâhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dâgis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barârars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

184 262 [273]

Dress of Lâhaul and Spiti.

291 In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

301 293 [302] 292 291

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognized in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti.

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti:—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *begár* and common expenses; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind: the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognized. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús; in bearing law

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralised lately by opportunity and impunity.

brothers," go, if possible on horseback, to the bride's house in order 585
to buy the bride for the bridegroom. The bride's relatives will not 539
admit them until they have proved their honorable descent by answering a long series of questions addressed to them in the form of songs. As soon as an answer has been given incorrectly, the inhabitants of the house, who are armed with osier twigs, rain blows on the seven men. The songs used on this occasion represent a kind of catechism in the pre-Buddhistic religion of the country. The same thing applies to them as to the Kesar saga. The further West we go, the more complete they are. I first observed this particular ceremonial in the village of Stog, which lies opposite Leh. There they were finished with the question-and-answer ritual in the shortest possible time, and the wedding feast constituted the climax of the celebration. In Khalatse, to which I removed from Leh, the question-and-answer game lasted much longer. Since I was unable to understand anything of the content of the songs during the performance, I requested the leader of the Nyo-pa to dictate these questions and answers slowly to the [124]
scribe of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin. In this way I obtained a copybook of eighteen songs, each in two parts. I went through these carefully with the scribe and soon arrived at an understanding of the 585
first nine. These nine I published in the Indian Antiquary, giving 113
the text, a translation, and annotations. They appeared there under 539
the title, "The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual." Neither the scribe nor I understood the second part of the songs at that time. By now I am somewhat better able to recognize their meaning, and the songs of the second part will also be used in the following presentation. After the song of the Nyo-pa had been delivered to me, one day someone told me that the question-and-answer game of the wedding celebrants was not yet finished with these songs, and that this game was, in fact, continued during the wedding feast. At that time, he said, they sang the so-called chan-glu, the "beer song." Again I had a transcription made of this song, which I published at my own expense by having about fifty copies printed on the missionary lithographic press in Leh. These appeared (with text only) in 1903 under the title, "Die Trinklieder von Khalatse" /The Drinking Songs of Khalatse/. Although several of these songs have very important mythological content, many others are, nevertheless, of a purely diverting nature. They propose riddles such as one might expect on special occasions in gay circles among all peoples. /4/ [273]
Of special interest is the song which describes in detail the origin and preparation of Tibetan beer (chan).

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Lahul

241 before a verdict as to the propitious moment
787 for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as
685 landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out
691 of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that
[273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 An adequate supply of water from rivers,
624 glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water
241 supply). In cases where there is a communal reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the
312 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

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476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These
465 are employed from spring until autumn, their remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

●273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

439 grain from Kulu, a neighbouring state. Thus
●273 the wholesale manufacture of beer from locally-grown produce has an economic significance as serious as it is unwise.

The Care of Livestock.

231 The people are on the whole kind to their animals and feed them as well as they are able with the limited yield of fodder at their disposal.

From December until April, the heavy snowfall in Lahoul precludes the possibility of grazing cattle. The animals have therefore to be housed on the ground floor of the houses. They are never bedded as in western countries.

When the supply of hay is exhausted the cattle are fed entirely on straw, this being again supplemented in the spring by the bark of willow branches cut and thrown into the pen to be peeled off by the sheep, goats and cows.

The willow tree is extensively cultivated owing to its use both for fodder and fuel.

It is customary for a peasant with more cattle than he can conveniently feed, to hand his surplus livestock to a neighbour to keep and feed from December to April, the price for the cattle thus treated being three rupees per head, and four or

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 house, whilst a number of them are arranged in a row near
373 the awning of the dwelling.

The members of the household then partake of *Tab-*
796 *Zan*. This consists of a large dish of parched barley dough
262 in the middle of which a hollow is made to receive the mustard oil which is poured into it. This large cake of dough is

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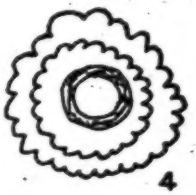

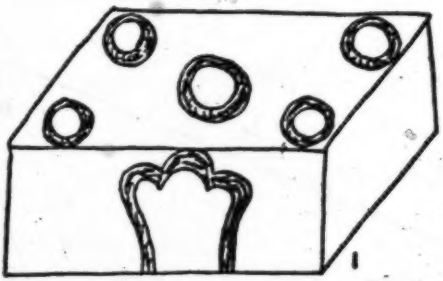

1. *rGya-Tab* (Stove). This is the common earthen stove used by Ladakhis. It is 3 feet square and 1 foot high. In the front there is an aperture for putting in the fuel of sticks and dried manure, and on the top of it there are three holes for placing the cooking utensils. 2. *Dib-Rug*. Sheep's intestines. 3. *Bu-La*. Little lamps made of dough. 4. *Tab-Zan*. Parched barley dough with a hollow in the centre in which mustard oil is poured. 5. *Kal-jor*. Beer pot. 6. *Za-rgyan*. An earthen vessel in which beer is kept. Sometimes used instead of the *Kal-jor*. Both are ornamented with butter pats on special occasions, and also serve as butter offerings.

796 then divided into four equal parts, one part (*Tab La Rgya-*
262 *Mo*), being placed on the earth stove (*Tab*) as an offering to the god of the hearth, one part (*Mag-Dung Rgya-Mo*) stuck on a large horizontal beam in the apartment, and one piece (*Sgo-Tag-Rgya-Mo*) stuck on the lintel of the front

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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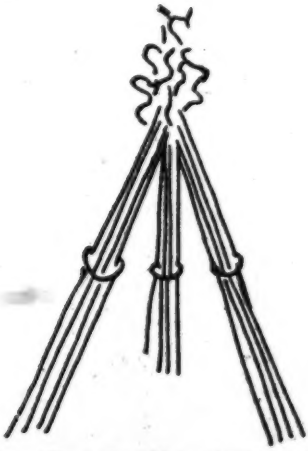
Directly after sunset the *Me-To* (3 bundles of willow and juniper branches) is carried outside each house together with a *Kal-Jor* offering (a pot of beer on the handle of which a butter impression called *Yar* has been made). A small quantity of beer is then sprinkled on the *Me-To*, and small fragments are taken from the *Yar* and smeared on the rims of the drinking cups belonging to the people assembled, and similar butter impressions made on the forehead of each person. The remainder of the beer having been imbibed, all return to their houses.



1. *Me-To*. Three bundles of willow branches kindled at the New Year celebrations.

The little lamps (*Bu-La*) are now lit once again, and all peer from their houses to see if the nobleman of the village (*Lon-Pu*) has kindled his *Me-To* (he having ascertained the propitious moment for performing this operation from the local astrologer (*Rtsi-Pa*). The signal thus given, all emerge, light the *Me-To*, and carry the burning pieces of sticks to a piece of ground contiguous to a main thoroughfare. Throwing the kindled sticks on the ground one man says: *Ra lon ni gon-pa rtsi rug* (a spell against evil spirits) and all reply: *Ha sha la ha sha mi ka khyi ka* (a spell to prevent sickness, dog bite, and other kinds of misfortune).

Dr Arboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

On the 3rd day part of the offerings already mentioned 796
are devoted to the moon with the words: "Happy life,
happy new year, happy day, happy stars." In cases where 782
the housewife has not been able to forestall the theft of the
offerings by the children, fresh ones must be made and

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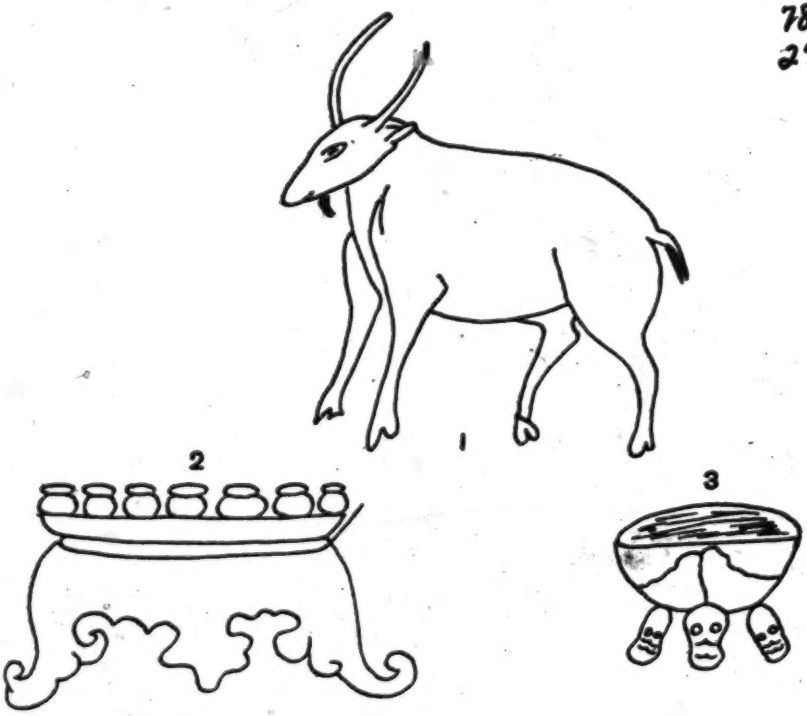

1. *Skyin.* Dough effigy of an Ibex. (4" long from crest to rump.) 2. *Chu-Pud.* These 7 cups of water used for sacrificial purposes are placed on a table as illustrated. 3. Nang-mchod. Vessel of beer made from a human skull. Sometimes the blood of sacrificed animals is placed in this bowl.

offered. The remainder of the *Skyin* and *Pe-Rak* offerings 796
are then distributed to the children, a girl giving the *Pe-* 789
Rak offering to another of her own sex, and a boy bestowing 782
the *Skyin* offering to a male companion. The sport of
arrow-shooting (*Da Rgyab-Ches*) is indulged for two days,
followed ten days subsequently by one day of this sport.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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32. (*a*) མ་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་འདུག་ནས་མ་འདི་སྲན་མའི་ཤྲན་ཆང་སྟེར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) mashi'tbse ring'dugna shran'mä shran'chang ster'rin.

(*c*) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.

(*d*) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.

000

(*e*) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb.* and *copulat.*

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33. (*a*) མ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་ལྷོ་ཚོད་མས་ཆོད།།

(*b*) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na
thsalrgo thsod'mä chod'.

(*c*) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].

(*d*) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.

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(*e*) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*

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34. (*a*) བསམ་པ་སྔོན་ལ་མ་བདང་ན།
འགྱོད་པ་དེང་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།།

(*b*) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na
gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.

(*c*) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.

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35. (*a*) བོང་རྒྱའི་རྣ་མཆོག་ལ་སེར་ལྷུག་ན། ཡང་ནག་ལ་ལྷུག་ན།
ཚོགས་ཡིན།།

(*b*) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, tsogs'in.

(*c*) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.

(*d*) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.

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(*e*) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.

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36. (*a*) སྒྲོན་མ་སྒྲག་བརྒྱབ་ན། རྡིང་མ་དགོད་མ་ཤོར།།

(*b*) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.

(*c*) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out [586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman [273] beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [564] [533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

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figures connected with getting rid of evil spirits. The second monk carried a *drilbu* (*dril-bu*) or bell, and a *dorje* (*rDorJe*) or *vajra* thunderbolt, those ubiquitous instruments of Tibetan lamaist ritual. The third one carried a plate full of glowing charcoal embers. 585 789

On reaching the sobbing bride and the woman over whose knee she was bent, the priests lit the candle of the *tsa-sum* and dropped powdered incense onto the burning coals. The plate containing these, now smoking copiously, was placed below the girl's dress so as to fumigate her from below of any evil that she might have brought with her. The *tsa-sum* was passed repeatedly and slowly over her, clockwise, to the accompaniment of muttered prayers, and then thrown away over a nearby hedge with much whistling and shouting from the onlookers and even the sound of a shot being fired somewhere close to the house. Thakur Partap Chand explained that the *tsa-sum*, loaded with the evil which the girl had brought with her and which had been chased out of her by the fumes and smoke from the charcoal, had now been thrown away; a gun had been fired to kill the devils who were trying to escape, while the object of the shouting and whistling by the onlookers was to frighten away those devils who had not been hit.

Once all this was finished, the *Nya-opa* put shoes on the bride, who had arrived without any. She struggled and protested against this action, saying, as she traditionally should, that she did not want them. Ornaments were next placed on her while she made further protests, refusing to change her posture which was still that of lying prostrate over her woman companion's knee. The girl in the elaborate dress who had offered us *chang* when we arrived, then came out and gave a drink of the beer to each of the men. She poured it into their palms, from which they drank, and then went over to the bride to do the same. I was surprised to see the latter lap it up without making any fuss. 585 [273]

After this, the *Na-tri-pa* picked the bride up again and carried her into the house. As I wanted to see what was going to happen now, we left the roof from where we had been watching up to this point, and climbed down the steps to the main room, on the ground floor of the house, into which the bundle which still constituted the bride was being carried. We got there just a few seconds ahead of her, and sat down quickly at the far end in front of the window, next to the three lamas who had also settled down. Sketch 1, below, is a rough plan of our respective positions.

To our left, two of the bridegrooms, seated cross-legged on the floor, awaited their future spouse. A couple of them sufficed, it seemed, the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony. 585 354

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard. 585 782

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval. 585 787

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights. 585 [273]

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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585 men for another half hour and, on the stroke of midnight, they went up to the bridal chamber where the eldest brother was put to bed in another bed than the one in which his bride was already lying. This is the usual custom, I was assured, when the couple is not notoriously in love, and parents have arranged the match. They could sleep in the same bed together if it were otherwise. An old woman was left in the room all night to watch over them and see how they behaved, and this appeared to be an indication that the young people had, nevertheless, had a word to say in the choice of whom they would marry, because if they had not and the parents alone had arranged everything, two men and two women would have been on guard all night.

Thakur Partap Chand assured me that newly married couples never consummate the marriage on the first night; they only have physical relations with one another on their wedding day if they have had some before. Intercourse between husband and wife may not take place until a week later, I heard (I must say with some incredulity), or sometimes until after a month or even one year. The only explanation that I could find for such a curious statement was that perhaps in the case of arranged marriages, the partners are not keen to know each other, and postpone this duty as long as they can. But I cannot believe that so much delay is observed in the case of newly married couples who have voluntarily chosen each other.

In the early morning, the women fetched the bride out and, having dressed her in all her finery, brought her down to the main room again. The bridegroom and his brother were likewise taken down, adorned in their best clothes by their male friends and relatives. We found them sitting in state in the reception room where they had been seated during the wedding, but with the bride now relaxed and upright, and all the other paraphernalia removed – except the *chang* cauldrons.

[293] From the latter, an ample supply was served to the guests, together with tea. We were continually being pressed to drink, and after sipping our cups a few times, got tired of it and left the room. I took advantage of this to question the Thakur as to who the other people in the room were. He told me that they were relatives and friends of the bridegrooms' family. The bride was not represented, he assured me, because it was very rare that members of the bride's family should attend her wedding, never if they did not approve of the match. If their consent [584] has been obtained, they must first receive some assurance that their daughter will receive enough revenue from the land of her future husbands to satisfy them before they consent to appear. They will then do

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

so, but always two days later, and when they make their appearance, 585
everyone on the bridegrooms' side is very polite to them, for they protest against the violent way in which their daughter has been abducted, in accordance with the best traditions.

We went off to lunch after that, and on returning in the afternoon, 585
visited the private chapel of the house, the *lha-k'hang* (*lha-k'hang*), 782
where the three lamas were busy preparing offerings which still had to be made to the gods so that the wedding should be auspicious. They had consulted the scriptures, they told us, and the things which we could see on the altar were those that they considered appropriate for this occasion. Before a large statue of Buddha, together with the usual presentations of water, grain and *tsampa* moulded *tormas* (*gTor-ma*) or dough figures, there were a leg of mutton, the arrow with the streamers to it, standing in a box of grain, which we had seen in front of the senior bridegroom at the ceremony of the previous day, and a platter upon which stood the large figure of a stag also moulded in dough, with twelve points to its antlers, surrounded by small, coloured flags and two *dos* (*mDos*) or string-cross traps for evil spirits. The lamas were most obliging and pleasant, and although we interrupted their devotions, took great pains to show us everything. They told us that the stag would be [789]
thrown away and burned before the wedding festivities had come to an end.

Next, we went up onto the roof again, attracted there by various 585
curious visitors from Tibet who had stopped off on their way south to 273
see what was going on in the Tolag-pa house. There we found a space filled with a lot of men from the party, sitting round the wall, while in the centre, before them, huge cauldrons of *chang* were being prepared. Upon asking, I was given to understand that the bride was shortly coming up to give flowers to each of the men in exchange for small coins which they would give her for good luck. The *chang*-girl, whom we knew from the first day, was there distributing the alcoholic beverage to all in turn, still dressed in all her finery. Below this space on the roof, I heard that there was another room for tea drinkers, and that a similar ceremony would take place there, too.

The bride did come up soon after that, and she duly distributed flowers and received money in exchange. Everybody then got very drunk [789]
on the *chang* until the lamas came out with the stag offering and threw it away into a specially built bonfire below the house, while everyone hissed loudly at the devils which were being thus destroyed. Dancing followed, the men nearly all reeling drunk, but then I was told that for

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans A.J4
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585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she
[591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous
[115] people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accompanied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

423 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
428 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
595 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re-
[584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their *daughter being "stolen" from them.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetan. AS 4

The universal food of the people is barley-meal, made from 262
grim; it is either made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into 264
a sort of dough and eaten with butter-milk if that can be got. They generally have three meals; one an hour or two after sunrise, of the barley-broth; one at mid-day, of the dough; a third after sunset, of the broth again. In this way they consume some two pounds' weight of meal a day. To the broth they put any addition they can get; sometimes it is vegetable, sometimes meat, and sometimes tea.

Unlike the natives of India, the Ladākhīs are not particular as to their feeding. They obey few restrictions as to what to eat or how to eat it, or as to the method of slaughtering. One way they have of killing an animal for food is to tie up the mouth and let it [253]
be suffocated. Another practice of theirs (I am not sure that it is common) is to drain the blood of the animal into their broth and warm all up together.

The drink of the Ladākhīs is *chang*, a light beer made without 273
hops.* They have no good vessels to keep it in, so it usually is sour by the time it is drunk. As I have drunk it, it tasted like a cross between home-brewed beer and farmhouse cider; it is not a bad beverage on a warm day, but these people will enjoy it in the depth of a severe winter. There is also a spirit sometimes made—a whisky, but this is proscribed by law. Through the Maharaja's territories generally the making and the drinking of intoxicating liquors is forbidden †; at one time an order was made that in accordance with this rule the drinking of chang should be put down; but on the representations of the Ladākhīs that it had been the beverage of their nation from time immemorial, and that it would be impossible to endure the cold of their climate without it, they were allowed the malt-liquor; the restriction as to the spirit however remains. Tea is another favourite drink 272
in this country, but the poor people—that is nearly all the population—seldom are able to afford it; it is made in a churn, with butter added.

* For the better brews a plant brought from Baltistān is used in the same way and with somewhat the same effects as are hops in our beer.

† Christians are specially exempted from the operation of this law.

she was nursing a child; and as the baby fed, Nordzin picked lice 515
off herself and off the child and cracked them with her fingernails. 735
Her hair was matted. Nordzin, about five feet eight and slight, had a flat face that was creased with care and worry and unhappiness. The faces of the children were as filthy as the rags they wore.

I inquired of Pamba why they were so poor when Phuntzog 735
made twelve dollars a month and the garden produced all the 274
vegetables they could eat. The answer was slow in coming, and even then it was evasive. It seems that a great portion of the income of the Gyalangs goes into the making of *chan*, the local barley beer. Indeed, one eighth of the farm production of Leh is used to make this brew. It stimulates many quarrels between the brothers. With the help of the *chan*, Phuntzog and Pamba raise their voices over Nordzin.

When I entered the Gyalang house, I began to understand the 593
basis for the friction. It is a one-room affair. A clay stove, built [511]
by Phuntzog, is against one wall. The floor is of mud and very dirty. There are no chairs, no table, no bed. The one wife, four children, and two husbands roll up together on the floor.

There was a scowl on Pamba's face when I asked him about Phuntzog.

"He's Nordzin's favorite," Pamba complained.

"But he's gone most of the day and many nights on his mail route," I said.

Pamba only shrugged his shoulders.

Later I talked with Phuntzog. The sun was just rising over Leh, and he was in a hurry to get started on the road to Spitok. He, like Pamba, is short, squat, round-faced, and bedraggled. Like Pamba, he was full of complaints. His brother was getting the best of the arrangement, he said. His long absences gave Pamba the advantage. It was he, Phuntzog, who owned the place; yet it was Pamba who acted like lord and master. And Pamba was lazy and made Nordzin do all the work.

792 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751: PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through dark alleys, up ricketty ladders, and under low portals, which give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This "very nice room" with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a beautiful shining mohagany by years of smoke, a process being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it on the floor, so that we may both sit and "lay our table" upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining, sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained. We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme*, is specially interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are constrained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hillside. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker gives the old man some of his own "Country Life" tobacco to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it with a smile, for who could have believed even that old friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village. 651

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are. 461 276

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda 291 302 291 293 302

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

some vegetables from the garden, and the man went off in high glee at the success of his expedition. 792 159

The next morning we were asked whether the *Skushog* of Trigtse might call upon us. We hastily arranged for an interpreter, for our Superintendent was away, and we were all new to the country; moreover, our guest's language of Central Tibet was quite a different dialect from that of Ladak. He duly arrived, dressed in his official robes and attended by two or three lamas, and was invited into the drawing-room. But he lingered in the hall, and to the Doctor's surprise began to undress. This process continued to such an alarming extent that he was led into the study. Two other ladies had just called to go out with the Memsahib, and great was the surprise of all three when the drawing-room door opened, and the *Skushog* entered. He wore the helmet-like topee, a Chinese type of frock-coat with paired pin-tucks across the back, brown trousers, a pair of bright yellowish socks, and some Chinese-looking attempts at European shoes. Invited to a chair, and the interpreter called, he entered into friendly talk. He announced among other things that he would like to become a Christian, but we did not take this seriously, and pointed out that he could not do that and retain his wealth and power as a *Skushog*. He then intimated that he would like to stay the night, a rather awkward proposition with our limited accommodation, but we said we could give him the verandah. His lamas whispered anxiously together and let him know it was time to go. Meanwhile they had boiled some tea for him on a little fire outside our kitchen in his own pots, as he must not take food of our cooking. After this the Doctor offered him a cigarette, not knowing in his ignorance of the country that it was against the rules. The *Skushog* made violent signs to him to withdraw into the study again, where, away from the eyes of the lamas, he enjoyed his smoke thoroughly. The latter were at last able to get him to go, and withdrew him on to the verandah where he changed

792v 159 574 [797] [276]

152 762 593 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

837 595 684 There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 597 793 548 276 Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, [824] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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smoking was looked upon as so heinous an offence. He replied that it was because, so the lamas said, tobacco was a weed grown from the menstrual flow of a prostitute who had prayed that it might fertilize a plant that would be the joy of mankind. For this reason, lamas could not think of smoking, and they naturally opposed it in the lay population as well.

c) *Investigation of polyandry along the Leh-Srinagar Treaty Road*

1. *Information gathered at Spituk and Ri-dzong*

At our first halt after leaving Leh, I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in the central Tibetan provinces from the acting chief abbot of the monastery, who had studied in Lhasa. I shall revert to what he told me when we come to Part II, where I shall deal with the polyandry of Tibet proper.

At Ri-dzong, the Tibetan bandit, Norgyäs, had much to tell me also. He told me a certain amount about the marital customs of those parts of Tibet which he knew personally, but also about those specifically appertaining to Western Tibet. It is these which I shall account for here.

It seemed that my informant was born in Ngari Korsum and had only later in his life taken to banditry. At the age of nine, he was adopted by a lama, the assistant of the Garpön of Gartok, that is of the Tibetan Government official whose residence was in the capital of Ngari Korsum.

The lama's name was De-chen-la (*bDe-Ch'hen-lags*) and he had a sister living with him who was married and had a son, Dön-stob-la (*Don-sTobs-lags*), of the same age as Norgyäs. Although there was a relation of master to servant between the two boys (the lama's nephew being the superior), a very intimate bond was formed between the two. When Dön-stob-la married, Norgyäs was allowed to share the wife with him, and this because the two had become what he called *skyidug-chik-pa* (*sKyid-sDug-gChig-pa*).

This long word has the meaning of "Happiness-Grief-Identical" and such a relation is very often entered into in Tibet between close friends. Norgyäs said that, in his case, it was only a minor variety of the relation because, normally, it is a much more formal and binding connection.

Thus in Tibet, and also in Ladak, two old friends who had known each other for a long time could become *skyidug-chik-pa* in the following way. They make a vow, clasping each other's middle finger, in which they swear to share undividedly everything that they have for the rest of their lives, and even in the next one that awaits them. If

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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000the food which is carried by the sheep is eaten up, then there is no need of the carrier, so it is then eaten, the fat tail being considered a great delicacy. Some of these caravans are three years on the road before they reach their homes. Quite a number of these merchants have been to Mecca, and were returning, wearing the green turban which is the mark of a Mecca "pilgrim who has accomplished the 'haj.'"

346 The first monastery we come to is Mulbe. It is in a most commanding position, for it stands on the top of a rock about five hundred feet high.

778 A short distance before reaching this monastery is
796 a large Buddha, carved on a rock, about thirty feet in
276 height. On our return journey Dr Neve and I came in time to see a very pretty ceremony being performed before it.

There was a sort of maypole erected in front of the figure, decked with coloured paper or rags. Then a troop of thirty children appeared, dressed in bright garments, wearing crowns of flowers, and they were dancing round the pole and singing, reminding one of the maypole dance. Then came a monk, dressed in a white garment like a surplice, with a red fool's-cap on his head. In one hand he carried a Kashmiri fire-pot full of live charcoal and some narcotic mixture of hemp or opium. These fumes he kept inhaling, which made him become very excited. In his right hand he carried a curved sword, which he flourished about in a most dangerous manner. He commenced to dance round the pole, followed by the children. He shouted louder and louder, and twirled about his body faster and faster, while his sword was flashing and slashing about in all directions.

796 A man standing by me, whom I knew, who called him-
276 self a nobleman, told me in awed tones that this holy man

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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was uttering the words of God. As a matter of fact, he was drunk with his opium fumes and could hardly keep on his feet, and I expect he soon flopped down on the ground, but we were unable to stay to see the show through to the end.

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2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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000 a friend's house. Personally I possess a bearer who knows this trick, and he always asks me to ask my friends to allow their servants to count over the spoons and forks, etc., before leaving the house, to see, of course, that they have not left anything of their master's property behind.

276 Another custom I discovered of quite a different kind, which interested me.

I saw a coolie sprawling on the road with his mouth on the ground and apparently blowing smoke. On asking what it meant I was told that the man not having brought his hookah was not going to be done out of his smoke. He had made a small tunnel. At one end he had placed his tobacco and lighted it, and was sucking the smoke through the tunnel into his mouth. How one lives and learns!

346 After leaving Mulbe we turned off the caravan road in order to return via Suru under Nun Kun and down the Wardwan nullah.

We passed the monastery of Shergol. It is built into the rock. The windows seem to be in the face of a 406 precipice. The entrance and exit is peculiar, for a basket is let down by a rope, in which the visitor sits and is pulled up—a most excellent arrangement for keeping 133 out undesirables. Our first view of the Suru river was superb, and reminded me of pictures of heaven which I had seen in children's picture books. We were up on a ridge and looked down upon the river where it widened out and was full of islands covered with willow-trees, and giant peaks rising behind and above the nearer hills forming the valley.

492 When we reached the bridge we found that it was far too frail for our ponies. The river itself could not be forded, and was too swift and dangerous to permit of the

Chinese anatomy and medical science; nor are ancient Babylonians, Greek, and Persian influences absolutely excluded. The school of medicine on the Eisen /"Iron"/ Mountain (lcags-po-ri), a part of Potala Mountain, on which the palaces of the Dalai Lama is also situated, constitutes a part of the university for the lamas, at which they are prepared for their service. Here is likewise the medical faculty of the university. 757 177 [874]

Anatomy, as a science, is on a very low level among the Tibetans, since Tibetan physicians do not perform any dissection of corpses. Thus they know the inner parts of the human body at best through comparison with those of the animal body which they get to see--illicitly--at the killing of an animal, which is a sin for the Buddhist. (Compare Dr. Reinh. Müller, "Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien," in the Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin, Volume 15) The Tibetans have taken over their scientific anatomy from the Chinese, with all the errors and defects that were contained in it. Thus on old anatomical tables, for instance, the liver is drawn in on the lefthand side, and the spleen on the right. (Compare Reinh. Müller, "Über Skeletdarstellungen," in Asia Major, Volume 2.) The anatomical tables (Tibetan, p'yaṅ-k'og las-t'ig) copied from the Chinese, show, correspondingly, quite phantastic representations of the human body; they serve primarily to indicate the spots on the body that are suited to bleeding and burning (with red-hot iron). Both procedures are frequently applied to human beings as well as household animals by Tibetan doctors. Often they produce successful results. But quite often they use burning in quite a nonsensical manner, on sensitive parts of the body, such as, for instance, the eyelid, the burning of which causes very severe harm. 757 177 826

Tibetan pharmacy uses a great number of native plants, and often in a very effective way, in the form of decoctions, powders, and pills. Aside from this they use metals as curative agents, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, zinc, and mercury (the latter for syphilis); furthermore stones, minerals, and soils, such as, for instance, turquoises, pearls, snail shells, corals, cooking salt, natron, saltpeter, and sulphur. 278

The parts of animals' bodies play an important part in

•278 Tibetan medicine, as they did earlier among all Aryan peoples. The gall of an ox is supposed to be good for eye diseases, the spleen for infections, the kidney for kidney ailments; blood, when drunk fresh, "draws the poison out of the blood," the tongue of a dog cures infections, pulverized dragon's teeth (probably crocodile's teeth) alleviate tooth aches. By means
752 of magnets the physician is supposed to draw arrow heads out of the wound.

Tibetan doctors are skillful in putting splints to simple bone fractures. In the case of broken ribs they very sensibly tie a wide strip of cloth around the chest and then cover it with loam, which forms a stiff dressing when the loam cools off. The European doctor achieves the same result by means of an adhesive dressing or a plaster cast. Thousands find a
743 cure for their ailments in the spas scattered throughout Tibet, as for instance, in Sabu (Ladakh), in Panamig (Nubra), and
757 in many other places. Massaging is practised by the Indians as well as by the Tibetans with considerable skill. Matters are terrible as far as the pulling of teeth is concerned. Since they do not have regular dentist's forceps, the person plagued by a toothache goes to the smith, because he is usually the only one who has a pair of pliers. Two men hold the patient who lies on his back on the ground. The smith kneels over him and with his blunt pliers he grips the diseased tooth and pulls at it. Something finally gives way: Sometimes the diseased tooth comes out, sometimes the jaw breaks, and it also happens that the pliers break and the tooth remains in the jaw.

000 We may wonder about, and laugh at, some of the curious remedies of Tibetan medicine. But we must remember that into the 18th, yes, even as recently as the 19th century, no less peculiar remedies were produced, praised, and eagerly bought in European pharmacies, including those in Germany, than we encounter in Tibetan pharmacy. Things like stork's fat, bear's fat, wolf's and fox's fat, worms, crabs' eyes and snake skin were since time immemorial considered highly effective cures. Quite especially covered were remedies which were produced from parts of the human body, such as burned and pulverized human skull, blood, gall, and fat of human beings, and they were considered particularly effective if the

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 426 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a
352 man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where
439 most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick
439 tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about 133
two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or [136]
chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were 233
being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. 411
These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which 281
they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

1,000. The value of 500 pairs of shawls is about Rs. 50,000, or £5,000. 439

Brocades are another article regarding which I found great difficulty in obtaining any definite information. The commoner kinds, ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 each, are preferred for the Yarkand market. Perhaps about 400 may be exported annually, which at an average price of Rs. 100 each, are worth Rs. 20,000, or £2,000.

Láki, or skins of red leather.—These are goat-skins tanned and coloured at Nurpur. There is a great demand for them all over the hills, but more particularly in Ladák and Yarkand, where bright-coloured leathers are generally employed in the manufacture of boots, and of bridles and trappings of horses. About 200 maunds, or sheep-loads (6,400 lb. weight) of these skins are said to be annually imported into Ladák; which at the mean rate of one pound per skin, and of one rupee each, are worth Rs. 6,400, or £640. Half of this quantity (100 maunds), or 3,200 skins, worth Rs. 3,200, or £320, are exported to Yarkand.

Spices to the value of about Rs. 1,000, or £100, are said to be annually imported into Ladák, of which the greater part, or Rs. 800 worth, are carried to Yarkand.

Saffron is supplied entirely by Kashmir. The quantity varies; but the usual supply is said to be twenty maunds, or 640 lb.; which, at the rate of forty rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 12,800, or £1,280. The whole is exported to Yarkand.

Cloths of all the coarser sorts, and a considerable number of flowered cottons and bright-coloured chintzes, form an important article of Ladáki trade. The annual amount is about 100 maunds, or 3,200 lb., in value Rs. 10,000, or £1,000. A small quantity is used in

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans A14

439 In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the [435] regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kashmiri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer. 236 It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days, disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice is first soaked for three or four days in water until it begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool [283] is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown, which are spun into thread. This work is all done by the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	$20\frac{1}{4}$	Rs. weight, or	$\frac{1}{4}$th.
Brown wool	...	$5\frac{1}{4}$	"	$\frac{1}{16}$th.
Common wool	...	$54\frac{1}{2}$	"	$\frac{11}{16}$ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs called pattu.

443 The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by 435 the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness, and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed threads are—

by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children. Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather. The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoń-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

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Social and Religious Life.

Proportion of the sexes. 162

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

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SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Houses and furniture. 342

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul.

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* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Gh...a on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

233 Chapter IV, B.

Live-Stock.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts; one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, when fully broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

[431] [432] [557]

For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

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Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Changtang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

283 462 439 [435] [804] 175 439

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 subdued it for himself. The Ladaki King sent him some
439 *Snambu* or Ladaki home-spun, woven of *lena*, as a present, and he admired it so much that he introduced the import of the wool into Kashmir. He is said to have had it woven into the first two shawls, or *shal*, the word meaning "a board," a name which he seems to have given them *faut de mieux*, for it hardly suits such essentially fine soft cloth. Two Persians then came to Kashmir to buy saffron and cummin, and bought these shawls to take back to present to their King. Next year they tried to obtain more ; later the cloth was taken also to Alexandria, and so its fame slowly became world-wide. Thus these delicate soft shawls are really derived from the protection which nature has given to our long-haired Himalayan goats to withstand the excessive cold on the roof of the world.

283 But we must return to the large part played by wool in the
462 domestic activities of Ladak. First of all the raw product, arriving in rough twists, must be cleaned. If it is washed in water, the resulting cloth or *snambu* is said not to be so nice, but sometimes there is no choice, for the wool may be so impregnated with fatty grease that it has to be taken to the nearest spring or clear-running water to be cleansed, though it must never be squeezed or rubbed in the process. Sometimes it is further cleaned with white chalk from the cliffs near by, with which it is well mixed, then teased out. The next process, or *malches*, consists of the pulling out of the wool, and teasing out all little bits of tangled, extraneous matter, so that it is quite soft and ready to spin. Then comes the actual *kalches* or spinning, which is carried out on a slender cone of wood, elongated at both ends, called a *p'ang*. The end of this is supported in a little cup, either hollowed out of a small block of wood, or, what is infinitely preferable, made of the kernels of apricot-stones after all the oil has been pressed out, leaving a hard matrix or kind of oil-cake. The left hand manipulates the *p'ang*, twisting it to and fro in its little cup,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and *kalches* are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the [illegible] of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
462 is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[293] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[295] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 426 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGonpa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

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286 WOVEN FABRICS--textiles; weaving, knitting, and netting techniques; special apparatus (e.g., netting needle, loom); products and their uses; specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Clothing	29	Industrial production of textiles	288
Spinning	283	Description of power looms	402

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IX.—COMMERCE.

I.—HOME TRADE.

438 THE artificial productions of Ladák are confined to
286 the manufacture of blankets and coarse woollens, chiefly for home consumption, and of black mohair tents, made from the hair of the yák or grunting ox, which form the only habitations of the nomadic population. Both blanketing and sacking can be purchased in Lé, the former only in small quantities, the latter in almost any quantity, as there is a constant demand for it for bags for the conveyance of goods. The blanketing is manufactured in pieces one foot wide and eleven to fifteen
[438] yards in length. The price varies from two to three rupees each, according to fineness. The quantity of blanketing and of sacking annually expended in Ladák on the carrying trade amounts to about 120,000 yards, in the manufacture of which 20,000 small maunds (or 640,000 lb.) of wool are consumed. The total value of the manufacture is only Rs. 7,500 or £750.

II.—FOREIGN TRADE.

439 The foreign trade of the country, in home produce, is confined to four natural productions,—wool, borax,

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 466 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

• 286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
601

286

/Following page 64/

"At the weaver's loom.

by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children. Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather. The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The [92] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoñ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. — Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yaks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
462 is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
● 286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[457] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

19: Asboe M-3 (no date)1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

.241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 From December until spring farming pursuits
● 286 cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

656 Lahoul being under British administration, the
425 acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

.241 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the
287 people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B. 648

Land and Land Revenue. 651

British assessment of Láhaul.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—

"The revenue assessed upon this tract was fixed entirely with reference to the trading pursuits of the inhabitants and the pastoral qualities of the country. The soil does not yield sufficient produce to maintain the people, much less to pay a land-tax. The *jama* levied by our predecessors and maintained at the Summary Settlement contained two items which, had they been ascertained at the time, would have been at once remitted. One was a demand of Rs. 500 annually for *firshi*, or fines, which the people had to bear as an additional burden, and to distribute it as they best could among themselves. The second item was also for Rs. 500 on account of grazing dues exacted from the owners of sheep who resorted to Láhaul in the rainy season, as that region, being across the snowy range, is beyond the reach of the periodical monsoons. This revenue would be legitimate enough, only the graziers were residents of our own territory, who during the winter months had already paid a grazing tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 head in the valleys of Kángra. It would not be fair to make these flocks pay double rates, and, as the tax could be collected with greater facility in Kángra than in Láhaul, I determined to remit this item also. Still the balance which devolved upon the inhabitants of Láhaul pressed heavily upon them. The trade, moreover, had become greatly depreciated. The wool and produce of Ladákh were diverted by order of Mahárája Gúlab Singh to routes which led through his own country; for by their passage through our territory the Mahárája lost the opportunity of exacting transit tolls, and our accession had thrown open the carrying trade to any speculator who chose to venture under the rule of our predecessors; the fear of plunder, and the exactions of the Customs Officers, left the trade entirely in the hands of the Láhaulís. On these considerations I determined to reduce the assessment in Láhaul, and I was fortified in this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of travellers, such as Captain A. Cunningham and Captain William Hay, Assistant Commissioner, regarding the poverty of the country and the destitute condition of the inhabitants. The Summary Settlement was fixed originally at Rs. 4,200, but this was lowered the second year on the urgent remonstrance of the people to Rs. 3,200; and finally at the revised Settlement I considered an annual *jama* of Rs. 2,200 as much as the *taluka* could bear."

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

According to Major Hay, the king or Giálpo of Ladákh prior to 1839 took as revenue for Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 *khals* or *lákh* or grain, 100 *mandis* or iron crow-bars, 34 pieces of Barmaur cloth, and 132 reams (*shúgu*) of paper. The crow-bars, or the iron to make them, came from Basáhir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles can be made in every house in the country. The paper is made from the fibre of a small plant or grass which grows wild in abundance. The cloth is of very close texture and very lasting. Spiti also paid a tribute of trifling amount to the Rájas of Basáhir and Kúlu, not in recognition in any sense of their sovereignty, but for the privilege of free access for trading purposes. Major Hay's account is, no doubt, generally accurate, but there are some mistakes in it, principally with regard to the grain revenue, the nature of which he does not appear to have fully understood. Each holding was assessed with a fixed number of measures of grain.

[289]

[114]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IV.—DRESS.

● 291 The men of Ladák wear a cloak* of woollen, thick and warm. It is usually white, or rather it has once been white; for as the people only wash themselves once a year, and never wash their clothes, their cloaks are always of a dirty hue. Round their legs, from knee to ankle, they have coarse woollen leggings† (of felt), fitting tightly, or else wrapped close round the leg and secured by a garter,‡ which is wound spirally round the leg from the ankle upwards. The garter is generally black, but sometimes red. On their heads they wear either quilted skull-caps, as filthy as their cloaks, or caps of sheep-skin with the wool inside, and with a large flap behind, which covers the back of the neck as well as [565] the ears. Those in better circumstances have fur caps of the same shape. Their boots are of felt, with soles of sheep or goat-skin, which are turned up all round and sewn to the felt. The upper part of the felt boot is open to the front, and is allowed to fall over, something in the manner of the boots worn in England in Charles II.'s time. The lamas have red boots, and the others mostly have theirs ornamented with small bits of coloured cloth in the front.§

The Ladáki women wear a black woollen jacket with a large striped woollen petticoat of many colours, generally green, blue, red, and yellow, reaching below the mid-leg. Over all they wear a sheep skin with the wool inside, secured, or rather skewered, in front by a large

* The cloak is called *La-pa-sha*.

† The legging is called *rKang-Phying*.

‡ The garter is called *rKang-gDub*.

§ See Plates XVII. and XXIII. for the men's dress.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47)1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Zang-bo

Cha g

Men of PIN in SPITI

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 iron or brass needle. The poorer classes have the outside of the skin plain, but those in better circumstances cover it with coarse woollen baize, either red, blue, green, or yellow, with a broad border always of a different [565] colour. The upper classes cover this sheep-skin cloak either with brocade or with silk. Their heads are always bare, the hair being arranged in a border of narrow plaits, which hang round the head like a long fringe. From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wear a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hangs down behind as low as the waist, and is usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowrees. The ears are covered by semicircular woollen lappets, fastened to the hair and edged with brown or black fur, generally of the otter-skin, called Kunduz. These ear-flaps are always red, the inside being woollen, and the outside brocade. These are made coarse or fine according to circumstances; for the Ladáki women seem to pride themselves upon the style and material of these lappets just as much as European ladies do upon the fashion of their bonnets.*

292 The dancing-women wear similar dresses, but they sometimes also have long gowns, of different colours, instead of the jacket and petticoat. Their heads are always covered, either with a coloured and quilted skull-cap, or with a circular, flat-topped, stiff woollen hat, 301 something like a short shako without a peak. These are ornamented with cornelians and turquoises.† All

* See Plates XV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. and XXII. for the women's dress of Kanáwar, Spiti, and Ladák.

† Plate XXII. Moorcroft, I. p. 328, remarks that "a Ladáki female in full costume would create no small sensation amongst the fashionable dames of a European capital."

L Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291
301
142

p. 304a

Women of Lower KANAWAR

Kanet
aged 30
LABRANG

Kanet
5 ft 0 1/4in.

Girl
aged 18
LIPÉ

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291
301

Women of Upper KANAWAR

Plate XVI

304b

Back View of Thajang

Thajang, aged 20
3 Husbands
HANGO

Landlord's Wife
SUNGNAM

Girl aged 14
LIYO

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetam AJ4

291
301

Height 4 ft 9
DANGKHAR
SPITI

Sangi Ram
SPITI

Height 4ft 10
SHE
in LADAK

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetam AJ4

●291 p. 304d
301

Landlords Wives

From NURLA in LADAK

2: Ramsay--5 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 195 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 576 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291●
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHons[1] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

(14)BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons[1] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 596
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

1 [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 [466] 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

2: Ramsay--18 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[34]

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang[1] very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

●291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

1 [i.e., BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

●291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "róm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

The former
776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

●291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

WT
291 LEGGING--kángphees or kángpheeng (meaning, properly speaking, the felt leggings worn by Ladákis, but also used for leather gaiters, and Kashmir patties).

WT [88]
426 LEND TO--skinba táng ches or respectfully karkeen sal ches (to lend money, etc., not on interest), bulon táng ches or phar la hmul tang ches (to lend money on interest) dres la nas táng ches (to lend grain on interest. The rate charged is always "sowái," that is to say, for every 4 lent, 5 have to be paid at the next harvest), yár ches or yártey táng ches (to lend anything, when the thing itself has to be returned to its owner).

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631 LHASA--Ladákis usually speak of the town as Hlása, but the correct name is Lhása ("Lha" means "a god" or "fairy" and "sa" stands for "sakiat," which means "place.") The country subject to the Lhasa authorities is also spoken of as "Lhása country." As a matter of fact, the country in question, consists of four provinces, viz., on the east "Kham," (meaning "side") then comes Oo (spelt "U" in our maps and meaning "centre") in, which is the town of Lhása, then comes "Tshang" (meaning "pure,") and then comes what was once Ngarees-khorsum (see under "Ladák.") Prior to the Dogra conquest of Ladák, the Ladákis used to look upon the Lhása Government as all powerful in things temporal, and spiritual. It is still regarded with great awe by Ladákis.

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115 The Lhása Government, its constitution, and the extent to which it is subject to Chinese guidance, is a subject of which but little is generally known, and the following information, obtained by me from the SkooSHok (avatár) of Speetuk, and other persons who have resided at Lhása, may therefore be of interest, and is inserted accordingly, though beyond the ordinary scope of this work, which professes to deal only with Ladák or Western Tibet.

In olden days, Lhasa was governed by Kings, who to some extent were under the influence of China, but, according to Markham, Chinese power was first definitely established in Lhása in 1720, when resident Political Agents were appointed. In 1749 an insurrection against the Chinese broke out, which ended in favour of the Chinese, and resulted in the establishment, at Lhása of Lobzong Kalsang the sixth Dalái Láma, with two Chinese "Ambáns" or "Residents," to assist him in the administration of the affairs of the country.

T
642 Since then no fundamental change in the constitution of the Lhása

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hióGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
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792 ●791 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats. Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751 777 PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 153 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la tấng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zăr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian
777 Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they con-
794 fine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures
788 aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

● 291 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra
195 (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are im-
435 ported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

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/Following page 32/

Tibetan children

5: Ribbach--28 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Following page 32/

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Inhabitants of Ladakh.

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; [291] there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

5: Ribbach--72 a M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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Tibetan women in Ladakh

(Original Tibetan drawing).

monastery. An old lama has told Namgyal that in this shape the great Merciful One had quite special power, and that his compassion knew no bounds. With more than a thousand eyes (aside from the ordinary eyes each of the eleven faces has a third one on its forehead, and in each palm of the hand is another eye) the Redeemer looks with infinite compassion upon the suffering living creatures in the six worlds, all the way down into hell; and there the thousand strong arms are also outstretched to save and to release. And all this, Namgyal was told, the great Merciful One did from pure mercy; no special efforts were necessary, and no special virtuous performances on the part of the person to be released. Thus Namgyal had great expectations especially for this procession of supplication. 789

After some waiting the men are finally all gathered together in the snow-covered wilderness at the foot of the mountain on which the monastery stands. There are some /138/ highly-placed persons among them, two gentlemen of the nobility, a few officials from the Wasarat (the office of the Wasir), farmers, small-holders, and day-laborers: a colorful company. Some of the day-laborers had been hired by the rich to come along in exchange for payment. Credit and profit was to accrue to the givers of money for this. The well-to-do are dressed in warm, caftan-like cloth coats; some of them even wear a thick sheep's skin on top of this. The poor try, as best they can, to protect themselves against the penetrating cold of the early morning by at least putting on two quite ragged coats, one over the other, and a goat's skin which they hang over their backs with its hairy side on the inside. [291]

In silence the men arrange themselves in the prescribed order for the procession; at the head is the local magistrate of a neighboring village, who is considered a particularly pious person and who is skilled in the reciting of the prayers. All eyes now turn towards the monastery up on top of the mountain in which stands the image of the sPyan-ras-gzig, the great Merciful One, well-known to all. The man at the head of the procession begins to pray and all the others join him with prayers (136): "Thou, Oh ruler with the thousand arms, who leadest the cycle

136. The first prayer goes as follows in Tibetan:

P'yag stoń ak'or-lo sgyur-bai rgyal-po ston/
Spyan stoń bskal-pa bzań-po sańs-rgyas ston/
Gań-la gań ston de-la de ston-pa/
Ston-pa spyan-ras gzigs-la p'yag t'sal-lo.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

184 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

352 Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

251 184 The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

184 262 [273]

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

291 In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

291 301 298 [302] 292 291

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life. [301]

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

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Amusements. 541

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

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[534]

Constitution of the family. 592

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

184

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

[428]

[593]

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
[illegible] yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter,* though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[Facing p. 64]

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At Rothang Pass it seemed that I was on the threshold of another world—a world where magic played the major role, where one in quiet meditation could contact the spirits that occupy a place existing far above the earth.

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The women of Gya were giggling as they started to sing. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal and he is the singer.

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The Gya singers were accompanied by an orchestra of two musicians.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Budli Ram bashfully told me one day. "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

Building my bridge at Koksar was a community project.

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[Facing p. 65]

Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century. In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, con-

Camp is made at night wherever there are water and grass. 484
The men lie out in rock cairns. Their heavy woolen clothes are [291]
their night clothes too. They sleep on the ground, and are gone in the morning when the sky first turns to gray. They streak across high basins on a fast canter, climb the steepest pass with hardly a pause, and walk downhill, leading the saddle ponies.

I had seen my first Tibetans at Patseo—men, women, and boys 484
in charge of salt caravans. As I related earlier, I saw my first 205
armed and fast-riding Tibetans at Serchu. I kept seeing them day after day, going like the wind on their tiny ponies, taking short cuts across uncharted mountains, or eating their *sattu* and drinking their *gur gur cha* at their camps on sparsely green meadows. They would always be gone by daylight, moving fast and mysteriously, covering more ground in a day than we would often cover in three with our pack train. They had none of the conveniences of travel—no air mattresses, no tents, no canned food, no medical kit. But they could go with the wind, be swallowed up in deep canyons, streak like lightning along a high ridge, climb to the steepest pass, pick their way down rocky defiles, and shortly be cantering across a basin remote and isolated from all trails.

That is the way postmen in Ladakh have traveled from time immemorial. The head of each village furnishes a carrier to carry the mail from his village to the next one. And so it goes on horseback, twenty to thirty-five miles a day and, in emergencies, even farther.

That is the way I want to travel Central Asia. Being bogged 000
down with a pack train has its disadvantages.

I briefly experienced that kind of travel when Tashi took us out of Koksar. I rode most of the way from Gundala to Kyelang, keeping ahead of the pack train, racing along the narrow trail that threads along the Chandra. My pony and I traveled fast, and I felt for once the joy of a good horse under me and Central Asia and its vast reaches out in front.

Most of the way to Leh, Rahul and I traveled with the mule

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[759] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat* is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

*[of the marmot--Analyst]

minutes or so he was at the waterfall below us, making camp and 000
starting a small fire with the *dama* bush which he rooted up with his hands from the canyon wall.

In another ten minutes a woman turned the bend on the trail and shortly joined the man. She too had a pack; and after resting a moment she untied it, pulled out a kettle and some food, got water from the cliff, and started supper. In perhaps a half hour another woman appeared far down the trail. She was long in coming, for she stopped every fifty feet or so and rested. She too had a pack, and as she got nearer I noticed that it pressed heavily on her. When she rested she sat on the high bank bordering the trail, leaned forward, shifting the weight of the pack, and rested her head on her hands.

Before the second lady reached the waterfall, another man appeared far down the trail; and when these two joined the other couple, I went down for a visit.

Tibetans usually look younger than they are. To me the two 145
men appeared to be in their late thirties or early forties. The younger woman, short and stocky with a square, pleasant face, looked thirty-four. The other lady, who had lost many of her teeth and had a deeply wrinkled face toughened by sun and storm, was well over seventy. She wore heavy trousers and a skirt which was 291
part of a black wool dress with long sleeves. These clothes were heavy, for they served not only as protection against the weather, but as night clothes too. She had a moccasin-type shoe made of sheepskin, and over her shoulders she wore a shawl of the same material, which protected her back from the rain and served as a pillow or covering at night. It was the only blanket she had. To this point the old lady and the young one were dressed alike. But the old lady, unlike the younger one, had a distinctive headdress 291
known as the *perakh*. A *perakh* is a piece of leather six or eight 301
inches wide and about two feet long that is worn on the head. It runs from the forehead down the back of the neck to the shoulders. It is inlaid with stones, usually jade and turquoise. The

• 291 Queen of Ladakh (who is titular only now that Ladakh is a part
301 of Kashmir) is reported to have the most valuable *perakh* in this part of the world. But the one worn by the old lady at Chakchu seemed fancy enough. Its jade and turquoise were not polished, but they were well proportioned. Some were as large as fifty-cent pieces, some the size of quarters; others were circular and still others were cut into odd and irregular shapes.

291 The old lady also wore huge side flaps made of black wool, which looked like gargantuan ear muffs and stood out like sails. From a distance they made the woman look like a wolf. The *perakh* and the side flaps are typical Ladakh headdress. I never traced the origin of the *perakh*. But legend has it that the side flaps go back to articles designed for an ancient queen of Ladakh who had the earache. The flaps not only cured the earache; they proved to be so decorative that they became part of the conventional headdress.

164 I no sooner reached the camp of these Ladakhis than the old lady lay on her side and started to moan. I inquired if she were ill. She was; so I sent Man Das up to our camp to fetch my medical kit.

While he was gone I made my diagnosis. The old lady had perhaps a degree or two of fever and a splitting headache caused, I believe, by her supreme exertion at high altitudes under a burn-
484 ing sun. This old woman, her daughter, her son-in-law, and her neighbor lived near Leh. Last June, as soon as the passes were open, they started on foot to Manali, a trek of about 240 miles.

"Why did you go?" I asked.

"To do some shopping and to visit friends."

"Did you reach Manali?"

"Yes, and now we are returning home."

"How long will it take you?"

"Perhaps a month."

"What did you buy?"

"Talcum powder and hair oil."

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

593 agreement was made that she [illegible] be the wife of only the one
595 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this
184 ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and
[465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land
• 291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves,
515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night,
735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

2.92

Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha.

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The Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word.

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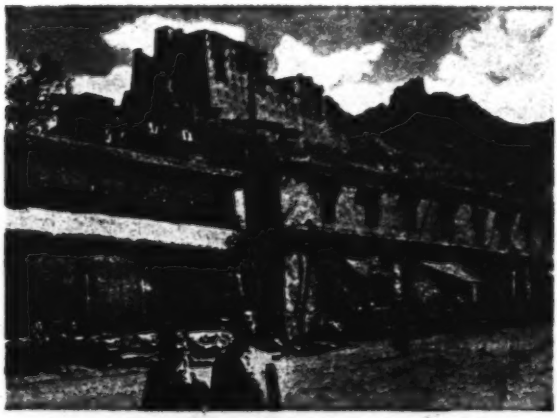

The castle of the King of Ladakh still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

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291

Zila played the daps and sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice.

[facing p. 192]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

3.4

Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars.

Jigmet, the headman of Upshi, is the richest man in the village.

•271

[facing p. 198]

735 an annual cash income of eighty dollars a year per family. But
511 that is far above what the average Ladakhi family will have in a year.

[342] At Upshi, where we first touched the Indus River, we stayed with the headman of the village, Jigmet. Jigmet's house has two stories. It is made of stone and mud with rafters of poplar wood. The ceilings are about six feet high. The floors are mud. The roof is flat, constructed of rocks and mud laid on top of boughs. The cooking is done in a fireplace located under a hole in the roof. The toilet is on an open balcony on the second floor. It consists only of a hole in the mud floor. There are no furnishings in the house—no chairs, no beds, no tables. There are no decorations on the walls, no carpets on the floors.

Jigmet is the richest man in the village. He owns the land he works—eighteen *kanals* or a little more than one acre. He has no sheep, no goats, no yaks. He has one dzo that he uses for plowing. For fuel he uses the dung of the dzo and the common sea buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides*)—a silvery-barked shrub with sharp spines and orange-yellow berries that flourishes in the valley of the Indus. He raises only barley, and he irrigates it from the Indus. He has a few chickens. Their eggs, the dzo's milk, and the barley are his income. He bragged that he had a cash income, over and above his living, of fifty dollars a year. A local official laughed at the idea. He said five dollars a year would be closer.

[291] Jigmet wore a gray wool gown, sandals, and a Ladakhi hat. The hat, distinguished by a rim made of black fur, had a round, squat top. Jigmet had one other adornment. In his right ear he wore a big gold earring about an inch and a half in diameter. His face was sad; his black eyebrows and thick, black mustache accentuated the severity of his countenance. Yet he was a gracious host. He showed us to our room on the second floor. The room had a small balcony big enough for a sleeping bag. It faced north, and I could see miles and miles up the Indus. We no sooner had unpacked than Jigmet's family appeared—a wife suckling a babe,

511 735 792 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any possible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[642] 578 522 The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.

578 522 792 539

Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 438
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its
Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient
city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will
shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an
extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the
use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale.
Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program
in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as
the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the
old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 159
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with
their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncompli-
cated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith.
The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to
them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people,
and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually
faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the chil-
dren, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoy-
ancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the
laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291 •
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been
washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the
garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against
Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips,
gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IN HIMALAYAN TIBET

CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Land & People

"ONCE upon a time" is the orthodox beginning for all stories of fairy-land, and indeed the words "here and now" seem far too prosaic to introduce a new-comer into a land where those, who can still look out on the world with a child's wonderment and imagination, may actually see such living and moving embodiment of gnomes, elves, quaint old witches, weird old wizards in such appropriately fantastic and grotesque settings that they may well feel they have reached the veritable home of merry sprites and strange goblins. Could anything be more gnome-like than the little children playing in the roads and lanes, peeping shyly round dark corners or out of mysterious cracked doors, or darting away down queer passages leading under and through houses, quaint little individuals with merry brown faces, sometimes flat and Mongolian in type, but often with large lustrous brown eyes, probably from a Kashmiri admixture. See these elf-like little faces framed in the astrakhan edging of their high fur-lined caps with turned-up corners, a fashion worn by all ages and sexes, including the pig-tailed men, these very corners being so typical of the whole goblin land. So, too, are the still taller peaked mitre-shaped hats of the lamas, red or yellow, while the national head-dress or "Perag" of the women, is the most extraordinary thing of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely 342
carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The 231
ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the [301]
front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare 247
land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers [301]
is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is 513
not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at 291
being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible stitching as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are
264 completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth
412 of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

576 With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding ! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the " Doctor Sahib " was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the " Doctor Sahib " from one of his patients, but the " Mem Sahib " would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching
291 head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as
782 out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature
241 seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought ; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the
759 mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

able British Government is paying him some large salary for his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the wrong way round in this strange land, where the term *mgologpa* (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

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for a moment, it was she who caught her breath in dread suspense; but there was always another figure in attendance who was quick to give an extra hand. This was Choskyit, the children's Ladaki nurse, a faithful, delightful woman, and a picturesque lady as she rode along in her dark plum-coloured, full-skirted Ladaki home-spun, with a fur-lined waistcoat fastened on the shoulder in Tibetan style, and her red velvet Ladaki hat turned up at the back and sides, showing the black lamb-skin lining. Large round hoops of seed pearls with a few small turquoises and red stones adorned her ears and framed her kind cheerful face, which gave the lie to the rather barbarous leather horsewhip she carried. Riding behind her baby's dandy, scolding the men roundly when they carried it crookedly or loitered, she was off her pony in a minute to lend her aid in any time of need, to adjust the curtain to a change in the direction of the sun at a turn in the road, or to see that the little one was comfortable and happy. So trustworthy was she that she and the baby were always sent off first in the early morning, the parents catching up before the stop for the roadside meal. And now again the Memsahib had reached the piece of road where the track led over the frozen ice and snow, undermined by the rushing river, so that every now and then it ended abruptly where another large piece had cracked off the bank and remained tilted up at an acute angle into the river. At such places a new path was beginning to be trodden out further up the hillside, but, when it joined the old one again, one wondered how long before any new piece would in turn yield to the pressure; whether perhaps one's own pony would prove to be "the last straw," and pony and rider suddenly find themselves taking a sideways somersault into the river. However, the baby was now safely in Srinagar, so there were no fears for her, and such dangers as the road presented merely acted as thrills to the grown-up mentality. Again Dromar went ahead and his rider found herself in the company of the head cook of the expedition. Going along

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his wig standing over there, with a markedly malevolent look in one big bad eye, seeming to watch with great resentment the intrusion of our Western selves into his valley? Certainly that eye follows us till we are level with him, after which suddenly turning, we find that he too has turned back again to see what other intruders will follow, and we wonder how the rest of our party will stand his evil scorn. Then our eye falls on a giant emerging with his broom from his cave, from which we can trace the track down which he goes to fetch water. His face is hidden, but shoulder, arm and broom are clearly visible. What mystery is he brooming out with such persistence? A little further we spy a Mongolian-looking female, eyes closed, and flattened nose turned up in utter disgust at our European smell. So, though the last few miles are generally the longest, these are more than beguiled by all the strange wizard-like forms and fairy-like scenes we see depicted opposite, varied with glimpses into deep narrow ravines with more weird formations, suggesting the strangest mysteries.

Our attention is diverted, however, by Mulbek's monastery, perched high up on inaccessible-looking crags and dominating the whole valley. Strange and sudden on its perch, fascinating in its form and outline, we at last turn down under its very shadow to the polo ground, on the nearer side of which is the rest-house, and on the further side the central stream. All along we have been noting how exactly the strange dwellers of this valley fitted the scenery from head to foot, indeed especially head-dress and footgear, no doubt contributing to our feeling of being intruders. The chuckling fat babies with their nun's style of close-fitting cap, tucked into one of the aforementioned baskets, and left on the edge of the field in which their caretaker is busy, are particularly attractive. At the bungalow we find a lot of *respas* (turn-men) waiting to secure the job of transport for the next day. In our staff is a coolie boy from a village near Leh, who came to us utterly destitute in

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TWO LADAKIS IN THE BAZAAR AT LEH.

The old Meme (grandfather) has his prayer-wheel with him in order to accumulate merit. He is wearing *charoks*, Yarkandi boots of thin red leather with a felt stocking inside. His companion prefers Ladaki footwear, of which the uppers are woven of coarse wool, sewn on to rope soles. The toes are turned up.

THE BABY SKUSHOG OF SPITUK

With his two lama "nurses." He is wearing the gilded official riding hat.

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As we ride
622 up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long
● 241 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material.
301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's
197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among
437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we
563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this
731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A *'Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

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142 unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are
291 cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed. On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick
342 soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but
[132] from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing, he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

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of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village. 651

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are. 461 276

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda 291 302 291 293 302

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302 and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again.
●291 The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners
177 is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the
576 edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion
[512] demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

302 The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance
291 is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

291 In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead
301 certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright
291 red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

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studded with small turquoises. Sometimes a large red 301
cornelian also varies the apex. This would seem startling 291
enough, but unfortunately a later Queen had an attack of earache, so attached a large piece of black lambskin each side to protect her ears. The court ladies must do likewise, so now every *perag* is accompanied by these large ear-flaps, and the *coiffure* is most wonderfully adapted to them by plaiting the hair into a number of small plaits, which are sewn into the ear-pieces at each side, and continued with wool down the back on both sides of the *perag* to unite below in a large tassel, which reaches to the bottom of the skirt. To one side of the *perag* a projection of silver from which rows of coral-beads depend is also fastened. This is said to represent the serpent's tail, though it seems to us to have become rather dislocated. In the villages there are only a few rows [369]
of turquoise on the average woman's *perag*, but the town ladies are very resplendent, and their head-dresses become so heavy with stones that they sometimes support them by a broad black tape passing under the armpits. The central portion is taken off at night, and sometimes when at work in the house, leaving the ear-pieces in place, stitched to the hair, for so elaborate a *coiffure* can only be taken down once a month, when the hair is washed, oiled and done up anew. For this process in the town a lady hairdresser attends, [463]
getting four to eight annas a day, and in addition food of the feasting standard. In the country the women have to oblige each other. Also occasionally the whole *perag* has to be taken to pieces, a new red cloth substituted, and the turquoises resewn, during which time the proud owner of a brilliant head-dress has to be content with her ordinary fur-lined hat. Small girls sometimes begin with a skimpy little *perag* at the age of five or six, bearing a single row of turquoises in front and ending in cowrie shells behind. The latter are slowly replaced as funds permit, and cowries should only be worn by unmarried girls. By the time she is grown up, a girl

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By the time she is grown up, a girl should thus have quite a good sized *perag*,[4] which functions as her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age. The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom traceable to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

301 The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast, with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

291 Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate (the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff), both men and women in this country have them cut very

4 [i.e. turquoise studded headdress. – ANALYST]

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●291 much longer than their arms. In winter this is very useful, as the hands can be threaded in the opposite sleeve to keep warm, and any surplus length in a man can always be turned back as a cuff. A woman's trousers are also far longer than her legs, and look very peculiar garments when spread out to dry. But the concertina-like creases into which they fold when worn, and which come right down to the ankle, add all the more warmth in winter. An unmarried girl wears white trousers, but a married woman must wear black, at any rate after the birth of her first son. A woman's *skerag* or waistband is also wide and very long, and wound round her very tightly. Her gown is shaped rather differently from a man's—the bodice and skirt being cut separately, and the latter sewn on to the former with very full pleats, and if it is a best dress the whole is edged with an effective little narrow bind-
301 ing of gay pattern. Occasionally she thinks to enhance her beauty by using the small berries of a common weed, and sticking them all over the upper part of her face, where they look
563 like little yellow spots. These berries are also said to relieve
291 headache, and withdraw superfluous serum. We must also mention the head-dress of the Mussulman women in Leh, for the town contains a large proportion of them. The *perag* is rightly considered an emblem of an idolatrous religion, and should be discarded on changing over to Mohammedanism. Then a white head-dress covering over a little round foundation cap, and hanging in folds to below the waist, is worn.
[301] In front is an ornament which may be quite costly, of seed-pearls and turquoises, often arranged to form the sign of the crescent.

144 Now we come to those important members of the home, the children, and it would be hard to find more fascinating little persons than the elfish little sprites whom we meet in Ladak. To our Western eyes the flattened face and large cheeks of a Mongolian type of baby are particularly quaint.

844 When Baby is coming, in contrast to the complicated

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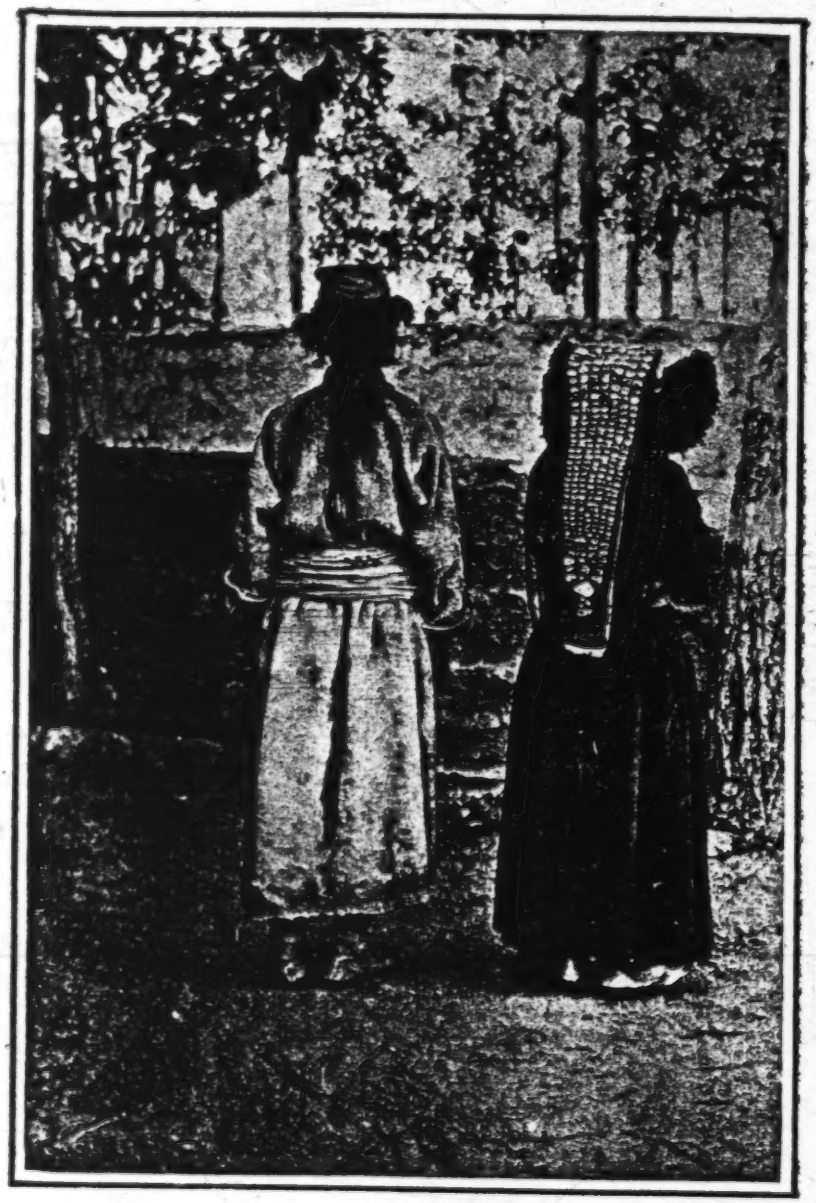

PIGTAIL AND PERAG.

A typical Ladaki man and woman taken in summer. The lady need not wear her cape in and about the house, and the sidepiece, or "tail of the serpent" is missing from her *perag*. The gentleman shews well the effect of the rubbing of his well-oiled pigtail on his natural-coloured homespun.

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533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
797 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
• [291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

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proud possessors of umbrellas, which went up for sun or showers. Many districts and dialects were represented. 796 184

Here were two *Jomos* or nuns from Zankskar, to whom we talked later on when gathered round their camp-fire with their fellow countrymen, young girls of about seventeen and nineteen, sisters, with course manly faces and necks under their tonsured heads and yellow caps. They had come a month's journey over many a difficult pass, but were as cheery as could be. Conspicious were some conjurers from Spitti, who come to Ladak every year, and whose display we had often witnessed in Leh. With uncovered heads, their long hair done in a large number of narrow plaits gave a strangely effeminate touch to their tall, well set-up bodies. Dotted about were ladies from the district of Hanle, some two to three weeks' journey further up the Indus valley, easily distinguished by their peculiar *perags*, which, instead of coming to a blunt point in front, were cut sharply off above the forehead by a straight bar of silver. Many of the women from Nubra and the less known valleys of Ladak wore picturesque dresses of narrow material sewn together in strips with circular patterns stamped on at intervals, giving a striped effect, so pleasing that one wished it had not been put out of fashion by the town ladies of Leh. One old Tibetan with a dark face, looking as if he might belong to the Hanuman tribe, sat devoutly under an umbrella the whole time, and, whenever we looked across, he was turning his two prayer-wheels, which he held one in each hand. Such devotion had no doubt prevented him from attending to his wild unkempt hair for many a long day. There were also many ladies wearing nothing on their heads to cover their untidy plaited hair: these were nomads from the Changtang, the great northern plains far away. Now a small person takes up a central position and serenely breaks open apricot stones to extract the kernels, using a stone to crack them on the base of the flagstaff. A gentleman with a yellow silk brocade dressing-gown and

796 184 291 [791]

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tremendous red hat is seen making his way purposefully through the crowd, and one wonders what, whence, whither? Then comes into view a curious figure with a tremendous prayer-wheel, a strange hat with a central peak, and a high scolloped turned-up brim, a conspicuous rosary, and two small drums on his back: a sort of gipsy lama, or shall we label him a mendicant magician in this land where priest-craft and devil-worship, ecclesiastical ritual and sorcery, are so closely mingled.

There we spy a typical Tibetan face, framed by a four-flapped dark orange cap; and now a pretty Ladaki girl, in a very Dutchy hat with turned-up corners and a little bit of gold embroidery, detaches herself from the crowd and makes signs to a friend on the roof above us, a delightful touch of colour being added by a yellow rose fastened in the side of her hat. Occasionally we spot a woman from Central Tibet with her round head-dress a strip of red-covered leather shaped into a ring, studded with turquoise and coral, and wearing the quaint striped apron which she and her sisters effect. In the corner, under the shelter of an overhanging roof, we find a little family comfortably ensconced, their baggage sacks having been arranged as pillows for a witchlike old lady who leans wearily back on them. Here and there stand out extra highly coloured hats on our own Ladaki neighbours, even the gentlemen having had their head-gear re-covered for such a festival. The flat Mongolian faces and quaint wee garments, generally raggedly elflike, of the babies, are particularly fascinating, especially one tiny man belonging to the front row in the quadrangle floor, who runs out into the arena every now and again to guilelessly practice the movements he has just witnessed, causing real joy to the crowd. One larger boy, caught trespassing by a monk with a whip, is seized and given a mock beating, which amuses him as much as the onlookers. Here are some Dard ladies from Hanu, far down the Indus valley, with their bag-like caps fastened down on one side and adorned with a row of needles (probably made in Birmingham).

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So from time to time one interesting type after another appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the

250 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the
178 river to make the return journey to Leh on the other side, we passed a large *chorten* surrounded by small trees, on which was painted a hideous three-eyed monster, the patron saint of Hemis, and then caught up with one more fascinating
484 little group of pilgrims. This trio were returning up the Indus
184 valley to the wilds, two women and a man in the dress of nomads. On their backs were strange casks like old beer
291 barrels with the outlet well pegged. Looking in over the top we found they were lidless and contained all their cooking pots, while the remainder of their travelling requisites, probably all their worldly goods, were packed on the back of the donkey, whose foal trotted at her side.

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
131 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
175 is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[522] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

212b

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

●29 stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

175 648 Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading [63] house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not. As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father. He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576]
they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

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Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[p. 480-A]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 37. The Tok-Tok family: left to right: Lobsang, Ishe Döndrup, Stobgyes, Chungnid, Sonam Döndrup, Gon-po. Chungnid is holding Dok-pa in her arms.

Fig. 38. The Old-ldan family: left to right: P'hüntzok, Kumchok, Putit, Sonam with Sonam Putit in his arms, and Tsewang Putit.

[P. 480-B]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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Fig. 41. The Bata section of the Tsong-k'har-pa family: left to right: Döndrup, Murup, Palkid, Ishe Paljor, the *porjag* of Shing-k'hang.

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Fig. 42. Dorje Yöndron with her step-son and husband No. 2, Sönam Wang-chuk Dele Rabden Sä I, at Kalimpong.

[P. 480-D]

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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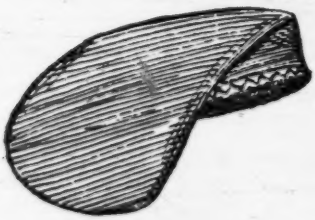
181 and much given to truth-telling. The Ladākhīs, however, have by no means poor understandings; they are not muddle-headed, but will learn to understand clearly if given a fair time and opportunity. Major Godwin-Austen has with truth remarked that in one respect the Ladākhī writers far excel the munshīs, or writers, of India—that is, in the understanding of a map.

291 Their dress is simple; it is all woollen, of a coarse and thick, but not very closely-woven, home-made cloth, of a natural drab colour. The men wear a *choga*, or wide and long coat, folded over double in front, and confined at the waist by a woollen kamarband, or scarf. They wear nothing beneath this; with boots and cap, and may be an extra wrapper, their attire is complete. As to cap, there is an old and a new fashion. The old sort of cap, still a great deal worn, but chiefly in those parts that are out of the way of traffic from foreign countries, is of the peculiar form shown in the cut. The part that falls over, as far as I could make out, does no good to the wearer. The Kashmīris have an absurd story about these caps, that their origin was from the time when a force of Mughal soldiers from Kashmir, under Ibrāhīm Khān, came to help the Ladākh ruler against the Sokpo invaders. When this force was retiring, one of the troopers dropped his horse's *tobrā*, or nose-bag, which a Ladākhī, picking it up, wore for a cap; and the fashion was so much admired that it became general. The other sorts of head-dress are a jaunty skull-cap, which is the newer fashion, and a comfortable lamb-skin cap, with large ear-flaps, which in summer are stuck up behind in a curious way, but in winter they make the best possible protection against the severe cold. To the Ladākhī his boots are a matter of great importance. The stony ground, and in winter the biting snow, require precautions. A piece of thick leather makes the sole, and is moulded round for the sides of the feet as well; a felt or a cloth top is joined on to



LADĀKHĪ CAP.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by 291
felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry.

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is 564
that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry.

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is 793
not hereditary.

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the 131
Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places.

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different 563
occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was 142
that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 181

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lamb-skin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADĀKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zāuskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came. 361 [346]

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage". 361 [487] 439 563 [797]

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very 142 [522] 291

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact, but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

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2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

Photo by] [Vishu Nath

FOUR LADIES OF LADAKH.

On the head of the figure to the right notice the magnificent "rough" turquoises. These are probably an heirloom. The white cuffs worn by the next are parts of a thick shell.

[facing p 206]

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

A Trip to Ladakh

782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 293 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt, on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is 291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume 301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially 302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

000 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

574 grand folk dressed in most weird costumes, uncommonly like a well-got-up pantomime.

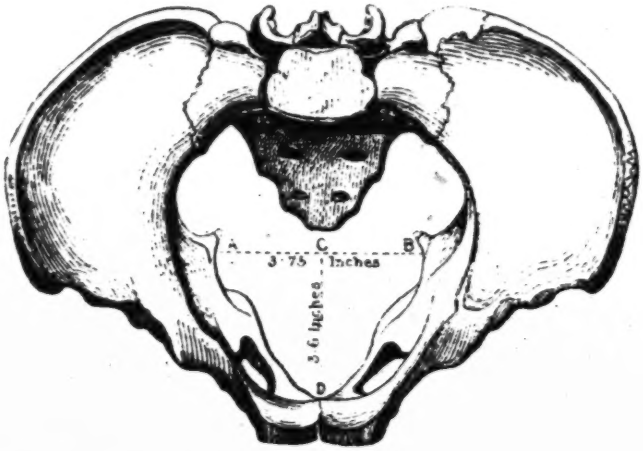
574 There were men dressed in Chinese silks, with their
291 smart blue and gold caps with tassels, Ladakhi officials
793 of various grades, from the Joint-Commissioner, a fine-looking Mohammedan, to his fat babu who sat on his pony like a monkey, his stirrups being so short that his knees and fat stomach met. But the figure which took my fancy was the church dignitary; he resembled for all the world Cardinal Wolsey risen from the dead. He wore a scarlet cloak which fell over the pony's back and almost touched the ground, and he sported ye old cardinal's hat. I never saw him smile, which was in contrast to all the others, who seemed to be out for a holiday. Whether he was upset about not having his proper position in the cavalcade, or whether he had the stomach-ache is uncertain, or maybe his cardinal's hat was uncomfortable. It certainly was hardly the sort of hat I should have chosen to ride in. Perhaps his dignity did not allow him to show his feelings. Anyway, everybody except the cardinal seemed to be in good fettle after their morning's ride. We all fell into some sort of order and rode for the capital.

361 You can see Leh from some miles distant as it is
574 built up the side of the rocks, with the palace and
533 monastery towering above. Leh is 11,700 feet above
526 sea-level, so one needs a little time in which to get acclimatised.

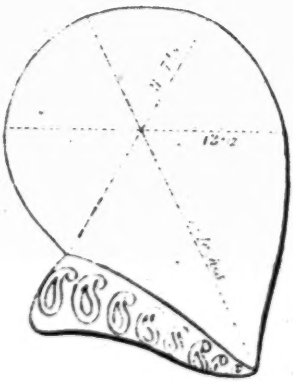
When we arrived through the fine gateway into the main street we found both sides lined with H.H. the Maharajah's troops and the crowds of citizens behind them. The monastery band was in full view on the roof of one
574 of the buildings and made the usual joyful sound. This
526 main street of shops has a fine avenue of poplar-trees,

141

Pelvis from Hánlé



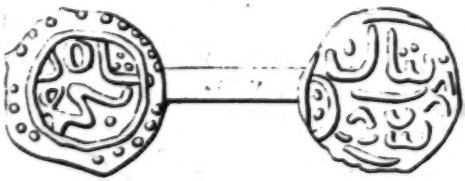
● 292



Cap of the GVALPO of Ladak.

301

The JAO of Ladak (6)



A. Cunningham del

p. 300 a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 iron or brass needle. The poorer classes have the outside of the skin plain, but those in better circumstances cover it with coarse woollen baize, either red, blue, green, or yellow, with a broad border always of a different [565] colour. The upper classes cover this sheep-skin cloak either with brocade or with silk. Their heads are always bare, the hair being arranged in a border of narrow plaits, which hang round the head like a long fringe. From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wear a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hangs down behind as low as the waist, and is usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowrees. The ears are covered by semicircular woollen lappets, fastened to the hair and edged with brown or black fur, generally of the otter-skin, called Kunduz. These ear-flaps are always red, the inside being woollen, and the outside brocade. These are made coarse or fine according to circumstances; for the Ladáki women seem to pride themselves upon the style and material of these lappets just as much as European ladies do upon the fashion of their bonnets.*

292 The dancing-women wear similar dresses, but they sometimes also have long gowns, of different colours, instead of the jacket and petticoat. Their heads are always covered, either with a coloured and quilted skull-cap, or with a circular, flat-topped, stiff woollen hat, 301 something like a short shako without a peak. These are ornamented with cornelians and turquoises.† All

* See Plates XV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. and XXII. for the women's dress of Kanáwar, Spiti, and Ladák.

† Plate XXII. Moorcroft, I. p. 328, remarks that "a Ladáki female in full costume would create no small sensation amongst the fashionable dames of a European capital."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 It seems probable, therefore, that the name of the sect was derived as I have supposed.

IV.—DRESS—RITUALIC INSTRUMENTS.

292 Most of the Lamas in Ladák wear a red coat with
792 sleeves and long skirts secured by a red girdle. All wear red boots. Most of them are bareheaded, but the higher Lamas wear semicircular red caps. One great Lama, the abbot of Lama Yurru, wears a peculiar hat, formed of bands that diminish in width by steps towards
302 the top.* Most Lamas have their heads shaved, or the
792 hair cropped short; but the abbot's hair was uncut. The pictures of the grand Lamas, both yellow and red, represent them without hair. This agrees with the practice of the Indian Buddhists, who were obliged to shave
292 their heads. The Dharma Raja, or great Lama of the
792 red sect, wears a semicircular red cap similar to those of the Ladáki Lamas.† His right arm is bare, but the rest of his person is clothed in ample red garments, suitable to a cold climate. The *Sanghati*, or kilt, and the *uttara-sanghati*, or cloak, of the Indian Buddhists, are formed into a coat with sleeves and skirt, and over this is worn a robe or blanket. In all the pictures the *antara-vásaka*, or "inner vest," is represented beneath the other dress. This is no doubt shown purposely, to prove that the great Lamas, according to the command of Sakya, never lay aside their inner vests.

The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear the same description of dress, but of a yellow colour. But all of them have transgressed the holy precept not to wear any ornamented

* See Plates XXIII. and XXIV.
† See Plates XXII. and XXIII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292
792 p. 372a

Plate XXIII

Abbot High Lama

of LAMA YURRU

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292
792

Plate XXIV

Dublo, aged 29,
a low Lama

Chiringjok, aged 22.
a Ge-Tshul (Gelukpa Sect.)

1 Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

clothes, for they have yellow and red brocades, spangled with flowers of gold. The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear peculiar conical caps with long lappets. 292 792

The ritualic instruments are three: the bell, the sceptre (or thunderbolt), and the prayer-cylinder.

The bell, *drilbu*,* is used during the performance of daily service, but for what purpose I could not ascertain. It is represented in the left hand of the great Lama Skyobba Jigten, of the red sect, and it is placed on the throne at the feet of the great Dalai Lama Navang Lozang. The bell represented in the accompanying plate is formed of a very white brittle-looking metal. On the upper part are the syllables *tan, man, lan, ban, man, tsun, pan, bDrin;* which may, perhaps, be intended to represent eight notes of the bell. Inside, in three places, are the monosyllabic interjections *aum! ah! Hun!* The outside is chiefly ornamented with representations of the *dorjé*, or sceptre. 796

The sceptre, *dorjé*, is the vajra of the Indians. This holy instrument is said to have flown away from India, and to have alighted at Sera, in Tibet. That it was looked upon in India, from a very early time, as an object of reverence, or as an emblem of power, is proved by its being placed in the right hand of a raja in the Sánchi bas-reliefs,† which date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. It is also sculptured on the rock at Udegiri, where it is represented in one of the hands of Durga, who is slaying the Bhainsâsur. This sculpture is as old as the seventh or eighth century.

In Tibetan it is called *sera-pun-dze*, and the annual festival which has been established in its honour is one

* *Dril-bu*, a "little bell." See Plate XXV.

† Eastern gateway, right pillar.

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 589 601 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

585 capital Leh and its surroundings; hardly anyone declined the invitation; they came together from places removed by three or four days' journey. After all, it was winter and everybody had time, for the work in the fields and in the summer places was at a standstill. At such times every change was welcome, and most of all a wedding in the house of a rich person. The Chirpon wanted to have a magnificent wedding, that they knew.

242 All the guests came dressed in their best festive clothing. Anyone who did not have a good suit--there were also some poor people among those invited--borrowed one from his neighbor who was better off and at least bought himself a new, bright red, green or blue cap, wrapped a new, brightly patterned long sash around his hips, and tied a white "handkerchief" onto the left side of the sash, less for practical use than for ornament. The women and the girls had put on their festive trinkets and garments: dresses in red, blue or green, with colored sashes and fur coverings, many turquoise and silver ornaments with which one tried to outdo the other.

585 Long before the winter sun had gone up in the Indus valley, which is very narrow here, the five best men, the Nyaopas, led by the sNatridpa and the Trashispa (bkra-śis-pa), appeared in the Dragshos house. They were all handsome young fellows dressed in colored cloth suits; each one had a long white or red shawl placed around his shoulders and wore on his head the pointed cone-shaped hat of the Nyaopas, covered with fine, glittering metal threads. These were joined by five /following p. 76 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle "Tibetan women in Ladakh (Original Tibetan drawing). "/ /77/ girls (dpa-mo, called "heroines") of the circle of relatives and of the clan, and five other fellows (dpa-bo, "heroes") for the bride's following. After all of them had been amply regaled with butter tea and flat bread cakes early in the morning in the chansa (living room-kitchen) and after they had danced there--the fellows by themselves and the girls by themselves--all of them got ready for the procession in order to fulfill their function at the wedding celebration, which was to take place during the day in the bride's house in Tingmogang.

Then the company breaks up in order to set out on the way to Tingmogang. The procession is headed by a pair from the group of dpa-bo and dpa-mo (neither of them may be orphans). The boy carries a clay dish with glimmering frankincense whose smell is intended to please the gods; the girl carries a brass beer jug at whose upper rim the usual lumps of butter are stuck on in a circle. The sNatridpa follows

/Following page 96/

585
292

Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)

5: Ribbach--97 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 96/

585
292

Bridegroom in Ladakh.

585 The whole thing is covered with red material. The perag begins above
301 the forehead, where it is about three fingers wide, runs over the crown and back of the head, where it widens--with rich girls and women it becomes up to two hands wide. Then it goes down the back to the area of the hips, where it becomes narrower. The perag is covered with bright green turquoises which are attached in dense rows. Chosskyid's perag was a masterpiece of its kind; the rich Norbu had done his best /103/ in order that his only daughter should be distinguished from all the girls in Lower Ladakh by the size of her perag and the beauty of the stones. Nine rows of great stones were counted at the widest part of the perag, four to six rows, at the ends. Above her forehead between the turquoises were attached beautifully worked, silver amulet capsules guilded on top and covered with cornelians, rubies, and other, semi-precious stones. A second wide band covered with corals ran from her left shoulder along the perag to the end of the latter. A necklace of silver and corals decorated her neck, and furthermore there were silver pendants attached at the sides of the perag as well as to the left shoulder; large silver earrings hung on both sides almost down to her shoulders.

585 The ten tresses are doubled in their natural length by black
302 wool that is braided in with them. Up till now it had been light gray wool, which is the symbol of virginity; from now on black characterizes the woman. All the tresses come together around the calves of the legs. Here, at the end, a bundle of nine tassels is fastened, which reaches down to the ground.

585 Instead of the everyday dress made of red-colored Tibetan cloth,
292 the dsamos clothe the bride today in a dress of good, blue European
301 material, which the father has bought at the bazaar in Leh. The long dress, which extends down to the feet, is held together at the hips by colored sashes three meters long. The white handkerchief--essentially an ornament--is tied inside this sash and a pendant (do-len) made of shells, little pincases and all kinds of brass ornaments are attached to it on the left hand side. A beautiful shawl from Kashmir, worked in many different colors, which is fastened to the right shoulder with a brooch, is wound around the upper part of the body. The wrists are decorated with thick white rings which are made of large Indian snail-shells, as well as with silver bracelets which are in the form of snakes. The feet are shod with dainty Indian pointed shoes.

585 The dressing and ornamenting of the bride was a complicated and time-consuming affair to which the bridesmaids devoted themselves with zest. The matter proceeded amid endless talking, joking and laughing /104/, and when it was finally completed and everything had

5: Ribbach--150 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 144/

292
301

Ladakh woman in festive costume with
turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

184 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

352 Lâhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Lâhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basâhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

251 184 The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Lâhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Lâhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhâga valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Lâhauli. The principal food of the Lâhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *chang* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Lâhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Chang*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Lâhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dâgis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barârars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

184 262 [273]

Dress of Lâhaul and Spiti.

291 In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

301 293 [302] 292 291

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In the autumn the *nierpa* or treasurer, with some of the monastery tenants in attendance, goes through the whole country, and collects from every holding a customary fee called *dubri*, consisting of one *páth* of barley. In the spring a great festival takes place, known as the Ghantál Tcháchá, at which all comers are fed for one day. A long train of pilgrims may be seen engaged in making the circle on foot of the holy mountain,—a work of much religious efficacy, as it ought to be, seeing that it involves a trudge of about eighteen miles and an ascent and descent of several thousand feet. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"The third grand *lámá* of Tibet* visited Láhaul while I was there in 1867, inspecting the monasteries and giving his benediction to the people at places where he halted. He travelled in quaintly-shaped, bright-coloured tents carried on *yaks*, with a considerable retinue of monks. I saw him seated on a throne or platform built up in the open air, dressed in a mitre and silken canonicals, extraordinarily like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates. The monks formed a lane in front of the throne, up which the Láhaulis advanced in the most reverential manner to receive the blessing, and a bit of silk to be worn, I believe, as a talisman. After backing out of the presence, they made the circle of the throne, praying aloud as they walked. I saw one poor man present a pony, so the value of the offerings must have been considerable."

The principal endowment of the five Spiti monasteries consists of the *pun* or assigned grain rents already described: the rent-free land they hold is of exceedingly trifling amount. The following table shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of *pun* they draw from each *kothi*:—

Name of monastery or *gúphs*.	Number of *lámás*.	Amount of "pun" collectable from each *kothi*.			Remarks.
		Name of *kothi*.	Khal.	Teh.	
Dankar or Láwopo	90	Shám ...	127	14	Seventeen *khal* assigned to the family of astrologers, and forty to the Pittu monastery in Ladákh, have to be added to make up the sum total of the *pun*, *viz.*, 1,461 *khal* 7 *teh*.
		Chusi ...	190	...	
		Todpá ...	73	17	
			331	11	
Tábo	82	Shám ...	52	5	
		Chusi ...	134	19	
		Todpá ...	10	10	
			198	14	
Ki	100	Chusi ...	379	4	
		Bárjik ...	14	...	
		Todpá ...	60	...	
			453	4	
Tángiut ...	60	Chusi ...	292	...	
		Bárjik ...	87	16	
		Todpá ...	9	12	
		Pin ...	20	...	
			399	8	
Pin	100	Pin ...	81	10	

* One of the three who is born again as soon as he dies; the man I saw was fair, plump and smooth faced, and not more than twenty years old I should say.—*Lyall.*

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 A/4 W. Tibetans A/4
Spiti 49a

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladâkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perâk* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 937

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *kesar*, or green, water is kept; *i.e.*, water in which *kesar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kesar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 Since the Incarnate Lama is a young boy of eleven, there is an older lama who serves as his teacher and *alter ego*. This lama is called a Lobon or Guru.

The Lobon is a famous institution in Lamaism. The Incarnate Lama is always a young boy who is trained by the Lobon. During the minority of the Incarnate Lama, the Lobon is regent. He is, in other words, head of the monastery until the Incarnate Lama comes of age. His authority is supreme in temporal and spiritual matters. He is also master of his pupil. He teaches the Incarnate Lama the Scriptures, or Buddha's sayings (of which there are 108 volumes), and then the Commentaries (of which there are 225 volumes). The Lobon is with the Incarnate Lama day and night, training him in the mysteries of Lamaism, speaking for him, acting in his stead, prompting him, and keeping him under constant surveillance. In Lamaism beatings of pupils by teachers are common. Even an Incarnate Lama can be beaten by his teacher. But when that happens, the teacher prostrates himself before the student to show there has been no disrespect of the person. And then the student prostrates himself before the teacher, thanking him for the punishment.

The Lobon met us at the entrance to the garden of the Incarnate Lama's house. He was sixty or more, a learned, devout man named Ngatun Phuntzog. His full, round face was beaming as he greeted us. His eyes are deep-set and lively. He has a thin, silky mustache and a skimpy beard. His voice is a deep guttural.
• 292 His hair is gray and thin. He wore the heavy dark red gown, which gave the effect of a bathrobe, the red girdle, and the red sandals of the lamas of the Red Sect.

000 While Budh Ram and Man Das were sorting the baggage, Rahul and I sat on the porch with Phuntzog. The porch opened on a walled garden green with grass and fringed with poplars. From one side wall a small cataract poured through a pipe, filling the place with music. All else was quiet except for the barking of the chained mastiff.

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at 792
Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of 775
Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, 779
his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery. 177

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensi- 792
tive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is [292]
black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

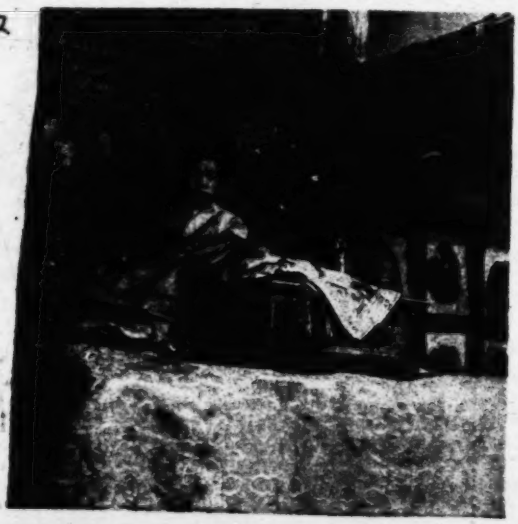
The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his 792
participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with 159
strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 292



The boy of eleven is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery.

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At Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wi They are filled with prayers which are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year.

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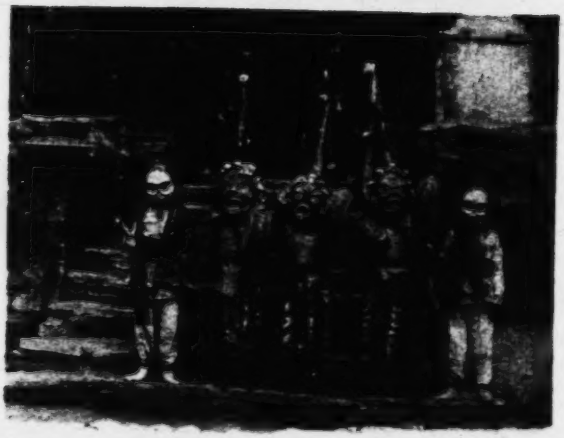

The lama dances, like the old morality plays in Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

[Facing p 161]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha.

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The Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word.

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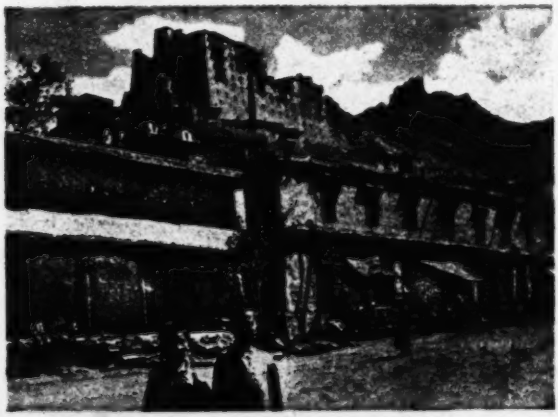

The castle of the King of Ladakh still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

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Zila played the daps and sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice.

[facing p. 192]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IN HIMALAYAN TIBET

CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Land & People

"ONCE upon a time" is the orthodox beginning for all stories of fairy-land, and indeed the words "here and now" seem far too prosaic to introduce a new-comer into a land where those, who can still look out on the world with a child's wonderment and imagination, may actually see such living and moving embodiment of gnomes, elves, quaint old witches, weird old wizards in such appropriately fantastic and grotesque settings that they may well feel they have reached the veritable home of merry sprites and strange goblins. Could anything be more gnome-like than the little children playing in the roads and lanes, peeping shyly round dark corners or out of mysterious cracked doors, or darting away down queer passages leading under and through houses, quaint little individuals with merry brown faces, sometimes flat and Mongolian in type, but often with large lustrous brown eyes, probably from a Kashmiri admixture. See these elf-like little faces framed in the astrakhan edging of their high fur-lined caps with turned-up corners, a fashion worn by all ages and sexes, including the pig-tailed men, these very corners being so typical of the whole goblin land. So, too, are the still taller peaked mitre-shaped hats of the lamas, red or yellow, while the national head-dress or "Perag" of the women, is the most extraordinary thing of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292 all, and must have a detailed description later on. Then look at their dwellings, strange habitations of mud and 342 stones, crudely put together with crooked lines and strange little tiny windows, with or without a rough wooden framework. The larger of these may have a wooden partition down the centre of the framework, and the upper edge of the latter is curved upwards in each partition, adding the expres- [231] sion of an eyebrow to the aperture. Through such windows it is quite common to see the solemn face of an old goat looking out, his long beard waggling to his meditative munch as he surveys the street below. How strange it seems to our Western ideas to have a goat upstairs and free to wander all over the house. But here we shall slowly find that in one example after another "the things go the other way." We are not exactly in Looking-glass Land, but we are certainly in some sort of Wonderland, where many things are upside-down, topsy-turvy or just the reverse of our notions of correctness, and where the strangest incongruities prevail.

To start with the houses, our best rooms are on the ground floor; as you ascend the rooms decrease in importance, and the uppermost ones are relegated to lumber or to the least important members of the household. In Ladak, on the contrary, the higher you go the better the rooms, and the flat roof is the most used place of all, especially in the sunny hours of winter, when many domestic activities can be carried out in the warm sunshine there, and thereby the precious fuel be saved. Often there is a small porch on one side, a shelter from the keen spring winds or a shade from the heat of summer. The fact that horse-manure or cows' dung is spread out in patches on the floor to dry, or that the chimney of the summer kitchen-room is busy fulfilling its functions near-by, does not at all detract from the desirability of this lofty open-air sitting room. Descending, we come to a large room with an open verandah, which can be closed in by

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TWO LADAKIS IN THE BAZAAR AT LEH.

The old Meme (grandfather) has his prayer-wheel with him in order to accumulate merit. He is wearing *charoks*, Yarkandi boots of thin red leather with a felt stocking inside. His companion prefers Ladaki footwear, of which the uppers are woven of coarse wool, sewn on to rope soles. The toes are turned up.

THE BABY SKUSHOG OF SPITUK

With his two lama "nurses." He is wearing the gilded official riding hat.

FACING p. 72

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-28) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through dark alleys, up ricketty ladders, and under low portals, which give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This "very nice room" with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a beautiful shining mohagany by years of smoke, a process being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it on the floor, so that we may both sit and "lay our table" upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining, sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained. We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme,* is specially interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are constrained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hillside. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker gives the old man some of his own "Country Life" tobacco to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it with a smile, for who could have believed even that old friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[FACING P. 88]

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1. A LADAKI FROM A SIDE VALLEY.
One of the few old men who still wear regularly a turnover hat introduced by a former king.

2. A BREEZY DWELLING.
A Tibetan nomad looking through the aperture at the top of his quaint tent, which serves as chimney, ventilator and observatory.

3 & 4. HEAD TEACHER OF THE MONASTERY OF SANKAR.
He is the secular instructor of the Baby Skushog. He is wearing ceremonial hats used on different occasions.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

576 summons they produce. Next come those who blow the
534 flageolets, whilst the further end of the row is assigned to the long shawms, which are so long that, when they are put away, the three parts of which they consist have to be telescoped one into the other. Priestly music must be described elsewhere, but the greeting to the Commissioner consists of single notes blown on shawms, and flageolets, clanged on cymbals, and beaten on drums at the same time, with a slow rhythm. This is not nearly so discordant as might be imagined, and when produced in its own setting seems quite
576 harmonious. Again we are riding across a desert road with
534 a village well to the left. The inevitable band has been
292 sent to the roadside to play us their greeting, but next to them there is a group of four women, gay in their bright red and green, ceremonial or dancing cloaks, lined with long sheep-skins; one holds a pot of local beer, the next a plate of flour, the third a vessel of water, and the last presents glowing
000 embers. One's thoughts almost naturally revert to that scene in the Bible, where Abraham, having followed the army which had carried off his cousin Lot, returning victoriously was met by Melchizedek, King of Salem, with bread and wine. Thus does the unchanging East still keep up its ancient customs, even on the sandy plains of Western Tibet. Abraham no doubt took of the fare provided, but we had not been fighting an enemy, and did not feel the need of sustenance just then. In my politest Tibetan I explained that the Commissioner did not drink *Chang* (the local beer), which harmless and perfectly true remark only produced roars of laughter.

Now we have ascended the Changla, a pass of about 18,000 feet, and to right and left of our road have seen the most wonderful variety of wild flowers. Looking back from the head of the pass, we see about fifty feet below us a large, perfectly purple patch of ground, made up of a mass of wild primulas—surely a remarkable sight at such an elevation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in bed sleeps on the outside," as the outside bed-fellow has one side relatively exposed. Sleep at an altitude of about 17,000 feet is fugitive; in fact neither of us got much that night, and, even when it did come, we woke up with a most disagreeable sensation, as if somebody were sitting on our chests so that we could not properly fill them with air.

We have finally arrived at Drogpo Karpo, where the conference is to take place. This is a large grassy plain, surrounded by snow mountains, at the further end of which the camp is pitched. In the centre are the tents of the Commissioner and Wazir with their respective flags. In front of these stands a square tent nicely carpeted, in which are a table and chairs. This is to serve as conference room. We had arrived a little before time, and before the Tibetans. They, however, turned up soon afterwards, and presented quite an impressive sight, as they rode, two and two, into camp. First came, not the standard bearer, but the Umbrella-of-State-Bearer. After these some soldiers, although we should not have recognized them as such, had we not inquired as to their function, for there was nothing very martial about them, save the muzzle-loaders they bore. They wore the usual dressing-gown coats of homespun held together round the waist by a big kammerbund, red Wellington boots with very thick soles and hats shaped somewhat like lemon squeezers. These were followed by various members of the staff, then the great man himself, whilst still others followed him. Having settled themselves into their quarters, the Wazir sent a message across to say that H.H. the Maharajah desired them to regard themselves as his guests. They on their part sent a delegation with twenty-five bricks of tea, and a piece of *snambu* (homespun) with the request that a time be fixed when their chief representative, the Gaspon, could come to pay his respects. Punctually to time he arrived. His dress consisted of a lovely blue skirt, and a Chinese coat of the same colour which was buttoned up to his neck. His

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

hat was the same shape as that of the London messenger boy only with the addition of a large brim which was turned up all round, and on the top was a red knob made of coral. From the lobe of one of his ears depended an elongated earring made of turquoises. It would take a professional reporter of fashions to describe all the various kinds of hats worn, but perhaps the most favoured head-gear was an English felt hat, worn the wrong way round,—as it would be in this country,—that is the ordinary long axis going across the head. Others liked to flatten them into a round shape, like a padre's hat. Then there were hats made of papier mâché in almost any shape that might occur to the fancy. The Tehsildar seems to have desired to create the impression that he was wearing a *chorten* on his head, whilst the Gaspon's little son preferred the idea of a candle snuffer.

On arrival the Gaspon placed a salutation scarf round the neck of the Commissioner. Photographs were then taken, after which we entered the conference tent, where we sat round a table, and, by means of an interpreter some kind of conversation was sustained:—the word "sustained" is used advisably, for even our Ladaki servants who speak the language of Western Tibet, cannot understand these representatives from the forbidden land, so special interpreters are needed. Next to me sat a jolly old lama on whom I tried to air my Tibetan. He evidently could understand just sufficient to be thoroughly amused. He had quite a jovial face, and was evidently no ascetic, but resembled much more the good old English friar, so often represented in pictures engaged in piscatorial pleasures. Needless to say more presents were given. Business began next day, but one regrets to have to report that it was impossible to make our friends from across the border see reason, and so there was finally nothing for it, but to exchange still more presents, and to return to our various homes.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
462 is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[857] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
BALTI AV 2

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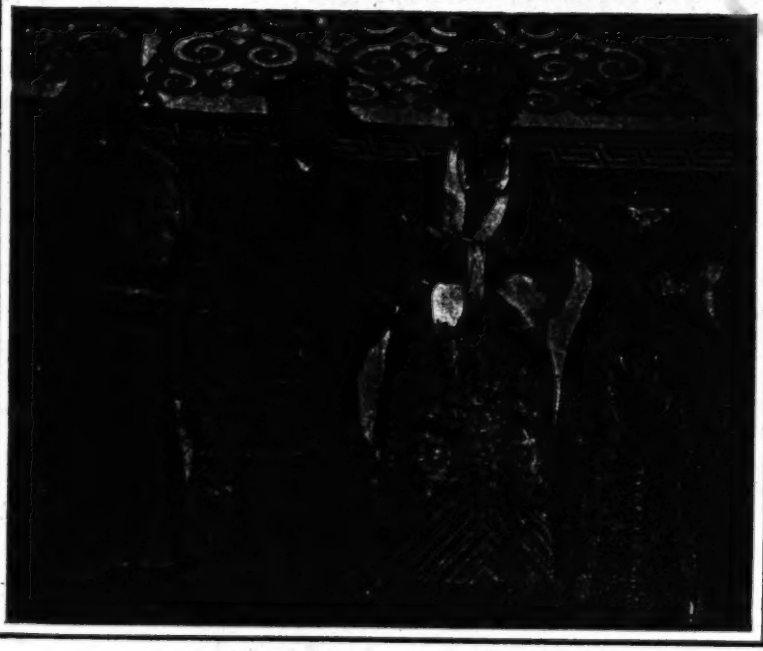

BALTI COOLIES.

They carry peculiar sticks in their hands on the march, like a short-crutch with rather a long cross-piece at the top. When they stop to rest, they pass the stick behind and under the load, so that it takes the weight off their backs.

A LADAKI WEDDING GROUP,

Shewing the rich Chipese robe of the bridegroom and his high tinsel-covered hat. He wears his nuptial white scarf and a gold amulet box studded with turquoises. His little wife is rather obscured by her large cape lined with sheepskin.

FACING p. 178

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 slow trot. One alternative only remained: No. 1 had to drop the ball at the mid-line, whilst No. 2 who was riding immediately behind was expected to hit it. During the first half the European combination did wonders, and at half time were leading by four goals, but this put the home team on its mettle, and they gradually caught up. Time, however, was in favour of the visitors, who won their game by one goal. Will such a match ever be played again?

541 Next let us go to the bazar and watch the horse-racing. This peculiar species of horse-racing is quite in keeping with this quaint country. We take up our positions on the verandah of the post office. At the further end of the bazar about thirty ponies and their jockeys are gathered. First along the course comes a rider decked out in the most wonderful garments. His dress is a beautifully embroidered Chinese mandarin's robe and the insignia of his office is a tigerskin tunic. On his head he wears a large round hat covered with gilt tinsel, the crown rising to a dome, surmounted by a knob to which streamers of gilt tinsel passing from the brim are attached. This is quite a personage, who assumes the title of *glabdag*, which means one to whom the gods are subject. The office boasts a long lineage and is traceable to pre-Buddhist times. Its representative is always chosen from one of three families, and his duty is to serve the King personally, one especial task being to change the pencil cedar on His Majesty's altar on New Year's day. When he rides ahead of all the jockeys, he is acting as his King's Viceroy. Having led the way, the race can begin, but a starter is quite unnecessary. Each man starts off just when he likes and simply tears down the bazar as hard as his pony will carry him; though they often elect to start in a bunch, there seems to be no purposeful relationship between them, and odd ones left far behind carry on with equal zest. Needless to say bookies are unnecessary. Sometimes a wag will add to the delight of the spectators by performing gymnastic feats as he rides, possibly having dressed

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

584 [791] to the house of the bride-elect empty-handed, and the fateful day on which he sets out must be decided by the *Onpo*. If the young lady's parents receive him favourably, more beer must be sent on several occasions, and a series of preliminary feasts, whose principal feature is beer drinking, is inaugurated. The first of these, called *holchan*, is only a small affair, but marks a definite betrothal. Subsequently more *chang* must be taken for the consumption of the relatives of the future bride, and at this feast or *nyenchang* (relation beer), it is decided what presents in kind and in cash these people must be given. The money present is said to be in payment of Nature's provision through the mother for the bride's first earthly nourishment! It may vary from Rs15 to Rs45, while the other presents include twenty-five to forty-five measures of *chang* (600–1,000 quarts), also tea, butter, *p'adings* (the local dried apricots), meat, rice, and salutation scarves.

The next feast is called the *trabschang* (conference beer), and its occasion is the assembly of all the relatives and friends some weeks before the wedding to decide upon and to distribute the responsibility of giving the various articles needed for the actual wedding-feast, such as the provision by the uncle of the bride of the *drangrgyas*, or cake, round which the dances will take place, and all the details of serving the courses 585 are arranged. The menu includes the following courses: (1) Tea; (2) a mixture of wholemeal flour, butter and dried curds, sugar, and tea; (3) *p'adings* and breads; (4) meat and a mixture of flour and water called *Boldra*; (5) beer; (6) *nanchang* or very strong beer, of which each partaker is obliged to drink one whole measure, which makes them thoroughly intoxicated; (7) *zilchang*, another kind of beer; (8) rice.

Nyobjhol is the procedure of fetching the bride (or bride-
[792] groom). Those who carry this out are called *nyopas*, and their official costume consists of beautiful silk dresses, and high-crowned, gilt hats. Their number varies from five to

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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THE SKUSHOG (ABBOT) OF HEMIS DGONPA

In the robes in which he led off the first dance at the Festival of 1916. The overskirt is made of human bones, and in his right hand he holds a dagger. The cloth across his mouth is to keep out the dust raised by the dancing.

[FACING p. 232]

15: Francke--100 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/Illustrations and Photographs. / 1

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531/ No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailasas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

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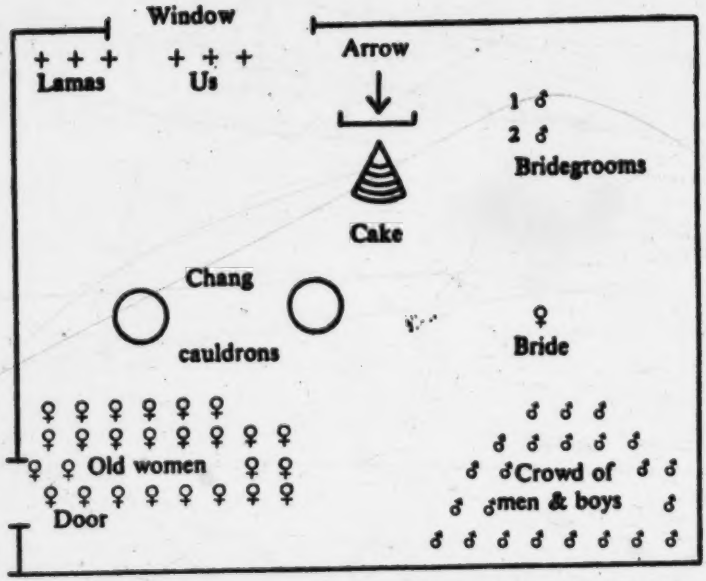

Sketch 1. Plan of main room of Tolag-pa House of Gumling during the polyandrous wedding there on the 1st July, 1938.

other two being very young and fidgety and incapable of behaving as they should at their wedding. The eldest of the brothers was on the [292] right and he wore a yellow silk gown with a bright green sash diagonally across it, a charm box round his neck and a little Lahuli embroidered hat on his head. His brother was plainly dressed in everyday clothes and was seated on his left.

In front of the eldest brother, in a square box full of grain, stood a [182] tall arrow with prayer flags attached to the head. Next to it, and in front of the second bridegroom, there was a conical cake of *tsampa* with the small figure of a goat fashioned out of butter at the top. In the centre of the room were two huge cauldrons of *chang*, enough to keep the party going for quite some time. The back of the room, facing us, was full of people, many old women on our right, and a mixed group of men and boys just opposite.

The bride was brought in and dumped near the younger brother, to his left. She remained lying there without moving, still gently moaning [354] but having given up her violent protests. The room was in darkness when she was carried in, but no sooner had she been put down on the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
852 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[292] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such animalistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

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516
854

Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[P. 480-A]

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4
SIKKIM AK3

000 of K'ang Hi, probably about 1690-1700 A.D., and entrusted with the emperor's confidence as his religious vicegerent for inner Mongolia.[1]

WT 792 775 In Ladāk only four monasteries have resident re-incarnate Lāmas or *Ku-s'o*. Although they are of the red sect, these head Lāmas are said to be educated at Lhāsa. The present (1893) re-incarnate Lāma of Spitak, the seventeenth of the series, is thus described by Captain Ramsay.[2] "A youth, 26 years of age, who lately returned from Lhāsa, where he had been for 14 years. He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden-coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved, and one arm was bare. On entering the room he bowed, and then presented the customary 'scarf of salutation,' which I accepted. He impressed me very favourably; his manner and general appearance was superior to anything I had seen among other Lāmas or people of Ladāk."

[000]

HEAD LĀMA OF PEKIN.[3]

WT [792]

S 792 775 In Sikhim, where few Lāmas are celibate and where the La-brang Lāma is the nominal head of the fraternity with the title of "Lord protector" (*s*Kyab *m*Gon), the fiction of re-incarnation was only practised in regard to the Pemiongchi and La-brang

[1] *Z.R.* 21, PAND., No. 53. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 68. [3] After Grünwedel.

2: Gervis Γ-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans AJ 4

summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next 342
morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer 132
outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a
difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny 132
courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be 354
had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in 793
meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the 793
Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron- 292
coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish
shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasion- [795]
ally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great 793
monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that 361
every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

unpleasant odour of those sitting around me—it was difficult at times to keep my eyes open. 796 533

The costumes are as old as the play and made of beautiful brocades embroidered in gold and silver; some of the dancers wear great black hats, others giant masks of animals or the faces of the evil spirits of legendary characters, the same as are depicted on the walls of the monasteries and known to all the people from their earliest childhood. The play demonstrates how Good triumphs over Evil, but only after a two-day struggle, during which the evil hideous spirits whirl and twist, wildly charging and leaping in their frightening effort most wickedly to destroy Good. Then at long last comes the triumph of Good—Buddhism of course—over Evil, and the bad ones' terrified flight under the wrath of the flashing swords of Good. [292] 796 772 533

During the two days both dancers and orchestra reach a terrific speed and state of excitement, carrying with them those who are watching, the latter it is hoped by the lamas, being duly impressed by the power of the Lord Buddha and his always ultimate magnificent victory over all that is evil, however powerful the challenge may first appear, and however successful in its opening phase.

Back in Leh, at night we watched the festival go on for days, for happiness was in the air; the winter with its cold and bitterness had gone, the land would again yield its fruits, the caravans would come from the "distant lands" of which the people of Ladakh had no knowledge other than that gleaned from those who came from those parts; and Good had once again, this time after a most terrific and thrilling struggle, conquered Evil.

Singing and dancing—and drinking—continued. The young men came out with hobby-horses and acted a polo game for our benefit, the girls were made to form a circle and sing to us, the bands blasted our ears with their "music", and the people were delighted that they had been able to make us as happy as they were themselves.

When all had gone and the lights had faded away, the thin crescent of the moon and the twinkling stars seemed to become a brighter silver against the indigo-velvet sky which was only separated from us by the snow-capped mountains of purple brown; mountains which are said to contain untold wealth if 000

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had
292 heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls of
574 Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary
534 bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal.
[113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

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2: Bicoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

Photo by] [R. E. Shorter,

THE BUDDHIST ABBOT AND HIS CHELAS OR PUPILS.

[facing p. 212]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

262 The food of the common people usually consists of
565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

•293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "róm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Food.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

000 The man spoke. "Your medicine has made me ill. Now I am worse than I was."

"Why do you say that?"

"Because my arms itch all over. They did not itch until you gave me the medicine."

"Maybe the man is allergic to aspirin," I said to Rahul. And so I changed the prescription: one Empirin Compound now, one more in an hour, one in case the patient wakes up during the night.

In the morning I saw the patient. The headache and fever were gone; but the dry, rasping cough was still there. He agreed with me that he should return to Manali and not attempt Rothang Pass. Rahul, my disbursing officer, paid him off, and I gave him several more Empirin Compound in case his fever returned. As he left with his son, he gave me the gracious Hindu salute and said, "Sahib, you are a wonderful doctor." And his son chimed in, "There is no one to take care of us poor people. The rich have all the medicines."

As long as the porters were with me, several of them came each night for simple treatments. When Tashi joined us at Koksar with his horses, I treated my first case of boils. Tashi had them on his arms. They were not ripe for lancing, so I bathed and dressed them and furnished him with salve, gauze, and tape when he left us at Kyelang.

Because of the wind, the dust, and the sun, sore eyes are one of the chief afflictions in Lahul and Ladakh. The sun in this dry altitude where the humidity is low has an intense burning power. Among dark-skinned people the eyes are the first to be affected.
• 293 Every traveler of the high trails wears sunglasses if he can get them. The natives sometimes make them with crude wooden
000 frames and horsehair stretched across for a lens. At Gundala a woman came to me with sore eyes. I bathed them in a solution of boric acid and filled them with a penicillin salve.

164 An old man, a Moslem, came to me at Gya with the earache. I

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village. 651

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are. 461 276

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda 291 302 291 293 302

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt,
293 on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is
291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume
301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially
302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

000 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

294

294 CLOTHING MANUFACTURE--techniques of manufacture (e.g., cutting, fitting, sewing); special treatment of particular materials and products (e.g., shoemaking, hat manufacture); decoration (e.g., embroidery); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., sewing machines); specialization (e.g., dressmakers, tailors, cobblers, hatters); etc. See also:

Leather and textile industries 28
Factory buildings 348
Household sewing machines 404
Decorative art 531

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
286 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The
[82] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoñ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

335 order to make this possible has the teeth of his saw turned the opposite way to the English saw ; or of the seamster
294 making his Ladaki hats. But time and space will not permit ; suffice it to say, that, whenever possible, the Ladaki workman seems to do things " the wrong way round " as far as our point of view is concerned.

301

301 ORNAMENT--types of ornament worn (e.g., necklaces, bracelets, rings, anklets, earrings, labrets, hair ornaments); mode of attachment or suspension; age, sex, and status differences; materials and manufacture; occasions of use; etc. See also:

Work in bone, horn, and shell 321

141

Plate XII

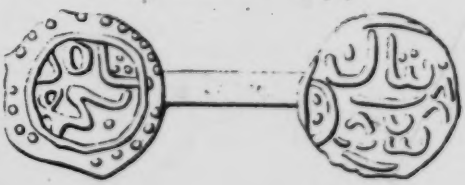
Pelvis from Hánlé

292

Cap of the GVALPO of Ladak.

301

The JAO of Ladak (6)



A. Cunningham del

p. 300 a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 iron or brass needle. The poorer classes have the outside of the skin plain, but those in better circumstances cover it with coarse woollen baize, either red, blue, green, or yellow, with a broad border always of a different [565] colour. The upper classes cover this sheep-skin cloak either with brocade or with silk. Their heads are always bare, the hair being arranged in a border of narrow plaits, which hang round the head like a long fringe. From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wear a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hangs down behind as low as the waist, and is usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowrees. The ears are covered by semicircular woollen lappets, fastened to the hair and edged with brown or black fur, generally of the otter-skin, called Kunduz. These ear-flaps are always red, the inside being woollen, and the outside brocade. These are made coarse or fine according to circumstances; for the Ladáki women seem to pride themselves upon the style and material of these lappets just as much as European ladies do upon the fashion of their bonnets.*

292 The dancing-women wear similar dresses, but they sometimes also have long gowns, of different colours, instead of the jacket and petticoat. Their heads are always covered, either with a coloured and quilted skull-cap, or with a circular, flat-topped, stiff woollen hat, ● 301 something like a short shako without a peak. These are ornamented with cornelians and turquoises.† All

* See Plates XV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. and XXII. for the women's dress of Kanáwar, Spiti, and Ladák.

† Plate XXII. Moorcroft, I. p. 328, remarks that "a Ladáki female in full costume would create no small sensation amongst the fashionable dames of a European capital."

k-Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291
301
142

Women of Lower KANAWAR

Kanet
aged 30
LABRANG

Kanet
5 ft 0 1/4in.

Girl
aged 18
LIPÉ

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291
301

Women of Upper KANAWAR

Plate XVI

304b

Back View of Thajang

Thajang, aged 20
3 Husbands
HANGO

Landlord's Wife
SUNGNAM

Girl aged 14
LIYO

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291
301

Height 4 ft 9
DANGKHAR
SPITI

Sangi Ram
SPITI

Height 4ft 10
SHE
in LADAK

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 p. 304d
301

Landlords Wives

From NURLA in LADAK

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

262 The [illegible] of the common people usually consists of
565 [illegible] barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, The former the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkhá the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4 inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human [illegible] can be heard	= "	300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12 "

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbo or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la tấng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zăr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Fhiemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (a kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years" trustee."

● 301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

[539]

763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; [291] there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
Waste no words! Offer a draught! 533
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside. 585

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made 585 302 585 301

118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails. [825]

of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

585 The whole thing is covered with red material. The perag begins above
301 the forehead, where it is about three fingers wide, runs over the crown and back of the head, where it widens--with rich girls and women it becomes up to two hands wide. Then it goes down the back to the area of the hips, where it becomes narrower. The perag is covered with bright green turquoises which are attached in dense rows. Chosskyid's perag was a masterpiece of its kind; the rich Norbu had done his best /103/ in order that his only daughter should be distinguished from all the girls in Lower Ladakh by the size of her perag and the beauty of the stones. Nine rows of great stones were counted at the widest part of the perag, four to six rows, at the ends. Above her forehead between the turquoises were attached beautifully worked, silver amulet capsules guilded on top and covered with cornelians, rubies, and other, semi-precious stones. A second wide band covered with corals ran from her left shoulder along the perag to the end of the latter. A necklace of silver and corals decorated her neck, and furthermore there were silver pendants attached at the sides of the perag as well as to the left shoulder; large silver earrings hung on both sides almost down to her shoulders.

585 The ten tresses are doubled in their natural length by black
302 wool that is braided in with them. Up till now it had been light gray wool, which is the symbol of virginity; from now on black characterizes the woman. All the tresses come together around the calves of the legs. Here, at the end, a bundle of nine tassels is fastened, which reaches down to the ground.

585 Instead of the everyday dress made of red-colored Tibetan cloth,
292 the dsamos clothe the bride today in a dress of good, blue European
301 material, which the father has bought at the bazaar in Leh. The long dress, which extends down to the feet, is held together at the hips by colored sashes three meters long. The white handkerchief--essentially an ornament--is tied inside this sash and a pendant (do-len) made of shells, little pincases and all kinds of brass ornaments are attached to it on the left hand side. A beautiful shawl from Kashmir, worked in many different colors, which is fastened to the right shoulder with a brooch, is wound around the upper part of the body. The wrists are decorated with thick white rings which are made of large Indian snail-shells, as well as with silver bracelets which are in the form of snakes. The feet are shod with dainty Indian pointed shoes.

585 The dressing and ornamenting of the bride was a complicated and time-consuming affair to which the bridesmaids devoted themselves with zest. The matter proceeded amid endless talking, joking and laughing /104/, and when it was finally completed and everything had

/Following page 144/

292
301

Ladakh woman in festive costume with
turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

Lâhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Lâhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basâhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Lâhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Lâhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhâga valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Lâhauli. The principal food of the Lâhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *chang* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Lâhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Chang*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Lâhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dâgis (Lehri) Lehaîs and Barârars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Lâhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om mâni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. — Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Amusements.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kardang *narlang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Constitution of the family.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gompa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

minutes or so he was at the waterfall below us, making camp and 000
starting a small fire with the *dama* bush which he rooted up with his hands from the canyon wall.

In another ten minutes a woman turned the bend on the trail and shortly joined the man. She too had a pack; and after resting a moment she untied it, pulled out a kettle and some food, got water from the cliff, and started supper. In perhaps a half hour another woman appeared far down the trail. She was long in coming, for she stopped every fifty feet or so and rested. She too had a pack, and as she got nearer I noticed that it pressed heavily on her. When she rested she sat on the high bank bordering the trail, leaned forward, shifting the weight of the pack, and rested her head on her hands.

Before the second lady reached the waterfall, another man appeared far down the trail; and when these two joined the other couple, I went down for a visit.

Tibetans usually look younger than they are. To me the two 145
men appeared to be in their late thirties or early forties. The younger woman, short and stocky with a square, pleasant face, looked thirty-four. The other lady, who had lost many of her teeth and had a deeply wrinkled face toughened by sun and storm, was well over seventy. She wore heavy trousers and a skirt which was 291
part of a black wool dress with long sleeves. These clothes were heavy, for they served not only as protection against the weather, but as night clothes too. She had a moccasin-type shoe made of sheepskin, and over her shoulders she wore a shawl of the same material, which protected her back from the rain and served as a pillow or covering at night. It was the only blanket she had. To this point the old lady and the young one were dressed alike. But the old lady, unlike the younger one, had a distinctive headdress 291
known as the *perakh*. A *perakh* is a piece of leather six or eight 301
inches wide and about two feet long that is worn on the head. It runs from the forehead down the back of the neck to the shoulders. It is inlaid with stones, usually jade and turquoise. The

291 Queen of Ladakh (who is titular only now that Ladakh is a part
• 301 of Kashmir) is reported to have the most valuable *perakh* in this part of the world. But the one worn by the old lady at Chakchu seemed fancy enough. Its jade and turquoise were not polished, but they were well proportioned. Some were as large as fifty-cent pieces, some the size of quarters; others were circular and still others were cut into odd and irregular shapes.

291 The old lady also wore huge side flaps made of black wool, which looked like gargantuan ear muffs and stood out like sails. From a distance they made the woman look like a wolf. The *perakh* and the side flaps are typical Ladakh headdress. I never traced the origin of the *perakh*. But legend has it that the side flaps go back to articles designed for an ancient queen of Ladakh who had the earache. The flaps not only cured the earache; they proved to be so decorative that they became part of the conventional headdress.

164 I no sooner reached the camp of these Ladakhis than the old lady lay on her side and started to moan. I inquired if she were ill. She was; so I sent Man Das up to our camp to fetch my medical kit.

While he was gone I made my diagnosis. The old lady had perhaps a degree or two of fever and a splitting headache caused, I believe, by her supreme exertion at high altitudes under a burn-
484 ing sun. This old woman, her daughter, her son-in-law, and her neighbor lived near Leh. Last June, as soon as the passes were open, they started on foot to Manali, a trek of about 240 miles.

"Why did you go?" I asked.

"To do some shopping and to visit friends."

"Did you reach Manali?"

"Yes, and now we are returning home."

"How long will it take you?"

"Perhaps a month."

"What did you buy?"

"Talcum powder and hair oil."

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short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely 342
carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The 231
ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the [310]
front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare 247
land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers [301]
is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is 513
not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at 291
being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

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for a moment, it was she who caught her breath in dread suspense; but there was always another figure in attendance who was quick to give an extra hand. This was Choskyit, the children's Ladaki nurse, a faithful, delightful woman, and a picturesque lady as she rode along in her dark plum-coloured, full-skirted Ladaki home-spun, with a fur-lined waistcoat fastened on the shoulder in Tibetan style, and her red velvet Ladaki hat turned up at the back and sides, showing the black lamb-skin lining. Large round hoops of seed pearls with a few small turquoises and red stones adorned her ears and framed her kind cheerful face, which gave the lie to the rather barbarous leather horsewhip she carried. Riding behind her baby's dandy, scolding the men roundly when they carried it crookedly or loitered, she was off her pony in a minute to lend her aid in any time of need, to adjust the curtain to a change in the direction of the sun at a turn in the road, or to see that the little one was comfortable and happy. So trustworthy was she that she and the baby were always sent off first in the early morning, the parents catching up before the stop for the roadside meal. And now again the Memsahib had reached the piece of road where the track led over the frozen ice and snow, undermined by the rushing river, so that every now and then it ended abruptly where another large piece had cracked off the bank and remained tilted up at an acute angle into the river. At such places a new path was beginning to be trodden out further up the hillside, but, when it joined the old one again, one wondered how long before any new piece would in turn yield to the pressure; whether perhaps one's own pony would prove to be "the last straw," and pony and rider suddenly find themselves taking a sideways somersault into the river. However, the baby was now safely in Srinagar, so there were no fears for her, and such dangers as the road presented merely acted as thrills to the grown-up mentality. Again Dromar went ahead and his rider found herself in the company of the head cook of the expedition. Going along

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As we ride
622 up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long
741 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material.
● 301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's
197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among
437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we
563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this
731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A *'Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

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hat was the same shape as that of the London messenger boy only with the addition of a large brim which was turned up all round, and on the top was a red knob made of coral. From the lobe of one of his ears depended an elongated ear-ring made of turquoises. It would take a professional reporter of fashions to describe all the various kinds of hats worn, but perhaps the most favoured head-gear was an English felt hat, worn the wrong way round,—as it would be in this country,—that is the ordinary long axis going across the head. Others liked to flatten them into a round shape, like a padre's hat. Then there were hats made of papier mâché in almost any shape that might occur to the fancy. The Tehsildar seems to have desired to create the impression that he was wearing a *chorten* on his head, whilst the Gaspon's little son preferred the idea of a candle snuffer.

On arrival the Gaspon placed a salutation scarf round the neck of the Commissioner. Photographs were then taken, after which we entered the conference tent, where we sat round a table, and, by means of an interpreter some kind of conversation was sustained:—the word "sustained" is used advisably, for even our Ladaki servants who speak the language of Western Tibet, cannot understand these representatives from the forbidden land, so special interpreters are needed. Next to me sat a jolly old lama on whom I tried to air my Tibetan. He evidently could understand just sufficient to be thoroughly amused. He had quite a jovial face, and was evidently no ascetic, but resembled much more the good old English friar, so often represented in pictures engaged in piscatorial pleasures. Needless to say more presents were given. Business began next day, but one regrets to have to report that it was impossible to make our friends from across the border see reason, and so there was finally nothing for it, but to exchange still more presents, and to return to our various homes.

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and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again. The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

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studded with small turquoises. Sometimes a large red 301 ●
cornelian also varies the apex. This would seem startling 291
enough, but unfortunately a later Queen had an attack of earache, so attached a large piece of black lambskin each side to protect her ears. The court ladies must do likewise, so now every *perag* is accompanied by these large ear-flaps, and the *coiffure* is most wonderfully adapted to them by plaiting the hair into a number of small plaits, which are sewn into the ear-pieces at each side, and continued with wool down the back on both sides of the *perag* to unite below in a large tassel, which reaches to the bottom of the skirt. To one side of the *perag* a projection of silver from which rows of coral-beads depend is also fastened. This is said to represent the serpent's tail, though it seems to us to have become rather dislocated. In the villages there are only a few rows [369]
of turquoise on the average woman's *perag*, but the town ladies are very resplendent, and their head-dresses become so heavy with stones that they sometimes support them by a broad black tape passing under the armpits. The central portion is taken off at night, and sometimes when at work in the house, leaving the ear-pieces in place, stitched to the hair, for so elaborate a *coiffure* can only be taken down once a month, when the hair is washed, oiled and done up anew. For this process in the town a lady hairdresser attends, [463]
getting four to eight annas a day, and in addition food of the feasting standard. In the country the women have to oblige each other. Also occasionally the whole *perag* has to be taken to pieces, a new red cloth substituted, and the turquoises resewn, during which time the proud owner of a brilliant head-dress has to be content with her ordinary fur-lined hat. Small girls sometimes begin with a skimpy little *perag* at the age of five or six, bearing a single row of turquoises in front and ending in cowrie shells behind. The latter are slowly replaced as funds permit, and cowries should only be worn by unmarried girls. By the time she is grown up, a girl

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By the time she is grown up, a girl
301 should thus have quite a good sized *perag*, which functions as
291 her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests
757 money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age.
583 The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at
478 her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a
[583] small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so
152 the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent
301 *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the
291 ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom traceable to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

301 The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast, with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

291 Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate (the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff), both men and women in this country have them cut very

4 [i.e. turquoise studded headdress. – ANALYST]

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291 much longer than their arms. In winter this is very useful, as the hands can be threaded in the opposite sleeve to keep warm, and any surplus length in a man can always be turned back as a cuff. A woman's trousers are also far longer than her legs, and look very peculiar garments when spread out to dry. But the concertina-like creases into which they fold when worn, and which come right down to the ankle, add all the more warmth in winter. An unmarried girl wears white trousers, but a married woman must wear black, at any rate after the birth of her first son. A woman's *skerag* or waistband is also wide and very long, and wound round her very tightly. Her gown is shaped rather differently from a man's—the bodice and skirt being cut separately, and the latter sewn on to the former with very full pleats, and if it is a best dress the whole is edged with an effective little narrow bind-
301 ing of gay pattern. Occasionally she thinks to enhance her beauty by using the small berries of a common weed, and sticking them all over the upper part of her face, where they look
563 like little yellow spots. These berries are also said to relieve
291 headache, and withdraw superfluous serum. We must also mention the head-dress of the Mussulman women in Leh, for the town contains a large proportion of them. The *perag* is rightly considered an emblem of an idolatrous religion, and should be discarded on changing over to Mohammedanism. Then a white head-dress covering over a little round foundation cap, and hanging in folds to below the waist, is worn.
[301] In front is an ornament which may be quite costly, of seed-pearls and turquoises, often arranged to form the sign of the crescent.

144 Now we come to those important members of the home, the children, and it would be hard to find more fascinating little persons than the elfish little sprites whom we meet in Ladak. To our Western eyes the flattened face and large cheeks of a Mongolian type of baby are particularly quaint.

844 When Baby is coming, in contrast to the complicated

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757 ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again
565 see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

797 But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards
758 are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital,
593 he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not.
758 We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated
● 301 to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his
164 ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be
758 able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

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526 slow trot. One alternative only remained: No. 1 had to drop the ball at the mid-line, whilst No. 2 who was riding immediately behind was expected to hit it. During the first half the European combination did wonders, and at half time were leading by four goals, but this put the home team on its mettle, and they gradually caught up. Time, however, was in favour of the visitors, who won their game by one goal. Will such a match ever be played again?

541 Next let us go to the bazar and watch the horse-racing. This peculiar species of horse-racing is quite in keeping with this quaint country. We take up our positions on the verandah of the post office. At the further end of the bazar 292 about thirty ponies and their jockeys are gathered. First 644 along the course comes a rider decked out in the most wonder- 301 ful garments. His dress is a beautifully embroidered Chinese mandarin's robe and the insignia of his office is a tigerskin tunic. On his head he wears a large round hat covered with gilt tinsel, the crown rising to a dome, surmounted by a knob to which streamers of gilt tinsel passing from the brim are attached. This is quite a personage, who assumes the title of *glabdag*, which means one to whom the gods are subject. The office boasts a long lineage and is traceable to pre-Buddhist times. Its representative is always chosen from one of three families, and his duty is to serve the King personally, one especial task being to change the pencil cedar on His Majesty's altar on New Year's day. When he rides ahead of all the 541 jockeys, he is acting as his King's Viceroy. Having led the way, the race can begin, but a starter is quite unnecessary. Each man starts off just when he likes and simply tears down the bazar as hard as his pony will carry him; though they often elect to start in a bunch, there seems to be no purposeful relationship between them, and odd ones left far behind carry on with equal zest. Needless to say bookies are unnecessary. Sometimes a wag will add to the delight of the spectators by performing gymnastic feats as he rides, possibly having dressed

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533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
797 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
[291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

776 Jaschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is therefore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu of Kalatse,[1] aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

Oh my wise king!
When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
And see all the nymphs of that land,
Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[332] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to represent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[734] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the writing (1).

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma," No. 7.[1]

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time. It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
751 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

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corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nàgrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

5. (*a*) དཔོ་ཐུགས་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁྲོག་ཟམ།
(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.
(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.
(*d*) Often said instead of the former.
(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་ངོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་ཐུག་རེ།
(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.
(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.
(*d*) See 1 (*d*).
(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྒྲུ་ཏུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་འདུད་དེ་ཅི་ཟླ་ཡི་དུས།།
(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zā dus'.

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(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) ཉམ་པོ་འདུག་པ་ལ་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད།། 539 793

(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'. 609

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama. 192

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance.

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) ཨ་ནད་མ་ཨ་ནད་མ་ཟེར་ར་ནི་མི་ཡི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན།

ཀྱུ་ལ་ལ་གཡུ་ཞུང་བདག་ག་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན།། 539 562 301

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor iu'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁ་ཏཱ་ཀོ་ལྭ་ཟེར་པ། ཆུང་ཀཱ་དེ་མིག་འཁྲུལ།། 539

(*b*) Kha'tā ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kā mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
428 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

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Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[P. 480-A]

2: Bisco M-3 (1890-c.a. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4
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Photo by] [Vishu Nath

FOUR LADIES OF LADAKH.

On the head of the figure to the right notice the magnificent "rough" turquoises. These are probably an heirloom. The white cuffs worn by the next are parts of a thick shell.

[Facing p 206]

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt,
293 on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is
291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume
● 301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially
302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

000 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 302 ness. Not regardless of the aid of artificial charms, their hair, glistening with rancid oil, hangs loosely round their sunburnt necks. Sometimes it is woven into tresses which braid the contour of the face; but it is commonly unregarded, and blows out in the wind, giving them a shaggy appearance like wild beasts." Gerard's travels were confined to the southern districts of Láhul, Spiti, and Rukchu; in which the climate is much more rigorous than in the districts along the Indus, where apples, grapes, and walnuts are cultivated with success; and where alone I saw the fine-looking women mentioned above.

142 The face of the Boti is broad, flat, and square, with high cheek-bones, large mouth, and narrow forehead. The nose is broad and flat, and generally much turned up, with wide nostrils, and with little or no bridge. The eyes are small and narrow, and the upper eyelids usually have a peculiar and angular form that is especially ugly. The eyes are nearly always black; but brown, and even blue eyes, are seen occasionally. The inner corners are drawn downwards, by the tension of the skin over the large cheek-bones; the eyelids are therefore not in one straight line, parallel to the mouth, as is the case with Europeans, but their lines meet in a highly obtuse angle pointing downwards. This gives an appearance of obliquity to the eyes themselves that is very disagreeable. The ears are prominent, very large, and very thick. They have also particularly long lobes, and are altogether about one-half larger than those of Europeans. The mouth is large, with full and somewhat prominent lips. The hair is black, coarse, and thick, and usually straight and crisp. Bushy heads of hair are sometimes seen, but I believe that the frizzly appearance is not due even in

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 It seems probable, therefore, that the name of the sect was derived as I have supposed.

IV.—DRESS—RITUALIC INSTRUMENTS.

292 Most of the Lamas in Ladák wear a red coat with
792 sleeves and long skirts secured by a red girdle. All wear red boots. Most of them are bareheaded, but the higher Lamas wear semicircular red caps. One great Lama, the abbot of Lama Yurru, wears a peculiar hat, formed of bands that diminish in width by steps towards
● 302 the top.* Most Lamas have their heads shaved, or the
792 hair cropped short; but the abbot's hair was uncut. The pictures of the grand Lamas, both yellow and red, represent them without hair. This agrees with the practice of the Indian Buddhists, who were obliged to shave
292 their heads. The Dharma Raja, or great Lama of the
792 red sect, wears a semicircular red cap similar to those of the Ladáki Lamas.† His right arm is bare, but the rest of his person is clothed in ample red garments, suitable to a cold climate. The *Sanghati*, or kilt, and the *uttara-sanghati*, or cloak, of the Indian Buddhists, are formed into a coat with sleeves and skirt, and over this is worn a robe or blanket. In all the pictures the *antara-vásaka*, or "inner vest," is represented beneath the other dress. This is no doubt shown purposely, to prove that the great Lamas, according to the command of Sakya, never lay aside their inner vests.

The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear the same description of dress, but of a yellow colour. But all of them have transgressed the holy precept not to wear any ornamented

* See Plates XXIII. and XXIV.
† See Plates XXII. and XXIII.

/Following page 80/

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The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
Waste no words! Offer a draught! 583
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside. 585

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made 585 302 585 301

118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails. [825]

of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

585 301 The whole thing is covered with red material. The perag begins above the forehead, where it is about three fingers wide, runs over the crown and back of the head, where it widens--with rich girls and women it becomes up to two hands wide. Then it goes down the back to the area of the hips, where it becomes narrower. The perag is covered with bright green turquoises which are attached in dense rows. Chosskyid's perag was a masterpiece of its kind; the rich Norbu had done his best /103/ in order that his only daughter should be distinguished from all the girls in Lower Ladakh by the size of her perag and the beauty of the stones. Nine rows of great stones were counted at the widest part of the perag, four to six rows, at the ends. Above her forehead between the turquoises were attached beautifully worked, silver amulet capsules guilded on top and covered with cornelians, rubies, and other, semi-precious stones. A second wide band covered with corals ran from her left shoulder along the perag to the end of the latter. A necklace of silver and corals decorated her neck, and furthermore there were silver pendants attached at the sides of the perag as well as to the left shoulder; large silver earrings hung on both sides almost down to her shoulders.

585 302 The ten tresses are doubled in their natural length by black wool that is braided in with them. Up till now it had been light gray wool, which is the symbol of virginity; from now on black characterizes the woman. All the tresses come together around the calves of the legs. Here, at the end, a bundle of nine tassels is fastened, which reaches down to the ground.

585 292 301 Instead of the everyday dress made of red-colored Tibetan cloth, the dsamos clothe the bride today in a dress of good, blue European material, which the father has bought at the bazaar in Leh. The long dress, which extends down to the feet, is held together at the hips by colored sashes three meters long. The white handkerchief--essentially an ornament--is tied inside this sash and a pendant (do-len) made of shells, little pincases and all kinds of brass ornaments are attached to it on the left hand side. A beautiful shawl from Kashmir, worked in many different colors, which is fastened to the right shoulder with a brooch, is wound around the upper part of the body. The wrists are decorated with thick white rings which are made of large Indian snail-shells, as well as with silver bracelets which are in the form of snakes. The feet are shod with dainty Indian pointed shoes.

585 The dressing and ornamenting of the bride was a complicated and time-consuming affair to which the bridesmaids devoted themselves with zest. The matter proceeded amid endless talking, joking and laughing /104/, and when it was finally completed and everything had

/Following page 192/

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Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

184 **Chapter III, B.**

352 **Social and Religious Life.**

Food.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

251 184 The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhágn valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

184 262 [273]

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

291 In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

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* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

792 Chapter III, B.

795 Social and Religious Life.

Monks and friars.

[302]

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through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:—A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om mani pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Lábaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalised.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

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‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
[illegible] wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Budh Ram bashfully told me one day. "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

Building my bridge at Koksar was a community project.

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[Facing p. 65]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village.

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are.

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

302 and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again.
291 The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners
177 is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the
576 edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion
[512] demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

302 The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance
291 is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

291 In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead
301 certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright
291 red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
857 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[242] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

191 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

LADĀKHIS.

The Ladākhis have the Turanian cast of feature—that which 142
we are apt to call Chinese, from our having become most familiar with it through the Chinese division of the Turanian family. They have it not perhaps in its greatest intensity, but still unmistakably. The cheek-bones are high; from them downwards the face rapidly narrows; the chin is small and usually retreats. The most persistent peculiarity is that of the eyes, of which the outer corners are drawn out and the upper eyelids are overhung by a fold of the skin above. The eyes are brown in colour. The nose is pressed, so to say, into the face; and it is often, but not always, depressed at the bridge. The mouth is large and inexpressive; the lips project, but are not thick. The hair, which is black, is cut quite close in front and [302] at the sides of the head; behind, it is collected into a plait or pigtail, which reaches about to the small of the back. Moustaches are always or nearly always present, but they are small, and the beard is very scant.

In stature the Ladākhis are short, several inches below the English middle height. Cunningham gives nearly 5 feet 2 inches as the height of the men and 4 feet 9¼ inches as that of the women. Both sexes are broad-made and strong. There is no doubt that they are an ugly race; their best friends cannot deny it. As to the women, the best that can be said of their looks is that some of the younger ones are "not so bad looking."

One is glad, on coming to the subject of their character, to 181
find more to be praised. The Ladākhis are cheerful, willing, and good-tempered; they are very ready for a laugh; they are not quarrelsome, unless it be when excited by their intoxicating drink, *chang*, and if over that they do get to wrangling or fighting, no bad blood remains afterwards. They are by no means ingenious; simplicity and clumsiness are characteristics of them. There could hardly be two national characters more opposed than those of the Ladākhis and the Kashmīris; these latter, quick, versatile, and plausible; the others slow, inapt,

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4

142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear
291 flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
235 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A.

A Trip to Ladakh

782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt,
293 on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is
291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume
301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially
302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

900 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the banks of the Chomoriri lake, but they are small and hard. The turnips at Lé and at Tamisgong are good and palatable.

III.—CULTIVATION.

All cultivable land is called *Zhing*,* and this term is also generally used for a field of any kind. Good rich land is called *Zhing-zang;* stony land is called *Ri-zhing*, that is literally, "hilly land;" and meadow land is called *Thang-zhing*, that is, "plain land." All the cultivable land in Ladák lies along the courses of the small streams, and in patches on the banks of the great rivers. In the bed of the Indus especially there are large tracts of grass-land which are never brought under cultivation, but are kept solely for the grazing of cattle.

Landlords are called *Zhing-pa* and *Zhing-dag*. The poor cultivate the lands themselves, but the wealthy employ regular labourers. The *Glapa*,† or labouring man, holds the plough (*thong* or *shól*‡), while the *Glapa-mo*, or labouring woman, breaks the clods or digs the upturned earth. The women also irrigate the fields, and cut the crops. The ploughman, *Thong-pa* or *Moba*, and the diggers, *Ko-pápo* and *Kopámo*,§ are usually paid by the month (*da-phok*‖). Yáks are employed in drawing the plough, which is of wood, the share being only tipped with iron; but many of the fields are dug by the hand with a peculiarly-shaped mattock, *ko-byed*,¶ of which

* *Zhing*, arable land; *Zhing-bZang*, rich land; *Ri-Zhing*, hilly land; *Thang-Zing*, plain land.

† *Gla-pa*, a labouring woman is called *Gla-pa-mo*.

‡ *Thong* or *Shol*, or sometimes *Thong-shol*.

§ *Thong-pa* or *rMo-ba*, a ploughman. The diggers are *rKo-pa-po* and *rKo-pa-mo*.

‖ *Zla-Phogs*, pronounced *Da-Phok*, "monthly pay."

¶ *rKo-byed*, called also *Tog-tse*.

WT
772 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
775 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámas may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
T considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
788 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they
648 therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leader-
565 ship of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
WT Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
648 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
554 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
661 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
T lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
648 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
661 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
648 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
439 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
554 profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or cháng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the cháng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 62 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry. 797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

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MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock), ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-tshal" is used. 195 805

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

589 601

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 30 feet per mile.

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The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lhá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi; here there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *ommání pádme hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chudhten* or *Dangten*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangser, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans A.

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The Chandra and Bhága.

of 11,345 feet. Darcha and Khoksar, the highest villages in the upper valleys respectively of the Bhága and Chandra, are about 10,800 feet above the sea.

The source of the Chandra is in a huge snow-bed, more than 16,000 feet above the sea, on the south-east slopes of the Bára Lácha pass. From its very commencement a considerable stream, it becomes quite unfordable a mile from its source. Its course is south-east as far as the angle between the Kanzam range and the mid-Himalaya, a distance of 55 miles. Here, turned by the mountains, the river sweeps round to the north-west and skirts the base of the mid-Himalaya until it is joined by the Bhága at Tándi after a course of 115 miles. Its fall from its source to Tándi averages only 65 feet per mile. For the first 75 miles the valley of the Chandra is entirely uninhabited; the hills sweep down wild and barren to the river, and end in broken cliffs, the base of which is choked with the *débris* of decomposing rock. Above, the scene is equally desolate. Not a tree or a bush breaks the monotony of the bleak hill sides, and grass even disappears at no great height. The pasturage, however, though scanty in appearance, is of a quality much valued for sheep and goats, and is annually sought by large flocks driven up in July and August from Kúlu and even Kángra. A lake, called the Chandra Tal, near the Pálamo pass, is a favourite halting-place for the shepherds. The lake is three-quarters of a mile or more in length and of considerable width. It is fed by springs and the melting snows, and the surplus water runs by an outlet into the Chandra.

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The first signs of permanent habitations are met with opposite the Hamtá pass at old Khoksar, where there is a village occupied by five families some 14 miles above Koksar at the foot of the Rohtang pass. Here "the river enters on a less uninviting country; the valley widens considerably in several places, and there is a good deal of cultivated ground on the right bank, while on the left are a few scattered trees." As Ghondla is approached the country on the northern side still opens, and cultivation increases. The hamlets are larger, and the houses better built, and surrounded with groves of *pípal* and willow. The northern mountains too take a gentler slope; but on the south, on the other hand, they hang over the river, in precipitous masses. Opposite Ghondla a precipice rises like a wall 11,000 feet sheer above the river-bed.

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The glaciers of the hills in the interior threaten the river in more places than one. The most noted glacier is that known as the *big shigri** at the south-eastern extremity of the interior range of [illegible]. A fall of this glacier in 1836 caused a stoppage in the course of the river, and a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. Captain Harcourt, who crossed the glacier in 1869, puts its width at nearly two miles; and, he adds, it "is steadily subsiding, and every year is getting lower and lower". In another passage, after alluding to the cataclysm of 1836, he says: "There can be little doubt, judging from the quantity of ice collected on the flanks

* *Shigri* is the local term for any glacier.

of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

SECTION A.—AGRICULTURE AND ARBORICULTURE.

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Chapter IV, A.

Agriculture and Arboriculture.

Detail of area with reference to agriculture.

The areas of cultivation in Láhaul and Spiti as ascertained at the revision of Settlement by Mr. Lyall were respectively 3,096 and 1,184 acres. A detailed statement adapted from a return printed in Mr. Lyall's report is subjoined. Commenting, however, on the figures Mr. Lyall states his opinion that the "real cultivated area (in Spiti) is about half as much again as that shown in this return." It may, therefore, be approximately given as 1,775 acres.

Area (in acres) cultivated and barren in Láhaul and Spiti.

Subdivision.	Paying revenue to the State (*Khálsa*).		Revenue alienated or remitted (*Jágir* and *máafi*).		Total area assessed.
	Barren.	Cultivated.	Barren.	Cultivated.	
Láhaul ...	1,053,713	1,999	350,907	1,097	1,407,616
Spiti	1,342,816	1,119	...	65	1,344,000
Total ...	2,396,529	3,118	350,907	1,162	2,751,616

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Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

Barley is the principal crop in both *wazíris*; a very fine description of wheat, with six tiers of grain on each ear, is also grown in Pattan in Láhaul, and from Kibbar downwards in Spiti. Major Hay puts the return on seed sown in Spiti at 14 to 1 for barley, and from 10 to 12 to 1 for wheat. Mr. Lyall's enquiries led him to think that this estimate is about right as an average. As three *khal* or *lakh* (land measure) are found to be about equal to an acre, it may be estimated that an acre produces in Spiti 42 *khal*, or 12½ maunds of barley, and 36 *khal*, or 10¾ maunds of wheat; this is taking the *khal* at 12 *ser* only, which is rather less than its real capacity. In the upper villages the crops are occasionally blighted by early frosts, but on the whole the harvest must be unusually certain and invariable in amount. In Láhaul the outturn per acre must be rather less on the average, as the cloudy drizzly weather which sometimes prevails, particularly in Ranglói, must do harm. The other crops, besides wheat and barley, are peas, which are much grown in Spiti, but not in Láhaul, and buck-wheat which is common in Láhaul but very rare in Spiti. Mustard is sometimes, but rarely, grown in small quantities for oil. A little *china* is also sown in the lowest part of Spiti.*

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* An excellent account of the vegetable productions of Láhaul by Dr. Aitchison was published in Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal.

P. 136

000 der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

492 Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He
465 was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

492 By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

133 The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is
137 deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine
[231] trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washing-
• [311] ton when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth,* which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

133 This clear, cold stream runs into the Indus; and at their confluence sits the bleak village of Upshi.

The Indus rises in a Himalayan basin nearly seventeen thousand feet high. Once it was fed by numerous lakes. Now these lakes are mostly landlocked and turning to salt. The Indus is a powerful stream, cutting its way through the Ladakh range of the Himalayas. The Indus is an international waterway; it rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, traverses the length of Pakistan, and empties into the Indian Ocean near Karachi. It is cosmopolitan in character, giving its waters to a greater number [823] of races than any other stream in the world. The Indus is a legendary stream. The Tibetans call it the River of the Lion, since it is said to flow from a lion's mouth. The folklore is that those who drink the water of the Indus will be heroic like a lion. And the bed of the river is thought to be covered by sands of diamonds.

This day in August 1951, the Indus was swollen with snow water and running dark with clay. It poured through narrow channels with an angry roar and spread wide where the channel [311] flattened out. Crude irrigation canals led off to fields of barley and corn. The valley below Upshi is several miles wide; and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

About five miles below Upshi is Marchelang, a village of a few hundred people—a garden in a washed and rock-strewn land. At this point the Indus Valley runs east and west. A wide canyon opens to the north, a canyon leading to Tibet and China over the 18,370-foot Chang La Pass. To the south there is a small canyon 792 or nulla. It was to that one we turned, and in a few miles came 346 to Hemis Monastery.

Many monasteries in Ladakh and Tibet are castellated buildings perched on high cliffs and thus protected from marauders and invaders. Hemis, founded about A.D. 1047, holds no such strategic position. It lies deep in a narrow nulla which is from a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely 342
carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The 231
ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the [310] ●
front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare 247
land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers [301]
is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is 513
not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at 291
being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

2. LADAK

a) *Preliminary Description*

I would like to begin with a brief description of Ladak and of Leh, the setting in which my research work was carried out, before accounting for the polyandry of this region.

1. *Environment*

Ladak (often spelt Ladak*h* in English, from the Hindi, whereas in Tibetan it is *La-Dwags*),[1] is really the most westerly part of the high plateau of Tibet, today included in Kashmir as a *tehsil* or administrative sub-division of that state (see Map 5). It is limited in the north by the Karakorum mountains and the Kara Tagh, which are westerly continuations of the Kwen Lun mountains of northern Tibet; in the south, by an artificial frontier drawn along the foot of the Zangskar and main Himalayan ranges; in the east, by an equally unnatural boundary with Tibet which runs from the Karatagh south-west of the Lingzi T'hang (plain) to the Pangkong Tso, and from there, south-east, to the upper Indus valley; in the west, by the other Kashmir sub-divisions of Zangskar and Baltistan.

The area covered by the sub-division is 82,000 square miles, of which only 47,762 are cultivated. It is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, the inhabited part ranging from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet, and even more in Rupchu, as we have just seen. It is traversed from the south-east to the north-west by the Indus river, and in the north-western part another large watercourse takes its source, the Shyok river, into which runs the Nubra. It is these valleys which constitute the fertile areas where habitation is possible, agriculture fed from river and glacier water being the mainstay of the village.

As in Lahul, and even more so here, because of the altitude everywhere, the climate is a cold one for the greater part of the year, only the brilliant tropical sun of India bringing some warmth during the day in the summer months. The rainfall is scanty but, during the winter, an appreciable amount of snow does fall. Temperatures in the inhabited parts of Ladak, that is at a mean altitude of 11,000 feet, vary between a maximum of 62° and a minimum of 23°, on average.

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

[1] Another Tibetan name for Ladak is *Mar-yul (dMar-yul)*, the "red country".

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

deposit, the height of the apex above the plain or the main-valley bottom, is often many hundred feet. 133x

The fans frequently have become denuded, that is to say, cut up; their remains are sloping plateaus (with a slight curvature of surface) attached to the hill-sides in front of the ravines; these plateaus are commonly divided into halves by a gulley, through which the side-stream now flows at a low level, and they may end in a cliff towards the main river. The importance of these fans (whether they be whole or denuded ones) with respect to the habitation of the country consists in this, that it is chiefly, though not universally, upon them that cultivated ground occurs, the water of the side-streams being led over them for irrigation.*

To return to our route. Below Tashgām we come into a granite country; the mountains rise on both sides to a great height; not always are they seen thus lofty from the valley, but from any vantage ground above we look on to serrated ridges of 17,000 and 18,000 feet, the whole vertical height from that level down to the river, which is at little more than 9000, being of bare, irregular, broken cliffs and their débris. The sketch on the next page shows a view up a side-valley that penetrates into the mountain mass to one of the lofty ridges; its whole sides are naked, but a narrow strip of watered and cultivated ground lies in the bottom. [311]

The mountains, though at the first glance they show no trace of herbage, yet do bear a little; this is sought out by the small herds of goats that are driven to the more favourable places. Along part of this road two or three kinds of bush occurred pretty plentifully; one is the pencil cedar (*Juniperus excelsa*), which sometimes grows low and sometimes taller and tree-like; another is a bush called by the people "umbū" (a *Myricaria*); then there were currant bushes and numbers of red-rose trees, each tree being magnificently furnished with flowers, this was in the middle of June; all these were on the lower slopes among dry stones, flourishing where no grass would grow. 137

The Drās River goes on north-north-westward to join the Indus; 133x

* For details about the formation and denudation of fans in Ladākh I must again refer to the paper before mentioned, in the Quarterly Journal Geological Society, xxix. 8.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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133 The line of ridge is from 18,000 to 19,000 feet high. The Passes through it are 17,000 and 18,000 feet.

361 A valley, coming down from this great central ridge, bounded
133 close by rocky branch-ridges, at the distance of four miles from the river widens, the spurs of the hills both becoming lower and retreating aside, insomuch that there occurs an open space of the form nearly of an equilateral triangle, the side of it five miles in length. The town of Leh is at the apex of this triangle, where the valley begins to widen. Rocky hill-spurs form the sides, the river Indus the base, Pitak being at one end of the base.

This triangular space is not a level; it has a steady, gentle slope up from the river. Advancing from Pitak we rise, in the five or six miles, about 1000 feet, the altitude of the town of Leh
[311] being 11,500 feet. The lower part of the slope (of which the whole consists of a gravelly alluvial deposit) is dry and stony, but as we go on we come within the tract that the side-stream has been able to supply with irrigating water, and find a space of several hundred acres covered with crops.

361 Here, by the farther edge of this cultivated space, on one of the branch spurs from the hills and spreading on to the plain in front of it, is built the town of Leh. The most conspicuous object in it is the palace of the former rulers, an edifice boldly built up to the height of eight or ten stories from the shoulder of the spur; a slight in-leaning of the massive walls gives it a great
[792] look of strength. Higher up, on the same rocky ridge, are the
[712] monastery and the towers of an old fortification. Below, in front of the palace, houses cover the slope. On the flat beneath is the newer part of the town. Entering from the direction of Kashmir we pass through a small gateway and find ourselves in a long, wide, and straight bazaar, the houses regularly built and uniformly whitewashed. This has been erected since the Dogrās took the country, and is now the place that is most frequented. At the farther end of this bazaar one passes into the old part of the town, among houses separated by narrow winding passages. As one rises on to the slope of the hill one meets with a few houses of a

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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higher class; these were built by the Kahlons, or ministers of the former sovereigns, and now for the most part belong to their representatives. 361

Outside the city[1] are several gardens, or what are here so called; in truth they are plantations of willow and of poplar. These plantations are extremely useful, both for their grateful [313] shade—which is the first thing a traveller will look for in these parts in summer time—and as a reserve of building-timber, a thing in Ladākh extremely scarce. On the east of the town [311] the mountains are near and there is no cultivation; but to the west, the whole width of the valley, about three-quarters of a mile, is of cultivated land, descending in terraces, with small hamlets scattered over it.

[1] [i.e. Leh -- Ans. E]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances. 595 161

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the women to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladākh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation. [311] [439]

It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject. [589]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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132X narrow ridges of granite, which lessen both in height and in width from far back, leaving between them space for alluvial deposits—sloping stony tracts—of the sort which I have called "confined fans." In colour this range contrasts with the opposite one, being of far less sombre tints; drab and yellow and light brown are the colours shown by this granite, of which sometimes the jointed rock itself, and sometimes the loosened material disintegrated from it, is shown; on both ranges the bare surface, untouched by vegetation, is exposed. At places the river itself, at places the flat alluvium, ends the stony ground and touches the last points of the spurs; these are in some cases crowned with the white buildings of a monastery; at Tagnā (or Staknā) are two isolated rocks, on the summit of one of which is built a monastery; between the two, in a rather narrow passage, flows the Indus.

381 133X

The alluvial flat is of clayey soil, irrigated by watercourses from the Indus itself. South of Leh it is occupied by the village of Chushot, which, being near half a mile wide and some miles long, is the largest cultivated tract in Ladākh; it has over 200 houses, not concentrated into a village, but scattered over the plain singly, or in twos and threes, at intervals of a hundred yards or so. Chushot has not the picturesqueness of the villages which we have looked at lower down the valley; here fruit-trees do not grow, on account of the severity of the wind that blows along the length of the flat; still we see some poplars and small willows, and it is probable that plantations arranged in belts—one protecting the other—would flourish. The people of Chushot are Baltis, Bhots, and Arghauns, the first predominating. As we go up the valley the cultivation of the alluvi flat ends, and the surface of it is of rounded pebbles. Farther on, a little above Tagnā, the river is bounded by high banks of alluvial matter, mostly belonging to fans that have been formed from the sides. Here, too, the fall begins to be greater, and the valley, narrowing, gets again the character it possessed lower down by Sāspūl and Khalsī. Besides the cultivation on the flat there are some villages in the tributary valleys on both sides, as Stok, Shān, Sabū, and Chimre; these are watered by the side-

[311] [563]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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streams. In one of these tributary valleys is situated Himis monastery, the most noted one in Ladākh, which has 200 Lāmās. The monastery is a large mass of buildings placed just beneath a cliff at a bend of the narrow ravine, and in that way well sheltered. The wide window spaces and open galleries, and the decorations of drapery and waving flags make it look quite gay. Close by is a grove of large spreading poplars, which must be of the oldest trees in the country. 361 133 [792]

The last point I have been to in this section of the Indus Valley is Upshī, a small village at the mouth of the Gyā ravine. At that place we will count Central Ladākh to end. Above it is a narrow portion of the valley, which is called *Rong*, where the river flows between rocks, along which it is difficult to find a practicable path; still, there also villages occur in the side valleys, and a small population finds cultivable just enough of land to get a subsistence from. [311]

ROAD FROM LEH TO NUBRĀ.

In going from Central Ladākh to Nubrā (which lies along the banks of the Shāyok River and of a tributary to it) we must of necessity cross the Leh Range by one of two or three Passes. From Leh a direct road leads up along the stream whose waters irrigate the lands about that town. The Pass to make for is the Khardong Pass, which is 17,500 feet high; there is, therefore, an ascent to be made of 6000 feet. Not easily can this be done in one day; a half-way halt is almost always made, either at the last hamlet or farther up in the uninhabited part of the valley. The path is in places difficult for laden ponies; they are generally relieved of their loads and are replaced for the Pass by yāks. The way leads for some miles up the bottom of the valley, rising at an angle of 5°; then it continues in a branch valley of steeper gradient, till it reaches the watershed, which at this spot is a narrow rocky ridge. 487 133

A better idea of the form of the mountain range we are now going over than can be given in words will be got from the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

to the rest of Ladākh both by physical characters and by the close relationship in race, speech, religion, and character that exists between the people of the two countries. Till forty years ago, Zānskār was equally connected with Central Ladākh by political ties, being governed by a Raja, who was dependent on the Gyalpo at Leh; but now it belongs (as can be seen from the Political Map) not to the Ladākh Governorship, but to the district of Udampūr, in the Outer Hills, having been attached to this for, so to say, accidental reasons. 133x 563 631

From all sides the approach to Zānskār, placed, as it is, in a maze of mountains, is of considerable difficulty. To the south-west of it the wide Snowy Range makes a barrier, to cross which must be a laborious and may be a dangerous business. From the north-west and the south-east, indeed, roads lead in from Surū and from Rupshu respectively, to traverse which is less difficult, but these lead over long uninhabited tracts. That way which first one would look to for communication with Leh — by the valley of the Zānskār River—is quite impassable, except when the winter's frost makes a road over the waters of the river. Instead of this, in summer time, the traveller from Leh has to make a long detour by Lāmāyūrū; he has to traverse fifteen stages, in which several Passes have to be surmounted, before Zānskār is reached. 133x 487

By far the greater part of the area of Zānskār is occupied by the ridges and the ravines of mountains, either of the Snowy Watershed Range, or of the more complicated mass lying between that and Central Ladākh. The inhabited region is nearly all included in the valleys of two streams and of the river they make by their union. These two streams come, one from the north-west, the other from south-east; uniting, they together flow away to the north-east. At their junction is a wide open space, which is the central part of Zānskār; it includes in itself the most important places. This space is a triangle, with a base of seven miles, and a perpendicular of five; on the three sides it is bounded by bare mountains. But a very small proportion of this plain is cultivated; the most of it is an expanse of stony ground; the 133x 311

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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133x rivers flow through it somewhat below the general level; where
● 311 water from side valleys has been brought on to the alluvial terraces and fans, there only is land under cultivation. On the north and east are bare brown mountains 6000 and 7000 feet above the valleys; their surface is in part of irregular cliffs, in part of slopes of loose stones, either simply weathered off and remaining in the same place, or else fallen and formed into taluses. Some of these mountains are wonderfully clear examples of aerial denudation; their naked sides are scarred and cut in lines which mark either temporary watercourses, or the path of falling snow and rock, while below lie the heaps and the outspread fans, which are the next stages of the débris in its seaward course. Great and striking objects as are these mountains, the range on the south-west shows over them a great preponderance of height; it has a deeply-cut serrated ridge, a line of sharp peaks rising well above the limit of perpetual snow.

133x In the open triangular space are many remains of former extended glaciers. In front of the mouth of the ravine, coming from the south-west, where is marked on the large map Sanī R., is an irregular moundy expanse made of stones, some angular, some rounded. Just south-west of Padam is another old moraine, which seems at one time to have reached across the stream a little above that place. The mound, also, on which Padam itself is built is due to a similar cause. But one cannot be sure how much of these old moraines were deposited by glaciers from the side ravines, or whether there was one large glacier filling all the long valley from the south-east. The position of Padam, the chief place, now but a village—but perhaps in former days when a Raja ruled there deserving of a higher name—is very curious. As said above, it is built on a mound of moraine matter. The mound is about 80 feet high; it is of loose, heaped-up blocks of gneiss, blocks which look as if they had stayed just as they fell from the glacier—the interstices vacant, the whole mass seeming as if it might give way. On the very summit of this heap was the palace of the Rajas, of which some walls are still standing; houses are built on the masses of stone all over the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

moraine;* it is composed of blocks, some angular, some half-rounded, and stones, many of them rounded, chiefly of granite and gneiss, but also of white crystalline limestone, sandstone, and shale; there are many very large blocks, one (of gneiss) measured 27 feet by 20 by 9 as seen above the ground, probably there was more than as much again beneath, and there were several others of about the same dimensions. The height of the mounds is often 250 feet above the low parts of the flat where two streams are flowing, and very likely this is the thickness of the moraine-stuff at those places, but the average thickness over the area may be less. This moraine is evidently the deposit of a glacier that occupied not only that valley which still, as the map shows, holds a glacier of a considerable size, but also those branches which extend to the north-east; it very probably rose over the low spur behind Lukung; this is about 250 feet high, and nearly to the summit, quite up to 200 feet above the valley, *on the south side of it*, I observed transported blocks of granite, and the glacier may have entered, and even crossed, the valley of the Pāngkong Lake.†

The last hamlet in this valley, the last in Ladākh in this direction, is Phobrang, some five miles above Lukung; it is 14,500 feet above the sea, there are one or two houses, occupied in summer for the sake of the cultivation of some naked barley on the alluvial flat, and deserted in winter for Lukung itself. A little higher up is Chagrā, 15,000 feet, a place of encampment, at some seasons, of a few families of Chāmpās. From Chagrā the road takes to an easterly branch of the valley and rises gradually, with hills on either side rounded in form and stony in surface. Thus we get to the Pass which is a little below the level of the hills on each side, though at some distance they rise nearly 2000 feet higher; they

* A good view of this is obtained from the spur behind the village of Lukung, over which a path goes, an alternative to the valley road.

† If the doubtful margin-marks 900 feet above the present lake (as described at p. 324 in a note) turn out to be real, I should be inclined to attribute the damming to such a great depth to this glacier, of whose existence and importance we have such good evidence.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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are of a dark-brown colour, in form for the most part rounded; their 133x
whole surface is covered with loose stones, either taluses or else rock disintegrated into angular blocks, remaining as yet unmoved. On the farther side comes a stony valley similar to the one we have just left; down this we continue for a day and a half's march, going sometimes across taluses, sometimes along alluvial terraces, over stony ground, gradually descending till we reach the Chāng-chenmo River itself. Here is a valley stretching straight east and west for far, the bottom of it a stony tract with the river flowing through it in many channels. In front of us, on the north side, is a bold line of mountains 5000 or 6000 feet above us, rocky in face, rising to a rugged ridge.

Below this spot where we first reach it (called both Pāmzāl and Tsolū) I have not followed the Chāngchenmo Valley; I believe it in that part to be a rapid stream flowing between narrowing rocky mountains. Above, the valley is partly occupied by the wide gravelly river-bed and partly by alluvial terraces, all stony and bare; the hills that bound this vary much in height and steepness, some are smooth-sided and comparatively low, others both lofty and steep. A branch from the main valley leads to the north, up to the plateaus that will be described in the next chapter; it contains a stream of as great volume as the other. Gogrā is a [485]
place where a rest-house has been built a few miles up that valley, soon above which it divides into Kugrāng, the westerly branch, and Chonglung, the north-easterly.

The places where the three requisites for travellers in these [372]
regions occur together, namely, water, grass, and fuel, are found several miles apart. One is Pāmzāl, already mentioned; here is 221
some pasture, and, close by, a great supply of fuel in the bushy 311
growth of myricaria (umbū) and of tamarisk on the alluvium. 133x
Then there is a stretch of over 12 miles before any more vegetation is met with. Then at Kyam, where some hot springs come out, there is a spread of grass extending some way up the valley, and there is brushwood also, and farther up, to the very head, there is grass to be found in places. Again, at Gogrā, in the side valley,

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

221 there is fuel and a little pasture. Thus scattered and scant is the
311 vegetation; excepting these far-between patches the whole surface
133x is a waste of rock or stone. Still the vegetation, scarce though it be, is enough to help on the traveller, and even to support the following of one or two families of tent-dwellers who pass a portion of the year in Chāngchenmo.

: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

721 to the Botis of the east, which will account for his
173 entering Kashmir by Gagangir on the Drás road, as related in the Raja Taringini.

712 The forts of Eastern Ladák were nearly all castellated
793 monasteries, the defence of which was intrusted to the
[701] unwarlike monks, assisted by a few of the armed peasantry, who performed the duty by turns, under the command of one who was dignified with the title of *Kharpon*, or governor.* In Western Ladák there were several castles belonging to petty chiefs, such as Paskyum and Soth, which were better calculated for defence. The
[312] monastic castles were mostly perched on high rocks quite destitute of water, and it was a part of the daily duty of the garrison to fetch water for the monks. Had any of these castles possessed a proper supply of water, their generally inaccessible positions would have rendered them safe against all common attacks. I have seen the monasteries of Hanlé, Hémis, Thigsé, Shé, Lé, Pitak, Phyang, Bazgo, Láma Yúrrú, Hesku, Kharbu, Thakshé, and Mulbil, as well as the ruined forts of Balukhar and Paskyum. The monasteries are all built on steep cliffs, more or less high, with stone walls coloured white and red, and surmounted with an endless number of small flags. They are generally difficult of access, and always picturesque. Perhaps the most remarkable is that of Thakshé, on the right bank of the Kánji river. It is perched on a lofty isolated cliff, bluff and overhanging on the north side, and with a precipitous slope of about 65° on the south side. The only ascent is by a very steep pathway.

* *mKhar-dPon*, "fort-chief." A fort is also called *rDsong*, and the governor *rDsong-dPon*. Every commandant of a castle, or military post, even if his garrison does not amount to more than four men, is dignified with the title of *Kharpon*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

chose the more humiliating alternative of actual surrender. Such was the fate of a country which might have been saved by a hundred resolute soldiers at the bridge of Khallach. But the indolent votaries of an almost worn-out faith were no match for the more active and energetic worshippers of Mahadeo and Párbati. 726

Under the government of Maharaja Guláb Sing, the country is held by a few garrisons of tolerably well-appointed infantry, who are quartered in the different forts erected by Zoráwar Sing and his successors. The forts that I have seen are those of Lé, Kargyil, and Drás, besides the bridge-head at Khallach. They are all built on the same kind of plan, and in similar situations on the banks of streams, that they might insure an unfailing supply of water, without which the strongest fort would be untenable. 712 [312]

The new fort at Lé is built upon the open plain, and on the edge of the Lé rivulet, at somewhat more than a mile to the south-west of the city. I saw it to great advantage on my visit, as the thanadar Basti Rám had kindly deputed his son to attend me. Everything, therefore, was prepared. The interior was trim and orderly; the guns were clean and bright; and the men were all dressed in respectable uniforms, which appeared too new to have been much worn. The walls are built of huge sun-dried bricks, and are nearly thirty feet in height. In the interior the barracks, as well as the store-rooms, are built against the walls all round, and their flat roofs form the terre-plein of the ramparts. Each room is furnished with a door. The guns are four brass three-pounders, all in good order, and well set up on substantial carriages. They are manned by thirty

:: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

repeatedly mentioned by Bâber; but after his time it gradually became obsolete. It was introduced by the Musalman conquerors, and the very first king, Kutb-ud-din Aibak, was killed by a fall from his horse when playing at chaogan in A.D. 1210.* The Pathán kings of India still continued to join in the game down to the time of Sikander Lodi, in A.D. 1498, when "one day, while the king and his court were playing at chaogan, the bat of Haibat Khan Shirwani by accident came in contact with the head of Suliman, the son of Darya Khan Lodi, who received a severe blow. This was resented on the spot by Khizr Khan, the brother of Suliman, who, galloping up to Haibat Khan, struck him violently over the skull. In a few minutes both sides joined in the quarrel, and the field was in uproar and confusion. Mahmud Khan Lodi and Khan Khanan Lodi interposing, endeavoured to pacify Haibat Khan, and succeeded in persuading him to go home quietly with them. The king, apprehensive of conspiracy, retired immediately to the palace; but nothing more transpiring, he made another party at the same game a few days after."†

VII.—HOUSES—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

346 [312] The finest buildings in Ladák are the monasteries, which are always placed on heights more or less lofty, and which generally have a very picturesque and imposing appearance. Many of them would be places of some strength if they possessed water; but I am not aware of a single monastery that has even one day's supply. The outer walls of the monastery are formed by

* Briggs's Ferishta, I. p. 199. † Idem, p. 574.

844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
844 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dso (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
•312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest
[412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have
[177] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

the next day three small farmers who all had to finish with the watering 241
of their fields in one day. 3120

The farmer in the mountainous wastes of Ladakh and Tibet where there is little rainfall it is totally dependent upon artificial methods of irrigation, for in the summer it often does not rain for weeks, yes, even for months. For this reason water is a very valuable commodity to the mountain inhabitant, the just distribution of which he jealously watches over; also, since time immemorial strict laws regulate the construction, maintenance, and use of the communal village pipeline. Every owner of a field, depending on the size of his property, must supply one or more persons for the communal work on this pipeline, [476] just as the length of time that he can use it is made to correspond to the size of the surface to be watered. Most water channels require considerable mending work year after year, since snow and mud avalanches often... large parts /there appears to be at least one line missing here in the original text, the preceding sentence being unfinished and the paragraph ending with the final part of another sentence:--translator./... all had to be ready with the watering in one day. /The latter is simply a repetition of the last line of the previous paragraph. --translator./

When the grain is about a span high the fields are weeded 241
with the care with which a gardener clears his cabbage patch of weeds. When the wheat is ripened it is not mowed with the blunt /32/ sickle [412] but is plucked out roots and all. The left hand grasps a bundle of stalks and the sickle in the right hand, which really acts more like a hook than like a cutting implement, plucks out the stalks. On the average the field holdings are very small and the harvest yield is scant in the high mountain areas, so that every inch of stalk is valuable as straw, as feed--not as litter--for the cattle. As a result the Tibetan farmer cannot afford to leave the stubbles standing. After the grain has been bound together in small sheaves and has been laid in rows on the field, in order to ripen fully after it has been gathered, it must be guarded against thieves; one of the men must "watch" among the sheaves at night; that is to say, he must sleep there, on the assumption that he will wake up at the slightest sound.

Among all peoples of the East threshing is done by cattle. Six to nine animals, oxen, cows, horses, and donkeys, often in variegated order, are tied together to a rope at short distances from each other. One end of the rope is fastened by a sling to a post which is planted in the middle of the circular threshing-floor. The threshing-floor is

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter I.

The District.

Configuration and sub-divisions of mazri Láhaul.

lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi, where there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *omnání pádme hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chodhten* or *Dangten*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangser, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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It[1] joins the Spiti after a course of 45 miles a short distance above Dankar, the principal village of the valley. The width of its bed near its mouth varies from 300 to 800 yards. The greater part of its course is through an uninhabited country, its valley forming no exception to the description given of the other streams which join the Spiti from the south and west. Near the mouth of the valley, however, the country opens, and affords space for cultivation. Here there are eleven villages, the only inhabited spots, not in the valley of the main river itself, in the southern half of Spiti.

312 133 Character of the Rivers: Bridges.

Running in deep courses, the sides of which are steep and friable, the water of the Spiti rivers is valueless for purposes of irrigation; and although artificial watering is a necessary condition for the production of a crop, and a plentiful supply of water, most plentiful in the hottest season, passes at his feet, the cultivator has to be content with the meagre supply obtainable from streamlets having their rise in the smaller ravines, some of which run low, or dry completely up before the close of the summer months. The water of the rivers, heavily charged with silt, is turbid and yellow in appearance. The flow is seldom deep, being distributed over broad courses, and often broken up into independent channels. The current, however, is sufficiently rapid to render fording, where not quite impossible, a matter of difficulty and danger; and when the streams are full, the ominus sound may be heard of rolling boulders knocking one against the other. Bridges, on the other hand, are rare, and cannot in any case, except that of the new *sangha* bridge at Rangrig over the Spiti river, be passed by the *yaks* or ponies with which most Spiti men travel. The people therefore are compelled to ford, and lives are frequently lost in consequence. At two points, above Kája and below Lithong, where the main stream is suddenly collected into a narrow channel by ridges of rock, *sanga* bridges have been erected for foot traffic, but the biggest timber in Spiti is too light for the construction of a bridge passable by *yaks* or ponies. Below Máni the river runs in a narrow channel and is crossed in three places by *jhilá* bridges.

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361 Villages and scenery in Spiti.

On the Spiti the first inhabited spot is Losar twelve miles from the Kanzam pass. From this point downwards villages are frequent, occupying every available corner in the valleys, both of the main streams and of its tributaries from the north. A traveller passing down the Spiti valley would never suspect the existence of villages in these lateral valleys, for the streams which drain them run in deep canons or chasms with precipitous sides cut in the rock, and nothing can be seen but the mouths of these gorges from the main valley. Major Hay, in his account of Spiti, says that the soil is composed of lime and sandstone. It is evident that a river very easily cuts itself a deep channel in this formation, which is only hard so long as it keeps dry; and as very little rain falls, and the snow melts gently, the banks of the cutting remain very perpendicular. Curious examples of this quality of the soil are seen in many places, where the ground has melted away round certain points protected by slabs of slate or shale, leaving the slab high in the air supported by fantastic pillars or arches of the softer formation. One bad result of this peculiarity is that though water for irrigation

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[1 i.e., the Pín, a tributary of the Spiti river.—ANALYST.]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The District. 312

Villages and scenery in Spiti.

is the great want in Spiti, yet the river itself and its tributaries, fed from immense glaciers, and at their fullest in the hottest weather, supply none; their beds are too deep, and their sides are too steep and friable, so that the *saméndár's* only resource is in the water of small streamlets which flow from small ravines in the face of the mountains which shut in the main valley. Some of these dry up altogether, and others run very low towards the end of the summer. The main valley looks as if it had consisted originally of a level plain from a mile to two miles wide, but the greater part of this plain has been carried away by the river which now runs in rapid shallow streams scattered over a very broad bed shut in by steep cliffs; the remains of the plain form plateaus above the cliffs, and it is on these plateaus that the villages stand. From the plateaus the mountains rise up in long steep smooth slopes of *débris*, till near the top, rocks rise out of the slope in the shape of walls or jagged ridges, and end the view. The plateaus and slopes of *débris* look brown and bare; and the rocks are of all colours, shades of red and yellow predominating. There are no trees, and to get sight of green grass you must go up into the high lands on the left bank already mentioned. All available water seems to be carefully reserved for the fields, and there are no *dang* or irrigated hay-fields as in Láhaul. In place of hay a kind of thistle and a vetch, which grow wild in the valleys, are cut and stored for winter fodder. At the head of the valley there is a kind of bush willow which grows in the bed of the river, and lower down a prickly shrub (*Hippofa salicifolia*) is common in the same position, but they are neither big enough nor green enough to alter the prevailing barren tints of the scenery. At the lower end of the valley a few *shokpa* (*Juniperus excelsa*) and poplar and willow trees are to be seen. These, with the exception of a kind of dwarf birch which is found in one or two places, furze, broom, wild rose, and currant bushes, comprise all the trees and shrubs of the country. The Pín valley is more absolutely bare of tree or bush than any other part of Spiti, but there is more grass than in the main valley, which is probably due to a greater rainfall. In spite of the utter want of verdure, there is a great deal of beauty in the scenery; the hills near at hand have very quaint and picturesque outlines, and their scarped sides show a strange variety of strata, each with a different tint of colour; above them a glimpse is caught of some snowy peak standing back against a very blue sky; in front are the bold sweeps of the river and the cliffs, supporting the plateaus, upon which, at long distances, the white houses and green fields of the villages are conspicuous. All this, seen through an excessively clear and pure atmosphere, makes as pretty a picture as is possible in the absence of verdure and blue water. The only blue water in Spiti is contained in one or two lakes, to see which requires a long climb out of the valley; there is a small one above Dankar, and another of considerable size at the foot of the Mánirang pass. The water in the rivers is always thick and yellow, an unusual thing in the Himalayas, and due of course to the

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

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Statistical.

Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson :—

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"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazíris*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

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"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irri-

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GATED AND THEREFORE CULTIVATED IS NOW LYING WASTE. P. 94

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life. 241

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system. 779 792 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámáic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámáic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *chákri* or *kéng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothi* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothis* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothi* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothi*, plus *nasarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nasarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothis* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *chákris* or family retainers, or by his *kéng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

There are

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Village Communities and Tenures. 427 [512]

certain patches of waste land known as *dang piri*, which are like the cultivated fields, the property of individuals, and included in their holdings; they are situated below the water channels or on the sides of the fields, and, with the help of irrigation, produce abundant crops of hay. The rest of the waste must be held to be the property of the Thákur, subject to the rights of use belonging by custom to the subordinate landholders.

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

The best way to describe the nature of the rents and services rendered to the Thákurs by the subordinate landholders will be to give a detail of them as they exist in one *jágír*. For example, *kothi* Ghumrang contains 58 *yulfa jeolas*, or full-sized villager's holdings, 24 full-sized holdings of *cháksis* or retainers, and eight of *káng chumpás* or farm servants. The rent paid by the peasant proprietors on a full *jeola* or holding consists of the following items:—

No.	Name of item.	Rate per *jeola*.	Remarks.
1	Old cash assessment ...	4-8-0	On fourteen *jeolas* Rs. 5 are taken.
2	Grain (*sattú*)	3 *lákh* 3 *páth* of barley	Three *jeolas* pay 6, and three pay 4 *lákh*.
3	Phari (cloth)	1 Phari or eight annas in cash.	Cash now always taken.
4	Suri (lit. Bribes) ...	From Rs. 5-4 to 2-8.	
5	Betangna	Rs. 2 cash.	

The last item was put on by the Thákur at the Regular Settlement; the other items are all of old standing.

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The following is a list of the periodical services rendered to the Thákur by the men of this same class according to the custom of the manor of Ghumrang;—

(1) On certain days, known as *bésti* days, each *jeola* has to furnish one man to work on the Thákur's *garhpán* land. The Thákur supplies food and drink, but no pay. There are eleven *besti* days in the year, but two, the sowing and the mowing days, are distinguished as the big *bestis*; on them a man for each *jeola* attends, on the other nine only some fifteen or sixteen men who live handy actually attend; the others remain at home, and pay the Thákur annually, in lieu of attendance, the sum of one rupee under the name of *besti* money.

(2). Each *jeola* is bound to stable and feed, for the six months of the winter, one of the Thákur's horses; one horse to a *jeola* is allowed to be the old standard; but as the Thákur has not so many horses, it has been customary for two *jeolas* to divide between them the care and charges of one horse.

(3). Each *jeola* is bound to convey once in the year eight or nine *páth* or about sixteen pounds of rice (a light goat or sheep load) from the Kúlu valley to the Thákur's house in Láhaul.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs' expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned. 423 427 651

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c. 792 423 427

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talúkdár* of a village in the plains. 427 651 [558]

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The 312 423 425 [621]

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dojoes*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kothí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, their power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Begár or forced abour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

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Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Lachá, Shinkál or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Rupshú, over the Bára Lácha	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Lácha ...	Rupees 2 cash, 36lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkál ...	Rupees 2 cash. 32lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pin; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kow* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kow chongpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khow fitha*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

312 Chapter III, D.

423 Village Communities and Tenures.

has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

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423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

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[591]

423 651

13: Heber and Heber D-8 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 migrants appear. First of all the Wagtails come (Hodgson's pied ; grey and yellow-headed), making the streams and rivulets bright with their graceful movements and undulating flight, soon to be followed by the Siberian Chiffchaff, with his monotonous " cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep," The common Redstart, too, is here now, whilst the Hoopoo calls his " Ooppooppoopp " (the Ladaki name for him) to the farmer, giving him permission to sow his fields, unafraid of serious harm to his crops from further cold. The Cuckoo, too, makes his song heard occasionally about this time, and now one can notice the Western Blue Rock Thrush, whose coat really does look a beautiful slaty blue as he sits in the sun. Above the river, Gulls and Tern wheel and sweep, and are kept company by Swift and Martin ; on the stones by its side, the Ibisbill finds his food, whilst the royal Heron meditates solemnly by the water's edge with his neck well tucked in. So we can boast of a varied ornithology, full of interest and change.

132 We have already made so many references to climate and altitude that the reader will have gathered a fair idea of both. The extremes of the climate may be summed up in the oft-told saying that if you sit in the shade of a rock, the part of your body within the shadow freezes, while that in the sunshine boils ! The heat of summer out in the desert is intense, for the long stretches of sand and the barren glaring rocks seem both to soak up sunshine and reflect it back as it pours out of a sky which is so often cloudless. Yet in the shade of rocks and trees and in the ordinary life in and about a house, it is never oppressive, and there are few summer
241 evenings in Leh when an extra wrap is not needed. The
132 short summer from June to mid-September sees the ripening of the wheat, barley and lucerne crops, the coarse grained barley being the more important source of food, and growing up to altitudes of over 14,000 feet. In the lower warmer
312 villages the summer is longer, and a second crop may be
241 raised. All this cultivation is entirely kept alive by irrigation,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dependent on the melting of the winter snows, so that the stream from the Kardong which waters Leh is completely used up, and never reaches the Indus bed ; the average two inches of rain-fall is almost negligible. Although at such an altitude, the snowfall of Leh is also not severe, the snows exhausting themselves on the surrounding ranges, and it rarely exceeds two inches on the ground at a time. It seems to evaporate without any intermediate slushy stage and a sunny winter is quite pleasant owing to the dryness of the cold. It is even quite enjoyable to sit out-of-doors in the sunshine during the day time. Though the temperature may go down to minus ten degrees F. in mid-winter, and remain by day at about ten degrees below freezing point in a room without a fire, its dryness makes it much more bearable than a less cold, but damper climate, and for a similar reason the heat is much less oppressive than that in India, perspiration being hardly perceptible owing to swift evaporation. The spring, however, is heralded by bitter piercing winds, and often they raise little spiral hurricanes of dust seen chasing across the valley from afar, but woe if one of these " sand-devils " blows across your garden and catches up your verandah chairs in its wake or fills your room with dust.

312 ● 241 132

The further effects of altitude and climate on the human beings, indigenous and foreign, who dwell in the land, need not be dealt with here, but when all is said, the flame of life on the whole burns brightly in this land of clear skies and bright sunshine.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XI

Domesticities

THE homes of Ladak, with the exception of those in its metropolis, Leh, and perhaps in the small town of Kargil, in Purig, are practically all village homes. In these desert uplands a village must centre round a stream, which brings its contribution from the glaciers of the great heights—ever in the background—to one of the smaller rivers, most of which eventually flow into the Indus. Where such a stream runs through a broadening valley, it is possible to lay out a series of terraced fields, which can be irrigated in turn by directing the supply into small artificial water-courses. Indeed the turns for sharing the precious water are often the subject of much quarrelling, hoarse shouting and invective, while some less fortunate inhabitants have sometimes to stay up all night to water their fields. Above the area of cultivated terraces, and at the foot of the actual hills, where it is too rocky and steep to plough and sow, the houses are clustered, approached by stony paths or tracks, and so built into the hillside that convenient pieces of rock are often used for wall or floor, and, where the rock overhangs, even for roof, while a little sunny platform will be enclosed with a rough wall to stable the animals by day in winter. The setting of roof and balcony is always arranged to catch the maximum sunshine, so that even in the low temperatures of winter, many domestic activities can be carried on out-of-doors. Crowning the chief hill of the village, and dominating its common life, as its position would suggest, is the monastery.

342 361 [241] [312] [346]

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Lahul

241 before a verdict as to the propitious moment
787 for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as
685 landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out
691 of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that
[273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

● 312 An adequate supply of water from rivers,
624 glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water
241 supply). In cases where there is a communal
312 reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

19: Asboe M-3 (no date)1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [76]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [77]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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(*c*) The time when the fly turns [flies] round the mouth, is the time of taking off all clothing and eating everything.

(*d*) A description of summer in the peasant's calendar.

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(*e*) About *kha* instead of *khala* see 1 (*e*). If an *r* follows a muta, the muta is often dropped in Ladakhi, thus *rang* is said instead of *brang*; *ci* 'what' is used here in the sense of whatever.

539 8. (*a*) མགོར་ཟོང་ངི་གཡའ་ཆུ་ལྟ་ལྟ།

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ཆུ་སྦྱིའི་ལྡམ་ཆུ་ཡང་འབུད

(*b*) khar'zongi yachula lta'lta,
chu'bii ldam'chu yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the glacier water of the Kharzong pass the gathered water of Chubi (a village) is also lost.

(*d*) take what is nearest!

(*e*) refers to the system of irrigation. Notice the re-duplication of the verb, implying a durative sense = whilst.

577 9. (*a*) ར་མའི་ཁྲོ་ལ་གོ་བ། ལུག་གི་ཁྲོ་ལ་བེ་ཡ།།

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(*b*) ra'mä thro'a go'a, lug'gi thro'abe'a.

(*c*) In the company of goats [he says] *goa*, in the company of sheep [he says] *bea*.

(*d*) Said of a man, who has no will of his own,

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(*e*) *Goa* and *bea* imitate the voices of goats and sheep respectively.

539 10. (*a*) དཔེད་འབད་དུས། ཐོན་སྟུ་དས།།

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(*b*) spid'bad'dus' ston'rdu'dus'.

(*c*) Spring is the time of working, autumn the time of gathering.

(*d*) Do everything at the proper season.

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(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a three-syllabled *Comps. determ.*

539 11. (*a*) དཔེད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། ཐོན་ཐུ་དུས་ལ་འགྱོད་འདུག།།

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(*b*) spid' baddusla mabad'na, ston'rdudusla gyod'dug.

(*c*) If you do not work in the spring working time, you will repent in the autumn gathering time.

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(*e*) Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rdu* = gather.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [312]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

we do not in our route to Leh follow it so far, but turn round a 133 X
corner to the right, and take to the valley of the Surū River (one of about equal volume with that from Drās), passing here round a rock that the road has very imperfectly been cut in, so that in places the roadway has had to be constructed of poles lodged in projections of the cliff; these are loosely covered with slabs. In a few miles after this we come to the collection of villages which bear the name of Kargil.

At Kargil is another of the wider openings between the hills; up to this spot the granitic hills had continued—bare, rocky, and lofty; but now on the east there appear lower hills of a softer material, alternating beds of clay and sandstone. Between the Pāskim stream and the Surū River is an alluvial expanse of some square miles, a succession of terraces of alluvial gravel. These [312] plains are uncultivated; hitherto the work necessary for bringing the water of the Pāskim stream on to the lower wide terrace, though once or twice commenced, has not been successfully accomplished; but narrow strips not very high above the two streams are watered by small canals led from them.

The villages here are about 8900 feet above the sea; partly 361
from this somewhat less altitude as compared with Drās, and partly [132]
from the place being less in the way of the comparatively moist
air that steals into this country through the Drās Pass, there is 241
both less snow in winter and a greater force of sun and warmth in summer to help on vegetation. Here wheat flourishes as well as barley; but the great difference to be observed was the growth of many fruit-trees (chiefly mulberry and apricot), as well as willows and poplars, along the watercourses that are led over the terraced fields. Such villages as we now see are narrow strips of ground, artificially banked and levelled into still narrower terrace-fields, and backed by great rocks that with a favourable aspect reflect the heat and act almost like the walls of our fruit-gardens. They are richly carpeted with heavy-eared crops and crowded with fruit-trees, the bright greenness of whose leaves delights the eye of the traveller, who for many miles has wearied under the sameness of gazing at nothing but rock and loosened stones, and the shade

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

it cannot be seen from the road. On our way we pass Thārū, 133x
a collection of eight or ten houses, with corresponding cultiva- 361
tion; then we cross the last of the plateaus, from which descending we reach a little garden planted by the roadside for the [485]
shelter of travellers, which is close to the village of Phayāng. Thence a few miles by the side of the river brought us to Pitak, the last village before Leh.

All the cultivated spots hitherto met with in Ladākh were 312
watered from side-streams—streams coming almost immediately 138x
from the mountains with a more or less steep fall. But at Pitak the land is irrigated from the Indus itself. For we are here at the beginning of a part of the Indus Valley, where the bottom is wide and is occupied by a flat of alluvium, over which the waters of the main stream can be brought.

At Pitak there is an isolated rock a few hundred feet high, 361
on which all the older buildings are situated. The monastery 792
is on the summit at one end, and there is a fortification—of two 712
towers connected by a double wall—that must have helped to make the rock a strong position. Formerly all the houses were, for protection's sake, built thus high up; this was very commonly the case throughout Ladākh, only in the last generation or so have the people taken generally to building in the plain.

We are now but five miles from Leh, the capital; it is indeed within sight from the summit of the rock; let us from here take a general view of the geographical position of that town.

The river is 10,500 feet above the sea; it is flowing with a 133x
gentle current in a flat, the surface of which is in great part of pebbles only, but here and there it is of such a fine alluvial soil that the people have been able to bring it under cultivation. On the south-west side this low flat is bordered by a stretch of sloping gravelly ground, consisting of a number of coalesced fans that have been deposited by streams having their origin in the mountains on the south—mountains which rise up to 20,000 feet. On the north-east of the river there continues the same great granite ridge, at the foot of which we have been passing; the summit of it is about 12 miles from the Indus, as the crow flies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV: Kashmir
W. Tibetans A34

from the ground, while the pent-up air itself becomes hot and gives no relief. But after a toilsome drag for some miles over this waste of heated rocks, he reaches one of the little villages that are made at the mouths of side ravines, if haply there can be found a few acres of flat ground for cultivation. These villages are to the traveller a most welcome and lovely sight; a space covered with crops of a brilliant green overshadowed by luxuriant fruit-trees in the midst of the barest rocks gives a relief equally to the eye, the mind, and the body of the wayfarer.

Garkon is the one of these villages most curious in its situation. It consists of very narrow strips or ledges of flat watered ground, between separate stages of a great river-cliff, so that on one side there is a precipitous fall of ground while on the other vertical cliffs overhanging the narrow fields, which, receiving their radiated heat, quickly ripen the crops; even at night the place does not lose its heat. Water is led over the fields from a ravine that comes from the high mountains. Apple-trees, apricot, mulberry, and the vine are cultivated, in company with the cereals, on the narrow space, and flourish well with the combination of moisture and warmth. In going from Garkon to the next village, called *Dāh*, we have passed from Baltistān into Ladākh. The Baltīs were in former times apt to make raids upon their more peaceable neighbours. Dāh, as the frontier village, protected itself by the agglomeration of its houses together to form a sort of fort; on two sides protection is given by a steep cliff, on two by a wall, with a good tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure. Now that all are under one government, and perfect peace has ensued, the dwellings are scattered; but still in winter time the people from the outlying houses and hamlets join to live within the enclosure, for warmth and for mirth's sake. Within its walls the ground is almost all roofed over, hardly any space is left for alleys, passages from one house to another are led beneath the rooms of a third; the whole is a strange crowding together of hovels. In this part side valleys of various degrees of importance reach down to the Indus; some are mere rocky ravines, others hold hamlets and villages. I visited the *Hanū*

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

die, and I have no reason to disbelieve this. One of the difficulties is that there is practically no rainfall in this land either in summer or winter. Water comes from the snows, these feed the rivers, but much of the snow simply evaporates at this height; the mountains are arid; among the rocks bushes occasionally grow which carry few leaves on their green twigs, but sufficient to feed the wild goats. The only sign of vegetation is either along the river banks or in the nullahs and protected valleys through which the snow waters flow for a while and which do not take the glare of the sun which pours with great power through the clear air. From above it appears as if a giant flame-thrower has scorched the earth, which in different parts takes on all the colours of a burned brick, and in its destruction has missed those valleys tucked away. All around us were giant chocolate-coloured rock cliffs which hold the snow deep during the winter months, and permit the sun to shine for but a few hours on the small village.

Dras—known by the Tibetans as Hembas—seems to be not one but a number of villages spread over a quite fertile undulating valley which is enclosed within a ring of hills but at a height of ten thousand feet and so placed that the bitter winter winds sweep down on it. When we were there the clumps of willows were green with young leaves and they told us that by by the time we returned the skylarks would have come from Kashmir.

Oddly enough there are a few European-style houses standing in their own gardens, and a rest house of similar design, built with a high pitched roof and tall chimneys, but looking strange, for it was without the verandahs which one has become so used to in India and Kashmir. The sand and dust gets in through all the cracks, in winter it is carried there by the icy blast, yet it must be a comfortable haven to those who are stranded there.

The valley narrows as one goes on past small fields which would appear to have been scratched out from the rock-covered surface of the ground; I can well remember being shown by a proud "farmer"—the father of one of the horsemen who came the whole way with us—a large patch scattered with stones as big as my fist, in which surely not more than a thousand green spears of barley had just come through. Anywhere else the sowing

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
West Tibetans AJ4

higher class; these were built by the Kahlons, or ministers of the former sovereigns, and now for the most part belong to their representatives. 361

Outside the city[1] are several gardens, or what are here so called; in truth they are plantations of willow and of poplar. These plantations are extremely useful, both for their grateful [313] shade—which is the first thing a traveller will look for in these parts in summer time—and as a reserve of building-timber, a thing in Ladākh extremely scarce. On the east of the town [311] the mountains are near and there is no cultivation; but to the west, the whole width of the valley, about three-quarters of a mile, is of cultivated land, descending in terraces, with small hamlets scattered over it.

1 [i.e. Leh .. Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

482 With such food and drink as has been described the Ladākhīs
147 are one of the hardiest of races. As coolis, for carrying loads, they are admirable—not only the men but the women too. I have had women employed to carry my baggage, according to the custom of the country, who have done twenty-three or twenty-four miles with sixty pounds on their back, and have come in at the end singing cheerfully. Against cold, too, they are very strong. Not that they equal in this respect the Chāmpās, who live at still greater heights, and can hardly bear to be as low down as 11,000 feet. Still the people of Central Ladākh and of Zānskār are very hardy in this respect also; on a frosty night, with nothing but the clothes they go in, they will coil themselves up and sleep
513 comfortably on the bare stony ground. All have a
515 rooted objection to washing. I was told that there was a custom of bathing once a year, but I could never get any satisfactory corroboration of the report. Their clothes, worn next them, are never washed, but are affectionately kept around them until they fall to pieces.

372 Of the wants rife in a barren country like Ladākh, there are two which (perhaps without, or at all events in addition to, other difficulties) seem to make impossible either any great addition to the population or increase of their comforts. These are want of fuel and want of timber. For fuel the dung of cattle is carefully stored. This is supplemented in some parts by a bush which they pull from the hills that they call *burtse* (Eurotia). This plant is indeed a great resource for travellers in out-of-the-way parts; it is a small low-growing bush, the woody underground stem of which makes a good fuel. Then, in the high valleys, there is a plant like our furze, called *dāma*. On some hill-sides there is the pencil-cedar, a strong-burning wood; and lastly, in certain ravines, there is willow growing wild. All these, however, from their distance, require much labour to collect; they are seldom used by the Ladākhīs in their own houses, but are chiefly got by them for travellers and for the
● 313 town consumption. The timber-trees are willow and poplar. These are planted either along the watercourses between

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of land tilled, and of that there is none too much. 313

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious ceremonies. The palace at Leh is probably the finest building in the country, though some of the monasteries may approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. The roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the woodwork, were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred pictures. 342 [576] 344 [341] [353]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

face of the mound. The place is dilapidated; ruin and decay are shown both in the substance of the hill—the waste of mountains—and in the human habitations that were built on it. Such instances of moraines could be multiplied. Not far from Padam is a conspicuous group of very large erratic blocks. Just south-west of Thonde, nine miles from Padam, where the valley is about a mile and a half wide, there stretches right across it—except for the channel that the river flows in—an irregular moundy tract of stones and sand. This is clearly a moraine; its width, measured in the direction of the run of the valley, is half a mile; it contains pieces of gneiss, which must have come from the mountains south-west of Padam.

The climate of Zānskār is severe. The spring, summer, and autumn together last little more than five months, after which snow falls, and at once winter closes in, confining the people and the cattle within doors for the space of half the year. A much greater depth of snow falls here than in Central Ladākh. In the spring it causes avalanches from the mountains to such an extent that in the Nunak Valley the people cannot till a month has passed get about from village to village for fear of them. To clear the snow from the fields in time for the sowing requires special contrivance. During summer and autumn the people collect earth and store it in their houses in considerable quantities. In the spring, when they deem the time of snow-fall to be over, and the snow in the fields is partly melted and has begun to cake with the sun's rays, they spread the earth, which absorbs warmth from the sun, and melts the snow in contact with it. Sometimes snow falls afresh, and the labour is lost and has to be repeated. In 1869 there were three or four layers of earth and snow thus accumulated before the work was done. The villages of Zānskār are not so comfortable nor so picturesque in look as those we have seen in other parts of Ladākh. Trees are extremely rare; the continuance of snow and the force of the wind are much against their growth; there are a few plantations of poplars grown for the sake of timber, and lately the authorities have increased their number, but the trees produce nothing more than slender poles.

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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.: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

185 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and
● 316 of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely
173 carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo.
[776] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is
[784] prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than those of any other part of the river. But the gold of
[136] the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sulphur, and dried fruits, of which only the first is of any consequence, and even that is not of sufficient importance to deserve more than a slight notice. 439

Wool, in Tibetan *Bal*, is the chief product of Ladák. It is of two kinds: goat-wool, or *Le-na*, which is used for shawls, and sheep-wool, or *Bal*, which is used for blanketing and coarse clothing, and for stuffing pillows and bedding.

The quantity of home-produced shawl-wool annually exported from Ladák averages 2,400 small maunds, or 76,800 lb. The value in Ladák is the same amount in rupees (Rs. 76,800), at the rate of two rupees per seer. The shawl-wool is exported to Kashmir, Nurpur, Amritsar, and Rampur.

The commoner sheep-wool is produced in much greater quantities, and the general amount of export (5,000 maunds) more than doubles that of the finer wool. The value at eight seers per rupee is only 2,000 rupees.

Borax.—The borax and sulphur-mines are found together at an uninhabited spot named Puga, on the Rulang-chu, a small stream which is full of hot springs, and which joins the Indus on its left bank, miles above Lé. Puga stands in N. latitude 33° 12′, and E. longitude 78° 16′, at an elevation of 15,264 feet above the sea. The borax is ejected in the bed of the stream by the numerous hot springs at various temperatures, from 80° upwards. The salt (borate of soda) is found along both banks of the rivulet for about two miles, in conjunction with chloride of soda. It is in a damp state, owing to the vapours emitted by the hot springs. In collecting the borax, the surface of the salt, which is generally of a light pink creamy hue (sometimes in- /35 [316]

1:Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 clining to green), is carefully scraped and collected in
316 bags. When dry, it is of a dull white colour. In this
439 state it is collected by the shepherds, who pasture their flocks on the rich summer grass of the plains of Rukchu. The quantity of this borax annually exported is stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb.; the value, at the rate of sixteen seers per rupee, being only Rs. 500.

Sulphur.—The Puga sulphur-mine is situated at a short distance from the stream, at the foot of a gypsum cliff. The mineral occurs chiefly in the form of thin laminæ disseminated throughout the rock; but in all the fissures there are numerous detached crystals, quite transparent and of all sizes, from that of a grain of sand to one-eighth of an inch. In detaching the sulphur, the crystals are mostly reduced to powder and partially mixed with the gypsum rock; and in this state it is carried to the markets of Nurpur, Kangra, and Rampur. The vague statements of the shepherds make the annual supply about 500 maunds, or 3,200 lb., but I should think that it rarely amounted even to one-half of that quantity.

439 *Dried Fruits.*—These consist of apricots and small
243 seedless raisins (commonly called currants). I have no means of making even a guess at the amount of this export, but the quantity must be considerable. I never found a single trader or shepherd without numerous bags of them; and I have procured them in all the bazaars in the hill states from Kashmir to Kangra and Simla. In the Simla bazaar they are sold at from two to two and a half seers per rupee.

The whole value of the foreign trade of Ladák, in home produce, does not exceed Rs. 80,000 or £8,000.

316 466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564 645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

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564 463 533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

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797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. 438

Social and Religious Life.

Proportion of the sexes. 162

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census. [221] [188]

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Houses and furniture. 342

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul. [353] [352] 283 462 316

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety. 105 439 [462] [241] [234] [484]

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet. 105 [258] [317] [316]

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain. 361 [797]

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians. 162 795

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus. [797]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

that it is impossible to say.* Another natural result has 133x
followed. The salts held in solution—which occur more or less in every source of water from the earth, and, as we saw by the supply of water not pure to the fresh-water lake, are here present in quantity—have become concentrated, and a Salt Lake is the result. The salts in this lake are indeed very much concentrated, and are ever being deposited from their solution. Some details about this must now be given.

The Salt Lake is shallow; at the eastern end I have heard 317
that there is about 30 feet of water, in other parts I have not 133x
found more than six feet, while over a great space towards the western end there was but one foot of water; at that part the water was of a dirty yellow-brown colour; at the bottom of it was a quarter-inch cake of some alkaline salt, probably chiefly carbonate of soda; of this cake some was in a half-crystallized state, which was flexible like leather. There is an inlet in the northern shore of the lake, or rather there is a series of small lagoons separated from the main water by a bank of shingle and clay. Here the water, drying, deposits common salt, not indeed pure, but nearly enough so for it to be used for food. The salt is removed from this place by the Chāmpās, and fresh salt forms; the deposit is best and most plentiful when a good dry season succeeds the snow-melting. I saw four such pools separated from the lake and from each other. The water must ooze into them either from underneath or through the bar. As far as I know it is only in this part that common salt is deposited; the different salts in solution are thrown down in different parts, according to the degree of concentration; this last must depend on the shallowness and on currents; these again may be caused by the wind,

* I have here used the phrase "diminution, or reduction of humidity" rather vaguely. It does not follow that the reduction of precipitation between the above-defined epoch and the present time was as much as to one-eighth. One may suppose the precipitation to be *one-fourth* of what it was, and evaporation (area for area) to be twice what it was; this would account for the lake being one-eighth its former size. Or if the rate of evaporation has increased in the *same proportion* as precipitation has diminished, then $\frac{1}{\sqrt{8}}$, or nearly one-third, is the proportion. In general terms, however, it may be said that the climate is eight times as dry as before.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ14

317 which is apt to be regular at certain times of the day. The salt
133* thus obtained has an admixture of magnesian salts; it is bitter to the taste, and is not liked by those who have been used to the pure salt of the Salt Range of the Panjāb; it is indeed apt to
[439] produce an itchiness on the skin. Still it is consumed all over Ladākh, and is carried as far as Kashmir. Over part of the plain, especially when it is composed of white clay, there is an efflorescence of some saline compound. Most generally it is carbonate of soda, which is called by the Rupshu people *pātsa*. Again, one sometimes sees a layer, over an area of a few square yards, of a hard colourless translucent substance, which seems to be a mixture of sulphate of magnesia with a compound of soda; of
133* this the native name is *gurm*. There are certain curious inequalities in parts of the plain which should be mentioned and if possible accounted for. That part which lies on the north of the Salt Lake, as before said, is of white clay; the level of it is from 10 to 20 feet above the lake; on this plain we see many hollows, commonly from 10 to 40 yards across, and 10 to 15 feet deep, with, usually, gently-sloping sides; at the bottom is generally a crust or deposit of some salt, as of the *gurm*. One of these hollows was as much as 180 yards across; in this there was a little water. A somewhat different phenomenon is seen on the east of the fresh lake; there is a plain of similar white clay, from which rise small mounds of the same material to the height of about four feet; they seem to be bulgings up of the clay, for the laminæ curve over from the centre of each. Of these two phenomena I have not a clear explanation to offer, but I think there must be connected with them a certain sloping of the layers of the lacustrine deposit which I observed at two or three places. Towards the gorge the beds of fine sand before described are slightly waved, and dip on the whole to the north-north-east, at an angle of 8°. At the place where the salt is scraped up a cliff section shows the beds to be waving and sloping. These things are not due to any deep-seated ground-movements such as produce the dip of strata in general, but must be caused by some local settling, brought about perhaps by a dissolving out of salt that had been deposited.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

133X tion of the origin of this lake, but I have turned over in my mind two or three hypotheses. The alluvium might at one time have filled the basin, which doubtless was originally but part of a valley tributary to that down which flows the stream; then, during some part of the glacial period, a glacier from the north-east may have scooped the hollow out of the gneiss and of the alluvium; thus the hollow would be a rock basin, counting the alluvium as part of the rock. Another theory is that at the time this tributary valley opened out to the larger one it was occupied by a glacier, and then the alluvium of the larger valley was deposited *against that glacier;* then, later, the ice disappearing left the hollow. The difficulty in the way of this is to know why no outlet was kept open by the water that must have flowed from the glacier. Altogether this little lake is about the most puzzling one I have met with.

INDUS VALLEY.

East of Tsomoriri there is a part of Rupshu which I have never visited—the valley of Hanle. It seems from the accounts to be another of these flat, high-level, alluvium-filled valleys, bounded by mountains which soon rise up to a height of 4000 or [361] 5000 feet or more above it. At Hanle, which is 14,276 feet high, [221] is a monastery built on a rocky spur some hundred feet above the plain. Passing by this tract, of which I have no personal knowledge, let us go to the Indus Valley, which, in the highest part of it included in the Maharaja's dominions, forms a portion of Rupshu, and is periodically visited by the Rupshu tribe with their flocks.

133X From the south-east corner of the Salt Lake plain there leads 487 a valley, which, followed up, brings one to an easy Pass, by name Folokonka, about 16,500 feet high, and beyond that one comes [312] into the valley of Pūga, a place where borax and sulphur are dug. The road from Tsomoriri, by the little lake Tso Kyāghar, also leads over a saddle of rock down into the Pūga Valley, which, farther followed down, brings us in a few miles to the Indus River. [221] The former of these two paths is the way taken by the Rupshu Chāmpās in the course of their migrations. The portion

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The bird king did fly out to eat --
And we soon slipped through.

2. The wide, golden gap in the South
By a gold-colored door is closed.
On it hangs a gold dust seal,
With the gold frog's golden tooth.
No damage is on the tooth, forsooth,
And unharmed remained the seal.
Lake Ma-phan swelled. Then with his suite
The gold frog went out to get something to eat. --
And we in haste slipped through.

3. The wide, blue gap in the West
By turquoise-blue portal is closed.
Seal made of turquoise dust
With the proud peacock's tooth.
No damage is on the tooth, forsooth,
And unharmed remained the seal.
When Dug-gil-lo swelled, then with his suite
The peacock went to get something to eat. --
And we in haste slipped through.

4. The wide, black gap in the North
By a black-colored door is closed.
On it a seal of iron dust,
With the black raven's tooth.
No damage was done to the tooth, forsooth,
Unharmed did the seal remain.
When the Byan-pa-gor-sa grew,
Out for food went the ravens' crew. --
And we in haste slipped through.

The people:

Right. Listen with your ears!

/54/ Notes to XVa and b[1]

531
317

This song has a similar character to that of songs 1 and 2. The "proud /really: joyful, --Translator/ peacock" in stanza 3 corresponds to the "dancing peacock" of Indic poetry. With respect to the seal it should be observed that the Tibetans like to use lime in sealing. They do this by pressing a wooden signet into the lime. [See pp. 72-74--Analyst]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

a certain load. For this reason the trunks are not made into square beams so that they will not become too weak to support the roof. 342

Then the tiles were formed from the loamy soil, such as is to be found nearby--a product of the decomposition of limestone and granite--in the glacial deposits of the valley. The "tile moulders" placed the tiles upright on their sides on the ground in rows /124/ The sun, which in these heights (3, 300 meters), with their clear, thin air free of vapors, shines very hot as early as May and exerts its heating effect unhampered, can in a few days dry and bake these "air tiles" in such a way that they produce walls, which in the dry air of those highlands can last for centuries. For the burning of tiles there is no fuel in the practically woodless country. The Tibetan potter must laboriously gather the necessary shrubs in order to bake his pots and jugs. 342 333 [323

The ground, consisting of moraine deposits on which the entire village stood, was dug without difficulty to the depth of about half a meter. Then came the "bricklayers," that is to say, the farmers who knew a little more about bricklaying than the others. The foundation walls were constructed of rough, scarcely hewn stones up to a height of about half a meter above the ground. On top of this foundation wall was put a thin layer of planks; with such a plank layer the wall is also covered at the top. Loamy soil serves as mortar. It is true that there are entire mountain ranges consisting of lime nearby, but for lack of fuel no lime can be baked.

A wooden roof is an impossibility, due to the lack of suitable building wood. The ceiling beams are placed blunt and without joints on the upper plank layer of the wall at distances of about half a meter. For larger rooms a stronger main beam is placed in the middle, and from this beam weaker beams are placed at right angles on both sides towards the walls. On top of these are placed, close together, strong, straight, peeled osier sticks which have been cut to an even length. On top of this is placed a layer of any kind of shrubs or weeds, such as the region may provide. On top of this layer they put wet loamy soil which they then trample down. The roof is divided into several fields with a slight incline towards the edge of the roof, so that the rain water is conducted into the outer corners and can drain off through short wooden gutters. 342

The house has two stories which internally are connected by means of stairs made of rough stones. A ladder consisting of a beam into which the carpenter has cut indentations as steps /125/, leads from the upper story on to the flat topmost roof of the house. The

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

●326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While 789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "Že-pa, že-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

751 The
[321] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. — Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 fitting a series of short horizontal boards into the slots cut in the sides of the framework. The big family stove is built of
252 a special black mud, deposited at the bottoms of rivers or streams, or dug from under the damp turf on their banks, which becomes very hard when dried. The stove is roughly square in form, with a hole at two or more corners round which the hard mud is raised into three upward projections, thus
415 supporting the local rounded cooking-pots. These are made
● 376 of copper and tinned over by the local blacksmith. We Europeans have to be very careful to have this lining kept intact to avoid copper poisoning, but one often finds the Ladaki brewing his tea in a pot from which all traces of tin have long ago vanished. Perhaps this is why we are so often upset
252 when we accept invitations to meals in their houses. In
372 front of the stove on the right-hand side is a projection of the same hardened mud, which is to accommodate the right-hand of the "fire blower," as he operates on the bellows. These are very effective instruments with a large nozzle pushed well under the glowing fuel, and an elongated bag of goat-skin at the outer end of which two small bars of wood are attached, with small loops of strongly-twisted thread in the middle. Through these the thumb and fingers are placed to open and close the mouth, and though it sounds and looks a simple process a certain knack must be acquired to get a good fire.
[357] Children of the house often keep it going, but the fire-blower is generally a sooty-faced, ragged woman servant, the counterpart of the old scullery-maid in the West. The stove has a large central tunnel with branches radiating out to the corner holes, and in the middle is a depression for the biggest hole of all.

252 Here the large pot of butter-tea is generally brewing. The tea, of which the best variety comes from Lhasa (where it is used as coinage) in bricks, is stewed for some hours, then mixed up in a special churn, phonetically named a *gurgur*, with butter, soda, salt and milk. Some writers have said our

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

One would like to describe how the blacksmith makes a hole in the ground and, with goatskin bellows and charcoal, gets quite a good fire in which he works his metal and makes his pots, pans and attractive teapots; also to tell of the carpenter, sitting on the ground holding the plank with his two feet and one hand, while sawing with the other, and in

779 person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all
798 persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from
[797] religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells,
772 such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties
[181] are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

● 327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian
797 Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they con-
794 fine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures
788 aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra
195 (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are im-
435 ported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

'35 *Lime.*—The most prevalent rock in Ladák is limestone. In Spiti, the whole formation is of this rock, excepting near Losar, where it changes into clay slate. It forms the range that divides Rukchu from Zanskar, and again changes into clay slate near the junction of the Sum-gyel rivers.

It pervades Zanskar, and is found on both banks of the Indus; in the Photo Lá and Hánu passes. It occurs at both ends of the Pangkong lake, and extends from Sassar to the crest of the Kárákoram range. Notwithstanding this general prevalence of the rock, the scarcity of wood is so great that none but the wealthy can afford to use lime mortar in their houses.

Marble.—For ornamental purposes none of the Ladáki limestones that I have seen would be considered of any value;* but the fossiliferous limestone of Kashmir takes a very high polish, and the splendid pillars of the Shálimar are the only beautiful things now remaining in that once celebrated garden.

Gypsum.—This useful mineral is found at the sulphur-mines, on the banks of the Puga rivulet, either in pure white flakes regularly disposed, or in a compact rock, with crystals of sulphur attached to it, and thin veins of nearly pure sulphur desseminated through it. It occurs also on the right bank of the Spiti river, below Losar, at the celebrated cave of Amaranáth, in Kashmir, and on the banks of the Shigar river, in Balti.† No use whatever is made of it by the people.

Clay.—Extensive deposits of the finest clays of all

* Mir Izzet Ullah, however, mentions a striped marble-like Sulimáni stone as occurring in the bed of the Shayok river, between Chong-Ulang and Dong-Bailák.—Quart. Orient. Magazine, 1825, p. 113.

† See Vigne's map for Gypsum

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns* of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons* is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 596
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

*[Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

a certain load. For this reason the trunks are not made into square beams so that they will not become too weak to support the roof. 342

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/Following page 122/

●335
412

Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W.—Tibetans AJ4

taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

335 order to make this possible has the teeth of his saw turned the opposite way to the English saw ; or of the seamster 294 making his Ladaki hats. But time and space will not permit ; suffice it to say, that, whenever possible, the Ladaki workman seems to do things " the wrong way round " as far as our point of view is concerned.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

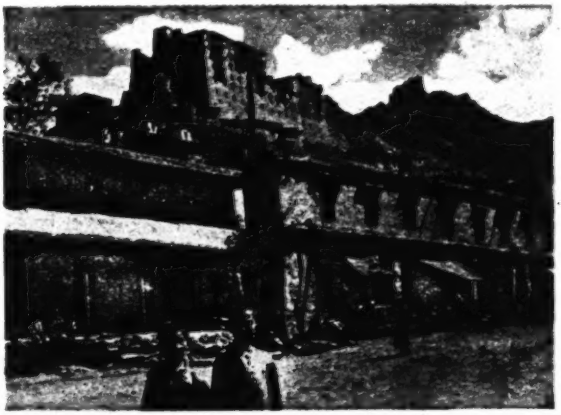
:.92

Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha.

291
142

The Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word.

• 341



The castle of the King of Ladakh still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

534
291

Zila played the daps and sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice.

[facing p. 192]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 341

Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars.

Jigmet, the headman of Upshi, is the richest man in the village.

271

[facing p. 19

595 shall try to show why in some cases
131 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
428 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
357 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

WT 838 181 595 But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT 719 595 174 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti 595 341 WT 341 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchamadoong,* which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchamadoong,* they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

[104]

Ti 595 587 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w Tibetans A14

the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of land tilled, and of that there is none too much. 313

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious ceremonies. The palace at Leh is probably the finest building in the country, though some of the monasteries may approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. The roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the woodwork, were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred pictures. 342 [576] 344 [341] [353]

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 the dwellings of the monks, and the interior, if large, is divided by other buildings into several open courts. One room, more spacious and much more lofty than the rest, is set apart as a temple for the performance of daily service. The outer walls are generally white-washed; and the battlements are ornamented with broad bands of red, and surmounted with numerous small flags that flutter in the breeze and give a lively appearance to the whole place. Outworks are sometimes added for the purpose of defence. These are generally plain curtain-walls connected by square towers crowned by machicoulis.*

342 The generality of the houses throughout Ladák are so much alike that a description of one will serve for all. The houses usually consist of two or three stories and sometimes of four. The foundations and lower parts of the walls are built of stone, the upper walls of large sun-dried bricks, 20×10×6 inches. In the better houses some of the rooms are of considerable size, twenty-five feet long and eighteen broad; but they are always very low, the highest not exceeding seven and a half or eight feet. The roofs of these large rooms are always supported by plain wooden pillars. The roof is formed of poplar spars five or six inches in diameter, peeled white, and laid only one to one and a half feet apart. The beams are covered in with small straight pieces of poplar branches about one inch in diameter, peeled white, and placed touching each other. Generally they are laid straight across the beams; but sometimes at different angles, in the alternate intervals, so as to form a pattern like herring-bone. The whole is then covered with a layer of leaves and a thick coat of well-beaten

* See Plate XX. for a view of the monastery of Hanlé.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 clay. The floors are generally of earth, but the better sort are paved with small slit pebbles, about the size of turkeys' eggs, set in clay with the flat surfaces upwards. They form a clean, hard, smooth, and lasting floor.

The principal room generally has a balcony towards either the south or the west, from ten to twenty feet in length, and usually about two feet and a half in width, where the family sit to enjoy the sun in the winter season. The doors are mere rough planks of wood, joined together by wooden tenons, and sometimes strengthened by cross bars fastened with wooden pins. Purdahs or wadded curtains are also used as an additional means of excluding the cold wind; but when the doors are shut, there is only a dim light admitted into these apartments through one or two loopholes, which are closed with small shutters at night. If supplied with glass windows and fireplaces, many of these houses would form very comfortable residences; but at present they must be wretched habitations for the winter.

The houses of the poorer classes are generally of two stories: the lower story being appropriated to their cattle. The roofs are much more coarsely made, and the rooms are small and very low, being sometimes under six feet in height. In Ladák, the upper story is usually reached by a flight of earthen steps; but in Lahul, by the sloping trunk of a tree notched into steps.

344 The royal palace at Lé is a large fine-looking building, that towers in lofty pre-eminence over the whole city. It is 250 feet in length and seven stories in height. The outer walls have a considerable slope, as their thickness diminishes rapidly with their increase of height. The

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 accession, received the usual offerings of submission from all the Ladákis, excepting only a petty chief of Purik who was in the interest of Ali Mir, the Gyalpo of Balti. Chovang Malig, the head chief of Purik and the elder brother of the rebel, applied to Jámya for a small force to coerce the refractory chief. The king assented and accompanied his troops to the Purik district, where they were suddenly overtaken by a violent snowstorm. The royal troops were dispersed; and the king and many of his principal followers were taken prisoners by the rebel and sent to Skardo,* where they were confined. The remainder of the troops were permitted to return to Ladák.

175 798 Ali Mir, the ruler of Skardo, taking advantage of the helpless state of the country, immediately marched upon Lé with a large force, and took possession of the whole of Ladák.† The temples and monasteries were burned;‡ the images of Buddha and of his various personified emanations were destroyed by the bigoted Mahomedans; and all the religious and historical books were thrown into the Indus. The conquest was complete; and arrangements having been made for the future government of Ladák, Ali Mir marched back to Skardo.

175 Shortly after his return, the conqueror released Jámya, the imprisoned Gyalpo of Ladák, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. No reason is assigned for

* *Skar-mDo*, pronounced *Skardo*, "the starry place," or "starry fort."

† This conquest is also recorded in Vigne's brief historical notice of Balti (Kashmir, II. p. 253); but the chief of Skardo is there called Ali Sher, and not Ali Mir. Ali Sher is the true name, as all the petty chiefs of the Balti district claim their descent from him.

342 ‡ The buildings in Ladák are readily burned down, as all the walls are bonded together with timber, which in so dry a climate is readily ignited.

792 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[792] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--kháng pa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "kháng oo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "kháng chhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzomo is hot of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-t'ug, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy. 262 264

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/ Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had [illegible]ally become too cramped for the growing family. The old [illegible]her Tsering Putrid who with advancing age became inc[illegible]y strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to in[illegible]t that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje Dud-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined 342

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red," wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gnyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal 342 77

342 had to call in the lamas, even if he did so half against his will. They
777 came, five in number, and on the spot staked out for the construction, they read the book of the "heaped up good luck (bkra-śis rtsegs-pa)," the words of which allegedly possess the power to exorcise the entire legion of threatening demons, so that good fortune might be able to enter into the house unhampered.

/Following page 122 there is a full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool."/

342 /123/ On the appointed Thursday there appeared a group of men with hoes and spades on the building site. Jugs with beer were already standing there in readiness. The workers received a drink and each one of them was given a few copper coins. The "architect," a carpenter with very limited abilities, stepped forth and staked off the quadrangle of the house exactly by means of strings and stakes. At the sign from the master one of the laborers came forth and, as the first one, broke the ground with his hoe. He and no other one was allowed
[777] to do this: He was a "pig year person" (p'ag-lo-pa); such a person is considered as a person who brings luck, and whatever he starts is supposed to succeed. He is a man of "sharp speech" (k'a-gnon), the spirits fear his word and his hand, he has power over them. One blow with the hoe executed by him frightens the spirits and drives away the last ones that may have remained behind after the exorcism of the lamas. This "pig year person" also receives better pay than the other workers in order to make sure that he will stay till the building is completed. He had been fetched from a distant village, because no such lucky person was to be had just then in the neighboring villages. The higher pay induced him to lend his services to the builder until the end, a fact which was appreciated not because of his performance--he was the laziest of all the workers--but because of his supposed power of exorcizing the spirits, a power which was given him by his year of birth. His laziness was therefore taken into the bargain.

Weeks before they began building the men had broken rocks by the mountain and had rolled them down the steep slope close to the building site. Poplars had been felled for building wood; there was no better building wood on these mountain oases. The carpenter and his assistants chopped off the branches with their cross axes, peeled off the bark, and removed the roughest unevennesses of the trunk, but left it in its round shape. There is in the mountain wilderness a great lack of strong trunks which can be used as roof beams capable of supporting

a certain load. For this reason the trunks are not made into square beams so that they will not become too weak to support the roof. 342

Then the tiles were formed from the loamy soil, such as is to be found nearby--a product of the decomposition of limestone and granite--in the glacial deposits of the valley. The "tile moulders" placed the tiles upright on their sides on the ground in rows /124/ The sun, which in these heights (3,300 meters), with their clear, thin air free of vapors, shines very hot as early as May and exerts its heating effect unhampered, can in a few days dry and bake these "air tiles" in such a way that they produce walls, which in the dry air of those highlands can last for centuries. For the burning of tiles there is no fuel in the practically woodless country. The Tibetan potter must laboriously gather the necessary shrubs in order to bake his pots and jugs. 342 333 323

The ground, consisting of moraine deposits on which the entire village stood, was dug without difficulty to the depth of about half a meter. Then came the "bricklayers," that is to say, the farmers who knew a little more about bricklaying than the others. The foundation walls were constructed of rough, scarcely hewn stones up to a height of about half a meter above the ground. On top of this foundation wall was put a thin layer of planks; with such a plank layer the wall is also covered at the top. Loamy soil serves as mortar. It is true that there are entire mountain ranges consisting of lime nearby, but for lack of fuel no lime can be baked.

A wooden roof is an impossibility, due to the lack of suitable building wood. The ceiling beams are placed blunt and without joints on the upper plank layer of the wall at distances of about half a meter. For larger rooms a stronger main beam is placed in the middle, and from this beam weaker beams are placed at right angles on both sides towards the walls. On top of these are placed, close together, strong, straight, peeled osier sticks which have been cut to an even length. On top of this is placed a layer of any kind of shrubs or weeds, such as the region may provide. On top of this layer they put wet loamy soil which they then trample down. The roof is divided into several fields with a slight incline towards the edge of the roof, so that the rain water is conducted into the outer corners and can drain off through short wooden gutters. 342

The house has two stories which internally are connected by means of stairs made of rough stones. A ladder consisting of a beam into which the carpenter has cut indentations as steps /125/, leads from the upper story on to the flat topmost roof of the house. The

342 walls of the house are covered on the inside as well as the outside with a plaster which consists also of loamy or clay-containing soil like the rest of the walls. Then the whole thing is painted with a yellowish white marl, which gives the house a friendly appearance. The doors and window frames are roughly fashioned, and the windows are very small, in order to keep the rooms as warm as possible in winter. The floors are made of loam that has been stamped down; only in the houses of the rich does a part of the living quarters have wooden ceilings. Usually a small courtyard that is enclosed by a high wall surrounds the house.

One enters a Tibetan house, coming through the courtyard, by a low door, and first of all one finds oneself in the stable in which the horses and the cows belonging to the owner stand at their brick cribs. Going up the stone steps, one arrives at the roomy livingroom-kitchen (čan-sa); adjoining this is a larger room, a kind of "parlor," opening to the south with a balcony; adjacent to both these rooms are the bedrooms and the pantry. Frequently the living room-kitchen also has a balcony on which the people like to sit in the sun in summer and winter, when they don't prefer to stay on the flat roof. Sometimes only a part of the lower story has a second story built on top of it, so that one can walk about and sit on its roof. Often the house is built at a steep mountain slope; then people and animals can get on top of the roof without stairs by simply using the mountain slope. On top of the roof the sheep and goat stable is often to be found.

On the upper roof, the loft, well-to-do Buddhists have their household temple constructed. Below this temple, in the livingroom-kitchen, are the seats of the men running in a row along the wall; below this--the granary. The blessing of the Buddhas and of the tutelary gods, whose pictures are up above in the household sanctum, are supposed to stream down directly upon the people and the property of the house below.

The work now progressed rapidly. Not a single rainy day interrupted it; the tiles dried and hardened well and quickly in the hot sun /126/, and when in July the harvesting work started, which required the services of the workers, the construction was essentially finished. Namgyal regaled his workers with tea, flat bread cakes, and beer, and dismissed them all except two carpenters who still had to construct the last doors and window shutters. The new building of the Dragshos house stood, simple but trim, beside the old, which Namgyal had also had repaired. His joy over the new construction was great.

342
789

Dedication of the House and Securing it Against Hostile Demons

When the construction of the house was completed, Namgyal again called in the lamas. This is the way his relatives wanted it. For three days on end the lamas performed skurim (ceremonies), prayed to the Buddhas and to the tutelary spirits, asking them to protect the house and to give them blessing and prosperity in all their doing. It was especially important to protect the new house against the malicious earth spirits (sa-bdag) and their mistress, the old earth mother (ama-k'on-ma). This goddess wears a golden-yellow garment and she rides on a ram. In her hand she holds a loop of golden string. The most dreaded of the earth spirits are the Nyan (gnyan), who wander around in mountain and valley, and who nestle now in this, now in that rock or tree, and who send disease and death to man, when they are provoked, whether purposely or not. In order to fix these earth spirits of all kinds inside the earth, the lamas perform a ceremony which they call "the closing of earth's door." The lamas erect a long pole and construct a dosmo; from crossed sticks with wool threads stretched between them are constructed magical figures, parallelograms, pentagons, octagons, and stars, similar to the druidic foot of the medieval magician in Germany. These figures are fastened to the pole. Many of the figures are reminiscent of spider's webs; in addition there are little flags, arrows, and the like, which are stuck in between. Below, at the magical pole, a ram's skull is affixed. Inside the skull the lama magicians put all kinds of "valuable" offering gifts: gold leaf, a small piece of silver, a coin, a few turquoises, which are very cheap in Tibet, other semi-precious /127/ stones and small trinkets, wheat and rice kernels, peas, and the like. The quantity and the value of the offering gifts is determined by the money bag of the customer. A magical sign (sparka-k'on) is painted on the forehead of the skull; on the right jawbone is painted a sun, on the left jawbone a moon; above this are placed demons' masks, strips of silk, coins, and little sticks with little balls of wool at their tips (p'an-k'ra). At the very bottom of the pole the following crudely drawn pictures are attached: the picture of a man (the master of the house), of a woman with a spindle in her hand (the lady of the house), the children, the picture of the house, of a tree, and further magical signs (sparka and mewa), each of the latter on a little wooden tablet.

The entire dosmo is now fastened on the outside of the house

342 789 above the housedoor. It is supposed to fix the evil earth spirits firmly within the earth, lest they approach the house in a threatening manner. They are supposed to vent their rage upon the pictures by believing them to be the actual inhabitants of the house. Once the dosmo is attached, lama steps in front of the housedoor with his face turned towards the southwest, and calls upon the queen of the earth spirits, the old mother Khon, draws her attention to all the good things coveted by her, the ram's skull with sun and moon, the Khon sign, and all the valuable stones, and so forth, in the ram's skull. All this, he says, is being offered to her so that she may enjoy it. And now she might as well close the door of the earth for the owners of the house, who had brought her all these precious things as an offering, so that the army of earth spirits which was subordinated to her might not inflict any harm upon the inhabitants of the house. In future, too, when the latter should build a new house or improve the old, when they might plan a marriage or any other important matter, the earth mother is to remember this offering and is not to hinder the doings of the people, but to further them. In conclusion the lama claps his hands and exclaims: "Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!" (mystical Sanskrit formulas).

The housedoor of the new house also had to be well protected against the evil spirits. A picture of the house and hearth god with the pig's head (p'a-lha, t'ab-lha) was also fastened above its door. When all these ceremonies were completed, and the lamas had fortified themselves by an ample meal and ample drink, /128/ and after each one of them had received another gift of money, they departed with the greeting: "Tra-shis-shik! K'angpa nor pelchik! Hail! May your house and your property prosper!"

A Year in the House of the Dragshos and What Namgyal Experienced during it

527 In the house of the Dragshos the old popular customs were strictly observed. The inhabitants were firmly rooted in the soil of the popular national traditions and took part in the life of the people as it has been taking its course for thousands of years, year after year in the same way, connected in the closest possible manner with nature. Just as life in nature takes its course in the eternal consonance of the yearly cycle which is determined by the course of the sun, so, too, the life of the Tibetan passes in even rhythm. In this the turning points

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Proportion of the sexes.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

Houses and furniture.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 6

A COURT IN LAHUL

The day I built the bridge at Koksar we went fourteen miles and spent the night at Gundala. Gundala is a small village of a score or so inhabitants. The houses are square affairs with flat slate roofs. Both outside walls and the roofs are plastered with a stucco made from mud. Some have two stories with the people above and the cattle below. Gundala runs at a steep pitch down a mountainside that is dotted with a thin stand of juniper. There are millet, barley, and wheat on the terraces that reach to the river; and willow trees and aspen keep most of the village in shade.

It is ten miles to Kyelang, a distance we covered in about three hours. We traveled in a light, cold rain and were accompanied all the way by the endless echoes of thunder rolling round and round in this narrow canyon of the Chandra. Kyelang is on the opposite side of the mountain behind Gundala. It is a village of several hundred people that sits prettily high on the banks of the Bhaga River. Across the river is a Buddhist monastery on a lonely

735 an annual cash income of eighty dollars a year per family. But
511 that is far above what the average Ladakhi family will have in a year.

[342] At Upshi, where we first touched the Indus River, we stayed with the headman of the village, Jigmet. Jigmet's house has two stories. It is made of stone and mud with rafters of poplar wood. The ceilings are about six feet high. The floors are mud. The roof is flat, constructed of rocks and mud laid on top of boughs. The cooking is done in a fireplace located under a hole in the roof. The toilet is on an open balcony on the second floor. It consists only of a hole in the mud floor. There are no furnishings in the house—no chairs, no beds, no tables. There are no decorations on the walls, no carpets on the floors.

Jigmet is the richest man in the village. He owns the land he works—eighteen *kanals* or a little more than one acre. He has no sheep, no goats, no yaks. He has one dzo that he uses for plowing. For fuel he uses the dung of the dzo and the common sea buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides*)—a silvery-barked shrub with sharp spines and orange-yellow berries that flourishes in the valley of the Indus. He raises only barley, and he irrigates it from the Indus. He has a few chickens. Their eggs, the dzo's milk, and the barley are his income. He bragged that he had a cash income, over and above his living, of fifty dollars a year. A local official laughed at the idea. He said five dollars a year would be closer.

[291] Jigmet wore a gray wool gown, sandals, and a Ladakhi hat. The hat, distinguished by a rim made of black fur, had a round, squat top. Jigmet had one other adornment. In his right ear he wore a big gold earring about an inch and a half in diameter. His face was sad; his black eyebrows and thick, black mustache accentuated the severity of his countenance. Yet he was a gracious host. He showed us to our room on the second floor. The room had a small balcony big enough for a sleeping bag. It faced north, and I could see miles and miles up the Indus. We no sooner had unpacked than Jigmet's family appeared—a wife suckling a babe,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292 all, and must have a detailed description later on. Then look at their dwellings, strange habitations of mud and
● 342 stones, crudely put together with crooked lines and strange little tiny windows, with or without a rough wooden framework. The larger of these may have a wooden partition down the centre of the framework, and the upper edge of the latter is curved upwards in each partition, adding the expres-
[231] sion of an eyebrow to the aperture. Through such windows it is quite common to see the solemn face of an old goat looking out, his long beard waggling to his meditative munch as he surveys the street below. How strange it seems to our Western ideas to have a goat upstairs and free to wander all over the house. But here we shall slowly find that in one example after another "the things go the other way." We are not exactly in Looking-glass Land, but we are certainly in some sort of Wonderland, where many things are upside-down, topsy-turvy or just the reverse of our notions of correctness, and where the strangest incongruities prevail.

To start with the houses, our best rooms are on the ground floor; as you ascend the rooms decrease in importance, and the uppermost ones are relegated to lumber or to the least important members of the household. In Ladak, on the contrary, the higher you go the better the rooms, and the flat roof is the most used place of all, especially in the sunny hours of winter, when many domestic activities can be carried out in the warm sunshine there, and thereby the precious fuel be saved. Often there is a small porch on one side, a shelter from the keen spring winds or a shade from the heat of summer. The fact that horse-manure or cows' dung is spread out in patches on the floor to dry, or that the chimney of the summer kitchen-room is busy fulfilling its functions near-by, does not at all detract from the desirability of this lofty open-air sitting room. Descending, we come to a large room with an open verandah, which can be closed in by

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely 342
carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The 231
ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the [310]
front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare 247
land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers [301]
is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is 513
not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at 291
being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the
361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers
162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense
771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of
233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have
[771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism
[797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion
162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus
792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest.
563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

147 but their scanty garments, these small urchins spend the night with only a handful or two of barley-flour as a reward, but they call out a hearty greeting to our nurse as she passes, and neither spirit nor body appears to be chilled by the exposure.

We have already noticed the strange mixture of finery and rags, the incongruity of fine workmanship and adjacent tawdriness. Surely nature herself teaches them this odd combination of the sublime and the ridiculous. Think only of the many examples on the main road up from Srinagar to
133 Leh. As one emerges from the narrow defile which has
361 wound up slowly from Pashkim, just beyond Kargil, to the Mulbeck Valley and about three miles before the village of that name is reached, the gorge opens out into a broad cultivated valley with a great panorama of majestic mountains beyond. Here and there in the foreground are soft sandstone cliffs, behind, strange peaks with jagged pinnacles in their rugged outlines, rising higher yet sinking in perspective as they reach the horizon to stand out clear and sharp against the brilliant azure sky, the whole suggesting some gigantic upheaval of past ages. As one pursues the winding path in and out of soft red-brown sand-hills into the village, the nearer hills and the lower extraordinary formations of sandstone on the further side of the stream come into prominence. These are sculptured by wind, snow and rain into the most grotesque shapes, looking in some places like the ruins of some ancient village or even turretted castles, the rough outlines of the one-time windows presenting the most gnome-like suggestion of a forgotten civilization. In other places the stalagmite-looking relics are more statuesque, and, opposite the sharp turn of the high road to the left, may be seen across
347 the main valley a gigantic looking ruined model of a
133 mother with a child at her knees. Over the pass and into
361 the next village, again straggling along a wide valley, this formation is repeated, and one quaint little cluster of houses

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

on the further side of the stream appears to be purposely designed to show the evolution of the house from the rock. Holes in the cliff itself slowly evolve into the apertures of a dwelling, and these merge into the more elaborate windows of a house in a graded transition before one's eyes, whilst portions of the rock are used as walls and foundations for the buildings, so that it is quite hard to distinguish across the valley which is nature's building and which is man's. Even in the people this similitude to the land and rocks amounts to a protective adaptation like that in wild animals and birds. How difficult it is to distinguish the ordinary coolie seen on the road in the distance. His undyed home-spun, his cap and even his face (for his cheeks receive just about as much washing as the land receives rain in this dry climate) are thoroughly impregnated with the dry dust of the desert. His movements alone distinguish him from the grey-brown rocks, stones and sand around. Very different indeed is the red-robed lama, who can be discerned from afar in a land where the atmosphere is so rarefied that distance is incredibly fore-shortened. Again it is often absurdly difficult to know whether a pile of stones set up by some passer-by to frighten away mischievous spirits is a human being standing or sitting until one is quite near by, when the stones may suddenly resolve themselves into a wayfarer who rises to ask you for some *m'a-ches* (matches) which will enable him to light his fire so much more quickly than the flint and tinder which depend from his waist. On the road between Bot Kharbu and Lamayuru one of the most quaint little clusters of transitional rock-dwellings suddenly comes into view up a narrow ravine on one's left, and one thinks of the inhabitants, the women especially, whose life and world is probably confined to this fantastic corner, appropriately named Henasku. But all these fantasies are only preparations for the incredible scene that lies before one as the final [illegible] is turned in the approach to Lamayuru.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through dark alleys, up ricketty ladders, and under low portals, which give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This "very nice room" with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a beautiful shining mohagany by years of smoke, a process being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it on the floor, so that we may both sit and "lay our table" upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining, sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained. We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme*, is specially interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are constrained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hillside. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker gives the old man some of his own "Country Life" tobacco to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it with a smile, for who could have believed even that old friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

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1. A LADAKI FROM A SIDE VALLEY.

One of the few old men who still wear regularly a turnover hat introduced by a former king.

2. A BREEZY DWELLING.

A Tibetan nomad looking through the aperture at the top of his quaint tent, which serves as chimney, ventilator and observatory.

3 & 4. HEAD TEACHER OF THE MONASTERY OF SANKAR.

He is the secular instructor of the Baby Skushog. He is wearing ceremonial hats used on different occasions.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

pick-a-pack. To the men of these parts their bridges offer no thrills ; they often carry cattle over on their backs, first taking the precaution of tying their legs. Some time after we had reached camp, our other two servants came in and told us of their experiences at that bridge. "Are you afraid ?" said one. "No, not a bit," replied his comrade, while in sheer fright the tears chased one another down his cheeks. However, one soon gets quite blasé about these bridges, and I crossed my fourth with a light heart. But how do the ponies fare ? They have to be relieved of their loads, which men carry over the bridge and they themselves must swim the torrent. Our own Mongolian pony was shown a horse on the further side, hoping that he would think it had arrived safely and would follow its good example, but he had to be driven in several times with much shouting and raising of arms before he would venture across, and the sturdy animal was quite out of breath on arriving at the other bank.

At Padum a day's rest was decreed, not only from marching, but also to extract fourteen cataracts, which were awaiting operation. The next day on again, until finally we reached the Shingkung La, the Pass which divides Zankskar from Lahoul, and which took us four days to cross. Going to the foot of the Pass on the first day, we noticed some peculiar huts on the opposite side of the river which proved to be dwellings, built of yaks' dung. During the summer, when the yaks are allowed to graze the hillsides, their shepherds first build low walls of stone, then bring the plaques of dung, which they collect each day, to build a slanting roof, of which each superimposed layer overlaps slightly inwards. When winter comes, the yaks are driven back into the village, and the collections of dung taken home for the winter fuel.

Having reached the top of the Pass, a most wonderful view is unfolded. To right and left rise glorious peaks covered with glittering snowfields or glaciers, while our path itself lies across an avalanche, though it is difficult to realize this,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but 563
as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the 443
lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, 621
or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan fashion—" And the next, please." But not only does he sell things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them at three or four times that amount down-country. When it comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and thought we would try to get one from them. There at the foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary 342 ●
poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones. At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are conveniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise. At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not 789
placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its representative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good. Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen 621
cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride 000

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

142 unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are 291 cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed. On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick 342 soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but [132] from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing, he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XI

Domesticities

THE homes of Ladak, with the exception of those in its metropolis, Leh, and perhaps in the small town of Kargil, in Purig, are practically all village homes. In these desert uplands a village must centre round a stream, which brings its contribution from the glaciers of the great heights—ever in the background—to one of the smaller rivers, most of which eventually flow into the Indus. Where such a stream runs through a broadening valley, it is possible to lay out a series of terraced fields, which can be irrigated in turn by directing the supply into small artificial water-courses. Indeed the turns for sharing the precious water are often the subject of much quarrelling, hoarse shouting and invective, while some less fortunate inhabitants have sometimes to stay up all night to water their fields. Above the area of cultivated terraces, and at the foot of the actual hills, where it is too rocky and steep to plough and sow, the houses are clustered, approached by stony paths or tracks, and so built into the hillside that convenient pieces of rock are often used for wall or floor, and, where the rock overhangs, even for roof, while a little sunny platform will be enclosed with a rough wall to stable the animals by day in winter. The setting of roof and balcony is always arranged to catch the maximum sunshine, so that even in the low temperatures of winter, many domestic activities can be carried on out-of-doors. Crowning the chief hill of the village, and dominating its common life, as its position would suggest, is the monastery.

342 361 [241] [312] [346]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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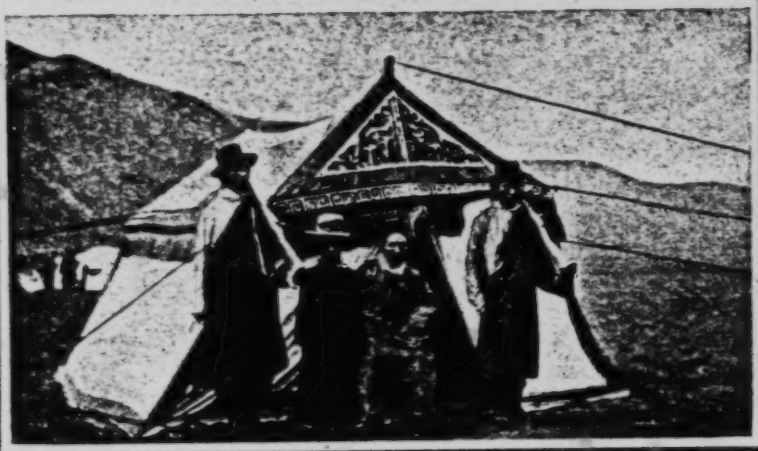

A Skushog and his Monastic Band

greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

The Big Drum.

A similar band, shewing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mark of interrogation.

The Chief Tibetan Representative and his Son

who have come to confer with the British and State (Wazir) Joint Commissioners of Ladak about a boundary dispute.

Opp. Pg. 102

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here, 1
788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
793 come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums, while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests must be both fed, and paid in money.

788 Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious
798 purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

554 One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best
[758] room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

342 The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

1 [i.e., in private chapels in better-class houses in town — analysis]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fitting a series of short horizontal boards into the slots cut in the sides of the framework. The big family stove is built of a special black mud, deposited at the bottoms of rivers or streams, or dug from under the damp turf on their banks, which becomes very hard when dried. The stove is roughly square in form, with a hole at two or more corners round which the hard mud is raised into three upward projections, thus supporting the local rounded cooking-pots. These are made of copper and tinned over by the local blacksmith. We Europeans have to be very careful to have this lining kept intact to avoid copper poisoning, but one often finds the Ladaki brewing his tea in a pot from which all traces of tin have long ago vanished. Perhaps this is why we are so often upset when we accept invitations to meals in their houses. In front of the stove on the right-hand side is a projection of the same hardened mud, which is to accommodate the right-hand of the "fire blower," as he operates on the bellows. These are very effective instruments with a large nozzle pushed well under the glowing fuel, and an elongated bag of goat-skin at the outer end of which two small bars of wood are attached, with small loops of strongly-twisted thread in the middle. Through these the thumb and fingers are placed to open and close the mouth, and though it sounds and looks a simple process a certain knack must be acquired to get a good fire. Children of the house often keep it going, but the fire-blower is generally a sooty-faced, ragged woman servant, the counterpart of the old scullery-maid in the West. The stove has a large central tunnel with branches radiating out to the corner holes, and in the middle is a depression for the biggest hole of all.

Here the large pot of butter-tea is generally brewing. The tea, of which the best variety comes from Lhasa (where it is used as coinage) in bricks, is stewed for some hours, then mixed up in a special churn, phonetically named a *gurgur*, with butter, soda, salt and milk. Some writers have said our

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and *kalches* are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the occasion of the building of the wall is engraved. We pass 778
on to a little streamlet in the village, and find that over it a 788
little mud hut, about the size of a large dog kennel, has been erected, which houses another prayer-wheel. On the axle of this, below the receptacle for prayers, are paddles on which the running water impinges and thus keeps the wheel in perpetual rotation. The stream is often small, so that a light wheel is desirable, and what could be a better shell for enclosing the prayer paper than a Standard Oil kerosene tin, or a Mellin's Food tin, both of which are actually used.

The first house of the village belongs to the Kalon or 342
former prime minister of Ladak, and in keeping with his 788
exalted position, it is an imposing structure. On an outside wall we notice the skull of a goat, framed in small sticks tied together by twine, which is the *Storma* obtained at the New Year's festival, and keeps those in the house insured against sickness. The corners of the house have been painted a red colour, which effectually bars the entry of evil spirits. The Kalon does not seem to invite the good spirits to reside in his house, but others do. They only have to paint all over their walls white sickle-shaped smudges, and their invitations to these *lhas* will be accepted with alacrity. In the Kalon's court-yard is a high pole, to which is attached a strip of thin muslin about twelve inches broad and running the length of the flagstaff, which is surmounted by the black bushy tail of the holy yak. On the flag are printed a great number of prayers, with crude drawings of Tiger, Lion, Garuda and Dragon, all being mystical signs ensuring safety against enemies, earthly and celestial, increasing the number of children and wealth, in short achieving the entire health and happiness of the household. To set the necessary forces in action it only remains for the wind to flutter the flag on his roof. He also has a prayer-wheel which is so light that even the wind impinging on its vane will turn it.

We pass along the rough village lanes and everywhere 788

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 795 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 631 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not. As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there [342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father. [291] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] [574] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garhpan*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur. 595 428

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said. 595 342 514

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli. 595 [578]

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father, [851]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

114 595 6. *Personal field-work research*

After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and 115 had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 428 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
[79·7] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[79·2] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
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24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 39. A typical Ladaki house from outside, at Leh.

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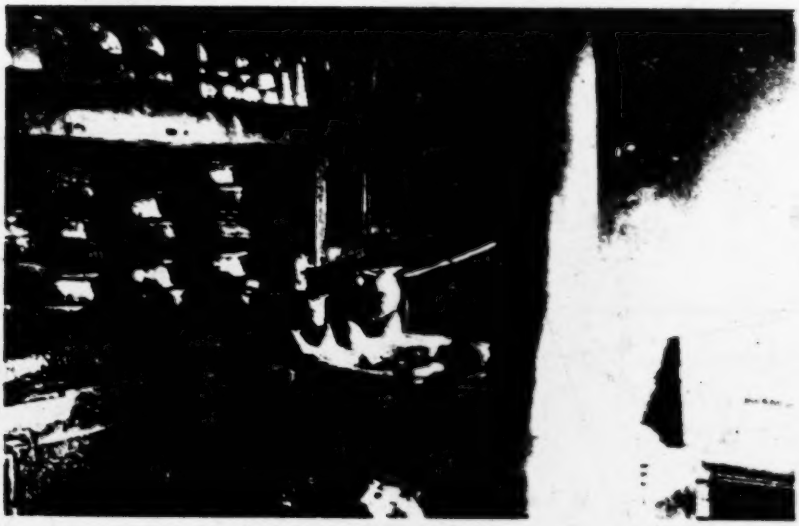

Fig. 40. The kitchen inside a Ladaki house, at Leh.

[P. 480 - C]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w Tibetans A14

the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the 313
growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of land tilled, and of that there is none too much.

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are 342
flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept [576]
neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious ceremonies. The palace at Leh is probably the finest 344
building in the country, though some of the monasteries may approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. The [341]
roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in [353]
Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the woodwork, were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred pictures.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

eight miles distant; a succession of spurs come down from it; 138x
between them are hollows from which come out, at their base, wide spreading fans. The hill-sides are completely bare of vegetation. On the slopes of the northern ridge, up to 2000 feet, blown sand has accumulated, sand blown up from the river plain; this sometimes lies in masses in the hollows, sometimes is spread on the hill-sides in varying thicknesses, in places it has been washed down again into the valleys on to the other débris. The different colour of this sand from that of the rock gives a strange look to the hills; it often reverses the usual light and shade, making the hollows bright and leaving the projections dark.

I went about 20 miles farther, south-eastwards up the valley, along the alluvial plain between the mountains. After that, as I could see, the space between the mountains narrowed; in the line of the valley there seemed to be an opening like a gateway; it is through this that goes the road into the Chinese territory; the river is deflected to the north-east, flowing in a narrow space, but after another 20 miles up the two valleys or hollows reunite.

Our farthest camp was at a place called Dora. This is where 361
the Chāmpās of Rupshu spend the winter. Here are built some 221
low walled spaces for sheltering cattle at night; there were many 342
small hollows dug two feet deep in the ground with a course or two of sun-dried brick above, these are made for the tents to be pitched in them; at one end is a rude house built for the headman—low walls washed over with a glittering micaceous mud and roofed in with sticks covered with turf. When I was there, in August, there was not a soul in the settlement. At Dora falls hardly any snow. This is why the place is chosen for winter quarters, the sheep and the cattle being thus able to graze on the extensive though thin pasture found on the flat. Close by is a small shallow lake in the alluvium; it is about three-quarters of a mile long and a furlong wide, of clear fresh water. Two or three miles off are some little salt ponds in the alluvium; the water of these tastes both salt and bitter. About north-north-east from Dora the northern mountain-ridge changes in point of composition from granite to a more or less altered shale; the line of it

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V1~~
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133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the popu-
181 lation are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated; they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides,
526 behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
● 342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

2: Gervis f-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ 4

summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next 342
morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer 132
outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a
difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny 132
courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be 354
had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in 793
meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the 793
Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron- 292
coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish
shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasion- [795]
ally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great 793
monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that 361
every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

776 god, and so on with the God of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

●343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rôm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them: to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--phâyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángtháng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 753

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

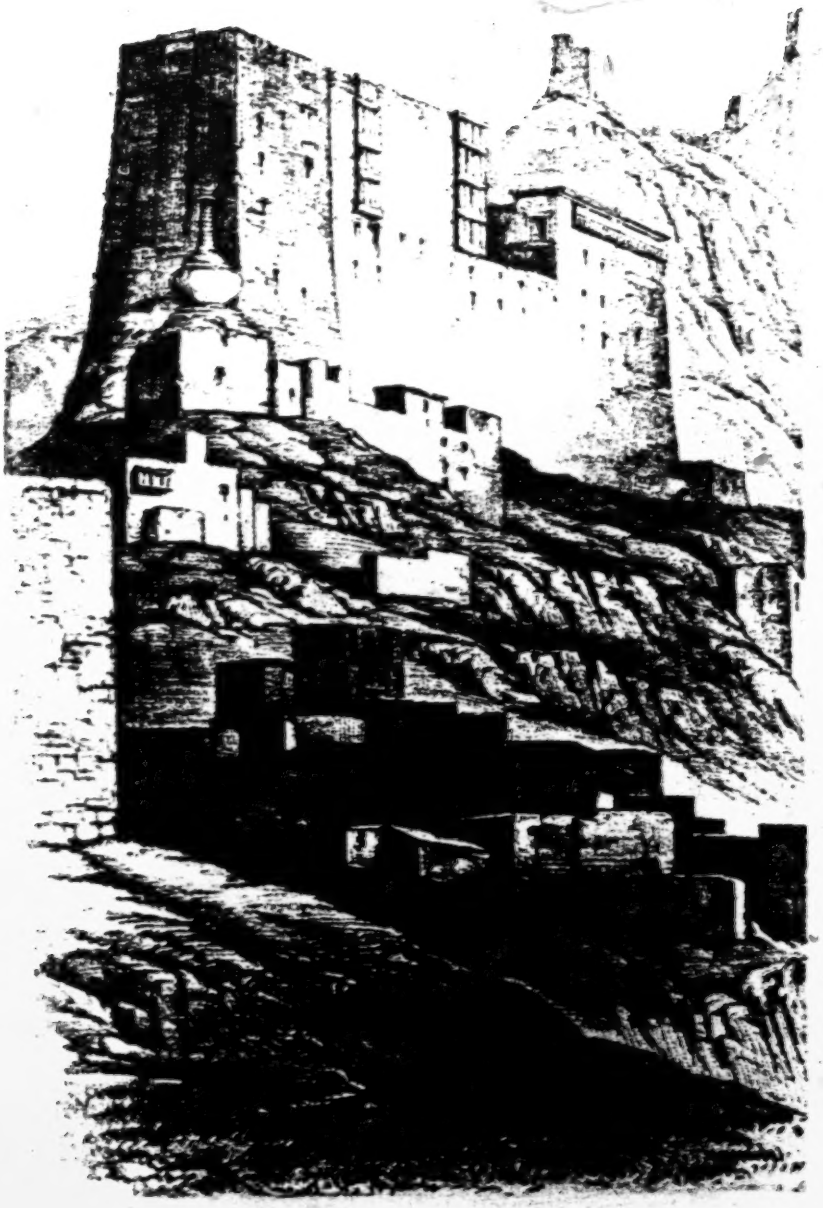
13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
● 343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
[473] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
731 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

344



Palace at LF

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 clay. The floors are generally of earth, but the better sort are paved with small slit pebbles, about the size of turkeys' eggs, set in clay with the flat surfaces upwards. They form a clean, hard, smooth, and lasting floor.

The principal room generally has a balcony towards either the south or the west, from ten to twenty feet in length, and usually about two feet and a half in width, where the family sit to enjoy the sun in the winter season. The doors are mere rough planks of wood, joined together by wooden tenons, and sometimes strengthened by cross bars fastened with wooden pins. Purdahs or wadded curtains are also used as an additional means of excluding the cold wind; but when the doors are shut, there is only a dim light admitted into these apartments through one or two loopholes, which are closed with small shutters at night. If supplied with glass windows and fireplaces, many of these houses would form very comfortable residences; but at present they must be wretched habitations for the winter.

The houses of the poorer classes are generally of two stories: the lower story being appropriated to their cattle. The roofs are much more coarsely made, and the rooms are small and very low, being sometimes under six feet in height. In Ladák, the upper story is usually reached by a flight of earthen steps; but in Lahul, by the sloping trunk of a tree notched into steps.

344 The royal palace at Lé is a large fine-looking building, that towers in lofty pre-eminence over the whole city. It is 250 feet in length and seven stories in height. The outer walls have a considerable slope, as their thickness diminishes rapidly with their increase of height. The

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

344 upper stories are furnished with long open balconies to the south, and the walls are pierced with a considerable number of windows. The beams of the roof are supported on carved wooden pillars, and covered with planks painted in various patterns on the outside. The building is substantial and plain; but its size and height give it a very imposing appearance.*

* See Plate XXI. for a view of the palace at Lé.

at this wonder of technology.

527 The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following,
[344] was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears
[563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are
[526] organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang,
782 the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-koń), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the
527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful,
778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

throne, so that we also were enthroned, but not on a raised 643
platform. Although it was still winter, the afternoon sun was extraordinarily hot, as we toiled up the hill on which stands the castle, above the tiers of houses which form the chief part of Leh. This is a fine building, erected some 643
three hundred years ago. It consists of nine storeys, and is 344 ●
built of stone and mudbricks. So high is it that the walls have had to be built with a slight slope inwards to keep them from bulging out. The roof is perfectly flat with a balustrade running all round. When the King or *Skushog* is in Leh, a band of lamas with shawms and trumpets stand at the edge of this to salute them, and make a charming picture outlined against the sky.

We entered under the porch, gaudily decorated with many colours. Above us, and on each side were gargoyles, which it was formerly possible to propel outwards and thus frighten the King's enemies. We walked along a dark passage, and up a flight of rude stone steps. This took us past the Royal Temple, in which are a few images, and a small library which could no doubt tell us a good deal about former kings who ruled here, but what we noticed most was a large heap of black leaves, inscribed with golden letters, which have been thrown on the floor in an untidy heap. They were placed there by the Dogra conquerors, and nobody has ever taken the trouble to sort them. Our way then ascended a rough wooden stair- 643
way, and, we eventually entered a large room. This was now filled with many people of high and low degree. In a corner a platform was raised about four feet above the people, and on it were enthroned the Incarnation of Hemis with the young King on his left. We were given seats in front, and had a plate of food placed before us. Hardly had the last member of our party been served, when a leading Ladaki came to us, thanked us in the politest and most elegant language he could command for the trouble we had taken in coming up to the castle on such a hot day, and hinted that we

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w Tibetans A14

the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the 313
growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of land tilled, and of that there is none too much.

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are 342
flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except [576]
in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious ceremonies. The palace at Leh is probably the finest 344
building in the country, though some of the monasteries may approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing
of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. The [341]
roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the
wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in [353]
Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the woodwork, were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred pictures.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bottoms of their dressing-gown coats into their ample belts, 524
and play with bare or merely stockinged feet, whilst their younger brothers enjoy their game just as thoroughly when they play it with a rag ball. The game of marbles too has found its way here, but must adapt itself to the poverty of the country. Stones as round as can be found are used, or if walnuts abound they do service for a similar game. A hole is dug in the ground or in the raised base of a *chorten*, and the aim is to throw as many of these walnuts into it as possible. Nor are the Ladaki lasses without their games. A finger or stick traces in the sand and dust the lines necessary for hopscotch just as efficiently as the chalk-line on a London pavement, and little Ladaki legs, although they are shod with clumsy native footgear, do their hopping just as nimbly as those of their English sisters.

The Ladaki also believes in the dictum, "what thy hand 526
findeth to do, do it with all thy might," at least as far as games are concerned, and with a little training he would compete on equal terms with our own countrymen. Those boys sent down-country to the Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe's splendid school rapidly pick up hockey, tennis, badminton, swimming and rowing, in fact, excel in all sports. But let us now watch them at their own national games, the favourite being polo. Ladak may not be the home of polo, but it certainly found [171]
its way here at an early date. Even if it arose in Persia, it very soon migrated to Gilgit, and the Dards, no doubt, brought it with them to Ladak, and now it is not even a hyphenated Ladaki game, for most good-sized villages have their own polo ground. In Leh, the capital, the game was 526
formerly played in the high street, but this evidently became 345
so dangerous for the shopkeepers that now we have a proper polo ground. This consists of a level space about two hundred yards long, which cannot boast of a blade of grass, but is covered by a layer of dust so thick that before play begins, it has to be laid with water. On one side it is bounded

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 by the high wall of the Wazir's or State Commissioner's
● 345 garden, on the other by a low wall about one foot high built of large stones, piled one on top of the other without mortar or cement or even mud. Halfway along this, a platform of mud and stones has been erected, from the top of which "the notables" watch the game, a *Shamiana* or awning being erected on high days. Two large stones at either end are
[534] sufficient as goal-posts. On the ground itself to one side sits the band of four; two flageolets and two kettle-drums. These at one moment are announcing another goal obtained and at another are defending themselves from the polo sticks, for
526 the game is raging right in their midst. But now let us turn our attention to the players and their mounts. Here it is not the rich man's game, a stud of horses is quite unnecessary. Even a poor farmer possesses one pony, and if he makes himself a stick, he, too, can join in. The stick is quite easily manufactured, its shape being that of an English hockey stick, but with a longer handle. By making this and the striking end of two pieces, and letting the former into the latter, a rude splice is obtained. Rules for play there would seem to be none. If your opponent gets in your way, ride him down. If only six players have come, three a side will do, if ten players turn up, two fives make an equally good game. Although play can last for as long as you like, the same poor miserable pony is used the whole time, and will hardly enjoy it as much as the English one is said to do.

Now the play begins. The ball has been thrown into the centre of the course and four horsemen are trying to get it. A pig-tailed Ladaki has it, and is riding as hard as he can for his opponents' goal. His hitting is beautifully clean, and the playing of the band announces a goal for his side. His enemies' posts now become his own, which he has to defend. Now watch him carefully, for he will show you a pretty piece of play. He has dismounted, picked up the ball, and, remounting, takes both it and his stick in his right hand, then gallops

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

repeatedly mentioned by Báber; but after his time it gradually became obscure. It was introduced by the Musalman conquerors, and the very first king, Kutb-ud-din Aibak, was killed by a fall from his horse when playing at chaogan in A.D. 1210.* The Pathán kings of India still continued to join in the game down to the time of Sikander Lodi, in A.D. 1498, when "one day, while the king and his court were playing at chaogan, the bat of Haibat Khan Shirwani by accident came in contact with the head of Suliman, the son of Darya Khan Lodi, who received a severe blow. This was resented on the spot by Khizr Khan, the brother of Suliman, who, galloping up to Haibat Khan, struck him violently over the skull. In a few minutes both sides joined in the quarrel, and the field was in uproar and confusion. Mahmud Khan Lodi and Khan Khanan Lodi interposing, endeavoured to pacify Haibat Khan, and succeeded in persuading him to go home quietly with them. The king, apprehensive of conspiracy, retired immediately to the palace; but nothing more transpiring, he made another party at the same game a few days after."†

VII.—HOUSES—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

346 [312] The finest buildings in Ladák are the monasteries, which are always placed on heights more or less lofty, and which generally have a very picturesque and imposing appearance. Many of them would be places of some strength if they possessed water; but I am not aware of a single monastery that has even one day's supply. The outer walls of the monastery are formed by

* Briggs's Ferishta, I. p. 199. † Idem, p. 574.

1:Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 the dwellings of the monks, and the interior, if large, is divided by other buildings into several open courts. One room, more spacious and much more lofty than the rest, is set apart as a temple for the performance of daily service. The outer walls are generally white-washed; and the battlements are ornamented with broad bands of red, and surmounted with numerous small flags that flutter in the breeze and give a lively appearance to the whole place. Outworks are sometimes added for the purpose of defence. These are generally plain curtain-walls connected by square towers crowned by machicoulis.*

342 The generality of the houses throughout Ladák are so much alike that a description of one will serve for all. The houses usually consist of two or three stories and sometimes of four. The foundations and lower parts of the walls are built of stone, the upper walls of large sun-dried bricks, 20×10×6 inches. In the better houses some of the rooms are of considerable size, twenty-five feet long and eighteen broad; but they are always very low, the highest not exceeding seven and a half or eight feet. The roofs of these large rooms are always supported by plain wooden pillars. The roof is formed of poplar spars five or six inches in diameter, peeled white, and laid only one to one and a half feet apart. The beams are covered in with small straight pieces of poplar branches about one inch in diameter, peeled white, and placed touching each other. Generally they are laid straight across the beams; but sometimes at different angles, in the alternate intervals, so as to form a pattern like herring-bone. The whole is then covered with a layer of leaves and a thick coat of well-beaten

* See Plate XX. for a view of the monastery of Hanlé.

A. Cunningham G-5 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

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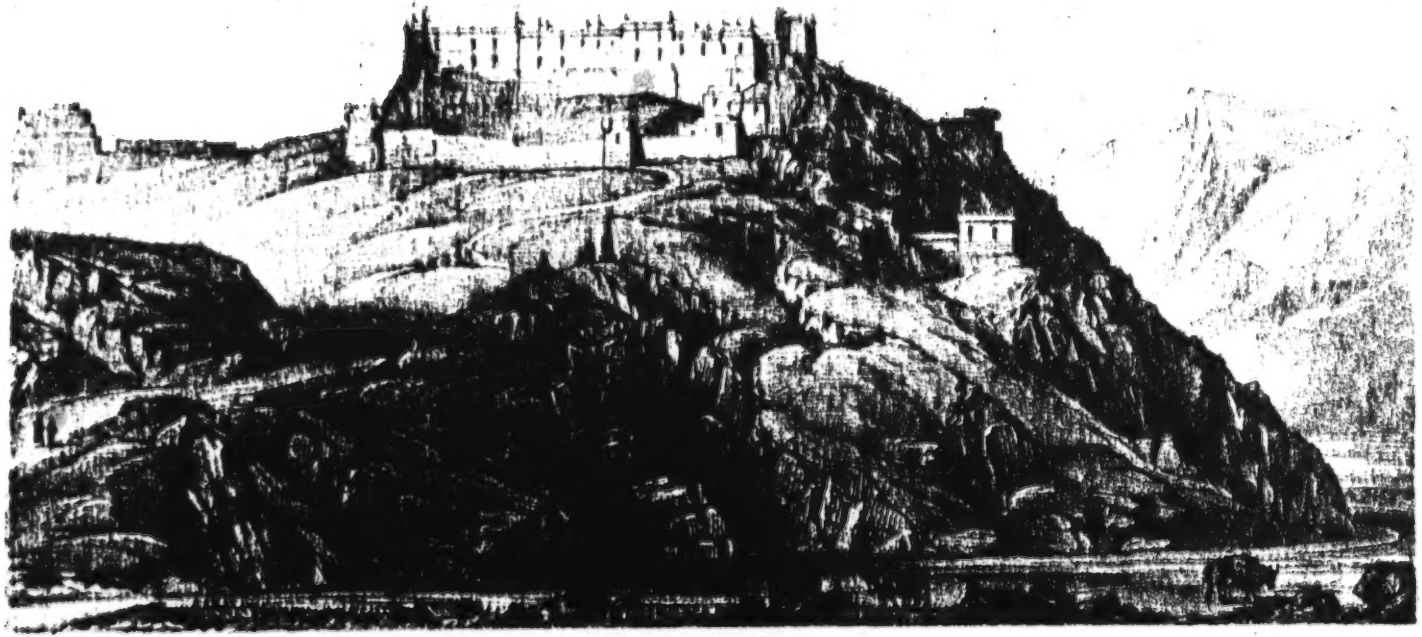

The Monastery of HANLE, in Rukchu.

p 313a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

Catholic watches might not be invented for the perpetual revolution of pater-nosters.

V.—RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS—IMAGES.

The principal religious edifices are the following :—

1. *Gonpa*, or "monastery." This word signifies a solitary place; because monasteries were originally built, according to the directions of Sakya Muni, far from the bustle and disturbing influences of cities. The monasteries have already been described. Convents are only separate monasteries walled off from the rest of the buildings. Both are called *chhos-né;* but the common term is gonpa.

2. *Lhákhang*, "God's house or temple." All the temples that I have seen consist of single rooms, square and unadorned outside, and filled with images and pictures inside. The images are generally about half life-size, made of unburnt clay and painted. In the larger temples the images are of metal and of colossal size. A temple is also called *Tsang-khang*, or "holy house."

3. *Lábrang*, a "lama's house." Where no monasteries exist, the lamas live in separate houses. I mention this because Alexander Gerard supposed that the *Lhá-khang* (God's house) was the same as the *bLá-brang* (lama's residence).

4. *Chhod-Ten*,* in Sanscrit *Chaitya*, an "offering-receptacle." This is properly a dedicatory building or pyramid erected in honour of Shakya Thubba, or of some one of the holy Buddhas or Bodhisatwas. It is

* *mChh d-rTen*, sometimes pronounced *Chhorten*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sometimes called *Chhos-ten*, or the "holy receptacle," but the proper name is *Chhod-rten*, the "offering repository," because offerings are made to the shrine. The figure in the accompanying plate* is taken from a wooden model in my own possession. The basement, which is square, is surmounted by four steps, on which stands the dome or principal part of the edifice. Originally this was a plain hemisphere, but the form was gradually altered until it assumed its present shape of an inverted and truncated cone. The dome is surmounted by a lofty pinnacle, crowned by the holy emblem of *Chhos-Konchok* (or *Dharma*). This symbol is a monogram formed of the four radical letters (in old Pali) which represent the four elements; and the whole is typical both of the material frame of man, and of the material universe.† The radical letters are *ya*, air; *ra*, fire; *va*, water; *la*, earth; to which is added the letter *s* for Mount Sumeru. The pair of eyes delineated on the basement show that this *Chhod-Ten* was dedicated to the supreme Buddha, *Sangya-Konchok*, the "eye of the universe."

5. *Dung-Ten*, a "bone-holder," or relic-repository. This is the genuine *Stupa*, or tope of India, prepared for the reception of a relic. It is a funeral building or pyramid, erected either over the corpse of a lama, or over the ashes of a king or person of consequence. It is similar in shape to the *Chhod-Ten*. The deposits usually placed in these mausolea have already been described.

* See Plate XXVIII.

† According to the Chinese, as quoted by Remusat (Fo-kwe-ki, c. XIII. note 6), the whole pyramid represented the "five elements;" but they are wrong, for it is only the pinnacle which is an emblem of *Dharma*, or the material elements. See my work on the Bhilsa Topes.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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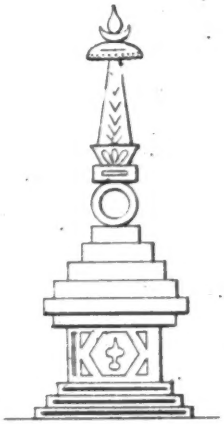
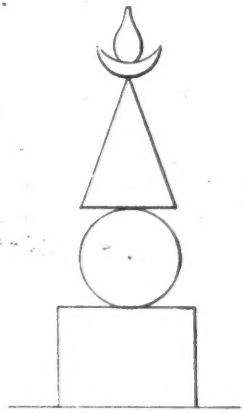
The CHHODTEN, or Mausoleum.

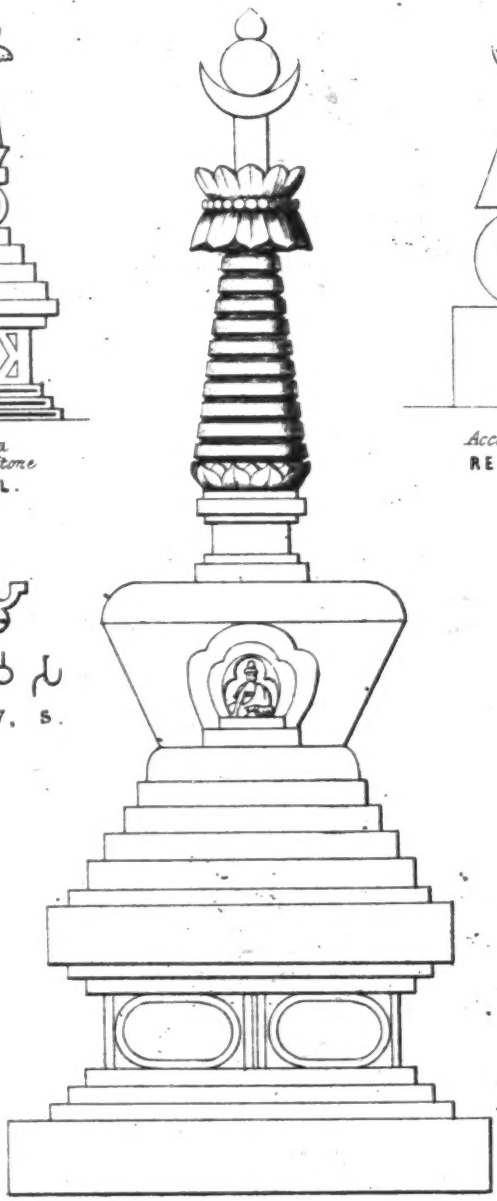


From a Carved Stone
LAHUL.



According to
REMUSAT.

y. r. l. v. s.



From a Wooden Model.

p. 377a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Mani,* a dyke or pile of stones. The *Mani* is a stone dyke from four to five feet in height, and from six to twelve feet in breadth. The length varies from ten and twenty feet to nearly half a mile. A mani which I measured near Bazgo was 823 paces, or nearly half a mile, in length. A second mani near Lé was somewhat longer, or 880 paces, or 2,200 feet. Moorcroft states its length at 1,000 paces, but these were most probably the paces of a native, of little more than two feet each. The surface of the mani is always covered with inscribed slabs. The most usual inscription is the holy six-syllabled mantra, *Aum ! mani-padme, hun !* But other formulæ also occur; such as *Aum ! Vajra Páni, hún ! Aum ! Vagiswari, hún !* &c. These are generally inscribed in Tibetan characters, but sometimes also in mediæval Devanagari letters, called *Lantsha*. These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular objects. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest, or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of winter, each goes to a lama and purchases slate, which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns to his home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard.

Tshá-khang, an "image-room." *Tshá* is the little medallion figure of a lama, which is made of a portion of his ashes mixed with clay. In every *Lhákhang*, or temple, there is a small room or cupboard set apart for the reception of these medallions. In a temple at Nako I saw about one hundred cubic feet of them. A very perfect specimen in my possession is one inch and three-

* *Ma-ni*, a word naturalized from Sanscrit.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

eighths in diameter. The lama is represented seated on the ground, with his left hand in his lap and his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. The figure is gilt. On the back of the medallion is stamped the word *Tshá*, "medallion." The grand lamas are represented by more precious images of life-size. Two statues of the Tashi Lama, which Turner saw, were respectively of gold and of solid silver gilt.

The following is a general description of the images and paintings of the principal Buddhas and Bodhisatwas who are worshipped by the Tibetan Buddhists.

Shakya-Thubba, or Buddha, is always represented seated. His right hand usually rests on his right knee, and his left hand in his lap, holding his alms-dish. In one picture, however, he is represented holding his alms-dish in both hands. His body is always coloured yellow, usually gilt, and his hair is short, curly, and blue. At the large village of Shé, near Lé, there is a colossal copper-gilt statue of Shakya Thubba of the following dimensions.

	Feet.	Inches.
Height of image, seated	37	1
Breadth across the shoulders	7	4
Breadth from knee to knee	12	0
Length of ear	4	3
Diameter of alms-dish	2	3
Circumference of throne	81	0

This image was erected by the Gyalpo Deldan Namgyal, about A.D. 1680.

Chhos-Konchok, or Dharma, is represented seated. She has four arms, two raised in the attitude of prayer, the third holding a necklace or garland, and the fourth a lotus. Her colour is white.

Gédun-Konchok, or Sangha, is represented seated;

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 753

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

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TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

/Following page 176/

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Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter I.

The District.

Configuration and sub-divisions of wazíri Láhaul.

lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi; here there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *ommáni pádme hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chodhten* or *Dangten*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangser, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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184 Social and Religious Life.

177 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

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[681]

reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhoditens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhoditen* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *máni*s are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Chapter III, B.

792 Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B — Social and Religious Life. — Monasteries or *gómpa* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

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Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

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in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

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12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 This clear, cold stream runs into the Indus; and at their confluence sits the bleak village of Upshi.

The Indus rises in a Himalayan basin nearly seventeen thousand feet high. Once it was fed by numerous lakes. Now these lakes are mostly landlocked and turning to salt. The Indus is a powerful stream, cutting its way through the Ladakh range of the Himalayas. The Indus is an international waterway; it rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, traverses the length of Pakistan, and empties into the Indian Ocean near Karachi. It is cosmopolitan in character, giving its waters to a greater number [823] of races than any other stream in the world. The Indus is a legendary stream. The Tibetans call it the River of the Lion, since it is said to flow from a lion's mouth. The folklore is that those who drink the water of the Indus will be heroic like a lion. And the bed of the river is thought to be covered by sands of diamonds.

This day in August 1951, the Indus was swollen with snow water and running dark with clay. It poured through narrow channels with an angry roar and spread wide where the channel [311] flattened out. Crude irrigation canals led off to fields of barley and corn. The valley below Upshi is several miles wide; and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

About five miles below Upshi is Marchelang, a village of a few hundred people—a garden in a washed and rock-strewn land. At this point the Indus Valley runs east and west. A wide canyon opens to the north, a canyon leading to Tibet and China over the 18,370-foot Chang La Pass. To the south there is a small canyon 792 or nulla. It was to that one we turned, and in a few miles came •346 to Hemis Monastery.

Many monasteries in Ladakh and Tibet are castellated buildings perched on high cliffs and thus protected from marauders and invaders. Hemis, founded about A.D. 1047, holds no such strategic position. It lies deep in a narrow nulla which is from a

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

quarter to a half mile wide. The canyon walls rise over Hemis 792
three or four thousand feet to peaks eighteen thousand feet and 346
more high. There are springs of pure cold water in the nulla; and thick stands of the Lombardy-type poplar fill the deep hollow with shade.

The main monastery building is a crude three-storied affair built in typical Tibetan fashion—low doors, rock walls, wood rafters, mud floors, and flat mud roofs. This massive building houses most of the lamas who make Hemis their home and headquarters. It feeds them in great dining halls and sleeps them in tiny cells. There are numerous small houses scattered along the nulla, residences of the Incarnate Lama, the higher-ranking lamas, and lamas who are married (Hemis is a monastery of the Red Sect, which, in contrast to the Yellow Sect, permits its lamas to marry). There is one house reserved for visitors. It lies in deep shade by a brook that runs below the main monastery building. It has one large room with a dirt floor and a covered veranda that opens on a grassless yard. The lama who greeted us took us there, and we were about to unload our pack train when the order was countermanded. We were invited instead to the residence of the Incarnate Lama.

We dropped to the creek bed and then climbed sharply to a 792
poplar orchard on the far side of which were several low houses. 231
Tibetans have a custom of chaining mastiffs to their houses. The Ladakhis follow suit. These mastiffs spend their lives tied by a chain fastened to massive collars. As a result of their confinement, they develop ferocious qualities. They lunge at passers-by, straining at their collars and growling viciously. There was such a mastiff on the top of the veranda of the house next to the home of the Incarnate Lama. Our coming produced a terrific uproar. The dog seemed to be almost choking with rage as he jumped at us again and again. The sight of us set up such a powerful turmoil in him that he barked the whole of the two days we were there. Every time I woke in the night he was still barking.

792 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow
159 and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 The house[1] had a central hall that ran its length. My room was
• 346 on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. An-
262 other lama brought food from the kitchen. It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not
[576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis,* and *gur gur cha.* And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering
159 our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender
431 him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World,* the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

 1 [i.e., Hemis Monastery— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

•346

Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

The lamas put on their dances, and even the most stupid person can see Lust, Anger, and Greed in all their ugliness.

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[Facing p. 160]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 17

OM MANI PADME HOOM

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Om Mani Padme[1] *Hoom* is the mantra or devotional formula of Buddhism. In Ladakh it is repeated by all people while sitting, walking, or traveling. It is a mystic formula whose letters have a symbolic importance which I learned but did not understand. The repetition of these mystic words sets up a vibration. Some say the vibration improves one's physical health; some say it gives a spiritual benefit. I learned in Ladakh that it was supposed to do both.

Om Mani Padme Hoom—Om Mani Padme Hoom—Om Mani Padme Hoom—these are the words that I heard all the way along the 240 miles from Manali to Leh—on wind-swept passes, beside cool springs, at fords across angry rivers, in villages, beside shrines, in monasteries. These were the magic words on the lips of men, women, and children everywhere I went.

778 788 34b They also appeared on the *mani* walls. I saw my first one on the south side of the Himalayas between Koti and Rothang Pass.

[1]The *d* is silent, the first *a* is short, the second long.

It was about six feet wide, three feet tall, and fifteen feet long. 188
This rectangular pile of stones had been built by some lama on 178
his travels. He had placed on top several slabs of slate and en- 346
graved on each of them *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

Rahul told me at the time that this would be the smallest *mani* wall I would see. And it was. It seemed that the closer we got to Leh the longer the *mani* walls became. There were *mani* walls from ten to twenty-five yards long near every village. At Toche Phirche, where we camped in the rain, there was a *mani* wall fifty yards long against which we stretched rubber tarps to form lean-tos. At Gya—the first village north of Jispa—there were many *mani* walls, some one hundred yards long. And outside of Leh there was a *mani* wall fully a mile in length. It was a massive thing, perhaps five feet high and twelve feet wide. Its top was strewn with flat rocks on each of which had been engraved by some lama, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

One who passes a *mani* wall murmurs, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" And he always keeps it on his right. For there is an old Tibetan saying, respected in Ladakh, "Beware of the devils on the left-hand side." And as one passes a *mani* wall, keeping it on his right, all the prayers engraved on the stones of the wall are said for him. *Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

The *chhorten* is associated with *mani* walls, a large one tower- 346
ing perhaps thirty feet or more; a smaller one, ten. It is of pyramid design, made of stones and clay, and usually whitewashed. The architecture of the *chhorten* is symbolic of the basic five elements:

the lowest cubical part is the earth,
the spherical part is water,
the triangular part is fire,
the crescent part is air,
the moon on top is ether.

There are 108 different designs of the *chhortens.* They can be plain, simple, mud affairs, or they can be beautifully built out of

•346 hewn rock and adorned at the top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

764 I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed
346 on the ground and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not cus-
[775] tomary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten.* But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood—red and white.

788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten,* they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens.* They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens,* and as they walk they chant in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

structure on to the cultivated fields at the foot. Topping the hill and weirdest sight of all stands the monastery, with its flat roofs adorned at the corners with holy yak tails and prayer-flags. When staying at the rest-house at the edge of the fields below the village, the whole grotesque impression is especially enhanced in the evening, when the voices of the inhabitants going home from the day's work in the fields are loudly amplified owing to some strange acoustic relationship between the monastery hill and the one on the opposite side of the narrow valley. Moreover, as some of these stragglers ascend round the edge of the hill in the evening light, their silhouettes are also magnified, so that the whole atmosphere of this unparallelled and indescribable fortress of lamaism, makes the traveller rub his eyes in the endeavour to awake from such a fantastic dream. Before leaving this eerie wonderland there appears again a most extraordinary stalagmite formation of sandstone, as though whole cities had been tumbled out of the bowels of the earth, a veritable disruption of Sodom and Gomorrah after centuries of interment. After this, nature provides a scene of her wildest and most rugged grandeur. The road winds up and down the sides of a wonderful gorge, crossing several times the little stream, which gradually increases till it finally hurls itself into the Indus as a roaring torrent. All the way down the ravine, the road now climbs up far above the water, now descends close to it, but never leaves its noise, while the rocks provide a constant feast for the imagination, a succession of weird imagery, with variations in colour and shade, now fantastically suggestive, now boldly majestic, until at last the troubled waters are borne away by Mother Indus.

Thus does the grotesqueness of the land constantly manifest itself, so frequently emphasized by the human touch, as in these long prayer-walls, the longest of which, just outside Leh, stretches for half a mile across the desert, looking for all the world as though some giant children had been playing

were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGonpa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

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his wig standing over there, with a markedly malevolent look in one big bad eye, seeming to watch with great resentment the intrusion of our Western selves into his valley? Certainly that eye follows us till we are level with him, after which suddenly turning, we find that he too has turned back again to see what other intruders will follow, and we wonder how the rest of our party will stand his evil scorn. Then our eye falls on a giant emerging with his broom from his cave, from which we can trace the track down which he goes to fetch water. His face is hidden, but shoulder, arm and broom are clearly visible. What mystery is he brooming out with such persistence? A little further we spy a Mongolian-looking female, eyes closed, and flattened nose turned up in utter disgust at our European smell. So, though the last few miles are generally the longest, these are more than beguiled by all the strange wizard-like forms and fairy-like scenes we see depicted opposite, varied with glimpses into deep narrow ravines with more weird formations, suggesting the strangest mysteries.

Our attention is diverted, however, by Mulbek's monastery, perched high up on inaccessible-looking crags and dominating the whole valley. Strange and sudden on its perch, fascinating in its form and outline, we at last turn down under its very shadow to the polo ground, on the nearer side of which is the rest-house, and on the further side the central stream. All along we have been noting how exactly the strange dwellers of this valley fitted the scenery from head to foot, indeed especially head-dress and footgear, no doubt contributing to our feeling of being intruders. The chuckling fat babies with their nun's style of close-fitting cap, tucked into one of the aforementioned baskets, and left on the edge of the field in which their care-taker is busy, are particularly attractive. At the bungalow find a lot of *respas* (turn-men) waiting to secure the job of transport for the next day. In our staff is a coolie boy a village near Leh, who came to us utterly destitute in

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361 chimneys of its cook-houses look up at you like unblinking owls. To visit the monastery the path leads up to turn
● 346 abruptly near a series of little dwelling places covering a small hill. Unrelieved by the usual balconies and adornments of village houses, they appear more like stables, but we are informed they are the abodes of the nuns. The *dGonpa* itself is very picturesque and a camera might be busy at each corner,
792 but the dirt and dust are terrible. The Lamas who belong to the red sect, are degraded looking, and the whole atmosphere
000 of the village is evil, as several travellers have noticed. What wonder that below the village we come upon that disinterred Sodom and Gomorrah already mentioned, perhaps more aptly described as a ruinous Gehenna with its twisted sulphurous
[491] pillars. So we pass along the high road, meeting the Indus at the suspension bridge just below the village of Kalatse, and keeping it company to Saspola. It was when riding along this piece of road that seven year old Helen asked, as more mountains came into view, peering over their fellows, "Mummy, how
361 did the mountains make theirselves so big?" After a long uninhabited stretch of stony road we note a welcome green patch on the other side, where about three houses find enough cultivatable ground, fed from a falling stream, to support their inmates, and we are told that in winter they send their animals across the frozen river, now wide and rushing, to find what roots they can and to bask in the warmth on the sunny side.
491 As our destination approaches, a crazy-looking cantilever bridge with no side rails crosses the river. Though fairly broad, it spans a high gulf, and it is only certain local ponies who are used to it, whom one can dare to take over. Fortunately it is not on the high road, and we may pass on in peace of mind.

000 The following march ascends a *rong*, which may be defined as a pass "which goes up, but not down," a narrow defile which opens out eventually on to a broad plain, whence the snow crests surrounding the long broad Indus valley in the

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sparsely populated regions the people are so interesting, for the customs and ways of the unadulterated lamaism often differ considerably from those of the high road.

But let us now accompany the " padre " and the " doctor " in their trek from Ladak through Zankskar to Lahoul, and home *via* the Plains, thus traversing the whole of the Himalayan ranges from north to south, except the most northern, named the Karakoram Range. Leaving Leh we must first travel down the high road towards Kashmir for four days, that is along the Indus as far as the foot of the Lamayuru gorge. But let us remember the real name of this river is the " Senge Kabab," which means the one which " descends from the mouth of the Lion." The Tibetan names of the other rivers flowing from the region of the holy lake, Manosarowar, also indicate the true sources of their mighty waters, for does not the Sutlej or " Langchen kabab " descend from the mouth of the elephant, the Gogo is the " Mamzhi kabab " descending from the mouth of the peacock, while the Brahmaputra or " Damchog kabab " descends from the ear of the horse. In our Western ignorance we often garble these Tibetan names. Thus Darjeeling should be called " Dorjhe Ling " the " Country of the Thunderbolt," whilst Kalimpong is our distorted version of " Kalonpug," the cave of the prime minister. But let us get back to Lamayuru whence our road turns due south across that division of the Himalayas known as the "Ri-gyal" or mountain king range. Our first march takes us over a small pass to Wanla, and we must get used to Passes, as within a short period we have to cross fifteen, of which all but five are fairly high ones. Wanla is a pretty village and shows signs of having been an important one. Crowning the hill which dominates the village is a fine old ruin, and behind it a most peculiar built monastery, in many places resting on beams which look so insecure that they must give way on the slightest provocation. That they still hold is doubtless

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due to the fine water prayer-wheel in the village, which day 788
and night turns round its prayers to benefit the community, 346
while in the walls of the little shelter made to accommodate it four more rather large prayer-wheels are inserted to be worked by hand, so that the passer-by, giving them a meritorious twirl as he goes along, may add his contribution to the volume of prayer that brings favour to the village. Just now is the time of harvest in Wanla. Here the barley 241
and wheat are cut and carried to the side of the hill to dry, a process which must soon be accomplished, for the heat from the stones is very great. In the evening a poor old 164
man, blind in one eye arrives, and the cause being established as cataract, a temporary operating theatre is set up, instruments boiled and the trouble removed. Another poor old fellow completely blind, deaf and otherwise deformed, also asks for help, but alas, he is beyond the aid even of Western medical science, and, as he is very poor, the meagre solace of a little gift is all that can be done for him. There is hardly any operation so dramatic as that of cataract extraction, for the patient may be totally blind at one moment and the next receive his sight. It is all the more sad to have to tell some of these poor blind folk that it is impossible to give them back their vision, especially when so often that faculty might have been saved had they come to the doctor sooner.

Arrangements have now to be made for the next day's 000
march, and we are told that the road is so bad that it will take all the Wanla horses and all the Wanla men to get us to Hunupata, the next village at which we halt ; nor is the picture overdrawn. Next morning all are busy. Breakfast is cooked and eaten, and wise is he who begins by shipping aboard plenty of food ! Stores and cooking utensils are [482]
packed into *yakdans* and *kiltas*, the Indian-made travelling boxes and baskets, one of which forms half-a-pony load, and we are off, enjoying the sheer delight of marching in the clear

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CHAPTER XI

Domesticities

THE homes of Ladak, with the exception of those in its metropolis, Leh, and perhaps in the small town of Kargil, in Purig, are practically all village homes. In these desert uplands a village must centre round a stream, which brings its contribution from the glaciers of the great heights—ever in the background—to one of the smaller rivers, most of which eventually flow into the Indus. Where such a stream runs through a broadening valley, it is possible to lay out a series of terraced fields, which can be irrigated in turn by directing the supply into small artificial water-courses. Indeed the turns for sharing the precious water are often the subject of much quarrelling, hoarse shouting and invective, while some less fortunate inhabitants have sometimes to stay up all night to water their fields. Above the area of cultivated terraces, and at the foot of the actual hills, where it is too rocky and steep to plough and sow, the houses are clustered, approached by stony paths or tracks, and so built into the hillside that convenient pieces of rock are often used for wall or floor, and, where the rock overhangs, even for roof, while a little sunny platform will be enclosed with a rough wall to stable the animals by day in winter. The setting of roof and balcony is always arranged to catch the maximum sunshine, so that even in the low temperatures of winter, many domestic activities can be carried on out-of-doors. Crowning the chief hill of the village, and dominating its common life, as its position would suggest, is the monastery.

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346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
[473] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
231 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

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CHAPTER XXI

A Typical Monastery

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THIS is a country of monasteries, hardly a village is without one. In some it is imposing and situated on as high an eminence as can be found conveniently near the village. In others it is just a better class ordinary house with one or two lamas. Some monasteries belong to the Red sect, others to the Yellow. In some there is a resident Incarnation and others are only visited by one occasionally. It would be tedious to both reader and writer, to describe all these, so we will confine our attentions to one of the most pleasing and certainly one of the cleanest of monasteries which lies close to Leh, and may be reached by a twenty minutes' walk up through the fields behind the rest-house. A small village and a group of poplar trees, much above the average size, indicate the direction from afar, also the glint of the gilded wild goats represented just below the roof of the monastery can be descried from some distance. Having sent a message beforehand to the *sLob-dpon* (pronounced "Lobon") or head lama in charge, we meet for an early tea, and wend our way up along the stony paths by the side of the watercourse, skirting the corn-fields, so as to be able to use our cameras while the light is still good. This little monastery of Sankar is closely allied to the Yellow Cap one at Spitug, about five miles away, and is presided over by the same *Skushog* now incarnate in the small boy of whom we shall speak later.

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792 But during his minority the real presiding genius is Meme

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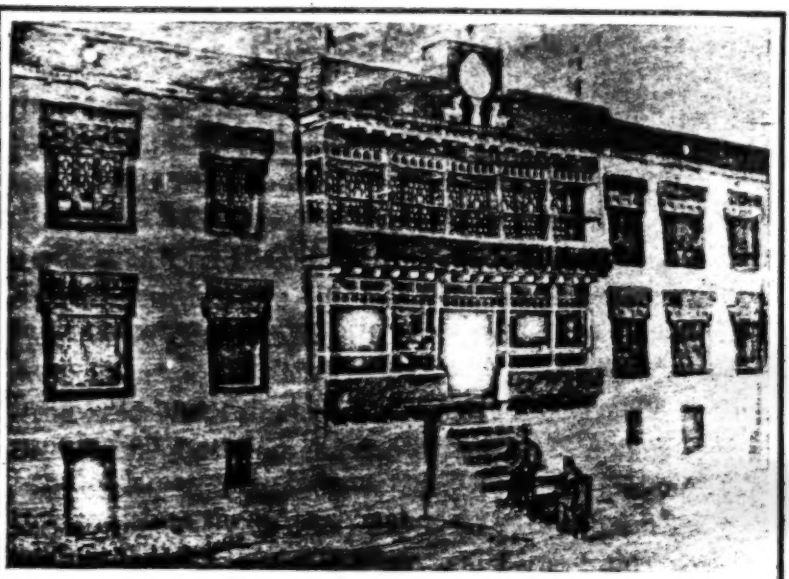

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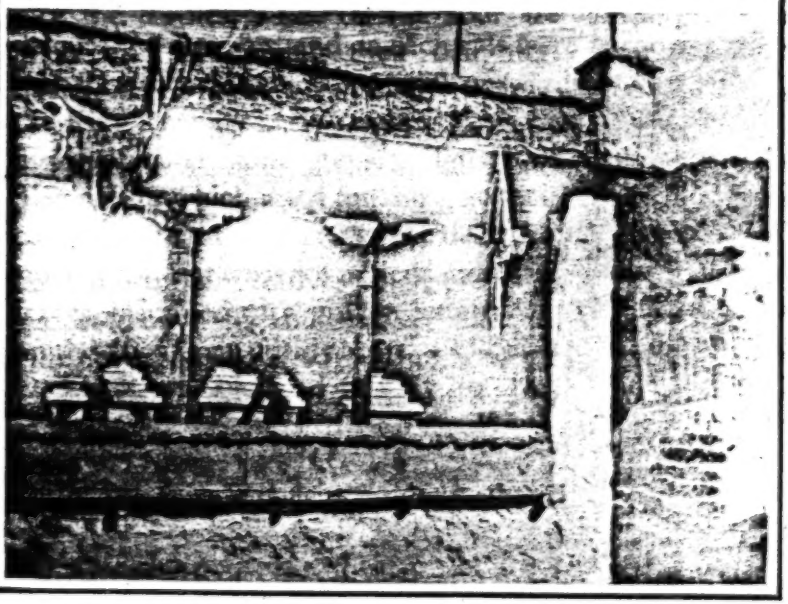

SANKAR DGONPA.

A small yellow-sect monastery close to Leh, shewing the main entrance.

A SHRINE.

The three *chortens* inside are usually coloured red, white and blue; and on the walls behind them various gods are depicted in bright colours.

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792 Lobzang, a delightful old gentleman with a benevolent face and a courteous manner, which are really quite charming. He is quite a good photographer, and this common hobby forms a natural link of friendship, including requests for the purchase of self-toning paper and other photographic requisites. He is expecting us, and stands in the side of the doorway with some of his lamas so that we may advance without fear of the monastery dogs, of which there are always some about, who generally announce the arrival of an intruder with considerable
346 and alarming vigour. The main doorway is lofty and deep,
792 with heavy wooden doors, but to-day it is closed, as inside
[351] carpenters are sitting under its shade sawing away for some builders, busy at a new balcony in a near corner of the building. The side door, a smaller one, is that generally in use, and admits to the corner of the large court-yard, in the middle of which are two walled enclosures round wild rose bushes, one a large yellow one, the other pink, with another bush whose pale yellow flowers, insignificant in themselves, have the
[188] strong scent of syringa, in bloom. In the centre there stands a high poplar wood pole, to the top of which is attached a black yak's tail, and running down its entire length a prayer-flag. To one side of the enclosure is a mounting block from which the *Skushog* can mount his steed.

Lying about the court-yard are a few dogs, but they seem quite peaceful and undisturbed by our advent. The main temple faces us as we enter, three storeys high, with the usual roof-edge of a layer of sticks about one foot broad, lying end-
[188] on, and painted with ochre. On this roof are erected at intervals long rough poles bearing prayer-flags, or yak's tails, or an umbrella-shaped structure consisting of long streamers of plaited yak's wool bound together by coarse strips of raw silk and surmounted by a trident. The windows, latticed-shaped but unglazed, are interlaced with wood, picked out in various colours, and, across the top of each, is a little valance, a frill of some coarse white cloth with a red

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 792 striped border The other three sides of the court-yard are filled in with the two storeyed private dwellings of the lamas. No pillared cloisters are these, but just an occasional flight of a few steps, then a door, and at the side a window at a level which may or may not be in relation with that of the other doors and windows, and over both apertures the same kind of valance. If the latter sags in the middle, there is no hurry to replace it, far less to wash it, but on the whole this *dGonpa*, presents quite a clean, brushed, cared-for, tidy appearance. Ascending the steps, we arrive in the large covered portico outside the main room or refectory of the 353 monastery. All round the three walls pictures are painted in 779 bright colours. On the left is the " Wheel of Life " held by 53v a dragon-like monster. This consists of an inner, a middle, and an outer circle the middle one being divided into six compartments. The inner circle represents by means of a dove, a serpent and a pig coloured respectively red, green and black the three vices, lust, ill-will and stupidity, which bind man to the wheel of existence. In the upper compartment of the middle circle are the gods, into this grows the tree whose fruit provides any food desired by the soul and whose roots lie in the world of the demi-gods, who continually wage war against the gods in order to obtain this fruit. In the upper left-hand compartment are men. The above three existences are superior, whilst below the equator are the inferior ones of beasts, then of *yidags*, poor miserable men with large bellies, but such small necks that their hunger can never be appeased through such constricted throats, and in the lowest section are the hells, both hot and cold. A cold hell seems rather a misnomer to English ears, but Ladakis, at any rate, know the terrors of extreme cold. Buddha himself is out of the circle, and yet his reflexes seem somehow to be still in the wheel of existence. In the outer circle are pictures illustrating various phases of life, such as birth, marriage, death, burial work.

Opposite the top of the steps, on each side of the door with

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the *Slobdpon* is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain.

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands, each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate his many heads an attic projects up into an inner courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha, for permission to return and help him, he received this reply, "Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all, I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these heads represent four past races, and that actually there should be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating, but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate, it was "the light that failed." We pass into another room containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their
792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
35v the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and man, and he possesses 1000 heads. Thrown at his feet one notices many cowrie shells and Indian copper coins, the former brought by women to appease him. This image was only made a few years ago, and a special series of services were held to induce the god to enter the image. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting and dancing in the grove of large trees at the side of the monastery, while the actual ritual was performed on the roof, where Meme Lobzang (the *Skushog* being then a tiny baby) presided, assisted by a group of lamas, who helped him to pour the right libations and offerings from the many vessels and bowls before his throne into the large fire which leaped and crackled before him, accompanied by monotonous incantations and chants from a group of seated lamas, and, of course, the monastic band. To this roof we now duly ascended up another very steep ladder, where Meme Lobzang himself extended his hand to help the ladies with true Western gallantry. The view was magnificent, both behind towards the Kardong Pass and before down to Leh, whose trees blotted out the desert below, so that the cultivation and all its little square terraced fields might have extended to the foot of the mighty mountains on the further side of the Indus, all touched with the magic softness of the westering sun.

Retracing our steps down the steep staircases, through the dim passages and rooms, we emerged again into the portico, and viewed the lamas private dwellings ranged on the three sides in front of us as we descended the temple steps. In the left-hand corner was a peculiarly fantastic bit, so delightfully crazy it looked. A short flight of steps led up to two doors, each with an ancient padded curtain to keep out the draught, and a sagging valance above, whilst over one was a quaint little attic with a window of roughly-patterned lattice, its lines so fascinatingly crooked, and enhanced by a small awning, projecting from one side of the attic to shade the roof, on the edge of which was a series of rough window boxes,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to
792 finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that grotesque little corner.

There was one more interesting little visit to be paid. Meme Lobzang actually consented to show us his own private compartments. There were eight of us, and the lamas had some whispered consultation as to whether we should all get in. Across the court-yard and up some steps to the right of the main entrance, under the valanced doorway, through a small vestibule in which we noticed a fascinating copper water pot, we entered a tiny room looking down towards Leh. We could just manage to sit down on the floor, the interested lamas peering in and
352 watching our every movement with amused curiosity. The
353 floor was covered with small mats over felt ones. The
792 *Slobdpon's* chief resting place and probably his bed, was rather more padded, and covered with an orange felt. He sat with his back to the small latticed window, a low tiny table in front, and at his side a higher one on which were sundry portraits, one of their Majesties, the King and Queen, one of the Dalai Lama, and one of the *Skushog* of Hemis in his festival dancing dress with high hat and overskirt of human bones, taken by the Doctor Sahib. A pickle bottle held a bunch of green from the shrub in the court-yard, and at the side was a low open bowl of rose petals. A small god like a doll, and a pot of charming design, the latter unfortunately dressed in lady-like petticoats, were also noticed, besides a printing frame, and another tiny god of doll's house size. Behind him on the windowsill sundry writing materials, religious books, and small ceremonial utensils lay about, a coloured portrait of the late King Edward hung on another wall; in fact every corner
574 of the room was used, yet the effect was clean and tidy. Stuffy it could not help being with so many visitors, and, after taking

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

a dried apricot each (to dispose of later on by some other means than the mouth), from a plateful which he presented to us, we rose to go. On the way out he invited us to see his kitchen, another tiny, but tidy little apartment, with its cooking vessels clean and neatly arranged, and its low roof shiny with the polish of years of smoke. These rooms had not been tidied up for our reception, yet they completed the pleasant impression of order and cleanliness he had already given us, and it was with a real respect for the benevolent old gentleman that we bade him adieu, and passed down by the iris-bordered corn-fields in the soft evening light to our homes.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

are personally invited by him. At the lower end of the wood he has lately built a guest-house on the plan of the bungalows inhabited by the missionaries in Leh. On the side furthest from the road, directly opposite the monastery, the wood ends abruptly on the bare hillside of rock and stone. Climbing to a good vantage point on this, a delightful spot can be found to listen to the monastic evensong, and watch the shadows steal over the vast expanse of the river and valley spread out below.

Though the spur of hills cuts off the main Indus valley to the left, beyond it rises tier after tier of great bare lonely mountain tops, overwhelming in their immense majesty. Behind even these giants, the clouds lift to disclose still greater heights of everlasting snow. Truly one has now the impression of having arrived on "the roof of the world." In the valleys below, the lights and shades chase across hill and plain, and, as the moon comes up in the cloud-flecked sky behind and pursues her slow path through the white wind driven masses, the strangest wraith-like forms seem to rise and pass below. At first they appear to be white clouds tucked down between the lesser hills, but, as they move to and fro, it becomes evident that it is merely the effect of the moonlight between the passing clouds thrown on to the sandy spaces. Then across the stillness of that great expanse, hitherto only broken by the stream coursing down between the trees some way below and the breezes rustling their leaves, comes the strangest music, slowly rising in pitch and increasing in tone till the hills take hold of it, and roll its reverberations on among themselves, achieving an effect weird and fascinating beyond description. Turning in the direction of the sound, one sees to the left, in the darkness only, the faint outlines of the monastery building with dim lights shining in its windows, while other tiny ones twinkle fitfully in the quaint habitations merging into the hillside, whose queer ridged stratification is faintly perceptible, but one knows that on the roof of the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dGonpa strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead. Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

sacrifice was, in later times, probably during the nineteenth century, replaced by an animal sacrifice. If, therefore, human sacrifices once took place in Tibet, these were probably transformed into animal sacrifices at a much earlier time. Animal sacrifices, on the other hand, /27/ are still performed to this day in the area of the West Tibetan kingdom before altars of the pre-Buddhistic religion, which are called ha-tho. At this sacrifice the heart of the still living animal (ram) is ripped out by the priest with his bare hand. Such altars are nowadays mostly found in the neighborhood of villages. They are one or two meters high, provided at the top with a bundle of juniper twigs, and down below they are surrounded with horns of wild sheep and ibexes.

A more harmless offering is represented in a rock drawing near Ke-sar-gyi-sga. There we see a Nyo-pa, "bride purchaser" or "bride beggar" (1) who is carrying a sword by his side and in his

1. He is probably the leader of the Nyopa. For in the picture in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 131, only the leader has an arrow in his hand.

right hand an arrow decorated with a little flag, and is standing in front of three beer jugs. Each jug is provided with little patties of butter along the edge, which signify that the beer is offered to a higher being (it might, it is true, also be a person to whom high respect is paid). The fact that the gods were actually presented with offerings of beer can be seen from No. 5 of the Trinklieder von Khalatse /Drinking Songs of Khalatse/.[1]

It is highly probable that dances were also performed at these ancient places of worship, for even today each festival of the ancient religion is accompanied by dancing. Usually the boys and the girls dance separately among themselves by pacing around an open wood fire in a long procession. It is seldom that the rows of boys and girls, arranged in lines opposite each other, move toward each other. In the dances of the girls, peculiar stiff movements of the hands are noticeable, which alternate with the bending of the upper part of the body toward the ground. As I was told by the natives, these movements are to be interpreted as gathering flowers and presenting them to the gods in heaven. These dances performed by the laity should probably be distinguished from the dances of the Buddhistic priests and from those executed by the migrant jugglers.

To the question as to what the people prayed for at the cult places of the ancient religion, we receive one answer from the

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nagrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

539 [643] [301] 527 [789]

5. (*a*) དཔལ་གྱི་ཀུ་བཀྲ་གདོར་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་བཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

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6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་ལུག་རེ།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

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7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་རན་ཀུ་ཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་ཧདུད་དེ་ཅི་ཟ་ཡོ་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zä dus'.

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10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4

000 built on the declivity in horizontal lines one above the other, resemble the steps of an enormous altar, of which the temple of Tāranātha Lāma appears to constitute "the tabernacle." Huc says it contains 30,000 monks!

Kuku Khotun, or "blue city," near the northern bend of the Yellow river, is said by Huc to have formerly been the seat of Jetsun-Dam-pa. It contains five monasteries with about 20,000 Lāmas.

IN SIBERIA.

In south Siberia, amongst the Buriats, near the Baikal lake, a large monastery is on a lake thirty versts to the north-west of Selinginsk, and the presiding monk is called the K'an-po Paṇḍita, and claims to be a re-incarnate Lama.[1]

IN EUROPE.

The Kālmak Tartars on the Volga have only temporary, nomadic cloisters and temples, that is to say tents, in which they put up their holy pictures and images, and celebrate divine service. Such temporary cloisters are called "Churull" and consist of two different sorts of tents or *Jurten* (Oergö), the assembly hall of the clergy (Churullün-Oergö) and of the gods and image hall (*Schitäni* or *Burchanün-Oergö*). Some of these *Churulls* contain a hundred priests.

IN LADĀK AND LITTLE TIBET.

792 He-mi (or "Himis" of survey map). This fine old monastery is
361 situated about 11,000 feet above the sea-level, in a lateral ravine that joins the Indus, a day's journey (eighteen miles SSE.) above Leh, on the left bank of that river. From its secluded position this was one of the few monasteries which escaped destruction on the invasion of the country by the Dogras under Wazir Gerawar, who ruthlessly destroyed much Lāmaist property, so that more interesting and curious objects, books, dresses, masks, etc., are found at Himis than in any other monastery in Ladāk. It was built by sTag-stan-ras-ch'en, and its proper title is *Ch'aṅ-ch'ub sam-liṅ*.

[796] The "Himis-fair," with its mask plays, as held on St. Padma-sambhava's day in summer, is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladāk.
[423] This Lāmasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladāk, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The Lāmas seem to be of the Ñiṅ-ma sect (according to Marx[2] they are Dug-pa, but he appears to use Dug-pa as synonymous with *Red cap* sect). To the same sect also belongs Ts'en-re and sTag-na. A fine photograph of this monastery is given by Mr. Knight,[3] and one of its courts is shown in his illustration of the mystic play reproduced at p. 528

792 "The principal entrance to the monastery is through a massive door,
● 346 from which runs a gently sloping and paved covered way leading into a

[1] Köppen, *op. cit.* [2] *Loc. cit.*, 133. [3] *Where Three Empires Meet.*

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS 404

courtyard about 30 × 40 yards square, having on the left hand a narrow verandah, in the centre of which stands the large prayer-cylinder above mentioned. The larger picturesque doorway, the entrance of one of the principal idol rooms, is in the extreme right hand corner, massive brass rings affixed to large *bosses* of brass are affixed on either door, the posts of which are of carved and coloured woodwork. The walls of the main building, with its bay windows of lattice work, enclose the courtyard along the right hand side, the roof is adorned with curious cylindrical pendant devices made of cloth called "Thook"; each surmounted with the Trisool or trident, painted black and red. On the side facing the main entrance the courtyard is open, leading away to the doorways of other idol rooms. In the centre space stand two high poles "Turpoche," from which hang yaks' tails and white cotton streamers printed in the Tibetan character. Innumerable small prayer-wheels are fitted into a hitch that runs round the sides of the courtyard. A few large trees throw their shade on the building, and above them tower the rugged cliffs of the little valley, topped here and there by *Lhatos*, small square-built altars, surmounted by bundles of brushwood and wild sheep horns, the thin sticks of the brushwood being covered with offerings of coloured flags printed with some *mantra* or other.[1]

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LAMA-YUR-RU, elevation about 11,000 feet.[2] Said to be of the Di-kung sect, as also the monasteries of *s*Gaṅ-noṅ and Shaṅ.

792 361

The name Yur-ru is said to be a corruption of Yuṅ-druṅ—the Svastika or mystic fly-foot cross.

THO-LING or Tho'lding (mt'o-gliṅ), on the upper Sutlej (in map of Turkistan it is Totlingmat, "mat" = "the lower," *i.e.* lower part of the city). It has a celebrated temple in three storeys, said by some to be modelled after that of Budha Gaya, and the *Sham-bha-la Lam-yig* contains a reference to this temple: "It had been built (A.D. 954, Schl.) by the Lo-tsa-wa Rin-zaṅ-po. The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down, but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the 'cycle of the collection of secrets.'" Adolph von Schlagintweit visited it.[3]

THEG-CH'OG is a sister-Lāmasery to He-mi, north of the Indus, in a valley which opens out opposite He-mi. Che-de, vulg. Chem-re (survey map: Chim-ray) is the name of the village to which the Lāmasery belongs.

KOR-DZOGS in Ladāk, 16,000 feet above the sea (*J.D.*, 11). Tik-za (Thik-se) is said (Marx) to be a Ge-*l*dan (?Ge-lug-pa) monastery, as also those of Saṅ-kar (a suburb of Leh), Likir and Ri-dzoṅ. It is pictured by Mr. Knight.[3]

WAM-LE (or "Han-le") in Rukshu, a fine Lāmasery figured by Cunningham. It is about 14,000 feet above sea-level. Its proper name is De-ch'en, and it was built by the founder of the one at *Hemi*.

792

MASHO is affiliated to Sa-*s*kya.

[1] GODWIN-AUSTEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 72. [2] MARX, *loc. cit.*; CUNNINGHAM, *et. al.*
[3] See Results of Scientific Mission.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans A14

792 peasantry a goodly, though unfixed, portion of their produce. The monks, in their turn, are always both free in their hospitality to travellers and ready to identify themselves in interests with the villagers.

778 346 Besides the monasteries, one is everywhere in Ladākh meeting

KĀGĀNĪ, LĀMĀYŪRŪ.

with signs of the people's thought for their religion. In a few places are to be seen colossal figures carved in the rock, that represent some god. The sketch, p. 257, is of one of these, over 25 feet high, which stands for Chamba; this is to be seen in a valley near Sānkho, above Kargil; it is deeply cut in a schistose rock. But much more general are the long and thick built-up

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

stone-heaps or walls, covered with thousands of flat stones 778
bearing a holy inscription. These (which are called Mānī) one 346
sees at every village, and often also by the roadside where there is no habitation or other sign of man. The path divides and goes on both sides the wall, that the passenger may, going by, always keep it on his right. Then by the larger villages, or in the neighbourhood of the more influential monasteries, one is sure to find some edifices allied in character to the one shown in the drawing on the preceding page. They are carefully constructed of brick, plastered over, and painted. This drawing represents what is called a *kāgānī*; it is placed at the entrance to villages and to houses, the way being led beneath it. Others, resembling this in the upper part, have a monumental purpose; these are called Churten. Another custom, whether connected or not with that of raising such edifices as these, or whether of earlier origin, I cannot say, is to build a cairn at the summit of every mountain pass, and crown it with the horns of the wild sheep, ibex, and other animals, a large collection of which often adorns the heap, while a few boughs rise from the centre, to which a flag is sometimes fastened, with, may be, a holy word or text imprinted on it.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4

itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes. 361

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreciate the height we had reached and how it affected one by slackening movements. [133] [136]

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens, the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150. 491 172

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings, some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of Chubrezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its background is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a jewel in the other. 346 ● 778

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven, 788

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house 361
for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined [346]
castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque
monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to
the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual
ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see
some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not
thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so
many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the
jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill
the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of
Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—
buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though
not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth
stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in
miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks
like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind,
just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying
back to from whence they came.

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of 361
Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is [487]
far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, 439
besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from
Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south,
and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in 563
the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each
year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of
Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise
with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we
found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism
predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian [797]
Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found
numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they
are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land
"with whom they have made a temporary marriage".

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are 142
soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of [522]
humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby 291
teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

[795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4

793 who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

346 At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the [231] entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held [774] them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building [562] containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly 353 lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elabo- 346 rately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from which the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

353 The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the 531 Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
West Tibetans

346
792

Photo by] [G. W. Millais.

MULBE MONASTERY.

A Lama on the look-out.

[frontispiece]

A Trip to Ladakh

ooothe food which is carried by the sheep is eaten up, then there is no need of the carrier, so it is then eaten, the fat tail being considered a great delicacy. Some of these caravans are three years on the road before they reach their homes. Quite a number of these merchants have been to Mecca, and were returning, wearing the green turban which is the mark of a Mecca "pilgrim who has accomplished the 'haj.'"

● 346 The first monastery we come to is Mulbe. It is in a most commanding position, for it stands on the top of a rock about five hundred feet high.

778 A short distance before reaching this monastery is
796 a large Buddha, carved on a rock, about thirty feet in
276 height. On our return journey Dr Neve and I came in time to see a very pretty ceremony being performed before it.

There was a sort of maypole erected in front of the figure, decked with coloured paper or rags. Then a troop of thirty children appeared, dressed in bright garments, wearing crowns of flowers, and they were dancing round the pole and singing, reminding one of the maypole dance. Then came a monk, dressed in a white garment like a surplice, with a red fool's-cap on his head. In one hand he carried a Kashmiri fire-pot full of live charcoal and some narcotic mixture of hemp or opium. These fumes he kept inhaling, which made him become very excited. In his right hand he carried a curved sword, which he flourished about in a most dangerous manner. He commenced to dance round the pole, followed by the children. He shouted louder and louder, and twirled about his body faster and faster, while his sword was flashing and slashing about in all directions.

796 A man standing by me, whom I knew, who called him-
276 self a nobleman, told me in awed tones that this holy man

2
Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans Ad4

A Trip to Ladakh

The chief features in which the game differs from 526
Western polo are the following :—

Firstly, there are two long stone walls, about three feet high, built along both sides of the ground, against which the ball is made to rebound; they are also used, by the way, for squeezing your adversary's pony, and if possible the leg of the rider, against the jagged stones, to his great discomfort. Secondly, all the players start at a gallop from one end. The leader then throws the ball into the air and strikes it with the full swing of his stick before it touches the ground, frequently driving it the whole length of the ground and through the goal-posts, which are marked by white stones. But the goal is not counted unless one of the attacking side dismounts and picks up the ball before any of the defenders can knock it out again. When the goal is won the band strikes up a joyful noise, accompanied by plenty of drums. The riders play in a most reckless manner. I have seen both ponies and players receiving terrific whacks, and blood flowing profusely; and sometimes the onlookers receive wounds from standing too near the wall. It is a very ancient and honoured game in these regions.

It is difficult to describe one's feelings as one enters 346
this wonderful country of monasteries and lamas, for one 789
seems to have arrived in quite another world, unimagined and undreamt of; one feels inclined to pinch oneself to see if one is really awake and not dreaming.

On the road one passes walls from 100 to 300 yards long, about eight feet high and eight feet broad, with a pent roof of flat stones of all sizes, on which are carved the same words, "Om mane padme hun," which means, "O God of the Jewel on the Lotus," or, as it has been interpreted to me: "May my soul, O God, be like the jewel of water which lies on the lips of the lotus leaf just

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

346 788 as it is going to fall into the lake and be lost in the ocean of water [*i.e.* be lost in Nirvana]."

346 788 792 778 Monks roam over the country doing this pious carving work for those who will pay them. Merit not only comes to the men who place these stones on the wall, but to all those travellers who pass on the left side of the wall, and curses on those who pass on the wrong side. Hence there is no need of a policeman to tell all traffic to keep to the left; all travellers do it as if mechanically, and heap up to themselves merit.

Then on the road one continually passes "chortans," stone pagodas generally white-washed, and not only on the road, but dotted about in the fields and up the mountain-sides. They are of all sizes from three to forty feet high. They are hollow, and in them one will often find clay medallions vulgarly called potted lamas, for they are composed of the ashes of the monks, which have been stamped with the monastery stamps, not unlike prettily stamped pats of butter. Some of the stamps are very decorative, generally with the figure of Buddha in the centre of a circle, with writing around.

On the tops of the houses and on trees one sees bunches of flags made of coloured rags on which is inscribed this same prayer. When the flags flutter in the breeze this prayer ascends for the good of the individual who placed these rags to be moved by the wind.

As we pass through a village we see little paper windmills on the roofs which work a prayer wheel inside the house. This is a metal cylinder crammed full of paper on which is written hundreds of times this one prayer: "Om mane padme hun."

788 Along the walls of certain houses and always at the monasteries are found these cylinders of wood let into the wall at a convenient height from the ground to allow

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

ing Ladakh one seemed to be in a dream, for the country 000
and people were so utterly unlike anything I had imagined
or dreamt of; and it was not only the people and the
buildings near at hand, but the hills all round seemed
to be quite in keeping. It is the lamas' custom to build 346
their monasteries on the top of the rocks, so that it is
often hard to distinguish monastery from rock or rock
from monastery. Then again, the air being rarer than
one is accustomed to, every object seems to be nearer
than it really is. The hills and precipices, which are
absolutely bare of trees or grass, take on most beautiful
colours, and the lights and shadows are far more marked
than one has been accustomed to see.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVIII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 LET us now visit a monastery. As usual, as we
778 approached Lamauru, we were met by much
574 noise and dust. The monastery band evidently
346 was on the war-path, from the terrific braying and tom-tomming that greeted us, and the crowd of monastery dignitaries and village magnates kicked up much dust as they approached. We were taken round the monastery by the head ecclesiastic. We climbed the stone stairway to the monastery, which, as usual, was situated on the top of a cliff, built on to and into it in such a way that it was not easy to see where rock ended and the building commenced. Along the side of the stairway were rows of prayer wheels let into the wall, which we set spinning in the orthodox manner. At least I hope we did spin them the right and not the wrong way. I think we must have spun them round the right way, for our journey was prosperous. The chapel was full of interesting objects, and one did not know quite what to look at, for there seemed to be, and there was, such a crowd of interesting objects which I had never seen before.
353 The building was like a hall, the roof supported by
778 wooden pillars, with a gallery all round, from which hung a profusion of silk banners of Chinese design, chiefly dragons. On one side of the hall was a row of coloured figures, life-size, of Buddha and sainted lamas, which were arrayed in rich silks. Before each figure was a table or altar of very curious design, coloured with

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons 778
and sacred symbols. 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on 782
each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, 534
the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet.

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, 346
end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel 792
facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On 796
the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts.

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly 788
mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. 346
There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 792

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A-4

A Trip to Ladakh

341 fat; grease pervaded the atmosphere, in fact everything
792 the monks touched, for they were filthily dirty, their red garments being more or less black with grease. Fortunately their heads were shorn. They seemed to be a happy lot of brothers, always ready to laugh and joke, in fact, just like the pictures of the monks of the West in days gone by.

792 There are nuns who live in separate buildings. Many of them are so like the monks that it is difficult to tell one from the other, at least to an unpractised eye, as the following incident will show.

797 A few days later I was in Leh with Dr Neve. He was in the hospital helping people to get well quickly. I stayed outside to try and cheer up the patients who were waiting their turn outside, as many of them seemed to be rather nervous and frightened. I noticed one person who seemed to look very depressed, who I thought was a monk and not living up to his usual jovial self, so I poked him in the ribs and told him to cheer up, when a voice called out to me from behind, but too late: "Take care what you are doing, for that lady is a nun." It was a Moravian missionary who spoke too late. Well, I did all that an English gentleman could do. I apologised most humbly, but the nun would not have any, and I failed to cheer her up.

361 Well, our triumphal march to the capital, Leh (a town
162 with a population of 3000 in the winter, which grows to 6000 in the summer, when all the traders from east and west come in), was as entertaining as it was interesting.
574 Monastery bands, town bands, feasts and polo matches succeeded one another, but the reception given to the Commissioner Sahib at Leh was the culmination of great doings. Seven miles from Leh, in the valley of the Indus, a large sandy plain, there met us a great cavalcade of

E: Biscoe M-S (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmir
West Tibetans AJ4
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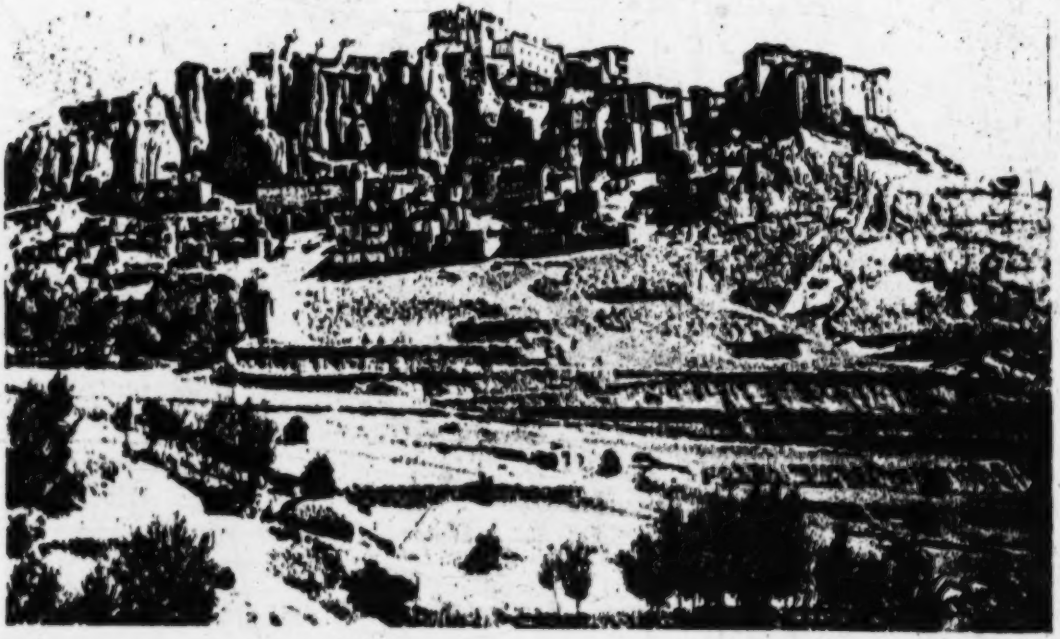

Photo by] [Vishu Nath

LAMAYURU MONASTERY.

The air being very clear and dry here 11,000 feet above sea level, the distance of any object from the traveller is difficult to gauge. This scene should be visualised in shades of pink and yellow with deep dark shadows, the only green being that of the willows.

[facing p. 218]

A Trip to Ladakh

000 did not feel inclined to move, so I tied him to a rock and went off in search of some landmark, for I seemed to have reached the top of the ridge. However, I soon found I could not walk more than twenty paces at a time, and a most splitting headache came on. It felt as if my head blood vessels would burst, and I had *mal de montagne* properly. After wandering about aimlessly I became aware I was up against a precipice. When the moon rose it was now one A.M., and then I saw I was under the foot of a glacier, a great cliff of ice over seventy feet high, which seemed to bulge out at the top like the curve of a huge breaker. It was very impressive, and for the moment I forgot my headache.

I had meant to stay on the pass to see the sunrise, but my powers of endurance gave out. My one desire was to get down the mountain, where I could breathe in comfort, so I descended to the rock where I had left my pony, and I soon began to recover my equilibrium as I descended. When I returned to Leh I made inquiries after my guide, but I never discovered what happened to him and therefore never knew why he gave me the slip.

346 796 788 About twenty miles from Leh is a very large and important monastery called Hemis, and once in every twenty years they have an especially important religious play, so Dr Neve and I hired ponies and joined the happy throng of pilgrims.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to see people of all classes making their way on foot and horseback to this far-famed monastery. On several ponies were two [595] riders, the man in front and his lady behind. As polyandry [562] is the custom in Ladakh, the wife is therefore the lord and master, so one expected to see the lady riding in front and one or more husbands riding pillion, for we often saw 788 576 three passengers riding one horse. We passed two ladies

A Trip to Ladakh

788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
535

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

000 a friend's house. Personally I possess a bearer who knows this trick, and he always asks me to ask my friends to allow their servants to count over the spoons and forks, etc., before leaving the house, to see, of course, that they have not left anything of their master's property behind.

276 Another custom I discovered of quite a different kind, which interested me.

I saw a coolie sprawling on the road with his mouth on the ground and apparently blowing smoke. On asking what it meant I was told that the man not having brought his hookah was not going to be done out of his smoke. He had made a small tunnel. At one end he had placed his tobacco and lighted it, and was sucking the smoke through the tunnel into his mouth. How one lives and learns!

346 After leaving Mulbe we turned off the caravan road in order to return via Suru under Nun Kun and down the Wardwan nullah.

We passed the monastery of Shergol. It is built into the rock. The windows seem to be in the face of a 406 precipice. The entrance and exit is peculiar, for a basket is let down by a rope, in which the visitor sits and is pulled up—a most excellent arrangement for keeping 133 out undesirables. Our first view of the Suru river was superb, and reminded me of pictures of heaven which I had seen in children's picture books. We were up on a ridge and looked down upon the river where it widened out and was full of islands covered with willow-trees, and giant peaks rising behind and above the nearer hills forming the valley.

492 When we reached the bridge we found that it was far too frail for our ponies. The river itself could not be forded, and was too swift and dangerous to permit of the

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not 797
to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to 175
propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule 648
of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not 643
thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over 349
the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great 712
wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their 178
spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all 671
the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. 675
It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chortęn*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
● 351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
[473] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
731 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 Lobzang, a delightful old gentleman with a benevolent face and a courteous manner, which are really quite charming. He is quite a good photographer, and this common hobby forms a natural link of friendship, including requests for the purchase of self-toning paper and other photographic requisites. He is expecting us, and stands in the side of the doorway with some of his lamas so that we may advance without fear of the monastery dogs, of which there are always some about, who generally announce the arrival of an intruder with considerable and alarming vigour. The main doorway is lofty and deep, with heavy wooden doors, but to-day it is closed, as inside carpenters are sitting under its shade sawing away for some builders, busy at a new balcony in a near corner of the building. The side door, a smaller one, is that generally in use, and admits to the corner of the large court-yard, in the middle of which are two walled enclosures round wild rose bushes, one a large yellow one, the other pink, with another bush whose pale yellow flowers, insignificant in themselves, have the strong scent of syringa, in bloom. In the centre there stands a high poplar wood pole, to the top of which is attached a black yak's tail, and running down its entire length a prayer-flag. To one side of the enclosure is a mounting block from which the *Skushog* can mount his steed.

346 792 [351] [788]

Lying about the court-yard are a few dogs, but they seem quite peaceful and undisturbed by our advent. The main temple faces us as we enter, three storeys high, with the usual roof-edge of a layer of sticks about one foot broad, lying end-on, and painted with ochre. On this roof are erected at intervals long rough poles bearing prayer-flags, or yak's tails, or an umbrella-shaped structure consisting of long streamers of plaited yak's wool bound together by coarse strips of raw silk and surmounted by a trident. The windows, latticed-shaped but unglazed, are interlaced with wood, picked out in various colours, and, across the top of each, is a little valance, a frill of some coarse white cloth with a red

[788]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 426 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word,

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 466 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]
STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángthang want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

●352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 352 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 439 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

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651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 439 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

5: Ribbach--28 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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Inhabitants of Ladakh.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. 438

Social and Religious Life.

Proportion of the sexes. 162

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

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SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Houses and furniture. 342

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

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Láhaul.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Food.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

752 Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one
262 or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates
[415] out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be
574 taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host
554 or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace
● 352 —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove
[354] opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished
000 member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 might wish to be busy elsewhere. Understanding that they would prefer our room to our company, we again wended our way down the hill. During our short stay in the room of enthronement, no ceremonies whatever were performed, and no word was spoken. There sat the *Skushog* and the new King like two graven images. We asked them what they did to crown their King, and they replied that he was allowed to sit on a throne as high as that of the *Shushog*. But we could not help feeling that the haste with which they got rid of us indicated that we were not to see the real ritual, as the influence of our Occidental presences would not be auspicious, yet we appreciated the friendly spirit which did not wish to omit us entirely from their important celebrations.

643 574 The Royal ladies, too, have always given a welcome to visitors from Western lands, whether it be the missionary "Memsahibs," who live in Leh all the year round, or the summer travellers who may be taken to pay their respects to the reigning house at Stog.

When the family come to Leh for their winter visit, their presence being necessary at the great festivals of the New Year and *Dosmoche*, we usually go up to the castle to pay them a call. We first inquire if it would be convenient for us to come on a given afternoon, sending a present of a cabbage, turnip or some potatoes, all of which are real luxuries in this part of the world, and hardly-grown at all outside our own [352] and the Commissioner's compounds. The time having been fixed, we are led into the sitting-room of the two Queens, and take our seats near them on nice Tibetan rugs, well-padded underneath. The little princesses, aged about two and seven on the last occasion, were very interested in the foreign ladies and the baby especially was delighted at receiving a rubber doll with a squeak. Butter-tea, of course, was served, and a special brand of sweet shortbread made in the royal household provided. Once when we went down to Kashmir, the old Queen Mother kindly sent over a dozen of these, wrapped in a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the 353
compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these 779
figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right 532
wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering 346
the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, 352
lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an 792
inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be 264
seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a 352
collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside 792
down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the 352
Slobdpon is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the 792

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

And there is still another room in which there is a large god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his head projects into a second storey reaching into a little verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to
792 finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that grotesque little corner.

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● 352 watching our every movement with amused curiosity. The
353 floor was covered with small mats over felt ones. The
792 *Slobdpon's* chief resting place and probably his bed, was rather more padded, and covered with an orange felt. He sat with his back to the small latticed window, a low tiny table in front, and at his side a higher one on which were sundry portraits, one of their Majesties, the King and Queen, one of the Dalai Lama, and one of the *Skushog* of Hemis in his festival dancing dress with high hat and overskirt of human bones, taken by the Doctor Sahib. A pickle bottle held a bunch of green from the shrub in the court-yard, and at the side was a low open bowl of rose petals. A small god like a doll, and a pot of charming design, the latter unfortunately dressed in lady-like petticoats, were also noticed, besides a printing frame, and another tiny god of doll's house size. Behind him on the windowsill sundry writing materials, religious books, and small ceremonial utensils lay about, a coloured portrait of the late King Edward hung on another wall; in fact every corner
574 of the room was used, yet the effect was clean and tidy. Stuffy it could not help being with so many visitors, and, after taking

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not. As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father. He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. 438

Social and Religious Life.

Proportion of the sexes. 162

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

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SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Houses and furniture. 342

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

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Láhaul

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* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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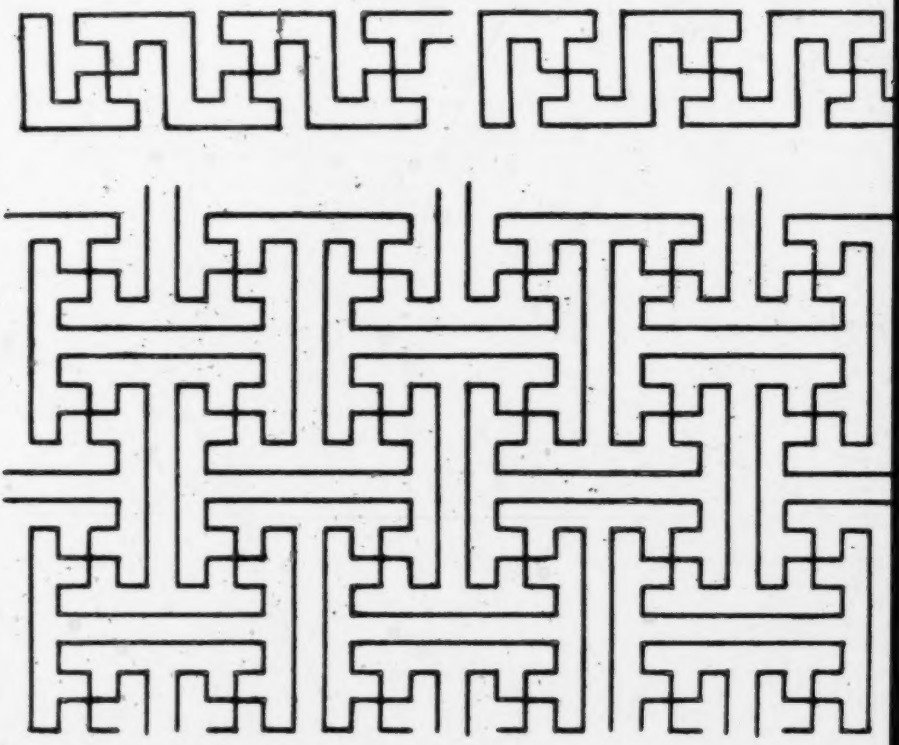
In the drawings below showing the *yyundrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.



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However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *yyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *swastika*.

The *yyungdrung* is thought to be of great importance at the wedding ceremony, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *yyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

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bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcessi glu'i[2] dpecha yin.	This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the Nyopas, when the bride is given.

[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.

[2] *A chungba* is indicated by an apostrophe.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 striped border The other three sides of the court-yard are
792 filled in with the two storeyed private dwellings of the lamas. No pillared cloisters are these, but just an occasional flight of a few steps, then a door, and at the side a window at a level which may or may not be in relation with that of the other doors and windows, and over both apertures the same kind of valance. If the latter sags in the middle, there is no hurry to replace it, far less to wash it, but on the whole this *dGonpa*, presents quite a clean, brushed, cared-for, tidy appearance. Ascending the steps, we arrive in the large covered portico outside the main room or refectory of the
● 353 monastery. All round the three walls pictures are painted in
779 bright colours. On the left is the " Wheel of Life " held by
537 a dragon-like monster. This consists of an inner, a middle, and an outer circle the middle one being divided into six compartments. The inner circle represents by means of a dove, a serpent and a pig coloured respectively red, green and black the three vices, lust, ill-will and stupidity, which bind man to the wheel of existence. In the upper compartment of the middle circle are the gods, into this grows the tree whose fruit provides any food desired by the soul and whose roots lie in the world of the demi-gods, who continually wage war against the gods in order to obtain this fruit. In the upper left-hand compartment are men. The above three existences are superior, whilst below the equator are the inferior ones of beasts, then of *yidags*, poor miserable men with large bellies, but such small necks that their hunger can never be appeased through such constricted throats, and in the lowest section are the hells, both hot and cold. A cold hell seems rather a misnomer to English ears, but Ladakis, at any rate, know the terrors of extreme cold. Buddha himself is out of the circle, and yet his reflexes seem somehow to be still in the wheel of existence. In the outer circle are pictures illustrating various phases of life, such as birth, marriage, death, burial work.

Opposite the top of the steps, on each side of the door with

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the 353
compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these 779
figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right 532
wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering 346
the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, 352
lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an 792
inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be 264
seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a 352
collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside 792
down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the 352
Slobdpon is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the 792

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that grotesque little corner.

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24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical 342 Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged [353] in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and 115 had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe 428 Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married poly-595 andrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they 888 had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 39. A typical Ladaki house from outside, at Leh.

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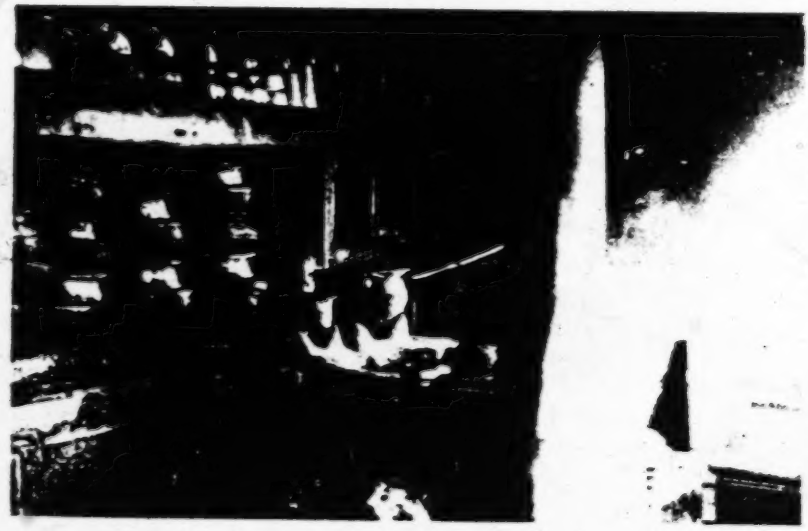


Fig. 40. The kitchen inside a Ladaki house, at Leh.

[P. 480 - C]

H Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w Tibetans A14

the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of land tilled, and of that there is none too much. 313

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious ceremonies. The palace at Leh is probably the finest building in the country, though some of the monasteries may approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. The roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the woodwork, were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred pictures. 342 [576] 344 [341] [353]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elaborately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from whieh the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between Lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVIII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 LET us now visit a monastery. As usual, as we
718 approached Lamauru, we were met by much
574 noise and dust. The monastery band evidently
346 was on the war-path, from the terrific braying and tom-tomming that greeted us, and the crowd of monastery dignitaries and village magnates kicked up much dust as they approached. We were taken round the monastery by the head ecclesiastic. We climbed the stone stairway to the monastery, which, as usual, was situated on the top of a cliff, built on to and into it in such a way that it was not easy to see where rock ended and the building commenced. Along the side of the stairway were rows of prayer wheels let into the wall, which we set spinning in the orthodox manner. At least I hope we did spin them the right and not the wrong way. I think we must have spun them round the right way, for our journey was prosperous. The chapel was full of interesting objects, and one did not know quite what to look at, for there seemed to be, and there was, such a crowd of interesting objects which I had never seen before.
• 353 The building was like a hall, the roof supported by
778 wooden pillars, with a gallery all round, from which hung a profusion of silk banners of Chinese design, chiefly dragons. On one side of the hall was a row of coloured figures, life-size, of Buddha and sainted lamas, which were arrayed in rich silks. Before each figure was a table or altar of very curious design, coloured with

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons and sacred symbols. 778 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet. 782 534

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts. 346 792 796

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 788 344 792

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

752 Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one 262 or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates [415] out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be 574 taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host 554 or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace 352 —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove [354] opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished 000 member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

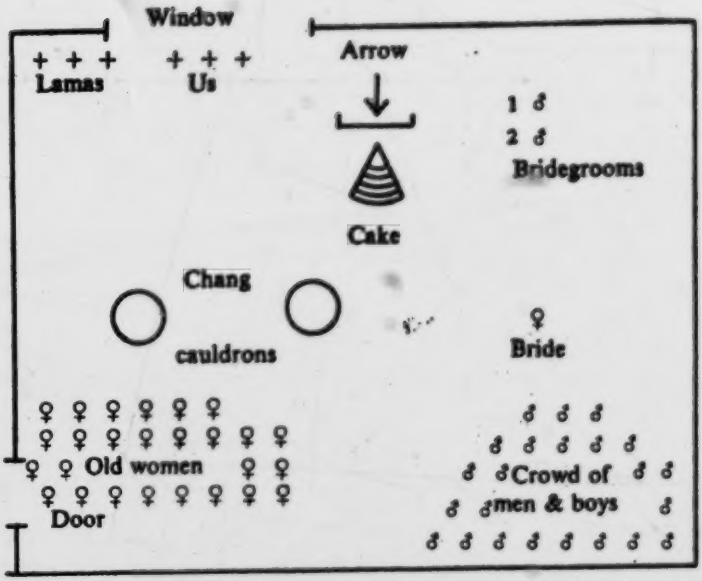
114 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
428 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

585



Sketch 1. Plan of main room of Tolag-pa House of Gumling during the polyandrous wedding there on the 1st July, 1938.

other two being very young and fidgety and incapable of behaving as they should at their wedding. The eldest of the brothers was on the [292] right and he wore a yellow silk gown with a bright green sash diagonally across it, a charm box round his neck and a little Lahuli embroidered hat on his head. His brother was plainly dressed in everyday clothes and was seated on his left.

In front of the eldest brother, in a square box full of grain, stood a [782] tall arrow with prayer flags attached to the head. Next to it, and in front of the second bridegroom, there was a conical cake of *tsampa* with the small figure of a goat fashioned out of butter at the top. In the centre of the room were two huge cauldrons of *chang*, enough to keep the party going for quite some time. The back of the room, facing us, was full of people, many old women on our right, and a mixed group of men and boys just opposite.

The bride was brought in and dumped near the younger brother, to his left. She remained lying there without moving, still gently moaning but having given up her violent protests. The room was in darkness [354] when she was carried in, but no sooner had she been put down on the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony. 585 354

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard. 585 782

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval. 585 787

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights. 585 [273]

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom. 591 595 888

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37). 595 123 [354] [126]

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage. 595 199

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
[797] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

2: Gervis Γ-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next 342
morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer 132
outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a
difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny 132
courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be 354
had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in 793
meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the 793
Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron- 292
coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasion- [795]
ally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great 793
monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that 361
every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
181 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides,
526 behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 fitting a series of short horizontal boards into the slots cut in the sides of the framework. The big family stove is built of
252 a special black mud, deposited at the bottoms of rivers or streams, or dug from under the damp turf on their banks, which becomes very hard when dried. The stove is roughly square in form, with a hole at two or more corners round which the hard mud is raised into three upward projections, thus
415 supporting the local rounded cooking-pots. These are made
376 of copper and tinned over by the local blacksmith. We Europeans have to be very careful to have this lining kept intact to avoid copper poisoning, but one often finds the Ladaki brewing his tea in a pot from which all traces of tin have long ago vanished. Perhaps this is why we are so often upset
252 when we accept invitations to meals in their houses. In
372 front of the stove on the right-hand side is a projection of the same hardened mud, which is to accommodate the right-hand of the "fire blower," as he operates on the bellows. These are very effective instruments with a large nozzle pushed well under the glowing fuel, and an elongated bag of goat-skin at the outer end of which two small bars of wood are attached, with small loops of strongly-twisted thread in the middle. Through these the thumb and fingers are placed to open and close the mouth, and though it sounds and looks a simple process a certain knack must be acquired to get a good fire.
• [357] Children of the house often keep it going, but the fire-blower is generally a sooty-faced, ragged woman servant, the counterpart of the old scullery-maid in the West. The stove has a large central tunnel with branches radiating out to the corner holes, and in the middle is a depression for the biggest hole of all.

252 Here the large pot of butter-tea is generally brewing. The tea, of which the best variety comes from Lhasa (where it is used as coinage) in bricks, is stewed for some hours, then mixed up in a special churn, phonetically named a *gurgur*, with butter, soda, salt and milk. Some writers have said our

262 feast, proceedings may begin with *gyatug*, a dish of long
574 vermicelli-like strips of flour-paste over which mincemeat in a nicely flavoured sauce is poured. Meat is also minced and made into delicious little dumplings, called *mok mok*, or well-flavoured and rolled up into sausages, which are eaten with
[565] rice—in fact in a rich house, after the plates of rice have been served, many kinds of subsidiary dishes are handed round with meat done up in different ways, sauces and vegetables, the last
● [357] often soured. For a *dron* an experienced cook is hired to take charge of all the culinary operations, usually a Mussulman, otherwise one of the women of the house superintends
262 the kitchen. But in the villages where there are no butcher shops, and a sheep is killed only occasionally, the staple food is butter-tea and barley-flour, varied with all sorts of vegetables prepared in several ways. The poorest people mix the flour in water just as it is, eating it out of cheap little wooden cups with their fingers.

262 An ordinary middle class family will breakfast on butter-tea
565 and small breads, raised with leaven called *kambir* ; at midday they will have more tea, and perhaps chupattis with a sauce of vegetables, mixed with buttermilk, while in the evening, tea may or may not be served again with flour kneaded into a paste in some form or other, and mixed with meat well stewed in a broth.

More usually as the hot tea is drunk, the butter floating on the top is blown to one side, and after many cups a nice little residue is left with which to mix up the raw flour with the aid of a finger.

252 In summer when milk is more plentiful, its various products
[262] are much used as a food. The milk is collected into a large pot at night and warmed, some sour buttermilk being added to make it curdle. The pot is then covered with garments and blankets so as to maintain the blood-heat for proper fermentation. Some of it may be set aside to eat as *zho*, this being a kind of junket, only less insipid, especially when well

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
357

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[IC4] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

594 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually by the parents. But this is not always the
588 case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.
792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
●361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.
661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.
792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.
The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

/11/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Kalatse lies yonder in the Ladakh high- 361
land, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the Western Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading mountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village forms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming apricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate, projecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly the fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike our ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and the call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the Indus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded beasts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main town of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the women who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise everything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the white-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue, cloudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock 512
in the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to his house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and everybody takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal, 789

1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same 552
time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house- 551
owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has its own name by which the present owner can likewise be called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering," "Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other. In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which usually have a religious significance, the house names display a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa), Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The District.

Configuration and sub-divisions of *mahál* Láhaul.

lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

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The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi; here there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *omnái pádme hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chodhten* or *Dangten*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangser, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The District.
The Chandra and Bhága.

of 11,345 feet. Darcha and Khoksar, the highest villages in the upper valleys respectively of the Bhága and Chandra, are about 10,800 feet above the sea.

The source of the Chandra is in a huge snow-bed, more than 16,000 feet above the sea, on the south-east slopes of the Bára Lácha pass. From its very commencement a considerable stream, it becomes quite unfordable a mile from its source. Its course is south-east as far as the angle between the Kanzam range and the mid-Himalaya, a distance of 55 miles. Here, turned by the mountains, the river sweeps round to the north-west and skirts the base of the mid-Himalaya until it is joined by the Bhága at Tándi after a course of 115 miles. Its fall from its source to Tándi averages only 65 feet per mile. For the first 75 miles the valley of the Chandra is entirely uninhabited; the hills sweep down wild and barren to the river, and end in broken cliffs, the base of which is choked with the *débris* of decomposing rock. Above, the scene is equally desolate. Not a tree or a bush breaks the monotony of the bleak hill sides, and grass even disappears at no great height. The pasturage, however, though scanty in appearance, is of a quality much valued for sheep and goats, and is annually sought by large flocks driven up in July and August from Kúlu and even Kángra. A lake, called the Chandra Tal, near the Pálamo pass, is a favourite halting-place for the shepherds. The lake is three-quarters of a mile or more in length and of considerable width. It is fed by springs and the melting snows, and the surplus water runs by an outlet into the Chandra.

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The first signs of permanent habitations are met with opposite the Hamtá pass at old Khoksar, where there is a village occupied by five families some 14 miles above Koksar at the foot of the Rohtang pass. Here "the river enters on a less uninviting country; the valley widens considerably in several places, and there is a good deal of cultivated ground on the right bank, while on the left are a few scattered trees." As Ghondla is approached the country on the northern side still opens, and cultivation increases. The hamlets are larger, and the houses better built, and surrounded with groves of *pípal* and willow. The northern mountains too take a gentler slope; but on the south, on the other hand, they hang over the river, in precipitous masses. Opposite Ghondla a precipice rises like a wall 11,000 feet sheer above the river-bed.

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The glaciers of the hills in the interior threaten the river in more places than one. The most noted glacier is that known as the *big shigri** at the south-eastern extremity of the interior range of hills. A fall of this glacier in 1836 caused a stoppage in the course of the river, and a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. Captain Harcourt, who crossed the glacier in 1869, puts its width at nearly two miles; and, he adds, it "is steadily subsiding, and every year is getting lower and lower". In another passage, after alluding to the cataclysm of 1836, he says: "There can be little doubt, judging from the quantity of ice collected on the flanks

* *Shigri* is the local term for any glacier.

of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

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The Chandra and Bhága. 133

The Bhága, rising on the north-west slopes of the Bára Lácha pass, has a course of 65 miles to Tándi, and an average fall of 125 feet per mile. For 30 miles, the valley resembles that of the Chandra, but in its lower part is rich in cultivation, large tracts of level and arable land lying between the mountains and the river. The banks of the stream itself are steep and rocky. It is in this valley, some five miles from Tándi, that Keylang, the principal village of Láhaul, is situated. The Chandra-Bhága, or Chenáb, after the junction of its two heads, continues to flow north-west with a fall of about 30 feet per mile, until at Tirot, 16 miles below Tándi, it passes into Chamba. 361

Bridges in Láhaul. 491

The rivers in Láhaul are crossed by means of suspension bridges of from 50 to 150 feet span, made of thick ropes of twisted birch twigs. Three ropes form the roadway, and two hand-rail ropes hang above, one on either side, and are attached to the roadway by small side ropes, fastened at intervals of a foot or two. The best of these bridges are passable for sheep and goats, and without danger if the sides are wattled in with wicker work and slabs of stone placed on the roadway. In a high wind many of them are dangerous to cross, even to a native of the country. They are called *chúgzam* in Tibetan, and *jhúlá* or *áwá* in Hindí. The proper *jhúlá* is a different kind of bridge, which is not used in Láhaul. It consists of a seat in a loop hanging from a wooden saddle, which rides on a cable of thick grass rope, and is pulled across by a gay line. *Gharárú* is another name for this kind of bridge, which you use in crossing the Satlaj, the U'l and other rivers. Of late years, on the main road from Kúlu to Léh, the Chandra and Bhága rivers have been bridged with *sanga* bridges passable by cattle and horses. The *sanga* is composed of whole trunks of pine or cedar built into embankments on either side of the river in double or triple tiers, each tier projecting further from the embankment and supported by a prop on the end of the tier below. Two long trunks rest on and connect the ends of the highest tiers on either side, and form the roadway.

Climate of Láhaul 133

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The uppermost village in Rangloi is Purnia Khoksar, and in Gárá, Dárcha. Both these are about 10,800 feet above the sea; but there are higher villages lower down the valley in Gárá. For instance, Kangser (*i.e.*, the big house), where Wazír Tára Chand lives, has an elevation of 11,345 feet. Mr. Lyall estimates the average elevation of the cultivated or inhabited portion of Láhaul at a little less than 10,000 feet; while General Cunningham puts it at over 11,000. The mean temperature at Kardong in the valley of the Bhága is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows:—

March	46°	Fahrenheit.
June	59°	"
September	13°	"
December	29°	"
Year	44·9°	"

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley, not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

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"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

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Configuration of *wazíri* Spiti.

Spiti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spiti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spiti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spiti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Configuration of country Spiti.

narrow rocky gorges shut in by high precipices. On the other side of the main valley for two-thirds of its length from the base, there are high valleys or tablelands which contain some ten villages.

The mountains of Spiti are more lofty than those of Láhaul. In the outer-Himalaya is one peak of 23,064 feet, and many along the whole line are considerably over 20,000. Of the mid-Himálaya, two peaks exceed 21,000 feet, and in the southern range the Mánirang is 21,646 feet in height. From the main ranges transverse lines of mountains project far into the valley on either side, leaving in many cases only a narrow interval through which passes the Spiti river. Even these minor ranges contain peaks, the height of which in many instances exceeds 17,000 feet. The mean elevation of the villages in Spiti is considerably higher than in Láhaul. Mr. Lyall puts it at 12,000 feet. Several villages, he says, must be more than 13,000 feet above the sea, and one or two as high as 14,000. General Cunningham gives as the mean elevation of the Spiti valley, 12,981 feet.

Rivers.

The Spiti river, by which the drainage of the whole valley is collected, rises in the angle between the Kanzam and outer Himalayan ranges at the base of a peak 20,073 feet in height, and after a south-easterly course of ten miles is joined by another stream from the south-west, of nearly equal volume, the Lichu, which drains the mountains on either side of the Kanzám pass. Hence it flows eastwards for thirteen miles, washing the base of the outer Himalayas; then turning south-east it maintains this direction with no material deviation till it reaches Mán at the base of the southern hills. Here it sweeps eastwards and ultimately leaves Spiti at its north-east corner by a narrow gorge hemmed in on either side by lofty mountains. In Basáhir it turns southwards and joins the Satlaj after a course of over 120 miles, its fall averaging about 60 feet per mile.

The principal tributaries of the Spiti upon its left bank, are the Kibjuna, the Tánmu, the Lágudársi, the Párang, the Shilla and the Lingti. All these have their rise in the outer-Himalaya, and running in deep beds with precipitous sides, are quite valueless for purposes of irrigation. The Lágudársi rises in the Tákling pass, and the Párang in the pass of the same name. The Lingti, which rises in the highest peak of the whole range, is a considerable river and has a course of over thirty miles. On the right bank, the principal affluents are the Giundi, the Rítang, and the Pín. The Giundi has a course of about twenty miles, the Rítang, of rather more than twenty. The Pín is described in greater detail below. The mountains drained by these and other river streams of the southern side of the valley, are utterly barren and uninhabited. The hills are devoid of vegetation; and the valleys, abrupt, rocky and shut in by precipices, are in many instances choked in with *dibris* through which the streams have cut for themselves broad courses, sometimes from 300 to 500 yards in width, and having "straight sides like the banks of a canal" from 200 to 300 feet in height. The Pín is the most important tributary of the Spiti. It rises in the angle of the mid-Himalaya and Mánirang ranges, and with its affluent, the Parakio, or Parakís, a stream of nearly equal volume, drains fully one quarter of the Spiti valley.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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It[1] joins the Spiti after a course of 45 miles a short distance above Dankar, the principal village of the valley. The width of its bed near its mouth varies from 300 to 800 yards. The greater part of its course is through an uninhabited country, its valley forming no exception to the description given of the other streams which join the Spiti from the south and west. Near the mouth of the valley, however, the country opens, and affords space for cultivation. Here there are eleven villages, the only inhabited spots, not in the valley of the main river itself, in the southern half of Spiti.

312 133 Character of the Rivers: Bridges.

Running in deep courses, the sides of which are steep and friable, the water of the Spiti rivers is valueless for purposes of irrigation; and although artificial watering is a necessary condition for the production of a crop, and a plentiful supply of water, most plentiful in the hottest season, passes at his feet, the cultivator has to be content with the meagre supply obtainable from streamlets having their rise in the smaller ravines, some of which run low, or dry completely up before the close of the summer months. The water of the rivers, heavily charged with silt, is turbid and yellow in appearance. The flow is seldom deep, being distributed over broad courses, and often broken up into independent channels. The current, however, is sufficiently rapid to render fording, where not quite impossible, a matter of difficulty and danger; and when the streams are full, the ominus sound may be heard of rolling boulders knocking one against the other. Bridges, on the other hand, are rare, and cannot in any case, except that of the new *sangha* bridge at Rangrig over the Spiti river, be passed by the *yaks* or ponies with which most Spiti men travel. The people therefore are compelled to ford, and lives are frequently lost in consequence. At two points, above Kája and below Lithong, where the main stream is suddenly collected into a narrow channel by ridges of rock, *sanga* bridges have been erected for foot traffic, but the biggest timber in Spiti is too light for the construction of a bridge passable by *yaks* or ponies. Below Máni the river runs in a narrow channel and is crossed in three places by *jhilá* bridges.

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361 Villages and scenery in Spiti.

On the Spiti the first inhabited spot is Losar twelve miles from the Kanzam pass. From this point downwards villages are frequent, occupying every available corner in the valleys, both of the main streams and of its tributaries from the north. A traveller passing down the Spiti valley would never suspect the existence of villages in these lateral valleys, for the streams which drain them run in deep canons or chasms with precipitous sides cut in the rock, and nothing can be seen but the mouths of these gorges from the main valley. Major Hay, in his account of Spiti, says that the soil is composed of lime and sandstone. It is evident that a river very easily cuts itself a deep channel in this formation, which is only hard so long as it keeps dry; and as very little rain falls, and the snow melts gently, the banks of the cutting remain very perpendicular. Curious examples of this quality of the soil are seen in many places, where the ground has melted away round certain points protected by slabs of slate or shale, leaving the slab high in the air supported by fantastic pillars or arches of the softer formation. One bad result of this peculiarity is that though water for irrigation

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[1] i.e., the Pín, a tributary of the Spiti river.— ANALYST.]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothís* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothís* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kom chengpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom fitka*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS.

Chapter VI.

Principal places in Láhaul and Spiti.

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The principal villages of Láhaul are Kyelang, Kardong and Kolang. Kyelang is situated on the main trade route beween the Rohtáng and Bára Lácha passes, on the right bank of the river Bhága about four miles above its junction with the Chandra. Here a post office is maintained during the summer months, and a Moravian mission has been for some years established. The mission-house is a substantial residence, the lower apartment of which is used as a chapel. A school supported by a grant from the Government is managed entirely by the Missionaries.* Kardong lies on the left bank of the Bhága almost immediately opposite Kyelang, and is spoken of by Capt. Harcourt as at once the largest and most striking village in the valley. The houses are better built than in other villages. Kolang, which is the residence of the Thákur of Láhaul, is also situated in the Bhága valley, on the right bank about ten miles above Kyelang. The largest village probably in Spiti is Rangrig on the right bank of the Spiti river. The name is said to mean town. Dankar, the capital of Spiti, is a large village, 12,774 feet above the sea, built on a spur or bluff which stands out into the main valley and ends in a precipice. The softer parts of this hill have been worn away, leaving blocks and columns of a hard conglomerate, among which the houses are perched in curious and inconvenient positions. On the top of a hill is a large house known as the fort, which, with some cultivated land attached, belongs to Government. On a point of the hill lower down is a large monastery. The aspect of the whole place is very picturesque. It has been the seat of Government of the country from time immemorial.

* Capt. Harcourt pays a high tribute of admiration to the zeal and energy of the Missionaries, Mr Behler and Mr. Heyde, and acknowledges the important services rendered by them to the administration. They are looked up to as friends and protectors by every inhabitant of the valley, though in the matter of conversions to Christianity they have had but little success.

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12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 6

A COURT IN LAHUL

The day I built the bridge at Koksar we went fourteen miles and spent the night at Gundala. Gundala is a small village of a score or so inhabitants. The houses are square affairs with flat slate roofs. Both outside walls and the roofs are plastered with a stucco made from mud. Some have two stories with the people above and the cattle below. Gundala runs at a steep pitch down a mountainside that is dotted with a thin stand of juniper. There are millet, barley, and wheat on the terraces that reach to the river; and willow trees and aspen keep most of the village in shade.

It is ten miles to Kyelang, a distance we covered in about three hours. We traveled in a light, cold rain and were accompanied all the way by the endless echoes of thunder rolling round and round in this narrow canyon of the Chandra. Kyelang is on the opposite side of the mountain behind Gundala. It is a village of several hundred people that sits prettily high on the banks of the Bhaga River. Across the river is a Buddhist monastery on a lonely

361 shoulder of mountain. Kyelang has a bazaar of a dozen or so
161 shops, a grade school, a dispensary and hospital, large administration houses, a cold spring that comes booming out of a pipe, and
[132] narrow cobblestone streets where pack trains can barely pass. It is a delightful place in summer months, seldom getting warmer than 73 degrees.

137 The streets of Kyelang are lined with aspen and willow. The willow is the common white willow of the Old World, the one that is naturalized in parts of the eastern United States, the one that is the standard wood in England for making cricket bats, artificial limbs, and the charcoal used in the manufacture of black gunpowder. The white willows at Kyelang are old and gnarled, two to four feet thick. They have been topped for years and used for wood and so are squat and stunted. New plantings of willow shoots are wrapped in cloth or twigs for protection against the goats. On the slopes above Kyelang are scatterings of juniper (pencil cedar), reminiscent of the juniper one finds in the Steens Mountain country of southern Oregon. And here and there are a few of the willow leaf sea buckthorn—a willow-like tree of the oleaster family (*Hippophae salicifolia*). At both ends of the
[133] Bhaga canyon, as seen from Kyelang, are huge snow-capped peaks with glaciers that, during a summer day, reflect in changeable moods most of the colors of the spectrum. Kyelang, green and lush, lies like an oasis—an oasis in granite, snow, and ice.

Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul, was in charge of a Tehsildar,[2] a young, soft-spoken, pleasant Sikh by the name of Mahindar Singh Randhawa. I met him as I arrived at Kyelang in the rain; and he assured me as I dismounted my pony in front of his office that the weather was "most unusual."

197 Lahul, though a part of India, is a foreign land. The most common language is Tibetan, and yet it is somewhat different because of the Lahuli dialect. The greetings along the trail out of Manali were in Hindustani—"*Ram, ram*" or "*Namaste.*" In Lahul they became Tibetan—"*Ju Ju*" or "*Ju Le.*"

 [2] [Headman--Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
• 361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[757] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat* is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

*[of the marmot--Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 21

JU LE, JU LE

Leh, a town of 4,000, lies at 11,555 feet in a vast, sloping basin hemmed in on three sides by peaks that rise to 25,000 feet and more. The south side—the side we entered—flows in a gentle, rocky decline to the Indus.

We had followed the Indus from Marchelang downstream ten miles or more after we left Hemis. Higher up at Upshi the Indus had been a raging torrent pouring in a maddening roar through narrow gorges that served as fast, rock funnels for the dirty water. Below Marchelang it was as flat and calm as the Mississippi in summertime, spreading into estuaries and bays as it overran its banks and overflowing great reaches of bottom land. Not far below Marchelang the trail turns north and crosses the Indus. The Indus now divided into two main channels. Two rather primitive wooden bridges quivered at the touch of man or beast and shook nervously, permitting only one man or one animal on them at a time.

There is a grove of poplars on the far side of the bridges, and

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

• 361 [493] Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

> *la ilaha illa–'llah:*
> *Mohammed rasulu–'llah.*
> *No god but Allah: Mohammed*
> *is the messenger of Allah.*

771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh–2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist country, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

797 175 648

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

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174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the
● 361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers
162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense
771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of
233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have
[771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism
[797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion
162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus
792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest.
563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

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147 but their scanty garments, these small urchins spend the night with only a handful or two of barley-flour as a reward, but they call out a hearty greeting to our nurse as she passes, and neither spirit nor body appears to be chilled by the exposure.

We have already noticed the strange mixture of finery and rags, the incongruity of fine workmanship and adjacent tawdriness. Surely nature herself teaches them this odd combination of the sublime and the ridiculous. Think only of the many examples on the main road up from Srinagar to 133 Leh. As one emerges from the narrow defile which has 361 wound up slowly from Pashkim, just beyond Kargil, to the Mulbeck Valley and about three miles before the village of that name is reached, the gorge opens out into a broad cultivated valley with a great panorama of majestic mountains beyond. Here and there in the foreground are soft sandstone cliffs, behind, strange peaks with jagged pinnacles in their rugged outlines, rising higher yet sinking in perspective as they reach the horizon to stand out clear and sharp against the brilliant azure sky, the whole suggesting some gigantic upheaval of past ages. As one pursues the winding path in and out of soft red-brown sand-hills into the village, the nearer hills and the lower extraordinary formations of sandstone on the further side of the stream come into prominence. These are sculptured by wind, snow and rain into the most grotesque shapes, looking in some places like the ruins of some ancient village or even turretted castles, the rough outlines of the one-time windows presenting the most gnome-like suggestion of a forgotten civilization. In other places the stalagmite-looking relics are more statuesque, and, opposite the sharp turn of the high road to the left, may be seen across the main valley a gigantic looking ruined model of a 347 mother with a child at her knees. Over the pass and into 133 the next village, again straggling along a wide valley, this 361 formation is repeated, and one quaint little cluster of houses

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on the further side of the stream appears to be purposely designed to show the evolution of the house from the rock. Holes in the cliff itself slowly evolve into the apertures of a dwelling, and these merge into the more elaborate windows of a house in a graded transition before one's eyes, whilst portions of the rock are used as walls and foundations for the buildings, so that it is quite hard to distinguish across the valley which is nature's building and which is man's. Even in the people this similitude to the land and rocks amounts to a protective adaptation like that in wild animals and birds. How difficult it is to distinguish the ordinary coolie seen on the road in the distance. His undyed home-spun, his cap and even his face (for his cheeks receive just about as much washing as the land receives rain in this dry climate) are thoroughly impregnated with the dry dust of the desert. His movements alone distinguish him from the grey-brown rocks, stones and sand around. Very different indeed is the red-robed lama, who can be discerned from afar in a land where the atmosphere is so rarefied that distance is incredibly fore-shortened. Again it is often absurdly difficult to know whether a pile of stones set up by some passer-by to frighten away mischievous spirits is a human being standing or sitting until one is quite near by, when the stones may suddenly resolve themselves into a wayfarer who rises to ask you for some *m'a-ches* (matches) which will enable him to light his fire so much more quickly than the flint and tinder which depend from his waist. On the road between Bot Kharbu and Lamayuru one of the most quaint little clusters of transitional rock-dwellings suddenly comes into view up a narrow ravine on one's left, and one thinks of the inhabitants, the women especially, whose life and world is probably confined to this fantastic corner, appropriately named Henasku. But all these fantasies are only preparations the incredible scene that lies before one as the final r is turned in the approach to Lamayuru.

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133 The Photu La, a 13,400 feet pass, has just been crossed,
776 at the top of which one seems to have had a bird's-eye view of a world of far-reaching mountain tops, so deserted of any sign of humanity that on looking upon this sea of mountains, one is reminded of Noah's dove who, having found "no rest for the sole of her foot," returned to the company of the Ark. So does one's eye return with a sense of common humanity and gratefulness to the unkempt, but triumphant ponymen of one's caravan, who, while their burdened steeds take breath after their exhausting climb, themselves pause to rest by the "Lhato" erected to mark the top of the pass. This structure is a collection of rocks and stones, supporting a crooked staff bearing some tags and rags with prayers inscribed on them, and with sundry marks of gratitude in the shape of old sheeps' and goats' horns, or best of all, a bit of yak's tail, thrown on to the pile. In the words *Sola, sola, sola,* the men express to the presiding genius of the pass their own relief and gratitude at once more having achieved the ascent, and then cheerfully start on the steep downward track. So it is with this majestic stretch of billowing mountains filling the mind that one proceeds on the way, and then rounds the last corner to see Lamayuru.

361 But who shall adequately describe this capital of Hob-
778 goblin-land in its setting of purple hills, distant snow peaks, and brilliant blue sky? Running down towards the village, interspersed with "chorten" fat round structures, rather like gigantic pepperpots, are long "mani walls" built of stones and surmounted by two flattened sides, gently sloping up to meet each other, these tops being formed of flat stones covered with prayers. Nearer the village they end in arches, often with *chortens* on the top, under which the road may run. The village itself is built on the rocky hillside, here formed into strange fissures and crags, bridged by crazy-looking shelves, which the builders have utilized as well as the firmer foundations. It looks as if one shake would topple the whole absurd

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structure on to the cultivated fields at the foot. Topping the hill and weirdest sight of all stands the monastery, with its flat roofs adorned at the corners with holy yak tails and prayer-flags. When staying at the rest-house at the edge of the fields below the village, the whole grotesque impression is especially enhanced in the evening, when the voices of the inhabitants going home from the day's work in the fields are loudly amplified owing to some strange acoustic relationship between the monastery hill and the one on the opposite side of the narrow valley. Moreover, as some of these stragglers ascend round the edge of the hill in the evening light, their silhouettes are also magnified, so that the whole atmosphere of this unparallelled and indescribable fortress of lamaism, makes the traveller rub his eyes in the endeavour to awake from such a fantastic dream. Before leaving this eerie wonderland there appears again a most extraordinary stalagmite formation of sandstone, as though whole cities had been tumbled out of the bowels of the earth, a veritable disruption of Sodom and Gomorrah after centuries of interment. After this, nature provides a scene of her wildest and most rugged grandeur. The road winds up and down the sides of a wonderful gorge, crossing several times the little stream, which gradually increases till it finally hurls itself into the Indus as a roaring torrent. All the way down the ravine, the road now climbs up far above the water, now descends close to it, but never leaves its noise, while the rocks provide a constant feast for the imagination, a succession of weird imagery, with variations in colour and shade, now fantastically suggestive, now boldly majestic, until at last the troubled waters are borne away by Mother Indus.

Thus does the grotesqueness of the land constantly manifest itself, so frequently emphasized by the human touch, as in these long prayer-walls, the longest of which, just outside ch, stretches for half a mile across the desert, looking for all he world as though some giant children had been playing

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CHAPTER VI

Back to Lamaland

AT Matayan we have really crossed the Zogi, but it is at Dras that we change our transport, and see the last of the steeds and their syces (grooms) who have brought us over. The former place consists of a few huts, a serai (caravanserai) and a bungalow, in a desolate wind-swept spot with practically no supplies accessible. Probably owing to wind and weather the traveller is here left to his own resources, with the result that several visitors have launched into poetry, of which there is an amusing collection of rhymes in the bungalow book. The rest-house has two small rooms with well-boarded windows and a limited verandah with a windscreened corner. Here the Memsahib has recollections of a real pressure of accommodation. Travelling down from Leh to send her elder child off home to school, and to try the effect of the lower altitude on the ill-health of her little one of two-and-a-half, an awkward incident occurred between Dras and Matayan, for one of the zos carrying luggage fell down the khud, and his load rolled on into the stream. The locks of a suitcase were broken on the boulders, and away floated all the baby's warm clothes for the return journey and daintier ones for the civilization of Srinagar, and also all the contents of a sewing basket, whose empty case remained in position in the crown of a hat, not a nice quandary to be left in with two children, and no needle or cotton, so far out in the wilds! A yakdan, with all the Memsahib's ilized clothes, shoes, books and incidentally money—was also

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 we let them rest a few minutes, while we sit by the *lhato* and enjoy the sea of mountain tops all around. The path descends
●361 into the open valley of Bot Kharbu, a long smiling stretch of cultivation with several small villages and a few ruined forts and castles on the hilltops. These were the scenes of fighting in the seventeenth century. Occasionally we note a rough bridge across the main stream, made just of the trunk of a tree or of two such logs side by side, of which one is a little lower, so that, if nervous, one could choose it and hold on to the higher. One noticeable cluster of houses, called Stagtse, is picturesquely grouped round a pointed rock on the other side of the stream. Near the rest-house, we see, on the further side also, that little collection of houses which gives the best example on all the road of how the native dwelling is fashioned like and merges into the surrounding rock.

Overhanging that part of the village in which the dak bungalow is to be found is a high rock with ruins of a castle or fort, conspicuous above which, and noticed from afar, is the figure of a man meditating over the valley, and brooding over the past history of its wars. When we arrive under it, we see it is only a sandstone figure, carved by the storms of centuries just as those seen on the day before.

133 The next day we leave the valley and enter a slowly narrowing long defile, leading to the foot of the highest pass we have to cross, and some six miles out of Kharbu we pass Henasku in a ravine on the left, already quoted as an example and, perhaps a better one than yesterday's, of a series of transitional rock dwellings, and looking so lonely and so weird
788 on its high cliff. Pausing at the foot of the Pass, where there is
484 water though no shade, for a meal, we then climb up to 13,500 feet, but just before the summit is reached, we come upon a nice group of Ladakis camping in that glorious scenery. We turn round to admire the way they have " parked out " their loads of bulging sacks into a wind shelter, against which they rest their own appropriate figures. Behind them is a magni-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ficent stretch of mountains, its breadth and expanse exceeding those of yesterday's pass ; the glory of light and shade are indescribable, and this little group of humanity in the foreground just completes the picture. To their right by a tiny trickle of water behind a little rock, a delightful pair have detached themselves from the party to engage in " Chos Choches " (doing religion). One has a wee tray on a collapsible stand and a spoon, all of which can be shut up within a kind of teapot, its cover forming a second platter when reversed, and here he is busy with his libations and mumbling away at his prayers, though apparently only a layman, while the younger man assists him. Completing the ascent an equally wonderful view bursts on the sight, but there is no sign of cultivation on these bare brown or snowwhite peaks, and one really feels as though even at the " back of beyond " in every direction, there never would be human habitation again. But there just below us a yak tosses up his head, and gallops off, while soon our eyes light upon another picturesque camp arranged within a wall of sacks. One of our Tibetan friends, preferring a sun to a water-bath, has slipped his arms out of his wide sleeves and sits there bare to his waist, though we ourselves find the breeze quite chilly at these heights. Down, down, down again, and the big peaks vanish while the little hills rise. Round many corners we come to a bare wild ravine with a dark frowning hill behind, fit framing for a solitary *chorten*, throwing into relief its whitewashed base and red-ringed superstructure. Now we know a village must be near, and up a little zigzag path we go, and around another big *chorten*, then catch our breath at the picture that lies before us, a village we have already described as a suitable capital for " Hobgoblinland." Nor does this impression diminish, rather, each time one rounds that corner it strikes the imagination more forcibly, and seems as though it can only be some dreamland phantasm. Even as you come down upon the prosaic little rest-house on its platform below the hill, the

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361 chimneys of its cook-houses look up at you like unblinking owls. To visit the monastery the path leads up to turn
346 abruptly near a series of little dwelling places covering a small hill. Unrelieved by the usual balconies and adornments of village houses, they appear more like stables, but we are informed they are the abodes of the nuns. The *dGonpa* itself is very picturesque and a camera might be busy at each corner,
792 but the dirt and dust are terrible. The Lamas who belong to the red sect, are degraded looking, and the whole atmosphere
000 of the village is evil, as several travellers have noticed. What wonder that below the village we come upon that disinterred Sodom and Gomorrah already mentioned, perhaps more aptly described as a ruinous Gehenna with its twisted sulphurous
[491] pillars. So we pass along the high road, meeting the Indus at the suspension bridge just below the village of Kalatse, and keeping it company to Saspola. It was when riding along this piece of road that seven year old Helen asked, as more mountains came into view, peering over their fellows, "Mummy, how
361 did the mountains make theirselves so big?" After a long uninhabited stretch of stony road we note a welcome green patch on the other side, where about three houses find enough cultivatable ground, fed from a falling stream, to support their inmates, and we are told that in winter they send their animals across the frozen river, now wide and rushing, to find what roots they can and to bask in the warmth on the sunny side.
491 As our destination approaches, a crazy-looking cantilever bridge with no side rails crosses the river. Though fairly broad, it spans a high gulf, and it is only certain local ponies who are used to it, whom one can dare to take over. Fortunately it is not on the high road, and we may pass on in peace of mind.

000 The following march ascends a *rong*, which may be defined as a pass "which goes up, but not down," a narrow defile which opens out eventually on to a broad plain, whence the snow crests surrounding the long broad Indus valley in the

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neighbourhood of Leh can be seen. But there is a sudden descent from this plateau into the pretty and quaint little village of Basgo, which, with its peculiar rocks and ruins, *chorten* gates and *mani* walls, appeals to some people more than Lamayuru. In spring it is certainly a gem in the bare hills, for on the verge of the plain one suddenly comes upon it as a mass of apricot blossom. Above the Basgo-Nyemo valley neither the apricot nor the apple ripen properly, and the Leh supplies come mostly from there or from Saspola. The main road, which we must occasionally remind ourselves is the high road to Central Asia, leading through the village, passes many tumbledown *chortens* and *mani* walls, and, in one little recess on the left, one sees a fine example of a prayer-wheel made of a kerosene tin. On the outskirts, a row of prayer-wheels may be noted on a roof, waiting to be turned by the wind.

Over a sandy four-mile plain with a long *mani* wall extending half-way, we reach Nyemo, which looked only about twenty minutes ride from Bazgo, and are glad to enter the shade of its large *bagh*, and new bungalow. Here we remember camping once and taking our meal in the open by our tents, when a group of traders and their servants from the serai came to watch this interesting performance. Wearying of their unabashed stare, the Doctor Sahib at length rose, and addressed them in their own language. Pointing solemnly to the members indicated, he said, " I too am a man, I have eyes, ears, nose and mouth." A grin slowly spread over their faces as they caught the rebuke, and they stole away to bother us no more.

Now we have one more *rong* to ascend, then we soon come out on to a long terraced plain with a glorious view of our own Leh valley, the Indus spreading out into several silver streaks as it winds in and out of its broad acres. Grateful after the narrow gorges and long defiles is this open expanse, ringed by range after range of peaks pointing up to some 20,000 feet above sea level, whose snow can never melt. " My very own

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hills" says our small Helen, returning to Leh from England at the age of five. "Not Daddy's nor Mummy's, but my very own Leh Mountains, I was borned there." The terraced plains are very long, but at length we pass Spitug with its monastery-crowned hill on our right, and turning a corner see Leh away up in the foothills to our left. Such a short journey it looks in this clear, rarefied air, but it is a good five miles uphill before we enter the "Sta-rgo," horse-gate, of the little town we have come so far to see. Once more we view with delight its broad bazar, headed by the mosque, its row of poplars on one side, its castle high on a hill to the right and behind it the mountains, over which the Kardong Pass leads to the Karakorums and distant Yarkand.

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sparsely populated regions the people are so interesting, for the customs and ways of the unadulterated lamaism often differ considerably from those of the high road.

But let us now accompany the " padre " and the " doctor " in their trek from Ladak through Zankskar to Lahoul, and home *via* the Plains, thus traversing the whole of the Himalayan ranges from north to south, except the most northern, named the Karakoram Range. Leaving Leh we must first travel down the high road towards Kashmir for four days, that is along the Indus as far as the foot of the Lamayuru gorge. But let us remember the real name of this river is the " Senge Kabab," which means the one which " descends from the mouth of the Lion." The Tibetan names of the other rivers flowing from the region of the holy lake, Manosarowar, also indicate the true sources of their mighty waters, for does not the Sutlej or " Langchen kabab " descend from the mouth of the elephant, the Gogo is the " Mamzhi kabab " descending from the mouth of the peacock, while the Brahmaputra or " Damchog kabab " descends from the ear of the horse. In our Western ignorance we often garble these Tibetan names. Thus Darjeeling should be called " Dorjhe Ling " the " Country of the Thunderbolt," whilst Kalimpong is our distorted version of " Kalonpug," the cave of the prime minister. But let us get back to Lamayuru whence our road turns due south across that division of the Himalayas known as the "Ri-gyal" or mountain king range. Our first march takes us over a small pass to Wanla, and we must get used to Passes, as within a short period we have to cross fifteen, of which all but five are fairly high ones. Wanla is a pretty village and shows signs of having been an important one. Crowning the hill which dominates the village is a fine old ruin, and behind it a most peculiar built monastery, in many places resting on beams which look so insecure that they must give way on the slightest provocation. That they still hold is doubtless

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the wild red currants, now ripe, are wonderfully sweet to the taste. Then look up to right and left, and see the great slabs of cliffs, rising absolutely straight up from the river for over 1,000 feet; or, where they lean at all, the slope is inwards. Behind them are further tiers. Beyond, more cliffs, rising up to a similar height, look just like huge stalagmites, the formation of cliff and stalagmite together often suggesting one of nature's wonderful cathedrals with its many spires. [8r3] The Ladaki would people them with his *lhas* (spirits), which he certainly believes inhabit the stalagmites.

At last we turn a corner and our hair might turn grey too, for the natural road stops abruptly at one of these perpendicular rocks, on to which human hands have built a kind of rough scaffolding. On every little projection from this rock stones have been merely laid to the desired level, and not even cemented with mud. Jutting out from the rock are beams ; how they have been fixed in it is impossible to say, and resting on these more beams parallel with the cliff, and finally, to give a firm footing, slabs of rock. Why the whole crazy structure does not topple down is past comprehension. The doctor, wishing to be whole in order to render first-aid to the Padre should calamity over-take him, crosses over first, to feel peculiar sensations up and down his spine as he watches his colleague follow after him. Even the horses seem to realize their precarious position, and press close up to the cliff. Having safely traversed this piece of road, we [778] are not surprised to see a *chorten* and a *mani* wall, though still miles away from human habitation, for even the Ladaki must feel he needs a special safeguard for such a perilous passage.

• 361 From now our road descends until we reach Hanupata, where, although the onset of rain threatens to damp our welcome, the villagers make up for it in the heartiness of 622 their greeting. The *mGopa* or headman begs us to come and 574 rest in a "very nice room" of his house until our luggage

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Looking overhead into a clear azure sky we noticed two perfect and complete halos round the sun, and were informed by our servants that these signified either the crossing of the pass by some really great men, or the birth of a King.

Our camp had been pitched in a sandy plain surrounded by hills, through which a sluggish streamlet meandered, passing within a few yards of our tents. After a cup of tea, partaken of inside our temporary home as a cold wind was blowing outside, and a rest after the day's trek, we emerged for a walk, and to our surprise found that the whole plain had been converted into a lake. Literally within a space of three hours some giant must have dumped down this expanse of water, measuring about two hundred by one hundred and fifty yards. Next morning practically the whole had disappeared, and this seems to have happened daily for weeks. From here we passed over other plains where the same had occurred, till suddenly there lay before us a large green deep lake, from whose banks there rose a row of sandy mountains, behind which glorious snow-covered peaks stood sentinel. This large inland lake, called "The Panggong," runs far into Tibet, and is formed of brackish water. Seen in the morning light, it really is a fine sight.

Leaving it on our right, we reach the village of Pobrang. We may call it a village, for it can boast of two houses, and is certainly the last resort we could designate by such a name, until we get well into Tibet. Here we get our first glimpse of the Changpas or inhabitants of the Northern Plain. Rough and unkempt-looking, they are not altogether the sort of fellows one would like to meet alone by night, but their jolly smile would soon dispel all fears. Let us first describe them, as far as description is possible, and then glance at their dwellings. Their eyes are typically Mongolian, their noses large and firmly flattened. Long hair, which surely has not made the acquaintance of brush and comb for years, if ever, and which ends in a pigtail, surmounts faces

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CHAPTER XI

Domesticities

THE homes of Ladak, with the exception of those in its metropolis, Leh, and perhaps in the small town of Kargil, in Purig, are practically all village homes. In these desert uplands a village must centre round a stream, which brings its contribution from the glaciers of the great heights—ever in the background—to one of the smaller rivers, most of which eventually flow into the Indus. Where such a stream runs through a broadening valley, it is possible to lay out a series of terraced fields, which can be irrigated in turn by directing the supply into small artificial water-courses. Indeed the turns for sharing the precious water are often the subject of much quarrelling, hoarse shouting and invective, while some less fortunate inhabitants have sometimes to stay up all night to water their fields. Above the area of cultivated terraces, and at the foot of the actual hills, where it is too rocky and steep to plough and sow, the houses are clustered, approached by stony paths or tracks, and so built into the hillside that convenient pieces of rock are often used for wall or floor, and, where the rock overhangs, even for roof, while a little sunny platform will be enclosed with a rough wall to stable the animals by day in winter. The setting of roof and balcony is always arranged to catch the maximum sunshine, so that even in the low temperatures of winter, many domestic activities can be carried on out-of-doors. Crowning the chief hill of the village, and dominating its common life, as its position would suggest, is the monastery.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
●361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
[473] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
231 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS

13 Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

805 Venus, whilst Thursday, the day of the dagger, must belong to the god of War. Jupiter and Saturn, even in Ladak, claim Friday and Saturday. The tenth day being the birthday of Padma Sambhava, their patron saint, who conquered all their demons, is regarded as holy.

796 The date of the new year varies, indeed in their topsy-turvy country they have two New Year days, one being the [177] Ladaki, the other the Tibetan, both of which are celebrated, 173 although for practical purposes the latter is used. The genesis of the Ladaki New Year is interesting. King Jamyang desired to wage war against the neighbouring kingdom of Purig, but was informed by the horologist that his venture would not be successful unless deferred till after New Year's day. Not wishing to wait, and no doubt thinking the stupid old sun would not notice, he decided that the New Year 796 should begin two months earlier. His anniversary usually 788 falls some time in December. It is chiefly marked by evening illuminations, for every Buddhist house has a row of tiny lamps, small wicks in little receptacles of oil, outlining either window-sill, verandah, or roof, or all three, according to the state of the family exchequer, for kerosene is an expensive commodity by the time the former is carried up to Leh; and of mustard oil and that expressed from apricot kernels there ● [361] is very little. As most Tibetan villages are built in tiers up the hillside in order to leave the flatter terraces for cultivation, their rows of little lights give quite a fairyland effect. Dominating the whole in Leh is the fine old castle with its row of illuminations, while still higher are the twinkling lights round the crazy verandah of the "Tsemo" or small monastery, 796 perched on its high crags. The official New Year occurs later, and its chief feature is the celebration of *Dosmoche*, the great festival of the Scapegoat. This ceremony varies in different localities. In Leh a huge erection is made of sticks, tied together by twine, and looking like a vastly over-rigged mast. The component parts are prepared previously by the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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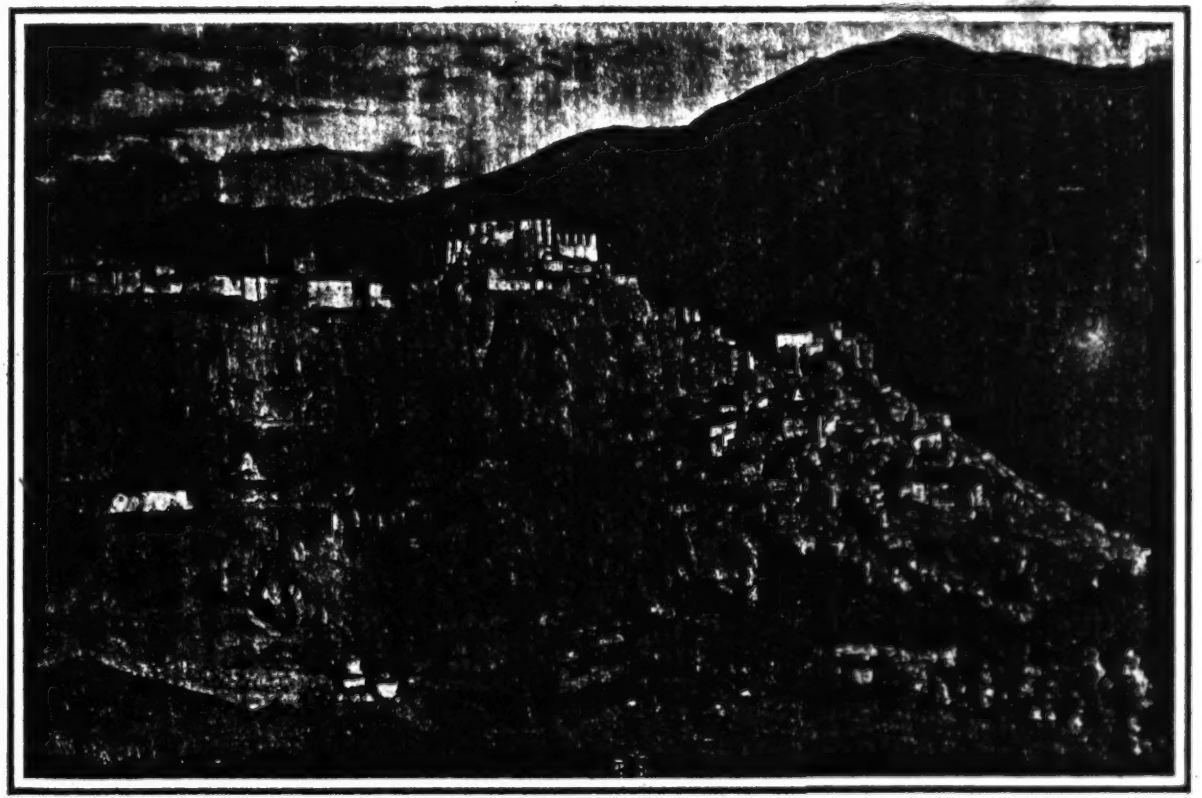

LAMAYURU.

"A fit capital for Hobgoblinland," shewing the monastery crowning the hill. Many chortens can be seen dotted about. The nuns' dwellings are below the hill in the foreground.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get 792
their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be 177
"the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, 792
and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty- [643]
three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill 792
suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting 361
which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, [795]
whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mountains, jutting out of a long range to the north of the valley. This is a Yellow-Cap monastery and therefore gives a cleaner impression than most of the red ones. Its present re-incarnation was the hero of a strange series of events during the time we lived in Leh.

It must have been in 1914 that we first made his acquaintance. We heard that the Trigtse *dGonpa* had been without a *Skushog* for years, but at last a deputation of lamas had visited Tibet, and declared that they must bring their *Skushog* back to take up his rule. The boy, who was then about nineteen, refused to come, and his father strongly advised the lamas not to take him, declaring they would only rue it. He was a head-strong youth with no ecclesiastical leanings at all, and had already, we were told, fought on the side of China against his own country. The lamas insisted however, and he was brought to Ladak and installed at Trigtse. He seems to have been anxious to make the acquaintance of the white man, and, thinking he must do in Rome as Rome does, he sent an envoy from Trigtse to Leh to seek out the correct clothing for his first call on the Sahibs. This man, having searched the bazar in vain, called at the Hospital and asked the Doctor Sahib where he could buy a solar topee. Now the doctor and his bride, when they first came to India, had been advised by ill-informed friends to be sure to purchase these topees at Trieste, their port of sail from Europe. Here, therefore, they invested in what proved to be most inappropriate policemen-like helmets, and a kindly sister in India at once saw to it that the Memsahib's was replaced by a more suitable one. Bringing the ugly old helmet to Leh, in case the better one broke, she little thought how august a wearer it would find, for the Doctor Sahib with sudden inspiration sent the man over to his house, where his wife unearthed the discarded topee for the servant to take to his master. She added a pair of speckled socks of her husband's of which she disapproved, an armful of picture papers, and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any time between the beginning of June and the middle of July. The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod, towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten* with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base, until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees, pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious, spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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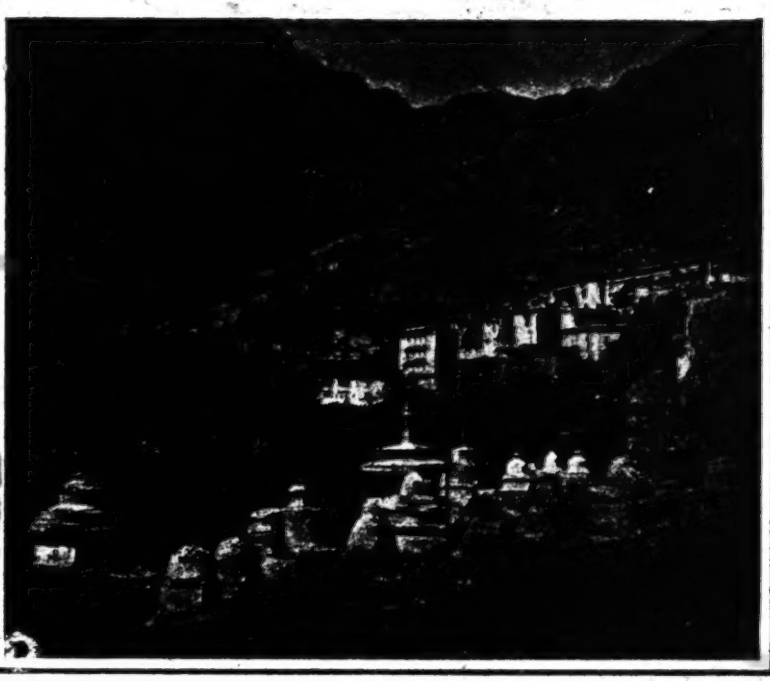

THE FESTIVAL AT HEMIS.

Showing the lamas of the monastic band blowing their long shawms. To their left is the *Skushog's* throne, and to their right a large prayer-wheel framed in a projection of masonry.

HEMIS DGONPA.

With *chortens* in the foreground. This is the monastery where the great festival is held annually. Hidden among the foothills, it has escaped pillage. Hence it is rich in treasure.

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595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
course, is run by the Lamaist church and
the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
● 361 The former kings of Tibet have taken
341 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
131 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
175 is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the *inhabited part of Lahul*, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti. 133

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh. 101 131

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet. 133

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation. 132 [241] [317]

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes. 133 137 [361]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

2. LADAK

a) *Preliminary Description*

I would like to begin with a brief description of Ladak and of Leh, the setting in which my research work was carried out, before accounting for the polyandry of this region.

1. *Environment*

Ladak (often spelt Ladak*h* in English, from the Hindi, whereas in Tibetan it is *La-Dwags*),[1] is really the most westerly part of the high plateau of Tibet, today included in Kashmir as a *tehsil* or administrative sub-division of that state (see Map 5). It is limited in the north by the Karakorum mountains and the Kara Tagh, which are westerly continuations of the Kwen Lun mountains of northern Tibet; in the south, by an artificial frontier drawn along the foot of the Zangskar and main Himalayan ranges; in the east, by an equally unnatural boundary with Tibet which runs from the Karatagh south-west of the Lingzi T'hang (plain) to the Pangkong Tso, and from there, south-east, to the upper Indus valley; in the west, by the other Kashmir sub-divisions of Zangskar and Baltistan.

The area covered by the sub-division is 82,000 square miles, of which only 47,762 are cultivated. It is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, the inhabited part ranging from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet, and even more in Rupchu, as we have just seen. It is traversed from the south-east to the north-west by the Indus river, and in the north-western part another large watercourse takes its source, the Shyok river, into which runs the Nubra. It is these valleys which constitute the fertile areas where habitation is possible, agriculture fed from river and glacier water being the mainstay of the village.

As in Lahul, and even more so here, because of the altitude everywhere, the climate is a cold one for the greater part of the year, only the brilliant tropical sun of India bringing some warmth during the day in the summer months. The rainfall is scanty but, during the winter, an appreciable amount of snow does fall. Temperatures in the inhabited parts of Ladak, that is at a mean altitude of 11,000 feet, vary between a maximum of 62° and a minimum of 23°, on average.

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

[1] Another Tibetan name for Ladak is *Mar-yul (dMar-yul)*, the "red country".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous 595
people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan household, 851
that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children, without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household 591
close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the mar- 595
ried children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-* 888
chen. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received [115]
us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I [601]
give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous house- 595
hold of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the 361
town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4

000 built on the declivity in horizontal lines one above the other, resemble the steps of an enormous altar, of which the temple of Tāranātha Lāma appears to constitute "the tabernacle." Huc says it contains 30,000 monks!

Kuku Khotun, or "blue city," near the northern bend of the Yellow river, is said by Huc to have formerly been the seat of Jetsun-Dam-pa. It contains five monasteries with about 20,000 Lāmas.

IN SIBERIA.

In south Siberia, amongst the Buriats, near the Baikal lake, a large monastery is on a lake thirty versts to the north-west of Selinginsk, and the presiding monk is called the K'an-po Paṇḍita, and claims to be a re-incarnate Lama.[1]

IN EUROPE.

The Kālmak Tartars on the Volga have only temporary, nomadic cloisters and temples, that is to say tents, in which they put up their holy pictures and images, and celebrate divine service. Such temporary cloisters are called "Churull," and consist of two different sorts of tents or *Jurten* (Oergö), the assembly hall of the clergy (Churullün-Oergö) and of the gods and image hall (*Schitäni* or *Burchanün-Oergö*). Some of these *Churulls* contain a hundred priests.

IN LADĀK AND LITTLE TIBET.

792 He-mi (or "Himis" of survey map). This fine old monastery is
● 361 situated about 11,000 feet above the sea-level, in a lateral ravine that joins the Indus, a day's journey (eighteen miles SSE.) above Leh, on the left bank of that river. From its secluded position this was one of the few monasteries which escaped destruction on the invasion of the country by the Dogras under Wazir Gerawar, who ruthlessly destroyed much Lāmaist property, so that more interesting and curious objects, books, dresses, masks, etc., are found at Himis than in any other monastery in Ladāk. It was built by sTag-stan-ras-ch'en, and its
[796] proper title is *Ch'aṅ-ch'ub sam-liṅ*.

The "Himis-fair," with its mask plays, as held on St. Padma-sambhava's day in summer, is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladāk.
[423] This Lāmasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladāk, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The Lāmas seem to be of the Ñiṅ-ma sect (according to Marx[2] they are Dug-pa, but he appears to use Dug-pa as synonymous with *Red cap* sect). To the same sect also belongs Ts'en-re and sTag-na. A fine photograph of this monastery is given by Mr. Knight,[3] and one of its courts is shown in his illustration of the mystic play reproduced at p. 528

792 "The principal entrance to the monastery is through a massive door,
346 from which runs a gently sloping and paved covered way leading into a

[1] Köppen, *op. cit.* [2] *Loc. cit.*, 133. [3] *Where Three Empires Meet.*

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4

courtyard about 30 × 40 yards square, having on the left hand a narrow verandah, in the centre of which stands the large prayer-cylinder above mentioned. The larger picturesque doorway, the entrance of one of the principal idol rooms, is in the extreme right hand corner, massive brass rings affixed to large *bosses* of brass are affixed on either door, the posts of which are of carved and coloured woodwork. The walls of the main building, with its bay windows of lattice work, enclose the courtyard along the right hand side, the roof is adorned with curious cylindrical pendant devices made of cloth called "Thook"; each surmounted with the Trisool or trident, painted black and red. On the side facing the main entrance the courtyard is open, leading away to the doorways of other idol rooms. In the centre space stand two high poles "Turpoche," from which hang yaks' tails and white cotton streamers printed in the Tibetan character. Innumerable small prayer-wheels are fitted into a hitch that runs round the sides of the courtyard. A few large trees throw their shade on the building, and above them tower the rugged cliffs of the little valley, topped here and there by *Lhatos*, small square-built altars, surmounted by bundles of brushwood and wild sheep horns, the thin sticks of the brushwood being covered with offerings of coloured flags printed with some *mantra* or other.[1]

LAMA-YUR-RU, elevation about 11,000 feet.[2] Said to be of the Dikung sect, as also the monasteries of *s*Gaṅ-noṅ and Shaṅ.

The name Yur-ru is said to be a corruption of Yuṅ-druṅ—the Svastika or mystic fly-foot cross.

THO-LING or Tho'ding (mt'o-gliṅ), on the upper Sutlej (in map of Turkistan it is Totlingmat, "mat" = "the lower," *i.e.* lower part of the city). It has a celebrated temple in three storeys, said by some to be modelled after that of Budha Gaya, and the *Sham-bha-la Lam-yig* contains a reference to this temple: "It had been built (A.D. 954, Schl.) by the Lo-tsa-wa Rin-zaṅ-po. The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down, but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the 'cycle of the collection of secrets.'" Adolph von Schlagintweit visited it.[3]

THEG-CH'OG is a sister-Lāmasery to He-mi, north of the Indus, in a valley which opens out opposite He-mi. Che-de, vulg. Chem-re (survey map: Chim-ray) is the name of the village to which the Lāmasery belongs.

KOR-DZOGS in Ladāk, 16,000 feet above the sea (*J.D.*, 11). Tik-za (Thik-se) is said (Marx) to be a Ge-*l*dan (?Ge-lug-pa) monastery, as also those of Saṅ-kar (a suburb of Leh), Likir and Ri-dzoṅ. It is pictured by Mr. Knight.[3]

WAM-LE (or "Han-le") in Rukshu, a fine Lāmasery figured by Cunningham. It is about 14,000 feet above sea-level. Its proper name is De-ch'en, and it was built by the founder of the one at *Hemi*.

MASHO is affiliated to Sa-*s*kya.

[1] GODWIN-AUSTEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 72. [2] MARX, *loc. cit.*; CUNNINGHAM, *et. al.*
[3] See Results of Scientific Mission.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

moisture-bearing air and even cloud-carrying wind to come through; here occur a greater number of slight showers during the summer than in the other valleys of Ladākh; but the difference is slight as compared with the great difference between the two sides of the Pass, and is most chiefly shown in winter, when the snow lies thicker in Drās than it does farther to the east. 132

The passage from Bāltal to Drās, a distance of 30 miles, generally done in two long days, is, in the summer, from June onwards, a not difficult road as things go in this country; it can be passed without difficulty by horses; nor does the first fall of snow (which may happen in the end of October or in November) commonly shut the road for them; but later on, usually by some time in December, the snow has become so thick that for horses to attempt the passage is rash, and only men so hardy and persevering as some of the tribes who live about Drās, or else those who get their aid, as I have done—aid that well deserves acknowledgment and thankfulness—can hope to get over in safety. Thus—although in the winter the Drās people, by watching their opportunity and waiting for some days when necessary, will keep up communication between Kashmir and Ladākh, and even carry merchandise over on their backs—the road is not thoroughly open again, ponies cannot attempt it, till the end of May. 487

The first village that we come to on the eastern side of the Pass, the highest in the valley, is Matāyan, which is 16 miles short of Drās; the next is Pān Drās,* five or six miles farther on; in the more open valley of Drās itself we find numerous hamlets scattered about. 361

Here, as in all the countries on this side of the main range, there is nothing grown without irrigation; at Drās, barley, and the variety of it called grim, are the grains mostly cultivated, for these can ripen in the time that the short summer allows. The villages 241

* Without attempting myself to give a derivation of the word "Pān" in the name of this village, I must protest against the connecting of it with the Persian word *Pāin*, lower. It will be enough if I point out that Pān Drās is higher up the valley and at a higher absolute level than Drās.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tib

137 The villages are bare of trees; only at one or two places a few willows and poplars are to be seen.

563 The inhabitants are of two, or even it may be said three, distinct races; Matāyan has Kashmīrī who have been settled there for some generations; the hamlets of Drās are partly Dārd and partly Baltī; of these people I propose to defer the account till later.

631 We have spoken of Drās as one of the valleys of Ladākh. The bounds of Ladākh may be taken differently, according as we consider it politically or from any other point of view. Drās has not the same inhabitants nor the same religion as the central part of Ladākh, being in these respects more allied to Baltistān; but in the time of the old rulers Drās was part of the kingdom of Ladākh, and we too will reckon it as coming under that name, although latterly, for administrative purposes, it has been put with Baltistān.

DRAS TO KARGIL: THREE MARCHES.

133x The distance from Dras to Kargil is 40 miles; it makes two good marches and a short one. The road continues down the same valley, over stony ground, along the foot of great rocky [361] mountains. Few villages are passed, and even those one goes near are not always visible from the path, for some are situated hundreds of feet above, on plateaus, the remains of denuded alluvial fans.

I have used this word "fan" before, and I shall in the future so often have to repeat it, applying it to a certain form of alluvial deposit, that it will be well here to explain the exact meaning attached to it.

When a side-stream debouches from a narrow gorge into a wide valley it is apt to deposit the material it carries down (washed from the mountains behind) in a fan-like form at the mouth of the ravine. This fan is part of a low cone, having its apex at the point of debou ment; the slope of it, which may be a few degrees, is very regular along each radius; the spread of it may vary from a few hundred yards to a few miles; the thickness of the

[On the side of the Dras valley]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

we do not in our route to Leh follow it so far, but turn round a corner to the right, and take to the valley of the Surū River (one of about equal volume with that from Drās), passing here round a rock that the road has very imperfectly been cut in, so that in places the roadway has had to be constructed of poles lodged in projections of the cliff; these are loosely covered with slabs. In a few miles after this we come to the collection of villages which bear the name of Kargil. 13 X

At Kargil is another of the wider openings between the hills; up to this spot the granitic hills had continued—bare, rocky, and lofty; but now on the east there appear lower hills of a softer material, alternating beds of clay and sandstone. Between the Pāskim stream and the Surū River is an alluvial expanse of some square miles, a succession of terraces of alluvial gravel. These plains are uncultivated; hitherto the work necessary for bringing the water of the Pāskim stream on to the lower wide terrace, though once or twice commenced, has not been successfully accomplished; but narrow strips not very high above the two streams are watered by small canals led from them. [312]

The villages here are about 8900 feet above the sea; partly from this somewhat less altitude as compared with Drās, and partly from the place being less in the way of the comparatively moist air that steals into this country through the Drās Pass, there is both less snow in winter and a greater force of sun and warmth in summer to help on vegetation. Here wheat flourishes as well as barley; but the great difference to be observed was the growth of many fruit-trees (chiefly mulberry and apricot), as well as willows and poplars, along the watercourses that are led over the terraced fields. Such villages as we now see are narrow strips of ground, artificially banked and levelled into still narrower terrace-fields, and backed by great rocks that with a favourable aspect reflect the heat and act almost like the walls of our fruit-gardens. They are richly carpeted with heavy-eared crops and crowded with fruit-trees, the bright greenness of whose leaves delights the eye of the traveller, who for many miles has wearied under the sameness of gazing at nothing but rock and loosened stones, and the shade 361 [132] 241

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 of whose boughs, as, after the glare that one is exposed to on a
241 summer day's march among these bare mountains, one lies by the stream that ripples beneath them, is itself a reward for the exposure and toil.

KARGIL TO KHALSI: FOUR MARCHES.

133x It will take us four marches to reach the valley of the Indus; for though at Kargil we are only 12 or 13 miles away from that river, yet the more favourable course is to avoid it for a few days' journey still, to keep in the valleys of certain tributary streams whose direction lies well in the line of our road. The ground we shall go through is occupied by the ramifications of a great range of mountains that lies between the main chain on the south-west and the Indus River on the north-east. This range is irregular both in course and height; from some directions it is to be traversed only by very high Passes, but, as we are going, we shall cross two ridges that belong to it by comparatively low gaps quite easy to surmount.

133x From Kargil we first go over the stony alluvial plain, which is bare of vegetation, and then, after five miles, descend to the village of Pāskim, a large village watered by cuts from the stream called Wakha; these watercourses are bordered by many willows
[712] and some tall poplar-trees. Nearly a thousand feet above the village, on the edge of a cliff, are some remains of a fort that used to be held by a Rajah tributary to Ladākh; an account of the taking of this place by the Dogrās is given in General Cunningham's book. The valley now narrows, and for 12 miles the road takes us up between dark rocky hills whose near slopes, those within sight, are not lofty. The halting-place is Shargol, 20 miles from Kargil. A more even division of the distance would have been to make Pāskim the stage instead of Kargil, but this latter is the more usual rest-place, as it is now the head-quarters of the district, and besides it is often convenient to make marches of different lengths, for a quite short one will give the camp a long leisure for rest, or for repairs, or other business.

000 Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monas-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monastery*; it is a small monastery, with but a few Lāmās, attached to the one at Mulbek farther on. We thus see that we are reaching the country of the Buddhists; the people of Shargol are nearly all of that faith, though for some way farther there is a mixture of Muhammadan Baltis. 792 361 563

In the next march we pass Mulbek (also called Mulbe) and see the monastery, one of some size, and by the road-side a large idol carved in the rock, and then we rise to the easy Pass called Nāmika Lā,† 13,000 feet, a depression in soft (shaly) rock between mountains of limestone. A very easy descent brings us down to a stream that flows direct to the Indus; turning to the right we follow the valley of this stream upwards, and in a few miles we come to Kharbū, a Bhot ‡ village, which makes another stage. 133 792 361

Thence we continue up the same valley: the mountains on the south of us are high mountains of limestone, which rock makes the chief part of the very lofty ridge beyond. Keeping on towards the east, we rise to a Pass of very similar character to the last, called Fotū Lā; it is 13,400 feet high; the ground is smooth, being composed of shale, but close by, on the south, are the rocky limestone hills; a gentle slope for 2000 feet down a valley that is comparatively open, brings us to Lāmāyūrū. 133

At Lāmāyūrū we are well among the Buddhists or Bhots. Here is a large monastery built on the summit of cliffs which are partly rocky and partly of alluvial matter; some portions of it are very curiously built on timbers placed across chasms, or joining ridges or pinnacles of the hardened alluvial gravel. The cultivated ground is a narrow strip lying for some length above the sloping valley-bottom. As we continue down, we join the valley of a large stream that flows from Wānla; this is extremely narrow; the path has with difficulty been made along the slope of the hill that rises immediately from the stream; there are cliffs to be passed that have necessitated wooden galleries for the road to go on; this has, however, been constructed with a good deal of skill, and by the [792] 491 133

* The word for monastery in the Ladākhī language is *Gonpā*.

† In the Ladākhī language *Lā* means Pass.

‡ The word *Bhot* means Buddhist, or perhaps, more particularly, Buddhist Tibetan. The Ladākhis are called Bhot both by themselves and their neighbours.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A1v

491 plan of crossing the stream three times, by wooden bridges, we
133* pass the difficulties and find our way to the valley of the Indus itself, and, after another mile or two and after crossing the river, to the village and halting-place of Khalsi.

KHALSI TO LEH: FOUR MARCHES.

491 The Indus is spanned by a wooden bridge where rocks narrow
712 it up to a width of 60 or 70 feet only. The bridge is com-
361 manded by a small fort on the higher bank; the path from the
241 bridge, indeed, is led along the covered way half round the fort. The village of Khalsi is on a plateau about 250 feet above the river; there is here a long strip of cultivated land watered from a side-stream; crops and fruit-trees grow on it well, and even luxuriantly; walnuts and apricots ripen, though the height above the sea is something over 10,000 feet.

133* From this place upwards, to near Leh, the Indus Valley has one character. The river flows either between rocks or against alluvial cliffs, according to whether the mountain spurs reach the water or strips of alluvium-terrace intervene. The hills that are
[361] seen are not very lofty; all are bare and extremely dry. The
[241] only green visible is on those spots where the streams from the mountains on the north-east are brought on to the alluvial plateaus and enable the ground to be tilled; there villages have been formed, and we see the verdure of corn-fields and of orchards, or rather of the lines of fruit-trees that have been planted along the watercourses that skirt the little fields.

487 For the next three days' journey there are two routes that may be taken; they unite again one march short of Leh. The first is along the valley, keeping as near to the river as the ground will allow; the other is a higher route along a series of plateaus behind the former; it is this latter that we choose; the valley itself will be again spoken of in a later chapter.

133* After continuing for a few miles in the immediate Indus Valley,
361 we turn up a ravine to the left, and, rising some 1500 feet, we get on to a high plain between an outer, low, range of hills and the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/4

inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, 135
originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down 361
to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsí.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove 137
of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there 778
grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 16 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or 712
tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards 175
the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly 792
ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support 361
the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tarūtse, which we made the halting-place, was reached.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133 The next day a few miles of sloping plain, similar to what we had crossed so much of, brought us to Bāzgo.

It must be understood that in these marches from Khalsī we were all along edging the lofty granite range that for such a long distance divides the valley of the Indus from that of its great tributary the Shāyok. For the greater part of the way spurs of it only were visible—rugged and bare, brown and yellow, hills, whose surface was much-disjointed rock; but sometimes the eye reached up the valleys to the lofty central ridge, still of the same character, or else, perhaps, touched with the white of some recent snowfall.

361 Bāzgo is a large village; as one looks down on it from the edge of the plateau it has a picturesque and strange look on account of the position of some of its buildings, as of the monastery, on the towering rock.

[487] The two routes that had separated near Khalsī have again met here at Bāzgo. From that place the one road traverses a 133 stony plain not very much above the level of the Indus. Nimū 361 is passed, a large village at the inner edge of this plain. Again there intervenes a low line of hills between the Indus and the great range; but here there is no road at all by the river side, so steep is the cliff; we have therefore once more to leave the near neighbourhood of the river and go over more stony plateaus between the outer, low, line of hill and the high mountains. A rise of about 1200 feet up a narrow ravine, cut in the alluvial deposits, brought us to the plateau level, and we then found ourselves in the same desolate kind of country we had passed through before coming to Bāzgo. There was the stony plain, made up of granite detritus, and bounded by rocky mountains; on neither, for miles, was anything green visible; the near mountains—spurs jagged by weathering—were of many shades and tints of brown, the variations occurring sometimes in veins, sometimes in masses, and sometimes being due to a talus of blocks fallen from one particular coloured cliff; in the higher parts the hills were more of one sober brown colour, and of more regular lines of ridge.

Up one of the stony ravines is the village of Umla; but

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

it cannot be seen from the road. On our way we pass Thārū, a collection of eight or ten houses, with corresponding cultivation; then we cross the last of the plateaus, from which descending we reach a little garden planted by the roadside for the shelter of travellers, which is close to the village of Phayāng. Thence a few miles by the side of the river brought us to Pitak, the last village before Leh. 133x 361 [485]

All the cultivated spots hitherto met with in Ladākh were watered from side-streams—streams coming almost immediately from the mountains with a more or less steep fall. But at Pitak the land is irrigated from the Indus itself. For we are here at the beginning of a part of the Indus Valley, where the bottom is wide and is occupied by a flat of alluvium, over which the waters of the main stream can be brought. 312 138x

At Pitak there is an isolated rock a few hundred feet high, on which all the older buildings are situated. The monastery is on the summit at one end, and there is a fortification—of two towers connected by a double wall—that must have helped to make the rock a strong position. Formerly all the houses were, for protection's sake, built thus high up; this was very commonly the case throughout Ladākh, only in the last generation or so have the people taken generally to building in the plain. 361 792 712

We are now but five miles from Leh, the capital; it is indeed within sight from the summit of the rock; let us from here take a general view of the geographical position of that town.

The river is 10,500 feet above the sea; it is flowing with a gentle current in a flat, the surface of which is in great part of pebbles only, but here and there it is of such a fine alluvial soil that the people have been able to bring it under cultivation. On the south-west side this low flat is bordered by a stretch of sloping gravelly ground, consisting of a number of coalesced fans that have been deposited by streams having their origin in the mountains on the south—mountains which rise up to 20,000 feet. On the north-east of the river there continues the same great granite ridge, at the foot of which we have been passing; the summit of it is about 12 miles from the Indus, as the crow flies. 133x

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

133 The line of ridge is from 18,000 to 19,000 feet high. The Passes through it are 17,000 and 18,000 feet.

361 133 A valley, coming down from this great central ridge, bounded close by rocky branch-ridges, at the distance of four miles from the river widens, the spurs of the hills both becoming lower and retreating aside, insomuch that there occurs an open space of the form nearly of an equilateral triangle, the side of it five miles in length. The town of Leh is at the apex of this triangle, where the valley begins to widen. Rocky hill-spurs form the sides, the river Indus the base, Pitak being at one end of the base.

This triangular space is not a level; it has a steady, gentle slope up from the river. Advancing from Pitak we rise, in the five or six miles, about 1000 feet, the altitude of the town of Leh [311] being 11,500 feet. The lower part of the slope (of which the whole consists of a gravelly alluvial deposit) is dry and stony, but as we go on we come within the tract that the side-stream has been able to supply with irrigating water, and find a space of several hundred acres covered with crops.

361 Here, by the farther edge of this cultivated space, on one of the branch spurs from the hills and spreading on to the plain in front of it, is built the town of Leh. The most conspicuous object in it is the palace of the former rulers, an edifice boldly built up to the height of eight or ten stories from the shoulder of the spur; a slight in-leaning of the massive walls gives it a great [792] look of strength. Higher up, on the same rocky ridge, are the [712] monastery and the towers of an old fortification. Below, in front of the palace, houses cover the slope. On the flat beneath is the newer part of the town. Entering from the direction of Kashmir we pass through a small gateway and find ourselves in a long, wide, and straight bazaar, the houses regularly built and uniformly whitewashed. This has been erected since the Dogrās took the country, and is now the place that is most frequented. At the farther end of this bazaar one passes into the old part of the town, among houses separated by narrow winding passages. As one rises on to the slope of the hill one meets with a few houses of a

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
West Tibetans AJ4

higher class; these were built by the Kahlons, or ministers of the former sovereigns, and now for the most part belong to their representatives. 361

Outside the city[1] are several gardens, or what are here so called; in truth they are plantations of willow and of poplar. These plantations are extremely useful, both for their grateful [313] shade—which is the first thing a traveller will look for in these parts in summer time—and as a reserve of building-timber, a thing in Ladākh extremely scarce. On the east of the town [311] the mountains are near and there is no cultivation; but to the west, the whole width of the valley, about three-quarters of a mile, is of cultivated land, descending in terraces, with small hamlets scattered over it.

1 [illegible]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

576 to receive me. Besides these, a band of eight red-gowned monks stood on a rocky spur above and gave a loud welcome with their [534] music. Two played on flageolets; two bore cymbals; other two had drums mounted on standards and held up on high, where long curved iron drum-sticks reached to beat them; and the last pair played on long horns, which, too heavy to be held in hand, rested their curved ends on the ground. With this power of sound the eight made wild music among the mountains; the horns droned in a way melancholy and touching, but this strain was relieved by the clashing of the cymbals and the bold sound of the drums, while, through all, the flageolets brought out a more definite melody. At Leh itself all the population came out either to meet us or to see the crowd that met us. The hundreds of Ladākhīs —for numbers that are reckoned by hundreds make an unusual concourse in these thinly-peopled parts—the men of the numerous other races that collect at Leh, the eagerness of all to see me, and their respectful salutations of welcome, made, with the scene of the strange-looking town, with its edging of green gardens and cornfields, surrounded close by rocky hills, with lofty mountains in the farther view around, in the brightness and freshness of summer morn, a scene which I recall with pleasure—with pleasure more unmixed than that which a like assemblage gave me on the later day when with regret I said farewell to Leh, to the Ladākhīs I had for a time ruled over, and to the men I had worked with—a lowering winter's day that not in vain threatened snow—as they accompanied me for some miles down the road on my first march towards home.

MONASTERIES AND LĀMAS.

792 In nearly every village, in some parts of Ladākh in every 361 village, is a monastery of greater or less importance; it sometimes holds but one or two Lāmās or monks, sometimes it is the home of hundreds. The monasteries are the most conspicuous buildings in the country; they are always somewhat apart from the houses of the village; they are often situated in high places difficult of access—on a spur of the mountain or on an isolated

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ#

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer-cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides. These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm—a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns. It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodically assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images. No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

792 361 [788] [778] [782] 562 778

* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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133

Last is the watershed range itself. This makes another region of glaciers. Its summits for a long distance seem to average 20,000 and 21,000 feet, and the Passes through it are at very high levels. As we trace it north-westward we come to the Nun Kun Peaks, at which, coming from the other direction, the account of the range in Chapter IX. ended off.

We now enter on the more particular description of successive districts.

CENTRAL LADĀKH.

By this name is denoted about 100 miles in length of the Indus Valley, from the borders of Baltistān up to 30 miles or so beyond Leh. I have followed the valley upwards from the village of Sanācha, a place within Baltistān, from which, nevertheless, we will begin the description.*

In this part the bottom of the Indus Valley is a narrow rock-bound gorge. The river flows in it with an eddied but not uneven surface; its depth must be great to allow the body of water to pass along such a narrow channel, for I found that the width was in one place 65 feet and in another but 46 feet. The walls of this gorge are nearly vertical; above them rise other steep but more broken cliffs; above these the ground retires, but there are greater heights behind. All this is of granitic rock. Over this rocky ground the path is a difficult one; a laden horse cannot go along it, and with difficulty can an unladen pony be led. It is the same on both sides of the river. This difficulty of the road isolates the villages of this part of the valley, cuts them off greatly from intercourse, and it prevents the traffic between Ladākh and Baltistān from taking this route, which at first one would think to be its natural one. This, as it is the lowest, is also the warmest part of Ladākh. The level of the river is about 9000 feet, but even at this height the valley in summer time is hot. The unclouded sun heats the bare rocks that slope to meet its rays; the traveller, as he goes along the rugged way, exposes one side of him to the sun's direct rays and the other to a strong radiation

[492]
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133

* Sanācha is on the left bank of the Indus; it bears N.E. by E. from Kargil.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV: Kashmir
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from the ground, while the pent-up air itself becomes hot and gives no relief. But after a toilsome drag for some miles over this waste of heated rocks, he reaches one of the little villages that are made at the mouths of side ravines, if haply there can be found a few acres of flat ground for cultivation. These villages are to the traveller a most welcome and lovely sight; a space covered with crops of a brilliant green overshadowed by luxuriant fruit-trees in the midst of the barest rocks gives a relief equally to the eye, the mind, and the body of the wayfarer. 361 133X

Garkon is the one of these villages most curious in its situation. It consists of very narrow strips or ledges of flat watered ground, between separate stages of a great river-cliff, so that on one side there is a precipitous fall of ground while on the other vertical cliffs overhanging the narrow fields, which, receiving their radiated heat, quickly ripen the crops; even at night the place does not lose its heat. Water is led over the fields from a ravine that comes from the high mountains. Apple-trees, apricot, mulberry, and the vine are cultivated, in company with the cereals, on the narrow space, and flourish well with the combination of moisture and warmth. In going from Garkon to the next village, called *Dāh*, we have passed from Baltistān into Ladākh. The Baltīs were in former times apt to make raids upon their more peaceable neighbours. Dāh, as the frontier village, protected itself by the agglomeration of its houses together to form a sort of fort; on two sides protection is given by a steep cliff, on two by a wall, with a good tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure. Now that all are under one government, and perfect peace has ensued, the dwellings are scattered; but still in winter time the people from the outlying houses and hamlets join to live within the enclosure, for warmth and for mirth's sake. Within its walls the ground is almost all roofed over, hardly any space is left for alleys, passages from one house to another are led beneath the rooms of a third; the whole is a strange crowding together of hovels. In this part side valleys of various degrees of importance reach down to the Indus; some are mere rocky ravines, others hold hamlets and villages. I visited the *Hanū*

[312] [241] [721] [221]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

133* Valley. At the mouth of it the Hanū stream comes out of a
361 narrow, deep, impassable gorge; one turns this by rising over the shoulder of one of the mountains whose spurs compose its walls; passing up the valley, still between bare mountains, we come to a strip of cultivated ground; then we come to another narrow rocky part, and then again to where a strip of cultivation occupies the bottom of the valley; this space between the mountains becomes wider, and the level is occupied by the village of Yogma Hanū or Lower Hanū. On the way, fruit-trees and willows and a few poplars had been passed, but at the higher level now reached hardly any trees were growing. Goma Hanū, or Upper Hanū, lies a few miles above; beyond that the road leads to a Pass over the Indus and Shāyok watershed to the tract
[487] called Chorbat. It will be seen from the Political Map that this is the way of the route from Skārdū to Ladākh, the difficulty of the valley-road, in the parts we have lately come from, thus deflecting the traffic to go over a Pass of 16,700 feet. The Chorbat Pass is the boundary of Baltistān in this direction; by this road also used to come Baltī raiders, as the remains of a fort at Yogma Hanū prove, which the people of the valley had put up against them.

133* But we must return to the Indus Valley. One or two incidents of physical geography respecting this part of it may here be described. The lowest part, the bottom, of the valley has been spoken of as a narrow gorge. The gorge, not all along, but in places, is 600 feet deep; that is to say that the bottom part of the section of the Indus Valley is, for that height, specially narrow and steep; it seems as if, in the gradual cutting of the valley, this deepest part had been worked down under somewhat different conditions from the rest. I connect with this the narrowness of many of the side ravines where they join the main valley; the same causal difference (as, it may be, in the rate of downward denudation) affected the side valleys as well as the main valley. Thus the valley of the stream that comes down from Tsirmo, at the last, before reaching the Indus, closes to a narrow chasm with vertical walls of granite; this is quite impassable by man. We saw also

*[Cf category 116, End Map VI -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 133 valley. Above the cultivation the ravines lead up into rocky wastes in the heart of the hills; those on the right bank lead to the watershed of the Leh Range; sometimes they lead to a more or less frequented Pass, as did the Hanū Valley, sometimes to a rocky ridge that man never reaches, for the reason that there is nothing to draw him, sometimes to ground so precipitous and impracticable that mortal foot cannot tread it.

Next above the part of the Indus we have been speaking of we come to a village mentioned two chapters back, Khalsī, the place where the road from Kashmir reaches the Indus Valley. But the route we followed in the march did not altogether keep to the valley, which now therefore remains to be spoken of. Along the valley is a succession of villages, but not a quick succession; two on a day's march are as many as one meets. Nurla and Sāspūl are the most important of those we pass; they both are near the river. Of the hills that here bound the valley, those on the right bank are not lofty; as was explained in Chapter IX., a range of secondary height intervenes before the great granite mountains are reached. On the left bank the prominent mountains are 2000 feet or so high above the valley; these are but the ends of spurs from a range that rises 6000 or 7000 feet higher, namely, to 18,000 or 19,000 feet above the sea.

Above Sāspūl the river in places flows where the road cannot follow it, in narrow inaccessible gorges. The Zānskār River, of great volume, here joins the Indus. As we approach Pitak we rise to the more open part of the valley.

132 I have described what kind of travelling it is to traverse the valley below Khalsī in summer time—toiling on foot along rough stony tracks or up rocky slopes under a powerful sun. This present part I have gone over both in summer and in winter; and, in spite of a severity of cold in the air far greater than I have ever experienced in England, I have been more comfortable on the winter journey. It was in January; the snow was falling lightly, keeping, as it fell, dry and powdery; the river was frozen in more than one place, so that we could cross, and choose which bank to go along, while near Nurla we were able to ride for a mile

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A4

132X narrow ridges of granite, which lessen both in height and in width from far back, leaving between them space for alluvial deposits—sloping stony tracts—of the sort which I have called "confined fans." In colour this range contrasts with the opposite one, being of far less sombre tints; drab and yellow and light brown are the colours shown by this granite, of which sometimes the jointed rock itself, and sometimes the loosened material disintegrated from it, is shown; on both ranges the bare surface, untouched by vegetation, is exposed. At places the river itself, at places the flat alluvium, ends the stony ground and touches the last points of the spurs; these are in some cases crowned with the white buildings of a monastery; at Tagnā (or Staknā) are two isolated rocks, on the summit of one of which is built a monastery; between the two, in a rather narrow passage, flows the Indus.

361 133X

The alluvial flat is of clayey soil, irrigated by watercourses from the Indus itself. South of Leh it is occupied by the village of Chushot, which, being near half a mile wide and some miles long, is the largest cultivated tract in Ladākh; it has over 200 houses, not concentrated into a village, but scattered over the plain singly, or in twos and threes, at intervals of a hundred yards or so. Chushot has not the picturesqueness of the villages which we have looked at lower down the valley; here fruit-trees do not grow, on account of the severity of the wind that blows along the length of the flat; still we see some poplars and small willows, and it is probable that plantations arranged in belts—one protecting the other—would flourish. The people of Chushot are Baltīs, Bhots, and Arghauns, the first predominating. As we go up the valley the cultivation of the alluvi flat ends, and the surface of it is of rounded pebbles. Farther on, a little above Tagnā, the river is bounded by high banks of alluvial matter, mostly belonging to fans that have been formed from the sides. Here, too, the fall begins to be greater, and the valley, narrowing, gets again the character it possessed lower down by Sāspūl and Khalsī. Besides the cultivation on the flat there are some villages in the tributary valleys on both sides, as Stok, Shān, Sabū, and Chimre; these are watered by the side-

[311] [563]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

streams. In one of these tributary valleys is situated Himis monastery, the most noted one in Ladākh, which has 200 Lāmās. The monastery is a large mass of buildings placed just beneath a cliff at a bend of the narrow ravine, and in that way well sheltered. The wide window spaces and open galleries, and the decorations of drapery and waving flags make it look quite gay. Close by is a grove of large spreading poplars, which must be of the oldest trees in the country.

The last point I have been to in this section of the Indus Valley is Upshī, a small village at the mouth of the Gyā ravine. At that place we will count Central Ladākh to end. Above it is a narrow portion of the valley, which is called *Rong*, where the river flows between rocks, along which it is difficult to find a practicable path; still, there also villages occur in the side valleys, and a small population finds cultivable just enough of land to get a subsistence from.

ROAD FROM LEH TO NUBRĀ.

In going from Central Ladākh to Nubrā (which lies along the banks of the Shāyok River and of a tributary to it) we must of necessity cross the Leh Range by one of two or three Passes. From Leh a direct road leads up along the stream whose waters irrigate the lands about that town. The Pass to make for is the Khardong Pass, which is 17,500 feet high; there is, therefore, an ascent to be made of 6000 feet. Not easily can this be done in one day; a half-way halt is almost always made, either at the last hamlet or farther up in the uninhabited part of the valley. The path is in places difficult for laden ponies; they are generally relieved of their loads and are replaced for the Pass by yāks. The way leads for some miles up the bottom of the valley, rising at an angle of 5°; then it continues in a branch valley of steeper gradient, till it reaches the watershed, which at this spot is a narrow rocky ridge.

A better idea of the form of the mountain range we are now going over than can be given in words will be got from the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

alluvial flats of the two rivers and the lofty mountains bounding them, with ravines, seldom habitable, that lead down from the heart of those mountains.* 133x

At the junction of the rivers the valley of the Shāyok is some four miles wide; that of the Nubrā River is from two to three. The flat is in part sandy and shingly, in part occupied by jungle-patches of a low growth of tamarisk and myricaria, or umbū. The line at the edge of the plain is sharply drawn; the mountains rise from it suddenly in rocky masses, and they rise to a great height. Sometimes one sees only the ends of spurs, but even these may tower above one with 7000 or 8000 feet of bare rock; sometimes the eye reaches to lofty yet massive peaks, may be rocky, may be snow-capped, of much greater height, with great spurs and buttresses coming forward from beneath them. The stupendous size and the suddenness of the mountains give a character of grandeur to the scenery of this district. [32]

On looking at the two valleys which make the habitable part of it I find a cheerfulness in the general aspect of Nubrā beyond that of the rest of Ladākh. This perhaps may be put down to the fact of the valley being so open that the eye reaches from village to village, and is able at the same time to overlook several green expanses of low jungle and of pasture. But it must not be thought that the cultivation bears any large proportion to the whole area. The villages occur each at the mouth of a ravine on the undenuded fan that projects from it; still it is only a small part of the surface of the fan that is tilled; much of the ground is impracticable for the plough on account of the masses of rock that have been strewn over the surface by the stream-floods. The space occupied by the village is green and pretty. Groups of fruit-trees and many poplars and willows 361 133x

* The following names are given to different parts of Nubrā: *Gyen* is that part of the Shāyok Valley which lies above the junction of the Shāyok and Nubrā rivers so far as habitation extends. *Shāmā* is the part of the Shāyok Valley from the junction downward to the boundary of Baltistān. *Tsurkā* is the valley of the Nubrā River below Panimik, on the right bank. *Farkā* is the valley of the Nubrā River below Panimik, on the left bank. *Yarmā* is the valley of the Nubrā River above Panimik.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a
133+ better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on
[246] their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

132 For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same
231 as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night
[246] are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty
241 pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place
563 for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the
142 head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans AJ4

I will now take the reader to a few places in Nubrā, in each of which something will be found that is worthy of note. At the village of *Chamshan* I got evidence of a flood, not a great one, the action of which illustrates the way in which some of the substance of the fans accumulates. The fans in Nubrā are uncommonly perfect in form, that is, complete, undenuded. Chamshan is on a fan in front of a ravine that leads up to some of the highest mountains, which feed glaciers that occupy the head of the ravine. I have not gone up this side valley. I was told that it contained three lakes; whether these are confined by the glacier or by masses of débris I do not know. In May or June of the year 1866 one of these lakes forced its barrier, and a flood came down the ravine and over part of the fan. The flood lasted three or four days (while the lake was emptying). It came over some ten acres of cultivated land, which it spoilt by depositing on it a layer of coarse rather sharp sand. All villages on fans are subject to such floods as this *if no deep channel has been cut by the waters for themselves;* that is to say, there cannot be complete safety from such rushes of water and sediment, unless, since the accumulation of the fan, the stream has become a denuding one, and has worn down a channel for itself, from the mouth of the ravine, so deep that no possible flood can bring the waters over the bank. *Charāsa*, on the right bank of the Nubrā River, is about the most conspicuous village in the district. At one time it was also the most important, for here lived the hereditary rulers of Nubrā, who ruled under the Gyalpo or Raja of Ladākh.* The houses of Charāsa are built on an isolated steep-faced rock, which stands up away from the mountain side; it is some 200 yards long and 150 feet high. All the upper part of it is covered with white buildings; the loftiest of them is the monastery; they were formerly defended by a wall — of which parts still remain — running along the rock at varying levels, and flanked by towers. With the

* To reach Charāsa one fords the Nubrā River, which there flows in numerous channels. At the end of September 2½ feet was the greatest depth found in them. A little later we forded the Shāyok itself and found there the same maximum depth.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1. Kashmir
w. Tibetans AV4

221 With the exception of the Lāmās, the people of the village live on the
361 rock in winter only; for summer they have other dwellings
[792] scattered about by their fields, but for warmth in winter they crowd to their old fortress. Here the buildings are crowded so close together, the space occupied is so completely roofed over—pathways and all—that when filled with human beings and with cattle it must indeed be warm.

133x A great part of the rock on which Charāsa is built * is rounded, smoothed, and even polished. It is a *roche moutonnée.* On the smoothed surface there are in several places very distinct grooves or scratches which most clearly denote the movement over it of a glacier. The grooves are to be seen close down to the level of the alluvium and up for more than 100 feet above it. The very summit cannot be examined on account of the buildings; but I have no doubt that the ice of the glacier completely covered it and extended to an enormous thickness above, and at the same time occupied the whole width of the valley, a width, which both here and for some distance up, is about 2½ miles. There is a slight difference in the direction of the scratches on the two sides of the rock. On the east side they are exactly with the run of the valley, namely, about north-north-west, while on the west they run north and south; this shows that the stream of the ice of the glacier separated, and part of it deviated a little, on coming to the obstruction of the rock.

This is by no means the only instance of ice-marks in the valley. A projecting rock about two miles above Charāsa is very distinctly polished and striated. Two rocks projecting out of the fan by the village of Kūrī have the form that denotes ice-moulding; and behind that village we see the same phenomenon extending for 700 feet up the hill-side. On the left bank, at Panimik, are low isolated hills, about 200 feet high, surrounded by the alluvium; they are of a dark metamorphosed slate; everywhere, except at the broken and weathered parts, are they ice-moulded and striated. In one of these little hills is

* The rock is a hardened, altered, shale, graduating into a crystalline rock, which also I take to be metamorphic.
[i.e, Charāsa, on the Nubra River.--ANALYST]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

face of the mound. The place is dilapidated; ruin and decay are shown both in the substance of the hill—the waste of mountains—and in the human habitations that were built on it. Such instances of moraines could be multiplied. Not far from Padam is a conspicuous group of very large erratic blocks. Just south-west of Thonde, nine miles from Padam, where the valley is about a mile and a half wide, there stretches right across it—except for the channel that the river flows in—an irregular moundy tract of stones and sand. This is clearly a moraine; its width, measured in the direction of the run of the valley, is half a mile; it contains pieces of gneiss, which must have come from the mountains south-west of Padam. 133

The climate of Zānskār is severe. The spring, summer, and autumn together last little more than five months, after which snow falls, and at once winter closes in, confining the people and the cattle within doors for the space of half the year. A much greater depth of snow falls here than in Central Ladākh. In the spring it causes avalanches from the mountains to such an extent that in the Nunak Valley the people cannot till a month has passed get about from village to village for fear of them. To clear the snow from the fields in time for the sowing requires special contrivance. During summer and autumn the people collect earth and store it in their houses in considerable quantities. In the spring, when they deem the time of snow-fall to be over, and the snow in the fields is partly melted and has begun to cake with the sun's rays, they spread the earth, which absorbs warmth from the sun, and melts the snow in contact with it. Sometimes snow falls afresh, and the labour is lost and has to be repeated. In 1869 there were three or four layers of earth and snow thus accumulated before the work was done. The villages of Zānskār are not so comfortable nor so picturesque in look as those we have seen in other parts of Ladākh. Trees are extremely rare; the continuance of snow and the force of the wind are much against their growth; there are a few plantations of poplars grown for the sake of timber, and lately the authorities have increased their number, but the trees produce nothing more than slender poles. 132 361 313

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AV4

CHAPTER XIV.

LADĀKH: THE HIGHER VALLEYS.

RUPSHU — RUPSHU AS INHABITED — RARITY OF THE AIR — SALT LAKE VALLEY — TSOMORĪRĪ — TSO KYĀGHAR — INDUS VALLEY — PĀNGKONG LAKE — CHĀNGCHENMO.

WE now come to that lofty part of Ladākh where the lowest ground touched is as much as 13,500 feet above the sea, where there are long flat valleys at 15,000 feet, while the mountains that include these keep to the same height of 20,000 and 21,000 feet, which we have seen to be so general over a great part of the country. 133

RUPSHU.

The first that shall be described of these high tracts is that called Rupshu or Rukshu. It is a district at the south-east end of Ladākh, lying between the Watershed Range and the Indus. From the side of Leh it is approached by leaving the Indus at Upshī and following up the narrow ravine which there joins in from the south. In this, for many miles, the road continues gradually rising; it is a good road for this country, having now been made fit for the passage of camels in case the owners of any from Yārkand should bring them this way towards the Panjāb. The ravine is narrow; it is immediately bounded by no lofty mountains, but by bare slopes of earth and rock, composed of shale and sandstone. After 13 or 14 miles we come to Gyā, the last village in this direction, a place elevated 13,500 feet above the sea; it is a village of some forty houses, with a proportionately wide area of cultivation; both at Gyā and at an outlying hamlet, which is some 300 feet higher still, naked barley ripens and nothing else; peas are grown, but only for green food. It is one of the most, but not quite the most, elevated of all the villages in the country. At this place we leave houses behind, for at the next inhabited parts we shall come to, tents are the only dwellings. 492 361 241

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between the island and the near shore. This little place, being ordinarily undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladākhī is called *Chagharatse;* the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of these must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chāmpās that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panbuk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be 3¼ inches by 2¼, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomorīrī are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the headquarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty-five Lāmās; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far, and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

* The barred-goose; in Ladākhī, *nangpā*.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 The summer encampment is not close to Karzok, but it is made two
321 or three miles up the side valley; at that distance up the ravine widens out, and on a stony expanse, through which a stream flowed watering a narrow green strip, were about fifty black tents of the Chāmpās, and a few white ones of merchants from Kulū, who had come to trade with them; this was the encampment of that half of the Rupshu tribe which keeps to the south-eastern pastures. The flocks were spread over the hills, seeking for the scarce herbage.

241 Karzok is one of the two or three places in Rupshu where there is cultivation; here some 12 acres are sown with naked barley. Close upon 15,000 feet, it is the highest cultivation that I know of. When I was there the crop was thriving, but in some years it fails of ripening. The land is irrigated from the stream of the side valley, that which made the delta before spoken of, which is one of the chief affluents to the lake.

132 The climate of this part is thoroughly Tibetan. Snow falls in winter, but not to a great depth. In summer the air is usually clear and cloudless. The year I was at Tsomorīrī, however, 1871, was an exceptional one all over Ladākh, and rain fell in showers such as had seldom been seen, accompanied by thunder. In these storms we saw the mountains in colours different from those native ones which the glaring sun had brought out so strongly. Before, the lofty hills, except where whitened by a capping of snow, had shown nothing but rocks and stony or earthy slopes of brown and grey, the distant ones seeming close from the rarity and clearness of the air. But now, with the clouds overhead and the storms filling the valley, the recesses of the purpled mountains seemed more distant; yet we saw deeper and deeper into them as the various shades showed out the successive spurs and ridges, and the water of the lake formed a bright belt in front of the richly-tinted hills.

TSO KYAGHAR.

133x North of Karzok a high ridge of mountains edges Tsomorīrī on the west, having high cliffs in its upper part and sloping more

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

133X tion of the origin of this lake, but I have turned over in my mind two or three hypotheses. The alluvium might at one time have filled the basin, which doubtless was originally but part of a valley tributary to that down which flows the stream; then, during some part of the glacial period, a glacier from the north-east may have scooped the hollow out of the gneiss and of the alluvium; thus the hollow would be a rock basin, counting the alluvium as part of the rock. Another theory is that at the time this tributary valley opened out to the larger one it was occupied by a glacier, and then the alluvium of the larger valley was deposited *against that glacier;* then, later, the ice disappearing left the hollow. The difficulty in the way of this is to know why no outlet was kept open by the water that must have flowed from the glacier. Altogether this little lake is about the most puzzling one I have met with.

INDUS VALLEY.

East of Tsomoriri there is a part of Rupshu which I have never visited—the valley of Hanle. It seems from the accounts to be another of these flat, high-level, alluvium-filled valleys, bounded by mountains which soon rise up to a height of 4000 or [361] 5000 feet or more above it. At Hanle, which is 14,276 feet high, [321] is a monastery built on a rocky spur some hundred feet above the plain. Passing by this tract, of which I have no personal knowledge, let us go to the Indus Valley, which, in the highest part of it included in the Maharaja's dominions, forms a portion of Rupshu, and is periodically visited by the Rupshu tribe with their flocks.

133X From the south-east corner of the Salt Lake plain there leads 487 a valley, which, followed up, brings one to an easy Pass, by name Folokonka, about 16,500 feet high, and beyond that one comes [312] into the valley of Pūga, a place where borax and sulphur are dug. The road from Tsomoriri, by the little lake Tso Kyāghar, also leads over a saddle of rock down into the Pūga Valley, which, farther followed down, brings us in a few miles to the Indus River. [321] The former of these two paths is the way taken by the Rupshu Chāmpās in the course of their migrations. The portion

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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The portion of the Indus Valley thus reached is just above the narrow defile or gorge called *Rong*, which, as mentioned in the last chapter, confines the river above Upshi. Where we have now come to (where Maiya is marked on the map) the valley is again open; the Indus flows in a wide smooth stream, between banks of alluvial gravel, with a depth that makes it just fordable; the hills rise, in some parts smooth and with a gentle slope, in others bold and steep, on both sides reaching, within a few miles, to a height of 5000 feet above the river. From Maiya I marched for four days up the valley, to the place marked Dora; what was seen in the 50 miles then passed over may be described in the same order as it was met with. 133x

Maiya is one of those places often met with in wild countries about which one wonders that they should ever have had a name. There is no house or shelter of any sort, only a little sandy flat by the edge of the river, with no wood and no grass. Still it is a common halting-place, and for that reason it bears a name. The yāks (which through all Rupshu have been our carriers) were bidden by voice alone to swim the river, by doing which they reached a bit of pasture on the right bank. From Maiya the way lies along the left bank over ground stony and sandy, but with a little grass here and there. The Indus was flowing by in a gentle stream, with a speed that seemed between 1½ and 2½ miles an hour; the alluvial flat it flowed through widened to a breadth of perhaps three-quarters of a mile, this being confined either by the spurs of the hills or by higher alluvial deposits, as of the fans of side streams. As is usual one could not see well the hills on the side one was passing along; the hills on the north were a series of irregular spurs connected with the great range which is a continuation of that behind Leh; they were made of stratified rock—shale and sandstone*—sometimes showing the outcrop of beds, sometimes only a surface of earth and loose stones, of various tints of brown, grey, and purple, all, to the eye, perfectly bare of vegetation. 361 133x

Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts we 000

* Farther back, towards its centre, this range is of granite.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshū, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve [241] houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the [137] former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of [132] willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the [101] plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs [221] both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133* Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

eight miles distant; a succession of spurs come down from it; 132x
between them are hollows from which come out, at their base, wide spreading fans. The hill-sides are completely bare of vegetation. On the slopes of the northern ridge, up to 2000 feet, blown sand has accumulated, sand blown up from the river plain; this sometimes lies in masses in the hollows, sometimes is spread on the hill-sides in varying thicknesses, in places it has been washed down again into the valleys on to the other débris. The different colour of this sand from that of the rock gives a strange look to the hills; it often reverses the usual light and shade, making the hollows bright and leaving the projections dark.

I went about 20 miles farther, south-eastwards up the valley, along the alluvial plain between the mountains. After that, as I could see, the space between the mountains narrowed; in the line of the valley there seemed to be an opening like a gateway; it is through this that goes the road into the Chinese territory; the river is deflected to the north-east, flowing in a narrow space, but after another 20 miles up the two valleys or hollows reunite.

Our farthest camp was at a place called Dora. This is where 361
the Chāmpās of Rupshu spend the winter. Here are built some 221
low walled spaces for sheltering cattle at night; there were many 342
small hollows dug two feet deep in the ground with a course or two of sun-dried brick above, these are made for the tents to be pitched in them; at one end is a rude house built for the headman—low walls washed over with a glittering micaceous mud and roofed in with sticks covered with turf. When I was there, in August, there was not a soul in the settlement. At Dora falls hardly any snow. This is why the place is chosen for winter quarters, the sheep and the cattle being thus able to graze on the extensive though thin pasture found on the flat. Close by is a small shallow lake in the alluvium; it is about three-quarters of a mile long and a furlong wide, of clear fresh water. Two or three miles off are some little salt ponds in the alluvium; the water of these tastes both salt and bitter. About north-north-east from Dora the northern mountain-ridge changes in point of composition from granite to a more or less altered shale; the line of it

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

133 is continued more to the east than before, while in the line of its
341 original direction are some more hills which are joined to the
221 other ridge by a neck called on the Survey Map "Chang Pass"; this Pass is practically the boundary of Chinese Tibet in that direction; in the Indus Valley the boundary will be a day or two's march beyond Dora.

136 It is natural that the more favourable circumstances of this part of the Indus Valley should encourage animal life to a greater extent than is common in Rupshu. I saw here some small herds of the Tibetan antelope, and the Tibetan hare is common here as well as lower down towards Nimū and again towards Chushal; it is a large hare, with much white, the back of a brownish grey. But the animal one sees most of in these parts is the Kyang or wild ass—wild horse it has sometimes been called—an animal which is met with singly or in twos and threes in many parts of Rupshu (as, for instance, the Salt Lake plain) but here is in far greater number than anywhere else. In a day's march I saw some 300 kyang, as many as 100 at one view. There were several different herds; they all let us come to about 250 yards from them and then trotted off, or if frightened by noise galloped away, often leaving the low ground and taking to the stony slopes. This animal is decidedly nearer the ass than the horse, but in outward appearance is much more like a mule than either. He is like a good mule such as one gets in the upper part of the Punjāb, about Rāwal Pindī.* The colour is brown, but white under the belly; there is a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. Of a full-grown male, a fine handsome animal, that I shot in order to make closer observations, the following are some measurements:

Height	54 inches (13 hands 2 in.)
Length of head (from point of muzzle to root of ear)	21½ "
Length of ear	9½ "
Fore hoof, length	5 "
" width	4 "
Hind hoof, length	4⅞ "
" width	3½ "

* Trebeck, Moorcroft's companion, wrote that the kyang is neither horse nor ass, that his shape is as much like one as the other.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133* increasing in height to join the central ridge, on which are the highest peaks of all. The small glaciers occupy the comparatively flat bottoms of hollows which are surrounded by steep cliffs; they are, indeed, in the *arena* of cirques or amphitheatres; they come out of this space by a narrower mouth, and there they rest on the terminal moraine; beneath these are still larger accumulations of débris matter, the brown, weathered, colour of which often is enough to distinguish it from the greyer glacier stuff lately accumulated, though the two are sometimes so mixed up as to be undistinguishable. West of Man the central ridge comes more into view from below; the outer gate-post peaks do not exist; this I connect with the fact of softer, schistose, beds here forming the outer part of the mountain, flanking the granite and granitic gneiss which south of this had formed the whole mass of the range. The outlet valley, which at first runs parallel to this ridge, at a distance of 13 miles from the lake suddenly bends at right angles to the south-west and crosses the line of the ridge, making a great gorge through the gneiss rock. The gorge here is very narrow; on the left bank is a great height of rocky mountain, part of the slope of which is worn and broken into pinnacles; on the right is a huge cliff of gneiss curiously marked on a very large scale by waving streaks of lighter-coloured layers and veins. Four or five miles of this and the valley bends again to the north-west, and leads down to the village of Tānktse. This is where a ravine from the south joins the valley we have traced; this ravine drains another valley which lies, parallel to that of Pāngkong Lake, between the Pāngkong Ridge and the Leh Range; at the head of it is a neck joining the two ranges.

361 133* Let me now say a few words about the manner in which this country near Pāngkong is inhabited. Considered as a dwelling-place for man, Pāngkong is a grade or two better than Tsomoriri. Along its western shore are small villages, whose inhabitants cultivate the few crops—such as naked barley and peas—that will grow at this height of 14,000 feet. From Takkung, going north-westward, the inhabited places met with are *Karkfe*, with three houses; *Mīrak*, a fair village; *Man*, with six houses; *Spanmik*, with one

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

or two houses; and *Lukung*, two or three miles from the north-west corner, with perhaps five houses. On the northern shore of the two long lakes are no houses, but the tent-dwellers, chiefly those who belong to the Chinese territory, frequent certain spots in small numbers. *Tānktse* is a larger village than any of these. There is an open space at the junction of the valleys, part covered by masses of rock either fallen or transported; from out of the space rises a long, isolated, steep-faced rock, crowned with the ruined walls of a fort and monastery. Until the Dogrās came to Ladākh the villagers' houses also were built on the rock; but when the place was restored from the ruin that the wars had brought upon it, they were rebuilt on the plain. There is another village or two below in the same valley; then the Tānktse stream bends round to east of north to join the Shāyok, passing through a narrow gorge, which is not only uninhabited, but in summer time is quite impassable. 361 133x

CHĀNGCHENMO.

Chāngchenmo is the name of a long valley, tributary to the Shāyok, which extends nearly east and west for more than 70 miles as the crow flies. The height of its junction with that river must be about 12,000 feet; at the middle of its length it is 15,000 feet high, and from there it rises gradually to a Pass which makes the boundary of the Rudokh district. 133x

It is only in winter that the valley is accessible from the Shāyok. In summer time the approach—from Central Ladākh say—is by Tānktse and Lukung, the little village at the north-west corner of Pāngkong Lake. This is the course of the road to Yārkand that of late years has been planned and to some extent followed. Between Lukung and Chāngchenmo a Pass (called Māsimik Pass) of over 18,000 feet has to be crossed. In going up the Lukung stream towards it one almost immediately comes to a tract three miles long and one mile wide (about 2½ square miles in area), covered with irregular mounds of detritus, except where two streams have worn out channels and made narrow flat spaces for themselves; it is a complete instance of an old terminal

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133x moraine;* it is composed of blocks, some angular, some half-rounded, and stones, many of them rounded, chiefly of granite and gneiss, but also of white crystalline limestone, sandstone, and shale; there are many very large blocks, one (of gneiss) measured 27 feet by 20 by 9 as seen above the ground, probably there was more than as much again beneath, and there were several others of about the same dimensions. The height of the mounds is often 250 feet above the low parts of the flat where two streams are flowing, and very likely this is the thickness of the moraine-stuff at those places, but the average thickness over the area may be less. This moraine is evidently the deposit of a glacier that occupied not only that valley which still, as the map shows, holds a glacier of a considerable size, but also those branches which extend to the north-east; it very probably rose over the low spur behind Lukung; this is about 250 feet high, and nearly to the summit, quite up to 200 feet above the valley, *on the south side of it*, I observed transported blocks of granite, and the glacier may have entered, and even crossed, the valley of the Pāngkong Lake.†

[361] The last hamlet in this valley, the last in Ladākh in this direction, is Phobrang, some five miles above Lukung; it is 14,500 feet above the sea, there are one or two houses, occupied in summer for the sake of the cultivation of some naked barley on the alluvial flat, and deserted in winter for Lukung itself. A little higher up is Chagrā, 15,000 feet, a place of encampment, at some seasons, of a few families of Chāmpās. From Chagrā the road takes to an easterly branch of the valley and rises gradually, with hills on either side rounded in form and stony in surface. Thus we get to the Pass which is a little below the level of the hills on each side, though at some distance they rise nearly 2000 feet higher; they

[311]

[221]

* A good view of this is obtained from the spur behind the village of Lukung, over which a path goes, an alternative to the valley road.

† If the doubtful margin-marks 900 feet above the present lake (as described at p. 324 in a note) turn out to be real, I should be inclined to attribute the damming to such a great depth to this glacier, of whose existence and importance we have such good evidence.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

485 special arrangements are necessary to accomplish the journey; and even with these some loss of baggage animals may be expected.

[361] Tānktse is the place whence a start should be made; it is the last large village, and contains a Government store-house, and is the head-quarters of a *kārdār*, or manager, under the Governor of 492 Ladākh. The smaller one's camp, the lighter the baggage, the more likely is one to get comfortably through the journey. With half-a-dozen men of my own, and an equal number of people from the Tānktse and Pāngkong region, we took for our luggage and supplies eleven yāks and five ponies, and brought back, after a month's marching, six yāks and four ponies. This and other experience shows that ponies are far better for the work than yāks; for ponies can carry, besides a light load of baggage for their master, barley for themselves, which yāks, not being used to eating it, will not be able to live on; ponies also do the day's march quicker than the yāk, and therefore have so much the more time to graze on the scanty, thin, pasture that here and there is found. My own journey was the more trying for the animals in that, after passing through the most desert part to where the valleys begin to decline to Turkistān and to become less bare of vegetation, they had to return over the same desert, without recruiting themselves in the lower pastures.

133x 485 From Tānktse, or Pāngkong, the road leads one over ground that was described in the last chapter to the Chāngchenmo Valley. This it leaves by the valley in which is situated Gogrā, which is the last place where water, grass, and fuel are all to be found in plenty. I shall not trouble the reader to follow me through each day's march as I made it, but shall rather try to give him an idea of the character of the country such as I myself derived from observing it in the outward and homeward journeys, with the help, I must add, of Mr. Johnson's map. A list of the marches will be found in Appendix IV., Route 27.

THE SOUTHERN WATERSHED.

133x The southern watershed of the plateaus lies to the north of the eastern portion of the Chāngchenmo Valley, and is continued

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

487 morning so that we reached the summit with the dawn. There
133 the wind was bitterly cold; we followed the lower track, for the road along the face of the cliff was impossible.

The Tibetan name for the pass is Zoji La; this was the first time that we discovered that most of the places from there on had two names, a Kashmiri one and a Tibetan one. Unfortunately the map seemed to have mixed them up, probably using the best known, but we did not always strike men of the country who recognised them.

[485] Once over the pass the country changes completely; there is already a Tibetan atmosphere in the air. Going down the other side there are numerous little dak huts built by the roadside for the use of those who chance the journey too late and get caught by the weather.

● 361 We came upon what we at first imagined would be the start of
136 a village, but found it to consist of a house or two, a telegraph post and a rest house. At many places tracks led off, some to lone, distant "farms", some to parts which were known to be good for shikar, for game is plentiful for the sportsman in parts of Ladakh. It is the home of the ibex and the markhor; both are of the wild goat family; there are wild sheep and kiang—sandy red, wild asses with dark manes and standing about twelve hands high—which are impossible to break; then there are red bear, snow leopard and in parts wolves are to be found; antelope and gazelle are common as are the reddish-brown marmot.

491 Here and there places had been marked on the Srinagar-printed map as the spot where a bridge would be found over the river, but there was no sign of it, probably the floods of the last season had carried it away, and we had to ford the waters; then on closer examination of the map we noticed a mark at the spot we had selected and decided that the printer had forgotten to make up his letterpress to include it in the key, or perhaps we were credited with enough common sense to know.

485 The first night we reached a rest house, and were there only just in time, for a quarter of an hour later a large party of men from Leh arrived; a few remained to sleep under the verandahs
515 outside—the stench of bodies was overpowering. I have been assured that the men of Ladakh are bathed three times only in their lives, when they are born, when they marry and when they

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die, and I have no reason to disbelieve this. One of the difficulties is that there is practically no rainfall in this land either in summer or winter. Water comes from the snows, these feed the rivers, but much of the snow simply evaporates at this height; the mountains are arid; among the rocks bushes occasionally grow which carry few leaves on their green twigs, but sufficient to feed the wild goats. The only sign of vegetation is either along the river banks or in the nullahs and protected valleys through which the snow waters flow for a while and which do not take the glare of the sun which pours with great power through the clear air. From above it appears as if a giant flame-thrower has scorched the earth, which in different parts takes on all the colours of a burned brick, and in its destruction has missed those valleys tucked away. All around us were giant chocolate-coloured rock cliffs which hold the snow deep during the winter months, and permit the sun to shine for but a few hours on the small village.

Dras—known by the Tibetans as Hembas—seems to be not one but a number of villages spread over a quite fertile undulating valley which is enclosed within a ring of hills but at a height of ten thousand feet and so placed that the bitter winter winds sweep down on it. When we were there the clumps of willows were green with young leaves and they told us that by by the time we returned the skylarks would have come from Kashmir.

Oddly enough there are a few European-style houses standing in their own gardens, and a rest house of similar design, built with a high pitched roof and tall chimneys, but looking strange, for it was without the verandahs which one has become so used to in India and Kashmir. The sand and dust gets in through all the cracks, in winter it is carried there by the icy blast, yet it must be a comfortable haven to those who are stranded there.

The valley narrows as one goes on past small fields which would appear to have been scratched out from the rock-covered surface of the ground; I can well remember being shown by a proud "farmer"—the father of one of the horsemen who came the whole way with us—a large patch scattered with stones as big as my fist, in which surely not more than a thousand green spears of barley had just come through. Anywhere else the sowing

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133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

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Then, when a mile or two from Maulbeck, we struck the first of the hundreds of monasteries, chortens and prayer walls. Chortens are white-washed pagoda erections, something like giant chess-men varying in height from about a yard to forty or even fifty feet. They are the graves of lamas, buried within and not under them, their ashes being mixed with clay, baked into large biscuits and stamped with the image of Buddha. Prayer walls are seven feet high—probably so that none can look down upon them—and about the same width, the tops are apexed and they extend sometimes for hundreds of yards. The stones with which they have been made have been elaborately carved and inscribed with the Tibetan prayer "Om mani padme hom", which in its translation, "God the flower of the lotus", conveys little to the traveller, or for that matter even to the average monk, although it is repeated by him countless times every day, and not only by him, but also by all men and women of the land as they go about their work and as they journey along the road. They are the first six syllables the child is taught to utter, they are the last words gasped by the dying, and during a lifetime followers of the Lama Church will have uttered them millions of times and sent them to heaven on prayer wheels billions of times; they are to be found written everywhere. Surely this phrase (or prayer), one which I saw one writer of well back in the past century liken to "Our father which art in Heaven", must be the one written and spoken more than any on this earth, for its origin goes right back and is lost in the dim past. These great walls are built by lamas or monks who spend their lives moving from one place to another doing only that work, thus gaining merit for themselves; each stone so placed is considered a good deed well done. All who pass these walls must go on the left-hand side for by so doing they also gain merit.

361 [764] 778 788

Perched high on a spire-like rock which rises above the village of Maulbeck which clusters around its feet, is a white Lamasery or Buddhist monastery, close to which is an enormous figure of Buddha carved in the rock face. Partly hiding this image when one is standing on the roadway, is a rather grand building which is well kept: it seemed odd to me that even the most ignorant of men could have built a house in such a

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361 position. Then I heard that many years ago when the country
778 was invaded by the Muslims, the whole of this carved cliff face was encased by the Tibetans behind buildings which were hastily made to hide the sacred Buddha, since the Mohammedans looked upon such carvings as idols and would have defaced it. Now the Buddha stands in a perfect state of preservation wearing bracelets, a double necklace, earrings and a headpiece, and with four arms, two of which are held up, the others hanging by his side have a serpent entwined around them. It is really a fine piece of work with details such as even the stomach muscles carved.

There was then no doubt as to our having entered the land in which all were his followers; every village has its monastery; bits of rags fluttered from poles on the roofs of houses—prayer flags; chortens and manis are to be found everywhere, just as are the prayer wheels, some set upright so that those who pass can revolve them by hand, others placed near to a stream for the water to turn them, and on each revolution a prayer is automatically sent to heaven. The people carry these prayer wheels on a stick in their hands; usually they are made of copper, the wealthier among them have them studded with coral, turquoise and decorated, but they all contain prayers which have been written down from one of the holy books. If the prayer is written one hundred times, then with one turn of the wheel a hundred prayers are sent up to heaven.

135 The day following we had another pass to cross over. This,
439 the Namikha La, is close on thirteen thousand feet high, but was far easier going than the first. What amazed us was that the white which we had imagined to be snow on its summit, we found to be salt. Salt is one of Ladakh's principal exports; this is transported in small sacks strapped like saddle-bags on the backs of goats, herds of them being used for this purpose and occasionally met with on the road.

361 Going down to the string of villages we saw the old castle on the top of the hill; now a ruin, it was once the scene of bitter fighting in the sixteen hundreds. The village is at the foot of the hill, but the extraordinary thing is that on the steep hill sides, which would seem impossible to climb, there are many dwellings which appear to be stuck on; the rooms run into the hill

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itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost 361
impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes.

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the [133]
easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen [136]
thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreciate the height we had reached and how it affected one by slackening movements.

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens, the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, 491
with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on 172
the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150.

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It 346
seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings, some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of 778
Chubrezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its background is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a jewel in the other.

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the 788
foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven,

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788 the lamas and those going to the chapels sending still more as they climb the steps and give a twist to the dozens of prayer wheels on either side.

487 Then for some miles the road is trying, at times through a narrowing gorge, up and down the rock sides. Few others than those who knew the road well would have dared to have ridden, for there is nothing to save one from slipping over the side, and in places the track had almost broken away to leave nothing. I think the most terrifying experience is when a small portion of the track gives way under one's feet: yet the horses know the road; at times, as you walk ahead, there is a pull at the rein, and turning you see your horse testing with his forefoot the ground immediately ahead of him.

361 Then the road changes to open country. It is hard going, being shadeless, so that during the middle of the day the journey was difficult with the heat seeming to come up from the ground, forcing us to halt during these hours at a wayside rest house, to continue later, passing but one patch of vegetation in about fifteen miles of monotonous track to Saspul where there is a most fascinating Alchi monastery containing many traces of Kashmir workmanship. There is also the cave monastery of Nyiziapur, now a ruin.

The next day we covered the eleven mile march from Saspul to Nimu, starting rather late since we had that morning visited the monastery. At the beginning the journey was interesting, the more so after the bare country we had gone over for the past few days. We left the river Indus and crossed a plateau, then down into the most picturesque village of Bazgu. The high cliffs are peppered with old ruins, the village itself built on a steep hill, the rocks fantastic in their shape and brilliant in colour, with the whole dominated by a large Lamasery and a ruined castle which history says "were long besieged by Mongols in the time of Gyalpo Delegs who ruled between 1640 and 1680 A.D." The rest of the day was spent over arid sandy wastes, a distance of some four miles to reach the comfort of a rest house with a garden.

The last march of all is nearly eighteen miles, first ascending the plateau, then as the valley opens out, a gradual descent through a stony desert, at odd places relieved by small patches of

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green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came. 361 [346]

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage". 361 [487] 439 563 [797]

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very 142 [522] 291

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771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
181 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

● 361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the
526 main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

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summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next 342
morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer 132
outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a
difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny 132
courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be 354
had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in 793
meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the 793
Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron- 292
coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasion- [795]
ally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great 793
monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that 361
every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

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793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
361 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

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The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147] There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry [582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, [562] and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 588 [567] In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361] The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

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000 Having bathed, the next thing I needed was food, for it was many hours since breakfast. I soon met two more long black-haired men who were carrying large round cakes of Indian corn. I bought one of them. I do not know how many days ago it had been baked, but it was extremely hard, stale and sour. However, I soaked it in a stream, and was then able to get it down, or at least some of it.

609 Later on I made friends with some villagers, and they,
361 to show that they meant well, brought me as much milk as I could drink. I was then so thirsty that I did justice to their supply. I sat with these kindly folk until I saw my caravan approaching. When it arrived we continued our journey, and in course of time we arrived on a great open wind-swept plain, and soon saw a group of stone and mud houses, which calls itself Dras, the capital of the country of Dras.

000 Here I found a British officer encamped on his way back to India after ibex hunting. My camp was pitched upon the plain, and I had just finished my tea, for which I was most grateful, after that grilling march down that treeless valley, and was putting things straight when down came a great gale of wind. I had to hang on with all my might to one of my tent-poles to prevent the tent coming down, while my servant hammered hard at the tent-pegs. While this was going on I heard shouts, and saw the major's property fast disappearing out of his tent, sailing down the plain before the blast. So I ran to the rescue, and was just in time to save his tent from collapsing entirely, for one of his tent-poles had already fallen. The gale soon blew itself out, and all was peace and quiet once more, except for the visits of the prowling pariah dogs from the city of Dras.

Next day we were up betimes, and I marched on ahead

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341 fat; grease pervaded the atmosphere, in fact everything
792 the monks touched, for they were filthily dirty, their red garments being more or less black with grease. Fortunately their heads were shorn. They seemed to be a happy lot of brothers, always ready to laugh and joke, in fact, just like the pictures of the monks of the West in days gone by.

792 There are nuns who live in separate buildings. Many of them are so like the monks that it is difficult to tell one from the other, at least to an unpractised eye, as the following incident will show.

797 A few days later I was in Leh with Dr Neve. He was in the hospital helping people to get well quickly. I stayed outside to try and cheer up the patients who were waiting their turn outside, as many of them seemed to be rather nervous and frightened. I noticed one person who seemed to look very depressed, who I thought was a monk and not living up to his usual jovial self, so I poked him in the ribs and told him to cheer up, when a voice called out to me from behind, but too late: "Take care what you are doing, for that lady is a nun." It was a Moravian missionary who spoke too late. Well, I did all that an English gentleman could do. I apologised most humbly, but the nun would not have any, and I failed to cheer her up.

361 Well, our triumphal march to the capital, Leh (a town
162 with a population of 3000 in the winter, which grows to 6000 in the summer, when all the traders from east and west come in), was as entertaining as it was interesting.
54 Monastery bands, town bands, feasts and polo matches succeeded one another, but the reception given to the Commissioner Sahib at Leh was the culmination of great doings. Seven miles from Leh, in the valley of the Indus, a large sandy plain, there met us a great cavalcade of

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

574 grand folk dressed in most weird costumes, uncommonly like a well-got-up pantomime.

574 291 793 There were men dressed in Chinese silks, with their smart blue and gold caps with tassels, Ladakhi officials of various grades, from the Joint-Commissioner, a fine-looking Mohammedan, to his fat babu who sat on his pony like a monkey, his stirrups being so short that his knees and fat stomach met. But the figure which took my fancy was the church dignitary; he resembled for all the world Cardinal Wolsey risen from the dead. He wore a scarlet cloak which fell over the pony's back and almost touched the ground, and he sported ye old cardinal's hat. I never saw him smile, which was in contrast to all the others, who seemed to be out for a holiday. Whether he was upset about not having his proper position in the cavalcade, or whether he had the stomach-ache is uncertain, or maybe his cardinal's hat was uncomfortable. It certainly was hardly the sort of hat I should have chosen to ride in. Perhaps his dignity did not allow him to show his feelings. Anyway, everybody except the cardinal seemed to be in good fettle after their morning's ride. We all fell into some sort of order and rode for the capital.

361 574 533 526 You can see Leh from some miles distant as it is built up the side of the rocks, with the palace and monastery towering above. Leh is 11,700 feet above sea-level, so one needs a little time in which to get acclimatised.

When we arrived through the fine gateway into the main street we found both sides lined with H.H. the Maharajah's troops and the crowds of citizens behind them. The monastery band was in full view on the roof of one 574 526 of the buildings and made the usual joyful sound. This main street of shops has a fine avenue of poplar-trees,

Q: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

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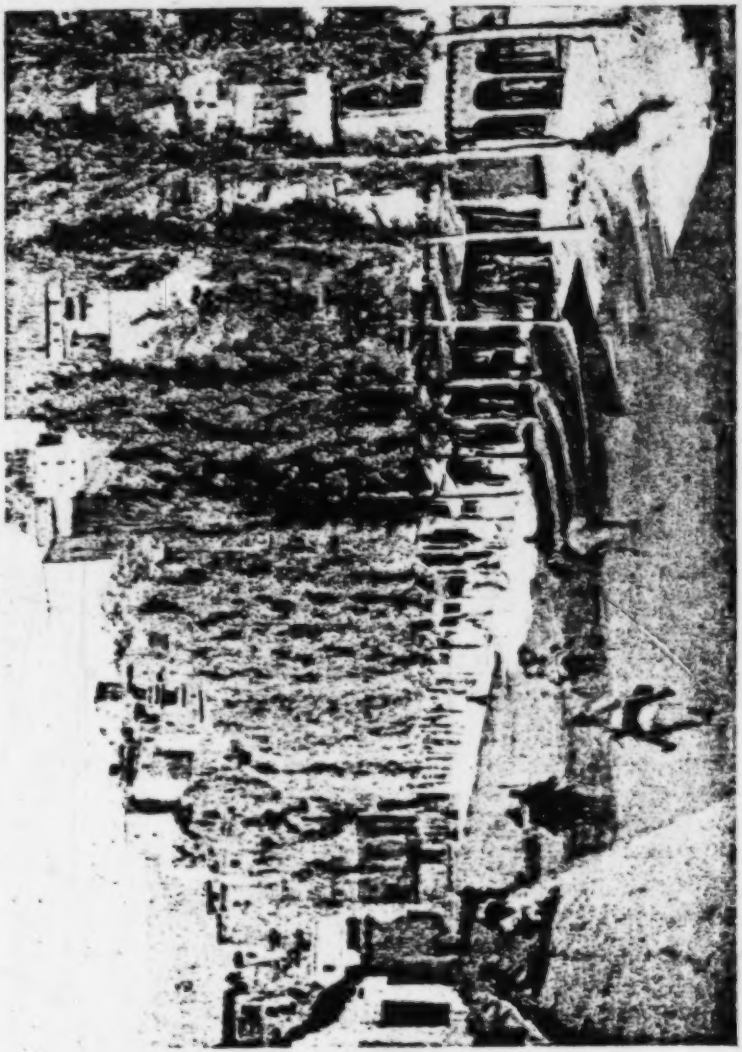

Photo by] [G. W. Nilsin

HIGH STREET AT LEH.

A polo match is in progress, therefore the street has been cleared.

[facing p. 222]

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

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ponies swimming. What was to be done? The question was soon answered by the pony-men taking the loads off the ponies and carrying them across, then tying a rope round a pony's neck, the pony being forced into the river whilst the rope was held by the man who walked across the bridge, thus keeping the pony's head up-stream, so that the strain was lessened. In this way all our ponies came across safely, but the man on the bridge had some difficulty in keeping his feet as the strain on the rope was fairly severe, especially in mid-stream. 492

The village of Suru lies under Nun Kun, a fine pile of rock, the summit being 23,500 feet above sea-level. It is one of the peaks that we can see from near Srinagar, and looks like a white pyramid. From where we stood, looking up from the Suru river, it was just magnificent, its great glaciers shining in the sunlight. 361 133

Just outside the village is a lonely grave, that of Captain Christian, who died of typhoid whilst on a shooting expedition. We spoke to the head of the village about safeguarding the grave.

On our march from Suru we came across a great number of marmots, living in communities like rabbits. They are of a reddish brown colour and of the size of a small fox. They place sentinels around their village, who sit on the top of a rock to enable them to get a good view of their enemies, and whistle louder and louder as they see one approaching and then dart into their burrows. They are most fascinating animals. They seem to like the wild garlic that grows profusely in these regions. 136

We entered the Wardwan Valley by the Do Nullah Pass, and had to walk for seven miles on a glacier; it was exciting work jumping the crevasses. We were careful to take off some inches on this side and land with plenty 133

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

subject of them wants to be treated in a technical way; a notice of these I hope to communicate to the Geological Society. 133

Of the inhabitants of the villages from Sanācha to Hanū I have purposely refrained from saying anything here. They have characteristics indeed of the greatest interest, but I keep back the description of these in order to bring it into connection with that of the other Dārds, for to the Dārd race the people here belong. The reader should look for the ethnological peculiarities of this tract in Chapter XVIII., under the heading "Buddhist Dārds." 1/1 From the next village, Achīnathang, upwards, the people are thorough Ladākhīs in race and language. 563

At Achīnathang the Indus Valley begins to be rather less confined; the road along it is such that one can ride. Achīnathang itself is a neat and pretty village, on a plateau of river-alluvium 200 feet above the water. Near this place, in the pebbly alluvium formerly deposited by the river, at a height of 120 feet above it, are to be seen shallow pits, from which Baltī gold-washers had dug earth which they carried down to the water side to wash for gold. Every few miles, on each side of the river, are seen little tracts of cultivated ground. One was a continuous strip on a narrow plateau, a mile in length and but fifty yards wide. Sometimes, as at Skirbichan, is a wider expanse. Each tract has on it a collection of houses in proportion to the area, at the rate of a house to three or four acres. These white houses, half hidden by the foliage, and the spread of green fields, contrasting with the bare surrounding country, make each little village a charming sight. In this part the Ladākhīs are well grown; they are taller than those of the neighbourhood of Leh. This I connect with the somewhat milder climate and the consequently less severe life experienced. 364 133* [142]

Besides the villages which we see along the Indus Valley there are several in the side valleys which join from both right and left. At the mouth of these valleys one sees but a narrow opening; from this they often stretch up for miles, and contain cultivated land and several hamlets. Of these the higher ones endure a distinctly more severe climate than do the villages of the main VALLEY. [132]

1/1 [Cf category 116 -- pp. 430-432 -- Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

studded with small turquoises. Sometimes a large red 301
cornelian also varies the apex. This would seem startling 291
enough, but unfortunately a later Queen had an attack of earache, so attached a large piece of black lambskin each side to protect her ears. The court ladies must do likewise, so now every *perag* is accompanied by these large ear-flaps, and the *coiffure* is most wonderfully adapted to them by plaiting the hair into a number of small plaits, which are sewn into the ear-pieces at each side, and continued with wool down the back on both sides of the *perag* to unite below in a large tassel, which reaches to the bottom of the skirt. To one side of the *perag* a projection of silver from which rows of coral-beads depend is also fastened. This is said to represent the serpent's tail, though it seems to us to have become rather dislocated. In the villages there are only a few rows [369] of turquoise on the average woman's *perag*, but the town ladies are very resplendent, and their head-dresses become so heavy with stones that they sometimes support them by a broad black tape passing under the armpits. The central portion is taken off at night, and sometimes when at work in the house, leaving the ear-pieces in place, stitched to the hair, for so elaborate a *coiffure* can only be taken down once a month, when the hair is washed, oiled and done up anew. For this process in the town a lady hairdresser attends, [463] getting four to eight annas a day, and in addition food of the feasting standard. In the country the women have to oblige each other. Also occasionally the whole *perag* has to be taken to pieces, a new red cloth substituted, and the turquoises resewn, during which time the proud owner of a brilliant head-dress has to be content with her ordinary fur-lined hat. Small girls sometimes begin with a skimpy little *perag* at the age of five or six, bearing a single row of turquoises in front and ending in cowrie shells behind. The latter are slowly replaced as funds permit, and cowries should only be worn by unmarried girls. By the time she is grown up, a girl

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cedar (*Shukpa*) are indigenous; the others are all regularly planted. The plane-tree has been introduced into Skardo, where its size and beauty have obtained for it the name of *Shing-Gyal*, "the prince of trees." The poplar is the most valuable wood in the country, as its long straight bole is particularly adapted for bridges, and for the rafters and beams of houses. It is generally planted in straight rows. The willow abounds in all the water-courses, but generally in the state of a pollard, as its supple twigs and branches are extensively used for baskets of all kinds and hurdles. These two trees were first met with at Gya, at a height of 13,500 feet. They furnish the only fire-wood procurable in Ladák; but wood is too valuable in this barren country to be thus wasted, and the principal fuel used by the people is short Tibetan furze, called *Dáma*, and dried dung of all kinds. The Elæagnus is an ornamental tree with a yellow flower, from which it derives its name of *Ser-shing*, or yellow tree. It is the Persian *Sanjit*. The tamarisk is abundant in the narrow glen of the Rulang-chu, or Puga rivulet, below the hot springs, where they attain fifteen and sixteen feet in height, the warmth of the water, 66°, being favourable to their growth.

The fruit-trees are the apple, the apricot, the walnut, the mulberry, and the vine.* The apricot is the only one found as high as Gya, 13,500 feet. The vine and apple make their first appearance at Bazgo and Sáspul, the walnut at Sáspul, and the mulberry at the monastery of Tamisgong. The apples, which are plentiful along the Indus, are of large size and good flavour. The apricots are large, but not so well flavoured as those of Balti. The grapes are much inferior to the splendid fruit of

* The vine is called *Gun*, *rGun*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 the handle forms a very acute angle with the blade. After ploughing, the fields are prepared with manure, *lúd*,* which consists either of *Yák-lúd*, yák's dung, or of *Lúk-lúd*, sheep's dung. Occasionally they use cow-
[372] dung, *Yák-chi* or *Ba-chi*. But in a country where fire-wood is so scarce as not to be obtainable by any but the richest classes, all kinds of dung are in daily use as fuel, and but little can be spared for enriching the land.

In a dry country like Ladák, where it seldom snows and scarcely ever rains, the harvest is entirely dependent upon artificial irrigation. The waters of the smaller streams are arrested by dams (*chhu-lon*), and conducted with considerable skill and care from terrace to terrace, and from field to field. I was particularly struck with the laborious irrigation bestowed upon the rich lands of Sáspul, and with the bold ingenuity displayed in the aqueducts of Kambo and Hardas. The former is a small village on the left bank of the Purik river (the Waká-chu). The latter is on the left bank of the Drás river. The Kambo aqueduct is only about one mile in length, but the Hardas aqueduct is nearly three miles long. These canals, which are conducted several hundred feet above the villages, are mostly built up with a retaining wall, and puddled with clay to hold the water. In a few places the rock itself was excavated to form a passage for the water, but in other places, where the hill was too precipitous, or the rock was too hard, the water was passed along hollow poplar and willow trunks, which were supported by uprights standing on ledges of the rock, or on huge pegs driven into its crevices.

804 The land in Ladák is all measured by the *Khál*, or

* *Lúd*, dung. Cow-dung is called *gYag-lChi* or *Ba-lChi*.

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372 245
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak."

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least they called it a wood, although it was often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

It was extremely seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in 137
rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [753]
branches from the trees and had taken them home /34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-śiṅ, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 3720
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

372 415 because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering

551 14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an older companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

231 476

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley, slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

231

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

233 as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting.
● 372 Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of
252 *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis ; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups.
264 These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea ?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they
147 evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How
511 complex has become our civilization ! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 fitting a series of short horizontal boards into the slots cut in the sides of the framework. The big family stove is built of
252 a special black mud, deposited at the bottoms of rivers or streams, or dug from under the damp turf on their banks, which becomes very hard when dried. The stove is roughly square in form, with a hole at two or more corners round which
415 the hard mud is raised into three upward projections, thus
376 supporting the local rounded cooking-pots. These are made of copper and tinned over by the local blacksmith. We Europeans have to be very careful to have this lining kept intact to avoid copper poisoning, but one often finds the Ladaki brewing his tea in a pot from which all traces of tin have long ago vanished. Perhaps this is why we are so often upset
252 when we accept invitations to meals in their houses. In
372 front of the stove on the right-hand side is a projection of the same hardened mud, which is to accommodate the right-hand of the "fire blower," as he operates on the bellows. These are very effective instruments with a large nozzle pushed well under the glowing fuel, and an elongated bag of goat-skin at the outer end of which two small bars of wood are attached, with small loops of strongly-twisted thread in the middle. Through these the thumb and fingers are placed to open and close the mouth, and though it sounds and looks a simple process a certain knack must be acquired to get a good fire.
[357] Children of the house often keep it going, but the fire-blower is generally a sooty-faced, ragged woman servant, the counterpart of the old scullery-maid in the West. The stove has a large central tunnel with branches radiating out to the corner holes, and in the middle is a depression for the biggest hole of all.

752 Here the large pot of butter-tea is generally brewing. The tea, of which the best variety comes from Lhasa (where it is used as coinage) in bricks, is stewed for some hours, then mixed up in a special churn, phonetically named a *gurgur*, with butter, soda, salt and milk. Some writers have said our

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

244 of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

[372] Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Re-
[574] course has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with
241 earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception
231 of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them.
[137] The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

241 According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

[231] Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

482 With such food and drink as has been described the Ladākhīs
147 are one of the hardiest of races. As coolis, for carrying loads, they are admirable—not only the men but the women too. I have had women employed to carry my baggage, according to the custom of the country, who have done twenty-three or twenty-four miles with sixty pounds on their back, and have come in at the end singing cheerfully. Against cold, too, they are very strong. Not that they equal in this respect the Chāmpās, who live at still greater heights, and can hardly bear to be as low down as 11,000 feet. Still the people of Central Ladākh and of Zānskār are very hardy in this respect also; on a frosty night, with nothing but the clothes they go in, they will coil themselves up and sleep
513 comfortably on the bare stony ground. All have a
515 rooted objection to washing. I was told that there was a custom of bathing once a year, but I could never get any satisfactory corroboration of the report. Their clothes, worn next them, are never washed, but are affectionately kept around them until they fall to pieces.

• 372 Of the wants rife in a barren country like Ladākh, there are two which (perhaps without, or at all events in addition to, other difficulties) seem to make impossible either any great addition to the population or increase of their comforts. These are want of fuel and want of timber. For fuel the dung of cattle is carefully stored. This is supplemented in some parts by a bush which they pull from the hills that they call *burtse* (Eurotia). This plant is indeed a great resource for travellers in out-of-the-way parts; it is a small low-growing bush, the woody underground stem of which makes a good fuel. Then, in the high valleys, there is a plant like our furze, called *dāma*. On some hill-sides there is the pencil-cedar, a strong-burning wood; and lastly, in certain ravines, there is willow growing wild. All these, however, from their distance, require much labour to collect; they are seldom used by the Ladākhīs in their own houses, but are chiefly got by them for travellers and for the
313 town consumption. The timber-trees are willow and poplar. These are planted either along the watercourses between

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

are of a dark-brown colour, in form for the most part rounded; their whole surface is covered with loose stones, either taluses or else rock disintegrated into angular blocks, remaining as yet unmoved. On the farther side comes a stony valley similar to the one we have just left; down this we continue for a day and a half's march, going sometimes across taluses, sometimes along alluvial terraces, over stony ground, gradually descending till we reach the Chāngchenmo River itself. Here is a valley stretching straight east and west for far, the bottom of it a stony tract with the river flowing through it in many channels. In front of us, on the north side, is a bold line of mountains 5000 or 6000 feet above us, rocky in face, rising to a rugged ridge. 133x

Below this spot where we first reach it (called both Pāmzāl and Tsolū) I have not followed the Chāngchenmo Valley; I believe it in that part to be a rapid stream flowing between narrowing rocky mountains. Above, the valley is partly occupied by the wide gravelly river-bed and partly by alluvial terraces, all stony and bare; the hills that bound this vary much in height and steepness, some are smooth-sided and comparatively low, others both lofty and steep. A branch from the main valley leads to the north, up to the plateaus that will be described in the next chapter; it contains a stream of as great volume as the other. Gogrā is a place where a rest-house has been built a few miles up that valley, soon above which it divides into Kugrāng, the westerly branch, and Chonglung, the north-easterly. [485]

The places where the three requisites for travellers in these regions occur together, namely, water, grass, and fuel, are found several miles apart. One is Pāmzāl, already mentioned; here is some pasture, and, close by, a great supply of fuel in the bushy growth of myricaria (umbū) and of tamarisk on the alluvium. Then there is a stretch of over 12 miles before any more vegetation is met with. Then at Kyam, where some hot springs come out, there is a spread of grass extending some way up the valley, and there is brushwood also, and farther up, to the very head, there is grass to be found in places. Again, at Gogrā, in the side valley, [372] 221 311 133x

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

Mr. Shaw, and Dr. Cayley went separately over the plateaus, the last to explore for a trade-route, the other two on their adventurous journey to Yārkand. In the next year, 1869, I myself went across the plateaus to the eastern branch of the Kārakāsh River, following partly in Mr. Johnson's and partly in Dr. Cayley's footsteps, and in this journey made the observations which I shall now put down. In 1870 Mr. Forsyth's party, on the first mission to Yārkand, went over the plains; they returned by a new route on the west.* Then, in 1873, one party attached to the second Yārkand mission took the old route, but as yet no detailed news of their doings have been made public.

In the regions through which the reader has hitherto followed me—in the high-level valleys, among the bare mountains, of Rupshu—no great difficulty in providing supplies and means of carriage presents itself to the traveller. The inhabitants of Rupshu, though few, are enough in number to attend to the wants of those who pass through their ground, and their cattle do all that is wanted for the carrying of baggage. Bare as that country is when looked at as a whole, yet, with very few exceptions, there are to be found, at distances which are practicable for a day's march, water, some amount of pasture for the baggage animals, and fuel, either furze or *burtse*, or sometimes (as at one or two of the halting-places in the Indus Valley) the dung of the kyang, or wild ass. But now, in going beyond the basin of the Indus, especially in traversing the high plains with their enclosed drainage-area, one is put to straits to provide carriage for the necessaries of one's camp, and to procure food for the beasts of burden themselves. For at some stages fuel is wanting, at others grass, at others water even. Hence

reduced from the regular Survey, and also some tentative representation of a tract which was afterwards explored by Mr. Hayward, who corrected certain portions. I refer particularly to the valley of the southern branch of the Kārakāsh River, which Hayward, proving it to be the main stream, traced to its source on the south-west of our tract. Mr. Johnson had, however, discerned the connection of this valley with the Kārakāsh drainage, as the following words quoted from his account in the Journal of the Geographical Society will show: "On the west of the plateaus there are no plains, but a series of deep valleys, which are the sources of one of the principal affluents of the Kārakāsh R."

* An account of this journey is given by Dr. Henderson in his 'Lahore to Yārkand.'

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely
[252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any
[262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[373] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces
[258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con-
426 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

COLLECTANEA

SOCIAL FESTIVALS IN LADAKH KASHMIR

184 In that part of Western Tibet called Ladakh social functions differ in certain respects from those which exist in Lahul, though the inhabitants in both districts share a common language, Tibetan.

A

796 The New Year[1] festival begins on the 10th month of the
● 373 Tibetan calendar, continuing from the 25th until the 30th day. On the 25th day of that month each household prepares 30–40 little receptacles which serve as small lamps for illuminating the house. These are called *Bu-La*, and are made from the residue of mustard seed from which the oil has been extracted by pressure. The mustard oil is then poured into one such little lamp and a wick put in to float in it. These little lamps are lit at 8 o'clock in the evening. One such lamp is placed in the window of each room in the

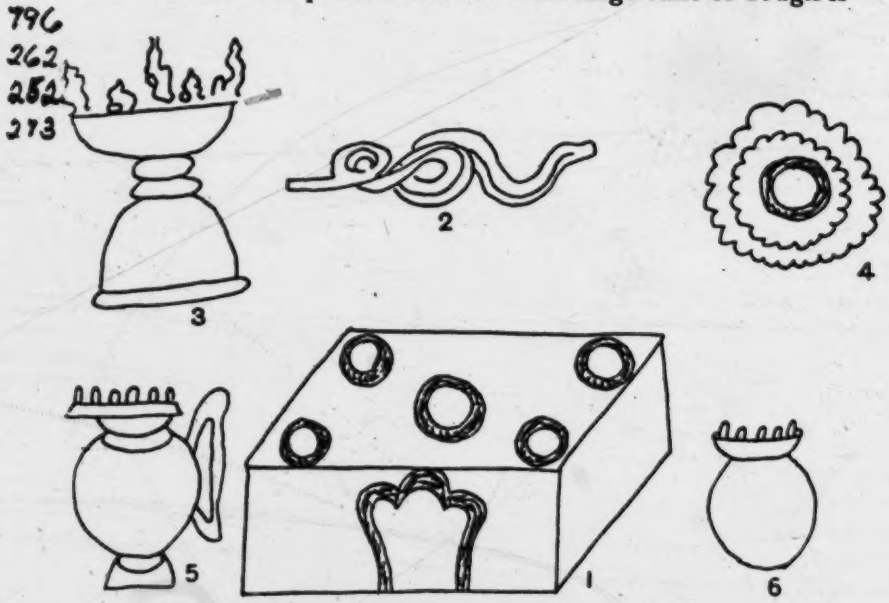
[1] *New Year*

My Tibetan informant told me that originally the Ladakhis celebrated their New Year in the 12th month of their calendar as is the custom in other parts of Tibet, but in 1841–42 when the Dogras invaded Western Tibet and subjugated it, the Ladakhis decided to celebrate their new year in the 10th month so as to enable them to fight the invader. It is said that a large number of the Ladakhis having determined to take their wives and children along with them to the war, they were finally induced to forgo fighting altogether rather than expose their families
[113] to the dangers and rigours of war. (For information concerning the conquest of the Western Empire of Tibet, see Dr. A. H. Francke's "A History of Western Tibet".) The Ladakhi new year has therefore been observed in the 10th month ever since.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 house, whilst a number of them are arranged in a row near
373 the awning of the dwelling.

The members of the household then partake of *Tab-*
796 *Zan*. This consists of a large dish of parched barley dough
262 in the middle of which a hollow is made to receive the mustard oil which is poured into it. This large cake of dough is



1. *rGya-Tab* (Stove). This is the common earthen stove used by Ladakhis. It is 3 feet square and 1 foot high. In the front there is an aperture for putting in the fuel of sticks and dried manure, and on the top of it there are three holes for placing the cooking utensils. 2. *Dib-Rug*. Sheep's intestines. 3. *Bu-La*. Little lamps made of dough. 4. *Tab-Zan*. Parched barley dough with a hollow in the centre in which mustard oil is poured. 5. *Kal-jor*. Beer pot. 6. *Za-rgyan*. An earthen vessel in which beer is kept. Sometimes used instead of the *Kal-jor*. Both are ornamented with butter pats on special occasions, and also serve as butter offerings.

796 then divided into four equal parts, one part (*Tab La Rgya-*
262 *Mo*), being placed on the earth stove (*Tab*) as an offering to the god of the hearth, one part (*Mag-Dung Rgya-Mo*) stuck on a large horizontal beam in the apartment, and one piece (*Sgo-Tag-Rgya-Mo*) stuck on the lintel of the front

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright,
386 but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee"
825 because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported,
823 in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In
LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

[1.e, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

A Trip to Ladakh

000 a friend's house. Personally I possess a bearer who knows this trick, and he always asks me to ask my friends to allow their servants to count over the spoons and forks, etc., before leaving the house, to see, of course, that they have not left anything of their master's property behind.

276 Another custom I discovered of quite a different kind, which interested me.

I saw a coolie sprawling on the road with his mouth on the ground and apparently blowing smoke. On asking what it meant I was told that the man not having brought his hookah was not going to be done out of his smoke. He had made a small tunnel. At one end he had placed his tobacco and lighted it, and was sucking the smoke through the tunnel into his mouth. How one lives and learns!

346 After leaving Mulbe we turned off the caravan road in order to return via Suru under Nun Kun and down the Wardwan nullah.

We passed the monastery of Shergol. It is built into the rock. The windows seem to be in the face of a 406 precipice. The entrance and exit is peculiar, for a basket is let down by a rope, in which the visitor sits and is pulled up—a most excellent arrangement for keeping 133 out undesirables. Our first view of the Suru river was superb, and reminded me of pictures of heaven which I had seen in children's picture books. We were up on a ridge and looked down upon the river where it widened out and was full of islands covered with willow-trees, and giant peaks rising behind and above the nearer hills forming the valley.

492 When we reached the bridge we found that it was far too frail for our ponies. The river itself could not be forded, and was too swift and dangerous to permit of the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

702 the maharaja, as well as from *Lamás*, *Gobas*, and Mahomedans of Ladák. The difference between the number of houses and that of the armed men actually collected together is only 2,000, a number so small that it may include all absentees from sickness and other causes, as well as all the guards required at Lé and in the provinces for the personal service of the Gyalpo, and for the security of the state treasure.

726 On a call to arms, the soldiers (*Makmi**) were told off for the cavalry and infantry branches by the very simple process of selecting all those who had horses (or rather ponies) for the cavalry (*Táhipung*†), and leaving the remainder for the footmen, or infantry (*Kangthangipung*). [411] Their arms were swords, matchlocks, and bows and [714] arrows. Many had shields (*Go*‡), and some few had helmets (*Mog*§). They were assembled by beat of drum (*Thab-nga*‖).

701 The army (*Pung*, or *Makpung*¶) was placed under the control of a *Makpon*,** or commander-in-chief, who was either a member of the royal family, or one of the principal *Kahlons*.

Other titles were conferred upon the different *Kahlons*

* *dMag-mi*, pronounced *Makmi*, a "war-man," or "soldier," from *dMag*, battle. Compare the Greek μαχη with the latter, and μαχιμος with the former.

† *rTa-hi-dPung*, from *rTa*, a "horse."

‡ *Go*, a "shield," or any defensive armour.

§ *rMog*, a "head-piece," a "helmet."

‖ *hThab-rNga*, a "war-drum."

¶ *dPung*, or *dMag-dPung*; the latter is also commonly contracted to *dMung*.

** *dMag-dPon*, "battle-chief," or *dMag-hGo*, "war-chief." *Makpon* is the family title of the Hasora chief. He must therefore be of Tibetan origin. It is curious that *Go-Mag-go*, which so much resembles Gog-Magog, should mean "civil and military chiefs."

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He t[illegible]
muzzle-loader, which he could handle with skill; he had killed many 411
ibex and many a wild sheep, and even wolves with it. He polished the gun, cast some bullets, and filled his powder flask with gunpowder which a Tibetan in Leh had prepared for him. Then he got out an old, short sword which had a beautifully worked sheath covered with turquoises. This sword was handed down to him from an ancestor who had been a valiant worrior. Towards the end of the eighteenth century 721
the people of Ladakh undertook frequent pillaging expeditions into the neighboring Baltistan. During these expeditions a Dragshos, who was among the leaders, particularly distinguished himself by his boldness. With his men he attacked by surprise a number of Balti villages and brought back home with him rich spoils of cattle and money. For this he received a piece of land near Kalatse from the king. Later, after the defeat of the last of the Ladakh kings, one of the Dragshos was offered the dominion over the land under the sovereignty of the Indian Dogras (conquerors); however, he declined this dubious honor.

Something of the warlike spirit was also in Namgyal. He was 000
courageous and enterprising and he trusted his strong arms and his weapons more than the magical arts of the lamas. His honest belief in the helping and saving deities only went to strengthen his courage. Thus, despite his youthfulness, he was the undisputed leader in all other matters /155/ in the village, as well as in this commercial undertaking.

The final preparations were now made. Wheat, barley, and 437
apricots were put into sacks; some had purchased cotton material, calico, cloth, colored sashes, dye-stuffs, spices, and tobacco from the Indian mercant, so that they would be able to do business in Jangtang. Everything was packed into sacks. Each person who took part in the expedition kept his wares strictly separate from those of the others. Several of the Kalatse men had rifles, old muskets, and muzzle-loaders which they brought out. Then they got the horses from the distant 231
meadow on the mountain, something which in itself took two days since the horses had strayed far afield in their search for food along the barren mountain slopes. The men mended the saddles and the horse's headgear, the sacks, blankets, and tents. Finally they were all ready. The horses had in the last few days received barley to eat in addition to their usual fare--clover hay mixed with chopped straw--so that they would be fortified for the journey. They looked good and some of them were wild and frisky during the shoeing. The latter operation was performed by the Kalatse men themselves. The most

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 15

HEMIS MONASTERY

After crossing Staglang La Pass we dropped about 133
two thousand feet almost straight down a mountain wall and followed a narrow, winding canyon to Gya, the first village we had seen since we left Jispa seven days earlier. Gya, with a dozen or more flat-roofed stone houses, was plain and ugly though it sat in a waving sea of lush barley fields. Below Gya the canyon widens out until in twelve miles it opens into the Indus Valley. We followed a small clear-water stream, ideal for trout, all the way down. The canyon was bleak and bare, more sterile-looking than anything Arizona can offer. There were partridge or [136] chukar in the canyon—buff-colored like those in Persia and a bit smaller than our grouse. The walls and slopes of the canyon were 233 being combed by goats herded by barefoot girls dressed in rags. 411 • These girls had long slingshots made of string and leather which 281 they whirled, throwing rocks at the goats to turn the herd and shift its direction.

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

●412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider
788 that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of
177 India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "zá", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoo-
753 thung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epileptic

[131]

●412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dso (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest
• [412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have
[177] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated.

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

the next day three small farmers who all had to finish with the watering 241
of their fields in one day. 312

The farmer in the mountainous wastes of Ladakh and Tibet where there is little rainfall it is totally dependent upon artificial methods of irrigation, for in the summer it often does not rain for weeks, yes, even for months. For this reason water is a very valuable commodity to the mountain inhabitant, the just distribution of which he jealously watches over; also, since time immemorial strict laws regulate the construction, maintenance, and use of the communal village pipeline. Every owner of a field, depending on the size of his property, must supply one or more persons for the communal work on this pipeline, [476] just as the length of time that he can use it is made to correspond to the size of the surface to be watered. Most water channels require considerable mending work year after year, since snow and mud avalanches often... large parts /there appears to be at least one line missing here in the original text, the preceding sentence being unfinished and the paragraph ending with the final part of another sentence:--translator./... all had to be ready with the watering in one day. /The latter is simply a repetition of the last line of the previous paragraph. --translator./

When the grain is about a span high the fields are weeded 241
with the care with which a gardener clears his cabbage patch of weeds. When the wheat is ripened it is not mowed with the blunt /32/ sickle [412] but is plucked out roots and all. The left hand grasps a bundle of stalks and the sickle in the right hand, which really acts more like a hook than like a cutting implement, plucks out the stalks. On the average the field holdings are very small and the harvest yield is scant in the high mountain areas, so that every inch of stalk is valuable as straw, as feed--not as litter--for the cattle. As a result the Tibetan farmer cannot afford to leave the stubbles standing. After the grain has been bound together in small sheaves and has been laid in rows on the field, in order to ripen fully after it has been gathered, it must be guarded against thieves; one of the men must "watch" among the sheaves at night; that is to say, he must sleep there, on the assumption that he will wake up at the slightest sound.

Among all peoples of the East threshing is done by cattle. Six to nine animals, oxen, cows, horses, and donkeys, often in variegated order, are tied together to a rope at short distances from each other. One end of the rope is fastened by a sling to a post which is planted in the middle of the circular threshing-floor. The threshing-floor is

/Following page 122/

335
412

Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are
264 completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth
●412 of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

576 With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching
291 head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as
782 out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature
241 seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the
759 mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 195 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 576 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

2: Ramsay--13 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[19] Tibet AJ1

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 788

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhôt" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--láma or lámba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

●415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 533 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face), khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tashão (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 781 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equivalent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 352 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 439 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 439 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

● 415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdockhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boc." 753

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
601

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least they called it a wood, although it was often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

5: Ribbach--28 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 32/

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Inhabitants of Ladakh.

It was extremely seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in 137
rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [753]
branches from the trees and had taken them home /34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-śiṅ, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 372
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

372 because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the
415 little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering

551 14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain
231 and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd
476 of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an old companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley,
231 slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; [291] there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on [415] the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

/Following page 112/

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Preparing of the butter tea

CHAPTER 11

HORSES, MULES, YAKS, AND MOTI

484 492 The ideal way to travel Central Asia is by horseback, unencumbered by any pack train. That is the way the Tibetans and Ladakhis travel. They ride the small Tibetan horse that stands about ten hands high, has husky shoulders and small feet, and possesses great endurance. The natives travel for weeks on end in this way. They have no pack animals to slow them down. Their only baggage is what they carry in saddlebags •415 or in the roomy pockets of their heavy wool coats. One of them 484 will have a pot and another a small wooden churn for mixing 574 *gur gur cha.* Each will carry a bowl, usually one of wood inlaid with silver or gold. Indeed one who travels Ladakh or Tibet without a bowl usually gets no food when he visits another's camp. The guest is supposed to hand the host his bowl if he wants the hospitality of the camp. These fast Tibetan or Ladakhi travelers carry salt, tea, butter, and flour in small woolen bags. They make fire with flint rather than with matches, and the fuel is usually the low *dama* bush that burns even when green.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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A TRAVELLING VENDOR.

Bringing his collection of curios for sale to shew the Dr. Sahib, and demonstrating with a song the excellence of his home-made fiddle. To the right is a lidded beer-pot, and on the small table a pot for pouring out libations.

[FRONTISPIECE]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 fitting a series of short horizontal boards into the slots cut in the sides of the framework. The big family stove is built of
252 a special black mud, deposited at the bottoms of rivers or streams, or dug from under the damp turf on their banks, which becomes very hard when dried. The stove is roughly square in form, with a hole at two or more corners round which
415 the hard mud is raised into three upward projections, thus
376 supporting the local rounded cooking-pots. These are made of copper and tinned over by the local blacksmith. We Europeans have to be very careful to have this lining kept intact to avoid copper poisoning, but one often finds the Ladaki brewing his tea in a pot from which all traces of tin have long ago vanished. Perhaps this is why we are so often upset
252 when we accept invitations to meals in their houses. In
372 front of the stove on the right-hand side is a projection of the same hardened mud, which is to accommodate the right-hand of the "fire blower," as he operates on the bellows. These are very effective instruments with a large nozzle pushed well under the glowing fuel, and an elongated bag of goat-skin at the outer end of which two small bars of wood are attached, with small loops of strongly-twisted thread in the middle. Through these the thumb and fingers are placed to open and close the mouth, and though it sounds and looks a simple process a certain knack must be acquired to get a good fire.
[357] Children of the house often keep it going, but the fire-blower is generally a sooty-faced, ragged woman servant, the counterpart of the old scullery-maid in the West. The stove has a large central tunnel with branches radiating out to the corner holes, and in the middle is a depression for the biggest hole of all.

752 Here the large pot of butter-tea is generally brewing. The tea, of which the best variety comes from Lhasa (where it is used as coinage) in bricks, is stewed for some hours, then mixed up in a special churn, phonetically named a *gurgur*, with butter, soda, salt and milk. Some writers have said our

752 Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one
262 or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates
• [415] out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be
574 taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host
554 or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace
352 —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove
[354] opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished
000 member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

made of creamy milk; it then has a delicious fruity flavour with a slight suggestion of wine. By early morning the *zho* in the large pot will have set, and the house-mother must rise early to churn it. She has a long instrument with leather fans on the end, which must be kept twirling in the pot, and it is a matter of some skill both to keep the curdled milk at the right temperature by adding hot or cold water, and to twist the churn at the correct rate. An experienced housewife eventually separates out a fine cone of yellow butter, while in the pot the sour buttermilk is left, the remainder of which, after having retained enough for the household's needs, is taken to the bazar to be sold. It is used for various kinds of food. Vegetables, which we would consider weeds, are collected from garden and field, washed, boiled, washed again, then kneaded, fried with onions and added to the *darra* or buttermilk. This mixture is used as a sauce with *zan* or *baba*, which is made by boiling the milled flour of roast wheat, barley and peas into a mash. The peas are like our English ones, but harder and more flavourless. The milk curds when set are also hung up in a bag, and after all the whey has dripped out and the curd dried, it is well pressed and cut into strips,—perhaps fried in butter and used in soup. From Yarkand come dried curds of horses' milk, which is also used for this purpose. Other changes in diet are afforded by mixing barley-flour into paste with a little *chang* or native beer, and allowing it to ferment. This is then dipped into and eaten with more *chang*. Another delicacy is made by mixing good butter, sugar and, perhaps, currants into a paste and eating it with chupattis like jam.

At the New Year a special dish is provided by making a round flat barley-cake, and pouring a little butter into a hole in the middle.

All this use of flour, whether of wheat or barley, presupposes the long processes of cleaning the grain, shaking it up and down on a *shupu* (a kind of straw tray), so that the loose husks blow away, and the little stones and odd bits which get

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

792 Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

346 353 779 532 [415] 779 788

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there
Are the beer nourishing the mother fields.

539x
585x

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head
The fluid /made/ of white barley
Is the beer of the Nyopas or the seven brothers.

The people:

Om, May things go well with you!

Notes to Kh. IIa and b[1]

This song stands in the manuscript of Khalatse in the place of Tag-ma-cig, song II, and it has already been published once in the Indian Antiquary, 1901.

The beautiful Tibetan beer jugs made of copper or of brass are usually provided with a snout fashioned in the shape of a snake's head. [45]

/65/ A Song about Good Luck

Kh. XIIa. The people of the house say:

1. Feathers not made of gold
But taken from the wild bird:
If you have three of those, then give them!
If you have nothing, then go away!

2. Little flags for the arrow,
But not made of silk:
If you have five of those, then give them!
If you have nothing, then go away!

3. Five measures of the grain of the gods,
But not consisting of barley:
If you have some, then give it!
But if you have nothing, then go away!

1 [See pp. 86-7, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/Illustrations and Photographs.[1]/

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531/ No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116-- Analyst]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 39. A typical Ladaki house from outside, at Leh.

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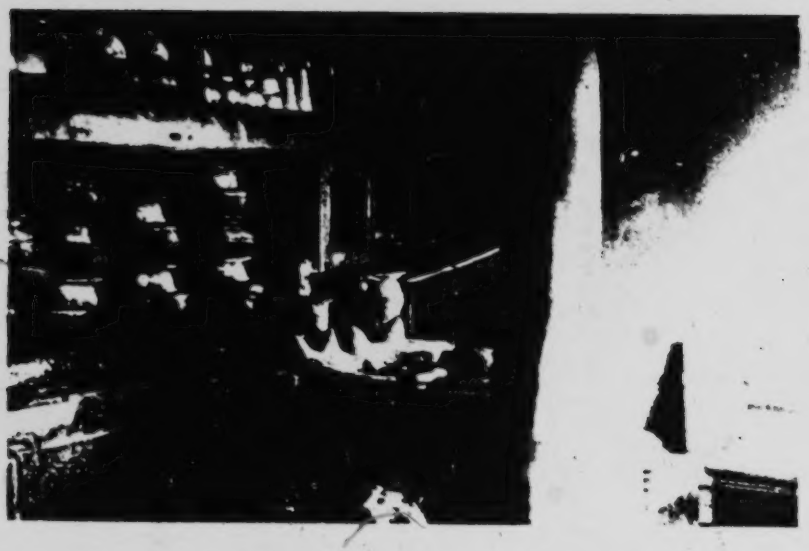

Fig. 40. The kitchen inside a Ladaki house, at Leh.

[P. 480 - C]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter I.

The District.

Configuration and sub-divisions of *wazíri* Láhaul.

lakes in this country, two on the Bhága and one on the Chandra near the Pálamo pass. This last is much the largest, being three quarters of a mile or more long. The water in all is fresh and very clear. In this vast region of alps and ice, it will be readily understood that habitable spots and cultivated fields are few and far between. They are found only in the lower valleys of the Chandra and Bhága, the remainder of the canton being desolate and completely uninhabited, save when, for a few weeks in summer, the Kúlu shepherds bring up their flocks for pasturage. The inhabited part of the Chandra valley is called by Láhaulis Rangloi, that of the Bhága, Gárá, and that of the Chandra-Bhága, Pattan.

The scenery in Láhaul is almost oppressive from its grandeur, and it is wild and desolate, for the villages and cultivated lands are mere specks on these vast mountain slopes. But there is something pretty and smiling about the near view of the villages, especially in Pattan and the lower part of Gárá. There is nothing striking in the flat-roofed two-storeyed houses, which are massed together in one or two blocks, so as to give in-door communication in winter; but the clumps of pollard willows standing in plots of smooth green turf, and the terraced fields neatly kept and waving with thick crops of wheat or barley, are pleasant to look at. On the banks of the fields and under the small canals are the *dang* or hay fields, in which the grass grows luxuriantly, mixed with bright flowers as in an English meadow, and here and there in bush or hedge are wild roses, bright crimson or bright yellow, and wild currant or gooseberry trees. Wherever water is brought, all this verdure springs up, but without irrigation the ground is so nearly barren that not only no crop will grow, but there is so little grass that at a short distance you would think there was no green thing on it. This description, however, does not apply to the upper villages in Gárá and the greater part of Rangloi; here there are few or no trees or bushes round the villages which have a very bleak look, but the grass grows thick and green on the hills without irrigation. In a few places the slopes immediately above the villages are thinly covered with *kail* (*Pinus excelsa*) or pencil cedar (*Juniper excelsa*) and higher up, here and there, there are patches of birch wood. Near the villages on the road-sides are long dykes or walls of stone from four to five feet high and a yard or more broad, on the top of which are placed slabs or round stones, on which the *ommáni pádme hún* and other Buddhist texts or *mantras* are inscribed. *Chodhten* or *Dangten*, which are curiously-shaped conical-buildings erected in honour of some saint or incarnation or as the mausoleum or relic temple of some *lámá* or great man, are found in the same situations. Above the villages, sometimes on the hillside and often under the shade or on the very face of a precipice, are seen the *gonpas* or monasteries of the *lámás* with flags flying and whitewashed walls. The average elevation of the cultivated and inhabited portion of Láhaul is estimated by General Cunningham at over 11,000 feet. Mr. Lyall, on the other hand, puts it at something less than 10,000. The highest villages are in the lower part of the valley of the Bhága, where one, named Kangser, is mentioned by Mr. Lyall at an elevation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

312 Chapter, III, D.
423 Village Communities and Tenures.
425

general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kothí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, their power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Begár or forced abour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

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Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Lachá, Shinkál or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Bupahá, over the Bára Lácha	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Lácha ...	Rupees 2 cash, 35lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkál ...	Rupees 2 cash, 22lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 22lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kom chengpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom fitha*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

Chapter V, B. Land and Land Revenue. Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Láhaul.

The whole of Láhaul appears to have been at one time portioned out among a few petty barons or Thákurs, who were the lords of whom the *yulfa* or villagers held their holdings. Four of these baronial families have survived up to the present day, two in full and two in partial possession of their estates; the rest are said to have been gradually extirpated by the Rájas of Kúlu. Under the Rájas the Thákurs were allowed to exist supreme in their own estates, but paid a heavy annual tribute or *nazarána* for them in the shape of a certain number of ponies, pieces of cloth, &c. In the rest of the country, *i.e.*, the *khálsa* or royal *kothís*, the Rája took the place of the extinct Thákurs, and managed them through an official with the rank of a *wazír*. The Thákurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothís*, were compelled to attend the Rája at his capital Sultánpur for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them. This was the origin of the present annual emigration of a very large part of the Láhaul population to their winter quarters in Akhára, a suburb of Sultánpur. The *tal* or land-revenue of Láhaul was taken in fixed items of cash, grain, and cloth, levied at equal rates on all the *jeolas* in each *kothí*. This was the rule, but sometimes some small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water-supply. Another item of revenue was the *chatrí* or colts; a filly belonged to the owner of the mare, but all colts born in Láhaul went to the Rája in *khálsa*, and to the Thákur in *jágír kothís*.

Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul).

When the Sikhs ousted the Rája of Kúlu, they collected the cash and grain from the *khálsa kothís*, and the *nazaránas* from the Thákurs as before; but on the pretence that they did not demand any service of either Thákur or landholder, they imposed an additional cess, under the name of *betangná* of rupees six per *jeola* on every holding, whether in the *khálsa* or the *jágír kothís*. When three years later we took over the country from the Sikhs, we found it nominally assessed at Rs. 5,000, which included grazing dues on foreign sheep and fines, besides land-revenue. This was reduced to Rs. 4,200 at once, next year to Rs. 3,200, and at Regular Settlement to Rs. 2,150, of which Rs. 240 were tribute payable by the Thákurs, and Rs. 1,910 regular land-revenue. When, however, this last sum came to be distributed by the people themselves over the *jeolas* of the *khálsa kothís*, it proved to be in excess of the old fixed cash assessment, and the landholders were not apparently informed that the old grain assessment, and other items were abolished. They, therefore, argued among themselves that the excess

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 Chapter V, B.

651 Land and Land Revenue.

421 Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul.)

must be considered as part of the Sikh *betongná*, and distributed it equally on all *jeolas*, whether in *jágír* or *khálsa kothís*. In this way, on account of this excess, a sum of Rs. 150 out of the Rs. 1,910 was made payable by the Thákurs, who raised the money and something to spare, by imposing a new cess on the *jeolas* in their *jágírs*. The *khálsa jeolas* paid each their old cash assessment, plus a rateable share of the rest of the excess. No notice was taken in practice of the *khewat* or rent-roll, which had been made out by the *tahsíldár* of Kúlu under Mr. Barnes' orders. All old cesses were lawfully enough collected, as before, in *jágír kothís*, and in *khálsa* ones the *négi*, without authority, maintained most of them as perquisites of his office. Mr. Barnes had appointed one *négi* for the whole of Láhaul (in place of the *wazírs* of the Rájas), and one *lambardár* for each *kothí*. The *panchotra*, or fee ordinarily assigned to *lambardárs*, was divided between them and the *négi*. The first *négi* was a Bráhman of Pattan. It is not surprising that the *khewat* was not accepted by the Láhaulís, for it was in fact in every way a very inaccurate document, besides being in a form not easily to be understood by them. Mr. Barnes was never able to visit Láhaul himself: two or three hill *patwáris*, under no supervision, were sent over the passes, and brought back to the *tahsíldár* what purported to be appraisements of the arable lands held by the several landholders of each *kothí*. From them the *khewat* was made out at Sultánpur. The old cesses were maintained at first even in *khálsa kothís*. About the time when the original *négi* was dismissed and Thákur Tára Chand appointed in his stead, the grain dues ceased to be collected; but the *chatrá* or colts, and the *dhárkar* or *rigatal* (that is, the rents of sheep-runs paid by Gaddís), still continued to go into the *négi's* pocket. In 1862, Mr. Lyall brought the fact to the notice of the Government. In the end the rents of the sheep-runs were formerly granted for life to Tára Chand in recognition of his services. With regard to the colts no decided orders were given; but two or three years ago, when the Government directed the *négi* of Láhaul to discontinue a certain tribute which the Láhaulí's had been in the custom of paying through him to the representative of the Mahárájá of Jamú in Ladákh, Tára Chand, of his own accord, remitted taking the colts in *khálsa kothís*, on the ground that he had only taken them hitherto as a set-off against the expenses of the tribute in question. Regarding the Regular Settlement, Mr. Lyall writes:—

647 651 648

"The administration papers for the *khálsa kothís* in Láhaul, prepared at Regular Settlement, were on the same model as those for Kúlu. In so far as they have affected the Láhaulís, they might, like the *khewats*, have just as well not been prepared at all. No records were prepared for *jágír kothís*. In them, therefore, in my opinion, the old customary tenure of land remains in force: in the *khálsa kothís* it must be considered to have been to some extent altered by arrangements made at Regular Settlement, and to be that which I have already described, as in my opinion the existing tenure in Kúlu and Seoráj."

[421]

Mr. Lyall redistributed Mr. Barnes' assessment, both over *kothís* and over *jeolas* or holdings.

tery, the lama dances, the Incarnate Lama, and how he was discovered. He told how the Incarnate Lama is first taught the Scriptures—the text of what Buddha said—and then the Commentaries. This religious training is followed by reading, writing, and arithmetic. And when the boy reaches thirteen or fourteen he goes to Lhasa for ten years of indoctrination. Phuntzog, teacher to the present Incarnate Lama, was also teacher, as a young man, to the predecessor Incarnate Lama. 792

From these topics we turned to Communism, to the relation between the monasteries and the people, and to the host of problems of concern to Ladakh and Lamaism in 1951. The Lobon spoke freely and without restraint about all subjects but one. The one on which he froze was the land problem in Ladakh—the extent of the holdings of the monastery, the work of the lama who serves as the business head of Hemis, the system of land tenancy, and the rents which Hemis as landlord collects. On this subject he was silent. 521 [421]

Then, and at other times when there was a pause, I would bring the conversation back to the Incarnate Lama and Phuntzog's role as teacher. Near the end of our conversation, I told him about one of my own great teachers, Harlan Fiske Stone, who was Dean of the Columbia Law School when I enrolled as a first-year student in 1922. I took my first course in law from him, the course in Personal Property. When I graduated from law school, Stone was an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Fourteen years later I joined him there; and in a few years he became Chief Justice. As Chief he presided at our Saturday conferences where all the cases argued during the preceding week were discussd and voted upon. Stone, as is customary with every Chief Justice, stated each case and led the discussion on it. More often than not, Stone and I ended voting together. Sometimes we were on opposite sides of a case. Once when the vote was close, Stone looked down the table at me and said with a twinkle in his eye, "Douglas, I can understand how some of our brethren

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except 852
a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically.

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite 584
unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have 591
arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The [421]
property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex.

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by 583
custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady.

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted
into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small 586
one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog."

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595
the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597
is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; [428] the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584
with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787] parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583] "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421] loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

584 tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This
583 will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called
421 *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston*
585 (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will
936 amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their
583 daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

584 In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

December brings snow to the valleys. Thus Lahul is frozen tight 132
most of the year. There is no place for much stock. A dzo or a [422]
cow or two is all a family has.

Even the independent farmers work land that usually is not 423
theirs. They are largely squatters on government domain—families who have taken a likely-looking bench above a river, cleared it of rocks, and planted barley. Maybe the project prospered; more than likely it failed. And so one sees along the Chandra and the Bhaga grim outlines of old fields long forsaken. The family has moved on to another location, seeking brighter prospects.

I sat with my Sikh friend, Mahindar Singh Randhawa, the 695
Tehsildar of Kyelang, as he held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang. We sat in the open at a table on the edge of a stand of ancient juniper three or four feet in diameter while alpine choughs (glossy black with yellow beaks and red legs) soared overhead. Lahulis had come in from miles around for the court session. The men stood huddled around us, twisting their brimless and loosely woven wool caps. They were awed by the occasion—solemn and frightened too. This was the long arm of the law reaching out from remote Delhi to touch the lowliest of them. Their womenfolk and children had come to court with them. The women sat quietly in a circle on the perimeter of the court, knitting stockings and nursing babies. Women and children were also grim. There was no laughter in the crowd, no playfulness among the youngsters. This was the day of reckoning for their menfolk.

This court had no marshal, no court crier to announce it—no "oyez, oyez, oyez." The Tehsildar convened court by calling the names of the cases. The cases were actually *Punjab* vs. *Sonam*, *Punjab* vs. *Thundup*, *Punjab* vs. *Tsering*, etc. But this kind
and warmhearted judge merely called the names of the farmers, 695
and each replied. There were dozens of cases, and they took 687
hours. The following is typical.

"Sonam, where is your farm?"

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
, Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These
465 are employed from spring until autumn, their remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the banks of the Chomoriri lake, but they are small and 241
hard. The turnips at Lé and at Tamisgong are good and palatable.

III.—CULTIVATION.

All cultivable land is called *Zhing*,* and this term is also generally used for a field of any kind. Good rich land is called *Zhing-zang;* stony land is called *Ri-zhing*, that is literally, "hilly land;" and meadow land is called *Thang-zhing*, that is, "plain land." All the cultivable 311
land in Ladák lies along the courses of the small streams, and in patches on the banks of the great rivers. In the bed of the Indus especially there are large tracts of grass-land which are never brought under cultivation, but are kept solely for the grazing of cattle.

Landlords are called *Zhing-pa* and *Zhing-dag*. The 423
poor cultivate the lands themselves, but the wealthy 462
employ regular labourers. The *Glapa*,† or labouring 465
man, holds the plough (*thong* or *shól*‡), while the *Glapa-mo*, or labouring woman, breaks the clods or digs the upturned earth. The women also irrigate the fields, and cut the crops. The ploughman, *Thong-pa* or *Moba*, and the diggers, *Ko-pápo* and *Kopámo*,§ are usually paid by the month (*da-phok*‖). Yáks are employed in drawing the 241
plough, which is of wood, the share being only tipped with iron; but many of the fields are dug by the hand with a peculiarly-shaped mattock, *ko-byed*,¶ of which

* *Zhing*, arable land; *Zhing-bZang*, rich land; *Ri-Zhing*, hilly land; *Thang-Zing*, plain land.

† *Gla-pa*, a labouring woman is called *Gla-pa-mo*.

‡ *Thong* or *Shol*, or sometimes *Thong-shol*.

§ *Thong-pa* or *rMo-ba*, a ploughman. The diggers are *rKo-pa-po* and *rKo-pa-mo*.

‖ *Zla-Phogs*, pronounced *Da-Phok*, "monthly pay."

¶ *rKo-byed*, called also *Toq-tse*.

423 [2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding,"
804 which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a
24h "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and
[651] a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

597 ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of
[583] from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children.
[428] Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [423] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 755

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srâchan or SHrâchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladâkis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistân and women of Ladâk.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladâk women to adopt the faith of Islâm, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladâk, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHôns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHôns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHôn." ArGHôns are never polyandrists, and though

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary, advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [473] [439] 563 473 443 The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--áney (or bómo) duksa khángpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

WT Jiksten-gonpo.

779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.

795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna). Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

WT As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
661 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
792 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
241 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
651 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal
423 of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid any revenue whatsoever.

WT The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
792 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to
795 spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

WT
792 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
795 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámas may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
T considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
788 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they
648 therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leader-
565 ship of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
WT Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
648 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
554 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
661 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
T lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
648 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
661 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
648 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
439 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
554 profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 423

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chirmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "tháng," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "tháng" may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángtháng not in Ladak: they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, 657
but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people 656
object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment
of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and 651
kind levied on land varies very much: thus the monasteries 423
pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay 565
about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay
about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of
land to be 1·6, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials
1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively.

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of 788
a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a
rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead
on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has
told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108
"thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113,
these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks
the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are
for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told."

As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme, hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Kángbum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following 779
fanciful explanation is given:-- 775

There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khorároo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

584 painted his nephew in glowing colors as the model of a young Tibetan farmer; he nettled the people from the Chirpon house by saying that the Dragshos had also once been highly respected officials of the kings and war heroes, that they were well-to-do if not rich, and that the fine property with the two summer places (35) in Nyermo and Skambur

[423] 35. "Summer place" (dbyar-sa) is the designation for the part of a farmer's landholding which lies apart from the rest of his fields in a highland plateau. Usually it has a house belonging to it from which one or two persons work and water the fields through the summer.

was free from encumbrance.

For a long time the arguments and counterarguments had gone back and forth, and time and again the old, sly Chirpon (Norbu Wangchug) boasted about the /58/ "brilliant matches" with the galons and nonos (titles of young noblemen) that his daughter could enter into. In answer to this Stobsldan repeated equally stubbornly the praises of the Dragshos people. As a final trump he characterized the "brilliant matches" with which he was perfectly acquainted. He said that the "aristocratic fathers" concerned, who desired Chosskyid as a bride for their sons, were both deeply in debt, one to the monastery Hemis, the other to the neighboring monastery Lamayuru, and moreover, the son of the galon was an extravagant, licentious person who through his wastefulness had brought his own father into misfortune and debts; also, the galon's son had already been a few days in jail in Leh once because of an evil prank. The other suitor, he continued, was a harmless but stupid person whose suit had already been refused by more than one girl, that is to say, by her father. At this Norbu Wangchug became more and more quiet, and when finally the conversation had come to an end and everything was properly splashed with beer, then, as the matchmaker was mounting on his horse, the housewife Deskyid had whispered to him: "Well, Acho! (older brother)! Try it some time soon with the "asking beer" (dri-ĉan)! After all, it is still possible to talk about the matter." When the initially shocked and disappointed parents and p'as-pun heard this, their faces lighted up again and that very same evening it was decided to send the asking beer soon to Tingmogang.

431 The Asking Beer (36)

36 Tibetan dri-ĉan, meaning "asking beer," also slon-ĉan,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Distribution of property among castes in Láhaul.

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The following statement will show the distribution of property among different castes in Láhaul, as it stood at the revision of settlement :—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Castes.	Number of families.	Number of holdings or separate lots.	Number of cheres-holders.	Arable lands and hay fields.	Revenue demand.
Bráhmans	20	70	121	206	154
Thákurs, including Deteons ...	29	50	75	604	303
Kanets and Tibetans ...	470	799	1,257	3,304	2,441
Dágis and other low castes ...	43	206	145	126	94
Lands attached to temples or institutions	...	63	69	151	65

Of the *jeolas* or household allotments, which are described under the head of tenures, there are about 530, which are all held by men of the first three castes.

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Intercourse between castes in Láhaul.

The word used in Láhaul for *got* or clan, or rather for the corresponding idea, is *rus*, which means bone, and, as applied to a class, denotes those descended from a common ancestor. But there is as much license in Láhaul as in Kúlu with regard to intermarriage. The Thákurs take Kanet women as *srójat*, not as *lahri*; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered as pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal. These women are known as *chunma* or workers. Bráhmans also have Kanet women in their houses; and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers will not eat from their hands; but they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru*, and marry Kanets, or women of mixed caste if they can find any. There are many *gurus* in Láhaul, but they call themselves Bráhmans. Where the father is not known, or where there is any doubt, illegitimate children follow the caste of their mothers. Bráhmans, Thákurs and Kanets will smoke together in Láhaul; and Bráhmans will drink water, tea or *lugri* from the hands of a Kanet, but will not even eat *sachi roti*. The Kanets say they will not smoke with a Dágí (*sepi*). No Kanéts wear the *janeo* in Láhaul. Thákurs will eat *pakki* or *sachi roti* from the hands of a Kanet; but not *kachi roti*, except those Thákurs who do not wear the *janeo*. It is said that Lohárs, Hensís, and Barárás intermarry and eat together. A Dágí (*sepi*) is considered above a Lohár. He will not eat with him, nor give him his daughter in marriage; but he will take a Lohár woman to wife. A Dágí and a Lohár will smoke together from the same pipe.

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[848]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. 564

Village Communities and Tenures.

Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *táwás* or *togochás*.

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Leading families. 564

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

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SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages. 694 621 423

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 Chapter III, D.

621 Village Communities and Tenures.

423 Sub-divisions in Láhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Láhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

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173 Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

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The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Rangloi, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1½ or 1¼. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháksi* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháksis* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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427 Rights of the Thakúrs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeola*, a *káng chúmpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *loháris* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *loháris* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior proprietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *loháris*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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certain patches of waste land known as *dang piri*, which are like the cultivated fields, the property of individuals, and included in their holdings; they are situated below the water channels or on the sides of the fields, and, with the help of irrigation, produce abundant crops of hay. The rest of the waste must be held to be the property of the Thákur, subject to the rights of use belonging by custom to the subordinate landholders.

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

The best way to describe the nature of the rents and services rendered to the Thákurs by the subordinate landholders will be to give a detail of them as they exist in one *jágír*. For example, *sothi* Ghumrang contains 58 *yulfa jeolas*, or full-sized villager's holdings, 24 full-sized holdings of *cháksis* or retainers, and eight of *káng chumpás* or farm servants. The rent paid by the peasant proprietors on a full *jeola* or holding consists of the following items:—

No.	Name of item.	Rate per *jeola*.	REMARKS.
1	Old cash assessment ...	4-8-0	On fourteen *jeolas* Rs. 5 are taken.
2	Grain (*sotdí*)	2 *lákh* 3 *páth* of barley	Three *jeolas* pay 6, and three pay 4 *lákh*.
3	Phari (cloth)	1 Phari or eight annas in cash.	Cash now always taken.
4	Buri (lit. Bribes) ...	From Rs. 5-4 to 2-8.	
5	Betangna	Rs. 2 cash.	

The last item was put on by the Thákur at the Regular Settlement; the other items are all of old standing.

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The following is a list of the periodical services rendered to the Thákur by the men of this same class according to the custom of the manor of Ghumrang;—

(1) On certain days, known as *bésti* days, each *jeola* has to furnish one man to work on the Thákur's *garhpán* land. The Thákur supplies food and drink, but no pay. There are eleven *besti* days in the year, but two, the sowing and the mowing days, are distinguished as the big *bestis*; on them a man for each *jeola* attends, on the other nine only some fifteen or sixteen men who live handy actually attend; the others remain at home, and pay the Thákur annually, in lieu of attendance, the sum of one rupee under the name of *besti* money.

(2). Each *jeola* is bound to stable and feed, for the six months of the winter, one of the Thákur's horses; one horse to a *jeola* is allowed to be the old standard; but as the Thákur has not so many horses, it has been customary for two *jeolas* to divide between them the care and charges of one horse.

(3). Each *jeola* is bound to convey once in the year eight or nine *páth* or about sixteen pounds of rice (a light goat or sheep load) from the Kúlu valley to the Thákur's house in Láhaul.

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Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

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(4). It is the custom in all *kothís* of Láhaul for the regular landholders each year to provide in turn a certain number of men to undertake the duty of supplying the common quarters of the *kothí* at Akhára, in Kúlu, with fuel. For the six winter months spent in Kúlu these men are steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they are in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, which sum is raised by a rate on all the *jeolas* of the *kothí*. In Ghumrang, each year four *jeolas* furnish four men for this duty, and they are also bound to carry loads for the Thákur in going to and from his house to Akhára, and to furnish him, as well as the subordinate landholders, with fuel while he remains there.

There are no *dotoen* or cadet families in the Ghumrang *jágír*. In other *jágírs* the *dotoen* are said after a time, when the sense of relationship to the Thákur has become faint, to be degraded into *cháksis*, and forced to do service for their holdings. A *cháksi* holding is held rent-free in lieu of the following services:—It is bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the Thákur, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, &c. As, however, there are many *cháksi* holdings in Ghumrang, the custom now is that three holdings at a time furnish one man each for ten days, and then re-call their men till their turn comes again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously, they pay the Thákur eight annas per month per holding, or six rupees per annum. A few of the *cháksis* are distinguished by the term of *lálok* or pass-crossers. These, instead of having to furnish a man for personal attendance, are only bound to furnish a man to cross a pass, either to Ladákh, Zánskár or Kúlu on the Thákur's business. If they cross a pass once in the year, the rest of it is their own, and they have no payment to make, but if not called upon to cross a pass, they pay seven rupees per annum as relief or *betangná*. Some *cháksis* of all kinds now pay seven rupees regularly in lieu of all services by agreement with the Thákur. All *cháksi* holdings send a man to work on the two big *besti* days, not on the others.

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Káng chumpá may be translated cottager. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the Thákur's house or on his *garhpán* land. Some holdings of this kind will be found near wherever the Thákur has *garhpán*. When there is much work, the head of the family attends in person, otherwise he sends his wife, or son, or daughter. The person who is in attendance gets food five times a day, and does field work of every kind, or cuts and brings in wood or grass, sweeps the house, or combs wool, &c. Those who live at a distance from the Thákur's house cannot practically attend; they, therefore, do only field work on the *garhpán* land near them; but as they in this way get off lighter than the others, they are bound to feed and keep one sheep for the Thákur during the winter months. Some *káng chumpás* now pay five rupees per annum to the Thákur in lieu of all service.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Thákur takes the *chatrú* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned.

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c.

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talákdár* of a village in the plains.

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *detom*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kóthí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, their power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Begár or forced abour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

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Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Láchá, Shinkál or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Rupshú, over the Bára Láchá	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Láchá ...	Rupees 2 cash, 36lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkál ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognised limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kow* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kow chenpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom fitka*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

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The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

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Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *káng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *káng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as a hearth-tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of the land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *káng chímpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *ránki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *káng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *ránki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *káng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *káng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *ránki*

* In Pin *kothi* the *lamas* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprung, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

425 Chapter III, D. — Village Communities and Tenures. 651

dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

423 592 792

In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

423 Holdings or allotments other than those of the *taifá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti). [427]

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son. [651]

Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhazing* or God-

423 792 465 423 778

* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, *viz.*, three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, *&c.*

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

423 Government control over waste.

649

both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *nautor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négi* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négi* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Pattan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

622 [651] [623]

In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemno* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugán* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugán* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

[651]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) [illegible]-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 233

Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul. [22]

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *siru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khanddh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *wariat* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wasír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *phátis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Koksar, which,

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[425]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Koksar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *négi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *pháti* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

597 582 It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
523 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

> *Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.*
> *When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.*
> *They married happily.*
> *After marriage the girl left Lahul*
> *And went and lived with her husband,*
> *Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.**

• 423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

*See page 333, category 116

December brings snow to the valleys. Thus Lahul is frozen tight 132
most of the year. There is no place for much stock. A dzo or a [422]
cow or two is all a family has.

Even the independent farmers work land that usually is not 423
theirs. They are largely squatters on government domain—families who have taken a likely-looking bench above a river, cleared it of rocks, and planted barley. Maybe the project prospered; more than likely it failed. And so one sees along the Chandra and the Bhaga grim outlines of old fields long forsaken. The family has moved on to another location, seeking brighter prospects.

I sat with my Sikh friend, Mahindar Singh Randhawa, the 695
Tehsildar of Kyelang, as he held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang. We sat in the open at a table on the edge of a stand of ancient juniper three or four feet in diameter while alpine choughs (glossy black with yellow beaks and red legs) soared overhead. Lahulis had come in from miles around for the court session. The men stood huddled around us, twisting their brimless and loosely woven wool caps. They were awed by the occasion—solemn and frightened too. This was the long arm of the law reaching out from remote Delhi to touch the lowliest of them. Their womenfolk and children had come to court with them. The women sat quietly in a circle on the perimeter of the court, knitting stockings and nursing babies. Women and children were also grim. There was no laughter in the crowd, no playfulness among the youngsters. This was the day of reckoning for their menfolk.

This court had no marshal, no court crier to announce it—no "oyez, oyez, oyez." The Tehsildar convened court by calling the names of the cases. The cases were actually *Punjab* vs. *Sonam*, *Punjab* vs. *Thundup*, *Punjab* vs. *Tsering*, etc. But this kind
and warmhearted judge merely called the names of the farmers, 695
and each replied. There were dozens of cases, and they took 687
hours. The following is typical.

"Sonam, where is your farm?"

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the northwest; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy systems:

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

•423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

426 loans. But ancient habits are hard to break. I do not know the
456 extent to which these new Kashmir laws are observed. There are
671 ugly stories about current usurious practices. About 95 per cent of the agricultural loans in Ladakh are repayable in kind. Monasteries advance food in the winter to tenants. Barley advanced when the grain is sixty cents must be repaid when the grain is thirty cents. Isn't repayment of twice the amount of the loan a kind of usury?

423 Kashmir has gone far in breaking up its feudal system based
671 on landownership. Under its new law every landowner is en-
425 titled to keep 182 *kanals* of land. The government has taken the rest of each owner's holdings and distributed it to the tenants. In the vicinity of Leh over twenty thousand acres have passed from twenty-four landlords to the peasants. The distribution at Leh, as at other places in Ladakh, was free, the peasants not paying for the land. Nor, to date, has the government paid the owners any compensation. Whether or not they should pay is a political question that agitates Kashmir.

425 Payment of just compensation, in the American sense, is impossible. The holdings were so large and so vast that it would take all the wealth of the state to compensate the old owners by our constitutional standards. Nehru and I discussed the problem in Delhi in August 1951.

"If the former owners get paid the full value of their land they will still own the wealth of the nation," Nehru said. And they would. New people would own the land. But the bulk of the revenues would still flow to the old owners.

Various ideas are being discussed for compensating the owners: payment that avoids confiscation; an annuity to the owner for his life and a lesser annuity to his children for their lives. What Kashmir will eventually do has not been decided. But in two important respects Kashmir has not touched the land problem.

It has not distributed the landholdings of the King of Ladakh, who completely owns the village of Stok not far from Leh. It has

425 not distributed the landholdings of the monasteries. Though some twenty thousand acres were taken from twenty-four landlords in the vicinity of Leh, as I have said, nine thousand acres, belonging to the monasteries, were left untouched.

671 The truth is that the Kashmir law excepts these holdings from
•423 its operation. In the case of the King of Ladakh, the exception is
792 not important, for his holdings are not great. He probably was
425 excluded because the monasteries all around his estate were excluded. The monasteries were excluded because the power of the lamas is so great that the government did not deem it expedient to disturb the status quo.

I heard various versions of that decision. One official in Leh said to me, "If a monastery has five hundred lamas, in fairness each lama would be entitled to 182 *kanals* on a redistribution of the land. That would at times result in an increase in the holdings of the monastery."

Another official had a different view: "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, who will support them?" he asked. He went on to explain that, while the monasteries collect some funds from the people, these funds are inadequate for the support of the lamas. The people are poor and can give very little. What they do give are small sums on festival days, on marriages, and the like. There is no sustaining congregation as we know it. The monasteries are utterly dependent on the land for their support.

This official added, "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, then the government must support the monasteries. That would be bad."

"Because church and state should be separate?" I asked.

"No. Because the government could not afford to maintain the monasteries."

792 The bald truth is that the lamas are a powerful political force. The position of the lamas is strong. If A were running against B for public office and the lamas sent word down that B was hostile to the church, there is no doubt A would be elected.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monasteries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth.

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
● [473] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
731 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers. 4r3 4r8 The house and the land and all the children belong to the eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre-601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences, 764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms. 764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus 614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance [791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

241 787 before a verdict as to the propitious moment for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 685 691 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that [273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 624 An adequate supply of water from rivers, glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water 241 supply). In cases where there is a communal 312 reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and 241
irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation 312
from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow.

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly 423
computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), 241
or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is 804
his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.'

The average amount of land possessed by a 423
single farmer is that which can be ploughed by 241
one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold.

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields [176]
which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use.

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the 241
land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on.

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown [172]
for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees.

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

423

[Information on the maintenance of estates intact within a polyandrous family through joint ownership of land by brothers who are co-husbands will be found in category 428.]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country. 105 631 [651]

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants. [115]

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size. 105 423 [631] [651] [241]

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields [631]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
966 labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
221 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she [591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous [115] people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accompanied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

423 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
428 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
595 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re- [584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [985]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nang-dzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 423 651

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

105 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the
423 soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of
651 unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of
423 Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals
427 as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in
241 Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the
[134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing
[23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

595 428 [423] whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. [586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 [184] Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] [842] The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not [177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar- [585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
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000 built on the declivity in horizontal lines one above the other, resemble the steps of an enormous altar, of which the temple of Tāranātha Lāma appears to constitute "the tabernacle." Huc says it contains 30,000 monks!

Kuku Khotun, or "blue city," near the northern bend of the Yellow river, is said by Huc to have formerly been the seat of Jetsun-Dam-pa. It contains five monasteries with about 20,000 Lāmas.

IN SIBERIA.

In south Siberia, amongst the Buriats, near the Baikal lake, a large monastery is on a lake thirty versts to the north-west of Selinginsk, and the presiding monk is called the K'an-po Paṇḍita, and claims to be a re-incarnate Lama.[1]

IN EUROPE.

The Kālmak Tartars on the Volga have only temporary, nomadic cloisters and temples, that is to say tents, in which they put up their holy pictures and images, and celebrate divine service. Such temporary cloisters are called "Churull," and consist of two different sorts of tents or *Jurten* (Oergö), the assembly hall of the clergy (Churullün-Oergö) and of the gods and image hall (*Schitäni* or *Burchanün-Oergö*). Some of these *Churulls* contain a hundred priests.

IN LADĀK AND LITTLE TIBET.

792 He-mi (or "Himis" of survey map). This fine old monastery is
361 situated about 11,000 feet above the sea-level, in a lateral ravine that joins the Indus, a day's journey (eighteen miles SSE.) above Leh, on the left bank of that river. From its secluded position this was one of the few monasteries which escaped destruction on the invasion of the country by the Dogras under Wazir Gerawar, who ruthlessly destroyed much Lāmaist property, so that more interesting and curious objects, books, dresses, masks, etc., are found at Himis than in any other monastery in Ladāk. It was built by sTag-stan-ras-ch'en, and its proper title is *Ch'aṅ-ch'ub sam-liṅ*.

[796] The "Himis-fair," with its mask plays, as held on St. Padma-sambhava's day in summer, is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladāk.
[423] This Lāmasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladāk, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The Lāmas seem to be of the Ñiṅ-ma sect (according to Marx[2] they are Dug-pa, but he appears to use Dug-pa as synonymous with *Red cap* sect). To the same sect also belongs Ts'en-re and sTag-na. A fine photograph of this monastery is given by Mr. Knight,[3] and one of its courts is shown in his illustration of the mystic play reproduced at p. 528

792 "The principal entrance to the monastery is through a massive door,
346 from which runs a gently sloping and paved covered way leading into a

[1] Köppen, *op. cit.* [2] *Loc. cit.*, 188. [3] *Where Three Empires Meet.*

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A[illegible]1
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

[795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are 423 known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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621 Village Communities and Tenures.

423 Sub-divisions in Láhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Láhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

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173 Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

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The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Rangloi, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1½ or 1¼. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *chákri* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, for Dágis and other low castes $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewaseals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *chákris* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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[651] Village Communities and Tenures.

427 Rights of the Thakúrs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeolá*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *lohárs* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *lohárs* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *lohárs*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Thákur takes the *chatrú* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned.

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c.

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talúkdár* of a village in the plains.

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dejoom*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kothí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, there power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Begár or forced abour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

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Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Lachá, Shinkál or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Rupshú, over the Bára Lácha	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Lácha ...	Rupees 2 cash, 36lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkál ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

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423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *káng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *káng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as a hearth-tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of the land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *káng chimpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *ránki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *káng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *ránki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *káng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *káng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *ránki*

* In Pin *kothi* the *kasas* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprang, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

423 592 792

In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

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Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

[427] [651]

Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhaziug* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talrichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 233

Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul. [22]

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *niru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leáves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *wariśi* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *pháttis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Koksar, which,

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[425]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

426 loans. But ancient habits are hard to break. I do not know the
456 extent to which these new Kashmir laws are observed. There are
671 ugly stories about current usurious practices. About 95 per cent of the agricultural loans in Ladakh are repayable in kind. Monasteries advance food in the winter to tenants. Barley advanced when the grain is sixty cents must be repaid when the grain is thirty cents. Isn't repayment of twice the amount of the loan a kind of usury?

423 Kashmir has gone far in breaking up its feudal system based
671 on landownership. Under its new law every landowner is en-
425 titled to keep 182 *kanals* of land. The government has taken the rest of each owner's holdings and distributed it to the tenants. In the vicinity of Leh over twenty thousand acres have passed from twenty-four landlords to the peasants. The distribution at Leh, as at other places in Ladakh, was free, the peasants not paying for the land. Nor, to date, has the government paid the owners any compensation. Whether or not they should pay is a political question that agitates Kashmir.

425 Payment of just compensation, in the American sense, is impossible. The holdings were so large and so vast that it would take all the wealth of the state to compensate the old owners by our constitutional standards. Nehru and I discussed the problem in Delhi in August 1951.

"If the former owners get paid the full value of their land they will still own the wealth of the nation," Nehru said. And they would. New people would own the land. But the bulk of the revenues would still flow to the old owners.

Various ideas are being discussed for compensating the owners: payment that avoids confiscation; an annuity to the owner for his life and a lesser annuity to his children for their lives. What Kashmir will eventually do has not been decided. But in two important respects Kashmir has not touched the land problem.

It has not distributed the landholdings of the King of Ladakh, who completely owns the village of Stok not far from Leh. It has

• 425 not distributed the landholdings of the monasteries. Though some twenty thousand acres were taken from twenty-four landlords in the vicinity of Leh, as I have said, nine thousand acres, belonging to the monasteries, were left untouched.

671/ The truth is that the Kashmir law excepts these holdings from
423 its operation. In the case of the King of Ladakh, the exception is
792 not important, for his holdings are not great. He probably was
425 excluded because the monasteries all around his estate were excluded. The monasteries were excluded because the power of the lamas is so great that the government did not deem it expedient to disturb the status quo.

I heard various versions of that decision. One official in Leh said to me, "If a monastery has five hundred lamas, in fairness each lama would be entitled to 182 *kanals* on a redistribution of the land. That would at times result in an increase in the holdings of the monastery."

Another official had a different view: "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, who will support them?" he asked. He went on to explain that, while the monasteries collect some funds from the people, these funds are inadequate for the support of the lamas. The people are poor and can give very little. What they do give are small sums on festival days, on marriages, and the like. There is no sustaining congregation as we know it. The monasteries are utterly dependent on the land for their support.

This official added, "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, then the government must support the monasteries. That would be bad."

"Because church and state should be separate?" I asked.

"No. Because the government could not afford to maintain the monasteries."

792 The bald truth is that the lamas are a powerful political force. The position of the lamas is strong. If A were running against B for public office and the lamas sent word down that B was hostile to the church, there is no doubt A would be elected.

221 **TERN TIBET.** *By Walter Asboe.*

241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 From December until spring farming pursuits
286 cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

656 Lahoul being under British administration, the
425 acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

241 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the
787 people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

241 before a verdict as to the propitious moment
787 for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as
685 landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out
691 of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that
[273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 An adequate supply of water from rivers,
624 glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water
241 supply). In cases where there is a communal
312 reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the [675] girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the 425 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who 428 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part 886 of his or her inheritance. [585]

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the [888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*.

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says:

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*.

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*.

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also
425 have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These
428 things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary
888 from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-*
425 *chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights
428 that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be
[851] it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the
[992] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-*
996 *bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regu-
651 larly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted
595 to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-
586 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households
591 in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents
888 and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 268

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later. [936]

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tang-tse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [925] [932]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

595 425 428 [182]

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 425 428 795 [KA]

Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

595 123 182

[TEXT Continues on P. 364]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife, now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
[585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[888] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry,
[591] occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

[i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 476 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

WT 291 LEGGING--kángphees or kángpheeng (meaning, properly speaking, the felt leggings worn by Ladákis, but also used for leather gaiters, and Kashmir patties).

WT 426 [88]
LEND TO--skinba táng ches or respectfully karkeen sal ches (to lend money, etc., not on interest), bulon táng ches or phar la hmul tang ches (to lend money on interest) dres la nas táng ches (to lend grain on interest. The rate charged is always "sowái," that is to say, for every 4 lent, 5 have to be paid at the next harvest), yár ches or yártey táng ches (to lend anything, when the thing itself has to be returned to its owner).

T 101 631 WT 631 LHASA--Ladákis usually speak of the town as Hlása, but the correct name is Lhása ("Lha" means "a god" or "fairy" and "sa" stands for "sakiat," which means "place.") The country subject to the Lhasa authorities is also spoken of as "Lhása country." As a matter of fact, the country in question, consists of four provinces, viz., on the east "Kham," (meaning "side") then comes Oo (spelt "U" in our maps and meaning "centre") in, which is the town of Lhása, then comes "Tshang" (meaning "pure,") and then comes what was once Ngarees-khorsum (see under "Ladák.") Prior to the Dogra conquest of Ladák, the Ladákis used to look upon the Lhása Government as all powerful in things temporal, and spiritual. It is still regarded with great awe by Ladákis.

T 642 648 115 The Lhása Government, its constitution, and the extent to which it is subject to Chinese guidance, is a subject of which but little is generally known, and the following information, obtained by me from the SkooSHok (avatár) of Speetuk, and other persons who have resided at Lhása, may therefore be of interest, and is inserted accordingly, though beyond the ordinary scope of this work, which professes to deal only with Ladák or Western Tibet.

In olden days, Lhasa was governed by Kings, who to some extent were under the influence of China, but, according to Markham, Chinese power was first definitely established in Lhása in 1720, when resident Political Agents were appointed. In 1749 an insurrection against the Chinese broke out, which ended in favour of the Chinese, and resulted in the establishment, at Lhása of Lobzong Kalsang the sixth Dalái Láma, with two Chinese "Ambáns" or "Residents," to assist him in the administration of the affairs of the country.

T 642 Since then no fundamental change in the constitution of the Lhása

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4	inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4	inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8	"
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10	"
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14	"
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18	"
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6	feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard	= "	300	yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2	miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6	miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12	"

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbo or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426●

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsteh (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 589 601 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they had just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags stag-lo) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle). / /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

781 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last
426 the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

by them, the donations of pious Buddhists, they did business at huge profits. Chirpon in Tingmogang, Namgyal's father-in-law, also followed the example of these "spiritual gentlemen," in order to fill his money chest which during the past few years had been drained critically, since with increasing age he neglected his farm and gave himself over to drinking. Different was the behavior of his /194/ son-in-law Namgyal. He also lent out grain, but at moderate rates of interest; to many a needy one he gave grain from his own not very plentiful stock. His friend and teacher, the hermit Tsetan, did the same thing, helping the poor in distress and sharing with them that which pious admirers had donated to him. 731 426

Finally the Wasir (governor) even ordered his district officials to lend to the neediest grain from the government's granaries at moderate rates of interest; and in the worst cases to give it away in order to prevent the most extreme distress

Yet there remained much unrelieved distress; the distributions were also frequently carried out in an unjust manner. Many a timid poor man was overlooked, and many another one received abundantly because he had been able to win the favor of the officials. [661]

Namgyal, the hermit Tsetan, and the missionary, these three friends, attempted to console the people, and they helped wherever they were able. However, the distress rested as too heavy a burden on the people's minds. Many were close to desperation, believing themselves abandoned by man and the gods. "Lanchags, lanchangs! It's retribution! And yet we know not what for!" the people said. 731

Sprin ak'or (Thunderclouds)

The autumn of this terrible year was ushered in with sunshine and glowing colors. The trees in the village oases shone in their yellow, green, and red glory, and up above the sky was resplendent with the gold of the sun and heavenly blue reflecting upon the mountains and slopes, upon glacier and snow peaks, painting them in all colors. But the people had no eye for all this autumnal splendor. The grey cloud of grief and anxiety rested heavily upon their minds. Winter was in the offing, and with it ceased every opportunity for the farmers to make money by means of carrier and transport services for the Indian merchants and officials. Also, many field terraces were still destroyed by the floods, and others lay covered under feet of avalanche debris. They lacked the strength and the courage to repair the damage. 000

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *chákri* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, for Dágis and other low castes $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothi* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothis* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothi* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothi*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothis* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *chákris* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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423 Village Communities and Tenures.

has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

[424]

[428]

423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

[428]

[591]

423 651

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

• 426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

426 loans. But ancient habits are hard to break. I do not know the
456 extent to which these new Kashmir laws are observed. There are
671 ugly stories about current usurious practices. About 95 per cent of the agricultural loans in Ladakh are repayable in kind. Monasteries advance food in the winter to tenants. Barley advanced when the grain is sixty cents must be repaid when the grain is thirty cents. Isn't repayment of twice the amount of the loan a kind of usury?

423 Kashmir has gone far in breaking up its feudal system based
671 on landownership. Under its new law every landowner is en-
425 titled to keep 182 *kanals* of land. The government has taken the rest of each owner's holdings and distributed it to the tenants. In the vicinity of Leh over twenty thousand acres have passed from twenty-four landlords to the peasants. The distribution at Leh, as at other places in Ladakh, was free, the peasants not paying for the land. Nor, to date, has the government paid the owners any compensation. Whether or not they should pay is a political question that agitates Kashmir.

425 Payment of just compensation, in the American sense, is impossible. The holdings were so large and so vast that it would take all the wealth of the state to compensate the old owners by our constitutional standards. Nehru and I discussed the problem in Delhi in August 1951.

"If the former owners get paid the full value of their land they will still own the wealth of the nation," Nehru said. And they would. New people would own the land. But the bulk of the revenues would still flow to the old owners.

Various ideas are being discussed for compensating the owners: payment that avoids confiscation; an annuity to the owner for his life and a lesser annuity to his children for their lives. What Kashmir will eventually do has not been decided. But in two important respects Kashmir has not touched the land problem.

It has not distributed the landholdings of the King of Ladakh, who completely owns the village of Stok not far from Leh. It has

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for 792
promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*), but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the *konyer*). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot* and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job 792
is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their 426
cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable, whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in 735
which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, 511
and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture. They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The [262]
Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples, grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries. That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely
[252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any
[262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[873] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces
[258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con-
426 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

511 advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding
426 compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not
[783] attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

462 The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

181 Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (Len-mi).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more men or women as permanent servants. These
464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds (Lug-rdzi).*

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

● 426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own. 539 577

(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*. 000

20. (*a*) ཆུ་ཁྲི་ཚོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྦར་བཟུམ་མ་བདང་།། 539 577

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.

(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.

(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).

(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first. 000

21. (*a*) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།། 539 577 492

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.

(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.

(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.

(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.* 000

22. (*a*) ཏ་ལ་མིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཐོང་སྟེ། 539 231 577

བོང་ཏུའི་ར་གོ་མ་རྒྱང་།།

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.

(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].

(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བུ་ལོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་དང། 539 577 426

ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་དཀར་ཅོས།།

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'

(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!

(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistān; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yārkand road till Shāhidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladākh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes.

Land revenue. WT 651 [661]

WT [441]

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

WT 426 792

Baltistān.—A tract under the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh, Kashmīr, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztāgh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladākh; on the south by Kashmīr, Wardwān, and Zāskār; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and glaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Drās and

Physical aspects. B 642 131

B 131 361

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srâchan or SHrâchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladâkis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistân and women of Ladâk.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladâk women to adopt the faith of Islâm, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladâk, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHôns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHôns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHôn." ArGHôns are never polyandrists, and though

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháksi* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewaesals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháksis* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423 Chapter III, D.

[651] Village Communities and Tenures.

427 Rights of the Thakúrs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothás* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeolá*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *loháras* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *loháras* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *loháras*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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certain patches of waste land known as *dang piri*, which are like the cultivated fields, the property of individuals, and included in their holdings; they are situated below the water channels or on the sides of the fields, and, with the help of irrigation, produce abundant crops of hay. The rest of the waste must be held to be the property of the Thákur, subject to the rights of use belonging by custom to the subordinate landholders.

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The best way to describe the nature of the rents and services rendered to the Thákurs by the subordinate landholders will be to give a detail of them as they exist in one *jágír*. For example, *kothi* Ghumrang contains 58 *yulfa jeolas*, or full-sized villager's holdings, 24 full-sized holdings of *chákrás* or retainers, and eight of *kóng chumpás* or farm servants. The rent paid by the peasant proprietors on a full *jeola* or holding consists of the following items:—

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

No.	Name of item.	Rate per *jeola*.	Remarks.
1	Old cash assessment ...	4-8-0	On fourteen *jeolas* Rs. 5 are taken.
2	Grain (*mátál*)	3 *lákh* 3 *páth* of barley	Three *jeolas* pay 6, and three pay 4 *lákh*.
3	Phari (cloth)	1 Phari or eight annas in cash.	Cash now always taken.
4	Suri (lit. Bribes) ...	From Rs. 5-4 to 2-8.	
5	Betangna	Rs. 2 cash.	

The last item was put on by the Thákur at the Regular Settlement; the other items are all of old standing.

The following is a list of the periodical services rendered to the Thákur by the men of this same class according to the custom of the manor of Ghumrang;—

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(1) On certain days, known as *bésti* days, each *jeola* has to furnish one man to work on the Thákur's *parhpán* land. The Thákur supplies food and drink, but no pay. There are eleven *besti* days in the year, but two, the sowing and the mowing days, are distinguished as the big *bestis*; on them a man for each *jeola* attends, on the other nine only some fifteen or sixteen men who live handy actually attend; the others remain at home, and pay the Thákur annually, in lieu of attendance, the sum of one rupee under the name of *besti* money.

(2). Each *jeola* is bound to stable and feed, for the six months of the winter, one of the Thákur's horses; one horse to a *jeola* is allowed to be the old standard; but as the Thákur has not so many horses, it has been customary for two *jeolas* to divide between them the care and charges of one horse.

(3). Each *jeola* is bound to convey once in the year eight or nine *páth* or about sixteen pounds of rice (a light goat or sheep load) from the Kúlu valley to the Thákur's house in Láhaul.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

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(4). It is the custom in all *kothés* of Láhaul for the regular landholders each year to provide in turn a certain number of men to undertake the duty of supplying the common quarters of the *kothí* at Akhára, in Kúlu, with fuel. For the six winter months spent in Kúlu these men are steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they are in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, which sum is raised by a rate on all the *jeolas* of the *kothí*. In Ghumrang, each year four *jeolas* furnish four men for this duty, and they are also bound to carry loads for the Thákur in going to and from his house to Akhára, and to furnish him, as well as the subordinate landholders, with fuel while he remains there.

There are no *dotoen* or cadet families in the Ghumrang *jágír*. In other *jágírs* the *dotoen* are said after a time, when the sense of relationship to the Thákur has become faint, to be degraded into *chákeis*, and forced to do service for their holdings. A *chákei* holding is held rent-free in lieu of the following services:—It is bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the Thákur, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, &c. As, however, there are many *chákei* holdings in Ghumrang, the custom now is that three holdings at a time furnish one man each for ten days, and then re-call their men till their turn comes again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously, they pay the Thákur eight annas per month per holding, or six rupees per annum. A few of the *chákeis* are distinguished by the term of *lálok* or pass-crossers. These, instead of having to furnish a man for personal attendance, are only bound to furnish a man to cross a pass, either to Ladákh, Zánskár or Kúlu on the Thákur's business. If they cross a pass once in the year, the rest of it is their own, and they have no payment to make, but if not called upon to cross a pass, they pay seven rupees per annum as relief or *betangná*. Some *chákeis* of all kinds now pay seven rupees regularly in lieu of all services by agreement with the Thákur. All *chákei* holdings send a man to work on the two big *besti* days, not on the others.

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Káng chumpá may be translated cottager. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the Thákur's house or on his *garhpán* land. Some holdings of this kind will be found near wherever the Thákur has *garhpán*. When there is much work, the head of the family attends in person, otherwise he sends his wife, or son, or daughter. The person who is in attendance gets food five times a day, and does field work of every kind, or cuts and brings in wood or grass, sweeps the house, or combs wool, &c. Those who live at a distance from the Thákur's house cannot practically attend; they, therefore, do only field work on the *garhpán* land near them; but as they in this way get off lighter than the others, they are bound to feed and keep one sheep for the Thákur during the winter months. Some *káng chumpás* now pay five rupees per annum to the Thákur in lieu of all service.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned. 423 427 651

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c. 792 423 427

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *taluqdár* of a village in the plains. 427 651 [58]

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The 312 423 425 [621]

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dojoen*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

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In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

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Holdings or allotments other than those of the *taljá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhazing* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c.; and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423 Chapter IV, C.

233 Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

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before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Kokzar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *ságí* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

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The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *pháti* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

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SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

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Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the northwest; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy systems:

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
•427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately [484] the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 556 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. 427 This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 506 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can

[231] easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

241 It often happens that a farmer will let his land to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta* (*Inula Helenium*).

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

105 423 651 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 423 429 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 241 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the [134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing [23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

423 804 241 [2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding," which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

[651]

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

597 ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children. Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

[583]

[428]

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak."

797 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[797] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

[30]

779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon
776 or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

●428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at
595 liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one
768 end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never
[428] divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an
779 arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If
586 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they re-
428 main with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [423] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

428 592 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is 583 termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his 428 younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" 591 has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the 592 daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her 586 parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. 597 If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from 195 beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

595 If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto"
● 428 husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some
583 of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal
601 roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two
[597] brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her
587 husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a
586 younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter
583 becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred
[595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

WT 175 728 648 T 175 728 648

(8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásarwar and Rakas Tál.

WT 631 428

With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *sarlang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Amusements.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

Constitution of the family.

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *goupa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *láma's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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104 Constitution of the family.

"*Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.
"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.
"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*

"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" [1]

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thákur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thákurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpan*, under the name of *dotoenzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thákur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive, custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

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428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

* *Kang*, house; big; *chung*, small; *pa—nda* (Hindi); *yang—aur* or *par*, as in *pardáda* (Hindi), one beyond.

[1 QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON.—ANALYST]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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428 592 565 [595] [465] 792 428 595

proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tába*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chambs* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the [587]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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746 Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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792 177 The *lámáie* system.

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

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795 The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

792 794 Monasteries or *gónphs* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

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The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

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Monks and friars

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The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

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in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing hom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing hom chongpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom fitka*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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423 Village Communities and Tenures.

has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spíti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

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423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

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8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

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Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
182 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
792 monasteries to become lamas.

595 All of these reasons[1] may contribute to the invention and spread
428 of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each generation of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers. The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
[601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

 [1] [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

practice she may reject the husbandly advances of any of the hus- 595
bands or she may demand the husbandly attentions of all of them.

But the polyandric system in Ladakh is not a pure and unadul- 595
terated one. It bows to expediency. In theory, there is only one 178
wife. Often there are two or perhaps three in a family. The first wife may be sickly. Or she may be so busy bearing children that she cannot work in the fields. Or the burden of the children, the house, and the fields may be too great for any one woman. And so another woman is brought in as wife; and the bedroom acquires a communistic cast.

At times there will be no son to inherit the land. In that event 595
the eldest daughter takes all. Yet, if she has sisters, they too must 428
be provided for. And so the institution of the *magpa* was invented. The father who has no male heir looks around for a likely son-in-law. When the father finds a suitable candidate, he makes a proposition to him. If the chap will give up his family name and take the family name of the other family, he can marry the eldest daughter and their son will inherit the property. If this chap marries the eldest daughter, he automatically becomes the husband of all of her sisters. He becomes the *magpa*, the new head of the sonless family. And so when Mr. Gyalang marries Miss Dombos, he becomes Mr. Dombos.

Thus primogeniture in Ladakh and in Tibet has produced both 595
polyandry and polygamy. These institutions today have a great 428
hold on the people. The Kashmir government is not proud of 182
them. The educated people look down on them. The best families in Leh do not like to discuss the problem. But the roots of polyandry are deep; they are tied to the economy as well as to the customs of the people. And behind the scenes the lamas give the system spiritual and moral support. For the institution of primogeniture has long been thought to be sound in a land where the margin between subsistence and starvation is so narrow. And polyandry is sound by the standards of the lamas, who measure

595 428 182 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their religious order.

595 585 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 586 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric marriages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated, in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it. 595 428 [671]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless." [694]

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find w[illegible] in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons fre[illegible]ently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothe[illegible]metimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers. 593 184 [797]

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm 593 595 184

511 they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. Nor
574 was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, so our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened
513 fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house
574 and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming
764 broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for
572 his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that
● 428 she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

264 But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us
565 inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

By the time she is grown up, a girl
301 should thus have quite a good sized *perag*,[4] which functions as
291 her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests
757 money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age.
583 The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at
Hr8 her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a
[583] small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so
the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately
152 the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a
source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent
301 *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the
291 ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought
from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the
Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom trace-
able to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and
silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This
originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to
hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

301 The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of
seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round
the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the
bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased
gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or
other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little
silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast,
with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large
round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads
pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are
attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on
leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or
white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also
convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

291 Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas
European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate
(the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff),
both men and women in this country have them cut very

4 [i.e. turquoise studded headdress. – ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers. 473 The house and the land and all the children belong to the 478 eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre- 601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences, 764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms. 764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus 614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance [791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
361 The former kings of Tibet have taken
341 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
131 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
175 is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[521] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

114 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

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that they have two heads, but the explanation is that they generally carry a younger brother or sister on their back because the mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate, men and women alike. Whatever class they belong to, between the ages of 8 and 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

The first thing to grasp in Tibetan polyandry is that the Tibetans are very keen to keep the property together. The country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

Thus, the usual type of marriage is that a number of brothers marry one woman and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if there are only girls in the family, what usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can
do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
around which the system functions. In
592 taking down genealogical notes I have,
therefore, always given the family the
name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
Tsungarpa who married one woman,
428 the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE
1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
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23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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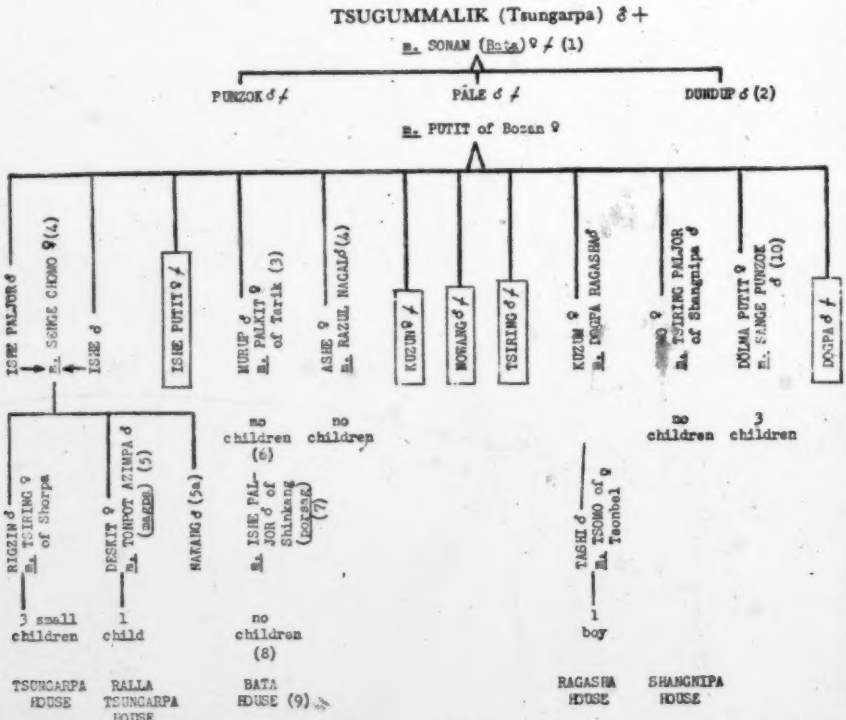

FIGURE 1. The Tsungarpa house. (1) Heiress to the Bata house—all brothers dead. (2) Put in charge of the lone Bata house. (3) Given the Bata house. (4) A Mohammedan—the woman takes the man's religion. (5) Land only held in tenancy. (5a) Becomes a Lama at Himis monastery. (6) After 20 years. (7) Murup is single-handed. (8) After 4 years. (9) Could adopt a child to carry on. (10) No land, as formerly Mohammedan; messenger at Himis monastery. † Deceased.

-- 213c (Figure 1) --

593, 114, 121, 201, 152 case of other polyandrous peoples like the Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say this is not practised any longer, but that it used to be a custom two or three generations back. I have never found a case of its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181, 595, 178 The morality of the polyandrous people is very high. I mean by this that, as polyandry is an institutionalized social system, they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595, 178, 428 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that, in town, Indian and Turki traders (the latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

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595 pean travelers were introducing the bad
178 habit of monogamous marriage, and that
the young men were getting more and more
428 immoral. I suppose he was quite right,
and as I was interested to hear his point
of view we had quite a conversation about
it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we
managed to remain wealthy without being
polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in
Tibet we haven't enough to go around and
as we don't want to divide the property up
we have to be polyandrous so that we
inherit the property without its being
divided. But how do you Europeans do
it? How do you remain wealthy by being
monogamous and dividing up your prop-
erty?"

595 I must say I had not thought of this
178 before. It only occurred to me when I
was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes,
428 now that I think of it, it is probably true
that in Europe we do things in a different
829 way. When we marry, each man goes off
with his wife and they try to fend for
themselves, build up their own family and
get their own source of revenue. That is
the way we do it. There is enough wealth
to go around to found other families."
"Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I
have noticed among the Tibetans who
have become Moslems that this is also the
case. They cease being polyandrous, and
because of that they then divide up the
property. There is not enough to go
around. The eldest brother usually gets
it and the youngest brothers have to go off
with their wives elsewhere to find some
work. I have also noticed here that nearly
all the Mohammedan families seem to go
to Burma and work in the ruby mines
there. That is obviously for the same
reason you are telling me now about Euro-
peans." Then he was silent for a moment
and looked at me in a pensive fashion until
suddenly he said, "Now I understand why
you Europeans come here. That is why
you have got colonies. If you were poly-
androus you wouldn't need to!"

152 One question I am very often asked is,
428 does jealousy exist within the various

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152 houses? I have the impression that it does
428 exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 As it is, there seem to be some outlets
595 for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 A certain amount of neurotic cases
762 among brothers can also be noticed, which
593 shows that jealousy certainly exists unconsciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

had come to live with her husbands in Kyelang. I asked if I could photograph the family, and on receiving permission to do so, asked for the younger husbands to be included. They posed unabashed but the elder boy and his bride looked shy. The Thakur said that this was because husband and wife should not really be seen very much together in public. 595

Further questioning elucidated that property of the household was common to the family, the mother and her three sons having inherited the land and house from the deceased husband. By marrying one wife, the brothers avoided partition and jointly shared their estate, their wife, and the children they might have. Asked if the younger brothers could marry another woman if they wished, the Thakur assured me that they could; he said that they could also bring her home, if the others agreed to it, and have her living with them in the common house. In my notes I have written: "Thus polygyny and polyandry are united under one roof, the first marriage of the three brothers to one wife not being dissolved when a new wife is brought home." [428]

The following day, June 22nd, the Wazir took me to some other households in the town. The first one, called Mion Zukshi, was polygynous and polyandrous as theoretically described above. Four brothers lived with two wives, without dividing their belongings and apparently in complete harmony. I did not know enough at the time to investigate the relations of these people, but I did gather one wife had been the spouse of all four brothers first, until the third one had gone out and brought himself another girl back, with the consent of his brothers.

In the next household, called Ralwa Karpa, one man was married to three women. Unfortunately my notes do not give any details and I am mentioning it here only as a indication that polygyny does exist in the valley of Lahul as, in fact, it exists everywhere else in areas of Tibetan culture.

The third household was the main one from which the previous one had broken away (*Ralwa*, it seems, means "cleft" locally). It consisted of two men living together undivided property with a wife each. The particularity of this family was, however, that both brothers had been married first to one of the women, until the older man had brought in a new wife. The first woman then became exclusively the wife of the younger brother. I made a rough sort of genealogy (the first I ever did) which I give opposite (Table 26). 595 601 7/1

From this genealogy I learned that polyandry earlier on had been much more pronounced. Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup had two elder

7/1 [See category 116, P. 317--Analyst]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [504] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [988] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, [795] in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 178 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

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made clear to me exactly what was meant by this name (on the 25th June, 1938). 575 428

Lahulis, the Moravian missionary told me, are very keen not to divide up their property and anxious, also, not to let their family name die out. [182] In order to attain these two objectives, they practise polyandry and both patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance, the latter type, however, only in the case of there being no male heir, so that a generation in which there are only girls may be bridged over.

He compared the Lahuli household to a pivot around which all the interests of the family revolved. Polyandry was practised because in this way a number of brothers living on a family property could keep it undivided by taking one wife in common and sharing her, the land and the children between themselves. Usually inheritance was patrilineal, boys inheriting jointly and without division from their fathers, and then marrying polyandrously as the latter had done, and so on and so on through the future generations.

Matrilineal succession was resorted to when there was no male heir or heirs. In that case, if there were more than one girl, the eldest became the heiress, while the others were married off into other families, usually polyandrously, to brothers. In the case of one female heir, she, like the eldest of many daughters, inherited the whole property from her parents, undivided, and then was free to take as many husbands as she wished with whom to procreate offspring for the household. If she had boys, they inherited as described above; if she in turn only had girls, the same procedure as that which had been followed in her own case was again made use of.

The first type of marriage, the Reverend Peter said, that in which the sons of a Lahuli family took one wife in common, was the most widespread and was called a *bag-ma* marriage (*Bag-ma*, meaning "bride" in Tibetan). It was patrilocal and patrilineal. The other type of marriage, the one in which a daughter inherited all the property alone and took as many husbands as she wished, was more exceptional. Its name was [601] a *mag-pa* marriage (from *Mag-pa*, "son in law" or "bridegroom" in Tibetan), an appellation by which the woman's husband or husbands were also known in that case (see genealogy of the Karpa family in which this term is used).

My informant told me that in Leh, Ladak, he had known a woman with three *mag-pas*, all unrelated, so that this is a form of non-fraternal polyandry. He said that the younger brothers of a *mag-pa* do not have access to his wife, as it is he who has married into her household and

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595 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal
428 polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property
[586] she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female,
597 household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gum-
[595] ling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be
[601] seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young wom-
[203] an beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only
[564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith
[533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

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585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she [591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accom- [115] panied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly- 423 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth- 428 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are never- 595 theless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re- [584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

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In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garhpan*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur. 595 428

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said. 595 342 574

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli. 595 [578]

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father, [851]

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595 [851] [842] although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 855 [854] The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 428 [626] Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience showed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 [578] [187] In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *meme* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

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temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

595 whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant
428 of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment
[423] and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand.
[586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patri-
[184] lineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called
842 in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not
[109] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar-
[585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595
the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597
is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; [428] the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584
with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787] parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583] "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421] loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

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585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been
[589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not
[675] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*
595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time
425 has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the
428 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who
886 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part
[585] of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the
[888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

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595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [192] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 192 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-595 586 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 591 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, [768] or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she

[See discussion in Category 116, pp. 352-355 -- An.]

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called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 568 [936]

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later.

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tang-tse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [925] [932]

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114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that

342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical

[353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase

115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their

428 eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the

[597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without
595 being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could
425 stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous
428 marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this
[182] in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had no-
595 ticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedan-
425 ism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous,
428 and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result
795 was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to
[NA] move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long dis-
123 course (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged
182 opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

[Text continues on p. 364]

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595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,* now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal
[425] and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[428] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[585] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family
[888] called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[591] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry, occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

*[i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood out-
[591] side their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in
[126] the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[428] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[797] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo* (*Jo-mo*) or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

(iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1,
West Tibetans AJ4

T 595 114 [184] during all my field work, both before and after World War II, with data and recorded facts which now make it possible for me to affirm without any hesitation that polyandry between father and sons is practised in Tibet, particularly in the two central provinces of Ü and Tsang, where it is most widespread. The following is the history of the progress of my investigation, which started with the collection of information from those who knew about the custom and ended with my actually meeting T WT 595 cases and interviewing them to find out how the arrangement functions.

I began in Lahul. It will be recalled that when I visited that valley, on the 21st of June, 1938, Thakur Partap Chand took me to see a polyandrous family in a house called Barun-pa (see above page 312–312). I took advantage of the cordiality which the Wazir of Lahul showed towards me to question him on the subject of the polyandry of fathers and sons about which I had heard from Dr. Kanshi Ram.

The informant immediately confirmed its existence and said that it was common knowledge, even in his part of the world, that, in Central Tibet, fathers and sons share a common wife in the same family, although the woman in this case must never be the mother of the boys. WT [186] Nevertheless in Lahul the custom appeared rather strange and even repulsive, and it was quite usual for Tibetans from Tibet proper to be laughed at for this form of matrimony by the local inhabitants. They were accused of being "step-mother sharing people" which was meant WT [525] [MM] as an insult. But at the same time, when playing dice, it was the custom to evoke such a shared step-mother as a means of bringing good luck to the thrower. When a seven was wanted, for instance, a special formula evoking the step-mother shared by both fathers and sons was repeated several times.

WT 595 Another confirmation of the true existence of polyandry between fathers and sons in Tibet was obtained from the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kye-lang on the 24th of June, 1938. He told me that the institution existed when the Mission was established in Lahul in 1854 as ancient records showed. At the time that his father, the late Bishop Peter, was appointed to the Lahuli capital in 1898, there were still some cases of this special form of polyandry to be found in the valley. The Reverend Peter said that he had heard that it had not yet died out in Spiti, although it was difficult to make sure because the local people kept it secret and unavowed. (As far WT [194] as I know, polyandry in general is not officially practised in Spiti, the [428] surplus males of a family becoming monks while the eldest alone inherits the family property. A certain amount of clandestine polyan-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīrī half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid. 563

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhīs are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing 463 565 241 651 [428]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ+

562 595 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 428 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 177 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
261 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147] There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry [582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. [562] The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 568 [567] In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogras. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361] The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years' trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

[439]

763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--

WT 175 728 648 for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

584 painted his nephew in glowing colors as the model of a young Tibetan farmer; he nettled the people from the Chirpon house by saying that the Dragshos had also once been highly respected officials of the kings and war heroes, that they were well-to-do if not rich, and that the fine property with the two summer places (35) in Nyermo and Skambur

[423] 35. "Summer place" (dbyar-sa) is the designation for the part of a farmer's landholding which lies apart from the rest of his fields in a highland plateau. Usually it has a house belonging to it from which one or two persons work and water the fields through the summer.

was free from encumbrance.

For a long time the arguments and counterarguments had gone back and forth, and time and again the old, sly Chirpon (Norbu Wangchug) boasted about the /58/ "brilliant matches" with the galons and nonos (titles of young noblemen) that his daughter could enter into. In answer to this Stobsldan repeated equally stubbornly the praises of the Dragshos people As a final trump he characterized the "brilliant matches" with which he was perfectly acquainted. He said that the "aristocratic fathers" concerned, who desired Chosskyid as a bride for their sons, were both deeply in debt, one to the monastery Hemis, the other to the neighboring monastery Lamayuru, and moreover, the son of the galon was an extravagant, licentious person who through his wastefulness had brought his own father into misfortune and debts; also, the galon's son had already been a few days in jail in Leh once because of an evil prank. The other suitor, he continued, was a harmless but stupid person whose suit had already been refused by more than one girl, that is to say, by her father At this Norbu Wangchug became more and more quiet, and when finally the conversation had come to an end and everything was properly splashed with beer, then, as the matchmaker was mounting on his horse, the housewife Deskyid had whispered to him: "Well, Acho! (older brother)! Try it some time soon with the "asking beer" (dri-ĉan)! After all, it is still possible to talk about the matter." When the initially shocked and disappointed parents and p'as-pun heard this, their faces lighted up again and that very same evening it was decided to send the asking beer soon to Tingmogang.

The Asking Beer (36)

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36 Tibetan dri-ĉan, meaning "asking beer," also slon-ĉan,

meaning "request beer." To the "beers" described in this section we have parallels in the "beers" customary in several parts of Germany, such as "Kindelbier" (used at baptisms) /literally "child's beer" but translated into English as "christening feast."/, harvest beer, bock beer, honor beer, consolation beer (at funerals), and others of the same kind. 431

A few days after Stobsldan's mission two men with baskets on their backs were sent to Tingmogang. In each of the baskets there was a large, bulging clay vessel (dza-ma) which contained the important "asking beer." The wide, projecting upper rim of the vessel was covered with a wreath of small lumps of butter (37). A little way 584 431

37. The little lumps of butter (dkar-abyor). The Tibetan word can be translated by "rich possession." The wreath of little lumps of butter is symbolic of "fatness, wealth."

behind the two carriers there followed the two uncles of the suitor, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, on horseback. Once arrived at Tingmogang they dismounted from their horses in front of the Chirpon farm and lifted the heavy jugs of beer out of the baskets. Norbu Wangchug came out to meet them at /59/ the gate of the courtyard. He had a harmless, apparently unsuspecting and still somewhat patronizing air and he greeted them with, "Good day, you gentlemen! Are you in good health?" whereupon the latter answered: "Healthy, yes, thank you! And does the honored gentleman also feel well?" After the customary welcoming formalities had been exchanged with all ceremoniousness, Norbu Wangchug invited the two emissaries into his house. The large Tibetan mastiff which was furiously barking and tearing at its chain by the house door, was pushed down by the master of the house who sat down on the animal until his guests had entered. They went up the stairs into the living room-kitchen where the two uncles put down the chang kegs by the cooking stove on the wreaths of straw--the jugs have billowing bottoms--which had been placed in readiness there. Now the emissaries were invited to sit down near the stove on the felt carpets that had been spread along the wall. As by accident a number of men related to the family and of the tribe of the master of the house arrived, and soon a considerable company of men was sitting together to steaming butter tea; and the cozy gurgling of the circulating water pipe intermingled with the conversation of the [576]

584 [631] men who apparently suspected nothing and talked about all sorts of things, of horse trading, the shearing of sheep, new tax burdens and the impending visit of a great holy lama; in fact, they talked of everything except about marriage and matchmaking. Finally beer was served. After both Kalatse men had hastily swallowed a few bowls of the beer and had sat in silence for a while, Stobsldan cleared his throat extensively and audibly, began to speak and presented the object of his visit. They brought, he said, 100,000 humble greetings from the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal in Kalatse to the gaga (honored gentleman) and the jojo (gracious lady) of the Chirpon house. They had come to look for a bride for the young man in the Dragshos house. Drogpa Namgyal, he stated, was an industrious, honest, energetic and pious boy, all the people of Kalatse could testify to that. And if one looked at the property of the Dragshos one would see that the boy was not a bad match. After all, they all knew the fine property which was free of any encumbrance. Surely it was superfluous to say anything about the virtue, industry and the beauty of the nomo (38) Chosskyid.

[576] 38. nomo, meaning "younger sister," is the way every younger female person is addressed by an older person. Even her own parents may address a girl as such.

She did not have her equal in the whole of Ladakh. The Dragshos asked the Chirpon for the girl as a bride for his son.

/60/ The matchmaker's speech was followed by a long silence which was only interrupted by the gurgling of the circulating water pipe which had just reached the master of the house. The latter took a few long draughts from it, put it down, gave the pipe to the person sitting next to him, raised his eyebrows and said: "Nonopale (noble gentlemen)! It is certainly a great honor for me that you have come in order to request my daughter in marriage on behalf of your nephew, the son of my honored friend; and the speech of your mouth is as sweet as sugar and as lovely as the twittering birds. Now you are praising my daughter as 'from one throat.' But how long will this last; after that you will speak nothing but evil words about the girl, then you will say: 'Your daughter has horns in the front of her head and a tail in her back' (that is to say, she is a cow), she is lazy and slovenly, knows nothing about housekeeping or managing the fields. And--moreover--there are so many who would like to have the girl, and there are some very distinguished suitors among them"--at these words Stobsldan nudged

584

Tsang Sodnam and both laughed secretly. "No, gentlemen, this marriage cannot take place. You will have to look for another bride for Namgyal; after all, there are enough girls in Lower Ladakh. Chosskyid is designated for another man." With these words Norbu Wangchug turned to the men of his tribe who answered with a dead-serious "drig yin (so it is)."

"Yes," Tsang Sodnam now objected, "it is admittedly true that it will be pure graciousness on your part if you give your daughter as a bride to the boy. But you must not say that he and his parents are such bad people. You may inquire in all of Lower Ladakh, and you will only hear them praised as "from one throat." The Dragshos are pious (39) and respectable people. And just think of the wonderful

39. Tibetan: dkon-mĉog la ajigs-mk'an.

property they have in fields and cattle. All of you know quite well about that!"

At these words Stobsldan placed a beautiful coral necklace with silver decorations on the little tea table in front of old Norbu which the latter pretended not to notice at all. All the more did the eyes of the tribe of the Chirpon, especially those of the women present, secretly examine and evaluate the necklace. Argument and counter-argument went back and forth. The beer flowed plentifully into the throats just as the words flowed forth from them in abundance; at first all talking, suing and praising seemed to fail through the stubborn resistance of Norbu Wangchug /61/ who time and time again brought forth the argument of the "brilliant matches" which his Chosskyid could make. But towards the end of the damp-ot session, after the woman Deskyid, the wife of Norbu Wangchug, had whispered all sorts of things to her husband and after the p'as-pun had brought the old man somewhat to his senses in muted conversations by admonishing him finally to desist from boasting about the brilliant prospects of his daughter and telling him that nobody, after all, cared for those "distinguished suitors" of whom he was constantly speaking, and that the Dragshos son was a son-in-law who was not to be despised; after all this, finally, the father mumbled something between his lips made heavy by beer, which sounded like "talk about it once more." And when the two matchmakers finally arose with great difficulty as darkness was descending, their heads and limbs were heavy from beer and talk; but their hearts were light. Mother Deskyid had taken the necklace

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew that kind of paying too. 787

The Ransom Beer (42) 583

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-ĉan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner 584 [431]

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

[cf. cat. 116, p. 60 footnote 43 - Analyst]

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunder- 533
bolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the 539
lama magicians.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling 000
parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward.

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55) ( )

55. Tibetan t'ig-can and nye-can. 584

After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 so for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that 585
should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 431.

585 as many guests of a superior rank as possible, so that they could show
off with their aristocratic connections and also outdo the other side.
431 Lobsang Wanggyal was less inclined towards this, since he favored a limited number of guests; but his mother insisted upon severe competition here. However, honor and dignity bring burdens with them (noblesse oblige). Every guest had to receive a gift, and the more aristocratic he was, the greater the gift would have to be. A considerable list of guests was finally drawn up. There was the galon from Jangpa near Leh who, the people in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang claimed, was related to them. According to custom /72/ he had to receive nine greeting ribbons of yellow silk (mt'san-pa); each of the five lamas who were asked to attend the engagement ceremony received 13 greeting ribbons, the lonpo from Domkhar, whom the Dragshos people invited as their relative, received nine, the three village magistrates of Kalatse, Teya, and Tingmogang each received seven greeting bands and the remaining farmer relatives and members of the clan, according to his standing, rank and property, were given five to seven tsanpa as a greeting and a mark of esteem. The best men, the bridesmaids and the female friends of the bride (bag-rogs) were each to obtain three rupees and four pieces of calico. As a formality the parents of the bride received the same present from the Dragshos house.

585 Finally they discussed what kind of expenses should be incurred at the wedding. Old Norbu Wangchug wanted to make a great display. He made his demands nonsensically high. The Kalatse people were in favor of a more modest celebration, for they and their clan had to pay most of the expenses. Finally they agreed upon five sheep that were to be killed, 40 chang (clay vessels of beer), 300 flat bread cakes, two bati (56) Ziegeltee /tile tea/, seven hide sacks of butter, and in

[804] 56. 1 bati is equivalent to four pounds of English weight, equalling 1,800 grams.

addition salt, natron, vegetables, onions as much as the cook would demand, the necessary greeting cloths, and other things of the kind.

000 Finally they were tired of haggling and for the rest of the evening they gave themselves over entirely to enjoyment and rejoicing. They ate, they drank, they sang, and they danced. Once even the bridegroom joined the men engaged in drinking and talking. But not for long. He did not enjoy noisy company. Once or twice the bride

585 entire clan to Kalatse to take part in the further celebration. The young couple went out to meet them. Accompanied by the Nyaopas and Bagrogs they went as far as the plain beyond the gorge in order to present themselves now as the newly married couple to the parents and to the relatives of the bride. The couple greet the parents with the customary bows, clasping of knees, and so forth. The best man and the bridesmaids each place a jug of tea and beer before the parents who have dismounted from their horses. The parents give the daughter a beautifully embroidered Kashmir cloth worked in different colors; to the son-in-law they give a colorful sash. The best men and the bridesmaids each receive a few silver coins. Then the whole company goes to the Dragshos house together, where the guests are very gradually reassembling; some of them do not get back until the afternoon.

/Following page 112 there are two full-page illustrations; one of a praying Buddha figure, without a subtitle; the second showing the "preparing of the butter tea" (subtitle). /

/113/ Since Lobsang Wanggyal's house was also unable to hold all the guests, the celebration took place in his apricot garden where the large tent was again erected for the benefit of the elegant guests. The others sat down on carpets outside and soon there developed the same picture as the one of the preceding day: They ate, they drank, they sang, they danced, and they gave themselves over to uninhibited
585 gaiety. But the element that gave this celebration its special character
431 was the fact that the relatives and the members of the clan, the closest neighbors and the elegant guests of the Dragshos, delivered the contribution, in so far they had not already done so. Large goat's hair sacks with wheat, barley, and flour; beer in enormous clay jugs, butter in hide sacks, salt, Teeziegel /tea tiles/; furthermore Tibetan cloth in rolls, articles of clothing; the lonpo donated an entire suit of clothing: jacket, trousers, shirt, leggings, and sash for Namgyal. Also a few sheep and goats were driven in as contributions, and finally the money promised by various individuals for Lobsang Wanggyal was given to the lonpo. The latter received all the contributions, wrote down all that had been supplied and all payments of money on a list, and then carefully compared what had been received with what everyone had promised at the consultation beer. The other men also examined closely what each individual had contributed. Most of them had brought exactly what they had promised, some even brought a little more in order to outdo the others. Some, only a few, came with empty hands but promised to bring in their contribution later. Shangkupa (in German:

Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man."--translator./) 585
from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little 431
goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself," Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, 585
the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, [563]
men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant 585
people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy 533
occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be 535
earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short 585
period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

792 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow
159 and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 The house[2] had a central hall that ran its length. My room was
346 on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. An-
262 other lama brought food from the kitchen. It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not
[576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis*, and *gur gur cha*. And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering
159 our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender
• 431 him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World*, the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

 1/1 [i.e., Hemis Monastery— ANALYST]

The day we left Hemis the Lobon summoned Rahul and me, 792
and as I stood before Rinpoche with outstretched arms, he de- 431
scended from the dais and placed a white silk scarf across them. I then placed the scarf around my neck. The Lobon presented me with a package of tea. The same gifts were presented to Rahul in the same ritual.

I did not, however, have a white scarf (*kathak*) to present. The gift I wanted especially to give was a fishing outfit. I had a fine, steel telescopic rod with a light reel, nylon line and leaders, dry flies, wet flies, and bait hooks. This, I thought, was the ideal gift for a boy, especially a boy who lived in remote Hemis, days and days of travel from the nearest city where such luxuries might be obtained. I inquired of the Lobon if that gift would be fitting. After weighing my question an appropriate minute he said no. Buddha's teaching was not to take life. All life became sacred, the [779]
beasts of the field and the fish of the rivers included. The Lobon thought that if Rinpoche were to be raised in the Buddhist philosophy he should not have a fishing outfit.

"It might tempt him to catch fish," he stated.

"Tempt him?" I said, turning to Rahul. "It would create an irresistible impulse." And so I tendered less disquieting gifts: dried milk, sugar, candies, raisins, plastic spoons, tins of jam, crackers, and, to the special delight of Rinpoche, an air mattress.

It was an interesting and simple ceremony. Rahul and I took off our shoes and entered Rinpoche's room. He was seated on a dais, his back to the window. The Lobon, Phuntzog, sat on cushions below the level of the dais and to the left of the Rinpoche. I presented the gifts one at a time, handing them to the Lobon, who in turn gave them to my host, explaining each time what they were. The little fellow's eyes danced with excitement with each gift; and he was almost beside himself when the air mattress was presented, and at once insisted to the Lobon that he sleep on it that very night.

That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche 000

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

431 man crosses the pass for the first time, for the ponymen to present him as he nears the rest-house with a little posy of flowers, which he is supposed to acknowledge with the usual rupee, an exchange of mutual compliment and congratulation on the safe accomplishment of the crossing of man and beast, but with the pass covered in its white mantle, there was too much concern for real safety to attend to this little ritual, even had Nature been able to prepare her spring favours. It was amusing to recollect how on coming down from Leh one August with their five-and-a-half months' baby who had been born up there, the Doctor and his wife had paid toll for the infant's first crossing though they themselves were exempt. 164 On this second day several of the travellers suffered with sore eyes, and a bottle of eye lotion which the Doctor Memsahib happened to have with her was in great request. Two or three natives were passed, heads directed downwards, one with a precious umbrella, another even holding an end of his puggaree across his painful eyes. One of our party had a severely inflamed eye in spite even of glasses and veil, and this 000 snow blindness is extremely painful. Among the patients was the elder son of the Rajah of Khaplu, who was found with his family at Matayan, and, although we arrived there at just after nine a.m., they had not started off on the next march, Matayan being the full stage from Baltal which they had actually achieved the previous day. The Doctor Memsahib went in to see the purdah lady and found her perfectly composed and cheerful and ready for her next bumping. Meanwhile the Roosevelt party had passed on to Dras, twelve miles further, having only come four or five miles from their camping place. The Doctor's party stopped to lunch or rather "brunch" (for this roadside meal is usually a combination of breakfast and lunch) on the bungalow verandah, and, when the ponymen came up, they said they would prefer to go on to Dras rather than stay the night at Matayan, as there is no pony fodder there. So we took to the road again,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in bed sleeps on the outside," as the inside bed-fellow has one side relatively exposed. Sleep at an altitude of about 17,000 feet is fugitive in fact neither of us got much that night, and, even when it did come, we woke up with a most disagreeable sensation, as if somebody were sitting on our chests so that we could not properly fill them with air.

We have finally arrived at Drogpo Karpo, where the conference is to take place. This is a large grassy plain, surrounded by snow mountains, at the further end of which the camp is pitched. In the centre are the tents of the Commissioner and Wazir with their respective flags. In front of these stands a square tent nicely carpeted, in which are a table and chairs. This is to serve as conference room. We had arrived a little before time, and before the Tibetans. They, however, turned up soon afterwards, and presented quite an impressive sight, as they rode, two and two, into camp. First came, not the standard bearer, but the Umbrella-of-State-Bearer. After these some soldiers, although we should not have recognized them as such, had we not inquired as to their function, for there was nothing very martial about them, save the muzzle-loaders they bore. They wore the usual dressing-gown coats of homespun held together round the waist by a big kammerbund, red Wellington boots with very thick soles and hats shaped somewhat like lemon squeezers. These were followed by various members of the staff, then the great man himself, whilst still others followed him. Having settled themselves into their quarters, the Wazir sent a message across to say that H.H. the Maharajah desired them to regard themselves as his guests. They on their part sent a delegation with twenty-five bricks of tea, and a piece of *snambu* (homespun) with the request that a time be fixed when their chief representative, the Gaspon, could come to pay his respects. Punctually to time he arrived. His dress consisted of a lovely blue skirt, and a Chinese coat of the same colour which was buttoned up to his neck. His

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 241

Live-Stock.

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrú* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul. [177]

Production and consumption of food grains. 433 241 439

Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers. [437]

SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti. 233 [489]

In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

1: Cunningham G-8 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans A14

439 In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the
[435] regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kash-
miri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer.
226 It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days, disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice is first soaked for three or four days in water until it begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool
[283] is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown, which are spun into thread. This work is all done by the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	20¼	Rs. weight,	or ¼th.
Brown wool	...	5¼	"	$\frac{1}{10}$th.
Common wool	...	54¼	"	$\frac{11}{20}$ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs called pattu.

443 The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by
435 the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness, and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed threads are—

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

443
436

	Weight.		
Of very fine white single thread	$1\frac{3}{4}$	Rupee for	1 Rupee.
" " double "	$1\frac{1}{2}$	"	"
" light brown (*phiri*)	$5\frac{1}{4}$	"	"
Fine white silky (*reshami*)	$3\frac{3}{4}$	"	"
Very fine brown (*khudrang*)	3	"	"
Fine ditto ditto	$4\frac{1}{2}$	"	"

The thread-merchants are contented with the usual custom (*dasturi* of India) of half an anna in each rupee, or about six per cent.

I have now traced the gradual additions in price of the shawl-wool from the time that it leaves the hands of the producer, at one rupee per seer, until it is spun into thread and sold to the shawl-merchant at ten times the original price. About one-third of this increased price might be avoided by cleaning the wool more thoroughly in Ladák, and by the direct purchase by the shawl-merchant from the producer.

The intervention of three different traders, the Ladáki, and Kashmiri wool-merchant and the Kashmir thread-merchant, between the producer and the manufacturer, enhances the price by at least six per cent. each, or about twenty per cent. altogether.

439 The average quantity of shawl-wool exported to Kashmir is the same as in Moorcroft's time, about 800 loads, or 3,200 small maunds of sixteen seers each; and about [435] the same quantity is exported to all other places. The average price in Ladák is about two rupees per seer, or Rs. 2,04,000 (£20,400). Of the 6,400 maunds exported, about 4,000 maunds are imported from Chang-thang, Ruthog, and Ngári; and the remaining 2,400 maunds are the home produce of the highlands of Nubra, Ladák, 236 Zanskar, and Rukchu. As the usual yield of fine wool for shawls and *pattus* is half a seer, the total number of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

245 Kashmir, but they had a peculiarity which was new to me; the same bunch would yield large grapes an inch and a half in length, and small round seedless grapes like black currants. The latter are dried in the sun, and find their way to the Zimla bazaar, where they are kept by the merchants in large earthenware jars, duly labelled as "fine Zante currants," and sold at the rate of two rupees a pound, the proper price being about one quarter of a rupee per pound. The cherry is found in the warm districts.

II.—GRAINS.

241 The crops consist of bearded and beardless barley, common wheat and buck-wheat, peas, turnips, and mustard. In the southern province of Spiti, wheat* grows at a height of 13,000 feet (at Lárá and Lidang above Dangkhar). In the valley of the Indus it first appears at Ugshé and Chimra, between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. Buck-wheat† generally affects the same elevations as common wheat. Both kinds of barley‡ are grown at an elevation of 15,000 feet; at Hanlé, at the Korzo Gonpa, on the bank of the *Tshomoriri* lake, and above Gyihbar in Spiti.

Peas§ are cultivated at Gyihbar and Loxar, the loftiest villages in Spiti, between 14,000 and 15,000 feet, and at Miru, in the Gya valley, from 12,500 and 13,500 feet. Mustard also is found at the same elevation; at Gyihbar in Spiti, and at Gya and at Miru in Ladák proper. Turnips are grown at 15,000 feet at the Korzo Gonpa, on

* Wheat is called *Gro*, which in some districts is pronounced *To*.

† *Bro*, by many pronounced *Do*.

‡ *Nas* is the name for all kinds of barley. *Nas-karmo* is white barley, and *Nak Nas* is black barley.

§ *Honma*, which is spelt *Sronma*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fifty grains each, and the same number of ears of 241
beardless barley, from the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, gave a return of forty-five grains each. Moorcroft, however, mentions that the Hasora wheat grown in Ladák yields from forty to seventy grains in each ear.* From these statements it is clear that not more than one-fourth of the seed can germinate. Much of it is, no doubt, eaten by the vast flocks of pigeons and chakors, which abound in Ladák; but the greater proportion, perhaps, rots. Many of the young plants must be [132]
destroyed by the night frost; for in most of the districts of Ladák it freezes almost every night, even during the month of June.

The total produce of Ladák may be ascertained approximately in the following manner. In 1847 I obtained the census and other statistical details of 142 villages in the different districts of Ladák, containing 1,890 houses, with 20,815 *kháls* of cultivable land, or just 11 *kháls* per house. As the total number of landed or paying houses† in Ladák is 18,000, the whole amount of cultivable land throughout the country may be reckoned at 198,000 kháls, or about 66,000 acres. Each khál requires 16 seers of seed, and yields about ten-fold. The total available produce for food is therefore only nine-fold, or about 28,512,000 seers, equal to 1,000,000 bushels, which, with the former population of 165,000, would not give more than 7 chittaks (14 oz.) of food to each person daily, while the average consumption is at least 8 chittaks (1 lb.). The deficiency is about 24 seers [435]
for each person; which, at the rate of 16 seers per

* Travels, I. p. 275.

† In Ladák no houses are taxed except those which have lands attached to them.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 rupee,* would entail an annual outlay of Rs. 1. 8 a.
[435] (about 3s.), or a total importation of Rs. 2,47,500 worth of grain. This sum, divided over the whole adult male population of about 40,000, shows an annual expenditure of six rupees per man; or, if divided amongst the whole number of 24,000 houses, about ten rupees per house.
439 This sum was defrayed entirely by the profits of the carrying trade, of which the Ladákis have an entire monopoly between Yarkand and Kashmir.

241 With the present population of 125,000 people, the land would yield fully enough for home consumption, or 9 chittaks (1 lb. 2 oz.) daily for each person; but scarcely more than three-fourths of the lands are now under cultivation. The present annual produce is, therefore, not more than twenty-two millions of seers, or somewhat less than 800,000 bushels, which will yield only $7\frac{3}{4}$ chittaks ($15\frac{1}{2}$ oz.) of food for each person daily. The deficiency is half an ounce daily for each individual, or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers annually, equal to $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas (about 9d.). The whole annual importation is, therefore, only 687,500 seers, in value about Rs. 43,000. This sum divided over the whole adult male population of 30,000 persons, shows an annual expenditure of Rs. 1. 6 a., or if divided over the 18,000 houses, about Rs. 2. 6 a. 2 p. per house.

There is a curious custom in Ladák, which has a counterpart in the *arwan* of India and the *neck* of England. At every harvest the farmer selects a small bundle of the finest ears of barley, which he fastens round

* This was the rate in Lahul in 1846, and at Lé in 1847; but in the grain-growing districts I was informed that wheat was sold at thirty-two seers, and even at thirty-six seers per rupee. The individual expense of each family or house was therefore perhaps not more than half of the sum stated above.

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-khang. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Láma, is called "Máneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹165 to ₹170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

651 436 804 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2¾ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where **salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency,** even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 436 As regards the ancient **tea-money of Tibet,** there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called **jau.** This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies. [435]

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the **Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle,"** being derived directly from *phyugs,* cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Changtang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

283 462 439 [436] [804] 175 439

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

● 435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough

[231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta* (*Inula Helenium*).

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind. 586 [435]

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule. 837 [626]

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama". [192]

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way. 836 839 [848]

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be 839 684

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
439 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[651] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439

IMPORTS FROM YARKAND.

Shawl-wool	Rs. 28,000
Tea	48,000
Charas	24,000
Tobacco	64,000
	164,000
Add ponies, sugar-candy, drugs, skins, turquoises	16,000
	180,000
Exports to Yarkand	216,000
Excess of Exports	Rs. 36,000

This sum is equal to upwards of 216 silver ingots, called *yámbu* and *kuru*, each of which is worth Rs. 166. The fact that Yarkandi bullion is constantly being [651] brought into the Ladák market is further proved by the duty of half a rupee, which is levied on each ingot when it is exported to Bisahar.

All merchandise is called *Tshong*, and the merchants or dealers *Tshong-pa;* as, *Bal-Tshong*, a wool-merchant; *Chhang-Tshong*, a spirit-dealer. Merchants are also called *Don-thun*, or "Ware-gatherers;" but the usual term is *Tshong-pa*. The chief, or head merchant, is *Tshong-pon*. Any regular gathering of merchants, such as annual meeting at Garo, is called *Tshong-dus*, a fair; and the friendly glass, which is partaken together after the completion of a bargain, is named *Tshong-chhang*, "the mercantile glass."

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

In Ladák one meets with the coinage, as well as with 436 the merchandise, of all the surrounding countries. The golden *tilás* of Bokhara and Kokand (or Kokan), the sycee silver and pierced copper coins of China, the thin

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

436 silver pieces of Nepál, the copper dumps of Bisahar, the almost pure rupees of the Moguls of Delhi, the Nának-sáhi and Govind-sáhi rupees of Ranjit Sing, and the broad rupees of British India, bearing the head of the Queen of England. The only native coin is the silver *Jud*, or *Jao*, which is worth one quarter of a rupee.

The *Tilá* is the common gold coin of the Mahomedan countries, and is worth six rupees in Lé.

The Chinese silver ingot, called *Kuru* by the Yarkandis, and *Yámbu* by the Tibetans, is a plain bar of pure metal, weighing Rs. 156¼. In 1847 it was valued at Rs. 166. These lumps of bullion are often bent in the middle into the shape of a horse-shoe. They are then called *Tá-Mikma*, or horses' hoofs.

The Nepál coins are of silver, each being worth half a rupee, or two *jaos* of Ladák. The coins of several of the Nepál Rajas are still current in Ladák. They consist principally of the currency of the Gorkha chiefs; but a few specimens of the Newár sovereigns are still to be found. One which I obtained belongs to *Jaya Ranajita Malla Deva* of Bhatgaon, and is dated in the year 842 of the Newár era, equivalent to A.D. 1711.

The Mogul rupees have very nearly been superseded by the *Nának-sáhi* and Company's rupee. In Moorcroft's time they would appear to have been plentiful, and more particularly the coinage of Muhammad Shah.* Even in 1839 I found the Mogul coinage prevalent in Kullu, Láhul, and Chamba; where I obtained two rare specimens of the pageant kings *Rafi-ud-Darját* and *Rafi-ud-Daulat*.

The *Jao* or *Jud* of Ladák is coined at Kashmir. It

* See his Travels, I. p. 353, where he mentions the price of Bisahar tea at fifteen Muhammad Sháhi rupees per Pakka maund.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

is a thin irregular-shaped piece of silver, about the size of a shilling, with a Persian inscription on each side. On the centre of the obverse is the name of *Mahmud Shah*, surrounded by a circle of large dots. The inscription on the reverse is difficult to read, but the upper line is certainly *Bután*, which is the Kashmiri name of Ladák. The second, or middle line, is perhaps *Zarb;* and the two together form *Zarb-i-Butan*, "struck in Batan." Below is the word *sanh*, or *sanat*, and a figured date, which looks like 878, but of what era it is impossible to say.* As the coins bear the title of Mahmud Shah, they cannot date earlier than A.D. 1687, when the Gyalpo of Ladák was nominally converted to Muhammedanism, after the expulsion of the *Sokpos* by the troops of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Kashmir under Aurangzeb. The coins which I possess all bear the same date; and, as they are but little worn on the surface, they cannot have been minted for any great length of time. The date, which I should have expected to find on these coins, is the Hijra year 1099, equivalent to A.D. 1687, which was the year of the Gyalpo's conversion.

The gold coins in use are called *Ser-jao*, or "golden jao," or simply *Ser-ki-dong*, or "golden coins." All coins are called *Dong*, or *Dong-tse*. The silver coins are named *Nul-ki-dong*, or simply *Nuk-dong*, and the copper coins *Zangi-dong*, or *Zang-dong*.† Ready money, or cash, is called *Marba*, or *Markyang*.

The weights of Ladák are the *Batti* and the *Man*, or *Maund*. The Batti is equal to two Indian seers or

* See Plate XIV. for a sketch of one of these coins.

† *gSer-kyi-Dong*, golden coin; *dNul-kyi-dong*, silver coin; and *Zangs-kyi-dong*, copper coin.

Tsan spirits and also the witches have become angered. Against this 787
you should make a cross of strings which closes the portal of earth 789
and the portal of heaven, and you should have the book of the "Golden Light of Help against the Demons' (9) read.

9. The Tibetan title of the book is: gser 'od gnyan skyabs.

Finally everything is written down. The onpo hastily scans 787
his work once more with an examining eye. In particular the devil-tamer's gaze lingers with satisfaction upon the numerous crosses which are portents of misfortune. This will mean good business; and after all the Dragschos can pay for it. Now the soothsayer smears some ink from his copper inkwell on the ball of his thumb with his reed pen, and on this "stamping pad" he presses his iron seal. Then he stamps his seal at the bottom of the document and mounts it on a silk cloth. Now everything is ready. With a satisfied air the devil-tamer rolls the document up and puts aside the roll, which contains good fortune and bad fortune for an unsuspecting child, ready for its anxious father.

The next morning Lobsang Wanggyal comes to get the horoscope of his little son and begins to study its dark contents, with which the onpo eagerly assists him. The young father assumes a worried expression at the thought of all the books that are to be read and of the expensive offerings and cermonies which are connected with it. Such reading requires a number of /22/ days during which he will have to provide the lamas with food and to pay them. He politely reminds the soothsayer of his promise and of the rupees paid to him in advance and mumbles something to himself: This is not the way he had imagined things to turn out. "Oh, just be glad, honored sir, that I have warned you in time with my horoscope of the threatening dangers that you know exactly how you can ward them off. Otherwise all these dangers would have broken in upon the child like wolves upon an unsuspecting sheep; in that case there would have been nothing to rescue it any more." Lobsang Wanggyal is silent; he rolls up the expensive document and pays the devil-tamer five rupees which the 436
latter examines carefully one by one and which he then throws up with practised fingers over a block of stone, letting them fall so that they strike it, in order to test their genuineness by the sound they make (10).

10. In India there exists a widespread practice of forging

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

583 circumstantially set up a list of the things, counting on their fingers and
584 setting down the prices of the individual items. In doing so they were careful not to set the prices too low for the old Chirpon had impressed this point on them. He would like to shine with his ragt'ag and he would like to outtrump all bride's fathers in the whole of Lower Ladakh, /67/ who have married off daughters in the past few years. At the mention of many a price the people from Kalatse would nudge each other and laugh secretly. Finally the list was completely drawn up and the sum was calculated. Ishe Lhundrub placed the list on the little table of the master of the house. The latter's glance went over the lines and numbers with pleasure and then his glance moved over to the ragt'ag and the entire bride's trousseau, and finally it went over the faces of the Kalatse people, examining them one by one. Now it was their turn to calculate and to bid if they could. "There, listen, you gentlemen from Kalatse," the Chirpon now spoke forth. The "price list" (rinto) comes to 220 žo. (47) According to old Ladakh

[436]

47. 1 žo is equivalent to 6 rupees in old Tibetan currency, the rupee is equivalent to four jau (1 jau equals 3.25 anna, which in turn is equal to 28 Pfennige). The old Tibetan rupee had only four-fifths of the value of an Indian rupee. Thus 220 žo equal 1,320 Tibetan rupies, the equivalent of 1,056 Indian rupees, amounting to 1,408 mark.

custom the 'price of the mother milk' should amount to an ample fourth of the rinto. Give 60 žo, then the young gentleman Drogpa Namgyal may have the girl. You can see what kind of a bride's rope she is taking with her. Such a one there hasn't been since the days of our forefathers in Lower Ladakh." /The last quotation mark is conjectural since there is none in the original text--translator./

The Kalatse people bowed their heads That was a lot.. Typical of the Chirpon! This is the way they had known him. Always driving a bargain! This is the way he had acted also as village magistrate of Tingmogang. In all circumstances he knew how to feather his nest: when he collected the taxes, when he settled a dispute and otherwise whenever an opportunity presented itself; and now in haggling over the sale of his daughter. He would have been the last one to give his daughter away to one of those indebted "noble galon's sons" just to pay his debts off. But they knew how to take him. There now started a haggling and a bargaining which increased in violence in proportion

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 žo from the whole 584
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H. Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion? 533
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid? 534
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There just passed by a maiden fair,
Her body was as of pure gold.
/70/ First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a girl with hair so rich,

9:Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.

175 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years
436 ago, there do not seem to have been many silver
651 coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and
[437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 However, once a year the taxes due to the
436 Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver,
804 and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.

1 [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary -- ANALYST]

9: Francke M-3 (no date)1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

651 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two
●436 *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is
804 then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2¾ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where **salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency,** even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 As regards the ancient **tea-money of Tibet,**
436 there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called **jau.** This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal
[435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the **Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle,"** being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately [484] the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 556 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. 427 This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can

[231] easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta (Inula Helenium).*

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 [564] (*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been originally ཌཻ་ཨོ་ལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

539 41. (*a*) དཔལ་འཕང་ཉོ་ངམ། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྱོན་ཉོ་ངམ།།

(*b*) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

000 (*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

561 42. (*a*) ཐུང་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་ཇུང་ལ་ཇའུ།།

793 (*b*) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

436 539 (*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

(*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

[000] (*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = 3¼ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

793 539 43. (*a*) ཁྭ་དས་ཀོ་ལྭག་ཟེར་ས་དང་ཐ་མའི་ཏྲོ་ལྭང་ཟེར་ས་ལ་སྟེབ་འདུག།

(*b*) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

000 (*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin. trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

539 44. (*a*) སྦལ་དེ་ཉིང་ཅན་ནི་ཉིང་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ།

བོད་ཉིང་མེད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་སྟོར།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la
bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

584 tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This
583 will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called
424 *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston*
585 (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will
936 amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives
583 will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

584 In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

Spirits mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

527 of the temple by one of the priests with an expression of contempt for
782 those demons who had not yet surrendered to the "converters" of Tibet and to the great Buddha. This was the Lhagdor sacrifice (lhag-ador), the "cast offering of the remnants," by which these despised yet dreaded demons are appeased. With this act the banquet of the gods was concluded. There followed another plentiful meal for the officiating lamas, each of whom received a gift of money from the participating farmers, besides.

000 Namgyal then paid a visit to the house of his father-in-law Norbu Wangchung. There things were very merry. The Chirpon celebrated the harvest festival with some members of his tribe and a few neighbors in his fashion, with a great deal of beer and noisy revelry. Namgyal did not stay there long although the old man would have liked to keep him there longer. Namgyal never felt at ease in that house. He gave regards to her parents from his wife Chosskyid, sat for a little while among the carousing men, and then he took his leave. He was able to say with good reason that he was being awaited in Kalatse, for there they were also celebrating the harvest festival, though they kept it in moderate /152/ bounds, and all the farmers of the village were supposed to be gathered there, even those who had "regaled the gods" in Tingmogang.

Namgyal again returned to Kalatse with peculiar feelings. As a good Buddhist he believed to have performed his obligation, and he had followed the ceremonies in the monastery of Tingmogang with careful attention. He wanted to be sure to have done everything to obtain the favor of the great Unknown Ones in the dark Beyond, and to find peace for his soul. And now it happened again that he set out on his way home.with a feeling of emptiness and gnawing doubts in his heart With it possible, then, that those Mighty Ones in the Beyond, and that the great Gautama could be pleased by the goings-on in the monastery, and that they should be induced to help by such means? Where was the way that would lead him out of the labyrinth of these questions, out of the darkness of doubts into the bright light of understanding which as a Buddhist he was supposed to seek.

On a Business Trip.

437 In the year after the house had been built, when the fields had been tended and when the young grain began to sprout in the fields, it was decided to undertake a business trip. This plan was agreed upon

at various "beers" in the Dragshos house and in the houses of the circle of relatives and of the tribe in Kalatse and Teya-Tingmogang. The trip was to be taken to the nomads of the Jangtang highland plateau, which lay in Tibetan territory in the northeastern part of Ladakh, in order to exchange goods with these inhabitants of the upland steppes. 437 437 777

The astrologist, who naturally had to be consulted in this instance, prescribed to the people that the ninth day of the fifth month would be a suitable day for setting out on the journey. It was a Monday (moon day); the moon god who rules over this day, would be friendly towards their undertaking, while red (that is, "angry") Mars, who is in the ascendancy on Tuesday, was not to be trusted; the second, eighth, and fourteenth of the month were also not to be recommended as days on which to begin the journey, so said the onpo.

When the plan was established in every detail three lamas were called into Namgyal's house because he was the leader of the enterprise. He led the priests to his threshing floor in the open field /153/ where they had to read the "travel blessing" from three books. The titles of the books were as follows: (143): 437 789

143. The titles of the books in Tibetan read:

1. P'yogs bcu mun sel;
2. Bar-cad lam sel;
3. bSam-pa lhun grub.

Aside from the eight points of the compass, familiar and current among us, Tibetan geography has two more: The upward (in the direction of the zenith), and the downward (in the direction of the nadir). [823]

1. The Illumination of the Dark in the ten points of the compass.
2. The overcoming of the Dangers along the way.
3. The Fulfillment of all Wishes.

Further the priests read prayers to the god of riches (Kubera, rnam-tos-sras), and to the wealth-giving goddess Nor-rgyn-lha-ma with great zeal. Finally the luck-bringing yan-agug and pya-agug ceremony was again performed. The purpose of all these exercises and prayers was to exorcize the Don, Nyan, Tsan, Nodjin, and Gegs

●437 789 demons that threatened the travelers along the way, so that the demons would not inflict any harm upon them; also that the travelers would have success and profit in their trading. One or the other of the travelers had the lama make one or several new amulets, including one that acted as a protection against the bite of a dog. The great, strong mastiffs of the Tibetan nomads are much feared. The amulet contained a slip of paper on which was drawn a picture of a dog in rough outline. The dog's legs and mouth were bound with a chain which was secured at its end by a dorje. Around the figure of the dog was written a magical formula in Sanskrit script, which concluded with the words: "The mouth of the blue dog is tied fast, swaha!"

Another man prepared himself for possible clashes with the thieves of Jangtang by acquiring an amulet which was supposed to make the wearer immune towards sword, spear, and bullet. The amulet consisted of a piece of paper on which invocations by the heavenly Buddhas were printed so that they enclosed a lotus flower in concentric circles. On the eight petals of the lotus flower is written the magical syllable "hum," and in the four corners of the piece of paper are the signs of the Buddhistic trinity: Three gems standing for the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, and Monkhood); then--singly--the lotus flower (Buddha), the thunderbolt (Law), the magical dagger (Monkhood). The first formula on the magical piece of paper reads: "You Buddhas, gods, goddesses and great Gurus (teachers)! Protect the body, soul, and speech of the possessor of this charm!" To this are added a great number of magical formulas and syllables whose meaning is supposed to be such. The lama had made an incision with a knife into the muscular flesh of the arm of one /154/ of the men who wanted to have a particularly effective protection against injuries of all kinds. With the blood from this incision the lama had drawn a few magical signs and letters inside the innermost magical circle. This charm had to be be paid for more dearly, of course, than the others. The magical slips of paper were folded into small squares, they were covered with red or yellow silk, tied across the cross, and then they were attached to the cap or hung around the neck by a string; or else they were worn on the bare skin underneath the jacket so that they were invisible. Two people also wore a flattened lead bullet each, as a talisman, in a bag on their chest; the bullets had been found in the body of a wild sheep killed in hunting; and they were considered as effective means of protection against injury.

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He took his

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He [illegible]
muzzle-loader, which he could handle with skill; he had killed many 411
ibex and many a wild sheep, and even wolves with it. He polished the gun, cast some bullets, and filled his powder flask with gunpowder which a Tibetan in Leh had prepared for him. Then he got out an old, short sword which had a beautifully worked sheath covered with turquoises. This sword was handed down to him from an ancestor who had been a valiant worrior. Towards the end of the eighteenth century 721
the people of Ladakh undertook frequent pillaging expeditions into the neighboring Baltistan. During these expeditions a Dragshos, who was among the leaders, particularly distinguished himself by his boldness. With his men he attacked by surprise a number of Balti villages and brought back home with him rich spoils of cattle and money. For this he received a piece of land near Kalatse from the king. Later, after the defeat of the last of the Ladakh kings, one of the Dragshos was offered the dominion over the land under the sovereignty of the Indian Dogras (conquerors); however, he declined this dubious honor.

Something of the warlike spirit was also in Namgyal. He was 000
courageous and enterprising and he trusted his strong arms and his weapons more than the magical arts of the lamas. His honest belief in the helping and saving deities only went to strengthen his courage. Thus, despite his youthfulness, he was the undisputed leader in all other matters /155/ in the village, as well as in this commercial undertaking.

The final preparations were now made. Wheat, barley, and 437
apricots were put into sacks; some had purchased cotton material, calico, cloth, colored sashes, dye-stuffs, spices, and tobacco from the Indian mercant, so that they would be able to do business in Jangtang. Everything was packed into sacks. Each person who took part in the expedition kept his wares strictly separate from those of the others. Several of the Kalatse men had rifles, old muskets, and muzzle-loaders which they brought out. Then they got the horses from the distant 231
meadow on the mountain, something which in itself took two days since the horses had strayed far afield in their search for food along the barren mountain slopes. The men mended the saddles and the horse's headgear, the sacks, blankets, and tents. Finally they were all ready. The horses had in the last few days received barley to eat in addition to their usual fare--clover hay mixed with chopped straw--so that they would be fortified for the journey. They looked good and some of them were wild and frisky during the shoeing. The latter operation was performed by the Kalatse men themselves. The most

231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 492 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to 15 kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

487 437 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely [233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

The people in the nomad camps liked to see the traders from Ladakh, simply even for the change that their appearance provided in the eternal monotony of the life in those wildernesses. Soon the trading got underway. Amid endless bartering and haggling the Ladakh people exchanged their wares for salt from the nomads, as well as natron, and sheeps' wool. They had already traded their own sheeps' wool along the way in the villages of Ladakh. In exchange for this, they purchased from the mountain shepherds some fine shawl wool which was gotten from the fine lower hair of the mountain goats and which they sold again at a profit in Kashmir. There shawls and other fine woven materials are produced from it. 437

The people from Kalatse had done good business; almost all of their exchange goods, even the Indian wares, they had been able to exchange at a good profit. Another even larger camp was to be visited, in which more natron (for the preparation of tea) was to be traded. /157/ The camp lay to the side of the ordinary trading route in a broad floor of a valley. One day, as the people of Ladakh were moving slowly and wearily along the sandy route in the scorching sun with their heavily laden animals, a shot was suddenly fired at extremely close range. This was soon followed by a second, a third, and a fourth shot, bullets whistled around their ears, a horse which had been shot through the neck with a bullet collapsed and rolled over in the sand with its load, a man, whose muscles on his left upper arm had been torn by a bullet and whose back had been grazed, fell down. In spite of their heavy burdens, the horses ran as if mad, scattering in various directions, even the loaded sheep and goats rushed off. Seventeen Tibetan horsemen galloped toward them. The Ladakh people skillfully looked for cover. Seven shots resounded one after the other from their rifles, one of the Tibetan riders who had been hit in the chest fell in the sand, two of the attackers' horses were shot from under their riders, but before the old-fashioned rifles could be reloaded, the Ladakh people were surrounded by the bandits who attacked them with lances and swords. The Ladakh people defended themselves with swords, pikes, and the butts of rifles in a very courageous manner; a furious battle developed in which Drogpa Namgyal distinguished himself particularly. The fighting spirit of the old Dragshos had been awakened in him. With blows of his sword he knocked two bandits down on the sand. But the bandits' superiority was none the less too great; they were all of them younger and strong men, while among the Ladakh people there were some old men. The battle ended with the Ladakh people being led off with 579

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. — Live-Stock.

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrú* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul.

Production and consumption of food grains.

Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers.

SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

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Live-Stock.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts; one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, when fully broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

[431] [432] [556]

For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

[439] [283]

Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W.Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.
175 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years
436 ago, there do not seem to have been many silver
651 coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and
[437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 However, once a year the taxes due to the
436 Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver,
804 and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.

[i.e., of the Indian Antiquary -- ANALYST]

492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

[804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
• 437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

492 One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

As we ride
622 up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long
291 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material.
301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's
197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among
● 437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we
563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this
731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A '*Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"empty amble," for the pony uses it even when he is not ridden, whilst the *labyor* or "learnt amble" can only be obtained when a rider on his back holds the reins fairly firmly, and unfortunately an animal, like his human rider, forgets his lesson in less time than it takes to learn it. A *labyor* therefore minimizes the value of a pony. To come back to our gipsy, he soon sends one or two of his servants for one of the said wonderful animals, which seems as good as its description. But we, too, know something about ponies, and, therefore, request the rider to dismount and drive the pony along empty, with the result that the amble disappears, for it is only a *labyor*. We then inquire the price of the beast, and are told that as a favour we shall have him for Rs160, but as our opinion on this score does not harmonize with his either, no deal results. This does not trouble our friend much, for he knows that by taking the pony down country he will get an even higher sum, and no inhabitant of the Himalayas ever argues that "time is money," or that a quick turnover of cash is a good business proposition.

This roving tribe, originating from Tibet, subscribes to the Buddhist creed. Like our own gipsies they are properly organized, having their own lawful king, and under him Tehsildars (magistrate), headmen and other officials necessary to keep the community in order, and although they are to be met with here, there and everywhere, they seem to be under quite good control.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

534 with the necessary holes and the mouth-piece. So one often hears a piping from the youths who stroll out in the fields on a summer evening, or finds a hidden talent being brought to light among one's servants round the camp fire in the leisure following the day's march and cooking.

443 But no description of Ladak could be complete which did
438 not consider the merchants who meet here from the four
439 points of the compass, especially during the months of September, October and early November. At this time the Leh bazar becomes full of all sorts and conditions of men—the fair Yarkandi jostling the slit-eyed Tibetan, the Kulu man or his neighbour from Lahoul doing business with the men from Baltistan, Kashmir and most provinces of Northern India. And what do all these folk bring? From the North comes the Yarkandi with carpets of garish colours, furs of snow-leopard, fox and wolf, stone martin and beaver, Khotan silks and thick felt mats. It has taken him a full month of most difficult travelling over vast mountain ranges to get here, in fact the road is marked out in some places by the bleaching skeletons of man and beast. Before he can sell his wares, he will have to travel another month to reach the Plains of India. Here he purchases cloth which he takes back to his home and sells there at a good price. Many of the Yarkandis combine religion and business, coming over the passes in the late summer of the year, and going *via* Bombay to Mecca, then, after the sacred pilgrimage has been accomplished, they return through India, still trading, to cross the passes the following autumn. In Leh, the Yarkandi has either to buy horses or sell them, for the Kashmir State makes its own transport arrangements between Leh and Srinagar, but from
437 here to Yarkand no such facilities exist. It is amusing to watch them doing a horse deal, for though it is done in public, outsiders are none the wiser concerning the purchase price. Each man places a hand up the voluminous sleeve of the other. Says the buyer—"I will give you *Imeme*" simul-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but 437
he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who 443
has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the 438
Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The 439
nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

One would like to describe how the blacksmith makes a 376
hole in the ground and, with goatskin bellows and charcoal, gets quite a good fire in which he works his metal and makes his pots, pans and attractive teapots; also to tell of the 335
carpenter, sitting on the ground holding the plank with his two feet and one hand, while sawing with the other, and in

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

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AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

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Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

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The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

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The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

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In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A34

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
437 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[651] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IX.—COMMERCE.

I.—HOME TRADE.

438 286 THE artificial productions of Ladák are confined to the manufacture of blankets and coarse woollens, chiefly for home consumption, and of black mohair tents, made from the hair of the yák or grunting ox, which form the only habitations of the nomadic population. Both blanketing and sacking can be purchased in Lé, the former only in small quantities, the latter in almost any quantity, as there is a constant demand for it for bags for the conveyance of goods. The blanketing is manufactured in pieces one foot wide and eleven to fifteen [438] yards in length. The price varies from two to three rupees each, according to fineness. The quantity of blanketing and of sacking annually expended in Ladák on the carrying trade amounts to about 120,000 yards, in the manufacture of which 20,000 small maunds (or 640,000 lb.) of wool are consumed. The total value of the manufacture is only Rs. 7,500 or £750.

II.—FOREIGN TRADE.

439 The foreign trade of the country, in home produce, is confined to four natural productions,—wool, borax,

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

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Chapter III, A.

Statistical.

Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family, than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson :—

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"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazíris*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

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"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irri-

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GATED AND THEREFORE CULTIVATED IS NOW LYING WASTE. P. 94

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Proportion of the sexes.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

Houses and furniture.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III. B. 595

Social and Religious Life. 184

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

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Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

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Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

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"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

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12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo. 492

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug 438 up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation 804 of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years 492 Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that 438 were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They 221 grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with 492 salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to 439 form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

Ju Le, Ju Le

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at 674
each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded 779
the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to 438
Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when com- 487
merce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square— 443
where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where 178
the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls 458
are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and 439
fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with 175
merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
• 438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
[548] be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 438
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale. Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 157
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncomplicated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith. The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people, and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the children, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoyancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips, gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

534 with the necessary holes and the mouth-piece. So one often hears a piping from the youths who stroll out in the fields on a summer evening, or finds a hidden talent being brought to light among one's servants round the camp fire in the leisure following the day's march and cooking.

443 But no description of Ladak could be complete which did
438 not consider the merchants who meet here from the four
439 points of the compass, especially during the months of September, October and early November. At this time the Leh bazar becomes full of all sorts and conditions of men—the fair Yarkandi jostling the slit-eyed Tibetan, the Kulu man or his neighbour from Lahoul doing business with the men from Baltistan, Kashmir and most provinces of Northern India. And what do all these folk bring? From the North comes the Yarkandi with carpets of garish colours, furs of snow-leopard, fox and wolf, stone martin and beaver, Khotan silks and thick felt mats. It has taken him a full month of most difficult travelling over vast mountain ranges to get here, in fact the road is marked out in some places by the bleaching skeletons of man and beast. Before he can sell his wares, he will have to travel another month to reach the Plains of India. Here he purchases cloth which he takes back to his home and sells there at a good price. Many of the Yarkandis combine religion and business, coming over the passes in the late summer of the year, and going *via* Bombay to Mecca, then, after the sacred pilgrimage has been accomplished, they return through India, still trading, to cross the passes the following autumn. In Leh, the Yarkandi has either to buy horses or sell them, for the Kashmir State makes its own transport arrangements between Leh and Srinagar, but from
437 here to Yarkand no such facilities exist. It is amusing to watch them doing a horse deal, for though it is done in public, outsiders are none the wiser concerning the purchase price. Each man places a hand up the voluminous sleeve of the other. Says the buyer—"I will give you *Imeme*" simul-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W.-Tibetans AJ4

taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but 437
he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who 443
has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the 438
Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The 439
nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

One would like to describe how the blacksmith makes a 376
hole in the ground and, with goatskin bellows and charcoal, gets quite a good fire in which he works his metal and makes
his pots, pans and attractive teapots; also to tell of the 335
carpenter, sitting on the ground holding the plank with his two feet and one hand, while sawing with the other, and in

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

565 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of
241 by employing labourers.
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The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the
241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim,
[438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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high; in one of these lives a whole family. The sheep
231 and goats are very numerous. At evening time one sees the
236 flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at
[492] the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is of a large kind; it is here made use of for carrying loads; the salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.; the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of the two kinds of goat kept here is made use of in just the same
[438] way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals. The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an under-growth at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs, and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh, where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on to Kashmir. It must not be supposed that the greater part of the shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of
231 Kāshgar's country. The horned cattle are all of the
492 yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild, not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on their backs like the Ladākhīs, they depend entirely on their cattle, on their sheep and goats for merchandise that is easily divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this
439 way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between Central
492 Ladākh on the one hand and Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhol in the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good

[i.e. in Rupshu -- Analyst]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 observation, an account of his travels would have been particularly valuable. He was probably the first European who had ever visited *Skardo*, or Little Tibet. He took that route to avoid the invading army of Dogras, and succeeded in reaching Kashmir in November 1835. All his observations were lost, along with his baggage, on the road between Ladák and Kashmir.* In 1847, I made repeated inquiries for English books, or English writing, with the hope of recovering some of Henderson's notes, but all in vain.

Ladák was visited by Mr. Vigne shortly after *Moré-Tátsi* had been placed on the throne by Zoráwar Sing. From Balti he proceeded through Lé to the Nubra valley, and returned by the same route. His short stay in Ladák was unfortunate; for, owing to the mutual jealousy of himself and the Dogra authorities, he was deprived of all means of obtaining information. His notice of Ladák is therefore the least interesting part of his rambles in the Alpine Panjáb. His accounts of Kashmir and Balti are full of valuable information, which is half lost for want of arrangement.

Early in 1846, when the result of the first Sikh war had made Raja Guláb Sing the undisputed master of Ladák and its dependencies, and he had no longer to guard himself against the power of the Sikh chiefs, it seemed not improbable that the hope of plunder and the desire of revenge might tempt him to repeat the expe-
175 dition of 1841 into the Lhasan territory. Such an
439 occurrence would at once have stopped the importation of shawl wool into our territory, and have closed the

* Baron Hugel's Travels, pp. 129, 151. Henderson's servant reported that his baggage was lost in the snow in the *Naubak* Pass. I presume that the *Namyika* Pass is intended.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

whole of the petty commerce of our hill states with Tibet. It was possible also that our peaceful relations with the Chinese emperor might be considerably embarrassed by his Celestial Majesty's ignorance of any distinction between the rulers of India and the rulers of Kashmir. As it seemed desirable to prevent the chance of such an occurrence, the British Government determined to remove the most common cause of all disputes in the East,—an unsettled boundary. For this purpose two officers were deputed, in August 1846, to the Tibetan frontier of Ladák, to ascertain the ancient boundaries between the two countries, and to lay down the boundary between the British territories and those of Mahárája Guláb Sing. The settlement of this boundary was one of some importance to the hill states, and more especially to our new acquisition of Nurpur, which received all its shawl wool from the traders of the eastern hill states, and not from Kashmir. Immediately after the war, I had pointed out that, by giving up to Mahárája Guláb Sing the southern dependencies of Ladák, we had actually interposed a rival territory between our own provinces on the Sutluj and the shawl-wool districts of Cháng-Tháng. The southern boundary of Spiti was, in fact, not more than thirty miles from Rámpur, on the Sutluj. As the annual revenue of the Spiti district, derived from all sources, does not amount to more than seven hundred rupees, no difficulty was experienced in making an exchange of territory with Mahárája Guláb Sing, and Spiti was added to the British dominions.

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It then became necessary to define the northern boundary of Spiti, with the other districts of Ladák. The two commissioners deputed for this purpose were

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TWO ROUTES FROM PHADAM IN ZANSKAR TO LÉ. 491

Winter Route.	Direct Route.
1 Muni.	1 Tondé.
2 Yang Jhul.	2 Jand-lá.
3 Maleng.	3 Sumdo.
4 Kina Jhula.	4 Dagmoche.
5 Zongmar.	5 Karna Sumdo.
6 Chumik Marpo.	6 Rabrang.
7 Tokpo Soma.	7 Marka.
8 Charáp.	8 Kyo (Skyo or Skio).
9 Dong chéchan.	9 Shingo (Pass).
10 Pachálong.	10 Rumbak.
11 Kyang-cho.	11 Pitak.
12 Rukchin.	12 Lé.
13 Debraug.	
14 Gya.	
15 Miru.	
16 Ugshi.	
17 Hemis.	
18 Thagna Goupa.	
19 Chachot.	
20 Lé.	

IV.—3rd. THE SOUTHERN ROAD.

By this route the shawl wool is brought to the large 491 cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana, all of which 439 make a return in manufactured shawls and coarse brocades. The roads from all these places meet at Mandi (the market) or Maudinagur (market-city) on the Byas river, the capital of the small state of that name. From Nurpur the merchants proceed viâ Kangra and Baijnath; from Amritsar, viâ Hushiyarpoor and Nadon; and from Ludiana, viâ Ropar and Bilaspur; the distances of the first and last being about 120 miles; of the second, about 150 miles.

From Mandi this road proceeds by the iron-mines of 491 Kumán to Sultânpur, the capital of Kullu. From [135]

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		Miles.
1	Sabu	6
2	Foot of Pass... ...	12
3	Digar	5½
4	Chatti	16
5	Tirit	8½
6	Tagar	8½
7	Panámik	13
8	Chirasa	10
9	Lyakjung	9
10	Hundar	9½
11	Tertse	10
12	Unmáru	5½
13	Karu	9½
14	Waris	8
15	Bogdan	7
16	Chulungka	9
	Carried forward ...	147

		Miles.
	Brought forward ...	147
17	Turtuk	7
18	Pránu	11
19	Siksa...	7
20	Kábás	8
21	Surma	12
22	Khapolor	7
23	Karku	10
24	Bragar	4
25	Kunes	6½
26	Kuru	6
27	Keris	8
28	Golochu	9
29	Camp	9½
30	Skardo	4
	Total ...	236

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The above are the principal thoroughfares throughout Ladák. Many other roads might be enumerated in all directions, but they are less frequented and more difficult. These by-paths are called *Lam-than*,* and *Lam-dogpo*. They are used chiefly by the people of the country in passing from their own districts into the next; such are,—1st, the road over the Omba Lá, between Suru and Drás; and 2nd, the road over the Vingé Lá, between Zanskar and Purik. Other roads are used only by smugglers; but these are always difficult, although frequently more direct than the high-roads. One of the best known of these smugglers' paths is that which leads from the Chinese district of Chumurti into Láhul and Kullu. From Chumurti the road is followed over the Budhpu Pass to the bed of the Párá river. From thence a rugged path leads over a lofty mountain to the [439]

* *Lam-phran*, pronounced *Lam-than*, "little road;" and *Lam-Dogpo*, "narrow road."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 No specimen of this magnificent goat has, I believe, yet been obtained by any naturalist, nor have I heard of any traveller who has seen the animal. I would suggest that it might be called *Capra megaceros*.

236 [136] Another species of wild goat is the Tibetan ibex, or *Skyin*.* Mr. Vigne procured a pair of horns that were four feet three inches in length. In his opinion the Skyin "is larger than the European ibex, and the horns are longer, more curved, and more tapering." The Skyin frequents the most inaccessible rocks, and the animal, when shot, is frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. Vigne states that between one and two hundred of them are killed in Balti during the winter, when they are forced to descend into [224] the valleys.† In Ladák they are also snared at night, and shot in the grey dawn of the morning, when they venture down to the streams to drink. They are killed for the sake of the soft under-fleece, which, in Kashmir, [439] is called *Asali Tus*.‡ This is an exceedingly fine and soft wool of a light brown colour, which is exported to Kashmir, where it is used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It is also woven into a very fine cloth, called *Tusi*, of a soft and delicate texture, which is much prized for its warmth. The high price of the Tus is caused by the difficulty of procuring the animal, and by the uselessness of the hair. The person who separates the hair from the wool of the domestic shawl-

* *Skyin;* the female is called *Dan-mo*. In Kullu and Spiti, the Skyin is called Kyin; and Spiti is called Piti, but the spelling in Tibetan always preserves the initial *s*.

† Vigne's Travels, II. p. 279.

‡ اصلي توس means simply "genuine *Tus*," or the wool of the *wild* goat; *Tus* means "n ıture."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. It might, therefore, with advantage be crossed with the 402 common small sheep of our hill provinces. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladák is transported on these sheep. They are food, clothing, and carriage, and form the principal wealth of the people of Ladák. I have seen a single flock of six hundred sheep, entirely laden with wool; and in one day I have counted as many as from five to six thousand sheep laden with shawl wool and common wool, borax and sulphur, and quantities of dried apricots, all making their way to the hill provinces 556 on the south-west. The *Huniya* * is, therefore, much prized; and a man's wealth is generally estimated by the number of his sheep. The average price is two rupees and a half (or five shillings), but fine strong rams are worth from three to four rupees.

231 The whole trade of Ladák does not exceed 30,000 [439] small maunds of sixteen seers each, equivalent to the same number of sheep-loads. But the large importation of grain, which took place yearly before the population had been thinned by disease, emigration, and war, must have employed some 400,000 sheep. Of these, probably about one-half belonged to the Ladákis, and the other half to the hill people of Káshtwár, Chamba, Láhul, Kullu, and Kanáwar. After making a due allowance for lambs, I should estimate the former number of sheep at upwards of 300,000, or rather more than twelve sheep per house. At present the number is not so great, probably not more than 250,000. At the rate of 2 seers (4 lb.)† per sheep, the annual produce of wool

* *Huniya* is the Indian term, of which the Tibetans have made *Hunhi-yi*. The sheep is called *Huniyi-luk*.

† The English sheep yield an average of 4 lb. each, and even the little Purik sheep of Ladák yield 3 lb. See Moorcroft, I. p. 310.

1. Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

		Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government	... ...	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Drás	... ...	0	3	0	
" Gagangir	... ...	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig	...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal	... ...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána	... ...	0	8	0	
Total	...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
	or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only	... Rs.	2	0	0	

showing a difference of 2 11 0, or of 5s. on every load.

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na;* the common wool, *Bal;* and the hair, *sPu.* The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal,* or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal,* are the same as the Latin *lana,* and the English *wool.*

439 [435] In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kashmiri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer. 236 It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days, disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice is first soaked for three or four days in water until it begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool [283] is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown, which are spun into thread. This work is all done by the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	20½ Rs. weight,	or	¼th.
Brown wool	...	5½	"	$\frac{1}{12}$th.
Common wool	...	54½	"	$\frac{11}{12}$ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs called pattu.

443 The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by 435 the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness, and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed threads are—

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	Weight.		
Of very fine white single thread	1¼	Rupee for	1 Rupee.
" " double "	1½	"	"
" light brown (*phiri*)	5¼	"	"
Fine white silky (*reshami*)	3¾	"	"
Very fine brown (*khudrang*)	3	"	"
Fine ditto ditto	4½	"	"

The thread-merchants are contented with the usual custom (*dasturi* of India) of half an anna in each rupee, or about six per cent.

I have now traced the gradual additions in price of the shawl-wool from the time that it leaves the hands of the producer, at one rupee per seer, until it is spun into thread and sold to the shawl-merchant at ten times the original price. About one-third of this increased price might be avoided by cleaning the wool more thoroughly in Ladák, and by the direct purchase by the shawl-merchant from the producer.

The intervention of three different traders, the Ladáki, and Kashmiri wool-merchant and the Kashmir thread-merchant, between the producer and the manufacturer, enhances the price by at least six per cent. each, or about twenty per cent. altogether.

439 The average quantity of shawl-wool exported to Kashmir is the same as in Moorcroft's time, about 800 loads, or 3,200 small maunds of sixteen seers each; and about [435] the same quantity is exported to all other places. The average price in Ladák is about two rupees per seer, or Rs. 2,04,000 (£20,400). Of the 6,400 maunds exported, about 4,000 maunds are imported from Chang-thang, Ruthog, and Ngári; and the remaining 2,400 maunds are the home produce of the highlands of Nubra, Ladák, 236 Zanskar, and Rukchu. As the usual yield of fine wool for shawls and *pattus* is half a seer, the total number of

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241 rupee,* would entail an annual outlay of Rs. 1. 8 a.
[435] (about 3s.), or a total importation of Rs. 2,47,500 worth of grain. This sum, divided over the whole adult male population of about 40,000, shows an annual expenditure of six rupees per man; or, if divided amongst the whole number of 24,000 houses, about ten rupees per house.
● 439 This sum was defrayed entirely by the profits of the carrying trade, of which the Ladákis have an entire monopoly between Yarkand and Kashmir.

241 With the present population of 125,000 people, the land would yield fully enough for home consumption, or 9 chittaks (1 lb. 2 oz.) daily for each person; but scarcely more than three-fourths of the lands are now under cultivation. The present annual produce is, therefore, not more than twenty-two millions of seers, or somewhat less than 800,000 bushels, which will yield only $7\frac{3}{4}$ chittaks ($15\frac{1}{2}$ oz.) of food for each person daily. The deficiency is half an ounce daily for each individual, or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers annually, equal to $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas (about 9d.). The whole annual importation is, therefore, only 687,500 seers, in value about Rs. 43,000. This sum divided over the whole adult male population of 30,000 persons, shows an annual expenditure of Rs. 1. 6 a., or if divided over the 18,000 houses, about Rs. 2. 6 a. 2 p. per house.

There is a curious custom in Ladák, which has a counterpart in the *arwan* of India and the *neck* of England. At every harvest the farmer selects a small bundle of the finest ears of barley, which he fastens round

* This was the rate in Lahul in 1846, and at Lé in 1847; but in the grain-growing districts I was informed that wheat was sold at thirty-two seers, and even at thirty-six seers per rupee. The individual expense of each family or house was therefore perhaps not more than half of the sum stated above.

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Ladák; but the sulphur of Chang-thang is so easily 135
obtainable, that the Puga mine is almost neglected. The bed of the small rivulet Rulang-chu, which traverses the glen of Puga, is full of hot springs, varying in temperature from 80° to 148°. The hottest springs are strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The sulphur itself is found on the left bank of the rivulet, where a small hole has gradually been excavated by the shepherds. It occurs in pure transparent crystals attached to the gypsum, or in thin opaque laminæ disseminated through the rock. The quantity exported is [439]
very small, but I was informed by the shepherds that as much as 100 small maunds (of 16 seers each) are sometimes mined. In 1847 I saw twelve sheep-loads (or twelve maunds) of sulphur that had been taken from this mine; but I feel satisfied that the average quantity of sulphur annually mined cannot be more than fifty maunds, and is probably much less. No duty is taken at the mine; [651]
and the export duty, which is only a quarter of a rupee per maund, can often be evaded.

Borax, in Tibetan *Tshalé*, is thrown up in the form of boracic acid by the hot springs of lowest temperature in the valley of Puga. The banks of the rivulet, for about two miles in length, are quite white with the saline matters that are continually being precipitated. These salts are chloride of soda and borate of soda. They are carefully scraped from the surface, as the under-coating is only the refuse of former years. Those of a faint pinkish hue, inclining occasionally to green, are preferred; but these colours entirely disappear as the salts become dry. This impure mixture is the tincal of commerce, from which the borax (borate of

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IX.—COMMERCE.

I.—HOME TRADE.

438 286 THE artificial productions of Ladák are confined to the manufacture of blankets and coarse woollens, chiefly for home consumption, and of black mohair tents, made from the hair of the yák or grunting ox, which form the only habitations of the nomadic population. Both blanketing and sacking can be purchased in Lé, the former only in small quantities, the latter in almost any quantity, as there is a constant demand for it for bags for the conveyance of goods. The blanketing is manufactured in pieces one foot wide and eleven to fifteen [438] yards in length. The price varies from two to three rupees each, according to fineness. The quantity of blanketing and of sacking annually expended in Ladák on the carrying trade amounts to about 120,000 yards, in the manufacture of which 20,000 small maunds (or 640,000 lb.) of wool are consumed. The total value of the manufacture is only Rs. 7,500 or £750.

II.—FOREIGN TRADE.

439 The foreign trade of the country, in home produce, is confined to four natural productions,—wool, borax,

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sulphur, and dried fruits, of which only the first is of any consequence, and even that is not of sufficient importance to deserve more than a slight notice. 439

Wool, in Tibetan *Bal*, is the chief product of Ladák. It is of two kinds: goat-wool, or *Le-na*, which is used for shawls, and sheep-wool, or *Bal*, which is used for blanketing and coarse clothing, and for stuffing pillows and bedding.

The quantity of home-produced shawl-wool annually exported from Ladák averages 2,400 small maunds, or 76,800 lb. The value in Ladák is the same amount in rupees (Rs. 76,800), at the rate of two rupees per seer. The shawl-wool is exported to Kashmir, Nurpur, Amritsar, and Rampur.

The commoner sheep-wool is produced in much greater quantities, and the general amount of export (5,000 maunds) more than doubles that of the finer wool. The value at eight seers per rupee is only 2,000 rupees.

Borax.—The borax and sulphur-mines are found together at an uninhabited spot named Puga, on the Rulang-chu, a small stream which is full of hot springs, and which joins the Indus on its left bank, miles above Lé. Puga stands in N. latitude 33° 12′, and E. longitude 78° 16′, at an elevation of 15,264 feet above the sea. The borax is ejected in the bed of the stream by the numerous hot springs at various temperatures, from 80° upwards. The salt (borate of soda) is found along both banks of the rivulet for about two miles, in conjunction with chloride of soda. It is in a damp state, owing to the vapours emitted by the hot springs. In collecting the borax, the surface of the salt, which is generally of a light pink creamy hue (sometimes in- 135 [316]

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135 clining to green), is carefully scraped and collected in
316 bags. When dry, it is of a dull white colour. In this
439 state it is collected by the shepherds, who pasture their flocks on the rich summer grass of the plains of Rukchu. The quantity of this borax annually exported is stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb.; the value, at the rate of sixteen seers per rupee, being only Rs. 500.

Sulphur.—The Puga sulphur-mine is situated at a short distance from the stream, at the foot of a gypsum cliff. The mineral occurs chiefly in the form of thin laminæ disseminated throughout the rock; but in all the fissures there are numerous detached crystals, quite transparent and of all sizes, from that of a grain of sand to one-eighth of an inch. In detaching the sulphur, the crystals are mostly reduced to powder and partially mixed with the gypsum rock; and in this state it is carried to the markets of Nurpur, Kangra, and Rampur. The vague statements of the shepherds make the annual supply about 500 maunds, or 3,200 lb., but I should think that it rarely amounted even to one-half of that quantity.

439 *Dried Fruits.*—These consist of apricots and small
243 seedless raisins (commonly called currants). I have no means of making even a guess at the amount of this export, but the quantity must be considerable. I never found a single trader or shepherd without numerous bags of them; and I have procured them in all the bazaars in the hill states from Kashmir to Kangra and Simla. In the Simla bazaar they are sold at from two to two and a half seers per rupee.

The whole value of the foreign trade of Ladák, in home produce, does not exceed Rs. 80,000 or £8,000.

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III.—FOREIGN TRADE IN FOREIGN PRODUCE.

The chief source of wealth in Ladák is the carrying-trade, or transport of foreign produce from one country to another through its own territories. This trade it owes entirely to its centrical situation between Kashmir and India on the south, and the Chinese provinces of Yarkand, Kotan, and Káshgár on the north. It is the entrepôt between Kashmir, where the shawls are manufactured, and the Chinese provinces of Ruthog and Chang-Thang, where the shawl-wool is produced. It supplies north-western India with tea, shawls, wool, and borax; and the Musalmán provinces of China with opium, saffron, brocades, and shawls. These are the staples of the trade through Ladák, but the number of smaller articles that are interchanged is very great, and as the detail may be interesting, I subjoin a list which I prepared at Lé from the accounts of the Yarkandi and Kashmiri merchants. Many of them are quack medicines of very doubtful properties; but the most curious items are undoubtedly the export of sugar to Yarkand, and its after-import in the shape of sugar-candy. The *Gur*, or coarse sugar, of Kashmir is carried a long journey of two months and a half to Yarkand, where it is refined and crystallized: and the sugar-candy is again carried over the same long journey back to Ladák and Kashmir. The Yarkandi sugar-candy is certainly very white; but it is surpassed in colourless transparency by that of Bikaner.

List of Chinese articles brought to India.

Shawl-wool from Chang-Thang and Ruthog.
Charas or Bang, an intoxicating extract of hemp

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Silver in bars or ingots, called *Kuru* and *Yámbu*.*
Felts of various kinds.
Suklát, a kind of camlet made of camel's hair.
Tea, both green and black.
Sugar-candy.
Russia Leather, called Bulgár.
Sable-skins, called Kúndúz.
Gáma, or black leather.
Kimsan, or golden-coloured leather, about eight inches wide.
Ságri, or green leather.
Láka, a peculiar cloth made of hemp-bark.
Velvets, both coarse and fine.
Mashru, or coarse silk cloths of three kinds—
1. Bádsháhi.
2. Alchinbar, made at Alchi or Ilitsi.
3. Kotani, made at Kotan.
Siling, a soft and fine silky woollen of two kinds—
1. Shirún, and 2. Gorún.
Parcha Samsún, coarse cotton cloths.
Parcha Zukh, ditto ditto.
Silk, both raw and manufactured.
Gold.
Gold thread, called Zirri, both genuine and false.
Silver.
Silver thread.
Turquoises, from Persia, through Bokhára.
Carpets, from Kotan.
Rewand-Chini, or rhubarb.†
Chob-Chini, or China-root.
Gol-i-Dál-Chini.
Zedaary, Nirbisi from Nepál.
Coral, Múnga.
Musk, Mushkanáfa.
Tobacco.
Raisins.
Pistachio Nuts, Pista.
Soap.

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* *Kuru* is the Turki name; the Tibetans call them *Yam-bu*.

† Dr. O'Brien informs me that China-root is much used as an excellent substitute for sarsaparilla. Dr. O'Shaughnessy states that it is largely imported into Calcutta from the eastward.—See the Bengal Dispensatory, p. 645.

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Bádián-khitai, Chinese aniseed, which is bruised and put into tea.
Mamira, a yellow root said to be a cure for bad eyes.
Galer-patthar (neck-stone), good for swollen necks.
Mulhatti, liquorice-root, used for coughs.
Daryâhi.
Ponies.
Salt, from the lakes of Chang-Thang.

List of Indian articles carried to Yarkand.

Láki, goat-skins dyed red, from Nurpur.
Cottons, flowered (chicken).
Ditto, coarse (ghára).
Ditto, thin (gaji).
Chintzes of all kinds.
Silk, *lungi* of Multán.
Shawls, mostly coarse.
Jámiwár, or shawl-cloth figured in breadths.
Brocades, mostly coarse.
Turbans.
Opium.
Indigo.
Heron-plumes, Kalgi, generally made of the feathers of the jungul fowl.
Shoes, from Nurpur.
Pearls of all sizes up to one hundred rupees each.
Otter-skins.
Turmeric.
Cardamums.
Ginger.
Cloves.
Black Pepper.
Honey.
Tamarinds, dry.
Sherbet, lemon.
Coarse Sugar, Gúr.
Narcachor, the root of a reed, used both as a scent and as a medicine. It is the common *Narkat* or *Nalkand* (Curcuma Zerumbet).*

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* In Hindustáni نرکٹ, नर्कट, *Narkat*; in Sanskrit नलकाण्ड or नलकांड, *Nala kánda*, or river-reed. It is plentiful in the Sindh at

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Túrbad, Convolvulus Turpethum, or Turbith, a purgative root.
Hábilistan.
Khurma or *Chhuhára*, dates.
Salt.

CHINESE IMPORTS FOR INDIA.

Shawl-wool.—The principal article of Ladáki trade between the Chinese provinces and India is shawl-wool, of which about 3,200 maunds are annually sold to the Kashmiris, and an equal quantity to the traders of Nurpur, Rampur, Amritsar, and Ludiana. Of this, some 2,400 maunds are the produce of the country, and the remainder, amounting to 4,000 maunds, or 128,000 lb., is obtained from Chang-Thang and Ruthog. As the average value of shawl-wool in Ladák is 2 rupees per seer, or 1 rupee per lb., the total value of the annual import of shawl-wool is Rs. 1,28,000, or £12,800. The whole is again exported.

Sheep's wool is imported only in small quantities, as the country itself supplies more wool than it consumes. About 1,000 maunds are said to be brought annually from Ruthog, of which the value in Ladák, at the rate of 8 seers per rupee, is only Rs. 500. It is all exported again.

Charas, or Bang, is brought from Yarkand. About 500 maunds are imported annually, at the average price of three rupees per seer. The whole value of this article is therefore Rs. 24,000, or £2,400. About 300 maunds of charas are consumed in Ladák, and the remaining 200 maunds are exported to the neighbouring countries.

Tobacco is imported largely from Yarkand, the annual supply being stated at 4,000 maunds, or 128,000 lb., of

Narwar or Nalwar; and it is possible that the name may have been derived from this celebrated fort.

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which the whole is consumed in the country. This amount allows one pound for each individual, which is somewhat more than the quantity annually consumed in England:* which in 1842 was twenty-two millions of pounds, amongst twenty-eight millions of population, or three-quarters of a pound each. This difference arises no doubt from the difference of habits, as the use of tobacco is only partial in England, while in Ladák it is universal. The average price of tobacco at Lé is one rupee per seer, and the value of the whole import is Rs. 64,000, or £6,400. Small quantities of tobacco are also imported from Bisahar and Kashmir, but I could not ascertain the amount.

Borax is imported from Chang-Thang, to the amount of 2,500 maunds, or 80,000 lb., annually. Its price in Chang-Thang is one rupee for four maunds, or sixty-four seers. In Ladák it averages about thirty-two seers per rupee; and in the lower hill bazaars it is sold at sixteen seers per rupee, in its original impure state. The total value of the import is Rs. 1,500, or £150.

Sulphur is also imported from Chang-Thang; but the quantity is small, not exceeding 400 maunds, or 12,800 lb. Its price is usually one anna per seer, and the whole value of the import only Rs. 400, or £40.

Opium is the chief article of trade between India and China, through Ladák, as it is between India and China generally. The annual supply was stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb., which, at the average rate of fifteen rupees per seer, amounts to Rs. 1,20,000, or £12,000 worth. The stated quantity is most probably less than the truth, as the total amount of opium that was destroyed at Yarkand in 1840, after the imperial edict of 1839, is

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

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439 said to have been worth one lac of *kurus*, equal to Rs. 166,00,000, or £1,660,000! This vastly exaggerated amount, which was repeated by several people, was most probably the round sum total of all the confiscated opium throughout the Chinese empire,* although my simple informants fully believed that this enormous quantity had been destroyed at Yarkand alone. The imperial edict is now as little respected on the western frontiers as it is on the eastern sea-coasts; from which politicians may learn how vain and useless is the attempt to thwart the wishes of a whole people. The drug produced in our hill states is of a superior quality, and as it is much prized by the Chinese, the land trade in opium is yearly on the increase.

Shawls of inferior descriptions are taken to Yarkand in considerable numbers. The finest shawls, such as we see in India and in England, are only manufactured to order; but the commoner shawls of coarser material and large patterns are preferred in the Yarkand market, on account of their cheapness. Their prices range from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 per pair: the average being about Rs. 100. The number of shawls annually exported amounts probably to 500 pairs: but this number is only an average of the widely different statements of the merchants—some of whom said 200 pairs, and others

* The value of the Opium destroyed may be thus stated—

Indian Opium,	20,000 chests, at Rs. 625 each =	£1,250,000
Turkish Opium,	1,000 chests, at Rs. 800 each =	80,000
		£1,330,000

This sum is equal to more than 80,000 *kurus*, and might, with the additional value of the Ladáki opium, be commonly stated in round numbers at one lac (100,000) of *kurus*.

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1,000. The value of 500 pairs of shawls is about Rs. 50,000, or £5,000. 439

Brocades are another article regarding which I found great difficulty in obtaining any definite information. The commoner kinds, ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 each, are preferred for the Yarkand market. Perhaps about 400 may be exported annually, which at an average price of Rs. 100 each, are worth Rs. 20,000, or £2,000.

Láki, or skins of red leather.—These are goat-skins tanned and coloured at Nurpur. There is a great demand for them all over the hills, but more particularly in Ladák and Yarkand, where bright-coloured leathers are generally employed in the manufacture of boots, and of bridles and trappings of horses. About 200 maunds, or sheep-loads (6,400 lb. weight) of these skins are said to be annually imported into Ladák; which at the mean rate of one pound per skin, and of one rupee each, are worth Rs. 6,400, or £640. Half of this quantity (100 maunds), or 3,200 skins, worth Rs. 3,200, or £320, are exported to Yarkand. [282]

Spices to the value of about Rs. 1,000, or £100, are said to be annually imported into Ladák, of which the greater part, or Rs. 800 worth, are carried to Yarkand.

Saffron is supplied entirely by Kashmir. The quantity varies; but the usual supply is said to be twenty maunds, or 640 lb.; which, at the rate of forty rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 12,800, or £1,280. The whole is exported to Yarkand.

Cloths of all the coarser sorts, and a considerable number of flowered cottons and bright-coloured chintzes, form an important article of Ladáki trade. The annual amount is about 100 maunds, or 3,200 lb., in value Rs. 10,000, or £1,000. A small quantity is used in

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439 Ladák for the bordering of skull-caps, but the remainder is exported to Yarkand.

Tea is more or less drunk by everybody in Ladák, and a considerable quantity is therefore imported both for home consumption and for the supply of Kashmir and the Punjáb. The gross annual import is said to be 1,000 maunds, or 32,000 lb.; which, at the rate of three rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 9,600. About 200 maunds (6,400 lb.) is exported, leaving only 800 maunds, or 25,600 lb., for the use of the people of Ladák. This will not give more than three ounces to each person; but there is good reason for believing that a considerable quantity of Chinese tea is smuggled into Ladák; and we know that the black tea of Bisahar is now largely imported to be mixed with the Chinese tea. The average supply for each individual cannot therefore be less than half a pound. In England it reaches a pound and a quarter for each person.*

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DUTIES.—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

YARKAND.

On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Charas, per maund	2	4	0
„ Wool	2	4	0
„ Tea	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	8	0

On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Cloths, Láki, &c. per maund ...	0	4	0
„ Opium	0	4	0

No other duties are now taken on exports to Yarkand.

KASHMIR.

On Cloths, per maund	1	0	0
„ Saffron „ ...	3	0	0
„ Brocades, per piece	0	8	0
„ Shawls, per pair	0	8	0
„ Tobacco	0	4	0
„ Ghi	0	4	0
On Wool, per maund	0	8	0
„ Tea, per dama ...	1	0	0
„ Langa and Siling, per piece ...	0	2	0

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

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On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.	On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Sugar-candy ...	1	4	0				
„ Spices	1	4	0				
„ Opium	2	8	0				
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0				

BISAHAR.

On Opium, per maund	1	4	0	On Charas, per maund	0	10	0
„ Spices	0	10	0	„ Gold and Silver, per yámbu ...	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	10	0				
„ Iron	1	0	0				

NURPUR.

On every pony-load ...	3	0	0

ZANSKAR.

On Láki, per maund	2	2	6
„ Ghi	0	4	0
„ Honey	0	2	0
„ Opium	2	8	0
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0

The following tables show the annual amount and value of all the imports and exports of the trade of Ladák, with the total amount of duty levied on each article.

IMPORTS FROM THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Seer.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool	4,000	128,000	2 0 0	1,28,000	12,800	0 8 0	2,000	200
Wool	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 8 0	500	50
Tea	1,000	32,000	3 0 0	48,000	4,800	0 2 0	2,000	200
Charas	500	16,000	3 0 0	24,000	2,400	2 4 0	1,125	112½
Tobacco ..	4,000	128,000	1 0 0	64,000	6,400	0 4 0	1,000	100
Borax	2,500	80,000	0 0 6	1,250	125	0 4 0	625	62½
Sulphur ..	400	12,800	0 1 0	400	40	0 4 0	100	10
Total ..	13,400	428,000		2,67,650	26,765		7,350	735

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IMPORTS FROM THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	2 8 0	1,250	125
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000	0 8 0	250	25
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000	0 8 0	200	20
Láki	200	6,400	32 0 0	6,400	640	2 2 6	431	43
Spices	—	—	—	1,000	100	0 15 0	100	10
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280	3 0 0	60	6
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000	1 0 0	100	10
Total ..	820	26,240		2,20,200	22,020		2,391	239

EXPORTS TO THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool*	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 8 0	1,600	160
Ditto †	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 12 0	2,400	240
Total ..	6,400	204,800		2,04,800	20,480		4,000	400
Wool ‡	5,000	160,000	0 2 0	10,000	1,000	0 2 0	625	62½
Ditto §	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 2 0	125	12½
Total ..	6,000	192,000		12,000	1,200		700	70
Tea	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 4 0	800	80
Charas	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 10 0	125	12½
Borax	3,000	96,000	0 0 6	1,500	150	0 4 0	750	75
Sulphur....	500	16,000	0 1 0	500	50	0 4 0	125	12½
Total ..	16,300	521,600		2,38,000	23,800		6,550	655

* Exported to Kashmir.
‡ Home produce.
† Exported to other places.
§ Imported from Chang Thang.

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EXPORTS TO THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	0 4 0	125	12½
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000			
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000			
Lâki.....	100	3,200	32 0 0	3,200	320	0 4 0	25	2½
Spices	—	—	—	800	80			
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280			
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000			
Total ..	720	23,040		2,16,000	21,600		150	15

TOTALS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

	Value.		Duty.	
	Rupees.	£.	Rupees.	£.
Imports.				
From the Chinese Territories ...	2,67,650	26,765	7,350	735
" Indian " ...	2,20,200	22,020	2,391	239
Total Imports ...	4,87,850	48,785	9,741	974
Exports.				
To the Indian Territories ...	2,38,000	23,800	6,550	655
" Chinese " ...	2,16,000	21,600	150	15
Total Exports ...	4,54,000	45,400	6,700	670

The total amount of duties thus collected is Rs. 16,441. This, with the addition of other small duties on Chinese silks, salt, iron, and copper vessels, will amount to about Rs. 18,000, which was the acknowledged amount

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439 of the duties collected in Ladák both before and after
651 Gulab Sing's conquest. I have therefore some reason to believe in the general accuracy of the statements which I received from the merchants, although perhaps not one of them may be strictly correct. Statistical questions are particularly puzzling to ignorant men, who are unaccustomed to deal with large numbers, and when they get beyond hundreds begin to talk of lacs. I found too, that the statements of the Kashmiris were generally false, and I believe wilfully so; at least the returns which they gave me of the numbers of people and *kháls* of land in the different villages of Drás, were undoubtedly manufactured for the occasion. Thus every house had exactly one man, one woman, and one boy, and every village possessed exactly three *kháls* of land. But the mis-statements of the Botis arose, I believe, generally from ignorance, as I never could find any obviously manufactured statistics, like those of the Kashmiris. I have already noticed the close agreement between the sum of my detailed accounts of the import and export duties, and the gross amount of Rs. 18,000, which was universally said to be the total amount of all the duties collected in Ladák. I will now add another fact that will most probably tend to increase the reliance which the first would induce us to place in the general
439 accuracy of these details. A considerable quantity of silver in ingots, or bars, is annually brought into Ladák by the Yarkandis, thus proving that the value of the merchandise which they import is less than that which they export. Now these details exhibit precisely the same fact, as I will now show.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439

IMPORTS FROM YARKAND.

Shawl-wool	Rs. 28,000
Tea	48,000
Charas	24,000
Tobacco	64,000
	164,000
Add ponies, sugar-candy, drugs, skins, turquoises	16,000
	180,000
Exports to Yarkand	216,000
Excess of Exports	Rs. 36,000

This sum is equal to upwards of 216 silver ingots, called *yámbu* and *kuru*, each of which is worth Rs. 166. The fact that Yarkandi bullion is constantly being brought into the Ladák market is further proved by the duty of half a rupee, which is levied on each ingot when it is exported to Bisahar. [651]

All merchandise is called *Tshong*, and the merchants or dealers *Tshong-pa;* as, *Bal-Tshong*, a wool-merchant; *Chhang-Tshong*, a spirit-dealer. Merchants are also called *Don-thun*, or "Ware-gatherers;" but the usual term is *Tshong-pa*. The chief, or head merchant, is *Tshong-pon*. Any regular gathering of merchants, such as annual meeting at Garo, is called *Tshong-dus*, a fair; and the friendly glass, which is partaken together after the completion of a bargain, is named *Tshong-chhang*, "the mercantile glass."

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

In Ladák one meets with the coinage, as well as with the merchandise, of all the surrounding countries. The golden *tilás* of Bokhara and Kokand (or Kokan), the sycee silver and pierced copper coins of China, the thin 436

L.Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and, with a stone fastened to his neck, was cast headlong into the Indus from the Chachot bridge.

681 The laws of Ladák still continue in force under the rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, with the single exception of death for the slaughter of kine. This punishment was early carried into effect in some eight or ten cases in the different districts of Ladák. In 1841 and 1842 at Nubra, Chachot, Lé, and Nyimo, single individuals were put to death, and their bodies exposed on gibbets, by Jhandu, the thanadar of Lé, for killing and eating kine. All these were Musulmáns from Balti. In Drás, where all the population are Mahomedans, several were put to death by Gusáun Thanadar for the same cause. The skeleton of the man gibbeted at Lé, in 1841, was still nearly perfect in October 1847, when I saw it.

IV.—REVENUE.

The chief sources of revenue in Ladák were a tax on property and a duty on merchandise. The tax, called *Khral*, *Thang*, or *Shá*,* was levied on the dwellings and not on the lands; for as the lands did not produce sufficient food for the sustenance of the people, the establishment of a land-tax would have been absurd. The mass [439] of the people obtained their living by the *transport* of wool and other goods *through* their own country, to and from Yarkand and Kashmir. The duties, called *Shogam*, were imposed on merchandise, both imports and exports, and the whole revenue thus obtained was called *Thob-thang*.

The tax on houses was collected partly in kind, *Brú-*

* *Khral*, pronounced *Thal* in some districts, *Thang*, and *dPya*, the last being pronounced *Sha* or *Cha*.

159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income, [439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own [643] dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439●
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak."

588 Makpa is the term for the-bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 788

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and hármless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

[i.e., BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
•[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "róm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

563 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary
583 advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of
851 society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than
114 the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find any-
105 where, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not
[4r3] clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by
[434] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or
563 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no
4r3 land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to
443 earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the
114 same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans
762 do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are
563 not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

776 The former word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 301 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, generally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and occasionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these turquoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

[554] [583] [439]

784 291 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armendirmen".

779 772 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
•439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

WT 772 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
775 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which
T is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
788 considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
648 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT 565 Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
WT Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
648 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
554 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one
661 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
T lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
648 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
661 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
648 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
439 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
554 profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "chárukk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or cháng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the cháng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

● 439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹165 to ₹170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 352 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 439 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 439 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years' trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

[439]

763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homelands and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, B. 241

Live-Stock.

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrú* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul. [177]

Production and consumption of food grains. 433 241 439

Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers. [437]

SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti. 233 [439]

In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans A

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Live-Stock.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts: one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, [illegible] broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised therewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

[431] [432] [557]

For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

[439] [483]

Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *niru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *warisá* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *phátis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Koksar, which,

[221] [57] [439] 423 233 [425]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439 Chapter IV, D. — Weights and Measures, and Communications.

and the wooden vessels from Kanáwar, coarse cloth, dying drugs soda and yeast from Ladákh, and iron from Mandi and Kanáwar. For a reference to the trade in ponies, see *ante* page 136.

SECTION D.—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, AND COMMUNICATIONS.

000 Communications.

The communications of Láhaul and Spiti have been fully described in Parts I and II (pages 195-96 and Chapter IV, Section D).

Local measure.

804

The mode of expressing the measurement of land in both Spiti and Láhaul resembles the method prevalent in Kúlu. The Láhaul denomination is the *lákh*, which contains 20 *páth*, both being primarily measures of seed. The *páth* as a measure of seed is equivalent to about one *seer* of standard weight. Three *khál* or *lákh* (land measure) are about equal to one standard acre. In Spiti the *khál* is the measure, and is based upon the load a sheep can carry. It contains 20 *teh*, and is smaller than the Láhaulí *lákh*, ranging in capacity between 24 and 32lbs. of grain. The two measures are really the same in origin and use, though differing in name and standard.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo. 492

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug 438 up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation 804 of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years 492 Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that 438 were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They 221 grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with 492 salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to 439 form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
•439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

[804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

492 One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

Ju Le, Ju Le

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at 674
each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded 779
the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to 438
Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when com- 487
merce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square— 443
where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where 178
the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls 458
are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and 439
fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with 178
merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
[548] be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV

Over the Zogi Pass

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THE road between Leh and Srinagar, the summer capital of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and a popular hill station for the white man, is one of the chief highways to Central Asia, bearing its trade to and from India.

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No wonder that one of the meanings attributed to the Zogi La, the dread pass that closes this road in winter, is the place of four meetings, for the roads from Tibet, Yarkand, Baltistan and Kashmir all converge here.

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This road has been described by so many travellers, that it would be redundant to add another detailed account of the journey up to Leh. Suffice it to mention some of the outstanding features and incidents that have impressed themselves on one who has traversed it several times, and for whom most of its turns and corners bring to memory an additional reminiscence. The lower or Kashmir side of the pass includes the first stage to Ganderbal which is generally accomplished either by motor, for a car may go even another five to six miles to the Suspension Bridge which spans the Sindh, or by boat down the Mar Canal and across the Anchar Lake when there is enough water, otherwise taking an extra night and going down the river Jhelum to its meeting place or " wedding " with the Sindh river at Shadipur and then up to Ganderbal. Having once effected a junction with the Sindh, the marches from Ganderbal onwards lead directly up the Sindh river to the foot of the Zogi La. This valley is known to so many thou-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Changtang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 subdued it for himself. The Ladaki King sent him some
●439 *Snambu* or Ladaki home-spun, woven of *lena*, as a present, and he admired it so much that he introduced the import of the wool into Kashmir. He is said to have had it woven into the first two shawls, or *shal*, the word meaning "a board," a name which he seems to have given them *faut de mieux*, for it hardly suits such essentially fine soft cloth. Two Persians then came to Kashmir to buy saffron and cummin, and bought these shawls to take back to present to their King. Next year they tried to obtain more ; later the cloth was taken also to Alexandria, and so its fame slowly became world-wide. Thus these delicate soft shawls are really derived from the protection which nature has given to our long-haired Himalayan goats to withstand the excessive cold on the roof of the world.

283 But we must return to the large part played by wool in the
462 domestic activities of Ladak. First of all the raw product, arriving in rough twists, must be cleaned. If it is washed in water, the resulting cloth or *snambu* is said not to be so nice, but sometimes there is no choice, for the wool may be so impregnated with fatty grease that it has to be taken to the nearest spring or clear-running water to be cleansed, though it must never be squeezed or rubbed in the process. Sometimes it is further cleaned with white chalk from the cliffs near by, with which it is well mixed, then teased out. The next process, or *malches*, consists of the pulling out of the wool, and teasing out all little bits of tangled, extraneous matter, so that it is quite soft and ready to spin. Then comes the actual *kalches* or spinning, which is carried out on a slender cone of wood, elongated at both ends, called a *p'ang*. The end of this is supported in a little cup, either hollowed out of a small block of wood, or, what is infinitely preferable, made of the kernels of apricot-stones after all the oil has been pressed out, leaving a hard matrix or kind of oil-cake. The left hand manipulates the *p'ang*, twisting it to and fro in its little cup,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

534 with the necessary holes and the mouth-piece. So one often hears a piping from the youths who stroll out in the fields on a summer evening, or finds a hidden talent being brought to light among one's servants round the camp fire in the leisure following the day's march and cooking.

443 But no description of Ladak could be complete which did
438 not consider the merchants who meet here from the four
● 439 points of the compass, especially during the months of September, October and early November. At this time the Leh bazar becomes full of all sorts and conditions of men—the fair Yarkandi jostling the slit-eyed Tibetan, the Kulu man or his neighbour from Lahoul doing business with the men from Baltistan, Kashmir and most provinces of Northern India. And what do all these folk bring? From the North comes the Yarkandi with carpets of garish colours, furs of snow-leopard, fox and wolf, stone martin and beaver, Khotan silks and thick felt mats. It has taken him a full month of most difficult travelling over vast mountain ranges to get here, in fact the road is marked out in some places by the bleaching skeletons of man and beast. Before he can sell his wares, he will have to travel another month to reach the Plains of India. Here he purchases cloth which he takes back to his home and sells there at a good price. Many of the Yarkandis combine religion and business, coming over the passes in the late summer of the year, and going *via* Bombay to Mecca, then, after the sacred pilgrimage has been accomplished, they return through India, still trading, to cross the passes the following autumn. In Leh, the Yarkandi has either to buy horses or sell them, for the Kashmir State makes its own transport arrangements between Leh and Srinagar, but from
437 here to Yarkand no such facilities exist. It is amusing to watch them doing a horse deal, for though it is done in public, outsiders are none the wiser concerning the purchase price. Each man places a hand up the voluminous sleeve of the other. Says the buyer—"I will give you *Imeme*" simul-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W.—Tibetans AJ4

taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but 437
he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who 443
has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the 438
Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The 434
nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

One would like to describe how the blacksmith makes a 376
hole in the ground and, with goatskin bellows and charcoal, gets quite a good fire in which he works his metal and makes
his pots, pans and attractive teapots; also to tell of the 335
carpenter, sitting on the ground holding the plank with his two feet and one hand, while sawing with the other, and in

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Luy-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

439 grain from Kulu, a neighbouring state. Thus
273 the wholesale manufacture of beer from locally-grown produce has an economic significance as serious as it is unwise.

The Care of Livestock.

231 The people are on the whole kind to their animals and feed them as well as they are able with the limited yield of fodder at their disposal.

From December until April, the heavy snowfall in Lahoul precludes the possibility of grazing cattle. The animals have therefore to be housed on the ground floor of the houses. They are never bedded as in western countries.

When the supply of hay is exhausted the cattle are fed entirely on straw, this being again supplemented in the spring by the bark of willow branches cut and thrown into the pen to be peeled off by the sheep, goats and cows.

The willow tree is extensively cultivated owing to its use both for fodder and fuel.

It is customary for a peasant with more cattle than he can conveniently feed, to hand his surplus livestock to a neighbour to keep and feed from December to April, the price for the cattle thus treated being three rupees per head, and four or

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
966] labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
221 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name). 757 833 [832]

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax. 115 847 [837]

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born. 775 842

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains. 484 [439]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576]
they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these 175 631 648 clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the [439] supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances. 595 161

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the women to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladākh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation. [311] [439]

It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject. [589]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
177 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
437 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[651] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A34

high; in one of these lives a whole family. The sheep
231 and goats are very numerous. At evening time one sees the
23.6 flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at
[492] the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is of a large kind; it is here made use of for carrying loads; the salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.; the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of the two kinds of ~~goat~~ kept here is made use of in just the same
[438] way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals. The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an under-growth at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs, and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh, where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on to Kashmir. It must not be supposed that the greater part of the shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of
231 Kāshgar's country. The horned cattle are all of the
492 yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild, not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on their backs like the Ladākhīs, they depend entirely on their cattle, on their sheep and goats for merchandise that is easily divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this
431 way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between Central
492 Ladākh on the one hand and Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhul in the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good
[Rupshu -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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payment; sometimes it is in cash sometimes in grain; with one or two slight exceptions, all the farinaceous food they consume is imported, Kulū and Lāhol supplying the greater part of it. 439 492

The intermediate position of Rupshu is such that many travelling merchants come through the country. The tea-merchants of Lhāsa—a shrewd and eager set of men—yearly come this way with their venture of brick tea for Leh; their merchandise is carried free by the Rupshu people, according to an old arrangement between the authorities of Lhāsa and of Leh, but for their riding and light baggage they have with them a number of fine mules of rare pace. From Kunāwar in the Sutlej Valley come the Kunūs, a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian breed; from Lāhol and Kulū come others of pure and of mixed Tibetan blood; these have in many cases their own sheep to carry their merchandise. Of late years there has been a greater through traffic from the Panjāb to Leh, and even Yārkand, by the road that goes through Rupshu. Panjābī, Pathān, and Yārkandī merchants have all passed this way, which, indeed, as far as the road is concerned, is now the best by far between Eastern Turkistān and the Panjāb. The objection to the route is that the Pass over the Snowy Range may close before the circumstances of the trade allow the merchant to get away from Leh for the downward journey. 439

Although, then, Rupshu possesses so inhospitable a climate, though it is at one and the same time both parched and bleak, though its hills are barren and its valleys desolate, yet a busy life exists at times in certain portions of it. After travelling for some days without seeing a trace of man, one may come on an encampment of traders with some hundreds of sheep to carry their merchandise, their loads carefully piled up and protected by white tent-cloths; or one may meet on the road the merchants on their ponies, jingling with bells, accompanying their heavy-laden and somewhat unmanageable flock.

For people who are natives of temperate climes, the air of Rupshu in summer, though somewhat trying, is not too severe when the constitution is strong and the system in good order. The extreme cold of winter also could probably be endured if one 147

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

317 which is apt to be regular at certain times of the day. The salt
133* thus obtained has an admixture of magnesian salts; it is bitter to the taste, and is not liked by those who have been used to the pure salt of the Salt Range of the Panjāb; it is indeed apt to
[439] produce an itchiness on the skin. Still it is consumed all over Ladākh, and is carried as far as Kashmir. Over part of the plain, especially when it is composed of white clay, there is an efflorescence of some saline compound. Most generally it is carbonate of soda, which is called by the Rupshu people *pātsa.* Again, one sometimes sees a layer, over an area of a few square yards, of a hard colourless translucent substance, which seems to be a mixture of sulphate of magnesia with a compound of soda; of
133* this the native name is *gurm.* There are certain curious inequalities in parts of the plain which should be mentioned and if possible accounted for. That part which lies on the north of the Salt Lake, as before said, is of white clay; the level of it is from 10 to 20 feet above the lake; on this plain we see many hollows, commonly from 10 to 40 yards across, and 10 to 15 feet deep, with, usually, gently-sloping sides; at the bottom is generally a crust or deposit of some salt, as of the *gurm.* One of these hollows was as much as 180 yards across; in this there was a little water. A somewhat different phenomenon is seen on the east of the fresh lake; there is a plain of similar white clay, from which rise small mounds of the same material to the height of about four feet; they seem to be bulgings up of the clay, for the laminæ curve over from the centre of each. Of these two phenomena I have not a clear explanation to offer, but I think there must be connected with them a certain sloping of the layers of the lacustrine deposit which I observed at two or three places. Towards the gorge the beds of fine sand before described are slightly waved, and dip on the whole to the north-north-east, at an angle of 8°. At the place where the salt is scraped up a cliff section shows the beds to be waving and sloping. These things are not due to any deep-seated ground-movements such as produce the dip of strata in general, but must be caused by some local settling, brought about perhaps by a dissolving out of salt that had been deposited.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 position. Then I heard that many years ago when the country
778 was invaded by the Muslims, the whole of this carved cliff face was encased by the Tibetans behind buildings which were hastily made to hide the sacred Buddha, since the Mohammedans looked upon such carvings as idols and would have defaced it. Now the Buddha stands in a perfect state of preservation wearing bracelets, a double necklace, earrings and a headpiece, and with four arms, two of which are held up, the others hanging by his side have a serpent entwined around them. It is really a fine piece of work with details such as even the stomach muscles carved.

There was then no doubt as to our having entered the land in which all were his followers; every village has its monastery; bits of rags fluttered from poles on the roofs of houses—prayer flags; chortens and manis are to be found everywhere, just as are the prayer wheels, some set upright so that those who pass can revolve them by hand, others placed near to a stream for the water to turn them, and on each revolution a prayer is automatically sent to heaven. The people carry these prayer wheels on a stick in their hands; usually they are made of copper, the wealthier among them have them studded with coral, turquoise and decorated, but they all contain prayers which have been written down from one of the holy books. If the prayer is written one hundred times, then with one turn of the wheel a hundred prayers are sent up to heaven.

135 The day following we had another pass to cross over. This,
439 the Namikha La, is close on thirteen thousand feet high, but was far easier going than the first. What amazed us was that the white which we had imagined to be snow on its summit, we found to be salt. Salt is one of Ladakh's principal exports; this is transported in small sacks strapped like saddle-bags on the backs of goats, herds of them being used for this purpose and occasionally met with on the road.

361 Going down to the string of villages we saw the old castle on the top of the hill; now a ruin, it was once the scene of bitter fighting in the sixteen hundreds. The village is at the foot of the hill, but the extraordinary thing is that on the steep hill sides, which would seem impossible to climb, there are many dwellings which appear to be stuck on; the rooms run into the hill

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came. 361 [346]

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage". 361 [487] 439 563 [797]

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very 142 [522] 291

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir ~~AVI~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

136 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

●439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

1: Lawrence G-3 (1889-1895) 1895 AV4 Kashmiri AV4
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TABLE I.—TOTAL TRADE.

	Exports.		Imports.		Total.	
	Maunds.	Value. Rs.	Maunds.	Value. Rs.	Maunds.	Value. Rs.
1884-85.						
Kashmir	Logs. 29,741 864,474	54,59,130	340,766	38,49,991	Logs. 26,741 1,205,240	93,09,121
Ladakh	15,915	3,78,321	6,069	3,39,746	21,984	7,18,067
1885-86.						
Kashmir	Logs. 44,586 792,030	51,34,913	353,262	37,77,822	Logs. 44,586 1,145,292	89,12,735
Ladakh	16,802	4,57,746	7,000	3,44,087	23,802	8,01,833
1886-87.						
Kashmir	Logs. 2,300 8,432,399	53,86,572	398,987	42,68,043	Logs. 23,030 1,242,286	96,54,615
Ladakh	7,596	2,23,067	5,797	2,24,748	13,393	4,47,815
1887-88.						
Kashmir	Logs. 25,172 1,007,498	69,31,738	478,790	53,10,303	Logs. 25,172 1,486,183	1,22,42,041
Ladakh	7,742	3,45,380	6,854	3,17,115	14,596	6,62,495
1888-89.						
Kashmir	Logs. 20,936 976,421	81,23,443	456,476	49,57,047	Logs. 20,986 1,432,897	1,30,80,499
Ladakh	8,417	3,03,624	6,112	2,99,297	14,529	6,02,921
1889-90.						
Kashmir	Logs. 9,097 1,050,057	66,40,851	540,062	56,41,947	Logs. 9,097 1,590,119	1,22,82,828
Ladakh	8,706	2,48,746	5,945	2,26,682	14,651	4,75,428
1890-91.						
Kashmir	Logs. 5,702 978,089	55,99,542	473,068	56,61,734	Logs. 5,702 1,451,157	1,12,61,276
Ladakh	7,743	3,41,908	5,820	2,85,211	13,563	6,27,119
1891-92.						
Kashmir	Logs. 20,289 1,289,249	65,05,088	565,314	66,16,145	Logs. 20,289 1,854,563	1,31,21,233
Ladakh	7,963	3,07,789	4,010	2,22,378	11,973	5,30,167
1892-93.						
Kashmir	Logs. 6,684 1,818,825	53,33,092	498,867	48,68,247	Logs. 6,684 1,317,692	1,02,01,339
Ladakh	8,938	3,22,413	4,155	2,16,141	13,093	5,38,554

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries... they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 788

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

BALTISTĀN

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistān; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yārkand road till Shāhidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladākh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes.

Land revenue. WT 651 [661]

WT [441]

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

WT 426 792

Baltistān.—A tract under the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh, Kashmīr, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztāgh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladākh; on the south by Kashmīr, Wardwān, and Zāskār; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and glaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Drās and

Physical aspects. B 642 131

B 133 361

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans A14

439 [435] In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kashmiri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer. 236 It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days, disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice is first soaked for three or four days in water until it begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool [283] is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown, which are spun into thread. This work is all done by the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	20¼	Rs. weight, or	¼th.
Brown wool	...	5¼	„	$\frac{1}{16}$th.
Common wool	...	54¼	„	$\frac{11}{16}$ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs called pattu.

443 The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by 435 the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness, and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed threads are—

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

443
435

	Weight.		
Of very fine white single thread	$1\frac{1}{4}$	Rupee for	1 Rupee.
" " double "	$1\frac{1}{2}$	"	"
" light brown (*phiri*)	$5\frac{1}{4}$	"	"
Fine white silky (*reshami*)	$3\frac{3}{4}$	"	"
Very fine brown (*khudrang*)	3	"	"
Fine ditto ditto	$4\frac{1}{2}$	"	"

The thread-merchants are contented with the usual custom (*dasturi* of India) of half an anna in each rupee, or about six per cent.

I have now traced the gradual additions in price of the shawl-wool from the time that it leaves the hands of the producer, at one rupee per seer, until it is spun into thread and sold to the shawl-merchant at ten times the original price. About one-third of this increased price might be avoided by cleaning the wool more thoroughly in Ladák, and by the direct purchase by the shawl-merchant from the producer.

The intervention of three different traders, the Ladáki, and Kashmiri wool-merchant and the Kashmir thread-merchant, between the producer and the manufacturer, enhances the price by at least six per cent. each, or about twenty per cent. altogether.

439 The average quantity of shawl-wool exported to Kashmir is the same as in Moorcroft's time, about 800 loads, or 3,200 small maunds of sixteen seers each; and about [435] the same quantity is exported to all other places. The average price in Ladák is about two rupees per seer, or Rs. 2,04,000 (£20,400). Of the 6,400 maunds exported, about 4,000 maunds are imported from Chang-thang, Ruthog, and Ngári; and the remaining 2,400 maunds are the home produce of the highlands of Nubra, Ladák, 436 Zanskar, and Rukchu. As the usual yield of fine wool for shawls and *pattus* is half a seer, the total number of

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [473] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by [439] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhâsa territory, but they have no commercial instincts or 563 473 443 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p.203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladâk), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhôt" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--lâma or lâmba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámás (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hióGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

133 milky Bhaga, and at times climbs so high that the roar of the river (which drops 125 feet per mile) is lost. Clear water pours out of springs and snow fields high on the ridges and washes the trail; and occasionally a waterfall drops off ledges in cool spray that touches the faces of those who pass. But the total effect of the canyon is dryness and bleakness—a parched land that offers no shelter or shade.

499 492 Eleven miles above Jispa the canyon widens into a sloping bench on the far side of the Bhaga. That is Patseo, which means Stone Bridge. The stone abutments of an ancient bridge across the Bhaga are, indeed, still standing. Today the bridge is a flimsy wooden affair that trembles and shakes when a man or animal walks it. It is only safe for passage one at a time. Each of our mules—wise in all hazards underfoot—sniffed at it and took a few tentative steps before taking the full risk. Ram Chand, the muleteer with the high forehead, thin face, and scrawny mustache, stood guard, letting only one animal on the bridge at a time. Each mule seemed to be as relieved at his safe crossing as I was at my own.

000 Patseo has the last dak bungalow on the way to Leh, a two-room building that sits close to the canyon wall without shade or grass. We did not stay there, as our destination was Zing Zing Bar, which lies six miles above Patseo and six miles below Baralacha Pass. We stopped at Patseo only for lunch and for a visit to the Patseo fair.

443 Bleak and barren, Patseo (12,400 feet) is an ancient market place. Merchants from Leh, Yarkand, and Tibet bring their produce there. Merchants from Kulu come up with freight. There bargains are made and barters effected.

492 Patseo is where I saw my first sheep train. Sheep and goats, a hundred or more in a band, were coming down from Baralacha Pass, loaded with little bags, one on each side, filled with salt. Up front was a big billy, aristocratic in his bearing. He kept to the trail, while the band that followed him was strewn above and

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at 674
each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded 719
the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to 438
Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when com- 487
merce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square— 443
where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where 178
the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls 458
are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and 439
fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with 178
merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [barley beer--Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

443
415

A TRAVELLING VENDOR.

Bringing his collection of curios for sale to shew the Dr. Sahib, and demonstrating with a song the excellence of his home-made fiddle. To the right is a lidded beer-pot, and on the small table a pot for pouring out libations.

[FRONTISPIECE]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans
Dards AV3

for this extraordinary arrangement by the fact that originally the Dards were Mohammedans, and presumably have not been able entirely to throw off this allegiance. It is stated that in one of their villages, they actually found a burial ground; sure proof to them of a Mohammedan ancestry, for the Buddhist burns his dead, whilst it is the Mohammedan that inters. This may be a satisfactory explanation of their religious ideas, but from whence have they derived all their taboos? Thus the Brogpa must not raise fowl, nor may he eat their eggs. The cow may be employed for the ploughing of his fields, but the gods would most certainly be displeased were he to drink their milk, or even use the butter which is made from the same. In other villages the eating of fish is taboo, and by the look and smell of them washing surely must be also. In fact they avow that it is "Krims med" not the custom. For some time it almost seemed to us as if vaccination was also on their list of prohibitions, for, although they had actually begged us to come for this very purpose, it took the three of us quite a long time cajoling, threatening, entreating and advising them, before they would undergo this fearful operation. At last one faced it, soon to be followed by the others, so that eventually we had quite a busy morning vaccinating. A week later this must have been a sore village, where most of the people wished vaccination had been taboo, but by then we were well away with the knowledge that, should smallpox attack Hanu, it would find the defences fairly strong.

Now let us pay a visit to the Khampas, although it wants a George Borrow to describe these gipsies of Western Tibet. Kham, from whence they come, is a province of Tibet, but when we see the numbers of them who wander over the Indian parts of the Himalayas, we begin to wonder whether any of them are left "at home." Evidently the Khampa finds it more lucrative to wander like our own gipsies than to stay on his native soil. As the bazar in Leh provides most of the things needed by the people who inhabit the upper valley of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but 563
as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the 443
lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, 621
or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan fashion—" And the next, please." But not only does he sell things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them at three or four times that amount down-country. When it comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and thought we would try to get one from them. There at the foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary 342
poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones. At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are conveniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise. At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not 789
placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its representative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good. Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen 621
cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride 000

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls 283
it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and 462
kalches are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special 562
domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many 342
an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More [241
often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off 283
from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to 462
a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone 443
is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the 283
afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their
CUSTOMERS

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

534 with the necessary holes and the mouth-piece. So one often hears a piping from the youths who stroll out in the fields on a summer evening, or finds a hidden talent being brought to light among one's servants round the camp fire in the leisure following the day's march and cooking.

● 443 But no description of Ladak could be complete which did
438 not consider the merchants who meet here from the four
439 points of the compass, especially during the months of September, October and early November. At this time the Leh bazar becomes full of all sorts and conditions of men—the fair Yarkandi jostling the slit-eyed Tibetan, the Kulu man or his neighbour from Lahoul doing business with the men from Baltistan, Kashmir and most provinces of Northern India. And what do all these folk bring? From the North comes the Yarkandi with carpets of garish colours, furs of snow-leopard, fox and wolf, stone martin and beaver, Khotan silks and thick felt mats. It has taken him a full month of most difficult travelling over vast mountain ranges to get here, in fact the road is marked out in some places by the bleaching skeletons of man and beast. Before he can sell his wares, he will have to travel another month to reach the Plains of India. Here he purchases cloth which he takes back to his home and sells there at a good price. Many of the Yarkandis combine religion and business, coming over the passes in the late summer of the year, and going *via* Bombay to Mecca, then, after the sacred pilgrimage has been accomplished, they return through India, still trading, to cross the passes the following autumn. In Leh, the Yarkandi has either to buy horses or sell them, for the Kashmir State makes its own transport arrangements between Leh and Srinagar, but from
437 here to Yarkand no such facilities exist. It is amusing to watch them doing a horse deal, for though it is done in public, outsiders are none the wiser concerning the purchase price. Each man places a hand up the voluminous sleeve of the other. Says the buyer—"I will give you *Imeme*" simul-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but 437
he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who 443
has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the 438
Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The 439
nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

One would like to describe how the blacksmith makes a 376
hole in the ground and, with goatskin bellows and charcoal, gets quite a good fire in which he works his metal and makes
his pots, pans and attractive teapots; also to tell of the 335
carpenter, sitting on the ground holding the plank with his two feet and one hand, while sawing with the other, and in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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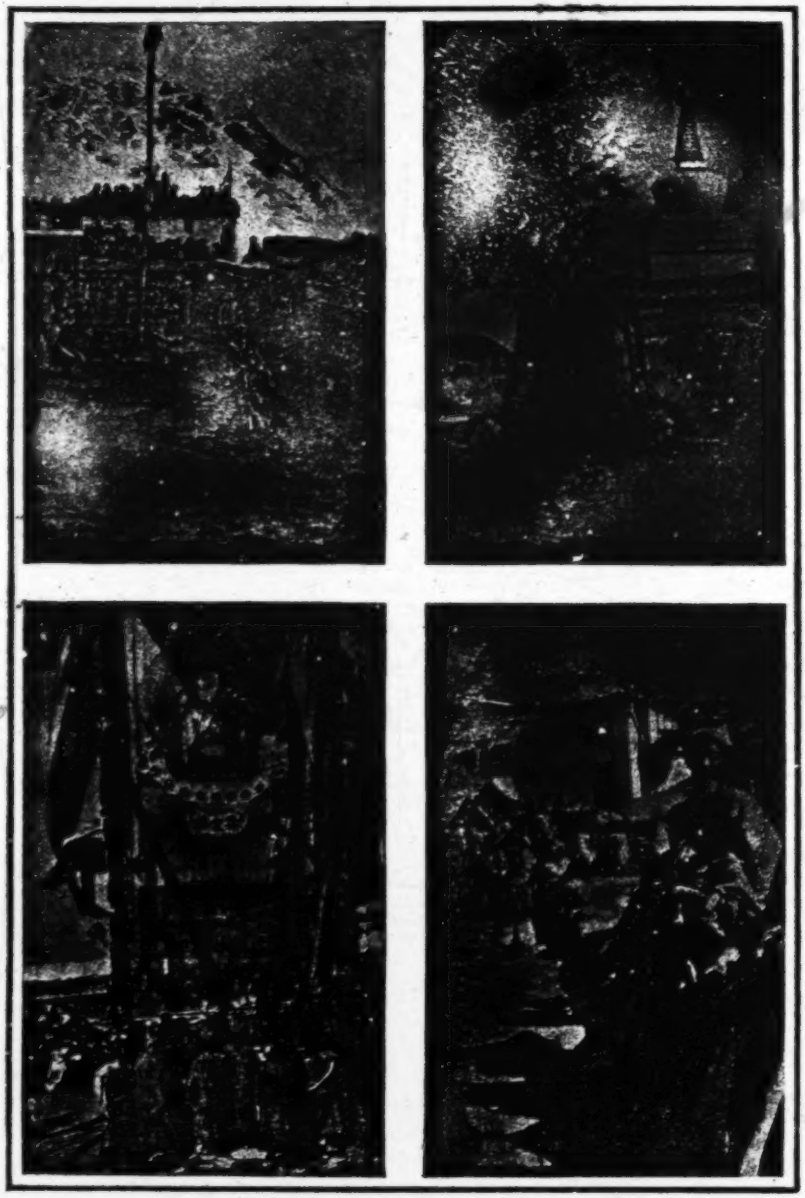

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1. MASKED DANCING
In the monastery adjoining the castle of Leh at the winter festival of the New Year.

2. A CHORTEN-CROWNED GATEWAY.
These usually mark the entrance and exit of a village.

3. A SACRED BANNER.
The large banner of the tutelary god of Hemis *dGonpa* (monastery), only displayed at the annual festival once in twelve years.

4. A HEMIS STREET
Just before the festival, shewing the tents put up for the traders.

[Facing p. 63]

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 476 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

426 loans. But ancient habits are hard to break. I do not know the
456 extent to which these new Kashmir laws are observed. There are
671 ugly stories about current usurious practices. About 95 per cent of the agricultural loans in Ladakh are repayable in kind. Monasteries advance food in the winter to tenants. Barley advanced when the grain is sixty cents must be repaid when the grain is thirty cents. Isn't repayment of twice the amount of the loan a kind of usury?

423 Kashmir has gone far in breaking up its feudal system based
671 on landownership. Under its new law every landowner is en-
425 titled to keep 182 *kanals* of land. The government has taken the rest of each owner's holdings and distributed it to the tenants. In the vicinity of Leh over twenty thousand acres have passed from twenty-four landlords to the peasants. The distribution at Leh, as at other places in Ladakh, was free, the peasants not paying for the land. Nor, to date, has the government paid the owners any compensation. Whether or not they should pay is a political question that agitates Kashmir.

425 Payment of just compensation, in the American sense, is impossible. The holdings were so large and so vast that it would take all the wealth of the state to compensate the old owners by our constitutional standards. Nehru and I discussed the problem in Delhi in August 1951.

"If the former owners get paid the full value of their land they will still own the wealth of the nation," Nehru said. And they would. New people would own the land. But the bulk of the revenues would still flow to the old owners.

Various ideas are being discussed for compensating the owners: payment that avoids confiscation; an annuity to the owner for his life and a lesser annuity to his children for their lives. What Kashmir will eventually do has not been decided. But in two important respects Kashmir has not touched the land problem.

It has not distributed the landholdings of the King of Ladakh, who completely owns the village of Stok not far from Leh. It has

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at 674
each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded 719
the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to 438
Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when com- 487
merce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square— 443
where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where 178
the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls 458•
are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and 439
fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with 178
merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
• 458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
[548] be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458 •
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 438
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale. Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 157
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncomplicated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith. The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people, and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the children, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoyancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips, gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461. always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in 651
lieu of taxation from each village.

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the 461
world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his 276
leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly " hubble-bubble " has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are.

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. 291
Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long 302
greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This 291
skerag, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for 293
many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy 302
mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda

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AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

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Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461]

The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred

[437]

shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

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In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the banks of the Chomoriri lake, but they are small and 241
hard. The turnips at Lé and at Tamisgong are good and palatable.

III.—CULTIVATION.

All cultivable land is called *Zhing*,* and this term is also generally used for a field of any kind. Good rich land is called *Zhing-zang;* stony land is called *Ri-zhing*, that is literally, "hilly land;" and meadow land is called *Thang-zhing*, that is, "plain land." All the cultivable 311
land in Ladák lies along the courses of the small streams, and in patches on the banks of the great rivers. In the bed of the Indus especially there are large tracts of grass-land which are never brought under cultivation, but are kept solely for the grazing of cattle.

Landlords are called *Zhing-pa* and *Zhing-dag*. The 423
poor cultivate the lands themselves, but the wealthy 462
employ regular labourers. The *Glapa*,† or labouring 465
man, holds the plough (*thong* or *shól*‡), while the *Glapa-mo*, or labouring woman, breaks the clods or digs the upturned earth. The women also irrigate the fields, and cut the crops. The ploughman, *Thong-pa* or *Moba*, and the diggers, *Ko-pápo* and *Kopámo*,§ are usually paid by the month (*da-phok*‖). Yáks are employed in drawing the 241
plough, which is of wood, the share being only tipped with iron; but many of the fields are dug by the hand with a peculiarly-shaped mattock, *ko-byed*,¶ of which

* *Zhing*, arable land; *Zhing-bZang*, rich land; *Ri-Zhing*, hilly land; *Thang-Zing*, plain land.

† *Gla-pa*, a labouring woman is called *Gla-pa-mo*.

‡ *Thong* or *Shol*, or sometimes *Thong-shol*.

§ *Thong-pa* or *rMo-ba*, a ploughman. The diggers are *rKo-pa-po* and *rKo-pa-mo*.

‖ *Zla-Phogs*, pronounced *Da-Phok*, "monthly pay."

¶ *rKo-byed*, called also *Tog-tse*.

Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

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The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
286 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The
[82] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoñ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Proportion of the sexes.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul.

Houses and furniture.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Occupations.

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Bati, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter,* though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli women— ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Changtang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

283 462 439 [435] [804] 175 439

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 subdued it for himself. The Ladaki King sent him some
439 *Snambu* or Ladaki home-spun, woven of *lena*, as a present, and he admired it so much that he introduced the import of the wool into Kashmir. He is said to have had it woven into the first two shawls, or *shal*, the word meaning "a board," a name which he seems to have given them *faut de mieux*, for it hardly suits such essentially fine soft cloth. Two Persians then came to Kashmir to buy saffron and cummin, and bought these shawls to take back to present to their King. Next year they tried to obtain more ; later the cloth was taken also to Alexandria, and so its fame slowly became world-wide. Thus these delicate soft shawls are really derived from the protection which nature has given to our long-haired Himalayan goats to withstand the excessive cold on the roof of the world.

283 But we must return to the large part played by wool in the
462 domestic activities of Ladak. First of all the raw product, arriving in rough twists, must be cleaned. If it is washed in water, the resulting cloth or *snambu* is said not to be so nice, but sometimes there is no choice, for the wool may be so impregnated with fatty grease that it has to be taken to the nearest spring or clear-running water to be cleansed, though it must never be squeezed or rubbed in the process. Sometimes it is further cleaned with white chalk from the cliffs near by, with which it is well mixed, then teased out. The next process, or *malches*, consists of the pulling out of the wool, and teasing out all little bits of tangled, extraneous matter, so that it is quite soft and ready to spin. Then comes the actual *kalches* or spinning, which is carried out on a slender cone of wood, elongated at both ends, called a *p'ang*. The end of this is supported in a little cup, either hollowed out of a small block of wood, or, what is infinitely preferable, made of the kernels of apricot-stones after all the oil has been pressed out, leaving a hard matrix or kind of oil-cake. The left hand manipulates the *p'ang*, twisting it to and fro in its little cup,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and *kalches* are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
462 is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice lewel stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[857] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

511 advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding
426 compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not
[783] attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

462 The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

181 Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

101 241 231

AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

241 462

Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461] [437]

The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

[132] 221 241

In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

9

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety. 105 439 [462] [241] [234] [484]

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet. 105 [258] [317] [316]

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain. 361 [797]

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians. 162 795

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus. [797]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 [565] Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V1~~
W. Tibetans AJ

133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns* of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo" is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463●
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons* is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 595
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

*[Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 466 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

CASTE--riks or roospa.

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There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

The first class or "rigál riks" consists only of royal personages.

[295] The second class or "trangzey riks" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey riks" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang riks" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tólbey riks" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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CLASS I. Rgiál riks.	CLASS II. Trángzey riks.	CLASS III. Rjey riks.
SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or
	(5) Skarmápa ...	Hlardak ...
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlondrukpa	...
None	(Yellow Cap Seet	...
	(9) Geyluksna or..	
None	GHaldunpa...	...
	..J	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV. Hmang riks.	CLASS V. Tólbey riks.
SUB-DIVISIONS	SUB-DIVISIONS
1 Nángso (kings treasurer).	1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
2 Chakdzot (steward)	2 Zópa (artizan).
3 Ngiærpa (storekeeper).	3 Sárzópa (goldsmith).
4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).	4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
5 GHópa (doorkeeper).	5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)	6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).
7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)	7 SHingkhan (carpenter).
8 Chhoopa (the waterer of the king's fields).	8 Rtsikspon (builder).
9 Rardzi (goatherd).	9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).
10 Bardzi (cowherd).	10 Mon (musician.)
11 Thralpa (cooly).	11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).	12 Beyda musician.
...	Malákhan juggler.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e, barley beer -- Analyst]

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

565 LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or
463 thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101 LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syallable long and the second short.

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool;
[173] (4) Máryool" or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

316 466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564 645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

631 647

564 463 533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]

797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of 788
the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriñ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it.

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the white-washing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being.

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform 792
for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these 463
mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (com- 465
pare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 563

they performed for the farmers during the year: the maintenance of the agricultural and other implements, the shoeing of the horses, all kinds of carpentry work, and so forth. The musicians (Bedas, Mon) who have played and sung at the festivities, likewise receive their share. After they have been entertained, each of those who have rendered a service of some kind to the farmers receives a few measures of grain, depending on his performance, up to a weight of two kal (one kal being about 15 kilograms).

Namgyal's religious enthusiams led him to follow conscientiously all the commands of the doctrine and of the lamas. But all these pious exercises were unable to put an end to the restlessness of his heart. Even the pilgrimages to the holy places and to the Buddha images, which according to the statements of the lamas were bound to secure the pious person an entry into paradise, yes, even into nirvana, did not give him the peace of soul that he sought. The struggle for perfection and liberation from earthly bonds seemed hopeless, all divine and human Skyabsmgon (saviours) had disappointed him; he had seen too much of the sinful life of the great majority of the lamas to be able to entrust himself to their leadership with confidence. He could not do entirely without their spiritual assistance, for the sake of the family and the tribe who placed importance upon a good relationship with the lamas; and in order to do everything for his own salvation of soul, and that of his family, he observed the commandments and "acted religious," as the lamas demanded it. But his yearning for peace remained unsatisfied.

Around this time a missionary had moved into the valley and had built a house, in spite of furious resistance on the part of the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru. Together with his wife, the missionary now took loving concern with the poor and the afflicted. He spoke to the people about someone called Yeshu, the incarnation of the great single God and Creator in Heaven, who came down to earth himself in human form to save the bound and suffering human beings; and who made the bound people free and happy through his own sufferings and death /178/. The message struck Namgyal like a flash of lightning, and a new conflict began inside of him. He could not get rid of the idea: What if it were true what the stranger said, that the belief in the act of redemption of this Yeshu was sufficient by itself, without any good works, and without all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to make man free from sin and suffering! And so Namgyal frequently visited the missionary's gatherings, despite the interdict of

/Following page 192/

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Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
46r is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[285?] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. .ibetans AJ4

studded with small turquoises. Sometimes a large red 301
cornelian also varies the apex. This would seem startling 291
enough, but unfortunately a later Queen had an attack of earache, so attached a large piece of black lambskin each side to protect her ears. The court ladies must do likewise, so now every *perag* is accompanied by these large ear-flaps, and the *coiffure* is most wonderfully adapted to them by plaiting the hair into a number of small plaits, which are sewn into the ear-pieces at each side, and continued with wool down the back on both sides of the *perag* to unite below in a large tassel, which reaches to the bottom of the skirt. To one side of the *perag* a projection of silver from which rows of coral-beads depend is also fastened. This is said to represent the serpent's tail, though it seems to us to have become rather dislocated. In the villages there are only a few rows [369]
of turquoise on the average woman's *perag*, but the town ladies are very resplendent, and their head-dresses become so heavy with stones that they sometimes support them by a broad black tape passing under the armpits. The central portion is taken off at night, and sometimes when at work in the house, leaving the ear-pieces in place, stitched to the hair, for so elaborate a *coiffure* can only be taken down once a month, when the hair is washed, oiled and done up anew. For this process in the town a lady hairdresser attends, [463]
getting four to eight annas a day, and in addition food of the feasting standard. In the country the women have to oblige each other. Also occasionally the whole *perag* has to be taken to pieces, a new red cloth substituted, and the turquoises resewn, during which time the proud owner of a brilliant head-dress has to be content with her ordinary fur-lined hat. Small girls sometimes begin with a skimpy little *perag* at the age of five or six, bearing a single row of turquoises in front and ending in cowrie shells behind. The latter are slowly replaced as funds permit, and cowries should only be worn by unmarried girls. By the time she is grown up, a girl

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XIII

Professions & Industries

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WE have now to watch our Ladaki friends as they earn their livelihood, for not all are owners of fields, and even those who are find that an extra vocation allows of a dish of meat, rice and other luxuries on special occasions. Let us begin with the professional gentlemen. The clergy will be treated with elsewhere, but in addition there are doctor, horologist, teacher and nun to consider, all of whom, though not real priests, are 759 regarded as performing religious functions. There are quite a number of doctors, some of them doing useful work, although the treatment, by even the best of them, occasionally shows shocking results. Their method of training is much like that which obtained formerly in England, when he who aspired to medical knowledge became apprenticed to a practising physician, and thus by actual experience learnt his [777] trade. The theoretical knowledge is found in four large volumes, belonging to the *Kahgyur* which are the one hundred and eight large books containing the wisdom and knowledge of Lamaism. The doctor or *amchi* dons no distinctive dress, but he can always be recognized, for slung over his back he carries his medicines tied in a long cloth. These he has carefully collected on the hills during the spring and summer months, his knowledge of herbs being doubtless considerable, and to his stock he adds by purchases in the bazar from down- 757 country merchants. See him as he climbs up the rickety staircase right on to the roof to visit one of his patients who

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*d*) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you. 539

(*e*) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee. 000

37. (*a*) སྟག་ནན་ཁྱི་ཡོངས་བདུག་རྩེ་དེ།
ཞ་བདུག་ནས་རྡོ་བཁུར་ཏེ་ཆར་རུག།

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(*b*) stag'nanā khyi'yongdug zer'te
zha'bugnā rdo'a khurte cha'rug.

(*c*) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.

(*d*) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.

(*e*) *Zhabug*=*zhabub*=falling headlong into a bog; *charug*=cha'adug; the *d* of *'adug* becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel. 000

38. (*a*) ཨི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ཆ་ན།
ཤིང་ངན་དཀུ་དང་ཐུག།

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(*b*) mi'ngan thsogs' sebla cha'na
shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.

(*c*) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.

(*d*) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.

(*e*) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped. 000

39. (*a*) ཨི་ལ་སྐྱིད་ཨི་ཐག།
ར་ལ་ཚིལ་ཨི ཐག།

539

(*b*) mi'la skyid' mithag'
ra'la thsil' mi thag'.

(*c*) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.

(*e*) *Thagces*=*thegpa*. 000

40. (*a*) ཁྱི་ལ་སྒལ་དང་བེ་ཏ་ལ་ཤོལ།།

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(*b*) khyi'a sgal'dang be'daa shol.

(*c*) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.

(*d*) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīrī half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid. 563

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhīs are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing 463 565 241 65 [428]

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Luy-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

595 425 428 [182]

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 425 428 795 [XA]

Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

595 123 182

[Text continues on p. 364]

1. Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Drás	0	3	0	
" Gagangir	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig ...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal... ...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána	0	8	0	
Total ...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only ... Rs.	2	0	0	

showing a difference of 2 11 0, or of 5s. on every load.

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na;* the common wool, *Bal;* and the hair, *sPu.* The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal,* or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal,* are the same as the Latin *lana,* and the English *wool.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the banks of the Chomoriri lake, but they are small and 241
hard. The turnips at Lé and at Tamisgong are good and palatable.

III.—CULTIVATION.

All cultivable land is called *Zhing*,* and this term is also generally used for a field of any kind. Good rich land is called *Zhing-zang;* stony land is called *Ri-zhing*, that is literally, "hilly land;" and meadow land is called *Thang-zhing*, that is, "plain land." All the cultivable 311
land in Ladák lies along the courses of the small streams, and in patches on the banks of the great rivers. In the bed of the Indus especially there are large tracts of grass-land which are never brought under cultivation, but are kept solely for the grazing of cattle.

Landlords are called *Zhing-pa* and *Zhing-dag*. The 423
poor cultivate the lands themselves, but the wealthy 462
employ regular labourers. The *Glapa*,† or labouring 465
man, holds the plough (*thong* or *shól*‡), while the *Glapa-mo*, or labouring woman, breaks the clods or digs the upturned earth. The women also irrigate the fields, and cut the crops. The ploughman, *Thong-pa* or *Moba*, and the diggers, *Ko-pápo* and *Kopámo*,§ are usually paid by the month (*da-phok*‖). Yáks are employed in drawing the 241
plough, which is of wood, the share being only tipped with iron; but many of the fields are dug by the hand with a peculiarly-shaped mattock, *ko-byed*,¶ of which

* *Zhing*, arable land; *Zhing-bZang*, rich land; *Ri-Zhing*, hilly land; *Thang-Zing*, plain land.

† *Gla-pa*, a labouring woman is called *Gla-pa-mo*.

‡ *Thong* or *Shol*, or sometimes *Thong-shol*.

§ *Thong-pa* or *rMo-ba*, a ploughman. The diggers are *rKo-pa-po* and *rKo-pa-mo*.

‖ *Zla-Phogs*, pronounced *Da-Phok*, "monthly pay."

¶ *rKo-byed*, called also *Tog-tse*.

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of 788
the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriñ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it.

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the white-washing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being.

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform 792
for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these 463
mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (com- 465
pare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 563

they performed for the farmers during the year: the maintenance of the agricultural and other implements, the shoeing of the horses, all kinds of carpentry work, and so forth. The musicians (Bedas, Mon) who have played and sung at the festivities, likewise receive their share. After they have been entertained, each of those who have rendered a service of some kind to the farmers receives a few measures of grain, depending on his performance, up to a weight of two kal (one kal being about 15 kilograms).

Namgyal's religious enthusiams led him to follow conscientiously all the commands of the doctrine and of the lamas. But all these pious exercises were unable to put an end to the restlessness of his heart. Even the pilgrimages to the holy places and to the Buddha images, which according to the statements of the lamas were bound to secure the pious person an entry into paradise, yes, even into nirvana, did not give him the peace of soul that he sought. The struggle for perfection and liberation from earthly bonds seemed hopeless, all divine and human Skyabsmgon (saviours) had disappointed him; he had seen too much of the sinful life of the great majority of the lamas to be able to entrust himself to their leadership with confidence. He could not do entirely without their spiritual assistance, for the sake of the family and the tribe who placed importance upon a good relationship with the lamas; and in order to do everything for his own salvation of soul, and that of his family, he observed the commandments and "acted religious," as the lamas demanded it. But his yearning for peace remained unsatisfied.

Around this time a missionary had moved into the valley and had built a house, in spite of furious resistance on the part of the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru. Together with his wife, the missionary now took loving concern with the poor and the afflicted. He spoke to the people about someone called Yeshu, the incarnation of the great single God and Creator in Heaven, who came down to earth himself in human form to save the bound and suffering human beings; and who made the bound people free and happy through his own sufferings and death /178/. The message struck Namgyal like a flash of lightning, and a new conflict began inside of him. He could not get rid of the idea: What if it were true what the stranger said, that the belief in the act of redemption of this Yeshu was sufficient by itself, without any good works, and without all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to make man free from sin and suffering! And so Namgyal frequently visited the missionary's gatherings, despite the interdict of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III. B. Social and Religious Life. Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tába*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chamba* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chapter III, C. — Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágís 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágís have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

427 Chapter III, D.

651 Village Communities and Tenures.

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

[165]

(4). It is the custom in all *kothís* of Láhaul for the regular landholders each year to provide in turn a certain number of men to undertake the duty of supplying the common quarters of the *kothí* at Akhára, in Kúlu, with fuel. For the six winter months spent in Kúlu these men are steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they are in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, which sum is raised by a rate on all the *jeolas* of the *kothí*. In Ghumrang, each year four *jeolas* furnish four men for this duty, and they are also bound to carry loads for the Thákur in going to and from his house to Akhára, and to furnish him, as well as the subordinate landholders, with fuel while he remains there.

There are no *dotoen* or cadet families in the Ghumrang *jágír*. In other *jágírs* the *dotoen* are said after a time, when the sense of relationship to the Thákur has become faint, to be degraded into *cháksis*, and forced to do service for their holdings. A *cháksi* holding is held rent-free in lieu of the following services:—It is bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the Thákur, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, &c. As, however, there are many *cháksi* holdings in Ghumrang, the custom now is that three holdings at a time furnish one man each for ten days, and then re-call their men till their turn comes again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously, they pay the Thákur eight annas per month per holding, or six rupees per annum. A few of the *cháksis* are distinguished by the term of *lálok* or pass-crossers. These, instead of having to furnish a man for personal attendance, are only bound to furnish a man to cross a pass, either to Ladákh, Zánskár or Kúlu on the Thákur's business. If they cross a pass once in the year, the rest of it is their own, and they have no payment to make, but if not called upon to cross a pass, they pay seven rupees per annum as relief or *betangná*. Some *cháksis* of all kinds now pay seven rupees regularly in lieu of all services by agreement with the Thákur. All *cháksi* holdings send a man to work on the two big *besti* days, not on the others.

423 651 427

Káng chumpá may be translated cottager. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the Thákur's house or on his *garhpán* land. Some holdings of this kind will be found near wherever the Thákur has *garhpán*. When there is much work, the head of the family attends in person, otherwise he sends his wife, or son, or daughter. The person who is in attendance gets food five times a day, and does field work of every kind, or cuts and brings in wood or grass, sweeps the house, or combs wool, &c. Those who live at a distance from the Thákur's house cannot practically attend; they, therefore, do only field work on the *garhpán* land near them; but as they in this way get off lighter than the others, they are bound to feed and keep one sheep for the Thákur during the winter months. Some *káng chumpás* now pay five rupees per annum to the Thákur in lieu of all service.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

425 Chapter III, D.

651 Village Communities and Tenures.

dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

423 592 792 In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

423 Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. [427] The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† [651] Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhaziug* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures.

Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

482 554 651 the mail was less dishonorable. Providing wood and grass for the Rajah's camps was higher on the scale. The *begar* system was gravely abused. Many lost their health or their lives on dangerous missions for the Rajah. The work was looked down upon; a certain ignominy was attached to it.

That tradition has persisted. Porters are considered coolie labor, and coolie labor carries some of the disrepute of the *begar* system.

000 Our porters, however, were not in revolt or unhappy. That was not the reason why we paid them off. The reason was that at Koksar we found horses which would take us three stages, viz., to Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul. Rahul and I debated whether to gamble on another pack train at Kyelang. There was a half promise that we could get mules at Kyelang. We decided to take that chance.

465 The porters lined up for their pay the morning after we arrived at Koksar. The rate was three rupees a stage per man (about sixty cents), a stage usually being the distance between dak bungalows or about ten miles. Each porter was to get an additional 50 per cent of that amount each time we crossed a pass (there were six passes on our route from Manali to Leh). On the return trip they were to get one half the rate. They were also to get half rate whenever they laid over a day. Each porter was to supply his own food.

000 This morning at Koksar the main argument was over the computation of the amount I owed each one. There were many figures submitted, each man arguing for his own computation. It took about an hour to get the crowd to agree on a figure. And when it appeared that unanimity had been achieved, one lone dissenter spoke up. He maintained that he was entitled to one rupee more than all the others. And so he was. It happened this way.

As I said before, the first porters to arrive at our hotel in Manali took the lightest packs, leaving the heaviest for the late-

000 der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

492 Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He
• 465 was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

492 By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

133 The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is
137 deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine
[281] trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washing-
[311] ton when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth*, which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

Horses, Mules, Yaks, and Moti

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera 000
equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American
ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are 233
pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks.
They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that
lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood
grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted 492
to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and
twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this
grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly
eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules,
put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves,
and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees [465]
eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara
to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders
of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns 231
and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh 492
and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are
widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; [757]
and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for
gur gur cha but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The
dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and
no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to
keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan
as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only
a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks
can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high
altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically
anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does
not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the
relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

1 [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

593 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one
595 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this
184 ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and
[465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land
291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves,
515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night,
735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which 805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and 465 565 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving 782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not 614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must 776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The 778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and 782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into 792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the
273 exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 [466] 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

316 466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564 645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

631 647

564 463 533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]

797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F. A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a
792 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private
576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

● 466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to
482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

stick on a heavy load, he calls upon "dGonmchog Sum" (the three Gods) to witness that this is not the stick of his choice; but his neighbour's. Spitti's method is far superior, for there the dice settles the matter.

Another day's journey brings us to the capital of the province, but before reaching this we have another type of bridge to cross, this time made of rope. From this place onwards we saw a good many of these, so it may be well to describe one. A prominent rock from which to sling the ropes, is selected on either side of the river. These ropes are made of the twigs of birch or poplar, plaited together. Four such ropes tied together constitute the actual pathway, just broad enough to accommodate a boot. On either side is a rail of the same material, connected by similar strands to the footway, and at each end the latter and the rails are wound and tied round beams, kept in position by large pieces of rock. Often, of course, pieces of this bridge completely disappear, but it is not till someone falls through and ends his present incarnation, that the Ladaki considers there is an indication for repairs to be undertaken. To cross this bridge we first mount the cliff over which its end is swung, then lean well forward to catch hold of one rail with each hand, and place the foot gingerly on the footway. It is impossible to grasp the whole handrail, for it is far too thick, and so rough that it may tear the hands. The bridge sags in the centre, so the first half descends at rather a steep angle, which does not make matters easier, for after about ten paces one cannot help catching sight of the swirling river some hundred feet below. Towards the middle the bridge begins to sway, as a slight wind is blowing, but there can be no turning back now; moreover the worst half is over, for from the centre the ascent to the further side begins. Looking back, we find that even our Ladaki cook has lost his nerve and will not venture. The prospect is bad,—no cook, no dinner. But the problem is soon solved, for a local man hoists him up and soon takes him over

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
[966] labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
227 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of 778
the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds [788]
of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monas- 471 •
teries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare 735
subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth. [092] 651

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern 423
world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

the next day three small farmers who all had to finish with the watering 241
of their fields in one day. 312

The farmer in the mountainous wastes of Ladakh and Tibet where there is little rainfall it is totally dependent upon artificial methods of irrigation, for in the summer it often does not rain for weeks, yes, even for months. For this reason water is a very valuable commodity to the mountain inhabitant, the just distribution of which he jealously watches over; also, since time immemorial strict laws regulate the construction, maintenance, and use of the communal village pipeline. Every owner of a field, depending on the size of his property, must [476] supply one or more persons for the communal work on this pipeline, just as the length of time that he can use it is made to correspond to the size of the surface to be watered. Most water channels require considerable mending work year after year, since snow and mud avalanches often... large parts /there appears to be at least one line missing here in the original text, the preceding sentence being unfinished and the paragraph ending with the final part of another sentence:--translator./... all had to be ready with the watering in one day. /The latter is simply a repetition of the last line of the previous paragraph. --translator./

When the grain is about a span high the fields are weeded 241
with the care with which a gardener clears his cabbage patch of weeds. When the wheat is ripened it is not mowed with the blunt /32/ sickle [412] but is plucked out roots and all. The left hand grasps a bundle of stalks and the sickle in the right hand, which really acts more like a hook than like a cutting implement, plucks out the stalks. On the average the field holdings are very small and the harvest yield is scant in the high mountain areas, so that every inch of stalk is valuable as straw, as feed--not as litter--for the cattle. As a result the Tibetan farmer cannot afford to leave the stubbles standing. After the grain has been bound together in small sheaves and has been laid in rows on the field, in order to ripen fully after it has been gathered, it must be guarded against thieves; one of the men must "watch" among the sheaves at night; that is to say, he must sleep there, on the assumption that he will wake up at the slightest sound.

Among all peoples of the East threshing is done by cattle. Six to nine animals, oxen, cows, horses, and donkeys, often in variegated order, are tied together to a rope at short distances from each other. One end of the rope is fastened by a sling *to a post which is planted* in the middle of the circular threshing-floor. The threshing-floor is

372 because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the
415 little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering

551 14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain
231 and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd
•476 of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an older companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley,
231 slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately [484] the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 556 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. 427 This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which " there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough

[231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta* (*Inula Helenium*).

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

● 476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (Len-mi).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more men or women as permanent servants. These
464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds (Lug-rdzi).*

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 [466] 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

It was extremely
seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in 137
rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [753]
branches from the trees and had taken them home./34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-sin, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 372
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

/Following page 29[illegible]/

482

Tibetan burden carrier

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 5

A LADY'S PROPOSAL

000 We paid off our porters at Koksar and they returned to Manali. These were not the type one reads about in Himalayan literature. They were villagers—farmers, hired hands, clerks in the bazaar at Manali. Had I planned a trek on foot, I would have arranged for professional porters, the best of whom are from Darjeeling far to the east of Manali. They have been trained by the Himalayan Club of India, beginning with the first British expedition to Everest in 1922. They are tireless travelers of the trail—efficient, loyal, and enduring. They would have been eager for the adventures of the highroad to Leh. Our Manali
• 482 porters were not. Moreover, the profession of the porter is not in
554 high esteem in the Kulu Valley. Carrying loads on one's back for
651 another man is looked down upon. The reason has its roots in history. In ancient days the Rajah of Kulu demanded labor of each man. So many days a year were owed the Crown. This was known as the *begar* system. The lowliest of *begar* labor was the coolie, who carried freight for the Rajah on his back. Carrying

482 554 651 the mail was less dishonorable. Providing wood and grass for the Rajah's camps was higher on the scale. The *begar* system was gravely abused. Many lost their health or their lives on dangerous missions for the Rajah. The work was looked down upon; a certain ignominy was attached to it.

That tradition has persisted. Porters are considered coolie labor, and coolie labor carries some of the disrepute of the *begar* system.

000 Our porters, however, were not in revolt or unhappy. That was not the reason why we paid them off. The reason was that at Koksar we found horses which would take us three stages, viz. to Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul. Rahul and I debated whether to gamble on another pack train at Kyelang. There was a half promise that we could get mules at Kyelang. We decided to take that chance.

465 The porters lined up for their pay the morning after we arrived at Koksar. The rate was three rupees a stage per man (about sixty cents), a stage usually being the distance between dak bungalows or about ten miles. Each porter was to get an additional 50 per cent of that amount each time we crossed a pass (there were six passes on our route from Manali to Leh). On the return trip they were to get one half the rate. They were also to get half rate whenever they laid over a day. Each porter was to supply his own food.

000 This morning at Koksar the main argument was over the computation of the amount I owed each one. There were many figures submitted, each man arguing for his own computation. It took about an hour to get the crowd to agree on a figure. And when it appeared that unanimity had been achieved, one lone dissenter spoke up. He maintained that he was entitled to one rupee more than all the others. And so he was. It happened this way.

As I said before, the first porters to arrive at our hotel in Manali took the lightest packs, leaving the heaviest for the late

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ibetans AJ4

due to the fine water prayer-wheel in the village, which day 188
and night turns round its prayers to benefit the community, 346
while in the walls of the little shelter made to accommodate it four more rather large prayer-wheels are inserted to be worked by hand, so that the passer-by, giving them a meritorious twirl as he goes along, may add his contribution to the volume of prayer that brings favour to the village. Just now is the time of harvest in Wanla. Here the barley 241
and wheat are cut and carried to the side of the hill to dry, a process which must soon be accomplished, for the heat from the stones is very great. In the evening a poor old 164
man, blind in one eye arrives, and the cause being established as cataract, a temporary operating theatre is set up, instruments boiled and the trouble removed. Another poor old fellow completely blind, deaf and otherwise deformed, also asks for help, but alas, he is beyond the aid even of Western medical science, and, as he is very poor, the meagre solace of a little gift is all that can be done for him. There is hardly any operation so dramatic as that of cataract extraction, for the patient may be totally blind at one moment and the next receive his sight. It is all the more sad to have to tell some of these poor blind folk that it is impossible to give them back their vision, especially when so often that faculty might have been saved had they come to the doctor sooner.

Arrangements have now to be made for the next day's 000
march, and we are told that the road is so bad that it will take all the Wanla horses and all the Wanla men to get us to Hunupata, the next village at which we halt ; nor is the picture overdrawn. Next morning all are busy. Breakfast is cooked and eaten, and wise is he who begins by shipping aboard plenty of food ! Stores and cooking utensils are [482]
packed into *yakdans* and *kiltas*, the Indian-made travelling boxes and baskets, one of which forms half-a-pony load, and we are off, enjoying the sheer delight of marching in the clear

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a 792 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private 576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal ; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to 482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

stick on a heavy load, he calls upon "dGonmchog Sum" (the three Gods) to witness that this is not the stick of his choice; but his neighbour's. Spitti's method is far superior, for there the dice settles the matter.

Another day's journey brings us to the capital of the province, but before reaching this we have another type of bridge to cross, this time made of rope. From this place onwards we saw a good many of these, so it may be well to describe one. A prominent rock from which to sling the ropes, is selected on either side of the river. These ropes are made of the twigs of birch or poplar, plaited together. Four such ropes tied together constitute the actual pathway, just broad enough to accommodate a boot. On either side is a rail of the same material, connected by similar strands to the footway, and at each end the latter and the rails are wound and tied round beams, kept in position by large pieces of rock. Often, of course, pieces of this bridge completely disappear, but it is not till someone falls through and ends his present incarnation, that the Ladaki considers there is an indication for repairs to be undertaken. To cross this bridge we first mount the cliff over which its end is swung, then lean well forward to catch hold of one rail with each hand, and place the foot gingerly on the footway. It is impossible to grasp the whole handrail, for it is far too thick, and so rough that it may tear the hands. The bridge sags in the centre, so the first half descends at rather a steep angle, which does not make matters easier, for after about ten paces one cannot help catching sight of the swirling river some hundred feet below. Towards the middle the bridge begins to sway, as a slight wind is blowing, but there can be no turning back now; moreover the worst half is over, for from the centre the ascent to the further side begins. Looking back, we find that even our Ladaki cook has lost his nerve and will not venture. The prospect is bad,—no cook, no dinner. But the problem is soon solved, for a local man hoists him up and soon takes him over

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

two of which weighed about one pound. And how unsophisticated they were. At first we fished with a kind of larva as bait, but this was scarce, and we had to try how small chunks of mutton would do. They proved successful, and were taken with avidity. We were told that during the autumn the natives caught them in basketfuls, for at that time of the year they go upstream every night, to return in the morning, when they are trapped and then dried, thus providing meat for the winter.

From here we ascended the Kiula Pass, and on our way met our first flock of Changpa sheep, which were slowly grazing their way up the pass. The largest of them was carrying a load, which proved to be the shepherd's bedding and food. The weight did not seem to trouble the sheep at all, nor lessen its enjoyment of the grass. In this country sheep have to carry all sorts of things. Sometimes it is salt for selling in Leh, where its carrier is turned into mutton, and flavoured from its load. At other times it is bales of wool or it may be borax. Our camp that night was pitched at 17,000 feet, and was bitterly cold. This camp really must be described, for it was a fascinating picture.

The camping ground was so small and withal so terribly rocky and uneven, that a Public Health Officer of Camps, did such exist, would have condemned it for overcrowding. There were all sorts and conditions of tents ranging from the imposing ones of the B.J.C., in front of which flew the Union Jack, and the Wazir's, flying the flag of Kashmir, down to the airy tent of the Changpa. To our left were about thirty yaks, laden and ready to start off with our second lot of camp equipment to the next halting place, for now we are travelling *de luxe*, and we like to find our camp ready when we arrive, making it unnecessary to wait exposed to the cold wind. In the centre of the camp are the horses which have brought us to-day, tethered to each other by their forelegs. What are those sheep doing to our left? They look

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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BALTI COOLIES.

They carry peculiar sticks in their hands on the march, like a short-crutch with rather a long cross-piece at the top. When they stop to rest, they pass the stick behind and under the load, so that it takes the weight off their backs.

A LADAKI WEDDING GROUP,

Shewing the rich Chinese robe of the bridegroom and his high tinsel-covered hat. He wears his nuptial white scarf and a gold amulet box studded with turquoises. His little wife is rather obscured by her large cape lined with sheepskin.

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19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length). [482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough [231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

It often happens that a farmer will let his land 241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta (Inula Helenium).*

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are [436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A 1 +

482 With such food and drink as has been described the Ladākhīs
147 are one of the hardiest of races. As coolis, for carrying loads, they are admirable—not only the men but the women too. I have had women employed to carry my baggage, according to the custom of the country, who have done twenty-three or twenty-four miles with sixty pounds on their back, and have come in at the end singing cheerfully. Against cold, too, they are very strong. Not that they equal in this respect the Chāmpās, who live at still greater heights, and can hardly bear to be as low down as 11,000 feet. Still the people of Central Ladākh and of Zānskār are very hardy in this respect also; on a frosty night, with nothing but the clothes they go in, they will coil themselves up and sleep
513 comfortably on the bare stony ground. All have a
515 rooted objection to washing. I was told that there was a custom of bathing once a year, but I could never get any satisfactory corroboration of the report. Their clothes, worn next them, are never washed, but are affectionately kept around them until they fall to pieces.

372 Of the wants rife in a barren country like Ladākh, there are two which (perhaps without, or at all events in addition to, other difficulties) seem to make impossible either any great addition to the population or increase of their comforts. These are want of fuel and want of timber. For fuel the dung of cattle is carefully stored. This is supplemented in some parts by a bush which they pull from the hills that they call *burtse* (Eurotia). This plant is indeed a great resource for travellers in out-of-the-way parts; it is a small low-growing bush, the woody underground stem of which makes a good fuel. Then, in the high valleys, there is a plant like our furze, called *dāma*. On some hill-sides there is the pencil-cedar, a strong-burning wood; and lastly, in certain ravines, there is willow growing wild. All these, however, from their distance, require much labour to collect; they are seldom used by the Ladākhīs in their own houses, but are chiefly got by them for travellers and for the
313 town consumption. The timber-trees are willow and poplar. These are planted either along the watercourses between

000 of land on the north end of the basin. They were hard-riding horsemen on white ponies, and as they drew close I could hear the bells on one. They soon pulled up in front of us in a flurry of dust and took the initiative in conversation.

"Where do you go?" "Who is the white man?" "Is he American or British?" "What is he doing here?" As Rahul talked with these Tibetans I surveyed them. They wore tight-fitting coats that came down over their thighs. One wore a nondescript cap, the other a tall-crowned hat with a small, turned-down brim. They both wore dark glasses and carried revolvers on their hips. I shook hands with each of them, giving them the Tibetan salutation, "*Ju Le, Ju Le*"; and the older of the two smiled in return, showing prominent front teeth. Then they were gone, whirling their horses on a dime and racing with the wind toward Baralacha.

"What's their destination?" I asked Rahul. He had not been
• 484 able to find out. They were on a fast journey to Lahul. The Indian-Tibetan border is mostly unsurveyed. Until August 1951, it had few security outposts. The people of southwest Tibet moved south into India freely and without restraint. Some went
[221] on commercial missions, taking caravans to Indian centers. Others moved north to Tibet in the summer and down to India in the
[788] fall, grazing sheep as they went. Others went on Buddhist pilgrimages to shrines in India. And many Indians went on pilgrimages to shrines in Tibet. The truth is that the Buddhist holy places in this area have no nationality; long custom and practice have made them common property to all Buddhists. People by the thousands have moved with ease across this border from time immemorial. The men I met at Serchu did not seem to be pilgrims. Perhaps they were traveling on a commercial mission and hurrying in order to return to Tibet before the Tibetan-Indian border was closed.

484 In early August 1951, that border was still open. The Dalai
648 Lama was still at Yatung on Tibet's southern border, negotiating with the representatives of the Red Chinese government. The

• 484 question whether he would return to Lhasa was still undecided.
648 Pending that decision, the Chinese Army was waiting a respectful distance from Lhasa. When the Dalai Lama reached Lhasa on August 17, 1951, the Chinese Red Army moved into action. Communist contingents poured into Lhasa and then fanned out racing across Tibet to posts on its southern frontier. But until that date the border was open.

000 I had seen again and again between Baralacha Pass and Pagmur these fast-moving Tibetan horsemen going like the wind and armed with either rifles or revolvers or both. There were a dozen or so in some bands. None had molested us. But the idea grew that perhaps some marauding band might.

579 This night at Pagmur I learned more startling news from my new Army friends. There were somewhere in this region two hundred armed bandits who had raided for years in Sinkiang and Tibet but who had moved south as the Communist influence became strong up north. These were the famous Kasak bandits who for years had made their living by raiding. They would kill if they were resisted. But their pattern of raiding was only to run off all livestock, to seize all guns and ammunition, to take all the food of a camp, and then on a selective basis take what other articles of clothing or equipment suited their fancy.

000 The rifles of these Indian soldiers looked more and more comforting and appealing to me as the story of the Kasak bandits was related at Pagmur.

"When do you return to Leh?" I asked the officer.

"In the morning."

"What will you do when you reach Leh?"

"Be assigned to garrison duty."

"Isn't it more fun to be on the trail, camping out every night?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then stay with me. We'll all go to Leh together."

"But my orders read—"

CHAPTER 11

HORSES, MULES, YAKS, AND MOTI

484 492 The ideal way to travel Central Asia is by horseback, unencumbered by any pack train. That is the way the Tibetans and Ladakhis travel. They ride the small Tibetan horse that stands about ten hands high, has husky shoulders and small feet, and possesses great endurance. The natives travel for weeks on end in this way. They have no pack animals to slow them down. Their only baggage is what they carry in saddlebags 415 or in the roomy pockets of their heavy wool coats. One of them 484 will have a pot and another a small wooden churn for mixing 574 *gur gur cha.* Each will carry a bowl, usually one of wood inlaid with silver or gold. Indeed one who travels Ladakh or Tibet without a bowl usually gets no food when he visits another's camp. The guest is supposed to hand the host his bowl if he wants the hospitality of the camp. These fast Tibetan or Ladakhi travelers carry salt, tea, butter, and flour in small woolen bags. They make fire with flint rather than with matches, and the fuel is usually the low *dama* bush that burns even when green.

Horses, Mules, Yaks, and Moti

Camp is made at night wherever there are water and grass. 484
The men lie out in rock cairns. Their heavy woolen clothes are [291]
their night clothes too. They sleep on the ground, and are gone in the morning when the sky first turns to gray. They streak across high basins on a fast canter, climb the steepest pass with hardly a pause, and walk downhill, leading the saddle ponies.

I had seen my first Tibetans at Patseo—men, women, and boys 484
in charge of salt caravans. As I related earlier, I saw my first 205
armed and fast-riding Tibetans at Serchu. I kept seeing them day after day, going like the wind on their tiny ponies, taking short cuts across uncharted mountains, or eating their *sattu* and drinking their *gur gur cha* at their camps on sparsely green meadows. They would always be gone by daylight, moving fast and mysteriously, covering more ground in a day than we would often cover in three with our pack train. They had none of the conveniences of travel—no air mattresses, no tents, no canned food, no medical kit. But they could go with the wind, be swallowed up in deep canyons, streak like lightning along a high ridge, climb to the steepest pass, pick their way down rocky defiles, and shortly be cantering across a basin remote and isolated from all trails.

That is the way postmen in Ladakh have traveled from time immemorial. The head of each village furnishes a carrier to carry the mail from his village to the next one. And so it goes on horseback, twenty to thirty-five miles a day and, in emergencies, even farther.

That is the way I want to travel Central Asia. Being bogged 000
down with a pack train has its disadvantages.

I briefly experienced that kind of travel when Tashi took us out of Koksar. I rode most of the way from Gundala to Kyelang, keeping ahead of the pack train, racing along the narrow trail that threads along the Chandra. My pony and I traveled fast, and I felt for once the joy of a good horse under me and Central Asia and its vast reaches out in front.

Most of the way to Leh, Rahul and I traveled with the mule

291 Queen of Ladakh (who is titular only now that Ladakh is a part
301 of Kashmir) is reported to have the most valuable *perakh* in this part of the world. But the one worn by the old lady at Chakchu seemed fancy enough. Its jade and turquoise were not polished, but they were well proportioned. Some were as large as fifty-cent pieces, some the size of quarters; others were circular and still others were cut into odd and irregular shapes.

291 The old lady also wore huge side flaps made of black wool, which looked like gargantuan ear muffs and stood out like sails. From a distance they made the woman look like a wolf. The *perakh* and the side flaps are typical Ladakh headdress. I never traced the origin of the *perakh*. But legend has it that the side flaps go back to articles designed for an ancient queen of Ladakh who had the earache. The flaps not only cured the earache; they proved to be so decorative that they became part of the conventional headdress.

164 I no sooner reached the camp of these Ladakhis than the old lady lay on her side and started to moan. I inquired if she were ill. She was; so I sent Man Das up to our camp to fetch my medical kit.

While he was gone I made my diagnosis. The old lady had perhaps a degree or two of fever and a splitting headache caused, I believe, by her supreme exertion at high altitudes under a burn-
• 484 ing sun. This old woman, her daughter, her son-in-law, and her neighbor lived near Leh. Last June, as soon as the passes were open, they started on foot to Manali, a trek of about 240 miles.

"Why did you go?" I asked.

"To do some shopping and to visit friends."

"Did you reach Manali?"

"Yes, and now we are returning home."

"How long will it take you?"

"Perhaps a month."

"What did you buy?"

"Talcum powder and hair oil."

I reached over and picked up the old lady's pack. It weighed at least forty pounds. I tried to lift the young lady's pack with my right hand, but I couldn't without an extreme exertion, for it weighed at least eighty pounds. 484

The old lady had climbed from 6,400 feet to 15,800 feet to reach Chakchu. She still had to climb to nearly 18,000 feet with her forty-pound pack. What women, I thought! What stamina and endurance! A shopping trip almost 500 miles on foot. A shopping trip that meant hiking over the Himalayas with a pack. I particularly marveled at the old lady, for I knew that she could probably outwalk me.

I gave her one Empirin tablet and a hot cup of *gur gur cha* and stretched her gently on the ground, using the edge of her pack for a pillow. I left two Empirin tablets with the daughter, one to be taken when the sun dropped below the ridge, the other to be taken if the old lady woke in the night. She was soon sound asleep. 100

I turned to the daughter and the men and offered them small packets of sugar. They took them and then handed them back, the young woman saying, "Salt would be better." They did, however, accept crackers, cookies, and cigarettes. The young woman was the first to light up. She sat by the small fire smiling as she inhaled deeply and blew the smoke from her nose.

"Do you smoke often?"

"Whenever I can get a cigarette."

"When did you have your last one?"

"Oh, several weeks ago at Manali."

They had *gur gur cha* and *sattu* for supper. Shortly they let their fire go out and bedded down for the night. They lay huddled together on the ground in their clothes, a piece of sheepskin under them, their arms for pillows.

My food was more nourishing, more appetizing than that of these Ladakhis. My down sleeping bag, laid on an U. S. Air Force air mattress, was warmer and much more comfortable than theirs.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 we let them rest a few minutes, while we sit by the *lhato* and enjoy the sea of mountain tops all around. The path descends 361 into the open valley of Bot Kharbu, a long smiling stretch of cultivation with several small villages and a few ruined forts and castles on the hilltops. These were the scenes of fighting in the seventeenth century. Occasionally we note a rough bridge across the main stream, made just of the trunk of a tree or of two such logs side by side, of which one is a little lower, so that, if nervous, one could choose it and hold on to the higher. One noticeable cluster of houses, called Stagtse, is picturesquely grouped round a pointed rock on the other side of the stream. Near the rest-house, we see, on the further side also, that little collection of houses which gives the best example on all the road of how the native dwelling is fashioned like and merges into the surrounding rock.

Overhanging that part of the village in which the dak bungalow is to be found is a high rock with ruins of a castle or fort, conspicuous above which, and noticed from afar, is the figure of a man meditating over the valley, and brooding over the past history of its wars. When we arrive under it, we see it is only a sandstone figure, carved by the storms of centuries just as those seen on the day before.

The next day we leave the valley and enter a slowly narrowing long defile, leading to the foot of the highest pass we have to cross, and some six miles out of Kharbu we pass Henasku in a ravine on the left, already quoted as an example and, perhaps a better one than yesterday's, of a series of transitional rock dwellings, and looking so lonely and so weird 758 on its high cliff. Pausing at the foot of the Pass, where there is 484 water though no shade, for a meal, we then climb up to 13,500 feet, but just before the summit is reached, we come upon a nice group of Ladakis camping in that glorious scenery. We turn round to admire the way they have " parked out " their loads of bulging sacks into a wind shelter, against which they rest their own appropriate figures. Behind them is a magni-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ficent stretch of mountains, its breadth and expanse exceeding those of yesterday's pass ; the glory of light and shade are indescribable, and this little group of humanity in the foreground just completes the picture. To their right by a tiny trickle of water behind a little rock, a delightful pair have detached themselves from the party to engage in " Chos Choches " (doing religion). One has a wee tray on a collapsible stand and a spoon, all of which can be shut up within a kind of teapot, its cover forming a second platter when reversed, and here he is busy with his libations and mumbling away at his prayers, though apparently only a layman, while the younger man assists him. Completing the ascent an equally wonderful view bursts on the sight, but there is no sign of cultivation on these bare brown or snowwhite peaks, and one really feels as though even at the " back of beyond " in every direction, there never would be human habitation again. But there just below us a yak tosses up his head, and gallops off, while our eyes light upon another picturesque camp arranged within a wall of sacks. One of our Tibetan friends, preferring a sun to a water-bath, has slipped his arms out of his wide sleeves and sits there bare to his waist, though we ourselves find the breeze quite chilly at these heights. Down, down, down again, and the big peaks vanish while the little hills rise. Round many corners we come to a bare wild ravine with a dark frowning hill behind, fit framing for a solitary *chorten*, throwing into relief its whitewashed base and red-ringed superstructure. Now we know a village must be near, and up a little zigzag path we go, and around another big *chorten*, then catch our breath at the picture that lies before us, a village we have already described as a suitable capital for " Hobgoblinland." Nor does this impression diminish, rather, each time one rounds that corner it strikes the imagination more forcibly, and seems as though it can only be some dreamland phantasm. Even as you come down upon the prosaic little rest-house on its platform below the hill, the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

neighbourhood of Leh can be seen. But there is a sudden descent from this plateau into the pretty and quaint little village of Basgo, which, with its peculiar rocks and ruins, *chorten* gates and *mani* walls, appeals to some people more than Lamayuru. In spring it is certainly a gem in the bare hills, for on the verge of the plain one suddenly comes upon it as a mass of apricot blossom. Above the Basgo-Nyemo valley neither the apricot nor the apple ripen properly, and the Leh supplies come mostly from there or from Saspola. The main road, which we must occasionally remind ourselves is the high road to Central Asia, leading through the village, passes many tumbledown *chortens* and *mani* walls, and, in one little recess on the left, one sees a fine example of a prayer-wheel made of a kerosene tin. On the outskirts, a row of prayer-wheels may be noted on a roof, waiting to be turned by the wind.

Over a sandy four-mile plain with a long *mani* wall extending half-way, we reach Nyemo, which looked only about twenty minutes ride from Bazgo, and are glad to enter the shade of its large *bagh*, and new bungalow. Here we remember camping once and taking our meal in the open by our tents, when a group of traders and their servants from the serai came to watch this interesting performance. Wearying of their unabashed stare, the Doctor Sahib at length rose, and addressed them in their own language. Pointing solemnly to the members indicated, he said, "I too am a man, I have eyes, ears, nose and mouth." A grin slowly spread over their faces as they caught the rebuke, and they stole away to bother us no more.

Now we have one more *rong* to ascend, then we soon come out on to a long terraced plain with a glorious view of our own Leh valley, the Indus spreading out into several silver streaks as it winds in and out of its broad acres. Grateful after the narrow gorges and long defiles is this open expanse, ringed by range after range of peaks pointing up to some 20,000 feet above sea level, whose snow can never melt. "My very own

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

250 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

178 As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the river to make the return journey to Leh on the other side, we passed a large *chorten* surrounded by small trees, on which was painted a hideous three-eyed monster, the patron saint of Hemis, and then caught up with one more fascinating 484 little group of pilgrims. This trio were returning up the Indus 184 valley to the wilds, two women and a man in the dress of 291 nomads. On their backs were strange casks like old beer barrels with the outlet well pegged. Looking in over the top we found they were lidless and contained all their cooking pots, while the remainder of their travelling requisites, probably all their worldly goods, were packed on the back of the donkey, whose [illegible]rotted at her side.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately [484] the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 556 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. 427 This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Lahul

There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name). 757 833 [838]

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax. 115 847 [837]

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born. 775 842

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains. 484 [439]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 the Sindh valley narrowing and just make out the snow-covered crest of a mountain which barred its upper end and indicated the site of the pass, about which we must say a few words.

487 The name Zogi La has another meaning attributed to it by
133 the Tibetan, as well as the one just alleged, one which indicates
[103] the terrors that abound when winter holds it in its icy grip, namely the place of four demons. It is a pass of 11,500 feet, which separates Kashmir and what to many represents civilization, from the wild uplands of the Himalayas and the mysteries of the "distant morning lands" of Central Asia. Though its altitude is not very high for a pass, only equalling that of Leh, its difficulties are great. The summer road should be open from 15th May to 15th November, for on those dates the rates of transport alter from the high winter ones indicating coolie porterage only, to the lower summer ones of pony transport. In winter the difficulties are often insuperable owing to soft snow, blizzards and biting winds, and often the mails are delayed two or three weeks before the runners dare attempt the crossing, the telegraph wires themselves not infrequently breaking with the weight of snow. Traffic is at a standstill from mid-December to early March, save for adventurous travellers who, even then, it is stated, get themselves carried over in baskets on the backs of coolies, sturdy inhabitants of the villages bordering the Ladak side of
[485] the pass. In the centre of the Zogi La is a rest-house, often up
[205] to the eaves in snow, called Machoi, situated on the top of a small sharp hill, one side of which is sheltered from the prevailing winds, and has two or three small buildings, a serai and a telegraph office nestling under it. The telegraph master must have a dreary time in winter, and in the middle of May is moved to another post higher up on the road to
000 Leh. The winter of 1924–5 was exceptionally mild and very little snow fell on the pass. April in Kashmir was a very hot month, more like June, and it was expected that the pass

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VI

Back to Lamaland

AT Matayan we have really crossed the Zogi, but it is at Dras that we change our transport, and see the last of the steeds and their syces (grooms) who have brought us over. The former place consists of a few huts, a serai (caravanserai) and a bungalow, in a desolate wind-swept spot with practically no supplies accessible. Probably owing to wind and weather the traveller is here left to his own resources, with the result that several visitors have launched into poetry, of which there is an amusing collection of rhymes in the bungalow book. The rest-house has two small rooms with well-boarded windows and a limited verandah with a windscreened corner. Here the Memsahib has recollections of a real pressure of accommodation. Travelling down from Leh to send her elder child off home to school, and to try the effect of the lower altitude on the ill-health of her little one of two-and-a-half, an awkward incident occurred between Dras and Matayan, for one of the zos carrying luggage fell down the khud, and his load rolled on into the stream. The locks of a suitcase were broken on the boulders, and away floated all the baby's warm clothes for the return journey and daintier ones for the civilization of Srinagar, and also all the contents of a sewing basket, whose empty case remained in position in the crown of a hat, not a nice quandary to be left in with two children, and no needle or cotton, so far out in the wilds! A yakdan, with all the Memsahib's civilized clothes, shoes, books and incidentally money—was also

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [485]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nangdzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 923 651

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

it cannot be seen from the road. On our way we pass Thārū, 133x
a collection of eight or ten houses, with corresponding cultiva- 361
tion; then we cross the last of the plateaus, from which descending we reach a little garden planted by the roadside for the [485] ●
shelter of travellers, which is close to the village of Phayāng. Thence a few miles by the side of the river brought us to Pitak, the last village before Leh.

All the cultivated spots hitherto met with in Ladākh were 312
watered from side-streams—streams coming almost immediately 138x
from the mountains with a more or less steep fall. But at Pitak the land is irrigated from the Indus itself. For we are here at the beginning of a part of the Indus Valley, where the bottom is wide and is occupied by a flat of alluvium, over which the waters of the main stream can be brought.

At Pitak there is an isolated rock a few hundred feet high, 361
on which all the older buildings are situated. The monastery 792
is on the summit at one end, and there is a fortification—of two 712
towers connected by a double wall—that must have helped to make the rock a strong position. Formerly all the houses were, for protection's sake, built thus high up; this was very commonly the case throughout Ladākh, only in the last generation or so have the people taken generally to building in the plain.

We are now but five miles from Leh, the capital; it is indeed within sight from the summit of the rock; let us from here take a general view of the geographical position of that town.

The river is 10,500 feet above the sea; it is flowing with a 133x
gentle current in a flat, the surface of which is in great part of pebbles only, but here and there it is of such a fine alluvial soil that the people have been able to bring it under cultivation. On the south-west side this low flat is bordered by a stretch of sloping gravelly ground, consisting of a number of coalesced fans that have been deposited by streams having their origin in the mountains on the south—mountains which rise up to 20,000 feet. On the north-east of the river there continues the same great granite ridge, at the foot of which we have been passing; the summit of it is about 12 miles from the Indus, as the crow flies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

or two on the ice over the Indus itself. Thus by ice and snow the way was made smoother; lambskin coats and caps and felt stockings kept out the cold, and the best houses of the villages afforded at every stage a shelter that in that season was welcome and comfortable. 132 [485]

Nearing Leh, we find that the ranges of mountains, on opposite sides of the valley, rise to about equal height, and for a considerable distance seem equal and parallel. But each has a character of its own. The one on the south-west rises, in a direct distance of nine miles, to a ridge which is commonly 19,000 feet high; just in front of the town of Leh is a peak of 20,000 feet, which retains perpetual snow; indeed there are on the range some fields of snow with small glaciers leading down from them; the lower limit of perpetual snow here is 18,500 feet. This ridge is indented by ravines in regular succession that open to the Indus Valley; the spurs between the ravines rise, at the last, where they near the main valley, to greater heights than they have in the parts near the ridge; so there is a second line of eminences, overlooking the Indus flat; these (which are composed of strata of shale and sandstone, dipping inwards), when viewed from certain spots, appear to form a continuous ridge; but in truth they are separated from each other by the ravines, and are each joined by a neck to the range behind; looked at from the flat these heights are seen to rise along a well-marked straight line. The alternating ravines have narrow openings from which project alluvial fans, which, meeting, form a sloping stony tract between the hills and the flatter alluvium of the main river. From the foot of these mountains, across the valley, to the nearest beginning of the opposite hills, is from two to three miles. These others are of a form different. The summit line indeed of this ridge also, as has been pointed out, is 19,000 or 20,000 feet in altitude; snow and small glaciers are found at the highest parts, but on the whole the ridge has a rocky surface. The difference of form lies in the character of the spurs. Sharp-ridged spurs descend from the central ridge to the Indus Valley; though possessing some irregularity of outline they decline without any great interruption, and project in long 133

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W Tibetans AV4

are of a dark-brown colour, in form for the most part rounded; their whole surface is covered with loose stones, either taluses or else rock disintegrated into angular blocks, remaining as yet unmoved. On the farther side comes a stony valley similar to the one we have just left; down this we continue for a day and a half's march, going sometimes across taluses, sometimes along alluvial terraces, over stony ground, gradually descending till we reach the Chāngchenmo River itself. Here is a valley stretching straight east and west for far, the bottom of it a stony tract with the river flowing through it in many channels. In front of us, on the north side, is a bold line of mountains 5000 or 6000 feet above us, rocky in face, rising to a rugged ridge. 133x

Below this spot where we first reach it (called both Pāmzāl and Tsolū) I have not followed the Chāngchenmo Valley; I believe it in that part to be a rapid stream flowing between narrowing rocky mountains. Above, the valley is partly occupied by the wide gravelly river-bed and partly by alluvial terraces, all stony and bare; the hills that bound this vary much in height and steepness, some are smooth-sided and comparatively low, others both lofty and steep. A branch from the main valley leads to the north, up to the plateaus that will be described in the next chapter; it contains a stream of as great volume as the other. Gogrā is a place where a rest-house has been built a few miles up that valley, soon above which it divides into Kugrāng, the westerly branch, and Chonglung, the north-easterly. [485]

The places where the three requisites for travellers in these regions occur together, namely, water, grass, and fuel, are found several miles apart. One is Pāmzāl, already mentioned; here is some pasture, and, close by, a great supply of fuel in the bushy growth of myricaria (umbū) and of tamarisk on the alluvium. Then there is a stretch of over 12 miles before any more vegetation is met with. Then at Kyam, where some hot springs come out, there is a spread of grass extending some way up the valley, and there is brushwood also, and farther up, to the very head, there is grass to be found in places. Again, at Gogrā, in the side valley, [372] 221 311 133x

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

Mr. Shaw, and Dr. Cayley went separately over the plateaus, the last to explore for a trade-route, the other two on their adventurous journey to Yārkand. In the next year, 1869, I myself went across the plateaus to the eastern branch of the Kārakāsh River, following partly in Mr. Johnson's and partly in Dr. Cayley's footsteps, and in this journey made the observations which I shall now put down. In 1870 Mr. Forsyth's party, on the first mission to Yārkand, went over the plains; they returned by a new route on the west.* Then, in 1873, one party attached to the second Yārkand mission took the old route, but as yet no detailed news of their doings have been made public.

In the regions through which the reader has hitherto followed me—in the high-level valleys, among the bare mountains, of Rupshu—no great difficulty in providing supplies and means of carriage presents itself to the traveller. The inhabitants of Rupshu, though few, are enough in number to attend to the wants of those who pass through their ground, and their cattle do all that is wanted for the carrying of baggage. Bare as that country is when looked at as a whole, yet, with very few exceptions, there are to be found, at distances which are practicable for a day's march, water, some amount of pasture for the baggage animals, and fuel, either furze or *burtse*, or sometimes (as at one or two of the halting-places in the Indus Valley) the dung of the kyang, or wild ass. But now, in going beyond the basin of the Indus, especially in traversing the high plains with their enclosed drainage-area, one is put to straits to provide carriage for the necessaries of one's camp, and to procure food for the beasts of burden themselves. For at some stages fuel is wanting, at others grass, at others water even. Hence

reduced from the regular Survey, and also some tentative representation of a tract which was afterwards explored by Mr. Hayward, who corrected certain portions. I refer particularly to the valley of the southern branch of the Kārakāsh River, which Hayward, proving it to be the main stream, traced to its source on the south-west of our tract. Mr. Johnson had, however, discerned the connection of this valley with the Kārakāsh drainage, as the following words quoted from his account in the Journal of the Geographical Society will show: "On the west of the plateaus there are no plains, but a series of deep valleys, which are the sources of one of the principal affluents of the Kārakāsh R."

* An account of this journey is given by Dr. Henderson in his 'Lahore to Yārkand.'

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

special arrangements are necessary to accomplish the journey; and even with these some loss of baggage animals may be expected.

Tānktse is the place whence a start should be made; it is the last large village, and contains a Government store-house, and is the head-quarters of a *kārdār*, or manager, under the Governor of Ladākh. The smaller one's camp, the lighter the baggage, the more likely is one to get comfortably through the journey. With half-a-dozen men of my own, and an equal number of people from the Tānktse and Pāngkong region, we took for our luggage and supplies eleven yāks and five ponies, and brought back, after a month's marching, six yāks and four ponies. This and other experience shows that ponies are far better for the work than yāks; for ponies can carry, besides a light load of baggage for their master, barley for themselves, which yāks, not being used to eating it, will not be able to live on; ponies also do the day's march quicker than the yāk, and therefore have so much the more time to graze on the scanty, thin, pasture that here and there is found. My own journey was the more trying for the animals in that, after passing through the most desert part to where the valleys begin to decline to Turkistān and to become less bare of vegetation, they had to return over the same desert, without recruiting themselves in the lower pastures.

From Tānktse, or Pāngkong, the road leads one over ground that was described in the last chapter to the Chāngchenmo Valley. This it leaves by the valley in which is situated Gogrā, which is the last place where water, grass, and fuel are all to be found in plenty. I shall not trouble the reader to follow me through each day's march as I made it, but shall rather try to give him an idea of the character of the country such as I myself derived from observing it in the outward and homeward journeys, with the help, I must add, of Mr. Johnson's map. A list of the marches will be found in Appendix IV., Route 27.

THE SOUTHERN WATERSHED.

The southern watershed of the plateaus lies to the north of the eastern portion of the Chāngchenmo Valley, and is continued

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ 4

under eight thousand feet high, while most of the people live at an elevation of between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand feet, no wonder that few venture from their country, and when they do, have soon to return or die in the denser air of the lower countries. During the days of the summer months it is exhaustingly hot, in winter, freezing cold; the summer nights can also be bitter. 131 133 132

Routes are divided up into so many "marches"; in the old days a march was considered the distance which could be reasonably covered in a day, providing at the end a good camping ground for the night, and usually places where fresh coolies could be employed. 487

The route from Srinagar to Leh which goes by way of Sonamarg, Dras and Kargil is broken up into sixteen marches, the first portion to Sonamarg being divided up into four, whereas in these days it can easily be done in a day, and providing the weather is good, this also applies to some extent to a few of the other marches laid down for other parts of the journey which is a distance over all of two hundred and forty-two miles. Since it is one of the main trade routes into Kashmir it is not astonishing that the road, when passable, is good; by that I mean good the whole of the way for horses and pack mules, and with a surprising number of quite reasonable rest houses on the way. [485]

The first pass to be traversed after leaving Sonamarg is eleven thousand, three hundred feet high and between Beltal and Matayan. It is usually open for horses from June to December, though we soon discovered that we had been well advised to employ Dras ponymen for that part of the journey; they know the route and the short cuts as well as the diversions to save hard climbing, in addition to being able to forecast accurately the weather in the mountains. 487 133

This pass is considered to be very dangerous with sudden storms and avalanches descending upon in it the early part of the year, so that the advice always given is that there must be at least two fine crisp days after such a happening before one attempts a crossing. On the occasion when we went over, our men had refused to move for two days and then insisted on starting from Baltal, the last stage, in the early hours of the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

497 morning so that we reached the summit with the dawn. There
133 the wind was bitterly cold; we followed the lower track, for the road along the face of the cliff was impossible.

The Tibetan name for the pass is Zoji La; this was the first time that we discovered that most of the places from there on had two names, a Kashmiri one and a Tibetan one. Unfortunately the map seemed to have mixed them up, probably using the best known, but we did not always strike men of the country who recognised them.

[485] Once over the pass the country changes completely; there is already a Tibetan atmosphere in the air. Going down the other side there are numerous little dak huts built by the roadside for the use of those who chance the journey too late and get caught by the weather.

361 We came upon what we at first imagined would be the start of
136 a village, but found it to consist of a house or two, a telegraph post and a rest house. At many places tracks led off, some to lone, distant "farms", some to parts which were known to be good for shikar, for game is plentiful for the sportsman in parts of Ladakh. It is the home of the ibex and the markhor; both are of the wild goat family; there are wild sheep and kiang—sandy red, wild asses with dark manes and standing about twelve hands high—which are impossible to break; then there are red bear, snow leopard and in parts wolves are to be found; antelope and gazelle are common as are the reddish-brown marmot.

491 Here and there places had been marked on the Srinagar-printed map as the spot where a bridge would be found over the river, but there was no sign of it, probably the floods of the last season had carried it away, and we had to ford the waters; then on closer examination of the map we noticed a mark at the spot we had selected and decided that the printer had forgotten to make up his letterpress to include it in the key, or perhaps we were credited with enough common sense to know.

485 The first night we reached a rest house, and were there only just in time, for a quarter of an hour later a large party of men from Leh arrived; a few remained to sleep under the verandahs
515 outside—the stench of bodies was overpowering. I have been assured that the men of Ladakh are bathed three times only in their lives, when they are born, when they marry and when they

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. THE earliest authentic notices of Ladák scarcely reach so far back as the beginning of the Christian era. In A.D. 399-400, when the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian,* Hoeï-King, and others, reached *Yu-thian* (or Kotan), the former determined to remain behind for some time to witness the procession of images, while Hoeï-King proceeded in advance to *Kie-chha.* After the procession had taken place, Fa-Hian travelled by *Tsu-ho* and *Yu-hoeï*, and over the *Tsung-Ling* mountains southward to *Kie-chha*, where he rejoined Hoeï-King. On those mountains, which were one month's journey in breadth, the snow, it is said, never melted, and the natives of the country were known by the name of "men of the snowy mountains." From *Kie-chha* the pilgrims proceeded westward to *Tho-ly*, which they reached in one month. From this account, it appears to me that there can be no doubt of the identity of the ancient *Kie-chha* with the modern Ladák.

2. To reach Ladák from Kotan there were two roads open to the pilgrims, the western by Kukeyar and the southern by Ruthog (or Rudok). By either route the

* See the *Fo-kue-ki*, by Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, or the Translation by Laidlay.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardu districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák. *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Rongdo on the south, and Ruthog, Nubra, Shigar, and Hunza-Nager on the north. 133 [13]

This range has been often crossed by Europeans, but always on the same high roads, which generally lead over the lowest and easiest passes. We have the heights of six of these passes in different parts of the range. [487]

	Passes.	Feet.	Authority.
1	Tsaka-la	15,000	Trebeck.
2	Kongta-la	15,495	Moorcroft, MS.
3	Chang-la	18,105	Ditto do.
4	Lazgung or Sabu-lá ...	17,666	Dr. Thomson.
5	Lé Pass	17,600	Ditto.
6	Hanu Pass	16,890	Col. Bates.
	Mean height	16,792 or 16,800 feet.	

As the average height of these passes approaches 17,000 feet, the general elevation of the range may be estimated at not less than 20,000 feet. The height of the celebrated Kailás peak has been determined by Lieut. R. Strachey at 20,700 feet. A peak which I measured on one of the spurs of the range to the north of Mahé was 18,500 feet. In this part, as we may see [132] from the heights of the Kongta-la and Tsakala Passes, the range is much depressed, but in the neighbourhood of Lé, wherever I could see the ridge, it was entirely covered with snow in the beginning of October. As the lofty passes to the northward of Lé are said to be always clear of snow at the end of summer, the snow-line on the Kailás or Mid-Tibetan range may be estimated at 19,000 feet,* or more, on the southern face;

* In the Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. p. 302, Lieut. R. Strachey estimates the snow-line on the southern face of Kailás at not less than 19,500 feet, which agrees with my observations. See Plate I.

231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 492 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to 15 kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

• 487 437 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely [233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

312 423 425

Chapter, III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kothí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, their power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Begár or forced abour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

651 421 681 487

Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Lachá, Shinkál or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Rupshú, over the Bára Lácha	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Lácha ...	Rupees 2 cash, 36lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkál ...	Rupees 2 cash. 32lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáné* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kom chengpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom ftha*.

12: Douglas
• 487

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

[For descriptions of the routes used by Justice Douglas, see category 133. --Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

133, 487

[For descriptions of topography and routes on the authors' trip to Ladak, see category 116, Chapter VII, pp. 75-85--Analyst]

000 it was there that we stopped for lunch. In this grove camel caravans were repacking for the trek downstream to Khargil. Farmers were gathered under the trees, gleaning news from the men of the caravans. Mule trains, carrying produce between the villages up and down the Indus in the manner of our locals, rested
132 in the shade. It was cool in the shade but blistering in the sun. Though this stretch of the Indus lay over eleven thousand feet high, the daytime temperature marched well over 100 degrees; and on some days it went into the 130's. The summer heat is so great and so sustained that it brings grain to maturity in two months' time.

• 487 The trail, after crossing the Indus, divides, one fork going south along the river's edge to Spitok, Khalatse, and Khargil, the other turning north to Leh, the Khardong Pass (18,380 feet), and Yarkand, an ancient trading center of Sinkiang. We took the right fork
137 and in four miles came to Leh. This approach to Leh is dreary and desolate. In early summer there are buttercups, columbine (called asses' sugar), and clematis in this area. Later come the vetches, lavender, bluebells, and cornflowers. There are great stands of iris, which is sometimes stacked and dried for winter fodder. These flowers bring color to the land. But by mid-August the gaiety is gone. The flush of light green from the tender spring grass has also passed. Now the slopes and nullas are dry and sear.
134 Monotonous browns and grays fill every stretch with desolation. Each view shows the end product of erosion. The ground has been endlessly pounded by the quick feet of goats and sheep; the protective covering of the earth has been eaten off or washed away; there is no topsoil left; every ravine tells the story of harsh runoffs of water; the fields and slopes are strewn with countless rocks, pitched up by the slow working of frost or exposed by the cutting wind that whines ceaselessly along the Indus. There is no shade, no touch of life, no bush, no scattered hummocks of the *dama* bush. There are distant snow-capped peaks to lift the heart; but there are only heat and dust and rubble underfoot.

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at each other and argue, but they do not come to blows." 674

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes. 779

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when commerce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square—where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth. 438 487 443 178

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to 458 439 178

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV

Over the Zogi Pass

487 439 THE road between Leh and Srinagar, the summer capital of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and a popular hill station for the white man, is one of the chief highways to Central Asia, bearing its trade to and from India.

133 103 No wonder that one of the meanings attributed to the Zogi La, the dread pass that closes this road in winter, is the place of four meetings, for the roads from Tibet, Yarkand, Baltistan and Kashmir all converge here.

487 This road has been described by so many travellers, that it would be redundant to add another detailed account of the journey up to Leh. Suffice it to mention some of the outstanding features and incidents that have impressed themselves on one who has traversed it several times, and for whom most of its turns and corners bring to memory an additional reminiscence. The lower or Kashmir side of the pass includes the first stage to Ganderbal which is generally accomplished either by motor, for a car may go even another five to six miles to the Suspension Bridge which spans the Sindh, or by boat down the Mar Canal and across the Anchar Lake when there is enough water, otherwise taking an extra night and going down the river Jhelum to its meeting place or " wedding " with the Sindh river at Shadipur and then up to Ganderbal. Having once effected a junction with the Sindh, the marches from Ganderbal onwards lead directly up the Sindh river to the foot of the Zogi La. This valley is known to so many thou-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sands of summer tourists in the " Happy Valley " of Kashmir, 487 ● and does not properly belong to our land at all, so we will leave it for others to describe. Its foaming river and beautiful forested hills, are perhaps seen at their best the latter half of May, when the fresh green of the early summer contrasts so vividly with the evergreen of pines and deodar. The snows then are low on the hills, and the glistening giant peaks peering over the forested edges of their humbler brethren are outlined against a blue sky flecked with soft white clouds, the air is still balmy, and the busy rushing torrent so often skirting the road not quite so thunderous as when the summer sun has brought the melted snows to swell it to a roaring river. This certainly is the most joyous time to travel upwards, though the wonderful autumn tints challenge any comparison with their own beauty, when the winter frost in the high sources of the river is already checking its flow, and the mad rush of melted snow gives place to a quiet flow of clear blue water. The summer heat is then over, but the chill in the air gives its presage of winter cold and bareness. So let us start in May, leave the early summer in Kashmir, already warm as an English mid-summer, and travel upwards towards the spring again, reaching Sonamerg, a favourite camping resort, the last week of that month, and wondering what awaits us on the Zogi, whither a mild winter and the news of an early opening have lured us, possibly, too soon. The crossing we now have in mind, perhaps the earliest in the year we have experienced, was accomplished together with Colonel Theodore and Mr. Kermit Roosevelt, sons of the famous President, who were travelling up with two other American gentlemen into Chinese Turkestan on a big game shooting and scientific expedition. With ourselves were two ladies, but this time no children, as one had gone home to school, and the other, together with her Tibetan nurse, had to be left temporarily with doctor friends in Kashmir, as her health would not stand a return to the altitude of Leh. Looking ahead we could see

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 the Sindh valley narrowing and just make out the snow-covered crest of a mountain which barred its upper end and indicated the site of the pass, about which we must say a few words.

487 The name Zogi La has another meaning attributed to it by
133 the Tibetan, as well as the one just alleged, one which indicates
[103] the terrors that abound when winter holds it in its icy grip, namely the place of four demons. It is a pass of 11,500 feet, which separates Kashmir and what to many represents civilization, from the wild uplands of the Himalayas and the mysteries of the "distant morning lands" of Central Asia. Though its altitude is not very high for a pass, only equalling that of Leh, its difficulties are great. The summer road should be open from 15th May to 15th November, for on those dates the rates of transport alter from the high winter ones indicating coolie porterage only, to the lower summer ones of pony transport. In winter the difficulties are often insuperable owing to soft snow, blizzards and biting winds, and often the mails are delayed two or three weeks before the runners dare attempt the crossing, the telegraph wires themselves not infrequently breaking with the weight of snow. Traffic is at a standstill from mid-December to early March, save for adventurous travellers who, even then, it is stated, get themselves carried over in baskets on the backs of coolies, sturdy inhabitants of the villages bordering the Ladak side of
[485] the pass. In the centre of the Zogi La is a rest-house, often up
[205] to the eaves in snow, called Machoi, situated on the top of a small sharp hill, one side of which is sheltered from the prevailing winds, and has two or three small buildings, a serai and a telegraph office nestling under it. The telegraph master must have a dreary time in winter, and in the middle of May is moved to another post higher up on the road to
000 Leh. The winter of 1924–5 was exceptionally mild and very little snow fell on the pass. April in Kashmir was a very hot month, more like June, and it was expected that the pass

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

neighbourhood of Leh can be seen. But there is a sudden descent from this plateau into the pretty and quaint little village of Basgo, which, with its peculiar rocks and ruins, *chorten* gates and *mani* walls, appeals to some people more than Lamayuru. In spring it is certainly a gem in the bare hills, for on the verge of the plain one suddenly comes upon it as a mass of apricot blossom. Above the Basgo-Nyemo valley neither the apricot nor the apple ripen properly, and the Leh supplies come mostly from there or from Saspola. The main road, which we must occasionally remind ourselves is the high road to Central Asia, leading through the village, passes many tumbledown *chortens* and *mani* walls, and, in one little recess on the left, one sees a fine example of a prayer-wheel made of a kerosene tin. On the outskirts, a row of prayer-wheels may be noted on a roof, waiting to be turned by the wind.

Over a sandy four-mile plain with a long *mani* wall extending half-way, we reach Nyemo, which looked only about twenty minutes ride from Bazgo, and are glad to enter the shade of its large *bagh*, and new bungalow. Here we remember camping once and taking our meal in the open by our tents, when a group of traders and their servants from the serai came to watch this interesting performance. Wearying of their unabashed stare, the Doctor Sahib at length rose, and addressed them in their own language. Pointing solemnly to the members indicated, he said, "I too am a man, I have eyes, ears, nose and mouth." A grin slowly spread over their faces as they caught the rebuke, and they stole away to bother us no more.

Now we have one more *rong* to ascend, then we soon come out on to a long terraced plain with a glorious view of our own Leh valley, the Indus spreading out into several silver streaks as it winds in and out of its broad acres. Grateful after the narrow gorges and long defiles is this open expanse, ringed by range after range of peaks pointing up to some 20,000 feet above sea level, whose snow can never melt. "My very own

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

hills" says our small Helen, returning to Leh from England at the age of five. "Not Daddy's nor Mummy's, but my very own Leh Mountains, I was borned there." The terraced plains are very long, but at length we pass Spitug with its monastery-crowned hill on our right, and turning a corner see Leh away up in the foothills to our left. Such a short journey it looks in this clear, rarefied air, but it is a good five miles uphill before we enter the "Sta-rgo," horse-gate, of the little town we have come so far to see. Once more we view with delight its broad bazar, headed by the mosque, its row of poplars on one side, its castle high on a hill to the right and behind it the mountains, over which the Kardong Pass leads to the Karakorums and distant Yarkand.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its com-
361 manding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

361 The road both enters and leaves the village through a
● 487 *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with
346 a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering
343 peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between
351 entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on
[473] each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need re-
231 building. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes
131 through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-
487 cipal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

133 Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rup-
[101] chu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder en-
[137] vironment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks
[361] of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls
708 and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist,
782 Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

162 The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999.
795 It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[564] [1] The low-caste Mōns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

moisture-bearing air and even cloud-carrying wind to come through; here occur a greater number of slight showers during the summer than in the other valleys of Ladākh; but the difference is slight as compared with the great difference between the two sides of the Pass, and is most chiefly shown in winter, when the snow lies thicker in Drās than it does farther to the east. 132

The passage from Bāltal to Drās, a distance of 30 miles, generally done in two long days, is, in the summer, from June onwards, a not difficult road as things go in this country; it can be passed without difficulty by horses; nor does the first fall of snow (which may happen in the end of October or in November) commonly shut the road for them; but later on, usually by some time in December, the snow has become so thick that for horses to attempt the passage is rash, and only men so hardy and persevering as some of the tribes who live about Drās, or else those who get their aid, as I have done—aid that well deserves acknowledgment and thankfulness—can hope to get over in safety. Thus—although in the winter the Drās people, by watching their opportunity and waiting for some days when necessary, will keep up communication between Kashmir and Ladākh, and even carry merchandise over on their backs—the road is not thoroughly open again, ponies cannot attempt it, till the end of May. 487

The first village that we come to on the eastern side of the Pass, the highest in the valley, is Matāyan, which is 16 miles short of Drās; the next is Pān Drās,* five or six miles farther on; in the more open valley of Drās itself we find numerous hamlets scattered about. 361

Here, as in all the countries on this side of the main range, there is nothing grown without irrigation; at Drās, barley, and the variety of it called grim, are the grains mostly cultivated, for these can ripen in the time that the short summer allows. The villages 241 000

* Without attempting myself to give a derivation of the word "Pān" in the name of this village, I must protest against the connecting of it with the Persian word *Pāin*, lower. It will be enough if I point out that Pān Drās is higher up the valley and at a higher absolute level than Drās.

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans AIV

491 plan of crossing the stream three times, by wooden bridges, we
133* pass the difficulties and find our way to the valley of the Indus itself, and, after another mile or two and after crossing the river, to the village and halting-place of Khalsī.

KHALSI TO LEH: FOUR MARCHES.

491 The Indus is spanned by a wooden bridge where rocks narrow
712 it up to a width of 60 or 70 feet only. The bridge is com-
361 manded by a small fort on the higher bank; the path from the
241 bridge, indeed, is led along the covered way half round the fort. The village of Khalsī is on a plateau about 250 feet above the river; there is here a long strip of cultivated land watered from a side-stream; crops and fruit-trees grow on it well, and even luxuriantly; walnuts and apricots ripen, though the height above the sea is something over 10,000 feet.

133* From this place upwards, to near Leh, the Indus Valley has one character. The river flows either between rocks or against alluvial cliffs, according to whether the mountain spurs reach the water or strips of alluvium-terrace intervene. The hills that are
[361] seen are not very lofty; all are bare and extremely dry. The
[241] only green visible is on those spots where the streams from the mountains on the north-east are brought on to the alluvial plateaus and enable the ground to be tilled; there villages have been formed, and we see the verdure of corn-fields and of orchards, or rather of the lines of fruit-trees that have been planted along the watercourses that skirt the little fields.

487 For the next three days' journey there are two routes that may be taken; they unite again one march short of Leh. The first is along the valley, keeping as near to the river as the ground will allow; the other is a higher route along a series of plateaus behind the former; it is this latter that we choose; the valley itself will be again spoken of in a later chapter.

133* After continuing for a few miles in the immediate Indus Valley,
361 we turn up a ravine to the left, and, rising some 1500 feet, we get on to a high plain between an outer, low, range of hills and the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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The next day a few miles of sloping plain, similar to what we had crossed so much of, brought us to Bāzgo.

It must be understood that in these marches from Khalsī we were all along edging the lofty granite range that for such a long distance divides the valley of the Indus from that of its great tributary the Shāyok. For the greater part of the way spurs of it only were visible—rugged and bare, brown and yellow, hills, whose surface was much-disjointed rock; but sometimes the eye reached up the valleys to the lofty central ridge, still of the same character, or else, perhaps, touched with the white of some recent snowfall.

Bāzgo is a large village; as one looks down on it from the edge of the plateau it has a picturesque and strange look on account of the position of some of its buildings, as of the monastery, on the towering rock.

The two routes that had separated near Khalsī have again met here at Bāzgo. From that place the one road traverses a stony plain not very much above the level of the Indus. Nimū is passed, a large village at the inner edge of this plain. Again there intervenes a low line of hills between the Indus and the great range; but here there is no road at all by the river side, so steep is the cliff; we have therefore once more to leave the near neighbourhood of the river and go over more stony plateaus between the outer, low, line of hill and the high mountains. A rise of about 1200 feet up a narrow ravine, cut in the alluvial deposits, brought us to the plateau level, and we then found ourselves in the same desolate kind of country we had passed through before coming to Bāzgo. There was the stony plain, made up of granite detritus, and bounded by rocky mountains; on neither, for miles, was anything green visible; the near mountains—spurs jagged by weathering—were of many shades and tints of brown, the variations occurring sometimes in veins, sometimes in masses, and sometimes being due to a talus of blocks fallen from one particular coloured cliff; in the higher parts the hills were more of one sober brown colour, and of more regular lines of ridge.

Up one of the stony ravines is the village of Umla; but

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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133* Valley. At the mouth of it the Hanū stream comes out of a narrow, deep, impassable gorge; one turns this by rising over the shoulder of one of the mountains whose spurs compose its walls; passing up the valley, still between bare mountains, we come to a strip of cultivated ground; then we come to another narrow rocky part, and then again to where a strip of cultivation occupies the bottom of the valley; this space between the mountains becomes wider, and the level is occupied by the village of Yogma Hanū or Lower Hanū. On the way, fruit-trees and willows and a few poplars had been passed, but at the higher level now reached hardly any trees were growing. Goma Hanū, or Upper Hanū, lies a few miles above; beyond that the road leads to a Pass over the Indus and Shāyok watershed to the tract called Chorbat. It will be seen from the Political Map that this is the way of the route from Skārdū to Ladākh, the difficulty of the valley-road, in the parts we have lately come from, thus deflecting the traffic to go over a Pass of 16,700 feet. The Chorbat Pass is the boundary of Baltistān in this direction; by this road also used to come Baltī raiders, as the remains of a fort at Yogma Hanū prove, which the people of the valley had put up against them.

133* But we must return to the Indus Valley. One or two incidents of physical geography respecting this part of it may here be described. The lowest part, the bottom, of the valley has been spoken of as a narrow gorge. The gorge, not all along, but in places, is 600 feet deep; that is to say that the bottom part of the section of the Indus Valley is, for that height, specially narrow and steep; it seems as if, in the gradual cutting of the valley, this deepest part had been worked down under somewhat different conditions from the rest. I connect with this the narrowness of many of the side ravines where they join the main valley; the same causal difference (as, it may be, in the rate of downward denudation) affected the side valleys as well as the main valley. Thus the valley of the stream that comes down from Tsirmo, at the last, before reaching the Indus, closes to a narrow chasm with vertical walls of granite; this is quite impassable by man. We saw also

* [Cf category 116, End Map VI -- Analyst]

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streams. In one of these tributary valleys is situated Himis monastery, the most noted one in Ladākh, which has 200 Lāmās. The monastery is a large mass of buildings placed just beneath a cliff at a bend of the narrow ravine, and in that way well sheltered. The wide window spaces and open galleries, and the decorations of drapery and waving flags make it look quite gay. Close by is a grove of large spreading poplars, which must be of the oldest trees in the country.

The last point I have been to in this section of the Indus Valley is Upshī, a small village at the mouth of the Gyā ravine. At that place we will count Central Ladākh to end. Above it is a narrow portion of the valley, which is called *Rong*, where the river flows between rocks, along which it is difficult to find a practicable path; still, there also villages occur in the side valleys, and a small population finds cultivable just enough of land to get a subsistence from.

ROAD FROM LEH TO NUBRĀ.

In going from Central Ladākh to Nubrā (which lies along the banks of the Shāyok River and of a tributary to it) we must of necessity cross the Leh Range by one of two or three Passes. From Leh a direct road leads up along the stream whose waters irrigate the lands about that town. The Pass to make for is the Khardong Pass, which is 17,500 feet high; there is, therefore, an ascent to be made of 6000 feet. Not easily can this be done in one day; a half-way halt is almost always made, either at the last hamlet or farther up in the uninhabited part of the valley. The path is in places difficult for laden ponies; they are generally relieved of their loads and are replaced for the Pass by yāks. The way leads for some miles up the bottom of the valley, rising at an angle of 5°; then it continues in a branch valley of steeper gradient, till it reaches the watershed, which at this spot is a narrow rocky ridge.

A better idea of the form of the mountain range we are now going over than can be given in words will be got from the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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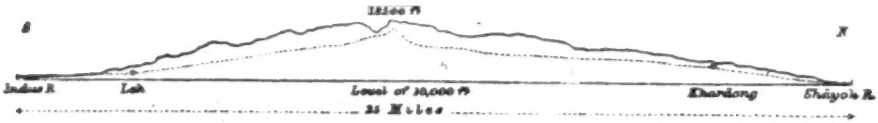
482 133x annexed section of it, made through a spot a little to the west of the road. The broken line represents where the path itself goes.

On the north of the Pass the road crosses a bed of ice which lies on the slope, and leads down a steep descent of some 1600 feet, to a small lake enclosed by a stony barrier which looked



SECTION THROUGH THE LEH RANGE, ON A TRUE SCALE.

as if it might have been formed by avalanches. Thence an easy but long descent leads us for many miles down a valley between spurs from the main ridge. Several more little lakes are passed at different levels, which all seem to have been caused by either fans or avalanches damming the waters; there are, too, old moraine-mounds spread over a large space of ground. As we still descend we come to some grazing-grounds in the valley-bottom; then to some outlying hamlets, and then to a large village which is named Khardong. This place is on the remaining part of an alluvial plateau that has been much denuded. It is bounded in one direction by cliffs several hundred feet high, composed of alluvial matter. The onward path leads down to the stream at the foot of these cliffs, and continues along the bottom, where — rare sight for Ladākh — is a strip of brushwood jungle. From this narrow passage we debouch into the larger valley of the Shāyok River. Crossing that river by a ford (if the season be favourable) we then keep along its right bank for the length of a day's march, till we reach the centre of the district of Nubrā.

NUBRĀ.

133x This district consists of the valley of the Nubrā River—which flows from the north-north-west—and of a portion of the valley of the Shāyok River, with which it unites. There are the wide

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to the rest of Ladākh both by physical characters and by the close relationship in race, speech, religion, and character that exists between the people of the two countries. Till forty years ago, Zānskār was equally connected with Central Ladākh by political ties, being governed by a Raja, who was dependent on the Gyalpo at Leh; but now it belongs (as can be seen from the Political Map) not to the Ladākh Governorship, but to the district of Udampūr, in the Outer Hills, having been attached to this for, so to say, accidental reasons. 133x 563 631

From all sides the approach to Zānskār, placed, as it is, in a maze of mountains, is of considerable difficulty. To the south-west of it the wide Snowy Range makes a barrier, to cross which must be a laborious and may be a dangerous business. From the north-west and the south-east, indeed, roads lead in from Surū and from Rupshu respectively, to traverse which is less difficult, but these lead over long uninhabited tracts. That way which first one would look to for communication with Leh — by the valley of the Zānskār River—is quite impassable, except when the winter's frost makes a road over the waters of the river. Instead of this, in summer time, the traveller from Leh has to make a long detour by Lāmāyūrū; he has to traverse fifteen stages, in which several Passes have to be surmounted, before Zānskār is reached. 133x 487

By far the greater part of the area of Zānskār is occupied by the ridges and the ravines of mountains, either of the Snowy Watershed Range, or of the more complicated mass lying between that and Central Ladākh. The inhabited region is nearly all included in the valleys of two streams and of the river they make by their union. These two streams come, one from the north-west, the other from south-east; uniting, they together flow away to the north-east. At their junction is a wide open space, which is the central part of Zānskār; it includes in itself the most important places. This space is a triangle, with a base of seven miles, and a perpendicular of five; on the three sides it is bounded by bare mountains. But a very small proportion of this plain is cultivated; the most of it is an expanse of stony ground; the 133x 311

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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133x
487

But to reach those parts we have to cross the Toglung Pass, of 17,500 feet elevation, which we approach by continuing up the same valley for some 14 miles more; it gradually increases in slope, but even at the end is not steep; a smooth neck of ground makes the Pass, and the hills near are themselves rounded. From the summit we obtain a view which gives us some insight into Rupshu. There is a pretty steep slope beneath us of near 1500 feet, and then a flat valley extending long to the south-east and widening, thus showing us far off, 18 miles distant, the blue waters of one of the lakes which we shall visit—the Salt Lake. The flat bottom of the valley is bounded by smooth naked hills. It is such valleys as this, varying from a mile to (rarely) six miles in width, and enclosed by mountains rising sometimes 2000 feet and sometimes as much as 5000 feet above them, that make what are called the uplands, or sometimes the table-lands, of Rupshu.

Before detailing the many interesting phenomena in physical geography which are presented to us in the various portions of this district, we will look at those circumstances which affect the peopling of it; which cause it in a certain degree to be fit as a dwelling-place for man, yet limit narrowly the number of people it can support.

RUPSHU AS INHABITED.

132
133x

With an elevation of 14,000 and 15,000 feet for the valleys, the climate is necessarily extremely severe in point of temperature; it is at the same time of an extreme dryness. The character of the summer climate of Rupshu is warmth of sun and constant coolness of the air. At midday the sun's rays are exceedingly powerful; on the decline one experiences cold, which is intensified by the biting wind that commonly springs up in the afternoon. At night, even in the height of summer, except when the sky may be overcast, water freezes; in the beginning of August I have seen ice caking the pools. The snow limit is about 20,000 feet; this great height of it is due to the dryness of the air, to the small amount of snowfall of each year, an amount so small that below that level it all becomes melted during summer. Mountains that

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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133X tion of the origin of this lake, but I have turned over in my mind two or three hypotheses. The alluvium might at one time have filled the basin, which doubtless was originally but part of a valley tributary to that down which flows the stream; then, during some part of the glacial period, a glacier from the north-east may have scooped the hollow out of the gneiss and of the alluvium; thus the hollow would be a rock basin, counting the alluvium as part of the rock. Another theory is that at the time this tributary valley opened out to the larger one it was occupied by a glacier, and then the alluvium of the larger valley was deposited *against that glacier;* then, later, the ice disappearing left the hollow. The difficulty in the way of this is to know why no outlet was kept open by the water that must have flowed from the glacier. Altogether this little lake is about the most puzzling one I have met with.

INDUS VALLEY.

East of Tsomoriri there is a part of Rupshu which I have never visited—the valley of Hanle. It seems from the accounts to be another of these flat, high-level, alluvium-filled valleys, bounded by mountains which soon rise up to a height of 4000 or [361] 5000 feet or more above it. At Hanle, which is 14,276 feet high, [221] is a monastery built on a rocky spur some hundred feet above the plain. Passing by this tract, of which I have no personal knowledge, let us go to the Indus Valley, which, in the highest part of it included in the Maharaja's dominions, forms a portion of Rupshu, and is periodically visited by the Rupshu tribe with their flocks.

133X From the south-east corner of the Salt Lake plain there leads 487 a valley, which, followed up, brings one to an easy Pass, by name Folokonka, about 16,500 feet high, and beyond that one comes [312] into the valley of Pūga, a place where borax and sulphur are dug. The road from Tsomoriri, by the little lake Tso Kyāghar, also leads over a saddle of rock down into the Pūga Valley, which, farther followed down, brings us in a few miles to the Indus River. [221] The former of these two paths is the way taken by the Rupshu Chāmpās in the course of their migrations. The portion

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

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under eight thousand feet high, while most of the people live at an elevation of between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand feet, no wonder that few venture from their country, and when they do, have soon to return or die in the denser air of the lower countries. During the days of the summer months it is exhaustingly hot, in winter, freezing cold; the summer nights can also be bitter. 131 133 132

Routes are divided up into so many "marches"; in the old days a march was considered the distance which could be reasonably covered in a day, providing at the end a good camping ground for the night, and usually places where fresh coolies could be employed. 487

The route from Srinagar to Leh which goes by way of Sonamarg, Dras and Kargil is broken up into sixteen marches, the first portion to Sonamarg being divided up into four, whereas in these days it can easily be done in a day, and providing the weather is good, this also applies to some extent to a few of the other marches laid down for other parts of the journey which is a distance over all of two hundred and forty-two miles. Since it is one of the main trade routes into Kashmir it is not astonishing that the road, when passable, is good; by that I mean good the whole of the way for horses and pack mules, and with a surprising number of quite reasonable rest houses on the way. [485]

The first pass to be traversed after leaving Sonamarg is eleven thousand, three hundred feet high and between Beltal and Matayan. It is usually open for horses from June to December, though we soon discovered that we had been well advised to employ Dras ponymen for that part of the journey; they know the route and the short cuts as well as the diversions to save hard climbing, in addition to being able to forecast accurately the weather in the mountains. 487 133

This pass is considered to be very dangerous with sudden storms and avalanches descending upon in it the early part of the year, so that the advice always given is that there must be at least two fine crisp days after such a happening before one attempts a crossing. On the occasion when we went over, our men had refused to move for two days and then insisted on starting from Baltal, the last stage, in the early hours of the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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487 morning so that we reached the summit with the dawn. There
133 the wind was bitterly cold; we followed the lower track, for the road along the face of the cliff was impossible.

The Tibetan name for the pass is Zoji La; this was the first time that we discovered that most of the places from there on had two names, a Kashmiri one and a Tibetan one. Unfortunately the map seemed to have mixed them up, probably using the best known, but we did not always strike men of the country who recognised them.

[485] Once over the pass the country changes completely; there is already a Tibetan atmosphere in the air. Going down the other side there are numerous little dak huts built by the roadside for the use of those who chance the journey too late and get caught by the weather.

361 We came upon what we at first imagined would be the start of
136 a village, but found it to consist of a house or two, a telegraph post and a rest house. At many places tracks led off, some to lone, distant "farms", some to parts which were known to be good for shikar, for game is plentiful for the sportsman in parts of Ladakh. It is the home of the ibex and the markhor; both are of the wild goat family; there are wild sheep and kiang—sandy red, wild asses with dark manes and standing about twelve hands high—which are impossible to break; then there are red bear, snow leopard and in parts wolves are to be found; antelope and gazelle are common as are the reddish-brown marmot.

491 Here and there places had been marked on the Srinagar-printed map as the spot where a bridge would be found over the river, but there was no sign of it, probably the floods of the last season had carried it away, and we had to ford the waters; then on closer examination of the map we noticed a mark at the spot we had selected and decided that the printer had forgotten to make up his letterpress to include it in the key, or perhaps we were credited with enough common sense to know.

485 The first night we reached a rest house, and were there only just in time, for a quarter of an hour later a large party of men from Leh arrived; a few remained to sleep under the verandahs
515 outside—the stench of bodies was overpowering. I have been assured that the men of Ladakh are bathed three times only in their lives, when they are born, when they marry and when they

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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788 the lamas and those going to the chapels sending still more as they climb the steps and give a twist to the dozens of prayer wheels on either side.

● 467 Then for some miles the road is trying, at times through a narrowing gorge, up and down the rock sides. Few others than those who knew the road well would have dared to have ridden, for there is nothing to save one from slipping over the side, and in places the track had almost broken away to leave nothing. I think the most terrifying experience is when a small portion of the track gives way under one's feet: yet the horses know the road; at times, as you walk ahead, there is a pull at the rein, and turning you see your horse testing with his forefoot the ground immediately ahead of him.

361 Then the road changes to open country. It is hard going, being shadeless, so that during the middle of the day the journey was difficult with the heat seeming to come up from the ground, forcing us to halt during these hours at a wayside rest house, to continue later, passing but one patch of vegetation in about fifteen miles of monotonous track to Saspul where there is a most fascinating Alchi monastery containing many traces of Kashmir workmanship. There is also the cave monastery of Nyiziapur, now a ruin.

The next day we covered the eleven mile march from Saspul to Nimu, starting rather late since we had that morning visited the monastery. At the beginning the journey was interesting, the more so after the bare country we had gone over for the past few days. We left the river Indus and crossed a plateau, then down into the most picturesque village of Bazgu. The high cliffs are peppered with old ruins, the village itself built on a steep hill, the rocks fantastic in their shape and brilliant in colour, with the whole dominated by a large Lamasery and a ruined castle which history says "were long besieged by Mongols in the time of Gyalpo Delegs who ruled between 1640 and 1680 A.D." The rest of the day was spent over arid sandy wastes, a distance of some four miles to reach the comfort of a rest house with a garden.

The last march of all is nearly eighteen miles, first ascending the plateau, then as the valley opens out, a gradual descent through a stony desert, at odd places relieved by small patches of

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house 361
for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined [346]
castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque
monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to
the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual
ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see
some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not
thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so
many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the
jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill
the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of
Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—
buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though
not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth
stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in
miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks
like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind,
just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying
back to from whence they came.

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of 361
Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is [487] ●
far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, 439
besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from
Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south,
and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in 563
the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each
year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of
Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise
with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we
found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism
predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian [797]
Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found
numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they
are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land
"with whom they have made a temporary marriage".

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are 142
soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of [522]
humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby 291
teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very

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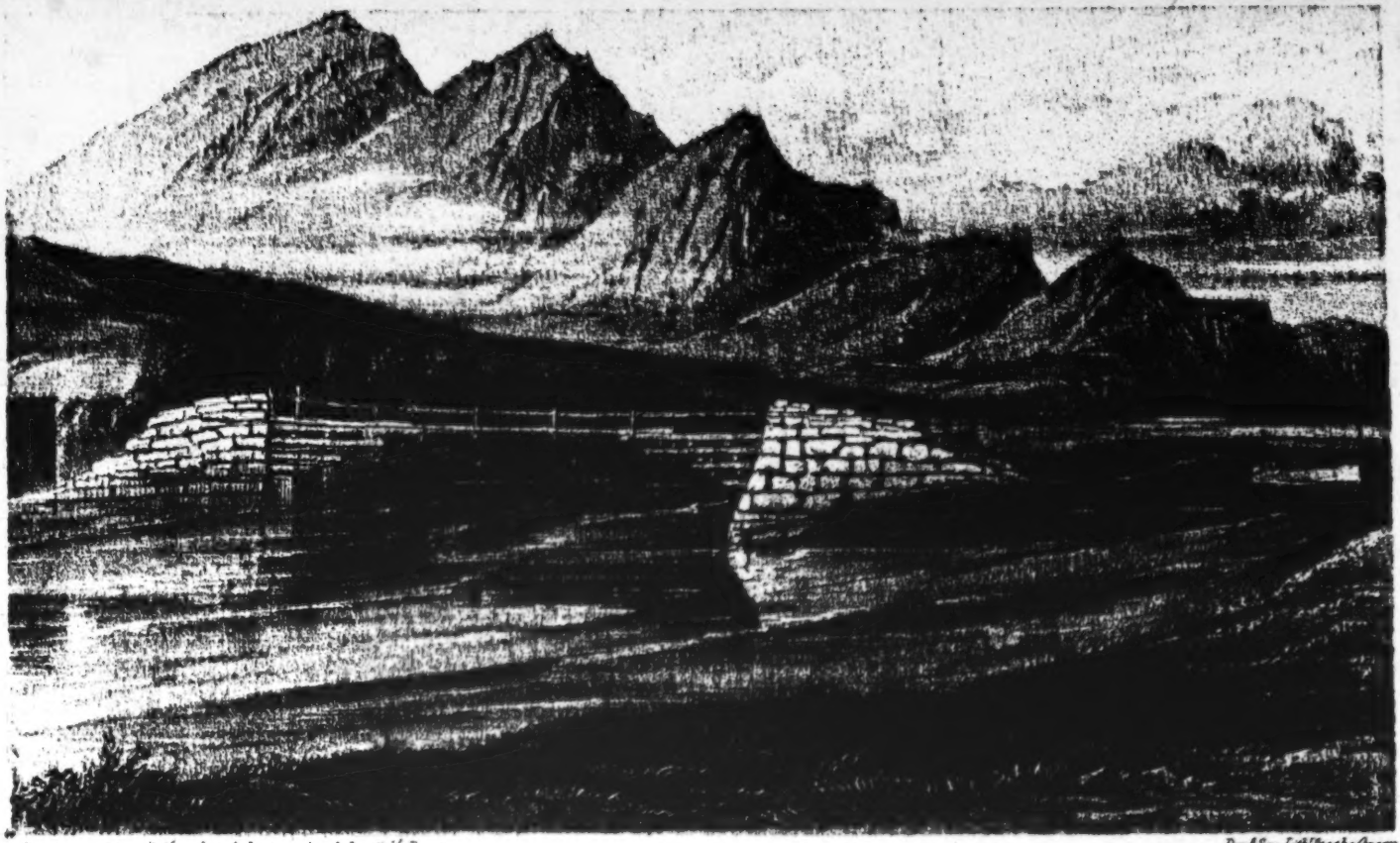

Drawn, Lith.d & reduced from a sketch by Capt.n Burn.

Day & Son, Lith.rs to the Queen.

Wooden Bridge over the Indus, near LÉ.

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133x 491 ungovernable fury. Yet even in these inaccessible places has daring and ingenious man triumphed over opposing nature. The yawning abyss is spanned by frail rope bridges, and the narrow ledges of rock are connected by ladders to form a giddy pathway overhanging the seething caldron below. At Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, 4,500 feet, the Indus cuts the Trans-Himálayan chain of mountains by a bold and sudden sweep round to the southward, where it receives the waters of the Gilgit river, a mighty stream, perhaps not inferior to any one of the mountain tributaries. From Skardo to Rongdo the distance is 40 miles, and the fall of the river 800 feet, or 20 feet per mile. From Rongdo to the Shang-Rong the distance is 75 miles, and the fall 1,700 feet, or 22·6 feet per mile.

From the junction of the Gilgit river to Attock, 1,000 feet above the sea-level, the course of the Indus is to the south-west. The distance is 300 miles, and the fall of the river 3,500 feet, or 11·6 feet per mile. This part of its course is but little known; but even at Ohind, 15 miles above Attock, I found the current of the Indus much more rapid than that of any other river of the Panjáb.

From its source to Rânak, the Indus is a broad and fordable stream, rolling its sluggish waters through open grassy plains. Its general width is about 250 feet. From Rânak to the junction of the Zanskar river, the stream is a brawling rapid from 100 to 150 feet broad; and thence to the confluence of the Shayok it is a furious torrent, raving from side to side of a narrow ravine. At the Khallach bridge, the channel is only 50 feet wide below and 60 feet above. In the winter the lower part of the Indus is frequently frozen over,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 the Chang-Chhen-mo. This part of the course is now
133x quite inaccessible, owing to the accumulated mass of ice and snow. The high road from Lé to Yarkand formerly
731 ascended the bed of the Khundan or Shayok river the
133x whole way to its source in the Kárákoram mountains;
491 but since the obstruction of the channel, the road now takes a more westerly direction up the Nubra river, and then crosses a lofty pass to Sassar on the Khundan. At this point it again leaves the Khundan, on account of the upper glaciers seen by Dr. Thomson, and proceeds over a rugged and elevated tract to the head-waters of the river.

133x In these cold and lofty regions, almost every ravine is filled with a glacier, which, except during a very warm summer, never moves, but is bound to the rocks every night by the icy chains of frost. A glacier is melted on its under surface by the higher temperature of the soil, and on its upper surface by the thawing of the snow under the direct rays of the sun. The heated stones that lie on the top form hollows and clefts that admit the external air, and little rills of water trickle over the sides in all directions. The glacier is thus furrowed by holes, penetrated by cracks, and undermined below, until it becomes narrower than the ravine which contains it. It then descends by its own weight, and is either rent to pieces by unequal pressure, or checked by some opposing obstacle. In a very warm and dry summer the glaciers in the lateral ravines of the Khundan would be so much diminished by melting and evaporation, that they would be impelled onwards by their own gravity right across the channel of the river. This I suppose to have been the case towards the end of September 1826, from which time the channel of the Khundan river has

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

warm myself by walking, and I distanced the boat, 133 ×
although it was paddled by two men. I do not therefore estimate the velocity of the current at more than 1½ mile per hour, and I believe that it is considerably less.

At Islamabad, the breadth of the stream is 120 feet, 133 ×
with a maximum depth of 12 feet 3 inches. It is 491 ●
spanned by a log bridge, 118 feet in length, with two openings. At Bij Bihâra, below the junction of the Lidar river, it is spanned by a bridge 250 feet in length, with four openings. Between these points the water is beautifully clear, and the bed of the river is generally sandy, and ripple-marked, and covered with shells and broken pottery. In a few places the bottom is stony, but the stones are all small and rounded. At Pampur the Behat is spanned by another log bridge, 325 feet in length, with five openings; but the water is slightly muddy, and the bed of the river can no longer be seen. Below Pampur, and opposite Panthasok, the abutments and two piers of a stone bridge are just visible above the water. In its course through the city of Srinagar, the channel of the river is narrowed to 250, and even to 200 feet, with a varying depth of from six to twelve feet. The stream is very sluggish, and the surface of the water in many places is covered with the green slime common to stagnant pools. In December, Moorcroft found the river 210 feet broad, with a mean depth of nine feet, and a velocity of 2,400 feet per hour, or of 0·6666 feet per second; which gives a discharge of 1,150 cubic feet per second.

At Sambhal, or Sambhalpur, below the junction of the Sindh river, the Behat is spanned by another bridge, 340 feet long, with five openings. The average depth of the water is about fourteen feet at the same place. On

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 the 16th December, Trebeck* found the depth of water
491 from one to three fathoms. Assuming twelve feet as the average depth in December, and the rate of the current at 2,400 feet per hour (the same as at Srinagar), the winter discharge of the united streams of the Behat and Sindh rivers will be 2,480 cubic feet. At Barâhmula† the discharge is most probably not more, as the waters of the Loláb river may be supposed to supply the great loss by evaporation on the Wular lake.

133 From Barâhmula to Mozafarabad, the Behat pursues an easterly course for 100 miles. The total fall between these places is 3,800 feet, or thirty feet per mile; and the character of the river entirely changes from a placid and sluggish stream to a raving torrent. Below Tattamula, and about sixteen miles from Barâhmula, the rocky cliffs rise almost perpendicularly from the river to a height of 300 and 400 feet; and in some places that I noticed, the bare steep cliffs were not less than 800 feet above the stream.

As the height of the Behat, near Tattamula, is about 5,000 feet above the sea, the whole of Kashmir must have been submerged by the waters of the river, before the wearing down of these cliffs.‡ The level of the Kashmirian lake would have been about 5,800 feet above the sea, and from 50 to 100 feet above the Karewahs, or isolated alluvial flats now remaining in Kashmir.

* Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 220.

778 † This name is properly *Varâha-mula*, the Boar Avatar's spring. The *Varâha Ganga* is now a dry hole, fifty feet long, thirty feet broad, and twenty feet deep. The spring has become dry, but the place is still esteemed holy.

‡ As Tattamula (*Sanskrit*, Tapta-mula), the "hot spring," may indicate volcanic action, the immediate cause of the bursting of the lake may have been the sudden rending of the rock by an earthquake.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

4,000 cubic feet, or just double that at Tandi, which is half-way between the source and the town of Káshtwár. Below the town it receives from the north the large river of Wardwan, about sixty miles in length, by which the discharge is probably increased to 4,500 cubic feet. 133x

At Koksar, 10,000 feet above the sea, which is the highest inhabited village on the Chandra river, a suspension-bridge of twisted birchen ropes is annually constructed. A second suspension-bridge of the same kind formerly spanned the mouth of the Bhaga river at Tandi, but this was carried away some time after Dr. Gerard's visit in 1830. In 1839 I saw the ropes lying high and dry on the northern bank; but when I visited Tandi again in 1846, there was no trace of them. A small wooden bridge of thirty-eight feet span, and forty feet above the stream, is thrown across the Bhaga river about four miles from Tandi. Fifteen miles below Tandi, and five miles above Treloknáth, the Chandra Bhaga is crossed by a couple of spars covered with loose planks. The bridge is eighty-five feet long and forty-three feet above the water. Two miles above this bridge the river was not less than 300 feet broad. Above Chatrgarh and opposite Káshtwár, the Chandra Bhaga is crossed by suspension-bridges. 491 ●

From Káshtwár the river sweeps suddenly round to the south-west as far as Doda. It then turns due west towards the fort of Riyâsi, where it resumes its south-westerly course to Aknur, at the foot of the hills, a total distance of 150 miles. In this part of the course the fall is 4,000 feet, or 26·6 feet per mile. It receives the Banahal and the Budhil, above Aknur, and the two Tohis of Rajaori and Chaneni above Vazirabad. By these and some other small streams, its winter discharge is increased 133x

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

During the dry season the Chenáb is fordable in many places between Sodra and Ramnagar. Opposite Sodra in 1848 there was a good ford, crossing no less than seven branches of the stream. The Ramnagar ford was open during the whole of our operations in December 1848, and January and February 1849. The other fords were constantly liable to shift, but three days before the battle of Gujrat I discovered a good ford between Vazirabad and Ramnagar, by which Brigadier Markham's brigade crossed the Chenáb on the 19th February. 133x 491●

I have no means of ascertaining the maximum discharge of the Chenáb during July and August. Macartney measured it in July at Vazirabad, when the stream was 7,590 feet (nearly one mile and a half) broad, with a depth of fourteen feet, and a current of five miles an hour; but these data are too vague for even an approximate result. The depth for one half of this breadth was probably not more than one or two feet. 133x

In July 1839, I found the main channel of the Chenáb above Vazirabad to be 2,760 feet broad, but the depth could not be ascertained with any certainty; in many places it was more than eighteen feet. The mean depth was probably about nine feet, and if we allow two and a half miles as the average rate of the current, the maximum discharge would be 56,000 cubic feet, or with the six small branches to the westward, not less than 60,000 cubic feet. The increase of the Indus is nine-fold, while that of the Ganges is fifteen-fold. The mean between these is twelve-fold, which, if applied to the Chenáb, would give a discharge of 54,600 cubic feet for the maximum. The actual maximum discharge is probably between 50,000 and 60,000 cubic feet.

1: Cunningham G-2 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IX.—THE RÁVI RIVER.

133 The Rávi is the smallest of the Panjáb rivers. In the hills it is generally called Ráwá or Râwati, which is only a spoken form of the Sanskrit Trâvati, from which the Greeks made Hydraotes. The Rávi is formed of three principal branches,—the Rávi proper, the holy Budhil, and the Nai, which make a triple junction below Wulás, in the district of Chamba. I have seen all these rivers myself, and am indeed the only European who has yet visited the head-waters of this stream.

The Rávi rises in the petty dismembered state of Bangál, in N. latitude 32° 20′, and E. longitude 77° 0′. It takes at first a south-westerly course, and then bending to the north-west receives its principal tributaries at Wulás, a distance of sixty miles from its source. Its highest springs rise at the junction of the Dhaola Dhar and Lahul mountains, at an elevation of not less than 16,000 feet. As the height of the river at Wulás is only 5,000 feet, the fall is 183·3 feet per mile. From Wulás to Bisoli it continues its easterly course for fifty miles, and then turns to the south-west for twenty miles, to the neighbourhood of Tirikot, where it enters the plains. Its whole length is only 130 miles, while its fall is 15,000 feet, or 115·4 feet per mile.

The sacred Budhil rises in the Lahul mountains, to the north of the Rávi. Its whole course is not more than thirty-five miles from east to west, while the fall is 491 11,000 feet, or 314·3 feet per mile. Below Barmawar, the former capital of Chamba, the Budhil is crossed by a wooden bridge formed of spars covered with loose planks. The width is four and a half feet, the span sixty-eight feet, and the height above the river ninety-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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133X

eight feet. This bridge has a hand-rail knee high on each side. A petty feeder of the Budhil rises in the small and holy lake of Mani Mahés.

The Nai river rises on the western face of the Kali Debi mountain, in the Lahul range. Its general course is to the south-west, and its whole length is only thirty miles. Its fall is therefore 366·6 feet per mile.

The Ráwá or Râwati, just above the junction of the Budhil and Nai at Wulás, is spanned by a birchen-rope suspension-bridge 116 feet in length. It is therefore about double the size of the Budhil river. Below Wulás the road leaves the river and crosses over the mountains, to avoid the precipitous cliffs which overhang the stream. At Mahila, ten miles above Chamba, the Rávi is crossed by another suspension-bridge of 169 feet span. Between the bridge and Chamba the river takes a sudden sweep to the left, between overhanging rocks not more than fifteen feet apart. A curling wave returns to meet the rushing stream, and a shower of mist is perpetually rising from the shock. Then all is smooth, and the stream pours headlong into a gulf below, and is instantly dashed back by the opposing rocks in a huge curling wave.

Just below Chamba the Rávi receives a considerable feeder from the north. This is the Sáwá, or Sár Nala, which rises in the Saj Joth, in the Lahul range. On entering the plains the Rávi takes a south-westerly course past Lahore for 430 miles to Chichawatni, where it turns to the west, and after seventy miles more falls into the Chenáb below Sirdarpur. The whole length of the Rávi from its source to its confluence with the Chenáb is 630 miles, and its minimum discharge is 2,700 cubic feet. The Rávi is fordable throughout the winter season, but the bed is full of quicksands.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

X.—THE BYÁS RIVER.

133 The Byás is perhaps the best known of all the Panjáb rivers, from its source to the foot of the hills below Mirthal. Its Sanskrit name is *Vipása*, from which the [778] Greeks made Hyphasis and Bibasis. The common name of Byás is derived from the small pool at the source of the river, which is called Vyás Rikhi or Vyása Rishi. This sacred spot is situated in the Rotang pass, at the head of the Kullu valley, in N. latitude 32° 25′, and E. longitude 77° 10′, at an elevation of 13,000 feet above the sea. For seventy-five miles the river flows nearly due south past Sultánpur, the capital of Kullu, to the village of Larji, where it is joined by two large tributaries,—the Sainj and the Tirthan. Above this it receives the Parbati and the Gomati rivers from the east, besides [491] many smaller streams. The Gomati is fordable with difficulty, but the others can only be crossed by bridges. The Sainj has a course of about fifty miles, the Parbati and the Gomati of forty miles, and the Tirthan of thirty miles. From the source to Larji the fall is 9,400 feet, or 125·3 feet per mile. From Larji the Byás sweeps suddenly to the westward through a narrow chasm in the rocks several hundred feet in depth. The stream is deep and rapid, but before the wearing down of this cleft the whole of the lower part of the valley must have been submerged. From Larji to Mandi the distance is not more than twenty-five miles, while the fall is 1,000 feet, or forty feet per mile.

The Byás continues its westerly course through this narrow channel to Mandi, above which it receives the Ul river from the north, and the Sukhet river from the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 3 P.M. This is in fact the hour at which I have found that all these snow-fed streams reach their highest level. If, therefore, we assume that the Sutluj, at the mouth of its last great feeder, the Baspa, reaches its maximum at 3 P.M., we shall obtain a mean velocity of six miles and a quarter per hour as far as Kepu, a distance of seventy-five miles.

XII.—THE SPITI RIVER.

The Spiti river, which is perhaps as large as the Sutluj itself is formed of two principal branches,—the Spiti and the Párá-ti or Zang-sum river. It takes its rise near the Bara Lacha Pass, in N. latitude 32° 4′, and E. longitude 77° 40′, at an elevation of 16,500 feet (the height of the Bara Lacha Pass). From its source to the village of Mane, it flows in a south-easterly direction for eighty-five miles, and then turns to the eastward for thirty-five miles to its junction with the Párá river. The fall is 6,000 feet, or fifty feet per mile. From Chang-Razing the river turns to the south for twenty-five miles, through a narrow rocky channel to its confluence with the Sutluj. The fall to this point is 2,000 feet, or eighty feet per mile; and the whole fall, throughout its entire course of 145 miles, is 8,000 feet, or fifty-five feet per mile.

In the upper part of its course, the Spiti river partakes of the general character of the Tibetan streams, and spreads its waters over a breadth of nearly half a mile. It thus becomes fordable, during the winter season, as far as Dangkhar, where it receives the Pin river from
491 the south. Below this, it is crossed by several suspension-bridges. Opposite Rangrig, it is spanned by a spar

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bridge with a hurdle footway. At Shálkar, below the junction of the Párá, it is crossed by another spar bridge ninety-two feet long; and there is a third wooden bridge between Liya and Nako. 491

The Párá-ti, or Párá river, was considered by Alexander Gerard to be larger than the Spiti; but there is no comparison between the two. The Párá is only a very large rushing torrent, while the Spiti is a very deep rapid river. The Párá rises in the Parang Pass, to the north of the Bara Lacha range, in N. latitude 32° 25′, and E. longitude 77° 50′, at an elevation of 18,000 feet. It first flows for about twenty-five miles to the north-east, and for about twenty-five miles to the east as far as Chumur. From this point it turns to the south-east, and afterwards to the south-west, to its junction with the Spiti at Chang-Razing. Its whole length is 130 miles, and its fall about 7,500 feet, or 57·7 feet per mile. 133x

Just above the confluence of the two rivers, there is a hot spring named Zang-sum, and the lower part of the Párá is sometimes called by this name. Alexander Gerard took the Zang-sum for another river, and has accordingly entered it in his map. But it is quite evident that he mistook the Gyu, a small tributary which joins the Spiti just above the confluence of the Párá, for the Párá itself. I surveyed this locality with some care, and can therefore state positively that Alexander Gerard was mistaken.

Four miles above its confluence with the Spiti, the Párá river is spanned by a single block of granite, which forms a vast natural bridge eighty-five feet in length, and from twenty-five to thirty feet in breadth and depth. The stream below is contracted to a raging torrent, not more than fifteen feet in width.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VI.—ROADS, PASSES, BRIDGES.

I.—ROADS.

● 491 In Tibetan every road is called *Lam;* but the high-roads are distinguished by the name of *Lam-chhen*, or "Great Roads," and *Gya Lam*, or "Passable Roads."* The principal road is that between Kashmir and Yarkand; the next in importance is the road to Lhasa, viâ Garo, and the third is that which leads through Rukchu, Láhul, and Kullu, to the cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana. Some of the other roads, though not much frequented by merchants, are still deserving of notice, as they have on three different occasions been
175 made use of by the conquerors of Ladák. About A.D. 1600, the Musalmans of Balti, under Ali Sher, invaded Ladák on the west by the valley of the Indus. In 1686, the Sokpos or Sacæ invaded it on the east by the Rudok road; and in 1834, the Hindus of Jammu, under Zorawar Sing, invaded it on the south by the route from
491 Kashtwar into Suru. Moorcroft mentions another commercial line between India and Kotan,† "which was frequented in the time of Shah Jehan and closed by the Chinese subsequently to their acquisition of Kashgar."

* *Lam*, a road; *Lam-chhen*, a great road; *b,rGya-lam*, a passable road.

† Transactions Royal Asiat. Soc., I. p. 55.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In another place* he says that this road ran through Garo and Ruthog to Sarikia, half-way between Yarkand and Kotan; and in a third place† he states that from Rudok across the mountains to Kotan is a journey of three or four days only. Now both the Chinese geographers and the Jesuit missionaries agree in placing Kotan in N. latitude 37°, or just three and a half degrees, or about 250 miles, to the north of Rudok. The journey must therefore be one of three or four weeks, instead of three or four days. The only probable explanation of Moorcroft's statement is, that the frontier of Kotan is only three or four days' journey from Rudok. His very mention of Sarikia, a place half-way between Yarkand and Kotan, shows that Moorcroft must have known the true distance of Kotan, as his own munshi, Izzet Ullah, makes Sarighout (or Sarikia) just thirteen marches from Lé. It cannot, therefore, be less than eighteen or twenty days' journey from Rudok. The road from India to the Niti Pass, through Garo and Rudok to Yarkand, is, therefore, the same as that from Lhasa to Yarkand, by the valley of the Indus. The two routes join at Garo, and follow the Indus to Kak-jung, from whence the traveller may proceed either down the Indus to Lé, and across the mountains to the Shayok river, or he may cross the Tsaka Lá and proceed direct to the Shayok by Chushal or Pangkong.

The different roads that lead to Lé, on all sides, are the following:—

1. The western road from Kabul and the Punjab, through Kashmir.

2. The south-western road from the central Punjab, through Jammu, Kashtwar and Zanskar to Lé. A

* Travels, I. p. 373. † Travels, I. p. 361.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

49/ branch of this road runs from Zanskar through Rukchu to Lé.

3. The southern road from Lahor and Amritsar, through Kullu, Láhul and Rukchu to Lé. A branch road from Bisahar, viâ Spiti, joins this road in Rukchu.

4. The south-eastern road from Lhasa to Garo and the Indus to Lé. A branch from India, viâ the Niti Pass, joins this road at Garo.

5. The eastern road from Chinese Tartary, through Rudok and the valleys of Chushal and Sakte to Lé.

6. The northern road from Yarkand and Kotan, over the Karakorum mountains and down the Shayok and Nubra rivers to Lé. The old route, which is now closed by glaciers that dam the stream, followed the Shayok from its source to Sassar, and thence either continued down that river, or across the mountains and down the Nubra river to Lé.

7. The north-western road from Balti, viâ the Shayok and Indus rivers, to Lé.

II.—1st. THE WESTERN ROAD.

The road from Kashmir traverses nearly the whole extent of Ladák from west to east, from the Seoji Lá, at the head of the Dras river, to Lé. From the Kashmirian Pass it follows the course of the Dras river to its junction with the Suru river, up which it proceeds as far as Kargyil. From thence it ascends the Purik valley past the fort and town of Paskyum, as far as Waka, where it leaves the Waka river, and crosses the Namyika Pass (13,000 feet) to the bed of the Kanji river. Thence over the Photo Lá, an easy pass (13,240 feet), to the village of Lama Yurru, from which it follows the course

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the Wanla-chu to its junction with the Indus, below the bridge of Khallach, where it crosses the river to its right bank. From this point it ascends the Indus, past the villages of Nurla, Saspul, Bazgo, and Nyimo, to Pitak, where it leaves the river and turns to the north-east for a few miles to the city of Lé. The whole distance from Kashmir to Lé is 228 miles. 491

I have travelled this road myself, and I can vouch for its being one of the most excellent and most easy routes to be found throughout the Alpine Punjab. It is passable from March till November, when it is closed by the vast masses of snow that accumulate on the Kashmir side of the Scoji La, and which render the passage very dangerous, both in March and April as well as in November. The greater portion of this road which lies in Ladák was made by Zorawar Sing after the conquest of the country in 1834. The large bridge over the Indus at Khallach, as well as the smaller bridges on this road over the Wanlá, Kanji, Waká, Suru, and Dras rivers, were all built by the energetic invaders, who, knowing the value of good communications, have since kept them in excellent repair. No road can well be worse than the few marches on the Kashmirian side of the pass, which are still in the same state as described by Izzet Ullah* in 1812: "The road is difficult and rocky, so as to be impassable to a mounted traveller." This is the most frequented of all the roads into Ladák, with perhaps the single exception of the northern line from Yarkand to Lé. 491 132 491

The following table shows the names and distances of the stages.

* Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March 1825, p. 104.

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FROM KASHMIR TO LÉ.

		Miles.	
1	Gándar Bal	$9\frac{3}{4}$	left bank of Sindh river.
2	Kangan	$9\frac{3}{8}$	right bank ditto.
3	Surbara	$9\frac{3}{8}$	left ditto ditto.
4	Gagangir	$10\frac{3}{8}$	right ditto ditto.
5	Sonamarg	$7\frac{1}{8}$	ditto ditto ditto.
6	Báltal	$8\frac{3}{8}$	ditto foot of Pass.
7	Maten	$15\frac{7}{8}$	cross the Seoji Lá (Pass).
8	Drás	$11\frac{1}{8}$	left bank of Dras river.
9	Jasgund	$7\frac{3}{8}$	on the left bank (opposite).
10	Kharbu	$12\frac{1}{8}$	right bank ditto.
11	Kargyil	$11\frac{3}{4}$	at junction of Waka and Suru river.
12	Dok	$11\frac{3}{8}$	left bank of Waka river.
13	Molbil	$8\frac{3}{8}$	right bank ditto.
14	Charak	$7\frac{1}{2}$	cross the Namyika Pass.
15	Hesku	$11\frac{1}{8}$	right bank of Kanji river.
16	Lama Yurru	9	cross the Photo Lá (Pass).
17	Khallach	$8\frac{3}{8}$	cross the Indus by bridge.
18	Nurla	$8\frac{1}{8}$	right bank of Indus.
19	Hemis-tokpo	$8\frac{5}{8}$	ditto ditto.
20	Sáspul	$9\frac{3}{8}$	ditto ditto.
21	Bazgo	8	ditto ditto.
22	Tháru	$11\frac{1}{4}$	ditto ditto.
23	Lé	$11\frac{3}{4}$	ditto ditto.
		228 miles.	

III.—2nd. THE SOUTH-WESTERN ROAD.

During the first years of the occupation of Ladák by Zorawar Sing, the different roads from Jammu to Lé were constantly traversed by the Dogra troops, who latterly always took the route through Káshtwár and Zanskar in preference to that of Káshtwár and Suru—which they thought considerably longer. Dr. Thomson travelled from Jammu to Lé, in 1848, but he took the hill route, from Bhadawár to Chatrgarh. In the same

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year he had also travelled from Kashmir to Jammu. We are therefore able to compare the route from Jammu to Lé, viâ Zanskar, with that by Kashmir. The comparison is altogether in favour of the road by Kashmir, with respect to the facility of crossing the different passes, which are less lofty and much more easy of ascent and descent than those of the other road. With respect to distance, the two roads are much about the same. The road travelled by Dr. Thomson is actually eighteen miles longer than the route by Kashmir; but as the route from Zanskar to Lé, viâ Marka and Kiyo, is two days' journey less than that followed by Dr. Thomson, the two roads by Kashmir and Zanskar may be considered about the same length.

From Jammu the Zanskar road proceeds direct through Ramnagar to Bhadarwár, a distance of seventy-three miles. From thence it crosses the Bhadri-Dhar Pass, 10,165 feet, into the Chamba district, and over the Saj-Joth (14,794 feet) into the valley of the Chandrabhága near Chatrgarh, a further distance of 116 miles. From the Chenab the road crosses the Bara Lácha range by the Umasi-Lá or Burdar Pass (18,125 feet) to Phadam, the chief town in Zanskar, a distance of fifty-six miles. In this rugged district the road is bad and difficult. At first it follows the course of the Zanskar river as far as Chand-Lá, where it enters the mountains. Beyond Pangache it proceeds over another pass (16,495 feet) and descends rapidly to the river, which it crosses by the Nira bridge. From thence it ascends the lofty mountains that bound Zanskar on the west, and enters the Wanlá district by the Sing-gé-Lá (16,952 feet), from which it follows the Wanlá river to Lama Yurru, and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 thence to Lé, as in the first route. The lofty passes on this road are seldom open before June, and they are always closed by the end of October.

The following are the marches made by Dr. Thomson from Jammu to Lé.

		Miles.
1	Tuton-ki-kuï (the mulberry well)	8
2	Sarohi Sar	7
3	Thalaura	8
4	Ramnagar	10
5	Garta	7
6	Pata	9
7	Dudu	6
8	Camp	8
9	Bhadarwar	10
10	Camp	7
11	Langera	8
12	Dego	11
13	Buju	10
14	Kaltor	11
15	Banderi	7
16	Camp	7
17	Ditto	9
18	Ditto	12
19	Pargwál	8
20	Asdhari	10
21	Shol	9
22	Lyundi	7
	Carried forward ...	189

		Miles.
	Brought forward ...	189
23	Chishot	8
24	Sumcham	8
25	Camp	6
26	Ditto	5
27	Ditto	10
28	Markim	10
29	Phadam	9
30	Tungdé	8
31	Chandla	10
32	Sumdo	10
33	Pangache	9
34	Nira	8
35	Yulchung	5
36	Plutakas	11
37	Haunpata	8
38	Wanla	10
39	Khallach	11
40	Nurla	8
41	Saspol	10
42	Nyimo	10
43	Lé	11
	Total miles ...	374

From Phadam there are two other routes to Lé, the direct route through Zanskar and the winter route through Rukchu. The latter was taken by the Vazir Zorawar Sing, in the winter of 1835, when all the passes on the more direct road had long been closed.

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TWO ROUTES FROM PHADAM IN ZANSKAR TO LÉ. 491

Winter Route.	Direct Route.
1 Muni.	1 Tondé.
2 Yang Jhul.	2 Jand-lá.
3 Maleng.	3 Sumdo.
4 Kina Jhula.	4 Dagmoche.
5 Zongmar.	5 Karna Sumdo.
6 Chumik Marpo.	6 Rabrang.
7 Tokpo Soma.	7 Marka.
8 Charáp.	8 Kyo (Skyo or Skio).
9 Dong chéchan.	9 Shingo (Pass).
10 Pachálong.	10 Rumbak.
11 Kyang-cho.	11 Pitak.
12 Rukchin.	12 Lé.
13 Debraug.	
14 Gya.	
15 Miru.	
16 Ugshi.	
17 Hemis.	
18 Thagna Goupa.	
19 Chachot.	
20 Lé.	

IV.—3rd. THE SOUTHERN ROAD.

By this route the shawl wool is brought to the large 491
cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana, all of which 439
make a return in manufactured shawls and coarse brocades. The roads from all these places meet at Mandi (the market) or Maudinagur (market-city) on the Byas river, the capital of the small state of that name. From Nurpur the merchants proceed viâ Kangra and Baijnath; from Amritsar, viâ Hushiyarpoor and Nadon; and from Ludiana, viâ Ropar and Bilaspur; the distances of the first and last being about 120 miles; of the second, about 150 miles.

From Mandi this road proceeds by the iron-mines of 491
Kumán to Sultânpur, the capital of Kullu. From [/35]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 thence it ascends the Byas to its source on the Rotang Pass (13,000 feet), and descends upon the Chandra river at Koksar, the first village in Lahul, at an elevation of 10,000 feet. It then follows the Chandra river to its junction with the Bhaga, opposite Tandi, from whence it ascends the latter to its source in the Bara Lacha Pass (16,500 feet). From this pass it descends the Yunam river into Rukchu, and thence crosses the Lunga-Lacha Pass (17,000 feet) to the triple confluence of the Sumgal river. There it ascends the plain of Kyang to the crest of the Thung-Lung Pass (17,500 feet), from whence it descends the Gya rivulet to the Indus at Ugshi, and thence down that river to Lé. All the passes on this route are easy, especially the Bara Lacha, over which a road might be made passable for carriages, so gradual is the ascent and descent. The Bara Lacha and Rotang Passes are generally closed in the end of October, and are not open again until the end of May or beginning of June. The most difficult part of this route is the crossing of the Chandra river, as the suspension-bridge of birchen-twig ropes is annually overwhelmed beneath a dense mass of drifted snow. In August, 1846, the late Mr. Vans Agnew and myself were detained for two days opposite Koksar until the bridge was partially put up, when with the assistance of plenty of rope, which we had purposely carried with us, we managed to pass over all baggage without any difficulty.

From Mandi the route is as follows:—

		Miles.	
1	Kumân	11	an iron-mine.
2	Bajaora	14	right bank of Byas river.
3	Sultanpur	9	capital of Kullu.
4	Dwára	10	right bank of Byas river.
	Carried forward .	44	

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		Miles.	
	Brought forward ...	44	
5	Monáli	14	right bank of Byas river.
6	Ralha	10	camp foot of Pass.
7	Koksar	11	cross the Rotang Pass.
8	Sisu	10	right bank of Chandra river.
9	Gundla	9	ditto ditto.
10	Kárdang	10	left bank of Bhaga river.
11	Kolang	13	right bank ditto.
12	Dárcha	10	ditto ditto.
13	Patseo	8	a rude stone bridge.
14	Mongba	10	foot of Pass.
15	Kelang	12	cross the Bara Lacha.
16	Charpa	8	mouth of Cherpa river.
17	Sumdo	14	foot of Pass.
18	Sumgal	12	cross Langa Lácha Pass.
19	Mure-Tsho	10	a small pond of fresh water.
20	Rukchin	7	Boti camp.
21	Larsa	14	foot of Pass.
22	Gya	14⅘	cross the Lunga Lácha.
23	Miru	7⅛	
24	Ugshi	7¼	left bank of Indus.
25	Marchalang	8⅓	ditto ditto.
26	Chachot	11	ditto ditto.
27	Lé	9⅛	cross Indus by bridge.
	Total ...	283⅔	miles.

The Bisahar road, viâ Kullu, joins this road at Sultânpur, the capital of Kullu, from which Rampur is eight marches distant. Since 1846, this road has been much improved by the British government, and the access to Kullu, both from Simla and from Rampur, is now easy. The road from Bisahar, through Spiti into Rukchu, joins the above road either at the crest of the Bara Lacha Pass or at the foot of the Thung Lung Pass. The former is the more easy route, but the latter is the more frequented. From Rampur the road ascends the Sutluj river to the Wongto bridge, where it passes over and enters the mountains to Babé. From thence it

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491 crosses the Tari Pass (15,282 feet) into the Pin valley, which it descends to the junction of the Pin river with the Spiti. The latter is crossed by a jhula to Dangkhar, from whence the road proceeds to the monastery of Kyi and up the left bank of this stream to Losar, where it changes to the right bank. Beyond Losar it leaves the Spiti river and crosses the Kulzum Pass (14,821 feet) into the upper course of the Chandra river, which is quite uninhabited, and ascends the stream to its source in the Bara Lacha Pass. The other road branches off from the monastery of Kyi and crosses the Parang Pass (18,502 feet) into Rukchu at the source of the Para river. It then follows the river to Norbu Sumdo, whence it crosses a low range of hills to the southern end of the Tshomo-Riri lake. From this lake it crosses the Nakpo Gonding Pass (18,000 feet) and the Polokonka Pass (16,500 feet) to the Tsho-kar or White Lake, beyond which it joins the first road at the foot of the Thung-Lung Pass.

The following are the stages on the road by the Bara Lacha Pass.

FROM RAMPUR TO LÉ.

		Miles.	
1	Gaora	10	left bank of Sutlej.
2	Saráhan	10	ditto ditto.
3	Tránda	14	ditto ditto.
4	Nichár	12	ditto ditto.
5	Yangpa	11	cross the Sutlej.
6	Larsa	16	cross the Tári Pass.
7	Mud	12	on Pin river in Spiti.
8	Tangti	12	ditto ditto.
9	Danghkar	15	cross the Spiti Pass.
10	Lara	8¾	left bank of Spiti river.
11	Rangrig	8½	ditto, halting-ground.
	Carried forward ...	128¾	

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		Miles.	
	Brought forward ...	128⅞	
12	Chikyam	10	
13	Kirla	12	
14	Losar	12	right bank.
15	Camp	10	foot of Pass.
16	Ditto	9	cross the Kulsum Lá.
17	Ditto	12	left bank of Chandra.
18	Ditto	14	ditto ditto.
19	Ditto	12	ditto ditto.
20	Ditto	12	cross the Bara Lacha Pass.
		232⅞	
	Thence 12 to Lé,	122⅛ miles.	
	Total ...	355¼ miles.	

The following are the stages on the road by the Tshomo-Riri Lake.

FROM RAMPUR TO LÉ.

		Miles.	
11	Rangrig	129⅞	
12	Gyihbar	6⅞	
13	Bongrochan	8⅞	
14	Tratung Kongma ...	7	cross the Parang Pass.
15	Camp	11	
16	Norbu Sumdo ...	11	
17	Tshomo Riri	10	south end of lake.
18	Korzo Gonpa... ...	13	
19	Ramzung	11	
20	Polokonka Pass ...	15	2 miles to W. of Pass.
21	Tsho-kar	11	
22	Larsa	16	
		252⅜	
	Thence 6 to Lé,	57⅜	
	Total ...	310 miles.	

V.—4th. THE SOUTH-EASTERN ROAD.

Of the portion of this road that lies between Lhasa and Kailas, very little is known except by report.

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From Lhasa, which I do not think can be less than ten or eleven thousand feet above the sea, the road ascends the Sanpu river, past Tashi Lhunpo and Gáldán to its source on the eastern face of the Kailas mountain. It then crosses this mountain to the northern bank of the holy Manasarovara Lake (15,200 feet). The direct distance between these points on the map is upwards of 10° of longitude, which in the 30th degree of latitude are equal to 600 English miles, to which one-half* more must be added for the windings and ascents and descents of a road in a mountainous country. This will give a distance of 900 miles, equal to a journey of three months, which the people always state it to be. From the Manasarovara Lake to Garo the road has been traversed by Moorcroft. The distance is about 110 miles, or ten days' journey—past the Lake of Rawan Hrad, and over several lofty spurs of the Kailas range, which give rise to numerous small feeders of the Sutluj and Indus. Garo itself is situated, according to my information, on the main branch of the Indus, which is there called the Higong-chu or Higong river, simply because it flows past the village of that name. From Garo to Chibra, and thence to Lé, the road lies down the valley of the Indus, and generally along the bank of the river. The distance from Garo to Lé is not less than 350 miles, or

* This is not a mere assumption, but a fact deduced from actual surveys. Thus my survey makes the distance between Lé and Kashmir 228 English miles. The difference of longitude is 2° 40′, which, in the latitude of 34°, is equal to 154 miles; to which by adding one-half more, we obtain 231 miles, which is within three miles of the actual measurement. Again, the difference of latitude between Mandi and Lé is 2° 30′, equal to 174 English miles. By adding one-half more, we obtain 260 miles, the measured distance, according to my survey, being 283 miles.

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about thirty-five days' journey. The whole distance from Lhasa to Lé is therefore about 1,350 miles, a journey of four months and a half.

The principal places on this route are the well-known Tashi-Lhunpo, the residence of the Tashi Lama, who was visited by Turner; Gáldán, which was for some time the residence of the Tibetan court; Garo, which is now a great mart for the interchange of the productions of India and China; and Tashi Gong, which is a celebrated monastery. I will say nothing more regarding this road, as all the accessible portions of it have been traversed by Captain H. Strachey.

VI.—5th. THE EASTERN ROAD.

This road leads from the unknown countries inhabited by various Mongol tribes, through Rudok to Lé. Nothing whatever is known of it to the eastward of Rudok, except that by it the Mongol tribe of Sokpo invaded Ladák in 1686 and 1687; and again in the beginning of 1841, immediately after Zorawar Sing's death, about three thousand Changpas* are said to have entered Ladák for the purpose of assisting the young Gyalpo. They advanced to Lé, where they remained about six weeks; but on the approach of Dewán Hari Chand and Vazir Ratanu with troops from Kashmir, they fled hastily back again by the same route. As this road has been surveyed by Captain H. Strachey, from the neighbourhood of Ruthog to Lé, any further remarks from me are quite unnecessary.

* *Byang-pa*, pronounced *Chang-pa*, "northern men," or men of Chang-thang, the northern plains.

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VII.—6th. THE NORTHERN ROAD.

• 491 This road leads from Yarkand and Kotan, over the Karakoram mountains (18,660 feet) to Lé. The best account of it that we possess is that by Izzet Ullah, who traversed it in 1812. But since that time several glaciers have stretched their mighty masses across the bed of the Shayok, and the old road by the river has been completely closed. The new road from Karakoram leaves the Shayok, or Khundan, river at the foot of the pass, and crosses over an elevated table-land to Sassar, where it again meets the Khundan. A short distance above Sassar Dr. Thomson examined two glaciers that stretched across the river. From this point the road quits the Khundan and crosses a lofty range to the bed of the Nubra river, above Panámik. It then follows the course of the Nubra river to its junction with the Shayok, from which it proceeds direct to Lé.

Izzet Ullah's route was the following :—

FROM YÁRKAND TO LÉ.

		Hours.	Miles.	
1	Chagachag	4 =	6	
2	Tokaji	9 =	13½	on the Kerghalek river.
3	Langer	10 =	15	
4	Aurtang	2 =	3	
5	Ak Masjid	9 =	13½	
6	Khalastan	7 =	10½	
7	Chakilak	6 =	9	
8	Mizár	6 =	9	
9	Tezak Lak Payin ...	8 =	12	
10	Yagni Dawan ...	9 =	13½	
11	Yartoli	5 =	7½	right bank of river.
12	Bagh Haji Mohammad	2 =	3	
13	Igersal di	9 =	13½	
14	Taghteh	7 =	10½	
	Carried forward ...	93 =	139½	

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		Miles.		
	Brought forward ...	93	=139½	
15	Khafalun	9	= 13½	
16	Aktagh	10	= 15	
17	Surighout	9	= 13½	
18	Camp	7	= 10½	foot of Karakoram Pass.
		128	=192 miles.	
1	Camp to S. of Pass ...	10	= 15	
2	Yapchan	10	= 15	
3	Khundan	10	= 15	right bank of Shayok.
4	Chong Tash	9	= 13½	right ditto.
5	Yartobi	7	= 10½	
6	Mandalik	5	= 7½	left ditto.
7	Dong Bailak	10	= 15	left ditto.
8	Chong Aolang ...	9	= 13½	right ditto.
9	Chong Jangal ...	4	= 6	right ditto.
10	Chunchar	9	= 13½	right ditto.
11	Dakchu Dunga ...	4	= 6	right ditto.
12	Adgam	7	= 10½	left ditto.
13	Digar	...	4½	
14	Camp	...	12	
15	Lahu	...	7½	cross a Pass.
16	Lé	...	7½	
	Karakoram to Lé	...	172½ miles.	
18	Yarkand to Karakoram	...	192	
	34 marches. Total	...	364½ miles.	

Dr. Thomson's route from Lé to Karakoram Pass is a more direct one, and consequently a shorter one; the whole distance being only 147½ miles, or twenty-five miles less than Izzet Ullah's route. But the longer route up the Khundan river had the advantage of being tolerably level, whereas the present route crosses no less than three lofty passes, and is besides much more rugged and difficult. The Karakoram Pass is not less than 491
18,600 feet above the sea, and it is perhaps very nearly 133

19,000 feet high. M

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 19,000 feet high. Dr. Thomson's route from Lé to the Karakoram Pass is as follows :—

		Miles.			Miles.
1	Camp	6		Brought forward ...	68½
2	Kardong	10	11	Camp	8
3	Kalsar	9	12	Ditto...	4½
4	Diskit	8	13	Ditto...	6
5	Lyakjung	5	14	Sassar	8
6	... ...	9	15	Margai	9½
7	Chirasa		16	Camp	9
8	Panámik	10	17	Ditto...	12
9	Takshe	4	18	Ditto...	12
10	Changlung	7½	19	Karakoram Pass ...	10
	Carried forward ...	68½		Total ...	147½

VIII.—7th. THE NORTH-WESTERN ROAD.

This road leads from Balti and the neighbouring Musalman district up the bed of the Indus to Lé. During the summer season, when the waters of the river are much swollen by the melted snow, the Indus route is very difficult, and travellers generally prefer ascending the Shayok river as far as Chhorbad, and thence crossing the mountains by the Hánu Pass, 16,890 feet, to the Indus at the fort of Hánu. From Hánu to Lé the route ascends the Indus. Both of these routes have been travelled by Mr. Vigne. Dr. Thomson's route was by the Shayok alone; and to him we are indebted for the survey of that river between Tirit and Keris, where it joins the Indus. The distance from Skardo to Lé, by this route, is 236 miles, or just eight miles more than the road from Kashmir to Lé. The following are the marches from Lé to Skardo, by the Latsa Pass, 17,666 feet.

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		Miles.
1	Sabu	6
2	Foot of Pass... ...	12
3	Digar	5½
4	Chatti	16
5	Tirit	8½
6	Tagar	8½
7	Panámik	12
8	Chirasa	10
9	Lyakjung	9
10	Hundar	9½
11	Tortse	10
12	Unmáru	5½
13	Karu	9½
14	Waris	8
15	Bogdan	7
16	Chulungka	9
	Carried forward ...	147

		Miles.
	Brought forward ...	147
17	Turtuk	7
18	Pránu	11
19	Siksa...	7
20	Kábás	8
21	Surma	12
22	Khapolor	7
23	Karku	10
24	Bragar	4
25	Kunes	6½
26	Kuru	6
27	Keris	8
28	Golochu	9
29	Camp	9½
30	Skardo	4
	Total ...	236

The above are the principal thoroughfares throughout Ladák. Many other roads might be enumerated in all directions, but they are less frequented and more difficult. These by-paths are called *Lam-than*,* and *Lam-dogpo*. They are used chiefly by the people of the country in passing from their own districts into the next; such are,—1st, the road over the Omba Lá, between Suru and Drás; and 2nd, the road over the Vingé Lá, between Zanskar and Purik. Other roads are used only by smugglers; but these are always difficult, although frequently more direct than the high-roads. One of the best known of these smugglers' paths is that which leads from the Chinese district of Chumurti into Láhul and Kullu. From Chumurti the road is followed over the Budhpu Pass to the bed of the Párá river. From thence a rugged path leads over a lofty mountain to the [439]

* *Lam-phran*, pronounced *Lam-than*, "little road;" and *Lam-Dogpo*, "narrow road."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 upper course of the river, which is crossed a second time, and over another range of mountains to the head of the Charpa river. From the bed of the Charpa different routes were followed over the mountains to the upper and uninhabited course of the Chandra river, from whence the northern road leads over the Bara Lacha Pass into Láhul, and the southern road direct into Kullu by the Parbati river.

IX.—PASSES.

133 A Pass in Tibetan is called *Lá*. The crest of a Pass is named *La-tse*, and the foot of a Pass *La-tsa*.* The last word is variously pronounced: by some it is called Larsa, of which spelling many examples may be found in our maps at the bottom of Passes; by others it is called Lacha, as in Bara Lacha (for Bara Latsa). Others again pronounce the *s* distinctly; which last has given rise to Dr. Gerard's spelling of Para Lassa. *Rong* is a defile, and *chong-rong* is a narrow defile. The principal passes have already been mentioned in my description of the high-roads of Ladák; but a tabular enumeration of them may be useful for comparison.

Names.	Heights.	Authorities.	Positions.
Karakorum ...	18,660	Dr. Thomson ...	Head of Shayok river.
Sassar	17,500	Ditto ...	between Nubra and Shayok river.
Hanu	16,890	Col. Bates ...	between Indus and Shayok river.
Lé Pass ...	17,066	Dr. Thomson ...	between Lé and Nubra.
Lazgung ...	17,500	(estimated) ...	ditto ditto.

* *Lá* is the simple form. *La-r Tse*, is the crest of a Pass.

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X.—PASSAGE OF RIVERS.

491 501 The great rivers of Ladák are crossed by ferries, fords, and bridges. Fording is the most usual means of crossing both the Indus and the Shayok, in the upper parts of their sources, where their waters are widely spread and shallow. In the neighbourhood of Lé, where the Indus becomes deep and rapid, it is spanned by three bridges, and just below Lé, where the current is less rapid, people are ferried across on inflated skins. The Zanskar river is bridged in two places: and is not I believe ever fordable. In Láhul the Chandra and Bhaga rivers are both bridged; but I have seen the Chandra forded at Koksar in October, and I have been ferried across it at the same place in September. In Spiti, the Párá river is crossed by a natural bridge formed of an enormous mass of rock that has fallen across the stream; and the Spiti river itself is bridged in several places. In the winter season it is fordable in many places.

103 A ford is called *Gal* in Tibetan; and the name is applied to one of the principal branches of the Zanskar river, which is called *Sum-gal*, or the "Three Fords," because it is formed of three streams that are forded one after the other just above their junction. In the summer 491 132 the fording of many of the streams can only be accomplished in the morning; for after ten and eleven o'clock the waters are so much increased by the melted snows that they become quite unfordable. This I have myself witnessed with the Chandra river in October, and with the Charpa river in September; and I have ascertained that it is also the case with the Spiti river.

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A ferry is called *Gru-kha*, and the ferryman *Gru-ba*. 501
In Ladák itself the ferrymen use only rafts made of 491
inflated skins; but on the Sanpu river, even above Lhasa, boats are said to be numerous; and there has always been one on the Indus at Skardo. The name, therefore, is well known in Ladák, more particularly as most of the Lamas have visited Lhasa. The common [565]
people are ferried over on a single inflated skin (*phagpa*), but great men usually have a raft formed by placing a bed over two inflated skins. The skin is generally the hide of a buffalo, with the openings carefully sewn up, excepting one of the hind legs, which is kept for inflation. The skin floats with the legs uppermost. The ferryman throws his arm over it, holding the closed leg in his left hand, and a small wooden paddle in his right. The passenger sits down, native fashion, on the skin, and secures himself by holding the ferryman's shoulder as well as the leg of the skin. The ferryman paddles with his right hand, and pushes the skin forward by striking out his legs as in swimming. I have often crossed the Byâs and Chandra rivers in this way. The raft is managed in the same manner; but it cannot be used either in such rough water or in such rapid currents as the single skin.

The bridges of Ladák have different names, according 491
to the materials of which they are constructed. The finest bridges, such as those of Lé and Khallach, are called *Shing-zam*, or "Wooden Bridges," because they span the river with large beams of poplar. A small bridge over the Bhaga river in Láhul is dignified with the name of *Do-zam*, or the "Stone Bridge," because the footway is made of rough stone slabs. *Chag-zam**

* *Zam-pa* is a bridge; and the different terms of *Shing*, wood; *rDo*,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

491 or "Iron Bridges," and *Gru-zam* or "Boat Bridges," are known only in the Lhasan territory; but the *Chug-zam* or suspension-bridge is common in many parts of Ladák.

One of the finest specimens of the *Shing-zam* or wooden bridge that I have seen, is the great bridge over the Indus near Lé. I have given a sketch of it in Plate V. It was built by Zorawar Sing, and is called *Chhog-lam-Sar-Zampa*,* or the "New Bridge on the high-road." The Khallach Bridge is similar in construction. They are both railed, and may be ridden over with perfect safety. As the details of construction may be seen quite as clearly in the sketch as in any description, I will only give the dimensions of these two bridges.

The Lé Bridge is a double one, the smaller one having a span of thirty feet, and the larger one of eighty feet. Both are strongly and substantially built of poplar spars, laid touching each other. On each side is a stout railing—the clear breadth between the railings being eight feet. Height above the stream (on 2nd October) fifteen feet.

The Khallach Bridge is seventy-seven feet long and eight feet broad, with a stout railing on each side. Height above the water (on the 15th October) forty-five feet. This bridge is protected by a small square field-work of sun-dried bricks, which covers the northern end on the right bank. It is occupied by twelve men, who are relieved regularly from Lé.

stone; *lChags*, iron; are added to discriminate the material of which the bridge is formed.

* *Chhog-lam-Sar-zam-pa*, "high-road new bridge."—See Plate V. for a view of this bridge.

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The *Chug-zam* or suspension-bridges are different 491 from the *jhulas* or swinging-bridges of the Hindu states of Chamba and Bisahar. The passenger walks across the former, but is pulled across the latter. Suspension-bridges are common on the Indus and Shayok above their junction. They are used also in Zanskar, Spiti, and Lahul; and in the Hindu state of Chamba. The Chug-zam is formed of two stout ropes of twisted birch-twigs, about the thickness of a man's arm. The ropes are suspended side by side, about five feet apart at the ends: but they are drawn nearer together in the middle by the weight of the side-ropes and roadway. The side-ropes, about one inch thick, are also made of birchen twigs, and in them is laid the roadway: which, in the bridges that I have seen, always consisted of three ropes (of the same size as the suspension-ropes) laid side by side. In the best bridges of this kind the side-ropes are connected by a close wattling of wicker-work from end to end, to prevent passengers as well as sheep and goats from slipping through. The Chug-zam is a very cheap and a very easy mode of bridging a stream; and when new and well constructed, it is a very safe and not an unpleasant way of crossing. But some old bridges of this kind that I have crossed were both difficult and dangerous. In them the suspension-ropes formed a great curve, the sides were unwattled and completely open; and the roadway in many places was reduced to a single rope. Alexander Gerard* states that he should "think the best *Su-zum* (*Chug-zam*) of 100 feet not altogether safe:" but I have crossed several of greater span, and one of very nearly double that span.

* Kanawar, p. 35.

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				Span.
The Koksar Chug-zam over the			Chandra	... 106 feet.
Wulás	"	"	Ravi	... 116½ "
Mahila	"	"	ditto	... 169 "

The last span was undoubtedly too great for this kind of bridge; for though the points of suspension were six feet apart, yet in the middle the ropes could only be kept asunder by a piece of wood. The perpendicular or versed sine of the arc was thirty feet. I find the following remark recorded in my note-book immediately after crossing this bridge in August, 1839:—"When riding rapidly in a coach, trees, houses, and fields all seem to be moving past, while the coach stands still; but just the reverse happens in crossing one of these bridges; for the bridge seems to be carried along sideways, while the boiling river appears to stand still."

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ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; 643
for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount 651
than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a 177
less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the 578
country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent 177
roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people 491
whose principal means of livelihood are derived from 643
the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are 205
simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village [648]
couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 755

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the mountains that bound the river, that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

Chapter I. 000

The District.

The Chandra and Bhága. 133

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The Bhága, rising on the north-west slopes of the Bára Lácha pass, has a course of 65 miles to Tándi, and an average fall of 125 feet per mile. For 30 miles, the valley resembles that of the Chandra, but in its lower part is rich in cultivation, large tracts of level and arable land lying between the mountains and the river. The banks of the stream itself are steep and rocky. It is in this valley, some five miles from Tándi, that Keylang, the principal village of Láhaul, is situated. The Chandra-Bhága, or Chenáb, after the junction of its two heads, continues to flow north-west with a fall of about 30 feet per mile, until at Tirot, 16 miles below Tándi, it passes into Chamba.

Bridges in Láhaul. 491

The rivers in Láhaul are crossed by means of suspension bridges of from 50 to 150 feet span, made of thick ropes of twisted birch twigs. Three ropes form the roadway, and two hand-rail ropes hang above, one on either side, and are attached to the roadway by small side ropes, fastened at intervals of a foot or two. The best of these bridges are passable for sheep and goats, and without danger if the sides are wattled in with wicker work and slabs of stone placed on the roadway. In a high wind many of them are dangerous to cross, even to a native of the country. They are called *chúgzam* in Tibetan, and *jhúlá* or *áwá* in Hindí. The proper *jhúlá* is a different kind of bridge, which is not used in Láhaul. It consists of a seat in a loop hanging from a wooden saddle, which rides on a cable of thick grass rope, and is pulled across by a gay line. *Gharárú* is another name for this kind of bridge, which you use in crossing the Satlaj, the U'l and other rivers. Of late years, on the main road from Kúlu to Léh, the Chandra and Bhága rivers have been bridged with *sanga* bridges passable by cattle and horses. The *sanga* is composed of whole trunks of pine or cedar built into embankments on either side of the river in double or triple tiers, each tier projecting further from the embankment and supported by a prop on the end of the tier below. Two long trunks rest on and connect the ends of the highest tiers on either side, and form the roadway.

Climate of Láhaul 133

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The uppermost village in Rangloi is Purnia Khoksar, and in Gárá, Dárcha. Both these are about 10,800 feet above the sea; but there are higher villages lower down the valley in Gárá. For instance, Kangser (*i.e.*, the big house), where Wazír Tára Chand lives, has an elevation of 11,345 feet. Mr. Lyall estimates the average elevation of the cultivated or inhabited portion of Láhaul at a little less than 10,000 feet; while General Cunningham puts it at over 11,000. The mean temperature at Kardong in the valley of the Bhága is given in Messrs. Schlagintweit's tables as follows :—

March	46°	Fahrenheit.
June	59°	"
September	45°	"
December	29°	"
Year	44·9°	"

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 Chapter I.

361 The District. Rivers.

It[1] joins the Spiti after a course of 45 miles a short distance above Dankar, the principal village of the valley. The width of its bed near its mouth varies from 300 to 800 yards. The greater part of its course is through an uninhabited country, its valley forming no exception to the description given of the other streams which join the Spiti from the south and west. Near the mouth of the valley, however, the country opens, and affords space for cultivation. Here there are eleven villages, the only inhabited spots, not in the valley of the main river itself, in the southern half of Spiti.

312 133 Character of the Rivers: Bridges.

Running in deep courses, the sides of which are steep and friable, the water of the Spiti rivers is valueless for purposes of irrigation; and although artificial watering is a necessary condition for the production of a crop, and a plentiful supply of water, most plentiful in the hottest season, passes at his feet, the cultivator has to be content with the meagre supply obtainable from streamlets having their rise in the smaller ravines, some of which run low, or dry completely up before the close of the summer months. The water of the rivers, heavily charged with silt, is turbid and yellow in appearance. The flow is seldom deep, being distributed over broad courses, and often broken up into independent channels. The current, however, is sufficiently rapid to render fording, where not quite impossible, a matter of difficulty and danger; and when the streams are full, the ominus sound may be heard of rolling boulders knocking one against the other. Bridges, on the other hand, are rare, and cannot in any case, except that of the new *sangha* bridge at Rangrig over the Spiti river, be passed by the *yaks* or ponies with which most Spiti men travel. The people therefore are compelled to ford, and lives are frequently lost in consequence. At two points, above Kája and below Lithong, where the main stream is suddenly collected into a narrow channel by ridges of rock, *sangs* bridges have been erected for foot traffic, but the biggest timber in Spiti is too light for the construction of a bridge passable by *yaks* or ponies. Below Máni the river runs in a narrow channel and is crossed in three places by *jhúlá* bridges.

● 491 133

361 Villages and scenery in Spiti.

On the Spiti the first inhabited spot is Losar twelve miles from the Kanzam pass. From this point downwards villages are frequent, occupying every available corner in the valleys, both of the main streams and of its tributaries from the north. A traveller passing down the Spiti valley would never suspect the existence of villages in these lateral valleys, for the streams which drain them run in deep canons or chasms with precipitous sides cut in the rock, and nothing can be seen but the mouths of these gorges from the main valley. Major Hay, in his account of Spiti, says that the soil is composed of lime and sandstone. It is evident that a river very easily cuts itself a deep channel in this formation, which is only hard so long as it keeps dry; and as very little rain falls, and the snow melts gently, the banks of the cutting remain very perpendicular. Curious examples of this quality of the soil are seen in many places, where the ground has melted away round certain points protected by slabs of slate or shale, leaving the slab high in the air supported by fantastic pillars or arches of the softer formation. One bad result of this peculiarity is that though water for irrigation

133 133 312

[1 i.e., the Pín, a tributary of the Spiti river.— ANALYST.]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

361 chimneys of its cook-houses look up at you like unblinking owls. To visit the monastery the path leads up to turn 346 abruptly near a series of little dwelling places covering a small hill. Unrelieved by the usual balconies and adornments of village houses, they appear more like stables, but we are informed they are the abodes of the nuns. The *dGonpa* itself is very picturesque and a camera might be busy at each corner, 792 but the dirt and dust are terrible. The Lamas who belong to the red sect, are degraded looking, and the whole atmosphere 000 of the village is evil, as several travellers have noticed. What wonder that below the village we come upon that disinterred Sodom and Gomorrah already mentioned, perhaps more aptly described as a ruinous Gehenna with its twisted sulphurous [491] pillars. So we pass along the high road, meeting the Indus at the suspension bridge just below the village of Kalatse, and keeping it company to Saspola. It was when riding along this piece of road that seven year old Helen asked, as more mountains came into view, peering over their fellows, "Mummy, how 361 did the mountains make theirselves so big?" After a long uninhabited stretch of stony road we note a welcome green patch on the other side, where about three houses find enough cultivatable ground, fed from a falling stream, to support their inmates, and we are told that in winter they send their animals across the frozen river, now wide and rushing, to find what roots they can and to bask in the warmth on the sunny side. • 491 As our destination approaches, a crazy-looking cantilever bridge with no side rails crosses the river. Though fairly broad, it spans a high gulf, and it is only certain local ponies who are used to it, whom one can dare to take over. Fortunately it is not on the high road, and we may pass on in peace of mind.

000 The following march ascends a *rong*, which may be defined as a pass "which goes up, but not down," a narrow defile which opens out eventually on to a broad plain, whence the snow crests surrounding the long broad Indus valley in the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VII

Over Many Passes

HAVING seen the high road to Leh, let us take a trip off the beaten track, along a much less prosaic road, for it is much more thrilling never to know what surprises lie just round the next corner. Towards the end of the march, however, there often seem to be endless " next corners " before the welcome sight of tent or dak-bungalow greets the eyes, with its promise of tea and a nap, the value of which are perhaps best realized after a hot march. Thus round such a corner may come into view the most ricketty of bridges sometimes made only of twigs and spanning a rushing river. Where the stream is smaller, not even this bridge is provided, and the only way across is to ford, which is no easy matter when the bed is not smooth but formed of huge boulders, so that one moment the pony is high up on a rock, the next plunges deep down between the stones. Then, too the boom boom of the swifter torrents filling one's ears inspires an additional fear of the onrush of these stones and smaller boulders which may catch the ponies' legs and break them. At times the road may lead along the bottom of a valley over the most stony of pathways imaginable, and with the overhanging rocks so low that man must " stoop to conquer," and even the ponies' saddles occasionally need to be shed and loads dropped to get underneath. Again, having climbed up a high pass there bursts on the view a panorama that defies description in its immensity and grandeur of upheaval. Moreover in these

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

stick on a heavy load, he calls upon "dGonmchog Sum" (the three Gods) to witness that this is not the stick of his choice; but his neighbour's. Spitti's method is far superior, for there the dice settles the matter.

Another day's journey brings us to the capital of the province, but before reaching this we have another type of bridge to cross, this time made of rope. From this place onwards we saw a good many of these, so it may be well to describe one. A prominent rock from which to sling the ropes, is selected on either side of the river. These ropes are made of the twigs of birch or poplar, plaited together. Four such ropes tied together constitute the actual pathway, just broad enough to accommodate a boot. On either side is a rail of the same material, connected by similar strands to the footway, and at each end the latter and the rails are wound and tied round beams, kept in position by large pieces of rock. Often, of course, pieces of this bridge completely disappear, but it is not till someone falls through and ends his present incarnation, that the Ladaki considers there is an indication for repairs to be undertaken. To cross this bridge we first mount the cliff over which its end is swung, then lean well forward to catch hold of one rail with each hand, and place the foot gingerly on the footway. It is impossible to grasp the whole handrail, for it is far too thick, and so rough that it may tear the hands. The bridge sags in the centre, so the first half descends at rather a steep angle, which does not make matters easier, for after about ten paces one cannot help catching sight of the swirling river some hundred feet below. Towards the middle the bridge begins to sway, as a slight wind is blowing, but there can be no turning back now; moreover the worst half is over, for from the centre the ascent to the further side begins. Looking back, we find that even our Ladaki cook has lost his nerve and will not venture. The prospect is bad,—no cook, no dinner. But the problem is soon solved, for a local man hoists him up and soon takes him over

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

●491 pick-a-pack. To the men of these parts their bridges offer no thrills ; they often carry cattle over on their backs, first taking the precaution of tying their legs. Some time after we had reached camp, our other two servants came in and told us of their experiences at that bridge. "Are you afraid ?" said one. "No, not a bit," replied his comrade, while in sheer fright the tears chased one another down his cheeks. However, one soon gets quite blasé about these bridges, and I crossed my fourth with a light heart. But how do the ponies fare ? They have to be relieved of their loads, which men carry over the bridge and they themselves must swim the torrent. Our own Mongolian pony was shown a horse on the further side, hoping that he would think it had arrived safely and would follow its good example, but he had to be driven in several times with much shouting and raising of arms before he would venture across, and the sturdy animal was quite out of breath on arriving at the other bank.

16d At Padum a day's rest was decreed, not only from marching, but also to extract fourteen cataracts, which were awaiting operation. The next day on again, until finally we reached the Shingkung La, the Pass which divides Zankskar from 342 Lahoul, and which took us four days to cross. Going to the foot of the Pass on the first day, we noticed some peculiar huts on the opposite side of the river which proved to be dwellings, built of yaks' dung. During the summer, when the yaks are allowed to graze the hillsides, their shepherds first build low walls of stone, then bring the plaques of dung, which they collect each day, to build a slanting roof, of which each superimposed layer overlaps slightly inwards. When winter comes, the yaks are driven back into the village, and the collections of dung taken home for the winter fuel.

000 Having reached the top of the Pass, a most wonderful view is unfolded. To right and left rise glorious peaks covered with glittering snowfields or glaciers, while our path itself lies across an avalanche, though it is difficult to realize this,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monastery*; it is a small monastery, with but a few Lāmās, attached to the one at Mulbek farther on. We thus see that we are reaching the country of the Buddhists; the people of Shargol are nearly all of that faith, though for some way farther there is a mixture of Muhammadan Baltis. 792 361 563

In the next march we pass Mulbek (also called Mulbe) and see the monastery, one of some size, and by the road-side a large idol carved in the rock, and then we rise to the easy Pass called Nāmika Lā,† 13,000 feet, a depression in soft (shaly) rock between mountains of limestone. A very easy descent brings us down to a stream that flows direct to the Indus; turning to the right we follow the valley of this stream upwards, and in a few miles we come to Kharbū, a Bhot‡ village, which makes another stage. 133x 792 361

Thence we continue up the same valley: the mountains on the south of us are high mountains of limestone, which rock makes the chief part of the very lofty ridge beyond. Keeping on towards the east, we rise to a Pass of very similar character to the last, called Fotū Lā; it is 13,400 feet high; the ground is smooth, being composed of shale, but close by, on the south, are the rocky limestone hills; a gentle slope for 2000 feet down a valley that is comparatively open, brings us to Lāmāyūrū. 133x

At Lāmāyūrū we are well among the Buddhists or Bhots. Here is a large monastery built on the summit of cliffs which are partly rocky and partly of alluvial matter; some portions of it are very curiously built on timbers placed across chasms, or joining ridges or pinnacles of the hardened alluvial gravel. The cultivated ground is a narrow strip lying for some length above the sloping valley-bottom. As we continue down, we join the valley of a large stream that flows from Wānla; this is extremely narrow; the path has with difficulty been made along the slope of the hill that rises immediately from the stream; there are cliffs to be passed that have necessitated wooden galleries for the road to go on; this has, however, been constructed with a good deal of skill, and by the [792] 491 133x

* The word for monastery in the Ladākhī language is *Gonpā*.

† In the Ladākhī language *Lā* means Pass.

‡ The word *Bhot* means Buddhist, or perhaps, more particularly, Buddhist Tibetan. The Ladākhis are called Bhot both by themselves and their neighbours.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJV

491 plan of crossing the stream three times, by wooden bridges, we
133* pass the difficulties and find our way to the valley of the Indus itself, and, after another mile or two and after crossing the river, to the village and halting-place of Khalsi.

KHALSI TO LEH: FOUR MARCHES.

491 The Indus is spanned by a wooden bridge where rocks narrow
712 it up to a width of 60 or 70 feet only. The bridge is com-
361 manded by a small fort on the higher bank; the path from the
241 bridge, indeed, is led along the covered way half round the fort. The village of Khalsi is on a plateau about 250 feet above the river; there is here a long strip of cultivated land watered from a side-stream; crops and fruit-trees grow on it well, and even luxuriantly; walnuts and apricots ripen, though the height above the sea is something over 10,000 feet.

133* From this place upwards, to near Leh, the Indus Valley has one character. The river flows either between rocks or against alluvial cliffs, according to whether the mountain spurs reach the water or strips of alluvium-terrace intervene. The hills that are
[361] seen are not very lofty; all are bare and extremely dry. The
[241] only green visible is on those spots where the streams from the mountains on the north-east are brought on to the alluvial plateaus and enable the ground to be tilled; there villages have been formed, and we see the verdure of corn-fields and of orchards, or rather of the lines of fruit-trees that have been planted along the watercourses that skirt the little fields.

487 For the next three days' journey there are two routes that may be taken; they unite again one march short of Leh. The first is along the valley, keeping as near to the river as the ground will allow; the other is a higher route along a series of plateaus behind the former; it is this latter that we choose; the valley itself will be again spoken of in a later chapter.

133* After continuing for a few miles in the immediate Indus Valley,
361 we turn up a ravine to the left, and, rising some 1500 feet, we get on to a high plain between an outer, low, range of hills and the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

487 morning so that we reached the summit with the dawn. There
133 the wind was bitterly cold; we followed the lower track, for the road along the face of the cliff was impossible.

The Tibetan name for the pass is Zoji La; this was the first time that we discovered that most of the places from there on had two names, a Kashmiri one and a Tibetan one. Unfortunately the map seemed to have mixed them up, probably using the best known, but we did not always strike men of the country who recognised them.

[485] Once over the pass the country changes completely; there is already a Tibetan atmosphere in the air. Going down the other side there are numerous little dak huts built by the roadside for the use of those who chance the journey too late and get caught by the weather.

361 We came upon what we at first imagined would be the start of
136 a village, but found it to consist of a house or two, a telegraph post and a rest house. At many places tracks led off, some to lone, distant "farms", some to parts which were known to be good for shikar, for game is plentiful for the sportsman in parts of Ladakh. It is the home of the ibex and the markhor; both are of the wild goat family; there are wild sheep and kiang—sandy red, wild asses with dark manes and standing about twelve hands high—which are impossible to break; then there are red bear, snow leopard and in parts wolves are to be found; antelope and gazelle are common as are the reddish-brown marmot.

491 Here and there places had been marked on the Srinagar-printed map as the spot where a bridge would be found over the river, but there was no sign of it, probably the floods of the last season had carried it away, and we had to ford the waters; then on closer examination of the map we noticed a mark at the spot we had selected and decided that the printer had forgotten to make up his letterpress to include it in the key, or perhaps we were credited with enough common sense to know.

485 The first night we reached a rest house, and were there only just in time, for a quarter of an hour later a large party of men from Leh arrived; a few remained to sleep under the verandahs
515 outside—the stench of bodies was overpowering. I have been assured that the men of Ladakh are bathed three times only in their lives, when they are born, when they marry and when they

W. Tibetans AJ

133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
● 491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ 4

itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes. 361

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreciate the height we had reached and how it affected one by slackening movements. [133] [136]

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens, the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150. 491 172

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings, some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of Chubrezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its background is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a jewel in the other. 346 778

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven, 788

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. It might, therefore, with advantage be crossed with the 492 common small sheep of our hill provinces. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladák is transported on these sheep. They are food, clothing, and carriage, and form the principal wealth of the people of Ladák. I have seen a single flock of six hundred sheep, entirely laden with wool; and in one day I have counted as many as from five to six thousand sheep laden with shawl wool and common wool, borax and sulphur, and quantities of dried apricots, all making their way to the hill provinces 556 on the south-west. The *Huniya** is, therefore, much prized; and a man's wealth is generally estimated by the number of his sheep. The average price is two rupees and a half (or five shillings), but fine strong rams are worth from three to four rupees.

231 The whole trade of Ladák does not exceed 30,000 [439] small maunds of sixteen seers each, equivalent to the same number of sheep-loads. But the large importation of grain, which took place yearly before the population had been thinned by disease, emigration, and war, must have employed some 400,000 sheep. Of these, probably about one-half belonged to the Ladákis, and the other half to the hill people of Káshtwár, Chamba, Láhul, Kullu, and Kanáwar. After making a due allowance for lambs, I should estimate the former number of sheep at upwards of 300,000, or rather more than twelve sheep per house. At present the number is not so great, probably not more than 250,000. At the rate of 2 seers (4 lb.)† per sheep, the annual produce of wool

* *Huniya* is the Indian term, of which the Tibetans have made *Hunhi-yi*. The sheep is called *Huniyi-luk*.

† The English sheep yield an average of 4 lb. each, and even the little Purik sheep of Ladák yield 3 lb. See Moorcroft, I. p. 310.

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 [466] 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

231 unruly horses had to be tied and shoed while they lay on the ground. All this was carried out with great skill and adroitness by the men.

437 Now the people drove together about 200 sheep and goats from their stables; these were to take part in the trip, serving as beasts
492 of burden. Each animal was made to carry in a double sack a load of from 14 to [illegible] kilograms of wheat, dried apricots, or a corresponding quantity of other wares; aside from this each animal literally carried its own fleece to the market. The mountain sheep and goats are sturdy and extremely adroit climbers. However, there are many that succumb to the exertions of the long journey or that are torn to bits by the wolves or snow leopards.

487 In three days the expedition arrived a Leh, moving in easy daily marches, in order to spare men and animals, and generally
437 following the course of the Indus River. Most of the nine men went on foot, Drogpa Namgyal and two of the men each had a horse to ride on besides the horses they used for carrying burdens. It was the duty of the men on foot to drive on the pack horses and to lead them on the narrow, poor /156/ bridle paths, as well as to lead and keep together the herd of sheep and goats carrying the loads. In Leh, at the bazaar, they purchased some provisions and exchange wares, for the last time. Then they proceeded further along the Indus, through barren valleys, narrow gulleys, sandy, stony deserts, over high mountain passes, through torrential mountain streams, now in the scorching glare of the sun, now in icy cold, yes, even in bitter snow storms. In this way they finally arrived at the great plateau of Jangtang in the eastern part of Ladakh, after about one month's journey during which they engaged in trade, along the way wherever an opportunity presented itself. The Jangtang upland plateau is situated in the territory of Greater Tibet, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama. Having arrived there the people from Ladakh visited a series of widely
[233] scattered nomads' camps. These nomads live year in and year out in their brown tents (re-po) woven from yak's hair, and they guard and tend their flocks of animals, sheep, a large, high-legged species, goats, horses, donkeys, and yaks. They move from one pasturing place to the next, depending simply on where there happens to be enough pasture and water. Big and strong and long-haired dogs (Tibetan mastiffs) help the nomads to keep their flocks of animals together and to protect them against wild animals. Their entire wealth consists of their herds, the rock salt which they break out of the numerous old lake beds, and of the natron which is found up there on the upland plateaus.

der of the mountain turned and waved. He was the stouthearted one who carried the dreadful load over Rothang.

Tashi (which means "good luck") was our new employee. He was short and stocky, middle-aged, pleasant, quiet, efficient. He had with him his son, about fourteen years of age. They had ten horses and were going as far as Kyelang, three stages distant. I agreed to pay eight rupees a day for each riding horse, five rupees a day for each pack horse. The horses were the small Punjab type, not even ten hands high, with small feet and fairly sturdy shoulders. We rode two; the rest carried the baggage. Tashi and his son walked.

By the time the horses were packed, I knew that I could go with Tashi in confidence to the end of the earth. He was one of those quiet, steady, competent men who show the mark of the mountains. His horses were also good. They were fast-traveling animals. The riding ponies had no bridles, only halters. The saddles, which had no stirrups, were crude wooden pack saddles, piled with sacks and blankets. Though the saddles were not painful, it was more comfortable to walk, as I did most of the way to Gundala.

The Chandra canyon, between a mile and a half mile wide, is deep and twisting, with the mountain walls going up on both sides at precipitous angles. There are here and there a few pine trees along the river and fir trees on the benches. These high benches, the day we passed, were filled with sheep and goats, white-fleeced animals that from the distance looked like great patches of flowers such as one sees in the Cascades of Washington when the squaw grass is in bloom. Now and then a bench close to the river had been planted in potatoes, millet, wheat, and a tall flowering plant that I first thought was a sunflower, called the *kuth*, which is grown for medicine. There were scatterings of yarrow, yellow violets, snapdragons, and delicate pinks along the trail; and now and then I saw whole acres of cowherbs in bloom —the tallest, most lush cowherbs I have ever seen.

000 stickweed or forget-me-not, handling it as tenderly as a museum piece. When I found it near a stand of juniper, a great flood of memories poured through my mind. This was an old, familiar friend who seemed to me to be far from home. For the place where I best knew it—its accustomed place—was on the slope above my cabin in the high Wallowas of Oregon. Though it seemed strangely out of place here, this might well be closer to its home than Oregon, to which it may have been carried by animals or by planetary winds.

492 I was explaining this to Rahul when we heard bells. We gave 534 them no particular attention because many caravans had bells and were continually passing along the trail just below the stone wall at the end of the slope in front of the dak bungalow. These bells got louder and louder, unlike any we had heard. They sounded as if they were the bells of dozens of caravans. We started to race down the slope to see what was about to pass under the stone wall in front of us, when the caravan turned onto our lawn.

Up front on a bay horse was Rup Singh, grinning and beaming. Behind him came ten mules heavily hung with bells. Behind them came two young men on foot—Chhomphel and Ram Chand—whistling and shouting and racing to keep the mules out of sheaths of barley freshly cut and piled behind our bungalow.

Some of these animals had the build of Missouri mules; some were closer to a donkey's stature. Two were gray; others were bay. There was one chestnut and one that seemed to have a touch of palomino in him. Most of them had tassels hanging from their necks—red or yellow and about two feet long. Each had bells. Some of the bells were eighteen inches or so long, as wide as a fruit jar, heavy and ponderous, and deep-throated. These were the basses. Some were tiny bells smaller than a walnut, with two dozen strung on a leather band that fastened around the neck, a bit reminiscent of Christmas sleigh bells. These were the sopranos. There were bells as big as apricots, similarly fastened to leather

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

neck straps. These were the altos. A few of the mules had a half dozen larger bells each—bells of the size of teacups. These were the tenors. And a few of the mules had bells that were hung inside each other like camel bells of Persia. These bells ran almost a full scale. 492 • 534

Bells, bells, bells! What a din they made! Every movement of an animal rang a bell. As they milled around us the noise was so great we could hardly hear each other. I found myself shouting to Rahul and he in turn relayed the message in a shout to Rup Singh. It appeared that Rup Singh had had no lunch. He would get lunch, return at once, and we would push on to Jispa, fourteen miles distant, this afternoon. Rup Singh left with his mule train, and when the noise gradually died out a deep quiet settled over the peaceful dak bungalow. We sat on our packs until late afternoon. Rup Singh did not appear. We were up early the next morning and yet there was no sign of him. It was not until ten o'clock that he appeared. Our plan to reprimand him for his long delay immediately evaporated. As soon as the mules entered our gate we were drowned in music. Bells, bells, bells. They did something to us. We were at once relaxed, happy, excited. We greeted the smiling Rup Singh as a long-lost brother, forgetting to scold him. There was music in the air, music in our hearts. At last we were off to high adventure—adventure set to music, the haunting music of tinkling bells, booming bells, soft melodious bells, bells that set a tingling sensation running up and down the spine. The music of the bells had reflex effects in our fingers, our toes, our legs. I found myself trying to catch up with the music, trying to walk to its rhythm. And then a mule would break away, change his pace, and set up a discordant note. Then there would be more noise than music. Yet even so there was a melodious chant deep in the noise. Rup Singh's muleteers, Chhomphel and Ram Chand (two young men in their twenties), drove stakes and stretched a chain between them at ground level. When they tied the mules to this chain, the music subsided

• 492 except when a quarrel between two mules would end in biting.
534 But even so the effect of the music carried over. I noticed that Rup Singh as he loaded the mules (in a manner similar to our Montana packs) was softly, almost inaudibly singing.

"What is your song?" I asked.

"Not a song," he said. "I'm just talking to myself and the mules."

"What are you saying?"

He laughed as he replied, "Hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry."

Hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. That seemed to be the effect of the bells on both the mules and the men. Actually they may not have had any such effect. For as the days passed I noticed that my mule train could not be pushed above an average of two and one quarter miles an hour. Yet hour after hour, day after day, hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry seemed to be the message of the bells.

We skirted cliffs that dropped off a thousand feet below us. The bells rang out—hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We climbed steep pitches to reach high passes of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen thousand feet. In spite of the thin air, the command of the bells was always hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We swung down meandering canyons, forded streams, crossed high basins, passed through herds of wild asses, pushed into the nose of severe storms, threaded through narrow, rocky defiles, climbed to hogback ridges along swinging trails of switchbacks—and always the command of the bells was hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We were in the coarse sand of wind-blown ridges, or among rounded boulders of old river beds, or in rock fields of granite splintered by frost from overhanging cliffs, or on bleak and barren plateaus pock-marked with the huge holes of whistling, fat-bellied marmots, or in high meadows touched with green from a thinning turf. And the mule train played the same message—hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry.

Our first night out from Kyelang I asked Rup Singh about the bells. Most caravans had bells, but none ever had so many bells.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

These bells gave a complete orchestration. We could be heard for a mile. Why so many bells? 492 534

Rup Singh grinned as he replied, "The music is good for the mules. The louder the music, the more contented they are. It keeps them from quitting—keeps them going."

Perhaps Rup Singh was right; perhaps he was only transferring to the mules his own attitude. Certain it is that the bells had a profound effect on us. They broke the monotony of bleak trails. They picked up one's spirits when physical fatigue set in. When one was aboard, they gave relief from the constant jogging of the animal. Even on the slowest stretches, the most grueling climbs, they produced the sense of motion, of progress, of achievement. They often produced these effects in curious ways.

Frequently it seemed to me that the mules were synchronizing their steps to produce familiar tunes. Up front was a big gray mule with a long, yellow tassel hanging from his neck. He led the way, picking the trail, choosing from among alternate routes, grinding steadily on, never stopping, not even nibbling, except for bites at overhanging boughs of willow trees. His role was one of steady industry. The other mules were not tied; each was on his own. For the most part they walked single-file, staying close together. Then the mule train would pick up a rhythm, and I would catch pieces of familiar tunes.

Occasionally on a fast pace I would hear a part of the refrain, *"It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and my heart's right there."* Usually the beat was slower, more measured, such as *"Old MacDonald had a farm, E–I–E–I–O."* The pace would slightly change, there would be discord, and then as clear as any bell would come:

> *There's a long, long night of waiting*
> *Until my dreams all come true.*

There would be another change and "The Tattooed Lady" would tumble out.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 492
534

Come on and see,
Come on and see
The famous picture gallery.

The pace would quicken, "The Tattooed Lady" would fade away, and in her place would gradually emerge:

How are you going to keep them down on the farm
After they've seen Paree?

During one day's travel pieces of dozens of familiar songs would be played on the bells. Medleys by the score would echo from granite cliffs in narrow canyons or wing away on the severe winds that howl across the high Himalayan basins. No piece would ever be completed. This was mutilated music—pieces of tunes strung together by jumbles of discordant notes. And yet there was a haunting quality about it. It had a quickening effect on tired muscles. It lifted up the heart. It seemed to make the seven of us humans and the eleven animals part and parcel of one endeavor, one adventure.

"Perhaps Rup Singh is right," I said to Rahul at one of our last camps. "The bells have helped carry me to great heights. That I know. They may also have helped the mules."

And Rahul, a brilliant product of the land where mysticism is supreme, nodded knowingly and said, "Of course, music helps every living thing."

There was another reason for the bells. Rup Singh, like his father before him, was in the caravan business. Sometimes he carried the goods of others. On this trek of mine he had two mules loaded with produce for Leh, some of it silk brocades from Bombay. Usually, however, Rup Singh carried goods of his own to sell along the way. The bells would tell the coming of the caravan.

I remember when we came to Upshi on the Indus, near the end of our trek, early one afternoon. The villagers heard our mule train at least a mile away. A ragged urchin scooted across a barley

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field headed for his house, shouting, "Here comes the caravan." 492 • An old blind man sitting in the sun in a niche along a cobble- 534 stone way lifted his head, pounded on the wall with his cane, and called out, "Dolma, Diki, Zila, come quickly. Here's the caravan." Children rushed to the edge of flat roofs, pointing and shouting. Women cultivating the fields ran to the willows along the trail, excitement in their eyes and on their tongues. Men bestirred themselves and drifted down to the house of the head man of the village where we were going. Two women hurried to a balcony overlooking the path; and as we passed one of them said, "Now, Dolma, we can get some talcum powder at last."

The bells brought news and goods from the outside world, a world so far away, so remote, that the stories about it seemed like legends. Yet that strange world sent wondrous products to the farthest reaches. And my musical mule train told of their coming with its bells, bells, bells.

133 milky Bhaga, and at times climbs so high that the roar of the river (which drops 125 feet per mile) is lost. Clear water pours out of springs and snow fields high on the ridges and washes the trail; and occasionally a waterfall drops off ledges in cool spray that touches the faces of those who pass. But the total effect of the canyon is dryness and bleakness—a parched land that offers no shelter or shade.

499 Eleven miles above Jispa the canyon widens into a sloping
• 492 bench on the far side of the Bhaga. That is Patseo, which means Stone Bridge. The stone abutments of an ancient bridge across the Bhaga are, indeed, still standing. Today the bridge is a flimsy wooden affair that trembles and shakes when a man or animal walks it. It is only safe for passage one at a time. Each of our mules—wise in all hazards underfoot—sniffed at it and took a few tentative steps before taking the full risk. Ram Chand, the muleteer with the high forehead, thin face, and scrawny mustache, stood guard, letting only one animal on the bridge at a time. Each mule seemed to be as relieved at his safe crossing as I was at my own.

000 Patseo has the last dak bungalow on the way to Leh, a two-room building that sits close to the canyon wall without shade or grass. We did not stay there, as our destination was Zing Zing Bar, which lies six miles above Patseo and six miles below Baralacha Pass. We stopped at Patseo only for lunch and for a visit to the Patseo fair.

443 Bleak and barren, Patseo (12,400 feet) is an ancient market place. Merchants from Leh, Yarkand, and Tibet bring their produce there. Merchants from Kulu come up with freight. There bargains are made and barters effected.

492 Patseo is where I saw my first sheep train. Sheep and goats, a hundred or more in a band, were coming down from Baralacha Pass, loaded with little bags, one on each side, filled with salt. Up front was a big billy, aristocratic in his bearing. He kept to the trail, while the band that followed him was strewn above and

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo. 492

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug 436
up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation 804
of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years 492
Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that 438
were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They 221
grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with 492
salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to 439
form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

• 492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

[804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

492 One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

seemed that the firmament would burst. They hung low, scraping the peaks. All was quiet except the roar of the Bhaga below me.

I lay there for perhaps an hour, absorbing the quiet beauty of the scene, when I heard music. It was a woman's voice, and it came from the trail a hundred yards or so below me.

Sheep caravans make leisurely treks. Their produce will not spoil no matter how much time is spent along the trail. The caravan may start at a distant northern point in June and return in September. The profit of the caravan is not only in the wool and salt carried south and the grain carried north; but the sheep while en route must eat, and so the treks are designed to provide the summer's grazing as well. Well-traveled trails are abandoned for routes that will provide grass for the sheep. The daytime may indeed be spent grazing ridges adjacent to the trail, while the nighttime is used for travel.

That night at Zing Zing Bar a sheep train passed down the canyon. How large it was, how small, I do not know. I only heard the rustle of feet and the voice of a woman who accompanied them. She sang of love; and the song she sang was an old, old love song of Tibet. I learned the full song later. This night I heard only snatches of it.

Like the fine and silky hair of our goats
Which climb up very high on the peaks
Of inaccessible Karakoram
So fine and silky is the hair of my girl.

Her eyes are soft as the eyes of the goats
That call their males on the mountain,
Her eyes are soft as the eyes of the goats
That hold the heavy teat to their young.

Her eyes have the color of topaz
With which she decks her head and neck
And this topaz has the soft color
Of the soft eyes, very soft eyes of our goats.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 11

HORSES, MULES, YAKS, AND MOTI

484 The ideal way to travel Central Asia is by horseback,
• 492 unencumbered by any pack train. That is the way the Tibetans and Ladakhis travel. They ride the small Tibetan horse that stands about ten hands high, has husky shoulders and small feet, and possesses great endurance. The natives travel for weeks on end in this way. They have no pack animals to slow them down. Their only baggage is what they carry in saddlebags
415 or in the roomy pockets of their heavy wool coats. One of them
484 will have a pot and another a small wooden churn for mixing
574 *gur gur cha*. Each will carry a bowl, usually one of wood inlaid with silver or gold. Indeed one who travels Ladakh or Tibet without a bowl usually gets no food when he visits another's camp. The guest is supposed to hand the host his bowl if he wants the hospitality of the camp. These fast Tibetan or Ladakhi travelers carry salt, tea, butter, and flour in small woolen bags. They make fire with flint rather than with matches, and the fuel is usually the low *dama* bush that burns even when green.

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera 000
equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American
ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are 233
pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks.
They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that
lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood
grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted 492
to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and
twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this
grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly
eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules,
put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves,
and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees [465]
eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara
to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders
of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns 231
and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh 492
and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are
widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; [757]
and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for
gur gur cha but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The
dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and
no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to
keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan
as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only
a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks
can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high
altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically
anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does
not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the
relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

1 [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

231 15,000 feet on up. Here it finds the velvety yak grass that is hardly
•492 visible at a distance. Here it also finds moss and lichens, of which it is especially fond.

I found out how sturdy the yak is. I climbed aboard one to sample its riding qualities. I sat for a while on its broad back, my legs sticking out rather awkwardly. Then I hung onto its thick hair with one hand as I urged it into a walk with my heels. Suddenly the powerful beast, with a quick motion of its hind legs, tossed me as neatly as my mountaineer friend—the late Roy Schaeffer of Oregon—used to flip a flapjack. And before I could rise and restore my dignity, the yak turned, gave me a glowering look, and went groaning down the trail.

The yak does not move fast. It took our yaks eleven hours to go the twenty-four miles from Zara to Gya. They got a late start and did not arrive until 1:30 A.M. But they came through on a steady grind that took them through a blizzard atop Staglang La Pass, a blizzard that swept the peaks shortly after our horses and mules had crossed, a blizzard that at the altitude of Staglang La Pass might well have killed animals less sturdy.

000 The hard, fast ride I had on my Tibetan pony from Zara to Gya was exhilarating—as exhilarating as most (though not all) of the moments aboard Moti were dull.

Moti was my mule, a bay with a few white spots. Why I drew Moti from the musical eleven that we met in Kyelang I never knew. Perhaps it was because Rup Singh thought Moti met the requirements of the typical American mule and therefore would seem familiar and friendly to me. Perhaps it was an unkind fate that turned Moti toward me. Perhaps it was some old association with Moti's mottled nose—an association going back to the trails of Oregon or Washington—that caused my hand to caress it. Whatever the cause, Moti was mine a few minutes after the mule train met us at the dak bungalow. Moti was mine almost until "death do us part." And Moti did not wait long before flirting with destiny.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own. 539 577

(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*. 000

20. (*a*) ཆུ་ཞི་ཚོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྦར་བཟུམ་མ་བདང་།། 539 577

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.

(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.

(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).

(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first. 000

21. (*a*) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།། 539 577 492

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.

(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.

(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.

(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.* 000

22. (*a*) རྟ་ལ་མིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཐོང་སྟེ། 539 231 577

བོང་ཏྲི་ར་གོ་མ་རྒྱང་།།

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.

(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].

(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བུ་ལོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་དང། 539 577 426

ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་དཀར་ཀན་ཉོས།།

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'

(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!

(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

565 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of
241 by employing labourers.
651

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the
241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim,
[438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

133 x

Last is the watershed range itself. This makes another region of glaciers. Its summits for a long distance seem to average 20,000 and 21,000 feet, and the Passes through it are at very high levels. As we trace it north-westward we come to the Nun Kun Peaks, at which, coming from the other direction, the account of the range in Chapter IX. ended off.

We now enter on the more particular description of successive districts.

CENTRAL LADĀKH.

By this name is denoted about 100 miles in length of the Indus Valley, from the borders of Baltistān up to 30 miles or so beyond Leh. I have followed the valley upwards from the village of Sanācha, a place within Baltistān, from which, nevertheless, we will begin the description.*

In this part the bottom of the Indus Valley is a narrow rock-bound gorge. The river flows in it with an eddied but not uneven surface; its depth must be great to allow the body of water to pass along such a narrow channel, for I found that the width was in one place 65 feet and in another but 46 feet. The walls of this gorge are nearly vertical; above them rise other steep but more broken cliffs; above these the ground retires, but there are greater heights behind. All this is of granitic rock. Over this rocky ground the path is a difficult one; a laden horse cannot go along it, and with difficulty can an unladen pony be led. It is the same on both sides of the river. This difficulty of the road isolates the villages of this part of the valley, cuts them off greatly from intercourse, and it prevents the traffic between Ladākh and Baltistān from taking this route, which at first one would think to be its natural one. This, as it is the lowest, is also the warmest part of Ladākh. The level of the river is about 9000 feet, but even at this height the valley in summer time is hot. The unclouded sun heats the bare rocks that slope to meet its rays; the traveller, as he goes along the rugged way, exposes one side of him to the sun's direct rays and the other to a strong radiation

[492] 361 133 x

* Sanācha is on the left bank of the Indus; it bears N.E. by E. from Kargil.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
2. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XIV.

LADĀKH: THE HIGHER VALLEYS.

RUPSHU — RUPSHU AS INHABITED — RARITY OF THE AIR — SALT LAKE VALLEY — TSOMORĪRĪ — TSO KYĀGHAR — INDUS VALLEY — PĀNGKONG LAKE — CHĀNGCHENMO.

WE now come to that lofty part of Ladākh where the lowest ground touched is as much as 13,500 feet above the sea, where there are long flat valleys at 15,000 feet, while the mountains that include these keep to the same height of 20,000 and 21,000 feet, which we have seen to be so general over a great part of the country. 133x

RUPSHU.

The first that shall be described of these high tracts is that called Rupshu or Rukshu. It is a district at the south-east end of Ladākh, lying between the Watershed Range and the Indus. From the side of Leh it is approached by leaving the Indus at Upshī and following up the narrow ravine which there joins in from the south. In this, for many miles, the road continues gradually rising; it is a good road for this country, having now been made fit for the passage of camels in case the owners of any from Yārkand should bring them this way towards the Panjāb. The ravine is narrow; it is immediately bounded by no lofty mountains, but by bare slopes of earth and rock, composed of shale and sandstone. After 13 or 14 miles we come to Gyā, the last village in this direction, a place elevated 13,500 feet above the sea; it is a village of some forty houses, with a proportionately wide area of cultivation; both at Gyā and at an outlying hamlet, which is some 300 feet higher still, naked barley ripens and nothing else; peas are grown, but only for green food. It is one of the most, but not quite the most, elevated of all the villages in the country. At this place we leave houses behind, for at the next inhabited parts we shall come to, tents are the only dwellings. [492 361 241

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

high; in one of these lives a whole family. The sheep
231 and goats are very numerous. At evening time one sees the
236 flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at
[492] the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is of a large kind; it is here made use of for carrying loads; the salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.; the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of the two kinds of goat kept here is made use of in just the same
[438] way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals. The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an under-growth at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs, and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh, where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on to Kashmir. It must not be supposed that the greater part of the shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of
231 Kāshgar's country. The horned cattle are all of the
492 yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild, not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on their backs like the Ladākhīs, they depend entirely on their cattle, on their sheep and goats for merchandise that is easily divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this
439 way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between Central
492 Ladākh on the one hand and Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhol in the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good
[i.e. in Rupshu -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

payment; sometimes it is in cash sometimes in grain; with one or 439
two slight exceptions, all the farinaceous food they consume is 492
imported, Kulū and Lāhol supplying the greater part of it.

The intermediate position of Rupshu is such that many travelling merchants come through the country. The tea-merchants of 439
Lhāsa—a shrewd and eager set of men—yearly come this way with their venture of brick tea for Leh; their merchandise is carried free by the Rupshu people, according to an old arrangement between the authorities of Lhāsa and of Leh, but for their riding and light baggage they have with them a number of fine mules of rare pace. From Kunāwar in the Sutlej Valley come the Kunūs, a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian breed; from Lāhol and Kulū come others of pure and of mixed Tibetan blood; these have in many cases their own sheep to carry their merchandise. Of late years there has been a greater through traffic from the Panjāb to Leh, and even Yārkand, by the road that goes through Rupshu. Panjābī, Pathān, and Yārkandī merchants have all passed this way, which, indeed, as far as the road is concerned, is now the best by far between Eastern Turkistān and the Panjāb. The objection to the route is that the Pass over the Snowy Range may close before the circumstances of the trade allow the merchant to get away from Leh for the downward journey.

Although, then, Rupshu possesses so inhospitable a climate, though it is at one and the same time both parched and bleak, though its hills are barren and its valleys desolate, yet a busy life exists at times in certain portions of it. After travelling for some days without seeing a trace of man, one may come on an encampment of traders with some hundreds of sheep to carry their merchandise, their loads carefully piled up and protected by white tent-cloths; or one may meet on the road the merchants on their ponies, jingling with bells, accompanying their heavy-laden and somewhat unmanageable flock.

For people who are natives of temperate climes, the air of 147
Rupshu in summer, though somewhat trying, is not too severe when the constitution is strong and the system in good order. The extreme cold of winter also could probably be endured if one

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

485 special arrangements are necessary to accomplish the journey; and even with these some loss of baggage animals may be expected.

[361] Tānktse is the place whence a start should be made; it is the last large village, and contains a Government store-house, and is the head-quarters of a *kārdār*, or manager, under the Governor of 492 Ladākh. The smaller one's camp, the lighter the baggage, the more likely is one to get comfortably through the journey. With half-a-dozen men of my own, and an equal number of people from the Tānktse and Pāngkong region, we took for our luggage and supplies eleven yāks and five ponies, and brought back, after a month's marching, six yāks and four ponies. This and other experience shows that ponies are far better for the work than yāks; for ponies can carry, besides a light load of baggage for their master, barley for themselves, which yāks, not being used to eating it, will not be able to live on; ponies also do the day's march quicker than the yāk, and therefore have so much the more time to graze on the scanty, thin, pasture that here and there is found. My own journey was the more trying for the animals in that, after passing through the most desert part to where the valleys begin to decline to Turkistān and to become less bare of vegetation, they had to return over the same desert, without recruiting themselves in the lower pastures.

133x 485 From Tānktse, or Pāngkong, the road leads one over ground that was described in the last chapter to the Chāngchenmo Valley. This it leaves by the valley in which is situated Gogrā, which is the last place where water, grass, and fuel are all to be found in plenty. I shall not trouble the reader to follow me through each day's march as I made it, but shall rather try to give him an idea of the character of the country such as I myself derived from observing it in the outward and homeward journeys, with the help, I must add, of Mr. Johnson's map. A list of the marches will be found in Appendix IV., Route 27.

THE SOUTHERN WATERSHED.

133x The southern watershed of the plateaus lies to the north of the eastern portion of the Chāngchenmo Valley, and is continued

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

A Trip to Ladakh

000 a friend's house. Personally I possess a bearer who knows this trick, and he always asks me to ask my friends to allow their servants to count over the spoons and forks, etc., before leaving the house, to see, of course, that they have not left anything of their master's property behind.

276 Another custom I discovered of quite a different kind, which interested me.

I saw a coolie sprawling on the road with his mouth on the ground and apparently blowing smoke. On asking what it meant I was told that the man not having brought his hookah was not going to be done out of his smoke. He had made a small tunnel. At one end he had placed his tobacco and lighted it, and was sucking the smoke through the tunnel into his mouth. How one lives and learns!

346 After leaving Mulbe we turned off the caravan road in order to return via Suru under Nun Kun and down the Wardwan nullah.

We passed the monastery of Shergol. It is built into the rock. The windows seem to be in the face of a 406 precipice. The entrance and exit is peculiar, for a basket is let down by a rope, in which the visitor sits and is pulled up—a most excellent arrangement for keeping 133 out undesirables. Our first view of the Suru river was superb, and reminded me of pictures of heaven which I had seen in children's picture books. We were up on a ridge and looked down upon the river where it widened out and was full of islands covered with willow-trees, and giant peaks rising behind and above the nearer hills forming the valley.

492 When we reached the bridge we found that it was far too frail for our ponies. The river itself could not be forded, and was too swift and dangerous to permit of the

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

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ponies swimming. What was to be done? The question was soon answered by the pony-men taking the loads off the ponies and carrying them across, then tying a rope round a pony's neck, the pony being forced into the river whilst the rope was held by the man who walked across the bridge, thus keeping the pony's head up-stream, so that the strain was lessened. In this way all our ponies came across safely, but the man on the bridge had some difficulty in keeping his feet as the strain on the rope was fairly severe, especially in mid-stream.

The village of Suru lies under Nun Kun, a fine pile of rock, the summit being 23,500 feet above sea-level. It is one of the peaks that we can see from near Srinagar, and looks like a white pyramid. From where we stood, looking up from the Suru river, it was just magnificent, its great glaciers shining in the sunlight.

Just outside the village is a lonely grave, that of Captain Christian, who died of typhoid whilst on a shooting expedition. We spoke to the head of the village about safeguarding the grave.

On our march from Suru we came across a great number of marmots, living in communities like rabbits. They are of a reddish brown colour and of the size of a small fox. They place sentinels around their village, who sit on the top of a rock to enable them to get a good view of their enemies, and whistle louder and louder as they see one approaching and then dart into their burrows. They are most fascinating animals. They seem to like the wild garlic that grows profusely in these regions.

We entered the Wardwan Valley by the Do Nullah Pass, and had to walk for seven miles on a glacier; it was exciting work jumping the crevasses. We were careful to take off some inches on this side and land with plenty

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding •[493] streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 782 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

la ilaha illa–'llah:
Mohammed rasulu–'llah.
No god but Allah: Mohammed
is the messenger of Allah.

771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh–2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist coun- 797 try, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is 175 also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith 648 of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

133 milky Bhaga, and at times climbs so high that the roar of the river (which drops 125 feet per mile) is lost. Clear water pours out of springs and snow fields high on the ridges and washes the trail; and occasionally a waterfall drops off ledges in cool spray that touches the faces of those who pass. But the total effect of the canyon is dryness and bleakness—a parched land that offers no shelter or shade.

• 499 Eleven miles above Jispa the canyon widens into a sloping
492 bench on the far side of the Bhaga. That is Patseo, which means Stone Bridge. The stone abutments of an ancient bridge across the Bhaga are, indeed, still standing. Today the bridge is a flimsy wooden affair that trembles and shakes when a man or animal walks it. It is only safe for passage one at a time. Each of our mules—wise in all hazards underfoot—sniffed at it and took a few tentative steps before taking the full risk. Ram Chand, the muleteer with the high forehead, thin face, and scrawny mustache, stood guard, letting only one animal on the bridge at a time. Each mule seemed to be as relieved at his safe crossing as I was at my own.

000 Patseo has the last dak bungalow on the way to Leh, a two-room building that sits close to the canyon wall without shade or grass. We did not stay there, as our destination was Zing Zing Bar, which lies six miles above Patseo and six miles below Baralacha Pass. We stopped at Patseo only for lunch and for a visit to the Patseo fair.

443 Bleak and barren, Patseo (12,400 feet) is an ancient market place. Merchants from Leh, Yarkand, and Tibet bring their produce there. Merchants from Kulu come up with freight. There bargains are made and barters effected.

492 Patseo is where I saw my first sheep train. Sheep and goats, a hundred or more in a band, were coming down from Baralacha Pass, loaded with little bags, one on each side, filled with salt. Up front was a big billy, aristocratic in his bearing. He kept to the trail, while the band that followed him was strewn above and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

south. The former is upwards of fifty miles in length, and the latter about thirty miles. At Mandi the river is crossed by a boat for the greater part of the year, but during the height of the seasonal floods the current is too strong for a boat, and the passage is then made on inflated skins. Between Sultanpur and Larji the river can only be crossed on skins, but from Sultanpur upwards it is spanned in many places by spar bridges.

/33 × [501]

From Mandi to Mirthal the general direction of the river is to the west; but the course is very winding, and the length cannot be less than 150 miles. Between these points it receives several large streams from the north, of which the chief are the Binwa, the Nigwal, the Bán-Ganga, the Gaj, and the Chakki.

The *Binwa* rises in the Dhaola Dhar range, and after a southerly course of forty miles past Baijnáth falls into the Byás opposite Kamalagarh. The road from Kangra and Mandi ascends this stream to its source, and crosses over the Surai pass into Chamba on the upper course of the Rávi.

The *Nigwal* rises in the same range, and after a southerly course of forty miles through the beautiful districts of Pálam, falls into the Byás opposite the large town of Shujanpur-Tira.

The *Bán-Ganga* is formed of two principal feeders,—the Bán-Ganga and the Patál-Ganga, which rise in the Dhaola-Dhar, and join immediately below the fort of Kangra. The general direction as far as Kangra is south-west, but below the fort the stream winds very much, and changes its direction first to the south and then to the west as far as Haripur and Guler, from whence it resumes its south-west direction, and falls into

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

X.—PASSAGE OF RIVERS.

491 501 The great rivers of Ladák are crossed by ferries, fords, and bridges. Fording is the most usual means of crossing both the Indus and the Shayok, in the upper parts of their sources, where their waters are widely spread and shallow. In the neighbourhood of Lé, where the Indus becomes deep and rapid, it is spanned by three bridges, and just below Lé, where the current is less rapid, people are ferried across on inflated skins. The Zanskar river is bridged in two places: and is not I believe ever fordable. In Láhul the Chandra and Bhaga rivers are both bridged; but I have seen the Chandra forded at Koksar in October, and I have been ferried across it at the same place in September. In Spiti, the Párá river is crossed by a natural bridge formed of an enormous mass of rock that has fallen across the stream; and the Spiti river itself is bridged in several places. In the winter season it is fordable in many places.

103 A ford is called *Gal* in Tibetan; and the name is applied to one of the principal branches of the Zanskar river, which is called *Sum-gal*, or the "Three Fords," because it is formed of three streams that are forded one after the other just above their junction. In the summer 491 132 the fording of many of the streams can only be accomplished in the morning; for after ten and eleven o'clock the waters are so much increased by the melted snows that they become quite unfordable. This I have myself witnessed with the Chandra river in October, and with the Charpa river in September; and I have ascertained that it is also the case with the Spiti river.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

A ferry is called *Gru-kha*, and the ferryman *Gru-ba*. 501 In Ladák itself the ferrymen use only rafts made of 491 inflated skins; but on the Sanpu river, even above Lhasa, boats are said to be numerous; and there has always been one on the Indus at Skardo. The name, therefore, is well known in Ladák, more particularly as most of the Lamas have visited Lhasa. The common [565] people are ferried over on a single inflated skin (*phagpa*), but great men usually have a raft formed by placing a bed over two inflated skins. The skin is generally the hide of a buffalo, with the openings carefully sewn up, excepting one of the hind legs, which is kept for inflation. The skin floats with the legs uppermost. The ferryman throws his arm over it, holding the closed leg in his left hand, and a small wooden paddle in his right. The passenger sits down, native fashion, on the skin, and secures himself by holding the ferryman's shoulder as well as the leg of the skin. The ferryman paddles with his right hand, and pushes the skin forward by striking out his legs as in swimming. I have often crossed the Byâs and Chandra rivers in this way. The raft is managed in the same manner; but it cannot be used either in such rough water or in such rapid currents as the single skin.

The bridges of Ladák have different names, according 491 to the materials of which they are constructed. The finest bridges, such as those of Lé and Khallach, are called *Shing-zam*, or "Wooden Bridges," because they span the river with large beams of poplar. A small bridge over the Bhaga river in Láhul is dignified with the name of *Do-zam*, or the "Stone Bridge," because the footway is made of rough stone slabs. *Chag-zam**

* *Zam-pa* is a bridge; and the different terms of *Shing*, wood; *rDo*,

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 426 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

●501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

RAVEN--chhosskiong or pherok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [134] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

586 money: One "coat lappet full" of money, that is, a certain sum of money which is to be put into the lappet of the long coat (t'o-sgaṅ) and is to be handed over in this manner. The concept to-sgaṅ points to the fact that the fine was originally a very high one. But the concept is extremely flexible and accordingly it is usually stretched--or shrunk--a great deal. In Tibet, too, there frequently prevails a "double standard" for man and woman. A proverb states, in the conciseness characteristic of the Tibetan language: "Man--coat lappet--cow; woman--coat lappet--horse"; that is to say, the man who breaks up the marriage pays as compensation the price of a cow; the woman in the corresponding case pays approximately threefold price of a horse. Often one party maliciously leaves the other and does not think of paying a sum of money as compensation. Then there are violent disputes between the families and the tribes of the persons involved, as well as protracted litigations in court.

ooo In comparison to this, the relationship between the young couple Namgyal and Chosskyid was distinguished very favorably by the fact that here each party was attached to the other by warm affection. Namgyal guarded his "migbras" (the apple of his eye) with love and with a wakeful eye and Chosskyid /119/ as time went by became increasingly a faithful helpmate and support to him in all his duties.

• 511 With respect to outward signs of good fortune, that is, material goods, Kubera, the god of wealth, had not provided the Dragshos family too liberally, according to the concept of their Tibetan neighbors and acquaintances. Despite their elegant descent they were nothing but farmers whose modest wealth consisted of their possession in the fields and cattle. Aside from fields and clover meadows the family owned three horses, a number of cows, a few yak oxen and donkeys, fifty odd sheep, and some goats as well as chickens. Cash was always quite scarce with them as it is with all Tibetan farmers. The money as a rule just sufficed for the payment of the heavy taxes, for the purchase of the greatest necessities, insofar as these could not be supplied by their own farm. The latter was, luckily, the case to a very large degree. Wheat, barley, and buckwheat were supplied by their fields. The grain [252] was ground at one of the small water mills by the brook; it was sifted through a sieve made of horse hair, and in this manner they obtained a coarse, nourishing flour. Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of

Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [345]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

in the dak bungalow—soup, hamburgers, cocoa, canned fruit, 681
and *chapattis*. Discussion turned to the court session. 651

"Are these families on this land legally?" I asked.

"No. They are all illegal squatters. The law of Punjab provides that a man may homestead public land and that he has a period of time to make payment for it. But he must pay."

"How much must he pay?"

"About two hundred rupees [forty dollars] an acre."

"Have any paid?"

"None."

"Do they all owe arrears in taxes?"

"Yes, all of them."

"What is the law of Punjab in such cases?"

"The squatters must be ejected."

"Is that what you are going to do tomorrow? Eject them?"

There was a long pause.

"None will be ejected," he finally replied with emphasis. "You are a judge and you know that law is law but that the law is not always justice."

I nodded but answered, "Yet this is public property."

"True," he replied, "but these farmers are India's outposts. They 168
occupy land bordering countries that may be unfriendly. It is important that India keep this border country populated. Certainly Soviet Communism exploits every discontent in India. It is better that India sacrifice her legal rights or even lose a part of her public domain and have happy people here than that she enforce her legal rights and end up with discontented citizens on this sensitive northern border."

"Why can't the people pay taxes?"

His eyes were now wide with seriousness. "Why, these people 735
only subsist. They raise barely enough to live. They trade barley 511
for wool from Tibet and make their own clothes. I suppose none of the families we saw this afternoon has a cash income each year of even ten rupees."

735 Ten rupees is only two dollars, I thought. With two dollars a
• 511 year per family the women could have a little talcum powder perhaps, a little hair oil, a few pieces of soap. There would be precious little, if any, for tobacco, for medicines, for sweets. I recalled a scene that had happened earlier this day. A dozen or more children from three to ten years old had gathered around me at Jispa. They were in tatters, a bit pinched in the face, very shy, and very dirty. I opened a small bag of chocolate drops. The children at once held out their dirty little hands, their eyes big with expectation. As I put one piece in each hand the fingers closed tightly on it. The first bite was taken carefully and tentatively. Then the expressions quickly changed—the eyes lighted, the tenseness was gone, the faces were happy and relaxed, and one little fellow actually shouted. The chocolates were wolfed down as quickly as a dog swallows a morsel of meat. In a few seconds each of the dirty little hands was stretched out to me again.

These little tots stood huddled together for hours, following me like a shadow wherever I went. And every time I looked at them they would shyly hold out their tiny hands palms up and look at me with eyes that carried as powerful a plea as man with all the skills known to drama could devise.

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[757] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat[1] is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
• 511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

[1 [of the marmot--Analyst]

she was nursing a child; and as the baby fed, Nordzin picked lice 515
off herself and off the child and cracked them with her fingernails. 735
Her hair was matted. Nordzin, about five feet eight and slight, had a flat face that was creased with care and worry and unhappiness. The faces of the children were as filthy as the rags they wore.

I inquired of Pamba why they were so poor when Phuntzog 735
made twelve dollars a month and the garden produced all the 274
vegetables they could eat. The answer was slow in coming, and even then it was evasive. It seems that a great portion of the income of the Gyalangs goes into the making of *chan*, the local barley beer. Indeed, one eighth of the farm production of Leh is used to make this brew. It stimulates many quarrels between the brothers. With the help of the *chan*, Phuntzog and Pamba raise their voices over Nordzin.

When I entered the Gyalang house, I began to understand the 593
basis for the friction. It is a one-room affair. A clay stove, built [511]
by Phuntzog, is against one wall. The floor is of mud and very dirty. There are no chairs, no table, no bed. The one wife, four children, and two husbands roll up together on the floor.

There was a scowl on Pamba's face when I asked him about Phuntzog.

"He's Nordzin's favorite," Pamba complained.

"But he's gone most of the day and many nights on his mail route," I said.

Pamba only shrugged his shoulders.

Later I talked with Phuntzog. The sun was just rising over Leh, and he was in a hurry to get started on the road to Spitok. He, like Pamba, is short, squat, round-faced, and bedraggled. Like Pamba, he was full of complaints. His brother was getting the best of the arrangement, he said. His long absences gave Pamba the advantage. It was he, Phuntzog, who owned the place; yet it was Pamba who acted like lord and master. And Pamba was lazy and made Nordzin do all the work.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for 792
promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*), but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the *konyer*). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot* and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job 792
is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their 426
cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable, whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in 735
which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, 511
and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture. They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The [262]
Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples, grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries. That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

735 an annual cash income of eighty dollars a year per family. But
•511 that is far above what the average Ladakhi family will have in a year.

[342] At Upshi, where we first touched the Indus River, we stayed with the headman of the village, Jigmet. Jigmet's house has two stories. It is made of stone and mud with rafters of poplar wood. The ceilings are about six feet high. The floors are mud. The roof is flat, constructed of rocks and mud laid on top of boughs. The cooking is done in a fireplace located under a hole in the roof. The toilet is on an open balcony on the second floor. It consists only of a hole in the mud floor. There are no furnishings in the house—no chairs, no beds, no tables. There are no decorations on the walls, no carpets on the floors.

Jigmet is the richest man in the village. He owns the land he works—eighteen *kanals* or a little more than one acre. He has no sheep, no goats, no yaks. He has one dzo that he uses for plowing. For fuel he uses the dung of the dzo and the common sea buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides*)—a silvery-barked shrub with sharp spines and orange-yellow berries that flourishes in the valley of the Indus. He raises only barley, and he irrigates it from the Indus. He has a few chickens. Their eggs, the dzo's milk, and the barley are his income. He bragged that he had a cash income, over and above his living, of fifty dollars a year. A local official laughed at the idea. He said five dollars a year would be closer.

[291] Jigmet wore a gray wool gown, sandals, and a Ladakhi hat. The hat, distinguished by a rim made of black fur, had a round, squat top. Jigmet had one other adornment. In his right ear he wore a big gold earring about an inch and a half in diameter. His face was sad; his black eyebrows and thick, black mustache accentuated the severity of his countenance. Yet he was a gracious host. He showed us to our room on the second floor. The room had a small balcony big enough for a sleeping bag. It faced north, and I could see miles and miles up the Indus. We no sooner had unpacked than Jigmet's family appeared—a wife suckling a babe,

a grandmother, two small boys, a teen-age girl. I asked to get 511 •
their pictures in several different groupings. Jigmet directed them 735
to comply. After each picture, Jigmet came up and, with outstretched hand, said, "Bakshish" (an Arabic word meaning a tip, which the British introduced to Ladakh). Each time I gave him or the wife or the children something—candy, cigarettes, salt. The picture taking took a half hour or so. Jigmet and the family then left. When Rahul and I were eating dinner, Jigmet reappeared. He sat silently watching us for ten minutes or so. Then he got up, held out his hand, and said, "Bakshish." I gave him some more cigarettes. At the crack of dawn he was back, saying, "Bakshish." He followed me around as I took pictures of Upshi and its people.

I worked my way through his fields of beardless barley to get pictures of the Indus River, about a quarter mile distant. Every few yards, Jigmet, who followed me closely, pleaded, "Bakshish." That word came so frequently that it rang in my ears. By the time I had returned to the house, loaded my cameras, and started to leave, Jigmet had increased the frequency of the request. "Bakshish, bakshish, bakshish" came like a chant. I had paid him well for the lodgings. I did not know what the proprieties were. Rahul said I had paid enough; so did the Indian Army officer who was traveling with us from Pagmur to Leh.

I walked up to Jigmet and held out my hand to say good-by. He did not put out his hand but said, "If there is no bakshish, there is no use shaking hands."

I took his hand anyway and gave it a firm squeeze, saying, "This is the way we do it in America. Friendship is more important than bakshish."

Jigmet stood disconsolate as I rode off on Moti. Though Jigmet, 511
by Ladakhi peasant standards, was well off, he had not more than 735
ten dollars a year cash income. All who lived around him were 792
much poorer than he, held in a vicious serfdom under the monasteries. It was his duty to feed and care for every lama who went

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511 735 792 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any possible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[442] The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people 578 of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as 522 well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a 578 serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of be- 522 ing a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer. 792 537

Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

233 as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting.
372 Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of
252 *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups.
264 These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they
147 evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How
● 511 complex has become our civilization! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in bed sleeps on the outside," as the outside bed-fellow has one side relatively exposed. Sleep at an altitude of about 17,000 feet is fugitive in fact neither of us got much that night, and, even when it did come, we woke up with a most disagreeable sensation, as if somebody were sitting on our chests so that we could not properly fill them with air.

We have finally arrived at Drogpo Karpo, where the conference is to take place. This is a large grassy plain, surrounded by snow mountains, at the further end of which the camp is pitched. In the centre are the tents of the Commissioner and Wazir with their respective flags. In front of these stands a square tent nicely carpeted, in which are a table and chairs. This is to serve as conference room. We had arrived a little before time, and before the Tibetans. They, however, turned up soon afterwards, and presented quite an impressive sight, as they rode, two and two, into camp. First came, not the standard bearer, but the Umbrella-of-State-Bearer. After these some soldiers, although we should not have recognized them as such, had we not inquired as to their function, for there was nothing very martial about them, save the muzzle-loaders they bore. They wore the usual dressing-gown coats of homespun held together round the waist by a big kammerbund, red Wellington boots with very thick soles and hats shaped somewhat like lemon squeezers. These were followed by various members of the staff, then the great man himself, whilst still others followed him. Having settled themselves into their quarters, the Wazir sent a message across to say that H.H. the Maharajah desired them to regard themselves as his guests. They on their part sent a delegation with twenty-five bricks of tea, and a piece of *snambu* (homespun) with the request that a time be fixed when their chief representative, the Gaspon, could come to pay his respects. Punctually to time he arrived. His dress consisted of a lovely blue skirt, and a Chinese coat of the same colour which was buttoned up to his neck. His

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..betans AJ4

The Doctor Memsahib once had 757
the privilege of coming upon a family unawares just at dawn in the middle of winter. She had been called out to a case in a village, nine miles from Leh, the last two miles of which had to be done in the dark, that is by snow and starlight, and she and her Ladaki nurse were glad to walk over the frozen snow a little to keep their feet from freezing. Already icicles stretched from upper to lower eye-lashes, and whiskers, formed by the frozen moisture of their breath, adorned their mouths. The patient's friends had sent for the Doctor three days too late ; already two small lives were extinct, and the last dim hope of the mother lay in a surgical interference. An operation was performed, after sterilizing instruments in a cooking pot by the light of a fire of sticks on the mud floor, the nurse giving chloroform for the first time. But it was too late and, at about two a.m., the patient died. We sat on till the first dim light appeared, for out-of-doors we feared wolves in the dark, and a strange experience it was. On one side of the 593
room the corpse covered with sacking and filthy sheepskin, 764
near the fire on the floor quietly sobbing, was the unkempt, shaggy, ragged husband, who, for all his uncouth appearance, had exhibited the most extraordinary tenderness and patience with his suffering wife ; near the stove his mother-in-law, a wrinkled old hag, who wailed intermittently. On the further side of the stove hens nestled. In the next cold fireless room two children were sleeping, and we were told that downstairs a blind old grandfather had been put in the straw cellar (again the " wrong way round " compared with our hayloft in the West) to keep warm in the horses' fodder. The Ladaki nurse spread her coat, lined with sheepskin in the corner by the stove for her Doctor, and fetched a thick horse-cover for herself. The fire of manure in the stove had gone out, and the two mourners occasionally added sticks to the one on the
floor, but the room was bone cold. The family were so poor 511 ●
that they had not offered us even a warm drink during the long, 574
bitter night, though, when they thought we were drowsing,

511 they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. Nor
574 was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, so our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened
613 fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house
574 and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming
964 broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for
572 his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that
428 she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

264 But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us
5 inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

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of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XIII

Professions & Industries

463 [511] WE have now to watch our Ladaki friends as they earn their livelihood, for not all are owners of fields, and even those who are find that an extra vocation allows of a dish of meat, rice and other luxuries on special occasions. Let us begin with the professional gentlemen. The clergy will be treated with elsewhere, but in addition there are doctor, horologist, teacher and nun to consider, all of whom, though not real priests, are 759 regarded as performing religious functions. There are quite a number of doctors, some of them doing useful work, although the treatment, by even the best of them, occasionally shows shocking results. Their method of training is much like that which obtained formerly in England, when he who aspired to medical knowledge became apprenticed to a practising physician, and thus by actual experience learnt his [779] trade. The theoretical knowledge is found in four large volumes, belonging to the *Kahgyur* which are the one hundred and eight large books containing the wisdom and knowledge of Lamaism. The doctor or *amchi* dons no distinctive dress, but he can always be recognized, for slung over his back he carries his medicines tied in a long cloth. These he has carefully collected on the hills during the spring and summer months, his knowledge of herbs being doubtless considerable, and to his stock he adds by purchases in the bazar from down- 757 country merchants. See him as he climbs up the rickety staircase right on to the roof to visit one of his patients who

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely
[252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any
[262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[373] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces
[258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con-
426 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

511 advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding
426 compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not
[783] attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

462 The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

181 Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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[582]
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scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 386 [147]

There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if they be fortunate, a younger son can marry an heiress, and become a Magpa. [582] (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. [562] The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 518 [567]

In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361]

The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

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DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Kalatse lies yonder in the Ladakh high- 361
land, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the Western Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading mountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village forms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming apricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate, projecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly the fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike our ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and the call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the Indus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded beasts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main town of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the women who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise everything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the white-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue, cloudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock 512
in the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to his house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and everybody takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal, 789

1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same 552
time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house- 551
owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has its own name by which the present owner can likewise be called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering," "Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other. In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which usually have a religious significance, the house names display a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa), Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
131 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
175 is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 466 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely 342
carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The 231
ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the [31]
front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare 247
land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers [301]
is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is 513 ●
not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at 291
being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

511 they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. 574 was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened 513 fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house 574 and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming 264 broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for 572 his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that 428 she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

264 But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us 565 inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVIII

The Crises of Life

IN every country the crises of life—birth, marriage and death—are associated with ceremonies which are full of interesting customs. In busy England, where time is scarce, the wedding day is full of pleasant incidents, and even the funeral day is made impressive. Here, where time is plentiful, these two functions can be drawn out to last a week or more, but it is necessary to arrange that they shall not fall in those seasons when field work demands the energy of all those members of the household who can help.

Let us follow a Ladaki through life, watching him as his turn comes to be the leading personage in these important ceremonies.

Birth here, as in other countries, imposes a number of taboos, not only on the mother, but also on the father, the chief of these being that neither must go into cultivated fields for a whole month, though the main-roads are not forbidden them. Nor may the mother touch any of the utensils for cooking. Soon after the birth of a child, a near male relative comes to the house and into a pot filled with barley he implants an arrow, which brings much luck to the new arrival throughout life. As in ordinary illness the Ladaki thinks it is dangerous to let the patient fall asleep, so sometimes we meet poor mothers, who, fatigued after the strenuous duty of childbirth, are not allowed to recuperate themselves in slumber. As we write these lines, we have a patient who was made to get up the day after her first-born son had arrived, because she simply could not keep awake otherwise.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans A1+

482 With such food and drink as has been described the Ladākhis
147 are one of the hardiest of races. As coolis, for carrying loads, they are admirable—not only the men but the women too. I have had women employed to carry my baggage, according to the custom of the country, who have done twenty-three or twenty-four miles with sixty pounds on their back, and have come in at the end singing cheerfully. Against cold, too, they are very strong. Not that they equal in this respect the Chāmpās, who live at still greater heights, and can hardly bear to be as low down as 11,000 feet. Still the people of Central Ladākh and of Zānskār are very hardy in this respect also; on a frosty night, with nothing but the clothes they go in, they will coil themselves up and sleep
513 comfortably on the bare stony ground. All have a
515 rooted objection to washing. I was told that there was a custom of bathing once a year, but I could never get any satisfactory corroboration of the report. Their clothes, worn next them, are never washed, but are affectionately kept around them until they fall to pieces.

372 Of the wants rife in a barren country like Ladākh, there are two which (perhaps without, or at all events in addition to, other difficulties) seem to make impossible either any great addition to the population or increase of their comforts. These are want of fuel and want of timber. For fuel the dung of cattle is carefully stored. This is supplemented in some parts by a bush which they pull from the hills that they call *burtse* (Eurotia). This plant is indeed a great resource for travellers in out-of-the-way parts; it is a small low-growing bush, the woody underground stem of which makes a good fuel. Then, in the high valleys, there is a plant like our furze, called *dāma*. On some hill-sides there is the pencil-cedar, a strong-burning wood; and lastly, in certain ravines, there is willow growing wild. All these, however, from their distance, require much labour to collect; they are seldom used by the Ladākhis in their own houses, but are chiefly got by them for travellers and for the
313 town consumption. The timber-trees are willow and poplar. These are planted either along the watercourses between

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

[372] Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun
[374] and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Recourse has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with
241 earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception
231 of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them.
[137] The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

241 According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

[231] Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering
854 them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
[853] looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a protracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
514 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest, as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra 702
number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each.

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has 161
very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In 164
the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who [515] ●
only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at.

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in 727
the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal 798
images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands.

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who 751
was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zorâwar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

593 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one
595 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this
184 ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and
[465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land
291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves,
• 515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night,
735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

she was nursing a child; and as the baby fed, Nordzin picked lice 515 •
off herself and off the child and cracked them with her fingernails. 735
Her hair was matted. Nordzin, about five feet eight and slight, had a flat face that was creased with care and worry and unhappiness. The faces of the children were as filthy as the rags they wore.

I inquired of Pamba why they were so poor when Phuntzog 735
made twelve dollars a month and the garden produced all the 274
vegetables they could eat. The answer was slow in coming, and even then it was evasive. It seems that a great portion of the income of the Gyalangs goes into the making of *chan*, the local barley beer. Indeed, one eighth of the farm production of Leh is used to make this brew. It stimulates many quarrels between the brothers. With the help of the *chan*, Phuntzog and Pamba raise their voices over Nordzin.

When I entered the Gyalang house, I began to understand the 593
basis for the friction. It is a one-room affair. A clay stove, built [511]
by Phuntzog, is against one wall. The floor is of mud and very dirty. There are no chairs, no table, no bed. The one wife, four children, and two husbands roll up together on the floor.

There was a scowl on Pamba's face when I asked him about Phuntzog.

"He's Nordzin's favorite," Pamba complained.

"But he's gone most of the day and many nights on his mail route," I said.

Pamba only shrugged his shoulders.

Later I talked with Phuntzog. The sun was just rising over Leh, and he was in a hurry to get started on the road to Spitok. He, like Pamba, is short, squat, round-faced, and bedraggled. Like Pamba, he was full of complaints. His brother was getting the best of the arrangement, he said. His long absences gave Pamba the advantage. It was he, Phuntzog, who owned the place; yet it was Pamba who acted like lord and master. And Pamba was lazy and made Nordzin do all the work.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

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313 town consumption. The timber-trees are willow and poplar. These are planted either along the watercourses between

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

487 morning so that we reached the summit with the dawn. There
133 the wind was bitterly cold; we followed the lower track, for the road along the face of the cliff was impossible.

The Tibetan name for the pass is Zoji La; this was the first time that we discovered that most of the places from there on had two names, a Kashmiri one and a Tibetan one. Unfortunately the map seemed to have mixed them up, probably using the best known, but we did not always strike men of the country who recognised them.

[485] Once over the pass the country changes completely; there is already a Tibetan atmosphere in the air. Going down the other side there are numerous little dak huts built by the roadside for the use of those who chance the journey too late and get caught by the weather.

361 We came upon what we at first imagined would be the start of
136 a village, but found it to consist of a house or two, a telegraph post and a rest house. At many places tracks led off, some to lone, distant "farms", some to parts which were known to be good for shikar, for game is plentiful for the sportsman in parts of Ladakh. It is the home of the ibex and the markhor; both are of the wild goat family; there are wild sheep and kiang—sandy red, wild asses with dark manes and standing about twelve hands high—which are impossible to break; then there are red bear, snow leopard and in parts wolves are to be found; antelope and gazelle are common as are the reddish-brown marmot.

491 Here and there places had been marked on the Srinagar-printed map as the spot where a bridge would be found over the river, but there was no sign of it, probably the floods of the last season had carried it away, and we had to ford the waters; then on closer examination of the map we noticed a mark at the spot we had selected and decided that the printer had forgotten to make up his letterpress to include it in the key, or perhaps we were credited with enough common sense to know.

485 The first night we reached a rest house, and were there only just in time, for a quarter of an hour later a large party of men from Leh arrived; a few remained to sleep under the verandahs
515 outside—the stench of bodies was overpowering. I have been assured that the men of Ladakh are bathed three times only in their lives, when they are born, when they marry and when they

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AVT
W. Tibetans AJ4

die, and I have no reason to disbelieve this. One of the difficulties is that there is practically no rainfall in this land either in summer or winter. Water comes from the snows, these feed the rivers, but much of the snow simply evaporates at this height, the mountains are arid; among the rocks bushes occasionally grow which carry few leaves on their green twigs, but sufficient to feed the wild goats. The only sign of vegetation is either along the river banks or in the nullahs and protected valleys through which the snow waters flow for a while and which do not take the glare of the sun which pours with great power through the clear air. From above it appears as if a giant flame-thrower has scorched the earth, which in different parts takes on all the colours of a burned brick, and in its destruction has missed those valleys tucked away. All around us were giant chocolate-coloured rock cliffs which hold the snow deep during the winter months, and permit the sun to shine for but a few hours on the small village.

Dras—known by the Tibetans as Hembas—seems to be not one but a number of villages spread over a quite fertile undulating valley which is enclosed within a ring of hills but at a height of ten thousand feet and so placed that the bitter winter winds sweep down on it. When we were there the clumps of willows were green with young leaves and they told us that by by the time we returned the skylarks would have come from Kashmir.

Oddly enough there are a few European-style houses standing in their own gardens, and a rest house of similar design, built with a high pitched roof and tall chimneys, but looking strange, for it was without the verandahs which one has become so used to in India and Kashmir. The sand and dust gets in through all the cracks, in winter it is carried there by the icy blast, yet it must be a comfortable haven to those who are stranded there.

The valley narrows as one goes on past small fields which would appear to have been scratched out from the rock-covered surface of the ground; I can well remember being shown by a proud "farmer"—the father of one of the horsemen who came the whole way with us—a large patch scattered with stones as big as my fist, in which surely not more than a thousand green spears of barley had just come through. Anywhere else the sowing

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
181 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides,
526 behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc.); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--phâyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángthâng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

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Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[P. 480-A]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 37. The Tok-Tok family: left to right: Lobsang, Ishe Döndrup, Stobgyes, Chungnid, Sonam Döndrup, Gon-po. Chungnid is holding Dok-pa in her arms.

Fig. 38. The Old-ldan family: left to right: P'hüntzok, Kumchok, Putit, Sonam with Sonam Putit in his arms, and Tsewang Putit.

[P. 480-B]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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Fig. 41. The Bata section of the Tsong-k'har-pa family: left to right: Döndrup, Murup, Palkid, Ishe Paljor, the *porjag* of Shing-k'hang.

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Fig. 42. Dorje Yöndron with her step-son and husband No. 2, Sönam Wang-chuk Dele Rabden Sä I, at Kalimpong.

[P. 480-D]

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

272 "Just put your hand over your cup."

792 And so I poured another bitter libation into an angry stomach and by sheer will power kept it there. Then I gripped my cup, holding it in a vise and keeping it covered with my hand. Now I was resolved to defend it to the death and to ward off this evil spirit who flitted about like a big bird with a kettle of hot tea in his hand. He *is* a big bird, I thought—a big, Tibetan raven who watches every move of every living thing to see if it is going to drop dead. Dropping dead under the evil influence of rancid yak butter and *gur gur cha* seemed to me the worst of all possible deaths.

792 While my battle with the bearer was going on, Rahul and •521 Phuntzog had settled down to a serious conversation. They both spoke Tibetan; but, as is customary, a formal conversation between a high lama and a foreigner is carried on through an interpreter even though the host and guest speak the same tongue. (That is why high Tibetans talk with such low tones.) One of the Indian Army cavalrymen who had brought me my movie film acted as interpreter. Rahul spoke Tibetan to the cavalryman, who in turn spoke Tibetan to our host. When I joined the conversation, the dialogue became more complicated. Phuntzog's reply came back through three persons to me. The jokes I told Rahul were heard by Phuntzog twice. Once he laughed out loud both times. But Phuntzog, knowing that protocol required him to hold his laughter until the joke was told him officially, thereafter kept control of himself. At times he would swallow his laughter in his beard. But always his eyes would dance with merriment on the first telling. When the soldier told him the story officially, he would throw back his head in a hearty laugh. This Lobon was a healthy, outgoing person. He enjoyed life and was anxious that those around him share in the enjoyment. He was a relaxed, happy extrovert—an ideal teacher.

792 We talked for perhaps two hours. He told about the founding of Hemis Monastery, the organization of the lamas in the monas-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

tery, the lama dances, the Incarnate Lama, and how he was discovered. He told how the Incarnate Lama is first taught the Scriptures—the text of what Buddha said—and then the Commentaries. This religious training is followed by reading, writing, and arithmetic. And when the boy reaches thirteen or fourteen he goes to Lhasa for ten years of indoctrination. Phuntzog, teacher to the present Incarnate Lama, was also teacher, as a young man, to the predecessor Incarnate Lama.

From these topics we turned to Communism, to the relation between the monasteries and the people, and to the host of problems of concern to Ladakh and Lamaism in 1951. The Lobon spoke freely and without restraint about all subjects but one. The one on which he froze was the land problem in Ladakh—the extent of the holdings of the monastery, the work of the lama who serves as the business head of Hemis, the system of land tenancy, and the rents which Hemis as landlord collects. On this subject he was silent.

Then, and at other times when there was a pause, I would bring the conversation back to the Incarnate Lama and Phuntzog's role as teacher. Near the end of our conversation, I told him about one of my own great teachers, Harlan Fiske Stone, who was Dean of the Columbia Law School when I enrolled as a first-year student in 1922. I took my first course in law from him, the course in Personal Property. When I graduated from law school, Stone was an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Fourteen years later I joined him there; and in a few years he became Chief Justice. As Chief he presided at our Saturday conferences where all the cases argued during the preceding week were discussd and voted upon. Stone, as is customary with every Chief Justice, stated each case and led the discussion on it. More often than not, Stone and I ended voting together. Sometimes we were on opposite sides of a case. Once when the vote was close, Stone looked down the table at me and said with a twinkle in his eye, "Douglas, I can understand how some of our brethren

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 521 go astray and vote as they do. But for the life of me I can't understand your vote in this case."

I replied, "Chief, all the law I ever knew, I learned from you."

Stone then pounded the table and, raising his voice, said, "By golly, you never learned *that* from me."

That story delighted Phuntzog. His eyes danced with merriment during its telling, and he roared when it was finished. After a pause he said quite gravely, "In Buddhist history the disciple very often has outpointed his master." And then, bowing his head, he said in tribute to the Incarnate Lama, "Rinpoche [*n* pronounced as *m*] will surpass me."

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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735 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any pos-
792 sible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[642] The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people
518 of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as
522 well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a
578 serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of be-
522 ing a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.
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Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

As the women sang, they bent over until their backs were al- 578
most parallel to the ground. They shook their fingers at an im- 522
aginary figure at their feet as if they were scolding. As they 792
pretended to scold, they swayed back and forth. And as they sang and swayed, their eyes danced with merriment. For now they were making fun of their lord and master—the one who owns their souls, their houses, their menfolk, their babies, their fields—the big rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came. 361 [346]

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage". 361 [487] 439 563 [797]

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very 142 [522] 291

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 768 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 177 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

● 524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 753 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoothung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XV

National Pastimes & Sports

000 "But their style of playing polo was irregular and rash
They had mighty little science, but a mighty lot of dash:
And they played on mountain ponies, that were muscular and strong
Though their coats were quite unpolished, and their manes and tails were long."

"When the Geebung boys got going it was time to clear the road;
And the game was so terrific that ere half the time was gone
A spectator's leg was broken—just from merely looking on."

A. B. PATERSON.

●524 [538] "As food without salt is savourless, so is work without play" says the Ladaki proverb, and, putting precept into practice, he flavours the toils of life with a variety of games which he begins early in life. The Leh youngster makes three little heaps of dust in the high street of the capital, places a stick in each, produces a home-made ball of rags, another larger stick for bat, and, like boys in the home-land, begins his game of cricket by a heated discussion as to who should have the privilege of first innings. If sticks are scarce, he takes a small one, about six inches long, points each end, then with a club he strikes one of the ends sharply; the stick rises up in the air, and as it falls he hits it again as hard as he can, and lays down the club. Then his opponent picks up the small stick and from where it has fallen throws it at the club which he tries to hit. Visions of small boys playing an exactly similar game in England come to the mind. Football, too, has become thoroughly acclimatized, and is played by old and young. The former, having raised a proper ball, tuck the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bottoms of their dressing-gown coats into their ample belts, 524
and play with bare or merely stockinged feet, whilst their
younger brothers enjoy their game just as thoroughly when
they play it with a rag ball. The game of marbles too has
found its way here, but must adapt itself to the poverty of the
country. Stones as round as can be found are used, or
if walnuts abound they do service for a similar game. A
hole is dug in the ground or in the raised base of a *chorten*,
and the aim is to throw as many of these walnuts into it as
possible. Nor are the Ladaki lasses without their games.
A finger or stick traces in the sand and dust the lines necessary
for hopscotch just as efficiently as the chalk-line on a London
pavement, and little Ladaki legs, although they are shod with
clumsy native footgear, do their hopping just as nimbly as
those of their English sisters.

The Ladaki also believes in the dictum, "what thy hand 526
findeth to do, do it with all thy might," at least as far as games
are concerned, and with a little training he would compete on
equal terms with our own countrymen. Those boys sent
down-country to the Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe's splendid
school rapidly pick up hockey, tennis, badminton, swimming
and rowing, in fact, excel in all sports. But let us now watch
them at their own national games, the favourite being polo.
Ladak may not be the home of polo, but it certainly found [171]
its way here at an early date. Even if it arose in Persia, it
very soon migrated to Gilgit, and the Dards, no doubt,
brought it with them to Ladak, and now it is not even a
hyphenated Ladaki game, for most good-sized villages have
their own polo ground. In Leh, the capital, the game was 526
formerly played in the high street, but this evidently became 345
so dangerous for the shopkeepers that now we have a proper
polo ground. This consists of a level space about two
hundred yards long, which cannot boast of a blade of grass,
but is covered by a layer of dust so thick that before play
begins, it has to be laid with water. On one side it is bounded

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[131]

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. 291

Social and Religious Life. [301]

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

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Amusements. 541

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

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[534]

Constitution of the family. 593

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In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

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* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

T 595 114 [184] during all my field work, both before and after World War II, with data and recorded facts which now make it possible for me to affirm without any hesitation that polyandry between father and sons is practised in Tibet, particularly in the two central provinces of Ü and Tsang, where it is most widespread. The following is the history of the progress of my investigation, which started with the collection of information from those who knew about the custom and ended with my actually meeting cases and interviewing them to find out how the arrangement functions.

T WT 595 I began in Lahul. It will be recalled that when I visited that valley, on the 21st of June, 1938, Thakur Partap Chand took me to see a polyandrous family in a house called Barun-pa (see above page 312–312). I took advantage of the cordiality which the Wazir of Lahul showed towards me to question him on the subject of the polyandry of fathers and sons about which I had heard from Dr. Kanshi Ram.

The informant immediately confirmed its existence and said that it was common knowledge, even in his part of the world, that, in Central Tibet, fathers and sons share a common wife in the same family, although the woman in this case must never be the mother of the boys. WT [186] Nevertheless in Lahul the custom appeared rather strange and even repulsive, and it was quite usual for Tibetans from Tibet proper to be laughed at for this form of matrimony by the local inhabitants. They were accused of being "step-mother sharing people" which was meant WT [525] [MM] as an insult. But at the same time, when playing dice, it was the custom to evoke such a shared step-mother as a means of bringing good luck to the thrower. When a seven was wanted, for instance, a special formula evoking the step-mother shared by both fathers and sons was repeated several times.

WT 595 Another confirmation of the true existence of polyandry between fathers and sons in Tibet was obtained from the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kye-lang on the 24th of June, 1938. He told me that the institution existed when the Mission was established in Lahul in 1854 as ancient records showed. At the time that his father, the late Bishop Peter, was appointed to the Lahuli capital in 1898, there were still some cases of this special form of polyandry to be found in the valley. The Reverend Peter said that he had heard that it had not yet died out in Spiti, although it was difficult to make sure because the local people kept it secret and unavowed. (As far WT [194] [428] as I know, polyandry in general is not officially practised in Spiti, the surplus males of a family becoming monks while the eldest alone inherits the family property. A certain amount of clandestine polyan-

113, 526 W. Tibetans AJ4

[For information about the game of polo, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, p. 381.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The favourite amusement of the Botis, both of Ladák and of Balti, is *Polo*, in which all parties from the highest to the lowest can take a part. I saw the game played at Mulbil, in a field 400 yards long and eighty yards broad, which was walled round for the purpose with a stone dyke. There were twenty players on each side, all mounted on ponies and armed with sticks about four feet long, and bent at the lower end. One player took the ball and advanced alone into the middle of the field, where he threw up the ball and as it fell struck it towards one of the goals. The goals were formed of two upright stones placed about twenty-five or thirty feet apart. When the ball was driven through a goal, one of the successful party was obliged to dismount and pick it up, for if the opposite party should have driven it back before it was picked up, the goal did not count. The game consisted in winning a certain number of goals, either five, seven, or nine. Numerous musicians were in attendance, who made a most lively din whenever a goal was won; and the noise was increased by the cheers of the successful party.

The game is a very spirited one, and well calculated for the display of bold and active horsemanship.* Accidental blows occur frequently, but the poor ponies are the principal sufferers. The game was once common in India under the name of *Chaogan*, but it is now completely forgotten. The old chaogan-grounds still exist in every large town in the Panjáb hills; in Bilâspur, Nadon, Shujanpur, Kangrá, Haripur, and Chamba, where the goal-stones are still standing. The game is

* It is well and tersely described by Vigne as "hockey on horseback." Mr. Thornton calls it "*cricket* on horseback;" but it has nothing whatever in common with cricket.

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their [illegible] they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the aby[illegible] were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which

24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526].

25. A kind of hockey game.

free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

368 spin thread on the hand spindle from coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which the village weaver then wove strong blankets and sacks. He sat firmly in the saddle and was a good polo player (26). Soon Namgyal

[526] 26. In the mountains of the Himalayas a riding game, polo, has been preserved. It originated with the ancient Persians and was subsequently introduced into their courts by the Byzantine emperors. For a long time the game appeared to be forgotten until the Mogul emperors of India again discovered it among certain mountain peoples and introduced it anew into their courts. This ball game on horseback makes tremendous demands upon the agility and adroitness of the rider as well as upon the speed and suppleness of the horse.

was superior to his elders in matter of practical common sense and caution, in industry and in courage, the latter probably an inheritance from his fathers, some of whom had proved themselves valiant heroes in the wars against the neighboring Baltis and the Dogras, an /52/ inheritance probably, also, from his energetic grandmother Tsering Putrid.

000 At the same time Namgyal had a strong tendency towards the religious, a tendency which, however, always remained unsatisfied. He often pondered over religious questions and brooded about the meaning of existence, the nature of the karma, the transmigration of souls, about the "eight-fold path" of release which Buddha had shown to his disciples, about the salvation activities of the Buddhistic "saviors"; but he also thought about the order of the monks and about the priests and their doings. But as often as he asked his teacher, the Lama Dondrub, and as often as he asked an explanation of deeper questions, the latter would put him off with a few superficial observations saying that he could not understand these matters yet; so that the young man's questions and the desires of his heart remained unsatisfied. The behavior and conduct of the greedy, sensual lama who was also given to drinking, was of such a kind that the belief of the young Namgyal in these members of the "Sacred Community of Monks, " to whom he was supposed to look up with reverence and awe as a pious Buddhist, became severely shaken. And his longing for peace and freedom remained unstilled. Even the well-intentioned instructions of the pious hermit Tsetan were unable to satisfy him.

900 at this wonder of technology.

527 The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following,
[344] was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears
[563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are
[526] organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang,
782 the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-koń), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the
527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful,
778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

787 "Here on this slip of paper it is written how we are to ward off the evil spirits this year. Surely you are going to follow these directions? Isn't that so, Namgyal?" "Oh, oh!" said the latter and with complete calm he stuck the dirty slip of paper into a crack in the large beam of the ceiling in the chansa.

Many Tibetans who wanted to be quite sure in their doings and who could afford it, went to the oracle man (rtsis-pa) in the Lamayuru monastery around the turn of the year. The oracle man sold his wisdom at a greater price than did the onpo. The old teller of fairytales, Gyamtsopa, however, knew how to go about foretelling the future in a cheaper way than those mentioned above. He took the shoulder blade of a freshly killed sheep, cleaned off all particles of flesh, held it in the fire so that it bent and shrunk from the heat. Then he held it against the light and looked at the figures that had formed in the tissue. "There--a rider! A red Tsan-demon! There--a woman's figure with snakes above her head! An evil water nymph! Threatening figures! There a child's head--that means an increase in the family; an ear of grain--rich harvest! In a similar way fresh sheep's intestines prognosticated the future for him, as did, furthermore, the bones of birds or little stones that he threw on the ground with a practised hand. From the figures which are formed in this manner or which his imagination painted to him he gave the people who consulted him and who flocked to him in great numbers, "glimpses into the future." He made it cheap for them: a few measures of barley, a piece of butter, a jug of beer, a few anna (one anna equals eight and one-half Pfenning).

527 One to one and a half months after the dosmoche festival (from the middle to the end of March) the storlog (gtor-log) is celebrated in all the large and small villages. This is a spring festival at which the exorcism of the threatening demons is again in the foreground. This exorcism is carried out by means of a storma (gtor-ma), a scattered offering with the exorcising formulas belonging to it. Here too there are numerous amusements. The men shoot with arrows at targets that have been set up. Certainly /143/ this shooting of arrows originally had a mythological significance. This is indicated by the songs of the mythical great king Kesar, the "son of the gods," in which his heroic deeds are sung. On the occasion of this festival they shoot with bow [526] and arrow during the hours of daylight. Nowadays there is not much skill being demonstrated in this archery. When the Tibetans were still a warlike people, even when the musket flints had already come into use, the art of shooting arrows was practised industriously. During the long period of peace the art of archery [illegible] into disuse.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bottoms of their dressing-gown coats into their ample belts, 524
and play with bare or merely stockinged feet, whilst their younger brothers enjoy their game just as thoroughly when they play it with a rag ball. The game of marbles too has found its way here, but must adapt itself to the poverty of the country. Stones as round as can be found are used, or if walnuts abound they do service for a similar game. A hole is dug in the ground or in the raised base of a *chorten*, and the aim is to throw as many of these walnuts into it as possible. Nor are the Ladaki lasses without their games. A finger or stick traces in the sand and dust the lines necessary for hopscotch just as efficiently as the chalk-line on a London pavement, and little Ladaki legs, although they are shod with clumsy native footgear, do their hopping just as nimbly as those of their English sisters.

The Ladaki also believes in the dictum, "what thy hand 526
findeth to do, do it with all thy might," at least as far as games are concerned, and with a little training he would compete on equal terms with our own countrymen. Those boys sent down-country to the Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe's splendid school rapidly pick up hockey, tennis, badminton, swimming and rowing, in fact, excel in all sports. But let us now watch them at their own national games, the favourite being polo. [171]
Ladak may not be the home of polo, but it certainly found its way here at an early date. Even if it arose in Persia, it very soon migrated to Gilgit, and the Dards, no doubt, brought it with them to Ladak, and now it is not even a hyphenated Ladaki game, for most good-sized villages have their own polo ground. In Leh, the capital, the game was 526
formerly played in the high street, but this evidently became 345
so dangerous for the shopkeepers that now we have a proper polo ground. This consists of a level space about two hundred yards long, which cannot boast of a blade of grass, but is covered by a layer of dust so thick that before play begins, it has to be laid with water. On one side it is bounded

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 by the high wall of the Wazir's or State Commissioner's
345 garden, on the other by a low wall about one foot high built of large stones, piled one on top of the other without mortar or cement or even mud. Halfway along this, a platform of mud and stones has been erected, from the top of which "the notables" watch the game, a *Shamiana* or awning being erected on high days. Two large stones at either end are
[534] sufficient as goal-posts. On the ground itself to one side sits the band of four; two flageolets and two kettle-drums. These at one moment are announcing another goal obtained and at another are defending themselves from the polo sticks, for
526 the game is raging right in their midst. But now let us turn our attention to the players and their mounts. Here it is not the rich man's game, a stud of horses is quite unnecessary. Even a poor farmer possesses one pony, and if he makes himself a stick, he, too, can join in. The stick is quite easily manufactured, its shape being that of an English hockey stick, but with a longer handle. By making this and the striking end of two pieces, and letting the former into the latter, a rude splice is obtained. Rules for play there would seem to be none. If your opponent gets in your way, ride him down. If only six players have come, three a side will do, if ten players turn up, two fives make an equally good game. Although play can last for as long as you like, the same poor miserable pony is used the whole time, and will hardly enjoy it as much as the English one is said to do.

Now the play begins. The ball has been thrown into the centre of the course and four horsemen are trying to get it. A pig-tailed Ladaki has it, and is riding as hard as he can for his opponents' goal. His hitting is beautifully clean, and the playing of the band announces a goal for his side. His enemies' posts now become his own, which he has to defend. Now watch him carefully, for he will show you a pretty piece of play. He has dismounted, picked up the ball, and, remounting, takes both it and his stick in his right hand, then gallops

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

down the field as hard as he can. Reaching the half-way 526
approximately, he throws up the ball, and, with the stick, which is still in the same hand, he hits the ball full and straight into the enemies' goal. To do this at such a pace needs good horsemanship and a wonderfully steady eye and aim. Ends are changed again and the ball is in play. There goes a little fellow from Chushot on his very disreputable pony with saddle tied on none too firmly. The ball is rather beyond his ordinary reach, but what matter, for he has only to lean right out of his saddle, so that, if desired, he could almost touch the ground ; by this means he reaches the ball. There he goes again, but alas, this time his saddle will not stand the strain, swings round with him, and leaves him lying somewhere beneath his pony. Listen to the roars of laughter which greet his performance. Now a Mohammedan from Leh has the ball. A good player that, but his shot has not been accurate, and instead of landing in between the goal-posts, it has gone straight into the crowd of spectators. " Was there a man dismayed ? " Not one, for if anybody has been hurt, he is nursing his pain in secret. Thus the game goes on; it may be for an hour or even more. Scoring is high, for there is not much ground between the opposing goal-posts.

During the summer months the British Joint Commissioner sometimes likes to play. To provide him with regular sport, 661
a certain number of men from the village of Chushot are detailed to appear twice weekly and this is regarded as their share of forced labour. If they do not play well, a threat that no improvement in their style will spell the ordinary *begar* (forced labour) with its carrying of loads, soon mends matters. One year we were able to play a game of England 526
versus Ladak. Two " Varsity " men were shooting up here, and they, with the Commissioner and the Doctor, represented Britain. Ladak certainly put one of its strongest teams on the field. Difficulties soon arose for the visitors, for they were not able tothrow the ball up and hit it while riding even at a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 slow trot. One alternative only remained: No. 1 had to drop the ball at the mid-line, whilst No. 2 who was riding immediately behind was expected to hit it. During the first half the European combination did wonders, and at half time were leading by four goals, but this put the home team on its mettle, and they gradually caught up. Time, however, was in favour of the visitors, who won their game by one goal. Will such a match ever be played again?

541 Next let us go to the bazar and watch the horse-racing. This peculiar species of horse-racing is quite in keeping with this quaint country. We take up our positions on the verandah of the post office. At the further end of the bazar 742 about thirty ponies and their jockeys are gathered. First 644 along the course comes a rider decked out in the most wonder- 301 ful garments. His dress is a beautifully embroidered Chinese mandarin's robe and the insignia of his office is a tigerskin tunic. On his head he wears a large round hat covered with gilt tinsel, the crown rising to a dome, surmounted by a knob to which streamers of gilt tinsel passing from the brim are attached. This is quite a personage, who assumes the title of *glabdag*, which means one to whom the gods are subject. The office boasts a long lineage and is traceable to pre-Buddhist times. Its representative is always chosen from one of three families, and his duty is to serve the King personally, one especial task being to change the pencil cedar on His Majesty's altar on New Year's day. When he rides ahead of all the 541 jockeys, he is acting as his King's Viceroy. Having led the way, the race can begin, but a starter is quite unnecessary. Each man starts off just when he likes and simply tears down the bazar as hard as his pony will carry him; though they often elect to start in a bunch, there seems to be no purposeful relationship between them, and odd ones left far behind carry on with equal zest. Needless to say bookies are unnecessary. Sometimes a wag will add to the delight of the spectators by performing gymnastic feats as he rides, possibly having dressed

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

up to enhance the exhibition, which is loudly applauded. 541
When all have ridden the course, they canter back and repeat from the beginning. This goes on for two or three days, and Ladakis find it interesting to the end. Sometimes the amusement becomes intense, when, for instance, a horse has shed his rider, because the saddle had not been fixed on firmly, and the racer finishes his course with empty back.

Games on horseback are most desirable at this altitude, 526 ●
where human lungs find scarcely enough oxygen for strenuous 177
exertion, and Ladak is adding a Yarkandi equestrian game to its repertoire. No sides are picked, but there is a goal. A dead sheep is thrown on to the ground. At one time no doubt they played with a live animal, for Yarkandis do not think much about "Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" Societies. A man catches up the sheep as best he can and then rides with it for the goal. If he accomplishes this, he may look forward to many a big supper of mutton, but all the other horsemen try to make this impossible. The falls, pullings, and pushings this piece of mutton gets, should go far to make it tender, whatever its age may be.

Another sport which the Ladakis thoroughly enjoy is arrow 526
shooting. This always takes place in the spring, just before [795]
the fields are sown, the Mohammedans and the Buddhists having each their own archery meeting. A garden or an enclosure with trees round an open space is chosen, at one end of which a heap of earth is piled up about four feet high. Into the centre of this is stuck a bull's-eye, about the size of a china plate and made of white clay. At the opposite end, about twenty yards from the target, are several tents, nicely decorated, in which sit those members of their respective community, who, by subscribing towards the shoot, have bought themselves the right to be present and take part. Others may join in, but are there on sufferance, and if they have not paid, even superb shooting will not obtain th

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 applause of either the band or the onlookers. Is it necessary
[534] to say that the inevitable band is there[1] also? The shooting begins. An archer takes up his position, draws his bow, his friends encouraging him by calling: "*Shok, shok, shok, shok, shok, shok, shok,*" and continuing to do so until the shaft has flown. Should it break the clay, the band strikes up and is rewarded with a backsheesh, whilst the archer has a salutation scarf thrown round his neck. If an enemy should be shooting, he can be discouraged by shouting:—"*Kyor, kyor, kyor,*" which means "miss." All having loosed their arrows, of which each man shoots three, they retire for refreshments and conversation, whilst the arrows are fetched back. This competition also lasts three days, during which Leh is not allowed to forget it, for the continuous beating of the kettle-drums is constantly inviting more spectators to the show.

In concluding this chapter we would like to refer to some of the sport which the white man enjoys in this country. A certain number of shooting licences are given every year, namely twenty for the first half of the year and twenty for the second. These are generally used by Army officers, men of the finest stamp. It is only the "stern strong souls, who love the wild," who would face the biting winds which howl across these upland plains, who would put up with the loneliness, and often the bad cooking and limited supplies, which shooting there entails, and who would follow their quarry even to 17,000 feet, though already lungs are working at bursting point. To have to shoot immediately after such a climb, when one is still breathing hard, the heart working at about one hundred and twenty to the minute, and the hands shaking from exertion, is no easy matter. And yet it is worth it all. Is there anything on God's earth more thrilling than a few days up in His hills with a good rifle in one's hands and a splendid animal to be stalked? It seems such a pity that the expense makes this almost prohibitive for our younger officers, for surely such a holiday must make them fitter for

[1] [i.e., at archery contests.—ANALYST.]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
181 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides,
● 526 behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean
[356] and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had
292 heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls of
574 Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary
534 bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal.
[113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

2
Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans Adj

A Trip to Ladakh

The chief features in which the game differs from 526
Western polo are the following :—

Firstly, there are two long stone walls, about three feet high, built along both sides of the ground, against which the ball is made to rebound; they are also used, by the way, for squeezing your adversary's pony, and if possible the leg of the rider, against the jagged stones, to his great discomfort. Secondly, all the players start at a gallop from one end. The leader then throws the ball into the air and strikes it with the full swing of his stick before it touches the ground, frequently driving it the whole length of the ground and through the goal-posts, which are marked by white stones. But the goal is not counted unless one of the attacking side dismounts and picks up the ball before any of the defenders can knock it out again. When the goal is won the band strikes up a joyful noise, accompanied by plenty of drums. The riders play in a most reckless manner. I have seen both ponies and players receiving terrific whacks, and blood flowing profusely; and sometimes the onlookers receive wounds from standing too near the wall. It is a very ancient and honoured game in these regions.

It is difficult to describe one's feelings as one enters 346
this wonderful country of monasteries and lamas, for one 788
seems to have arrived in quite another world, unimagined and undreamt of; one feels inclined to pinch oneself to see if one is really awake and not dreaming.

On the road one passes walls from 100 to 300 yards long, about eight feet high and eight feet broad, with a pent roof of flat stones of all sizes, on which are carved the same words, "Om mane padme hun," which means, "O God of the Jewel on the Lotus," or, as it has been interpreted to me: "May my soul, O God, be like the jewel of water which lies on the lips of the lotus leaf just

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

574 grand folk dressed in most weird costumes, uncommonly like a well-got-up pantomime.

574 291 793 There were men dressed in Chinese silks, with their smart blue and gold caps with tassels, Ladakhi officials of various grades, from the Joint-Commissioner, a fine-looking Mohammedan, to his fat babu who sat on his pony like a monkey, his stirrups being so short that his knees and fat stomach met. But the figure which took my fancy was the church dignitary; he resembled for all the world Cardinal Wolsey risen from the dead. He wore a scarlet cloak which fell over the pony's back and almost touched the ground, and he sported ye old cardinal's hat. I never saw him smile, which was in contrast to all the others, who seemed to be out for a holiday. Whether he was upset about not having his proper position in the cavalcade, or whether he had the stomach-ache is uncertain, or maybe his cardinal's hat was uncomfortable. It certainly was hardly the sort of hat I should have chosen to ride in. Perhaps his dignity did not allow him to show his feelings. Anyway, everybody except the cardinal seemed to be in good fettle after their morning's ride. We all fell into some sort of order and rode for the capital.

361 574 533 526 You can see Leh from some miles distant as it is built up the side of the rocks, with the palace and monastery towering above. Leh is 11,700 feet above sea-level, so one needs a little time in which to get acclimatised.

When we arrived through the fine gateway into the main street we found both sides lined with H.H. the Maharajah's troops and the crowds of citizens behind them. The monastery band was in full view on the roof of one 574 526 of the buildings and made the usual joyful sound. This main street of shops has a fine avenue of poplar-trees,

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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A Trip to Ladakh

W.T. 574 526

which gives most grateful shade in the hot summer weather.

As it is very broad, it is the polo ground. It seemed most strange to see the players dashing up and down the main street, often hitting the ball into the shops. Fortunately the shops in Leh do not possess glass windows, otherwise polo in that street would be an expensive amusement.

K 648

Captain Trench was finally escorted to the Residency, which was a two-storeyed stone building in quite a nice garden. There is not a great selection of trees in Leh, poplars and willows being all that I remember seeing in this part of Ladakh, but in lower Ladakh there are apricot, apple and pear trees.

The Commissioner's chief duty is to look after the traders' interests on this main caravan road from India to Central Asia, Yarkand, Turkestan and to China.

W.T. 797

I went to the Moravian missionaries, who had kindly invited Dr E. F. Neve and myself to stay with them. They have been doing a great and useful work here for many years, by means of hospital, schools, and visiting the people in their homes. They had then a congregation of about thirty Christians.

The history of one of them with whom I was connected for some years is interesting. A certain monk in a monastery in Nubra was dying, and he sent for one of the missionaries whom he knew to visit him. Nubra Valley is some fifty miles from Leh over the other side of the Kardang Pass, 17,400 feet high.

The missionary went at once, and was in time to see him before he died. The monk told him that he heard the Gospel through the preaching of the missionaries, and believed in Christ as his Saviour, but had not been bold enough to confess openly on account of the persecution

g: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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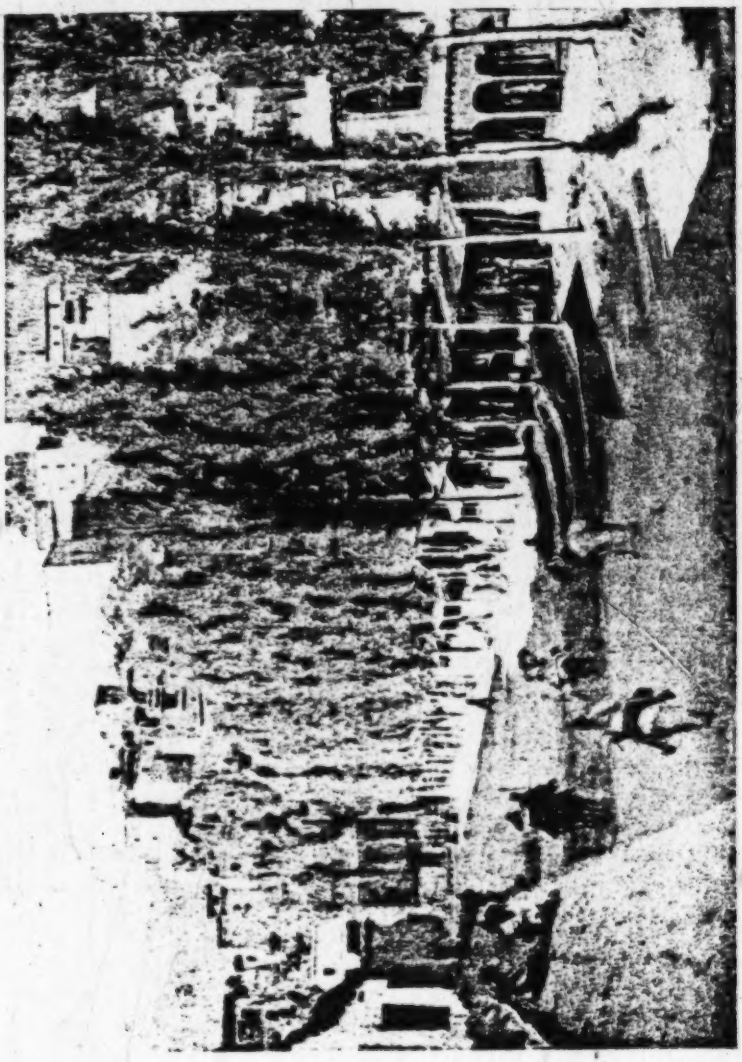

Photo by] [G. W. Millais

HIGH STREET AT LEH.

A polo match is in progress, therefore the street has been cleared.

[facing p. 222]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following: 527 [273]

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one month. 852 846

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang. 553

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to 585

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing. [643]

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year. [71]

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

342 789 above the housedoor. It is supposed to fix the evil earth spirits firmly within the earth, lest they approach the house in a threatening manner. They are supposed to vent their rage upon the pictures by believing them to be the actual inhabitants of the house. Once the dosmo is attached, lama steps in front of the housedoor with his face turned towards the southwest, and calls upon the queen of the earth spirits, the old mother Khon, draws her attention to all the good things coveted by her, the ram's skull with sun and moon, the Khon sign, and all the valuable stones, and so forth, in the ram's skull. All this, he says, is being offered to her so that she may enjoy it. And now she might as well close the door of the earth for the owners of the house, who had brought her all these precious things as an offering, so that the army of earth spirits which was subordinated to her might not inflict any harm upon the inhabitants of the house. In future, too, when the latter should build a new house or improve the old, when they might plan a marriage or any other important matter, the earth mother is to remember this offering and is not to hinder the doings of the people, but to further them. In conclusion the lama claps his hands and exclaims: "Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!" (mystical Sanskrit formulas).

The housedoor of the new house also had to be well protected against the evil spirits. A picture of the house and hearth god with the pig's head (p'a-lha, t'ab-lha) was also fastened above its door. When all these ceremonies were completed, and the lamas had fortified themselves by an ample meal and ample drink, /128/ and after each one of them had received another gift of money, they departed with the greeting: "Tra-shis-shik! K'angpa nor pelchik! Hail! May your house and your property prosper!"

A Year in the House of the Dragshos and What Namgyal Experienced during it

527 In the house of the Dragshos the old popular customs were strictly observed. The inhabitants were firmly rooted in the soil of the popular national traditions and took part in the life of the people as it has been taking its course for thousands of years, year after year in the same way, connected in the closest possible manner with nature. Just as life in nature takes its course in the eternal consonance of the yearly cycle which is determined by the course of the sun, so, too, the life of the Tibetan passes in even rhythm. In this the turning points

in the course of the light-giving and life-giving sun are likewise the turning points in his life and activities. 527

The sun in winter runs its course in a low arc, scarcely rises above the tall mountain ridges and leaves innumerable valleys and many homesteads in darkness and cold. When, at the time of the winter solstice, it again rises victoriously and awakens to new life the nature which has been lying in a deathlike sleep, then joy and hope, which seek expression in a whole series of festivals, are aroused in the heart of the Tibetan.

In this respect it is strange first of all that the Tibetans have two New Year's celebrations. There is the people's New Year (lo-gsar) of ancient tradition, which is celebrated on a series of days beginning at the end of the tenth month; and there is the "King's New Year" (rgyal-poi lo-gsar), also called Dosmoche (gdos-mo-ĉe), which is observed on the first day of the first month. The first-named is in any case the older, more original festival which originated from the ancient winter solstice festival. It usually falls in the time between the last days of November and the 25th of December. Since the grain and provision chambers of the Tibetans are still relatively full around this time, there are no material prerequisites lacking for extensive celebrations. When--about two months later--the "King's New Year" is celebrated, and the supplies have been strongly depleted by family and tribal festivals, there may very easily be a lack of the necessary /Following page 128 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of a "Wedding feast in Stog (Ladakh). Behind the men have been constructed three wedding cakes (bran-rgyas) in the form of Buddhistic stupas, out of cake tiles." The chang jug is circulating." (subtitle). The second illustration is of "A wedding in Ladakh" (subtitle). / /129/ "stuff" for celebrating; and, after all, the Tibetan likes to "splurge" at his festivals.

The lamas, it is true, look upon the King's New Year (Dosmoche) as the true New Year. It was probably introduced by the kings who had turned Buddhist at the urging of the Buddhist priesthood. (132)

132. A saga tells--under the presupposition that the "King's New Year," the later New Year celebrated in February, is the original one--that the king of Ladakh by the name of Jamgyang (1560-1590) wanted to wage war against the Muslim princes of neighboring Puri. But since winter was close at hand the lamas declared that it would not be advisable to start the war

527 before the New Year had been properly celebrated. Thereupon the king is supposed to have advanced the date of the New Year's festival by two months without a moment's hesitation. In this way the people of Ladak are said to have come to two New Year's celebrations, for the people refused to let the second festival go. Compare Francke, History of Western Tibet, p. 91.

With this was also connected the introduction of the calendar which which was borrowed from the Chinese. But the people will not let them-themselves be deprived of their first New Year (lo-gsar literally means "New Year"), and therefore they celebrate two festivals. The lamas have accommodated themselves to this national custom as they have to all others, and they secure their share and their rights in both festivals.

The first New Year (lo-gsar) begins on the 28th day of the tenth Tibetan month, the memorial day of the "ascent to Heaven" of the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsongkapa, the founder of the dominant reform sect of the Gelugpa (the "virtuous"). On this day he is supposed to have attained divine dignity, and he is supposed to have ascended up to the Tushita heaven, the abode of the Bodhisattvas. The Tibetans for this reason also call this holiday Galdan Namchod (dga-ldan, meaning "realm of joy," Tushita; gnam, meaning "heaven"; mĉod, meaning "offering"); Tsongkapa also named the large monastery near Lhasa which was founded by him, Galdan. There the festival of the lanterns is celebrated around this time, and in all the numerous monasteries of the "Virtuous" memorial celebrations are organized.

527 782 On this occasion the people present offering gifts to the monasteries. Namgyal went to Tingmogang on the day before the beginning of the festival in order to donate a few brass offering lamps, as well as butter used for fuel in these lamps, barley, rice, and beer in brass bowls, at the monastery located there. The gifts were placed before the images of the gods. Outside on the door posts of his house and on the inside along the beams of the ceiling he fastened twigs of juniper just as everybody else did. By this, the evil spirits of the old year were to be exorcized so that they would leave the house peacefully to those of the new year. In his own household temple Namgyal placed bowls with fresh offerings before the statues and images of the Buddhas and gods, in order to maintain their favor; he decorated the house altar with dried flowers, placed burning offering lamps on it, and laid Kha-tags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods.

and laid k'atags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods. 000

/130/ On the first evening of the festival there had to be the 527
baba dumpling made of barley flour and mixed with butter and sugar, 262
as a part of the meal. Mother Tsering Putrid prepared it with her own hands, for, she said, nobody knew how to make them the way she had learned to make them from her mother. At supper the steaming, fragrant giant dumpling was then placed between the celebrants who were crouched on carpets on the floor. The master of the house made a hole in the middle, at the top, by means of a spoon, and into this Tsering Putrid poured melted butter. (133). Then the master of the

133. A similar custom is to be found in Sweden where a flour dish appears on the table at the New Year's eve dinner. This dish has a hollow at the top into which melted butter is poured. Compare note 37!

house was the first to break off with his little brass spoon a piece of the dumpling, --followed by all the others. Each dipped it into the butter, and soon the loud smacking of lips betrayed how well the baba tasted to all.

Everywhere from the king's castle to the hut of the small-holder 527
they celebrated, depending on their wealth they ate well and plentifully, and--the men--drank even more, they gathered for singing and dancing, for polo playing and horse racing. Everybody gave himself over to unbridled gaiety.

In one of the first years after his marriage Namgyal received a 527
letter. The letter was from the Gyalpo, the grandson of the king of 574
Ladakh, who was dethroned in 1840 and who lived in a castle on the other side of the Indus River across from Leh, and who there lived on a small state pension and large reminiscences from the time of his once mighty forebears. The letter contained an invitation to him from the "Ruler without land" to celebrate the festival in Leh with him and the galons, lonpos, and other great men. The king in his epistle addressed the young Dragshos with "No" (younger brother); he, as the offspring of the noble race of the Dragshos, whose valiant sons had once performed great services for the land of Ladakh and one of whose offspring had once been offered the royal hat, should not be absent from the festivities in Leh. The custom had existed, since the days of his forefathers, that the king celebrated the New Year's festival in Leh surrounded by his grandees and that he prayed together with them for

527 the well-being of the country and of the people.

574 Namgyal at first had very little desire to comply with the invitation. In the past few years his father had been in the habit of declining the same invitation under the pretense that as village magistrate he was unable to leave his post for such a long time. The real reason was /131/ that he knew from experience that this participation was an expensive matter. The great festivals in the royal palace in Leh cost a lot of money, and the king was totally unable to meet these expenses from his own modest income. Therefore, his "grandees" who had the honor to take part in the festivities, had to make considerable contributions. It even happened that after the celebration the royal pockets were so completely depleted that his "majesty" would approach one or the other of his noblemen for a loan, for the repayment of which the person concerned would then have to wait an extremely long time. Many of them had had bad experiences in these matters. One of them, for instance, had had to be contented with a very emaciated little ox as repayment for a considerable sum of money that he had lent. But finally Namgyal allowed himself to be persuaded by some friends and by his ambitious grandmother to go to the festival at Leh after all. It was, he was told, an honor for the house of Dragshos and for entire Lower Ladakh if he was gathered together with all the grandees around the king. After all, the lonpo from Domkhar, who was related to him, was also taking part. Finally, Namgyal himself wanted to experience for once the festivities days in May, of which he had heard so much. Perhaps, so he thought, he might even learn something from them.

574 Thus, shortly before the beginning of the celebrations Namgyal rode to Leh in two days. In Leh he moved in with a distant relative. On the evening of the first holiday, the 28th of the tenth month, he saw, for the first time, the illumination of the town: the houses at the foot of the mountain on which the castle was situated, and along the southern slope of the same, the castle, and the monasteries gleamed [798] in the shine of thousands of little lamps lit to celebrate this lamaistic "ascension festival," something which made a great impression upon Namgyal.

527 The following morning at the bazaar he met about twenty Tibetan gentlemen of nobility, galons, lonpos, and higher officials. on horseback, who were just about to fetch the king for the celebration of the festival. Namgyal, likewise on horseback, joined them. A

ride of a good hour at a steady amble brought the company to the village [527] Stog on the other side of the Indus where the king was already awaiting the gentlemen from Leh with a small following of relatives and farmers. All were on fine horses, the horses were beautifully bridled and equipped with fine, /132/ colorful Yarkand saddlecloths. The gentlemen from [576] Leh greeted his dethroned majesty with the honors accorded to a king of the old time: "Hail! We, your humble servants, greet you most respectfully, you, the lofty king of Ladakh! Hail, good fortune, might, and long life be accorded to you!" On this occasion a special word from the courtly language was used for each of the words applied to the king. Furthermore, the gentlemen had all dismounted from their horses, they bowed down deeply before his majesty and embraced the royal legs. The king, a man of middle age, was, it is true, anything but a royal sight: his posture was slouching; sagging and expressionless were his facial traits; his one crossed eye gave his expression of a somewhate stupid appearance--the degenerate offspring of a once mighty and energetic tribe of rulers. He received the salutations of his grandees with an embarrassed gesture. And yet he was "the king" for the people of Ladakh during the brief days of celebration, and as such, royal respects had to be paid to him. This was required by the custom which the ruling Kashmir government suffered magnanimously to continue, since it was convinced of the harmlessness of the weakly Gyalpo.

Escorted by about thirty horsemen, the king now rode to Leh, crossing the Indus by a bridge. He rode across the bazaar and was greeted everywhere by the people of Ladakh in a most respectful manner. The people had come together in great numbers from all the neighboring villages, in part from very great distances. Today they were for once allowed to dream of ancient, long-past royal splendor. The procession rode up the steep mountain on which the castle stood, accompanied by crowds of the populace. In front of the lions' gate [532] the riders dismounted. At their approach the lion who was roughly carved out of wood, and who peered out over the gate from a niche, had begun to growl violently, and at the same time there resounded the furious barking of dogs. A mighty Tibetan mastiff which was lying on the inside of the gate on a chain was connected by means of a string with the wooden lion up above. When the barking dog jumped around and tugged at the string, the wooden lion above the gate, through whose belly went an axle, began to skip about, and the populace gaped at

this wonder of technology,

at this wonder of technology.

527 The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following, [344] was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears [563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are [526] organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang, 782 the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-kon), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the 527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful, 778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

their right-hand side. This they did so that all the prayer tablets 527 778
which were lying on the wall might send the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum
a thousandfold up to the great Merciful One. The chorten that flanked the 'manes' were circled about, amid prayers, in order to implore also, by this "praying," the blessing of the Buddhas and the gods upon the land and the people. For five days, Namgyal in this way celebrated with the grandees; during the day, at the bazaar and on the polo field, in the midst of the people, and in the evening in the castle in the narrow circle of his social peers; and thus he enjoyed the gay goings-on; in so doing he also believed to be contributing his share in making the gods favorably inclined, for, after all, it was in their honor that they were celebrating.

About two months later when the days had already become considerably longer and the sun already shone quite warm into the valleys 527
of the Ladakh during the hours of the midday, the people there prepared for the King's New Year, and again the king's invitation brought Namgyal to Leh. At this festival the king again wished to see as many of his grandees as possible around him, so that at least on these rare days he might be surrounded by a faint shimmer of royal splendor. All the more, since this also made a greater impression upon the divine helpers-in-need, who were again approached with prayers.

Grandmother Tsering Putrid this time talked with quite a special 527
urgency to her grandson, in order to persuade him to take part in the 777
festival at Leh. "Namgyal," she said, "when you tear down the great magical pole (dosmo) in Leh, you must see to it that you get hold of a large piece of a string star, wood with yellow, red, and blue strings. That will bring us luck in the new year and will keep away the evil spirits!" Namgyal had smiled at this and had said, "Oh, oh!" which sounded like half an assent. At this the old woman had become very angry and had added: "Don't you laugh, Namgyal! You have no idea how much magical power is contained in such a piece of the dosmo. When your mother bore you, I put such a bundle of sticks and colored strings from the last dosmo in her bed. Then everything went all right with the birth and afterwards. A year before, your mother had had a miscarriage and had to suffer a great deal. At that time, you see, I had no such amulet at hand. So it couldn't go right! And many years ago I once lost my coral necklace with the silver amulet up there by the slope of the mountain /135/ near the goats' huts. I looked for it for hours and could not find it. The following day I put the dosmo amulet inside the bosom of my dress, and lo and behold, I just went up

527 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming
777 between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first
805 half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos
789 first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma). (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

782 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering)
776 the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces 782
of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all 776
kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times.

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the 527
evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians 789
perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /136/ year" (lo-śi-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons.

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the dosmo. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

527 789 violent struggling and fighting in which everyone tries to seize as large a piece of wood with colored wool threads as possible. Once someone has got hold of a piece he takes it home and keeps it carefully throughout the entire year as a valuable talisman serving as a protection against the evil spirits.

Namgyal did not dream of taking part in the brawl. Api Tsering Putrid just would have to see that she got along without such a amulet this year; he himself did not believe at all any more in the magical power of these things.

527 On the 30th day of the twelfth month, the end of the month and of the year, Namgyal again rode along in the retinue of the king, who had once more assumed royal dignity of the duration of the festival. This time they rode to Sheh and Trigtse. Again Namgyal was witness as the king performed prayers on behalf of the people in the monastery of Trigtse before the images of the divinities. And again the grandees as well as the little people celebrated /137/ the second New Year's festival extensively with feasting and drinking, with song, dance, and the playing of polo.

788 A few of Namgyal's friends urged him to stay a few days more in Leh since he was already there, so that he would be able to take part in the procession of entreaty (mgo-p'yag, really "head procession"). This procession was to take place on the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth day of the first month of the new year. Namgyal let himself be persuaded. From this exercise he expected more profit than from the New Year's celebrations with their wild revelries and their unbridled amusements. After all, this was an occasion of serious praying and of real effort to obtain the grace of the powers of the Beyond, so he was told.

After previous fasting, fervent praying, and all kinds of worthy activity of the part of the individual participants, about thirty men from Leh and the surrounding villages came together for the yearly procession of entreaty. On this occasion the suppliants must circle once around the mountain on which the monastery is situated, near Leh, within the space of three days. They have to walk in a closed chain, one behind the other at a distance from each other of a man's height. The steep mountain bears on its peak the little monastery of Namgyal Tsemo which overlooks the countryside as defiantly as a fortress from its high eminence. The worship is primarily directed towards the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with the eleven faces (spyan-ras gzigs bcu-gcig źal) and the thousand arms, whose gigantic image stands in this

787 "Here on this slip of paper it is written how we are to ward off the evil spirits this year. Surely you are going to follow these directions? Isn't that so, Namgyal?" "Oh, oh!" said the latter and with complete calm he stuck the dirty slip of paper into a crack in the large beam of the ceiling in the chansa.

Many Tibetans who wanted to be quite sure in their doings and who could afford it, went to the oracle man (rtsis-pa) in the Lamayuru monastery around the turn of the year. The oracle man sold his wisdom at a greater price than did the onpo. The old teller of fairytales, Gyamtsopa, however, knew how to go about foretelling the future in a cheaper way than those mentioned above. He took the shoulder blade of a freshly killed sheep, cleaned off all particles of flesh, held it in the fire so that it bent and shrunk from the heat. Then he held it against the light and looked at the figures that had formed in the tissue. "There--a rider! A red Tsan-demon! There--a woman's figure with snakes above her head! An evil water nymph! Threatening figures! There a child's head--that means an increase in the family; an ear of grain--rich harvest! In a similar way fresh sheep's intestines prognosticated the future for him, as did, furthermore, the bones of birds or little stones that he threw on the ground with a practised hand. From the figures which are formed in this manner or which his imagination painted to him he gave the people who consulted him and who flocked to him in great numbers, "glimpses into the future." He made it cheap for them: a few measures of barley, a piece of butter, a jug of beer, a few anna (one anna equals eight and one-half Pfenning).

527 One to one and a half months after the dosmoche festival (from the middle to the end of March) the storlog (gtor-log) is celebrated in all the large and small villages. This is a spring festival at which the exorcism of the threatening demons is again in the foreground. This exorcism is carried out by means of a storma (gtor-ma), a scattered offering with the exorcising formulas belonging to it. Here too there are numerous amusements. The men shoot with arrows at targets that have been set up. Certainly /143/ this shooting of arrows originally had a mythological significance. This is indicated by the songs of the mythical great king Kesar, the "son of the gods," in which his heroic deeds are sung. On the occasion of this festival they shoot with bow [526] and arrow during the hours of daylight. Nowadays there is not much skill being demonstrated in this archery. When the Tibetans were still a warlike people, even when the musket flints had already come into use, the art of shooting arrows was practised industriously. During the long period of peace the art of archery [illegible] into disuse.

(141) roar, and rain falls." 789

141. According to the conception of the Tibetans (and similarly also of the Chinese), a rain storm arises from the fact that two dragons, a male and a female one, fight with each other so that the sparks (lightning) fly. Their angry roar is the thunder. On each of the dragons there rides a demon (lha-adre), and they, too, take part in the battle. Both riders have a sack from which they scatter hail and sleet down on the earth. According to the Chinese conception the thunder dragons and the sky Nagas cause the rain storm by rolling the thunder wheel at each other in battle and by spitting lightning. [821]

The year in which all this took place was a good one for the Ladakh farmers. There was no dearth of water; in the early summer the rains started and continued for an unusually long period of time; the summer brought warm sunshine so that wheat, barley, and buck-wheat in /149/ the fields turned out very well. The gods seemed graciously inclined and the lamas impressed upon the farmers how useful and necessary it was to invoke the gods in good time and to bring offerings to them. 000

So they all celebrated a merry "festival of the ears of grain," the Schrulblha (srub-lha). That took place in the beginning of July when the first ears appeared on the barley and wheat stalks. On the eve of this festival, Namgyal, like all his neighbors, brought in a bundle of green ears from the field, which he attached to the door posts, the beams, and the wooden columns of the house: an offering for the earth deities (sa-bdag) and for the household and local divinities. On the afternoon of the festival the villagers all gathered in the open place of the village where they ate, drank, and danced. They sang songs about the origin of the world and about the gods who brought the first grain kernels down to earth. 527

The beautiful weather lasted into the late autumn, and the people of Ladakh were able to bring in their harvest successfully and without being disturbed. The grain yield had been satisfactory and the people of Lower Ladakh, among them also the inhabitants of Kalatse, had also had a good harvest of apricots. Everybody was joyful and in good spirits, for the people had scarcely been afflicted with serious sickness this year. The farmers who owned horses had, moreover, been able to earn many a rupee by

527 transport services rendered for the Indian merchants and officials. Therefore the inhabitants of Kalatse decided to celebrate a large harvest festival that year. The hermit Tsetan, whose advice they liked to hear, had said: "By the grace of the "Three Jewels," you have had a good year, so you must also be thankful to them!" They followed his advice in their manner and decided to do something which they had not done for a long time, namely to offer a banquet to the gods and demons. And this could of course not be carried out without the cooperation of the lamas. Namgyal did not want to lag behind either in this great enterprise, in which all the greater farmers took part as paying contributors. After all, it might be of use.

On the day designated, therefore, eleven lamas from the Tingmogang monastery paraded with books, magical bell, dorje, with drums, kettle-drums, and the long trumpets, announcing that the banquet was to be prepared for the gods in the temple of that monastery.
557 A /150/ long series of gods of all classes was invited to this feast, in
776 particular by the priests: The "Bodhisattva of contemplation" (Vajrasattva); the god of death, Yama, the terrible judge of sinners in hell; furthermore the god of wealth, Kubera who holds the Ichneumon in his hand, which spits out jewels at his command; he was one of the rain-giving gods among the ancient Indians already, and was very popular; further there were invited the goddess who roamed around heaven (mk'a-agro-ma), the twelve dreadful Furies (stan-ma) whom one could not overlook unless one wanted to bring their wrath down upon one. In addition there were the mighty and moody local divinities, the nagas of the water, the earth, and of the sky. Tsongkapa, who had been turned into a god, could not be forgotten either; finally, and above all, the great Buddha himself had to be invited, for he, like the previously mentioned, also had power over the rain-giving deities. And lastly the heroes of Tibet's prehistory who had been advanced to the status of demigods, as well as a series of tutelary gods (Yidam) and rural deities, were likewise invited to the meal: altogether a colorful company. How may the great Gautama have felt when he was dragged out of his nirvana blessedness and placed in the midst of this company!

527 In the monastery everything had by now been prepared by the
782 lamas for the meal of the gods. The offering gifts were placed on a stair-like scaffold in front of the gods' images: On the lowest of seven steps were placed 84 brass offering lamps; on the step above it stood little pyramids of butter in the same number; then on the remaining

steps there were offering cakes, rice, wine (or water) in little bowls, 527
and finally--up on top of the plate of the altar--there were large, 782
brightly painted sacrificial cakes decorated with arabesques, and furthermore bowls made of human skulls filled with beer, water, and tea. In some of the bowls filled with rice were stuck flowers and stalks of incense.

Then the invited invisible guests were invoked. One lama called out: "Come, come! Om! Oh thunderbolt (142)! Take and

142. The thunderbolt (Sanskrit, Vajra, Tibetan rdo-rje), the [89]
magical weapon of the gods and of the magician lamas in their battle against the hostile demons. The word "Vajra" alone, in the mouth of the magician, has a spellbinding effect upon the gods and demons that have been invoked. Here it is an exclamation that is directed at those sinister powers. A bronze dorje belongs to the equipment of each lama, so that he can protect himself and other against evil spirits with it. The thunderbolt is also a symbol for the teachings of Buddha.

accept this offering! Behold: Wonderful river water to drink, cooling water to wash your feet, flowers to decorate your hair, the scent of costly incense, lamps to lighten the darkness, water with a pleasing odor to rub your bodies with, hallowed /151/ food, the music of the cymbals!" At this point the instruments started up with a loud and shrill kind of music. "Eat your fill! Swaha!" The invisible guests were called upon to sit down and to enjoy the food and the drinks. Then there followed a eulogy of those invited; their power and their work were praised. It was assumed that the gods took to themselves the essence of the food and of the drinks. Further prayers asking for blessing and prosperity were pronounced. A lama brought fresh sacrificial cakes, the tsogs cakes (tsogs, meaning, "for all"); amid renewed loud music a priest threw several of the tsogs cakes up in the air as an offering to all the demigods and the demons who were not expressly invited or who were not invited by name. This was done so that their favor would not be lost inadvertently. Then each of the participating lamas, one after the other, depending on his individual status and dignity, received a tsogs cake. They ate the cake, but each lama had to leave one piece of his cake; these pieces were then collected on one plate. An entire cake was then placed on top of piled-up pieces, and these remnants were flung on the ground before the door

527 782 of the temple by one of the priests with an expression of contempt for those demons who had not yet surrendered to the "converters" of Tibet and to the great Buddha. This was the Lhagdor sacrifice (lhag-ador), the "cast offering of the remnants," by which these despised yet dreaded demons are appeased. With this act the banquet of the gods was concluded. There followed another plentiful meal for the officiating lamas, each of whom received a gift of money from the participating farmers, besides.

000 Namgyal then paid a visit to the house of his father-in-law Norbu Wangchung. There things were very merry. The Chirpon celebrated the harvest festival with some members of his tribe and a few neighbors in his fashion, with a great deal of beer and noisy revelry. Namgyal did not stay there long although the old man would have liked to keep him there longer. Namgyal never felt at ease in that house. He gave regards to her parents from his wife Chosskyid, sat for a little while among the carousing men, and then he took his leave. He was able to say with good reason that he was being awaited in Kalatse, for there they were also celebrating the harvest festival, though they kept it in moderate /152/ bounds, and all the farmers of the village were supposed to be gathered there, even those who had "regaled the gods" in Tingmogang.

Namgyal again returned to Kalatse with peculiar feelings. As a good Buddhist he believed to have performed his obligation, and he had followed the ceremonies in the monastery of Tingmogang with careful attention. He wanted to be sure to have done everything to obtain the favor of the great Unknown Ones in the dark Beyond, and to find peace for his soul. And now it happened again that he set out on his way home.with a feeling of emptiness and gnawing doubts in his heart With it possible, then, that those Mighty Ones in the Beyond, and that the great Gautama could be pleased by the goings-on in the monastery, and that they should be induced to help by such means? Where was the way that would lead him out of the labyrinth of these questions, out of the darkness of doubts into the bright light of understanding which as a Buddhist he was supposed to seek.

On a Business Trip.

437 In the year after the house had been built, when the fields had been tended and when the young grain began to sprout in the fields, it was decided to undertake a business trip. This plan was agreed upon

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life. [301]

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

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Amusements. 541

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *saplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

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Constitution of the family. 592

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In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

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"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gompa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

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* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423 Chapter III, D.

[65] Village Communities and Tenures.

427 Rights of the Thakúrs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeolá*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *lohárs* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *lohárs* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *lohárs*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 797 782 539

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyasi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

T D 539

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *sha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

T D 174 527 796

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchód rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

T D 174 533

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

T D 174

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

made of creamy milk; it then has a delicious fruity flavour with a slight suggestion of wine. By early morning the *zho* in the large pot will have set, and the house-mother must rise early to churn it. She has a long instrument with leather fans on the end, which must be kept twirling in the pot, and it is a matter of some skill both to keep the curdled milk at the right temperature by adding hot or cold water, and to twist the churn at the correct rate. An experienced housewife eventually separates out a fine cone of yellow butter, while in the pot the sour buttermilk is left, the remainder of which, after having retained enough for the household's needs, is taken to the bazar to be sold. It is used for various kinds of food. Vegetables, which we would consider weeds, are collected from garden and field, washed, boiled, washed again, then kneaded, fried with onions and added to the *darra* or buttermilk. This mixture is used as a sauce with *zan* or *baba*, which is made by boiling the milled flour of roast wheat, barley and peas into a mash. The peas are like our English ones, but harder and more flavourless. The milk curds when set are also hung up in a bag, and after all the whey has dripped out and the curd dried, it is well pressed and cut into strips,—perhaps fried in butter and used in soup. From Yarkand come dried curds of horses' milk, which is also used for this purpose. Other changes in diet are afforded by mixing barley-flour into paste with a little *chang* or native beer, and allowing it to ferment. This is then dipped into and eaten with more *chang*. Another delicacy is made by mixing good butter, sugar and, perhaps, currants into a paste and eating it with chupattis like jam.

At the New Year a special dish is provided by making a round flat barley-cake, and pouring a little butter into a hole in the middle.

All this use of flour, whether of wheat or barley, presupposes the long processes of cleaning the grain, shaking it up and down on a *shupu* (a kind of straw tray), so that the loose husks blow away, and the little stones and odd bits which get

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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A Birthday Entertainment.

Women dancing at an entertainment in Leh. The gesture indicates the plucking of a flower.

Men Dancers at a Wedding.

Resting between their performances. At the extreme left of the front row is the bridegroom, while the gentlemen in the upper row to the left with peculiar turnover hats are his uncles.

[FACING P 184]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

selected for either their youth or beauty. Other dances, such as the "pigeon" dance occur, in which both sexes join, though without touching each other as in the West, and the "shoulder" dance of women only, in which movement of the shoulder are prominent. In the *shondros*, also a woman's dance, the partners face each other, then wheel round till they come back to back, afterwards slowly reversing again till they face once more. At the end of the horse-racing in the New Year, a dance occurs in the middle of the bazar in which the women stand in a circle, and the men dance round them in pursuance of an old custom connected with royalty. A dance for both sexes, called the "peacock dance," has its song about that bird. Otherwise the Ladaki dancing differs from that of Tibet, which is said to be always accompanied by singing.

It has now become practically an annual event for the Wazir to have a display in honour of the British Joint Commissioner, at which other dances and plays are seen, and the stage properties of Leh obtain their yearly airing. To this *ltadmo* any Europeans who happen to be in Leh at the time are hospitably invited. The programme usually begins in the afternoon between two and three o'clock, when it is opened with some sort of prayer for His Imperial Majesty and H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The former may take the form of "God Save the King" sung by the Boys' School in English with their own peculiar accent. The boys of the State School then act a little play, more or less in costume, and always with a very powerfully pointed moral; and, of late, a demonstration of Boy Scouts of both State and Mission Schools has become a feature of the programme. This may be followed by a lama dance in devil-masks, and tea is usually served between four and five p.m. For this the *élite* withdraw from the covered balcony, from which they have been watching the performance, to tents or a simple pagoda in the Wazir's pleasant garden behind. The Europeans have one tent, the

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● 527 536 King and a *Skushog*, if present, and one or two Leh Buddhists of high rank, another, Hindu and Mussulman officials have their separate resorts, and any other slightly less prominent townsmen or traders have their own places. The Europeans are provided with an English tea, for which, with good luck, the butter in the cakes is not too strong. After this refreshment they may adjourn to the adjoining polo ground to watch a match there.

The hours from six to eight are usually labelled "rest" on the programme, and we return from our homes to dine in the Wazir's house at eight. The number of Sahibs in Leh entertained thus lavishly, once reached seventeen, and the record number of courses at such a dinner was fifteen, but, on this occasion we were also celebrating the birth of a son to the Wazir, while the previous year, during the Great War, we had met to commemorate the British conquest of German West Africa. At one of these feasts our host was a Mussulman, who partook with us; so also a small son of his endeavoured to do, but there were many courses, and the day had already been so long and exciting, that the little fellow could not manage to keep awake. He would sit up for one or two courses, then, having fallen asleep, be removed to return after one or two more, and so food and sleep alternated with him throughout the meal. The elaborate menu of these meals is usually presided over by a Ladaki quite expert in Western cooking. After a short smoke we all return to the covered balcony, to find a large bonfire kindled on the open space in front of us, on which kerosene oil, so costly by the time it reaches Leh, is recklessly thrown at intervals, or when a special flare of illumination is required. The weird performances we are going to see are rendered far more effective by its flickering light, which also plays on the quaint brown faces of the spectators, packed closely together on the other three sides of the square, some sitting on the ground in front, others standing behind, women in blue turquoised *perags* and black

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earflaps, men and children in their turned-up caps, dotted about with Mussulmans in turbans, old and young all eager and expectant, for they love a *ltadmo*.

One of our annual friends opens the programme, a man on stilts concealed by long draperies, not very realistic, but a source of great delight to the child-like audience. He is followed by two large birds, with long necks (held up by an arm of the masquerader within) and vulture-like heads and beaks, the bodies covered with sheepskins. These extraordinary animals, programmed as "chicken," hop about, peck at each other, clean their feathers, and attend to their personal *shikar*, each action provoking a fresh outburst of amusement from the crowd.

~~Next~~ comes a lion dance, in which two men are covered with a large skin, from which their human booted legs protrude as fore and hind legs in the most unabashed fashion. The face consists of a mask, and its attendants introduce it with antics of their own. The unwieldly lion makes grotesque leaps and bounds, and finally climbs up on to a table. The play was brought to Leh from Chinese Turkestan, where several tables are piled up high, and our nimble lion reaches the topmost. In Leh, however, a far more serious *dénouement* is achieved, for, with a series of rolls and contortions, a baby lion is born, to the unbounded delight of the audience, and suddenly appears on the table with its mother (the cub being a child also dressed in a skin). Waddell says that the play of this acrobatic lion was primarily derived from China, and has its origin in the "mythical lion of the Himalayan snows, which is believed to confer fortune on the country where it resides. One of these lions was enticed to China by a wizard, and the crops and cattle prospered as long as it lived, and when it died the Chinese stripped off its skin with which they conduct this dance."

Next comes a dragon dance, also originating from China, where the dragon is deified. It is supposed to follow after a

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177 man holding a ruby, which it wishes to devour. It is formed
527 by a masked leader, from whom long coloured strips of thin
536 cloth pass backwards over other men, who hold up lighted Chinese lanterns on sticks inside it, all their feet representing the dragon's legs. It certainly looks fantastic enough, with its illuminated sinuous snake-like outline darting to and fro in the darkness.

These plays are varied with dances, such as a torch dance, of Indian origin, in which a bare-footed man rushes about twirling a long torch lighted at each end, getting more and more furious as the burning ends approach his body, and the drums beat faster. Of sword dances there are two or three varieties; a slow quiet rhythmical one by a Balti with one sword only; one by a Pathan, lithe and rapid, with a sword in each hand; another slower one, when a Ladaki wields two swords, while in a fourth, two Pathan dancers, each with sword and shield, approach from opposite corners, and engage in mock fight.
174 This dance has come down from old Ladaki times, when our
536 peaceful Tibetans here more resembled their Pathan neighbours, and were probably more fierce and warlike in their mountain fastnesses.

527 Another amusing scene which is usually played on these
536 occasions is the representation of a Kashmiri pundit, who is a settlement officer, and goes round the countryside measuring fields and assessing taxes. He and his underlings are caricatured with floured faces, and good humoured fun made of their bribing methods.

But, perhaps the masterpiece and certainly the most amusing item of the show comes on towards the end, called "The Amban and the Boat." The Amban is a Chinese official on tour, who enters the scene of operations with his staff, and engages in his judicial duties. Then a messenger arrives and presents him with a red paper, informing him that his wife is coming to meet him. The lady is seen in the distance advancing towards her lord in a rickety boat over a rough

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sea. The boat is cleverly made with a framework of wood 527 ●
and paper from which a cloth valance depends. In the middle 536
a small curtained canopy is erected, through which the lady's head can be dimly discerned, but her manly legs can be seen beneath as her impersonator works the boat, walking sideways here and there, and making the light craft rock and sway and gyrate violently as though in a heavy sea. An attendant guide or guardian and a boatman with an oar both accompany the lady, but outside the boat, so that the manipulations of the external oar add to the ludicrous effect produced, which in the bonfire light is grotesquely realistic and extraordinarily funny. As the boat approaches the Amban, the boatman makes a grave error in his nautical activities, and the boat with its precious occupant totters dizzily down to stillness. However it is not sunk to the depths of the ocean, for, after the Amban has manifested his anger and the boatman received a beating, the gay craft rises and once more rocks and sways, and, encountering boisterous seas, again vanishes into the distance, leaving the European element of the audience at least struggling between laughter and memories of *mal-de-mer*.

This little drama and that of the lion and dragon were 177
brought to Leh by traders and servants of sahibs who 536
travelled to Yarkand. "The Amban and the Boat" so impressed one of the latter when he saw it at Kashgar, that he introduced it into Leh for the first time as a fit entertainment for the wedding festivities of a friend, who, we hope, did not have to send for his bride across such perilous seas.

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Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 821 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings[1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 -- Analysis]

16: Asboe
527

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Lahul

[Secular aspects of Lahul ceremonials and festivals are so intimately fused with their religious aspects that no effort was made to isolate them. All descriptions of such activities have been included in category 796.]

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(*c*) On a spring day [there are] three colds and three warmths
In a lifetime [there are] three happy [hours] and three unfortunate [hours].

(*d*) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.

000

(*e*) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determinativum* formed from *spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosum*, etc., must be considered as *Composita*, which accounts for the missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.

539 2. (*a*) སྐྱིད་ལྡུག་མི་ལ། མཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ།

(*b*) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.

(*c*) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.

(*d*) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain people.

000

(*e*) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum.*

539 3. (*a*) ཐིག་ས་པ་བསྣ་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གང་།

(*b*) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.

(*c*) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.

000

(*d*) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without an article to express the adjective "full."

539 4. (*a*) མ་ཤྲོ་ལ་ནག་རང་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་བཟང་།
སྲེ་ལ་མདོས་མོ་ཆེ་དང་གཡག་ཁོག་བཟང་།

(*b*) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.

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(*c*) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro [the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of a Yak.

(*d*) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro, it is warmer then.

000

(*e*) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

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corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nagrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

539 [643] [301] 527 [789]

5. (*a*) དཔལ་ཐུག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་བཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

539 527 [346 789

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་ར་སྔོ་ར། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་ར་ནུག་ར།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

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7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྤྲང་ཏུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་འབུད་དེ་ཅི་ཟ་ཡི་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zä dus'.

539

484 question whether he would return to Lhasa was still undecided.
648 Pending that decision, the Chinese Army was waiting a respectful distance from Lhasa. When the Dalai Lama reached Lhasa on August 17, 1951, the Chinese Red Army moved into action. Communist contingents poured into Lhasa and then fanned out racing across Tibet to posts on its southern frontier. But until that date the border was open.

000 I had seen again and again between Baralacha Pass and Pagmur these fast-moving Tibetan horsemen going like the wind and armed with either rifles or revolvers or both. There were a dozen or so in some bands. None had molested us. But the idea grew that perhaps some marauding band might.

529 This night at Pagmur I learned more startling news from my new Army friends. There were somewhere in this region two hundred armed bandits who had raided for years in Sinkiang and Tibet but who had moved south as the Communist influence became strong up north. These were the famous Kasak bandits who for years had made their living by raiding. They would kill if they were resisted. But their pattern of raiding was only to run off all livestock, to seize all guns and ammunition, to take all the food of a camp, and then on a selective basis take what other articles of clothing or equipment suited their fancy.

000 The rifles of these Indian soldiers looked more and more comforting and appealing to me as the story of the Kasak bandits was related at Pagmur.

"When do you return to Leh?" I asked the officer.

"In the morning."

"What will you do when you reach Leh?"

"Be assigned to garrison duty."

"Isn't it more fun to be on the trail, camping out every night?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then stay with me. We'll all go to Leh together."

"But my orders read—"

for days on end. There are dancing and the exchange of presents; there are prayers before images of the deities, prayers in the chapels. There is no distinction between clergy and laymen, rich and poor, men and women. Beggars kneel in pews next to the elite. And the whole audience murmurs in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."* 796

At the entrance to the main chapel of the Hemis Monastery there is painted on the right-hand wall the wheel of life, sacred in Buddhist symbolism. It has been beautifully described by Suydam Cutting in *The Fire Ox and Other Years:* 788 778 531

"The 'wheel of life' is a spoked disk, painted on a scroll. On the hub are painted a cock, a pig, and a snake, standing for lust, greed, and anger, the three vices that torment human beings. The rim is divided into twelve segments, representing such metaphysical concepts as 'sense surfaces and understanding,' 'indulgence,' and 'fuller life.' The area between hub and rim is divided into six compartments, sharply divided by the spokes. At the top is heaven, at the bottom hell. The other four spaces are devoted to human life, animal life, purgatory (tormented spirits), and titans.

"Closer inspection reveals a dolorous prospect—a multitude of pictographs illustrating Buddha's doctrine that suffering is inevitable—'All is transitory, painful, and illusory.' Life is an endless, wearisome round of rebirths. The pictographs illustrating human life, for instance, show birth, old age, sickness, death, ungratified desires, struggle for existence, punishments, bereavements, and offensive objects and sensations. Hell is no less graphic. There are eight hot hells and eight cold ones, with an additional outer hell through which escaping spirits must pass without a guide. Each of these has special tortures to suit various crimes and misdemeanors.

"The 'wheel of life' is held in the claws of a monster who symbolizes 'the hideousness of clinging to life,' and beyond the rim is shown Buddha, who has escaped the round of metempsychosis."

788
778 As the lamas passed this scroll, I heard them mutter, "*Om Mani*
• 531 *Padme Hoom.*"

788 To the center of the main chapel is an altar covered with bowls
782 filled with water and cereals. They are offerings to various gods. For the sake of prosperity, they are supposed always to be filled. I met the lama who attends them, a scraggy, barefooted man, and as he passed the altar I heard him mutter, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

There are thirteen large urns at Hemis, about four or five feet tall and three feet wide. They are filled each year with yak butter by some friend or benefactor, and lighted wicks stand in the middle. Each urn is supposed to burn a year. If the flame goes out, it is bad luck. The lama who had the main urn under his surveillance hovered near, wrapped in a soiled, red robe. As I went by I heard him murmur, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

778 In the center of an adjoining chapel is a life-size statue of
788 Buddha, where the devout bow in worship, murmuring, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

785 Around Buddha are images of lesser deities and of Incarnate Lamas. There is one of Stagtsang Raspa, founder of Hemis. There is one of Mila Repa, the famous Tibetan poet who lived for eighty-three years and attained Buddhahood in that span even though
[754] his early life was sinful. He had learned how to kill people by magic and for a while walked the path of darkness. Then he did penance under a Lobon (Guru) by the name of Marpa. Marpa made him build a house of stone, then tear it down and carry the stones back to where he had found them. He did this over and again, one time building and tearing down a house nine stories high. Marpa beat Mila Repa and gave him impossible chores to do in penance for his sins. Finally Marpa gave him the Initiation and the Teachings, and launched Mila Repa on a life of mortification of the body. He became a hermit in a cave on a high mountain, where he lived on nettles. He renounced food, clothing, and

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531, 532

[For brief descriptions of representative and decorative religious art, see category 116, pp. 216-224, 246-268--Analyst]

*585
*539

The bird king did fly out to eat --
And we soon slipped through.

2. The wide, golden gap in the South
By a gold-colored door is closed.
On it hangs a gold dust seal,
With the gold frog's golden tooth.
No damage is on the tooth, forsooth,
And unharmed remained the seal.
Lake Ma-phan swelled. Then with his suite
The gold frog went out to get something to eat. --
And we in haste slipped through.

3. The wide, blue gap in the West
By turquoise-blue portal is closed.
Seal made of turquoise dust
With the proud peacock's tooth.
No damage is on the tooth, forsooth,
And unharmed remained the seal.
When Dug-gil-lo swelled, then with his suite
The peacock went to get something to eat. --
And we in haste slipped through.

4. The wide, black gap in the North
By a black-colored door is closed.
On it a seal of iron dust,
With the black raven's tooth.
No damage was done to the tooth, forsooth,
Unharmed did the seal remain.
When the Byan-pa-gor-sa grew,
Out for food went the ravens' crew. --
And we in haste slipped through.

The people:

Right. Listen with your ears!

/54/ Notes to XVa and b[1]

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This song has a similar character to that of songs 1 and 2. The "proud /really: joyful, --Translator/ peacock" in stanza 3 corresponds to the "dancing peacock" of Indic poetry. With respect to the seal it should be observed that the Tibetans like to use lime in sealing. They do this by pressing a wooden signet into the lime. [1] [See pp. 72-74--Analyst]

Notes to Kh. XIXa and b[1]

This song has not been preserved in its entirety either. The missing verses a, 1 to 4, it was easily possible to supply from b, 1 to 4. The missing conclusion b, 10 to 13, has been completed by me in the spirit of the preceding verses. The bride purchasers believe they make their divine origin most effectively clear by asserting that everything that goes on in nature and inside the house is connected with them or was caused by them. sKra-lo, in verse 6, is evidently a tutelary deity. The name might possibly signify "the one with the curly hair." The Shog-yan plateau in verse 10 is not yet known to me. But the North country in verse 11 is the well-known Byan-than plain. It is clear that the conclusion of this song in Khalatse is not nearly as satisfying as the conclusion of the song quoted above, No. XIX in Tag-ma-cig. 539 585 [776]

Concluding Observations

It is my intention to follow up this part of the wedding songs with a second and a third part in a special publication. If this plan should be somewhat delayed, it will be due to the difficulty in translating. For the first part, two manuscripts were available. The second part can only be translated on the basis of one single manuscript, and this circumstance results in a great deal of uncertainty in view of the archaic nature of the language. The Tibetan text of all three parts, together with a literal translation printed alongside it, is to be published in the very near future in a scholarly periodical. 000

/70/ Rock Drawings

Table I[2]

Number 1, 2 and 3. The "white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." A personification of the glacier. (Compare photograph.) 531 821

Number 4. Kesar's horse (rKyan-byun-dbyer-pa). 773

" 5. Kesar on his horse engaged in hunting the antelope. On both sides are stupas, and over them branches of the sacred juniper tree. Unknown emblem (a square with diagonals). (Compare photograph.) 778 531

1 [See pp. 90-92, category 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 97, Category 116 -- Analyst]

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 778 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

" 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 98, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 821 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings[1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

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1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 - - Analysis]

531

number 26 from Lahul; numbers 27, 28, and 29 by the Indus River near Ha-ri-tse; number 30 from Khalatse; numbers 31, 34, and 36 from Nyer-mu; numbers 32, 33, and 37 from Khalatse. Number 35 from Pan-jid in Zans-dkhar. And numbers 38 and 39 from Khalatse.

15: Francke--97 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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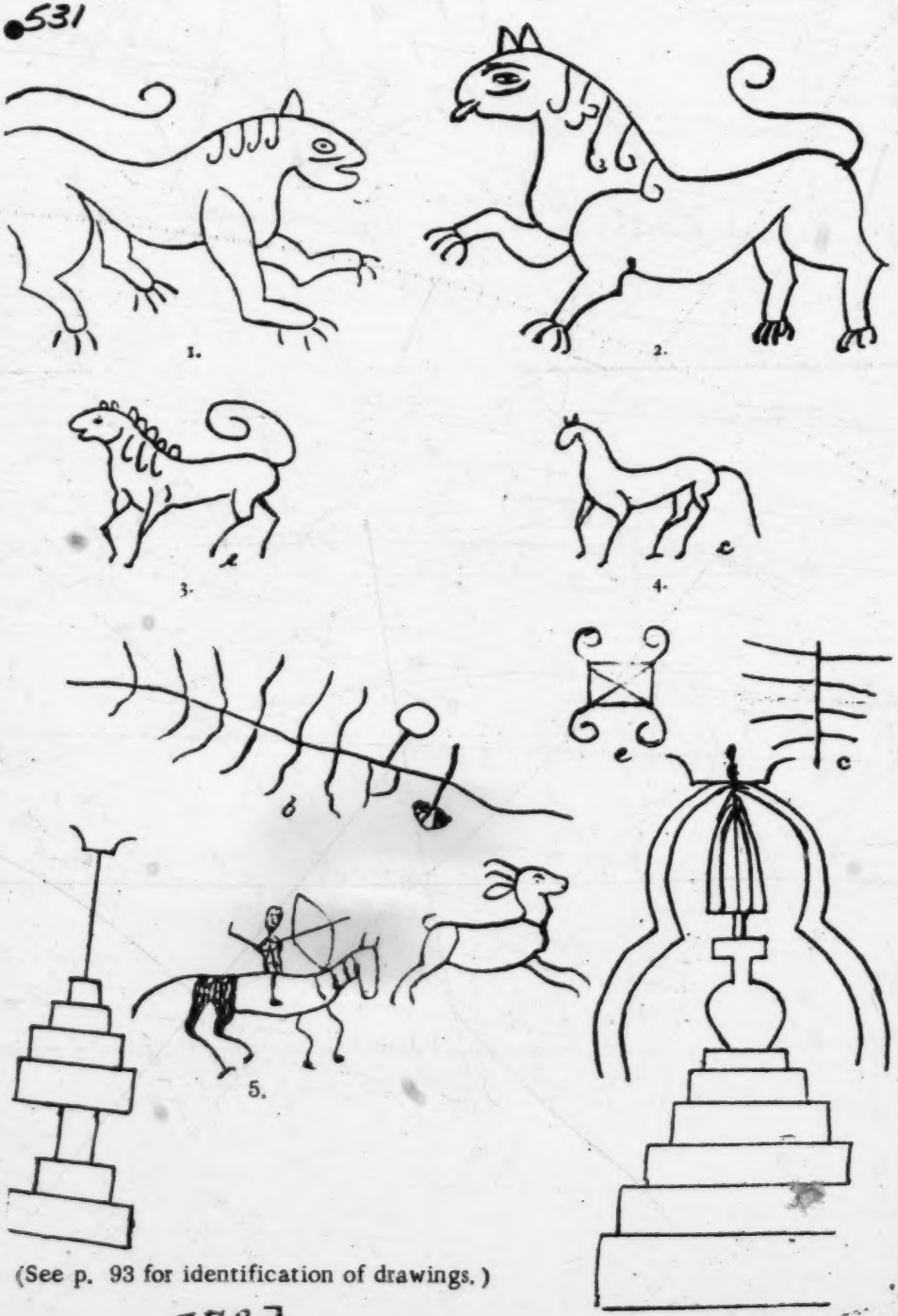

(See p. 93 for identification of drawings.)

15: Francke--98 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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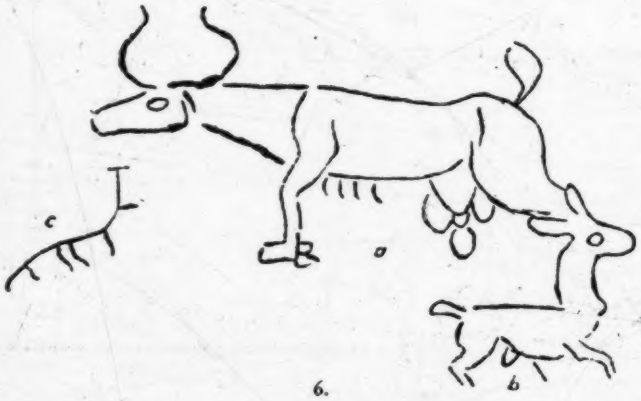

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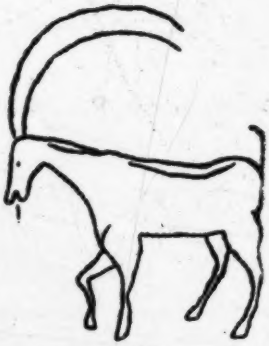

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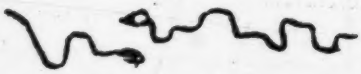

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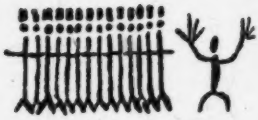

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Tafel II.

(See p. 94 for identification of drawings.)

15: Francke --99 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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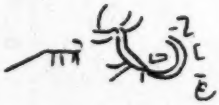
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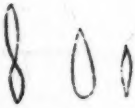
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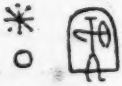
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[74] **Tafel III.**

(See p. 94 for identification of drawings.)

/Illustrations and Photographs. / 1

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
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137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailasas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-112 Category 116 -- Analysis]

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Nr. 2.

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Nr. 3. Captions for above pictures on p. 100

[76]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

346 At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the [231] entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held [778] them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building [562] containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly 353 lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elabo-346 rately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from which the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

353 The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the ● 531 figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark-skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between Lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

h Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

his nostrils dilated, and his mouth wide open, while his 778
whole body is surrounded by flames. Such is the male divinity of the Tántrists.

The Tántrika, *Todde-Phag-mo* (or Káli), is represented of a blood-red colour, with a garland of skulls round her neck. Her right hand holds the Vajra, or thunderbolt, and with her left hand she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. She is also represented as *Chansum-má* (or Trelochaná, the "three-eyed"), and is surrounded by a circle of flames. She carries a long sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy *Dorjé*.

The Tibetan Lamas are unrivalled amongst Orientals 532
as modellers in clay and workers in metal. A small medallion, about two inches square, which I possess, contains five figures surrounded by leaves and flowers of exquisitely delicate workmanship. It is formed of baked clay, but the edges are as sharp as if the work had been done by an European artist in plaster of Paris. Equally good is a figure of Shakya Thubba.

On the side of the road, between the hamlet of Styalbo 778
and the village of Drás, there are two pillars of granitic 532
mica-slate, which the people call *Chomo*, or "The Women," but which, I believe, have no connection whatever with Tibetan Buddhism, as the nearly obliterated inscriptions are in Kashmiri *Tákri*, and not in Tibetan characters.

The Eastern Pillar has one principal figure, a four-armed female, and two attendant females, one on each side, and each with one leg bent. They all wear necklaces, earrings, armlets, and anklets. On the pedestal are several small kneeling figures with their hands raised and joined together in attitudes of prayer. This

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 pillar is six feet nine inches high, one foot six inches
532 broad, and one foot thick.*

The Western Pillar has the same principal figure, also a four-armed female, with two attendant females on each side. This pillar is six feet high, two feet nine inches broad, and one foot thick.†

From the style of these figures, as well as from the nature of the alphabetical characters, I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that they are Brahminical statues erected by some Kashmirian Hindus. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that there is a third undoubted Hindu pillar standing close to them, which I believe to be a *Sati* pillar. On one side is sculptured a horseman, which is the usual emblem, placed on the pillar of a *Rajputni Sati*, to denote that her husband was a soldier. On the back of the pillar there is an inscription of eight lines in Kashmirian *Tákri*, which I am unable to translate satisfactorily. The words are the following :‡

Pra
Lokeswaram cha Maitré-
-yam pratishtáptantasram A-
-tabhavatumanya matwanvapra
Adathárábha U (la)
(ndra ?)
Aswáchaptakaye
gadrá
dram Alá.

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* See Plate XXIX. † See Plate XXX.

776 legs astride, a dwarf only a tru (21) high, his beard just as long, wearing

[804] 21. 1 tru (k'ru) is equivalent to the length of the lower arm of an adult person from the elbow to the tip of his extended middle finger.

a cap and carrying a stick. The Balu (dwarf) had, as my neighbor told me, looked at him sharply and then he had laughted broadly and shrewdly at the man who almost fell off his little horse because he was so frightened and a little drunk with the beer."

[532] One evening Konchog Trashi brought a picture along for his young friend /43/ whose thirst for knowledge was a pleasure to him. The picture had been made by a mask maker and painter Ishe Lhundrub, who also produced the hideous devils' masks for the monastery and painted the pictures of the Buddhas, holy men, and gods. He had painted it on paper copying it from models in varied, shining colors and then he had mounted it on silk. It represented the terrible goddess of revenge dPal-ldan-Lha-mo (22). She is the wife of the god of death and

22. The dreadful goddess of terror Kali of Hindu mythology. There she is the wife of Shiva, the destroyer.

prince of hell Shin-je (gśin-rje, Sanskrit Yama). "This couple had a son. Father and son were enemies of the sacred teachings of Buddha," so recounted Konchog Trashi, "and the son attempted to extinguish this doctrine. Thereupon the mother who was a zealous adherent of the faith, became enraged, killed her disloyal son, skinned him, ate his heart and drank his blood from a bowl which she made from the skull of her son. Then she mounted her yellow mule upon which she had placed the skin of her son as a saddle-cloth and fled from the rage of her husband. Now Shin-je pursued his angry spouse and murderess of their child and shot a magic arrow at the fleeing goddess which hit the mule in the rear shank. Lhamo, however, transformed the wound by a magical formula into an eye and thus escaped the raging husband. Since that time dPal-ldan Lha-mo has been the fiercest fighter for the sacred doctrine of Buddha."

Konchog Trashi showed his young, eager friend the picture of the Dreadful One. There she is shown riding along on her pale yellow mule through a sea of blood in which the hacked-off limbs of the enemies of Buddha, who have been killed in battle, are floating. The

skin color of the goddess is the blue of the terror deities; her bristling, 76
upright hair surrounds her huge head like flames, upon which has been placed a crown consisting of the skulls of killed enemies. From her three eyes she darts forth lightning. The goddess is dressed in only a loincloth of tiger skin and the skin of a human being; her belt is formed by snakes. Her right hand swings as a weapon the terrible trident, while in her left hand she holds the bowl of a skull filled with the blood of enemies. On the first day of the first month in the year a great mass is [782]
celebrated in honor of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the monastery temple in the neighboring Lamayuru monastery. This mass is performed in order to appease the anger of the feared goddess /44/, because the "unbelievers" constantly provoke her by their activity.

No wonder the imagination of Namgyal was most strongly aroused 000
by all these narratives and pictures--in time Konchog Trashi acquainted his knowledgeable pupil with a great mass of Tibetan-Buddhistic divinities, with Buddhas and demons--and no wonder fear constantly gained increasing dominance over the boy. At night when it was dark he scarcely dared to take the short path which led from their meeting place to his house. Every step of the way he was accompanied by pictures of those demons and terror gods whose figures and actions the old storyteller had so drastically placed before his eyes. Everywhere he thought he could see the hideous, grinning grimaces; in the rushing of the wind, in the gurgling of the river, in the shriek of the eagle, in the call of the stone-finch, the boy heard the voice of the Dreadful One, her furious, spine-tingling "Alala!" Fear held the hitherto so courageous boy in its ban for a long time and inhibited his activities and his development.

By now Namgyal had heard enough about gods and demons and 773
of their mostly pernicious activities. For the time being he had no desire to hear them any more. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the stories of a lama who wandered around the countryside. Once during the winter he came to the village and stayed there for an extended period of time. To the people who crowded around him every [532]
day he showed painted pictures mounted on linen cloth and supplied with a border of silk. These pictures had round sticks attached to them at the top and at the bottom and they could be rolled up like a geographical map which is hung on the wall. The pictures represented scenes from the life and legend of Gautama Buddha. The boy was particularly interested in the stories of the 550 births of Buddha which preceded his last birth and at which he was born now as a god and now

/Following page 76/

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Tibetan women in Ladakh

(Original Tibetan drawing).

5: Ribbach--116 a. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 112

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A praying Buddha figure

ride of a good hour at a steady amble brought the company to the village [527] Stog on the other side of the Indus where the king was already awaiting the gentlemen from Leh with a small following of relatives and farmers. All were on fine horses, the horses were beautifully bridled and equipped with fine, /132/ colorful Yarkand saddlecloths. The gentlemen from [576] Leh greeted his dethroned majesty with the honors accorded to a king of the old time: "Hail! We, your humble servants, greet you most respectfully, you, the lofty king of Ladakh! Hail, good fortune, might, and long life be accorded to you!" On this occasion a special word from the courtly language was used for each of the words applied to the king. Furthermore, the gentlemen had all dismounted from their horses, they bowed down deeply before his majesty and embraced the royal legs. The king, a man of middle age, was, it is true, anything but a royal sight: his posture was slouching; sagging and expressionless were his facial traits; his one crossed eye gave his expression of a somewhate stupid appearance--the degenerate offspring of a once mighty and energetic tribe of rulers. He received the salutations of his grandees with an embarrassed gesture. And yet he was "the king" for the people of Ladakh during the brief days of celebration, and as such, royal respects had to be paid to him. This was required by the custom which the ruling Kashmir government suffered magnanimously to continue, since it was convinced of the harmlessness of the weakly Gyalpo.

Escorted by about thirty horsemen, the king now rode to Leh, crossing the Indus by a bridge. He rode across the bazaar and was greeted everywhere by the people of Ladakh in a most respectful manner. The people had come together in great numbers from all the neighboring villages, in part from very great distances. Today they were for once allowed to dream of ancient, long-past royal splendor. The procession rode up the steep mountain on which the castle stood, accompanied by crowds of the populace. In front of the lions' gate [532] the riders dismounted. At their approach the lion who was roughly carved out of wood, and who peered out over the gate from a niche, had begun to growl violently, and at the same time there resounded the furious barking of dogs. A mighty Tibetan mastiff which was lying on the inside of the gate on a chain was connected by means of a string with the wooden lion up above. When the barking dog jumped around and tugged at the string, the wooden lion above the gate, through whose belly went an axle, began to skip about, and the populace gaped at this wonder of technology,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Chapter III, B.

792 Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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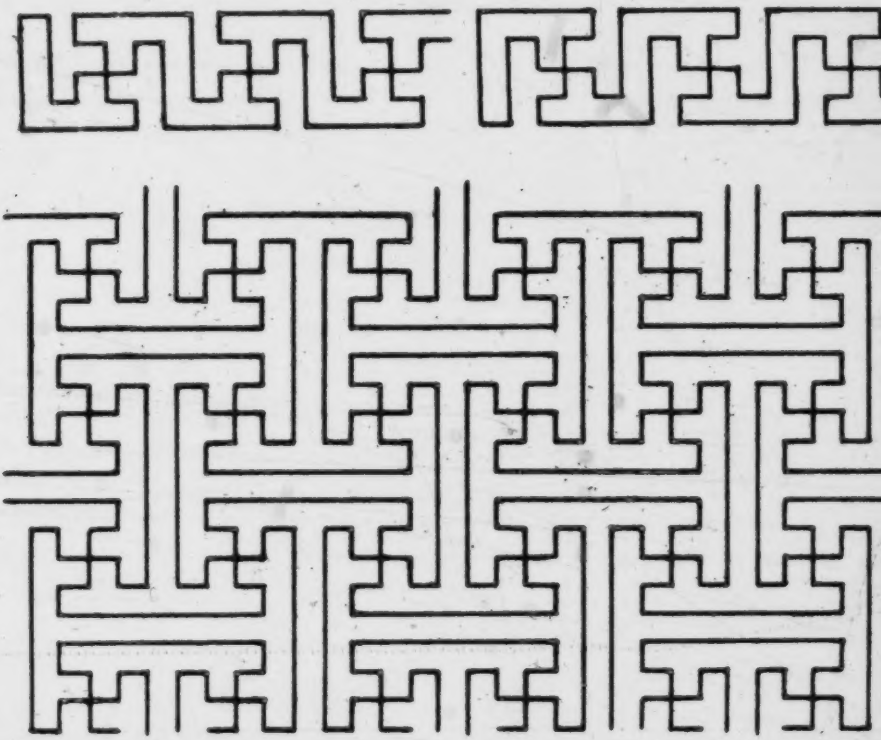
In the drawings below showing the *yyundrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.



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However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *yyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *swastika*.

The *yyungdrung* is thought to be of great importance at the wedding ceremony, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *yyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

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bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcesai glu'i[2] dpecha yin.	This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the Nyopas, when the bride is given.

[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.

[2] *A chungba* is indicated by an apostrophe.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Om Mani Padme Hoom

The two lamas who played these horns were extraordinary men. 535 To be able to blow the horns at all seemed to me remarkable. The 796 fact is that one man cannot blow one horn for many consecutive seconds. That means that the other horn must come in and pick up the pitch where the first horn leaves it. This requires great skill, as one relieves the other over and again, hour after hour, while the orchestra drones on and on.

It takes hours to present the lama dances. The pageantry is superb; the story, exciting; the plot, simple; the moral, plain. They have been described by Ted Shawn in *Gods Who Dance.* The characters were all masked. Some wore masks of people; [532] • others wore masks of lions, stags, oxen, and yaks. These masks—carved from solid blocks of wood and colored with a glossy and brilliant enamel—usually had grotesque expressions. Their hideous features, their terrifying grimaces led early European visitors to the monasteries to call these the Devil Dances. That is a misnomer. The dancers represented the forces of Good as well as the forces of Evil. The main emphasis of the theme was the struggle between the two. After a few serious scenes, the producer of the dance changed the pace and sent in comedy relief. These were gay, carefree, burlesque-type characters. After they left, the serious took up again. Apart from these interruptions, the story marched steadily onward—Good gaining the ascendancy; Evil gradually being routed.

A triangle had been drawn on the cobblestones of the courtyard and inside this triangle there was a small black image representing a human corpse. Dancers dashed madly around it, engaged in a foray of sickles and swords as they tried to snatch this corpse from the triangle. The lesson was plain—man is helpless and guideless; he lives among vast unkind elements of earth and sky that seek perpetually to destroy him. Only Dharma, man's good action in life, can guard him against the evil designs of the spirits.

The final act was put on by two characters representing virtue—the Stag and the Yak. The heads worn by the lamas in this dance

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [143]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens*, and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

871 lighted and full of scheming devils, learns about the paintings
•532 from the lamas. He first learns of devils and demons from the lips
869 of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up, from the legends of pass poison, evil demons, revengeful gods that men in the caravans relate. And when he goes to the monasteries, the stories he has heard at home are confirmed. The lamas put on their dances and out come Lust, Anger, and Greed in person. Even the most stupid person can see them in all their ugliness. Thus are the natives indoctrinated with fears and superstitions. The devils are always present; they are a factor never forgotten in the daily life of the Ladakhis. A Ladakhi burns incense to sanctify his house. He spins his prayer wheel and observes the ritual of the *mani* walls and *chhortens*. And to gain religious merit, he goes on a pilgrimage, sometimes to India proper, in search of the river of mystery in the fashion of the lama immortalized by Kipling's *Kim*.

792 Rahul, devout Buddhist and a prominent layman in the church,
876 made a speech a year or so ago saying the monasteries should become educational centers, bringing in the children from the surrounding areas and teaching them. The wrath of the lamas descended on Rahul. He was severely taken to task.

"Why?" I ventured to ask.

"Because the power of the lamas is in part due to the ignorance of the people," Rahul answered. "That is the reason why Tibet has been the forbidden land. The lamas do not want ideas from the outside world to reach their people. Ideas, you know, can be disturbing."

That is why travel of foreigners throughout the whole area was long restricted. That is why lamas, fearful of the importation of ideas, would sometimes turn bandits loose on travelers. That is why, even today, the educational activities of monasteries—apart from their perpetuation of superstition—are practically nil.

792 Lamaism has a vested interest not only in the ignorance of the people but in their poverty as well. Poverty and ignorance, in

13: Heber and Heber AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
531, 532

[For brief descriptions of representative and decorative religious art, see category 116, pp. 216-224, 246-268--Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 striped border The other three sides of the court-yard are
792 filled in with the two storeyed private dwellings of the lamas. No pillared cloisters are these, but just an occasional flight of a few steps, then a door, and at the side a window at a level which may or may not be in relation with that of the other doors and windows, and over both apertures the same kind of valance. If the latter sags in the middle, there is no hurry to replace it, far less to wash it, but on the whole this *dGonpa*, presents quite a clean, brushed, cared-for, tidy appearance. Ascending the steps, we arrive in the large covered portico outside the main room or refectory of the
353 monastery. All round the three walls pictures are painted in
779 bright colours. On the left is the " Wheel of Life " held by
●53v a dragon-like monster. This consists of an inner, a middle, and an outer circle the middle one being divided into six compartments. The inner circle represents by means of a dove, a serpent and a pig coloured respectively red, green and black the three vices, lust, ill-will and stupidity, which bind man to the wheel of existence. In the upper compartment of the middle circle are the gods, into this grows the tree whose fruit provides any food desired by the soul and whose roots lie in the world of the demi-gods, who continually wage war against the gods in order to obtain this fruit. In the upper left-hand compartment are men. The above three existences are superior, whilst below the equator are the inferior ones of beasts, then of *yidags*, poor miserable men with large bellies, but such small necks that their hunger can never be appeased through such constricted throats, and in the lowest section are the hells, both hot and cold. A cold hell seems rather a misnomer to English ears, but Ladakis, at any rate, know the terrors of extreme cold. Buddha himself is out of the circle, and yet his reflexes seem somehow to be still in the wheel of existence. In the outer circle are pictures illustrating various phases of life, such as birth, marriage, death, burial work.

Opposite the top of the steps, on each side of the door with

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the 353
compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these 779
figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right 532
wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering 346
the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, 352
lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an 792
inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be 264
seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a 352
collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside 792
down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the 352
Slobdpon is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the 792

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

792 Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

792 346 353 779 532 [415] 779 788

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain.

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands, each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate his many heads an attic projects up into an inner courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha, for permission to return and help him, he received this reply, "Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all, I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these heads represent four past races, and that actually there should be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating, but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate, it was "the light that failed." We pass into another room containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their
792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
35v the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and man, and he possesses 1000 heads. Thrown at his feet one notices many cowrie shells and Indian copper coins, the former brought by women to appease him. This image was only made a few years ago, and a special series of services were held to induce the god to enter the image. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting and dancing in the grove of large trees at the side of the monastery, while the actual ritual was performed on the roof, where Meme Lobzang (the *Skushog* being then a tiny baby) presided, assisted by a group of lamas, who helped him to pour the right libations and offerings from the many vessels and bowls before his throne into the large fire which leaped and crackled before him, accompanied by monotonous incantations and chants from a group of seated lamas, and, of course, the monastic band. To this roof we now duly ascended up another very steep ladder, where Meme Lobzang himself extended his hand to help the ladies with true Western gallantry. The view was magnificent, both behind towards the Kardong Pass and before down to Leh, whose trees blotted out the desert below, so that the cultivation and all its little square terraced fields might have extended to the foot of the mighty mountains on the further side of the Indus, all touched with the magic softness of the westering sun.

Retracing our steps down the steep staircases, through the dim passages and rooms, we emerged again into the portico, and viewed the lamas private dwellings ranged on the three sides in front of us as we descended the temple steps. In the left-hand corner was a peculiarly fantastic bit, so delightfully crazy it looked. A short flight of steps led up to two doors, each with an ancient padded curtain to keep out the draught, and a sagging valance above, whilst over one was a quaint little attic with a window of roughly-patterned lattice, its lines so fascinatingly crooked, and enhanced by a small awning, projecting from one side of the attic to shade the roof, on the edge of which was a series of rough window boxes,

already been said. aBru-gu-ma's character as an earth deity appears 776
particularly clearly, however, when she receives her punishment for 773
having finally surrendered to King "White Tent." In this connection
it is told, among other things: "For punishment lucernes were sown
on her head and her head was plowed under with dzo oxen" (2). Un-

2. A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor,"
No. 9.

fortunately, the name aBru-gu-ma is not as transparent as many others.
Perhaps, however, it is connected with abru, "seed kernel." 532

Pictorial representations of the earth deity have not yet come to light. However, we read in the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 19-22), that she rides a horse called bTsan-rta-dmar-chun, "Little red earth horse." aBru-gu-ma is praised for her milk-white complexion. (3) Through her passing into the realm of the heavenly

3. Glin-glu of Phyi-dban, No. 4.

deities she has come to partake of their color. Of mother sKyabs-
mdun we read that she is seen by someone in a dream and appears to 823
him as though a snake were wound around her body (Shel-li-bu-zhun,
Paladins, III). But later it is explained that the apparent snake sym-
bolizes the hook-shaped land of Glin.

Through its high mountain peaks, on which the gods lived just as much as in heaven, Bar-btsan, the middle realm, touches the realm of the gods. The fact that there are also large lakes in the middle realm, connects it with the realm of the elves or Naga (Tibetan, Klu).

/10/ 3. Yog-klu, the realm of the water spirits, (Tibetan, Klu, [823]
Indic, Naga, English, "nymphs"). This realm is to be found in all the rivers and lakes and also below the earth, since the Tibetans believe that subterranean connections exist between the visible waters. The word Yog-klu signifies "the lower nymphs." Just like sTan-lha, Yog-klu is also a state. There a king rules over many servants and subjects who also distinguish themselves by their many children. (See Winter Myth, V, 17.)[1] The name of the king is written in my manuscripts, in accordance with the pronunciation, mostly lJogs-po, a word which is not to be found in the dictionaries. In the dictionaries, aJog-po is given as the name of a Naga king, but even aJog-po does not make any proper sense. The most probable thing is that lJogs-po is a dialectical variant of lCogs-po, which, according to

1 [See [illegible] 116, pp 1-8 for references, --Analyst]

human beings. This disease is called Klu-nad among the Tibetans, 776
and among the Indians Nagaroga (a disease caused by the nymphs). 773
The disease is ascribed to the nymphs because leprosy at first looks [751]
like snow. The passage cited from the chronicle of Ladakh seems to indicate that instead of one prince of Nagas, they conceived of two who lived in the Manasarowar Lake. This duality may be derived from the Indians. /11/ The Tibetans seem to have severed the adjective Zil-chen, "the radiant," from the name Ma-dros-zil-chen, and to have created a new divinity with it.

In the case of this king of the Nagas, Ma-dros or lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that he recedes into the background as an active deity as much as does the king of heaven and the goddess of the earth. He no longer goes out to rape the earth goddess. Rather, he has left this to younger persons, in particular to the king of Hor (Mongolia and Turkestan, countries to the north of Western Tibet). Winter is the time when the water masses, in the form of ice and snow, put the earth in their bondage, and winter's power penetrates from the north. In the Kesar saga we read that Kesar after his wedding goes off to the north in order to do battle against the Giant of the North, and that during this time King Gur-dkar (that is, "White Tent") of Hor rapes aBru-gu-ma. For many passages of the Kesar saga it appears that the Naga king was a divinity for human beings, and that, even though a third-class divinity, he received the same hommage accorded the god of heaven and the goddess of earth. From this ethically impeccable figure, however, there soon developed a new figure which embodied the evil principle. We shall speak later of this "devil" bDud.

Ancient representations of the Tibetan Klu, in particular of the [532] ●
king, have not yet been found. From the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 27-30)[1] we see that King lJogs-po rides a horse called Klu-rta-snon-chun, "little blue nymph horse." In the dream song (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III)[1] we read that the king carries something in his mouth which at first glance looks like a black sheep. Later it turns out that the presumed sheep is actually a lotus flower.

The Colors of the Three Realms. The most original color system 773
is apparently to be found in a version of the Kesar saga of the village 822
of Sheh (Shel) as it is written down in the Spring and Winter Myths. There we frequently hear of three altars erected in honor of the deities of the realms of the world, which have white, red, and blue for their colors (1). According to this system, sTan-lha, the realm

1. Spring Myth, IV, 20-26; VII, 22, 30; IX, 1.
* [See cat 116, pp. 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

The following Agus might have a connection with the days of the week: Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, or gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, the "crystal" or "mirror" or "gold son," the son of Kesar, for Sunday; Zla-ba-bzan-po, "good moon," or Zla-ba-dkar-po, "white moon," for Monday; for Tuesday we must go to a being which so far has not been designated as an Agu. This is the Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat, red eye," a bird (that is, star), which is named as the younger brother of the sun bird (see Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue").[1] Among the Agus it is approached most closely by aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, "red worm, road sign," which is designated as a younger brother of King Kesar. With respect to Wednesday, it is to be remarked that the spelling lhag-pa is perhaps incorrect, and for the following reason: In the pictures by which the days of the week are designated in the calendar, Wednesday is always indicated by a hand. Now, "hand," is not called lhag-pa, but lag-pa. I believe that, from the word lag-pa, "hand," first of all the word slag-pa, meaning "provided with a hand," was formed; slag-pa and lhag-pa are, however pronounced identically. Lhag-pa should therefore mean "the one who is provided with a hand," and since Agu Lag-lag-rins is provided with a hand on his head, he might appear as the representative of Wednesday. Thursday has the phur-bu or vajra as a sign. In this place, therefore, a hero of the type of Jupiter would fit. Now, a thunderbolt hero is not to be found among the Agus, apparently for the reason that this weapon became known to the Tibetans only through the Indians. As the lexicon tells us, the word phur-bu signifies, first of all, any pointed iron, therefore also an arrowhead. It is therefore not impossible that in mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the "highest arrow master," we have the Agu of Thursday before us, especially since he has an arrowhead for a head (1). The

776 773 805 821 [532]

1. Perhaps, however, Kesar himself should be inserted under Thursday, as a fighter against the dragon of the clouds. The "arrow master" as "archer" should probably be assigned to the zodiac.

Agu of Friday is immediately recognizable by his name. He is Pa-sans-ldan-ru-skyes, "owner of (the planet) Venus, growing horns." By these horns are meant the phases of Venus which the Tibetans were able to see just as clearly as the Babylonians. It is impossible to determine from the name whether the Agu was male or female. Perhaps in order to emphasize the feminine nature of this planet, the female Agu dPal-moi-a-stag, "(A-stag?) the glorious one," was created. She is famous as a fierce warrior with the spear. To this

1 [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu (Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po, rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCL in my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water SNAKES.

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113] 2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z.D.M.G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
● 532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Ribbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

spindle (or the female sex organs) in Lahoul in the valley of the Bhaga River. I noticed only one rock drawing there of the male sex organs. In that region the name Bhaga, which can be translated by "sex organ," may have given rise to the practice of decking out the rocks with such emblems. That they had confidence in the ability of Kesar (and of aBru-gu-ma) to dispense children, we see from the saga about rGyal-sa-dkar-po (see Paladins). There Kesar prophesies to a girl that she will not only get a wealthy husband but also that she will bear seven children. 782 831 532 842

Festivals of the Ancient Tibetan Religion 796

1. The New Year's festival (Lo-gsar). Of this festival, which probably corresponds to the ancient winter solstice, I possess one description which the schoolteacher of Khalatse prepared in Tibetan. In this document it is stated: From the fifteenth of the tenth month to the twenty-fourth, children carry torches to a certain field. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth they light a fire on the public dancing place where all the people gather. All the farmers bake a kind of bread called ba-ga-tam, and this bread they store away. Then the children go to all the doors and say:

This is a good day, a good star.
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this day,
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this star!
Now every day is a lucky one!
May every year be a lucky one!
The boys get brides for themselves,
Wedding feasts are held,
White beer is poured out,
White pieces of butter are given with it!
A ram is killed.
May a son be born to you!
Give us a ba-ga-tam -- bread!

In this way the children collect many loaves of the bread, which they then distribute and eat.

The thirtieth day is called sTon (assistance). Then the relatives entertain one another. In the afternoon the men march out to the field with torches and music. Here they play the bra-sol (?). Thereupon the Mon (Indian caste of carpenters) must perform five exorcisms of the devil (skrad), during which rifles are fired and everybody shouts "te-ya-ho." Then the torches are heaped up in one pile and a dance is done around them with swords and rifles, as

"dragon," frequently alternates with aBrugu-ma. This goddess might have come by the name rDo-rje-chen-mo as the wife of Kesar, who, according to the Glin-glu song No. 9 of Khalatse, is shown to be a rDo-rje-pa, a wielder of the thunderbolt. In this song he flings a lightning bolt at the cloud dragon. The lightning proceeds, however, directly from the rdo-rje (or Indic vajra). It is, therefore, just at the harvest festival that honor is paid the goddess, /31/ who is usually called upon for the blessing of offspring. The third one of the songs of Shel contains a eulogy of the yak, which is of great importance during the harvesting, for one thing, as a beast of burden for the sheaves, and for another as the leader of all those animals that thresh the ears of grain by walking over the sheaves. The song of Skyur-bu-can contains in its main section a game of riddles concerning the treasures of the countries of the four points of the compass. In Skyur-bu-can I also got to see, as I have already mentioned, the peculiar dance of the flowers. The flowers needed for the flower offering are not taken from the gardens by the houses, but are gathered high up on the mountain slopes just below the snow boundary. These flowers, which exude an overpoweringly strong, sweet odor, are wound around long staffs, and, carrying these poles in their hands, the shepherd boys have to execute complicated round dances to the accompaniment of an oboe and kettledrums. As we know from the songs of Shel, the flowers are then supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess rDo-rje-mo. In Skyur-bu-can, though, I observed that these flower poles were laid down inside the Buddhist temple. The festival is, of course, connected with many dances of a general nature and with feasts at which beer prepared /taking bereites as a misprint for bereitetes--Translator./ from green barley grains, plays an important role. This leads us to the name of the festival. The syllable lha is the ordinary word for "god" (deva). The syllable srub, on the other hand, corresponds to the word srus, or srub, which means "ears of grain that are almost ripe." The Srub-lha festival is therefore the festival of the very earliest harvest. As can be seen from ancient rock drawings, people contented themselves at this festival with having larger animals, oxen, horses, and so forth, represented by throwing a blanket over several persons. 796 532

The Goal of the Ancient Religion

From the preceding it becomes apparent that the ancient Tibetans expected only earthly gifts from their gods. Kesar, the 771 773

/Illustrations and Photographs. /[1]

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by a native artist in Ladakh).
585
272
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

1 [See pp. 102-117, category, 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--102 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

755 /(12)/ No. 14.[1] Large dos-mo from the dos-mo festival in Leh.
796
778

The evil spirits of winter and of diseases are caught in the structures that resemble spiderwebs. After the exorcism, the frames are destroyed.

● 532 /(13)/ No. 15. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.
776

Stars from the Kesar saga. The king's castle of Glin. Above it, in the clouds, are deities.

/(14)/ No. 16. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

On the right: A scene from the Kesar saga. King Kesar with the eighteen Agus. Three women from the right. In the clouds are the father of the gods and the mother of the gods, and their children (?). On the left: A scene from the Dogra war.

/(15)/ No. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar.

Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

No. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh.

(The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

1 [see pp. 114-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke --103 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans 474

Nr. 1. Caption for above picture appears on page 100

585
532
535

15: Francke --108 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans #J4

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No. 7. Caption for above picture on p. 102.

[80]

15: Francke--109 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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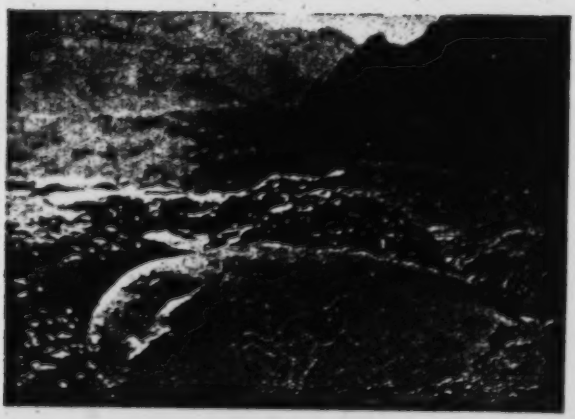
Nr. 8.



Nr. 9. Captions for above pictures on p. 101.

[81]

15: Francke --110 M-3 (no date) 1922 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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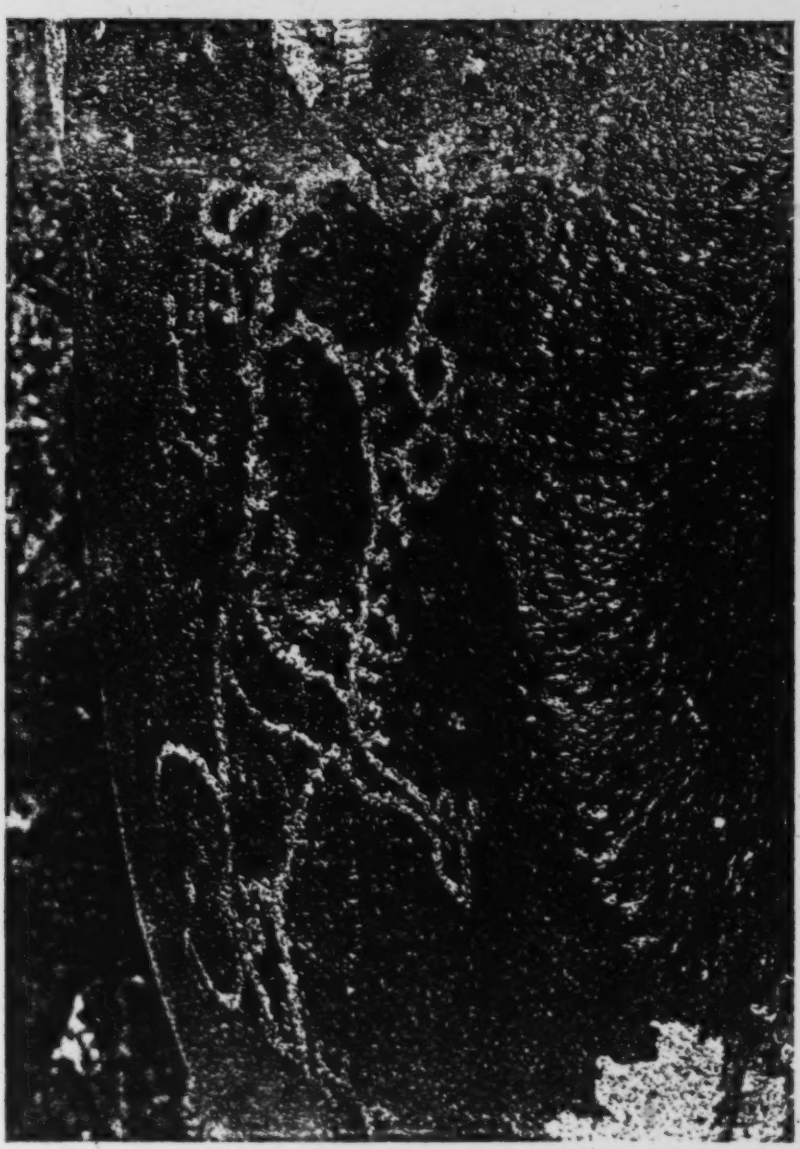
776



Nr. 10 Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[82]

15: Francke --111 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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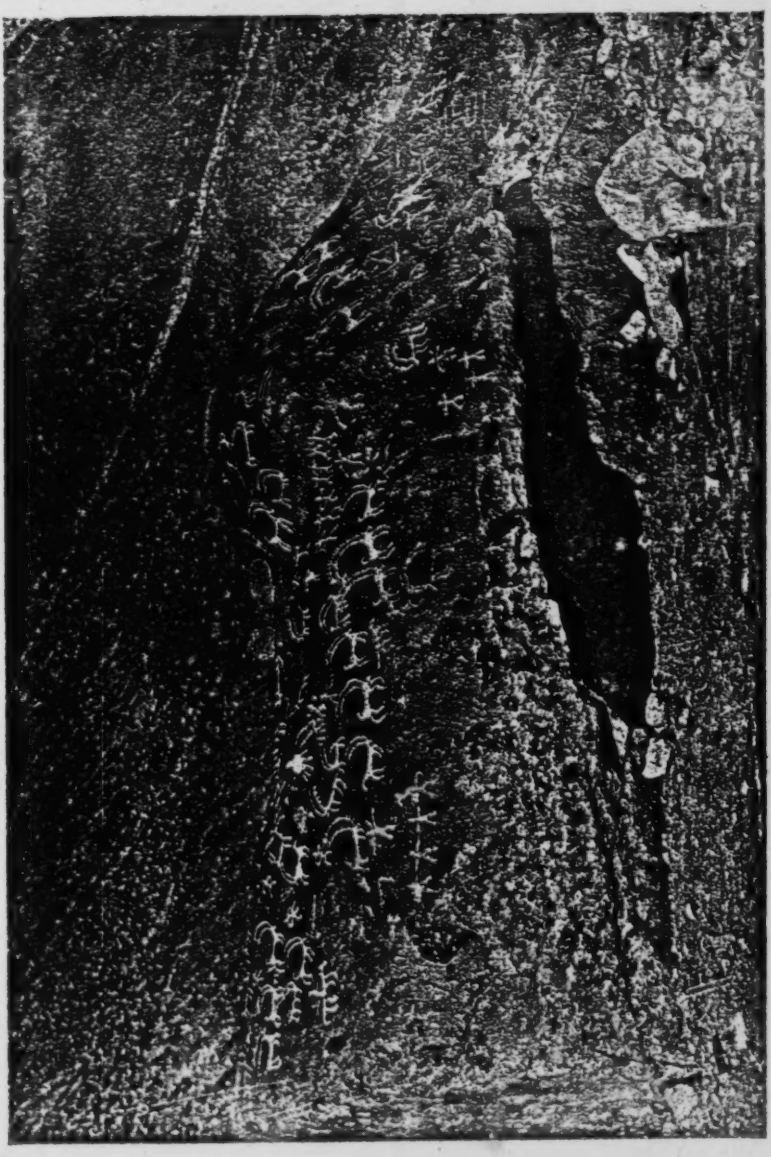

Nr. 11. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[83]

15: Francke --112 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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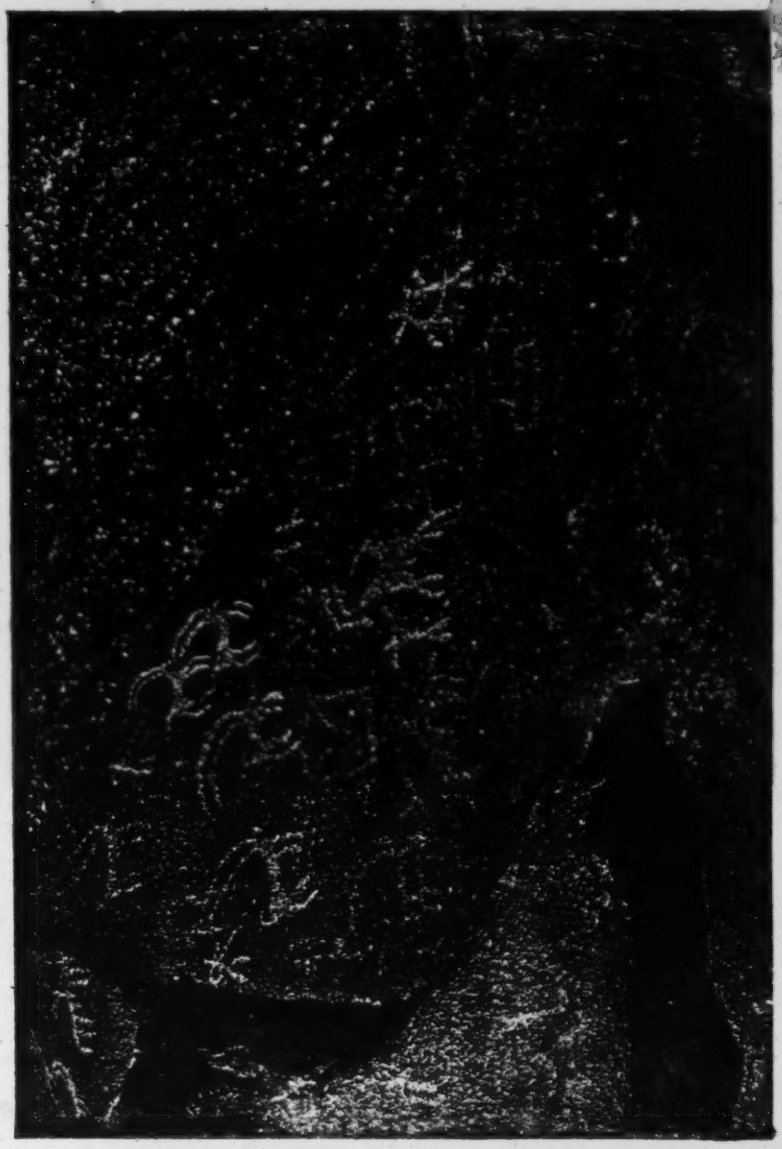

Nr. 12. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[84]

15; Francke --115 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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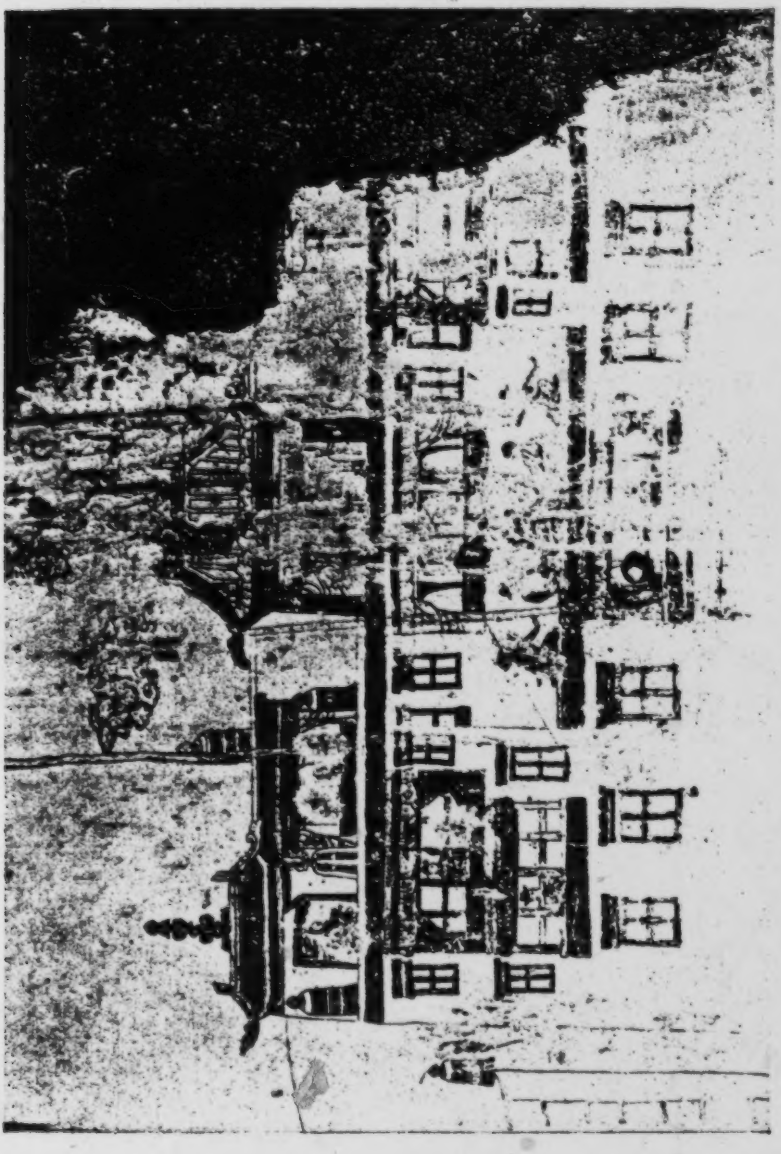

Nr. 15. Caption for above picture on p. 102.

[87]

15: Francke--116 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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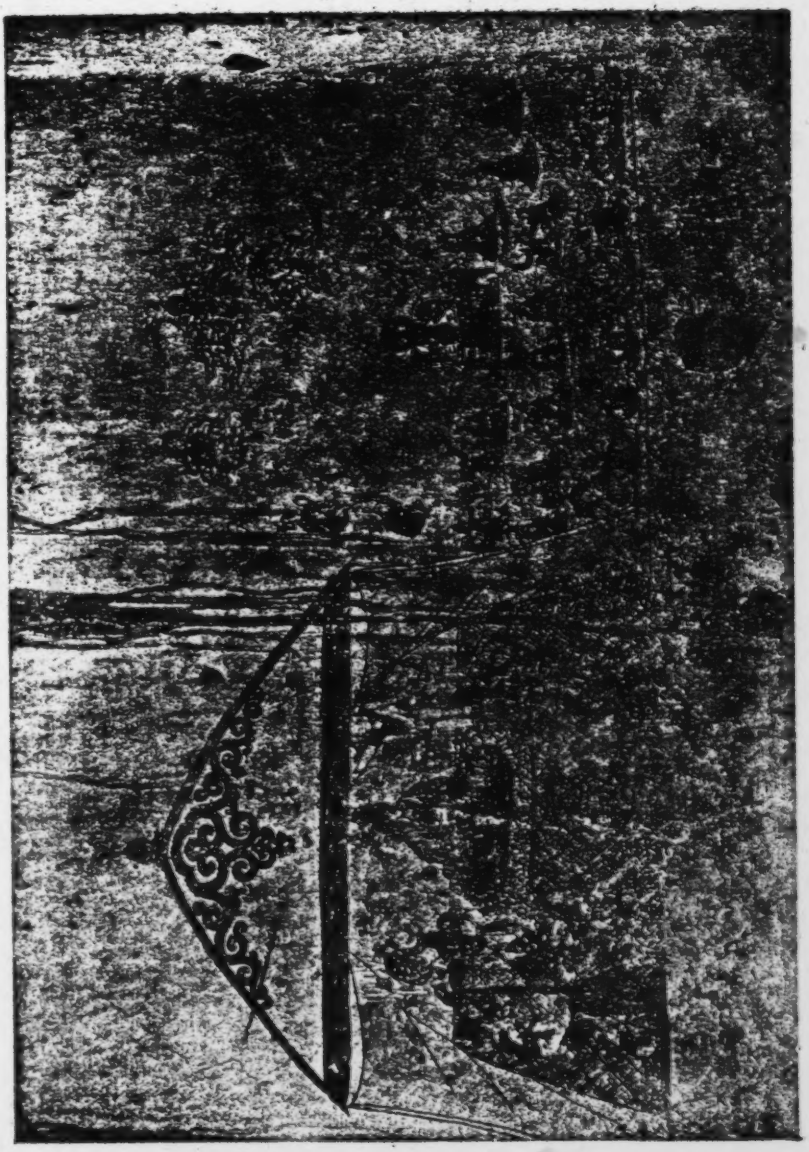

Nr. 16.

15: Francke --117 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans A374
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Nr. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar. Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

Nr. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh. (The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

316
466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564
645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime
631 Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is
647 governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

564 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The pro-
463 fessional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon"
● 533 castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]
797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 533 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face), khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tasháo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 781 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equivalent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la tấng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zăr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 žo from the whole 584.
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533 ●
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H. Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl	Oh, did you not see my companion?	533
	Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?	534
Second Girl	Your companion, I know her not,	
	Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.	
	There just passed by a maiden fair,	
	Her body was as of pure gold.	
/70/ First Girl	Oh, did you not see my companion?	
	Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?	
Second Girl	Your companion, I know her not,	
	Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.	
	There passed by a girl with hair so rich,	

533
539

So full, like the leaves of the turquoise willow (51).

51. Which of the various types of willow that are to be found in the valleys of the Himalayas is meant, is impossible to tell. Perhaps one is to think of the "yellow willow" (lcan-ser) which has light green ("turquois-colored") leaves and yellow twigs.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your companion, I know not.
A maiden passed by, shining like the moon.
As it can shine only on the fifteenth (52).

52. Around the 15th of the month of the moon year, there is a full moon.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There went by a maiden with eyebrows so fine,
They looked like a double naro sign (53).

53. The sign of the Tibetan vowel O (called naro), is reminiscent in shape of eyebrows.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a maiden with teeth white as milk,
That did gleam like pearls.
First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There went by a maiden, her waist was slim
As the thunderbolt handle (54) of the bell so smooth.

54. The handle of the bell (dril-bu) used by the lamas at the

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunder-bolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the lama magicians. 533 539

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward. 000

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55)

55. Tibetan t'ig-can and nye-c'in. 584

After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank, and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 zo for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 585 431

the bridegroom. 585

The Nyaopas outside the gate and the Chirpon people in the yard now start a singing game, the meaning and content of which is the following: The five Nyaopas come to buy the bride in the name of the bridegroom's father. They claim to be the sons of god who have come from the realm of the gods on the high mountains, from the region of the glaciers. Their appearance arouses astonishment among the inhabitants of the house and their clan; for, as they believe, no one could escape from that realm which on all four "points of the compass" (above, below, to the right and to the left) is guarded by four female animals. The guards are: the white ice lion with the turquoise-colored mane (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can) above at the glacier; the little fish golden-eye (nya-mo gser-mig) below in the glacial brook; the wild queen of the birds (bya-rgyal rgod-mo) on the rock to the right, the giant striped tigress (rgya-stag k'ra-mo) in the sandal wood forest to the left. [776]

/80/ The people of the bride's house now jokingly put a long series of questions in the form of a song (63) to test the Nyaopas, which 585 533

63. The songs that now follow are taken from the collection Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/, collected by A. H. Francke, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, 1923. They have been translated by Francke from the Tibetan (Ladakh dialect), and Mrs. Paalzow has transposed them into their original meter. I am giving some of the songs in my translation. According to Francke some of the songs sung here represent a kind of catechism of the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans and give insights into the mythology and the cosmology of that period.

the latter answer by likewise singing a song. As soon as an answer is not made satisfactorily the gate is opened for just a moment from the inside, the boys and girls rush out and beat the Kalatse boys amid rough jokes, Then the Chirpon people withdraw again and lock the scarcely opened gate. The singing game begins. 585 533 539

The Chirpon people inside in the courtyard of the bride's house sing:

The Ice God closed off the three valleys

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High up above where the glacier lioness (64) lives,

[773]

64. The "white ice lioness with her turquoise-colored mane" (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can), a personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the goddess of heaven; she is one of the mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, which are there associated with the gods, just as /the "wild queen of the birds" and the other animals mentioned in note 65, which in the original text follows directly after note 64. --translator./

Dear guests, please tell us, how did you get through?
Thunderbolt rock is fenced off to the right
By the mountain where the Queen of the Birds (65) is on guard.

[773]

65. The "wild Queen of the Birds" (bya-rgyal rgod-mo), further the "giant, striped Tigress" (rgya-stag k'ra-bo), the (female) "Fish Golden-Eye" (k'yu-ru nya-mo--or--nay-mo gser-mig) and some others in verses 2, 3 and 4 /are all mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, as explained in the previous note./

Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
To the left in the sandal wood forest.
The Giant Tigress lies lurking;
Dear guests please tell us how you got through?
Down below three of the valleys are closed off
By the brook where little fish Golden-Eye snaps.
Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
Heroes from the Nine-stone Castle! (66)

66. The sense of this first line of the verse is difficult to grasp. It is not clear what is to be understood by the Nine-stone Castle /"Neunsteinburg"/. Perhaps it would be more correct to translate it as "You wanderers over the Nine-stones."

What has brought you into this land,
Into the midst of this village, tell?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is that not right, worthy friends?

The Nyaopas answer from outside:

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Over the Ice God's three valleys,
Over the Lioness' glacier body
We swung ourselves with a leap.
We mounted over blocks of ice
And crushed with our feet crusts of ice.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the right by the thunderbolt mountain,
Over the body of the Queen of the Birds

/Following page 80 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)"; the second showing "Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders." / /81/

We flew from rock to rock,
Stepped over stone rubble
And stepped on firm ground.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the left through the sandal wood mountain,
Over the colored hide of the tigress
We slipped from tree to tree,
Then we walked through the underbrush
And stepped on many bushes.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
In the lower three valleys
We swam through deep streams
Where the little fish Golden-Eye swim,
We waded through rivers,
Then splashed through the little brooks
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.

Chorus of the people before the gate:

Is that all right, you mighty friends?

The Chirpon people in the yard go on asking:

Up there in the Ice God's highland valleys
The white Glacier Lioness stopped you.
Worthy guests, how did you get through?

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On the thunderbolt rock to the right
The talon of the Queen of the Birds seized you.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
To the left in the dense sandal wood mountain
The tigress' claw must have held you fast.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
In three deep valleys surrounded by streams
Little fish Golden-Eye must have drawn you down.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is it not so, you mighty friends?

The Nyaopas outside answer:

Threefold in the Ice God's highland plateaus
Did the Glacier Lioness hold us imprisoned in her claws.
/82/ On the nine suns' brothers' day
There melted in the ice a very fine crack--
As wide as a helmet--but we got through it.
To the right on the thunderbolt enclosed mountain
The Queen of the Birds would not let us go.
But once she moved to the side
And a stone the size of a die
Was loosened--we slipped through.
To the left on the sandal wood enclosed mountain
The Giant Tigress put us under her charm.
But the K'alpa's (67) fire was burning hotly.

67. K'alpa (bskal-pa) an era in Buddhistic cosmology.

It created for us a clearing no larger
Then the size of a turquoise. We slipped through it.
In three lower valleys surrounded by streams,
You say, a little fish Golden-Eye held us fast.
There came of winter moons three--
There sprang up a well the size of a knothole.
And we slipped through that.

The people of the Chirpon house: 585 533 539

The tune was good! /or, "The way (of doing) was good"/

Now the Nyaopas are given a number of riddles in the form of songs by the Chirpon people:

Who measures the heavens' space,
Who the ether's space? (68)

68. Here the dictating Tibetan has, I believe, erroneously dictated "dbyibs-kyi ajal" instead of "dbyins-kyi ajal," or else the copyist made a mistake. That latter version fits much better into the context, and so I translated it as in the first line.

Say, who did measure out
The span from East to West?
And who did measure out
The span from South to North?
Who may have plumbed the depth?
And who measured the height?
Say, who measured the glacier mountain?
Who the slate rock?
Who measured the A and Om (69)

69. A and Om--two mystical syllables much used in prayers and in invocations to the gods and to Buddha. They are supposed to possess secret divine powers. [789]

In their depth and content?
Who did measure out the plateau?
Who the lower valley?
/33/ Say, who took the village's measurement?
Who measured out the home and dwelling place?
And with what measure?
Who measured the inside and the outside world?
And with what measure?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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Heaven's space and ether's space
Are measured by sun and moon.
The sun, the screen of the throne, measures
East and West.
And the measurement of South and North.
Is taken by the white moon.
Rainfall and damp dew
Measure height and depth
Glacier mountain and slate rock
Were measured by the Glacier Lioness.
The two syllables hum and pad (70)

[789] 70. hum and pad are two more magical syllables.

Measure A and Om.
Plateau as well as lower valley
Were measured by the chilly wind.
King and minister probably did measure
The castle and the village,
Home and dwelling place were measured for us
By our ancestors.
Seven brothers then did measure
Both inner and outer space.

The Chirpon people in the yard call out:

Good, you mighty friends!

Now the people in the yard sing the song of the Osier Switch (71):

71. With the osier switches the Nyaopas were beaten whenever they gave unsatisfactory answers.

The turquoise-colored switch in my hand,
Whose home is India,
Grew up in the heart of Tibet
And grew to be strong and firm at the Dogri (72).

72. Name of a mountain.

Behold the twig: it is of gold! 585
Its tip is green: it is turquoise (73). 533● 539

73. Compare not 51.

/84/ Indra, lord of the Gods, gave us
The command: Strike!
Gave with it the sacred prophet's word:
Sun and moon, to the two
Will be born a son,
Companion to the planets and the moon.
Banish evil tricks!
Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

This is the story of the staffs.

The Nyaopas answer:

Do not hit with birch or barberry!
Nor hit us with juniper wood!
If you knock in our hats
With one of those three woods,
You will pay for it a thousandfold.
If the body is injured,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If you break the earring,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If the saddle tears
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.

The people:

Quite right, mighty friends! Hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

This green osier switch
Here in my hand

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Covers with turquoise-green stem,
Green leaves, the land of man.
The lord of the world (74), the king, issued

74. The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is designated as the "lord of the world" (also of the three worlds); Indra, too, often receives this title.

The command: Strike with it!
And also gave the sacred prophet's word:
"Prince of the Middle Fort!
A son issues from you,
The companion of the planets and the stars."
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks!
/85/ Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

Chorus: Hail to you!
May happiness and well-being accompany you!

The Nyaopas:

Do not hit with mountain willow or sallow,
Nor with bramble which pricks us!
If you knock in our hats
With those three woods,
You will rue it a thousand times, and so forth.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Good luck and hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

The turquoise osier switch here in my hand,
Whose root is of shell, covers
Deep down the land of the nymphs.
"Strike them!" is the wish

Of the Queen of the Nymphs Lchokpoma Drossilchan (75) 585

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75. Tibetan lcog-po-ma dros-sil-can, the "rocking, shade-supplying willow."

She also spoke the sacred prophet's word:
From the middle of the earth
There sprouts a nymph's son,
The village god is close to him. --
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks! and so forth.

Chorus: Om! Hail to you!

The Nyaopas:

Now, listen with your ears:
Neither walnut twig nor tamarisk,
Nor bramble take for beating!
If you hit with these three woods
And knock our hats in,
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

The people of the Chirpon house keep making attacks from the courtyard and beat down upon the Nyaopas with osier switches. /86/ But each time they are turned back with the assertion that the sticks are not of the right wood. They, the Nyaopas, are after all the sons of gods, and therefore they are only allowed to be beaten with twigs from the tree of the world which has it roots in the world of the nymphs (under the earth) and which grows through the earth (the realm of human beings) into the heavens (the world of the gods) (76).

76. According to the ancient, pre-Buddhistic cosmology.

The Chirpon again sally forth a number of times, on these occasions armed with different "woods": cooking spoons, soup ladles made of wood, wooden oven-rakes with charred tips, and the like, to the loud amusement of the crowd inside and outside.

585 The Nyaopas sing: Fire hooks, black-nosed (77),
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77. Oven-rakes (or pokers) made of wood, with a charred tip.

Soup and basting ladles? No!
If you knock our hats in
With those three woods
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

Since the Chirpon people cannot guess the right wood, the Nyaopas sing on:

There grows a wood with which one beats friends,
A magnificent, a supple wood, from
From the tree which has one root only,
And which still bears three tall tops,
Tops--three, branches--six.

Bird Garuda (78)

78. Garuda (so it is in Sanskrit); Tibetan k'yun, mythical bird of the world of Buddhistic sagas, which is in the service of the gods of terror. It constantly fights against the hostile Nagas (snake gods). In pictures it is represented as a creature with a human body and with wings, human arms, a half human head with horns and a beak, bird's legs and a bird's tail. Often the Garuda has a snake in both hands and bites into it with its beak.

Sits on the first branch,
Without the nest
Or the gold egg breaking,
Or the bird being frightened.
Bring that branch to us!
Beat us with that twig!
Strike us with that wood!
Hit with this stick
And knock our hats in with it,

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You will never rue it.
/87/ If you injure our body
You will never rue it.
If the ear turquoise breaks
You will never pay for it.
If the saddle cloth tears
You will never pay for it.
On the second branch
King of the birds is enthroned (79).

79. Tibetan bya-rgyal rgod-po.

His turquoise egg
And his nest you must spare!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that branch!
Beat us with that wood!
Strike us with that stick!
Even if you do knock in
Our hats with that one
You will never rue it.
If the body is injured,
You will never regret it.
If the ear turquoise is broken
You will never regret it.
If the saddle cloth is torn,
You will never regret it.
On the third branch
Sits eagle White-head (80).

80. Tibetan go-bo glad dkar; the form ldad dkar in Francke's manuscript I consider to be a slip of the pen; it would not make any sense here; ldad-pa, meaning "to chew," does not fit into the context; on the other hand, glad, meaning "head," fits into it very well.

Do not harm his nest
Or his mother-of-pearl egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!

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Beat us with that rod!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
So that you knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it.
If the body is injured
You will never rue it.
If the earring is broken
/88/ You will never rue it.
If the saddle cloth is torn
You will never rue it.
On the fourth branch
Eagle White-neck (81) perches.

81. Tibetan glag-mo mk'al-dkar; the form in Francke's manuscript must likewise be a slip of the pen; mk'al-ma means "kidney" and does not fit into the context; I am substituting for mk'al the word mgul which means "neck" and thus I arrive at the translation "eagle White-neck."

Do not harm his nest
Nor his silver egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!
Beat us with that club!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
And knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it, and so on.
On the fifth branch
Perches the bird of the gods (82).

82. Lha-bya gon-mo I translate by "bird of the gods" (female).

Do not harm his nest
Nor his coral egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that staff! and so on.
On the sixth branch

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Perches White Falcon.
Do not harm his nest
Nor his iron egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that rod! and so on.

After a few more alternate songs in this style there follow a few more riddles in verse. The people of the Chirpon house say: "Oh, you, who have come hither in order to have the truth of words tested!"

Say, who seizes the wild yak by its horn?
Say, whose fist grasps the wild tiger?
Say, who might catch water with snares?
Say, who builds a castle out of loose sand?
/89/ Who wounds the water by a blow of his sword?
Tell us, which bird brings forth young?
Tell us, which animal of prey lays eggs?
Who follows the trace of the pair of rock-partridges (83) on the mountain?

83. Gon-sreg, the rock-partridge, "Haldenhuhn" (tetraogallus tibetanus). /I have been unable to find an English equivalent for this word but assume it to be synonymous with the preceding Berghuhn and Felsenhuhn, Steinhuhn, etc. --translator./. Francke's translation here reads: "Name two rock-partridges whose traces lose themselves in the mountains"; but rjes gcod-pa means "to follow a trace" and I translate it accordingly.

Who sends the many-colored splendor to the North's grey mist? (84)

84. Francke's translation reads here: "Who orders the giant burden of the many-colored reed in the North?" I have arrived at a divergent translation, to which the answer, the solution to the riddle fits.

Say, who sews the mantle for the slate mountain?
Which bird has teeth growing to its pair of wings?
Say, to whom are we giving these riddles, who solves them?

585 The Nyaopas answer:

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The wild yak's horn is forced
By the hero Mogchen rem-pa (85).

[773] 85. rMog-ćen rem-pa, meaning "great, strong helmet." This, like the names in verses 2 and 3, are the names of mythical heroes of pre-history.

The hero A-p'o bstan-yan (86)

86. Ap'o bstan-yan. Ap'o means "father" in the dialect of Baltistan and Lower Ladakh; these heroes are designated by this title.

Seizes the tiger with his fist.
Only Jaksha źon-t'og (87)

87. Yag-śa źon t'og in Tibetan.

Catches water with a sling.
Only the swallow bird
Builds a castle out of loose sand.
Only the water itself (88)

88. Here probably the waterfall is meant.

Wounds the water with swords.
A bird that gives birth to young
Is the bat (89).

[825] 89. It should not surprise us that the bat is counted among the birds by the Tibetans when we consider that in German medieval books of natural history the bat was classified in the same species.

An animal of prey which lays eggs
Is the quick weasel (90).

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90. The assertion that the weasel lays eggs is to be explained

from the fact that this evil robber of nests is often seen with an egg in its mouth, which led to the erroneous conclusion. 585 539 539

And the "rock-partridge's trace" which runs along the mountains there: [825]

They are veins in the rock (91).

91. Quartz vein in the slate cliff.

The crystal mistress who rules over a thousand colors the pale North

Is Bruguma (92)

92. aBru-gu-ma, the wife of the mythical king Kesar. The "colors of the North" seem to indicate the northern lights. [773]

The mantle for the large slate mountain
Is probably sewn by Vishvakarma, the heavenly smith (93)

93. The Hephaistos (Vulcan) of Hindu and Buddhist mythology is meant by this "heavenly smith."

Teeth in addition to its pair of wings
Has the bat in its mouth.
You people who are giving riddles and demanding a solution!
It will be necessary to take something away from you.

Chorus: G[illegible], Good, you mighty friends!
Om, hail to you!

/90/ After further examining questions in the form of a song there finally comes the following song as the concluding one, which is sung alternately:

The people of the Chirpon house are still singing with the gate locked:

Many a one is distinguished through his wisdom,
Many a one is so only by his birth
There are many who know nothing.

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Therefore it's important to test for oneself.
Where distinguished parentage is paired
With much wisdom, there it's good.
A high-born person needs nine-fold wisdom,
A low-born person--ninefold wisdom.
Do you come as friends from a noble tribe?
Are you only striving for the money-bag?
If you came as noble ones, you came as friends.
If you came as mean ones, you came for the sake of grain.
Did you come without force? Do you want to make friends?
There are three kinds of enemies,
Three kinds of friends.
Enumerate them, the three!

Chorus: Right!

The Nyaopas answer singing:

Three kinds of enemies there are:
The enemy who wishes sickness upon you,
The enemy full of jeolousy,
The enemy who avenges himself with blood. --
We come not as enemies,
We are friends to you.
Three kinds of friends there are:
God, the helper-friend (94),

94. Tibetan dkon-mčog skyabs-kyi gnyen.

The bond of love between parents,
Blood relationship.
These the three kinds.

Chorus: So it is good.

555 With this song, the nineteenth of the whole series (of which we here are only giving a few samples), the scene in front of the bride's house is ended (95). The bride's relatives and the tribe have been /91/

95. Sometimes there are further obstacles to be overcome by

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Now the music is silent. The dance is at an end. The Nyaopas go towards the tent. But still they may not give themselves over to rest and enjoyment. The relatives of the bride go toward them and again a question and answer game in the form of a song starts up. The Nyaopas must pass another test before they may take their places in the row of guests. The people from the Chirpon house sing the Song of the Carpets (98).

98. From Ladakhi Songs by A. H. Francke, Leh, 1899. The translation of this song into German was done by the author of the present work.

Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high heavens be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high glacier be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high boulder be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
/96/ Might the high mountain lake be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might that high castle be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the wide earth be.
Who uses as carpet in this land
A saddle cloth with a blue edge?
Who for a carpet likes to use, you must tell me,
The wild sheep's brown fur?
Whom serves as carpet, tell me quick,
The meadow green and the forest thick?
Whose is that carpet? Whom do you think
This roll of cloth must serve?

The Nyaopas answer:

The high heavens so blue and clear
Must be the sun's (99) carpet and the moon's.

99. According to the astronomy of the Indians, Tibetans as well as of the Assyrians and Babylonians, sun and moon are

counted among the planets, and they are considered animate 821
divine beings which have an influence upon the fates of human beings and are worshipped as gods.

The glacier above is a carpet, I ween, 585
For the lion with the turquoise-colored mane. 533
The high rocks carpet are 539
For the large ibex quick as the wind.
The mountain lake blue as carpet may suffice
For the wife of the fish with the golden eyes.
The castle so high, so proud and so fine
Must the nobleman's carpet be.
The great earth's mighty spaces
Signify the Chinese Emperor's carpet.
In the saddle cloth with the blue edge
Agu Palle (100) his carpet found.

100. A-gu p'al-le, one of the 18 heroes of the Tibetan Kesar myth. [773]

The brown fur of the wild sheep must be
Agu Khru btungs' (101) carpet, I suppose.

101. A-gu k'ru btuns, another of these heroes who has the head of a falcon.

The meadows and woods must be
A carpet for birds large and small
This roll of cloth here? A carpet fine
For the seven (102) Nyaopa brothers it must be.

102. Seven Nyaopas may be active at a very large wedding.

The Chirpon people call out loud: "Good, you noble friends! 585
Now take your place and drink a little bowl of beer!" Finally /Following p. 96 there are two full-page illustrations, one of a "Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)"; the other of a "Bridegroom in Ladakh."/ /97/ the five "Nyaopa brothers" sit down on the carpet in the places appointed for them near the tent entrance, and then they are served with ample food and drink.

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women [562] go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking [273] men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-čaṅ). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

585 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man ●533 from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that 539 secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

Not with your hand, lest it wither! 585
Oh, with your soul you must pick it well! 533
Into your heart you must lock it. 539

There now follows a series of songs about the origin of the reed (103) from which the lucky arrow (mda-dar) of the sNatridpa is

103. Here, one after the other, the things that play a part at the wedding, are celebrated in song: the carpet, the arrow that brings luck, the beer, and the like. These songs are taken from the manuscript collection Trinklieder mit den fünf Blumen /Drinking songs with the five flowers/. (me-tog lña-ldan-gyi can-glu), collected by Prof. Dr. A.H. Francke. Their translation into German was done by the author of the present work.

made. Again they are alternate songs.

The people of the Chirpon house sing:

Where may the first reed have grown?
And where did the second reed grow?
Say, where did the third reed grow?

The people from Kalatse answer:

First reed grew in China,
Second reed grew in Tibet,
Third reed grew in India;

The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: How the first knot (of the reed) grew, who saw it?
How the second knot did grow, who saw it?
How the thrid knot did grow, who saw it?

The Dragshos people answer:

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[772]

Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'aṅ-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

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Chorus of bystanders:

Good!

The Chirpon people sing:

Did the reed grow out of rock? In the meadow?
Did it grow amid the boulder rubble? In the mud?

The Dragshos people:

Not on rocks grew the reed,
Nor meadow brought it forth,
Nor did it grow amid the rubble,
Gold with glowing brought it forth.

Now there follows a series of songs in which are elaborately described the finding of the reed, its transportation, the making and effect of the lucky arrow. We only give the latter:

The Chirpon people sing: (107)

107. Number 11 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high rock flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
What news may you have of that?

/100/ The Dragshos people:

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
It brought the wings of the king of the birds.
When the arrow to the high cliff flew,

It brought the ibex' muscle fibres (108).

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108. Here I translate "Muscle fibres from the shoulder blade of the great ibex and of the old cow"; Tibetan: "skyin-ĉen ba-rgan-gyi sogs-rgyus k'yoṅs"; "sogs" seems to me to be the more correct form since "gsogs" does not make any sense here and is probably a mistake which slipped in during the dictation. Prof. Francke translated the sentence: "The arrow brought something of the treasures of the old, great female ibex down with it."

When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
It brought muscle meat of the wild yak bull.
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
It brought glue from the little fish Khyu-ru.
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
It brought the tiger's muscle fibres.

Now, after a few other songs, there follows one in which the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma), who has brewed the beer for the guests, is made fun of (109).

109. Number 15 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/.

The people from Kalatse sing:

Old brewer woman, your beer tastes strange!
You old brewer woman! What an evil brew!
It tastes like the singed wings of the king of the birds,
It tastes like the singed horn of the wild yak bull,
It tastes like the singed veins of the vain peacock,
It tastes like the singed scales of the little fish Rhyuru,
It tastes like the singed nails of a wicked wench;
I taste, old woman, five of the vile things.
Away with this beer! Away, we won't drink it!

The Chirpon people and the inhabitants of Tingmogang answer:

Without cause you scorn the old woman's beer.

The power of the white lioness' heart is in it. 585
Her gall is mixed with it; 533
Sparrow's quarrelsomeness is also in it, 539
And some of its gall is also mixed with it.
See, hence comes the drinkers' desire for quarrel.
See also the sheep's stupidity in it,
For sheep's gall is also mixed with it.
Does your dullness not come from that?
If a noble person gifted with good sense
/101/ And of high rank should come--we should invite him to the chang.
The Nyaopa brothers, too, the seven (110), we invite.

110. Compare not 102.

To a weakling we serve no beer.
If a noble person drinks it, it turns into life's elixir (111),

111. The life's elixir, really devil's elixir (Tibetan bdud-rtsi; Sanskrit amrita) plays an important part in the magical literature (Tantra) and in popular belief. Gods and men fight for this precious material which confers immortality, or at least a long life and magical powers. [789]

To the mean person it only works as a stupefier.

The people:

"Good, you noble gentlemen!"

Again the people from Kalatse sing:

Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the sky!
If the sky takes it, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up the rocks!
If it runs up the rock, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the glacier!
If a piece of ice so much as the size of a mirror (112) should melt, we'll drink.

112. A small, round metal hand mirror, the size of a serving

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plate.

Such beer one does not drink. Scatter it to the earth only!
If a picture (113) should arise, we would drink the beer.

[787]

113. A figure which is formed on the ground by the beer that has been poured out, by means of which one is supposed to foretell the future.

Such beer one does not drink. Just pour it into the water!
If a tress is braided there (114), we shall drink beer.

114. This refers to the ruffling of the surface of the water when something is poured on to it.

The Chirpon people answer:

Who in the sky takes the beer except sun and moon?
Sun and moon, those two you certainly do not resemble.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Who runs up the cliff? The old she-ibex it is (115),

115. The she-ibex /Steinziege/--the female of the ibex /Steinbock/ (Capra sibirica).

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
The size of a mirror a spot melted through sun and moon,
Do not worry! You do not resemble them.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Pictures on the earth are drawn by the black yak (116).

116. The yak's track on the earth is meant.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Little fish Golden Eye alone braids tresses in the water (117).

117. The ruffled course of the fish that swims at the surface of the water.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
Waste no words! Offer a draught! 533 ●
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside. 585

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made 585 302 585 301

118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails. [825]

of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man."--translator./) 585
from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little 431
goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself," Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, 585
the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, [563]
men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant 585
people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy 533●
occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be 535
earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short 585
period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

533
534
563

/Following page 205/

Mon (musicians)

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 797 782 539

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

T D 539

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *sha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god; *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

T D 174 527 796

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

T D 174 533

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

T D 174

I have tried to prove the Dard-origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
• 533 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

> *Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.*
> *When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.*
> *They married happily.*
> *After marriage the girl left Lahul*
> *And went and lived with her husband,*
> *Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.*•

423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

•See page 333, category 116

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

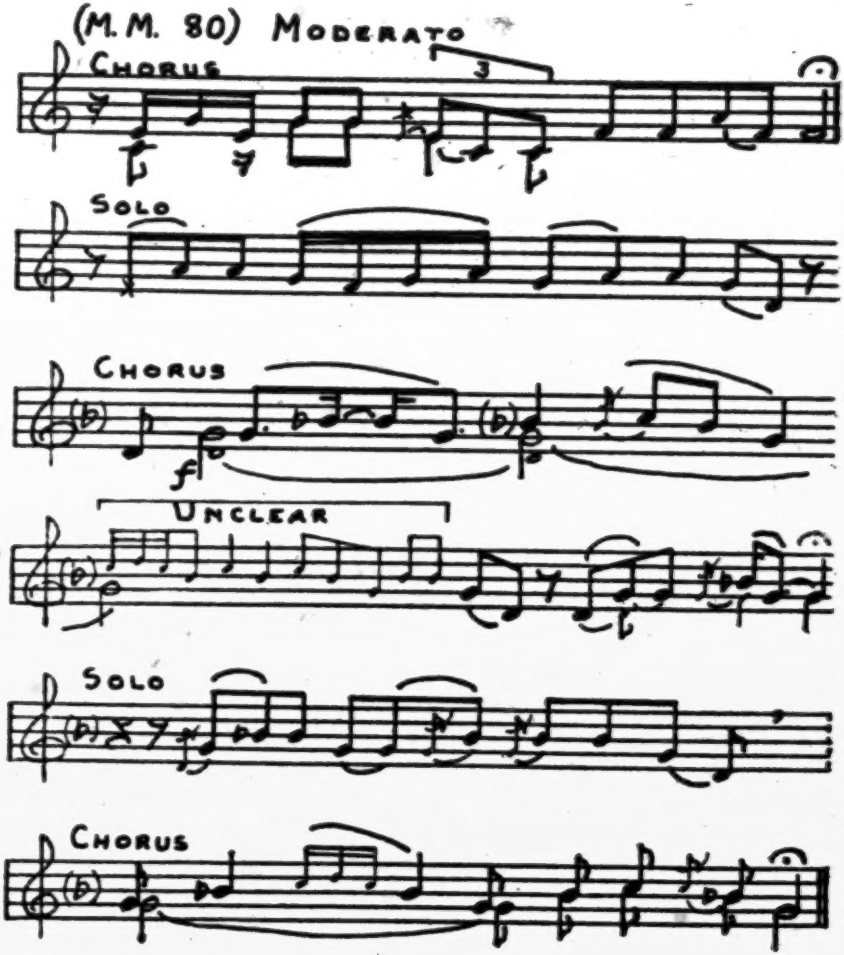
APPENDIX 4

• 533

MUSIC TRANSCRIPTIONS by JENÖ TAKACS

UNDETERMINED PITCH = ♪

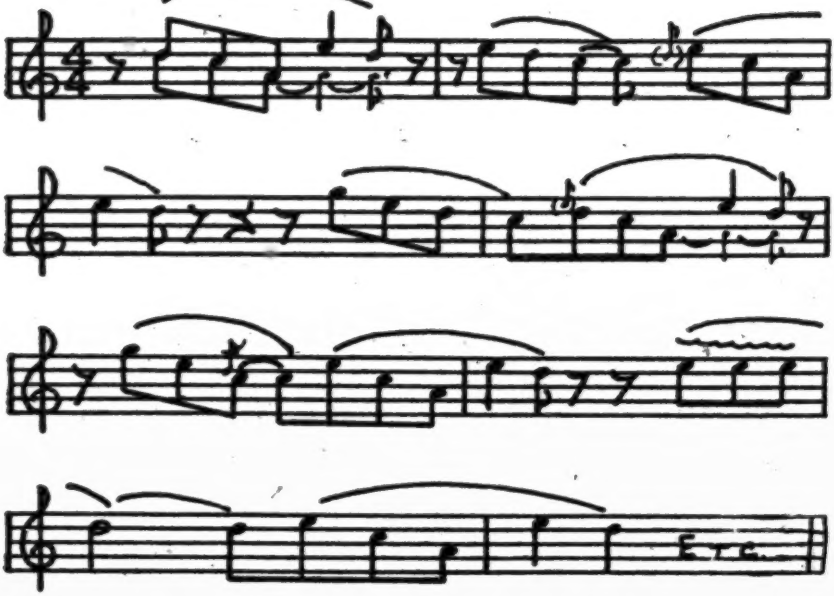
Kulu song about Kunjva, the lover



533

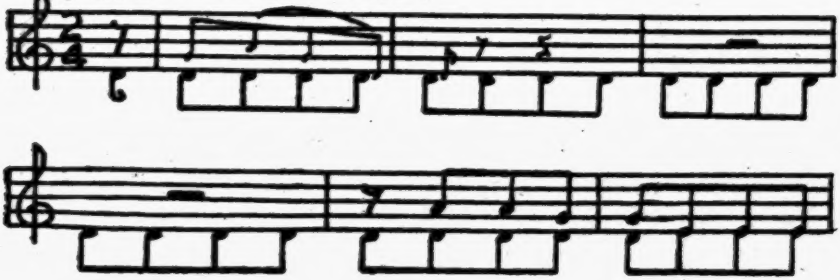
Lahuli song about the girl, Angmo

(M.M. ♩= 92)

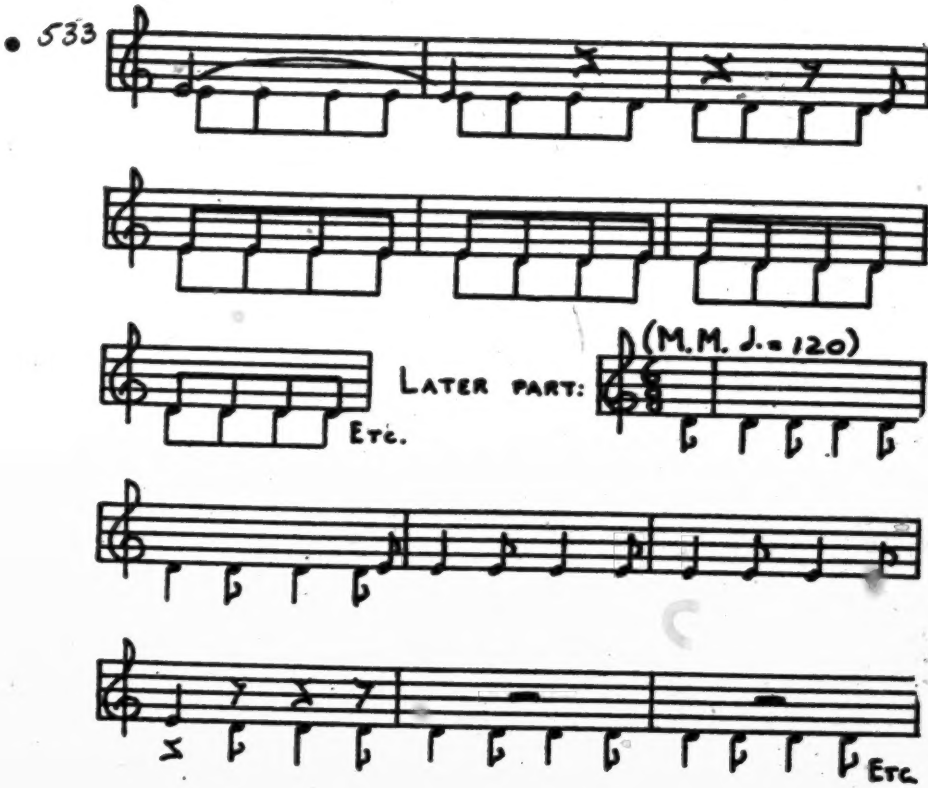


Lama chant from Hemis Monastery

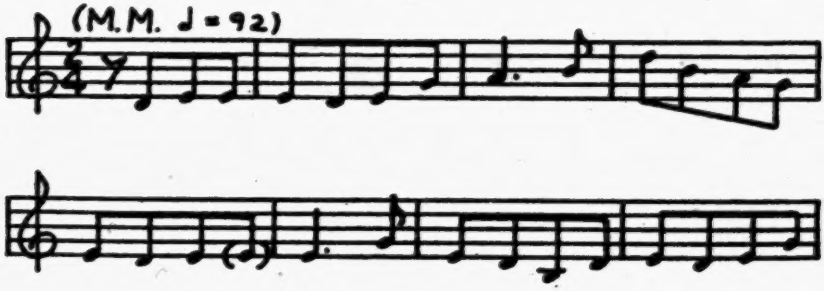
(M.M. ♩= 160) FAST



Appendix



Ladakhi song about Tashiwangyal



12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

533

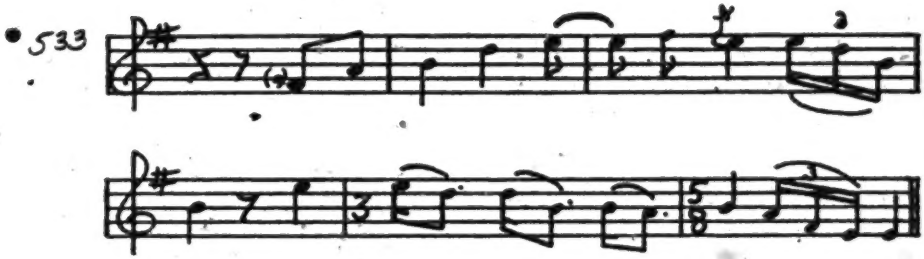
The Rose of Ladakh, by Zila in Leh

(M.M. ♪ = 260)

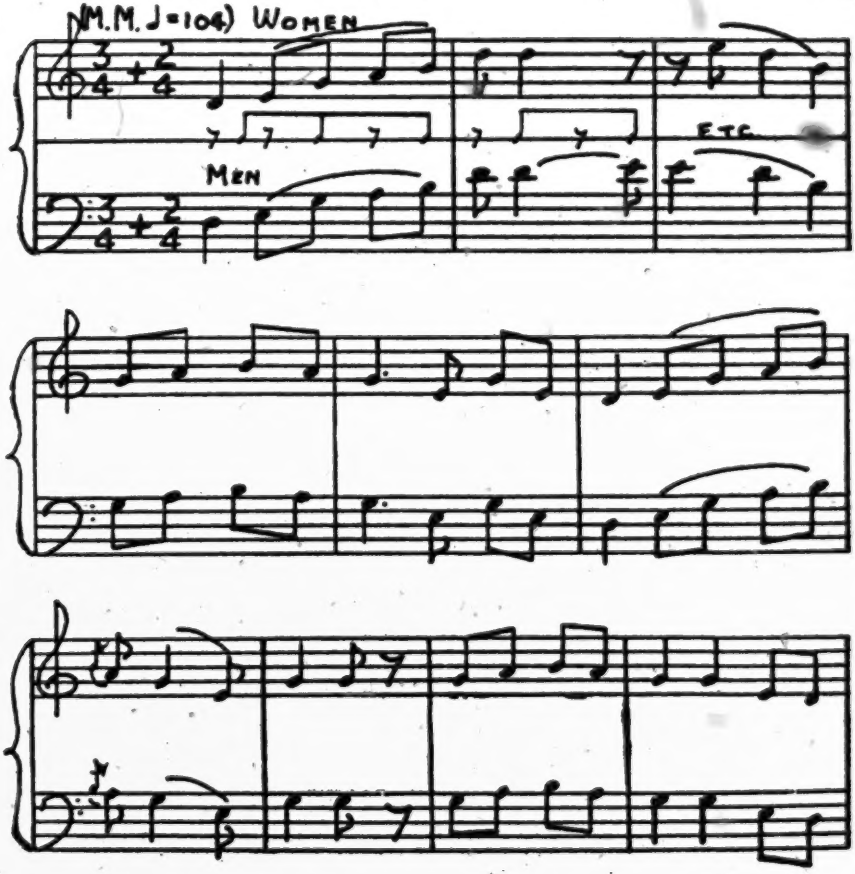
DRUM

ETC.

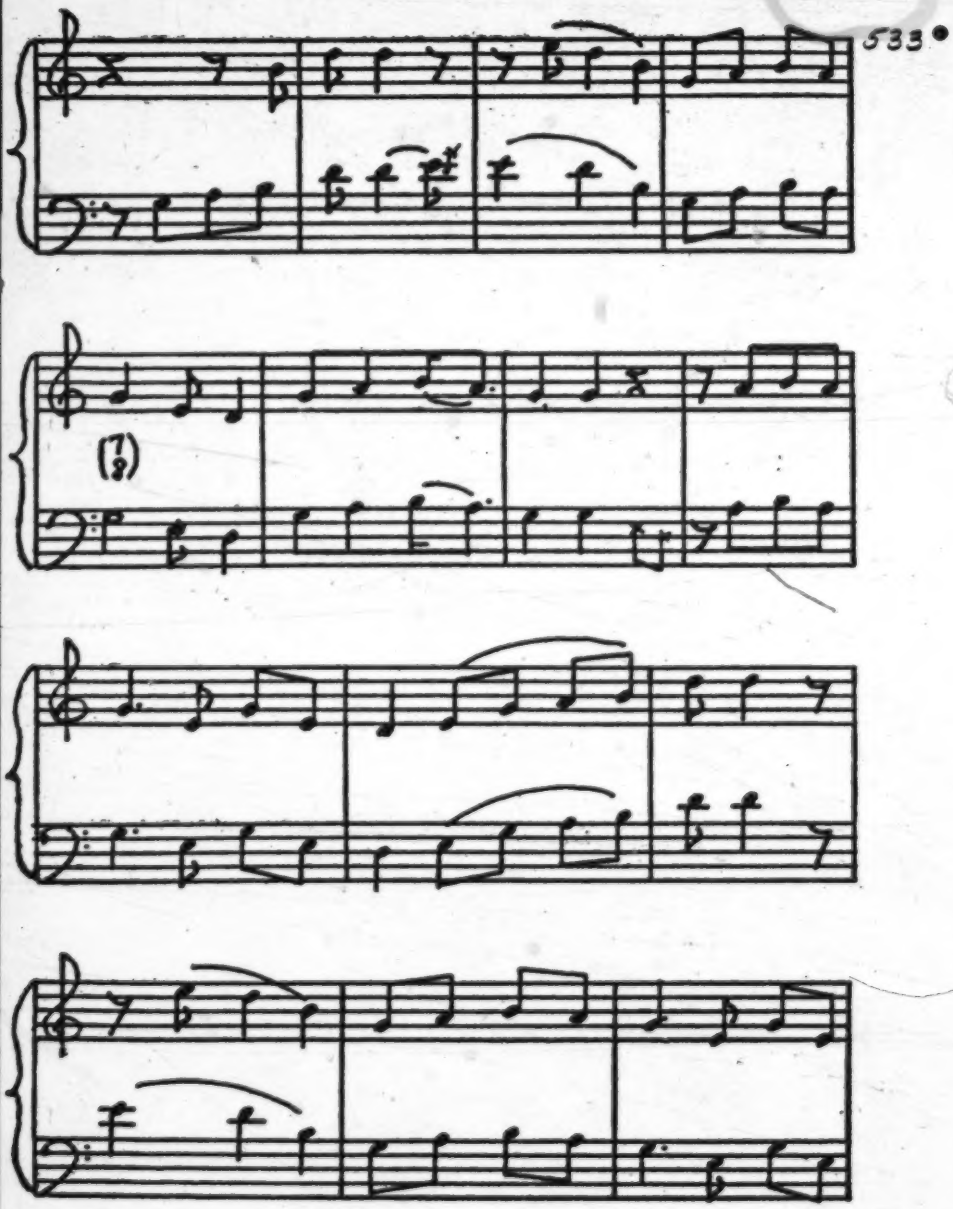
Appendix



Ladakhi song about Tseringskyit



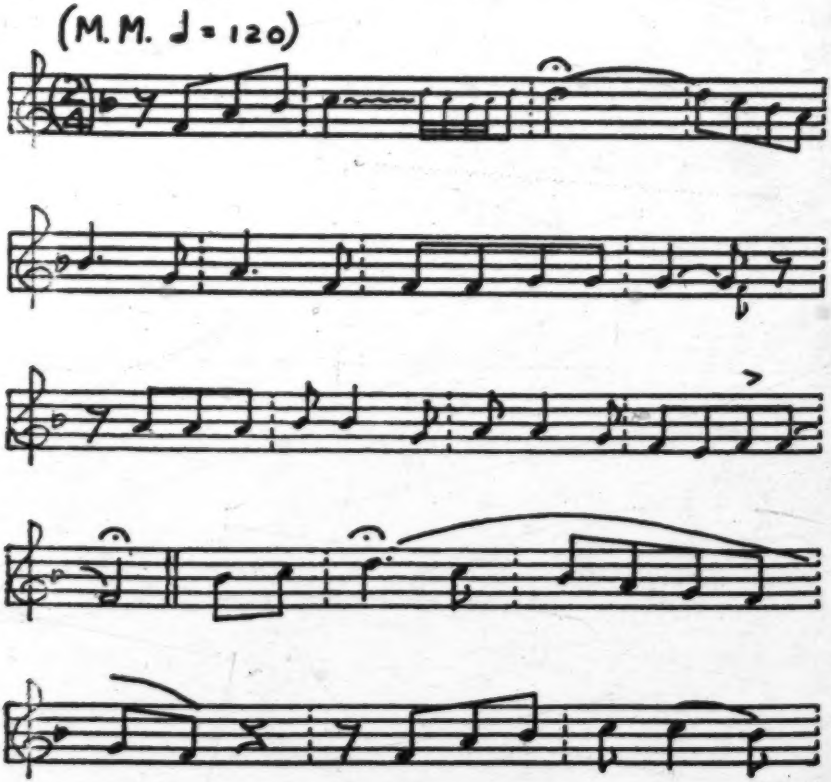
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



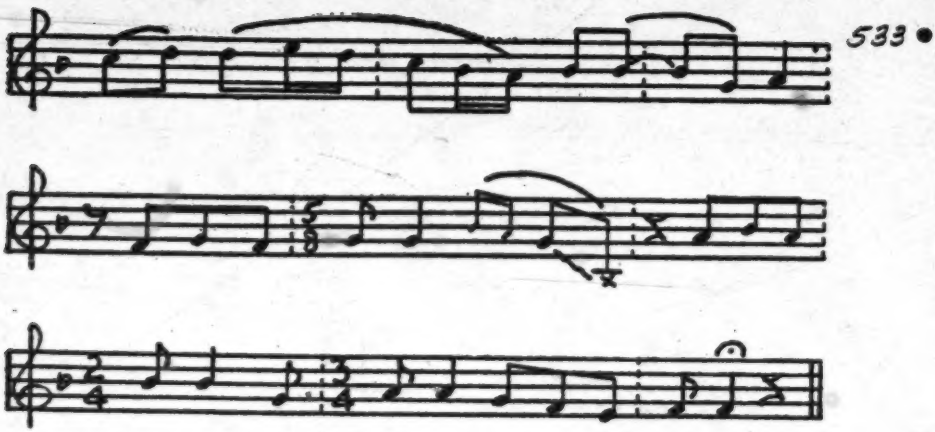
Appendix

• 533

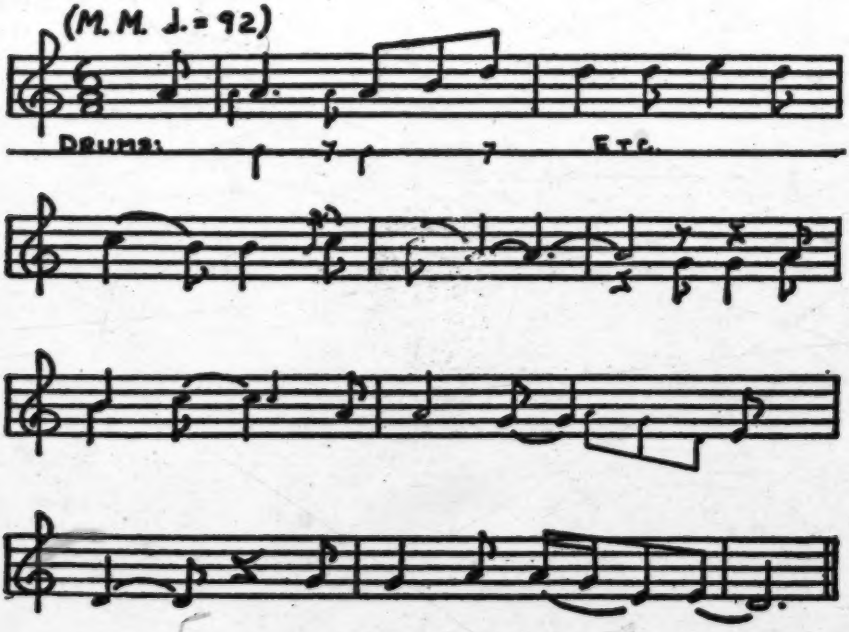
Nationalist song from Pakhtunistan



12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



Polo song from Gilgit



[P. 340 is blank]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of
872 the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while
875 listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

● 533 Next in importance, though not in status, come the musi-
[563] cians and minstrels. Although no function is complete
534 without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep
538 them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

574 are personally invited by him. At the lower end of the wood he has lately built a guest-house on the plan of the bungalows inhabited by the missionaries in Leh. On the side furthest from the road, directly opposite the monastery, the wood 000 ends abruptly on the bare hillside of rock and stone. Climbing to a good vantage point on this, a delightful spot can be found to listen to the monastic evensong, and watch the shadows steal over the vast expanse of the river and valley spread out below.

Though the spur of hills cuts off the main Indus valley to the left, beyond it rises tier after tier of great bare lonely mountain tops, overwhelming in their immense majesty. Behind even these giants, the clouds lift to disclose still greater heights of everlasting snow. Truly one has now the impression of having arrived on "the roof of the world." In the valleys below, the lights and shades chase across hill and plain, and, as the moon comes up in the cloud-flecked sky behind and pursues her slow path through the white wind driven masses, the strangest wraith-like forms seem to rise and pass below. At first they appear to be white clouds tucked down between the lesser hills, but, as they move to and fro, it becomes evident that it is merely the effect of the moonlight between the passing clouds thrown on to the sandy spaces. ● 533 Then across the stillness of that great expanse, hitherto only 797 broken by the stream coursing down between the trees some 346 way below and the breezes rustling their leaves, comes the strangest music, slowly rising in pitch and increasing in tone till the hills take hold of it, and roll its reverberations on among themselves, achieving an effect weird and fascinating beyond description. Turning in the direction of the sound, one sees to the left, in the darkness only, the faint outlines of the monastery building with dim lights shining in its windows, while other tiny ones twinkle fitfully in the quaint habitations merging into the hillside, whose queer ridged stratification is faintly perceptible, but one knows that on the roof of the

533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
797 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
[291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

15: Francke
539, 533

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/For songs connected with ceremonies other than the wedding ceremony see category 796. --Analyst/

15: Francke
533

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/For theoretical analyses of songs which appear in this source as well as discussions of songs in other collections, see category 116, pp. 1-8. --Analyst/

15: Francke
533

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/The various songs included in the text have been marked mainly for category 539. --Analyst/

539 Chinese, and the dynasty that was ruling at that time (1836) even
191 recognized him as its tutelary spirit. Further, Schmidt states:
993 "Since Gesser-Chan is named in the saga as the ruler of three Tibetan tribes, the Tussa, Dongsar, and Lik, this fact has induced the Chinese to weave him into their history of the three empires, and to assign to him an epoch in their chronology, namely, the beginning of the third century." As long as only the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga was known, it remained of necessity undetermined whether the saga was of Mongolian or of Tibetan origin. But as soon as I published, in 1900, the first samples of the Tibetan Kesar saga as I had gathered it from oral sources (2), no disinterested

2. "Der Frühlingsmtthus der Kesarsage," Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougneme, No. XV. Helsinki, 1900. Improved /or Corrected/ English edition in the Indian Antiquary, 1902.

observer was in any further doubt that the homeland of the sagas was to be found in Tibet. Professor A. Grünwedel wrote in the Globus (3) at that time: "In contrast to the familiar (Mongolian

3. Vol. XXVIII, No. 6.

/2/) versions, which represent Ge-sar as warrior and hero, Francke's texts are of a much more original nature and have a predominantly mythological character." Grimm had already expressed the opinion in his Kinder- und Haysmärchen /children's and household fairy tales/ that the Kesar saga, which was known to him only in the Mongolian version, had in all probability originally come into existence in Tibet. As we have already seen, this saga is also known to the Chinese and to the Mongols. But not only that--traces of it are likdwise to be found among the Turkish tribes, the Tungus and Buryat, and so forth. It looks as though this saga material has been disseminated all over Asia. I regard Western Tibet, and Ladakh in particular, as the country of origin for the versions that have become known up to now. The old West Tibetan kingdom is designated in chronicles as well as in inscriptions by Khrom-ge-sar-gdan,
533 "market place, Kesar's throne." In this region the saga is at home
[564] to such an extent that each village has its own version, and the saga
539 is recited by musicians belonging to the caste of the Bhe-da. In their recital, the metrical parts of the saga are sung. But in this

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 177
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. And this same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

585 While I was occupied with the study of these songs, I was told
127 that an ancient manuscript containing the wedding songs existed in
539 Tag-ma-cig, the neighboring village to the west of Khalatse. I immediately sent a messenger to that village in order to have the work delivered to me, but I was to learn that this could only be done in exchange for the payment of a fairly large sum of money. After this payment had been made, the manuscript was left with me for a month on a loan basis. This period of time was sufficient, however, for my faithful assistant, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, to copy the entire document. Unfortunately, the manuscript was so badly damaged in some places that several songs had to be left incomplete. Concerning the age of the manuscript nothing definite could be established. It was reported to me that they had begun writing them down only when there was danger that the old songs might be forgotten. The manuscript may perhaps be one hundred years old, and possibly a little more. According to my scribe's count, the booklet contains about sixty songs, mostly consisting of two parts. Quite a number of these correspond with the songs of Khalatse, and, in fact, there are repetitions both of the individual wedding songs
[533] and of the drinking songs. We observe that in Tag-ma-cig they did not differentiate at all between wedding songs and drinking songs. Yet the title of the entire collection is "Nyo-pas-sgo-la btan-ces-kyi-glu," "Songs of the Nyopa (Bride Buyers), To Be Sung at the Door." Even though at the time I was unable to understand much of the content of the songs, I nevertheless recognized immediately their extreme importance in the study of pre-Buddhistic religion, and I wished to make them accessible to the scholarly world. For this reason I had them multigraphed in twenty-eight copies with blue copy ink, but in this job I was quite unlucky. The impressions were for the most part so faint that they could not be deciphered. Fortunately, the copy made by Ye-shes-rig-adzin has been found again in the meantime and important data have been taken from it,
585 which will appear in the following pages. All these wedding songs
773 are particularly valuable because they contain a great deal of ma-
539 terial dealing with the Tibetan notions about the World Tree and the deities of the four points of the heavens. Later I was also supplied with wedding songs (nyo-pai-glu) from the villages of Shel and Phyi-dban. These are of a totally different nature, however. They are songs of praise addressed to kings and ministers who apparently celebrated their weddings in those localities. For the student of religion they are of no value.

782 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters
826 of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called srun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During
[764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the
[266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have collected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this prac-
[113] tice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of
[533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

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When darkness falls, all make their way to another house in the village, each householder carrying a pot of beer, offering part to the village god, and sharing the remainder with his neighbours. The men folk then join in chorus singing their New Year Festival hymn addressed to the local god. Translated into English, it runs thus :—

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A.

"In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of gold was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the celestial regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Ō-pam* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a silver throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the central regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Tsan Rgyab-ri* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of turquoise was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the nether regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The serpent demon *Hlu-bu-nor* sat there. (*Hlu*, T. *Klu*. S. *nāga*.—H. L. S.)
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a conch shell throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The Ruler of men was seated there.
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

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In ancient times the age was propitious;
When a throne of glass was erected;
Someone was seated on that throne.
Who was seated there?
Rejoicing relations and friends were seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed are they who sit in the midst of the throne."

Then follows an invocation to the local god, sung to a different tune:—

B.

"In a house like this may a son be born to me;
May I be preserved from attack by enemies and robbers;
May I get a field large enough to be ploughed by a hundred yoke of oxen; and may no hail fall upon it;
May I receive beer as sweet as treacle to dissipate disease;
May I receive a hundred thousand thrones of gold;
May the All-conquering *Shakya Thubpa* who delivers men from hell, lead us in this life and the next into the path to heaven.
May I have a benign father wearing an ear ornament on his person, a mother who suckles me, a loving sister, and a hundred thousand thrones of gold.
May I obtain a dwelling good for my soul, a loving wife, a good watch dog to guard me day and night, and a hundred thousand thrones of gold.
May I get a swift pony, heedless of ups and downs, a good tent, and a hundred thousand relatives as useful to me as my own shoulder."

This invocation sung, another hymn to the local deity is raised by the assembled people:—

C.

"At the summit of the Eastern hills the trunks of the beeches have grown;
There the king of the birds of prey settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Southern hills the trunks of the sandal tree have grown;
There the king of the peacocks settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Western hills, the reeds have grown;
There the talking parrot settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Northern hills,
The trunks of the willow trees have grown.
There the king of the sparrows settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

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At the summit of the celestial mountains,
The broom has grown.
There the ravens settle.
May we prosper, may we prosper."

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On the fifth and sixth days of the New Year Festival, no special ceremony is performed, except that the flour-and-water thumb impression is made on the wall by the housewife.

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On the seventh day the ceremony of ringing out the New Year Festival is performed. This ceremony is called *Appa Bar-cha*. About 10 o'clock in the morning, two women from the house, walking slowly, approach the flour-and-butter thumb impressions on the wall (these being held to be the temporary residence of the god of the New Year). One carries *Sang-shū* and the *Kal-chor*, the other, a vessel with flour mixed in water. When before the god, the woman carrying the flour and water dips a branch of juniper tree in the mixture, and makes three vertical marks over the circles, and then three similar marks on the outside lintel of each door of the house. On the outermost door (the front door as we would say) the *Kal-chor* is sprinkled and offered simultaneously with this prayer :—

D.

" About this time you came to us.
Until you arrive again at this time next year,
May neither disease nor fever overtake us."

With this prayer, the god is dismissed. Just before sunset of this last day of the New Year festivities, each householder takes three large unleavened breads, about the size of a dinner plate, to a neighbour's house. One of the breads has a representation of a sun and a moon in flour. These breads and a *drang-ryyas* are then offered to the village god, portions of it being consumed by the people.

Interchange of feasts goes on amongst the villages from the 12th month, and the 10th–15th day, until the 1st month and the 3rd–5th day of the Buddhist year. Only when this ceremony of *Appa Bar-cha* has been performed, do the villagers have free intercourse with one another in the matter of giving and returning feasts. A feast during the New Year celebrations consists of :—in the morning, three buckwheat cakes, three cakes of leavened wheat flour and butter, and tea per head ; and in the evening, meat, rice, vegetables, beer and ardent spirits.

Immediately following the New Year celebrations, a social function called *Go-tsi* is celebrated (1st month, 3rd to 5th day). The ceremony of *Thars* (Saved) is then performed.

At sunrise the villagers take a *drang-ryyas* with an effigy of a ram upon it, and sacrifice it to the village god. Then follows another offering of *Mar-gyen-tsi* (a ram made of butter), a pot of beer (*kal-chor*) and also the *Sang-shū* (which is an inseparable part of the sacrifices offered in this country). To offer these the various households have each to supply one plate of barley flour, and 2 oz. of butter. When the ceremony of *Thars* is thus completed, the people are allowed access to the houses of other villagers where a similar ceremony has already been performed.

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At dusk a large party of youths and young women goes in a body to a neighbouring village, and after copious draughts of beer and ardent spirits, the assembled crowd dividing into two parties, compete with each other in singing songs, the winners being those who can remember the words of the entire song. That same night the keeper of the village god (*Hla-bdag-pa*) with a companion (*Hla-u-pa*), having adorned themselves with appropriate festal robes, remain all night in front of a fire lit in the village temple. Next morning the father of a male born in the old year has to give a feast to the community. Then five or seven men and one woman, suitably attired, go to an appointed place where the rest of the villagers have already assembled. There the parents of male children born in the previous year have each to distribute to the community at least nine measures of barley flour, and 40 pounds of beer. An additional gift of one bottle of ardent spirits has to be presented to the *Hla-bdag-pa* and *Hla-u-pa*. All then return to their houses, where their share of the food is consumed.

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Before emerging from their houses to complete the ceremony of *Go-tsi*, a sacrifice of meat and salt (*tshā-sha*), bread (*ta-gir*), biscuit (*khur-ra*), roasted barley flour (*tsam-pa*), entrails of a sheep (*gyu-ma*), wheat flour and butter (*pai-mar*) is made. This done, one woman is deputed to carry the *kal-chor*, whilst three men carrying a skin of a sheep dressed to represent a real sheep (*kul-tsi*), a bundle of sticks (*kaldra*) and a *drang-ryyas* between them, walk through the village saying, "*Hai sharā-gai ri-lo*" (a boy has been born).

In the meantime the *Hla-bdag-pa*, with his escort, carrying a *kaldra* and *kal-chor* appears on the scene, when roasted barley and balls of butter (*mur*), *kal-chor*, and *drang-ryyas* are sacrificed. Then follows the ceremony of shooting arrows at the *kul-tsi*. The skin of a sheep is stuffed with juniper, and small pieces of sticks with flowers attached are stuck in the skin to represent a live sheep. The *Hla-bdag-pa*, dressed in black, shoots seven, nine, or eleven, times with a set of four arrows, and all dance to the accompaniment of the village drums beaten by the blacksmiths.

At the festival of *Ak-ring* (1st month, 18th–19th day) a sheep is sacrificed by the usual method in Lahul, of tearing out its heart and casting it before the local deity, and much drinking of beer and ardent spirits is indulged in. In the evening is a function called *La-murts*, when the males of the village join in singing the following song :—

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E.

"They say,

This year will be a prosperous one,
On the plain a fire is burning;
There is a yak on the plain,
There is a *dso-po* on the plain.
There is a ram on the plain.
There is a house on the plain.
There is a man carrying a load of barley until a sore breaks out on his back.
There is a man cutting meat until the wood block wears out.
There is man ladling out melted butter until the iron ladle wears out.
With snow on his head to the height of one cubit, a man goes into his house."

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796 After another bout of beer drinking, the youths career round the village, climbing the roofs of the houses and calling *Tso-tsai-mo-lo* down the chimneys. The male members who happen to be in the houses at the time, emerge carrying a plate of flour, and join the rest of the revellers. The flour thus collected is given to the children, who make dough effigies of a ram and present each householder with one. In return for this, the children receive flour and butter with which to hold feasts amongst themselves.

796 78v The next day the ceremony of *Bunc* takes place. Each woman in the village then takes a cake of buckwheat, and *sur* (sprouts of juniper and balls of butter) to a neighbour's house, where part is sacrificed and part consumed by the assembled people. On this occasion, when the food is being distributed, the children scramble for pieces of food thrown to them.

796 The festival of *Gam-tso* which occurs during the 1st month and the 18th–19th day, is the appointed time for arrow-shooting competitions. The target is made of a huge buckwheat cake 1¾ feet long, 1 foot wide, and 4 inches thick, with horns and tail to represent a sheep. This is divided into three sections. All then shoot their arrows simultaneously. If an archer hits the left-hand section, he receives that part as his share, similarly the middle section. The right-hand section of the cake whether hit by an arrow or not, is divided amongst all the archers.

The festival of the She-Demon's New Year (*Lai-tsog'*) in the 1st month and the 27th day, is marked by an orgy of beer drinking, and the burning of straw in front of the houses. The duty of lighting the straw devolves upon the womenfolk, who sing a maledictory song to the she-demon, whose physical proportions are supposed to be anything but flattering. They sing :— 796 533

F.

"The *Lai-tsog'* she-demon *Drang-gog-ma* who has breasts reaching to her waist, and hair reaching to her heels,

Go away.

Oh, *Drai-ni-rag'-sa-ni*, make an offering lamp of dung, with a wick of a loin cloth.

Burn urine for oil.

Ride astraddle on the beam of a weaving loom, using a besom as a whip.

With one canine tooth growing upwards, and one downwards, depart without even looking back."

796 The festivities during the first month of the Buddhist calendar terminate with the ceremony of *Dam-pa-rig'*, at which a full choral service is held for two days by the priests, followed in the evening and well through the night by heavy drinking and village dancing. For the sustenance of the entire community, each householder must supply 40 lb. of barley, one measure of rice, one measure of barley flour, and ¼ lb. of butter. When these are all collected, the villagers pool the rations amongst themselves, and feast for seven days consecutively.

Five festivals occur during the second month of the Buddhist year. They are *Ringo*, *La-ma Chod-pa*, *Tsu-go-ki-la*, *Dun-chang*, and *Chai-dro-li*.

796 78v *Ringo* (2nd month).—Three households have to provide the beer for the community, and also offer a *Drang-ryyas* to the local god, after which all enjoy themselves by drinking and gambling. Two or three days having elapsed a similar function is held.

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796 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing
782 the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-shen* (roasted buck-wheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-shen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 The *Ma-ni Tsai-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the
793 village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

At the *Chog'-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-pa* (one in whom a god is supposed
796 to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is
78r thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of
[776] blood.

Following closely on this function, comes the *Tsai-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned,
[793] perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-sa-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rag'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rang*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place
533 during the ninth month, one *drang-ryas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to
78r the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung :—

G.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"
The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dzo's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dzo-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

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They are now fat like balls of butter,
In winter they will shrivel with leanness.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The youths become stout-hearted,
The maidens' countenances become like mirrors.

Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

In the morning the *dzo-mo* goes to the hills,
In the evening she returns to be milked.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The threshing floor pole is propitious like silver,
The barley is heaped on the outer edge of the threshing floor.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

When the straw is trodden out fine we are pleased,
When it is wet, it goes hard with the cattle.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

From early morning you endure hardship,
Try hard, and continue to go round (the threshing floor).

Refrain : "*Tulu-ja, tulu-ja.*"

If you go to the top of the hills you reach a glacier,
If you go to the turf, you eat summer flowers.

Then having released the oxen from the threshing floor, and patting them on their backs with a besom, the peasant addresses them thus :—

H.

"May the grain increase ;
As the oxens' horns become like cornelians,
So may the grain increase.
As your ears become like copper, so may the grain increase.
As your noses become like pipes of copper, so may the grain increase.
As your eyes become like the vowel "O," so may the grain increase.
As your lungs become like glistening white glaciers, so may the grain increase.
As your livers become reddish brown, to may the grain increase.
As your intestines become like a zig-zag path, so may the grain increase.

This ends the social functions for the year. They are observed punctiliously, and the method of celebrating them varies not at all, for the people's slavish adherence to the proper

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796 observance of rites and ceremonies has become to them a religion, refraction of which is regarded
771 in the light of a heinous offence. Moral delinquencies pale in significance before what is thought to be the *summum bonum* of life—the right etiquette in regard to rites and ceremonies.

NOTES.

● 533 Note A.—Original version. (Bunan dialect).

Ngon-tshei halpa la zangboi lo
Ser tri zhangso la yang ma khai lo
Ds ser tri zhangso
Dai-ru la so zhuk lo
Dai-ru dai sumi zhughso.
Dai-ru la tangi dai Hla zhughso
Ma khai lo, dai hla yang zhughso
Hla Ō-pam towi lo dai dai nas zhughs
Kili dai nas Hla zhughi lo dai trashin zoddo.
Ngonsai halpa hla zangboi lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Ma khai lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Dai-ru su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru bar-gi hla dai tsan-i zhughso
Ma khai lo dai tsan yang zhughs
Tsan ryyabri la zombai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Kili dai nas hla zhugghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngontshei halpa la zangboi lo
Dai yu tri zhangso
Dai-ru la sui zhangso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la ok-i dai hlu yang zhughso
Ma khai khai lo dai hlu yang zhughs
Hlu Bunor hla zombai lo dai dai nas zhughs
Kili khai lo dai nas zhoghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei halpa la zangboi lo
Dai dung tri zhangso
Dai-ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la dag' shar lo dai dai nas zhughso
Ma khai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Kili dai nas la zhughs lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei halpa la zangboi lo
Dai shel tri zhangso
Ma khai lo dai shel tri zhangso
Dai ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso.
Dai ru la gid-gi la nyen drung zhughso
Kili dai nas la zhughi lo dai trashis zoddo.

Note B.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Yow-i loi la gung-kar drawai shai gung ha toi bu dai
Yow-i dra dang jappa medpai shai monlam gyang nas zig'.

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You-i lai la ma zhing drawai shai ma zhing gai dor dai.
You-i lai la sa dang ser-wa medpai shai monlam gyang nas zigs
You-i nyun zhi gur chang salwai shai monlam gyang nas zigs
You-i dai sum ser dang shai gung la tri chig' bum
Ngansong tilnas drenpai shai chomldan shag' dang chig'
You-i toris lam la drenpai shai monlam zang dang nies
You-i tshei di chima shalwai shai dor-rjei sum
You-i dai sum ser dang drawai shai gungla tri chig' bum
You-i lus la along nampai shai a zang yab dang chig' shay a zang yab dang chig'
You-i ma zhow ngarmo salwai shai a zang yum dang nies
You-i zhim chu ngar chu salwai bu aring zang dang sum
You-i dai sum dang drawai shai gung la tri chig' bum.
You-i rinchen shrog' la panpai shai ma kang zang dang chig'
You-i darzha nampai zhidmad zang dang nies
You-i nyn sum tsan sum tsuppa shai go ki zang dang su
You-i dai sum ser dang drawai shai gong la tri chig' bu
You-i gen med tur med gyuk pai shai kiling zang dang chig'
You-i dra dang garui tog' du pup chung zang dang nies
You-i bumpa lag' nas tenpai shai pa epun zang dang sum
You-i dai sum drawai shai gong la tri chig' bum.

Note C.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Chogks shar chogks la yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sai ru ri sai ru.
Shing markal la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar jar rgyad la yang godpo ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod
Chogks lo chogkala yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sai ru ri sai ru.
Shing tsan danla yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar mab jar la yang godpo ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi-li baba sang la yang la ba sang yang la lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chogks nub chogkala yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sai ru ri sai ru
Shing nyugu la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar naitso la yang ta lam kan ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chogks jang chogkala yang rigai ya-la-lo
Ri sai ru ri sai ru
Shing jang kar la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar kya-ow la yang rgyalpo ya-la-lo

● 533

Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chopha u-chophala yang rigai ya-la-lo
Bi ani ru ri ani ru
Shing bar tshei la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar po-rog' la yang nak chung ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.

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Note D.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tan sung tai leg' dog' chi
Or shet tai leg' as tog'
Nad tsed ma ai yog' ku.

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Note E.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tsa tsai ml ma
Tsa tsai ml ma
Trashis ru dang lowi shang
Trashis tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Tsa tsai ml ma
Tsa tsai ml ma
Zin zin ru dang lowi shang
Zin zin tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Zhong zhong ru dang lowi shang
Zhong zhong tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gir gir ru dang lowi shang
Gir gir tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gling ru dang lowi shang
Gling tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Breng breng tsi gyul cha stog' wanz gel hak lowi shang
Dampa gro gyastog' sha tup chag' lowi shang
Chag' dad gro gyastog' mar pya chag' lowi shang
Pu shag' hrui mun ang ling goi tas lowi shang.

Note F.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Lei tsog' ma drang gog ma
Bai bai biang nang bai nu ral
Ral nang tai skyo
Drai ni rag' as ni bolo gyongbu
Nang kai shettai sar nang jar
Ki mar mai nang hri chai
Shrungs nang shir pet gi stal
Chag' dang gang chai wa sa rog'
Gang chaica nam dog' korek
Ma enge ka tai skyo
Ki tsi ni bi tsai ni.

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Note G.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Lang chen tanna hiri do
Hiri do hiri do
Dzo-poi rucho dung gi rucho
[Note: A "dzo" is a cross between a cow and a yak. A dzo-mo is the female animal.]
Dzo-moi ngama dar gi poll dur
Hiri do hiri do
Krondri da krondri da mar krondri
Krondri da krondri bear krondri
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Kyogtong dar rgyu naro
Nachung mai long yallo
Hiri do hiri do
Nguro dzomo ri show ma
Pidro dzomo jon show ma
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Ül tag' trashi gormow
Sermo nai oil sillo
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Tül tül tül na angu
Jib jib jib na nyalla
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Nam langs gi ma turi ku ku woh
Ya rutana hiri do
Tulu ja tulu ja
Ri stot tourna gung stot
Bungs yari mentog' don kan gün

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Note H.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Hong bo rg.hong ba ro'
Chong gi ryucho-i ka nai hong bo ro
Na un ungs ki ga tap ka nai hong bo ro
Na ungs nai yur-i ka nai hong bo ro
Mig' ga kai ka nai hong bo ro
Hlo-un gung ri kurpo-i ka nai hong bo ro
Chinba ba ju sha mukpo-i ka nai hong bo ro
Gyuma kyog' lam kyog' lam ka nai hong bo ro

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796 with all speed and placing it on the cairn of stones. He next skins the sheep and distributes portions of the flesh to the assembled people, each person receiving a portion which he holds over a fire which has previously been lit, until the meat is singed. This he eats immediately. All then return to a specified meeting-place where several large earthen vessels (*Za-Ma*) of beer are imbibed. This done all the males belonging to a group of villages proceed to a pond where they wash their bodies.

G

796 533 During the 9th month when threshing the grain on the threshing floor the following eulogy of the oxen is sung:

[7] May the grain increase like the ring marks on your horns;
Your eyes are like black pupils;
Your nostrils like pipes of brass;
Your upper lips are like a golden tablet;
Your lower lips like a turquois tablet;
Your tongues are like knotted ice;
Your throats like a pipe of beads (rosary);
Your livers glisten like ice;
Your lungs are like a red lake;
Your abdomens are like a square temple;
Your hides like a black and white plain;

[7] *Original Ladakhi dialect*

Ru cho chong ri mug chung wongs kyong wong bo rog
Mig mo nag ga pa ni
Na kung zang si pu ri
Al pags gser gi lag shing
Mal pags u-i lag shing
Lche mo dar gi dud pa
Ol dong mig pai trang
Chin pa gangs ri dkar po
Hlo wa mtso mo ma bang
Jang kok hla kang dru bshi
Pags po tang kar tang nak
Nga ma dir kak gyun dra
Ldad pa chu ton ton skor pin
Nye chu tung du cha cha skor pin

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Your tails are as fine as a sinew; 796
You have gone round the threshing floor until the 533
sweat broke upon you;
You have gone round until your tendons contracted.

When the grain threshed by the oxen has been winnowed, 796
the ceremony of blessing the grain is performed. Around 782
the heap of grain four grain sacks, with their open ends facing the heap, are laid in the form of a square. Fried barley flour and butter (*Sur*) is placed on the threshing floor at the circumference of the heap of grain, whilst the droppings of the cattle (*Lcha*), an image of the god of harvest (*Sku-Dra*), and a few grains of corn (*Shrub*) are imbedded in the pile of grain. Scattering a few grains of corn hither and thither, a man invokes the god by saying:

I offer this;
Oh Aria the Lord of wealth, may the grain increase
as the droppings from the oxen.[8]

The 17th and 18th days of the 10th month are times 585
specially assigned for the celebration of marriages. These ceremonies held in Ladakh suffer very little modification or addition in ritual, for departure from the accepted customs handed down by tradition is considered to be an affront to the communal conscience.

WALTER ASBOE

AN IRISH FOLK-POEM

THE following poem was taken down, in 1933, on the Great Blasket Island, Kerry, from the singing of Peig Sayers the story-teller (see *Béaloideas*, vol. II, p. 108). As I have never seen another version in any collection of Irish folk-poems or elsewhere, it may be of interest to have it recorded here, in the Blasket dialect,

[8] *Original Ladakhi dialect*
mChod
Nor gi bdag po a-ri-a rdzam pa la.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal
428 polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out
[586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female,
597 household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gum-
[595] ling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be
[601] seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young wom-
[203] an beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only
[564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith
[533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the popu-
181 lation are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated; they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
● 533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the
526 main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans A54

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published. 779 212 213

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated its height when building the chapel in which it was housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another portion had to be built to take this. 778

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking. 533 535 [515] [777] 535

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans AJ 4

535 seen in India, and all were spontaneous, it being only by chance that each dancer followed the other at that time, as I saw later on when the plentiful flow of *chang* was having its effect upon them.

796 We had made the journey over the passes earlier than was considered wise in the season simply to enable one of our party to film the Spring Festival which takes place in June in the Hermis Monastery, a great building which houses several hundreds of monks and is said to be fabulously wealthy, having escaped the invasion of the Dogras, and is believed to have hidden within its walls all the gold and valuables of other monasteries taken there before they were sacked. From Leh it is twenty-four miles—two marches.

The festival is famous and renowned throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world, and people come from hundreds of miles to witness it. The dance-play there performed by the lamas is so ancient that its origin is lost in the past. It is a mixture of a miracle play, pantomime and a fête parade, the whole scene brilliant and vivid with colour and movement, and blasting with sound, for the lama orchestra is composed of many drums, cymbals, clarinets, giant trumpets and triangles, which to my ear was pandemonium and seemed to make no attempt at keeping together, each of its members appearing bent on outshining the others.

796 The music is as fantastic as is everything in that land; it
533 breathes mystery. Nowhere else in the East, except in Tibet of course, is it to be heard. Yet I am assured that there is more science in it than the European ear is attuned to, though search as I did with the utmost desire to understand it, I was unable to discover its quality. There are strange discords, sudden changes, abrupt ceasings—at this latter the voices of the lamas which must have been there all the time in the background would continue in a lower key with melancholy chanting. My Ceylon friend assured me that the chants were older than those of any other religion, and that the quarter notes, with their very delicate distinctions which my ear could not catch, required hours of practice by the lamas of the choir. With the droning of the voices, the flatness and sameness of the music and the smell of incense—which certainly did to an extent smother the

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

unpleasant odour of those sitting around me—it was difficult at times to keep my eyes open. 796 533

The costumes are as old as the play and made of beautiful brocades embroidered in gold and silver; some of the dancers wear great black hats, others giant masks of animals or the faces of the evil spirits of legendary characters, the same as are depicted on the walls of the monasteries and known to all the people from their earliest childhood. The play demonstrates how Good triumphs over Evil, but only after a two-day struggle, during which the evil hideous spirits whirl and twist, wildly charging and leaping in their frightening effort most wickedly to destroy Good. Then at long last comes the triumph of Good—Buddhism of course—over Evil, and the bad ones' terrified flight under the wrath of the flashing swords of Good. [292] 796 772 533

During the two days both dancers and orchestra reach a terrific speed and state of excitement, carrying with them those who are watching, the latter it is hoped by the lamas, being duly impressed by the power of the Lord Buddha and his always ultimate magnificent victory over all that is evil, however powerful the challenge may first appear, and however successful in its opening phase.

Back in Leh, at night we watched the festival go on for days, for happiness was in the air; the winter with its cold and bitterness had gone, the land would again yield its fruits, the caravans would come from the "distant lands" of which the people of Ladakh had no knowledge other than that gleaned from those who came from those parts; and Good had once again, this time after a most terrific and thrilling struggle, conquered Evil.

Singing and dancing—and drinking—continued. The young men came out with hobby-horses and acted a polo game for our benefit, the girls were made to form a circle and sing to us, the bands blasted our ears with their "music", and the people were delighted that they had been able to make us as happy as they were themselves.

When all had gone and the lights had faded away, the thin crescent of the moon and the twinkling stars seemed to become a brighter silver against the indigo-velvet sky which was only separated from us by the snow-capped mountains of purple brown; mountains which are said to contain untold wealth if 000

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

574 grand folk dressed in most weird costumes, uncommonly like a well-got-up pantomime.

574 291 793 There were men dressed in Chinese silks, with their smart blue and gold caps with tassels, Ladakhi officials of various grades, from the Joint-Commissioner, a fine-looking Mohammedan, to his fat babu who sat on his pony like a monkey, his stirrups being so short that his knees and fat stomach met. But the figure which took my fancy was the church dignitary; he resembled for all the world Cardinal Wolsey risen from the dead. He wore a scarlet cloak which fell over the pony's back and almost touched the ground, and he sported ye old cardinal's hat. I never saw him smile, which was in contrast to all the others, who seemed to be out for a holiday. Whether he was upset about not having his proper position in the cavalcade, or whether he had the stomach-ache is uncertain, or maybe his cardinal's hat was uncomfortable. It certainly was hardly the sort of hat I should have chosen to ride in. Perhaps his dignity did not allow him to show his feelings. Anyway, everybody except the cardinal seemed to be in good fettle after their morning's ride. We all fell into some sort of order and rode for the capital.

361 574 533 526 You can see Leh from some miles distant as it is built up the side of the rocks, with the palace and monastery towering above. Leh is 11,700 feet above sea-level, so one needs a little time in which to get acclimatised.

When we arrived through the fine gateway into the main street we found both sides lined with H.H. the Maharajah's troops and the crowds of citizens behind them. The monastery band was in full view on the roof of one 574 526 of the buildings and made the usual joyful sound. This main street of shops has a fine avenue of poplar-trees,

A Trip to Ladakh

788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
● 533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
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2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ

A Trip to Ladakh

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is directed by the precentor, and he by a big book in front of him. There is a fire burning in the centre of the court. Then there enter monks, dressed up in hideous masks with faces of various animals, such as dogs, tigers, dragons, etc.; they carry large three-pronged forks, and throw a clay figure of a man into the flames. The devils commence dancing round, pretending to stick their forks into the figure, and seem to be enjoying the sport of tormenting their victims. This scene continues for what seems to be an interminable time, when in come a party of monks from the great door of the monastery, dressed in coloured silk garments, wearing huge masks, and commence to march round and round hell fire, making various passes with their arms towards the flames. They begin with painfully slow steps, which are so monotonous that they get on one's nerves, the band playing softly but in terribly slow time.

Then the music quickens slightly, and then a little quicker, then quicker, until these holy monks fairly spin like dancing dervishes. The band works itself crazy with the screeching of its pipes, crashing cymbals, bellowing giant trumpets and resounding drum. Then all of a sudden there is dead silence, and we are all thankful for the respite. Then the whole dance commences over again from the very beginning, with one step every three seconds, and again working up to the whizz-bang. By this time this lot of holy men are tired out with their exertions and they disappear through the same great door from which they came. Immediately come in a second lot with a different set of great masks, some of them wearing most benign faces. They with the help of the band try their charms in marching and dances, and so one party succeeds another all through that day and part of the next without any success, for the flames of hell still

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

burn on and the devils have it all their own way until a party of super-holy monks arrive, who come with holy water, with which they conquer the flames, and then the devils one and all rush out of the arena amid a tempest of crashing and shrieking; but above it all is the sound of a mighty wind caused by all the monks whistling their loudest, and the whole band of devils, pitchforks and all, disappear into the monastery. I thought it would have been more impressive if they had all disappeared over the precipice or, if they could not manage that, down the rocks out of sight.

796 533 535

Well, we were mighty glad to see the last of these devils, and the blessed monks also, for our nerves were anyhow after all we had heard and seen, but all was not over, for the people were to see the priest perform a sort of high mass. In an open space rigged up as a chapel facing the courtyard which all could see was an altar with its usual complement of ornaments, lamps, holy water, chalice and paten.

796 793 535

The priest entered wearing a garment just like a surplice. He turned his back to the congregation and commenced his service at the altar.

Presently in came stealthily a clown with a coloured bladder in his hand with which he hit the priest over the head with a mighty whack and then darted behind a pillar and hid. Then again he crept up behind, stalking the priest, and dealt him another blow; but still the priest took no notice, so absorbed was he in his devotions. After another blow or two the priest looked round to see whence the blows had come, but of course he looked in the wrong direction, and the clown cocked a snook at him, a real gutter-snipe snook, from behind the pillar. It was all so like a Western pantomime that we could hardly believe we were watching a real Buddhist religious

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 534

The DRIL-BU, or Bell.

A. Cunningham Del.

Day & Son lith.rs to the Qu

P. 373a

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VI.—RITES AND CEREMONIES.

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The religious service of the Lamas is performed at three fixed periods of the day; at sunrise, noon, and sunset. The service consists of the recitation or chanting of portions of the *Do* (Sutras, or "Precepts") or of the *Dulva* (Vinaya, or "Rules of Discipline"), accompanied by the solemn sound of several musical instruments. These are:—1st, large sliding trumpets, five and six feet in length, called *Chhos-Dung*, or "holy trumpets;" 2nd, large drums, *Chhos Ná;* and 3rd, large brazen cymbals, *Bul-chhal.* Sometimes also a conch, *Dung-kar*, is used. The musical sounds are slow and prolonged, and the effect is exceedingly solemn and even melancholy. During the performance of the service incense is kept regularly burning, and offerings of fruit and grain, and even of meat, are made to the figures of *Shakya Thubba* (or Buddha), *Chanrazik* (or Avalokiteswara), and *Jámya* (or Manju Sri).

Moorcroft, who frequently witnessed the daily service of the Lamas, thus describes it.* "The religious service of the Lama, which is performed daily at the *Gon-pas*, or temples attached to monasteries, consists chiefly of prayers and chanting, in which the formula '*Aum! mani-padmé, hun!*' is frequently repeated; and the whole is accompanied with the music of wind instruments, chiefly harmonizing with tabrets and drums. Amongst the former is a sliding trumpet of large size, which is upheld by one man whilst blown by another, and has a very deep and majestic intonation; a hautboy, the reed of which is surrounded by a circular plate covering the mouth, and the conch shell, with a copper

* Travels, I. p. 344.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 mouth-piece; metallic cymbals, much more mellow and
[534] sonorous than others, complete the band."

But the religious service of the Lamas is not confined
788 to the recitation of the *Dulva* and the *Do*, or to the frequent repetition of the six-syllabled *mantra*, "*Aum! Mani-padmé, hun!*" They occasionally proclaim aloud the numerous titles of the supreme Buddha; and recite, with endless repetition, the different mystical sentences peculiar to the various Bodhisatwas, and to the Tántrika Sáktis, or female energies of the Dhyáni Buddhas. They also recite mystical sentences from the Tantras, to deprecate the wrath of the furious Káli (*Chandá*, the angry goddess).

539 The following are specimens of these *mantras*, or
788 mystic sentences. They are all in the Sanskrit language:—

1. The Mantra of *Shakya Thubba* (Buddh'a).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sarva-klesha nishuddhana;
Sarvva dharma vahiprapta; gagana sama sama, swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! Reliever of all suffering!
Master of all virtue! Equal, equal to the Heavens! adoration!"

2. The Mantra of *Kuntu-Zangpo* (Samanta-bhadra).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sámantanugati, varaja,
Dharmanirgati, mahá, mahá, swáha!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! acquirer of distinction, best-born,
Who goeth forth with virtue; great, great adoration!"

3. The Mantra of *Champa* (the future Buddha).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! ajitanajaya,
Sarvva Satwayasháyanugata, Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! conqueror of the invincible,
Possessor of the fame of all purity, adoration!"

4. The Mantra of *Chakna-Dorjé* (Vajra-Páni).

Namah Sámanta Vajránám! Chanda Maha-roshana,-hun!

"Glory to the chief Vajras; fierce and greatly-angry, *hun!*"

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 600

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] 585 768 584 [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 600

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

1 [i.e, barley beer-- Analyst]

797 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of
them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into
which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a
room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and
where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep
the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol
room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but
a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used
for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[797] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the
monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for
the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch
as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They
attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-
shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instru-
ment is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after
having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on
the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while
the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called
"khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child).
áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo
goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo
(mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk,
dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull
and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little
milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the
dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but
it produces excellent butter.

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

● 534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or rárcs or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

*[i.e, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

●534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years" trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

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763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

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/Following page 205/

Mon (musicians)

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. 291

Social and Religious Life. [301]

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

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Amusements. 541

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

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Constitution of the family. 543

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In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

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[593]

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[Facing p. 64]

133

At Rothang Pass it seemed that I was on the threshold of another world—a world where magic played the major role, where one in quiet meditation could contact the spirits that occupy a place existing far above the earth.

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The women of Gya were giggling as they started to sing. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal and he is the singer.

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The Gya singers were accompanied by an orchestra of two musicians.

000 stickweed or forget-me-not, handling it as tenderly as a museum piece. When I found it near a stand of juniper, a great flood of memories poured through my mind. This was an old, familiar friend who seemed to me to be far from home. For the place where I best knew it—its accustomed place—was on the slope above my cabin in the high Wallowas of Oregon. Though it seemed strangely out of place here, this might well be closer to its home than Oregon, to which it may have been carried by animals or by planetary winds.

492 I was explaining this to Rahul when we heard bells. We gave
• 534 them no particular attention because many caravans had bells and were continually passing along the trail just below the stone wall at the end of the slope in front of the dak bungalow. These bells got louder and louder, unlike any we had heard. They sounded as if they were the bells of dozens of caravans. We started to race down the slope to see what was about to pass under the stone wall in front of us, when the caravan turned onto our lawn.

Up front on a bay horse was Rup Singh, grinning and beaming. Behind him came ten mules heavily hung with bells. Behind them came two young men on foot—Chhomphel and Ram Chand—whistling and shouting and racing to keep the mules out of sheaths of barley freshly cut and piled behind our bungalow.

Some of these animals had the build of Missouri mules; some were closer to a donkey's stature. Two were gray; others were bay. There was one chestnut and one that seemed to have a touch of palomino in him. Most of them had tassels hanging from their necks—red or yellow and about two feet long. Each had bells. Some of the bells were eighteen inches or so long, as wide as a fruit jar, heavy and ponderous, and deep-throated. These were the basses. Some were tiny bells smaller than a walnut, with two dozen strung on a leather band that fastened around the neck, a bit reminiscent of Christmas sleigh bells. These were the sopranos. There were bells as big as apricots, similarly fastened to leather

neck straps. These were the altos. A few of the mules had a half dozen larger bells each—bells of the size of teacups. These were the tenors. And a few of the mules had bells that were hung inside each other like camel bells of Persia. These bells ran almost a full scale. 492 534

Bells, bells, bells! What a din they made! Every movement of an animal rang a bell. As they milled around us the noise was so great we could hardly hear each other. I found myself shouting to Rahul and he in turn relayed the message in a shout to Rup Singh. It appeared that Rup Singh had had no lunch. He would get lunch, return at once, and we would push on to Jispa, fourteen miles distant, this afternoon. Rup Singh left with his mule train, and when the noise gradually died out a deep quiet settled over the peaceful dak bungalow. We sat on our packs until late afternoon. Rup Singh did not appear. We were up early the next morning and yet there was no sign of him. It was not until ten o'clock that he appeared. Our plan to reprimand him for his long delay immediately evaporated. As soon as the mules entered our gate we were drowned in music. Bells, bells, bells. They did something to us. We were at once relaxed, happy, excited. We greeted the smiling Rup Singh as a long-lost brother, forgetting to scold him. There was music in the air, music in our hearts. At last we were off to high adventure—adventure set to music, the haunting music of tinkling bells, booming bells, soft melodious bells, bells that set a tingling sensation running up and down the spine. The music of the bells had reflex effects in our fingers, our toes, our legs. I found myself trying to catch up with the music, trying to walk to its rhythm. And then a mule would break away, change his pace, and set up a discordant note. Then there would be more noise than music. Yet even so there was a melodious chant deep in the noise. Rup Singh's muleteers, Chhomphel and Ram Chand (two young men in their twenties), drove stakes and stretched a chain between them at ground level. When they tied the mules to this chain, the music subsided

492 except when a quarrel between two mules would end in biting.
• 534 But even so the effect of the music carried over. I noticed that Rup Singh as he loaded the mules (in a manner similar to our Montana packs) was softly, almost inaudibly singing.

"What is your song?" I asked.

"Not a song," he said. "I'm just talking to myself and the mules."

"What are you saying?"

He laughed as he replied, "Hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry."

Hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. That seemed to be the effect of the bells on both the mules and the men. Actually they may not have had any such effect. For as the days passed I noticed that my mule train could not be pushed above an average of two and one quarter miles an hour. Yet hour after hour, day after day, hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry seemed to be the message of the bells.

We skirted cliffs that dropped off a thousand feet below us. The bells rang out—hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We climbed steep pitches to reach high passes of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen thousand feet. In spite of the thin air, the command of the bells was always hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We swung down meandering canyons, forded streams, crossed high basins, passed through herds of wild asses, pushed into the nose of severe storms, threaded through narrow, rocky defiles, climbed to hogback ridges along swinging trails of switchbacks—and always the command of the bells was hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry. We were in the coarse sand of wind-blown ridges, or among rounded boulders of old river beds, or in rock fields of granite splintered by frost from overhanging cliffs, or on bleak and barren plateaus pock-marked with the huge holes of whistling, fat-bellied marmots, or in high meadows touched with green from a thinning turf. And the mule train played the same message—hurry, hurry—hurry, hurry.

Our first night out from Kyelang I asked Rup Singh about the bells. Most caravans had bells, but none ever had so many bells.

These bells gave a complete orchestration. We could be heard for a mile. Why so many bells? 492 534

Rup Singh grinned as he replied, "The music is good for the mules. The louder the music, the more contented they are. It keeps them from quitting—keeps them going."

Perhaps Rup Singh was right; perhaps he was only transferring to the mules his own attitude. Certain it is that the bells had a profound effect on us. They broke the monotony of bleak trails. They picked up one's spirits when physical fatigue set in. When one was aboard, they gave relief from the constant jogging of the animal. Even on the slowest stretches, the most grueling climbs, they produced the sense of motion, of progress, of achievement. They often produced these effects in curious ways.

Frequently it seemed to me that the mules were synchronizing their steps to produce familiar tunes. Up front was a big gray mule with a long, yellow tassel hanging from his neck. He led the way, picking the trail, choosing from among alternate routes, grinding steadily on, never stopping, not even nibbling, except for bites at overhanging boughs of willow trees. His role was one of steady industry. The other mules were not tied; each was on his own. For the most part they walked single-file, staying close together. Then the mule train would pick up a rhythm, and I would catch pieces of familiar tunes.

Occasionally on a fast pace I would hear a part of the refrain, *"It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and my heart's right there."* Usually the beat was slower, more measured, such as *"Old MacDonald had a farm, E–I–E–I–O."* The pace would slightly change, there would be discord, and then as clear as any bell would come:

> *There's a long, long night of waiting*
> *Until my dreams all come true.*

There would be another change and "The Tattooed Lady" would tumble out.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Come on and see,
Come on and see
The famous picture gallery.

The pace would quicken, "The Tattooed Lady" would fade away, and in her place would gradually emerge:

How are you going to keep them down on the farm
After they've seen Paree?

During one day's travel pieces of dozens of familiar songs would be played on the bells. Medleys by the score would echo from granite cliffs in narrow canyons or wing away on the severe winds that howl across the high Himalayan basins. No piece would ever be completed. This was mutilated music—pieces of tunes strung together by jumbles of discordant notes. And yet there was a haunting quality about it. It had a quickening effect on tired muscles. It lifted up the heart. It seemed to make the seven of us humans and the eleven animals part and parcel of one endeavor, one adventure.

"Perhaps Rup Singh is right," I said to Rahul at one of our last camps. "The bells have helped carry me to great heights. That I know. They may also have helped the mules."

And Rahul, a brilliant product of the land where mysticism is supreme, nodded knowingly and said, "Of course, music helps every living thing."

There was another reason for the bells. Rup Singh, like his father before him, was in the caravan business. Sometimes he carried the goods of others. On this trek of mine he had two mules loaded with produce for Leh, some of it silk brocades from Bombay. Usually, however, Rup Singh carried goods of his own to sell along the way. The bells would tell the coming of the caravan.

I remember when we came to Upshi on the Indus, near the end of our trek, early one afternoon. The villagers heard our mule train at least a mile away. A ragged urchin scooted across a barley

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

field headed for his house, shouting, "Here comes the caravan." 492
An old blind man sitting in the sun in a niche along a cobble- 534
stone way lifted his head, pounded on the wall with his cane, and called out, "Dolma, Diki, Zila, come quickly. Here's the caravan." Children rushed to the edge of flat roofs, pointing and shouting. Women cultivating the fields ran to the willows along the trail, excitement in their eyes and on their tongues. Men bestirred themselves and drifted down to the house of the head man of the village where we were going. Two women hurried to a balcony overlooking the path; and as we passed one of them said, "Now, Dolma, we can get some talcum powder at last."

The bells brought news and goods from the outside world, a world so far away, so remote, that the stories about it seemed like legends. Yet that strange world sent wondrous products to the farthest reaches. And my musical mule train told of their coming with its bells, bells, bells.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 16

AN INCARNATE LAMA

The founder of Hemis Monastery was Stagtsang 792
Raspa, a lama who in the eleventh century came to 175
the nulla where Hemis now stands, looking for a retreat where he could pray and commune. This nulla, narrow, secluded, and quiet, was ideal for his purpose. Willow, poplar, and alder trees shaded it. Clear, cold water poured from springs in bounteous supply. There was solitude broken only by water pouring over rocks, by wind in the trees, and by the harsh churr-churr of the mountain finch. Stagtsang Raspa spent many months in this primitive retreat, trying to make contact with his deity or god-protector (Yidam), who would lead him to the Highest Blessful State.

The lovely nulla visited by Stagtsang Raspa is no longer the quiet place he knew. It is today filled by a thriving monastery of five hundred lamas who keep the place bustling with energy. And 534 •
twice a day the canyon is filled with hundreds of deep-throated 792
echoes that seem to come from the bowels of the earth. These are the blasts of twelve-foot horns blown from the roof of the monastery to open the day at 5.30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M.

792 That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche
796 the Lobon invited Rahul and me to attend Rinpoche's prayers. Rinpoche has two prayer meetings daily. The lamas of the monastery have three. They are held in the chapel. Rinpoche, during his minority, holds his prayer meetings in his room.

Rahul and I, our shoes off, sat on the floor facing Rinpoche. He was on a dais opposite us, his back to the window. Phuntzog sat on cushions against the wall to the left of Rinpoche. Next to Phuntzog sat two lamas. Against the wall to our left and facing the Lobon was the teen-age acolyte who was the playmate of Rinpoche.

792 A drum about two feet in diameter stood on a pedestal before
796 the Lobon, and attached to the drum were cymbals. A small bowl
• 534 of corn was at the Lobon's knees. Each of the lamas on his left had a large Tibetan trumpet. The acolyte across the room had a horn shaped like a hunting horn but made of silver. Before each person was a typical Tibetan prayer book—a collection of sheets of paper about six by eighteen inches, unbound, and held between two long, narrow boards.

On a low stand in front of Rinpoche was a gold *dilbu* or bell (female symbol of wisdom); a gold *dorje* or thunderbolt about six inches long, solid in the middle and slightly bulging and open at the ends (male symbol of method); and a feather duster in a holder.

The Lobon played the cymbals and beat the drum with a stick bent in the shape of a huge question mark. The two lamas blew on the trumpets; and the young acolyte tried to outdo them all by vigorous management of the silver hunting horn. The music filled the room with a deafening sound, for the space was small, not more than fourteen by eighteen feet. It was a rather monotonous chant, a simple tune played over and over again for an hour and a half. With the music came the prayers. Sometimes the prayers would cease while the music went on. Sometimes the music would cease while the prayers continued. But for the most part the prayers were read to the accompaniment of the music.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

An Incarnate Lama

Once in a while Rinpoche would ring the gold bell with his left 792
hand or with his right hand take the feather duster out of its 796
holder and then put it back. Once in a while the Lobon would 534 •
toss a few grains of corn across the room in front of Rinpoche.

These were incidental. The main effect was in the music and the chanting. It was an almost magical effect. The beating of the drum and the cymbals, the sound of the trumpets and the horn became a primitive exercise and stirred something deep inside me. It seemed that these musicians were trying to call out the devils in all of us. Then came the incantations in pursuit, driving harder and harder, faster and faster, unending in their effort to suppress the evil forces. The voice of the Lobon was deep in bass. His words poured in a mad rush of syllables to form recitations almost unintelligible. On and on he went, supplying greater and greater emphasis. His deep voice rose and fell—rising in supplication, falling to a whisper, mounting to indignation, dropping to humble praise. Over and over again went the refrain.*

There was something at first harsh and repelling in the music. Then the horn and trumpets, though louder than any of the instruments, somehow faded to the background of consciousness. The cymbals, too, seemed to come from afar. The room was dominated by the drum, the rhythmic beating, beating, beating. And with the beating, beating, beating of the drums came the chant of the Lobon—deep and guttural, up and down, sad and plaintive, loud and demanding, soft and pleading.

It was a hypnotic ritual. The words seemed to be meaningless incantations, falling from the lips of the Lobon in indistinct guttural sounds. The words and the drum set up curious vibrations and cast a spell. Many times I have had the experience of being lost in the music of a symphony, carried away on clouds to worlds remote from the hall or library where I sat. This prayer meeting was different. This music and chanting were holding a man, drawing him like a magnet, pulling him into a strange, psychic vortex

*See page 333.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 796 534

until he was swallowed by the beatings of the drum and the chanting of the Lobon.

I had read Forman, *Through Forbidden Tibet*, and his account of how sorcerers one day had conjured up before him and a group of lamas Yama, the King of Hell, and the attendants at Yama's court—Lust, Greed, and Anger. Forman with his own eyes thought he saw Yama, with his thirty-four arms and nine heads and a garland of human skulls about his shoulders. Perhaps he experienced mass hypnotism. Perhaps it was human television.

I had no such experience. But as I sat in Rinpoche's room with my head bowed and my eyes closed, listening to the beating of the drum and the incessant, liquid mutterings of the Lobon, I knew at once that hypnotism was real. I felt the power of music and the human voice and for the first time knew its vast potentiality. Though there was some force fastening itself onto me, I did not try to rebel. For an hour or more I submitted to its decree.

792 796 529

In the name of the Triad! O divine Lord, Mun!
In the name of the Triad! O Lotus-bearer, Hun!
In the name of the Triad! O Scepter-bearer, Hun!

In the name of the Triad! O immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, hu-lu! —hu-lu!—hun!—Phat!

In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! Ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence, Holy-one, Hun-hun!

O Mani, Mani, Great Mani, SAKYA-Mani, adoration!
O Lotus-bearer, hun!—*O fierce and greatly angry,* Hun-phat!

O Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya, adoration!

538 Then came the hunter, who, seeing the deer and the dog lying
788 down together, believed the dog had been bewitched. So he drew his sword to kill the dog. As he approached, Mila Repa began to intone, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" The hunter was strongly affected by the chant. He stood undecided and torn. Before long he returned his sword to the scabbard and, approaching Mila Repa, prostrated himself before the Holy One.
535 A lama dance (*chham*) is built around these characters[1]—a play
796 illustrating the old Tibetan proverb and Buddhist teaching, "There is no sin so great as killing."

Phuntzog put on some lama dances for us. But the act of the deer, the dog, and the hunter was not included. The dances we saw, like the old morality plays of Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

They were performed in the courtyard in front of the main monastery building. Opposite the stairs leading down from the monastery sat the Rinpoche and the Lobon. Each of them is usually dressed in a long, flowing, dark red robe, wrapped toga-like around him so that his right arm is bare. Now the left arm was bare, and a bright yellow shawl was draped over the shoulders and around the waist. Rinpoche wore a peaked red hat that had no brim but came down over the back of his neck. Phuntzog wore a big red hat whose brim flared up and stood like great sails sewn together. Rinpoche sat on a dais with the gold bell and gold *dorje* in front of him. Phuntzog sat on his right. Farther to the right was a great array of musicians—trumpeters, drummers, and two men who blew giant horns. They were bedecked in gaily
• [534] colored clothes and tall red hats of various designs. The trumpets were of the clarinet type, made of wood and brass. The drums stood on edge, held four or five feet off the ground by a pedestal, and attached to them were cymbals. The drums were struck by sticks bent into the shape of huge question marks. The two horns (*shawms*) were each twelve feet long. The larger end was about eighteen inches in diameter. It rested on the ground.

 1 [From legends. See p.173 -- ANALYST]

2.92

Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha.

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The Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word.

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The castle of the King of Ladakh still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

• 534
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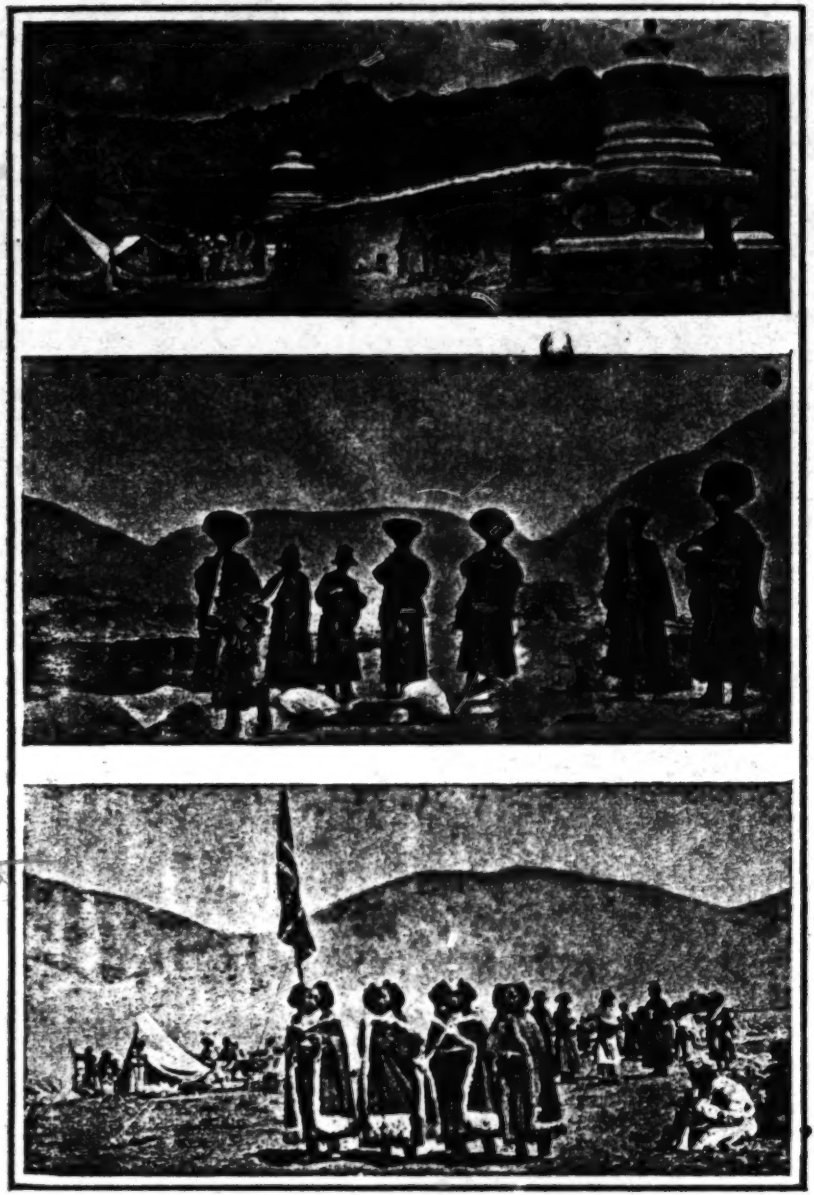
Zila played the daps and sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice.

[facing p. 192]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



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DEDICATION OF A NEW MANI WALL.

At each end are *chortens*.

A MONASTIC BAND.

One small lay child supports the ends of two long shawms.

A GREETING.

Women who have come out to greet the British Joint Commissioner with flour, water, chang (local beer) and fire. To the right a "band" of welcome is provided by one gentleman!

[FACING p. 48]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the discussions which were subsequently held at this conference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they had no grounds at all for their contentions.

So off we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along.

We are now travelling with the representative of his Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle-drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

576 summons they produce. Next come those who blow the
534 flageolets, whilst the further end of the row is assigned to the long shawms, which are so long that, when they are put away, the three parts of which they consist have to be telescoped one into the other. Priestly music must be described elsewhere, but the greeting to the Commissioner consists of single notes blown on shawms, and flageolets, clanged on cymbals, and beaten on drums at the same time, with a slow rhythm. This is not nearly so discordant as might be imagined, and when produced in its own setting seems quite
576 harmonious. Again we are riding across a desert road with
534 a village well to the left. The inevitable band has been
292 sent to the roadside to play us their greeting, but next to them there is a group of four women, gay in their bright red and green, ceremonial or dancing cloaks, lined with long sheep-skins; one holds a pot of local beer, the next a plate of flour, the third a vessel of water, and the last presents glowing
000 embers. One's thoughts almost naturally revert to that scene in the Bible, where Abraham, having followed the army which had carried off his cousin Lot, returning victoriously was met by Melchizedek, King of Salem, with bread and wine. Thus does the unchanging East still keep up its ancient customs, even on the sandy plains of Western Tibet. Abraham no doubt took of the fare provided, but we had not been fighting an enemy, and did not feel the need of sustenance just then. In my politest Tibetan I explained that the Commissioner did not drink *Chang* (the local beer), which harmless and perfectly true remark only produced roars of laughter.

Now we have ascended the Changla, a pass of about 18,000 feet, and to right and left of our road have seen the most wonderful variety of wild flowers. Looking back from the head of the pass, we see about fifty feet below us a large, perfectly purple patch of ground, made up of a mass of wild primulas—surely a remarkable sight at such an elevation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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THE TOWN BAND OF LEH

who appeared in the Moravian Mission Compound of their own accord to greet the bride and bridegroom on their return from Church on the rare occasion of a Sahib's wedding in Leh.

A PRIVATE CHAPEL.

The service resembling High Mass being held on the verandah of a "private chapel" in the summer residence of a prominent Tibetan in Leh.

Facing pg. 104

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

745 acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of
872 the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while
875 listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

533 Next in importance, though not in status, come the musi-
[563] cians and minstrels. Although no function is complete
534 without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep
538 them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W .ibetans AJ4

gut, and the bow of horsehair. Let us listen to Tsiring 538
Rolmar, as she recounts to her husband and her two boys,
one of these stories. In the corner of their living-room is the [554]
stove, behind which sits the housefather on a slightly raised
platform, before him his cup of tea which he sips the while.
On the opposite side, also sitting cross-legged, is his lady, who
while she spins her yarn, blows the fire with her goatskin
bellows, and at her side her youngsters drink in the story.
Like all good tales hers begins—"Once upon a time," and 539
goes on to tell of King Sralkai, of his little son Ulastopgyes,
the princess Laches, and their cruel step-mother, who in order
to rid herself of her husband's children feigned illness, and
asked him to go to a certain old woman physician who lived
on a hill far away. While the King was on the road thither,
the wicked queen, successfully disguised, took a short cut and
arrived at the mountain first, then told the King that the only
cure for his queen was a meal made of the hearts of his two
children. Sadly he returned, and we follow the prince and
princess through a long and tedious history of various unsuc-
cessful attempts to murder them, until eventually Ulastopgyes
is recognized as a prince and is crowned king of a great
country. His thoughts return to his poor old father, and he
goes to rescue him from the wicked queen, who turns out to
be a witch and is slain, whilst, of course, the rest live happily
ever afterwards. But do not imagine this story is told in so
few words—an hour would not suffice for all the details, and
many cups of tea are drunk before the fortunate family is
eventually allowed to "live happily ever after." Of such
stories there must be hundreds, and for every myth or fairy-
tale which we have in the West, the Ladaki has his Tibetan
version. In the same way it would not be difficult to find a
Ladaki proverb similar to almost every English one. Besides 534
the story-teller and his fiddled accompaniment, there is the
amateur with musical propensities who can express his
feelings on a flute, also home-made, just a bit of hollow stick

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

534 with the necessary holes and the mouth-piece. So one often hears a piping from the youths who stroll out in the fields on a summer evening, or finds a hidden talent being brought to light among one's servants round the camp fire in the leisure following the day's march and cooking.

443 But no description of Ladak could be complete which did
438 not consider the merchants who meet here from the four
439 points of the compass, especially during the months of September, October and early November. At this time the Leh bazar becomes full of all sorts and conditions of men—the fair Yarkandi jostling the slit-eyed Tibetan, the Kulu man or his neighbour from Lahoul doing business with the men from Baltistan, Kashmir and most provinces of Northern India. And what do all these folk bring? From the North comes the Yarkandi with carpets of garish colours, furs of snow-leopard, fox and wolf, stone martin and beaver, Khotan silks and thick felt mats. It has taken him a full month of most difficult travelling over vast mountain ranges to get here, in fact the road is marked out in some places by the bleaching skeletons of man and beast. Before he can sell his wares, he will have to travel another month to reach the Plains of India. Here he purchases cloth which he takes back to his home and sells there at a good price. Many of the Yarkandis combine religion and business, coming over the passes in the late summer of the year, and going *via* Bombay to Mecca, then, after the sacred pilgrimage has been accomplished, they return through India, still trading, to cross the passes the following autumn. In Leh, the Yarkandi has either to buy horses or sell them, for the Kashmir State makes its own transport arrangements between Leh and Srinagar, but from
437 here to Yarkand no such facilities exist. It is amusing to watch them doing a horse deal, for though it is done in public, outsiders are none the wiser concerning the purchase price. Each man places a hand up the voluminous sleeve of the other. Says the buyer—"I will give you *Imeme*" simul-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 by the high wall of the Wazir's or State Commissioner's
345 garden, on the other by a low wall about one foot high built of large stones, piled one on top of the other without mortar or cement or even mud. Halfway along this, a platform of mud and stones has been erected, from the top of which "the notables" watch the game, a *Shamiana* or awning being erected on high days. Two large stones at either end are
• [534] sufficient as goal-posts. On the ground itself to one side sits the band of four; two flageolets and two kettle-drums. These at one moment are announcing another goal obtained and at another are defending themselves from the polo sticks, for
526 the game is raging right in their midst. But now let us turn our attention to the players and their mounts. Here it is not the rich man's game, a stud of horses is quite unnecessary. Even a poor farmer possesses one pony, and if he makes himself a stick, he, too, can join in. The stick is quite easily manufactured, its shape being that of an English hockey stick, but with a longer handle. By making this and the striking end of two pieces, and letting the former into the latter, a rude splice is obtained. Rules for play there would seem to be none. If your opponent gets in your way, ride him down. If only six players have come, three a side will do, if ten players turn up, two fives make an equally good game. Although play can last for as long as you like, the same poor miserable pony is used the whole time, and will hardly enjoy it as much as the English one is said to do.

Now the play begins. The ball has been thrown into the centre of the course and four horsemen are trying to get it. A pig-tailed Ladaki has it, and is riding as hard as he can for his opponents' goal. His hitting is beautifully clean, and the playing of the band announces a goal for his side. His enemies' posts now become his own, which he has to defend. Now watch him carefully, for he will show you a pretty piece of play. He has dismounted, picked up the ball, and, remounting, takes both it and his stick in his right hand, then gallops

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 applause of either the band or the onlookers. Is it necessary
● [534] to say that the inevitable band is there[1] also? The shooting begins. An archer takes up his position, draws his bow, his friends encouraging him by calling: "*Shok, shok, shok, shok, shok, shok, shok,*" and continuing to do so until the shaft has flown. Should it break the clay, the band strikes up and is rewarded with a backsheesh, whilst the archer has a salutation scarf thrown round his neck. If an enemy should be shooting, he can be discouraged by shouting:—"*Kyor, kyor, kyor,*" which means "miss." All having loosed their arrows, of which each man shoots three, they retire for refreshments and conversation, whilst the arrows are fetched back. This competition also lasts three days, during which Leh is not allowed to forget it, for the continuous beating of the kettle-drums is constantly inviting more spectators to the show.

224 In concluding this chapter we would like to refer to some of the sport which the white man enjoys in this country. A certain number of shooting licences are given every year, namely twenty for the first half of the year and twenty for the second. These are generally used by Army officers, men of the
000 finest stamp. It is only the "stern strong souls, who love the wild," who would face the biting winds which howl across these upland plains, who would put up with the loneliness, and often the bad cooking and limited supplies, which shooting there entails, and who would follow their quarry even to 17,000 feet, though already lungs are working at bursting point. To have to shoot immediately after such a climb, when one is still breathing hard, the heart working at about one hundred and twenty to the minute, and the hands shaking from exertion, is no easy matter. And yet it is worth it all. Is there anything on God's earth more thrilling than a few days up in His hills with a good rifle in one's hands and a splendid animal to be stalked? It seems such a pity that the expense makes this almost prohibitive for our younger officers, for surely such a holiday must make them fitter for

1 [i.e., at archery contests.--ANALYST.]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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A Skushog and his Monastic Band

greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

The Big Drum.

A similar band, showing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mace of interrogation.

The Chief Tibetan Representative and his S[illegible]

who have come to confer with the British and State (Work) Joint Commissioners of Ladak through a boundary dispute.

Opp. Pg. 172

/Illustrations and Photographs. /[1]

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailasa it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116 -- Analyst]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

It would hardly be looked for that of these Bhots a considerable number should be able to read and write; but it is the case that a far larger proportion than among their neighbours—the Kashmīrīs for instance, to say nothing of the Baltīs and the Dārds—have these accomplishments. A predisposing cause to this doubtless is the length of time, during the winter, when agricultural work is stopped and occasion for indoor pursuits arises. Probably the practice of one son out of each family commonly being set apart to become a Lāmā has distinctly aided the progress of this elementary education. In almost every village there are some who can write freely and accurately. 212 872

There are certain traits of manners in a people that a traveller is very likely to miss altogether, that one only occasionally—when some unusual event brings them to view—has an opportunity of observing. Such an event was my own coming to Leh in 1871. I had visited the place before when examining into the mineral resources of the country; but that year I came to take up the Governorship of Ladākh, to which the Maharaja had appointed me. Thus I was able to observe the way in which these people receive those to whom they wish to do honour. People of all classes turned out at every inhabited place we came near. The villagers collect at the entrance of the village, with the musicians in attendance playing on flageolet and tom-tom. The women in their brightest petticoats and gayest ornaments are drawn up in line, each holding a vessel containing either barley-meal, or milk, or chang, or some other thing to eat or to drink. But these offerings are not intended to be taken as provision; they are not as the *dālīs* in India, where a very substantial amount of eatables is often given; here they are tokens merely. Lastly, some of the women carry earthen vessels in which burn chips of pencil-cedar, whose perfume is counted holy and pure. As one comes up, all place their vessels on the ground, and make profound and not undignified bows. At each village in succession that we passed through for some six days' march was this repeated. At one part of the journey we passed at a distance of a mile or two from a large monastery. A deputation of Lāmās came down to the road 576 [534]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AJ4

576 to receive me. Besides these, a band of eight red-gowned monks stood on a rocky spur above and gave a loud welcome with their [534] music. Two played on flageolets; two bore cymbals; other two had drums mounted on standards and held up on high, where long curved iron drum-sticks reached to beat them; and the last pair played on long horns, which, too heavy to be held in hand, rested their curved ends on the ground. With this power of sound the eight made wild music among the mountains; the horns droned in a way melancholy and touching, but this strain was relieved by the clashing of the cymbals and the bold sound of the drums, while, through all, the flageolets brought out a more definite melody. At Leh itself all the population came out either to meet us or to see the crowd that met us. The hundreds of Ladākhīs —for numbers that are reckoned by hundreds make an unusual concourse in these thinly-peopled parts—the men of the numerous other races that collect at Leh, the eagerness of all to see me, and their respectful salutations of welcome, made, with the scene of the strange-looking town, with its edging of green gardens and cornfields, surrounded close by rocky hills, with lofty mountains in the farther view around, in the brightness and freshness of summer morn, a scene which I recall with pleasure—with pleasure more unmixed than that which a like assemblage gave me on the later day when with regret I said farewell to Leh, to the Ladākhīs I had for a time ruled over, and to the men I had worked with—a lowering winter's day that not in vain threatened snow—as they accompanied me for some miles down the road on my first march towards home.

MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

792 In nearly every village, in some parts of Ladākh in every 361 village, is a monastery of greater or less importance; it sometimes holds but one or two Lāmās or monks, sometimes it is the home of hundreds. The monasteries are the most conspicuous buildings in the country; they are always somewhat apart from the houses of the village; they are often situated in high places difficult of access—on a spur of the mountain or on an isolated

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had
292 heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls of
574 Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary
534 bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal.
[113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons and sacred symbols. 778 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet. 782 534

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts. 346 792 796

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 788 346 792

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

before each lama, one of yellow silk, the others of light, gauze-like 585
cotton weave; next to these they put three rupees for each one of them 782
except the head lama who received five. They did not even glance at the greeting cloths; but every one of the "holy men" immediately reached for the silver coins and tested them for their genuineness. The lamas are usually good business people.

Now the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons in the house temple received their part of the wedding offering. According to their rank, each one of the mighty had a number of greeting cloths placed at its feet; offering lamps of brass fuelled with butter, dishes of rice, barley, and beer were placed on the altar in front of the statues. Gautama Buddha, the Great Compassionate Chanrezigs, and the kind Tara, the giver of marital happiness and of the mother's joys were honored by gifts of silk cloths; the other gods and the demons had to be contented with light muslin strips.

/95/ After the priests up above have received their share, the 585
Nyaopas descend to the terrace where the feasting and the drinking are going on in full swing. Between the rows of guests three enormous wedding cakes (97) have been erected of tiles which are made of barley

97. aBran-rgyas, literally "offering cake, food offering"; but of this cake only one "tile" is offered to the gods, the rest is consumed by the participants of the feast.

flour dough mixed with butter and sugar. Next to them stand five huge filled earthen beer jugs. To the sound of three clarinets, one lute, 585
and three kettle drums the Nyaopas now conduct a dance around the 535
cakes and the beer jugs. The musicians here are Bedas (see note 12)). The tune and the rhythm of the music sounds strange to our ears, more like a deafening noise that anything else. But this music drives the Tibetan dancers on, as the most beautiful march or waltz does the German youth. The rhythmical movements, first a slow walk and rocking of the hips, gradually goes over into a livelier tempo, a dance which becomes constantly more rapid and livelier, and which finally turns into wild jumping and hopping. While the legs march and spring to the beat of the music the arms and hands, which hold a long sash, are in constant rocking motion. Some men arise from the row of guests, stand by the dancers, beat out the rhythm with their hands, and by shouts incite the dancers to ever wilder movements which assume more and more the expression of wild abandonment.

Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man. "--translator.//) 585
from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little 431
goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself, " Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, 585
the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, [563]
men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant 585
people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy 533
occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be 535
earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short 585
period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. 291

Social and Religious Life. [301]

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

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Amusements. 541

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghíisa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *chéng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

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Constitution of the family. 592

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In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

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"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gompa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

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* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Chapter III, B.

792 Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gépha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atísha, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B

Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gómpas* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bosan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bosans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bosan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bosans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Spiti

[P. 5]

Dancing

635 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535. Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits— to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,— and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

789 The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

The lamas put on their dances, and even the most stupid person can see Lust, Anger, and Greed in all their ugliness.

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[Facing p. 160]

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The boy of eleven is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery.

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At Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are filled with prayers which are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year.

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The lama dances, like the old morality plays in Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

[Facing p. 161]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

538 Then came the hunter, who, seeing the deer and the dog lying
788 down together, believed the dog had been bewitched. So he drew his sword to kill the dog. As he approached, Mila Repa began to intone, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The hunter was strongly affected by the chant. He stood undecided and torn. Before long he returned his sword to the scabbard and, approaching Mila Repa, prostrated himself before the Holy One.

• 535 A lama dance (*chham*) is built around these characters[1]—a play
796 illustrating the old Tibetan proverb and Buddhist teaching, "There is no sin so great as killing."

Phuntzog put on some lama dances for us. But the act of the deer, the dog, and the hunter was not included. The dances we saw, like the old morality plays of Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

They were performed in the courtyard in front of the main monastery building. Opposite the stairs leading down from the monastery sat the Rinpoche and the Lobon. Each of them is usually dressed in a long, flowing, dark red robe, wrapped toga-like around him so that his right arm is bare. Now the left arm was bare, and a bright yellow shawl was draped over the shoulders and around the waist. Rinpoche wore a peaked red hat that had no brim but came down over the back of his neck. Phuntzog wore a big red hat whose brim flared up and stood like great sails sewn together. Rinpoche sat on a dais with the gold bell and gold *dorje* in front of him. Phuntzog sat on his right. Farther to the right was a great array of musicians—trumpeters, drummers, and two men who blew giant horns. They were bedecked in gaily
[634] colored clothes and tall red hats of various designs. The trumpets were of the clarinet type, made of wood and brass. The drums stood on edge, held four or five feet off the ground by a pedestal, and attached to them were cymbals. The drums were struck by sticks bent into the shape of huge question marks. The two horns (*shawms*) were each twelve feet long. The larger end was about eighteen inches in diameter. It rested on the ground.

 1 [From legends. See p.173 -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Om Mani Padme Hoom

The two lamas who played these horns were extraordinary men. 535 796
To be able to blow the horns at all seemed to me remarkable. The fact is that one man cannot blow one horn for many consecutive seconds. That means that the other horn must come in and pick up the pitch where the first horn leaves it. This requires great skill, as one relieves the other over and again, hour after hour, while the orchestra drones on and on.

It takes hours to present the lama dances. The pageantry is superb; the story, exciting; the plot, simple; the moral, plain. They have been described by Ted Shawn in *Gods Who Dance.* The characters were all masked. Some wore masks of people; [532] others wore masks of lions, stags, oxen, and yaks. These masks—carved from solid blocks of wood and colored with a glossy and brilliant enamel—usually had grotesque expressions. Their hideous features, their terrifying grimaces led early European visitors to the monasteries to call these the Devil Dances. That is a misnomer. The dancers represented the forces of Good as well as the forces of Evil. The main emphasis of the theme was the struggle between the two. After a few serious scenes, the producer of the dance changed the pace and sent in comedy relief. These were gay, carefree, burlesque-type characters. After they left, the serious took up again. Apart from these interruptions, the story marched steadily onward—Good gaining the ascendancy; Evil gradually being routed.

A triangle had been drawn on the cobblestones of the courtyard and inside this triangle there was a small black image representing a human corpse. Dancers dashed madly around it, engaged in a foray of sickles and swords as they tried to snatch this corpse from the triangle. The lesson was plain—man is helpless and guideless; he lives among vast unkind elements of earth and sky that seek perpetually to destroy him. Only Dharma, man's good action in life, can guard him against the evil designs of the spirits.

The final act was put on by two characters representing virtue—the Stag and the Yak. The heads worn by the lamas in this dance

were huge and realistic. The Stag and the Yak each had swords. It soon appeared that their main objective was the Evil in man, who was represented by a dummy stuffed with straw. The act ended with the Stag and the Yak cutting this prostrate figure to pieces.

I was dashing about filming this dance and making a recording of the music. Once I stepped close to the Rinpoche and the Lobon. The Rinpoche, I noticed, reached out every few minutes and rang the gold bell. Its sound was drowned out in the tremendous rumblings from the giant horns, the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, and the shrill of the trumpets. But I could distinctly hear above all the clashing sounds of the orchestra the deep guttural of Phuntzog and the piping tenor of Rinpoche, chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

It was at the beginning of my trek that Rahul first told me about this mantra. *Om Mani Padme Hoom* means "O Jewel of the Lotus." The lotus is the most beautiful of flowers, though in India it grows out of mud and filth. The lotus thrives in the most unattractive places; it adorns spots seared by plagues; it blossoms in an environment of oppressive poverty; it furnishes a breathless purity in yards contaminated by man and his creations.

Buddha was born in a lotus. Like it, he brought glory, purity, and beauty to oppressed and poverty-ridden people. Buddha, like the lotus, lived above his environment. He showed that the spirit of man can rise beyond the lowliest and filthiest source and find perfection even among the dregs of the earth. He showed how goodness can come out of misery, poverty, and dirt.

This is the immortal message of *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* It is on the lips of millions every minute of every hour. People who never saw a lotus chant it endlessly. Though its meaning may be lost to most of the millions who use it, in this part of the world it is the medium for communion, the symbol of reverence, the devotional exercise, the pious prayer, the sign of the cross.

I remembered that Rahul had said that holy men along the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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A BIRTHDAY ENTERTAINMENT.

Women dancing at an entertainment in Leh. The gesture indicates the plucking of a flower.

MEN DANCERS AT A WEDDING.

Resting between their performances. At the extreme left of the front row is the bridegroom, while the gentlemen in the upper row to the left with peculiar turnover hats are his uncles.

[FACING P 184]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[182] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal house-
535 hold. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

selected for either their youth or beauty. Other dances, such as the "pigeon" dance occur, in which both sexes join, though without touching each other as in the West, and the "shoulder" dance of women only, in which movement of the shoulder are prominent. In the *shondros*, also a woman's dance, the partners face each other, then wheel round till they come back to back, afterwards slowly reversing again till they face once more. At the end of the horse-racing in the New Year, a dance occurs in the middle of the bazar in which the women stand in a circle, and the men dance round them in pursuance of an old custom connected with royalty. A dance for both sexes, called the "peacock dance," has its song about that bird. Otherwise the Ladaki dancing differs from that of Tibet, which is said to be always accompanied by singing.

It has now become practically an annual event for the Wazir to have a display in honour of the British Joint Commissioner, at which other dances and plays are seen, and the stage properties of Leh obtain their yearly airing. To this *ltadmo* any Europeans who happen to be in Leh at the time are hospitably invited. The programme usually begins in the afternoon between two and three o'clock, when it is opened with some sort of prayer for His Imperial Majesty and H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The former may take the form of "God Save the King" sung by the Boys' School in English with their own peculiar accent. The boys of the State School then act a little play, more or less in costume, and always with a very powerfully pointed moral; and, of late, a demonstration of Boy Scouts of both State and Mission Schools has become a feature of the programme. This may be followed by a lama dance in devil-masks, and tea is usually served between four and five p.m. For this the *élite* withdraw from the covered balcony, from which they have been watching the performance, to tents or a simple pagoda in the Wazir's pleasant garden behind. The Europeans have one tent, the

sacrifice was, in later times, probably during the nineteenth century, replaced by an animal sacrifice. If, therefore, human sacrifices once took place in Tibet, these were probably transformed into animal sacrifices at a much earlier time. Animal sacrifices, on the other hand, /27/ are still performed to this day in the area of the West Tibetan kingdom before altars of the pre-Buddhistic religion, which are called ha-tho. At this sacrifice the heart of the still living animal (ram) is ripped out by the priest with his bare hand. Such altars are nowadays mostly found in the neighborhood of villages. They are one or two meters high, provided at the top with a bundle of juniper twigs, and down below they are surrounded with horns of wild sheep and ibexes. 782 346

A more harmless offering is represented in a rock drawing near Ke-sar-gyi-sga. There we see a Nyo-pa, "bride purchaser" or "bride beggar" (1) who is carrying a sword by his side and in his 782

1. He is probably the leader of the Nyopa. For in the picture in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 131, only the leader has an arrow in his hand.

right hand an arrow decorated with a little flag, and is standing in front of three beer jugs. Each jug is provided with little patties of butter along the edge, which signify that the beer is offered to a higher being (it might, it is true, also be a person to whom high respect is paid). The fact that the gods were actually presented with offerings of beer can be seen from No. 5 of the Trinklieder von Khalatse /Drinking Songs of Khalatse/.[1]

It is highly probable that dances were also performed at these ancient places of worship, for even today each festival of the ancient religion is accompanied by dancing. Usually the boys and the girls dance separately among themselves by pacing around an open wood fire in a long procession. It is seldom that the rows of boys and girls, arranged in lines opposite each other, move toward each other. In the dances of the girls, peculiar stiff movements of the hands are noticeable, which alternate with the bending of the upper part of the body toward the ground. As I was told by the natives, these movements are to be interpreted as gathering flowers and presenting them to the gods in heaven. These dances performed by the laity should probably be distinguished from the dances of the Buddhistic priests and from those executed by the migrant jugglers. 535 796 782

To the question as to what the people prayed for at the cult places of the ancient religion, we receive one answer from the

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references.--Analyst]

To this description should be added the killing of the goat, a gruesome sacrifice in front of the altar of the village god (Yul-lha). To the living animal has its heart ripped out of its body. 796

With respect to the dances and the disguises, it should also be pointed out that we are here dealing with games that symbolize in substance the battle between the gods of light and the demons of darkness. These games later developed into the famous masked dances of the monasteries. In Lamayuru these masked dances still take place today during the winter. In Hemis, on the other hand, they are performed in June. The celebration in Hemis may well be connected with the summer solstice. 796 535

2. gTor-ma-phan-ces. As the preceding description has indicated, a type of this festival is already connected with the New Year's festival. For the throwing away of the gTor-ma offering is very reminiscent of the driving out of winter. This finds an even clearer expression later on. Then a human doll is fashioned out of lime in Khalatse (and also elsewhere). This doll is then carried, with much shouting and music, outside the village, where it is destroyed. In Leh the evil spirits of winter and of the diseases are trapped inside cages (dos-mo) constructed out of rods and strings and looking like spider webs, and these structures are then destroyed outside the village. 796

3. The Kesar festival. So far I have found this festival referred to as the "Kesar festival" only in Upper Kunawar. In Ladakh it is simply called mDa-phan-ces, "shooting with bow and arrow." It is celebrated in the spring. The songs that are known under the name of Glin-glu are sung, and the young people amuse themselves with archery. Just as the spindle is the emblem of aBru-gu-ma and of the female in general, so the arrow is considered the symbol of Kesar and the male. In the /30/ following I shall give the titles of the songs of the Glin-glu: In Phyi-dban the following songs are sung: 1. Kesar, the conqueror of the four worlds. 2. Slumber song for the little Kesar. 3. Kesar and the treasures of the giants. 4. Praise of the wisdom of aBru-gu-ma. 5. The almighty father of the gods and mother of the gods. 6. The return of Kesar and of aBu-gu-ma. 7. Don-grub, a voluntary savior of the world. 8. aBru-gu-ma's innocence. 9. The prayer of the king of Hor asking for his life. [831]

In Khalatse the following songs are sung: 1. Voices from heaven. 2. Dedication of the arrows. 3. Kesar's four victories. 4. Kesar and the mules. 5. Kesar's prayer on the Srar mountain pass. 6. Kesar's return to aBru-gu-ma. 7. aBru-guma's farewell

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

778 " 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 98, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

/Illustrations and Photographs. /[1]

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
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535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
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137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116-- Analyst]

15; Francke --103 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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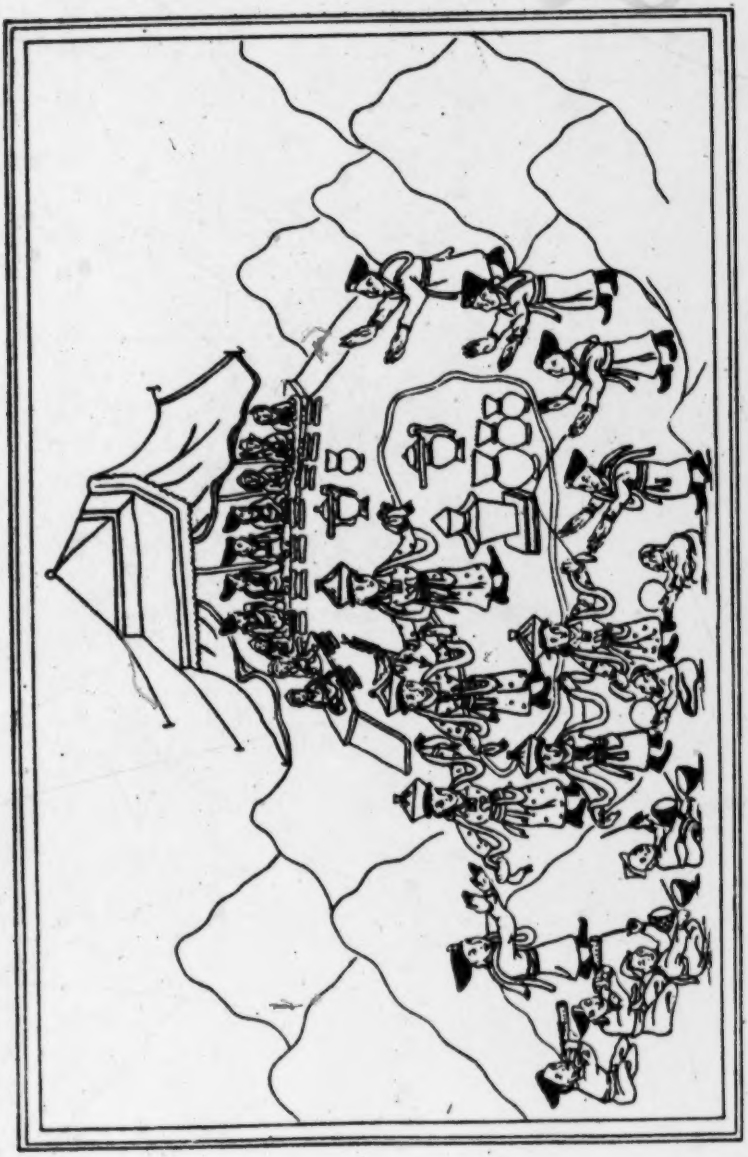

Nr. 1. Caption for above picture appears on page 100

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak 582 611 614 [184]

(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail. 585

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness". [535] [187]

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated; they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an opportunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

The surprising thing is that although the people never wash and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans A54

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published. 779 212 213

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated its height when building the chapel in which it was housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another portion had to be built to take this. 778

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking. 533 535 [585] [777] 535

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans AJ 4

535 seen in India, and all were spontaneous, it being only by chance that each dancer followed the other at that time, as I saw later on when the plentiful flow of *chang* was having its effect upon them.

796 We had made the journey over the passes earlier than was considered wise in the season simply to enable one of our party to film the Spring Festival which takes place in June in the Hermis Monastery, a great building which houses several hundreds of monks and is said to be fabulously wealthy, having escaped the invasion of the Dogras, and is believed to have hidden within its walls all the gold and valuables of other monasteries taken there before they were sacked. From Leh it is twenty-four miles—two marches.

The festival is famous and renowned throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world, and people come from hundreds of miles to witness it. The dance-play there performed by the lamas is so ancient that its origin is lost in the past. It is a mixture of a miracle play, pantomime and a fête parade, the whole scene brilliant and vivid with colour and movement, and blasting with sound, for the lama orchestra is composed of many drums, cymbals, clarinets, giant trumpets and triangles, which to my ear was pandemonium and seemed to make no attempt at keeping together, each of its members appearing bent on outshining the others.

796 The music is as fantastic as is everything in that land; it
533 breathes mystery. Nowhere else in the East, except in Tibet of course, is it to be heard. Yet I am assured that there is more science in it than the European ear is attuned to, though search as I did with the utmost desire to understand it, I was unable to discover its quality. There are strange discords, sudden changes, abrupt ceasings—at this latter the voices of the lamas which must have been there all the time in the background would continue in a lower key with melancholy chanting. My Ceylon friend assured me that the chants were older than those of any other religion, and that the quarter notes, with their very delicate distinctions which my ear could not catch, required hours of practice by the lamas of the choir. With the droning of the voices, the flatness and sameness of the music and the smell of incense—which certainly did to an extent smother the

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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A Trip to Ladakh

788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
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2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

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is directed by the precentor, and he by a big book in front of him. There is a fire burning in the centre of the court. Then there enter monks, dressed up in hideous masks with faces of various animals, such as dogs, tigers, dragons, etc.; they carry large three-pronged forks, and throw a clay figure of a man into the flames. The devils commence dancing round, pretending to stick their forks into the figure, and seem to be enjoying the sport of tormenting their victims. This scene continues for what seems to be an interminable time, when in come a party of monks from the great door of the monastery, dressed in coloured silk garments, wearing huge masks, and commence to march round and round hell fire, making various passes with their arms towards the flames. They begin with painfully slow steps, which are so monotonous that they get on one's nerves, the band playing softly but in terribly slow time.

Then the music quickens slightly, and then a little quicker, then quicker, until these holy monks fairly spin like dancing dervishes. The band works itself crazy with the screeching of its pipes, crashing cymbals, bellowing giant trumpets and resounding drum. Then all of a sudden there is dead silence, and we are all thankful for the respite. Then the whole dance commences over again from the very beginning, with one step every three seconds, and again working up to the whizz-bang. By this time this lot of holy men are tired out with their exertions and they disappear through the same great door from which they came. Immediately come in a second lot with a different set of great masks, some of them wearing most benign faces. They with the help of the band try their charms in marching and dances, and so one party succeeds another all through that day and part of the next without any success, for the flames of hell still

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

burn on and the devils have it all their own way until a party of super-holy monks arrive, who come with holy water, with which they conquer the flames, and then the devils one and all rush out of the arena amid a tempest of crashing and shrieking; but above it all is the sound of a mighty wind caused by all the monks whistling their loudest, and the whole band of devils, pitchforks and all, disappear into the monastery. I thought it would have been more impressive if they had all disappeared over the precipice or, if they could not manage that, down the rocks out of sight.

Well, we were mighty glad to see the last of these devils, and the blessed monks also, for our nerves were anyhow after all we had heard and seen, but all was not over, for the people were to see the priest perform a sort of high mass. In an open space rigged up as a chapel facing the courtyard which all could see was an altar with its usual complement of ornaments, lamps, holy water, chalice and paten.

The priest entered wearing a garment just like a surplice. He turned his back to the congregation and commenced his service at the altar.

Presently in came stealthily a clown with a coloured bladder in his hand with which he hit the priest over the head with a mighty whack and then darted behind a pillar and hid. Then again he crept up behind, stalking the priest, and dealt him another blow; but still the priest took no notice, so absorbed was he in his devotions. After another blow or two the priest looked round to see whence the blows had come, but of course he looked in the wrong direction, and the clown cocked a snook at him, a real gutter-snipe snook, from behind the pillar. It was all so like a Western pantomime that we could hardly believe we were watching a real Buddhist religious

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ceremony in a real monastery. The people all round were thoroughly enjoying the play and were laughing heartily.

I could not find out the reason for this last act, but I suppose it was to show that the monks when engaged in their religious duties were too deeply engrossed to be disturbed by assaults of the devils. Well, it was a great show, and one wondered how much of it was believed by the people who had come from such long distances to see their religion acted.

It seemed to me that they were too jolly and cheery a lot to believe much in devils; they evidently saw the humour of it all. The abbot of the monastery told us that the monks had been practising for a whole year at the play, and showed us the rod of correction which he used on those monks who failed in their parts. It was a thick black stick weighted with brass. I felt sorry for those monks who did not live up to the form of Friar Tuck, and had not a good cushion of fat to protect their bones when the brass stick descended. But perhaps they knew the schoolboy's copy-book trick.

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The great monastery mastiffs interested us, but we were thankful that they were chained. We were told that the dogs used to be kept in lieu of graves for the monks, or, in other words, to eat up the dead members of the brotherhood.

Some of them are very savage brutes. A friend of mine who was attacked by one had a bad time, although he himself was an athlete; he was obliged to go to bed for a day or two after the attack. I myself had a narrow shave one day. I went into a monastery uninvited to have a look round. When coming through a very narrow passage I saw one of these dogs fast asleep, as I imagined, and foolishly thought I could pass him if I walked

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[For descriptions of mystery plays acted by the lamas of the old school, see 10: Waddell, AJ1 Tibet, pp. 521 et passim.]

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brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family 796
property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season 592
invite all members of the family to assemble at his house
for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them
a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and
when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the
centre, and into it butter is poured.

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am 171
indebted for the above account, that this exactly corres- 796
ponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where
butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding.

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea
is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical
of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the
idea of light which again is closely connected with the
idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal 796
dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are [648]
spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of
merriment.

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" [241]
or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls
about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning
to ripen. It is celebrated in every village.

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious
celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the
early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on
the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a
matter of fact, observed by the people of the country,
only once a year, when a great festival takes place at
Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival
which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th
day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June.
On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is 796
crowded with people who have come from all parts of 536
Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils"
dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis
monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is
rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their
richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely
handsome.

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--góboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

selected for either their youth or beauty. Other dances, such as the "pigeon" dance occur, in which both sexes join, though without touching each other as in the West, and the "shoulder" dance of women only, in which movement of the shoulder are prominent. In the *shondros*, also a woman's dance, the partners face each other, then wheel round till they come back to back, afterwards slowly reversing again till they face once more. At the end of the horse-racing in the New Year, a dance occurs in the middle of the bazar in which the women stand in a circle, and the men dance round them in pursuance of an old custom connected with royalty. A dance for both sexes, called the "peacock dance," has its song about that bird. Otherwise the Ladaki dancing differs from that of Tibet, which is said to be always accompanied by singing.

It has now become practically an annual event for the Wazir to have a display in honour of the British Joint Commissioner, at which other dances and plays are seen, and the stage properties of Leh obtain their yearly airing. To this *ltadmo* any Europeans who happen to be in Leh at the time are hospitably invited. The programme usually begins in the afternoon between two and three o'clock, when it is opened with some sort of prayer for His Imperial Majesty and H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The former may take the form of "God Save the King" sung by the Boys' School in English with their own peculiar accent. The boys of the State School then act a little play, more or less in costume, and always with a very powerfully pointed moral; and, of late, a demonstration of Boy Scouts of both State and Mission Schools has become a feature of the programme. This may be followed by a lama dance in devil-masks, and tea is usually served between four and five p.m. For this the *élite* withdraw from the covered balcony, from which they have been watching the performance, to tents or a simple pagoda in the Wazir's pleasant garden behind. The Europeans have one tent, the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

527 King and a *Skushog*, if present, and one or two Leh Buddhists
● 536 of high rank, another, Hindu and Mussulman officials have their separate resorts, and any other slightly less prominent townsmen or traders have their own places. The Europeans are provided with an English tea, for which, with good luck, the butter in the cakes is not too strong. After this refreshment they may adjourn to the adjoining polo ground to watch a match there.

The hours from six to eight are usually labelled "rest" on the programme, and we return from our homes to dine in the Wazir's house at eight. The number of Sahibs in Leh entertained thus lavishly, once reached seventeen, and the record number of courses at such a dinner was fifteen, but, on this occasion we were also celebrating the birth of a son to the Wazir, while the previous year, during the Great War, we had met to commemorate the British conquest of German West Africa. At one of these feasts our host was a Mussulman, who partook with us; so also a small son of his endeavoured to do, but there were many courses, and the day had already been so long and exciting, that the little fellow could not manage to keep awake. He would sit up for one or two courses, then, having fallen asleep, be removed to return after one or two more, and so food and sleep alternated with him throughout the meal. The elaborate menu of these meals is usually presided over by a Ladaki quite expert in Western cooking. After a short smoke we all return to the covered balcony, to find a large bonfire kindled on the open space in front of us, on which kerosene oil, so costly by the time it reaches Leh, is recklessly thrown at intervals, or when a special flare of illumination is required. The weird performances we are going to see are rendered far more effective by its flickering light, which also plays on the quaint brown faces of the spectators, packed closely together on the other three sides of the square, some sitting on the ground in front, others standing behind, women in blue turquoised *perags* and black

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

earflaps, men and children in their turned-up caps, dotted about with Mussulmans in turbans, old and young all eager and expectant, for they love a *ltadmo*. 527 536

One of our annual friends opens the programme, a man on stilts concealed by long draperies, not very realistic, but a source of great delight to the child-like audience. He is followed by two large birds, with long necks (held up by an arm of the masquerader within) and vulture-like heads and beaks, the bodies covered with sheepskins. These extraordinary animals, programmed as "chicken," hop about, peck at each other, clean their feathers, and attend to their personal *shikar*, each action provoking a fresh outburst of amusement from the crowd.

~~Next~~ comes a lion dance, in which two men are covered with a large skin, from which their human booted legs protrude as fore and hind legs in the most unabashed fashion. The face consists of a mask, and its attendants introduce it with antics of their own. The unwieldly lion makes grotesque leaps and bounds, and finally climbs up on to a table. The play was brought to Leh from Chinese Turkestan, where several tables are piled up high, and our nimble lion reaches the topmost. In Leh, however, a far more serious *dénouement* is achieved, for, with a series of rolls and contortions, a baby lion is born, to the unbounded delight of the audience, and suddenly appears on the table with its mother (the cub being a child also dressed in a skin). Waddell says that the play of this acrobatic lion was primarily derived from China, and has its origin in the "mythical lion of the Himalayan snows, which is believed to confer fortune on the country where it resides. One of these lions was enticed to China by a wizard, and the crops and cattle prospered as long as it lived, and when it died the Chinese stripped off its skin with which they conduct this dance." 177 527 536

Next comes a dragon dance, also originating from China, where the dragon is deified. It is supposed to follow after a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 man holding a ruby, which it wishes to devour. It is formed
527 by a masked leader, from whom long coloured strips of thin
536 cloth pass backwards over other men, who hold up lighted Chinese lanterns on sticks inside it, all their feet representing the dragon's legs. It certainly looks fantastic enough, with its illuminated sinuous snake-like outline darting to and fro in the darkness.

These plays are varied with dances, such as a torch dance, of Indian origin, in which a bare-footed man rushes about twirling a long torch lighted at each end, getting more and more furious as the burning ends approach his body, and the drums beat faster. Of sword dances there are two or three varieties; a slow quiet rhythmical one by a Balti with one sword only; one by a Pathan, lithe and rapid, with a sword in each hand; another slower one, when a Ladaki wields two swords, while in a fourth, two Pathan dancers, each with sword and shield, approach from opposite corners, and engage in mock fight.
174 This dance has come down from old Ladaki times, when our
536 peaceful Tibetans here more resembled their Pathan neighbours, and were probably more fierce and warlike in their mountain fastnesses.

527 Another amusing scene which is usually played on these
536 occasions is the representation of a Kashmiri pundit, who is a settlement officer, and goes round the countryside measuring fields and assessing taxes. He and his underlings are caricatured with floured faces, and good humoured fun made of their bribing methods.

But, perhaps the masterpiece and certainly the most amusing item of the show comes on towards the end, called "The Amban and the Boat." The Amban is a Chinese official on tour, who enters the scene of operations with his staff, and engages in his judicial duties. Then a messenger arrives and presents him with a red paper, informing him that his wife is coming to meet him. The lady is seen in the distance advancing towards her lord in a rickety boat over a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sea. The boat is cleverly made with a framework of wood 527
and paper from which a cloth valance depends. In the middle 536
a small curtained canopy is erected, through which the lady's head can be dimly discerned, but her manly legs can be seen beneath as her impersonator works the boat, walking sideways here and there, and making the light craft rock and sway and gyrate violently as though in a heavy sea. An attendant guide or guardian and a boatman with an oar both accompany the lady, but outside the boat, so that the manipulations of the external oar add to the ludicrous effect produced, which in the bonfire light is grotesquely realistic and extraordinarily funny. As the boat approaches the Amban, the boatman makes a grave error in his nautical activities, and the boat with its precious occupant totters dizzily down to stillness. However it is not sunk to the depths of the ocean, for, after the Amban has manifested his anger and the boatman received a beating, the gay craft rises and once more rocks and sways, and, encountering boisterous seas, again vanishes into the distance, leaving the European element of the audience at least struggling between laughter and memories of *mal-de-mer*.

This little drama and that of the lion and dragon were 177
brought to Leh by traders and servants of sahibs who 536
travelled to Yarkand. "The Amban and the Boat" so impressed one of the latter when he saw it at Kashgar, that he introduced it into Leh for the first time as a fit entertainment for the wedding festivities of a friend, who, we hope, did not have to send for his bride across such perilous seas.

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CHAPTER XXIII

Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

A DESCRIPTION of life in Ladak could not be complete without an account of one of the great annual festivals held in the monasteries in the valley, such as the *Gustor* (the offering on the ninth) at Trigtse and at Spitug, or the *Ghanggoni Thsedrup* (the fulfilment of life on the blue hill) at Peang, all of which take place in the winter, whilst the *Thseshu* is held at Hemis in the summer. The last is the most important, its chief feature being the presentation of the famous so-called "mystery play." The festival, as its name indicates, is held on the tenth day of the fifth Buddhist month, which is the birthday of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, and still the presiding genius of the red sect. According to records in Sikkim, he was a magician who came north in the seventh century, and convinced the lamas of Tibet that he was sent as an incarnation of the Buddha. But into the pure Buddhism, he introduces the old *Bon Chos* with its devil-worship, and encouraged the most sensual practices, also the eating of meat and drinking of wine, asserting that over-indulgence in all these passions would lead to a state of high trance. Strangely enough, when we were waiting in the ante-room on a visit to the *Skushog*, this sentiment was exactly borne out by a Ladaki, who was participating in the native beer and already in rather an expansive mood. To our remark that it was not right to get drunk and lose control of mind and body, he replied that it was good, for the soul then became happy and blessed.

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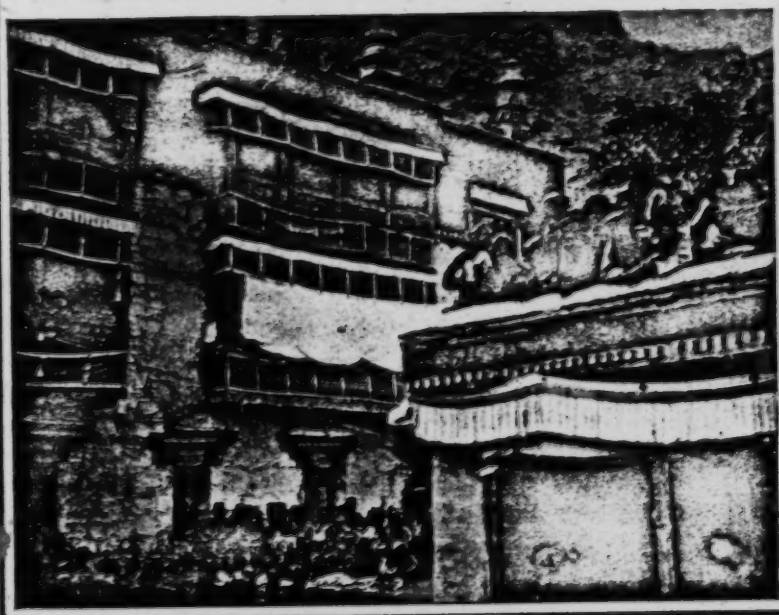

THE HEMIS FESTIVAL.

The dance of deities at the Hemis festival, showing the chief god descending the steps under his canopy, while those who precede him in the procession have already begun to dance.

THE "MYSTERY PLAY."

Spectators watching the "Mystery Play" at Hemis. The balcony with the curtain across it conceals the purdah lady guests of the monastery, such as the Hindu and Mahommedan wives of the down country officials at Leh.

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797 baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the
796 tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu" to her.

796 Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first
●536 endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs, which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the
[565] monastery. They are four storeys high, the upper ones having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and
[643] only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable, but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view, while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

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that, in spite of every shade of that colour, scarlet, maroon, crimson, puce, claret, magenta, prune, in every stage of newness and fadedness being present, the total effect of what would ordinarily seem so clashing was a really artistic blend of colour, to which the eye constantly reverted. 796 536

To the right of the steps and at the level of the big doors, a platform projected from the main building, which accommodated a large number of spectators, and on the right-hand side of the courtyard were more steps and low roofs packed with onlookers. Another platform covered a roof which was [788] entirely occupied by a gigantic prayer-wheel, so huge and heavy that two or three people must press against it with all their strength to start it revolving; but then what a mighty weight of prayer went round with each turn. Under the Westerners' balcony was the ecclesiastical band, the instruments being four pairs of cymbals and a dozen drums of the warming-pan shape with queer hooked beaters. Next to the musicians came the *Skushog's* throne, a raised platform with richly-cushioned seat and back, also long trappings, its high arch terminating the balcony above, while in front was placed a finely painted Tibetan table, flanked by vases of flowers. On the other side, level with the court-yard, were the remainder of the band, the two long shawms and the two flageolets or trumpets. In front of all the musicians were small tables which accommodated the holy books from which they chanted.

On the fourth and left side of the court-yard there was no [788] wall, but a slight projection accommodated a large prayer-wheel about four feet high and three feet in diameter, which was constantly being set in motion during the waiting times. Beyond this was an open space prolonging the old quadrangle into another court-yard in front of the newer monastic buildings.

Between these two court-yards rough barriers, such as the trunk of a poplar or a piece of carved wood moulding from

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 some destroyed roofing, were placed to complete the square
● 536 of the dancing theatre. The audience squatting on the ground were pushed back behind these as each scene opened.

[788] In the middle of the main court-yard, some distance apart from each other, and supported by round whitewashed mud platforms were two flagstaffs, capped by yaks' tails ; they were almost as high as the monastery, and from their sides floated out many long prayer-flags. The scene was completed on the first morning, after we had been sent for and had taken our seats, by the setting-up of a large banner, which was let down from the roof above the main door and steps, on which was portrayed a young man with the Buddha type of face. This we learnt represented " Padma Karpo " his real name being " Dugpa Rinpoche." The next morning he was replaced by a more elderly gentleman, called " Galsas Rinpoche," the tutelary god of Hemis. Once in twelve years a still more important deity is displayed, and rites and ceremonies are performed in his honour, while the common people prostrate themselves before him. Above these banners each day a large awning with a yellow silk valance was protruded, whether to shade them from the sun subjectively, or objectively as regards the colour of the cloth, it is hard to say.

796 But before the drama opens, we must devote a few words to our fellow spectators who will provide us with so much interest and amusement in the long intervals between the scenes. During one of the most tedious of these, when we could hear the drums throbbing for some ceremony within the monastery, a Ladaki informant alleged that the monks had been receiving and eating the offerings of food brought by the common people from near and far. Judging by the size of the congregation this must needs have been a proponled ritual and a sustining meal.

796 During the acting they crowded on to every available space,
184 roofs, balconies, galleries, steps, platforms, and blocked up all the egresses on the ground floor. Here and there were

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CHAPTER XXIV

Hemis Mystery Play—First Day

WITH this *mise-en-scène*, we must now try to convey some impression of the actual mystery play as performed at Hemis, and witnessed by us on two occasions at an interval of nine years. On the former of these the first dance was led off by the *Skushog* himself. His robes were very much like those of the other participants, but more ornate with many jewels, and he was distinguished by an overdress depending from the waist nearly to the bottom of his skirts, made of human bones connected into an interlacing pattern of real beauty. His mouth was covered with a thin white cloth, and an old lama with bare head and wispy grey locks, like a benign old wizard, went round at his side, and constantly wiped the perspiration from his face. This particular year was one of more elaborate ceremony, which only occurs every twelve years, including, as already mentioned, the display and worship of a particularly holy banner.

But at the performance we saw nine years later, the *Skushog* only occupied his throne in the court-yard for the first dance, and then retreated to his private apartments, from the balcony of which he watched the play. His entrance was an imposing ceremony attended by two ordinary lamas, and two wearing extraordinary hats with large, scolloped, turned-up edges culminating in a peak in front. Over him was held a large umbrella with gay skirts, and he was led, amid blare of trumpets and clash of cymbals, to take his seat on the throne

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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facing the main building, where his attendants prostrated themselves, and then retreated.

Two heralds then appeared on the roof in picturesque costumes: young lama boys with bare legs, short garments of the prevailing red, and yellow hats with turned-up brims. Their typical heraldic conches, from which depended banners decorated with dragons, now produced a very mournful sound, the great shawms of the band blew loudly their Wagnerian-like dragon music, and two masked figures appeared and ran down the steps. These were bare-legged, with short skirts of a pattern resembling an old chintz, hats with a low central peak and a round rolled brim to which a square piece of cheap red stuff was attached behind. Their right arms were sleeveless, and they carried the ordinary horsewhips of the country, a thong of leather on a short stick. These gentlemen combined the functions of police and jester throughout the ensuing ceremonies. They kept the crowds back, whipping even the ladies soundly, but harmlessly, with strong whacks on their sheepskin capes, and providing endless buffoonery to while away the tedium of the long intervals. Onlookers who passed to and fro across the open space were seen off with absurd gestures, or their gait grossly imitated as they unconsciously walked ahead. Small children were abstracted and nursed as babies, *pice* (the Indian farthing) were begged for with ludicrous entreaties, and all sorts of by-play indulged in to the huge delight of the audience. The favourite joke, which never palled, was to snatch off the hat of a casual passer-by, search it for undesirable inhabitants, pounce upon one in triumph, then throw away the cap in disgust. After they had executed a short dance, they at once began their policing operations by driving the crowds back with their whips, and entertaining them through an interlude of monotonous chanting by the musicians.

Then at last the real business began, the motive under-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lying the whole thing apparently being the propitiation of evil deities and demon kings, and the exorcism of bad spirits in order to secure safety and good fortune during the coming year, and, additionally, to exploit ancient stories and superstitions in order to increase the merit and glorification of the lamas themselves, thus enhancing their sacerdotal powers. The common people also must become familiarized with the demons which will beset their spirits after leaving the body at death.

With a fanfare from the band, thirteen dancers were ushered on to the scenes, possibly the number having some relation to the thirteen ages represented by the thirteen red rings on the superstructure of the *chortens*. They were preceded by two ordinary lamas, and two with braziers of incense and with heraldic hats and gowns, who subsequently retreated. The dancers themselves wore enormous hats, with wide round brims having rounded edges, and a tall structure about one-and-a-half foot high rising from the crown, with a picture of a skull on it. From the backs of these hats a number of brightly coloured broad ribbons streamed down to well below the waist, smaller ones being attached to the front. Over their mouths were thin white cloths which the *Skushog* informed us were to keep out the dust raised by the dancing, a desirable custom which only obtained at Hemis. In each hand was a stick to which more streamers were attached. Their robes were of rich Chinese silk and brocade embroidered in most beautiful combinations of colour. Over their shoulders fell rich capes with deep, wide scollops, and in front they wore aprons, both of the same beautifully-patterned material, differing in each individual case. The skull in the hat, and another one represented at the waist in front were constant reminders that this life is an illusion in which mortality reigns, just as at our own ancient feasts a skeleton was brought in to remind the guests of the passing nature of this existence.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Stretching out right and left arms alternately, advancing and retiring to and from each other and the centre of the circle, they slowly made their way round the court-yard in the direction of the hands of a clock. The dance was slow and stately, accompanied by the beat of drums and monotonous chanting, occasionally punctuated by cymbals. A curious effect contrasting with this measured solemnity was frequently produced by the cymbals making two or three loud crashes succeeded by a series combining *diminuendo* and *accelerando*, exactly imitated by the dancers raising their heels in time to the music and, as it were, settling down on to them. Each dancer was given a few pieces of sacred herb by a lama, and as they slowly neared the steps, two monks, one standing each side at the top, with heraldic hats and trumpets, blew a note at which sign the two leaders made their exit up the steps between the onlooking lamas. This was repeated for each pair of dancers as they neared the stairs, and was the signal for retirement in successive pairs throughout the play. The whole impression of this dance was introductory ; by incantation and movement to prepare the "astral light" for the mystery play, and by invocation to bring blessing on the performers.

At its close one of the police-jesters ran round the court-yard with a censer of burning embers for further purification, and a continued incantation was maintained by the musicians to sustain the "aura" produced, and keep away bad spirits.

Now, with much crashing and noise from the band, a troop of sixteen dancers emerged, each carrying a tambourine and bell. Their hats were of plaited straw with a flat sign on the top shaped like the eye of a peacock's feather, and five of these patterns were arranged round the front of the head-dress. Their faces were partly hidden by a sort of visor of brass, with expansions representing the nose and moustache, and large spaces for eyes and mouth. These danced in a similar way to their predecessors, droning, ringing bells, and rattling little

13a Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

drums, the latter shaped like a double tambourine, each with a bob on the end of a long string, which knocked the successive sides of the drums when rattled sufficiently. These performers receded in pairs in the usual manner, and all we could make of their dance was a further preparation by sound vibrations to frighten away evil influences. These noises are more potent if the metal which causes the vibrations is holy.

After a prolonged interlude, the band rises and stands outside the shelter of the gallery to greet a long procession of maskers, which slowly files down the steps. Meanwhile some rich strips of carpets have been placed on benches to the right of the court-yard, and another long strip on the ground to the left. First comes an ordinary lama carrying a flag, next one with a brass pot, its brim drawn out into a long spout and set with jewels, then a pair of lamas swinging censers, others carrying shawms with queer expanded ends, some with shorter trumpets, and then a series of masked figures, which come on so quickly and amidst such clatter and noise that it is impossible to distinguish forms and sounds until they have arranged themselves. Most prominent of all is a high umbrella-like canopy of red and yellow which is carried by a Chinese-looking individual with short black coat and long Chinese gown, wearing a hat of several embroidered sections, such as Tibetans use upside down under their head-gears for an eyeshade when travelling. He and another attendant hold the umbrella over a tall form clad in rich embroidered silk, the face hidden behind a huge mask portraying a benign countenance with converging eyes. Accompanying this being are seven other deities and two devil-masked persons. Of the other figures in the procession sixteen are dressed alike, unmasked, but with peculiar hats made of a triple crown of decreasing size, the topmost surmounted by a round knob. As all the figures proceed, acolytes swinging censers pass in and out between them, and

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they gradually become distinguishable, the benign-faced gentleman under the umbrella taking his seat in the centre of the carpetted benches, with three of the deities on each side and a demon king sitting at each end. These two latter seemed to be guardians of the gods, who partake sufficiently of the nature of the demons from which these deities must be protected to be able to repulse them ; in other words, " Set a thief to catch a thief." They represent, according to Waddell, those deities of the old devil-worship religion, who, when Buddhism absorbed the latter, were forced to become *fidei defensores* of the new religion. Each of these demon kings has a third eye in his forehead, indicating that he can see on inner occult planes, the third eye showing that all things are known to him in all directions. The sixteen unmasked performers in turn move over to the carpet on the ground to our left, and sit there facing the deities, so that now we can sort out the minor personages. Attached to each row of sitters is a guardian with a cloth folded like a fan in his hand and wearing an ugly pink mask with a dropped gaping jaw which he can move up and down by means of his own chin. He walks along the front of his allotted row of figures fanning away evil influences, and every now and then has to divert his attention to ward off two apparently harmless imps wearing ugly masks, clad in yellow, each with a scarf and stick in his hands, and representing mischievous powers which ~~try~~ to intrude on the gathering. There also rushes in with shrill whistling, produced by placing the fingers in the mouth, four bare-legged short-skirted figures with three-cornered flags in their hats, whose capes are too scant to reach their bare waists. They seem to be high winds bringing messages from the four quarters, and each carries a *dorjhe* and tambourine-rattle. They do not seem to disturb the assembly for the guardian's fan is unperturbed, but the police-jesters have amusing encounters with them. We can now see also the other figures behind the seven seated deities, where

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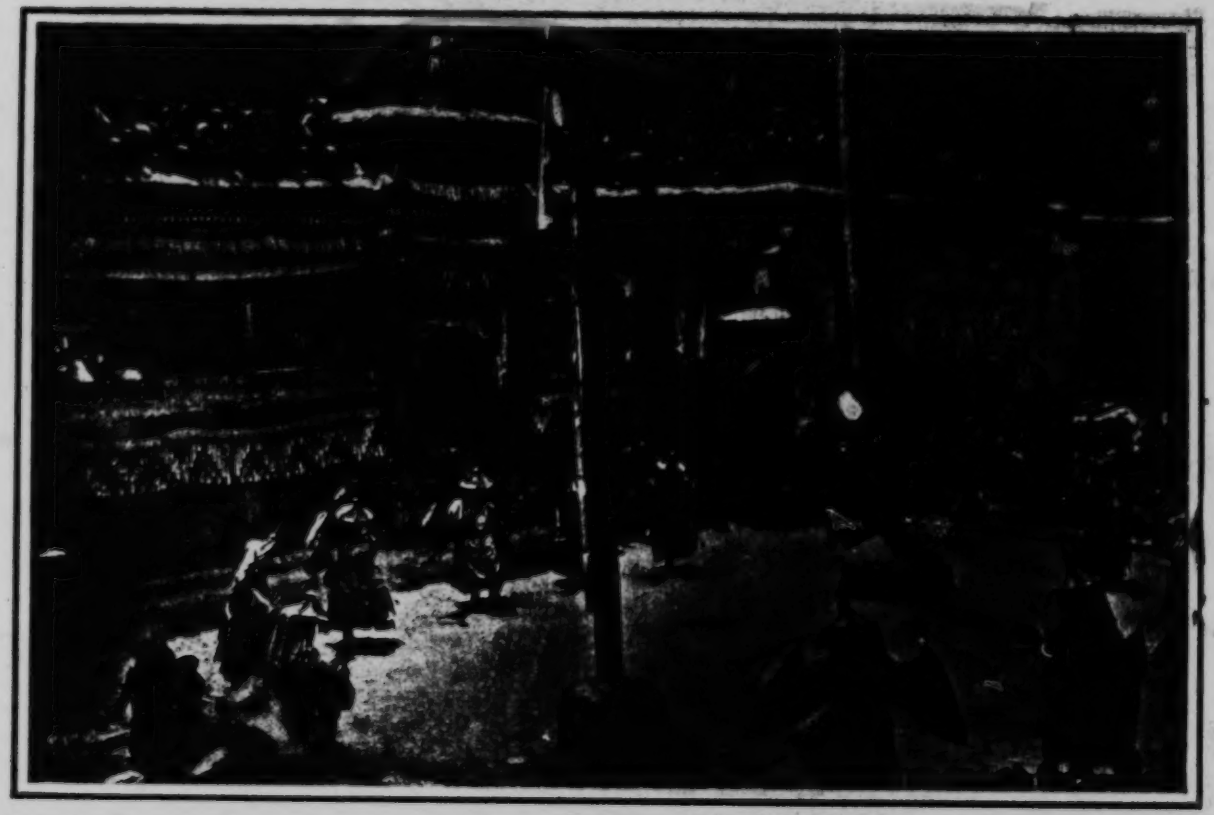

THE INAUGURAL DANCE OF THE HEMIS FESTIVAL.
On the left is the balcony from which the Europeans watch the performance; next to it is the *Shushog's* throne.

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796 the Chinese-looking and other attendant still hold the umbrella,
536 and sundry acolytes or lama boys stand at one end of the row; one, a young novice, holds a small dough model of the organ of generation on a plate, whilst next to him another boy exhibits a large shell, and behind them stands a terribly dissipated-looking individual, masked with repulsive swollen cheeks.

There now enter four boys with warming-pan drums and hooked beaters, wearing hats of the inverted eyeshade type, like the Chinaman's, but with a large *Om* inscribed in the centre. These approach the deities, dancing, whilst the two imps of mischief try to get into the foreground, too. The boys range themselves in front, stop beating their drums and chant an incantation to which the Central Incarnation occasionally nods in assent, whilst the jesters and imps play about in the background of this solemn scene. These four boys having retired, the lesser deities rise in turn to execute a "pas seul," during which we can examine them more closely. In the centre we note that the chief personage, with the large passive face, holds in his right hand the *dorjhe* or thunderbolt, a symbol of great power, and a small bowl of corn—the first food given to man—in his left. He does not dance, but, beginning with the one on his right, the others rise alternately from each side of him. All are dressed in richest silk of most fascinating colours and embroidered with Chinese designs of dragons and skulls. Occasionally the jester goes round the scene with a censer, and the band of course continues to accompany the dancers.

The first of these has a mask with a blue face, a hat of three balls decreasing in size, one on top of the other, and carries a *dorjhe* and bell in his hands. At the close of his dance, the figure on the left of the chief god steps out—a deity with an insignificant small Buddha-like mask under a hat like a large stiffened lama's cap—who has to be fanned as he rises, and whose empty right hand placed against his chest is very

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796 tremulous as he executes his steps, whether voluntarily or not,
● 536 is not evident, though it ceases when he resumes his seat. From the right side of the first dancer rises a figure with a grey hat, resembling a *chorten*, bearing a wreath round it, surmounting a flesh coloured face, and, depending by long threads from his ears representations of the eye of a peacock's feather. He carries a tambourine in one hand and a bowl in the other, probably made of part of a human skull. His dance is more spreading and cumbrous than that of the others. Next comes into the arena the god next but one to the left of the head deity, one with a red face, carrying a shield and tambourine-rattle adorned with many of the peacock-feather symbols. Another red face follows from the other end of the row with the same ornament and several small skulls on his head-dress. In his left hand he carries herbs and a disc ; in his right is a spear with streamers attached to the handle. The final lesser deity arises from the left end of the row, displaying an orange face and a blue head with tiny knobs all over it, crowned by a chignon of the same, the traditional head of the Mongolian Buddha.

Depending from the back of this head is a square of beautifully embroidered silk, from which one's glance falls to the hands to see them covered with dark yellow gloves, too long in the fingers and full of holes ! How one would like to be initiated into the meaning of all this strange symbolism which seems so incongruous to Western eyes. Waddell suggests that the chief deity is Padma Sambhava, the remainder being his other seven forms, but that sometimes he is said to be the Buddha himself, the group being that of the seven Buddhas. Or does it symbolize the seven principles of human nature, seven being the sum of four and three, and the basic number of the present period according to Buddhist philosophy. Hence, for instance, the seven notes of the musical scale, and the seven colours of the rainbow have their significance. (*See* Chapter XVI.)

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But the two demon kings have yet to take their parts. First the one on the right of the presiding deity rises for his dance, and, suddenly, with blare of trumpets, two more devils appear, also with the third eye, and wearing handsome dresses combining light saxe-blue and red in their magnificent colour scheme. Similarly when the turn of the other demon king, with his black woolly head, begins, another pair emerges to dance with him, also gowned exquisitely. This suggests the sudden increase of dancers at the witches' sabbath in Western mediæval magic. Finally, the sixteen unmasked figures arise from their carpets and approach the deities, and then with slow stately steps all proceed round the court-yard, and retire up the stairs into the porch. Thus after about two hours ended the first morning's performance, and we retired for lunch.

The first event of the afternoon was essentially a devil-dance, in which twelve masqueraders appeared either singly or in couples, each advent signalized by the picturesquely-hatted lama in the porch blowing his trumpet. The first couple were bestial with repulsive snouts, third eyes, and wearing aprons with skulls on them. Executing a few turns, they settled down to rest in time with the cymbals in the manner already described. Next to them came a black mask under a black wooden hat with a triangular flag projecting from the middle, the wearer carrying a big hammer with a *dorjhe* attached. Number four had horns and a black animal visage, while his neighbour's head-dress had a broad foundation with small skulls rimming the front, and piled all over it long coils representing a mixture of intestines and snakes, an end of one of the latter appearing over the front, showing its head, symbolic of desire and decay. The next-comer wore a hat with a chaplet of skulls round a woolly crown, and carried a sabre and a piece of wood like a knife-cleaning board. Three flags protruding from a turret-like structure decked the next head, then came another mask with five skulls over

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the top, while the next element represented must have been a good one, for the figure wore a beatific though inane-looking white-faced mask. This bright spot among the other black-faced, repulsive monsters, however, was more than set off by the next comer, whose black mask had a most appalling gape, while the rear was brought up by two monkeys with dropped jaws and bulging upper eyelids. Save for the last fur-covered representatives of the Hanuman tribe, these hideous beings all of whom had the third eye, wore most exquisite gowns and aprons of Chinese silk. Their purport was not revealed to us, for, after a dance of the usual type and a low chant, they retreated, as usual in twos at a signal from the trumpeters in the porch.

The next act of this extraordinary drama was preceded by the placing of two small carpets on the ground near the left-hand flagstaff. One was square with a broad red border having in its centre a smaller square of tigerskin. The other was of dark blue, with an inner line of light blue demarcating a central white triangle, on which lay a mysterious object covered with a bit of thin dark blue veiling. The square with its four sides, the number of which indicates this earthly plane, and the triangle, which, by its three sides stands for the higher elements, thus represented the whole universe of earth and heaven. Two unmasked lamas brought out beer in a brass chalice, in shape rather like a Western coffee-pot, with rounded lines and a pattern chased in the middle of both sides ; also a small plate of barley and a cup. A third lama in an expansive yellow silk robe stood on the square facing the triangle, holding a bell and a *dorjhe* with streamers attached. The cup is given into his right hand, and to the sound of solemn chanting some beer is poured into it from the chalice. With more incantations he throws this away in the direction of the flagstaff. Into the cup, apparently reversed, some rice is then placed by the other lama, and that is also thrown away to the accompaniment of low chanting.

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Next beer and barley are both placed in the cup, the ringing of the bell punctuating the droning song as this is done; these are poured away also, and this libation repeated twice, after which chalice, cup, and platter are all taken away. The yellow-robed priest then dons his mitred hat, waves his streamered *dorjhe* three times towards the hidden object, and retires.

Two ghouls now appear on each side of the court, their heads and bodies covered with skeletal white cloth on which skulls and ribs are inadequately depicted by red streaks. Round their waists are kilts made of silk scarves, and attached to waist and ankles small bells like those on a jester's hat. Two of them carry skulls on sticks, and all wear decrepit white gloves on hands and feet, which have never known a "stitch in time," nor ever will. The compartments for the toes are particularly incapable of retaining contents and flap absurdly over their respective digits. These ghouls execute a dance reminiscent of our Sir Roger de Coverley, advancing to meet in the middle then passing over to opposite sides. One snatches the veil from the hidden object, revealing an anthropomorphic effigy of dough; the lama replaces the veil at once, but again they approach and remove it, before making their exit with dancing.

There now enter four figures of the ogre type, with the third eye in their foreheads. One has an open mouth and protruding tongue curled upwards, another has a chaplet of skulls on his head-dress, while a third is an ogress with long trails of hair. Each holds a weapon with which to combat evil spirits: thus number one carries a sickle to pierce the heart, number two a charm to bind the body, number three a snare of rope to tie the hands, and number four a bell, whose tinkling will keep the spirits down. They are joined by ghouls in narrow trousers and tunics with ill-fitting toe-gloves, and all dance, finally leaving the arena together.

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796 Now another procession files down the steps, preceded by
● 636 the bearer of the jewel-rimmed, long-spouted beer-pot, the two lamas with musicians' hats swinging censers, and two more whose hats have scolloped up-turned brims, blowing their flageolets, all of whom move to one side when they have ushered in their ogre. He is a true King of Demons, with his big devil-mask, up-turned tongue between great tusks, and three eyes. For him a lama holds out the plate of barley, some of which he flings away four times, some to each of the four quarters of the earth. The remainder is placed by the uncovered effigy, which is left alone for a time. The heraldic five lamas leave the scene, and the Demon King advances in a slow dance to the music of flageolets, while four other demons emerge to join him, all with streamers in their hands, coloured rags covering the backs of their heads, and long earrings of the peacock-eye type ; all, too, have small skulls in their head-dresses, and a papier-maché one at the waist. A lama removes the platter of barley, then the Demon King approaches the dough figure and chops it up with his sabre, whereupon the lama distributes it to him and his four satellites, afterwards retreating to a low chant.

Again another type of demon comes upon the scenes dancing, and is joined by four others, one pair emerging from the crowd on the right, the other couple down the stairs on the left. Each carries a warming-pan drum and wears a yellow mask, yellow bodice and dark blue skirt, over which strips of tiger skin are arranged. On the tops of their heads are triangular flags. Again the priest approaches the dough figure and distributes portions to the five devils as they kneel round the triangle ; he then removes the remnants of the effigy and also the square carpet. Now, from right and left corners respectively, again approach two groups of five figures, demoniacal ogres with yellow, blue, red, and black masks bearing skulls, and all with three eyes. The five previously in the arena disappear as these ten new figures

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

rush into the centre, amid the beating of drums, whistling and yelling, whooping and running about, thus demonstrating their demoniacal glee at the destruction of the enemy. The ten now dance together, ranging themselves in opposing fives, beating their drums slowly and quietly, and executing a sort of " Sir Roger " again. The band now stops entirely, while one of the dancers beats on to the end, until they all go out. We, too, with weary eyes and confused brains, are glad to retreat to our quiet tents on the hillside, trusting that the morrow may bring some elucidation of the purpose and meaning of the strange things we have witnessed.

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13: Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXV

Hemis Mystery Play—Second Day

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THE morning of the second day was very disappointing, for, after a message having come for us to assemble just before ten o'clock, we had to sit expectantly for nearly two hours, and then were only rewarded by seeing a dance similar to the first one of the previous day. Our anticipation had been raised in vain several times by the fanfare from the heralds on the roof, or an overture by the band, and once even to high pitch by the sudden hurling of a number of lay-folk out of the porch and down the steps as though to clear the road, when they almost fell over each other in precipitous retreat from unseen forces behind, so that alarm for small boys in the crush was mingled with the joy of certainty that something was coming at last, only to settle once more into aggrieved patience. However, at last the band burst into full music, and a procession really appeared, preceded by the bearer of the jewelled beer-pot, at the side of which walked a lama with a whip, then two swingers of censers, then the two heralds, who led in apparently the same performers as in the first item of the previous day with the difference that a burning brazier was carried round to purify the way for an additional lama. This priest bore a ceremonial vase, something like a small tea-pot, adorned unfortunately by little tawdry skirts, and containing peacock's feathers. He led the way across the arena to a second outlet on the right where the dancers threw away sacred herbs. After this the dancing became more animated, with shrill

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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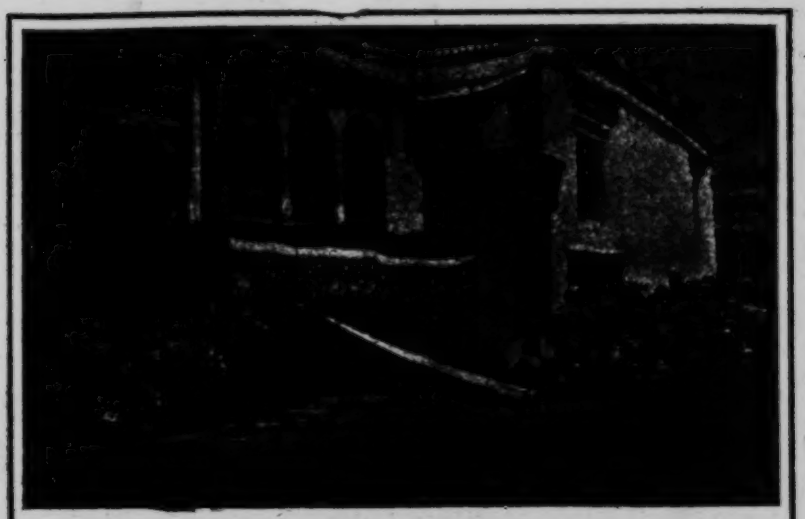

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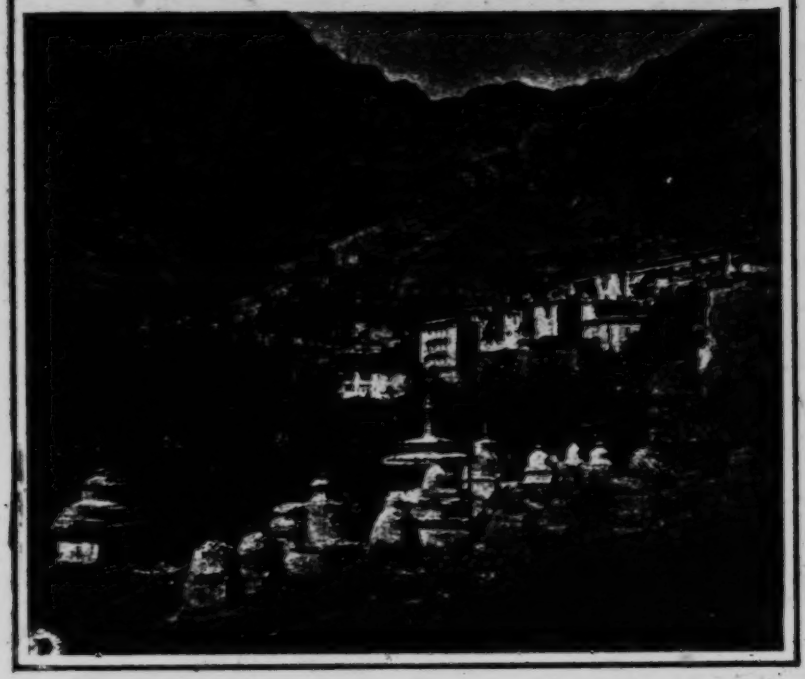

THE FESTIVAL AT HEMIS.

Showing the lamas of the monastic band blowing their long shawms. To their left is the *Shashog's* throne, and to their right a large prayer-wheel framed in a projection of masonry.

HEMIS DGONPA.

With *chortens* in the foreground. This is the monastery where the great festival is held annually. Hidden among the foothills, it has escaped pillage. Hence it is rich in treasure.

FACING P. 264

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 whistling, the beating of the drums and chanting being
536 continuous throughout, while occasionally a clash of cymbals inaugurated an acceleration, when hops and jumps varied the monotony. When the performers had danced slowly round the circle, the trumpeters on the steps played them out as usual.

In the afternoon we again waited from 3 till 5 p.m. witnessing the preparations for a rather interesting display. Three sturdy little well fed ponies were brought into the court-yard. One was very gaily caparisoned, first with a rich fringed cloth covering his whole body, over which a beautiful carpet was thrown, above that a gorgeous saddle, and surmounting all a cloth of tiger-skin with a red edge. The other two ponies were given just one covering coat of patchwork with a border inferior in quality, the whole badly needing the attentions of needle and cotton. During the long waiting time which followed, a gentleman, who had evidently been enjoying the local beer, staggered about in and out between the ponies and round the area with smoking embers in a rough frying pan, saying "*so-lo, solo*," (hurrah), and emitting weird noises which were apparently intended to raise the excitement of the animals, though this was achieved to a greater extent by the smoking embers being pushed in under their noses and close to their bodies. A figure dressed in Chinese hat, black coat, and yellow silk robe, holding a salutation-scarf, stood up by the flag-staff. He was extraordinarily motionless throughout the long time of waiting. A lama, with bare head and rich yellow silk robes, carrying a wand also appeared, he being the man in charge of these animals throughout the year. Each pony was held by a man wearing a hat with an edging of white goat or sheepskin. Underneath our balcony we next descried three black dogs, of which one seemed to drop out later, also with cloths on their backs, once gorgeous, now old, torn and faded, while to the right of the quadrangle two grey-white goats stood waiting.

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796 As they waited, a lama brought out some long strips of red
536 cloth printed with prayers, and climbing up the high flag-staffs, added them to the other prayer-flags for the wind to operate upon.

At last the ecclesiastical band appeared, on the roof this time, and the shawms and flageolets resounded ; then a lama brought out a silver tea-pot adorned with skirts and peacock feathers. He poured some of the contained beer into the hands of the patient Chinaman, on to the back of each of the animals, and some into the palms of each of their keepers, who drank it up with much relish. Then a battered old tin bowl containing blood-reddened clay was brought to each group of animals, and, their backs having been bared, they were well smeared with a bit of goat's hair dipped into the ruddy mixture. The ponies, now thoroughly excited, were led off at a gallop, and circling the monastery, were brought in at the opposite entrance, where cheered, hooted, and excited with much noise, they tore across the court-yard to re-appear and vanish again. The ponies thus circled the *d'Gonpa* altogether three times, the dogs only appearing once more, while the small timid goats were led slowly across once only, and then probably put aside for safety's sake. These animals represent the scapegoat idea as interpreted at Hemis, and once they have been chosen for this unusual ceremony are never allowed to work again, but fed and fattened at the expense of the monastery, and set aside for this ceremony until death. Some Ladaki informants also state that the ceremony is to dedicate the animals to the gods, the truth probably being that the gaily caparisoned one has some special purpose in this connection.

During this item a large pudding or cake made of some kind of flour mixed with water, the colour of mud and studded with white spots, was deposited on the ground in front of the empty *Skushog's* throne, and covered with a salutation scarf. This, according to a Ladaki onlooker, was to be dispensed

1a: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subsequently by the Abbot with his blessing. It was removed at the end of the sccapegoat performance, after which three ragged and dirty women brushed over the dusty courtyard with little bundles of reeds and sprinkled it with water.

In the early morning a low square platform of mud, about four inches high, and two inches square, had been made in the same place as the triangle and square carpet had been laid the previous day. Now a tray was placed on the platform containing a rough cup and some tins. Then a dancer emerged, with a three-cornered pennant projecting from a large round hat, wearing a rich cape over a dress of brocaded streamers and scarves, and carrying a small bowl made of a human skull in his hand. He upset the tray, but apparently this was unintentional, and a small lama replaced its contents.

Ten more maskers emerged in single file, dressed like the first, but one unfortunately had broken the stick supporting his pennant, and the resulting angle made it rather interfering in the ensuing mêlée. The three-cornered flags were of red with broad blue borders, jester's bells were jingling round the waists, while numbers one and ten had anklets of bells also. Their masks, with faces of blue, green, red, flesh-colour, and yellow, were merely hideous and leering, having no third eye, so they probably belonged to the class of earth-master-demons. The first comer, their chief would then be the "Great Guardian King," who stands in the middle, while they stand in two rows facing him. As they dance to an impressive boom of the long shawms, an ordinary priest and small lama boy busy themselves preparing a device on the mud platform, using pencils and colours from the tray and tins already there. The lama first draws a large triangle of purple, then an inner one of yellow ochre next a white outline to a broad light blue one edged within again with white, and within this a solid black triangle is painted. Selecting white chalk, he then sketches in flames all round the purple outside triangle, hieroglyphics in the light blue one, and a central device in the black. What

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these were we could not make out. Meanwhile the earth-master-demons have been trumpeted out in twos, and now two new heralds appear in the porch, young boys with white powdered faces, who, blowing the conches from the corners of their mouths, bend the knees outwards, as they finish each long note, as though to expel it more effectively. Their instruments have handsome long tassels, and are blown three times to usher in a long procession of dancers. Group one are unmasked, but dressed like the members of the inaugural dance on the previous day. Next to them the herald boys with their powdered faces take their place, and we note their green shorts of brocaded silk under a long scarf wound about their bodies, and looped up and down to form a skirt. Their hats are like red tea-cosies with bands wound round the base. The third group consists of four members with hats of a papier maché type, like a *Skushog's* riding hat. (These hats and all the masks are made at monasteries, and consist of cotton material bound together by a mixture of earth and water). Scarves hang down from under the hats behind, and their dresses are of yellow silk divided into large squares by broad bands of red, while in the right hand they carry long iron sticks with four projecting pieces at the top, bent down and hooked to receive four rings ; in their left hands are large black bowls. Another group of four follows, wearing black masks, all of whom have a terribly evil leer with mouth drawn down at the corners, as though saying a perpetual "ugh." The first and third, dressed in black, carry in the right hand a knifeboard and in the left what might be either a loop of intestine or merely a snare of rope. Numbers two and four hold in their right hands a flat object about two feet long cut in the shape of a human figure. Their raiment is fashioned of stuff resembling a leopard's skin, with a sleeveless bodice and a skirt cut into strips worn over navy shorts. The fifth and final group comprises four men, with the vizor masks we have already seen. In their hands they carry sword and shield,

13: Heber and Heber D-S (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and to each of their backs is attached a quiver of arrows. 796
Beneath the fine silk, sleeveless overdresses of these warriors, 536
with streamers attached to the waistline, the warm homespun robes of the lama can be seen. The heralds, and, of course the gruesome quartette, are barefooted, but the rest wear ordinary lama boots. Each group in succession dances round the central mystic sign, sitting, when not their turn, on the carpetted benches in the corner of the quadrangle, which had been prepared as on the previous day.

The red square with its central tiger-skin was now produced again and laid down beside the painted triangles, on which another human effigy of dough under its blue veil was placed.

Now, preceded by heralds and swingers of censers, four figures dressed as in the first dance of the first day appear, each carrying a bell and *dorjhe*, accompanied by two lamas in their ordinary robes, one carrying the brazen chalice we have already seen, the other four cups on a tray. These two lamas pass to each dancer in turn, pouring into his cup a little beer, and adding a few grains of barley, while all chant in tone, and the band plays slow solemn music. This was, perhaps, the most impressive and stately act of the whole play. While the beer and barley were being actually served, the four performers were stationary, while the orchestra played and chanted a really beautiful theme, at the end of which the cups were emptied on the ground, the four figures bowed before the platform, themselves chanting, then, ringing their bells and holding out their *dorjhes*, again started their stately gyrations. This ceremony of filling and emptying the cups was performed six times; then the vessels were collected on a tray and removed.

With a whistle and flinging out of the dancers' scarves in time with the music, one of these priestly saints now takes his place on the square mat, the covering is removed from the effigy, and more incantations are intoned. Accompanied by

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

more whistling and flinging of scarves and a wild reverberating crash of music from the band, the priest then leaves the square mat, and all join in a final dance, retreating in pairs.

The next act seems to begin within the monastery hall, for figures appear in the porch dancing to music, but retreat into the shadows again. One lama with censers, and one with the jewelled beer-jug come down into the quadrangle, and take up their positions by the right-hand flag-post. Again a figure with horns is seen gyrating within the porch, and anticipation is enhanced by the band bursting into wild crescendos. At last the procession emerges into view, first the bearer of the jewelled beer-jug, then two swingers of censers, then the heralds followed by a troop of three-eyed demon kings. The leader is he of the horned mask, bearing a sabre and a cup made of a human skull decked with streamers. All the rest have skulls on their head-dresses, rich embroidered silk robes with capes, aprons and streamers, capped by masks of green, red, yellow, white and brown. The horned gentleman is their *sLobdpon* or chief. He approaches the effigy and sprinkles it with barley from the plate which has been left at the side ; then a lama steps in and cuts the effigy up, giving each demon deity a portion. No doubt this ceremony is rooted in the old cannibalism of the *Bon Chos*. The effigy has now been killed, and four grave-yard ghouls come in to dispose of the corpse, though it is the lama who actually removes the last bits. The four dance about, two of them standing over the platform, and with alternate bare feet rhythmically wipe away, or rather smear out in its dust, all traces of the mystic triangles. They then dance altogether in ghoulish glee, while the horned gentleman, proceeding in solitary dignity, leads off his troupe in twos. The skeletal ones dance on, getting more joyful, jumping round and round themselves, and leaping to and from the empty platform until their turn also comes to depart.

It would leave a more profound impression if the play ended here, but a final foolish little act is introduced, serving as a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

complete anticlimax. A stool is placed near the *Skushogs'* 796
throne, and the square carpet with the central tiger-skin, 536
placed on it. An aged gentleman, with the large mask of an ordinary old man, but evidently very decrepit and tottery, is supported by five young boys with bare legs, short skirts, capes, and simple masks, with a bit of gay Yarkandi silk attached at the back to hide the hiatus between head and neck. A Ladaki onlooker says this gentleman is the one who attends to the feeding of all the masked lamas, and is called "rGyalpo (King) Achan." Supporting his failing steps, he leans heavily on his pupils, who eventually get him to the stool, accompanied by a masked and yellow-robed lama, carrying a warming-pan drum and a pair of cymbals, who squats on the ground at his side. One of the guardians with the moveable jaw, who watched over the row of benevolent deities on the first morning, enters with a brazier and rosary, and tries to help keep the high-spirited pupils in order. These jump about, laughing, boxing each other, fighting and playing, and making fun of their old preceptor. The old man gives them each some food, a piece of pudding made of uncooked barley mixed with water. He also offers them a piece of paper, and, as each in turn jumps to clutch it he whips them, to the great amusement of the crowd in the audience. On being handed the musical instruments he stands the warming-pan drum up on its handle, leaning it against his left knee, and, with his right hand, somehow manages both to beat it and to clash the cymbals on his right knee. To this music the small boys dance lightly and lithely round the flag-staff, receiving occasional whips from the guardian. They then jump about with whoops and cries, and carry on tedious little feeble bits of buffoonery, till even the audience gets weary and begins to disperse. The old man and his pupils in a close row prostrate themselves several times at full length before the *Skushog's* empty throne, obviously caricaturing this act of worship, then the boys stroke their aged teacher's head, tie a scarf round his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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neck, and lead him away. By this time the crowds are all straggling across the court-yard, and the exit takes place in oblivion, giving a most absurd and feeble finish to the long performance.

Thinking over the mystery play in quiet retrospect, trying to discover a sequence and a meaning in its confused medley of sights and sounds, one has to confess that at the end a "mystery" play it remains. The *Skushog* himself has confirmed the idea that the effigy of dough represents a *chos-la gnodpa gtong-kan*, that is, a doer of harm to religion.

Even the common people have some idea of this, for on questioning an ordinary Ladaki as to its significance, he told me that it was an evil spirit that had been made to flee, but had come down from the hills to harm religion again. But, as Waddell says, "it is used also to convey to the people a vivid conception of the manner in which devils attack a corpse, and the necessity for priestly services of a quasi-Buddhist sort to guard it and the soul."

The constant apposition of incongruities is particularly fitting to this land for ever exhibiting things "the wrong way round." Even Alice's "curiouser and curiouser" is far transcended by the grotesque weirdness of religious conception here manifested. The rich embroidered silks, the dirty tags of commonest bazar cloth (probably a rag blessed by the *Skushog*) appended to the same person, the voluminous skirts and stately movements of cumbrous-large-booted personages, the difficulty of description that involves the introduction of a homely English object, such as a coffee-pot or even a knife-cleaning board, the mixture of rare costliness with tawdry banality, the introduction of mischievous imps and jesters into solemn scenes, the caricaturing of religion by its own devotees, the simultaneous inspiration of laughter and fear, all contribute to the general impression of a land of dreams and unreality. In the most solemn scene, where the four priests were receiving holy grain and wine with which te

whose origin the boy could not explain intermingled with the howling 000
of the wind and the rushing of the Indus River. Namgyal's eye sharpened by his awakened imagination, then spied shadowy figures as they suddenly moved over the mountain slope and above him through the air. At those times the boy liked to be close to his companion. "Did you see that?" his comrade Puntsog asked him one evening as they were driving their herd along through the narrow gorge as darkness was descending upon them. They were late because they had had to spend a long time searching for animals that had strayed away from the herd. "There, up by the precipice it was rushing along!" "Yes, I saw it too," answered Namgyal, "it was a fox." "Yes, but didn't you see anything else? Someone was riding on the fox; /40/ it was gongpo with a large, round [776]
head, bristly hair and a hideous grimace, with bared teeth, two red eyes and a third eye on its forehead, and long claws on its fingers. It was shaking its hand threateningly at us. Come, let us hurry so we get home fast!"

When Namgyal came home he asked his grandmother, whose 538 ●
favorite he was and who had already told him quite a lot of terrifying things about evil spirits who are housed in mountain and valley, what kind of a being that was they had seen and told her what they did. She answered: "Let Meme (the old) Konchog Trashi tell you that, nobody knows more about these spirits and their activities and no one knows the old sagas and fairytales as well as he."

What Old Konchog Trashi Told Namgyal about Gods and Demons

One of the following evenings Namgyal went to the old Gyamstopa (16) Konchog Trashi, the storyteller and narrator of legends who is

16. Written in Tibetan, rgya-mt'so-pa, it signifies "seaman," the house name of the person concerned.

known through the length and breadth of the land for his narrative skill. Namgyal arranged it so that he would not have to look up the old man [164]
in his own house because his wife had leprosy in the highest degree; for this reason Namgyal was afraid to come near to her. He met the storyteller as he was sitting under his large nut tree at the edge of the irrigation ditch where he was spinning threads from coarse yak's hair. At the request of Namgyal Konchog Trashi, a small figure with a

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the
776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered
[782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis-
[784] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt'san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and
[782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex-
776 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible.
782 The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their fear they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the abyss they were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which

24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw
his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526]

25. A kind of hockey game.

free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

Someone suggested as a bride Palmo from the house of the Oil- 581
man (sNum-pa); she was a good girl and industrious, he suggested, and the property of her father was considerable and free of debt. But she too, was not agreeable to Tsering Putrid. She admitted that the girl was industrious and--so far as one knew--free of blame, but she was ugly and thick-set "like a chorten," and stupid as an ass; she would not do for her handsome and intelligent grandson. Moreover she was a blabbermouth. To her applied the proverb: The thundering cloud has [538] ●
no rain, the garrulous girl--no wedding. "Yes, talkativeness in general," said Tsering Putrid, "there are also blabbermouths among the men"; and in so saying she shot a glance at Bandhepa who was always swaggering. "Another proverb says: A big river has no ford, big words have no content!" This did not really fit into the argument, but the old woman was annoyed that Bandhepa made himself so important. With this the others agreed again and so Palmo was also finished as the future bride.

Finally, after long arguments back and forth, uncle Stobsldan ("the strong one"), the brother of Lobsang Wanggyal, declared: "I know a suitable bride. The daughter of the wealthy farmer Norbu Wangchu ("precious stone--the mighty one) in Tingmogang (29). Her

29. Tingmogang--a large village in Lower Ladakh.

father owns two houses with the fields that belong to them, which all have a good location, as well as a lot of cattle; he also carries on exchange trade with the nomads Jangtang; he lends grain and money"--"at usurious rates" a voice interrupted him. "Quiet!" the others shouted. "He is the wealthiest man in the entire district." Bandhepa objected that there was all kinds of talk about that girl, Chosskyid; she was supposed to be frivolous, she was supposed to go around with young men, and other things of the kind. "Ah," said Tsang Sodnam, Namgyal's maternal uncle, "it won't be that bad; such a young, pretty girl likes to have her fun once in a while, and if one /56/ wanted to be sure that a girl was completely blameless one could search throughout Ladakh, in all the villages and drogs (outposts), and one would scarcely be able to find one. And moreover," and in saying this he looked at Bandhepa with a shrewd and malicious smile, "if a yak should run over your face [538]
you would not see it; but if a louse runs across someone else's face then you see it immediately." (30) At that Bandhepa was silent, the others

30. Tibetan proverb. Compare Matthew 7.3

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

777 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply
● [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: ños-agrug-la aded-de mi non / rkyen-ñan-la ŝor-te mi bud.

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the soothsayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking
000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

757 177 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhistic canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bŝi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

000 And yet they could outdistance me, or anyone in my camp, for that matter. They were hardened to the trail; and even the seventy-year-old lady was as tough as nails. They had precious little, but they lived to the utmost of it. They were true to the old • 538 Tibetan proverb, "Eat according to the height of your meal bag and walk according to the width of your track."

It seemed to me that civilization had made us soft and flabby. We were fat and weak in our protective environment. We had become so engrossed in living a life of ease that we had sacrificed our health and vigor. If we had the endurance of this old Ladakhi lady, there would be a profound effect on the spirit as well as on the flesh. Then we would regain our adventuresome spirit; then we would want to live boldly and dangerously; then we would not be caught up in the great drive for security. Security? What security has this old lady of Ladakh? What is security? Is not the greatest security the strength of the spirit?

And then I was asleep in a tiny alcove of a mighty cliff of the Himalayas, dreaming of strong, husky women who laughed and giggled at Rahul and me as we struggled to keep up with them along a tortuous Himalayan trail.

When I awoke the sky was turning gray though the sun was over an hour from the ridge. Already the Ladakhis were stirring in the camp below us. Their fire was going, and a pot was steaming. The sun was not yet on the trail when they loaded their packs and started to climb toward us. The old lady came first.

"How's my patient?" I asked.

The old lady bowed graciously and smiled, indicating complete recovery. And so I gave her the traditional Tibetan salutation on farewell, *"K'ali phe,"* which means, "Go slowly."

The one who leaves is then supposed to answer, *"K'ali shu,"* which means, "Sit slowly."

The old lady did not, however, give me that salutation. Instead she smiled and said, *"Sawp* [which is Tibetan for Sahib], you are a good doctor." And the young lady, who had now reached

792 tery to open the day at 5:30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M. The monks of Hemis sometimes follow the example of their founder and go into retreats, taking vows to immure themselves for three years in barren, single-room houses that have no windows, no furnishings, no utilities. Here they sit in prayer and meditation for three long and lonely years. Those who complete the three-year vigil are held in high esteem by monks and laymen alike. Few, however, come out alive because of the rigors of the ordeal. Yet those who start do not turn back, for in the Buddhist world one who violates his vows degrades himself and is held in contempt by the community. Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

538 One of these apocryphal tales concerns Jesus. There are those who to this day believe that Jesus visited the place, that he came here when he was fourteen and left when he was twenty-eight, heading west, to be heard of no more. The legend fills in the details, saying that Jesus traveled to Hemis under the name of Issa.

778 This is a land where legends readily grow. Hindus and Buddhists are, of course, not alone in believing that holy men have made certain places sacred. But they have a special theory about the phenomenon. The presence of holy men and the prayers they have recited have created spiritual vibrations that dominate the place. Pilgrims who go there and stay at least three nights can feel these vibrations and thus enrich their psychic and spiritual
776 life. Many places of pilgrimage are common to Hindus and Bud-
778 dhists alike e.g., Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar in Tibet. These places usually have a presiding deity and many dozens of demigods. There are said to be about 500,000 deities around Mount Kailas alone. But only the pious can see them. These gods are mountain gods, river gods, tree gods, family gods, field gods, house gods. They are the gods and spirits of the ancient religions on which Buddhism became engrafted. They and Buddhism have

speech. He pondered on the lives of the saints, the causes and 785
effects of actions, the ends of worldly existence.

This poet-saint is loved in all Ladakh. His strong face, carved in stone, looks down on the inhabitants of Hemis. It shows tremendous concentration and an indomitable will. All who pass [788]
Mila Repa's statue at Hemis murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

One day while Mila Repa was moving to a new cave high on a shoulder of Mount Everest his only worldly possession, an earthen pot, broke. The loss was welcomed, not deplored. And Mila Repa, the poet, wrote:

> *The earthen pot now is, and now is not.*
> *My sole possession.*
> *By breaking it has become a lama,*
> *For it has preached an admirable discourse*
> *On the impermanence of things.*

And near the end of his life he wrote:

> *May the prayer regarding the death of this beggar*
> *Be fulfilled for the benefit of all beings.*
> *In a rocky cave in an uninhabited country*
> *There will my mind be fully content.*

The Buddhist world is filled with legends of Mila Repa. There 538
is the story of the frightened deer being pursued by a dog and a 788
hunter. The deer, crossing a ridge, saw Mila Repa in his cave and heard him chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The deer paused to listen and was so spellbound by the spiritual vibrations that its fears were forgotten. Shortly it lay down beside Mila Repa, serene and relaxed in the spiritual atmosphere of the place.

Along came the dog, who, seeing the deer, whirled to the attack. Then the dog heard Mila Repa chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The dog stopped and listened; it too became calm and serene, and shortly lay down beside the deer.

538 Then came the hunter, who, seeing the deer and the dog lying
788 down together, believed the dog had been bewitched. So he drew his sword to kill the dog. As he approached, Mila Repa began to intone, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The hunter was strongly affected by the chant. He stood undecided and torn. Before long he returned his sword to the scabbard and, approaching Mila Repa, prostrated himself before the Holy One.
535 A lama dance (*chham*) is built around these characters[1]—a play
796 illustrating the old Tibetan proverb and Buddhist teaching, "There is no sin so great as killing."

Phuntzog put on some lama dances for us. But the act of the deer, the dog, and the hunter was not included. The dances we saw, like the old morality plays of Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

They were performed in the courtyard in front of the main monastery building. Opposite the stairs leading down from the monastery sat the Rinpoche and the Lobon. Each of them is usually dressed in a long, flowing, dark red robe, wrapped toga-like around him so that his right arm is bare. Now the left arm was bare, and a bright yellow shawl was draped over the shoulders and around the waist. Rinpoche wore a peaked red hat that had no brim but came down over the back of his neck. Phuntzog wore a big red hat whose brim flared up and stood like great sails sewn together. Rinpoche sat on a dais with the gold bell and gold *dorje* in front of him. Phuntzog sat on his right. Farther to the right was a great array of musicians—trumpeters, drummers, and two men who blew giant horns. They were bedecked in gaily
[534] colored clothes and tall red hats of various designs. The trumpets were of the clarinet type, made of wood and brass. The drums stood on edge, held four or five feet off the ground by a pedestal, and attached to them were cymbals. The drums were struck by sticks bent into the shape of huge question marks. The two horns (*shawms*) were each twelve feet long. The larger end was about eighteen inches in diameter. It rested on the ground.

 1 [From legends. See p.173 -- ANALYST]

648 792 208 anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as they draw water from the wells.

•538

In the religious city of Lhasa this year
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [rifles] in their hands
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

648 792 668 The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese military strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

000 The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

[2]About five cents.
[3]About seventeen dollars.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

Next in importance, though not in status, come the musicians and minstrels. Although no function is complete without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W ..ibetans AJ4

gut, and the bow of horsehair. Let us listen to Tsiring 538
Rolmar, as she recounts to her husband and her two boys,
one of these stories. In the corner of their living-room is the [554]
stove, behind which sits the housefather on a slightly raised
platform, before him his cup of tea which he sips the while.
On the opposite side, also sitting cross-legged, is his lady, who
while she spins her yarn, blows the fire with her goatskin
bellows, and at her side her youngsters drink in the story.
Like all good tales hers begins—" Once upon a time," and 539
goes on to tell of King Sralkai, of his little son Ulastopgyes,
the princess Laches, and their cruel step-mother, who in order
to rid herself of her husband's children feigned illness, and
asked him to go to a certain old woman physician who lived
on a hill far away. While the King was on the road thither,
the wicked queen, successfully disguised, took a short cut and
arrived at the mountain first, then told the King that the only
cure for his queen was a meal made of the hearts of his two
children. Sadly he returned, and we follow the prince and
princess through a long and tedious history of various unsuc-
cessful attempts to murder them, until eventually Ulastopgyes
is recognized as a prince and is crowned king of a great
country. His thoughts return to his poor old father, and he
goes to rescue him from the wicked queen, who turns out to
be a witch and is slain, whilst, of course, the rest live happily
ever afterwards. But do not imagine this story is told in so
few words—an hour would not suffice for all the details, and
many cups of tea are drunk before the fortunate family is
eventually allowed to " live happily ever after." Of such
stories there must be hundreds, and for every myth or fairy-
tale which we have in the West, the Ladaki has his Tibetan
version. In the same way it would not be difficult to find a
Ladaki proverb similar to almost every English one. Besides 534
the story-teller and his fiddled accompaniment, there is the
amateur with musical propensities who can express his
feelings on a flute, also home-made, just a bit of hollow stick

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XV

National Pastimes & Sports

000 "But their style of playing polo was irregular and rash
They had mighty little science, but a mighty lot of dash:
And they played on mountain ponies, that were muscular and strong
Though their coats were quite unpolished, and their manes and tails were long."

"When the Geebung boys got going it was time to clear the road;
And the game was so terrific that ere half the time was gone
A spectator's leg was broken—just from merely looking on."

A. B. PATERSON.

524 [538] "AS food without salt is savourless, so is work without play" says the Ladaki proverb, and, putting precept into practice, he flavours the toils of life with a variety of games which he begins early in life. The Leh youngster makes three little heaps of dust in the high street of the capital, places a stick in each, produces a home-made ball of rags, another larger stick for bat, and, like boys in the home-land, begins his game of cricket by a heated discussion as to who should have the privilege of first innings. If sticks are scarce, he takes a small one, about six inches long, points each end, then with a club he strikes one of the ends sharply; the stick rises up in the air, and as it falls he hits it again as hard as he can, and lays down the club. Then his opponent picks up the small stick and from where it has fallen throws it at the club which he tries to hit. Visions of small boys playing an exactly similar game in England come to the mind. Football, too, has become thoroughly acclimatized, and is played by old and young. The former, having raised a proper ball, tuck the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [538] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each [565] other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. Also little care is taken to preserve class.

586 614 If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 595 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.—*By* The Rev. H. Francke, *Moravian Missionary, Leh. Communicated by the Philological Secretary.*

[Read June, 1899.]

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The Ladakhi word for proverb is *gtamdpe* [pronounced *stamspe*] which means 'word example.' *Stamspe* is the general term for what might be called quotations, the shepherd's calender and the popular moral code.

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Ladakhi popular poetry has become famous for the frequent application of the laws of 'parallelism.' Many beautiful examples, illustrative of this form of poetry, will be noticed in the proverbs.

In the following each proverb will be treated in this way—

(*a*) the Proverb in the orthography of Ladaki letter writing, (*b*) pronunciation, (*c*) literal translation [does not claim to be good English], (*d*) application, (*e*) grammatical and other notes.

Concerning the orthography of (*b*) the following will suffice: The vowels are the Italian vowels[1], *ä* rather like *e*. All accents given, refer only to the stress. *sh* = ཤ, *zh* = ཞ, *ng* = ང, *c* = ཅ, *ch* = ཆ, *j* = ཇ, *ts* = ཙ, *ths* = ཚ. The unaspirated Tenuis holds the mean between English tenuis and media. Single *r* = Hindustani *r*. The *r* preceding a consonant is like the German guttural *r*, following a consonant it is like the English *r*, spoken quickly.

THE PROVERBS.

539

1. (*a*) དཔེ་ཉིད་རིང་མོ་ལ་གང་གསུམ་དང་བྲོ་གསུམ།
ཚེ་ཆོ་རིང་མོ་ལ་སྐྱིད་གསུམ་དང་ལྡུག་གསུམ།།

(*b*) spid' nyin ring'moa drang' sumdang dro' sum
mi'thse ring'moa skyid' sum dang dug' sum.

[1] They are long, when ending a syllable, short in all other cases.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 mouth-piece; metallic cymbals, much more mellow and
[53 ↑] sonorous than others, complete the band."

But the religious service of the Lamas is not confined
788 to the recitation of the *Dulva* and the *Do*, or to the frequent repetition of the six-syllabled *mantra*, "*Aum! Mani-padmé, hun!*" They occasionally proclaim aloud the numerous titles of the supreme Buddha; and recite, with endless repetition, the different mystical sentences peculiar to the various Bodhisatwas, and to the Tántrika Sáktis, or female energies of the Dhyáni Buddhas. They also recite mystical sentences from the Tantras, to deprecate the wrath of the furious Káli (*Chandá*, the angry goddess).

● 539 The following are specimens of these *mantras*, or
788 mystic sentences. They are all in the Sanskrit language:—

1. The Mantra of *Shakya Thubba* (Buddh'a).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sarva-klesha nishuddhana;
Sarvva dharma vuhiprapta; gagana sama sama, swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! Reliever of all suffering!
Master of all virtue! Equal, equal to the Heavens! adoration!"

2. The Mantra of *Kuntu-Zangpo* (Samanta-bhadra).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sámantanugati, varaja,
Dharmanirgati, mahá, mahá, swáha!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! acquirer of distinction, best-born,
Who goeth forth with virtue; great, great adoration!"

3. The Mantra of *Champa* (the future Buddha).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! ajitanajaya,
Sarvva Satwayashayanugata, Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! conqueror of the invincible,
Possessor of the fame of all purity, adoration!"

4. The Mantra of *Chakna-Dorjé* (Vajra-Páni).

Namah Sámanta Vajránám! Chanda Maha-roshana,-hun!

"Glory to the chief Vajras; fierce and greatly-angry, *hun!*"

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5. The Mantra of *Jámya* (Manju-Sri).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! hé, hé, hé! Kumáraka, Vimukti, Sathirthati, smara, smara, pratihana, swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! hé, hé, hé! Young Prince, Emancipation, Communion, Memory, Memory, Great Prowess, Adoration!"

6. Mantra of *Chanrazik* (Avalokiteswara).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sarvva Tathágata, Avalokita, Karaná, Máyá; Rá-rá-rá! Hun! Jáh! Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! Universal Tathágata, Avalokita, The Merciful, the Compassionate: Rá-rá-rá! Hun! Jáh! adoration!"

7. Mantra of *Grol-ma* (Tárá).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Karnodbhavé! Tári, taráni, Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! offspring of mercy! By whom existence is traversed, adoration!"

The above are the mystic prayers offered up to the supreme Buddha by the different Bodhisatwas and others, whose names they bear. But there are numerous other *mantras* addressed to the Bodhisatwas themselves, as in the following specimen, which is taken from an actual Tibetan stereotype wooden block in my own possession :—

8. *Aum! Vagiswari Mun! Aum! Mani-padne, hun! Aum Vajrapáni, hun!*

(the same repeated).

Aum! amaráni-jivantiye, swáhá!
Aum! Vajra-krodha, háyagriba, hu-lu, hu-lu, hun, phat.

"In the name of the Triad! O, divine lord, *Mun!*
In the name of the Triad! O, Lotus-bearer, *Hun!*
In the name of the Triad! O, Sceptre-bearer, *Hun!*"

(the same repeated).

"In the name of the Triad! O, immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O, wrathful *Vajra*, flame-necked, *hu-lu!—hu-lu!—hun!—phat!*"

This is addressed to the supreme Buddha (Bhageswara), to the celestial Bodhisatwas, *Padmapáni* and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Vajrapáni (the lotus and sceptre bearers), and to the Tántrika divinity Iswara. Other *mantras* are:—

9. *Aum! Sarvva Vidya, Swáhá! aum! Sarvva vidya! Swáhá!*
Aum! áh! Guru sumati-jnyán Siddh, hun-hun!
"In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!"
(the same repeated).
"In the name of the Triad! ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence, Holy-one, *Hun-hun!*"

10. *Aum! Muné, Muné, Mahá-Mune, Sakya-Munaye, Swáhá!*
Aum! Mani-padme, hun! Aum! Chanda Mahá-roshana, hun, phat!
Aum! Táre, tuttáre, turé, Swáhá!
Aum! Mohi, mohi, mahá-mohi, Swáhá!
Aum! Mati, mati, Smriti, Swáhá!
Aum! Maitri, Maitri, Mahá-Maitri, Arya-Maitri, Swáhá!
Aum! Vagiswari, Mun! Aum! Mani-padmé, hun! Aum! Vajrapáni, hun!
"Aum! O, Muni, Muni, Great Muni, SÁKYA-MUNI, adoration!
O, Lotus-bearer, *hun!*—O, fierce and greatly-angry, *hun-phat!*
O, TARA, * * * * * adoration!
O, Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O, Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O, MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya, adoration!
O, Divine Lord, *Mun!* O, Lotus-bearer, *hun!* O, Sceptre-bearer, hun!"

These are, however, sensible productions compared to the gibberish of others, of which the following is an untranslateable specimen:—

11. *Bhyoh, rakmo-bhyo! rakmo-bhyo-bhyo!*
Rakmo thun-bhyo! khala rakchhenmo!
Rakmo, abya-tabya, thun-bhyo!
Ru-lu, ru-lu, hun, bhyo, hun!

This potent charm I found repeated twenty-seven times on a roll of paper, inside an image of Shakya-Thubba. How deplorably low must be the religious belief of those who hope to weary Heaven into compliance with their wishes by the importunate reiteration of such gibberish!

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 bet, from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these
212 letters in the above manner, as *Pandsál* for Panjál.

The sixth circle I cannot decipher, but I can trace the repeated ejaculations of hun-hun! hun-hun! hun-hun! hun!

The seventh circle is one of the most interesting, as it contains the famous Indian enunciation of the Buddhist faith, which I found inscribed on a stone which I extracted from the great tope of *Sárnáth*, near Benares. This is the only instance in which I
● 539 have seen it used in Tibet.

Aum! Muni, Muni, Mahá-Munayé, swáhá!
Yé dharma hetu prabhavá hetun teshán Tathágato
hyavadat teshán cha yá nirodha evam vadi Mahasramanas.

"In the name of the Triad! O, Muni, Muni, great Muni, adoration! Of all things springing from cause, that cause hath the Tathágata explained; the cause of their extinction also hath the great As-cetic declared."

213 New works are rarely undertaken, but the printing of their standard religious works is still carried on by the Tibetans with the same old blocks that were in use up-
[788] wards of 100 years ago. The great mass of printing, however, is chiefly confined to the production of the innumerable quantity of prayers and mystical formulæ that are required by the people. I have seen many rolls containing many hundred repetitions of the same sentences. They are printed on sheets of a thin brownish paper called *Grega* (or *Tega*), but the books are printed on a much smoother paper called *Par-shog*, or "printer's paper." The ink is called *Par-snag*, or "printer's ink." The printer himself is named *Par-pa*, and where several are employed the head printer is called *Par-pon*. The printing board, or table, is *Par-shing*, and "copy" is called *Par-bri-pa*. The engraved block is named *Zhi*,

time Gautama was born in India as a fox with a valuable fur. The 773
reigning prince of the land saw this fox in a dream and ordered his hunters to get him this fur at any price. He threatened his huntsmen that they would all lose their lives if his wish should remain unfulfilled. Since the rajah was known to be cruel and unscrupulous, the threat aroused great fear among all the hunters. Meanwhile one of them was so lucky as to encounter the fox. The hunter had scarcely made preparations to catch the fox when the latter came up to him and surrendered himself into the hands of the hunter. But he made the condition to the hunter that he should not kill him but that he should skin him alive so that the sin of killing him might not rest as a burden on the hunter. By this the Bodhisattva saved the lives of all hunters in the country. The next consequence of this act of self-sacrifice was that thousands of flies, ants, and other insects settled on the skinned fox and consumed it. Such extraordinary acts attracted the attention of the gods and of all living beings, earthquakes and other natural phenomena /46/ broadcast them throughout the world, a rain of flowers fell down upon the Bodhisattva. And again he rose up another step on the way to perfection and release.

As fantastic as many of these stories were, they nevertheless made a deep impression upon Namgyal's sensitive mind which was oriented towards the religious. He thought a great deal about these matters, especially while tending the sheep and goats in the solitude of the mountains.

Sometimes Konchog Trashi also told Namgyal fairytales for the 539
latter's pleasure and for that of other listeners. So one day the old man told him the following tale.

The Fairytale of the Sly Fox, the Wolf and the Bear

The fox had already done much mischief and by sly means he had succeeded in killing the wolf, the bear, yes, even the lion, the king of the animals. Then one day there appeared a wolf and a bear, relatives of the killed, before the lion, the new king, and indicted the evil fox for his outrageous deeds. The king ordered them to bring the criminal before him. They found the fox and he went with them part of the way, even though he was very much afraid.

On the way to the judge they encountered a lama (monk) who was riding on his horse with his parasol opened up. On his back he was carrying the bag which contained his provisions for the journey. The

539 lama's feet were shod with large, red cloth boots. Then the fox said: "You wolf and you, bear! Look! We will take the parasol and the bag away from the lama." The other two answered: "Well, how should we go about doing that?" Then the fox answered: "We shall do it in this way: I shall pretend I am lame and shall limp along in front of the lama's horse. Then the lama will think that he can eaily grab me and he will dismount from his horse; he will put aside his parasol and his bag in order to be able to catch me more easily. Then you must come quickly, take the parasol and bag and run off. I shall then come to you again quickly!" Now the fox ran in front of the lama's horse limping miserably /47/. The monk, believing the fox to be lame, got off his horse, laid his parasol, his bag, and his heavy boots aside and ran after the limping fox. The latter at first let the lama get close to him and then he suddenly ran off at great speed. The bear and the wolf seized the parasol, the bag, and the boots, ran with them up the mountain and there met again with the fox. Now the lama returned completely exhausted, looked in vain for his belongings and finally mounted his horse with bare feet and completely dejected.

Then the fox said to the bear: "You bear! How glad your children would be with the parasol! Why don't you take it home with you!" And to the wolf the fox said: "You wolf! That you may be able to run better when you are chasing goats take these boots with you! Tie them firmly to your feet with strong laces then you will be able to run as fast as the wind and you will catch every goat." "And by the way, you bear! When you get to your children, open up the parasol! The children will enjoy that tremendously. Meanwhile I shall rest a little here and eat some flour porridge from the lama's bag."--"Yes, but after all we were supposed to go to the lion together first," his companions remonstrated. "Yes, yes, that's quite true," rejoined the fox, "but first why don't you just put the lama's boots on once and catch a goat as an experiment, you wolf! And you, bear! Why don't you first go to your children quickly with the parasol. You will see how much fun they are going to have with that thing."

Thereupon the two went off in good faith. The wolf tied the boots firmly to his feet. Soon thereafter he encountered a herd of goats and wanted to pounce on a goat. But the big heavy boots of the lama hindered him in running, the herders came to the spot and with their clubs they beat the wolf to death.

The bear came to his cave full of expectation, and with the parasol opened up he proudly marched to his children who jumped

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their fear they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the abyss they were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss. /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which

24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw
his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526]

25. A kind of hockey game.

free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 žo from the whole 584
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S.H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A.H. Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl	Oh, did you not see my companion?	533
	Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?	534
Second Girl	Your companion, I know her not,	
	Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.	
	There just passed by a maiden fair,	
	Her body was as of pure gold.	
/90/ First Girl	Oh, did you not see my companion?	
	Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?	
Second Girl	Your companion, I know her not,	
	Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.	
	There passed by a girl with hair so rich,	

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So full, like the leaves of the turquoise willow (51).

51. Which of the various types of willow that are to be found in the valleys of the Himalayas is meant, is impossible to tell. Perhaps one is to think of the "yellow willow" (lcan-ser) which has light green ("turquois-colored") leaves and yellow twigs.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your companion, I know not.
A maiden passed by, shining like the moon.
As it can shine only on the fifteenth (52).

52. Around the 15th of the month of the moon year, there is a full moon.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There went by a maiden with eyebrows so fine,
They looked like a double naro sign (53).

53. The sign of the Tibetan vowel O (called naro), is reminiscent in shape of eyebrows.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a maiden with teeth white as milk,
That did gleam like pearls.
First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There went by a maiden, her waist was slim
As the thunderbolt handle (54) of the bell so smooth.

54. The handle of the bell (dril-bu) used by the lamas at the

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunder- 533
bolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the 539
lama magicians.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling 000
parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward.

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55)

55. Tibetan t'ig-čan and nyen-čan. 584

After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank, and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 žo for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that 585
should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 431

the bridegroom. 585

The Nyaopas outside the gate and the Chirpon people in the yard now start a singing game, the mea[illegible]nd content of which is the following: The five Nyaopas com[illegible]y the bride in the name of the bridegroom's father. They claim to be the sons of god who have come from the realm of the gods on the high mountains, from the region of the glaciers. Their appearance arouses astonishment among the inhabitants of the house and their clan; for, as they believe, no one could escape from that realm which on all four "points of the compass" (above, below, to the right and to the left) is guarded by four female animals. The guards are: the white ice lion with the turquoise-colored mane (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can) above at the glacier; the little fish golden-eye (nya-mo gser-mig) below in the glacial brook; the wild queen of the birds (bya-rgyal rgod-mo) on the rock to the right; the giant striped tigress (rgya-stag k'ra-mo) in the sandal wood forest to the left. [776]

/80/ The people of the bride's house now jokingly put a long series of questions in the form of a song (63) to test the Nyaopas, which 585 533

63. The songs that now follow are taken from the collection Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/, collected by A. H. Francke, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, 1923. They have been translated by Francke from the Tibetan (Ladakh dialect), and Mrs. Paalzow has transposed them into their original meter. I am giving some of the songs in my translation. According to Francke some of the songs sung here represent a kind of catechism of the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans and give insights into the mythology and the cosmology of that period.

the latter answer by likewise singing a song. As soon as an answer is not made satisfactorily the gate is opened for just a moment from the inside, the boys and girls rush out and beat the Kalatse boys amid rough jokes. Then the Chirpon people withdraw again and lock the scarcely opened gate. The singing game begins. 585 533 539

The Chirpon people inside in the courtyard of the bride's house sing:

The Ice God closed off the three valleys

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[773]

High up above where the glacier lioness (64) lives,

64. The "white ice lioness with her turquoise-colored mane" (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can), a personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the goddess of heaven; she is one of the mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, which are there associated with the gods, just as /the "wild queen of the birds" and the other animals mentioned in note 65, which in the original text follows directly after note 64. --translator./

Dear guests, please tell us, how did you get through?
Thunderbolt rock is fenced off to the right
By the mountain where the Queen of the Birds (65) is on guard.

[773]

65. The "wild Queen of the Birds" (bya-rgyal rgod-mo), further the "giant, striped Tigress" (rgya-stag k'ra-bo), the (female) "Fish Golden-Eye" (k'yu-ru nya-mo--or--nay-mo gser-mig) and some others in verses 2, 3 and 4 /are all mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, as explained in the previous note./

Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
To the left in the sandal wood forest.
The Giant Tigress lies lurking;
Dear guests please tell us how you got through?
Down below three of the valleys are closed off
By the brook where little fish Golden-Eye snaps.
Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
Heroes from the Nine-stone Castle! (66)

66. The sense of this first line of the verse is difficult to grasp. It is not clear what is to be understood by the Nine-stone Castle /"Neunsteinburg"/. Perhaps it would be more correct to translate it as "You wanderers over the Nine-stones."

What has brought you into this land,
Into the midst of this village, tell?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is that not right, worthy friends?

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The Nyaopas answer from outside:

Over the Ice God's three valleys,
Over the Lioness' glacier body
We swung ourselves with a leap.
We mounted over blocks of ice
And crushed with our feet crusts of ice.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the right by the thunderbolt mountain,
Over the body of the Queen of the Birds

/Following page 80 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)"; the second showing "Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders." / /81/

We flew from rock to rock,
Stepped over stone rubble
And stepped on firm ground.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the left through the sandal wood mountain,
Over the colored hide of the tigress
We slipped from tree to tree,
Then we walked through the underbrush
And stepped on many bushes.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
In the lower three valleys
We swam through deep streams
Where the little fish Golden-Eye snaps,
We waded through rivers,
Then splashed through the little brooks
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.

Chorus of the people before the gate:

Is that all right, you mighty friends?

The Chirpon people in the yard go on asking:

Up there in the Ice God's highland valleys
The white Glacier Lioness stopped you.
Worthy guests, how did you get through?

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On the thunderbolt rock to the right
The talon of the Queen of the Birds seized you.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
To the left in the dense sandal wood mountain
The tigress' claw must have held you fast.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
In three deep valleys surrounded by streams
Little fish Golden-Eye must have drawn you down.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is it not so, you mighty friends?

The Nyaopas outside answer:

Threefold in the Ice God's highland plateaus
Did the Glacier Lioness hold us imprisoned in her claws.
/82/ On the nine suns' brothers' day
There melted in the ice a very fine crack--
As wide as a helmet--but we got through it.
To the right on the thunderbolt enclosed mountain
The Queen of the Birds would not let us go.
But once she moved to the side
And a stone the size of a die
Was loosened--we slipped through.
To the left on the sandal wood enclosed mountain
The Giant Tigress put us under her charm.
But the K'alpa's (67) fire was burning hotly.

67. K'alpa (bskal-pa) an era in Buddhistic cosmology.

It created for us a clearing no larger
Then the size of a turquoise. We slipped through it.
In three lower valleys surrounded by streams,
You say, a little fish Golden-Eye held us fast.
There came of winter moons three--
There sprang up a well the size of a knothole,
And we slipped through that.

The people of the Chirpon house: 585 533 539

The tune was good! /or, "The way (of doing) was good"/

Now the Nyaopas are given a number of riddles in the form of songs by the Chirpon people:

Who measures the heavens' space,
Who the ether's space? (68)

68. Here the dictating Tibetan has, I believe, erroneously dictated "dbyibs-kyi ajal" instead of "dbyins-kyi ajal," or else the copyist made a mistake. That latter version fits much better into the context, and so I translated it as in the first line.

Say, who did measure out
The span from East to West?
And who did measure out
The span from South to North?
Who may have plumbed the depth?
And who measured the height?
Say, who measured the glacier mountain?
Who the slate rock?
Who measured the A and Om (69)

69. A and Om--two mystical syllables much used in prayers and in invocations to the gods and to Buddha. They are supposed to possess secret divine powers. [789]

In their depth and content?
Who did measure out the plateau?
Who the lower valley?
/33/ Say, who took the village's measurement?
Who measured out the home and dwelling place?
And with what measure?
Who measured the inside and the outside world?
And with what measure?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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Heaven's space and ether's space
Are measured by sun and moon.
The sun, the screen of the throne, measures
East and West.
And the measurement of South and North
Is taken by the white moon.
Rainfall and damp dew
Measure height and depth
Glacier mountain and slate rock
Were measured by the Glacier Lioness.
The two syllables hum and pad (70)

[789] 70. hum and pad are two more magical syllables.

Measure A and Om.
Plateau as well as lower valley
Were measured by the chilly wind.
King and minister probably did measure
The castle and the village,
Home and dwelling place were measured for us
By our ancestors.
Seven brothers then did measure
Both inner and outer space.

The Chirpon people in the yard call out:

Good, you mighty friends!

Now the people in the yard sing the song of the Osier Switch (71):

71. With the osier switches the Nyaopas were beaten whenever they gave unsatisfactory answers.

The turquoise-colored switch in my hand,
Whose home is India,
Grew up in the heart of Tibet
And grew to be strong and firm at the Dogri (72).

72. Name of a mountain.

Behold the twig: it is of gold! 585
Its tip is green: it is turquoise (73). 533
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73. Compare not 51.

/84/ Indra, lord of the Gods, gave us
The command: Strike!
Gave with it the sacred prophet's word:
Sun and moon, to the two
Will be born a son,
Companion to the planets and the moon.
Banish evil tricks!
Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

This is the story of the staffs.

The Nyaopas answer:

Do not hit with birch or barberry!
Nor hit us with juniper wood!
If you knock in our hats
With one of those three woods,
You will pay for it a thousandfold.
If the body is injured,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If you break the earring,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If the saddle tears
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.

The people:

Quite right, mighty friends! Hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

This green osier switch
Here in my hand

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Covers with turquoise-green stem,
Green leaves, the land of man.
The lord of the world (74), the king, issued

74. The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is designated as the "lord of the world" (also of the three worlds); Indra, too, often receives this title.

The command: Strike with it!
And also gave the sacred prophet's word:
"Prince of the Middle Fort!
A son issues from you,
The companion of the planets and the stars."
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks!
/85/ Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

Chorus: Hail to you!
May happiness and well-being accompany you!

The Nyaopas:

Do not hit with mountain willow or sallow,
Nor with bramble which pricks us!
If you knock in our hats
With those three woods,
You will rue it a thousand times, and so forth.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Good luck and hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

The turquoise osier switch here in my hand,
Whose root is of shell, covers
Deep down the land of the nymphs.
"Strike them!" is the wish

Of the Queen of the Nymphs Lchokpoma Drossilchan (75) 585 533 539

75. Tibetan lcog-po-ma dros-sil-can, the "rocking, shade-supplying willow."

She also spoke the sacred prophet's word:
From the middle of the earth
There sprouts a nymph's son,
The village god is close to him. --
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks! and so forth.

Chorus: Om! Hail to you!

The Nyaopas:

Now, listen with your ears:
Neither walnut twig nor tamarisk,
Nor bramble take for beating!
If you hit with these three woods
And knock our hats in,
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

The people of the Chirpon house keep making attacks from the courtyard and beat down upon the Nyaopas with osier switches. /86/ But each time they are turned back with the assertion that the sticks are not of the right wood. They, the Nyaopas, are after all the sons of gods, and therefore they are only allowed to be beaten with twigs from the tree of the world which has it roots in the world of the nymphs (under the earth) and which grows through the earth (the realm of human beings) into the heavens (the world of the gods) (76).

76. According to the ancient, pre-Buddhistic cosmology.

The Chirpon again sally forth a number of times, on these occasions armed with different "woods": cooking spoons, soup ladles made of wood, wooden oven-rakes with charred tips, and the like, to the loud amusement of the crowd inside and outside.

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The Nyaopas sing: Fire hooks, black-nosed (77),

77. Oven-rakes (or pokers) made of wood, with a charred tip.

Soup and basting ladles? No!
If you knock our hats in
With those three woods
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

Since the Chirpon people cannot guess the right wood, the Nyaopas sing on:

There grows a wood with which one beats friends,
A magnificent, a supple wood,
From the tree which has one root only,
And which still bears three tall tops,
Tops--three, branches--six.

Bird Garuda (78)

78. Garuda (so it is in Sanskrit); Tibetan k'yun, mythical bird of the world of Buddhistic sagas, which is in the service of the gods of terror. It constantly fights against the hostile Nagas (snake gods). In pictures it is represented as a creature with a human body and with wings, human arms, a half human head with horns and a beak, bird's legs and a bird's tail. Often the Garuda has a snake in both hands and bites into it with its beak.

Sits on the first branch,
Without the nest
Or the gold egg breaking,
Or the bird being frightened.
Bring that branch to us!
Beat us with that twig!
Strike us with that wood!
Hit with this stick
And knock our hats in with it,

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You will never rue it.
/87/ If you injure our body
You will never rue it.
If the ear turquoise breaks
You will never pay for it.
If the saddle cloth tears
You will never pay for it.
On the second branch
King of the birds is enthroned (79).

79. Tibetan bya-rgyal rgod-po.

His turquoise egg
And his nest you must spare!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that branch!
Beat us with that wood!
Strike us with that stick!
Even if you do knock in
Our hats with that one
You will never rue it.
If the body is injured,
You will never regret it.
If the ear turquoise is broken
You will never regret it.
If the saddle cloth is torn,
You will never regret it.
On the third branch
Sits eagle White-head (80).

80. Tibetan go-bo glad dkar; the form ldad dkar in Francke's manuscript I consider to be a slip of the pen; it would not make any sense here; ldad-pa, meaning "to chew," does not fit into the context; on the other hand, glad, meaning "head," fits into it very well.

Do not harm his nest
Or his mother-of-pearl egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!

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Beat us with that rod!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
So that you knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it.
If the body is injured
You will never rue it.
If the earring is broken
/88/ You will never rue it.
If the saddle cloth is torn
You will never rue it.
On the fourth branch
Eagle White-neck (81) perches.

81. Tibetan glag-mo mk'al-dkar; the form in Francke's manuscript must likewise be a slip of the pen; mk'al-ma means "kidney" and does not fit into the context; I am substituting for mk'al the word mgul which means "neck" and thus I arrive at the translation "eagle White-neck."

Do not harm his nest
Nor his silver egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!
Beat us with that club!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
And knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it, and so on.
On the fifth branch
Perches the bird of the gods (82).

82. Lha-bya gon-mo I translate by "bird of the gods" (female).

Do not harm his nest
Nor his coral egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that staff! and so on.
On the sixth branch

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Perches White Falcon.
Do not harm his nest
Nor his iron egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that rod! and so on.

After a few more alternate songs in this style there follow a few more riddles in verse. The people of the Chirpon house say: "Oh, you, who have come hither in order to have the truth of words tested!"

Say, who seizes the wild yak by its horn?
Say, whose fist grasps the wild tiger?
Say, who might catch water with snares?
Say, who builds a castle out of loose sand?
/89/ Who wounds the water by a blow of his sword?
Tell us, which bird brings forth young?
Tell us, which animal of prey lays eggs?
Who follows the trace of the pair of rock-partridges (83) on the mountain?

83. Gon-sreg, the rock-partridge, "Haldenhuhn" (tetraogallus tibetanus). /I have been unable to find an English equivalent for for this word but assume it to be synonymous with the preceding Berghuhn and Felsenhuhn, Steinhuhn, etc. --translator./. Francke's translation here reads: "Name two rock-partridges whose traces lose themselves in the mountains"; but rjes gcod-pa means "to follow a trace" and I translate it accordingly.

Who sends the many-colored splendor to the North's grey mist? (84)

84. Francke's translation reads here: "Who orders the giant burden of the many-colored reed in the North?" I have arrived at a divergent translation, to which the answer, the solution to the riddle fits.

Say, who sews the mantle for the slate mountain?
Which bird has teeth growing to its pair of wings?
Say, to whom are we giving these riddles, who solves them?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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The wild yak's horn is forced
By the hero Mogchen rem-pa (85).

[773] 85. rMog-čen rem-pa, meaning "great, strong helmet." This, like the names in verses 2 and 3, are the names of mythical heroes of pre-history.

The hero A-p'o bstan-yan (86)

86. Ap'o bstan-yan. Ap'o means "father" in the dialect of Baltistan and Lower Ladakh; these heroes are designated by this title.

Seizes the tiger with his fist.
Only Jaksha źon-t'og (87)

87. Yag-śa źon t'og in Tibetan.

Catches water with a sling.
Only the swallow bird
Builds a castle out of loose sand.
Only the water itself (88)

88. Here probably the waterfall is meant.

Wounds the water with swords.
A bird that gives birth to young
Is the bat (89).

[825] 89. It should not surprise us that the bat is counted among the birds by the Tibetans when we consider that in German medieval books of natural history the bat was classified in the same species.

An animal of prey which lays eggs
Is the quick weasel (90).

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90. The assertion that the weasel lays eggs is to be explained

from the fact that this evil robber of nests is often seen with an egg in its mouth, which led to the erroneous conclusion. 585 533 539 [825]

And the "rock-partridge's trace" which runs along the mountains there:

They are veins in the rock (91).

91. Quartz vein in the slate cliff.

The crystal mistress who rules over a thousand colors the pale North

Is Bruguma (92)

92. aBru-gu-ma, the wife of the mythical king Kesar. The "colors of the North" seem to indicate the northern lights. [773]

The mantle for the large slate mountain
Is probably sewn by Vishvakarma, the heavenly smith (93).

93. The Hephaistos (Vulcan) of Hindu and Buddhist mythology is meant by this "heavenly smith."

Teeth in addition to its pair of wings
Has the bat in its mouth.
You people who are giving riddles and demanding a solution!
It will be necessary to take something away from you.

Chorus: G[illegible], Good, you mighty friends!
Om, hail to you!

/90/ After further examining questions in the form of a song there finally comes the following song as the concluding one, which is sung alternately:

The people of the Chirpon house are still singing with the gate locked:

Many a one is distinguished through his wisdom,
Many a one is so only by his birth
There are many who know nothing.

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Therefore it's important to test for oneself.
Where distinguished parentage is paired
With much wisdom, there it's good.
A high-born person needs nine-fold wisdom,
A low-born person--ninefold wisdom.
Do you come as friends from a noble tribe?
Are you only striving for the money-bag?
If you came as noble ones, you came as friends.
If you came as mean ones, you came for the sake of grain.
Did you come without force? Do you want to make friends?
There are three kinds of enemies,
Three kinds of friends.
Enumerate them, the three!

Chorus: Right!

The Nyaopas answer singing:

Three kinds of enemies there are:
The enemy who wishes sickness upon you,
The enemy full of jeolousy,
The enemy who avenges himself with blood. --
We come not as enemies,
We are friends to you.
Three kinds of friends there are:
God, the helper-friend (94),

94. Tibetan dkon-mčog skyabs-kyi gnyen.

The bond of love between parents,
Blood relationship.
These the three kinds.

Chorus: So it is good.

585 With this song, the nineteenth of the whole series (of which we here are only giving a few samples), the scene in front of the bride's house is ended (95). The bride's relatives and the tribe have been /91/

95. Sometimes there are further obstacles to be overcome by

585 Now the music is silent. The dance is at an end. The Nyaopas
533 go towards the tent. But still they may not give themselves over to
539 rest and enjoyment. The relatives of the bride go toward them and again a question and answer game in the form of a song starts up. The Nyaopas must pass another test before they may take their places in the row of guests. The people from the Chirpon house sing the Song of the Carpets (98).

98. From Ladakhi Songs by A. H. Francke, Leh, 1899. The translation of this song into German was done by the author of the present work.

Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high heavens be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high glacier be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high boulder be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
/96/ Might the high mountain lake be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might that high castle be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the wide earth be.
Who uses as carpet in this land
A saddle cloth with a blue edge?
Who for a carpet likes to use, you must tell me,
The wild sheep's brown fur?
Whom serves as carpet, tell me quick,
The meadow green and the forest thick?
Whose is that carpet? Whom do you think
This roll of cloth must serve?

The Nyaopas answer:

The high heavens so blue and clear
Must be the sun's (99) carpet and the moon's.

21 99. According to the astronomy of the Indians, Tibetans as well as of the Assyrians and Babylonians, sun and moon are

counted among the planets, and they are considered animate 821
divine beings which have an influence upon the fates of human beings and are worshipped as gods.

The glacier above is a carpet, I ween, 585
For the lion with the turquoise-colored mane. 533
The high rocks carpet are 539
For the large ibex quick as the wind.
The mountain lake blue as carpet may suffice
For the wife of the fish with the golden eyes.
The castle so high, so proud and so fine
Must the nobleman's carpet be.
The great earth's mighty spaces
Signify the Chinese Emperor's carpet.
In the saddle cloth with the blue edge
Agu Palle (100) his carpet found.

100. A-gu p'al-le, one of the 18 heroes of the Tibetan Kesar [773]
myth.

The brown fur of the wild sheep must be
Agu Khru btungs' (101) carpet, I suppose.

101. A-gu k'ru btuṅs, another of these heroes who has the head of a falcon.

The meadows and woods must be
A carpet for birds large and small.
This roll of cloth here? A carpet fine
For the seven (102) Nyaopa brothers it must be.

102. Seven Nyaopas may be active at a very large wedding.

The Chirpon people call out loud: "Good, you noble friends! 585
Now take your place and drink a little bowl of beer!" Finally /Following p. 96 there are two full-page illustrations, one of a "Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)"; the other of a "Bridegroom in Ladakh."/ /97/ the five "Nyaopa brothers" sit down on the carpet in the places appointed for them near the tent entrance, and then they are served with ample food and drink.

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women [562] go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking [273] men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-čaṅ). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

585 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man 533 from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that 539 secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

Not with your hand, lest it wither! 585
Oh, with your soul you must pick it well! 533
Into your heart you must lock it. 539

There now follows a series of songs about the origin of the reed (103) from which the lucky arrow (mda-dar) of the sNatridpa is

103. Here, one after the other, the things that play a part at the wedding, are celebrated in song: the carpet, the arrow that brings luck, the beer, and the like. These songs are taken from the manuscript collection Trinklieder mit den fünf Blumen /Drinking songs with the five flowers/. (me-tog lña-ldan-gyi čan-glu), collected by Prof. Dr. A.H. Francke. Their translation into German was done by the author of the present work.

made. Again they are alternate songs.

The people of the Chirpon house sing:

Where may the first reed have grown?
And where did the second reed grow?
Say, where did the third reed grow?

The people from Kalatse answer:

First reed grew in China,
Second reed grew in Tibet,
Third reed grew in India;

"The Chirpon people"

The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: How the first knot (of the reed) grew, who saw it?
How the second knot did grow, who saw it?
How the thrid knot did grow, who saw it?

The Dragshos people answer:

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[772]

Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'aṅ-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

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Chorus of bystanders:

Good!

The Chirpon people sing:

Did the reed grow out of rock? In the meadow?
Did it grow amid the boulder rubble? In the mud?

The Dragshos people:

Not on rocks grew the reed,
Nor meadow brought it forth,
Nor did it grow amid the rubble,
Gold with glowing brought it forth.

Now there follows a series of songs in which are elaborately described the finding of the reed, its transportation, the making and effect of the lucky arrow. We only give the latter:

The Chirpon people sing: (107)

107. Number 11 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high rock flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
What news may you have of that?

/100/ The Dragshos people:

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
It brought the wings of the king of the birds.
When the arrow to the high cliff flew,

It brought the ibex' muscle fibres (108).

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108. Here I translate "Muscle fibres from the shoulder blade of the great ibex and of the old cow"; Tibetan: "skyin-ĉen ba-rgan-gyi sogs-rgyus k'yoṅs"; "sogs" seems to me to be the more correct form since "gsogs" does not make any sense here and is probably a mistake which slipped in during the dictation. Prof. Francke translated the sentence: "The arrow brought something of the treasures of the old, great female ibex down with it."

When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
It brought muscle meat of the wild yak bull.
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
It brought glue from the little fish Khyu-ru.
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
It brought the tiger's muscle fibres.

Now, after a few other songs, there follows one in which the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma), who has brewed the beer for the guests, is made fun of (109).

109. Number 15 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/.

The people from Kalatse sing:

Old brewer woman, your beer tastes strange!
You old brewer woman! What an evil brew!
It tastes like the singed wings of the king of the birds,
It tastes like the singed horn of the wild yak bull,
It tastes like the singed veins of the vain peacock,
It tastes like the singed scales of the little fish Rhyuru,
It tastes like the singed nails of a wicked wench;
I taste, old woman, five of the vile things.
Away with this beer! Away, we won't drink it!

The Chirpon people and the inhabitants of Tingmogang answer:

Without cause you scorn the old woman's beer.

The power of the white lioness' heart is in it. 585
Her gall is mixed with it; 533
Sparrow's quarrelsomeness is also in it, 539
And some of its gall is also mixed with it.
See, hence comes the drinkers' desire for quarrel.
See also the sheep's stupidity in it,
For sheep's gall is also mixed with it.
Does your dullness not come from that?
If a noble person gifted with good sense
/101/ And of high rank should come--we should invite him to the chang.
The Nyaopa brothers, too, the seven (110), we invite.

110. Compare not 102.

To a weakling we serve no beer.
If a noble person drinks it, it turns into life's elixir (111),

111. The life's elixir, really devil's elixir (Tibetan bdud-rtsi; Sanskrit amrita) plays an important part in the magical literature (Tantra) and in popular belief. Gods and men fight for this precious material which confers immortality, or at least a long life and magical powers. [789]

To the mean person it only works as a stupefier.

The people:

"Good, you noble gentlemen!"

Again the people from Kalatse sing:

Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the sky!
If the sky takes it, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up the rocks!
If it runs up the rock, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the glacier!
If a piece of ice so much as the size of a mirror (112) should melt, we'll drink.

112. A small, round metal hand mirror, the size of a serving

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plate.

Such beer one does not drink. Scatter it to the earth only!
If a picture (113) should arise, we would drink the beer.

[787]

113. A figure which is formed on the ground by the beer that has been poured out, by means of which one is supposed to foretell the future.

Such beer one does not drink. Just pour it into the water!
If a tress is braided there (114), we shall drink beer.

114. This refers to the ruffling of the surface of the water when something is poured on to it.

The Chirpon people answer:

Who in the sky takes the beer except sun and moon?
Sun and moon, those two you certainly do not resemble.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Who runs up the cliff? The old she-ibex it is (115),

115. The she-ibex /Steinziege/--the female of the ibex /Steinbock/ (Capra sibirica).

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
The size of a mirror a spot melted through sun and moon,
Do not worry! You do not resemble them.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Pictures on the earth are drawn by the black yak (116).

116. The yak's track on the earth is meant.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Little fish Golden Eye alone braids tresses in the water (117).

117. The ruffled course of the fish that swims at the surface of the water.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
Waste no words! Offer a draught! 533
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside. 585

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made 585 302 585 301

118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails. [825]

of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

787 still in the country." In answer to the Wasir's question when the stolen goods would be found, there came the answer: "We know it not." After about a month the thief was apprehended. He was a native Indian soldier from the small garrison of the Dogra fort near Leh. The stolen goods were also found in a hideaway. The two Lhapas each received ten rupees from the Wasir as reward.

792 Namgyal returned to Kalatse richer by one experience. His fellow villagers received him with jubilation and many presents. They were all honestly overjoyed at his release from the claws of the hated Gobinath. The lama from the Break-leg house preferred not to show himself openly in Kalatse for a whole year long, although as a village priest he was responsible for the health of souls of the village inhabitants. His relatives--he also had a wife, like the majority of his "red" brothers in the order who had dropped celibacy--he had told that he was now "urgently needed" in the monastery. In his place a small, gentle little monk moved into his hermitage, who performed his office to the satisfaction of the villagers, because in his demands for the ceremonies to which he had been ordered, he kept strictly to the regulations, and because he did not practise usury.

539 The T'selen (Messenger of Death) Comes

The Song of Death

'Human form you attain
With difficulty like rare lotus.
Therefore leave your laughter!
Follow sacred law!
You indulge in your pleasure,
You think not of dying--
And suddenly death hunts you
From behind, he seizes you.
As the wolf strikes the sheep,
The god of death grips you.
Therefore think in solitude,
Do penance in the desert!
/200/ Wealth leads to vice,
Offers you up to hell.
Unchaste, loving women,
You only look for yourself.

Quiet, well-behaved, you should
Only look up to heaven.
Clearly recognize the mirage!
You believers, consider
The fruits of your deeds,
Weighing good and evil!
If you always do what's right
You shall never be deceived.

From "Courtly Songs" (of the Tibetans),
Number 35. Edited by A.H. Francke.

There now followed for Namgyal a few quiet weeks in Kalatse during which he took care of his last autumn labors. During the evening hours he now visited the missionary even more frequently, in order to converse with him about the t'arlam, the way to salvation, a topic of conversation which occupied him strongly in recent times and which left him no rest. He came increasingly more to the conviction that the "way of Jesus" was the only right one, which led to inner freedom and with it to genuine happiness. In recent times it happened more frequently that, as he was coming home from the Brother, there was a radiance in his expression, as though he had experienced something great. Even his relatives noticed this, and they were unable to explain it to themselves.

During this time, Namgyal one day set out on his way to Domkhar. There he was going to help a relative who had suffered particularly great damage from the floods in the spring, in reclaiming his fields and in rebuilding his mill that had been left high and dry. His stay was only designed to last for half a month. Nevertheless his departure from wife and children was particularly difficult for the Dragshos this time. He could not explain why. He took his youngest child, the little Rinchen Stobsgyas, in his arms, called him the apple of his eye (migbras) and kissed him. "Lamla k'adar dzad! Brtan-po skyod, Gaga!" (Take care of yourself on the way! Look out when you walk, master!), his wife Chosskyid admonished her spouse lovingly and with /201/ accustomed reverence. Then Namgyal mounted his horse, a young, fiery stallion from Sangskar, an animal with "sinews like steel and hoofs like iron." As soon as it felt the reins, the animal immediately started out at a steady amble. The way followed at first the trading route from Leh to Srinagar and went close by the farmstead

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 797 782 539

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

T D 539

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

T D 174 527 796

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchôd rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

T D 174 533

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

T D 174

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

10: Francke AM-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

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SOME time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Késar-Myths of Western Tibet.** The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladákhis** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet.** I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

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The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by the **leader of the Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin,** who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan,** and of other Ladákhis, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

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It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that **the four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist literature (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

[1] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in *Qor.* vi. 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf. S.* xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all those passages as Medinian. [FOOTNOTE DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THIS ARTICLE.--ANALYST]

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585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship. Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the Bon Religion, yungdrung 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

104 821 [773] It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *yyungdrung*, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima, occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name Khyung dkrung may have degenerated to become *yyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:—(1) a word *yyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *yyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *yyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *y* of *yyung* and *yyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *yyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *yyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卐 *sû* and 卐 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.

a

b

779 821 797 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *yyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

[See source No 10 in Tibetans AJ4 -- AJ4 ...]

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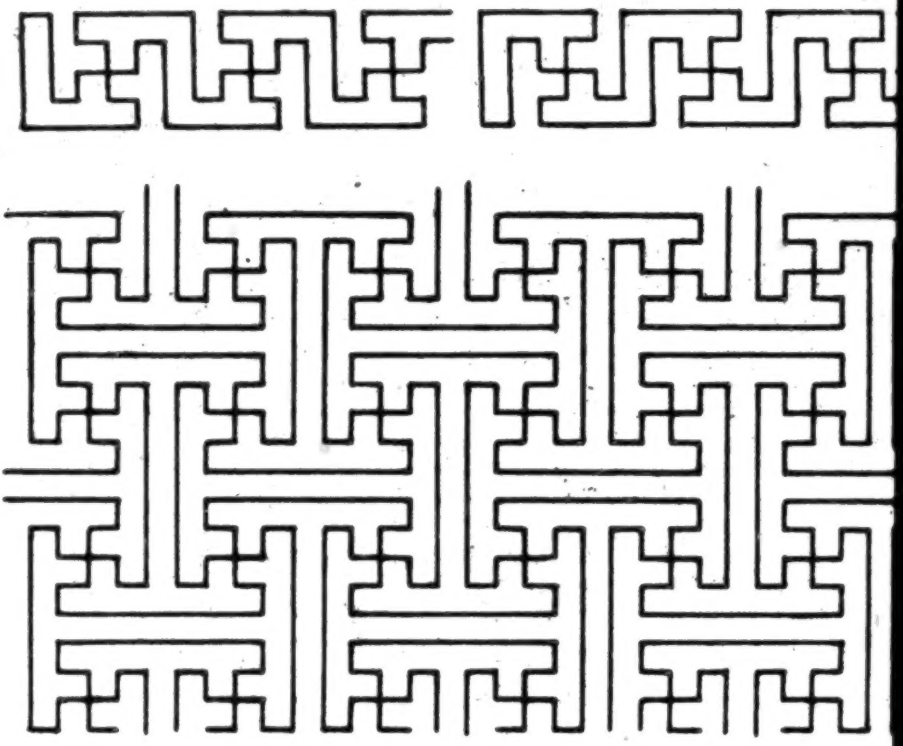
In the drawings below showing the *yyundrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.



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However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *yyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *swastika*.

The *yyungdrung* is thought to be of great importance at the wedding ceremony, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *yyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

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bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcessi glu'i[2] dpecha yin.	This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the Nyopas, when the bride is given.

[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.
[2] *A chungba* is indicated by an apostrophe.

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om bkrashispar gyurcig, bkrashis bdeblags dang ldanpar gyurcig.

Om, may you be blessed! May the blessing come unto you speedily!

nangmas btang 'adug.

The people of the house say:

A.

I. A. 1. duba sngonmo de stengdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

I. A. 1. That blue smoke, Rising upwards, what does it mean?

2. duba sngonmo de bardu rgyugpa ci'i don.

2. The blue smoke, Hanging over the ground, what does it mean?

3. duba sngonmo de 'ogtu rgyugpa ci'i don.

3. The blue smoke, Falling to the ground, what does it mean?

4. duba sngonmo de sharla rgyugpa ci'i don.

4. The blue smoke, Spreading towards East, what does it mean?

5. duba sngonmo de lhorn rgyugpa ci'i don.

5. The blue smoke, Spreading towards South, what does it mean?

6. duba sngonmo de byangdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

6. The blue smoke, Spreading towards North, what does it mean?

7. duba sngonmo de nubtu rgyugpa ci'i don.

7. The blue smoke, Spreading towards West, what does it mean?

8. duba sngonmo de mkhardu rgyugpa ci'i don.

8. The blue smoke, Rising to the castle, what does it mean?

9. duba sngonmo de yulla rgyugpa ci'i don.

9. The blue smoke, Spreading over the country, what does it mean?

10. duba sngonmo de grongdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

10. The blue smoke, Spreading over the village, what does it mean?

B.

I. B. phyimas landu.

1. duba sngonmo de
stengdu rgyugpa de
lhai dbangpo rgya bshinla rgolba
ma zhus sam

bsangshug phulba'i don.

2. duba sngonmo de
bardu rgyugpa de
btsan ama skyabs bdunla rgolba
ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

I. B. People outside [the *Nyopas*] answer:

1. The blue smoke
Rises upwards,
I think, that the Lord of Heaven, dBangpo rgyabshin's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

2. The blue smoke,
Is hanging over the earth,
I think, that the Earth-Mother, skyabsbdun's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to her.

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3. duba sngonma de
'ogtu rgyugpa de
klungyal lcogpola rgolba ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

3. The blue smoke
Is falling to the ground,
I think, that the Water-King, lCogpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

4. duba sngonmo de
shardu rgyugpa de
shar rdorje sems dp'ala rgolba ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

4. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards East,
I think, that the eastern rDorje sems dp'a's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

5. duba sngonmo de
lhoru rgyugpa de
lho rinchen byung ldanla rgolba ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

5. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards South,
I think, that the southern Rinchen byungldan's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

6. duba sngonmo de
byangdu rgyugpa de
byang donyod grubpala rgolb ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

6. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards North,
I think, that the northern Donyodgrubpa's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

7. duba sngonmo de
nubtu rgyugpa de
nub snangba mth'ayasla rgolba ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

7. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards West,
I think, that the western sNangba mthaya's' anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

8. duba sngonmo de
mkhardu rgyugpa de
rtselha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
beang shug phulba'i don.

8. The blue smoke
Is rising to the castle,
I think, that rTselha snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

9. duba sngonmo de
yulla rgyugpa de
yulthsa snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
beang shug phulba'i don.

9. The blue smoke
Is spreading over the country,
I think, that Yulthsa snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

10. duba sngonmo de
grongla rgyugpa de

phalha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
beang shug phulba'i don.

10. The blue smoke
Is spreading over the peasants' [houses],
I think, that Phalha snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering 'o him.

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Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om ṭhrashispar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally : it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kesar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje semsdp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathangyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean: — 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthsa*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[1]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate[2]) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kesar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thsa* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. theathsa*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.
1. phurn yar ɣzigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say:
1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

1 [Cf. pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

2 [Cf. pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

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2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang
γy'a chu khral khrol de

su dang ganggi chang.

3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang
γtsang chab sngonmo de
su dang ganggi chang.

4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang
chamig kyal kyil de
su dang ganggi chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chabrkyan nangdu

yang dkar naskyi chang
su dang ganggi chang.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones.
What and whose beer is it!

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head
The beer [made] of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

B.

Nyopas landu.

II. B. 1. phuru yar γzigs 'ang

gangs chu dkarpo de
dar sing γsoba'i chang.

2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang
γy'a chu khral khrol de

shaphran γsoba'i chang.

3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang
γtsang chab sngonmo de
nyaphran γsoba'i chang.

4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang
chamig kyal kyil de
ma zhing γsoba'i chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chab rkyanla

yang dkar naskyi khuba de
nyo 'am spun bdungyi chang.

The *Nyopas* answer:

II. B. 1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer, nourishing the ice-lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer, nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water
Is the beer, nourishing the little fishes.

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there
Are the beer, nourishing the mother-fields.

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The fluid [made] of white barley
Is the beer of the *Nyopas* or the seven brethren.

Notes.

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A. 2. *γyachu*, this word is used here, so people tell me, for water with stones, not for stagnant water, *khralkhrol*, noisy. 4. *kyalkyil* scattered about. 5. *ma*, mother, used for everything large, here the large jar.

B. 4. *ma zhing*, motherfield, a very fertile field. Instead of *kyalkyil-parpur* is also used in the same sense.

A. 5. The mouth of the jar is formed like a snake's head. B. 1. The ice-lion with the blue locks [or mane] was originally the glacier itself, later on it developed into a fabulous being, which was thought to live there. 5. The number of the *Nyopas* ought to be seven.

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Song No. III.

A.

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III. A. snyan ɣsanpar mdzodcig.

1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

7. ɣshis dang ɣnaskyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

III. A. Now listen with your ears!

1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms [plants, animals],
By whom and how was it created?

2. The existence of East and West,
By whom and how was it created?

3. The existence of South and North,
By whom and how was it created?

4. The existence of height and depth,
By whom and how was it created?

5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley,
By whom and how was it created?

6. The existence of castle and village,
By whom and how was it created?

7. The existence of hearth and home,
By whom and how was it created?

8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside,
By whom and how was it created?

B.

phyimas landu.

III. B. 1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de
nyi zla ɣnyiskyis byas.

2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de
khri ɣdugs nyimas byas.

3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de
zla mthsan dkarpos byas

The Nyopas answer:

III. B. 1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms
Was created by sun and moon.

2. The existence of East and West
Was created by the sun, the umbrella of the throne.

3. The existence of South and North
Was created by the Moon, the whitener of the night.

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4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de
shang char silbus byas.

5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de
skyesor[3] rlungpos byas.

6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de
rgyal dang blongyis byas.

7. yzhis dang ynaskyi mjalthsul de
ynyendrung rnamskyis byas.

8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de
nyo'am spun bdungyis byas.

4. The existence of height and depth
Was created by the dewy soaking rain.

5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley
Was created by *skyesor*, the wind.

6. The existence of castle and village
Was created by the king and the ministers.

7. The existence of hearth and home
Was created by you, our friends.

8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside,
Was created by the *Nyopas*, the seven brethren.

Notes.

539 In the original *mjalthso* is given instead of *mjalthsul*, which is unintelligible. See more
585 examples for elision of *l* at the end of a syllable in my *Ladákhí Grammar*, laws of sound 4.
104 *dbyibs* is a word, not so easily understood, two kinds of *dbyibs* are mentioned in XIII., they
773 are *sammkha*, sky, heaven, and *chos*, religion. B. 5. *skyesor*, name of the wind god. May be either *skyesar*, the reborn one, see Kẹsar-Myth, or *skyesbeer*, producer of coolness.

A. 8. This question refers to the scene created by the arrival of the *Nyopas*. B. 2. The sun is often called an umbrella on account of his circular shape. 3. Though the moon as representative of the night can be made to account for the North, it is difficult to see her relation to the South.

B. 4. Perhaps on account of the fact, that clouds show great varieties of altitude. 5. A strong draught is felt in every valley.

Song No. IV.

A.

539 byonrabs yin.

IV. A. 1. 'adir byon rnams shargyi glingnas yongstsana
585 shar phyogs rgyalpo suzhig bshugs
773 bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

2. lhoyi phyogsnas yongstsana
lho phyogs rgyalpo su zhig bshugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

This is about the origin [of the *Nyopas*].

IV. A. 1. When you came here from the eastern country,
Who was king there in the East?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

2. When you came here from the southern country,
Who was king there in the South?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

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[3] Having been questioned meanwhile by Regierungsrat Dr. E. Schlagintweit about the equation *Kesar* = *skyesar*, I wish to state the following facts: This equation was not worked out by myself, but received ready made from the natives, who explain the name in this way. According to a letter from Rev. Fr. Peter, Kyelang, the popular pronunciation of the same name is *Kyesar* in Laboul. In a collection of popular songs which I received from Phyang three days ago, the king's name is invariably spelled *Kyesar*. In Leh ordinary people pronounce the name *Kesar*, but educated people, who know the myths from the epos, pronounce it *Gesar*. All the changes from *Kyesar* to *Gesar* can be accounted for, see my *Ladákhí Grammar*, Introduction, *Kyirma* = *girma*.

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3. kyed rnams nubkyi glingnas yongstsana
nubphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

3. When you came here from the Western country,
Who was king there in the West?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

4. kyed rnams byanggi glingnas yongstsana
byangphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

4. When you came here from the northern country,
Who was king there in the North?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

B.

phimas landu.

The Nyopas answer:

IV. B. 1. ngacag nyebo rnams sharyyi glingnas yongstsana
sharphyogs rgyalpo yul 'akhor srung
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
sharna khri ydugs nyima mchis
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

IV. B. 1. When we came here from the eastern country,
Yul 'akhor srung was king there in the East.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.
In the East there dwells the sun, the umbrella of the throne,
If you want to hear some news, ask him!

2. nga nyebo lhoyi glingnas yongstsana
lho phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
lhona 'abru sna 'adzommo dg'a
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

2. When we came here from the southern country,
'aPhagsakyed was king there in the South.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.
In the South they enjoy all kinds of grain,
If you wish to hear some news, ask that!

3. nga nyebo nubkhyi glingnas yongstsana
nub phyogs rgyalpo spyan mig bzang bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar
dyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
nubna sman sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

3. When we came here from the western country,
sPyanmig bzang was king there in the West.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.
In the West there are all kinds of medicines.
If you wish to hear some news, ask them!

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4. ngacag nyebo rnams byanggi glingnas byongstsana
byang phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
byangna theos sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* *cis da*, ought to be spelt according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda*, *mda* (or perhaps *'ada*) meaning 'about.' The names of the kings mean B. 1. protector of the country. 2 and 4. the high-born one. 3. good eye. Very likely the original name of 4 had been lost and that of 2 was inserted instead. Each verse may also have a seventh concluding line: *ngacag nyebo rnamsla skadcha bshadrgyu med*, we friends do not know any news; *'adzommo* = *'adzompo*, plentiful. Instead of *bdelegs* the original has *bdelags*.

4. When we came here from the northern country,
'aPhagsakyed was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.

In the North there are all kinds of dyes.
If you wish to hear some news, ask them.

Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* White is the colour of the lha's and of all good things. B. As regards the products of the different countries, they are mentioned in about the same manner in *Ladakhi Songs* No. XV. Harvest festival at Skyurbuchan. They are perhaps more of a practical than of a mythological interest.

The three names, given in this song, do not seem to be of Tibetan origin. They are probably the Tibetan names of the Indian *lokapâlas*. Though there can be no doubt as to the pre-buddhist origin of this song as a whole, the names of the kings may be later Lamaist interpolations. I am rather inclined to believe, that an ancient version of this song had the names of those kings, who actually reigned in the respective regions many years ago. In this connection it may be added, that in Song No. X., where the four points of the compass come in again, actual geographical kingdoms, for instance China and India, are mentioned. Regarding the names, given in IV., compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 181; *spyanmig bzang*, instead of *mig mi bzang*, is probably a corruption, as it does not correspond to the Indian *virûpâksha*.

Song No. V.

A.

berrabs yin.
phyimas.
V. A. 1. shing stagpa skyerpa shugpa ysum
2. de ysum shing dang ma rdungshig

This is about the sticks.
The Nyopas say:—
V. A. 1. The birch, the alp-willow and the cedar,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

[1] [cf. pp 139 and 149 category 116 -- Analyst]

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3. de yum shing dang rdung-serna	3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. luskyi phe raina pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. snyangyi yyu 'achagna yyu 'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!
lega bsams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

B.

nangmas landu	People of the house say:—
V. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing yyu leang ldempa 'adi	V. B. 1. This elastic stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. 'akhrungna rgyagar yuldu 'akhrungs	2. Arose in India, its birth-place.
3. thsarna bodyul dbusu thsar	3. It grew in dBus in Tibet, its growing place.
4. lengstod serpo yserla yod	4. Its flexible yellow upper half looks like gold.
5. rtsemo sngonmo yyula byas	5. Its blue tip was made of turquoise.
6. lhayi dbangpo rgya bhinnas	6. By the king of the gods, rGya bhin,
7. leags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	7. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
8. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig ynang zerna	8. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
9. nyi zlai bushig 'abrangs	9. 'A son of sun and moon may follow [you]!
10. zla skar mdundu mchis	10. The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
11. don ngan phugsu 'akhrugs	11. Bad speech ought to be blamed.
12. phu ngan duba che	12. If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
13. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	13. A bad guest be far away!'
14. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob	14. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks.
15. nam bz'a rincangyi ldurcig phob.	15. Beat them on their costly dress!

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Notes. [1]

A. 4. *ldem*, said to be the golden hat of the Nyopas, is called *ldem* either on account of its stiff shape or because of its being an emblem (allegory) of the sun. As will have been noticed in the preceding songs, the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun god. 5. *phe* = *phys*, perf. tense, of *'abyedpa*, to open, thus 'if you beat an opening of the body, "a wound,' the verb being used as a noun.

B. 3. *thesras*, finishing place, when applied to men, it is the country, where maturity is attained. 4. *yserla yod*, it belongs to gold. 5. *yyula byas*, it was made [turned] into turquoise. 9. *'abrangs* = *'abrengs*, imperative tense. 10. instead of *sdundu* the original has *dondu*, instead of *sschis* it has *ches* and *che*; the same must be said of *sschis* in B. 13. *sumba'a* Ladakhi for *saba'a*. *ldar* perhaps the same as *ldar ldar* in Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Notes. [1]

Because at the end of each verse in IV. the Nyopas failed to give a satisfactory account of the four countries, this is taken as a sufficient cause to beat them. For their defence they recite V. A., VI. A., and VII. A., and find fault with the sticks. On the other hand the bride's party praise their sticks as having been approved of by the king of heaven V. B., a king of the earth VI. B., and the king of the underworld [waters] in VII. B.

B. 9 and 10 is said to refer to the procession of the wedding party.

Song No. VI.

A.

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phyimas.

VI. A. 1. shing grama glangma lcangma yzum
2. de yzum shing dang ma rdung-shig
3. de yzum shing dang rdung serna
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len
6. snyangyi yyu 'achagna yyu 'achag stong dang len
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.

legs beams dbanggi nyebo.

The Nyopas say:—

VI. A. 1. The furze, the hill willow and the house willow,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood.
4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold!
7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

Well thought, you mighty friends!

B.

nangmas landu

VI. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing yyu lcang sngonpoi
2. skyedpa sngonpo yyula byas
3. lo 'adab 'adzamgling mi yul khyab

People of the house answer:—

VI. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. The blue middle was made of turquoise.
3. The leaves of the tree cover all 'aDzamgling the country of men.

[1] [illegible]

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4. rje sabdag rgyalpo bshinnas	4. By the king, the owner and lord of the earth
5. leags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig.	5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig ynang zerna	6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. rgyalpoi bu zhig 'abrangs	7. 'A son of the king may follow [you]!
8. zhaskar mdundu mchis	8. The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
9. don ngan phugsu 'akhrugs	9. Bad speech ought to be blamed,
10. phe ngan dubo che	10. If [the fire] is badly blown there is much smoke.
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. rinchen dbyangpas char cig phob	12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. nam ba'a rincangyi ldar cig phob.	13. Beat them on their costly dress.

Notes. [1]

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In B. two lines seem to have been lost, because for all the rest this song is in conformity with V. B. or perhaps V. B. 2, 3 are later additions. In 4 the king is mentioned as representative of the earth, an older version may have had Mother skyabs bdun, compare Song No. I. B. 2, *ante*, p. 134.

B. 3. 'aDzangling or 'aDzambugling, comprised originally Tibet and India, later on all Asia or the whole earth, in the latter sense it is to be taken here. It is the Indian *Jambudvipa*.

Song No. VII.

A.

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phyimas	The Nyopas say:—
VII. A. 1. shing starbu 'umbu thsarbu yzum	VII. A. 1. The walnut-tree, the tamarisk and the thorn,
2. de yzum shing dang ma rdung-shig	2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. de yzum shing dang rdung serna	3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. lsakyi phe rahna pheral stong dang len	5. Harting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. snyangyi yyu 'achagna yyu 'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

B.

nangmas	People of the house say:—
VII. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing yyu lcang sngonpoi	VII. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,

[1] [Cf. p. 143 category 116 -- Analyst]

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2. rtsaba dkarpo dungla byas.	2. The white root was made of a shell.
3. sbathag 'og phyogs kluyul khyab	3. The roots [of the tree] cover all the lower underworld.
4. klurgyal lcogpo m'a gros zilchen-nas	4. By the wise and glorious lCogpo, King of the Underworld,
5. lcage rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig ynang zerna	6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. klu phranbu zhig 'abrangs	7. 'A young kLu may follow [you]!
8. yul thea mdundu mchis	8. The village idol may be before [you]!
9. don ngan phugsu 'akhrugs	9. Bad speech ought to be blamed.
10. phu ngan duba che	10. If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob.	12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. namba'a rincangyi ldur cig phob.	13. Beat them on their costly dress!

Notes. [1]

VII. A. 1. 'umbu = 'ombu, tamarisk. B. 7 *phrau* is generally used only of young animals. In 11 the original has *song*, go, instead of *mchis*, be. This fact is perhaps the best justification for my putting *mchis* in the place of *che* and *ches* of the original.

Notes. [2]

If we look at V. B. 4, VI. B. 2, and VII. B. 2, we see, that the stick of the turquoise willow is identified with the tree of the world, which we find in so many mythologies. The roots of this tree cover the underworld, VII. B. 3, the leaves cover the earth VI. B. 3, and the top reaches *stanglha*.

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Song No. VIII.

A.

phyimas	The Nyopas say:—
VIII. A. 1. skyaba zanthsan dang 'ulu thsigs bcad dang yogpa snanag dang	VIII. A. 1. The soup-spoon, the gravy-spoon and the black-nosed poker,
2. de ysum shing dang ma rdung-shig	2. With these three sticks do not beat us!
3. de ysum shing dang rdung zerna	3. If you beat us with these three sticks,
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. synangyi yyu 'achagna yyu'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

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[1] [cf. p. 144, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [cf. pp 142 and 143, category 118 -- Analyst]

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B.

nangmas lan ma shespas yang phyimas	Because the people of the house do not know what to answer, the Nyopas say
VIII. B. 1. nged nyebo rnamsla rdungbai shing zhig yod	VIII. B. 1. A wood to beat us, friends, does exist.
shing hala ldempai shing zhig yod	It is a wonderfully elastic wood,
shing hula ldempai shing zhig yod	It is a marvellously elastic wood.
shing rtsaba ɣcigla rtsemo ɣsum	There is a tree, the root of which has three stems.
rtsemo ɣsumla yalga drug.	These three stems have [together] six boughs.
2. yalga dangporu	2. On the first bough
bya chen khyunggi thsangs	There is the nest of the huge bird khyung.
ɣser sgong ma beagpa	Not breaking the golden egg,
bya thsangs ma bshigpa	Not destroying the bird's nest,
bya de ma 'agrogspa	Not frightening the bird,
shing de snamnas byon	Take a stick and come !
de dang rdung mdzod cig	With this stick do beat us !
de dang rgyob mdzod cig	With this stick do whip us !
de dang rdung mdzodna	If you beat us with this stick,
mgoyi ldem 'achagnayang	Breaking our helmets,
ldem 'achag stong medd	You need not return them a thousandfold.
luskyi phe ralna	Hurting our body,
pheral stong meddo	We shall not return it a thousandfold.
snyangyi ɣyu 'achagnayang	Breaking our earrings,
ɣyu 'achag stong meddo	You need not return them a thousandfold.
'oggi sga 'achagnayang	Breaking our saddles,
sga 'achag stong yang med.	You need not return them a thousandfold !
3. yalga ɣnyisparu	3. On the second bough
byargyal rgodpoi thsangs	There is the nest of the wild eagle.
ɣyu sgong ma beagpa	Not breaking the turquoise egg,
bya de ma 'agrogspa	Not frightening the bird,
bya thsangs ma bshigpa	Not destroying the bird's nest,
shing de snamnas byon	Take a stick and come !
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.* (see v. 2).	With this stick do beat us ! *etc* (see 2).

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4. yalga ysumparu
mgobo ldad dkar thsangs

dung sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas slog
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

5. yalga bshiparu
glagmo mkhal dkar thsangs

dngul sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

6. yalga lngaparu
ribya gongmoi thsangs

byur sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

7. yalga drugparu
khraskya dkarmoi thsangs

lcags sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agropspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

Notes. 1/A

A. 1. The expressions given here are colloquial Lower Ladakhi for soup-spoon, tablespoon and poker. B. 1. *hala* = *halas*, *hula* the same as *hala*, *rtsemo* means originally 'top.' 2. *sgong* = *sgonga*, egg. The termination *pa* in *bcagpa*, *bshigpa* and *'agrogspa* is Ladakhi for *par*, the supine being used here in a gerundial sense. 5. *mkhal dkar*, white kidney, *i. e.*, the feathers over the kidney are white. 6. *ribya*, another name of the same bird is *lhabya*.

1/A [cf pp. 145 and 146, category 116 -- Analyst]

4. On the third bough
There is the nest of the bird 'white head.'
Not breaking the pearl-white egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

5. On the fourth bough
There is the nest of the eagle 'white kidney.'
Not breaking the silver egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

6. On the fifth bough
There is the nest of the snow partridge.
Not breaking the coral egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

7. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

Notes. 1/A

This song seems to contain a further description of the tree of the world. It is remarkable that the tree of the world is said to have six boughs, for I have not yet met with the number six in other books relating to Bonpa mythology. In this connection I should like to mention that according to the *Edda* there are six animals (a goat and five stags) feeding on the leaves of the tree of the world, and that the *Edda* (not *Simrock*) speaks of six worlds.

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Song No. IX.

A.

IX. A. 1. khyed nyebo me ma khrul	IX. A. 1. Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down!
2. da nang yongba gangnas yongs	2. Now, you, who enter, from where do you come?
3. 'agroba nyidcag gangdu 'agro	3. Then, where will you go to?
4. sdodpai bde lce gangna yod	4. Where will you be pleased to sit down?
5. dgospai skudon sala yod	5. For whose sake do you come?
6. yshungyul 'adiru cila byon.	6. Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

B.

phyimas.	The Nyopas say:—
IX. B. 1. yong da ngasha sharphyogs bdecben glingnas yongs.	IX. B. 1. We come from a happy country in the East,
2. 'agro da ngazha nubphyogs urgyan glingdu 'agro	2. We go to the country of the paradise in the West.
3. sdodpai bdelce de sa ynas 'adina yod	3. We shall be pleased to sit down here.
4. dgospai skudon ni yshungyul 'adina yod,	4. Our aim is here in the middle of village.
lega beams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

Notes.

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A. 1. *me ma khrul*, do not let the fire fall down, proverbial expression, for 'do not break down now, show your ingenuity!' 4. The original has *sala* instead of *gangna*, the lines 4 and 5 having been confounded. B. 2. **urgyan**, here in Lower Ladakh is understood to mean either **Padmasambhava** or the '**Western Paradise.**' 1 and 2 again show, plainly, that the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun,

Notes.

This song IX. is generally the conclusion of the scene before the house, the Nyopas are invited to enter and tell the name of the girl. Then the bridal party, the Nyopas and the whole village sit down for a great feast, when the **Chang glu** (the continuation of the wedding song, given above) is sung. On the following morning a Buddhist Lama appears and reads a scripture portion from an orthodox Buddhist book. People tell me that he may read anything, he likes, because neither the Lama nor the bride are able to grasp the meaning, and the chief thing is the correct pronunciation. Then the bride and the Nyopas mount their horses and ride to the house of the bridegroom, where another feast is given.

Conclusion.

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Having thus arrived at the end of the first intelligible half of the wedding ritual, it will be as well to add a few words about the other less intelligible half, though the latter is not yet ready for publication. After a study of the verses contained in it, which can be understood fairly well, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called **second half of the ritual** is not the continuation of the first; but a composition apart. It is in reality a **new ritual dating from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh**, and is an attempt to replace the ancient Bonpa ritual by another, which, though not entirely Lamaist, tries to introduce Buddhist ideas by placing them side by side with Bonpa ideas. That this

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compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kêsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern **Lôka, pâla-Donyodgrubpa** could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kêsar-Myths we learn, that **Kêsar**, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called **Dongrub**, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the **Lôkapâla** of the north (i. e., the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? **Donyodgrubpa** means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name **Dongrub** was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other **Lôkapâlas**. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero **Kêsar**, before his entering into action,' is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kêsar?

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Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v sredneverchnem jevropejskim epose*. Moskau, 1899.

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A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

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BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Beegah, 52, i.
Bighā; *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i, twice.
Bihar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihār; *s. v.* Comotay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisnt; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijalár; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bijapār; *s. v.* Sahaie, 851, ii.
Bijāpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijápúr; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Coupetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bijāpūr; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremaluco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Narsinga, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 158, ii.

[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the Globus, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wundermärchen*.

4 [Material pertains to a different article --ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

seemed that the firmament would burst. They hung low, scraping the peaks. All was quiet except the roar of the Bhaga below me. 000

I lay there for perhaps an hour, absorbing the quiet beauty of the scene, when I heard music. It was a woman's voice, and it came from the trail a hundred yards or so below me.

Sheep caravans make leisurely treks. Their produce will not spoil no matter how much time is spent along the trail. The caravan may start at a distant northern point in June and return in September. The profit of the caravan is not only in the wool and salt carried south and the grain carried north; but the sheep while en route must eat, and so the treks are designed to provide the summer's grazing as well. Well-traveled trails are abandoned for routes that will provide grass for the sheep. The daytime may indeed be spent grazing ridges adjacent to the trail, while the nighttime is used for travel. 492

That night at Zing Zing Bar a sheep train passed down the canyon. How large it was, how small, I do not know. I only heard the rustle of feet and the voice of a woman who accompanied them. She sang of love; and the song she sang was an old, old love song of Tibet. I learned the full song later. This night I heard only snatches of it. 539

Like the fine and silky hair of our goats
Which climb up very high on the peaks
Of inaccessible Karakoram
So fine and silky is the hair of my girl.

Her eyes are soft as the eyes of the goats
That call their males on the mountain,
Her eyes are soft as the eyes of the goats
That hold the heavy teat to their young.

Her eyes have the color of topaz
With which she decks her head and neck
And this topaz has the soft color
Of the soft eyes, very soft eyes of our goats.

• 539 *Her body apt for work is slight and supple,*
As slight and supple as the bounds
Which our goats make, when they leap
On the curved flanks of the summit of Dapsang.

Her cheeks are ever fresh to my lips,
Fresh like the milk I draw daily
When the goats come back to the stable
From the swelling udders that sweep the ground.

000 The voice was a beautiful contralto, and I could hear her faintly above the roar of the Bhaga long after she had passed our camp. It was a haunting melody that she sang, a melody conveying a sense of loneliness in a deep Himalayan canyon already drenched with loneliness.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 until he was swallowed by the beatings of the drum and the
796 chanting of the Lobon.
534

I had read Forman, *Through Forbidden Tibet*, and his account of how sorcerers one day had conjured up before him and a group of lamas Yama, the King of Hell, and the attendants at Yama's court—Lust, Greed, and Anger. Forman with his own eyes thought he saw Yama, with his thirty-four arms and nine heads and a garland of human skulls about his shoulders. Perhaps he experienced mass hypnotism. Perhaps it was human television.

I had no such experience. But as I sat in Rinpoche's room with my head bowed and my eyes closed, listening to the beating of the drum and the incessant, liquid mutterings of the Lobon, I knew at once that hypnotism was real. I felt the power of music and the human voice and for the first time knew its vast potentiality. Though there was some force fastening itself onto me, I did not try to rebel. For an hour or more I submitted to its decree.

792 *In the name of the Triad! O divine Lord,* Mun!
796 *In the name of the Triad! O Lotus-bearer,* Hun!
529 *In the name of the Triad! O Scepter-bearer,* Hun!

In the name of the Triad! O immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, hu-lu! —hu-lu!—hun!—Phat!

In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! Ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence, Holy-one, Hun-hun!

O Mani, Mani, Great Mani, SAKYA-Mani, adoration!
O Lotus-bearer, hun!—*O fierce and greatly angry,* Hun-phat!

O Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya, adoration!

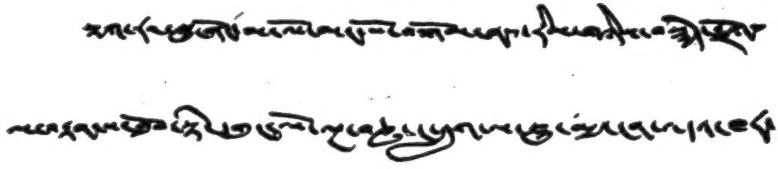
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

[539] 796 792 *O Divine Lord,* Mun! *O Lotus-bearer,* hun! *O Scepter-bearer, hun!*

This was the chant. Over and over, on and on, it went. It had a primitive rhythm, an incessant beat that held me. It was the music of a trance, an incessant repetition whose monotony produced a numbness. The noise of the orchestra filled the room. But it was mostly the Lobon that I heard—the deep, musical bass of Phuntzog. And high above his voice was the piping tenor of Rinpoche, coming lightly along behind the measured beat of his teacher.

After an hour or more I looked up. The chant was still in progress, the drum and cymbals still beating, the horns blaring. The Lobon was bowed in prayer, his lips barely moving as the guttural sound poured out. Rinpoche was as alert as a bird teetering on a rock. He kept up with the chant, his shrill voice now carrying above the Lobon's. As he chanted he weaved slightly to and fro. And all the while he kept peeking out the window where Rup Singh and Budh Ram were standing, watching the ceremony. And Rinpoche seemed to be telling them with his eyes that he hoped to get this business over with soon and come outdoors and join them.

792 /159 The morning of the day we left Hemis I induced Phuntzog to tell me the story of the discovery of the Rinpoche; i.e., how the soul of Stagtsang Raspa was traced to this boy. He went into his room and was gone an hour or more. When he returned, he handed me the following manuscript in Tibetan script which he had prepared; and he recited it on my tape recorder.



511
735 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any pos-
792 sible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[642] The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people
578 of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as
522 well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a
578 serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of be-
522 ing a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.
792
• 539

Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

797 lished a century ago by devout Germans. It is now headed by two fine Britishers, Dr. and Mrs. Norman Driver, who dispense re-
164 ligion and pills with special emphasis on the medicines, for Leh is rife with venereal disease, intestinal worms, and goiter. Zila works for the Drivers; and one day in their garden I heard her singing. She played the *daps*—a skin stretched on a hoop about three feet in diameter. Zila sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice:

•539

When I approached the city gate,
They shut it in my face.
I salute you,
The Rose of Ladakh.
I put my life in your hands.
I carry my cup and food,
And come with you.
I salute you,
The Rose of Ladakh.•

000 I asked Zila to sing more. She went and brought back another girl and two men, and they sat for an hour or more beating the *daps* and singing folk songs. All of them had sad voices; all of them but Zila had sad faces. Her face was lighted with happiness; her eyes danced; her white teeth gleamed. She threw back her head and gave zest to the song about Tseringskyit. It was Zila who took the lead, the other girl and the two men making the response:

539 VERSE *Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*
RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her body is as though it were made of gold. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*
RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

•See page 335.

Ju Le, Ju Le

VERSE *Her brow is like the moon when full. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*

RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her eyebrows are like the vowel sign. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*

RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her nose is like a copper tube. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*

RESPONSE *I have not seen your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her teeth are as beautiful as pearls. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?**

The searching for love and affection is endless. It goes on the world around. The search crosses the highest passes of the Himalayas. Tseringskyit—the one who has just passed by and yet is so remote and so elusive—is the smybol of that search in the wastelands of Ladakh. Tseringskyit, not Communism, carries the hopes of the people. For Tseringskyit knows tenderness and compassion; Tseringskyit has understanding. Yet Tseringskyit has beauty too—the beauty that lifts men above the sordid environment of their lives.

One night we sat at the Officers' Club in Leh, talking of the competition for men's souls. Communism professes love of mankind, but it preaches hate and practices terror. People want love and affection. It will be love and affection that will prevail in the universal, planetary scheme of things. It will be love and affection, not physical power, that will win Asia.

This theme is illustrated a thousand ways when one travels Asia with a sensitive ear. It cropped out this evening at the Officers' Club in Leh.

*See page 336.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W ..betans AJ4

gut, and the bow of horsehair. Let us listen to Tsiring 538
Rolmar, as she recounts to her husband and her two boys, one of these stories. In the corner of their living-room is the [554]
stove, behind which sits the housefather on a slightly raised platform, before him his cup of tea which he sips the while. On the opposite side, also sitting cross-legged, is his lady, who while she spins her yarn, blows the fire with her goatskin bellows, and at her side her youngsters drink in the story. Like all good tales hers begins—" Once upon a time," and 539
goes on to tell of King Sralkai, of his little son Ulastopgyes, the princess Laches, and their cruel step-mother, who in order to rid herself of her husband's children feigned illness, and asked him to go to a certain old woman physician who lived on a hill far away. While the King was on the road thither, the wicked queen, successfully disguised, took a short cut and arrived at the mountain first, then told the King that the only cure for his queen was a meal made of the hearts of his two children. Sadly he returned, and we follow the prince and princess through a long and tedious history of various unsuccessful attempts to murder them, until eventually Ulastopgyes is recognized as a prince and is crowned king of a great country. His thoughts return to his poor old father, and he goes to rescue him from the wicked queen, who turns out to be a witch and is slain, whilst, of course, the rest live happily ever afterwards. But do not imagine this story is told in so few words—an hour would not suffice for all the details, and many cups of tea are drunk before the fortunate family is eventually allowed to " live happily ever after." Of such stories there must be hundreds, and for every myth or fairy-tale which we have in the West, the Ladaki has his Tibetan version. In the same way it would not be difficult to find a
Ladaki proverb similar to almost every English one. Besides 534
the story-teller and his fiddled accompaniment, there is the amateur with musical propensities who can express his feelings on a flute, also home-made, just a bit of hollow stick

15: Francke
539, 779

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/For additional texts of myths, see category 773. --Analyst/

15: Francke
539, 533

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/For songs connected with ceremonies other than the wedding ceremony see category 796. --Analyst/

15: Francke
539, 585

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/The wedding songs and the explanatory notes on pp. 49-93 have been marked for categories 539 and 585 but will appear only in category 116. --Analyst/

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism. 771 127

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival. 539

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann 539 594 113

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the 773 539 171

539 Chinese, and the dynasty that was ruling at that time (1836) even
171 recognized him as its tutelary spirit. Further, Schmidt states:
773 "Since Gesser-Chan is named in the saga as the ruler of three Tibetan tribes, the Tussa, Dongsar, and Lik, this fact has induced the Chinese to weave him into their history of the three empires, and to assign to him an epoch in their chronology, namely, the beginning of the third century." As long as only the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga was known, it remained of necessity undetermined whether the saga was of Mongolian or of Tibetan origin. But as soon as I published, in 1900, the first samples of the Tibetan Kesar saga as I had gathered it from oral sources (2), no disinterested

2. "Der Frühlingsmtthus der Kesarsage," Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougneme, No. XV. Helsinki, 1900. Improved /or Corrected/ English edition in the Indian Antiquary, 1902.

observer was in any further doubt that the homeland of the sagas was to be found in Tibet. Professor A. Grünwedel wrote in the Globus (3) at that time: "In contrast to the familiar (Mongolian

3. Vol. XXVIII, No. 6.

/2/) versions, which represent Ge-sar as warrior and hero, Francke's texts are of a much more original nature and have a predominantly mythological character." Grimm had already expressed the opinion in his Kinder- und Haysmärchen /children's and household fairy tales/ that the Kesar saga, which was known to him only in the Mongolian version, had in all probability originally come into existence in Tibet. As we have already seen, this saga is also known to the Chinese and to the Mongols. But not only that--traces of it are likdwise to be found among the Turkish tribes, the Tungus and Buryat, and so forth. It looks as though this saga material has been disseminated all over Asia. I regard Western Tibet, and Ladakh in particular, as the country of origin for the versions that have become known up to now. The old West Tibetan kingdom is designated in chronicles as well as in inscriptions by Khrom-ge-sar-gdan,
533 "market place, Kesar's throne." In this region the saga is at home
[564] to such an extent that each village has its own version, and the saga
539 is recited by musicians belonging to the caste of the Bhe-da. In their recital, the metrical parts of the saga are sung. But in this

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. And this same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

●539 113 gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, from which the text and the notes were published in J & P ASB., /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/ Vol. III, p. 121 ff.

539 115 [553] 113 In Khalatse, Situated on The Indus River about forty English miles below Leh, I made the acquaintance of a man who was called dKon-mchog-bkra-shis. His surname name rGya-mthso-pa derived from the circumstance that he had married into the house of rGya-mthso-pa in Khalatse. Actually, however, he came from Lerdo (Lai-rdo) across from sKyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). This man possessed extensive knowledge about the Kesar saga, and for this reason he was invited to recite at all family festivals in the village. His version apparently originated in Lerdo in Purig. For many weeks I worked with this singer and with the scribe and teacher of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, and in this way I obtained the version of the Kesar saga that I have called the "Lower Ladakhi Version." This /3/ has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica under the numbers 1134, 1151, 1164, and 1218. dKon-mchog-brka-shis material was however, not yet exhausted with this. He continued with his narratives and now reported the adventures of the chief heroes of the sagas besides Kesar. I have published these sagas under the title: "The Paladins of the Kesarsaga," in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 10, Vol. III, No. 2, Vol. III, No. 5.

539 113 In all the publications in India I gave the text in its entirety, but I had to dispense with a translation because of lack of time. Instead of a translation I appended to each chapter a detailed table of contents and lists of the proper names and of the uncommon words. The Lower Ladakhi Version contains the entire material of the Kesar saga, as indicated below. For the most part, therefore, it covers the same ground as the Sheh version. Yet it contributes not only new elements with respect to the style of the poetic passages, but also a great many interesting and important variants.

The collection, The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, on the other hand, contains entirely new material, under the following headings: 1. Kesar's beloved Mon (man of a low caste). 2. The story of the hero sKyaba-rgod-po (lJan war). 3. The story of the hero Shel-gyi-bu-zhun. 4. The story of the hero rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

585 539 II. The Wedding Songs (Nyo-pai-glu). At each wedding in the region of the West Tibetans (Ladakh, Purig, and so forth), the following ceremony is performed: Seven friends of the bridegroom, who call themselves Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, "The buyers, the seven

brothers," go, if possible on horseback, to the bride's house in order 585
to buy the bride for the bridegroom. The bride's relatives will not 539
admit them until they have proved their honorable descent by answering a long series of questions addressed to them in the form of songs. As soon as an answer has been given incorrectly, the inhabitants of the house, who are armed with osier twigs, rain blows on the seven men. The songs used on this occasion represent a kind of catechism in the pre-Buddhistic religion of the country. The same thing applies to them as to the Kesar saga. The further West we go, the more complete they are. I first observed this particular ceremonial in the village of Stog, which lies opposite Leh. There they were finished with the question-and-answer ritual in the shortest possible time, and the wedding feast constituted the climax of the celebration. In Khalatse, to which I removed from Leh, the question-and-answer game lasted much longer. Since I was unable to understand anything of the content of the songs during the performance, I requested the leader of the Nyo-pa to dictate these questions and answers slowly to the [124] scribe of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin. In this way I obtained a copybook of eighteen songs, each in two parts. I went through these carefully with the scribe and soon arrived at an understanding of the 585
first nine. These nine I published in the Indian Antiquary, giving 113
the text, a translation, and annotations. They appeared there under 539
the title, "The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual." Neither the scribe nor I understood the second part of the songs at that time. By now I am somewhat better able to recognize their meaning, and the songs of the second part will also be used in the following presentation. After the song of the Nyo-pa had been delivered to me, one day someone told me that the question-and-answer game of the wedding celebrants was not yet finished with these songs, and that this game was, in fact, continued during the wedding feast. At that time, he said, they sang the so-called chan-glu, the "beer song." Again I had a transcription made of this song, which I published at my own expense by having about fifty copies printed on the missionary lithographic press in Leh. These appeared (with text only) in 1903 under the title, "Die Trinklieder von Khalatse" /The Drinking Songs of Khalatse/. Although several of these songs have very important mythological content, many others are, nevertheless, of a purely diverting nature. They propose riddles such as one might expect on special occasions in gay circles among all peoples. /4/ [273]
Of special interest is the song which describes in detail the origin and preparation of Tibetan beer (chan).

585 While I was occupied with the study of these songs, I was told
127 that an ancient manuscript containing the wedding songs existed in
539 Tag-ma-cig, the neighboring village to the west of Khalatse. I immediately sent a messenger to that village in order to have the work delivered to me, but I was to learn that this could only be done in exchange for the payment of a fairly large sum of money. After this payment had been made, the manuscript was left with me for a month on a loan basis. This period of time was sufficient, however, for my faithful assistant, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, to copy the entire document. Unfortunately, the manuscript was so badly damaged in some places that several songs had to be left incomplete. Concerning the age of the manuscript nothing definite could be established. It was reported to me that they had begun writing them down only when there was danger that the old songs might be forgotten. The manuscript may perhaps be one hundred years old, and possibly a little more. According to my scribe's count, the booklet contains about sixty songs, mostly consisting of two parts. Quite a number of these correspond with the songs of Khalatse, and, in fact, there are repetitions both of the individual wedding songs
[533] and of the drinking songs. We observe that in Tag-ma-cig they did not differentiate at all between wedding songs and drinking songs. Yet the title of the entire collection is "Nyo-pas-sgo-la btan-ces-kyi-glu," "Songs of the Nyopa (Bride Buyers), To Be Sung at the Door." Even though at the time I was unable to understand much of the content of the songs, I nevertheless recognized immediately their extreme importance in the study of pre-Buddhistic religion, and I wished to make them accessible to the scholarly world. For this reason I had them multigraphed in twenty-eight copies with blue copy ink, but in this job I was quite unlucky. The impressions were for the most part so faint that they could not be deciphered. Fortunately, the copy made by Ye-shes-rig-adzin has been found again in the meantime and important data have been taken from it,
585 which will appear in the following pages. All these wedding songs
778 are particularly valuable because they contain a great deal of ma-
539 terial dealing with the Tibetan notions about the World Tree and the deities of the four points of the heavens. Later I was also supplied with wedding songs (nyo-pai-glu) from the villages of Shel and Phyi-dban. These are of a totally different nature, however. They are songs of praise addressed to kings and ministers who apparently celebrated their weddings in those localities. For the student of religion they are of no value.

III. The Hymns of the Spring Festival (Glin-glu). When the spring festival is celebrated in Western Tibet (Ladakh, and so on), hymns are sung which bear the name Glin-glu, "Songs from the Land of Glin." In these hymns King Kesar and the deities mentioned in the Kesar saga are honored. Without a certain knowledge of the Kesar saga, these songs would remain unintelligible. Without exerting myself particularly, I managed to get my hands on two such hymn collections as I was looking around for folk songs. From the village Phyi-dban, eight English miles below Leh, I obtained a manuscript prepared there, which contained the nine hymns of the Kesar festival that are customarily used in that village. In Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, who has already been mentioned above, wrote down for me the nine hymns that were sung there. I published the first collection in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, with text, English translation, and notes. The second collection is to be found in my "Ladakhi Songs," where it is printed under Nos. XXI-XXIX. These two important collections are accompanied by a briefer third one, consisting of five festival songs which a member of the Bheda caste in the village of Sheh (Shel) wrote down for me, songs traditional in that village. In addition, I should mention that scattered parts of such festival songs are also to be found here and there in my collections of folk songs, just as here and there some wedding songs are to be found taken out of their context. /5/ Such a one is to be found, for instance, in Ladakhi Songs, No. 30, "The Carpet of the Bride Buyers." 796 113 127 539

IV. Now, after the main sources of the Glin-chos have been established, I must speak of yet a fourth type of songs of a religious nature which, however, do not seem to fit into the framework of the Glin-chos. I published one of these in my Ladakhi Songs as No. 15. But this is not a happy example, since it is composed of two wedding songs, whereas the original song has been lost. Better types are afforded by my as yet unpublished collection of songs from Sheh. From this collection it appears that as a theme for the harvest songs they chose the creation of the world and the origin of the gifts of nature, in particular, wheat. But the myth of the creation of the world, as we find it here, is in contrast to the version in the Kesar saga. In the harvest song the earth rises up out of the waters of the ocean, while in the Kesar saga it is formed out of the body of a slain giant. Now the myth in the harvest songs of Sheh (Shel) corresponds in a curious way with the Dard song about the creation of the world, such as we find it written down in the Dard collection of hymns of 539 773 171 773

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A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.—*By* THE REV. H. FRANCKE, *Moravian Missionary, Leh. Communicated by the Philological Secretary.*

[Read June, 1899.]

538 805 577 The Ladakhi word for proverb is *gtamdpe* [pronounced *stamspe*] which means 'word example.' *Stamspe* is the general term for what might be called quotations, the shepherd's calender and the popular moral code.

538 126 Ladakhi popular poetry has become famous for the frequent application of the laws of 'parallelism.' Many beautiful examples, illustrative of this form of poetry, will be noticed in the proverbs.

In the following each proverb will be treated in this way—

(*a*) the Proverb in the orthography of Ladaki letter writing, (*b*) pronunciation, (*c*) literal translation [does not claim to be good English], (*d*) application, (*e*) grammatical and other notes.

Concerning the orthography of (*b*) the following will suffice: The vowels are the Italian vowels[1], *ä* rather like *e*. All accents given, refer only to the stress. *sh*=ཤ, *zh*= ཞ, *ng*=ང, *c*=ཛ, *ch*=ཚ, *j*=ཇ, *ts*=ཙ, *ths*=ཚ. The unaspirated Tenuis holds the mean between English tenuis and media. Single *r*=Hindustani *r*. The *r* preceding a consonant is like the German guttural *r*, following a consonant it is like the English *r*, spoken quickly.

THE PROVERBS.

539 1. (*a*) དབྱིད་ཉིན་རིང་མོ་ལམ་བྲང་གསུམ་དང་དྲོ་གསུམ།
ཨི་ཚེ་རིང་མོ་ལགས་ཀྱིད་གསུམ་དང་ནུག་གསུམ།།

(*b*) spid' nyin ring'moa drang' sumdang dro' sum
mi'thse ring'moa skyid' sum dang dug' sum.

[1] They are long, when ending a syllable, short in all other cases.

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(*c*) On a spring day [there are] three colds and three warmths In a lifetime [there are] three happy [hours] and three unfortunate [hours].

(*d*) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.

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(*e*) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determina tivum* formed from *spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosum*, etc., must be considered as *Composita*, which accounts for the missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.

539 2. (*a*) སྐྱིད་ལྡུག་མི་ལ། མཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ།

(*b*) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.

(*c*) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.

(*d*) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain people.

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(*e*) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum.*

539 3. (*a*) ཁྲིགས་པ་བསྣ་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གང་།

(*b*) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.

(*c*) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.

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(*d*) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without an article to express the adjective "full."

539 4. (*a*) ཎ་ཤྲོད་ནག་རང་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་བཟམ།

ཟླེ་ལ་མདོས་མོ་ཆེ་དང་གཡག་ཁོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.

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(*c*) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro [the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of a Yak.

(*d*) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro, it is warmer then.

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(*e*) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

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corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nagrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

539 [643] [301] 527 [789]

5. (*a*) དཔལ་ཐུག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་བཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

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6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་ཐུག་རེ།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instanee *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

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7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྒྲང་ཏུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་འབྱུད་དེ་ཅི་ཟ་ཡི་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zä dus'.

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(*c*) The time when the fly turns [flies] round the mouth, is the time of taking off all clothing and eating everything.

(*d*) A description of summer in the peasant's calendar.

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(*e*) About *kha* instead of *khala* see 1 (*e*). If an *r* follows a muta, the muta is often dropped in Ladakhi, thus *rang* is said instead of *brang*; *ci* 'what' is used here in the sense of whatever.

539 8.
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(*a*) མཁར་རྫོང་ཡ་ཅུལ་ལྟ་ལྟ།
ཆུ་སྦི་ལྡམ་ཆུ་ཡང་འབུད།

(*b*) khar'zongi yachula lta'lta,
chu'bii ldam'chu yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the glacier water of the Kharzong pass the gathered water of Chubi (a village) is also lost.

(*d*) take what is nearest!

(*e*) refers to the system of irrigation. Notice the re-duplication of the verb, implying a durative sense = whilst.

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(*a*) རྭ་མའི་ཁྲོ་ལ་གོ་བ། ལུག་གི་ཁྲོ་ལ་བེ་ཡ།།

(*b*) ra'mä thro'a go'a, lug'gi thro'abe'a.

(*c*) In the company of goats [he says] *goa*, in the company of sheep [he says] *bea*.

(*d*) Said of a man, who has no will of his own,

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(*e*) *Goa* and *bea* imitate the voices of goats and sheep respectively.

539 10.
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(*a*) དགོད་འབད་དུས། སྟོན་སྡུ་དུས།།

(*b*) spid'bad'dus' ston'rdu'dus'.

(*c*) Spring is the time of working, autumn the time of gathering.

(*d*) Do everything at the proper season.

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(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a three-syllabled *Comps. determ.*

539 11.
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(*a*) དགོད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། སྟོན་སྡུ་དུས་ལ་འཁྱོད་འདུག།།

(*b*) spid' baddusla mabad'na, ston'rdudusla gyod'dug.

(*c*) If you do not work in the spring working time, you will repent in the autumn gathering time.

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(*e*) Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rdu* = gather.

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12. (*a*) ལադ་གས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཤོས་དང་ནམ་མཁའ་པོ་འབྲུག་སྡིར་ན།
མདོ་ཤ་གིལ་ལས་སྟོན་ཐོག་ཐོབ་འདུག།

(*b*) Ladag'skyi zhing'shmos dang nyam'po drug' ldir'na,
do'sha gil'idla ston'thog thob'dug.

(*c*) When at the time of ploughing in Ladakh the thunder sounds, they receive a harvest in *dosha* [lower Ladak] and Gilgit.

(*d*) Peasant's calendar. Lower Ladak and Gilgit have an earlier harvest than Leh.

(*e*) *Ldirces* is the Ladakhi for *adirba*. In this Proverb the Genitive in *kyi* is pronounced in full. The ordinary Ladaki Genitive has a simple *i*.

13. (*a*) ཡུན་རིང་ན་བྱ་རོས་ལྡོང་པོ་ཆོད།

(*b*) yŭnring'na ja'ros ldong'bo chod'.

(*c*) After a long time a dead bird [which is blown by the wind against the trunk of a tree] cuts the trunk.

(*d*) With perseverance great things can be done.

(*e*) *Ldongbo* = *sdongbo*.

14. (*a*) སྒང་ལྷས་ཀྱི་ཡང་མ་ལ་ལྟ།
དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་སོ་སྐོབ་ཡང་འབྲུད།

(*b*) gang'lessi yang'mala lta'lta.
spid'thuggi sor'gob yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the good barley of Gangles (a village) the rough straw of Spithŭg is lost.

(*d*) See 8 (*d*).

(*e*) About *ltalta*, see 8 (*e*).

15. (*a*) བྱ་ཚང་མ་བྱ་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང།
བྱ་ངན་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཏོ་ཤུལ་མཐུ་ལ་ལུས།

(*b*) ja'thsang'ma ja'yulla song'
jangan' ututu'tse shul'juglalus'.

(*c*) All birds have gone to birdland.
The bad [stupid] bird hoopoe has remained to the last.

(*d*) When a bad thing has been done by several, all who can, disappear, the one who remains, is punished for all.

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539 577 16. (*a*) དབྱར་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་དྲོད་མི་དབབ།
དགུན་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་གྲང་མི་དབབ།།

(*b*) yar'nyin log'ste man'ne drob' mi bab',
gun'yinlog'ste man'ne drang' mi bab'.

(*c*) Unless the summer-day returns, heat will not come down.
Unless the winter-day returns, cold will not come down.

(*d*) Everything will come at the proper season.

000 (*e*) *Mannas*, a gerund of *man* = to be not, used in the sense of unless, besides, etc., *yarnyin*, *gunnyin*, see *spidnyin* in 1.

539 577 17. (*a*) མཚན་སྟོད་ལ་དགོན་མཆོག་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བདེབ་དགོས།
མཚན་དཀྱིལ་ལ་གཉིད་ལོག་དགོས།
མཚན་སྨད་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལས་ལ་བསམ་བ་བདང་དགོས།།

(*b*) thsanstod'la konchog'la so'va tab'rgos
thsanskyil'la nyid'log rgos.
thsan smad'la jig'stenni las'la sam'ba tang' rgos.

(*c*) In the first part of the night you must pray to God.
In the middle of the night you must sleep.
In the last part of the night you must think of the work of this world.

000 (*e*) For *sova* instead of *solva*, see 4 (*e*). In *dgos*, must, the *d* is turned into *r*, *rg* is pronounced like *ch* in Loch, lake.

539 18. (*a*) ཤ་བ་རི་དྭགས་རི་ན་འགྲུལ་བ་མིག་གི་རྒྱན།
དམན་ཚར་མོ་སྲང་ན་འགྲུལ་བ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན།།

(*b*) sha va ri'dags ri'na drul'va mig'gi gyan',
sman thsar'mo shrang'na drul'va id'kyi gyan'.

(*c*) The deer Shava walking in the hills is the delight of the eye, a fine girl walking in the street is the delight of the heart.

000 (*e*) Notice the classical Participle in *va* in *drulva*. In proper Ladakhi the ending *khan* would be used.

539 577 19. (*a*) སྟག་ནཱ་ཞོ་རེས་མ་ཤ་ཞོ་རེ་ལ་ཁྲེལ་འདུག།།

(*b*) Stag'nä sho'res Mash'roi sho'rela threl'dug.

(*c*) The harelipped man of Stagna [a village] laughs at the harelip of Mashro.

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(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own. 539
(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*. 577 000

20. (*a*) ཆུའི་ཁོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྦར་བཟུམ་མ་བདང་།། 539 577

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.
(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.
(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).
(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first. 000

21. (*a*) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།། 539 577 492

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.
(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.
(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.
(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.* 000

22. (*a*) རྟ་ལ་ཤིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཐོང་སྟེ། 539

བོང་ངུའི་ར་གོ་མ་རྒྱང་།། 231 577

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.
(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].
(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བྱ་ལོན་མེད་ན་ལག་ཤི་དང་། 539 577

ཚོར་ཀ་མེད་ན་དཀར་ཀན་ཉོས།། 426

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'
(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!
(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

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24. (*a*) ཨ་བ་བློ་ཤི་ཡིན་བསམ་སས་པིན་ན།

ཏ་ཀན་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོ་ཅོ།།

(*b*) a'ba shi'in sam'spinna
star'gan cig'la cila ma tsong's.

(*c*) If you thought [knew], that father will die,
Why did you not sell him [before dying] for an old horse.

(*d*) Used derisively. You could not help your misfortune just as you cannot sell your father.

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(*e*) *Samspin* a contraction of *bsamspa yin.*

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25. (*a*) བཟོད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་དགེ་བ་མེད།

ཞེ་སྡང་ལྟ་བུའི་སྡིག་པ་མེད།།

(*b*) zod'pa lta'bui ge'va med
zhed'dang lta'bui dig'pa med.

(*c*) There is no virtue like patience;
There is no sin like hatred.

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26. (*a*) བླ་མ་རང་མགོ་མ་འཕྲོན་ན།

གཤིན་པོའི་ཡར་འདྲེན་ཅི་བཅོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) La'ma rang'go ma thon'na
shin'poi yar'dren ci co'in.

(*c*) If the Lama's own head does not come out [cleanly], how will he manage (do) the drawing upwards of the dead.

(*d*) Used for deriding the immoral life of the lamas.

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(*e*) *Thonces* is verb neuter of *btonces*, to put out.

27. (*a*) ཤི་སོང་ཤི་སོང་ཟེར་ན།

གཤིན་མིག་རི་ནས་ལྟ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) shi'song shi'song zer'na
shin'mig ri'nä lte'n.

(*c*) If you say "he is dead, he is dead,"
The eye of the dead will look out of the hill.

(*d*) Ladakhi superstition. It is not good to speak much of a dead man, his eye might frighten the speaker.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*e*) For the *n* in *shinmig* or *shinpo* see also *nyin* derived from *nyima*. Syllables ending in a vowel are inclined to add a final *n*, see also *mentog* from *metog* and many others. 000

28. (*a*) རང་སྐྱོན་ཕད་གང་འབོར་ཏེ།
ཨ་སྐྱོན་རྒྱ་གང་ལ་མཐྲེལ།། 577 539

(*b*) rang'skyon phad'gang bor'te
mi'skyon rgye'gangla mathrel'.

(*c*) Putting aside the large bag [*phad*] filled with your own faults, do not mock at the little bag [*rgye*] of your neighbour's faults.

(*e*) *Rang skyonphad gang* and *misky on rgye gang* are *Compos. determ.* Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rgye*. 000

29. (*a*) རང་གདོང་མ་མཐོང་སྟེ།
ཨ་གདོང་ལ་ལྟད་མོ།། 577 539

(*b*) rang'dong ma thong'ste
mi'dongla stad'mo.

(*c*) Not seeing your own [ugly] face, [you make] a scene about your neighbour's face

(*d*) See 28.

(*e*) *Ltadmo* derived from *ltaces*, to look at. 000

30. (*a*) ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཡོག་པོ་ཡིན།
གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ་ཡིན།། 555 539

(*b*) lag'shes gun'gyi yog'po in'
stam'shes gun'gyi spon'bo in.

(*c*) Who is clever with his hands, is servant of all, who is clever in his speech, is master of all.

(*e*) The ending *gyi* is retained here. The proper Ladakhi would be *gunni*. The silent *g* and *d* in *gtam* and *dpon bo* become *s*. 000

31. (*a*) ཆག་པོས་འགས་པོ་ལ་མཐྲེལ།། 577 539

(*b*) chag'poe gas'pola ma threl'.

(*c*) *What is broken, must not laugh at what is cracked.*

(*d*) See 28 and 29.

(*e*) *Chagpo* and *gaspo* are substantives derived from verbs. 000

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

273 539 32. (*a*) མ་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་འདུག་ན་སྲན་མའི་སྲན་ཆང་སྟེར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) mashi'tbse ring'dugna shran'mä shran'chang ster'rin.

(*c*) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.

(*d*) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.

000 (*e*) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb.* and *copulat.*

593 539 33. (*a*) མ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་ལྷོ་ཆོད་མས་ཆོད།།

(*b*) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na thsalrgo thsod'mä chod'.

(*c*) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].

(*d*) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.

000 (*e*) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*

539 34. (*a*) བསམ་པ་སྔོན་ལ་མ་བདང་ན།

འགྱོད་པ་རྗེ་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།།

(*b*) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.

(*c*) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.

577 793 539 35. (*a*) བོང་རྫི་ནམ་ཆོག་ལ་སེར་ཟུག་ན། ཡང་ནས་ལ་ཟུག་ན། ཚོགས་ཡིན།།

(*b*) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, tsogs'in.

(*c*) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.

(*d*) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.

000 (*e*) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.

539 36. (*a*) སྒྲོན་མ་སྐ་ཀ་བརྒྱབ་ན། རྗེ་ཙ་དགོད་མ་ཤོར།།

(*b*) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.

(*c*) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

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(*d*) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you. 539

(*e*) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee. 000

37. (*a*) ལྷག་ལྟ་ནས་ཁྱི་ཡོང་འདུག་ཟེར་ཏེ།
ཞ་འབུག་ནས་རྡོ་བ་འཁུར་ཏེ་ཆ་རྒུག།

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539

(*b*) stag'nanä khyi'yongdug zer'te
zha'bugnä rdo'a khurte cha'rug.

(*c*) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.

(*d*) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.

(*e*) *Zhabug*=*zhabub*=falling headlong into a bog; *charug*= cha'adug; the *d* of *'adug* becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel. 000

38. (*a*) མི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ལ་ཆ་ན།
ཤིང་ངན་དཀུ་དང་ཐུག།

539

(*b*) mi'ngan thsogs' sebla cha'na
shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.

(*c*) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.

(*d*) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.

(*e*) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped. 000

39. (*a*) མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་མི་ཐག།
ར་ལ་ཚིལ་མི ཐག།

539

(*b*) mi'la skyid' mithag'
ra'la thsil' mi thag'.

(*c*) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.

(*e*) *Thagces*=*thegpa*. 000

40. (*a*) ཁྱི་ལ་སྒལ་དང་བེ་ཏ་ལ་ཤོལ།

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(*b*) khyi'a sgal'dang be'daa shol.

(*c*) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.

(*d*) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

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000 [564] (*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been originally ཨཕེ་ཌར་ལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

539 41. (*a*) རྟས་ལ་ཕང་ཉོ་ངམ། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྲོན་ཉོ་ངམ།།

(*b*) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

000 (*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

561 42. (*a*) ཕྲུག་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་ཇུང་ལ་ཇའུ།།

793 (*b*) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

436 (*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

539 (*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

[000] (*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = 3¼ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

793 43. (*a*) ཁ་ཏཱ་ཀོ་ལྦག་ཟེར་ས་དང་ཟླ་མའི་ཏྲོ་ལྦང་ཟེར་ས་ལ་སྒྲོགས་འདུག།

539 (*b*) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

000 (*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin. trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

539 44. (*a*) ལྦལ་ཏི་ཉིང་ཅན་ནི་ཉིང་ཀོལ་ཀོལ་ལ།

ཚོད་ཉིང་མེད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་སྟོར།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la
bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

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 539

(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) མཉམ་པོ་འདུག་པ་ཟླ་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད།། 539

(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'. 793

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama. 609

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance. 192

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) མནའ་མ་མནའ་མ་ཟེར་ར་ནི་མིའི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན།

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'. 539

gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor iu'. 562

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul. 301

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁ་དས་ཀོ་ལྷག་ཟེར་པ། ཐུང་ཀའི་མིག་འགྲུལ།། 539

(*b*) Kha'tā ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kā mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

48. (*a*) ཟ་བོ་ཁ་དཀར་ཟོས། ཚང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་པོ།། 539

(*b*) za'o kha'tä zos', cumg kä kha' marpo'.

(*c*) The [stolen] food was eaten by the crow [but the beak of the raven is red.

(*d*) Often the wrong person is caught instead of the guilty one.

(*e*) *Zos*=*bzas*, *zos* is the only past tense in Ladakhi, which changes the vowel. 000

49. (*a*) ཚིལ་མཐོང་སྟེ་ཁ་འགས།། 539 262

(*b*) thsil'thong'ste kha'gas'.

(*c*) [When] seeing grease, the mouth cracks [open].

(*d*) When you see something nice you want to have it.

(*e*) *Thsil*=mutton grease, a very desirable thing in Ladakh.

50. (*a*) ནོར་མེད་ཚོང་སལ་ཆ་ན། ཉོ་འདོད།། 539 577

(*b*) nor'med thsong'sala cha'na, nyo'dod.

(*c*) Who goes to the shop without money, likes foolishness.

(*d*) Do nothing unprepared, you might be laughed at.

(*e*) *Nyodod* is *Compos. determ.*=a liker of foolishness. 000

51. (*a*) སྟོད་ན་སྟོད་ན་ངའི་སང་རྒྱལ་ལས་སྟོད། 539 577

སྨད་ན་སྨད་ན་ངའི་སང་ཐུས་པས་སྨད།།

(*b*) stod'na stod'na ngä' sang gyal'lä stod'
smad'na smad'na, ngä' sang thus'pä smad'.

(*c*) Who praises me, is a better man than I am.
Who despises me, is a worse man than I am.

(*d*) Said by a man who has heard that slander is going on about him.

(*e*) For *sang* with the comparative, see Jäschke's grammar; *rgyallas* and *thuspas* are Instrumentals, *gyalla*=a good man. 000

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Amusements.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Constitution of the family.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the land-holders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system.

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámáic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámáic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See 2/50 preceding page, cat. 116 - Analysis]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

526 slow trot. One alternative only remained: No. 1 had to drop the ball at the mid-line, whilst No. 2 who was riding immediately behind was expected to hit it. During the first half the European combination did wonders, and at half time were leading by four goals, but this put the home team on its mettle, and they gradually caught up. Time, however, was in favour of the visitors, who won their game by one goal. Will such a match ever be played again?

● 541 Next let us go to the bazar and watch the horse-racing. This peculiar species of horse-racing is quite in keeping with this quaint country. We take up our positions on the verandah of the post office. At the further end of the bazar 297 about thirty ponies and their jockeys are gathered. First 644 along the course comes a rider decked out in the most wonder- 30 ful garments. His dress is a beautifully embroidered Chinese mandarin's robe and the insignia of his office is a tigerskin tunic. On his head he wears a large round hat covered with gilt tinsel, the crown rising to a dome, surmounted by a knob to which streamers of gilt tinsel passing from the brim are attached. This is quite a personage, who assumes the title of *glabdag*, which means one to whom the gods are subject. The office boasts a long lineage and is traceable to pre-Buddhist times. Its representative is always chosen from one of three families, and his duty is to serve the King personally, one especial task being to change the pencil cedar on His Majesty's altar on New Year's day. When he rides ahead of all the 541 jockeys, he is acting as his King's Viceroy. Having led the way, the race can begin, but a starter is quite unnecessary. Each man starts off just when he likes and simply tears down the bazar as hard as his pony will carry him; though they often elect to start in a bunch, there seems to be no purposeful relationship between them, and odd ones left far behind carry on with equal zest. Needless to say bookies are unnecessary. Sometimes a wag will add to the delight of the spectators by performing gymnastic feats as he rides, possibly having dressed

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

up to enhance the exhibition, which is loudly applauded. 541
When all have ridden the course, they canter back and repeat from the beginning. This goes on for two or three days, and Ladakis find it interesting to the end. Sometimes the amusement becomes intense, when, for instance, a horse has shed his rider, because the saddle had not been fixed on firmly, and the racer finishes his course with empty back.

Games on horseback are most desirable at this altitude, 576
where human lungs find scarcely enough oxygen for strenuous 177
exertion, and Ladak is adding a Yarkandi equestrian game to its repertoire. No sides are picked, but there is a goal. A dead sheep is thrown on to the ground. At one time no doubt they played with a live animal, for Yarkandis do not think much about "Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" Societies. A man catches up the sheep as best he can and then rides with it for the goal. If he accomplishes this, he may look forward to many a big supper of mutton, but all the other horsemen try to make this impossible. The falls, pullings, and pushings this piece of mutton gets, should go far to make it tender, whatever its age may be.

Another sport which the Ladakis thoroughly enjoy is arrow 576
shooting. This always takes place in the spring, just before [795]
the fields are sown, the Mohammedans and the Buddhists having each their own archery meeting. A garden or an enclosure with trees round an open space is chosen, at one end of which a heap of earth is piled up about four feet high. Into the centre of this is stuck a bull's-eye, about the size of a china plate and made of white clay. At the opposite end, about twenty yards from the target, are several tents, nicely decorated, in which sit those members of their respective community, who, by subscribing towards the shoot, have bought themselves the right to be present and take part. Others may join in, but are there on sufferance, and if they have not paid, even superb shooting will not obtain th

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not 595
come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a 586
polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There 595
are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, 548
which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased 595
the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an 177
ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of [795]
Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn 797
to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck 177
pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
• 548 be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 438
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its
Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient
city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will
shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an
extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the
use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale.
Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program
in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as
the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the
old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 159
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with
their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncompli-
cated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith.
The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to
them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people,
and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually
faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the chil-
dren, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoy-
ancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the
laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been
washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the
garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against
Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips,
gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

23: Peter E 3 (1938-?) A54 W. Tibetans A54
217a

152 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of
762 his other brothers for their relations with
593 the common wife.

837 There are certain instances of extra-
595 marital relations between people in this
684 polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 Illegitimate children are usually hushed
597 up. They are often adopted into some
793 family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find
548 out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the
216 polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans,
[824] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof
000 of it. But local Europeans who know the

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--phayar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángthang want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

/11/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Kalatse lies yonder in the Ladakh high- 361
land, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the Western Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading mountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village forms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming apricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate, projecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly the fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike our ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and the call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the Indus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded beasts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main town of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the women who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise everything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the white-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue, cloudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock 512
in the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to his house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and everybody takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal, 789

1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same 552
time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house- 551
owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has its own name by which the present owner can likewise be called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering," , "Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other. In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which usually have a religious significance, the house names display a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa), Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

552 551 Ambassador (P'o-nya), and Castlecaptain (K'ar-dpon), the four latter all being titles from the time of the kingdom; furthermore there are animal names like Fox (Wa-tse-pa), Wolf (Śak-ku-pa); finally there are nicknames such as the Chewing-one (K'a-ldags-pa), Break-leg (rKan-cags-pa), Break-skull (mGo-cags-pa), the Thrown-out-one (P'ar-la-p'an), Thief's-son (sKu-p'rug), Cat's-mouth (Bi-la-k'a), Liar (Dzun-can), and other in part insulting names

789 which stands there at the foot of the steep cliff below the old castle ruin on the rocky floor of the valley closely nestled in a group of houses, there is lively activity even now during the hot, muggy afternoon. There is the hollow murmur from the rough throats of men, which occasionally /12/ swells to great strength; in between there can be heard dissonant and deep blasts of trumpets and the beating of drums. Five lamas (Buddhist monks) in red cowls from the nearby monastery Lamayuru are crouched there in the large living room-kitchen of the house with their legs folded under them on rough carpets made of goats' hair. In front of each one of them, on small tables no higher than a footstool and carved with beautiful designs, there are two piles of loose leaves which belong to a book. They are all reading at one and the same time in a loud, grating voice, each one from the leaf which happens to be lying in front of him. When a leaf is finished, it is placed on the pile of leaves that have been read. The leaves made of Tibetan paper were once grey. Now the paper is covered with a blackish layer gleaming with fat, especially in those places where they have come into contact with the lamas' fingers.

With the wild confusion of everybody reading at the same time it is impossible for us to make rhyme or reason of what is being read. Only here and there does our ear catch a few words: "Jis don bum (Tibetan: byis gdon abum)," "The 100,000 child demons!" Then we can make out here and there a few mysterious Sanskrit formulas and syllables, "Om! Hum! Shri!" Magical formulas, powerful exorcising words, partly in Tibetan, and partly in the old sacred Sanskrit language.

It is out of the question that the inhabitants of the house might be listening attentively. How would they ever be able to understand this babel of voices, after all? The evil spirits for whom these phrases of exorcism are designed will undoubtedly make some sense of them and feel their effect, so they think. They themselves go quietly about

553 792 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563 177 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
551 these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, A [illegible] - Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

Lobsang Wanggyal, as the pious Buddhist he is, first performs another prayer before the image of Gautama Buddha and of the "Great Merciful One," Chanrezig, and donates five sacrificial lamps with the necessary butter (instead of oil). Then he set out on his way to Leh which he reached after an hour on horseback. There he sold his apricots in the bazaar (market) and exchanged barley for them; aside from various necessary things he also bought for himself a shining green cap and a colored sash; for his wife he bought a pair of large turquoises, and for the cap of his little son a small silver amulet. After three days he rode homeward again from the barren, rough highlands to the milder, more fertile lower Ladakh and, upon his arrival in Kalatse, he announced to wife and mother that his son was to be called Drogpa Namgyal. His mother, old Tsering Putrid, drew up her nose a little bit at the "Drogpa," but against the word of the great skushog there was no contradiction possible, and besides, one could never know what the evil Tsan and Lu demons still had in store for them. Her "deceased" (13) (gśin-po) had also had a protective name.

13. The relatives of a recently deceased person anxiously shy away from naming the latter by his name in the superstitious fear the dead person might be disturbed and would frighten the survivors.

He had been called Carra /25/ Lobsang (smith, equivalent to "good sense"), and he had been such a pious Buddhist; all the pilgrimages he had made, the holy places he had circled around, and how he had turned the prayer wheel! And yet he had been abruptly taken away by the emissary of death (t'se-len); an avalanche of rocks had dragged him along as he was climbing a wall of boulders in order to rescue a goat which had gone astray. He had been found down below with his limbs shattered. True, the lamas had said that he had only himself to blame. After all, they had warned him to let the goat go, for just above that particular slope the Tsan-demons had settled in the rocks at that time. They, the lamas, knew this from unmistakable signs. Why did the man have to climb up just there and provoke the Tsan by his appearance!

372 because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the
415 little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering

551 14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain
231 and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd
476 of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an older companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley,
231 slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

himself on this point. And what a picture there lay before his view spread out on these heights, a picture of tremendous, wild beauty! Over valleys, gorges and crevices, wildly jagged mountain chains and ridges, the vista sweeps along to the distant mountain faces yonder in the west, which shine in all colors from bright red to violet in the clear, glaring sunshine of these heights with their thin, dry air. Over there to the right there is a very extensive snow field whose melting water the brook carries down into the valley. To the left there are two mountain peaks crowned with glaciers. Over it all there is the arch of the deep blue, cloudless sky. A wonderful silence prevails in this wild mountain world into which Namgyal drove his herd, a silence which is only now and then interrupted by the bleating of a goat, the scream of the chough among the cliffs, the howling of a wolf yonder by the slope of the mountain.

/39/ No person can escape the stupendous impression of the majesty of this world of mountains; here live and rule supernatural powers; here divinity approaches directly the feeble man who penetrates into this empire; it lives in the towering cliff, in the glacier which on the heights embraces the tremendous mountain caps in its clutch, in the plant which grows forth from the cracks in the rock; the deity speaks from the brook which cleaves its roaring way through the rocky wall; it speaks from the tempestuous south wind which sweeps howling into the valley from the high mountains, as well as from the avalanche of rocks which looses itself from the precipice and roars thundering into the depths below.

551 Namgyal's receptive spirit could not possibly avoid these impressions. He was a plucky boy, a courageous climber and rider. Because of his courage in the brawls with his companions the latter had given him the nickname "Jigsmed" (Without-fear).

During the day the boy wandered through the mountains and the valleys without apprehension in spite of the wolves who are present everywhere, whenever it was necessary to look for a lost sheep. But when dusk settled down on the series of chasms and dark shadows spread out over mountain and slopes, our "Without-fear" was overcome by a secret terror. Then the jagged rocks and peaks turned into a thousand shapes which stretched their arms threateningly at him, and at this time voices became loud which had been silent during the day. From the plateau yonder he could hear the howling of the wolves, in the ravine there to the left a fox was barking, over there from the old ruin of [136] the Darden castle there resounded the call of the screech owl, and sounds

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Ladak

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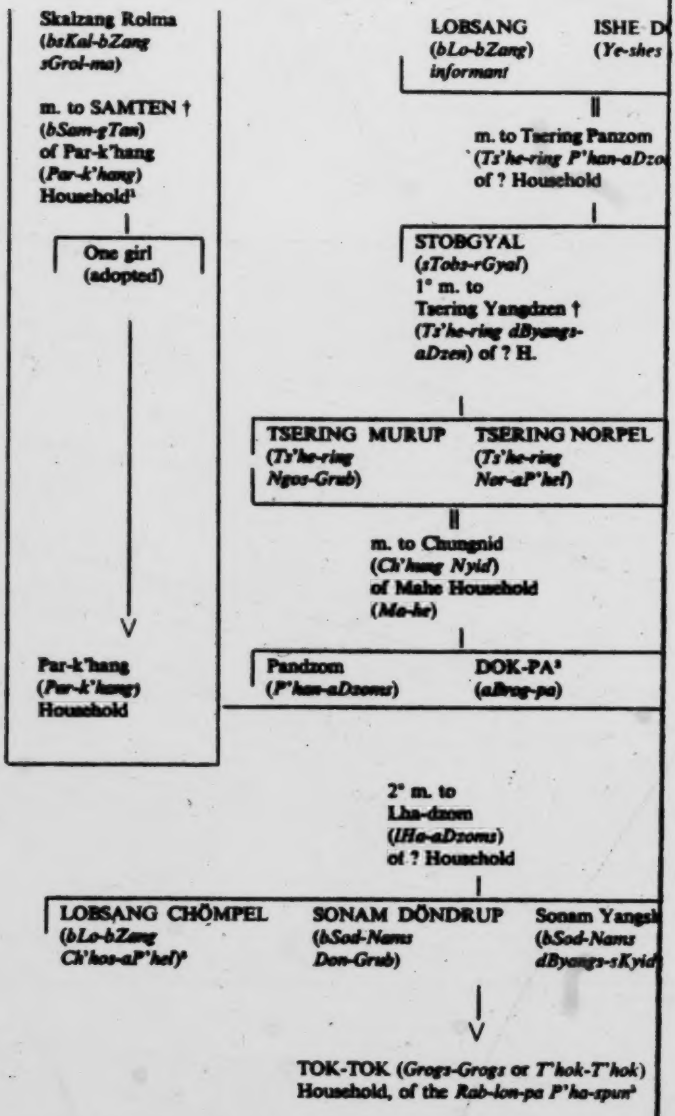
TABLE 27. GENEALOGY OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'ho*



[1] Skalzang Rolma is a widow and owns her late husband's house for the time being. She ha this child will inherit the Par-k'hang Household at the death of her mother by adoption, comes first.

[2] This little boy has no real name yet; the one he bears means "nomad" and has been given to

[3] He is a Gelug-pa lama, and lives in Lhasa.

[4] This little boy has also been given a provisional name, as above, for the same reason; (*aBrog-mo*) alternatively, meaning "female nomad".

[5] See list of Ladak *P'ha-spuns*.

Capital letters denote males. Small characters are women. † = dead. m. = married. H. =

[facing p. 360-A]

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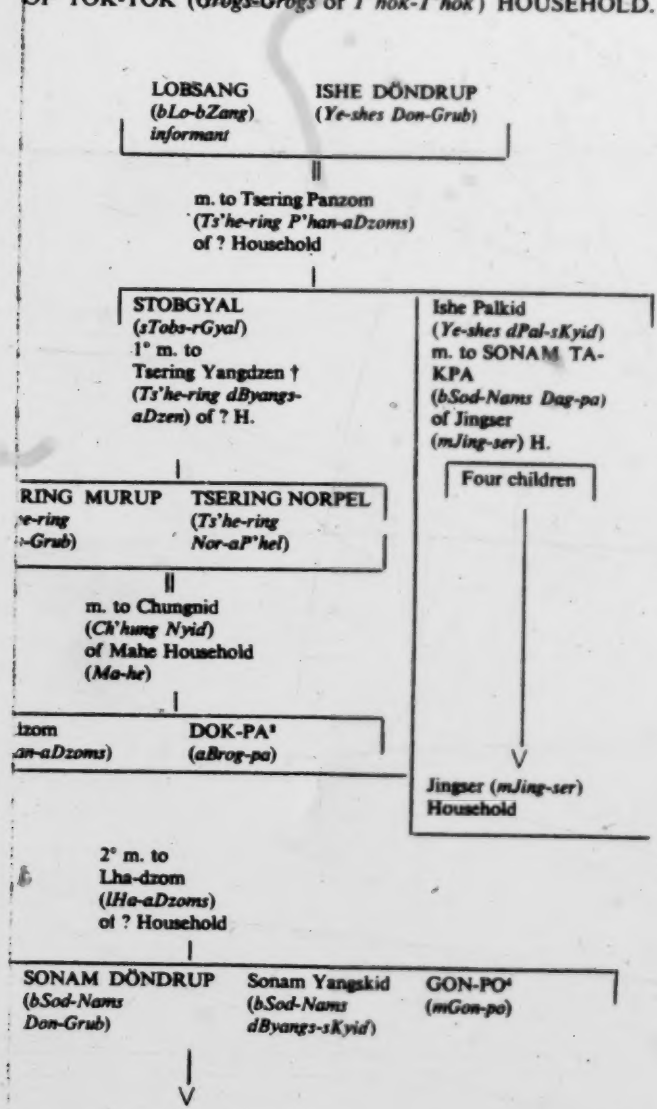
Ladak

OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*) HOUSEHOLD. 595 601



husband's house for the time being. She has adopted a little girl relative of her husband and d at the death of her mother by adoption, or when she herself marries a *mag-pa*, whichever

ears means "nomad" and has been given to him provisionally to avert the evil eye from him. [159]

nal name, as above, for the same reason; it means "protector". He is also called Dok-mo [551] ad".

women. † = dead. m. = married. H. = Household

[facing p. 360-B]

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TABLE 34. GENEALOGY OF TSONG-K'HAR-PA (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*)

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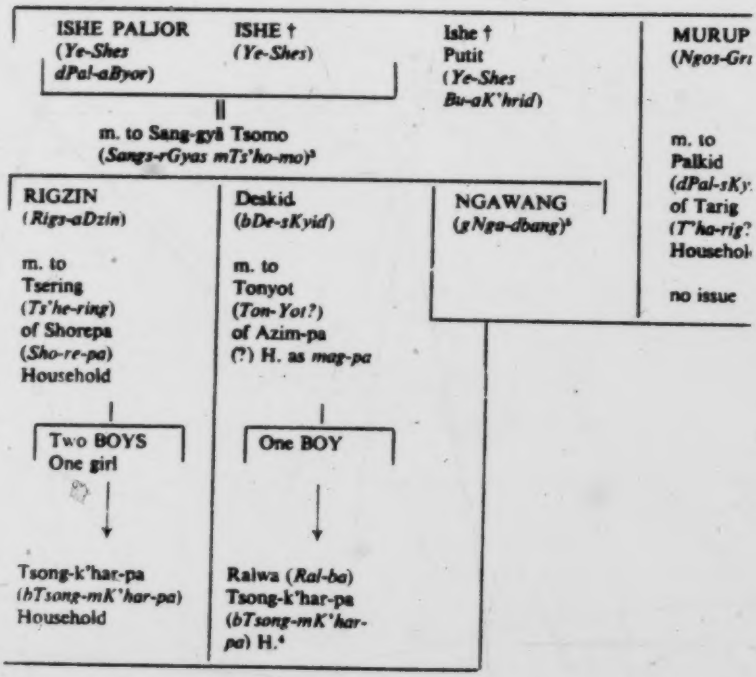

[551]

[1] "Little Tsong king", obviously a nickname with a Moslem connotation (Malik = Arabic for "king").

[2] Dondrup received the Bata household, as all his mother's brothers died without heirs.

[3] She was a Moslem, but changed religion and name to marry her husband.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing p. 372-A]

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Tsong-mK'har-pa) HOUSEHOLD.

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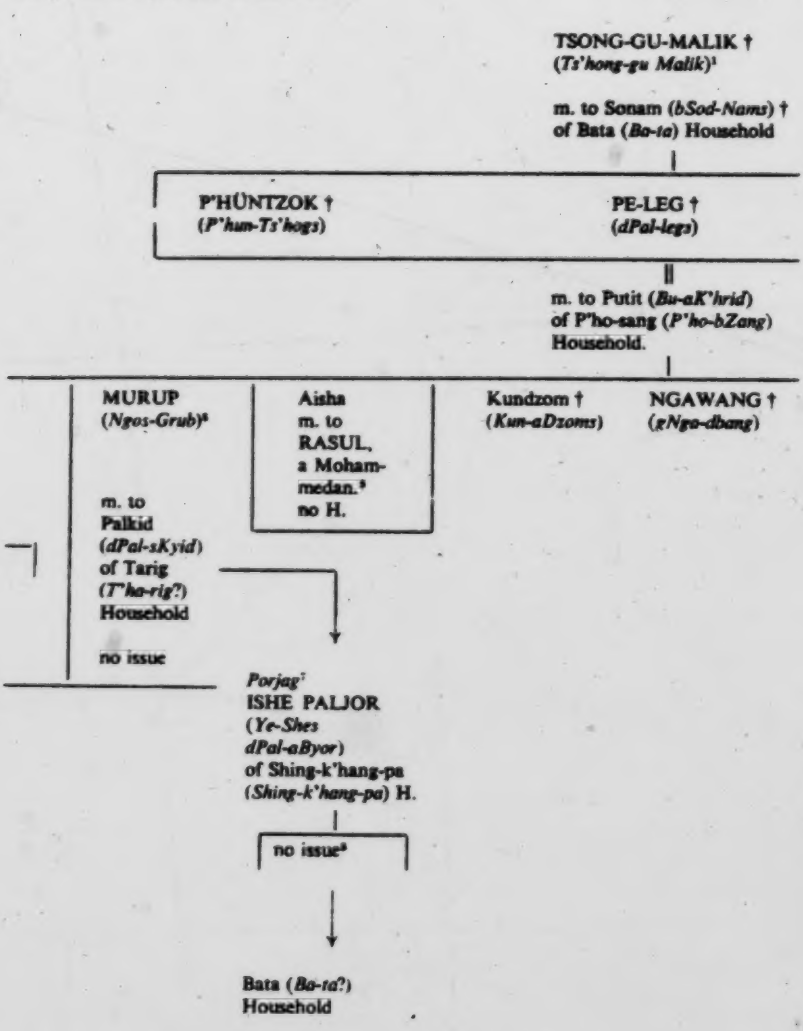
[551]



otation (Malik =

ers died without

husband.

[4] Deskid was a tenant without occupation on some land *mag-pa* ad founded the Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa H.

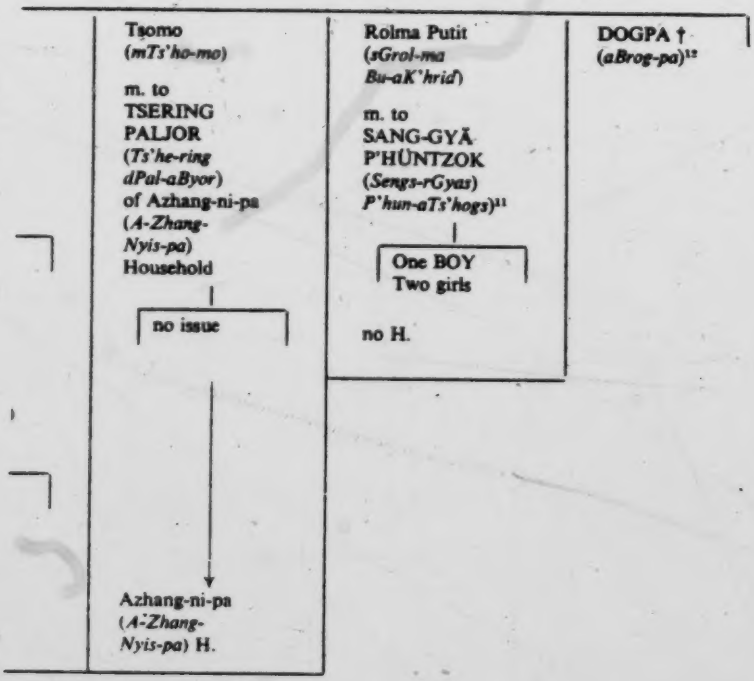
[5] He is a lama at Himis gompa.

[6] Murup received the Bata H. and continued it, while Ishe the Tsong-k'har-pa Household.

[facing P. 392-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595
601



[7] *Porjag* taken after 20 years of childless marriage.
[8] Childless still after 4 years could adopt a child.
[9] Moslem name as married a Moslem.
[10] Same name as earlier dead girl in commemoration.
[11] Moh. convert to Budh. Is now manager of Himis gompa.
[12] No name: this one against the evil eye (means "nomad").

[551]
[154]

[facing P. 372-D]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, 595
so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the 601
latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and [591]
continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was
some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having [842]
any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The
reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility.
As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and
Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man
was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called
in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra
husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no
way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they [597]
were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they
had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three [591]
k'hang-gus: one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she
was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä
Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous
marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the
couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who
was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of
Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which 428
she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom
she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy.
Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa
household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-
k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this
new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was
of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, how- 595
ever, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a 601
lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family prop- 992
erty in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being
was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the
revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder broth-
er's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not
specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called 595
Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with 601
whom she lived in Leh. 551

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
852 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[292] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

/11/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Kalatse lies yonder in the Ladakh high- 361 -
land, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the Western Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading mountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village forms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming apricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate, projecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly the fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike our ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and the call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the Indus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded beasts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main town of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the women who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise everything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the white-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue, cloudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock 512
in the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to his house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and everybody takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal, 789

1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same 552 •
time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house- 551
owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has its own name by which the present owner can likewise be called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering," "Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other. In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which usually have a religious significance, the house names display a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa), Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

552 551 Ambassador (P'o-nya), and Castlecaptain (K'ar-dpon), the four latter all being titles from the time of the kingdom; furthermore there are animal names like Fox (Wa-tse-pa), Wolf (Śaṅ-ku-pa); finally there are nicknames such as the Chewing-one (K'a-ldags-pa), Break-leg (rKaṅ-cags-pa), Break-skull (mGo-cags-pa), the Thrown-out-one (P'ar-la-p'an), Thief's-son (rKu p'rug), Cat's-mouth (Bi-la-k'a), Liar (Dzun-can), and other in part insulting names

789 which stands there at the foot of the steep cliff below the old castle ruin on the rocky floor of the valley closely nestled in a group of houses, there is lively activity even now during the hot, muggy afternoon. There is the hollow murmur from the rough throats of men, which occasionally /12/ swells to great strength; in between there can be heard dissonant and deep blasts of trumpets and the beating of drums. Five lamas (Buddhist monks) in red cowls from the nearby monastery Lamayuru are crouched there in the large living room-kitchen of the house with their legs folded under them on rough carpets made of goats' hair. In front of each one of them, on small tables no higher than a footstool and carved with beautiful designs, there are two piles of loose leaves which belong to a book. They are all reading at one and the same time in a loud, grating voice, each one from the leaf which happens to be lying in front of him. When a leaf is finished, it is placed on the pile of leaves that have been read. The leaves made of Tibetan paper were once grey. Now the paper is covered with a blackish layer gleaming with fat, especially in those places where they have come into contact with the lamas' fingers.

With the wild confusion of everybody reading at the same time it is impossible for us to make rhyme or reason of what is being read. Only here and there does our ear catch a few words: "Jis don bum (Tibetan: byis gdon abum)," "The 100,000 child demons!" Then we can make out here and there a few mysterious Sanskrit formulas and syllables, "Om! Hum! Shri!" Magical formulas, powerful exorcising words, partly in Tibetan, and partly in the old sacred Sanskrit language.

It is out of the question that the inhabitants of the house might be listening attentively. How would they ever be able to understand this babel of voices, after all? The evil spirits for whom these phrases of exorcism are designed will undoubtedly make some sense of them and feel their effect, so they think. They themselves go quietly about

to buy some barley from Norbu Wangchug. It is true that he preferred 584
to buy from other farmers because the old Chirpon (34) had a mean

34. Chirpon is a corruption of ĉibs-dpon, in English "horse master" (stable master). It is one of the titles which stem from the time of the kings when the bearers of the title were court officials. The titles have been preserved in the names of the houses. [552]

trick of weighing his goods too short. He always weighed /57/ the [804]
things himself on his old scales with the wooden scale-beam and the balance-scales made of goat's leather. And when he weighed something before you, always two batti (equivalent of four pounds) at a time, it all looked quite correct; but if one later weighed it again at home, it was never right. But for the sake of his nephew the uncle was willing to take this into the bargain for this one time; including the haughty nature that Norbu liked to display. For--in a completely casual manner--Stobsldan was to ask Norbu whether a proposal on the part of Drogpa Namgyal for the hand of Chosskyid would have any prospect of success.

In the evening, as it was getting dark, he came back, with his head and his limbs again heavy from beer and talking. With difficulty and awkwardly he dismounted from his horse, and laboriously he climbed up the bad stone steps to his brother's house. He was received with questioning looks and words, and with comical weightiness and forced sureness he steered towards his seat at the stove in the chansa (living room-kitchen). Again the relatives and the tribe are all gathered together. After Stobsldan has emptied a few bowls of butter tea which the housewife has poured out for him, and after he has smoked a few draughts on the water pipe of the master of the house, he began his report. The parents of Chosskyid, he said, had at first been very cool and had behaved as though they were galons and he a begging beda. Nothing could come of the marriage; there had been so many who had asked this girl in marriage; if she wanted to she could hang a suitor from each of her fingers. And there were among these men of a quite superior rank to the Dragshos, against whom the father did not want to say anything otherwise, since after all he was a good friend of his father's. But this marriage could not possibly be brought about. While the girl's father had been talking, the men present in that house had made extensive fun of Stobsldan. But the latter had not given in; he

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and 527
every event is made the pretext for a feast, which
usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in [273]
general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the
chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and
the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these
occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer
is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a
drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a
principal part of an entertainment; but the performers
are more remarkable for their costume than for their
graceful movements. The principal occasions on which
these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and
deaths. The ceremonies are the following:

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the 852
mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at
her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests
make presents to the mother, according to their means,
of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money.
The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with
a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one 846
month.

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our 553
christening, is held just one year after the birth. The
child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an
offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or
barley, according to the means of the parties. The
lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the
usual entertainment of dinner and chang.

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal 585
business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively. He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

•553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

near Leh, and he exercised a very powerful influence in his day. 792

So much depends upon the proper name. His poor neighbor, to save 553 expense, had chosen the names for his recently born son himself with the aid of the wise women of his tribe and of a lama who was related to him. "Sodnam Drandul" he had named his offspring. The first name (Sodnam, which is "merit") designates its bearer as a pious Buddhist who places value upon the gaining of virtuous merits; the second name (Drandul, which is "tamer of enemies") was to overcome by its magical power all enemies which might oppose themselves to its bearer, especially the innumerable evil spirits in the air, on earth, and under the earth. A powerful name works wonders as a protective means. But Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty. Such a holy, wise, and powerful skushog as Bakula could, after all, read quite differently in the pages of the dark future and would be able to avert threatening misfortune by a suitable name and by other means. After three days of traveling the Dragshos arrived at the monastery Spitug 553 /sic./. He was lucky; he was soon admitted into the presence of the 792 mighty one, a man in his middle years, corpulent, with a closely shaved head and an intelligent facial expression. With legs crossed under him he was sitting in his abbot's cell on a raised, flat seat covered with carpets. He was clothed with garments of heavy, yellow Chinese silk. In the presence of several serving lamas in the red dress of their order Bakula received the Dragshos. Lobsang Wanggyal handed one of the lamas a ka-btags (greeting band), a copper plate with dried apricots, almonds and sugar on it, as well as a rupee in silver, which the lama placed in front of the skushog. Now Lobsang Wanggyal bowed deeply three times before the holy man and with both hands embraced the latter's legs. The holy man thereupon accorded his blessing to the /24/ suppliant with a negligent movement of the hand. Then he presented him with a narrow, yellow strip of silk with a knot [789] in it, a "magical knot" (gzuns-mdud), over which he had first repeated a powerful formula (gzuns) while breathing upon it. The recipient of this knot immediately fastened it as a protecting amulet to his cap.

But the Dragshos was not yet satisfied with this. Only now did he come forth with his real request and he added to it, that his little son already had fallen sick once of a bad intestinal disease, something which the angered water gods had probably afflicted him with. He was thinking in this case of his experience while watering his garden

553 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed
792 a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated
177 into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
551 these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 A/4 W. Tibetans A/4
Spiti 49a

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladâkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perâk* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 937

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *kesar*, or green, water is kept; *i.e.*, water in which *kesar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kesar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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7[illegible]3
[565]

The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

[766]
[787]

If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, which means the " tying-on " of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants ? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child ! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival ? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

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113 gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, from which the text and the notes were published in J & P ASB., /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/ Vol. III, p. 121 ff.

539 In Khalatse, Situated on The Indus River about
115 forty English miles below Leh, I made the acquaintance of a man
[553] who was called dKon-mchog-bkra-shis. His surname name rGya-
113 mthso-pa derived from the circumstance that he had married into the house of rGya-mthso-pa in Khalatse. Actually, however, he came from Lerdo (Lai-rdo) across from sKyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). This man possessed extensive knowledge about the Kesar saga, and for this reason he was invited to recite at all family festivals in the village. His version apparently originated in Lerdo in Purig. For many weeks I worked with this singer and with the scribe and teacher of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, and in this way I obtained the version of the Kesar saga that I have called the "Lower Ladakhi Version." This /3/ has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica under the numbers 1134, 1151, 1164, and 1218. dKon-mchog-brka-shis material was however, not yet exhausted with this. He continued with his narratives and now reported the adventures of the chief heroes of the sagas besides Kesar. I have published these sagas under the title: "The Paladins of the Kesarsaga," in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 10, Vol. III, No. 2, Vol. III, No. 5.

539 In all the publications in India I gave the text in its entirety, but
113 I had to dispense with a translation because of lack of time. Instead of a translation I appended to each chapter a detailed table of contents and lists of the proper names and of the uncommon words. The Lower Ladakhi Version contains the entire material of the Kesar saga, as indicated below. For the most part, therefore, it covers the same ground as the Sheh version. Yet it contributes not only new elements with respect to the style of the poetic passages, but also a great many interesting and important variants.

The collection, The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, on the other hand, contains entirely new material, under the following headings: 1. Kesar's beloved Mon (man of a low caste). 2. The story of the hero sKyaba-rgod-po (lJan war). 3. The story of the hero Shel-gyi-bu-zhun. 4. The story of the hero rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

585 II. The Wedding Songs (Nyo-pai-glu). At each wedding in the
539 region of the West Tibetans (Ladakh, Purig, and so forth), the following ceremony is performed: Seven friends of the bridegroom, who call themselves Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, "The buyers, the seven

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 114 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 601 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's [115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-* [591] *chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in [126] the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs [428] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[199] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe [553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry [591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 852 [604] [242] headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if [603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] [302] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 [551] A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots
793 down to the present day.
175 The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following :*—

795

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born 1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán 1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born 1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	„ 1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„ 1436
5.	Logros Chhos	„ 1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„ 1461
7.	Logros Tanpa	„ 1471
8.	Mon Lampal	„ 1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the
554 attainment of this rank became an object of ambition,
795 and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by
175 the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsong-
[176] khapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's
[177] memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word "lump;" and the Greek Ο-λυμπο-ς.

2: Ramsay--5 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 195 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

●554 576 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

588 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

The former
776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok. In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 654 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

WT
772 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
775 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land), táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
T considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
788 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they
648 therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leader-
565 ship of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
WT 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
648 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
554 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
661 lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
T carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
648 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined
661 what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
648 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
439 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
554 profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la táng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zár ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 352 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 439 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octrói and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 439 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-~~i-sar~~ (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
● 554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Chapter III, B.

792 Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gúphs* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomine in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

[P. 5]

Dancing

635 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535 Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits—to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,—and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

787 The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 5

A LADY'S PROPOSAL

000 We paid off our porters at Koksar and they returned to Manali. These were not the type one reads about in Himalayan literature. They were villagers—farmers, hired hands, clerks in the bazaar at Manali. Had I planned a trek on foot, I would have arranged for professional porters, the best of whom are from Darjeeling far to the east of Manali. They have been trained by the Himalayan Club of India, beginning with the first British expedition to Everest in 1922. They are tireless travelers of the trail—efficient, loyal, and enduring. They would have been eager for the adventures of the highroad to Leh. Our Manali
482 porters were not. Moreover, the profession of the porter is not in
554 high esteem in the Kulu Valley. Carrying loads on one's back for
651 another man is looked down upon. The reason has its roots in history. In ancient days the Rajah of Kulu demanded labor of each man. So many days a year were owed the Crown. This was known as the *begar* system. The lowliest of *begar* labor was the coolie, who carried freight for the Rajah on his back. Carrying

482 the mail was less dishonorable. Providing wood and grass for the
• 554 Rajah's camps was higher on the scale. The *begar* system was
651 gravely abused. Many lost their health or their lives on dangerous missions for the Rajah. The work was looked down upon; a certain ignominy was attached to it.

That tradition has persisted. Porters are considered coolie labor, and coolie labor carries some of the disrepute of the *begar* system.

000 Our porters, however, were not in revolt or unhappy. That was not the reason why we paid them off. The reason was that at Koksar we found horses which would take us three stages, viz., to Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul. Rahul and I debated whether to gamble on another pack train at Kyelang. There was a half promise that we could get mules at Kyelang. We decided to take that chance.

465 The porters lined up for their pay the morning after we arrived at Koksar. The rate was three rupees a stage per man (about sixty cents), a stage usually being the distance between dak bungalows or about ten miles. Each porter was to get an additional 50 per cent of that amount each time we crossed a pass (there were six passes on our route from Manali to Leh). On the return trip they were to get one half the rate. They were also to get half rate whenever they laid over a day. Each porter was to supply his own food.

000 This morning at Koksar the main argument was over the computation of the amount I owed each one. There were many figures submitted, each man arguing for his own computation. It took about an hour to get the crowd to agree on a figure. And when it appeared that unanimity had been achieved, one lone dissenter spoke up. He maintained that he was entitled to one rupee more than all the others. And so he was. It happened this way.

As I said before, the first porters to arrive at our hotel in Manali took the lightest packs, leaving the heaviest for the late-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here,[1]
788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
793 come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums, while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests must be both fed, and paid in money.

788 Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious
778 purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

● 554 One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best
[758] room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

342 The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

[1] [i.e., in private chapels in better-class houses in town.—Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W ..ibetans AJ4

gut, and the bow of horsehair. Let us listen to Tsiring 538
Rolmar, as she recounts to her husband and her two boys, one of these stories. In the corner of their living-room is the [554]
stove, behind which sits the housefather on a slightly raised platform, before him his cup of tea which he sips the while. On the opposite side, also sitting cross-legged, is his lady, who while she spins her yarn, blows the fire with her goatskin bellows, and at her side her youngsters drink in the story. Like all good tales hers begins—" Once upon a time," and 539
goes on to tell of King Sralkai, of his little son Ulastopgyes, the princess Laches, and their cruel step-mother, who in order to rid herself of her husband's children feigned illness, and asked him to go to a certain old woman physician who lived on a hill far away. While the King was on the road thither, the wicked queen, successfully disguised, took a short cut and arrived at the mountain first, then told the King that the only cure for his queen was a meal made of the hearts of his two children. Sadly he returned, and we follow the prince and princess through a long and tedious history of various unsuccessful attempts to murder them, until eventually Ulastopgyes is recognized as a prince and is crowned king of a great country. His thoughts return to his poor old father, and he goes to rescue him from the wicked queen, who turns out to be a witch and is slain, whilst, of course, the rest live happily ever afterwards. But do not imagine this story is told in so few words—an hour would not suffice for all the details, and many cups of tea are drunk before the fortunate family is eventually allowed to " live happily ever after." Of such stories there must be hundreds, and for every myth or fairy-tale which we have in the West, the Ladaki has his Tibetan version. In the same way it would not be difficult to find a
Ladaki proverb similar to almost every English one. Besides 534
the story-teller and his fiddled accompaniment, there is the amateur with musical propensities who can express his feelings on a flute, also home-made, just a bit of hollow stick

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

787 whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They
796 agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated
776 on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the
787 English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange
554 that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith
564 caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXII

Skushogs & Scandals

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AMONG the greater personages who periodically appear on the stage of public life in Leh are the *Skushogs* of the surrounding monasteries. The word Sku-shog, meaning literally "body-great," or translated freely, "your presence," is a title of honour used by Central Tibetans for any person of rank, including even the European occasionally, but in Western Tibet it is confined to clerical dignitaries, and, in practice, is only used to designate the head abbot of one or more monasteries. Such a mah is regarded as having obtained sufficient holiness to reach Nirvana, but in his compassion for his fellows he voluntarily remains in the wheel of life, and comes back to help them by presiding over their *dGonpa*. Thus as soon as the head incarnation of a monastery dies, he is re-incarnated in a male baby born at the time of his death, this child then has to be discovered and brought to rule over his own lamasery when old enough. Here he is absolute monarch; he himself cannot do evil whatever sin he commits; he is a law-giver, but need not abide by the laws he lays down. The method of discovery and preparatory education of a *Skushog* may be best told by translating a short biography written in Tibetan by the *Skushog* of Hemis at our request.

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"My own home is not in Llasa itself, as my father was an assistant to the Yutog minister, whose house is connected with Lhasa by a bridge, covered by a roof set in turquoise-coloured baked bricks. My house-name is 'Yutog Shar.'

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 159 doctrinal truths, staying for some months. After this I stayed in Gongkar Dechos until the Sheep year, and in the year of the Firemonkey I went to see the Galwa Rinpoche, that is the Dalai Lama. Having done obeisance to him, [554] he conferred on me the rank of 'San-o-han-too,' which is a Mongolian word, and other honours which are only bestowed on men of high rank. [To show this rank he has an umbrella carried before him, and possesses his own flag.] I was also placed over other *Skushogs* and professors. I thus received such kindness and praise from the Dalai Lama. That year I returned to Ladak, and the next I passed my examination in doctrine. After this I went to the hermitage of Godtsang, where I lived as a hermit, meditated on the doctrines of Saskya Rnyingma and Drugpa, etc., and read the Kangyur and the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, and pondered their meaning. Here I remained for ten years, but in the Firemonkey year I came out of retirement, and from that time onwards I have been travelling about Upper and Lower Ladak and Kulu, visiting my congregations and giving money to a few lamas, and occasionally I stay in a hermitage."

792 177 Since he wrote this little history he has also made a grand tour through India, Ceylon and Burmah to Lhasa, and has thus seen something of the impact of Western civilization, which interests him greatly. He has always been much attracted by small mechanical toys and Western devices, such as electric torches, clocks, watches, microscopes, etc., and is himself an expert photographer. Some visitors to Hemis were once amused to see on each side of the chief altar in his private apartment a pair of Odol bottles, their bent necks facing each other. When we first visited this room, they were replaced by Southwell jam jars containing artificial flowers. He is interested in Western medical science too, and gave a sum of money to the Doctor Sahib towards getting the operation theatre of the Moravian Mission Hospital in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

So from time to time one interesting type after another 796
appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the 184
picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the 291
lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next 792
to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he [554] cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims 796
melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the 000

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [485]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nang-dzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 433 651

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*e*) For the *n* in *shinmig* or *shinpo* see also *nyin* derived from *nyima*. Syllables ending in a vowel are inclined to add a final *n*, see also *mentog* from *metog* and many others. 000

28. (*a*) རང་སྐྱོན་ཕད་གང་འབོར་ཏེ། 577 539

ཨི་སྐྱོན་རྒྱ་གང་ལ་མ་གྲེལ།།

(*b*) rang'skyon phad'gang bor'te
mi'skyon rgye'gangla mathrel'.

(*c*) Putting aside the large bag [*phad*] filled with your own faults, do not mock at the little bag [*rgye*] of your neighbour's faults.

(*e*) *Rang skyonphad gang* and *misky on rgye gang* are *Compos. determ.* Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rgye*. 000

29. (*a*) རང་གདོང་མ་མཐོང་སྟེ། 577 539

ཨི་གདོང་ལ་ལྟད་མོ།།

(*b*) rang'dong ma thong'ste
mi'dongla stad'mo.

(*c*) Not seeing your own [ugly] face, [you make] a scene about your neighbour's face

(*d*) See 28.

(*e*) *Ltadmo* derived from *ltaces*, to look at. 000

30. (*a*) ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཡོག་པོ་ཡིན། 555 539

གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) lag'shes gun'gyi yog'po in'
stam'shes gun'gyi spon'bo in.

(*c*) Who is clever with his hands, is servant of all, who is clever in his speech, is master of all.

(*e*) The ending *gyi* is retained here. The proper Ladakhi would be *gunni*. The silent *g* and *d* in *gtam* and *dpon bo* become *s*. 000

31. (*a*) ཆག་པོས་འགས་པོ་ལ་མ་གྲེལ།། 577 539

(*b*) chag'poe gas'pola ma threl'.

(*c*) What is broken, must not laugh at what is cracked.

(*d*) See 28 and 29.

(*e*) *Chagpo* and *gaspo* are substantives derived from verbs. 000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

231 the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. It might, therefore, with advantage be crossed with the 492 common small sheep of our hill provinces. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladák is transported on these sheep. They are food, clothing, and carriage, and form the principal wealth of the people of Ladák. I have seen a single flock of six hundred sheep, entirely laden with wool; and in one day I have counted as many as from five to six thousand sheep laden with shawl wool and common wool, borax and sulphur, and quantities of dried apricots, all making their way to the hill provinces ● 556 on the south-west. The *Huniya* * is, therefore, much prized; and a man's wealth is generally estimated by the number of his sheep. The average price is two rupees and a half (or five shillings), but fine strong rams are worth from three to four rupees.

231 The whole trade of Ladák does not exceed 30,000 [439] small maunds of sixteen seers each, equivalent to the same number of sheep-loads. But the large importation of grain, which took place yearly before the population had been thinned by disease, emigration, and war, must have employed some 400,000 sheep. Of these, probably about one-half belonged to the Ladákis, and the other half to the hill people of Káshtwár, Chamba, Láhul, Kullu, and Kanáwar. After making a due allowance for lambs, I should estimate the former number of sheep at upwards of 300,000, or rather more than twelve sheep per house. At present the number is not so great, probably not more than 250,000. At the rate of 2 seers (4 lb.)† per sheep, the annual produce of wool

* *Huniya* is the Indian term, of which the Tibetans have made *Hu-nhi-yi*. The sheep is called *Huniyi-luk*.

† The English sheep yield an average of 4 lb. each, and even the little Purik sheep of Ladák yield 3 lb. See Moorcroft, I. p. 310.

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

●556 415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk chés (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

589 601

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ-

233 **Chapter IV, B.**

Live-Stock.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts; one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, when fully broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

[431] [432] [55]

For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them when the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

[439] [483]

Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti MISCEL

[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the Kângrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khdis* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lima* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lima* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [614]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately 484 the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 556 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to pur- 427 chase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (Len-mi).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more men or women as permanent servants. These
464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds (Lug-rdzi).*

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and for a fourth offence, death by drowning. These at least were the allotted punishments, and, with the exception of the last, they were generally carried into effect in all cases of robbery of public property or of church goods. But in cases of private robbery the usual influences had their weight. Near relationship might sway the judges to a milder sentence; or a fair bribe, judiciously bestowed, might induce the chief Láma of the monastery of Hémis to interfere, by an appeal to the king's mercy, which it was unusual to refuse. A direct appeal could also be made to the king by the prisoner's relatives, on the presentation of an offering of four or five rupees, if the criminal was a poor man, or of fifty to a hundred rupees, if he was a rich man.

684 For *Adultery*, where the woman was the guilty party, the paramour, as in Europe, was fined according to his means, or received an equivalent corporal punishment, while the husband had the option of taking back the woman, if he chose to do so. Or if he did not wish to keep her, he could retain her dowry. When the husband was the guilty party, the wife could demand back her dowry.

683 Common disputes, involving blows and abuse, were settled at once by fines and stripes.

695 In doubtful cases, where the evidence was unsatisfactory, a decision was obtained either by casting lots, or by ordeal. In the latter case, the accused had either to draw a red-hot iron through his hand, or to take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil without injury. In Great Tibet both of these ordeals are practised; but the latter is rendered much more complicated and difficult by the immersion of two stones, one black and the other white,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 Chapter II. — History. [173] History of Láhaul.

whole of Láhaul became tributary to the Rája of Chamba, and that the part now forming British Láhaul was subsequently transferred from Chamba to Kúlu. I have remarked points in one or two Láhaul traditions which support this view, and would agree with the account given by the present representative of the Kúlu Rája's family according to which his ancestor in the seventh generation, Rája Bidhi Singh, acquired Láhaul from Chamba. There is no reason, I think, to doubt the correctness of the account as to time, and it fixes the date of the first acquisition of British Láhaul by Kúlu at about 200 years ago. The Rájas of Chamba must have conquered the country before A.D. 1600, or Chovzang Námgyál would have annexed it to Ladákh, but they must have governed through the *thákurs* and interfered very little, or there would be clearer traces of their seventy or eighty years' rule in the Láhaul traditions. As I have said before, I believe the Kúlu Rája's account to be correct as to time; but the explanation given in it, that Bidhi Singh got Láhaul as dower with a princess of the Chamba family, is generally discredited as a boastful attempt to increase the honour of the family by the invention of an alliance to which the Rája of Chamba would never have condescended. Moreover, it seems quite opposed to all custom for a Hindú Rája to give territory as dower with a daughter, and the story is not told by the people, who, if asked, say that they imagine Láhaul must have been forcibly annexed. No doubt that was the case, and from that time the history of Láhaul is included in that of the Kúlu principality. Budh or Bidhi Singh was son of Rája Jaggat Singh, who was a contemporary of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzíb, and the date of the acquisition may therefore be placed approximately at 1700 A.D."

[557]

651 174

It would appear, however, that subsequently to this the Láhaulis continued to pay a small annual tribute to Ladákh, probably to avert forays and to keep the roads open for trade. Indeed the Láhaulis, without orders, continued to pay this tribute to the governor at Léh up to 1862, when our Government, being informed of the fact, prohibited its payment in future. Moorcroft says in his travels that four villages in Láhaul in his time (A. D. 1820) paid revenue to the Giálpo of Ladákh, though they acknowledged military fealty to the Rája of Kúlu. He mentions that Thákur Dharam Singh, of Keylang, was then the officer in charge of the country, and was treated with profound respect by the people. Mr. Lyall says:—"This I can well believe, as I have never seen deeper respect shown anywhere to any one than was shown to his son *thákur* Tárá Chand, the late *wazír*, by the Láhaulis when I first knew them." Láhaul passed under British rule in 1846, together with Kúlu to which it was subject.

174 History of Spiti.

After the first formation of the kingdom of Ladákh, Spiti appears to have now and again been separated from it for a time, and attached to some other short-lived Tibetan principality, or to the country governed from Lhásá itself. It was perhaps independent for a time, as it is mentioned in the records procured from the *lámás* by General Cunningham as conquered by Singhi Námgyál, king of Ladákh, in about A.D. 1630, and, allotted by him, with Zánskár, to his third son, Tenchog, in about A. D. 1660. Soon after, it was incorporated in the Guge principality, which lay to the east, in what is now Chinese Tibet, and was not restored to Ladákh till about A. D. 1720, when the king of Ladákh, at the conclusion of a war with Guge and Lhásá, married the daughter of the Lhásá com-

[Petty barons — Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 called him "the Mad Skushog," but, said he, "I am not mad,
159 I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenance
771 and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one else could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirely [797] repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed him to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and the Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted that the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity, and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moravian missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficult situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipated life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruction, telling him that study and probation were necessary first. He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, who found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, to whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds were perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our minds can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could not believe.

[626] At about this time, living as he was with his one lama servant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist homes alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. After taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill, and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionaries and begged them to take him into their compound, where he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he was given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look up the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting on his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still sus- [557] pected that the desire to join the Christian religion was secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found that he had hoped to get a political post under the British Government, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Without it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetans would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them up

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned. 423 427 651

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c. 792 423 427

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogí.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talúkdár* of a village in the plains. 427 651 [558]

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The 312 423 425 [621]

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dotoos*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 [564] (*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been originally ཌཻ་ཏོལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

539 41. (*a*) རྟས་འཕང་ཉོང་ངམ། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྱོན་ཉོང་ངམ།།

(*b*) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

000 (*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

561 42. (*a*) ཐུང་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་རྒྱང་ལ་ཇའུ།།

793 (*b*) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

436 (*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

539 (*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

[000] (*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = 3¼ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

793 43. (*a*) ཁྭ་དགས་ཀོ་ལྷག་ཟེར་ས་དང་ཟླ་མའི་ཏོ་ལྷང་ཟེར་ས་ལ་སྟེབ་འདུག།

539 (*b*) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

000 (*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin.* *trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

539 44. (*a*) སྦལ་ཏི་ཉིང་ཅན་ནི་ཉིང་ལ་ཀོལ་ལ་ཀོལ་ལ།

བོད་ཉིང་མེད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་ལ།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la
bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladâki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the ârGHôn population of Ladâk, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladâkis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladâk), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladâk is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the ârGHôns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the ârGHôn women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHôns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladâk for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladâkis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [473] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

[434] 563 473 443

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

●562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
601

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women [562] go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. [273] A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-čaṅ). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

585 533 539 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house, when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the
[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the death of the father. She has full authority over the property (the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband. If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something which happens quite often and is carried out without many scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same parents.

000 to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuń) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself

595 But it must be said that
562 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan [781] woman to be sterile (mo-śam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

562 836 Part of the loose morality is doubtless due to the fact that these girls live along the caravan route where lonely, carefree men from Yarkand, Leh, and Manali travel. These caravan men laugh when anyone speaks of prostitutes. Of course there are no prostitutes. One takes what he wants and goes his way.

I did not know all of this as Rahul continued his long conversation with the two women I had helped ford the stream. I was to learn about Lahuli women later. I did know that something highly personal and intimate was being discussed because the women, at first bashful and coy, were now giggling and laughing. Finally I asked, "Rahul, what the devil goes on? Are you arranging a date come evening time?"

"No, no." He roared with laughter. "This woman with the child has been telling me what a wonderful person the other woman is. You see, they are sisters. This one without a child likes you. She wants you to stay with her tonight in their village of Sissu." By now the women stood watching me, grinning.

We were eating the condensed TF Army rations for lunch. I pretended to cogitate on the proposition as I finished a cereal bar and munched salted almonds. Finally I announced the decision. "Rahul, we'll compromise. Tell her that instead of staying in their village I will give each of them a present."

With that I reached into the TF rations, found four cookies, and gave two to the baby and one each to the women. As Rahul translated my message and presented the cookies, they gave us angry side glances and took the trail to Sissu.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGonpa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and *kalches* are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) ཉམ་པོ་འདུག་པ་ལ་མ་ཁྱོད།།

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(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'.

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama.

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance.

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) ནའ་ན་ནའ་ན་ཟེར་ར་ནི་མི་ཡི་ཡོ་ག་མོ་ཡིན།

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རྒྱབ་ལ་གཡུ་ཞུང་བཏགས་ག་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor in'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁ་ཏཱ་ཀོ་བྱག་ཟེར་པ། ཕུང་ཀའི་མིག་འཁྲུལ།།

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(*b*) Kha'tä ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kä mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage. However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
● 562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
357

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually by the parents. But this is not always the
588 case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 [565] Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJK

562 595 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 428 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 177 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J*

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer-cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides. These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm—a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns. It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodically assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images. No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

792 361 [788] [778] [782] 562 778

* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

562 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which
778 point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his
[178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās
[647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats
[788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elaborately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from which the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between Lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147] There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry [582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. [562] The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 588 [567] In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361] The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

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782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 293 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt, on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is 291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume 301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially 302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

• 562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

000 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

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000 did not feel inclined to move, so I tied him to a rock and went off in search of some landmark, for I seemed to have reached the top of the ridge. However, I soon found I could not walk more than twenty paces at a time, and a most splitting headache came on. It felt as if my head blood vessels would burst, and I had *mal de montagne* properly. After wandering about aimlessly I became aware I was up against a precipice. When the moon rose it was now one A.M., and then I saw I was under the foot of a glacier, a great cliff of ice over seventy feet high, which seemed to bulge out at the top like the curve of a huge breaker. It was very impressive, and for the moment I forgot my headache.

I had meant to stay on the pass to see the sunrise, but my powers of endurance gave out. My one desire was to get down the mountain, where I could breathe in comfort, so I descended to the rock where I had left my pony, and I soon began to recover my equilibrium as I descended. When I returned to Leh I made inquiries after my guide, but I never discovered what happened to him and therefore never knew why he gave me the slip.

346 796 About twenty miles from Leh is a very large and 788 important monastery called Hemis, and once in every twenty years they have an especially important religious play, so Dr Neve and I hired ponies and joined the happy throng of pilgrims.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to see people of all classes making their way on foot and horseback to this far-famed monastery. On several ponies were two [595] riders, the man in front and his lady behind. As polyandry is the custom in Ladakh, the wife is therefore the lord [562] and master, so one expected to see the lady riding in front and one or more husbands riding pillion, for we often saw 788 576 three passengers riding one horse. We passed two ~~ladies~~

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or
"botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and
short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked
inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like
the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and
then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf
down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a
child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns[1] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

(14)BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not
of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any
other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt
brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to
scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in
Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens,
nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for
habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons[1] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they
think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives.
The best bride is she who has the most property and is the
best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 595
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife,
so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure
as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage cere-
mony.

1 [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

428 592 583 428 591 592 586 597

his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

•563 195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

GAUDY--tshos lakmo bright coloured. Ladákis approve highly of bright colours therefore our "gaudy" corresponds with their "bright". 100

[52]

GIPSY-- khamba or khampa. No gipsies are found among Ladákis, who are a very well-to-do people. Wandering beggars come from the Lhása Province of "Kham," hence possibly the word "khamba." 735 568

[53]GOD--konjok is the general term, but it is hard to say what the Ladákis understand the word to mean, for according to European ideas they have no God. They have a kind of Trinity which they call the "Konjóksum" or "Konjok sumbo." It is made up as follows:--(1) sangiás (sangeys) konjok, i.e., Buddha the emblem of intelligence, and the head of the Buddhist faith and priesthood (2) chhos konjok, i.e., the religion deity; (3) gendun konjok, i.e., the priestly deity. From this it seems that the Ladákis have no God, and that they worship a Trinity representing--(1) Buddha; (2) priests of the religion of Buddha. Ordinary Ladákis have no idea of anything before and apart from Buddha, and they never trouble their heads about the Laws of Nature, and the Causer of Causes. They think that the world goes on in a never ending round of "kalpas" or periods, each of which has its own Buddha, and each of which is terminated by the destruction of the world by fire, as a punishment for the sins of mankind. After that, a fresh "kalpas" commences, and so on. 779 776 822

They cannot give any information as to their belief regarding the length of a "kalpas;" but they say that long long ago the age of man extended up to 800 years, that since then his life time has gradually been shortened, till now, his age rarely extends beyond 80 years, that the present is the last of the life shortening "kalpas," and that after the end of this "kalpas," man's life time will gradually be lengthened to its former limits.

In addition to the "konjoksum," the Ladákis have endless minor deities:"Hla" or more correctly "Lha" is the general term for a fairy, spirit, or deity; rgiachhen is Indra; tshángspa is Brahma; khiápjook is Vishuoo; wángchhook is Iswara; and dodhla is Cupid, in the evil sense of the God of lust. 776 779

Other minor gods are sa i hla the earth god, ree i hla the mountain

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srächan or SHrächan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladákis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHón. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHóns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[711] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [473] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by [434] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or 563 473 443 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p.203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhót" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--lama or lamba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

553 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed
772 a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated
177 into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
551 these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

581 industrious and knew something about the mangement of a household and of fields; that one never saw her without the tsepo (the little carrying basket) on her back, a sign of how active she was in the gathering of fuel; in the evening she was always to be seen at home, she did not wander about like certain other girls, and--the two also liked each other. But with this she had little luck. Tsering Putrid, her mother-in-law, interrupted her and said: "Oh, what nonsense you are prattling. You know nothing about these matters! Nothing can come of those two. I do not want to say anything against Trashi Rolma; she may be a very nice girl. And her parents, our neighbors in the Pahnpa house, are sensible, pious people; but Trashi Rolma is no bride for my grandson. Her father is only a small farmer, he has only one horse which is blind in one eye, two cows and only about twenty sheep and goats; his field holdings are only average and they have a bad location. It is also whispered about that the Pahnpa owes the monastery Lamayuru 200 khal (1 khal equals 45 liters) of grain. And what is worst of all: [563] in the veins of the Pahnpa there is Drogpa blood. The grandmother of Trashi Rolma was a Drogmo (aBrog-mo, a woman from the Aryan tribe of the despised Drogpa) from Dah (28), and you know that we

28. Dah--a village on the upper Indus River which is entirely populated by the Aryan Drogpa (Dards).

Bodpa (Tibetans) have nothing in common with the Drogpas. Our race, the Dragshos, is an old, distinguished race; it belonged to the officials' nobility at the time of the Ladakh kings. I was actually supposed to have had a galon (nobleman) for husband, but since my father had lost a great deal of his property and was no longer wealthy, the galon got the other one who could bring a larger dowry with her. In no case may a Drogmo come into this house as a bride."

The relatives and p'as-pun could not remain uninfluenced by these weighty considerations. Mother Palskyid did not dare make any more objections. Namgyal, who had been standing by the door listening, heard with painful feelings how they went over his wishes and on to the agenda. There followed a discussion that lasted for hours /55/ and which became all the more excited as the chang flowed ever more plentifully. The women were ceaselessly pouring the beer for the men with a ladle into their little wooden drinking bowls which stood in front of them on the small, low tables, as soon as the bowls were so much as half empty. That was the custom. Nobody was supposed to be able to count how many kore (little bowls) he had drunk.

Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man."--translator./) 585
from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little 431
goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself," Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, 585
the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, [563] ●
men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant 585
people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy 533
occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be 535
earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short 585
period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

900 at this wonder of technology.

527 The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following,
[344] was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears
[563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women
[526] separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang,
782 the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-koñ), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the
527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful,
778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of 788
the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriñ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it.

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the white-washing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being.

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform 792
for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these 463
mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (com- 465
pare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 563

463 they performed for the farmers during the year: the maintenance of
465 the agricultural and other implements, the shoeing of the horses, all
563 kinds of carpentry work, and so forth. The musicians (Bedas, Mon) who have played and sung at the festivities, likewise receive their share. After they have been entertained, each of those who have rendered a service of some kind to the farmers receives a few measures of grain, depending on his performance, up to a weight of two kal (one kal being about 15 kilograms).

000 Namgyal's religious enthusiams led him to follow conscientiously all the commands of the doctrine and of the lamas, But all these pious exercises were unable to put an end to the restlessness of his heart. Even the pilgrimages to the holy places and to the Buddha images, which according to the statements of the lamas were bound to secure the pious person an entry into paradise, yes, even into nirvana, did not give him the peace of soul that he sought. The struggle for perfection and liberation from earthly bonds seemed hopeless, all divine and human Skyabsmgon (saviours) had disappointed him; he had seen too much of the sinful life of the great majority of the lamas to be able to entrust himself to their leadership with confidence. He could not do entirely without their spiritual assistance, for the sake of the family and the tribe who placed importance upon a good relationship with the lamas; and in order to do everything for his own salvation of soul, and that of his family, he observed the commandments and "acted religious," as the lamas demanded it. But his yearning for peace remained unsatisfied.

797 Around this time a missionary had moved into the valley and had built a house, in spite of furious resistance on the part of the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru. Together with his wife, the missionary now took loving concern with the poor and the afflicted. He spoke to the people about someone called Yeshu, the incarnation of the great single God and Creator in Heaven, who came down to earth himself in human form to save the bound and suffering human beings; and who made the bound people free and happy through his own suf-
000 ferings and death /178/. The message struck Namgyal like a flash of lightning, and a new conflict began inside of him. He could not get rid of the idea: What if it were true what the stranger said, that the belief in the act of redemption of this Yeshu was sufficient by itself, without any good works, and without all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to make man free from sin and suffering! And so Namgyal frequently visited the missionary's gatherings, despite the interdict of

5: Ribbach--216 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

533
534
563

/Following page 205/

Mon (musicians)

Kangra District.]
6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

General description.

[634] 101 131 133 [161]

The cantons or *wazíris* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazíris*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazíris*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

[651] [563]

Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century. In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, con-

SIDER LAHULIS INFERIOR.

• 563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
533 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.
When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.
They married happily.
After marriage the girl left Lahul
And went and lived with her husband,
Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.•

423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

•See page 333, category 116

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the 361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers 162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense 771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of 233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have [771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism [797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion 162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus 792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. ● 563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician 563
who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *ltadmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these 564
people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who 174
seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, 563
too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, 771
having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on con- 175
jecture and turn to that founded on written records either 798
inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been disinherited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger brother had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, managed to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

631 Aksakal, who represents the British Government in assisting
636 Yarkandi traders, and the "Charas Officer" in charge of the Indian hemp trade from Yarkand, both of the latter connected with the "Treaty Road," are also Imperial Government
● 563 servants. These officials and sub-officials are prominent in
631 the public life of Leh, taking their due precedence at public entertainments, and are all down-country men, mostly Punjabis and Kashmiris. We look for the day when there will be enough educated Ladakis to take up these positions in their own land.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

departure. These mattresses placed on the ground, with our own bedding on top, provided comfortable and warm beds for the cold nights of early spring. And what pictures the words early spring conjure up in this part of the world. The snow is still low on the great mountains all around, but the mid-day sun is already hot, and the sky is an azure blue, flecked with white fleecy clouds.

Riding along the bare hillsides with the rivers hardly yet beginning to rise, their sources still icebound, round some corner suddenly comes into view a little gem of a village. The leaves are not yet in bud, but the apricot trees are in blossom, a veritable pink and white fairyland. At the approach is generally a picturesque *chorten*-topped gateway, often flanked with gay blossoming trees, and all about the village the little newly-melted rills with early green peeping out from the banks add their joyousness to the whole scene, set in a background of blue sky and snow-covered hill with distant white peaks peeping over. Sometimes we spent the night on a roof, partially covered or walled-round in places, sometimes a room was given us, and once even the portico of the village temple, where all night long a gay goddess painted on the wall never ceased to pluck at her stringed instrument as we slept at her feet, while at dusk our own feet were stepped over by a young attendant who went in to trim the temple lamps.

After a week of trekking we turned up a side valley which leads to one of the villages, whose inhabitants are exculsively Brogpas; but one also finds some of these people living scattered about in the ordinary hamlets of Ladak. On the road from Srinagar to Leh, Brogpas are met with in Dras. Here they are all Mohammedan, whilst in the village of Hanu the predominating religion is Buddhist. They are said to have originated from Gilgit, where they no doubt played the national game of polo and later introduced it to Ladak, in which a good many villages now have their own polo grounds.

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D 162 for this extraordinary arrangement by the fact that originally
54v the Dards were Mohammedans, and presumably have not been
771 able entirely to throw off this allegiance. It is stated that in
D one of their villages, they actually found a burial ground;
[764] sure proof to them of a Mohammedan ancestry, for the
Buddhist burns his dead, whilst it is the Mohammedan that
D 764 inters. This may be a satisfactory explanation of their
religious ideas, but from whence have they derived all their
taboos? Thus the Brogpa must not raise fowl, nor may he
eat their eggs. The cow may be employed for the ploughing
of his fields, but the gods would most certainly be displeased
were he to drink their milk, or even use the butter which is
made from the same. In other villages the eating of fish is
taboo, and by the look and smell of them washing surely must
be also. In fact they avow ~~that~~ it is "Krims med"
D 751 not the custom. For some time it almost seemed to us as if
vaccination was also on their list of prohibitions, for, although
they had actually begged us to come for this very purpose, it
took the three of us quite a long time cajoling, threatening,
entreating and advising them, before they would undergo
this fearful operation. At last one faced it, soon to be followed
by the others, so that eventually we had quite a busy morning
vaccinating. A week later this must have been a sore village,
where most of the people wished vaccination had been taboo,
but by then we were well away with the knowledge that, should
smallpox attack Hanu, it would find the defences fairly strong.

WT Now let us pay a visit to the Khampas, although it wants a
● 563 George Borrow to describe these gipsies of Western Tibet.
443 Kham, from whence they come, is a province of Tibet, but
67 when we see the numbers of them who wander over the Indian
parts of the Himalayas, we begin to wonder whether any of
them are left "at home." Evidently the Khampa finds it
more lucrative to wander like our own gipsies than to stay on
his native soil. As the bazar in Leh provides most of the
things needed by the people who inhabit the upper valley of

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the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but 563
as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the 443
lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, 621
or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan fashion—" And the next, please." But not only does he sell things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them at three or four times that amount down-country. When it comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and thought we would try to get one from them. There at the foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary 342
poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones. At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are conveniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise. At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not 789
placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its representative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good. Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen 621
cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride 000

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622 As we ride up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long 291 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material. 301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's 197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among 437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we ●563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this 731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A '*Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

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"empty amble," for the pony uses it even when he is not ridden, whilst the *labyor* or "learnt amble" can only be obtained when a rider on his back holds the reins fairly firmly, and unfortunately an animal, like his human rider, forgets his lesson in less time than it takes to learn it. A *labyor* therefore minimizes the value of a pony. To come back to our gipsy, he soon sends one or two of his servants for one of the said wonderful animals, which seems as good as its description. But we, too, know something about ponies, and, therefore, request the rider to dismount and drive the pony along empty, with the result that the amble disappears, for it is only a *labyor*. We then inquire the price of the beast, and are told that as a favour we shall have him for Rs160, but as our opinion on this score does not harmonize with his either, no deal results. This does not trouble our friend much, for he knows that by taking the pony down country he will get an even higher sum, and no inhabitant of the Himalayas ever argues that "time is money," or that a quick turnover of cash is a good business proposition.

This roving tribe, originating from Tibet, subscribes to the Buddhist creed. Like our own gipsies they are properly organized, having their own lawful king, and under him Tehsildars (magistrate), headmen and other officials necessary to keep the community in order, and although they are to be met with here, there and everywhere, they seem to be under quite good control.

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CHAPTER X

"Curiouser & Curiouser"

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YET another trek awaits us, for we have not yet seen the Changpä, the nomad who wanders over the high plateaus of Western Tibet, and the Botpa who is the real inhabitant of the Closed Land. A dispute about the actual boundary between Ladak and Tibet must be settled on the border itself whither the British Joint Commissioner, Major Robson, who holds a watching brief for the Government of India, the Wazir Sahib, who represents his Highness, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Doctor Sahib, who accompanies the former, must travel to meet a gentleman who is styled the "Gaspon," and who acts on behalf of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

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The cause of the dispute was a Ladaki who had settled down in Tibet proper, where he had taken unto himself a lady of the country as wife, and had grown rich. As a result he became liable for the heavy Tibetan taxation, and, wishing to escape this, he returned to Ladak and settled down on his own side of the border. But our Tibetan friends were not to be done out of their taxes quite so easily, for they calmly entered Ladak, seized their man, and took him back again. His brother then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and the Government of India on his behalf, and these naturally objected to such high-handed procedure. Tibet tried to contest the matter by saying that the place from which they had removed the Ladaki was in Tibetan territory, but from

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Looking overhead into a clear azure sky we noticed two perfect and complete halos round the sun, and were informed by our servants that these signified either the crossing of the pass by some really great men, or the birth of a King.

Our camp had been pitched in a sandy plain surrounded by hills, through which a sluggish streamlet meandered, passing within a few yards of our tents. After a cup of tea, partaken of inside our temporary home as a cold wind was blowing outside, and a rest after the day's trek, we emerged for a walk, and to our surprise found that the whole plain had been converted into a lake. Literally within a space of three hours some giant must have dumped down this expanse of water, measuring about two hundred by one hundred and fifty yards. Next morning practically the whole had disappeared, and this seems to have happened daily for weeks. From here we passed over other plains where the same had occurred, till suddenly there lay before us a large green deep lake, from whose banks there rose a row of sandy mountains, behind which glorious snow-covered peaks stood sentinel. This large inland lake, called "The Panggong," runs far into Tibet, and is formed of brackish water. Seen in the morning light, it really is a fine sight.

Leaving it on our right, we reach the village of Pobrang. We may call it a village, for it can boast of two houses, and is certainly the last resort we could designate by such a name, until we get well into Tibet. Here we get our first glimpse of the Changpas or inhabitants of the Northern Plain. Rough and unkempt-looking, they are not altogether the sort of fellows one would like to meet alone by night, but their jolly smile would soon dispel all fears. Let us first describe them, as far as description is possible, and then glance at their dwellings. Their eyes are typically Mongolian, their noses large and firmly flattened. Long hair, which surely has not made the acquaintance of brush and comb for years, if ever, and which ends in a pigtail, surmounts faces

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291 much longer than their arms. In winter this is very useful, as the hands can be threaded in the opposite sleeve to keep warm, and any surplus length in a man can always be turned back as a cuff. A woman's trousers are also far longer than her legs, and look very peculiar garments when spread out to dry. But the concertina-like creases into which they fold when worn, and which come right down to the ankle, add all the more warmth in winter. An unmarried girl wears white trousers, but a married woman must wear black, at any rate after the birth of her first son. A woman's *skerag* or waistband is also wide and very long, and wound round her very tightly. Her gown is shaped rather differently from a man's—the bodice and skirt being cut separately, and the latter sewn on to the former with very full pleats, and if it is a best dress the whole is edged with an effective little narrow bind-
301 ing of gay pattern. Occasionally she thinks to enhance her beauty by using the small berries of a common weed, and sticking them all over the upper part of her face, where they look
● 563 like little yellow spots. These berries are also said to relieve
291 headache, and withdraw superfluous serum. We must also mention the head-dress of the Mussulman women in Leh, for the town contains a large proportion of them. The *perag* is rightly considered an emblem of an idolatrous religion, and should be discarded on changing over to Mohammedanism. Then a white head-dress covering over a little round foundation cap, and hanging in folds to below the waist, is worn.
[301] In front is an ornament which may be quite costly, of seed-pearls and turquoises, often arranged to form the sign of the crescent.

144 Now we come to those important members of the home, the children, and it would be hard to find more fascinating little persons than the elfish little sprites whom we meet in Ladak. To our Western eyes the flattened face and large cheeks of a Mongolian type of baby are particularly quaint.

844 When Baby is coming, in contrast to the complicated

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795 acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of
87v the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while
875 listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

533 Next in importance, though not in status, come the musi-
[563] cians and minstrels. Although no function is complete
534 without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep
538 them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

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other magnificent lights from various parts of his person. But these had to be quenched as soon as he could possibly seat himself down in the brook, crushing in its covering of ice and snow to soak in the cool depths of its bed. Those injured adjourned to the Moravian Mission Hospital, where we concluded our celebrations by dressing their burns, but this gentleman, not wishing to disclose the fact of his unlawful annexations, went elsewhere to have his injuries treated. Weeks after, however, he came to us, still suffering from the effects; and we were able to cure him also. The initial item on our programme of peace celebrations was one entitled "Procession of Notables round the Town." The notables consisted of Tehsildar, Naib Tehsildar, Darogas, Naib Darogas, Policemen, Naib Policemen, Telegraph Master, Postmaster, Charas Officer and his staff of assistants, Aksakal and his clerks, and in fact anybody who could find a pony on which to ride. Among them figured also the Missionary "Padre" and Doctor, indeed these two considered themselves notable "Notables," for they were asked to head the procession, one on each side of the chief magistrate, and were preceded by our noble company of sepoys. If the common people of the town were not edified by this sight of their notables on horseback, their sense of the sublime must have been sadly lacking. So we feel we have every right to include ourselves among "other professional gentlemen" of the town, as representatives of Western Medicine. We cannot lay claim to being unique in this respect, for the Kashmir State has its Dispensary in the charge of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon.

So now let us visit the combined Moravian Mission Hospital and British Charitable Dispensary. Like all our houses in Leh, the Hospital buildings are made of mud-bricks. In the centre of the compound is the Hospital garden, which is enclosed by the wards and administrative buildings. Entering the out-patient room, we find a very cosmopolitan crowd awaiting attention. The greater number are, of course, Ladaki men

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and women, both Buddhists and Mohammedan, the latter revealing the fact by wearing turban or red fez, and their names often indicating that they were formerly Buddhists, who had been converted to the faith of the prophet ; this is done by adding the word " Sheik " to their new Mohammedan names. Then there are Baltis, ill-clad looking creatures with their meagre black skull-caps from under which appear long, curly, but unkempt-looking, locks. How different from the two or three well-dressed, distinguished-looking Yarkandis, who sit next to them, stalwart men from Chinese Turkestan. Their faces are almost as white as that of the European, with shortly-cropped black hair and black beards, and they wear nice warm wadded garments cut somewhat like a frock-coat with very long sleeves, but of less sombre colours, sometimes a silky glossy cloth of black or even nice blue. To brighten this a large gay coloured embroidered square scarf is worn, folded triangularly with the apex downwards in the middle of the waist behind. On their heads are green or other coloured caps, lined with fur and turned up round the edge, or white pugarees. Occasionally these gentlemen bring their wives with them. Being Mohammedan they may not show their faces to strange men, and they therefore cover them with a voluminous head-dress, with network squares let in over their eyes through which they can look. Then there are some Kashmiris, men with beautifully regular features, strongly reminding one of pictures of good-looking Jews and of stories of the lost ten tribes of Israel. Other down-country races, too, may be represented, such as the Punjabi, or perhaps a Sikh, with the fringe of his black beard neatly plaited, and often the proud Pathan or Afridi appears. That wild ferocious-looking fellow with long, untidy, straggling hair is, of course, one of the upland nomads, whilst the well-dressed man who is sitting on one of our two stools is a merchant priest from the closed land of Tibet. Now shall we stand at the doctor's side, and listen with him to some of the complaints of these patients.

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old lady who has had her cataract removed. She is lying on 758
the floor by the side of a nice spring bedstead, on which she
had been placed yesterday after her operation. In reply to our
query why she did not stay quietly on her bed, she says she
felt so giddy sleeping so high up in the world, and more safe on
the floor. True, she cannot fall out of bed now. In Ward 3 758
is a Yarkandi whose leg we have had to amputate to save his 563 ●
life. He has come that difficult journey from Yarkand, over
the Karakorum range of the Himalayas and the Dipsang
plateau, and been overtaken by frost-bite. Very likely at the
end of the hard day's march over the snow he was so exhausted
that he fell asleep without troubling to take off his heavy boots,
and the circulation had no chance to re-establish itself in the
severe cold. In the next ward we find that a string has been 758
stretched across from one wall to the other, over which 251
strips of meat have been hung, and we are told that the family
are drying their next winter's supply. One can just imagine
the happy expression on the face of an English Surgeon, who
on entering his ward found such activities being pursued.
In the next ward we can see nothing, for it is filled with acrid
smoke which so hurts our eyes that we beat a rapid retreat.
Dinner is being cooked! But we must not linger longer with
our in-patients, for we would like to take the reader with us
on a medical tour.

When we visited Kyelang, it will be remembered that we 757
made a detour to a place called Lingshed. Messengers came 164
to beg us to go to this village in 1916, because it was so
central, and they promised that blind folk from the whole
surrounding district would gather there; the further
inducement was held out that throughout the trip the question
of supplies would be made easy for us. So one evening we
found ourselves in our tents in Lingshed with about thirty
blind folk sitting round. We examined their eyes, deciding 757
that some were operable, others not. The latter were in- 783
formed as kindly as possible that no operation on earth could

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side valleys, the latter at once detected by a slight difference in dress or dialect. Here came a group of Indian officials from Leh, in front the white turban and coat of the Tehsildar or chief magistrate on an alert little pony with one or two attendants, behind at a little distance his daughter in her closed dandy, then his wife in hers, and their carrying coolies singing as usual ; sometimes the wail of the baby was heard from within the curtain. Leh traders, who put up little temporary shops under canvas along the main street (a series of steps and platforms at the side of the monastery) a detachment of Gurkhas from the company stationed at Leh, two Ladaki girls riding on one pony with a male relation at the side, all these, and many more types we can study at leisure during the long intervals of the performance, which would be unutterably boring apart from the picturesque and varied audience, to whom we are as much a part of the show as they are to us. One more little group, passed as we neared the monastery, deserves mention. Placed on a sort of chair, railed on the four sides and fixed to his saddle, sits a wee baby *Skushog*, the Incarnation of the *dGonpa* at Stagna, about ten miles away. He wears the correct red *Skushog* robes, and processional riding-hat, and wobbles a bit with fatigue after his long ride. We stop to greet him and his attendant lamas, and find he is only six years old, in fact he looks less.

They draw aside to let us pass, and, as we look back to bid him adieu, the rich red of the lamas, the yellow-brown of his pony, with its small offspring sidling up to the mother adding a further baby element to the group, form such a picture against the green trees, *chorten* gate and distant mountainous background, that it makes us wish our camera was not packed up and ahead in our bedding. This tiny abbot re-appeared several times during the ensuing ceremonies, now on the roof, now in a balcony, now in a prominent corner just outside the main door of the *dGonpa*, always with his devoted lama nurse in attendance, and delighting us by his

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Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

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(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576]
they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

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Tiberan Nomads

595 563 as it did among all Tibetans, that is also among the sedentary population. Since many authors have denied the existence of polyandry among nomads in Tibet, while others have stated that it does exist, the pronouncement was of interest to me.

I asked whether the few animals which the nomads did own themselves were held in common in one family unit, as the land was in Lahul. Although I had expected an affirmative answer to this question, the one that I received was in the negative. Why then did nomads live in polyandry? I enquired what the incentive might be, since there did not appear to be an economic one. The reply given was that it was a Tibetan custom which everyone in Tibet had always practised. Against this, I argued that by dividing up the family into as many units as there were sons to marry, each with his wife and children, since property was already individual, it would be possible to increase the livestock and raise the standard of living among nomads. This, however, did not seem to impress my informants, the abbot and the *goba*, at all; they simply repeated that nomads were Tibetans like others and therefore followed the customs of their country.

I have thus come to the conclusion that the nomads of Tibet practise polyandry exactly as the sedentary population does, out of social conformity. Being Tibetans, they often combine other forms of marriage with polyandry as well and, while I was in Rupchu, I heard about a prominent case of polygyny which, it seemed, had attracted a certain amount of attention, even in this society.

A man named Sönam Murup (*bSod-Nams dNgos-Grub*), unfortunately absent at the time of my visit, was the *mag-pa* husband of a young woman whose two other sisters were married out in *bag-ma*. These, however, had divorced and returned home to their sister, and from that moment had become the junior wives of Sönam Murup. No marriage ceremony had been performed so that they were free to leave again and to remarry, but in the meantime, the children that they had had with the *mag-pa* were considered as those of the family of his first wife.

[114] It was at Korzok *gompa* that I was given details about the polyandry practised by the Lhasa officials in Ngari Korsum province, and particularly about the way in which the Gar-pön and his son lived together with a common wife. I shall not go into this here, however, but will hold it in reserve for the division dealing particularly with this subject, as part of the description of the polyandry that is practised in Tibet proper.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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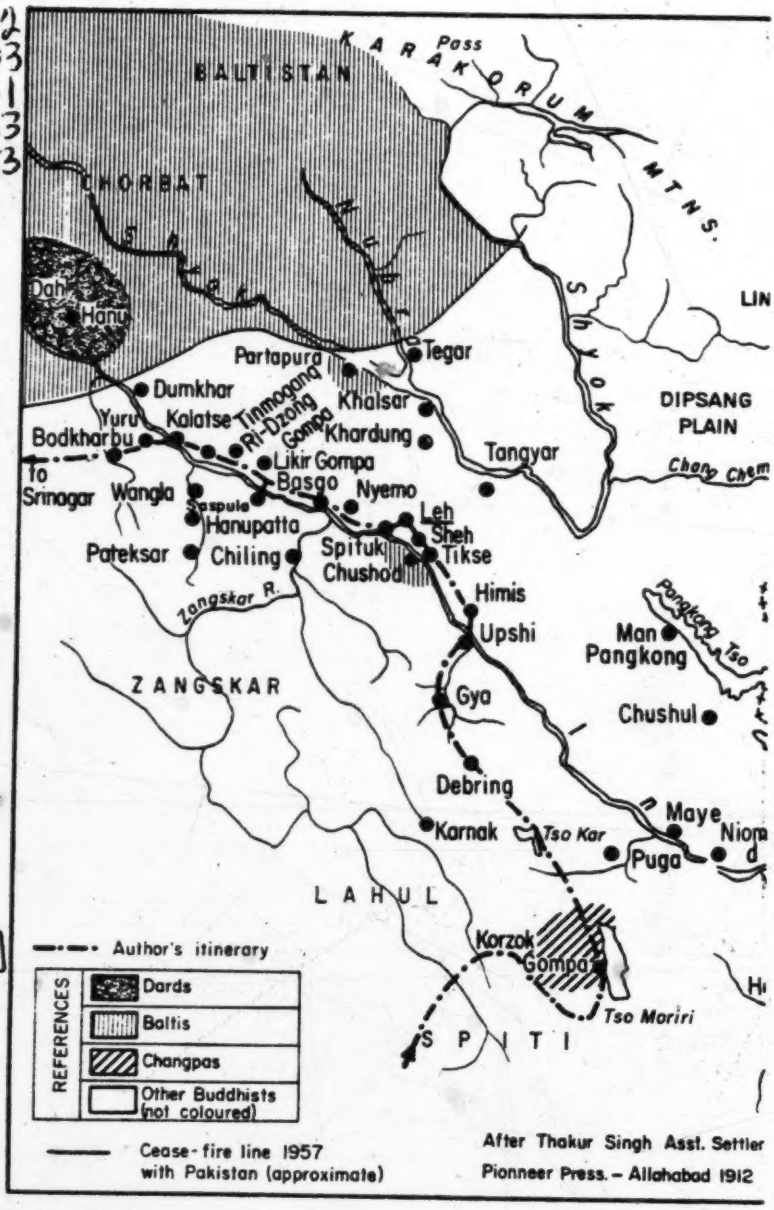

[114]

Map V. Sketch map of Ladak.

[Facing P 335-A]

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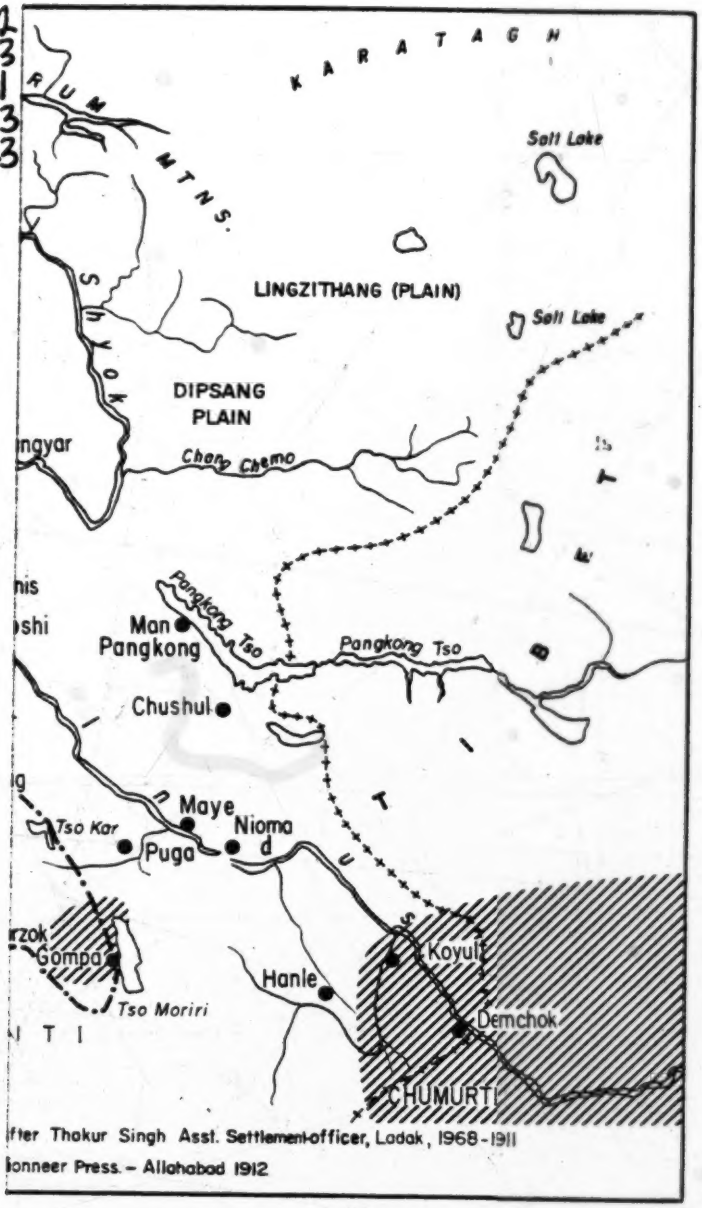

After Thakur Singh Asst. Settlement-officer, Ladak, 1968-1911
Pioneer Press. – Allahabad 1912

[facing P. 335-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

1. *Generalities*

595 From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of poly-
[795] androus families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something un-
177 desirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in
595 Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who
795 had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the
[626] rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün
[115] (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I
[563] got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

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temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*. 595 855

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age. 864

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made. [861] [858]

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India). 864 861 [754] [563]

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade. 872 [876] [868]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tib

137 The villages are bare of trees; only at one or two places a few willows and poplars are to be seen.

563 The inhabitants are of two, or even it may be said three, distinct races; Matāyan has Kashmīrī who have been settled there for some generations; the hamlets of Drās are partly Dārd and partly Baltī; of these people I propose to defer the account till later.

631 We have spoken of Drās as one of the valleys of Ladākh. The bounds of Ladākh may be taken differently, according as we consider it politically or from any other point of view. Drās has not the same inhabitants nor the same religion as the central part of Ladākh, being in these respects more allied to Baltistān; but in the time of the old rulers Drās was part of the kingdom of Ladākh, and we too will reckon it as coming under that name, although latterly, for administrative purposes, it has been put with Baltistān.

DRĀS TO KARGIL: THREE MARCHES.

133x The distance from Dras to Kargil is 40 miles; it makes two good marches and a short one. The road continues down the same valley, over stony ground, along the foot of great rocky [361] mountains. Few villages are passed, and even those one goes near are not always visible from the path, for some are situated hundreds of feet above, on plateaus, the remains of denuded alluvial fans.

I have used this word "fan" before, and I shall in the future so often have to repeat it, applying it to a certain form of alluvial deposit, that it will be well here to explain the exact meaning attached to it.

When a side-stream debouches from a narrow gorge into a wide valley it is apt to deposit the material it carries down (washed from the mountains behind) in a fan-like form at the mouth of the ravine. This fan is part of a low cone, having its apex at the point of debou ment; the slope of it, which may be a few degrees, is very regular along each radius; the spread of it may vary from a few hundred yards to a few miles; the thickness of the

[on the side of the Dras valley]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monastery *; it is a small monastery, with but a few Lāmās, attached to the one at Mulbek farther on. We thus see that we are reaching the country of the Buddhists; the people of Shargol are nearly all of that faith, though for some way farther there is a mixture of Muhammadan Baltis. 792 361 563

In the next march we pass Mulbek (also called Mulbe) and see the monastery, one of some size, and by the road-side a large idol carved in the rock, and then we rise to the easy Pass called Nāmika Lā,† 13,000 feet, a depression in soft (shaly) rock between mountains of limestone. A very easy descent brings us down to a stream that flows direct to the Indus; turning to the right we follow the valley of this stream upwards, and in a few miles we come to Kharbū, a Bhot ‡ village, which makes another stage. 133x 792 361

Thence we continue up the same valley: the mountains on the south of us are high mountains of limestone, which rock makes the chief part of the very lofty ridge beyond. Keeping on towards the east, we rise to a Pass of very similar character to the last, called Fotū Lā; it is 13,400 feet high; the ground is smooth, being composed of shale, but close by, on the south, are the rocky limestone hills; a gentle slope for 2000 feet down a valley that is comparatively open, brings us to Lāmāyūrū. 133y

At Lāmāyūrū we are well among the Buddhists or Bhots. Here is a large monastery built on the summit of cliffs which are partly rocky and partly of alluvial matter; some portions of it are very curiously built on timbers placed across chasms, or joining ridges or pinnacles of the hardened alluvial gravel. The cultivated ground is a narrow strip lying for some length above the sloping valley-bottom. As we continue down, we join the valley of a large stream that flows from Wānla; this is extremely narrow; the path has with difficulty been made along the slope of the hill that rises immediately from the stream; there are cliffs to be passed that have necessitated wooden galleries for the road to go on; this has, however, been constructed with a good deal of skill, and by the [792] 491x 133x

* The word for monastery in the Ladākhī language is *Gonpā*.

† In the Ladākhī language *Lā* means Pass.

‡ The word *Bhot* means Buddhist, or perhaps, more particularly, Buddhist Tibetan. The Ladākhīs are called Bhot both by themselves and their neighbours.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII.

LADĀKH: THE INHABITANTS.

LADĀKHĪS — CHĀMPĀS — COLONIES IN LADĀKH — MODE OF LIVELIHOOD — POSITION OF THE WOMEN — CERTAIN CUSTOMS — MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

144 OF the four races of men who inhabit the country on the north-east of the main chain of mountains—the country which drains into the Indus—whose names are Chāmpā, Ladākhī, Baltī, and Dārd, the first three belong to the Tibetan race. People of this Tibetan race extend over an enormous extent of high ground at the back of the Himalayas, from the borders of China proper to the territories we are dealing with. We are here, in Ladākh and Baltistān, at the most north-westerly spots occupied by them.

101 The first of the three subdivisions of Tibetans—the Chāmpās
131 —are those who lead a nomadic life on the upland valleys,
563 places which, being too elevated for cultivation to bring a living, are fit only for pastoral uses. The second, the Ladākhīs, are those Tibetans who have settled in the valley, and in the side valleys, of the Indus; who have formed villages and have occupied nearly all the ground fit for cultivation; and who still retain the Buddhist faith which is held by the Tibetans to the south-east and east. Thirdly, the Baltīs are that branch of the Tibetan race, who, at one time identical with the Ladākhīs, spread farther down the Indus Valley and then became converted to the Muhammadan faith.* Deferring our say about the Baltīs until we come to describe the region they inhabit, we will in this chapter look at the characteristics of the other two branches, the inhabitants of Ladākh both settled and wandering, and will tell something as to their mode of life.

* The geographical distribution of these races is clearly expressed on the Race Map.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by 291
felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry.

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is 564
that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry.

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is 793
not hereditary.

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the 131
Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places.

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different 563
occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was 142
that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 181

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lamb-skin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
56 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADAKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4
= Pathan and beggars who come from Tibet to in the Summer. Analyst]

a poor country as the higher parts of Ladākh for the exercise of 565
their calling; but the Bhots, though poor, are charitable. These Khambas, too, give themselves a religious air, as do most beggars in the East, and that may help them. But in truth, in their ways, they are more like to the gipsies than to devotees. They have their wives and children with them, and these all come round in succession to beg, as if independent of each other. They live in the smallest of tents; these are only just high enough for one to seat oneself on the floor beneath them. The tent and their other traps are carried on the backs of a few of the load-carrying goats which they always possess. The Maharaja's authorities have tried to [657]
persuade some of these Khamba to take to agriculture, and a bit of land has been given for this object by the Pāngkong Lake. I saw one family there, who had commenced to till, and had left off their inveterate habit of begging; but they were still in tents, and had not begun to build a house.

The next colonizers to be mentioned are *Baltis*. This race of 563
Baltis will be more fully spoken of in the chapter which treats 167
of their own country, Baltistān; here I will only name their settlements in Ladākh. In the first place, there are Baltis inhabiting the valleys of Drās and Surū, and the tract about Pāskim, which is called Purik. These are not geographically separated from the main body of their countrymen in Baltistān, which district borders on Drās; but they have some slight differences. Then there is an isolated colony of Baltis right in the middle of the Bhot country, only a few miles from Leh. The largest tract of cultivated land in Ladākh is in great part held by them; this is at a place called Chushot, on the left bank of the Indus, from five to ten miles from Leh. These immigrant Baltis came four or five generations back, some from Purik and some from Skārdū.

Dārds are found in Drās and in several places along the valley of the Drās River, and again in a few villages in the valley of the Indus, being there interpolated between the Baltis and the Ladākhis. It is at these last places that some Buddhist Dārds occur; these make small and very much isolated communities.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

563 There are some ethnological facts connected with them, which are
167 of great interest; these will be given in one of the chapters on Dārdistān (Chap. XVIII.).

563 In the town of Leh are a good many families of *half-castes*, born of Bhot women, the fathers being merchants of different races who have frequented the market at that place. There has for long been a commercial connection between Leh and Kashmir, and families of Kashmir merchants have settled in Leh. There is now, and probably there has been for generations, a hybrid class, brought into being by the intermarriage of these Kashmīrī with women of the country, who have been and are ready to turn Muhammadan—or to any other religion—in order to marry. Again, the Turkī merchants, from the direction of Yārkand, are responsible for another set of half-
567 castes. A third class has sprung into existence since the conquest of Ladākh by the Dogrās, from the connection of Dogrā sepoys with Ladākhī women. These are, or were, called *Ghulāmzādas*, that is to say, "slave-born."* The theory was that, being born out of wedlock, they belonged to Government; this theory was so far carried into practice that they used to receive their daily bread from Government, and to give, unwillingly, their labour in return, in such work as wool-cleaning.† They were, indeed, bondmen, unable to leave their country or to get their living in it in their own way. Some years ago an attempt was made to get them to settle on a bit of land lately enclosed, and to follow agriculture; but their want of skill, as well as want of capital, made this to fail. When I was at Leh, in 1871, I was enabled, by orders from the Maharaja, to set them free to go where they pleased. They had diminished to quite a small number; they were all ready to sacrifice the Government daily ration for the sake of liberty. Before manumitting them I ascertained that there was a prospect for each of them of a living to be got, and I hope that by this time they are absorbed in the general population.

* The two former half-caste breeds are called "Arghaun."

† A great deal of hand labour of a light sort is required in picking the pashm or underwool of the shawl-goats free from hair before it is sent down to Kashmir.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīrī half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid. 563

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhīs are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing 463 565 241 651 [428]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

subject of them wants to be treated in a technical way; a notice of these I hope to communicate to the Geological Society. 133x

Of the inhabitants of the villages from Sanācha to Hanū I have purposely refrained from saying anything here. They have characteristics indeed of the greatest interest, but I keep back the description of these in order to bring it into connection with that of the other Dārds, for to the Dārd race the people here belong. The reader should look for the ethnological peculiarities of this tract in Chapter XVIII., under the heading "Buddhist Dārds." 1/n From the next village, Achīnathang, upwards, the people are thorough Ladākhīs in race and language. 563

At Achīnathang the Indus Valley begins to be rather less confined; the road along it is such that one can ride. Achīnathang itself is a neat and pretty village, on a plateau of river-alluvium 200 feet above the water. Near this place, in the pebbly alluvium formerly deposited by the river, at a height of 120 feet above it, are to be seen shallow pits, from which Baltī gold-washers had dug earth which they carried down to the water side to wash for gold. Every few miles, on each side of the river, are seen little tracts of cultivated ground. One was a continuous strip on a narrow plateau, a mile in length and but fifty yards wide. Sometimes, as at Skirbichan, is a wider expanse. Each tract has on it a collection of houses in proportion to the area, at the rate of a house to three or four acres. These white houses, half hidden by the foliage, and the spread of green fields, contrasting with the bare surrounding country, make each little village a charming sight. In this part the Ladākhīs are well grown; they are taller than those of the neighbourhood of Leh. This I connect with the somewhat milder climate and the consequently less severe life experienced. 364 133x [142]

Besides the villages which we see along the Indus Valley there are several in the side valleys which join from both right and left. At the mouth of these valleys one sees but a narrow opening; from this they often stretch up for miles, and contain cultivated land and several hamlets. Of these the higher ones endure a distinctly more severe climate than do the villages of the main VALLEY. [132]

1/n [Cf category 116 -- pp. 430-432 -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133x narrow ridges of granite, which lessen both in height and in width from far back, leaving between them space for alluvial deposits—sloping stony tracts—of the sort which I have called "confined fans." In colour this range contrasts with the opposite one, being of far less sombre tints; drab and yellow and light brown are the colours shown by this granite, of which sometimes the jointed rock itself, and sometimes the loosened material disintegrated from it, is shown; on both ranges the bare surface, untouched by vegetation, is exposed. At places the river itself, at places the flat alluvium, ends the stony ground and touches the last points of the spurs; these are in some cases crowned with the white buildings of a monastery; at Tagnā (or Staknā) are two isolated rocks, on the summit of one of which is built a monastery; between the two, in a rather narrow passage, flows the Indus.

The alluvial flat is of clayey soil, irrigated by watercourses from the Indus itself. South of Leh it is occupied by the village of Chushot, which, being near half a mile wide and some miles long, is the largest cultivated tract in Ladākh; it has over 200 houses, not concentrated into a village, but scattered over the plain singly, or in twos and threes, at intervals of a hundred yards or so. Chushot has not the picturesqueness of the villages which we have looked at lower down the valley; here fruit-trees do not grow, on account of the severity of the wind that blows along the length of the flat; still we see some poplars and small willows, and it is probable that plantations arranged in belts—one protecting the other—would flourish. The people of Chushot are Baltis, Bhots, and Arghauns, the first predominating. As we go up the valley the cultivation of the alluvi flat ends, and the surface of it is of rounded pebbles. Farther on, a little above Tagnā, the river is bounded by high banks of alluvial matter, mostly belonging to fans that have been formed from the sides. Here, too, the fall begins to be greater, and the valley, narrowing, gets again the character it possessed lower down by Sāspūl and Khalsī. Besides the cultivation on the flat there are some villages in the tributary valleys on both sides, as Stok, Shān, Sabū, and Chimre; these are watered by the side-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

361 flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a
133* better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on
[246] their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

132 For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same
231 as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night
[246] are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty
241 pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place
● 563 for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the
142 head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans AJ4

133x remain on. The sketch gives the outline of the peak-masses with some exactness. It does not reach to the foot of the mountains in the valley, as the eye does from some points of view; when it does so there is in sight, in a distance of 18 miles, a vertical height of 15,000 feet. Farther along to the south-east other peaks rise for a thousand or two feet above the general level of the ridge, which seems to continue at 20,000 feet, till it ends suddenly at the corner where the Shāyok makes the great bend. So much for the central ridge. The secondary ridges branch off from it with a height corresponding to its general level. Their edge is serrated, but not deeply so. They continue for many miles without any sudden fall to perhaps an average distance of three miles short of the edge of the valley, where in height they may be 18,000 feet. At these points they make the peaks which are seen when one is in the valley. From them there is a great and sudden fall down to the valley, the slope of which is about 35°; this is remarkably regular for all the distance—of nearly 50 miles—that is within sight, with the exception that the ravines (some that reach to the central ridge and some that go but a few miles back) cut up the sloping face into triangular masses of which the base is from mouth to mouth of two ravines, while the apex is at the end of the intermediate branch ridge. The general colour of the mountains below the snow (and it is only the peaks, rising higher than the ridges, that are snowy) is a light greyish brown, from the hue of the granite they are mostly composed of A darker streak along the foot marks the position of the altered shale. The surface of the mountains is usually not so precipitous as to form great continuous cliffs, but is worn all over into numerous minor ramifying gulleys and ravines, whose sides are rugged slopes of rock.

ZĀNSKĀR.

133x 563 631 Zānskār is a district of Ladākh which lies south-west of Leh, towards the Watershed Range; its extent nearly coincides with that of the basin of the large river, tributary to the Indus, which is called after the name of the country. Zānskār is closely united

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

to the rest of Ladākh both by physical characters and by the close relationship in race, speech, religion, and character that exists between the people of the two countries. Till forty years ago, Zānskār was equally connected with Central Ladākh by political ties, being governed by a Raja, who was dependent on the Gyalpo at Leh; but now it belongs (as can be seen from the Political Map) not to the Ladākh Governorship, but to the district of Udampūr, in the Outer Hills, having been attached to this for, so to say, accidental reasons. 133x 563 631

From all sides the approach to Zānskār, placed, as it is, in a maze of mountains, is of considerable difficulty. To the south-west of it the wide Snowy Range makes a barrier, to cross which must be a laborious and may be a dangerous business. From the north-west and the south-east, indeed, roads lead in from Surū and from Rupshu respectively, to traverse which is less difficult, but these lead over long uninhabited tracts. That way which first one would look to for communication with Leh — by the valley of the Zānskār River—is quite impassable, except when the winter's frost makes a road over the waters of the river. Instead of this, in summer time, the traveller from Leh has to make a long detour by Lāmāyūrū; he has to traverse fifteen stages, in which several Passes have to be surmounted, before Zānskār is reached. 133x 487

By far the greater part of the area of Zānskār is occupied by the ridges and the ravines of mountains, either of the Snowy Watershed Range, or of the more complicated mass lying between that and Central Ladākh. The inhabited region is nearly all included in the valleys of two streams and of the river they make by their union. These two streams come, one from the north-west, the other from south-east; uniting, they together flow away to the north-east. At their junction is a wide open space, which is the central part of Zānskār; it includes in itself the most important places. This space is a triangle, with a base of seven miles, and a perpendicular of five; on the three sides it is bounded by bare mountains. But a very small proportion of this plain is cultivated; the most of it is an expanse of stony ground; the 133x 311

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came. 361 [346]

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage". 361 [487] 439 563 [797]

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very 142 [522] 291

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4

142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear
291 flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

● 563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

642 175 792 [794] [778]

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

361 563 144 181

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

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The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

463 241 511 [582] [372] [313]

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans A14

A Trip to Ladakh

797 care to join the State service, as very few Ladakhis were educated and all posts were filled by Kashmiri Brahmans [647] and Indians? It would be good for the country if some [563] of these officials were natives of Ladakh. I pointed out that if he took that line he would have power and influence later on, which he could put to good use. His answer was: "I do not want power or riches. All I want is that I may have opportunities of preaching Christ to my people. I would prefer to be a missionary."

797 He returned to Leh, and in course of time became headmaster of the Mission School, which post he has held for many years, where he is training his own countrymen, and preaching Christ to them by life as well as by words. I am glad to say that his education has not given him any ideas of being a babu, and therefore too much of a gentleman to do manual labour, for in the vacations he is to be seen driving his yoke of oxen and carrying manure on his back in a basket very similar to those used in Switzerland for the same purpose. His education has not unmanned him, as it has done so many in Kashmir and India.

So the dying monk in the monastery at Nubra did well for his country, though it seems odd to those who do not know the way of monks that they should have sons to bequeath.

The mission at Leh has been blessed with some very fine missionaries. They have to be a very whole-hearted lot, for their pay is a mere pittance, and until lately they did not return home on furlough, but died at their post like Dr Marks and Dr Redslop, but I am glad to say that in these days there is a wiser and more humane policy, for surely it is wiser that a missionary's life should be lengthened by periods of rest than that he should live a short time and have to be replaced by a novice. It is

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and moral, may be easily accounted for by the severe 177
cold and extreme dryness of the Tibetan climate, and by the former intimate connection of the people with the Caucasian Hindus of India for many centuries during the flourishing period of Buddhism.

The great mass of the people of Ladák are all of one 564
race or caste. They intermarry and eat together, and are all eligible as members of the national priesthood. But in the northern provinces of Ladák there is a numerous class called *Bem*,* or "low," which includes all the dancing-women and their attendant musicians, all smiths and carpenters, and in fact handicraftsmen of every kind. In Lé itself, and in Chachot, there are 144
small colonies of Kashmiris, whose connection with the native Botis has produced a mixed race called Argon.† These same hybrids between the Kashmiris and the native races are also found in Kashgar, Yarkand, Aksu, and Kotan.

III.—PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

Of the physical characteristics of the Botis, little has 144
been made known beyond the facts that they have "a strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and that they are superior both in vigour of body and in stature to the other Mongolian races of Kalmaks and Tungusis."‡ Their peculiarly Tartarian physiognomy must be considered as a presumptive proof of their

* The men are called *hBems-pa*; the women *hBems-mo*, or *Bem-mo*.

† This is probably the Turki word *Arghun*, ارغون, "fair;" the mixed race of half Kashmiris being much fairer than the people of the country.

‡ Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 217.

CASTE--riks or roospa.

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There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

The first class or "rigál riks" consists only of royal personages.

[795] The second class or "trangzey riks" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey riks" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang riks" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tólbey riks" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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CLASS I. Rgiál riks.	CLASS II. Trángzey riks.	CLASS III. Rjey riks.
SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or Hlardak ...
	(5) Skarmápa ...	
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlondrukpa	...
None	Yellow Cap Sect	...
None	(9) Geylukspa or GHaldanpa...	...
	...	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV. Hmang riks.	CLASS V. Tólbey riks.
SUB-DIVISIONS	SUB-DIVISIONS
1 Nángso (kings treasurer).	1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
2 Chakdzot (steward)	2 Zópa (artizan).
3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).	3 Sárzópa (goldsmith).
4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).	4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
5 GHópa (doorkeeper).	5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)	6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).
7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)	7 SHingkhan (carpenter).
8 Chhoonpa (the waterer of the king's fields).	8 Rtsikspon (builder).
9 Rardzi (goatherd).	9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).
10 Bardzi (cowherd).	10 Mon (musician.)
11 Thralpa (cooly).	11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).	12 Beyda musician.
...	Malákhan juggler.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 782 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister; but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

316 466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

● 564 645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

631 647

564 463 533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]

797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 523 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face). khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tashão (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 781 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equivalent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

792 195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

● 564 681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

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retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hindúism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hindúism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kúlu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hindúism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hindúism is advancing, the people declare that they are Hindú Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindú; and the Moravian missionaries at Keylang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The *lámás* of Láhaul will not eat with a European, while the *lámás* of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hindúism is ascribed in part to the influence of the *thákurs* or barons of Láhaul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindú. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Bráhmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindú Kúlu as Hindús."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He is quoted at length in the following pages. Even the transition from Hindú to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible from the quotation from Mr. Anderson given below.

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhaul *lámás* save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hindúism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhaul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple, while Mr. Anderson says: "It is not improbable that the Dágis and low castes, and perhaps even the so-called Kanets, when they wish to indulge in beef, kill a cow or a bullock on the sly, though this is denied with indignation and disgust." Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Lhás*, or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindú brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhaul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanáwar; for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the recent Census the state of Basáhir returned only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhaul and Spiti were returned as Hindús, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts. In 1869, Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Láhaul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindús that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

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And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *chóti* as does a *gossin*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chótis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine *(dharmánd chostím)* in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhoddens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hun'* is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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In the time when the *Lung pachhoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men. 779

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time. 177 564 167

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis. 184

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all. 779 [564] 795

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir [778] [782]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Distribution of property among castes in Láhaul.

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The following statement will show the distribution of property among different castes in Láhaul, as it stood at the revision of settlement:—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Castes.	Number of families.	Number of holdings or separate lots.	Number of sharehoders.	Arable lands and hay fields.	Revenue demand.
Bráhmans	28	70	131	200	154
Thákurs, including Detoens ...	22	50	75	404	303
Kanets and Tibetans ...	470	790	1,357	3,384	2,441
Dágis and other low castes ...	43	106	145	135	94
Lands attached to temples or institutions	...	62	62	151	64

Of the *jeolas* or household allotments, which are described under the head of tenures, there are about 530, which are all held by men of the first three castes.

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Intercourse between castes in Láhaul.

The word used in Láhaul for *got* or clan, or rather for the corresponding idea, is *rus*, which means bone, and, as applied to a class, denotes those descended from a common ancestor. But there is as much license in Láhaul as in Kúlu with regard to intermarriage. The Thákurs take Kanet women as *sréjat*, not as *lahri*; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered as pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal. These women are known as *chunna* or workers. Bráhmans also have Kanet women in their houses; and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers will not eat from their hands; but they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru*, and marry Kanets, or women of mixed caste if they can find any. There are many *gurus* in Láhaul, but they call themselves Bráhmans. Where the father is not known, or where there is any doubt, illegitimate children follow the caste of their mothers. Bráhmans, Thákurs and Kanets will smoke together in Láhaul; and Bráhmans will drink water, tea or *lugri* from the hands of a Kanet, but will not even eat *sachi roti*. The Kanets say they will not smoke with a Dágí (*sepi*). No Kanéts wear the *janeo* in Láhaul. Thákurs will eat *pakki* or *sachi roti* from the hands of a Kanet; but not *kachi roti*, except those Thákurs who do not wear the *janeo*. It is said that Lohárs, Hensís, and Beráras intermarry and eat together. A Dágí (*sepi*) is considered above a Lohár. He will not eat with him, nor give him his daughter in marriage; but he will take a Lohár woman to wife. A Dágí and a Lohár will smoke together from the same pipe.

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Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

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"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *kadd*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monda* or *mompa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethus correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mompa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian?) tribe who once held these hills.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. 564

Village Communities and Tenures.

Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *táwás* or *togochís*.

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Leading families.

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The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Hira Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

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SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

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Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. — Village Communities and Tenures.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of lessing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháksi* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothi* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothis* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothi* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothi*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothis* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháksis* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

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It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

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If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

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Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

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Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

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A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

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The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

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An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

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Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

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A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician 563
who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with
song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of
ltadmo (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon
drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by
beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these 564
people have lived in the country for so many centuries without
absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense
it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage
and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not ~~marry a~~ Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who 174
seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, 563
too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, 771
having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are
called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with
that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet
them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting
folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on con- 175
jecture and turn to that founded on written records either 798
inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers
being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our
own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in
England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in
Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these
two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing
faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-
worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing
stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma,
to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been
heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been disinherited on
account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger
brother had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however,
managed to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a
heavy hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

787 whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They
796 agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated
776 on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the
787 English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange
554 that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith
● 564 caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

539 Chinese, and the dynasty that was ruling at that time (1836) even
171 recognized him as its tutelary spirit. Further, Schmidt states:
773 "Since Gesser-Chan is named in the saga as the ruler of three Tibetan tribes, the Tussa, Dongsar, and Lik, this fact has induced the Chinese to weave him into their history of the three empires, and to assign to him an epoch in their chronology, namely, the beginning of the third century." As long as only the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga was known, it remained of necessity undetermined whether the saga was of Mongolian or of Tibetan origin. But as soon as I published, in 1900, the first samples of the Tibetan Kesar saga as I had gathered it from oral sources (2), no disinterested

2. "Der Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsage," Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougneme, No. XV. Helsinki, 1900. Improved /or Corrected/ English edition in the Indian Antiquary, 1902.

observer was in any further doubt that the homeland of the sagas was to be found in Tibet. Professor A. Grünwedel wrote in the Globus (3) at that time: "In contrast to the familiar (Mongolian

3. Vol. XXVIII, No. 6.

/2/) versions, which represent Ge-sar as warrior and hero, Francke's texts are of a much more original nature and have a predominantly mythological character." Grimm had already expressed the opinion in his Kinder- und Haysmärchen /children's and household fairy tales/ that the Kesar saga, which was known to him only in the Mongolian version, had in all probability originally come into existence in Tibet. As we have already seen, this saga is also known to the Chinese and to the Mongols. But not only that--traces of it are likdwise to be found among the Turkish tribes, the Tungus and Bu[illegible], and so forth. It looks as though this saga material has been disseminated all over Asia. I regard Western Tibet, and Ladakh in particular, as the country of origin for the versions that have become known up to now. The old West Tibetan kingdom is designated in chronicles as well as in inscriptions by Khrom-ge-sar-gdan,
533 "market place, Kesar's throne." In this region the saga is at home
[564] to such an extent that each village has its own version, and the saga
539 is recited by musicians belonging to the caste of the Bhe-da. In their recital, the metrical parts of the saga are sung. But in this

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. This same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 (*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been
[564] originally ཨཕེ་ནོད་ལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

539 41. (*a*) རྟས་འཕང་ཉོ་ངམ། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྱོན་ཉོ་ངམ།།

(*b*) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

000 (*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

561 42. (*a*) ཐུང་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་རྒྱང་ལ་ཇའུ།།

743 (*b*) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

436 (*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the
539 *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

(*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

[000] (*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = 3¼ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

743 43. (*a*) ཁ་ཏཱ་ཀོ་ཝག་ཟེར་ས་དང་ལ་མའི་ཏྲོ་ཝང་ཟེར་ས་ལ་སླེབ་འདུག།།

539 (*b*) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

000 (*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin. trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

539 44. (*a*) སྦལ་ཏི་ཉིང་ཅན་ནི་ཉིང་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ།

བོད་ཉིང་མེད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་སྟོར།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la
bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out [586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman [273] beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [564] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument [533] to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by 291
felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry.

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is 564
that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry.

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is 793
not hereditary.

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the 131
Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places.

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different 563
occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was 142
that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 181

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

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The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas ~~rarely~~ furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

A ferry is called *Gru-kha*, and the ferryman *Gru-ba*. 501
In Ladák itself the ferrymen use only rafts made of 491
inflated skins; but on the Sanpu river, even above Lhasa, boats are said to be numerous; and there has always been one on the Indus at Skardo. The name, therefore, is well known in Ladák, more particularly as most of the Lamas have visited Lhasa. The common [565] people are ferried over on a single inflated skin (*phagpa*), but great men usually have a raft formed by placing a bed over two inflated skins. The skin is generally the hide of a buffalo, with the openings carefully sewn up, excepting one of the hind legs, which is kept for inflation. The skin floats with the legs uppermost. The ferryman throws his arm over it, holding the closed leg in his left hand, and a small wooden paddle in his right. The passenger sits down, native fashion, on the skin, and secures himself by holding the ferryman's shoulder as well as the leg of the skin. The ferryman paddles with his right hand, and pushes the skin forward by striking out his legs as in swimming. I have often crossed the Byâs and Chandra rivers in this way. The raft is managed in the same manner; but it cannot be used either in such rough water or in such rapid currents as the single skin.

The bridges of Ladák have different names, according 491
to the materials of which they are constructed. The finest bridges, such as those of Lé and Khallach, are called *Shing-zam*, or "Wooden Bridges," because they span the river with large beams of poplar. A small bridge over the Bhaga river in Láhul is dignified with the name of *Do-zam*, or the "Stone Bridge," because the footway is made of rough stone slabs. *Chag-zam**

* *Zam-pa* is a bridge; and the different terms of *Shing*, wood; *rDo*,

IV.—DRESS.

291 The men of Ladák wear a cloak* of woollen, thick and warm. It is usually white, or rather it has once been white; for as the people only wash themselves once a year, and never wash their clothes, their cloaks are always of a dirty hue. Round their legs, from knee to ankle, they have coarse woollen leggings† (of felt), fitting tightly, or else wrapped close round the leg and secured by a garter,‡ which is wound spirally round the leg from the ankle upwards. The garter is generally black, but sometimes red. On their heads they wear either quilted skull-caps, as filthy as their cloaks, or caps of sheep-skin with the wool inside, and with a large flap behind, which covers the back of the neck as well as [565] the ears. Those in better circumstances have fur caps of the same shape. Their boots are of felt, with soles of sheep or goat-skin, which are turned up all round and sewn to the felt. The upper part of the felt boot is open to the front, and is allowed to fall over, something in the manner of the boots worn in England in Charles II.'s time. The lamas have red boots, and the others mostly have theirs ornamented with small bits of coloured cloth in the front.§

The Ladáki women wear a black woollen jacket with a large striped woollen petticoat of many colours, generally green, blue, red, and yellow, reaching below the mid-leg. Over all they wear a sheep skin with the wool inside, secured, or rather skewered, in front by a large

* The cloak is called *La-pa-sha*.

† The legging is called *rKang-Phying*.

‡ The garter is called *rKang-gDub*.

§ See Plates XVII. and XXIII. for the men's dress.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 iron or brass needle. The poorer classes have the outside of the skin plain, but those in better circumstances cover it with coarse woollen baize, either red, blue, green, or yellow, with a broad border always of a different [565] colour. The upper classes cover this sheep-skin cloak either with brocade or with silk. Their heads are always bare, the hair being arranged in a border of narrow plaits, which hang round the head like a long fringe. From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wear a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hangs down behind as low as the waist, and is usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowrees. The ears are covered by semicircular woollen lappets, fastened to the hair and edged with brown or black fur, generally of the otter-skin, called Kunduz. These ear-flaps are always red, the inside being woollen, and the outside brocade. These are made coarse or fine according to circumstances; for the Ladáki women seem to pride themselves upon the style and material of these lappets just as much as European ladies do upon the fashion of their bonnets.*

292 The dancing-women wear similar dresses, but they sometimes also have long gowns, of different colours, instead of the jacket and petticoat. Their heads are always covered, either with a coloured and quilted skull-cap, or with a circular, flat-topped, stiff woollen hat, 301 something like a short shako without a peak. These are ornamented with cornelians and turquoises.† All

* See Plates XV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. and XXII. for the women's dress of Kanáwar, Spiti, and Ladák.

† Plate XXII. Moorcroft, I. p. 328, remarks that "a Ladáki female in full costume would create no small sensation amongst the fashionable dames of a European capital."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

262 The food of the common people usually consists of
565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

264 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that
565 may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for
262 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu
784 Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is
565 the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

CASTE--riks or roospa.

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There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

The first class or "rigál riks" consists only of royal personages.

[295] The second class or "trangzey riks" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey riks" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang riks" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tólbey riks" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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CLASS I. Rgiál riks.	CLASS II. Trángzey riks.	CLASS III. Rjey riks.
SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or Hlardak ...
	(5) Skarmápa ...	
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlondrukpa	...
None	Yellow Cap Sect	...
None	(9) Geylukspa or GHaldanpa...	...
	...	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV. Hmang riks.	CLASS V. Tólbey riks.
SUB-DIVISIONS	SUB-DIVISIONS
1 Nángso (kings treasurer).	1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
2 Chakdzot (steward)	2 Zópa (artizan).
3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).	3 Sárzópa (goldsmith).
4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).	4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
5 GHópa (doorkeeper).	5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)	6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).
7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)	7 SHingkhan (carpenter).
8 Chhoonpa (the waterer of the king's fields).	8 Rtsikspon (builder).
9 Rardzi (goatherd).	9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).
10 Bardzi (cowherd).	10 Mon (musician.)
11 Thralpa (cooly).	11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).	12 Beyda musician.
...	Malákhan juggler.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 782 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

2: Ramsay--44 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

565 463 LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101 LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syallable long and the second short.

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool; [173] (4) Máryool" or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

792 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
792 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
792 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

WT
792 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
795 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which
T is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
788 considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
648 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT
565 Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
WT Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
648 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
554 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
661 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
T lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
648 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
661 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
648 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
439 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
554 profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible. 264 262

The poor people eat only chheenan zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure). 804

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak	(Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer	(Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer	(Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Batti	(Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund	(Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 "	(Indian)	=	80 "

The lower classes are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer. [565]

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sär-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sär-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sär-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the following

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, 657
but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people 656
object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment
of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and 651
kind levied on land varies very much; thus the monasteries 423
pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay 565
about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay
about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of
land to be 17·6, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials
1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively.

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of 788
a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a
rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead
on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has
told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108
"thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113,
these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks
the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are
for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told."

As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng- 779
bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following 775
fanciful explanation is given:--

There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khorároo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

2: Ramsay--S8 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

WT 584 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladak, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wang Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladak, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again: "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh)." Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with the tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33).

[565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility)."

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage. In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. 428

Social and Religious Life. 592

Custom of inheritance in Spiti. 565 [595] [465] 792 428 595

proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *táxing* (from *tába*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *táxing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *táxing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chamba* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothis* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the [587]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chapter III, C. Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágís 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágís have probably the least admixtnre of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

564 Chapter III, C.
565 Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.
184 Caste in Spiti.
[171]

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

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"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zoho, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *kadi*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monba* or *monpa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethus correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *monpa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mona, a (Dravidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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[565]

The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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[792]

Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"My back aches, Sahib," the first one said, indicating the muscles along his spine. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime. 164 757

"My legs ache, Sahib," said the second, rubbing the muscles of his thighs. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My head aches, Sahib," said the third, touching his temples. He had no fever. Prescription: one aspirin now, one at bedtime.

The next two had simple headaches but no fever. Prescription: the same.

The sixth one puzzled me. He had a severe headache around his eyes and his temples. I had no fever thermometer, but I knew from his forehead that his temperature was well above one hundred. He had a nasty cough that sounded dry and rasping. The man was sick, and I was stumped. I decided to roll him up by the fire, give him two aspirin, and then see him again in an hour.

His son, aged ten, had followed him from the village of Koti, apparently apprised of the father's illness. As the man lay before the fire, the son sat at his head and massaged his temples. In an hour I asked the patient how he felt; but before he could reply the son spoke up.

"This is a cruel world. You are rich, we are poor. We have to work hard for our living. Father gets up at dawn and works until dark. So does Mother. We all work hard. It is not fair. It is not fair that you are so rich and we are so poor." 565 208

Turning to Rahul, I asked, "What is the meaning of this?"

"Communist propaganda," he replied. "In this part of the world the Communists try to plant simple and troublesome questions in the minds of the young."

"Ask again about my patient."

Once more the son responded, complaining of the gulf between the rich and the poor.

"I don't care right now about your political philosophy," I replied. "How's your father?"

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. Nor was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, so our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

262 feast, proceedings may begin with *gyatug*, a dish of long
574 vermicelli-like strips of flour-paste over which mincemeat in a nicely flavoured sauce is poured. Meat is also minced and made into delicious little dumplings, called *mok mok*, or well-flavoured and rolled up into sausages, which are eaten with
● [565] rice—in fact in a rich house, after the plates of rice have been served, many kinds of subsidiary dishes are handed round with meat done up in different ways, sauces and vegetables, the last
[357] often soured. For a *dron* an experienced cook is hired to take charge of all the culinary operations, usually a Mussulman, otherwise one of the women of the house superintends
262 the kitchen. But in the villages where there are no butcher shops, and a sheep is killed only occasionally, the staple food is butter-tea and barley-flour, varied with all sorts of vegetables prepared in several ways. The poorest people mix the flour in water just as it is, eating it out of cheap little wooden cups with their fingers.

262 An ordinary middle class family will breakfast on butter-tea
565 and small breads, raised with leaven called *kambir* ; at midday they will have more tea, and perhaps chupattis with a sauce of vegetables, mixed with buttermilk, while in the evening, tea may or may not be served again with flour kneaded into a paste in some form or other, and mixed with meat well stewed in a broth.

More usually as the hot tea is drunk, the butter floating on the top is blown to one side, and after many cups a nice little residue is left with which to mix up the raw flour with the aid of a finger.

252 In summer when milk is more plentiful, its various products
[262] are much used as a food. The milk is collected into a large pot at night and warmed, some sour buttermilk being added to make it curdle. The pot is then covered with garments and blankets so as to maintain the blood-heat for proper fermentation. Some of it may be set aside to eat as *zho*, this being a kind of junket, only less insipid, especially when well

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of former sins. Another patient—this time a Royal one be it noticed—asks for some medicine which will stop his beard from growing. Could such be produced much trouble might be saved for him as well as many others. The next comer informs us that he himself is not a patient, but that away at his home his little brother is suffering from headache, and is quite aggrieved that treatment without examination is refused. Now a Balti comes, who says he is perfectly well at present, but that he is quite certain one day he will have a pain in his digestive organs, and he would like to be prepared against that day. Another old gentleman has returned for more medicine, although only yesterday he had been provided for three days, and on being reproached for having disobeyed instructions, advances the perfectly reasonable argument that, if one dose of medicine is going to do him good, ten doses will multiply the good effect tenfold.

Having seen all our out-patients and attended to their treatment, we adjourn to the operating-room where a cataract is to be removed. To-day our patient is of noble rank, being the mother of the chief Rajah of Ladak. Some days previously the old King had asked us to operate on his maternal relative, and we actually fixed the date, but, alas! he found on consulting his horologist and books, that we had chosen a most inauspicious day and begged the Doctor to change it, which he did. There lies the old lady on the operating-table, her refined features and well-kept hands testifying to her good breeding. We scrub our hands so thoroughly that the onlookers, among whom is the King, no doubt feel this is part of a religious performance preceding the operation. Having arranged the sterile towels, we are just about to start, when the exalted son begins walking up and down the room rapidly, saying his *Om Mani pa dme hungs*, the while turning the beads of his rosary. This is hardly conducive to the stillness an English surgeon would desire when performing a cataract extraction. The obstructing lens is removed, how-

757 ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again
565 see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

797 But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards
758 are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital,
593 he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not.
758 We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated
301 to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his
164 ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be
758 able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [538] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

586 614 If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 595 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

13 Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the
796 tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu" to her.

796 Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first
536 endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs, which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the
[565] monastery. These are four storeys high, the upper ones having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and
[643] only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable, but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view, while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lambskin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADĀKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

a poor country as the higher parts of Ladākh for the exercise of 565
their calling; but the Bhots, though poor, are charitable. These Khambas, too, give themselves a religious air, as do most beggars in the East, and that may help them. But in truth, in their ways, they are more like to the gipsies than to devotees. They have their wives and children with them, and these all come round in succession to beg, as if independent of each other. They live in the smallest of tents; these are only just high enough for one to seat oneself on the floor beneath them. The tent and their other traps are carried on the backs of a few of the load-carrying goats which they always possess. The Maharaja's authorities have tried to [565]
persuade some of these Khambas to take to agriculture, and a bit of land has been given for this object by the Pāngkong Lake. I saw one family there, who had commenced to till, and had left off their inveterate habit of begging; but they were still in tents, and had not begun to build a house.

The next colonizers to be mentioned are *Baltis*. This race of 563
Baltis will be more fully spoken of in the chapter which treats 167
of their own country, Baltistān; here I will only name their settlements in Ladākh. In the first place, there are Baltis inhabiting the valleys of Drās and Surū, and the tract about Pāskim, which is called Purik. These are not geographically separated from the main body of their countrymen in Baltistān, which district borders on Drās; but they have some slight differences. Then there is an isolated colony of Baltis right in the middle of the Bhot country, only a few miles from Leh. The largest tract of cultivated land in Ladākh is in great part held by them; this is at a place called Chushot, on the left bank of the Indus, from five to ten miles from Leh. These immigrant Baltis came four or five generations back, some from Purik and some from Skārdū.

Dārds are found in Drās and in several places along the valley of the Drās River, and again in a few villages in the valley of the Indus, being there interpolated between the Baltis and the Ladākhis. It is at these last places that some Buddhist Dārds occur; these make small and very much isolated communities.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīrī half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid. 563

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhīs are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing 463 565 241 651 [428]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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565 241 651 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of by employing labourers.

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the 241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhis mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim, [438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhis themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhis earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, [565] plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

687 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their
567 charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár"
476 or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but
757 in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.
[150]

774 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or
776 sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man
787 may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the
273 alchoholic essence).

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

563 There are some ethnological facts connected with them, which are
167 of great interest; these will be given in one of the chapters on Dārdistān (Chap. XVIII.).

563 In the town of Leh are a good many families of *half-castes*, born of Bhot women, the fathers being merchants of different races who have frequented the market at that place. There has for long been a commercial connection between Leh and Kashmir, and families of Kashmir merchants have settled in Leh. There is now, and probably there has been for generations, a hybrid class, brought into being by the intermarriage of these Kashmīrī with women of the country, who have been and are ready to turn Muhammadan—or to any other religion—in order to marry. Again, the Turkī merchants, from the direction of Yārkand, are responsible for another set of half-
● 567 castes. A third class has sprung into existence since the conquest of Ladākh by the Dogrās, from the connection of Dogrā sepoys with Ladākhī women. These are, or were, called *Ghulāmzādas*, that is to say, "slave-born."* The theory was that, being born out of wedlock, they belonged to Government; this theory was so far carried into practice that they used to receive their daily bread from Government, and to give, unwillingly, their labour in return, in such work as wool-cleaning.† They were, indeed, bondmen, unable to leave their country or to get their living in it in their own way. Some years ago an attempt was made to get them to settle on a bit of land lately enclosed, and to follow agriculture; but their want of skill, as well as want of capital, made this to fail. When I was at Leh, in 1871, I was enabled, by orders from the Maharaja, to set them free to go where they pleased. They had diminished to quite a small number; they were all ready to sacrifice the Government daily ration for the sake of liberty. Before manumitting them I ascertained that there was a prospect for each of them of a living to be got, and I hope that by this time they are absorbed in the general population.

* The two former half-caste breeds are called "Arghaun."

† A great deal of hand labour of a light sort is required in picking the pashm or underwool of the shawl-goats free from hair before it is sent down to Kashmir.

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147] There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry [582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. [562] The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 588 [567] In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361] The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nán[illegible] "insiders", while those of other religions are called [illegible]doos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 443

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black-smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. Nor was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, so our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

302 and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again.
291 The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners
177 is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the
576 edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion
● [572] demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

302 The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance
291 is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

291 In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead
301 certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright
291 red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak
Tibet AJ1

smoking was looked upon as so heinous an offence. He replied that it was because, so the lamas said, tobacco was a weed grown from the menstrual flow of a prostitute who had prayed that it might fertilize a plant that would be the joy of mankind. For this reason, lamas could not think of smoking, and they naturally opposed it in the lay population as well.

WT 276 171

c) *Investigation of polyandry along the Leh-Srinagar Treaty Road*

T 115

1. *Information gathered at Spituk and Ri-dzong*

At our first halt after leaving Leh, I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in the central Tibetan provinces from the acting chief abbot of the monastery, who had studied in Lhasa. I shall revert to what he told me when we come to Part II, where I shall deal with the polyandry of Tibet proper.

WT T 115

At Ri-dzong, the Tibetan bandit, Norgyäs, had much to tell me also. He told me a certain amount about the marital customs of those parts of Tibet which he knew personally, but also about those specifically appertaining to Western Tibet. It is these which I shall account for here.

It seemed that my informant was born in Ngari Korsum and had only later in his life taken to banditry. At the age of nine, he was adopted by a lama, the assistant of the Garpön of Gartok, that is of the Tibetan Government official whose residence was in the capital of Ngari Korsum.

The lama's name was De-chen-la (*bDe-Ch'hen-lags*) and he had a sister living with him who was married and had a son, Dön-stob-la (*Don-sTobs-lags*), of the same age as Norgyäs. Although there was a relation of master to servant between the two boys (the lama's nephew being the superior), a very intimate bond was formed between the two. When Dön-stob-la married, Norgyäs was allowed to share the wife with him, and this because the two had become what he called *skyidug-chik-pa* (*sKyid-sDug-gChig-pa*).

This long word has the meaning of "Happiness-Grief-Identical" and such a relation is very often entered into in Tibet between close friends. Norgyäs said that, in his case, it was only a minor variety of the relation because, normally, it is a much more formal and binding connection.

WT T 572 837

Thus in Tibet, and also in Ladak, two old friends who had known each other for a long time could become *skyidug-chik-pa* in the following way. They make a vow, clasping each other's middle finger, in which they swear to share undividedly everything that they have for the rest of their lives, and even in the next one that awaits them. If

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak
Tibet AJ1

WT T 572 837 [115]

one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

WT T 837

Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

WT 595 601 WT [115] WT [591]

2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[Text continues on p. 390]

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 589 601 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

and laid k'atags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods. 000

/130/ On the first evening of the festival there had to be the 527
baba dumpling made of barley flour and mixed with butter and sugar, 262
as a part of the meal. Mother Tsering Putrid prepared it with her own hands, for, she said, nobody knew how to make them the way she had learned to make them from her mother. At supper the steaming, fragrant giant dumpling was then placed between the celebrants who were crouched on carpets on the floor. The master of the house made a hole in the middle, at the top, by means of a spoon, and into this Tsering Putrid poured melted butter. (133). Then the master of the

133. A similar custom is to be found in Sweden where a flour dish appears on the table at the New Year's eve dinner. This dish has a hollow at the top into which melted butter is poured. Compare note 37!

house was the first to break off with his little brass spoon a piece of the dumpling, --followed by all the others. Each dipped it into the butter, and soon the loud smacking of lips betrayed how well the baba tasted to all.

Everywhere from the king's castle to the hut of the small-holder 527
they celebrated, depending on their wealth they ate well and plentifully, and--the men--drank even more, they gathered for singing and dancing, for polo playing and horse racing. Everybody gave himself over to unbridled gaiety.

In one of the first years after his marriage Namgyal received a 527
letter. The letter was from the Gyalpo, the grandson of the king of 574
Ladakh, who was dethroned in 1840 and who lived in a castle on the other side of the Indus River across from Leh, and who there lived on a small state pension and large reminiscences from the time of his once mighty forebears. The letter contained an invitation to him from the "Ruler without land" to celebrate the festival in Leh with him and the galons, lonpos, and other great men. The king in his epistle addressed the young Dragshos with "No" (younger brother); he, as the offspring of the noble race of the Dragshos, whose valiant sons had once performed great services for the land of Ladakh and one of whose offspring had once been offered the royal hat, should not be absent from the festivities in Leh. The custom had existed, since the days of his forefathers, that the king celebrated the New Year's festival in Leh surrounded by his grandees and that he prayed together with them for

527 the well-being of the country and of the people.

574 Namgyal at first had very little desire to comply with the invitation. In the past few years his father had been in the habit of declining the same invitation under the pretense that as village magistrate he was unable to leave his post for such a long time. The real reason was /131/ that he knew from experience that this participation was an expensive matter. The great festivals in the royal palace in Leh cost a lot of money, and the king was totally unable to meet these expenses from his own modest income. Therefore, his "grandees" who had the honor to take part in the festivities, had to make considerable contributions. It even happened that after the celebration the royal pockets were so completely depleted that his "majesty" would approach one or the other of his noblemen for a loan, for the repayment of which the person concerned would then have to wait an extremely long time. Many of them had had bad experiences in these matters. One of them, for instance, had had to be contented with a very emaciated little ox as repayment for a considerable sum of money that he had lent. But finally Namgyal allowed himself to be persuaded by some friends and by his ambitious grandmother to go to the festival at Leh after all. It was, he was told, an honor for the house of Dragshos and for entire Lower Ladakh if he was gathered together with all the grandees around the king. After all, the lonpo from Domkhar, who was related to him, was also taking part. Finally, Namgyal himself wanted to experience for once the festivities days in May, of which he had heard so much. Perhaps, so he thought, he might even learn something from them.

574 Thus, shortly before the beginning of the celebrations Namgyal rode to Leh in two days. In Leh he moved in with a distant relative. On the evening of the first holiday, the 28th of the tenth month, he saw, for the first time, the illumination of the town; the houses at the foot of the mountain on which the castle was situated, and along the southern slope of the same, the castle, and the monasteries gleamed [796] in the shine of thousands of little lamps lit to celebrate this lamaistic "ascension festival," something which made a great impression upon Namgyal.

527 The following morning at the bazaar he met about twenty Tibetan gentlemen of nobility, galons, lonpos, and higher officials. on horseback, who were just about to fetch the king for the celebration of the festival. Namgyal, likewise on horseback, joined them. A

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 11

HORSES, MULES, YAKS, AND MOTI

484 The ideal way to travel Central Asia is by horseback,
492 unencumbered by any pack train. That is the way the Tibetans and Ladakhis travel. They ride the small Tibetan horse that stands about ten hands high, has husky shoulders and small feet, and possesses great endurance. The natives travel for weeks on end in this way. They have no pack animals to slow them down. Their only baggage is what they carry in saddlebags
415 or in the roomy pockets of their heavy wool coats. One of them
484 will have a pot and another a small wooden churn for mixing
574 *gur gur cha*. Each will carry a bowl, usually one of wood inlaid with silver or gold. Indeed one who travels Ladakh or Tibet without a bowl usually gets no food when he visits another's camp. The guest is supposed to hand the host his bowl if he wants the hospitality of the camp. These fast Tibetan or Ladakhi travelers carry salt, tea, butter, and flour in small woolen bags. They make fire with flint rather than with matches, and the fuel is usually the low *dama* bush that burns even when green.

eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal 795
power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in 178
Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The 792
Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the
Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with 642
Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri 795
to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to 178
the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like 792
Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the 647
regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The govern- 792
ment posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. 574
We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this 792
highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

•574 close with stale air; and finally we emerged into a room of abun-
792 dant light. Bakula was there to greet us. His dais was against one wall, raised about two feet from the floor. Against another wall was a bookcase behind whose glass doors I could see beautiful Buddhas, exquisitely bound books, colorful idols. Bakula sat opposite us on a cushion. In front of each of us was a small table. Bakula's table was higher than mine; mine was higher than Rahul's. Thus were the requirements of protocol met. A barefoot, scraggy lama appeared and placed food before us. There were many vegetables, all highly seasoned except the boiled rice. Bakula did not eat. He has but two meals a day, morning and noon. He did not even participate in the dessert—fresh apricots and tea. But while we ate, he talked. And most of the talk concerned Communism.

000 Bakula is short and wiry with deep-set eyes, high forehead, and a sharp-beaked nose. He is a quiet, introspective, scholar type of man in his early thirties. Bakula is a *geshes*—a professor of the University of Lhasa, where he spent twelve years poring over ecclesiastical texts. He seems to be the born teacher. But these days he is in active politics. He is a member of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir and greatly concerned with the necessities of social reform in Ladakh. These days Bakula gives a great deal of his time to public and secular activities. He is learned in worldly affairs as well as in the Scriptures. He has studied Communism and knows the way Soviet imperialism uses it to extend its domain. He knows its history and understands its techniques. He has learned how Communism operates, the fronts it uses, the propaganda it spreads, the frictions it seeks to develop between rich and poor, its hatred and suspicion of the church, the system of terror it employs to advance its ends.

Bakula wanted to know about Communism in the United States, its strength in the labor movement, its placement in government, its power in the Army and Navy, the number of its adherents. He wanted also to know how strong Communism was

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the wild red currants, now ripe, are wonderfully sweet to the taste. Then look up to right and left, and see the great slabs of cliffs, rising absolutely straight up from the river for over 1,000 feet; or, where they lean at all, the slope is inwards. Behind them are further tiers. Beyond, more cliffs, rising up to a similar height, look just like huge stalagmites, the formation of cliff and stalagmite together often suggesting one of nature's wonderful cathedrals with its many spires. [573] The Ladaki would people them with his *lhas* (spirits), which he certainly believes inhabit the stalagmites.

At last we turn a corner and our hair might turn grey too, for the natural road stops abruptly at one of these perpendicular rocks, on to which human hands have built a kind of rough scaffolding. On every little projection from this rock stones have been merely laid to the desired level, and not even cemented with mud. Jutting out from the rock are beams ; how they have been fixed in it is impossible to say, and resting on these more beams parallel with the cliff, and finally, to give a firm footing, slabs of rock. Why the whole crazy structure does not topple down is past comprehension. The doctor, wishing to be whole in order to render first-aid to the Padre should calamity over-take him, crosses over first, to feel peculiar sensations up and down his spine as he watches his colleague follow after him. Even the horses seem to realize their precarious position, and press close up to the cliff. Having safely traversed this piece of road, we [778] are not surprised to see a *chorten* and a *mani* wall, though still miles away from human habitation, for even the Ladaki must feel he needs a special safeguard for such a perilous passage.

361 From now our road descends until we reach Hanupata, where, although the onset of rain threatens to damp our welcome, the villagers make up for it in the heartiness of 622 their greeting. The *mGopa* or headman begs us to come and 574 rest in a "very nice room" of his house until our luggage

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through dark alleys, up ricketty ladders, and under low portals, which give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This "very nice room" with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a beautiful shining mohagany by years of smoke, a process being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it on the floor, so that we may both sit and "lay our table" upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining, sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained. We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme*, is specially interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are constrained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hillside. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker gives the old man some of his own "Country Life" tobacco to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it with a smile, for who could have believed even that old friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

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Asked how he was enjoying it, he replied that if he smoked much more he would become intoxicated.

Having refreshed ourselves with tea, and the rain having ceased, we go to look for a good camping spot, and fix on a field already harvested. Soon our luggage arrives, and the ponymen tell us that for four miles they had to unload their ponies and carry the loads themselves. Fancy carrying a heavy tent over a bad road for four miles! Two of the ponies had fallen down the steep hillside with their loads tightly bound on their backs; but, fortunately for them, these were bedding and tents, so they did not hurt themselves seriously, and, fortunately for us, they just stopped short of the water, so we had dry beds that night. This part of the road has been described somewhat in detail, and, although all is perfectly true, yet it is not so bad in the actual going as it sounds, for one is much too occupied with the next step to worry about potential accidents, and it is only in prospect or retrospect that the perils of the road appal.

Early next morning we are off again, and soon come to the inevitable pass. Here the many marmots provide interest by announcing the coming of a stranger with a shrill policeman-like whistle, as they sit at the doors of their burrows. They are remarkably tame, for the Doctor stalked one and actually touched him with his stick as he disappeared down his hole, only to reappear a few minutes later. He was then about to reach his hand out to stroke him, but was warned by his Ladaki *zhabzhi* (foot-helper) that they bite hard. When travelling in another direction some weeks before this, my companion's dog noticed a marmot running hard for his hole. "Bunty" managed to head him off and bowl him over, biting him hard in the abdomen, but nowhere else, for friend marmot was a sportsman. He sat up on his hind legs held up his fists in the approved boxer fashion, and kept "Bunty" at bay. We were able to walk right up to the combatants, when, seeing the marmot was badly

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752 Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one 262 or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates [415] out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be ● 574 taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host 554 or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace 352 —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove [354] opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished 000 member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

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The Doctor Memsahib once had 757
the privilege of coming upon a family unawares just at dawn in the middle of winter. She had been called out to a case in a village, nine miles from Leh, the last two miles of which had to be done in the dark, that is by snow and starlight, and she and her Ladaki nurse were glad to walk over the frozen snow a little to keep their feet from freezing. Already icicles stretched from upper to lower eye-lashes, and whiskers, formed by the frozen moisture of their breath, adorned their mouths. The patient's friends had sent for the Doctor three days too late; already two small lives were extinct, and the last dim hope of the mother lay in a surgical interference. An operation was performed, after sterilizing instruments in a cooking pot by the light of a fire of sticks on the mud floor, the nurse giving chloroform for the first time. But it was too late and, at about two a.m., the patient died. We sat on till the first dim light appeared, for out-of-doors we feared wolves in the dark, and a strange experience it was. On one side of the 593
room the corpse covered with sacking and filthy sheepskin, 764
near the fire on the floor quietly sobbing, was the unkempt, shaggy, ragged husband, who, for all his uncouth appearance, had exhibited the most extraordinary tenderness and patience with his suffering wife; near the stove his mother-in-law, a wrinkled old hag, who wailed intermittently. On the further side of the stove hens nestled. In the next cold fireless room two children were sleeping, and we were told that downstairs a blind old grandfather had been put in the straw cellar (again the "wrong way round" compared with our hayloft in the West) to keep warm in the horses' fodder. The Ladaki nurse spread her coat, lined with sheepskin in the corner by the stove for her Doctor, and fetched a thick horse-cover for herself. The fire of manure in the stove had gone out, and the two mourners occasionally added sticks to the one on the floor, but the room was bone cold. The family were so poor 511
that they had not offered us even a warm drink during the long, 574
bitter night, though, when they thought we were drowsing,

511 they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. Nor
574 was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, so our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened
513 fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house
574 and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming
264 broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for
572 his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that
428 she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

264 But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us
565 inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

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of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

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262 feast, proceedings may begin with *gyatug*, a dish of long
● 574 vermicelli-like strips of flour-paste over which mincemeat in a nicely flavoured sauce is poured. Meat is also minced and made into delicious little dumplings, called *mok mok*, or well-flavoured and rolled up into sausages, which are eaten with
[565] rice—in fact in a rich house, after the plates of rice have been served, many kinds of subsidiary dishes are handed round with meat done up in different ways, sauces and vegetables, the last
[357] often soured. For a *dron* an experienced cook is hired to take charge of all the culinary operations, usually a Mussulman, otherwise one of the women of the house superintends
262 the kitchen. But in the villages where there are no butcher shops, and a sheep is killed only occasionally, the staple food is butter-tea and barley-flour, varied with all sorts of vegetables prepared in several ways. The poorest people mix the flour in water just as it is, eating it out of cheap little wooden cups with their fingers.

262 An ordinary middle class family will breakfast on butter-tea
565 and small breads, raised with leaven called *kambir*; at midday they will have more tea, and perhaps chupattis with a sauce of vegetables, mixed with buttermilk, while in the evening, tea may or may not be served again with flour kneaded into a paste in some form or other, and mixed with meat well stewed in a broth.

More usually as the hot tea is drunk, the butter floating on the top is blown to one side, and after many cups a nice little residue is left with which to mix up the raw flour with the aid of a finger.

252 In summer when milk is more plentiful, its various products
[262] are much used as a food. The milk is collected into a large pot at night and warmed, some sour buttermilk being added to make it curdle. The pot is then covered with garments and blankets so as to maintain the blood-heat for proper fermentation. Some of it may be set aside to eat as *zho*, this being a kind of junket, only less insipid, especially when well

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643 might wish to be busy elsewhere. Understanding that they would prefer our room to our company, we again wended our way down the hill. During our short stay in the room of enthronement, no ceremonies whatever were performed, and no word was spoken. There sat the *Skushog* and the new King like two graven images. We asked them what they did to crown their King, and they replied that he was allowed to sit on a throne as high as that of the *Shushog*. But we could not help feeling that the haste with which they got rid of us indicated that we were not to see the real ritual, as the influence of our Occidental presences would not be auspicious, yet we appreciated the friendly spirit which did not wish to omit us entirely from their important celebrations.

643 574 The Royal ladies, too, have always given a welcome to visitors from Western lands, whether it be the missionary "Memsahibs," who live in Leh all the year round, or the summer travellers who may be taken to pay their respects to the reigning house at Stog.

When the family come to Leh for their winter visit, their presence being necessary at the great festivals of the New Year and *Dosmoche*, we usually go up to the castle to pay them a call. We first inquire if it would be convenient for us to come on a given afternoon, sending a present of a cabbage, turnip or some potatoes, all of which are real luxuries in this part of the world, and hardly-grown at all outside our own [352] and the Commissioner's compounds. The time having been fixed, we are led into the sitting-room of the two Queens, and take our seats near them on nice Tibetan rugs, well-padded underneath. The little princesses, aged about two and seven on the last occasion, were very interested in the foreign ladies and the baby especially was delighted at receiving a rubber doll with a squeak. Butter-tea, of course, was served, and a special brand of sweet shortbread made in the royal household provided. Once when we went down to Kashmir, the old Queen Mother kindly sent over a dozen of these, wrapped in a

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643 bit of Indian newspaper to help us on the road, while her
• 574 daughter-in-law sent a request for some mercury (called in Tibetan "silver water") for what purpose we could not gather, and also asked if we could refill for her a bottle of scented hair oil. Once the two Queens repaid our winter call, and came to visit us in the compound. In the morning they sent down to know if we would kindly provide a magic lantern show by way of an entertainment, for they knew the Mission possessed such an instrument, but in the Doctor's house we had other resources, for a Christmas tree had been made for the children, and we had this illuminated for our visitors. Removing all central furniture, we arranged little tables in front of small rugs and mats round the room, and, what with the ladies-in-waiting and attendant lamas, every place was filled, and our small room soon needed airing. On the tables we could only provide dry food, such as apricots, sugar, sweets, walnuts and sultanas, for they would not partake of anything we had cooked, and with our gramophone to entertain them, our guests seemed to enjoy their evening. We had to explain carefully of course, that the lighted Christmas tree was not an object of worship, but put up for the children's pleasure, while our Christian Hospital nurse briefly told our Christmas story as illustrated by little picture cards hung from the tree. But perhaps the greatest thrill of the evening was a tour of the sahib's house, where the bed-rooms and kitchen, and the baby sleeping quietly alone in the dark, caused the greatest interest.

643 The castle of Leh, however, is not the usual abode of their
644 Majesties, the King is in residence there only during the first Buddhist month of the year, and on other special occasions, and when the waters of the village where he resides in summer are all frozen, and must be melted before using. At other times he has his quarters in the castle of Stog, which lies a three hours' ride from Leh on the opposite side of the Indus.

643 When Zorowar conquered the great-grandfather of the present
651 young King, he banished him there, and since then Stog is

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643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
● 574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthen ware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

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where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that grotesque little corner.

There was one more interesting little visit to be paid. Meme Lobzang actually consented to show us his own private compartments. There were eight of us, and the lamas had some whispered consultation as to whether we should all get in. Across the court-yard and up some steps to the right of the main entrance, under the valanced doorway, through a small vestibule in which we noticed a fascinating copper water pot, we entered a tiny room looking down towards Leh. We could just manage to sit down on the floor, the interested lamas peering in and watching our every movement with amused curiosity. The floor was covered with small mats over felt ones. The *Slobdpon's* chief resting place and probably his bed, was rather more padded, and covered with an orange felt. He sat with his back to the small latticed window, a low tiny table in front, and at his side a higher one on which were sundry portraits, one of their Majesties, the King and Queen, one of the Dalai Lama, and one of the *Skushog* of Hemis in his festival dancing dress with high hat and overskirt of human bones, taken by the Doctor Sahib. A pickle bottle held a bunch of green from the shrub in the court-yard, and at the side was a low open bowl of rose petals. A small god like a doll, and a pot of charming design, the latter unfortunately dressed in lady-like petticoats, were also noticed, besides a printing frame, and another tiny god of doll's house size. Behind him on the windowsill sundry writing materials, religious books, and small ceremonial utensils lay about, a coloured portrait of the late King Edward hung on another wall; in fact every corner of the room was used, yet the effect was clean and tidy. Stuffy it could not help being with so many visitors, and, after taking

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a dried apricot each (to dispose of later on by some other means than the mouth), from a plateful which he presented to us, we rose to go. On the way out he invited us to see his kitchen, another tiny, but tidy little apartment, with its cooking vessels clean and neatly arranged, and its low roof shiny with the polish of years of smoke. These rooms had not been tidied up for our reception, yet they completed the pleasant impression of order and cleanliness he had already given us, and it was with a real respect for the benevolent old gentleman that we bade him adieu, and passed down by the iris-bordered corn-fields in the soft evening light to our homes.

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some vegetables from the garden, and the man went off in high glee at the success of his expedition. 792 159

The next morning we were asked whether the *Skushog* of Trigtse might call upon us. We hastily arranged for an interpreter, for our Superintendent was away, and we were all new to the country; moreover, our guest's language of Central Tibet was quite a different dialect from that of Ladak. He duly arrived, dressed in his official robes and attended by two or three lamas, and was invited into the drawing-room. But he lingered in the hall, and to the Doctor's surprise began to undress. This process continued to such an alarming extent that he was led into the study. Two other ladies had just called to go out with the Memsahib, and great was the surprise of all three when the drawing-room door opened, and the *Skushog* entered. He wore the helmet-like topee, a Chinese type of frock-coat with paired pin-tucks across the back, brown trousers, a pair of bright yellowish socks, and some Chinese-looking attempts at European shoes. Invited to a chair, and the interpreter called, he entered into friendly talk. He announced among other things that he would like to become a Christian, but we did not take this seriously, and pointed out that he could not do that and retain his wealth and power as a *Skushog*. He then intimated that he would like to stay the night, a rather awkward proposition with our limited accommodation, but we said we could give him the verandah. His lamas whispered anxiously together and let him know it was time to go. Meanwhile they had boiled some tea for him on a little fire outside our kitchen in his own pots, as he must not take food of our cooking. After this the Doctor offered him a cigarette, not knowing in his ignorance of the country that it was against the rules. The *Skushog* made violent signs to him to withdraw into the study again, where, away from the eyes of the lamas, he enjoyed his smoke thoroughly. The latter were at last able to get him to go, and withdrew him on to the verandah where he changed

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792 back into his priestly vestures, which, needless to say,
159 suited him far better. Before he finally retired to change
●574 into them, he straightened himself and squared his shoulders, in order to show us that he also possessed a waistcoat ; but, alas ! between the bottom of that garment and the top of his trousers was a hiatus in which his holy brown body was disclosed. Short of stature, with a strong convergent squint, and scarred by small-pox, indisputable signs of his being the true re-incarnation of his predecessors, for he was sure that he himself had never had small-pox since this re-birth, the foreign clothes hardly showed him off to advantage. The next occasion on which he visited us he retained his *Skushog's* garb and had a photograph taken of himself and his suite, the incongruous element being that his most intimate servant was not a lama, but a Mussulman with short hair and a Tibetan cap with four fur-lined flaps.

After his first call, we took the opportunity of a day's holiday to ride over to Trigtse and visit him. We found him encamped in a *bagh* below and about a mile away from the monastery, in a gorgeous tent with nice camp furniture. We ourselves had brought a picnic lunch, at which he elected to join us. The Memsahib was much amused to find that for her first attempt at meat patties, she had put sugar into the pastry instead of salt, but the *Skushog* seemed to find this quite to his taste, and enjoyed them immensely. Afterwards we all repaired to the monastery, riding our ponies up the steep ascent, and he showed us over it, including all his own private apartments.

792 But things soon began to go wrong and all sorts of rumours
159 reached Leh. The *Skushog* declared in public that he did
771 not believe in his own office or his religion. When the common people knelt as he rode past, instead of placing his hand on their heads in benediction, he boxed their ears. He had no reverence for the holy property of the monastery, but sold many of its treasures to any good bidder ; he also had the

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796 The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any time between the beginning of June and the middle of July. 361 The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to 792 get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod, towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to [178] the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the [244] approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten* with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base, until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees, pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English ●574 countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious, spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

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574 are personally invited by him. At the lower end of the wood he has lately built a guest-house on the plan of the bungalows inhabited by the missionaries in Leh. On the side furthest from the road, directly opposite the monastery, the wood ends abruptly on the bare hillside of rock and stone. Climbing to a good vantage point on this, a delightful spot can be found to listen to the monastic evensong, and watch the shadows steal over the vast expanse of the river and valley spread out below.

Though the spur of hills cuts off the main Indus valley to the left, beyond it rises tier after tier of great bare lonely mountain tops, overwhelming in their immense majesty. Behind even these giants, the clouds lift to disclose still greater heights of everlasting snow. Truly one has now the impression of having arrived on "the roof of the world." In the valleys below, the lights and shades chase across hill and plain, and, as the moon comes up in the cloud-flecked sky behind and pursues her slow path through the white wind driven masses, the strangest wraith-like forms seem to rise and pass below. At first they appear to be white clouds tucked down between the lesser hills, but, as they move to and fro, it becomes evident that it is merely the effect of the moonlight between the passing clouds thrown on to the sandy spaces. 533 Then across the stillness of that great expanse, hitherto only 797 broken by the stream coursing down between the trees some 346 way below and the breezes rustling their leaves, comes the strangest music, slowly rising in pitch and increasing in tone till the hills take hold of it, and roll its reverberations on among themselves, achieving an effect weird and fascinating beyond description. Turning in the direction of the sound, one sees to the left, in the darkness only, the faint outlines of the monastery building with dim lights shining in its windows, while other tiny ones twinkle fitfully in the quaint habitations merging into the hillside, whose queer ridged stratification is faintly perceptible, but one knows that on the roof of the

20: Asboe M-8 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 On the 1st day of the 11th month, each household makes
782 a dough effigy of an ibex (*Skyin*), a cake of unleavened bread with its edges turned up and inwards (*Pe-Rak*), parched barley flour placed in a wooden flour bowl (*Pe-Pud*) is prepared. A vessel of beer (*Nang-mChod*) and one of water (*Chu-Pud*) are also placed alongside of all these offerings, the whole being laid on a shelf in the apartment for three days.

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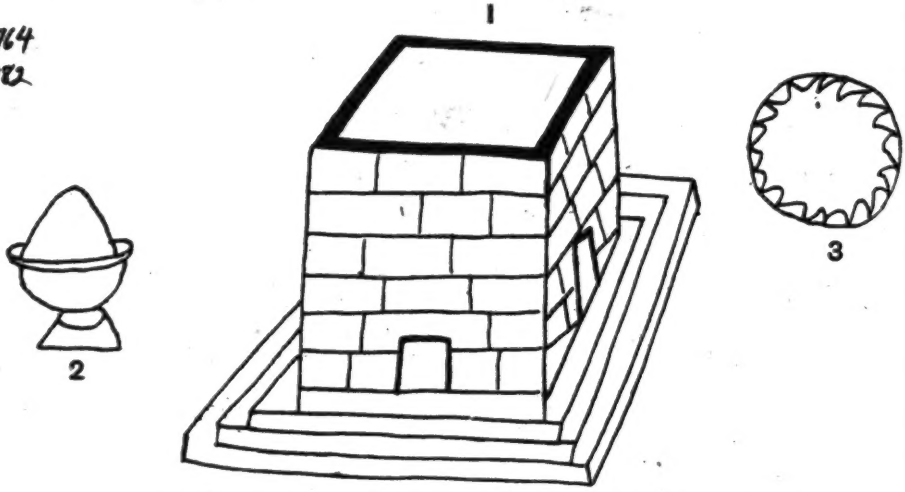

1. *Dur-Kung*. An earthen cremating oven set up on a plinth of earth. There is an aperture on each of the four sides to allow of ventilation, and ensuring a draught so as to expedite the burning of the corpse which is placed in it in a doubled up posture. The whole is made of dried mud bricks. 2. *Pe-Pud*. An offering of flour. 3. *Pe-Rak*. A cake of unleavened bread with edges turned inwards.

796 Friends, relations, and neighbours now call on each other
574 carrying with them small vessels of beer and 5, 7, or 9
685 breads (the taking of six breads being contra-indicated). The children of the village in the meantime make a house to house collection of meat, bread, and other eatables. Whilst the housewife is engaged in producing the food thus claimed, a diversion is afforded when the children surreptitiously steal the *Skyin*, *Pe-Rak*, *Pe-Pud*, *Nang-mChod*, and the *Chu-Pud*, though receiving their ration of food from the incautious housewife.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu
795 Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not.
631 As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there
[342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father.
[391] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden
[594] table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [504] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [988] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 [795] To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 198 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garhpan*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur. 595 428

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said. 595 342 574

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli. 595 [578]

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father, [851]

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AN4

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had
292 heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls of
●574 Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary
534 bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal.
[113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A14

CHAPTER XVIII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 LET us now visit a monastery. As usual, as we
788 approached Lamauru, we were met by much
• 574 noise and dust. The monastery band evidently
346 was on the war-path, from the terrific braying and tom-tomming that greeted us, and the crowd of monastery dignitaries and village magnates kicked up much dust as they approached. We were taken round the monastery by the head ecclesiastic. We climbed the stone stairway to the monastery, which, as usual, was situated on the top of a cliff, built on to and into it in such a way that it was not easy to see where rock ended and the building commenced. Along the side of the stairway were rows of prayer wheels let into the wall, which we set spinning in the orthodox manner. At least I hope we did spin them the right and not the wrong way. I think we must have spun them round the right way, for our journey was prosperous. The chapel was full of interesting objects, and one did not know quite what to look at, for there seemed to be, and there was, such a crowd of interesting objects which I had never seen before.
353 The building was like a hall, the roof supported by
778 wooden pillars, with a gallery all round, from which hung a profusion of silk banners of Chinese design, chiefly dragons. On one side of the hall was a row of coloured figures, life-size, of Buddha and sainted lamas, which were arrayed in rich silks. Before each figure was a table or altar of very curious design, coloured with

A Trip to Ladakh

346 fat; grease pervaded the atmosphere, in fact everything
792 the monks touched, for they were filthily dirty, their red garments being more or less black with grease. Fortunately their heads were shorn. They seemed to be a happy lot of brothers, always ready to laugh and joke, in fact, just like the pictures of the monks of the West in days gone by.

792 There are nuns who live in separate buildings. Many of them are so like the monks that it is difficult to tell one from the other, at least to an unpractised eye, as the following incident will show.

797 A few days later I was in Leh with Dr Neve. He was in the hospital helping people to get well quickly. I stayed outside to try and cheer up the patients who were waiting their turn outside, as many of them seemed to be rather nervous and frightened. I noticed one person who seemed to look very depressed, who I thought was a monk and not living up to his usual jovial self, so I poked him in the ribs and told him to cheer up, when a voice called out to me from behind, but too late: "Take care what you are doing, for that lady is a nun." It was a Moravian missionary who spoke too late. Well, I did all that an English gentleman could do. I apologised most humbly, but the nun would not have any, and I failed to cheer her up.

361 Well, our triumphal march to the capital, Leh (a town
162 with a population of 3000 in the winter, which grows to 6000 in the summer, when all the traders from east and west come in), was as entertaining as it was interesting.
574 Monastery bands, town bands, feasts and polo matches succeeded one another, but the reception given to the Commissioner Sahib at Leh was the culmination of great doings. Seven miles from Leh, in the valley of the Indus, a ~~large~~ sandy plain, there met us a great cavalcade of

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

574 grand folk dressed in most weird costumes, uncommonly like a well-got-up pantomime.

574 There were men dressed in Chinese silks, with their
291 smart blue and gold caps with tassels, Ladakhi officials
793 of various grades, from the Joint-Commissioner, a fine-looking Mohammedan, to his fat babu who sat on his pony like a monkey, his stirrups being so short that his knees and fat stomach met. But the figure which took my fancy was the church dignitary; he resembled for all the world Cardinal Wolsey risen from the dead. He wore a scarlet cloak which fell over the pony's back and almost touched the ground, and he sported ye old cardinal's hat. I never saw him smile, which was in contrast to all the others, who seemed to be out for a holiday. Whether he was upset about not having his proper position in the cavalcade, or whether he had the stomach-ache is uncertain, or maybe his cardinal's hat was uncomfortable. It certainly was hardly the sort of hat I should have chosen to ride in. Perhaps his dignity did not allow him to show his feelings. Anyway, everybody except the cardinal seemed to be in good fettle after their morning's ride. We all fell into some sort of order and rode for the capital.

361 You can see Leh from some miles distant as it is
574 built up the side of the rocks, with the palace and
533 monastery towering above. Leh is 11,700 feet above
526 sea-level, so one needs a little time in which to get acclimatised.

When we arrived through the fine gateway into the main street we found both sides lined with H.H. the Maharajah's troops and the crowds of citizens behind them. The monastery band was in full view on the roof of one
574 of the buildings and made the usual joyful sound. This
526 main street of shops has a fine avenue of poplar-trees,

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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A Trip to Ladakh

W.T. 574 526

which gives most grateful shade in the hot summer weather.

As it is very broad, it is the polo ground. It seemed most strange to see the players dashing up and down the main street, often hitting the ball into the shops. Fortunately the shops in Leh do not possess glass windows, otherwise polo in that street would be an expensive amusement.

K 648

Captain Trench was finally escorted to the Residency, which was a two-storeyed stone building in quite a nice garden. There is not a great selection of trees in Leh, poplars and willows being all that I remember seeing in this part of Ladakh, but in lower Ladakh there are apricot, apple and pear trees.

The Commissioner's chief duty is to look after the traders' interests on this main caravan road from India to Central Asia, Yarkand, Turkestan and to China.

W.T. 797

I went to the Moravian missionaries, who had kindly invited Dr E. F. Neve and myself to stay with them. They have been doing a great and useful work here for many years, by means of hospital, schools, and visiting the people in their homes. They had then a congregation of about thirty Christians.

The history of one of them with whom I was connected for some years is interesting. A certain monk in a monastery in Nubra was dying, and he sent for one of the missionaries whom he knew to visit him. Nubra Valley is some fifty miles from Leh over the other side of the Kardang Pass, 17,400 feet high.

The missionary went at once, and was in time to see him before he died. The monk told him that he heard the Gospel through the preaching of the missionaries, and believed in Christ as his Saviour, but had not been bold enough to confess openly on account of the persecution

2: Ramsay--5 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The
195 respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the
576 ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhása
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[171] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

251 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

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195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564
681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la táng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zár ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 848 687 567 426

581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again; "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh)." Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with the tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33).

[565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility)."

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage. In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang

meaning "request beer." To the "beers" described in this section we have parallels in the "beers" customary in several parts of Germany, such as "Kindelbier" (used at baptisms) /literally "child's beer" but translated into English as "christening feast."/, harvest beer, bock beer, honor beer, consolation beer (at funerals), and others of the same kind. 431

A few days after Stobsldan's mission two men with baskets on their backs were sent to Tingmogang. In each of the baskets there was a large, bulging clay vessel (dza-ma) which contained the important "asking beer." The wide, projecting upper rim of the vessel was covered with a wreath of small lumps of butter (37). A little way 584 431

37. The little lumps of butter (dkar-abyor). The Tibetan word can be translated by "rich possession." The wreath of little lumps of butter is symbolic of "fatness, wealth."

behind the two carriers there followed the two uncles of the suitor, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, on horseback. Once arrived at Tingmogang they dismounted from their horses in front of the Chirpon farm and lifted the heavy jugs of beer out of the baskets. Norbu Wangchug came out to meet them at /59/ the gate of the courtyard. He had a harmless, apparently unsuspecting and still somewhat patronizing air and he greeted them with, "Good day, you gentlemen! Are you in good health?" whereupon the latter answered: "Healthy, yes, thank you! And does the honored gentleman also feel well?" After the customary welcoming formalities had been exchanged with all ceremoniousness, Norbu Wangchug invited the two emissaries into his house. The large Tibetan mastiff which was furiously barking and tearing at its chain by the house door, was pushed down by the master of the house who sat down on the animal until his guests had entered. They went up the stairs into the living room-kitchen where the two uncles put down the chang kegs by the cooking stove on the wreaths of straw--the jugs have billowing bottoms--which had been placed in readiness there. Now the emissaries were invited to sit down near the stove on the felt carpets that had been spread along the wall. As by accident a number of men related to the family and of the tribe of the master of the house arrived, and soon a considerable company of men was sitting together to steaming butter tea; and the cozy gurgling of the circulating water pipe intermingled with the conversation of the [576]

[431] men who apparently suspected nothing and talked about all sorts of things, of horse trading, the shearing of sheep, new tax burdens and the impending visit of a great holy lama; in fact, they talked of everything except about marriage and matchmaking. Finally beer was served. After both Kalatse men had hastily swallowed a few bowls of the beer and had sat in silence for a while, Stobsldan cleared his throat extensively and audibly, began to speak and presented the object of his visit. They brought, he said, 100,000 humble greetings from the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal in Kalatse to the gaga (honored gentleman) and the jojo (gracious lady) of the Chirpon house. They had come to look for a bride for the young man in the Dragshos house. Drogpa Namgyal, he stated, was an industrious, honest, energetic and pious boy, all the people of Kalatse could testify to that. And if one looked at the property of the Dragshos one would see that the boy was not a bad match. After all, they all knew the fine property which was free of any encumbrance. Surely it was superfluous to say anything about the virtue, industry and the beauty of the nomo (38) Chosskyid.

[576] 38. nomo, meaning "younger sister," is the way every younger female person is addressed by an older person. Even her own parents may address a girl as such.

She did not have her equal in the whole of Ladakh. The Dragshos asked the Chirpon for the girl as a bride for his son.

/60/ The matchmaker's speech was followed by a long silence which was only interrupted by the gurgling of the circulating water pipe which had just reached the master of the house. The latter took a few long draughts from it, put it down, gave the pipe to the person sitting next to him, raised his eyebrows and said: "Nonopale (noble gentlemen)! It is certainly a great honor for me that you have come in order to request my daughter in marriage on behalf of your nephew, the son of my honored friend; and the speech of your mouth is as sweet as sugar and as lovely as the twittering birds. Now you are praising my daughter as 'from one throat.' But how long will this last; after that you will speak nothing but evil words about the girl, then you will say: 'Your daughter has horns in the front of her head and a tail in her back' (that is to say, she is a cow), she is lazy and slovenly, knows nothing about housekeeping or managing the fields. And--moreover--there are so many who would like to have the girl, and there are some very distinguished suitors among them"--at these words Stobsldan nudged

576 43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag), greeting cloth or greeting ribbon, usually a worthless strip of gauze-like material that is presented like a greeting card as a sign of respect and of the good wishes of the donor; if the lama has consecrated it, the k'atag is supposed to have magical powers.

584 of the house, and a second one on the edge of the stove for the lady of the house. Then the men sat down in silence on the felt carpets spread out along two walls of the room. They were seated in a long row, Lobsang Wanggyal next to the Chirpon (the master of the house), then the others ranged according to age, rank and titles, with the most distinguished nearest the stove. First the guests were treated to butter tea and flat bread cakes (ta-gir). Then they went over to the chang. The beer kegs from the Dragshos house were carried in, the women scooped the beer with ladles into the bowls of the men, and now they set about negotiating, at this ransom beer, the conclusion of the marriage contract.

583 After a number of less important points had been discussed,
584 they arrived at the most important one--the purchase price of the bride.

A long pause interrupted the lively conversation; the men looked silently down at their beer mugs; the women, who were busily going up and down serving the beer, so that no bowl would become empty, stopped and looked with tense expressions at the men from Kalatse who were to speak the first word. Finally Stobsldan broke the silence: "Now, gracious sir, Norbu Wangchug, please, speak a word! How high is the price of the mother milk (44) to be? Tell us your

44. Tibetan a-mai o-mai rin, meaning "price of the mother's milk." The bride's mother must be paid for the raising and feeding of the bride.

wishes! It is, after all, pure graciousness on your part that you give your daughter to the Dragshos; if you burden us with wool (an easy burden), that will be graciousness; if you burden us with salt (a heavy burden) that will still be graciousness; ours is only to ask."

After prolonged silence during which he seemed to draw his thoughts out of the water pipe standing in front of him, Norbu Wangchug answered as all eyes were now turned upon him: "Rab, abrin, mt'a gsum. A lot, an average amount, and a little bit--there are three kinds of measures. What shall I say? It must be so that the wolf /66/

ride of a good hour at a steady amble brought the company to the village [527] Stog on the other side of the Indus where the king was already awaiting the gentlemen from Leh with a small following of relatives and farmers. All were on fine horses, the horses were beautifully bridled and equipped with fine, /132/ colorful Yarkand saddlecloths. The gentlemen from Leh greeted his dethroned majesty with the honors accorded to a king [576] of the old time: "Hail! We, your humble servants, greet you most respectfully, you, the lofty king of Ladakh! Hail, good fortune, might, and long life be accorded to you!" On this occasion a special word from the courtly language was used for each of the words applied to the king. Furthermore, the gentlemen had all dismounted from their horses, they bowed down deeply before his majesty and embraced the royal legs. The king, a man of middle age, was, it is true, anything but a royal sight: his posture was slouching; sagging and expressionless were his facial traits; his one crossed eye gave his expression of a somewhate stupid appearance--the degenerate offspring of a once mighty and energetic tribe of rulers. He received the salutations of his grandees with an embarrassed gesture. And yet he was "the king" for the people of Ladakh during the brief days of celebration, and as such, royal respects had to be paid to him. This was required by the custom which the ruling Kashmir government suffered magnanimously to continue, since it was convinced of the harmlessness of the weakly Gyalpo.

Escorted by about thirty horsemen, the king now rode to Leh, crossing the Indus by a bridge. He rode across the bazaar and was greeted everywhere by the people of Ladakh in a most respectful manner. The people had come together in great numbers from all the neighboring villages, in part from very great distances. Today they were for once allowed to dream of ancient, long-past royal splendor. The procession rode up the steep mountain on which the castle stood, accompanied by crowds of the populace. In front of the lions' gate [532] the riders dismounted. At their approach the lion who was roughly carved out of wood, and who peered out over the gate from a niche, had begun to growl violently, and at the same time there resounded the furious barking of dogs. A mighty Tibetan mastiff which was lying on the inside of the gate on a chain was connected by means of a string with the wooden lion up above. When the barking dog jumped around and tugged at the string, the wooden lion above the gate, through whose belly went an axle, began to skip about, and the populace gaped at

this wonder of technology,

A dark, swarthy man in his forties, wearing the long, red robe 272
of the lamas, brought *gur gur cha.*[1] His face and head were 792
Mongol. He was barefooted. His black hair was long and unkempt; his skin was dark and grimy; he was the picture of the man who never bathed. In Ladakh, as in Tibet, the monks of a monastery are in various callings—from high priests to gardeners, to cooks, to coolies. This man in lama dress was apparently a novitiate in the monastery who served as a bearer for Phuntzog. He poured [576] • the *gur gur cha* in large earthen cups; and as he handed them to us, he held a rag over his mouth (Tibetan fashion) to protect us from any foul breath he might have. The yak butter gave the tea a creamy appearance and a rancid taste. It was not tasty like the *gur gur cha* Rup Singh had made along the trail. It was indeed repulsive, something to which my tongue and stomach took an instant dislike. It was worse than any medicine I had ever taken or dispensed. I gulped half of the cup and had the uneasy feeling that I may have pushed my stomach beyond the point of tolerance. It was touch and go for perhaps a minute. I sat back in my chair, happy only in the thought that I had met the requirements of protocol. But I did not reckon with the eager novitiate who worked from sunrise to bedtime in order to please his master and his master's guests and to get merit in the next life for himself. This man was as quick as a cat and at once took on a sinister aspect. I had no sooner leaned back in the chair, wondering if the bitter liquid would make peace with my stomach, than he filled my cup again.

This time I did not thank him. I may even have given the good man an ugly look. For Rahul broke in with a chuckle and said, "This can go on for hours."

"You mean I must now drink more?"

"Certainly."

"This evil-looking bearer can force a gallon on me?"

"Certainly," said Rahul, laughing out loud.

"How do I stop him, short of insults and assault?"

[1] [A Kind of tea -- Analyst]

792 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow
159 and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 The house[2] had a central hall that ran its length. My room was
346 on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. An-
262 other lama brought food from the kitchen. It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not
[576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis*, and *gur gur cha*. And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering
159 our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender
431 him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World*, the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

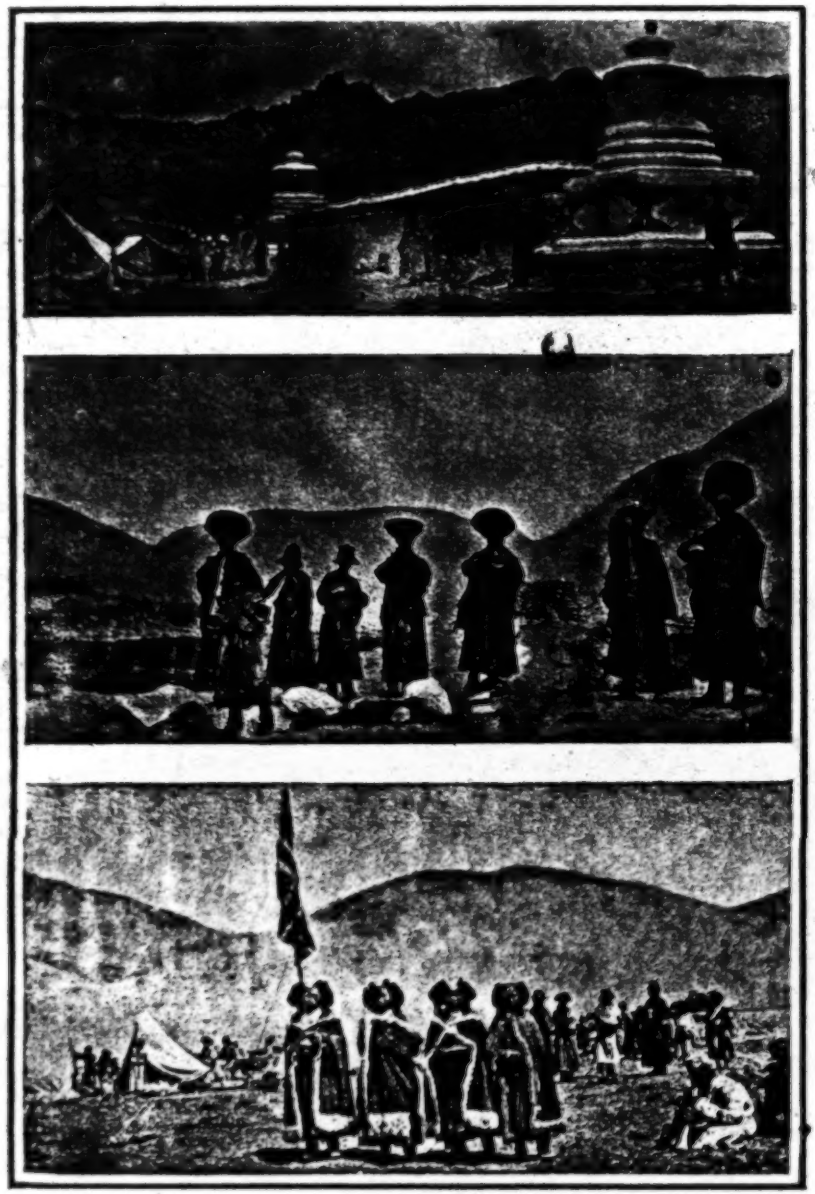
 1/1 [i.e., Hemis Monastery— ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are
264 completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth
412 of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

● 576 With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching
291 head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as
782 out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature
241 seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the
759 mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



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DEDICATION OF A NEW MANI WALL.

At each end are *chortens*.

A MONASTIC BAND.

One small lay child supports the ends of two long shawms.

A GREETING.

Women who have come out to greet the British Joint Commissioner with flour, water, chang (local beer) and fire. To the right a "band" of welcome is provided by one gentleman!

[FACING p. 48]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a 797 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private 576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal ; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to 482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the discussions which were subsequently held at this conference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they had no grounds at all for their contentions.

So we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along.

We are now travelling with the representative of his Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle-drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

576 summons they produce. Next come those who blow the
534 flageolets, whilst the further end of the row is assigned to the long shawms, which are so long that, when they are put away, the three parts of which they consist have to be telescoped one into the other. Priestly music must be described elsewhere, but the greeting to the Commissioner consists of single notes blown on shawms, and flageolets, clanged on cymbals, and beaten on drums at the same time, with a slow rhythm. This is not nearly so discordant as might be imagined, and when produced in its own setting seems quite
576 harmonious. Again we are riding across a desert road with
534 a village well to the left. The inevitable band has been
292 sent to the roadside to play us their greeting, but next to them there is a group of four women, gay in their bright red and green, ceremonial or dancing cloaks, lined with long sheep-skins; one holds a pot of local beer, the next a plate of flour, the third a vessel of water, and the last presents glowing
000 embers. One's thoughts almost naturally revert to that scene in the Bible, where Abraham, having followed the army which had carried off his cousin Lot, returning victoriously was met by Melchizedek, King of Salem, with bread and wine. Thus does the unchanging East still keep up its ancient customs, even on the sandy plains of Western Tibet. Abraham no doubt took of the fare provided, but we had not been fighting an enemy, and did not feel the need of sustenance just then. In my politest Tibetan I explained that the Commissioner did not drink *Chang* (the local beer), which harmless and perfectly true remark only produced roars of laughter.

Now we have ascended the Changla, a pass of about 18,000 feet, and to right and left of our road have seen the most wonderful variety of wild flowers. Looking back from the head of the pass, we see about fifty feet below us a large, perfectly purple patch of ground, made up of a mass of wild primulas—surely a remarkable sight at such an elevation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

hat was the same shape as that of the London messenger boy only with the addition of a large brim which was turned up all round, and on the top was a red knob made of coral. From the lobe of one of his ears depended an elongated ear-ring made of turquoises. It would take a professional reporter of fashions to describe all the various kinds of hats worn, but perhaps the most favoured head-gear was an English felt hat, worn the wrong way round,—as it would be in this country,—that is the ordinary long axis going across the head. Others liked to flatten them into a round shape, like a padre's hat. Then there were hats made of papier mâché in almost any shape that might occur to the fancy. The Tehsildar seems to have desired to create the impression that he was wearing a *chorten* on his head, whilst the Gaspon's little son preferred the idea of a candle snuffer.

On arrival the Gaspon placed a salutation scarf round the neck of the Commissioner. Photographs were then taken, after which we entered the conference tent, where we sat round a table, and, by means of an interpreter some kind of conversation was sustained:—the word "sustained" is used advisably, for even our Ladaki servants who speak the language of Western Tibet, cannot understand these representatives from the forbidden land, so special interpreters are needed. Next to me sat a jolly old lama on whom I tried to air my Tibetan. He evidently could understand just sufficient to be thoroughly amused. He had quite a jovial face, and was evidently no ascetic, but resembled much more the good old English friar, so often represented in pictures engaged in piscatorial pleasures. Needless to say more presents were given. Business began next day, but one regrets to have to report that it was impossible to make our friends from across the border see reason, and so there was finally nothing for it, but to exchange still more presents, and to return to our various homes.

13: Heber and Heber D-S (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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A Skushog and his Monastic Band

greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

The Big Drum.

A similar band, shewing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mark of interrogation.

The Chief Tibetan Representative and his Son

who have come to confer with the British and State (Wazir) Joint Commissioners of Ladak about a boundary dispute.

Opp. pg. 112

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again. The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

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3. There are three places:
Where arrows are shot,
Where people dig for clay
Where the birds rest.
This must be the three.

4. There are three oaths:
Great, sacred oath,
Earnest oath by the fathers,
Son's and witness' oath.
There must be the three.

5. There are three kinds of friends:
God, who redeems us,
Friend through parents' hand,
Friend by flesh and blood.
These three friends there are.

The people:

Good, mighty friends!

/52/ Notes to XIVa and b[1]

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In stanza 1, with respect to the greetings, it should be observed that in the morning the sun is greeted in the East and that in the evening the medicine gods are greeted in the West. The third greeting is that of the subordinate to his superior. In stanza 3, the three types of places evidently are of merely local concern. In stanza 4, the names of the three kinds of oaths: a) De-thsa-mna-mo-che, b) Yag-sdur-pha-yi-mna, c) dPe-thsor-skyes-pai-mna, are apparently legal technical expressions. In stanza 5, God is designated with dKon-mchog (ratna), without the number "three" added. By the words "friend through parents' hand" is meant a marriage brought about by the parents of the couple, whereas the words "friend by flesh and blood," on the other hand, are intended to express the idea of a marriage brought about by the love of the couple for each other.

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XVa. The people of the house say:

1. The wide, white gap in the East
Is closed by the door white as shell.

[See pp. 71-72 -- Analyst]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576] they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w Tibetans A14

the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the 313
growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of land tilled, and of that there is none too much.

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are 342
flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except [576]
in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious ceremonies. The palace at Leh is probably the finest 344
building in the country, though some of the monasteries may approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. [341] The roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in [353] Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the woodwork, were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred pictures.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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It would hardly be looked for that of these Bhots a considerable number should be able to read and write; but it is the case that a far larger proportion than among their neighbours—the Kashmīrīs for instance, to say nothing of the Baltīs and the Dārds—have these accomplishments. A predisposing cause to this doubtless is the length of time, during the winter, when agricultural work is stopped and occasion for indoor pursuits arises. Probably the practice of one son out of each family commonly being set apart to become a Lāmā has distinctly aided the progress of this elementary education. In almost every village there are some who can write freely and accurately. 212 872

There are certain traits of manners in a people that a traveller is very likely to miss altogether, that one only occasionally—when some unusual event brings them to view—has an opportunity of observing. Such an event was my own coming to Leh in 1871. I had visited the place before when examining into the mineral resources of the country; but that year I came to take up the Governorship of Ladākh, to which the Maharaja had appointed me. Thus I was able to observe the way in which these people receive those to whom they wish to do honour. People of all classes turned out at every inhabited place we came near. The villagers collect at the entrance of the village, with the musicians in attendance playing on flageolet and tom-tom. The women in their brightest petticoats and gayest ornaments are drawn up in line, each holding a vessel containing either barley-meal, or milk, or chang, or some other thing to eat or to drink. But these offerings are not intended to be taken as provision; they are not as the *dālīs* in India, where a very substantial amount of eatables is often given; here they are tokens merely. Lastly, some of the women carry earthen vessels in which burn chips of pencil-cedar, whose perfume is counted holy and pure. As one comes up, all place their vessels on the ground, and make profound and not undignified bows. At each village in succession that we passed through for some six days' march was this repeated. At one part of the journey we passed at a distance of a mile or two from a large monastery. A deputation of Lāmās came down to the road 576 [534]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

576 to receive me. Besides these, a band of eight red-gowned monks stood on a rocky spur above and gave a loud welcome with their [534] music. Two played on flageolets; two bore cymbals; other two had drums mounted on standards and held up on high, where long curved iron drum-sticks reached to beat them; and the last pair played on long horns, which, too heavy to be held in hand, rested their curved ends on the ground. With this power of sound the eight made wild music among the mountains; the horns droned in a way melancholy and touching, but this strain was relieved by the clashing of the cymbals and the bold sound of the drums, while, through all, the flageolets brought out a more definite melody. At Leh itself all the population came out either to meet us or to see the crowd that met us. The hundreds of Ladākhīs —for numbers that are reckoned by hundreds make an unusual concourse in these thinly-peopled parts—the men of the numerous other races that collect at Leh, the eagerness of all to see me, and their respectful salutations of welcome, made, with the scene of the strange-looking town, with its edging of green gardens and cornfields, surrounded close by rocky hills, with lofty mountains in the farther view around, in the brightness and freshness of summer morn, a scene which I recall with pleasure—with pleasure more unmixed than that which a like assemblage gave me on the later day when with regret I said farewell to Leh, to the Ladākhīs I had for a time ruled over, and to the men I had worked with—a lowering winter's day that not in vain threatened snow—as they accompanied me for some miles down the road on my first march towards home.

MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

792 In nearly every village, in some parts of Ladākh in every
361 village, is a monastery of greater or less importance; it sometimes holds but one or two Lāmās or monks, sometimes it is the home of hundreds. The monasteries are the most conspicuous buildings in the country; they are always somewhat apart from the houses of the village; they are often situated in high places difficult of access—on a spur of the mountain or on an isolated

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

000 did not feel inclined to move, so I tied him to a rock and went off in search of some landmark, for I seemed to have reached the top of the ridge. However, I soon found I could not walk more than twenty paces at a time, and a most splitting headache came on. It felt as if my head blood vessels would burst, and I had *mal de montagne* properly. After wandering about aimlessly I became aware I was up against a precipice. When the moon rose it was now one A.M., and then I saw I was under the foot of a glacier, a great cliff of ice over seventy feet high, which seemed to bulge out at the top like the curve of a huge breaker. It was very impressive, and for the moment I forgot my headache.

I had meant to stay on the pass to see the sunrise, but my powers of endurance gave out. My one desire was to get down the mountain, where I could breathe in comfort, so I descended to the rock where I had left my pony, and I soon began to recover my equilibrium as I descended. When I returned to Leh I made inquiries after my guide, but I never discovered what happened to him and therefore never knew why he gave me the slip.

346 796 About twenty miles from Leh is a very large and 788 important monastery called Hemis, and once in every twenty years they have an especially important religious play, so Dr Neve and I hired ponies and joined the happy throng of pilgrims.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to see people of all classes making their way on foot and horseback to this far-famed monastery. On several ponies were two [595] riders, the man in front and his lady behind. As polyandry [562] is the custom in Ladakh, the wife is therefore the lord and master, so one expected to see the lady riding in front and one or more husbands riding pillion, for we often saw 788 576 three passengers riding one horse. We passed two ladies

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
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311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

●577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
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22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.—*By* THE REV. H. FRANCKE, *Moravian Missionary, Leh. Communicated by the Philological Secretary.*

[Read June, 1899.]

538 805 ●577 The Ladakhi word for proverb is *gtamdpe* [pronounced *stamspe*] which means 'word example.' *Stamspe* is the general term for what might be called quotations, the shepherd's calender and the popular moral code.

538 126 Ladakhi popular poetry has become famous for the frequent application of the laws of 'parallelism.' Many beautiful examples, illustrative of this form of poetry, will be noticed in the proverbs.

In the following each proverb will be treated in this way—

(*a*) the Proverb in the orthography of Ladaki letter writing, (*b*) pronunciation, (*c*) literal translation [does not claim to be good English], (*d*) application, (*e*) grammatical and other notes.

Concerning the orthography of (*b*) the following will suffice: The vowels are the Italian vowels[1], *ā* rather like *e*. All accents given, refer only to the stress. *sh*=ཤ, *zh*=ཞ, *ng*=ང, *c*=ཙ, *ch*=ཚ, *j*=ཛ, *ts*=ཟ, *ths*=ཛ. The unaspirated Tenuis holds the mean between English tenuis and media. Single *r*=Hindustani *r*. The *r* preceding a consonant is like the German guttural *r*, following a consonant it is like the English *r*, spoken quickly.

THE PROVERBS.

539 1. (*a*) དགེ་ཁྱིམ་དེང་མོ་ལག་བཀྲ་གསུམ་དང་དྲོ་གསུམ།
ཨ་ཚེ་དེང་མོ་ལས་ཀྱིད་གསུམ་དང་ལྡུག་གསུམ།།

(*b*) spid' nyin ring'moa drang' sumdang dro' sum
mi'thse ring'moa skyid' sum dang dug' sum.

[1] They are long, when ending a syllable, short in all other cases.

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(*c*) The time when the fly turns [flies] round the mouth, is the time of taking off all clothing and eating everything.

(*d*) A description of summer in the peasant's calendar.

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(*e*) About *kha* instead of *khula* see 1 (*e*). If an *r* follows a muta, the muta is often dropped in Ladakhi, thus *rang* is said instead of *brang*; *ci* 'what' is used here in the sense of whatever.

539 8. (*a*) མཁར་རྫོང་ཡི་གཡའ་ཚུལ་ལྟ་ལྟ།
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312 ཚུ་སྦྱིའི་ལྡམ་ཆུ་ཡང་འཕྱད

(*b*) khar'zongi yachula lta'lta,
chu'bii ldam'chu yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the glacier water of the Kharzong pass the gathered water of Chubi (a village) is also lost.

(*d*) take what is nearest!

(*e*) refers to the system of irrigation. Notice the re-duplication of the verb, implying a durative sense = whilst.

577 9. (*a*) རར་མའི་ཁྲོ་ལ་གོ་བ། ལུག་གི་ཁྲོ་ལ་བེ་ཡ།།
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(*b*) ra'mā thro'a go'a, lug'gi thro'abe'a.

(*c*) In the company of goats [he says] *goa*, in the company of sheep [he says] *bea*.

(*d*) Said of a man, who has no will of his own,

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(*e*) *Goa* and *bea* imitate the voices of goats and sheep respectively.

539 10. (*a*) དགོད་འབད་དུས། སྟོན་སྡུ་དུས།།
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(*b*) spid'bad'dus' ston'rdu'dus'.

(*c*) Spring is the time of working, autumn the time of gathering.

(*d*) Do everything at the proper season.

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(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a three-syllabled *Comps. determ.*

539 11. (*a*) དགོད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། སྟོན་སྡུ་དུས་ལ་འགྱོད་འདུག།
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(*b*) spid' baddusla mabad'na, ston'rdudusla gyod'dug.

(*c*) If you do not work in the spring working time, you will repent in the autumn gathering time.

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(*e*) Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rdu* = gather.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

12. (*a*) ལադ་ལས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཤོས་དང་མཉམ་པོ་འབྲུག་སྡིར་ན།
ཨོ་ཤ་གིལ་ཨིད་ལ་སྟོན་ཐོག་ཐོབ་འདུག།

(*b*) Ladag'skyi zhing'shmos dang nyam'po drug' ldir'na,
do'sha gil'idla ston'thog thob'dug.

(*c*) When at the time of ploughing in Ladakh the thunder sounds, they receive a harvest in *dosha* [lower Ladak] and Gilgit.

(*d*) Peasant's calendar. Lower Ladak and Gilgit have an earlier harvest than Leh.

(*e*) *Ldirces* is the Ladakhi for *adirba*. In this Proverb the Genitive in *kyi* is pronounced in full. The ordinary Ladaki Genitive has a simple *i*.

13. (*a*) ཡུན་རིང་ན་བ་རོས་ལྡོང་པོ་ཆོད།

(*b*) yŭnring'na ja'ros ldong'bo chod'.

(*c*) After a long time a dead bird [which is blown by the wind against the trunk of a tree] cuts the trunk.

(*d*) With perseverance great things can be done.

(*e*) *Ldongbo* = *sdongbo*.

14. (*a*) སྒང་ལྷས་ཀྱི་ཡང་མ་ལ་ལ་ལ།
དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་སོ་སྐོབ་ཡང་འབྲུད།

(*b*) gang'lessi yang'mala lta'lta.
spid'thuggi sor'gob yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the good barley of Gangles (a village) the rough straw of Spithŭg is lost.

(*d*) See 8 (*d*).

(*e*) About *ltalta*, see 8 (*e*).

15. (*a*) བ་ཚང་མ་ཐ་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང།
ཐ་ངན་ཏ་ཏ་ཏ་ཅོ་ཤུལ་མཇུག་ལ་ལུས།

(*b*) ja'thsang'ma ja'yulla song'
jangan' ututu'tse shul'juglalus'.

(*c*) All birds have gone to birdland.
The bad [stupid] bird hoopoe has remained to the last.

(*d*) When a bad thing has been done by several, all who can, disappear, the one who remains, is punished for all.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

539 577 16. (*a*) དབྱར་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་དྲོད་མི་དབབ།
དགུན་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་གྲང་མི་དབབ།།

(*b*) yar'nyin log'ste man'ne drob' mi bab',
gun'yinlog'ste man'ne drang' mi bab'.

(*c*) Unless the summer-day returns, heat will not come down.
Unless the winter-day returns, cold will not come down.

(*d*) Everything will come at the proper season.

(*e*) *Mannas*, a gerund of *man* = to be not, used in the sense of unless, besides, etc., *yarnyin*, *gunnyin*, see *spidnyin* in 1.

539 577 17. (*a*) མཚན་ལ་ལ་ལ་ཁ་ལ་ཆ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ།
མཚན་ལ་ཀློ་ལ་ལ་ཁ་ཉིད་ལོག་ལ་ལ།
མཚན་སྨད་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཀྱི་ལས་ལ་ལས་མ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ལ།།

(*b*) thsanstod'la konchog'la so'va tab'rgos
thsanskyil'la nyid'log rgos.
thsan smad'la jig'stenni las'la sam'ba tang' rgos.

(*c*) In the first part of the night you must pray to God.
In the middle of the night you must sleep.
In the last part of the night you must think of the work of this world.

(*e*) For *sova* instead of *solva*, see 4 (*e*). In *dgos*, must, the *d* is turned into *r*, *rg* is pronounced like *ch* in Loch, lake.

539 18. (*a*) ཤ་ཝ་རི་དྭགས་རི་ན་འགྲུལ་བ་མིག་གི་རྒྱན།
དམན་ཚར་མོ་ཤྲང་ན་འགྲུལ་བ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན།།

(*b*) sha va ri'dags ri'na drul'va mig'gi gyan',
sman thsar'mo shrang'na drul'va id'kyi gyan'.

(*c*) The deer Shava walking in the hills is the delight of the eye, a fine girl walking in the street is the delight of the heart.

(*e*) Notice the classical Participle in *va* in *drulva*. In proper Ladakhi the ending *khan* would be used.

539 577 19. (*a*) ལྟ་ཁ་ལ་ཞོ་རེས་མ་ཤ་ལ་ཞོ་རེ་ལ་ཁ་ལ་ལ།།

(*b*) Stag'nä sho'res Mash'roi sho'rela threl'dug.

(*c*) The harelipped man of Stagna [a village] laughs at the harelip of Mashro.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own. 539 577 000

(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*.

20. (*a*) ཆུའི་ཁོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྦར་བཟུམ་མ་བདང་།། 539 577

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.

(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.

(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).

(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first. 000

21. (*a*) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།། 539 577 492

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.

(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.

(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.

(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.* 000

22. (*a*) རྟ་ལ་མིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཐོང་སྟེ། 539 231

བོང་ཏྲའི་ར་གོ་མ་རྐྱང་།། 577

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.

(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].

(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བྱ་བོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་དང། 539 577

ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་རྟ་རྒན་ཉོས།། 426

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'

(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!

(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

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24. (*a*) ཨ་བ་བློ་ཤི་ཡིན་བསམ་སྤྱིན་ན།

ངོ་རྒན་ཁྱིས་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོང་ས།།

(*b*) a'ba shi'in sam'spinna
star'gan cig'la cila ma tsong's.

(*c*) If you thought [knew], that father will die,
Why did you not sell him [before dying] for an old horse.

(*d*) Used derisively. You could not help your misfortune just as you cannot sell your father.

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(*e*) *Samspin* a contraction of *bsamspa yin.*

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25. (*a*) བཟོད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་དགེ་བ་མེད།

ཞེ་སྡང་ལྟ་བུའི་སྡིག་པ་མེད།།

(*b*) zod'pa lta'bui ge'va med
zhed'dang lta'bui dig'pa med.

(*c*) There is no virtue like patience;
There is no sin like hatred.

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26. (*a*) ཟླ་མ་རང་མགོ་མ་འཕོན་ན།

གཤིན་པོའི་ཡར་འདྲེན་ཅི་བཅོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) La'ma rang'go ma thon'na
shin'poi yar'dren ci co'in.

(*c*) If the Lama's own head does not come out [cleanly], how will he manage (do) the drawing upwards of the dead.

(*d*) Used for deriding the immoral life of the lamas.

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(*e*) *Thonces* is verb neuter of *btonces*, to put out.

27. (*a*) ཤི་སོང་ཤི་སོང་ཟེར་ན།

གཤིན་མིག་རི་ནས་ལྟ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) shi'song shi'song zer'na
shin'mig ri'nā lte'n.

(*c*) If you say "he is dead, he is dead,"
The eye of the dead will look out of the hill.

(*d*) Ladakhi superstition. It is not good to speak much of a dead man, his eye might frighten the speaker.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

(*e*) For the *n* in *shinmig* or *shinpo* see also *nyin* derived from *nyima*. Syllables ending in a vowel are inclined to add a final *n*, see also *mentog* from *metog* and many others. 000

28. (*a*) རང་སྐྱོན་ཕད་གང་འབོར་ཏེ། 577 539
ཨ་སྐྱོན་རྒྱ་གང་ལ་མ་ཁྲིལ།།

(*b*) rang'skyon phad'gang bor'te
mi'skyon rgye'gangla mathrel'.

(*c*) Putting aside the large bag [*phad*] filled with your own faults, do not mock at the little bag [*rgye*] of your neighbour's faults.

(*e*) *Rang skyonphad gang* and *misky on rgye gang* are *Compos. determ.* Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rgye*. 000

29. (*a*) རང་གདོང་མ་མཐོང་སྟེ། 577 539
ཨ་གདོང་ལ་ལྟད་མོ།།

(*b*) rang'dong ma thong'ste
mi'dongla stad'mo.

(*c*) Not seeing your own [ugly] face, [you make] a scene about your neighbour's face

(*d*) See 28.

(*e*) *Ltadmo* derived from *ltaces*, to look at. 000

30. (*a*) ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཡོག་པོ་ཡིན། 555 539
གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) lag'shes gun'gyi yog'po in'
stam'shes gun'gyi spon'bo in.

(*c*) Who is clever with his hands, is servant of all, who is clever in his speech, is master of all.

(*e*) The ending *gyi* is retained here. The proper Ladakhi would be *gunni*. The silent *g* and *d* in *gtam* and *dpon bo* become *s*. 000

31. (*a*) ཆག་པོས་འགས་པོ་ལ་མ་ཁྲིལ།། 577 539

(*b*) chag'poe gas'pola ma threl'.

(*c*) What is broken, must not laugh at what is cracked.

(*d*) See 28 and 29.

(*e*) *Chagpo* and *gaspo* are substantives derived from verbs. 000

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

273 539 32. (*a*) ཨ་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་འདུག་ན་ཤྲན་མའི་ཤྲན་ཆང་སྟེར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) mashi'thse ring'dugna shran'mă shran'chang ster'rin.

(*c*) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.

(*d*) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.

000 (*e*) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb.* and *copulat.*

593 539 33. (*a*) ཨ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་སྐོ་ཚོད་མས་ཆོད།།

(*b*) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na
thsalrgo thsod'mă chod'.

(*c*) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].

(*d*) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.

000 (*e*) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*

539 34. (*a*) བསམ་པ་སྔོན་ལ་མ་བདང་ན།
འགྱོད་པ་དེང་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།

(*b*) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na
gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.

(*c*) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.

577 793 539 35. (*a*) བོང་རྒྱའི་རྣ་མཆོག་ལ་སེར་ཟླུག་ན། ཡང་ནས་ལ་ཟླུག་ན། ཚོགས་ཡིན།།

(*b*) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, tsogs'in.

(*c*) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.

(*d*) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.

000 (*e*) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.

539 36. (*a*) སྐྱེས་མ་སྒྲག་བརྒྱབ་ན། རྗེང་ཁ་དགོད་ཁ་ཕྱོར།།

(*b*) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.

(*c*) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

48. (*a*) ཟ་པོ་ཁྱེད་ཟོས། ཁུང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་པོ།། 539

(*b*) za'o kha'tä zos', cung kä kha' marpo'.

(*c*) The [stolen] food was eaten by the crow [but the beak of the raven is red.

(*d*) Often the wrong person is caught instead of the guilty one.

(*e*) *Zos*=*bzas*, *zos* is the only past tense in Ladakhi, which changes the vowel. ooo

49. (*a*) ཚིལ་མཐོང་སྟེ་ཁ་འགས།། 539 262

(*b*) thsil'thong'ste kha'gas'.

(*c*) [When] seeing grease, the mouth cracks [open].

(*d*) When you see something nice you want to have it.

(*e*) *Thsil*=mutton grease, a very desirable thing in Ladakh.

50. (*a*) ནོར་མེད་ཚོང་སལ་ཆ་ན། སྐྱོ་འདོད།། 539 577

(*b*) nor'med thsong'sala cha'na, nyo'dod.

(*c*) Who goes to the shop without money, likes foolishness.

(*d*) Do nothing unprepared, you might be laughed at.

(*e*) *Nyodod* is *Compos. determ.*=a liker of foolishness. ooo

51. (*a*) སྟོད་ན་སྟོད་ན་ངའི་སང་རྒྱལ་ལས་སྟོད། 539 577

སྨད་ན་སྨད་ན་ངའི་སང་ཐུས་ལས་སྨད།།

(*b*) stod'na stod'na ngä' sang gyal'lä stod'
smad'na smad'na, ngä' sang thus'pä smad'.

(*c*) Who praises me, is a better man than I am.
Who despises me, is a worse man than I am.

(*d*) Said by a man who has heard that slander is going on about him.

(*e*) For *sang* with the comparative, see Jäschke's grammar; *rgyallas* and *thuspas* are Instrumentals, *gyalla*=a good man. ooo

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

712 well-dressed artillerymen. Altogether I was as much pleased with the orderly appearance, as with the judicious situation, of this fort.

The new fort of *Kargyil* is situated on the left bank of the Suru river, immediately above the junction of the *Waká-chu*. It is a square of about sixty yards, with round towers at the angles, and a square tower with a small outwork in the middle of the river-front. This work forms a difficult entrance, and at the same time insures a supply of water. The walls are loopholed throughout, and the garrison can sweep the bridge over the Suru river with deadly effect. The position was admirably chosen, as it completely commands the high-road to and from Kashmir.

The new fort of Drás is similar to those of Lé and Kargyil. It is situated on the left bank of the Drás river, and commands the passage of the valley.

The bridge-head of Khallach is on the right bank of the Indus. It consists of a square loopholed tower, built of large sun-dried bricks, with an inclosure surrounded by a high loopholed wall. The garrison of twelve men is furnished from Lé, and is relieved every three months. This work completely commands all approach to the bridge on each bank of the river.

643 In my opinion, the measures which the maharaja has
177 taken for the maintenance of his power in Ladák are
578 judicious and effective. Many people grumble; but the dissatisfaction is principally confined to the upper classes, who have lost all their power; and to the Kashmiri Mahomedans, a despicable race, who are ever wishing for change, and who, if they were under the *British to-morrow, would long for the Chinese on the* next day. To the lower classes the change of govern-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; 643
for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount 651
than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a 177
less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the 578
country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent 177
roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people 491
whose principal means of livelihood are derived from 643
the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are 205
simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village [648]
couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed 578
Namgyal busying himself in a suspicious manner around this particular wall of the house. The witness, he said, was even a lama from Kalatse. Namgyal now soon learned that his accuser was the lama Dondrub, the man who had for a long time been persecuting Namgyal with slanders and hostile acts, and who had also accused him of bribery and embezzlement of tax money, and the like. This he did as the revenge for the fact that Namgyal had said to him publicly to his face that he was charging the people prices that were far too high for the household ceremonies that he performed: that he lent grain and money at usurious rates of interest, and that he led an immoral life. The lama Dondrub had chanced to meet Namgyal near this house as he was walking by himself, and he believed to have found an opportunity with this to rid himself of an inconvenient observer for awhile, in case his accusations brought Namgyal into jail. It later came to light that the lama had put a sum of money into Gobinath's hand, for which the latter promised "to do the thing right."

In the police prison Namgyal first of all witnessed how Gobinath 625
interrogated in turn four "suspects," and when they did not confess, how he whipped them in the most violent manner, tortured them with thumb screws (167) and other tools in the most pitiless way, in order

167. In Greater Tibet, in the realm of the Dalai Lama, even today the most horrible tortures are applied for the forcing of confessions. Of all the devilish inventions of the torturers we will only mention here, by way of suggestion, the following: thumb screws, whipping, drops of melted sealing wax on the bare parts of the body of the accused. The tortured victim is prevented from sleeping by means of two little iron hooks connected by a string which are hooked into the lower eyelids and the skin of the belly so that the lids are pulled down and cannot be closed. Many kinds of executions are correspondingly cruel.

to wring a confession out of them. In between he would frequently take a swallow from a brandy bottle that was standing by. Namgyal observed how Gobinath suddenly interrupted the torturing of one of his victims when the latter called to him amidst howls that he had something important to communicate. After the tortured man had then whispered something to his torturer the latter freed his victim. In Tibet, too, money loosens bonds.

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735 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any pos-
792 sible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[642] The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people
578 of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as
522 well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool headpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a
578 serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of be-
522 ing a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.
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Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

As the women sang, they bent over until their backs were al- 578
most parallel to the ground. They shook their fingers at an im- 522
aginary figure at their feet as if they were scolding. As they 792
pretended to scold, they swayed back and forth. And as they sang and swayed, their eyes danced with merriment. For now they were making fun of their lord and master—the one who owns their souls, their houses, their menfolk, their babies, their fields—the big rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garhpan*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur. 595 428

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said. 595 342 574

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli. 595 [578]

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father, [851]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that
[851] when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an
[842] attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I
595 was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the
855 fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience show-
428 ed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put
[626] pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There
[578] was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was
[187] poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *même* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

164 He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods:
787 venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epi-
[177] lepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least ob-
595 served). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his re-
158 marks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in
762 Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

759 Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next
[115] went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan
[759] medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century
158 A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied
759 that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

158 Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously
595 to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all
578 to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

It all depends upon how people feel about such things, my informants said. Sometimes, the wife will regulate who, of her many husbands, should be with her; at other times, one of the brothers will do so, not necessarily the eldest, but generally the one with the most personality, the one who has the greatest influence with them all. Again, it is possible for the brothers to agree among themselves as to who shall go with their wife for the night, while it is not excluded that they should all of them have relations with her in the same night. Things can be done discreetly, in the dark, with some item of furniture in front of the bed for greater privacy. But this is not always the case, and often relations between husbands and the wife take place with a lamp lit, and in full view of the others, including the children. Not much clothing, however, is discarded, partly out of modesty, but also because it is cold.

I asked here, too, if signals were ever made use of at the door, should the marriage not be consummated in the common room. This question was usually received with great guffaws of laughter; the very idea seemed to amuse them. No, they said, there were no signals; nobody ever left anything at the door. As far as they knew, it had never been done, either.

To my question as to how, then, did they decide who should sleep with the common wife, one of my informants (at the Od-ldan household) looked at me slily and asked if I were, myself, married. When I answered that I was, he asked whether, then, I decided with my wife that, as let us say seven p.m. tonight, we would have intercourse? Naturally not, and he laughed; well, then it was the same with them. Such things took place tacitly, by implicit understanding, and with tact, not in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.

My investigations as to the possibility of jealousy affecting the relations between the husbands of a polyandrous Ladaki family led to the same results as in Lahul. I was told that nobody could afford to be jealous, that it was a luxury in which those who were rich enough to divide up property in other, less austere environments than theirs, could indulge. The Reverend W. Asboe was of the opinion that the ordinary average Ladaki was "not very passionate" as he put it, and that for this reason, they could not really feel the pangs of jealousy. He attributed this lack of passion to the altitude and to the climate which was so cold, and as proof of his allegation, he said that the Moslems, who elsewhere were so fiery about sexual matters and men's honour in these things, were also devoid of passion in Ladak, and often accepted situations there which they would have violently rebelled against elsewhere. No-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
[853] tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
514 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest, as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

779 person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all
798 persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from
[799] religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells,
772 such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

●579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties
[181] are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

The people in the nomad camps liked to see the traders from Ladakh, simply even for the change that their appearance provided in the eternal monotony of the life in those wildernesses. Soon the trading got underway. Amid endless bartering and haggling the Ladakh people exchanged their wares for salt from the nomads, as well as natron, and sheeps' wool. They had already traded their own sheeps' wool along the way in the villages of Ladakh. In exchange for this, they purchased from the mountain shepherds some fine shawl wool which was gotten from the fine lower hair of the mountain goats and which they sold again at a profit in Kashmir. There shawls and other fine woven materials are produced from it. 437

The people from Kalatse had done good business; almost all of their exchange goods, even the Indian wares, they had been able to exchange at a good profit. Another even larger camp was to be visited, in which more natron (for the preparation of tea) was to be traded. /157/ The camp lay to the side of the ordinary trading route in a broad floor of a valley. One day, as the people of Ladakh were moving slowly and wearily along the sandy route in the scorching sun with their heavily laden animals, a shot was suddenly fired at extremely close range. This was soon followed by a second, a third, and a fourth shot, bullets whistled around their ears, a horse which had been shot through the neck with a bullet collapsed and rolled over in the sand with its load, a man, whose muscles on his left upper arm had been torn by a bullet and whose back had been grazed, fell down. In spite of their heavy burdens, the horses ran as if mad, scattering in various directions, even the loaded sheep and goats rushed off. Seventeen Tibetan horsemen galloped toward them. The Ladakh people skillfully looked for cover. Seven shots resounded one after the other from their rifles, one of the Tibetan riders who had been hit in the chest fell in the sand, two of the attackers' horses were shot from under their riders, but before the old-fashioned rifles could be reloaded, the Ladakh people were surrounded by the bandits who attacked them with lances and swords. The Ladakh people defended themselves with swords, pikes, and the butts of rifles in a very courageous manner; a furious battle developed in which Drogpa Namgyal distinguished himself particularly. The fighting spirit of the old Dragshos had been awakened in him. With blows of his sword he knocked two bandits down on the sand. But the bandits' superiority was none the less too great; they were all of them younger and strong men, while among the Ladakh people there were some old men. The battle ended with the Ladakh people being led off with 579

579 their hands tied together behind their backs. The bandits drove the scattered beasts of burden together again with great difficulty and led the captured caravan, people and animals, together with the stolen wares into a distant valley. They went along devious routes, avoiding the great caravan thoroughfare and, as darkness was falling, they arrived at their camp in the valley where the feet of the prisoners were also tied together. Thus the prisoners just had to lie on the ground and wait for whatever might happen. Late in the evening each of the prisoners was given a lump of kollag and a little bowl of sour milk. Then the men lying on the ground were pushed together, and the armed bandits lay down around them to sleep while two of them stood guard in turns. Despite the /158/ penetrating cold, no fire was lit, so that the attention of the Tibetan police patrols would not be drawn to them.

The next morning the bandits first debated amongst each other excitedly for a long time, then their chief announced to the Ladakh people that they were to appoint one of their group who had influence in their villages to ride as fast as possible to their native village and to bring back 200 rupees for each of the prisoners. He was then to return with the ransom money as rapidly as possible, and this money he was to bring to a certain spot in the neighborhood of the camp, alone and unarmed. The messenger rode away. The bandits threatened their prisoners that at the slightest attempt on their part to flee the persons concerned would be killed. Nevertheless, the robbers displayed human sentiment. During the day, the bonds on the prisoners' feet were loosened a little, they received the same simple food as their captors. The wound which one of the Ladakh men had received was dressed scantily with old rags, fresh yak dung, and soot. His wound [752] was not dangerous; matters were more critical with the man from Jangtang, who had a bullet from Drogpa Namgyal's rifle between his ribs, and another man's lower arm had been broken by a blow from Namgyal's sword. The bandits put the broken arm in a splint of stiff yak leather, the other wounded person had the bullet cut out, and his wound was burned around the edges with a red-hot iron. He was given musk to anesthetize him against the pain.

579 701 The imprisonment of the Ladakh men was not to be of long duration. On the second evening, as darkness was descending, the bandits were sitting around the smouldering camp fires to butter tea and tsampa. They were chatting, and again and again they were recounting their heroic deeds to each other, when suddenly, out of the dark, there appeared figures as though sprung from the ground--they

were about thirty Tibetan frontier soldiers who called upon them to surrender. The bandits seized their weapons, but already they were surrounded, and at rifle point they were forced to surrender. They were bound and would be brought before the nearest dsongpon (district captain) for judgment. The Ladakh men were freed. It is true that their liberators demanded as a compensation for their "selfless" effort a tribute of eight sheep, a sack of flour, two sacks made of hide filled with butter, and twenty rupees. They took an even greater tribute /159/ from the robbers, from whom there was also more to be had. This was an extortion, and the soldiers knew that. All of them, the soldiers as well as the bandits, were also acquainted with the command of Buddha, of whom the chieftan of the bandits always carried a small bronze statue around with him on a string: "Take nothing that is not given to you!" But--Heaven is high above, the Dalai Lama is far away, and Buddha has disappeared in the nirvana: finally one confesses it to the lama, and the latter imposes a small fine on one, a small offering of the "gain" is brought to the Buddhas, and with that the matter is closed, and the conscience is set at rest. 579● 701

The people of Ladakh were glad to have got off so easily. If the soldiers had not turned up they would have lost everything and scarcely all would have reached their home alive. The following day they immediately set out on the way back, in order to reach as soon as possible the border of Ladakh and with it safer regions. To compensate for the two horses that had been shot they bought two of the "seized" yak oxen from the soldiers for little money. The wounded man was placed on top of the burden carried by one of the yaks. The flesh wound healed marvellously soon under "expert treatment." 000

The profit from the business expedition had in this manner shrunk to very little. The disappointed men had time on their long journey back to reflect about the usefulness and the effectiveness of the assistance of the lamas and the magicians as well as of the "divine" dispensers of protection and wealth, to obtain which had cost them so much. It was a slight consolation for the men of Kalatse that for once they were able to eat such plentiful amounts of meat. On the plateaus of Jangtang the wild yak still lives in larger herds, and other large wild animals are to be met with there. Namgyal succeeded in creeping up to a yak herd with great skill and to lay low a strong bull with a well-aimed shot. Later, he killed a few Tibetan antelopes and a great number of snow pheasants, so that for once the Ladakh people were able to feast on meat. They appeased their Buddhist consciences with

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177 [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208

484 question whether he would return to Lhasa was still undecided.
648 Pending that decision, the Chinese Army was waiting a respectful distance from Lhasa. When the Dalai Lama reached Lhasa on August 17, 1951, the Chinese Red Army moved into action. Communist contingents poured into Lhasa and then fanned out racing across Tibet to posts on its southern frontier. But until that date the border was open.

000 I had seen again and again between Baralacha Pass and Pagmur these fast-moving Tibetan horsemen going like the wind and armed with either rifles or revolvers or both. There were a dozen or so in some bands. None had molested us. But the idea grew that perhaps some marauding band might.

• 529 This night at Pagmur I learned more startling news from my new Army friends. There were somewhere in this region two hundred armed bandits who had raided for years in Sinkiang and Tibet but who had moved south as the Communist influence became strong up north. These were the famous Kasak bandits who for years had made their living by raiding. They would kill if they were resisted. But their pattern of raiding was only to run off all livestock, to seize all guns and ammunition, to take all the food of a camp, and then on a selective basis take what other articles of clothing or equipment suited their fancy.

000 The rifles of these Indian soldiers looked more and more comforting and appealing to me as the story of the Kasak bandits was related at Pagmur.

"When do you return to Leh?" I asked the officer.

"In the morning."

"What will you do when you reach Leh?"

"Be assigned to garrison duty."

"Isn't it more fun to be on the trail, camping out every night?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then stay with me. We'll all go to Leh together."

"But my orders read—"

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns[1] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo" is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons[1] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 595
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

1 [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

765
587
[581]

a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 [135]RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an
775 ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue ob-
656 tained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngieymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

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DROGPA NAMGYAL'S WEDDING

THE SEARCH FOR A BRIDE AND MATCH-MAKING

Discussions About Arrangements

"Beers"

Namgyal was now almost one and a half year-cycles (18 years) old, and as such he had long since entered the marriageable age, according to the conception of the peoples of the East. He could have married three or four years earlier, but in the Dragshos house early marriage was not favored. Namgyal had taken a liking to pretty Trashi Rolma from the neighboring house of the Pahnpa. They had grown up and played together, had driven the goats into the mountains and gathered wood for fuel together; they had met almost every day in the village or in the field, and it seemed arranged between the two even without many words that they would some day become man and wife. So, too, thought many wise women of the neighborhood. But they hadn't reckoned with the host, that is to say the p'as-pun, the close relatives, and above all grandmother Tsering Putrid. They had quite different plans. 581

One evening in late autumn, after the wheat harvest had been brought in, the grain had been threshed and stored away in the granary, and, at a moment when there was time for such matters, the family council came together to discuss this important matter. Aside from the parents and the grandmother there were also gathered together two uncles who likewise belonged to the p'as-pun as well as a few other men from the neighborhood, members of the tribe. Amid the expenditure of many words and much beer (chang) (27) they discussed the problem /54/

27. The Tibetans brew a beer (chang, ĉan) from barley which is boiled, whereupon a leaven (p'abs) is added to the extract. After the fluid has fermented it gives off a somewhat sour beer which has an intoxicating effect. [273]

of whom Namgyal should marry. He himself was not consulted in this argument.

At first Namgyal's mother, Palskyid, risked a timid attempt to support his marriage to Trashi Rolma. She contended that she was a good girl and that no one could say anything bad about her; that she was

• 581 industrious and knew something about the mangement of a household and of fields; that one never saw her without the tsepo (the little carrying basket) on her back, a sign of how active she was in the gathering of fuel; in the evening she was always to be seen at home, she did not wander about like certain other girls, and--the two also liked each other. But with this she had little luck. Tsering Putrid, her mother-in-law, interrupted her and said: "Oh, what nonsense you are prattling. You know nothing about these matters! Nothing can come of those two. I do not want to say anything against Trashi Rolma; she may be a very nice girl. And her parents, our neighbors in the Pahnpa house, are sensible, pious people; but Trashi Rolma is no bride for my grandson. Her father is only a small farmer, he has only one horse which is blind in one eye, two cows and only about twenty sheep and goats; his field holdings are only average and they have a bad location. It is also whispered about that the Pahnpa owes the monastery Lamayuru 200 khal (1 khal equals 45 liters) of grain. And what is worst of all: [563] in the veins of the Pahnpa there is Drogpa blood. The grandmother of Trashi Rolma was a Drogmo (aBrog-mo, a woman from the Aryan tribe of the despised Drogpa) from Dah (28), and you know that we

28. Dah--a village on the upper Indus River which is entirely populated by the Aryan Drogpa (Dards).

Bodpa (Tibetans) have nothing in common with the Drogpas. Our race, the Dragshos, is an old, distinguished race; it belonged to the officials' nobility at the time of the Ladakh kings. I was actually supposed to have had a galon (nobleman) for husband, but since my father had lost a great deal of his property and was no longer wealthy, the galon got the other one who could bring a larger dowry with her. In no case may a Drogmo come into this house as a bride."

The relatives and p'as-pun could not remain uninfluenced by these weighty considerations. Mother Palskyid did not dare make any more objections. Namgyal, who had been standing by the door listening, heard with painful feelings how they went over his wishes and on to the agenda. There followed a discussion that lasted for hours /55/ and which became all the more excited as the chang flowed ever more plentifully. The women were ceaselessly pouring the beer for the men with a ladle into their little wooden drinking bowls which stood in front of them on the small, low tables, as soon as the bowls were so much as half empty. That was the custom. Nobody was supposed to be able to count how many kore (little bowls) he had drunk.

Someone suggested as a bride Palmo from the house of the Oil- 5810
man (sNum-pa); she was a good girl and industrious, he suggested, and the property of her father was considerable and free of debt. But she too, was not agreeable to Tsering Putrid. She admitted that the girl was industrious and--so far as one knew--free of blame, but she was ugly and thick-set "like a chorten," and stupid as an ass; she would not do for her handsome and intelligent grandson. Moreover she was a blabbermouth. To her applied the proverb: The thundering cloud has [538]
no rain, the garrulous girl--no wedding. "Yes, talkativeness in general," said Tsering Putrid, "there are also blabbermouths among the men"; and in so saying she shot a glance at Bandhepa who was always swaggering. "Another proverb says: A big river has no ford, big words have no content!" This did not really fit into the argument, but the old woman was annoyed that Bandhepa made himself so important. With this the others agreed again and so Palmo was also finished as the future bride.

Finally, after long arguments back and forth, uncle Stobsldan ("the strong one"), the brother of Lobsang Wanggyal, declared: "I know a suitable bride. The daughter of the wealthy farmer Norbu Wangchug (precious stone--the mighty one) in Tingmogang (29). Her

29. Tingmogang--a large village in Lower Ladakh.

father owns two houses with the fields that belong to them, which all have a good location, as well as a lot of cattle; he also carries on exchange trade with the nomads Jangtang; he lends grain and money"--"at usurious rates" a voice interrupted him. "Quiet!" the others shouted. "He is the wealthiest man in the entire district." Bandhepa objected that there was all kinds of talk about that girl, Chosskyid; she was supposed to be frivolous, she was supposed to go around with young men, and other things of the kind. "Ah," said Tsang Sodnam, Namgyal's maternal uncle, "it won't be that bad; such a young, pretty girl likes to have her fun once in a while, and if one /56/ wanted to be sure that a girl was completely blameless one could search throughout Ladakh, in all the villages and drogs (outposts), and one would scarcely be able to find one. And moreover," and in saying this he looked at Bandhepa with a shrewd and malicious smile, "if a yak should run over <u>your</u> face [538]
you would not see it; but if a louse runs across someone else's face then you see it immediately." (30) At that Bandhepa was silent, the others

30. Tibetan proverb. Compare Matthew 7.3.

581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again: "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh). Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with the tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33).

[565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility)."

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581 •
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis around which the system functions. In
592 taking down genealogical notes I have, therefore, always given the family the name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called Tsungarpa who married one woman,
428 the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE 1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Botis must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns[1] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo" is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons[1] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 595
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

1 [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 1000

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognised ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Co[illegible] ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made [illegible] figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or [illegible] cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the [illegible] in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes ex[illegible] on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

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Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

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"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Distribution of property among castes in Láhaul.

The following statement will show the distribution of property among different castes in Láhaul, as it stood at the revision of settlement:—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Castes.	Number of families.	Number of holdings or separate lots.	Number of shareholders.	Arable lands and hay fields.	Revenue demand.
Bráhmans — —	59	76	121	266	154
Thákurs, including Detaens —	99	80	75	404	303
Kanets and Tibetans —	470	790	1,287	3,204	2,441
Dágis and other low castes —	48	106	145	136	94
Lands attached to temples or institutions — —	—	62	62	151	64

Of the *jeales* or household allotments, which are described under the head of tenures, there are about 530, which are all held by men of the first three castes.

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Intercourse between castes in Láhaul.

The word used in Láhaul for *got* or clan, or rather for the corresponding idea, is *rus*, which means bone, and, as applied to a class, denotes those descended from a common ancestor. But there is as much license in Láhaul as in Kúlu with regard to intermarriage. The Thákurs take Kanet women as *srójat*, not as *lahri*; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered as pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal. These women are known as *chunna* or workers. Bráhmans also have Kanet women in their houses; and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers will not eat from their hands; but they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru*, and marry Kanets, or women of mixed caste if they can find any. There are many *gurus* in Láhaul, but they call themselves Bráhmans. Where the father is not known, or where there is any doubt, illegitimate children follow the caste of their mothers. Bráhmans, Thákurs and Kanets will smoke together in Láhaul; and Bráhmans will drink water, tea or *lugri* from the hands of a Kanet, but will not even eat *sachi roti*. The Kanets say they will not smoke with a Dágí (*sepi*). No Kanéts wear the *janeo* in Láhaul. Thákurs will eat *pukki* or *sachi roti* from the hands of a Kanet; but not *kachi roti*, except those Thákurs who do not wear the *janeo*. It is said that Lohárs, Hensís, and Barárás intermarry and eat together. A Dágí (*sepi*) is considered above a Lohár. He will not eat with him, nor give him his daughter in marriage; but he will take a Lohár woman to wife. A Dágí and a Lohár will smoke together from the same pipe.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

564 Chapter III, C.
565 Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.
184 Caste in Spiti.
[171]

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

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"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *haddi*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered [illegible] having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his [illegible]d. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monda* or *mopa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethas correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mopa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mona, a (Dravidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]
BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the Kângrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khâtâ* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lima* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lima* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *gotî* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [84]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *gotî*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *gotî*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

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It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

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If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

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Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

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Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

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A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

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The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

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An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

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Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

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A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
• 582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
533 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

> *Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.*
> *When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.*
> *They married happily.*
> *After marriage the girl left Lahul*
> *And went and lived with her husband,*
> *Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.**

423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

*See page 333, category 116

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The next day there is dancing again in front of a crowd of spectators, and in the afternoon or evening of this day the bride also comes out to dance. If the bridegroom is only a *magpa* (that is, brought to the bride's house), he has to dance with the *nyopas* all day long. On this day the feasting proceeds according to the aforesaid menu, which is the same in both houses, and in the evening the *brangyas* are divided up and distributed, those in the bride's house being made of flour. Early in the morning of this day the bride and bridegroom have to go to salute the parents of the former, and the following night is again spent in dancing and feasting. Throughout, the *nyopas* and relatives take food and drink to the wedding pair, who also are invited to meals by the cook, brewer, and keeper of the store-room respectively, and whose hospitality they must return, while they must not omit to give food and a *jau* (As 3¼) per head to the *bedas* or bandsmen. This same evening the *nyopas* receive presents from the house, where dancing again takes place.

The following day is called the *nyendron* (relative feast) of the bridegroom. If the guests invited by the bride amount to one hundred, at the bridegroom's feast there will be one hundred and fifty visitors, such a proportion always being maintained.

The next day is called the *dronchung*, to which only the nearest relatives come, while a final day's feasting provides the servants with their turn, and so the festivities slowly wane.

By custom, nobody is permitted to marry the relatives of either parents. Only on rare occasions very distant connections are married, for instance, if they are removed three or four generations. This close relationship is called *Rtsibma*, indicating that they are of one rib, whereas the ordinary word for relation signifies "of one race." In ancient times nobody was allowed to marry a personal relation unless removed by eight generations.

If the happiness of the couple inaugurated with such

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792] third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582] pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764] father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614] heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593] than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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614 4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

[582] Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been [626] a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

114 Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation cere- [115] monies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

114 Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, 852 a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet 852 twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak (there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail.

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness".

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

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595 614 587 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 846 [264] [789] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 846 264 783 789 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lambskin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
56 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADĀKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
361 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

642 175 792 [796] [778]

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

361 563 144 181

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush, known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

463 241 511 [582] [372] [313]

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the
511 watercourses.

595 There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the
428 Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is
586 due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on
[147] population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry
[582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers.
[562] The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known
588 as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women
[567] and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life
[361] of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

423 [2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding,"
804 which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a
241 "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and
[651] a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

597 ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of
[583] from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children.
[428] Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

931 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

[i.e, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

428 592 583 428 591 592 586 597

his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srâchan or SHrâchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladâkis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistân and women of Ladâk.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladâk women to adopt the faith of Islâm, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladâk, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHôns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHôns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHôn." ArGHôns are never polyandrists, and though

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying 563
a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do 583
so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (con- [162]
fined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate
vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist popula-
tion.

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomed- 197
anism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the 563
"Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary
ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very
good Mahomedans.

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious big- 798
otry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the
public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they 178
have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English 177
Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them 583
Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them in- 562
habitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, 595
but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in
connection with religion and matrimony. Already the
árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas,
while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces
when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages
are becoming more common, and the people are being taught
that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over popu-
lation, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease,
misery and crime, is disgraceful.

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half 114
castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in 563
other respects they are of worse character than either of the
races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four
years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis
than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he
has maligned them, as a whole.

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of 563
half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen dif- 583
ferent husbands, and as many different families. In such 851
cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless 114
waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes,
but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not

563 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary
583 advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of
851 society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than
114 the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find any-
105 where, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not
[4r3] clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by
[434] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or
563 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no
4r3 land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to
443 earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the
114 same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p.203) says that Tibetans
762 do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 HAREM--ñney (or bómo) duksa khángpa. The Ladáki women are
563 not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

776 The former word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
•[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thöris or ötsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) 241
thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.).

[63]
HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the 133
principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur.

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the 804
Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the 177
hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank.

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimkhang 342
(of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work).

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]
HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". 601
Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists 590
of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are 428
closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the 583
family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife.

595 If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto"
428 husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some
583 of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal
601 roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two
[597] brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her
587 husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a
586 younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter
583 becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred
[595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

●583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much

then stand up in front of the Lámás, with clasped hands and bowed heads, and certain prayers are read. The prayer book is held by a novice or Lama of low rank, and the Hlóbon or head Lama reads from it. While doing so, he holds, in his left hand a bell (treeloo) and a small drum (daroo), and in his right hand, a sceptre (dorjey) and some grains of rice and barley. He rings the bell and sounds the drum with his left hand, and with the right he scatters the grain over the heads of the young couple. The bridal party then enter the bridegroom's house where they find two mystic signs, traced by the Lámás in barley or other grain, on the floor. On one of these the bride sits, and on the other the bridegroom. 585

Between them is placed a measure, filled with grain, in which is an arrow standing up, and having a small pinnacle of clarified butter affixed to its top. The bridegroom's mother then offers "chhang" to the bride and bridegroom, after which a Lama comes and sprinkles them with holy water. This completes the religious part of the ceremony. The bridegroom, with all the males of the party, then goes to another room where dancing and merriment takes place. The bride, with all the women of the party, remains behind. After remaining a while watching the dancing, the bridegroom is permitted to retire and rejoin his bride. During the whole of the next day, the merriment is kept up, and in the afternoon the bride, dressed out in all her best, and wearing all the jewels she possesses, comes out with her husband and walks round to show herself off. She has to dance with the ladies of the party, and the bridegroom with the men. Having done this, they are at liberty to retire. The feasting is kept up that night, and the next day the guests go off to their respective homes. For seven days, bride and bridegroom remain in their house, but on the eighth day they must start on a journey, to make their bow to all their relatives. Having performed this duty, they return to their home, and begin their ordinary married life.

If the parents of the bride and bridegroom are too poor to bear the expense of a regular wedding, they arrange that the bridegroom shall come quietly some night, and elope with his lady love. 583

[99]In such cases, that is to say, in the absence of any merry-making, no civil or religious marriage ceremony is performed. If at any future time, within a year or so, the parties concerned are in a position to give the marriage feast to friends and Lámás, they 585

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

●583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chấng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chấng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhấsa; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladấk, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsấma or tsấlma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhathum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladakis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 753

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew that kind of paying too. 787

The Ransom Beer (42) 583

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-ĉan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner 584 [431]

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

[cf. cat. 116, p. 60 footnote 43 - Analyst]

576 43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag), greeting cloth or greeting ribbon, usually a worthless strip of gauze-like material that is presented like a greeting card as a sign of respect and of the good wishes of the donor; if the lama has consecrated it, the k'atag is supposed to have magical powers.

584 of the house, and a second one on the edge of the stove for the lady of the house. Then the men sat down in silence on the felt carpets spread out along two walls of the room. They were seated in a long row, Lobsang Wanggyal next to the Chirpon (the master of the house), then the others ranged according to age, rank and titles, with the most distinguished nearest the stove. First the guests were treated to butter tea and flat bread cakes (ta-gir). Then they went over to the chang. The beer kegs from the Dragshos house were carried in, the women scooped the beer with ladles into the bowls of the men, and now they set about negotiating, at this ransom beer, the conclusion of the marriage contract.

583 584 After a number of less important points had been discussed, they arrived at the most important one--the purchase price of the bride.

A long pause interrupted the lively conversation; the men looked silently down at their beer mugs; the women, who were busily going up and down serving the beer, so that no bowl would become empty, stopped and looked with tense expressions at the men from Kalatse who were to speak the first word. Finally Stobsldan broke the silence: "Now, gracious sir, Norbu Wangchug, please, speak a word! How high is the price of the mother milk (44) to be? Tell us your

44. Tibetan a-mai o-mai rin, meaning "price of the mother's milk." The bride's mother must be paid for the raising and feeding of the bride.

wishes! It is, after all, pure graciousness on your part that you give your daughter to the Dragshos; if you burden us with wool (an easy burden), that will be graciousness; if you burden us with salt (a heavy burden) that will still be graciousness; ours is only to ask."

After prolonged silence during which he seemed to draw his thoughts out of the water pipe standing in front of him, Norbu Wangchug answered as all eyes were now turned upon him: "Rab, abrin, mt'a gsum. A lot, an average amount, and a little bit--there are three kinds of measures. What shall I say? It must be so that the wolf /66/

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and [291] partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

583 circumstantially set up a list of the things, counting on their fingers and
584 setting down the prices of the individual items. In doing so they were careful not to set the prices too low for the old Chirpon had impressed this point on them. He would like to shine with his ragt'ag and he would like to outtrump all bride's fathers in the whole of Lower Ladakh, /67/ who have married off daughters in the past few years. At the mention of many a price the people from Kalatse would nudge each other and laugh secretly. Finally the list was completely drawn up and the sum was calculated. Ishe Lhundrub placed the list on the little table of the master of the house. The latter's glance went over the lines and numbers with pleasure and then his glance moved over to the ragt'ag and the entire bride's trousseau, and finally it went over the faces of the Kalatse people, examining them one by one. Now it was their turn to calculate and to bid if they could. "There, listen, you gentlemen from Kalatse," the Chirpon now spoke forth. The "price list" (rinto) comes to 220 ǰo. (47) According to old Ladakh

[436]

47. 1 ǰo is equivalent to 6 rupees in old Tibetan currency, the rupee is equivalent to four jau (1 jau equals 3.25 anna, which in turn is equal to 28 Pfennige). The old Tibetan rupee had only four-fifths of the value of an Indian rupee. Thus 220 ǰo equal 1,320 Tibetan rupies, the equivalent of 1,056 Indian rupees, amounting to 1,408 mark.

custom the 'price of the mother milk' should amount to an ample fourth of the rinto. Give 60 ǰo, then the young gentleman Drogpa Namgyal may have the girl. You can see what kind of a bride's rope she is taking with her. Such a one there hasn't been since the days of our forefathers in Lower Ladakh." /The last quotation mark is conjectural since there is none in the original text--translator./

The Kalatse people bowed their heads That was a lot.. Typical of the Chirpon! This is the way they had known him. Always driving a bargain! This is the way he had acted also as village magistrate of Tingmogang. In all circumstances he knew how to feather his nest: when he collected the taxes, when he settled a dispute and otherwise whenever an opportunity presented itself; and now in haggling over the sale of his daughter. He would have been the last one to give his daughter away to one of those indebted "noble galon's sons" just to pay his debts off. But they knew how to take him. There now started a haggling and a bargaining which increased in violence in proportion

to the decreasing of the number of filled chang kegs. Their brown faces assumed a shining copper color, the voices became increasingly loud and more excited while the bride's father stuck to his demands with the stubbornness and obstinacy with which they were all familiar. Finally Stobsldan asked him, "Is this your final word, gaga?" Yes, my last, by the 'three jewels' (48)!" "This is too much," shouts 583 584

48. In Tibetan the oath goes: "dKon-mčog gsum" (pronounced "konchog sum!"), the "Three Jewels"; they are the components of the Buddhistic trinity: Buddha, the Law, and the Monkhood. The Buddhistic Tibetan has constant oaths on his lips with which he believes it necessary to reinforce even quite unimportant statements and assertions, a proof of how much and how readily the great majority of them lie. Other oaths are: "May the monastery get me (dgon-pas nam śig)!" by which the gods are meant, whose pictures are in the monastery; they are asked to "come and get" the person uttering the oath. The subordinate clause, "If my statement is not true," remains unexpressed. The form "sku t'san-mas nam śig, may all the gods get me!" also occurs. Another form which is to be heard daily, is "a-mai śa, or bu-t'sai sa," which means "the mother's flesh, the son's flesh," which is also used with he naming of a particular name, "T'serin-gi śa, Rol-mai śa, Tsering's flesh, Rolma's flesh." Tibetans explained to me that this meant: "If I have lied I shall eat the flesh of my mother, of my son, the flesh of Tsering, the flesh of Rolma," an oath which is supposed to derive from the time when cannibalism prevailed in Tibet. In court there often appear false witnesses who, bribed with a few annas, swear to everything that is demanded of them. [195]

Stobsldan, whose customary politeness had been smothered by alcohol, at the people from Tingmogang, "the old money-grabber wants to make a profit. The whole rope is not worth 120 žo. The gaga is trying the make a fool of us! Come, Lobsang Wanggyal, we shall go home! Your son /68/ can get ten brides if he wants them; there are many other pretty, decent and wealthy girls in Sham (Lower Ladahk). Give us back the coral necklace, Chirpon, and tomorrow we shall send you back the large copper pot (zan-bu) that you sent over to us. Then you may wait until a rGyallu (royal prince) courts

583 584 your daughter. Come, everyone, you Acho-No (older and younger brothers)! We are all going home! The people here are like hungry wolves!"

Everybody looked at Norbu Wangchug who was sitting there with a sulien smile. Then fat Norpel, the brother of the lord of the house, got up clumsily, seized Lobsang Wanggyal who was just preparing to get up, by his sleeve, and said: "Please, please, my little brother! You should not get angry immediately. After all, one should be able to talk about business matters." And then turning to his brother he said: "Just be gracious, Acho (older brother)! Look at the grieved face of Lobsang Wanggyal! Think of the fine, elegant house and of the respectable, pious people to whom Chosskyid would come as a bride! If I had a daughter I would give her immediately to the Nono Drogpa Namgyal. What a fine boy that is. He has the gait and the posture of a prince. And he can ride and play polo, nobody equals him in that. At the same time he is an efficient farmer and takes religion seriously like all Dragshos. Do say another good word to the gentlemen from Kalatse!"

A long silence ensued. As though by accident, the water pipe had again come around to the old Chirpon, who drew forth from it thick clouds of smoke. Finally the gurgling of the pipe ceased and the old man, still very angered, exclaimed: "You gentlemen are surely sensible persons and not like a yak bull which has a red cloth put in front of it. After all, I am not a wolf who strangles sheep and goats out of greed, nor am I a fox who steals his neighbors' chickens. Ask the gentlemen of my tribe here, the p'as-pun and the neighbors in the entire valley whether I have wrongfully appropriated so much as a needle"--and in so saying he took one of the many large sewing needles which were stuck in a row in his hat, in his hand and held it up high. In the back two small farmers from Teya nudged each other significantly. They knew /69/ better. "Now look at this tagpa (rope)!" the Chirpon went on, "have you ever seen one like it? But so you can see that I am a reasonable, God-fearing man, I shall deduct five žo from the 'price of the mother's milk.' Give me 55 žo and you can have the girl!"

Lobsang Wanggyal nudged his brother: "My little brother, now you talk!" They quietly exchanged a few words and then Stobsldan spoke up: "55 žo is too much; far too much. Just consider, when Chosskyid comes into the Dragshos house, that house will be your house. If you ruin the house by your unreasonable demands you also

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 ẓo from the whole 584
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H. Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl — Oh, did you not see my companion? 533
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid? 534

Second Girl — Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There just passed by a maiden fair,
Her body was as of pure gold.

/70/ First Girl — Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?

Second Girl — Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a girl with hair so rich,

showed herself beautifully dressed in the door of the room but then she disappeared again into an adjacent room for the remainder of the festivities. 000

The Consultation and the Ordering Beer (57)

57. Tibetan drabs-ĉan and bcol-ĉan.

Again a month passed by. The Kalatse family were pressing for haste with the wedding. They did not trust the old fox Norbu Wangchug, because with his greed he might again come with greater demands and overthrow all their plans. And so the Dragshos people soon gathered for their consultation beer. This time they were among themselves, without the Chirpon /73/ people. There the worthy men were again seated in a long row on the felt carpets along the two walls of the living room-kitchen; at the head was the lonpo from Domkhar, a tall, slender man of advanced years with an intelligent face which betrayed strong Aryan racial characteristics. Next to him sat the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal, then there followed a number of relatives and men of the clan. After everyone had emptied a few bowls of beer and a song had been sung, Lobsang Wanggyal got up, took a copper plate from the smoke-blackened wooden shelf on the wall, on which there lay some heaped-up grains of barley. On top of this he placed a piece of Tibetan paper which had been lightly rolled together and wound about with a tsanpa (greeting ribbon). Then he solemnly placed the plate with the paper on the little table in front of the lonpo without saying a word. The latter pretended not to notice anything, did not blink an eyelash, sat pondering for a while, took a deep draught of beer from the bowl, seized the paper, and said, interrupting the general silence: "You gentlemen! We have come together in order to consult with each other how we can help our friend and relative, the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal, since he wants to bring a bride to his son. You all know that this is an expensive proposition which one person alone cannot manage. Therefore we, his relatives and members of the tribe, must help. The Dragshos' cause must be our cause As the proverb says: 'Joy, sorrow--turn of the goats, turn of the cows' (58). Just as the turn for guarding the goats or the cows in our village 583

58. Tibetan Skyid-sdug ra-res ba-res.

583 goes around from one to the other, so that today it is your turn and tomorrow mine, so does joy and sorrow alternate: today I am afflicted with sorrow and you are in joy, tomorrow it is the other way round. Today the Dragshos needs our help and we want to give it to him; next year he will perhaps have to help one of us who may be in distress. Thus we want to help our friend the Dragshos in bearing the heavy burden of the bride purchase and the expenses of the wedding." In so saying the lonpo carefully opened the metal pen case which he carried around stuck inside his sash, dipped the reed pen into a copper inkwell which hung on a little belt at his side, and wrote his contribution down on the slip of paper--30 rupees. Then followed the gopa (village magistrate) of Domkhar with 15 rupees, and the others with contributions /74/ of from five to seven rupees each. Everyone signed with his house name and with the name by which he was called; those who were unable to write put down their seal with the iron signet that they brushed with ink, or else they placed the impression of their blackened thumb next to the figure which someone able to write put down.

When this transaction had been finished Lobsang Wanggyal heaved a sigh of relief. His clan had not left him in the lurch. They had taken away from him a good part of the burden which he had had to shoulder. He could count himself lucky. Things rarely went as smoothly and without friction as they had in this case. It had often happened that at the consultation beer endless haggling and bargaining, quarrels and disputes within the clan and the circle of relatives had taken place.

584 A week later the families from both houses concerned already gathered for the final "beer" (59), the "Ordering beer" (bcol-ĉan).

59. If the wedding is postponed because the families cannot come to an agreement over the "price of the mother milk," the choice of guests, the distribution of the expenses, and other things of the kind, as this is often the case, then the "beers" named are followed by several others with always new names.

Aside from those already named, five young men, the Nyaopas (60),

60. Nyaopa (gnya-bo-pa) means witness. The Nyaopas are in a certain sense the marriage witnesses and at the wedding they also have the duties of best men. The often-used form

the Nyaopas. Thus there may have been groups of primitive altars erected in the courtyard, three, six, nine or more. Of these each group has a mythological significance which must be guessed by the Nyaopas. Once this has been done the Nyaopas may destroy the group concerned, until all these "altars" have been destroyed. 585

satisfied by the answers to their questions; now the gate is opened, the people from Kalatse enter the yard preceded by the Nyaopas and march towards the house door. There the female relatives, friends and bridesmaids are expecting the Nyaopas. They pretend to be angry and hit the "bride robbers" (96) over the back with osier switches. A few

96. This entire game, the beating of the Nyaopas as "robbers of the bride," the destruction of the altars in the yard, is a reminder of the fact that the stealing of the bride and the fighting for her, was formerly the universally customary form of obtaining the bride among the Tibetans as well as among other Mongolian and Aryan races (so it was among the Romans, Greeks and Germans). Among many of these peoples mock battles for the bride are still staged today before the wedding; they point to the bloody fights of former times, as, e.g., among the Semitic Bedouins in Iraq, in Egypt, and in India. Among the Russians there are also to be found customs which reflect the practice of stealing the bride, like driving the bride through the fire in a troika. In later times the somewhat milder practice of purchasing the bride took the place of the abduction of the bride. Even today it still happens in Tibet that the bride is "abducted" by her suitor. But this abduction (bag-ma rku-ba) is nowadays usually a completely bloodless undertaking, being often a preconcerted game between the two heads of families concerned, who want to bring the marriage about in the simplest and cheapest manner possible. Twice I have witnessed such a "bride abduction." In such a case the entire ceremonial and the expensive celebrations are omitted. [583]

rupees which the sNatridpa hand out to the fair ones, allay their assumed anger and now the Nyaopas may enter the house with the closest relatives. The company goes through the dark stable and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

By the time she is grown up, a girl
301 should thus have quite a good sized *perag*, which functions as
291 her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests
757 money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age.
583 The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at
478 her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a
[583] small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so
the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately
152 the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a
source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent
301 *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the
291 ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought
from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the
Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom trace-
able to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and
silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This
originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to
hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

301 The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of
seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round
the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the
bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased
gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or
other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little
silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast,
with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large
round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads
pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are
attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on
leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or
white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also
convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

291 Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas
European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate
(the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff),
both men and women in this country have them cut very
* [i.e. turquoise studded headdress. – ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically. 852

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex. 584 591 [421]

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady. 583

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog." 586

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 The next day a deputation must go to the house from which the passive partner was stolen to say "*zhu*." They are accompanied by a rhetorician, and take with them some jars of beer, some bread, tea, butter and a salutation-scarf. If the parents are amenable to the transaction they accept the presents, and receive the deputation; but if they object to the alliance, the welcome of these representatives is all too warm—they are ejected with kicks and blows, while the parents and their supporters go to the temporary home of their child, try to wreck it, and recover the stolen one by force. Hence another proverb says: "The parents are their children's
●583 judges." The causes which precipitate such a stolen marriage are (1) absolute inability to afford the orthodox nuptials; (2) temporary financial disability, as at any future time the arrangement may be ratified with full ceremonials; and (3) if the desired partner is betrothed to someone else, to secure him or her by theft; (4) if the *Onpo's* date does not satisfy the couple, they marry on their own day, and have the official rites on his.

585 Lastly there is the orthodox wedding with all its attendant
791 ceremonies. For this neither parents nor child must decide on their choice before they have consulted the *Onpo*. To this gentleman they tell the name and date of birth of the prospective mate, and can only proceed if he declares, after searching his books, that year and person are auspicious. Lamas, as a
585 rule, do not provide this information. The marriage may take place when the children are very young, but it is not consummated till after they are twelve, and, even at this tender age, little Ladaki girls sometimes become mothers.
584 Thus the Ladaki parents have to think about the future alliance when the child is still young; as their proverb says: "The difficulty of the father is to get a wife for his son."

Let us follow this father in his difficult path, supposing the child for whom he wishes to find a mate is a son. The first overtures are made by a third party, who must never go

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [638] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

● 583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

586 614 If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 595 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can
do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
around which the system functions. In
592 taking down genealogical notes I have,
therefore, always given the family the
name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
428 Tsungarpa who married one woman,
the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE
1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
357

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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583
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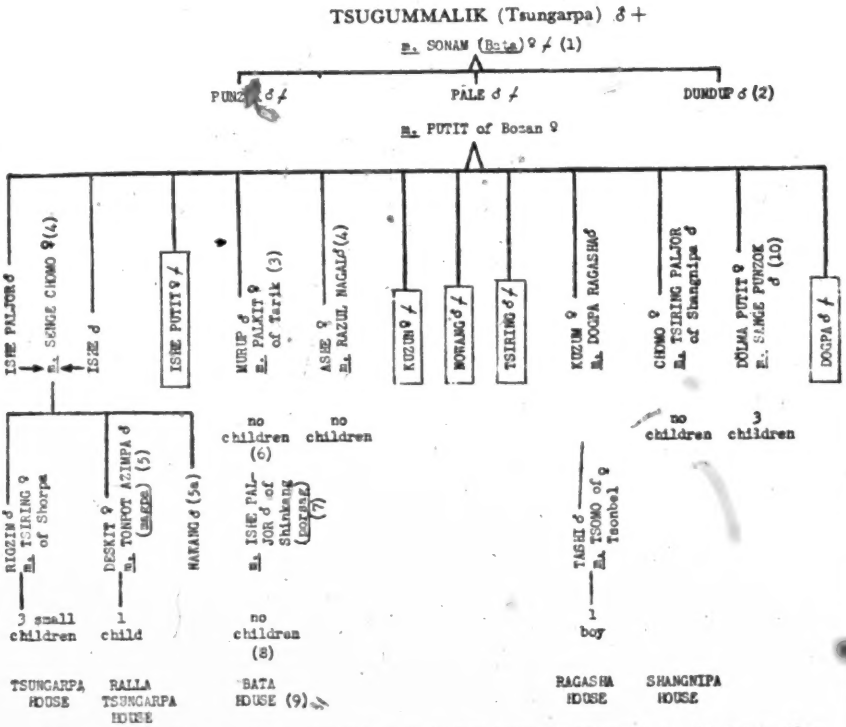

FIGURE 1. The Tsungarpa house. (1) Heiress to the Bata house—all brothers dead. (2) Put in charge of the lone Bata house. (3) Given the Bata house. (4) A Mohammedan—the woman takes the man's religion. (5) Land only held in tenancy. (5a) Becomes a Lama at Himis monastery. (6) After 20 years. (7) Murup is single-handed. (8) After 4 years. (9) Could adopt a child to carry on. (10) No land, as formerly Mohammedan; messenger at Himis monastery. † Deceased.

--J13c (Figure 1)--

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

585 on the floor in a deep niche for us to sit upon. Other guests, native, were already there, and they greeted us politely as we sat down.

We had hardly been there a few minutes, when the bridal procession was heard arriving. Two drumming Garas preceded it, and they were followed by the bride herself, completely trussed up in a white sheet and carried bodily on the back of a man. These two were followed in turn by a crowd of women led by three young men whom I heard are called *nya-opa* (*gNya-ao-pa*) meaning "witness". They had flowers and bits of straw in their hats and wore colourful clothes. It seemed that three of them (including the man carrying the bride) had always to be related to the bridegroom, while the two others need only be of his village.

[583] All these people had been to fetch the bride from her home, and they had done it in the traditional way, which was to steal her. She had been surprised in the fields while she was at work, covered by the sheet in which she was now wrapped, and carried away by one of the *nya-opa*, the *Na-tri-pa* (*sNa-aK'hrid-pa*), literally "the one who conducts (the bride) by the nose". She put up a show of resistance and, as she arrived near the house in which we waited, she was crying out and bemoaning her fate in truly traditional way. This is compulsory, it appears, in order to give the impression that the girl is modest and respectable, unwilling to leave her parents and be married off to some strange man (or men). Should she walk of her own accord to her future hunsbands' house, for instance, it would be considered the height of indecency, giving the impression that she wanted to leave her old home and go to that of her betrothed.

The white bundle which was the bride was deposited in the yard of the house at the feet of a woman standing there. Upon enquiry, I heard that the latter was a relative of the bridegrooms, and now had a role to play. Sure enough, as soon as the bride touched the ground, the woman sat down beside her, and the new arrival collapsed ceremoniously across her knees, continuing to wail and to cry out in a perfect performance. The Gara drummers settled down opposite, on the other side of the yard, and continued to beat their instruments as loudly as they could, as if they wanted to drown the laments of the wailing bride.

585 789 Three lamas from the local monastery then came out of the house. The first one carried a stone slab with three little figures kneaded out of *tsampa* (*Tsam-pa*) (barley flour) on it, one of them with a lighted candle in front of it and another with a little pillar, also made of *tsampa*, standing before it. These were called *tsa-sum* (*Ts'ha-gSum*), and were

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595
the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597
is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; [428] the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584
with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787] parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583] "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421] loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

584 tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This
[583] will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called
[421] *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston*
[585] (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will
[936] amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their
[583] daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

[584] In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

584

584 ARRANGING A MARRIAGE--marriage preliminaries; courtship (e.g., opportunities, methods); initiation of negotiations (e.g., by youth, by girl, by parents of either); conduct of negotiations (e.g., by parents, through a go-between); marriage brokers; proposal of marriage; methods and consequences of rejection; requirement of consent (e.g., of youth, of girl, of parents, of chief); betrothal (e.g., conceptualization, announcement, ceremonial, symbols, duration); status and behavior of betrothed persons; infant betrothal (e.g., prevalence, procedure, nullification); breaking an engagement (e.g., reasons, procedure, consequences); adjustment to death of betrothed (e.g., substitution of a sibling); etc. See also:

Sex status . . . . . 562 Sexual overtures 832
Contractual relationships . . . . . 675 Adolescent activities 883

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 000

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] 585 768 584 [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 000

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

1 [i.e, barley beer -- ANALYST]

appreciated by foreigners, but constituting the national drink of 273
the people of Ladák.

[97]MARRIAGE--pakston or respectfully skoobak. After the "be- 584
trothal" ceremony (see Betrothal) has been performed, a month
or two is usually allowed to elapse before the wedding takes
place, though sometimes a year or more passes between the
time of betrothal and the time of marriage. When a day has
been fixed for the marriage, the procedure is as follows:--

On the day fixed, the relatives (nien) of the bride (pakma) assemble 585
at the bride's house, and those of the bridegroom (pakpho) at
the bridegroom's house. At night-fall the bridegroom goes
with from 5 to 7 of his friends (ngiópa) to the bride's house,
he finds the outer door (giázGHo) of the yard (stárá) shut, and
guarded by male relatives of the bride, he gives a few rupees
to them and they then allow him to enter, but when passing be-
tween this gate and the door leading into the house itself
(giázGHoi nángkuk) he is surrounded by the bride's female
relatives, who pretend to be very angry, and beat him with
small sticks. To these also the bridegroom has to give a few
rupees, and he is then allowed to enter the house. The bride-
groom, with his friends, is then feasted by the bride's relatives,
but the bride does not appear. Much "chhang" drinking,
music and dancing is indulged in, till about 1 or 2 o'clock the
next morning, when the best man (ngiátheetpa or ngiáthritpa)
accompanied by some of the older male relatives of the bride-
groom, goes to the kitchen (mákhang) in company with the
parents and relatives of the bride. The bridegroom and the
rest of his party do not go to the kitchen.

The guests take their seats in the kitchen and each one puts his
drinking cup (korey) on the ground in front of him and "chhang'
is then handed round by a male relative of the bride's, accom-
panied by one of female relatives, who has a stick in one hand.
The latter takes up the cup of each guest in turn and fills it,
and if the guest fails to drink freely, she beats him. This cere-
mony is called "nanchhang" or "insistance chhang." During
this time a ceremony known as "thóhloo" is taking place, it is
enacted by two old men, one being a relative of the bride and
the other a relative of the bridegroom. First the relative of
the bride gets up and sings a sonnet in praise of the bridegroom;
the other old man must then get up and reply, by singing a

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát[illegible]toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 608 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladak, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladak, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again: "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh)." Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with the tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33).

[565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility)."

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage. In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang

to buy some barley from Norbu Wangchug. It is true that he preferred to buy from other farmers because the old Chirpon (34) had a mean 584.

34. Chirpon is a corruption of ĉibs-dpon, in English "horse master" (stable master). It is one of the titles which stem from the time of the kings when the bearers of the title were court officials. The titles have been preserved in the names of the houses. [552]

trick of weighing his goods too short. He always weighed /57/ the things himself on his old scales with the wooden scale-beam and the balance-scales made of goat's leather. And when he weighed something before you, always two batti (equivalent of four pounds) at a time, it all looked quite correct; but if one later weighed it again at home, it was never right. But for the sake of his nephew the uncle was willing to take this into the bargain for this one time; including the haughty nature that Norbu liked to display. For--in a completely casual manner--Stobsldan was to ask Norbu whether a proposal on the part of Drogpa Namgyal for the hand of Chosskyid would have any prospect of success. [804]

In the evening, as it was getting dark, he came back, with his head and his limbs again heavy from beer and talking. With difficulty and awkwardly he dismounted from his horse, and laboriously he climbed up the bad stone steps to his brother's house. He was received with questioning looks and words, and with comical weightiness and forced sureness he steered towards his seat at the stove in the chansa (living room-kitchen). Again the relatives and the tribe are all gathered together. After Stobsldan has emptied a few bowls of butter tea which the housewife has poured out for him, and after he has smoked a few draughts on the water pipe of the master of the house, he began his report. The parents of Chosskyid, he said, had at first been very cool and had behaved as though they were galons and he a begging beda. Nothing could come of the marriage; there had been so many who had asked this girl in marriage; if she wanted to she could hang a suitor from each of her fingers. And there were among these men of a quite superior rank to the Dragshos, against whom the father did not want to say anything otherwise, since after all he was a good friend of his father's. But this marriage could not possibly be brought about. While the girl's father had been talking, the men present in that house had made extensive fun of Stobsldan. But the latter had not given in; he

584 painted his nephew in glowing colors as the model of a young Tibetan farmer; he nettled the people from the Chirpon house by saying that the Dragshos had also once been highly respected officials of the kings and war heroes, that they were well-to-do if not rich, and that the fine property with the two summer places (35) in Nyermo and Skambur

[423] 35. "Summer place" (dbyar-sa) is the designation for the part of a farmer's landholding which lies apart from the rest of his fields in a highland plateau. Usually it has a house belonging to it from which one or two persons work and water the fields through the summer.

was free from encumbrance.

For a long time the arguments and counterarguments had gone back and forth, and time and again the old, sly Chirpon (Norbu Wangchug) boasted about the /58/ "brilliant matches" with the galons and nonos (titles of young noblemen) that his daughter could enter into. In answer to this Stobsldan repeated equally stubbornly the praises of the Dragshos people. As a final trump he characterized the "brilliant matches" with which he was perfectly acquainted. He said that the "aristocratic fathers" concerned, who desired Chosskyid as a bride for their sons, were both deeply in debt, one to the monastery Hemis, the other to the neighboring monastery Lamayuru, and moreover, the son of the galon was an extravagant, licentious person who through his wastefulness had brought his own father into misfortune and debts; also, the galon's son had already been a few days in jail in Leh once because of an evil prank. The other suitor, he continued, was a harmless but stupid person whose suit had already been refused by more than one girl, that is to say, by her father. At this Norbu Wangchug became more and more quiet, and when finally the conversation had come to an end and everything was properly splashed with beer, then, as the matchmaker was mounting on his horse, the housewife Deskyid had whispered to him: "Well, Acho! (older brother)! Try it some time soon with the "asking beer" (dri-ĉan)! After all, it is still possible to talk about the matter." When the initially shocked and disappointed parents and p'as-pun heard this, their faces lighted up again and that very same evening it was decided to send the asking beer soon to Tingmogang.

431 The Asking Beer (36)

36 Tibetan dri-ĉan, meaning "asking beer," also slon-ĉan,

meaning "request beer." To the "beers" described in this section we have parallels in the "beers" customary in several parts of Germany, such as "Kindelbier" (used at baptisms) /literally "child's beer" but translated into English as "christening feast."/, harvest beer, bock beer, honor beer, consolation beer (at funerals), and others of the same kind. 431

A few days after Stobsldan's mission two men with baskets on their backs were sent to Tingmogang. In each of the baskets there was a large, bulging clay vessel (dza-ma) which contained the important "asking beer." The wide, projecting upper rim of the vessel was covered with a wreath of small lumps of butter (37). A little way 584● 431

37. The little lumps of butter (dkar-abyor). The Tibetan word can be translated by "rich possession." The wreath of little lumps of butter is symbolic of "fatness, wealth."

behind the two carriers there followed the two uncles of the suitor, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, on horseback. Once arrived at Tingmogang they dismounted from their horses in front of the Chirpon farm and lifted the heavy jugs of beer out of the baskets. Norbu Wangchug came out to meet them at /59/ the gate of the courtyard. He had a harmless, apparently unsuspecting and still somewhat patronizing air and he greeted them with, "Good day, you gentlemen! Are you in good health?" whereupon the latter answered: "Healthy, yes, thank you! And does the honored gentleman also feel well?" After the customary welcoming formalities had been exchanged with all ceremoniousness, Norbu Wangchug invited the two emissaries into his house. The large Tibetan mastiff which was furiously barking and tearing at its chain by the house door, was pushed down by the master of the house who sat down on the animal until his guests had entered. They went up the stairs into the living room-kitchen where the two uncles put down the chang kegs by the cooking stove on the wreaths of straw--the jugs have billowing bottoms--which had been placed in readiness there. Now the emissaries were invited to sit down near the stove on the felt carpets that had been spread along the wall. As by accident a number of men related to the family and of the tribe of the master of the house arrived, and soon a considerable company of men was sitting together to steaming butter tea; and the cozy gurgling of the circulating water pipe intermingled with the conversation of the [576]

584 [531] men who apparently suspected nothing and talked about all sorts of things, of horse trading, the shearing of sheep, new tax burdens and the impending visit of a great holy lama; in fact, they talked of everything except about marriage and matchmaking. Finally beer was served. After both Kalatse men had hastily swallowed a few bowls of the beer and had sat in silence for a while, Stobsldan cleared his throat extensively and audibly, began to speak and presented the object of his visit. They brought, he said, 100,000 humble greetings from the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal in Kalatse to the gaga (honored gentleman) and the jojo (gracious lady) of the Chirpon house. They had come to look for a bride for the young man in the Dragshos house. Drogpa Namgyal, he stated, was an industrious, honest, energetic and pious boy, all the people of Kalatse could testify to that. And if one looked at the property of the Dragshos one would see that the boy was not a bad match. After all, they all knew the fine property which was free of any encumbrance. Surely it was superfluous to say anything about the virtue, industry and the beauty of the nomo (38) Chosskyid.

[576] 38. nomo, meaning "younger sister," is the way every younger female person is addressed by an older person. Even her own parents may address a girl as such.

She did not have her equal in the whole of Ladakh. The Dragshos asked the Chirpon for the girl as a bride for his son.

/60/ The matchmaker's speech was followed by a long silence which was only interrupted by the gurgling of the circulating water pipe which had just reached the master of the house. The latter took a few long draughts from it, put it down, gave the pipe to the person sitting next to him, raised his eyebrows and said: "Nonopale (noble gentlemen)! It is certainly a great honor for me that you have come in order to request my daughter in marriage on behalf of your nephew, the son of my honored friend; and the speech of your mouth is as sweet as sugar and as lovely as the twittering birds. Now you are praising my daughter as 'from one throat.' But how long will this last; after that you will speak nothing but evil words about the girl, then you will say: 'Your daughter has horns in the front of her head and a tail in her back' (that is to say, she is a cow), she is lazy and slovenly, knows nothing about housekeeping or managing the fields. And--moreover--there are so many who would like to have the girl, and there are some very distinguished suitors among them"--at these words Stobsldan nudged

584●

Tsang Sodnam and both laughed secretly. "No, gentlemen, this marriage cannot take place. You will have to look for another bride for Namgyal; after all, there are enough girls in Lower Ladakh. Chosskyid is designated for another man." With these words Norbu Wangchug turned to the men of his tribe who answered with a dead-serious "drig yin (so it is)."

"Yes," Tsang Sodnam now objected, "it is admittedly true that it will be pure graciousness on your part if you give your daughter as a bride to the boy. But you must not say that he and his parents are such bad people. You may inquire in all of Lower Ladakh, and you will only hear them praised as "from one throat." The Dragshos are pious (39) and respectable people. And just think of the wonderful

39. Tibetan: dkon-mčog la ajigs-mk'an.

property they have in fields and cattle. All of you know quite well about that!"

At these words Stobsldan placed a beautiful coral necklace with silver decorations on the little tea table in front of old Norbu which the latter pretended not to notice at all. All the more did the eyes of the tribe of the Chirpon, especially those of the women present, secretly examine and evaluate the necklace. Argument and counter-argument went back and forth. The beer flowed plentifully into the throats just as the words flowed forth from them in abundance; at first all talking, suing and praising seemed to fail through the stubborn resistance of Norbu Wangchug /61/ who time and time again brought forth the argument of the "brilliant matches" which his Chosskyid could make. But towards the end of the damp-[illegible]ot session, after the woman Deskyid, the wife of Norbu Wangchug, had whispered all sorts of things to her husband and after the p'as-pun had brought the old man somewhat to his senses in muted conversations by admonishing him finally to desist from boasting about the brilliant prospects of his daughter and telling him that nobody, after all, cared for those "distinguished suitors" of whom he was constantly speaking, and that the Dragshos son was a son-in-law who was not to be despised; after all this, finally, the father mumbled something between his lips made heavy by beer, which sounded like "talk about it once more." And when the two matchmakers finally arose with great difficulty as darkness was descending, their heads and limbs were heavy from beer and talk; but their hearts were light. Mother Deskyid had taken the necklace [431]

584 destined for her daughter for herself and Norbu Wangchug had helped the two matchmakers get on their horses in a friendly manner, something which had not been quite superfluous. Then he had given Stobsldan's brown horse a blow on the rear shank with the flat of his hand so that the horse leaped forth and almost threw its rider into the brook which flowed along the side of the village path. And he had said, "Well, just bring the 'ransom' beer (hol-ĉan) soon."

It was a good thing that the horses of the Kalatse men knew the narrow, bad path so well, which leads from the valley steeply up to the highland plateau, and that they were able to find it with sureness even in the dark; it was further lucky that they did not stumble over the innumerable stones along the way or that they did not become frightened by the boulders that were loosened through their steps and which went thundering down the steep rocky slope. For the two riders completely entrusted themselves to the sharp senses and the sure footedness of their small, sturdy mountain horses. Not till the howling of a wolf sounded forth from up above along the edge of the plateau, which was soon answered by the howling of another wolf on the other side of the valley, and the horses became restless, did the men grasp the reins more firmly. Finally they had reached the plateau. On top there was blowing a strong gust from the west which cooled off and sobered the two heated heads. As they sobered up, however, the two otherwise quite courageous men were also overcome by fear. On the level plateau there lived /62/ a dreadful Tsan-demon 776 who occasionally appeared to wanderers. The men remembered the story which Konchog Trashi had recently told them. A company of men from the neighboring Teya once returned home to their village late in the evening after they had been drinking in Kalatse. On the plain the drunken men made a lot of noise and sang lewd songs and also reviled the lamas and the gods. Then suddenly a storm rushed along the plain, a cloud swept down from the mountains, and in the cloud Pagspa from the Shanku house (śan-ku, meaning "wolf") saw, as he recounted later, quite clearly the Tsan king with helmet and armor on his red horse, as he drew the bow and shot off an arrow. In the same instant Buchung screamed aloud, clasped his chest and slid off his horse. The Teya people brought him back to his home as a corpse. No wound was visible on him. He had been the loudest and the wildest reveller. Tsepell, too, is supposed to have been coughing blood since that evening, which no lharje (Tibetan doctor) can cure. The men from Kalatse drove their horses on, which carried their riders in a

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew that kind of paying too. 787

The Ransom Beer (42) 583

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-čan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner 584 [431]

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

[cf. cat. 116, p. 60 : footnote 43 - Analyst]

576 43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag), greeting cloth or greeting ribbon, usually a worthless strip of gauze-like material that is presented like a greeting card as a sign of respect and of the good wishes of the donor; if the lama has consecrated it, the k'atag is supposed to have magical powers.

584 of the house, and a second one on the edge of the stove for the lady of the house. Then the men sat down in silence on the felt carpets spread out along two walls of the room. They were seated in a long row, Lobsang Wanggyal next to the Chirpon (the master of the house), then the others ranged according to age, rank and titles, with the most distinguished nearest the stove. First the guests were treated to butter tea and flat bread cakes (ta-gir). Then they went over to the chang. The beer kegs from the Dragshos house were carried in, the women scooped the beer with ladles into the bowls of the men, and now they set about negotiating, at this ransom beer, the conclusion of the marriage contract.

583 584 After a number of less important points had been discussed, they arrived at the most important one--the purchase price of the bride.

A long pause interrupted the lively conversation; the men looked silently down at their beer mugs; the women, who were busily going up and down serving the beer, so that no bowl would become empty, stopped and looked with tense expressions at the men from Kalatse who were to speak the first word. Finally Stobsldan broke the silence: "Now, gracious sir, Norbu Wangchug, please, speak a word! How high is the price of the mother milk (44) to be? Tell us your

44. Tibetan a-mai o-mai rin, meaning "price of the mother's milk." The bride's mother must be paid for the raising and feeding of the bride.

wishes! It is, after all, pure graciousness on your part that you give your daughter to the Dragshos; if you burden us with wool (an easy burden), that will be graciousness; if you burden us with salt (a heavy burden) that will still be graciousness; ours is only to ask."

After prolonged silence during which he seemed to draw his thoughts out of the water pipe standing in front of him, Norbu Wangchug answered as all eyes were now turned upon him: "Rab, abrin, mt'a gsum. A lot, an average amount, and a little bit--there are three kinds of measures. What shall I say? It must be so that the wolf /66/

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deakyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and [291] partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

583 circumstantially set up a list of the things, counting on their fingers and
584 setting down the prices of the individual items. In doing so they were careful not to set the prices too low for the old Chirpon had impressed this point on them. He would like to shine with his ragt'ag and he would like to outtrump all bride's fathers in the whole of Lower Ladakh, /67/ who have married off daughters in the past few years. At the mention of many a price the people from Kalatse would nudge each other and laugh secretly. Finally the list was completely drawn up and the sum was calculated. Ishe Lhundrub placed the list on the little table of the master of the house. The latter's glance went over the lines and numbers with pleasure and then his glance moved over to the ragt'ag and the entire bride's trousseau, and finally it went over the faces of the Kalatse people, examining them one by one. Now it was their turn to calculate and to bid if they could. "There, listen, you gentlemen from Kalatse," the Chirpon now spoke forth. The "price list" (rinto) comes to 220 žo. (47) According to old Ladakh

[436]

47. 1 žo is equivalent to 6 rupees in old Tibetan currency, the rupee is equivalent to four jau (1 jau equals 3.25 anna, which in turn is equal to 28 Pfennige). The old Tibetan rupee had only four-fifths of the value of an Indian rupee. Thus 220 žo equal 1,320 Tibetan rupies, the equivalent of 1,056 Indian rupees, amounting to 1,408 mark.

custom the 'price of the mother milk' should amount to an ample fourth of the rinto. Give 60 žo, then the young gentleman Drogpa Namgyal may have the girl. You can see what kind of a bride's rope she is taking with her. Such a one there hasn't been since the days of our forefathers in Lower Ladakh." /The last quotation mark is conjectural since there is none in the original text--translator./

The Kalatse people bowed their heads That was a lot.. Typical of the Chirpon! This is the way they had known him. Always driving a bargain! This is the way he had acted also as village magistrate of Tingmogang. In all circumstances he knew how to feather his nest: when he collected the taxes, when he settled a dispute and otherwise whenever an opportunity presented itself; and now in haggling over the sale of his daughter. He would have been the last one to give his daughter away to one of those indebted "noble galon's sons" just to pay his debts off. But they knew how to take him. There now started a haggling and a bargaining which increased in violence in proportion

to the decreasing of the number of filled chang kegs. Their brown faces assumed a shining copper color, the voices became increasingly loud and more excited while the bride's father stuck to his demands with the stubbornness and obstinacy with which they were all familiar. Finally Stobsldan asked him, "Is this your final word, gaga?" Yes, my last, by the 'three jewels' (48)!" "This is too much," shouts 583 584

48. In Tibetan the oath goes: "dKon-mčog gsum" (pronounced "konchog sum!"), the "Three Jewels"; they are the components of the Buddhistic trinity: Buddha, the Law, and the Monkhood. The Buddhistic Tibetan has constant oaths on his lips with which he believes it necessary to reinforce even quite unimportant statements and assertions, a proof of how much and how readily the great majority of them lie. Other oaths are: "May the monastery get me (dgon-pas nam śig)!" by which the gods are meant, whose pictures are in the monastery; they are asked to "come and get" the person uttering the oath. The subordinate clause, "If my statement is not true," remains unexpressed. The form "sku t'san-mas nam śig, may all the gods get me!" also occurs. Another form which is to be heard daily, is "a-mai śa, or bu-t'sai sa," which means "the mother's flesh, the son's flesh," which is also used with he naming of a particular name, "T'serin-gi śa, Rol-mai śa, Tsering's flesh, Rolma's flesh." Tibetans explained to me that this meant: "If I have lied I shall eat the flesh of my mother, of my son, the flesh of Tsering, the flesh of Rolma," an oath which is supposed to derive from the time when cannibalism prevailed in Tibet. In court there often appear false witnesses who, bribed with a few annas, swear to everything that is demanded of them. [195]

Stobsldan, whose customary politeness had been smothered by alcohol, at the people from Tingmogang, "the old money-grabber wants to make a profit. The whole rope is not worth 120 žo. The gaga is trying the make a fool of us! Come, Lobsang Wanggyal, we shall go home! Your son /68/ can get ten brides if he wants them; there are many other pretty, decent and wealthy girls in Sham (Lower Ladahk). Give us back the coral necklace, Chirpon, and tomorrow we shall send you back the large copper pot (zan-bu) that you sent over to us. Then you may wait until a rGyallu (royal prince) courts

583 your daughter. Come, everyone, you Acho-No (older and younger
584 brothers)! We are all going home! The people here are like hungry wolves!"

Everybody looked at Norbu Wangchug who was sitting there with a sulien smile. Then fat Norpel, the brother of the lord of the house, got up clumsily, seized Lobsang Wanggyal who was just preparing to get up, by his sleeve, and said: "Please, please, my little brother! You should not get angry immediately. After all, one should be able to talk about business matters." And then turning to his brother he said: "Just be gracious, Acho (older brother)! Look at the grieved face of Lobsang Wanggyal! Think of the fine, elegant house and of the respectable, pious people to whom Chosskyid would come as a bride! If I had a daughter I would give her immediately to the Nono Drogpa Namgyal. What a fine boy that is. He has the gait and the posture of a prince. And he can ride and play polo, nobody equals him in that. At the same time he is an efficient farmer and takes religion seriously like all Dragshos. Do say another good word to the gentlemen from Kalatse!"

A long silence ensued. As though by accident, the water pipe had again come around to the old Chirpon, who drew forth from it thick clouds of smoke. Finally the gurgling of the pipe ceased and the old man, still very angered, exclaimed: "You gentlemen are surely sensible persons and not like a yak bull which has a red cloth put in front of it. After all, I am not a wolf who strangles sheep and goats out of greed, nor am I a fox who steals his neighbors' chickens. Ask the gentlemen of my tribe here, the p'as-pun and the neighbors in the entire valley whether I have wrongfully appropriated so much as a needle"--and in so saying he took one of the many large sewing needles which were stuck in a row in his hat, in his hand and held it up high. In the back two small farmers from Teya nudged each other significantly. They knew /69/ better. "Now look at this tagpa (rope)!" the Chirpon went on, "have you ever seen one like it? But so you can see that I am a reasonable, God-fearing man, I shall deduct five žo from the 'price of the mother's milk.' Give me 55 žo and you can have the girl!"

Lobsang Wanggyal nudged his brother: "My little brother, now you talk!" They quietly exchanged a few words and then Stobsldan spoke up: "55 žo is too much; far too much. Just consider, when Chosskyid comes into the Dragshos house, that house will be your house. If you ruin the house by your unreasonable demands you also

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 žo from the whole 584
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion? 533
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid? 534
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There just passed by a maiden fair,
Her body was as of pure gold.
/70/ First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a girl with hair so rich,

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunder- 533
bolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the 539
lama magicians.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling 000
parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward.

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55) ( )

55. Tibetan t'ig-čan and nyen-čan.

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After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 žo for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that 585
should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 431

583 goes around from one to the other, so that today it is your turn and tomorrow mine, so does joy and sorrow alternate: today I am afflicted with sorrow and you are in joy, tomorrow it is the other way round. Today the Dragshos needs our help and we want to give it to him; next year he will perhaps have to help one of us who may be in distress. Thus we want to help our friend the Dragshos in bearing the heavy burden of the bride purchase and the expenses of the wedding." In so saying the lonpo carefully opened the metal pen case which he carried around stuck inside his sash, dipped the reed pen into a copper inkwell which hung on a little belt at his side, and wrote his contribution down on the slip of paper--30 rupees. Then followed the gopa (village magistrate) of Domkhar with 15 rupees, and the others with contributions /74/ of from five to seven rupees each. Everyone signed with his house name and with the name by which he was called; those who were unable to write put down their seal with the iron signet that they brushed with ink, or else they placed the impression of their blackened thumb next to the figure which someone able to write put down.

When this transaction had been finished Lobsang Wanggyal heaved a sigh of relief. His clan had not left him in the lurch. They had taken away from him a good part of the burden which he had had to shoulder. He could count himself lucky. Things rarely went as smoothly and without friction as they had in this case. It had often happened that at the consultation beer endless haggling and bargaining, quarrels and disputes within the clan and the circle of relatives had taken place.

584 A week later the families from both houses concerned already gathered for the final "beer" (59), the "Ordering beer" (bcol-ĉan).

59. If the wedding is postponed because the families cannot come to an agreement over the "price of the mother milk," the choice of guests, the distribution of the expenses, and other things of the kind, as this is often the case, then the "beers" named are followed by several others with always new names.

Aside from those already named, five young men, the Nyaopas (60),

60. Nyaopa (gnya-bo-pa) means witness. The Nyaopas are in a certain sense the marriage witnesses and at the wedding they also have the duties of best men. The often-used form

"Nyopa" is a corruption which has led to the translation "buyer," which in my opinion is incorrect. My informant Gau Puntsog always stuck to the form "Nyaopa." 584

the best men, were invited on this occasion. Under the leadership of the sNatridpa (sna-ak'rid-pa) these have the task at the main wedding of taking the bride from her father's house into that of the bridegroom. At the "ordering beer" they were entrusted with this duty, just as the five bridesmaids (bag-grogs) were entrusted with theirs. Furthermore, many another person was engaged to perform the many services necessary at the wedding celebration, not last nor least of these the cook and the water carrier. Again they consumed ample amounts of beer; once more the bridegroom's two uncles tried to bargain about the "price of the mother milk" in the interests of the Dragshos, and once more there began a haggling and quarreling until the old Chirpon started up angrily and said: "Da drig (now it's enough)! Now I'm sick of this haggling! If you don't want to give the 50 žo then you can get yourselves one of those dirty smith's daughters (gar-bai bo-mo) as a bride for Drogpa Namgyal!" This had its effect. The haggling, which the Dragshos disliked anyway, ceased; but something like that he would not take from the Chirpon people and so he decided the dispute by saying: "Now, just be satisfied, Acho (older brother)! You will get your 50 žo, by the Three Jewels! Surely you know that a Dragshos does not do things in a shabby manner." At the end there was yet another incident. After /75/ all offices and services had been distributed a lama who was present asked in what year the sNatridpa, the chief best man, was born. "I am a Paglopa, of the pig year," the latter answered himself. "Then everything is in order," the lama replied, "a pig year person brings luck into the house; it would have been bad if you had been of the dragon year, that would have brought misfortune. So it is a lucky coincidence that the chief best man is a pig year person.

/76/ The Wedding (61) ( )

61. Tibetan bag-ston, in polite speech sku-bag. 585

Now it was the eve of the great day of the wedding, the 21st of the first month, a Thursday (Donar's day, Jupiter's day), as it had been designated by the onpo (soothsayer). The guests had rushed to the spot from the surrounding mountain villages, some even from the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter III, B.

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Social and Religious Life.

[597]

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the Kângrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khâta* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lima* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lima* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [614]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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[565]

The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

[766]
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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except 852
a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically.

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite 584
unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have 591
arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The [421]
property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex.

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by 583
custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady.

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted
into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small 586
one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog."

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

586 The next day a deputation must go to the house from which the passive partner was stolen to say "*zhu*." They are accompanied by a rhetorician, and take with them some jars of beer, some bread, tea, butter and a salutation-scarf. If the parents are amenable to the transaction they accept the presents, and receive the deputation; but if they object to the alliance, the welcome of these representatives is all too warm—they are ejected with kicks and blows, while the parents and their supporters go to the temporary home of their child, try to wreck it, and recover the stolen one by force. Hence another proverb says: "The parents are their children's
583 judges." The causes which precipitate such a stolen marriage are (1) absolute inability to afford the orthodox nuptials; (2) temporary financial disability, as at any future time the arrangement may be ratified with full ceremonials; and (3) if the desired partner is betrothed to someone else, to secure him or her by theft; (4) if the *Onpo's* date does not satisfy the couple, they marry on their own day, and have the official rites on his.

585 Lastly there is the orthodox wedding with all its attendant
791 ceremonies. For this neither parents nor child must decide on their choice before they have consulted the *Onpo*. To this gentleman they tell the name and date of birth of the prospective mate, and can only proceed if he declares, after searching his books, that year and person are auspicious. Lamas, as a
585 rule, do not provide this information. The marriage may take place when the children are very young, but it is not consummated till after they are twelve, and, even at this tender age, little Ladaki girls sometimes become mothers.
• 584 Thus the Ladaki parents have to think about the future alliance when the child is still young; as their proverb says: "The difficulty of the father is to get a wife for his son."

Let us follow this father in his difficult path, supposing the child for whom he wishes to find a mate is a son. The first overtures are made by a third party, who must never go

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

584 [791] to the house of the bride-elect empty-handed, and the fateful day on which he sets out must be decided by the *Onpo*. If the young lady's parents receive him favourably, more beer must be sent on several occasions, and a series of preliminary feasts, whose principal feature is beer drinking, is inaugurated. The first of these, called *holchan*, is only a small affair, but marks a definite betrothal. Subsequently more *chang* must be taken for the consumption of the relatives of the future bride, and at this feast or *nyenchang* (relation beer), it is decided what presents in kind and in cash these people must be given. The money present is said to be in payment of Nature's provision through the mother for the bride's first earthly nourishment! It may vary from Rs15 to Rs45, while the other presents include twenty-five to forty-five measures of *chang* (600–1,000 quarts), also tea, butter, *p'adings* (the local dried apricots), meat, rice, and salutation scarves.

The next feast is called the *trabschang* (conference beer), and its occasion is the assembly of all the relatives and friends some weeks before the wedding to decide upon and to distribute the responsibility of giving the various articles needed for the actual wedding-feast, such as the provision by the uncle of the bride of the *drangrgyas*, or cake, round which the dances will take place, and all the details of serving the courses 585 are arranged. The menu includes the following courses: (1) Tea; (2) a mixture of wholemeal flour, butter and dried curds, sugar, and tea; (3) *p'adings* and breads; (4) meat and a mixture of flour and water called *Boldra*; (5) beer; (6) *nanchang* or very strong beer, of which each partaker is obliged to drink one whole measure, which makes them thoroughly intoxicated; (7) *zilchang*, another kind of beer; (8) rice.

Nyobjhol is the procedure of fetching the bride (or bridegroom). [292] Those who carry this out are called *nyopas*, and their official costume consists of beautiful silk dresses, and high-crowned, gilt hats. Their number varies from five to

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag,* that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

584 the same property, which is built especially
593 for that purpose. This custom is known
[104] as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them
[104] (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age, usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

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Ti 515 or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

582 586 wTi 584

To 595 wTi [595] Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

585 men for another half hour and, on the stroke of midnight, they went up to the bridal chamber where the eldest brother was put to bed in another bed than the one in which his bride was already lying. This is the usual custom, I was assured, when the couple is not notoriously in love, and parents have arranged the match. They could sleep in the same bed together if it were otherwise. An old woman was left in the room all night to watch over them and see how they behaved, and this appeared to be an indication that the young people had, nevertheless, had a word to say in the choice of whom they would marry, because if they had not and the parents alone had arranged everything, two men and two women would have been on guard all night.

Thakur Partap Chand assured me that newly married couples never consummate the marriage on the first night; they only have physical relations with one another on their wedding day if they have had some before. Intercourse between husband and wife may not take place until a week later, I heard (I must say with some incredulity), or sometimes until after a month or even one year. The only explanation that I could find for such a curious statement was that perhaps in the case of arranged marriages, the partners are not keen to know each other, and postpone this duty as long as they can. But I cannot believe that so much delay is observed in the case of newly married couples who have voluntarily chosen each other.

In the early morning, the women fetched the bride out and, having dressed her in all her finery, brought her down to the main room again. The bridegroom and his brother were likewise taken down, adorned in their best clothes by their male friends and relatives. We found them sitting in state in the reception room where they had been seated during the wedding, but with the bride now relaxed and upright, and all the other paraphernalia removed – except the *chang* cauldrons.

[273] From the latter, an ample supply was served to the guests, together with tea. We were continually being pressed to drink, and after sipping our cups a few times, got tired of it and left the room. I took advantage of this to question the Thakur as to who the other people in the room were. He told me that they were relatives and friends of the bridegrooms' family. The bride was not represented, he assured me, because it was very rare that members of the bride's family should attend her wedding, never if they did not approve of the match. If their consent [584] has been obtained, they must first receive some assurance that their daughter will receive enough revenue from the land of her future husbands to satisfy them before they consent to appear. They will then do

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she [591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accom- [115] panied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

423 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
428 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
595 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re- [584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

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24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595
the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597
is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; [428] the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584 ●
with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787] parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583] "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421] loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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584 tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This
[583] will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called
[421] *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston*
[585] (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will
[936] amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their
[583] daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

[584] In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

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585 NUPTIALS--wedding (e.g., preferred time and place, ceremonial, persons attending and officiating); symbolic rites; means of assuring publicity and legality (e.g., banns, licenses); civil and ecclesiastical weddings; variations dependent upon status; associated property transactions (e.g., transfer of gifts, of bride-price); homecoming of bridal couple; consummation (e.g., immediate or deferred, private or public); defloration rites (e.g., jus primae noctis); concern for virginity of bride (e.g., exhibiting tokens); postwedding events (e.g., honeymoon, exchange of visits); status and activities of newly married persons; etc. See also:

Marital sexuality . . . . . 83 Residence in marriage 591

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following: 527 [273]

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one month. 852 846

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang. 553

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to 585

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 the bride's house with a bowl of chang, and the relatives discuss the wedding-day and the spirits together. After the bridal day has been fixed, the bridegroom is obliged to send a portion of food and chang daily to his elect. After the end of fifteen or twenty days all the relatives of both parties assemble together to ask the bridegroom what present he will make to the mother of the bride. The bridegroom makes an offer, generally of a few rupees (one to ten), according to his means and the ardour of his love. A poor man will give a pot of chang and a silver *jao* (sixpence) to his bride's mother, while the thriving man will give a present of ten rupees. About ten or fifteen days after the "asking," the relatives of both parties assemble at the bride's house, and conduct the lady in state to the bridegroom's house, where prayers are read by a party of lamas, and the couple are declared man and wife. The whole party then sits down to dinner and chang, of which the supply on these occasions is always ample. The entertainment lasts for several days, according to the means of the bridegroom, and the assembled lamas read prayers every morning to the half-sober guests.

764 The funeral-feast, *Shid-Ton*, varies according to the rank and circumstances of the deceased. For a rich man, a large party of lamas assemble, and read prayers daily until the body is burned, which does not usually take place for fifteen or twenty days. For a poor man, only a few lamas meet together and read prayers for four or five days (never beyond a week), while the body remains in the house. During this time a piece of cloth is fixed over the doorway as a sign of mourning. The lamas are regaled with food and tea daily; and, when

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 000

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] 585 768 584 [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 000

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

1 [i.e, barley beer-- ANALYST]

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns* of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

(14)BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 587
Buddhists and Arghons* is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 595
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

* [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

appreciated by foreigners, but constituting the national drink of 273
the people of Ladák.

[97]MARRIAGE--pakston or respectfully skoobak. After the "be- 584
trothal" ceremony (see Betrothal) has been performed, a month or two is usually allowed to elapse before the wedding takes place, though sometimes a year or more passes between the time of betrothal and the time of marriage. When a day has been fixed for the marriage, the procedure is as follows:--

On the day fixed, the relatives (nien) of the bride (pakma) assemble 585
at the bride's house, and those of the bridegroom (pakpho) at the bridegroom's house. At night-fall the bridegroom goes with from 5 to 7 of his friends (ngiópa) to the bride's house, he finds the outer door (giázGHo) of the yard (stárá) shut, and guarded by male relatives of the bride, he gives a few rupees to them and they then allow him to enter, but when passing between this gate and the door leading into the house itself (giázGHoi nángkuk) he is surrounded by the bride's female relatives, who pretend to be very angry, and beat him with small sticks. To these also the bridegroom has to give a few rupees, and he is then allowed to enter the house. The bridegroom, with his friends, is then feasted by the bride's relatives, but the bride does not appear. Much "chhang" drinking, music and dancing is indulged in, till about 1 or 2 o'clock the next morning, when the best man (ngiátheetpa or ngiáthritpa) accompanied by some of the older male relatives of the bridegroom, goes to the kitchen (mákhang) in company with the parents and relatives of the bride. The bridegroom and the rest of his party do not go to the kitchen.

The guests take their seats in the kitchen and each one puts his drinking cup (korey) on the ground in front of him and "chhang' is then handed round by a male relative of the bride's, accompanied by one of female relatives, who has a stick in one hand. The latter takes up the cup of each guest in turn and fills it, and if the guest fails to drink freely, she beats him. This ceremony is called "nanchhang" or "insistance chhang." During this time a ceremony known as "thóhloo" is taking place, it is enacted by two old men, one being a relative of the bride and the other a relative of the bridegroom. First the relative of the bride gets up and sings a sonnet in praise of the bridegroom; the other old man must then get up and reply, by singing a

●585 similar sonnet in praise of the bride, after which the first man again sings, and so on for two or three times, if either singer fails to reply to the other, he has to give the other party a few rupees, or a goat, etc. At this time the bride's parents stretch a rope across the room, and on it they hang all the clothes, ornaments, etc., which constitute the "trousseau" of the bride, any cash there may be as a "dot" is counted and placed in a box. These clothes, etc., are called "raktak." A list of the [98] articles is then made out; it is called "zongeek," and is carefully kept, as a record of all the fine things given on the occasion. The best man then takes possession of the raktak and remarks that it is getting late, and that he would be glad if the bride could be made over to him.

The bride's relatives then protest that they don't know where the bride is, as her girl friends (yátodzámo) have hidden her. The best man has to give a few rupees to the yátodzámo, who then produce the bride who is in a flood of tears (often genuine), and lead her up to her mother. The bride then embraces the feet of her mother, father, brothers, sisters, and other relatives, after which the best man puts on to the bride's head a hat called "SHamskor-i teebi" (with very broad brim, fur-lined underneath and velvet covered above), and over that he fastens a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," and then the bride's mother's brother (azhung) takes the bride upon his back and carries her out to the "glázGHo" where a horse is in waiting for her.

The first to leave the bride's house is the ngiátheetpa (best man) who is followed by the ngiópa (bridegroom's relatives), then comes the bridegroom (pakpho) then comes the bride (pakma), who has not yet been seen or spoken to, on that day, by the bridegroom, and the rear is brought up by the bride's friends, musicians and spectators. As the wedding party passes by other villages, on its way to the bridegroom's house, the villagers come out with offerings of satoo, ghee, etc., called "kalchhor." The ngiátheetpa touches these offerings and remits them, and gives a small present to the persons bringing them.

On arrival at the bridegroom's houses, the door is found open, and in front of it are some Lámás (priests). The bridegroom and his party dismount, and beg the bride to dismount; she, weeping all the time, refuses to do so, but eventually the bridegroom's friends give her a present of a horse or a rupee or two, according to their wealth, and she then dismounts. Bride and bridegroom

then stand up in front of the Lámás, with clasped hands and bowed heads, and certain prayers are read. The prayer book is held by a novice or Láma of low rank, and the Hlóbon or head Lama reads from it. While doing so, he holds, in his left hand a bell (treeloo) and a small drum (daroo), and in his right hand, a sceptre (dorjey) and some grains of rice and barley. He rings the bell and sounds the drum with his left hand, and with the right he scatters the grain over the heads of the young couple. The bridal party then enter the bridegroom's house where they find two mystic signs, traced by the Lámás in barley or other grain, on the floor. On one of these the bride sits, and on the other the bridegroom. 585

Between them is placed a measure, filled with grain, in which is an arrow standing up, and having a small pinnacle of clarified butter affixed to its top. The bridegroom's mother then offers "chhang" to the bride and bridegroom, after which a Láma comes and sprinkles them with holy water. This completes the religious part of the ceremony. The bridegroom, with all the males of the party, then goes to another room where dancing and merriment takes place. The bride, with all the women of the party, remains behind. After remaining a while watching the dancing, the bridegroom is permitted to retire and rejoin his bride. During the whole of the next day, the merriment is kept up, and in the afternoon the bride, dressed out in all her best, and wearing all the jewels she possesses, comes out with her husband and walks round to show herself off. She has to dance with the ladies of the party, and the bridegroom with the men. Having done this, they are at liberty to retire. The feasting is kept up that night, and the next day the guests go off to their respective homes. For seven days, bride and bridegroom remain in their house, but on the eighth day they must start on a journey, to make their bow to all their relatives. Having performed this duty, they return to their home, and begin their ordinary married life.

If the parents of the bride and bridegroom are too poor to bear the expense of a regular wedding, they arrange that the bridegroom shall come quietly some night, and elope with his lady love. 583

[99]In such cases, that is to say, in the absence of any merry-making, no civil or religious marriage ceremony is performed. If at any future time, within a year or so, the parties concerned are in a position to give the marriage feast to friends and Lámás, they 585

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chánq-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chánq-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunder- 533
bolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the 539
lama magicians.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling 000
parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward.

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55)

55. Tibetan t'ig-can and nyen-can. 584

After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 žo for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that 585
should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 431

585 as many guests of a superior rank as possible, so that they could show
431 off with their aristocratic connections and also outdo the other side. Lobsang Wanggyal was less inclined towards this, since he favored a limited number of guests; but his mother insisted upon severe competition here. However, honor and dignity bring burdens with them (noblesse oblige). Every guest had to receive a gift, and the more aristocratic he was, the greater the gift would have to be. A considerable list of guests was finally drawn up. There was the galon from Jangpa near Leh who, the people in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang claimed, was related to them. According to custom /72/ he had to receive nine greeting ribbons of yellow silk (mt'san-pa); each of the five lamas who were asked to attend the engagement ceremony received 13 greeting ribbons, the lonpo from Domkhar, whom the Dragshos people invited as their relative, received nine, the three village magistrates of Kalatse, Teya, and Tingmogang each received seven greeting bands and the remaining farmer relatives and members of the clan, according to his standing, rank and property, were given five to seven tsanpa as a greeting and a mark of esteem. The best men, the bridesmaids and the female friends of the bride (bag-rogs) were each to obtain three rupees and four pieces of calico. As a formality the parents of the bride received the same present from the Dragshos house.

585 Finally they discussed what kind of expenses should be incurred at the wedding. Old Norbu Wangchug wanted to make a great display. He made his demands nonsensically high. The Kalatse people were in favor of a more modest celebration, for they and their clan had to pay most of the expenses. Finally they agreed upon five sheep that were to be killed, 40 chang (clay vessels of beer), 300 flat bread cakes, two bati (56) Ziegeltee /tile tea/, seven hide sacks of butter, and in

[804] 56. 1 bati is equivalent to four pounds of English weight, equalling 1,800 grams.

addition salt, natron, vegetables, onions as much as the cook would demand, the necessary greeting cloths, and other things of the kind.

000 Finally they were tired of haggling and for the rest of the evening they gave themselves over entirely to enjoyment and rejoicing. They ate, they drank, they sang, and they danced. Once even the bridegroom joined the men engaged in drinking and talking. But not for long. He did not enjoy noisy company. Once or twice the bride

"Nyopa" is a corruption which has led to the translation "buyer," which in my opinion is incorrect. My informant Gau Puntsog always stuck to the form "Nyaopa." 584

the best men, were invited on this occasion. Under the leadership of the sNatridpa (sna-ak'rid-pa) these have the task at the main wedding of taking the bride from her father's house into that of the bridegroom. At the "ordering beer" they were entrusted with this duty, just as the five bridesmaids (bag-grogs) were entrusted with theirs. Furthermore, many another person was engaged to perform the many services necessary at the wedding celebration, not last nor least of these the cook and the water carrier. Again they consumed ample amounts of beer; once more the bridegroom's two uncles tried to bargain about the "price of the mother milk" in the interests of the Dragshos, and once more there began a haggling and quarreling until the old Chirpon started up angrily and said: "Da drig (now it's enough)! Now I'm sick of this haggling! If you don't want to give the 50 žo then you can get yourselves one of those dirty smith's daughters (gar-bai bo-mo) as a bride for Drogpa Namgyal!" This had its effect. The haggling, which the Dragshos disliked anyway, ceased; but something like that he would not take from the Chirpon people and so he decided the dispute by saying: "Now, just be satisfied, Acho (older brother)! You will get your 50 žo, by the Three Jewels! Surely you know that a Dragshos does not do things in a shabby manner." At the end there was yet another incident. After /75/ all offices and services had been distributed a lama who was present asked in what year the sNatridpa, the chief best man, was born. "I am a Paglopa, of the pig year," the latter answered himself. "Then everything is in order," the lama replied, "a pig year person brings luck into the house; it would have been bad if you had been of the dragon year, that would have brought misfortune. So it is a lucky coincidence that the chief best man is a pig year person.

/76/ The Wedding (61)

61. Tibetan bag-ston, in polite speech sku-bag. 585

Now it was the eve of the great day of the wedding, the 21st of the first month, a Thursday (Donar's day, Jupiter's day), as it had been designated by the onpo (soothsayer). The guests had rushed to the spot from the surrounding mountain villages, some even from the

585 capital Leh and its surroundings; hardly anyone declined the invitation; they came together from places removed by three or four days' journey. After all, it was winter and everybody had time, for the work in the fields and in the summer places was at a standstill. At such times every change was welcome, and most of all a wedding in the house of a rich person. The Chirpon wanted to have a magnificent wedding, that they knew.

242 All the guests came dressed in their best festive clothing. Anyone who did not have a good suit--there were also some poor people among those invited--borrowed one from his neighbor who was better off and at least bought himself a new, bright red, green or blue cap, wrapped a new, brightly patterned long sash around his hips, and tied a white "handkerchief" onto the left side of the sash, less for practical use than for ornament. The women and the girls had put on their festive trinkets and garments: dresses in red, blue or green, with colored sashes and fur coverings, many turquoise and silver ornaments with which one tried to outdo the other.

585 Long before the winter sun had gone up in the Indus valley, which is very narrow here, the five best men, the Nyaopas, led by the sNatridpa and the Trashispa (bkra-śis-pa), appeared in the Dragshos house. They were all handsome young fellows dressed in colored cloth suits; each one had a long white or red shawl placed around his shoulders and wore on his head the pointed cone-shaped hat of the Nyaopas, covered with fine, glittering metal threads. These were joined by five /following p. 76 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle "Tibetan women in Ladakh (Original Tibetan drawing). "/ /77/ girls (dpa-mo, called "heroines") of the circle of relatives and of the clan, and five other fellows (dpa-bo, "heroes") for the bride's following. After all of them had been amply regaled with butter tea and flat bread cakes early in the morning in the chansa (living room-kitchen) and after they had danced there--the fellows by themselves and the girls by themselves--all of them got ready for the procession in order to fulfill their function at the wedding celebration, which was to take place during the day in the bride's house in Tingmogang.

Then the company breaks up in order to set out on the way to Tingmogang. The procession is headed by a pair from the group of dpa-bo and dpa-mo (neither of them may be orphans). The boy carries a clay dish with glimmering frankincense whose smell is intended to please the gods; the girl carries a brass beer jug at whose upper rim the usual lumps of butter are stuck on in a circle. The sNatridpa follows

with the lucky arrow (mda-dar) (62) in his hand; to the arrow are 585

62. Literally "arrow with flag." Sometimes there are five little flags of various colors fastened to the lucky arrow.

fastened a long strip of white, gauze-like material and a small metal mirror. Then follow the four other Nyaopa in order, with the remaining dpa-bo and dpa-mo; further there marches the manager (nyer-dpon) of the wedding, a neighbor of the Dragshos, who is an expert in the secrets of Tibetan cooking and who has taken it upon himself to prepare, with a whole staff of helpers, the various wedding feasts of the following days at a considerable fee. Then comes the bridegroom with his father Lobsang Wanggyal, and the two uncles Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam. From the neighboring houses the procession is now joined by relatives and members of the clan, men and women; the ones bring clay dishes with glimmering frankincense, the others jugs of beer. Plates with flour, barley and rice are also brought out. All contributors put their gifts down on the ground and the Nyaopas dance around them three times in a circle. Then the best men, led by the sNatridpa, step forward and strew and throw some of the gifts up in the air: a food and drink offering to the village and house gods so that they may be favorably inclined towards the marriage and will not harm the expected bride. The best men are all the more energetic in this activity since the nyer-dpon (manager) has promised them /78/ half a rupee's worth of bakshi if they do it well.

Thereupon the procession starts. First it goes to the lhato, the 585 altar and living quarters of the village god (yul-lha) at the mouth of 789 the side valley there under the large, wide-branched poplar at the edge of the watering trench. The old devil-tamer Dud-joms, whom they also cannot get along without today, had gone to the spot. There he stands by the lhato and looks intently at the white-washed altar, at the horns of wild sheep and ibex that are piled up there and the twigs of tamarisks and juniper trees which are stuck between the horns. He stares as though he could see the Lha bodily before him. In the one hand he swings the magical dagger (p'ur-ba) and also the magical bell and in the other hand he holds the little rattling drum made of human skulls. He invokes the Lha and exorcizes him by powerful formulas as well as by the power of his magical dagger and of the music. Stobsldan plants a new flag with printed formulas of exorcism among those already present, places a few dishes with rice and barley

●585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

the bridegroom. 585

The Nyaopas outside the gate and the Chirpon people in the yard now start a singing game,, the meaning and content of which is the following: The five Nyaopas come to buy the bride in the name of the bridegroom's father. They claim to be the sons of god who have come from the realm of the gods on the high mountains, from the region of the glaciers. Their appearance arouses astonishment among the inhabitants of the house and their clan; for, as they believe, no one could escape from that realm which on all four "points of the compass" (above, below, to the right and to the left) is guarded by four female animals. The guards are: the white ice lion with the turquoise-colored mane (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can) above at the glacier; the little fish golden-eye (nya-mo gser-mig) below in the glacial brook; the wild queen of the birds (bya-rgyal rgod-mo) on the rock to the right, the giant striped tigress (rgya-stag k'ra-mo) in the sandal wood forest to the left. [776]

/80/ The people of the bride's house now jokingly put a long series of questions in the form of a song (63) to test the Nyaopas, which 585 533

63. The songs that now follow are taken from the collection Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/, collected by A. H. Francke, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, 1923. They have been translated by Francke from the Tibetan (Ladakh dialect), and Mrs. Paalzow has transposed them into their original meter. I am giving some of the songs in my translation. According to Francke some of the songs sung here represent a kind of catechism of the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans and give insights into the mythology and the cosmology of that period.

the latter answer by likewise singing a song. As soon as an answer is not made satisfactorily the gate is opened for just a moment from the inside, the boys and girls rush out and beat the Kalatse boys amid rough jokes, Then the Chirpon people withdraw again and lock the scarcely opened gate. The singing game begins. 585 533 539

The Chirpon people inside in the courtyard of the bride's house sing:

The Ice God closed off the three valleys

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High up above where the glacier lioness (64) lives,

[773]

64. The "white ice lioness with her turquoise-colored mane" (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can), a personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the goddess of heaven; she is one of the mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, which are there associated with the gods, just as /the "wild queen of the birds" and the other animals mentioned in note 65, which in the original text follows directly after note 64. --translator./

Dear guests, please tell us, how did you get through?
Thunderbolt rock is fenced off to the right
By the mountain where the Queen of the Birds (65) is on guard.

[773]

65. The "wild Queen of the Birds" (bya-rgyal rgod-mo), further the "giant, striped Tigress" (rgya-stag k'ra-bo), the (female) "Fish Golden-Eye" (k'yu-ru nya-mo--or--nay-mo gser-mig) and some others in verses 2, 3 and 4 /are all mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, as explained in the previous note./

Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
To the left in the sandal wood forest.
The Giant Tigress lies lurking;
Dear guests please tell us how you got through?
Down below three of the valleys are closed off
By the brook where little fish Golden-Eye snaps.
Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
Heroes from the Nine-stone Castle! (66)

66. The sense of this first line of the verse is difficult to grasp. It is not clear what is to be understood by the Nine-stone Castle /"Neunsteinburg"/. Perhaps it would be more correct to translate it as "You wanderers over the Nine-stones."

What has brought you into this land,
Into the midst of this village, tell?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is that not right, worthy friends?

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The Nyaopas answer from outside:

Over the Ice God's three valleys,
Over the Lioness' glacier body
We swung ourselves with a leap.
We mounted over blocks of ice
And crushed with our feet crusts of ice.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the right by the thunderbolt mountain,
Over the body of the Queen of the Birds

/Following page 80 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)"; the second showing "Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders." / /81/

We flew from rock to rock,
Stepped over stone rubble
And stepped on firm ground.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the left through the sandal wood mountain,
Over the colored hide of the tigress
We slipped from tree to tree,
Then we walked through the underbrush
And stepped on many bushes.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
In the lower three valleys
We swam through deep streams
Where the little fish Golden-Eye snaps,
We waded through rivers,
Then splashed through the little brooks.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.

Chorus of the people before the gate:

Is that all right, you mighty friends?

The Chirpon people in the yard go on asking:

Up there in the Ice God's highland valleys
The white Glacier Lioness stopped you.
Worthy guests, how did you get through?

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On the thunderbolt rock to the right
The talon of the Queen of the Birds seized you.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
To the left in the dense sandal wood mountain
The tigress' claw must have held you fast.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
In three deep valleys surrounded by streams
Little fish Golden-Eye must have drawn you down.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is it not so, you mighty friends?

The Nyaopas outside answer:

Threefold in the Ice God's highland plateaus
Did the Glacier Lioness hold us imprisoned in her claws.
/82/ On the nine suns' brothers' day
There melted in the ice a very fine crack--
As wide as a helmet--but we got through it.
To the right on the thunderbolt enclosed mountain
The Queen of the Birds would not let us go.
But once she moved to the side
And a stone the size of a die
Was loosened--we slipped through.
To the left on the sandal wood enclosed mountain
The Giant Tigress put us under her charm.
But the K'alpa's (67) fire was burning hotly.

67. K'alpa (bskal-pa) an era in Buddhistic cosmology.

It created for us a clearing no larger
Then the size of a turquoise. We slipped through it.
In three lower valleys surrounded by streams,
You say, a little fish Golden-Eye held us fast.
There came of winter moons three--
There sprang up a well the size of a knothole,
And we slipped through that.

The people of the Chirpon house: 585 533 539

The tune was good! /or, "The way (of doing) was good"/

Now the Nyaopas are given a number of riddles in the form of songs by the Chirpon people:

Who measures the heavens' space,
Who the ether's space? (68)

68. Here the dictating Tibetan has, I believe, erroneously dictated "dbyibs-kyi ajal" instead of "dbyins-kyi ajal," or else the copyist made a mistake. That latter version fits much better into the context, and so I translated it as in the first line.

Say, who did measure out
The span from East to West?
And who did measure out
The span from South to North?
Who may have plumbed the depth?
And who measured the height?
Say, who measured the glacier mountain?
Who the slate rock?
Who measured the A and Om (69)

69. A and Om--two mystical syllables much used in prayers and in invocations to the gods and to Buddha. They are supposed to possess secret divine powers. [789]

In their depth and content?
Who did measure out the plateau?
Who the lower valley?
/33/ Say, who took the village's measurement?
Who measured out the home and dwelling place?
And with what measure?
Who measured the inside and the outside world?
And with what measure?

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The Nyaopas answer:

Heaven's space and ether's space
Are measured by sun and moon.
The sun, the screen of the throne, measures
East and West.
And the measurement of South and North.
Is taken by the white moon.
Rainfall and damp dew
Measure height and depth.
Glacier mountain and slate rock
Were measured by the Glacier Lioness.
The two syllables hum and pad (70)

[789]

70. hum and pad are two more magical syllables.

Measure A and Om.
Plateau as well as lower valley
Were measured by the chilly wind.
King and minister probably did measure
The castle and the village,
Home and dwelling place were measured for us
By our ancestors.
Seven brothers then did measure
Both inner and outer space.

The Chirpon people in the yard call out:

Good, you mighty friends!

Now the people in the yard sing the song of the Osier Switch (71):

71. With the osier switches the Nyaopas were beaten whenever they gave unsatisfactory answers.

The turquoise-colored switch in my hand,
Whose home is India,
Grew up in the heart of Tibet
And grew to be strong and firm at the Dogri (72).

72. Name of a mountain.

Behold the twig: it is of gold!
Its tip is green: it is turquoise (73).

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73. Compare not 51.

/84/ Indra, lord of the Gods, gave us
The command: Strike!
Gave with it the sacred prophet's word:
Sun and moon, to the two
Will be born a son,
Companion to the planets and the moon.
Banish evil tricks!
Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

This is the story of the staffs.

The Nyaopas answer:

Do not hit with birch or barberry!
Nor hit us with juniper wood!
If you knock in our hats
With one of those three woods,
You will pay for it a thousandfold.
If the body is injured,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If you break the earring,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If the saddle tears
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.

The people:

Quite right, mighty friends! Hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

This green osier switch
Here in my hand

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Covers with turquoise-green stem,
Green leaves, the land of man.
The lord of the world (74), the king, issued

74. The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is designated as the "lord of the world" (also of the three worlds); Indra, too, often receives this title.

The command: Strike with it!
And also gave the sacred prophet's word:
"Prince of the Middle Fort!
A son issues from you,
The companion of the planets and the stars."
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks!
/85/ Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

Chorus: Hail to you!
May happiness and well-being accompany you!

The Nyaopas:

Do not hit with mountain willow or sallow,
Nor with bramble which pricks us!
If you knock in our hats
With those three woods,
You will rue it a thousand times, and so forth.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Good luck and hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

The turquoise osier switch here in my hand,
Whose root is of shell, covers
Deep down the land of the nymphs.
"Strike them!" is the wish

Of the Queen of the Nymphs Lchokpoma Drossilchan (75) 585 533 539

75. Tibetan lcog-po-ma dros-sil-can, the "rocking, shade-supplying willow."

She also spoke the sacred prophet's word:
From the middle of the earth
There sprouts a nymph's son,
The village god is close to him. --
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks! and so forth.

Chorus: Om! Hail to you!

The Nyaopas:

Now, listen with your ears:
Neither walnut twig nor tamarisk,
Nor bramble take for beating!
If you hit with these three woods
And knock our hats in,
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

The people of the Chirpon house keep making attacks from the courtyard and beat down upon the Nyaopas with osier switches. /86/ But each time they are turned back with the assertion that the sticks are not of the right wood. They, the Nyaopas, are after all the sons of gods, and therefore they are only allowed to be beaten with twigs from the tree of the world which has it roots in the world of the nymphs (under the earth) and which grows through the earth (the realm of human beings) into the heavens (the world of the gods) (76).

76. According to the ancient, pre-Buddhistic cosmology.

The Chirpon again sally forth a number of times, on these occasions armed with different "woods": cooking spoons, soup ladles made of wood, wooden oven-rakes with charred tips, and the like, to the loud amusement of the crowd inside and outside.

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The Nyaopas sing: Fire hooks, black-nosed (77),

77. Oven-rakes (or pokers) made of wood, with a charred tip.

Soup and basting ladles? No!
If you knock our hats in
With those three woods
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

Since the Chirpon people cannot guess the right wood, the Nyaopas sing on:

There grows a wood with which one beats friends,
A magnificent, a supple wood, From
From the tree which has one root only,
And which still bears three tall tops,
Tops--three, branches--six.

Bird Garuda (78)

78. Garuda (so it is in Sanskrit); Tibetan k'yun, mythical bird of the world of Buddhistic sagas, which is in the service of the gods of terror. It constantly fights against the hostile Nagas (snake gods). In pictures it is represented as a creature with a human body and with wings, human arms, a half human head with horns and a beak, bird's legs and a bird's tail. Often the Garuda has a snake in both hands and bites into it with its beak.

Sits on the first branch,
Without the nest
Or the gold egg breaking,
Or the bird being frightened.
Bring that branch to us!
Beat us with that twig!
Strike us with that wood!
Hit with this stick
And knock our hats in with it,

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You will never rue it.
/87/ If you injure our body
You will never rue it.
If the ear turquoise breaks
You will never pay for it.
If the saddle cloth tears
You will never pay for it.
On the second branch
King of the birds is enthroned (79).

79. Tibetan bya-rgyal rgod-po.

His turquoise egg
And his nest you must spare!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that branch!
Beat us with that wood!
Strike us with that stick!
Even if you do knock in
Our hats with that one
You will never rue it.
If the body is injured,
You will never regret it.
If the ear turquoise is broken
You will never regret it.
If the saddle cloth is torn,
You will never regret it.
On the third branch
Sits eagle White-head (80).

80. Tibetan go-bo glad dkar; the form ldad dkar in Francke's manuscript I consider to be a slip of the pen; it would not make any sense here; ldad-pa, meaning "to chew," does not fit into the context; on the other hand, glad, meaning "head," fits into it very well.

Do not harm his nest
Or his mother-of-pearl egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!

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Beat us with that rod!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
So that you knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it.
If the body is injured
You will never rue it.
If the earring is broken
/88/ You will never rue it.
If the saddle cloth is torn
You will never rue it.
On the fourth branch
Eagle White-neck (81) perches.

81. Tibetan glag-mo mk'al-dkar; the form in Francke's manuscript must likewise be a slip of the pen; mk'al-ma means "kidney" and does not fit into the context; I am substituting for mk'al the word mgul which means "neck" and thus I arrive at the translation "eagle White-neck."

Do not harm his nest
Nor his silver egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!
Beat us with that club!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
And knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it, and so on.
On the fifth branch
Perches the bird of the gods (82).

82. Lha-bya gon-mo I translate by "bird of the gods" (female).

Do not harm his nest
Nor his coral egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that staff! and so on.
On the sixth branch

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Perches White Falcon.
Do not harm his nest
Nor his iron egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that rod! and so on.

After a few more alternate songs in this style there follow a few more riddles in verse. The people of the Chirpon house say: "Oh, you, who have come hither in order to have the truth of words tested!"

Say, who seizes the wild yak by its horn?
Say, whose fist grasps the wild tiger?
Say, who might catch water with snares?
Say, who builds a castle out of loose sand?
/89/ Who wounds the water by a blow of his sword?
Tell us, which bird brings forth young?
Tell us, which animal of prey lays eggs?
Who follows the trace of the pair of rock-partridges (83) on the mountain?

83. Gon-sreg, the rock-partridge, "Haldenhuhn" (tetraogallus tibetanus). /I have been unable to find an English equivalent for for this word but assume it to be synonymous with the preceding Berghuhn and Felsenhuhn, Steinhuhn, etc. --translator./. Francke's translation here reads: "Name two rock-partridges whose traces lose themselves in the mountains"; but rjes gcod-pa means "to follow a trace" and I translate it accordingly.

Who sends the many-colored splendor to the North's grey mist? (84)

84. Francke's translation reads here: "Who orders the giant burden of the many-colored reed in the North?" I have arrived at a divergent translation, to which the answer, the solution to the riddle fits.

Say, who sews the mantle for the slate mountain?
Which bird has teeth growing to its pair of wings?
Say, to whom are we giving these riddles, who solves them?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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The wild yak's horn is forced
By the hero Mogchen rem-pa (85).

[773] 85. rMog-ĉen rem-pa, meaning "great, strong helmet." This, like the names in verses 2 and 3, are the names of mythical heroes of pre-history.

The hero A-p'o bstan-yan (86)

86. Ap'o bstan-yan. Ap'o means "father" in the dialect of Baltistan and Lower Ladakh; these heroes are designated by this title.

Seizes the tiger with his fist.
Only Jaksha źon-t'og (87)

87. Yag-śa źon t'og in Tibetan.

Catches water with a sling.
Only the swallow bird
Builds a castle out of loose sand.
Only the water itself (88)

88. Here probably the waterfall is meant.

Wounds the water with swords.
A bird that gives birth to young
Is the bat (89).

[825] 89. It should not surprise us that the bat is counted among the birds by the Tibetans when we consider that in German medieval books of natural history the bat was classified in the same species.

An animal of prey which lays eggs
Is the quick weasel (90).

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90. The assertion that the weasel lays eggs is to be explained

from the fact that this evil robber of nests is often seen with an egg in its mouth, which led to the erroneous conclusion. 585 533 539

And the "rock-partridge's trace" which runs along the mountains there: [825]

They are veins in the rock (91).

91. Quartz vein in the slate cliff.

The crystal mistress who rules over a thousand colors the pale North

Is Bruguma (92)

92. aBru-gu-ma, the wife of the mythical king Kesar. The "colors of the North" seem to indicate the northern lights. [773]

The mantle for the large slate mountain
Is probably sewn by Vishvakarma, the heavenly smith (93).

93. The Hephaistos (Vulcan) of Hindu and Buddhist mythology is meant by this "heavenly smith."

Teeth in addition to its pair of wings
Has the bat in its mouth.
You people who are giving riddles and demanding a solution!
It will be necessary to take something away from you.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Om, hail to you!

/90/ After further examining questions in the form of a song there finally comes the following song as the concluding one, which is sung alternately:

The people of the Chirpon house are still singing with the gate locked:

Many a one is distinguished through his wisdom,
Many a one is so only by his birth
There are many who know nothing.

585 Therefore it's important to test for oneself.
533 Where distinguished parentage is paired
539 With much wisdom, there it's good.
A high-born person needs nine-fold wisdom,
A low-born person--ninefold wisdom.
Do you come as friends from a noble tribe?
Are you only striving for the money-bag?
If you came as noble ones, you came as friends.
If you came as mean ones, you came for the sake of grain.
Did you come without force? Do you want to make friends?
There are three kinds of enemies,
Three kinds of friends.
Enumerate them, the three!

Chorus: Right!

The Nyaopas answer singing:

Three kinds of enemies there are:
The enemy who wishes sickness upon you,
The enemy full of jeolousy,
The enemy who avenges himself with blood. --
We come not as enemies,
We are friends to you.
Three kinds of friends there are:
God, the helper-friend (94),

94. Tibetan dkon-mčog skyabs-kyi gnyen.

The bond of love between parents,
Blood relationship.
These the three kinds.

Chorus: So it is good.

585 With this song, the nineteenth of the whole series (of which we here are only giving a few samples), the scene in front of the bride's house is ended (95). The bride's relatives and the tribe have been /91/

95. Sometimes there are further obstacles to be overcome by

the Nyaopas. Thus there may have been groups of primitive altars erected in the courtyard, three, six, nine or more. Of these each group has a mythological significance which must be guessed by the Nyaopas. Once this has been done the Nyaopas may destroy the group concerned, until all these "altars" have been destroyed. 585

satisfied by the answers to their questions; now the gate is opened, the people from Kalatse enter the yard preceded by the Nyaopas and march towards the house door. There the female relatives, friends and bridesmaids are expecting the Nyaopas. They pretend to be angry and hit the "bride robbers" (96) over the back with osier switches. A few

96. This entire game, the beating of the Nyaopas as "robbers of the bride," the destruction of the altars in the yard, is a reminder of the fact that the stealing of the bride and the fighting for her, was formerly the universally customary form of obtaining the bride among the Tibetans as well as among other Mongolian and Aryan races (so it was among the Romans, Greeks and Germans). Among many of these peoples mock battles for the bride are still staged today before the wedding; they point to the bloody fights of former times, as, e.g., among the Semitic Bedouins in Iraq, in Egypt, and in India. Among the Russians there are also to be found customs which reflect the practice of stealing the bride, like driving the bride through the fire in a troika. In later times the somewhat milder practice of purchasing the bride took the place of the abduction of the bride. Even today it still happens in Tibet that the bride is "abducted" by her suitor. But this abduction (bag-ma rku-ba) is nowadays usually a completely bloodless undertaking, being often a preconcerted game between the two heads of families concerned, who want to bring the marriage about in the simplest and cheapest manner possible. Twice I have witnessed such a "bride abduction." In such a case the entire ceremonial and the expensive celebrations are omitted. [583]

rupees which the sNatridpa hand out to the fair ones, allay their assumed anger and now the Nyaopas may enter the house with the closest relatives. The company goes through the dark stable and

585 ascends the stone steps into the large living room-kitchen. There, at the door, three people again block their way: the (hired) cook (gsol-dpon) with a pot of tea in his hand, his female assistant (zan-ma) with a plate of rice, and the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma) with a filled brass beer jug. By paying a tribute of half a rupee to each the sNatridpa finally buys an entry into the living room-kitchen for the entire company of Kalatse relatives and friends.

Uncle Stobsldan now has someone give him a large, tin-plated copper plate while the others stand around engaged in lively conversation. On this plate he puts a few handfuls of barley grains and around the edge he puts in a circle the 50 žo (240 rupees), the stipulated "price of the mother milk," and further 20 rupees as a contribution to the first wedding celebration. On top of this the men from Kalatse carry in several rolls of Tibetan cloth, a large quantity of greeting cloths, two sacks of wheat, two sacks of barley. Everything is put down on or next to the hearth.

The relatives of the bridegroom then greet the bride's parents ceremoniously by bowing deeply before them, touching their own foreheads with the tips of their fingers: "žu, žu! Please accept these little gifts graciously, which we poor people presume to offer the noble parents of the bride." With these words Stobsldan, in the name of Lobsang Wanggyal, hands over the gifts and the purchasing price of the bride. Norbu Wangchug acknowledges them briefly with the words: "Thank you, thank you, noble people! It is gracious (of you)!" and now invites the Dragshos people and their tribe to go to the place of celebration, a large field terrace from which the snow has been carefully shovelled and swept away. Frankincense is always carried ahead /92/ and finally it is set up on the terrace in front of the open tent that has been put up there, to supply a "sweet savor" to men and gods. Inside the tent beautiful yarkand carpets are spread out for the guests of superior rank, and at both ends, in the shape of a horseshoe closed towards the outside, ordinary goat and yak hair blankets are laid out for the more lowly guests. Norbu Wangchug shows his guests to their places with politeness but nevertheless with a certain condescension. At the top the galon from Leh, next to him the lonpo from Domkhar, then two lamas from the bride's circle of relatives, the bridegroom, his father and his two uncles, the five Nyaopas, then Norbu Wangchug, the bride's father and a few of his brothers-in-law, the magistrates of Teya-Tingmogang and of Domkhar, and further the members of both tribes ranged according to rank and dignity, neighbors and friends;

most of them have to sit outside the tent on carpets. 585

In front of each guest there stands a small, low table with colorfully painted carvings. Every guest, after he has sat down with his legs crossed under him, places his own wooden drinking bowl on the little table (with the richer men the little drinking bowl is lined with silver on the inside). The village magistrates with their assistants distribute the flat bread cakes, the number depending upon the rank and standing--seven, five, three, starting with the persons of high rank, and so on down to the guests of lower standing. The latter soon begin to shove, push, and fight for the flat bread cakes, to the amusement of the rich and the satisfied. Now women pour out butter tea from beautiful copper and brass tea pots richly furnished with ornaments embossed in silver. When the guests have refreshed themselves for a while with tea, flat bread cakes, and roasted barley flour, there follows the warm meal after a short time: rice with mutton and vegetables cooked in a strong spice sauce. Each guest receives a heaped-up plateful of this food. For the most distinguished guests the choicest pieces of meat are picked out of the large meat dish. With it chang is served which the guests consume in great quantities; the pungent spice sauce creates a great thirst. Each of the distinguished guests now also has his greeting cloth placed on the table in front of him; he attaches it with a needle to his cap if there is room there; whatever there is no room for is fastened to the left shoulder.

/93/ All the guests were now able to eat their fill of the plentiful meal, only the places of the five Nyaopas were still empty. Soon after entering the house they had mounted up to the flat roof of the house, led by the sNatridpa, in order to present to the five lamas there the greeting cloths and the gift of a sum of money. The lamas had been there, in front of the small opened house temple, since early morning, engaged in reading mass, saying prayers and formulas for the well-being and good fortune of the betrothed pair. The lamas scarcely took any notice of the Nyaopas; firmly they went on saying their prayers, made food and incense sacrifices in order to call down the blessing of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and tutelary gods upon them. But it was also necessary to allay the anger of the gods and the demons through offerings, formulas of exorcism, magical gestures, swinging of the thunderbolt and of the magic bell, through the music of the drums and the trumpets. In this way all the misfortune that the old devil-tamer had figured out and predicted was to be averted. 585 782

The Nyaopas had to wait for quite a while until they could

585 hand over their gifts. Attentively they watched the activities of the
782 monks clothed in red. Then these interrupted their prayers and formulas, put their hands into the dishes that stood next to them, and scattered barley and rice across the flat roof and over its edge as a food offering to the gods. Crows, magpies, and sparrows came by and picked up the grains. The lamas also threw, amid the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, pyramid-shaped offering cakes (gtor-ma) mixed out of bread dough and butter and decorated with colored ornaments, in a wide arc over the edge of the roof. The red Tsan-demons were invoked and entreated to be satisfied with the offering and to leave the young couple in peace. The offering was soon consumed by dogs and birds. Then a drink offering (gser-skyems) was brought to the gods: beer was poured into a dish from a copper sacrificial tankard and was then sprinkled about in a high arc. Finally the wily household god with the pig's head was still to be appeased and to be exorcized by a food and incense offering and by an exorcizing formula. The conclusion was formed by a concert of all the instruments. From two powerful copper trumpets three meters long, blown by two corpulent lamas and held up in the air by their bell mouths by two monastery students /94/, there came forth deep, ill-sounding tones which swung across the wide valley and, breaking on the opposite rock face, sounded back in a seven-fold echo. With this there mingled the song from the lamas' throats, rough from the beer; now the big drum joined in as well as the cymbals and the trumpets, so that everything fused into a wild music which sounded like the howling of the storm and the roaring of the avalanche.

Old Dud-joms (the devil-tamer) later told the attentively listening farmers at a beer-drinking occasion that the house god with the pig's head had fled with a loud howl at the thunderous roar of the instruments; he had, so said the devil-tamer, heard it himself quite clearly; and then the frightened god had stayed for a whole month in the caves of the Skyinling gorge where his marrow-piercing screams had been heard every night. It was not till they had brought him new food and drink offerings that the lamas were able to persuade the god to return to the house where he could not be dispensed with as a protector after all.

Finally the instruments and the lamas' throats were silent, while the latter were moistened by an ample infusion of chang. The piles of leaves with the dreadful exorcizing formulas were pushed aside. The Nyaopas stepped forth and placed thirteen greeting cloths

before each lama, one of yellow silk, the others of light, gauze-like cotton weave; next to these they put three rupees for each one of them except the head lama who received five. They did not even glance at the greeting cloths; but every one of the "holy men" immediately reached for the silver coins and tested them for their genuineness. The lamas are usually good business people. 585 782

Now the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons in the house temple received their part of the wedding offering. According to their rank, each one of the mighty had a number of greeting cloths placed at its feet; offering lamps of brass fuelled with butter, dishes of rice, barley, and beer were placed on the altar in front of the statues. Gautama Buddha, the Great Compassionate Chanrezigs, and the kind Tara, the giver of marital happiness and of the mother's joys were honored by gifts of silk cloths; the other gods and the demons had to be contented with light muslin strips.

/95/ After the priests up above have received their share, the Nyaopas descend to the terrace where the feasting and the drinking are going on in full swing. Between the rows of guests three enormous wedding cakes (97) have been erected of tiles which are made of barley 585

97. aBran-rgyas, literally "offering cake, food offering"; but of this cake only one "tile" is offered to the gods, the rest is consumed by the participants of the feast.

flour dough mixed with butter and sugar. Next to them stand five huge filled earthen beer jugs. To the sound of three clarinets, one lute, and three kettle drums the Nyaopas now conduct a dance around the cakes and the beer jugs. The musicians here are Bedas (see note 12)). The tune and the rhythm of the music sounds strange to our ears, more like a deafening noise that anything else. But this music drives the Tibetan dancers on, as the most beautiful march or waltz does the German youth. The rhythmical movements, first a slow walk and rocking of the hips, gradually goes over into a livelier tempo, a dance which becomes constantly more rapid and livelier, and which finally turns into wild jumping and hopping. While the legs march and spring to the beat of the music the arms and hands, which hold a long sash, are in constant rocking motion. Some men arise from the row of guests, stand by the dancers, beat out the rhythm with their hands, and by shouts incite the dancers to ever wilder movements which assume more and more the expression of wild abandonment. 585 535

585 533 539 Now the music is silent. The dance is at an end. The Nyaopas go towards the tent. But still they may not give themselves over to rest and enjoyment. The relatives of the bride go toward them and again a question and answer game in the form of a song starts up. The Nyaopas must pass another test before they may take their places in the row of guests. The people from the Chirpon house sing the Song of the Carpets (98).

98. From Ladakhi Songs by A. H. Francke, Leh, 1899. The translation of this song into German was done by the author of the present work.

Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high heavens be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high glacier be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high boulder be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
/96/ Might the high mountain lake be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might that high castle be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the wide earth be.
Who uses as carpet in this land
A saddle cloth with a blue edge?
Who for a carpet likes to use, you must tell me,
The wild sheep's brown fur?
Whom serves as carpet, tell me quick,
The meadow green and the forest thick?
Whose is that carpet? Whom do you think
This roll of cloth must serve?

The Nyaopas answer:

The high heavens so blue and clear
Must be the sun's (99) carpet and the moon's.

821 99. According to the astronomy of the Indians, Tibetans as well as of the Assyrians and Babylonians, sun and moon are

counted among the planets, and they are considered animate 821
divine beings which have an influence upon the fates of human beings and are worshipped as gods.

The glacier above is a carpet, I ween, 585
For the lion with the turquoise-colored mane. 533
The high rocks carpet are 539
For the large ibex quick as the wind.
The mountain lake blue as carpet may suffice
For the wife of the fish with the golden eyes.
The castle so high, so proud and so fine
Must the nobleman's carpet be.
The great earth's mighty spaces
Signify the Chinese Emperor's carpet.
In the saddle cloth with the blue edge
Agu Palle (100) his carpet found.

100. A-gu p'al-le, one of the 18 heroes of the Tibetan Kesar [773]
myth.

The brown fur of the wild sheep must be
Agu Khru btungs' (101) carpet, I suppose.

101. A-gu k'ru btuñs, another of these heroes who has the head of a falcon.

The meadows and woods must be
A carpet for birds large and small
This roll of cloth here? A carpet fine
For the seven (102) Nyaopa brothers it must be.

102. Seven Nyaopas may be active at a very large wedding.

The Chirpon people call out loud: "Good, you noble friends! 585
Now take your place and drink a little bowl of beer!" Finally /Following p. 96 there are two full-page illustrations, one of a "Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)"; the other of a "Bridegroom in Ladakh."/ /97/ the five "Nyaopa brothers" sit down on the carpet in the places appointed for them near the tent entrance, and then they are served with ample food and drink.

/Following page 96/

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Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)

5: Ribbach--97 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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/Following page 96/

Bridegroom in Ladakh.

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women [562] go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking [273] men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-čaṅ). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

585 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man
533 from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that
539 secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

Not with your hand, lest it wither! 585
Oh, with your soul you must pick it well! 533
Into your heart you must lock it. 539

There now follows a series of songs about the origin of the reed (103) from which the lucky arrow (mda-dar) of the sNatridpa is

103. Here, one after the other, the things that play a part at the wedding, are celebrated in song: the carpet, the arrow that brings luck, the beer, and the like. These songs are taken from the manuscript collection Trinklieder mit den fünf Blumen /Drinking songs with the five flowers/. (me-tog lña-ldan-gyi can-glu), collected by Prof. Dr. A.H. Francke. Their translation into German was done by the author of the present work.

made. Again they are alternate songs.

The people of the Chirpon house sing:

Where may the first reed have grown?
And where did the second reed grow?
Say, where did the third reed grow?

The people from Kalatse answer:

First reed grew in China,
Second reed grew in Tibet,
Third reed grew in India,

The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: How the first knot (of the reed) grew, who saw it?
How the second knot did grow, who saw it?
How the thrid knot did grow, who saw it?

The Dragshos people answer:

● 585
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Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'aṅ-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

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Chorus of bystanders:

Good!

The Chirpon people sing:

Did the reed grow out of rock? In the meadow?
Did it grow amid the boulder rubble? In the mud?

The Dragshos people:

Not on rocks grew the reed,
Nor meadow brought it forth,
Nor did it grow amid the rubble,
Gold with glowing brought it forth.

Now there follows a series of songs in which are elaborately described the finding of the reed, its transportation, the making and effect of the lucky arrow. We only give the latter:

The Chirpon people sing: (107)

107. Number 11 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high rock flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
What news may you have of that?

/100/ The Dragshos people:

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
It brought the wings of the king of the birds.
When the arrow to the high cliff flew,

It brought the ibex' muscle fibres (108).

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108. Here I translate "Muscle fibres from the shoulder blade of the great ibex and of the old cow"; Tibetan: "skyin-ĉen ba-rgan-gyi sogs-rgyus k'yoṅs"; "sogs" seems to me to be the more correct form since "gsogs" does not make any sense here and is probably a mistake which slipped in during the dictation. Prof. Francke translated the sentence: "The arrow brought something of the treasures of the old, great female ibex down with it."

When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
It brought muscle meat of the wild yak bull.
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
It brought glue from the little fish Khyu-ru.
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
It brought the tiger's muscle fibres.

Now, after a few other songs, there follows one in which the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma), who has brewed the beer for the guests, is made fun of (109).

109. Number 15 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/.

The people from Kalatse sing:

Old brewer woman, your beer tastes strange!
You old brewer woman! What an evil brew!
It tastes like the singed wings of the king of the birds,
It tastes like the singed horn of the wild yak bull,
It tastes like the singed veins of the vain peacock,
It tastes like the singed scales of the little fish Rhyuru,
It tastes like the singed nails of a wicked wench;
I taste, old woman, five of the vile things.
Away with this beer! Away, we won't drink it!

The Chirpon people and the inhabitants of Tingmogang answer:

Without cause you scorn the old woman's beer.

The power of the white lioness' heart is in it. 585
Her gall is mixed with it; 533
Sparrow's quarrelsomeness is also in it, 539
And some of its gall is also mixed with it.
See, hence comes the drinkers' desire for quarrel.
See also the sheep's stupidity in it,
For sheep's gall is also mixed with it.
Does your dullness not come from that?
If a noble person gifted with good sense
/101/ And of high rank should come--we should invite him to the chang.
The Nyaopa brothers, too, the seven (110), we invite.

110. Compare not 102.

To a weakling we serve no beer.
If a noble person drinks it, it turns into life's elixir (111).

111. The life's elixir, really devil's elixir (Tibetan bdud-rtsi; Sanskrit amrita) plays an important part in the magical literature (Tantra) and in popular belief. Gods and men fight for this precious material which confers immortality, or at least a long life and magical powers. [789]

To the mean person it only works as a stupefier.

The people:

"Good, you noble gentlemen!"

Again the people from Kalatse sing:

Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the sky!
If the sky takes it, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up the rocks!
If it runs up the rock, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the glacier!
If a piece of ice so much as the size of a mirror (112) should melt, we'll drink.

112. A small, round metal hand mirror, the size of a serving

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plate.

Such beer one does not drink. Scatter it to the earth only!
If a picture (113) should arise, we would drink the beer.

[787]

113. A figure which is formed on the ground by the beer that has been poured out, by means of which one is supposed to foretell the future.

Such beer one does not drink. Just pour it into the water!
If a tress is braided there (114), we shall drink beer.

114. This refers to the ruffling of the surface of the water when something is poured on to it.

The Chirpon people answer:

Who in the sky takes the beer except sun and moon?
Sun and moon, those two you certainly do not resemble.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Who runs up the cliff? The old she-ibex it is (115),

115. The she-ibex /Steinziege/--the female of the ibex /Steinbock/ (Capra sibirica).

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
The size of a mirror a spot melted through sun and moon,
Do not worry! You do not resemble them.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Pictures on the earth are drawn by the black yak (116).

116. The yak's track on the earth is meant.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Little fish Golden Eye alone braids tresses in the water (117).

117. The ruffled course of the fish that swims at the surface of the water.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
Waste no words! Offer a draught! 533
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside. 585

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made 585 302 585 301

118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it *reminds one of their scaly tails.* [825

of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

●585 301 The whole thing is covered with red material. The perag begins above the forehead, where it is about three fingers wide, runs over the crown and back of the head, where it widens--with rich girls and women it becomes up to two hands wide. Then it goes down the back to the area of the hips, where it becomes narrower. The perag is covered with bright green turquoises which are attached in dense rows. Chosskyid's perag was a masterpiece of its kind; the rich Norbu had done his best /103/ in order that his only daughter should be distinguished from all the girls in Lower Ladakh by the size of her perag and the beauty of the stones. Nine rows of great stones were counted at the widest part of the perag, four to six rows, at the ends. Above her forehead between the turquoises were attached beautifully worked, silver amulet capsules guilded on top and covered with cornelians, rubies, and other, semi-precious stones. A second wide band covered with corals ran from her left shoulder along the perag to the end of the latter. A necklace of silver and corals decorated her neck, and furthermore there were silver pendants attached at the sides of the perag as well as to the left shoulder; large silver earrings hung on both sides almost down to her shoulders.

585 302 The ten tresses are doubled in their natural length by black wool that is braided in with them. Up till now it had been light gray wool, which is the symbol of virginity; from now on black characterizes the woman. All the tresses come together around the calves of the legs. Here, at the end, a bundle of nine tassels is fastened, which reaches down to the ground.

585 292 301 Instead of the everyday dress made of red-colored Tibetan cloth, the dsamos clothe the bride today in a dress of good, blue European material, which the father has bought at the bazaar in Leh. The long dress, which extends down to the feet, is held together at the hips by colored sashes three meters long. The white handkerchief--essentially an ornament--is tied inside this sash and a pendant (do-len) made of shells, little pincases and all kinds of brass ornaments are attached to it on the left hand side. A beautiful shawl from Kashmir, worked in many different colors, which is fastened to the right shoulder with a brooch, is wound around the upper part of the body. The wrists are decorated with thick white rings which are made of large Indian snail-shells, as well as with silver bracelets which are in the form of snakes. The feet are shod with dainty Indian pointed shoes.

585 The dressing and ornamenting of the bride was a complicated and time-consuming affair to which the bridesmaids devoted themselves with zest. The matter proceeded amid endless talking, joking and laughing /104/, and when it was finally completed and everything had

met with the approval of the critical mother and the aunts, it had become late afternoon and way past the time when the sun had gone down behind the mountains. The old devil-tamer had calculated that the "ape hour" (119) (around four o'clock in the afternoon) would be the 585

119. Tibetan nyi-yur-spre, literally, the "sun's going-to-sleep--ape," that is, "ape hour," in which the sun prepares itself for "going to sleep." [305]

appropriate hour for the departure of the bride from her parents' house.

The Kalatse people now urged that everyone leave. The Nyaopas, still led by the sNatridpa, went to old Norbu Wangchug with the soothsayer's document in which the latter's directions were written down, and asked him to hand over the bride. The bride's mother went into the house with them to the door of the room in which the bride had been dressed. When they knocked at the bolted door a few girls came out and declared amid laughter that the bride had not yet finished dressing, that the perag was not yet fastened and that her ornaments had not yet been put on, and so forth. When, after a while, the Nyaopas, came back, the girls declared that the bride had run away from them, and that they were unable to find her. Thereupon the sNatridpa put three rupees in the first bridesmaid's hand and said: "All right, all right, I know! Just hurry up and get ready and bring out the bride; the days are short, the sun has already gone down, soon it will be dark and we have a long way to go before we are home." But still the bride did not appear. The people from Kalatse became impatient, the Nyaopas pounded on the door with their fists, which was answered by the girls with loud laughter. One of the girls came out and said that the shawl was still missing and that they were unable to find it The father Norbu Wangchug went into the chamber, brought out a coral necklace belonging to his daughter, and gave it to Sodnam Wanggyal saying, "Here you have a pledge for the time being; just don't be angry little brother, the nomo ('younger sister,' here the bride) (120) will be right out. She

120. Compare note 38.

is drinking a bowl of tea. Just be patient for a little while longer, you gentlemen!"

It was another good half hour until the bride finally appeared, festively dressed, hung with ornaments, an attractive appearance. The

585 girl had a good figure, something which the wide, billowing dress could not conceal; her facial traits were regular /105/, the Mongolian elements in them were just barely suggested. The moment that the bride left the room in which she was dressed the sNatridpa stepped up to her, followed by the Trashispa and the other Nyaopas. The former held the bridal hat (źwa-mo) in his hand, a large felt hat trimmed with otter fur (sram). The sNatridpa put this hat on the bride's head and attached a long wishing band (k'a-btags) which in three places was tied into bows, along the edge of the hat. Now he led the bride by the hand into the chansa where in the meantime the relatives and the clan of the bride and the bridegroom had gathered. There a beautiful yarkand carpet was spread out in front of the stove. On this 739 carpet a lâma had made a magical circle of good fortune (dga-dkyil) in the form of a rosette, from barley grains. Chosskyid (the bride) was now supposed to sit down on this circle. In front of her on a small table were placed bowls full of tea, beer, and rice: the farewell meal in the house of her parents. The power of the magical circle on which she was sitting was to have the effect that in her new home she would not lack in any of these good things. The bride had to consume a little bit of all these things.

Thereupon two uncles of the bride stepped into the middle of the room and stretched (as they had already done once at the holchang) the bridal rope (ras-t'ag, rag-t'ag) diagonally across the room. On this rope they again hung the clothes and the ornaments belonging to the bride. The rest of the things of the bride's trousseau were placed underneath the rope on the floor. Everything was then ceremoniously presented to the sNatridpa and the two uncles of the bridegroom together with a list of the objects (zon-yig), with the aid of which the two uncles carefully checked and counted them to see whether everything was in order.

585 Now the five lamas come down from the roof, where they have still been occupied with their ceremonies. They are now to perform the 789 ceremony which is intended to secure the good fortune of the bride and her relatives, and to break the spell of the hostile demons. The abbot of the Lamayuru monastery with four other monks places himself across from the bride who is sitting on the carpet above the magical circle; in his right hand the abbot holds the luck-bringing arrow (mda-dar) decorated with colored ribbons; in his left hand he has the holy water vessel made of copper (bum-pa), in whose narrow neck /106/ is stuck a peacock's feather. Now the abbot sprinkles the bride with holy

saffron water from the vessel; then he swings the vessel with the feather several times around above the girl's head. Then he invokes the village and household gods and the demon princes with their vast army, and conjures them with powerful texts not to inflict any harm upon the bride and her family, and not to let good fortune escape with the bride from the parental house. In chorus the lamas murmur their formulas of exorcism, first mumbling dully to themselves, then more and more loudly they swing about the thunderbolt and the magic dagger, the bell, the kettle-drum, and the cymbals which they hold in their hands sound softly at first, then--they swell, growing increasingly loud, to a deafening noise; the lamas call out: 585 784

From the East may good fortune come!
From the West may good fortune come!
From the North may good fortune come!
From the South may good fortune come!
Yan-agug! May good fortune come!

"Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" the bystanders join in in shouting. "Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" all of them yell, shout in confusion for two or three minutes. Then everything suddenly becomes still.

Now the lamas lead the bride up to the house temple to take leave from the household gods. Three times the girl prostrates herself before the statues and images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and demons. From that moment on the young woman is no longer permitted to set foot inside the parental household sanctum; from now on she enters into the tutelary and power domain of the gods of her husband's household. The jealousy of the deities of both households must be guarded against. 585 784

Then everyone descends to the chansa, and now the bagrogs and dsamo (the bridesmaids and her girl friends) lead the bride so that she may take leave of her parents who, together with the closest relatives, are already expecting her. Bowing down deep, crying loud and sobbing, Chosskyid embraces the legs of her mother, of her father, of her brothers, as well as those of her closest relatives and amid much bowing, at the same time knocking her wrists together so that the shell rings clatter, she calls out: "Farewell! Farewell! Do not forget /Following page 106 there is a full-page illustration with the caption: "Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original 585

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/Following page 106/

Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original Drawing).

585 Drawing). "/ /107/ me! Do not forget me! Father, Mother! Older Brothers! Younger Brothers! All of you! Remember me!" The female part of the gathering joins in the loud crying. Even fat uncle Norpel wipes something moist out of his eyes with his sleeve a few times. This is the "bride crying," the bride sobbing (bag-ñus) which is required by custom. And in the case of Chosskyid and her mother the tears were genuine.

Now the relatives and the guests step up to the bride from all sides; each one of them hangs a k'atags on her until she is adorned with about thirty such greeting ribbons. Once again there are embraces, and the grasping of legs of bystanders, bowing, and crying; then the sNatridpa and the Trashispa step forward and both lead the bride by the hand between them up to the stairs. The five Nyaopas together step behind the bride and call out: "Yaśa ho! Yaśa ho! (dear ho!)"-- By this the gods are invoked and are asked to take the bride into their loving protection. All join in loudly, people and instruments. For the first time this day the bridegroom joins his bride. The uncle Ishe Lhundrub, who is still tolerably sober, steps up to them and carries (121) his niece on his back down the stairs, through the stable

121 The reason why the bride is carried out of the house is, in my opinion, to be seen in the naive conception that in this way the departure from the house can be kept secret from the jealous house and family gods whose anger is to be feared. In China the bride is for similar reasons carried in a sedan-chair from the parental house up to the house of the bridegroom. Her foot is not allowed to touch the ground lest the gods should get onto the track of the escaping bride.

and the courtyard up to the gate. The bridegroom's two uncles, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, remain upstairs a little longer and thank the bride's father, Norbu Wangchug, for having arranged the wedding so beautifully and and with such costly trappings. They place a katags and five rupees on the edge of the stove and give a katags to each of the bride's relatives. With the greeting: "Trashis punsum tsogspa (bkra-śis p'un-sum t'sogs-pa), " meaning "Good luck and ample prosperity!" the two uncles, as well as the Nyaopas, now also go down the stairs and the remaining company follows them. At the gate of the courtyard the neighboring women have gathered, having brought beer in metal jugs, as well as plates with flour, rice, butter and

apricots as wedding presents. The sNatridpa quickly touches the gifts with his finger as a sign of gratitude. 585

The people from Kalatse together with the bridal couple now press for the ride back home. The horses, which have long been saddled, are brought to the spot; the horses designated for the bride and groom are equipped with beautiful bridles and have colored Yarkand saddle cloths. All the people from Kalatse, at least insofar as they are still capable after /108/ the strenuous drinking, follow on horse, even if this is a very laborious undertaking for some of the men. The train is headed by the sNatridpa at whose side rides the Trashispa; then follows the bridegroom (bag-po) with one of the Nyaopas, behind him the bride with one of the bridesmaids; then follow the remaining Nyaopas, the relatives and the friends of the bridegroom in pairs. At the next fork in the road a hasty scattered offering is again presented to the devil of the road (lam-bgegs): a few handfuls of barley so that he will not inflict any harm upon the bride who is now leaving her birthplace. Now the train proceeds, amid loud conversations and light-hearted singing, right across the wide valley and over the bridge which arches over the village brook. Here they scatter another offering into the brook for the water gods so that they will let the bride pass unmolested; then they move along the steep path up the precipice to the plateau. The sun has long gone down, dusk lies over the mountain and the plain; the night wind blows and howls from the west over the desert, the mountains and ridges which surround them. The loud talking and the singing of the people returning home is silenced, everyone thinks again of the terrible Tsan and Gongpo (demons) who are especially hostile to wedding processions. The riders, ordinarily plucky men who are used to braving the dangers of the wild mountains, cluster together. Those who were lagging behind rush up hurriedly; fear has seized everyone, heated by the beer the brains paint images of terror before their mind's eye: the wild chase of the Tsan king races through the clouded sky. Many a one feels for his amulets to see if they are still hanging properly around his neck and at his cap. Many a one prays an "Om-ma-ni-pad me hum!" between chattering teeth. Then suddenly the moon rises above the jagged mountain massif yonder in the East and pours its faint light over the mountain waste. Now the hearts of the people are somewhat relieved and in a rapid amble they ride towards their destination.

Finally they reach Kalatse; but the house of the bridegroom may not yet be entered. At a crossing of the paths on the plateau to the side of the village everybody dismounts. First an offering meal 585 789

585 789 must be presented to the gods and the demons of the bride's new dwelling place, in order to put them into a favorable mood lest they should oppose the new arrival. The abbot who had come along with /109/ four of his monks because he knew that there was still work for him to do, steps up to the crossing of the ways; on a copper plate he holds three little lamps (mčod-koṅ) in the shape of a chalice made of bread dough. Butter has been put into the hollow at the top, a wick has been put inside the butter, which was then lighted. Now the abbot steps before the bride, holding in his right hand the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and the magic bell (dril-bu), and in his left hand the plate with the little burning lamps. Three times he swings them slowly in a circle around the head of the bride who is crouching before him and exorcizes the demons with the following words: "None of the male or female 576 Gong (122), none of the male or female Dre, the Tsan, the Dud, none

122. The names cited here designate various kinds of demons.

of the 80,000 Gegs devils, none of the 424 kinds of Don with their entire following may ever harm this bride! May they eat their fill from this meal and then each one go to his place!" After this exorcism from the mouth of the abbot, in which the four other lamas join in with deep, rumbling voices, the instruments start up again with a shrill sound. A lama novice relieves the abbot of the three little lamps made of bread dough and flings them among the blocks of stone lying around by the crossing of the paths. Then another lama hands the abbot a clay pot (dza-blug) into which have been put all kinds of shabby remnants of the wedding feast: used tea leaves (ja-ro), brewer's grain (sbaṅ-ma), remains of onions, garlic, radishes, a few bones that have been picked, and a piece of fur from one of the sheep that was consumed. The abbot places himself with the pot in front of a stone block on which a lama had previously drawn the figure of two crossed thunderbolts (rdo-rje rgya-dram), flings the pot with its appetizing content against the stone so that it breaks into pieces and the contents are scattered about. Now the demons may eat their fill from these "delicious" things and then they are to go each to his proper place (123).

123. This treatment of the demons on the part of the Tibetan lamas is reminiscent, as many of their defensive measures against the dieties are, of the conception of the "stupid devil" which one encountered until recent times also among the

German people. The sly person was able, according to this conception, to outwit and ward off the devil by means of all kinds of tricks. 585 789

During this activity of the lama magicians the bridegroom and the bride stand facing them with their hands folded over their breast and with their heads bent forward. After the exorcism the abbot reads one more prayer to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and tutelary spirits, asking for happiness and prosperity for the young couple; a prayer to the benign goddess Drolma (Tara) asking for the blessing of offspring. In so doing /110/ he again swings his magical bell and the dorje, as well as a small hand drum made of human skulls. Finally the abbot throws a few handfuls of rice over the bride and bridegroom as a symbol of fertility (124), while the lamas are performing on their instruments.

124. Compare the very similar custom at weddings in England.

Finally the procession moves on to the Dragshos house, the future dwelling place of the young married couple. Led by sNatridpa the bride enters the house followed by the bridesmaids. They pass through the dark stable, up the stone steps, and stand in front of the chansa. There the bride stops in front of the opened door and pretends to cry and to refuse to enter. Not till she has received the gift of one rupee from the sNatridpa, does she consent to enter and her "crying" stops (125). In the chansa the bride now greets the bridegroom's 585

125. This custom is not to be considered as having originated from the desire to exact money; rather it is to be interpreted as a symbolic expression for the fact that only through purchase does the bride enter into the possession of the bridegroom.

parents and relatives who have finally also arrived together with the bridegroom. The bride bows low, embraces their legs, says "žu" and claps together the rings on her wrists. Then she greets with a low bow the hearth at which she is to work in the future: the "sacred hearth," and in it the "royal goddess of the hearth" (t'ab-lha rgyal-mo), under whose protection her activities at the hearth are to be carried out.

Sideways from the hearth along the wall a beautiful Yarkand carpet is laid out. On this carpet a lama has marked out a Buddhistic swastika (yuń-druń) by means of barley grains; next to it he has put a 585 789

585 789 circle of good fortune (dga-skyil). In between the two magical figures is placed a measure of grain (1 bre, around 1 liter) which is heaped full of barley. In it is stuck an arrow and on top of the barley has been placed a little lump of butter: a symbol of plenty, of abundance, of fatness, of fertility and of protection (the arrow).

The bride now sits down on the circle of good fortune of barley, the bridegroom sits down on the swastika, and between them stands the full measure of grain. Little tables are placed before them. The abbot steps before the couple and sprinkles them with holy saffron
585 water. Now the sNatridpa and the Trashishpa step forth and take the heavy bridal hat off the bride's head, and in so doing they sing a song related to this act (126). A large plate, heaped up with rice, meat,

126. Unfortunately I have not been able to obtain this poem up till now, which is entitled "źwa-p'ud" (taking off the hat).

vegetables, prepared with a strongly spiced sauce (curry) is placed on the little table in front of the couple. Both eat from /111/ one plate their first common meal in their common home. With it they drink tea, the bridegroom also beer. During the meal they exchange scarcely a word. They know that they are being carefully observed, for in the meantime the relatives and members of the tribe of the Dragshos house have gathered in the chansa; the five Nyaopas are also there in full force. Mother Palskyid now goes around among all of them and thanks them with deep bows and clapping together of the rings on her wrists for all the help and assistance and all the financial contributions which enabled them to bring about the wedding.

The male contingent of the relatives and of the p'as-pun now goes to the neighboring house of a relative where, despite the late hour of the evening, they are regaled with further food and drink at the expense of Lobsang Wanggyal. There they feast, drink, sing, and dance into the early hours of the morning. The bridegroom goes to join them for a little while; he sits down among the guests in order to watch the dances. This is demanded by custom even if he does not enjoy it. During this time the bride stays with the women of her new circle of relatives who most eagerly discuss the wedding feast and everything they experienced that day.

In the neighbor's house things get increasingly lively and noisier, and incessantly there resounds the singing of the men; the store of songs is inexhaustible; but as the time goes by the songs become more and

more inferior with respect to their content and form, until the singing turns into the blaring of smutty and obscene songs. The dances also become increasingly wild and abandoned, an expression of the imagination and sensuality inflamed by the beer. Yet the group of drinkers and dancers becomes smaller and smaller. Many a one who had "enough" has gone on his way home with a heavy head and a dull tread; many a one has silently collapsed in the midst of the circle of drinkers and is laid down by the others in the back of the room, among them also Lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house who had been the worst with the drinking and telling of dirty jokes. The sky was already becoming ruddy in the East when the last ones who were still able to walk finally set out on their way home in the cold morning twilight. Part of the guests who had come from afar stayed over night at the Dragshos house, others in neighboring houses, and others simply where inebriation had caused them to collapse. 585

/112/ The bridegroom did not stay long among those who were still celebrating. Their wild doings repelled him; the smutty jokes and allusions of the drunken men offended his sensibility. When the latter had just started again with drinking and dancing, he quietly got up; his departure was scarcely noticed by the people there. Finally he felt himself released from the unpleasant obligation of being present at the celebration and went over to the house of his father. There his bride was still waiting eagerly for the bridegroom in the circle of the older women and of her bridesmaids. As time went by, he had won her heart more and more, despite the fact that they had seen each other so seldom. Now, finally, after long months of delay and anxiety the two had arrived at the goal of their desires. Namgyal took his bride by the hand and said: "Yoń (come)!" Silently they both entered the room which was now to be their common living quarters. Only now did they fully realize that they belonged to each other.

On the day after the first wedding celebration most participants slept far into the forenoon, at least the male part of the guests. In the Dragshos house, however, the women, as well as some men who had remained tolerably sober during the festivities of the preceding day, already prepared for the further celebration which was to take place today in the Dragshos house: the "wedding of the young man (bu-t'sai bag-ston) (127)." Towards noon the Chirpon people came with their

127. The wedding celebration in the bride's house is accordingly called "the wedding of the girl (bo-moi bag-ston)."

585 entire clan to Kalatse to take part in the further celebration. The young couple went out to meet them. Accompanied by the Nyaopas and Bagrogs they went as far as the plain beyond the gorge in order to present themselves now as the newly married couple to the parents and to the relatives of the bride. The couple greet the parents with the customary bows, clasping of knees, and so forth. The best man and the bridesmaids each place a jug of tea and beer before the parents who have dismounted from their horses. The parents give the daughter a beautifully embroidered Kashmir cloth worked in different colors; to the son-in-law they give a colorful sash. The best men and the bridesmaids each receive a few silver coins. Then the whole company goes to the Dragshos house together, where the guests are very gradually reassembling; some of them do not get back until the afternoon.

/Following page 112 there are two full-page illustrations; one of a praying Buddha figure, without a subtitle; the second showing the "preparing of the butter tea" (subtitle)./

/113/ Since Lobsang Wanggyal's house was also unable to hold all the guests, the celebration took place in his apricot garden where the large tent was again erected for the benefit of the elegant guests. The others sat down on carpets outside and soon there developed the same picture as the one of the preceding day: They ate, they drank, they sang, they danced, and they gave themselves over to uninhibited
585 gaiety. But the element that gave this celebration its special character
431 was the fact that the relatives and the members of the clan, the closest neighbors and the elegant guests of the Dragshos, delivered the contribution, in so far they had not already done so. Large goat's hair sacks with wheat, barley, and flour; beer in enormous clay jugs, butter in hide sacks, salt, Teeziegel /tea tiles/; furthermore Tibetan cloth in rolls, articles of clothing; the lonpo donated an entire suit of clothing: jacket, trousers, shirt, leggings, and sash for Namgyal. Also a few sheep and goats were driven in as contributions, and finally the money promised by various individuals for Lobsang Wanggyal was given to the lonpo. The latter received all the contributions, wrote down all that had been supplied and all payments of money on a list, and then carefully compared what had been received with what everyone had promised at the consultation beer. The other men also examined closely what each individual had contributed. Most of them had brought exactly what they had promised, some even brought a little more in order to outdo the others. Some, only a few, came with empty hands but promised to bring in their contribution later. Shangkupa (in German:

Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man. "--translator./) 585
from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little 431
goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself, " Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, 585
the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, [563]
men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant 585
people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy 533
occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be 535
earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short 585
period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

585 more Chosskyid took an emotional farewell from her parents and from her relatives, with loud "bride's crying"; for now she stayed in the Dragshos house which had now become her home. The people from Tingmogang are supposed to have had a very bad time of it on their way home, but afterwards they did not like to talk about it. The people from Kalatse and a closer circle of guests from more distant villages stayed in the Dragshos house where they enjoyed themselves into the early hours of the morning with beer, singing, and dancing; until finally the lonpo stood up and in so doing gave the sign for everyone to depart.

/115/ On the third day separate parties were arranged in both houses, in the Dragshos house in Kalatse and in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang: the nyendron (party for relatives) to which all relatives and members of the tribe are invited who have in any way made contributions of some kind to the celebrations. If both houses had been in one place, nyendron would have been held for all those involved on two consecutive days, one day in one house, the next day in the other. On this third day the celebrations were a somewhat simplified repetition of those that had preceded them. At the end of this celebration each of the masters of the house thanked the guests with great politeness for their help and contributions. The Dragshos at that time also dismissed the five Nyaopas after an ample dinner and plentiful drink. Through the lonpo he presented each one of them with three rupees and ample provisions to eat along the way.

On the fourth day all those who had in some way or other served at the celebrations in both places were invited, in both houses, to the dronchung (little meal): the female cook (zan-ma), the female beer-brewer (čaṅ-ma), the female bread-baker (ta-gir-ma), the female water-carriers (ču-ma), the lampwoman (sgron-ma), and further the men and women who had performed all kinds of carrier services; the neighbors who had lent little tables, carpets, cooking pots, jugs and other utensils for the great celebration; the guard who had to look out that during the confusion of the banquet none of these utensils was carried off. All these faithful helpers were on this day able to enjoy their fill of food and drink as a reward for the services they rendered; and on this occasion the singing and the dancing was again not lacking. In the end everyone received, aside from a word of thanks from the master of the house, a number of flat bread cakes and ample kollag as provisions along the way.

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests.

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585 784

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!), !" and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his experiences with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well- 000

128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same 594 855

/Following page

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Wedding feast in Stog (Ladakh). Behind the men have been constructed three wedding cakes (bran-rgyas) in the form of Buddhistic stupas out of "cake tiles." The chang jug is circulating.

/Following page 128/

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A Wedding in Ladakh

/Following page 144/

585

ride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life. 184

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

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In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

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Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

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Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

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"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

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THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

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SOME time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Késar-Myths of Western Tibet.** The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladákhis** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet.** I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

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The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by the leader of the **Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin,** who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan,** and of other Ladákhis, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

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It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that the **four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist literature (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

[9] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in *Qor.* vi. 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf. S.* xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all these passages as Medinian. [FOOTNOTE DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THIS ARTICLE.--ANALYST]

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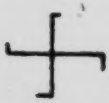
585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Késar-Myths, **the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship.** Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the **Bon Religion, yungdrung** 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

104 821 [773] It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word **ɣyungdrung**, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Késar-Myths **an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima,** occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name **Khyung dkrung** may have degenerated to become *ɣyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:—(1) a word *ɣyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *ɣyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *ɣyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *ɣ* of *ɣyung* and *ɣyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *ɣyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *ɣyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卐 *sû* and 卐 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.



a

b

779 821 771 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *ɣyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

1 [See source No 19 in, [illegible]]

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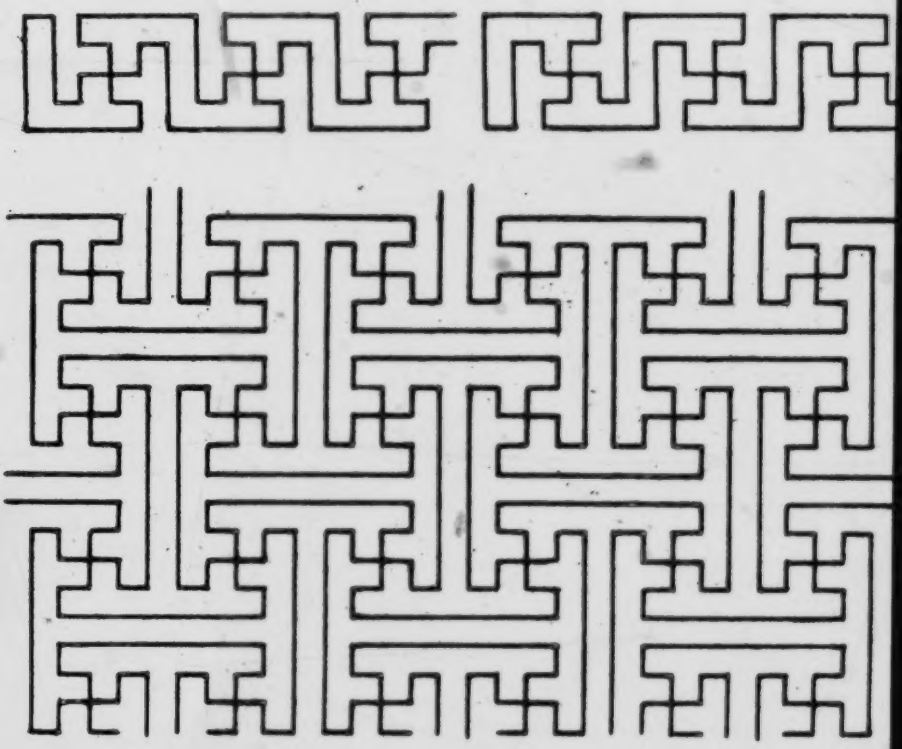
In the drawings below showing the *yyundrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.



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However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *yyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *swastika*.

The *yyungdrung* is thought to be of great importance at the wedding ceremony, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *yyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

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bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcessi gluʼi[2] dpecha yin.	This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the Nyopas, when the bride is given.

[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.

[2] *A* chanpha is indicated by an apostrophe.

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om bkrashispar gyurcig, bkrashis bdeblags dang ldanpar gyurcig.

nangmas btang 'adug.

Om, may you be blessed! May the blessing come unto you speedily!

The people of the house say:

A.

I. A. 1. duba sngonmo de
stengdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

2. duba sngonmo de
bardu rgyugpa ci'i don.

3. duba sngonmo de
'ogtu rgyugpa ci'i don.

4. duba sngonmo de
sharla rgyugpa ci'i don.

5. duba sngonmo de
lhoru rgyugpa ci'i don.

6. duba sngonmo de
byangdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

7. duba sngonmo de
nubtu rgyugpa ci'i don.

8. duba sngonmo de
mkhardu rgyugpa ci'i don.

9. duba sngonmo de
yulla rgyugpa ci'i don.

10. duba sngonmo de
grongdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

I. A. 1. That blue smoke,
Rising upwards, what does it mean?

2. The blue smoke,
Hanging over the ground, what does it mean?

3. The blue smoke,
Falling to the ground, what does it mean?

4. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards East, what does it mean?

5. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards South, what does it mean?

6. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards North, what does it mean?

7. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards West, what does it mean?

8. The blue smoke,
Rising to the castle, what does it mean?

9. The blue smoke,
Spreading over the country, what does it mean?

10. The blue smoke,
Spreading over the village, what does it mean?

B.

I. B. phyimas landu.

1. duba sngonmo de
stengdu rgyugpa de
lhai dbangpo rgya bzhinla rgolba
ma zhus sam

beangshug phulba'i don.

2. duba sngonmo de
bardu rgyugpa de
btsan ama skyabs bdunla rgolba
ma zhus sam

beang shug phulba'i don.

I. B. People outside [the *Nyopas*] answer:

1. The blue smoke
Rises upwards,
I think, that the Lord of Heaven, dBangpo rgyabzhin's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

2. The blue smoke,
Is hanging over the earth,
I think, that the Earth-Mother, skyabsbdun's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to her.

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3. duba sngonma de
'ogtu rgyugpa de
klurgyal lcogpola rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

3. The blue smoke
Is falling to the ground,
I think, that the Water-King, lCogpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

4. duba sngonmo de
shardu rgyugpa de
shar rdorje sems dp'ala rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

4. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards East,
I think, that the eastern rDorje sems dp'a's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

5. duba sngonmo de
lhoru rgyugpa de
lho rinchen byung ldanla rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

5. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards South,
I think, that the southern Rinchen byungldan's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

6. duba sngonmo de
byangdu rgyugpa de
byang donyod grubpala rgolb ma shus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

6. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards North,
I think, that the northern Donyodgrubpa's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

7. duba sngonmo de
nubtu rgyugpa de
nub snangba mth'ayasla rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

7. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards West,
I think, that the western sNangba mthaya's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

8. duba sngonmo de
mkhardu rgyugpa de
rtselha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
bsang shug phulba'i don.

8. The blue smoke
Is rising to the castle,
I think, that rTselha snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

9. duba sngonmo de
yulla rgyugpa de
yulthsa snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
bsang shug phulba'i don.

9. The blue smoke
Is spreading over the country,
I think, that Yulthsa snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

10. duba sngonmo de
grongla rgyugpa de

phalha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
bsang shug phulba'i don.

10. The blue smoke
Is spreading over the peasants' [houses],
I think, that Phalha snyanpo's anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

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Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om ākrashiepar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally: it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kēsar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lōkapālas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyānibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean:—4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthsa*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[2]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate [illegible]) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kēsar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thsa* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thsathsa*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.

1. phuru yar ɣsigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

[1] [Cf. pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [Cf. pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

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2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang
γy'a chu khral khrol de
su dang ganggi chang.

3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang
γtsang chab sngonmo de
su dang ganggi chang.

4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
su dang ganggi chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chabrkyan nangdu
yang dkar naskyi chang
su dang ganggi chang.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones,
What and whose beer is it!

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head
The beer [made] of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

B.

Nyopas landu.

II. B. 1. phuru yar γzigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
dar sing γsoba'i chang.

2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang
γy'a chu khral khrol de
nyaphran γsoba'i chang.

3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang
γtsang chab sngonmo de
nyaphran γsoba'i chang.

4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
ma zhing γsoba'i chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chab rkyanla
yang dkar naskyi khuba de
nyo 'am spun bdungyi chang.

The *Nyopas* answer:

II. B. 1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer, nourishing the ice-lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer, nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water
Is the beer, nourishing the little fishes.

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there
Are the beer, nourishing the mother-fields.

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The fluid [made] of white barley
Is the beer of the *Nyopas* or the seven brethren.

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A. 2. γyashu, this word is used here, so people tell me, for water with stones, not for stagnant water, *khralkhrol*, noisy. 4. *kyal-kyil* scattered about. 5. *ma*, mother, used for everything large, here the large jar.

B. 4. *ma zhing*, motherfield, a very fertile field. Instead of *kyalkyil-parpur* is also used in the same sense.

A. 5. The mouth of the jar is formed like a snake's head. B. 1. The ice-lion with the blue locks [or mane] was originally the glacier itself, later on it developed into a fabulous being, which was thought to live there. 5. The number of the *Nyopas* ought to be seven.

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Song No. III.

A.

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III. A. snyan ɣsanpar mdzodcig.

1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de
   su dang ganggis byas.
2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de
   su dang ganggis byas.
3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de
   su dang ganggis byas.
4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de
   su dang ganggis byas.
5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de
   su dang ganggis byas.
6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de
   su dang ganggis byas.
7. ɣshis dang ɣnaskyi mjalthsul de
   su dang ganggis byas.
8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de
   su dang ganggis byas.

III. A. Now listen with your ears!

1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms [plants, animals],
   By whom and how was it created?
2. The existence of East and West,
   By whom and how was it created?
3. The existence of South and North,
   By whom and how was it created?
4. The existence of height and depth,
   By whom and how was it created?
5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley,
   By whom and how was it created?
6. The existence of castle and village,
   By whom and how was it created?
7. The existence of hearth and home,
   By whom and how was it created?
8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside,
   By whom and how was it created?

B.

phyimas landu.

III. B. 1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de
nyi zla ɣnyiskyis byas.

2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de
khri ɣdugs nyimas byas.

3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de
zla mthsan dkarpos byas

The Nyopas answer:

III. B. 1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms
Was created by sun and moon.

2. The existence of East and West
Was created by the sun, the umbrella of the throne.

3. The existence of South and North
Was created by the Moon, the whitener of the night.

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4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de sbang char zilbus byas.	4. The existence of height and depth Was created by the dewy soaking rain.
5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de skyesar[3] rlungpos byas.	5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley Was created by *skyesar*, the wind.
6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de rgyal dang blongyis byas.	6. The existence of castle and village Was created by the king and the ministers.
7. yzhis dang ynaskyi mjalthsul de ynyendrung rnamskyis byas.	7. The existence of hearth and home Was created by you, our friends.
8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de nyo'am spun bdungyis byas.	8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside, Was created by the *Nyopas*, the seven brethren.

Notes.

In the original *mjalthso* is [illegible] instead of *mjalthsul*, which is unint[illegible]. See more examples for elision of *l* at the end of a syllable in my *Ladákhí Grammar*, laws of sound 4. *dbyibs* is a word, not so easily understood, two kinds of *dbyibs* are mentioned in XIII., they are *nammkha*, sky, heaven, and *chos*, religion. B. 5. *skyesar*, name of the wind god. May be either *skyesar*, the reborn one, see Késar-Myth, or *skyebsar*, producer of coolness.

Notes.

A. 8. This question refers to the scene created by the arrival of the *Nyopas*. B. 2. The sun is often called an umbrella on account of his circular shape. 3. Though the moon as representative of the night can be made to account for the North, it is difficult to see her relation to the South.

B. 4. Perhaps on account of the fact, that clouds show great varieties of altitude. 5. A strong draught is felt in every valley.

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Song No. IV.

A.

byonrabs yin.	This is about the origin [of the *Nyopas*].
IV. A. 1. 'adir byon rnams shargyi glingnas yongstsana shar phyogs rgyalpo suzhig bzhugs bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.	IV. A. 1. When you came here from the eastern country, Who was king there in the East? Why may we call his subjects and servants white? What is their shape and custom like?
2. lhoyi phyoganas yongstsana lho phyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.	2. When you came here from the southern country, Who was king there in the South? Why may we call his subjects and servants white? What is their shape and custom like?

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[3] Having been questioned meanwhile by Regierungsrat Dr. E. Schlagintweit about the equation *Kesar* = *skyesar*, I wish to state the following facts: This equation was not worked out by myself, but received ready made from the natives, who explain the name in this way. According to a letter from Rev. Fr. Peter, Kyelang, the popular pronunciation of the same name is *Kyesar* in Lahoul. In a collection of popular songs which I received from Phyang three days ago, the king's name is invariably spelled *Kyesar*. In Leh ordinary people pronounce the name *Kesar*, but educated people, who know the myths from the epos, pronounce it *Gesar*. All the changes from *Kyesar* to *Gesar* can be accounted for, see my *Ladákhí Grammar*, Introduction, *Kyirmo* = *girmo*.

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3. kyed rnams nubkyi glingnas yongstsana
nubphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

3. When you came here from the Western country,
Who was king there in the West?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

4. kyed rnams byanggi glingnas yongstsana
byangphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

4. When you came here from the northern country,
Who was king there in the North?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

B.

phimas landu.

The Nyopas answer:

IV. B. 1. ngacag nyebo rnams sharγyi glingnas yongstsana
sharphyogs rgyalpo yul 'akhor srung
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
sharna khri γdugs nyima mchis
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

IV. B. 1. When we came here from the eastern country,
Yul 'akhor srung was king there in the East.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.
In the East there dwells the sun, the umbrella of the throne,
If you want to hear some news, ask him!

2. nga nyebo lhoyi glingnas yongstsana
lho phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
lhona 'abru sna 'adzommo dg'a
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

2. When we came here from the southern country,
'aPhagsakyed was king there in the South.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.
In the South they enjoy all kinds of grain,
If you wish to hear some news, ask that!

3. nga nyebo nubkhyi glingnas yongstsana
nub phyogs rgyalpo spyan mig bzang bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar
dyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
nubna sman sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

3. When we came here from the western country,
sPyanmig bzang was king there in the West.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.
In the West there are all kinds of medicines.
If you wish to hear some news, ask them!

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4. ngacag nyebo rnams byanggi glingnas byongstsana
byang phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
byangna thsos sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

4. When we came here from the northern country,
'aPhagsakyed was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.

In the North there are all kinds of dyes.
If you wish to hear some news, ask them.

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Notes. $\frac{1}{A}$

A. 1, *etc.* *ci'n da*, ought to be spelt according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda*, *mda* (or perhaps *'ada*) meaning 'about.' The names of the kings mean B. 1. protector of the country. 2 and 4. the high-born one. 3. good eye. Very likely the original name of 4 had been lost and that of 2 was inserted instead. Each verse may also have a seventh concluding line: *ngacag nyebo rnamsla skadcha bshadrgyu med*, we friends do not know any news; *'adzommo* = *'adzompo*, plentiful. Instead of *bdelegs* the original has *bdelags*.

Notes. $\frac{1}{A}$

A. 1, *etc.* White is the colour of the lha's and of all good things. B. As regards the products of the different countries, they are mentioned in about the same manner in *Ladakhi Songs* No. XV. Harvest festival at Skyurbuchan. They are perhaps more of a practical than of a mythological interest.

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The three names, given in this song, do not seem to be of Tibetan origin. They are probably the Tibetan names of the Indian *lôkapâlas*. Though there can be no doubt as to the pre-buddhist origin of this song as a whole, the names of the kings may be later Lamaist interpolations. I am rather inclined to believe, that an ancient version of this song had the names of those kings, who actually reigned in the respective regions many years ago. In this connection it may be added, that in Song No. X., where the four points of the compass come in again, actual geographical kingdoms, for instance China and India, are mentioned. Regarding the names, given in IV., compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 181; *spyanmig bsang*, instead of *mig mi bsang*, is probably a corruption, as it does not correspond to the Indian *virûpâksha*.

Song No. V.

A.

berrabs yin.
phyimas.
V. A. 1. shing stagpa skyerpa shugpa ysum
2. de ysum shing dang ma rdungshig

This is about the sticks.
The Nyopas say:—
V. A. 1. The birch, the alp-willow and the cedar,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

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$\frac{1}{A}$ [Cf pp 139 and 148 category 116 -- Analyst]

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3. de ysum shing dang rdung-serna	3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. mgoyi ldem 'schagna ldem 'schag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. lusky phe raina pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. snyangyi yya 'schagna yya 'schag stong dang lan	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'schagna sga 'schag stong dang lan.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

B.

nangmas lands	People of the house say: —
V. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing yyu leang ldempa 'adi	V. B. 1. This elastic stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. 'akhrungsa rgyagar yuldu 'akhrungs	2. Arose in India, its birth-place.
3. thsarna bodyul dbusu thsar	3. It grew in dBus in Tibet, its growing place.
4. lengstod serpo yserla yod	4. Its flexible yellow upper half looks like gold.
5. rtsemo sngonmo yyula byas	5. Its blue tip was made of turquoise.
6. lhayi dbangpo rgya behinnas	6. By the king of the gods, rGya behin,
7. leags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	7. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
8. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig yuang serna	8. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
9. nyi zlai bushig 'abrangs	9. 'A son of sun and moon may follow [you]!
10. zla skar mdundu mchis	10. The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
11. don ngan phugsu 'akhrugs	11. Bad speech ought to be blamed.
12. phu ngan duba che	12. If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
13. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	13. A bad guest be far away!'
14. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob	14. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks.
15. nam br'a rincangyi ldurcig phob.	15. Beat them on their costly dress!

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Notes. [1]

A. 4. *ldem*, said to be the golden hat of the Nyopas, is called *ldem* either on account of its stiff shape or because of its being an emblem (allegory) of the sun. As will have been noticed in the preceding songs, the Nyōpas have to play the part of the sun god. 5. *phe* = *phye*, perf. tense, of *'abyedpa*, to open, thus 'if you beat an opening of the body, "a wound,' the verb being used as a noun.

B. 3. *thesrsa*, finishing place, when applied to men, it is the country, where maturity is attained. 4. *yserla yod*, it belongs to gold. 5. *ysula byas*, it was made [turned] into turquoise. 9. *'abrzags* = *'abrengs*, imperative tense. 10. instead of *mdunda* the original has *ondu*, instead of *mchis* it has *ches* and *che*; the same must be said of *mchis* in B. 13. *nemba'a* Ladakhi for *nabs'a*. *ldur* perhaps the same as *ldur ldur* in Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Notes. [1]

Because at the end of each verse in IV. the Nyopas failed to give a satisfactory account of the four countries, this is taken as a sufficient cause to beat them. For their defence they recite V. A., VI. A., and VII. A., and find fault with the sticks. On the other hand the bride's party praise their sticks as having been approved of by the king of heaven V. B., a king of the earth VI. B., and the king of the underworld [waters] in VII. B.

B. 9 and 10 is said to refer to the procession of the wedding party.

Song No. VI.

A.

phyimas.

VI. A. 1. shing grama glangma lcangma ysum
2. de ysum shing dang ma rdung-shig
3. de ysum shing dang rdung zerna
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len
6. snyangyi ysu 'achagna ysu 'achag stong dang len
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.

legs beams dbanggi nyebo.

The Nyopas say:—

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VI. A. 1. The furse, the hill willow and the house willow,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood.
4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold.
5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold!
7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

Well thought, you mighty friends!

B.

zangmas landu

VI. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing ysu lcang sngonpoi
2. skyedpa sngonpo ysula byas
3. ro 'adab 'adzamgling mi yul khyab

People of the house answer:—

VI. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. The blue middle was made of turquoise.
3. The leaves of the tree cover all 'aDzamgling the country of men.

[1] [illegible]

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4. rje sabdag rgyalpo bahinnas
5. leags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig.
6. 'adiks bk'alung yang dagpa shig ynang nerna
7. rgyalpoi bu zhig 'abrangs
8. zhakar mdunda mchis
9. don ngan phugnas 'akhrugs
10. pha ngan duba che
11. mgron ngan ringda mchis
12. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob
13. nam ba's rincangyi ldar cig phob.

4. By the king, the owner and lord of the earth
5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. 'A son of the king may follow [you]!
8. The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
9. Bad speech ought to be blamed,
10. If [the fire] is badly blown there is much smoke.
11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. Beat them on their costly dress.

Notes. ¼

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In B. two lines seem to have been lost, because for all the rest this song is in conformity with V. B. or perhaps V. B. 2, 3 are later additions In 4 the king is mentioned as representative of the earth, an older version may have had Mother skyabs bdun, compare Song No. I. B. 2, *ante*, p. 134.

B. 3. 'aDzamgling or 'aDzambugling, comprised originally Tibet and India, later on all Asia or the whole earth, in the latter sense it is to be taken here. It is the Indian *Jambudvipa*.

Song No. VII.

A.

phyimas

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VII. A. 1. shing starba 'umbu thearba yzum
2. de yzum shing dang ma rdzung-shig
3. de yzum shing dang rdzung nerna
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len
5. lusky phe ralna pheral stong dang len
6. smyangyi yzu 'achagna yzu 'achag stong dang len
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.

The Nyopas say:—

VII. A. 1. The walnut-tree, the tamarisk and the thorn,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

B.

nangmas

VII. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing yzu lcang ngonpoi

People of the house say:—

VII. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,

¼ [Cf. p. 143 ostogovyine -- Analyst]

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2. rtsaba dkarpo dungla byas.	2. The white root was made of a shell.
3. sbathag 'og phyogs kluyal khyab	3. The roots [of the tree] cover all the lower underworld.
4. klurgyal lcogpo m'a gros zilchen-nas	4. By the wise and glorious lCogpo, King of the Underworld,
5. lcags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig ynang zerna	6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. klu phranbu zhig 'abrangs	7. 'A young kLu may follow [you]!
8. yul thea mdundu mchis	8. The village idol may be before [you]!
9. don ngan phugsu 'akhrugs	9. Bad speech ought to be blamed.
10. phu ngan duba che	10. If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob.	12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. nambu'a rincangyi ldur cig phob.	13. Beat them on their costly dress!

Notes. [1]

VII. A. 1. *'umbu* = *'ombu*, tamarisk. B. 7 *phran* is generally used only of young animals. In 11 the original has *song*, go, instead of *mchis*, be. This fact is perhaps the best justification for my putting *mchis* in the place of *che* and *ches* of the original.

If we look at V. B. 4, VI. B. 2, and VII. B. 2, we see, that the stick of the turquoise willow is identified with the tree of the world, which we find in so many mythologies. The roots of this tree cover the underworld, VII. B. 3, the leaves cover the earth VI. B. 3, and the top reaches *stanglha*.

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Song No. VIII.

A.

phyimas

The Nyopas say:—

VIII. A. 1. skyaba zanthsan dang 'ulu thsigs bcad dang yogpa snanag dang	VIII. A. 1. The soup-spoon, the gravy-spoon and the black-nosed poker,
2. de ysum shing dang ma rdung-shig	2. With these three sticks do not beat us!
3. de ysum shing dang rdung zerna	3. If you beat us with these three sticks,
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. synangyi yyu 'achagna yyu'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

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[1] [cf. p. 144, category 11a -- Analyst]

[2] [cf. pp. 142 and 143, category 11b -- Analyst]

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B.

nangmas lan ma shespas yang phyimas	Because the people of the house do not know what to answer, the Nyopas say
VIII. B. 1. nged nyebo rnamsla rdungbai shing zhig yod	VIII. B. 1. A wood to beat us, friends, does exist.
shing hala ldempai shing zhig yod	It is a wonderfully elastic wood,
shing hula ldempai shing zhig yod	It is a marvellously elastic wood.
shing rtsaba ycigla rtsemo ysum	There is a tree, the root of which has three stems.
rtsemo ysumla yalga drug.	These three stems have [together] six boughs.
2. yalga dangporu	2. On the first bough
bya chen khyunggi thsangs	There is the nest of the huge bird **khyung.**
yser sgong ma bcagpa	Not breaking the golden egg,
bya thsangs ma bshigpa	Not destroying the bird's nest,
bya de ma 'agrogspa	Not frightening the bird,
shing de snamnas byon	Take a stick and come !
de dang rdung mdzod cig	With this stick do beat us !
de dang rgyob mdzod cig	With this stick do whip us !
de dang rdung mdzodna	If you beat us with this stick,
mgoyi ldem 'achagnayang	Breaking our helmets,
ldem 'achag stong medd	You need not return them a thousandfold.
luskyi phe ralna	Hurting our body,
pheral stong meddo	We shall not return it a thousandfold.
snyangyi yyu 'achagnayang	Breaking our earrings,
yyu 'achag stong meddo	You need not return them a thousandfold.
'oggi sga 'achagnayang	Breaking our saddles,
sga 'achag stong yang med.	You need not return them a thousandfold !
3. yalga ynyisparu	3. On the second bough
byargyal rgodpoi thsangs	There is the nest of the wild eagle.
yyu sgong ma bcagpa	Not breaking the turquoise egg,
bya de ma 'agrogspa	Not frightening the bird,
bya thsangs ma bshigpa	Not destroying the bird's nest,
shing de snamnas byon	Take a stick and come !
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.* (see v. 2).	With this stick do beat us ! *etc* (see 2).

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4. yalga ysumparu
gogobo ldad dkar thsangs

dung sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas slog
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

5. yalga bshiparu
glagmo mkhal dkar thsangs

dngul sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

6. yalga lngaparu
ribya gongmoi thsangs

byur sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

7. yalga drugparu
khraskya dkarmoi thsangs

lcags sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agropspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

Notes. I

A. 1. The expressions given here are colloquial Lower Ladakhi for soup-spoon, table-spoon and poker. B. 1. *hala* = *halas*, *hula* the same as *hala*, *rtsemo* means originally 'top.' 2. *sgong* = *sgongo*, egg. The termination *pa* in *bcagpa*, *bshigpa* and *'agrogspa* is Ladakhi for *par*, the supine being used here in a gerundial sense. 5. *mkhal dkar*, white kidney, *i. e.*, the feathers over the kidney are white. 6. *ribya*, another name of the same bird is *lhabya*.

4. On the third bough
There is the nest of the bird 'white head.'
Not breaking the pearl-white egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

5. On the fourth bough
There is the nest of the eagle 'white kidney.'
Not breaking the silver egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

6. On the fifth bough
There is the nest of the snow partridge.
Not breaking the coral egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

7. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

Notes. II

This song seems to contain a further description of the tree of the world. It is remarkable that the tree of the world is said to have six boughs, for I have not yet met with the number six in other books relating to Bonpa mythology. In this connection I should like to mention that according to the *Edda* there are six animals (a goat and five stags) feeding on the leaves of the tree of the world, and that the *Edda* (not *Simrock*) speaks of six worlds.

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[cf pp 105 and 141, category 116 -- Analyst]

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Song No. IX.

A.

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IX. A. 1. khyed nyebo me ma khrul	IX. A. 1. Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down!
2. da nang yongba gangnas yongs	2. Now, you, who enter, from where do you come?
3. 'agroba nyideag gangdu 'agro	3. Then, where will you go to?
4. sdodpai bde lce gangna yod	4. Where will you be pleased to sit down?
5. dgospai skudon sala yod	5. For whose sake do you come?
6. yahungyul 'adiru cila byon.	6. Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

B.

phyimas.	The Nyopas say:—
IX. B. 1. yong da ngazha sharphyogs bdechen glingnas yongs.	IX. B. 1. We come from a happy country in the East,
2. 'agro da ngazha nubphyogs urgyan glingdu 'agro	2. We go to the country of the paradise in the West.
3. sdodpai bdelce de ma ynas 'adina yod	3. We shall be pleased to sit down here.
4. dgospai skudon ni yahungyul 'adina yod,	4. Our aim is here in the middle of village.
legs beama dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

Notes.

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A. 1. *me ma khrul*, do not let the fire fall down, proverbial expression, for 'do not break down now, show your ingenuity!' 4. The original has *sala* instead of *gangna*, the lines 4 and 5 having been confounded. B. 2. urgyan, here in Lower Ladakh is understood to mean either **Padmasambhava** or the '**Western Paradise**.' 1 and 2 again show, plainly, that the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun,

Notes.

This song IX. is generally the conclusion of the scene before the house, the Nyopas are invited to enter and tell the name of the girl. Then the bridal party, the Nyopas and the whole village sit down for a great feast, when the **Chang glu** (the continuation of the wedding song, given above) is sung. On the following morning a Buddhist Lama appears and reads a scripture portion from an orthodox Buddhist book. People tell me that he may read anything, he likes, because neither the Lama nor the bride are able to grasp the meaning, and the chief thing is the correct pronunciation. Then the bride and the Nyopas mount their horses and ride to the house of the bridegroom, where another feast is given.

Conclusion.

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Having thus arrived at the end of the first intelligible half of the wedding ritual, it will be as well to add a few words about the other less intelligible half, though the latter is not yet ready for publication. After a study of the verses contained in it, which can be understood fairly well, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called **second half of the ritual** is not the continuation of the first; but a composition apart. It is in reality a **new ritual dating from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh**, and is an attempt to replace the ancient Bonpa ritual by another, which, though not entirely Lamaist, tries to introduce Buddhist ideas by placing them side by side with Bonpa ideas. That this

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compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kēsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern **Lōka, pāla-Donyodgrubpa** could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kēsar-Myths we learn, that **Kēsar**, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called **Dongrub**, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the **Lōkapāla** of the north (i. e., the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? **Donyodgrubpa** means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name **Dongrub** was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other **Lōkapālas**. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero **Kēsar**, before his entering into action, is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kēsar?

Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v sredneverkovym jevropejskim epose*. Moskau, 1899.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i.
Bighā; *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i, twice.
Bibar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihār; *s. v.* Comotay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisnt; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijalár; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Sabaio, 851, ii.
Bijāpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijápúr; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Corpetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bijāpūr; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremaluco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Nasinga, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 158, ii.

[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wandermärchen*.

4 [Material pertains to a different article -- ANALYST]

595
428 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their
182 religious order.

595 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage
• 585 of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage
586 or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

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BALTI COOLIES.

They carry peculiar sticks in their hands on the march, like a short-crutch with rather a long cross-piece at the top. When they stop to rest, they pass the stick behind and under the load, so that it takes the weight off their backs.

A LADAKI WEDDING GROUP,

Shewing the rich Chinese robe of the bridegroom and his high tinsel-covered hat. He wears his nuptial white scarf and a gold amulet box studded with turquoises. His little wife is rather obscured by her large cape lined with sheepskin.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

pieces of silver and gold, and then a local *Skushog* or great lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually. On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar, arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

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At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except 852
a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically.

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite 584
unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have 591
arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The [421]
property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex.

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by 583
custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady.

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted
into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small 586
one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog."

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585 The next day a deputation must go to the house from which the passive partner was stolen to say "*zhu*." They are accompanied by a rhetorician, and take with them some jars of beer, some bread, tea, butter and a salutation-scarf. If the parents are amenable to the transaction they accept the presents, and receive the deputation; but if they object to the alliance, the welcome of these representatives is all too warm—they are ejected with kicks and blows, while the parents and their supporters go to the temporary home of their child, try to wreck it, and recover the stolen one by force. Hence another proverb says: "The parents are their children's
583 judges." The causes which precipitate such a stolen marriage are (1) absolute inability to afford the orthodox nuptials; (2) temporary financial disability, as at any future time the arrangement may be ratified with full ceremonials; and (3) if the desired partner is betrothed to someone else, to secure him or her by theft; (4) if the *Onpo's* date does not satisfy the couple, they marry on their own day, and have the official rites on his.

585 Lastly there is the orthodox wedding with all its attendant
791 ceremonies. For this neither parents nor child must decide on their choice before they have consulted the *Onpo*. To this gentleman they tell the name and date of birth of the prospective mate, and can only proceed if he declares, after searching his books, that year and person are auspicious. Lamas, as a
585 rule, do not provide this information. The marriage may take place when the children are very young, but it is not consummated till after they are twelve, and, even at this tender age, little Ladaki girls sometimes become mothers.
584 Thus the Ladaki parents have to think about the future alliance when the child is still young; as their proverb says: "The difficulty of the father is to get a wife for his son."

Let us follow this father in his difficult path, supposing the child for whom he wishes to find a mate is a son. The first overtures are made by a third party, who must never go

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A BIRTHDAY ENTERTAINMENT.

Women dancing at an entertainment in Leh. The gesture indicates the plucking of a flower.

MEN DANCERS AT A WEDDING.

Resting between their performances. At the extreme left of the front row is the bridegroom, while the gentlemen in the upper row to the left with peculiar turnover hats are his uncles.

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584 [791] to the house of the bride-elect empty-handed, and the fateful day on which he sets out must be decided by the *Onpo*. If the young lady's parents receive him favourably, more beer must be sent on several occasions, and a series of preliminary feasts, whose principal feature is beer drinking, is inaugurated. The first of these, called *holchan*, is only a small affair, but marks a definite betrothal. Subsequently more *chang* must be taken for the consumption of the relatives of the future bride, and at this feast or *nyenchang* (relation beer), it is decided what presents in kind and in cash these people must be given. The money present is said to be in payment of Nature's provision through the mother for the bride's first earthly nourishment! It may vary from Rs15 to Rs45, while the other presents include twenty-five to forty-five measures of *chang* (600–1,000 quarts), also tea, butter, *p'adings* (the local dried apricots), meat, rice, and salutation scarves.

The next feast is called the *trabschang* (conference beer), and its occasion is the assembly of all the relatives and friends some weeks before the wedding to decide upon and to distribute the responsibility of giving the various articles needed for the actual wedding-feast, such as the provision by the uncle of the bride of the *drangrgyas*, or cake, round which the dances will take place, and all the details of serving the courses
585 are arranged. The menu includes the following courses: (1) Tea; (2) a mixture of wholemeal flour, butter and dried curds, sugar, and tea; (3) *p'adings* and breads; (4) meat and a mixture of flour and water called *Boldra*; (5) beer; (6) *nanchang* or very strong beer, of which each partaker is obliged to drink one whole measure, which makes them thoroughly intoxicated; (7) *zilchang*, another kind of beer; (8) rice.

Nyobjhol is the procedure of fetching the bride (or bride-
292 groom). Those who carry this out are called *nyopas*, and their official costume consists of beautiful silk dresses, and high-crowned, gilt hats. Their number varies from five to

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

●585 eleven, and they set out early in the morning carrying beer. On their way to the bride's house, they may meet people with beer-pots, around the rims of which are many little pyramids of butter (*kal chor*), and reciprocal generosity supplies all parties with a further opportunity to indulge in "the cup that cheers." They will also find on their road about eighty pyramids of small stones set up, at each of which the leader must make a special speech, and, in the event of his forgetting one or more of these, he must pay some fine. He delivers them in answer to the questions put by a man who is a member of the bride's household. Quite near the house is a flag-staff bearing a flag of five colours, and above it the outline of a bird, while a stick has been hidden in the earth somewhere in front of the door. The leader of the *nyopas* has to find this by means of pacing. At the door they meet the relatives and friends bearing sticks, also the money and goods decided upon at the *nyenchang*. If all promises are paid up, the parties are admitted, but any defaulters are beaten with sticks. Throughout this procedure a boy and a girl (*spawo* and *spamo*) burn incense.

The *nyopas* now enter the house, and have three dances in the living-room, where they are provided with a menu similar to the foregoing one, after partaking of which they proceed outside, where a large crowd of onlookers will have collected, and dance round an erection of bread arranged round a central corpse of meat, flanked by two large pots of *chang*. The dancing includes that by the *spamo*, who dons [614] the bride's dresses, thus exhibiting the trousseau. In the evening the bread is shared out according to the contract made beforehand, the distributor being a member of the house of the bridegroom, whose badge of office is a silk cloth wrapped round his third finger. He is called a *paspun*, and performs this duty for all the members of his clan, who possess the same god and the same vows.

Now comes the time for giving the wedding-presents, and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

all go indoors and spend the time dancing until the fateful 585
hour foretold by the *Onpo* arrives, when the actual marriage takes place, and the bride appears. A scribe is present to write down everything which is taken away by the bride in case of a divorce. He, the friends, and the hairdressers will receive presents from the father or uncle. The hair of the bride (or bridegroom) has to be dressed that same evening, and she now puts on a white head-dress, the wearing of which is the actual wedding rite. Her dress is usually an ancient one, which goes from house to house. She comes into the living-room, and sits on a carpet on which the sign of *gyung-drung* (the Swastika) has been made in barley. Across the room a rope is stretched on which the father and mother place the clothes, while on the floor are the pots and pans which they are giving their daughter. The lamas now [793]
arrive to perform the *yangkuk* ceremonies (*yang* means blessing, *kuk* calling forth), so that the daughter may not take away with her the blessing of the house. The *nyopas* present each lama with a piece of cloth, which the latter place on their heads ; to the girl's parents they have to give a salutation-scarf, and to her relatives small pieces of white cloth. After this ceremony, the lamas leave, and now the parents of the bride also present her with salutation-scarves, which is a duty of each relative also. The bride then weeps copiously, and lauds all that has been done for her during her life. The [614]
leader of the *nyopas* now takes her into the small temple or private chapel of the house to say a last good-bye, for after this day she may never again enter this temple, having married into another *paspun* (clan). She is then taken on a pony to her new home by the *nyopas*, and this happens about midnight, for, if the bride be taken away by day, a fine has to be paid either to the King or to the neighbouring monastery. Before starting, the father and uncle of the bridegroom once more enter the house, and, again presenting salutation scarves and a small sum of money, thank the parents for the gift of the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 [189] bride. Before arriving at her future home, the bride and her escort are met by lamas who perform the service of *Gyagsrod*, that is, the driving away of any evil spirits which may have chosen to accompany the bride, and whose presence is not desired in her new abode. For this purpose the members of the future home have sent a new unused pot filled with dregs, which the lamas, after preliminary incantations, break, and with it throw away a *storma* or strewing oblation.

The lamas now enter the bridegroom's house, and the leader of the *nyopas* follows with the bride. Her new mother-in-law comes to meet her on the threshold of the living-room, bringing a plate on which is a present reposing on some barley, which latter serves to enhance the apparent size of the former. This plate is given to the bride's-maid, or *spamo*, but before receiving it, the bride must salute her new mother, [595] who reciprocates the greeting. The mother then leads her into the living-room, where, if she is only to marry one boy, she finds him sitting on a carpet, bearing the mystic sign and wearing the white head-dress; but if the brothers are also included, they all sit similarly side by side, while near them is an empty carpet for her, upon which is the sign "*nor bu gyas a kyil*," meaning "jewel."

When all, including the *nyopas*, are thus seated in a row, the bridegroom's mother rises and salutes the *nyopas* in turn, after which the bride and bridegroom are taken into the store-room and given refreshments, the leader of the *nyopas* accompanying them. Their plates having been filled, the leading *nyopa* removes their head-dresses, putting them on a plate. Then he says, "Which is quicker, bride or bridegroom?" at which challenge they compete with each other at snatching the food off their plates. In this little store-room the happy couple live for some days, and each of the near relatives brings them a small piece of the *drangyas* (cake) and presents. The *nyopas* spend the night dancing at the house, with only the shortest interval for sleep.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The next day there is dancing again in front of a crowd 585 of spectators, and in the afternoon or evening of this day the bride also comes out to dance. If the bridegroom is only a *magpa* (that is, brought to the bride's house), he has to dance with the *nyopas* all day long. On this day the feasting proceeds according to the aforesaid menu, which is the same in both houses, and in the evening the *brangyas* are divided up and distributed, those in the bride's house being made of flour. Early in the morning of this day the bride and bridegroom have to go to salute the parents of the former, and the following night is again spent in dancing and feasting. Throughout, the *nyopas* and relatives take food and drink to the wedding pair, who also are invited to meals by the cook, brewer, and keeper of the store-room respectively, and whose hospitality they must return, while they must not omit to give food and a *jau* (As 3¼) per head to the *bedas* or bandsmen. This same evening the *nyopas* receive presents from the house, where dancing again takes place.

The following day is called the *nyendron* (relative feast) of the bridegroom. If the guests invited by the bride amount to one hundred, at the bridegroom's feast there will be one hundred and fifty visitors, such a proportion always being maintained.

The next day is called the *dronchung*, to which only the nearest relatives come, while a final day's feasting provides the servants with their turn, and so the festivities slowly wane.

By custom, nobody is permitted to marry the relatives of 582 either parents. Only on rare occasions very distant connections are married, for instance, if they are removed three or four generations. This close relationship is called *Rtsibma*, indicating that they are of one rib, whereas the ordinary word for relation signifies "of one race." In ancient times nobody was allowed to marry a personal relation unless removed by eight generations.

If the happiness of the couple inaugurated with such 586

15: Francke
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/The wedding songs and the explanatory notes on pp. 49-93 have been marked for categories 539 and 585 but will appear only in category 116. --Analyst/

539
113 gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, from which the text and the notes were published in J & P ASB., /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/ Vol. III, p. 121 ff.

539 In Khalatse, Situated on The Indus River about
115 forty English miles below Leh, I made the acquaintance of a man
[553] who was called dKon-mchog-bkra-shis. His surname name rGya-
113 mthso-pa derived from the circumstance that he had married into the house of rGya-mthso-pa in Khalatse. Actually, however, he came from Lerdo (Lai-rdo) across from sKyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). This man possessed extensive knowledge about the Kesar saga, and for this reason he was invited to recite at all family festivals in the village. His version apparently originated in Lerdo in Purig. For many weeks I worked with this singer and with the scribe and teacher of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, and in this way I obtained the version of the Kesar saga that I have called the "Lower Ladakhi Version." This /3/ has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica under the numbers 1134, 1151, 1164, and 1218. dKon-mchog-brka-shis material was however, not yet exhausted with this. He continued with his narratives and now reported the adventures of the chief heroes of the sagas besides Kesar. I have published these sagas under the title: "The Paladins of the Kesarsaga," in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 10, Vol. III, No. 2, Vol. III, No. 5.

539 In all the publications in India I gave the text in its entirety, but
113 I had to dispense with a translation because of lack of time. Instead of a translation I appended to each chapter a detailed table of contents and lists of the proper names and of the uncommon words. The Lower Ladakhi Version contains the entire material of the Kesar saga, as indicated below. For the most part, therefore, it covers the same ground as the Sheh version. Yet it contributes not only new elements with respect to the style of the poetic passages, but also a great many interesting and important variants.

The collection, The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, on the other hand, contains entirely new material, under the following headings: 1. Kesar's beloved Mon (man of a low caste). 2. The story of the hero sKyaba-rgod-po (lJan war). 3. The story of the hero Shel-gyi-bu-zhun. 4. The story of the hero rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

585 II. The Wedding Songs (Nyo-pai-glu). At each wedding in the
539 region of the West Tibetans (Ladakh, Purig, and so forth), the following ceremony is performed: Seven friends of the bridegroom, who call themselves Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, "The buyers, the seven

brothers," go, if possible on horseback, to the bride's house in order 585
to buy the bride for the bridegroom. The bride's relatives will not 539
admit them until they have proved their honorable descent by answering a long series of questions addressed to them in the form of songs. As soon as an answer has been given incorrectly, the inhabitants of the house, who are armed with osier twigs, rain blows on the seven men. The songs used on this occasion represent a kind of catechism in the pre-Buddhistic religion of the country. The same thing applies to them as to the Kesar saga. The further West we go, the more complete they are. I first observed this particular ceremonial in the village of Stog, which lies opposite Leh. There they were finished with the question-and-answer ritual in the shortest possible time, and the wedding feast constituted the climax of the celebration. In Khalatse, to which I removed from Leh, the question-and-answer game lasted much longer. Since I was unable to understand anything of the content of the songs during the performance, I requested the leader of the Nyo-pa to dictate these questions and answers slowly to the [124]
scribe of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin. In this way I obtained a copybook of eighteen songs, each in two parts. I went through these carefully with the scribe and soon arrived at an understanding of the 585
first nine. These nine I published in the Indian Antiquary, giving 113
the text, a translation, and annotations. They appeared there under 539
the title, "The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual." Neither the scribe nor I understood the second part of the songs at that time. By now I am somewhat better able to recognize their meaning, and the songs of the second part will also be used in the following presentation. After the song of the Nyo-pa had been delivered to me, one day someone told me that the question-and-answer game of the wedding celebrants was not yet finished with these songs, and that this game was, in fact, continued during the wedding feast. At that time, he said, they sang the so-called chan-glu, the "beer song." Again I had a transcription made of this song, which I published at my own expense by having about fifty copies printed on the missionary lithographic press in Leh. These appeared (with text only) in 1903 under the title, "Die Trinklieder von Khalatse" /The Drinking Songs of Khalatse/. Although several of these songs have very important mythological content, many others are, nevertheless, of a purely diverting nature. They propose riddles such as one might expect on special occasions in gay circles among all peoples. /4/ [273]
Of special interest is the song which describes in detail the origin and preparation of Tibetan beer (chan).

585 While I was occupied with the study of these songs, I was told
127 that an ancient manuscript containing the wedding songs existed in
539 Tag-ma-cig, the neighboring village to the west of Khalatse. I immediately sent a messenger to that village in order to have the work delivered to me, but I was to learn that this could only be done in exchange for the payment of a fairly large sum of money. After this payment had been made, the manuscript was left with me for a month on a loan basis. This period of time was sufficient, however, for my faithful assistant, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, to copy the entire document. Unfortunately, the manuscript was so badly damaged in some places that several songs had to be left incomplete. Concerning the age of the manuscript nothing definite could be established. It was reported to me that they had begun writing them down only when there was danger that the old songs might be forgotten. The manuscript may perhaps be one hundred years old, and possibly a little more. According to my scribe's count, the booklet contains about sixty songs, mostly consisting of two parts. Quite a number of these correspond with the songs of Khalatse, and, in fact, there are repetitions both of the individual wedding songs
[533] and of the drinking songs. We observe that in Tag-ma-cig they did not differentiate at all between wedding songs and drinking songs. Yet the title of the entire collection is "Nyo-pas-sgo-la btan-ces-kyi-glu," "Songs of the Nyopa (Bride Buyers), To Be Sung at the Door." Even though at the time I was unable to understand much of the content of the songs, I nevertheless recognized immediately their extreme importance in the study of pre-Buddhistic religion, and I wished to make them accessible to the scholarly world. For this reason I had them multigraphed in twenty-eight copies with blue copy ink, but in this job I was quite unlucky. The impressions were for the most part so faint that they could not be deciphered. Fortunately, the copy made by Ye-shes-rig-adzin has been found again in the meantime and important data have been taken from it,
585 which will appear in the following pages. All these wedding songs
773 are particularly valuable because they contain a great deal of ma-
539 terial dealing with the Tibetan notions about the World Tree and the deities of the four points of the heavens. Later I was also supplied with wedding songs (nyo-pai-glu) from the villages of Shel and Phyi-dban. These are of a totally different nature, however. They are songs of praise addressed to kings and ministers who apparently celebrated their weddings in those localities. For the student of religion they are of no value.

585*
539*

7. That blue smoke
Blowing toward the North
Is an offering to Amoghasiddha
So that he will not be angry with us.

8. That blue smoke
Over the castle there
Is an offering to the god of the mountain peak
So that he will not be angry with us.

/63/ 9. That blue smoke
Above your village
Is an offering to the god of the village
So that he will not be angry with us.

10. That blue smoke
Blowing through the courtyard
Is an offering to the god of the house
So that he will not be angry with us.

The People:

Quite so. May all go well with you!

Notes to Supplement, Kh. Ia and b [1]

This is one of those songs that show the old arrangement of the prayer. The deities of the three worlds are followed by the divinities of the four points of the compass, and that in the order of the course of the sun--, East, South, West, North. With respect to this arrangement, the ancient lHa-chos corresponds with Buddhism, whilst the Bon religion, as the gZer-mig indicates, for instance, always has the reverse order, that is, North, West, South, East. In accordance with this, lHa-chos and Buddhism also share the same swastika turned to the right, whereas that of the Bon religion is turned toward the left. The Tibetan manuscript gives the names of the Lokapalas in their Tibetan form, as follows: rDo-rje-sems-dpa, Rinchen-byun-ldan, sNan-ba-mtha-yas, Don-yod-grub-pa. The deities that follow after this are called: rTse-lha, Yul-thsa, Pha-lha. 776 585 539

This song is included in the manuscript of Khalatse at the

1 [See pp. 83-85, Category 116-- Analysis]

15: Francke--94 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 west Tibetans AJ4

Table II [1]

531 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba).
773 (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531
771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single
535 file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of
585 beer, decorated around the edge at the top with
531 little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.
782
778 " 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--100 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/Illustrations and Photographs. /[1]

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Pürgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailas, it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116 -- Analyst]

15; Francke --103 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans 474

Nr. 1. Caption for above picture appears on page 100

585
532
535

782 and finally sacrificed. At a marriage conducted
585 on a large scale, a sheep is thrown headlong from
782 the roof of a house, and its heart torn out.
Similarly, when sickness occurs threatening the
755 life of the patient, a sheep has to be sacrificed.
782 The animal is covered with a shroud to
impersonate a corpse. In the meanwhile, the
relations of the sick man call him repeatedly by
name, and to the accompaniment of loud
lamentations the sheep is led to the cremating
ground and burnt alive.

000 Though in theory the taking of life and the

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Your tails are as fine as a sinew; 796
You have gone round the threshing floor until the 533
sweat broke upon you;
You have gone round until your tendons contracted.

When the grain threshed by the oxen has been winnowed, 796
the ceremony of blessing the grain is performed. Around 782
the heap of grain four grain sacks, with their open ends facing the heap, are laid in the form of a square. Fried barley flour and butter (*Sur*) is placed on the threshing floor at the circumference of the heap of grain, whilst the droppings of the cattle (*Lcha*), an image of the god of harvest (*Sku-Dra*), and a few grains of corn (*Shrub*) are imbedded in the pile of grain. Scattering a few grains of corn hither and thither, a man invokes the god by saying:

I offer this;
Oh Aria the Lord of wealth, may the grain increase
as the droppings from the oxen.[8]

The 17th and 18th days of the 10th month are times 585
specially assigned for the celebration of marriages. These ceremonies held in Ladakh suffer very little modification or addition in ritual, for departure from the accepted customs handed down by tradition is considered to be an affront to the communal conscience.

WALTER ASBOE

AN IRISH FOLK-POEM

THE following poem was taken down, in 1933, on the Great Blasket Island, Kerry, from the singing of Peig Sayers the story-teller (see *Béaloideas*, vol. II, p. 108). As I have never seen another version in any collection of Irish folk-poems or elsewhere, it may be of interest to have it recorded here, in the Blasket dialect,

[8] *Original Ladakhi dialect*
mChod
Nor gi bdag po a-ri-a rdzam pa la.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property [586] she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman [273] beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only [564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

●585 on the floor in a deep niche for us to sit upon. Other guests, native, were already there, and they greeted us politely as we sat down.

We had hardly been there a few minutes, when the bridal procession was heard arriving. Two drumming Garas preceded it, and they were followed by the bride herself, completely trussed up in a white sheet and carried bodily on the back of a man. These two were followed in turn by a crowd of women led by three young men whom I heard are called *nya-opa* (*gNya-ao-pa*) meaning "witness". They had flowers and bits of straw in their hats and wore colourful clothes. It seemed that three of them (including the man carrying the bride) had always to be related to the bridegroom, while the two others need only be of his village.

All these people had been to fetch the bride from her home, and they [583] had done it in the traditional way, which was to steal her. She had been surprised in the fields while she was at work, covered by the sheet in which she was now wrapped, and carried away by one of the *nya-opa*, the *Na-tri-pa* (*sNa-aK'hrid-pa*), literally "the one who conducts (the bride) by the nose". She put up a show of resistance and, as she arrived near the house in which we waited, she was crying out and bemoaning her fate in truly traditional way. This is compulsory, it appears, in order to give the impression that the girl is modest and respectable, unwilling to leave her parents and be married off to some strange man (or men). Should she walk of her own accord to her future hunsbands' house, for instance, it would be considered the height of indecency, giving the impression that she wanted to leave her old home and go to that of her betrothed.

The white bundle which was the bride was deposited in the yard of the house at the feet of a woman standing there. Upon enquiry, I heard that the latter was a relative of the bridegrooms, and now had a role to play. Sure enough, as soon as the bride touched the ground, the woman sat down beside her, and the new arrival collapsed ceremoniously across her knees, continuing to wail and to cry out in a perfect performance. The Gara drummers settled down opposite, on the other side of the yard, and continued to beat their instruments as loudly as they could, as if they wanted to drown the laments of the wailing bride.

585 789 Three lamas from the local monastery then came out of the house. The first one carried a stone slab with three little figures kneaded out of *tsampa* (*Tsam-pa*) (barley flour) on it, one of them with a lighted candle in front of it and another with a little pillar, also made of *tsampa*, standing before it. These were called *tsa-sum* (*Ts'ha-gSum*), and were

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

figures connected with getting rid of evil spirits. The second monk carried a *drilbu* (*dril-bu*) or bell, and a *dorje* (*rDorJe*) or *vajra* thunderbolt, those ubiquitous instruments of Tibetan lamaist ritual. The third one carried a plate full of glowing charcoal embers. 585 789

On reaching the sobbing bride and the woman over whose knee she was bent, the priests lit the candle of the *tsa-sum* and dropped powdered incense onto the burning coals. The plate containing these, now smoking copiously, was placed below the girl's dress so as to fumigate her from below of any evil that she might have brought with her. The *tsa-sum* was passed repeatedly and slowly over her, clockwise, to the accompaniment of muttered prayers, and then thrown away over a nearby hedge with much whistling and shouting from the onlookers and even the sound of a shot being fired somewhere close to the house. Thakur Partap Chand explained that the *tsa-sum*, loaded with the evil which the girl had brought with her and which had been chased out of her by the fumes and smoke from the charcoal, had now been thrown away; a gun had been fired to kill the devils who were trying to escape, while the object of the shouting and whistling by the onlookers was to frighten away those devils who had not been hit.

Once all this was finished, the *Nya-opa* put shoes on the bride, who had arrived without any. She struggled and protested against this action, saying, as she traditionally should, that she did not want them. Ornaments were next placed on her while she made further protests, refusing to change her posture which was still that of lying prostrate over her woman companion's knee. The girl in the elaborate dress who had offered us *chang* when we arrived, then came out and gave a drink of the beer to each of the men. She poured it into their palms, from which they drank, and then went over to the bride to do the same. I was surprised to see the latter lap it up without making any fuss. 585 [273]

After this, the *Na-tri-pa* picked the bride up again and carried her into the house. As I wanted to see what was going to happen now, we left the roof from where we had been watching up to this point, and climbed down the steps to the main room, on the ground floor of the house, into which the bundle which still constituted the bride was being carried. We got there just a few seconds ahead of her, and sat down quickly at the far end in front of the window, next to the three lamas who had also settled down. Sketch 1, below, is a rough plan of our respective positions.

To our left, two of the bridegrooms, seated cross-legged on the floor, awaited their future spouse. A couple of them sufficed, it seemed, the

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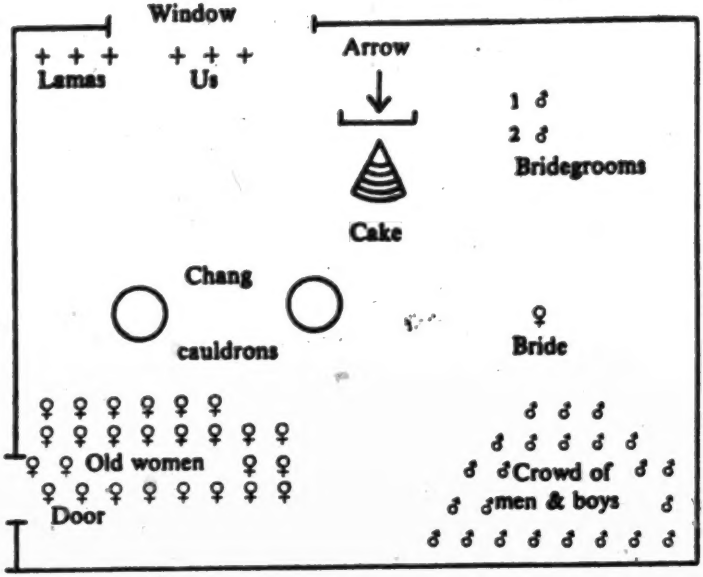

Sketch 1. Plan of main room of Tolag-pa House of Gumling during the polyandrous wedding there on the 1st July, 1938.

other two being very young and fidgety and incapable of behaving as they should at their wedding. The eldest of the brothers was on the [292] right and he wore a yellow silk gown with a bright green sash diagonally across it, a charm box round his neck and a little Lahuli embroidered hat on his head. His brother was plainly dressed in everyday clothes and was seated on his left.

In front of the eldest brother, in a square box full of grain, stood a [182] tall arrow with prayer flags attached to the head. Next to it, and in front of the second bridegroom, there was a conical cake of *tsampa* with the small figure of a goat fashioned out of butter at the top. In the centre of the room were two huge cauldrons of *chang*, enough to keep the party going for quite some time. The back of the room, facing us, was full of people, many old women on our right, and a mixed group of men and boys just opposite.

The bride was brought in and dumped near the younger brother, to his left. She remained lying there without moving, still gently moaning but having given up her violent protests. The room was in darkness [354] when she was carried in, but no sooner had she been put down on the

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floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony. 585 354

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard. 585 782

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval. 585 787

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights. 585 [273]

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

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585 men for another half hour and, on the stroke of midnight, they went up to the bridal chamber where the eldest brother was put to bed in another bed than the one in which his bride was already lying. This is the usual custom, I was assured, when the couple is not notoriously in love, and parents have arranged the match. They could sleep in the same bed together if it were otherwise. An old woman was left in the room all night to watch over them and see how they behaved, and this appeared to be an indication that the young people had, nevertheless, had a word to say in the choice of whom they would marry, because if they had not and the parents alone had arranged everything, two men and two women would have been on guard all night.

Thakur Partap Chand assured me that newly married couples never consummate the marriage on the first night; they only have physical relations with one another on their wedding day if they have had some before. Intercourse between husband and wife may not take place until a week later, I heard (I must say with some incredulity), or sometimes until after a month or even one year. The only explanation that I could find for such a curious statement was that perhaps in the case of arranged marriages, the partners are not keen to know each other, and postpone this duty as long as they can. But I cannot believe that so much delay is observed in the case of newly married couples who have voluntarily chosen each other.

In the early morning, the women fetched the bride out and, having dressed her in all her finery, brought her down to the main room again. The bridegroom and his brother were likewise taken down, adorned in their best clothes by their male friends and relatives. We found them sitting in state in the reception room where they had been seated during the wedding, but with the bride now relaxed and upright, and all the other paraphernalia removed – except the *chang* cauldrons.

[293] From the latter, an ample supply was served to the guests, together with tea. We were continually being pressed to drink, and after sipping our cups a few times, got tired of it and left the room. I took advantage of this to question the Thakur as to who the other people in the room were. He told me that they were relatives and friends of the bridegrooms' family. The bride was not represented, he assured me, because it was very rare that members of the bride's family should attend her wedding, never if they did not approve of the match. If their consent [584] has been obtained, they must first receive some assurance that their daughter will receive enough revenue from the land of her future husbands to satisfy them before they consent to appear. They will then do

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so, but always two days later, and when they make their appearance, everyone on the bridegrooms' side is very polite to them, for they protest against the violent way in which their daughter has been abducted, in accordance with the best traditions. 585

We went off to lunch after that, and on returning in the afternoon, visited the private chapel of the house, the *lha-k'hang* (*lha-k'hang*), where the three lamas were busy preparing offerings which still had to be made to the gods so that the wedding should be auspicious. They had consulted the scriptures, they told us, and the things which we could see on the altar were those that they considered appropriate for this occasion. Before a large statue of Buddha, together with the usual presentations of water, grain and *tsampa* moulded *tormas* (*gTor-ma*) or dough figures, there were a leg of mutton, the arrow with the streamers to it, standing in a box of grain, which we had seen in front of the senior bridegroom at the ceremony of the previous day, and a platter upon which stood the large figure of a stag also moulded in dough, with twelve points to its antlers, surrounded by small, coloured flags and two *dos* (*mDos*) or string-cross traps for evil spirits. The lamas were most obliging and pleasant, and although we interrupted their devotions, took great pains to show us everything. They told us that the stag would be thrown away and burned before the wedding festivities had come to an end. 585 782 [789]

Next, we went up onto the roof again, attracted there by various curious visitors from Tibet who had stopped off on their way south to see what was going on in the Tolag-pa house. There we found a space filled with a lot of men from the party, sitting round the wall, while in the centre, before them, huge cauldrons of *chang* were being prepared. Upon asking, I was given to understand that the bride was shortly coming up to give flowers to each of the men in exchange for small coins which they would give her for good luck. The *chang*-girl, whom we knew from the first day, was there distributing the alcoholic beverage to all in turn, still dressed in all her finery. Below this space on the roof, I heard that there was another room for tea drinkers, and that a similar ceremony would take place there, too. 585 273

The bride did come up soon after that, and she duly distributed flowers and received money in exchange. Everybody then got very drunk on the *chang* until the lamas came out with the stag offering and threw it away into a specially built bonfire below the house, while everyone hissed loudly at the devils which were being thus destroyed. Dancing followed, the men nearly all reeling drunk, but then I was told that for [789]

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585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she
[591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous
[115] people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accompanied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

423 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
428 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
595 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re-
[584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

595 428 [423] whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. [586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 [184] Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] [842] The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not [177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar- [585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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584 tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This
583 will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called
421 *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston*
585 (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will
436 amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives
583 will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

584 In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

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although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak 582

(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-* 611
chen), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into con- 614
sideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one [184]
can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most 585
elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail.

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out ac- [535]
companied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-* [187]
opas (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness".

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

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585 their destinaton, the people in the procession are intercepted by members of the girl's family, both male and female, called either *Nang-mi* (*Nang Mi*) "people of the interior", or *Yado Dzao* (*Ya-do mDza-bo*) "companion-friends". These beat them with sticks and make a pretence of holding them up. The bridegroom's relatives offer pieces of cloth, *khatags*, and cash (annas) to appease the trouble-makers, and they are then subject to questioning and answering in song form, based on the eighteen Puranas, called on this occasion *Nya-rabs Chop-gyat* (*gNya-rabs bCho-brGyad*) "the eighteen legends of the witnesses".

The same show of resistance is made again at the door of the girl's house (including thorns put deliberately on the ground to impede sitting down) and more offerings are made to remove the obstacles. The leaders of the procession then state the object of their visit, and proceed to dance round a *tsampa* and bread image called *Drangyas* (*Brang-rGyas*) which has been put up in the yard together with the carcass of a whole sheep or *Sha-kog* (*Sha-k'hog*). Lamas who are present here, begin worship while the dance is still on.

A feast follows, during which the bride is hidden away, her horse is stolen, she is not allowed to go to the toilet, etc., and is generally bothered by her relatives who express in this way their (feigned) disinclination to let her go. Her father and *azhang* are paid some nominal sum of money so that an end is put to this mischief, and the girl is produced. She then has a *khatag* wound round her head and is led into the kitchen, where the lamas conduct a religious ceremony called *yang-kug* (*gYang-k'hug*) which is an evocation of blessing addressed to the pre-Buddhist god of wealth, in order to secure happiness and prosperity for the bride.

Clothes, ornaments, horses, yaks, sheep, goats, grain and cash are now offered to the boy's family by that of the bride. The bridegroom's relatives pay back with Rin-t'ho, as decided earlier, and by offering a purely nominal sum of two or three rupees as the price of the milk of the bride's mother, called *Omä Rin* (*aO-mai Rin*) "milk price". Then they all settle down, on both the bride's and the bridegroom's side, to the serious business of drafting the marriage contract.

585 605 In this document, the details of the girl's dowry are listed, what the property of the bridegroom will be is specified, the "assistance" which the bride will have from a number of other husbands, i.e. the brothers of the eldest one, is recorded, and sometimes a clause is inserted that if the husband does not turn out to be up to the mark, she will be authorized to bring in a *mag-pa* of her choice. All men present are

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witness to the signature of this document. Those who sign are the *Nya-pön*[1] *and the father of the bridegroom; the latter* adds a pledge that he is bound to carry out his promises as to the amount of property which will be that of the young people when they are married. The original goes to the bride's relations, and the boy's family retains a duplicate. 585 [675]

The bridal party remains the night in the house and in the morning sets out for the bridegroom's house, taking the bride with them, and the second phase of the wedding ceremony begins.

The bride is received at the entrance of the bridegroom's house by two or more lamas, reciting prayers. They hold an earthenware vessel full of foodstuffs (*chang*, *tsampa*, rice, tea, dried apricots, and various varieties of vegetables) called *Zablug* (*Za-bLugs* (*-sku*) or "victual earthen vessel", which one of them whirls around the head of the bridegroom as he stands on the doorstep waiting for his future wife. The pot is then taken to a large stone standing close by, upon which crossed *dorjes* (*rDo-rJe*) have been drawn with a piece of charcoal, and is broken upon it. This initial ceremony is called *Gyag-chod* (*rGyag-ch'hod*) meaning "casting the hindrance away".

Then everybody troops into the house and a feast begins in which there is much singing and dancing and the expenses of which are paid by the bridegroom's *azhang*. The bride is brought in, and is seated with her bridegroom and his brothers (today, usually only the next eldest brother) in the kitchen on a white piece of cloth upon which grain has been strewn. They are made to eat out of the same plate, and one of the witnesses, who now assumes the role of *Na-tri-pa*, as we have already seen in Lahul, puts a *go-ras* or cotton cloth on the head of the boys.

The third phase of the marriage, the most important one, follows. The *Na-tri-pa*, who is also known as the *Tashi-pa* (*bKra-shis-pa*) or "lucky one", in Ladak, conducts the bride into the store room of the house. He carries a *Da-dar* (*mDa-dar*) or arrow with flags in the five colours of Buddhism, a mirror, a sheep's ankle bone, and a *khatag*, and is followed by the bridegroom or bridegrooms. Once they have all got into the room, the match-maker (for that is what the "nose-conducting-one" is) removes the *go-ras* which the bride has been wearing since she was taken from her house, and those of the men which have just been put on in the kitchen, and lays them down on a plate containing barley grains which is standing on a table or a ledge close by. He then hooks the bride by the collar from behind with the *Da-dar*, as a symbol of taking her out from among other girls whom the men

[1] [i.e., The "Chief Witness" -- Analyst]

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585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not [675] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time 425 has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the 428 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who 886 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part [585] of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the [888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,? now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal
[425] and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[428] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[585] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family
[888] called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[591] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry, occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

? [i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans A54

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published. 779 212 213

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated its height when building the chapel in which it was housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another portion had to be built to take this. 778

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking. 533 535 [585] [777] 535

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon
776 or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil [illegible]san a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live [illegible] nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at
595 liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one
768 end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never
[478] divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an
779 arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided
586 "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If
428 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they remain with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

428 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the
592 eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her
parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is
583 termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his
428 younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa"
591 has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the
592 daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her
586 parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step
removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out
at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of
his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter
from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a
woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees.
597 If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted;
for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading
"adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls
on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see
under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows
little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which
is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána"
or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no
God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being
into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand
"deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and
peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained
only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period
of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from
195 beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans,
whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians
in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand
a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The
ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the
Indian word "Sáhib."

595 428 583 601 [597] If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto" husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

● 586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 587 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 586 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 583 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one. [595]

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [134] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mĉod-gnas) a few rupees 842
"for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!"
He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled
and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing
of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously
and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara,
so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The
Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings;
the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single
lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit
Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves
swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore
two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the
ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the
house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was
increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to
one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! 595
The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling 837
and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands
to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a husband; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for
compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The
man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of
the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner;
even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise
to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only
a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things
and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents
his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a complete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently 586
brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of
continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness,
or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and
wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter
also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal
law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who
breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

•586 money: One "coat lappet full" of money, that is, a certain sum of money which is to be put into the lappet of the long coat (t'o-sgaṅ) and is to be handed over in this manner. The concept to-sgaṅ points to the fact that the fine was originally a very high one. But the concept is extremely flexible and accordingly it is usually stretched--or shrunk--a great deal. In Tibet, too, there frequently prevails a "double standard" for man and woman. A proverb states, in the conciseness characteristic of the Tibetan language: "Man--coat lappet--cow; woman--coat lappet--horse"; that is to say, the man who breaks up the marriage pays as compensation the price of a cow; the woman in the corresponding case pays approximately threefold price of a horse. Often one party maliciously leaves the other and does not think of paying a sum of money as compensation. Then there are violent disputes between the families and the tribes of the persons involved, as well as protracted litigations in court.

ooo In comparison to this, the relationship between the young couple Namgyal and Chosskyid was distinguished very favorably by the fact that here each party was attached to the other by warm affection. Namgyal guarded his "migbras" (the apple of his eye) with love and with a wakeful eye and Chosskyid /119/ as time went by became increasingly a faithful helpmate and support to him in all his duties.

511 With respect to outward signs of good fortune, that is, material goods, Kubera, the god of wealth, had not provided the Dragshos family too liberally, according to the concept of their Tibetan neighbors and acquaintances. Despite their elegant descent they were nothing but farmers whose modest wealth consisted of their possession in the fields and cattle. Aside from fields and clover meadows the family owned three horses, a number of cows, a few yak oxen and donkeys, fifty odd sheep, and some goats as well as chickens. Cash was always quite scarce with them as it is with all Tibetan farmers. The money as a rule just sufficed for the payment of the heavy taxes, for the purchase of the greatest necessities, insofar as these could not be supplied by their own farm. The latter was, luckily, the case to a very large degree. Wheat, barley, and buckwheat were supplied by their fields. The grain [252] was ground at one of the small water mills by the brook; it was sifted through a sieve made of horse hair, and in this manner they obtained a coarse, nourishing flour. Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 A.4 W. Tibetans A.4

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladâkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perik* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 937

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *keser*, or green, water is kept; *i.e.*, water in which *kêsar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kêsar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

595 428 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their 182 religious order.

595 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage 585 of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage • 586 or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not 595
come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a 586
polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There 595
are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, 548
which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased 595
the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an 177
ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of [795]
Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn 797
to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck 177
pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The next day there is dancing again in front of a crowd of spectators, and in the afternoon or evening of this day the bride also comes out to dance. If the bridegroom is only a *magpa* (that is, brought to the bride's house), he has to dance with the *nyopas* all day long. On this day the feasting proceeds according to the aforesaid menu, which is the same in both houses, and in the evening the *brangyas* are divided up and distributed, those in the bride's house being made of flour. Early in the morning of this day the bride and bridegroom have to go to salute the parents of the former, and the following night is again spent in dancing and feasting. Throughout, the *nyopas* and relatives take food and drink to the wedding pair, who also are invited to meals by the cook, brewer, and keeper of the store-room respectively, and whose hospitality they must return, while they must not omit to give food and a *jau* (As 3½) per head to the *bedas* or bandsmen. This same evening the *nyopas* receive presents from the house, where dancing again takes place.

The following day is called the *nyendron* (relative feast) of the bridegroom. If the guests invited by the bride amount to one hundred, at the bridegroom's feast there will be one hundred and fifty visitors, such a proportion always being maintained.

The next day is called the *dronchung*, to which only the nearest relatives come, while a final day's feasting provides the servants with their turn, and so the festivities slowly wane.

By custom, nobody is permitted to marry the relatives of either parents. Only on rare occasions very distant connections are married, for instance, if they are removed three or four generations. This close relationship is called *Rtsibma*, indicating that they are of one rib, whereas the ordinary word for relation signifies "of one race." In ancient times nobody was allowed to marry a personal relation unless removed by eight generations.

If the happiness of the couple inaugurated with such

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [538] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

586 614 If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 595 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property [586] she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman [273] beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [564] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument [533] to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

595 428 [423] whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. [586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 [184] Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] 842 The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not [177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar- [585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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595 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also
425 have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These
428 things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary
888 from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-*
425 *chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights
428 that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look
[851] after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the
[792] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-*
796 *bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regu-
651 larly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted
595 to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-
● 586 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households
591 in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents
888 and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she [178]

[See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355 -- Ah.]

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586 refuses to live any longer – she will sometimes tie a thread between one [768] of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to show that she is free.

Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus [831] sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent.

A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatability of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and divorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable [595] position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great impor- 586 tance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Mos- 797 lem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife, simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to do so.

586 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

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on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind. 586 [435]

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule. 837 [626]

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama". [792]

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way. 836 839 [848]

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be 837 684

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called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 168 [936]

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later.

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tangtse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [925] [932]

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591 595 There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as [351] well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attain- [888] ing to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men 595 in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, 601 and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as [115] shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

595 The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married [191] a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin [586] Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

595 We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* 759 or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There 601 was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-* [888] *gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a [463] larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
361 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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misconduct, no easy task in a country where the moral code is not too high and where husbands are prepared to share their wife. 586

The children of a family have one "big father" and several "little fathers". When the husband who actually married the woman dies, she need not remain with the brothers or junior husbands. If she wishes to leave them, she just ties a thread to the finger of her dead husband, breaks it, and is at once free of them all. It is a land where women enjoy unfettered power and liberty. 595

The simpleness of these people was early on demonstrated to me. We had considered ourselves fortunate in securing the services of a shikari from Leh who had taken a party through from that city the previous season to Baltistan to shoot markhor, afterwards going down with them to Srinagar. He had been away from his home for nearly a year, but showed no great delight on returning there, even though he met his brother who had also just returned from Tibet, he being a guide who each season took parties through from Leh to Lhasa, a three months' journey. Both men must have been in their late thirties, their wife was a comely soul of about the same age; she carried a baby which was not yet able to walk, and when next day I visited the house, which both brothers insisted that I must see, it was obvious, even although she was wearing the full dress of her countrywomen, that there was another child on the way.

After a while a boy, who might have been fifteen years old, came in and, since he acted as though he was a member of the household, I naturally took him to be a son, but not a bit of it, he was the third husband. Then I started working things out; both the elder brothers had been away from their home for so long that the child that was coming could only be that of the younger boy brother, and harking back again, I remembered that they had told me that the season before both had been away, so that the baby the wife carried in her arms must also have been his. It seemed that she had been married to the brothers for over twelve years and had had no children—probably both men were diseased—now when the boy brother took his place in the line, the family had started to increase. But the suggestion that they would at least know who was the father, was immediately 842 595

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147] There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry [582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. [562] The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 588 [567] In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361] The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

[30]

779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon
776 or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at
595 liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one
768 end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son,
[428] or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

●[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an
779 arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If
586 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they re-
428 main with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

595 If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto"
428 husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some
583 of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal
601 roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two
[597] brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her
587 husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a
586 younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter
583 becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred
[595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

RAVEN--chhosskiong or pherok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [184] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yookssápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [651] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

765 a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year
●587 or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think
[581] that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 [135]RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an
775 ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue ob-
656 tained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngieymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III. B. Social and Religious Life. Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tíba*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chamba* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

1 [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

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In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

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Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

764 184

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

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"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

177 [438] [582]

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladàkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perák* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 937

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *kesar*, or green, water is kept; *i.e.*, water in which *kesar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kesar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

597 582 It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

● 587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [638] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

586 614 If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 595 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

773 same time of the "stupid devil" of Europe.
776

/17/ The Seven and the Eighteen Agus

773 Aside from Kesar, the eighteen or seven Agus, so-called, are
805 the greatest heroes of the Kesar saga. Kesar is the leader of these
776 heroes, and together with him they form a group of nineteen beings whom I am inclined to regard as personifications of an old calendar. The days of the week seem to have found their embodiment here, and perhaps the months, insofar as a connection exists between them and the constellations of the zodiac.

773 About the origins of the Agus we read in the Lower Ladakhi Ver-
776 sion of the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, I, "Prologue to the Kesar Saga"):[1] The forefather bKra-shis, together with his wife, seeded a field on which only a single tree was growing. From its fruits worms arose that ate one another until at the end only a single giant worm was left. This worm turned into a beautiful child, for whom eighteen brides were sought. All the brides became pregnant as soon as they looked at the child, and from them the eighteen Agus were born.

196 The word A-gu is the dialectal form of the Tibetan word A-khu,
[582] which means "uncle," "father's brother," but which in Western
773 Tibet can also mean "husband." The last-named meaning may be
776 connected with the fact that the brothers of the master of the house have a claim upon the master's wife. Moreover, it should be remembered that among the Dard of mDa, the word Mum-mo, which also means "uncle," is used, in their old songs, in the sense of "forebears." Some of this last meaning may also have penetrated into the Tibetan word A-gu.

773 The order of the eighteen Agus is given as follows in the para-
776 graph of the Kesar saga (Prologue):

1. Pasan-ldan-ru-skyes, with a goat's head.
2. An-gar-rtsans-po, with a lizard's head.
3. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun, with a hawk's head.
4. Kha-rgan-ga-ni, with a white beard.
5. sKya-ba-rgod-po, with a ladle for a head.
6. Zla-ba-bzan-po, with a moon for a head.
7. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, with an arrow tip for a head.
8. A-la-jon-gol, with a boot sole for a head.
9. aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, with an insect's head.
10. Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, with a mirror for a head.

[1] [See pp. 1-8, cat. 116 for references, --Analyst]

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
● 587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
357

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[IC4] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

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593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

T This sect too resembled the "hnikmápa" sect.

792 Later again, a Láma, named "Paldan Drukpa," or Spaldan Drukpa"
795 of Lhása founded another sect, known as the "drukpa or dukpa"
779 or "kárgiootpa" sect. The word "ka" means "order" and "rgioot"
WT is the name of that division of the "kárgioor" which deals with
792 "Religious Mystical doctrines," called in Tibetan "Sanghngaks"
795 hence the "kárgiootpa" sect, is the sect believing in the "rgioot"
779 or book of Mystical doctrines, called in Sanscrit "tantra."

This sect, which is now the most powerful of all the red sects, is very similar in the matter of its somewhat lax morality, to the hnikmápa sect. Its Lámás eat meat, and drink intoxicating
T liquors, and though they may not marry, so long as they remain
[588] in the [81] priesthood, their lives are not invariably virtuous,
WT and, provided a show of secrecy is maintained, they may live
● [588] with a nun or any other woman. The nuns indeed (of the red sect) are commonly supposed to be little else than the servants and concubines of the Lámás.

Soon after the founding of the Dukpa sect, three other sects arose. The first was the Skarmápa, or Karmápa, so called because its members were believers in the "efficacy of works" (in Sanscrit the word "Karma" means "deed.") Mr. Jáschke says the Karmápa was a philosophical school of Buddhism.

Then arose, simultaneously it is believed, the "Dreegongpa" or "Breegongpa" sect, and the Staklungpa sect. These sects were founded by disciples of the great "Paldan Drukpa" and derived their names from the monasteries of Dreegong and Staklung, to which the Lámás who founded them belonged.

About this time a Láma named Báráwar, a resident of "Hlo" (i.e. Bhutan), introduced among Lámás, the custom of wearing hats and shoes.

The next landmark is to be found in the person of Láma Tsongkhápa, the great reformer, who was born about 1357 and died in 1419.

He viewed with disapproval the lax morality of the Lámás, which, he said, was not at all in conformity with the precepts of Buddha, and he founded a sect, whose conduct was to be in accordance with the original system of Lámáism. He prohibited the use of meat and wine among Lámás, he enforced clerical celibacy, he directed that the "Rgioot" or "Gioot," (that division of the "Kágioor" which deals with "Magic" or "Mystic Doctrines") should not be read, and he instituted the custom, which is still observed, of holding periodical conferences of

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
674 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

792 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
792 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
792 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

person reached the age of five, he was brought from his home and with elaborate ceremonies inducted into office, the rites being performed at Sankar. From this time he remained in the care of the lamas, Meme Lobzang, our old friend at Sankar, being his lay tutor, while his spiritual instruction was undertaken by the Sras *Skushog* of Ridzong, of whom more anon, and with whom he sometimes went away for long periods. The present Bacola is a charming little person, with a big head and large wondering childish eyes, in fact, it is quite pathetic to see him sitting on his little throne in his own private apartment at Spitug, with the insignia of his office replacing childhood's playthings on the table before him, and to hear his lamas instructing him as to what to say and do in their most polite and deferential language. Once one of these satellites arrived in Leh, and earnestly asked one of the Memsahibs for a cabbage. "But," said she, "it is late in the winter and all our cabbages are done. We have not enough for ourselves." But the lama pleaded and pleaded,—even a little tiny one would do,—for the Baby *Skushog* was crying and would not be comforted unless they procured a cabbage for him. So the Memsahib searched among the few old vegetables left, until she found a little one that would satisfy his baby desire.

The *Skushog* of Peyang does not often visit Leh, and we have rarely seen him, but he is reputed to be one of the most erudite scholars of his own religion. He is of the red variety and holds sway over the Lamayura *dGonpa* also.

Finally, a few words must be said about the incumbent of Ridzong lamasery, a few miles behind the hills of Saspola, who also rules a monastery in Nubra, so has constantly to cross the Kardong Pass. This gentleman, with his refined scholarly face, is perhaps the most spiritually-minded and learned of all the neighbouring abbots. A member of the reformed yellow sect for whom celibacy is decreed, he has yet dared to take and acknowledge a wife, instead of indulging

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 in the usual profligacy, which still must be legitimate for one
588 who is a law-giver, and who can do no sin. This lady, who is addressed by the honorific title of *Bûm*, often accompanies him on his visits to Leh; she is very resplendent with magnificent *perag* and jewels, but quite friendly, and when she visited us was most interested in our children and their toys and dolls, especially one of the latter with eyelashes!
775 The *Skushog* is generally known as the "Sras" or Son *Skushog*,
792 for he is one of a pair of incarnations, the "Yab," or Father *Skushog*, being the priest-king, we have already met on our tour to Zankskar. In the present re-birth the son happens to be older than the father, but that is a mere detail in this system of re-incarnation, where the physical body is of such minor importance.

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562 take in another man, in the hope that
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scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147] There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry [582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. [562] The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 588 [567] In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361] The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 476 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
●589 "Remarriage."
601

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the T 175 648 721 Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladak, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not [675] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time 425 has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the 428 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who 886 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part [585] of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the [888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances. 595 161

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the women to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the [311] restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being [439] no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladākh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation.

It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of [589] many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject.

428 592 583 428 591 592 586 597

his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

312 Chapter III, D.

423 Village Communities and Tenures.

has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

[426]

[428]

423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

[428]

[591]

423 651

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically. 852

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex. 584 591 [421]

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady. 583

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog." 586

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585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she [591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accom- [115] panied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

423 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
428 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
595 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re- [584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

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could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

3. *Division of property between parents and children*

When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

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595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [992] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 796 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-
595 586 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 597 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she [168]

[See discussion in category 116, pp 352-355--Ah.]

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114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hun to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and 115 had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their 428 eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom.

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37).

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage.

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

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595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,* now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
[585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family
888 called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
591 and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry, occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

*[i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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595 [115] [591] [888] Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] [591] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, [114] [194] as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group 595 photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I 85 turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her [126] youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous 595
people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan household, 851
that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-
zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children,
without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or
little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household 591
close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the mar- 595
ried children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-* 888
chen. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received [115]
us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I [601]
give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous house- 595
hold of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the 361
town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage
between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

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There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

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595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-*
[591] *chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close
[126] to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[928] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[797] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

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one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[TEXT Continues on p. 390]

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information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

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Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks. 595 124

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen,* the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children. [591]

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis. 595 601 [115] 792 782 595 601

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table. 595 601

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were [597]

Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [423] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

428 592 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

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753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family 796
property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season 592
invite all members of the family to assemble at his house
for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them
a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and
when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the
centre, and into it butter is poured.

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am 171
indebted for the above account, that this exactly corres- 796
ponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where
butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding.

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea
is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical
of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the
idea of light which again is closely connected with the
idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal 796
dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are [648]
spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of
merriment.

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" [241]
or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls
about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning
to ripen. It is celebrated in every village.

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious
celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the
early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on
the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a
matter of fact, observed by the people of the country,
only once a year, when a great festival takes place at
Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival
which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th
day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June.
On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is 796
crowded with people who have come from all parts of 536
Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils"
dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis
monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is
rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their
richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely
handsome.

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

595 428 583 601 [595] If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto" husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 587 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 586 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 583 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred [595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Amusements.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Constitution of the family.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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"*Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.

"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.

"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*

"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" ½

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thákur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thákurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpan*, under the name of *detoenzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thákur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive, custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

595 428 184

428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

* *Kang*, house; big; *chung*, small; *parwadia* (Hindi); *yang*=*our* or *par*, as in *parddda* (Hindi), one beyond.

[½ QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON. -- ANALYST]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

428 592 565 [595] [465] 792 428 595

proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tóba*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chambs* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the [587]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

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423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *káng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *káng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as a hearth-tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of the land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *káng chímpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *ránki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *káng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *ránki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *káng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *káng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *ránki*

* In Pin *kothí* the *bezas* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprung, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

423 592 792 In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

423 Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

[427] There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhaziug* or God-

423 792 465 423 778

* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

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857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis around which the system functions. In
592 taking down genealogical notes I have, therefore, always given the family the name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called Tsungarpa who married one woman,
428 the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE 1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

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second brother had also left, when he ran away in a huff, with one-third plus two of the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 WTi 595 [592]

The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

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[For information on polyandrous households see category 595.]

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which mis-
behaved has a child, in which case the young child is re-
tained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are,
turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to
this, the family property is equally divided between the
adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand
what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in
gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing
which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel."
konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither
form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor
deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see
under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of
dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák,
Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot
trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra
and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The com-
mon small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning,
or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost
as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i
marnak."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

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Amusements. 541

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

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Constitution of the family. 592

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In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gompa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

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* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

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Social and Religious Life.

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Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

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valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

[584]

595
184

1 [i.e. Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric marriages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated, in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it. 595 428 [671]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless." [694]

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers. 593 184 [797]

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm 593 595 184

593 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one
595 184 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and
[465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land
291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves,
515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night,
735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

she was nursing a child; and as the baby fed, Nordzin picked lice 515
off herself and off the child and cracked them with her fingernails. 735
Her hair was matted. Nordzin, about five feet eight and slight, had a flat face that was creased with care and worry and unhappiness. The faces of the children were as filthy as the rags they wore.

I inquired of Pamba why they were so poor when Phuntzog 735
made twelve dollars a month and the garden produced all the 274
vegetables they could eat. The answer was slow in coming, and even then it was evasive. It seems that a great portion of the income of the Gyalangs goes into the making of *chan*, the local barley beer. Indeed, one eighth of the farm production of Leh is used to make this brew. It stimulates many quarrels between the brothers. With the help of the *chan*, Phuntzog and Pamba raise their voices over Nordzin.

When I entered the Gyalang house, I began to understand the 593
basis for the friction. It is a one-room affair. A clay stove, built [511]
by Phuntzog, is against one wall. The floor is of mud and very dirty. There are no chairs, no table, no bed. The one wife, four children, and two husbands roll up together on the floor.

There was a scowl on Pamba's face when I asked him about Phuntzog.

"He's Nordzin's favorite," Pamba complained.

"But he's gone most of the day and many nights on his mail route," I said.

Pamba only shrugged his shoulders.

Later I talked with Phuntzog. The sun was just rising over Leh, and he was in a hurry to get started on the road to Spitok. He, like Pamba, is short, squat, round-faced, and bedraggled. Like Pamba, he was full of complaints. His brother was getting the best of the arrangement, he said. His long absences gave Pamba the advantage. It was he, Phuntzog, who owned the place; yet it was Pamba who acted like lord and master. And Pamba was lazy and made Nordzin do all the work.

Beyond the High Himalayas

• 593 At the end of our talk I put Phuntzog one question.

"Phuntzog," I said, "tell me the truth. Should a man keep one wife all to himself, or is it better that he share her with another man?"

Phuntzog looked at me for several seconds. His brown eyes were now hard, his face expressionless. Finally he muttered, "What do you think?"

And, turning on his heel, he started with his mail sack to Spitok.

18. Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..betans AJ4

The Doctor Memsahib once had 757

the privilege of coming upon a family unawares just at dawn in the middle of winter. She had been called out to a case in a village, nine miles from Leh, the last two miles of which had to be done in the dark, that is by snow and starlight, and she and her Ladaki nurse were glad to walk over the frozen snow a little to keep their feet from freezing. Already icicles stretched from upper to lower eye-lashes, and whiskers, formed by the frozen moisture of their breath, adorned their mouths. The patient's friends had sent for the Doctor three days too late; already two small lives were extinct, and the last dim hope of the mother lay in a surgical interference. An operation was performed, after sterilizing instruments in a cooking pot by the light of a fire of sticks on the mud floor, the nurse giving chloroform for the first time. But it was too late and, at about two a.m., the patient died. We sat on till the first dim light appeared, for out-of-doors we feared wolves in the dark, and a strange experience it was. On one side of the 593 ● room the corpse covered with sacking and filthy sheepskin, 764 near the fire on the floor quietly sobbing, was the unkempt, shaggy, ragged husband, who, for all his uncouth appearance, had exhibited the most extraordinary tenderness and patience with his suffering wife; near the stove his mother-in-law, a wrinkled old hag, who wailed intermittently. On the further side of the stove hens nestled. In the next cold fireless room two children were sleeping, and we were told that downstairs a blind old grandfather had been put in the straw cellar (again the "wrong way round" compared with our hayloft in the West) to keep warm in the horses' fodder. The Ladaki nurse spread her coat, lined with sheepskin in the corner by the stove for her Doctor, and fetched a thick horse-cover for herself. The fire of manure in the stove had gone out, and the two mourners occasionally added sticks to the one on the floor, but the room was bone cold. The family were so poor 511 that they had not offered us even a warm drink during the long, 574 bitter night, though, when they thought we were drowsing,

757 ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again
565 see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

797 But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards
758 are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital,
593 he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not.
758 We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated
301 to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his
164 ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be
758 able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792]
third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582]
pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764]
father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614]
heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593]
than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before
[791] the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[794] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

273 539 32. (*a*) མ་ཤི་ཆེ་རིང་འདུག་ནས་སྲན་མའི་སྲན་ཆང་སྟེར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) mashi'tbse ring'dugna shran'mā shran'chang ster'rin.

(*c*) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.

(*d*) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.

000 (*e*) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb.* and *copulat.*

593 539 33. (*a*) མ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་རྒྱ་ཚོད་མས་ཆོད།།

(*b*) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na
thsalrgo thsod'mā chod'.

(*c*) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].

(*d*) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.

000 (*e*) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*

539 34. (*a*) བསམ་པ་སྔོན་ལ་ཆ་བདང་ན།
འགྱོད་པ་རྗེས་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།།

(*b*) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na
gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.

(*c*) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.

577 793 539 35. (*a*) བོང་ཏ་ཝི་ནོ་མཆོག་ལ་སེར་ཟླུག་ན། ཡང་ནས་ལ་ཟླུག་ན།
ཚོགས་ཡིན།།

(*b*) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, tsogs'in.

(*c*) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.

(*d*) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.

000 (*e*) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.

539 36. (*a*) སྔོན་མ་རྒྱག་བཀྱབ་ན། རྗེ་མ་དགོད་མ་ཤོར།།

(*b*) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.

(*c*) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[EC4] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

584 the same property, which is built especially
●593 for that purpose. This custom is known
[104] as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them
[104] (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age, usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three genera-
152 tions back. I have never found a case of
this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical
suspicions that it has never been practised,
but that this story has been put out by
polyandrous people as an indication of,
what I should call popularly, "wishful
thinking." Each of the brothers would
like, in some way, to have the common
wife all to himself and would like to mani-
fest this virility on his part by hanging up
some emblem at the door. The sword, the
stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the
beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols
of virility, and it seems as if the men would
like to have this custom which, possibly,
has never existed, and each of them gains
a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a
virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
595 andry is an institutionalized social system,
178 they stick to it very strictly. If you ask
missionaries who have been among poly-
androus people, they will, of course, tell
you that polyandry is a very immoral prac-
tice. But if you speak to the people them-
selves, they, on the contrary, consider it
highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If
we take as the definition of morality, con-
formity to the social standards of the set-
ting in which one lives, then one can say
that polyandrous people, at least in this
area which I studied, are very moral. The
old people complain that today the young
ones are getting highly immoral and lax
in not carrying out the tradition of poly-
andry. Certainly, on the borders of India,
where the people come in contact with the
monogamous families of India, or with
Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some
extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

2166

152 428 houses? I have the impression that it does exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 595 As it is, there seem to be some outlets for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 762 593 A certain amount of neurotic cases among brothers can also be noticed, which shows that jealousy certainly exists unconsciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

217a

152 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of
702 his other brothers for their relations with
593 the common wife.

837 There are certain instances of extra-
595 marital relations between people in this
684 polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 Illegitimate children are usually hushed
597 up. They are often adopted into some
793 family or are sent to the monasteries as
548 novices, so that nobody knows exactly what
276 their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans,
[824] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homo-
sexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof
000 of it. But local Europeans who know the

To would give the following interpretation
829 of the polyandrous systems found: It
595 seems to me that polyandry is "not neces-
121 sarily a primitive institutional form of
182 marriage, but that it is due to the psycho-
T logical reaction of individuals living in
829 communities subject to environmentally
595 poor and insecure economic conditions,
121 persisting, in the case of the Tibetans,
182 through isolation from other communities,
K or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of
[121] defense mechanism against invasion by
other cultures." I have not included the
Tiyas in this definition because I do not
know them sufficiently and would like to
go more thoroughly into their polyandry
before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti Now, if I take this definition, instance
595 by instance, I shall be able to interpret
114 exactly what I mean by it. When I first
212 say that polyandry is "not necessarily a
primitive institutional form of marriage,"
I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans
are all literate and educated people, with
whom you can speak quite freely, who have
a very pronounced sense of reality and do
not in any way seem like a primitive
people. It thus looks as if polyandry were
a system entirely outside of the usual
evolutionary stages of marriage, in which
anthropology puts the matriarchal before
the patriarchal system.

To Next, I say that polyandry is "due to
595 the psychological reaction of individuals
114 living in communities subject to environ-
[182] mentally poor and economically insecure
[593] conditions," by which I mean, living in a
physical environment which leads to a
miserable economy. This economy makes
Ti them very interdependent, within each
595 family, upon the help of each other, and
114 this interdependence, in turn, which is
[182] stressed very highly in these families be-
[593] cause of the necessity of sticking together
under the difficult physical conditions,
calls for less aggression among the mem-
bers of the family itself and among groups
of them. It seems to me that this stress
on the condemnation of aggression is such
that even something approaching incest

225a

To 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so Ti 595 114 effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they Ti 595 114 593 do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women
462 of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than
161 in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry,
[565] plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their
[593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585 784

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!), " and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his e[illegible]ces with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well- 000

128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same 594 855

● 594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house, when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the
[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the death of the father. She has full authority over the property (the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband. If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something which happens quite often and is carried out without many scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same parents.

000 to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuń) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 372]

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the great number of very short women; but I am 141
inclined to attribute it partly to the system of polyandry 595
which prevails among them. This system is, I believe, almost universal amongst the mixed race of Kanetis throughout Kanawar and the other Kaneti districts, but as far as I could learn it is not so prevalent amongst the pure Botis of Ladák. The custom has therefore most probably been borrowed from the polyandrous Hindu race of Himálayan Kshatriyas, amongst whom it has been preserved for at least twenty-five centuries, since the Pandavan brothers jointly espoused the princess Draupadi.

The great differences observable in the stature of the 000
Musalmán races of Shigar on the north and of Skardo on the south, must no doubt be attributed to the mixture of other races; of the diminutive Kirghiz of Pamer with the first, and of the tall Kashmiri with the second. The people of Shigar were once, I believe, pure Kirghiz.

In general the Botis have short, squat, stout figures, 142
with broad, flat, ugly faces; but occasionally amongst the better classes I have seen both men and women who were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy colour in their cheeks. Indeed, I have even seen a few of the women that were really handsome, with good regular features and fine figures. But in general they are all, both men and women, not only ugly but hideous, and more especially the old women. Dr. Gerard's amusing description of these people is too graphic to be omitted.* "In figure they are stout, waddling, and dumpy; * * * in face they are not beautiful, even when young; when past their climacteric, [145]
very unseemly; and when old, a picture of horrid ugliness.

* Asiatic Researches, XVIII. p. 249.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

264 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that
565 may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for
262 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu
784 Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is
565 the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 600

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) star ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang star ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] 585 768 584 [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 600

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

[1] [i.e, barley beer-- ANALYST]

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns* of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons* is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 596
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 595
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

*[Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

588 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

[30]

779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon
776 or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at
595 liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one
768 end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never
[428] divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an
779 arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided
586 "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If
428 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they remain with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [423] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srâchan or SHrâchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladâkis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistân and women of Ladâk.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladâk women to adopt the faith of Islâm, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladâk, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHôns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHôns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHôn." ArGHôns are never polyandrists, and though

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

595 428 583 601 [597] If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto" husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 587 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her husbands at the same time, but she cánnot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 586 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

428 583 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred [595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chǎng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chǎng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian 797
congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently
been established here, and may possibly prove more successful,
as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extra-
ordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the
Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious 595
considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the 779
faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never 114
agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they
will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice,
though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun
of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and
Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population,
and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the
people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist [674]
population, all this would be changed, the country would be
rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty,
misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife princi-
ple may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry
to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, [311]
where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for [167]
the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an
economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innova-
tion, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate
abolition of the practice of polyandry.

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a wo- 826
man's face is a beauty.

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or 792
tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading
"Láma."

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end
of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

195
MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) 805
ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema
ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo"
is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when
one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-
tshal" is used.

792 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751 PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Townspeople use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

● 595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [184] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [651] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house, when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the
[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the death of the father. She has full authority over the property (the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband. If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something which happens quite often and is carried out without many scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same parents.

000 to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuń) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself

the possession of his wife to, whom he had become increasingly attached as time went by, instead of having to share in the possession of one woman with several brothers in a polyandrous marriage. (129)

129. In large parts of Tibet and of Ladakh there prevails the custom of marriage with many men (polyandry). In families with several sons, only the eldest son as a rule brings a wife into the house. This wife is after the wedding without further ceremony also considered the spouse of the remaining--rarely more than two--younger brothers. The oldest brother is regarded as the actual husband and owner of the woman, and he alone is entitled to rid himself of the woman through divorce when she has committed adultery or in any other way displeased him. The children are the property of the oldest brother, of the master of the house; they call him "great father (a-p'a ĉen-mo), " the youngest brother they call "little father (a-p'a ĉuñ-nuñ), " and the middle brother (of three) they call "ap'a /sic/ bar-ma, middle father." Often one of the brothers marries as Magpa into another house, especially when there are more than three brothers in one household; or one of the younger brothers enters the monastery as lama and is taken care of there. In this way, and also through the frequent absence on business trips of one or several of the woman's husbands, the unnatural and repulsive aspects of this custom are somewhat lessened. The custom has its motivation in the endeavor to prevent the splitting up into many small parts of the field holdings which are usually small, are acquired with much toil and are expensive to begin with; and also to avoid overpopulation. It is therefore a measure of purely economic and social significance. Through continued distribution of the land among the heirs, there would soon come into existence tiny properties which would be unable to maintain a family. Tibet still has practically no industry and the few handicrafts (smith, carpenter) are practised exclusively by the low caste Aryans (Mon, Garba). Thus the brothers mostly stay together in the paternal house where they are very welcome as working hands; even a small holding can in this manner feed its occupants at least precariously. In so doing the "system" practically fulfills its purpose. True, it is so designed as to destroy the woman's feeling for purity and dignity. But it must be said that

545 [601]

● 595 But it must be said that
562 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

242 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan
[781] woman to be sterile (mo-sam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign
[776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mcod-gnas) a few rupees 842
"for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!"
He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled
and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing
of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously
and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara,
so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The
Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings;
the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single
lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit
Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves
swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore
two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the
ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the
house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was
increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to
one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! 595
The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling 837
and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands
to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a hus-
band; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for
compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The
man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of
the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner;
even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise
to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only
a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things
and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents
his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a com-
plete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently 586
brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of
continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness,
or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and
wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter
also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal
law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who
breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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104 Constitution of the family.

"*Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.

"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.

"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*

"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" [1]

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thákur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thákurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpas*, under the name of *dotoenzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thákur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

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428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

* *Kang*, house; big; *chung*, small; *pa*=*wala* (Hindi); *yang*=*aur* or *par*, as in *pardáda* (Hindi), one beyond.

[1 QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON.—ANALYST]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

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proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tábu*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chamba* or *getsul*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the [587]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e. Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devís* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

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* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 18

HOW MANY HUSBANDS DO YOU HAVE?

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Polyandry is a form of polygamy. But instead of the husband having several wives, the wife has several husbands. Ladakh is not the only place in the world where polyandric marriages have existed. But it is one of the few places where they still thrive. They thrive there despite the fact that Kashmir has outlawed them.

595 Some say polyandry exists where there is a scarcity of women;
182 that when there are not enough women to go around, a social-religious institution is created enabling one woman, with propriety, to do double or treble or quadruple service. That was probably the origin of polyandry in the plains of India where long ago there were in places a scarcity of women owing to female infanticide. Others say that polyandry was introduced into Ladakh and Tibet to take care of the special needs of family life there. The man of the house customarily spends more than half the year away from home with caravans, or with sheep and goats, or on pilgrimages. There is the need to protect the women and

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the children during his long absences and to maintain a standard of connubial fidelity. So the wife is given protection and companionship of extra husbands. Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., who passed through Ladakh about thirty years ago on a hunting expedition, reported in his book, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*, that polyandry served greatly to ameliorate the lot of the woman in this region. I found no evidence of that. The woman in Ladakh is the work horse of the family. When she marries she takes up the great burden of children, the house, and the fields. Unmarried women are spry, pretty, and gay. Married women are old by thirty. A few years of married life makes them bent and silent and wan. Polyandry, if designed to cater to the woman, has failed in its purpose.

In some regions polyandry may have been designed to cut down the number of babies. The scarcity of food is thought by some to have been the reason for the introduction long ago of the polyandric marriage into a few remote sections of the Kulu Valley. A related reason is sometimes advanced for the introduction of polyandry into Tibet and Ladakh. The view is that it was imported by the lamas as an instrument of control. This region does not produce much food. If the population curve were to go up, there would not be enough food to go around. Population is held in check by reducing the number of wives. That means more food for everyone as fewer babies are born. That means that the monasteries, bulging with food, need not fear a growing discontent among the masses who starve so that the lamas may eat. The purpose, if such it was, is lost in history. But the effect of polyandry is plain. The population of Ladakh has long remained practically stationary; and the food supply of the lamas has in no way been threatened.

Another theory behind polyandry also traces to a purpose that serves the interest of the monasteries. The idea is that if a woman has several husbands there will likely be discontent and rivalry among the men. The wife will have favorites; and there will be

595 182 792 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss. They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the monasteries to become lamas.

595 428 All of these reasons[1] may contribute to the invention and spread of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be [735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each generation of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers. The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the [601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

 ‡ [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

practice she may reject the husbandly advances of any of the hus- 595
bands or she may demand the husbandly attentions of all of them.

But the polyandric system in Ladakh is not a pure and unadul- 595
terated one. It bows to expediency. In theory, there is only one 178
wife. Often there are two or perhaps three in a family. The first wife may be sickly. Or she may be so busy bearing children that she cannot work in the fields. Or the burden of the children, the house, and the fields may be too great for any one woman. And so another woman is brought in as wife; and the bedroom acquires a communistic cast.

At times there will be no son to inherit the land. In that event 595
the eldest daughter takes all. Yet, if she has sisters, they too must 428
be provided for. And so the institution of the *magpa* was invented. The father who has no male heir looks around for a likely son-in-law. When the father finds a suitable candidate, he makes a proposition to him. If the chap will give up his family name and take the family name of the other family, he can marry the eldest daughter and their son will inherit the property. If this chap marries the eldest daughter, he automatically becomes the husband of all of her sisters. He becomes the *magpa*, the new head of the sonless family. And so when Mr. Gyalang marries Miss Dombos, he becomes Mr. Dombos.

Thus primogeniture in Ladakh and in Tibet has produced both 595
polyandry and polygamy. These institutions today have a great 428
hold on the people. The Kashmir government is not proud of 182
them. The educated people look down on them. The best families in Leh do not like to discuss the problem. But the roots of polyandry are deep; they are tied to the economy as well as to the customs of the people. And behind the scenes the lamas give the system spiritual and moral support. For the institution of primogeniture has long been thought to be sound in a land where the margin between subsistence and starvation is so narrow. And polyandry is sound by the standards of the lamas, who measure

595 428 182 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their religious order.

595 585 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 586 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not 595
come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a 586
polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There 595
are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, 548
which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased 595
the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an 177
ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of [795]
Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn 797
to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck 177
pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

797 177 lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

•595 I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric mar-
593 riages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

595 The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated,
671 in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her
428 devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it. 595 428 [671]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless." [694]

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers. 593 184 [797]

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm 593 595 184

593 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one
595 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this
184 ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and
[465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land
291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves,
515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night,
735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 [789] bride. Before arriving at her future home, the bride and her escort are met by lamas who perform the service of *Gyagsrod*, that is, the driving away of any evil spirits which may have chosen to accompany the bride, and whose presence is not desired in her new abode. For this purpose the members of the future home have sent a new unused pot filled with dregs, which the lamas, after preliminary incantations, break, and with it throw away a *storma* or strewing oblation.

The lamas now enter the bridegroom's house, and the leader of the *nyopas* follows with the bride. Her new mother-in-law comes to meet her on the threshold of the living-room, bringing a plate on which is a present reposing on some barley, which latter serves to enhance the apparent size of the former. This plate is given to the bride's-maid, or *spamo*, but before receiving it, the bride must salute her new mother, [595] who reciprocates the greeting. The mother then leads her into the living-room, where, if she is only to marry one boy, she finds him sitting on a carpet, bearing the mystic sign and wearing the white head-dress; but if the brothers are also included, they all sit similarly side by side, while near them is an empty carpet for her, upon which is the sign "*nor bu gyas a kyil*," meaning "jewel."

When all, including the *nyopas*, are thus seated in a row, the bridegroom's mother rises and salutes the *nyopas* in turn, after which the bride and bridegroom are taken into the store-room and given refreshments, the leader of the *nyopas* accompanying them. Their plates having been filled, the leading *nyopa* removes their head-dresses, putting them on a plate. Then he says, "Which is quicker, bride or bridegroom?" at which challenge they compete with each other at snatching the food off their plates. In this little store-room the happy couple live for some days, and each of the near relatives brings them a small piece of the *drangyas* (cake) and presents. The *nyopas* spend the night dancing at the house, with only the shortest interval for sleep.

13. Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [538] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not 586 allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is 614 not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are ● 595 no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank, even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792]
third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582]
pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764]
father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614]
heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593]
than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers. 473 The house and the land and all the children belong to the 478 eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre-601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences, 764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms. 764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus 614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance [791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 finally ended up on the Tibetan plateau, about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
103 active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[161] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
1128 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

212b

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
592 around which the system functions. In taking down genealogical notes I have, therefore, always given the family the name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
428 Tsungarpa who married one woman, the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE 1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
looked like an ordinary monogamous mar-
428 riage However, the two properties were
not amalgamated. The woman was to
carry on the name of Bata and the man
that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
357

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583
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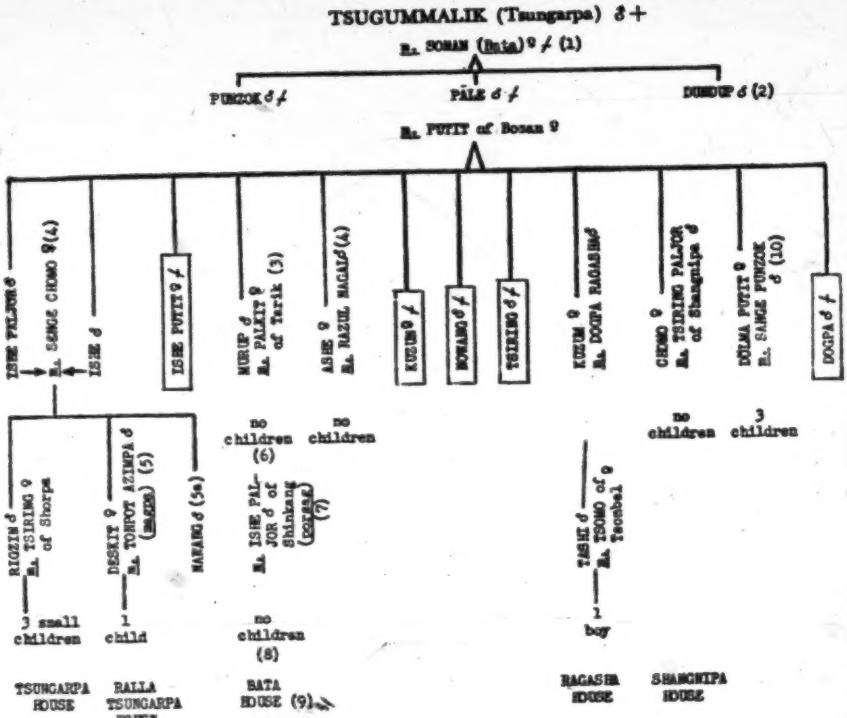

FIGURE 1. The Tsungarpa house. (1) Heiress to the Bata house—all brothers dead. (2) Put in charge of the lone Bata house. (3) Given the Bata house. (4) A Mohammedan—the woman takes the man's religion. (5) Land only held in tenancy. (5a) Becomes a Lama at Himis monastery. (6) After 20 years. (7) Murup is single-handed. (8) After 4 years. (9) Could adopt a child to carry on. (10) No land, as formerly Mohammedan; messenger at Himis monastery. † Deceased.

-- 213c (Figure 1) --

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually by the parents. But this is not always the
588 case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
this is not practised any longer, but that it
121 used to be a custom two or three genera-
201 tions back. I have never found a case of
152 its actually being practised today and, for
this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
•595 andry is an institutionalized social system,
they stick to it very strictly. If you ask
178 missionaries who have been among poly-
androus people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
178 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

595 pean travelers were introducing the bad
178 habit of monogamous marriage, and that
the young men were getting more and more
428 immoral. I suppose he was quite right
and as I was interested to hear his point
of view we had quite a conversation about
it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we
managed to remain wealthy without being
polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in
Tibet we haven't enough to go around and
as we don't want to divide the property up
we have to be polyandrous so that we
inherit the property without its being
divided. But how do you Europeans do
it? How do you remain wealthy by being
monogamous and dividing up your property?"

595 I must say I had not thought of this
178 before. It only occurred to me when I
was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes,
428 now that I think of it, it is probably true
that in Europe we do things in a different
829 way. When we marry, each man goes off
with his wife and they try to fend for
themselves, build up their own family and
get their own source of revenue. That is
the way we do it. There is enough wealth
to go around to found other families."
"Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I
have noticed among the Tibetans who
have become Moslems that this is also the
case. They cease being polyandrous, and
because of that they then divide up the
property. There is not enough to go
around. The eldest brother usually gets
it and the youngest brothers have to go off
with their wives elsewhere to find some
work. I have also noticed here that nearly
all the Mohammedan families seem to go
to Burma and work in the ruby mines
there. That is obviously for the same
reason you are telling me now about Europeans." Then he was silent for a moment
and looked at me in a pensive fashion until
suddenly he said, "Now I understand why
you Europeans come here. That is why
you have got colonies. If you were polyandrous you wouldn't need to!"

152 One question I am very often asked is,
428 does jealousy exist within the various

2166

152 428 houses? I have the impression that it does exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 595 As it is, there seem to be some outlets for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 762 593 A certain amount of neurotic cases among brothers can also be noticed, which shows that jealousy certainly exists unconsciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

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152 762 593 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

837 595 684 There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 597 793 548 276 Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, [524] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 000 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

WT 838 181 595 But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT 719 595 174 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti 595 341 WT 341 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a [104] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchamadoong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchamadoong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

Ti 595 587 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

To 595 422 592

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second brother had also left, when he ran away in a huff, with one-third plus two of the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 WTi ● 595 [592]

The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

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Ti 575 or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

582 586 wTi 584

To 595 Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

wTi [595]

To 836 784 154 618 123

interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154

I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595

Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 595 wTi 595

As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

Ti 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 182 To 595 182 Ti 595 182 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

TODA AW60
AJ4
KERALA AW11
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K 595 182 Ti 595 182 To 595 182 To 174 595 182 162 K 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [849]

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

TODA AW 60
KERALA AW 11
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reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

T, 162 792 — To 847 162

As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

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As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

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To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanatio

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To 829 595 121 182 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each Ti 595 114 [182] [593] family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

To 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so Ti 595 114 effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by Ti 595 114 593 which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a Ti 595 114 repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

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relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous people they are very proud of it and boast of it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

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I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.

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about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

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The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

WT 101 114 595

In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

T 101 114 595

In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of Ü (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as Ü-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

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In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-

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exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

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Lahul

595 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu
795 Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not.
631 As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there
[342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father.
[341] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden
[574] table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

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Lahul

had come to live with her husbands in Kyelang. I asked if I could photograph the family, and on receiving permission to do so, asked for the younger husbands to be included. They posed unabashed but the elder boy and his bride looked shy. The Thakur said that this was because husband and wife should not really be seen very much together in public. 595

Further questioning elucidated that property of the household was common to the family, the mother and her three sons having inherited the land and house from the deceased husband. By marrying one wife, the brothers avoided partition and jointly shared their estate, their wife, and the children they might have. Asked if the younger brothers could marry another woman if they wished, the Thakur assured me that they could; he said that they could also bring her home, if the others agreed to it, and have her living with them in the common house. In my notes I have written: "Thus polygyny and polyandry are united under one roof, the first marriage of the three brothers to one wife not being dissolved when a new wife is brought home." [428]

The following day, June 22nd, the Wazir took me to some other households in the town. The first one, called Mion Zukshi, was polygynous and polyandrous as theoretically described above. Four brothers lived with two wives, without dividing their belongings and apparently in complete harmony. I did not know enough at the time to investigate the relations of these people, but I did gather one wife had been the spouse of all four brothers first, until the third one had gone out and brought himself another girl back, with the consent of his brothers.

In the next household, called Ralwa Karpa, one man was married to three women. Unfortunately my notes do not give any details and I am mentioning it here only as a indication that polygyny does exist in the valley of Lahul as, in fact, it exists everywhere else in areas of Tibetan culture.

The third household was the main one from which the previous one had broken away (*Ralwa*, it seems, means "cleft" locally). It consisted of two men living together undivided property with a wife each. The particularity of this family was, however, that both brothers had been married first to one of the women, until the older man had brought in a new wife. The first woman then became exclusively the wife of the younger brother. I made a rough sort of genealogy (the first I ever did) which I give opposite (Table 26). 595 601 7/1

From this genealogy I learned that polyandry earlier on had been much more pronounced. Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup had two elder

7/1 [See category 116, p. 317 -- Analyst]

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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [594] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [988] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian [795] families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 198 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

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made clear to me exactly what was meant by this name (on the 25th June, 1938). 575 428

Lahulis, the Moravian missionary told me, are very keen not to divide up their property and anxious, also, not to let their family name die out. [182] In order to attain these two objectives, they practise polyandry and both patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance, the latter type, however, only in the case of there being no male heir, so that a generation in which there are only girls may be bridged over.

He compared the Lahuli household to a pivot around which all the interests of the family revolved. Polyandry was practised because in this way a number of brothers living on a family property could keep it undivided by taking one wife in common and sharing her, the land and the children between themselves. Usually inheritance was patrilineal, boys inheriting jointly and without division from their fathers, and then marrying polyandrously as the latter had done, and so on and so on through the future generations.

Matrilineal succession was resorted to when there was no male heir or heirs. In that case, if there were more than one girl, the eldest became the heiress, while the others were married off into other families, usually polyandrously, to brothers. In the case of one female heir, she, like the eldest of many daughters, inherited the whole property from her parents, undivided, and then was free to take as many husbands as she wished with whom to procreate offspring for the household. If she had boys, they inherited as described above; if she in turn only had girls, the same procedure as that which had been followed in her own case was again made use of.

The first type of marriage, the Reverend Peter said, that in which the sons of a Lahuli family took one wife in common, was the most widespread and was called a *bag-ma* marriage (*Bag-ma*, meaning "bride" in Tibetan). It was patrilocal and patrilineal. The other type of marriage, the one in which a daughter inherited all the property alone and took as many husbands as she wished, was more exceptional. Its name was [601] a *mag-pa* marriage (from *Mag-pa*, "son in law" or "bridegroom" in Tibetan), an appellation by which the woman's husband or husbands were also known in that case (see genealogy of the Karpa family in which this term is used).

My informant told me that in Leh, Ladak, he had known a woman with three *mag-pas*, all unrelated, so that this is a form of non-fraternal polyandry. He said that the younger brothers of a *mag-pa* do not have access to his wife, as it is he who has married into her household and

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595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The lessee's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out [586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman [273] beautifully dressed in coloured silk with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [564] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a bottle-shaped instrument [533] to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through the ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on P. 318]

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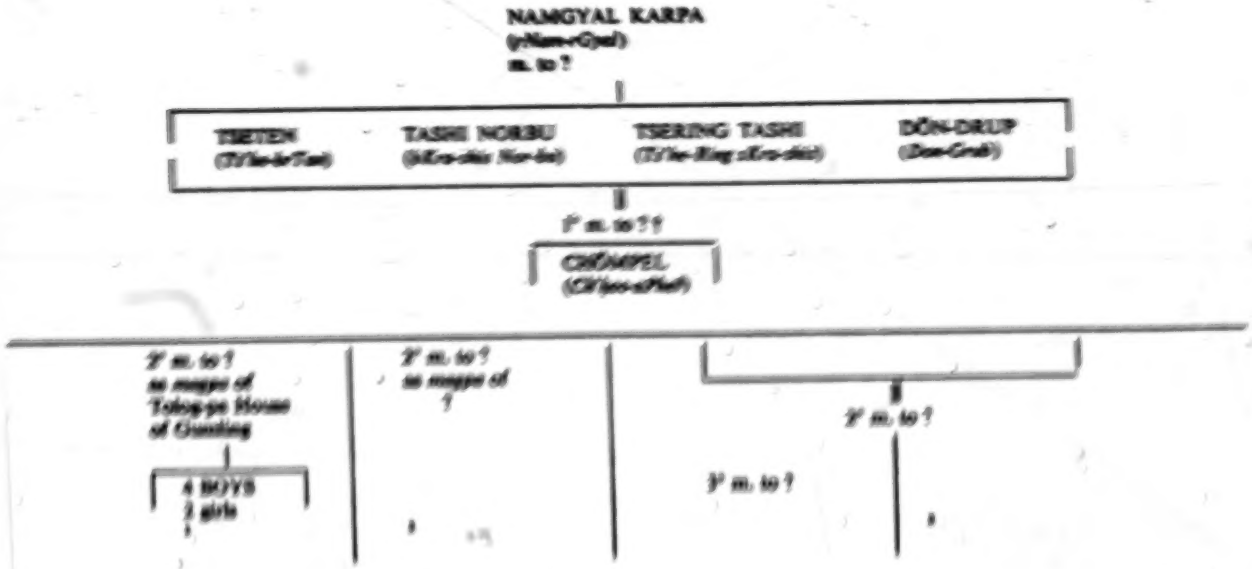
TABLE 26. HOUSE OF KARPA.



[1] House of Tolag-pa of Gunling.
[2] House of the family into which Tashi Norbu was married as mugpo.
[3] House of Karpa continued by Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup.

Males in Capital letters
Females in small lettering
m. = married
? = dead

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a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accompanied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of polyandrous families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the brothers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also receive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

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In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garkpon*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur.

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said.

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or heads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli.

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father,

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595 although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that
[854] when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an
[848] attempt to give a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horjag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I
855 was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the
fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience show-
428 ed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put
[856] pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap
Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There
[578] was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this
[188] matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *même* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

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The Lahuli term for father is *apa* (*Ap'ha*), and a distinction is made between eldest father, *apa chembo* (*Ap'ha ch'hen-po*), middle father, *apa chung-ngan* (*Ap'ha ch'hung-ngu*) or *apa panna* (probably an Indian term), and the youngest, *agu* (*A-gu*), by which term (which strictly means paternal uncle), all other younger brothers of the eldest fathers are called. 601 595

The mother is known as *ama* (*A-ma*). Husband and wife are both called *zhidmat* (*Zhid-sMat*) or *troks* (*Drogs*). A wife calls her eldest husband *ajo* (*A-jo*) or more respectively *ga-ga* (*Ga-ga*), and the younger ones *no* (*No*) or honorifically *ga-ga chung-ngan* (*Ga-ga ch'hung-ngu*). The eldest husband calls his wife *ache* (*A-ch'he*), (which is another word for sister); the oher husbands call her *nomo* (*No-mo*), while all of them, speaking of her to each other, refer to her as *ane* (*A-ne*) (which also has the meaning of aunt), or *zhidmat*. People outside the family will speak of the wife also as *zhidmat* and of the husbands as *go-bu* (*mGo-Bu*), for the eldest, *panna* (Indian?) for the middle one, and *t'ha-chung-ngan* (*mT'ha-ch'hung-ngu*) for the youngest.

In a polygynous household, the eldest wife goes by the name of *chan-chen* (*Byan-ch'hen*), the second one by that of *Chan-chung-ngan* (*Byan-ch'hung-ngu*), and the youngest is called *yang-chung-ngan* (*Yang-ch'hung-ngu*). Eldest boys, before they are married, are known as *gaga* (*Ga-ga*), and youngest as *no-no* (*No-no*). I have already said that a man called in to a family to produce children when the husbands have failed to do so with their common wife is called a *p'horjag*. Sometimes, a second man is also asked to assist if the first one fails, in which case he is called a *po-chung-ngan* (*P'ho-ch'hung-ngu*). Sons go by the name of *bu-tsa* (*Bu-ts'ha*), while daughters are called *bu-mo* (*Bu-mo*). [842]

The Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity belong also to various patrilineal clans, each one descendant from a common ancestor. These are called *rü* (*Rus*), meaning "bone", and those belonging to them are known as *rü-pa* (*Rus-pa*). The Thakur gave me a list of some of the main ones, the name they bore, he said, being that of the ancestor. They are the following: 614

1. Guram Shing-pa (*Gur-ram Shing-pa*) or Jo (*Jo*), meaning "Sugar cane one" or "Lord", the clan to which he himself belonged. They were descendants, he told me, of the preserved semen of a Tibetan ascetic which had been fertilized on a piece of sugar cane.
2. Lön-chen-pa (*bLon-ch'hen-pa*), "Minister one".
3. Miru-pa (*Mi-rus-pa*), "Human bone one" or "Villager from Miru" (in Ladak).

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He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epilepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his remarks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

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Tibetan Nomads

(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576] they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

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595 563 as it did among all Tibetans, that is also among the sedentary population. Since many authors have denied the existence of polyandry among nomads in Tibet, while others have stated that it does exist, the pronouncement was of interest to me.

I asked whether the few animals which the nomads did own themselves were held in common in one family unit, as the land was in Lahul. Although I had expected an affirmative answer to this question, the one that I received was in the negative. Why then did nomads live in polyandry? I enquired what the incentive might be, since there did not appear to be an economic one. The reply given was that it was a Tibetan custom which everyone in Tibet had always practised. Against this, I argued that by dividing up the family into as many units as there were sons to marry, each with his wife and children, since property was already individual, it would be possible to increase the livestock and raise the standard of living among nomads. This, however, did not seem to impress my informants, the abbot and the *goba*, at all; they simply repeated that nomads were Tibetans like others and therefore followed the customs of their country.

I have thus come to the conclusion that the nomads of Tibet practise polyandry exactly as the sedentary population does, out of social conformity. Being Tibetans, they often combine other forms of marriage with polyandry as well and, while I was in Rupchu, I heard about a prominent case of polygyny which, it seemed, had attracted a certain amount of attention, even in this society.

A man named Sönam Murup (*bSod-Nams dNgos-Grub*), unfortunately absent at the time of my visit, was the *mag-pa* husband of a young woman whose two other sisters were married out in *bag-ma*. These, however, had divorced and returned home to their sister, and from that moment had become the junior wives of Sönam Murup. No marriage ceremony had been performed so that they were free to leave again and to remarry, but in the meantime, the children that they had had with the *mag-pa* were considered as those of the family of his first wife.

[114] It was at Korzok *gompa* that I was given details about the polyandry practised by the Lhasa officials in Ngari Korsum province, and particularly about the way in which the Gar-pön and his son lived together with a common wife. I shall not go into this here, however, but will hold it in reserve for the division dealing particularly with this subject, as part of the description of the polyandry that is practised in Tibet proper.

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Ladak

Ladaki king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his saviour to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists.

After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line.

In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis.

Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that

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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [485]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nangdzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 433 651

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b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

1. *Generalities*

595 From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of poly-
[195] androus families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something un-
170 desirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in
595 Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who
195 had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the
[626] rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün
[115] (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I
[563] got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

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temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of marriage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior. 595

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable. 597 [428]

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence. 584 [987]

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con- [583] [421]

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585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the [675] girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

●595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the 425 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who 428 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part 886 of his or her inheritance.

[585] A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the [888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

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595 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also
425 have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These
428 things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary
888 from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-*
425 *chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights
428 that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look
[851] after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the
[1192] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-*
796 *bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regu-
651 larly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-
595 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live
586 in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households
591 in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents
888 and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she [168]

[See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355 -- Ah.]

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586 refuses to live any longer – she will sometimes tie a thread between one
[768] of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to show that she is free.

Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus
[839] sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent.

A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatability of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and divorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable
[595] position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great impor-
586 tance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Mos-
797 lem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife, simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to do so.

586 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

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837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pe* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none
[735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[1942] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

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called *Shub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 428 [936]

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later.

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tangtse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [925] [932]

6. Personal field-work research

After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'him to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

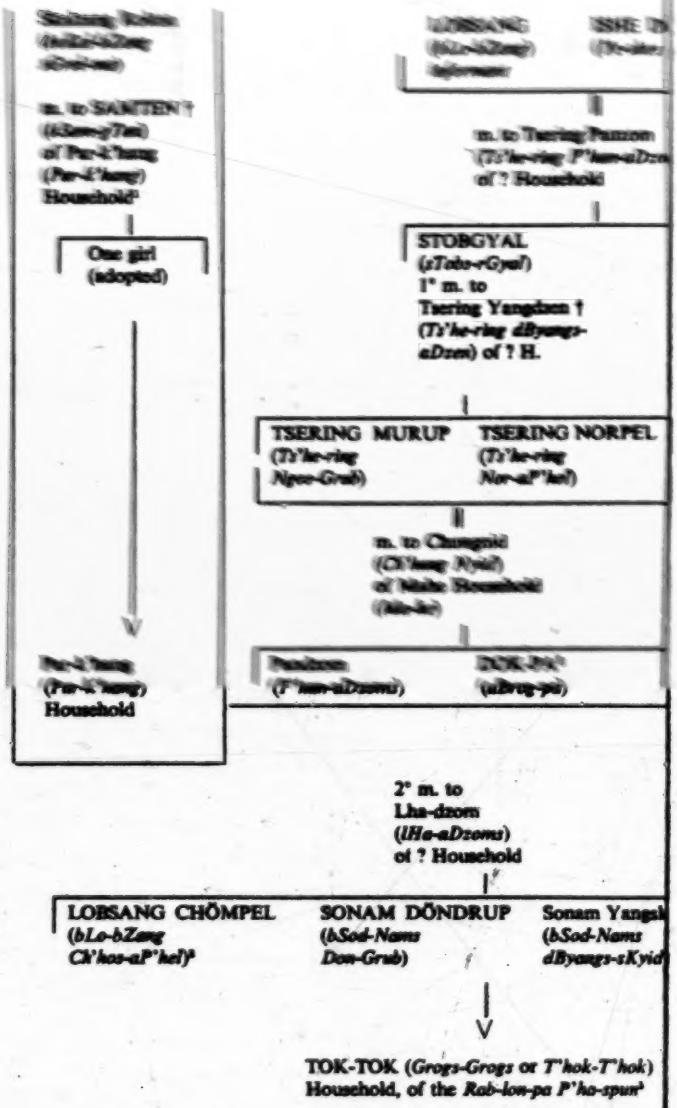
Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDoi*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that in Ladak it is called a *nango* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

TABLE 37. GENEALOGY OF TOK-TOK (Grogs-Grogs or T'hok-T'hok)



[1] Skalzang Rolma is a widow and owns her late husband's house for the time being. She ha this child will inherit the Par-k'hang Household at the death of her mother by adoption, comes first.

[154] [2] This little boy has no real name yet; the one he bears means "nomad" and has been given to [551] He is a Gelug-pa lama, and lives in Lhasa.

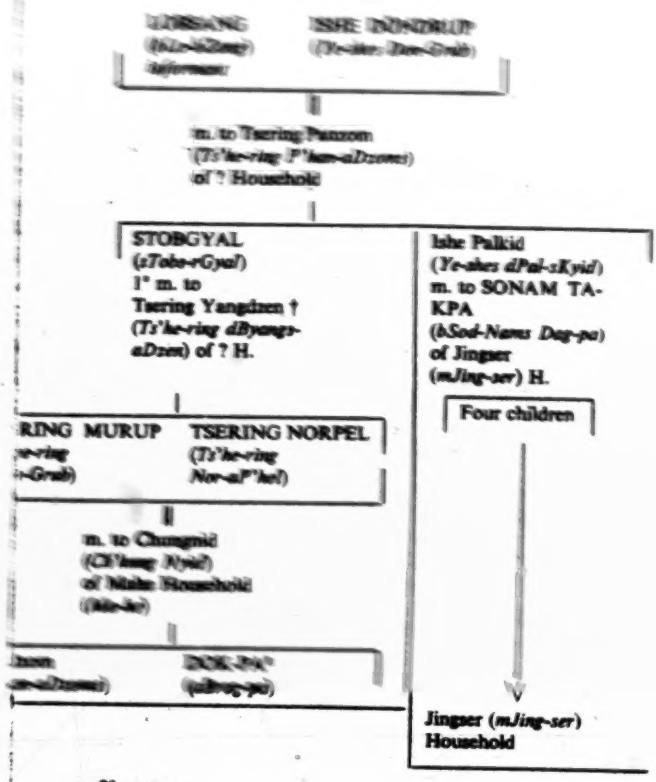
[3] This little boy has also been given a provisional name, as above, for the same reason; (*aBrog-mo*) alternatively, meaning "female nomad".

[4] See list of Ladak *P'ho-spuns*.

Capital letters denote males. Small characters are women. † = dead. m. = married. H. =

[Contd. P.360-A]

OF TOK-TOK (Grogs-Grogs or T'hok-T'hok) HOUSEHOLD.



husband's house for the time being. She has adopted a little girl relative of her husband and d at the death of her mother by adoption, or when she herself marries a *mag-pa*, whichever

ears means "nomad" and has been given to him provisionally to avert the evil eye from him. [059]

hal name, as above, for the same reason; it means "protector". He is also called Dok-mo [551] ad".

women. † = dead. m. = married. H. = Household

[facing p. 360-B]

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The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Taiqa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom. 591 595 888

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37). 595 123 [354] [126]

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage. 595 199

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

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He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without
595 being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could
425 stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous
428 marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this
[182] in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had no-
595 ticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedan-
425 ism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous,
428 and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result
995 was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to
[KA] move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long dis-
123 course (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged
182 opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

[TEXT Continues on P. 364]

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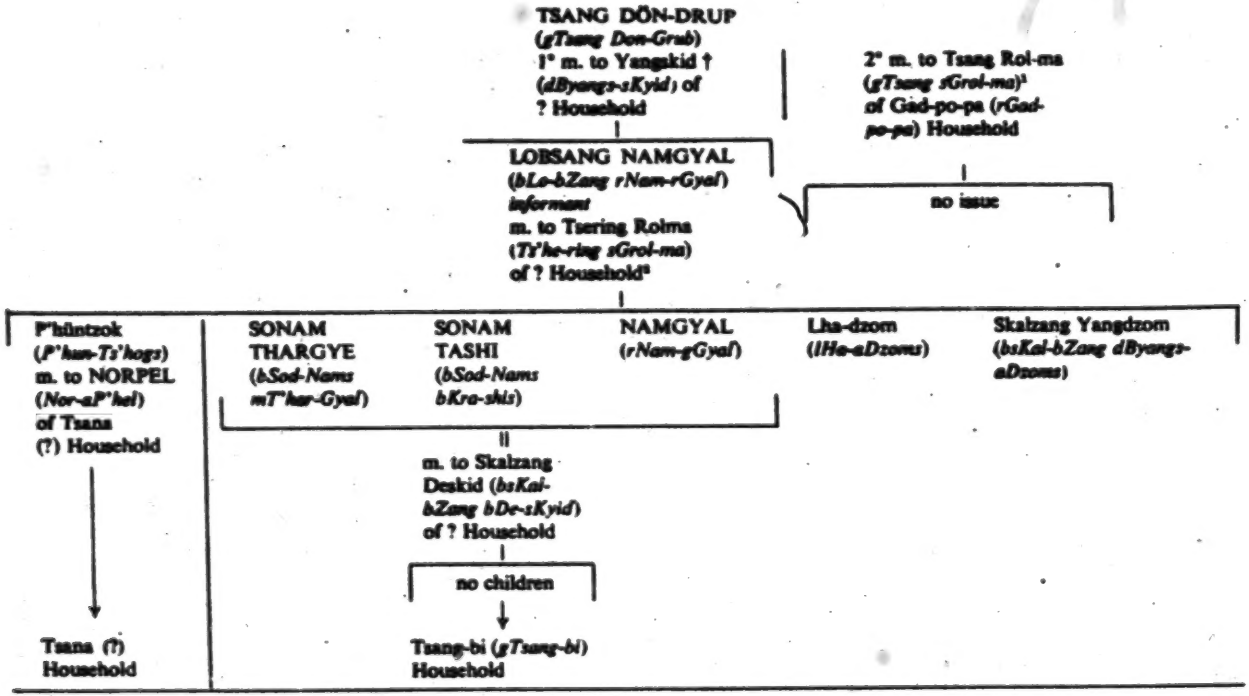
TABLE 28. GENEALOGY OF TSANG-BI (*gTsang-bi*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Living in the *k'hang-gu*. See Table 32.
[2] Parents, five children and the wife of the three boys all living in the *k'hang-chen*.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595

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595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife, now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[418] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
[585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family
[888] called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[591] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry, occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

[i.e, Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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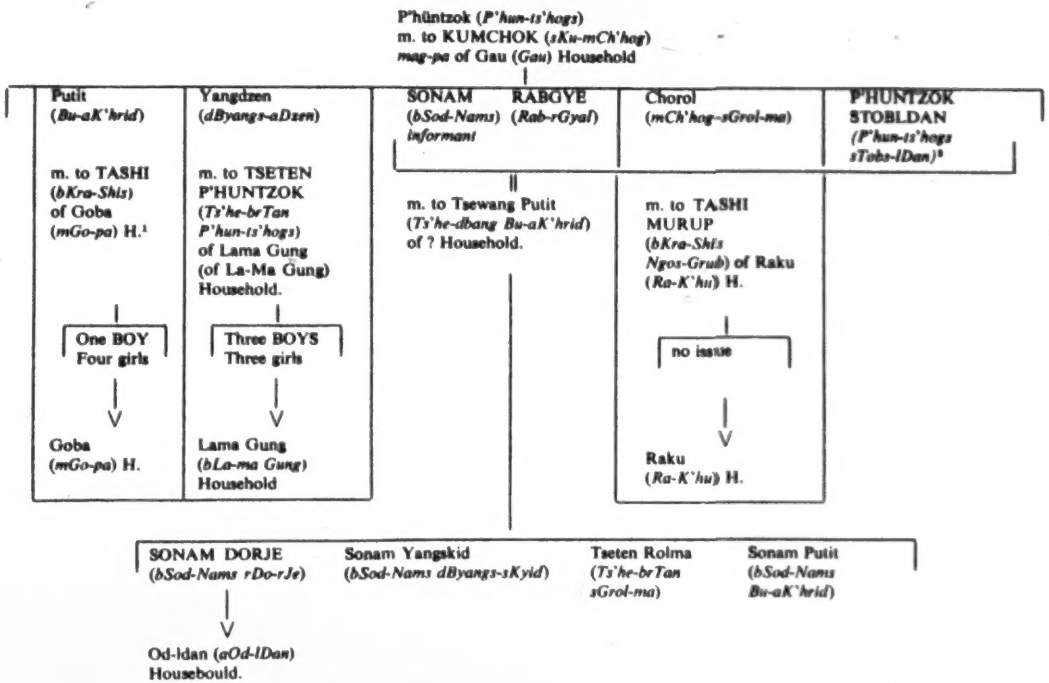
TABLE 29. GENEALOGY OF OD-LDAN (*aOd-lDan*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Tashi has two brothers, and Putit is married polyandrously to these, too.
[2] He is the third husband of Tsewang Putit.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 [115] [591] [888] Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] [591] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, [114] [194] as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I 595 85 [126] turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan household, that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children, without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or little father, as was more usual elsewhere. 595 851

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the married children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-chen*. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I give here, in Table 30. 591 595 888 [115] [601]

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous household of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak. 595 361

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TABLE 30. GENEALOGY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*

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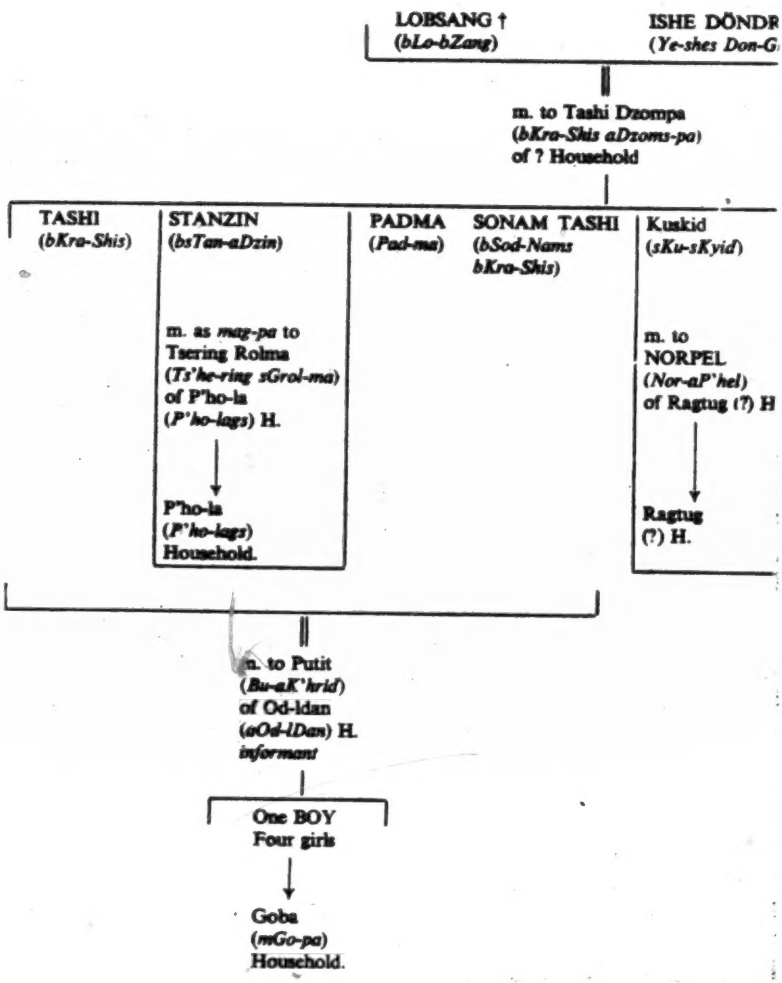

[1] Name unknown because Tsering Palkid was married off in *bag-ma* so early that it is alle
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 367_A]

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GY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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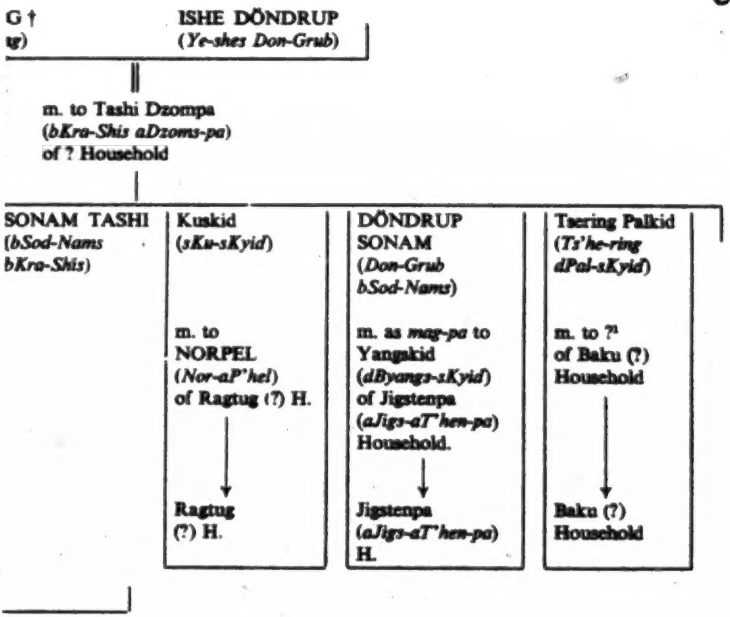

off in *bag-ma* so early that it is allegedly not remembered.

[facing P. 367 – B]

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There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

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TABLE 31. GENEALOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*)

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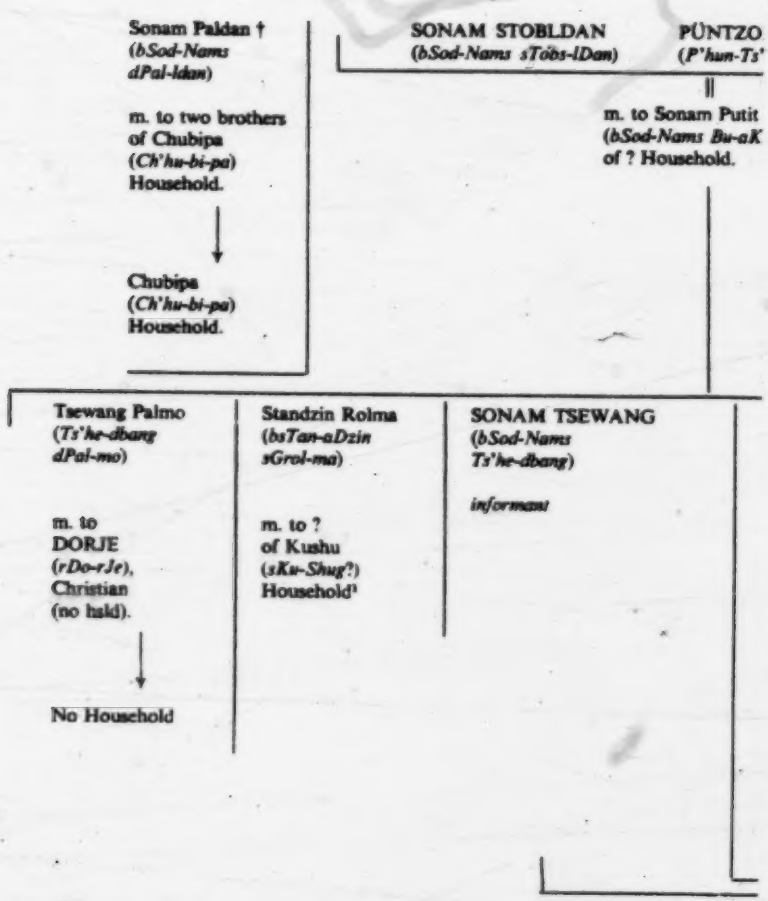

[1] She has divorced her husband and has returned to live with her brothers.
[2] See Table 27.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 368-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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LOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*) HOUSEHOLD.

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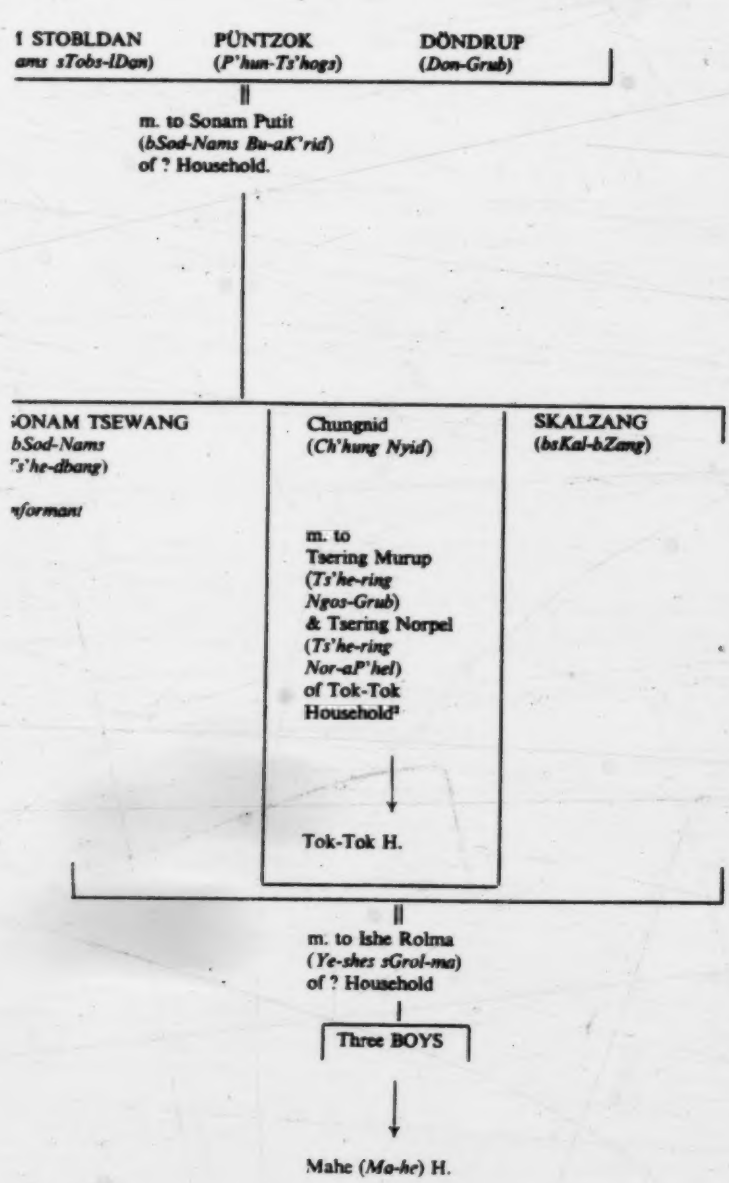

e with her brothers.

[facing P. 368-B]

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profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work. 595 [959] [463]

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife. 595 [115]

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry. [162]

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34). 595 601 [842]

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro- 595

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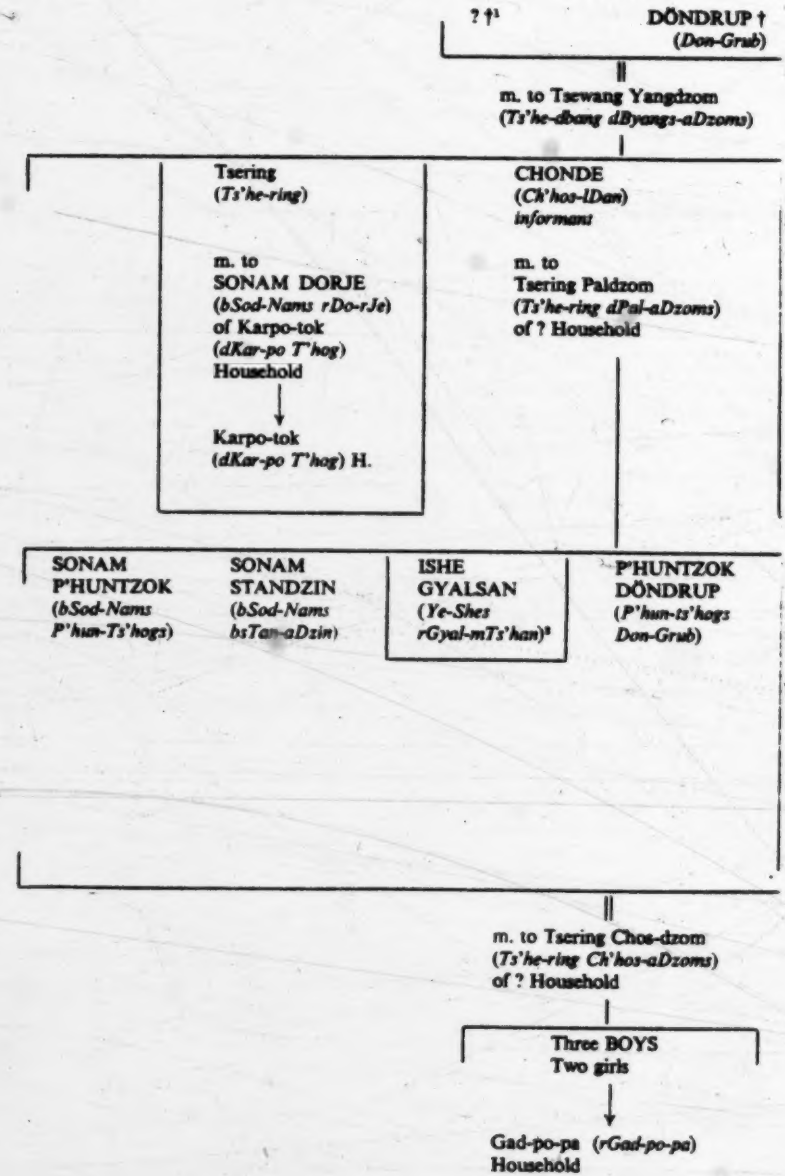
TABLE 32. GENEALOGY OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGa*



[1] Name unreadable in my notes.
[2] Has become a Gelug-pa lama in the Sankar gompa.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 369-A]

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OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGad-po-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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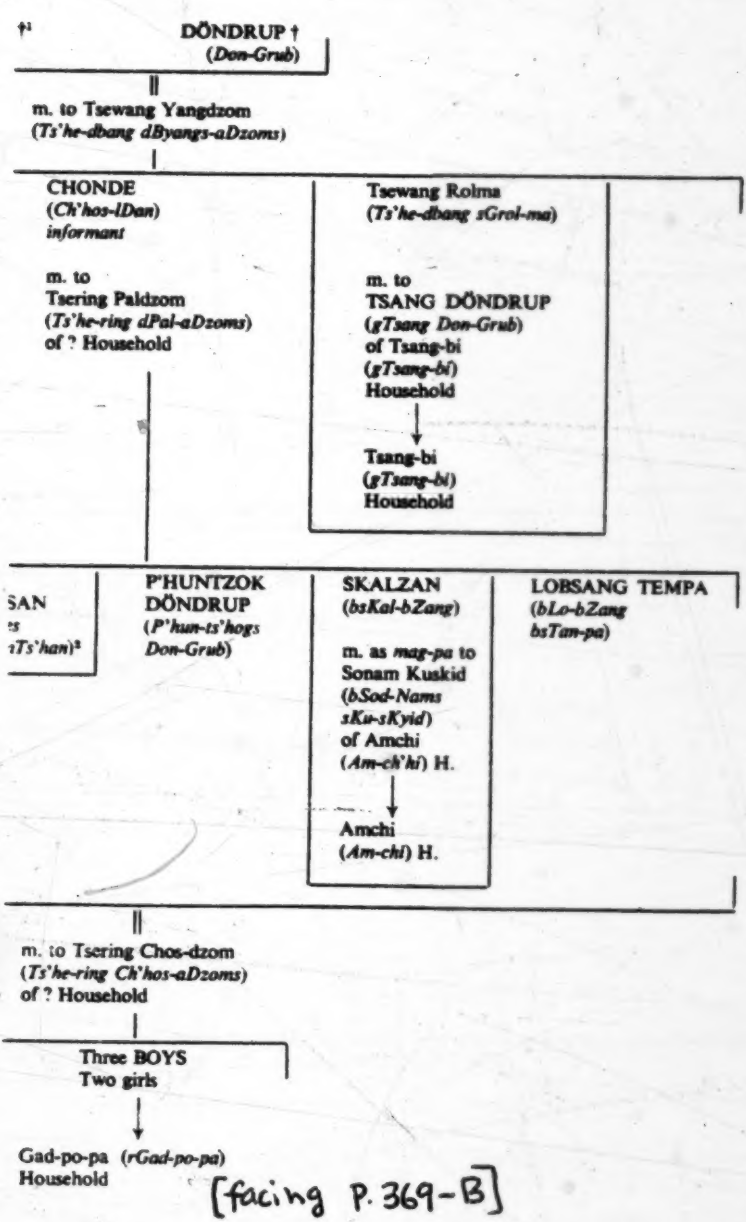

[facing P. 369-B]

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595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 372]

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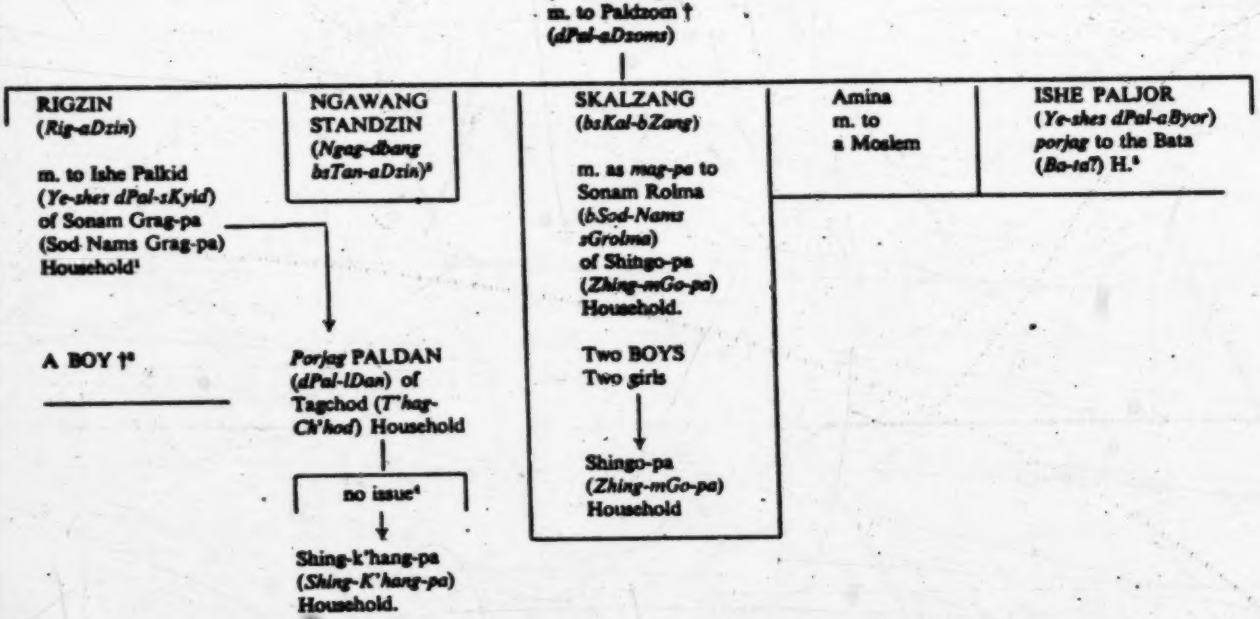
TABLE 33. GENEALOGY OF THE SHING-K'HANG-PA (*Shing-K'hang-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Ishe Palkid was married when she was twenty-one years old.
[2] The child was still-born.
[3] A lama.
[4] They are thinking of adopting a child to continue the household.
[5] See Table 34.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-*
[591] *chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in
[126] the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[928] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[799] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

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TABLE 34. GENEALOGY OF TSONG-K'HAR-PA (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*)

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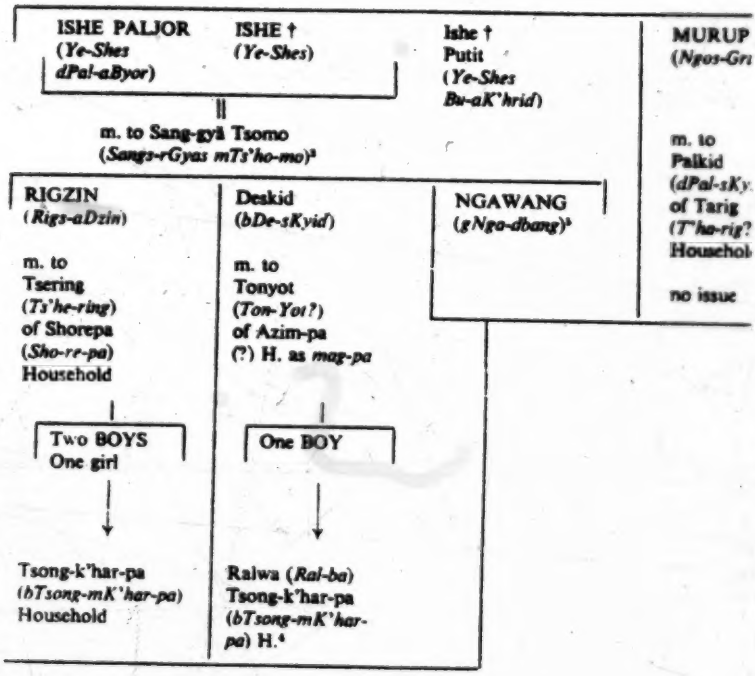

[551] "Little Tsong king", obviously a nickname with a Moslem connotation (Malik = Arabic for "king").

Dondrup received the Bata household, as all his mother's brothers died without heirs.

She was a Moslem, but changed religion and name to marry her husband.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing p. 372-A]

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Tsong-mK'har-pa) HOUSEHOLD.

595
601
[551]

TSONG-GU-MALIK †
(*Ts'hong-gu Malik*)[1]

m. to Sonam (*bSod-Nams*) †
of Bata (*Ba-ta*) Household

P'HUNTZOK †
(*P'hun-Ts'hogs*)

PE-LEG †
(*dPal-legs*)

m. to Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
of P'ho-sang (*P'ho-bZang*)
Household.

MURUP
(*Ngos-Grub*)[4]

m. to
Palkid
(*dPal-sKyid*)
of Tarig
(*T'ha-rig?*)
Household

no issue

Aisha
m. to
RASUL,
a Moham-
medan.[5]
no H.

Kundzom †
(*Kun-aDzoms*)

NGAWANG †
(*gNga-dbang*)

Porjag[7]
ISHE PALJOR
(*Ye-Shes*
dPal-aByor)
of Shing-k'hang-pa
(*Shing-k'hang-pa*) H.

no issue[8]

Bata (*Ba-ta?*)
Household

ɔtation (Malik =

ners died without

husband.

[4] Deskid was a tenant without occupation on some land *mag-pa* ad founded the Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa H.
[5] He is a lama at Himis gompa.
[6] Murup received the Bata H. and continued it, while Ishe the Tsong-k'har-pa Household.

[facing P. 312-B]

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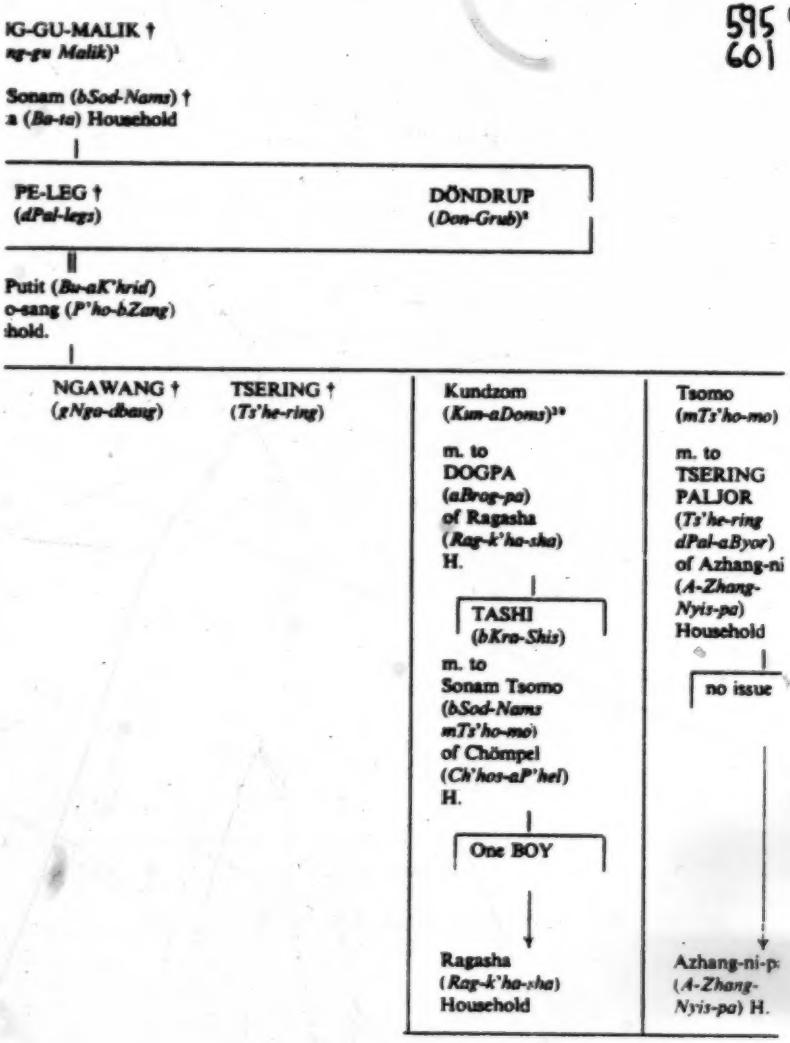

ccupation on some land of her brother: she took a
Tsong-k'har-pa H.

d continued it, while Ishe Paljor and Ishe continued

[7] *Poirjag* taken after
[8] Childless still after
[9] Moslem name as
[10] Same name as earli
[11] Moh. convert to B
[12] No name: this one

[facing p. 372-C]

595
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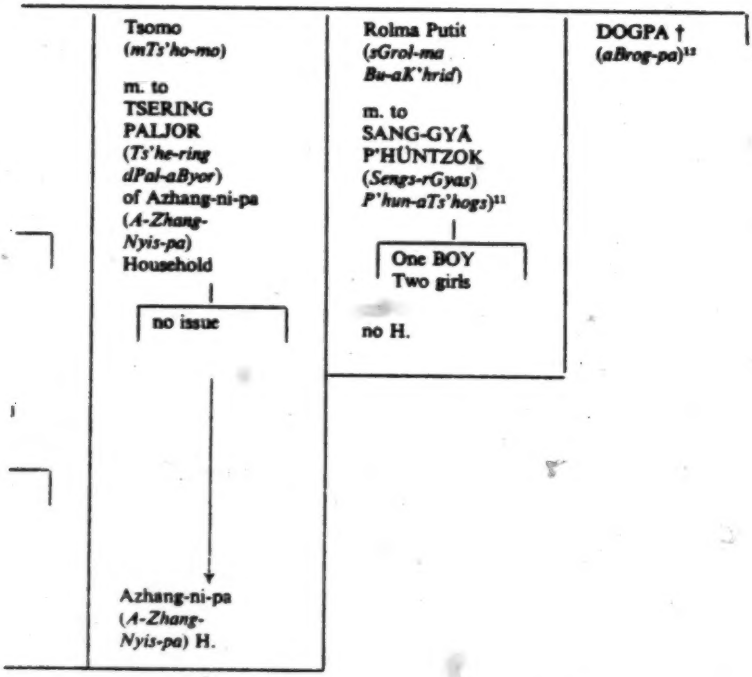

[7] *Porjag* taken after 20 years of childless marriage.
[8] Childless still after 4 years could adopt a child.
[9] Moslem name as married a Moslem.
[10] Same name as earlier dead girl in commemoration.
[11] Moh. convert to Budh. Is now manager of Himis gompa.
[12] No name: this one against the evil eye (means "nomad").

[551]
[554]

[facing P. 372-D]

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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

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595 601 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the [797] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable [792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 114 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak. 595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 342 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room [354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 833 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.

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It all depends upon how people feel about such things, my informants said. Sometimes, the wife will regulate who, of her many husbands, should be with her; at other times, one of the brothers will do so, not necessarily the eldest, but generally the one with the most personality, the one who has the greatest influence with them all. Again, it is possible for the brothers to agree among themselves as to who shall go with their wife for the night, while it is not excluded that they should all of them have relations with her in the same night. Things can be done discreetly, in the dark, with some item of furniture in front of the bed for greater privacy. But this is not always the case, and often relations between husbands and the wife take place with a lamp lit, and in full view of the others, including the children. Not much clothing, however, is discarded, partly out of modesty, but also because it is cold. 595 833

I asked here, too, if signals were ever made use of at the door, should the marriage not be consummated in the common room. This question was usually received with great guffaws of laughter; the very idea seemed to amuse them. No, they said, there were no signals; nobody ever left anything at the door. As far as they knew, it had never been done, either.

To my question as to how, then, did they decide who should sleep with the common wife, one of my informants (at the Od-ldan household) looked at me slily and asked if I were, myself, married. When I answered that I was, he asked whether, then, I decided with my wife that, as let us say seven p.m. tonight, we would have intercourse? Naturally not, and he laughed; well, then it was the same with them. Such things took place tacitly, by implicit understanding, and with tact, not in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.

My investigations as to the possibility of jealousy affecting the relations between the husbands of a polyandrous Ladaki family led to the same results as in Lahul. I was told that nobody could afford to be jealous, that it was a luxury in which those who were rich enough to divide up property in other, less austere environments than theirs, could indulge. The Reverend W. Asboe was of the opinion that the ordinary average Ladaki was "not very passionate" as he put it, and that for this reason, they could not really feel the pangs of jealousy. He attributed this lack of passion to the altitude and to the climate which was so cold, and as proof of his allegation, he said that the Moslems, who elsewhere were so fiery about sexual matters and men's honour in these things, were also devoid of passion in Ladak, and often accepted situations there which they would have violently rebelled against elsewhere. No- 595 518 15 [184]

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595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
[853] tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
514 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest, as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

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imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*. 595 855

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age. 864

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made. [861] [858]

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India). 864 861 [754] [563]

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade. 872 [876] [868]

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culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

(iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

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A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647). 595 114

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms 601 184

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

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595 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably
614 be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy
582 playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same
842 one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth
765 pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to
783 the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above
846 about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that
[264] people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated
[789] period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with mem-
846 bers of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have
264 nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period
783 of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irri-
789 gating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils,
[241] the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which
783 follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies,
765 the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts
[264] of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

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158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[753] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
[755] were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[943] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[164] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
[833] and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
548 dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
[595] liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
[795] tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[795] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[833] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

296 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

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one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

WT T 839

Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

WT 595 601 WT [115] WT [591]

2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[TEXT Continues on p. 390]

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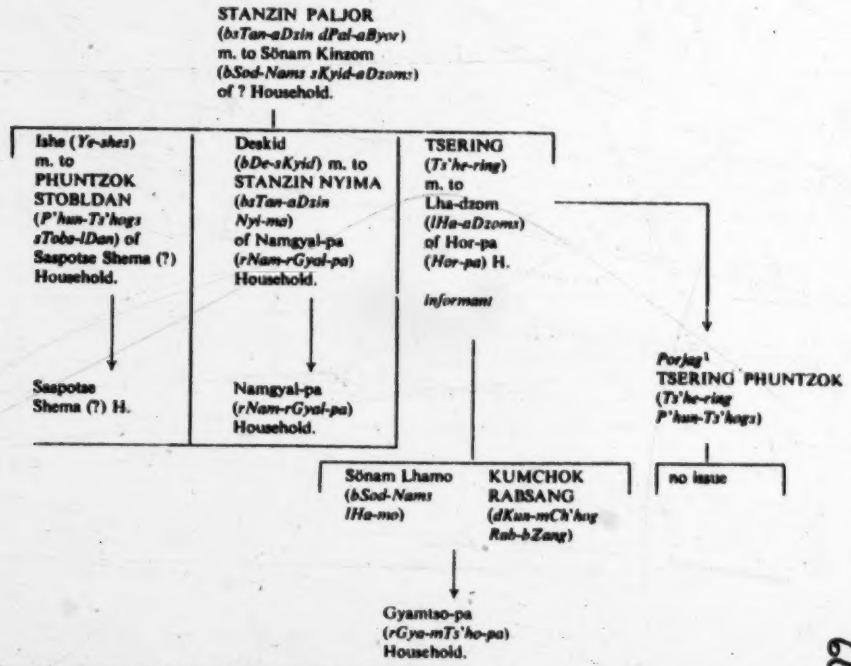
TABLE 35. GENEALOGY OF THE GYAMTSO-PA (*rGya-mTs'ho-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Married after eighteen years of marriage to Tsering, three years ago in 1938.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 I enquired from the informant why she had married a second husband in this way, considering that she had had children by her first one and that, consequently, it did not seem at all necessary for her to take so drastic a step. Her answer confirmed my belief that a second husband is often brought in in order to acquire more labour for the cultivation of the family plot, for she replied: "I married Tsering P'hüntzok because Tsering was old and unable to work very well any more." She then added the informative remark: "It is cheaper to take an extra husband than a servant."

Neighbours, whom Joseph and I questioned later about this family, assured us, nevertheless, that Lha-dzom had not spoken the truth to us. They scoffed at her statements that she needed more labour on her husband's estate, and said that she was a very ardent woman, whom old Tsering could no longer satisfy sexually. So she had taken Tsering P'hüntzok who was much younger (28 years old, they said), and Tsering had agreed to it because he was tired of his wife's sexual appetite anyway. I must say that in my interview with the woman, I did form the impression that there probably was some truth in the neighbour's gossip. It did not mean, however, that what Lha-dzom had told us was not true; both pronouncements could be correct, for having a new husband, while very pleasant from the matrimonial point of view, was also useful in what concerned the cultivation of the fields. Pleasure and business thus appeared admirably combined in Lha-dzom's case, and Tsering, who could have objected and might have been the major obstacle, made no trouble and accepted the situation. He probably got something out of it, too.

834 124 595 I had heard so much about these people's sexual life during these interviews, that it came as a surprise to me when I asked Joseph to enquire if anybody knew anything about father and son polyandry in Kalatse and he refused to do so. We were in conversation with a female neighbour at the time, and Joseph flatly refused to enquire about the subject upon which I wanted information because, he said, it is not possible to question a woman about sexual matters in Tibet if she is either younger or older than yourself. The same applied to close relatives, and the prohibition was called *ka-dzem-ches* (*K'ha-aDzem-Ches*) meaning "mouth to shrink from". What we had been told about Lha-dzom did not come under the category of questioning the woman on sexual affairs, it seemed, since she had volunteered the information which we had heard. What was not possible, I gathered, was for Joseph to put queries about sex to the woman. So I was not able to get the

[TEXT continues on P. 392]

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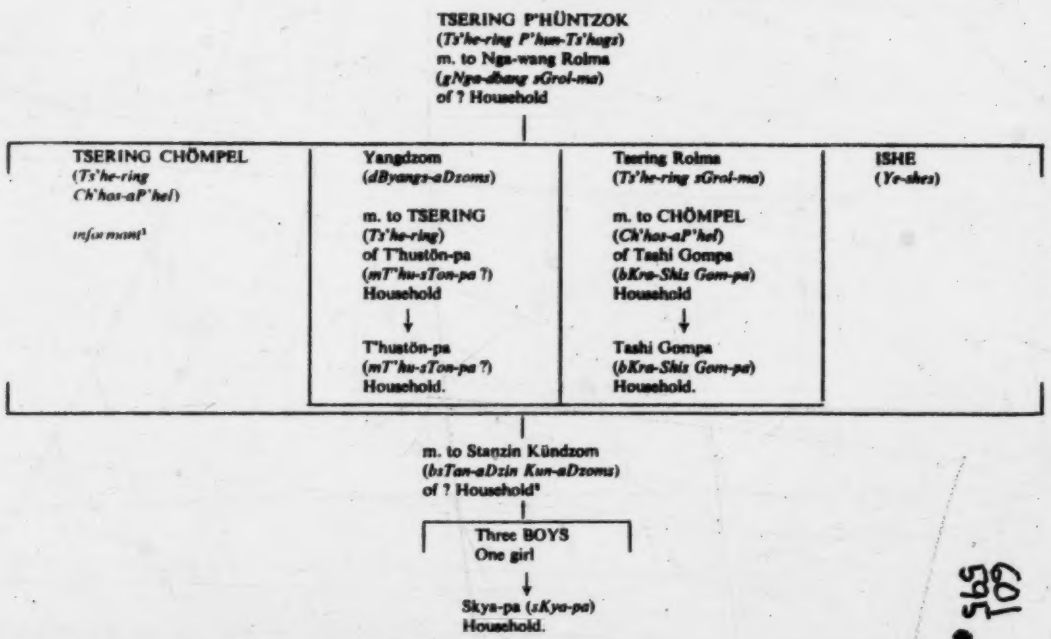
TABLE 36. GENEALOGY OF SKYA-PA (*sKya-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Officially the only one married, and head of the family.
[2] She said that she would only speak if I paid her.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

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Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks.

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen,* the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children.

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis.

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table.

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were

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TABLE 37. GENEALOGY OF YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'h*

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PALJOR †
(*dPal-aByor*)
m. to Skidzom †
(*sKyid-aDzoms*)
of ? Household

Tseten
(*Ts'he-brTan*)

m. to ?[1]
of Alea-pa
(?) H.

Alea-pa
(?) H.

Chosang Rolma
(*Ch'hos-bZang sGrol-ma*)

a *cho-mo*, (*jo-mo*) at
Himis gompa[2]

TSEW
(*Ts'he-*
inform

SONAM WANGYAL
(*bSod-Nams dbang-rGyal*)

Tashi Pal-m
(*bKra-Shis d*

m. to TASH
(*bKra-Shis b*
of Shak-pa
(*Zhag-pa?*) H

Shak-pa (*Zh*
Household.

m. to Tashi Kid
(*bKra-Shis sKyi*
of ? Household

no issu

Yoktso-pa
(*gYog-Ts'h*
Household

[1] Married to three brothers, names unknown.
[2] She nearly died as a child and was dedicated to the monastery if she survived.
[3] A lama, whose existence was kept secret from me; being of the un-reformed, Red-hat se
brothers with them.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 393-A]

YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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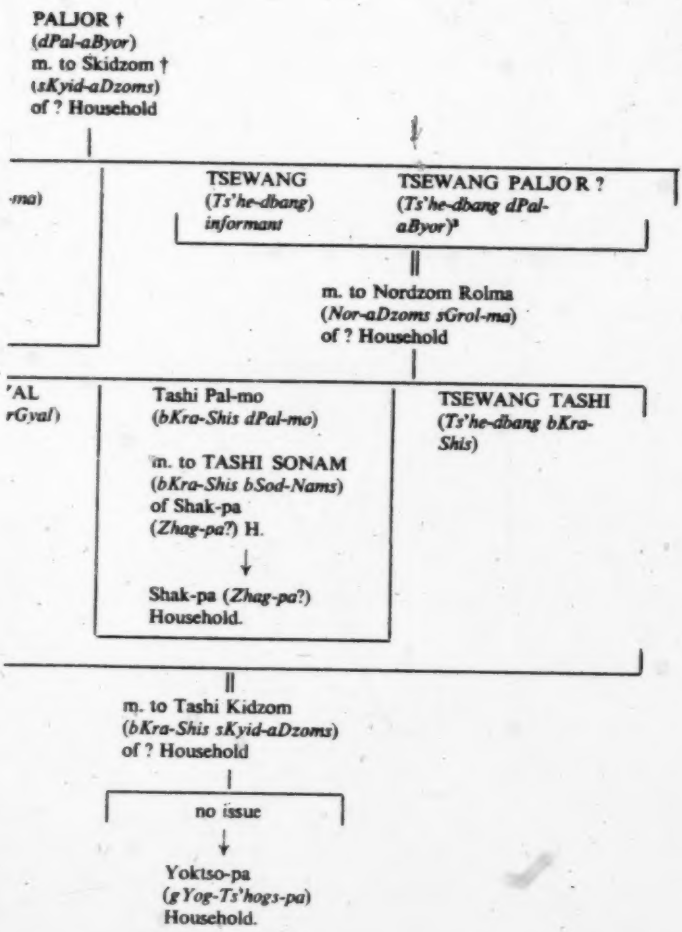

tery if she survived.

f the un-reformed, Red-hat sect *Nyingma-pa*, he shared the common wife of his

[facing P. 393-B]

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595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 197 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

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during all my field work, both before and after World War II, with data and recorded facts which now make it possible for me to affirm without any hesitation that polyandry between father and sons is practised in Tibet, particularly in the two central provinces of Ü and Tsang, where it is most widespread. The following is the history of the progress of my investigation, which started with the collection of information from those who knew about the custom and ended with my actually meeting cases and interviewing them to find out how the arrangement functions.

I began in Lahul. It will be recalled that when I visited that valley, on the 21st of June, 1938, Thakur Partap Chand took me to see a polyandrous family in a house called Barun-pa (see above page 312–312). I took advantage of the cordiality which the Wazir of Lahul showed towards me to question him on the subject of the polyandry of fathers and sons about which I had heard from Dr. Kanshi Ram.

The informant immediately confirmed its existence and said that it was common knowledge, even in his part of the world, that, in Central Tibet, fathers and sons share a common wife in the same family, although the woman in this case must never be the mother of the boys. Nevertheless in Lahul the custom appeared rather strange and even repulsive, and it was quite usual for Tibetans from Tibet proper to be laughed at for this form of matrimony by the local inhabitants. They were accused of being "step-mother sharing people" which was meant as an insult. But at the same time, when playing dice, it was the custom to evoke such a shared step-mother as a means of bringing good luck to the thrower. When a seven was wanted, for instance, a special formula evoking the step-mother shared by both fathers and sons was repeated several times.

Another confirmation of the true existence of polyandry between fathers and sons in Tibet was obtained from the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kye-lang on the 24th of June, 1938. He told me that the institution existed when the Mission was established in Lahul in 1854 as ancient records showed. At the time that his father, the late Bishop Peter, was appointed to the Lahuli capital in 1898, there were still some cases of this special form of polyandry to be found in the valley. The Reverend Peter said that he had heard that it had not yet died out in Spiti, although it was difficult to make sure because the local people kept it secret and unavowed. (As far as I know, polyandry in general is not officially practised in Spiti, the surplus males of a family becoming monks while the eldest alone inherits the family property. A certain amount of clandestine polyan-

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WT 595

dry is, however, reported to exist, and it would indeed be surprising if it were not so in an area of such close cultural affinity to Tibet. The special fathers and sons polyandry is therefore probably not carried on in any greater secrecy than ordinary polyandry.)

T 595 184 [115]

Having got this far in confirming what Dr. Kanshi Ram had told me existed in Tibet proper, I enquired from Lobsang what he knew on the subject. He was a native of the Tsang province, and for this reason I expected him to be well-informed. I was not to be disappointed.

On the 6th of July, 1938, he told me that, of course, such a custom was widely practised in the part of Tibet from which he came. It was so, too, in the neighbouring regions. While he said that he knew of cases in Tsang and in Rudok and Gartok of the Tö province, he insisted that it was to be found sporadically all over "untouched Tibet" (he presumably meant by that those parts of Tibet which had been least of all influenced from outside). In his own home town, Yang-Chu-Tangha(?) in Tsang, situated eight days south from Shigatse, there were four families in which the wife was common to fathers and sons. Not only sedentary agriculturalists lived in this way, but nomads too, he told me.

T 595 601

For the first time, I heard from Lobsang that a woman thus shared by two generations was called a *Cham-ma-dung* (for the correct spelling of this name, see below). According to him, the meanings of the words which compose this appellation are the following: *Cham* = wife, *ma* = mother and *dung* = beam. The whole significance is thus "wife-mother-beam", or the wife and mother who acts as a beam between fathers and sons.

T 595 851

Lobsang added that such a woman was never the mother of the boys, but he was insistant that she should at least be a relative of the deceased parent, if she took the place of the latter and was not the sons' spouse whom the fathers now shared with them. Children would be officially considered as those of whoever had first married the common wife, the fathers or the sons. In this way, if the offspring were physiologically those of the younger generation, they would nevertheless be considered socially as the children of the older one should the fathers have been the first to take the woman to wife. If, on the contrary, the sons had married her first, any offspring was officially theirs, even if the natural parent happened to be one of the fathers. A child could thus quite feasibly be classified in kinship terms either as the brother or as the grandchild of its true procreator, according to whom was looked upon as its sociological parent.

T 595 115

On the 6th of July, 1938, I questioned Lobsang further, through

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291
516
595
854

Fig. 37. The Tok-Tok family: left to right: Lobsang, Ishe Döndrup, Stobgyes, Chungnid, Sonam Döndrup, Gon-po. Chungnid is holding Dok-pa in her arms.

Fig. 38. The Old-Idan family: left to right: P'hüntzok, Kumchok, Putit, Sonam with Sonam Putit in his arms, and Tsewang Putit.

[P. 480-B]

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291
516
595

Fig. 41. The Bata section of the Tsong-k'har-pa family: left to right: Döndrup, Murup, Palkid, Ishe Paljor, the *porjag* of Shing-k'hang.

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142
291
595

Fig. 42. Dorje Yöndron with her step-son and husband No. 2, Sönam Wang-chuk Dele Rabden Sä I, at Kalimpong.

[P. 480-D]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 [565] Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

1: Drew /G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances. 595 161

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the women to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladākh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation. [311] [439]

It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject. [589]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJK

562 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what
595 would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of
428 a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū
177 custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in 132
the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy 133
area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks [241] and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Culti- [231] vation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square 161
miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have 101
been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as 221
the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, 621
the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black 342
hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly 595
attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
361 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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misconduct, no easy task in a country where the moral code is not too high and where husbands are prepared to share their wife. 586

The children of a family have one "big father" and several "little fathers". When the husband who actually married the woman dies, she need not remain with the brothers or junior husbands. If she wishes to leave them, she just ties a thread to the finger of her dead husband, breaks it, and is at once free of them all. It is a land where women enjoy unfettered power and liberty. 595

The simpleness of these people was early on demonstrated to me. We had considered ourselves fortunate in securing the services of a shikari from Leh who had taken a party through from that city the previous season to Baltistan to shoot markhor, afterwards going down with them to Srinagar. He had been away from his ~~home~~ for nearly a year, but showed no great delight on returning there, even though he met his brother who had also just returned from Tibet, he being a guide who each season took parties through from Leh to Lhasa, a three months' journey. Both men must have been in their late thirties, their wife was a comely soul of about the same age; she carried a baby which was not yet able to walk, and when next day I visited the house, which both brothers insisted that I must see, it was obvious, even although she was wearing the full dress of her countrywomen, that there was another child on the way.

After a while a boy, who might have been fifteen years old, came in and, since he acted as though he was a member of the household, I naturally took him to be a son, but not a bit of it, he was the third husband. Then I started working things out; both the elder brothers had been away from their home for so long that the child that was coming could only be that of the younger boy brother, and harking back again, I remembered that they had told me that the season before both had been away, so that the baby the wife carried in her arms must also have been his. It seemed that she had been married to the brothers for over twelve years and had had no children—probably both men were diseased—now when the boy brother took his place in the line, the family had started to increase. But the suggestion that they would at least know who was the father, was immediately 842 595

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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842 blanketed, with "You do not understand. All three brothers
595 planted the seed, the younger one only kept it watered!" And so no boy will really believe that he knows his own father, unless
[602] of course the wife has but one husband. If he considers the question at all, it seems that he thinks of his mother's first husband as his father; anyway it is his name that he always gives on permits and application forms.

595 As one would expect of an heiress and her husbands, it is she who decides which of her husbands shall accommodate her, when and for how long. But this is not always the case, for when I was there the men were laughing over a very wealthy middle-aged heiress whose youngest husband, a particularly handsome magpa, having proved to her his worth as a lover, had to the astonishment of everyone become so powerful that it was he, and not she, who laid down the rules for the house, it was he who granted to his "brothers" their wife's favours, it was he who reserved the right to butt in whenever he wished. And all this came about through the old story of feminine jealousy, for the wife had caught a pretty young heiress eyeing her youthful new husband on more than one occasion, and this just after she had herself realized his qualities.

In the case of a family in which the wife is not an heiress, it is the elder brother who arranges these matters. Even then, with an extremely pretty woman there are times when the adopted brother, with whom she is really in love, manages to gain power by threatening divorce. Then, if the head of the family is weak, it is this "brother" who takes over the marital arrangements, but not the family estates or responsibilities.

It seemed from the candid remarks of my shikari guide, that with himself and his next brother having been away from their wife for so long, the boy brother would be crowded out and like so many husbands of his age, have to snatch the wife's favours when she could spare the time during the day.

The houses of the middle and higher class have one room set aside for the wife, but in the houses of the poorer people all sleep in one room. The odd thing is that although there must be arguments over the wife, seldom, if ever, does a violent quarrel take place. Probably this is because there are other outlets for passions in Ladakh.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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I can well imagine the shock any high-minded Englishman or woman must suffer after they have been reminded, as I was by the Head Lama, that it is known that when Julius Caesar first went to England, he discovered that polyandry was a common practice in the country.

If there are more than three brothers, unless the wife is prepared to cope with extra husbands, then those remaining have the choice of either becoming a lama and entering the monastery or becoming a coolie; unless of course one is born fortunate enough to catch the eye of an heiress.

These lamas who are both male and female, usually remain single, though there is no bar against their marriage. The women lamas or nuns, known as chamos, live in different buildings, but they do not live entirely separate from each other, the nuns undertaking many of the household duties in the monasteries, such as baking bread, cooking and so on.

It is not unknown for a family to dedicate their first born, or even the favourite son to this religious life. In that event he is sent to a monastery school—which is residential—from the age of eight years, passing through all the stages of pupil, probationer and finally fully ordained monk. As such he has to observe some two hundred and fifty-three vows, and monastic life—at least of the yellow order—imposes a hard discipline upon the monks, including celibacy and abstinence. His diet consists of barley, wheat or buckwheat and occasionally rice. The only meat allowed to be eaten is either sheep, goat or yak, and the chief beverages are soup, milk and tea.

In every village we had passed through we had seen belonging to practically every house a little boy wearing a lama's hat or a little girl wearing the cap of a chamo. They had been dedicated as one of the family to enter the monastery or nunnery school as soon as they were old enough.

The monks, in addition to being divided into sects, are separated into two classes; one, those who would in any event have entered the monastery, devote their time to meditation, prayers and the spiritual side "their life being on a higher spiritual plane", and two, those who beg for alms, cultivate the land, look after the rents and so on. The doctors among them—those I met anyway,—had started in the first class and then

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793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

[795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147]

There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

[582] [562]

563 518 [567]

In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361]

The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

A Trip to Ladakh

000 did not feel inclined to move, so I tied him to a rock and went off in search of some landmark, for I seemed to have reached the top of the ridge. However, I soon found I could not walk more than twenty paces at a time, and a most splitting headache came on. It felt as if my head blood vessels would burst, and I had *mal de montagne* properly. After wandering about aimlessly I became aware I was up against a precipice. When the moon rose it was now one A.M., and then I saw I was under the foot of a glacier, a great cliff of ice over seventy feet high, which seemed to bulge out at the top like the curve of a huge breaker. It was very impressive, and for the moment I forgot my headache.

I had meant to stay on the pass to see the sunrise, but my powers of endurance gave out. My one desire was to get down the mountain, where I could breathe in comfort, so I descended to the rock where I had left my pony, and I soon began to recover my equilibrium as I descended. When I returned to Leh I made inquiries after my guide, but I never discovered what happened to him and therefore never knew why he gave me the slip.

346 796 About twenty miles from Leh is a very large and 788 important monastery called Hemis, and once in every twenty years they have an especially important religious play, so Dr Neve and I hired ponies and joined the happy throng of pilgrims.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to see people of all classes making their way on foot and horseback to this far-famed monastery. On several ponies were two [595] riders, the man in front and his lady behind. As polyandry [562] is the custom in Ladakh, the wife is therefore the lord and master, so one expected to see the lady riding in front and one or more husbands riding pillion, for we often saw 788 576 three passengers riding one horse. We passed two ~~ladies~~

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[2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding," which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

[651]

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

●597

ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children. Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

[583]

[428]

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak."

428 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the
592 eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her
parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is
583 termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his
428 younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa"
591 has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the
592 daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her
586 parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step
removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out
at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of
his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter
from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a
woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees.
597 If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted;
for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading
"adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls
on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see
under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows
little or [illegible]g about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which
is a[illegible] very similar to the European idea of "nirvána"
[illegible]rption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no
[illegible]d, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being
into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand
"deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and
peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained
only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period
of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from
195 beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans,
whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians
in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand
a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The
ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the
Indian word "Sáhib."

RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hiokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [134] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

[577]

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

[848]

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e. Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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[565]

The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

[766]
[787]

If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

597 582 It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property [586] she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa in* the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman [273] beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [564] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument [533] to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595
the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597
is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The [428]
adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584
with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787]
parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583]
"relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421]
loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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114 6. *Personal field-work research*
595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*
595 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living
601 in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that
342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical
[353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase
115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their
428 eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the
[597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married poly-
595 andrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they
888 had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 372]

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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

[For information on kinship terminology in West Tibet, see 19: Benedict, AJ1 Tibet, category 116--Analyst]

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

●601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 426 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

• 601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

792 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of
them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into
which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a
room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and
where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep
the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol
room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but
a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used
for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[792] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the
monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for
the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch
as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They
attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-
shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instru-
ment is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after
having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on
the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while
the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called
"khángchhen."

● 601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child).
áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo
goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo
(mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk,
dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull
and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little
milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the
dzomo is hot of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but
it produces excellent butter.

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 755

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

●601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--góboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngiózhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srächan or SHrächan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladákis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHón. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHóns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) 241
thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.).

[63]
HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the 133
principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur.

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the 804
Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the 177
hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank.

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang 342
(of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work).

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]
HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". 60
Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists 596
of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are 428
closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the 583
family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife.

595 428 583 601 [597] If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto" husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 587 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 586 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

428 583 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one. [595]

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

789 [95]MAGIC--thrui (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small beer not much

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 533 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face), khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

● 601 [107]NEPHEW--tasháo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 781 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equivalent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be, Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 443
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángtháng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 753

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 554 195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 589 601 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladak, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

the possession of his wife to, whom he had become increasingly attached as time went by, instead of having to share in the possession of one woman with several brothers in a polyandrous marriage. (129)

129. In large parts of Tibet and of Ladakh there prevails the custom of marriage with many men (polyandry). In families with several sons, only the eldest son as a rule brings a wife into the house. This wife is after the wedding without further ceremony also considered the spouse of the remaining--rarely more than two--younger brothers. The oldest brother is regarded as the actual husband and owner of the woman, and he alone is entitled to rid himself of the woman through divorce when she has committed adultery or in any other way displeased him. The children are the property of the oldest brother, of the master of the house; they call him "great father (a-p'a ĉen-mō), " the youngest brother they call "little father (a-p'a ĉuñ-nuñ), " and the middle brother (of three) they call "ap'a /sic/ bar-ma, middle father. " Often one of the brothers marries as Magpa into another house, especially when there are more than three brothers in one household; or one of the younger brothers enters the monastery as lama and is taken care of there. In this way, and also through the frequent absence on business trips of one or several of the woman's husbands, the unnatural and repulsive aspects of this custom are somewhat lessened. The custom has its motivation in the endeavor to prevent the splitting up into many small parts of the field holdings which are usually small, are acquired with much toil and are expensive to begin with; and also to avoid overpopulation. It is therefore a measure of purely economic and social significance. Through continued distribution of the land among the heirs, there would soon come into existence tiny properties which would be unable to maintain a family. Tibet still has practically no industry and the few handicrafts (smith, carpenter) are practised exclusively by the low caste Aryans (Mon, Garba). Thus the brothers mostly stay together in the paternal house where they are very welcome as working hands; even a small holding can in this manner feed its occupants at least precariously. In so doing the "system" practically fulfills its purpose. True, it is so designed as to destroy the woman's feeling for purity and dignity. But it must be said that

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
182 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
792 monasteries to become lamas.

595 All of these reasons* may contribute to the invention and spread
428 of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each generation of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers. The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
• [601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

 * [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers.
473 The house and the land and all the children belong to the
478 eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre-
601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences,
764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms.
764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus
614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance
[791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

212b

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
123 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
and keep the property. This is called a
[601] *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
581 there are only girls in the family, what
592 usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
592 around which the system functions. In taking down genealogical notes I have, therefore, always given the family the name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
428 Tsungarpa who married one woman, the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE 1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

1: P. 213c FIGURE 1

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had come to live with her husbands in Kyelang. I asked if I could photograph the family, and on receiving permission to do so, asked for the younger husbands to be included. They posed unabashed but the elder boy and his bride looked shy. The Thakur said that this was because husband and wife should not really be seen very much together in public. 595

Further questioning elucidated that property of the household was common to the family, the mother and her three sons having inherited the land and house from the deceased husband. By marrying one wife, the brothers avoided partition and jointly shared their estate, their wife, and the children they might have. Asked if the younger brothers could marry another woman if they wished, the Thakur assured me that they could; he said that they could also bring her home, if the others agreed to it, and have her living with them in the common house. In my notes I have written: "Thus polygyny and polyandry are united under one roof, the first marriage of the three brothers to one wife not being dissolved when a new wife is brought home." [428]

The following day, June 22nd, the Wazir took me to some other households in the town. The first one, called Mion Zukshi, was polygynous and polyandrous as theoretically described above. Four brothers lived with two wives, without dividing their belongings and apparently in complete harmony. I did not know enough at the time to investigate the relations of these people, but I did gather one wife had been the spouse of all four brothers first, until the third one had gone out and brought himself another girl back, with the consent of his brothers.

In the next household, called Ralwa Karpa, one man was married to three women. Unfortunately my notes do not give any details and I am mentioning it here only as a indication that polygyny does exist in the valley of Lahul as, in fact, it exists everywhere else in areas of Tibetan culture.

The third household was the main one from which the previous one had broken away (*Ralwa*, it seems, means "cleft" locally). It consisted of two men living together undivided property with a wife each. The particularity of this family was, however, that both brothers had been married first to one of the women, until the older man had brought in a new wife. The first woman then became exclusively the wife of the younger brother. I made a rough sort of genealogy (the first I ever did) which I give opposite (Table 26). 7/1 595 601

From this genealogy I learned that polyandry earlier on had been much more pronounced. Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup had two elder

7/1 [See category 116, p. 317 -- Analyst]

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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [574] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [788] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, [795] in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 178 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

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made clear to me exactly what was meant by this name (on the 25th June, 1938). 595 428

Lahulis, the Moravian missionary told me, are very keen not to divide up their property and anxious, also, not to let their family name die out. [182] In order to attain these two objectives, they practise polyandry and both patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance, the latter type, however, only in the case of there being no male heir, so that a generation in which there are only girls may be bridged over.

He compared the Lahuli household to a pivot around which all the interests of the family revolved. Polyandry was practised because in this way a number of brothers living on a family property could keep it undivided by taking one wife in common and sharing her, the land and the children between themselves. Usually inheritance was patrilineal, boys inheriting jointly and without division from their fathers, and then marrying polyandrously as the latter had done, and so on and so on through the future generations.

Matrilineal succession was resorted to when there was no male heir or heirs. In that case, if there were more than one girl, the eldest became the heiress, while the others were married off into other families, usually polyandrously, to brothers. In the case of one female heir, she, like the eldest of many daughters, inherited the whole property from her parents, undivided, and then was free to take as many husbands as she wished with whom to procreate offspring for the household. If she had boys, they inherited as described above; if she in turn only had girls, the same procedure as that which had been followed in her own case was again made use of.

The first type of marriage, the Reverend Peter said, that in which the sons of a Lahuli family took one wife in common, was the most widespread and was called a *bag-ma* marriage (*Bag-ma*, meaning "bride" in Tibetan). It was patrilocal and patrilineal. The other type of marriage, the one in which a daughter inherited all the property alone and took as many husbands as she wished, was more exceptional. Its name was [601] a *mag-pa* marriage (from *Mag-pa*, "son in law" or "bridegroom" in Tibetan), an appellation by which the woman's husband or husbands were also known in that case (see genealogy of the Karpa family in which this term is used).

My informant told me that in Leh, Ladak, he had known a woman with three *mag-pas*, all unrelated, so that this is a form of non-fraternal polyandry. He said that the younger brothers of a *mag-pa* do not have access to his wife, as it is he who has married into her household and

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595 428 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out [586] by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 597 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

585 [595] [601] On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa* in the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young woman [273] beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only [564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

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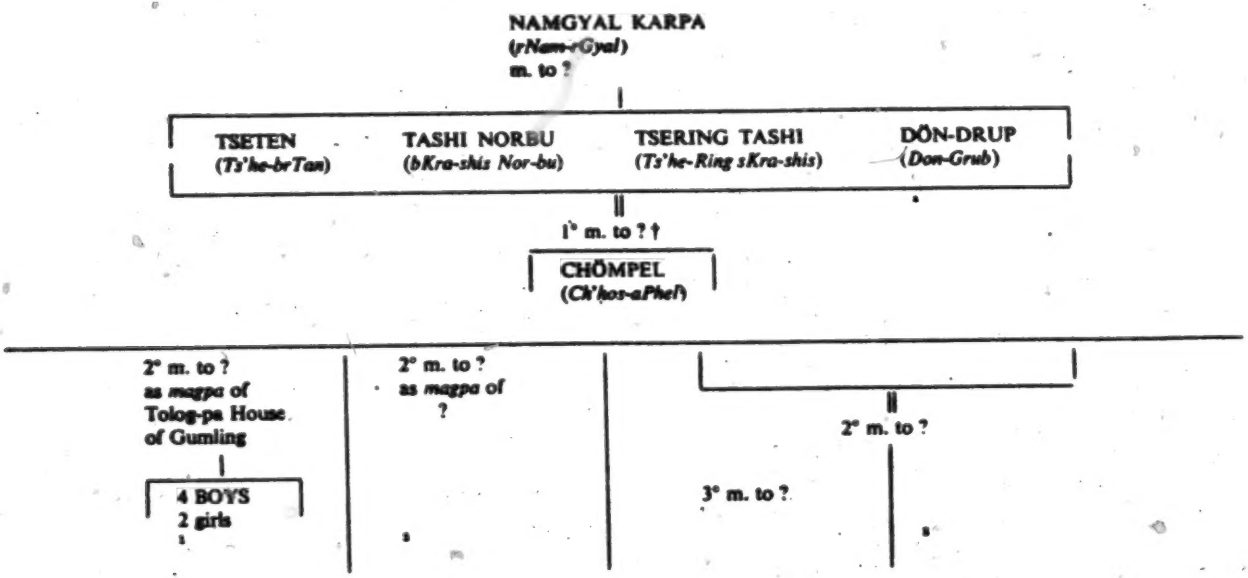
TABLE 26. HOUSE OF KARPA.



[1] House of Tolag-pa of Gumling.
[2] House of the family into which Tashi Norbu was married as *magpa*.
[3] House of Karpa continued by Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup.

Males in Capital letters
Females in small lettering
m. = married
† = dead

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595 although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that
[851] when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an
[842] attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I
855 was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience show-
428 ed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put
[636] pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There
[578] was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this
[187] matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *meme* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

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The Lahuli term for father is *apa* (*Ap'ha*), and a distinction is made between eldest father, *apa chembo* (*Ap'ha ch'hen-po*), middle father, *apa chung-ngan* (*Ap'ha ch'hung-ngu*) or *apa panna* (probably an Indian term), and the youngest, *agu* (*A-gu*), by which term (which strictly means paternal uncle), all other younger brothers of the eldest fathers are called. 601 595

The mother is known as *ama* (*A-ma*). Husband and wife are both called *zhidmat* (*Zhid-sMat*) or *troks* (*Drogs*). A wife calls her eldest husband *ajo* (*A-jo*) or more respectively *ga-ga* (*Ga-ga*), and the younger ones *no* (*No*) or honorifically *ga-ga chung-ngan* (*Ga-ga ch'hung-ngu*). The eldest husband calls his wife *ache* (*A-ch'he*), (which is another word for sister); the oher husbands call her *nomo* (*No-mo*), while all of them, speaking of her to each other, refer to her as *ane* (*A-ne*) (which also has the meaning of aunt), or *zhidmat*. People outside the family will speak of the wife also as *zhidmat* and of the husbands as *go-bu* (*mGo-Bu*), for the eldest, *panna* (Indian?) for the middle one, and *t'ha-chung-ngan* (*mT'ha-ch'hung-ngu*) for the youngest.

In a polygynous household, the eldest wife goes by the name of *chan-chen* (*Byan-ch'hen*), the second one by that of *Chan-chung-ngan* (*Byan-ch'hung-ngu*), and the youngest is called *yang-chung-ngan* (*Yang-ch'hung-ngu*). Eldest boys, before they are married, are known as *gaga* (*Ga-ga*), and youngest as *no-no* (*No-no*). I have already said that a man called in to a family to produce children when the husbands have [842] failed to do so with their common wife is called a *p'horjag*. Sometimes, a second man is also asked to assist if the first one fails, in which case he is called a *po-chung-ngan* (*P'ho-ch'hung-ngu*). Sons go by the name of *bu-tsa* (*Bu-ts'ha*), while daughters are called *bu-mo* (*Bu-mo*).

The Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity belong also to various patrilineal clans, each one descendant from a common ancestor. These are called *rü* (*Rus*), meaning "bone", and those belonging to them are known as *rü-pa* (*Rus-pa*). The Thakur gave me a list of some of the main ones, the name they bore, he said, being that of the ancestor. They are the following: 614

1. Guram Shing-pa (*Gur-ram Shing-pa*) or Jo (*Jo*), meaning "Sugar cane one" or "Lord", the clan to which he himself belonged. They were descendants, he told me, of the preserved semen of a Tibetan ascetic which had been fertilized on a piece of sugar cane.
2. Lön-chen-pa (*bLon-ch'hen-pa*), "Minister one".
3. Miru-pa (*Mi-rus-pa*), "Human bone one" or "Villager from Miru" (in Ladak).

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114 6. *Personal field-work research*
595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*
595 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living
601 in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that
342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical
[353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and
115 had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their
428 eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the
[597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married poly-
595 andrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they
888 had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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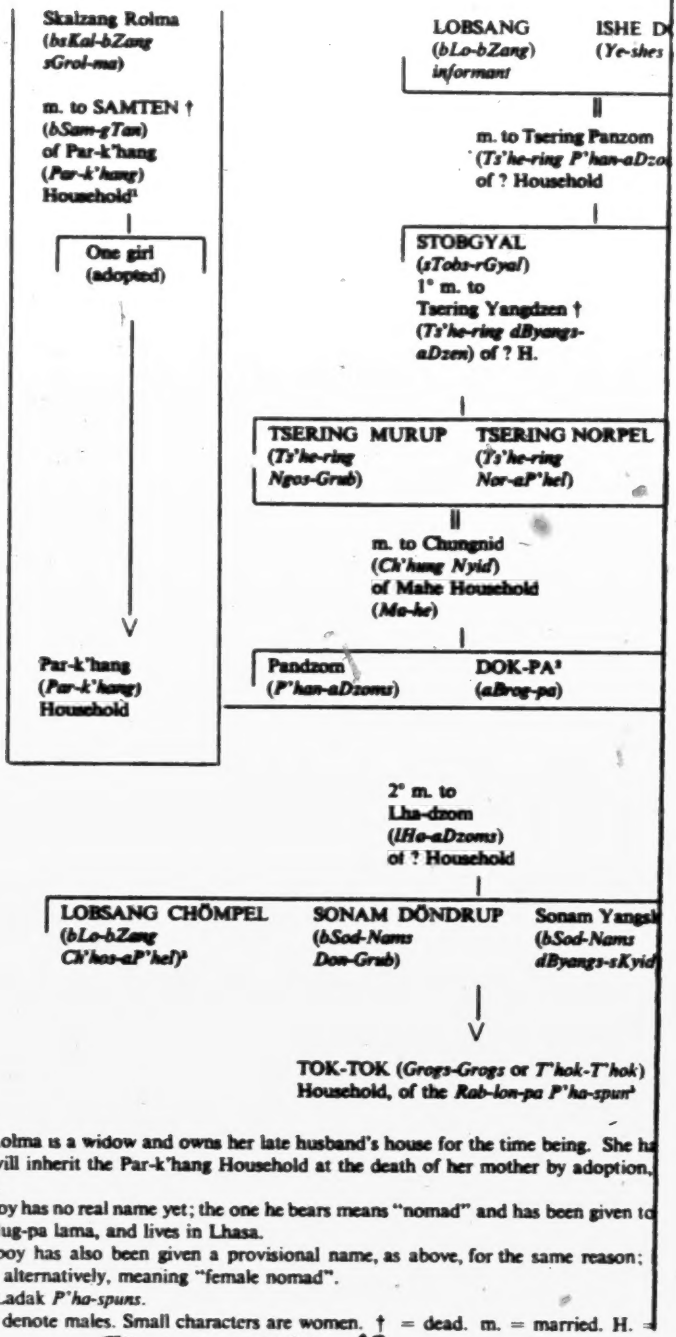
TABLE 27. GENEALOGY OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'ho*



[1] Skalzang Rolma is a widow and owns her late husband's house for the time being. She ha this child will inherit the Par-k'hang Household at the death of her mother by adoption, comes first.

[2] This little boy has no real name yet; the one he bears means "nomad" and has been given to

[3] He is a Gelug-pa lama, and lives in Lhasa.

[4] This little boy has also been given a provisional name, as above, for the same reason; (*aBrog-mo*) alternatively, meaning "female nomad".

[5] See list of Ladak *P'ha-spuns*.

Capital letters denote males. Small characters are women. † = dead. m. = married. H. =

[facing p. 360-A]

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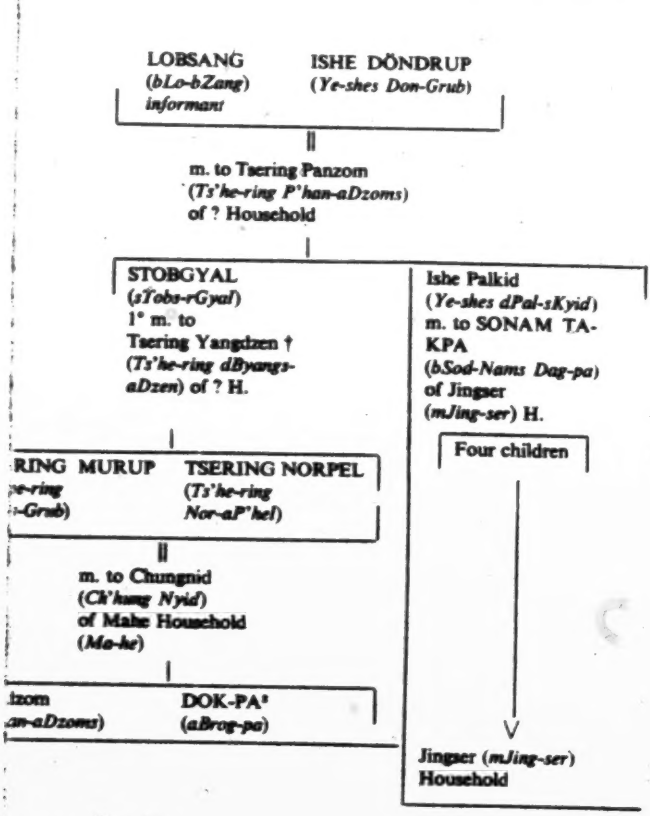
Ladak

OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*) HOUSEHOLD. 595 601



TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*)
Household, of the *Rab-lon-pa P'ha-spun*⁵

husband's house for the time being. She has adopted a little girl relative of her husband and d at the death of her mother by adoption, or when she herself marries a *mag-pa*, whichever

ears means "nomad" and has been given to him provisionally to avert the evil eye from him. [054]

hal name, as above, for the same reason; it means "protector". He is also called Dok-mo [551]
ad".

women. † = dead. m. = married. H. = Household

[facing p. 360 - B]

24:Petr E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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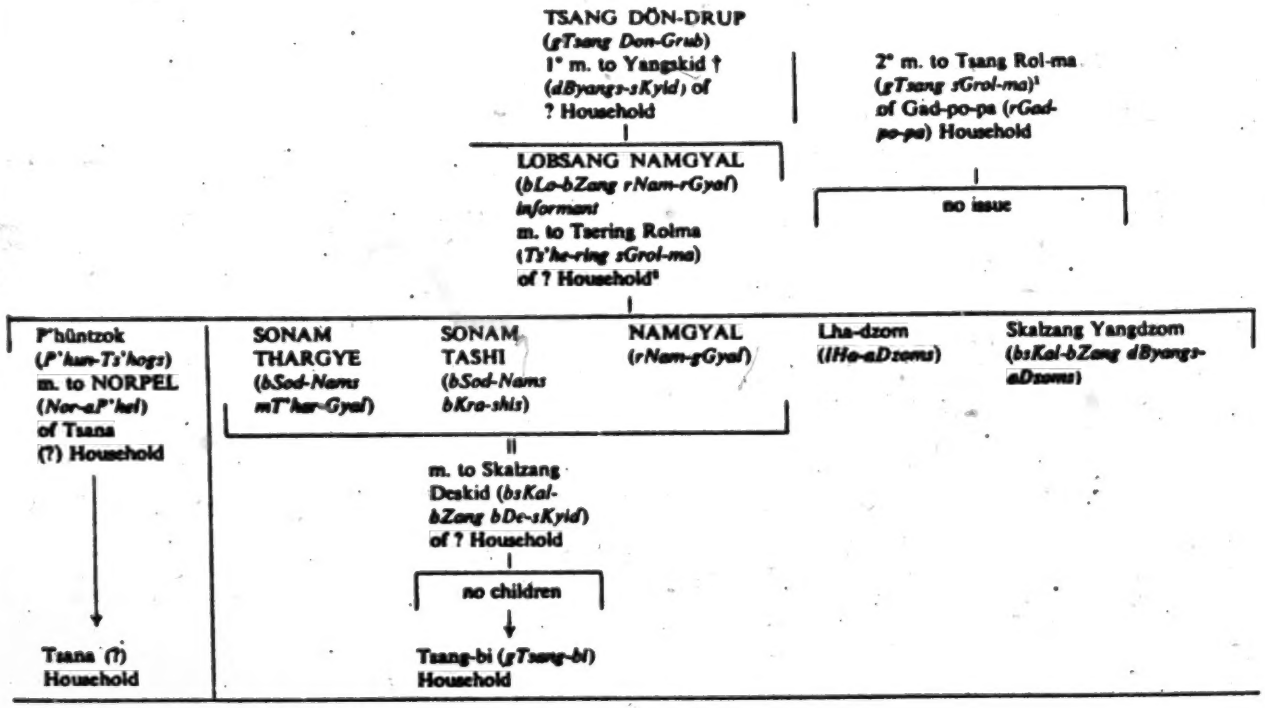
TABLE 28. GENEALOGY OF TSANG-BI (*gTsang-bi*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Living in the *k'hang-gu*. See Table 32.
[2] Parents, five children and the wife of the three boys all living in the *k'hang-chen*.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife, now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
[585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[888] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry,
[591] occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

[i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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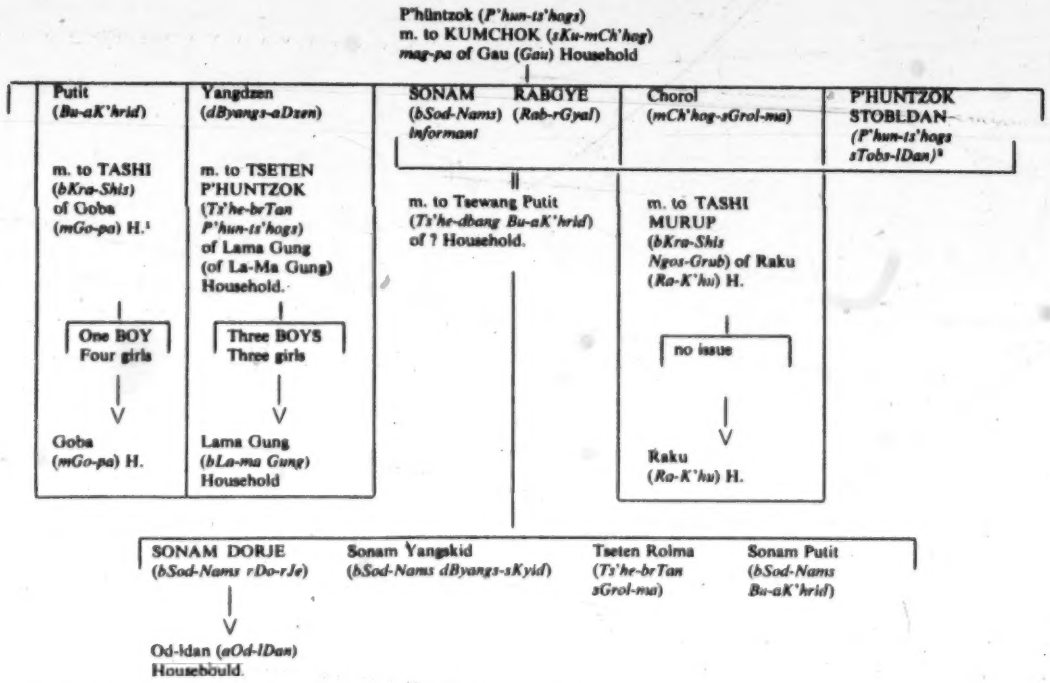
Ladak

TABLE 29. GENEALOGY OF OD-LDAN (*aOd-lDan*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Tashi has two brothers, and Putit is married polyandrously to these, too.
[2] He is the third husband of Tsewang Putit.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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Ladak

right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous 595
people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan househould, 851
that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-
zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children,
without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or
little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household 591
close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the mar- 595
ried children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-* 888
chen. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received [115]
us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I [601]
give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous house- 595
hold of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the 361
town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage
between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

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Ladak

TABLE 30. GENEALOGY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*

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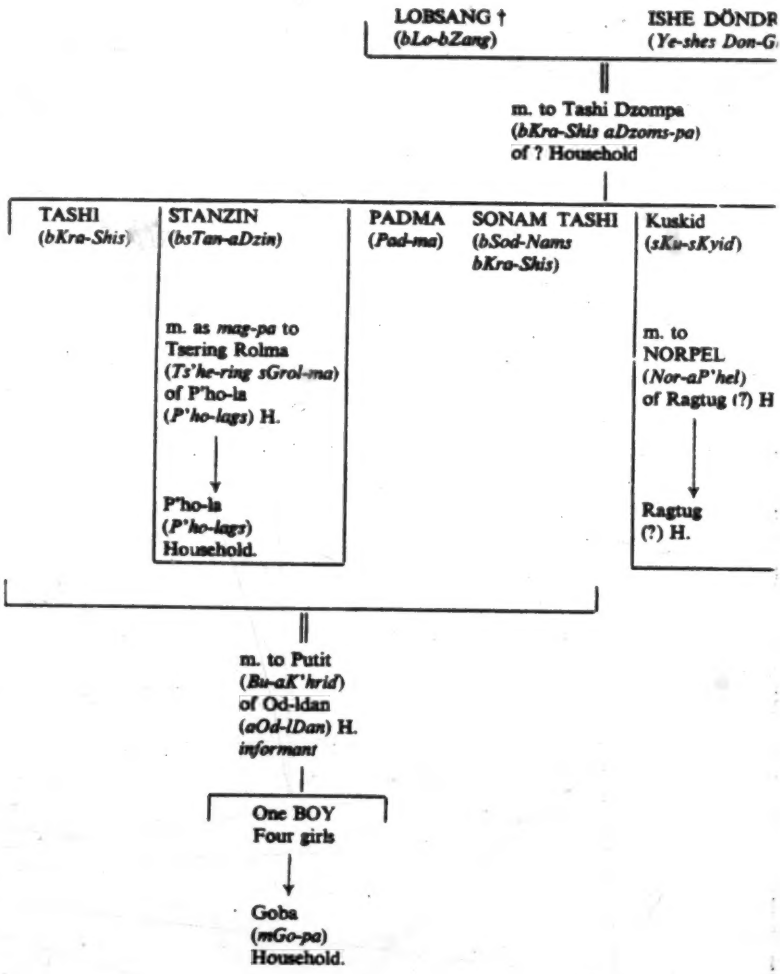

[1] Name unknown because Tsering Palkid was married off in *bag-ma* so early that it is alle
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 367-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

GY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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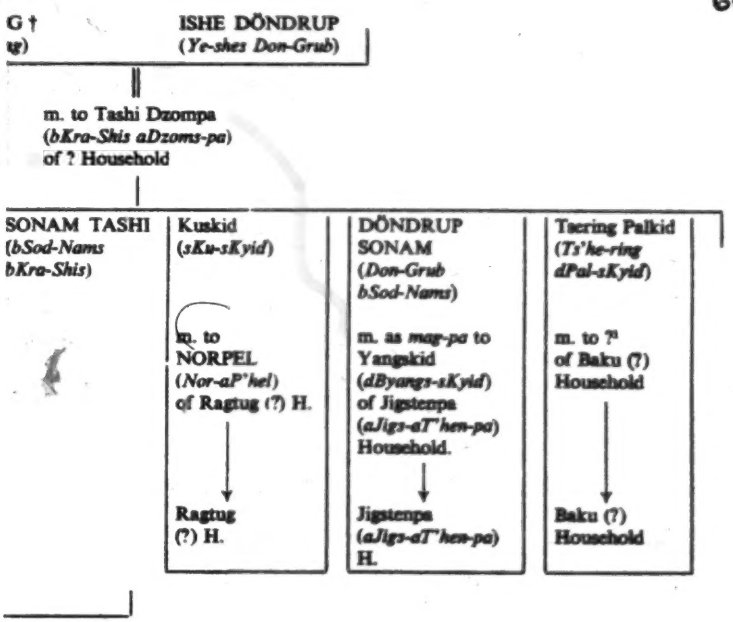

off in *bag-ma* so early that it is allegedly not remembered.

[facing P. 367 – B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

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Ladak

TABLE 31. GENEALOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*)

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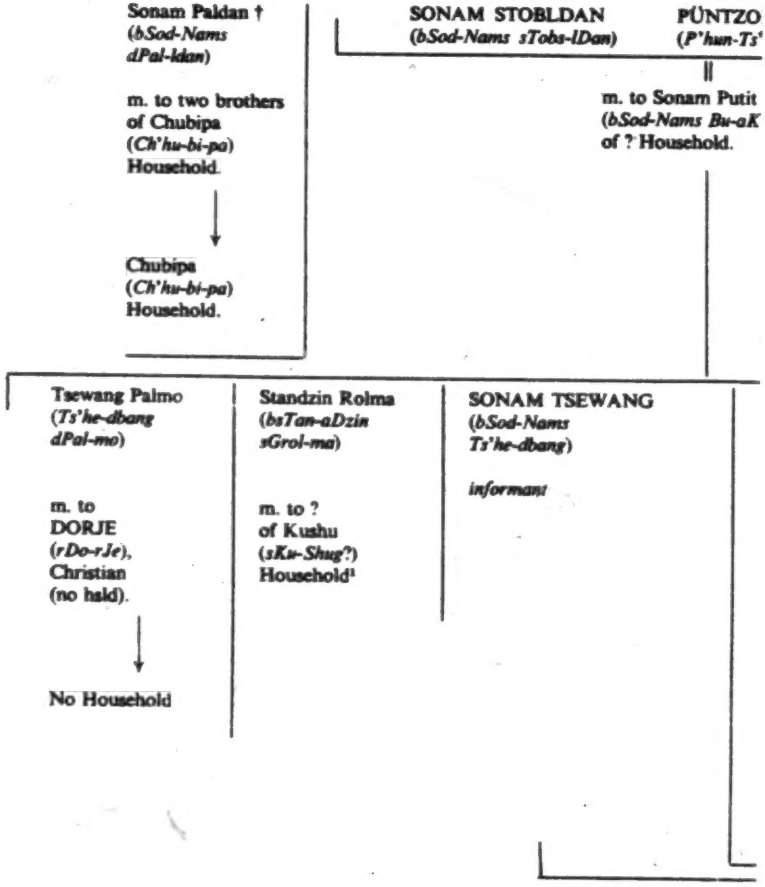

[1] She has divorced her husband and has returned to live with her brothers.
[2] See Table 27.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[Facing P. 368-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

LOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*) HOUSEHOLD.

595
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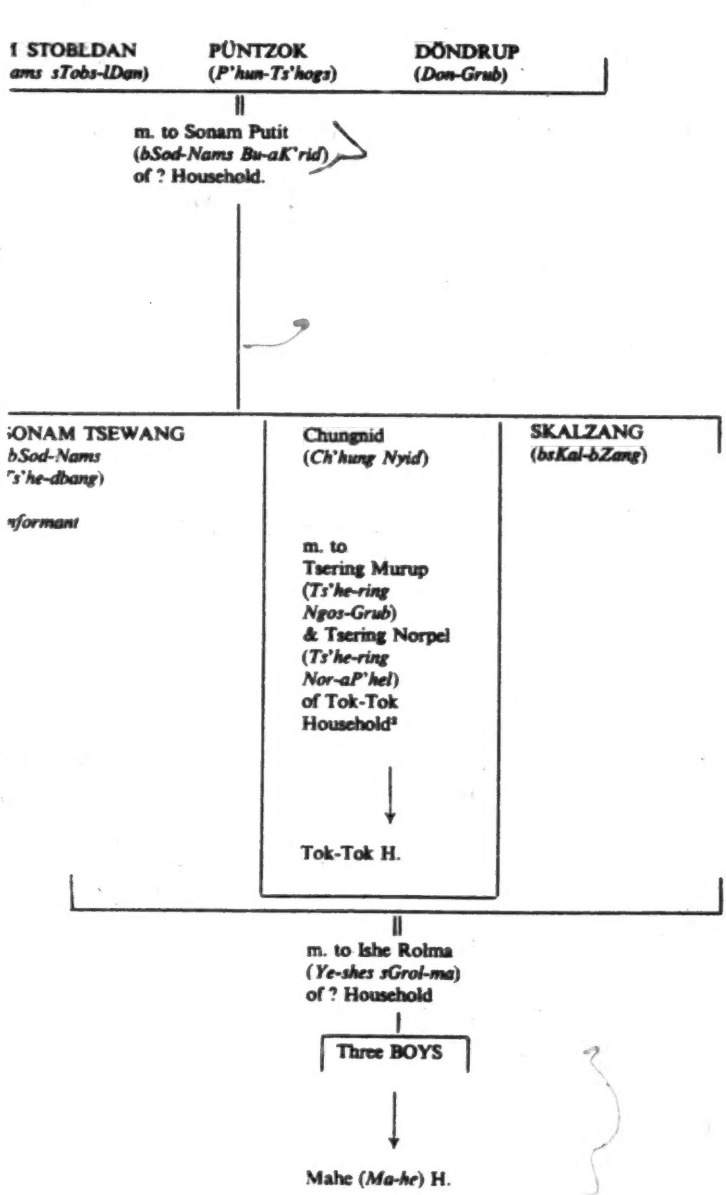

e with her brothers.

[facing P. 368-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work. 595 [059] [463]

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife. 595 [115]

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry. [162]

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34). 595 601 [842]

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro- 595

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Ladak

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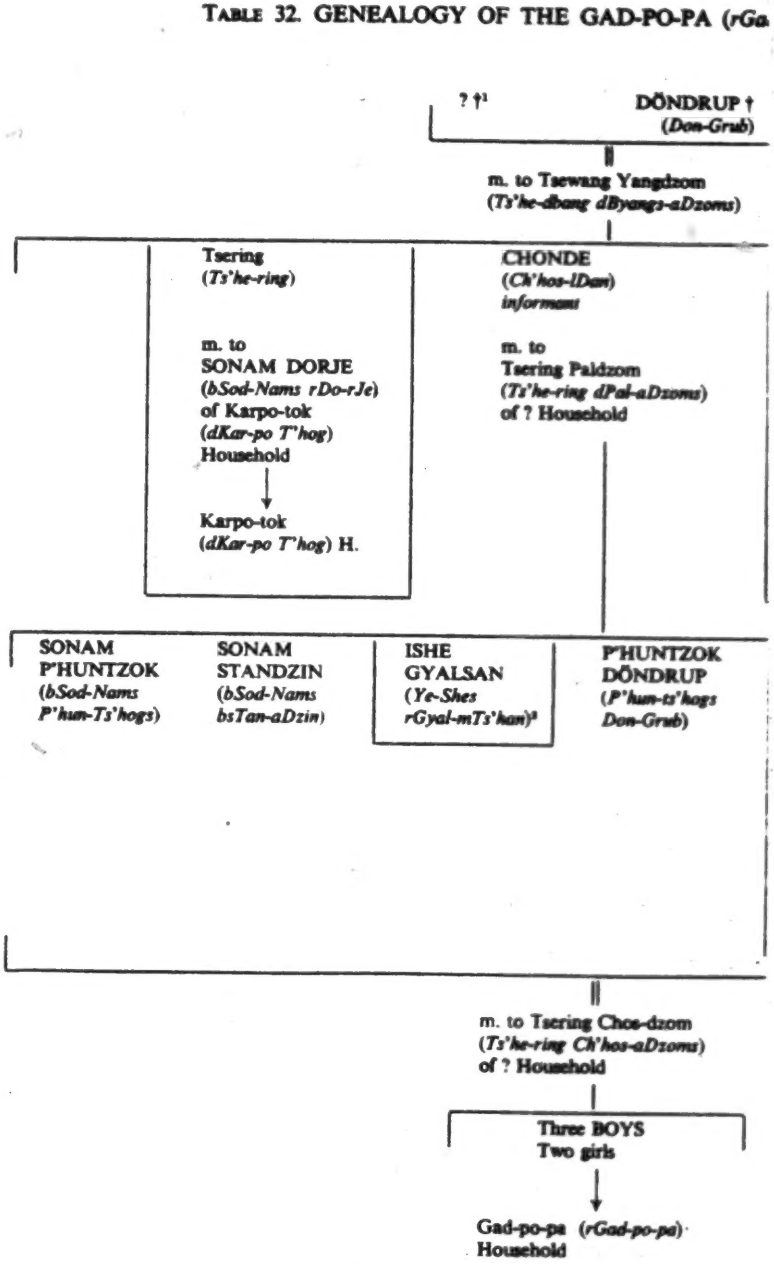
TABLE 32. GENEALOGY OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGa*



[1] Name unreadable in my notes.
[2] Has become a Gelug-pa lama in the Sankar gompa.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 369-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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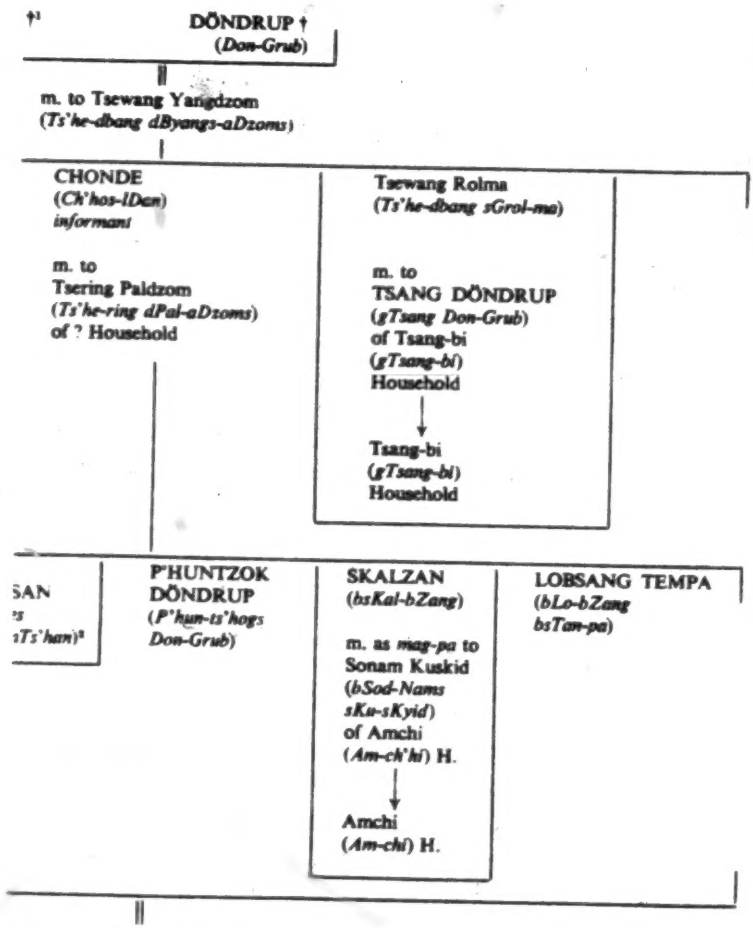
OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGad-po-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[facing P. 369-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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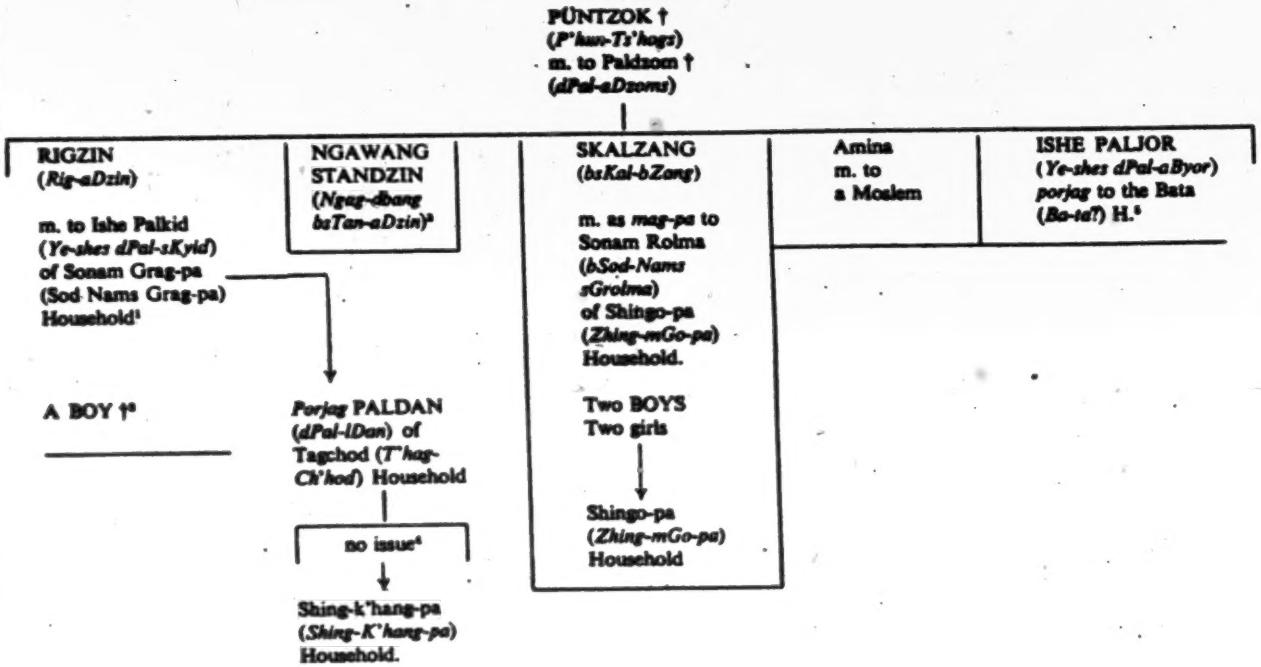
TABLE 33. GENEALOGY OF THE SHING-K'HANG-PA (*Shing-K'hang-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Ishe Palkid was married when she was twenty-one years old.
[2] The child was still-born.
[3] A lama.
[4] They are thinking of adopting a child to continue the household.
[5] See Table 34.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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595 114 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 601 [115] The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

[591] [126]

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[428]

The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

[199] [553] [591]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

TABLE 34. GENEALOGY OF TSONG-K'HAR-PA (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*)

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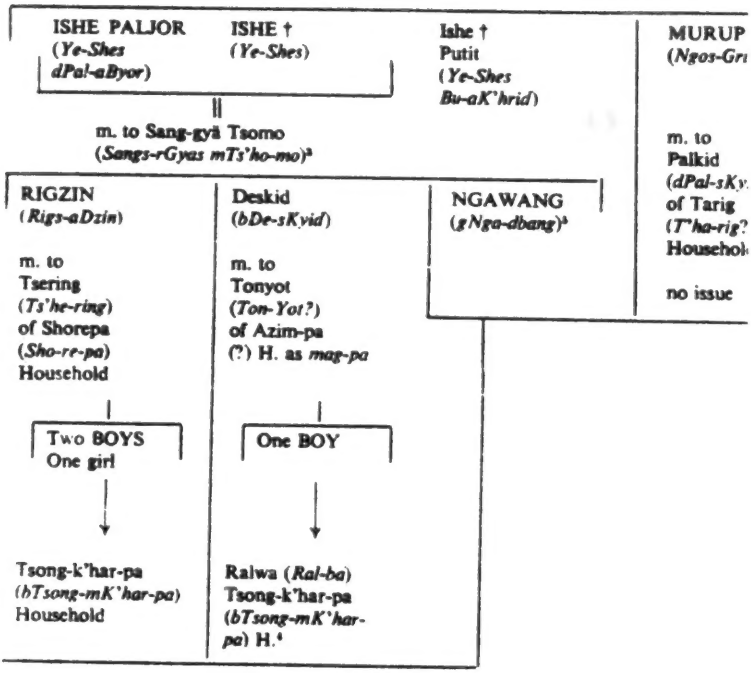

[551] "Little Tsong king", obviously a nickname with a Moslem connotation (Malik = Arabic for "king").

[3] Dondrup received the Bata household, as all his mother's brothers died without heirs.

[4] She was a Moslem, but changed religion and name to marry her husband.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 372-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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Tsong-mK'har-pa) HOUSEHOLD.

595
601
[551]

TSONG-GU-MALIK †
(*Ts'hong-gu Malik*)[1]

m. to Sonam (*bSod-Nams*) †
of Bata (*Ba-ta*) Household

P'HÜNTZOK †
(*P'hun-Ts'hogs*)

PE-LEG †
(*dPal-legs*)

m. to Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
of P'ho-sang (*P'ho-bZang*)
Household.

MURUP
(*Ngos-Grub*)[6]

m. to
Palkid
(*dPal-sKyid*)
of Tarig
(*T'ha-rig?*)
Household

no issue

Aisha
m. to
RASUL,
a Moham-
medan.[5]
no H.

Kundzom †
(*Kun-aDzoms*)

NGAWANG †
(*gNga-dbang*)

Porjag[7]
ISHE PALJOR
(*Ye-Shes*
dPal-aByor)
of Shing-k'hang-pa
(*Shing-k'hang-pa*) H.

no issue[8]

Bata (*Ba-ta?*)
Household

otation (Malik =

ners died without

husband.

[4] Deskid was a tenant without occupation on some land *mag-pa* ad founded the Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa H.
[5] He is a lama at Himis gompa.
[6] Murup received the Bata H. and continued it, while Ishe the Tsong-k'har-pa Household.

[facing P. 392-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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601

IG-GU-MALIK †
ng-gu Malik)[5]

Sonam (*bSod-Nams*) †
a (*Ba-ta*) Household

PE-LEG †
(*dPal-legs*)

DÖNDRUP
(*Don-Grub*)[6]

Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
o-sang (*P'ho-bZang*)
hold.

NGAWANG †
(*gNga-dbang*)

TSERING †
(*Ts'he-ring*)

Kundzom
(*Kun-aDonz*)[10]

m. to
DOGPA
(*aBrog-pa*)
of Ragasha
(*Rag-k'ha-sha*)
H.

TASHI
(*bKra-Shis*)

m. to
Sonam Tsomo
(*bSod-Nams mTs'ho-mo*)
of Chömpel
(*Ch'hos-aP'hel*)
H.

One BOY

Ragasha
(*Rag-k'ha-sha*)
Household

Tsomo
(*mTs'ho-mo*)

m. to
TSERING
PALJOR
(*Ts'he-ring dPal-aByor*)
of Azhang-ni
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*)
Household

no issue

Azhang-ni-p
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*) H.

ccupation on some land of her brother: she took a
Tsong-k'har-pa H.

d continued it, while Ishe Paljor and Ishe continued

7 *Porjag* taken after
8 Childless still after
9 Moslem name as m
10 Same name as earli
11 Moh. convert to B
12 No name: this one

[facing P. 372-C]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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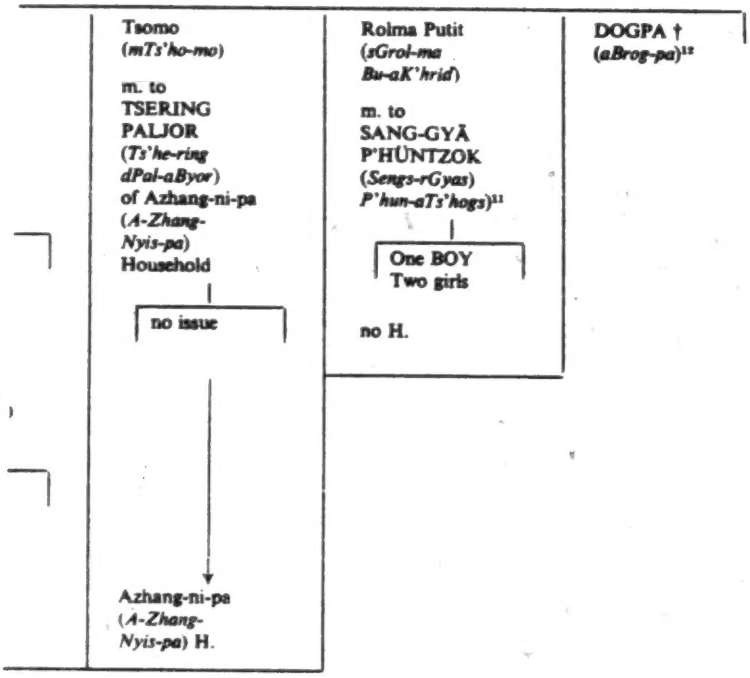
601



7 *Porjag* taken after 20 years of childless marriage.
8 Childless still after 4 years could adopt a child.
9 Moslem name as married a Moslem.
10 Same name as earlier dead girl in commemoration.
11 Moh. convert to Budh. Is now manager of Himis gompa.
12 No name: this one against the evil eye (means "nomad").

[551]
[554]

[facing P. 372-D]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyll Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

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595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at
[797] least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

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A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647). 595 114

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms 601 184

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601 [184] being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only [609] used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

614 [184] The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and [764] foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of [171] the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

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one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[TEXT Continues on p. 390]

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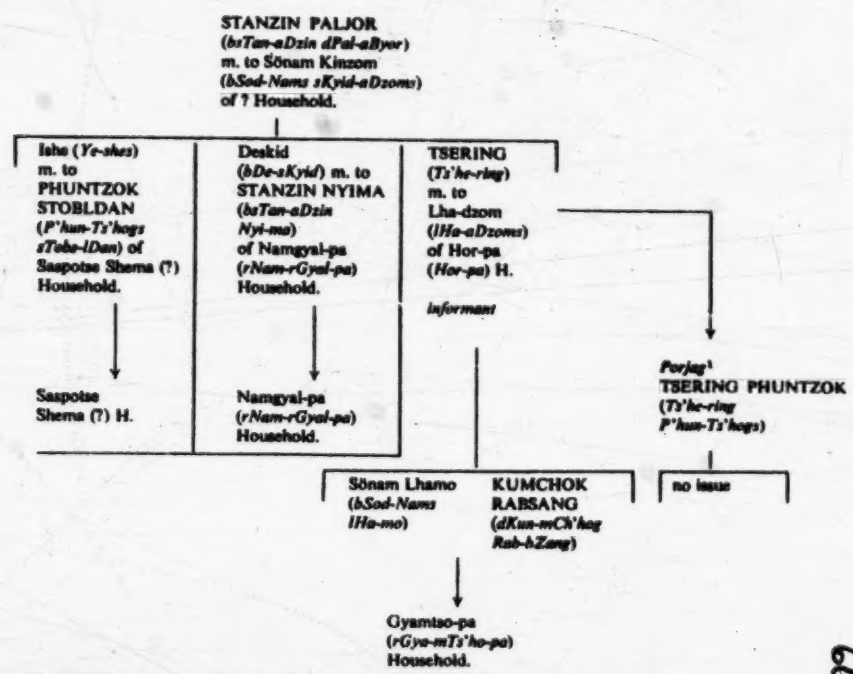
TABLE 35. GENEALOGY OF THE GYAMTSO-PA (*rGya-mTs'ho-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Married after eighteen years of marriage to Tsering, three years ago in 1938.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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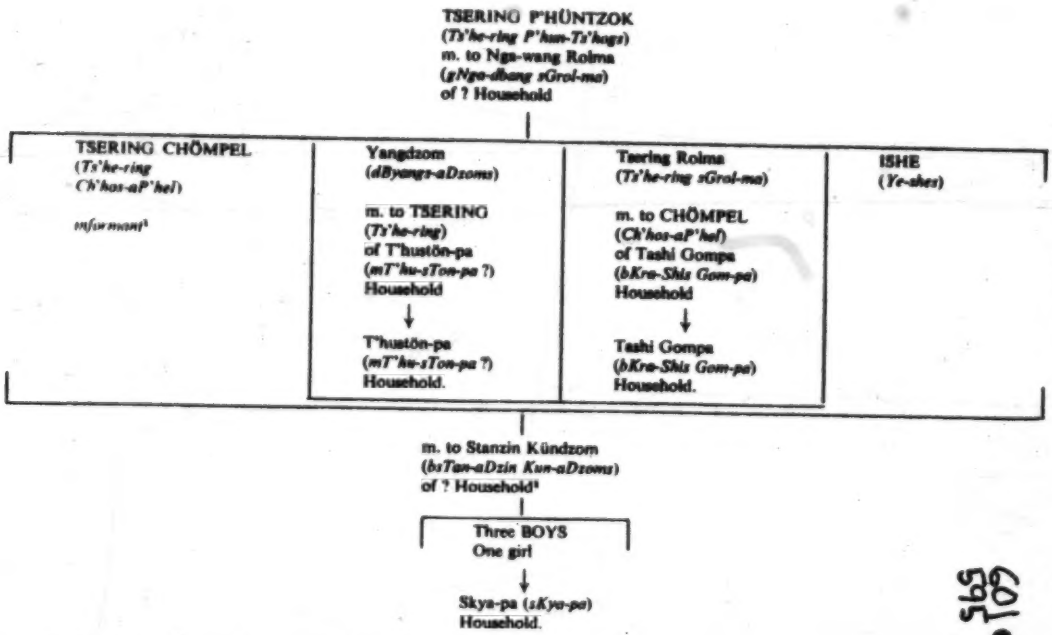
TABLE 36. GENEALOGY OF SKYA-PA (*sKya-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.



[1] Officially the only one married, and head of the family.
[2] She said that she would only speak if I paid her.
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

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information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

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Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks. 595 124

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen*, the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children. [591]

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis. 595 601 [115] 792 782 595 601

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table. 595 601

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were [792]

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TABLE 37. GENEALOGY OF YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'h*

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PALJOR †
(*dPal-aByor*)
m. to Skidzom †
(*sKyid-aDzoms*)
of ? Household

Tseten
(*Ts'he-brTan*)

m. to ?[1]
of Alea-pa
(?) H.

Alea-pa
(?) H.

Chosang Rolma
(*Ch'hos-bZang sGrol-ma*)

a *cho-mo*, (*jo-mo*) at
Himis gompa[2]

TSEW
(*Ts'he-*
informa

SONAM WANGYAL
(*bSod-Nams dbang-rGyal*)

Tashi Pal-m
(*bKra-Shis d*

m. to TASH
(*bKra-Shis b*
of Shak-pa
(*Zhag-pa?*) H

Shak-pa (*Zh*
Household.

m. to Tashi Kid
(*bKra-Shis sKyi*
of ? Household

no issu

Yoktso-pa
(*gYog-Ts'h*
Household

[1] Married to three brothers, names unknown.
[2] She nearly died as a child and was dedicated to the monastery if she survived.
[3] A lama, whose existence was kept secret from me; being of the un-reformed, Red-hat se
brothers with them.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 393-A]

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YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.

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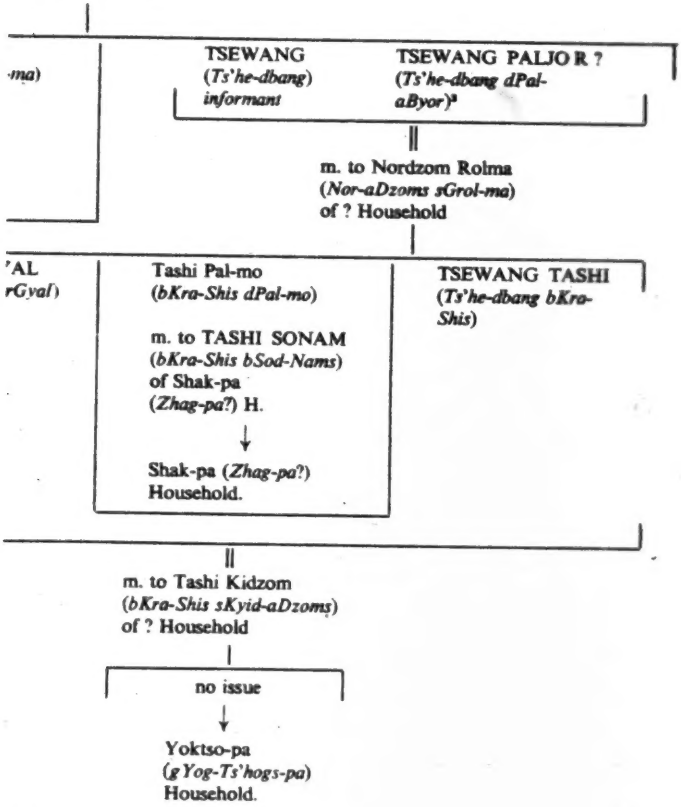

tery if she survived.

f the un-reformed, Red-hat sect *Nyingma-pa*, he shared the common wife of his

[facing P. 393-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 197 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

000

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

23: Benedict
197, 113, 601

ALl Southeast Asia
West Tibetans AJ4
Northern Tribes AW45
Pahari AW14

/For a linguistic reconstruction of kinship terminology of several Tibetan-speaking peoples of India, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 52-74./

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

842 595 blanketed, with "You do not understand. All three brothers planted the seed, the younger one only kept it watered!" And so no boy will really believe that he knows his own father, unless [602] of course the wife has but one husband. If he considers the question at all, it seems that he thinks of his mother's first husband as his father; anyway it is his name that he always gives on permits and application forms.

595 As one would expect of an heiress and her husbands, it is she who decides which of her husbands shall accommodate her, when and for how long. But this is not always the case, for when I was there the men were laughing over a very wealthy middle-aged heiress whose youngest husband, a particularly handsome magpa, having proved to her his worth as a lover, had to the astonishment of everyone become so powerful that it was he, and not she, who laid down the rules for the house, it was he who granted to his "brothers" their wife's favours, it was he who reserved the right to butt in whenever he wished. And all this came about through the old story of feminine jealousy, for the wife had caught a pretty young heiress eyeing her youthful new husband on more than one occasion, and this just after she had herself realized his qualities.

In the case of a family in which the wife is not an heiress, it is the elder brother who arranges these matters. Even then, with an extremely pretty woman there are times when the adopted brother, with whom she is really in love, manages to gain power by threatening divorce. Then, if the head of the family is weak, it is this "brother" who takes over the marital arrangements, but not the family estates or responsibilities.

It seemed from the candid remarks of my shikari guide, that with himself and his next brother having been away from their wife for so long, the boy brother would be crowded out and like so many husbands of his age, have to snatch the wife's favours when she could spare the time during the day.

The houses of the middle and higher class have one room set aside for the wife, but in the houses of the poorer people all sleep in one room. The odd thing is that although there must be arguments over the wife, seldom, if ever, does a violent quarrel take place. Probably this is because there are other outlets for passions in Ladakh.

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846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
852 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[292] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

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Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
852 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[292] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

2: Ramsay
● 608

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[For information on artificial creation of "phas-spun" ties see category 116, p. 27]

Ro-nag-pa is a person who has become impure through the touching of a corpse. 783 844

will get the Lha (gods) and the Lu (water gods, snake gods) angry at us, and then they will cause our water to fail and the seed on the field to dry up!" Soon there are three, four, and more neighbors on the spot and they all talk excitedly to Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter insists on his good right. Today, he says, after eight days of drought, it is his turn for watering his ground. His brother, he goes on, who does not live in his house, has watered the fields down in the valley; he just wanted to water the clover field and the garden up here still; he had also been very careful not to jump over the ditch, which especially enrages the water nymphs. His drinking water, he says, his niece gets for him at the well. She lived, after all, in the neighboring house and had therefore not become impure, like he, by the birth in his house. His mother placed two earthen jars before the door every morning, which the niece would put back in the same place filled, so that she never had to set foot inside the house. Soon he would also throw a lu-stor, an offering of pills made of bread dough, in the lake and in the well for the water nymphs, in order to appease the Lu and to become absolved. He knew, too, what was fitting and proper for a pious Buddhist. Nobody could accuse him of not honoring and fearing the old gods of the land. But all his talking is of no avail. The old trouble-maker Yontan from the Break-all house will not let him go; he points to the ditch and says that one could see quite clearly that the ditch was already conducting much less water than it usually did in the late evening after a warm day and a great deal of melting of the snow in the mountains. That was, of course, Lobsang Wanggyal's fault; he was going to bring action against him with the district's official. The p'a-spun (3) have to intervene because the men look 692

(3) By p'a-spun, literally translated as "father-brothers," that is to say, brothers who have a common father, the Tibetan means a closed fraternity within the village community, which is not necessarily constituted of blood relatives, but who all worship a common god (Tibetan: p'a-lha, that is, Father-God). At all important events within the family and tribe, such as birth, marriage, and death, the p'a-spun gather for joint action and mutual assistance; they are obligated to help each other in every way possible. Their relations and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual. 608

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ordinary walk, twirling their prayer-wheels and mumbling 796
their *Om mani's* as they go. Strange pathetic little humans 788
they are, set in a vast panorama of snow-covered mountains with giant peaks soaring up into the silences of the clear blue sky, and often in this frosty winter time tramping out their tiny track on a universal white mantle of snow. Then, too, above the temple which houses the "Byamspa" and on the same Tsemo, is another with three other deities. Round this is a most shockingly rickety verandah, which looks as if it might tumble down at the slightest provocation, and no doubt will do so some day. I myself have walked round this in fear and trembling, but now there is a column of men and women, one close on the heels of the other, and round and round the temple they walk, some turning prayer-wheels, and others saying the *Om mani.* Round and round they go until we feel giddy watching them. Even from below, right down in Leh, they can be seen circulating round their giddy parapet.

We now come to Spring, when everything is breaking out 796
into fresh life. At this season the lamas of Sankar remain in 792
their monastery for a whole month, during which special services are held. By this isolation they are deterred from taking life through stepping on insects as they pass along the roads. It is during this time that the service of making 796
"*Chos spun*" is performed, which actually means the "making 608
of the brethren of the religion." Those wishing to join this fraternity fast one whole day, during which they are not allowed to swallow even their own saliva. Then each man throws into a receptacle some personal belonging. The officiating priest takes these out in twos, thus making their owners spiritual brethren, after which ceremony, if one of them makes a feast, he must invite his brother, or if there is a festival, they must send one another presents.

A moveable ceremony is the celebration of the Buddhists' 796
High Mass. Its general likeness to our Christian service 174
makes one wonder whether Tibetan Buddhism did not get its

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much

SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the Rev.*

782 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held
771 an important place in the religion practised
609 in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 Two stories of the last human sacrifices in
173 Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree
[114] in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

[241] " A man had to be killed every year for the
" benefit of the fields of the community. The
" peasants were to offer the victim in turns.
" (They probably kept slaves, and these were
" generally killed). One year it was a poor
" widow's turn, and as she had no servants it
" was understood that her only son was to be
" sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly
" about this, a wandering hermit came to her
" house and offered to die in the place of her
" son, if she would feed him well until the day
" of execution. The widow gladly accepted the
" offer, and on the appointed day the hermit
" was led with much noise before the wooden
" idol of the god of the fields. When the
" executioner walked up with his axe to the
" hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear
"' friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if
"' the god really wants to take my life.' Then
" he stepped with the axe before the idol and
" said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really
"' want my life, take it please; if not, I shall
"' take yours.' As there was no reply, the
" hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in
" pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 " the river, and everybody went home."

173 The other story related to me concerning
114 the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

539

(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) ཉམ་པོ་འདུག་པ་ཟླ་ཆ་ལ་ཁྱོད།།

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793

(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'.

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama. 609

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance. 192

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) ཟའ་ཟ་ཟའ་ཟ་རེར་ར་ནི་མི་ཡི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན།

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རྒྱབ་ལ་གཞུ་ཁུང་བདག་ག་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན།།

301

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor in'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁ་དམ་ཀོ་ཝག་ཟེར་པ། ཚུང་ཀའི་མིག་འཁྲུལ།།

539

(*b*) Kha'tä ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kä mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A14

A Trip to Ladakh

000 Having bathed, the next thing I needed was food, for it was many hours since breakfast. I soon met two more long black-haired men who were carrying large round cakes of Indian corn. I bought one of them. I do not know how many days ago it had been baked, but it was extremely hard, stale and sour. However, I soaked it in a stream, and was then able to get it down, or at least some of it.

609 Later on I made friends with some villagers, and they,
361 to show that they meant well, brought me as much milk as I could drink. I was then so thirsty that I did justice to their supply. I sat with these kindly folk until I saw my caravan approaching. When it arrived we continued our journey, and in course of time we arrived on a great open wind-swept plain, and soon saw a group of stone and mud houses, which calls itself Dras, the capital of the country of Dras.

000 Here I found a British officer encamped on his way back to India after ibex hunting. My camp was pitched upon the plain, and I had just finished my tea, for which I was most grateful, after that grilling march down that treeless valley, and was putting things straight when down came a great gale of wind. I had to hang on with all my might to one of my tent-poles to prevent the tent coming down, while my servant hammered hard at the tent-pegs. While this was going on I heard shouts, and saw the major's property fast disappearing out of his tent, sailing down the plain before the blast. So I ran to the rescue, and was just in time to save his tent from collapsing entirely, for one of his tent-poles had already fallen. The gale soon blew itself out, and all was peace and quiet once more, except for the visits of the prowling pariah dogs from the city of Dras.

Next day we were up betimes, and I marched on ahead

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak (there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail.

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness".

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4 inches.
1 peethe - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard	= "	300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12 "

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbo or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

876 FRECKLE--teep-khap. Ladakis think that freckles are caused by looking at one's reflection in the unwiped mirror of another person, for this reason, before using another person's looking-glass, a Ladaki will be careful to wipe it thoroughly.

764 [49]FUNERAL--Buddhists in Ladák like to keep a dead body as long as possible, for the purpose of praying over it, and performing other religious ceremonies. For this reason it is considered better that a man should die in winter, when his corpse can be kept for 15 or 16 days, than in summer when the body must be burnt on the third day after death. When a death occurs, intimation is sent to all relatives to come to the funeral. At the time of the funeral "chhang"[1] and "satoo"[2] is provided at the house of the deceased, but the guests are all silent, and pretend to be much affected. They will eat and drink sadly, so long as the corpse is in the house but when it has been removed, they will not eat or drink in that house for a month. At the
793 764 time of the occurrence of a death, a "hlobon" or "abbot" is sent for, from the nearest monastery; this official reads some religious extracts (this is called phóa tap ches) for half an hour or so, while so doing he holds the sacred book (phóalung speycha) in one hand, and with the other hand he takes hold of the pigtail of the deceased, if a male, and of the hair of the deceased, if a female. While reading the funeral service, the Abbot keeps on pulling and jerking the hair of the corpse. If by the time the reading is finished, any blood has come from the nose of the corpse, it is considered a very happy sign, as proving that the spirit (sem soul or SHok or SHrok life) of the deceased has entered into the presence of the Divine Idea (konjok), i.e., has entered paradise (zhing-kham or thóris), and attained nirvana (stongpa ngyid).

(775) If no blood is to be seen, it is considered a sign that the dead person's spirit is wandering about in space, awaiting re-embodiment. In this case payments have to be made to the Lámas to pray for the wandering spirit.

764 [50] Having completed the reading, the Abbot stands aside, and
● 614 the "phas-spun" of the deceased come with ropes, and tie the deceased into a squatting position; knees, hands and neck all tied close together. If the corpse has got stiff, the bones are broken, so that the necessary squatting position may be attained.

1 [BARLEY BEER--ANALYST] 2 [BASIC BARLEY FOOD--ANALYST]

764 614 The word "phas-spun" signifies the persons who perform the funeral ceremonies, in so far as these involve the touching of the corpse. The office of "phas-spun" is hereditary and unpaid, a male corpse is attended upon by male "phas-spun" and a female corpse by female "phas-spun". If a stranger comes to a village, where his family has no "phas-spun" it is necessary for him to get some one to agree to undertake the office, a dinner is then given, and the man to whom the feast is given becomes the family and hereditary "phas-spun" of the giver.

It never happens that a "phas-spun" declines to perform his part. If a person dies without any "phas-spun," his corpse is treated as that of an animal; no one will touch it, and no religious ceremonies are performed over it, a rope is tied round it, and it is dragged away and either thrown into the river Indus or buried. But to return to the narrative. When the "phas-spun" numbering from 7 to 9 persons, have tied up the corpse (ro) into the approved attitude, they put it into a cotton cloth bag (rôres), and then remove it from the room in which it is, and take it to the "Chhodkhang" room (see "Church ") of the house, and put it in a corner of the room, and stretch a shawl or other cloth across the corner, so as to hide the corpse. The Abbot (hlôbon) then comes into the "Chhodkhang" room, sits down just to the left front of the corpse and with his back to it, and other Lámás of lower rank also enter the room and sit facing the "Hlôbon." As soon as the corpse has been put in to the corner by the "phas-spun" these people retire, and none but priests are admitted into the "Chhodkhang," and these remain to pray, and to keep alight 101 brass lamps (chhodmey), and to offer food and drink to the deceased. The "phas-spun" and relatives of the deceased sit in another room. Till the time for the funeral or burning ceremony arrives, Lámás remain day and night in the "Chhodkhang" by day from seven to ten Lámás are probably present, and by night only one or two. The Lámás consult their books to see what is the auspicious time (zhák záng) for the corpse to be removed to the burning ground (turtsa). When the time arrives for removing the corpse, the "phas-spun" and the nearest relative, (i.e., heir) whether male or female enter the Chhodkhang, and the "phas-spun"

764 614 [778] 793

[787]

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lift the corpse, and place it upon the chief mourners back, the latter then, bends down leaning upon two sticks carried in the two hands, and aided by the "phas-spun" carries the corpse to the entrance of the house; here it is placed in a square shaped coffin or box (rórGHam) provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. The rórGHam is then carried either by the "phas-spun" or relatives of the deceased, to the burning ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not come to the burning ground, but, after having walked 3 times round the coffin and prostrated herself before it 3 times, she is conducted back to the house.

On the way to the burning ground, the Lámás go in front, praying and playing musical instruments, then follow the relatives, etc., and last of all comes the coffin. The corpse is placed in a sort of oven; the face being put down against the ground; the wood is then lighted and ghee is poured over the corpse by the Lámás.

When the first bone drops from the body, probably after 3 or 4 hours, the funeral ends, though the "phas-spun" remain to complete the burning. The Lámás take the bone back to the "Chhopkhang" of the deceased, and there pound it up, mix a little clay with it, and put it into a mould, which shapes it into a figure or idol (tshatsha). If the deceased was a rich man, this figure is built into a "Chhorten," (see Cenotaph) built for the purpose, and if he was poor man, the figure (tshátshá) is taken and placed in any old "chhorten". On the evening of this day, an open air feast is given to the mourners who then disperse.

[778]

804 [51]FURLONG--The Ladákis do not measure distances as we do, but the Indian word "kós" or "kóso" is generally understood to mean about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Tibetan method of measurement is by the "migthoug," which means the distance, up to which a man can be clearly seen with the naked eye. In the clear atmosphere of Ladák, this would mean about 1 1/2 miles. Another method of measurement is by the "tháng" or "plateau". This is of very little use, as the "tháng" may be only a few hundred yards long, or it may be several miles long. For further information, see under "Lineal measure".

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In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 174

The Dard question of West-Tibet. Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T D 174 614

(2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(a) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis baamphelpa.

(b) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa aNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

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(c) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(d) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

T D 174 197 782 [776]

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni
Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni
Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངལ་ཆགས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལུ་ལྷ་ཞུ་ནི།
ཤུ་ནི་པི་ཞལ་ལུ་ལྷ་ཞུ་ནི།
ཅི་ནི་ཕ་ཞལ་ལུ་ལྷ་ཞུ་ནི།།

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NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the Kângrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khâta* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lima* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lima* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fianci* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [614]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

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are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

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585 eleven, and they set out early in the morning carrying beer. On their way to the bride's house, they may meet people with beer-pots, around the rims of which are many little pyramids of butter (*kal chor*), and reciprocal generosity supplies all parties with a further opportunity to indulge in "the cup that cheers." They will also find on their road about eighty pyramids of small stones set up, at each of which the leader must make a special speech, and, in the event of his forgetting one or more of these, he must pay some fine. He delivers them in answer to the questions put by a man who is a member of the bride's household. Quite near the house is a flag-staff bearing a flag of five colours, and above it the outline of a bird, while a stick has been hidden in the earth somewhere in front of the door. The leader of the *nyopas* has to find this by means of pacing. At the door they meet the relatives and friends bearing sticks, also the money and goods decided upon at the *nyenchang*. If all promises are paid up, the parties are admitted, but any defaulters are beaten with sticks. Throughout this procedure a boy and a girl (*spawo* and *spamo*) burn incense.

The *nyopas* now enter the house, and have three dances in the living-room, where they are provided with a menu similar to the foregoing one, after partaking of which they proceed outside, where a large crowd of onlookers will have collected, and dance round an erection of bread arranged round a central corpse of meat, flanked by two large pots of *chang*. The dancing includes that by the *spamo*, who dons [614] the bride's dresses, thus exhibiting the trousseau. In the evening the bread is shared out according to the contract made beforehand, the distributor being a member of the house of the bridegroom, whose badge of office is a silk cloth wrapped round his third finger. He is called a *paspun*, and performs this duty for all the members of his clan, who possess the same god and the same vows.

Now comes the time for giving the wedding-presents, and

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all go indoors and spend the time dancing until the fateful 585
hour foretold by the *Onpo* arrives, when the actual marriage takes place, and the bride appears. A scribe is present to write down everything which is taken away by the bride in case of a divorce. He, the friends, and the hairdressers will receive presents from the father or uncle. The hair of the bride (or bridegroom) has to be dressed that same evening, and she now puts on a white head-dress, the wearing of which is the actual wedding rite. Her dress is usually an ancient one, which goes from house to house. She comes into the living-room, and sits on a carpet on which the sign of *gyung-drung* (the Swastika) has been made in barley. Across the room a rope is stretched on which the father and mother place the clothes, while on the floor are the pots and pans which they are giving their daughter. The lamas now [793]
arrive to perform the *yangkuk* ceremonies (*yang* means blessing, *kuk* calling forth), so that the daughter may not take away with her the blessing of the house. The *nyopas* present each lama with a piece of cloth, which the latter place on their heads ; to the girl's parents they have to give a salutation-scarf, and to her relatives small pieces of white cloth. After this ceremony, the lamas leave, and now the parents of the bride also present her with salutation-scarves, which is a duty of each relative also. The bride then weeps copiously, and lauds all that has been done for her during her life. The [614]
leader of the *nyopas* now takes her into the small temple or private chapel of the house to say a last good-bye, for after this day she may never again enter this temple, having married into another *paspun* (clan). She is then taken on a pony to her new home by the *nyopas*, and this happens about midnight, for, if the bride be taken away by day, a fine has to be paid either to the King or to the neighbouring monastery. Before starting, the father and uncle of the bridegroom once more enter the house, and, again presenting salutation scarves and a small sum of money, thank the parents for the gift of the

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586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [638] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not 586 allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is ● 614 not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are 595 no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

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of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792]
third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582]
pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764]
father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614]
heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593]
than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

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595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers.
473 The house and the land and all the children belong to the
478 eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre-
601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences,
764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms.
764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus
● 614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance
[791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The date of the funeral has arrived, and the brother of the departed must carry his corpse from the temple into the street. If there is no brother, his wife, assisted by a *paspun*, does this duty. Here the body is placed into a kind of box, which any man may now carry on his back to the burning-ghats out in the desert. The procession is formed by relatives, friends and lamas. The body is placed into an oven made of mud-bricks, consisting merely of four walls with an opening at the bottom into which the firewood is placed. The corpse is consumed to the reading of holy books, clashing of cymbals, and blowing of the flageolet, while butter, rice, water and barley are thrown into the consuming fire to provide sustenance for the soul of the departed. The cortège then returns home, where the dead man's effects are given to the priests to reward them for their services. In the case of a woman, however, her ornaments go to her eldest daughter, if she has one; if not, the lamas may auction them and retain the money. Next morning a relative goes to inspect the ashes. If the footprints of a dog can be discerned in these, the deceased's soul will speedily be re-incarnated. Some of these ashes are then made into a small idol of Buddha or a tiny *Chorten* by mixing with clay, and these are placed inside some large *Chorten*. Should the dead man belong to some opulent family, his relatives, having ascertained what would be a propitious holy banner, will have one prepared and hung up in the family temple.

In Tibet proper the general method of disposing of the dead is to expose the body, which has first been dismembered, to the vultures, or throw it to the fishes, or bury it. Cremation is reserved for priests or those of high rank. Here, in Lesser Tibet, however, most corpses are burnt. But even in their burial rites, these folk are the "wrong way round," for when cremation is most expedient, they bury. Has a man or woman died of infectious disease, his body is committed to the ground, to be disinterred and cremated about a year later.

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The Lahuli term for father is *apa* (*Ap'ha*), and a distinction is made between eldest father, *apa chembo* (*Ap'ha ch'hen-po*), middle father, *apa chung-ngan* (*Ap'ha ch'hung-ngu*) or *apa panna* (probably an Indian term), and the youngest, *agu* (*A-gu*), by which term (which strictly means paternal uncle), all other younger brothers of the eldest fathers are called. 601 595

The mother is known as *ama* (*A-ma*). Husband and wife are both called *zhidmat* (*Zhid-sMat*) or *troks* (*Drogs*). A wife calls her eldest husband *ajo* (*A-jo*) or more respectively *ga-ga* (*Ga-ga*), and the younger ones *no* (*No*) or honorifically *ga-ga chung-ngan* (*Ga-ga ch'hung-ngu*). The eldest husband calls his wife *ache* (*A-ch'he*), (which is another word for sister); the oher husbands call her *nomo* (*No-mo*), while all of them, speaking of her to each other, refer to her as *ane* (*A-ne*) (which also has the meaning of aunt), or *zhidmat*. People outside the family will speak of the wife also as *zhidmat* and of the husbands as *go-bu* (*mGo-Bu*), for the eldest, *panna* (Indian?) for the middle one, and *t'ha-chung-ngan* (*mT'ha-ch'hung-ngu*) for the youngest.

In a polygynous household, the eldest wife goes by the name of *chan-chen* (*Byan-ch'hen*), the second one by that of *Chan-chung-ngan* (*Byan-ch'hung-ngu*), and the youngest is called *yang-chung-ngan* (*Yang-ch'hung-ngu*). Eldest boys, before they are married, are known as *gaga* (*Ga-ga*), and youngest as *no-no* (*No-no*). I have already said that a man called in to a family to produce children when the husbands have [842] failed to do so with their common wife is called a *p'horjag*. Sometimes, a second man is also asked to assist if the first one fails, in which case he is called a *po-chung-ngan* (*P'ho-ch'hung-ngu*). Sons go by the name of *bu-tsa* (*Bu-ts'ha*), while daughters are called *bu-mo* (*Bu-mo*).

The Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity belong also to various patrilineal clans, each one descendant from a common ancestor. These are called *rü* (*Rus*), meaning "bone", and those belonging to them are known as *rü-pa* (*Rus-pa*). The Thakur gave me a list of some of the main ones, the name they bore, he said, being that of the ancestor. They are the following: 614

1. Guram Shing-pa (*Gur-ram Shing-pa*) or Jo (*Jo*), meaning "Sugar cane one" or "Lord", the clan to which he himself belonged. They were descendants, he told me, of the preserved semen of a Tibetan ascetic which had been fertilized on a piece of sugar cane.
2. Lön-chen-pa (*bLon-ch'hen-pa*), "Minister one".
3. Miru-pa (*Mi-rus-pa*), "Human bone one" or "Villager from Miru" (in Ladak).

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614 4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

[582] Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been [626] a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

114 Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation cere- [115] monies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

114 Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, 852 a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsü* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet 852 twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak 582 611 614 [184]

(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail. 585

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness". [535] [187]

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

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60 [184] being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only [609] used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

614 [184] The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

[164] It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

[171] It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *ri* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

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595 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably
614 be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy
587 playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same
842 one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth
765 pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to
783 the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (vary-
846 ing from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that
[264] people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated
[784] period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with mem-
846 bers of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have
264 nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period
783 of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irri-
784 gating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils,
[241] the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which
783 follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies,
765 the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts
[264] of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *do-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

WT Jiksten-gonpo.

779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.

795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

WT As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
661 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
792 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
241 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
651 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal
423 of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid any revenue whatsoever.

WT The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
792 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to
795 spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kaneta, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tówás* or *togochás*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Hira Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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621 Village Communities and Tenures.

423 Sub-divisions in Láhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Láhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

[425]

173 Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

423

The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Ranglói, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1½ or 1¼. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

[651]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans A.4
Dards AV3

D 162 for this extraordinary arrangement by the fact that originally
549 the Dards were Mohammedans, and presumably have not been
771 able entirely to throw off this allegiance. It is stated that in
D one of their villages, they actually found a burial ground;
[764] sure proof to them of a Mohammedan ancestry, for the
Buddhist burns his dead, whilst it is the Mohammedan that
D 764 inters. This may be a satisfactory explanation of their
religious ideas, but from whence have they derived all their
taboos? Thus the Brogpa must not raise fowl, nor may he
eat their eggs. The cow may be employed for the ploughing
of his fields, but the gods would most certainly be displeased
were he to drink their milk, or even use the butter which is
made from the same. In other villages the eating of fish is
taboo, and by the look and smell of them washing surely must
be also. In fact they avow that it is "Krims med"
D 751 not the custom. For some time it almost seemed to us as if
vaccination was also on their list of prohibitions, for, although
they had actually begged us to come for this very purpose, it
took the three of us quite a long time cajoling, threatening,
entreating and advising them, before they would undergo
this fearful operation. At last one faced it, soon to be followed
by the others, so that eventually we had quite a busy morning
vaccinating. A week later this must have been a sore village,
where most of the people wished vaccination had been taboo,
but by then we were well away with the knowledge that, should
smallpox attack Hanu, it would find the defences fairly strong.

WT Now let us pay a visit to the Khampas, although it wants a
563 George Borrow to describe these gipsies of Western Tibet.
443 Kham, from whence they come, is a province of Tibet, but
● 671 when we see the numbers of them who wander over the Indian
parts of the Himalayas, we begin to wonder whether any of
them are left "at home." Evidently the Khampa finds it
more lucrative to wander like our own gipsies than to stay on
his native soil. As the bazar in Leh provides most of the
things needed by the people who inhabit the upper valley of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but 563
as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the 443
lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, 621
or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan fashion—" And the next, please." But not only does he sell things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them at three or four times that amount down-country. When it comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and thought we would try to get one from them. There at the foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary 342
poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones. At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are conveniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise. At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not 789
placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its representative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good. Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen 621
cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride 000

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"empty amble," for the pony uses it even when he is not ridden, whilst the *labyor* or "learnt amble" can only be obtained when a rider on his back holds the reins fairly firmly, and unfortunately an animal, like his human rider, forgets his lesson in less time than it takes to learn it. A *labyor* therefore minimizes the value of a pony. To come back to our gipsy, he soon sends one or two of his servants for one of the said wonderful animals, which seems as good as its description. But we, too, know something about ponies, and, therefore, request the rider to dismount and drive the pony along empty, with the result that the amble disappears, for it is only a *labyor*. We then inquire the price of the beast, and are told that as a favour we shall have him for Rs160, but as our opinion on this score does not harmonize with his either, no deal results. This does not trouble our friend much, for he knows that by taking the pony down country he will get an even higher sum, and no inhabitant of the Himalayas ever argues that "time is money," or that a quick turnover of cash is a good business proposition.

This roving tribe, originating from Tibet, subscribes to the Buddhist creed. Like our own gipsies they are properly organized, having their own lawful king, and under him Tehsildars (magistrate), headmen and other officials necessary to keep the community in order, and although they are to be met with here, there and everywhere, they seem to be under quite good control.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (Len-mi).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more men or women as permanent servants. These
464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds (Lug-rdzi).*

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khima-posh.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

645 the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power
175 of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the
[197] monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.

000 In Great Tibet the *Kahlons* of the four chief provinces of *Ngári*, *U*, *Tsáng*, and *Khám*, were elected by the civil power in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior *Kahlons*, and all other petty officers of state,
645 were elected by the four chief *Kahlons*. But in Ladák
634 the prime minister's office was almost hereditary; that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal *Kahlons*, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations. The Kahlon of Moorcroft's time was the Kahlon or petty Gyalpo of the Chimra valley; and the power remained in the hands of his family until the final settlement of Zoráwar Sing, at Lé.

● 622 Many of the principal nobility of Ladák were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a *Gyalpo* in Nubra; another in Gya; a third in Spiti; a fourth in Zanskar; a fifth in Paskyum; a sixth in Soth; a seventh in Suru; and an eighth in Hembabs, or Drás. The chiefs of Paskyum and of Soth distinguished themselves by their protracted resistance on the first invasion of Ladák by Zoráwar Sing.

645 The prime minister was simply styled *Kahlon*, or "the minister," or *Bangki-Kahlon*, "the chief minis-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

622 The inferior officers were the *Mipons*,* or *Gobas*† (that is, literally, the "head men" of the villages), and the *Shogampa*, or provincial collectors of taxes and customs.

622 The *Gobas* (who were also called *Grongpons*,‡ or
634 "village chiefs") were directly responsible to the *Kahlons*, or *Gyalpos*, of their respective districts, in all criminal matters, and in most accounts of revenue; although the *Mipons*, or head men, of some of the principal towns, rendered their accounts direct to the *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer of Lé. But these exceptions were, I believe, only made in the cases of such villages as were set apart for the particular maintenance of the queen, or of some members of the royal
645 family. The *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer, rendered his accounts to the *Kahlon*, or prime minister, who kept the privy purse of the king and his family.

622 The titles of the different functionaries varied in
634 different districts; but the most common were those which I have just given. The petty *Gyalpos* and provincial *Kahlons* were frequently called *Depons*,§ or "district chiefs," a name which recalls the Sanscrit *Dés-pati*, and the Greek Δεσποτης. Among the Mahomedans of Ladák (both the pure Kashmiris and the hybrid Argons), the petty chiefs are invariably called *Chho*; as *Gya-pa-chho*,‖ "the *Gyalpo* of Gya."

* *Mi-dPon*, "man-chief or head man."

† *hGo-ba*, emphatically the head man, from *hGo*, "the head, the top of anything."

‡ *Grong-dPon*. In Great Tibet, and in some parts of Ladák, this word is pronounced *Tongpon*. The Lamas more especially adhere to the pronunciation of Lhasa.

§ *sDé-dPon*, "district-chief." ‖ *mChhog*, "the head, the chief."

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 789

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their fear they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the abyss they were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which

24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw
his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526]

25. A kind of hockey game.

free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

622 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling
651 up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sack of barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too often: Yet he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still
876 on a very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored to initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Village Communities and Tenures.

both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

423 649 Government control over waste.

In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *nautor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négí* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négí* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Pattan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

622 [651] [623]

In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemno* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugán* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugás* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

[651]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Village officials.

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roster. In *kothí* Pín two men do the work of village messengers and policemen, and are paid three *khal* of barley per annum apiece out of the *setai* collections; the office goes by the name of *laspa*, and is held by the landholders in turn. Under the kings of Ladákh, a family in the village of Mani held the hereditary office of the *togochi* of Spiti. The *togochi* was a secretary and keeper of the records, and was associated with the *wazír* on an almost equal footing in all State business. The present head of the family, by name Sonám Tabgi, has been in the habit of assisting the *Nono* as a secretary.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGonpa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the wild red currants, now ripe, are wonderfully sweet to the taste. Then look up to right and left, and see the great slabs of cliffs, rising absolutely straight up from the river for over 1,000 feet; or, where they lean at all, the slope is inwards. Behind them are further tiers. Beyond, more cliffs, rising up to a similar height, look just like huge stalagmites, the formation of cliff and stalagmite together often suggesting one of nature's wonderful cathedrals with its many spires. [873] The Ladaki would people them with his *lhas* (spirits), which he certainly believes inhabit the stalagmites.

At last we turn a corner and our hair might turn grey too, for the natural road stops abruptly at one of these perpendicular rocks, on to which human hands have built a kind of rough scaffolding. On every little projection from this rock stones have been merely laid to the desired level, and not even cemented with mud. Jutting out from the rock are beams ; how they have been fixed in it is impossible to say, and resting on these more beams parallel with the cliff, and finally, to give a firm footing, slabs of rock. Why the whole crazy structure does not topple down is past comprehension. The doctor, wishing to be whole in order to render first-aid to the Padre should calamity over-take him, crosses over first, to feel peculiar sensations up and down his spine as he watches his colleague follow after him. Even the horses seem to realize their precarious position, and press close up to the cliff. Having safely traversed this piece of road, we [778] are not surprised to see a *chorten* and a *mani* wall, though still miles away from human habitation, for even the Ladaki must feel he needs a special safeguard for such a perilous passage.

361 From now our road descends until we reach Hanupata, where, although the onset of rain threatens to damp our welcome, the villagers make up for it in the heartiness of 622 their greeting. The *mGopa* or headman begs us to come and 574 rest in a "very nice room" of his house until our luggage

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through dark alleys, up ricketty ladders, and under low portals, which give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This " very nice room " with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a beautiful shining mohagany by years of smoke, a process being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it on the floor, so that we may both sit and " lay our table " upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining, sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained. We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme,* is specially interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are constrained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hillside. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker gives the old man some of his own " Country Life " tobacco to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it with a smile, for who could have believed even that old friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

As we ride
622 up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long
291 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material.
301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's
197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among
437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we
563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this
731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A '*Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between the island and the near shore. This little place, being ordinarily undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladākhī is called *Chagharatse;* the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of these must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chāmpās that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panbuk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be 3¼ inches by 2¼, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomorīrī are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the headquarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty-five Lāmās; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far, and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

* The barred-goose; in Ladākhī, *nangpā*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures.

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123 Government control over waste.

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624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négí* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négí* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Pattan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

622 [651] [623]

In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemno* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugán* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugán* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kom chengpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom fitka*.

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651 Chapter III, D. — Village Communities and Tenures.

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Village officials.

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roster. In *kothí* Pín two men do the work of village messengers and policemen, and are paid three *khal* of barley per annum apiece out of the *netat* collections; the office goes by the name of *laspa*, and is held by the landholders in turn. Under the kings of Ladákh, a family in the village of Mani held the hereditary office of the *togochi* of Spiti. The *togochi* was a secretary and keeper of the records, and was associated with the *wazír* on an almost equal footing in all State business. The present head of the family, by name Sonám Tabgi, has been in the habit of assisting the *Nono* as a secretary.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

241 before a verdict as to the propitious moment
787 for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as
685 landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out
691 of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that
[273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 An adequate supply of water from rivers,
624 glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water
241 supply). In cases where there is a communal reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the
312 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

241 range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *so* (male) or *somo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

[231] [262]

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

[691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

000 "Sprin ak'or!" said the people, "Clouds are gathering!"

651 /195/ After the autumn labors had been substantially completed, and the grain had been threshed and brought in, Namgyal traveled to Leh in order to pay in to the state treasury the taxes gathered by him as gepa. At the same time he wanted to sell a foal that he had reared. He likewise had to make some purchases at the Leh bazaar.

The business matters in Leh were soon completed. The tax computation was found to be correct, in many cases the unpaid taxes were granted a delay, and for this time the Wasir, a cultured, understanding Hindu of high caste, dispensed with the customary strong measures of coercion brought to bear upon negligent taxpayers. He praised Namgyal's wise measures taken during the time of distress. He knew and valued the Dragshos as a reliable and industrious official. The beautiful young horse which Namgyal brought for sale to the bazaar found a buyer in no time, and so Namgyal prepared himself for the journey home.

674 Then it happened during his last stroll through the streets of
625 Leh that he unexpectedly found himself amidst a throng of excited people. He heard shouts: "Skunma! Skunma! Thief! Thief! Hold the thief!" A tussle, jostling to and fro, shouting, swearing, and four or five men were seized by the native policemen and taken away, then the crowd dispersed. Namgyal went to his temporary lodgings in order to prepare himself for the journey back to Kalatse. He was just about to saddle his horse when a native policemen, an Indian, came and took him to the police station. There he was received by the Indian police sergeant Gobinath who had the most evil reputation for his arbitrariness, corruptibility, and cruelty. Namgyal asked why he had been arrested--they had handcuffed him immediately--whereupon Gobinath answered, he himself should know that best, otherwise they would soon make it clear to him. Now Gobinath led Namgyal into the police prison where he personally interrogated him. He, Namgyal, was strongly suspected of having committed a bold robbery, or at least of having helped with it. It was not till this moment that Namgyal learned from the remarks of Gobinath that the dwelling of an Indian merchant on the bazaar had been broken into. The thief had broken a hole through the poorly constructed brick wall from the neighboring grounds /196/, and in this manner he had entered the room concerned. He had stolen turquoises, pearls, and silver to the value of several hundreds of rupees.

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed 578
Namgyal busying himself in a suspicious manner around this particular wall of the house. The witness, he said, was even a lama from Kalatse. Namgyal now soon learned that his accuser was the lama Dondrub, the man who had for a long time been persecuting Namgyal with slanders and hostile acts, and who had also accused him of bribery and embezzlement of tax money, and the like. This he did as the revenge for the fact that Namgyal had said to him publicly to his face that he was charging the people prices that were far too high for the household ceremonies that he performed: that he lent grain and money at usurious rates of interest, and that he led an immoral life. The lama Dondrub had chanced to meet Namgyal near this house as he was walking by himself, and he believed to have found an opportunity with this to rid himself of an inconvenient observer for awhile, in case his accusations brought Namgyal into jail. It later came to light that the lama had put a sum of money into Gobinath's hand, for which the latter promised "to do the thing right."

In the police prison Namgyal first of all witnessed how Gobinath 625
interrogated in turn four "suspects," and when they did not confess, how he whipped them in the most violent manner, tortured them with thumb screws (167) and other tools in the most pitiless way, in order

167. In Greater Tibet, in the realm of the Dalai Lama, even today the most horrible tortures are applied for the forcing of confessions. Of all the devilish inventions of the torturers we will only mention here, by way of suggestion, the following: thumb screws, whipping, drops of melted sealing wax on the bare parts of the body of the accused. The tortured victim is prevented from sleeping by means of two little iron hooks connected by a string which are hooked into the lower eyelids and the skin of the belly so that the lids are pulled down and cannot be closed. Many kinds of executions are correspondingly cruel.

to wring a confession out of them. In between he would frequently take a swallow from a brandy bottle that was standing by. Namgyal observed how Gobinath suddenly interrupted the torturing of one of his victims when the latter called to him amidst howls that he had something important to communicate. After the tortured man had then whispered something to his torturer the latter freed his victim. In Tibet, too, money loosens bonds.

•625 661 After all four accused men had been "interrogated" in this cruel manner, during which none confessed the theft, it was Namgyal's turn. He knew that he had nothing good to expect from Gobinath. Two years before this police officer had once come up to him and said to him confidentially /197/ that he was in a position to procure the post of district official for him (Namgyal), if he would give him one hundred rupees. After all, Namgyal knew, he said, that this was a "good post." He also knew how much influence he (Gobinath) had with the Wasir. Namgyal had refused the offer in no uncertain terms and had brought the matter to the attention of the Tahsildar, the assistant to the Wasir. The latter had warned Gobinath to be "careful." One crow does not peck out the other crow's eyes. /Birds of a feather flock together/ Gobinath knew too much about his superior and his doings. But Gobinath learned of Namgyal's notification and waited for a long time for an opportunity to avenge himself on his opponent. He now believed to have found this opportunity.

625 Gobinath was just about to make preparations for whipping Namgyal, when in the last minute a messenger from the Wasir arrived with the order to free Namgyal. The messenger said that Namgyal had nothing to do with the theft. The lonpo (nobleman) from Dorakhar, who was related to the Dragshos, had, he said, proved without a doubt that Namgyal had been in his quarters at the time of the theft, something which could also be testified to by others. Thus Gobinath, to his anger, had to let Namgyal go, and the Lama Dondrub had to go away disappointed, with the two witnesses who had consented to swear for a few annas that they had seen Namgyal at the scene of the crime immediately after the theft (168). Gobinath released Namgyal with

168. See not 481

the threat that he would find another opportunity to pay him back for his deeds. The thief had still not been tracked down; however many "suspects" were interrogated and tortured; finally all of them had to be released again for lack of proof.

787 Upon the advice of some Buddhistic lower officials, the Wasir then seized upon an unusual measure. He questioned the Lhapas (demon priests) of the monastery Mashro which lies beyond the Indus River at the foot of a gigantic, glacier crowned mountain-mass. Some of the monks of the lower orders there occupied themselves, after they had been so designated by lot, in a special way, with the exorcising

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 idols out in a row to use as targets for a shooting practice.
159 His colleague at Hemis sent him a letter, and this he returned
771 with a donkey drawn across the bottom as his pertinent and only reply.

[626] One day matters came to a crisis : his lamas gave him a severe beating and shut him up in solitary confinement. Yet by every token he was their *Skushog*, and one of them seems to have relented and released him. The two came to Leh, where the *Skushog* first went to the State Hospital to have his external wounds attended to by the Indian Sub-Assistant Surgeon, but his internal treatment he could only trust to the English doctor, so for that he came to the Mission Hospital, where he also received a lesson on Western professional etiquette. The monasterial difficulties resulted in a court case, following which certain of his lamas were sent to prison in Leh, which hardly bettered the relations between them and their spiritual head.

It was not now practicable for him to return to Trigtse, and the question arose as to what was to be done with him, for still he was their *Skushog* and entitled to the financial benefits of his office. The matter came up before the British Joint Commissioner, the Wazir or State Joint Commissioner, and eventually was taken to H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The result of it all was that in 1916 he went down to India, and for two or three years vanished into oblivion. Early in 1920 he again appeared in Ladak with one lama servant, giving stange accounts of his experiences in India. He said that he had served as a common sepoy in Baluchistan, alleged that in some capacity he had been as far as Basra, that he had acted as bearer to an English officer with alcoholic tendencies, and also that he had been connected with a Colonel Sahib in the neighbourhood of Madras, who had treated him as his own son, and of whom he always spoke with sincere and friendly gratitude. He still maintained his utter disbelief in the religion of his fathers. The people

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 called him "the Mad Skushog," but, said he, "I am not mad,
159 I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenance
771 and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one else could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirely
[797] repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed him to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and the Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted that the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity, and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moravian missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficult situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipated life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruction, telling him that study and probation were necessary first. He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, who found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, to whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds were perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our minds can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could not believe.

[626] At about this time, living as he was with his one lama servant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist homes alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. After taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill, and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionaries and begged them to take him into their compound, where he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he was given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look up the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting on his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still sus-
[557] pected that the desire to join the Christian religion was secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found that he had hoped to get a political post under the British Government, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Without it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetans would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them up

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately [484] the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

147 The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their 241 trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

626 The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any 185 effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

476 The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been 536 customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the 436 land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to pur- 427 chase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that
[851] when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an
[842] attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I
855 was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience show-
428 ed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put
[636] pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There
[578] was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this
[187] matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *meme* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

614 4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

[582] Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been [626] a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

114 Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation cere- [115] monies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

114 Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, 852 a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet 852 twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

1. *Generalities*

595 From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of poly-
[195] androus families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something un-
170 desirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in
595 Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who
195 had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the
[626] rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün
[115] (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I
[563] got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind. 586 [435]

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule. 837 [626]

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama". [192]

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way. 836 839 [848]

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be 837 684

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101

The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning, "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása. 631

As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people." 101

I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyool" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángthang, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.

There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."

At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of 175 631 648

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
717 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

2: Ramsay--60 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ 4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ 1

WT
291 LEGGING--kángphees or kángpheeng (meaning, properly speaking, the felt leggings worn by Ladákis, but also used for leather gaiters, and Kashmir patties).

WT [88]
426 LEND TO--skinba táng ches or respectfully karkeen sal ches (to lend money, etc., not on interest), bulon táng ches or phar la hmul tang ches (to lend money on interest) dres la nas táng ches (to lend grain on interest. The rate charged is always "sowái," that is to say, for every 4 lent, 5 have to be paid at the next harvest), yár ches or yártey táng ches (to lend anything, when the thing itself has to be returned to its owner).

T
101 LHASA--Ladákis usually speak of the town as Hlása, but the correct
631 name is Lhása ("Lha" means "a god" or "fairy" and "sa" stands
WT for "sakiat," which means "place.") The country subject to
● 631 the Lhasa authorities is also spoken of as "Lhása country." As a matter of fact, the country in question, consists of four provinces, viz., on the east "Kham," (meaning "side") then comes Oo (spelt "U" in our maps and meaning "centre") in, which is the town of Lhása, then comes "Tshang" (meaning "pure,") and then comes what was once Ngarees-khorsum (see under "Ladák.") Prior to the Dogra conquest of Ladák, the Ladákis used to look upon the Lhása Government as all powerful in things temporal, and spiritual. It is still regarded with great awe by Ladákis.

T The Lhása Government, its constitution, and the extent to which it
642 is subject to Chinese guidance, is a subject of which but little
648 is generally known, and the following information, obtained by
115 me from the SkooSHok (avatár) of Speetuk, and other persons who have resided at Lhása, may therefore be of interest, and is inserted accordingly, though beyond the ordinary scope of this work, which professes to deal only with Ladák or Western Tibet.

In olden days, Lhasa was governed by Kings, who to some extent were under the influence of China, but, according to Markham, Chinese power was first definitely established in Lhása in 1720, when resident Political Agents were appointed. In 1749 an insurrection against the Chinese broke out, which ended in favour of the Chinese, and resulted in the establishment, at Lhása of Lobzong Kalsang the sixth Dalái Láma, with two Chinese "Ambáns" or "Residents," to assist him in the administration of the affairs of the country.

T
642 Since then no fundamental change in the constitution of the Lhása

316 466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564 645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

631 647

564 463 533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]
797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

WT 175 728 648 T 175 728 648

(8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásarwar and Rakas Tál.

WT 631 478

With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not 876
know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing.
They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with
wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters
Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read
and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written
script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys
a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical
cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The
rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise [802]
in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine.

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with 631
any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the
old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the
ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an
end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the
country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant
men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed
rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated
and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an
Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian
district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse,
and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now
here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind
recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible
means.

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. 871
The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority
of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no
desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say,
despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were
unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more
important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer
has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he never- 868
theless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage
and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his
father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep
and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony
field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It[1] was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[1] [Ladakh -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the northwest; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy systems:

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 triumph was short-lived. A Buddhist priest disguised in the
798 black sacerdotal robes of the *Bon Chos*, presented himself before the King with a petition, and, when near enough, drew from his ample robes a bow and arrow and killed the leader of his religious enemies. The assassin escaped by turning his coat inside out and showing the white lining.

175 Langdarma reigned about A.D. 900 and from him all the
631 kings of Ladak have descended, for although they are split up into two dynasties, the later one is traced from a younger brother of the last king of the first line. An account of what happened under the various kings of these dynasties would be beyond the scope of this book, but let us rapidly trace the fortunes of the Western Himalayan kingdom, now represented by Ladak, and formerly including also the province of Baltistan. At first various royal personages held sway in different parts of the country, but the one in Leh was a descendant of the King of the Central Kingdom (Tibet proper), while in another part there ruled a Dard King. Between these two Kings there was continual strife, but at last the Leh ruler seems to have won the mastery in matters temporal, and increasingly in matters spiritual. One King introduced Buddhist literature from Central Tibet, another made it obligatory on all candidates for the priesthood to go to Lhasa for their training. This can only be regretted by the student of Ladaki as distinct from Tibetan literature, for, besides putting a stop to the growth of Indian Buddhism, it also inhibited the literary genius of this people, whose tales of by-gone days indicate how their literature might have developed.

175 By about the time of the fourteenth century Buddhism
799 had quite prevailed, and, as is so often seen with this religion, having once subdued the indigenous faith, it incorporated much of the *Bon Chos* in its own tenets. The Lamaism of the present day thus consists of a large proportion of *Bon Chos* with a smaller mixture of Buddhism, the former still

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the "Treaty Road" and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its "Babu" in charge, are also State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

631 Aksakal, who represents the British Government in assisting
636 Yarkandi traders, and the "Charas Officer" in charge of the Indian hemp trade from Yarkand, both of the latter connected with the "Treaty Road," are also Imperial Government
563 servants. These officials and sub-officials are prominent in
631 the public life of Leh, taking their due precedence at public entertainments, and are all down-country men, mostly Punjabis and Kashmiris. We look for the day when there will be enough educated Ladakis to take up these positions in their own land.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a
792 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private
576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to
482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, 788
eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the 792
stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. 643
Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his 788
chos, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief 631 ●
ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor im- 643
portance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, [776]
whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* re-incarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a [793]
Skushog, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor 662
old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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291 stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

175 648 Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading [63] house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

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4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country. 105 631 [651]

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants. [115]

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size. 105 423 [631] [651] [241]

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields [631]

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105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
[466] labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
221 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

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who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not. As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father. He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

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Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

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(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576]
they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

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3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but [101] Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emigrants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races inter- [144] mingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

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Ladaki king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his saviour to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists. 175 648

After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line. [631] [595]

In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis. [631]

Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that [631]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

175 631 648

In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

[439]

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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [485]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nang-dzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 423 651

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tib

137 The villages are bare of trees; only at one or two places a few willows and poplars are to be seen.

563 The inhabitants are of two, or even it may be said three, distinct races; Matāyan has Kashmīrī who have been settled there for some generations; the hamlets of Drās are partly Dārd and partly Baltī; of these people I propose to defer the account till later.

631 We have spoken of Drās as one of the valleys of Ladākh. The bounds of Ladākh may be taken differently, according as we consider it politically or from any other point of view. Drās has not the same inhabitants nor the same religion as the central part of Ladākh, being in these respects more allied to Baltistān; but in the time of the old rulers Drās was part of the kingdom of Ladākh, and we too will reckon it as coming under that name, although latterly, for administrative purposes, it has been put with Baltistān.

DRĀS TO KARGIL: THREE MARCHES.

133* The distance from Dras to Kargil is 40 miles; it makes two good marches and a short one. The road continues down the same valley, over stony ground, along the foot of great rocky [361] mountains. Few villages are passed, and even those one goes near are not always visible from the path, for some are situated hundreds of feet above, on plateaus, the remains of denuded alluvial fans.

I have used this word "fan" before, and I shall in the future so often have to repeat it, applying it to a certain form of alluvial deposit, that it will be well here to explain the exact meaning attached to it.

When a side-stream debouches from a narrow gorge into a wide valley it is apt to deposit the material it carries down (washed from the mountains behind) in a fan-like form at the mouth of the ravine. This fan is part of a low cone, having its apex at the point of debou ment; the slope of it, which may be a few degrees, is very regular along each radius; the spread of it may vary from a few hundred yards to a few miles; the thickness of the

[on the side of the Dras valley]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133x remain on. The sketch gives the outline of the peak-masses with some exactness. It does not reach to the foot of the mountains in the valley, as the eye does from some points of view; when it does so there is in sight, in a distance of 18 miles, a vertical height of 15,000 feet. Farther along to the south-east other peaks rise for a thousand or two feet above the general level of the ridge, which seems to continue at 20,000 feet, till it ends suddenly at the corner where the Shāyok makes the great bend. So much for the central ridge. The secondary ridges branch off from it with a height corresponding to its general level. Their edge is serrated, but not deeply so. They continue for many miles without any sudden fall to perhaps an average distance of three miles short of the edge of the valley, where in height they may be 18,000 feet. At these points they make the peaks which are seen when one is in the valley. From them there is a great and sudden fall down to the valley, the slope of which is about 35°; this is remarkably regular for all the distance—of nearly 50 miles—that is within sight, with the exception that the ravines (some that reach to the central ridge and some that go but a few miles back) cut up the sloping face into triangular masses of which the base is from mouth to mouth of two ravines, while the apex is at the end of the intermediate branch ridge. The general colour of the mountains below the snow (and it is only the peaks, rising higher than the ridges, that are snowy) is a light greyish brown, from the hue of the granite they are mostly composed of A darker streak along the foot marks the position of the altered shale. The surface of the mountains is usually not so precipitous as to form great continuous cliffs, but is worn all over into numerous minor ramifying gulleys and ravines, whose sides are rugged slopes of rock.

ZANSKĀR.

133x 563 631 Zānskār is a district of Ladākh which lies south-west of Leh, towards the Watershed Range; its extent nearly coincides with that of the basin of the large river, tributary to the Indus, which is called after the name of the country. Zānskār is closely united

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

to the rest of Ladākh both by physical characters and by the close relationship in race, speech, religion, and character that exists between the people of the two countries. Till forty years ago, Zānskār was equally connected with Central Ladākh by political ties, being governed by a Raja, who was dependent on the Gyalpo at Leh; but now it belongs (as can be seen from the Political Map) not to the Ladākh Governorship, but to the district of Udampūr, in the Outer Hills, having been attached to this for, so to say, accidental reasons. 133x 563 631

From all sides the approach to Zānskār, placed, as it is, in a maze of mountains, is of considerable difficulty. To the south-west of it the wide Snowy Range makes a barrier, to cross which must be a laborious and may be a dangerous business. From the north-west and the south-east, indeed, roads lead in from Surū and from Rupshu respectively, to traverse which is less difficult, but these lead over long uninhabited tracts. That way which first one would look to for communication with Leh — by the valley of the Zānskār River—is quite impassable, except when the winter's frost makes a road over the waters of the river. Instead of this, in summer time, the traveller from Leh has to make a long detour by Lāmāyūrū; he has to traverse fifteen stages, in which several Passes have to be surmounted, before Zānskār is reached. 133x 487

By far the greater part of the area of Zānskār is occupied by the ridges and the ravines of mountains, either of the Snowy Watershed Range, or of the more complicated mass lying between that and Central Ladākh. The inhabited region is nearly all included in the valleys of two streams and of the river they make by their union. These two streams come, one from the north-west, the other from south-east; uniting, they together flow away to the north-east. At their junction is a wide open space, which is the central part of Zānskār; it includes in itself the most important places. This space is a triangle, with a base of seven miles, and a perpendicular of five; on the three sides it is bounded by bare mountains. But a very small proportion of this plain is cultivated; the most of it is an expanse of stony ground; the 133x 311

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

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ter,"* while his deputy was usually known by the addition of his own name, as *Kahlon-Rigsen*, "minister *Rigsen*," or by prefixing the term *Nono*, as *Nono Kahlon*, "the younger, or deputy minister."† The other Kahlons were distinguished by the names of the districts over which they ruled, as *Kahlon-Bazgo*, "the governor of Bazgo." 645 [634]

The next great officers were the *Lonpos*,‡ or governors of towns, and the *Kharpons*,§ or commanders of forts. The former were distinguished by the names of their respective towns; as *Lé-pon*, "the governor of *Lé*;" *Gar-pon*, "governor of *Garo*." In Lé, also, there were the *Mak-pon*,‖ or "commander-in-chief," and the *Chagsot*,¶ or "lord high treasurer;" the *Shogam-Chagsot*,** or "head collector of taxes;" as well as the *Shakspon*,†† or "chief justice;" and the *Khrimpons*,‡‡ or "magistrates." Lastly there was the *Káká-Tádsi*,§§ or "head master of the horse;" and the *Chagsi-Goba*, or Kotwál, an office equivalent to that of mayor. 632 701

* This is the "Banka khalun" of Moorcroft (I. pp. 238—249). The true title was *dBang-kyi-bKah-bLon* or *Bangki-kahlon*, that is, "the powerful minister."

† *No-no* is the usual term of respect which is used in addressing any young man of the higher ranks, and when prefixed to *Kahlon* it means the younger or deputy minister. Moorcroft (I. pp. 334, 335) gives the term, without the title, as the usual designation of the deputy minister, just as we should say "the deputy" instead of the deputy chairman. *Nono* is also applied to all under-officers, as *Nono-Chagsot*, the "under-treasurer;" *Nono-Shakspon*, the "deputy justiciary."

‡ *bLon-po*, "the manager, arranger, or governor." Moorcroft (I. p. 255) calls him *Lompa*.

§ *mKhar-dPon*, the "fort-chief." ‖ *dMag-dPon*, the "war-chief."

¶ *Phyag-mDsod*, pronounced *Chag-sot*.

** *Shogam*, "a duty, a tax." †† *gShags-dPon*. "justice-chief."

‡‡ *Khrims-dPon*, "law-chief."

§§ *Gá-gá-rTá-rDsi*, "head master of the horse."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 latter by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of
131 the Dras river to the sources of the Nubra river.

131 Its greatest extent is from north-west to south-east, from the head of the Dras river, in longitude 75° 30′, to Chibra, on the Indus, in longitude 79° 10′, a distance of 240 miles. Its greatest breadth is 290 miles, from the Kárákoram Pass, in north latitude 35° 10′, to the Rotang Pass in Lahul, in latitude 32° 25′. Its mean length is 200 miles, and its mean breadth 150 miles. Its whole extent is therefore only 30,000 square miles.

634 The natural divisions of the country are: 1st, Nubra on the Shayok: 2nd, Ladák Proper, on the Indus: 3rd, Zanskar, on the Zanskar river: 4th, Rukchu, around the lakes of Tshomo Riri and Tsho-Kar: 5th, Purik, Suru, and Dras, on the different branches of the Dras river: 6th, Spiti, on the Spiti river: and 7th, Lahul, on the Chandra and Bhaga, or head-waters of the Chenáb. These also are the actual divisions of the country, for the natural boundaries of a mountainous district generally remain unaltered, in spite of the changes wrought by war and religion.

636 Ladák is divided politically between Maharaja Guláb Sing and the East-India Company. To the former belong all the northern districts, to the latter only the two southern districts of Lahul and Spiti.

3.—DIFFERENT NAMES OF LADÁK.

101 Ladák, in Tibetan *La-tags*, is the most common
103 name of the country; but it is also called *Mar-yul*,* or

* *dMar-yul* or d*Mar-po-yul*, "Red-land." Csoma de Körös spells the name *Mar-yul*, the "low-country;" but as Hwan Thsang, in A.D.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 should more properly be written Tubet. But the name of Ti-bat (تبت) is mentioned by Abu Zaid Al Hasan, in A.D. 915, by Ibn Haukal in about A.D. 950, by Abu Rihán in 1030, and afterwards by Edrisi in A.D. 1154, all long prior to the Mogul conquests of Changez Khan in the 13th century, before whose time it is highly improbable that any Mogul names could have been in use in Persia. Mir Izzet Ullah says that Tibet is a Turki word signifying shawl-wool: but I should think the shawl-wool was called Tibeti because it came from Tibet. One might as well derive the name of India from indigo. There is no trace of the name of Tibet nor even of Bot in any of the classical authors: but the people are most probably described under the name of Seres, the inhabitants of Chinese Tartary, from whom the western merchants obtained their silks. According to Pausanias,* "the Greeks called the silkworm *Ser*, but the people of Serika probably gave it another name." Now the Tibetans call a worm *Srin*, or *Srin-bu*, and the silkworm *Dar-kyi-Srin;* and Pausanias says that the silkworm was twice the size of a beetle, Σειρην. As the Greeks had not seen the silkworm when they first used the name of Ser, it seems to me more than probable that they would have adopted the native name rather than have invented one of their own.

4.—DISTRICTS OF LADÁK.

634 103 The different districts of Ladák have been partially named according to their relative geographical positions; as *Nub-ra*, the western district (or Wessex), and *Lho-yul*, the southern country (or Suffolk). To the south-east

* VI. p. 26.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Ladák, but to the north of *Ngari*, lies the extensive province of *Chang Thang*, or the "northern plains." Ladák itself is called Mar-yul or Low-land, perhaps from its inferior elevation to all the surrounding districts. 634 103

Nubra,* or the north-western district of Ladák, includes all the country drained by the Nubra and Shayok rivers. It is by far the largest district in the country, being about 128 miles in length by 72 miles in breadth, with an area of 9,200 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Kárákoram mountains, and on the south by the Kailas range, which divides the Indus from the Shayok; and it extends from the frontier of Balti, in east longitude 77°, to the Pangkong lake on the borders of Rudok. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts of the country, from an average of fourteen observations at different places, is 12,763 feet. 634 131 133

Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called *Mang-yul*, or the "district of many people." It stretches along the Indus in a north-westerly direction from Rukchu to the frontier of Balti, a length of 120 miles, with an average breadth of 33 miles. Its area is about 4,000 square miles, and the mean elevation of the inhabited portions, as deduced from observations along the Indus, is 11,500 feet. [103] [131] [162]

Zanskar includes all the country lying along the two great branches of the Zanskar river, in a general direction from south-east to north-west. It is bounded by Ladák on the north, by Rukchu on the east, by Lahul on the south, and by the small districts of Purik and Wanla on the west. The southern boundary is formed by the

* *Nub-ra*, western.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 131 133 great Himálaya itself, the western boundary by the transverse range of Singgé Lá, and the northern boundary by the Trans-Himálayan chain. Its greatest length is 72 miles, but its mean length is not more than 56 miles, and its mean breadth is about the same, or 55 miles. It has an area of 3,000 square miles, and a mean elevation of 13,154 feet, as deduced from seven different observations along the course of the valley. The name [103] of *Zangs-kar** means "white copper" or brass; but I have no idea why it is so named.

Rukchu is the most elevated district in Ladák, and one of the loftiest inhabited regions in the known world. The mean height of the plains, as determined from twenty-one different spots where I encamped in 1846 and 1847, is 15,634 feet. This is the mean height of the great plain of Kyang, which extends from the foot of the Thung-lung Pass to the fords of the Sum-Gal, a length of 35 miles. It is also the height of the plains around the *Tsho-kar*, or White Lake, and of the long sloping plains from the Lanák ridge to the Para river. Rukchu is bounded on the north by Ladák Proper, on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti, on the south by Lahul and Spiti, and on the west by Zanskar. Its length from the Thung-lung Pass to the head of the Hanlé river is 90 miles, and its mean breadth about 62 miles, which give an area of 5,500 square miles.

Purik, *Suru*, and *Dras*† are three small districts to

* *Zangs-dKar*, "copper-white."

103 † These names are not all Tibetan, as Dras is the Kashmíri name for the district of *Hem-babs*. In Tibetan they are written *Pu-rig*; *Su-ru*; and *Hem-babs*. The last name means "snow-fed or snow-descended,"

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 131 133 the west of Zanskar, on the high road between Kashmir and Lé. To *Purik* belong the villages of the Waka and Phugal rivers, from their sources in the transverse range of Singgé Lá to Kargyil, below their junction. The principal places in Purik are Mulbil, Paskyum, and Sod, each of which once had a petty chief of its own. *Suru* also owned a petty chief who lived at Lung Kartse, the principal place in the valley. The river is sometimes called by this name, but more generally by that of Suru. The Suru river joins the Waka-chu immediately below Kargyil. *Dras* is the most westerly of these small [103] districts. Its Tibetan name of Hem-babs (snow-fed or snow descended) is descriptive of its most striking peculiarity, as the most snowy district of Ladák. [132] It owes this peculiarity to the great depression in the Himálaya, at the head of the Dras river, which allows the constantly humid vapours of Kashmir to pass to the north of the mountains, where they become condensed by the cold, and are precipitated in rain or snow, according to the season of the year. These small districts extend in length from the frontier of Balti to Zanskar, a distance of 84 miles, and in breadth from the head of the Suru valley to the Photo-la, a distance of 50 miles. The area is 4,200 square miles, and the mean height of the inhabited parts, as determined by the elevation of thirteen camps, is 11,196 feet.

*Spiti** is bounded on the north by Rukchu, on the

Hem being the Sanscrit *Hima*, which has long been naturalized in Tibet. See Csoma's Tibetan Dictionary, *in voce*.

* *Spi-ti*. In Kullu and Kanáwar this district is generally called Piti, but the proper name is Spiti.

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634 west by Lahul and Kullu, on the south by Kanáwar,
131 and on the east by the Chinese district of Chumurti. It
133 comprises the whole valley of the Spiti river, from its source to the junction of the Para, a length of about 64 miles. Its mean length is not more than 52 miles, and its mean breadth only 36 miles, which give an area of about 1,900 square miles. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of eight camps, is 12,986 feet.

Lahul (or Lho-yul, the "southern district") is bounded on the north by Zanskar and Rukchu, on the west by Káshtwár, on the south by Chamba and Kullu, [144] and on the east by Spiti. It comprises the valleys of the Chandra and Bhaga rivers, as well as that of the Chandra-Bhaga or united stream as far as Treloknáth, below which the people are of Hindu race and religion, [134] with but little admixture of Tibetan blood. With the single exception of the valley of the Indus, Lahul possesses more cultivable land, and a less rigorous climate 187 than any of the other districts of Ladák. There the currant and the gooseberry are both found wild, and in the lower parts of the valley towards Treloknáth the 132 mountain slopes are covered with fir trees. Like Kanáwar, Lahul partakes somewhat of the climate and pro-
101 ductions of India as well as of those of Tibet. The people, their language, and their dwellings are mostly Tibetan, but with a strong mixture of Indian origin.
634 Lahul is 68 miles in length by 34 in breadth, which
131 give an area of 2,312 square miles. The mean elevation
133 of its inhabited parts, as determined by the heights of nine camps, is 11,063 feet.

634 The following table of the extent and mean elevation
133

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of the different districts of Ladák is added for the sake of comparison. 634 133

		Extent in sq. miles.		Mean height.
M. Gulób Sing.	Nubra	9,216		12,763
	Ladák	3,960		11,500
	Zanskar	3,080		13,154
	Rukchu	5,580		15,634
	Purik-Suru-Dras	4,200		11,196
			26,036	
British.	Spiti	2,312		12,986
	Láhul	1,872		11,063
			4,184	
	Total sq. miles		30,220	Mean height 12,613

5.—NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

The countries to the north, the west, and the south of Ladák are inhabited by people who speak at least four languages quite distinct from Tibetan. To the north the people of Yarkand and Kotan speak Turki; to the west, beyond Balti, the people of Astor, Gilget, and Hunza Nager speak different dialects of Dardu, while the Kashmiris have a language peculiar to themselves; and to the south the people of Chamba, Kullu, and Bisahar speak a dialect of Hindi, which is chiefly derived from Sanskrit. To the east and south-east the people of Rudok, Chang-Thang, and Ngari speak Tibetan only.

To the north of the Kárákoram range, lie the Chinese districts of Yarkand, Kotan, and Káshgár, which, with the exception of the Chinese functionaries, and Tartar soldiers, are wholly peopled by Musulmáns. As I found it difficult to obtain any truth-like information regarding the statistics of these countries, I confined my inquiries to their natural productions, in the hope of meeting with

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645 the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power
175 of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the
[197] monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.

000 In Great Tibet the *Kahlons* of the four chief provinces of *Ngári*, *U*, *Tsáng*, and *Khám*, were elected by the civil power in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior *Kahlons*, and all other petty officers of state,
645 were elected by the four chief *Kahlons*. But in Ladák
634 the prime minister's office was almost hereditary; that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal *Kahlons*, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations. The Kahlon of Moorcroft's time was the Kahlon or petty Gyalpo of the Chimra valley; and the power remained in the hands of his family until the final settlement of Zoráwar Sing, at Lé.

622 Many of the principal nobility of Ladák were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a *Gyalpo* in Nubra; another in Gya; a third in Spiti; a fourth in Zanskar; a fifth in Paskyum; a sixth in Soth; a seventh in Suru; and an eighth in Hembabs, or Drás. The chiefs of Paskyum and of Soth distinguished themselves by their protracted resistance on the first invasion of Ladák by Zoráwar Sing.

645 The prime minister was simply styled *Kahlon*, or "the minister," or *Bangki-Kahlon*, "the chief minis-

:: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ter,"* while his deputy was usually known by the addition of his own name, as *Kahlon-Rigsen*, "minister *Rigsen*," or by prefixing the term *Nono*, as *Nono Kahlon*, "the younger, or deputy minister."† The other Kahlons were distinguished by the names of the districts over which they ruled, as *Kahlon-Bazgo*, "the governor of Bazgo." 645 [634]

The next great officers were the *Lonpos*,‡ or governors of towns, and the *Kharpons*,§ or commanders of forts. The former were distinguished by the names of their respective towns; as *Lé-pon*, "the governor of *Lé*;" *Gar-pon*, "governor of *Garo*." In Lé, also, there were the *Mak-pon*,‖ or "commander-in-chief," and the *Chagsot*,¶ or "lord high treasurer;" the *Shogam-Chagsot*,** or "head collector of taxes;" as well as the *Shakspon*,†† or "chief justice;" and the *Khrimpons*,‡‡ or "magistrates." Lastly there was the *Káká-Tádsi*,§§ or "head master of the horse;" and the *Chagsi-Goba*, or Kotwál, an office equivalent to that of mayor. 632 701

* This is the "Banka khalun" of Moorcroft (I. pp. 238—249). The true title was *dBang-kyi-bKah-bLon* or *Bangki-kahlon*, that is, "the powerful minister."

† *No-no* is the usual term of respect which is used in addressing any young man of the higher ranks, and when prefixed to *Kahlon* it means the younger or deputy minister. Moorcroft (I. pp. 334, 335) gives the term, without the title, as the usual designation of the deputy minister, just as we should say "the deputy" instead of the deputy chairman. *Nono* is also applied to all under-officers, as *Nono-Chagsot*, the "under-treasurer;" *Nono-Shakspon*, the "deputy justiciary."

‡ *bLon-po*, "the manager, arranger, or governor." Moorcroft (I. p. 255) calls him *Lompa*.

§ *mKhar-dPon*, the "fort-chief." ‖ *dMag-dPon*, the "war-chief."

¶ *Phyag-mDsod*, pronounced *Chag-sot*.

** *Shogam*, "a duty, a tax." †† *gShags-dPon*, "justice-chief."

‡‡ *Khrims-dPon*, "law-chief."

§§ *Gá-gá-rTá-rDsi*, "head master of the horse."

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622 The inferior officers were the *Mipons*,* or *Gobas*† (that is, literally, the "head men" of the villages), and the *Shogampa*, or provincial collectors of taxes and customs.

622 The *Gobas* (who were also called *Grongpons*,‡ or
634 "village chiefs") were directly responsible to the *Kahlons*, or *Gyalpos*, of their respective districts, in all criminal matters, and in most accounts of revenue; although the *Mipons*, or head men, of some of the principal towns, rendered their accounts direct to the *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer of Lé. But these exceptions were, I believe, only made in the cases of such villages as were set apart for the particular maintenance of the queen, or of some members of the royal
645 family. The *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer, rendered his accounts to the *Kahlon*, or prime minister, who kept the privy purse of the king and his family.

622 The titles of the different functionaries varied in
634 different districts; but the most common were those which I have just given. The petty *Gyalpos* and provincial *Kahlons* were frequently called *Depons*,§ or "district chiefs," a name which recalls the Sanscrit *Dés-pati*, and the Greek Δεσποτης. Among the Mahomedans of Ladák (both the pure Kashmiris and the hybrid Argons), the petty chiefs are invariably called *Chho*; as *Gya-pa-chho*,‖ "the *Gyalpo* of Gya."

* *Mi-dPon*, "man-chief or head man."

† *hGo-ba*, emphatically the head man, from *hGo*, "the head, the top of anything."

‡ *Grong-dPon*. In Great Tibet, and in some parts of Ladák, this word is pronounced *Tongpon*. The Lamas more especially adhere to the pronunciation of Lhasa.

§ *sDé-dPon*, "district-chief." ‖ *mChhog*, "the head, the chief."

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or about £8,000 sterling. The last item is the gross amount derived from a heavy tax which has been imposed on all the *gonpas*, or monasteries, throughout the country. The sums paid by the different religious establishments were thus stated to me— 651 793

Monastery of Hemis (with Hanlé)	... ...	Rs. 900
" Chimra	... ...	900
" Thigsé	... ...	500
" Pitak	... ...	500
" Gáwan	... ...	900
" Láma Yúrrú	... ...	900
Twenty-five smaller monasteries at Rs. 60 each	=	1,500
		Rs. 6,300

The charge incurred in the maharaja's government of Ladák, I found it impossible to ascertain with any degree of precision, as it was a delicate subject to make inquiries about. From various sources I could only learn that the country is divided into districts, over each of which is appointed a thanadar on a small salary, varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 a month. There are five of these thanadars in Ladák, each independent of the others, and accountable only to the maharaja himself. The principal of them is Basti Rám, the thanadar of Lé, a shrewd and intelligent man, and a tried soldier. He is a native of Káshtwár, and was a petty officer under Zoráwar Sing on the first invasion of Ladák. He was present at the surrender of Skardo, the capital of Balti; and he was one of the few survivors of Zoráwar Sing's unfortunate expedition into Great Tibet in the winter of 1841, A.D. His quickness and experience, combined with a frank and easy manner, secured him the confidence of the maharaja; and after successfully ruling the district of Zanskar during a very turbulent period, he has now obtained one of the highest posts in 634 634 159

159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
●634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income,
[439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own
[643] dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca.1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

Chapter I.

The District.

General description.

[634] 101 131 133 [161]

The cantons or *wazírís* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazírís*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazírís* have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

[651] [563]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures. Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tówás* or *togochás*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Hira Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

634 Chapter III, D.

621 Village Communities and Tenures.

423 Sub-divisions in Láhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Láhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

[425]

173 Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

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The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Rangloi, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1½ or 1¼. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

[651]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyánú* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing hom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing hom chouppá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom ftha*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Chapter V, B.

648 Land and Land Revenue.

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

Those assigned to the monasteries paid in grain only at from fifteen to twenty *lákh* each, and formed *kothí* Chuzi; those in other or *Khálsa kothis* paid a little grain, and also sums of cash, cloth, and paper, but the last two items were not assessed on all holdings. The cash assessment of all the holdings in a village was, with very few exceptions, the same, though the holdings seem to have always differed to some extent in size; the grain assessment varied from one to ten *khal* or *lákh* according to the amount and quality of the land held. The grain items in *Khálsa kothis* also had in many cases been from time to time assigned to monasteries. All the assigned grain was called *pun*, the unassigned grain was called *netal* or barley tax. The amount collected under the latter name on the king's account must have been more than 200 *lákh*; but probably those figures represent correctly the amount which went to Ladákh, for the greater part of the grain collections were spent year by year in Spiti in the king's name in certain annual ceremonies and State charges. This was the old state of things, which Major Hay evidently did not fully comprehend, for he states in his report that 50 Chinese families settled in Spiti, paid a tribute to China of 200 *lákh* of grain, and that an envoy from Tolang came to fetch it every year. Again, in another place, he mentions that the aforesaid Chinese families go by the name of Chuzi, and present annually 200 *lákh* to the chief monastery of Spiti. All this was a mistake: the Chuzi families were not Chinese, but the men of Chuzi *kothí*, the revenue of which was assigned to monasteries. One of these monasteries, to which something less than 200 *lákhs* were assigned, was at Tolang in Chinese Tibet; hence the story of tribute to China.

651 648 ● 634

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

From 1839 to 1846 the Sikh *thánadár* at Ladákh took the revenue of Spiti. For the first four years Rs. 2,000, plus two ponies and 25 sheep, were exacted annually. For the last three years the cash was reduced to Rs. 1,031, but 100 iron crow-bars were added, and the number of sheep increased to sixty. A Sikh force also plundered the valley in these years. In the autumn of 1846 Mr. Vans-Agnew made a Summary Settlement, that is, he fixed the amount of revenue to be paid to Government at Rs. 753. No records were compiled of any kind, nor was any report submitted. When relieved of the pressure of the Sikh exactions, the Spiti people at once reverted to their old fiscal arrangements. Mr. Vans-Agnew probably knew nothing of the grain revenue assigned to the monasteries, as he merely passed quickly through a part of the country; and if he knew of the unassigned grain, he, no doubt, intended to abandon it. But the people considered the Rs. 753 to be in place only of the cash, cloth, and iron formerly paid to the kings of Ladákh, and divided it accordingly with strict regard to the old fixed assessment. The assigned grain or *pun* they paid as before to the monasteries, and the unassigned grain or *netal* to the representative of Government, who for the first three years was a *wazír* of the Baráhir Rája,* and after that the hereditary *wazír* of Spiti, commonly called the *Nono*. Most of it the *Nono* expended in the manner customary

* The 400 lákh grain which Major Hay mentions as taken by the *wazír* in excess of Rs. 753 in 1846, and as collected again in 1849, were the *netal* collections, not the produce of the Government land at Danka.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B.

Land and Land Revenue.

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsíldár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pun* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorised collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognized as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

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* The *pun* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,461 *ládh* 7 *path*, and the *netal* to 456 *ládh* 11 *path*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *ládh* 18 *path*, which at 2 *ládh* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 Chapter V, B.

651 Land and Land Revenue.

634 British assessment of Spiti.

was removed by a redistribution of the cash assessment; more than half their cash revenue being taken off their shoulders and distributed upon the other *kothás*.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—"Spiti had been assessed summarily by Mr. Vans-Agnew, afterwards murdered at Mooltan. He was deputed to that remote district in 1846 A. D., and settled the whole tract at Rs. 753 per annum. Compared with Láhaul, the rate is decidedly low, but the country is more inhospitable and dreary. It is not so easy of access, and is removed several hundred miles, and by lofty ranges of mountains, from the head-quarters of the district. It is surrounded, I may say, on all sides by Independent States. Its political position is singular, and at various periods, Spiti has been the feudatory of China, Basáhir, Ladákh and Kúlu; and even at this time there are Chinese emigrants residing in Sipti, who pay a divided allegiance partly to us and to their mother country. From such a region, so peculiarly situated, revenue was a secondary object. The people, moreover, argued that Mr. Agnew had fixed the assessment for twenty years. I attached no weight to this argument, as their deed of lease specified no such conditions; but adverting to the remoteness and poverty of the country and its isolated position, I determined to make no enhancement. The present demand was quite sufficient to indicate the tenure of the British Government, and after this recognition of our claims, I saw no advantage in exacting an additional revenue, which, from its trifling amount, could be of no importance to the Government, and might entail distress upon the people. I accordingly left the demand of the Summary Settlement of Rs. 753 unaltered."

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Il: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the
C34 Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner 149
Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level.

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then
779 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow
144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan
177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations
793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localized in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See Source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analyst]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 latter by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of
31 the Dras river to the sources of the Nubra river.

131 Its greatest extent is from north-west to south-east, from the head of the Dras river, in longitude 75° 30′, to Chibra, on the Indus, in longitude 79° 10′, a distance of 240 miles. Its greatest breadth is 290 miles, from the Kárákoram Pass, in north latitude 35° 10′, to the Rotang Pass in Lahul, in latitude 32° 25′. Its mean length is 200 miles, and its mean breadth 150 miles. Its whole extent is therefore only 30,000 square miles.

634 The natural divisions of the country are: 1st, Nubra on the Shayok: 2nd, Ladák Proper, on the Indus: 3rd, Zanskar, on the Zanskar river: 4th, Rukchu, around the lakes of Tshomo Riri and Tsho-Kar: 5th, Purik, Suru, and Dras, on the different branches of the Dras river: 6th, Spiti, on the Spiti river: and 7th, Lahul, on the Chandra and Bhaga, or head-waters of the Chenáb. These also are the actual divisions of the country, for the natural boundaries of a mountainous district generally remain unaltered, in spite of the changes wrought by war and religion.

636 Ladák is divided politically between Maharaja Guláb Sing and the East-India Company. To the former belong all the northern districts, to the latter only the two southern districts of Lahul and Spiti.

3.—DIFFERENT NAMES OF LADÁK.

101 Ladák, in Tibetan *La-tags*, is the most common
102 name of the country; but it is also called *Mar-yul*,* or

* *dMar-yul* or d*Mar-po-yul*, "Red-land." Csoma de Körös spells the name *Mar-yul*, the "low-country;" but as Hwan Thsang, in A.D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

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Chapter II.

History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *gálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon ráj* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon ráj* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Talái or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

† Moorcroft mentions that the Gálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Gálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subterranean tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are occasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

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After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála. 175 636 651

History of Láhaul. 174

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes :— [636]

"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter II. 174
History. 651
History of Spiti. [36]

mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpóon* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wazír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gatpos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpóon*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by forays. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Cháng Tháng, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wazír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

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1 [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the "Treaty Road" and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its "Babu" in charge, are also State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

631 Aksakal, who represents the British Government in assisting
636 Yarkandi traders, and the "Charas Officer" in charge of the Indian hemp trade from Yarkand, both of the latter connected with the "Treaty Road," are also Imperial Government
563 servants. These officials and sub-officials are prominent in
631 the public life of Leh, taking their due precedence at public entertainments, and are all down-country men, mostly Punjabis and Kashmiris. We look for the day when there will be enough educated Ladakis to take up these positions in their own land.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

X.—GOVERNMENT.

I.—NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.—VARIOUS OFFICERS.

THE government of Ladák was formerly a mild despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo.* The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the prime minister, or *Kahlon;* and the king was well satisfied both with his minister and with his subjects, if the former gave him sufficient means† for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure, and if the latter never disturbed his quiet ease with their complaints. The king literally did nothing, except when roused to exertion by some unusual occurrence. His subjects could behold his royal presence only by the presentation of an offering in money, according to their circumstances. But this was a costly pleasure; and the mental abstraction of the Buddhist prince was rarely disturbed by the curiosity, or loyal zeal, of his people. Occasionally an ambitious prince would arise, who (like Singhé Namgyal) retained the whole power in his own hands.

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* The ruler was usually called *rGyal-po*, or the emperor; and the queen was called *rGyal-mo*, or the empress. In writing more formality was used, and the ruler was either entitled *rGyal-po-chen-po*, "the great emperor," or he was designated by his own name *Singgé-rNam-rGyal*, "King Singge."

† The prime minister was always the Gyalpo's treasurer, or keeper of the privy purse.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XII.—HISTORY.

I.—UNDER NATIVE RULERS.

175 642 "THE earlier history of Ladák is that of Tibet in general, as it originally formed one of the provinces of that kingdom, governed as to temporal matters by an independent prince, and in spiritual affairs by the Guru Lama, or chief pontiff of Lhása." Such was Moorcroft's opinion;* and such also is that of the present inhabitants: and there can be no reasonable doubt that such was the usual position of Ladák, although its political dependence was more nominal than real. Under vigorous rulers, such as Palgyi-Gon in the tenth century, and Singgé Namgyal in the seventeenth century, its entire independence was asserted and upheld. But the original dependence at some distant period is, I think, clearly proved by the acknowledged descent of the Ladáki princes from Khri-Tsaupo, the first recorded king of Great Tibet.

175 779 The earliest historical notice of Ladák is that of the Chinese pilgrim *Fa-Hian*, in A.D. 400.† At that time

* Travels, I. p. 336.

† *Fo-kwe-ki.* French translation by Remusat, &c., p. 26. *Fo-kwe-ki.* English translation by J. W. Laidlay, p. 27, note 1. This translation is enriched by many valuable notes, both geographical and religious. It should be in the possession of every one who takes any interest in the ancient history of India.

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775 In Ladák there are only four resident skooSHoks, who preside over the monasteries at Speetuk, Tiksay, Phiáng and Reyzong, respectively.

792 There is also a skooSHok belonging to Heymis the largest and richest of all the monasteries of Ladák, but, for some unexplained reason, some 3 or 4 births back, the skooSHok took birth at Lhása, and refused to come to Ladák, and since then, rebirths of this Heymis avatár have always taken place at Lhása.

The present incarnation must now be about 20 years of age. I am told that as he is a Lhása man, he does not care to come to Ladák, but that if ordered by the Kashmir Durbar to come, he [643] would obey. The truth of the matter is probably that he, having been brought up at the holy city of Lhása, where the Buddhist priesthood reigns supreme, does not care to come to Ladák where the Dogras are masters and Lámás occupy a very subordinate position. The information which I have been able to gather as to the rules under which a spirit, for the first time, becomes an incarnation, is not very clear, but, apparently, when any great Láma or other very holy and virtuous man dies, his spirit, instead of being reborn in the ordinary way, may take rebirth in the form of a "sprulskoo" or incarnation--after this, provided the "sprulskoo" leads a virtuous life in this world, it is optional with him to attain nirvana at once, or should he so desire, his spirit, after his death, is repeatedly reborn as a "sprulskoo." If on the other hand an incarnation leads a wicked life in this world, his punishment is, that his spirit, instead of being reborn as an incarnation, will take any ordinary rebirth.

An account of the different kinds of form in which a spirit may be re-embodied, will be found under the heading "Rebirth."

775 As regards the rebirth of the spirit of an incarnation, or sprulskoo the
792 procedure is simple enough. Either the incarnation, before
787 death, tells his disciples the circumstances under which, and the place in which, his spirit will be re-born, or should he die, without having given any such indication, his followers, the moment he dies, go and consult learned Lámás, who advise where the spirit will be reborn. The disciples then, in accordance with the instructions given, proceed to the spot indicated, and ascertain if any woman has conceived, or given birth to a child which may be the re-embodiment of the late skooSHok's spirit. If such is the case, they note the fact and go away for the time, but if it is not so, then they conclude that a mistake has been made, and they refer to the Lámas for fresh instructions and so

511
735 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any pos-
792 sible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[642] The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people
578 of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as
522 well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a
578 serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of be-
522 ing a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.
792
539

Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

rate pieces of paper, wrapped each one in a piece of dough, put the three in a wheel or drum, and whirled it. Out pops one; and the man whose name is in the capsule is the Dalai Lama. How they controlled the wheel so that the name of the candidate they preferred popped out is a mystery. But I learned from my early days with a carnival in this country that such mysteries are not profound. I am sure this one is not above the reach of the average pitch man. 648 792 775

The Chinese made the process easier to manipulate. In 1793 a golden urn was sent from China. The names of the boys who were likely candidates for the reincarnation were placed in the urn. Religious services were held, and then chopsticks were used to pick out one slip of paper. Manipulation within that scheme of things was a simple affair.

The Chinese have gone so far in their manipulation of the doctrine of reincarnation as to prohibit rebirth of a person deemed inimical to the welfare of the state. In 1882 Sing Chen helped a foreigner into Tibet and allowed him to visit Lhasa. The Chinese were displeased. They put Sing Chen to death and forbade him to reincarnate. Thus, long before the Communists came to control in China, the Chinese authorities used the doctrine of reincarnation to serve their ends and to perpetuate their authority.

The Chinese have used the Panchen Lama to further their cause of subjecting Tibet. The Panchen Lama is second to the Dalai Lama. But in some respects—too recondite for me to understand—the Panchen Lama is "holier" than the Dalai Lama. He is a political invention of the fifteenth century—not an invention of the Chinese but of the ecclesiastical authorities who, on the growth of the political power of northern Tibet, created the Panchen Lama as the symbol of the north. But the south won out and the Dalai Lama remained supreme. Yet the Panchen Lama became a divisive influence in Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs. 648 792 642

The Panchen Lama has a large area of his own in Tibet over which he has control. His district is Tsang Province, where he

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 exercises almost complete jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and
792 in temporal affairs. This region is his fief, and he is the supreme
•642 overlord.

In recent years, the Chinese have capitalized on this strategic position of the Panchen Lama. The previous Panchen Lama in 1924 quarreled with the Dalai Lama and left Lhasa for China. He stayed there until his death in 1937. Then the Chinese, in control of the selection of his predecessor, chose the present Panchen Lama. Up to August 1951, this Panchen Lama had never left China, had never been in Lhasa. But he, the second-in-command, sat in China urging the Tibetans to make peace with Red China, pleading with them to submit to the "liberation" program which the Communists designed for Tibet.

648 The objective of the Chinese Communist government in the
792 summer of 1951 was to get the Dalai Lama under its control. He had become alarmed at the threat of the Red Army to Tibet. So he fled Lhasa, going with his entourage to Yatung, a small monastic town near Mount Everest on the Tibetan-Indian border. I had letters to the Dalai Lama and had arranged to visit him there. But before I arrived, a train of events had changed the course of history and sent the Dalai Lama north, a virtual captive of Red China.

The family of the Dalai Lama and many influential people in the hierarchy pleaded with him not to return to Lhasa. They pointed out that if he did, he would be a ready victim of Communist intrigue. The Communists would work to liquidate the system of landlordism on which the monasteries depended. The Communists would appropriate the wealth of Tibet to their own ends, robbing the church. The Communists would undercut the authority of the Dalai Lama, making him a mere vassal. The Communists would make the monasteries dependent on them for financial support; and once the Communists got effective control, the Dalai Lama and all other lamas would be mere puppets of the Red regime. There were personal reasons as well on the side of leaving Tibet. The Dalai Lama's mother had left Tibet. The

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal 795
power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in 178
Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The 792
Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the
Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with 642
Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri 795
to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to 178
the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like 792
Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the 647
regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The govern- 792
ment posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. 574
We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this 792
highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, 136
and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx). Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:--

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is ex- 132
tremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:--

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab K 175 [648]
Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately connected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a WT 642 175 792
Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

642 175 792 [794] [778]

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

361 563 144 181

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

463 241 511 [582] [372] [313]

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X.—GOVERNMENT.

I.—NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.—VARIOUS OFFICERS.

THE government of Ladák was formerly a mild [642] despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo.* 643 The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the prime minister, or *Kahlon;* and the king was well 645 satisfied both with his minister and with his subjects, if 175 the former gave him sufficient means† for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure, and if the latter never disturbed his quiet ease with their complaints. The king literally 643 did nothing, except when roused to exertion by some 175 unusual occurrence. His subjects could behold his royal presence only by the presentation of an offering in money, according to their circumstances. But this was a costly pleasure; and the mental abstraction of the Buddhist prince was rarely disturbed by the curiosity, or loyal zeal, of his people. Occasionally an ambitious prince would arise, who (like Singhé Namgyal) retained the whole power in his own hands.

* The ruler was usually called *rGyal-po*, or the emperor; and the queen was called *rGyal-mo*, or the empress. In writing more formality was used, and the ruler was either entitled *rGyal-po-chen-po*, "the great emperor," or he was designated by his own name *Singgé-rNam-rGyal*, "King Singge."

† The prime minister was always the Gyalpo's treasurer, or keeper of the privy purse.

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651 Each house, therefore, paid a mean rate of two rupees per annum; but, partly from various remissions of taxes, and partly from the inability of the poorer classes to pay, excepting by bodily service, the total amount of house-tax rarely exceeded Rs. 30,000.

793 But besides the 18,000 paying houses, there were
644 about 4,000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and about 1,000 for the maintenance of the queen and the various members of the
643 royal family. The Gyalpo also had his own villages, which contained about 1,000 houses more. The whole number of dwellings in Ladák was therefore about 24,000.

651 Under the Dogra rule, although the number of inhabited dwellings has diminished, yet the number of paying houses is still about the same, as all the crown villages have been appropriated by the government. The assessment is, however, different, as a much greater number of houses have been taxed at the higher rates. I could not obtain any precise information as to the number of houses included under each rate; but as the gross amount of collections was generally estimated at nearly Rs. 50,000, the following scale must be a close approximation to the truth. The mean rate is two and a half rupees per house.

1,000	houses of large size	at Rs. 7 each	=	Rs. 7,000
5,000	„ middle	„ 3½ „	=	17,500
12,000	„ small	„ 1¾ „	=	21,000
18,000	houses paying	... ...		Rs. 45,500

There were besides two other sources of income which contributed to swell the revenue of the state; namely, a tax on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants both home and foreign;

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and the annual amount of presents received from the various *Kahlons*, *Lonpas*, *Kharpons*, and other officers of government. The former generally amounted to nearly thirty-five *kúrús* of silver, which, at Rs. 166 per *kúrú*, are equal to Rs. 5,700.* The value of the presents was usually about Rs. 5,000.

The gross revenue of Ladák, collected from all sources under its native rulers, was as follows:

House-tax	Rs. 30,000
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
	Rs. 58,700

to which must be added,—first, the amount alienated for the support of monasteries, or about Rs. 8,000, valuing each of the 4,000 houses at the average rate of two rupees each: secondly, the amount derived from the crown villages of about 2,000 houses, equal to Rs. 4,000 more, or in all to Rs. 12,000. The total revenue was, therefore, Rs. 71,700, or about £7,000 sterling.

Out of the gross collections made for government, one-half of the customs, and one-half of the tax on brokers, were the perquisites, or salary, of the *Kahlon*, or prime minister. The net amount received by the *Gyalpo* was therefore just so much less than the above Rs. 58,700, or only Rs. 46,850; this, with the produce of the crown lands, amounted to nearly Rs. 49,000. But his actual income was nearly double this amount, for he was the chief trader in his own dominions; and as all his traffic passed duty free through Ladák, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand rupees a year. His

* *Kuru* is the Yarkandi name for the "ingot" of silver, which the Tibetans call *Yam-bu*.

643 average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lac of rupees, or nearly £10,000 per annum. In addition to his regular income, both public and private, the Gyalpo enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts, which, possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government. He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grass, for four months in the year, by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples, and grapes.

647 The various charges defrayed by the state were few in number, and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The paid officers of the state were the *Lonpo*, or governor; [693] the *Shakspon*, or lord chief justice; and the different *Khrimpons*, or magistrates of Lé; besides the *Káká Tádsi*, or master of the horse, and the *Chagdsot*, or lord high treasurer. I could not ascertain the amount of their individual salaries, but the gross amount of civil charges was estimated at Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum, and which I believe to be near the truth. The 701 military charges were nothing, as each family or house was obliged to furnish one soldier whenever called upon to do so, and to feed him during his term of service.

651 Under the present rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, the revenue of Ladák may be estimated as follows:-

Tax on houses	Rs. 45,500
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
Monasteries	6,300
	Rs. 80,500

159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income, [439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own [643] dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

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cash, the remainder being made up to them by "billets" for food wherever they may be quartered. The cost of each soldier to the state was therefore generally estimated by the people at only four rupees a month. At this rate a body of 700 men could be supported for Rs. 33,600, which would be increased to Rs. 35,000 or Rs. 36,000 by the pay of the petty officers. 701 652

The whole expenses of the government, both civil and military, therefore, amounted to between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 60,000; thus leaving a surplus of about Rs. 25,000 for transmission to the maharaja. This surplus was not however remitted in cash, but in goods, which consisted chiefly of wool from Chang-thang, and of cloths and tea from Yarkand. 643 652

V.—MILITARY RESOURCES.

In Ladák there was no regular army; but every family or house throughout the country was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier at the call of the government. The *Kahlons*, *Lonpos*, and *Gobas*, also furnished quotas of from ten to four men each. At the last general mustering in 1834, the number of armed peasants, collected to oppose Zoráwar Sing, amounted to 22,000. The same number is said to have been collected when the *Gyalpo* was at war with Ahmed Shah of Balti. Indeed it is scarcely possible that a greater number of "armed" men could have been collected, as each house throughout Ladák possessed only one weapon, and the number of houses was not more than 24,000. I have every reason to believe in the correctness of these numbers, as my information was derived from various sources; from Jemadar Basti Rám, and other officers of 702

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7/2 well-dressed artillerymen. Altogether I was as much pleased with the orderly appearance, as with the judicious situation, of this fort.

The new fort of *Kargyil* is situated on the left bank of the Suru river, immediately above the junction of the *Waká-chu*. It is a square of about sixty yards, with round towers at the angles, and a square tower with a small outwork in the middle of the river-front. This work forms a difficult entrance, and at the same time insures a supply of water. The walls are loopholed throughout, and the garrison can sweep the bridge over the Suru river with deadly effect. The position was admirably chosen, as it completely commands the high-road to and from Kashmir.

The new fort of Drás is similar to those of Lé and Kargyil. It is situated on the left bank of the Drás river, and commands the passage of the valley.

The bridge-head of Khallach is on the right bank of the Indus. It consists of a square loopholed tower, built of large sun-dried bricks, with an inclosure surrounded by a high loopholed wall. The garrison of twelve men is furnished from Lé, and is relieved every three months. This work completely commands all approach to the bridge on each bank of the river.

●643 In my opinion, the measures which the maharaja has taken for the maintenance of his power in Ladák are 177 judicious and effective. Many people grumble; but 578 the dissatisfaction is principally confined to the upper classes, who have lost all their power; and to the Kashmiri Mahomedans, a despicable race, who are ever wishing for change, and who, if they were under the British to-morrow, would long for the Chinese on the next day. To the lower classes the change of govern-

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ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; 643 ●
for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount 651
than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a 177
less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the 578
country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent 177
roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people 491
whose principal means of livelihood are derived from 643
the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are 205
simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village [648]
couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

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175 of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time
643 the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation
645 could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son, to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

III.—CONQUEST OF BALTI.

175 When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar and heard of
727 the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and
175 annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family 796
property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season 592
invite all members of the family to assemble at his house
for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them
a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and
when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the
centre, and into it butter is poured.

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am 171
indebted for the above account, that this exactly corres- 796
ponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where
butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding.

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea
is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical
of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the
idea of light which again is closely connected with the
idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal 796
dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are [243]
spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of
merriment.

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" [241]
or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls
about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning
to ripen. It is celebrated in every village.

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious
celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the
early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on
the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a
matter of fact, observed by the people of the country,
only once a year, when a great festival takes place at
Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival
which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th
day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June.
On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is 796
crowded with people who have come from all parts of 536
Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils"
dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis
monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is
rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their
richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely
handsome.

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

●643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. 564

Village Communities and Tenures.

Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tówás* or *togochás*. [792] [837]

Leading families. 564

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalas kothís*, and fines in criminal cases. [144] [651] [43]

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages. 694 621 423

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792 175
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 668
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 631
Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the north- 175
west; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not 797
to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to 175
propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule 648
of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not 643
thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over 349
the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great 792
wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their 178
spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all 671
the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. 695
It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon. 175 721 648 795

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the "Treaty Road" and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its "Babu" in charge, are also State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the 631 [643] 636

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a 797 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private 576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal ; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to 482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horologist, and, the day before, this strange ship of the wilderness is erected in the desert just outside Leh. 196

At about 3 p.m. we wend our way through the bazar, now crowded with folk in holiday mood and holiday attire, and take up our position in the small room built over the toll-gate giving admission to the capital, and underneath which, the procession will pass. The firing of a gun announces that it has left the castle and is descending the hill, and soon we descry it turning into the further end of the main street, near the large Mohammedan mosque. Slowly it approaches us to the droning of shawms, the blowing of trumpets, clanging of cymbals, and beating of drums, all of which go to make up ecclesiastical music. Let us watch them as they pass beneath us. Heading the procession come four lamas in their clerical red garments, and with their funny yellow, peaked hats. These are blowing their flageolets ; after an interval they are followed by two or three laymen, who have the supposed honour of being allowed to carry the *storma*, but one cannot help noticing that the *élite* do not trouble to obtain this distinction for themselves. *Storma* means a thing which is lost, and consists of effigies made in various sizes to represent men and demons. Again comes a group of lamas, dressed up in their fantastic devil-masks, and dancing as they move along. More laymen follow, bearing religious flags, and then there come four priests, blowing shawms so long that two small acolytes precede them, holding up the ends. Thus group after group passes through the gate till the celebrating abbot appears, to be followed by further priests and laymen carrying *storma*. Bringing up the rear are a number of [643] Buddhist horsemen, prominent among them the King. He wears for this ceremony a special hat, which is an imitation of King Langdarma's, from whom he claims descent and of whom he is said to be an incarnation. Langdarma belonged 173 to the old *Bon Chos*, and did his best to exterminate Buddhism in Tibet, positive proof of his demoniacal nature, of which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XIX

Rajahs & Royalties

ALTHOUGH the glory has departed from the present scion of a long line of rulers, yet we must speak of the King, who, although only an ex-ex-King, is still regarded by the true Ladaki as his sovereign lord, for as he walks along the road, his subjects bare their heads and bend low, whilst he touches them in blessing, for not only is he king, but priest also. 643

Let us, however, begin at the beginning and speak first of a dynasty of true Ladaki Kings, for although the present line has reigned for well-nigh a thousand years, yet even they are interlopers from the Central Tibetan Kingdom. In the monastery of Lamayuru, there is a record telling of how the upper part of the Indus valley was uninhabited desert, whilst in the lower dwelt the "Brogpas," who were continually fighting one another. At that time the site on which Lamayuru now stands was a lake, proof of which we still have to-day in the large lacustrine deposits to be found there. It was just before the time of the Buddhist reformer, Atisa, that the great King Khri dPon bHag rDar Skyabs ruled, his kingdom extending from the Zogi La to the Kardong, and his son enlarged this territory by adding villages in Kashmir and a part of Lahoul. This line of kings did much to civilize the country, and was the first to introduce Buddhism. It is regrettable that more is not known of these rulers. How their power waned and the Lha Chen dynasty from Central Tibet usurped their power has still to be elucidated. The 173

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

773 slung a stone at him, but missed, for the horse had got behind a rock. The steed then said to his master, " Oh thou with the big head without brains, thou donkey without long ears, thou ox without horns, look at my sore back ! How can I carry you ? But quickly take the lancet placed by my good queen Bruguma in my left ear, and cut out my sores, then wash them with the lotion in my right ear, and I will get well immediately and bear you back to Ling." No sooner said than done, and they returned. Kesar re-conquered the country, liberated his Queen and her sons, and they lived happily ever after.

643 775 Thus runs the story, and to-day we have in Ladak two representatives of this hero King, for Kesar is re-incarnated in both father and son, Kings of Ladak. The question may be asked how the young King can be a re-incarnation of King Kesar during the lifetime of his father who is also a re-incarnation of the same ? This is perfectly easy to explain, for Kesar appeared in many disguises, and they are incarnations of two of these. In like manner, the Queen Mother and the reigning Queen, both living, are each a re-incarnation of one goddess, the White Tara. In the case of the two Kings we have definite proof of this fact, for they have both of them a squint, although the son has only acquired his after years of 643 practice. It would seem strange in most countries for the son to be reigning while his father is still alive, but, in this back-to-front country, the heir-apparent, on reaching manhood, has for long been made co-ruler with his father. At the present time they have gone a step further, for the Father King has retired to a hermitage, where he tells his beads, says his *Ommanis*, and prepares himself for his next incarnation. The coronation of the present King took place soon after we arrived in Leh, and all the missionaries and their children were invited to be present at the ceremony. So on the morning of the coronation day we were requested to send up the chairs on which we were to sit. The Tibetan word for a chair, by the way, is *Khriushing*, which means a wooden

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

throne, so that we also were enthroned, but not on a raised 643 ●
platform. Although it was still winter, the afternoon sun was extraordinarily hot, as we toiled up the hill on which stands the castle, above the tiers of houses which form the chief part of Leh. This is a fine building, erected some 643
three hundred years ago. It consists of nine storeys, and is 344
built of stone and mudbricks. So high is it that the walls have had to be built with a slight slope inwards to keep them from bulging out. The roof is perfectly flat with a balustrade running all round. When the King or *Skushog* is in Leh, a band of lamas with shawms and trumpets stand at the edge of this to salute them, and make a charming picture outlined against the sky.

We entered under the porch, gaudily decorated with many colours. Above us, and on each side were gargoyles, which it was formerly possible to propel outwards and thus frighten the King's enemies. We walked along a dark passage, and up a flight of rude stone steps. This took us past the Royal Temple, in which are a few images, and a small library which could no doubt tell us a good deal about former kings who ruled here, but what we noticed most was a large heap of black leaves, inscribed with golden letters, which have been thrown on the floor in an untidy heap. They were placed there by the Dogra conquerors, and nobody has ever taken the trouble to sort them. Our way then ascended a rough wooden stair- 643
way, and, we eventually entered a large room. This was now filled with many people of high and low degree. In a corner a platform was raised about four feet above the people, and on it were enthroned the Incarnation of Hemis with the young King on his left. We were given seats in front, and had a plate of food placed before us. Hardly had the last member of our party been served, when a leading Ladaki came to us, thanked us in the politest and most elegant language he could command for the trouble we had taken in coming up to the castle on such a hot day, and hinted that we

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643 might wish to be busy elsewhere. Understanding that they would prefer our room to our company, we again wended our way down the hill. During our short stay in the room of enthronement, no ceremonies whatever were performed, and no word was spoken. There sat the *Skushog* and the new King like two graven images. We asked them what they did to crown their King, and they replied that he was allowed to sit on a throne as high as that of the *Shushog*. But we could not help feeling that the haste with which they got rid of us indicated that we were not to see the real ritual, as the influence of our Occidental presences would not be auspicious, yet we appreciated the friendly spirit which did not wish to omit us entirely from their important celebrations.

643 574 The Royal ladies, too, have always given a welcome to visitors from Western lands, whether it be the missionary "Memsahibs," who live in Leh all the year round, or the summer travellers who may be taken to pay their respects to the reigning house at Stog.

When the family come to Leh for their winter visit, their presence being necessary at the great festivals of the New Year and *Dosmoche*, we usually go up to the castle to pay them a call. We first inquire if it would be convenient for us to come on a given afternoon, sending a present of a cabbage, turnip or some potatoes, all of which are real luxuries in this part of the world, and hardly-grown at all outside our own [352] and the Commissioner's compounds. The time having been fixed, we are led into the sitting-room of the two Queens, and take our seats near them on nice Tibetan rugs, well-padded underneath. The little princesses, aged about two and seven on the last occasion, were very interested in the foreign ladies and the baby especially was delighted at receiving a rubber doll with a squeak. Butter-tea, of course, was served, and a special brand of sweet shortbread made in the royal household provided. Once when we went down to Kashmir, the old Queen Mother kindly sent over a dozen of these, wrapped in a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

●643 bit of Indian newspaper to help us on the road, while her
574 daughter-in-law sent a request for some mercury (called in Tibetan "silver water") for what purpose we could not gather, and also asked if we could refill for her a bottle of scented hair oil. Once the two Queens repaid our winter call, and came to visit us in the compound. In the morning they sent down to know if we would kindly provide a magic lantern show by way of an entertainment, for they knew the Mission possessed such an instrument, but in the Doctor's house we had other resources, for a Christmas tree had been made for the children, and we had this illuminated for our visitors. Removing all central furniture, we arranged little tables in front of small rugs and mats round the room, and, what with the ladies-in-waiting and attendant lamas, every place was filled, and our small room soon needed airing. On the tables we could only provide dry food, such as apricots, sugar, sweets, walnuts and sultanas, for they would not partake of anything we had cooked, and with our gramophone to entertain them, our guests seemed to enjoy their evening. We had to explain carefully of course, that the lighted Christmas tree was not an object of worship, but put up for the children's pleasure, while our Christian Hospital nurse briefly told our Christmas story as illustrated by little picture cards hung from the tree. But perhaps the greatest thrill of the evening was a tour of the sahib's house, where the bed-rooms and kitchen, and the baby sleeping quietly alone in the dark, caused the greatest interest.

643 The castle of Leh, however, is not the usual abode of their
644 Majesties, the King is in residence there only during the first Buddhist month of the year, and on other special occasions, and when the waters of the village where he resides in summer are all frozen, and must be melted before using. At other times he has his quarters in the castle of Stog, which lies a three hours' ride from Leh on the opposite side of the Indus.

643 When Zorowar conquered the great-grandfather of the present
651 young King, he banished him there, and since then Stog is

643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before
[791] the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthen ware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, 788
eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the 792
stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. 643
Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his 788
chos, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief 631
ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor im- 643
portance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, [776]
whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* re-incarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a [793]
Skushog, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor 662
old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get 792
their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be 177
"the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, 792
and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty- [643]
three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill 792
suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting 361
which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, [795]
whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the
796 tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu" to her.

796 Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first
536 endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs, which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the
[565] monastery. These are four storeys high, the upper ones having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and
• [643] only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable, but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view, while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nowang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

539 [643] [80] 527 [789]

5. (*a*) དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་བཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

539 527 [346 789

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་ཐུག་རེ།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

539 000

7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་རན་རྒྱ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་འབྱུད་དེ་ཅི་ཟླ་ཡི་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zā dus'.

539

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
course, is run by the Lamaist church and
643 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
361 The former kings of Tibet have taken
341 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
and live in the castle of Leh. The town
131 is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
175 Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
ferent from our own western type of
123 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
354 here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

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241 range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

[231] [262]

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

[691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Each house, therefore, paid a mean rate of two rupees per annum; but, partly from various remissions of taxes, and partly from the inability of the poorer classes to pay, excepting by bodily service, the total amount of house-tax rarely exceeded Rs. 30,000.

793 But besides the 18,000 paying houses, there were
644 about 4,000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and about 1,000 for the maintenance of the queen and the various members of the
643 royal family. The Gyalpo also had his own villages, which contained about 1,000 houses more. The whole number of dwellings in Ladák was therefore about 24,000.

651 Under the Dogra rule, although the number of inhabited dwellings has diminished, yet the number of paying houses is still about the same, as all the crown villages have been appropriated by the government. The assessment is, however, different, as a much greater number of houses have been taxed at the higher rates. I could not obtain any precise information as to the number of houses included under each rate; but as the gross amount of collections was generally estimated at nearly Rs. 50,000, the following scale must be a close approximation to the truth. The mean rate is two and a half rupees per house.

1,000	houses of large size	at Rs. 7 each		=	Rs. 7,000
5,000	"	middle "	3½ "	=	17,500
12,000	"	small "	1¾ "	=	21,000
18,000	houses paying	...	...	...	Rs. 45,500

There were besides two other sources of income which contributed to swell the revenue of the state; namely, a tax on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants both home and foreign;

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]
STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángthang want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

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526 slow trot. One alternative only remained: No. 1 had to drop the ball at the mid-line, whilst No. 2 who was riding immediately behind was expected to hit it. During the first half the European combination did wonders, and at half time were leading by four goals, but this put the home team on its mettle, and they gradually caught up. Time, however, was in favour of the visitors, who won their game by one goal. Will such a match ever be played again?

541 Next let us go to the bazar and watch the horse-racing. This peculiar species of horse-racing is quite in keeping with this quaint country. We take up our positions on the verandah of the post office. At the further end of the bazar 242 about thirty ponies and their jockeys are gathered. First 644 along the course comes a rider decked out in the most wonder- 301 ful garments. His dress is a beautifully embroidered Chinese mandarin's robe and the insignia of his office is a tigerskin tunic. On his head he wears a large round hat covered with gilt tinsel, the crown rising to a dome, surmounted by a knob to which streamers of gilt tinsel passing from the brim are attached. This is quite a personage, who assumes the title of *glabdag*, which means one to whom the gods are subject. The office boasts a long lineage and is traceable to pre-Buddhist times. Its representative is always chosen from one of three families, and his duty is to serve the King personally, one especial task being to change the pencil cedar on His Majesty's altar on New Year's day. When he rides ahead of all the 541 jockeys, he is acting as his King's Viceroy. Having led the way, the race can begin, but a starter is quite unnecessary. Each man starts off just when he likes and simply tears down the bazar as hard as his pony will carry him; though they often elect to start in a bunch, there seems to be no purposeful relationship between them, and odd ones left far behind carry on with equal zest. Needless to say bookies are unnecessary. Sometimes a wag will add to the delight of the spectators by performing gymnastic feats as he rides, possibly having dressed

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 bit of Indian newspaper to help us on the road, while her
574 daughter-in-law sent a request for some mercury (called in Tibetan "silver water") for what purpose we could not gather, and also asked if we could refill for her a bottle of scented hair oil. Once the two Queens repaid our winter call, and came to visit us in the compound. In the morning they sent down to know if we would kindly provide a magic lantern show by way of an entertainment, for they knew the Mission possessed such an instrument, but in the Doctor's house we had other resources, for a Christmas tree had been made for the children, and we had this illuminated for our visitors. Removing all central furniture, we arranged little tables in front of small rugs and mats round the room, and, what with the ladies-in-waiting and attendant lamas, every place was filled, and our small room soon needed airing. On the tables we could only provide dry food, such as apricots, sugar, sweets, walnuts and sultanas, for they would not partake of anything we had cooked, and with our gramophone to entertain them, our guests seemed to enjoy their evening. We had to explain carefully of course, that the lighted Christmas tree was not an object of worship, but put up for the children's pleasure, while our Christian Hospital nurse briefly told our Christmas story as illustrated by little picture cards hung from the tree. But perhaps the greatest thrill of the evening was a tour of the sahib's house, where the bed-rooms and kitchen, and the baby sleeping quietly alone in the dark, caused the greatest interest.

643 The castle of Leh, however, is not the usual abode of their
644 Majesties, the King is in residence there only during the first Buddhist month of the year, and on other special occasions, and when the waters of the village where he resides in summer are all frozen, and must be melted before using. At other times he has his quarters in the castle of Stog, which lies a three hours' ride from Leh on the opposite side of the Indus.
643 When Zorowar conquered the great-grandfather of the present
651 young King, he banished him there, and since then Stog is

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earther ware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

X.—GOVERNMENT.

I.—NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.—VARIOUS OFFICERS.

THE government of Ladák was formerly a mild [642] despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo.* 643 The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the prime minister, or *Kahlon;* and the king was well 645 satisfied both with his minister and with his subjects, if 175 the former gave him sufficient means† for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure, and if the latter never disturbed his quiet ease with their complaints. The king literally 643 did nothing, except when roused to exertion by some 175 unusual occurrence. His subjects could behold his royal presence only by the presentation of an offering in money, according to their circumstances. But this was a costly pleasure; and the mental abstraction of the Buddhist prince was rarely disturbed by the curiosity, or loyal zeal, of his people. Occasionally an ambitious prince would arise, who (like Singhé Namgyal) retained the whole power in his own hands.

* The ruler was usually called *rGyal-po*, or the emperor; and the queen was called *rGyal-mo*, or the empress. In writing more formality was used, and the ruler was either entitled *rGyal-po-chen-po*, "the great emperor," or he was designated by his own name *Singgé-rNam-rGyal*, "King Singge."

† The prime minister was always the Gyalpo's treasurer, or keeper of the privy purse.

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645 the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power
175 of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the
[197] monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.

000 In Great Tibet the *Kahlons* of the four chief provinces of *Ngári*, *U*, *Tsáng*, and *Khám*, were elected by the civil power in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior *Kahlons*, and all other petty officers of state,
645 were elected by the four chief *Kahlons*. But in Ladák
634 the prime minister's office was almost hereditary; that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal *Kahlons*, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations. The Kahlon of Moorcroft's time was the Kahlon or petty Gyalpo of the Chimra valley; and the power remained in the hands of his family until the final settlement of Zoráwar Sing, at Lé.

622 Many of the principal nobility of Ladák were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a *Gyalpo* in Nubra; another in Gya; a third in Spiti; a fourth in Zanskar; a fifth in Paskyum; a sixth in Soth; a seventh in Suru; and an eighth in Hembabs, or Drás. The chiefs of Paskyum and of Soth distinguished themselves by their protracted resistance on the first invasion of Ladák by Zoráwar Sing.

645 The prime minister was simply styled *Kahlon*, or "the minister," or *Bangki-Kahlon*, "the chief minis-

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ter,"* while his deputy was usually known by the 645
addition of his own name, as *Kahlon-Rigsen*, "minister *Rigsen*," or by prefixing the term *Nono*, as *Nono Kahlon*, "the younger, or deputy minister."† The other [634]
Kahlons were distinguished by the names of the districts over which they ruled, as *Kahlon-Bazgo*, "the governor of Bazgo."

The next great officers were the *Lonpos*,‡ or governors 632
of towns, and the *Kharpons*,§ or commanders of forts. 701
The former were distinguished by the names of their respective towns; as *Lé-pon*, "the governor of *Lé*;" *Gar-pon*, "governor of *Garo*." In Lé, also, there were the *Mak-pon*,‖ or "commander-in-chief," and the *Chagsot*,¶ or "lord high treasurer;" the *Shogam-Chagsot*,** or "head collector of taxes;" as well as the *Shakspon*,†† or "chief justice;" and the *Khrimpons*,‡‡ or "magistrates." Lastly there was the *Káká-Tádsi*,§§ or "head master of the horse;" and the *Chagsi-Goba*, or Kotwál, an office equivalent to that of mayor.

* This is the "Banka khalun" of Moorcroft (I. pp. 238—249). The true title was *dBang-kyi-bKah-bLon* or *Bangki-kahlon*, that is, "the powerful minister."

† *No-no* is the usual term of respect which is used in addressing any young man of the higher ranks, and when prefixed to *Kahlon* it means the younger or deputy minister. Moorcroft (I. pp. 334, 335) gives the term, without the title, as the usual designation of the deputy minister, just as we should say "the deputy" instead of the deputy chairman. *Nono* is also applied to all under-officers, as *Nono-Chagsot*, the "under-treasurer;" *Nono-Shakspon*, the "deputy justiciary."

‡ *bLon-po*, "the manager, arranger, or governor." Moorcroft (I. p. 255) calls him *Lompa*.

§ *mKhar-dPon*, the "fort-chief." ‖ *dMag-dPon*, the "war-chief."

¶ *Phyag-mDsod*, pronounced *Chag-sot*.

** *Shogam*, "a duty, a tax." †† *gShags-dPon*, "justice-chief."

‡‡ *Khrims-dPon*, "law-chief."

§§ *Gá-gá-rTá-rDsi*, "head master of the horse."

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622 The inferior officers were the *Mipons*,* or *Gobas*† (that is, literally, the "head men" of the villages), and the *Shogampa*, or provincial collectors of taxes and customs.

622 The *Gobas* (who were also called *Grongpons*,‡ or
634 "village chiefs") were directly responsible to the *Kahlons*, or *Gyalpos*, of their respective districts, in all criminal matters, and in most accounts of revenue; although the *Mipons*, or head men, of some of the principal towns, rendered their accounts direct to the *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer of Lé. But these exceptions were, I believe, only made in the cases of such villages as were set apart for the particular maintenance of the queen, or of some members of the royal
645 family. The *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer, rendered his accounts to the *Kahlon*, or prime minister, who kept the privy purse of the king and his family.

622 The titles of the different functionaries varied in
634 different districts; but the most common were those which I have just given. The petty *Gyalpos* and provincial *Kahlons* were frequently called *Depons*,§ or "district chiefs," a name which recalls the Sanscrit *Dés-pati*, and the Greek Δεσποτης. Among the Mahomedans of Ladák (both the pure Kashmiris and the hybrid Argons), the petty chiefs are invariably called *Chho*; as *Gya-pa-chho*,‖ "the *Gyalpo* of Gya."

* *Mi-dPon*, "man-chief or head man."

† *hGo-ba*, emphatically the head man, from *hGo*, "the head, the top of anything."

‡ *Grong-dPon*. In Great Tibet, and in some parts of Ladák, this word is pronounced *Tongpon*. The Lamas more especially adhere to the pronunciation of Lhasa.

§ *sDé-dPon*, "district-chief." ‖ *mChhog*, "the head, the chief."

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and the annual amount of presents received from the various *Kahlons*, *Lonpas*, *Kharpons*, and other officers of government. The former generally amounted to nearly thirty-five *kúrús* of silver, which, at Rs. 166 per *kúrú*, are equal to Rs. 5,700.* The value of the presents was usually about Rs. 5,000.

The gross revenue of Ladák, collected from all sources under its native rulers, was as follows:

House-tax	Rs. 30,000
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
	Rs. 58,700

to which must be added,—first, the amount alienated for the support of monasteries, or about Rs. 8,000, valuing each of the 4,000 houses at the average rate of two rupees each: secondly, the amount derived from the crown villages of about 2,000 houses, equal to Rs. 4,000 more, or in all to Rs. 12,000. The total revenue was, therefore, Rs. 71,700, or about £7,000 sterling.

Out of the gross collections made for government, one-half of the customs, and one-half of the tax on brokers, were the perquisites, or salary, of the *Kahlon*, or prime minister. The net amount received by the *Gyalpo* was therefore just so much less than the above Rs. 58,700, or only Rs. 46,850; this, with the produce of the crown lands, amounted to nearly Rs. 49,000. But his actual income was nearly double this amount, for he was the chief trader in his own dominions; and as all his traffic passed duty free through Ladák, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand rupees a year. His

* *Kuru* is the Yarkandi name for the "ingot" of silver, which the Tibetans call *Yam-bu*.

175 of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time
643 the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation
645 could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son, to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

III.—CONQUEST OF BALTI.

175 When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar and heard of
727 the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and
175 annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 466 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

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797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F. A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
• 645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

643 average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lac of rupees, or nearly £10,000 per annum. In addition to his regular income, both public and private, the Gyalpo enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts, which, possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government. He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grass, for four months in the year, by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples, and grapes.

● 647 The various charges defrayed by the state were few in number, and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The paid officers of the state were the *Lonpo*, or governor; [693] the *Shakspon*, or lord chief justice; and the different *Khrimpons*, or magistrates of Lé; besides the *Káká Tádsi*, or master of the horse, and the *Chagdsot*, or lord high treasurer. I could not ascertain the amount of their individual salaries, but the gross amount of civil charges was estimated at Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum, and which I believe to be near the truth. The 701 military charges were nothing, as each family or house was obliged to furnish one soldier whenever called upon to do so, and to feed him during his term of service.

651 Under the present rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, the revenue of Ladák may be estimated as follows:-

Tax on houses	Rs. 45,500
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
Monasteries	6,300
	Rs. 80,500

CASTE--riks or roospa.

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There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

The first class or "rigál riks" consists only of royal personages.

[795] The second class or "trangzey riks" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey riks" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang riks" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tólbey riks" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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565
795
617

CLASS I. Rgiál riks.	CLASS II. Trángzey riks.	CLASS III. Rjey riks.
SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or
	(5) Skarmápa ...	Hlardak ...
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlondrukpa	...
None	(Yellow Cap Sect	...
	(9) Geyluksna or..	
None	GHaldanpa...	...
	...	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV. Hmang riks.	CLASS V. Tólbey riks.
SUB-DIVISIONS	SUB-DIVISIONS
1 Nángso (kings treasurer).	1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
2 Chakdzot (steward)	2 Zópa (artizan).
3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).	3 Sárzópa (goldsmith).
4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).	4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
5 GHópa (doorkeeper).	5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)	6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).
7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)	7 SHingkhan (carpenter).
8 Chhoorpa (the waterer of the king's fields).	8 Rtsikspon (builder).
9 Rardzi (goatherd).	9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).
10 Bardzi (cowherd).	10 Mon (musician.)
11 Thralpa (cooly).	11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).	12 Beyda musician.
...	Malákhan juggler.

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 Chapter V, B.

651 Land and Land Revenue.

421 Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul.)

must be considered as part of the Sikh *betongná*, and distributed it equally on all *jeolas*, whether in *jágír* or *khálsa kothís*. In this way, on account of this excess, a sum of Rs. 150 out of the Rs. 1,910 was made payable by the Thákurs, who raised the money and something to spare, by imposing a new cess on the *jeolas* in their *jágírs*. The *khálsa jeolas* paid each their old cash assessment, plus a rateable share of the rest of the excess. No notice was taken in practice of the *khewat* or rent-roll, which had been made out by the *tahsíldár* of Kúlu under Mr. Barnes' orders. All old cesses were lawfully enough collected, as before, in *jágír kothís*, and in *khálsa* ones the *négi*, without authority, maintained most of them as perquisites of his office. Mr. Barnes had appointed one *négi* for the whole of Láhaul (in place of the *wazírs* of the Rájas), and one *lambardár* for each *kothí*. The *panchotra*, or fee ordinarily assigned to *lambardárs*, was divided between them and the *négi*. The first *négi* was a Bráhman of Pattan. It is not surprising that the *khewat* was not accepted by the Láhaulís, for it was in fact in every way a very inaccurate document, besides being in a form not easily to be understood by them. Mr. Barnes was never able to visit Láhaul himself: two or three hill *patwáris*, under no supervision, were sent over the passes, and brought back to the *tahsíldár* what purported to be appraisements of the arable lands held by the several landholders of each *kothí*. From them the *khewat* was made out at Sultánpur. The old cesses were maintained at first even in *khálsa kothís*. About the time when the original *négi* was dismissed and Thákur Tára Chand appointed in his stead, the grain dues ceased to be collected; but the *chatrá* or colts, and the *dhárkar* or *rigatal* (that is, the rents of sheep-runs paid by Gaddís), still continued to go into the *négi's* pocket. In 1862, Mr. Lyall brought the fact to the notice of the Government. In the end the rents of the sheep-runs were formerly granted for life to Tára Chand in recognition of his services. With regard to the colts no decided orders were given; but two or three years ago, when the Government directed the *négi* of Láhaul to discontinue a certain tribute which the Láhaulís had been in the custom of paying through him to the representative of the Mahárájá of Jamú in Ladákh, Tára Chand, of his own accord, remitted taking the colts in *khálsa kothís*, on the ground that he had only taken them hitherto as a set-off against the expenses of the tribute in question. Regarding the Regular Settlement, Mr. Lyall writes:—

647 651 648

"The administration papers for the *khálsa kothís* in Láhaul, prepared at Regular Settlement, were on the same model as those for Kúlu. In so far as they have affected the Láhaulís, they might, like the *khewats*, have just as well not been prepared at all. No records were prepared for *jágír kothís*. In them, therefore, in my opinion, the old customary tenure of land remains in force: in the *khálsa kothís* it must be considered to have been to some extent altered by arrangements made at Regular Settlement, and to be that which I have already described, as in my opinion the existing tenure in Kúlu and Seorój."

[421]

Mr. Lyall redistributed Mr. Barnes' assessment, both over *kothís* and over *jeolas* or holdings.

eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal 795
power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in 178
Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The 792
Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the
Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with 642
Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri 795
to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to 178
the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like 792
Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the 647
regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The govern- 792
ment posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. 574
We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this 792
highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

562 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which
778 point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his
[178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās
[647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats
[788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

797 care to join the State service, as very few Ladakhis were educated and all posts were filled by Kashmiri Brahmans and Indians? It would be good for the country if some of these officials were natives of Ladakh. I pointed out that if he took that line he would have power and influence later on, which he could put to good use. His answer was: "I do not want power or riches. All I want is that I may have opportunities of preaching Christ to my people. I would prefer to be a missionary."

[647] [563]

797 He returned to Leh, and in course of time became headmaster of the Mission School, which post he has held for many years, where he is training his own countrymen, and preaching Christ to them by life as well as by words. I am glad to say that his education has not given him any ideas of being a babu, and therefore too much of a gentleman to do manual labour, for in the vacations he is to be seen driving his yoke of oxen and carrying manure on his back in a basket very similar to those used in Switzerland for the same purpose. His education has not unmanned him, as it has done so many in Kashmir and India.

So the dying monk in the monastery at Nubra did well for his country, though it seems odd to those who do not know the way of monks that they should have sons to bequeath.

The mission at Leh has been blessed with some very fine missionaries. They have to be a very whole-hearted lot, for their pay is a mere pittance, and until lately they did not return home on furlough, but died at their post like Dr Marks and Dr Redslop, but I am glad to say that in these days there is a wiser and more humane policy, for surely it is wiser that a missionary's life should be lengthened by periods of rest than that he should live a short time and have to be replaced by a novice. It is

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 under the seals of Yár Muhammad Khán and Sultán Muhammad Khán. The original is now in my possession. In this certificate they state that, "when the *Sáhibs* arrived at Kúndúz, they got into trouble, and were relieved from their difficulties by the services of the Syad, who was then at Kábul, and that, in consequence of his zeal and devotion, the *Sáhibs* begged him to remain in Kábul until their return."

I obtained all these documents in original from the Syad himself, who, as a Shiah Musulmán, had sought and obtained service at the Shiah court of Lucknow.

175 648 Towards the end of the year 1834, the eccentric Dr. Henderson reached Lé, the capital of Ladák, disguised as a Musulmán, calling himself Ishmaïl Khan. His disguise was soon penetrated, but he was kindly treated by the Gyalpo, who at once saw, in the opportune arrival of a British officer, a possible means of averting the ultimate conquest of his kingdom. In August 1834, Ladák had been invaded by Zoráwar Sing, the local Governor of Káshtwár, under Raja Guláb Sing, of Jammu. At the time of Dr. Henderson's arrival at Lé, the invaders had taken possession of the western provinces of Suru and Drás, and had advanced into the valley of Paskyum. Henderson's presence immediately recalled to the Gyalpo's memory the offer which he had once before made, through Moorcroft, of allegiance to the British Government. The rulers of India had already snatched Sindh from the rough grasp of the Lion of Lahor, and the simple Tibetan vainly thought that they would be equally willing to save Ladák from the arms of his lieutenant. Dr. Henderson was therefore applied to; but as he had crossed the British frontier against the positive prohibition of his

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Government, and was now in Ladák when he ought to have been in Calcutta, he was unwilling to make any communication which would at once expose his violation of the orders of his Government. The draft of the original tender of allegiance which was forwarded by Moorcroft was shown to him; but his position prevented him from acting as Moorcroft had done. His refusal irritated the Gyalpo, and he was prevented from leaving Ladák without being actually imprisoned.* Meanwhile the people were informed that a British envoy had arrived, and that the invaders would speedily be obliged to depart. Zoráwar Sing immediately reported the circumstance to his master, Raja Guláb Sing, who applied to the Maharaja. Ranjit Sing at once "addressed the political agent at Ludiána to ascertain the meaning of such proceeding. The agent satisfied Ranjit Sing with an assurance that Dr. Henderson, the traveller, had passed the Sutlej in direct violation of the orders of his Government; and that there was not the slightest idea of interfering with Ranjit's plan of extending his conquests northwards. Zoráwar Sing, after this explanation, was desired to proceed with his operations;"† upon which Henderson was allowed to depart. In fact, he was detained so long as his presence was of service to the Gyalpo in delaying the loss of his kingdom.‡

Dr. Henderson was provided with instruments; and as, according to Baron Hugel, he had some tact for

* My information agrees with Hugel's. The Baron obained his version from Henderson himself. I got mine from the Botis of Ladák, and the officers of Zoráwar Sing's force.

† Quoted from Hugel's Travels, p. 102.

‡ Vigne, vol. ii. p. 337, says that Henderson himself complained to Ranjit of his detention at Lé.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

whole of the petty commerce of our hill states with Tibet. It was possible also that our peaceful relations with the Chinese emperor might be considerably embarrassed by his Celestial Majesty's ignorance of any distinction between the rulers of India and the rulers of Kashmir. As it seemed desirable to prevent the chance of such an occurrence, the British Government determined to remove the most common cause of all disputes in the East,—an unsettled boundary. For this purpose two officers were deputed, in August 1846, to the Tibetan frontier of Ladák, to ascertain the ancient boundaries between the two countries, and to lay down the boundary between the British territories and those of Mahárája Guláb Sing. The settlement of this boundary was one of some importance to the hill states, and more especially to our new acquisition of Nurpur, which received all its shawl wool from the traders of the eastern hill states, and not from Kashmir. Immediately after the war, I had pointed out that, by giving up to Mahárája Guláb Sing the southern dependencies of Ladák, we had actually interposed a rival territory between our own provinces on the Sutluj and the shawl-wool districts of Cháng-Tháng. The southern boundary of Spiti was, in fact, not more than thirty miles from Rámpur, on the Sutluj. As the annual revenue of the Spiti district, derived from all sources, does not amount to more than seven hundred rupees, no difficulty was experienced in making an exchange of territory with Mahárája Guláb Sing, and Spiti was added to the British dominions.

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It then became necessary to define the northern boundary of Spiti, with the other districts of Ladák. The two commissioners deputed for this purpose were

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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the late lamented Vans Agnew and myself. We left Simla on the 2nd August, 1846, and proceeded due north through Mandi, Kullu, and Láhul, to the Bara Lácha Pass, just beyond which stands the well-known *phálang-danda*, or boundary-stone, between the British province of Láhul and the Ladáki district of Zanskar. From this point we proceeded to the Tshomoriri lake, and I mapped in the British boundary from the *phálang-danda* to the Chinese frontier.

We were accompanied by Anant Rám, the Vazir of Shassa, in Kanáwar, who was deputed to attend us by the Raja of Bisahar, because he knew Hindustani, and could both speak and write Tibetan. To him we intrusted the Governor-General's letter addressed to the Chinese Governor of Lhasa. Anant Rám proceeded by Tashigong and the valley of the Indus to Gáro. On his arrival, the people at first refused to let him see the Governor; but as he persisted (according to his instructions) in declining to make over the letter to any one but the Governor himself, he was at length admitted within the fort, and then presented the letter. The Governor remarked that no letter had ever yet been received from the British authorities, and that his only communications to the westward were with the Raja of Bisahar. Anant Rám replied that he was the servant of the Bisahar Raja, who had directed him to accompany the British officers to the Chinese frontier, for the purpose of delivering the letter in question. On this, the Governor remarked that he would forward the letter to Lhasa, but that an answer could not be received for a whole year. A tent was then provided for Anant Rám, and he remained at Gáro for eight days, and was well treated the whole time.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Early the following year, as soon as the passes were open, the Raja of Bisahar reported that some Chinese authorities had arrived at Gáro, and that they had been despatched by the Governor of Lhasa. It was therefore determined to send a second commission to the Tibetan frontier for the purpose of laying down the ancient boundary between Ladák and Tibet. Three commissioners were appointed,— 131 642

Captain (now Major) Alexander Cunningham, of the Engineers.

Lieutenant (now Captain) Henry Strachey.

Dr. Thomas Thomson.

Captain Henry Strachey had already distinguished himself by his bold and successful visit to the holy well of Mánasarovara in the previous year, and Dr. Thomas Thomson was well known as one of the first botanists in India. The mission was supplied with portable magnetic and meteorological instruments; but as only one barometer was procurable, the observations for atmospheric pressure were confined to the parts of the country which Captain Strachey visited. My observations for temperature and moisture were continued from the south-eastern boundary of Spiti, throughout Ladák and Kashmir, to Shamsábád on the western frontier of the Panjáb. I observed the magnetic dip, declination, and intensity at Puga, Lé, and Molbil in Ladák, at Trinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and at Shamsábád. All these observations, with the exception of those at Ladák, were taken on the regular term-days laid down for monthly magnetic observation. 000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—RELATIONS WITH SURROUNDING STATES.

The few questions of foreign polity that the government of Ladák had to deal with were simple and easy. They were chiefly confined to political relations with Balti and Rudok; to commercial ties with Yarkand and Kashmir; and to the religious connection with Lhasa. The last was a national bond of union between two people speaking the same language, and holding the same faith; and the presents which were annually sent to Lhasa, by the Gyalpo of Ladák, were an humble offering to the Dalai Láma, as the head of the Buddhist religion, and not an extorted tribute to the emperor of China as lord paramount. 648

The difficulties of the passage of the Karakoram mountains prevented the Chinese governors of Yarkand and Kotan from attempting the conquest of Ladák; and the poverty of the country offered no temptation to the Mahomedan rulers of Kashmir. The Ladáki relations with these states were therefore friendly. With Rudok on the east there has been a long peace. The boundary is well defined by piles of stones, which were set up after the last expulsion of the *Sokpo*, or Mongol hordes, in A.D. 1687, when the Ladákis received considerable assistance from Kashmir. With Balti on the west, however, there existed a continual state of border-plundering, accompanied with fire and sword, which occasioned frequent references, and which created and kept up unfriendly feelings between the two states. The difference of religion greatly added to the natural antipathy of neighbourhood; and two centuries ago these two causes combined to lure Ali Sher and the Mahomedans of Balti to the invasion and partial conquest of Ladák.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; 643
for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount 651
than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a 177
less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the 578
country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent 177
roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people 491
whose principal means of livelihood are derived from 643
the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are 205
simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village [648] ●
couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

2: Ramsay--13 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[19] Tibet AJ1

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 788

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [197]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48]FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

775 79v a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he [576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[171] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of ●648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

751 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101

The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning, "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása. 631

As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people." 101

I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyool" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángtháng, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.

There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."

At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of 175 631 648

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
●648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhót" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--láma or lámba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

WT 792 795 688

once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been scourged can remain a Láma.

Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311

LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 241

LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 648 T 788 648

LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots, coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, incense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

WT 565

WT 648 554 661 T 648 661

WT 648 439 554

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

2: Ramsay--99 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

WT 175 778 648 T 175 778 648

It was agreed as follows:--

(1) The boundaries fixed, in the beginning, when king Skyid-lde ngeema-gon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained.

(2) Only Ladákis shall be permitted to enter into the Ngárees-khor-sum wool trade (i.e., to cross the Eastern frontier of Ladák, for the purpose of purchasing wool in the Gárdok, Poorang, and Googey Districts).

(3) No person from Ladák, except the royal trader of the Ladák Court, shall be permitted to enter Rudok.

(4) A royal trader shall be sent by the Deywa Zhung (i.e., the Grand Láma of Lhása), from Lhása to Ladák, once a year, with 200 horse-loads of tea-- (this is the "Chhaba," vide page 20).

(5) A "Lo-chhak" (vide page 85) shall be sent every third year from Leh to Lhása with presents. As regards the quality and value of presents brought for all ordinary Lámás, the matter is of no consequence, but to the Lábrang Chhakdzot (i.e., the Treasurer of the Grand Láma of of Lhása) shall be given the following articles, viz.--

(a) Gold dust--the weight of 1 zho 10 times i.e. about Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 worth.

(b) Saffron--the weight of 1 srang (or thoorsrang) 10 times, i.e., about Rs. 60 worth.

(c) Yarkhand cotton cloths--6 pieces.

(d) Thin cotton cloth--1 piece.

The members of the Lapchak Mission shall be provided with provisions, free of cost, during their stay at Lhása, and for the journey they shall be similarly provided with 200 baggage animals, 25 riding ponies, and 10 servants. For the uninhabited portion of the journey, tents will be supplied for the use of the Mission.

(6) The country of Ngárees-khor-sum (viz., Gárdok, Poorang and Googey) shall be given to the Omniscient Drukpa Láma, Mee-pham-wáng-po, and in lieu thereof the Deywa Zhung will give to the Ladák king three other districts (I don't understood [sic] this, perhaps this part of the treaty is genuine, but has never been given effect to) in Great Tibet.

[175](7) The revenue of the Ngárees-khor-sum shall be set aside for the purpose of defraying the cost of sacrificial lamps, and of religious ceremonies to be performed at Lhasa.

WT 175 728 648 T 175 728 648

(8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásárwar and Rakas Tál.

WT 631 478

With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

131 Chapter I.

The District.

101 Configuration and sub-divisions of *wazír* Láhaul.

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Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 30 feet per mile.

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The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lhá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 **Chapter III, D.**

Village Communities and Tenures.

both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

623 Government control over waste.

649 In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *nautor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négí* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négí* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Pattan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

622 [651] [623]

In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemno* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugán* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugán* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

Chapter V, B. 421

Land and Land Revenue. 651

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Láhaul.

The whole of Láhaul appears to have been at one time portioned out among a few petty barons or Thákurs, who were the lords of whom the *yulfa* or villagers held their holdings. Four of these baronial families have survived up to the present day, two in full and two in partial possession of their estates; the rest are said to have been gradually extirpated by the Rájas of Kúlu. Under the Rájas the Thákurs were allowed to exist supreme in their own estates, but paid a heavy annual tribute or *nazarána* for them in the shape of a certain number of ponies, pieces of cloth, *&c.* In the rest of the country, *i.e.*, the *khálsa* or royal *kothís*, the Rája took the place of the extinct Thákurs, and managed them through an official with the rank of a *wazír*. The Thákurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothís*, were compelled to attend the Rája at his capital Sultánpur for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them. This was the origin of the present annual emigration of a very large part of the Láhaul population to their winter quarters in Akhára, a suburb of Sultánpur. The *tal* or land-revenue of Láhaul was taken in fixed items of cash, grain, and cloth, levied at equal rates on all the *jeolas* in each *kothí*. This was the rule, but sometimes some small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water-supply. Another item of revenue was the *chatrú* or colts; a filly belonged to the owner of the mare, but all colts born in Láhaul went to the Rája in *khálsa*, and to the Thákur in *jágír kothís*. [421]

Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul). 649 651 421

When the Sikhs ousted the Rája of Kúlu, they collected the cash and grain from the *khálsa kothís*, and the *nazaránas* from the Thákurs as before; but on the pretence that they did not demand any service of either Thákur or landholder, they imposed an additional cess, under the name of *betangná* of rupees six per *jeola* on every holding, whether in the *khálsa* or the *jágír kothís*. When three years later we took over the country from the Sikhs, we found it nominally assessed at Rs. 5,000, which included grazing dues on foreign sheep and fines, besides land-revenue. This was reduced to Rs. 4,200 at once, next year to Rs. 3,200, and at Regular Settlement to Rs. 2,150, of which Rs. 240 were tribute payable by the Thákurs, and Rs. 1,910 regular land-revenue. When, however, this last sum came to be distributed by the people themselves over the *jeolas* of the *khálsa kothís*, it proved to be in excess of the old fixed cash assessment, and the landholders were not apparently informed that the old grain assessment, and other items were abolished. They, therefore, argued among themselves that the excess

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 Chapter V, B.

651 Land and Land Revenue.

421 Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul.)

must be considered as part of the Sikh *betangná*, and distributed it equally on all *jeolas*, whether in *jágír* or *khálsa kothís*. In this way, on account of this excess, a sum of Rs. 150 out of the Rs. 1,910 was made payable by the Thákurs, who raised the money and something to spare, by imposing a new cess on the *jeolas* in their *jágírs*. The *khálsa jeolas* paid each their old cash assessment, plus a rateable share of the rest of the excess. No notice was taken in practice of the *khewat* or rent-roll, which had been made out by the *tahsíldár* of Kúlu under Mr. Barnes' orders. All old cesses were lawfully enough collected, as before, in *jágír kothís*, and in *khálsa* ones the *négi*, without authority, maintained most of them as perquisites of his office. Mr. Barnes had appointed one *négi* for the whole of Láhaul (in place of the *wazírs* of the Rájas), and one *lambardár* for each *kothí*. The *panchotra*, or fee ordinarily assigned to *lambardárs*, was divided between them and the *négi*. The first *négi* was a Bráhman of Pattan. It is not surprising that the *khewat* was not accepted by the Láhaulís, for it was in fact in every way a very inaccurate document, besides being in a form not easily to be understood by them. Mr. Barnes was never able to visit Láhaul himself: two or three hill *patwáris*, under no supervision, were sent over the passes, and brought back to the *tahsíldár* what purported to be appraisements of the arable lands held by the several landholders of each *kothí*. From them the *khewat* was made out at Sultánpur. The old cesses were maintained at first even in *khálsa kothís*. About the time when the original *négi* was dismissed and Thákur Tára Chand appointed in his stead, the grain dues ceased to be collected; but the *chatrá* or colts, and the *dhárkar* or *rigatal* (that is, the rents of sheep-runs paid by Gaddís), still continued to go into the *négi's* pocket. In 1862, Mr. Lyall brought the fact to the notice of the Government. In the end the rents of the sheep-runs were formerly granted for life to Tára Chand in recognition of his services. With regard to the colts no decided orders were given; but two or three years ago, when the Government directed the *négi* of Láhaul to discontinue a certain tribute which the Láhaulí's had been in the custom of paying through him to the representative of the Mahárájá of Jamú in Ladákh, Tára Chand, of his own accord, remitted taking the colts in *khálsa kothís*, on the ground that he had only taken them hitherto as a set-off against the expenses of the tribute in question. Regarding the Regular Settlement, Mr. Lyall writes:—

647 651 648

"The administration papers for the *khálsa kothís* in Láhaul, prepared at Regular Settlement, were on the same model as those for Kúlu. In so far as they have affected the Láhaulís, they might, like the *khewats*, have just as well not been prepared at all. No records were prepared for *jágír kothís*. In them, therefore, in my opinion, the old customary tenure of land remains in force: in the *khálsa kothís* it must be considered to have been to some extent altered by arrangements made at Regular Settlement, and to be that which I have already described, as in my opinion the existing tenure in Kúlu and Seorój."

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Mr. Lyall redistributed Mr. Barnes' assessment, both over *kothís* and over *jeolas* or holdings.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B. 648 651

Land and Land Revenue.

British assessment of Láhaul.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—

"The revenue assessed upon this tract was fixed entirely with reference to the trading pursuits of the inhabitants and the pastoral qualities of the country. The soil does not yield sufficient produce to maintain the people, much less to pay a land-tax. The *jama* levied by our predecessors and maintained at the Summary Settlement contained two items which, had they been ascertained at the time, would have been at once remitted. One was a demand of Rs. 500 annually for *firshi*, or fines, which the people had to bear as an additional burden, and to distribute it as they best could among themselves. The second item was also for Rs. 500 on account of grazing dues exacted from the owners of sheep who resorted to Láhaul in the rainy season, as that region, being across the snowy range, is beyond the reach of the periodical monsoons. This revenue would be legitimate enough, only the graziers were residents of our own territory, who during the winter months had already paid a grazing tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 head in the valleys of Kángra. It would not be fair to make these flocks pay double rates, and, as the tax could be collected with greater facility in Kángra than in Láhaul, I determined to remit this item also. Still the balance which devolved upon the inhabitants of Láhaul pressed heavily upon them. The trade, moreover, had become greatly depreciated. The wool and produce of Ladákh were diverted by order of Mahárája Gúlab Singh to routes which led through his own country; for by their passage through our territory the Mahárája lost the opportunity of exacting transit tolls, and our accession had thrown open the carrying trade to any speculator who chose to venture under the rule of our predecessors; the fear of plunder, and the exactions of the Customs Officers, left the trade entirely in the hands of the Láhaulís. On these considerations I determined to reduce the assessment in Láhaul, and I was fortified in this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of travellers, such as Captain A. Cunningham and Captain William Hay, Assistant Commissioner, regarding the poverty of the country and the destitute condition of the inhabitants. The Summary Settlement was fixed originally at Rs. 4,200, but this was lowered the second year on the urgent remonstrance of the people to Rs. 3,200; and finally at the revised Settlement I considered an annual *jama* of Rs. 2,200 as much as the *taluka* could bear."

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

According to Major Hay, the king or Giálpo of Ladákh prior to 1839 took as revenue for Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 *khals* or *lákh* or grain, 100 *mandis* or iron crow-bars, 34 pieces of Barmaur cloth, and 132 reams (*shégu*) of paper. The crow-bars, or the iron to make them, came from Basáhir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles can be made in every house in the country. The paper is made from the fibre of a small plant or grass which grows wild in abundance. The cloth is of very close texture and very lasting. Spiti also paid a tribute of trifling amount to the Rájas of Basáhir and Kúlu, not in recognition in any sense of their sovereignty, but for the privilege of free access for trading purposes. Major Hay's account is, no doubt, generally accurate, but there are some mistakes in it, principally with regard to the grain revenue, the nature of which he does not appear to have fully understood. Each holding was assessed with a fixed number of measures of grain.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Chapter V, B.

648 Land and Land Revenue.

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

Those assigned to the monasteries paid in grain only at from fifteen to twenty *lákh* each, and formed *kothí* Chuzi; those in other or *Khálsa kothis* paid a little grain, and also sums of cash, cloth, and paper, but the last two items were not assessed on all holdings. The cash assessment of all the holdings in a village was, with very few exceptions, the same, though the holdings seem to have always differed to some extent in size; the grain assessment varied from one to ten *khal* or *lákh* according to the amount and quality of the land held. The grain items in *Khálsa kothís* also had in many cases been from time to time assigned to monasteries. All the assigned grain was called *pun*, the unassigned grain was called *netal* or barley tax. The amount collected under the latter name on the king's account must have been more than 200 *láth*; but probably those figures represent correctly the amount which went to Ladákh, for the greater part of the grain collections were spent year by year in Spiti in the king's name in certain annual ceremonies and State charges. This was the old state of things, which Major Hay evidently did not fully comprehend, for he states in his report that 50 Chinese families settled in Spiti, paid a tribute to China of 200 *lákh* of grain, and that an envoy from Tolang came to fetch it every year. Again, in another place, he mentions that the aforesaid Chinese families go by the name of Chuzi, and present annually 200 *lákh* to the chief monastery of Spiti. All this was a mistake: the Chuzi families were not Chinese, but the men of Chuzi *kothí*, the revenue of which was assigned to monasteries. One of these monasteries, to which something less than 200 *lákhs* were assigned, was at Tolang in Chinese Tibet; hence the story of tribute to China.

651 648 634 Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

From 1839 to 1846 the Sikh *thánadár* at Ladákh took the revenue of Spiti. For the first four years Rs. 2,000, plus two ponies and 25 sheep, were exacted annually. For the last three years the cash was reduced to Rs. 1,031, but 100 iron crow-bars were added, and the number of sheep increased to sixty. A Sikh force also plundered the valley in these years. In the autumn of 1846 Mr. Vans-Agnew made a Summary Settlement, that is, he fixed the amount of revenue to be paid to Government at Rs. 753. No records were compiled of any kind, nor was any report submitted. When relieved of the pressure of the Sikh exactions, the Spiti people at once reverted to their old fiscal arrangements. Mr. Vans-Agnew probably knew nothing of the grain revenue assigned to the monasteries, as he merely passed quickly through a part of the country; and if he knew of the unassigned grain, he, no doubt, intended to abandon it. But the people considered the Rs. 753 to be in place only of the cash, cloth, and iron formerly paid to the kings of Ladákh, and divided it accordingly with strict regard to the old fixed assessment. The assigned grain or *pun* they paid as before to the monasteries, and the unassigned grain or *netal* to the representative of Government, who for the first three years was a *wazír* of the Basáhir Rája,* and after that the hereditary *wazír* of Spiti, commonly called the *Nono*. Most of it the *Nono* expended in the manner customary

* The 400 lákh grain which Major Hay mentions as taken by the *wazír* in excess of Rs. 753 in 1848, and as collected again in 1849, were the *netal* collections, not the produce of the Government land at Danka.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B.

Land and Land Revenue.

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsildár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pun* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorized collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognized as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

* The *pun* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,461 *láká* 7 *path*, and the *netal* to 456 *láká* 11 *path*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *láká* 18 *path*, which at 2 *láká* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

648 Chapter V, B.

651 Land and Land Revenue.

634 British assessment of Spiti.

was removed by a redistribution of the cash assessment; more than half their cash revenue being taken off their shoulders and distributed upon the other *kothis*.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—"Spiti had been assessed summarily by Mr. Vans-Agnew, afterwards murdered at Mooltan. He was deputed to that remote district in 1846 A. D., and settled the whole tract at Rs. 753 per annum. Compared with Láhaul, the rate is decidedly low, but the country is more inhospitable and dreary. It is not so easy of access, and is removed several hundred miles, and by lofty ranges of mountains, from the head-quarters of the district. It is surrounded, I may say, on all sides by Independent States. Its political position is singular, and at various periods, Spiti has been the feudatory of China, Basáhir, Ladákh and Kúlu; and even at this time there are Chinese emigrants residing in Sipti, who pay a divided allegiance partly to us and to their mother country. From such a region, so peculiarly situated, revenue was a secondary object. The people, moreover, argued that Mr. Agnew had fixed the assessment for twenty years. I attached no weight to this argument, as their deed of lease specified no such conditions; but adverting to the remoteness and poverty of the country and its isolated position, I determined to make no enhancement. The present demand was quite sufficient to indicate the tenure of the British Government, and after this recognition of our claims, I saw no advantage in exacting an additional revenue, which, from its trifling amount, could be of no importance to the Government, and might entail distress upon the people. I accordingly left the demand of the Summary Settlement of Rs. 753 unaltered."

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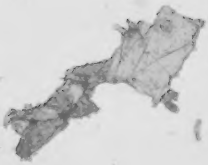

of land on the north end of the basin. They were hard-riding horsemen on white ponies, and as they drew close I could hear the bells on one. They soon pulled up in front of us in a flurry of dust and took the initiative in conversation.

"Where do you go?" "Who is the white man?" "Is he American or British?" "What is he doing here?" As Rahul talked with these Tibetans I surveyed them. They wore tight-fitting coats that came down over their thighs. One wore a nondescript cap, the other a tall-crowned hat with a small, turned-down brim. They both wore dark glasses and carried revolvers on their hips. I shook hands with each of them, giving them the Tibetan salutation, "*Ju Le, Ju Le*"; and the older of the two smiled in return, showing prominent front teeth. Then they were gone, whirling their horses on a dime and racing with the wind toward Baralacha.

"What's their destination?" I asked Rahul. He had not been able to find out. They were on a fast journey to Lahul. The Indian-Tibetan border is mostly unsurveyed. Until August 1951, it had few security outposts. The people of southwest Tibet moved south into India freely and without restraint. Some went on commercial missions, taking caravans to Indian centers. Others moved north to Tibet in the summer and down to India in the fall, grazing sheep as they went. Others went on Buddhist pilgrimages to shrines in India. And many Indians went on pilgrimages to shrines in Tibet. The truth is that the Buddhist holy places in this area have no nationality; long custom and practice have made them common property to all Buddhists. People by the thousands have moved with ease across this border from time immemorial. The men I met at Serchu did not seem to be pilgrims. Perhaps they were traveling on a commercial mission and hurrying in order to return to Tibet before the Tibetan-Indian border was closed.

In early August 1951, that border was still open. The Dalai Lama was still at Yatung on Tibet's southern border, negotiating with the representatives of the Red Chinese government. The

484 question whether he would return to Lhasa was still undecided.
• 648 Pending that decision, the Chinese Army was waiting a respectful distance from Lhasa. When the Dalai Lama reached Lhasa on August 17, 1951, the Chinese Red Army moved into action. Communist contingents poured into Lhasa and then fanned out racing across Tibet to posts on its southern frontier. But until that date the border was open.

000 I had seen again and again between Baralacha Pass and Pagmur these fast-moving Tibetan horsemen going like the wind and armed with either rifles or revolvers or both. There were a dozen or so in some bands. None had molested us. But the idea grew that perhaps some marauding band might.

529 This night at Pagmur I learned more startling news from my new Army friends. There were somewhere in this region two hundred armed bandits who had raided for years in Sinkiang and Tibet but who had moved south as the Communist influence became strong up north. These were the famous Kasak bandits who for years had made their living by raiding. They would kill if they were resisted. But their pattern of raiding was only to run off all livestock, to seize all guns and ammunition, to take all the food of a camp, and then on a selective basis take what other articles of clothing or equipment suited their fancy.

000 The rifles of these Indian soldiers looked more and more comforting and appealing to me as the story of the Kasak bandits was related at Pagmur.

"When do you return to Leh?" I asked the officer.

"In the morning."

"What will you do when you reach Leh?"

"Be assigned to garrison duty."

"Isn't it more fun to be on the trail, camping out every night?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then stay with me. We'll all go to Leh together."

"But my orders read—"

Communism vs. Buddhism

When the Chinese Communists, in January 1950, announced 175
their program for the "liberation" of Tibet, they were following 779
a traditional Chinese policy of intervention. In the ninth century, Tibet was at war with China. Tibet, the aggressor, was expanding east and west. But the Buddhist religious invasion of Tibet dramatically illustrates that religion makes a vast difference. When Buddhism became fastened on the Tibetans, war no longer became an instrument of policy. Buddha's command not to kill had profound political effects. Tibet became at times a subject nation. The Mongol Empire was extended over Tibet in A.D. 1200. By A.D. 1700 Chinese suzerainty began.

Tibet has never been a part of China, though Tibetan history, 175
written by the Chinese, has made it so. Tibet was strong and 648
independent when China was weak; Tibet was subservient when China was strong. Tibet has always been China's western neighbor. The boundary, which runs through vast, trackless expanses, has caused frequent disputes. The pressure of the western border people on China was often strong. China moved to a position of influence or control in Tibet in order to guard her western frontier.

The Chinese influence asserted itself in several ways. For centuries some lamas have received Chinese pensions and some monasteries have received generous Chinese donations. China has long demanded control of Tibet's foreign affairs and has always been jealous lest some other power align Tibet against China and thus create a menace from the rear. China has long paid the salary of the Tibetan Ambassador to Peking.

China has had at her command all the instruments of propa- 648
ganda. Her merchants, her books, her periodicals, her students 208
have gone throughout the world carrying the message of China's greatness and power. That message included the word that Tibet was a part of the great Chinese Empire. Tibet had no publicists, no ambassadors free of Chinese influence, no newspapers, no

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208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
175 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

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lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle 648
directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By select- 775
ing the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church 787
got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached 792
democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beauti- 792
fully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the 159
Saturday Evening Post for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born 787
after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of 792
Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They con- 159
sulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies fre- 775
quently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it appeared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

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rate pieces of paper, wrapped each one in a piece of dough, put the three in a wheel or drum, and whirled it. Out pops one; and the man whose name is in the capsule is the Dalai Lama. How they controlled the wheel so that the name of the candidate they preferred popped out is a mystery. But I learned from my early days with a carnival in this country that such mysteries are not profound. I am sure this one is not above the reach of the average pitch man.

The Chinese made the process easier to manipulate. In 1793 a golden urn was sent from China. The names of the boys who were likely candidates for the reincarnation were placed in the urn. Religious services were held, and then chopsticks were used to pick out one slip of paper. Manipulation within that scheme of things was a simple affair.

The Chinese have gone so far in their manipulation of the doctrine of reincarnation as to prohibit rebirth of a person deemed inimical to the welfare of the state. In 1882 Sing Chen helped a foreigner into Tibet and allowed him to visit Lhasa. The Chinese were displeased. They put Sing Chen to death and forbade him to reincarnate. Thus, long before the Communists came to control in China, the Chinese authorities used the doctrine of reincarnation to serve their ends and to perpetuate their authority.

The Chinese have used the Panchen Lama to further their cause of subjecting Tibet. The Panchen Lama is second to the Dalai Lama. But in some respects—too recondite for me to understand—the Panchen Lama is "holier" than the Dalai Lama. He is a political invention of the fifteenth century—not an invention of the Chinese but of the ecclesiastical authorities who, on the growth of the political power of northern Tibet, created the Panchen Lama as the symbol of the north. But the south won out and the Dalai Lama remained supreme. Yet the Panchen Lama became a divisive influence in Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs.

The Panchen Lama has a large area of his own in Tibet over which he has control. His district is Tsang Province, where he

•648 exercises almost complete jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and
792 in temporal affairs. This region is his fief, and he is the supreme
642 overlord.

In recent years, the Chinese have capitalized on this strategic position of the Panchen Lama. The previous Panchen Lama in 1924 quarreled with the Dalai Lama and left Lhasa for China. He stayed there until his death in 1937. Then the Chinese, in control of the selection of his predecessor, chose the present Panchen Lama. Up to August 1951, this Panchen Lama had never left China, had never been in Lhasa. But he, the second-in-command, sat in China urging the Tibetans to make peace with Red China, pleading with them to submit to the "liberation" program which the Communists designed for Tibet.

648 The objective of the Chinese Communist government in the
792 summer of 1951 was to get the Dalai Lama under its control. He had become alarmed at the threat of the Red Army to Tibet. So he fled Lhasa, going with his entourage to Yatung, a small monastic town near Mount Everest on the Tibetan-Indian border. I had letters to the Dalai Lama and had arranged to visit him there. But before I arrived, a train of events had changed the course of history and sent the Dalai Lama north, a virtual captive of Red China.

The family of the Dalai Lama and many influential people in the hierarchy pleaded with him not to return to Lhasa. They pointed out that if he did, he would be a ready victim of Communist intrigue. The Communists would work to liquidate the system of landlordism on which the monasteries depended. The Communists would appropriate the wealth of Tibet to their own ends, robbing the church. The Communists would undercut the authority of the Dalai Lama, making him a mere vassal. The Communists would make the monasteries dependent on them for financial support; and once the Communists got effective control, the Dalai Lama and all other lamas would be mere puppets of the Red regime. There were personal reasons as well on the side of leaving Tibet. The Dalai Lama's mother had left Tibet. The

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Chinese sent his brother to Yatung to persuade the Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa. The brother passed through Yatung, crossed to India, and caught a plane to the United States. The weight of family influence was on the side of quitting Tibet. 648 792

These were the arguments of friends of the Dalai Lama who wanted him to quit Tibet and go to India. There were other arguments I was carrying to Yatung to present as forcefully as possible to the Dalai Lama. There is reason to believe that the Dalai Lama understood this point of view and was sympathetic with it. There is reason to think that if he had his real choice he would have left Tibet.

But the arguments advanced against that move were powerful ones. The Chinese, who had sent a large delegation to Yatung to negotiate with the Dalai Lama, had talking points. First, it was intimated that the Dalai Lama was not the true reincarnation, that he was an impostor, that the Chinese had found the true reincarnation and were ready to install him. Second, the Panchen Lama, long a rival of the Dalai Lama, had been "discovered" by the Chinese, was pro-Chinese in his attitude, and was ready to acquit himself properly should the Dalai Lama refuse to return. Third, Lhasa had long been the religious capital of the Buddhist world. It is to Buddhists what Rome is to Catholics. The great weight of sentiment was for the Dalai Lama to return to the ancient capital, even though it would now be enveloped in a hostile atmosphere. Fourth, many Buddhists thought that if the Dalai Lama returned he might be able to unify the lamas against the Communist influence and present a solid front against Communist infiltration of Lamaism. Fifth, lamas came down from remote monasteries with pleas that the Dalai Lama should not leave the country. These pilgrimages may have been inspired by the Communists. But the thousands of lamas who appeared were doubtless sincere in their requests. When word spread in Yatung that the Dalai Lama was planning to fly out of Yatung and go to India, the lamas lay down on the airport. Hundreds and hundreds

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148 of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane
792 to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

[787] After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

795 The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its
178 leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed
792 from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

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growing in Europe and in the Middle East. His questions ranged 000
far and wide and were penetrating in their reach.

I turned the discussion back to Ladakh and Tibet and the Bud- 208
dhist world.

"What is the nature of Communist propaganda in Ladakh?" I asked.

"There is none," Bakula replied.

"No radio programs beamed to Ladakh?"

"There are not more than three radios in all of Ladakh."

"No literature distributed?"

"None."

"No agents nor provocateurs operating for the Communist cause?"

"None."

"No members of the Communist party in Ladakh?"

"Not a single one."

I was amazed at these statements. In most of the countries I had traveled in Asia and the Middle East, the Communists were extremely active—stirring discontent, exploiting popular causes, using democratic slogans, posing as the champions of the oppressed. To find an area where no Communists were busy or involved was a great surprise. I asked Bakula how he explained it.

"The Communist strategy in the Buddhist world is first to get 648
control of the church. That requires not propaganda but control 792
of the ecclesiastical hierarchy," he said.

"They have control of the Panchen Lama?"

"Yes, he is a Chinese sympathizer."

"They now have control of the Dalai Lama?"

Bakula was deep in thought for several minutes.

"No one knows what will happen," he finally replied. "All I can tell you is what I think will happen."

"What is your guess?"

He went on to describe the temporal as well as the spiritual power that is in the hands of the Dalai Lama. It is this temporal

• 648 792 power that the Communists will try to get.[1] Perhaps they can get it, not by disturbing the form of the arrangements but by controlling the laymen and lamas appointed to the positions of authority. Such a move would result in changes almost imperceptible but nonetheless destructive of the Dalai Lama's temporal power. The Communists would then be in a position to exploit the differences between rich and poor, to breed discontent among the masses, to appropriate the wealth of the monasteries.

"Is that your prediction?" I asked.

"The Communists will use every means to get control of the wealth of the monasteries. My fear is that they will succeed."

"What will happen then?"

"The monasteries will then become so poor that they cannot carry on their work, or they will become dependent on the Communist government for their financial support."

"And in either case, become subservient to Communist influence?"

"Exactly."

"But that would affect only Tibet. What about Ladakh?"

"The Dalai Lama is the spiritual head of the Mahayan school of Buddhism, which embraces China, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Tibet, Ladakh, Bhutan, Lahul, Sikkim, and Spiti. Buddhists in these countries look to him as Catholics look to the Pope in Rome. If the Communists control the Dalai Lama, they are in a fair way of controlling that part of the Buddhist world."

These were the worries and concerns of Bakula. These are the worries and concerns of those who know the Buddhist world.

[1]One of the latest moves by the Communists in Tibet to dilute the temporal power of the Dalai Lama and to decentralize the authority of Lhasa over Tibet is the creation of an administrative council composed of the Dalai Lama and two pro-Communist Tibetans—the Panchen Lama and Sawang Ngabo. Thus the Panchen Lama is restored to the position of power he enjoyed last century. Moreover, the Chinese caused the Dalai Lama to dismiss the loyal Sawang Lukhang, who was Prime Minister and in charge of Tibet during the absence of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa.

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177 [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208

•648 792 208 anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as they draw water from the wells.

538 *In the religious city of Lhasa this year*
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [rifles] in their hands
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

648 792 668 The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese military strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

000 The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

[2]About five cents.
[3]About seventeen dollars.

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding [493] streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 782 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

> *la ilaha illa–'llah:*
> *Mohammed rasulu–'llah.*
> *No god but Allah: Mohammed*
> *is the messenger of Allah.*

771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh–2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist coun- 797 try, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is 175 also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith • 648 of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

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the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

•648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
[548] be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

WT 175 795 175 721 WT [797]

medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

WT [778]

WT 175 795 721 648

The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

WT [797]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the "Treaty Road" and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its "Babu" in charge, are no State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER X

"Curiouser & Curiouser"

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YET another trek awaits us, for we have not yet seen the Changpä, the nomad who wanders over the high plateaus of Western Tibet, and the Botpa who is the real inhabitant of the Closed

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Land. A dispute about the actual boundary between Ladak and Tibet must be settled on the border itself whither the British Joint Commissioner, Major Robson, who holds a watching brief for the Government of India, the Wazir Sahib, who represents his Highness, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Doctor Sahib, who accompanies the former, must travel to meet a gentleman who is styled the "Gaspon," and who acts on behalf of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

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The cause of the dispute was a Ladaki who had settled down in Tibet proper, where he had taken unto himself a lady of the country as wife, and had grown rich. As a result he became liable for the heavy Tibetan taxation, and, wishing to escape this, he returned to Ladak and settled down on his own side of the border. But our Tibetan friends were not to be done out of their taxes quite so easily, for they calmly entered Ladak, seized their man, and took him back again. His brother then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and the Government of India on his behalf, and these naturally objected to such high-handed procedure. Tibet tried to contest the matter by saying that the place from which they had removed the Ladaki was in Tibetan territory, but from

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the discussions which were subsequently held at this conference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they had no grounds at all for their contentions.

So off we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along.

We are now travelling with the representative of his Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle-drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in bed sleeps on the outside," as the outside bed-fellow has one side relatively exposed. Sleep at an altitude of about 17,000 feet is fugitive; in fact neither of us got much that night, and, even when it did come, we woke up with a most disagreeable sensation, as if somebody were sitting on our chests so that we could not properly fill them with air.

We have finally arrived at Drogpo Karpo, where the conference is to take place. This is a large grassy plain, surrounded by snow mountains, at the further end of which the camp is pitched. In the centre are the tents of the Commissioner and Wazir with their respective flags. In front of these stands a square tent nicely carpeted, in which are a table and chairs. This is to serve as conference room. We had arrived a little before time, and before the Tibetans. They, however, turned up soon afterwards, and presented quite an impressive sight, as they rode, two and two, into camp. First came, not the standard bearer, but the Umbrella-of-State-Bearer. After these some soldiers, although we should not have recognized them as such, had we not inquired as to their function, for there was nothing very martial about them, save the muzzle-loaders they bore. They wore the usual dressing-gown coats of homespun held together round the waist by a big kammerbund, red Wellington boots with very thick soles and hats shaped somewhat like lemon squeezers. These were followed by various members of the staff, then the great man himself, whilst still others followed him. Having settled themselves into their quarters, the Wazir sent a message across to say that H.H. the Maharajah desired them to regard themselves as his guests. They on their part sent a delegation with twenty-five bricks of tea, and a piece of *snambu* (homespun) with the request that a time be fixed when their chief representative, the Gaspon, could come to pay his respects. Punctually to time he arrived. His dress consisted of a lovely blue skirt, and a Chinese coat of the same colour which was buttoned up to his neck. His

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

hat was the same shape as that of the London messenger boy only with the addition of a large brim which was turned up all round, and on the top was a red knob made of coral. From the lobe of one of his ears depended an elongated earring made of turquoises. It would take a professional reporter of fashions to describe all the various kinds of hats worn, but perhaps the most favoured head-gear was an English felt hat, worn the wrong way round,—as it would be in this country,—that is the ordinary long axis going across the head. Others liked to flatten them into a round shape, like a padre's hat. Then there were hats made of papier mâché in almost any shape that might occur to the fancy. The Tehsildar seems to have desired to create the impression that he was wearing a *chorten* on his head, whilst the Gaspon's little son preferred the idea of a candle snuffer.

On arrival the Gaspon placed a salutation scarf round the neck of the Commissioner. Photographs were then taken, after which we entered the conference tent, where we sat round a table, and, by means of an interpreter some kind of conversation was sustained:—the word "sustained" is used advisably, for even our Ladaki servants who speak the language of Western Tibet, cannot understand these representatives from the forbidden land, so special interpreters are needed. Next to me sat a jolly old lama on whom I tried to air my Tibetan. He evidently could understand just sufficient to be thoroughly amused. He had quite a jovial face, and was evidently no ascetic, but resembled much more the good old English friar, so often represented in pictures engaged in piscatorial pleasures. Needless to say more presents were given. Business began next day, but one regrets to have to report that it was impossible to make our friends from across the border see reason, and so there was finally nothing for it, but to exchange still more presents, and to return to our various homes.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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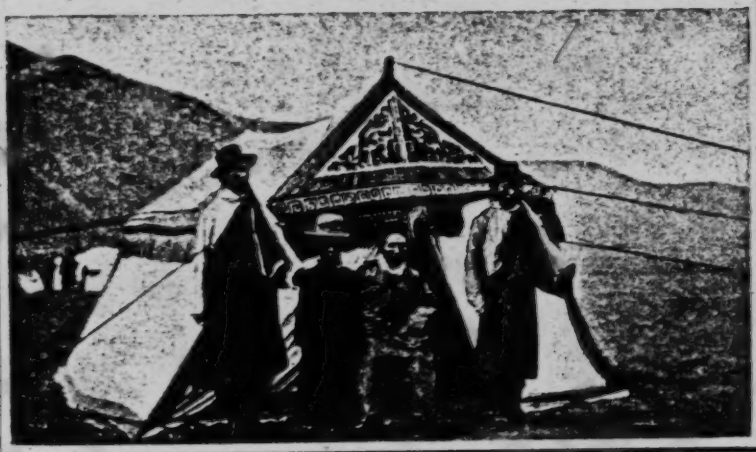

A Skushog and his Monastic Band

greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

The Big Drum.

A similar band, shewing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mark of interrogation.

The Chief Tibetan Representative and his Son

who have come to confer with the British and State (Wazir) Joint Commissioners of Ladak about a boundary dispute.

Opp. Pg. 112

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

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tune to come across not one, but several cases of this father-and-son polyandry, and I shall give as concise an account as possible of them since my findings have already been questioned in certain publications, although, I am glad to say, without the support of any factual evidence.

PART I

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF WESTERN TIBET (LAHUL, RUPCHU AND LADAK)

WT 101 131 648

The three areas of Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak are now included within Indian territory, the first in the State of Himachal Pradesh, the two others in Kashmir. They are, however, predominantly regions of Tibetan culture. Historical links with Tibet proper are ancient and solid, and, today, contact is kept up through the Lamaist Church, through merchants and through marriages between members of the leading families.

WT 114

My itinerary lay first through Lahul an my way up from the plains of India and for this reason, I shall begin with this district of what was then the undivided Punjab. I shall go on next to Rupchu and then to Ladak, as my journey was continued through these two parts of Kashmir territory.

A. POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

WT 101

The name of Lahul is presumably derived from the Tibetan Lho-Yül (*lHo-Yul*), meaning "southern country", an appellation applied by the early Ladakis to the valley when it was at one time under their rule. The local name for Lahul is *Garzha*, the meaning of which is unknown.

1. ENVIRONMENT

WT 133 [131]

Lahul covers an area of 2,250 square miles and is situated in that part of the Himalayas where the Chenab of the Punjab has its source (see Map 4). The waters of this river originally spring in two different directions, one south-east, the Chandra, and the other south-west, the Bhaga, both very close to each other on either side of the Baralacha (*Para-la-rTse*) pass, 16,047 feet high, in the main Himalayan range. The two rivers, when reaching the mid-Himalayan range, turn north-west, and coming together just south of the capital, Kyelang, run out of Lahul into

[Text Continues on P 305]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but [101] Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emigrants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races inter- [144] mingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Ladaki king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his saviour to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists. 175 648

After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line. [631] [595]

In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis. [631]

Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that [631]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

175 631 648

In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

[939]

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

[691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [972]

1. Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

		Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government	... ...	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Dráis	... ...	0	3	0	
" Gagangir	... ...	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig	...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal	... ...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána	... ...	0	8	0	
Total	...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
	or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only	... Rs.	2	0	0	

showing a difference of 2 11 0, or of 5s. on every load.

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na;* the common wool, *Bal;* and the hair, *sPu.* The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal,* or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal,* are the same as the Latin *lana,* and the English *wool.*

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Ladák; but the sulphur of Chang-thang is so easily 135
obtainable, that the Puga mine is almost neglected. The bed of the small rivulet Rulang-chu, which traverses the glen of Puga, is full of hot springs, varying in temperature from 80° to 148°. The hottest springs are strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The sulphur itself is found on the left bank of the rivulet, where a small hole has gradually been excavated by the shepherds. It occurs in pure transparent crystals attached to the gypsum, or in thin opaque laminæ disseminated through the rock. The quantity exported is [434]
very small, but I was informed by the shepherds that as much as 100 small maunds (of 16 seers each) are sometimes mined. In 1847 I saw twelve sheep-loads (or twelve maunds) of sulphur that had been taken from this mine; but I feel satisfied that the average quantity of sulphur annually mined cannot be more than fifty maunds, and is probably much less. No duty is taken at the mine; [651]
and the export duty, which is only a quarter of a rupee per maund, can often be evaded.

Borax, in Tibetan *Tshalé*, is thrown up in the form of boracic acid by the hot springs of lowest temperature in the valley of Puga. The banks of the rivulet, for about two miles in length, are quite white with the saline matters that are continually being precipitated. These salts are chloride of soda and borate of soda. They are carefully scraped from the surface, as the under-coating is only the refuse of former years. Those of a faint pinkish hue, inclining occasionally to green, are preferred; but these colours entirely disappear as the salts become dry. This impure mixture is the tincal of commerce, from which the borax (borate of

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439 Ladák for the bordering of skull-caps, but the remainder is exported to Yarkand.

Tea is more or less drunk by everybody in Ladák, and a considerable quantity is therefore imported both for home consumption and for the supply of Kashmir and the Punjáb. The gross annual import is said to be 1,000 maunds, or 32,000 lb.; which, at the rate of three rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 9,600. About 200 maunds (6,400 lb.) is exported, leaving only 800 maunds, or 25,600 lb., for the use of the people of Ladák. This will not give more than three ounces to each person; but there is good reason for believing that a considerable quantity of Chinese tea is smuggled into Ladák; and we know that the black tea of Bisahar is now largely imported to be mixed with the Chinese tea. The average supply for each individual cannot therefore be less than half a pound. In England it reaches a pound and a quarter for each person.*

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DUTIES.—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

YARKAND.

On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Charas, per maund	2	4	0
„ Wool	2	4	0
„ Tea	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	8	0

On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Cloths, Láki, &c. per maund ...	0	4	0
„ Opium	0	4	0

No other duties are now taken on exports to Yarkand.

KASHMIR.

On Cloths, per maund	1	0	0
„ Saffron „ ...	3	0	0
„ Brocades, per piece	0	8	0
„ Shawls, per pair	0	8	0
„ Tobacco	0	4	0
„ Ghi	0	4	0
On Wool, per maund	0	8	0
„ Tea, per dama ...	1	0	0
„ Langa and Siling, per piece ...	0	2	0

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

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On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.	On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Sugar-candy ...	1	4	0				
„ Spices	1	4	0				
„ Opium	2	8	0				
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0				

BISAHAR.

On Opium, per maund	1	4	0	On Charas, per maund	0	10	0
„ Spices	0	10	0	„ Gold and Silver, per yámbu ...	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	10	0				
„ Iron	1	0	0				

NURPUR.

On every pony-load ...	3	0	0

ZANSKAR.

On Láki, per maund	2	2	6
„ Ghi	0	4	0
„ Honey	0	2	0
„ Opium	2	8	0
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0

The following tables show the annual amount and value of all the imports and exports of the trade of Ladák, with the total amount of duty levied on each article.

IMPORTS FROM THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Seer.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool	4,000	128,000	2 0 0	1,28,000	12,800	0 8 0	2,000	200
Wool	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 8 0	500	50
Tea	1,000	32,000	3 0 0	48,000	4,800	0 2 0	2,000	200
Charas	500	16,000	3 0 0	24,000	2,400	2 4 0	1,125	112½
Tobacco ..	4,000	128,000	1 0 0	64,000	6,400	0 4 0	1,000	100
Borax	2,500	80,000	0 0 6	1,250	125	0 4 0	625	62½
Sulphur ..	400	12,800	0 1 0	400	40	0 4 0	100	10
Total ..	13,400	428,000		2,67,650	26,765		7,350	735

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IMPORTS FROM THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	2 8 0	1,250	125
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000	0 8 0	250	25
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000	0 8 0	200	20
Lúki	200	6,400	32 0 0	6,400	640	2 2 6	431	43
Spices	—	—	—	1,000	100	0 15 0	100	10
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280	3 0 0	60	6
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000	1 0 0	100	10
Total ..	820	26,240		2,20,200	22,020		2,391	239

EXPORTS TO THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool*	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 8 0	1,600	160
Ditto †	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 12 0	2,400	240
Total ..	6,400	204,800		2,04,800	20,480		4,000	400
Wool ‡	5,000	160,000	0 2 0	10,000	1,000	0 2 0	625	62½
Ditto §	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 2 0	125	12½
Total ..	6,000	192,000		12,000	1,200		700	70
Tea	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 4 0	800	80
Charas	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 10 0	125	12½
Borax	3,000	96,000	0 0 6	1,500	150	0 4 0	750	75
Sulphur	500	16,000	0 1 0	500	50	0 4 0	125	12½
Total ..	16,300	521,600		2,38,000	23,800		6,550	655

* Exported to Kashmir.
‡ Home produce.
† Exported to other places.
§ Imported from Chang Thang.

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EXPORTS TO THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	0 4 0	125	12½
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000			
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000			
Láki.....	100	3,200	32 0 0	3,200	320	0 4 0	25	2½
Spices	—	—	—	800	80			
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280			
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000			
Total ..	720	23,040		2,16,000	21,600		150	15

TOTALS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

	Value.		Duty.	
	Rupees.	£.	Rupees.	£.
Imports.				
From the Chinese Territories ...	2,67,650	26,765	7,350	735
" Indian " ...	2,20,200	22,020	2,391	239
Total Imports ...	4,87,850	48,785	9,741	974
Exports.				
To the Indian Territories	2,38,000	23,800	6,550	655
" Chinese " ...	2,16,000	21,600	150	15
Total Exports ...	4,54,000	45,400	6,700	670

The total amount of duties thus collected is Rs. 16,441. This, with the addition of other small duties on Chinese silks, salt, iron, and copper vessels, will amount to about Rs. 18,000, which was the acknowledged amount

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439 of the duties collected in Ladák both before and after
● 651 Gulab Sing's conquest. I have therefore some reason to believe in the general accuracy of the statements which I received from the merchants, although perhaps
000 not one of them may be strictly correct. Statistical questions are particularly puzzling to ignorant men, who are unaccustomed to deal with large numbers, and when they get beyond hundreds begin to talk of lacs. I found too, that the statements of the Kashmiris were generally false, and I believe wilfully so; at least the returns which they gave me of the numbers of people and *kháls* of land in the different villages of Drás, were undoubtedly manufactured for the occasion. Thus every house had exactly one man, one woman, and one boy, and every village possessed exactly three *kháls* of land. But the mis-statements of the Botis arose, I believe, generally from ignorance, as I never could find any obviously manufactured statistics, like those of the Kashmiris. I have already noticed the close agreement between the sum of my detailed accounts of the import and export duties, and the gross amount of Rs. 18,000, which was universally said to be the total amount of all the duties collected in Ladák. I will now add another fact that will most probably tend to increase the reliance which the first would induce us to place in the general
439 accuracy of these details. A considerable quantity of silver in ingots, or bars, is annually brought into Ladák by the Yarkandis, thus proving that the value of the merchandise which they import is less than that which they export. Now these details exhibit precisely the same fact, as I will now show.

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IMPORTS FROM YARKAND.

Shawl-wool	Rs. 28,000
Tea	48,000
Charas	24,000
Tobacco	64,000
	164,000
Add ponies, sugar-candy, drugs, skins, turquoises	16,000
	180,000
Exports to Yarkand	216,000
Excess of Exports	Rs. 36,000

This sum is equal to upwards of 216 silver ingots, called *yámbu* and *kuru*, each of which is worth Rs. 166. The fact that Yarkandi bullion is constantly being [651] brought into the Ladák market is further proved by the duty of half a rupee, which is levied on each ingot when it is exported to Bisahar.

All merchandise is called *Tshong*, and the merchants or dealers *Tshong-pa;* as, *Bal-Tshong*, a wool-merchant; *Chhang-Tshong*, a spirit-dealer. Merchants are also called *Don-thun*, or "Ware-gatherers;" but the usual term is *Tshong-pa*. The chief, or head merchant, is *Tshong-pon*. Any regular gathering of merchants, such as annual meeting at Garo, is called *Tshong-dus*, a fair; and the friendly glass, which is partaken together after the completion of a bargain, is named *Tshong-chhang*, "the mercantile glass."

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

In Ladák one meets with the coinage, as well as with 436 the merchandise, of all the surrounding countries. The golden *tilás* of Bokhara and Kokand (or Kokan), the sycee silver and pierced copper coins of China, the thin

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khral, and partly in money, *Nul-khral*.* The collectors, called *Shangudpapo*,† transmitted their various quotas, at stated periods, to the *Chag-dsot*, or lord high treasurer, at Lé, where they were all deposited in the *Ter-dsot*,‡ or treasury. The poorer classes, who were unable to pay either in money or in kind, were obliged to pay by bodily service as labourers. They were appropriately named *Kanggro*, or "foot-goers," that is, porters or labourers on foot, in contradistinction to the others, who were called *Lagdon*, or "hand-doers," that is, payers by hand.

The duties were collected at the custom-houses (*Shogamgyina*) by the *Shogampas*, or customs-officers; and the tolls on the high-roads were taken by the *Láchanpas*, or toll-gatherers. These duties were taken partly in kind and partly in money, and generally in equal portions. The gross annual collections usually averaged Rs. 18,000.

The tax on houses was regulated according to their size. For a large or "full-sized" house (*Khang-chhen*) there was a charge of seven rupees; for a middle-sized or "half-house," three and a half rupees; and for a small or "quarter-house," one and three-quarter rupee.§ Under the *Gyalpo's* rule there were reckoned 18,000 paying houses, of which

400	of large size	paid Rs. 7 each	=	Rs. 2,800
1,600	middle	" 3½ "	=	5,600
16,000	small	" 1¾ "	=	28,000
18,000 houses paying		... ...		Rs. 36,400

* *hBru-khral*, "corn-tax," and *dNgul-khral*, "money-tax."

† *dPya-sNgud-pa-po*, pronounced as in the text, *Shangudpapo*.

‡ *gTer-mDsod*, called also *gTer-mTsong* and *rTsis-khang*.

§ *Khang-chhen*, "house-large;" the middle size were called *Khang-phyed*, "half-house," and the smallest size were named *Phyedi-phyed*, "half of half," or quarter.

651 Each house, therefore, paid a mean rate of two rupees per annum; but, partly from various remissions of taxes, and partly from the inability of the poorer classes to pay, excepting by bodily service, the total amount of house-tax rarely exceeded Rs. 30,000.

793 But besides the 18,000 paying houses, there were
644 about 4,000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and about 1,000 for the maintenance of the queen and the various members of the
643 royal family. The Gyalpo also had his own villages, which contained about 1,000 houses more. The whole number of dwellings in Ladák was therefore about 24,000.

651 Under the Dogra rule, although the number of inhabited dwellings has diminished, yet the number of paying houses is still about the same, as all the crown villages have been appropriated by the government. The assessment is, however, different, as a much greater number of houses have been taxed at the higher rates. I could not obtain any precise information as to the number of houses included under each rate; but as the gross amount of collections was generally estimated at nearly Rs. 50,000, the following scale must be a close approximation to the truth. The mean rate is two and a half rupees per house.

1,000 houses of large size at Rs. 7 each				=	Rs. 7,000
5,000	„	middle	„ 3½ „	=	17,500
12,000	„	small	„ 1¾ „	=	21,000
18,000 houses paying			... ...		Rs. 45,500

There were besides two other sources of income which contributed to swell the revenue of the state; namely, a tax on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants both home and foreign;

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and the annual amount of presents received from the various *Kahlons*, *Lonpas*, *Kharpons*, and other officers of government. The former generally amounted to nearly thirty-five *kúrús* of silver, which, at Rs. 166 per *kúrú*, are equal to Rs. 5,700.* The value of the presents was usually about Rs. 5,000. 651

The gross revenue of Ladák, collected from all sources under its native rulers, was as follows:

House-tax	Rs. 30,000
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
	Rs. 58,700

to which must be added,—first, the amount alienated for the support of monasteries, or about Rs. 8,000, valuing each of the 4,000 houses at the average rate of two rupees each: secondly, the amount derived from the crown villages of about 2,000 houses, equal to Rs. 4,000 more, or in all to Rs. 12,000. The total revenue was, therefore, Rs. 71,700, or about £7,000 sterling.

Out of the gross collections made for government, one-half of the customs, and one-half of the tax on brokers, were the perquisites, or salary, of the *Kahlon*, or prime minister. The net amount received by the *Gyalpo* was therefore just so much less than the above Rs. 58,700, or only Rs. 46,850; this, with the produce of the crown lands, amounted to nearly Rs. 49,000. But his actual income was nearly double this amount, for he was the chief trader in his own dominions; and as all his traffic passed duty free through Ladák, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand rupees a year. His 645 643

* *Kuru* is the Yarkandi name for the "ingot" of silver, which the Tibetans call *Yam-bu*.

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643 average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lac of rupees, or nearly £10,000 per annum. In addition to his regular income, both public and private, the Gyalpo enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts, which, possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government. He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grass, for four months in the year, by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples, and grapes.

647 The various charges defrayed by the state were few in number, and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The paid officers of the state were the *Lonpo*, or governor; [693] the *Shakspon*, or lord chief justice; and the different *Khrimpons*, or magistrates of Lé; besides the *Káká Tádsi*, or master of the horse, and the *Chagdsot*, or lord high treasurer. I could not ascertain the amount of their individual salaries, but the gross amount of civil charges was estimated at Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum, and which I believe to be near the truth. The 701 military charges were nothing, as each family or house was obliged to furnish one soldier whenever called upon to do so, and to feed him during his term of service.

651 Under the present rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, the revenue of Ladák may be estimated as follows:-

Tax on houses	Rs. 45,500
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
Monasteries	6,300
	Rs. 80,500

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or about £8,000 sterling. The last item is the gross amount derived from a heavy tax which has been imposed on all the *gonpas*, or monasteries, throughout the country. The sums paid by the different religious establishments were thus stated to me— 651 793

Monastery of Hemis (with Hanlé)	... ...	Rs. 900
" Chimra	... ...	900
" Thigsé	... ...	500
" Pitak	... ...	500
" Gáwan	... ...	900
" Láma Yúrrú	... ...	900
Twenty-five smaller monasteries at Rs. 60 each	=	1,500
		Rs. 6,300

The charge incurred in the maharaja's government of Ladák, I found it impossible to ascertain with any degree of precision, as it was a delicate subject to make inquiries about. From various sources I could only learn that the country is divided into districts, over each of which is appointed a thanadar on a small salary, varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 a month. There are five of these thanadars in Ladák, each independent of the others, and accountable only to the maharaja himself. The principal of them is Basti Rám, the thanadar of Lé, a shrewd and intelligent man, and a tried soldier. He is a native of Káshtwár, and was a petty officer under Zoráwar Sing on the first invasion of Ladák. He was present at the surrender of Skardo, the capital of Balti; and he was one of the few survivors of Zoráwar Sing's unfortunate expedition into Great Tibet in the winter of 1841, A.D. His quickness and experience, combined with a frank and easy manner, secured him the confidence of the maharaja; and after successfully ruling the district of Zanskar during a very turbulent period, he has now obtained one of the highest posts in 634 634 159

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ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; 643
for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount 651
than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a 177
less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the 578
country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent 177
roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people 491
whose principal means of livelihood are derived from 643
the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are 205
simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

All officers of government make use of the village [648]
couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

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161 in stating that the total number of houses was formerly
[657] 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population
[162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

793 In stating the number of professed religionists at
162 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve
161 thousand. The total amount of population (between 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

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then returned to the capital to make preparations for 175
the invasion of Yarkand by the Nubra road. On hearing of his intentions, the chief men of Nubra at once waited upon Chovang at Lé, to tender their submission, and a trustworthy officer was despatched to receive charge of the district. After this, Chovang 651
imposed a yearly tribute of one hundred golden *tillas** 175
upon the landlords of *Kukiwála*, and upon those of *Rudok* a yearly tribute of 207 golden *tillas*, besides one horse and ten unicorns.† He also levied a considerable sum from the neighbouring districts.

Having acquired a large sum of money by these 175
conquests, Chovang Namgyal resolved upon erecting an 778
image of Buddha, under the name of *Sankya-Bidung*, or the "replete with extreme holiness." When the image was finished, all the people assembled to make their offerings, and a great feast was celebrated upon the occasion. Some time afterwards, about A.D. 1600, when he was meditating the erection of other images, he was prevented by death, and having no children, he was succeeded by his brother.

The new king, named *Jámya Namgyal*,‡ upon his 175

to the N.W. of it. The ambitious Chovang therefore would seem to have aspired to the conquest of *Ngári*, and of *Balti*, as well as to that of Ladák. But the historian has most probably dignified some successful plundering expeditions with the name of conquests.

* A *tilla* is worth about six rupees. The proper name for the gold coin is *sir-jao*, or a golden *jao*.

† In the original, *bSe-ru*, an animal with one horn. Csoma de Körös calls it a kind of deer (see Dict. in voce). Klaproth has a long note upon this animal (see Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. vi. pp. 229, 230, 231). He states that Mr. B. H. Hodgson's *Chiru* of southern Tibet is the same as the *Seru*; of which I think there can be no doubt. Mr. Hodgson himself assigns the animal to the "open plains of N.E. Tibet," but he has published no description. See Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, IV. p. 522.

‡ *hJam-dVyangs*, "sweet harmony."

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of a *Sadka* of Rs. 100 * to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan, then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo, when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning. 175

9. For four months † the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo should pay Rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of Rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of Rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of Rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of Rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru. 175 651 727

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort, and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles ‡ in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged [727]

* A bag of money waved around the head by the person who presents it.

† As the march from Suru to Lé, with ten days' halt at Bazgo, must have occupied nearly a whole month, the Vazir could not have left Lé until the middle of October, 1835.

‡ Twenty-five *kos*, each kos being as nearly as possible one mile and a half.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[727] 175 upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with fifty men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

[651] 12. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku * or Zanskar, the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

669 175 13. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé; that the Gyalpo, at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants;† that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tâdsi and the Banka Káhlon, and that he had imprisoned and tortured his Munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he had determined to march at once. Every one professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named

* *Zangs-mKar*, which the Dogras invariably call *Jasku*, and which is the *Zanskar* of our maps.

† Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 we conquered your country with 10,000 men, we did not
669 place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom." The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

175 15. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied
651 by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to Rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first, the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu, offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jaghir.* A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tâdsi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.†

175 16. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai‡ and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé.§ Ac-

* This was the large village of Tok, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to Lé. It is still held by the Gyalpo's grandson, although three-fourths of the perquisites formerly attached to it have been resumed.

† This must have taken place in the spring of 1836, according to the narrative, soon after which Vigne appears to have visited Lé, where he found that the new king, called "Marut Tanzin," was installed, while the old king "was living at Tok, over the river, opposite to Lé."—Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 354.

‡ Lakpat Rai was the governor of Kashmir in 1846, and was killed in the early part of the rebellion of Shekh Imám-ud-din.

§ Baldé or Paldér, the Phaldam of Moorcroft, is the chief place in Zanskar.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

each side; on which he was taken back to Lé and imprisoned. 175

The old Gyalpo, Akabat Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tâdsi, were both brought before the Vazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former, upon the old terms of Rs. 23,000 yearly tribute, but with the stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him. [651]

The Vazir then again proceeded to Jammu, where he remained for a whole year,* after which he returned to Ladák with 5,000 men, for the purpose of seizing Moru Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, and Chang Nabdan, the Káhlon of Bazgo, both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo Mahmud Khan.†

They had been in correspondence with Ahmed Shah of Balti, whom they wished to engage in a general rise against the Dogra authority. The Balti chief imprudently lent too willing an ear to their overtures, and by a subsequent act furnished the long-looked-for pretext for invasion, which Zoráwar Sing was but too glad to seize upon. Early in 1835 Ahmed Shah being dissatisfied with his eldest son Muhammed Shah, had formally disinherited him by the inauguration of his younger brother Muhammed Ali. On that occasion Muhammed Shah fled to the camp of Zoráwar Sing in Suru, and claimed his protection. This the wily Vazir readily granted; but not wishing to embroil himself with the chief of Balti while the campaign in Ladák was still before him, he contented himself with giving promises

* From different statements in the narrative, Zoráwar Sing's residence at Jammu must have been during the latter half of 1838 and the beginning of 1839.

† Basti Ram's narrative ends here. The remainder of this history has been compiled from other information.

423 [2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding,"
804 which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a
241 "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

[651]

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

597 ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children. Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

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Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [473] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 755

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

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that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

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The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--gôboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

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231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [97]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48]FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srâchan or SHrâchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladâkis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistân and women of Ladâk.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladâk women to adopt the faith of Islâm, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladâk, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHôns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHôns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHôn." ArGHôns are never polyandrists, and though

WT Jiksten-gonpo.

779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.

795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna). Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
● 651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

WT As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
661 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
792 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
241 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
651 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal
423 of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid any revenue whatsoever.

WT The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
792 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to
795 spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

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In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

RAVEN--chhosskiong or pherok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [134] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

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[581]

a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 [135]RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an
775 ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

● 651 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue ob-
656 tained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngieymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and kind levied on land varies very much: thus the monasteries pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of land to be 176, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials 1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively. 657 656 651 423 565

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108 "thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113, these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told." 788'

As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om mâni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme, hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Kángbum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following fanciful explanation is given:-- 779 775

There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khoráoo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 352 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 439 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

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651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 439 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their fear they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the abyss they were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which

24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526]

25. A kind of hockey game.

free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

622 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling
651 up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sack of barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too often. Yet he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still
876 on a very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored to initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

000 "Sprin ak'or!" said the people, "Clouds are gathering!"

651 /195/ After the autumn labors had been substantially completed, and the grain had been threshed and brought in; Namgyal traveled to Leh in order to pay in to the state treasury the taxes gathered by him as gopa. At the same time he wanted to sell a foal that he had reared. He likewise had to make some purchases at the Leh bazaar.

The business matters in Leh were soon completed. The tax computation was found to be correct, in many cases the unpaid taxes were granted a delay, and for this time the Wasir, a cultured, understanding Hindu of high caste, dispensed with the customary strong measures of coercion brought to bear upon negligent taxpayers. He praised Namgyal's wise measures taken during the time of distress. He knew and valued the Dragshos as a reliable and industrious official. The beautiful young horse which Namgyal brought for sale to the bazaar found a buyer in no time, and so Namgyal prepared himself for the journey home.

674 625 Then it happened during his last stroll through the streets of Leh that he unexpectedly found himself amidst a throng of excited people. He heard shouts: "Skunma! Skunma! Thief! Thief! Hold the thief!" A tussle, jostling to and fro, shouting, swearing, and four or five men were seized by the native policemen and taken away, then the crowd dispersed. Namgyal went to his temporary lodgings in order to prepare himself for the journey back to Kalatse. He was just about to saddle his horse when a native policemen, an Indian, came and took him to the police station. There he was received by the Indian police sergeant Gobinath who had the most evil reputation for his arbitrariness, corruptibility, and cruelty. Namgyal asked why he had been arrested--they had handcuffed him immediately--whereupon Gobinath answered, he himself should know that best, otherwise they would soon make it clear to him. Now Gobinath led Namgyal into the police prison where he personally interrogated him. He, Namgyal, was strongly suspected of having committed a bold robbery, or at least of having helped with it. It was not till this moment that Namgyal learned from the remarks of Gobinath that the dwelling of an Indian merchant on the bazaar had been broken into. The thief had broken a hole through the poorly constructed brick wall from the neighboring grounds /196/, and in this manner he had entered the room concerned. He had stolen turquoises, pearls, and silver to the value of several hundreds of rupees.

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883)1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

PART III.—LAHAUL AND SPITI.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

Chapter I.

The District.

General description.

[634] 101 131 133 [161]

The cantons or *wazírís* of Láhaul and Spiti together form the trans-Himalayan division of the Kángra district. Láhaul lies between north latitude 32° 8′ and 32° 59′ and east longitude 76° 49′ and 77° 47′, and comprises an area of 2,255 square miles and a population of 5,860 souls, or 2·6 to the square mile; while Spiti lies between north latitude 31° 42′ and 32° 58′ and east longitude 77° 21′ and 78° 35′; its area is 2,155 square miles and its population 2,862 souls or 1·3 per square mile. The two together occupy the trough between the central and outer-Himalayas, and form a long oblong, of an average length of about 105 miles, and breadth of about 38 miles. It is shut in to the north, and divided from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet by the great snowy range called by General Cunningham the western Himalaya, and recognized by him as the continuation above the Satlaj of the main central-Himalaya. This range has here a mean elevation of more than 18,000 feet. To the south and east, except at the north-east corner where the Spiti river escapes into Tibet, it is shut in and divided from Chamba, Bangáhal, Kúlu and Kanáwar by the mid-Himalaya, which has a mean elevation of more than 17,000 feet. To the west it borders on Chamba-Láhaul, from which it is separated by a lofty off-shoot from the outer-Himalayas, which advances to meet the central range, leaving only a narrow gap through which the waters of the Chenáb escape. In the middle it is cut in two by a ridge, some four or five miles long and 15,000 feet high, which connects the ends of two high spurs thrown out by the great chains above mentioned. This ridge, which is generally known as the Kanzám or Pálamo ridge, from the names of the passes which cross it, forms the boundary between Láhaul and Spiti. The boundary line given in the Trigonometrical Survey maps gives Spiti near a hundred square miles of waste to the west of the Kanzám ridge, on the banks of the Chandra; but in revision of Settlement, with the assent of the headmen of both *wazírís*, Mr. Lyall recorded the Kanzám ridge, which is the water-shed line between the Chandra and Spiti rivers, as the true boundary. It is generally allowed on both sides that the ridge is the ancient boundary; it is also the natural one, and moreover the Gaddí shepherds, who for twenty years have grazed in the debated land, have been paying dues to the *wazír* of Láhaul, and not to him of Spiti. These two *wazírís*, have each in many respects a character of their own, and deserve a separate description.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

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Chapter II.

History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *giálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon ráj* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon ráj* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Talái or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

† Moorcroft mentions that the Giálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Giálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter II. History.

subterranean tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are ocasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála.

History of Láhaul.

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 Chapter II. History. [173] History of Láhaul.

whole of Láhaul became tributary to the Rája of Chamba, and that the part now forming British Láhaul was subsequently transferred from Chamba to Kúlu. I have remarked points in one or two Láhaul traditions which support this view, and would agree with the account given by the present representative of the Kúlu Rája's family according to which his ancestor in the seventh generation, Rája Bidhi Singh, acquired Láhaul from Chamba. There is no reason, I think, to doubt the correctness of the account as to time, and it fixes the date of the first acquisition of British Láhaul by Kúlu at about 200 years ago. The Rájas of Chamba must have conquered the country before A.D. 1600, or Chovang Námgyál would have annexed it to Ladákh, but they must have governed through the *thákurs* and interfered very little, or there would be clearer traces of their seventy or eighty years' rule in the Láhaul traditions. As I have said before, I believe the Kúlu Rája's account to be correct as to time; but the explanation given in it, that Bidhi Singh got Láhaul as dower with a princess of the Chamba family, is generally discredited as a boastful attempt to increase the honour of the family by the invention of an alliance to which the Rája of Chamba would never have condescended. Moreover, it seems quite opposed to all custom for a Hindú Rája to give territory as dower with a daughter, and the story is not told by the people, who, if asked, say that they imagine Láhaul must have been forcibly annexed. No doubt that was the case, and from that time the history of Láhaul is included in that of the Kúlu principality. Budh or Bidhi Singh was son of Rája Jaggat Singh, who was a contemporary of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzíb, and the date of the acquisition may therefore be placed approximately at 1700 A.D."

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It would appear, however, that subsequently to this the Láhaulis continued to pay a small annual tribute to Ladákh, probably to avert forays and to keep the roads open for trade. Indeed the Láhaulis, without orders, continued to pay this tribute to the governor at Léh up to 1862, when our Government, being informed of the fact, prohibited its payment in future. Moorcroft says in his travels that four villages in Láhaul in his time (A. D. 1820) paid revenue to the Giálpo of Ladákh, though they acknowledged military fealty to the Rája of Kúlu. He mentions that Thákur Dharam Singh, of Keylang, was then the officer in charge of the country, and was treated with profound respect by the people. Mr. Lyall says:—"This I can well believe, as I have never seen deeper respect shown anywhere to any one than was shown to his son *thákur* Tárá Chand, the late *wazír*, by the Láhaulis when I first knew them." Láhaul passed under British rule in 1846, together with Kúlu to which it was subject.

194 History of Spiti.

After the first formation of the kingdom of Ladákh, Spiti appears to have now and again been separated from it for a time, and attached to some other short-lived Tibetan principality, or to the country governed from Lhásá itself. It was perhaps independent for a time, as it is mentioned in the records procured from the *lámás* by General Cunningham as conquered by Singhi Námgyál, king of Ladákh, in about A.D. 1630, and, allotted by him, with Zánskár, to his third son, Tenchog, in about A. D. 1660. Soon after, it was incorporated in the Guge principality, which lay to the east, in what is now Chinese Tibet, and was not restored to Ladákh till about A. D. 1720, when the king of Ladákh, at the conclusion of a war with Guge and Lhásá, married the daughter of the Lhásá com-

[Petty barons --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpáon* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wazír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gaṭpos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpáon*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by forays. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Cháng Thang, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wazír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

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1 [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 Chapter III, B.

871 Social and Religious Life.

Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sewing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

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As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 Education.

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In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

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142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

157 Chapter III, C. Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka scuda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tówás* or *togochás*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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423 Sub-divisions in Láhaul. Nature of townships and villages.

though it has a name of its own, and the houses stand together almost wall to wall, yet it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village, or to another *kothí* even. The real elementary parts are the household allotments, which, for want of another name, may be called *jeolas*, as in Kúlu. A village or group of houses is known to contain a certain number of these estates, each of which has a name of its own, which is applied indiscriminately to either the house or the land. It is the custom also, as in the case of Scotch lairds, for friends and neighbours to address the head of the family by this same territorial name. The fields forming an allotment are generally all in the *chauks* or blocks of arable land round the village, but some of them are sometimes at a distance in the *chauks* of other villages.

423 Rights in waste lands by custom of country (Láhaul).

From the above description it will be seen that no definite boundaries in the waste between *kothís* or villages can exist; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way, but not so much as limits of properties as in a geographical sense. The waste lands are owned by the ruler of the country or superior landlord, a position which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Rája in a *khálsa kothí*, and the Thákur in a *jágír kothí*. It appears clear that the Thákur must be considered to have been lord of the waste, for his permission was necessary before new fields could be made in it, and such fields paid him rent thenceforth; he could also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them; so, again, the estate or *jeola* of a landholder dying without near heirs lapsed to him, and was granted by him to a new man on payment of a fee or *nazarána*. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one *kothí* sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one *kothí* sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the *kothís* also the different villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately; where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle: it is all a matter of custom. There is no other rule by which a dispute can be decided.

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173 Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

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The allotments of fields or *jeolas* are supposed to have been made authoritatively at some remote period, and to have originally been all equal, and subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labour when summoned by the lord of the country. They also appear to have been indivisible. In fact, in Gárá and Rangloi, where the Tibetan element predominates in the population, they are still almost all undivided; in Pattan, where the Hindú element predominates, a great deal of sub-division has taken place. After the first allotment was made, other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment, and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1½ or 1¼. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháksi* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothí* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nasaráná* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nasaráná*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháksis* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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427 Rights of the Thakúrs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeolá*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *lohárs* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *lohárs* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *lohárs*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

There are

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certain patches of waste land known as *dang piri*, which are like the cultivated fields, the property of individuals, and included in their holdings; they are situated below the water channels or on the sides of the fields, and, with the help of irrigation, produce abundant crops of hay. The rest of the waste must be held to be the property of the Thákur, subject to the rights of use belonging by custom to the subordinate landholders.

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

The best way to describe the nature of the rents and services rendered to the Thákurs by the subordinate landholders will be to give a detail of them as they exist in one *jágír*. For example, *kothi* Ghumrang contains 58 *yulfa jeolas*, or full-sized villager's holdings, 24 full-sized holdings of *cháksis* or retainers, and eight of *káng chumpás* or farm servants. The rent paid by the peasant proprietors on a full *jeola* or holding consists of the following items:—

No.	Name of item.	Rate per *jeola*.	Remarks.
1	Old cash assessment ...	4-8-0	On fourteen *jeolas* Rs. 5 are taken.
2	Grain (*setdi*)	3 *lákh* 3 *páth* of barley	Three *jeolas* pay 6, and three pay 4 *lákh*.
3	Phari (cloth)	1 Phari or eight annas in cash.	Cash now always taken.
4	Suri (lit. Bribes) ...	From Rs. 5-4 to 2-8.	
5	Betangna	Rs. 2 cash.	

The last item was put on by the Thákur at the Regular Settlement; the other items are all of old standing.

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The following is a list of the periodical services rendered to the Thákur by the men of this same class according to the custom of the manor of Ghumrang;—

(1) On certain days, known as *bésti* days, each *jeola* has to furnish one man to work on the Thákur's *garhpán* land. The Thákur supplies food and drink, but no pay. There are eleven *besti* days in the year, but two, the sowing and the mowing days, are distinguished as the big *bestis*; on them a man for each *jeola* attends, on the other nine only some fifteen or sixteen men who live handy actually attend; the others remain at home, and pay the Thákur annually, in lieu of attendance, the sum of one rupee under the name of *besti* money.

(2). Each *jeola* is bound to stable and feed, for the six months of the winter, one of the Thákur's horses; one horse to a *jeola* is allowed to be the old standard; but as the Thákur has not so many horses, it has been customary for two *jeolas* to divide between them the care and charges of one horse.

(3). Each *jeola* is bound to convey once in the year eight or nine *páth* or about sixteen pounds of rice (a light goat or sheep load) from the Kúlu valley to the Thákur's house in Láhaul.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

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(4). It is the custom in all *kothís* of Láhaul for the regular landholders each year to provide in turn a certain number of men to undertake the duty of supplying the common quarters of the *kothí* at Akhára, in Kúlu, with fuel. For the six winter months spent in Kúlu these men are steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they are in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, which sum is raised by a rate on all the *jeolas* of the *kothí*. In Ghumrang, each year four *jeolas* furnish four men for this duty, and they are also bound to carry loads for the Thákur in going to and from his house to Akhára, and to furnish him, as well as the subordinate landholders, with fuel while he remains there.

There are no *dotoen* or cadet families in the Ghumrang *jágír*. In other *jágírs* the *dotoen* are said after a time, when the sense of relationship to the Thákur has become faint, to be degraded into *cháksis*, and forced to do service for their holdings. A *cháksi* holding is held rent-free in lieu of the following services:—It is bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the Thákur, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, &c. As, however, there are many *cháksi* holdings in Ghumrang, the custom now is that three holdings at a time furnish one man each for ten days, and then re-call their men till their turn comes again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously, they pay the Thákur eight annas per month per holding, or six rupees per annum. A few of the *cháksis* are distinguished by the term of *lálok* or pass-crossers. These, instead of having to furnish a man for personal attendance, are only bound to furnish a man to cross a pass, either to Ladákh, Zánskár or Kúlu on the Thákur's business. If they cross a pass once in the year, the rest of it is their own, and they have no payment to make, but if not called upon to cross a pass, they pay seven rupees per annum as relief or *betangná*. Some *cháksis* of all kinds now pay seven rupees regularly in lieu of all services by agreement with the Thákur. All *cháksi* holdings send a man to work on the two big *besti* days, not on the others.

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Káng chumpá may be translated cottager. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the Thákur's house or on his *garhpán* land. Some holdings of this kind will be found near wherever the Thákur has *garhpán*. When there is much work, the head of the family attends in person, otherwise he sends his wife, or son, or daughter. The person who is in attendance gets food five times a day, and does field work of every kind, or cuts and brings in wood or grass, sweeps the house, or combs wool, &c. Those who live at a distance from the Thákur's house cannot practically attend; they, therefore, do only field work on the *garhpán* land near them; but as they in this way get off lighter than the others, they are bound to feed and keep one sheep for the Thákur during the winter months. Some *káng chumpás* now pay five rupees per annum to the Thákur in lieu of all service.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned.

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c.

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *taluqdár* of a village in the plains.

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dejoen*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kothí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, their power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Begár or forced abour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

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Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Lachá, Shinkál or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Rupshú, over the Bára Lácha	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Lácha ...	Rupees 2 cash, 36lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkál ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing hom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing hom chengyá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom ftika*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

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423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *káng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *káng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as a hearth-tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of the land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *káng chimpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *rénki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *káng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *rénki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *káng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *káng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *rénki*

* In Pin *kothi* the *bonas* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprung, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

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In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *tdo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

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Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Churí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhazing* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

123 649 Government control over waste.

In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *nautor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négí* or *wazir*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négí* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Páttan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

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In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemno* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugán* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugán* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

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before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Kokzar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *nági* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and gosts, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobráng men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

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The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *pháti* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

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SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

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Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

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Land and Land Revenue. 651

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Láhaul.

The whole of Láhaul appears to have been at one time portioned out among a few petty barons or Thákurs, who were the lords of whom the *yulfa* or villagers held their holdings. Four of these baronial families have survived up to the present day, two in full and two in partial possession of their estates; the rest are said to have been gradually extirpated by the Rájas of Kúlu. Under the Rájas the Thákurs were allowed to exist supreme in their own estates, but paid a heavy annual tribute or *nazarána* for them in the shape of a certain number of ponies, pieces of cloth, &c. In the rest of the country, *i.e.*, the *khálsa* or royal *kothís*, the Rája took the place of the extinct Thákurs, and managed them through an official with the rank of a *wazír*. The Thákurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothís*, were compelled to attend the Rája at his capital Sultánpur for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them. This was the origin of the present annual emigration of a very large part of the Láhaul population to their winter quarters in Akhára, a suburb of Sultánpur. The *tal* or land-revenue of Láhaul was taken in fixed items of cash, grain, and cloth, levied at equal rates on all the *jeolas* in each *kothí*. This was the rule, but sometimes some small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water-supply. Another item of revenue was the *chatrú* or colts; a filly belonged to the owner of the mare, but all colts born in Láhaul went to the Rája in *khálsa*, and to the Thákur in *jágír kothís*.

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Sikh revenue administration, and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlements (Láhaul).

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When the Sikhs ousted the Rája of Kúlu, they collected the cash and grain from the *khálsa kothís*, and the *nazaránas* from the Thákurs as before; but on the pretence that they did not demand any service of either Thákur or landholder, they imposed an additional cess, under the name of *betangná* of rupees six per *jeola* on every holding, whether in the *khálsa* or the *jágír kothís*. When three years later we took over the country from the Sikhs, we found it nominally assessed at Rs. 5,000, which included grazing dues on foreign sheep and fines, besides land-revenue. This was reduced to Rs. 4,200 at once, next year to Rs. 3,200, and at Regular Settlement to Rs. 2,150, of which Rs. 240 were tribute payable by the Thákurs, and Rs. 1,910 regular land-revenue. When, however, this last sum came to be distributed by the people themselves over the *jeolas* of the *khálsa kothís*, it proved to be in excess of the old fixed cash assessment, and the landholders were not apparently informed that the old grain assessment, and other items were abolished. They, therefore, argued among themselves that the excess

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

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must be considered as part of the Sikh *beteongná*, and distributed it equally on all *jeolas*, whether in *jágír* or *khálsa kothís*. In this way, on account of this excess, a sum of Rs. 150 out of the Rs. 1,910 was made payable by the Thákurs, who raised the money and something to spare, by imposing a new cess on the *jeolas* in their *jágírs*. The *khálsa jeolás* paid each their old cash assessment, plus a rateable share of the rest of the excess. No notice was taken in practice of the *khewat* or rent-roll, which had been made out by the *tahsíldár* of Kúlu under Mr. Barnes' orders. All old cesses were lawfully enough collected, as before, in *jágír kothís*, and in *khálsa* ones the *négi*, without authority, maintained most of them as perquisites of his office. Mr. Barnes had appointed one *négi* for the whole of Láhaul (in place of the *wazíra* of the Rájas), and one *lambardár* for each *kothí*. The *panchotra*, or fee ordinarily assigned to *lambardárs*, was divided between them and the *négi*. The first *négi* was a Bráhman of Pattan. It is not surprising that the *khewat* was not accepted by the Láhaulís, for it was in fact in every way a very inaccurate document, besides being in a form not easily to be understood by them. Mr. Barnes was never able to visit Láhaul himself: two or three hill *patwáris*, under no supervision, were sent over the passes, and brought back to the *tahsíldár* what purported to be appraisements of the arable lands held by the several landholders of each *kothí*. From them the *khewat* was made out at Sultánpur. The old cesses were maintained at first even in *khálsa kothís*. About the time when the original *négi* was dismissed and Thákur Tára Chand appointed in his stead, the grain dues ceased to be collected; but the *chatrí* or colts, and the *dhárkar* or *rigatal* (that is, the rents of sheep-runs paid by Gaddís), still continued to go into the *négi's* pocket. In 1862, Mr. Lyall brought the fact to the notice of the Government. In the end the rents of the sheep-runs were formerly granted for life to Tára Chand in recognition of his services. With regard to the colts no decided orders were given; but two or three years ago, when the Government directed the *négi* of Láhaul to discontinue a certain tribute which the Láhaulís had been in the custom of paying through him to the representative of the Mahárájá of Jamú in Ladákh, Tára Chand, of his own accord, remitted taking the colts in *khálsa kothís*, on the ground that he had only taken them hitherto as a set-off against the expenses of the tribute in question. Regarding the Regular Settlement, Mr. Lyall writes:—

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"The administration papers for the *khálsa kothís* in Láhaul, prepared at Regular Settlement, were on the same model as those for Kúlu. In so far as they have affected the Láhaulís, they might, like the *khewats*, have just as well not been prepared at all. No records were prepared for *jágír kothís*. In them, therefore, in my opinion, the old customary tenure of land remains in force: in the *khálsa kothís* it must be considered to have been to some extent altered by arrangements made at Regular Settlement, and to be that which I have already described, as in my opinion the existing tenure in Kúlu and Seorái."

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Mr. Lyall redistributed Mr. Barnes' assessment, both over *kothís* and over *jeolas* or holdings.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B. 648

Land and Land Revenue. 651

British assessment of Láhaul.

Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—

"The revenue assessed upon this tract was fixed entirely with reference to the trading pursuits of the inhabitants and the pastoral qualities of the country. The soil does not yield sufficient produce to maintain the people, much less to pay a land-tax. The *jama* levied by our predecessors and maintained at the Summary Settlement contained two items which, had they been ascertained at the time, would have been at once remitted. One was a demand of Rs. 500 annually for *firshi*, or fines, which the people had to bear as an additional burden, and to distribute it as they best could among themselves. The second item was also for Rs. 500 on account of grazing dues exacted from the owners of sheep who resorted to Láhaul in the rainy season, as that region being across the snowy range, is beyond the reach of the periodical monsoons. This revenue would be legitimate enough, only the graziers were residents of our own territory, who during the winter months had already paid a grazing tax of Rs. 2-8-0 per 100 head in the valleys of Kángra. It would not be fair to make these flocks pay double rates, and, as the tax could be collected with greater facility in Kángra than in Láhaul, I determined to remit this item also. Still the balance which devolved upon the inhabitants of Láhaul pressed heavily upon them. The trade, moreover, had become greatly depreciated. The wool and produce of Ladákh were diverted by order of Mahárája Gúlab Singh to routes which led through his own country; for by their passage through our territory the Mahárája lost the opportunity of exacting transit tolls, and our accession had thrown open the carrying trade to any speculator who chose to venture under the rule of our predecessors; the fear of plunder, and the exactions of the Customs Officers, left the trade entirely in the hands of the Láhaulís. On these considerations I determined to reduce the assessment in Láhaul, and I was fortified in this conclusion by the concurrent testimony of travellers, such as Captain A. Cunningham and Captain William Hay, Assistant Commissioner, regarding the poverty of the country and the destitute condition of the inhabitants. The Summary Settlement was fixed originally at Rs. 4,200, but this was lowered the second year on the urgent remonstrance of the people to Rs. 3,200; and finally at the revised Settlement I considered an annual *jama* of Rs. 2,200 as much as the *taluka* could bear."

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

According to Major Hay, the king or Giálpo of Ladákh prior to 1839 took as revenue for Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 *khals* or *lákh* or grain, 100 *mandis* or iron crow-bars, 34 pieces of Barmaur cloth, and 132 reams (*shógu*) of paper. The crow-bars, or the iron to make them, came from Basáhir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles can be made in every house in the country. The paper is made from the fibre of a small plant or grass which grows wild in abundance. The cloth is of very close texture and very lasting. Spiti also paid a tribute of trifling amount to the Rájas of Basáhir and Kúlu, not in recognition in any sense of their sovereignty, but for the privilege of free access for trading purposes. Major Hay's account is, no doubt, generally accurate, but there are some mistakes in it, principally with regard to the grain revenue, the nature of which he does not appear to have fully understood. Each holding was assessed with a fixed number of measures of grain.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Chapter V, B.

648 Land and Land Revenue.

Nature of rent or land-tax under the Rájas in Spiti.

Those assigned to the monasteries paid in grain only at from fifteen to twenty *lákh* each, and formed *kothí* Chuzi; those in other or *Khálsa kothis* paid a little grain, and also sums of cash, cloth, and paper, but the last two items were not assessed on all holdings. The cash assessment of all the holdings in a village was, with very few exceptions, the same, though the holdings seem to have always differed to some extent in size; the grain assessment varied from one to ten *khal* or *lákh* according to the amount and quality of the land held. The grain items in *Khálsa kothís* also had in many cases been from time to time assigned to monasteries. All the assigned grain was called *pun*, the unassigned grain was called *netal* or barley tax. The amount collected under the latter name on the king's account must have been more than 200 *lákh*; but probably those figures represent correctly the amount which went to Ladákh, for the greater part of the grain collections were spent year by year in Spiti in the king's name in certain annual ceremonies and State charges. This was the old state of things, which Major Hay evidently did not fully comprehend, for he states in his report that 50 Chinese families settled in Spiti, paid a tribute to China of 200 *lákh* of grain, and that an envoy from Tolang came to fetch it every year. Again, in another place, he mentions that the aforesaid Chinese families go by the name of Chuzí, and present annually 200 *lákh* to the chief monastery of Spiti. All this was a mistake: the Chuzí families were not Chinese, but the men of Chuzí *kothí*, the revenue of which was assigned to monasteries. One of these monasteries, to which something less than 200 *lákhs* were assigned, was at Tolang in Chinese Tibet; hence the story of tribute to China.

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Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

From 1839 to 1846 the Sikh *thánadár* at Ladákh took the revenue of Spiti. For the first four years Rs. 2,000, plus two ponies and 25 sheep, were exacted annually. For the last three years the cash was reduced to Rs. 1,031, but 100 iron crow-bars were added, and the number of sheep increased to sixty. A Sikh force also plundered the valley in these years. In the autumn of 1846 Mr. Vans-Agnew made a Summary Settlement, that is, he fixed the amount of revenue to be paid to Government at Rs. 753. No records were compiled of any kind, nor was any report submitted. When relieved of the pressure of the Sikh exactions, the Spiti people at once reverted to their old fiscal arrangements. Mr. Vans-Agnew probably knew nothing of the grain revenue assigned to the monasteries, as he merely passed quickly through a part of the country; and if he knew of the unassigned grain, he, no doubt, intended to abandon it. But the people considered the Rs. 753 to be in place only of the cash, cloth, and iron formerly paid to the kings of Ladákh, and divided it accordingly with strict regard to the old fixed assessment. The assigned grain or *pun* they paid as before to the monasteries, and the unassigned grain or *netal* to the representative of Government, who for the first three years was a *wazír* of the Basáhir Rája,* and after that the hereditary *wazír* of Spiti, commonly called the *Nono*. Most of it the *Nono* expended in the manner customary

* The 400 *lákh* grain which Major Hay mentions as taken by the *wazír* in excess of Rs. 753 in 1848, and as collected again in 1849, were the *netal* collections, not the produce of the Government land at Danka.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B.

Land and Land Revenue.

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

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in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsíldár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pun* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorized collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognized as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

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* The *pun* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,481 *lákh* 7 *path*, and the *netal* to 456 *lákh* 11 *path*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *lákh* 18 *path*, which at 2 *lákh* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 Chapter V, B.

651 Land and Land Revenue.

634 British assessment of Spiti.

was removed by a redistribution of the cash assessment; more than half their cash revenue being taken off their shoulders and distributed upon the other *kothis*.

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Mr. Barnes thus describes the assessment he made at the Regular Settlement:—"Spiti had been assessed summarily by Mr. Vans-Agnew, afterwards murdered at Mooltan. He was deputed to that remote district in 1846 A. D., and settled the whole tract at Rs. 753 per annum. Compared with Láhaul, the rate is decidedly low, but the country is more inhospitable and dreary. It is not so easy of access, and is removed several hundred miles, and by lofty ranges of mountains, from the head-quarters of the district. It is surrounded, I may say, on all sides by Independent States. Its political position is singular, and at various periods, Spiti has been the feudatory of China, Basáhir, Ladákh and Kúlu; and even at this time there are Chinese emigrants residing in Sipti, who pay a divided allegiance partly to us and to their mother country. From such a region, so peculiarly situated, revenue was a secondary object. The people, moreover, argued that Mr. Agnew had fixed the assessment for twenty years. I attached no weight to this argument, as their deed of lease specified no such conditions; but adverting to the remoteness and poverty of the country and its isolated position, I determined to make no enhancement. The present demand was quite sufficient to indicate the tenure of the British Government, and after this recognition of our claims, I saw no advantage in exacting an additional revenue, which, from its trifling amount, could be of no importance to the Government, and might entail distress upon the people. I accordingly left the demand of the Summary Settlement of Rs. 753 unaltered."

9:Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.
175 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years
436 ago, there do not seem to have been many silver
651 coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and
[437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 However, once a year the taxes due to the
436 Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver,
804 and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.

1. [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary -- ANALYST]

9: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

651 436 804 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2¾ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 436 As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet, there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal [435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 5

A LADY'S PROPOSAL

000 We paid off our porters at Koksar and they returned to Manali. These were not the type one reads about in Himalayan literature. They were villagers—farmers, hired hands, clerks in the bazaar at Manali. Had I planned a trek on foot, I would have arranged for professional porters, the best of whom are from Darjeeling far to the east of Manali. They have been trained by the Himalayan Club of India, beginning with the first British expedition to Everest in 1922. They are tireless travelers of the trail—efficient, loyal, and enduring. They would have been eager for the adventures of the highroad to Leh. Our Manali
482 porters were not. Moreover, the profession of the porter is not in
554 high esteem in the Kulu Valley. Carrying loads on one's back for
•651 another man is looked down upon. The reason has its roots in history. In ancient days the Rajah of Kulu demanded labor of each man. So many days a year were owed the Crown. This was known as the *begar* system. The lowliest of *begar* labor was the coolie, who carried freight for the Rajah on his back. Carrying

482 the mail was less dishonorable. Providing wood and grass for the
554 Rajah's camps was higher on the scale. The *begar* system was
• 657 gravely abused. Many lost their health or their lives on dangerous missions for the Rajah. The work was looked down upon; a certain ignominy was attached to it.

That tradition has persisted. Porters are considered coolie labor, and coolie labor carries some of the disrepute of the *begar* system.

000 Our porters, however, were not in revolt or unhappy. That was not the reason why we paid them off. The reason was that at Koksar we found horses which would take us three stages, viz., to Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul. Rahul and I debated whether to gamble on another pack train at Kyelang. There was a half promise that we could get mules at Kyelang. We decided to take that chance.

465 The porters lined up for their pay the morning after we arrived at Koksar. The rate was three rupees a stage per man (about sixty cents), a stage usually being the distance between dak bungalows or about ten miles. Each porter was to get an additional 50 per cent of that amount each time we crossed a pass (there were six passes on our route from Manali to Leh). On the return trip they were to get one half the rate. They were also to get half rate whenever they laid over a day. Each porter was to supply his own food.

000 This morning at Koksar the main argument was over the computation of the amount I owed each one. There were many figures submitted, each man arguing for his own computation. It took about an hour to get the crowd to agree on a figure. And when it appeared that unanimity had been achieved, one lone dissenter spoke up. He maintained that he was entitled to one rupee more than all the others. And so he was. It happened this way.

As I said before, the first porters to arrive at our hotel in Manali took the lightest packs, leaving the heaviest for the late-

Beyond the High Himalayas

695 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers
687 on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

[231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a
• 651 cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

in the dak bungalow—soup, hamburgers, cocoa, canned fruit, 681
and *chapattis*. Discussion turned to the court session. 651

"Are these families on this land legally?" I asked.

"No. They are all illegal squatters. The law of Punjab provides that a man may homestead public land and that he has a period of time to make payment for it. But he must pay."

"How much must he pay?"

"About two hundred rupees [forty dollars] an acre."

"Have any paid?"

"None."

"Do they all owe arrears in taxes?"

"Yes, all of them."

"What is the law of Punjab in such cases?"

"The squatters must be ejected."

"Is that what you are going to do tomorrow? Eject them?"

There was a long pause.

"None will be ejected," he finally replied with emphasis. "You are a judge and you know that law is law but that the law is not always justice."

I nodded but answered, "Yet this is public property."

"True," he replied, "but these farmers are India's outposts. They 168
occupy land bordering countries that may be unfriendly. It is important that India keep this border country populated. Certainly Soviet Communism exploits every discontent in India. It is better that India sacrifice her legal rights or even lose a part of her public domain and have happy people here than that she enforce her legal rights and end up with discontented citizens on this sensitive northern border."

"Why can't the people pay taxes?"

His eyes were now wide with seriousness. "Why, these people 735
only subsist. They raise barely enough to live. They trade barley 511
for wool from Tibet and make their own clothes. I suppose none of the families we saw this afternoon has a cash income each year of even ten rupees."

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monasteries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth.

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
46r is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[857] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
● 651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village. 651

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly " hubble-bubble " has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are. 461 276

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda 291 302 291 293 302

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

down the field as hard as he can. Reaching the half-way 526
approximately, he throws up the ball, and, with the stick, which is still in the same hand, he hits the ball full and straight into the enemies' goal. To do this at such a pace needs good horsemanship and a wonderfully steady eye and aim. Ends are changed again and the ball is in play. There goes a little fellow from Chushot on his very disreputable pony with saddle tied on none too firmly. The ball is rather beyond his ordinary reach, but what matter, for he has only to lean right out of his saddle, so that, if desired, he could almost touch the ground ; by this means he reaches the ball. There he goes again, but alas, this time his saddle will not stand the strain, swings round with him, and leaves him lying somewhere beneath his pony. Listen to the roars of laughter which greet his performance. Now a Mohammedan from Leh has the ball. A good player that, but his shot has not been accurate, and instead of landing in between the goal-posts, it has gone straight into the crowd of spectators. " Was there a man dismayed ? " Not one, for if anybody has been hurt, he is nursing his pain in secret. Thus the game goes on; it may be for an hour or even more. Scoring is high, for there is not much ground between the opposing goal-posts.

During the summer months the British Joint Commissioner
sometimes likes to play. To provide him with regular sport, 661 ●
a certain number of men from the village of Chushot are detailed to appear twice weekly and this is regarded as their share of forced labour. If they do not play well, a threat that no improvement in their style will spell the ordinary *begar* (forced labour) with its carrying of loads, soon mends
matters. One year we were able to play a game of England 576
versus Ladak. Two " Varsity " men were shooting up here, and they, with the Commissioner and the Doctor, represented Britain. Ladak certainly put one of its strongest teams on the field. Difficulties soon arose for the visitors, for they were not able tothrow the ball up and hit it while riding even at a

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643 bit of Indian newspaper to help us on the road, while her
574 daughter-in-law sent a request for some mercury (called in Tibetan "silver water") for what purpose we could not gather, and also asked if we could refill for her a bottle of scented hair oil. Once the two Queens repaid our winter call, and came to visit us in the compound. In the morning they sent down to know if we would kindly provide a magic lantern show by way of an entertainment, for they knew the Mission possessed such an instrument, but in the Doctor's house we had other resources, for a Christmas tree had been made for the children, and we had this illuminated for our visitors. Removing all central furniture, we arranged little tables in front of small rugs and mats round the room, and, what with the ladies-in-waiting and attendant lamas, every place was filled, and our small room soon needed airing. On the tables we could only provide dry food, such as apricots, sugar, sweets, walnuts and sultanas, for they would not partake of anything we had cooked, and with our gramophone to entertain them, our guests seemed to enjoy their evening. We had to explain carefully of course, that the lighted Christmas tree was not an object of worship, but put up for the children's pleasure, while our Christian Hospital nurse briefly told our Christmas story as illustrated by little picture cards hung from the tree. But perhaps the greatest thrill of the evening was a tour of the sahib's house, where the bed-rooms and kitchen, and the baby sleeping quietly alone in the dark, caused the greatest interest.

643 The castle of Leh, however, is not the usual abode of their
644 Majesties, the King is in residence there only during the first Buddhist month of the year, and on other special occasions, and when the waters of the village where he resides in summer are all frozen, and must be melted before using. At other times he has his quarters in the castle of Stog, which lies a three hours' ride from Leh on the opposite side of the Indus.

643 When Zorowar conquered the great-grandfather of the present
● 651 young King, he banished him there, and since then Stog is

643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[794] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

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789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[782] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
• 651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal house-
535 hold. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

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4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country. 105 631 [651]

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants. [115]

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size. 105 423 [631] [651] [241]

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields [631]

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105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
[466] labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
227 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

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the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

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(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576] they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [985]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nang-dzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 433 651

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105 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the
423 soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of
651 unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of
423 Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals
429 as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in
241 Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the
[134] cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing
[23] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

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temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

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595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [792] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 796 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sisters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 591 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w Tibetans AJ4

The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three 563
cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīri half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid.

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhīs are engaged in agriculture; the 463
number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry 565
tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is 241
from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the 651
incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. The sons of a family neither divide the [428]
heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

565 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of
241 by employing labourers.
651 The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the
241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim,
[438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A.J.4

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
177 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
459 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[451] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

241 range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

[231] [262]

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *taksīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

643 [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

BALTISTĀN

WT 651 [661]

Land revenue.

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistān; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yārkand road till Shāhidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladākh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes.

WT [441]

WT 426 792

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

Physical aspects.

B 642 131

Baltistān.—A tract under the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh, Kashmīr, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztāgh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladākh; on the south by Kashmīr, Wardwān, and Zāskār; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and glaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Drās and

B 133 361

159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income,
[439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own
[643] dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

cash, the remainder being made up to them by "billets" for food wherever they may be quartered. The cost of each soldier to the state was therefore generally estimated by the people at only four rupees a month. At this rate a body of 700 men could be supported for Rs. 33,600, which would be increased to Rs. 35,000 or Rs. 36,000 by the pay of the petty officers. 701 652

The whole expenses of the government, both civil and military, therefore, amounted to between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 60,000; thus leaving a surplus of about Rs. 25,000 for transmission to the maharaja. This surplus was not however remitted in cash, but in goods, which consisted chiefly of wool from Chang-thang, and of cloths and tea from Yarkand. 643 652

V.—MILITARY RESOURCES.

In Ladák there was no regular army; but every family or house throughout the country was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier at the call of the government. The *Kahlons*, *Lonpos*, and *Gobas*, also furnished quotas of from ten to four men each. At the last general mustering in 1834, the number of armed peasants, collected to oppose Zoráwar Sing, amounted to 22,000. The same number is said to have been collected when the *Gyalpo* was at war with Ahmed Shah of Balti. Indeed it is scarcely possible that a greater number of "armed" men could have been collected, as each house throughout Ladák possessed only one weapon, and the number of houses was not more than 24,000. I have every reason to believe in the correctness of these numbers, as my information was derived from various sources; from Jemadar Basti Rám, and other officers of 702

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

765
587
[581]

a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 [135] RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an
775 ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue ob-
656 tained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngieymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, 657
but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people 656
object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment
of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and 651
kind levied on land varies very much: thus the monasteries 423
pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay 565
about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay
about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of
land to be 1·6, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials
1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively.

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of 788
a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a
rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead
on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has
told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108
"thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113,
these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks
the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are
for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told."

As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme, hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng- 779
bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following 775
fanciful explanation is given:--

There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khoráoo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

19: Asboe M-3 (no date)1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 From December until spring farming pursuits
286 cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

656 Lahoul being under British administration, the
425 acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

241 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the
287 people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ+
c. Professional beggars who come from Tibet to Ladakh in the summer. - Analyst]

a poor country as the higher parts of Ladākh for the exercise of 565
their calling; but the Bhots, though poor, are charitable. These Khambas, too, give themselves a religious air, as do most beggars in the East, and that may help them. But in truth, in their ways, they are more like to the gipsies than to devotees. They have their wives and children with them, and these all come round in succession to beg, as if independent of each other. They live in the smallest of tents; these are only just high enough for one to seat oneself on the floor beneath them. The tent and their other traps are carried on the backs of a few of the load-carrying goats which they always possess. The Maharaja's authorities have tried to [565]
persuade some of these Khambas to take to agriculture, and a bit of land has been given for this object by the Pāngkong Lake. I saw one family there, who had commenced to till, and had left off their inveterate habit of begging; but they were still in tents, and had not begun to build a house.

The next colonizers to be mentioned are *Baltis*. This race of 563
Baltis will be more fully spoken of in the chapter which treats 167
of their own country, Baltistān; here I will only name their settlements in Ladākh. In the first place, there are Baltis inhabiting the valleys of Drās and Surū, and the tract about Pāskim, which is called Purik. These are not geographically separated from the main body of their countrymen in Baltistān, which district borders on Drās; but they have some slight differences. Then there is an isolated colony of Baltis right in the middle of the Bhot country, only a few miles from Leh. The largest tract of cultivated land in Ladākh is in great part held by them; this is at a place called Chushot, on the left bank of the Indus, from five to ten miles from Leh. These immigrant Baltis came four or five generations back, some from Purik and some from Skārdū.

Dārds are found in Drās and in several places along the valley of the Drās River, and again in a few villages in the valley of the Indus, being there interpolated between the Baltis and the Ladākhis. It is at these last places that some Buddhist Dārds occur; these make small and very much isolated communities.

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [97]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48]FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

WT Jiksten-gonpo.

779 VIII. --Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.

795 IX. --Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

● 661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.

792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

WT
772 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
775 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
T considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
788 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they
648 therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leader-
565 ship of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
WT Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
648 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
554 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
661 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
T lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
648 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
661 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
648 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
439 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
554 profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

by them, the donations of pious Buddhists, they did business at huge 731
profits. Chirpon in Tingmogang, Namgyal's father-in-law, also 426
followed the example of these "spiritual gentlemen," in order to fill his money chest which during the past few years had been drained critically, since with increasing age he neglected his farm and gave himself over to drinking. Different was the behavior of his /194/ son-in-law Namgyal. He also lent out grain, but at moderate rates of interest; to many a needy one he gave grain from his own not very plentiful stock. His friend and teacher, the hermit Tsetan, did the same thing, helping the poor in distress and sharing with them that which pious admirers had donated to him.

Finally the Wasir (governor) even ordered his district officials to lend to the neediest grain from the government's granaries at moderate rates of interest; and in the worst cases to give it away in order to prevent the most extreme distress

Yet there remained much unrelieved distress; the distributions [661]
were also frequently carried out in an unjust manner. Many a timid poor man was overlooked, and many another one received abundantly because he had been able to win the favor of the officials.

Namgyal, the hermit Tsetan, and the missionary, these three 731
friends, attempted to console the people, and they helped wherever they were able. However, the distress rested as too heavy a burden on the people's minds. Many were close to desperation, believing themselves abandoned by man and the gods. "Lanchags, lanchangs! It's retribution! And yet we know not what for!" the people said.

Sprin ak'or (Thunderclouds)

The autumn of this terrible year was ushered in with sunshine 000
and glowing colors. The trees in the village oases shone in their yellow, green, and red glory, and up above the sky was resplendent with the gold of the sun and heavenly blue reflecting upon the mountains and slopes, upon glacier and snow peaks, painting them in all colors. But the people had no eye for all this autumnal splendor. The grey cloud of grief and anxiety rested heavily upon their minds. Winter was in the offing, and with it ceased every opportunity for the farmers to make money by means of carrier and transport services for the Indian merchants and officials. Also, many field terraces were still destroyed by the floods, and others lay covered under feet of avalanche debris. They lacked the strength and the courage to repair the damage.

625 661 After all four accused men had been "interrogated" in this cruel manner, during which none confessed the theft, it was Namgyal's turn. He knew that he had nothing good to expect from Gobinath. Two years before this police officer had once come up to him and said to him confidentially /197/ that he was in a position to procure the post of district official for him (Namgyal), if he would give him one hundred rupees. After all, Namgyal knew, he said, that this was a "good post." He also knew how much influence he (Gobinath) had with the Wasir. Namgyal had refused the offer in no uncertain terms and had brought the matter to the attention of the Tahsildar, the assistant to the Wasir. The latter had warned Gobinath to be "careful." One crow does not peck out the other crow's eyes. /Birds of a feather flock together/ Gobinath knew too much about his superior and his doings. But Gobinath learned of Namgyal's notification and waited for a long time for an opportunity to avenge himself on his opponent. He now believed to have found this opportunity.

625 Gobinath was just about to make preparations for whipping Namgyal, when in the last minute a messenger from the Wasir arrived with the order to free Namgyal. The messenger said that Namgyal had nothing to do with the theft. The lonpo (nobleman) from Dorakhar, who was related to the Dragshos, had, he said, proved without a doubt that Namgyal had been in his quarters at the time of the theft, something which could also be testified to by others. Thus Gobinath, to his anger, had to let Namgyal go, and the Lama Dondrub had to go away disappointed, with the two witnesses who had consented to swear for a few annas that they had seen Namgyal at the scene of the crime immediately after the theft (168). Gobinath released Namgyal with

168. See not 48!

the threat that he would find another opportunity to pay him back for his deeds. The thief had still not been tracked down; however many "suspects" were interrogated and tortured; finally all of them had to be released again for lack of proof.

787 Upon the advice of some Buddhistic lower officials, the Wasir then seized upon an unusual measure. He questioned the Lhapas (demon priests) of the monastery Mashro which lies beyond the Indus River at the foot of a gigantic, glacier crowned mountain-mass. Some of the monks of the lower orders there occupied themselves, after they had been so designated by lot, in a special way, with the exorcising

BALTISTĀN

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistān; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yārkand road till Shāhidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladākh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes.

Land revenue. WT 651 [661]

WT [441]

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

WT 426 792

Baltistān.—A tract under the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh, Kashmīr, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztāgh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladākh; on the south by Kashmīr, Wardwān, and Zāskār; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and glaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Drās and

Physical aspects. B 642 131

B 133 361

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and for a fourth offence, death by drowning. These at least were the allotted punishments, and, with the exception of the last, they were generally carried into effect in all cases of robbery of public property or of church goods. But in cases of private robbery the usual influences had their weight. Near relationship might sway the judges to a milder sentence; or a fair bribe, judiciously bestowed, might induce the chief Láma of the monastery of Hémis to interfere, by an appeal to the king's mercy, which it was unusual to refuse. A direct appeal could also be made to the king by the prisoner's relatives, on the presentation of an offering of four or five rupees, if the criminal was a poor man, or of fifty to a hundred rupees, if he was a rich man.

684 For *Adultery*, where the woman was the guilty party, the paramour, as in Europe, was fined according to his means, or received an equivalent corporal punishment, while the husband had the option of taking back the woman, if he chose to do so. Or if he did not wish to keep her, he could retain her dowry. When the husband was the guilty party, the wife could demand back her dowry.

683 Common disputes, involving blows and abuse, were settled at once by fines and stripes.

695 In doubtful cases, where the evidence was unsatisfactory, a decision was obtained either by casting lots, or by ordeal. In the latter case, the accused had either to draw a red-hot iron through his hand, or to take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil without injury. In Great Tibet both of these ordeals are practised; but the latter is rendered much more complicated and difficult by the immersion of two stones, one black and the other white,

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) chés (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take Land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be, Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, 788
eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the 792
stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. 643
Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his 788
chos, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief 631
ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor im- 643
portance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, [776]
whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* re-incarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a [793]
Skushog, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor 662
old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

662 the enemy of his country. This poor " pretender " had got himself into trouble for wishing to rebuild the monastery on the hillock near his house, for this harmless action was construed into a desire to rebuild the fort and oppose Kashmir.

So we have many heads entitled to wear the crown in Lesser Tibet, but any uneasiness they may experience is generally due, not to the cares of sovereignity, but to the lack of that which is necessary for its due display.

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [97]

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101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
• 668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 175 668
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 631
Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the north- 175
west; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648 anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song
792 from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as
208 they draw water from the wells.

538

In the religious city of Lhasa this year
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [rifles] in their hands
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

648 The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the
792 Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese mili-
•668 tary strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

000 The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

[2]About five cents.
[3]About seventeen dollars.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[727] 175 upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with fifty men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

[651] 12. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku * or Zanskar, the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

669 175 13. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé; that the Gyalpo, at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants;† that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tâdsi and the Banka Káhlon, and that he had imprisoned and tortured his Munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he had determined to march at once. Every one professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named

* *Zangs-mKar*, which the Dogras invariably call *Jasku*, and which is the *Zanskar* of our maps.

† Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Midphi Sata offered his services, to whom the Vazir gave a present of a pair of golden bracelets, worth Rs. 500, besides two rupees a day, and the promise of the district of Zanskar in perpetuity. 175 669

14. With twelve seers of wheaten flour, and a bag of barley upon each horse, the party, under the direction of their guide, marching from forty-five to sixty miles* a day, in ten days reached the village of Tsumur,† where they most unexpectedly heard that the wife and son of the Gyalpo were then residing. A party of 500 horsemen was sent forward to capture them; but they received early intelligence of the movement, and fled to Lé. On this the Gyalpo waited upon the Vazir at Chachot,‡ and expressed his sorrow and contrition for what had occurred. The Vazir demanded why he had so shamefully broken his promises, and added, "Although

* From thirty to forty kos a day; but this is impossible in such a country. The probable length of each day's march cannot be estimated at more than thirty miles, which would give a total distance of 300 miles in ten days. The exaggeration, however, is natural to men in such circumstances. This march must have taken place in the end of November, 1835, at a season of the year when the winter's snow has already set in throughout Ladák, and when all the higher passes are finally closed. Their route was therefore most probably up the Zanskar river, and over the Lunga Lách and Thung-Lung passes to the Indus below Gya. By this route they would have travelled about 300 miles. I know of no other route that would be passable in November. The direct route to Gya from Zanskar is open but for a few months, and that which lies down the course of the Zanskar river, and over the Singé Lá to Lama Yurru, is closed in October. Besides which, the distance by either of these routes would not have been even 150 miles.

† This is no doubt the large village of *Chumri* or *Chimra*, on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Marchalang, and on the high road leading to Rudok. This position must have been chosen by the raja's family for the convenience of escape into the Chinese district of Rudok.

‡ Chachot is on the left bank of the Indus, between Chumri and Lé. It is the Chushut of Moorcroft.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 we conquered your country with 10,000 men, we did not
669 place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom." The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

175 15. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied
651 by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to Rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first, the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu, offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jaghir.* A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tâdsi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.†

175 16. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai‡ and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé.§ Ac-

* This was the large village of Tok, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to Lé. It is still held by the Gyalpo's grandson, although three-fourths of the perquisites formerly attached to it have been resumed.

† This must have taken place in the spring of 1836, according to the narrative, soon after which Vigne appears to have visited Lé, where he found that the new king, called "Marut Tanzin," was installed, while the old king "was living at Tok, over the river, opposite to Lé."—Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 354.

‡ Lakpat Rai was the governor of Kashmir in 1846, and was killed in the early part of the rebellion of Shekh Imám-ud-din.

§ Baldé or Paldér, the Phaldam of Moorcroft, is the chief place in Zanskar.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cordingly they marched with fifteen hundred foot-soldiers by the Zanskar road to Baldé, where they were opposed by Budhi Sing Mithania, the chief of the district. Victory declared for the Dogras, with a loss of eighteen or twenty men killed on their side, and about twenty or twenty-five on that of the enemy. After a halt of seventeen days, they proceeded towards Jammu, leaving a garrison of twenty men in the fort of Chatrgarh.* /75

17. Maharaja Guláb Sing and the Mia† were both very much displeased with the Vazir Zoráwar Sing for having made over the country to Moru Tâdsi, who had no claim to it. The Vazir replied that Moru Tâdsi belonged to the royal family of Ladák; but that since his elevation was displeasing to the Maharaja, he would depose him on his return to Lé. One year after this, [669] news was brought that the new king had revolted, that he had killed the thanadar of Baldé and his twenty men, that twenty others had been made prisoners; and that the Dogra troops throughout the country were beleaguered in their different forts.

18. On hearing this, the Vazir started at once with a body of three thousand infantry, and in two months reached the district of Baldé; but owing to the swollen state of the river he was unable to accomplish anything for two months more.‡ At the end of that time, when the river had become passable, the Dogras attacked the

* Chatrgarh is on the right bank of the Chanáb river.

† Uttam Sing, the eldest son of Guláb Sing, a fine soldier-like young man, was killed at Lahor, along with No Nihál Sing, by the falling of a gateway.

‡ The swollen state of the river points to the months of July and August. The capture was, therefore, most probably made in September.

792 water, is performed.

The Hlóbon then takes a cotton scarf called "sungdrut," ties a knot in it, spits upon it, and ties it round the "Tsunchhung's" neck, muttering certain incantations while so doing. The "Tsunchhang" or "Geytshul" is then [85] made over to a Lama of the monastery, (selected either by himself, his friends, or the Hlóbon), who is termed his "Geyrgan" or "priestly teacher," and who becomes responsible for the education of his charge. The neophyte has then to learn by heart certain religious books, after which the Lámás assemble and examine him. If the result is satisfactory, he becomes a "Geylong" or full monk. If his circumstances permit of it, he is supposed to give a feast, (generally called "Mangja" and meaning "mangpo chha" or "much tea") to the Lamas consisting, in the case of red-caps, of tea (mangja) soup (paktsha) and glookchhang (examination beer), and in the case of yellow caps of tea only; at the same time he receives a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation" from the Hlobon, the Chhakdzot, his "Geyrgan" and from each of the "Geylongs" of his monastery, who congratulate him upon his admission into the priesthood.

After this, the monk has only three things to learn viz., (1) "kar" (Sanskrit word) or "rtseyches" (Tibetan word) i.e., the religious mumming dance (2) "thik" i.e., the steps, used when walking round in the intervals between the dances (3) yángs i.e., the way to intone the prayers.

[671] If a Láma, of whatever rank, wishes to leave the priesthood and return to secular life, he is at liberty to do so. According to civil law, he has the right to leave the priesthood whenever he pleases, but according to religious law, he cannot leave unless he has received permission from the monastery authorities, so to do. According to custom, he notifies to the Abbot his desire to go, and the Abbot then calls the Lámás together, explains the matter, and obtains from the meeting, permission for the monk to renounce his priestly calling.

A monk who has so left the priesthood is called "banlok."

792 795 688 Among the Geylukspa or yellow sect, if a monk commits a trivial offence, he is admonished for the first few times, and if this has no effect, he is turned out of the priesthood. If the offence committed is a grave one, the sinner is warned once, and on a repetition of the offence, he is scourged and expelled from the priesthood, or if the offence be a very heinous one, he is at

lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric marriages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated, in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it.

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless."

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers.

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
•671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their
LOANS.

426 loans. But ancient habits are hard to break. I do not know the
456 extent to which these new Kashmir laws are observed. There are
671 ugly stories about current usurious practices. About 95 per cent of the agricultural loans in Ladakh are repayable in kind. Monasteries advance food in the winter to tenants. Barley advanced when the grain is sixty cents must be repaid when the grain is thirty cents. Isn't repayment of twice the amount of the loan a kind of usury?

423 Kashmir has gone far in breaking up its feudal system based
671 on landownership. Under its new law every landowner is en-
425 titled to keep 182 *kanals* of land. The government has taken the rest of each owner's holdings and distributed it to the tenants. In the vicinity of Leh over twenty thousand acres have passed from twenty-four landlords to the peasants. The distribution at Leh, as at other places in Ladakh, was free, the peasants not paying for the land. Nor, to date, has the government paid the owners any compensation. Whether or not they should pay is a political question that agitates Kashmir.

425 Payment of just compensation, in the American sense, is impossible. The holdings were so large and so vast that it would take all the wealth of the state to compensate the old owners by our constitutional standards. Nehru and I discussed the problem in Delhi in August 1951.

"If the former owners get paid the full value of their land they will still own the wealth of the nation," Nehru said. And they would. New people would own the land. But the bulk of the revenues would still flow to the old owners.

Various ideas are being discussed for compensating the owners: payment that avoids confiscation; an annuity to the owner for his life and a lesser annuity to his children for their lives. What Kashmir will eventually do has not been decided. But in two important respects Kashmir has not touched the land problem.

It has not distributed the landholdings of the King of Ladakh, who completely owns the village of Stok not far from Leh. It has

425 not distributed the landholdings of the monasteries. Though some twenty thousand acres were taken from twenty-four landlords in the vicinity of Leh, as I have said, nine thousand acres, belonging to the monasteries, were left untouched.

671/ The truth is that the Kashmir law excepts these holdings from
423 its operation. In the case of the King of Ladakh, the exception is
792 not important, for his holdings are not great. He probably was
425 excluded because the monasteries all around his estate were excluded. The monasteries were excluded because the power of the lamas is so great that the government did not deem it expedient to disturb the status quo.

I heard various versions of that decision. One official in Leh said to me, "If a monastery has five hundred lamas, in fairness each lama would be entitled to 182 *kanals* on a redistribution of the land. That would at times result in an increase in the holdings of the monastery."

Another official had a different view: "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, who will support them?" he asked. He went on to explain that, while the monasteries collect some funds from the people, these funds are inadequate for the support of the lamas. The people are poor and can give very little. What they do give are small sums on festival days, on marriages, and the like. There is no sustaining congregation as we know it. The monasteries are utterly dependent on the land for their support.

This official added, "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, then the government must support the monasteries. That would be bad."

"Because church and state should be separate?" I asked.

"No. Because the government could not afford to maintain the monasteries."

792 The bald truth is that the lamas are a powerful political force. The position of the lamas is strong. If A were running against B for public office and the lamas sent word down that B was hostile to the church, there is no doubt A would be elected.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not 797
to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to 175
propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule 648
of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not 643
thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over 349
the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various provinces of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of loyalty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great 792
wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their 178
spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all 671•
the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. 695
It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

•671 dom to divine where the truth lay. Sometimes an accused would
675 have to draw a red-hot iron through his hand or take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil. If he did this without injury, he would be in the clear. (The legends persist that there was a secret art for protecting the hands against such ordeals.) Sometimes the judge, when confused by the evidence, would cast lots instead and in that way determine on which side the truth lay.

681 Capital punishment in Tibet was cruel—pushing red-hot irons
674 into the temples, hurling the convicted person from a great height, smashing his joints with a hammer. In Ladakh, when a temple was spoliated or a person horribly murdered, the guilty one was either crucified or bound hand and foot, weighted with stones, and thrown into the Indus to drown. The usual punishment for crimes—whether adultery or theft—was whipping, fine, or imprisonment. There was a mounting scale of fury which society directed against the thief. For the second offense of stealing, he lost his left hand; for the third, his right hand; for the fourth, he was drowned in the Indus.

[175] At Leh I inquired about these practices, and I learned that they are now mostly history. They are history not only because the Kashmir law is an ameliorating one but because the Buddhist religion has made a vast difference in the lives of the people. Thus I could find in Leh no modern record of a crime of violence—murder, manslaughter, rape, assault and battery.

674 "Don't put too much reliance on the absence of rape," a junior officer laughingly told me. "The resistance point of the average Ladakhi woman is pretty low."

"How about killings?"

"None."

"Assaults?"

"None."

"Not even between husbands in polyandric families where several brothers must share one wife?"

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian 797
congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious 595
considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the 779
faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never 114
agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist [674] ●
population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry [311]
to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, [167]
where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry.

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) 195
ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema 805
ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhaktshal" is used.

000 "Sprin ak'or!" said the people, "Clouds are gathering!"

651 /195/ After the autumn labors had been substantially completed, and the grain had been threshed and brought in, Namgyal traveled to Leh in order to pay in to the state treasury the taxes gathered by him as gopa. At the same time he wanted to sell a foal that he had reared. He likewise had to make some purchases at the Leh bazaar.

The business matters in Leh were soon completed. The tax computation was found to be correct, in many cases the unpaid taxes were granted a delay, and for this time the Wasir, a cultured, understanding Hindu of high caste, dispensed with the customary strong measures of coercion brought to bear upon negligent taxpayers. He praised Namgyal's wise measures taken during the time of distress. He knew and valued the Dragshos as a reliable and industrious official. The beautiful young horse which Namgyal brought for sale to the bazaar found a buyer in no time, and so Namgyal prepared himself for the journey home.

674 625 Then it happened during his last stroll through the streets of Leh that he unexpectedly found himself amidst a throng of excited people. He heard shouts: "Skunma! Skunma! Thief! Thief! Hold the thief!" A tussle, jostling to and fro, shouting, swearing, and four or five men were seized by the native policemen and taken away, then the crowd dispersed. Namgyal went to his temporary lodgings in order to prepare himself for the journey back to Kalatse. He was just about to saddle his horse when a native policemen, an Indian, came and took him to the police station. There he was received by the Indian police sergeant Gobinath who had the most evil reputation for his arbitrariness, corruptibility, and cruelty. Namgyal asked why he had been arrested--they had handcuffed him immediately--whereupon Gobinath answered, he himself should know that best, otherwise they would soon make it clear to him. Now Gobinath led Namgyal into the police prison where he personally interrogated him. He, Namgyal, was strongly suspected of having committed a bold robbery, or at least of having helped with it. It was not till this moment that Namgyal learned from the remarks of Gobinath that the dwelling of an Indian merchant on the bazaar had been broken into. The thief had broken a hole through the poorly constructed brick wall from the neighboring grounds /196/, and in this manner he had entered the room concerned. He had stolen turquoises, pearls, and silver to the value of several hundreds of rupees.

Gobinath said that someone had asserted having observed

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognized in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti.

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti :—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *begár* and common expenses; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind: the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognized. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús; in hearing law

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralized lately by opportunity and impunity.

671 dom to divine where the truth lay. Sometimes an accused would
685 have to draw a red-hot iron through his hand or take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil. If he did this without injury, he would be in the clear. (The legends persist that there was a secret art for protecting the hands against such ordeals.) Sometimes the judge, when confused by the evidence, would cast lots instead and in that way determine on which side the truth lay.

681 Capital punishment in Tibet was cruel—pushing red-hot irons
• 674 into the temples, hurling the convicted person from a great height, smashing his joints with a hammer. In Ladakh, when a temple was spoliated or a person horribly murdered, the guilty one was either crucified or bound hand and foot, weighted with stones, and thrown into the Indus to drown. The usual punishment for crimes—whether adultery or theft—was whipping, fine, or imprisonment. There was a mounting scale of fury which society directed against the thief. For the second offense of stealing, he lost his left hand; for the third, his right hand; for the fourth, he was drowned in the Indus.

[175] At Leh I inquired about these practices, and I learned that they are now mostly history. They are history not only because the Kashmir law is an ameliorating one but because the Buddhist religion has made a vast difference in the lives of the people. Thus I could find in Leh no modern record of a crime of violence—murder, manslaughter, rape, assault and battery.

674 "Don't put too much reliance on the absence of rape," a junior officer laughingly told me. "The resistance point of the average Ladakhi woman is pretty low."

"How about killings?"

"None."

"Assaults?"

"None."

"Not even between husbands in polyandric families where several brothers must share one wife?"

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when commerce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square—where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be, Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá 601
(mother).

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint 776
or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of 572
his or her own selection.

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa 426
(merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn- 448
brokers of Ladák.

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, 291
nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green 565
cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the 301
cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak."

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far 788
as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins.

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain 675
given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black- 195
smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., 662
bribe.

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792
291

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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585 their destinaton, the people in the procession are intercepted by members of the girl's family, both male and female, called either *Nang-mi* (*Nang Mi*) "people of the interior", or *Yado Dzao* (*Ya-do mDza-bo*) "companion-friends". These beat them with sticks and make a pretence of holding them up. The bridegroom's relatives offer pieces of cloth, *khatags*, and cash (annas) to appease the trouble-makers, and they are then subject to questioning and answering in song form, based on the eighteen Puranas, called on this occasion *Nya-rabs Chop-gyat* (*gNya-rabs bCho-brGyad*) "the eighteen legends of the witnesses".

The same show of resistance is made again at the door of the girl's house (including thorns put deliberately on the ground to impede sitting down) and more offerings are made to remove the obstacles. The leaders of the procession then state the object of their visit, and proceed to dance round a *tsampa* and bread image called *Drangyas* (*Brang-rGyas*) which has been put up in the yard together with the carcass of a whole sheep or *Sha-kog* (*Sha-k'hog*). Lamas who are present here, begin worship while the dance is still on.

A feast follows, during which the bride is hidden away, her horse is stolen, she is not allowed to go to the toilet, etc., and is generally bothered by her relatives who express in this way their (feigned) disinclination to let her go. Her father and *azhang* are paid some nominal sum of money so that an end is put to this mischief, and the girl is produced. She then has a *khatag* wound round her head and is led into the kitchen, where the lamas conduct a religious ceremony called *yang-kug* (*gYang-k'hug*) which is an evocation of blessing addressed to the pre-Buddhist god of wealth, in order to secure happiness and prosperity for the bride.

Clothes, ornaments, horses, yaks, sheep, goats, grain and cash are now offered to the boy's family by that of the bride. The bridegroom's relatives pay back with Rin-t'ho, as decided earlier, and by offering a purely nominal sum of two or three rupees as the price of the milk of the bride's mother, called *Omä Rin* (*aO-mai Rin*) "milk price". Then they all settle down, on both the bride's and the bridegroom's side, to the serious business of drafting the marriage contract.

585 605 In this document, the details of the girl's dowry are listed, what the property of the bridegroom will be is specified, the "assistance" which the bride will have from a number of other husbands, i.e. the brothers of the eldest one, is recorded, and sometimes a clause is inserted that if the husband does not turn out to be up to the mark, she will be authorized to bring in a *mag-pa* of her choice. All men present are

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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witness to the signature of this document. Those who sign are the *Nya-pön*[1] and the father of the bridegroom; the latter adds a pledge that he is bound to carry out his promises as to the amount of property which will be that of the young people when they are married. The original goes to the bride's relations, and the boy's family retains a duplicate. 585 [675]

The bridal party remains the night in the house and in the morning sets out for the bridegroom's house, taking the bride with them, and the second phase of the wedding ceremony begins.

The bride is received at the entrance of the bridegroom's house by two or more lamas, reciting prayers. They hold an earthenware vessel full of foodstuffs (*chang*, *tsampa*, rice, tea, dried apricots, and various varieties of vegetables) called *Zablug* (*Za-bLugs* (*-sku*) or "victual earthen vessel", which one of them whirls around the head of the bridegroom as he stands on the doorstep waiting for his future wife. The pot is then taken to a large stone standing close by, upon which crossed *dorjes* (*rDo-rJe*) have been drawn with a piece of charcoal, and is broken upon it. This initial ceremony is called *Gyag-chod* (*rGyag-ch'hod*) meaning "casting the hindrance away".

Then everybody troops into the house and a feast begins in which there is much singing and dancing and the expenses of which are paid by the bridegroom's *azhang*. The bride is brought in, and is seated with her bridegroom and his brothers (today, usually only the next eldest brother) in the kitchen on a white piece of cloth upon which grain has been strewn. They are made to eat out of the same plate, and one of the witnesses, who now assumes the role of *Na-tri-pa*, as we have already seen in Lahul, puts a *go-ras* or cotton cloth on the head of the boys.

The third phase of the marriage, the most important one, follows. The *Na-tri-pa*, who is also known as the *Tashi-pa* (*bKra-shis-pa*) or "lucky one", in Ladak, conducts the bride into the store room of the house. He carries a *Da-dar* (*mDa-dar*) or arrow with flags in the five colours of Buddhism, a mirror, a sheep's ankle bone, and a *khatag*, and is followed by the bridegroom or bridegrooms. Once they have all got into the room, the match-maker (for that is what the "nose-conducting-one" is) removes the *go-ras* which the bride has been wearing since she was taken from her house, and those of the men which have just been put on in the kitchen, and lays them down on a plate containing barley grains which is standing on a table or a ledge close by. He then hooks the bride by the collar from behind with the *Da-dar*, as a symbol of taking her out from among other girls whom the men

[1] [i.e., The "Chief Witness" -- Analyst]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not [615] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time 425 has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the 428 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who 886 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part [585] of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the [888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The punishments were few in kind, being only stripes, fines, and imprisonment, and in extreme cases, banishment or death; but they were numerous in degree, apportioned to the amount of guilt. The punishment of death was seldom awarded, and still more rarely executed. In cases of sacrilege, such as spoliation of temples, or in horrible cases of murder, the criminals were either crucified, or thrown into the Indus, bound hand and foot and weighted with stones. But the more usual punishment for murder was banishment, or rather ignominious expulsion from society, preceded by stripes and branding, and accompanied by every indignity that could be imagined by the ingenious malice of men, or that could be perpetrated by the elaborate mischief of boys. The brand was made of iron, and was about one inch in length. It bore a dog's head, with the inscription, "dog-marked—expelled." Thus after being well flogged and branded, the unfortunate criminal was drummed out of society, followed by hooting crowds,* who pelted him with stones and dirt.

For the murder of a child, a woman was sentenced to the loss of one hand, and to expulsion with the same indignities as above.

In cases of killing in a scuffle, the custom of Great Tibet was to bind the homicide to the corpse, and at the end of twenty-four hours to cast the living and dead together into the river. I did not hear of this custom in Ladák; but as commutation of punishment is almost

* The expression used by my informant was *ho-ho*, that is, the man was *ho-ho-ed*, or hooted. The brand of a dog was also used in Kashmir as a mark of disgrace at least nine hundred years ago. In the *Raja Taringini* it is related that Reja Saugráme, in A.D. 948, punished the Brahman Chakramela by marking his forehead with the "paw of a dog" (*Swapádena*).

696 always procurable for money, it is probable that the sentence of the law may have been death, although in practice the culprit was permitted to compromise by stripes, imprisonment, and fine. Such a course was in strict keeping with the precepts of their religion, which is averse to the taking of any animal life.

●681 The two modes of capital punishment were *drowning*
696 and *crucifixion*. In the former the culprit was bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Indus with a stone fastened to his neck.* In the latter mode the criminal was conducted to the *Songsa*, or "place of execution," by the *Shetma*, or "executioner." The *Sal-shing*,† or "crucifix," was a St. Andrew's cross fixed to an upright stake. The culprit was stripped naked; his hands and feet were bound to the extremities of the cross, while his head was secured to the upright stake by his own hair. In this position he was either quickly tortured to death by boiling oil, or was slowly allowed to expire under all
[784] the agonies of thirst and physical suffering. It is worthy of notice that in both of these modes of capital punishment, the shedding of blood was studiously shunned; for the sentence of crucifixion was carried out by *binding*, instead of nailing, the criminal to the cross. I presume, therefore, that there must have been some religious repugnance to putting a culprit to death by any mode that involved the shedding of blood. Mutilation of one or of both hands was, however, occasionally employed.

* Fra Orazio, p. 291. The same punishment was carried into effect in the same manner in Great Tibet. The culprit was "getta al fiume con un gran sasso al collo."

† *gSal-shing*, "clear wood." For what reason such a name was given to the stake, it would perhaps be difficult to discover. Perhaps it was intended for the tree that *cleanses* from guilt.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in the boiling oil.* The extraction of the *white* stone, 695
with an uninjured hand, is held as a complete proof of innocence; while the extraction of the *black* stone, with uninjured hand, is equivalent to the Scotch verdict of "not proven," of which the accused receives the benefit.

The foregoing is a concise account of the practical 681
laws of Ladák under its native rulers. Amongst a [784]
people who were averse to the taking of any animal life, the sentence of death was but seldom enforced; the last case of capital punishment, which was executed in 1845, being the only one during thirty years; and I suspect that even this sentence would not have been carried into effect but for the stern and unbending firmness of *Magna*, the dogra thanadar of Lé. The culprit 685
was a blacksmith of Chachot, who had been repeatedly punished by imprisonment, fines, and stripes, for pilfering the gilt leaves of books from the monasteries and the gilded pinnacles of the *Chodtens*, or mausolea. His last exploit was the entire removal of the copper-gilt pinnacles from the *Chodtens* attached to the large monastery of Hémis. The thanadar was proof against all appeals for mercy, chiefly, I believe, with a view to conciliate the religious brotherhood of Hémis, and partly as a stroke of policy in a newly-conquered country, to exhibit a marked example of unflinching firmness in the execution of the law. As a Hindu, Magna Thanadar was quite indifferent in the matter of life or death. The unfortunate thief was therefore bound hand and foot,

* Fra Orazio, del Regno del Thibet, p. 290. The Capuchin father declares that the Tibetans can save their hands from injury by the use of some secret art (si servono d'un certo secreto, o per arte magica).

1.C Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and, with a stone fastened to his neck, was cast headlong into the Indus from the Chachot bridge.

681 The laws of Ladák still continue in force under the rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, with the single exception of death for the slaughter of kine. This punishment was early carried into effect in some eight or ten cases in the different districts of Ladák. In 1841 and 1842 at Nubra, Chachot, Lé, and Nyimo, single individuals were put to death, and their bodies exposed on gibbets, by Jhandu, the thanadar of Lé, for killing and eating kine. All these were Musulmáns from Balti. In Drás, where all the population are Mahomedans, several were put to death by Gusáun Thanadar for the same cause. The skeleton of the man gibbeted at Lé, in 1841, was still nearly perfect in October 1847, when I saw it.

IV.—REVENUE.

The chief sources of revenue in Ladák were a tax on property and a duty on merchandise. The tax, called *Khral*, *Thang*, or *Shá*,* was levied on the dwellings and not on the lands; for as the lands did not produce sufficient food for the sustenance of the people, the establishment of a land-tax would have been absurd. The mass [439] of the people obtained their living by the *transport* of wool and other goods *through* their own country, to and from Yarkand and Kashmir. The duties, called *Shogam*, were imposed on merchandise, both imports and exports, and the whole revenue thus obtained was called *Thob-thang*.

The tax on houses was collected partly in kind, *Brú-*

* *Khral*, pronounced *Thal* in some districts, *Thang*, and *dPya*, the last being pronounced *Sha* or *Cha*.

792 195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564 681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

779 Chapter III, B.

184 Social and Religious Life.

177 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

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[681]

reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhodtens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csonts-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned.

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c.

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talúkdár* of a village in the plains.

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dafem*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal, except from the body of old shareholders. The State in a *Khálsa kothí*, or the Thákur in a *jágír kothí* could not give a share; practically, therefore, their power of approvement of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

651 421 681 487

Mr. Barnes describes the system of forced labour or *begár* prevailing everywhere in the hills, and mentions that it is one of the conditions of the tenure by which all proprietors hold land of the State in the hills. The forced labour which falls upon the Láhaulís is peculiarly heavy, as their country is a highway used by many travellers and officials on tour, and is surrounded by high snowy mountains and large tracts of elevated waste. The demand all occurs within the six months of summer, the time within which all field-work and all trading journeys have to be done. It is distributed equally on each *jeola* or holding, but at times it may be ruinous to certain families to have to give perhaps their only man; or there may be none at home, all being away engaged in the carrying trade between Tibet and Kúlu, in which almost all Láhauli landholders are concerned. The arrangements which have grown up owing to these difficulties, and which have now become fixed institutions, deserve to be briefly described. For the periodical repairs of roads a man is demanded from every house; for the carriage of travellers' baggage a man is taken from every *jeola*, or full allotment of land only, and the demand for supplies of all kinds required for travellers is distributed in the same way. Each *kothá* or group of *kothís* repairs certain lengths of highway, and carries baggage, and furnishes supplies for the stage nearest to it to travellers merely moving about the valley. The four *kothís* of Rangloi unite to undertake the carriage from Láhaul over the Rhotang Pass into Kúlu. There remains the most difficult task of all, that is, the providing supplies and carriage to travellers wishing to leave Láhaul for Ladákh, Spiti, Zánskár or Chamba by the Bará Lachá, Shinkál or Kukti Passes, which are all over 16,000 feet in height, and involve a camping out for several nights in the wastes. For the work of these passes the ten *kothís* of Gára and Pattan have put themselves on a common roll or roster. Each *kothí* keeps an account with the other *kothís* of its contributions, and within each *kothí* each holding keeps an account with the other holdings. If a holding cannot furnish its man in its turn, a substitute is sent, and there are fixed sums which the defaulting holding is obliged to pay to the substitute (in addition to the pay which he gets from the travellers), as follows:—

Name of route.	Sum payable to the substitute.
To Rupshú, over the Bára Lácha	Three rupees cash, 70lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Spiti, over the Bára Lácha ...	Rupees 3 cash, 36lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, butter 2lbs.
To Zánskár, over the Shinkál ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 1 pair boots, 2lbs butter.
To Chambá, over the Kukti ...	Rupees 2 cash, 32lbs barley meal, 3 pairs plaited straw sandals.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Begár or forced labour demandable from landholders in Láhaul.

The demand by travellers for pack horses over the Bára Lácha and Shinkál is in the same way borne rateably by the ten *kothís*, and within the *kothís* by the different holdings. The defaulting *kothí* or landowner pays the owner of the substitute pony a considerable sum in cash at rates fixed for the different journeys.* Defalcations are numerous and the accounts therefore perplexing. It is the custom, therefore, for each *kothí* to appoint by vote an elder to represent the *kothí* in the committee of *begár* accounts. He is called the *siyáná* and gets Rs. 6 cash per annum from the common account, and is himself excused all *begár*. To collect and store supplies in readiness for travellers, and to keep the account of the store, two men are selected year by year in each *kothí* under the name of *talabdár*. They get no pay, but are excused their turn of the *begár* while in office. The above regulations apply to the regular landholders; they appear to have been made by the people themselves under general pressure put upon them by the authorities. In Pattan there are some Dágí families who hold *chetís* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting places.

Sub-divisions in Spiti, and nature of town-ship and villages.

There are five *kothís* in Spiti—Todpá, Barjik, Shám, Chuzí and Pín; the four first are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pín river, and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains, except where the river forces its way through a deep narrow gorge to join the main stream. The name Todpá means head of the valley, Barjik the centre, and Shám the lower end, and these *kothís* divide the main valley between them accordingly. The name Chuzí implies endowment or assignment to religious uses, and the *kothí* consists of the villages scattered here and there over the whole length of valley. Again, in a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different *kothís*. It is hardly necessary to add that there are no boundaries between *kothis* in the waste, except perhaps in the case of Pín. A kind of boundary will be found to exist between villages which are not separated by any large expanse of waste; that is, such villages have loosely recognized limits within which both exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood; but even where such limits are clearest, they do not imply a full property of the soil. The right of the State to grant new holdings in such waste, if it could give water by making a new canal, would not be disputed; and where the villages, as is often the case, are far apart, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

Form of holding of fields and nature of tenure of waste and arable lands.

The form of tenure of the fields attached to the villages is the same as in Láhaul. Each field belongs to a separate estate or house, and with other fields forms its allotment supposed to have been originally conferred by the States and to be now independently held of it.† Owing to the custom of primogeniture which prevails these allotments are never sub-divided. The water available for irrigation

* Of the ten *kothis* two have no ponies, being on the south side of the Chandra, so they of course default each time.

† *Zing kom* is a local word used to describe such an allotment. A *zing kom chongpá* or full allotment, varies from three to seven acres in extent according to quality of the soil. Some few families only hold a half allotment or *zing khom ftha*.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 502] Spiti

597 582 It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

671 dom to divine where the truth lay. Sometimes an accused would
625 have to draw a red-hot iron through his hand or take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil. If he did this without injury, he would be in the clear. (The legends persist that there was a secret art for protecting the hands against such ordeals.) Sometimes the judge, when confused by the evidence, would cast lots instead and in that way determine on which side the truth lay.

•681 Capital punishment in Tibet was cruel—pushing red-hot irons
674 into the temples, hurling the convicted person from a great height, smashing his joints with a hammer. In Ladakh, when a temple was spoliated or a person horribly murdered, the guilty one was either crucified or bound hand and foot, weighted with stones, and thrown into the Indus to drown. The usual punishment for crimes—whether adultery or theft—was whipping, fine, or imprisonment. There was a mounting scale of fury which society directed against the thief. For the second offense of stealing, he lost his left hand; for the third, his right hand; for the fourth, he was drowned in the Indus.

[175] At Leh I inquired about these practices, and I learned that they are now mostly history. They are history not only because the Kashmir law is an ameliorating one but because the Buddhist religion has made a vast difference in the lives of the people. Thus I could find in Leh no modern record of a crime of violence—murder, manslaughter, rape, assault and battery.

674 "Don't put too much reliance on the absence of rape," a junior officer laughingly told me. "The resistance point of the average Ladakhi woman is pretty low."

"How about killings?"

"None."

"Assaults?"

"None."

"Not even between husbands in polyandric families where several brothers must share one wife?"

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The punishments were few in kind, being only stripes, 681
fines, and imprisonment, and in extreme cases, banishment or death; but they were numerous in degree, apportioned to the amount of guilt. The punishment of death was seldom awarded, and still more rarely executed. In cases of sacrilege, such as spoliation of [688]
temples, or in horrible cases of murder, the criminals 682
were either crucified, or thrown into the Indus, bound hand and foot and weighted with stones. But the more usual punishment for murder was banishment, or rather ignominious expulsion from society, preceded by stripes and branding, and accompanied by every indignity that could be imagined by the ingenious malice of men, or that could be perpetrated by the elaborate mischief of boys. The brand was made of iron, and was about one inch in length. It bore a dog's head, with the inscription, "dog-marked—expelled." Thus after being well flogged and branded, the unfortunate criminal was drummed out of society, followed by hooting crowds,* who pelted him with stones and dirt.

For the murder of a child, a woman was sentenced to the loss of one hand, and to expulsion with the same indignities as above.

In cases of killing in a scuffle, the custom of Great Tibet was to bind the homicide to the corpse, and at the end of twenty-four hours to cast the living and dead together into the river. I did not hear of this custom in Ladák; but as commutation of punishment is almost 696

* The expression used by my informant was *ho-ho*, that is, the man was *ho-ho-ed*, or hooted. The brand of a dog was also used in Kashmir as a mark of disgrace at least nine hundred years ago. In the *Raja Taringini* it is related that Reja Saugráme, in A.D. 948, punished the Brahman Chakramela by marking his forehead with the "paw of a dog" (*Swapidena*).

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and for a fourth offence, death by drowning. These at least were the allotted punishments, and, with the exception of the last, they were generally carried into effect in all cases of robbery of public property or of church goods. But in cases of private robbery the usual influences had their weight. Near relationship might sway the judges to a milder sentence; or a fair bribe, judiciously bestowed, might induce the chief Láma of the monastery of Hémis to interfere, by an appeal to the king's mercy, which it was unusual to refuse. A direct appeal could also be made to the king by the prisoner's relatives, on the presentation of an offering of four or five rupees, if the criminal was a poor man, or of fifty to a hundred rupees, if he was a rich man.

684 For *Adultery*, where the woman was the guilty party, the paramour, as in Europe, was fined according to his means, or received an equivalent corporal punishment, while the husband had the option of taking back the woman, if he chose to do so. Or if he did not wish to keep her, he could retain her dowry. When the husband was the guilty party, the wife could demand back her dowry.

683 Common disputes, involving blows and abuse, were settled at once by fines and stripes.

695 In doubtful cases, where the evidence was unsatisfactory, a decision was obtained either by casting lots, or by ordeal. In the latter case, the accused had either to draw a red-hot iron through his hand, or to take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil without injury. In Great Tibet both of these ordeals are practised; but the latter is rendered much more complicated and difficult by the immersion of two stones, one black and the other white,

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then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

152 762 593 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

837 595 684 There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 597 793 548 276 Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, [824] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof 000 of it. But local Europeans who know the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind. 586 [435]

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule. 837 [626]

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama". [792]

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way. 836 839 [848]

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be 837 684

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none
[735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[1192] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

For *Theft* and other crimes, the punishment (*chhad-pa*) was threefold: 1st. *Lús-chhad*, that is, "corporal punishment," or stripes; 2nd. *Nor-chhad*, "property punishment," or fine, which was nearly always taken in goods at a ruinous valuation; 3rd. *Tson-chhad*, "prison-punishment," or imprisonment. 685

The corporal punishment was the same for man and woman. The culprit was placed full-length on the ground, and received the awarded number of stripes on the bare posteriors. This punishment, however, could always be avoided by the payment of a commensurate fine. The punishment by fine was always enforced, except in cases of poverty and absolute inability; but the culprits were made to pay in person by a double amount of stripes for what they were unable to pay in money or in goods. 685 696

In cases of imprisonment the culprits were confined in the *Tson-khang*, or jail, secured with fetters (*skrog*), and superintended by the *Tson-dsi*, or jailer. Theoretically food was allowed during the term of imprisonment; but practically, both in the provinces and in the capital, the prisoners' friends were obliged to supply food to save them from starvation.

In cases of common theft, the stolen property, if recovered, was restored to its owner, and a fine, equal in value to the amount of the stolen goods, was levied on the thief for the benefit of the state. If the property was not recovered, a double fine was levied, one half being given to the robbed party, and the other half to the government. This was the punishment for a first offence. For a second offence the sentence was loss of the left hand; for a third offence, loss of the right hand; 685

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and for a fourth offence, death by drowning. These at least were the allotted punishments, and, with the exception of the last, they were generally carried into effect in all cases of robbery of public property or of church goods. But in cases of private robbery the usual influences had their weight. Near relationship might sway the judges to a milder sentence; or a fair bribe, judiciously bestowed, might induce the chief Láma of the monastery of Hémis to interfere, by an appeal to the king's mercy, which it was unusual to refuse. A direct appeal could also be made to the king by the prisoner's relatives, on the presentation of an offering of four or five rupees, if the criminal was a poor man, or of fifty to a hundred rupees, if he was a rich man.

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in the boiling oil.* The extraction of the *white* stone, with an uninjured hand, is held as a complete proof of innocence; while the extraction of the *black* stone, with uninjured hand, is equivalent to the Scotch verdict of "not proven," of which the accused receives the benefit. 695

The foregoing is a concise account of the practical laws of Ladák under its native rulers. Amongst a people who were averse to the taking of any animal life, the sentence of death was but seldom enforced; the last case of capital punishment, which was executed in 1845, being the only one during thirty years; and I suspect that even this sentence would not have been carried into effect but for the stern and unbending firmness of *Magna*, the dogra thanadar of Lé. The culprit was a blacksmith of Chachot, who had been repeatedly punished by imprisonment, fines, and stripes, for pilfering the gilt leaves of books from the monasteries and the gilded pinnacles of the *Chodtens*, or mausolea. His last exploit was the entire removal of the copper-gilt pinnacles from the *Chodtens* attached to the large monastery of Hémis. The thanadar was proof against all appeals for mercy, chiefly, I believe, with a view to conciliate the religious brotherhood of Hémis, and partly as a stroke of policy in a newly-conquered country, to exhibit a marked example of unflinching firmness in the execution of the law. As a Hindu, Magna Thanadar was quite indifferent in the matter of life or death. The unfortunate thief was therefore bound hand and foot, 681 [784] 685

* Fra Orazio, del Regno del Thibet, p. 290. The Capuchin father declares that the Tibetans can save their hands from injury by the use of some secret art (si servono d'un certo secreto, o per arte magica).

Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and, with a stone fastened to his neck, was cast headlong into the Indus from the Chachot bridge.

681 The laws of Ladák still continue in force under the rule of Mahárája Gulab Sing, with the single exception of death for the slaughter of kine. This punishment was early carried into effect in some eight or ten cases in the different districts of Ladák. In 1841 and 1842 at Nubra, Chachot, Lé, and Nyimo, single individuals were put to death, and their bodies exposed on gibbets, by Jhandu, the thanadar of Lé, for killing and eating kine. All these were Musulmáns from Balti. In Drás, where all the population are Mahomedans, several were put to death by Gusáun Thanadar for the same cause. The skeleton of the man gibbeted at Lé, in 1841, was still nearly perfect in October 1847, when I saw it.

IV.—REVENUE.

The chief sources of revenue in Ladák were a tax on property and a duty on merchandise. The tax, called *Khral*, *Thang*, or *Shá*,* was levied on the dwellings and not on the lands; for as the lands did not produce sufficient food for the sustenance of the people, the establishment of a land-tax would have been absurd. The mass [439] of the people obtained their living by the *transport* of wool and other goods *through* their own country, to and from Yarkand and Kashmir. The duties, called *Shogam*, were imposed on merchandise, both imports and exports, and the whole revenue thus obtained was called *Thob-thang*.

The tax on houses was collected partly in kind, *Brú-*

* *Khral*, pronounced *Thal* in some districts, *Thang*, and *dPya*, the last being pronounced *Sha* or *Cha*.

754 a much-traveled friend of Namgyal explained that the disease had an entirely natural cause, the immoderate eating of apricots as well as the uncleanliness of the people: Tsering Putrid stuck to her opinions stubbornly. The lamas were called in, they read, prayed to all the Buddhas and in particular to the medicine Buddha, they presented scattered offerings, and beat their drums--all in vain. Finally a man who had traveled around a great deal with an Indian doctor advised: "Don't give the boy any cow's milk or butter tea to drink any more. Give him thick flour soup and goat's milk to drink, then he'll get better!" The mother followed his advice and gradually he started to improve and finally was cured. For a long time it remained a mystery who had placed the goat's horn under the threshold /131/, and for a long time to come old Tsering Putrid followed Chondsom with hostile looks and allusions, until a woman from a neighboring house told that she had seen a vagabond from Greater Tibet, a Khampa, who went begging from house to house busying himself near Namgyal's house door. Now they remembered the incident. The man had stolen a [685] silver-plated drinking bowl in a neighbor's house; he had been caught and led before Namgyal as the village judge. The latter did not want to see a great trial made of the matter, otherwise he would have had to take the man to Leh himself, a trip of three days, in order to have him sentenced there. He did not want to do that; so he had made a brief procedure of it and had given the thief a sound thrashing with the horsewhip and then had let him go. For this the Khampa had wanted to avenge himself by means of the charm of the goat's horn.

753 Scarcely was the anxiety over the boy's sickness passed, when a new source of concern entered the Dragshos house. The mother of the boy, who had recovered, fell sick of acute pneumonia. The lharje was called in, he gave her medicine, bled the patient, and burned her chest and back with a red-hot iron. But nothing could help her. Again the lamas were called in, in order to ascertain the cause of the illness. For a long time they searched in vain for a tangible cause. "It is simply her karma," they said, "the consequence of sinful deeds which she has committed in past existences, and who knows those!"

The lamas meanwhile searched industriously for the cause of the illness. Usually it turned out that the demons had a hand in the matter despite karma and retribution. They asked the patient and her husband many questions: "Has a stranger come into the house recently, perhaps a 'heathen' (a non-Buddhist), a Mon, a Beda, a Muslim, or perhaps even a Kristan (Christian), or an impure person;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. 142

Social and Religious Life. [152]

the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognized in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable. [144]

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti. 157

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti :—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *begár* and common expenses; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind: the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognized. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús; in hearing law [674] [273] [83]

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralised lately by opportunity and impunity. 177 685

19: Asboc M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

241 before a verdict as to the propitious moment
787 for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as
685 landmarks to distinguish between the various
691 farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that
[273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 An adequate supply of water from rivers,
624 glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water
241 supply). In cases where there is a communal
312 reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 On the 1st day of the 11th month, each household makes
782 a dough effigy of an ibex (*Skyin*), a cake of unleavened bread with its edges turned up and inwards (*Pe-Rak*), parched barley flour placed in a wooden flour bowl (*Pe-Pud*) is prepared. A vessel of beer (*Nang-mChod*) and one of water (*Chu-Pud*) are also placed alongside of all these offerings, the whole being laid on a shelf in the apartment for three days.

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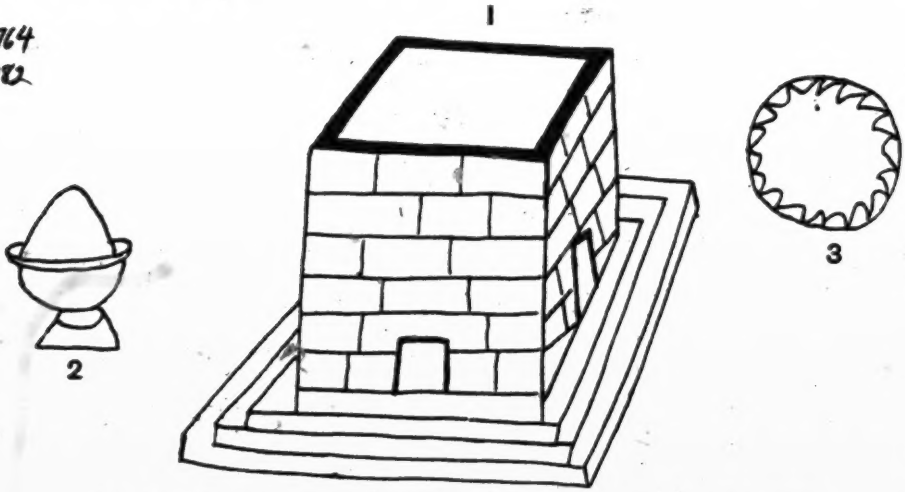

1. *Dur-Kung*. An earthen cremating oven set up on a plinth of earth. There is an aperture on each of the four sides to allow of ventilation, and ensuring a draught so as to expedite the burning of the corpse which is placed in it in a doubled up posture. The whole is made of dried mud bricks. 2. *Pe-Pud*. An offering of flour. 3. *Pe-Rak*. A cake of unleavened bread with edges turned inwards.

796 Friends, relations, and neighbours now call on each other
574 carrying with them small vessels of beer and 5, 7, or 9
● 685 breads (the taking of six breads being contra-indicated). The children of the village in the meantime make a house to house collection of meat, bread, and other eatables. Whilst the housewife is engaged in producing the food thus claimed, a diversion is afforded when the children surreptitiously steal the *Skyin*, *Pe-Rak*, *Pe-Pud*, *Nang-mChod*, and the *Chu-Pud*, though receiving their ration of food from the incautious housewife.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and *Gobas*, according to the numerical strength of the quotas furnished by their respective districts and villages. Thus the Kahlon who brought a few hundreds was dignified with the title of *Stong-pon*,* "chief of a thousand," or colonel; a wealthy Goba who could muster from 50 to 100 men, was styled *Gyapon*,† "chief of a hundred," or captain; while an inferior Goba who was attended by only four or five men, was called *Chu-pon*,‡ "chief of ten," or serjeant. 701

The camp (*Maggar*§), which was pitched without any regularity, consisted almost entirely of black tents made of yák's hair. The Kahlons and some others had white blanket tents, but these were so few in number as not to affect the general sombre appearance of the camp. When, however, the cooking commenced, and volumes of smoke began to issue from the open roofs of the tents, now ascending in fantastic curls, and now whirling rapidly round and spreading a milky canopy over the black tents, the Boti camp wore a very picturesque appearance. During the day little was heard but the busy hum of men preparing their food or cleaning their arms, but towards evening the whole air frequently rang with noisy brawls and angry squabbles, which gave but too convincing a proof of the powerful influence of their favourite *chang*. 712

All disputes in camp were settled at once by stripes or fine, according to the sentence of an assembly of officers, whose decisions were final. These assemblies 687 698

* *Stong-dPon*, commander of one thousand.

† *b,rGya-dPon*, commander of one hundred.

‡ *bChu-dPon*, commander of ten.

§ *dMag-sGar*, a "military camp," to distinguish it from the common encampment of the Nomads, *sGar*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

687 were exactly the same as our drum-head courts-martial;
698 and their sentences were accordingly termed *Makkhrim*,* or martial law.

705 The soldiers were obliged to find their own food.
726 Each man was therefore generally attended by another male member of his house or family, who carried the joint provisions on his back during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Occasionally they
702 relieved one another. In case of a casualty also the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes, and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

721 Although these bodies of undisciplined militia were not deserving of the name of an army, yet they were generally strong enough to repel all attacks of their immediate neighbours of Balti, Rudok, and Chumurti, who were as poor and as unsoldierly as themselves; while the great poverty of the country, and the extreme rigour of the climate, were sufficient to deter the effeminate Kashmiris from even thinking of such a project without
721 a shudder. In fact, there is no record of any invasion
173 of Ladák by the Kashmiris; on the contrary, the Raja Taringini relates the entire conquest and occupation of Kashmir by the Boti *Rinchana*, or, as he is more commonly called in Kashmir to this day, *Ratanjo*,† about the middle of the fourteenth century. Rinchana was the son of *Bakhtán Bhot;* that is, he was probably of the *Yasan* family, which still bears the title of *Bakhto*. Being driven from his native country, he naturally fled

* *dMag-khrims*, "war-law."

† *Jo* or *Cho* is the Tibetan *mChhog*, the common title of a chief amongst the Boti Mahomedans.

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángthang plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

December brings snow to the valleys. Thus Lahul is frozen tight 132
most of the year. There is no place for much stock. A dzo or a [422]
cow or two is all a family has.

Even the independent farmers work land that usually is not 423
theirs. They are largely squatters on government domain—families who have taken a likely-looking bench above a river, cleared it of rocks, and planted barley. Maybe the project prospered; more than likely it failed. And so one sees along the Chandra and the Bhaga grim outlines of old fields long forsaken. The family has moved on to another location, seeking brighter prospects.

I sat with my Sikh friend, Mahindar Singh Randhawa, the 695
Tehsildar of Kyelang, as he held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang. We sat in the open at a table on the edge of a stand of ancient juniper three or four feet in diameter while alpine choughs (glossy black with yellow beaks and red legs) soared overhead. Lahulis had come in from miles around for the court session. The men stood huddled around us, twisting their brimless and loosely woven wool caps. They were awed by the occasion—solemn and frightened too. This was the long arm of the law reaching out from remote Delhi to touch the lowliest of them. Their womenfolk and children had come to court with them. The women sat quietly in a circle on the perimeter of the court, knitting stockings and nursing babies. Women and children were also grim. There was no laughter in the crowd, no playfulness among the youngsters. This was the day of reckoning for their menfolk.

This court had no marshal, no court crier to announce it—no "oyez, oyez, oyez." The Tehsildar convened court by calling the names of the cases. The cases were actually *Punjab* vs. *Sonam*, *Punjab* vs. *Thundup*, *Punjab* vs. *Tsering*, etc. But this kind
and warmhearted judge merely called the names of the farmers, 695
and each replied. There were dozens of cases, and they took 687
hours. The following is typical.

"Sonam, where is your farm?"

695 687 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

[231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 651 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

in the dak bungalow—soup, hamburgers, cocoa, canned fruit, 687
and *chapattis*. Discussion turned to the court session. 651

"Are these families on this land legally?" I asked.

"No. They are all illegal squatters. The law of Punjab provides that a man may homestead public land and that he has a period of time to make payment for it. But he must pay."

"How much must he pay?"

"About two hundred rupees [forty dollars] an acre."

"Have any paid?"

"None."

"Do they all owe arrears in taxes?"

"Yes, all of them."

"What is the law of Punjab in such cases?"

"The squatters must be ejected."

"Is that what you are going to do tomorrow? Eject them?"

There was a long pause.

"None will be ejected," he finally replied with emphasis. "You are a judge and you know that law is law but that the law is not always justice."

I nodded but answered, "Yet this is public property."

"True," he replied, "but these farmers are India's outposts. They 168
occupy land bordering countries that may be unfriendly. It is important that India keep this border country populated. Certainly Soviet Communism exploits every discontent in India. It is better that India sacrifice her legal rights or even lose a part of her public domain and have happy people here than that she enforce her legal rights and end up with discontented citizens on this sensitive northern border."

"Why can't the people pay taxes?"

His eyes were now wide with seriousness. "Why, these people 735
only subsist. They raise barely enough to live. They trade barley 511
for wool from Tibet and make their own clothes. I suppose none of the families we saw this afternoon has a cash income each year of even ten rupees."

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER X

"Curiouser & Curiouser"

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YET another trek awaits us, for we have not yet seen the Changpä, the nomad who wanders over the high plateaus of Western Tibet, and the Botpa who is the real inhabitant of the Closed

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Land. A dispute about the actual boundary between Ladak and Tibet must be settled on the border itself whither the British Joint Commissioner, Major Robson, who holds a watching brief for the Government of India, the Wazir Sahib, who represents his Highness, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Doctor Sahib, who accompanies the former, must travel to meet a gentleman who is styled the "Gaspon," and who acts on behalf of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

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The cause of the dispute was a Ladaki who had settled down in Tibet proper, where he had taken unto himself a lady of the country as wife, and had grown rich. As a result he became liable for the heavy Tibetan taxation, and, wishing to escape this, he returned to Ladak and settled down on his own side of the border. But our Tibetan friends were not to be done out of their taxes quite so easily, for they calmly entered Ladak, seized their man, and took him back again. His brother then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and the Government of India on his behalf, and these naturally objected to such high-handed procedure. Tibet tried to contest the matter by saying that the place from which they had removed the Ladaki was in Tibetan territory, but from

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the discussions which were subsequently held at this conference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they had no grounds at all for their contentions.

So off we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along.

We are now travelling with the representative of his Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle-drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The punishments were few in kind, being only stripes, 681
fines, and imprisonment, and in extreme cases, banishment or death; but they were numerous in degree, apportioned to the amount of guilt. The punishment of death was seldom awarded, and still more rarely executed. In cases of sacrilege, such as spoliation of [688] temples, or in horrible cases of murder, the criminals 682
were either crucified, or thrown into the Indus, bound hand and foot and weighted with stones. But the more usual punishment for murder was banishment, or rather ignominious expulsion from society, preceded by stripes and branding, and accompanied by every indignity that could be imagined by the ingenious malice of men, or that could be perpetrated by the elaborate mischief of boys. The brand was made of iron, and was about one inch in length. It bore a dog's head, with the inscription, "dog-marked—expelled." Thus after being well flogged and branded, the unfortunate criminal was drummed out of society, followed by hooting crowds,* who pelted him with stones and dirt.

For the murder of a child, a woman was sentenced to the loss of one hand, and to expulsion with the same indignities as above.

In cases of killing in a scuffle, the custom of Great Tibet was to bind the homicide to the corpse, and at the end of twenty-four hours to cast the living and dead together into the river. I did not hear of this custom in Ladák; but as commutation of punishment is almost 696

* The expression used by my informant was *ho-ho*, that is, the man was *ho-ho-ed*, or hooted. The brand of a dog was also used in Kashmir as a mark of disgrace at least nine hundred years ago. In the *Raja Taringini* it is related that Reja Saugráme, in A.D. 948, punished the Brahman Chakramela by marking his forehead with the "paw of a dog" (*Swapádena*).

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. [illegible] offender gives a goat or other offering, and is th[illegible]eived back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 755

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

792 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
792 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
792 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

792 water, is performed.

The Hlóbon then takes a cotton scarf called "sungdrut," ties a knot in it, spits upon it, and ties it round the "Tsunchhung's" neck, muttering certain incantations while so doing. The "Tsunchhang" or "Geytshul" is then [85] made over to a Lama of the monastery, (selected either by himself, his friends, or the Hlóbon), who is termed his "Geyrgan" or "priestly teacher," and who becomes responsible for the education of his charge. The neophyte has then to learn by heart certain religious books, after which the Lámás assemble and examine him. If the result is satisfactory, he becomes a "Geylong" or full monk. If his circumstances permit of it, he is supposed to give a feast, (generally called "Mangja" and meaning "mangpo chha" or "much tea") to the Lamas consisting, in the case of red-caps, of tea (mangja) soup (paktsha) and glookchhang (examination beer), and in the case of yellow caps of tea only; at the same time he receives a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation" from the Hlobon, the Chhakdzot, his "Geyrgan" and from each of the "Geylongs" of his monastery, who congratulate him upon his admission into the priesthood.

After this, the monk has only three things to learn viz., (1) "kar" (Sanskrit word) or "rtseyches" (Tibetan word) i.e., the religious mumming dance (2) "thik" i.e., the steps, used when walking round in the intervals between the dances (3) yángs i.e., the way to intone the prayers.

[671] If a Lama, of whatever rank, wishes to leave the priesthood and return to secular life, he is at liberty to do so. According to civil law, he has the right to leave the priesthood whenever he pleases, but according to religious law, he cannot leave unless he has received permission from the monastery authorities, so to do. According to custom, he notifies to the Abbot his desire to go, and the Abbot then calls the Lámás together, explains the matter, and obtains from the meeting, permission for the monk to renounce his priestly calling.

A monk who has so left the priesthood is called "banlok."

792 Among the Geylukspa or yellow sect, if a monk commits a trivial
795 offence, he is admonished for the first few times, and if this
● 688 has no effect, he is turned out of the priesthood. If the offence committed is a grave one, the sinner is warned once, and on a repetition of the offence, he is scourged and expelled from the priesthood, or if the offence be a very heinous one, he is at

WT
792 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
795 scourged can remain a Láma.
●688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which
T is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
788 considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
648 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT [565] Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
WT Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
648 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
554 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
661 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
T lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
648 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
661 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
648 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
439 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
554 profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

friends have all heard the news of the death of a person, they go into the house in which the death has taken place, in order to console (the relatives). This is called the Great Meeting (k'ab-ap'rad). As soon as one /214/ of the visitors enters the house, the women of the circle of relatives and of the tribe immediately start up a wailing of lamentation and amidst crying tell of the passing away. The visitors appear before each of the mourners and say: "Don't cry! Don't cry! Do not grieve!" They stay for a little while and then go home. Only the p'as-pun stay in the house and pray continually the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum while they turn the prayer wheel. 764

Rules Concerning Becoming Ritually Impure

When a woman's husband dies, the wife has to carry his corpse, and in this way becomes (ritually) impure (yug-sa); if the woman dies then her husband has to carry her corpse and becomes impure. The person who has become impure drapes a blackish blanket of goat's hair around himself in a dark corner, takes all his ornaments off, and puts on old clothes. The vessels, such as the kettle, the flour bowl, and so forth, of the person who has become impure (yug-sa-pa) are kept separate from those of the other inhabitants of the house. Since the surviving husband or wife is regarded as impure (6), the person con- 764 783

6. As "impure one" the person would otherwise offend and anger the earth, water, and household deities, and these would send sickness, drought, and crop failure upon the offenders.

cerned may not touch the hearth or the implements, in particular the eating and cooking implements in the living room; ordinarily this person may not leave the house either. If he leaves the house anyway, he may not cross over any irrigation ditches. If it is summertime, he may not go into the fields. Today there is still the chopped off and dried out hand of a woman to be seen in the monastery Gang-ngon (sgaṅ-ñon) (7). This woman committed nine offenses of this kind (and [688]

7. The monastery is at a distance of about fifteen kilometers from Leh.

was punished for them in this fashion).

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. 796

Social and Religious Life. 241

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system. 779 792 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámaic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B.

Land and Land Revenue.

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

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648
634

in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsíldár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pus* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorized collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognized as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

[72]
[88]

* The *pus* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,461 *lábh* 7 *path*, and the *netal* to 456 *lábh* 11 *path*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *lábh* 18 *path*, which at 2 *lábh* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

597 582 It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lámas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lama* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lámas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and 821
firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (1 6), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to

> 1 6. The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mytholog has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply he earth with light night and da .

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer 731
was followed b a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the Kalatse reservoir and water-line [689]
strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community.

The lamas performed one <u>procession</u> after another, and the [789]
farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, which did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected.

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the 787
land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

241 787 before a verdict as to the propitious moment for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 685 691 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that [273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 624 An adequate supply of water from rivers, glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water supply). In cases where there is a communal reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

241 312

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872] Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *taksīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

692 The administration of justice in Ladák was truly patriarchal. When any one was injured or aggrieved, he proceeded straight to the *Gyalpo* or *Kahlon* of his district, or to the *Goba* of his village, and represented his case. An assembly of five, or of seven elders* of the community was then called to hear and to decide
692 upon the case. In the capital the proceedings were
694 conducted with the observance of more form. The complainant made his case known to the *Lonpo*, or mayor, who reported it to the *Kahlon*, or prime minister. The *Shakspon*, or chief justice, was then directed to assemble a regular court, composed either of five or of seven members, according to the importance of the case. The members were selected, as in the provinces, from amongst the *Gatpas*, or "elders;" but to them were joined two or more *Khrimpons*, or "sitting magistrates," whose duty it was to expound the *Yul-khrim*,†
695 that is, the "law of the land," or civil law. The *Shaks-*
696 *khang*,‡ or "court of justice," was opened and closed by the sounding of the *Khrim-dung*,§ or "trumpet of justice," and the sentence of the court (excepting in capital cases) was carried into execution without delay.

* *rGad-pa*, pronounced *Gatpa*, an "old man," an "elder." The number of members points to a common origin with the universal and still prevailing *Panchayet*, or "assembly of five," throughout India. Five must have been the ancient number, as even a single arbitrator or umpire is now called "*Panch*."

† *Yul-khrims*, "land-law." In Ladák this word is pronounced *Yul-khrim*, but in Great Tibet it is corrupted to *Yul-thim*.

‡ *Shags-khang*, "justice-hall."

§ *Khrims-dung*, "justice-trumpet;" there was also a *Khrims-rNga*, "justice-drum."

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 476 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 564

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhôt" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--láma or lámba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

Ro-nag-pa is a person who has become impure through the touching of a corpse. 783 844

will get the Lha (gods) and the Lu (water gods, snake gods) angry at us, and then they will cause our water to fail and the seed on the field to dry up!" Soon there are three, four, and more neighbors on the spot and they all talk excitedly to Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter insists on his good right. Today, he says, after eight days of drought, it is his turn for watering his ground. His brother, he goes on, who does not live in his house, has watered the fields down in the valley; he just wanted to water the clover field and the garden up here still; he had also been very careful not to jump over the ditch, which especially enrages the water nymphs. His drinking water, he says, his niece gets for him at the well. She lived, after all, in the neighboring house and had therefore not become impure, like he, by the birth in his house. His mother placed two earthen jars before the door every morning, which the niece would put back in the same place filled, so that she never had to set foot inside the house. Soon he would also throw a lu-stor, an offering of pills made of bread dough, in the lake and in the well for the water nymphs, in order to appease the Lu and to become absolved. He knew, too, what was fitting and proper for a pious Buddhist. Nobody could accuse him of not honoring and fearing the old gods of the land. But all his talking is of no avail. The old trouble-maker Yontan from the Break-all house will not let him go; he points to the ditch and says that one could see quite clearly that the ditch was already conducting much less water than it usually did in the late evening after a warm day and a great deal of melting of the snow in the mountains. That was, of course, Lobsang Wanggyal's 692 fault; he was going to bring action against him with the district's official. The p'a-spun (3) have to intervene because the men look

(3) By p'a-spun, literally translated as "father-brothers," 608 that is to say, brothers who have a common father, the Tibetan means a closed fraternity within the village community, which is not necessarily constituted of blood relatives, but who all worship a common god (Tibetan: p'a-lha, that is, Father-God). At all important events within the family and tribe, such as birth, marriage, and death, the p'a-spun gather for joint action and mutual assistance; they are obligated to help each other in every way possible. Their relations and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

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692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [785] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lac of rupees, or nearly £10,000 per annum. In addition to his regular income, both public and private, the Gyalpo enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts, which, possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government. He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grass, for four months in the year, by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples, and grapes.

647 The various charges defrayed by the state were few in number, and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The paid officers of the state were the *Lonpo*, or governor; [693] the *Shakspon*, or lord chief justice; and the different *Khrimpons*, or magistrates of Lé; besides the *Káká Tádsi*, or master of the horse, and the *Chagdsot*, or lord high treasurer. I could not ascertain the amount of their individual salaries, but the gross amount of civil charges was estimated at Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum, and which I believe to be near the truth. The 701 military charges were nothing, as each family or house was obliged to furnish one soldier whenever called upon to do so, and to feed him during his term of service.

651 Under the present rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, the revenue of Ladák may be estimated as follows:-

Tax on houses	Rs. 45,500
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
Monasteries	6,300
	Rs. 80,500

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III.—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

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abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it. 595 428 [671]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless." [694]

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers. 593 184 [797]

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm 593 595 184

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685 and for a fourth offence, death by drowning. These at least were the allotted punishments, and, with the exception of the last, they were generally carried into effect in all cases of robbery of public property or of church goods. But in cases of private robbery the usual influences had their weight. Near relationship might sway the judges to a milder sentence; or a fair bribe, judiciously bestowed, might induce the chief Láma of the monastery of Hémis to interfere, by an appeal to the king's mercy, which it was unusual to refuse. A direct appeal could also be made to the king by the prisoner's relatives, on the presentation of an offering of four or five rupees, if the criminal was a poor man, or of fifty to a hundred rupees, if he was a rich man.

684 For *Adultery*, where the woman was the guilty party, the paramour, as in Europe, was fined according to his means, or received an equivalent corporal punishment, while the husband had the option of taking back the woman, if he chose to do so. Or if he did not wish to keep her, he could retain her dowry. When the husband was the guilty party, the wife could demand back her dowry.

683 Common disputes, involving blows and abuse, were settled at once by fines and stripes.

695 In doubtful cases, where the evidence was unsatisfactory, a decision was obtained either by casting lots, or by ordeal. In the latter case, the accused had either to draw a red-hot iron through his hand, or to take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil without injury. In Great Tibet both of these ordeals are practised; but the latter is rendered much more complicated and difficult by the immersion of two stones, one black and the other white,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in the boiling oil.* The extraction of the *white* stone, with an uninjured hand, is held as a complete proof of innocence; while the extraction of the *black* stone, with uninjured hand, is equivalent to the Scotch verdict of "not proven," of which the accused receives the benefit.

The foregoing is a concise account of the practical laws of Ladák under its native rulers. Amongst a people who were averse to the taking of any animal life, the sentence of death was but seldom enforced; the last case of capital punishment, which was executed in 1845, being the only one during thirty years; and I suspect that even this sentence would not have been carried into effect but for the stern and unbending firmness of *Magna*, the dogra thanadar of Lé. The culprit was a blacksmith of Chachot, who had been repeatedly punished by imprisonment, fines, and stripes, for pilfering the gilt leaves of books from the monasteries and the gilded pinnacles of the *Chodtens*, or mausolea. His last exploit was the entire removal of the copper-gilt pinnacles from the *Chodtens* attached to the large monastery of Hémis. The thanadar was proof against all appeals for mercy, chiefly, I believe, with a view to conciliate the religious brotherhood of Hémis, and partly as a stroke of policy in a newly-conquered country, to exhibit a marked example of unflinching firmness in the execution of the law. As a Hindu, Magna Thanadar was quite indifferent in the matter of life or death. The unfortunate thief was therefore bound hand and foot,

* Fra Orazio, del Regno del Thibet, p. 290. The Capuchin father declares that the Tibetans can save their hands from injury by the use of some secret art (si servono d'un certo secreto, o per arte magica).

December brings snow to the valleys. Thus Lahul is frozen tight 132
most of the year. There is no place for much stock. A dzo or a [422]
cow or two is all a family has.

Even the independent farmers work land that usually is not 423
theirs. They are largely squatters on government domain—families who have taken a likely-looking bench above a river, cleared it of rocks, and planted barley. Maybe the project prospered; more than likely it failed. And so one sees along the Chandra and the Bhaga grim outlines of old fields long forsaken. The family has moved on to another location, seeking brighter prospects.

I sat with my Sikh friend, Mahindar Singh Randhawa, the 695 •
Tehsildar of Kyelang, as he held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang. We sat in the open at a table on the edge of a stand of ancient juniper three or four feet in diameter while alpine choughs (glossy black with yellow beaks and red legs) soared overhead. Lahulis had come in from miles around for the court session. The men stood huddled around us, twisting their brimless and loosely woven wool caps. They were awed by the occasion—solemn and frightened too. This was the long arm of the law reaching out from remote Delhi to touch the lowliest of them. Their womenfolk and children had come to court with them. The women sat quietly in a circle on the perimeter of the court, knitting stockings and nursing babies. Women and children were also grim. There was no laughter in the crowd, no playfulness among the youngsters. This was the day of reckoning for their menfolk.

This court had no marshal, no court crier to announce it—no "oyez, oyez, oyez." The Tehsildar convened court by calling the names of the cases. The cases were actually *Punjab* vs. *Sonam*, *Punjab* vs. *Thundup*, *Punjab* vs. *Tsering*, etc. But this kind
and warmhearted judge merely called the names of the farmers, 695
and each replied. There were dozens of cases, and they took 687
hours. The following is typical.

"Sonam, where is your farm?"

Beyond the High Himalayas

• 695 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers
687 on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

[231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a
651 cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 695

My Sikh friend, Mihindar Singh Randhawa the Tehsildar of Kyelang, held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang.

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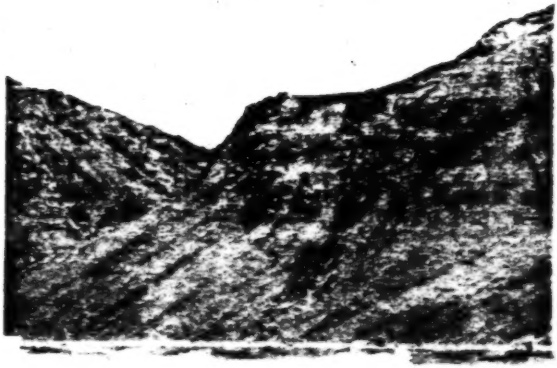
Moti was content to be the laziest, the most irresponsible, the least worthy mule in all of Lahul or Ladakh.

133



The day we left Chakchu we climbed steadily through strange and exciting country, headed for Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung La Pass.

[facing p. 97]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not 797
to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to 175
propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule 648
of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not 643
thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over 349
the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great 792
wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their 178
spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all 671
the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. 695
It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

671 dom to divine where the truth lay. Sometimes an accused would
•685 have to draw a red-hot iron through his hand or take a stone out of a pot of boiling oil. If he did this without injury, he would be in the clear. (The legends persist that there was a secret art for protecting the hands against such ordeals.) Sometimes the judge, when confused by the evidence, would cast lots instead and in that way determine on which side the truth lay.

681 Capital punishment in Tibet was cruel—pushing red-hot irons
674 into the temples, hurling the convicted person from a great height, smashing his joints with a hammer. In Ladakh, when a temple was spoliated or a person horribly murdered, the guilty one was either crucified or bound hand and foot, weighted with stones, and thrown into the Indus to drown. The usual punishment for crimes—whether adultery or theft—was whipping, fine, or imprisonment. There was a mounting scale of fury which society directed against the thief. For the second offense of stealing, he lost his left hand; for the third, his right hand; for the fourth, he was drowned in the Indus.

[175] At Leh I inquired about these practices, and I learned that they are now mostly history. They are history not only because the Kashmir law is an ameliorating one but because the Buddhist religion has made a vast difference in the lives of the people. Thus I could find in Leh no modern record of a crime of violence—murder, manslaughter, rape, assault and battery.

674 "Don't put too much reliance on the absence of rape," a junior officer laughingly told me. "The resistance point of the average Ladakhi woman is pretty low."

"How about killings?"

"None."

"Assaults?"

"None."

"Not even between husbands in polyandric families where several brothers must share one wife?"

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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§ *Khrims-dung*, "justice-trumpet;" there was also a *Khrims-rNga*, "justice-drum."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The punishments were few in kind, being only stripes, fines, and imprisonment, and in extreme cases, banishment or death; but they were numerous in degree, apportioned to the amount of guilt. The punishment of death was seldom awarded, and still more rarely executed. In cases of sacrilege, such as spoliation of temples, or in horrible cases of murder, the criminals were either crucified, or thrown into the Indus, bound hand and foot and weighted with stones. But the more usual punishment for murder was banishment, or rather ignominious expulsion from society, preceded by stripes and branding, and accompanied by every indignity that could be imagined by the ingenious malice of men, or that could be perpetrated by the elaborate mischief of boys. The brand was made of iron, and was about one inch in length. It bore a dog's head, with the inscription, "dog-marked—expelled." Thus after being well flogged and branded, the unfortunate criminal was drummed out of society, followed by hooting crowds,* who pelted him with stones and dirt.

For the murder of a child, a woman was sentenced to the loss of one hand, and to expulsion with the same indignities as above.

In cases of killing in a scuffle, the custom of Great Tibet was to bind the homicide to the corpse, and at the end of twenty-four hours to cast the living and dead together into the river. I did not hear of this custom in Ladák; but as commutation of punishment is almost

* The expression used by my informant was *ho-ho*, that is, the man was *ho-ho-ed*, or hooted. The brand of a dog was also used in Kashmir as a mark of disgrace at least nine hundred years ago. In the *Raja Taringini* it is related that Reja Saugráme, in A.D. 948, punished the Brahman Chakramela by marking his forehead with the "paw of a dog" (*Swapádena*).

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

696 always procurable for money, it is probable that the sentence of the law may have been death, although in practice the culprit was permitted to compromise by stripes, imprisonment, and fine. Such a course was in strict keeping with the precepts of their religion, which is averse to the taking of any animal life.

681 The two modes of capital punishment were *drowning*
696 and *crucifixion*. In the former the culprit was bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Indus with a stone fastened to his neck.* In the latter mode the criminal was conducted to the *Songsa*, or "place of execution," by the *Shetma*, or "executioner." The *Sal-shing*,† or "crucifix," was a St. Andrew's cross fixed to an upright stake. The culprit was stripped naked; his hands and feet were bound to the extremities of the cross, while his head was secured to the upright stake by his own hair. In this position he was either quickly tortured to death by boiling oil, or was slowly allowed to expire under all
[784] the agonies of thirst and physical suffering. It is worthy of notice that in both of these modes of capital punishment, the shedding of blood was studiously shunned; for the sentence of crucifixion was carried out by *binding*, instead of nailing, the criminal to the cross. I presume, therefore, that there must have been some religious repugnance to putting a culprit to death by any mode that involved the shedding of blood. Mutilation of one or of both hands was, however, occasionally employed.

* Fra Orazio, p. 291. The same punishment was carried into effect in the same manner in Great Tibet. The culprit was "getta al fiume con un gran sasso al collo."

† *gSal-shing*, "clear wood." For what reason such a name was given to the stake, it would perhaps be difficult to discover. Perhaps it was intended for the tree that *cleanses* from guilt.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

For *Theft* and other crimes, the punishment (*chhad-pa*) was threefold: 1st. *Lúe-chhad*, that is, "corporal punishment," or stripes; 2nd. *Nor-chhad*, "property punishment," or fine, which was nearly always taken in goods at a ruinous valuation; 3rd. *Tson-chhad*, "prison-punishment," or imprisonment. 685

The corporal punishment was the same for man and woman. The culprit was placed full-length on the ground, and received the awarded number of stripes on the bare posteriors. This punishment, however, could always be avoided by the payment of a commensurate fine. The punishment by fine was always enforced, except in cases of poverty and absolute inability; but the culprits were made to pay in person by a double amount of stripes for what they were unable to pay in money or in goods. 685 696

In cases of imprisonment the culprits were confined in the *Tson-khang*, or jail, secured with fetters (*skrog*), and superintended by the *Tson-dsi*, or jailer. Theoretically food was allowed during the term of imprisonment; but practically, both in the provinces and in the capital, the prisoners' friends were obliged to supply food to save them from starvation.

In cases of common theft, the stolen property, if recovered, was restored to its owner, and a fine, equal in value to the amount of the stolen goods, was levied on the thief for the benefit of the state. If the property was not recovered, a double fine was levied, one half being given to the robbed party, and the other half to the government. This was the punishment for a first offence. For a second offence the sentence was loss of the left hand; for a third offence, loss of the right hand; 685

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and *Gobas*, according to the numerical strength of the quotas furnished by their respective districts and villages. Thus the Kahlon who brought a few hundreds was dignified with the title of *Stong-pon*,* "chief of a thousand," or colonel; a wealthy Goba who could muster from 50 to 100 men, was styled *Gyapon*,† "chief of a hundred," or captain; while an inferior Goba who was attended by only four or five men, was called *Chu-pon*,‡ "chief of ten," or serjeant. 701

The camp (*Maggar*§), which was pitched without any regularity, consisted almost entirely of black tents made of yák's hair. The Kahlons and some others had white blanket tents, but these were so few in number as not to affect the general sombre appearance of the camp. When, however, the cooking commenced, and volumes of smoke began to issue from the open roofs of the tents, now ascending in fantastic curls, and now whirling rapidly round and spreading a milky canopy over the black tents, the Boti camp wore a very picturesque appearance. During the day little was heard but the busy hum of men preparing their food or cleaning their arms, but towards evening the whole air frequently rang with noisy brawls and angry squabbles, which gave but too convincing a proof of the powerful influence of their favourite *chang*. 712

All disputes in camp were settled at once by stripes or fine, according to the sentence of an assembly of officers, whose decisions were final. These assemblies 687 698

* *Stong-dPon*, commander of one thousand.

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‡ *bChu-dPon*, commander of ten.

§ *dMag-sGar*, a "military camp," to distinguish it from the common encampment of the Nomads, *sGar*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

687 were exactly the same as our drum-head courts-martial;
698 and their sentences were accordingly termed *Makkhrim*,* or martial law.

705 The soldiers were obliged to find their own food.
726 Each man was therefore generally attended by another male member of his house or family, who carried the joint provisions on his back during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Occasionally they
702 relieved one another. In case of a casualty also the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes, and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

721 Although these bodies of undisciplined militia were not deserving of the name of an army, yet they were generally strong enough to repel all attacks of their immediate neighbours of Balti, Rudok, and Chumurti, who were as poor and as unsoldierly as themselves; while the great poverty of the country, and the extreme rigour of the climate, were sufficient to deter the effeminate Kashmiris from even thinking of such a project without
721 a shudder. In fact, there is no record of any invasion
173 of Ladák by the Kashmiris; on the contrary, the Raja Taringini relates the entire conquest and occupation of Kashmir by the Boti *Rinchana*, or, as he is more commonly called in Kashmir to this day, *Ratanjo*,† about the middle of the fourteenth century. Rinchana was the son of *Bakhtán Bhot*; that is, he was probably of the *Yasan* family, which still bears the title of *Bakhto*. Being driven from his native country, he naturally fled

* *dMag-khrims*, "war-law."

† *Jo* or *Cho* is the Tibetan *mChhog*, the common title of a chief amongst the Boti Mahomedans.

:: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ter,"* while his deputy was usually known by the addition of his own name, as *Kahlon-Rigsen*, "minister *Rigsen*," or by prefixing the term *Nono*, as *Nono Kahlon*, "the younger, or deputy minister."† The other Kahlons were distinguished by the names of the districts over which they ruled, as *Kahlon-Bazgo*, "the governor of Bazgo." 645 [634]

The next great officers were the *Lonpos*,‡ or governors of towns, and the *Kharpons*,§ or commanders of forts. The former were distinguished by the names of their respective towns; as *Lé-pon*, "the governor of *Lé*;" *Gar-pon*, "governor of *Garo*." In Lé, also, there were the *Mak-pon*,‖ or "commander-in-chief," and the *Chagsot*,¶ or "lord high treasurer;" the *Shogam-Chagsot*,** or "head collector of taxes;" as well as the *Shakspon*,†† or "chief justice;" and the *Khrimpons*,‡‡ or "magistrates." Lastly there was the *Káká-Tádsi*,§§ or "head master of the horse;" and the *Chagsi-Goba*, or Kotwál, an office equivalent to that of mayor. 632 701

* This is the "Banka khalun" of Moorcroft (I. pp. 238—249). The true title was *dBang-kyi-bKah-bLon* or *Bangki-kahlon*, that is, "the powerful minister."

† *No-no* is the usual term of respect which is used in addressing any young man of the higher ranks, and when prefixed to *Kahlon* it means the younger or deputy minister. Moorcroft (I. pp. 334, 335) gives the term, without the title, as the usual designation of the deputy minister, just as we should say "the deputy" instead of the deputy chairman. *Nono* is also applied to all under-officers, as *Nono-Chagsot*, the "under-treasurer;" *Nono-Shakspon*, the "deputy justiciary."

‡ *bLon-po*, "the manager, arranger, or governor." Moorcroft (I. p. 255) calls him *Lompa*.

§ *mKhar-dPon*, the "fort-chief." ‖ *dMag-dPon*, the "war-chief."

¶ *Phyag-mDsod*, pronounced *Chag-sot*.

** *Shogam*, "a duty, a tax." †† *gShags-dPon*, "justice-chief."

‡‡ *Khrims-dPon*, "law-chief."

§§ *Gá-gá-rTá-rDsi*, "head master of the horse."

643 average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lac of rupees, or nearly £10,000 per annum. In addition to his regular income, both public and private, the Gyalpo enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts, which, possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government. He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grass, for four months in the year, by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples, and grapes.

647 The various charges defrayed by the state were few in number, and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The paid officers of the state were the *Lonpo*, or governor; [693] the *Shakspon*, or lord chief justice; and the different *Khrimpons*, or magistrates of Lé; besides the *Káká Tádsi*, or master of the horse, and the *Chagdsot*, or lord high treasurer. I could not ascertain the amount of their individual salaries, but the gross amount of civil charges was estimated at Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum, and which I believe to be near the truth. The 701 military charges were nothing, as each family or house was obliged to furnish one soldier whenever called upon to do so, and to feed him during his term of service.

651 Under the present rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, the revenue of Ladák may be estimated as follows:-

Tax on houses	Rs. 45,500
Customs	18,000
Tax on brokers	5,700
Presents or fees	5,000
Monasteries	6,300
	Rs. 80,500

159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income, [439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own [643] dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

• 701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

cash, the remainder being made up to them by "billets" for food wherever they may be quartered. The cost of each soldier to the state was therefore generally estimated by the people at only four rupees a month. At this rate a body of 700 men could be supported for Rs. 33,600, which would be increased to Rs. 35,000 or Rs. 36,000 by the pay of the petty officers. 701 652

The whole expenses of the government, both civil and military, therefore, amounted to between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 60,000; thus leaving a surplus of about Rs. 25,000 for transmission to the maharaja. This surplus was not however remitted in cash, but in goods, which consisted chiefly of wool from Chang-thang, and of cloths and tea from Yarkand. 643 652

V.—MILITARY RESOURCES.

In Ladák there was no regular army; but every family or house throughout the country was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier at the call of the government. The *Kahlons*, *Lonpos*, and *Gobas*, also furnished quotas of from ten to four men each. At the last general mustering in 1834, the number of armed peasants, collected to oppose Zoráwar Sing, amounted to 22,000. The same number is said to have been collected when the *Gyalpo* was at war with Ahmed Shah of Balti. Indeed it is scarcely possible that a greater number of "armed" men could have been collected, as each house throughout Ladák possessed only one weapon, and the number of houses was not more than 24,000. I have every reason to believe in the correctness of these numbers, as my information was derived from various sources; from Jemadar Basti Rám, and other officers of 702

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

702 the maharaja, as well as from *Lamás*, *Gobas*, and Mahomedans of Ladák. The difference between the number of houses and that of the armed men actually collected together is only 2,000, a number so small that it may include all absentees from sickness and other causes, as well as all the guards required at Lé and in the provinces for the personal service of the Gyalpo, and for the security of the state treasure.

726 On a call to arms, the soldiers (*Makmi**) were told off for the cavalry and infantry branches by the very simple process of selecting all those who had horses (or rather ponies) for the cavalry (*Táhipung*†), and leaving the remainder for the footmen, or infantry (*Kangthangipung*).

[411] Their arms were swords, matchlocks, and bows and

[714] arrows. Many had shields (*Go*‡), and some few had helmets (*Mog*§). They were assembled by beat of drum (*Thab-nga*‖).

701 The army (*Pung*, or *Makpung*¶) was placed under the control of a *Makpon*,** or commander-in-chief, who was either a member of the royal family, or one of the principal *Kahlons*.

Other titles were conferred upon the different *Kahlons*

* *dMag-mi*, pronounced *Makmi*, a "war-man," or "soldier," from *dMag*, battle. Compare the Greek μαχη with the latter, and μαχιμος with the former.

† *rTa-hi-dPung*, from *rTa*, a "horse."

‡ *Go*, a "shield," or any defensive armour.

§ *rMog*, a "head-piece," a "helmet."

‖ *hThab-rNga*, a "war-drum."

¶ *dPung*, or *dMag-dPung*; the latter is also commonly contracted to *dMung*.

** *dMag-dPon*, "battle-chief," or *dMag-hGo*, "war-chief." *Makpon* is the family title of the Hasora chief. He must therefore be of Tibetan origin. It is curious that *Go-Mag-go*, which so much resembles Gog-Magog, should mean "civil and military chiefs."

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and *Gobas*, according to the numerical strength of the quotas furnished by their respective districts and villages. Thus the Kahlon who brought a few hundreds was dignified with the title of *Stong-pon*,* "chief of a thousand," or colonel; a wealthy Goba who could muster from 50 to 100 men, was styled *Gyapon*,† "chief of a hundred," or captain; while an inferior Goba who was attended by only four or five men, was called *Chu-pon*,‡ "chief of ten," or serjeant.

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721 to the Botis of the east, which will account for his
173 entering Kashmir by Gagangir on the Drás road, as related in the Raja Taringini.

712 The forts of Eastern Ladák were nearly all castellated
793 monasteries, the defence of which was intrusted to the
[701] unwarlike monks, assisted by a few of the armed peasantry, who performed the duty by turns, under the command of one who was dignified with the title of *Kharpon*, or governor.* In Western Ladák there were several castles belonging to petty chiefs, such as Paskyum and Soth, which were better calculated for defence. The
[312] monastic castles were mostly perched on high rocks quite destitute of water, and it was a part of the daily duty of the garrison to fetch water for the monks. Had any of these castles possessed a proper supply of water, their generally inaccessible positions would have rendered them safe against all common attacks. I have seen the monasteries of Hanlé, Hémis, Thigsé, Shé, Lé, Pitak, Phyang, Bazgo, Láma Yúrrú, Hesku, Kharbu, Thakshé, and Mulbil, as well as the ruined forts of Balukhar and Paskyum. The monasteries are all built on steep cliffs, more or less high, with stone walls coloured white and red, and surmounted with an endless number of small flags. They are generally difficult of access, and always picturesque. Perhaps the most remarkable is that of Thakshé, on the right bank of the Kánji river. It is perched on a lofty isolated cliff, bluff and overhanging on the north side, and with a precipitous slope of about 65° on the south side. The only ascent is by a very steep pathway.

* *mKhar-dPon*, "fort-chief." A fort is also called *rDsong*, and the governor *rDsong-dPon*. Every commandant of a castle, or military post, even if his garrison does not amount to more than four men, is dignified with the title of *Kharpon*.

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
●701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month,
443 or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [184] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

579 their hands tied together behind their backs. The bandits drove the scattered beasts of burden together again with great difficulty and led the captured caravan, people and animals, together with the stolen wares into a distant valley. They went along devious routes, avoiding the great caravan thoroughfare and, as darkness was falling, they arrived at their camp in the valley where the feet of the prisoners were also tied together. Thus the prisoners just had to lie on the ground and wait for whatever might happen. Late in the evening each of the prisoners was given a lump of kollag and a little bowl of sour milk. Then the men lying on the ground were pushed together, and the armed bandits lay down around them to sleep while two of them stood guard in turns. Despite the /158/ penetrating cold, no fire was lit, so that the attention of the Tibetan police patrols would not be drawn to them.

The next morning the bandits first debated amongst each other excitedly for a long time, then their chief announced to the Ladakh people that they were to appoint one of their group who had influence in their villages to ride as fast as possible to their native village and to bring back 200 rupees for each of the prisoners. He was then to return with the ransom money as rapidly as possible, and this money he was to bring to a certain spot in the neighborhood of the camp, alone and unarmed. The messenger rode away. The bandits threatened their prisoners that at the slightest attempt on their part to flee the persons concerned would be killed. Nevertheless, the robbers displayed human sentiment. During the day, the bonds on the prisoners' feet were loosened a little, they received the same simple food as their captors. The wound which one of the Ladakh men had received was [752] dressed scantily with old rags, fresh yak dung, and soot. His wound was not dangerous; matters were more critical with the man from Jangtang, who had a bullet from Drogpa Namgyal's rifle between his ribs, and another man's lower arm had been broken by a blow from Namgyal's sword. The bandits put the broken arm in a splint of stiff yak leather, the other wounded person had the bullet cut out, and his wound was burned around the edges with a red-hot iron. He was given musk to anesthetize him against the pain.

579 701 The imprisonment of the Ladakh men was not to be of long duration. On the second evening, as darkness was descending, the bandits were sitting around the smouldering camp fires to butter tea and tsampa. They were chatting, and again and again they were recounting their heroic deeds to each other, when suddenly, out of the dark, there appeared figures as though sprung from the ground--they

were about thirty Tibetan frontier soldiers who called upon them to surrender. The bandits seized their weapons, but already they were surrounded, and at rifle point they were forced to surrender. They were bound and would be brought before the nearest dsongpon (district captain) for judgment. The Ladakh men were freed. It is true that their liberators demanded as a compensation for their "selfless" effort a tribute of eight sheep, a sack of flour, two sacks made of hide filled with butter, and twenty rupees. They took an even greater tribute /159/ from the robbers, from whom there was also more to be had. This was an extortion, and the soldiers knew that. All of them, the soldiers as well as the bandits, were also acquainted with the command of Buddha, of whom the chieftan of the bandits always carried a small bronze statue around with him on a string: "Take nothing that is not given to you!" But--Heaven is high above, the Dalai Lama is far away, and Buddha has disappeared in the nirvana: finally one confesses it to the lama, and the latter imposes a small fine on one, a small offering of the "gain" is brought to the Buddhas, and with that the matter is closed, and the conscience is set at rest.

The people of Ladakh were glad to have got off so easily. If the soldiers had not turned up they would have lost everything and scarcely all would have reached their home alive. The following day they immediately set out on the way back, in order to reach as soon as possible the border of Ladakh and with it safer regions. To compensate for the two horses that had been shot they bought two of the "seized" yak oxen from the soldiers for little money. The wounded man was placed on top of the burden carried by one of the yaks. The flesh wound healed marvellously soon under "expert treatment."

The profit from the business expedition had in this manner shrunk to very little. The disappointed men had time on their long journey back to reflect about the usefulness and the effectiveness of the assistance of the lamas and the magicians as well as of the "divine" dispensers of protection and wealth, to obtain which had cost them so much. It was a slight consolation for the men of Kalatse that for once they were able to eat such plentiful amounts of meat. On the plateaus of Jangtang the wild yak still lives in larger herds, and other large wild animals are to be met with there. Namgyal succeeded in creeping up to a yak herd with great skill and to lay low a strong bull with a well-aimed shot. Later, he killed a few Tibetan antelopes and a great number of snow pheasants, so that for once the Ladakh people were able to feast on meat. They appeased their Buddhist consciences with

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cash, the remainder being made up to them by "billets" for food wherever they may be quartered. The cost of each soldier to the state was therefore generally estimated by the people at only four rupees a month. At this rate a body of 700 men could be supported for Rs. 33,600, which would be increased to Rs. 35,000 or Rs. 36,000 by the pay of the petty officers. 701 652

The whole expenses of the government, both civil and military, therefore, amounted to between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 60,000; thus leaving a surplus of about Rs. 25,000 for transmission to the maharaja. This surplus was not however remitted in cash, but in goods, which consisted chiefly of wool from Chang-thang, and of cloths and tea from Yarkand. 643 652

V.—MILITARY RESOURCES.

In Ladák there was no regular army; but every family or house throughout the country was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier at the call of the government. The *Kahlons*, *Lonpos*, and *Gobas*, also furnished quotas of from ten to four men each. At the last general mustering in 1834, the number of armed peasants, collected to oppose Zoráwar Sing, amounted to 22,000. The same number is said to have been collected when the *Gyalpo* was at war with Ahmed Shah of Balti. Indeed it is scarcely possible that a greater number of "armed" men could have been collected, as each house throughout Ladák possessed only one weapon, and the number of houses was not more than 24,000. I have every reason to believe in the correctness of these numbers, as my information was derived from various sources; from Jemadar Basti Rám, and other officers of 702

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702 the maharaja, as well as from *Lamás*, *Gobas*, and Mahomedans of Ladák. The difference between the number of houses and that of the armed men actually collected together is only 2,000, a number so small that it may include all absentees from sickness and other causes, as well as all the guards required at Lé and in the provinces for the personal service of the Gyalpo, and for the security of the state treasure.

726 On a call to arms, the soldiers (*Makmi**) were told off for the cavalry and infantry branches by the very simple process of selecting all those who had horses (or rather ponies) for the cavalry (*Táhipung*†), and leaving the remainder for the footmen, or infantry (*Kangthangipung*).

[411] Their arms were swords, matchlocks, and bows and

[714] arrows. Many had shields (*Go*‡), and some few had helmets (*Mog*§). They were assembled by beat of drum (*Thab-nga*‖).

701 The army (*Pung*, or *Makpung*¶) was placed under the control of a *Makpon*,** or commander-in-chief, who was either a member of the royal family, or one of the principal *Kahlons*.

Other titles were conferred upon the different *Kahlons*

* *dMag-mi*, pronounced *Makmi*, a "war-man," or "soldier," from *dMag*, battle. Compare the Greek μαχη with the latter, and μαχιμος with the former.

† *rTa-hi-dPung*, from *rTa*, a "horse."

‡ *Go*, a "shield," or any defensive armour.

§ *rMog*, a "head-piece," a "helmet."

‖ *hThab-rNga*, a "war-drum."

¶ *dPung*, or *dMag-dPung*; the latter is also commonly contracted to *dMung*.

** *dMag-dPon*, "battle-chief," or *dMag-hGo*, "war-chief." *Makpon* is the family title of the Hasora chief. He must therefore be of Tibetan origin. It is curious that *Go-Mag-go*, which so much resembles Gog-Magog, should mean "civil and military chiefs."

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• 702 relieved one another. In case of a casualty also the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes, and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

721 Although these bodies of undisciplined militia were not deserving of the name of an army, yet they were generally strong enough to repel all attacks of their immediate neighbours of Balti, Rudok, and Chumurti, who were as poor and as unsoldierly as themselves; while the great poverty of the country, and the extreme rigour of the climate, were sufficient to deter the effeminate Kashmiris from even thinking of such a project without
721 a shudder. In fact, there is no record of any invasion
173 of Ladák by the Kashmiris; on the contrary, the Raja Taringini relates the entire conquest and occupation of Kashmir by the Boti *Rinchana*, or, as he is more commonly called in Kashmir to this day, *Ratanjo*,† about the middle of the fourteenth century. Rinchana was the son of *Bakhtán Bhot*; that is, he was probably of the *Yasan* family, which still bears the title of *Bakhto*. Being driven from his native country, he naturally fled

* *dMag-khrims*, "war-law."

† *Jo* or *Cho* is the Tibetan *mChhog*, the common title of a chief amongst the Boti Mahomedans.

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161 in stating that the total number of houses was formerly
[657] 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population
[162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

793 In stating the number of professed religionists at
162 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve
161 thousand. The total amount of population (between 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

• 702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

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probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra 702
number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each.

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has 161
very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In 164
the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who [515]
only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at.

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in 727
the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal 798
images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands.

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who 751
was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zoráwar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination.

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 4x3

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chirmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "tháng," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "tháng' may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángtháng not in Ladak: they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 7040 D 704 WT 186 554

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.**

Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.**

Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.**

The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 **Administration, &c.** 643 [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

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and *Gobas*, according to the numerical strength of the quotas furnished by their respective districts and villages. Thus the Kahlon who brought a few hundreds was dignified with the title of *Stong-pon*,* "chief of a thousand," or colonel; a wealthy Goba who could muster from 50 to 100 men, was styled *Gyapon*,† "chief of a hundred," or captain; while an inferior Goba who was attended by only four or five men, was called *Chu-pon*,‡ "chief of ten," or serjeant. 701

The camp (*Maggar*§), which was pitched without any regularity, consisted almost entirely of black tents made of yák's hair. The Kahlons and some others had white blanket tents, but these were so few in number as not to affect the general sombre appearance of the camp. When, however, the cooking commenced, and volumes of smoke began to issue from the open roofs of the tents, now ascending in fantastic curls, and now whirling rapidly round and spreading a milky canopy over the black tents, the Boti camp wore a very picturesque appearance. During the day little was heard but the busy hum of men preparing their food or cleaning their arms, but towards evening the whole air frequently rang with noisy brawls and angry squabbles, which gave but too convincing a proof of the powerful influence of their favourite *chang*. 712

All disputes in camp were settled at once by stripes or fine, according to the sentence of an assembly of officers, whose decisions were final. These assemblies 687 698

* *Stong-dPon*, commander of one thousand.

† *b,rGya-dPon*, commander of one hundred.

‡ *bChu-dPon*, commander of ten.

§ *dMag-sGar*, a "military camp," to distinguish it from the common encampment of the Nomads, *sGar*.

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721 to the Botis of the east, which will account for his
173 entering Kashmir by Gagangir on the Drás road, as related in the Raja Taringini.

712 The forts of Eastern Ladák were nearly all castellated
793 monasteries, the defence of which was intrusted to the
[701] unwarlike monks, assisted by a few of the armed peasantry, who performed the duty by turns, under the command of one who was dignified with the title of *Kharpon*, or governor.* In Western Ladák there were several castles belonging to petty chiefs, such as Paskyum and Soth, which were better calculated for defence. The
[312] monastic castles were mostly perched on high rocks quite destitute of water, and it was a part of the daily duty of the garrison to fetch water for the monks. Had any of these castles possessed a proper supply of water, their generally inaccessible positions would have rendered them safe against all common attacks. I have seen the monasteries of Hanlé, Hémis, Thigsé, Shé, Lé, Pitak, Phyang, Bazgo, Láma Yúrrú, Hesku, Kharbu, Thakshé, and Mulbil, as well as the ruined forts of Balukhar and Paskyum. The monasteries are all built on steep cliffs, more or less high, with stone walls coloured white and red, and surmounted with an endless number of small flags. They are generally difficult of access, and always picturesque. Perhaps the most remarkable is that of Thakshé, on the right bank of the Kánji river. It is perched on a lofty isolated cliff, bluff and overhanging on the north side, and with a precipitous slope of about 65° on the south side. The only ascent is by a very steep pathway.

* *mKhar-dPon*, "fort-chief." A fort is also called *rDsong*, and the governor *rDsong-dPon*. Every commandant of a castle, or military post, even if his garrison does not amount to more than four men, is dignified with the title of *Kharpon*.

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712 The fort of Paskyum, on the left bank of the Wakáchu, commanded the passage of the river, which is there unfordable. It stood about 100 feet high, on an alluvial flat, overhanging the river; but it was easily taken by Zoráwar Sing, and afterwards destroyed. The fort of Sod was held out by the *Gyalpo* in person for ten days; but it was at last, after some loss, taken by assault, when it shared the same fate as Paskyum.

725 The best "means of defence" possessed by Ladák consisted in the general inaccessibility of the country during one half of the year, when the passes were closed by snow; and to the power of breaking down the bridges over the Indus, and other unfordable streams, during the summer. The latter was not, however, resorted to on Zoráwar Sing's invasion, excepting in the solitary case of the bridge at Paskyum; the destruction of which, by the Banka Kahlon, delayed the advance of the invaders for one day. The reason assigned for not breaking down the Khallach bridge, over the Indus, was, because its destruction would have stopped the traffic with Kashmir during one entire season. But the traffic was virtually stopped by the 726 war; while the destruction of the bridge would have saved all the rich villages on the right bank of the Indus, as well as the capital itself, for a whole year. But the energetic Zoráwar was marching rapidly on, while the listless Botis were debating; and the bridge was passed, and the enemy had reached Bazgo, within twenty miles of the capital, before the helpless Gyalpo had decided upon what to do. Decision was then too late, as there was no alternative but flight or submission. The first, although a virtual relinquishment of the country, would have been manly and honourable; but the Gyalpo

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chose the more humiliating alternative of actual surrender. Such was the fate of a country which might have been saved by a hundred resolute soldiers at the bridge of Khallach. But the indolent votaries of an almost worn-out faith were no match for the more active and energetic worshippers of Mahadeo and Párbati. 726

Under the government of Maharaja Guláb Sing, the country is held by a few garrisons of tolerably well-appointed infantry, who are quartered in the different forts erected by Zoráwar Sing and his successors. The forts that I have seen are those of Lé, Kargyil, and Drás, besides the bridge-head at Khallach. They are all built on the same kind of plan, and in similar situations on the banks of streams, that they might insure an unfailing supply of water, without which the strongest fort would be untenable. 712 [312]

The new fort at Lé is built upon the open plain, and on the edge of the Lé rivulet, at somewhat more than a mile to the south-west of the city. I saw it to great advantage on my visit, as the thanadar Basti Rám had kindly deputed his son to attend me. Everything, therefore, was prepared. The interior was trim and orderly; the guns were clean and bright; and the men were all dressed in respectable uniforms, which appeared too new to have been much worn. The walls are built of huge sun-dried bricks, and are nearly thirty feet in height. In the interior the barracks, as well as the store-rooms, are built against the walls all round, and their flat roofs form the terre-plein of the ramparts. Each room is furnished with a door. The guns are four brass three-pounders, all in good order, and well set up on substantial carriages. They are manned by thirty

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• 7/2 well-dressed artillerymen. Altogether I was as much pleased with the orderly appearance, as with the judicious situation, of this fort.

The new fort of *Kargyil* is situated on the left bank of the Suru river, immediately above the junction of the *Waká-chu*. It is a square of about sixty yards, with round towers at the angles, and a square tower with a small outwork in the middle of the river-front. This work forms a difficult entrance, and at the same time insures a supply of water. The walls are loopholed throughout, and the garrison can sweep the bridge over the Suru river with deadly effect. The position was admirably chosen, as it completely commands the high-road to and from Kashmir.

The new fort of Drás is similar to those of Lé and Kargyil. It is situated on the left bank of the Drás river, and commands the passage of the valley.

The bridge-head of Khallach is on the right bank of the Indus. It consists of a square loopholed tower, built of large sun-dried bricks, with an inclosure surrounded by a high loopholed wall. The garrison of twelve men is furnished from Lé, and is relieved every three months. This work completely commands all approach to the bridge on each bank of the river.

643 In my opinion, the measures which the maharaja has
177 taken for the maintenance of his power in Ladák are
578 judicious and effective. Many people grumble; but the dissatisfaction is principally confined to the upper classes, who have lost all their power; and to the Kashmiri Mahomedans, a despicable race, who are ever wishing for change, and who, if they were under the British to-morrow, would long for the Chinese on the next day. To the lower classes the change of govern-

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [97]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48] FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month, or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The
443 result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 of whose boughs, as, after the glare that one is exposed to on a
241 summer day's march among these bare mountains, one lies by the stream that ripples beneath them, is itself a reward for the exposure and toil.

KARGIL TO KHALSI: FOUR MARCHES.

133x It will take us four marches to reach the valley of the Indus; for though at Kargil we are only 12 or 13 miles away from that river, yet the more favourable course is to avoid it for a few days' journey still, to keep in the valleys of certain tributary streams whose direction lies well in the line of our road. The ground we shall go through is occupied by the ramifications of a great range of mountains that lies between the main chain on the south-west and the Indus River on the north-east. This range is irregular both in course and height; from some directions it is to be traversed only by very high Passes, but, as we are going, we shall cross two ridges that belong to it by comparatively low gaps quite easy to surmount.

133x From Kargil we first go over the stony alluvial plain, which is bare of vegetation, and then, after five miles, descend to the village of Pāskim, a large village watered by cuts from the stream called Wakha; these watercourses are bordered by many willows [712] and some tall poplar-trees. Nearly a thousand feet above the village, on the edge of a cliff, are some remains of a fort that used to be held by a Rajah tributary to Ladākh; an account of the taking of this place by the Dogrās is given in General Cunningham's book. The valley now narrows, and for 12 miles the road takes us up between dark rocky hills whose near slopes, those within sight, are not lofty. The halting-place is Shargol, 20 miles from Kargil. A more even division of the distance would have been to make Pāskim the stage instead of Kargil, but this latter is the more usual rest-place, as it is now the head-quarters of the district, and besides it is often convenient to make marches of different lengths, for a quite short one will give the camp a long leisure for rest, or for repairs, or other business.

000 Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monas-

L: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/V

491 plan of crossing the stream three times, by wooden bridges, we
133* pass the difficulties and find our way to the valley of the Indus itself, and, after another mile or two and after crossing the river, to the village and halting-place of Khalsi.

KHALSI TO LEH: FOUR MARCHES.

491 The Indus is spanned by a wooden bridge where rocks narrow
712 it up to a width of 60 or 70 feet only. The bridge is com-
361 manded by a small fort on the higher bank; the path from the
241 bridge, indeed, is led along the covered way half round the fort. The village of Khalsi is on a plateau about 250 feet above the river; there is here a long strip of cultivated land watered from a side-stream; crops and fruit-trees grow on it well, and even luxuriantly; walnuts and apricots ripen, though the height above the sea is something over 10,000 feet.

133* From this place upwards, to near Leh, the Indus Valley has one character. The river flows either between rocks or against alluvial cliffs, according to whether the mountain spurs reach the water or strips of alluvium-terrace intervene. The hills that are
[361] seen are not very lofty; all are bare and extremely dry. The
[241] only green visible is on those spots where the streams from the mountains on the north-east are brought on to the alluvial plateaus and enable the ground to be tilled; there villages have been formed, and we see the verdure of corn-fields and of orchards, or rather of the lines of fruit-trees that have been planted along the watercourses that skirt the little fields.

487 For the next three days' journey there are two routes that may be taken; they unite again one march short of Leh. The first is along the valley, keeping as near to the river as the ground will allow; the other is a higher route along a series of plateaus behind the former; it is this latter that we choose; the valley itself will be again spoken of in a later chapter.

133* After continuing for a few miles in the immediate Indus Valley,
361 we turn up a ravine to the left, and, rising some 1500 feet, we get on to a high plain between an outer, low, range of hills and the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/4

inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, 133
originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down 361
to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsi.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove 137
of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there 778
grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 10 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or 712
tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards 175
the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly 792
ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support 361
the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tarūtse, which we made the halting place, was reached.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

it cannot be seen from the road. On our way we pass Thārū, 133x
a collection of eight or ten houses, with corresponding cultiva- 361
tion; then we cross the last of the plateaus, from which descending we reach a little garden planted by the roadside for the [485]
shelter of travellers, which is close to the village of Phayāng. Thence a few miles by the side of the river brought us to Pitak, the last village before Leh.

All the cultivated spots hitherto met with in Ladākh were 312
watered from side-streams—streams coming almost immediately 138x
from the mountains with a more or less steep fall. But at Pitak the land is irrigated from the Indus itself. For we are here at the beginning of a part of the Indus Valley, where the bottom is wide and is occupied by a flat of alluvium, over which the waters of the main stream can be brought.

At Pitak there is an isolated rock a few hundred feet high, 361
on which all the older buildings are situated. The monastery 792
is on the summit at one end, and there is a fortification—of two 712
towers connected by a double wall—that must have helped to make the rock a strong position. Formerly all the houses were, for protection's sake, built thus high up; this was very commonly the case throughout Ladākh, only in the last generation or so have the people taken generally to building in the plain.

We are now but five miles from Leh, the capital; it is indeed within sight from the summit of the rock; let us from here take a general view of the geographical position of that town.

The river is 10,500 feet above the sea; it is flowing with a 133x
gentle current in a flat, the surface of which is in great part of pebbles only, but here and there it is of such a fine alluvial soil that the people have been able to bring it under cultivation. On the south-west side this low flat is bordered by a stretch of sloping gravelly ground, consisting of a number of coalesced fans that have been deposited by streams having their origin in the mountains on the south—mountains which rise up to 20,000 feet. On the north-east of the river there continues the same great granite ridge, at the foot of which we have been passing; the summit of it is about 12 miles from the Indus, as the crow flies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

133 The line of ridge is from 18,000 to 19,000 feet high. The Passes through it are 17,000 and 18,000 feet.

361 A valley, coming down from this great central ridge, bounded
133 close by rocky branch-ridges, at the distance of four miles from the river widens, the spurs of the hills both becoming lower and retreating aside, insomuch that there occurs an open space of the form nearly of an equilateral triangle, the side of it five miles in length. The town of Leh is at the apex of this triangle, where the valley begins to widen. Rocky hill-spurs form the sides, the river Indus the base, Pitak being at one end of the base.

This triangular space is not a level; it has a steady, gentle slope up from the river. Advancing from Pitak we rise, in the five or six miles, about 1000 feet, the altitude of the town of Leh
[311] being 11,500 feet. The lower part of the slope (of which the whole consists of a gravelly alluvial deposit) is dry and stony, but as we go on we come within the tract that the side-stream has been able to supply with irrigating water, and find a space of several hundred acres covered with crops.

361 Here, by the farther edge of this cultivated space, on one of the branch spurs from the hills and spreading on to the plain in front of it, is built the town of Leh. The most conspicuous object in it is the palace of the former rulers, an edifice boldly built up to the height of eight or ten stories from the shoulder of the spur; a slight in-leaning of the massive walls gives it a great
[792] look of strength. Higher up, on the same rocky ridge, are the
[712] monastery and the towers of an old fortification. Below, in front of the palace, houses cover the slope. On the flat beneath is the newer part of the town. Entering from the direction of Kashmir we pass through a small gateway and find ourselves in a long, wide, and straight bazaar, the houses regularly built and uniformly whitewashed. This has been erected since the Dogrās took the country, and is now the place that is most frequented. At the farther end of this bazaar one passes into the old part of the town, among houses separated by narrow winding passages. As one rises on to the slope of the hill one meets with a few houses of a

702 the maharaja, as well as from *Lamás*, *Gobas*, and Mahomedans of Ladák. The difference between the number of houses and that of the armed men actually collected together is only 2,000, a number so small that it may include all absentees from sickness and other causes, as well as all the guards required at Lé and in the provinces for the personal service of the Gyalpo, and for the security of the state treasure.

726 On a call to arms, the soldiers (*Makmi**) were told off for the cavalry and infantry branches by the very simple process of selecting all those who had horses (or rather ponies) for the cavalry (*Táhipung*†), and leaving the remainder for the footmen, or infantry (*Kangthangipung*). [411] Their arms were swords, matchlocks, and bows and [714] arrows. Many had shields (*Go*‡), and some few had helmets (*Mog*§). They were assembled by beat of drum (*Thab-nga*‖).

701 The army (*Pung*, or *Makpung*¶) was placed under the control of a *Makpon*,** or commander-in-chief, who was either a member of the royal family, or one of the principal *Kahlons*.

Other titles were conferred upon the different *Kahlons*

* *dMag-mi*, pronounced *Makmi*, a "war-man," or "soldier," from *dMag*, battle. Compare the Greek μαχη with the latter, and μαχιμος with the former.

† *rTa-hi-dPung*, from *rTa*, a "horse."

‡ *Go*, a "shield," or any defensive armour.

§ *rMog*, a "head-piece," a "helmet."

‖ *hThab-rNga*, a "war-drum."

¶ *dPung*, or *dMag-dPung*; the latter is also commonly contracted to *dMung*.

** *dMag-dPon*, "battle-chief," or *dMag-hGo*, "war-chief." *Makpon* is the family title of the Hasora chief. He must therefore be of Tibetan origin. It is curious that *Go-Mag-go*, which so much resembles Gog-Magog, should mean "civil and military chiefs."

1: Cunningham AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

721 [For wars and invasions under native rulers, see categories 175 or 116, pp. 316-
● 333.]

1: Cunningham

AJ4 W. Tibetans
Balti AV2

721 [For data on the conquest of Balti by the Dogras, see category 116, pp. 346-350.]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

687 were exactly the same as our drum-head courts-martial;
698 and their sentences were accordingly termed *Makkhrim*,* or martial law.

705 The soldiers were obliged to find their own food.
726 Each man was therefore generally attended by another male member of his house or family, who carried the joint provisions on his back during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Occasionally they
702 relieved one another. In case of a casualty also the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes, and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

721 Although these bodies of undisciplined militia were not deserving of the name of an army, yet they were generally strong enough to repel all attacks of their immediate neighbours of Balti, Rudok, and Chumurti, who were as poor and as unsoldierly as themselves; while the great poverty of the country, and the extreme rigour of the climate, were sufficient to deter the effeminate Kashmiris from even thinking of such a project without
721 a shudder. In fact, there is no record of any invasion
173 of Ladák by the Kashmiris; on the contrary, the Raja Taringini relates the entire conquest and occupation of Kashmir by the Boti *Rinchana*, or, as he is more commonly called in Kashmir to this day, *Ratanjo*,† about the middle of the fourteenth century. Rinchana was the son of *Bakhtán Bhot*; that is, he was probably of the *Yasan* family, which still bears the title of *Bakhto*. Being driven from his native country, he naturally fled

* *dMag-khrims*, "war-law."

† *Jo* or *Cho* is the Tibetan *mChhog*, the common title of a chief amongst the Boti Mahomedans.

2 Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

721 to the Botis of the east, which will account for his
173 entering Kashmir by Gagangir on the Drás road, as related in the Raja Taringini.

712 The forts of Eastern Ladák were nearly all castellated
793 monasteries, the defence of which was intrusted to the
[701] unwarlike monks, assisted by a few of the armed peasantry, who performed the duty by turns, under the command of one who was dignified with the title of *Kharpon*, or governor.* In Western Ladák there were several castles belonging to petty chiefs, such as Paskyum and Soth, which were better calculated for defence. The
[312] monastic castles were mostly perched on high rocks quite destitute of water, and it was a part of the daily duty of the garrison to fetch water for the monks. Had any of these castles possessed a proper supply of water, their generally inaccessible positions would have rendered them safe against all common attacks. I have seen the monasteries of Hanlé, Hémis, Thigsé, Shé, Lé, Pitak, Phyang, Bazgo, Láma Yúrrú, Hesku, Kharbu, Thakshé, and Mulbil, as well as the ruined forts of Balukhar and Paskyum. The monasteries are all built on steep cliffs, more or less high, with stone walls coloured white and red, and surmounted with an endless number of small flags. They are generally difficult of access, and always picturesque. Perhaps the most remarkable is that of Thakshé, on the right bank of the Kánji river. It is perched on a lofty isolated cliff, bluff and overhanging on the north side, and with a precipitous slope of about 65° on the south side. The only ascent is by a very steep pathway.

* *mKhar-dPon*, "fort-chief." A fort is also called *rDsong*, and the governor *rDsong-dPon*. Every commandant of a castle, or military post, even if his garrison does not amount to more than four men, is dignified with the title of *Kharpon*.

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He [illegible]

muzzle-loader, which he could handle with skill; he had killed many 411
ibex and many a wild sheep, and even wolves with it. He polished the gun, cast some bullets, and filled his powder flask with gunpowder which a Tibetan in Leh had prepared for him. Then he got out an old, short sword which had a beautifully worked sheath covered with turquoises. This sword was handed down to him from an ancestor who had been a valiant worrior. Towards the end of the eighteenth century 721 ●
the people of Ladakh undertook frequent pillaging expeditions into the neighboring Baltistan. During these expeditions a Dragshos, who was among the leaders, particularly distinguished himself by his boldness. With his men he attacked by surprise a number of Balti villages and brought back home with him rich spoils of cattle and money. For this he received a piece of land near Kalatse from the king. Later, after the defeat of the last of the Ladakh kings, one of the Dragshos was offered the dominion over the land under the sovereignty of the Indian Dogras (conquerors); however, he declined this dubious honor.

Something of the warlike spirit was also in Namgyal. He was 000
courageous and enterprising and he trusted his strong arms and his weapons more than the magical arts of the lamas. His honest belief in the helping and saving deities only went to strengthen his courage. Thus, despite his youthfulness, he was the undisputed leader in all other matters /155/ in the village, as well as in this commercial undertaking.

The final preparations were now made. Wheat, barley, and 437
apricots were put into sacks; some had purchased cotton material, calico, cloth, colored sashes, dye-stuffs, spices, and tobacco from the Indian mercant, so that they would be able to do business in Jangtang. Everything was packed into sacks. Each person who took part in the expedition kept his wares strictly separate from those of the others. Several of the Kalatse men had rifles, old muskets, and muzzle-loaders which they brought out. Then they got the horses from the distant 231
meadow on the mountain, something which in itself took two days since the horses had strayed far afield in their search for food along the barren mountain slopes. The men mended the saddles and the horse's headgear, the sacks, blankets, and tents. Finally they were all ready. The horses had in the last few days received barley to eat in addition to their usual fare--clover hay mixed with chopped straw--so that they would be fortified for the journey. They looked good and some of them were wild and frisky during the shoeing. The latter operation was performed by the Kalatse men themselves. The most

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 175
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 668
Tibet today. 631

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the north- 175
west; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

648
208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
• 721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
175 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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WT 175 779

making its old appeal to the illiterate people of the land, while only a few of the more erudite priests know anything of pure Buddhism. Even this mixed religion soon became corrupt, and in 1378 the Buddhist reformer of Tibet, Tsong-kapa, appeared, who tried to bring the priesthood back to the pure Buddhism of "Sangs rgyas," the Tibetan name for the Buddha, Sakya Muni. Finding the Tibetan priests wore red robes, while the true Buddhist priest should wear yellow, and, unable to get them to accept the orthodox dress, like a good Buddhist he compromised by insisting on yellow caps and sashes being worn with the former red gown. The reformed sect were not supposed to marry, but the unattractiveness of true celibacy could easily be overcome by a legal quibble applied to the prevalent custom of polyandry. The so-called "yellow lamas" were not allowed to eat meat, nor to drink "chang," the local beer. So now we get the two sects of yellow and red lamas existing side by side both in Tibet proper and in Ladak, in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants have existed side by side in Europe. Yet for a long time there was not much hostility between the two sects, though one king might favour one and another the other.

WT 795 175

WT 175

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Lodros Chokldan was ruling in Leh, whilst at Tingmogang, situated on the old high road, where ruins of the old royal castle may still be seen, his cousin Bagan lived and ruled. The latter allied himself with a third ruler, and these two defeated the king of Leh. Bagan then ascended the throne, thus beginning the second dynasty, of whom the present ex.-ex. King is a descendant.

WT 175 721 B 175 721

From now onwards, Ladak comes into conflict with peoples beyond her own borders. Although one Ladaki king had accepted the religion of Mahomet, the country remained fa[illegible]ul to Lamaistic Buddhism, whereas the neighbouring k[illegible]m of Baltistan had been definitely converted to Moham-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

WT 175 B1 175 721 WT [797]

medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

WT [798]

WT 175 795 721 648

The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

WT [797]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the "Treaty Road" and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its "Babu" in charge, are State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

1. Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV, Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

from the ground, while the pent-up air itself becomes hot and gives no relief. But after a toilsome drag for some miles over this waste of heated rocks, he reaches one of the little villages that are made at the mouths of side ravines, if haply there can be found a few acres of flat ground for cultivation. These villages are to the traveller a most welcome and lovely sight; a space covered with crops of a brilliant green overshadowed by luxuriant fruit-trees in the midst of the barest rocks gives a relief equally to the eye, the mind, and the body of the wayfarer.

Garkon is the one of these villages most curious in its situation. It consists of very narrow strips or ledges of flat watered ground, between separate stages of a great river-cliff, so that on one side there is a precipitous fall of ground while on the other vertical cliffs overhanging the narrow fields, which, receiving their radiated heat, quickly ripen the crops; even at night the place does not lose its heat. Water is led over the fields from a ravine that comes from the high mountains. Apple-trees, apricot, mulberry, and the vine are cultivated, in company with the cereals, on the narrow space, and flourish well with the combination of moisture and warmth. In going from Garkon to the next village, called *Dāh*, we have passed from Baltistān into Ladākh. The Baltis were in former times apt to make raids upon their more peaceable neighbours. Dāh, as the frontier village, protected itself by the agglomeration of its houses together to form a sort of fort; on two sides protection is given by a steep cliff, on two by a wall, with a good tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure. Now that all are under one government, and perfect peace has ensued, the dwellings are scattered; but still in winter time the people from the outlying houses and hamlets join to live within the enclosure, for warmth and for mirth's sake. Within its walls the ground is almost all roofed over, hardly any space is left for alleys, passages from one house to another are led beneath the rooms of a third; the whole is a strange crowding together of hovels. In this part side valleys of various degrees of importance reach down to the Indus; some are mere rocky ravines, others hold hamlets and villages. I visited the *Hanū*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

712 The fort of Paskyum, on the left bank of the Wakáchu, commanded the passage of the river, which is there unfordable. It stood about 100 feet high, on an alluvial flat, overhanging the river; but it was easily taken by Zoráwar Sing, and afterwards destroyed. The fort of Sod was held out by the *Gyalpo* in person for ten days; but it was at last, after some loss, taken by assault, when it shared the same fate as Paskyum.

725 The best "means of defence" possessed by Ladák consisted in the general inaccessibility of the country during one half of the year, when the passes were closed by snow; and to the power of breaking down the bridges over the Indus, and other unfordable streams, during the summer. The latter was not, however, resorted to on Zoráwar Sing's invasion, excepting in the solitary case of the bridge at Paskyum; the destruction of which, by the Banka Kahlon, delayed the advance of the invaders for one day. The reason assigned for not breaking down the Khallach bridge, over the Indus, was, because its destruction would have stopped the traffic with Kashmir during one entire season. But the traffic was virtually stopped by the 726 war; while the destruction of the bridge would have saved all the rich villages on the right bank of the Indus, as well as the capital itself, for a whole year. But the energetic Zoráwar was marching rapidly on, while the listless Botis were debating; and the bridge was passed, and the enemy had reached Bazgo, within twenty miles of the capital, before the helpless Gyalpo had decided upon what to do. Decision was then too late, as there was no alternative but flight or submission. The first, although a virtual relinquishment of the country, would have been manly and honourable; but the Gyalpo

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter II. 174
History. 651
History of Spiti. [36]

mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpón* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wazír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gatpos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpón*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by forays. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Cháng Tháng, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wazír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

[725]

[114]

1 [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

702 the maharaja, as well as from *Lamás*, *Gobas*, and Mahomedans of Ladák. The difference between the number of houses and that of the armed men actually collected together is only 2,000, a number so small that it may include all absentees from sickness and other causes, as well as all the guards required at Lé and in the provinces for the personal service of the Gyalpo, and for the security of the state treasure.

• 726 On a call to arms, the soldiers (*Makmi**) were told off for the cavalry and infantry branches by the very simple process of selecting all those who had horses (or rather ponies) for the cavalry (*Táhipung*†), and leaving the remainder for the footmen, or infantry (*Kangthangipung*). [411] Their arms were swords, matchlocks, and bows and [714] arrows. Many had shields (*Go*‡), and some few had helmets (*Mog*§). They were assembled by beat of drum (*Thab-nga*‖).

701 The army (*Pung*, or *Makpung*¶) was placed under the control of a *Makpon*,** or commander-in-chief, who was either a member of the royal family, or one of the principal *Kahlons*.

Other titles were conferred upon the different *Kahlons*

* *dMag-mi*, pronounced *Makmi*, a "war-man," or "soldier," from *dMag*, battle. Compare the Greek μαχη with the latter, and μαχιμος with the former.

† *rTa-hi-dPung*, from *rTa*, a "horse."

‡ *Go*, a "shield," or any defensive armour.

§ *rMog*, a "head-piece," a "helmet."

‖ *hThab-rNga*, a "war-drum."

¶ *dPung*, or *dMag-dPung*; the latter is also commonly contracted to *dMung*.

** *dMag-dPon*, "battle-chief," or *dMag-hGo*, "war-chief." *Makpon* is the family title of the Hasora chief. He must therefore be of Tibetan origin. It is curious that *Go-Mag-go*, which so much resembles Gog-Magog, should mean "civil and military chiefs."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

687 were exactly the same as our drum-head courts-martial;
698 and their sentences were accordingly termed *Makkhrim*,* or martial law.

705 The soldiers were obliged to find their own food.
726 Each man was therefore generally attended by another male member of his house or family, who carried the joint provisions on his back during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Occasionally they
702 relieved one another. In case of a casualty also the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes, and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

721 Although these bodies of undisciplined militia were not deserving of the name of an army, yet they were generally strong enough to repel all attacks of their immediate neighbours of Balti, Rudok, and Chumurti, who were as poor and as unsoldierly as themselves; while the great poverty of the country, and the extreme rigour of the climate, were sufficient to deter the effeminate Kashmiris from even thinking of such a project without
721 a shudder. In fact, there is no record of any invasion
173 of Ladák by the Kashmiris; on the contrary, the Raja Taringini relates the entire conquest and occupation of Kashmir by the Boti *Rinchana*, or, as he is more commonly called in Kashmir to this day, *Ratanjo*,† about the middle of the fourteenth century. Rinchana was the son of *Bakhtán Bhot*; that is, he was probably of the *Yasan* family, which still bears the title of *Bakhto*. Being driven from his native country, he naturally fled

* *dMag-khrims*, "war-law."

† *Jo* or *Cho* is the Tibetan *mChhog*, the common title of a chief amongst the Boti Mahomedans.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

chose the more humiliating alternative of actual surrender. Such was the fate of a country which might have been saved by a hundred resolute soldiers at the bridge of Khallach. But the indolent votaries of an almost worn-out faith were no match for the more active and energetic worshippers of Mahadeo and Párbati. 726

Under the government of Maharaja Guláb Sing, the country is held by a few garrisons of tolerably well-appointed infantry, who are quartered in the different forts erected by Zoráwar Sing and his successors. The forts that I have seen are those of Lé, Kargyil, and Drás, besides the bridge-head at Khallach. They are all built on the same kind of plan, and in similar situations on the banks of streams, that they might insure an unfailing supply of water, without which the strongest fort would be untenable. 712 [312]

The new fort at Lé is built upon the open plain, and on the edge of the Lé rivulet, at somewhat more than a mile to the south-west of the city. I saw it to great advantage on my visit, as the thanadar Basti Rám had kindly deputed his son to attend me. Everything, therefore, was prepared. The interior was trim and orderly; the guns were clean and bright; and the men were all dressed in respectable uniforms, which appeared too new to have been much worn. The walls are built of huge sun-dried bricks, and are nearly thirty feet in height. In the interior the barracks, as well as the store-rooms, are built against the walls all round, and their flat roofs form the terre-plein of the ramparts. Each room is furnished with a door. The guns are four brass three-pounders, all in good order, and well set up on substantial carriages. They are manned by thirty

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each. 702

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at. 161 164 [515]

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands. 727 798

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zoráwar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination. 751

798 or about 9,000 persons, are said to have left their native land, and to have found refuge in the numerous monasteries of Great Tibet.

727 During the wars from 1834 to the close of 1841, it is said that about 15,000 Ladákis perished, and that about 1,000 (who were chiefly Musalmans) emigrated to Balti and the neighbouring districts. Of the 4,000 Ladákis who accompanied Zoráwar Sing on his inroad into the Lhasan territory, it is well known that nearly the whole perished in the snow. A few made their way back to Ladák; and some four or five hundred, who were made prisoners, are said to be most strictly confined at Lhasa.

162 In 1847 I found, by a census of 1,890 houses, that the
161 average number of persons per house was 4·147; but as a very considerable number of people were absent from their homes, the true rate per house could not have been less than five persons, or about the same as that of the district of Spiti, which I ascertained to be 5·3 persons per house. The number of inhabited houses is said to be 23,000, which at this rate, and allowing the present number of lamas and nuns to be only 3,000, will make the total amount of the population 124,900, or in round
161 numbers, 125,000 persons. The decrease in the population, since Moorcroft's time, is, therefore, not less than 40,000 persons. The causes of this decrease are the following:—

	Persons.
Carried off by small-pox in 1834	14,000
Lamas emigrated	9,000
Perished during the wars	15,000
Emigrated (chiefly Musalmans)	1,000
Total decrease	40,000
Moorcroft's census	165,000
Present census	125,000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of a *Sadka* of Rs. 100 * to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan, then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo, when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning. 175

9. For four months † the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo should pay Rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of Rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of Rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of Rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of Rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru. 175 651 727

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort, and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles ‡ in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged [727]

* A bag of money waved around the head by the person who presents it.

† As the march from Suru to Lé, with ten days' halt at Bazgo, must have occupied nearly a whole month, the Vazir could not have left Lé until the middle of October, 1835.

‡ Twenty-five *kos*, each kos being as nearly as possible one mile and a half.

[727] 175 upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with fifty men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

[651] 12. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku* or Zanskar, the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

669 175 13. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé; that the Gyalpo, at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants;† that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tâdsi and the Banka Ká[illegible] and that he had imprisoned and tortured his [illegible]i Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he had determined to march at once. Every one professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named

* *Zangs-mKar*, which the Dogras invariably call *Jasku*, and which is the *Zanskar* of our maps.

† Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fort of Chatrgarh, which they carried by storm with a loss of fifteen men on their own side, and of twenty on that of the enemy. Some twenty or thirty prisoners [727] that were taken, had their ears and noses cut off, which frightened the people so much that they immediately tendered their submission.

19. Leaving a garrison in the fort of Chatrgarh, the Vazir again marched into Zanskar over the hills.* On this march twenty-five men died from the severe cold, and ten men lost their feet and hands in the snow.† On reaching Zanskar the Dogras found that the people had fled; but during a halt of two months everything was arranged satisfactorily. After that, Rai Sing and Mia Tota, with about 1,000 men, advanced towards Lé, on which Moru Tâdsi, the new Gyalpo, who was formerly Káhlon of Banka, fled with precipitation from the capital. Being closely pursued, he was nearly overtaken, when, by the resistance of some of the more trustworthy of his followers, he was enabled to continue his flight. He was at length captured at the village of Tábo,‡ in Spiti, after a loss of six or seven men on

* Their route lay over the high pass which leads from Chatrgarh to the Baldé district of Zanskar. This pass was crossed by Dr. Thomson, in June, 1848, who found the boiling point to be 180·3°, at a temperature considerably below freezing. The height of the pass must therefore approach very nearly to 19,000 feet. On the Zanskar side there was a glacier extending down to 14,500 feet. The loss of so many men by the frost is therefore quite credible.

† As the fort of Chatrgarh did not fall until September, the crossing of this pass could not have taken place until October, when, from its extreme height, it would of course have been covered with fresh snow.

‡ Tábo is on the left bank of the Spiti river, and within five miles (by the road) of the British frontier of Upper Kanáwar. The Banka Káhlon's intention was, no doubt, to cross the Spiti river by the Pog Jhula, which is only five miles from Tábo. In another hour, therefore, he would have been safe.

175 of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time
643 the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation
645 could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son, to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

III.—CONQUEST OF BALTI.

175 When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar and heard of
727 the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and
175 annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Amongst the prisoners were Ahmed Shah, the ex-ruler of Skardo, and his favourite son Ali Muhammed, whom Zoráwar Sing was afraid to leave behind. The old man was treated with kindness, and even with distinction; but his heart was broken, and he pined and died in a few months. Other prisoners of distinction were, 1st, *Rai Sing*, Zoráwar's second in command, for whose liberation Maharaja Guláb Sing wished the Governor-General to intercede with the Lhásan authorities.

2nd. *Chang-Nabdan*, the Káhlon of Bazgo, whose wife, a buxom rosy-cheeked dame, came crying to me in 1847 at Nyimo, to do something for her husband's release. She had written every year to him by different persons, but had never got any reply, as no communications were allowed with the prisoners.

3rd. *Nono-Sungnam*, the brother of the last. These two brothers were considered particular friends of the invaders, and were therefore treated more harshly than the multitude.

4th. *Ghulám Khán*, the active plunderer and desecrator of the Buddhist temples, was tortured with hot irons. His flesh was picked off in small pieces with pincers; and, mangled and bleeding, he was left to learn how slow is the approach of death to a wretch lingering in agony.

During the winter the Chinese re-occupied the whole of the Gáro territory, and early in the spring of 1842 a body of about 3,000 men advanced into Ladák, and laid siege to the new fort at Lé.* They were joined by the boy-king Jigmet Namgyal, and the unwarlike Tibetans

* The people of Balti also rose; but they were soon reduced by a small force under Vazir Lakpat, who destroyed the fort and palace, to prevent the chance of another insurrection.

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

Tibet AJ1
WT 175 778 648 T 175 778 648

It was agreed as follows:--

(1) The boundaries fixed, in the beginning, when king Skyid-lda ngeema-gon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained.

(2) Only Ladâkis shall be permitted to enter into the Ngárees-khor-sum wool trade (i.e., to cross the Eastern frontier of Ladák, for the purpose of purchasing wool in the Gárdok, Poorang, and Googey Districts).

(3) No person from Ladák, except the royal trader of the Ladák Court, shall be permitted to enter Rudok.

(4) A royal trader shall be sent by the Deywa Zhung (i.e., the Grand Láma of Lhása), from Lhása to Ladák, once a year, with 200 horse-loads of tea-- (this is the "Chhaba," vide page 20).

(5) A "Lo-chhak" (vide page 85) shall be sent every third year from Leh to Lhása with presents. As regards the quality and value of presents brought for all ordinary Lámás, the matter is of no consequence, but to the Lábrang Chhakdzot (i.e., the Treasurer of the Grand Láma of of Lhása) shall be given the following articles, viz

(a) Gold dust--the weight of 1 zho 10 times i.e. about Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 worth.

(b) Saffron--the weight of 1 srang (or thoorsrang) 10 times, i.e., about Rs. 60 worth.

(c) Yarkhand cotton cloths--6 pieces.

(d) Thin cotton cloth--1 piece.

The members of the Lapchak Mission shall be provided with provisions, free of cost, during their stay at Lhása, and for the journey they shall be similarly provided with 200 baggage animals, 25 riding ponies, and 10 servants. For the uninhabited portion of the journey, tents will be supplied for the use of the Mission.

(6) The country of Ngárees-khor-sum (viz., Gárdok, Poorang and Googey) shall be given to the Omniscient Drukpa Láma, Mee-pham-wáng-po, and in lieu thereof the Deywa Zhung will give to the Ladák king three other districts (I don't understood [sic] this, perhaps this part of the treaty is genuine, but has never been given effect to) in Great Tibet.

[175] (7) The revenue of the Ngárees-khor-sum shall be set aside for the purpose of defraying the cost of sacrificial lamps, and of religious ceremonies to be performed at Lhasa.

WT 175 ●778 648 T 175 778 648

(8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásarwar and Rakas Tál.

WT 631 478

With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the point where the Kárákoram merges into the Hindu Kush. The source of the Parasot is in 36° 10′ N. latitude, and 72° 40′ E. longitude, on the eastern face of the range which gives rise to the Chitral, or Kunar river. After a separate course of seventy-five miles each, the two streams join above Roshan, in latitude 36° 20′, and longitude 73° 30′, and take an easterly course for twenty-five miles, to Gakuch, where they are joined by the Chator-Kun river, from the north. Thence to the town of Gilgit its course is east-south-east, for fifty miles, below which it receives the joint tribute of the Hunza-Nager rivers. It continues the same course for about thirty miles further, to its junction with the Indus, below the defile of Makpon-i-Shang-Rong. The general direction of the stream is to the east-south-east, and its whole length not less than 180 miles. The minimum discharge is probably 2,000 cubic feet, or even more. 133X

The Astor, or Hasora river, falls into the Indus in latitude 35° 30′, and longitude 74° 35′. It rises to the east of the great mountain of Dayamur, and takes a northerly course of about 100 miles.

VI.—CATACLYSM OF THE INDUS.

Since Moorcroft visited Ladák, there have been no less than three inundations of the Indus, of which the last and greatest occurred in 1841. Vigne was the first to make known the second of these cataclysms, which, from the information of the people, he attributed to its right cause,* the bursting of a glacier in the upper course of the Shayok river. In 1812, when Izzet Ullah went from Lé to Yarkand, he travelled up the Shayok 731 133X

* Kashmir. II. p. 362.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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river, from its great western bend to its source in the Kárákoram mountains; and in 1822, when Moorcroft was at Lé, the road by the Shayok was still clear. The information which I obtained regarding the Shayok or Khundan glacier, dates the first stoppage of the river in the fourth year after Moorcroft left Ladák, and in the same year that Jehangir Khoja came from Yarkand, or in A.D. 1826. The river was dammed only for a short time, but the road was permanently obstructed. The second cataclysm happened in 1833, when, to use Vigne's account, "the protecting glacier gave way, and the mighty flood, no longer confined, rushed down the valley of the Shayok, destroying every village that came within its reach." The third cataclysm occurred in 1841, when the gallant Syâm Sing Atáriwala (who fell at Sobraon) was encamped in the bed of the river. Suddenly down rushed the wave of the inundation, thirty feet in height, and the whole camp took to flight: most of the men were saved, but the baggage, camp equipage, and guns, were swept away.

The cataclysm of the Val de Bagnes, a small feeder of the Rhone, is the only great flood of this kind of which I can find any account; but the Val de Bagnes is scarcely five miles in length, while the glacier of the Khundan river is not less than 800 miles from the fort of Attock, past whose walls the flood rushed in one tremendous wave about 30 feet high, and continued its overwhelming course to the Indian Ocean, a distance of 1,750 miles.

> Who that from Alpine heights his laboring eye
> Shoots round the wide horizon, to survey
> Indus or Ganges rolling their bright floods
> Through mountains, plains, through empires black with shade,
> And continents of sand, will turn his gaze
> To mark the windings of a scanty rill? AKENSIDE

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Val de Bagnes is a petty brook, while the Khundan is a mighty river, scarcely inferior to the Indus itself at their junction above the fort of Skardo.

As a magnificent natural catastrophe on so grand a scale as that of the cataclysm of the Indus is worthy of the most particular examination, I trust that the following details will prove both interesting and valuable.

When Vigne and Dr. Falconer* were at Skardo in 1837, they heard that the Shayok or Khundan river had been often "blocked up by avalanches and masses of ice," and that a flood had occurred not many years before. Both of these travellers heard of a lake in the upper course of the Shayok river, but as Mir Izzet Ullah does not mention it, I conclude that my information regarding the origin of the lake is correct. In two different parts of the Shayok or Khundan river, above and below Sassar, the bed of the stream is completely spanned by enormous glaciers. The upper glaciers above Sassar were seen by Dr. Thomson in 1848. They had descended from two lateral ravines on the western bank, and had been thrust right across the bed of the river by their own weight. But the lower glaciers on the Khundan are those to which my informants attributed the obstruction of the river, and they were unanimous in ascribing the flood to the long stoppage and sudden escape of the accumulated waters of the Khundan. The exact position of the great glacier is known within a few miles. It is situated somewhere between Sassar and the junction of the Chang-Chhenmo, and as the distance between these points is only 50 miles, we may place the glacier with tolerable certainty at about 30 miles below Sassar, and 20 miles above the junction of

* Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, X. p. 617.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 133x the Chang-Chhen-mo. This part of the course is now quite inaccessible, owing to the accumulated mass of ice and snow. The high road from Lé to Yarkand formerly 731 133x ascended the bed of the Khundan or Shayok river the whole way to its source in the Kárákoram mountains; 491 but since the obstruction of the channel, the road now takes a more westerly direction up the Nubra river, and then crosses a lofty pass to Sassar on the Khundan. At this point it again leaves the Khundan, on account of the upper glaciers seen by Dr. Thomson, and proceeds over a rugged and elevated tract to the head-waters of the river.

133x In these cold and lofty regions, almost every ravine is filled with a glacier, which, except during a very warm summer, never moves, but is bound to the rocks every night by the icy chains of frost. A glacier is melted on its under surface by the higher temperature of the soil, and on its upper surface by the thawing of the snow under the direct rays of the sun. The heated stones that lie on the top form hollows and clefts that admit the external air, and little rills of water trickle over the sides in all directions. The glacier is thus furrowed by holes, penetrated by cracks, and undermined below, until it becomes narrower than the ravine which contains it. It then descends by its own weight, and is either rent to pieces by unequal pressure, or checked by some opposing obstacle. In a very warm and dry summer the glaciers in the lateral ravines of the Khundan would be so much diminished by melting and evaporation, that they would be impelled onwards by their own gravity right across the channel of the river. This I suppose to have been the case towards the end of September 1826, from which time the channel of the Khundan river has

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

never been clear, and the accumulated waters have formed a lake of considerable size, to which the people have given the name of *Nubra Tsho*, or the Nubra Lake. The accounts which Vigne received were "various and most conflicting, but all agreed that it was very large;" and he concluded that it might be "three or four miles in length and less than a mile in width." My informant, who had seen the lake, said it was four or five kos (eight or ten miles) in length, and less than a quarter of a kos (half a mile) in breadth; and such is the shape, that I should suppose it must take in the confined channel of the Khundan river.

In 1833* this barrier was burst, and the accumulated waters rushed down the valley of the Shayok, destroying every village within their reach; from Nubra to Skardo, a distance of 120 miles, the flood-wave descended in a single day, at the rate of ten miles an hour; and the marks of its fury were still to be seen at Skardo in 1837. So well was the cause of this inundation known to the people, that it was believed "that the same terrific visitation might be expected to occur again at no very distant period."†

The expected cataclysm occurred in June 1841, but it was immensely greater in volume and more devastating in its effects than the previous inundation of 1833.

During December 1840 and January 1841, the Indus was observed to be unusually low between Torbela and Attock.‡ In February and March it became lower, and

* Two different informants fixed the date as follows:—one said fourteen years before 1847, that is in 1833; the other said "just before Zorawár Sing invaded Ladák." As the invasion took place in 1834, the cataclysm may be dated in 1833.

† Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 362.

‡ Major James Abbott. Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, XVII. p. 230.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 was even fordable not far above Attock; but in April and May, though still very low, it was no longer fordable, as the depth of the stream had been much increased by the melted snows. Early in June the barrier was burst, and the collected waters of nearly six months rushed with overwhelming violence down the narrow valley of the Shayok, sweeping everything before them. Houses and trees, men and women, horses and oxen, sheep and goats, were carried away at once, and all the alluvial flats in the bed of the river, which had been irrigated with laborious care, were destroyed in a moment. This happened in the middle of the month of Jyeth in the Sambat year 1898, or about the 1st June, A.D. 1841.

According to the testimony of the people of Chulung and Tartuk, on the western boundary of Chhorbad, the wave of inundation passed their villages at two o'clock in the afternoon. As these villages stand on opposite sides of the river, and are ten miles apart, the concurrence of testimony may be taken as a proof of its correctness. Two days afterwards, and exactly at the same hour, the flood passed by Torbela, a distance of 550 miles. The rate is 11·4583 miles per hour, or 16·81 feet per second, being only just half that of the flood-wave of the Val de Bagnes in 1818 at its first burst into the valley of the Rhone. The fall from the Khundan glacier to Torbela is 16,000 feet, or just 20 feet per mile.

The devastating effects of this terrible flood were still quite fresh in 1847. At Tertse, one of the widest parts of the valley, they could be traced to a height of more than 20 feet above the stream, where straws and twigs were massed together in lines two or three feet broad, and upwards of half a mile from the channel of the river in October 1847. But the most striking effect of the flood

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

was the entire absence of trees in the valley of the Shayok, while the lateral valley of Nubra was full of trees upwards of a hundred years old.* There were of course many young trees in the bed of the Shayok, but they were the growth of only a few years. At Surmu and at other places in the Khapolor district, numbers of fruit-trees were observed standing amidst large tracts of sand and gravel. 731

The following table shows the loss of life and property in most of the villages along the Shayok from the junction of the Nubra river to the fort of Skardo.

Districts.	Houses.	People.	Horses.	Oxen.	Sheep, Goats.	Khals of Land.	Trees.
Nubra	19	83	18	114	1,040	178	—
Chhorbad ...	140	8	—	—	—	364	140
Khapolor ...	163	1	1	4	—	859	—
Keris	20	—	—	—	—	127	4,900
Skardo	9	—	—	—	—	107	1,190
Parguta ...	—	—	—	—	—	10	1,200
Total ...	351	92	19	118	1,040	1,645	7,430

From this list we learn that the principal loss of life occurred in the Nubra district, where the valley of the Shayok expands to about half a mile in breadth. There the shepherds and herdsmen, with their flocks and herds, were overwhelmed in the midst of the open plain, without a chance of escape. In the lower part of the valley, where the channel is confined, and where the villages are generally built high above the stream, there was no loss of life. Even amongst the low-lying hamlets in the bed of the river, the loss of life was trifling, for the distant roar of the rushing waters was a sufficient warning to

* This fact was communicated to me by Dr. Thomson.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 the people who had beheld the inundation of 1833, and with a few exceptions they all made their escape up the mountains.

The effect of the inundation at Torbela has been so graphically described by Major James Abbott from the lips of an eye-witness, Ashraf Khan, of Torbela, that I will quote it entire.* "At about 2 P.M. a murmuring sound was heard from the north-east among the mountains, which increased until it attracted universal attention, and we began to exclaim, 'What is this murmur? Is it the sound of cannon in the distance? Is Gandgarh bellowing? Is it thunder?' Suddenly some one cried out, 'The river's come.' And I looked and perceived that all the dry channels were already filled, and that the river was racing down furiously in an absolute wall of mud, for it had not at all the colour or appearance of water. They who saw it in time easily escaped. They who did not, were inevitably lost. It was a horrible mess of foul water, carcases of soldiers, peasants, war-steeds, camels, prostitutes, tents, mules, asses, trees, and household furniture, in short, every item of existence jumbled together in one flood of ruin; for Raja Gulab Sing's army was encamped in the bed of the Indus at Kulai, three kos above Torbela, in check of Painda Khan. Part of the force was at that moment in hot pursuit, or the ruin would have been wider. The rest ran, some to large trees which were all soon uprooted and borne away; others to rocks, which were speedily buried beneath the waters. Only they escaped who took at once to the mountain-side. About five hundred of these troops were at once swept to destruction. The mischief was immense. Hundreds of acres of arable land were licked

* Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal, XVII. p. 231.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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up and carried away by the waters. The whole of the Sisu-trees which adorned the river's banks, the famous bargat-tree of many stems, time out of mind the chosen bivouac of travellers, were all lost in an instant."

Throughout the mountain-course of the Indus the devastation caused by this terrible flood in the low lands along the bank of the river was complete. All the cultivated lands were swept away, and not even a single tree was left standing to mark the spot where careful tillage and laborious irrigation had for hundreds of years wrung luxuriant crops from the thirsty soil. The fields, the houses, and the trees, were all overwhelmed in one common ruin; while man and the animals which he has domesticated, horses and oxen, sheep and goats, generally managed to escape.

The ruin caused by this awful inundation in the bed of the Indus, between Torbela and Attock, was so overwhelming and so vast, that "it will take hundreds, if not thousands of years, to enable time to repair, with its healing hand, the mischief of that terrible hour. The revenue of Torbela has in consequence dwindled from 20,000 to 5,000 rupees. Chach has been sown with barren sand. The timber, for which the Indus has been celebrated from the days of Alexander until this disaster, is now so utterly gone, that I vainly strove throughout Huzara to procure a Sisu-tree for the repair of the field-artillery carriages. To make some poor amends, the river sprinkled gold dust over the barren soil, so that the washings, for several successive years, were farmed at four times their ordinary rent."*

Opposite Attock, the waters of the Kabul river were checked and forced backward for upwards of twenty

* Major James Abbott.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 miles, by the mighty wave of inundation. The fort of Akora, and the village of Messabanda, were overthrown; and when I saw them in January 1848, were mere scattered heaps of ruin.

731 133 As everything connected with this tremendous inundation must be interesting, I have attempted to ascertain, approximately, the mass of the accumulated waters in the Nubra Tsho, or Lake, formed by the glacier barrier, as well as the mass and height of the cataclysmal wave. In calculating the accumulation of water, I have estimated the usual winter discharge of the Khundan river at 800 cubic feet, or less than one-half of the discharge at its confluence with the Indus. The increased discharges in April and May are based upon the known rates of increase in the discharge of the Indus, which have already been given. The accumulation began in December.

Date.		Velocity.	Accumulation.
December	1840	800 cubic ft. per sec.	1,249,920,000 cubic ft.
January	1841	800 " "	1,249,920,000 "
February	"	800 " "	1,128,960,000 "
March	"	800 " "	1,249,920,000 "
April	"	2,000 " "	5,064,000,000 "
May	"	4,800 " "	12,918,320,000 "
			22,861,040,000 "

From this amount a considerable deduction must be made for loss by evaporation and percolation. I do not, therefore, estimate the whole mass of accumulated waters at more than 20,000,000,000 cubic feet. But even this would be sufficient to form a lake twelve miles in length, with an average breadth of 526 yards, or 1,578 feet, and an average depth of 200 feet. The surface of the lake would

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

have been half a mile or more in breadth, and the depth at the lower end, against the glacier, would have been 400 feet. As the fall in this part of the bed of the river is somewhat less than thirty-five feet, a lake of this depth would be exactly twelve miles in length.

The bursting of the barrier was, I have little doubt, caused by the cutting powers of the overflowing waters, which must quickly have worked enormous clefts in the outer face of the glacier. In a few days these clefts would have been worn deeper and deeper, until the icy mass at length gave way under the mighty pressure of the vast liquid body. Then the imprisoned waters burst forth with a roar of exultation, lashing themselves into foam against the rocks, careering madly from side to side, and sweeping all things before them in the wild might of their untamed strength.

According to the information given by the people of Chulung, on the Shayok, the flood was three whole days in passing off; two days in full height, and the third day considerably decreased; on the fourth day the flood had mostly gone by, but the stream was still much swollen. The following calculation shows the daily discharge of water for each of the three days of flood, with a small allowance for the fourth day.

				Daily discharge.	
1st day at	100,000	cubic feet	per second,	8,640,000,000	cubic feet.
2nd "	80,000	"	"	6,998,400,000	"
3rd "	40,000	"	"	3,499,200,000	"
4th "	20,000	"	"	1,728,000,000	"
Total discharge in four days ...				20,866,800,000	"
Total mass of accumulated water,				20,000,000,000	"

By dividing the maximum discharge of 100,000 cubic feet per second by the ascertained velocity of 11·4583

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 miles per hour, or 16·81 feet per second, we obtain 5,948 square feet as the sectional area of the cataclysmal wave. From this I have deduced the rise of the river in different parts of the channel according to its width. These heights, however, do not give the actual rise of the water, which must always have been greater immediately above every narrow part of the channel.

	Width of River.	Rise.
Above Tertse	250 feet broad	23·79 feet.
Near Turtuk	100 „ „	59·48 „

The height of the flood below Tertse was ascertained to have been between twenty and thirty feet, by the broad lines of straw and twigs which marked the extreme limit of the inundation. In the open plain of Unmâru, the waters must have been kept at the same level as at Tertse, by the obstruction offered to their passage in the narrow channel between Chulung and Turtuk. This would account for the lines of straw and twigs being observed about half a mile from the present bed of the river.

The valley of the Indus, below the junction of the Shayok, narrows in some places to 100 feet, and even less. At these points, therefore, the flood must have risen to a height of sixty feet at least, and must have caused a considerable back wave up the confined channel of the Indus proper, or Lé river. And this was actually the case, for the effect of the inundation is said to have been felt for nearly thirty miles up the Indus, while at Sarmik, ten miles above the confluence, the lower cultivated lands were destroyed, and no less than 1,200 fruit-trees were swept away by the back-water flood.

At Skardo, where the river expands to 520 feet in width, and where the sandy flats rise at least thirty feet*

* Vigne, II. p. 260, states that water is found at a depth of ten yards.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

above the general level of the stream, it is probable that the flood did not spread much beyond the usual limits. The rise would, therefore, not have been more than ten feet. But below Skardo, in the confined and rocky channel, which is the prevailing character of the bed of the Indus throughout the Rongdo district, the flood-wave would have risen to its full height of sixty feet; and at the "Craggy Defiles" of Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, the curbed waters must have been massed up at least 100 feet in height. 731

At Ghori Trap, below Attock, where the width of the river is not more than 250 feet,* the wave of inundation must have attained a height of at least 23·79 feet; and this will at once account for the height of the waters at Attock, which are said to have submerged the fort of Khairabad by their sudden rise of nearly thirty feet.

From Attock to the sea the inundation pursued its ruinous course, but I have no information as to the extent of the country flooded, or the numbers of people swept away. According to the papers of the day, the devastation of the three Deras,—Ismail Khan, Ghaze Khan, and Fateh Khan, was very great; and I trust that full particulars of this extraordinary flood may yet be collected by some of the many British officers now stationed along the Indus.

VII.—THE JEHLAM RIVER.

The *Jehlam* river takes its name from the town of Jehlam, beneath which it flows. In Kashmir, it is called *Behat*, a contraction of the Sanskrit *Vitasta*, which the Greeks slightly altered to Hydaspes. The Jehlam drains 133

* Wood's Oxus, p. 125.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XIII.—CATACLYSM OF THE SUTLUJ.

731 133 About midnight on the 26th day of the month of Kartik, and in the Sambat year 1819 (10th November, A.D. 1762), the shoulder of a vast mountain gave way, and fell from a great height headlong into the Sutluj. The slip took place in the neighbourhood of the hot springs at Seoni, about twenty miles nort h by west fom Simla, where the river is confined between precipitous cliffs that rise several thousand feet above the stream. The narrow channel was instantly choked with a vast mass of rock, earth, and rubbish, to a height of more than four hundred feet, and the stream for the space of forty days was so completely dammed that the water ceased to flow below the barrier. The bed of the Sutluj was reduced to a succession of deep pools, scattered amongst the huge boulders and angular masses of rock, and the people passed over with dry feet. The waters of the river accumulated till they rose nearly four hundred feet in height opposite the Rana's residence at Bhaji, and the effect of the obstruction is said to have been felt as high up the river as Rámpur, a distance of forty kos, or about sixty miles. At Bhaji, a lofty semal, or cotton-tree, which was half-submerged, is still pointed out; and as the height of this cotton-tree above the Sutluj is estimated by the Rana at 120 yards, the rise of the river cannot have been less than 400 feet.

A similar account was obtained by Alexander Gerard* in 1817, when numbers of people who had witnessed the flood were still alive. "About fifty-five years since, forty or fifty miles above this town (Bilâspur), an im-

* Kanawar, p. 55. Gerard says fifty-five years ago; that is, from A.D. 1817: which gives A.D. 1762, agreeing with my date.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mense mountain gave way, filled the bed of the Sutluj, and arrested the stream for six weeks. During this time the inhabitants were anxiously looking out for the bursting of the embankment. When it did give way, the rush of such an overwhelming body of water may be more easily conceived than described. People were stationed on the heights all along from the place where the stream was stopped as far as Bilâspur, and they gave notice of the approach of the flood by firing matchlocks. The news arrived in time to save the inhabitants, but the whole of the town was swept away."

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This account is not quite correct, for it was only the lower town that was swept away, as the houses of the upper town, including the Raja's palace, and several old temples, are situated on an elevated flat far above the reach of any inundation. The distance from Seoni to Bilâspur is not more than forty-five miles by the river, and about thirty miles by land. The wave of inundation would therefore have reached Bilâspur in three hours, at the rate of fifteen miles per hour, while the news of the bursting of the barrier could have been signalled by matchlocks in half an hour.

As my information is derived from the Rana of Bhaji, in whose principality Seoni is situated, I have full confidence in the general accuracy of my account, even including the statement that the bed of the Sutluj became quite dry for the space of forty days. At first I was disinclined to believe this startling fact, but a little reflection showed me that it must have been the case; for as the fall of the Sutluj in this part of its course is not more than twenty feet per mile, the accumulated waters must have filled the bed of the river for twenty miles before they attained a height of 400 feet, level

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

731 with the top of the barrier. To fill this gulf would
133 have required the accumulated discharge of the river for about forty days. The minimum discharge being 5,400 cubic feet at Ropar, the discharge at Seoni in November cannot be less than 5,500 cubic feet. This discharge accumulated for forty days would have amounted to 19,008,000,000 cubic feet, a mass of water which would only just have been sufficient to fill the gulf in the bed of the Sutluj for twenty miles above the barrier to a mean depth of 200 feet, with an average breadth of 900 feet. The flow of the river must therefore have been quite stopped below the barrier for the whole period of forty days.

When the accumulated waters once began to pour over the obstructing barrier, the mass of loose earth and rocks must have been speedily cut up in all directions, until it soon yielded to the pressure of the mighty body of water; and the long-imprisoned river burst its fetters and rushed headlong down its rocky channel in one mighty wave, from fifty to more than one hundred feet in height This occurred on the fifth day of the month of *Paush*, or the 19th of December. Of its progress in the hills I know nothing more than what I have already quoted from Gerard of the destruction of the lower town of Bilâspur. But after reaching the plains, the mighty wave was swept more and more to the northward by its own speed off the Sewalik hills at Ropar, and thus took a new course under Phalor to the north of the old channel until it joined the Byasat Hari-ki-patan, where its further course to the northward was stopped by the stiff high cliffs on the right bank of the Byás. From this time the Sutluj, when swollen by the annual rains, continued to pour its waters down the new channel until

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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about A.D. 1790, when the whole body of water finally deserted the old bed by Lodiana and Dharmkot, and joined the Byás at Hari-ki-patan, some thirty miles above the former point of junction at Firozpur. For six months the Sutluj remained above its usual level until the rise of the river in June, when the last remains of the once mighty barrier were swept away by the swollen river.

The following table embodies all the principal points of information contained in the preceding pages.

	Rivers.	Length.			Fall per mile.		Discharge.	
		In Hills.	In Plains.	Total.	In Hills.	In Plains.	Min.	Max.
1	Indus Proper	1,035	942	1,977	15·4	1·06	16,500	
2	Shayok	400	—	400	26·4	—	2,000	
3	Zanskar	210	—	210	28·5	—	1,000	
4	Jehlam	380	240	620	21·0	—	4,000	
5	Chenab	380	570	950	40·8	—	4,550	54,000
6	Rávi	130	500	630	115·4	—	2,700	
7	Byás	150	100	350	48·0	—	3,000	
8	Sutluj	560	520	1,080	30·0	—	5,500	
9	Panjnad	—	—	—	—	—	12,000	100,000
10	Indus alone.....	—	—	—	—	—	15,000	130,177
11	Indus and Panjnad	—	—	—	—	—	27,000	230,177
12	Ganges at Ghazipur	250	1,500	1,750	52·0	0·66	21,757	476,761
	Ganges at Pubna ..	—	—	—	—	—	96,000	1,500,000

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

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278 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang[1] very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladákí women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

1 [I.E., BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

> parents who are no longer able to work much or to help, and to assign to them a few fields for their livelihood. Often this reservation (property reserved for old people) turns out to be very scant, and the old parents are then forced to live a life of penury.

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and for the grandmother Putrid, and apportioned them an ample amount of arable land from the yield of which his parents, who were still very active people, could live quite well. In the working ~~of the~~ fields, and in other respects, too, the son and grandson faithfully helped the old people who, in their turn, still assisted him as far as it was in their power to do so.

During this time Namgyal visited the missionary more frequently than usual. With him he read the story of Jesus from the Gospels. The reflective man was more and more strongly attracted by the person of Jesus. But he was still held by strong ties to Buddha and his teachings, and his regard for the powerful tribe restrained him from turning to Christianity in any decisive manner.

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Now they had entered the Wood-Ape year. According to the various horoscopes constructed by the devil tamer and by the lama prophets, it was to be a particularly fortunate year for the entire country, and quite especially so for the house of the Dragshos. All the stars and astrological signs pointed to luck and prosperity, so said those wise men.

But again things turned out differently from the way they had been calculated by the wisdom of the prophets who, incidentally, had not been consulted by Namgyal but by the women of the house.

The winter from the Water-Sheep year to the Wood-Ape year was an unusually cold one, and one in which an unusually large amount of snow had fallen. The farmers' sheep and goats were in great distress because it was impossible to send them, as they usually did in winter, up the mountains for pasturing; and the little hay that had been gathered in autumn, was not even sufficient for the horses and the cattle. The traffic from village to village had been made difficult by the great masses of snow; some villages were completely cut off from any kind of communication with the outside; and the mountain passes were insurmountable. At the Sodshi pass, /191/ the entrance from Kashmir into Ladakh, three men, a postal courier and two companions, were engulfed in an avalanche and were killed. At Serkachan-La (pass) two men together with a loaded yak fell down the crack of a glacier

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731 and could not be rescued. Driven by hunger, animals of prey frequently penetrated into the villages and carried off livestock wherever they could find it. The wolves and the wild dogs wrought particularly bad ravages among the villagers' sheep herds, so that the villagers scarcely dared to drive their sheep out for watering any more.

A very warm Spring brought with it the very sudden melting of the snow and great floods. The tiniest little brook was turned into a torrential stream, all the empty river beds and channels of the Ladákh wilderness were filled with water. In neighboring Domkhar, in Skyurbuchan, and in many villages along the Indus and its tributaries, torrential brooks and avalanches of mud tore away the farmers' laboriously constructed terraced fields together with the young seed. A mountain slide, caused by the melted water, dammed up the water of the powerful brook in the side valley of Domkhar, so that a large lake was formed. Two weeks later the dammed up floods had eaten their way through the dam; the water masses that hurtled down into the valley, destroyed all the best fields in the valley floor and high upon the slopes of the mountains; they tore open the bottom of the valley and carried down with them soil, stones, and large boulders, so that the floor of the valley was henceforth four to five meters lower than before; and the mills which before used to stand by the brook, now hung high above it along the wall of the valley, insofar as they had not been torn along. Two houses were carried off by the floods, and several cows, donkeys, and much small livestock perished in the inundation. Two women were also drowned as they were wading through a swollen brook.

In the early summer there were, contrary to all former experience, a great many violent thunder storms (165), such as the oldest

[132] 165. Thunder storms are rare and hardly ever violent in the high altitudes of Tibet (altitudes of over 3,000 meters). This is so because of the great dryness and minimal density of the atmosphere at these heights. For the very greatest part Tibet is a mountain wilderness. Its thin, dry atmosphere permits of only a slight formation of clouds and accumulation of electricity.

821 people could not remember ever having witnessed. In the fifth month there occurred an eclipse of the moon; the sixth month brought a total eclipse of the sun. Both astral phenomena created great agitation

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and 821
firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (166), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to

166 The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mythology has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply the earth with light night and day.

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer 731
was followed by a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the Kalatse reservoir and water-line [689]
strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community.

The lamas performed one procession after another, and the [789]
farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain. Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, ~~which~~ did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected.

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the 787
land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been

787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they had just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags stag-lo) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle). / /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

781 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731 426 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

by them, the donations of pious Buddhists, they did business at huge 731 ●
profits. Chirpon in Tingmogang, Namgyal's father-in-law, also 426
followed the example of these "spiritual gentlemen," in order to fill his money chest which during the past few years had been drained critically, since with increasing age he neglected his farm and gave himself over to drinking. Different was the behavior of his /194/ son-in-law Namgyal. He also lent out grain, but at moderate rates of interest; to many a needy one he gave grain from his own not very plentiful stock. His friend and teacher, the hermit Tsetan, did the same thing, helping the poor in distress and sharing with them that which pious admirers had donated to him.

Finally the Wasir (governor) even ordered his district officials to lend to the neediest grain from the government's granaries at moderate rates of interest; and in the worst cases to give it away in order to prevent the most extreme distress

Yet there remained much unrelieved distress; the distributions [661]
were also frequently carried out in an unjust manner. Many a timid poor man was overlooked, and many another one received abundantly because he had been able to win the favor of the officials.

Namgyal, the hermit Tsetan, and the missionary, these three 731
friends, attempted to console the people, and they helped wherever they were able. However, the distress rested as too heavy a burden on the people's minds. Many were close to desperation, believing themselves abandoned by man and the gods. "Lanchags, lanchangs! It's retribution! And yet we know not what for!" the people said.

Sprin ak'or (Thunderclouds)

The autumn of this terrible year was ushered in with sunshine 000
and glowing colors. The trees in the village oases shone in their yellow, green, and red glory, and up above the sky was resplendent with the gold of the sun and heavenly blue reflecting upon the mountains and slopes, upon glacier and snow peaks, painting them in all colors. But the people had no eye for all this autumnal splendor. The grey cloud of grief and anxiety rested heavily upon their minds. Winter was in the offing, and with it ceased every opportunity for the farmers to make money by means of carrier and transport services for the Indian merchants and officials. Also, many field terraces were still destroyed by the floods, and others lay covered under feet of avalanche debris. They lacked the strength and the courage to repair the damage.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter I.

The District.

The Chandra and Bhága.

of 11,345 feet. Darcha and Khoksar, the highest villages in the upper valleys respectively of the Bhága and Chandra, are about 10,800 feet above the sea.

The source of the Chandra is in a huge snow-bed, more than 16,000 feet above the sea, on the south-east slopes of the Bára Lácha pass. From its very commencement a considerable stream, it becomes quite unfordable a mile from its source. Its course is south-east as far as the angle between the Kanzam range and the mid-Himalaya, a distance of 55 miles. Here, turned by the mountains, the river sweeps round to the north-west and skirts the base of the mid-Himalaya until it is joined by the Bhága at Tándi after a course of 115 miles. Its fall from its source to Tándi averages only 65 feet per mile. For the first 75 miles the valley of the Chandra is entirely uninhabited; the hills sweep down wild and barren to the river, and end in broken cliffs, the base of which is choked with the *débris* of decomposing rock. Above, the scene is equally desolate. Not a tree or a bush breaks the monotony of the bleak hill sides, and grass even disappears at no great height. The pasturage, however, though scanty in appearance, is of a quality much valued for sheep and goats, and is annually sought by large flocks driven up in July and August from Kúlu and even Kángra. A lake, called the Chandra Tal, near the Pálamo pass, is a favourite halting-place for the shepherds. The lake is three-quarters of a mile or more in length and of considerable width. It is fed by springs and the melting snows, and the surplus water runs by an outlet into the Chandra.

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The first signs of permanent habitations are met with opposite the Hamtá pass at old Khoksar, where there is a village occupied by five families some 14 miles above Koksar at the foot of the Rohtang pass. Here "the river enters on a less uninviting country; the valley widens considerably in several places, and there is a good deal of cultivated ground on the right bank, while on the left are a few scattered trees." As Ghondla is approached the country on the northern side still opens, and cultivation increases. The hamlets are larger, and the houses better built, and surrounded with groves of *pípal* and willow. The northern mountains too take a gentler slope; but on the south, on the other hand, they hang over the river, in precipitous masses. Opposite Ghondla a precipice rises like a wall 11,000 feet sheer above the river-bed.

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The glaciers of the hills in the interior threaten the river in more places than one. The most noted glacier is that known as the *big shigri** at the south-eastern extremity of the interior range of hills. A fall of this glacier in 1836 caused a stoppage in the course of the river, and a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. Captain Harcourt, who crossed the glacier in 1869, puts its width at nearly two miles; and, he adds, it "is steadily subsiding, and every year is getting lower and lower". In another passage, after alluding to the cataclysm of 1836, he says: "There can be little doubt, judging from the quantity of ice collected on the flanks

* Shigri is the local term for any glacier.

of the mountains that bound the river; that at any day such a disaster may again occur."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 **Chapter I.**

The District.

Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley, not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

[164] [791] [787]

"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

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Configuration of *wazíri* Spiti.

Spiti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spiti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spiti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spiti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhok shus* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *láma* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ribong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732 777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 568 [936]

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later.

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tang-tse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [425] [932]

GAUDY--tshos lakmo bright coloured. Ladákis approve highly of bright colours therefore our "gaudy" corresponds with their "bright". 100

[52]

GIPSY-- khamba or khampa. No gipsies are found among Ladákis, who are a very well-to-do people. Wandering beggars come from the Lhása Province of "Kham," hence possibly the word "khamba." 735 562

[53]GOD--konjok is the general term, but it is hard to say what the Ladákis understand the word to mean, for according to European ideas they have no God. They have a kind of Trinity which they call the "Konjoksum" or "Konjok sumbo." It is made up as follows:--(1) sangiás (sangeys) konjok, i.e., Buddha the emblem of intelligence, and the head of the Buddhist faith and priesthood (2) chhos konjok, i.e., the religion deity; (3) gendun konjok, i.e., the priestly deity. From this it seems that the Ladákis have no God, and that they worship a Trinity representing--(1) Buddha; (2) priests of the religion of Buddha. Ordinary Ladákis have no idea of anything before and apart from Buddha, and they never trouble their heads about the Laws of Nature, and the Causer of Causes. They think that the world goes on in a never ending round of "kalpas" or periods, each of which has its own Buddha, and each of which is terminated by the destruction of the world by fire, as a punishment for the sins of mankind. After that, a fresh "kalpas" commences, and so on. 779 776 822

They cannot give any information as to their belief regarding the length of a "kalpas;" but they say that long long ago the age of man extended up to 800 years, that since then his life time has gradually been shortened, till now, his age rarely extends beyond 80 years, that the present is the last of the life shortening "kalpas," and that after the end of this "kalpas," man's life time will gradually be lengthened to its former limits.

In addition to the "konjoksum," the Ladákis have endless minor deities:"Hla" or more correctly "Lha" is the general term for a fairy, spirit, or deity; rgiachhen is Indra; tshángspa is Brahma; khiápjook is Vishuoo; wángchhook is Iswara; and dodhla is Cupid, in the evil sense of the God of lust. 776 779

Other minor gods are sa i hla the earth god, ree i hla the mountain

in the dak bungalow—soup, hamburgers, cocoa, canned fruit, and *chapattis*. Discussion turned to the court session. 681 651

"Are these families on this land legally?" I asked.

"No. They are all illegal squatters. The law of Punjab provides that a man may homestead public land and that he has a period of time to make payment for it. But he must pay."

"How much must he pay?"

"About two hundred rupees [forty dollars] an acre."

"Have any paid?"

"None."

"Do they all owe arrears in taxes?"

"Yes, all of them."

"What is the law of Punjab in such cases?"

"The squatters must be ejected."

"Is that what you are going to do tomorrow? Eject them?"

There was a long pause.

"None will be ejected," he finally replied with emphasis. "You are a judge and you know that law is law but that the law is not always justice."

I nodded but answered, "Yet this is public property."

"True," he replied, "but these farmers are India's outposts. They occupy land bordering countries that may be unfriendly. It is important that India keep this border country populated. Certainly Soviet Communism exploits every discontent in India. It is better that India sacrifice her legal rights or even lose a part of her public domain and have happy people here than that she enforce her legal rights and end up with discontented citizens on this sensitive northern border." 168

"Why can't the people pay taxes?"

His eyes were now wide with seriousness. "Why, these people only subsist. They raise barely enough to live. They trade barley for wool from Tibet and make their own clothes. I suppose none of the families we saw this afternoon has a cash income each year of even ten rupees." 735 511

Beyond the High Himalayas

• 735 Ten rupees is only two dollars, I thought. With two dollars a
511 year per family the women could have a little talcum powder perhaps, a little hair oil, a few pieces of soap. There would be precious little, if any, for tobacco, for medicines, for sweets. I recalled a scene that had happened earlier this day. A dozen or more children from three to ten years old had gathered around me at Jispa. They were in tatters, a bit pinched in the face, very shy, and very dirty. I opened a small bag of chocolate drops. The children at once held out their dirty little hands, their eyes big with expectation. As I put one piece in each hand the fingers closed tightly on it. The first bite was taken carefully and tentatively. Then the expressions quickly changed—the eyes lighted, the tenseness was gone, the faces were happy and relaxed, and one little fellow actually shouted. The chocolates were wolfed down as quickly as a dog swallows a morsel of meat. In a few seconds each of the dirty little hands was stretched out to me again.

These little tots stood huddled together for hours, following me like a shadow wherever I went. And every time I looked at them they would shyly hold out their tiny hands palms up and look at me with eyes that carried as powerful a plea as man with all the skills known to drama could devise.

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[757] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat[1] is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
• 735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

[1 of the marmot--Analyst]

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
182 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
792 monasteries to become lamas.

595 All of these reasons* may contribute to the invention and spread
428 of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each generation of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers. The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
[601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

 * [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

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593 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one
595 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this
184 ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and
[465] Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land
291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves,
515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night,
• 735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

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she was nursing a child; and as the baby fed, Nordzin picked lice 515
off herself and off the child and cracked them with her fingernails. 735
Her hair was matted. Nordzin, about five feet eight and slight, had a flat face that was creased with care and worry and unhappiness. The faces of the children were as filthy as the rags they wore.

I inquired of Pamba why they were so poor when Phuntzog 735
made twelve dollars a month and the garden produced all the 274
vegetables they could eat. The answer was slow in coming, and even then it was evasive. It seems that a great portion of the income of the Gyalangs goes into the making of *chan*, the local barley beer. Indeed, one eighth of the farm production of Leh is used to make this brew. It stimulates many quarrels between the brothers. With the help of the *chan*, Phuntzog and Pamba raise their voices over Nordzin.

When I entered the Gyalang house, I began to understand the 593
basis for the friction. It is a one-room affair. A clay stove, built [511]
by Phuntzog, is against one wall. The floor is of mud and very dirty. There are no chairs, no table, no bed. The one wife, four children, and two husbands roll up together on the floor.

There was a scowl on Pamba's face when I asked him about Phuntzog.

"He's Nordzin's favorite," Pamba complained.

"But he's gone most of the day and many nights on his mail route," I said.

Pamba only shrugged his shoulders.

Later I talked with Phuntzog. The sun was just rising over Leh, and he was in a hurry to get started on the road to Spitok. He, like Pamba, is short, squat, round-faced, and bedraggled. Like Pamba, he was full of complaints. His brother was getting the best of the arrangement, he said. His long absences gave Pamba the advantage. It was he, Phuntzog, who owned the place; yet it was Pamba who acted like lord and master. And Pamba was lazy and made Nordzin do all the work.

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fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for 792
promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*), but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the *konyer*). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot* and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job 792
is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their 426
cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable, whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in 735
which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, 511
and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture. They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The [262]
Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples, grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries. That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

735 511 an annual cash income of eighty dollars a year per family. But that is far above what the average Ladakhi family will have in a year.

[342] At Upshi, where we first touched the Indus River, we stayed with the headman of the village, Jigmet. Jigmet's house has two stories. It is made of stone and mud with rafters of poplar wood. The ceilings are about six feet high. The floors are mud. The roof is flat, constructed of rocks and mud laid on top of boughs. The cooking is done in a fireplace located under a hole in the roof. The toilet is on an open balcony on the second floor. It consists only of a hole in the mud floor. There are no furnishings in the house—no chairs, no beds, no tables. There are no decorations on the walls, no carpets on the floors.

Jigmet is the richest man in the village. He owns the land he works—eighteen *kanals* or a little more than one acre. He has no sheep, no goats, no yaks. He has one dzo that he uses for plowing. For fuel he uses the dung of the dzo and the common sea buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides*)—a silvery-barked shrub with sharp spines and orange-yellow berries that flourishes in the valley of the Indus. He raises only barley, and he irrigates it from the Indus. He has a few chickens. Their eggs, the dzo's milk, and the barley are his income. He bragged that he had a cash income, over and above his living, of fifty dollars a year. A local official laughed at the idea. He said five dollars a year would be closer.

[291] Jigmet wore a gray wool gown, sandals, and a Ladakhi hat. The hat, distinguished by a rim made of black fur, had a round, squat top. Jigmet had one other adornment. In his right ear he wore a big gold earring about an inch and a half in diameter. His face was sad; his black eyebrows and thick, black mustache accentuated the severity of his countenance. Yet he was a gracious host. He showed us to our room on the second floor. The room had a small balcony big enough for a sleeping bag. It faced north, and I could see miles and miles up the Indus. We no sooner had unpacked than Jigmet's family appeared—a wife suckling a babe,

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a grandmother, two small boys, a teen-age girl. I asked to get 511
their pictures in several different groupings. Jigmet directed them 735
to comply. After each picture, Jigmet came up and, with outstretched hand, said, "Bakshish" (an Arabic word meaning a tip, which the British introduced to Ladakh). Each time I gave him or the wife or the children something—candy, cigarettes, salt. The picture taking took a half hour or so. Jigmet and the family then left. When Rahul and I were eating dinner, Jigmet reappeared. He sat silently watching us for ten minutes or so. Then he got up, held out his hand, and said, "Bakshish." I gave him some more cigarettes. At the crack of dawn he was back, saying, "Bakshish." He followed me around as I took pictures of Upshi and its people.

I worked my way through his fields of beardless barley to get pictures of the Indus River, about a quarter mile distant. Every few yards, Jigmet, who followed me closely, pleaded, "Bakshish." That word came so frequently that it rang in my ears. By the time I had returned to the house, loaded my cameras, and started to leave, Jigmet had increased the frequency of the request. "Bakshish, bakshish, bakshish" came like a chant. I had paid him well for the lodgings. I did not know what the proprieties were. Rahul said I had paid enough; so did the Indian Army officer who was traveling with us from Pagmur to Leh.

I walked up to Jigmet and held out my hand to say good-by. He did not put out his hand but said, "If there is no bakshish, there is no use shaking hands."

I took his hand anyway and gave it a firm squeeze, saying, "This is the way we do it in America. Friendship is more important than bakshish."

Jigmet stood disconsolate as I rode off on Moti. Though Jigmet, 511
by Ladakhi peasant standards, was well off, he had not more than 735
ten dollars a year cash income. All who lived around him were 792
much poorer than he, held in a vicious serfdom under the monasteries. It was his duty to feed and care for every lama who went

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511
• 735 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any pos-
792 sible opportunity to make a cash profit.
[642] The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people
578 of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as
522 well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a
578 serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of be-
522 ing a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.
792
539

Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women. -- Analyst]

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of 778
the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds [788]
of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monas- 471
teries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare 735 •
subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth. [792] 651

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern 423
world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

•735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding [493] streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 722 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

la ilaha illa–'llah:
Mohammed rasulu–'llah.
No god but Allah: Mohammed
is the messenger of Allah.

771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh–2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist coun- 797 try, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is 175 also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith 648 of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1928 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

his wig standing over there, with a markedly malevolent look in one big bad eye, seeming to watch with great resentment the intrusion of our Western selves into his valley? Certainly that eye follows us till we are level with him, after which suddenly turning, we find that he too has turned back again to see what other intruders will follow, and we wonder how the rest of our party will stand his evil scorn. Then our eye falls on a giant emerging with his broom from his cave, from which we can trace the track down which he goes to fetch water. His face is hidden, but shoulder, arm and broom are clearly visible. What mystery is he brooming out with such persistence? A little further we spy a Mongolian-looking female, eyes closed, and flattened nose turned up in utter disgust at our European smell. So, though the last few miles are generally the longest, these are more than beguiled by all the strange wizard-like forms and fairy-like scenes we see depicted opposite, varied with glimpses into deep narrow ravines with more weird formations, suggesting the strangest mysteries.

Our attention is diverted, however, by Mulbek's monastery, perched high up on inaccessible-looking crags and dominating the whole valley. Strange and sudden on its perch, fascinating in its form and outline, we at last turn down under its very shadow to the polo ground, on the nearer side of which is the rest-house, and on the further side the central stream. All along we have been noting how exactly the strange dwellers of this valley fitted the scenery from head to foot, indeed especially head-dress and footgear, no doubt contributing to our feeling of being intruders. The chuckling fat babies with their nun's style of close-fitting cap, tucked into one of the aforementioned baskets, and left on the edge of the field in which their care-taker is busy, are particularly attractive. At the bungalow we find a lot of *respas* (turn-men) waiting to secure the job of our transport for the next day. In our staff is a coolie boy from a village near Leh, who came to us utterly destitute in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Srinagar, wearing a puggaree, a pair of trousers, and a warm shirt with military breast pockets, in which he apparently carried all his worldly goods, rather to the confusion of the natural outlines of his broad manly chest. This boy, a Mussulman named Ibchung (little Abraham) constantly delighted us by his cheery ways, and naïve enjoyment of life. Seeing our interest in these strange people, he promptly marshalled them before us and shewed them off as though he had specially collected them for the purpose. Dirty and ragged, but delightfully cheery, enjoying us as we did them, all looked ready to pop into a fairy tale. One with a red cap was quite the dandy of the party, another wrinkled old man with hair untidily fringing out of his pigtail and round his face, had a big cavern between two isolated teeth. There was a boy with a coarsely-quilted sleeveless padded waistcoat, even at the end of May. Here was a living representative of Absalom, a Balti wearing a little round cap with rolled up edges, dark curling locks falling on to each shoulder, big black eyes, and, unlike our Buddhist Ladakis, an expression of utter gloom.

As we waited for our luggage, we noted the paraphernalia attached to the people, as demonstrated by Ibchung. One old chap with bracelets of wool on his arm was spinning from it on to a little wooden spindle. From his wool he would make sacks, carpets or ropes. His was black wool from a cow, while another, filling his enforced idleness with like industry, was spinning from the white wool of a goat, twirling the spindle almost unconsciously as he gazed at us. In their belts and about their persons was quite an array of instruments, such as flint and tinder, knife, long spoon, spectacles in case, sewing purse and pen-case, the last empty as is usual with these people. These were all depending from the waist, and often a large brass soup or tea ladle was stuck in the folds of their ample sash behind. In front, hanging by a small chain, one man had a little pair of broad-ended forceps for

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag--pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none
[735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 268

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later. [936]

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tang-tse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [425] [932]

278 Tibetan medicine, as they did earlier among all Aryan peoples. The gall of an ox is supposed to be good for eye diseases, the spleen for infections, the kidney for kidney ailments; blood, when drunk fresh, "draws the poison out of the blood," the tongue of a dog cures infections, pulverized dragon's teeth (probably crocodile's teeth) alleviate tooth aches. By means
752 of magnets the physician is supposed to draw arrow heads out of the wound.

Tibetan doctors are skillful in putting splints to simple bone fractures. In the case of broken ribs they very sensibly tie a wide strip of cloth around the chest and then cover it with loam, which forms a stiff dressing when the loam cools off. The European doctor achieves the same result by means of an adhesive dressing or a plaster cast. Thousands find a
• 743 cure for their ailments in the spas scattered throughout Tibet, as for instance, in Sabu (Ladakh), in Panamig (Nubra), and
757 in many other places. Massaging is practised by the Indians as well as by the Tibetans with considerable skill. Matters are terrible as far as the pulling of teeth is concerned. Since they do not have regular dentist's forceps, the person plagued by a toothache goes to the smith, because he is usually the only one who has a pair of pliers. Two men hold the patient who lies on his back on the ground. The smith kneels over him and with his blunt pliers he grips the diseased tooth and pulls at it. Something finally gives way: Sometimes the diseased tooth comes out, sometimes the jaw breaks, and it also happens that the pliers break and the tooth remains in the jaw.

000 We may wonder about, and laugh at, some of the curious remedies of Tibetan medicine. But we must remember that into the 18th, yes, even as recently as the 19th century, no less peculiar remedies were produced, praised, and eagerly bought in European pharmacies, including those in Germany, than we encounter in Tibetan pharmacy. Things like stork's fat, bear's fat, wolf's and fox's fat, worms, crabs' eyes and snake skin were since time immemorial considered highly effective cures. Quite especially coveted were remedies which were produced from parts of the human body, such as burned and pulverized human skull, blood, gall, and fat of human beings, and they were considered particularly effective if the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Church as Landlord

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [943]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty.

Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens,* and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra 702
number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each.

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has 161
very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In 164
the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who [515]
only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at.

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in 727
the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal 798
images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands.

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who 751
was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zoráwar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination.

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

— He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[171] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

• 251 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdár-ships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

792 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

● 751 PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider
788 that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of
177 India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways: hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za" means 'epilepsy" and "chhoo
753 thung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilept

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

latter, amid continual murmuring of magical and exorcizing formulas, 852
cut off a lock of the child's hair and threw it away as an offering, in order to make the gods favorably disposed towards the child. For this the lama received a few silver coins.

Little Drogpa Namgyal thrived visibly; his cheeks and his limbs 754
became rounded and the women of the house were agreed with aunts, cousins and women of the paspun-ship (Sib) on this point: In the whole of Kalatse and surroundings, yes, in entire Lower Ladakh (so said he very wise) there was not another child so pretty as the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal. Over this there was joy and pride in the circle of relatives. But beauty is a dangerous privilege: A pretty face draws glances upon itself, and these glances are not always friendly. Grandmother Tsering Putrid had seen quite clearly the other day how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had given the child a completely evil look of jealousy. She also knew precisely why she had done so. The woman had a child who was as ugly as a little owl. /27/ The following night little Drogpa Namgyal had screamed continually. That woman had, of course, wished something evil upon the little one and this was now making itself felt. The grandmother had immediately taken her daughter-in-law to task and had blamed her for her carelessness. Such pretty children should not be exposed without protection to the glances of one's neighbors. Aside from the customary amulets on the coat and on the cap, a black soot stain on 75
the forehead wards off the Evil Eye. Thus, for the first three to four years of his life, the little boy always had his face made unsightly by an ugly soot spot. Immediately after his first sickness his mother affixed a new amulet to the boy's cap. This amulet consisted of a small slip of paper folded together, on which the lama had written a number of magical and exorcizing formulas, in part in Tibetan, in part in Sanskrit, and in part just a meaningless series of mystical Sanskrit words, as defense against the wily demons and against the Evil Eye. This slip of paper was sewn into a little bag of red wool and was hung to the cap by a string. Year after year, as the perils to young life increased, new amulets were added: now a red one, now a yellow one, a blue one, then also a silver one, until more than a dozen of such little bags and capsules swung from the coat and the cap of the ten-year old boy. The matter in the end did not turn out to be so expensive after all: for each of the amulets the father had had to pay the lama four to six annas (35 - 50 Pfennig), depending on the size of the misfortune that was presumably threatening. The

•751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

164 villages in lower Ladakh too. Indian tradesmen who were traveling through had brought with them a malignant, typhus-like fever, to which many succumbed. Then the smallpox went through the land and claimed numerous victims. Like flies in late autumn people were dying. The villages, yes, even the individual houses of a village, barred themselves against each other. The well-to-do
• 751 farmers had the lamas make large and small dosmo (string crosses and stars), in order to exorcise the disease-bringing demons. Everywhere on paths and roads one could see lying these magical objects, which were supposed to bar the way for these fiends; the poor laid down thorny twigs and hoped for the same protection from these. A magical piece of paper was much in demand, on which two human figures were pictured in block printing, tied with chains on hand and foot: the spirits of disease who are tied by magic. The magical formulas were printed in a circle, which occupies the center of the picture. The lamas did good business with these magical slips of paper.

758 Some of the smallpox sufferers were tended by their family in the house. But other families, driven by fear of contagion, took their sick members into the desert directly outside their village. There these poor wretches looked for scanty protection among the large scattered stone blocks against the scorching rays of the sun and the sandstone. Daily the relatives would bring their sick people a bowl of food and a jug of butter tea; they would place both at some distance on the ground, they would call out a brief greeting to the sick, and then depart hastily. This sick person, who still had sufficient strength, would then drag himself laboriously to the spot in order to get the food. But it often happened that at the call no answer was made anymore. The following day the bowl would then stand still untouched; the sick person no longer needed any nourishment; he
766 had suffered the last. Then a few men of the tribe would come and would drag the corpse by a rope into the Indus and there leave it to the fish as a "burial." In the best case a paid lama would be present on the occasion, in order to read a very brief mass for the dead. Sometimes it happened that the corpse could not be found at first. Wolves had torn it apart and carried it off--"buried."

/186/ The Tibetans have no pangs of conscience about this kind of "burial." It is quite customary, even, and it is considered as particularly meritorious for the deceased because in this way he feeds the hungry animals even in death, something which is credited to his

They take the ashes of the (cremated) corpse out of the furnace, and 765
put them inside a sack; then they paint the entire furnace white both inside and out. On top above the opening a roof is formed (out of stone and bricks). The holes (fire holes) down below are closed (with stones). On top of the roof of the furnace they stick a white flag. With the statement, "Now we carry off the 'flowers' (meaning, 'the remains of the bones and the ashes'), " the p'as-pun load the ashes of the corpse onto the horse. In this way two lamas take the ashes to the river (60)

60. In Ladakh it is usually the Indus River or one of its tributaries.

amidst the blowing of the large trumpets, and scatter it there.

On the very day on which the corpse is carried out (and burned), the bone ceremony is started on the (larger) remains of bones which have been brought into the house. This ceremony lasts one day. The crushed bones are mixed with the ashes of the burned paper mask, with loam, as well as with the shavings of jewels (turquoises, agates, and others) and metals, and with this mixture five, ten, even up to 100 and more pastes (impressions, Tibetan t'sa-t'sa), are created. (61). Some keep these impressions in their household temples, others

61. These pastes are pressed /or, printed/ with the help of very finely carved wooden moulds. On the front side they show pictures (reliefs) of Buddhas and other deities. Frequently they also bear the figure of a chorten.

build a special T'sat'sa shrine (t'sad-k'aṅ), shaped like a chorten, and put the pastes inside. Others again, place them inside an old chorten, and again others throw them away on the mountain or into the river. By the assertion of the practitioners of black magic, the lamas even consecrate (62) artfully created t'sat'sas with pictures of deities (in relief),

62. Through the consecration by the priests, the T'sat'sa images are supposed to be endowed with magical powers, and therefore [751] they are believed to be effective as an amulet for defense against disease and danger.

to be worn on a ribbon around the neck as amulets.

Now, after each (participating) lama has received a compensation

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti
51 a

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shun* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *láma* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ribong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732
777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

776 Jäschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is therefore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu of Kalatse,[1] aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

Oh my wise king!
When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
And see all the nymphs of that land,
Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[832] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to represent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[784] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the writing (1).

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma," No. 7.[1]

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time. It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
951 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

human beings. This disease is called Klu-nad among the Tibetans, 776
and among the Indians Nagaroga (a disease caused by the nymphs). 773
The disease is ascribed to the nymphs because leprosy at first looks [75]
like snow. The passage cited from the chronicle of Ladakh seems to indicate that instead of one prince of Nagas, they conceived of two who lived in the Manasarowar Lake. This duality may be derived from the Indians. /11/ The Tibetans seem to have severed the adjective Zil-chen, "the radiant," from the name Ma-dros-zil-chen, and to have created a new divinity with it.

In the case of this king of the Nagas, Ma-dros or lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that he recedes into the background as an active deity as much as does the king of heaven and the goddess of the earth. He no longer goes out to rape the earth goddess. Rather, he has left this to younger persons, in particular to the king of Hor (Mongolia and Turkestan, countries to the north of Western Tibet). Winter is the time when the water masses, in the form of ice and snow, put the earth in their bondage, and winter's power penetrates from the north. In the Kesar saga we read that Kesar after his wedding goes off to the north in order to do battle against the Giant of the North, and that during this time King Gur-dkar (that is, "White Tent") of Hor rapes aBru-gu-ma. For many passages of the Kesar saga it appears that the Naga king was a divinity for human beings, and that, even though a third-class divinity, he received the same hommage accorded the god of heaven and the goddess of earth. From this ethically impeccable figure, however, there soon developed a new figure which embodied the evil principle. We shall speak later of this "devil" bDud.

Ancient representations of the Tibetan Klu, in particular of the [532]
king, have not yet been found. From the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 27-30)[1] we see that King lJogs-po rides a horse called Klu-rta-snon-chun, "little blue nymph horse." In the dream song (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III)[1] we read that the king carries something in his mouth which at first glance looks like a black sheep. Later it turns out that the presumed sheep is actually a lotus flower.

The Colors of the Three Realms. The most original color system 773
is apparently to be found in a version of the Kesar saga of the village 822
of Sheh (Shel) as it is written down in the Spring and Winter Myths. There we frequently hear of three altars erected in honor of the deities of the realms of the world, which have white, red, and blue for their colors (1). According to this system, sTan-lha, the realm

1. Spring Myth, IV, 20-26; VII, 22, 30; IX, 1.
1 [See cat 116, pp. 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

B

796 On the 28th day of the 12th month, a festival called
778 *Doss-Mo-Che*[3] is held in Leh the capital of Ladakh. People
751 from far and near attend this important function. The

1. *Doss-Mo-Che.* An effigy of a man with the yak's horns filled with blood. The whole is carried on a plank.

Lamas (priests) make a life-size effigy of a man (*Doss-Mo-Che*) with straw, adorning it with coloured garments. This effigy is then placed in a prominent position in the dancing

[3] *Doss-Mo-Che*

It seems that the un-Tibetan part of the *Doss-mo-che* ceremony when the Sepoys of the Kashmir State play their part in destroying the effigy, is a concession to the now ruling Maharajah who is a Hindu and identifies himself with the Buddhistic practices observed in Ladakh. Once a year the Maharajah causes prayers to be read by the Buddhist clergy, and defrays the expense of feeding them during this period.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

floor of the monastery, and beer and grain are offered to it. 716
This is followed by a devil dance, the Lama performers 778
being arrayed in special dancing regalia and masks. The 751
next morning another devil dance is held; and about 3-0 p.m. the effigy is carried with great solemnity on a plank to an open piece of ground outside the town. Two yak horns (*Yak-I-Ru-Cho*) are filled with blood, and fixed one on either breast of the effigy. A platoon of local sepoys belonging to the Kashmir State then open fire on the horns as a target, but fail to hit the mark. It is believed that as the *Sku-Shog* (a high Buddhist ecclesiastic) has pronounced a charm upon the yak horns they thereby become invulnerable so long as that important personage remains near them. When, however, this church dignitary takes his departure, the sepoys return to the assault of the effigy, and succeed in hitting the mark. This is the signal for the people to rush in pell-mell with thorns which they lay at the foot of the effigy and burn it. This ceremony is performed in order to forestall sickness and other misfortunes to the community.

C

On the 8th day of the 1st month a *Tse Shu* (popular amusement or sport) is held for all the villagers. This function occurs once a month, when barley flour dumplings are made, the various households taking it in rotation to provide food and drink for those who assemble to dance and amuse themselves in various ways.

D

On the 15th day of the 1st month, males and females circumambulate prayer walls and monasteries in order to obtain merit. They perform this ceremony in procession. If a woman in the procession meets anybody she must give

579 their hands tied together behind their backs. The bandits drove the scattered beasts of burden together again with great difficulty and led the captured caravan, people and animals, together with the stolen wares into a distant valley. They went along devious routes, avoiding the great caravan thoroughfare and, as darkness was falling, they arrived at their camp in the valley where the feet of the prisoners were also tied together. Thus the prisoners just had to lie on the ground and wait for whatever might happen. Late in the evening each of the prisoners was given a lump of kollag and a little bowl of sour milk. Then the men lying on the ground were pushed together, and the armed bandits lay down around them to sleep while two of them stood guard in turns. Despite the /158/ penetrating cold, no fire was lit, so that the attention of the Tibetan police patrols would not be drawn to them.

The next morning the bandits first debated amongst each other excitedly for a long time, then their chief announced to the Ladakh people that they were to appoint one of their group who had influence in their villages to ride as fast as possible to their native village and to bring back 200 rupees for each of the prisoners. He was then to return with the ransom money as rapidly as possible, and this money he was to bring to a certain spot in the neighborhood of the camp, alone and unarmed. The messenger rode away. The bandits threatened their prisoners that at the slightest attempt on their part to flee the persons concerned would be killed. Nevertheless, the robbers displayed human sentiment. During the day, the bonds on the prisoners' feet were loosened a little, they received the same simple food as their captors. The wound which one of the Ladakh men had received was dressed scantily with old rags, fresh yak dung, and soot. His wound [752] was not dangerous; matters were more critical with the man from Jangtang, who had a bullet from Drogpa Namgyal's rifle between his ribs, and another man's lower arm had been broken by a blow from Namgyal's sword. The bandits put the broken arm in a splint of stiff yak leather, the other wounded person had the bullet cut out, and his wound was burned around the edges with a red-hot iron. He was given musk to anesthetize him against the pain.

579 701 The imprisonment of the Ladakh men was not to be of long duration. On the second evening, as darkness was descending, the bandits were sitting around the smouldering camp fires to butter tea and tsampa. They were chatting, and again and again they were recounting their heroic deeds to each other, when suddenly, out of the dark, there appeared figures as though sprung from the ground--they

278 Tibetan medicine, as they did earlier among all Aryan peoples. The gall of an ox is supposed to be good for eye diseases, the spleen for infections, the kidney for kidney ailments; blood, when drunk fresh, "draws the poison out of the blood," the tongue of a dog cures infections, pulverized dragon's teeth (probably crocodile's teeth) alleviate tooth aches. By means
752 of magnets the physician is supposed to draw arrow heads out of the wound.

Tibetan doctors are skillful in putting splints to simple bone fractures. In the case of broken ribs they very sensibly tie a wide strip of cloth around the chest and then cover it with loam, which forms a stiff dressing when the loam cools off. The European doctor achieves the same result by means of an adhesive dressing or a plaster cast. Thousands find a
743 cure for their ailments in the spas scattered throughout Tibet, as for instance, in Sabu (Ladakh), in Panamig (Nubra), and
757 in many other places. Massaging is practised by the Indians as well as by the Tibetans with considerable skill. Matters are terrible as far as the pulling of teeth is concerned. Since they do not have regular dentist's forceps, the person plagued by a toothache goes to the smith, because he is usually the only one who has a pair of pliers. Two men hold the patient who lies on his back on the ground. The smith kneels over him and with his blunt pliers he grips the diseased tooth and pulls at it. Something finally gives way: Sometimes the diseased tooth comes out, sometimes the jaw breaks, and it also happens that the pliers break and the tooth remains in the jaw.

000 We may wonder about, and laugh at, some of the curious remedies of Tibetan medicine. But we must remember that into the 18th, yes, even as recently as the 19th century, no less peculiar remedies were produced, praised, and eagerly bought in European pharmacies, including those in Germany, than we encounter in Tibetan pharmacy. Things like stork's fat, bear's fat, wolf's and fox's fat, worms, crabs' eyes and snake skin were since time immemorial considered highly effective cures. Quite especially coveted were remedies which were produced from parts of the human body, such as burned and pulverized human skull, blood, gall, and fat of human beings, and they were considered particularly effective if the

428 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the
592 eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is
583 termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his
428 younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa"
591 has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the
592 daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her
586 parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees.
597 If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

●753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from
195 beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

797 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751: PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
●753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 768 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 177 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 ● 753 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoothung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhathum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years" trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

[439]

● 763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

●753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

It was extremely
seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in 137
rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [753] branches from the trees and had taken them home /34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-sin, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 372
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again." 776 783

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states which are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth, prospering, and welfare in the human world. When a human being angers them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease and death. 776

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase along ass "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the [753] [754]

20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/, there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf," said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

754 a much-traveled friend of Namgyal explained that the disease had an entirely natural cause, the immoderate eating of apricots as well as the uncleanliness of the people: Tsering Putrid stuck to her opinions stubbornly. The lamas were called in, they read, prayed to all the Buddhas and in particular to the medicine Buddha, they presented scattered offerings, and beat their drums--all in vain. Finally a man who had traveled around a great deal with an Indian doctor advised: "Don't give the boy any cow's milk or butter tea to drink any more. Give him thick flour soup and goat's milk to drink, then he'll get better!" The mother followed his advice and gradually he started to improve and finally was cured. For a long time it remained a mystery who had placed the goat's horn under the threshold /131/, and for a long time to come old Tsering Putrid followed Chondsom with hostile looks and allusions, until a woman from a neighboring house told that she had seen a vagabond from Greater Tibet, a Khampa, who went begging from house to house busying himself near Namgyal's house door. Now they remembered the incident. The man had stolen a [685] silver-plated drinking bowl in a neighbor's house; he had been caught and led before Namgyal as the village judge. The latter did not want to see a great trial made of the matter, otherwise he would have had to take the man to Leh himself, a trip of three days, in order to have him sentenced there. He did not want to do that: so he had made a brief procedure of it and had given the thief a sound thrashing with the horsewhip and then had let him go. For this the Khampa had wanted to avenge himself by means of the charm of the goat's horn.

753 Scarcely was the anxiety over the boy's sickness passed, when a new source of concern entered the Dragshos house. The mother of the boy, who had recovered, fell sick of acute pneumonia. The lharje was called in, he gave her medicine, bled the patient, and burned her chest and back with a red-hot iron. But nothing could help her. Again the lamas were called in, in order to ascertain the cause of the illness. For a long time they searched in vain for a tangible cause. "It is simply her karma," they said, "the consequence of sinful deeds which she has committed in past existences, and who knows those!"

The lamas meanwhile searched industriously for the cause of the illness. Usually it turned out that the demons had a hand in the matter despite karma and retribution. They asked the patient and her husband many questions: "Has a stranger come into the house recently, perhaps a 'heathen' (a non-Buddhist), a Mon, a Beda, a Muslim, or perhaps even a Kristan (Christian), or an impure person;

and had he perhaps sat down by the stove and in this way angered the 753
household god and the hearth god by making house and hearth impure by his presence?" With these and other, similar questions the patient was tormented; but all these questions were answered with no. Finally it turned out that the Mon, Chospell, (therefore an impure person) from the neighboring village, who was an enthusiastic huntsman /182/, had come into the house late one evening with the "red" (that is the fresh) meat of one of the wild sheep that he had shot, in order to pay off with the meat a debt of grain that he had with the Dragshos. Now this was a threefold transgression: first of all, killing was a great sin; secondly, the gods, especially the red Tsan-demons, were angered and provoked by the sight of this "red" meat; and thirdly, the household god was insulted by the sight of an impure person (the Mon) in the house. And in the tracks of such a visitor, if he was an impure one, there followed evil spirits into the house. These must now be exorcised by means of a scattered fire offering; and they must be chased away (t'sa-me p'aṅ-ces). While the men were still talking the Mon, Chospell, who was a carpenter, came again in order to deliver a small table that he had made. He was not admitted, but had to wait outside away from the house for a long time.

Meanwhile the first lama had a flat, iron pan handed to him, 755
and said to Namgyal: "I want to show you how one makes a scattered fire offering and how one appeases and drives the evil spirits away with it." Namgyal had to put all kinds of leftovers from meals in the pan--pieces of bread, flour, rice, bones, onions, and salt--and on top of this he had to place red-hot coals and hot ashes, so that the house was soon filled with a stinking vapor. Now all the inhabitants of the house went through the stable down to the house door with the lama. The lama opened the door and threw some of the smoldering contents of the pan onto the threshold. The Mon who was still waiting outside to be let in, was now allowed to step over the vaporous mass and over the threshold and into the house, and to carry out his business. The 755
lama declared that the evil spirits, gods, and demons were now all 776
pacified and soothed: the red Tsan-demons, the Nod-jin (gnod-sbyin), who are the terror of the mountain passes, the devils (bdud), the water and earth deities (klu, sa-bdag), the Jungpo demons and fiends, the man-eating Shasa (śaza), the wondrous Mimchi (mi-am-ci), creatures half man, half god; the heavenly musicians (the Kinnara of Hindu mythology); the smell-eating Drisa (dri-za), angel-like creatures with wings, the "Non-gods" (lha-na-yin), the giants of the sacred Mountain

755 of the gods, Meru; the Dripo, the Drimo, the Poyong, the Moyong,
776 the Lhandre (lha-adre), all of these were /183/ now appeased and did not have to be feared any more, so the lama assured them; lured by the "sweet smell" of the food, they had, he explained, come to the spot immediately in order to enjoy it. And now, he stated, they were satisfied, had disappeared, and would no longer do the sick woman any harm, and she would certainly recover soon now.

753 Meanwhile the sick Chosskyid did not recuperate. Despite all
755 the statements of the lamas, the lharje, and the devil-tamer, foretelling her recovery, her condition became worse. There must be something special in the matter; certain gods are obviously still angry at the patient, said the great Lama Mipam. What in all the world has she done! They tortured the deathly weak woman with new questions. Finally came the answer: once she had accidently burned some dog's excrement with dry cow dung, and another time she had also burned
[776] an old rag in the stove. By these actions the hearth god (t'ab-lha) and apparently another god who just happened to be housed in a tree in the neighborhood, had been provoked. Their olefactory nerves, which in Tibet ordinarily were not spoiled, could not stand this stink. The gods demanded the "five pleasing offerings" (adod-yon-lha) for the five senses: for the taste--a food and drink offering: for the smell--flowers or incense offering: for the sense of sight--a mirror: for the hearing--musical instruments which, like the mirror, were placed before the altar: for the touch--silken clothes and similar articles.

753 Further, the confession was pressed out of the patient that during
776 the past autumn she had drunk from the well in the course of the grass gathering over there by the slope of the mountain beyond the Indus. At this well is housed the dreaded Lu, the water and snake god. She had been so thirsty that she just had to drink. But this had of course driven the Lu to anger, said the lama; for this he had made her ill. Finally Chosskyid also confessed that once in a great rush she had spilled a bucket of dish water over one of the red-painted stones before her house that are dedicated to the red Tsan god. That was another bad transgression which had aroused the fire in the gods.

755 To appease the Lu gods, the lamas read the book which they had brought along just in case, of the "hundred thousand Lu" (klu-abum); the Tsan deities received a storma (sacrificial cake for the /184/ cast offering), to which the lamas gave the shape of a human being and which they painted red. After reciting formulas of exorcism they carried the figure behind the house and into the adjoining desert and

karma as a service which furthers his final release from the bonds of being and from suffering. 766

Otherwise, too, there was much disease during this year. The Nardag (na-bdag), the "demon of disease," went around the country followed on its heels by Tšelen, the messenger of the god of death, who carried off into the realm of the dead the human beings, man as well as woman, child as well as the aged, with his catching net. Many a one was struck by the Nardag with a violent and mysterious sickness which no doctor knew or could heal. 753

There was Rolma from the P'arlap'ang house (p'ar-la-p'aṅ), literally "the thrown-out one." She suddenly fell sick, complained about pains in her abdomen and in her back, her limbs became stiff and ached, the shivering ague and fever set in, and at times the sick woman lay there as if dead. The Tibetan doctors and magicians were at their wit's end. All their remedies failed, and even the cause of the illness was obscured to them. Finally they apparently came closer to the solution, as the lamas thought. Again, Khampas, men from greater Tibet, had had a hand in the matter. Recently a company of these Tibetans, Nask'orpas (gnas-ak'or-pa), literally translated, "Circlers of holy places," that is, pilgrims who walk around holy places amid prayers, had traveled through the country and had also come to Kalatse. These people had shown all kinds of tricks: one of them was able to make his body rigid at will, and then he would stick a large needle through his cheeks, knives through the muscles of his arms and thighs, without feeling any pain or so much as bleeding; lying on the ground he had a companion knock a large stone into pieces with a heavy hammer on his bare chest; he would swallow the blade of a sword, and perform other tricks of a similar nature. The people went from house to house, performed their tricks, and offered for sale to the inhabitants turquoises and tile tea, as well as all kinds of secret remedies. In one or two houses the Nask'orpas had also offered for sale a peculiar medicine, after they had found out 187/ shrewd inquiry and questioning that this or that villager lived at enmity with his neighbors. The people said that the Naskorpas had an eye for opportunities where they were able to offer such secret remedies and to find customers for them. It was a remedy which was designed to make an enemy sick, even if not to kill him outright. It consisted of pills which contain poisonous plant substances, as well as the "five unclean things" (162) which are 754 [789]

162. These "Five unclean Things" (rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lña)

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

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It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

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If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

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Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785

Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

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A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

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The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688
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An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823
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Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

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A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

with him in the Gilgit area of northern Pakistan. In 1950 he was 000
flying the Karakorams. His orders were not to fly above fourteen thousand feet without his oxygen mask. He tried fifteen thousand feet and felt no ill effects. He climbed to sixteen thousand feet and felt fine. Still without his oxygen mask, he went to seventeen thousand feet. He flew at seventeen thousand feet for fifteen minutes or so and did not put on his oxygen mask. "These rules are made for other men, not me," he said to himself. "I've apparently got this altitude problem licked." He felt wonderful. He felt like the champion who had had many drinks and was sure that one more would be just right for him. He felt a bit like Superman.

That was the last he remembered. He woke up twenty-three days later in a hospital in the Kingdom of Swat. His plane had gone into a spin and crashed, breaking most of his bones and causing a brain concussion.

Altitude, like alcohol, sometimes gives a false sense of strength, power, and poise. One who is not aware of this phenomenon may walk the high ridges like a fool.

The hill people of the Himalayas are aware of the grosser 753
aspects of mountain sickness. They have seen horses and mules drop dead from overexertion at high altitudes. They have seen the minor symptoms of sleeplessness and the loss of appetite, and the major ones where the body swells, the lips turn black, the head and heart ache, the throat becomes parched, and the temperature falls. They know that one who has suffered one major attack of mountain sickness seldom survives another.

My trek produced no major mountain illness, although someone [176]
in the party was slightly ill after each pass we crossed. But the risk is prominent in every native's mind. This is pass poison. Passes are unhealthy places. One never stops there long; he hurries over. The places are occupied by gods and goddesses, some of whom are evil. They produce the storms that fell man and beast and leave their bones to bleach on these high and un-

773 All these peculiar names of the sun and the moon are to be found
774 in the reports about Kesar's birth. At Kesar's birth there is a general
821 giving of birth to various creatures. The old sun gives birth to a young sun, the old moon to a young moon, and all breeding animals, horses, oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and so forth, give birth to young. Among the creatures not belonging to the animal kingdom which reproduce themselves at this point we find the rainbow, rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "great, colored rope," and the cloud, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-ston-shon, the "white sack, container of a thousand." Just as the sickle of the moon is considered the original ancestor of all sickles, axes, and hatchets, so the rainbow is regarded as the original ancestor of all strings and ropes, and the cloud is looked upon as the original ancestor of all sacks. The trinity of moon sickle, rainbow rope, and cloud sack, incidentally, also plays a significant role in the Ron-no-rub-can, the Tibetan Vetala.

Scattered here and there we also find still other personifications of the phenomena of nature. In wedding song No. IIIb[1] the wind, sKye-ser-rlun-po, is called "wind, rouser of coolness." To it is attributed /24/ the feat of having hollowed out the valleys. This is, of course, quite reminiscent of the modern theories of wind erosion held by our geographers. In the same song the rain, under the name sBan-char-zil-bu, "moist rain, dew," is also mentioned. To it is attributed the creation of the concepts "above" and "below." This perhaps because of the fact that rain originates above and dew down below.

As we have already seen above, the personification of the glacier is Sne-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." In the song just cited she appears as the mother of the glacier. She is of great importance because on her depends the supply of water for the land. This lioness, the riding animal of the mother of the gods, is frequently mentioned, together with types of animals considered as firm representatives of the animal kingdom. However, this is, after all, also the case with the sun bird Khyun. (See Tag-ma-cig, wedding songs Nos. I[1] and II.[1]) Such representatives of the animal kingdom are: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds"; the eagle; sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big ibex, the old ox"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, the "female fish gold eye"; it is also called Nya-mo-khyu-ru; rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "the white mouth born from kiang," a horse; aBron-
773 byun-rog-po, "the black one born from the wild yak," a yak.

776 gNyan are said to be spirits who carry on their nefarious activi-
753 ties in various places. According to S. Ch. Das's Wörterbuch

1 [see Category 116, pp. 1-8, for references --Analyst]

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[7] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet. 769 [775]

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.) [195] [113]

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

7 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

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158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[753] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
[755] were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[943] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also infor-
mative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[164] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
[833] and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
548 dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
[555] liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
[795] tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[795] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[833] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts,
never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

296 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

latter, amid continual murmuring of magical and exorcizing formulas, 852
cut off a lock of the child's hair and threw it away as an offering, in order to make the gods favorably disposed towards the child. For this the lama received a few silver coins.

Little Drogpa Namgyal thrived visibly; his cheeks and his limbs 754
became rounded and the women of the house were agreed with aunts, cousins and women of the paspun-ship (Sib) on this point: In the whole of Kalatse and surroundings, yes, in entire Lower Ladakh (so said he very wise) there was not another child so pretty as the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal. Over this there was joy and pride in the circle of relatives. But beauty is a dangerous privilege: A pretty face draws glances upon itself, and these glances are not always friendly. Grandmother Tsering Putrid had seen quite clearly the other day how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had given the child a completely evil look of jealousy. She also knew precisely why she had done so. The woman had a child who was as ugly as a little owl. /27/ The following night little Drogpa Namgyal had screamed continually. That woman had, of course, wished something evil upon the little one and this was now making itself felt. The grandmother had immediately taken her daughter-in-law to task and had blamed her for her carelessness. Such pretty children should not be exposed without protection to the glances of one's neighbors. Aside from the customary amulets on the coat and on the cap, a black soot stain on 751
the forehead wards off the Evil Eye. Thus, for the first three to four years of his life, the little boy always had his face made unsightly by an ugly soot spot. Immediately after his first sickness his mother affixed a new amulet to the boy's cap. This amulet consisted of a small slip of paper folded together, on which the lama had written a number of magical and exorcizing formulas, in part in Tibetan, in part in Sanskrit, and in part just a meaningless series of mystical Sanskrit words, as defense against the wily demons and against the Evil Eye. This slip of paper was sewn into a little bag of red wool and was hung to the cap by a string. Year after year, as the perils to young life increased, new amulets were added: now a red one, now a yellow one, a blue one, then also a silver one, until more than a dozen of such little bags and capsules swung from the coat and the cap of the ten-year old boy. The matter in the end did not turn out to be so expensive after all: for each of the amulets the father had had to pay the lama four to six annas (35 - 50 Pfennig), depending on the size of the misfortune that was presumably threatening. The

touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again." 776 783

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states which are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth, prospering, and welfare in the human world. When a human being angers them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease and death. 776

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase along as "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the [753] [754]

20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/, there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf," said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

remedies were made from criminals or heretics. By hook or crook people tried to secure for themselves the blood of executed persons, so that they could drink it as a remedy for epilepsy and similar afflictions; and the executioners carried on a profitable business with these things. Well into the 18th century there was usually a department of the apothecary called the "ordure apothecary," in which pigeon droppings, mouse droppings, excrement of dogs, and other unclean matters were sold and realized a good profit. "Mumia" was highly coveted; it was a material manufactured from the parts of criminals' bodies, as a substitute for Egyptian mummies which were greatly coveted as a remedy but which were difficult to obtain and very expensive. It is possible that modern hormone research will prove that in the case of some of these remedies, which to us appear very strange, instinct and experience led man on to the right track. 000

together with the lharje searched for the causes of the disease. Then one day grandmother Tsering Putrid, who was eagerly assisting in the search, found a goat's horn under the threshold of the door. In the hollow part of the horn was stuck a slip of paper on which a child had been drawn in rough outline. Around the picture magical formulas had been written, partly in incomprehensible Sanskrit words, and partly in Tibetan, whose meaning was to the effect that Namgyal's eldest son was to be sick and would die. Now the cause of the illness was known, she thought. But who had placed the goat's horn with the charm under the threshold? Tsering Putrid knew this, at least she asserted that she did. She said that she had recently observed how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had busied herself in a suspicious manner close by the house, where she had no business being in the first place. Really, those people from the Cat's-mouth house! They are a false crew! There had been a reason why at the time they and their house had been given the name "Cat's mouth": always friendly to your face, and behind your back false and malicious! It was definite that the Chondsom girl was behind the matter, she was going to fix her. To want to kill her great-grandson! She swore by the "Three Jewels" and by all the Buddhas and gods of the monastery, who were to "come and get her" if it wasn't true, that Chondsom and no one else wanted to murder the boy! She had always followed the handsome boy enviously with her "evil look." It was of no avail that 754

754 a much-traveled friend of Namgyal explained that the disease had an entirely natural cause, the immoderate eating of apricots as well as the uncleanliness of the people: Tsering Putrid stuck to her opinions stubbornly. The lamas were called in, they read, prayed to all the Buddhas and in particular to the medicine Buddha, they presented scattered offerings, and beat their drums--all in vain. Finally a man who had traveled around a great deal with an Indian doctor advised: "Don't give the boy any cow's milk or butter tea to drink any more. Give him thick flour soup and goat's milk to drink, then he'll get better!" The mother followed his advice and gradually he started to improve and finally was cured. For a long time it remained a mystery who had placed the goat's horn under the threshold /131/, and for a long time to come old Tsering Putrid followed Chondsom with hostile looks and allusions, until a woman from a neighboring house told that she had seen a vagabond from Greater Tibet, a Khampa, who went begging from house to house busying himself near Namgyal's house door. Now they remembered the incident. The man had stolen a [685] silver-plated drinking bowl in a neighbor's house; he had been caught and led before Namgyal as the village judge. The latter did not want to see a great trial made of the matter, otherwise he would have had to take the man to Leh himself, a trip of three days, in order to have him sentenced there. He did not want to do that: so he had made a brief procedure of it and had given the thief a sound thrashing with the horsewhip and then had let him go. For this the Khampa had wanted to avenge himself by means of the charm of the goat's horn.

753 Scarcely was the anxiety over the boy's sickness passed, when a new source of concern entered the Dragshos house. The mother of the boy, who had recovered, fell sick of acute pneumonia. The lharje was called in, he gave her medicine, bled the patient, and burned her chest and back with a red-hot iron. But nothing could help her. Again the lamas were called in, in order to ascertain the cause of the illness. For a long time they searched in vain for a tangible cause. "It is simply her karma," they said, "the consequence of sinful deeds which she has committed in past existences, and who knows those!"

The lamas meanwhile searched industriously for the cause of the illness. Usually it turned out that the demons had a hand in the matter despite karma and retribution. They asked the patient and her husband many questions: "Has a stranger come into the house recently, perhaps a 'heathen' (a non-Buddhist), a Mon, a Beda, a Muslim, or perhaps even a Kristan (Christian), or an impure person;

there flung it among the boulders. The Tsan wanted to have his revenge, 755
and now he could spend his fury on this figure.

Finally another "important matter" came to light. The old 754
grandmother, who constantly observed the Chondsom girl from the Cat's-mouth house with suspicious glances, thought that she could remember that that evil woman had once spat (161) very conspicuously

161. The Tibetans have a special expression for this kind of [827]
spitting with the purpose of harming an enemy: nad-pai to-le adebs-pa, the "spitting for sickness," that is, with the intention of making the particular person sick. In spitting, a curse or evil wish is expressed.

in front of the Dragshos house, and that in so doing she had cast an evil glance at the house and mumbled a few evil words. Thereupon 755
the lharje was called in once more. He took a strip of paper, on this he wrote a few magical formulas, crumpled the paper up, and made little pellets out of it. These the patient was to swallow. The effect of this was that the woman, to whom all food was repugnant anyway, had to vomit. This concerned the lharje very little; he urged that the woman should swallow the paper pills amidst great pain, something which always had the same effect.

Meanwhile none of the natural or supernatural remedies brought 797
any improvement to the poor sick woman: for weeks she hovered between life and death and caused great concern to husband and children. Finally the missionary's medicine brought some improvement. The missionary had by now been called to the sick bed--up till then the lamas had been able to prevent his appearance. The strong constitution of the woman gradually gained the upper hand: she recovered to the great joy of her family Namgyal brought an ample offering of thanks to the gods in his household temple and to those in the temple of the monastery in Tingmogang, because his relatives so demanded. He found no reason to give any presents to the lamas. On the other hand, he honored the missionary with a sheep, a large plate of dried fruit, and a greeting ribbon as a sign of his gratitude for the missionary's help; his trust in the missionary grew, and he became even more receptive to the new message which the missionary preached and testified to by his actions.

The year in which all this happened, the earth-tiger year, was 164
a year of misfortune for the entire village and neighboring /135/

karma as a service which furthers his final release from the bonds of being and from suffering. 766

Otherwise too, there was much disease during this year. The Nardag (na-bdag), the "demon of disease," went around the country followed on its heels by Tšelen, the messenger of the god of death, who carried off into the realm of the dead the human beings, man as well as woman, child as well as the aged, with his catching net. Many a one was struck by the Nardag with a violent and mysterious sickness which no doctor knew or could heal.

There was Rolma from the P'arlap'ang house (p'ar-la-p'aṅ), literally "the thrown-out one." She suddenly fell sick, complained about pains in her abdomen and in her back, her limbs became stiff and ached, the shivering ague and fever set in, and at times the sick woman lay there as if dead. The Tibetan doctors and magicians were at their wit's end. All their remedies failed, and even the cause of the illness was obscured to them. Finally they apparently came closer to the solution, as the lamas thought. Again, Khampas, men from greater Tibet, had had a hand in the matter Recently a company of these Tibetans, Nask'orpas (gnas-ak'or-pa), literally translated, "Circlers of holy places," that is, pilgrims who walk around holy places amid prayers, had traveled through the country and had also come to Kalatse. These people had shown all kinds of tricks: one of them was able to make his body rigid at will, and then he would stick a large needle through his cheeks, knives through the muscles of his arms and thighs, without feeling any pain or so much as bleeding; lying on the ground he had a companion knock a large stone into pieces with a heavy hammer on his bare chest; he would swallow the blade of a sword, and perform other tricks of a similar nature. The people went from house to house, performed their tricks, and offered for sale to the inhabitants turquoises and tile tea, as well as all kinds of secret remedies. In one or two houses the Nask'orpas had also offered for sale a peculiar medicine, after they had found out /187/ shrewed inquiry and questioning that this or that villager lived at enmity with his neighbors. The people said that the Naskorpas had an eye for opportunities where they were able to offer such secret remedies and to find customers for them. It was a remedy which was designed to make an enemy sick, even if not to kill him outright. It consisted of pills which contain poisonous plant substances, as well as the "five unclean things" (162) which are 754 [789]

162. These "Five unclean Things" (rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lña)

754 which are mixed in with those pills, are called in Tibetan: sna-dri, rñul-ču, rkyag-pa, gcin, mñal-k'rag. There also exists, in Tibetan medicine, a compound of ten such unclean things.

derived from the human body. The pills may also be made entirely without the plant poisons. The pills are then secretly put in the food of the person one wants to harm, with a curse and an evil wish: "Become blind! Become mad! Lose your teeth! Become sick! Die!" and so forth. If the person threatened in this manner is born under a favorable star, and if his astrological signs (Sparka, Mewa, Lungrta, and others) are favorable ones, then the pills and the charm are incapable of harming the person in any way; if the case is otherwise, then they bring sickness, chronic ill health, yes, under certain circumstances even death, so say the Tibetans.

755 The lharje and the lamas exhausted their entire store of medicinal and magical lore; all was in vain. The woman from the "House of the Thrown-out" became increasingly worse instead of better. For days on end she lay in a feverish coma, then she fell into a deathlike condition so that her physicians gave her up for lost.

Finally there appeared a Lhapa (demon priest) from Lhasa who had been staying in Ladakh for some time and who traveled around in order to effect "cures." People flocked to him, and he was considered a great magical doctor. When he appeared the great man asked the people from the P'arlap'ang house what they wanted from him. The people asked him to call back the "escaped soul" of the woman. The Lhapa promised to do this. After having fasted and meditated briefly in his house, he came to the P'arlap'ang house and there made his preparations for the cure. He washed his hands, had a little table and a measure of barley brought to him. From the barley grains he formed a magical circle (dkyil-ak'or) on the little table; next to it he placed five small brass offering bowls, filling them in part with beer, and in part with barley grains. Then he threw juniper twigs and berries onto an iron pan with red-hot coals (me-ap'or), placed a crown made of papier-mache /188/ on his head, on the five leaves of which are painted the five Dhyani Buddhas. Then he took a small double drum constructed from two children's skulls; by quickly turning his hand to and fro he made a noise with it, caused by two small balls fastened to strings which alternately struck the two drum heads. With his other (left) hand he incessantly swung the magical bell and the magical dagger.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[Quote from Rev. Heyde]

[788] Chapter III, B.

[786] Social and Religious Life.

184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *cháng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 "All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

795 [778] [782] 776 [754] "As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

778 782 177

771 177 "As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

241 The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

797

* *Sreg machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

788
778 As the lamas passed this scroll, I heard them mutter, "*Om Mani*
531 *Padme Hoom.*"

788 To the center of the main chapel is an altar covered with bowls
782 filled with water and cereals. They are offerings to various gods. For the sake of prosperity, they are supposed always to be filled. I met the lama who attends them, a scraggy, barefooted man, and as he passed the altar I heard him mutter, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

There are thirteen large urns at Hemis, about four or five feet tall and three feet wide. They are filled each year with yak butter by some friend or benefactor, and lighted wicks stand in the middle. Each urn is supposed to burn a year. If the flame goes out, it is bad luck. The lama who had the main urn under his surveillance hovered near, wrapped in a soiled, red robe. As I went by I heard him murmur, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

778 In the center of an adjoining chapel is a life-size statue of
788 Buddha, where the devout bow in worship, murmuring, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

785 Around Buddha are images of lesser deities and of Incarnate Lamas. There is one of Stagtsang Raspa, founder of Hemis. There is one of Mila Repa, the famous Tibetan poet who lived for eighty-three years and attained Buddhahood in that span even though
[754] his early life was sinful. He had learned how to kill people by magic and for a while walked the path of darkness. Then he did penance under a Lobon (Guru) by the name of Marpa. Marpa made him build a house of stone, then tear it down and carry the stones back to where he had found them. He did this over and again, one time building and tearing down a house nine stories high. Marpa beat Mila Repa and gave him impossible chores to do in penance for his sins. Finally Marpa gave him the Initiation and the Teachings, and launched Mila Repa on a life of mortification of the body. He became a hermit in a cave on a high mountain, where he lived on nettles. He renounced food, clothing, and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

757 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly
164 addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its
● 754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive
175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old canni-
771 balism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without
757 our help! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the
826 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595
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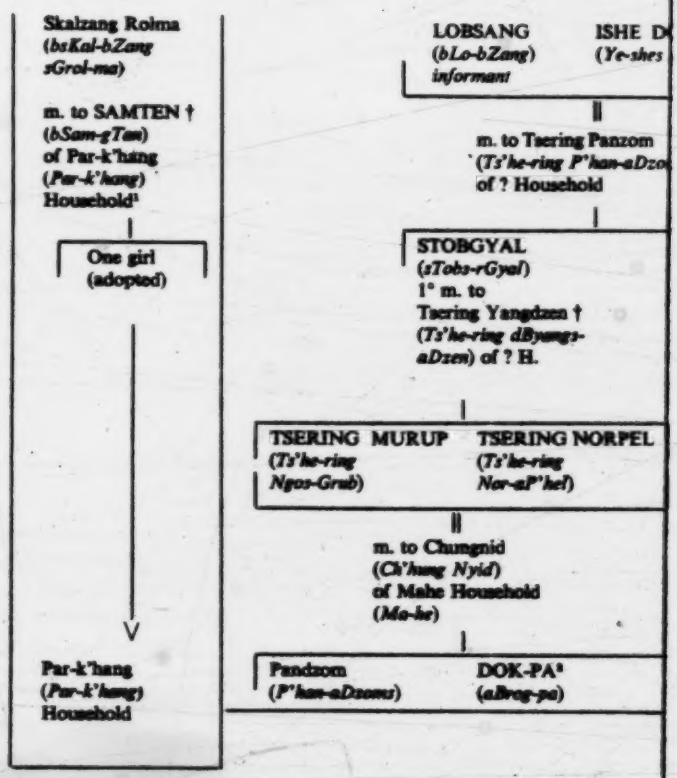
TABLE 27. GENEALOGY OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'ho*



[1] Skalzang Rolma is a widow and owns her late husband's house for the time being. She ha this child will inherit the Par-k'hang Household at the death of her mother by adoption, comes first.

[2] This little boy has no real name yet; the one he bears means "nomad" and has been given to He is a Gelug-pa lama, and lives in Lhasa.

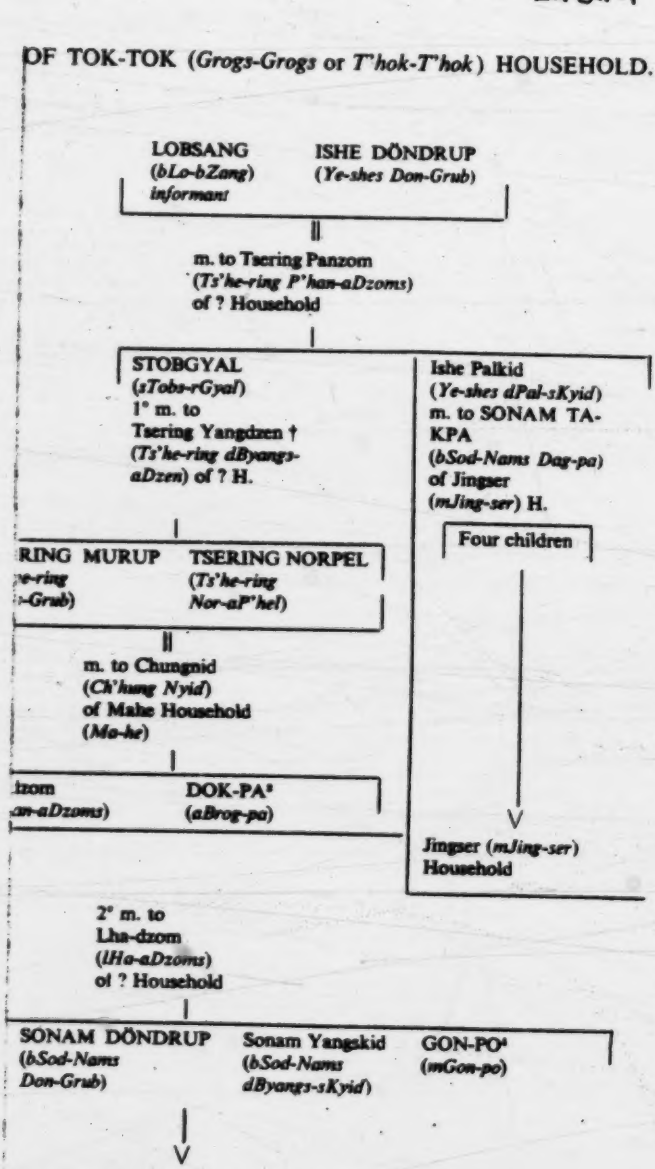
[4] This little boy has also been given a provisional name, as above, for the same reason; (*aBrog-mo*) alternatively, meaning "female nomad".

[3] See list of Ladak *P'ha-spuns*.

Capital letters denote males. Small characters are women. † = dead. m. = married. H. =

[Facing P. 360 - A]

OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*) HOUSEHOLD. 595 601



husband's house for the time being. She has adopted a little girl relative of her husband and d at the death of her mother by adoption, or when she herself marries a *mag-pa*, whichever

ears means "nomad" and has been given to him provisionally to avert the evil eye from him. [159]

al name, as above, for the same reason; it means "protector". He is also called Dok-mo [551]
ad".

women. † = dead. m. = married. H. = Household

[facing p. 360 - B]

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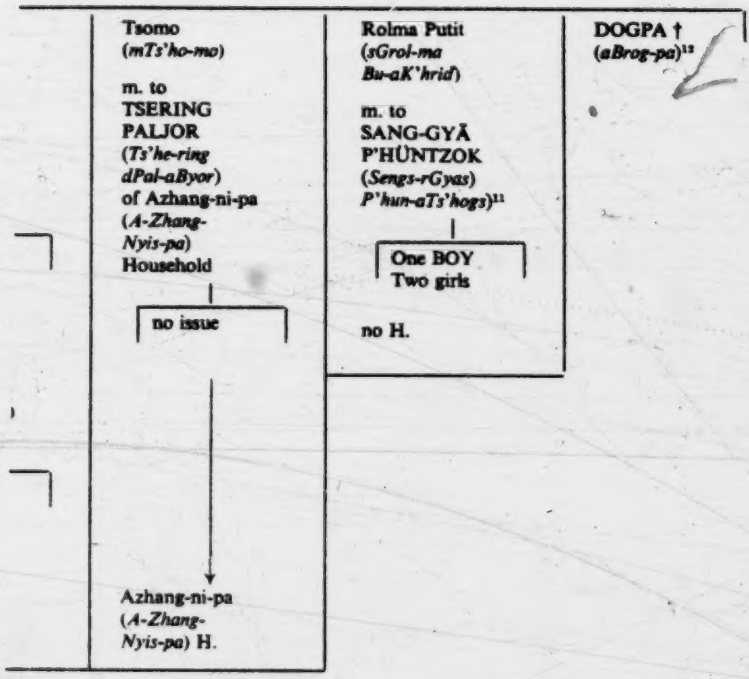


[8] *Porjag* taken after 20 years of childless marriage.
[9] Childless still after 4 years could adopt a child.
[9] Moslem name as married a Moslem.
[10] Same name as earlier dead girl in commemoration.
[11] Moh. convert to Budh. Is now manager of Himis gompa.
[12] No name; this one against the evil eye (means "nomad").

[facing P. 372-D]

[551]
[154]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*. 595 855

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age. 864

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made. [861] [858]

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India). 864 861 [754] [563]

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade. 872 [876] [868]

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 755

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
• 755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

powerful formula of exorcism against the angered household deity. 755
Now he held the mirror in such a way towards the magical writing on 783
the piece of paper that its mirrored image became visible, and then he again poured hallowed water over the mirror so that the power of the formula might be transferred to the water. The mother had to catch the water that flowed down in a bowl. Of this water saturated with magical powers, a few spoonfuls were forced into the violently resisting child who spat them out again with all signs of disgust. /29/ The mother looked anxiously at the lama. Could the magic, then, work in this way? But the lama consoled her and said: "The power of this magical water is so great that the few drops which the child has swallowed will still have their effect " Furthermore the mother now had to finish the rest of the "wonder drink"; since she was the one who nursed the child, it would in this way benefit from the full power of the drink. So said the lama and assured her that by this double "baptism" (Tibetan: ak'rus, pronounced trus) the child was purified and the P'alha exorcized. He would not bother the child any more for the time being. True, it was a full fourteen days before the child gradually started recovering. But to most in the house it was certain that the recovery had been the effect of the "baptism" of the lama.

Little Drogpa Namgyal grew up to be a robust boy and soon 000
there was, in the circle of his playmates, no stronger, more skillful or livelier boy than he. As a son of the respected Dragshos and because of his superiority in all their boys' games he was well liked and respected by his companions. They even endured his occasionally domineering behavior, mostly without contradiction, because on the other hand he showed himself as a good friend who was always ready to help.

/30/ EDUCATION FOR A HIGHLAND FARMER AND HERDER

Drogpa Namgyal Becomes Acquainted with All Kinds of Animals and with Sinister Powers.

When he was only three to four years of age Drogpa Namgyal 868
already accompanied his father and his mother to the fields and there began, without his being conscious of it, the school in which the person takes in a mass of observations, discoveries, impressions and opinions even without the compulsory attendance or discipline of a formal school, and without a book or writing implement. These

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

777 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: ños-agrug-la ade-de mi non / rkyen-ñan-la śor-te mi bud.

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the soothsayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking 000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

757 177 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhistic canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bźi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

and had he perhaps sat down by the stove and in this way angered the 753
household god and the hearth god by making house and hearth impure by his presence?" With these and other, similar questions the patient was tormented; but all these questions were answered with no. Finally it turned out that the Mon, Chospell, (therefore an impure person) from the neighboring village, who was an enthusiastic huntsman /182/, had come into the house late one evening with the "red" (that is the fresh) meat of one of the wild sheep that he had shot, in order to pay off with the meat a debt of grain that he had with the Dragshos. Now this was a threefold transgression: first of all, killing was a great sin; secondly, the gods, especially the red Tsan-demons, were angered and provoked by the sight of this "red" meat; and thirdly, the household god was insulted by the sight of an impure person (the Mon) in the house. And in the tracks of such a visitor, if he was an impure one, there followed evil spirits into the house. These must now be exorcised by means of a scattered fire offering, and they must be chased away (t'sa-me p'aṅ-ces). While the men were still talking the Mon, Chospell, who was a carpenter, came again in order to deliver a small table that he had made. He was not admitted, but had to wait outside away from the house for a long time.

Meanwhile the first lama had a flat, iron pan handed to him, 755
and said to Namgyal: "I want to show you how one makes a scattered fire offering and how one appeases and drives the evil spirits away with it." Namgyal had to put all kinds of leftovers from meals in the pan--pieces of bread, flour, rice, bones, onions, and salt--and on top of this he had to place red-hot coals and hot ashes, so that the house was soon filled with a stinking vapor. Now all the inhabitants of the house went through the stable down to the house door with the lama. The lama opened the door and threw some of the smoldering contents of the pan onto the threshold. The Mon who was still waiting outside to be let in, was now allowed to step over the vaporous mass and over the threshold and into the house, and to carry out his business. The 755
lama declared that the evil spirits, gods, and demons were now all 776
pacified and soothed: the red Tsan-demons, the Nod-jin (gnod-sbyin), who are the terror of the mountain passes, the devils (bdud), the water and earth deities (klu, sa-bdag), the Jungpo demons and fiends, the man-eating Shasa (śaza), the wondrous Mimchi (mi-am-ci), creatures half man, half god; the heavenly musicians (the Kinnara of Hindu mythology); the smell-eating Drisa (dri-za), angel-like creatures with wings, the "Non-gods" (lha-ma-yin), the giants of the sacred Mountain

755 of the gods, Meru; the Dripo, the Drimo, the Poyong, the Moyong,
776 the Lhandre (lha-adre), all of these were /183/ now appeased and did not have to be feared any more, so the lama assured them; lured by the "sweet smell" of the food, they had, he explained, come to the spot immediately in order to enjoy it. And now, he stated, they were satisfied, had disappeared, and would no longer do the sick woman any harm, and she would certainly recover soon now.

753 Meanwhile the sick Chosskyid did not recuperate. Despite all
755 the statements of the lamas, the lharje, and the devil-tamer, foretelling her recovery, her condition became worse. There must be something special in the matter; certain gods are obviously still angry at the patient, said the great Lama Mipam. What in all the world has she done! They tortured the deathly weak woman with new questions. Finally came the answer: once she had accidently burned some dog's excrement with dry cow dung, and another time she had also burned
[776] an old rag in the stove. By these actions the hearth god (t'ab-lha) and apparently another god who just happened to be housed in a tree in the neighborhood, had been provoked. Their olefactory nerves, which in Tibet ordinarily were not spoiled, could not stand this stink. The gods demanded the "five pleasing offerings" (adod-yon-lha) for the five senses: for the taste--a food and drink offering: for the smell--flowers or incense offering: for the sense of sight--a mirror: for the hearing--musical instruments which, like the mirror, were placed before the altar: for the touch--silken clothes and similar articles.

753 Further, the confession was pressed out of the patient that during
776 the past autumn she had drunk from the well in the course of the grass gathering over there by the slope of the mountain beyond the Indus. At this well is housed the dreaded Lu, the water and snake god. She had been so thirsty that she just had to drink. But this had of course driven the Lu to anger, said the lama; for this he had made her ill. Finally Chosskyid also confessed that once in a great rush she had spilled a bucket of dish water over one of the red-painted stones before her house that are dedicated to the red Tsan god. That was another bad transgression which had aroused the fire in the gods.

755 To appease the Lu gods, the lamas read the book which they had brought along just in case, of the "hundred thousand Lu" (klu-abum); the Tsan deities received a storma (sacrificial cake for the /184/ cast offering), to which the lamas gave the shape of a human being and which they painted red. After reciting formulas of exorcism they carried the figure behind the house and into the adjoining desert and

there flung it among the boulders. The Tsan wanted to have his revenge, 755
and now he could spend his fury on this figure.

Finally another "important matter" came to light. The old 754
grandmother, who constantly observed the Chondsom girl from the Cat's-mouth house with suspicious glances, thought that she could remember that that evil woman had once spat (161) very conspicuously

161. The Tibetans have a special expression for this kind of [827]
spitting with the purpose of harming an enemy: nad-pai to-le adebs-pa, the "spitting for sickness," that is, with the intention of making the particular person sick. In spitting, a curse or evil wish is expressed.

in front of the Dragshos house, and that in so doing she had cast an evil glance at the house and mumbled a few evil words. Thereupon 755
the lharje was called in once more. He took a strip of paper, on this he wrote a few magical formulas, crumpled the paper up, and made little pellets out of it. These the patient was to swallow. The effect of this was that the woman, to whom all food was repugnant anyway, had to vomit. This concerned the lharje very little; he urged that the woman should swallow the paper pills amidst great pain, something which always had the same effect.

Meanwhile none of the natural or supernatural remedies brought 797
any improvement to the poor sick woman: for weeks she hovered between life and death and caused great concern to husband and children. Finally the missionary's medicine brought some improvement. The missionary had by now been called to the sick bed--up till then the lamas had been able to prevent his appearance. The strong constitution of the woman gradually gained the upper hand: she recovered to the great joy of her family. Namgyal brought an ample offering of thanks to the gods in his household temple and to those in the temple of the monastery in Tingmogang, because his relatives so demanded. He found no reason to give any presents to the lamas. On the other hand, he honored the missionary with a sheep, a large plate of dried fruit, and a greeting ribbon as a sign of his gratitude for the missionary's help; his trust in the missionary grew, and he became even more receptive to the new message which the missionary preached and testified to by his actions.

The year in which all this happened, the earth-tiger year, was 164
a year of misfortune for the entire village and neighboring /135/

754 which are mixed in with those pills, are called in Tibetan: sna-dri, rhul-ču, rkyag-pa, gcin, mhal-k'rag. There also exists, in Tibetan medicine, a compound of ten such unclean things.

derived from the human body. The pills may also be made entirely without the plant poisons. The pills are then secretly put in the food of the person one wants to harm, with a curse and an evil wish: "Become blind! Become mad! Lose your teeth! Become sick! Die!" and so forth. If the person threatened in this manner is born under a favorable star, and if his astrological signs (Sparka, Mewa, Lungrta, and others) are favorable ones, then the pills and the charm are incapable of harming the person in any way; if the case is otherwise, then they bring sickness, chronic ill health, yes, under certain circumstances even death, so say the Tibetans.

755 The lharje and the lamas exhausted their entire store of medicinal and magical lore; all was in vain. The woman from the "House of the Thrown-out" became increasingly worse instead of better. For days on end she lay in a feverish coma, then she fell into a deathlike condition so that her physicians gave her up for lost.

Finally there appeared a Lhapa (demon priest) from Lhasa who had been staying in Ladakh for some time and who traveled around in order to effect "cures." People flocked to him, and he was considered a great magical doctor. When he appeared the great man asked the people from the P'arlap'ang house what they wanted from him. The people asked him to call back the "escaped soul" of the woman. The Lhapa promised to do this. After having fasted and meditated briefly in his house, he came to the P'arlap'ang house and there made his preparations for the cure. He washed his hands, had a little table and a measure of barley brought to him. From the barley grains he formed a magical circle (dkyil-ak'or) on the little table; next to it he placed five small brass offering bowls, filling them in part with beer, and in part with barley grains. Then he threw juniper twigs and berries onto an iron pan with red-hot coals (me-ap'or), placed a crown made of papier-mache /188/ on his head, on the five leaves of which are painted the five Dhyani Buddhas. Then he took a small double drum constructed from two children's skulls; by quickly turning his hand to and fro he made a noise with it, caused by two small balls fastened to strings which alternately struck the two drum heads. With his other (left) hand he incessantly swung the magical bell and the magical dagger.

The Lhapa now invoked his tutelary demon who entered into him, so that the Lhapa entered into a state of ecstasy; he became excited, his eyes became glazed, he foamed at the mouth, he jumped up, uttering shrill screams he danced around madly. Now the spirit asked, speaking from the medium (the Lhapa): "Who has called me?" Someone answered: "The Lhapa! Who has caused the illness of the P'arlap'ang-Rolma girl?" The spirit answered: "The Naskorpas!" Someone asked: "What are we to do against the sickness? How are we to bring back the life that has fled from the woman?" The Lha (the spirit within the Lhapa) now commanded that a skurim (offering ceremony) was to be held and that a scattered offering was to be presented. The ceremony used here is called: "Lha-k'ug tse-k'ug." 755

All these instructions were followed by the lamas, the prayers and the ceremonies were performed and the offerings were presented. But the sick woman remained in her deathlike state. Then the lama brought 'mane' pills which he had brought with him from Lhasa. These pills had been prepared by the lama doctors of the school of medicine on the Lchakpori in Lhasa. In them was contained the wonderful power of the magical syllable "Shri" (Sanskrit, hri) which forced the "Great Merciful One," Avalokitesvara, to cure the sickness. The "Great Merciful One" appeared here in his manifestation as the "Lion-voiced One" (Simhanada) /in the form of the Lhapa, I presume, --translator./, in which he could "cure all sickness." All kinds of materials from the corpse of a saint who died in Tibet, were also supposed to be contained in the pills. The pills were administered to the sick woman in the following manner. The bronze figure of a Yidam (tutelary god), which was hollow on the inside, and which sat on its base with the mouth wide open, was placed on the patient's mouth so that the pills traveled through the figure into the mouth of the sick woman. This was supposed to heighten the healing power of the pills. But they, too, remained without effect.

/189/ Finally, when nothing was of any avail, the Lhapa declared that he now wanted to draw forth the poison of the dirt pills from the sick woman's body. He brought a wooden pipe the length of half a meter, and placing one end of the pipe on the woman's bare body he took the other end in his mouth and sucked at it energetically. Then he swung the tube around, flinging a tough, greenish mass out of it onto the floor, and declared that it was the disease substance, the poison from those pills. He said that the woman would now recuperate. But the latter continued lying on her bed like a dead person. At last

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons, 766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

761 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest. But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened." (163)

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: nad daṅ sdug-bsñal gtam ñan gsum--sñon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.

/190/ The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'aṅ-ñu) as a reservation for his aging

15: Francke--102 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

755 /(12)/ No. 14.[1] Large dos-mo from the dos-mo festival in Leh.
796
778

The evil spirits of winter and of diseases are caught in the structures that resemble spiderwebs. After the exorcism, the frames are destroyed.

532 /(13)/ No. 15. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa)
776 near Leh.

Stars from the Kesar saga. The king's castle of Glin. Above it, in the clouds, are deities.

/(14)/ No. 16. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

On the right: A scene from the Kesar saga. King Kesar with the eighteen Agus. Three women from the right. In the clouds are the father of the gods and the mother of the gods, and their children (?). On the left: A scene from the Dogra war.

/(15)/ No. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar.

Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

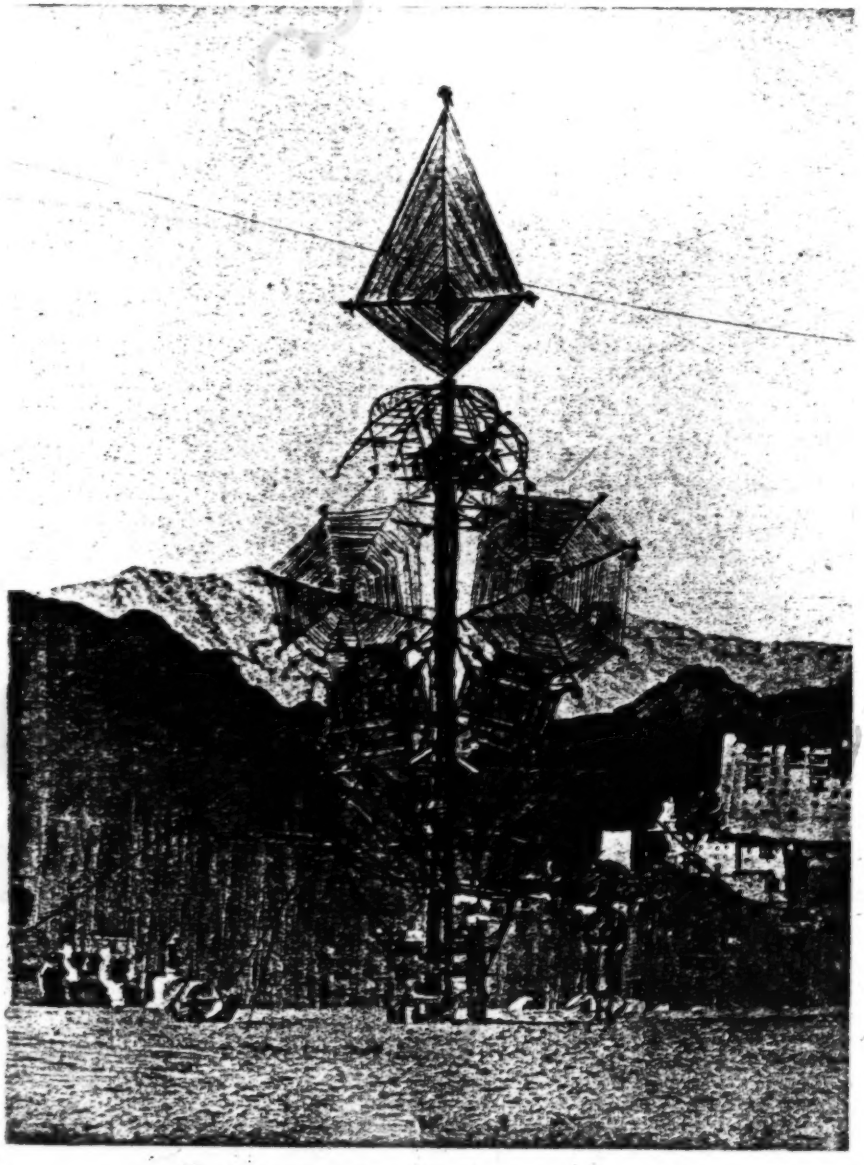
No. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh.

(The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

1 [see pp. 114-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke --114 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 755
796
778



Nr. 14. Gate on Jor above pasture on p. 102.

782 and finally sacrificed. At a marriage conducted
585 on a large scale, a sheep is thrown headlong from
782 the roof of a house, and its heart torn out.
Similarly, when sickness occurs threatening the
755 life of the patient, a sheep has to be sacrificed.
782 The animal is covered with a shroud to
impersonate a corpse. In the meanwhile, the
relations of the sick man call him repeatedly by
name, and to the accompaniment of loud
lamentations the sheep is led to the cremating
ground and burnt alive.

000 Though in theory the taking of life and the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

were following the small Yunan River down to Kilung. A Tibetan 788
who was bringing a caravan to Patseo twirled it as he followed rangy mules loaded with wool and marmot skins. And as he twirled it, he kept murmuring to himself, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

In the main monastery at Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are perhaps eight by eighteen inches and filled with prayers. They too are engraved with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* One spins them clockwise as he goes up or down the stairs, waiting, in case another has preceded him, until the earlier spin has ended. And as each spins, he murmurs, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Some prayer cylinders are spun by the wind. There is a large one at Hemis, about three feet long and eighteen inches wide, hitched up to paddles and turned by water. It too is filled with prayers that are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year. And the prayers say millions upon millions of times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are practically no doctors in Ladakh. Although each 759
monastery will have a lama trained in native medicine who will 793
take care of the illnesses of the monks, there is no medical service 756
for the people. A villager who is sick sends for a lama. A child or the wife makes the journey to the nearest monastery (perhaps thirty or forty miles) and brings back a lama. The family gives the lama his board and lodging and pays him as much per day as it can afford. A man with a special attachment to the lama may turn his wife over to him for the duration of the visit. For these considerations the lama prays. He sits by the bed of the sick person for hours, for days on end, driving away the evil spirits that have caused the illness. And as he sits, he chants endlessly, incessantly, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Buddha did not believe in mortification of the body as a means 779
of salvation. But that belief is a religious longing deeply rooted 783
788

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

777 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: ños-agrug-la aded-de mi non / rkyen-ñan-la śor-te mi bud.

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the soothsayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking 000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

•757 177 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhistic canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bźi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

Chinese anatomy and medical science; nor are ancient Babylonians, Greek, and Persian influences absolutely excluded. The school of medicine on the Eisen /"Iron"/ Mountain (lcags-po-ri), a part of Potala Mountain, on which the palaces of the Dalai Lama is also situated, constitutes a part of the university for the lamas, at which they are prepared for their service. Here is likewise the medical faculty of the university. 757 177 [874]

Anatomy, as a science, is on a very low level among the Tibetans, since Tibetan physicians do not perform any dissection of corpses. Thus they know the inner parts of the human body at best through comparison with those of the animal body which they get to see--illicitly--at the killing of an animal, which is a sin for the Buddhist. (Compare Dr. Reinh. Müller, "Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien," in the Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin, Volume 15) The Tibetans have taken over their scientific anatomy from the Chinese, with all the errors and defects that were contained in it. Thus on old anatomical tables, for instance, the liver is drawn in on the lefthand side, and the spleen on the right. (Compare Reinh. Müller, "Über Skeletdarstellungen," in Asia Major, Volume 2.) The anatomical tables (Tibetan, p'yaṅ-k'og las-t'ig) copied from the Chinese, show, correspondingly, quite phantastic representations of the human body; they serve primarily to indicate the spots on the body that are suited to bleeding and burning (with red-hot iron). Both procedures are frequently applied to human beings as well as household animals by Tibetan doctors. Often they produce successful results. But quite often they use burning in quite a nonsensical manner, on sensitive parts of the body, such as, for instance, the eyelid, the burning of which causes very severe harm. 757 177 826

Tibetan pharmacy uses a great number of native plants, and often in a very effective way, in the form of decoctions, powders, and pills. Aside from this they use metals as curative agents, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, zinc, and mercury (the latter for syphilis); furthermore stones, minerals, and soils, such as, for instance, turquoises, pearls, snail shells, corals, cooking salt, natron, saltpeter, and sulphur. 278

The parts of animals' bodies play an important part in

278 Tibetan medicine, as they did earlier among all Aryan peoples. The gall of an ox is supposed to be good for eye diseases, the spleen for infections, the kidney for kidney ailments; blood, when drunk fresh, "draws the poison out of the blood," the tongue of a dog cures infections, pulverized dragon's teeth (probably crocodile's teeth) alleviate tooth aches. By means
752 of magnets the physician is supposed to draw arrow heads out of the wound.

Tibetan doctors are skillful in putting splints to simple bone fractures. In the case of broken ribs they very sensibly tie a wide strip of cloth around the chest and then cover it with loam, which forms a stiff dressing when the loam cools off. The European doctor achieves the same result by means of an adhesive dressing or a plaster cast. Thousands find a
743 cure for their ailments in the spas scattered throughout Tibet, as for instance, in Sabu (Ladakh), in Panamig (Nubra), and
757 in many other places. Massaging is practised by the Indians as well as by the Tibetans with considerable skill. Matters are terrible as far as the pulling of teeth is concerned. Since they do not have regular dentist's forceps, the person plagued by a toothache goes to the smith, because he is usually the only one who has a pair of pliers. Two men hold the patient who lies on his back on the ground. The smith kneels over him and with his blunt pliers he grips the diseased tooth and pulls at it. Something finally gives way: Sometimes the diseased tooth comes out, sometimes the jaw breaks, and it also happens that the pliers break and the tooth remains in the jaw.

000 We may wonder about, and laugh at, some of the curious remedies of Tibetan medicine. But we must remember that into the 18th, yes, even as recently as the 19th century, no less peculiar remedies were produced, praised, and eagerly bought in European pharmacies, including those in Germany, than we encounter in Tibetan pharmacy. Things like stork's fat, bear's fat, wolf's and fox's fat, worms, crabs' eyes and snake skin were since time immemorial considered highly effective cures. Quite especially coveted were remedies which were produced from parts of the human body, such as burned and pulverized human skull, blood, gall, and fat of human beings, and they were considered particularly effective if the

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
• [757] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat[1] is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

[1 [of the marmot--Analyst]

They were friendly and hospitable, and curious over my camera 000
equipment. They were curious over me too—the first American
ever through Rupshu. These people[1] are not farmers; they are 233
pastoral people who live on their herds of sheep, goats, and yaks.
They run the small Purik sheep that have a fine wool and that
lamb twice a year. They are primarily meat-eaters; and they stood
grinning at me, showing front teeth missing.

They had good fast horses which we took to Leh. We wanted 492
to reach Gya that night, thirty-two miles from Pagmur and
twenty-four miles from Zara. The mules could not stand this
grueling trip in one day, for we had Staglang La Pass, nearly
eighteen thousand feet high, to cross. So we unpacked the mules,
put their baggage on eight yaks, took saddle ponies for ourselves,
and headed for Gya. We paid well for the service—three rupees [465]
eight annas per stage per animal, or $1.40 per animal from Zara
to Gya, plus one rupee (twenty cents) for each of the six herders
of the yaks.

The yak is an ox, low and powerful. It has large, sweeping horns 231
and long fur, usually black. There are some wild yaks in Ladakh 492
and Tibet. But most are domesticated. Their milk and butter are
widely used. The butter is indeed indispensable for *gur gur cha*; [757]
and when rancid, it is considered not only especially good for
gur gur cha but for the massaging of aching muscles as well. The
dung is used for fuel; and it burns with a hot, light blue flame and
no crackling. The yak's tail is sold commercially as a whisk to
keep off flies or as a beard for Santa Claus.

The yak is *Bos grunniens*, and, true to the name, it does groan
as it walks. The natives have no halter or bridle on a yak, only
a ring through its nose, which always seems to be bleeding. Yaks
can carry huge weights—250 or 350 pounds. A yak thrives on high
altitudes; the higher the better, it seems. It can go practically
anywhere in the high Himalayas, as high as man can go. It does
not have man's great adaptability, for it would perish at even the
relatively high altitude of Manali, 6,400 feet. It is at its best from

1 [The Rupshupa -- Analyst]

000 mycin, and even the newest of the antibiotics, terramycin. And en route through Europe I put in a supply of Entero Vioform.

My emphasis was wrong in two respects. In the first place, I discovered that diarrhea and dysentery did not necessarily carry the grave threat I had imagined. In the previous two summers I had been ill at least once a week as I journeyed through the Middle East and Asia. I maintained that average no matter how much care I took. But I learned a valuable lesson in Karachi from

• 757 Mrs. Avra Warren, the wife of our Ambassador to Pakistan. It seems that the native remedy for diarrhea and dysentery is the psyllium seed. Mrs. Warren learned that the psyllium seed is also an excellent preventive. Take a small handful once a day for thirty days; then take that dosage once a week. Americans have learned that one who follows that routine seldom if ever has the intestinal disturbances that plague Asia. I learned by happenstance that one Entero Vioform tablet with each meal serves the same purpose. I followed that routine on my Himalayan trek, and I was never ill from stomach or intestinal troubles.

759 In the second place, I learned at Manali from Dr. H. W. Williams of the Lady Willingdon Hospital that my medical kit should have been designed not only for me and my staff's needs but for the needs of the natives as well. A foreigner who goes to these remote regions enters territory where doctors have never been. There are no medicines, no first-aid stations, no hospitals. A man coming from the outside world is expected to have medical remedies. The natives flock in at every camp for treatment.

But I learned this too late for me to enlarge my medical kit to any extent. I did, however, get several hundred aspirin from Dr. Williams as we left Manali. And that day was not gone before I started dispensing them.

164 The storm that caught us before we reached Koti the first day of the trek was a cold, devastating one. All of us, including the porters, were soaked through and chilled to the marrow. That evening at Koti six of them lined up in front of me.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"My back aches, Sahib," the first one said, indicating the muscles along his spine. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My legs ache, Sahib," said the second, rubbing the muscles of his thighs. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My head aches, Sahib," said the third, touching his temples. He had no fever. Prescription: one aspirin now, one at bedtime.

The next two had simple headaches but no fever. Prescription: the same.

The sixth one puzzled me. He had a severe headache around his eyes and his temples. I had no fever thermometer, but I knew from his forehead that his temperature was well above one hundred. He had a nasty cough that sounded dry and rasping. The man was sick, and I was stumped. I decided to roll him up by the fire, give him two aspirin, and then see him again in an hour.

His son, aged ten, had followed him from the village of Koti, apparently apprised of the father's illness. As the man lay before the fire, the son sat at his head and massaged his temples. In an hour I asked the patient how he felt; but before he could reply the son spoke up.

"This is a cruel world. You are rich, we are poor. We have to work hard for our living. Father gets up at dawn and works until dark. So does Mother. We all work hard. It is not fair. It is not fair that you are so rich and we are so poor."

Turning to Rahul, I asked, "What is the meaning of this?"

"Communist propaganda," he replied. "In this part of the world the Communists try to plant simple and troublesome questions in the minds of the young."

"Ask again about my patient."

Once more the son responded, complaining of the gulf between the rich and the poor.

"I don't care right now about your political philosophy," I replied. "How's your father?"

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were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGoupa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

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The Doctor Memsahib once had 757

the privilege of coming upon a family unawares just at dawn in the middle of winter. She had been called out to a case in a village, nine miles from Leh, the last two miles of which had to be done in the dark, that is by snow and starlight, and she and her Ladaki nurse were glad to walk over the frozen snow a little to keep their feet from freezing. Already icicles stretched from upper to lower eye-lashes, and whiskers, formed by the frozen moisture of their breath, adorned their mouths. The patient's friends had sent for the Doctor three days too late ; already two small lives were extinct, and the last dim hope of the mother lay in a surgical interference. An operation was performed, after sterilizing instruments in a cooking pot by the light of a fire of sticks on the mud floor, the nurse giving chloroform for the first time. But it was too late and, at about two a.m., the patient died. We sat on till the first dim light appeared, for out-of-doors we feared wolves in the dark, and a strange experience it was. On one side of the 593
room the corpse covered with sacking and filthy sheepskin, 764
near the fire on the floor quietly sobbing, was the unkempt, shaggy, ragged husband, who, for all his uncouth appearance, had exhibited the most extraordinary tenderness and patience with his suffering wife ; near the stove his mother-in-law, a wrinkled old hag, who wailed intermittently. On the further side of the stove hens nestled. In the next cold fireless room two children were sleeping, and we were told that downstairs a blind old grandfather had been put in the straw cellar (again the " wrong way round " compared with our hayloft in the West) to keep warm in the horses' fodder. The Ladaki nurse spread her coat, lined with sheepskin in the corner by the stove for her Doctor, and fetched a thick horse-cover for herself. The fire of manure in the stove had gone out, and the two mourners occasionally added sticks to the one on the
floor, but the room was bone cold. The family were so poor 511
that they had not offered us even a warm drink during the long, 574
bitter night, though, when they thought we were drowsing,

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By the time she is grown up, a girl
301 should thus have quite a good sized *perag*,[4] which functions as
291 her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests
757 money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age.
583 The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at
Hrb [583] her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately
152 the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent
301 *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the
291 ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom traceable to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

301 The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast, with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

291 Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate (the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff), both men and women in this country have them cut very

4 [i.e. turquoise studded headdress. – ANALYST]

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CHAPTER XIII

Professions & Industries

WE have now to watch our Ladaki friends as they earn their livelihood, for not all are owners of fields, and even those who are find that an extra vocation allows of a dish of meat, rice and other luxuries on special occasions. Let us begin with the professional gentlemen. The clergy will be treated with elsewhere, but in addition there are doctor, horologist, teacher and nun to consider, all of whom, though not real priests, are regarded as performing religious functions. There are quite a number of doctors, some of them doing useful work, although the treatment, by even the best of them, occasionally shows shocking results. Their method of training is much like that which obtained formerly in England, when he who aspired to medical knowledge became apprenticed to a practising physician, and thus by actual experience learnt his trade. The theoretical knowledge is found in four large volumes, belonging to the *Kahgyur* which are the one hundred and eight large books containing the wisdom and knowledge of Lamaism. The doctor or *amchi* dons no distinctive dress, but he can always be recognized, for slung over his back he carries his medicines tied in a long cloth. These he has carefully collected on the hills during the spring and summer months, his knowledge of herbs being doubtless considerable, and to his stock he adds by purchases in the bazar from down-country merchants. See him as he climbs up the rickety staircase right on to the roof to visit one of his patients who

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lies huddled up in a corner, complaining of bad pains in his knees, one of the ills to which most Ladak is advanced in age seem to be heir. The bad knees are felt, the tongue looked at, and then the serious business of examining the pulses—in the plural—is undertaken. Although they are all found at the wrist where the Western physician looks for the single one, yet there are actually six pulses, three on each hand, so that not only may the pulse of the heart be examined, but also those of the stomach, lung, liver, kidney and spleen. This thorough examination finished, the doctor proceeds to treatment, which in this case is the cautery, a great stand-by of the *amchi*. This may do good if only it does not go septic; at any rate it is a strong counter-irritant. Some powder is then given, and the patient informed exactly how to take it, whether with hot, cold or lukewarm water. Food, too, has a most important bearing on the complaint, for, whilst the meat of a white sheep will do nothing but good, that of the black would aggravate the symptoms. As this patient has no fever, he may let himself go to sleep, but if a man has a temperature to let himself drift into such an unconscious state would certainly be fatal. Cupping, the raising of blisters, and venesection are other methods of curing all sorts of complaints.

Next to the Lama the *Onpo* or Horologist is perhaps the most important individual, for if you wish to plough your field, to call in the lamas for the reading of holy books, or desire to choose the best day on which to marry, in fact for the decision of all the important affairs of life, you must get him to settle the auspicious day. There is little to distinguish the *onpo* outwardly, but on official occasions he may dress like a lama, even to the wearing of a priestly cap, but his pigtail will distinguish him from the ecclesiastic. On his back he carries his bundle of books, and the Tibetan almanac. Puntzog, who is thirty years of age, visits the horologist, for he desires to attend the festival at Hemis, but he wants to leave Leh on the best day possible. Hemis occurs in the

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and women, both Buddhists and Mohammedan, the latter revealing the fact by wearing turban or red fez, and their names often indicating that they were formerly Buddhists, who had been converted to the faith of the prophet; this is done by adding the word "Sheik" to their new Mohammedan names. Then there are Baltis, ill-clad looking creatures with their meagre black skull-caps from under which appear long, curly, but unkempt-looking, locks. How different from the two or three well-dressed, distinguished-looking Yarkandis, who sit next to them, stalwart men from Chinese Turkestan. Their faces are almost as white as that of the European, with shortly-cropped black hair and black beards, and they wear nice warm wadded garments cut somewhat like a frock-coat with very long sleeves, but of less sombre colours, sometimes a silky glossy cloth of black or even nice blue. To brighten this a large gay coloured embroidered square scarf is worn, folded triangularly with the apex downwards in the middle of the waist behind. On their heads are green or other coloured caps, lined with fur and turned up round the edge, or white pugarees. Occasionally these gentlemen bring their wives with them. Being Mohammedan they may not show their faces to strange men, and they therefore cover them with a voluminous head-dress, with network squares let in over their eyes through which they can look. Then there are some Kashmiris, men with beautifully regular features, strongly reminding one of pictures of good-looking Jews and of stories of the lost ten tribes of Israel. Other down-country races, too, may be represented, such as the Punjabi, or perhaps a Sikh, with the fringe of his black beard neatly plaited, and often the proud Pathan or Afridi appears. That wild ferocious-looking fellow with long, untidy, straggling hair is, of course, one of the upland nomads, whilst the well-dressed man who is sitting on one of our two stools is a merchant priest from the closed land of Tibet. Now shall we stand at the doctor's side, and listen with him to some of the complaints of these patients.

797 563 563 757 164

757 164 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine ?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid ?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front ! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its 754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive 175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old canni- 771 balism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without 757 our help ! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the 876 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

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of former sins. Another patient—this time a Royal one be it noticed—asks for some medicine which will stop his beard from growing. Could such be produced much trouble might be saved for him as well as many others. The next comer informs us that he himself is not a patient, but that away at his home his little brother is suffering from headache, and is quite aggrieved that treatment without examination is refused. Now a Balti comes, who says he is perfectly well at present, but that he is quite certain one day he will have a pain in his digestive organs, and he would like to be prepared against that day. Another old gentleman has returned for more medicine, although only yesterday he had been provided for three days, and on being reproached for having disobeyed instructions, advances the perfectly reasonable argument that, if one dose of medicine is going to do him good, ten doses will multiply the good effect tenfold. 757

Having seen all our out-patients and attended to their treatment, we adjourn to the operating-room where a cataract is to be removed. To-day our patient is of noble rank, being the mother of the chief Rajah of Ladak. Some days previously the old King had asked us to operate on his maternal relative, and we actually fixed the date, but, alas! he found on consulting his horologist and books, that we had chosen a most inauspicious day and begged the Doctor to change it, which he did. There lies the old lady on the operating-table, her refined features and well-kept hands testifying to her good breeding. We scrub our hands so thoroughly that the onlookers, among whom is the King, no doubt feel this is part of a religious performance preceding the operation. Having arranged the sterile towels, we are just about to start, when the exalted son begins walking up and down the room rapidly, saying his *Om Mani pa dme hungs*, the while turning the beads of his rosary. This is hardly conducive to the stillness an English surgeon would desire when performing a cataract extraction. The obstructing lens is removed, how- 757 565 [787] [782]

757 565 ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

797 But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards 758 are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital, 593 he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not. 758 We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated 301 to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his 164 ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be 758 able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

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old lady who has had her cataract removed. She is lying on 758
the floor by the side of a nice spring bedstead, on which she had been placed yesterday after her operation. In reply to our query why she did not stay quietly on her bed, she says she felt so giddy sleeping so high up in the world, and more safe on the floor. True, she cannot fall out of bed now. In Ward 3 758
is a Yarkandi whose leg we have had to amputate to save his 563
life. He has come that difficult journey from Yarkand, over the Karakorum range of the Himalayas and the Dipsang plateau, and been overtaken by frost-bite. Very likely at the end of the hard day's march over the snow he was so exhausted that he fell asleep without troubling to take off his heavy boots, and the circulation had no chance to re-establish itself in the severe cold. In the next ward we find that a string has been 758
stretched across from one wall to the other, over which 251
strips of meat have been hung, and we are told that the family are drying their next winter's supply. One can just imagine the happy expression on the face of an English Surgeon, who on entering his ward found such activities being pursued. In the next ward we can see nothing, for it is filled with acrid smoke which so hurts our eyes that we beat a rapid retreat. Dinner is being cooked! But we must not linger longer with our in-patients, for we would like to take the reader with us on a medical tour.

When we visited Kyelang, it will be remembered that we 757
made a detour to a place called Lingshed. Messengers came 164
to beg us to go to this village in 1916, because it was so central, and they promised that blind folk from the whole surrounding district would gather there; the further inducement was held out that throughout the trip the question of supplies would be made easy for us. So one evening we found ourselves in our tents in Lingshed with about thirty blind folk sitting round. We examined their eyes, deciding 757
that some were operable, others not. The latter were in- 783
formed as kindly as possible that no operation on earth could

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757 783 cure them of their blindness, but our solicitude seemed unnecessary, for they remained quite cheerful, merely saying "*Lanchaks*,"—that is "we are atoning for our sins in a former incarnation." No doubt those successfully operated upon are getting the reward for former good deeds, and for the successful operation it is quite unnecessary to thank the 757 Surgeon when virtue is being rewarded. The next question 778 is, where are we to operate? Under the open sky the sun is 797 too grilling and brilliant, and the tent is too small. We have detected a verandah which would make a most suitable temporary operating-theatre, in fact it is practically the only available spot, but, on suggesting this, are informed that this is a temple verandah and belongs to a very great and holy man. "There you cannot operate" we are told emphatically, and reply that the reason adduced makes the place more desirable than ever, and we must operate there or nowhere. This point is gained, or partly so. We might operate on the men there, but not the women, for they must not enter such a holy place. Alas! the Doctor Sahib must have had a strange upbringing, for he informs these Lingshed men that in the peculiar country whence he comes, the dictum is "Ladies first," and only when these are done can the Lords of Creation be tackled. That settles this point, but not even yet are all our difficulties overcome, for a very old lama finds his way to the Doctor, who having examined him, finds the eyes quite operable. He is, however, begged not to give the old fellow his sight, for he is so poor that he has not sufficient food to sustain him while the wounds heal, nor a helper to care for him during his time in bed. The former objection is easily overcome for we begin to charge in kind for the medicines we dispense, and soon the old fellow finds himself quite well off in flour, rice, and dried apricots, and a nurse is also provided for him. Preliminary arrangements having been completed, we make our way one fine morning to our temporary operating-theatre in the verandah of the temple. An old bedstead which cannot boast a spring-mattress, having only a rough

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network of rope, serves as operating-table. A small box does duty as instrument table, whilst an X travelling wash-stand must serve for the Surgeon's washing of hands and that, too, of his assistant. The first patient is brought in, a woman who prostrates herself before the door of the temple. One of the villagers has been impressed as an extra assistant, and is now instructed thoroughly to wash the lady's face with soap and water. She is then laid on the dirty bedstead, and her dirty clothes are covered first by a sheet of clean mackintosh, and then by towels which have been sterilized in Carbolic Acid, and her not overclean hair is likewise covered. Cocaine is then instilled into both eyes, the Surgeon and his assistant wash their hands, then kneeling at their very low operating-table proceed to extract the cataracts. This done, fingers are held up for the patient to count, and the onlookers reveal their interest and joy by ejaculations of "*wah!*," or "*tong dug*" —"she sees." Eyes are bandaged, and the next patient tackled. That day we did twenty-two cataract operations, and afterwards were inclined to boast about it till we met another Missionary Doctor,—Holland of Quetta,—who told us that he had done over ninety in one day. And the results? Of our twenty-two, eighteen received good sight, two were partially successful, whilst two were failures. Considering the dirty patients and dirtier surroundings, we felt the results quite justified the trip. We stayed a few days longer till it was safe to leave those on whom we had operated, and then began our return journey, thinking ruefully of how the deputation from Lingshed had promised to furnish us with supplies on the road, and had faithfully done so until the operations were over and there was little more to be got out of us. On the way home we were left to fend for ourselves, and our poor ponies had occasionally to go hungry. Ingratitude, and not gratitude, is one of the prominent characteristics of the Ladaki, for does not a good action bring its own reward, and the Doctor will have reaped much merit from his medical tour.

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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epilepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his remarks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

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There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name).

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax.

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born.

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

I. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains.

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

164 villages in lower Ladakh too. Indian tradesmen who were traveling through had brought with them a malignant, typhus-like fever, to which many succumbed. Then the smallpox went through the land and claimed numerous victims. Like flies in late autumn people were dying. The villages, yes, even the individual houses of a village, barred themselves against each other. The well-to-do
751 farmers had the lamas make large and small dosmo (string crosses and stars), in order to exorcise the disease-bringing demons. Everywhere on paths and roads one could see lying these magical objects, which were supposed to bar the way for these fiends; the poor laid down thorny twigs and hoped for the same protection from these. A magical piece of paper was much in demand, on which two human figures were pictured in block printing, tied with chains on hand and foot: the spirits of disease who are tied by magic. The magical formulas were printed in a circle, which occupies the center of the picture. The lamas did good business with these magical slips of paper.

758 Some of the smallpox sufferers were tended by their family in the house. But other families, driven by fear of contagion, took their sick members into the desert directly outside their village. There these poor wretches looked for scanty protection among the large scattered stone blocks against the scorching rays of the sun and the sandstone. Daily the relatives would bring their sick people a bowl of food and a jug of butter tea; they would place both at some distance on the ground, they would call out a brief greeting to the sick, and then depart hastily. This sick person, who still had sufficient strength, would then drag himself laboriously to the spot in order to get the food. But it often happened that at the call no answer was made anymore. The following day the bowl would then stand still untouched; the sick person no longer needed any nourishment, he
766 had suffered the last. Then a few men of the tribe would come and would drag the corpse by a rope into the Indus and there leave it to the fish as a "burial." In the best case a paid lama would be present on the occasion, in order to read a very brief mass for the dead. Sometimes it happened that the corpse could not be found at first. Wolves had torn it apart and carried it off--"buried."

/186/ The Tibetans have no pangs of conscience about this kind of "burial." It is quite customary, even, and it is considered as particularly meritorious for the deceased because in this way he feeds the hungry animals even in death, something which is credited to his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here, 1
788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
793 come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums, while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests must be both fed, and paid in money.

788 Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious
798 purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

554 One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best
[758] room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

342 The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

1 [i.e., in private chapels in better-class houses in town — analyst]

757 ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again
565 see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her cast[illegible] Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

797 But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards
758 are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital,
593 he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is [illegible]ade of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not.
759 We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated
301 to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his
164 ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be
758 able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

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old lady who has had her cataract removed. She is lying on 758
the floor by the side of a nice spring bedstead, on which she had been placed yesterday after her operation. In reply to our query why she did not stay quietly on her bed, she says she felt so giddy sleeping so high up in the world, and more safe on the floor. True, she cannot fall out of bed now. In Ward 3 758
is a Yarkandi whose leg we have had to amputate to save his 563
life. He has come that difficult journey from Yarkand, over the Karakorum range of the Himalayas and the Dipsang plateau, and been overtaken by frost-bite. Very likely at the end of the hard day's march over the snow he was so exhausted that he fell asleep without troubling to take off his heavy boots, and the circulation had no chance to re-establish itself in the severe cold. In the next ward we find that a string has been 758
stretched across from one wall to the other, over which 251
strips of meat have been hung, and we are told that the family are drying their next winter's supply. One can just imagine the happy expression on the face of an English Surgeon, who on entering his ward found such activities being pursued. In the next ward we can see nothing, for it is filled with acrid smoke which so hurts our eyes that we beat a rapid retreat. Dinner is being cooked! But we must not linger longer with our in-patients, for we would like to take the reader with us on a medical tour.

When we visited Kyelang, it will be remembered that we 757
made a detour to a place called Lingshed. Messengers came 164
to beg us to go to this village in 1916, because it was so central, and they promised that blind folk from the whole surrounding district would gather there; the further inducement was held out that throughout the trip the question of supplies would be made easy for us. So one evening we found ourselves in our tents in Lingshed with about thirty blind folk sitting round. We examined their eyes, deciding 757
that some were operable, others not. The latter were in- 783
formed as kindly as possible that no operation on earth could

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759

A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book

000 mycin, and even the newest of the antibiotics, terramycin. And en route through Europe I put in a supply of Entero Vioform.

My emphasis was wrong in two respects. In the first place, I discovered that diarrhea and dysentery did not necessarily carry the grave threat I had imagined. In the previous two summers I had been ill at least once a week as I journeyed through the Middle East and Asia. I maintained that average no matter how much care I took. But I learned a valuable lesson in Karachi from 757 Mrs. Avra Warren, the wife of our Ambassador to Pakistan. It seems that the native remedy for diarrhea and dysentery is the psyllium seed. Mrs. Warren learned that the psyllium seed is also an excellent preventive. Take a small handful once a day for thirty days; then take that dosage once a week. Americans have learned that one who follows that routine seldom if ever has the intestinal disturbances that plague Asia. I learned by happenstance that one Entero Vioform tablet with each meal serves the same purpose. I followed that routine on my Himalayan trek, and I was never ill from stomach or intestinal troubles.

759 In the second place, I learned at Manali from Dr. H. W. Williams of the Lady Willingdon Hospital that my medical kit should have been designed not only for me and my staff's needs but for the needs of the natives as well. A foreigner who goes to these remote regions enters territory where doctors have never been. There are no medicines, no first-aid stations, no hospitals. A man coming from the outside world is expected to have medical remedies. The natives flock in at every camp for treatment.

But I learned this too late for me to enlarge my medical kit to any extent. I did, however, get several hundred aspirin from Dr. Williams as we left Manali. And that day was not gone before I started dispensing them.

164 The storm that caught us before we reached Koti the first day of the trek was a cold, devastating one. All of us, including the porters, were soaked through and chilled to the marrow. That evening at Koti six of them lined up in front of me.

were following the small Yunan River down to Kilung. A Tibetan who was bringing a caravan to Patseo twirled it as he followed rangy mules loaded with wool and marmot skins. And as he twirled it, he kept murmuring to himself, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."* 788

In the main monastery at Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are perhaps eight by eighteen inches and filled with prayers. They too are engraved with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* One spins them clockwise as he goes up or down the stairs, waiting, in case another has preceded him, until the earlier spin has ended. And as each spins, he murmurs, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Some prayer cylinders are spun by the wind. There is a large one at Hemis, about three feet long and eighteen inches wide, hitched up to paddles and turned by water. It too is filled with prayers that are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year. And the prayers say millions upon millions of times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are practically no doctors in Ladakh. Although each monastery will have a lama trained in native medicine who will take care of the illnesses of the monks, there is no medical service for the people. A villager who is sick sends for a lama. A child or the wife makes the journey to the nearest monastery (perhaps thirty or forty miles) and brings back a lama. The family gives the lama his board and lodging and pays him as much per day as it can afford. A man with a special attachment to the lama may turn his wife over to him for the duration of the visit. For these considerations the lama prays. He sits by the bed of the sick person for hours, for days on end, driving away the evil spirits that have caused the illness. And as he sits, he chants endlessly, incessantly, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* 759 • 793 756

Buddha did not believe in mortification of the body as a means of salvation. But that belief is a religious longing deeply rooted 779 783 788

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are
264 completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth
412 of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

576 With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching
291 head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as
782 out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature
241 seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the
759 mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

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able British Government is paying him some large salary for his services ! 759

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it. 796 [778] 291

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the wrong way round in this strange land, where the term *mgologpa* (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ? 121 186

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity ! [147]

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

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CHAPTER XIII

Professions & Industries

463 [511] WE have now to watch our Ladaki friends as they earn their livelihood, for not all are owners of fields, and even those who are find that an extra vocation allows of a dish of meat, rice and other luxuries on special occasions. Let us begin with the professional gentlemen. The clergy will be treated with elsewhere, but in addition there are doctor, horologist, teacher and nun to consider, all of whom, though not real priests, are 759 regarded as performing religious functions. There are quite a number of doctors, some of them doing useful work, although the treatment, by even the best of them, occasionally shows shocking results. Their method of training is much like that which obtained formerly in England, when he who aspired to medical knowledge became apprenticed to a practising physician, and thus by actual experience learnt his [779] trade. The theoretical knowledge is found in four large volumes, belonging to the *Kahgyur* which are the one hundred and eight large books containing the wisdom and knowledge of Lamaism. The doctor or *amchi* dons no distinctive dress, but he can always be recognized, for slung over his back he carries his medicines tied in a long cloth. These he has carefully collected on the hills during the spring and summer months, his knowledge of herbs being doubtless considerable, and to his stock he adds by purchases in the bazar from down-757 country merchants. See him as he climbs up the rickety staircase right on to the roof to visit one of his patients who

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Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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Lahul

He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epilepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his remarks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

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Ladak

There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

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Ladak

profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.) 000

Lobsang Wanggyal, as the pious Buddhist he is, first performs another prayer before the image of Gautama Buddha and of the "Great Merciful One," Chanrezig, and donates five sacrificial lamps with the necessary butter (instead of oil). Then he set out on his way to Leh which he reached after an hour on horseback. There he sold his apricots in the bazaar (market) and exchanged barley for them; aside from various necessary things he also bought for himself a shining green cap and a colored sash; for his wife he bought a pair of large turquoises, and for the cap of his little son a small silver amulet. After three days he rode homeward again from the barren, rough highlands to the milder, more fertile lower Ladakh and, upon his arrival in Kalatse, he announced to wife and mother that his son was to be called Drogpa Namgyal. His mother, old Tsering Putrid, drew up her nose a little bit at the "Drogpa," but against the word of the great skushog there was no contradiction possible, and besides, one could never know what the evil Tsan and Lu demons still had in store for them. Her "deceased" (13) (gśin-po) had also had a protective name. 788 000 551

13. The relatives of a recently deceased person anxiously shy away from naming the latter by his name in the superstitious fear the dead person might be disturbed and would frighten the survivors.

He had been called Garra /25/ Lobsang (smith, equivalent to "good sense"), and he had been such a pious Buddhist; all the pilgrimages he had made, the holy places he had circled around, and how he had turned the prayer wheel! And yet he had been abruptly taken away by the emissary of death (t'se-len); an avalanche of rocks had dragged him along as he was climbing a wall of boulders in order to rescue a goat which had gone astray. He had been found down below with his limbs shattered. True, the lamas had said that he had only himself to blame. After all, they had warned him to let the goat go, for just above that particular slope the Tsan-demons had settled in the rocks at that time. They, the lamas, knew this from unmistakable signs. Why did the man have to climb up just there and provoke the Tsan by his appearance! 761

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons, 766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

• 761 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest. But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened" (163).

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: nad daṅ sdug-bsñal gtam ñan gsum--sñon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.

/190/ The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'aṅ-ñu) as a reservation for his aging

dish at this "changing of the body." To begin with, now, the abbot 764
spreads the apo-rdzas, that is, the pills called "changing substance," rubbed into a powder and mixed with butter, on the skull of the deceased person. Then he recites a formula to exorcize the soul of the deceased person, which goes: "The truth of Buddha, the turth of the Law, the truth of the Monkhood (therefore the 'Three Jewels' which correspond to the concept of the divinity), the truth of the secret formulas of exorcism and of the family exorcizing formulas, the truth of the host of gods belonging to the tutelary god Amitabha (10). Trusting in the

10. Tibetan, Od-dpag med; he is one of the five "Heavenly Buddhas," the spiritual father of the Dhyanibodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the particular tutelary deity of Tibet.

power of this (fivefold) truth, may Tsering who has departed from this world into the Beyond, wheresoever the thinking substance (rnam-śes, Sanskrit, vijñana) (11) of his soul may be at the moment: in Bardo, or

11. "Thinking substance" translates the Sanskrit word vijna [761]
(Tibetan, rnam-śes). It designates according to ancient Indic philosophy one of the five skandha (elements life) which in their composition constitute a living creature. At the death of a person this non-corporeal "substance" which comes into being through the slumbering impressions of previous existences (samskara) that have remained behind, stays behind as final germ of life. Unless these latent impressions and germs of life are destroyed by patient striving after the highest recognition (Bodhi), a new will to live is again awakened, new forms are fashioned, new reincarnations take place, and with them there comes new suffering.

in one /216/ of the four places of births, in whichsoever of the united four realms of the world he may be, may he rest here for a brief little moment!" This the priest whispered three times (into the ear of the dead man) and in the belief in Amitabha, the Buddha of the immeasurable light, he then read the book t'os-agrol and the book "Of the way of changing the body." Then he recited the prayer asking for translation into Paradise. When that was over, (one of the relatives of the deceased) gave the monk six or eight annas as "changing compensation" (ap'o-yon, compensation for the "changing of the body").

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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24. (*a*) ཨ་བ་ཤི་ཡིན་བསམས་པིན་ན།
ཏ་ཚན་ཁྱི་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོངས།།

(*b*) a'ba shi'in sam'spinna
star'gan cig'la cila ma tsong's.
(*c*) If you thought [knew], that father will die,
Why did you not sell him [before dying] for an old horse.
(*d*) Used derisively. You could not help your misfortune just as you cannot sell your father.
(*e*) *Samspin* a contraction of *bsamspa yin.*

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25. (*a*) བཟོད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་དགེ་བ་མེད།
ཞེ་ཌང་ལྟ་བུའི་ཌིག་པ་མེད།།

(*b*) zod'pa lta'bui ge'va med
zhed'dang lta'bui dig'pa med.
(*c*) There is no virtue like patience;
There is no sin like hatred.

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793
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26. (*a*) ཟླ་མ་རང་མགོ་མ་འཐོན་ན།
གཤིན་པོའི་ཡར་འདྲེན་ཅི་བཅོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) La'ma rang'go ma thon'na
shin'poi yar'dren ci co'in.
(*c*) If the Lama's own head does not come out [cleanly], how will he manage (do) the drawing upwards of the dead.
(*d*) Used for deriding the immoral life of the lamas.
(*e*) *Thonces* is verb neuter of *btonces*, to put out.

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27. (*a*) ཤི་སོང་ཤི་སོང་ཟེར་ན།
གཤིན་མིག་རི་ནཱ་ལྟ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) shi'song shi'song zer'na
shin'mig ri'nā lta'n.
(*c*) If you say "he is dead, he is dead,"
The eye of the dead will look out of the hill.
(*d*) Ladakhi superstition. It is not good to speak much of a dead man, his eye might frighten the speaker.

152 houses? I have the impression that it does
428 exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 As it is, there seem to be some outlets
595 for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 A certain amount of neurotic cases
● 762 among brothers can also be noticed, which shows that jealousy certainly exists un-
593 consciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

23: Peter E 3 (1938 ?) AJ4 W Tibetans A34
217a

152 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of
762 his other brothers for their relations with
593 the common wife.

837 There are certain instances of extra-
595 marital relations between people in this
684 polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 Illegitimate children are usually hushed
597 up. They are often adopted into some
793 family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find
548 out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the
276 polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans,
[824] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof
000 of it. But local Europeans who know the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epilepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his remarks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

000 sacks they laid the victim of the accident. In this manner they brought the Dragshos to his house in Kalatse.

Chosskyid felt as if lightning had struck her when they placed before her feet in the house the immobile body of her husband; her husband, the distinguished-looking, strong man of whom she was so proud, the good man whom she loved so much. At first the woman was stunned and close to fainting. Then her grief vented itself in a scream and in loud crying, finally she controlled herself and just cried quietly to herself as she laid her beloved man down on his bed. She knew that her husband had not liked the wailing of lamentation. And after all he was still alive. Perhaps he would not yet leave her. They sent for the lharje (doctor), who was not to be found; they sent for the missionary, but he too had ridden off in order to look after the sick people in Tingmogang. So they left the Dragshos lying, and Chosskyid washed his great, gaping head wound, while old Stobsldan sat down next to the mortally injured nephew and ceaselessly turned the prayer wheel. The children, Namgyal's parents, the grandmother Tsering Putrid as well as other relatives stood around the bed all crying loudly.

Hours later he once more regained conciousness. Namgyal recognized his wife and the children. In a low voice /204/ he told them what had happened and consoled his crying wife who was kneeling with the youngest child at her breast, beside the death-bed of her husband. He wanted to raise his hand in order to stroke the child's head; it was impossible; both arms, as well as his legs, were broken. The dull eyes of the dying man rested for a few moments with an expression of tender love upon the wife and the children; the Namgyal asked: "Where is the Sahib? Call the Sahib!" They had to tell him that the missionary was gone and that he could not be back before the evening. Then the old Tsering Putrid pressed forward to the bed and said: "Namgyal! Have the lamas called! Now you need the lamas so that they can pray and perform skurim!" "No," said Namgyal, "I do not need the lamas. Give my regards to the missionary and tell him that I am taking my refuge with Yeshu!" Another glance of the breaking eyes at wife and children, then the eyes closed, his breathing ceased, and Drogpa Namgyal's soul had fled from his body.

763 Deeply shaken, Chosskyid stood by the death bed of her husband. Her mourning was real, but she had learned to control her feelings; she bore her grief courageously. With all the greater abandonment did Tsering Putrid give herself over to grieving. She howled, lamented, tore her hair, was vociferous in her complaints against the missionary

who, she said, was the fault of everything by having turned her grand- 763
son away from the faith of Buddha and having made him into a Kristan. For this reason they were all now struck by the anger of the Buddhas and the gods. The women of the tribe joined in the howling of lamentation. This was required by custom. Entire Kalatse and the neighboring villages mourned over the Dragshos who had been leader and adviser to them, such as they had not had before among their people.

Towards evening a high lama came into the house. He had 764
been called by Tsering Putrid to perform the first death ceremonies, so that her grandson would be accorded a proper Buddhistic burial; and so that the lamas would set right again what her grandson, misled by the Sahib (missionary), had "sinned" against the Buddhas and the sacred doctrine. The lama set about his work. He sat down by the side of the deathbed, on which the dead man was lying stretched out and covered with a white cloth. Then he proceeded to read passages /Following p. 204 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position."/ /205/ from the book t'os-grol, which are to show the soul the way into the Paradise of the West. Then the lama commanded the soul to leave the body and to release itself from all earthly matters, property, family, friendship, and so forth. He seized a small bush of hair on the dead man's skull and pulled it out, so that the soul would be able to escape through the resulting "opening," that is the openings which are thought to be created in the top of the skull by means of this proceeding. Then the lama gave the soul further instructions as to how it could escape the dangers with which it would be threatened in Bardo--the space between earth and paradise--on the part of the innumerable demons. The lama wished the soul bon voyage into the Beyond. That is the "Changing of the Body" (Tibetan, ap'o-ba adebs-pa).

When the lama had left the house a few p'as-pun arrived, washed away the traces of blood from the face and hands of the corpse, and placed it upright in a corner of the living room-kitchen, near the place which the dead man had always occupied at meals. Tsering Putrid also had the old devil-tamer called in again, whom the dead man had long ago dismissed. The devil-tamer was requested to set up the death horoscope and to ascertain the type, time, and form of the interment, as well as the astrologically suitable members of the tribe who alone may touch the corpse and carry out the burial.

Late in the evening the missionary came to the house--he was

764 children that young do not know as yet the difference between good and evil; therefore there is also no need for these ceremonies. If we people of Ladakh (so say these people) had to observe these rites even among those younger than the eight-year-olds, then the burden (the expenses) would become so heavy that we would be unable to bear it. Therefore we do not perform any rites.

First Considerations and Practices

In case a person suddenly dies and the flour, butter, beer, and so forth, (necessary for the mass of the dead) are not present in the house, the death is kept a secret for three to four days, until these things have been procured. Then, when everything is prepared, a lama, /212/ who has performed the "Four Exercises" (2) (t'un bźi-po

2. These "Exercises of the four times of the day (tun)" are performed in each case at daybreak (t'o-raṅs sṅa t'un), towards noon (nyin-p'yed dus guṅ t'un), towards six o'clock in the evening (p'yi-tog srod t'un), and towards midnight (t'san p'yed sṅon-du dgoṅs). With these four segments of time the lama concerned must recite the formula of refuge 100,000 times, other formulas of adoration 100,000 times, 100,000 Mandala (dkyil-ak'or), 100,000 yig-brgya, and other formulas. In order to get through all these Exercises, (a lama) needs about five months. The whole thing represents a testing of the lama.

t'on-mk'an-gyi bla-ma), goes to call one of the p'as-pun. Those who already have everything in preparedness send a messenger immediately after the death (of the relative) out to the lama who takes care of the "changing of the body" (ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan).

Marks of the Virtuous and of the Sinner on the Dead Person

763 775 If the upper part of the dead person's body becomes cold while the lower part of his body is still warm, then the deceased was a virtuous person in his lifetime. But if the upper part of his body is still warm while the lower part becomes cold, then this is taken as a sign that the person was a sinner. Why? The soul of the virtuous person escapes through an opening on top of the head in the fontanel, and

the body then cools off gradually from the top down to the feet; in the case of great sinners, the soul escapes from the lower part of the body through the rectum, and the body gradually cools off from down below up to the head, so it is said. 763 775

Behavior of the Deceased

It is said that for four days the dead person does not know that he has died. The latter (during this time) keeps returning to his house, sits down in the circle (of the members of his household), and also speaks to them, but the latter do not answer him. But when he notices that his body does not cast a shadow any more and that (in walking) he leaves no footprints behind, only then does he know: I have died. It is also said that the dead person always resembles the animal of his birth year, for instance, the corpse of a pig year person is supposed to look like a dead pig (in his features). 775

When somebody has died, his understanding (his faculties) become nine times as acute as before. For a good lama it is an easy thing to effect that creatures in Bardo (3) (through his magical arts), 775 789

3. Bardo is the realm of the dead in which the deceased arrive first and where they stay for forty days until they are reborn in a new body. In the same place they are also tortured and frightened by horrible demons, if the power of their own virtuous accomplishments, or the prayers, masses, and offerings of the priests do not release them from it. --Compare Evans-Wenk: Tibetanisches Totenbuch, Zürich, 1937.

become so light that they become like beams (floating on the water) (4), so it says in the books, particularly in the "T'os-agrol." Until

4. The force of gravity is eliminated. A renowned magical trick of the lamas.

the funeral ceremonies are ended, the deceased person daily receives his favorite dishes.

/213/

Many Sects--Many Methods

Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely,

783 In earlier times it used to be so, that, if a husband (or wife) died after the summer solstice, the surviving party had to be regarded as impure until the winter solstice. Nowadays the parties concerned need no longer remain separated from the other survivors for longer than a month. As soon as the month has elapsed, a lama brings the purification offering. Then each of the relatives and members of the tribe prepare a delectable meal and bring it together with beer (into the house of mourning). This is called the "meal of mourning" (sdug-bzan). With this the mourning is concluded (sdug-sdug-bsañs) (8).

8. This can also be translated: "The purification is completed."

The woman again washes (and braids) her hair, /215/ changes her clothes, the ornaments are again put on, they eat and drink and give themselves over to uninhibited gaiety.

The "Changing of the Body"

763 In the book t'os-agrol (9) it says that at the approaching death

9. The full title of the book is: t'os-pa t'sam-gyis agrol-ba t'ob-pai ĉos, the doctrine by the hearing of which a person is immediately saved.

(of a person) a lama of high rank must be present between the external breathing out and the (final) inner breathing out of the soul, in order to read the book t'os-agrol and to introduce the "changing of the body" (of existence, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). However, in most cases it is so, that when the dying person still feels healthy shortly before his death, he himself and the entire family hope for his recovery, yes, none of them even thinks of his dying. Finally, the relatives frequently do not think of calling in the lamas even in case of great danger of death. The custom of calling the lamas before the death exists neither in Ngari nor in Central Tibet (but it does exist in Western Tibet).

764 As soon, then, as death has actually set in and everything in the house is prepared, a p'as-pun is sent out in order to call a lama who has performed the "Four Exercises" and who has attained the rank of an abbot. The abbot sits down by the deceased and waits. It is not a general custom to serve the dead person any food aside from tea on this occasion. But some people do serve the dead person his favorite

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

0 >0 A local doctor (*Amchi*) was called in to attend the sick man, who was given certain purgatives which were vomited as soon as they were administered. The duration of the deceased's illness was only one day.

Having heard that the body was to be disposed of by mutilation, my curiosity was aroused, and I determined to witness the ceremony first-hand. To achieve this end I was obliged to simulate great interest in the local religion, and professed myself an ardent Buddhist. To my surprise I received consent to follow the funeral cortège, and to be present at the actual ceremony of mutilation.

7;4 The place where the mutilation ceremony was performed was on a small hillock by the side of the Spiti river, about a mile and a half from the village. Eight men carried the dead man on an improvised bier made of four rough pieces of wood crossed in such a way as to form a square shaped seat. Immediately after death the deceased's neck was broken by one of his relations. The lower part of his right leg having been flexed at the knee joint and placed over the middle third of the left thigh, so that the calf muscle was clearly in evidence, a yak hair rope was passed in a figure of eight round the leg, thigh, and neck, bringing the head down very close to the knee. The corpse thus trussed was placed on the bier, with two relatives leading the funeral procession. Behind the eight bearers of the corpse came some villagers amongst whom were two men, one carrying a log of wood, and the other an axe and hunting knife.

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7;93

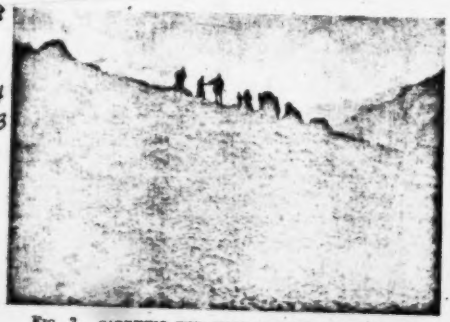

FIG. 3. CARRYING THE DEAD MAN FOR MUTILATION.

About two furlongs from the village the procession reached a prayer wall. At this point the two men leading the procession returned to their own village bearing flags and a banner with a goddess painted upon it.

On arrival at the site of the mutilation ceremony, the body was taken out of the bier, and the clothes and funeral ornaments stripped from the dead man so as to expose him naked. Two lamas (priests) then took up a position about thirty feet from the corpse, and faced eastwards, whilst another lama squatted on the ground to the south of the site of mutilation. These men held ritualistic instruments in their hands, and muttered prayers.

7;64 In the meantime, the executioner on
7;67 whom the main business of mutilation devolved, placing himself in front of the corpse drew it over to a flat stone just visible above the ground. Then, after cutting the rope which secured the deceased lest he should rise and do some harm, he laid the dead body on the stone with its knees in a flexed position. This done, he placed the log of wood under the cervical region, cutting with his hunting knife the skin, fascia, muscles, and other soft structures of the neck. Then taking the axe from his girdle, he severed the head from the body, and placed it close by. He now proceeded to open up the abdomen. First, he caught the abdominal wall in the epigastric region with his left hand, and with his right he introduced his knife at the tip of the xiphoid and cut the abdominal wall horizontally, and the flap thus made was turned downwards over the pubic region.

[7;3] On opening the abdomen fæculent fluid gushed out. The small and large intestines were semi-distended and bulging. It being of great importance to ascertain the disease which caused the deceased's death, the mutilator used a small piece of stick to elevate and examine the intestines. His verdict was that the man had died from a fatal bilious attack, though so far as I could see the liver was quite normal.

600 Standing close to the body I could see that the intestines were distended, and part of the small intestine was chocolate colour (gangrenous). Besides this it had the appearance of having been ruptured and perforated, which fact rather confirms my belief that the extremely violent aperients administered to the man during his brief illness produced these disastrous results.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers. 4r3 4r8 The house and the land and all the children belong to the eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre-601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

● 763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences, 764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms. 764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus 614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance [791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

766 Two more exceptional methods of the disposal of the corpse remain. If a child dies, a brick is taken out of the living-room wall, its small body placed inside, and thus immured. A lama of high rank is said to be well salted first, and then placed inside a *Chorten*. This, however, has been vigorously denied.

● 763 To conclude this chapter perhaps we may recount the following amusing story of how the people of Kyelang tried unsuccessfully to cheat the King of Death. An old lady was near dissolution, and, wishing to save her from the dread potentate, her relatives made an effigy of her, taking scrupulous care that this should be her exact size, then dressed it up in her clothes. A proper mourning with much wailing was then instituted, after which the effigy was carried out to the desert for cremation with full ceremonies. A man was then told off to return to the village shouting, "This poor woman has now been dead nine days," for which service he was rewarded with a pair of grass shoes. But, alas! Death saw through the fraud, and took the dame as well.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 the bride's house with a bowl of chang, and the relatives discuss the wedding-day and the spirits together. After the bridal day has been fixed, the bridegroom is obliged to send a portion of food and chang daily to his elect. After the end of fifteen or twenty days all the relatives of both parties assemble together to ask the bridegroom what present he will make to the mother of the bride. The bridegroom makes an offer, generally of a few rupees (one to ten), according to his means and the ardour of his love. A poor man will give a pot of chang and a silver *jao* (sixpence) to his bride's mother, while the thriving man will give a present of ten rupees. About ten or fifteen days after the "asking," the relatives of both parties assemble at the bride's house, and conduct the lady in state to the bridegroom's house, where prayers are read by a party of lamas, and the couple are declared man and wife. The whole party then sits down to dinner and chang, of which the supply on these occasions is always ample. The entertainment lasts for several days, according to the means of the bridegroom, and the assembled lamas read prayers every morning to the half-sober guests.

764 The funeral-feast, *Shid-Ton*, varies according to the rank and circumstances of the deceased. For a rich man, a large party of lamas assemble, and read prayers daily until the body is burned, which does not usually take place for fifteen or twenty days. For a poor man, only a few lamas meet together and read prayers for four or five days (never beyond a week), while the body remains in the house. During this time a piece of cloth is fixed over the doorway as a sign of mourning. The lamas are regaled with food and tea daily; and, when

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the body has been burned, they are presented with the clothes and cooking-vessels of the deceased. 764

When a great man dies, such as the Gyalpo or any of the Kahlons, his corpse is kept in the house for fifteen or twenty days, while the assembled lamas read prayers daily. The number of the lamas depends on the means or pride of the relatives. The body is then carried to the *Pur-khang*, or place of cremation, and after being burned in a metal vessel, the ashes (*Pur-thal*) are carefully collected and made into an image of the deceased. A *Chhorten*, or pyramid, is erected on the spot for the reception of an urn or funeral vessel (*Pur-Gom*), in which the following articles are deposited with the figure:— 766

1. Wheat, barley, rice, and peas.
2. Pearls, coral beads, turquoises.
3. Gold, silver, copper, iron (either in money or vessels).
4. Rolls of prayers and holy writings.
5. Pieces of the holy Shúkpá, or pencil-cedar, and of sandal-wood, both white and red.

The body of the great lama is interred in a coffin (*Pur-Gam*), dressed in the usual clothes, with the knees brought up to the chin, and corded together in as small a compass as possible, and in a sitting posture. Beside the body are placed the deceased's plate and cup, his rolls of prayers, his praying-cylinder, and all his religious instruments, together with the grains, minerals, and metals, usually deposited with royalty. To these are added images of Shakya Thûbba, Jámya, and Chanrazik, and a figure of the lama himself. The coffin is deposited in a *Chhorten*, before which, for some time, food and water are offered daily, and a light is kept burning every night.

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

●764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 788

797 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

●764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[797] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

876 FRECKLE--teep-khap. Ladakis think that freckles are caused by looking at one's reflection in the unwiped mirror of another person, for this reason, before using another person's looking-glass, a Ladaki will be careful to wipe it thoroughly.

● 764 [49] FUNERAL--Buddhists in Ladák like to keep a dead body as long as possible, for the purpose of praying over it, and performing other religious ceremonies. For this reason it is considered better that a man should die in winter, when his corpse can be kept for 15 or 16 days, than in summer when the body must be burnt on the third day after death. When a death occurs, intimation is sent to all relatives to come to the funeral. At the time of the funeral "chhang"[1] and "satoo"[2] is provided at the house of the deceased, but the guests are all silent, and pretend to be much affected. They will eat and drink sadly, so long as the corpse is in the house but when it has been removed, they will not eat or drink in that house for a month. At the time of the occurrence of a death, a "hlobon" or "abbot" is sent for, from the nearest monastery; this official reads some religious extracts (this is called phóa tap ches) for half an hour or so, while so doing he holds the sacred book (phóalung speycha) in one hand, and with the other hand he takes hold of the pigtail of the deceased, if a male, and of the hair of the deceased, if a female. While reading the funeral service, the Abbot keeps on pulling and jerking the hair of the corpse. If by the time the reading is finished, any blood has come from the nose of the corpse, it is considered a very happy sign, as proving that the spirit (sem soul or SHok or SHrok life) of the deceased has entered into the presence of the Divine Idea (konjok), i.e., has entered paradise (zhing-kham or thóris), and attained nirvana (stongpa ngyid).

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[175] If no blood is to be seen, it is considered a sign that the dead person's spirit is wandering about in space, awaiting re-embodiment. In this case payments have to be made to the Lámas to pray for the wandering spirit.

764 [50] Having completed the reading, the Abbot stands aside, and the "phas-spun" of the deceased come with ropes, and tie the deceased into a squatting position; knees, hands and neck all tied close together. If the corpse has got stiff, the bones are broken, so that the necessary squatting position may be attained.

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1 [BARLEY BEER--ANALYST] 2 [BASIC BARLEY FOOD--ANALYST]

764 614 The word "phas-spun" signifies the persons who perform the funeral ceremonies, in so far as these involve the touching of the corpse. The office of "phas-spun" is hereditary and unpaid, a male corpse is attended upon by male "phas-spun" and a female corpse by female "phas-spun". If a stranger comes to a village, where his family has no "phas-spun" it is necessary for him to get some one to agree to undertake the office, a dinner is then given, and the man to whom the feast is given becomes the family and hereditary "phas-spun" of the giver.

It never happens that a "phas-spun" declines to perform his part. If a person dies without any "phas-spun," his corpse is treated as that of an animal; no one will touch it, and no religious ceremonies are performed over it, a rope is tied round it, and it is dragged away and either thrown into the river Indus or buried. But to return to the narrative. When the "phas-spun" numbering from 7 to 9 persons, have tied up the corpse (ro) into the approved attitude, they put it into a cotton cloth bag (rôres), and then remove it from the room in which it is, and take it to the "Chhodkhang" room (see "Church") of the house, and put it in a corner of the room, and stretch a shawl or other cloth across the corner, so as to hide the corpse. The Abbot (hlôbon) then comes into the "Chhodkhang" room, sits down just to the left front of the corpse and with his back to it, and other Lámás of lower rank also enter the room and sit facing the "Hlôbon." As soon as the corpse has been put in to the corner by the "phas-spun" these people retire, and none but priests are admitted into the "Chhodkhang," and these remain to pray, and to keep alight 101 brass lamps (chhodmey), and to offer food and drink to the deceased. The "phas-spun" and relatives of the deceased sit in another room. Till the time for the funeral or burning ceremony arrives, Lámás remain day and night in the "Chhodkhang" by day from seven to ten Lámás are probably present, and by night only one or two. The Lámás consult their books to see what is the auspicious time (zhák záng) for the corpse to be removed to the burning ground (turtsa). When the time arrives for removing the corpse, the "phas-spun" and the nearest relative, (i.e., heir) whether male or female enter the Chhodkhang, and the "phas-spun"

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lift the corpse, and place it upon the chief mourners back, the latter then, bends down leaning upon two sticks carried in the two hands, and aided by the "phas-spun" carries the corpse to the entrance of the house; here it is placed in a square shaped coffin or box (rórGHam) provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. The rórGHam is then carried either by the "phas-spun" or relatives of the deceased, to the burning ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not come to the burning ground, but, after having walked 3 times round the coffin and prostrated herself before it 3 times, she is conducted back to the house.

On the way to the burning ground, the Lámás go in front, praying and playing musical instruments, then follow the relatives, etc., and last of all comes the coffin. The corpse is placed in a sort of oven; the face being put down against the ground; the wood is then lighted and ghee is poured over the corpse by the Lámás.

When the first bone drops from the body, probably after 3 or 4 hours, the funeral ends, though the "phas-spun" remain to complete the burning. The Lámás take the bone back to the "Chhopkhang" of the deceased, and there pound it up, mix a little clay with it, and put it into a mould, which shapes it into a figure or idol (tshatsha). If the deceased was a rich man, this figure is built into a "Chhorten," (see Cenotaph) built for the purpose, and if he was poor man, the figure (tshátshá) is taken and placed in any old "chhorten". On the evening of this day, an open air feast is given to the mourners who then disperse.

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804 [51]FURLONG--The Ladákis do not measure distances as we do, but the Indian word "kós" or "kóso" is generally understood to mean about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Tibetan method of measurement is by the "migthoug," which means the distance, up to which a man can be clearly seen with the naked eye. In the clear atmosphere of Ladák, this would mean about 1 1/2 miles. Another method of measurement is by the "thang" or "plateau". This is of very little use, as the "thang" may be only a few hundred yards long, or it may be several miles long. For further information, see under "Lineal measure".

776 777 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing), fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

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343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "róm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 262 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 533 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face), khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tasháo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 781 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equivalent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons, 766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

761 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest. But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened" (163).

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: nad daṅ sdug-bsñal gtam ñan gsum--sñon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.

/190/ The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'aṅ-ñu) as a reservation for his aging

who, she said, was the fault of everything by having turned her grand- 763
son away from the faith of Buddha and having made him into a Kristan. For this reason they were all now struck by the anger of the Buddhas and the gods. The women of the tribe joined in the howling of lamentation. This was required by custom. Entire Kalatse and the neighboring villages mourned over the Dragshos who had been leader and adviser to them, such as they had not had before among their people.

Towards evening a high lama came into the house. He had 764
been called by Tsering Putrid to perform the first death ceremonies, so that her grandson would be accorded a proper Buddhistic burial; and so that the lamas would set right again what her grandson, misled by the Sahib (missionary), had "sinned" against the Buddhas and the sacred doctrine. The lama set about his work. He sat down by the side of the deathbed, on which the dead man was lying stretched out and covered with a white cloth. Then he proceeded to read passages /Following p. 204 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position."/ /205/ from the book t'os-grol, which are to show the soul the way into the Paradise of the West. Then the lama commanded the soul to leave the body and to release itself from all earthly matters, property, family, friendship, and so forth. He seized a small bush of hair on the dead man's skull and pulled it out, so that the soul would be able to escape through the resulting "opening," that is the openings which are thought to be created in the top of the skull by means of this proceeding. Then the lama gave the soul further instructions as to how it could escape the dangers with which it would be threatened in Bardo--the space between earth and paradise--on the part of the innumerable demons. The lama wished the soul bon voyage into the Beyond. That is the "Changing of the Body" (Tibetan, ap'o-ba adebs-pa).

When the lama had left the house a few p'as-pun arrived, washed away the traces of blood from the face and hands of the corpse, and placed it upright in a corner of the living room-kitchen, near the place which the dead man had always occupied at meals. Tsering Putrid also had the old devil-tamer called in again, whom the dead man had long ago dismissed. The devil-tamer was requested to set up the death horoscope and to ascertain the type, time, and form of the interment, as well as the astrologically suitable members of the tribe who alone may touch the corpse and carry out the burial.

Late in the evening the missionary came to the house--he was

/Following page 204/

764

Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position.

5: Ribbach--219 M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/211/ CONCERNING THE MANNER OF BURING THE DEAD 764

AND THE RITES OF THE DEAD AMONG

THE BUDDHISTIC INHABITANTS OF

LADAKH

The Burial of Children

When a baby or a one to two year old child dies, (the corpse) is laid inside an earthen vessel or in a little box, and thus walled up into the wall of its own house (of the parents). Until the age of eight no kind of funeral ceremony is performed for children, the corpse is not cremated; it is carried into the mountain wilderness and hidden there. A lama makes a scattered offering (gtor-ma) (1), pronounces

1. When this scattered offering is carried out, aside from water, also larger and smaller pills made of bread dough to the size of "sheep pills" (!)--108 of such pills--are presented to the gods: to the gods up above (in heaven) five such "meals"; to the Pretas down below in the underworld and in limbo, and to the others each five of such "meals." Offerings are made in this manner to the eight p'yi-lus, to the abyuń-po, and to the mi-ma-yin (spirits). This cast or scattered offering is presented according to (the instructions in) the book: P'al-ĉer brgya rtsa (the "Ordinary Hundred," namely, storma offerings).

a prayer, gives the children (present) little rolls (p'u-li), roasted barley, and the like. This is known as the children's meal (byis-ston). In general (it is so) that at the death of children who have passed the eighth year of their life, the same death and purification rites are observed as in the case of adults; but some people also say that when somebody under twelve years of age dies no death rites have to be undertaken. The fact that no funeral rites are performed for people under their eighth or twelfth year is explaining in the following manner:

764 children that young do not know as yet the difference between good and evil; therefore there is also no need for these ceremonies. If we people of Ladakh (so say these people) had to observe these rites even among those younger than the eight-year-olds, then the burden (the expenses) would become so heavy that we would be unable to bear it. Therefore we do not perform any rites.

First Considerations and Practices

In case a person suddenly dies and the flour, butter, beer, and so forth, (necessary for the mass of the dead) are not present in the house, the death is kept a secret for three to four days, until these things have been procured. Then, when everything is prepared, a lama, /212/ who has performed the "Four Exercises" (2) (t'un bźi-po

2. These "Exercises of the four times of the day (tun)" are performed in each case at daybreak (t'o-raṅs sṅa t'un), towards noon (nyin-p'yed dus guṅ t'un), towards six o'clock in the evening (p'yi-tog srod t'un), and towards midnight (t'san p'yed sṅon-du dgoṅs). With these four segments of time the lama concerned must recite the formula of refuge 100,000 times, other formulas of adoration 100,000 times, 100,000 Mandala (dkyil-ak'or), 100,000 yig-brgya, and other formulas. In order to get through all these Exercises, (a lama) needs about five months. The whole thing represents a testing of the lama.

t'on-mk'an-gyi bla-ma), goes to call one of the p'as-pun. Those who already have everything in preparedness send a messenger immediately after the death (of the relative) out to the lama who takes care of the "changing of the body" (ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan).

Marks of the Virtuous and of the Sinner on the Dead Person

763 If the upper part of the dead person's body becomes cold while
775 the lower part of his body is still warm, then the deceased was a virtuous person in his lifetime. But if the upper part of his body is still warm while the lower part becomes cold, then this is taken as a sign that the person was a sinner. Why? The soul of the virtuous person escapes through an opening on top of the head in the fontanel, and

764 N[illegible], since there [illegible] Buddhist sects in Ladakh, namely,
795 the Geldanpa sect (the Sect of the Virtuous reformed by Tsongkapa), the Drugpa sect, the Drikung sect, the Saskya sect, and the Nyingmapa sect (the non-reformed sect), so there are also five different books concerning funeral rites and the tutelary gods (to be invoked). Accordingly, if one were to describe everything in detail, this would result in a very large book. Now, since in Ladakh there are particularly many lay adherents (literally, "gift offerers," sbyin-bdag) of the reformed Geldanpa and Drugpa sects, I shall here treat the death rites of the Geldanpa sects in somewhat greater detail (5).

5. As is shown by the following, the activity even of the orthodox Geldanpa lamas can here not be separated from that of the representatives of black magic, the onpos (soothsayers, magicians), without whose cooperation no Buddhistic interment is possible; the activities of both here go hand in hand. The onpo does not allow himself to be pushed out even by his bitterest enemies, the Geldanpa lamas, and he demands his right and his compensation.

764 If an adult person (that is to say, in general, one over twelve years of age) dies, first of all the p'as-pun (members of the tribe), secondly the lamas, thirdly the onpos (dbon-po, soothsayers) are needed in any case. Although originally only the members of the paternal tribe were called p'as-pun, now all those members of the clan are called p'as-pun in Ladakh, who honor a common tutelary deity (p'a-lha). Aside from the p'as-pun no person may touch the corpse (and even the p'as-pun may do so only when the magical signs allow it; the touching of the corpse makes the person who touches it impure).

The lamas perform ceremonies designed to expiate the sins of the deceased and to translate him into paradise. The soothsayer (onpo) establishes in the death horoscope of the deceased, whence the demon of death (gśed, meaning "killer") came and whither he has gone, something which has to be done for defense against immediately threatening misfortune; the onpo further establishes when the corpse is to be carried out of the house, where (in which of the six realms) the soul is to be re-embodied, and the like.

The Wailing of Lamentation

As soon as the relatives, the p'as-pun, the neighbors and

friends have all heard the news of the death of a person, they go into the house in which the death has taken place, in order to console (the relatives). This is called the Great Meeting (k'ab-ap'rad). As soon as one /214/ of the visitors enters the house, the women of the circle of relatives and of the tribe immediately start up a wailing of lamentation and amidst crying tell of the passing away. The visitors appear before each of the mourners and say: "Don't cry! Don't cry! Do not grieve!" They stay for a little while and then go home. Only the p'as-pun stay in the house and pray continually the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum while they turn the prayer wheel. 764

Rules Concerning Becoming Ritually Impure

When a woman's husband dies, the wife has to carry his corpse, and in this way becomes (ritually) impure (yug-sa); if the woman dies then her husband has to carry her corpse and becomes impure. The person who has become impure drapes a blackish blanket of goat's hair around himself in a dark corner, takes all his ornaments off, and puts on old clothes. The vessels, such as the kettle, the flour bowl, and so forth, of the person who has become impure (yug-sa-pa) are kept separate from those of the other inhabitants of the house. Since the surviving husband or wife is regarded as impure (6), the person con- 764 783

6. As "impure one" the person would otherwise offend and anger the earth, water, and household deities, and these would send sickness, drought, and crop failure upon the offenders.

cerned may not touch the hearth or the implements, in particular the eating and cooking implements in the living room; ordinarily this person may not leave the house either. If he leaves the house anyway, he may not cross over any irrigation ditches. If it is summertime, he may not go into the fields. Today there is still the chopped off and dried out hand of a woman to be seen in the monastery Gang-ngon (sgaṅ-ñon) (7). This woman committed nine offenses of this kind (and [688]

7. The monastery is at a distance of about fifteen kilometers from Leh.

was punished for them in this fashion).

783 In earlier times it used to be so, that, if a husband (or wife) died after the summer solstice, the surviving party had to be regarded as impure until the winter solstice. Nowadays the parties concerned need no longer remain separated from the other survivors for longer than a month. As soon as the month has elapsed, a lama brings the purification offering. Then each of the relatives and members of the tribe prepare a delectable meal and bring it together with beer (into the house of mourning). This is called the "meal of mourning" (sdug-bzan). With this the mourning is concluded (sdug-sdug-bsañs) (8).

8. This can also be translated: "The purification is completed."

The woman again washes (and braids) her hair, /215/ changes her clothes, the ornaments are again put on, they eat and drink and give themselves over to uninhibited gaiety.

The "Changing of the Body"

763 In the book t'os-agrol (9) it says that at the approaching death

9. The full title of the book is: t'os-pa t'sam-gyis agrol-ba t'ob-pai ^cos, the doctrine by the hearing of which a person is immediately saved.

(of a person) a lama of high rank must be present between the external breathing out and the (final) inner breathing out of the soul, in order to read the book t'os-agrol and to introduce the "changing of the body" (of existence, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). However, in most cases it is so, that when the dying person still feels healthy shortly before his death, he himself and the entire family hope for his recovery, yes, none of them even thinks of his dying. Finally, the relatives frequently do not think of calling in the lamas even in case of great danger of death. The custom of calling the lamas before the death exists neither in Ngari nor in Central Tibet (but it does exist in Western Tibet).

•764 As soon, then, as death has actually set in and everything in the house is prepared, a p'as-pun is sent out in order to call a lama who has performed the "Four Exercises" and who has attained the rank of an abbot. The abbot sits down by the deceased and waits. It is not a general custom to serve the dead person any food aside from tea on this occasion. But some people do serve the dead person his favorite

dish at this "changing of the body." To begin with, now, the abbot 764
spreads the apo-rdzas, that is, the pills called "changing substance," rubbed into a powder and mixed with butter, on the skull of the deceased person. Then he recites a formula to exorcize the soul of the deceased person, which goes: "The truth of Buddha, the turth of the Law, the truth of the Monkhood (therefore the 'Three Jewels' which correspond to the concept of the divinity), the truth of the secret formulas of exorcism and of the family exorcizing formulas, the truth of the host of gods belonging to the tutelary god Amitabha (10). Trusting in the

10. Tibetan, Od-dpag med; he is one of the five "Heavenly Buddhas," the spiritual father of the Dhyanibodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the particular tutelary deity of Tibet.

power of this (fivefold) truth, may Tsering who has departed from this world into the Beyond, wheresoever the thinking substance (rnam-śes, Sanskrit, vijňana) (11) of his soul may be at the moment: in Bardo, or

11. "Thinking substance" translates the Sanskrit word vijna [761]
(Tibetan, rnam-śes). It designates according to ancient Indic philosophy one of the five skandha (elements life) which in their composition constitute a living creature. At the death of a person this non-corporeal "substance" which comes into being through the slumbering impressions of previous existences (samskara) that have remained behind, stays behind as final germ of life. Unless these latent impressions and germs of life are destroyed by patient striving after the highest recognition (Bodhi), a new will to live is again awakened, new forms are fashioned, new reincarnations take place, and with them there comes new suffering.

in one /216/ of the four places of births, in whichsoever of the united four realms of the world he may be, may he rest here for a brief little moment!" This the priest whispered three times (into the ear of the dead man) and in the belief in Amitabha, the Buddha of the immeasurable light, he then read the book t'os-agrol and the book "Of the way of changing the body." Then he recited the prayer asking for translation into Paradise. When that was over, (one of the relatives of the deceased) gave the monk six or eight annas as "changing compensation" (ap'o-yon, compensation for the "changing of the body").

764 If a woman has died the topmost, best turquoise of the woman's head ornament may also be given as compensation in this case. It is said that some rich people give the lama even a horse or a yak as "changing compensation." In Central Tibet, when the lama (who has been called upon) is prevented by circumstances from coming to the house of the layman concerned (in which the death has taken place), the lama sends a messenger on horseback with the "changing material" (ap'o-rdzas) and performs the "body changing ceremony" in his monastery or in his hermitage. This is called "long-distance" (rgyaṅ ap'o-debs).

If the "gift offerer" (pious layman) belongs to the Drugpa sect, he has a Drugpa lama called, who has performed the "Four Exercises" (and therefore possesses the rank of abbot). This lama first of all recites an entrance formula, then formulas of exorcism, and then he calls upon the spirits; thereupon he reads the book entitled "Of the harmful rainbow" (12) concerning the "changing"; and as he now shouts

[821] 12. The rainbow, which in the astronomy of the ancient Indians was already reckoned among the planets, is thought of, like all the celestial bodies, as a divinity which is frequently hostile towards mankind, and which sends down upon it afflictions like epilepsy, brain hemorrhage, and the like.

"hik!" three times, and "pat!" once, he pulls out a few hairs from the dead man's head (13). This he does three to five times. By doing

[826] 13. The soul is presumed to make its exit by way of the little openings that have been created through pulling out the hairs. In the belief of the lamas, the hairs go all the way through the top of the head.

this the priest believes that the soul of the deceased is taken up in the soul of the sublime Dorje Chang (rdo-rje aĉaṅ) (14), and that in this

14 In Sanskrit Vajradhara, a form of the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva.

way it arrives in Paradise. All this is done so that the soul of the deceased may be preserved against the terrors of Bardo or of a new rebirth. Later on, something will be said about the offerings and dishes presented on this occasion. The sign that the change (of the body)

has proceeded properly, is the secretion of seminal fluid in the case of the men, and of blood from the ear of the corpse in the case of women. After the cremation of the corpse there are supposed to be tiny openings in the top of the head (through which the soul is supposed to have escaped).

/217/ The Preparation of the Body for Burial

Until the ceremony of the "changing of the body" is completed, no one touches the corpse. It is feared that otherwise the soul will be driven out of the body prematurely by a shock, before the lama has shown it the certain way to release, and that it would then wander about restlessly and without protection in Bardo. When the process of the "changing of the body" is over, the p'as-pun take off all the ornaments that the dead person has on him. Some of the p'as-pun wash the corpse, others salve it with hot butter. (The corpse is then taken into the household temple and set down there.)

It is told that in earlier times in Tibet many dead persons had come back to life. From then on there arose the custom of making the doors of the household temple very low and tying the corpses down with strings. In Lahul the men as well as the women all wear a string of wool constantly slung under the sash around their body, so that, in case someone should die in a place where no string is available, (the corpse) can still be tied with the woollen string (and so that in this way the corpse that has come back to life cannot escape). For the person who has been resurrected from death is unable to bend down, and thus he is also unable to get out of the household temple, being prevented from doing so by the low door and the string. The corpse is now put into a crouching position: both knees of the corpse are pulled up to the chin, and both hands up to the ears; then (the body) is tied with strings and shaped into a bundle, in this position. It is said that this is the form of the Dorje (rdo-rje) (15). Now the corpse is put inside a linen sack,

15. The dorje (Sanskrit vajra, meaning "thunderbolt") is the magical weapon of the gods and the priests in their battle against the demons.

linen sack, called the winding sheet (ro-ras), and then it is placed inside the household temple (16) on a platform made of bricks. A curtain

16. In many parts of Tibet the corpse is placed in a squatting

764 position in a corner of the living room, unless the corner just happens to be inhabited by the household god: the onpo decides upon that. The corpse has its share of each meal placed in front of it.

is also hung in front of it.

/219/ THE ACTIVITY OF THE ONPOS (SOOTHSAYERS AND MAGICIANS), THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BON RELIGION (17), AT THE INTERMENT

771 17. Coming from present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion penetrated into Tibet at approximately the same time as Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced from present-day Afghanistan (Udyana). It (the Bon religion) represents a peculiar mixture of the ancient popular religion of the peoples of Persian race residing there and of Mahaya Buddhism which at that time was also widespread in that region. Despite the [798] similarity and close kinship of the two clashing religions in Tibet, there was kindled a very bitter war between the two religious forms in Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the rulers and their priests there attempted to make Buddhism into the dominant religion. But Buddhism has never been able to exterminate the Bon religion. Hence this existence side by side of lamaistic and of Bon practices.

791 There are three kinds of onpos: first, white ones, secondly, black ones, and such who practise black and white magic at one and the same time. The white magicians prepare the calendar and occupy themselves with the calculation of the retribution (abras-rtsis) of human deeds. The black magicians undertake their exercises according to the manner of the Bon religion. Since they know black as well as white magic, they also prepare the calendar. They perform religious exercises and rites in the manner of the Bon.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual

From the day followed the "changing of the body" the actual death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope. 764

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood-Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-rtsis kun gsal)." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This death demon (za-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money) 764 787 [276

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

The Year's Shed ("Offering")

764 787 789 Since Tsering was a snake year person, it says in the horoscope: When a snake year person dies a bird year person and a pig year person must be fetched. These persons hide a red or dark blue piece of cloth cut to measure, as well as any jewels that might be available, inside an old leather sack that has been slit open at the top, or inside a black vessel. (This is done as an offering to the Shed demon, the "killer.") These things are also covered with a hide or grains of barley; (in the former case) it must be the fresh hide of a black goat or of a yak killed by one of three Bon priests as a sacrifice to the Shed. The head of the (killed) /second parenthesis supplied by the translator, as it is missing in the text./ yak or of the goat is placed facing north, the right front leg towards the east, and the left towards the west. The spinal column is dragged along the earth. Sayings (mdo-maṅ, Mantra), among them the "Formula of the Crown of Hair," (20) are recited. The lha-gsol

20. In this case the thought is probably of hair belonging to Gautama Buddha, the Ushnisha (Tibetan, gtsug-tor), which is to be seen in all pictures of Buddha.

(invocation to the gods), the gyaṅ-agug (good luck bringing) ceremony, as well as the ceremony of the "string cross of the tent" (gur-mdos), are performed. Thereupon the demon of death escapes to a woman who has a red dog with red flesh

The Monthly Shed Offering

Since the 12th month (in which Tsering died) is the pig month, it says in the horoscope: He who dies in the pig /220/ month, had actually finished his life already in the snake month. The demon had carried him (that is, his soul) off to the northeast.

Since the 28th day of the 12th month is the "heavenly door of the grave" (because heaven is opened up for the death demons and they can escape from it), the black magician must close the heavenly portal in the following manner (21): above the front door of the house of the

21. This is done so that the demons of death will not harm the people.

deceased Tsering, a mouth, eyes, and so forth are painted with clay 764
on a ram's skull; (for the rest) the skull is covered with paint. On its 787
forehead is drawn the magical Sparka sign "Khen" (22) of Tsering. 789

22. Khen is the lord of the gods and the demons of heaven.

This skull is attached above the house door and over it is placed a mdos (string star) made of sticks and strings in five colors. This star is called "heaven." Again above this is put an arrow with narrow ribbons of five colors. On the right-hand side of the skull a spotted (probably by means of partial charring) arrow is affixed, to the left a spindle (23) spotted

23. Compare note 106 in its main part!

in like manner, and to the right of the spindle a board bearing the picture of a man's face is attached. Finally as many crosses are carved (into the board) as the number of years in the age of the surviving man (24) in the house. On the left-hand side on the board, a woman's face

24. Even if Tsering was the husband of a woman, it was still possible that a second or a third brother of Tsering lived as her husband in the house.

is to be seen and next to this as many crosses as the "pious offerer of gifts" (25) is old. If the woman (the widow) is for instance 25 years of

25. The widow of the deceased man, who offers up gifts for the salvation of her husband.

age, then 25 crosses are carved into the board. When all this is completed, the onpo offers up a drink offering (gser-skyem) before this whole (magical apparatus). This is called the "closing of the heavenly portal." If the heavenly portal were not to be closed, the inhabitants of the house would suffer harm (through the demons that have been set free). When the portal of the earth is opened and it is not closed, it is believed that damage will be suffered among the crosses in the livestock (26).

26. For instance, among the dso (a cross between a yak bull and an Indian cow) /second parenthesis supplied by translator,

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since omitted in text./, the mules, and others.

The closing of the portal of the earth proceeds in the same way as the closing of the portal of heaven described above. However, in this case a dog's skull, instead of a ram's skull, is painted, and not the word "Khen," but the word "Khon" (27) is written on it. This is

27. The Old Khon, the earth mother, mistress of all earth demons and earth spirits, corresponds to the Old Khen, the lord of the heavenly spirits.

called the Great Seal (on the portal of the earth, which prevents the demons from escaping).

/221/ The Influence of the Day of Death and of the Hour of Death

Now, since Tsering died on the 28th day of the month, on the pig day, (so it says in the horoscope): He was born as a magician in a previous existence. (After that former existence) he died in the sixth month of the dragon year.

Since Tsering died around the dragon hour, after sunrise, (it says in the horoscope): He died around the time of the (first) warmth of the sun (around 10 o'clock) (28). The devil (bdud) deprived him of

28. In the narrow valleys of Tibet the sun rises, if at all, very late.

life at the break of day. The devils and the Tsan (bt'san) have acted upon him as killers (gśed). The killers accordingly came from the northwest, and used yellow leather things as a hiding place. Even now they are still hidden in them. Hang out a yellow flag and a hairy hide. At first the (chief) killer appeared as a dragon, then, after 11 days, as an ox. That is bad for the bird year and the ox year persons, as well as for the little boys in the house. Then, again, the death demon was changed into the body of a snake. You must make a picture of a snake and must set this up at a point where many roads meet, after you have pressed it inside a pig's skull. Later the demon again hid himself in a small leather sack in the East.

When a woman dies and her spirit walks about in the house,

powerful ceremonies must be held. She will assume the body of a horse for ten years. For the deceased woman (the book) rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoṅ-rtsa (the thousand Dorje Chodpa), and (the book) mdzaṅs-blun (the wise man and the fool), must be read. Then she will be born as the "Goddess of the small light." But unless this is done, she will be born in the body of the sublime White Bird (29). 764 787 789

29. Probably a mythical creature of Bon mythology. Compare notes 80 to 81 in the main sections!

Evil Magical Signs

Since Tsering's Sparka sign in his 42nd year of life (the year of his death) had turned out to be the Khon (sign), it says in the horoscope: When someone dies under the Khon sign, the Jaksha demons carry off (his soul). If a woman dies (under this /222/ sign), then her dying (being reborn) is all over. If a husband dies in this way, then matters are bad (for him); then the earth demons carry him (his soul) off. Tsering died with his face turned either to the south or to the north--the retribution for his "Black Changing" (30). It is (also) bad for the old

30. His dying in sin.

people and for the invalids, as well as for the livestock. If the person concerned (who dies under the Khon sign) is reborn, then he will take pleasure in continual eating and drinking (debauchery), and in bow and arrow (31).

31. The sinful weapons of murder.

Now the death demon is once again inside the black leather bag. The leather bag is to be placed down on the ground by a fork in the road. Then the demon will go to an old, invalid man. A hare's skull and various kinds of wood are to be placed on the corpse (of Tsering), in order to prevent this. Then the demon again hides in the northeast. He hides in the buttermilk of cow and sheep. Now in the southwest the demon slips into a sheep year woman. Later he goes again to where there is a cow and a yellow checkered watch dog (sgo-k'yi). Then again he conceals himself with a married couple in a box or in a roll of yellow cloth or in a front leg (of meat) which has been cut and

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and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by

32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespa-gsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death, causing death."

the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of rebirth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order

33. Bumpa; meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

good to ascertain through the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug ceremony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam-dbyaṅs) is to be set up. 764 787 789

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated

35. The title of a book.

that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month: k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821]

the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

764 the purification of the sins of the year (lo-sgrib), the sins of the
787 month (zla-sgrib), and of the other sins; and he must also perform
789 other ceremonies, if necessary. Then the corpse may be carried out.

/224/ Since Tsering was a snake year person, the snake year persons among his tribe and among the inhabitants of his house are forbidden not only to touch the corpse, but also even to look at it. But if the magician gives them the Nag-po dgu-t'ub amulet (39), they

39. /The text has two footnotes numbered 38, the second being clearly a misprint for 39. --translator./ The amulet which exorcizes the "Black Nine" (probably Bon demons).

may perform the preparations. Tsering's wife was undoubtedly supposed to carry her husband's body, but if she is a snake year woman she may not carry it either (nor touch it).

On the eight dates of the month, the first, the eighth, the ninth, the 18th, the 19th, 28th, 29th, and the 30th, no kind of preparations on the body are to be performed. On the other hand, the six dates of the fifth, the seventh, the 15th, 17th, 25th, and the 27th, are very favorable for these preparations; the remaining 16 dates have neither profit nor harm in them; this appears clearly from the book about the "calculation of retribution."

Since for seven days the disastrous elements (Sanskrit, skandha) (40), which fashioned the earthly body and which are called zin-puń,

40. Concerning the five skandha, see note 11.

float around, no kind of work, either good or evil, may be performed during these days. Now, if it is also stated that on the days of the zin-puń, the purification may not be carried out, then this means that as of recent times the onpos nevertheless do carry out the purification on the days named. Sometimes the corpse is even carried out of the house on these days.

The Signs of the Future Re-incarnation

"Since the Red Nine turned out to be the Mewa sign of the 42-year old Tsering, he would have to be reborn again as a dog and (later) as a donkey. But if you set up the image (the bronze or clay statue) of the Bodhisattva Byams-dbyańs (Sanskrit, Manjusri) in the

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, 764
in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of 787
the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 789
'Khorlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this
way the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the cere-
monies resulting from them, to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo
performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion.
Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas)
are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises
of the onpos continue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer
fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the
birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures
(animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted
images (tanka) of the same.

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (sa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning towards Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests. [171]

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contra-distinction to Those of the Onpos) 764

Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

764 (p'ud) consisting of flour, at the "changing of the body," no further offering is demanded on this occasion. On the occasion of the performance of the death rites and the "burning of the paper" (sog-pa sreg-pa) (42) by the (reformed) Geldanpa lamas, three sacrificial cakes

42. The death mask made of paper is meant.

which are made of roasted barley flour, and which are called the "Three Roots" (43) are presented; in addition, three little offering

43. Offerings for the destruction of the "Three Root Sins": evil desire, hatred, and stupidity (Tibetan, rtsa-da gsum).

lamps, three brass bowls filled with barley and called gzi-nas (44),

44. Probably because this offering is dedicated to the gźi-bdag, the local deity.

as well as five or seven brass dishes filled with water are offered up. This water is called the sacrificial water (and it is offered in place of wine). Sometimes a relative (of the dead man) will also present an offering of 100 lamps, which is called the offering of the hundred /226/ lamps (rgya-mčod), upon the occasion of the holding of the ceremonies.

Now, when, as in the case of the above-named Tsering, (funeral) ceremonies are held for four days on end, the expenses of one day are met by the house (of the deceased), the expenses of the three other days are paid by the relatives and the p'as-pun. Since the inhabitants of the house honor the Yamantaka (Tibetan, ajigs-byed) as tutelary deity, the lamas undertake the exorcisms which are called the bdag-skyed, mdun-skyed, bum-skyed, and bdog-ajug. When they perform these ceremonies they not only wear the bdaṅ dress (the magical vestment prescribed for this), but they also dress the corpse with this vestment (45). In winter they do not take this magical vestment off

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45. To this also belong the magical implements: dorje, bell, drum, bone trumpet, and the like.

(the corpse) until the death ceremonies are completed. In summer the vestment (with the implements concerned) is taken off the corpse

as soon as the (above-named) exorcisms have been completed. 764

Poor people only have such exercises performed for one day. 789
Rich people, on the other hand, have them performed up to two weeks (and longer).

The "Burning of the Paper"
(The Paper Mask)

Four days after the death, on the first day of the second segment of time (consisting each of four days), the "burning of the paper," the byaṅ-ĉog, takes place. In the monastery, they (the monks) each have a carved printing plate with the picture of a man or a woman. Now since Tsering (the deceased) was a man, the picture of a man is printed on paper and his name--Tsering--is written on it. Then the (printed) paper is placed between the feathers of an arrow and a greeting ribbon (k'atag) is wound around the end of the (folded)together) paper. Now barley is poured into a measure (bre) (46) and placed before the

46. One bre (dry measure) contains two ample liters.

abbott (present). The arrow is stuck into the barley. Then the bdag-skyed and the other exercises are performed, as indicated above, and texts and formulas are recited. In order to annul the sins of the de- 764
ceased, because of his trespasses, scattered offerings (bgegs-gtor) are 783
presented to the demons /227/. Through the recital of magical texts the sins are also annulled. Furthermore, the purification from sins is brought about by the reading of the "Six Books of the Transcendent Wisdom (śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa; Sanskrit, prajnya paramita)"; further, the exculpation from sin is effected by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood); finally, also, sins are done away with through the "Four Elements" (47).

47. The four elements are: earth, water, fire, and air. Sometimes ether is added as the fifth element.

When according to the instructions of the books (concerned), 764
these exercises are completed, the corpse-bearer takes the arrow in place of the dead body, and sticks it in his sash (which he wears slung around his body), and sits down behind the seat of the deceased (which was his during his lifetime in the circle of his household companions).

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The Feeding of the Dead Person--
The Burning of the Paper
(The Paper Mask of the Dead Person)

Now the abbot makes a hollow in the middle of a large flour dumpling which is handed to him; into it he pours melted butter, sprinkles sugar on it, and on top of this he places a piece of meat, and further he puts bread and cake in a circle around the flour dumpling in a dish; in a second dish he puts rice, and he puts tea in a jug, fills beer into another jug and places everything down in front of the corpse. These are the dead person's favorite dish (48) which are

48. It is supposed that the soul of the dead person enjoys the essence of the dishes, so that afterwards the nutritive power of these has disappeared.

"pleasing to the taste." Now, after these dishes have been placed before the dead person according to the manner of the Bon, the abbot's servant takes a little something from the dishes, fashions from it a flat cake, and lays this down on the little table in front of the abbot. The latter takes the flat cake and holds it to a burning torch or to the burning sacrificial fire. Then, when (at the reciting of formulas) he comes to the particular place "of the burning of the paper," he takes the greeting ribbon off the arrow (the abbot receives this greeting ribbon), takes up the paper mask (with the picture of the deceased), holds it above the flame, and then, when the paper mask, lying on the flat cake, is completely burned, the abbot folds the ashes of the paper inside the flat cake, forms the latter into a lump, and hands it to one of the p'as-pun; the latter lays the /228/ lump down inside the household temple (in which the corpse is still laid out). As compensation for this "paper burning" the lamas receive an entire suit of clothing belonging to the deceased (49).

49. In my opinion the custom of burning the paper mask is founded upon the conception that by it the existence which is now concluded, is completely destroyed after the soul of the departed, whose reappearance is feared by the relatives, has also been appeased by the presentation of dishes. --In some parts of Tibet a rough doll is created on the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house. This crude doll is fashioned

by hanging the clothes of the deceased on a block of wood, a chair, or the like. The doll is supposed to represent the deceased. In place of the face a printed picture is attached, which represents in rough outline a man or--in other cases--a woman. The figure in the picture sits in a posture of adoration. Underneath it is written the name of the deceased and a prayer addressed to the lamas, the Buddhas, the "Root Lama" and to the hosts of gods, asking for forgiveness of all sins, for blessing and for speedy attainment of the dignity of a Buddha. In front of this doll dishes of food and drinks are placed for seven weeks, instead of in front of the corpse which has been taken away. The burning of the paper mask represents, then, the last farewell from the departed and is intended to prevent his reappearance; it takes place at the conclusion of the seven weeks; as a rule the funeral rites are concluded with this ceremony. The doll is then undressed, and the lamas divide among themselves the clothes and other belongings of the dead person. During the burning of the paper mask, the lama determines from the form and the color of the flame, of what nature the new existential form of the departed person will be. If this is of an unfavorable kind, for instance a rebirth in the animal kingdom, or as a beggar, as one tortured in hell, new ceremonies are prescribed and held for the "salvation of the unfortunate." These ceremonies drag out for weeks. The ceremony of the "Western Paradise" is repeated until the end of the seven weeks every week, and the expenses of all these exercises are of such a kind that it is extremely rare that a single individual can bear them alone. The p'as-pun then help in bearing the burden. The poorer the relatives of the dead person are, the fewer exercises they have performed.

If the funeral ceremonies drag out into many days, the following books are also read (by the lamas): "the praise of the eight blissfully perfected (Buddhas) (bde-bar gśegs-pa brgyad-kyi bstod-pa)," the book "of the medicine Buddha (sman-bla)," the book of the "offering of the lamas," of the "good metamorphosis (bzaṅ-spyod)," of the "beginning of the good metamorphosis (spyod-ajug)," of the "prayer for paradise (bde-ba-can-gyi smon-lam)," "of infinity (mt'a-yas-[illegible]),[illegible]," the "Prayer to Maitreya (byams-pai smon-lam)," and so forth, as many books as possible, countless (books).

The Burial By Fire

•764 First a "magical square" (t'ab-t'ig, literally, "oven picture") must be created and must be spread out in the cremating furnace of the fathers. A dorje (thunderbolt) is to be drawn into the fourth center field of a (probably squared?) piece of linen cloth. Eight fields are to be left open on the four sides of this, and inside these fields lotus flowers are to be drawn; further--fire-spewing mountains are to be drawn on all four sides around these flowers on an edge four fingers wide; then again on an edge four fingers wide a frame consisting entirely of dorjes is to be drawn. A half moon and a dorje are to be drawn in each of the four corners of the cloth. The p'as-pun spread this picture out on the floor of the cremating furnace.

On the day on which the corpse is carried out, one man from each house, in a small village, goes to meet the others in one place; in larger localities like Leh, the neighbors along the street come together, and according to the custom of the so-called "intimate meeting" each brings a jug of beer and a dish of flour with him. The closer relatives each come with a large loaf of bread, as well as with money (literally, "copper coins") for each of those who take part and the "wailers," and all gather in the house of mourning. On the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house, the neighbors along the street, the friends, and companions receive a donation of rice, tea, and beer, which is called the "friends' tribute."

/229/ When the lamas have finished the so-called "Great Litany," the corpse is carried out of the house at the time that has been designated by the soothsayer. In Upper and Lower Ladakh the women of the circle of relatives (of the dead person) circle three times around the corpse, as soon as the corpse-bearer has come out of the household temple with the corpse (and has set it down) (50).

50. The corpse remains tied in a squatting position the whole time.

In Central Ladakh (the region around Leh), however, the women do not do this. In Leh, the corpse-bearer first of all carries the corpse outside the household temple in front of the house door. Then the [783] corpse is placed in a sedan-chair (with carrying rods) and is carried in this by the p'as-pun, neighbors, and others (51) to the cremating

51. These others take upon themselves the odium of becoming impure in exchange for payment.

impure in exchange for payment. 000

furnace. In some villages the corpse is also carried in the following manner: it is attached to a rod and this rod is again attached to the back of the two carriers. 764

When the corpse is carried out of the house (and buried), the lamas wear the required ornaments (with the crown made of papier-mache (dbaṅ-ĉas)and the implements used for the exorcism of the spirits), and amidst the blowing of the the large trumpets they go to the place of cremation. Neighbors and villagers who have gathered around, carry wood, glowing charcoal, and implements for the cremation of the corpse, as well as two food and drink offerings, and also the skulls of two sheeps. As they march along, they constantly mumble to themselves: "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!" The close relatives take off their caps and conceal them; the women go dressed without any shawls (52). Each of them carries a burning stalk of frankincense, and

52. Which under ordinary circumstances is considered unbecoming.

so they walk along behind the corpse. In Sangskar two men march in front of the corpse carrying a strip of white cloth to a length of from one to two dompa (about three meters) stretched out between them, in order to show the dead person the "White Path" (to Paradise). In Central Ladakh (the environs of Leh) this is not done (53).

53. In Central Tibet a ceremonious farewell is paid to the dead person, before the corpse is carried to the place of cremation. After the most delectable dishes, including also meat and drinks of all kinds, have been placed before him, a lama hands a greeting ribbon to the dead person and addresses him as follows: "You, Tsering! You have now received all these good dishes and drinks from your relatives. Enjoy the essence of these to the full, since you will not have any further opportunity to do so later! You must understand that you have died, and that your spirit must leave this place, and that it may not return and disturb or harm the relatives. Remember carefully the name of the lama who takes care of your soul, his name is Chospell. With his assistance, walk the right, the White Path (to Paradise)! Come, follow me!" With this, the

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lama goes ahead of the corpse-bearer carrying in his left hand the trumpet made of the bones of human legs, and in his right hand the little hand drum, as well as one end of the long, broad, white ribbon, the other end of which is tied around one arm of the dead man. In this way, the lama "leads" the dead man to the place of cremation amidst the blowing of the bone trumpet, the beating of the drum, and the reciting of a mass. --See Waddell, Lamaism!

As soon as the corpse has been set down inside of the cremating furnace, the lamas pray the "Great Litany" (p'yag-ĉen gsol adebs). In this litany, the "Great Merciful One" (Avalokitesvara) is called upon and asked to intercede on behalf of the deceased with the god of death and of hell, so that the latter may spare the dead person from the punishments of hell and so that the Great Merciful One may be able to lead the departed into the paradise of heavenly joys. The /230/ closer and more distant relatives circle around the cremating furnace three times, carrying burning stalks of incense in their hands, and three times they fall down on their faces in adoration.

Then the relatives go home. The people along the street and other villagers (who have helped) buy beer with the two to three rupees which they received from the "gift offerer," and then go with this "meeting beer" (ap'rad- lugskyi ĉaŭ) to an open place where they drink it. This is also called the "street beer-drinking."

After the praying of the "Great Litany" is ended, the lamas set about the cremating of the corpse. When (in the prayer) they come to the place which concerns the lighting of the cremating fire, a sacrificial servant takes the torch from one of the p'as-pun and gives it to the abbot. The latter pronounces a formula of purification over the fire, and gives the torch back to the sacrificial servant. The latter then ignites the pile of wood under the corpse (54).

54. The cylindrical furnace of cremation is built of bricks, and has openings at the bottom through which the fire is lit. On top, the oven is entirely open. These furnaces are situated outside the village, mostly in groups, since each of the clans (p'as-punships) has its own furnace. In the rite (purification of the fire), Iranian influences seem to make themselves felt.

Once the corpse is burnt, the lamas put the remains of the

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bones that have not been consumed by the flames, which are called "flowers" (me-tog), inside a sack that they give to one of the p'as-pun to carry. Thereupon, amidst the blowing of the great trumpets, they return to the house of the "gift offerer."

The inhabitants of the house receive the lamas with a donation of money (p'ogs), with beer and jugs, two large dumplings which are called tsogs ak'or, two (roasted) sheep's heads, of which one is designated for the lamas, and the other for the p'as-pun. The lamas of the strict sect of the Geldanpa (who observe the interdicts regarding the eating of flesh), give their share to the beggars. Even ordinary people, laymen, often give their share to the beggars, "for the sake of blessing." As soon as the lamas have entered the house, rice and tea are placed before them. Thereupon the clothes of the deceased that are still there--insofar as they are to be given to the lamas--the dead man's household implements, his table, his blankets, his ornaments, and the like are placed in a heap inside the household temple for the lamas. The abbot says a formula of blessing over these things for the benefit of the deceased (so that these gifts will be accounted as a meritorious service by him). Then the lamas immediately and on the spot sell the dead man's bequest to the buyers (who have rushed to the spot) and distribute the profits in equal parts among themselves, return to their cells, and with this the funeral rites (as a rule) come to an end. If the /231/ corpse is not yet fully burned, the p'as-pun remain seated in front of the cremating furnace until this has happened. There they also consume the food that has been given them by the "gift offerer," and drink the tea and the beer that have been donated by him.

The lamas of the Drugpa sect (abrug-pa) (55), who honor the

55. A subordinate sect of the reformed Kargyupa sect.

Dhyanibuddha Dorje Chang (rdo-rje acaṅ) and Mit'rugpa (mi-ak'rug-pa) (56) as their tutelary deities, perform the following prayers for a

56. The names of two (fictitious) Buddhas.

departed person: 1. Of the pious change (ĉos-spyod); 2. Of the good change (bźaṅ-spyod); 3. All secrets (gsaṅ-kun); 4. Paradise (bde-ba-can); 5. True joy (mṅon-par dga-ba); 6. The beginning of the change (spyod-ajug); 7. The long litany (smon-lam riṅ-mo); 8. The

764 simultaneously-born (lhan-skyes) (57); 9. The door of the works

57. It is supposed that together with the human being there is always born simulataneously a demon which dwells within him and which causes him harm.

(las-sgo) (58); 10. Mi-k'rug-pa (see note 56); 11. The way of sal-

58. The door opened by the good works (las) leads to paradise.

vation (t'ar-lam); 12. Of peace and passion (źi-k'ro); 13. The tearing-out out of the puddle of hell (na-rag don sprug).

Now, if the "gift offerer" is poor, not all of these prayers are recited, but only the following three: the "Mi-k'rug-pa," "Of peace and passion," and "The door of the works." On this occasion, as with the Geldanpa sect, the four parts of the Wang (dbaṅ) ceremony is performed, and at the burning of the paper mask the above-named prayers are also recited. The rite of the burning of the mask, as well as the recital of the prayers "Of the Dirt of Sins," are performed according to the book, "door of the works." When the corpse is being carried out of the house, the Drugpa lamas walk from the household temple to the cremating furnace amid constant reciting of the exorcising texts (59) from the Mikrugpa (book). The Drugpa lamas also observe

59. Prayers, magical texts, and exorcising formulas alternate with each other in these books of Tantra literature.

the rite of the t'ab-t'ig (furnace picture) of the magical square, and accordingly also carry out the cremation of the corpses.

The Bone Ceremony

765 Four days after the corpse has been carried out of the house, the second of the four parts (of the funeral ceremony) is held. On this occasion the lamas perform the so-called bone ceremony. If, for instance, the corpse has been carried out on the second day of the month /232/, the lamas put white paint (clay or marl) which has been dissolved in water, inside a vessel, and on the sixth day at the crack of dawn some p'as-pun go out to the place of cremation with an offering lamp and with a horse which they have bridled elaborately.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Musalmán.	Others.
Kúlu — —	99,[illegible]	—	[illegible]	21
Láhaul — —	6,[illegible]	—	35	30
Spiti — —	1	2,[illegible]	—	1

"In Kúlu, including *mahál* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorij, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. The *lámáis* system.

992 177

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

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The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

792 794 Monasteries or *gépha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

[697]

[764]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

597 582 It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the 149
634 Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level.

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then
779 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow
144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan
177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations
793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localized in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See Source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Anuly.]

Il: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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FIG. 1. HACKING OFF THE LEG.

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FIG. 2. OPENING THE ABDOMEN, DECAPITATED HEAD ON RIGHT.

MUTILATION CEREMONY IN SPITI, WEST TIBET.

Photographs by Dr. Bhagwan Singh.

[Facing p 141]

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Spiti

0 >0 A local doctor (*Amchi*) was called in to attend the sick man, who was given certain purgatives which were vomited as soon as they were administered. The duration of the deceased's illness was only one day.

Having heard that the body was to be disposed of by mutilation, my curiosity was aroused, and I determined to witness the ceremony first-hand. To achieve this end I was obliged to simulate great interest in the local religion, and professed myself an ardent Buddhist. To my surprise I received consent to follow the funeral cortège, and to be present at the actual ceremony of mutilation.

764 The place where the mutilation ceremony was performed was on a small hillock by the side of the Spiti river, about a mile and a half from the village. Eight men carried the dead man on an improvised bier made of four rough pieces of wood crossed in such a way as to form a square shaped seat. Immediately after death the deceased's neck was broken by one of his relations. The lower part of his right leg having been flexed at the knee joint and placed over the middle third of the left thigh, so that the calf muscle was clearly in evidence, a yak hair rope was passed in a figure of eight round the leg, thigh, and neck, bringing the head down very close to the knee. The corpse thus trussed was placed on the bier, with two relatives leading the funeral procession. Behind the eight bearers of the corpse came some villagers amongst whom were two men, one carrying a log of wood, and the other an axe and hunting knife.

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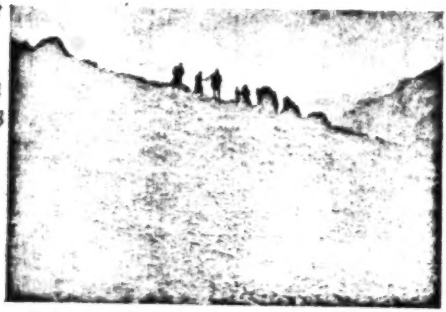

FIG. 3. CARRYING THE DEAD MAN FOR MUTILATION.

About two furlongs from the village the procession reached a prayer wall. At this point the two men leading the procession returned to their own village bearing flags and a banner with a goddess painted upon it.

On arrival at the site of the mutilation ceremony, the body was taken out of the bier, and the clothes and funeral ornaments stripped from the dead man so as to expose him naked. Two lamas (priests) then took up a position about thirty feet from the corpse, and faced eastwards, whilst another lama squatted on the ground to the south of the site of mutilation. These men held ritualistic instruments in their hands, and muttered prayers.

764 In the meantime, the executioner on
767 whom the main business of mutilation devolved, placing himself in front of the corpse drew it over to a flat stone just visible above the ground. Then, after cutting the rope which secured the deceased lest he should rise and do some harm, he laid the dead body on the stone with its knees in a flexed position. This done, he placed the log of wood under the cervical region, cutting with his hunting knife the skin, fasciæ, muscles, and other soft structures of the neck. Then taking the axe from his girdle, he severed the head from the body, and placed it close by. He now proceeded to open up the abdomen. First, he caught the abdominal wall in the epigastric region with his left hand, and with his right he introduced his knife at the tip of the xiphoid and cut the abdominal wall horizontally, and the flap thus made was turned downwards over the pubic region.

[763] On opening the abdomen fæculent fluid gushed out. The small and large intestines were semi-distended and bulging. It being of great importance to ascertain the disease which caused the deceased's death, the mutilator used a small piece of stick to elevate and examine the intestines. His verdict was that the man had died from a fatal bilious attack, though so far as I could see the liver was quite normal.

030 Standing close to the body I could see that the intestines were distended, and part of the small intestine was chocolate colour (gangrenous). Besides this it had the appearance of having been ruptured and perforated, which fact rather confirms my belief that the extremely violent aperients administered to the man during his brief illness produced these disastrous results.

764 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-
767 femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fasciæ, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee
[778] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fasciæ were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, *i.e.*, intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et ceteras. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated
787 parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead
782 cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.
767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged. BHAGWAN SINGH.

[143]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 hewn rock and adorned at the top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

• 764 I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed
346 on the ground and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not cus-
[775] tomary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten.* But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood—red and white.

788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten,* they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens.* They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens,* and as they walk they chant in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..ibetans AJ4

The Doctor Memsahib once had 757

the privilege of coming upon a family unawares just at dawn in the middle of winter. She had been called out to a case in a village, nine miles from Leh, the last two miles of which had to be done in the dark, that is by snow and starlight, and she and her Ladaki nurse were glad to walk over the frozen snow a little to keep their feet from freezing. Already icicles stretched from upper to lower eye-lashes, and whiskers, formed by the frozen moisture of their breath, adorned their mouths. The patient's friends had sent for the Doctor three days too late; already two small lives were extinct, and the last dim hope of the mother lay in a surgical interference. An operation was performed, after sterilizing instruments in a cooking pot by the light of a fire of sticks on the mud floor, the nurse giving chloroform for the first time. But it was too late and, at about two a.m., the patient died. We sat on till the first dim light appeared, for out-of-doors we feared wolves in the dark, and a strange experience it was. On one side of the 593
room the corpse covered with sacking and filthy sheepskin, 764
near the fire on the floor quietly sobbing, was the unkempt, shaggy, ragged husband, who, for all his uncouth appearance, had exhibited the most extraordinary tenderness and patience with his suffering wife; near the stove his mother-in-law, a wrinkled old hag, who wailed intermittently. On the further side of the stove hens nestled. In the next cold fireless room two children were sleeping, and we were told that downstairs a blind old grandfather had been put in the straw cellar (again the "wrong way round" compared with our hayloft in the West) to keep warm in the horses' fodder. The Ladaki nurse spread her coat, lined with sheepskin in the corner by the stove for her Doctor, and fetched a thick horse-cover for herself. The fire of manure in the stove had gone out, and the two mourners occasionally added sticks to the one on the
floor, but the room was bone cold. The family were so poor 511
that they had not offered us even a warm drink during the long, 574
bitter night, though, when they thought we were drowsing,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

pieces of silver and gold, and then a local *Skushog* or great lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually. On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar, arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792]
third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582]
pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764]
father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614]
heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593]
than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers. 473 The house and the land and all the children belong to the 478 eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre-601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences, 764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms. 764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus 614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance [791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The date of the funeral has arrived, and the brother of the departed must carry his corpse from the temple into the street. If there is no brother, his wife, assisted by a *paspun*, does this duty. Here the body is placed into a kind of box, which any man may now carry on his back to the burning-ghats out in the desert. The procession is formed by relatives, friends and lamas. The body is placed into an oven made of mud-bricks, consisting merely of four walls with an opening at the bottom into which the firewood is placed. The corpse is consumed to the reading of holy books, clashing of cymbals, and blowing of the flageolet, while butter, rice, water and barley are thrown into the consuming fire to provide sustenance for the soul of the departed. The cortège then returns home, where the dead man's effects are given to the priests to reward them for their services. In the case of a woman, however, her ornaments go to her eldest daughter, if she has one; if not, the lamas may auction them and retain the money. Next morning a relative goes to inspect the ashes. If the footprints of a dog can be discerned in these, the deceased's soul will speedily be re-incarnated. Some of these ashes are then made into a small idol of Buddha or a tiny *Chorten* by mixing with clay, and these are placed inside some large *Chorten*. Should the dead man belong to some opulent family, his relatives, having ascertained what would be a propitious holy banner, will have one prepared and hung up in the family temple.

In Tibet proper the general method of disposing of the dead is to expose the body, which has first been dismembered, to the vultures, or throw it to the fishes, or bury it. Cremation is reserved for priests or those of high rank. Here, in Lesser Tibet, however, most corpses are burnt. But even in their burial rites, these folk are the "wrong way round," for when cremation is most expedient, they bury. Has a man or woman died of infectious disease, his body is committed to the ground, to be disinterred and cremated about a year later.

782 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters
826 of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called srun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During
[764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the
[266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have collected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this prac-
[113] tice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of
[533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 On the 1st day of the 11th month, each household makes
782 a dough effigy of an ibex (*Skyin*), a cake of unleavened bread with its edges turned up and inwards (*Pe-Rak*), parched barley flour placed in a wooden flour bowl (*Pe-Pud*) is prepared. A vessel of beer (*Nang-mChod*) and one of water (*Chu-Pud*) are also placed alongside of all these offerings, the whole being laid on a shelf in the apartment for three days.

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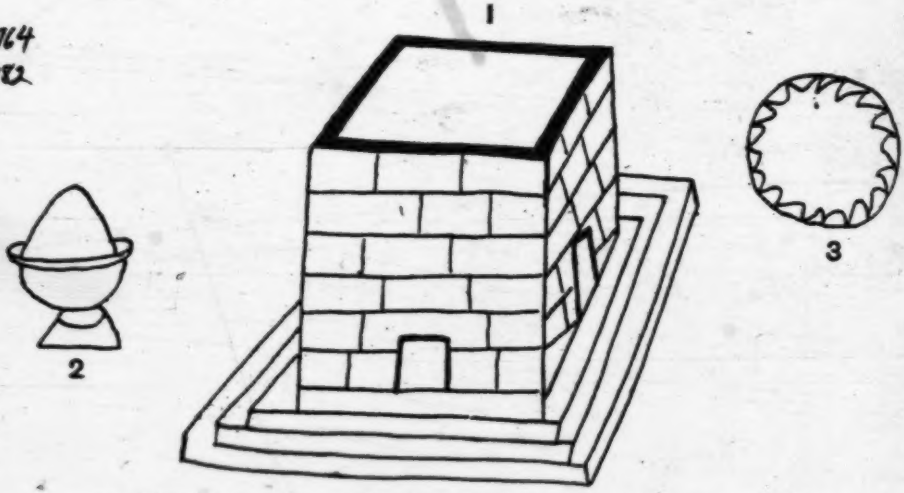

1. *Dur-Kung*. An earthen cremating oven set up on a plinth of earth. There is an aperture on each of the four sides to allow of ventilation, and ensuring a draught so as to expedite the burning of the corpse which is placed in it in a doubled up posture. The whole is made of dried mud bricks. 2. *Pe-Pud*. An offering of flour. 3. *Pe-Rak*. A cake of unleavened bread with edges turned inwards.

796 Friends, relations, and neighbours now call on each other
574 carrying with them small vessels of beer and 5, 7, or 9
685 breads (the taking of six breads being contra-indicated). The children of the village in the meantime make a house to house collection of meat, bread, and other eatables. Whilst the housewife is engaged in producing the food thus claimed, a diversion is afforded when the children surreptitiously steal the *Skyin*, *Pe-Rak*, *Pe-Pud*, *Nang-mChod*, and the *Chu-Pud*, though receiving their ration of food from the incautious housewife.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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796 On the 10th day of the 7th month the festival of *Shrub*
252 *Hla* (god of the ears of corn) is held. This ceremony institutes the reaping of the harvest. No one may put his hand to a sickle until this function is celebrated. Barley and wheat are boiled until the grain is soft, when it is spread out to dry. It is then roasted, milled into flour, and finally kneaded into dough balls. The first ears of corn and the first fruits of the pea and buckwheat crop are next mixed into the dough balls, each family taking this to its family cremating[6] oven. Sheaves of grain are then fixed to the beams of the household temple, and also on cairns (*Hla-Ti*) in the neighbourhood.

796 On the completion of a feast in celebration of the in-
783 gathering of the crops, three men proceed to the nearest brook, taking a live sheep with them. There they have to bathe their bodies, and also dip the sheep in the water by way of purifying themselves and the animal. It is believed that once the sheep has been thus cleansed, it does not attempt to wander or escape. Leading the sheep, the trio makes for the local cairn (*Hla-To*) to which sheaves of corn, coloured rags, willow branches, and the tail of a yak are attached. Lots are now drawn amongst the three men to ascertain who must carry out the ceremony of sacrificing the sheep to the god.

796 The man thus chosen then proceeds to make a large incision in the breast of the sheep and tearing out its heart

[6] *Cremating Oven*

764 This oven is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Its dimensions are: 3 feet square and 4 feet high. On each of the sides is a small aperture about a foot from the bottom of the oven as vent holes. The corpse's back is broken immediately after death and the knees are drawn up to the head and tied securely. It is then carried on a man's back to the oven in which it is placed resting on stones placed at the base of it to serve as a grid. The more opulent prepare a box in which they place the corpse.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

Disposal of the Dead in Tibet. *By Rev. Walter Asboe, Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*

T 764 792 [767]

81 Tibetans dispose of their dead in three ways. In order of precedence they are: 1. Chopping the body in pieces and scattering them in all directions; 2. Cremation on a funeral pyre; 3. Burying or throwing the corpse into the water.

A lama (Buddhist priest) explained to me that the first method was specially pleasing to the gods, as they relished the flavour of human flesh.

In Central Tibet there are certain people specially deputed to hack the body in pieces. Being ceremonially unclean they are never allowed within the precincts of a temple.

Burning the corpse on a funeral pyre is also considered a favourable mode of disposing of the dead, as the gods enjoy the odour arising from the body thus cremated.

T 766 [793]

The most abhorrent method of disposing of the dead, however, is held to be that of burying or casting into a river. This occurs when the deceased is of a low caste, destitute, or one who has died from a malignant or specially infectious disease.

It falls, however, to the lot of the officiating lama to decide what method should be adopted for the disposal of the deceased.

T [775]

A not uncommon practice in disposing of very young children who die, as the Tibetans say, "before they have got their first teeth," is to secrete their bodies in the walls of their houses, or in a cleft of a rock. This is done in the hope that the soul of the deceased child will re-enter its mother's womb, and that its ghost will protect the inmates of the house from further molestation by evil spirits.

WT 764 ●

In Western Tibet the usual method of disposing of the deceased is by cremation.

T 763 775 793

Immediately a man dies, messengers are dispatched to call the officiating priest. No time is lost in summoning this ecclesiastic, hence the current proverb, "In securing the services of a lama, a galloping horse could not overtake him." The relatives of the deceased are also hurriedly called to the house of mourning.

Waddell in his "Buddhism of Tibet,"[1] has described in detail the ceremony of extracting the soul of the dead, and his account of it is typical of the practice throughout Tibet.

No one may on any account disturb the corpse until the soul-extracting lama has entered the death chamber, and in profound meditation ascertained the future destiny of the soul.

The reason for this precaution is that any movement of the deceased may cause the soul to be ejected prematurely, and thus be exposed to the caprice of wandering demons.

It is thought that if the soul escapes through an invisible aperture in the head, from the eyes, nose, ears, or mouth, it is a favourable omen, whilst it is unfavourable if it should find vent through any other orifice of the body.

The lama having seated himself in front of the corpse, proceeds to draw up a death horoscope of the deceased; and, warning the spirit of the dangers which beset it on its course to the Western paradise, he plucks out a hair from the crown of the head, and it is supposed that a minute perforation is made, thereby liberating the spirit. This ceremony usually lasts about half an hour to an hour.

The lama next gives instructions as to the propitious moment for the transference of the corpse to the site of cremation. The body is burnt from one to three days after death.

[1] [See Source #10 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analyst]

13: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1932 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
W. Tibetans AJ4

T 764 WT 764 T 764 793

In the meanwhile a few men from the village mount guard on the corpse lest it should be disturbed in any way. They make doubly sure of this by tying it in a sitting posture with a white scarf already blessed by the clergy.

In Ladakh it is customary to break the back of the corpse, this office being performed by the nearest relatives.

During the lying-in-state period, food and beer are placed before the deceased, and much feasting goes on in which both laity and clergy participate. As this orgy of feasting proceeds, the clergy are busily employed saying masses for the departed. Waddell very properly says that this ceremony is suggestive of an Irish Wake.

At the appointed time the body is carried on a litter or chair to the cremating ground to the accompaniment of much drumming.

One frequently sees the curious spectacle of a lama leading the corpse by a white scarf to guide it to the Western paradise. A deceased lama, however, does not require this assistance as he is supposed to be familiar with the path to be traversed after death.

T 764 WT 764

On arrival at the funeral pyre, the body, covered with a white cloth, is laid upon the logs (and in Ladakh inside a specially constructed earthen oven), the officiating lama feeding the flames with rancid butter or mustard oil applied on a long-handled temple ladle.

When the body is burnt, the ashes are collected and an effigy of the deceased is made and suitably adorned with clothes and ornaments. It is then mounted on a pony and conveyed to the confluence of two rivers where the ashes are thrown into the water. It is thought that the water will carry them to the sacred river of the Ganges.

In other parts of the country the ashes of the deceased are deposited in a *chortes* (a cenotaph of mud and stone in the shape of a stupa) erected over the site of cremation.

T 765

When a death occurs, the surviving relation is regarded as ceremonially unclean. If she be a surviving wife, the custom observed in Manchat is that she must wear her clothes back to front, unplait her hair, discard every safety-pin or button used to keep her clothes together, and substitute pieces of stick for all fastenings. She is not permitted to approach the family hearth, and when eating food she must use a stick instead of a spoon. Other relations of the deceased are also forbidden to eat food until the body has been burnt.

WT 765

In Bunan (a district in Laboul) the restrictions for mourners are not so severe. There the husband discards one of his ear-rings, and wears the rim of his cloth cap turned down over his ears, whilst a surviving wife takes off the gold petals from her silver head-cup.

T 765 769

Funeral ceremonies in Tibet entail a great deal of expense, as a large body of lamas have to be entertained. Not less expensive are the feasts which have to be given to the members of the community.

The first feast is given on the day of the funeral, followed a week after by another.

At the expiration of the forty-nine days after death when the soul is free to roam about, yet another free distribution of food and beer is made by the surviving relatives.

It is also customary to feed the community before the threshing period subsequent to a death, and again at the end of the New Year festival.

T [775]

At the anniversary of a death the ceremony of gay-ee (virtue) is performed, when the community is feasted on a very large scale. This last ceremony is considered of special importance, as this meritorious deed is supposed to secure for the soul of the departed a good rebirth in the six regions of rebirth.

WALTER ASBOE.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans A14

562 595 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 428 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 177 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

Then, when a mile or two from Maulbeck, we struck the first of the hundreds of monasteries, chortens and prayer walls. Chortens are white-washed pagoda erections, something like giant chess-men varying in height from about a yard to forty or even fifty feet. They are the graves of lamas, buried within and not under them, their ashes being mixed with clay, baked into large biscuits and stamped with the image of Buddha. Prayer walls are seven feet high—probably so that none can look down upon them—and about the same width, the tops are apexed and they extend sometimes for hundreds of yards. The stones with which they have been made have been elaborately carved and inscribed with the Tibetan prayer "Om mani padme hom", which in its translation, "God the flower of the lotus", conveys little to the traveller, or for that matter even to the average monk, although it is repeated by him countless times every day, and not only by him, but also by all men and women of the land as they go about their work and as they journey along the road. They are the first six syllables the child is taught to utter, they are the last words gasped by the dying, and during a lifetime followers of the Lama Church will have uttered them millions of times and sent them to heaven on prayer wheels billions of times; they are to be found written everywhere. Surely this phrase (or prayer), one which I saw one writer of well back in the past century liken to "Our father which art in Heaven", must be the one written and spoken more than any on this earth, for its origin goes right back and is lost in the dim past. These great walls are built by lamas or monks who spend their lives moving from one place to another doing only that work, thus gaining merit for themselves; each stone so placed is considered a good deed well done. All who pass these walls must go on the left-hand side for by so doing they also gain merit.

361 [764] 778 788

Perched high on a spire-like rock which rises above the village of Maulbeck which clusters around its feet, is a white Lamasery or Buddhist monastery, close to which is an enormous figure of Buddha carved in the rock face. Partly hiding this image when one is standing on the roadway, is a rather grand building which is well kept: it seemed odd to me that even the most ignorant of men could have built a house in such a

361 778

RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [184] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

765 587 [581] a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 775 [135] RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 656 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue obtained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngieymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

764 simultaneously-born (lhan-skyes) (57); 9. The door of the works

57. It is supposed that together with the human being there is always born simulataneously a demon which dwells within him and which causes him harm.

(las-sgo) (58); 10. Mi-k'rug-pa (see note 56); 11. The way of sal-

58. The door opened by the good works (las) leads to paradise.

vation (t'ar-lam); 12. Of peace and passion (źi-k'ro); 13. The tearing-out out of the puddle of hell (na-rag don sprug).

Now, if the "gift offerer" is poor, not all of these prayers are recited, but only the following three: the "Mi-k'rug-pa," "Of peace and passion," and "The door of the works." On this occasion, as with the Geldanpa sect, the four parts of the Wang (dbaṅ) ceremony is performed, and at the burning of the paper mask the above-named prayers are also recited. The rite of the burning of the mask, as well as the recital of the prayers "Of the Dirt of Sins," are performed according to the book, "door of the works." When the corpse is being carried out of the house, the Drugpa lamas walk from the household temple to the cremating furnace amid constant reciting of the exorcising texts (59) from the Mikrugpa (book). The Drugpa lamas also observe

59. Prayers, magical texts, and exorcising formulas alternate with each other in these books of Tantra literature.

the rite of the t'ab-t'ig (furnace picture) of the magical square, and accordingly also carry out the cremation of the corpses.

The Bone Ceremony

765 Four days after the corpse has been carried out of the house, the second of the four parts (of the funeral ceremony) is held. On this occasion the lamas perform the so-called bone ceremony. If, for instance, the corpse has been carried out on the second day of the month /232/, the lamas put white paint (clay or marl) which has been dissolved in water, inside a vessel, and on the sixth day at the crack of dawn some p'as-pun go out to the place of cremation with an offering lamp and with a horse which they have bridled elaborately.

They take the ashes of the (cremated) corpse out of the furnace, and put them inside a sack; then they paint the entire furnace white both inside and out. On top above the opening a roof is formed (out of stone and bricks). The holes (fire holes) down below are closed (with stones). On top of the roof of the furnace they stick a white flag. With the statement, "Now we carry off the 'flowers' (meaning, 'the remains of the bones and the ashes'), " the p'as-pun load the ashes of the corpse onto the horse. In this way two lamas take the ashes to the river (60) 765

60. In Ladakh it is usually the Indus River or one of its tributaries.

amidst the blowing of the large trumpets, and scatter it there.

On the very day on which the corpse is carried out (and burned), the bone ceremony is started on the (larger) remains of bones which have been brought into the house. This ceremony lasts one day. The crushed bones are mixed with the ashes of the burned paper mask, with loam, as well as with the shavings of jewels (turquoises, agates, and others) and metals, and with this mixture five, ten, even [illegible], even up to 100 and more pastes (impressions, Tibetan t'sa-t'sa), are created. (61). Some keep these impressions in their household temples, others

61. These pastes are pressed /or, printed/ with the help of very finely carved wooden moulds. On the front side they show pictures (reliefs) of Buddhas and other deities. Frequently they also bear the figure of a chorten.

build a special T'sat'sa shrine (t'sad-k'aṅ), shaped like a chorten, and put the pastes inside. Others again, place them inside an old chorten, and again others throw them away on the mountain or into the river. By the assertion of the practitioners of black magic, the lamas even consecrate (62) artfully created t'sat'sas with pictures of deities (in relief),

62. Through the consecration by the priests, the T'sat'sa images are supposed to be endowed with magical powers, and therefore they are believed to be effective as an amulet for defense against disease and danger. [751]

to be worn on a ribbon around the neck as amulets.

Now, after each (participating) lama has received a compensation

765 of one to two annas (in cash), these ceremonies (that is to say, the second part) are at an end. The lamas receive food to eat in proportion to the degree of elaborateness and the duration of the entire funeral rites.

It is true that sometimes a lama will read, at command, all parts of the book "T'os-agrol," for seven weeks or 49 days, counting from the day the death took place /233/. But nowadays (the lama) usually reads passages from the T'osgrol book only one day in each week during this period of time, consisting of seven times seven days.

Rites of Purification--Funeral Feast--
Feeding of the Manes

783 Once the corpse has been carried out of the house, only the Lhami (among the p'as-pun) are the ones who nowadays observe the laws of purification with respect to the dead. They may not eat anything in the house of mourning, nor may they drink anything there, and some even are afraid to inhale the smoke from the hearth and do not enter the house. Sometimes the relatives and friends bring so-called mourning food (sdug-bzan) into the house of mourning.

765 When the full moon sets in (after a death has occurred), some well-to-do people hold the festival of the full moon. On this occasion they again call in the lamas and again they have death ceremonies performed. At the festival of the full moon the rich give to each owner of a farmstead in the village two large flat bread cakes, and to each small-holder one of these. To the monastery they present a "Large Tea," that is, a tea for all the lamas. Every ordained monk receives two large flat bread cakes, and each novice receives one. Some, on the other hand, donate the bread cakes as described above, on 49th day (counting from the day of the death), and others do so after a year has elapsed.

Others, again, donate two measures of wheat or barley to each larger farm owner as "funeral treat" (adad), and one measure to each small-holder, at the time the corpse is being carried out of the house. In order to distribute this "funeral treat" (that is, grain), the village magistrate comes around with his foremen, consisting of from five to 10 farmers (bcu-lag, lha-lag) (and they take care of the distribution).

At New Year's, or on the 30th day of the 10th month, in the very early hours of the morning, yes, soon after midnight, the people all go, each to his (that is to say, the family's or tribe's) burial place,

and they all take the dishes called "schimi" (63) there: rice, bread, 765

63. Shimi (śi-mi) is simply what the dead person is called; but in this case it designates the food offering which is brought to the dead (manes).

cake, as well as meat, the 12th part of a killed animal, jugs full of beer, and many other things of the kind. The people place the dishes on a flat /234/ stone surface, and each one calls upon his deceased ancestors by name. (In conclusion) they then, after they have named the various names, call out: "You spirits of the earth and spirits of the rocks, kai, kai!" (64) They also call this "carrying breakfast to the

64. The restless spirits of the deceased are presumed to have turned into earth and rock spirits. "Kai, kai" means "listen, listen!"

plain." After the dishes, the tea, and the beer have been brought out to the dead in this manner, the people divide themselves into groups (according to the clans), and drink beer. The remains of the dishes are given to the beggars who gathered there.

Like their Buddhistic ancestors, the Muslims in Ladakh also had the custom of carrying out the shimi (food offering of the dead) onto the plain(the place of burial), within the year following the death; but a few years ago they gave up this practice. It is possible that in <u>some</u> villages the Muslims still offer up the shimi (65).

65. In parts of France, of Bretagne, and probably also of Russia, as well as in other Christian countries, the custom has still been preserved of bringing dishes of food, cake, sweets, and the like, out to the graves for the dead, on certain days. See, Waddell, <u>Lamaism</u>!

The Great Mass for the Dead

Some wealthy Buddhists in Ladakh also hold the so-called "Great Mass for the dead" (maṅ-ĉog). They consult the soothsayer regarding a suitable day for the occasion, and they request the abbot of a (nearby) monastery to hold the Great Mass for the dead. The lamas who celebrate the mass go together with the closest relatives of the dead

765 person into the meeting hall of the monastery. The dead person's relatives donate tea, soup, rice, and the like, to all the lamas; this is done five times. On this occasion the lamas wear the ornaments with the crown with the five leaves (on each leaf being the picutre of one of the five Heavenly Buddhas), as well as other magical emblems and implements. The "gift offerer" (who has ordered the ceremony to be performed) is likewise dressed with the same magical ornaments; then the "charm of the little incense bottle," "the charm of the crown," "the charm of the thunderbolt," "the charm of the bell," and the "charm of the name" are carried out. After this magical ceremony has been completed, each of the lamas receives a gift of eight annas or more. The lamas of the higher ranks receive more than those of the lower orders.

/235/ Other Ways of Burial

766 In Ladakh the Buddhists usually burn the corpses. The corpses of such (persons) as have died of contagious diseases (like small-pox, typhus, and others), are buried under ground. In Ladakh the corpses are not, as a rule, left for the birds of prey, the vultures, and ravens to consume, as they are in Central Tibet. When a person dies among the nomads of Rupchu and other upland plateaus, the people cover the dead man's face with a cloth at the spot where he died. The nomads (literally "tent people," re-bo-pa) leave the place and move to another. The corpse is then consumed by wolves, vultures, and by other animals (66).

66. Since the nomads have no fixed and settled dwelling places, they do not have any burial places either. For cremation of the corpses they do not have the wood on the treeless upland steppes. Among many Buddhists it is considered as a particulary meritorious service to leave the corpses to the wild animals for the latter to consume. By feeding these animals with their flesh, the deceased perform even in death a work of mercifulness towards them.

Restless Spirits--Endless Ceremonies

769 Sometimes the lamas or the onpos (perhaps also a "clairvoyant") find out that the soul of a departed person has not yet found a

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

13: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1932 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
W. Tibetans AJ4

T 764 In the meanwhile a few men from the village mount guard on the corpse lest it should be disturbed in any way. They make doubly sure of this by tying it in a sitting posture with a white scarf already blessed by the clergy.

WT 764 In Ladakh it is customary to break the back of the corpse, this office being performed by the nearest relatives.

T 764 During the lying-in-state period, food and beer are placed before the deceased, and much feasting goes on in which both laity and clergy participate. As this orgy of feasting proceeds, the clergy are busily employed saying masses for the departed. Waddell very properly says that this 793 ceremony is suggestive of an Irish Wake.

At the appointed time the body is carried on a litter or chair to the cremating ground to the accompaniment of much drumming.

One frequently sees the curious spectacle of a lama leading the corpse by a white scarf to guide it to the Western paradise. A deceased lama, however, does not require this assistance as he is supposed to be familiar with the path to be traversed after death.

T 764 On arrival at the funeral pyre, the body, covered with a white cloth, is laid upon the logs (and in Ladakh inside a specially constructed earthen oven), the officiating lama feeding the flames with

WT 764 rancid butter or mustard oil applied on a long-handled temple ladle.

When the body is burnt, the ashes are collected and an effigy of the deceased is made and suitably adorned with clothes and ornaments. It is then mounted on a pony and conveyed to the confluence of two rivers where the ashes are thrown into the water. It is thought that the water will carry them to the sacred river of the Ganges.

In other parts of the country the ashes of the deceased are deposited in a *chorten* (a cenotaph of mud and stone in the shape of a stupa) erected over the site of cremation.

T 765 When a death occurs, the surviving relation is regarded as ceremonially unclean. If she be a surviving wife, the custom observed in Manchat is that she must wear her clothes back to front, unplait her hair, discard every safety-pin or button used to keep her clothes together, and substitute pieces of stick for all fastenings. She is not permitted to approach the family hearth, and when eating food she must use a stick instead of a spoon. Other relations of the deceased are also forbidden

WT to eat food until the body has been burnt.

765 In Bunan (a district in Lahoul) the restrictions for mourners are not so severe. There the husband discards one of his ear-rings, and wears the rim of his cloth cap turned down over his ears, whilst a surviving wife takes off the gold petals from her silver head-cup.

T 765 Funeral ceremonies in Tibet entail a great deal of expense, as a large body of lamas have to be entertained. Not less expensive are the feasts which have to be given to the members of the

769 community.

The first feast is given on the day of the funeral, followed a week after by another.

At the expiration of the forty-nine days after death when the soul is free to roam about, yet another free distribution of food and beer is made by the surviving relatives.

It is also customary to feed the community before the threshing period subsequent to a death, and again at the end of the New Year festival.

T [775] At the anniversary of a death the ceremony of pay-ma (virtue) is performed, when the community is feasted on a very large scale. This last ceremony is considered of special importance, as this meritorious deed is supposed to secure for the soul of the departed a good rebirth in the six regions of rebirth.

WALTER ASBOE.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the body has been burned, they are presented with the clothes and cooking-vessels of the deceased. 764

When a great man dies, such as the Gyalpo or any of the Kahlons, his corpse is kept in the house for fifteen or twenty days, while the assembled lamas read prayers daily. The number of the lamas depends on the means or pride of the relatives. The body is then carried to the *Pur-khang*, or place of cremation, and after being burned in a metal vessel, the ashes (*Pur-thal*) are carefully collected and made into an image of the deceased. A *Chhorten*, or pyramid, is erected on the spot for the reception of an urn or funeral vessel (*Pur-Gom*), in which the following articles are deposited with the figure:— 766

1. Wheat, barley, rice, and peas.
2. Pearls, coral beads, turquoises.
3. Gold, silver, copper, iron (either in money or vessels).
4. Rolls of prayers and holy writings.
5. Pieces of the holy Shúkpá, or pencil-cedar, and of sandal-wood, both white and red.

The body of the great lama is interred in a coffin (*Pur-Gam*), dressed in the usual clothes, with the knees brought up to the chin, and corded together in as small a compass as possible, and in a sitting posture. Beside the body are placed the deceased's plate and cup, his rolls of prayers, his praying-cylinder, and all his religious instruments, together with the grains, minerals, and metals, usually deposited with royalty. To these are added images of Shakya Thûbba, Jámya, and Chanrazik, and a figure of the lama himself. The coffin is deposited in a *Chhorten*, before which, for some time, food and water are offered daily, and a light is kept burning every night.

164 villages in lower Ladakh too. Indian tradesmen who were traveling through had brought with them a malignant, typhus-like fever, to which many succumbed. Then the smallpox went through the land and claimed numerous victims. Like flies in late autumn people were dying. The villages, yes, even the individual houses of a village, barred themselves against each other. The well-to-do
751 farmers had the lamas make large and small dosmo (string crosses and stars), in order to exorcise the disease-bringing demons. Everywhere on paths and roads one could see lying these magical objects, which were supposed to bar the way for these fiends; the poor laid down thorny twigs and hoped for the same protection from these. A magical piece of paper was much in demand, on which two human figures were pictured in block printing, tied with chains on hand and foot: the spirits of disease who are tied by magic. The magical formulas were printed in a circle, which occupies the center of the picture. The lamas did good business with these magical slips of paper.

758 Some of the smallpox sufferers were tended by their family in the house. But other families, driven by fear of contagion, took their sick members into the desert directly outside their village. There these poor wretches looked for scanty protection among the large scattered stone blocks against the scorching rays of the sun and the sandstone. Daily the relatives would bring their sick people a bowl of food and a jug of butter tea; they would place both at some distance on the ground, they would call out a brief greeting to the sick, and then depart hastily. This sick person, who still had sufficient strength, would then drag himself laboriously to the spot in order to get the food. But it often happened that at the call no answer was made anymore. The following day the bowl would then stand still untouched; the sick person no longer needed any nourishment, he
766 had suffered the last. Then a few men of the tribe would come and would drag the corpse by a rope into the Indus and there leave it to the fish as a "burial." In the best case a paid lama would be present on the occasion, in order to read a very brief mass for the dead. Sometimes it happened that the corpse could not be found at first. Wolves had torn it apart and carried it off--"buried."

/186/ The Tibetans have no pangs of conscience about this kind of "burial." It is quite customary, even, and it is considered as particularly meritorious for the deceased because in this way he feeds the hungry animals even in death, something which is credited to his

karma as a service which furthers his final release from the bonds of being and from suffering. 766

Otherwise, too, there was much disease during this year. The Nardag (na-bdag), the "demon of disease," went around the country followed on its heels by Tselen, the messenger of the god of death, who carried off into the realm of the dead the human beings, man as well as woman, child as well as the aged, with his catching net. Many a one was struck by the Nardag with a violent and mysterious sickness which no doctor knew or could heal. 753

There was Rolma from the P'arlap'ang house (p'ar-la-p'aṅ), literally "the thrown-out one." She suddenly fell sick, complained about pains in her abdomen and in her back, her limbs became stiff and ached, the shivering ague and fever set in, and at times the sick woman lay there as if dead. The Tibetan doctors and magicians were at their wit's end. All their remedies failed, and even the cause of the illness was obscured to them. Finally they apparently came closer to the solution, as the lamas thought. Again, Khampas, men from greater Tibet, had had a hand in the matter. Recently a company of these Tibetans, Nask'orpas (gnas-ak'or-pa), literally translated, "Circlers of holy places," that is, pilgrims who walk around holy places amid prayers, had traveled through the country and had also come to Kalatse. These people had shown all kinds of tricks: one of them was able to make his body rigid at will, and then he would stick a large needle through his cheeks, knives through the muscles of his arms and thighs, without feeling any pain or so much as bleeding; lying on the ground he had a companion knock a large stone into pieces with a heavy hammer on his bare chest; he would swallow the blade of a sword, and perform other tricks of a similar nature. The people went from house to house, performed their tricks, and offered for sale to the inhabitants turquoises and tile tea, as well as all kinds of secret remedies. In one or two houses the Nask'orpas had also offered for sale a peculiar medicine, after they had found out 187/ through inquiry and questioning that this or that villager lived at enmity with his neighbors. The people said that the Naskorpas had an eye for opportunities where they were able to offer such secret remedies and to find customers for them. It was a remedy which was designed to make an enemy sick, even if not to kill him outright. It consisted of pills which contain poisonous plant substances, as well as the "five unclean things" (162) which are 754 [789]

162. These "Five unclean Things" (rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lṅa)

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons, 766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

761 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest. But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened" (163).

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: nad daṅ sdug-bsñal ġtam ñan gsum--sñon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.

/190/ The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'aṅ-ñu) as a reservation for his aging

765 person into the meeting hall of the monastery. The dead person's relatives donate tea, soup, rice, and the like, to all the lamas; this is done five times. On this occasion the lamas wear the ornaments with the crown with the five leaves (on each leaf being the picutre of one of the five Heavenly Buddhas), as well as other magical emblems and implements. The "gift offerer" (who has ordered the ceremony to be performed) is likewise dressed with the same magical ornaments; then the "charm of the little incense bottle," "the charm of the crown," "the charm of the thunderbolt," "the charm of the bell," and the "charm of the name" are carried out. After this magical ceremony has been completed, each of the lamas receives a gift of eight annas or more. The lamas of the higher ranks receive more than those of the lower orders.

/235/ Other Ways of Burial

766 In Ladakh the Buddhists usually burn the corpses. The corpses of such (persons) as have died of contagious diseases (like small-pox, typhus, and others), are buried under ground. In Ladakh the corpses are not, as a rule, left for the birds of prey, the vultures, and ravens to consume, as they are in Central Tibet. When a person dies among the nomads of Rupchu and other upland plateaus, the people cover the dead man's face with a cloth at the spot where he died. The nomads (literally "tent people," re-bo-pa) leave the place and move to another. The corpse is then consumed by wolves, vultures, and by other animals (66).

66. Since the nomads have no fixed and settled dwelling places, they do not have any burial places either. For cremation of the corpses they do not have the wood on the treeless upland steppes. Among many Buddhists it is considered as a particulary meritorious service to leave the corpses to the wild animals for the latter to consume. By feeding these animals with their flesh, the deceased perform even in death a work of mercifulness towards them.

Restless Spirits--Endless Ceremonies

769 Sometimes the lamas or the onpos (perhaps also a "clairvoyant") find out that the soul of a departed person has not yet found a

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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[565]

The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

[766]
[787]

If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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[792]

Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

Il: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the
634 Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner 149
Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level.

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then
777 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow
144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan
177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations
793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localized in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See source #13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analy.]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The date of the funeral has arrived, and the brother of the departed must carry his corpse from the temple into the street. If there is no brother, his wife, assisted by a *paspun*, does this duty. Here the body is placed into a kind of box, which any man may now carry on his back to the burning-ghats out in the desert. The procession is formed by relatives, friends and lamas. The body is placed into an oven made of mud-bricks, consisting merely of four walls with an opening at the bottom into which the firewood is placed. The corpse is consumed to the reading of holy books, clashing of cymbals, and blowing of the flageolet, while butter, rice, water and barley are thrown into the consuming fire to provide sustenance for the soul of the departed. The cortège then returns home, where the dead man's effects are given to the priests to reward them for their services. In the case of a woman, however, her ornaments go to her eldest daughter, if she has one ; if not, the lamas may auction them and retain the money. Next morning a relative goes to inspect the ashes. If the footprints of a dog can be discerned in these, the deceased's soul will speedily be re-incarnated. Some of these ashes are then made into a small idol of Buddha or a tiny *Chorten* by mixing with clay, and these are placed inside some large *Chorten*. Should the dead man belong to some opulent family, his relatives, having ascertained what would be a propitious holy banner, will have one prepared and hung up in the family temple.

In Tibet proper the general method of disposing of the dead is to expose the body, which has first been dismembered, to the vultures, or throw it to the fishes, or bury it. Cremation is reserved for priests or those of high rank. Here, in Lesser Tibet, however, most corpses are burnt. But even in their burial rites, these folk are the " wrong way round," for when cremation is most expedient, they bury. Has a man or woman died of infectious disease, his body is committed to the ground, to be disinterred and cremated about a year later.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

766 Two more exceptional methods of the disposal of the corpse remain. If a child dies, a brick is taken out of the living-room wall, its small body placed inside, and thus immured. A lama of high rank is said to be well salted first, and then placed inside a *Chorten*. This, however, has been vigorously denied.

763 To conclude this chapter perhaps we may recount the following amusing story of how the people of Kyelang tried unsuccessfully to cheat the King of Death. An old lady was near dissolution, and, wishing to save her from the dread potentate, her relatives made an effigy of her, taking scrupulous care that this should be her exact size, then dressed it up in her clothes. A proper mourning with much wailing was then instituted, after which the effigy was carried out to the desert for cremation with full ceremonies. A man was then told off to return to the village shouting, "This poor woman has now been dead nine days," for which service he was rewarded with a pair of grass shoes. But, alas! Death saw through the fraud, and took the dame as well.

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

A local doctor (*Amchi*) was called in to attend the sick man, who was given certain purgatives which were vomited as soon as they were administered. The duration of the deceased's illness was only one day.

Having heard that the body was to be disposed of by mutilation, my curiosity was aroused, and I determined to witness the ceremony first-hand. To achieve this end I was obliged to simulate great interest in the local religion, and professed myself an ardent Buddhist. To my surprise I received consent to follow the funeral cortège, and to be present at the actual ceremony of mutilation.

The place where the mutilation ceremony was performed was on a small hillock by the side of the Spiti river, about a mile and a half from the village. Eight men carried the dead man on an improvised bier made of four rough pieces of wood crossed in such a way as to form a square shaped seat. Immediately after death the deceased's neck was broken by one of his relations. The lower part of his right leg having been flexed at the knee joint and placed over the middle third of the left thigh, so that the calf muscle was clearly in evidence, a yak hair rope was passed in a figure of eight round the leg, thigh, and neck, bringing the head down very close to the knee. The corpse thus trussed was placed on the bier, with two relatives leading the funeral procession. Behind the eight bearers of the corpse came some villagers amongst whom were two men, one carrying a log of wood, and the other an axe and hunting knife.

FIG. 3. CARRYING THE DEAD MAN FOR MUTILATION.

About two furlongs from the village the procession reached a prayer wall. At this point the two men leading the procession returned to their own village bearing flags and a banner with a goddess painted upon it.

On arrival at the site of the mutilation ceremony, the body was taken out of the bier, and the clothes and funeral ornaments stripped from the dead man so as to expose him naked. Two lamas (priests) then took up a position about thirty feet from the corpse, and faced eastwards, whilst another lama squatted on the ground to the south of the site of mutilation. These men held ritualistic instruments in their hands, and muttered prayers.

In the meantime, the executioner on whom the main business of mutilation devolved, placing himself in front of the corpse drew it over to a flat stone just visible above the ground. Then, after cutting the rope which secured the deceased lest he should rise and do some harm, he laid the dead body on the stone with its knees in a flexed position. This done, he placed the log of wood under the cervical region, cutting with his hunting knife the skin, fascia, muscles, and other soft structures of the neck. Then taking the axe from his girdle, he severed the head from the body, and placed it close by. He now proceeded to open up the abdomen. First, he caught the abdominal wall in the epigastric region with his left hand, and with his right he introduced his knife at the tip of the xiphoid and cut the abdominal wall horizontally, and the flap thus made was turned downwards over the pubic region.

On opening the abdomen faeculent fluid gushed out. The small and large intestines were semi-distended and bulging. It being of great importance to ascertain the disease which caused the deceased's death, the mutilator used a small piece of stick to elevate and examine the intestines. His verdict was that the man had died from a fatal bilious attack, though so far as I could see the liver was quite normal.

Standing close to the body I could see that the intestines were distended, and part of the small intestine was chocolate colour (gangrenous). Besides this it had the appearance of having been ruptured and perforated, which fact rather confirms my belief that the extremely violent aperients administered to the man during his brief illness produced these disastrous results.

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

764 767 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fascia, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee [718] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fascia were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, i.e., intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et ceteras. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 787 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 782 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.

767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged.

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[143]

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 600

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occásion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] 585 768 584 [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 600

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

1 [i.e, barley beer-- Analyst]

[30]

779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon
776 or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at
595 liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one
●768 end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never
[458] divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an
779 arbitrator or "GHatpo," who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick," and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If
586 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they re-
428 main with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

RAVEN--chhoskiong or pherok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [illegible] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yookspo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

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The date of the funeral has arrived, and the brother of the departed must carry his corpse from the temple into the street. If there is no brother, his wife, assisted by a *paspun*, does this duty. Here the body is placed into a kind of box, which any man may now carry on his back to the burning-ghats out in the desert. The procession is formed by relatives, friends and lamas. The body is placed into an oven made of mud-bricks, consisting merely of four walls with an opening at the bottom into which the firewood is placed. The corpse is consumed to the reading of holy books, clashing of cymbals, and blowing of the flageolet, while butter, rice, water and barley are thrown into the consuming fire to provide sustenance for the soul of the departed. The cortège then returns home, where the dead man's effects are given to the priests to reward them for their services. In the case of a woman, however, her ornaments go to her eldest daughter, if she has one; if not, the lamas may auction them and retain the money. Next morning a relative goes to inspect the ashes. If the footprints of a dog can be discerned in these, the deceased's soul will speedily be re-incarnated. Some of these ashes are then made into a small idol of Buddha or a tiny *Chorten* by mixing with clay, and these are placed inside some large *Chorten*. Should the dead man belong to some opulent family, his relatives, having ascertained what would be a propitious holy banner, will have one prepared and hung up in the family temple.

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, [168] or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she

[See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355--Ah.]

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586 refuses to live any longer – she will sometimes tie a thread between one
[768] of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to show that she is free.

Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus
[831] sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent.

A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatability of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and divorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable
[595] position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great impor-
586 tance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Mos-
797 lem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife, simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to do so.

586 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

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837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none [735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing [792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

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called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing?*), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 268 [936]

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later.

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tang-tse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [425] [932]

765 person into the meeting hall of the monastery. The dead person's relatives donate tea, soup, rice, and the like, to all the lamas; this is done five times. On this occasion the lamas wear the ornaments with the crown with the five leaves (on each leaf being the picutre of one of the five Heavenly Buddhas), as well as other magical emblems and implements. The "gift offerer" (who has ordered the ceremony to be performed) is likewise dressed with the same magical ornaments; then the "charm of the little incense bottle," "the charm of the crown," "the charm of the thunderbolt," "the charm of the bell," and the "charm of the name" are carried out. After this magical ceremony has been completed, each of the lamas receives a gift of eight annas or more. The lamas of the higher ranks receive more than those of the lower orders.

/235/ Other Ways of Burial

766 In Ladakh the Buddhists usually burn the corpses. The corpses of such (persons) as have died of contagious diseases (like small-pox, typhus, and others), are buried under ground. In Ladakh the corpses are not, as a rule, left for the birds of prey, the vultures, and ravens to consume, as they are in Central Tibet. When a person dies among the nomads of Rupchu and other upland plateaus, the people cover the dead man's face with a cloth at the spot where he died. The nomads (literally "tent people," re-bo-pa) leave the place and move to another. The corpse is then consumed by wolves, vultures, and by other animals (66).

66. Since the nomads have no fixed and settled dwelling places, they do not have any burial places either. For cremation of the corpses they do not have the wood on the treeless upland steppes. Among many Buddhists it is considered as a particulary meritorious service to leave the corpses to the wild animals for the latter to consume. By feeding these animals with their flesh, the deceased perform even in death a work of mercifulness towards them.

Restless Spirits--Endless Ceremonies

769 Sometimes the lamas or the onpos (perhaps also a "clairvoyant") find out that the soul of a departed person has not yet found a

satisfactory existence; that it is still wandering around in Bardo without 769
peace; and that it disturbs the surviving relatives, something which manifests itself in bad dreams, in attacks of mental derangement, and in similar phenomena. This now requires new measures of defense and of bringing about salvation. The means already mentioned are repeated ad infinitum, and burnt offerings are presented. A small pyramid with three sides is constructed from little sticks, and around this the lama places the remains of meals, rags of cloth, twigs, the leaves of trees, and poison (!). Then he pours oil over everything and lights the whole affair. Then the lama holds a piece of paper bearing the name of the dead person in question, in the flames, so that it burns to ashes. By this operation the finished existence, with all germs of life that might still be able to revive, is supposed to be destroyed finally and conclusively, and the restless soul is finally to come to its rest.

FOR THE PRONUNCIATION

of the Tibetan words and sentences printed in italics, the following 104
observation is to be made; the letters are to be pronounced as follows:

k	equals	German	k
k'	equals	k-h	(aspirated)
g	equals	g	
ñ	equals	ng	
ĉ	equals	tsch	
c	equals	tsch-h	(aspirated)
j	equals	dsch	(as in Dschebel)
ny	equals	nj	(as in Njemen)
t	equals	t	
t'	equals	t-h	(aspirated)
d	equals	d	
n	equals	n	
p	equals	p	
p'	equals	p-h	(aspirated)

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

> At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
> Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
> In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
> In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet. 769 ● [775]

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.) [95] [113]

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

upon themselves to regale the pilgrims with grain, and beer. 796
This is, however, a purely voluntary act. 782

E

The act of ploughing and seeding (at the end of the 4th 796
and beginning of the 5th month) is preceded by an offering 782
of butter, flour, and beer, a small pat of butter being stuck on the crown of each man's head. The handle of the plough (*Shol*), the oxens' heads, and the handle of the wood spade (*Pak-Tsa*) with which the women harrow or beat the clods of earth after ploughing are similarly dealt with. Whilst the assembled people eat and drink the remainder of the offerings, the following prayer is offered:

[4] May the plough remain unbroken;
May a good harvest and blessings to our house ensue;
Sow the seed.
May the youths and maidens gather in a good harvest;
May the carrying in of the harvest by the maidens have no end;
May the reaping by 100 youths have no end;
May the yatra [5] festival and weddings ensue;
Cause 100 large bins of grain to be filled.

[4] *Original Ladakhi dialect*

A kanas ma ka nas
a chi li gi man dra li
Sa bon debs
Nyi ma da bi ta yang shog
Na chung rgya si skyas te mi tsar ches
Kyogtong rgya si rnga ches mi tsar ches
Ya tra dang bag ston btang ches yong chu ga mdzad
Rgya bang rgya gang chu ga mdzad.

[5] *Ya-tra*

Is a feast when the villagers are regaled with beer, dumplings, and [769] ●
pastry. It is held in autumn and winter in memory, and for the benefit of the souls of those that died during the last year.

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply, when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid
427 yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srächan or SHrächan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladákis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHón. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHóns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

•[171] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

251 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

776 also made a profound impression upon Namgyal at an early age. She is supposed to have come into being from the tears of Chanrezig, the tears which he shed from grief over suffering creatures. She is thought to be invested with the same power as the latter; she frees from all distress each person who approaches her, eradicates the sins of all births, defeats all enemies, even the demons, and finally leads those who put their trust in her into the painlessness of nirvana. She also bestows earthly goods, above /162/ all she bestows upon women the blessing of children that they have prayed for. Namgyal listened with deep emotion to the legends of this "most benign, most holy mother," which were told him, and at the command of his father he learned by heart a series of prayers addressed to her. Through his lively interest and eagerness to learn, Namgyal thus gradually became acquainted with many of the thousands of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, (all together about four million gods of all classes can be counted), from the narratives and pictures. In his thoughts he occupied himself with these, even if he did not succeed in discerning a clear line in the confusion of figures and ideas, which his thinking and his questions could pursue. The older he became, the more he recognized, partly through the instructions of the hermit, that the striving of the pious man must above all direct itself towards one point: the liberation from the entaglements of this world and with it from suffering. But it was just here that he missed the clear guidance. There was a mass of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saviours, and "redeemers." To each one were ascribed certain powers and qualities as a helper, "roads to salvation" were indicated, which, in part, ran in opposed directions. Namgyal searched in vain for the one straight path which led to true freedom. His awe of the great Unknown One, darkly surmised, and his feeling of dependence upon him, drove the boy and later the man to prayer as his educators and advisors taught him.

771 In order to understand Namgyal's pious striving, we must insert here a brief word concerning the praying of the Buddhist. Primitive Buddhism knew neither prayer nor ritual worship of deities, nor did it have a priesthood. In Buddhism, which is after all atheistic in essence, there was no room for the worship of a deity. The Buddha himself, it is true, did not deny the existence of gods, but to him they were beings which, like all others, are in need of redemption and which are not entitled to demand worship. Nor could the one who was "extinguished" in nirvana become the object of worship himself. According to Gautama Buddha's doctrine the seeker after salvation

did not require a redeemer, since the redemption was exclusively the 771 ●
work of the pious person himself who brought about his liberation by turning away from the world, /163/severing all ties to the world, killing off all desires, and finally also killing off the will to live. But as time went by it became more and more recognized among the pious Buddhists, that the most devout of humans beings is incapable of effecting his salvation unaided. The seeker after salvation came to feel more and more, as his efforts towards liberating himself met with failure, the need to implore divine assistance in prayer; because he realized that without a divine helper standing over him he would be unable to walk along the difficult "eightfold path" to painlessness.

From this need there sprang the saving powers. People looked for helping divinities, and they believed they could find them. At first they thought in silent worship of the great master (Buddha) and of his great disciples; they sought the holy places which had been trodden by the master's foot, following ancient Indian custom they circled around the places hallowed by him, in pious memory of him, in the direction of the course of the sun (so that the sacred object is to one's right), they erected memorials (dagobas, stupas, chorten) over relics of Buddha and other Great Ones. The relic service was the first form of a cult in Buddhism. From this there developed, in the course of the centuries, a regular worship of Buddha, an adoration of the person of Him who was extinguished in the nirvana. The people were scarcely aware of the nonsensical nature of this activity. What they did in effect was to drag the Extinguished One, the Substanceless One back into the sphere of the corporeal, and in imagination they furnished him with divine characteristics and powers. They erected temples for him, in which his disciples who were pronounced saints, were worshiped along with him; here the person tortured by sorrows and frightened, approached with childish trust the "Three Jewels" (Sanskrit, triratna; Tibetan, dkon-mĉog gsum): the Buddha, the sacred Law (dharma), and the Monkhood (samgha), the trinity which may have remained impossible to grasp by his thought, but in which the pious person nevertheless surmised the power that brought salvation, and to which he went for refuge in case of external or of inner distress.

Gradually there was added to these "Three Jewels" an immense 776
legion of purely fabricated Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons. In the course of time the entire pantheon of Hinduism was /164/ incorporated into Buddhism, and upon the latter's migration to Tibet in the seventh and the eight centuries there was added again the entire

but with less frequency. The notion of a life in the Joyful Paradise has infinitely more attraction for the healthy sense of the Tibetan, as well as of the Chinese, the Japanese and of the Mongolians, than the concept of a nebulous nirvana. 782

Frequently Namgyal prayed to the benign goddess Tara (sgrol-ma), the feminine Bodhisattva, the wife of the great Merciful One, Avalokitesvara (149). One of the prayers addressed to her went as

149. Mahayana Buddhism adopted a great many new ideas with much tolerance and adaptability during the first few centuries of our time in India. Among these belongs the concept of the pairs of deities. The Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, and the gods and demons were each given a female complement, a "Feminine Energy" (Sanskrit, Shakti, Tibetan, nus-ma). In this conjunction, special powers were supposed to be bestowed upon the gods. In art, in paintings and bronzes, these divine couples were represented in embrace. It is certain that strongly sexual motifs play their part here, even though the lamas try to deny this. The lamas explain that the union signified symbolically the animation of dead matter through the spirit, and similar things. These ideas constitute a part of the Tantra system which first entered Indian Buddhism during the seventh century A. D. The yogi (ascetic) of the older school of yoga, strove for union with the world soul (yoga) through fasting, asceticism, and meditation. Through becoming one with the world soul they wanted to achieve release from the bonds of earthly existence. Later, in the practice of the Tantra school, the forms became cruder. By means of Tantras (exorcisms) the magician invoked gods and demons with whom he pretended to enter into mystical union, thus appropriating their magical powers by means of which he was able to perform "miracles." [771]

follows:

"Hail to thee, Green Tara (150), thou releaser of all living

150. Tara had three phenomenal forms: There is a White Tara, a Green Tara, and a Golden Tara; the Green Tara is the most popular and the most widely worshiped one.

764 position in a corner of the living room, unless the corner just happens to be inhabited by the household god: the onpo decides upon that. The corpse has its share of each meal placed in front of it.

is also hung in front of it.

/219/ THE ACTIVITY OF THE ONPOS (SOOTHSAYERS AND MAGICIANS), THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BON RELIGION (17), AT THE INTERMENT

771 17. Coming from present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion penetrated into Tibet at approximately the same time as Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced from present-day Afghanistan (Udyana). It (the Bon religion) represents a peculiar mixture of the ancient popular religion of the peoples of Persian race residing there and of Mahaya Buddhism which at that time was also widespread in that region. Despite the similarity and close kinship of the two clashing religions in Tibet, there was kindled a very bitter war between the two religious forms in Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the rulers and their priests there attempted to make Buddhism into the dominant religion. But Buddhism has never been able to exterminate the Bon religion. Hence this existence side by side of lamaistic and of Bon practices.

[798]

791 There are three kinds of onpos: first, white ones, secondly, black ones, and such who practise black and white magic at one and the same time. The white magicians prepare the calendar and occupy themselves with the calculation of the retribution (abras-rtsis) of human deeds. The black magicians undertake their exercises according to the manner of the Bon religion. Since they know black as well as white magic, they also prepare the calendar. They perform religious exercises and rites in the manner of the Bon.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, 764
in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of 787
the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 789
'Khorlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this
way the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the cere-
monies resulting from them, to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo
performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion.
Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas)
are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises
of the onpos continue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer
fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the
birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures
(animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted
images (tanka) of the same.

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (sa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the [771
Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was
current there, and there came into existence that mixed
religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and
which has a strong leaning towards Mahayana Buddhism.
Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons
and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of
the priests.

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contra-
distinction to Those of the Onpos) 764

Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM REV. Heyde]

[788] Chapter III, B. — [786] Social and Religious Life. 184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chóng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 795 [778] [782] 776 [754]

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *Iháis*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *Iká* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

778 782 177

"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

771 177

796 244 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

797

* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great seal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding [493] streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 782 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

> *la ilaha illa–'llah:*
> *Mohammed rasulu–'llah.*
> *No god but Allah: Mohammed*
> *is the messenger of Allah.*

•771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh—2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist coun- 797 try, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is 175 also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith 648 of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the 361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers 162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense 771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of 233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have [771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism [797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion 162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus 792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. 563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician 563
who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *ltadmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these 564
people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who 174
seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, 563
too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, 771
having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on con- 175
jecture and turn to that founded on written records either 798
inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been dis[illegible]herited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger [illegible]her had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, [illegible]aged to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a [illegible] hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

757 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly
164 addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its
754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive
175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old canni-
● 771 balism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without
757 our help! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the
876 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XX

Demons, Dances & Dinners

IN this country in which practically all the religious ritual is of the old demon worship origin, one would expect to find belief in the possession of man by demons. The Ladaki at any rate does not doubt the reality of such possession, and one is inclined to think that in spite of much fraud, there is a substratum of fact in it. Discussing this matter with a colleague one day, he affirmed that he had once had a woman patient who "really was possessed by a devil," and, in reply to the query as to how he had treated her, he said that a good dose of castor oil had cured her! However, the reader shall judge for himself from the following experiences.

Some years ago we heard that in Marshro, a village situated a day's march from Leh, two brothers would become possessed by two very fierce demons, and my colleague and I decided to investigate the performance. Having arrived there, we were given a nice large room in the monastery, which proved somewhat too airy, as the time of year was mid-winter and one side of our apartment was completely open to the wintry air. However, by donning the rough native sheepskin coats, and ignoring their smell, we managed to make ourselves fairly comfortable, especially when we, with our servants, sat round a large pot of steaming Irish stew. As we enjoyed this warming and welcome dish, our table companions, waxing loquacious, told us of how these demons originally came from Central Tibet to reside in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 back into his priestly vestures, which, needless to say,
159 suited him far better. Before he finally retired to change
574 into them, he straightened himself and squared his shoulders, in order to show us that he also possessed a waistcoat ; but, alas ! between the bottom of that garment and the top of his trousers was a hiatus in which his holy brown body was disclosed. Short of stature, with a strong convergent squint, and scarred by small-pox, indisputable signs of his being the true re-incarnation of his predecessors, for he was sure that he himself had never had small-pox since this re-birth, the foreign clothes hardly showed him off to advantage. The next occasion on which he visited us he retained his *Skushog's* garb and had a photograph taken of himself and his suite, the incongruous element being that his most intimate servant was not a lama, but a Mussulman with short hair and a Tibetan cap with four fur-lined flaps.

After his first call, we took the opportunity of a day's holiday to ride over to Trigtse and visit him. We found him encamped in a *bagh* below and about a mile away from the monastery, in a gorgeous tent with nice camp furniture. We ourselves had brought a picnic lunch, at which he elected to join us. The Memsahib was much amused to find that for her first attempt at meat patties, she had put sugar into the pastry instead of salt, but the *Skushog* seemed to find this quite to his taste, and enjoyed them immensely. Afterwards we all repaired to the monastery, riding our ponies up the steep ascent, and he showed us over it, including all his own private apartments.

792 But things soon began to go wrong and all sorts of rumours
159 reached Leh. The *Skushog* declared in public that he did
771 not believe in his own office or his religion. When the common people knelt as he rode past, instead of placing his hand on their heads in benediction, he boxed their ears. He had no reverence for the holy property of the monastery, but sold many of its treasures to any good bidder ; he also had the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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idols out in a row to use as targets for a shooting practice. His colleague at Hemis sent him a letter, and this he returned with a donkey drawn across the bottom as his pertinent and only reply.

One day matters came to a crisis : his lamas gave him a severe beating and shut him up in solitary confinement. Yet by every token he was their *Skushog*, and one of them seems to have relented and released him. The two came to Leh, where the *Skushog* first went to the State Hospital to have his external wounds attended to by the Indian Sub-Assistant Surgeon, but his internal treatment he could only trust to the English doctor, so for that he came to the Mission Hospital, where he also received a lesson on Western professional etiquette. The monasterial difficulties resulted in a court case, following which certain of his lamas were sent to prison in Leh, which hardly bettered the relations between them and their spiritual head.

It was not now practicable for him to return to Trigtse, and the question arose as to what was to be done with him, for still he was their *Skushog* and entitled to the financial benefits of his office. The matter came up before the British Joint Commissioner, the Wazir or State Joint Commissioner, and eventually was taken to H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The result of it all was that in 1916 he went down to India, and for two or three years vanished into oblivion. Early in 1920 he again appeared in Ladak with one lama servant, giving stange accounts of his experiences in India. He said that he had served as a common sepoy in Baluchistan, alleged that in some capacity he had been as far as Basra, that he had acted as bearer to an English officer with alcoholic tendencies, and also that he had been connected with a Colonel Sahib in the neighbourhood of Madras, who had treated him as his own son, and of whom he always spoke with sincere and friendly gratitude. He still maintained his utter disbelief in the religion of his fathers. The people

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 called him "the Mad Skushog," but, said he, "I am not mad,
159 I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenance
771 and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one else could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirely
[797] repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed him to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and the Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted that the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity, and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moravian missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficult situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipated life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruction, telling him that study and probation were necessary first. He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, who found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, to whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds were perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our minds can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could not believe.

[626] At about this time, living as he was with his one lama servant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist homes alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. After taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill, and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionaries and begged them to take him into their compound, where he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he was given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look up the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting on his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still sus-
[557] pected that the desire to join the Christian religion was secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found that he had hoped to get a political post under the British Government, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Without it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetans would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them up

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..betans AJ4

in yak's skins and casting them out in the desert to be shrivelled to death. A Bishop was coming to visit the Mission, and the British Joint Commissioner would soon be coming up for the summer months, so he waited with us for both, though meanwhile he went away for two or three weeks to fetch some of his property from Zankskar. He took his lama servant with him, and, before starting, secured what he considered was an outfit of European clothes. When remonstrated with, he replied that he had thought over the matter carefully, and wished to show that he had made a clean cut with the old life. On his way down we heard that he stuck to his profession of Christianity, asked a blessing before his meals, read his New Testament aloud, and, when the usual offerings were brought to him by ardent Buddhists,—for still he was a *Skushog*,—only took them under protest, saying that he himself had no blessing to give. Arrived at Zankskar he obtained his pony and goods, but his lama deserted him, in fact he seemed to have had a rough time, and he came back alone. Strange it was to think of this high-born ecclesiastical dignitary travelling in the Orient with no servant, though doubtless credulous Buddhists were still eager to obtain merit by providing for his wants at each stage. A short waiting time remained, during which he often came to meals with us, rode and talked with us, proving an entertaining companion and a gentlemanly guest. He also continued his instruction and attended church services regularly, sitting on the floor with the other members, and entering into the responses and hymns with apparent sincerity and enjoyment.

Finally, through the British Joint Commissioner, he was given a post in the Secret Service at Gyangtse, just across the Tibetan border on the Darjeeling side, and left Leh with letters of reference and recommendation, vowing that in two years he would come back to complete his instruction in the Christian faith.

So this strange youth vanished from our midst. We

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 159 ●771 learned afterwards that with the Maharajah's sanction, he obtained Rs500 from the Trigtse *dGonpa* to help him to get home, though the lamas would commit themselves to no statement as to whether they still regarded him as their *Skushog* or not, but at the monastery itself they always refer to him as the "Mad Skushog" still, and can appoint no successor during his lifetime. The last news we were able to obtain was from a lama, returning from Lhasa and visiting relations near Leh, who said that he was still alive, and that he and his father had saved their skins owing to the latter's wise forethought at the time the deputation first fetched his son from Tibet Knowing the lad's extraordinary character, he had taken the precaution to draw up a document, stating that the Trigste lamas insisted on taking the boy away, both against his own will and the son's. This paper eventually saved their lives, but the father was subsequently dismissed from his high post in the government and relegated to a lower one, while the son seems to live in a place of internment somewhere in the Closed Land, though not in Lhasa itself, provided with a house and fields, but segregated with other renegades, where, as the Trigtse lamas put it, he has not now the power to do so much mischief.

79v Coming down the valley we meet our next Incarnation at Spitug, another lamasery picturesquely perched on a hill. When we first came to Leh, he was personified by an old man bearing the pontifical name of Bacola whose reputation did not savour of holiness. His other, and smaller, monastery at Sankar, just behind Leh, often received visits from him, so that he was not infrequently met on the six miles of road between. He died in 1917, but it was not for two or three [775] years that we heard that he had been re-incarnated in the second son of the *rGyalpo* (King) of Marshro, a petty Rajahship some fourteen miles away. Through his mother, who, like the old Bacola, came from Zankskar, his present physical body is a great-nephew to his former one. When this small

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CHAPTER XXVI

The Lure of Ladak

THE festival at Hemis is, as it were, a grand climax to all the strange things we see and find in this extraordinary country, which culminate in its religious practices. We have described lightly the outward ceremonies and appearances of the masque, emphasizing perhaps its humorous details, conscious and unconscious: yet, when we review it as a whole, we cannot but be appalled at its deeper significance, nor can we fail to realize that this country of cheery, attractive, lovable folk is a prey to the most rampant demonology. Where all the best religions of the world will at least point upwards, as it were, to "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" as worthy of contemplation, here the whole force of Lamaism directs the people's attention downwards to that which is impure, ugly, evil. Surely in spiritual matters they are "upside down" rather than we. The study of their horoscopy alone impresses one with the terrible burden of it all, the endless costly offices imposed on the common ignorant, superstitious people by Lamaism. It is rightly stated that "one family alone is prescribed a sufficient number of sacerdotal tasks to engage a couple of lamas fairly fully for several months of the year."

The rites enjoined to overcome the difficulties of the conflicting horoscopes of relations dwelling together, the ceremonies necessary to nullify evil influences in connection, not only with the crises of life to which we have referred, but with

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism. 771 127

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival. 539

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann 539 194 113

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the 773 539 171

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. And this same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

"dragon," frequently alternates with aBrugu-ma. This goddess 796
might have come by the name rDo-rje-chen-mo as the wife of Kesar, who, according to the Glin-glu song No. 9 of Khalatse, is shown to be a rDo-rje-pa, a wielder of the thunderbolt. In this song he flings a lightning bolt at the cloud dragon. The lightning proceeds, however, directly from the rdo-rje (or Indic vajra). It is, therefore, just at the harvest festival that honor is paid the goddess, /31/ who is usually called upon for the blessing of offspring. The third one of the songs of Shel contains a eulogy of the yak, which is of great importance during the harvesting, for one thing, as a beast of burden for the sheaves, and for another as the leader of all those animals that thresh the ears of grain by walking over the sheaves. The song of Skyur-bu-can contains in its main section a game of riddles concerning the treasures of the countries of the four points of the compass. In Skyur-bu-can I also got to see, as I have already mentioned, the peculiar dance of the flowers. The flowers needed for the flower offering are not taken from the gardens by the houses, but are gathered high up on the mountain slopes just below the snow boundary. These flowers, which exude an overpoweringly strong, sweet odor, are wound around long staffs, and, carrying these poles in their hands, the shepherd boys have to execute complicated round dances to the accompaniment of an oboe and kettledrums. As we know from the songs of Shel, the flowers are then supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess rDo-rje-mo. In Skyur-bu-can, though, I observed that these flower poles were laid down inside the Buddhist temple. The festival is, of course, connected with many dances of a general nature and with feasts at which beer prepared /taking bereites as a misprint for bereitetes--Translator./ from green barley grains, plays an important role. This leads us to the name of the festival. The syllable lha is the ordinary word for "god" (deva). The syllable srub, on the other hand, corresponds to the word srus, or srub, which means "ears of grain that are almost ripe." The Srub-lha festival is therefore the festival of the very earliest harvest. As can be seen from ancient rock drawings, people contented themselves at this festival with having larger animals, oxen, horses, and so forth, represented by throwing a blanket over several persons. [532]

The Goal of the Ancient Religion

From the preceding it becomes apparent that the ancient 771 773
Tibetans expected only earthly gifts from their gods. Kesar, the

●771 son of the king of heaven, was worshiped on earth as the bringer of
773 spring. From him and from his wife aBru-gu-ma people expected the blessing of a harvest and of offspring. With respect to the life after death they had entirely animistic conceptions.

113 In the saga of "Kesar's Beloved Mon" (Journal and Proceedings
773 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II. p. 467) we read that this
775 Mon had been killed by being pushed off a cliff. When Kesar approached the corpse, he heard a voice speaking from it. He opened the dead body with his knife and out of it came two Mon devils, one male and one female. These devils Kesar carried home, wrapped up in a piece of cloth. In the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po we read the following (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 321): the Agu mDa-dpon-gon-ma had been killed and had been entombed in a stupa. But people were very much worried that he might still be full of thoughts of revenge. For this reason an old hermit advised them to walk respectfully around the stupa of the dead Agu until a lizard came out of it and nodded its head. All this is fulfilled, and the dead man, moreover, is kind enough to give his son, who is praying to him, a piece of advice. This advice concerns an arrow which would be of particularly great use to him in battle.

In the saga dealing with Kesar's victory over the devil (or giant) Khya-ba (Khya-ba (Khyab-pa)-lag-rins (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 1164, p. 278) it is stated that the enraged Bam-za-abum-skyid went to the grave of this giant, her former husband, and that she roared into the grave. As an answer to her roar there was an earthquake. (The giant moved in his grave.) Thereupon Kesar rushed to the giant's grave and chanted magical formulas into the grave until it became impossible for its occupant to leave it.

From all this we can see that, though it was impossible for the ancient Tibetans to conceive of death /32/ as a complete annihilation of life, nevertheless, after what has been stated above, there can be no question of a conception of an idealized form of existence that will take place after death.

Such a delightful, disembodied life is led on the Olympus of the Tibetans, the mountain peaks of the Gans-ri (Kailasa). In the account that I wrote of my journey from upper Sutlej to the upper Indus, in 1909 (see Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 37) there is the following passage with respect to the Pu-rgyal mountain peak: "The baggage carriers of Chan pointed to those mountain peaks and said
773 that up there was the magical country (aBa-yul), the dwelling place
775 of the spirits. The inhabitants of this place are supposed to be very

15: Francke--94 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 west Tibetans AJ4

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

778 " 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [see p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2 [see p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 821 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings [1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 -- Analysis]

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

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They are now fat like balls of butter,
In winter they will shrivel with leanness.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The youths become stout-hearted,
The maidens' countenances become like mirrors.

Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

In the morning the *dzo-mo* goes to the hills,
In the evening she returns to be milked.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The threshing floor pole is propitious like silver,
The barley is heaped on the outer edge of the threshing floor.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

When the straw is trodden out fine we are pleased,
When it is wet, it goes hard with the cattle.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

From early morning you endure hardship,
Try hard, and continue to go round (the threshing floor).

Refrain : "*Tulu-ja, tulu-ja.*"

If you go to the top of the hills you reach a glacier,
If you go to the turf, you eat summer flowers.

Then having released the oxen from the threshing floor, and patting them on their backs with a besom, the peasant addresses them thus :—

H.

"May the grain increase ;
As the oxens' horns become like cornelians,
So may the grain increase.
As your ears become like copper, so may the grain increase.
As your noses become like pipes of copper, so may the grain increase.
As your eyes become like the vowel "O," so may the grain increase.
As your lungs become like glistening white glaciers, so may the grain increase.
As your livers become reddish brown, to may the grain increase.
As your intestines become like a zig-zag path, so may the grain increase.

This ends the social functions for the year. They are observed punctiliously, and the method of celebrating them varies not at all, for the people's slavish adherence to the proper

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16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

796 observance of rites and ceremonies has become to them a religion, refraction of which is regarded in the light of a heinous offence. Moral delinquencies pale in significance before what is thought ●771 to be the *summum bonum* of life—the right etiquette in regard to rites and ceremonies.

NOTES.

533 Note A.—Original version. (Bunan dialect).

Ngon-tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Ser tri zhangso la yang ma hlai lo
De ser tri zhangso
Dai-ru la so zhuk lo
Dai-ru dai sumi zhughso.
Dai-ru la tangi dai Hla zhughso
Ma hlai lo, dai hla yang zhughso
Hla Ö-pam towi lo dai dai nas zhughs
Kili dai nas Hla zhughi lo dai trashis dzoddo.
Ngonsai kalpa hla zangboi lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Ma hlai lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Dai-ru su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru bar-gi hla dai tsan-i zhughso
Ma hlai lo dai tsan yang zhughs
Tsan rgyabri la zombai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Kili dai nas hla zhugghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngontshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai yu tri zhangso
Dai-ru la sui zhangso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la ok-i dai hlu yang zhughso
Ma hlai hlai lo dai hlu yang zhughs
Hlu Bunor hla zombai lo dai dai nas zhughs
Kili hlai lo dai nas zhoghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai dung tri zhangso
Dai-ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la dag' shar lo dai dai nas zhughso
Ma hlai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Kili dai nas la zhughs lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai shel tri zhangso
Ma hlai lo dai shel tri zhangso
Dai ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso.
Dai ru la gid-gi la nyen drung zhughso
Kili dai nas la zhughi lo dai trashis zoddo.

Note B.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

You-i lai la gung-kar drawai shai gung ka toi bu dai
You-i dra dang jagpa medpai shai monlam gyang nas zig'.

18: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1936 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

782 **SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET.** *By the Rev.*

●771 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held
609 an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 Two stories of the last human sacrifices in
173 Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree
[114] in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

[241] "A man had to be killed every year for the "benefit of the fields of the community. The "peasants were to offer the victim in turns. "(They probably kept slaves, and these were "generally killed). One year it was a poor "widow's turn, and as she had no servants it "was understood that her only son was to be "sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly "about this, a wandering hermit came to her "house and offered to die in the place of her "son, if she would feed him well until the day "of execution. The widow gladly accepted the "offer, and on the appointed day the hermit "was led with much noise before the wooden "idol of the god of the fields. When the "executioner walked up with his axe to the "hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "'friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "'the god really wants to take my life.' Then "he stepped with the axe before the idol and "said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "'want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "'take yours.' As there was no reply, the "hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in "pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 "the river, and everybody went home."

173 The other story related to me concerning
114 the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficu[illegible]timate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul[illegible] A census can only be taken in the summer when the [illegible]ows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for n[illegible]bouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste m[illegible]nials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

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lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is confined to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
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771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
619 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the popu-
181 lation are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
533 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
535 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an opportunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the
526 main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean
342 and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
132 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ledged in Tibetan Buddhism. All these are celestial 779
beings, the spontaneous emanations from the Divinity, who have never been subject to the pains of transmigration. Inferior to them are the created or mortal beings, who are divided into six classes, named *Droba-Rikdruk*, the "six advancers or progressors," because their souls progress by transmigration from one state to a better state, until they finally attain absorption into the divine essence; after which they are no longer subject to transmigration. These six classes are—

1. *Lhá*, "Goda," equivalent to the Hindu *Sura* and *Deva*.
2. *Lhá-ma-yin*, or *Lhá-min*, "Demi-gods or Titans," equivalent to the Hindu *Asura* and *Daitya*.
3. *Mi*, "Man;" the Sanskrit *Manushya*.
4. *Dudro*, "Brutes;" in Sanscrit *Tiryyaka*, "crookedly," because they walk a little out of the right path.
5. *Yidok*, "Goblins;" in Sanscrit *preta*.
6. *Myalba*, "the damned;" in Sanscrit *Náraka*.*

It is one of the most essential dogmas of the doctrine 775
of transmigration that the disembodied soul is incapable of receiving either reward or punishment. Hence the belief in other grades of mortal beings, both superior and inferior to man. The good man, after death, is supposed to be raised to the dignity of a *Lhamayin*, or demi-god, while the bad man is degraded to the state of a *Dudro*, or brute. These different orders of beings were 177
not the invention of the Buddhists, for they existed long 779
before the rise of Buddhism, and were the offspring of man's yearning for a future and better state. Like as in India, where the Brahmans have declared all the ancient

* The hells are divided into eight cold and sixteen hot hells, which 772
are favourite subjects of representation with the Chinese and Tibetan painters. The punishments are *not everlasting*; finite sin is expiated by finite punishment; and when the expiation is completed, the person is born again. See also Fra Orazio, Nouv. Jour. As. tom. XIV. p. 410.

776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, The former the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

lower classes know nothing of their religion in regard to heaven 779
and hell, beyond the fact that, when the end comes, their 772
souls or spirits will be dealt with according to their deserts, when the pious will at once enter heaven ("thoris thop ches") and the wicked will have to atone for sins by remaining for a certain time in one of the 18 Buddhist hells. A better educated Ladáki would say that the soul ("sem") was like a drop of water, a mere isolated atom, during the period of its connection with this world (jiksten), but that when it was admitted into heaven, i.e., attained nirvana ("stongpa ngyid thop ches"), it was absorbed into a sea of infinity. According to Buddhist ideas therefore, there can be no idea of heaven as a place of reward. Their heaven is a place of absorption into the absolute infinite, of escape from the troubles inseparable from life in this world, a place where all individuality ceases to exist; where there is no such thing as sensation either pleasurable or the reverse, in short it is a place of spiritual annihilation. It is very strange that Buddhism should have made such way in the world, for men are certainly not mostly philosophers, and yet we find some hundreds of millions of the human race, professing this very philosophic, matter of fact, unattractive religion, a religion which practically teaches its followers that life is a curse, and that the goal towards which they should struggle is the attainment of "nirvana", or in other words absolute extinction, both bodily and spiritual. There is in it no idea of a benign intercession, or a free forgiveness of sins, or of a better world to come, all is a matter of account, certain actions are equivalent to a certain amount of evil, others are equivalent to a certain amount of good, the debit and credit sides of the accounts are unerringly kept, and in the end, if the soul has no outstandings to pay off, it is extinguished, otherwise it must go to hell [60] for a time before reaching the goal of its ambition--annihilation. Is the Buddhist faith answerable for the stoical character of its adherents, or was it originally accepted by these, because it accorded with their temperament? However that may 779
be, it is certain that in Ladák, at any rate, Buddhists are now quite 797
satisfied with their own religion, and are not in the least inclined to embrace either Christianity or the more popular faith of Islam. On the 779
other hand, they regard persons of other religions with a benevolent indifference. The religion to which a person belongs, is, 798
in the opinion of Ladakis, a good enough religion for such

779 798 [792] person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 772 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells, such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties [181] are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

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[772]

Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'an-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

782 creatures! Come down, we pray you, from thy celestial abode! Descend with thy retinue of gods, giants and freers! In all humility we fall down before thy lotus feet! Release us from all distress! Oh sacred Mother!" (At this point the suppliant makes an offering of flowers, incense, rice, or little lamps before the statue or image of Tara.) "We praise thee, Oh exalted and adored Tara, thou who art adored by all kings and princes of the ten points of heaven /literally: "of the compass."--translator /, now, in the present, in the past, and in the future! We implore thee to receive graciously this offering of flowers, incense, lamps, food, music of the cymbols, and other gifts! In all sincerity we implore thee that thou mayst enjoy the food that is here offered to thee in all thy celestial shapes /167/! The most sinful hearts, nay, even the committers of the Ten Sins (151)

[779] 151. The "Ten Sins" correspond to the Ten Commandments of Buddhism, the trespasses of which they constitute: One must not kill any living creatures, one must not steal, not commit any unchaste deeds, not lie, one must not partake of inebriating beverages, and so forth; the "Five Enormous Sins" (sdig-pa t'sad-med lna) are: 1. Patricide; 2. Matricide; 3. The slander of the "Exalted Lama" (the chief Superior Lama); 4. The destruction of the image of the "Blissfully perfect." That is the designation for the (fabricated) six predecessors of Gautama Buddha (bde-bźin bśegs-pa; Sanskrit, Tathagata), who are frequently represented in a group on pictures; 5. To kill one's virtuous abbot.

and of the Five Enormous Sins (t'sad-med lna), will obtain forgiveness and perfection of heart if they repentantly confess their sins to thee. When we (human beings) in the three regions (152) have amassed merit,

[772] 152. The three "Regions of the Heavens" are: 1. the region of desire; foolish desire leads to the formation of shapes and finally of living creatures; 2. the region of the shapes; 3. the formless world.

then we rejoice over this good fortune, all the more when we think of the lot of the animals who are miserably submerged in the sea of suffering. For their sake we are now turning the Wheel of the Law (153). We

153. To "turn the Wheel of the Law" is the Buddhistic expression

15: Francke
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/For details on the cosmology, see category 773. --Analyst/

173 773 river," (2) 2. the Karnali-Ganges, which flows to the south, rMa-

2. Literally, "the (river) springing forth out of the mouth of the lion"; the literal meanings correspond in the case of the following names.

bya-kha-bab, or "peacock river," 3. the Brahmaputra, which flows towards the east, rTa-mchog-kha-bab, the "horse river," and 4. the Tarim or Sita, which flows to the north. Other systems add two more rivers, and leave out two of the preceding ones. The other two rivers are the Oxus or Rakhu, and the Sutlej or Glan-chen-kha-bab, or the "ox river." But whichever of these rivers we accept, the territory that their streams enclose is always the area of the ancient West Tibetan kingdom which included the district of the sacred lakes.

773 /8/ Three groups of sagas are concerned with the creation and
772 the populating of this world. Of these three groups, two belong to the Kesar saga, and one to the treasury of the Dard. The creation of the land of Glin according to the prelude to the Kesar saga (1):

1. A Lower Ladakhi Version, Prelude, No. 5.[1]

A hero of prehistory, by the name of Don-gsum-mi-la-snon-mo had killed a monster with nine heads and from the parts of its body he built the castle of Glin and the countryside of Glin. From the heads, legs, arms, and ribs he built the castle; from the lungs he built the golden mountain; from the heart the silver mountain; from the stomach the Groma plain; from the intestines the rGui-ma gorge; from the "little stomach" he built the hunting grounds of sPo-tho-han-ma; from the monster's eyes the spring Thsan-ya (probably the area of the lakes); from the nose the place sKad-snyan-glin-bu; from the kidneys he built the cliff rGyab-rten.

According to the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, Nos. 69 and 74)[1] the populating of the country took place in two ways. According to one version the different animals, but also the sun, the moon, and the stars, were immediately born of Gog-bzan-lha-mo, the mother of Kesar. According to the other version, the hero of prehistory brings dPal-le, mother animals and mother treasures (among them the progenitors of the sun, the moon, and so on) from a ruined castle (2). A terrible hailstorm descends upon

2. In the case of these treasures in the ruined castle,

1 [See pp. 1-8, Cat. 116 for references. -- Analyst]

the idea of the wreckage of an earlier world that has perished is probably to be thought of. 773 772

Gog-bzan-lha-mo, as well as upon the mother animals and treasures, and all begin to give birth.

According to the Dard version, which can be pursued from mDa all the way to Shel east of Leh, the earth rose up out of the world ocean and was then sown with seeds. Here we are dealing with trees and with types of grain (3).

3. This so-called Dard version probably came early to the Dard together with Buddhism. This saga is to be found in the Kandschur, La Vol. 26 of the mDo class. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, Csoma de Koros.) [113]

The contrast between Tibetan and Dard could not be expressed more clearly than is done in the myths about the origin of the world. The Tibetan as a nomad and a hunter speaks only of the animal world. The Dard, as an industrious tiller of the soil, speaks only of the plant world. On the other hand, neither tells of the first appearance of man. The "Prelude to the Kesar Saga" begins immediately with a "primitive father" and a "primitive mother," and these are assumed to have as independent an existence as the gods, the earth mother, and the Nagas.

Since the primitive animals play such an important part in the mythology, occupying a place next to the sun and the moon, yes, even at the side of the gods, the most important of them will be enumerated here: Of Gog-bzan-lha-mo are born: sun and moon high up in the sky; Sen-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise mane /literally: locks/," the personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the queen of heaven; on the high mountain, Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds," on the high cliff (according to another version Skyin-chen-ba-rgan, "the big old ibex" is born there): rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "White mouth, originating from the kiang," a horse of the steppes; Nya-mo-gser-mig, "fish golden eye," in the middle of the sea; aBron-byun-rog-po, "the evil one stemming from the wild yak," a yak, on the meadow; a few other animals, among them three frogs, a golden one, a blue one, and a white one, have become the best known. 776 773

Among the mother animals that have been taken from the ruined castle, the most famous ones are: Thsa-ldan, a mare; Khyi-mo-dkar-

15: Francke--100 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/Illustrations and Photographs. /[1]

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292

535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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Nr. 2.

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Nr. 3. Captions for above pictures on p. 100

[76]

15: Francke--107 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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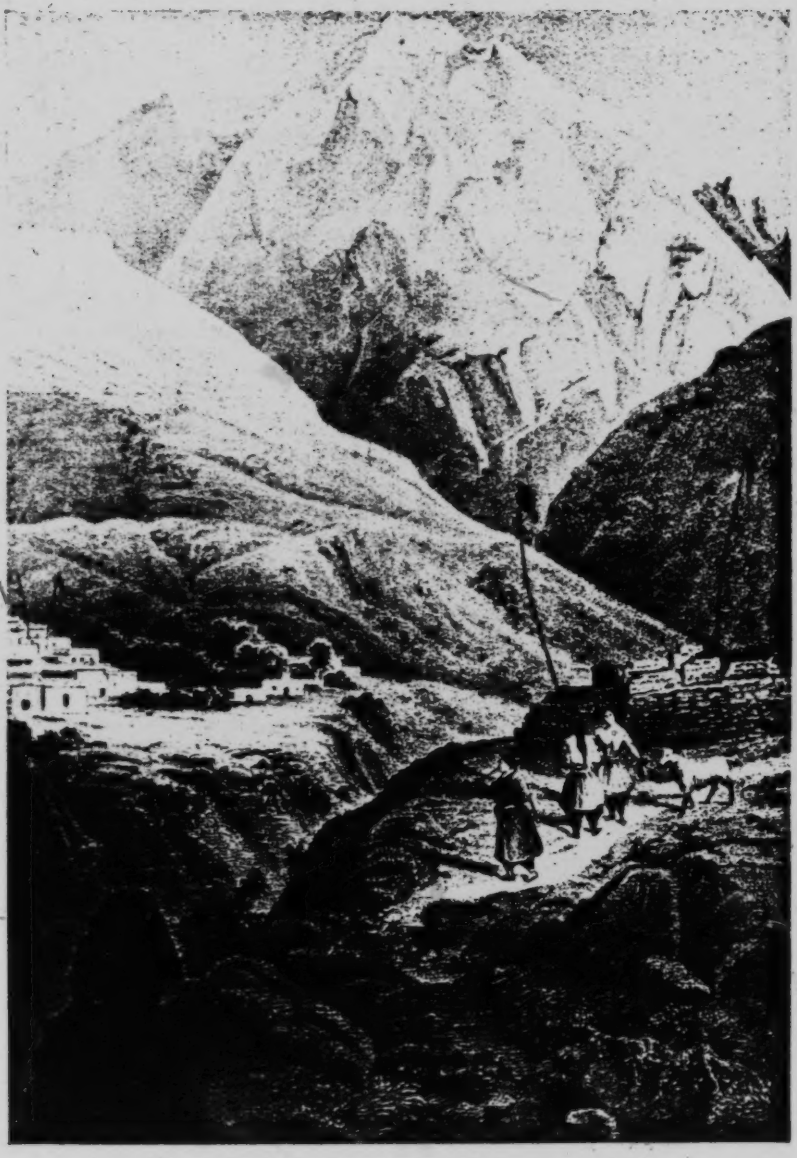

Nr. 6. Caption for above picture on p. 100.

[79]

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

unpleasant odour of those sitting around me—it was difficult at times to keep my eyes open.

The costumes are as old as the play and made of beautiful brocades embroidered in gold and silver; some of the dancers wear great black hats, others giant masks of animals or the faces of the evil spirits of legendary characters, the same as are depicted on the walls of the monasteries and known to all the people from their earliest childhood. The play demonstrates how Good triumphs over Evil, but only after a two-day struggle, during which the evil hideous spirits whirl and twist, wildly charging and leaping in their frightening effort most wickedly to destroy Good. Then at long last comes the triumph of Good—Buddhism of course—over Evil, and the bad ones' terrified flight under the wrath of the flashing swords of Good.

During the two days both dancers and orchestra reach a terrific speed and state of excitement, carrying with them those who are watching, the latter it is hoped by the lamas, being duly impressed by the power of the Lord Buddha and his always ultimate magnificent victory over all that is evil, however powerful the challenge may first appear, and however successful in its opening phase.

Back in Leh, at night we watched the festival go on for days, for happiness was in the air; the winter with its cold and bitterness had gone, the land would again yield its fruits, the caravans would come from the "distant lands" of which the people of Ladakh had no knowledge other than that gleaned from those who came from those parts; and Good had once again, this time after a most terrific and thrilling struggle, conquered Evil.

Singing and dancing—and drinking—continued. The young men came out with hobby-horses and acted a polo game for our benefit, the girls were made to form a circle and sing to us, the bands blasted our ears with their "music", and the people were delighted that they had been able to make us as happy as they were themselves.

When all had gone and the lights had faded away, the thin crescent of the moon and the twinkling stars seemed to become a brighter silver against the indigo-velvet sky which was only separated from us by the snow-capped mountains of purple brown; mountains which are said to contain untold wealth if

2: Ramsay--39 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok. In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 654 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

skin color of the goddess is the blue of the terror deities; her bristling, 776
upright hair surrounds her huge head like flames, upon which has been placed a crown consisting of the skulls of killed enemies. From her three eyes she darts forth lightning. The goddess is dressed in only a loincloth of tiger skin and the skin of a human being; her belt is formed by snakes. Her right hand swings as a weapon the terrible trident, while in her left hand she holds the bowl of a skull filled with the blood of enemies. On the first day of the first month in the year a great mass is [782]
celebrated in honor of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the monastery temple in the neighboring Lamayuru monastery. This mass is performed in order to appease the anger of the feared goddess /44/, because the "unbelievers" constantly provoke her by their activity.

No wonder the imagination of Namgyal was most strongly aroused 000
by all these narratives and pictures--in time Konchog Trashi acquainted his knowledgeable pupil with a great mass of Tibetan-Buddhistic divinities, with Buddhas and demons--and no wonder fear constantly gained increasing dominance over the boy. At night when it was dark he scarcely dared to take the short path which led from their meeting place to his house. Every step of the way he was accompanied by pictures of those demons and terror gods whose figures and actions the old storyteller had so drastically placed before his eyes. Everywhere he thought he could see the hideous, grinning grimaces; in the rushing of the wind, in the gurgling of the river, in the shriek of the eagle, in the call of the stone-finch, the boy heard the voice of the Dreadful One, her furious, spine-tingling "Alala!" Fear held the hitherto so courageous boy in its ban for a long time and inhibited his activities and his development.

By now Namgyal had heard enough about gods and demons and 773●
of their mostly pernicious activities. For the time being he had no desire to hear them any more. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the stories of a lama who wandered around the countryside. Once during the winter he came to the village and stayed there for an extended period of time. To the people who crowded around him every [532]
day he showed painted pictures mounted on linen cloth and supplied with a border of silk. These pictures had round sticks attached to them at the top and at the bottom and they could be rolled up like a geographical map which is hung on the wall. The pictures represented scenes from the life and legend of Gautama Buddha. The boy was particularly interested in the stories of the 550 births of Buddha which preceded his last birth and at which he was born now as a god and now

713 as a human being in the most different classes of society, as a nymph, as a water devil with an elephant's head, as an animal (lion, antelope, king of the rats, wood frog, vulture, crow, and so on); but in all these different states of existence he nevertheless always remained the Bodhisattva (23) who strives for release and who distinguishes himself

23 A Bodhisattva is a completely divine being which by its efforts, continued through many births, to achieve release from the bonds of terrestrial existence through striving after virtue and the performance of good works, has finally arrived at illumination (Bodhi) and with that at the expectancy of salvation by being blown away into nirvana. Out of pity for the living beings who are still suffering in the cycle of rebirths, the Bodhisattva as yet renounces his final dissolution in order to participate in the work of releasing those beings (human beings, animals, gods, and so on). Thus Gautama Buddha was a Bodhisattva until his "extinction" in nirvana.

by doing good, the being which is filled and led by love and compassion for all fellow beings.

The following is one of these stories about the pre-birth of the Buddha (Jataka /45/ narratives). Once the Bodhisattva, the later Gautama Buddha, was born as a king's son in India. One day he went for a walk in the jungle with his following. There he encountered a tigress with her young cub, who showed all signs of exhaustion. She seemed close to starvation. Filled by strong love and compassion, the prince left his retinue behind and went up to the tigress and lay down before her in order to have her tear him to pieces. But the animal was too exhausted and too tired to do so. Thereupon the king's son took a stone and scratched his skin in various places so that the blood came forth. Now the tigress licked the blood that welled forth and in so doing she was sufficiently strengthened so that she was able to consume her benefactor. The latter, however, on the basis of this new good deed, advanced another great step further on the way towards perfection, the way towards final complete salvation.

In the most widely different forms of existence Gautama sacrificed himself in this way for the benefit of other creatures. Once, when he was reborn in hell, he even released himself from damnation by expressing pity for the tortures of another damned being. Another

time Gautama was born in India as a fox with a valuable fur. The 773
reigning prince of the land saw this fox in a dream and ordered his hunters to get him this fur at any price. He threatened his huntsmen that they would all lose their lives if his wish should remain unfulfilled. Since the rajah was known to be cruel and unscrupulous, the threat aroused great fear among all the hunters. Meanwhile one of them was so lucky as to encounter the fox. The hunter had scarcely made preparations to catch the fox when the latter came up to him and surrendered himself into the hands of the hunter. But he made the condition to the hunter that he should not kill him but that he should skin him alive so that the sin of killing him might not rest as a burden on the hunter. By this the Bodhisattva saved the lives of all hunters in the country. The next consequence of this act of self-sacrifice was that thousands of flies, ants, and other insects settled on the skinned fox and consumed it. Such extraordinary acts attracted the attention of the gods and of all living beings, earthquakes and other natural phenomena /46/ broadcast them throughout the world, a rain of flowers fell down upon the Bodhisattva. And again he rose up another step on the way to perfection and release.

As fantastic as many of these stories were, they nevertheless made a deep impression upon Namgyal's sensitive mind which was oriented towards the religious. He thought a great deal about these matters, especially while tending the sheep and goats in the solitude of the mountains.

Sometimes Konchog Trashi also told Namgyal fairytales for the 539
latter's pleasure and for that of other listeners. So one day the old man told him the following tale.

The Fairytale of the Sly Fox, the Wolf and the Bear

The fox had already done much mischief and by sly means he had succeeded in killing the wolf, the bear, yes, even the lion, the king of the animals. Then one day there appeared a wolf and a bear, relatives of the killed, before the lion, the new king, and indicted the evil fox for his outrageous deeds. The king ordered them to bring the criminal before him. They found the fox and he went with them part of the way, even though he was very much afraid.

On the way to the judge they encountered a lama (monk) who was riding on his horse with his parasol opened up. On his back he was carrying the bag which contained his provisions for the journey. The

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High up above where the glacier lioness (64) lives,

64. The "white ice lioness with her turquoise-colored mane" (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can), a personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the goddess of heaven; she is one of the mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, which are there associated with the gods, just as /the "wild queen of the birds" and the other animals mentioned in note 65, which in the original text follows directly after note 64. --translator /

[773]

Dear guests, please tell us, how did you get through?
Thunderbolt rock is fenced off to the right
By the mountain where the Queen of the Birds (65) is on guard.

[773]

65. The "wild Queen of the Birds" (bya-rgyal rgod-mo), further the "giant, striped Tigress" (rgya-stag k'ra-bo), the (female) "Fish Golden-Eye" (k'yu-ru nya-mo--or--nay-mo gser-mig) and some others in verses 2, 3 and 4 /are all mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, as explained in the previous note. /

Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
To the left in the sandal wood forest
The Giant Tigress lies lurking;
Dear guests please tell us how you got through?
Down below three of the valleys are closed off
By the brook where little fish Golden-Eye snaps.
Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
Heroes from the Nine-stone Castle! (66)

66. The sense of this first line of the verse is difficult to grasp. It is not clear what is to be understood by the Nine-stone Castle /"Neunsteinburg"/. Perhaps it would be more correct to translate it as "You wanderers over the Nine-stones."

What has brought you into this land,
Into the midst of this village, tell?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is that not right, worthy friends?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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The wild yak's horn is forced
By the hero Mogchen rem-pa (85).

[773] 85. rMog-ĉen rem-pa, meaning "great, strong helmet." This, like the names in verses 2 and 3, are the names of mythical heroes of pre-history.

The hero A-p'o bstan-yan (86)

86. Ap'o bstan-yan. Ap'o means "father" in the dialect of Baltistan and Lower Ladakh; these heroes are designated by this title.

Seizes the tiger with his fist.
Only Jaksha źon-t'og (87)

87. Yag-śa źon t'og in Tibetan.

Catches water with a sling.
Only the swallow bird
Builds a castle out of loose sand.
Only the water itself (88)

88. Here probably the waterfall is meant.

Wounds the water with swords.
A bird that gives birth to young
Is the bat (89).

[825] 89. It should not surprise us that the bat is counted among the birds by the Tibetans when we consider that in German medieval books of natural history the bat was classified in the same species.

An animal of prey which lays eggs
Is the quick weasel (90).

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90. The assertion that the weasel lays eggs is to be explained

from the fact that this evil robber of nests is often seen with 585
an egg in its mouth, which led to the erroneous conclusion. 533
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And the "rock-partridge's trace" which runs along the [825]
mountains there:

They are veins in the rock (91).

91. Quartz vein in the slate cliff.

The crystal mistress who rules over a thousand colors
the pale North

Is Bruguma (92)

92. aBru-gu-ma, the wife of the mythical king Kesar. The [773]
"colors of the North" seem to indicate the northern lights.

The mantle for the large slate mountain
Is probably sewn by Vishvakarma, the heavenly smith (93).

93. The Hephaistos (Vulcan) of Hindu and Buddhist mythology is meant by this "heavenly smith."

Teeth in addition to its pair of wings
Has the bat in its mouth.
You people who are giving riddles and demanding a
solution!
It will be necessary to take something away from you.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Om, hail to you!

/90/ After further examining questions in the form of a song there finally comes the following song as the concluding one, which is sung alternately:

The people of the Chirpon house are still singing with the gate locked:

Many a one is distinguished through his wisdom,
Many a one is so only by his birth
There are many who know nothing.

counted among the planets, and they are considered animate 821
divine beings which have an influence upon the fates of human beings and are worshipped as gods.

The glacier above is a carpet, I ween, 585
For the lion with the turquoise-colored mane. 533
The high rocks carpet are 539
For the large ibex quick as the wind.
The mountain lake blue as carpet may suffice
For the wife of the fish with the golden eyes.
The castle so high, so proud and so fine
Must the nobleman's carpet be.
The great earth's mighty spaces
Signify the Chinese Emperor's carpet.
In the saddle cloth with the blue edge
Agu Palle (100) his carpet found.

100. A-gu p'al-le, one of the 18 heroes of the Tibetan Kesar myth. [773]

The brown fur of the wild sheep must be
Agu Khru btungs' (101) carpet, I suppose.

101. A-gu k'ru btuns, another of these heroes who has the head of a falcon.

The meadows and woods must be
A carpet for birds large and small
This roll of cloth here? A carpet fine
For the seven (102) Nyaopa brothers it must be.

102. Seven Nyaopas may be active at a very large wedding.

The Chirpon people call out loud: "Good, you noble friends! 585
Now take your place and drink a little bowl of beer!" Finally /Following p. 96 there are two full-page illustrations, one of a "Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)"; the other of a "Bridegroom in Ladakh."/ /97/ the five "Nyaopa brothers" sit down on the carpet in the places appointed for them near the tent entrance, and then they are served with ample food and drink.

776 host of the local deities of this "sinister snow-covered country." The last-named, after they had been "converted" by Padmasambhava (146),

[777] 146. Padmasambhava, the Buddha priest and great Tantrik magician from Udyana (in present-day Afghanistan) came to Tibet with his priests and monks around the middle of the eighth century of our era, having been called in by king Trishrongldetsan. In an adventurous manner he then proceeded to "convert" the Tibetans to Buddhism, and in so doing he spread in that country the doctrine which had already been badly corrupted in India and particularly in his own home land. [773] According to the saga he defeated and "converted" the gods and demons of Tibet in violent battle. They were overcome by him and were bound by an oath not to fight against Buddhism henceforth, but to promote and protect it in the future. Concerning Padmasambhava, compare Ribbach, "Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft," Supplement No. 5, of the Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

were all more or less regarded as objects of worship, or at least they constantly had to be appeased through exorcisms and offerings. Finally the entire pantheon of the Bon religion was likewise readily incorporated into the Buddhistic pantheon.

782 The oldest form of prayer was the so-called "formula of refuge." We will give here one form of the expanded formula of refuge (skyabs-agro) of the unreformed lama sects: "All we living creatures take our refuge with Buddha on the basis of the intercession of the lamas; we take refuge with the Law (Dharma); we take refuge with the Monkhood (Samgha), with these Three Jewels. Further we take our refuge with the great army of gods (lha) and their following of tutelary deities, female demons, and defenders of the doctrine, who populate the Heavens."

There follows a long series of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demons, and the saints, with whom the praying person takes refuge; among these the primitive Buddha (Samantabhadra) and the founder of Lamaism, Padmasambhava, are particularly notable. Among the "reformed" lama sects (Gelugpa), Tsongkapa takes the place of the last-named.

Namgyal used to avail himself of an abbreviated formula of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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795 Social and Religious Life.

Monks and friars.

[302]

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through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:—A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om mani pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalized.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III. B. Social and Religious Life.

ends in the wildest gyrations:—the little stage hemmed in by the quaintly-dressed crowd, and with the huge barren mountains towering behind for back ground, makes a picture not easily forgotten.

The Moravian Mission in Láhaul and Kanáwar.

The following account of the Protestant Mission in British Láhaul has been kindly furnished by the Rev. Mr. Heyde. The Mission belongs to the Church of the Moravians or United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). It was established in the year 1854. From the beginning its object was to reach the Mongol tribes of Central Asia who profess Buddhism. The first two Missionaries appointed in 1852 were to have gone by European Russia and Siberia into Central Asia, but after repeated applications had been made, the Russian Government refused to let them pass through their territories. After that the route by China would have been taken, but China being then still obstructive to Missionary enterprise, this way had also to be abandoned and a third to be chosen, *viz.*, that *vid* Ladákh. From Ladákh the Missionaries were to penetrate to the Mongolian tribes of the Khalmaks who inhabit the northern parts of Eastern Turkistan. In Ladákh the first station was to have been established, it being hoped that from thence it would be possible to advance gradually. This, however, proved impracticable, as the Kashmír Government refused to give the necessary permission for the desired station. Thus it came to pass that Láhaul was fixed upon as a suitable place for a first settlement, the province being situated close to Ladákh, and because its inhabitants belong at least partly to the Mongolian race and profess Buddhism. From Láhaul the Mission hopes still to advance into Ladákh as soon as permission can be obtained to do so, thereby pursuing its original object. The name of the station in Láhaul is Kyelang, often spelt, "Kailang" or "Keylang," which is wrong. The Mission being still a small one, at present only two Missionaries carry on its work. Two more Missonaries have lately been appointed, who will increase its present staff soon. The "Mission Department" of the Moravian Church organisation is the directing board of this as well as all other Moravian Missions. A second station of the Moravian Mission in these parts was founded in 1865 among the Buddhists of Upper Kanáwar in the protected Hill State of Basáhir (Simla district). The name of this station is Pú, situated on the immediate frontier of Tibet proper, having been established with a view to extend its labours into that country. The Missionary in charge of it having lately died unexpectedly, the place is for the moment without a leader, but a successor is soon to arrive. The number of native Christians at both stations together is at present 35 including children, of which number three adults and three children are at Pú.

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door of the anchorite's cell to a creature in the form of a girl. Under the anchorite's care she grew up into a beautiful woman, was called sun-face, and married a king. The other queens conspired against her and accused her of being a witch and eating human flesh; they murder her child, and make the king believe she killed it to feast on its body. Sun-face is driven out and leads a wandering life in the forests till the king discovers the plot, puts the conspirators to death, and recalls her.

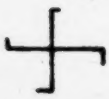
10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Késar-Myths, the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship. Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the Bon Religion, yungdrung 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

104 821 [773] It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *ɣyungdrung*, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Késar-Myths an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima, occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name Khyung dkrung may have degenerated to become *ɣyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:—(1) a word *ɣyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *ɣyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyoni*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *ɣyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *ɣ* of *ɣyung* and *ɣyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *ɣyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *ɣyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卐 *sû* and 卍 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.



a

b

779 821 797 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *ɣyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

[See source No 13 in Tibet File AJ1 -- Analyst]

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4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de
shang char zilbas byas.

4. The existence of height and depth
Was created by the dewy soaking rain.

5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de
skyeser[3] rlungpos byas.

5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley
Was created by *skyeser*, the wind.

6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de
rgyal dang blongyis byas.

6. The existence of castle and village
Was created by the king and the ministers.

7. yzhis dang ynaskyi mjalthsul de
ynyendrung rnamskyis byas.

7. The existence of hearth and home
Was created by you, our friends.

8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de
nyo'am spun bdungyis byas.

8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside,
Was created by the *Nyopas*, the seven brethren.

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In the original *mjalthso* is given instead of *mjalthsul*, which is unintelligible. See more examples for elision of *l* at the end of a syllable in my *Ladákhí Grammar*, laws of sound 4. *dbyibs* is a word, not so easily understood, two kinds of *dbyibs* are mentioned in XIII., they are *nammkha*, sky, heaven, and *chos*, religion. B. 5. *skyeser*, name of the wind god. May be either *skyegsar*, the reborn one, see Kẹsar-Myth, or *skyebser*, producer of coolness.

A. 8. This question refers to the scene created by the arrival of the *Nyopas*. B. 2. The sun is often called an umbrella on account of his circular shape. 3. Though the moon as representative of the night can be made to account for the North, it is difficult to see her relation to the South.

B. 4. Perhaps on account of the fact, that clouds show great varieties of altitude. 5. A strong draught is felt in every valley.

Song No. IV.

A.

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byonrabs yin.

IV. A. 1. 'adir byon rnams shargyi glingnas yongstsana
shar phyogs rgyalpo suzhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

This is about the origin [of the *Nyopas*].

IV. A. 1. When you came here from the eastern country,
Who was king there in the East?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

2. lhoyi phyogsnas yongstsana
lho phyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

2. When you came here from the southern country,
Who was king there in the South?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

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[3] Having been questioned meanwhile by Regierungsrat Dr. E. Schlagintweit about the equation *Keser* = *skyeser*, I wish to state the following facts: This equation was not worked out by myself, but received ready made from the natives, who explain the name in this way. According to a letter from Rev. Fr. Peter, Kyelang, the popular pronunciation of the same name is *Kyeser* in Laboul. In a collection of popular songs which I received from Phyang three days ago, the king's name is invariably spelled *Kyesar*. In Leh ordinary people pronounce the name *Keser*, but educated people, who know the myths from the epos, pronounce it *Gesar*. All the changes from *Kyesar* to *Gesar* can be accounted for, see my *Ladákhí Grammar*, Introduction, *Kyirma* = *girma*.

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4. ngacag nyebo rnams byanggi glingnas byongstsana
byang phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor ɣyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
byangna thsos sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

4. When we came here from the northern country,
'aPhagsakyed was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.

In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear some news, ask them.

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Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* *ci'n da*, ought to be spelt according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda*, *mda* (or perhaps *'ada*) meaning 'about.' The names of the kings mean B. 1. protector of the country. 2 and 4. the high-born one. 3. good eye. Very likely the original name of 4 had been lost and that of 2 was inserted instead. Each verse may also have a seventh concluding line: *ngacag nyebo rnamsla skadcha bshadrgyu med*, we friends do not know any news; *'adzommo* = *'adzompo*, plentiful. Instead of *bdelegs* the original has *bdelags*.

Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* White is the colour of the lha's and of all good things. B. As regards the products of the different countries, they are mentioned in about the same manner in *Ladakhi Songs* No. XV. Harvest festival at Skyurbuchan. They are perhaps more of a practical than of a mythological interest.

The three names, given in this song, do not seem to be of Tibetan origin. They are probably the Tibetan names of the Indian *lôkapâlas*. Though there can be no doubt as to the pre-buddhist origin of this song as a whole, the names of the kings may be later Lamaist interpolations. I am rather inclined to believe, that an ancient version of this song had the names of those kings, who actually reigned in the respective regions many years ago. In this connection it may be added, that in Song No. X., where the four points of the compass come in again, actual geographical kingdoms, for instance China and India, are mentioned. Regarding the names, given in IV., compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 181; *spyanmig bzang*, instead of *mig mi bzang*, is probably a corruption, as it does not correspond to the Indian *virûpâksha*.

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Song No. V.

A.

berrabs yin.
phyimas.
V. A. 1. shing stagpa skyerpa shagpa ɣsum
2. de ɣsum shing dang ma rdungshig

This is about the sticks.
The Nyopas say:—
V. A. 1. The birch, the alp-willow and the cedar,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

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[1] [cf pp 139 and 140 category 116 -- Analyst]

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2.	rtsaba dkarpo dungla byas.	2.	The white root was made of a shell.
3.	sbathag 'og phyogs kluyul khyab	3.	The roots [of the tree] cover all the lower underworld.
4.	klurgyal lcogpo m'a gros zilchen-nas	4.	By the wise and glorious lCogpo, King of the Underworld,
5.	lcags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	5.	[There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6.	'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig ynang zerna	6.	If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7.	klu phranbu zhig 'abrangs	7.	'A young kLu may follow [you]!
8.	yul thea mdundu mchis	8.	The village idol may be before [you]!
9.	don ngan phugasu 'akhrugs	9.	Bad speech ought to be blamed.
10.	phu ngan duba che	10.	If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
11.	mgron ngan ringdu mchis	11.	A bad guest be far away!'
12.	rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob.	12.	Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13.	namba'a rincangyi ldur cig phob.	13.	Beat them on their costly dress!

Notes. [1]

VII. A. 1. *'umbu* = *'ombu*, tamarisk. B. 7 *phran* is generally used only of young animals. In 11 the original has *song*, go, instead of *mchis*, be. This fact is perhaps the best justification for my putting *mchis* in the place of *che* and *ches* of the original.

If we look at V. B. 4, VI. B. 2, and VII. B. 2, we see, that the stick of the turquoise willow is identified with the tree of the world, which we find in so many mythologies. The roots of this tree cover the underworld, VII. B. 3, the leaves cover the earth VI. B. 3, and the top reaches *stanglha*.

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Song No. VIII.

A.

phyimas		The Nyopas say:—	
VIII. A. 1.	skyaba zanthsan dang 'ulu thsigs bcad dang yogpa snanag dang	VIII. A. 1.	The soup-spoon, the gravy-spoon and the black-nosed poker,
2.	de ynum shing dang ma rdung-shig	2.	With these three sticks do not beat us!
3.	de ynum shing dang rdung zerna	3.	If you beat us with these three sticks,
4.	mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4.	Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5.	luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len	5.	Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6.	synangyi yyu 'achagna yyu'achag stong dang len	6.	Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7.	'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7.	Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

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[1] [cf. p. 144, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [cf pp 142 and 143, category 116 -- Analyst]

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4. yalga ysumparu
mgobo ldad dkar thsangs

dung sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas slog
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

4. On the third bough
There is the nest of the bird 'white head.'
Not breaking the pearl-white egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

5. yalga bshiparu
glagmo mkhal dkar thsangs

dngul sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

5. On the fourth bough
There is the nest of the eagle 'white kidney.'
Not breaking the silver egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

6. yalga lngaparu
ribya gongmoi thsangs

byur sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

6. On the fifth bough
There is the nest of the snow partridge.
Not breaking the coral egg.
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

7. yalga drugparu
khraskya dkarmoi thsangs

lcags sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agropspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

7. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg.
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

Notes. [1]

A. 1. The expressions given here are colloquial Lower Ladakhi for soup-spoon, table-spoon and poker. B. 1. *hala* = *halas*, *hula* the same as *hala*, *rtsemo* means originally 'top.' 2. *sgong* = *sgonga*, egg. The termination *pa* in *bcagpa*, *bshigpa* and *'agrogspa* is Ladakhi for *par*, the supine being used here in a gerundial sense. 5. *mkhal dkar*, white kidney, *i. e.*, the feathers over the kidney are white. 6. *ribya*, another name of the same bird is *lhabya*.

Notes. [1]

This song seems to contain a further description of the tree of the world. It is remarkable that the tree of the world is said to have six boughs, for I have not yet met with the number six in other books relating to Bonpa mythology. In this connection I should like to mention that according to the *Edda* there are six animals (a goat and five stags) feeding on the leaves of the tree of the world, and that the *Edda* (not *Simrock*) speaks of six worlds.

[1] [cf pp. 145 and 146, category 116 -- Analyst]

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compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kêsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern **Lôka, pâla-Donyodgrubpa** could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kêsar-Myths we learn, that **Kêsar**, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called **Dongrub**, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the **Lôkapâla** of the north (i. e., the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? **Donyodgrubpa** means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name **Dongrub** was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other **Lôkapâlas**. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero **Kêsar**, before his entering into action,' is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kêsar?

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Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v srednevêkovym jevropejskim epose*. Moskau, 1899.

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A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

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BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i.
Bighā; *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i, twice.
Bihar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihār; *s. v.* Comotay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisht; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihīshtī; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijalár; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Sabaio, 851, ii.
Bijāpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Bijāpūr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijápúr; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Cospetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bijāpūr; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremaluco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Narsinga, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 158, ii.

[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Keser Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wandermärchen*.

4 [Material pertains to a different article -- ANALYST]

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796 ritual from Catholic missionaries, who formerly passed through
174 Tibet or were working on the Chinese border of this now closed land. The rosary, the ecclesiastical vestments and mitred hats are also very suggestive of this. Their own
773 explanation can be found in the following story. Raschung, the disciple of the great saint and singer, Milaraspa, was told by his master to fast for seven days, after which he was to go to the bazar where he would meet a Yogi of the name of Tipu, whom he would recognize by the fact that his face was blue, and his conjunctivæ red. He also would be wearing the skin of a striped antelope, and would be holding his trumpet up towards heaven and blowing it. Having found and identified him, Tipu prophesied to Raschung that he would die in fourteen days. When Raschung returned to Milaraspa with this sad news, his master informed him that he had sent him to Tipu as he was aware of this fact, but that if he fasted another week and then went to the goddess "*Ma chig grube rgyalmo*," she might be prevailed upon to prolong his life. Having followed out these instructions, the goddess inquired from him how much longer he wished to live. He answered "Until I myself feel I wish to die." She granted his request, handing to him the secret of the mystical rites of prolonging life. He lived just as long again, and then departed from this existence when he was eighty-eight years, and at the same age as his master, Milaraspa, died. It is said that these rites have been handed down since then by a regular episcopal succession, the names of those succeeding being actually given.

796 The auspicious day having been decided on by the *Onpo*,
793 there is to be a celebration in the compound next to our house, so we will go to watch it. Along the length of the private dwelling, which was built recently with a view to religious ceremonies taking place there, runs a verandah raised about five feet above the court-yard in front. In the centre sits the *Skushog* on cushions behind a low ornamented table, on which

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173 first of these to rule in Lesser Tibet was Skyid Lde Nyima Gon, the great-grandson of the apostate King Langdarma. He took the reins of government about 950 A.D. The names of most of the kings of this dynasty include the word "Lha Chen," which means "great god," or "King of Heaven," and the Ladaki will explain how Langdarma counted among his forbears one who ruled in Central Tibet about 300 B.C., and was descended through King Kesar from that Supreme
●723 Being. But who is this ancient King Kesar? Let us listen to one of the many wonderful stories extant of his mystical birth and heroic doings. The tale was narrated by Zodpel, our Moravian Mission Hospital Compounder, anaesthetist, dresser, and nurse, as follows.

Our great forefather sowed a tree, out of whose fruit grew worms which devoured each other till only one was left. It was transformed into a boy, who married eighteen girls, and these in turn became the respective mothers of eighteen heroes, around each of whom a wonderful story is woven. One of them aided the King of Heaven against the Demons, and in reward had his wish granted, namely that Dundrub, the son of the Celestial King, should be sent to rule this earth. Dundrub died in heaven, but descending as a hailstone, was swallowed on earth by a woman, and being re-born through her mouth returned to the earth-life as Kesar. Having attained maturity, Kesar left his country of Ling, and went to the "Horyul," the land of the north (now identified with Chinese Turkestan) to slay Akyung, the Demon King, whose widow he then married. She, wishing him to forget his home, and the wife he had left behind, drugged his food with a magic potion. During his absence the Turks came and conquered the country, killing his sons Buma and Labtsan, and taking captive a third son, Skelebuchung, with his mother Bruguma, Kesar's Queen. His castle they razed to the ground, the women, whose beauty equalled that of the fairies, were pulled about by their glorious tresses, whilst the heroes

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were chained by their necks. As fireplaces the Turks used golden hills, and their tents were pegged down with silver mountains. So terrible was the distress in the country that in desperation a council of all the families was called, over which the uncle of Kesar presided. After earnest deliberation they determined to send news of their distress to the King. A pair of cranes were caught, consecrated, and entrusted with the news of their trouble, but, although they flew to all the four continents of the world, they could not find him, for they had omitted to search a certain nose-shaped valley, and were sent off again, this time to be successful in their quest. In the meantime the spells of the Demon Queen had worked so perfectly that Kesar had forgotten home and wife, but one night he dreamed that he had seen a red wind blowing out of the sky, which had carried away his wife Bruguma and killed his sons, and that an army had taken his castle of Ling, destroyed his golden altars, were washing their utensils in his beautiful bowls, drying them with his own silken garments. Telling his dream to the She-Devil, she said that for every hundred dreams which come true, a thousand do not, and increased the strength of her potions of forgetfulness. But this availed her nothing, for one day Kesar heard the cranes, although she tried to drown their cry. Realizing they had a message for him, he invited them to descend and give him their news. This they did, and dropping an emetic into Kesar's mouth, he vomited the potion and found his dream had indeed come true. Arising, he went in search of his horse, and finding him, told him that he had to carry his master to Bruguma. His horse replied, reproaching him for having ever left her, the wife who had loved him, had patted him, fed him with barley, butter and sugar, had washed his sleek body with milk, and clothed him with silver trappings, and for having fallen a prey to the wiles of the Demon Queen, who had given him bad food, and so many heavy loads to carry that his back was covered with sores. This so angered Kesar that he

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

773 slung a stone at him, but missed, for the horse had got behind a rock. The steed then said to his master, " Oh thou with the big head without brains, thou donkey without long ears, thou ox without horns, look at my sore back ! How can I carry you ? But quickly take the lancet placed by my good queen Bruguma in my left ear, and cut out my sores, then wash them with the lotion in my right ear, and I will get well immediately and bear you back to Ling." No sooner said than done, and they returned. Kesar re-conquered the country, liberated his Queen and her sons, and they lived happily ever after.

643 775 Thus runs the story, and to-day we have in Ladak two representatives of this hero King, for Kesar is re-incarnated in both father and son, Kings of Ladak. The question may be asked how the young King can be a re-incarnation of King Kesar during the lifetime of his father who is also a re-incarnation of the same ? This is perfectly easy to explain, for Kesar appeared in many disguises, and they are incarnations of two of these. In like manner, the Queen Mother and the reigning Queen, both living, are each a re-incarnation of one goddess, the White Tara. In the case of the two Kings we have definite proof of this fact, for they have both of them a squint, although the son has only acquired his after years of 643 practice. It would seem strange in most countries for the son to be reigning while his father is still alive, but, in this back-to-front country, the heir-apparent, on reaching manhood, has for long been made co-ruler with his father. At the present time they have gone a step further, for the Father King has retired to a hermitage, where he tells his beads, says his *Ommanis*, and prepares himself for his next incarnation. The coronation of the present King took place soon after we arrived in Leh, and all the missionaries and their children were invited to be present at the ceremony. So on the morning of the coronation day we were requested to send up the chairs on which we were to sit. The Tibetan word for a chair, by the way, is *Khriushing*, which means a wooden

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism. 771 127

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival. 539

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann 539 594 113

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the 773 539 171

539 Chinese, and the dynasty that was ruling at that time (1836) even
171 recognized him as its tutelary spirit. Further, Schmidt states:
773 "Since Gesser-Chan is named in the saga as the ruler of three Tibetan tribes, the Tussa, Dongsar, and Lik, this fact has induced the Chinese to weave him into their history of the three empires, and to assign to him an epoch in their chronology, namely, the beginning of the third century." As long as only the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga was known, it remained of necessity undetermined whether the saga was of Mongolian or of Tibetan origin. But as soon as I published, in 1900, the first samples of the Tibetan Kesar saga as I had gathered it from oral sources (2), no disinterested

2. "Der Frühlingsmtthus der Kesarsage," Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougneme, No. XV. Helsinki, 1900. Improved /or Corrected/ English edition in the Indian Antiquary, 1902.

observer was in any further doubt that the homeland of the sagas was to be found in Tibet. Professor A. Grünwedel wrote in the Globus (3) at that time: "In contrast to the familiar (Mongolian

3. Vol. XXVIII, No. 6.

/2/) versions, which represent Ge-sar as warrior and hero, Francke's texts are of a much more original nature and have a predominantly mythological character." Grimm had already expressed the opinion in his Kinder- und Haysmärchen /children's and household fairy tales/ that the Kesar saga, which was known to him only in the Mongolian version, had in all probability originally come into existence in Tibet. As we have already seen, this saga is also known to the Chinese and to the Mongols. But not only that--traces of it are likdwise to be found among the Turkish tribes, the Tungus and Buryat, and so forth. It looks as though this saga material has been disseminated all over Asia. I regard Western Tibet, and Ladakh in particular, as the country of origin for the versions that have become known up to now. The old West Tibetan kingdom is designated in chronicles as well as in inscriptions by Khrom-ge-sar-gdan,
533 "market place, Kesar's throne." In this region the saga is at home
[564] to such an extent that each village has its own version, and the saga
539 is recited by musicians belonging to the caste of the Bhe-da. In their recital, the metrical parts of the saga are sung. But in this

585 While I was occupied with the study of these songs, I was told
127 that an ancient manuscript containing the wedding songs existed in
539 Tag-ma-cig, the neighboring village to the west of Khalatse. I immediately sent a messenger to that village in order to have the work delivered to me, but I was to learn that this could only be done in exchange for the payment of a fairly large sum of money. After this payment had been made, the manuscript was left with me for a month on a loan basis. This period of time was sufficient, however, for my faithful assistant, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, to copy the entire document. Unfortunately, the manuscript was so badly damaged in some places that several songs had to be left incomplete. Concerning the age of the manuscript nothing definite could be established. It was reported to me that they had begun writing them down only when there was danger that the old songs might be forgotten. The manuscript may perhaps be one hundred years old, and possibly a little more. According to my scribe's count, the booklet contains about sixty songs, mostly consisting of two parts. Quite a number of these correspond with the songs of Khalatse, and, in fact, there are repetitions both of the individual wedding songs
[533] and of the drinking songs. We observe that in Tag-ma-cig they did not differentiate at all between wedding songs and drinking songs. Yet the title of the entire collection is "Nyo-pas-sgo-la btan-ces-kyi-glu," "Songs of the Nyopa (Bride Buyers), To Be Sung at the Door." Even though at the time I was unable to understand much of the content of the songs, I nevertheless recognized immediately their extreme importance in the study of pre-Buddhistic religion, and I wished to make them accessible to the scholarly world. For this reason I had them multigraphed in twenty-eight copies with blue copy ink, but in this job I was quite unlucky. The impressions were for the most part so faint that they could not be deciphered. Fortunately, the copy made by Ye-shes-rig-adzin has been found again in the meantime and important data have been taken from it,
585 which will appear in the following pages. All these wedding songs
●773 are particularly valuable because they contain a great deal of ma-
539 terial dealing with the Tibetan notions about the World Tree and the deities of the four points of the heavens. Later I was also supplied with wedding songs (nyo-pai-glu) from the villages of Shel and Phyi-dban. These are of a totally different nature, however. They are songs of praise addressed to kings and ministers who apparently celebrated their weddings in those localities. For the student of religion they are of no value.

III. The Hymns of the Spring Festival (Glin-glu). When the spring festival is celebrated in Western Tibet (Ladakh, and so on), hymns are sung which bear the name Glin-glu, "Songs from the Land of Glin." In these hymns King Kesar and the deities mentioned in the Kesar saga are honored. Without a certain knowledge of the Kesar saga, these songs would remain unintelligible. Without exerting myself particularly, I managed to get my hands on two such hymn collections as I was looking around for folk songs. From the village Phyi-dban, eight English miles below Leh, I obtained a manuscript prepared there, which contained the nine hymns of the Kesar festival that are customarily used in that village. In Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, who has already been mentioned above, wrote down for me the nine hymns that were sung there. I published the first collection in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, with text, English translation, and notes. The second collection is to be found in my "Ladakhi Songs," where it is printed under Nos. XXI-XXIX. These two important collections are accompanied by a briefer third one, consisting of five festival songs which a member of the Bheda caste in the village of Sheh (Shel) wrote down for me, songs traditional in that village. In addition, I should mention that scattered parts of such festival songs are also to be found here and there in my collections of folk songs, just as here and there some wedding songs are to be found taken out of their context. /5/ Such a one is to be found, for instance, in Ladakhi Songs, No. 30, "The Carpet of the Bride Buyers." 796 113 127 539

IV. Now, after the main sources of the Glin-chos have been established, I must speak of yet a fourth type of songs of a religious nature which, however, do not seem to fit into the framework of the Glin-chos. I published one of these in my Ladakhi Songs as No. 15. But this is not a happy example, since it is composed of two wedding songs, whereas the original song has been lost. Better types are afforded by my as yet unpublished collection of songs from Sheh. From this collection it appears that as a theme for the harvest songs they chose the creation of the world and the origin of the gifts of nature, in particular, wheat. But the myth of the creation of the world, as we find it here, is in contrast to the version in the Kesar saga. In the harvest song the earth rises up out of the waters of the ocean, while in the Kesar saga it is formed out of the body of a slain giant. Now the myth in the harvest songs of Sheh (Shel) corresponds in a curious way with the Dard song about the creation of the world, such as we find it written down in the Dard collection of hymns of 539 773 171 773

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet

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1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

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[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who introduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situ-
776 ated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to
[823] the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already under-
[788] taken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-rgyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

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dman-mo, "Spouse, revered woman." Many prayers in the Kesar saga are addressed to her in particular. She is apparently regarded as merciful and wise. /6/ This pair of heavenly monarchs had three sons, namely: 1. Don-yod, "having a purpose," 2. Don-idan, "having a purpose," and 3. Don-grab, "fulfilling his purpose." The latter name corresponds to the Indic Siddhartha, a name also applied to Buddha. The third son, Don-grub, surpasses his brothers both spiritually and physically. Later on he dies in heaven and is reborn on earth as King Kesar (Kyesar) of Glin.

The lord and lady of heaven already appear in the texts and in the songs as ethical deities who desire the good and demand obedience from man. In the Glin-glu of Phyi-dban the following hymn is to be found under No. 5:

It is possible to escape a rolling boulder on a steep slope:
Certainly, I can escape from a rolling boulder on a steep slope;
But it is not possible to get away from the commands of the "Great Father";
No, the commands of the "King of the hundred thousand thrones" I cannot escape.
It is possible to escape the great floods through a ford,
Certainly, I can get away from the mighty floods through a ford,
But it is not possible to get away from the commands of the "Great Mother."
No, the commands of the "Queen of the hundred thousand thrones" I cannot escape.

As was already mentioned, the characteristics of a weather god like the ancient Indra are more to be encountered in Kesar than in the "father god." This finds very clear expression in the ninth song of the Glin-glu of Khalatse:

High up on the Sa-ri-can Pass black clouds are fathering.
High up on the Sa-ri Pass ragged clouds are flying about.
In the midst of the black clouds flashes of lightning spark from the sword of our good prince.
In the midst of the black clouds flashes of lightning spark from the sword of the divine King Kesar.

According to the popular tradition, Kesar hurls his lightning bolts at a dragon shrouded in the cloud. The thunder is the wounded dragon's roar of pain. In this connection it should also be pointed

773 out, however, that according to hymn No. 1 of the Glin-glu of
776 Khalatse, thunder is explained as being caused by the running of the gods in heaven.

The life of the gods is an idealized form of human life. The gods constitute a state in which there are a king, subjects, and servants. (See Winter Myth, Vol. V, p. 11.) They live in bliss and they grow old as we can tell from a passage in the Spring Myth. There, in Vol. VII, 21, 45, 62, it says: "May he who drinks a beer of blessing live as long as the gods." The possibility of death seems to exist for the gods, if we may draw this conclusion from the fact of Don-grub's death in heaven. The gods pasture goats (lha-ra, divine goats) on earth, and these must be defended against the devil (bdud). (See Spring Myth, Vol. I.) These goats apparently represent rain clouds which the dragon (here the devil) wants to steal, quite in accord with the Indra myths. It should also be noted that in other places in the Kesar saga the clouds are compared with cows, as in India. (See, A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Tale of Kesar's Marriage," No. 5, Yak Ri-ri; "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 2, Yak Kha-ra-kham-ba.) Of Yak Ri-ri it is told that he puts his head down on one mountain peak and his hind feet on another. But the similitude of the goats is carried out more consistently. In the Winter Myth, Vol. II, 17-29 we hear that Kesar finds in the realm of the devil a great many goats stolen from heaven.

The king of the gods, and likewise the queen, often change their shapes. Thus the king battling for the goats of heaven appears as a white bird (Spring Myth, Vol. I) or as a white yak (Lower /7/ Ladakhi Version, II, "Story of Kesar's Birth," 1). The queen of the gods frequently appears on earth in order to help her son Kesar. On these occasions she appears as a human woman (Spring Myth, Vol. IV, 8), as dzo (hybrid between a cow and a yak, Winter Myth, Vol. I, 53), as a turquoise-colored fly (Winter Myth, Vol. V, 35), and as a dove (Winter Myth, Vol. VIII, 16).

The king of heaven rides on a horse called lha-rta-nan-pa, "Cream-colored divine horse." On modern representations (in Changspa near Leh) it looks like a kiang. In the same place the queen of heaven is also represented. She is riding on a white lioness with turquoise-colored mane, the personification of the glacier. The upper garments of these gods are white, with many-colored hems; the under garments are colored (pictures in Changspa). According to Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, Vol. III), the sun rises over the shoulders of the god of heaven.

[See Category 116, pp 1-8, for references -- Analyst]

The total number of gods (lha) is given as 360 in the narrative Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, No. III), a number which is also to be found in the Bonpo works. In conclusion we should point out that occasionally a differentiation is made between dBan-po-brgya-byin, the ruler of the heavens, and sKyes-rdzon snyan-po, the "father of the gods" (pha-lha). The latter name is particularly used for the god of heaven as the father of Dun-grub-ke-sar. This usage seems subsequently to have led to the fact that different deities were understood by the two names. 773 776

2. Bar-btsan, the earth, literally, "the firm place in the middle." Other names are: Mi-yul, "land of human beings," Glin, "continent," "world." Later also, after the appearance of Indic concepts, aDzam-bu-glin, Sanskrit, Jambudvipa. The highest deity of the earth is Mother sKyabs-mdun, "helpful spouse." She seems to be identical with the goddess of the earth, brTan-ma, "the firm one" (Jäschke's Lexikon), or brTar-byed-ma (S. Ch. Das, Lexikon /Dictionary/). Father brTan-pa also occurs.

The world (glin) of mythology is, of course, Tibet. But if we look at the few place names that occur in the mythology and are identifiable, we are directed to the western part of the country, into the region of the great lakes. In the wedding songs, both great lakes, Ma-pham (Manasarowar) and La-nag, are frequently mentioned. The former of these two lakes is mentioned most frequently and the mountain Kailasa, which is near it, plays a not inferior role. In the Kesar saga and elsewhere, too, the mountain bears the name Ti-se (apparently a contraction of Khri-rtse, "throne peak"), or Gans-ri ("ice mountain"). Gans-ti-se also occurs. On top of the mountain, or close by it, stands Glin-mkhar-rtse-dgu, "the castle of Glin with the nine peaks." The silver mountain, the golden mountain, the blue mountain, and the slate mountain are in the closest proximity. This mountain range is thought of by the Tibetans as the point of origin for the four main rivers of the world (1), of which, in fact, 173 773

1. These four main rivers are also mentioned in No. X b, and in No. XVII of the wedding songs of Tag-ma-cig. There they are not mentioned individually by name, however. A similar saga is also to be found in the Ramayana, I, 44, "the descent of the Ganga." In that place not four but seven rivers are mentioned. [171]

they enumerate the following in inscriptions and in their chronicle: 1. the Indus, which flows to the west, Sen-ge-kha-bab, or "lion

173 773 river," (2) 2. the Karnali-Ganges, which flows to the south, rMa-

2. Literally, "the (river) springing forth out of the mouth of the lion"; the literal meanings correspond in the case of the following names.

bya-kha-bab, or "peacock river," 3. the Brahmaputra, which flows towards the east, rTa-mchog-kha-bab, the "horse river," and 4. the Tarim or Sita, which flows to the north. Other systems add two more rivers, and leave out two of the preceding ones. The other two rivers are the Oxus or Rakshu, and the Sutlej or Glan-chen-kha-bab, or the "ox river." But whichever of these rivers we accept, the territory that their streams enclose is always the area of the ancient West Tibetan kingdom which included the district of the sacred lakes.

773 /8/ Three groups of sagas are concerned with the creation and 772 the populating of this world. Of these three groups, two belong to the Kesar saga, and one to the treasury of the Dard. The creation of the land of Glin according to the prelude to the Kesar saga (1):

1. A Lower Ladakhi Version, Prelude, No. 5.[1]

A hero of prehistory, by the name of Don-gsum-mi-la-snon-mo had killed a monster with nine heads and from the parts of its body he built the castle of Glin and the countryside of Glin. From the heads, legs, arms, and ribs he built the castle; from the lungs he built the golden mountain; from the heart the silver mountain; from the stomach the Groma plain; from the intestines the rGui-ma gorge; from the "little stomach" he built the hunting grounds of sPo-tho-han-ma; from the monster's eyes the spring Thsan-ya (probably the area of the lakes); from the nose the place sKad-snyan-glin-bu; from the kidneys he built the cliff rGyab-rten.

According to the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, Nos. 69 and 74)[1] the populating of the country took place in two ways. According to one version the different animals, but also the sun, the moon, and the stars, were immediately born of Gog-bzan-lha-mo, the mother of Kesar. According to the other version, the hero of prehistory brings dPal-le, mother animals and mother treasures (among them the progenitors of the sun, the moon, and so on) from a ruined castle (2). A terrible hailstorm descends upon

2. In the case of these treasures in the ruined castle,

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Cat. 116 for references. -- Analyst]

the idea of the wreckage of an earlier world that has perished is probably to be thought of. 773 772

Gog-bzan-lha-mo, as well as upon the mother animals and treasures, and all begin to give birth.

According to the Dard version, which can be pursued from mDa all the way to Shel east of Leh, the earth rose up out of the world ocean and was then sown with seeds. Here we are dealing with trees and with types of grain (3).

3. This so-called Dard version probably came early to the Dard together with Buddhism. This saga is to be found in the Kandschur, La Vol. 26 of the mDo class. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, Csoma de Koros.) [113]

The contrast between Tibetan and Dard could not be expressed more clearly than is done in the myths about the origin of the world. The Tibetan as a nomad and a hunter speaks only of the animal world. The Dard, as an industrious tiller of the soil, speaks only of the plant world. On the other hand, neither tells of the first appearance of man. The "Prelude to the Kesar Saga" begins immediately with a "primitive father" and a "primitive mother," and these are assumed to have as independent an existence as the gods, the earth mother, and the Nagas.

Since the primitive animals play such an important part in the mythology, occupying a place next to the sun and the moon, yes, even at the side of the gods, the most important of them will be enumerated here: Of Gog-bzan-lha-mo are born: sun and moon high up in the sky; Sen-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise mane /literally: locks/," the personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the queen of heaven; on the high mountain, Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds," on the high cliff (according to another version Skyin-chen-ba-rgan, "the big old ibex" is born there): rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "White mouth, originating from the kiang," a horse of the steppes; Nya-mo-gser-mig, "fish golden eye," in the middle of the sea; aBron-byun-rog-po, "the evil one stemming from the wild yak," a yak, on the meadow; a few other animals, among them three frogs, a golden one, a blue one, and a white one, have become the best known. 776 773

Among the mother animals that have been taken from the ruined castle, the most famous ones are: Thsa-ldan, a mare; Khyi-mo-dkar-

776 mo, the white bitch; Gro-mo, a mother sheep; Thse-thse-nan-dmar,
773 a goat. Of the animals which the mother animals give birth to after the fructifying hailstorm, I shall mention only one that is particularly famous, namely, rKyan-byun-(db)yer-pa, "piebald horse, originating from the kiang," a horse which became Kesar's property.

773 /9/ Finally, the various types of plants which, according to the Dard versions, were given to the earth, should also be mentioned. Among the trees there arose the sandalwood (made known only by the Indians); the juniper (shug-pa); the birch (sTag-pa); the mountain willow (glan-ma); and the tamarisk (Om-bu). Nine types of grain were enumerated, namely, Yan-ma, ordinary barley; So-ba, coarse-grained barley; Shi-rog, early barley; Gro, wheat; Bra-bo, buckwheat; Kyer-ge, millet; sran-ma, the bean; nag-sran, the pea; Yuns-dkar, mustard. Now here there is a peculiar thing: The Tibetans in their beer songs speak about the origin of beer from barley. But when the question about the origin of barley as well as of the other types of grain comes up, they speak of the hunt. The primitive father caught all kinds of birds, and when he had caught the dove in the net, there were seven (not nine) different seed kernels in its stomach, from which all types of grain originated.

The land of Glin also possesses five types of gems which, according to the gZer-myig, are heaped up inside the mountain and are guarded by giants who stand outside, as well as dwarfs who live inside the mountain. According to the Kesar saga (manuscript of Gau-Phun-thsoys) these are the following kinds: gold, silver, turquoise, coral, and pearl or shell.

776 With respect to the goddess of the earth it should also be men-
773 tioned that as an active deity she recedes even more into the background than the rulers of the heavens do. Just as the role of the king of heaven has been transferred to Don-grub -Kesar, so that of the mother sKyabs-mdun has been transferred to Kesar's wife aBru-gu-ma. Although the Tibetan sagas offer no evidence for this, as far as I know to this date, I nevertheless believe it legitimate to assume that the original state of the mythology was as follows: The king of heaven wooed mother sKyabs-mdun, the earth, but (in winter) he lost this bride of his to the lord of the water spirits. Instead of this development we now find the same thing in the second generation: Kesar woos aBru-gu-ma, but again loses his wife to King "White Tent" (the king of the water spirits in the form of snow). aBru-gu-ma's origin from the earth deities is made probable by the fact that she is occasionally called the daughter of Father brTan-pa, and he, after all, is a divinity of the earth, as has

already been said. aBru-gu-ma's character as an earth deity appears particularly clearly, however, when she receives her punishment for having finally surrendered to King "White Tent." In this connection it is told, among other things: "For punishment lucernes were sown on her head and her head was plowed under with dzo oxen" (2). Un- 776 773

2. A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 9.

fortunately, the name aBru-gu-ma is not as transparent as many others Perhaps, however, it is connected with abru, "seed kernel." 532

Pictorial representations of the earth deity have not yet come to light. However, we read in the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 19-22), that she rides a horse called bTsan-rta-dmar-chun, "Little red earth horse." aBru-gu-ma is praised for her milk-white complexion. (3) Through her passing into the realm of the heavenly

3. Glin-glu of Phyi-dban, No. 4.

deities she has come to partake of their color. Of mother sKyabs-mdun we read that she is seen by someone in a dream and appears to him as though a snake were wound around her body (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III). But later it is explained that the apparent snake symbolizes the hook-shaped land of Glin. 823

Through its high mountain peaks, on which the gods lived just as much as in heaven, Bar-btsan, the middle realm, touches the realm of the gods. The fact that there are also large lakes in the middle realm, connects it with the realm of the elves or Naga (Tibetan, Klu).

/10/ 3. Yog-klu, the realm of the water spirits, (Tibetan, Klu, Indic, Naga, English, "nymphs"). This realm is to be found in all the rivers and lakes and also below the earth, since the Tibetans believe that subterranean connections exist between the visible waters. The word Yog-klu signifies "the lower nymphs." Just like sTan-lha, Yog-klu is also a state. There a king rules over many servants and subjects who also distinguish themselves by their many children. (See Winter Myth, V. 17.)[1] The name of the king is written in my manuscripts, in accordance with the pronunciation, mostly lJogs-po, a word which is not to be found in the dictionaries. In the dictionaries, aJog-po is given as the name of a Naga king, but even aJog-po does not make any proper sense. The most probable thing is that lJogs-po is a dialectical variant of lCogs-po, which, according to [823]

1 [See no. 116, pp 1-8 for references, --Analyst]

776 Jaschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo
or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is therefore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu of Kalatse,[1] aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

Oh my wise king!
When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
And see all the nymphs of that land,
Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[832] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to represent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[984] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the writing (1).

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma," No. 7.[1]

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time. It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
951 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

human beings. This disease is called Klu-nad among the Tibetans, 776
and among the Indians Nagaroga (a disease caused by the nymphs). 773
The disease is ascribed to the nymphs because leprosy at first looks [751]
like snow. The passage cited from the ch[illegible] of Ladakh seems to indicate that instead of one prince of N[illegible], they conceived of two who lived in the Manasarowar Lake. This duality may be derived from the Indians. /11/ The Tibetans seem to have severed the adjective Zil-chen, "the radiant," from the name Ma-dros-zil-chen, and to have created a new divinity with it.

In the case of this king of the Nagas, Ma-dros or lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that he recedes into the background as an active deity as much as does the king of heaven and the goddess of the earth. He no longer goes out to rape the earth goddess. Rather, he has left this to younger persons, in particular to the king of Hor (Mongolia and Turkestan, countries to the north of Western Tibet). Winter is the time when the water masses, in the form of ice and snow, put the earth in their bondage, and winter's power penetrates from the north. In the Kesar saga we read that Kesar after his wedding goes off to the north in order to do battle against the Giant of the North, and that during this time King Gur-dkar (that is, "White Tent") of Hor rapes aBru-gu-ma. For many passages of the Kesar saga it appears that the Naga king was a divinity for human beings, and that, even though a third-class divinity, he received the same hommage accorded the god of heaven and the goddess of earth. From this ethically impeccable figure, however, there soon developed a new figure which embodied the evil principle. We shall speak later of this "devil" bDud.

Ancient representations of the Tibetan Klu, in particular of the [532]
king, have not yet been found. From the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 27-30)[1] we see that King lJogs-po rides a horse called Klu-rta-snon-chun, "little blue nymph horse." In the dream song (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III)[1] we read that the king carries something in his mouth which at first glance looks like a black sheep. Later it turns out that the presumed sheep is actually a lotus flower.

The Colors of the Three Realms. The most original color system 773
is apparently to be found in a version of the Kesar saga of the village 822
of Sheh (Shel) as it is written down in the Spring and Winter Myths. There we frequently hear of three altars erected in honor of the deities of the realms of the world, which have white, red, and blue for their colors (1). According to this system, sTan-lha, the realm

1. Spring Myth, IV, 20-26; VII, 22, 30; IX, 1.

773 of the "upper gods," is of a white color, probably because of the
822 light which predominates there. Bar-btsan, the realm of earth, is red. This is probably connected with the reddish color of the ground. In other countries there are also connections between the concepts red, earth, and man. As a byword for the earth we find often in the wedding songs the word gro-mo, which means "grayish red."

Yog-klu, the realm of the "lower nymphs," is blue. The Tibetan lakes are famous for their deep-blue color.

In the Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar saga, the color system appears somewhat different. Here we find the following: sTan-lha is white, Bar-btsan is red, and Yog-klu is black (2). The

2. Lower Ladakhi Version, pp. 37, 86, 288, etc.

practice of making blue and black synonymous has also been observed elsewhere among primitive peoples.

In the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga we find the color system even further advanced, perhaps on the basis of certain literary Tibetan forms of the saga. Here sTan-lha has the color white; Bar-btsan is yellow; and Yog-klu is black (3). The trans-

3. Bogda gesser khan, pp. 163, etc.; p. 201.

formation of the color red into yellow is probably to be attributed to the reformation of Lamaism by Tson-kha-pa. One day, as I was standing in front of three chorten of white, yellow, and blue, and as I was speaking about these with the Kardar of Lower Ladakh, an educated Tibetan, this man told me that this group of chorten were of the right colors. He called wrong all groups painted red, white, and blue, /12/ which occurs much more frequently. He had arrived at this judgement in his capacity as a disciple of the teachings of Tson-kha-pa. As in this case of the garment of the lamas, he also wanted to see the color red replaced by yellow in the case of the chorten. Now, however, it seems probable to me that the colors white, red, and blue represent the oldest color system of the Tibetans with respect to the three realms of the world.

[See pp. 1-8, Cat. 116 for references --Analyst]

The Tree of the World and the Old Order of Prayer

773 824 The tree of the world is frequently mentioned in the old songs. It is mentioned in greatest detail in No. VIIb[1] of the wedding songs. There its name is given as rGya-lcan, "great meadow," or rGyal-lcan, "king's meadow." In song No. XXXVI[1] it is named Shin-sde-rgyal, "king of the tree species," and in song No. XXXVII[1] the Indic name Jambuvriksha, "tree of Jambudvipa" is mentioned. In song No. VIIb[1] it is said, first of all, of this tree that it has three tops (rtse-mo-gsum). This is to be understood as signifying that the tree grows through all three worlds, the land of the nymphs, the land of human beings, and the land of the gods. In each of these three realms it appears as an independent tree, which touches with its top the roof of the world concerned. According to the same song, this tree has six branches. Seen from the land of human beings, this is to be understood as follows: A branch extends to each of the four points of the compass, a further branch (actually the main trunk) grows upward from the center of the earth, and another branch (actually the root) stretches downward from the center of the earth.

Song No. XXXIXa[1] confirms the fact that I have interpreted song No. VIIb correctly. In song No. XXXIXa[1] it is stated of the tree of the world that it has five tops or branches on one root. These are covered with nests and eggs, as was said of the previous tree. Since in this song the root is not counted as a branch, only five branches remain. In the same song it is also made clear that by the four branches the lines of the compass card are to be understood, while the eggs indicate the colors of the four points of the compass.

As we have seen, it is possible to think of five branches and eggs, in the case of the world tree, or, likewise, of six branches and with eggs. A seventh place may be considered, if not for the branches, at least for the nests, that is, the point in the center, from which all the branches proceed. This possibility has been carried out in wedding song No. XXXVI,[1] where we actually hear of seven birds who guard the seven eggs on the tree of the world.

773 822 Now, as far as the colors of the birds and the eggs are concerned, it must be admitted that, in view of the obscurity of the indications, it will scarcely be possible any longer to set up a definite system. This obscurity seems to have come about by the fact that nature hardly ever presented examples in which the colors of the birds

1 [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references --Analyst]

feathers and of the eggs corresponded. Where do we find red birds 773
laying red eggs, /15/ or yellow birds laying yellow eggs? And while 822
in song No. XLI[1] nature was easily ignored, and they placed a yellow bird on a yellow egg (No. XXXIX)[1] in the South, in the West a red bird on a red egg, and so forth, they were more cautious in the case of song No. VIIb.[1] They accepted the color of the egg given in the song as binding, and then proceeded to look around in nature for birds that lay eggs of this particular color. They happened to know that the snow pheasant, which, after all, is of a pure white color, lays coral-red eggs, and therefore they placed it on the red egg of the branch concerned. To the white falcon is attributed an iron-colored egg, because its egg is supposed to resemble iron in nature, and so forth. The golden egg in this song is accorded to the bird Khyun, the sun bird, because the sun appears golden in color. However, it remains uncertain on which of the branches of the world tree we should place it, since it is impossible to determine which of the branches is to be considered the "first."

We can see from the songs about the tree of the world that in the 773
thoughts of the ancient Tibetans there was a connection between the 776
deities of the three worlds which lay on top of one another, and those of the four regions of heaven. They celebrated these gods in song not only in special groups consisting of the first three or the latter four, but they also composed songs in which all seven were celebrated together. Such a song is No. 1 of the wedding songs of Khalatse.[1] This [782]
song deals with an offering of incense. The smoke, it is said, rises upward, spreads out over the earth, sinks down, and moves to the four points of the compass in order to allay the anger of all these deities.

So long as the highest of the water spirits was still considered a beneficent deity, there were seven divinities who were invoked together in such songs. But as we have already said, the prince of the nymphs was excluded from the circle of the other gods as the devil. In this way the group of the six chief deities came into being, and we encounter this group in the Tag-ma-cig wedding song, No. X,[1] in which the blessings of the six places, heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass, are enumerated. It is peculiar that as the blessing of heaven rain is named in particular.

Here we notice the similarity with ancient Chinese mythology as it is reported in the Schu-king II, I, 6, "Emperor Schun brought a special offering, but employing the usual forms, to Schang-ti. He brought his offering to the six honorable ones (heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass). As was proper, he made an offering

1 [See pp 1-9, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

776 to the mountains and the rivers and extended his worship to the one
773 hundred spirits." A corresponding passage is to be found also in the book of rites, Li-chi, where it says: "The son of heaven made an offering to heaven and earth, the four points of the compass, the mountains and the rivers, to the land and to the grain; he also brought the five domestic offerings." We see that among the Chinese the six "honorable ones" precede, but that they can be followed by some lesser deities. The latter is also the case among the Tibetans, and in the song just mentioned about incense offerings, wedding song, No. I, after the seven main deities there come the following lesser ones: the god of the mountain peak, the god of the village, and the god of the household. In a similar manner, other songs also descend from sublime deities till they finally arrive at the members of the family.

171 In this arrangement, which corresponds among the Tibetans and
773 the Chinese, I believe I can recognize a sign of mythological relationship between these two peoples. It is true that the "three worlds" and the "four kings of the earth" are also to be found among many other peoples, from the Babylonians to the Indians. But only the Tibetans and the Chinese make these two groups into "highest divinities." It is of especial value to us that from this combination the world tree of Tibetan mythology with its six branches, can be explained.

/16/ The Devil bDud

773 Occasionally a fourth universal realm is added to the three
776 great realms of the world, sTan-lha, Bar-btsan, and Yog-klu, that is, the realm of the devil bDud. The color of the devil's realm is black according to the Sheh (Shel) version, and brownish-violet (smug-po) according to the Lower Ladakhi Version (1). In the

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the king of Hor," No. 6.[1]

Winter Myth, II, 21-26,[1] we read that Kesar on his journey found on four mountain passes four altars, which had been erected to the divinities of the three universal realms and to the devil and were white, red, blue, and black in color. Kesar worshipped at the three first altars by offering on them white, red, and blue material.

1 [See pp 1-8, Category 116, for references -- Analyst]

The fourth altar, however, the devil's black altar, he destroyed completely, leaving not a trace of it behind. Looking at a passage like this, one might be led to the belief that the ancient Tibetans knew, side by side with the three realms of the world just described, a fourth, self-contained realm, that belonging to the devil. Since the devil is frequently designated by the modifier sdig-can, "sinful," we would here be dealing with an ethically condemned personality, while the deities of the other three realms are worthy of human worship. 773 776

However, several observations lead me to the belief that the figure of the devil has developed from the deities of the water world and of winter, which stand in opposition to the bright gods of heaven. Thus, the word bdud, "devil," serves to designate various beings in Tibetan mythology. The etymology of this name is not simple. It seems to me that bdud represents a denominative formation from dud, "smoke, and soot." Bdud could then mean "the sooty one," "the black one." This would correspond with his appearance in certain versions of the Kesar saga. Even though bdud is constantly translated by the Indic words mara and Kama, nevertheless it does not seem to me that we have here a case of translation from the Indic. The devil bdud was found fully developed by the Indians in Tibet. In the Kesar saga, the devil bird is designated by the name bdud. This bird goes out to steal the goats of heaven (Spring Myth, I); furthermore, the king of the North country, King White Tent (gur-dkar), who abducts Kesar's wife; and finally, the Giant of the North (Cu-ru-lu-gu), who keeps the Bam-za-abum-skyid imprisoned in a cage (Winter Myth, III). All these are surely forms of the powers of the water and of winter, and it is this circumstance which leads up to the conclusion that in their case the origin of the notion of the devil is to be sought among the Tibetans. 776 196 773

The realm of the devil is designated quite particularly as the castle of the Giant of the North, Cu-ru-lu-gu (Winter Myth, III, IV). The fount of nectar and milk is to be found there (IV, 17).[2] The word for nectar in Tibetan points directly to the devil bdud, for nectar is called bdud-rtsi, "devil's juice." Perhaps the food and drink of forgetfulness, which according to IV, 1,[2] are found there, are also connected with the well of nectar. According to the narrative Mon-gces-pa (Paladins), the land of the devil is also populated by poisonous snakes, which might point to Yog-klu, the realm of the nymphs. In view of his size, his hunger, and his stupidity, the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu is particularly reminiscent of the giants of the German world of saga and mythology, and thus at the 776 773

[2] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

173 same time of the "stupid devil" of Europe.
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/17/ The Seven and the Eighteen Agus

173 Aside from Kesar, the eighteen or seven Agus, so-called, are
805 the greatest heroes of the Kesar saga. Kesar is the leader of these
176 heroes, and together with him they form a group of nineteen beings whom I am inclined to regard as personifications of an old calendar. The days of the week seem to have found their embodiment here, and perhaps the months, insofar as a connection exists between them and the constellations of the zodiac.

173 About the origins of the Agus we read in the Lower Ladakhi Ver-
176 sion of the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, I, "Prologue to the Kesar Saga"):[1] The forefather bKra-shis, together with his wife, seeded a field on which only a single tree was growing. From its fruits worms arose that ate one another until at the end only a single giant worm was left. This worm turned into a beautiful child, for whom eighteen brides were sought. All the brides became pregnant as soon as they looked at the child, and from them the eighteen Agus were born.

196 The word A-gu is the dialectal form of the Tibetan word A-khu,
587] which means "uncle," "father's brother," but which in Western
173 Tibet can also mean "husband." The last-named meaning may be
176 connected with the fact that the brothers of the master of the house have a claim upon the master's wife. Moreover, it should be remembered that among the Dard of mDa, the word Mum-mo, which also means "uncle," is used, in their old songs, in the sense of "forebears." Some of this last meaning may also have penetrated into the Tibetan word A-gu.

173 The order of the eighteen Agus is given as follows in the para-
176 graph of the Kesar saga (Prologue):

1. Pasan-ldan-ru-skyes, with a goat's head.
2. An-gar-rtsans-po, with a lizard's head.
3. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun, with a hawk's head.
4. Kha-rgan-ga-ni, with a white beard.
5. sKya-ba-rgod-po, with a ladle for a head,
6. Zla-ba-bzan-po, with a moon for a head.
7. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, with an arrow tip fro a head.
8. A-la-jon-gol, with a boot sole for a head.
9. aBu-dmar-lam-btan, with an insect's head.
10. Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, with a mirror for a head.

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for References--Analyst]

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11. Ga-nigon-ba, with a collar for a head.
12. Lag-lag-rins, with a hand for a head (1).

1. Or Khyab-pa-lag-rins.

13. rKan-rkan-rins, with a leg for a head.
14. Bon-nag-ldum-bu, with an ass's head.
15. bKa-blon-ldan-pa, with a hum head.
16. dPal-le-rgod-po, with an old man's head.
17. rNa-gYu-rna-athsal, with a turquoise for a head.
18. Zla-ba-dkar-po, with a white shell for a head.

The group of the seven Agus is likewise to be found in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 7. Here the following names are mentioned:

/18/ 1. dPal-le, cf. No. 16 of the previous series.
2. Ga-ni, cf. No. 11 of the previous series.
3. Gon-ma-bu-thsa.
4. lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, the sharp-sighted.
5. rNa-gYu-rna-athsal, the sharp hearer, compare No. 17 of the previous series.
6. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the able marksman, compare No. 7 of the previous series
7. dPal-moi-a-stag, the female Agu.

A somewhat different series of the seven Agus is to be found in Paladins, No. II, "Tale of sKya-ba-rgod-po.[1] Here the following names are given:

1. dPal-le-rgod-po.
2. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun.
3. An-gar-ltsans-pa.
4. Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, the heavy eater.
5. Lag-lag-rins, long hand.
6. rKan-rkan-rins, speedy runner.
7. sKya-ba-dkar-po.

In the group of the seven Agus there are always some Agus to be found who distinguish themselves by special faculties of the senses and the limbs. Their deeds are reminiscent of the deeds of European fairy-tale heroes, such as we find, for instance, in "Six Go Through the Entire World." Each group of the seven Agus contains three such artists, both together therefore six; there is, the sharp-eyed one, the sharp heater, the good marksman, the heavy eater, the speedy runner, and the man with the long hand. All these work for the benefit of a seventh, who is their king. Perhaps we have in these Agus,

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references --Analyst]

776 distinguished by their special faculties, with their leader, the
773 original group of the seven before us. Although most of the Agus from the group of seven are to be found again in the group of eighteen, there are nevertheless some who only appear in the group of seven. Such Agus are: Gon-ma-bu-thsa, lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, dPal-moi-a-stag, Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, sKha-ba-dkar-po. In the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, III, 25-45) we become acquainted with one Agu, Za, "eater," who may possibly be connected with the heavy eater among the Agus in the group of seven. So much, however, is certain, that the number of Agus, if we were to count up all the figures that we encounter here and there in sags and poems, would rise far above eighteen. I explain this from the fact that each village established its own Kesar saga. Each village may thus also have prepared its own list of the eighteen Agus. As the villages communicated with one another they exchanged names of the Agus, and in this way the present order was brought into the various systems. However the series of Agus may be composed, there seems always to be a traitor among them. Thus, Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun appears as traitor in abducting aBru-gu-ma, as well as in the death of her protector, aBu-dmar-lam-batan. (See A Lower Ledakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma.") Quite in accordance with this is the behavior of the same Agus during Kesar's expedition to China. (See A Lower Ladakhi Version.)

773 As has already been mentioned, a heroine is to be found in the
805 group of the seven Agus, dPal-moi-a-stag. This brings me to the
776 question as to whether we may be permitted to see embodiment of
821 the days of the week in the Agus. The Tibetan's week is the same as ours, that is, the system of the seven days named after the old planets, which probably originated from Babylonia and on its way through India came to the Tibetans too. Preceding the names of the days of the week is the word gZa, /19/ meaning "plantet." However, it must be said that the names of these planets are so unclear etymologically that they can be explained only with great difficulty. The names of the days of the week are:

gZa-nyi-ma, Sunday (nyi-ma, "sun).
gZa-zla-ba, Monday (zla-ba, "moon").
gZa-mig-dmar, Tuesday (mig-dmar, "red eye").
gZa-lhag-pa, Wednesday (lhag-pa, "provided with a hand").
gZa-phur-bu, Thursday (phur-bu, "thunderbolt").
gZa-pa-sans, Friday (pa-sans? sans, "pure").
gZa-spen-pa, Saturday (dpen-pa, "beautiful, charming").

[See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

The following Agus might have a connection with the days of the week: Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, or gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, the "crystal" or "mirror" or "gold son," the son of Kesar, for Sunday; Zla-ba-bzan-po, "good moon," or Zla-ba-dkar-po, "white moon," for Monday; for Tuesday we must go to a being which so far has not been designated as an Agu. This is the Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat, red eye," a bird (that is, star), which is named as the younger brother of the sun bird (see Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue").[1] Among the Agus it is approached most closely by aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, "red worm, road sign," which is designated as a younger brother of King Kesar. With respect to Wednesday, it is to be remarked that the spelling lhag-pa is perhaps incorrect, and for the following reason: In the pictures by which the days of the week are designated in the calendar, Wednesday is always indicated by a hand. Now, "hand," is not called lhag-pa, but lag-pa. I believe that, from the word lag-pa, "hand," first of all the word slag-pa, meaning "provided with a hand," was formed; slag-pa and lhag-pa are, however pronounced identically. Lhag-pa should therefore mean "the one who is provided with a hand," and since Agu Lag-lag-rins is provided with a hand on his head, he might appear as the representative of Wednesday. Thursday has the phur-bu or vajra as a sign. In this place, therefore, a hero of the type of Jupiter would fit. Now, a thunderbolt hero is not to be found among the Agus, apparently for the reason that this weapon became known to the Tiberans only through the Indians. As the lexicon tells us, the word phur-bu signifies, first of all, any pointed iron, therefore also an arrowhead. It is therefore not impossible that in mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the "highest arrow master," we have the Agu of Thursday before us, especially since he has an arrowhead for a head (1). The

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1. Perhaps, however, Kesar himself should be inserted under Thursday, as a fighter against the dragon of the clouds. The "arrow master" as "archer" should probably be assigned to the zodiac.

Agu of Friday is immediately recognizable by his name. He is Pa-sans-ldan-ru-skyes, "owner of (the planet) Venus, growing horns." By these horns are meant the phases of Venus which the Tibetans were able to see just as clearly as the Babylonians. It is impossible to determine from the name whether the Agu was male or female. Perhaps in order to emphasize the feminine nature of this planet, the female Agu dPal-moi-a-stag, "(A-stag?) the glorious one," was created. She is famous as a fierce warrior with the spear. To this

1 [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references -- Analyst]

773 it should be added at once that the ancient Tibetans seem to have
776 been acquainted with the profession of battle maidens as much as
805 the ancient Germanic tribes. In wedding song No. XLIII,[1] in which
821 the guests have cups of different colors set before them according to their rank, there appear after the lama, the king, and the ministers, first of all the sTag-shar, the tiger heroes, then the sTag-dman, the tiger virgins, and finally the Na-chun, the ordinary virgins. The sTag-shar and the sTag-dman drink from golden cups, the ordinary virgins, on the other hand, drink from red cups. With respect to Saturday, I must /20/ confess that so far it seems to me impossible to connect an Agu with the Tibetan planet of this day.

773 Now as far as the relationship of the Agus to an ancient zodiac
776 is concerned, I would say that it is particularly the external appear-
805 ance of the Agus that makes their origin from a zodiac seem possi-
171 ble. The Agus are described as creatures of human shape, some of whom are provided with animal heads. In this connection, however, it should be said at once that the animals in the signs of the zodiac in use today in China as well as in Tibet, are the very ones that cannot be found among the animal heads of the Agus. It is well-known, however, that the zodiac in use today was not introduced into either country until historical times (before the seventh or eighth century). The zodiac symbolized in the Agus, on the other hand, may have originated in the prehistoric period of the two peoples.

The zodiac known today in China and Tibet has the following twelve animal signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, ape, hen, dog, and pig. The zodiac is used in the calendar to designate the years. The Tibetans report that this calendar was brought to them by the Chinese in the seventh century. It must therefore have been introduced into China somewhat earlier. The same animal names were then also used to designate the different months. As the excavations in Turkestan indicate, the Tibetans of the eighth century divided the year into twelve months, with three of the months constituting a season of the year. At that time they spoke of the second and the third spring month, and so forth. Each month, at that time, was reckoned at thirty days. I suspect this because the number 360 plays such an important role with the gods, the nymphs, and similar beings.

Although it is as yet impossible to equate all the Agus in the list given above with the known signs of the zodiac, the following should nevertheless be pointed out: An-gar-rtsans-po with the lizard's head can be compared with the snake of the Dodekaoros;

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references, --Analyst]

Khrai-mgo with the hawk's head can be compared with the hawk of the Dodekaoros; aBu-dmar-lam-bstan with the insect's head can be compared with the beetle of the Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, "Old Mouth," with the white beard, can be compared with the ape of the Dodekaoros; Bon-mag with the donkey's head, with the donkey of the Dodekaoros. As has already been mentioned, mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the great arrow master, belongs perhaps to the "archer" of the Babylonian zodiac. As A. Jeremias observes in his "Handbuch," the previously mentioned zodiac of the Chinese, which begins with the rat, the ox, and the tiger, is related to the Hellenistic Dodekaoros. After what has just been said, it seems to me that the zodiac symbolized by the Agus comes much closer to the Dodekaoros. Here we have, perhaps, the intermediate link between the Asiatic West and East with respect to this calendar problem. 773 776 805 171

Favorite Numbers in the Ancient Mythology

Three is a particularly favored number. The world is composed of three parts, the king of the heavens has three sons, King "White Tent" must perform three labors, three Shar-an-dre, according to the Lower Ladakh Version, strive to kill the child Kesar. The Agu Khrai-thun needs three hats, three stirrups, and three dog collars ("Journey to China"). According to wedding song No. XIII[1] there are three famous castles, three lakes, three forms of greeting, of smiling, and of swearing; according to No. LIX,[1] there are three kinds of people, of cattle and of iron tools, and there are three kinds of fields. 773 801

The number seven appears somewhat less frequently. However, the smaller group of the Agus consists of seven heroes. According to the Sheh version there are seven An-dhe-ban-dhe who try to kill the infant Kesar. Seven /21/ types of grain seeds are found in the stomach of the dove that has been caught. Tag-ma-cig, (wedding song No. LIX.[1]) With seven bones and seven shells Dze-mo performs her magic on Cu-ru-lu-gu (in the Winter Myth, No. 3).[1]

The number nine occurs with special frequency. The monster from which gDon-gsum-mi-la constructs the world, has nine heads; the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu has nine lives; according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] Kesar is victorious in nine battles; according to Spring Myth, VI,[1] 29, nine little pieces of butter are spread along the edge of the beer jug in honor of the guest. Nine gods and nine Pisaca were born together with Kesar, according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] 34. In everyday life, the number nine is also in frequent use. A full rosette is

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

773 one with nine rows; they travel over nine mountains and through
801 nine valleys. This frequent use of the number nine was probably what induced Schiefner to include the number under the plural designations. It is actually true that the number nine is frequently used as a loose designation for a large number. But in the majority of cases it is a matter of nine things or processes that have been counted.

Twice number nine, eighteen, is also quite frequent. The number of the Agus is eighteen. Eighteen splinters are broken out of the horn of the wild yak, by the Agu dPal-le (see "The Story of Kesar's Birth"). Eighteen An-dre-bar-an-dre of the East were born together with Kesar, according to the Winter Myth, VIII, 34. With respect to the number eighteen it should be observed that occasionally it is followed by the number nineteen. The people say: there were 18 or 19 lamas who came! Perhaps this has its origin in the fact that it is possible to add to the eighteen Agus Kesar as their leader, getting a group of nineteen heroes in this way.

Let us mention a few more numbers that play a lesser role but are nonetheless worth noting:

Thirteen. This number, which plays a significant part in the Bon religion that developed later, is only to be found once in the literature we are dealing with here, and that is in wedding song No. XXXII[1] of Tag-ma-cig, where all the numbers from one to thirteen are discussed and the chief use of each number is indicated. Although Buddhism and the Bon religion are also taken into account in this song, it will be well to cite the numbers it mentions:

1. One is the number of the central religion (thig-le-nyag), of the most important elements, in which all religions are at one.
2. Two is the number of the two means (apparently of salvation). Here the Bon religion and Buddhism seem to be meant.
3. Three is the number of the three Buddhistic jewels (triratna).
4. Four is the number of the guardians of the world, of the kings of the four points of the compass.
5. Five is the number of the five Dhyanibuddhas.
6. Six is the number of the six types of rebirth.
7. Seven is the number of the predecessors of Buddha.
8. Eight is the number of the eight provinces of the realms of the gods and the demons.

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. --Analyst]

9. Nine is the number of the heads of the nine-headed monster. 773 801
10. Ten is the number of the tips of the horn of the stag (Ru-bou).
11. Eleven is the number of the heads of Avalokitesvara.
12. Twelve is the number of the months.
13. Thirteen is the number of the religious ceremonies.

The number 27 is to be found once. aBru-gu-ma, who has been abducted by King "White Tent," receives, according to the Lower Ladakhi Version, a grace period of 27 years before she surrenders herself to her new lord and master.

The number 45 (five times nine) is given as the number of the pha spun (the relatives on the father's side) and the ma-spun (the relatives on the mother's side) belonging to aBru-gu-ma (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 129)[1]

As has already been mentioned, 360 is the number of the gods as well as of the nymphs (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 192).[1]

Animism

In the following pages we shall summarize everything that can be said about the personification of the forces of nature in the ancient religion of the Tibetans. 774 821 773

The sun, the moon, and the stars (1) play an important part

1. Among the stars in particular the constellations rgyu-skar or houses of the moon.

here. Sometimes they are placed at the beginning of the songs, before all the gods even. (Wedding songs, Nos. XVIb, XLV[1] Ladakhi Songs, No. XXX[1]) In these songs the sun is frequently called Khri-gdugs-nyi-ma, "sun, the screen of the throne," apparently because of its round shape, which is reminiscent of a parasol. Even more frequently the sun is conceived of as a bird that flies across heaven. As a bird it has the name Bya-khyun-nyi-ma, "the bird Khyun-dkrun, the sun" (Frühlingsmythus, Appendices, No. 9), or Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, "bird, sun, Khyun-run" ("Prologue to the Kesarsaga," No. 9). These names are composed of meaningful words. It is very important that the words "bird" as well as "sun" appear in them in an unmistakable manner. The word Khyun is equated with the Indic word Garuda. With respect to Garuda, it has occasionally been denied that it had any kind of relationship to the sun and

1 [See category 116, nn 1-8, for references --Analyst]

773 merely an obscure mythological phenomenon has been recognized
774 in it. However, the fact that the Tibetans connect the name Khyun
821 with the word for "sun" in one name, raises certain considerations. If in Tibet the sun and Khyun are combined in one name, then it is certainly possible that in India people also thought of the sun when they mentioned the name Garuda. The syllable dkrun, or, corrupted, run, gives the most trouble in the name. It may refer to the fact that no feet are visible on the bird of the sun. For sKyil-dkrun signifies sitting down with the feet drawn in. In the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue," No. 9,[1] we learn something about the ancestors of the sun bird. It is supposed to be the son of the bird No-ldo-re, and the latter is supposed to be the son of the bird Khu-byug-rgyal-po. While the name On-ldo-re cannot be translated, Khu-(b)yug-
[825] rgyal-po means "king cuckoo." The cuckoo is actually a particularly favorite bird among the Tibetans, and it also plays an important part in the mythology of the Bon religions. According to passages in the dictionary of S. Ch. Das, under "Khyun," it looks as though Khyun was originally used to designate the eagle. Khyun, On-ldo-re, and Khu-(b)yug are probably the names of three birds that were worshiped and that were all three equated with the sun. The story of the provenance of the sun bird in the "Prologue" is thus probably only intended to signify that the sun of the present day is the child of the sun of yesterday, and that the latter is again the child of the day before yesterday. The case is different with the birth of the sun from aBru-gu-ma, as we find it reported in the Spring Myth, Appendices, No. 3.[1] (Similarly in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," p. 69.) This event is best explained if we recognize, as we mentioned earlier, an earth goddess in aBru-gu-ma. When the sun rises in the morning, it is, after all, possible to say that it was born
[776] from the earth. A curious sun and moon myth is the story of the Agu Za in Spring Myth, II, 34-45.[1] Za means "eater," and this particular Agu devours not only Don-grub, the future King Kesar, but he also only surrenders Kesar again after he has been promised that the sun and the moon will be given him to eat for a year. Such devourers of the sun and the moon are not only the spirits of the eclipses of the sun and /23/ the moon, but also the mountain and cloud spirits. It is precisely the large mountains rising steeply from the river valleys that frequently prevent the appearance of the sun for several months during the winter. From the personifications of the mountains have arisen the spirits of the mountains or the giants.

The moon is also frequently conceived of as a bird. It is called Bya-mo-dkar-mo, the "white lady bird" (see Lower Ladakhi Version,

[1] [See cat 116, pp1-8 for references.--ANALYST]

"aBru-gu-ma's Marriage to Kesar," No. 6).[1] The feminine gender (the syllable mo) of the moon also finds expression in the name Zla-mthsan-dkar-mo, "moon, whose sign is white." (Tag-ma-cig, wedding song IIIb.) In the passage just cited from "aBru-gu-ma's Marriage," Bya-mo-dkar-mo appears quite actually as the bride of Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run. They both live in a house which by an arrow's length touches neither earth nor heaven and is, therefore, in the universe. Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, the sun bird, just happens not to be at home. He is hidden in a hermitage from which he will come forth after twenty-two days. These twenty-two days are probably of purely local significance. It is possible that in Lerdo, the village of origin for this saga, the sun is not visible for that many days during the winter, when it is hidden by the tall mountains. The moon, however, is visible during this time, and in winter its course may also be along the zenith. In the house between heaven and earth, as the saga tells us, the entire family (gZhid-mad) of the sun bird lives. To this family there also belongs, as its third member, Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat red eye," a creature which keeps watch on a mountain peak while the sun bird is engaged in meditation. The bat red eye seems to be the personification of the planet Mars, which always stays in the neighborhood of the sun. The present passage of the Kesar saga contains a statement that seems very strange to us. There it says: When the sun bird has concluded its meditation, it will come forth in order to destroy the earth. This is the reason why Kesar has to oppose it in a hostile manner. The idea that the sun bird will destroy the earth undoubtedly originated from India, where the scorching power of the sun in summer prevents any natural growth from coming up out of the soil. This notion of the Indians concerning the destructive activity of the sun bird was taken over without thought by the Tibetans, for in their country the sun is known only as a dispenser of blessings.

While the sun always shows its round shape, the moon (as well as Venus) is constantly changing its form. A reference is made to the sickle of the moon in one name that occurs in the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," No. 6. (Likewise "Prologue," No. 9.)[1] Here there is mention of an axe sTa-ri-zla-ba-dkar-po, "axe, white moon." This axe is considered the archetype of all axes and hatchets. In the same place reference is also apparently made to the moon when the "jug with the slanting mouth" (or the slanting opening) is mentioned. This phrase, namely, occurs immediately after the "jug with the red mouth," or the sun. The moon is in a slanting position shortly before it becomes full.

[1] [See cat. 11h, pp. 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

773 All these peculiar names of the sun and the moon are to be found
774 in the reports about Kesar's birth. At Kesar's birth there is a general
821 giving of birth to various creatures. The old sun gives birth to a young sun, the old moon to a young moon, and all breeding animals, horses, oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and so forth, give birth to young. Among the creatures not belonging to the animal kingdom which reproduce themselves at this point we find the rainbow, rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "great, colored rope," and the cloud, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-ston-shon, the "white sack, container of a thousand." Just as the sickle of the moon is considered the original ancestor of all sickles, axes, and hatchets, so the rainbow is regarded as the original ancestor of all strings and ropes, and the cloud is looked upon as the original ancestor of all sacks. The trinity of moon sickle, rainbow rope, and cloud sack, incidentally, also plays a significant role in the Ron-no-rub-can, the Tibetan Vetala.

Scattered here and there we also find still other personifications of the phenomena of nature. In wedding song No. IIIb[2] the wind, sKye-ser-rlun-po, is called "wind, rouser of coolness." To it is attributed /24/ the feat of having hollowed out the valleys. This is, of course, quite reminiscent of the modern theories of wind erosion held by our geographers. In the same song the rain, under the name sBan-char-zil-bu, "moist rain, dew," is also mentioned. To it is attributed the creation of the concepts "above" and "below." This perhaps because of the fact that rain originates above and dew down below.

As we have already seen above, the personification of the glacier is Sne-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." In the song just cited she appears as the mother of the glacier. She is of great importance because on her depends the supply of water for the land. This lioness, the riding animal of the mother of the gods, is frequently mentioned, together with types of animals considered as firm representatives of the animal kingdom. However, this is, after all, also the case with the sun bird Khyun. (See Tag-ma-cig, w dding songs Nos. I[1] and II.[1]) Such representatives of the animal kingdom are: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds"; the eagle; sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big ibex, the old ox"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, the "female fish gold eye"; it is also called Nya-mo-khyu-ru; rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "the white mouth born from kiang," a horse; aBron-
773 byun-rog-po, "the black one born from the wild yak," a yak.

776 gNyan are said to be spirits who carry on their nefarious activi-
753 ties in various places. According to S. Ch. Das's Wörterbuch

1 [see Category 116, pp. 1-8, for references--Analyst]

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet. 769 [775]

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.) [95] [113]

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

"dragon," frequently alternates with aBrugu-ma. This goddess 796
might have come by the name rDo-rje-chen-mo as the wife of Kesar, who, according to the Glin-glu song No. 9 of Khalatse, is shown to be a rDo-rje-pa, a wielder of the thunderbolt. In this song he flings a lightning bolt at the cloud dragon. The lightning proceeds, however, directly from the rdo-rje (or Indic vajra). It is, therefore, just at the harvest festival that honor is paid the goddess, /31/ who is usually called upon for the blessing of offspring. The third one of the songs of Shel contains a eulogy of the yak, which is of great importance during the harvesting, for one thing, as a beast of burden for the sheaves, and for another as the leader of all those animals that thresh the ears of grain by walking over the sheaves. The song of Skyur-bu-can contains in its main section a game of riddles concerning the treasures of the countries of the four points of the compass. In Skyur-bu-can I also got to see, as I have already mentioned, the peculiar dance of the flowers. The flowers needed for the flower offering are not taken from the gardens by the houses, but are gathered high up on the mountain slopes just below the snow boundary. These flowers, which exude an overpoweringly strong, sweet odor, are wound around long staffs, and, carrying these poles in their hands, the shepherd boys have to execute complicated round dances to the accompaniment of an oboe and kettledrums. As we know from the songs of Shel, the flowers are then supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess rDo-rje-mo. In Skyur-bu-can, though, I observed that these flower poles were laid down inside the Buddhist temple. The festival is, of course, connected with many dances of a general nature and with feasts at which beer prepared /taking bereites as a misprint for bereitetes--Translator./ from green barley grains, plays an important role. This leads us to the name of the festival. The syllable lha is the ordinary word for "god" (deva). The syllable srub, on the other hand, corresponds to the word srus, or srub, which means "ears of grain that are almost ripe." The Srub-lha festival is therefore the festival of the very earliest harvest. As can be seen from ancient rock drawings, people contented themselves at this festival with having larger animals, oxen, horses, and so forth, represented by throwing a blanket over several persons. [532]

The Goal of the Ancient Religion

From the preceding it becomes apparent that the ancient 771 773
Tibetans expected only earthly gifts from their gods. Kesar, the

771 son of the king of heaven, was worshiped on earth as the bringer of
●773 spring. From him and from his wife aBru-gu-ma people expected the blessing of a harvest and of offspring. With respect to the life after death they had entirely animistic conceptions.

113 In the saga of "Kesar's Beloved Mon" (Journal and Proceedings
773 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 467) we read that this
775 Mon had been killed by being pushed off a cliff. When Kesar approached the corpse, he heard a voice speaking from it. He opened the dead body with his knife and out of it came two Mon devils, one male and one female. These devils Kesar carried home, wrapped up in a piece of cloth. In the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po we read the following (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 321): the Agu mDa-dpon-gon-ma had been killed and had been entombed in a stupa. But people were very much worried that he might still be full of thoughts of revenge. For this reason an old hermit advised them to walk respectfully around the stupa of the dead Agu until a lizard came out of it and nodded its head. All this is fulfilled, and the dead man, moreover, is kind enough to give his son, who is praying to him, a piece of advice. This advice concerns an arrow which would be of particularly great use to him in battle.

In the saga dealing with Kesar's victory over the devil (or giant) Khya-ba (Khya-ba (Khyab-pa)-lag-rins (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 1164, p. 278) it is stated that the enraged Bam-za-abum-skyid went to the grave of this giant, her former husband, and that she roared into the grave. As an answer to her roar there was an earthquake. (The giant moved in his grave.) Thereupon Kesar rushed to the giant's grave and chanted magical formulas into the grave until it became impossible for its occupant to leave it.

From all this we can see that, though it was impossible for the ancient Tibetans to conceive of death /32/ as a complete annihilation of life, nevertheless, after what has been stated above, there can be no question of a conception of an idealized form of existence that will take place after death.

Such a delightful, disembodied life is led on the Olympus of the Tibetans, the mountain peaks of the Gans-ri (Kailasa). In the account that I wrote of my journey from upper Sutlej to the upper Indus, in 1909 (see Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 37) there is the following passage with respect to the Pu-rgyal mountain peak: "The baggage carriers of Chan pointed to those mountain peaks and said
773 that up there was the magical country (aBa-yul), the dwelling place
775 of the spirits. The inhabitants of this place are supposed to be very

numerous. However, ordinary persons cannot see or hear anything of them. Only noble people or lamas are capable of observing anything of the life and the activities in aBa-yul. When such a pious man approaches the region of the perpetual snows he often hears the voices of the invisible inhabitants of the magic land and the barking of their dogs." These are the ideas of the present-day Tibetans concerning their Olympus. It is possible, of course, to think of its invisible inhabitants as the gods (lha). These are its original inhabitants. But in the course of time the souls of good, pure people seem to have been added to its population. In any case, the later systematized Bon religion points to such a population of "Olympus." Until these ideas received their full expression, it is possible that ideas among the people arose which postulated a life in the Beyond among the gods for the noblest of their priests and heroes. In this fashion the icy regions of the Himalayas became the universal paradise. 773 ● 775

The Tag-ma-cig Wedding Songs

This collection of sixty songs falls into three parts. The first part contains nineteen songs which are to be sung outside the door by the purchasers of the bride (sGo-la-btan-ces-kyi-glu). The second part is called Tho-rabs. It deals with the journey of the bride purchasers from the gate to the place where the festivities are held. With each question that they answer correctly, the bride purchasers overcome one obstacle and thus come one step closer to the festive place. It is to be noted that this Tho-rabs is not known in Khalatse, whereas the first and the third part of the songs is known in Khalatse. The third part is sung on the festive place during the banquet. It is called chan-glu, beer song. In the following, the first nineteen songs are to be published first, and in the versification of the originals, into which the translations that I did purely according to the sense have been transferred with great skill by Mrs. Anna Paalzow. 585 × 539 ×

I

Songs Sung in Front of the Bride's House

Ia. The people of the house say:

1. The ice god closed the valleys three
   High above where the glacier lioness lives.

585 539 them with are not made of the proper wood. As is then shown in song No. VII, the children of the gods may only be hit with twigs taken from the tree of the world. This is known to the people of the house, and for this reason they explain that their sticks, which have actually been taken from the willow tree, and so forth, are [773] related to the tree of the world. The tree of the world grows through the world of the nymphs, the earth, and heaven. In No. IVa, brGya-byin, Indra, the king of the gods, is named, in No. Va, the king of the earth, and in No. VI, lJog-po-ma-dros-zil-chen the king of the nymphs.[1]

VIIa. The people of the house bring other kinds of wood and the bride purchasers say:

The soup spoon, the gravy spoon, and the black-nosed poker,
With these three sticks do not beat us!
If you beat us with these three sticks,
Breaking our helmets,
You must return them a thousandfold,
Hurting our bodies,
We shall return it a thousandfold,
Breaking our earrings,
You must return them a thousandfold
Breaking our saddles,
You must return them a thousandfold!

VIIb. Because the people of the house do not know what to answer, the bride purchasers say:

A wood to beat us, friends, does exist.
It is a wonderfully pliable wood,
It is a marvelously pliable wood.
There is a tree whose root has three stems.
These three stems /together/ have six boughs.
On the first bough
There is the nest of the huge bird Garuda.
Not breaking the golden egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick beat us!

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 56-7 for songs. --Analyst]

You need not return them a thousandfold! 585x 539x

6. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick beat us!
With this stick whip us!
If you beat us with this stick,
/43/ Breaking our helmets,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Hurting our bodies,
We shall not return it a thousandfold.
Breaking our earrings,
You need not return them a thousandfold.
Breaking our saddles,
You need not return them a thousandfold.

The people:

Good, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

Notes to VIIa and b[1]

This song, too, was already published in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, in the same form. /As has been noted, there are several differences between the two versions. --Translator/ In VIIb, the tree of the world is described, with its "three tops on one root." This means that it is believed possible to see its top in the underworld of the nymphs, on the earth, and in the land of the gods. The six branches of the tree have already been explained in the Introduction. The birds that have their nests on these various branches are called, by their Tibetan names: 1. Khyun, Garuda; 2. Bya-rgyal-rgod, "wild bird king, eagle"; 3. mGo-bo-ldad-dkar, "falcon white head"; 4. Glag-mo-mkhal-dkar, "eagle white kidney" /really "vulture"--Translator/; 5. lHa-bya-gon-mo, "bird of the gods or snow partridge"; 6. Kkraskya-dkar-mo, "white falcon." 773 585x 539x

1 [See pp. 58-61, Category 116 -- Analyst]

585x VIIIa. The people of the house say:
539x

Now, friends, keep the fire going!
Guests, say, where do you come from,
When you go, where will you go?
Where will you be pleased to sit down?
For whose sake did you come?
Into the heart of our village?

VIIIb. The bride purchasers answer:

We come from a happy country, bDe-chen, in the East,
We are going to the land of paradise in the West, U-rgyan.
We shall be pleased to sit down here.
Our goal is here in the heart of the village.

The people:

Well thought, Hail to you, mighty friends! Om,
May things go well with you!

Notes to VIIIa and b

773 According to Buddhistic conceptions, the bDe-chen-yul,
585x Sukhavati, paradise, is situated in the West, high up on the moun-
539x tains with perpetual snow. U-rgyan, the goal of the bride pur-
chasers, is the Indic realm Udyana. This, too, is sometimes designated as a paradise. These have already appeared in the Indian Antiquary for 1901, as No. IV.

539x /44/ IXa. The people of the house say:
585x

1. When you came here from the eastern country,
Who was king there in the East?
Why may we call his subjects and his servants white?
What are their looks and their customs like?
All these questions do we ask.

2. When you came here from the southern country,
Who was king there in the South?

9. The crystalline queen who in the pale North 585 539
rules over a thousand colors,
That is aBru-gu-ma.

10. For the great fields of slate a mantle
Is sewn by the smith of heaven, Visvakarma.

11. Teeth, in addition to its pair of wings,
The bat has in its mouth.

12. However, you people who ask the riddles, demanding a solution, you proprietors will be glad
If something is taken away from you!

The people:

Good, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

Notes to XIIa and b[1]

The names mentioned in stanzas 1, 2, and 3 designate heroes of prehistory whom I have not as yet encountered elsewhere in Tibetan literature. In stanza 5, the water sword that strikes and wounds the water is perhaps the stream of the waterfall. In stanza 7, the assertion that the weasel lays eggs I have also met elsewhere among the West Tibetans. As for stanza 8, this verse is difficult to understand. The arteries of the human body are evidently being compared with rock pheasants. The mountain is perhaps the body itself. As for stanza 9, this verse is also very difficult. The colors of the North seem to be the northern lights. Over them rules Char-rje-sgam-po, as the text states. This unknown name is equated with aBru-gu-ma in a Tibetan note to the text. In stanza 10, the covering of the field of slate is the snow whose manufacturer is the divine smith Visvakarman. Originally, I am sure, it said Hemis here, who is the smith of the Kesar saga and whose name (Hem, Dard for "snow") in itself already points to the type of covering intended. As for stanza 12, this verse apparently refers to the taking away of the bride by the bride purchasers. In this song the meter has been strictly observed only through stanza 7. From stanza 8 on, the meter has been neglected /even/ in the original.

585 539 773

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 67-9 for songs. --Analyst]

Notes to Kh. XIXa and b[1]

This song has not been preserved in its entirety either. The missing verses a, 1 to 4, it was easily possible to supply from b, 1 to 4. The missing conclusion b, 10 to 13, has been completed by me in the spirit of the preceding verses. The bride purchasers believe they make their divine origin most effectively clear by asserting that everything that goes on in nature and inside the house is connected with them or was caused by them. sKra-lo, in verse 6, is evidently a tutelary deity. The name might possibly signify "the one with the curly hair." The Shog-yan plateau in verse 10 is not yet known to me. But the North country in verse 11 is the well-known Byan-than plain. It is clear that the conclusion of this song in Khalatse is not nearly as satisfying as the conclusion of the song quoted above, No. XIX in Tag-ma-cig. 539* 585 [776]

Concluding Observations

It is my intention to follow up this part of the wedding songs with a second and a third part in a special publication. If this plan should be somewhat delayed, it will be due to the difficulty in translating. For the first part, two manuscripts were available. The second part can only be translated on the basis of one single manuscript, and this circumstance results in a great deal of uncertainty in view of the archaic nature of the language. The Tibetan text of all three parts, together with a literal translation printed alongside it, is to be published in the very near future in a scholarly periodical. 000

/70/ Rock Drawings

Table I[2]

Number 1, 2 and 3. The "white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." A personification of the glacier. (Compare photograph.) 531 821

Number 4. Kesar's horse (rKyan-byun-dbyer-pa). 773

" 5. Kesar on his horse engaged in hunting the antelope. 778
On both sides are stupas, and over them branches of the sacred juniper tree. Unknown emblem (a square with diagonals). (Compare photograph.) 531

1 [See pp. 90-92, category 116 --Analyst]
2 [See p. 97, category 116 -- Analyst]

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

778 " 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 821 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings [1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 -- Analysis]

15: Francke--101 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

1 [See pp. 103-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--109 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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778
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Nr. 8.

Nr. 9. Caption for above pictures on p. 101.

[8 1]

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN LAHUL, KĀNGRA DISTRICT, PANJĀB.

By Walter Asboe.

The chief social functions in Lahul occur during the first two months of the Tibetan year which begins in February. When making detailed enquiries about the various festivals held by the people, my informant began his account by saying: "In ancient times humans and gods mixed freely with one another, but in those far off days, men were grossly ignorant. In course of time they grew intelligent, taking no heed of the gods, and placing no faith in them. The gods, however, on realizing that the humans were becoming too wise for them, grew jealous and made themselves invisible. They then took vengeance upon humans by causing their crops to fail, bringing disease upon the cattle, and doing all manner of harm. In this way the gods caused men to put their faith in them; since when, everyone down the ages has endeavoured to propitiate them." 796 773

With this statement as a background for an account of social functions in Western Tibet, one can the more readily understand the meticulous attention paid to the performance of numerous sacrifices of food to the gods. 796

New Year Festival.

The New Year Festival begins on the tenth to the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the Tibetan calendar, care being taken that the New Year Festival shall not fall on a Saturday or a Sunday. This festival lasts seven days

On the evening of the first day, the ceremony of burning the *Haldra*[1] (bundles of juniper sticks) at the cross-roads is performed. 796

The various offerings made to the gods during the *haldra* ceremony are:— 782

1. *Haldra*—a bundle of sticks of varying sizes, made out of pieces cut from the cypress-like juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*) and tied together with willow twigs. Three dried flowers are also inserted between the sticks.
2. *Mar-zan*—barley flour, salt, butter, and water mixed together, and hollowed so as to allow melted butter to be poured in it, the whole being placed in a bell metal vessel.
3. *Kal-chor*—a beer pot containing beer. On each side of the spout a thumb print (*tshod*) of butter and flour is made, and one at a point where the handle of the pot meets the rim.
4. *Sang-shū*—a metal vessel containing juniper berries, and young pointed sprouts of this tree. Upon these a few live coals (charcoal) are placed resulting in a smoke with a pungent odour. This is used at almost all sacred ceremonies. (See illustrations below).

[1] *Haldra*, also *kal-do* in Lahul Tibetan.—H. L. S.

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

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Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'aṅ-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

9. Nine is the number of the heads of the nine-headed monster. 773 801
10. Ten is the number of the tips of the horn of the stag (Ru-bou).
11. Eleven is the number of the heads of Avalokitesvara.
12. Twelve is the number of the months.
13. Thirteen is the number of the religious ceremonies.

The number 27 is to be found once. aBru-gu-ma, who has been abducted by King "White Tent," receives, according to the Lower Ladakhi Version, a grace period of 27 years before she surrenders herself to her new lord and master.

The number 45 (five times nine) is given as the number of the pha-spun (the relatives on the father's side) and the ma-spun (the relatives on the mother's side) belonging to aBru-gu-ma (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 129).[1]

As has already been mentioned, 360 is the number of the gods as well as of the nymphs (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 192).[1]

Animism

In the following pages we shall summarize everything that can be said about the personification of the forces of nature in the ancient religion of the Tibetans. 774 821 778

The sun, the moon, and the stars (1) play an important part

1. Among the stars in particular the constellations rgyu-skar or houses of the moon.

here. Sometimes they are placed at the beginning of the songs, before all the gods even. (Wedding songs, Nos. XVIb, XLV.[1] Ladakhi Songs, No. XXX.[1]) In these songs the sun is frequently called Khri-gdugs-nyi-ma, "sun, the screen of the throne," apparently because of its round shape, which is reminiscent of a parasol. Even more frequently the sun is conceived of as a bird that flies across heaven. As a bird it has the name Bya-khyun-nyi-ma, "the bird Khyun-dkrun, the sun" (Frühlingsmythus, Appendices, No. 9), or Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, "bird, sun, Khyun-run" ("Prologue to the Kesarsaga," No. 9). These names are composed of meaningful words. It is very important that the words "bird" as well as "sun" appear in them in an unmistakable manner The word Khyun is equated with the Indic word Garuda. With respect to Garuda, it has occasionally been denied that it had any kind of relationship to the sun and

1 [See category 116, nr 1-8, for references --Analyst]

773 merely an obscure mythological phenomenon has been recognized
●774 in it. However, the fact that the Tibetans connect the name Khyun
821 with the word for "sun" in one name, raises certain considerations. If in Tibet the sun and Khyun are combined in one name, then it is certainly possible that in India people also thought of the sun when they mentioned the name Garuda. The syllable dkrun, or, corrupted, run, gives the most trouble in the name. It may refer to the fact that no feet are visible on the bird of the sun. For sKyil-dkrun signifies sitting down with the feet drawn in. In the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue," No. 9,[1] we learn something about the ancestors of the sun bird. It is supposed to be the son of the bird No-ldo-re, and the latter is supposed to be the son of the bird Khu-byug-rgyal-po. While the name On-ldo-re cannot be translated, Khu-(b)yug-
[825] rgyal-po means "king cuckoo." The cuckoo is actually a particularly favorite bird among the Tibetans, and it also plays an important part in the mythology of the Bon religions. According to passages in the dictionary of S. Ch. Das, under "Khyun," it looks as though Khyun was originally used to designate the eagle. Khyun, On-ldo-re, and Khu-(b)yug are probably the names of three birds that were worshiped and that were all three equated with the sun. The story of the provenance of the sun bird in the "Prologue" is thus probably only intended to signify that the sun of the present day is the child of the sun of yesterday, and that the latter is again the child of the day before yesterday. The case is different with the birth of the sun from aBru-gu-ma, as we find it reported in the Spring Myth, Appendices, No. 3.[1] (Similarly in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," p. 69.) This event is best explained if we recognize, as we mentioned earlier, an earth goddess in aBru-gu-ma. When the sun rises in the morning, it is, after all, possible to say that it was born
[776] from the earth. A curious sun and moon myth is the story of the Agu Za in Spring Myth, II, 34-45.[1] Za means "eater," and this particular Agu devours not only Don-grub, the future King Kesar, but he also only surrenders Kesar again after he has been promised that the sun and the moon will be given him to eat for a year. Such devourers of the sun and the moon are not only the spirits of the eclipses of the sun and /23/ the moon, but also the mountain and cloud spirits. It is precisely the large mountains rising steeply from the river valleys that frequently prevent the appearance of the sun for several months during the winter. From the personifications of the mountains have arisen the spirits of the mountains or the giants.

The ~~moon~~ is also frequently conceived of as a bird. It is called Bya-mo-dkar-mo, the "white lady bird" (see Lower Ladakhi Version,

[1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references.-- ANALYST]

"aBru-gu-ma's Marriage to Kesar," No. 6).[1] The feminine gender (the syllable mo) of the moon also finds expression in the name Zla-mthsan-dkar-mo, "moon, whose sign is white." (Tag-ma-cig, wedding song IIIb.) In the passage just cited from "aBru-gu-ma's Marriage," Bya-mo-dkar-mo appears quite actually as the bride of Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run. They both live in a house which by an arrow's length touches neither earth nor heaven and is, therefore, in the universe. Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, the sun bird, just happens not to be at home. He is hidden in a hermitage from which he will come forth after twenty-two days. These twenty-two days are probably of purely local significance. It is possible that in Lerdo, the village of origin for this saga, the sun is not visible for that many days during the winter, when it is hidden by the tall mountains. The moon, however, is visible during this time, and in winter its course may also be along the zenith. In the house between heaven and earth, as the saga tells us, the entire family (gZhid-mad) of the sun bird lives. To this family there also belongs, as its third member, Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat red eye," a creature which keeps watch on a mountain peak while the sun bird is engaged in meditation. The bat red eye seems to be the personification of the planet Mars, which always stays in the neighborhood of the sun. The present passage of the Kesar saga contains a statement that seems very strange to us. There it says: When the sun bird has concluded its meditation, it will come forth in order to destroy the earth. This is the reason why Kesar has to oppose it in a hostile manner. The idea that the sun bird will destroy the earth undoubtedly originated from India, where the scorching power of the sun in summer prevents any natural growth from coming up out of the soil. This notion of the Indians concerning the destructive activity of the sun bird was taken over without thought by the Tibetans, for in their country the sun is known only as a dispenser of blessings.

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While the sun always shows its round shape, the moon (as well as Venus) is constantly changing its form. A reference is made to the sickle of the moon in one name that occurs in the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," No. 6. (Likewise "Prologue," No. 9.)[1] Here there is mention of an axe sTa-ri-zla-ba-dkar-po, "axe, white moon." This axe is considered the archetype of all axes and hatchets. In the same place reference is also apparently made to the moon when the "jug with the slanting mouth" (or the slanting opening) is mentioned. This phrase, namely, occurs immediately after the "jug with the red mouth," or the sun. The moon is in a slanting position shortly before it becomes full.

1 [See cat 116, pp. 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

773 All these peculiar names of the sun and the moon are to be found
774 in the reports about Kesar's birth. At Kesar's birth there is a general
821 giving of birth to various creatures. The old sun gives birth to a young sun, the old moon to a young moon, and all breeding animals, horses, oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and so forth, give birth to young. Among the creatures not belonging to the animal kingdom which reproduce themselves at this point we find the rainbow, rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "great, colored rope," and the cloud, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-ston-shon, the "white sack, container of a thousand." Just as the sickle of the moon is considered the original ancestor of all sickles, axes, and hatchets, so the rainbow is regarded as the original ancestor of all strings and ropes, and the cloud is looked upon as the original ancestor of all sacks. The trinity of moon sickle, rainbow rope, and cloud sack, incidentally, also plays a significant role in the Ron-no-rub-can, the Tibetan Vetala.

Scattered here and there we also find still other personifications of the phenomena of nature. In wedding song No. IIIb[1] the wind, sKye-ser-rlun-po, is called "wind, rouser of coolness." To it is attributed /24/ the feat of having hollowed out the valleys. This is, of course, quite reminiscent of the modern theories of wind erosion held by our geographers. In the same song the rain, under the name sBan-char-zil-bu, "moist rain, dew," is also mentioned. To it is attributed the creation of the concepts "above" and "below." This perhaps because of the fact that rain originates above and dew down below.

As we have already seen above, the personification of the glacier is Sne-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." In the song just cited she appears as the mother of the glacier. She is of great importance because on her depends the supply of water for the land. This lioness, the riding animal of the mother of the gods, is frequently mentioned, together with types of animals considered as firm representatives of the animal kingdom. However, this is, after all, also the case with the sun bird Khyun. (See Tag-ma-cig, wedding songs Nos. I[1] and II.[1]) Such representatives of the animal kingdom are: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds"; the eagle; sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big ibex, the old ox"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, the "female fish gold eye"; it is also called Nya-mo-khyu-ru; rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "the white mouth born from kiang," a horse; aBron-
773 byun-rog-po, "the black one born from the wild yak," a yak.
776 gNyan are said to be spirits who carry on their nefarious activi-
753 ties in various places. According to S. Ch. Das's Wörterbuch

1 [see Category 116, pp. 1-8, for references -- Analyst]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ledged in Tibetan Buddhism. All these are celestial 779
beings, the spontaneous emanations from the Divinity, who have never been subject to the pains of transmigration. Inferior to them are the created or mortal beings, who are divided into six classes, named *Droba-Rikdruk*, the "six advancers or progressors," because their souls progress by transmigration from one state to a better state, until they finally attain absorption into the divine essence; after which they are no longer subject to transmigration. These six classes are—

1. *Lhá*, "Gods," equivalent to the Hindu *Sura* and *Deva*.
2. *Lhá-ma-yin*, or *Lhá-min*, "Demi-gods or Titans," equivalent to the Hindu *Asura* and *Daitya*.
3. *Mi*, "Man;" the Sanskrit *Manushya*.
4. *Dudro*, "Brutes;" in Sanscrit *Tiryyaka*, "crookedly," because they walk a little out of the right path.
5. *Yidok*, "Goblins;" in Sanscrit *preta*.
6. *Myalba*, "the damned;" in Sanscrit *Náraka*.*

It is one of the most essential dogmas of the doctrine 775 ●
of transmigration that the disembodied soul is incapable of receiving either reward or punishment. Hence the belief in other grades of mortal beings, both superior and inferior to man. The good man, after death, is supposed to be raised to the dignity of a *Lhamayin*, or demi-god, while the bad man is degraded to the state of a *Dudro*, or brute. These different orders of beings were 177
not the invention of the Buddhists, for they existed long 779
before the rise of Buddhism, and were the offspring of man's yearning for a future and better state. Like as in India, where the Brahmans have declared all the ancient

* The hells are divided into eight cold and sixteen hot hells, which 772
are favourite subjects of representation with the Chinese and Tibetan painters. The punishments are *not everlasting;* finite sin is expiated by finite punishment; and when the expiation is completed, the person is born again. See also Fra Orazio, Nouv. Jour. As. tom. XIV. p. 410.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—DIFFERENT SECTS—LAMAS.

During the palmy days of Indian Buddhism, the faith of the Tibetans most probably partook of all the different fluctuations of belief that prevailed in India. The most ancient religious sect that is now known is the *Nyimapa*, all of whom wear red dresses. Most of the Lamas in Ladák and Ngari are of this sect. In the middle of the eighth century *Urgyan Rinpoche* (the gem of Urgyan, or Padma Sambhava) was invited into Tibet by Khrisrong De-tsan. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitabha (*Hod-pag-med*). He was the founder of a new sect, who differ from the *Nyimapas* chiefly in their worship of this incarnation. In the eleventh century Tibet was visited by *Chovo-Atisha*, a Bengali Pundit, who infused new vigour amongst the votaries of Buddhism. His pupil *Bromston* founded the Rareng monastery, and originated the *Káhdampa** sect, or those who are content with the observance of the "precepts" (*kah*), without caring for the acquirement of the higher branches of transcendental wisdom. The followers of these three sects all wear red dresses. Another sect, the *Sákyapas*, also wear red; but I know nothing of their peculiar tenets.

In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lama *Tsong khapa*. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (*Hod-pag-med*), and others of Manju Sri (*Jámya*). He was born in 1355, and died in 1419. He built the temple of *Gáhldán*, and was the first great abbot (*khánpo*), who occupied the Gáhldán

* *bKah-gDams-pa*, "followers of the precepts."—Csoma, Grammar, p. 197.

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

775 the "Gem of Majesty," and the Tashi Lama is called
793 *Panchen Rinpochhe*, the "Gem of Learning."

792 All who have taken the vows of celibacy are called by the collective name of *Gédun*, the clergy. A monk is styled Lama, and a nun Ani. But the followers of the Gelukpa sect are divided into several classes. The lowest grade is the *Getshul*, or neophyte, and the *Gétshulma*,* or novice. The professed monk is called *Gelong*, and the professed nun *Gelongma*.

795 The principal sects in Tibet have already been mentioned, but there are some others deserving of notice. Of these the principal is the *Karmapa*,† or "believers in the efficacy of works." They are the same as the *Kármmikas* of Nepál. The *Kahgyudpas* are "believers in the succession of precepts." They are satisfied with the observance of the *Do* (sutras or aphorisms), and care not for the attainment of the esoteric doctrines of the *Sherchin* (Prajnáparamitá), or "transcendental wisdom." The *Brikhungpa* sect derives its name from the district of Brikhung. I know nothing of their tenets. All the above sects were offshoots of the Gelukhpa, and accordingly they wear yellow dresses. The Dukpa sect wear a red dress. They are numerous in Bhutan, and are found all over Tibet. I know nothing of their peculiar tenets; but from the name of the sect, *Dad-Dukpa*, which means "faith in the thunderer," I should suppose that they pay especial reverence to the holy *Dorje* (*Vajra*, or thunderbolt) which descended through the air, and fell at Sera in Tibet. A picture which I possess of the great Lama *Skyobba Jigten Gonpo*, of the red sect, represents him with the *Dorje* in his right hand.

* See Plate XXIV. † *Karma-pa*, naturalized from Sanscrit.

876 FRECKLE--teep-khap. Ladakis think that freckles are caused by looking at one's reflection in the unwiped mirror of another person, for this reason, before using another person's looking-glass, a Ladaki will be careful to wipe it thoroughly.

764 [49]FUNERAL--Buddhists in Ladák like to keep a dead body as long as possible, for the purpose of praying over it, and performing other religious ceremonies. For this reason it is considered better that a man should die in winter, when his corpse can be kept for 15 or 16 days, than in summer when the body must be burnt on the third day after death. When a death occurs, intimation is sent to all relatives to come to the funeral. At the time of the funeral "chhang"[1] and "satoo"[2] is provided at the house of the deceased, but the guests are all silent, and pretend to be much affected. They will eat and drink sadly, so long as the corpse is in the house but when it has been removed, they will not eat or drink in that house for a month. At the
793 764 time of the occurrence of a death, a "hlobon" or "abbot" is sent for, from the nearest monastery; this official reads some religious extracts (this is called phóa tap ches) for half an hour or so, while so doing he holds the sacred book (phóalung speycha) in one hand, and with the other hand he takes hold of the pigtail of the deceased, if a male, and of the hair of the deceased, if a female. While reading the funeral service, the Abbot keeps on pulling and jerking the hair of the corpse. If by the time the reading is finished, any blood has come from the nose of the corpse, it is considered a very happy sign, as proving that the spirit (sem soul or SHok or SHrok life) of the deceased has entered into the presence of the Divine Idea (konjok), i.e., has entered paradise (zhing-kham or thóris), and attained nirvana (stongpa ngyid).

●[775] If no blood is to be seen, it is considered a sign that the dead person's spirit is wandering about in space, awaiting re-embodiment. In this case payments have to be made to the Lámas to pray for the wandering spirit.

764 [50] Having completed the reading, the Abbot stands aside, and
614 the "phas-spun" of the deceased come with ropes, and tie the deceased into a squatting position; knees, hands and neck all tied close together. If the corpse has got stiff, the bones are broken, so that the necessary squatting position may be attained.

1 [BARLEY BEER--ANALYST] 2 [BASIC BARLEY FOOD--ANALYST]

779 person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all
798 persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from
[799] religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells,
772 such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties
[181] are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok. In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 554 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

[68]

775 792 In Ladák there are only four resident skooSHoks, who preside over the monasteries at Speetuk, Tiksay, Phiáng and Reyzong, respectively. There is also a skooSHok belonging to Heymis the largest and richest of all the monasteries of Ladák, but, for some unexplained reason, some 3 or 4 births back, the skooSHok took birth at Lhása, and refused to come to Ladák, and since then, rebirths of this Heymis avatár have always taken place at Lhása.

The present incarnation must now be about 20 years of age. I am told that as he is a Lhása man, he does not care to come to Ladák, but that if ordered by the Kashmir Durbar to come, he would obey. The truth of the matter is probably that he, having been brought up at the holy city of Lhása, where the Buddhist priesthood reigns supreme, does not care to come to Ladák where the Dogras are masters and Lámás occupy a very subordinate position. The information which I have been able to gather as to the rules under which a spirit, for the first time, becomes an incarnation, is not very clear, but, apparently, when any great Láma or other very holy and virtuous man dies, his spirit, instead of being reborn in the ordinary way, may take rebirth in the form of a "sprulskoo" or incarnation--after this, provided the "sprulskoo" leads a virtuous life in this world, it is optional with him to attain nirvana at once, or should he so desire, his spirit, after his death, is repeatedly reborn as a "sprulskoo." If on the other hand an incarnation leads a wicked life in this world, his punishment is, that his spirit, instead of being reborn as an incarnation, will take any ordinary rebirth.

[643]

An account of the different kinds of form in which a spirit may be re-embodied, will be found under the heading "Rebirth."

775 792 787 As regards the rebirth of the spirit of an incarnation, or sprulskoo the procedure is simple enough. Either the incarnation, before death, tells his disciples the circumstances under which, and the place in which, his spirit will be re-born, or should he die, without having given any such indication, his followers, the moment he dies, go and consult learned Lámás, who advise where the spirit will be reborn. The disciples then, in accordance with the instructions given, proceed to the spot indicated, and ascertain if any woman has conceived, or given birth to a child which may be the re-embodiment of the late skooSHok's spirit. If such is the case, they note the fact and go away for the time, but if it is not so, then they conclude that a mistake has been made, and they refer to the Lámas for fresh instructions and so

on, until they succeed in finding a child which may be the one for which they are looking. Having found their child, they leave it in its own home till it attains the age of about four years, then the disciples of the dead skooshok come to the child's house and bring with them, the prayer books praying wheel (mâni chhos khor) sceptre (dorjey) bell (treeloo or more correctly dreelboo) rosary (thânga or thrânga) and other property of the deceased, and after mixing them up with similar articles belonging to other persons, they call upon the child to prove that he is the incarnation of the deceased, by pointing out which of the articles he recognizes as having belonged to him in his former life. If the child does all this satisfactorily, and it is usually the case that he does, then he is announced to be a "skooskieys" or child skooSHok, and he is taken away from his home, never to return, and takes up his abode at the monastery (gonpa) of which his is the presiding spirit. 775 792 787

If the child fails to prove himself to be the sought for incarnation, it is assumed that a mistake has been made, and a fresh search is made in another place, and so on, until the disciples are satisfied that they have found the "skooskieys" they are looking for. Parents never object to their children being thus taken from them.

On arrival at the monastery, the child's education is taken in hand by the monks, and when he reaches the age of about sixteen years, he is sent off to Lhâsa, the Rome of Buddhism, to complete his studies. After remaining there for from four to eight years, his education is complete and he returns to his own monastery as a sprulskoo, or skooshok or Incarnation. 792 874

A sprulskoo does not live inside the monastery, but in a small house (called taSHak) attached to it-- [69] He does not eat with other people, and though his parents and relatives may occasionally come to see him, they can not live with him, or he with them. It is thoroughly believed that he is an incarnation, and the consequences thereof are philosophically accepted. 792 775

The skooshok is the spiritual head of the monastery, and it is his duty to superintend everything concerning religion. He is not expected to interfere in worldly concerns, but occasionally may do so.

The only skooshok I have ever met is Lobzhang Eeshes Stanbey Gialsam, (i.e. good dispositioned heavenly religion of Buddha flag of victory) the present avatar of the Speetuk monastery,

775 79v a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he [576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[171] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of 648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

751 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 423

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chirmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "tháng," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "tháng" may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángtháng not in Ladak; they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256

765
587
[581]

a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 [135]RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an
775 ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue ob-
656 tained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngleymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, 657
but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people 656
object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment
of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and 651
kind levied on land varies very much: thus the monasteries 423
pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay 565
about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay
about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of
land to be 176, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials
1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively.

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of 788
a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a
rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead
on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has
told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108
"thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113,
these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks
the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are
for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told."
As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in
the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung.
Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme,
hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."
Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O
thou jewel in the lotus, hum."
In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng- 779
bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following 775
fanciful explanation is given:--
There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khoráoo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

779 so wander about for an indefinite period, and will not be ad-
775 mitted to paradise, merely because it cannot gain admission to any of the spheres for taking re-embodiment. But to return to the "kábum." The pious are informed that, with a pure
788 heart and humble voice, they should repeat the six mystic
779 syllables as often as possible, for that by so doing they close
775 the doors of the six spheres into which it would otherwise be possible for their souls to take re-birth.

Óm--repeated often enough closes the door of "hla-i-hnas" (fairy place).

Ma--repeated often enough closes the door of "hlámáeen-i-hnas" (demi-god place).

Nee--repeated often enough closes the door of "mee-i-hnas" (man place). [139]

Pat--repeated often enough closes the door of "tutro-i-hnas" (beast place).

Mey--repeated often enough closes the door of "eedak-i-hnas" (fore hell).

Hung--repeated often enough closes the door of "ngiálwa-i-hnas" (hell).

And it is added that if they are assiduous enough in this prayer, the result will be that they will escape the curse of re-birth, and will, when next they die, attain nirvána. The Incarnation of the Speetuk monastery gave me a slightly different version. He said, a body cannot be born unless good seed is sown; if a body is not born, a soul cannot be re-embodied. The result of repeating the six mystic syllables is, he said, to cause the "seed" of the gods, demi-gods, men, etc., not to germinate so far as concerns the soul of the person who has been diligent enough in repeating the mystic syllables.

I don't think any one in Ladák knows what the words or syllables really mean; the majority of the people don't even pretend to know.

805 [140]SABBATH--za-ngeema (Sunday). Ladákis do not keep one day
796 in seven as a day of rest and prayer, but the tenth day of every month, which is called tshesschoo (meaning "date ten"), is, or should be, observed as a day of praying and feasting.

788 SACRAMENT--Missionaries use the word "tamja" (meaning a "binding" or "making fast"). Tibetans have nothing quite like the Christian sacrament, but at the time of making a vow, they

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhathum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

1 ĉu-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, 805
that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration. 177
1 dbugs has 60 ĉa-ŝags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cigand se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-ŝar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas byà = sundown--bird,
20--22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are 787
neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn

7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the 775
good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unlea[illegible] and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

Whenever a snow leopard committed its outrages in a region, as often happened in winter, it became advisable to avoid this region altogether for a while and rather to look for a new pasturing area. Bears and leopards, which did not inhabit his homeland, Namgyal did not become acquainted with until later during his travels to Kashmir and Lahul, where he had ample experience with them. He had a sharp eye for the doings of all animals and he observed them closely. More than once wild sheep had approached his goats and sheep while pasturing at the mountain without particularly taking notice of him. These wild sheep were fine animals almost the size of stags, of the brown color of deer, the old rams had horns which in their winding measured about 70 centimeters. Ibexes also approached sometimes with greater caution. Numerous flocks of rock-partridges enlivened the otherwise so barren mountain slopes, especially in the vicinity of the cultivated village oases; and from the cliffs up there near the snow field there frequently resounded the long drawn-out whistle of the snow pheasant (slope hen /rock-partridge?/). Great swarms of blue mountain doves nested in the precipitous walls, with their many caves, over there beyond the Indus, and in the /38/ air the mighty imperial eagles and the lammergeiers circled around. There was a colorful variety of small feathered inhabitants of these heights, from the wall-creeper, which climbs along rock faces like a woodpecker on a tree, and the wheat ear, which hops along between the boulders of the slope amid continual bobbing and gay twittering, to the many-colored, white-capped redstarts in the bottom of the valley and the sand martin in its simple blackish dress which dives after larvae down at the roaring brook. All these animals, and many more which inhabit the waste heights and highland plateaus attracted Namgyal's attention with their activities, aroused his thirst for knowledge, and stimulated his imagination; all the more so since a lama had recently taught him that all forms of life, even the lowest, are beings that are in the cycle of the transmigration of souls and are striving for their final release but must always be embodied again in many different forms as a punishment for their sins. Since then Namgyal observed attentively the herd animals of the village and frequently asked himself which of the animals might lodge the souls of his grandfather and of his deceased aunt; but he did not dare ask anyone about it. The lama had made indications to that effect.

Did Namgyal also have an eye for the wonderful sublimity of the mountain scenery of his homeland? A Tibetan hardly ever expresses

yourself have been blessed by them! -- -- --"

"Cause us, all us animated creatures, to be freed from pleasure, from wrath, and from liking for worldly things, and teach us to recognize fully the true nature of religion! -- -- -- And now, Oh you Buddhas, demons, male as well as female, father, mother! Thou Samantabhadra (original Buddha), thou Supremely Gracious One in the 'Body of the Law,' and you Buddhas in the 'Body of Blessedness,' all you Gracious Ones and all you Wrathful Ones! Also thou, Oh great Lama Magician! All of you whom I have called upon! I now entreat you that you may remove youselves!"

"You spirits of the departed heroes! You witches, you demons, you defenders of the Doctrine! You sacred guardians of the Law! /166/ All you to whom I have here prayed! I entreat you that you may all go away now!"

"Thou mighties king of the gods of wrath! Thou powerful Ishvara (Shiva), and the entire gost of local gods and tutelary deities! All of you, whom I called hither, with your entire following! I entreat you that you may all disappear now! Trashis shok! Let there be blessing upon us! And virtue! Geo!"

The prayer that is here set down and which I reproduce in an abbreviated form, indicates in what direction and in what forms the praying of the Buddhists moves. The layman, and thus also Namgyal, made use of a much shorter version in which, however, the main ideas constantly keep recurring: purification from the sins of earlier existences, release from the sufferings of this life and translation into nirvana, or at least into the "Joyful Paradise of the West (nub-p'yogs-bde-ba-can) (148)." "Let me be reborn in the Paradise of the West!" That is the

[775]

148. The later Mahayana Buddhism introduced another form of release in contradiction to the doctrine of the extinction of being in the nirvana. This took place in the "Paradise of the West" (Tibetan, nub bde-ba-can; Sanskrit, Sukhavati), in the realm of light of the heavenly Buddha Amithaba (Tibetan Od-dpag-med), where the pious people enjoy a conscious life in unspeakable joys as a recompense for their patient striving for release. However, this was considered merely a stage antecedent to the final release in nirvana.

refrain of all prayers said by the pious Tibetans, lamas as well as laymen. The entreaty for dissolution into nirvana recurs alongside of it,

•175 A small, long-haired Lhasa bitch (a kind of spaniel) was led along by a leash, as well as a donkey, in the retinue of the skushog.[1] The village children wanted to play with the little dog. But a lama earnestly prohibited them from doing so, and threatening them with a stick he chased the children away. Then Namgyal asked a lama why the animals were being brought around in the procession, and why the donkey did not have a burden to carry. The skushog liked the animals, apparently, he suggested, and probably kept them for his pleasure. The lama then reproached him for his impertinent questions. With these he insulted the holy man, he said, and that was a sin. The skushog was not looking for any pleasure at all. He was traveling through the country in order to show the stupid and sinful people, who were all going along the wrong road, onto the way of Buddha, the way of liberation. The skushog's father, he said, had been reborn in the donkey. During his life he had always abused his donkeys very badly, had fed them poorly, had beaten them cruelly, and had always loaded heavy burdens on their backs time and again, despite the fact that their backs were sore. The skushog's mother had once flung a big stone in anger at a dog that had gone into her pantry. In so doing, she had smashed the dog's hip bone so that it had to limp miserably all its life. As a punishment for this the mother was reborn as a bitch, and in this way both his parents had to bear the consequences of their sins in the bodies of animals. For this reason, said the lama, the skushog led both his parents in animal bodies with him through the country as a warning, so that the people would earnestly seek the way to release.

At the next opportunity, Namgyal questioned his father's friend, the hermit, concerning this wondrous matter. The hermit explained to him the significance of the transmigration of souls. He spoke of the law of karma, the mysterious law of cause and /169/ effect (the law of causality). Like a dark power who judges invisible to men's eyes, this law is suspended over the world and living creatures, and it adjudges to the creature in each existence that reward or punishment which it has deserved on the basis of its deeds in earlier existences, so that the fate of each, be it joy or sorrow, is supposed to be always the consequence of that which results when the good deeds have been weighed off against the bad.

The hermit showed his young friend, furthermore, a picture in the shape of a wheel with six spokes (srid-pa k'or-lo, "Wheel of the creatures"); inside each one of the segments of the circle, the picture

[1] incarnation of a great Saint of former ages. Cf. cat. 116, 175 -- Analyst]

of one of the six realms of the creatures had been drawn in together 775
with a great number of figures: the realm of the gods, the realm of the giants who live in constant battle with each other, further the realm of human beings, in which picture the foolish and sinful actions of the human beings and the suffering which is caused by it are drastically represented; further, the realm of the animals, limbo /entrance to hell/, and hell itself where the sinners are subjected to horrible tortures. Inside a small circle in the center of the large circle three animals have been drawn in: a cock, a snake, and a pig; each of the animals is biting the tail of the animal in front. The pig is the image of ignorance, explained the hermit, which ignorance consists in the fact that man in his foolishness takes this world and all the phenomena in it, as well as all the joys and pleasures, for realities, whereas they are, after all, only appearance and deception. His spiritual blindness (Sanskrit moha, Tibetan ti-mug) prevents him from recognizing that everything to which his heart is attached in foolish desire, is only fantasy and bubbles of foam which burst as soon as one grasps for them. This foolish craving for the things of this life is the root of all evil, of all suffering. The creatures yearn to live; they lust after the seeming pleasures of life, their will to live (Sanskrit tangha, "thirst") drags them again and again, to their misfortune, into the cycle of rebirths, into new suffering. This "thirst" for life moreover leads to evil desire (the image of the cock), to sinful coveting, and finally to the sinful deed. It leads further to hatred (the image of the snake), when people with the same sinful desire contest with each other for these apparent pleasures, and when one person opposes the /170/ other in a hostile manner. From these three roots of evil, desire, hatred, and ignorance (stupidity), there springs the evil seed of sin and of suffering, of the endless rebirths of which each brings new suffering again every time, until finally the human being is liberated from this wretched cycle by his own striving after viture and through helping "saviours" and redeemers.

Gautama Buddha showed those people who were seeking for salvation the eightfold path of virtue and denial of the world, of the right belief and the right life, by which, following his example, the pious person is to find liberation through his own forces from the bonds of existence, and illumination (Sanskrit bodhi, Tibetan, byaṅ-ĉub), and with it, nirvana (154); that condition in which all longing, and

154. Many commentators on Gautama Buddha's speeches

775 explain that the "master" himself gave his questioning disciples only very unwillingly and in dark language the information concerning that which he wanted them to understand by nirvana. And that by life he only wanted them to understand the present form of existence; a conscious life in another existential form was nonetheless thinkable even after the entry into nirvana.

with it also all suffering, consequently therefore also life and existence generally, came to an end. For life is, after all, simply synonymous with suffering in the teaching of the ancient Indic sages and also that of Buddha. There is no life without suffering. But to him whose strength and endurance are insufficient to free himself, the "Great Merciful One" (Tibetan, t'ugs-rje ĉen-po, Sankrit Avalokitesvara) proffers out of his mercy his assistance. Hearing the prayers of the people, he saves the suffering creatures from all tortures of existence, even from all the various hells, and translates them into the Paradise of the West.

792 "A pious and virtuous lama can be of great assistance on this way to liberation," said the hermit. "You call me Root Lama (rtsa-baibla-ma), and you are right in doing so. For just as this apricot tree draws up power and sap by the root, so the layman draws his strength from his Root Lama to whom he has attached himself so that he grows spiritually and bears good fruit, leads a pious life, does good deeds by people and by animals, and so that in this way the door to paradise is opened to him. The ignorant and slothful layman who has not the power to effect his salvation by himself, takes refuge with his Root Lama as well as with the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The Root Lama is the indispensable agent of salvation for the layman. A saying in one of our sacred books reads: 'Without the mediation of a lama, no one can approach the godhead.' The lama is the teacher of the layman and shows him onto the path of virtue, he imparts the blessing to the /171/ layman, hears his confession, gives him absolution, imposes penalties upon him, and leads the sinner to the redeeming Bodhisattva who in his mercy purifies him of his sins and who leads him towards release through all the temptations and perils of life. The Bodhisattva does all this from pure mercy, that is why he is called the Great Merciful One."

"It is true that this expression is much abused by the lamas. Unworthy ones presume to be mediators and leaders, and let themselves

764 children that young do not know as yet the difference between good and evil; therefore there is also no need for these ceremonies. If we people of Ladakh (so say these people) had to observe these rites even among those younger than the eight-year-olds, then the burden (the expenses) would become so heavy that we would be unable to bear it. Therefore we do not perform any rites.

First Considerations and Practices

In case a person suddenly dies and the flour, butter, beer, and so forth, (necessary for the mass of the dead) are not present in the house, the death is kept a secret for three to four days, until these things have been procured. Then, when everything is prepared, a lama, /212/ who has performed the "Four Exercises" (2) (t'un bźi-po

2. These "Exercises of the four times of the day (tun)" are performed in each case at daybreak (t'o-rańs sńa t'un), towards noon (nyin-p'yed dus guń t'un), towards six o'clock in the evening (p'yi-tog srod t'un), and towards midnight (t'san p'yed sńon-du dgońs). With these four segments of time the lama concerned must recite the formula of refuge 100,000 times, other formulas of adoration 100,000 times, 100,000 Mandala (dkyil-ak'or), 100,000 yig-brgya, and other formulas. In order to get through all these Exercises, (a lama) needs about five months. The whole thing represents a testing of the lama.

t'on-mk'an-gyi bla-ma), goes to call one of the p'as-pun. Those who already have everything in preparedness send a messenger immediately after the death (of the relative) out to the lama who takes care of the "changing of the body" (ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan).

Marks of the Virtuous and of the Sinner on the Dead Person

763 If the upper part of the dead person's body becomes cold while
775 the lower part of his body is still warm, then the deceased was a virtuous person in his lifetime. But if the upper part of his body is still warm while the lower part becomes cold, then this is taken as a sign that the person was a sinner. Why? The soul of the virtuous person escapes through an opening on top of the head in the fontanel, and

the body then cools off gradually from the top down to the feet; in the 763
case of great sinners, the soul escapes from the lower part of the body 775
through the rectum, and the body gradually cools off from down below up to the head, so it is said.

Behavior of the Deceased

It is said that for four days the dead person does not know that 775
he has died. The latter (during this time) keeps returning to his house, sits down in the circle (of the members of his household), and also speaks to them, but the latter do not answer him. But when he notices that his body does not cast a shadow any more and that (in walking) he leaves no footprints behind, only then does he know: I have died. It is also said that the dead person always resembles the animal of his birth year, for instance, the corpse of a pig year person is supposed to look like a dead pig (in his features).

When somebody has died, his understanding (his faculties) be- 775
come nine times as acute as before. For a good lama it is an easy 789
thing to effect that creatures in Bardo (3) (through his magical arts),

3. Bardo is the realm of the dead in which the deceased arrive first and where they stay for forty days until they are reborn in a new body. In the same place they are also tortured and frightened by horrible demons, if the power of their own virtuous accomplishments, or the prayers, masses, and offerings of the priests do not release them from it. --Compare Evans-Wentz: Tibetanisches Totenbuch, Zürich, 1937.

become so light that they become like beams (floating on the water) (4), so it says in the books, particularly in the "T'os-agrol." Until

4. The force of gravity is eliminated. A renowned magical trick of the lamas.

the funeral ceremonies are ended, the deceased person daily receives his favorite dishes.

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Many Sects--Many Methods

Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, 000

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

low on the ridge. Now the whole sky was rich in colors—as rich as Arizona could produce. Then in one swift moment it was dark. The Big Dipper showed to the northwest, close to the skyline, with its handle standing almost erect. The cold south wind —the prevailing daytime wind in Ladakh—had been whining down the Tsarap River from Baralacha Pass. Now it began to die down. In a few hours the prevailing nighttime wind—the chill wind from the north or northeast—would pick up. The white sheep across the canyon had bedded down. A tiny light high in a ravine marked the camp of their shepherd. Rup Singh and the muleteers were still huddled together in the nulla.

Rahul and I sat mostly in silence. Only once did we talk, and then it was about Rup Singh. We agreed to wait him out if it took all night. We speculated on Rup Singh's background and character. Rahul said, "I am a Buddhist, and Buddhists believe in transmigration of souls. We never speak of a man's dying; his soul merely leaves his body and goes to some other body. The important thing is not only what a man is but what he was before his present self. Is he better or worse? Is he going up or down the ladder?"

"What do you reckon Rup Singh was before he was Rup Singh?" I asked.

"R. S.," Rahul said as if talking to himself. "R. S. are his initials. Let's see what they might stand for."

"I have it," I shouted. "R. S. means the Reincarnated Satan." We both roared. And as we roared here came Rup Singh and his assistants and the mule train. He was beaming all over, as pleasant and gracious as the day we first met him at Kyelang.

"Speaking of the devil," I said teasingly. And before I could finish Rup Singh asked, "Is it all right if we camp with you? Then we can get a real early start tomorrow."

"To Patseo or to Leh?" I asked.

"To Leh, of course," he answered, a bit surprised that I need question it.

today been mixed in a religion which Buddha himself would 776 778
hardly recognize.

Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama), whose home was in Nepal, 779
lived from about 560 B.C. to about 480 B.C. He designed a beautiful religion, a religion more intellectual than emotional, one that made wisdom its main faith and righteous conduct its code. Buddha taught the "Noble Eightfold Path": (1) right views; (2) right aspirations; (3) right speech; (4) right conduct; (5) right livelihood; (6) right effort; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right rapture. This philosophy demanded (1) freedom from superstition; (2) noble thoughts worthy of the intelligent man; (3) speech that is truthful and generous; (4) conduct that is honest and peaceful; (5) actions that bring no injury to any living thing; (6) self-control that subjects the passions to control by the mind; (7) a mental attitude of active watchfulness; (8) deep meditation on the principles of life.

Buddha's tenets were based on the notion that the cause of all 779
suffering is desire and that desire results from ignorance. Buddha 775
believed in life after death, or rebirth. The Hindu belief in rebirth preceded Buddha in India. Man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and moves on to take possession of another body. One can, by his acts and mental attitudes, become reborn into a higher and nobler form; or he can debase himself and return to earth in a lowlier condition. He can, unaided, effect his own deliverance and gradually, in successive reappearances on this earth, attain the status of an Arhat or perfected man. This, briefly, is the doctrine of reincarnation. Every event is the result of prior causes and itself the cause of future events. What is done in this life shapes what happens in the next. One who lives a life of good works and good thoughts will move in the next life one step closer to Nirvana. But one who violates the teachings of the "Noble Eightfold Path" will in the next life move down the ladder; then he will have to start over and regain the ground he has lost in his struggle toward perfection.

779 This, in barest summary, was the teaching of Buddha; and it
177 became the main religion of India for the four centuries beginning in 300 B.C. Later it became corrupt and in India was supplanted mainly by Hinduism and by the faith of Islam. Buddhism moved south, east, and north. By 243 B.C. it had come to Ladakh and by A.D. 400 was the established religion there. It gradually spread north, going to Tibet about the middle of the seventh century. Meanwhile Buddhism, as Bell in *The Religion of Tibet*[1] shows, had absorbed much of the magic, mythology, rituals, and metaphysics of Lamaism and became clothed in garments that Buddha himself would not have recognized. But the central core of the religion was intact—the "Noble Eightfold Path." And the doctrine of reincarnation, originally derived from Hinduism, continued to flourish.

779 But the doctrine of reincarnation took a special twist in Tibet.
• 775 In the fifteenth century it was especially adapted to maintain the
792 authority of the priesthood and perpetuate the power of the
177 lamas in a peaceful way. The theory was developed that each Grand Lama was at once reborn in order to resume his life's work. The soul of the deceased lama took possession of a boy born shortly after his death. The problem was to identify the boy, raise him in the faith, keep his power in a regency until his maturity, and then turn over the power to him. The line of authority thus became clear. There was now no longer any contest among ambitious lamas who wanted to be spiritual leader of all Buddhism. The discovery of the baby to whom the soul of the deceased had passed answered all the questions and settled all the quarrels.

By the year 1542 this system had been adopted in Tibet for selection of the Dalai Lama. And it then became the method for determining the succession of spiritual sovereignty throughout the various lower echelons. The head of every monastery became an Incarnate Lama, who was the reincarnation of the holy man who had originally established the monastery. That is what hap-

 1 [See Source NO.4, AJ1 Tibet AJ1- ANALYST]

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery.

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensitive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

Beyond the High Himalayas

792 Phuntzog talked at length about the discovery. He said that the
159 soul usually wanders two years before it decides what life to
787 enter. Two years from the date when an Incarnate Lama passes
•775 to heavenly fields is, therefore, the critical date. The high lamas of the monastery then go to the oracle at Lhasa and say, "Two years ago on this date, this man retired to the heavenly fields. What life has his soul possessed?"

The oracle then describes the place in general terms. When that place is found, there may be more than one baby boy who fits the description. In that event they have to make a selection. They customarily bring along some of the possessions of the predecessor. They put these on a table and bring the little candidates in. One may touch a watch and say it is his. One may inquire about his favorite hat and describe it or say where it was last hanging. The lamas may question the boys about the events in the life of the predecessor. They keep up the search until they are convinced they have found the child who has been possessed by the soul of the deceased.

I asked why Phuntzog relied so heavily on the scar of the boil and the mark of the wrist-watch band. "They are not there now," I said.

He went on to explain that the predecessor had had a nasty boil on the back of his neck and that a native doctor had burned it off, leaving a deep scar. The mark was unmistakable. The mark of the wrist-watch strap was also plain. The man had seldom removed the watch; and when he did, a lighter-colored strip of skin was plain for all to see.

That was not all. This predecessor had spoken Arabic and English. "Only the other day," Phuntzog said, "Rinpoche, who has had no lessons in Arabic, started speaking it."

"How can that be?" I asked.

"The knowledge of the predecessor is in the boy," he replied. "It has to be revived. Some stimulus has to bring it to consciousness; but it is all there."

346 hewn rock and adorned at the top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

764 I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed
346 on the ground and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not cus-
[775] tomary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten*. But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood—red and white.

788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten*, they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens*. They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens*, and as they walk they chant in unison, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom*. The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

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208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
775 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle 648
directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By select- 775
ing the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church 787
got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached 792
democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beauti- 792
fully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the 159
Saturday Evening Post for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born 787
after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of 792
Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They con- 159
sulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies fre- 775
quently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

787 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus
792 sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-
159 encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it ap-
775 peared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

648 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in
792 this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At
775 times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

rate pieces of paper, wrapped each one in a piece of dough, put 648
the three in a wheel or drum, and whirled it. Out pops one; and 792
the man whose name is in the capsule is the Dalai Lama. How 775
they controlled the wheel so that the name of the candidate they preferred popped out is a mystery. But I learned from my early days with a carnival in this country that such mysteries are not profound. I am sure this one is not above the reach of the average pitch man.

The Chinese made the process easier to manipulate. In 1793 a golden urn was sent from China. The names of the boys who were likely candidates for the reincarnation were placed in the urn. Religious services were held, and then chopsticks were used to pick out one slip of paper. Manipulation within that scheme of things was a simple affair.

The Chinese have gone so far in their manipulation of the doctrine of reincarnation as to prohibit rebirth of a person deemed inimical to the welfare of the state. In 1882 Sing Chen helped a foreigner into Tibet and allowed him to visit Lhasa. The Chinese were displeased. They put Sing Chen to death and forbade him to reincarnate. Thus, long before the Communists came to control in China, the Chinese authorities used the doctrine of reincarnation to serve their ends and to perpetuate their authority.

The Chinese have used the Panchen Lama to further their 648
cause of subjecting Tibet. The Panchen Lama is second to the 792
Dalai Lama. But in some respects—too recondite for me to under- 642
stand—the Panchen Lama is "holier" than the Dalai Lama. He is a political invention of the fifteenth century—not an invention of the Chinese but of the ecclesiastical authorities who, on the growth of the political power of northern Tibet, created the Panchen Lama as the symbol of the north. But the south won out and the Dalai Lama remained supreme. Yet the Panchen Lama became a divisive influence in Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs.

The Panchen Lama has a large area of his own in Tibet over which he has control. His district is Tsang Province, where he

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at each other and argue, but they do not come to blows." 674

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes. 779

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when commerce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square—where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth. 438 487 443 178

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to 458 439 775

[1] [Barley Beer--Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

brothers and sisters, the bliss of deliverance which comes 779
through the atrophy of personality. His views are well summed up in the four noble truths which he is said to have taught.

(1) Life is suffering.
(2) Life is the result of desire.
(3) Cessation of desire ends the life of suffering.
(4) Cessation of desire is attained by following the eightfold path.

What is the eightfold path? It consists of right belief; right aspirations; right speech; right actions; right livelihood; right effort; right mindfulness, and right contemplation. By what means can the Buddhist walk along these paths? By carrying out the Buddha's five commandments:—

(1) Do not kill.
(2) Do not steal.
(3) Do not commit adultery.
(4) Do not speak untruth.
(5) Do not taste intoxicating drinks.

This in a nutshell was Buddha's teaching, and, by the keeping [775] ●
of this law, he promised mankind that they would attain Nirvana, which is a state of unconscious bliss, when a personal existence is over and done with, and the liberated soul is at one and in harmony with the all-pervading. To attain this state, which the Ladaki calls "*Stongpa nid*," meaning "empty spirit," the soul has to work its way by re-incarnation through various existences of which there are six, until the balance of good actions over bad is so immense that the soul finds emancipation. Therefore every Buddhist takes such infinite pains to increase the credit side with good actions in order to obtain merit. Although all adherents of this religion do not admit it, yet most authorities agree that Gautama taught that no outside aid availed. Each man must work out his own salvation with fear and trembling.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

773 slung a stone at him, but missed, for the horse had got behind a rock. The steed then said to his master, " Oh thou with the big head without brains, thou donkey without long ears, thou ox without horns, look at my sore back ! How can I carry you ? But quickly take the lancet placed by my good queen Bruguma in my left ear, and cut out my sores, then wash them with the lotion in my right ear, and I will get well immediately and bear you back to Ling." No sooner said than done, and they returned. Kesar re-conquered the country, liberated his Queen and her sons, and they lived happily ever after.

643 Thus runs the story, and to-day we have in Ladak two
• 775 representatives of this hero King, for Kesar is re-incarnated in both father and son, Kings of Ladak. The question may be asked how the young King can be a re-incarnation of King Kesar during the lifetime of his father who is also a re-incarnation of the same ? This is perfectly easy to explain, for Kesar appeared in many disguises, and they are incarnations of two of these. In like manner, the Queen Mother and the reigning Queen, both living, are each a re-incarnation of one goddess, the White Tara. In the case of the two Kings we have definite proof of this fact, for they have both of them a squint, although the son has only acquired his after years of
643 practice. It would seem strange in most countries for the son to be reigning while his father is still alive, but, in this back-to-front country, the heir-apparent, on reaching manhood, has for long been made co-ruler with his father. At the present time they have gone a step further, for the Father King has retired to a hermitage, where he tells his beads, says his *Ommanis*, and prepares himself for his next incarnation. The coronation of the present King took place soon after we arrived in Leh, and all the missionaries and their children were invited to be present at the ceremony. So on the morning of the coronation day we were requested to send up the chairs on which we were to sit. The Tibetan word for a chair, by the way, is *Khriushing*, which means a wooden

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, 788
eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the 792
stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. 643
Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his 788
chos, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief 631
ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor im- 643
portance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, [776]
whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* re-incarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a [793]
Skushog, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor 662
old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXII

Skushogs & Scandals

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[554]

AMONG the greater personages who periodically appear on the stage of public life in Leh are the *Skushogs* of the surrounding monasteries. The word Sku-shog, meaning literally "body-great," or translated freely, "your presence," is a title of honour used by Central Tibetans for any person of rank, including even the European occasionally, but in Western Tibet it is confined to clerical dignitaries, and, in practice, is only used to designate the head abbot of one or more monasteries. Such a man is regarded as having obtained sufficient holiness to reach Nirvana, but in his compassion for his fellows he voluntarily remains in the wheel of life, and comes back to help them by presiding over their *dGonpa*. Thus as soon as the head incarnation of a monastery dies, he is re-incarnated in a male baby born at the time of his death, this child then has to be discovered and brought to rule over his own lamasery when old enough. Here he is absolute monarch; he himself cannot do evil whatever sin he commits; he is a law-giver, but need not abide by the laws he lays down. The method of discovery and preparatory education of a *Skushog* may be best told by translating a short biography written in Tibetan by the *Skushog* of Hemis at our request.

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"My own home is not in Llasa itself, as my father was an assistant to the Yutog minister, whose house is connected with Lhasa by a bridge, covered by a roof set in turquoise-coloured baked bricks. My house-name is 'Yutog Shar.'

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Yutog minister is the governor of twelve provinces and lives in the Kensdongrdzong. 792 159

"I was born when my father was in the employ of the Yutogpa. My birthday is in the fifteenth Rabjhung, in the year of the Sheep. According to the English calendar, this would be the year 1883 A.D. When I was eight 159 years old, that is in the end of the year of the Iron Tiger, 775 the steward of the Hemis monastery, whose name was 792 Ngagwang Chos Zang, and the Kashmir State sent to Llasa for me, where I was staying at Dechen Choskor, which means the Holy Wheel. That I was their *Skushog* was conclusively proved to the envoys, for when they asked the Yongdzin Incarnation to tell them where they could find their new incarnation, he told them my house-name, my father's name and the name of my birth-year quite distinctly and correctly, although it was impossible for him to have known anything about me. Having arrived at Lhaldang, they acquainted me with this prophecy. This 792 was in the ninth year of the Iron Rabbit. After doing 159 obeisance to the Dalai Lama with the *Lobchag* [this is the merchant who is sent from Ladak every two years by the Kashmir State to salute the Dalai Lama and to hand him a present of Rs.9,000]. I offered my first hair to the Yongdzin, who was my Arch-*Skushog* at Dechen Choskor, and was then decorated with the crown-name Ngag Wang Jhamspel Gelegs Rgyaltsan Lhundrup Chogslas Rnampar Rgyalwai Lde, after which I started on my journey; at Shigatse I went to meet Panchen Ertini (the Trashi Lama, who is next in rank to the Dalai Lama), and after this arrived safely and happily at my destination in Hemis. The next year my enthronement as the successor of former *Skushogs* took place, after which I returned to Lhasa, going on to Sangsngag where the Arch-*Skushog* lives, and where I met the head of the Red Sect Lamas, the Drugpa Rinpoche and the Yongdzin Rinpoche, and where I learnt the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 159 791 learned afterwards that with the Maharajah's sanction, he obtained Rs500 from the Trigtse *dGonpa* to help him to get home, though the lamas would commit themselves to no statement as to whether they still regarded him as their *Skushog* or not, but at the monastery itself they always refer to him as the "Mad Skushog" still, and can appoint no successor during his lifetime. The last news we were able to obtain was from a lama, returning from Lhasa and visiting relations near Leh, who said that he was still alive, and that he and his father had saved their skins owing to the latter's wise forethought at the time the deputation first fetched his son from Tibet Knowing the lad's extraordinary character, he had taken the precaution to draw up a document, stating that the Trigste lamas insisted on taking the boy away, both against his own will and the son's. This paper eventually saved their lives, but the father was subsequently dismissed from his high post in the government and relegated to a lower one, while the son seems to live in a place of internment somewhere in the Closed Land, though not in Lhasa itself, provided with a house and fields, but segregated with other renegades, where, as the Trigtse lamas put it, he has not now the power to do so much mischief.

792 Coming down the valley we meet our next Incarnation at Spitug, another lamasery picturesquely perched on a hill. When we first came to Leh, he was personified by an old man bearing the pontifical name of Bacola whose reputation did not savour of holiness. His other, and smaller, monastery at Sankar, just behind Leh, often received visits from him, so that he was not infrequently met on the six miles of road between. He died in 1917, but it was not for two or three [775] years that we heard that he had been re-incarnated in the second son of the *rGyalpo* (King) of Marshro, a petty Rajahship some fourteen miles away. Through his mother, who, like the old Bacola, came from Zankskar, his present physical body is a great-nephew to his former one. When this small

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 in the usual profligacy, which still must be legitimate for one
588 who is a law-giver, and who can do no sin. This lady, who is addressed by the honorific title of *Bûm*, often accompanies him on his visits to Leh; she is very resplendent with magnificent *perag* and jewels, but quite friendly, and when she visited us was most interested in our children and their toys and dolls, especially one of the latter with eyelashes!

●775 The *Skushog* is generally known as the "Sras" or Son *Skushog*,
792 for he is one of a pair of incarnations, the "Yab," or Father *Skushog*, being the priest-king, we have already met on our tour to Zankskar. In the present re-birth the son happens to be older than the father, but that is a mere detail in this system of re-incarnation, where the physical body is of such minor importance.

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how 769 matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should [775] be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet.

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is [95] heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's de- [113] ceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.)

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

771 son of the king of heaven, was worshiped on earth as the bringer of
773 spring. From him and from his wife aBru-gu-ma people expected the blessing of a harvest and of offspring. With respect to the life after death they had entirely animistic conceptions.

113 In the saga of "Kesar's Beloved Mon" (Journal and Proceedings
773 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II. p. 467) we read that this
775 Mon had been killed by being pushed off a cliff. When Kesar approached the corpse, he heard a voice speaking from it. He opened the dead body with his knife and out of it came two Mon devils, one male and one female. These devils Kesar carried home, wrapped up in a piece of cloth. In the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po we read the following (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 321): the Agu mDa-dpon-gon-ma had been killed and had been entombed in a stupa. But people were very much worried that he might still be full of thoughts of revenge. For this reason an old hermit advised them to walk respectfully around the stupa of the dead Agu until a lizard came out of it and nodded its head. All this is fulfilled, and the dead man, moreover, is kind enough to give his son, who is praying to him, a piece of advice. This advice concerns an arrow which would be of particularly great use to him in battle.

In the saga dealing with Kesar's victory over the devil (or giant) Khya-ba (Khya-ba (Khyab-pa)-lag-rins (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 1164, p. 278) it is stated that the enraged Bam-za-abum-skyid went to the grave of this giant, her former husband, and that she roared into the grave. As an answer to her roar there was an earthquake. (The giant moved in his grave.) Thereupon Kesar rushed to the giant's grave and chanted magical formulas into the grave until it became impossible for its occupant to leave it.

From all this we can see that, though it was impossible for the ancient Tibetans to conceive of death /32/ as a complete annihilation of life, nevertheless, after what has been stated above, there can be no question of a conception of an idealized form of existence that will take place after death.

Such a delightful, disembodied life is led on the Olympus of the Tibetans, the mountain peaks of the Gans-ri (Kailasa). In the account that I wrote of my journey from upper Sutlej to the upper Indus, in 1909 (see Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 37) there is the following passage with respect to the Pu-rgyal mountain peak: "The baggage carriers of Chan pointed to those mountain peaks and said
773 that up there was the magical country (aBa-yul), the dwelling place
775 of the spirits. The inhabitants of this place are supposed to be very

numerous. However, ordinary persons cannot see or hear anything of them. Only noble people or lamas are capable of observing anything of the life and the activities in aBa-yul. When such a pious man approaches the region of the perpetual snows he often hears the voices of the invisible inhabitants of the magic land and the barking of their dogs." These are the ideas of the present-day Tibetans concerning their Olympus. It is possible, of course, to think of its invisible inhabitants as the gods (lha). These are its original inhabitants. But in the course of time the souls of good, pure people seem to have been added to its population. In any case, the later systematized Bon religion points to such a population of "Olympus." Until these ideas received their full expression, it is possible that ideas among the people arose which postulated a life in the Beyond among the gods for the noblest of their priests and heroes. In this fashion the icy regions of the Himalayas became the universal paradise. 773 775

The Tag-ma-cig Wedding Songs

This collection of sixty songs falls into three parts. The first part contains nineteen songs which are to be sung outside the door by the purchasers of the bride (sGo-la-btan-ces-kyi-glu). The second part is called Tho-rabs. It deals with the journey of the bride purchasers from the gate to the place where the festivities are held. With each question that they answer correctly, the bride purchasers overcome one obstacle and thus come one step closer to the festive place. It is to be noted that this Tho-rabs is not known in Khalatse, whereas the first and the third part of the songs is known in Khalatse. The third part is sung on the festive place during the banquet. It is called chan-glu, beer song. In the following, the first nineteen songs are to be published first, and in the versification of the originals, into which the translations that I did purely according to the sense have been transferred with great skill by Mrs. Anna Paalzow. 585 539

I

Songs Sung in Front of the Bride's House

Ia. The people of the house say:

1. The ice god closed the valleys three
   High above where the glacier lioness lives.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name).

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax.

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born.

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south *with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting* Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
Bhutan AK2
W. Tibetans AJ4

Each of these Grand Lāmas has a separate biography (or *nam-t'ar*). The first, who was a contemporary of the Grand Lāma Sonam Gya-tshô, seems to have been married; the rest are celibate. A celebrated Lāma of this Dug-pa sect was named Mi-pam ch'os-Kyi gyal-po.

The Dharma Rāja resides, at least in summer, at the fort of Ta-shi-ch'o. The palace is a large stone building, with the chief house seven storeys high, described and figured by Turner and others. Here live over five hundred monks.

Bogle describes the Lāma of his day as "a thin, sickly-looking man of about thirty-five years of age."[1]

He exercises, I am informed, some jurisdiction over Lāmas in Nepal, where his authority is officially recognized by the Gorkha government.

The number of the lesser spiritual chiefs held to be re-embodied Lāma saints is stated[2] to be one hundred and sixty, of which thirty are in Tibet (twelve being "Shaburuṅ"), nineteen in north Mongolia, fifty-seven in south Mongolia, thirty-five in Kokonor, five in Chiamdo and the Tibetan portion of Sze-ch'wan, and fourteen at Pekin. But this much under-estimates the number in Tibet.

Amongst the re-embodied Lāmas in western Tibet or Tsang are Seṅge'en-Rin-po-ch'e,[3] Yaṅzin Lho-pa, Billuṅ, Lô-ch'en, Kyi-zar, Tiṅki, De-ch'an Alig, Kaṅla, Koṅ (at Phagri). In Kham, Tu, Ch'amdo, Derge, etc.

The Lāmaist metropolitan at Pekin is called by the Tibetans "lC'aṅ-skya," and is considered an incarnation of Rol-pahī Dorje. His portrait is given in the annexed figure. He dates his spiritual descent from a dignitary who was called to Pekin during the reign

[1] MARKH., p. 27.

[2] In the Sheng Wu Ki, and registered by the Colonial Board at Pekin. (MAYER) *J.R.A.S.*, vi., p. 307.

[3] The last re-incarnate Lāma bearing this title, and the tutor of the Tashi Grand Lāma, was beheaded about 1886 for harbouring surreptitiously Sarat C. Das, who is regarded as an English spy; and although the bodies of his predecessors were considered divine and are preserved in golden domes at Tashi-lhunpo, his headless trunk was thrown ignominiously into a river to the S.W. of Lhāsa, near the fort where he had been imprisoned. On account of his violent death, and under such circumstances, this re-incarnation is said to have ceased. From the glimpse got of him in Sarat's narrative and in his great popularity, he seems to have been a most amiable man.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4
SIKKIM AK3

of K'ang Hi, probably about 1690-1700 A.D., and entrusted with the emperor's confidence as his religious vicegerent for inner Mongolia.[1]

In Ladāk only four monasteries have resident re-incarnate Lāmas or *Ku-s'o*. Although they are of the red sect, these head Lāmas are said to be educated at Lhāsa. The present (1893) re-incarnate Lāma of Spitak, the seventeenth of the series, is thus described by Captain Ramsay.[2] "A youth, 26 years of age, who lately returned from Lhāsa, where he had been for 14 years. He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden-coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved, and one arm was bare. On entering the room he bowed, and then presented the customary 'scarf of salutation,' which I accepted. He impressed me very favourably; his manner and general appearance was superior to anything I had seen among other Lāmas or people of Ladāk."

HEAD LĀMA OF PEKIN.[3]

In Sikhim, where few Lāmas are celibate and where the Le-brang Lāma is the nominal head of the fraternity with the title of "Lord protector" (*s*Kyab *m*Gon), the fiction of re-incarnation was only practised in regard to the Pemiongchi and Le-brang

[1] *Z.R.* 21, PAND., No. 53. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 69. [3] After Grünwedel.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

193 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

193 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
535

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

135 316 173 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo. [776] [784] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than those of any other part of the river. [136] But the gold of the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 village *Thakurs* and *Debis* to be only so many different
779 forms of Mahadeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the Lamas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, ● 776 though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. Some of these divinities are the following:—

1.	*Rihi-Lhá* ...	... Mountain Gods, or Oreades.
2.	Chhuhi-Lhá ...	... River Gods, or Naiãdes.
3.	Shinggi-Lhá ...	... Tree Gods, or Dryades.
4.	Zhi-Lhá* ...	... Family Gods, or Lares.
5.	Zhing-Lhá ...	... Field Gods, or Leimoniades.
6.	Khyim-Lhá ...	... House Gods, or Penates.

177 In after-times the mystical system of the Tantrists
779 was engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepál and Tibet; and the pictures of the prevailing red and yellow sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying *Targchuk* (Iswara), and of his blood-drinking spouse *Chong-Summa* (the three-eyed goddess *Trilochana*). These doctrines were named *Nang-pa*, the esoteric or orthodox, in contradistinction to the Phyipa, exoteric or heterodox. With them, I believe, originated the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyani Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part.

* *gZhis-Lhá*. *Lha* is the generic name of God; hence, Buddha is called *Lha-yi-Lhá*, the "God of Gods." The similarity of this name to the Roman *Lar*, and to the old Arabic *Ilah*, God, is very striking. I may notice here, that the usual translation of the Musalmán Kalimeh, لا اله الا الله *La Ilah ila Allah*, "there is no God but God," is a manifest [illegible] The true translation is, "there is no God but *Allah*."

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776●
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak."

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e, barley beer -- Analyst]

[30]

779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon
●776 or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at
595 liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one
768 end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son,
[478] or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an
779 arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If
586 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they re-
428 main with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

GAUDY--tshos lakmo bright coloured. Ladákis approve highly of bright colours therefore our "gaudy" corresponds with their "bright". 100

[52]

GIPSY— khamba or khampa. No gipsies are found among Ladákis, who are a very well-to-do people. Wandering beggars come from the Lhása Province of "Kham," hence possibly the word "khamba." 735 568

[53]GOD--konjok is the general term, but it is hard to say what the Ladákis understand the word to mean, for according to European ideas they have no God. They have a kind of Trinity which they call the "Konjóksum" or "Konjok sumbo." It is made up as follows:--(1) sangiás (sangeys) konjok, i.e., Buddha the emblem of intelligence, and the head of the Buddhist faith and priesthood (2) chhos konjok, i.e., the religion deity; (3) gendun konjok, i.e., the priestly deity. From this it seems that the Ladákis have no God, and that they worship a Trinity representing--(1) Buddha; (2) priests of the religion of Buddha. Ordinary Ladákis have no idea of anything before and apart from Buddha, and they never trouble their heads about the Laws of Nature, and the Causer of Causes. They think that the world goes on in a never ending round of "kalpas" or periods, each of which has its own Buddha, and each of which is terminated by the destruction of the world by fire, as a punishment for the sins of mankind. After that, a fresh "kalpas" commences, and so on. 779 776 822

They cannot give any information as to their belief regarding the length of a "kalpas;" but they say that long long ago the age of man extended up to 800 years, that since then his life time has gradually been shortened, till now, his age rarely extends beyond 80 years, that the present is the last of the life shortening "kalpas," and that after the end of this "kalpas," man's life time will gradually be lengthened to its former limits.

In addition to the "konjoksum," the Ladákis have endless minor deities;"Hla" or more correctly "Lha" is the general term for a fairy, spirit, or deity; rgiachhen is Indra; tshángspa is Brahma; khiápjook is Vishuoo; wángchhook is Iswara; and dodhla is Cupid, in the evil sense of the God of lust. 776 779

Other minor gods are sa i hla the earth god, ree i hla the mountain

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "róm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

●776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, The former the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be, Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 443

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

792 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751 PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 768 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 177 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways: hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 753 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za" means 'epilepsy" and "chhoothung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

412 [131]
RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years" trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

[439]

763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

/Original page unnumbered/

776

'Pyag-rdor (Chag dor),
Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt)
with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of
faith, also a rain god

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the 789
house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily
occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve
the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring
butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking
bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas [262]
are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves
with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with
the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the
flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful
meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer [273]
(chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite
of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt [783]
which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of
killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer
after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their
people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated
from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that
they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add an-
other request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in
heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of
monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow
on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have
not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility
for killing lies with others.

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire
day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival
of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly [787]
be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring
Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of
this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from
the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it
that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance
into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay [776]
on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied
kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in
this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous
intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for
from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

000 and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [785] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

[789]

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal,had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close •776] to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While 789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "Že-pa, že-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

It was extremely seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in 137
rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [53]
branches from the trees and had taken them home /34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-sin, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 372
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

whose origin the boy could not explain intermingled with the howling 000
of the wind and the rushing of the Indus River. Namgyal's eye sharpened by his awakened imagination, then spied shadowy figures as they suddenly moved over the mountain slope and above him through the air. At those times the boy liked to be close to his companion. "Did you see that?" his comrade Puntsog asked him one evening as they were driving their herd along through the narrow gorge as darkness was descending upon them. They were late because they had had to spend a long time searching for animals that had strayed away from the herd. "There, up by the precipice it was rushing along!" "Yes, I saw it too," answered Namgyal, "it was a fox." "Yes, but didn't you see anything else? Someone was riding on the fox; /40/ it was gongpo with a large, round [776] head, bristly hair and a hideous grimace, with bared teeth, two red eyes and a third eye on its forehead, and long claws on its fingers. It was shaking its hand threateningly at us. Come, let us hurry so we get home fast!"

When Namgyal came home he asked his grandmother, whose 538
favorite he was and who had already told him quite a lot of terrifying things about evil spirits who are housed in mountain and valley, what kind of a being that was they had seen and told her what they did. She answered: "Let Meme (the old) Konchog Trashi tell you that, nobody knows more about these spirits and their activities and no one knows the old sagas and fairytales as well as he."

What Old Konchog Trashi Told
Namgyal about Gods and Demons

One of the following evenings Namgyal went to the old Gyamstopa (16) Konchog Trashi, the storyteller and narrator of legends who is

16. Written in Tibetan, rgya-mt'so-pa, it signifies "seaman," the house name of the person concerned.

known through the length and breadth of the land for his narrative skill. Namgyal arranged it so that he would not have to look up the old man [164] in his own house because his wife had leprosy in the highest degree; for this reason Namgyal was afraid to come near to her. He met the storyteller as he was sitting under his large nut tree at the edge of the irrigation ditch where he was spinning threads from coarse yak's hair. At the request of Namgyal Konchog Trashi, a small figure with a

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the
• 776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered
[782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis-
[784] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt'san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and
[782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex-
776 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible.
783 The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again." 776 783

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes. They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states [illegible] are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth [illegible]spering, and welfare in the human world. When a human bei[illegible]nger them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease [illegible] death. 776

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase along as "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the [753] [754]

20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/, there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf," said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

776 legs astride, a dwarf only a tru (21) high; his beard just as long, wearing

[804] 21. 1 tru (k'ru) is equivalent to the length of the lower arm of an adult person from the elbow to the tip of his extended middle finger.

a cap and carrying a stick. The Balu (dwarf) had, as my neighbor told me, looked at him sharply and then he had laughted broadly and shrewdly at the man who almost fell off his little horse because he was so frightened and a little drunk with the beer."

[532] One evening Konchog Trashi brought a picture along for his young friend /43/ whose thirst for knowledge was a pleasure to him. The picture had been made by a mask maker and painter Ishe Lhundrub, who also produced the hideous devils' masks for the monastery and painted the pictures of the Buddhas, holy men, and gods. He had painted it on paper copying it from models in varied, shining colors and then he had mounted it on silk. It represented the terrible goddess of revenge dPal-ldan-Lha-mo (22). She is the wife of the god of death and

22. The dreadful goddess of terror Kali of Hindu mythology. There she is the wife of Shiva, the destroyer.

prince of hell Shin-je (gśin-rje, Sanskrit Yama). "This couple had a son. Father and son were enemies of the sacred teachings of Buddha," so recounted Konchog Trashi, "and the son attempted to extinguish this doctrine. Thereupon the mother who was a zealous adherent of the faith, became enraged, killed her disloyal son, skinned him, ate his heart and drank his blood from a bowl which she made from the skull of her son. Then she mounted her yellow mule upon which she had placed the skin of her son as a saddle-cloth and fled from the rage of her husband. Now Shin-je pursued his angry spouse and murderess of the child and shot a magic arrow at the fleeing goddess which hit the mule in the rear shank. Lhamo, however, transformed the wound by a magical formula into an eye and thus escaped the raging husband. Since that time dPal-ldan Lha-mo has been the fiercest fighter for the sacred doctrine of Buddha."

Konchog Trashi showed his young, eager friend the picture of the Dreadful One. There she is shown riding along on her pale yellow mule through a sea of blood in which the hacked-off limbs of the enemies of Buddha, who have been killed in battle, are floating. The

skin color of the goddess is the blue of the terror deities; her bristling, 776
upright hair surrounds her huge head like flames, upon which has been placed a crown consisting of the skulls of killed enemies. From her three eyes she darts forth lightning. The goddess is dressed in only a loincloth of tiger skin and the skin of a human being; her belt is formed by snakes. Her right hand swings as a weapon the terrible trident, while in her left hand she holds the bowl of a skull filled with the blood of enemies. On the first day of the first month in the year a great mass is [782]
celebrated in honor of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the monastery temple in the neighboring Lamayuru monastery. This mass is performed in order to appease the anger of the feared goddess /44/, because the "unbelievers" constantly provoke her by their activity.

No wonder the imagination of Namgyal was most strongly aroused 000
by all these narratives and pictures--[illegible] Konchog Trashi acquainted his knowledgeable pupil with a great mass of Tibetan-Buddhistic divinities, with Buddhas and demons--and no wonder fear constantly gained increasing dominance over the boy. At night when it was dark he scarcely dared to take the short path which led from their meeting place to his house. Every step of the way he was accompanied by pictures of those demons and terror gods whose figures and actions the old storyteller had so drastically placed before his eyes. Everywhere he thought he could see the hideous, grinning grimaces; in the rushing of the wind, in the gurgling of the river, in the shriek of the eagle, in the call of the stone-finch, the boy heard the voice of the Dreadful One, her furious, spine-tingling "Alala!" Fear held the hitherto so courageous boy in its ban for a long time and inhibited his activities and his development.

By now Namgyal had heard enough about gods and demons and 773
of their mostly pernicious activities. For the time being he had no desire to hear them any more. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the stories of a lama who wandered around the countryside. Once during the winter he came to the village and stayed there for an extended period of time. To the people who crowded around him every [532]
day he showed painted pictures mounted on linen cloth and supplied with a border of silk. These pictures had round sticks attached to them at the top and at the bottom and they could be rolled up like a geographical map which is hung on the wall. The pictures represented scenes from the life and legend of Gautama Buddha. The boy was particularly interested in the stories of the 550 births of Buddha which preceded his last birth and at which he was born now as a god and now

584 destined for her daughter for herself and Norbu Wangchug had helped the two matchmakers get on their horses in a friendly manner, something which had not been quite superfluous. Then he had given Stobsldan's brown horse a blow on the rear shank with the flat of his hand so that the horse leaped forth and almost threw its rider into the brook which flowed along the side of the village path. And he had said, "Well, just bring the 'ransom' beer (hol-čan) soon."

It was a good thing that the horses of the Kalatse men knew the narrow, bad path so well, which leads from the valley steeply up to the highland plateau, and that they were able to find it with sureness even in the dark; it was further lucky that they did not stumble over the innumerable stones along the way or that they did not become frightened by the boulders that were loosened through their steps and which went thundering down the steep rocky slope. For the two riders completely entrusted themselves to the sharp senses and the sure footedness of their small, sturdy mountain horses. Not till the howling of a wolf sounded forth from up above along the edge of the plateau, which was soon answered by the howling of another wolf on the other side of the valley, and the horses became restless, did the men grasp the reins more firmly. Finally they had reached the plateau. On top there was blowing a strong gust from the west which cooled off and sobered the two heated heads. As they sobered up, however, the two otherwise quite courageous men were also overcome by fear. On the level plateau there lived /62/ a dreadful Tsan-demon
776 who occasionally appeared to wanderers. The men remembered the story which Konchog Trashi had recently told them. A company of men from the neighboring Teya once returned home to their village late in the evening after they had been drinking in Kalatse. On the plain the drunken men made a lot of noise and sang lewd songs and also reviled the lamas and the gods. Then suddenly a storm rushed along the plain, a cloud swept down from the mountains, and in the cloud Pagspa from the Shanku house (šan-ku, meaning "wolf") saw, as he recounted later, quite clearly the Tsan king with helmet and armor on his red horse, as he drew the bow and shot off an arrow. In the same instant Buchung screamed aloud, clasped his chest and slid off his horse. The Teya people brought him back to his home as a corpse. No wound was visible on him. He had been the loudest and the wildest reveller. Tsepell, too, is supposed to have been coughing blood since
000 that evening, which no lharje (Tibetan doctor) can cure. The men from Kalatse drove their horses on, which carried their riders in a

787 and presaged the anger of the gods. Dorje Dud-joms cut things short this time. When Lobsang Wanggyal asked for the horoscope two days later, the onpo received him with a friendly smile. "You can rejoice, gaga (gracious sir), your horoscope is not bad this time. The forces resisting the intentions of the betrothed couple are not too great. This might be quite different; all the things that we have seen in this respect!" The Dragshos could believe that fully, just judging from his own observations. "The mighty water deities especially are favorably inclined towards you--at least until now. Your ample lu-stor (offering to the water gods) and the reading of the book klu-abum (book of the 100,000 water gods) have put them into a favorable mood, too. Only the Don and Dre demons are not of a favorable disposition anyhow; you cannot trust them. Perhaps you have been somewhat negligent in recent times with your offerings and the reading of the necessary books. You should just catch up with what you have neglected; I have written down the books that you must have read and the offerings that should be presented. And--wait a minute! Something just occurs to me--I had almost forgotten about that. You want to hold the wedding in the [176] first month of the new year. In that month a new Lha (god) just wants /63/ to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, where you are going to have the first wedding festival. This god is as yet unknown and so he cannot be trusted. You must immediately put him in a good mood through offerings. He comes from Hundar. There he raged terribly and in his rage brought smallpox to the people of the village of Hundar. Surely you know that there and in the neighboring villages over eighty people died of smallpox. Then the lamas drove the Lha away by their formulas and exorcisms. Now he is about to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, as the lamas who live there have found out. Therefore, be careful and get yourself on good terms with the Lha right away so that he will not ruin your plans. The main wedding feast, which will be held in Tingmogang in the house of the bride's parents, should take place on the 21st of the first month. That is a Thursday (41), a propitious day for all marriages; the other days of the week are

777 41. Among the peoples of the East, as among those in the West, including also our Germanic ancestors, Thursday is accounted a lucky day for marriages; to the gza-p'ur-bu (Jupiter's day) there corresponds in Old High German Donar's day, the day of the Thunder (Storm) God Donar who with his weapon, the hammer, protected marriage, just like

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

the bridegroom. 585

The Nyaopas outside the gate and the Chirpon people in the yard now start a singing game, the meaning and content of which is the following: The five Nyaopas come to buy the bride in the name of the bridegroom's father. They claim to be the sons of god who have come from the realm of the gods on the high mountains, from the region of the glaciers. Their appearance arouses astonishment among the inhabitants of the house and their clan; for, as they believe, no one could escape from that realm which on all four "points of the compass" (above, below, to the right and to the left) is guarded by four female animals. The guards are: the white ice lion with the turquoise-colored mane (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can) above at the glacier; the little fish golden-eye (nya-mo gser-mig) below in the glacial brook; the wild queen of the birds (bya-rgyal rgod-mo) on the rock to the right; the giant striped tigress (rgya-stag k'ra-mo) in the sandal wood forest to the left. [776]

/80/ The people of the bride's house now jokingly put a long series of questions in the form of a song (63) to test the Nyaopas, which 585 533

63. The songs that now follow are taken from the collection Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/, collected by A. H. Francke, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, 1923. They have been translated by Francke from the Tibetan (Ladakh dialect), and Mrs. Paalzow has transposed them into their original meter. I am giving some of the songs in my translation. According to Francke some of the songs sung here represent a kind of catechism of the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans and give insights into the mythology and the cosmology of that period.

the latter answer by likewise singing a song. As soon as an answer is not made satisfactorily the gate is opened for just a moment from the inside, the boys and girls rush out and beat the Kalatse boys amid rough jokes. Then the Chirpon people withdraw again and lock the scarcely opened gate. The singing game begins. 585 533 539

The Chirpon people inside in the courtyard of the bride's house sing:

The Ice God closed off the three valleys

585 must be presented to the gods and the demons of the bride's new
789 dwelling place, in order to put them into a favorable mood lest they should oppose the new arrival. The abbot who had come along with /109/ four of his monks because he knew that there was still work for him to do, steps up to the crossing of the ways; on a copper plate he holds three little lamps (mĉod-kor) in the shape of a chalice made of bread dough. Butter has been put into the hollow at the top, a wick has been put inside the butter, which was then lighted. Now the abbot steps before the bride, holding in his right hand the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and the magic bell (dril-bu), and in his left hand the plate with the little burning lamps. Three times he swings them slowly in a circle around the head of the bride who is crouching before him and exorcizes the demons with the following words: "None of the male or female
• 574 Gong (122), none of the male or female Dre, the Tsan, the Dud, none

122. The names cited here designate various kinds of demons.

of the 80,000 Gegs devils, none of the 424 kinds of Don with their entire following may ever harm this bride! May they eat their fill from this meal and then each one go to his place!" After this exorcism from the mouth of the abbot, in which the four other lamas join in with deep, rumbling voices, the instruments start up again with a shrill sound. A lama novice relieves the abbot of the three little lamps made of bread dough and flings them among the blocks of stone lying around by the crossing of the paths. Then another lama hands the abbot a clay pot (dza-blug) into which have been put all kinds of shabby remnants of the wedding feast: used tea leaves (ja-ro), brewer's grain (sbaṅ-ma), remains of onions, garlic, radishes, a few bones that have been picked, and a piece of fur from one of the sheep that was consumed. The abbot places himself with the pot in front of a stone block on which a lama had previously drawn the figure of two crossed thunderbolts (rdo-rje rgya-dram), flings the pot with its appetizing content against the stone so that it breaks into pieces and the contents are scattered about. Now the demons may eat their fill from these "delicious" things and then they are to go each to his proper place (123).

123. This treatment of the demons on the part of the Tibetan lamas is reminiscent, as many of their defensive measures against the dieties are, of the conception of the "stupid devil" which one encountered until recent times also among the

5: Ribbach--116 a. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 112

532
776

A praying Buddha figure

595 But it must be - - - that
567 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan [789] woman to be sterile (mo-śam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her //118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

527 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming
777 between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first
805 half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos
789 first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma) (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

782 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering)
776 the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times. 782 776

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /138/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons. 527 789

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses, made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the desire. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

789

drought and crop failure for the new year. At this, the farmers of Kalatse were frightened, and some of them, the wealthiest among them, joined forces in order to do their utmost to ward off the threatening disaster, let the cost be what it would. That lama soothsayer had advised them, everyone individually, to have the rain-giving deities invoked once more in particular by one of his monastery brothers. In this way they would get to the right place. For, after all, it was these dieties who gave growth and prosperity with the necessary rain.

Thus, Namgyal also called in a Gelugpa monk in order to perform the prescribed ceremonies. The lama, who, as a "true believer," wore a yellow cap with the red dress of his order (the unreformed) lamas wear red caps) came, and after he had undertaken the ritual washings, he went into the adjoining valley, through which the water-supplying brook flows. There he sat down by a well and cleared the spot in the circumference of one meter. Then he set up a small brown statue of Tsongkapa, the great reformer; in front of this he placed a brass vase containing a bouquet of non-poisonous flowers as an offering gift, as well as some grain in a brass bowl, a white offering cake and a vase covered with jewels. In the latter the lama placed pills made of bread dough, spices, and flowers. Over each one of these pills the priest pronounces the magical formula of Tsongkapa 108 times, he blows at the pill, for his breath supposedly has magical powers, and then he places each individual pill inside the vase and covers the latter with a red cloth. Now the lama takes a book about rain magic (139)

139. The instructions for the conjuring of the Nagas (water gods) are contained in Tsongkapa's, the reformer's, book, dmigs brtse-ma las t'sogs; there Buddha, the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Manjushri are implored for rain. Tsongkapa is worshipped by the sect of the "Virtuous" (Tibetan, dge-lugs-pa) founded by him, and by the laymen served by this order. Images and statues of him are to be found in all Gelugpa monasteries and in many household temples, He, too, is considered a rain-giving deity. [776]

in his hand, whose author is supposed to have been the reformer who has long since risen to the dignity of a Bodhisattva /148/, and in his name he implores the rain-giving deities for the coveted moisture. The rain prayers contained in this book are supposed to be based on an ancient Indic Sutra (text) concerning the prayer addressed to the Great

527 transport services rendered for the Indian merchants and officials. Therefore the inhabitants of Kalatse decided to celebrate a large harvest festival that year. The hermit Tsetan, whose advice they liked to hear, had said: "By the grace of the "Three Jewels," you have had a good year, so you must also be thankful to them!" They followed his advice in their manner and decided to do something which they had not done for a long time, namely to offer a banquet to the gods and demons. And this could of course not be carried out without the cooperation of the lamas. Namgyal did not want to lag behind either in this great enterprise, in which all the greater farmers took part as paying contributors. After all, it might be of use.

On the day designated, therefore, eleven lamas from the Tingmogang monastery paraded with books, magical bell, dorje, with drums, kettle-drums, and the long trumpets, announcing that the banquet was to be prepared for the gods in the temple of that monastery. 557 A /150/ long series of gods of all classes was invited to this feast, in 776 particular by the priests: The "Bodhisattva of contemplation" (Vajrasattva); the god of death, Yama, the terrible judge of sinners in hell; furthermore the god of wealth, Kubera who holds the Ichneumon in his hand, which spits out jewels at his command; he was one of the rain-giving gods among the ancient Indians already, and was very popular; further there were invited the goddess who roamed around heaven (mk'a-agro-ma), the twelve dreadful Furies (stan-ma) whom one could not overlook unless one wanted to bring their wrath down upon one. In addition there were the mighty and moody local divinities, the nagas of the water, the earth, and of the sky. Tsongkapa, who had been turned into a god, could not be forgotten either; finally, and above all, the great Buddha himself had to be invited, for he, like the previously mentioned, also had power over the rain-giving deities. And lastly the heroes of Tibet's prehistory who had been advanced to the status of demigods, as well as a series of tutelary gods (Yidam) and rural deities, were likewise invited to the meal: altogether a colorful company. How may the great Gautama have felt when he was dragged out of his nirvana blessedness and placed in the midst of this company!

527 In the monastery everything had by now been prepared by the 782 lamas for the meal of the gods. The offering gifts were placed on a stair-like scaffold in front of the gods' images: On the lowest of seven steps were placed 84 brass offering lamps; on the step above it stood little pyramids of butter in the same number; then on the remaining

Then they would handle the robbers all right. 000

Drogpa Namgyal's Piety

As heir of the ancestors on his mother's side, Namgyal had inherited a tendency towards the religious. What the boy Namgyal had heard told by his father and by the old fairytale and saga narrator, Kontshog Trashi, as well as by the /following p. 160 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The great reading. Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of the country." The second with the subtitle: "A dosmo."/ /161/ hermit Tsetán, about the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, had made him think, had stimulated his imagination, but initially filled him with fear and terror. Often the boy stood lost in thought before the open door of the household temple, and with a silent horror looked at the figures of the various deities that were there portrayed in clay, in bronze, or in painted pictures. His father and the hermit had told him a number of things of the "Story and Legend of Gautama," of the prince Siddhart in India who finally became Buddha. He had heard in particular the stories of his many births in the shapes of gods, of human beings, and of animals, and how in his last visible existence he attained illumination (Bodhi) and with it the dignity of a Buddha. Namgyal knew of the great redeemer Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (spyan-ras-gzigs) (145) who, 776

145. Compare note 23!

animated by infinite love and mercy, is ceaselessly active in saving the suffering creatures of all kinds from the tortures of their changing existences, yes, even from hell. He often prayed to him, imploring him to lead him along the right path through all temptations and dangers of this earthly existence, into the Paradise of the West, the joyful realm Amitabhas, yes, even into nirvana.

On a trip with his father, Namgyal once saw the gigantic image of Maitreya (byans-pa) in Mulbekh. This is the Buddha of the future who, five thousand years after the passing of Gautama into nirvana, is to carry on as Redeemer the work of his predecessor. Supposedly, however, he is active even now from the Tushita heaven as the "Buddha of love" in the saving of tortured creatures, and he is highly honored by the Buddhists. Just like this "Saviour," Tara (sGrol-ma, Drolma), the benign goddess, the feminine counterpart of the Bodhisattva Chanrezig,

776 also made a profound impression upon Namgyal at an early age. She is supposed to have come into being from the tears of Chanrezig, the tears which he shed from grief over suffering creatures. She is thought to be invested with the same power as the latter; she frees from all distress each person who approaches her, eradicates the sins of all births, defeats all enemies, even the demons, and finally leads those who put their trust in her into the painlessness of nirvana. She also bestows earthly goods, above /162/ all she bestows upon women the blessing of children that they have prayed for. Namgyal listened with deep emotion to the legends of this "most benign, most holy mother," which were told him, and at the command of his father he learned by heart a series of prayers addressed to her. Through his lively interest and eagerness to learn, Namgyal thus gradually became acquainted with many of the thousands of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, (all together about four million gods of all classes can be counted), from the narratives and pictures. In his thoughts he occupied himself with these, even if he did not succeed in discerning a clear line in the confusion of figures and ideas, which his thinking and his questions could pursue. The older he became, the more he recognized, partly through the instructions of the hermit, that the striving of the pious man must above all direct itself towards one point: the liberation from the entaglements of this world and with it from suffering. But it was just here that he missed the clear guidance. There was a mass of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saviours, and "redeemers." To each one were ascribed certain powers and qualities as a helper, "roads to salvation" were indicated, which, in part, ran in opposed directions. Namgyal searched in vain for the one straight path which led to true freedom. His awe of the great Unknown One, darkly surmised, and his feeling of dependence upon him, drove the boy and later the man to prayer as his educators and advisors taught him.

771 In order to understand Namgyal's pious striving, we must insert here a brief word concerning the praying of the Buddhist. Primitive Buddhism knew neither prayer nor ritual worship of deities, nor did it have a priesthood. In Buddhism, which is after all atheistic in essence, there was no room for the worship of a deity. The Buddha himself, it is true, did not deny the existence of gods, but to him they were beings which, like all others, are in need of redemption and which are not entitled to demand worship. Nor could the one who was "extinguished" in nirvana become the object of worship himself. According to Gautama Buddha's doctrine the seeker after salvation

did not require a redeemer, since the redemption was exclusively the 771
work of the pious person himself who brought about his liberation by turning away from the world, /163/severing all ties to the world, killing off all desires, and finally also killing off the will to live. But as time went by it became more and more recognized among the pious Buddhists, that the most devout of humans beings is incapable of effecting his salvation unaided. The seeker after salvation came to feel more and more, as his efforts towards liberating himself met with failure, the need to implore divine assistance in prayer; because he realized that without a divine helper standing over him he would be unable to walk along the difficult "eightfold path" to painlessness.

From this need there sprang the saving powers. People looked for helping divinities, and they believed they could find them. At first they thought in silent worship of the great master (Buddha) and of his great disciples; they sought the holy places which had been trodden by the master's foot, following ancient Indian custom they circled around the places hallowed by him, in pious memory of him, in the direction of the course of the sun (so that the sacred object is to one's right), they erected memorials (dagobas, stupas, chorten) over relics of Buddha and other Great Ones. The relic service was the first form of a cult in Buddhism. From this there developed, in the course of the centuries, a regular worship of Buddha, an adoration of the person of Him who was extinguished in the nirvana. The people were scarcely aware of the nonsensical nature of this activity. What they did in effect was to drag the Extinguished One, the Substanceless One back into the sphere of the corporeal, and in imagination they furnished him with divine characteristics and powers. They erected temples for him, in which his disciples who were pronounced saints,, were worshiped along with him; here the person tortured by sorrows and frightened, approached with childish trust the "Three Jewels" (Sanskrit, triratna; Tibetan, dkon-mĉog gsum): the Buddha, the sacred Law (dharma), and the Monkhood (samgha), the trinity which may have remained impossible to grasp by his thought, but in which the pious person nevertheless surmised the power that brought salvation, and to which he went for refuge in case of external or of inner distress.

Gradually there was added to these "Three Jewels" an immense 776
legion of purely fabricated Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons. In the course of time the entire pantheon of Hinduism was /164/ incorporated into Buddhism, and upon the latter's migration to Tibet in the seventh and the eight centuries there was added again the entire

776 host of the local deities of this "sinister snow-covered country." The last-named, after they had been "converted" by Padmasambhava (146),

[771] 146. Padmasambhava, the Buddha priest and great Tantrik magician from Udyana (in present-day Afghanistan) came to Tibet with his priests and monks around the middle of the eighth century of our era, having been called in by king Trishrongldetsan. In an adventurous manner he then proceeded to "convert" the Tibetans to Buddhism, and in so doing he spread in that country the doctrine which had already been badly corrupted in India and particularly in his own home land. [773] According to the saga he defeated and "converted" the gods and demons of Tibet in violent battle. They were overcome by him and were bound by an oath not to fight against Buddhism henceforth, but to promote and protect it in the future. Concerning Padmasambhava, compare Ribbach, "Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft," Supplement No. 5, of the Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

were all more or less regarded as objects of worship, or at least they constantly had to be appeased through exorcisms and offerings. Finally the entire pantheon of the Bon religion was likewise readily incorporated into the Buddhistic pantheon.

782 The oldest form of prayer was the so-called "formula of refuge." We will give here one form of the expanded formula of refuge (skyabs-agro) of the unreformed lama sects: "All we living creatures take our refuge with Buddha on the basis of the intercession of the lamas; we take refuge with the Law (Dharma); we take refuge with the Monkhood (Samgha), with these Three Jewels. Further we take our refuge with the great army of gods (lha) and their following of tutelary deities, female demons, and defenders of the doctrine, who populate the Heavens."

There follows a long series of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demons, and the saints, with whom the praying person takes refuge; among these the primitive Buddha (Samantabhadra) and the founder of Lamaism, Padmasambhava, are particularly notable. Among the "reformed" lama sects (Gelugpa), Tsongkapa takes the place of the last-named.

Namgyal used to avail himself of an abbreviated formula of

and had he perhaps sat down by the stove and in this way angered the 753
household god and the hearth god by making house and hearth impure by his presence?" With these and other, similar questions the patient was tormented; but all these questions were answered with no. Finally it turned out that the Mon, Chospell, (therefore an impure person) from the neighboring village, who was an enthusiastic huntsman /182/, had come into the house late one evening with the "red" (that is the fresh) meat of one of the wild sheep that he had shot, in order to pay off with the meat a debt of grain that he had with the Dragshos. Now this was a threefold transgression: first of all, killing was a great sin; secondly, the gods, especially the red Tsan-demons, were angered and provoked by the sight of this "red" meat; and thirdly, the household god was insulted by the sight of an impure person (the Mon) in the house. And in the tracks of such a visitor, if he was an impure one, there followed evil spirits into the house. These must now be exorcised by means of a scattered fire offering, and they must be chased away (t'sa-me p'aṅ-ces). While the men were still talking the Mon, Chospell, who was a carpenter, came again in order to deliver a small table that he had made. He was not admitted, but had to wait outside away from the house for a long time.

Meanwhile the first lama had a flat, iron pan handed to him, 755
and said to Namgyal: "I want to show you how one makes a scattered fire offering and how one appeases and drives the evil spirits away with it." Namgyal had to put all kinds of leftovers from meals in the pan--pieces of bread, flour, rice, bones, onions, and salt--and on top of this he had to place red-hot coals and hot ashes, so that the house was soon filled with a stinking vapor. Now all the inhabitants of the house went through the stable down to the house door with the lama. The lama opened the door and threw some of the smoldering contents of the pan onto the threshold. The Mon who was still waiting outside to be let in, was now allowed to step over the vaporous mass and over the threshold and into the house, and to carry out his business. The 755 776
lama declared that the evil spirits, gods, and demons were now all pacified and soothed: the red Tsan-demons, the Nod-jin (gnod-sbyin), who are the terror of the mountain passes, the devils (bdud), the water and earth deities (klu, sa-bdag), the Jungpo demons and fiends, the man-eating Shasa (śaza), the wondrous Mimchi (mi-am-ci), creatures half man, half god; the heavenly musicians (the Kinnara of Hindu mythology); the smell-eating Drisa (dri-za), angel-like creatures with wings, the "Non-gods" (lha-na-yin), the giants of the sacred Mountain

755 of the gods, Meru; the Dripo, the Drimo, the Poyong, the Moyong,
776 the Lhandre (lha-adre), all of these were /183/ now appeased and did not have to be feared any more, so the lama assured them; lured by the "sweet smell" of the food, they had, he explained, come to the spot immediately in order to enjoy it. And now, he stated, they were satisfied, had disappeared, and would no longer do the sick woman any harm, and she would certainly recover soon now.

753 Meanwhile the sick Chosskyid did not recuperate. Despite all
755 the statements of the lamas, the lharje, and the devil-tamer, foretelling her recovery, her condition became worse. There must be something special in the matter; certain gods are obviously still angry at the patient, said the great Lama Mipam. What in all the world has she done! They tortured the deathly weak woman with new questions. Finally came the answer: once she had accidently burned some dog's excrement with dry cow dung, and another time she had also burned
[776] an old rag in the stove. By these actions the hearth god (t'ab-lha) and apparently another god who just happened to be housed in a tree in the neighborhood, had been provoked. Their olefactory nerves, which in Tibet ordinarily were not spoiled, could not stand this stink. The gods demanded the "five pleasing offerings" (adod-yon-lha) for the five senses: for the taste--a food and drink offering: for the smell--flowers or incense offering: for the sense of sight--a mirror: for the hearing--musical instruments which, like the mirror, were placed before the altar: for the touch--silken clothes and similar articles.

753 Further, the confession was pressed out of the patient that during
776 the past autumn she had drunk from the well in the course of the grass gathering over there by the slope of the mountain beyond the Indus. At this well is housed the dreaded Lu, the water and snake god. She had been so thirsty that she just had to drink. But this had of course driven the Lu to anger, said the lama; for this he had made her ill. Finally Chosskyid also confessed that once in a great rush she had spilled a bucket of dish water over one of the red-painted stones before her house that are dedicated to the red Tsan god. That was another bad transgression which had aroused the fire in the gods.

755 To appease the Lu gods, the lamas read the book which they had brought along just in case, of the "hundred thousand Lu" (klu-abum); the Tsan deities received a storma (sacrificial cake for the /184/ cast offering), to which the lamas gave the shape of a human being and which they painted red. After reciting formulas of exorcism they carried the figure behind the house and into the adjoining desert and

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope. 764

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood-Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-rtsis kun gsal)." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This death demon (za-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money) 764 787 781 776

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas. 779 177

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *théthurs* and *devis* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

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* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul. 177

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Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhaulis and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 18[illegible] Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *choti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chestim*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

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Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

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"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *mani*s and many of the *chhoditens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárjá (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Kokor pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhoditen* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *mánis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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In the time when the *Lung paskhei* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

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"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

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"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

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"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

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"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gompas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gompas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *cháng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 "All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them
795 are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

[778] [782] "As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as
776 *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and
[754] before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and
778 other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near
782 Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the
177 time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

771 "As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced
177 each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

241 The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Srog machhat, i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

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(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni
Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni
Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངལ་ཆགས་ཀྱི་ལས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།
ངན་ཕྱུ་ལ་ཡོ་ཆ་ལས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།
ངན་ཟ་ལ་ཡོ་ཆ་ལས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om ākrashiepar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i dos* means literally: it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kēsar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lōkapālas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyānibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp's* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean:— 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthes*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[2]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kēsar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thes* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thesthes*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.

1. phuru yar ɣzigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

[1] [Cf. pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [Cf. pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kēsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern **Lōka, pāla-Donyodgrubpa** could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kēsar-Myths we learn, that **Kēsar**, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called **Dongrub**, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the **Lōkapāla** of the north (i. e., the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? **Donyodgrubpa** means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name **Dongrub** was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other **Lōkapālas**. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero **Kēsar**, before his entering into action,' is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kēsar?

Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uiguru, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v srednevěkovym evropejskim epose*. Moskau, 1899.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i.
Bighā; *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i, twice.
Bihar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihār; *s. v.* Cometay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisht; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijalár; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bijapār; *s. v.* Sabaio, 851, ii.
Bijāpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijápér; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Cospetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bijāpār; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremalnco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Nanings, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 158, ii.

[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wandermärchen*.

4 [Material pertains to a different article -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

is the only place where one can find such faith. Maybe that faith is part and parcel of the hillmen's belief in spirits that govern man's destiny when he walks the treacherous Himalayan trails—evil spirits that plot his destruction through avalanches, roaring torrents of water, and blinding blizzards; good spirits that comfort and protect him and drive off the evil ones. These legends and beliefs may have prepared a fertile soil for the legend of my hat. But the hat itself produced the seed that grew and flourished in that soil.

I have related the story of our departure from Manali on foot—how the villagers of Manali prayed for rain, how rain threatened as we started the trek, how destructive the downpour that struck us before we reached Koti. If I had worn my magical hat that day, it would never have acquired the reputation that it enjoyed, or perhaps the rain would have passed us by. But that day the hat traveled in a pack; it was unable to work its magic, and we were all soaked through.

The day we left Koti to cross Rothang Pass I wore my glass hat. Remnants of the storm clouds still played around the summits. There were some showers along the ridges, but none touched us. When we reached Rothang, dark clouds were swirling. There was the threat of snow and rain. But none came. We reached Koksar in bright sun that afternoon.

The next day I wore the glass hat. And as I crossed the newly built bridge and headed for Gundala, I told Budh Ram, "I guess it won't rain today."

"Why do you say that, Sahib?"

"Because it never seems to rain when I wear the hat."

Budh Ram and Man Das passed the word along to Tashi. I quickly discovered that my hat was fast becoming an object of interest—interest that grew and grew when it turned out that we were in clear sunshine all day long.

That night as Budh Ram served dinner in the dak bungalow at Gundala he asked, "Sahib, why is there magic in the hat?"

[Chapter 2; Not processed for files -- Analyst]

with him in the Gilgit area of northern Pakistan. In 1950 he was flying the Karakorams. His orders were not to fly above fourteen thousand feet without his oxygen mask. He tried fifteen thousand feet and felt no ill effects. He climbed to sixteen thousand feet and felt fine. Still without his oxygen mask, he went to seventeen thousand feet. He flew at seventeen thousand feet for fifteen minutes or so and did not put on his oxygen mask. "These rules are made for other men, not me," he said to himself. "I've apparently got this altitude problem licked." He felt wonderful. He felt like the champion who had had many drinks and was sure that one more would be just right for him. He felt a bit like Superman.

That was the last he remembered. He woke up twenty-three days later in a hospital in the Kingdom of Swat. His plane had gone into a spin and crashed, breaking most of his bones and causing a brain concussion.

Altitude, like alcohol, sometimes gives a false sense of strength, power, and poise. One who is not aware of this phenomenon may walk the high ridges like a fool.

The hill people of the Himalayas are aware of the grosser aspects of mountain sickness. They have seen horses and mules drop dead from overexertion at high altitudes. They have seen the minor symptoms of sleeplessness and the loss of appetite, and the major ones where the body swells, the lips turn black, the head and heart ache, the throat becomes parched, and the temperature falls. They know that one who has suffered one major attack of mountain sickness seldom survives another.

My trek produced no major mountain illness, although someone in the party was slightly ill after each pass we crossed. But the risk is prominent in every native's mind. This is pass poison. Passes are unhealthy places. One never stops there long; he hurries over. The places are occupied by gods and goddesses, some of whom are evil. They produce the storms that fell man and beast and leave their bones to bleach on these high and un-

792 tery to open the day at 5:30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M. The monks of Hemis sometimes follow the example of their founder and go into retreats, taking vows to immure themselves for three years in barren, single-room houses that have no windows, no furnishings, no utilities. Here they sit in prayer and meditation for three long and lonely years. Those who complete the three-year vigil are held in high esteem by monks and laymen alike. Few, however, come out alive because of the rigors of the ordeal. Yet those who start do not turn back, for in the Buddhist world one who violates his vows degrades himself and is held in contempt by the community. Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

538 One of these apocryphal tales concerns Jesus. There are those who to this day believe that Jesus visited the place, that he came here when he was fourteen and left when he was twenty-eight, heading west, to be heard of no more. The legend fills in the details, saying that Jesus traveled to Hemis under the name of Issa.

778 This is a land where legends readily grow. Hindus and Buddhists are, of course, not alone in believing that holy men have made certain places sacred. But they have a special theory about the phenomenon. The presence of holy men and the prayers they have recited have created spiritual vibrations that dominate the place. Pilgrims who go there and stay at least three nights can feel these vibrations and thus enrich their psychic and spiritual

• 776 life. Many places of pilgrimage are common to Hindus and Bud-

778 dhists alike e.g., Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar in Tibet. These places usually have a presiding deity and many dozens of demigods. There are said to be about 500,000 deities around Mount Kailas alone. But only the pious can see them. These gods are mountain gods, river gods, tree gods, family gods, field gods, house gods. They are the gods and spirits of the ancient religions on which Buddhism became engrafted. They and Buddhism have

today been mixed in a religion which Buddha himself would hardly recognize.

Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama), whose home was in Nepal, lived from about 560 B.C. to about 480 B.C. He designed a beautiful religion, a religion more intellectual than emotional, one that made wisdom its main faith and righteous conduct its code. Buddha taught the "Noble Eightfold Path": (1) right views; (2) right aspirations; (3) right speech; (4) right conduct; (5) right livelihood; (6) right effort; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right rapture. This philosophy demanded (1) freedom from superstition; (2) noble thoughts worthy of the intelligent man; (3) speech that is truthful and generous; (4) conduct that is honest and peaceful; (5) actions that bring no injury to any living thing; (6) self-control that subjects the passions to control by the mind; (7) a mental attitude of active watchfulness; (8) deep meditation on the principles of life.

Buddha's tenets were based on the notion that the cause of all suffering is desire and that desire results from ignorance. Buddha believed in life after death, or rebirth. The Hindu belief in rebirth preceded Buddha in India. Man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and moves on to take possession of another body. One can, by his acts and mental attitudes, become reborn into a higher and nobler form; or he can debase himself and return to earth in a lowlier condition. He can, unaided, effect his own deliverance and gradually, in successive reappearances on this earth, attain the status of an Arhat or perfected man. This, briefly, is the doctrine of reincarnation. Every event is the result of prior causes and itself the cause of future events. What is done in this life shapes what happens in the next. One who lives a life of good works and good thoughts will move in the next life one step closer to Nirvana. But one who violates the teachings of the "Noble Eightfold Path" will in the next life move down the ladder; then he will have to start over and regain the ground he has lost in his struggle toward perfection.

000 I had come directly to the Officers' Club on our arrival. Rahul had tarried in the bazaar greeting old acquaintances. Now I saw him coming up the poplar-lined driveway of the club on his small Tibetan pony. Turning to a junior officer, I whispered, "Would it be all right if I introduced the General to a ghost?"

*776 One does not speak lightly of ghosts in this land of mysticism where gods and goddesses, spirits and demons, deities and the 000 souls of the departed are everywhere. The face of the young officer was very serious, for the question troubled him. And not yet realizing the humor of my question, he replied quite formally, "I guess so, sir."

Rahul had met with an accident on one of the estuaries of the Indus River. After we had left Hemis en route to Leh, we picked up the Indus and followed it downstream several miles before leaving the river and turning north to Leh. At one point the Indus had inundated hundreds of acres of lowlands and left behind dozens of small lagoons, which we had to ford. Some of these passages were treacherous. The water was deep, there were unexpected holes, and the clay bottom was as sticky as glue. Rahul was riding an unusually small Tibetan pony, perhaps eight hands high. It was sturdy and fast, but it lacked the power and strength of the larger horses. I led the way across one small lagoon. Though the passage seemed safe enough, Rahul's horse either got stuck or stepped in a hole and foundered. In any event, the horse went over on its side and both he and Rahul disappeared for a second under the water.

They both came out without injury. Rahul was soaked through, and it took him several hours to get dry. He had about dried out when we arrived at Leh. The water which had soaked him was heavy with the milk of clay. So when Rahul got dry, he looked indeed like a ghost.

"May I present my ghost?" I asked as Rahul joined us at the Officers' Club. Rahul's warm brown eyes looked out from a calcimined face, the dark skin of his hands was powdered white,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XX

Demons, Dances & Dinners

IN this country in which practically all the religious ritual is of the old demon worship origin, one would expect to find belief in the possession of man by demons. The Ladaki at any rate does not doubt the reality of such possession, and one is inclined to think that in spite of much fraud, there is a substratum of fact in it. Discussing this matter with a colleague one day, he affirmed that he had once had a woman patient who "really was possessed by a devil," and, in reply to the query as to how he had treated her, he said that a good dose of castor oil had cured her! However, the reader shall judge for himself from the following experiences. 771

Some years ago we heard that in Marshro, a village situated a day's march from Leh, two brothers would become possessed by two very fierce demons, and my colleague and I decided to investigate the performance. Having arrived there, we were given a nice large room in the monastery, which proved somewhat too airy, as the time of year was mid-winter and one side of our apartment was completely open to the wintry air. However, by donning the rough native sheepskin coats, and ignoring their smell, we managed to make ourselves fairly comfortable, especially when we, with our servants, sat round a large pot of steaming Irish stew. As we enjoyed this warming and welcome dish, our table companions, waxing loquacious, told us of how these demons originally came from Central Tibet to reside in 787 776

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibet

787 Ladak, and how they were now the fiercest in the whole
● 776 country. They said that these special demons always take possession once a year of two men belonging to two definite Marshro families. Sometimes they are the same two men for a number of successive years, at others they vary. The afflatus always occurs during the first Buddhist month. Should the chosen candidate be a new one, he has to prepare himself from three to four months before, but otherwise one is sufficient. When the time has arrived these two men, generally, if not always, lamas, repair to a mountain retreat. Here they sit in a box, which is so made that they can neither lie down, nor assume any attitude other than that of sitting absolutely upright, and they are only allowed out for a very short space of time in the morning, afternoon and evening. They do not divest themselves of their clothes the whole time, and so cramped do they become that a rope is fixed above their heads by which to pull themselves up. During this month they are supplied with food from the neighbouring monastery of Marshro. Their duties consist in the reading of holy books, and the innumerable repetitions of *Om manis*. The month completed, a crowd of people ride up to their retreat to escort these *Lhapas*, god-men as they are now called, back to the monastery. There can be no doubt of their possession now, for whilst the ponies of all their companions get very tired on this journey, those of the *Lhapas* are absolutely fresh throughout. Our informants then tell us of how the *Lhapas* will on the morrow cut themselves with swords without drawing blood, will run about on giddy heights without falling, and will foretell the future.

796 Next day we took our seats on the balcony overlooking the monastery courtyard with great expectations of a really thrilling show. There was a large crowd present, and soon an ordinary lama's dance was performed below us. These in their demon-masks were shortly joined by the *Lhapas*,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

787 whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They
796 agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated
● 776 on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the
787 English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange
554 that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith
564 caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
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[113] 1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who intorduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 776 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already undertaken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-ryyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

[823] [788]

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dman-mo, "Spouse, revered woman." Many prayers in the Kesar saga are addressed to her in particular. She is apparently regarded as merciful and wise. /6/ This pair of heavenly monarchs had three sons, namely: 1. Don-yod, "having a purpose," 2. Don-idan, "having a purpose," and 3. Don-grab, "fulfilling his purpose." The latter name corresponds to the Indic Siddhartha, a name also applied to Buddha. The third son, Don-grub, surpasses his brothers both spiritually and physically. Later on he dies in heaven and is reborn on earth as King Kesar (Kyesar) of Glin.

The lord and lady of heaven already appear in the texts and in the songs as ethical deities who desire the good and demand obedience from man. In the Glin-glu of Phyi-dban the following hymn is to be found under No. 5:

It is possible to escape a rolling boulder on a steep slope:
Certainly, I can escape from a rolling boulder on a steep slope;
But it is not possible to get away from the commands of the "Great Father";
No, the commands of the "King of the hundred thousand thrones" I cannot escape.
It is possible to escape the great floods through a ford,
Certainly, I can get away from the mighty floods through a ford,
But it is not possible to get away from the commands of the "Great Mother."
No, the commands of the "Queen of the hundred thousand thrones" I cannot escape.

As was already mentioned, the characteristics of a weather god like the ancient Indra are more to be encountered in Kesar than in the "father god." This finds very clear expression in the ninth song of the Glin-glu of Khalatse:

High up on the Sa-ri-can Pass black clouds are fathering.
High up on the Sa-ri Pass ragged clouds are flying about.
In the midst of the black clouds flashes of lightning spark from the sword of our good prince.
In the midst of the black clouds flashes of lightning spark from the sword of the divine King Kesar.

According to the popular tradition, Kesar hurls his lightning bolts at a dragon shrouded in the cloud. The thunder is the wounded dragon's roar of pain. In this connection it should also be pointed

773 out, however, that according to hymn No. 1 of the Glin-glu of
776 Khalatse, thunder is explained as being caused by the running of the gods in heaven.

The life of the gods is an idealized form of human life. The gods constitute a state in which there are a king, subjects, and servants. (See Winter Myth, Vol. V, p. 11.) They live in bliss and they grow old as we can tell from a passage in the Spring Myth. There, in Vol. VII, 21, 45, 62, it says: "May he who drinks a beer of blessing live as long as the gods." The possibility of death seems to exist for the gods, if we may draw this conclusion from the fact of Don-grub's death in heaven. The gods pasture goats (lha-ra, divine goats) on earth, and these must be defended against the devil (bdud). (See Spring Myth, Vol. I.) These goats apparently represent rain clouds which the dragon (here the devil) wants to steal, quite in accord with the Indra myths. It should also be noted that in other places in the Kesar saga the clouds are compared with cows, as in India. (See, A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Tale of Kesar's Marriage," No. 5, Yak Ri-ri; "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 2, Yak Kha-ra-kham-ba.) Of Yak Ri-ri it is told that he puts his head down on one mountain peak and his hind feet on another. But the similitude of the goats is carried out more consistently. In the Winter Myth, Vol. II, 17-29 we hear that Kesar finds in the realm of the devil a great many goats stolen from heaven.

The king of the gods, and likewise the queen, often change their shapes. Thus the king battling for the goats of heaven appears as a white bird (Spring Myth, Vol. I) or as a white yak (Lower /7/ Ladakhi Version, II, "Story of Kesar's Birth," 1). The queen of the gods frequently appears on earth in order to help her son Kesar. On these occasions she appears as a human woman (Spring Myth, Vol. IV, 8), as dzo (hybrid between a cow and a yak, Winter Myth, Vol. I, 53), as a turquoise-colored fly (Winter Myth, Vol. V, 35), and as a dove (Winter Myth, Vol. VIII, 16).

The king of heaven rides on a horse called lha-rta-nan-pa, "Cream-colored divine horse." On modern representations (in Changspa near Leh) it looks like a kiang. In the same place the queen of heaven is also represented. She is riding on a white lioness with turquoise-colored mane, the personification of the glacier. The upper garments of these gods are white, with many-colored hems; the under garments are colored (pictures in Changspa). According to Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, Vol. III), the sun rises over the shoulders of the god of heaven.

[See Category 116, pp 1-8, for references -- Analyst]

The total number of gods (lha) is given as 360 in the narrative Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, No. III), a number which is also to be found in the Bonpo works. In conclusion we should point out that occasionally a differentiation is made between dBan-po-brgya-byin, the ruler of the heavens, and sKyer-rdzon snyan-po, the "father of the gods" (pha-lha). The latter name is particularly used for the god of heaven as the father of Dun-grub-ke-sar. This usage seems subsequently to have led to the fact that different deities were understood by the two names. 773 776

2. Bar-btsan, the earth, literally, "the firm place in the middle." Other names are: Mi-yul, "land of human beings," Glin, "continent," "world." Later also, after the appearance of Indic concepts, aDzam-bu-glin, Sanskrit, Jambudvipa. The highest deity of the earth is Mother sKyabs-mdun, "helpful spouse." She seems to be identical with the goddess of the earth, brTan-ma, "the firm one" (Jäschke's Lexikon), or brTar-byed-ma (S. Ch. Das, Lexikon /Dictionary/). Father brTan-pa also occurs.

The world (glin) of mythology is, of course, Tibet. But if we look at the few place names that occur in the mythology and are identifiable, we are directed to the western part of the country, into the region of the great lakes. In the wedding songs, both great lakes, Ma-pham (Manasarowar) and La-nag, are frequently mentioned. The former of these two lakes is mentioned most frequently and the mountain Kailasa, which is near it, plays a not inferior role. In the Kesar saga and elsewhere, too, the mountain bears the name Ti-se (apparently a contraction of Khri-rtse, "throne peak"), or Gans-ri ("ice mountain"). Gans-ti-se also occurs. On top of the mountain, or close by it, stands Glin-mkhar-rtse-dgu, "the castle of Glin with the nine peaks." The silver mountain, the golden mountain, the blue mountain, and the slate mountain are in the closest proximity. This mountain range is thought of by the Tibetans as the point of origin for the four main rivers of the world (1), of which, in fact, 173 773

> 1. These four main rivers are also mentioned in No. X b. and in No. XVII of the wedding songs of Tag-ma-cig. There they are not mentioned individually by name, however. A similar saga is also to be found in the Ramayana, I, 44, "the descent of the Ganga." In that place not four but seven rivers are mentioned. [171]

they enumerate the following in inscriptions and in their chronicle: 1. the Indus, which flows to the west, Sen-ge-kha-bab, or "lion

the idea of the wreckage of an earlier world that has perished is probably to be thought of. 773 772

Gog-bzan-lha-mo, as well as upon the mother animals and treasures, and all begin to give birth.

According to the Dard version, which can be pursued from mDa all the way to Shel east of Leh, the earth rose up out of the world ocean and was then sown with seeds. Here we are dealing with trees and with types of grain (3).

3. This so-called Dard version probably came early to the Dard together with Buddhism. This saga is to be found in the Kandschur, La Vol. 26 of the mDo class. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, Csoma de Koros.) [113]

The contrast between Tibetan and Dard could not be expressed more clearly than is done in the myths about the origin of the world. The Tibetan as a nomad and a hunter speaks only of the animal world. The Dard, as an industrious tiller of the soil, speaks only of the plant world. On the other hand, neither tells of the first appearance of man. The "Prelude to the Kesar Saga" begins immediately with a "primitive father" and a "primitive mother," and these are assumed to have as independent an existence as the gods, the earth mother, and the Nagas.

Since the primitive animals play such an important part in the mythology, occupying a place next to the sun and the moon, yes, even at the side of the gods, the most important of them will be enumerated here: Of Gog-bzan-lha-mo are born: sun and moon high up in the sky; Sen-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise mane /literally: locks/," the personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the queen of heaven; on the high mountain, Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds," on the high cliff (according to another version Skyin-chen-ba-rgan, "the big old ibex" is born there): rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "White mouth, originating from the kiang," a horse of the steppes; Nya-mo-gser-mig, "fish golden eye," in the middle of the sea; aBron-byun-rog-po, "the evil one stemming from the wild yak," a yak, on the meadow; a few other animals, among them three frogs, a golden one, a blue one, and a white one, have become the best known. 776 773

Among the mother animals that have been taken from the ruined castle, the most famous ones are: Thsa-ldan, a mare; Khyi-mo-dkar-

776 mo, the white bitch; Gro-mo, a mother sheep; Thse-thse-nan-dmar,
773 a goat. Of the animals which the mother animals give birth to after the fructifying hailstorm, I shall mention only one that is particularly famous, namely, rKyan-byun-(db)yer-pa, "piebald horse, originating from the kiang," a horse which became Kesar's property.

773 /9/ Finally, the various types of plants which, according to the Dard versions, were given to the earth, should also be mentioned. Among the trees there arose the sandalwood (made known only by the Indians); the juniper (shug-pa); the birch (sTag-pa); the mountain willow (glan-ma); and the tamarisk (Om-bu). Nine types of grain were enumerated, namely, Yan-ma, ordinary barley; So-ba, coarse-grained barley; Shi-rog, early barley; Gro, wheat; Bra-bo, buckwheat; Kyer-ge, millet; sran-ma, the bean; nag-sran, the pea; Yuns-dkar, mustard. Now here there is a peculiar thing: The Tibetans in their beer songs speak about the origin of beer from barley. But when the question about the origin of barley as well as of the other types of grain comes up, they speak of the hunt. The primitive father caught all kinds of birds, and when he had caught the dove in the net, there were seven (not nine) different seed kernels in its stomach, from which all types of grain originated.

The land of Glin also possesses five types of gems which, according to the gZer-myig, are heaped up inside the mountain and are guarded by giants who stand outside, as well as dwarfs who live inside the mountain. According to the Kesar saga (manuscript of Gau-Phun-thsoys) these are the following kinds: gold, silver, turquoise, coral, and pearl or shell.

776 With respect to the goddess of the earth it should also be men-
773 tioned that as an active deity she recedes even more into the background than the rulers of the heavens do. Just as the role of the king of heaven has been transferred to Don-grub -Kesar, so that of the mother sKyabs-mdun has been transferred to Kesar's wife aBru-gu-ma. Although the Tibetan sagas offer no evidence for this, as far as I know to this date, I nevertheless believe it legitimate to assume that the original state of the mythology was as follows: The king of heaven wooed mother sKyabs-mdun, the earth, but (in winter) he lost this bride of his to the lord of the water spirits. Instead of this development we now find the same thing in the second generation: Kesar woos aBru-gu-ma, but again loses his wife to King "White Tent" (the king of the water spirits in the form of snow). aBru-gu-ma's origin from the earth deities is made probable by the fact that she is occasionally called the daughter of Father brTan-pa, and he, after all, is a divinity of the earth, as has

already been said. aBru-gu-ma's character as an earth deity appears particularly clearly, however, when she receives her punishment for having finally surrendered to King White Tent." In this connection it is told, among other things: "For punishment lucernes were sown on her head and her head was plowed under with dzo oxen" (2). Un- 776 773

2. A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 9.

fortunately, the name aBru-gu-ma is not as transparent as many others Perhaps, however, it is connected with abru, "seed kernel." 532

Pictorial representations of the earth deity have not yet come to light. However, we read in the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 19-22), that she rides a horse called bTsan-rta-dmar-chun, "Little red earth horse." aBru-gu-ma is praised for her milk-white complexion. (3) Through her passing into the realm of the heavenly

3. Glin-glu of Phyi-dban, No. 4.

deities she has come to partake of their color. Of mother sKyabs-mdun we read that she is seen by someone in a dream and appears to him as though a snake were wound around her body (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III). But later it is explained that the apparent snake symbolizes the hook-shaped land of Glin. 823

Through its high mountain peaks, on which the gods lived just as much as in heaven, Bar-btsan, the middle realm, touches the realm of the gods. The fact that there are also large lakes in the middle realm, connects it with the realm of the elves or Naga (Tibetan, Klu).

/10/ 3. Yog-klu, the realm of the water spirits, (Tibetan, Klu, Indic, Naga, English, "nymphs"). This realm is to be found in all the rivers and lakes and also below the earth, since the Tibetans believe that subterranean connections exist between the visible waters. The word Yog-klu signifies "the lower nymphs." Just like sTan-lha, Yog-klu is also a state. There a king rules over many servants and subjects who also distinguish themselves by their many children. (See Winter Myth, V. 17.) The name of the king is written in my manuscripts, in accordance with the pronunciation, mostly lJogs-po, a word which is not to be found in the dictionaries. In the dictionaries, aJog-po is given as the name of a Naga king, but even aJog-po does not make any proper sense. The most probable thing is that lJogs-po is a dialectical variant of lCogs-po, which, according to [843]

[See ... 116. pp1-8 for references,--Analyst]

776 Jaschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is therefore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu of Kalatse,[1] aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

Oh my wise king!
When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
And see all the nymphs of that land,
Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[832] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to represent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[784] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the writing (1).

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma," No. 7.[1]

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time. It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
751 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

human beings. This disease is called Klu-nad among the Tibetans, 776
and among the Indians Nagaroga (a disease caused by the nymphs). 773
The disease is ascribed to the nymphs because leprosy at first looks [751]
like snow. The passage cited from the chronicle of Ladakh seems to indicate that instead of one prince of Nagas, they conceived of two who lived in the Manasarowar Lake. This duality may be derived from the Indians. /11/ The Tibetans seem to have severed the adjective Zil-chen, "the radiant," from the name Ma-dros-zil-chen, and to have created a new divinity with it.

In the case of this king of the Nagas, Ma-dros or lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that he recedes into the background as an active deity as much as does the king of heaven and the goddess of the earth. He no longer goes out to rape the earth goddess. Rather, he has left this to younger persons, in particular to the king of Hor (Mongolia and Turkestan, countries to the north of Western Tibet). Winter is the time when the water masses, in the form of ice and snow, put the earth in their bondage, and winter's power penetrates from the north. In the Kesar saga we read that Kesar after his wedding goes off to the north in order to do battle against the Giant of the North, and that during this time King Gur-dkar (that is, "White Tent") of Hor rapes aBru-gu-ma. For many passages of the Kesar saga it appears that the Naga king was a divinity for human beings, and that, even though a third-class divinity, he received the same hommage accorded the god of heaven and the goddess of earth. From this ethically impeccable figure, however, there soon developed a new figure which embodied the evil principle. We shall speak later of this "devil" bDud.

Ancient representations of the Tibetan Klu, in particular of the [532]
king, have not yet been found. From the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 27-30)[1] we see that King lJogs-po rides a horse called Klu-rta-snon-chun, "little blue nymph horse." In the dream song (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III)[1] we read that the king carries something in his mouth which at first glance looks like a black sheep. Later it turns out that the presumed sheep is actually a lotus flower.

The Colors of the Three Realms. The most original color system 773
is apparently to be found in a version of the Kesar saga of the village 822
of Sheh (Shel) as it is written down in the Spring and Winter Myths. There we frequently hear of three altars erected in honor of the deities of the realms of the world, which have white, red, and blue for their colors (1). According to this system, sTan-lha, the realm

1. Spring Myth, IV, 20-26; VII, 22, 30; IX, 1.

* [See cat 116, pp. 1-8 for references, -- Analyst]

The Divinities of the Four Points of the Compass

Particularly in the wedding songs we find that the deities of the 776
four points of the compass play an important role. Yet even on 821
other occasions they sometimes become prominent. In some songs we find the Lokapalas, just as they are familiar to us from India even though they appear under Tibetan names. This is not to be wondered at if we remind ourselves that, after all, even Indra had been accepted by the Tibetans. We must try, with the aid of the songs, to become acquainted with the original songs of the Tibetans dealing with this matter. First of all, we should recall the songs that celebrate the points of the compass as bestowers of great gifts. In wedding songs X and XIII[1] it is stated that the East gives us the sun, but also the moon and the stars. The South provides grain and, with it, great wealth, even gold. From the West come the medicines, astronomy flourishes there too--because of the use of the Chinese diagrams, and also the art of prophecy. The North is praised for the gifts of the colors and of salt. Kesar's war (No. X)[1] is also supposed to take place there.

In the preceding pages something has already been said about 821
color. A color system was now connected with the points of the 822
compass, in such a way, in fact, that birds as well as eggs of a certain color were accommodated there. In wedding songs Nos. XV, XXXIX, and XLI,[1] we read that in the East a white bird and a white egg are to be found. In No. XV[1] the bird of the East is designated as Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "wild king of the birds." In the South lives a yellow bird, and a golden egg is also to be found there. The bird of the West is red, and the egg which exists there is called coral-red. The bird of the North is sometimes black, sometimes of a turquoise blue color. Sometimes it is a raven and sometimes a peacock. The egg is turquoise blue or iron black.

In wedding song No. XXXIX[1] we are now also introduced to per- 776
sons, perhaps deities of a sort, who live in the various points of the 821
compass. In the East, Sa-gon-bdag-po, the "owner of the earth," the king; probably Kesar as ruler of the earth. In the South, it is mThsan-ldan-bla-ma, "famous priest," an unknown figure; in the West, U-rgyan-padma-Padmasambhava, and in the North, mGar-mkhan-A-nag, the smith a-nag, and aBrug-u-ma, probably his daughter. If this system is not completely original, the one in song No. XXXVIII[1] is even less so. Here the points of the compass

1 [See pp. 1–8, Cat. 116 for references -- Analyst]

776 are occupied in the following way: the East: Shakya-thub-pa,
821 Buddha; South: aJam-dpal, Manjusir; the West: mKyen-rab, the founder of the Bon religion; the North: rGyal-rjes-dkar-po, the great white king, perhaps a variant of Gur-dkar, King "White Tent" (snow).

821 Now it is very peculiar that the Tibetans, when they related
823 real regions to the points of the compass, created a great deal of confusion. This came about because they established the gifts of the points of the compass first. When these gifts were established, they suddenly hit upon the idea of looking around for earthly countries which supplied such gifts in particular.

In wedding song No. X the East is brought into relation with India. This is to be explained in the following manner: The gift of the east is, above all, the sun. But Kesar too belongs to the East, and also Buddha (No. XXXVIII). Buddha came from India. Therefore India is placed in the East. The South supplies /13/ grain, and in so doing it leads to riches. At the time of the composition of the songs, Persia was known as the richest country. Consequently, Persia was connected with the South. The West was considered the realm of medicine; the spirits of medicine, called sMan, lived there. But all medicine men also busied themselves with astrology and prophecy, especially from the Chinese diagrams. Since the Chinese surpassed all their neighbors in these arts, China was connected with the West. The situation is probably most favorable in the North. Besides the colors, salt is supposed to be found in the North, and salt actually can be found in large quantities in the north Tibetan lake areas, Byan-than. These areas are also assigned to the North in the song (compare Ladakhi Songs, No. 15). By the land of "Kesar's war" in the North we are to understand in particular Hor or Turkestan.

776 We now come to the names of the Indian Lokapala, which have
821 penetrated into some wedding songs. In wedding song No. IX they are enumerated in the following way:

1. Yul-akhor-srun (Dhritarashta) . . . . . East
2. aPhags-skyed-po (Virudhaka) . . . . . South
3. sPyan-mig-bzan (Virupaksha) . . . . . West
4. rNam-thos-sras (Vaisravana or Kubera) . . . North

In wedding songs No. II of Khalatse and No. XLII of Tag-ma-cig, however, four names of deities are given, which correspond completely to the Dhyanibuddhas of the Tantric school (according to De la Vallee Poussin). But here they have no relation to Dhyani or contemplation. Rather, they appear quite actually as kings of the four

[See PRI-8, Category 116 for references --Analys]

points of the compass. Their names are the following: 776

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajrasatva) . . . . . East 821
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan (Ratnasambhava) . . . South
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas (Amitabha) . . . . . West
4. Don-yod-grub-pa (Amoghasiddha) . . . . North.

Even the Indian Lokapala have connections with certain colors, 821
and it is now of some importance to establish how the Indic system 822
is related to the color system of the wedding songs, as it has been 171
described so far. In order to clarify the situation, I shall recapitulate the latter:

1. East . . . . . white.
2. South . . . . . yellow (gold).
3. West . . . . . red (once, No. XV, turquoise).
4. North . . . . . black (or blue).

The Indic Lokapalas are represented in Lamaism with the following skin colors:

1. Dhritarashta . . . . East . . . . . white.
2. Virudhaka . . . . . South . . . . . blue.
3. Virupaksha . . . . . West . . . . . red.
4. Vaisravana (Kubera). North . . . . . yellowish gold.

We see that, except for white in the East, and red in the West, the two systems have no connection with each other. The Indic Lokapalas constitute an extrinsic element in the field of the popular religion of the Tibetans.

/14/ Things have advanced a little further, on the other hand, in 776
the case of the Dhyanibuddhas. In wedding song No. XLII[1] these have 821
been related to colors, and in this case it appears that the ancient 822
Tibetan system has penetrated almost in its entirety. In this song the following colors are named:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa . . . East . . . . white.
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan . . South . . . yellow.
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas . . . West . . . . blue.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa . . . North . . . . black.

To summarize, we may say that it appears from these old songs that the Tibetans had deities for the four points of the compass; further, that they first conceived of them in the form of birds and later apparently in human shape, and associated them with certain colors, originally, probably, white, yellow, red, and blue. In later times the names of Indic deities belonging to the points of the compass penetrated into the Tibetan system.

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116 for references --Analys]

feathers and of the eggs corresponded. Where do we find red birds 773
laying red eggs, /15/ or yellow birds laying yellow eggs? And while 822
in song No. XLI[1] nature was easily ignored, and they placed a yellow bird on a yellow egg (No. XXXIX)[1] in the South, in the West a red bird on a red egg, and so forth, they were more cautious in the case of song No. VIIb.[1] They accepted the color of the egg given in the song as binding, and then proceeded to look around in nature for birds that lay eggs of this particular color. They happened to know that *the snow pheasant, which, after all, is of a pure white color,* lays coral-red eggs, and therefore they placed it on the red egg of the branch concerned. To the white falcon is attributed an iron-colored egg, because its egg is supposed to resemble iron in nature, and so forth. The golden egg in this song is accorded to the bird Khyun, the sun bird, because the sun appears golden in color. However, it remains uncertain on which of the branches of the world tree we should place it, since it is impossible to determine which of the branches is to be considered the "first."

We can see from the songs about the tree of the world that in the 773 776
thoughts of the ancient Tibetans there was a connection between the deities of the three worlds which lay on top of one another, and those of the four regions of heaven. They celebrated these gods in song not only in special groups consisting of the first three or the latter four, but they also composed songs in which all seven were celebrated together. Such a song is No. 1 of the wedding songs of Khalatse.[1] This [782]
song deals with an offering of incense. The smoke, it is said, rises upward, spreads out over the earth, sinks down, and moves to the four points of the compass in order to allay the anger of all these deities.

So long as the highest of the water spirits was still considered a beneficent deity, there were seven divinities who were invoked together in such songs. But as we have already said, the prince of the nymphs was excluded from the circle of the other gods as the devil. In this way the group of the six chief deities came into being, and we encounter this group in the Tag-ma-cig wedding song, No. X,[1] in which the blessings of the six places, heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass, are enumerated. It is peculiar that as the blessing of heaven rain is named in particular.

Here we notice the similarity with ancient Chinese mythology as it is reported in the Schu-king II, I, 6, "Emperor Schun brought a special offering, but employing the usual forms, to Schang-ti. He brought his offering to the six honorable ones (heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass). As was proper, he made an offering

1 [See pp 1-9, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

776 to the mountains and the rivers and extended his worship to the one
773 hundred spirits." A corresponding passage is to be found also in the book of rites, Li-chi, where it says: "The son of heaven made an offering to heaven and earth, the four points of the compass, the mountains and the rivers, to the land and to the grain; he also brought the five domestic offerings." We see that among the Chinese the six "honorable ones" precede, but that they can be followed by some lesser deities. The latter is also the case among the Tibetans, and in the song just mentioned about incense offerings, wedding song, No. I, after the seven main deities there come the following lesser ones: the god of the mountain peak, the god of the village, and the god of the household. In a similar manner, other songs also descend from sublime deities till they finally arrive at the members of the family.

171 In this arrangement, which corresponds among the Tibetans and
773 the Chinese, I believe I can recognize a sign of mythological relationship between these two peoples. It is true that the "three worlds" and the "four kings of the earth" are also to be found among many other peoples, from the Babylonians to the Indians. But only the Tibetans and the Chinese make these two groups into "highest divinities." It is of especial value to us that from this combination the world tree of Tibetan mythology with its six branches, can be explained.

/16/ The Devil bDud

773 Occasionally a fourth universal realm is added to the three
776 great realms of the world, sTan-lha, Bar-btsan, and Yog-klu, that is, the realm of the devil bDud. The color of the devil's realm is black according to the Sheh (Shel) version, and brownish-violet (smug-po) according to the Lower Ladakhi Version (1). In the

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the king of Hor," No. 6.[1]

Winter Myth, II, 21-26,[2] we read that Kesar on his journey found on four mountain passes four altars, which had been erected to the divinities of the three universal realms and to the devil and were white, red, blue, and black in color. Kesar worshipped at the three first altars by offering on them white, red, and blue material.

1 [See PA1-8, Category 16, for references -- Analyst]

The fourth altar, however, the devil's black altar, he destroyed completely, leaving not a trace of it behind. Looking at a passage like this, one might be led to the belief that the ancient Tibetans knew, side by side with the three realms of the world just described, a fourth, self-contained realm, that belonging to the devil. Since the devil is frequently designated by the modifier sdig-can, "sinful," we would here be dealing with an ethically condemned personality, while the deities of the other three realms are worthy of human worship. 773 776

However, several observations lead me to the belief that the figure of the devil has developed from the deities of the water world and of winter, which stand in opposition to the bright gods of heaven. Thus, the word bdud, "devil," serves to designate various beings in Tibetan mythology. The etymology of this name is not simple. It seems to me that bdud represents a denominative formation from dud, "smoke, and soot." Bdud could then mean "the sooty one," "the black one." This would correspond with his appearance in certain versions of the Kesar saga. Even though bdud is constantly translated by the Indic words mara and Kama, nevertheless it does not seem to me that we have here a case of translation from the Indic. The devil bdud was found fully developed by the Indians in Tibet. In the Kesar saga, the devil bird is designated by the name bdud. This bird goes out to steal the goats of heaven (Spring Myth, I); furthermore, the king of the North country, King White Tent (gur-dkar), who abducts Kesar's wife; and finally, the Giant of the North (Cu-ru-lu-gu), who keeps the Bam-za-abum-skyid imprisoned in a cage (Winter Myth, III). All these are surely forms of the powers of the water and of winter, and it is this circumstance which leads up to the conclusion that in their case the origin of the notion of the devil is to be sought among the Tibetans. 776 196 773

The realm of the devil is designated quite particularly as the castle of the Giant of the North, Cu-ru-lu-gu (Winter Myth, III, IV). The fount of nectar and milk is to be found there (IV, 17).[1] The word for nectar in Tibetan points directly to the devil bdud, for nectar is called bdud-rtsi, "devil's juice." Perhaps the food and drink of forgetfulness, which according to IV, 1,[1] are found there, are also connected with the well of nectar. According to the narrative Mon-gces-pa (Paladins), the land of the devil is also populated by poisonous snakes, which might point to Yog-klu, the realm of the nymphs. In view of his size, his hunger, and his stupidity, the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu is particularly reminiscent of the giants of the German world of saga and mythology, and thus at the 776 773

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

773 same time of the "stupid devil" of Europe.
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/17/ The Seven and the Eighteen Agus

773 Aside from Kesar, the eighteen or seven Agus, so-called, are
805 the greatest heroes of the Kesar saga. Kesar is the leader of these
776 heroes, and together with him they form a group of nineteen beings whom I am inclined to regard as personifications of an old calendar. The days of the week seem to have found their embodiment here, and perhaps the months, insofar as a connection exists between them and the constellations of the zodiac.

773 About the origins of the Agus we read in the Lower Ladakhi Ver-
776 sion of the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, I, "Prologue to the Kesar Saga"):[1] The forefather bKra-shis, together with his wife, seeded a field on which only a single tree was growing. From its fruits worms arose that ate one another until at the end only a single giant worm was left. This worm turned into a beautiful child, for whom eighteen brides were sought. All the brides became pregnant as soon as they looked at the child, and from them the eighteen Agus were born.

196 The word A-gu is the dialectal form of the Tibetan word A-khu,
[587] which means "uncle," "father's brother," but which in Western
773 Tibet can also mean "husband." The last-named meaning may be
776 connected with the fact that the brothers of the master of the house have a claim upon the master's wife. Moreover, it should be remembered that among the Dard of mDa, the word Mum-mo, which also means "uncle," is used, in their old songs, in the sense of "forebears." Some of this last meaning may also have penetrated into the Tibetan word A-gu.

773 The order of the eighteen Agus is given as follows in the para-
776 graph of the Kesar saga (Prologue):

1. Pasan-ldan-ru-skyes, with a goat's head.
2. An-gar-rtsans-po, with a lizard's head.
3. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun, with a hawk's head.
4. Kha-rgan-ga-ni, with a white beard.
5. sKya-ba-rgod-po, with a ladle for a head,
6. Zla-ba-bzan-po, with a moon for a head.
7. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, with an arrow tip fro a head.
8. A-la-jon-gol, with a boot sole for a head.
9. aBu-dmar-lam-btan, with an insect's head.
10. Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, with a mirror for a head.

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references--Analyst]

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11. Ga-nigon-ba, with a collar for a head.
12. Lag-lag-rins, with a hand for a head (1).

1. Or Khu[illegible]a-lag-rins.

13. rKan-rkan-rins, with a leg for a head.
14. Bon-nag-ldum-bu, with an ass's head.
15. bKa-blon-ldan-pa, with a hum head.
16. dPal-le-rgod-po, with an old man's head.
17. rNa-gYu-rna-athsal, with a turquoise for a head.
18. Zla-ba-dkar-po, with a white shell for a head.

The group of the seven Agus is likewise to be found in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 7. Here the following names are mentioned:

/18/ 1. dPal-le, cf. No. 16 of the previous series.
2. Ga-ni, cf. No. 11 of the previous series.
3. Gon-ma-bu-thsa.
4. lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, the sharp-sighted.
5. rNa-gYu-rna-athsal, the sharp hearer, compare No. 17 of the previous series.
6. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the able marksman, compare No. 7 of the previous series
7. dPal-moi-a-stag, the female Agu.

A somewhat different series of the seven Agus is to be found in Paladins, No. II, "Tale of sKya-ba-rgod-po.[1] Here the following names are given:

1. dPal-le-rgod-po.
2. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun.
3. An-gar-ltsans-pa.
4. Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, the heavy eater.
5. Lag-lag-rins, long hand.
6. rKan-rkan-rins, speedy runner.
7. sKya-ba-dkar-po.

In the group of the seven Agus there are always some Agus to be found who distinguish themselves by special faculties of the senses and the limbs. Their deeds are reminiscent of the deeds of European fairy-tale heroes, such as we find, for instance, in "Six Go Through the Entire World." Each group of the seven Agus contains three such artists, both together therefore six; there is, the sharp-eyed one, the sharp heater, the good marksman, the heavy eater, the speedy runner, and the man with the long hand. All these work for the benefit of a seventh, who is their king. Perhaps we have in these Agus,

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references --Analyst]

776 distinguished by their special faculties, with their leader, the
773 original group of the seven before us. Although most of the Agus from the group of seven are to be found again in the group of eighteen, there are nevertheless some who only appear in the group of seven. Such Agus are: Gon-ma-bu-thsa, lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, dPal-moi-a-stag, Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, sKha-ba-dkar-po. In the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, III, 25-45), we become acquainted with one Agu, Za, "eater," who may possibly be connected with the heavy eater among the Agus in the group of seven. So much, however, is certain, that the number of Agus, if we were to count up all the figures that we encounter here and there in sags and poems, would rise far above eighteen. I explain this from the fact that each village established its own Kesar saga. Each village may thus also have prepared its own list of the eighteen Agus. As the villages communicated with one another they exchanged names of the Agus, and in this way the present order was brought into the various systems. However the series of Agus may be composed, there seems always to be a traitor among them. Thus, Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun appears as traitor in abducting aBru-gu-ma, as well as in the death of her protector, aBu-dmar-lam-batan. (See A Lower Ledakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma.") Quite in accordance with this is the behavior of the same Agus during Kesar's expedition to China. (See A Lower Ladakhi Version.)

773 As has already been mentioned, a heroine is to be found in the
805 group of the seven Agus, dPal-moi-a-stag. This brings me to the
776 question as to whether we may be permitted to see embodiment of
821 the days of the week in the Agus. The Tibetan's week is the same as ours, that is, the system of the seven days named after the old planets, which probably originated from Babylonia and on its way through India came to the Tibetans too. Preceding the names of the days of the week is the word gZa, /19/ meaning "plantet." However, it must be said that the names of these planets are so unclear etymologically that they can be explained only with great difficulty. The names of the days of the week are:

gZa-nyi-ma, Sunday (nyi-ma, "sun).
gZa-zla-ba, Monday (zla-ba, "moon").
gZa-mig-dmar, Tuesday (mig-dmar, "red eye").
gZa-lhag-pa, Wednesday (lhag-pa, "provided with a hand").
gZa-phur-bu, Thursday (phur-bu, "thunderbolt").
gZa-pa-sans, Friday (pa-sans? sans, "pure").
gZa-spen-pa, Saturday (dpen-pa, "beautiful, charming").

[See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

The following Agus might have a connection with the days of the 776
week: Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, or gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, the "crystal" or 773
"mirror" or "gold son," the son of Kesar, for Sunday; Zla-ba-bzan- 805
po, "good moon," or Zla-ba-dkar-po, "white moon," for Monday; 821
for Tuesday we must go to a being which so far has not been designated as an Agu. This is the Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat, red eye," a bird (that is, star), which is named as the younger brother of the sun bird (see Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue").[1] Among the Agus it is approached most closely by aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, "red worm, road sign," which is designated as a younger brother of King Kesar. With respect to Wednesday, it is to be remarked that the spelling lhag-pa is perhaps incorrect, and for the following reason: In the pictures by [532]
which the days of the week are designated in the calendar, Wednesday is always indicated by a hand. Now, "hand," is not called lhag-pa, but lag-pa. I believe that, from the word lag-pa, "hand," first of all the word slag-pa, meaning "provided with a hand," was formed; slag-pa and lhag-pa are, however pronounced identically. Lhag-pa should therefore mean "the one who is provided with a hand," and since Agu Lag-lag-rins is provided with a hand on his head, he might appear as the representative of Wednesday. Thursday has the phur-bu or vajra as a sign. In this place, therefore, a hero of the type of Jupiter would fit. Now, a thunderbolt hero is not to be found among the Agus, apparently for the reason that this weapon became known to the Tibetans only through the Indians. As the lexicon tells us, the word phur-bu signifies, first of all, any pointed iron, therefore also an arrowhead. It is therefore not impossible that in mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the "highest arrow master," we have the Agu of Thursday before us, especially since he has an arrowhead for a head (1). The

1. Perhaps, however, Kesar himself should be inserted under Thursday, as a fighter against the dragon of the clouds. The "arrow master" as "archer" should probably be assigned to the zodiac.

Agu of Friday is immediately recognizable by his name. He is Pa-sans-ldan-ru-skyes, "owner of (the planet) Venus, growing horns." By these horns are meant the phases of Venus which the Tibetans were able to see just as clearly as the Babylonians. It is impossible to determine from the name whether the Agu was male or female. Perhaps in order to emphasize the feminine nature of this planet, the female Agu dPal-moi-a-stag, "(A-stag?) the glorious one," was created. She is famous as a fierce warrior with the spear. To this

[1 [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

773 it should be added at once that the ancient Tibetans seem to have
776 been acquainted with the profession of battle maidens as much as
805 the ancient Germanic tribes. In wedding song No. XLIII,[1] in which
821 the guests have cups of different colors set before them according to their rank, there appear after the lama, the king, and the ministers, first of all the sTag-shar, the tiger heroes, then the sTag-dman, the tiger virgins, and finally the Na-chun, the ordinary virgins. The sTag-shar and the sTag-dman drink from golden cups, the ordinary virgins, on the other hand, drink from red cups. With respect to Saturday, I must /20/ confess that so far it seems to me impossible to connect an Agu with the Tibetan planet of this day.

773 Now as far as the relationship of the Agus to an ancient zodiac
776 is concerned, I would say that it is particularly the external appear-
805 ance of the Agus that makes their origin from a zodiac seem possi-
171 ble. The Agus are described as creatures of human shape, some of whom are provided with animal heads. In this connection, however, it should be said at once that the animals in the signs of the zodiac in use today in China as well as in Tibet, are the very ones that cannot be found among the animal heads of the Agus. It is well-known, however, that the zodiac in use today was not introduced into either country until historical times (before the seventh or eighth century). The zodiac symbolized in the Agus, on the other hand, may have originated in the prehistoric period of the two peoples.

The zodiac known today in China and Tibet has the following twelve animal signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, ape, hen, dog, and pig. The zodiac is used in the calendar to designate the years. The Tibetans report that this calendar was brought to them by the Chinese in the seventh century. It must therefore have been introduced into China somewhat earlier. The same animal names were then also used to designate the different months. As the excavations in Turkestan indicate, the Tibetans of the eighth century divided the year into twelve months, with three of the months constituting a season of the year. At that time they spoke of the second and the third spring month, and so forth. Each month, at that time, was reckoned at thirty days. I suspect this because the number 360 plays such an important role with the gods, the nymphs, and similar beings.

Although it is as yet impossible to equate all the Agus in the list given above with the known signs of the zodiac, the following should nevertheless be pointed out: An-gar-rtsans-po with the lizard's head can be compared with the snake of the Dodekaoros;

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references, --Analyst]

Khrai-mgo with the hawk's head can be compared with the hawk of the Dodekaoros; aBu-dmar-lam-bstan with the insect's head can be compared with the beetle of the Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, "Old Mouth," with the white beard, can be compared with the ape of the Dodekaoros; Bon-mag with the donkey's head, with the donkey of the Dodekaoros. As has already been mentioned, mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the great arrow master, belongs perhaps to the "archer" of the Babylonian zodiac. As A. Jeremias observes in his "Handbuch," the previously mentioned zodiac of the Chinese, which begins with the rat, the ox, and the tiger, is related to the Hellenistic Dodekaoros. After what has just been said, it seems to me that the zodiac symbolized by the Agus comes much closer to the Dodekaoros. Here we have, perhaps, the intermediate link between the Asiatic West and East with respect to this calendar problem. 773 776 805 171

Favorite Numbers in the Ancient Mythology

Three is a particularly favored number. The world is composed of three parts, the king of the heavens has three sons, King "White Tent" must perform three labors, three Shar-an-dre, according to the Lower Ladakh Version, strive to kill the child Kesar. The Agu Khrai-thun needs three hats, three stirrups, and three dog collars ("Journey to China"). According to wedding song No. XIII[1] there are three famous castles, three lakes, three forms of greeting, of smiling, and of swearing; according to No. LIX[1], there are three kinds of people, of cattle and of iron tools, and there are three kinds of fields. 773 801

The number seven appears somewhat less frequently. However, the smaller group of the Agus consists of seven heroes. According to the Sheh version there are seven An-dhe-ban-dhe who try to kill the infant Kesar. Seven /21/ types of grain seeds are found in the stomach of the dove that has been caught. Tag-ma-cig, (wedding song No. LIX.[1]) With seven bones and seven shells Dze-mo performs her magic on Cu-ru-lu-gu (in the Winter Myth, No. 3).[1]

The number nine occurs with special frequency. The monster from which gDon-gsum-mi-la constructs the world, has nine heads; the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu has nine lives; according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] Kesar is victorious in nine battles; according to Spring Myth, VI,[1] 29, nine little pieces of butter are spread along the edge of the beer jug in honor of the guest. Nine gods and nine Pisaca were born together with Kesar, according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] 34. In everyday life, the number nine is also in frequent use. A full rosette is

1 [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references -- Analyst]

773 merely an obscure mythological phenomenon has been recognized
774 in it. However, the fact that the Tibetans connect the name Khyun
821 with the word for "sun" in one name, raises certain considerations. If in Tibet the sun and Khyun are combined in one name, then it is certainly possible that in India people also thought of the sun when they mentioned the name Garuda. The syllable dkrun, or, corrupted, run, gives the most trouble in the name. It may refer to the fact that no feet are visible on the bird of the sun. For sKyil-dkrun signifies sitting down with the feet drawn in. In the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue," No. 9,[1] we learn something about the ancestors of the sun bird. It is supposed to be the son of the bird No-ldo-re, and the latter is supposed to be the son of the bird Khu-byug-rgyal-po. While the name On-ldo-re cannot be translated, Khu-(b)yug-
[825] rgyal-po means "king cuckoo." The cuckoo is actually a particularly favorite bird among the Tibetans, and it also plays an important part in the mythology of the Bon religions. According to passages in the dictionary of S. Ch. Das, under "Khyun," it looks as though Khyun was originally used to designate the eagle. Khyun, On-ldo-re, and Khu-(b)yug are probably the names of three birds that were worshiped and that were all three equated with the sun. The story of the provenance of the sun bird in the "Prologue" is thus probably only intended to signify that the sun of the present day is the child of the sun of yesterday, and that the latter is again the child of the day before yesterday. The case is different with the birth of the sun from aBru-gu-ma, as we find it reported in the Spring Myth, Appendices, No. 3.[1] (Similarly in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," p. 69.) This event is best explained if we recognize, as we mentioned earlier, an earth goddess in aBru-gu-ma. When the sun rises in the morning, it is, after all, possible to say that it was born
[776] from the earth. A curious sun and moon myth is the story of the Agu Za in Spring Myth, II, 34-45.[1] Za means "eater," and this particular Agu devours not only Don-grub, the future King Kesar, but he also only surrenders Kesar again after he has been promised that the sun and the moon will be given him to eat for a year. Such devourers of the sun and the moon are not only the spirits of the eclipses of the sun and /23/ the moon, but also the mountain and cloud spirits. It is precisely the large mountains rising steeply from the river valleys that frequently prevent the appearance of the sun for several months during the winter. From the personifications of the mountains have arisen the spirits of the mountains or the giants.

The moon is also frequently conceived of as a bird. It is called Bya-mo-dkar-mo, the "white lady bird" (see Lower Ladakhi Version,

[1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references.-- ANALYS]

773 All these peculiar names of the sun and the moon are to be found
774 in the reports about Kesar's birth. At Kesar's birth there is a general
821 giving of birth to various creatures. The old sun gives birth to a young sun, the old moon to a young moon, and all breeding animals, horses, oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and so forth, give birth to young. Among the creatures not belonging to the animal kingdom which reproduce themselves at this point we find the rainbow, rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "great, colored rope," and the cloud, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-ston-shon, the "white sack, container of a thousand." Just as the sickle of the moon is considered the original ancestor of all sickles, axes, and hatchets, so the rainbow is regarded as the original ancestor of all strings and ropes, and the cloud is looked upon as the original ancestor of all sacks. The trinity of moon sickle, rainbow rope, and cloud sack, incidentally, also plays a significant role in the Ron-no-rub-can, the Tibetan Vetala.

Scattered here and there we also find still other personifications of the phenomena of nature. In wedding song No. IIIb[4] the wind, sKye-ser-rlun-po, is called "wind, rouser of coolness." To it is attributed /24/ the feat of having hollowed out the valleys. This is, of course, quite reminiscent of the modern theories of wind erosion held by our geographers. In the same song the rain, under the name sBan-char-zil-bu, "moist rain, dew," is also mentioned. To it is attributed the creation of the concepts "above" and "below." This perhaps because of the fact that rain originates above and dew down below.

As we have already seen above, the personification of the glacier is Sne-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." In the song just cited she appears as the mother of the glacier. She is of great importance because on her depends the supply of water for the land. This lioness, the riding animal of the mother of the gods, is frequently mentioned, together with types of animals considered as firm representatives of the animal kingdom. However, this is, after all, also the case with the sun bird Khyun. (See Tag-ma-cig, wedding songs Nos. I[4] and II.[4]) Such representatives of the animal kingdom are: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds"; the eagle; sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big ibex, the old ox"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, the "female fish gold eye"; it is also called Nya-mo-khyu-ru; rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "the white mouth born from kiang," a horse; aBron-
773 byun-rog-po, "the black one born from the wild yak," a yak.

● 776 gNyan are said to be spirits who carry on their nefarious activi-
753 ties in various places. According to S. Ch. Das's Wörterbuch

[4] [see category 116, pp. 1-8, for references--Analyst]

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

> At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
> Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
> In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
> In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how 769 matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should [775] be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet.

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is [195] heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha -sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's de- [113] ceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.)

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu (Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po, rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCL in my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water SNAKES.

776 snakes. On the pictures I have said that the Khyun is represented
778 in the act of devouring two of the Nagas. It is remarkable that among the eight mGon-po of Nub-ra there is also one that bears the name Nagaraksha, "water-snake demon" in the Indic language. His rock is in Ron-mdo. Apparently there is a rock formation in mGo-sbed which is reminiscent of a Khyun, and in Ron-mdo there is one that looks like a water snake (klu).

782 It is undoubtedly a fact that at one time offerings were made at these ancient cult places.[1] Certainly they also performed dances there and said prayers.

Concerning the offerings we learn a few isolated facts from the wedding songs.

[824] The first of the wedding songs of Khalatse deals with a smoke offering. According to this song the wood of the Shug-pa tree (Juniperus excelsa), a type of juniper, which smells very good when it is burned, is brought as an offering. This offering is called bsan-shug, "juniper food," in the song, apparently because it is to serve as nourishment for the gods. The main purpose of this offering is to maintain peace with the gods. The first verse runs:

This blue smoke rising,
What does it mean?
This blue smoke rising
/26/ Means that there will be no conflict with brGya-byin, lord of the gods
For that do we offer the nourishing juniper tree!

[776] In this way the smoke is presented as an offering to the deities of heaven, of earth, of the water world, of the four points of the compass, of the castle, the village, and the house. Everywhere the smoke is believed to have an appeasing effect. In Number 2
[824] of the drinking songs of Khalatse[2] two other plants are also named as materials for incense, aside from the shug-pa, the "wood of the gods." These are su-lu-gser-po and kham-pa-dkar-po. Neither is known to me.

782 A very peculiar kind of sacrificial gift is named in the Tag-ma-
826 cig; wedding song No. XXXIII:[2] To the gods are to be sacrificed the white teeth and the fingernails; to the solid earth, the red flesh and the red blood; to the dark powers (mun) the gall and blue water; to the black devil, though, the black hairs and the eyebrows are to be offered. All these are parts of the body which among primitive peoples are regarded as the seat of mysterious powers, and their acquisition is looked upon as particularly desirable. Is there perhaps an idea of presenting the best to the divinities?

In this connection it should, by the way, be observed directly

1 [See pp37-8, cat. 116, -- Analyst] 2 [See pp1-8, cat. 116 --ANALYST]

585 x
539 x

4. When we came here from the northern country,
Vaisravana was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and his servants white.
Their looks and their customs are good.
In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear the news, ask them.
We, their friends, will now be silent!

The people:

Om, May things go well with you, and may you be accompanied by happiness and blessings!

Notes to IXa and b [1]

585 x
539 x
776
822

Already appeared in the Indian Antiquary, 1901, as No. IX /actually No. IV. --Translator/ There the name of the king in the North was erroneously given as Virupaksha. The Tibetan text gives the names of these Lokapalas (guardians of the world), in their Tibetan form, as follows: 1. East, Yul-akhor-srun; 2. South, aPhags-skyed; 3. West, sPyan-mi /g/-bzan; 4. North, rNam-thos-sras. In its original form this song probably named birds instead of the great kings. The color white here symbolizes goodness, purity. Concerning the gifts of the various points of the compass, see the Introduction.

585 x
539 x Xa. The people of the house say:

1. Rain comes down damp from above,
Is satisfied with its own falling,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone do we ask.

2. The meadow of turquoises deep
Sucks purity out of the soil,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone do we ask.

3. The umbrella of the throne, coming from the East,
Takes pains to cause the darkness to withdraw,

1 [See pp. 62-4, Cat. 116, --Analyst]

Hear your praises, gods above, 585*
You who are radiant like meadow flowers! 539*

The people:

Quite so!

Notes to XVIa[1]

The relatives of the bride in this song for the first time recog- 776
nize the bride purchasers as the messengers of the gods, as the first 585*
lines indicate. This song seeks to do justice to all religious fac- 539*
tions, and for this reason it praises, aside from the gods of the lHa-chos, also Buddha (line 8) and the deities of the Bon religion (the lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, after line 10). The heroes of prehistory play an important part, and among them there are to be found a number of historical personages, such as, for instance, King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan of the eighth century A.D. (verse 24), Padmasombhava, his contemporary (verse 10), Queen Kon-jo of the seventh century. Among the rest the following are also familiar figures: Heruka, as a Tantra divinity (verse 12), who, incidentally, is here brought into connection with the old, old lHa-chos; King Kesar (verse /I am assuming that the "V." in the text stands for "verse" or "line"; however, the references seem unclear. --Translator/ 20) the hero of the saga world, and his son gSer-ral (lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 34). Shel-lha-od-dkar is probably the same as gShen-lha-od-dkar who, after gZer-mig, is a chief divinity of the Bon religion /56/ (lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 10). The name of the yak tamer rGyal-rmog-grog-po should be compared with the name of the yak tamer in song XIIb, line 1. Perhaps both refer to one and the same personage. dBu-thod-grogs-po, who occurs in the lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 15, should be compared with dBu-thod-rog-se in song XVIb, verse 10. The word Thsa-gran in verse 18 is the name of the hot and cold caves. It is peculiar that this word has been moved into close proximity to the physicians. It is as yet impossible to ascertain the reference of the remaining names. 585* 539*

XVIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. To you high in the heavens resounds the song of praise!

[1] [See pp. 75-77 -- Analyst]

*585
*539

2. From the gem of moon and sun,
3. From the glittering stone of the stars in the house of the moon,
4. From the towers of ice of Kailasa,
5. From the depths of Lake Ma-phan it resounds.
6. Out of the wide, gay, red earth!
7. Out of the long, blue rivers it resounds.
8. You high gods of heaven, listen to the song of praise,
9. You little gods who are led by the god Indra!
10. dBu-thod-rog-se, hear it!
11. Peoples of all the middle realms, hear it!
12. You who are ruled by the mother of the earth, sKyabs-mdun!
13. Hear it, rTa-mgo-rog-se!
14. Nymphs, you who are ruled by prince dGa-bo-ljogs-po,
15. Nymphs, deep down in the ground, listen to the song of praise!
16. Hear it, sBrul-mgo-rog-se!
17. You nine fathers to the right, Oh listen to the song of praise!
18. You who are sitting like gYag-po-che-sdeu, listen to it!
19. You nine mothers, like peacocks,
20. Waddling in the forest, listen to the song of praise!
21. God of the market on the market place! You people, listen to it!
22. You who look like large flowers in the meadow!
23. You children there on the side, looking like
24. Children of the gods descended from heaven, listen to the songs of praise!
25. Full of blessing is
26. Your happy land.

The people:
Quite so!

/57/ Notes to XVIb[1]

*776
*539
*585

This song of praise sung by the purchasers of the bride contains fewer names than the previous one, and those names that it does contain can be more easily explained than the others. Verses from

[1] [See pp. 77-78 -- Analyst]

8 to 10 make reference to the realm of the gods in heaven. The king of heaven is first of all named dBan-po-brgya-byin, Satakratu, Indra. The name dBupthod-rog-se may possibly likewise refer to a heavenly deity. Verses 11 to 13 make reference to the realm of the earth. The name of the queen of the earth is sKyabs-mdun, as she is also known elsewhere. But rTa-mgo-rog-se, "with the head of a horse," also seems to be the name of a deity of the earth. Verses 14 to 16 refer to the realm of the waters. The name of the king of the nymphs is here given as dGa-bo-ljogs-po (ordinarily it is simply ljogs-po). sBrul-mgo-rog-se, "with the head of a snake," likewise appears to be a divinity of the waters. As for the being seated like gYag-po-che-sdeu, I am as yet unable to give any explanation. 776 585 539

XVIIa. The people of the house say: 585 539

1. Uncovered, wild head,
Wild hair stands up toward heaven!
Wild, naked body! It walks
Always dreadful the eternal way!
Wild foot walks without shoe. --
Its track carves pictures.

2. High above the ice god closed the three valleys.
Not a single little flake swirls up to heaven.

3. Water closes three valleys deep.
Little speck of iron dust flies not up.

4. Apes you are! Not human beings!
Your horses are the devil's animals!
Away with ape and devil's horse!

The people:
Quite so!

XVIIb. The people outside say:

1. -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
-- -- -- -- (missing).

2. When you say the ice god closed

585X
539X

Up on high the valleys three,
So that ne'er a little flake flew
Up to high heaven;
/58/ Two days ago
A yak was killed there --
Up above, something flew up --
Eighty planes -- white --
Ninety grounds -- white --
The vulture laughs like a man.
Little birds without number whirl about.
Did you not see it?

3. When you say: three lower valleys were closed
By water deep, so that not a single little particle
of iron flew.
Yesterday iron child
Combed the ox.
Did you see it? Mountain and cliff
Became like valleys!

4. When I look at our men, they look like King
Kesar;
When I look at our horses, they look like his
riding steed.
Where, then, have you ever heard that the crew
of matchmakers
With the iron-hoofed steeds could look like
simian horsemen?
Observe! We do not come as enemies,
No, ever as dear friends we come.

The people:

Quite so.

Notes to XVIIa and b 1

776
585X
539X

This is a song which evidently has not been preserved in its complete form, or, in any case, it is impossible to interpret it clearly in all its parts. As verse 4 indicates, doubt again arises concerning the divine origin of the bride purchasers. From verses 2

1 [See cat 116, pp. 79-80 for songs. --Analyst]

and 3 it seems to appear that the children of the gods are expected to come down from Olympus in a storm. The people of the house have not noticed any storm, and therefore the matchmakers' assertion that they are of high descent is repudiated as untrue. In XVIIb, the bride purchasers, thereupon, point to great snow and hailstorms which are supposed to have raged recently in the mountains. The storms are explained by the killing and combing of yak oxen. Just as in the Kesar saga, here, too, the clouds are compared with yak oxen. 776 585x 539x [821]

XVIIIa. The people of the house say: 585x 539x

1. Who was the lord of eighty white planes?
2. Who was the lord of the ninety white gorges?
3. Who was lord of the vulture that laughs like a man?
4. Who was the lord of the numberless little birds?

/59/ XVIIIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. Garuda is the lord of eighty planes.
2. The bird king is lord of ninety gorges.
3. Thin of the vulture that laughs like a man.
4. And the lark is lord of all the little birds.

Seven little men, seven little women may not come together, Khyi-li-li!
Three very bad words should not be spoken by anyone, Tho-ro-ro!
Three well-known steps should not be taken by anyone, Sha-ra-ra!
What is being done, do you think?
And what may you need?

The people:

Quite so.

Notes to XVIIIa and b

Of the birds that are here designated as rulers over gorges and over other birds, Thin is as yet unknown. But from the position of

585x
539x

7. That blue smoke
Blowing toward the North
Is an offering to Amoghasiddha
So that he will not be angry with us.

8. That blue smoke
Over the castle there
Is an offering to the god of the mountain peak
So that he will not be angry with us.

/63/ 9. That blue smoke
Above your village
Is an offering to the god of the village
So that he will not be angry with us.

10. That blue smoke
Blowing through the courtyard
Is an offering to the god of the house
So that he will not be angry with us.

The People:

Quite so. May all go well with you!

Notes to Supplement, Kh. Ia and b [1]

This is one of those songs that show the old arrangement of the prayer. The deities of the three worlds are followed by the divinities of the four points of the compass, and that in the order of the course of the sun--, East, South, West, North. With respect to this arrangement, the ancient lHa-chos corresponds with Buddhism, whilst the Bon religion, as the gZer-mig indicates, for instance, always has the reverse order, that is, North, West, South, East. In accordance with this, lHa-chos and Buddhism also share the same swastika turned to the right, whereas that of the Bon religion is turned toward the left. The Tibetan manuscript gives the names of the Lokapalas in their Tibetan form, as follows: rDo-rje-sems-dpa, Rinchen-byun-ldan, sNan-ba-mtha-yas, Don-yod-grub-pa. The deities that follow after this are called: rTse-lha, Yul-thsa, Pha-lha.

776
585
539

This song is included in the manuscript of Khalatse at the

1 [See pp. 83-85, Category 11b -- Analysis]

776 place of Tag-ma-cig, song number I, and it has already been pub-
539 lished in the Indian Antiquary, 1901. [See source #10. pp. 134-
585 in cat. 116 -- ANALYZE T]

Kh. IIa. The people of the house say:

539
585

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
What white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones,
What and whose beer is it?

3. Look over there down below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

/64/ 4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The beer /made/ of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

The people:

Om, May things go well with you.

Kh. IIb. The bride purchasers, the seven brothers, answer:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer nourishing the ice lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there down below!
That blue river water
Is the beer nourishing the little fishes.

Notes to Kh. XIXa and b[1]

This song has not been preserved in its entirety either. The missing verses a, 1 to 4, it was easily possible to supply from b, 1 to 4. The missing conclusion b, 10 to 13, has been completed by me in the spirit of the preceding verses. The bride purchasers believe they make their divine origin most effectively clear by asserting that everything that goes on in nature and inside the house is connected with them or was caused by them. sKra-lo, in verse 6, is evidently a tutelary deity. The name might possibly signify "the one with the curly hair." The Shog-yan plateau in verse 10 is not yet known to me. But the North country in verse 11 is the well-known Byan-than plain. It is clear that the conclusion of this song in Khalatse is not nearly as satisfying as the conclusion of the song quoted above, No. XIX in Tag-ma-cig. 539x 585x [776]

Concluding Observations

It is my intention to follow up this part of the wedding songs with a second and a third part in a special publication. If this plan should be somewhat delayed, it will be due to the difficulty in translating. For the first part, two manuscripts were available. The second part can only be translated on the basis of one single manuscript, and this circumstance results in a great deal of uncertainty in view of the archaic nature of the language. The Tibetan text of all three parts, together with a literal translation printed alongside it, is to be published in the very near future in a scholarly periodical. 000

/70/ Rock Drawings

Table I[2]

Number 1, 2 and 3. The "white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." A personification of the glacier. (Compare photograph.) 531 821

Number 4. Kesar's horse (rKyan-byun-dbyer-pa). 773

" 5. Kesar on his horse engaged in hunting the antelope. On both sides are stupas, and over them branches of the sacred juniper tree. Unknown emblem (a square with diagonals). (Compare photograph.) 778 531

1 [See pp. 90-92, category 116 --Analyst]
2 [See p. 97, category 116 -- Analyst]

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

[1] [See pp. 103-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

755 /(12)/ No. 14.[1] Large dos-mo from the dos-mo festival in Leh.
796
778 The evil spirits of winter and of diseases are caught in the structures that resemble spiderwebs. After the exorcism, the frames are destroyed.

532 /(13)/ No. 15. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa)
776 near Leh.

Stars from the Kesar saga. The king's castle of Glin. Above it, in the clouds, are deities.

/(14)/ No. 16. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

On the right: A scene from the Kesar saga. King Kesar with the eighteen Agus. Three women from the right. In the clouds are the father of the gods and the mother of the gods, and their children (?). On the left: A scene from the Dogra war.

/(15)/ No. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar.

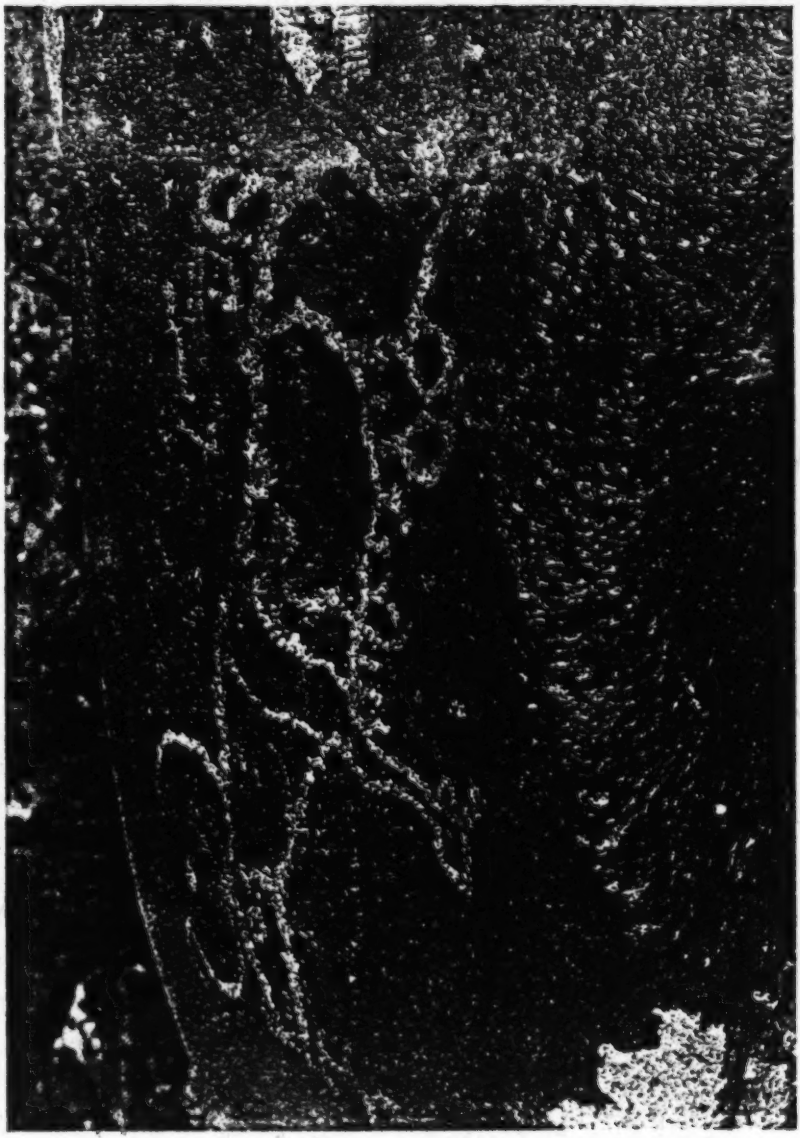
Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

No. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh.

(The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

1 [see pp. 114-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

532
776



Nr. in Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[82]

15: Francke --117 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans #34

532
776

Nr. 17. Ancient wooden mask from Kunawar. Evidently it also represented an Agi (hero).

Nr. 18. Mask of an Agi (hero) from Leh. (The helmet has little flag stuck in it.)

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

796 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing
782 the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-shen* (roasted buck-wheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-shen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 The *Mo-ṣi Tsai-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the
793 village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

At the *Chog'-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-pa* (one in whom a god is supposed
796 to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is
787 thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of
● [776] blood.

Following closely on this function, comes the *Tsai-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned,
[793] perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-so-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rug'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rung*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place
533 during the ninth month, one *drang-ryyas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to
787 the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung :—

G.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"
The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dzo's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dzo-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

19: Asboe M-3 (no date)1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [76]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [77]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
426
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

797 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751: PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

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without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other: iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

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The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa) each of which correspond to two of our hours.

1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

rapid amble to their home. In the house of Dragshos there was great rejoicing over the result of the matchmaking, which finally could not be ignored even by the one who was most closely concerned by it: Drogpa Namgyal. 000

Again at the Soothsayer's

Yet there was still a great anxiety to be banished for Lobsang Wanggyal: How would the gods and the demons be disposed towards the intended marriage? This could again only be found out by the soothsayer and astrologist Dordje Dud-joms, the devil-tamer, so he had been told. The day immediately following the carrying over of the asking beer Lobsang Wanggyal rode to Lamayuru to the soothsayer, for the first time in a long while. Since the time of the birth horoscope for his son, the Dragshos had carefully avoided the man; the latter had overdone things a little at that time with his calculation of misfortune, and the idea had dawned upon the Dragshos that there always existed a certain relationship between this activity and the /63/ money bag of the person who commissioned it. But one could scarcely go about arranging such an important matter as a marriage in the family without consulting the onpo at all. Who else knows how to read fate in the stars and to interpret the dark signs the way the onpo does? The latter had certainly noticed that the Dragshos had avoided him in the last few years and he was probably determined to be careful this time. It did not pay to spoil things with the Dragshos and his tribe. One should not lose such good customers. 787

The devil-tamer went to work immediately after the Dragshos had left his cell. He compared the horoscopes at birth of the prospective couple and tested to see whether the zodiacal signs of the years of birth, the elements and the constellations were in a friendly, hostile or neutral relationship to each other, whether the astrological signs for life, body, power, and "wind horse" (lun-rta) (40) of the two were

40. A mythical horse which carries on its back the valuable wishing gem (Tibetan, yid bźin nor-bu; Sanskrit cintamani) and which is supposed to bring people wealth and happiness. The "wishing horse" is often seen on prayer flags, magical pieces of paper, and the like, on which it is drawn. [177]

favorable and harmonized with each other or whether they were hostile

787 and presaged the anger of the gods. Dorje Dud-joms cut things short this time. When Lobsang Wanggyal asked for the horoscope two days later, the onpo received him with a friendly smile. "You can rejoice, gaga (gracious sir), your horoscope is not bad this time. The forces resisting the intentions of the betrothed couple are not too great. This might be quite different; all the things that we have seen in this respect!" The Dragshos could believe that fully, just judging from his own observations. "The mighty water deities especially are favorably inclined towards you--at least until now. Your ample lu-stor (offering to the water gods) and the reading of the book klu-abum (book of the 100,000 water gods) have put them into a favorable mood, too. Only the Don and Dre demons are not of a favorable disposition anyhow; you cannot trust them. Perhaps you have been somewhat negligent in recent times with your offerings and the reading of the necessary books. You should just catch up with what you have neglected; I have written down the books that you must have read and the offerings that should be presented. And--wait a minute! Something just occurs to me--I had almost forgotten about that. You want to hold the wedding in the [776] first month of the new year. In that month a new Lha (god) just wants /63/ to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, where you are going to have the first wedding festival. This god is as yet unknown and so he cannot be trusted. You must immediately put him in a good mood through offerings. He comes from Hundar. There he raged terribly and in his rage brought smallpox to the people of the village of Hundar. Surely you know that there and in the neighboring villages over eighty people died of smallpox. Then the lamas drove the Lha away by their formulas and exorcisms. Now he is about to move into the gods' trees in Tingmogang, as the lamas who live there have found out. Therefore, be careful and get yourself on good terms with the Lha right away so that he will not ruin your plans. The main wedding feast, which will be held in Tingmogang in the house of the bride's parents, should take place on the 21st of the first month. That is a Thursday (41), a propitious day for all marriages; the other days of the week are

• 777 41. Among the peoples of the East, as among those in the West, including also our Germanic ancestors, Thursday is accounted a lucky day for marriages; to the gza-p'ur-bu (Jupiter's day) there corresponds in Old High German Donar's day, the day of the Thunder (Storm) God Donar who with his weapon, the hammer, protected marriage, just like

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil 787
tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew <u>that</u> kind of paying too.

The Ransom Beer (42) 583

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-ĉan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and 584
rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven [431]
men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

[cf. Cat. 116, p. 60 - footnote 43 - Analyst]

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford 262
a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing 264
wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-t'ug, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/ Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of 342
their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had gradually become too cramped for the growing family. The old grandmother Tsering Putrid who with advancing age became increasingly strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to insist that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje Dud-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with 342 77
little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red," wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gnyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal

342 had to call in the lamas, even if he did so half against his will. They
777 came, five in number, and on the spot staked out for the construction, they read the book of the "heaped up good luck (bkra-śis rtsegs-pa)," the words of which allegedly possess the power to exorcise the entire legion of threatening demons, so that good fortune might be able to enter into the house unhampered.

/Following page 122 there is a full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool."/

342 /123/ On the appointed Thursday there appeared a group of men with hoes and spades on the building site. Jugs with beer were already standing there in readiness. The workers received a drink and each one of them was given a few copper coins. The "architect," a carpenter with very limited abilities, stepped forth and staked off the quadrangle of the house exactly by means of strings and stakes. At the sign from the master one of the laborers came forth and, as the first one, broke the ground with his hoe. He and no other one was allowed
[777] to do this: He was a "pig year person" (p'ag-lo-pa); such a person is considered as a person who brings luck, and whatever he starts is supposed to succeed. He is a man of "sharp speech" (k'a-gnon), the spirits fear his word and his hand, he has power over them. One blow with the hoe executed by him frightens the spirits and drives away the last ones that may have remained behind after the exorcism of the lamas. This "pig year person" also receives better pay than the other workers in order to make sure that he will stay till the building is completed. He had been fetched from a distant village, because no such lucky person was to be had just then in the neighboring villages. The higher pay induced him to lend his services to the builder until the end, a fact which was appreciated not because of his performance--he was the laziest of all the workers--but because of his supposed power of exorcizing the spirits, a power which was given him by his year of birth. His laziness was therefore taken into the bargain.

Weeks before they began building the men had broken rocks by the mountain and had rolled them down the steep slope close to the building site Poplars had been felled for building wood; there was no better building wood on these mountain oases. The carpenter and his assistants chopped off the branches with their cross axes, peeled off the bark, and removed the roughest unevennesses of the trunk, but left it in its round shape. There is in the mountain wilderness a great lack of strong trunks which can be used as roof beams capable of supporting

their right-hand side. This they did so that all the prayer tablets which were lying on the wall might send the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum a thousandfold up to the great Merciful One. The chorten that flanked the 'manes' were circled about, amid prayers, in order to implore also, by this "praying," the blessing of the Buddhas and the gods upon the land and the people. For five days, Namgyal in this way celebrated with the grandees; during the day, at the bazaar and on the polo field, in the midst of the people, and in the evening in the castle in the narrow circle of his social peers; and thus he enjoyed the gay goings-on; in so doing he also believed to be contributing his share in making the gods favorably inclined, for, after all, it was in their honor that they were celebrating. 527 778

About two months later when the days had already become considerably longer and the sun already shone quite warm into the valleys of the Ladakh during the hours of the midday, the people there prepared for the King's New Year, and again the king's invitation brought Namgyal to Leh. At this festival the king again wished to see as many of his grandees as possible around him, so that at least on these rare days he might be surrounded by a faint shimmer of royal splendor. All the more, since this also made a greater impression upon the divine helpers-in-need, who were again approached with prayers. 527

Grandmother Tsering Putrid this time talked with quite a special urgency to her grandson, in order to persuade him to take part in the *festival at Leh. "Namgyal," she said, "when you tear down the great* magical pole (dosmo) in Leh, you must see to it that you get hold of a large piece of a string star, wood with yellow, red, and blue strings. That will bring us luck in the new year and will keep away the evil spirits!" Namgyal had smiled at this and had said, "Oh, oh!" which sounded like half an assent. At this the old woman had become very angry and had added: "Don't you laugh, Namgyal! You have no idea how much magical power is contained in such a piece of the dosmo. When your mother bore you, I put such a bundle of sticks and colored strings from the last dosmo in her bed. Then everything went all right with the birth and afterwards. A year before, your mother had had a miscarriage and had to suffer a great deal. At that time, you see, I had no such amulet at hand. So it couldn't go right! And many years ago I once lost my coral necklace with the silver amulet up there by the slope of the mountain /135/ near the goats' huts. I looked for it for hours and could not find it. The following day I put the dosmo amulet inside the bosom of my dress, and lo and behold, I just went up 527 777

527 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming
877 between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first
805 half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos
789 first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma). (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

782 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering)
776 the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

at various "beers" in the Dragshos house and in the houses of the circle 437
of relatives and of the tribe in Kalatse and Teya-Tingmogang. The
trip was to be taken to the nomads of the Jangtang highland plateau,
which lay in Tibetan territory in the northeastern part of Ladakh, in
order to exchange goods with these inhabitants of the upland steppes. 437

The astrologist, who naturally had to be consulted in this in- 777
stance, prescribed to the people that the ninth day of the fifth month
would be a suitable day for setting out on the journey. It was a Monday
(moon day); the moon god who rules over this day, would be friendly
towards their undertaking, while red (that is, "angry") Mars, who is
in the ascendancy on Tuesday, was not to be trusted; the second, eighth,
and fourteenth of the month were also not to be recommended as days
on which to begin the journey, so said the onpo.

When the plan was established in every detail three lamas were 437
called into Namgyal's house because he was the leader of the enter- 789
prise. He led the priests to his threshing floor in the open field /153/
where they had to read the "travel blessing" from three books. The
titles of the books were as follows: (143):

143. The titles of the books in Tibetan read:

1. P'yogs bcu mun sel;
2. Bar-cad lam sel;
3. bSam-pa lhun grub.

Aside from the eight points of the compass, familiar and [823]
current among us, Tibetan geography has two more: The up-
ward (in the direction of the zenith), and the downward (in
the direction of the nadir).

1. The Illumination of the Dark in the ten points of the compass.
2. The overcoming of the Dangers along the way.
3. The Fulfillment of all Wishes.

Further the priests read prayers to the god of riches (Kubera, rnam-tos-sras), and to the wealth-giving goddess Nor-rgyn-lha-ma with great zeal. Finally the luck-bringing yan-agug and pya-agug ceremony was again performed. The purpose of all these exercises and prayers was to exorcize the Don, Nyan, Tsan, Nodjin, and Gegs

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

177 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: ños-agrug-la aded-de mi non / rkyen-ñan-la śor-te mi bud.

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the soothsayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking 000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

757 177 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhistic canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bźi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In the autumn the *nierpa* or treasurer, with some of the monastery tenants in attendance, goes through the whole country, and collects from every holding a customary fee called *dubri*, consisting of one *páth* of barley. In the spring a great festival takes place, known as the Ghantál Tcháchá, at which all comers are fed for one day. A long train of pilgrims may be seen engaged in making the circle on foot of the holy mountain,—a work of much religious efficacy, as it ought to be, seeing that it involves a trudge of about eighteen miles and an ascent and descent of several thousand feet. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"The third grand *lámá* of Tibet* visited Láhaul while I was there in 1867, inspecting the monasteries and giving his benediction to the people at places where he halted. He travelled in quaintly-shaped, bright-coloured tents carried on *yaks*, with a considerable retinue of monks. I saw him seated on a throne or platform built up in the open air, dressed in a mitre and silken canonicals, extraordinarily like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates. The monks formed a lane in front of the throne, up which the Láhaulis advanced in the most reverential manner to receive the blessing, and a bit of silk to be worn, I believe, as a talisman. After backing out of the presence, they made the circle of the throne, praying aloud as they walked. I saw one poor man present a pony, so the value of the offerings must have been considerable."

The principal endowment of the five Spiti monasteries consists of the *pun* or assigned grain rents already described: the rent-free land they hold is of exceedingly trifling amount. The following table shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of *pun* they draw from each *kothí* :—

Name of monastery or *gíphs*.	Number of *lámás*.	Amount of "pun" collectable from each *kothí*.			Remarks.
		Name of *kothí*.	Khal.	Teh.	
Dankar or Láwope	90	Shám ...	137	14	Seventeen *khal* assigned to the family of astrologers, and forty to the Pittu monastery in Ladákh, have to be added to make up the sum total of the *pun*, viz., 1,461 *khal* 7 *teh*.
		Chusi ...	120	...	
		Todpá ...	73	17	
			331	11	
Tábo	88	Shám ...	53	5	
		Chusi ...	134	19	
		Todpá ...	10	10	
			198	14	
Ki	100	Chusi ...	379	4	
		Bárjik ...	14	...	
		Todpá ...	60	...	
			453	4	
Tángist ...	60	Chusi ...	212	...	
		Bárjik ...	57	16	
		Todpá ...	9	12	
		Pin ...	20	...	
			339	8	
Pin	100	Pin ...	81	10	

* One of the three who is born again as soon as he dies; the man I saw was fair, plump and smooth faced, and not more than twenty years old I should say.—*Lyall.*

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti
51 a

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shun* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

●777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lâmas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *lâma* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*rîbong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732
777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

CHAPTER 8

MY MAGICAL HAT

000

My magical hat was more of a helmet than a hat. It had inside an adjustable band that would fit any head; and, as in the case of most tropical headgear, this band held the helmet about a quarter of an inch away from the head. That feature of the helmet and its shape gave it a conventional appearance. But it was wholly unconventional in other respects.

It was made of a specially prepared opaque glass and was as white as snow. It was so rugged that it was proof against most accidents. It could not be broken with a hammer. It was as fireproof as asbestos. It was almost as light as cardboard. And it was waterproof. It never rained when I wore the hat, but I imagine that a Himalayan rain on the magical hat would have sounded like a hailstorm on a tin roof.

777 The fact that it never rained when I wore the hat was its most outstanding feature. Therein lay its magic. And when at times I began to wonder if the magic was fancied, not real, Budh Ram, Man Das, and Rup Singh would restore my faith. Maybe India

is the only place where one can find such faith. Maybe that faith is part and parcel of the hillmen's belief in spirits that govern man's destiny when he walks the treacherous Himalayan trails—evil spirits that plot his destruction through avalanches, roaring torrents of water, and blinding blizzards; good spirits that comfort and protect him and drive off the evil ones. These legends and beliefs may have prepared a fertile soil for the legend of my hat. But the hat itself produced the seed that grew and flourished in that soil. 777 [776]

I have related the story of our departure from Manali on foot—[1] how the villagers of Manali prayed for rain, how rain threatened as we started the trek, how destructive the downpour that struck us before we reached Koti. If I had worn my magical hat that day, it would never have acquired the reputation that it enjoyed, or perhaps the rain would have passed us by. But that day the hat traveled in a pack; it was unable to work its magic, and we were all soaked through.

The day we left Koti to cross Rothang Pass I wore my glass hat. Remnants of the storm clouds still played around the summits. There were some showers along the ridges, but none touched us. When we reached Rothang, dark clouds were swirling. There was the threat of snow and rain. But none came. We reached Koksar in bright sun that afternoon.

The next day I wore the glass hat. And as I crossed the newly built bridge and headed for Gundala, I told Budh Ram, "I guess it won't rain today."

"Why do you say that, Sahib?"

"Because it never seems to rain when I wear the hat."

Budh Ram and Man Das passed the word along to Tashi. I quickly discovered that my hat was fast becoming an object of interest—interest that grew and grew when it turned out that we were in clear sunshine all day long.

That night as Budh Ram served dinner in the dak bungalow at Gundala he asked, "Sahib, why is there magic in the hat?"

1 [Chapter 2; Not processed for files -- Analyst]

• 777 I groped for an answer, thinking fast as I stirred my soup.

"It's the glass, I guess—the way the glass is made."

The next morning, as we were packing up at Gundala, I said to Budh Ram, "Let's pack the hat." Budh Ram hesitated, looked at the sky, spoke to Tashi, stood undecided for a moment, and then slowly pushed the hat into a duffel bag.

We had been on the trail only a half hour when it started to rain. And it rained all the way to Kyelang, a steady rain with much thunder and lightning. That night as we were unpacking at Kyelang, Rahul laughingly said, "Man Das says that if you had worn the glass hat none of us would have gotten wet."

After that I wore the hat. I wore it to Jispa, where the Tehsildar held court. I wore it the next day to Patseo and Zing Zing Bar. I wore it the following day when we crossed Baralacha Pass and dropped down to Kilung, and the next day when we wound down the canyon to the Tsarap River and then climbed to Chakchu, a notch in a rugged range where we camped beside a pure, cold waterfall. On none of these days was there even a dark cloud in the sky. They were brilliant days when the sun burned fiercely—so fiercely it blistered even Rahul's nose. The glass hat is made for rain, not for sun, and I grew uncomfortably hot when I wore it hour after hour in the brilliant sunshine.

As a result, when we left Chakchu I announced in a loud voice, "I'm tired of wearing this hat. I don't care if it does rain. Into the pack it goes." And Man Das dutifully packed it away.

That morning we crossed Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung [132] La Pass. We were now in the heart of Ladakh, where rainfall does not average over two inches a year, where the valleys are never deeper than six inches in snow, and where precious little dew falls. And yet bad weather was making up all around us and by noon was threatening. By the time we had reached the narrow canyon that has been cut by the clear water stream that flows north off La Chulung La Pass (which means the Pass of Water and Wind), it was raining. It started as a short, spattering

rain that came in gusts and soon settled down to a steady drizzle. 777• A few miles south of Toche Phirche (where a scrawny stand of green grass provides some grazing) the trail drops steeply for several hundred feet down a narrow treacherous defile only a few hundred feet wide. Here the wind was whistling. It had ice on its breath, and it whipped the rain into our faces until they stung. All of us were wet and chilled through. We were shaking with cold, our teeth chattering, as we made camp on the barren bench called Toche Phirche. We put up lean-tos for our beds and stretched tarps on sticks to make a covering for the kerosene stove and the kitchen. While Budh Ram and Man Das were unpacking, they came across the glass hat. Budh Ram was grinning as he held it up and said, "Sahib, why did you pack it and let us get wet?"

It rained all night long—a steady, persistent rain. The cold wind whipped our rubber tarps relentlessly as it whined down from Pagmur Pass ten miles or more to the north. It was a bitter cold night wrapped in a soggy blanket of clouds. At dawn the visibility was only a hundred yards or so; the sun was not even a dim spot. Even when the clock showed that the sun was high, it seemed as if we were deep in a dimly lighted dungeon.

Rahul came to me after a conference with Budh Ram and Rup Singh to announce that the men wanted to lay over a day.

"Nonsense," I replied.

"But it will be cold and wet all the way to Pagmur. They don't want to get chilled as they were last night."

"Tell them I will wear my hat—the glass hat that has the magic in it."

Rahul laughed as he returned to make the report to the kitchen. I put on the glass hat and joined the group. We sat together having tea. Budh Ram suddenly jumped up and shouted, *"Suraj, suraj."* The sun was indeed out, streaming through a narrow, dark corridor of clouds. Though it quickly disappeared, it

• 777 was plain that the clouds were lifting and that the storm was breaking up.

By the time the mule train was packed, we were in streaming sunshine and Toche Phirche was beginning to lose some of its sogginess through steam. There were black, ominous clouds on a high ridge to the north, the direction we were headed. Budh Ram pointed to them, misgivings written in his face. I grinned, pointed to my hat, and then to the clouds.

133 I was a good prophet. We climbed a thousand feet or so as we
137 left Toche Phirche and soon came into a vast basin (called Kiangcha), mostly flat, fifteen or twenty miles wide, and stretching ahead and behind as far as the eye could see. This basin was covered with scattered patches of the *dama* (*Caragana versicolor*), a low bush clinging to the ground like heather. It is used as fuel in this region and has the interesting feature of burning even though green. A moss called *burtse* (Eurotia) also grew here, a moss I had seen ever since we left Chakchu. It grew in clumps as big as a saucepan and was dried by the natives for use
[196] as fuel. We traveled the basin for several hours. There were ibex above us on the canyon walls to the west, feeding off and on, then stopping to watch us, but always keeping a thousand yards or more distant. The storm that had been making up to the north swung east and then south, leaving us in brilliant sunshine all the way.

777 I stopped to put some flowers in my plant press and before mounting my mule made the announcement that I was tired of wearing my glass helmet. "Does anyone want to wear it?" I asked.

Rahul spoke up, so I gave it to him. We moved on—Rahul, the glittering white helmet, and the dappled gray mule in the rear. In an hour we had climbed a slight rise in the broad basin and faced Pagmur Pass to the north and a host of granite peaks and ice fields to the northwest. A storm that was brewing among the peaks soon moved toward us. It came faster than a horse

could run, sending out in front rough couriers of cold wind and 777 •
sleeting rain. These couriers seemed to be on a hunt, for they 136
chased before them a herd of wild asses. They were beautiful animals about the size of Missouri mules, with long tails, light tan bodies, dark brown splotches on their backs and heads.

They are animals that are very hard to domesticate. A young 136
one touched by man seems to have the mark of pestilence on it, for it will never be reclaimed by its mother. Its meat[1] is said to [262]
be very palatable; the Moslems of Ladakh have indeed a great fondness for it. Rup Singh up front rode to within thirty yards of the herd that had just come over Pagmur before they broke and ran. Before I could get my movie camera and telescopic lens into play, black clouds rolled over Pagmur like a wave and washed down on us. Photographing the wild asses was impossible. We leaned forward in our saddles, hugging the mules for warmth.

I shouted to Rahul, "The hat has lost its magic." 777

"With *me* it has," he laughingly replied. "*You* must wear it after this."

That night the word went through our camp (just below the north side of Pagmur) that Rahul did not have the magic, only Sahib. It poured that night, raining so hard we had to dig trenches around our pup tents for drainage. The morning was soggy; visibility was cut to a few hundred yards; the air was heavy with mist and the duffel bags heavy with moisture. I thought Budh Ram handed me the hat with extraordinary eagerness this morning, an eagerness that nevertheless was mixed with some doubt. There seemed to be working in his head a conflict between his desire to get rid of the rain and his fear of stretching the magic of the hat beyond the point where it could be effective. Certainly it seemed dubious if any power could protect us from the weight of the clouds that hung low over Pagmur. Today may be the end of my act with the hat, I said to myself. In a little while everyone will know this hoax for what it is.

The magic, however, held. A south wind streaked down from

1 [I.e. WILD ASSES -- ANALYST]

Pagmur Pass, cutting a corridor of clear sky for us. A part of the storm veered to the east; a part went northwest. Clouds hung low around the peaks on all sides of us. But in an hour we were in sunshine, and by the time we had gone the eight miles to Zara, where we got horses and yaks, the day had the brilliance of a cloudless sky at sixteen thousand feet.

And so each morning after Pagmur, Budh Ram would hand me the hat as we broke camp. Each morning there were threatening clouds. But each day we passed through a dry corridor, the rain falling all around us. On and on we went toward Leh. As the miles passed, I grew more and more tired of the hat.

"You carry it," I said to Budh Ram one morning. "And if you tire of it, hang it on a horse."

"May I wear it?" he asked.

"No, no," Rahul interposed with a grin on his face. "It has magic only when the Judge wears it. But the magic may still be strong if you carry it or hang it on a mule."

And that is the way we handled the matter. Thereafter the white glass helmet was never packed. Budh Ram either carried it or tied it on top of a pack in full view. Rain clouds swept the ridges around us, dousing them with cold water. But the rain never touched us.

Budh Ram explained it to the goatherds and villagers we met. His eyes were always wide as he said, "It never rains when Sahib wears the hat. And the magic is so strong that when we carry it we are always dry."

And when the clouds would gather at the head of a canyon or the top of a ridge we were climbing, Rup Singh would turn to me with his infectious grin, point to the clouds, then to the hat, and shake his head. The hat was a talisman of good luck that lightened the burden of the trail and gave each man a sense of security even on high passes where rain and sleet and snow operate under an evil command to strike men down.

779 in Asia, rooted so deeply that it cannot be dislodged. Lamaism
783 believes in it. A lama may walk years on his knees to atone for his
788 sins. In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet, he may do a prostration pilgrimage. He lies flat on the ground, both hands extended. He marks the point, stands up, steps forward to the mark, stretches flat again, and repeats this exercise again and again. It is common to find people doing a prostration pilgrimage around monasteries or holy places. A prostration pilgrimage of thirty or fifty miles is not unusual. It may last for weeks. One may do it for his own salvation—to get merit by sacrifice—or he may be hired to do it for another person or for the soul of a friend or relative.

One day I saw a lama coming up the Hemis nulla in a prostration pilgrimage. He was barefooted, with pads upon his knees. His robe was pulled up and fastened high. His hair was close-cropped, and he was filthy with dirt. Down he went on his stomach, then up on his knees and to his feet; then down again. And with each prostration he said twenty times, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

788 The lamas gather in the chapel three times daily for prayers.
796 I did not attend any of these services at Hemis, but students of the subject say that the ritual is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Catholic Church. There is, however, usually the music of trumpets, drums, and cymbals. There is always the burning of incense. And as the lamas kneel in the pews, the hum of "*Om Mani Padme Hoom*" fills the place.

796 These monasteries observe monthly festivals and four annual festivals, from each of which they get revenue. The people bring
• [777] gifts of grain, or goats, or cash. The lamas sell amulets, talismans, idols, and sacred paintings. They sell paper strips and pieces of cloth filled with symbolic figures.

The most notable of these festivals is Losar, the New Year's Feast, observed in February. It celebrates Buddha's victories over the heresies—the triumph of the true religion over infidelity. People come from far and wide to the monasteries and celebrate

Ti 595 587

entitled to share the daughter-in-law with their sons. That, as I say, is practiced only in central Tibet but is well known in the entire country. The children issued from such a marriage legally have as fathers those to whom the wife was officially married at the moment of the birth. That is, if widowers share their daughter-in-law with their sons, the children of that woman are the children of the sons, so that your legal grandchildren can be your own physiological children and, *vice versa,* if it is the fathers who are legally married to the woman, your legal brother can well be your own physiological son!

Ti 595 587 WT K3 777

I understand that Tibetans from other parts of the country rather despise this form of marriage. I have caught my caravaneers openly insulting central Tibetans as being *tchamadoong*-practicing. Also, when they are playing dice, I noticed that sometimes they invoke the *tchamadoong* to produce luck for them, so that she is a double kind of figure to whom they cannot be entirely indifferent: they despise her and yet, at the same time, she can bring them luck.

Ti 595 587

I do not know how far the existence of the *tchamadoong* has been reported in anthropological circles heretofore. Personally, I have never heard of this system before, except on the spot, and I am very keen to go back and study it. The case to which we came closest was the governor in the western province of Tibet, named Ngari Korsum. He was living in the capital, Gartok, when we were there. He was a central Tibetan sent by the central government to govern that province, and with him were his two sons and their one wife. She was a *tchamadoong,* the wife of the boys, the father sharing her with his sons. I was shown a photograph of her, taken by a Tibetan who had a camera from India, and that is the closest I have been, so far, to such a woman. I understand that in southern India there is a similar practice, in which a father is entitled to enjoy his daughter-in-law as long as his son is a minor, but this practice

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

T 595 114 [184] during all my field work, both before and after World War II, with data and recorded facts which now make it possible for me to affirm without any hesitation that polyandry between father and sons is practised in Tibet, particularly in the two central provinces of Ü and Tsang, where it is most widespread. The following is the history of the progress of my investigation, which started with the collection of information from those who knew about the custom and ended with my actually meeting cases and interviewing them to find out how the arrangement functions.

T WT 595 I began in Lahul. It will be recalled that when I visited that valley, on the 21st of June, 1938, Thakur Partap Chand took me to see a polyandrous family in a house called Barun-pa (see above page 312–312). I took advantage of the cordiality which the Wazir of Lahul showed towards me to question him on the subject of the polyandry of fathers and sons about which I had heard from Dr. Kanshi Ram.

The informant immediately confirmed its existence and said that it was common knowledge, even in his part of the world, that, in Central Tibet, fathers and sons share a common wife in the same family, although the woman in this case must never be the mother of the boys. WT [186] Nevertheless in Lahul the custom appeared rather strange and even repulsive, and it was quite usual for Tibetans from Tibet proper to be laughed at for this form of matrimony by the local inhabitants. They were accused of being "step-mother sharing people" which was meant WT [525 FM] as an insult. But at the same time, when playing dice, it was the custom to evoke such a shared step-mother as a means of bringing good luck to the thrower. When a seven was wanted, for instance, a special formula evoking the step-mother shared by both fathers and sons was repeated several times.

WT 595 Another confirmation of the true existence of polyandry between fathers and sons in Tibet was obtained from the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kye-lang on the 24th of June, 1938. He told me that the institution existed when the Mission was established in Lahul in 1854 as ancient records showed. At the time that his father, the late Bishop Peter, was appointed to the Lahuli capital in 1898, there were still some cases of this special form of polyandry to be found in the valley. The Reverend Peter said that he had heard that it had not yet died out in Spiti, although it was difficult to make sure because the local people kept it secret and unavowed. (As far WT [191] as I know, polyandry in general is not officially practised in Spiti, the 428 surplus males of a family becoming monks while the eldest alone inherits the family property. A certain amount of clandestine polyan-

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans A54

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published. 779 212 213

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated its height when building the chapel in which it was housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another portion had to be built to take this. 778

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking. 533 535 [585] [777] 535

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

487 travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li
101 (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear
175 that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From
[133] Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over
[131] the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardu districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

101 3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem
175 to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák.
[778] *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

178 175 101

Now, one of these relics (the alms-dish) still exists in a temple to the north of Lé. It is a large earthenware vase, similar in shape to the two largest steatite vases extracted from the Bhilsa Topes.* But Ladák also possessed a tooth of Buddha, which was formerly enshrined at Lé in a *dung-ten*, or solid mound of masonry similar to the Topes of Bhilsa and of Afghanistan. The *dung-ten* still exists, though ruinous: but the holy tooth is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher, of Balti, upwards of 200 years ago, when Ladák was invaded and plundered by the Musalmáns of the west, who, most probably, threw the much-prized relic contemptuously into the Indus. At any rate, it has never since been heard of.

101 131 175

4. Lastly, the name of *Kie-chha*, and the designation of the people as "men of the snowy mountains," both point unmistakably to Ladák, which is still known as *Kha-pa-chan*, or *Kha-chan*, "abounding in snow," or Snow-land, and the people as *Kha-pa-chan-pa*, or *Kha-chan-pa*, "men of the snowy land."†

5. In the *Cesi* of Pliny, and in the *A-khassa regio* of Ptolemy, I believe that we have the earliest mention of Ladák. Of the former Pliny‡ says, "hos includit Indus montium coronâ circumdatos et solitudinibus." This description is literally true of the people of *Kha-pa-chan*, or Snow-land, whose whole country lies along

* By Lieutenant Maisey and myself. See my account of the opening and examination of "The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India," printed for Smith, Elder, & Co. (1853).

† *Kha*, or *Kha-pa*, is "snow," and *chan* means "full." Perhaps Náser-ud-din *Kabáchah*, who reigned in Multan and Sindh, and afterwards disputed the empire of India with Altanish, was a Ladáki. Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* is no doubt *Kha-chan-yul*, "Snow-land," or Ladák.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. c. 20.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133 the 16th December, Trebeck* found the depth of water
491 from one to three fathoms. Assuming twelve feet as the average depth in December, and the rate of the current at 2,400 feet per hour (the same as at Srinagar), the winter discharge of the united streams of the Behat and Sindh rivers will be 2,480 cubic feet. At Barâhmula† the discharge is most probably not more, as the waters of the Loláb river may be supposed to supply the great loss by evaporation on the Wular lake.

133 From Barâhmula to Mozafarabad, the Behat pursues an easterly course for 100 miles. The total fall between these places is 3,800 feet, or thirty feet per mile; and the character of the river entirely changes from a placid and sluggish stream to a raving torrent. Below Tattamula, and about sixteen miles from Barâhmula, the rocky cliffs rise almost perpendicularly from the river to a height of 300 and 400 feet; and in some places that I noticed, the bare steep cliffs were not less than 800 feet above the stream.

As the height of the Behat, near Tattamula, is about 5,000 feet above the sea, the whole of Kashmir must have been submerged by the waters of the river, before the wearing down of these cliffs.‡ The level of the Kashmirian lake would have been about 5,800 feet above the sea, and from 50 to 100 feet above the Karewahs, or isolated alluvial flats now remaining in Kashmir.

* Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 220.

● 778 † This name is properly *Varâha-mula*, the Boar Avatar's spring. The *Varâha Ganga* is now a dry hole, fifty feet long, thirty feet broad, and twenty feet deep. The spring has become dry, but the place is still esteemed holy.

‡ As Tattamula (*Sanskrit*, Tapta-mula), the "hot spring," may indicate volcanic action, the immediate cause of the bursting of the lake may have been the sudden rending of the rock by an earthquake.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

X.—THE BYÁS RIVER.

133 The Byás is perhaps the best known of all the Panjáb rivers, from its source to the foot of the hills below Mirthal. Its Sanskrit name is *Vipása*, from which the [78] Greeks made Hyphasis and Bibasis. The common name of Byás is derived from the small pool at the source of the river, which is called Vyás Rikhi or Vyása Rishi. This sacred spot is situated in the Rotang pass, at the head of the Kullu valley, in N. latitude 32° 25′, and E. longitude 77° 10′, at an elevation of 13,000 feet above the sea. For seventy-five miles the river flows nearly due south past Sultánpur, the capital of Kullu, to the village of Larji, where it is joined by two large tributaries,—the Sainj and the Tirthan. Above this it receives the Parbati and the Gomati rivers from the east, besides [491] many smaller streams. The Gomati is fordable with difficulty, but the others can only be crossed by bridges. The Sainj has a course of about fifty miles, the Parbati and the Gomati of forty miles, and the Tirthan of thirty miles. From the source to Larji the fall is 9,400 feet, or 125·3 feet per mile. From Larji the Byás sweeps suddenly to the westward through a narrow chasm in the rocks several hundred feet in depth. The stream is deep and rapid, but before the wearing down of this cleft the whole of the lower part of the valley must have been submerged. From Larji to Mandi the distance is not more than twenty-five miles, while the fall is 1,000 feet, or forty feet per mile.

The Byás continues its westerly course through this narrow channel to Mandi, above which it receives the Ul river from the north, and the Sukhet river from the

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

goat is paid by the hair itself, which is manufactured 236
into coarse blanketing for tents, and twisted into ropes. But the hair of the wild goat is short, wiry, and coarse, and the cost for picking is charged to the price of the Tus, or fine wool. Moorcroft says that neither the domesticated shawl-goat, nor the Vigogna,* furnishes a wool so full and rich to the feel, nor has so fine a material ever yet graced a British loom.

The frequent occurrence of ibex-horns on the temples 778
of Kanáwar, Láhul, and Chamba has often suggested to me the idea that a similar religious feeling amongst the Greeks may have prompted the dedication of real ox-skulls, perhaps of animals that were slain in sacrifice, in the ancient Hellenic temples. In process of time, when the rude posts became Doric pillars, and the rough ends of the sloping beams were carved into triglyphs, the real ox-skulls were supplanted by their sculptured representations, which afterwards adorned the metopes of the Doric frieze. At least it seems difficult to account for their frequent representation on any other supposition.

The *Shu* or Tibetan stag has been described by Mr. 136
Hodgson† from a specimen obtained near Phári, in Tsáng, the central province of Tibet. A second specimen was procured from the district of Chúmbi, to the south of Phári, where the country is more wooded and less arid than most other districts of Tibet. In 1839 I procured a most magnificent pair of stag's horns from the upper glens of the Lidar valley, in Kashmir; and in 1847 I obtained a second but smaller pair from the same valley.‡ The former pair had six snags on each horn, and was

* Transactions Roy. As. Soc. I. p. 53.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIX. p. 466; and XIX. p. 518.

‡ See Plate VIII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 These details may appear trifling, but they are really of great value for the illustration of Indian Buddhism. In some of the topes or Chaityas, near Bhilsa, Lieut. Maisey and myself found both precious stones and precious metals deposited with the relics of Sáriputra and Maha Mogalána, the right and left hand disciples of Buddha. On some of the relic-boxes we found inscriptions giving the names and patronymics, and occasionally the titles, of the holy men whose relics were enshrined. These short epitaphs are still used in Ladák, where they are called *Dur-chang*, or tomb-inscriptions.

000 In the lofty districts of Rukchu and Chang-thang, where no wood is procurable, and where burning with the Tibetan furze would be a tedious operation, the bodies of the dead are always exposed on hills to be eaten by vultures and wild dogs. Trebeck* states that the faces of the dead are covered when thus exposed; but my informants, both at Rukchu in 1846, and at Hanlé in 1847, were silent on this point. The Hanlé hill was literally covered with bones, from amongst which I obtained the skull and pelvis of the most perfect skeleton.

In Great Tibet the bodies of the dead are cut into small pieces by professional corpse-butchers, or pinkers (*découpeurs de mort*), and given to the dogs. This is called the "terrestrial funeral." The bones after being bruised in a mortar with parched corn are made into balls and thrown to the dogs and vultures. This is the "celestial funeral;" and these two are considered the most fortunate modes of disposing of the dead.†

* Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 49.

† Nouv. Jour. Asiatique, tom. iv. 1829, pp. 254, 255, Father Hyacinthe's translation from the Chinese.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

then returned to the capital to make preparations for 175
the invasion of Yarkand by the Nubra road. On hearing of his intentions, the chief men of Nubra at once waited upon Chovang at Lé, to tender their submission, and a trustworthy officer was despatched to receive charge of the district. After this, Chovang 651
imposed a yearly tribute of one hundred golden *tillas** 176
upon the landlords of *Kukiwála*, and upon those of *Rudok* a yearly tribute of 207 golden *tillas*, besides one horse and ten unicorns.† He also levied a considerable sum from the neighbouring districts.

Having acquired a large sum of money by these 175
conquests, Chovang Namgyal resolved upon erecting an 778
image of Buddha, under the name of *Sankya-Bidung*, or the "replete with extreme holiness." When the image was finished, all the people assembled to make their offerings, and a great feast was celebrated upon the occasion. Some time afterwards, about A.D. 1600, when he was meditating the erection of other images, he was prevented by death, and having no children, he was succeeded by his brother.

The new king, named *Jámya Namgyal*,‡ upon his 175

to the N.W. of it. The ambitious Chovang therefore would seem to have aspired to the conquest of *Ngári*, and of *Balti*, as well as to that of Ladák. But the historian has most probably dignified some successful plundering expeditions with the name of conquests.

* A *tilla* is worth about six rupees. The proper name for the gold coin is *sir-jao*, or a golden *jao*.

† In the original, *bSe-ru*, an animal with one horn. Csoma de Körös calls it a kind of deer (see Dict. in voce). Klaproth has a long note upon this animal (see Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. vi. pp. 229, 230, 231). He states that Mr. B. H. Hodgson's *Chiru* of southern Tibet is the same as the *Seru*; of which I think there can be no doubt. Mr. Hodgson himself assigns the animal to the "open plains of N.E. Tibet," but he has published no description. See Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, IV. p. 522.

‡ *hJam-dVyangs*, "sweet harmony."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 unfinished. His reign probably extended from A.D. 1600 to 1620.

Jámya was succeeded by his eldest son *Singgé Namgyal*, who, feeling emulous of the military fame of his uncle *Chovang*, began his reign by conducting an expedition into the districts of *Gugé*, *Kiprok*, and *Tipichangyap*, from which he carried off many cattle and other property of the zamindars. During his reign 175 a monk, named *Staktshang-Raspa*, who had travelled ● 778 through *Gyagarnag*, *Urgyan*, and *Kháché*,* arrived at the village of *Tamosgang*,† in Ladák, where he made and consecrated an image of Chamba.‡ To this image he attached five monks for the performance of daily service, and having seen the complete establishment of the worship, he gave away in alms all that he possessed and departed.

175 After this Ahmed Khán, the chief of Balti, with the assistance of Jehángir Shah, invaded Ladák with a very large force; but *Singgé Namgyal* having collected his own troops to oppose them,§ the invaders were defeated

103 * *rGya-gar-nag*, literally the "white and black plains," that is, India and China. *U-rgyan*, the country of mixed races, perhaps the Indo-Persian district of *Udyána*, and the valley of the Kábul river. *Kháchhe*, Kashmir.

† *gTang-mo-sgang*, on the right bank of the Indus below Lé. It is now the most populous village in Ladák.

‡ *Byams-pa*, pronounced *Chamba*, the "Clement." This saint is now very popular in Ladák. He is the future Buddha, MAITREYA.

§ Jehángir reigned from A.D. 1605 to 1628. The defeat of the Baltis may therefore be placed about A.D. 1625. This defeat is confirmed by the chronicles of Skardo, which (according to Vigne, *Kashmir*, II. p. 253) refer the loss of Ladák to the reign of Ahmed Khan, the son of Ali Sher. The subsequent invasion of the Lhásan territory probably took place in 1630. It is at least certain that these events could not have occurred later than 1630–1635, because in 1640 the celebrated and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

western districts of Purik, Suru, and Hembabs. He 175
began his reign with a display of great zeal in the cause of religion by constructing a large image of gold and silver in the village of Shé.* He also built a lofty tomb with a pinnacle of gold and silver, to the memory of his father, and constructed a wall around the monument of his mother. He erected temples at Zanskar, 778
Pushbuz, and Tumnuz, each at a cost of Rs. 10,000. In the fort of Lé, also, he set up an image of Chandra,† and appointed several priests for the performance of daily worship. In the same place too he consecrated a silver image of Chanrazik, the god of the dead.‡

The appointment of *Shakya-gya-cho* to the post of 175
chief minister having produced a revolt in the district of Purik, the minister with a large force marched in person to Kharbu, where, having seized the principal officers, he returned to Lé and imprisoned them in the fort of Hemis. About a year afterwards the people of Chigtan, Shako, and Sôd,§ rebelled against the government. The minister was again despatched to quell the disturbance, which he effected without any difficulty; and *Thai Sultán*, the author of the rebellion, being

* This image, which still exists at Shé, has now lost all its gilding. It is a colossal copper figure of *Shakya Thubba*, or Shakya in a *squatting* posture. *Shé* is on the right bank of the Indus, a few miles above Lé.

† *lCham-hdré*. Moorcroft calls this image by the name of *Chamba* (*Byams-pa*, the "Clement"), but his description of it differs somewhat from the paintings of Chamba which I possess. (See Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 343.)

‡ *Spyan-ras-rigs*, pronounced *Chan-razik*. It is equivalent to the Sanscrit *Avalokita* or *Avalokiteswara*, the "seen." This image is also described by Moorcroft, and most accurately (I. p. 342).

§ *Chigtan*, *Sha-rkar* or *Shako*, in the Suru valley. *Sôd*, near Paskyum in Purik.

175 chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots
793 down to the present day.

175 The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following :*—

795

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born 1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán 1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born 1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	„ 1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„ 1436
5.	Logros Chhos	„ 1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„ 1461
7.	Logros Tanpa	„ 1471
8.	Mon Lampal	„ 1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priest-
554 hood; but the principle being once established, the
795 attainment of this rank became an object of ambition,
175 and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsong-
[176] khapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's
[177] memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word "lump;" and the Greek O-λυμπο-ς.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

Catholic watches might not be invented for the perpetual revolution of pater-nosters.

V.—RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS—IMAGES.

The principal religious edifices are the following:—

1. *Gonpa*, or "monastery." This word signifies a solitary place; because monasteries were originally built, according to the directions of Sakya Muni, far from the bustle and disturbing influences of cities. The monasteries have already been described. Convents are only separate monasteries walled off from the rest of the buildings. Both are called *chhos-né;* but the common term is gonpa.

2. *Lhákhang*, "God's house or temple." All the temples that I have seen consist of single rooms, square and unadorned outside, and filled with images and pictures inside. The images are generally about half life-size, made of unburnt clay and painted. In the larger temples the images are of metal and of colossal size. A temple is also called *Tsang-khang*, or "holy house."

3. *Lábrang*, a "lama's house." Where no monasteries exist, the lamas live in separate houses. I mention this because Alexander Gerard supposed that the *Lhá-khang* (God's house) was the same as the *bLá-brang* (lama's residence).

4. *Chhod-Ten*,* in Sanscrit *Chaitya*, an "offering-receptacle." This is properly a dedicatory building or pyramid erected in honour of Shakya Thubba, or of some one of the holy Buddhas or Bodhisatwas. It is

* *mChh ɔd-rTen*, sometimes pronounced *Chhorten*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sometimes called *Chhos-ten*, or the "holy receptacle," but the proper name is *Chhod-rten*, the "offering repository," because offerings are made to the shrine. The figure in the accompanying plate* is taken from a wooden model in my own possession. The basement, which is square, is surmounted by four steps, on which stands the dome or principal part of the edifice. Originally this was a plain hemisphere, but the form was gradually altered until it assumed its present shape of an inverted and truncated cone. The dome is surmounted by a lofty pinnacle, crowned by the holy emblem of *Chhos-Konchok* (or *Dharma*). This symbol is a monogram formed of the four radical letters (in old Pali) which represent the four elements; and the whole is typical both of the material frame of man, and of the material universe.† The radical letters are *ya*, air; *ra*, fire; *va*, water; *la*, earth; to which is added the letter *s* for Mount Sumeru. The pair of eyes delineated on the basement show that this *Chhod-Ten* was dedicated to the supreme Buddha, *Sangya-Konchok*, the "eye of the universe."

346 778

5. *Dung-Ten*, a "bone-holder," or relic-repository. This is the genuine *Stupa*, or tope of India, prepared for the reception of a relic. It is a funeral building or pyramid, erected either over the corpse of a lama, or over the ashes of a king or person of consequence. It is similar in shape to the *Chhod-Ten*. The deposits usually placed in these mausolea have already been described.

* See Plate XXVIII.

† According to the Chinese, as quoted by Remusat (Fo-kwe-ki, c. XIII. note 6), the whole pyramid represented the "five elements;" but they are wrong, for it is only the pinnacle which is an emblem of *Dharma*, or the material elements. See my work on the Bhilsa Topes.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

eighths in diameter. The lama is represented seated on the ground, with his left hand in his lap and his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. The figure is gilt. On the back of the medallion is stamped the word *Tshá*, "medallion." The grand lamas are represented by more precious images of life-size. Two statues of the Tashi Lama, which Turner saw, were respectively of gold and of solid silver gilt.

The following is a general description of the images and paintings of the principal Buddhas and Bodhisatwas who are worshipped by the Tibetan Buddhists.

Shakya-Thubba, or Buddha, is always represented seated. His right hand usually rests on his right knee, and his left hand in his lap, holding his alms-dish. In one picture, however, he is represented holding his alms-dish in both hands. His body is always coloured yellow, usually gilt, and his hair is short, curly, and blue. At the large village of Shé, near Lé, there is a colossal copper-gilt statue of Shakya Thubba of the following dimensions.

	Feet.	Inches.
Height of image, seated	37	1
Breadth across the shoulders	7	4
Breadth from knee to knee	12	0
Length of ear	4	3
Diameter of alms-dish	2	3
Circumference of throne	81	0

This image was erected by the Gyalpo Deldan Namgyal, about A.D. 1680.

Chhos-Konchok, or Dharma, is represented seated. She has four arms, two raised in the attitude of prayer, the third holding a necklace or garland, and the fourth a lotus. Her colour is white.

Gédun-Konchok, or Sangha, is represented seated;

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 the right hand resting on the right knee, and the left hand holding a lotus.

Chamba, the future Buddha Maitreya, is represented seated with both hands raised, the fingers forming the *Pad-kor*, or lotus-shape. His body is yellow, and his hair short, curly, and blue.

Jámya, or Manju-Sri, is also represented seated, with his right hand raised and holding a flaming sword, and his left hand carrying a lotus. His body is of a yellow colour.

Chanrazek, or Avalokiteswara, is represented standing. His right hand rests by his side, and his left holds a lotus. His body is white.

Lagna-Dorjé, or Vajrapáni, is represented standing; his left hand empty, and his right hand carrying a lotus. His body is yellow.

Thunshak, or Amogha Siddha, is represented seated, with his left hand in his lap, and his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. His body is green.

Grolma, or Tárá, the Sákti or female energy of Amogha Siddha, is also green. She is represented seated, her right hand resting on her knee, and her left hand holding a lotus.

The Tántrika, *Vargchuk*, or Iswara, is a favourite subject with the Tibetan painters and sculptors. He is always represented as *Chan-sum-pa* (or Trelochana, the "three-eyed"). His body is usually blue, but sometimes red. His loins are covered with a leopard's skin, and a snake is generally wound round his waist. He carries either a *Dorjé* (vajra, or "thunderbolt"), or a sharp-cutting sword in his right hand, and is generally exhibited trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is also represented frantic with anger, his eyes staring,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

his nostrils dilated, and his mouth wide open, while his 778
whole body is surrounded by flames. Such is the male divinity of the Tántrists.

The Tántrika, *Todde-Phag-mo* (or Káli), is represented of a blood-red colour, with a garland of skulls round her neck. Her right hand holds the Vajra, or thunderbolt, and with her left hand she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. She is also represented as *Chansum-má* (or Trelochaná, the "three-eyed"), and is surrounded by a circle of flames. She carries a long sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy *Dorjé*.

The Tibetan Lamas are unrivalled amongst Orientals 532
as modellers in clay and workers in metal. A small medallion, about two inches square, which I possess, contains five figures surrounded by leaves and flowers of exquisitely delicate workmanship. It is formed of baked clay, but the edges are as sharp as if the work had been done by an European artist in plaster of Paris. Equally good is a figure of Shakya Thubba.

On the side of the road, between the hamlet of Styalbo 778
and the village of Drás, there are two pillars of granitic 532
mica-slate, which the people call *Chomo*, or "The Women," but which, I believe, have no connection whatever with Tibetan Buddhism, as the nearly obliterated inscriptions are in Kashmiri *Tákri*, and not in Tibetan characters.

The Eastern Pillar has one principal figure, a four-armed female, and two attendant females, one on each side, and each with one leg bent. They all wear necklaces, earrings, armlets, and anklets. On the pedestal are several small kneeling figures with their hands raised and joined together in attitudes of prayer. This

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778

Eastern Pillar, called CHOMO, at Dras.

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 532 pillar is six feet nine inches high, one foot six inches broad, and one foot thick.*

The Western Pillar has the same principal figure, also a four-armed female, with two attendant females on each side. This pillar is six feet high, two feet nine inches broad, and one foot thick.†

From the style of these figures, as well as from the nature of the alphabetical characters, I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that they are Brahminical statues erected by some Kashmirian Hindus. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that there is a third undoubted Hindu pillar standing close to them, which I believe to be a *Sati* pillar. On one side is sculptured a horseman, which is the usual emblem, placed on the pillar of a *Rajputni Sati*, to denote that her husband was a soldier. On the back of the pillar there is an inscription of eight lines in Kashmirian *Tákri*, which I am unable to translate satisfactorily. The words are the following :‡

Pra
Lokeswaram cha Maitré-
-yam pratishtáptantasram A-
-tabhavatumanya matwanvapra
Adathárábha U (la)
(ndra ?)
Anwáchaptakaye
gadrá
dram Alá.

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* See Plate XXIX. † See Plate XXX.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

p. 382a Plate XXX

Western Pillar, called GHOMO, at Drás.

778

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which mis-
behaved has a child, in which case the young child is re-
tained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are,
turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to
this, the family property is equally divided between the
adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand
what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in
gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing
which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel."
konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither
form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor
deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see
under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of
dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák,
Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot
trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra
and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The com-
mon small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning,
or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost
as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i
marnak."

[19]

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 789

797 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of
them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into
which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a
room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and
where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep
the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol
room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but
a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used
for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[797] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the
monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for
the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch
as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They
attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-
shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instru-
ment is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after
having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on
the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while
the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called
"khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child).
áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo
goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo
(mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk,
dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull
and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little
milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the
dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but
it produces excellent butter.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley bear -- Analyst]

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--gôboo.

●778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchben general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

764 614 The word "phas-spun" signifies the persons who perform the funeral ceremonies, in so far as these involve the touching of the corpse. The office of "phas-spun" is hereditary and unpaid, a male corpse is attended upon by male "phas-spun" and a female corpse by female "phas-spun". If a stranger comes to a village, where his family has no "phas-spun" it is necessary for him to get some one to agree to undertake the office, a dinner is then given, and the man to whom the feast is given becomes the family and hereditary "phas-spun" of the giver.

It never happens that a "phas-spun" declines to perform his part. If a person dies without any "phas-spun," his corpse is treated as that of an animal; no one will touch it, and no religious ceremonies are performed over it, a rope is tied round it, and it is dragged away and either thrown into the river Indus or buried. But to return to the narrative. When the "phas-spun" numbering from 7 to 9 persons, have tied up the corpse (ro) into the approved attitude, they put it into a cotton cloth bag (rôres), and then remove it from the room in which it is, and take it to the "Chhodkhang" room (see "Church") of the house, and put it in a corner of the room, and stretch a shawl or other cloth across the corner, so as to hide the corpse. The Abbot (hlôbon) then comes into the "Chhodkhang" room, sits down just to the left front of the corpse and with his back to it, and other Lámás of lower rank also enter the room and sit facing the "Hlôbon." As soon as the corpse has been put in to the corner by the "phas-spun" these people retire, and none but priests are admitted into the "Chhodkhang," and these remain to pray, and to keep alight 101 brass lamps (chhodmey), and to offer food and drink to the deceased. The "phas-spun" and relatives of the deceased sit in another room. Till the time for the funeral or burning ceremony arrives, Lámás remain day and night in the "Chhodkhang" by day from seven to ten Lámás are probably present, and by night only one or two. The Lámás consult their books to see what is the auspicious time (zhák záng) for the corpse to be removed to the burning ground (turtsa). When the time arrives for removing the corpse, the "phas-spun" and the nearest relative, (i.e., heir) whether male or female enter the Chhodkhang, and the "phas-spun"

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lift the corpse, and place it upon the chief mourners' back, the latter then, bends down leaning upon two sticks carried in the two hands, and aided by the "phas-spun" carries the corpse to the entrance of the house; here it is placed in a square shaped coffin or box (rórGHam) provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. The rórGHam is then carried either by the "phas-spun" or relatives of the deceased, to the burning ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not come to the burning ground, but, after having walked 3 times round the coffin and prostrated herself before it 3 times, she is conducted back to the house.

On the way to the burning ground, the Lámás go in front, praying and playing musical instruments, then follow the relatives, etc., and last of all comes the coffin. The corpse is placed in a sort of oven; the face being put down against the ground; the wood is then lighted and ghee is poured over the corpse by the Lámás.

When the first bone drops from the body, probably after 3 or 4 hours, the funeral ends, though the "phas-spun" remain to complete the burning. The Lámás take the bone back to the "Chhopkhang" of the deceased, and there pound it up, mix a little clay with it, and put it into a mould, which shapes it into a figure or idol (tshatsha). If the deceased was a rich man, this figure is built into a "Chhorten," (see Cenotaph) built for the purpose, and if he was poor man, the figure (tshátshá) is taken and placed in any old "chhorten". On the evening of this day, an open air feast is given to the mourners who then disperse.

[778]

804 [51]FURLONG--The Ladákis do not measure distances as we do, but the Indian word "kós" or "kóso" is generally understood to mean about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Tibetan method of measurement is by the "migthoug," which means the distance, up to which a man can be clearly seen with the naked eye. In the clear atmosphere of Ladák, this would mean about 1 1/2 miles. Another method of measurement is by the "tháng" or "plateau". This is of very little use, as the "tháng" may be only a few hundred yards long, or it may be several miles long. For further information, see under "Lineal measure".

595 If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto"
428 husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some
583 of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal
601 roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two
[597] brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her
587 husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a
586 younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter
583 becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred
[595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

● 778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

2: Ramsay--39 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok." In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 554 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boc." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

at this wonder of technology.

527 The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following,
[344] was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears
[563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women
[526] separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang,
782 the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-koñ), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the
527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful,
778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

their right-hand side. This they did so that all the prayer tablets 527 which were lying on the wall might send the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum 778 a thousandfold up to the great Merciful One. The chorten that flanked the 'manes' were circled about, amid prayers, in order to implore also, by this "praying," the blessing of the Buddhas and the gods upon the land and the people. For five days, Namgyal in this way celebrated with the grandees; during the day, at the bazaar and on the polo field, in the midst of the people, and in the evening in the castle in the narrow circle of his social peers; and thus he enjoyed the gay goings-on; in so doing he also believed to be contributing his share in making the gods favorably inclined, for, after all, it was in their honor that they were celebrating.

About two months later when the days had already become considerably longer and the sun already shone quite warm into the valleys 527 of the Ladakh during the hours of the midday, the people there prepared for the King's New Year, and again the king's invitation brought Namgyal to Leh. At this festival the king again wished to see as many of his grandees as possible around him, so that at least on these rare days he might be surrounded by a faint shimmer of royal splendor. All the more, since this also made a greater impression upon the divine helpers-in-need, who were again approached with prayers.

Grandmother Tsering Putrid this time talked with quite a special 527 urgency to her grandson, in order to persuade him to take part in the 777 festival at Leh. "Namgyal," she said, "when you tear down the great magical pole (dosmo) in Leh, you must see to it that you get hold of a large piece of a string star, wood with yellow, red, and blue strings. That will bring us luck in the new year and will keep away the evil spirits!" Namgyal had smiled at this and had said, "Oh, oh!" which sounded like half an assent. At this the old woman had become very angry and had added: "Don't you laugh, Namgyal! You have no idea how much magical power is contained in such a piece of the dosmo. When your mother bore you, I put such a bundle of sticks and colored strings from the last dosmo in her bed. Then everything went all right with the birth and afterwards. A year before, your mother had had a miscarriage and had to suffer a great deal. At that time, you see, I had no such amulet at hand. So it couldn't go right! And many years ago I once lost my coral necklace with the silver amulet up there by the slope of the mountain /135/ near the goats' huts. I looked for it for hours and could not find it. The following day I put the dosmo amulet inside the bosom of my dress, and lo and behold, I just went up

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

131 Chapter I.

The District.

101 Configuration and sub-divisions of 133 *mahál* Láhaul.

[648]

Láhaul contains the head-waters of the Chenáb river, and is made up of three valleys—the valley of the Bhága river, the valley of the Chandra, the valley of the united Chandra-Bhága or Chenáb. There is also a tract of more than a hundred square miles of entirely uninhabited waste, which is not attached to either of these valleys, and is situated on the north side of the western Himalaya below the Bára Lácha pass; this is generally known as Lingti. The question whether this tract belonged to British India or to Ladákh was disputed, but was eventually decided in our favour. It is wholly uninhabited. The streams of this tract are tributaries of the Zánskár river which falls into the Indus; so that it will be seen that all the six great rivers of the Punjáb, except the Jhelam, draw some part of their waters from the Kángra district. The Chandra and Bhága rivers rise on opposite side of the Bára Lácha pass, at an elevation of nearly 16,500 feet above the sea. The Bhága flows south-west for 56 miles, with an average fall of 125 feet per mile; the Chandra, with an average fall of only 65 feet per mile, flows first to the south-east for 55 miles till it is turned by the mid-Himalaya at Shigri, and then sweeps along the base of that range to the north-west for sixty miles to Tándi, its point of junction with the Bhága. All along this latter part of its course the mid-Himalaya hangs close over the Chandra: opposite Gondla it rises like a wall a full 11,000 feet above the river bed; such a sheer rise is to be seen in few other places in the world. From Tánd to Tirot, on the border of British and Chamba-Láhaul, the united rivers run some sixteen miles with a fall of about 30 feet per mile.

133 The great triangle formed by the Chandra and Bhága is filled up by an off-shoot from the western Himalaya joined to the main chain at the Bára Lácha pass; its peaks rise to 21, 20 and 19,000 feet, and its numerous lateral valleys are all filled with glaciers. It is described as "one great ice-bed, broken here and there by lofty heights of impassable rock and snow. To the south of the highest peak, 21,415 feet, stretches a vast glacier 12 miles in length, which is met by another of even greater dimensions." The most noted peak, though not the highest, is the Gephán Lhá, or God Gephán, in whose honour the Láhaulis hold feasts and make sacrifices. This is the peak which can be seen from the Kúlu valley through a gap in the mid-Himalaya. The most noted glacier in Láhaul is that known as the big Shigri at the bend of the Chandra on the south side. It is nearly two miles wide and runs right down to the river; within the memory of many men alive it caused a cataclysm, the marks of which are still plainly visible throughout Láhaul at a great height above the level of the river. For the first thirty miles of the course of the Bhága and the first seventy-five miles of that of the Chandra, the country is and probably always will be entirely uninhabited; not a bush even is to be seen, but the grass, though it looks scanty and disappears at no great height above the bottom of the valley, is in most places of a kind upon which sheep and goats thrive wonderfully. In July and August therefore these wastes, and also the wastes lower down behind the villages, are visited by shepherds from Kúlu and Gaddí shepherds from Kángra. There are three small

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalayas.

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Musalmán.	Others.
Kúlu	86,[illegible]	—	823	81
Láhaul	4,[illegible]	—	25	30
Spiti	1	3,[illegible]	—	1

"In Kúlu, including *ganá* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorój, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hinduism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life. [776]

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti. 174

In the time when the *Lung pachhoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

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"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

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"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

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"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[Quote from Rev. Heyde]

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[786] Social and Religious Life.

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *cháng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 795 [778] [782] 776 [754]

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

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"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

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The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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792 Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gónpa* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lémá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

[554] 778 792 346 532 [788] [796]

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

425 Chapter III, D.

651 Village Communities and Tenures.

dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

423 592 792 In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

423 Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Tashigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhazing* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Fields excluded from regular household allotment.

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Spiti

[P. 5]

Dancing

635 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535 Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits— to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,— and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

787 The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

Ill: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

A local doctor (*Amchi*) was called in to attend the sick man, who was given certain purgatives which were vomited as soon as they were administered. The duration of the deceased's illness was only one day.

Having heard that the body was to be disposed of by mutilation, my curiosity was aroused, and I determined to witness the ceremony first-hand. To achieve this end I was obliged to simulate great interest in the local religion, and professed myself an ardent Buddhist. To my surprise I received consent to follow the funeral cortège, and to be present at the actual ceremony of mutilation.

The place where the mutilation ceremony was performed was on a small hillock by the side of the Spiti river, about a mile and a half from the village. Eight men carried the dead man on an improvised bier made of four rough pieces of wood crossed in such a way as to form a square shaped seat. Immediately after death the deceased's neck was broken by one of his relations. The lower part of his right leg having been flexed at the knee joint and placed over the middle third of the left thigh, so that the calf muscle was clearly in evidence, a yak hair rope was passed in a figure of eight round the leg, thigh, and neck, bringing the head down very close to the knee. The corpse thus trussed was placed on the bier, with two relatives leading the funeral procession. Behind the eight bearers of the corpse came some villagers amongst whom were two men, one carrying a log of wood, and the other an axe and hunting knife.

FIG. 3. CARRYING THE DEAD MAN FOR MUTILATION.

About two furlongs from the village the procession reached a prayer wall. At this point the two men leading the procession returned to their own village bearing flags and a banner with a goddess painted upon it.

On arrival at the site of the mutilation ceremony, the body was taken out of the bier, and the clothes and funeral ornaments stripped from the dead man so as to expose him naked. Two lamas (priests) then took up a position about thirty feet from the corpse, and faced eastwards, whilst another lama squatted on the ground to the south of the site of mutilation. These men held ritualistic instruments in their hands, and muttered prayers.

In the meantime, the executioner on whom the main business of mutilation devolved, placing himself in front of the corpse drew it over to a flat stone just visible above the ground. Then, after cutting the rope which secured the deceased lest he should rise and do some harm, he laid the dead body on the stone with its knees in a flexed position. This done, he placed the log of wood under the cervical region, cutting with his hunting knife the skin, fascia, muscles, and other soft structures of the neck. Then taking the axe from his girdle, he severed the head from the body, and placed it close by. He now proceeded to open up the abdomen. First, he caught the abdominal wall in the epigastric region with his left hand, and with his right he introduced his knife at the tip of the xiphoid and cut the abdominal wall horizontally, and the flap thus made was turned downwards over the pubic region.

On opening the abdomen fæculent fluid gushed out. The small and large intestines were semi-distended and bulging. It being of great importance to ascertain the disease which caused the deceased's death, the mutilator used a small piece of stick to elevate and examine the intestines. His verdict was that the man had died from a fatal bilious attack, though so far as I could see the liver was quite normal.

Standing close to the body I could see that the intestines were distended, and part of the small intestine was chocolate colour (gangrenous). Besides this it had the appearance of having been ruptured and perforated, which fact rather confirms my belief that the extremely violent aperients administered to the man during his brief illness produced these disastrous results.

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

764 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-
767 femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fascia, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee
[718] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fascia were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, *i.e.*, intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et cetera. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated
787 parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead
782 cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.

767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged.

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753 healthy places. They also send poison to make men dizzy and sick at the stomach, to make them bleed at the nose and swell in the joints, to make them faint and unable to walk.

753 Whenever one gets over a pass without being afflicted by pass
782 poison or without suffering any other injury or disaster, the gods
• 778 have been good to him. And so he always celebrates the event. He does it in several ways. He builds a pile of stones at the pass—called *obos* in Ladakh and *oris* in Lahul—and each time a traveler passes that way he adds a stone. And so the piles grow into huge collections. Everyone adds to them. A lama of distinction who is carried across a pass in a chair or who rides in state will not go by without having a rock added to the pile. A servant will hand him one from the ground, and he will drop it with his own hand. And he more than likely will add a prayer banner to the rock cairn or stop and burn incense there. The *obos* is a dominant ornament on every pass; and it is found also in other dangerous places such as in the steep and treacherous gorge between La Chulung La Pass and Toche Phirche.

The *obos* usually has streamers of colored cloth tied to the rocks or fastened to sticks that are planted in the rock pile. Prayers are written on these pieces of cloth, and each wind that blows makes the cloth flutter, and each flutter sends the prayer winging to the god or goddess of the pass.

133 The day we left Chakchu we climbed steadily through strange and exciting country, headed for Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung La Pass. There had been no trees north of Baralacha. The whole stretch of land seemed to be desolate and heavily eroded. Now the marks of erosion were lying heavier and heavier on the land. Once these mountains and valleys may have been lush. Now there was only an occasional patch of grass standing like a tiny island in a sea of slate pumice. Many buttes mounted the canyon walls. They were brown, yellow, green, and red; and the highest of them were flecked with snow. There is much sandstone in this stretch of country; the wind had whipped it and the rain had

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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On Gongrechen Pass was an obos flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram Chand, one of the muleteers, reverently added a new streamer to the collection.

The valley below Upshi is several miles wide and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

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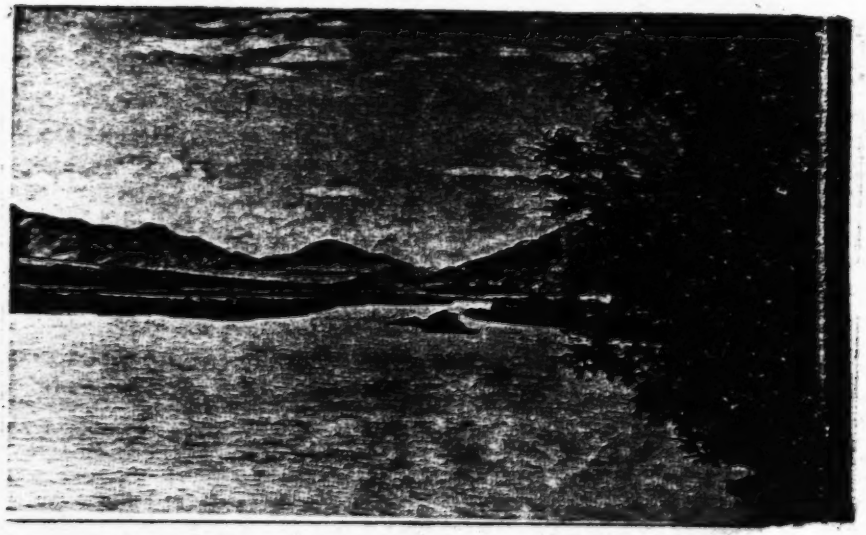

[facing p. 129]

792 tery to open the day at 5:30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M. The monks of Hemis sometimes follow the example of their founder and go into retreats, taking vows to immure themselves for three years in barren, single-room houses that have no windows, no furnishings, no utilities. Here they sit in prayer and meditation for three long and lonely years. Those who complete the three-year vigil are held in high esteem by monks and laymen alike. Few, however, come out alive because of the rigors of the ordeal. Yet those who start do not turn back, for in the Buddhist world one who violates his vows degrades himself and is held in contempt by the community. Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

538 One of these apocryphal tales concerns Jesus. There are those who to this day believe that Jesus visited the place, that he came here when he was fourteen and left when he was twenty-eight, heading west, to be heard of no more. The legend fills in the details, saying that Jesus traveled to Hemis under the name of Issa.

• 778 This is a land where legends readily grow. Hindus and Buddhists are, of course, not alone in believing that holy men have made certain places sacred. But they have a special theory about the phenomenon. The presence of holy men and the prayers they have recited have created spiritual vibrations that dominate the place. Pilgrims who go there and stay at least three nights can feel these vibrations and thus enrich their psychic and spiritual 776 life. Many places of pilgrimage are common to Hindus and Bud- 778 dhists alike e.g., Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar in Tibet. These places usually have a presiding deity and many dozens of demigods. There are said to be about 500,000 deities around Mount Kailas alone. But only the pious can see them. These gods are mountain gods, river gods, tree gods, family gods, field gods, house gods. They are the gods and spirits of the ancient religions on which Buddhism became engrafted. They and Buddhism have

today been mixed in a religion which Buddha himself would hardly recognize.

Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama), whose home was in Nepal, lived from about 560 B.C. to about 480 B.C. He designed a beautiful religion, a religion more intellectual than emotional, one that made wisdom its main faith and righteous conduct its code. Buddha taught the "Noble Eightfold Path": (1) right views; (2) right aspirations; (3) right speech; (4) right conduct; (5) right livelihood; (6) right effort; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right rapture. This philosophy demanded (1) freedom from superstition; (2) noble thoughts worthy of the intelligent man; (3) speech that is truthful and generous; (4) conduct that is honest and peaceful; (5) actions that bring no injury to any living thing; (6) self-control that subjects the passions to control by the mind; (7) a mental attitude of active watchfulness; (8) deep meditation on the principles of life.

Buddha's tenets were based on the notion that the cause of all suffering is desire and that desire results from ignorance. Buddha believed in life after death, or rebirth. The Hindu belief in rebirth preceded Buddha in India. Man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and moves on to take possession of another body. One can, by his acts and mental attitudes, become reborn into a higher and nobler form; or he can debase himself and return to earth in a lowlier condition. He can, unaided, effect his own deliverance and gradually, in successive reappearances on this earth, attain the status of an Arhat or perfected man. This, briefly, is the doctrine of reincarnation. Every event is the result of prior causes and itself the cause of future events. What is done in this life shapes what happens in the next. One who lives a life of good works and good thoughts will move in the next life one step closer to Nirvana. But one who violates the teachings of the "Noble Eightfold Path" will in the next life move down the ladder; then he will have to start over and regain the ground he has lost in his struggle toward perfection.

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CHAPTER 17

OM MANI PADME HOOM

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Om Mani Padme[1] *Hoom* is the mantra or devotional formula of Buddhism. In Ladakh it is repeated by all people while sitting, walking, or traveling. It is a mystic formula whose letters have a symbolic importance which I learned but did not understand. The repetition of these mystic words sets up a vibration. Some say the vibration improves one's physical health; some say it gives a spiritual benefit. I learned in Ladakh that it was supposed to do both.

Om Mani Padme Hoom—Om Mani Padme Hoom—Om Mani Padme Hoom—these are the words that I heard all the way along the 240 miles from Manali to Leh—on wind-swept passes, beside cool springs, at fords across angry rivers, in villages, beside shrines, in monasteries. These were the magic words on the lips of men, women, and children everywhere I went.

778 788 34b

They also appeared on the *mani* walls. I saw my first one on the south side of the Himalayas between Koti and Rothang Pass.

[1]The *d* is silent, the first *a* is short, the second long.

It was about six feet wide, three feet tall, and fifteen feet long. 188
This rectangular pile of stones had been built by some lama on 178
his travels. He had placed on top several slabs of slate and en- 346
graved on each of them *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

Rahul told me at the time that this would be the smallest *mani* wall I would see. And it was. It seemed that the closer we got to Leh the longer the *mani* walls became. There were *mani* walls from ten to twenty-five yards long near every village. At Toche Phirche, where we camped in the rain, there was a *mani* wall fifty yards long against which we stretched rubber tarps to form lean-tos. At Gya—the first village north of Jispa—there were many *mani* walls, some one hundred yards long. And outside of Leh there was a *mani* wall fully a mile in length. It was a massive thing, perhaps five feet high and twelve feet wide. Its top was strewn with flat rocks on each of which had been engraved by some lama, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

One who passes a *mani* wall murmurs, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" And he always keeps it on his right. For there is an old Tibetan saying, respected in Ladakh, "Beware of the devils on the left-hand side." And as one passes a *mani* wall, keeping it on his right, all the prayers engraved on the stones of the wall are said for him. *Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

The *chhorten* is associated with *mani* walls, a large one tower- 346
ing perhaps thirty feet or more; a smaller one, ten. It is of pyramid design, made of stones and clay, and usually whitewashed. The architecture of the *chhorten* is symbolic of the basic five elements:

the lowest cubical part is the earth,
the spherical part is water,
the triangular part is fire,
the crescent part is air,
the moon on top is ether.

There are 108 different designs of the *chhortens.* They can be plain, simple, mud affairs, or they can be beautifully built out of

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for days on end. There are dancing and the exchange of presents; there are prayers before images of the deities, prayers in the chapels. There is no distinction between clergy and laymen, rich and poor, men and women. Beggars kneel in pews next to the elite. And the whole audience murmurs in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

At the entrance to the main chapel of the Hemis Monastery there is painted on the right-hand wall the wheel of life, sacred in Buddhist symbolism. It has been beautifully described by Suydam Cutting in *The Fire Ox and Other Years:*

"The 'wheel of life' is a spoked disk, painted on a scroll. On the hub are painted a cock, a pig, and a snake, standing for lust, greed, and anger, the three vices that torment human beings. The rim is divided into twelve segments, representing such metaphysical concepts as 'sense surfaces and understanding,' 'indulgence,' and 'fuller life.' The area between hub and rim is divided into six compartments, sharply divided by the spokes. At the top is heaven, at the bottom hell. The other four spaces are devoted to human life, animal life, purgatory (tormented spirits), and titans.

"Closer inspection reveals a dolorous prospect—a multitude of pictographs illustrating Buddha's doctrine that suffering is inevitable—'All is transitory, painful, and illusory.' Life is an endless, wearisome round of rebirths. The pictographs illustrating human life, for instance, show birth, old age, sickness, death, ungratified desires, struggle for existence, punishments, bereavements, and offensive objects and sensations. Hell is no less graphic. There are eight hot hells and eight cold ones, with an additional outer hell through which escaping spirits must pass without a guide. Each of these has special tortures to suit various crimes and misdemeanors.

"The 'wheel of life' is held in the claws of a monster who symbolizes 'the hideousness of clinging to life,' and beyond the rim is shown Buddha, who has escaped the round of metempsychosis."

788 778 531 As the lamas passed this scroll, I heard them mutter, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

788 782 To the center of the main chapel is an altar covered with bowls filled with water and cereals. They are offerings to various gods. For the sake of prosperity, they are supposed always to be filled. I met the lama who attends them, a scraggy, barefooted man, and as he passed the altar I heard him mutter, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are thirteen large urns at Hemis, about four or five feet tall and three feet wide. They are filled each year with yak butter by some friend or benefactor, and lighted wicks stand in the middle. Each urn is supposed to burn a year. If the flame goes out, it is bad luck. The lama who had the main urn under his surveillance hovered near, wrapped in a soiled, red robe. As I went by I heard him murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

778 788 In the center of an adjoining chapel is a life-size statue of Buddha, where the devout bow in worship, murmuring, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

785 Around Buddha are images of lesser deities and of Incarnate Lamas. There is one of Stagtsang Raspa, founder of Hemis. There is one of Mila Repa, the famous Tibetan poet who lived for eighty-three years and attained Buddhahood in that span even though [754] his early life was sinful. He had learned how to kill people by magic and for a while walked the path of darkness. Then he did penance under a Lobon (Guru) by the name of Marpa. Marpa made him build a house of stone, then tear it down and carry the stones back to where he had found them. He did this over and again, one time building and tearing down a house nine stories high. Marpa beat Mila Repa and gave him impossible chores to do in penance for his sins. Finally Marpa gave him the Initiation and the Teachings, and launched Mila Repa on a life of mortification of the body. He became a hermit in a cave on a high mountain, where he lived on nettles. He renounced food, clothing, and

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Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monasteries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth.

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

able British Government is paying him some large salary for 759
his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and 796
rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the [778] altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter 291
of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the 121
wrong way round in this strange land, where the term 186
mgologpa (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of [147]
conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

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Balti AV2

WT 175 721 B 175 721 WT [797]

medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

WT [798]

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The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

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133 The Photu La, a 13,400 feet pass, has just been crossed,
● 776 at the top of which one seems to have had a bird's-eye view of a world of far-reaching mountain tops, so deserted of any sign of humanity that on looking upon this sea of mountains, one is reminded of Noah's dove who, having found "no rest for the sole of her foot," returned to the company of the Ark. So does one's eye return with a sense of common humanity and gratefulness to the unkempt, but triumphant ponymen of one's caravan, who, while their burdened steeds take breath after their exhausting climb, themselves pause to rest by the "Lhato" erected to mark the top of the pass. This structure is a collection of rocks and stones, supporting a crooked staff bearing some tags and rags with prayers inscribed on them, and with sundry marks of gratitude in the shape of old sheeps' and goats' horns, or best of all, a bit of yak's tail, thrown on to the pile. In the words *Sola, sola, sola,* the men express to the presiding genius of the pass their own relief and gratitude at once more having achieved the ascent, and then cheerfully start on the steep downward track. So it is with this majestic stretch of billowing mountains filling the mind that one proceeds on the way, and then rounds the last corner to see Lamayuru.

361 But who shall adequately describe this capital of Hob-
778 goblin-land in its setting of purple hills, distant snow peaks, and brilliant blue sky? Running down towards the village, interspersed with "chorten" fat round structures, rather like gigantic pepperpots, are long "mani walls" built of stones and surmounted by two flattened sides, gently sloping up to meet each other, these tops being formed of flat stones covered with prayers. Nearer the village they end in arches, often with *chortens* on the top, under which the road may run. The village itself is built on the rocky hillside, here formed into strange fissures and crags, bridged by crazy-looking shelves, which the builders have utilized as well as the firmer foundations. It looks as if one shake would topple the whole absurd

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structure on to the cultivated fields at the foot. Topping the 361
hill and weirdest sight of all stands the monastery, with its 346
flat roofs adorned at the corners with holy yak tails and
prayer-flags. When staying at the rest-house at the edge of 000
the fields below the village, the whole grotesque impression
is especially enhanced in the evening, when the voices of the
inhabitants going home from the day's work in the fields are
loudly amplified owing to some strange acoustic relationship
between the monastery hill and the one on the opposite side
of the narrow valley. Moreover, as some of these stragglers
ascend round the edge of the hill in the evening light, their
silhouettes are also magnified, so that the whole atmosphere of
this unparallelled and indescribable fortress of lamaism, makes
the traveller rub his eyes in the endeavour to awake from such
a fantastic dream. Before leaving this eerie wonderland there 133
appears again a most extraordinary stalagmite formation of
sandstone, as though whole cities had been tumbled out of
the bowels of the earth, a veritable disruption of Sodom and
Gomorrah after centuries of interment. After this, nature
provides a scene of her wildest and most rugged grandeur.
The road winds up and down the sides of a wonderful gorge,
crossing several times the little stream, which gradually
increases till it finally hurls itself into the Indus as a roaring
torrent. All the way down the ravine, the road now climbs
up far above the water, now descends close to it, but never
leaves its noise, while the rocks provide a constant feast for the
imagination, a succession of weird imagery, with variations in
colour and shade, now fantastically suggestive, now boldly
majestic, until at last the troubled waters are borne away by
Mother Indus.

Thus does the grotesqueness of the land constantly manifest 778
itself, so frequently emphasized by the human touch, as in
these long prayer-walls, the longest of which, just outside
Leh, stretches for half a mile across the desert, looking for all
the world as though some giant children had been playing

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● 778 trains in the sand, the *chortens* at both ends resembling clumsy engines, the lower one to give an extra push up the hill. Then there are the little piles of stones so often put up by lonely shepherds, or tired wayfarers, who have made their resting-places wherever a big rock will give them shade, these themselves in their sauciness looking more likely to attract evil sprites than repel them. Often on the tops of hills seen from the road side, but apparently on no beaten track, having simply invited attention because of their height or the suddenness, will be seen *lhatos* similar to those on the tops of passes.

133 Yet the strangeness of the land is after all but a minor aspect of these mountain uplands. The majesty of range after range of glistening peaks and shining glaciers in the regions of everlasting snow, their everchanging colour from morning to night, and from winter to summer, always new, always different, who shall tell of their never-failing inspiration, or of their picturesque parables? How can the wonderful autumn sunsets seen from Spitug close to the Indus in the valley five miles below Leh, be described? In a riot of crimson, the sun drops down behind the western gate of the valley, the gateway home for us of the far west, and leaves the mountains closing in the south-eastern gate, the way to the great closed land of Tibet, shrouded in mystery, while every possible shade of blue and purple and crimson and gold steal across the great ranges flanking each side of the long valley, and when to go out and wander along the green-turfed flats by the river is to go out to worship. Look at those rugged, jagged, cruel pinnacles of rock pointing upwards to the sky, as we ascend the Photila on the downward road to Kashmir. Do not their crude fingers remind us that even the difficult sorrow-filled times of our lives, have their directive function?

000 Living year in and year out in these valleys, bounded by their mighty ranges with their sense of mysteries guarded but capable of interpretation in some beautiful way infinitely

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DEDICATION OF A NEW MANI WALL.

At each end are *chortens*.

A MONASTIC BAND.

One small lay child supports the ends of two long shawms.

A GREETING.

Women who have come out to greet the British Joint Commissioner with flour, water, chang (local beer) and fire. To the right a "band" of welcome is provided by one gentleman!

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were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wo village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGonpa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

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ficent stretch of mountains, its breadth and expanse exceeding those of yesterday's pass ; the glory of light and shade are indescribable, and this little group of humanity in the foreground just completes the picture. To their right by a tiny trickle of water behind a little rock, a delightful pair have detached themselves from the party to engage in " Chos Choches " (doing religion). One has a wee tray on a collapsible stand and a spoon, all of which can be shut up within a kind of teapot, its cover forming a second platter when reversed, and here he is busy with his libations and mumbling away at his prayers, though apparently only a layman, while the younger man assists him. Completing the ascent an equally wonderful view bursts on the sight, but there is no sign of cultivation on these bare brown or snowwhite peaks, and one really feels as though even at the " back of beyond " in every direction, there never would be human habitation again. But there just below us a yak tosses up his head, and gallops off, while soon our eyes light upon another picturesque camp arranged within a wall of sacks. One of our Tibetan friends, preferring a sun to a water-bath, has slipped his arms out of his wide sleeves and sits there bare to his waist, though we ourselves find the breeze quite chilly at these heights. Down, down, down again, and the big peaks vanish while the little hills rise. Round many corners we come to a bare wild ravine with a dark frowning hill behind, fit framing for a solitary *chorten*, throwing into relief its whitewashed base and red-ringed superstructure. Now we know a village must be near, and up a little zigzag path we go, and around another big *chorten*, then catch our breath at the picture that lies before us, a village we have already described as a suitable capital for " Hobgoblinland." Nor does this impression diminish, rather, each time one rounds that corner it strikes the imagination more forcibly, and seems as though it can only be some dreamland phantasm. Even as you come down upon the prosaic little rest-house on its platform below the hill, the

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neighbourhood of Leh can be seen. But there is a sudden descent from this plateau into the pretty and quaint little village of Basgo, which, with its peculiar rocks and ruins, *chorten* gates and *mani* walls, appeals to some people more than Lamayuru. In spring it is certainly a gem in the bare hills, for on the verge of the plain one suddenly comes upon it as a mass of apricot blossom. Above the Basgo-Nyemo valley neither the apricot nor the apple ripen properly, and the Leh supplies come mostly from there or from Saspola. The main road, which we must occasionally remind ourselves is the high road to Central Asia, leading through the village, passes many tumbledown *chortens* and *mani* walls, and, in one little recess on the left, one sees a fine example of a prayer-wheel made of a kerosene tin. On the outskirts, a row of prayer-wheels may be noted on a roof, waiting to be turned by the wind.

Over a sandy four-mile plain with a long *mani* wall extending half-way, we reach Nyemo, which looked only about twenty minutes ride from Bazgo, and are glad to enter the shade of its large *bagh*, and new bungalow. Here we remember camping once and taking our meal in the open by our tents, when a group of traders and their servants from the serai came to watch this interesting performance. Wearying of their unabashed stare, the Doctor Sahib at length rose, and addressed them in their own language. Pointing solemnly to the members indicated, he said, "I too am a man, I have eyes, ears, nose and mouth." A grin slowly spread over their faces as they caught the rebuke, and they stole away to bother us no more.

Now we have one more *rong* to ascend, then we soon come out on to a long terraced plain with a glorious view of our own Leh valley, the Indus spreading out into several silver streaks as it winds in and out of its broad acres. Grateful after the narrow gorges and long defiles is this open expanse, ringed by range after range of peaks pointing up to some 20,000 feet above sea level, whose snow can never melt. "My very own

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pure cool air of the early morning. Our road runs along the left bank of the Wanla stream for about three miles, then we have to cross it by such a bridge that those of us who are riding dare not trust our ponies to it, and must ford. Soon after the thrills promised by our friends in the village begin. The path runs along the cliff, varying from ten to two hundred feet above the river, which is now fairly deep and rushing. Often it is hardly wider than the hand can span, and, of course, the track always runs along the extreme edge, as roads in this country usually do, while over the edge is first a rapid decline, then a perpendicular drop straight down into the river. One slip off the road and the chances of recovery are practically nil, while the preliminary slither down the slope would just allow time to realize the pleasant drop which would occur when the perpendicular part was reached. Walking along this so-called bridle path, I remembered coming along the same road some years before in early summer, and how at one place the path, to add to its terrors, was actually covered with sloping ice, and I admit having shirked it by climbing up along the hill above. After a walk of two-and-a-half hours we reached the pretty little village, Panjila, but, before arriving could not help noting the only sign of vegetation on that bare hillside, one lonely pine tree of considerable age. Evidently it had found a little spring to sustain its life. So quaintly does the smallest rill or source of water permit the growth of one or two trees in such a dry stony land. No wonder that in its fantastic isolation the *shugpa* or pencil cedar of Ladak, is regarded as a holy tree and in it dwells a *Lha* or good spirit. Often an altar piled high with the horns of wild sheep or goats is built around the stem of such a tree, and of certain *shugpa* it is said that to break off a twig or branch will cause the death of the offender within a year. Thus, among the oldest trees in the land, where wood is in such demand for fuel, is the *Shugpa*, owing its existence to the protection of its gods.

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000 the wild red currants, now ripe, are wonderfully sweet to the taste. Then look up to right and left, and see the great slabs of cliffs, rising absolutely straight up from the river for over 1,000 feet; or, where they lean at all, the slope is inwards. Behind them are further tiers. Beyond, more cliffs, rising up to a similar height, look just like huge stalagmites, the formation of cliff and stalagmite together often suggesting one of nature's wonderful cathedrals with its many spires. [843] The Ladaki would people them with his *lhas* (spirits), which he certainly believes inhabit the stalagmites.

At last we turn a corner and our hair might turn grey too, for the natural road stops abruptly at one of these perpendicular rocks, on to which human hands have built a kind of rough scaffolding. On every little projection from this rock stones have been merely laid to the desired level, and not even cemented with mud. Jutting out from the rock are beams ; how they have been fixed in it is impossible to say, and resting on these more beams parallel with the cliff, and finally, to give a firm footing, slabs of rock. Why the whole crazy structure does not topple down is past comprehension. The doctor, wishing to be whole in order to render first-aid to the Padre should calamity over-take him, crosses over first, to feel peculiar sensations up and down his spine as he watches his colleague follow after him. Even the horses seem to realize their precarious position, and press close up to the cliff. Having safely traversed this piece of road, we [778] are not surprised to see a *chorten* and a *mani* wall, though still miles away from human habitation, for even the Ladaki must feel he needs a special safeguard for such a perilous passage.

361 From now our road descends until we reach Hanupata, where, although the onset of rain threatens to damp our welcome, the villagers make up for it in the heartiness of 622 their greeting. The *mGopa* or headman begs us to come and 574 rest in a "very nice room" of his house until our luggage

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A long gradual ascent leads to it, covered with wonderful flowers, and as the doctor climbs up, he remembers an experience he had there some years before. His colleague's mare was taken ill when nearing the top, and was unable to proceed unaided. It was a matter of either deserting her or dragging her over, and as the last half mile of the pass was under deep snow, the latter proved to be an even harder task than anticipated. Holding with one hand to the tail of his Zankskar pony, and with the other pulling the mane of the sick mare, the former animal dragged both of them over a 16,600 feet pass through deep snow.

This pass brought us to Yulchung, from which we made a detour to Lingshed, but we will not linger there now, as we shall be referring to it elsewhere. Beyond it, the road runs along the side of the hills on the right bank of the river, whose left one would seem to have been shaped out by some Goliath into gigantic stalls to stable his horses. Next comes a steep drop down to the river, where a truly Ladaki bridge awaits us. No doubt some belated traveller, needing wood to provide himself with the consolation of his butter-tea, has helped himself to some of the flooring of the bridge. The next arrival has not been long troubled by this lack of boarding, for there are plenty of large slabs and stones about to place on the various gaps. As our pony stepped on to one of these, it tipped up, and a hundred and fifty feet below roared the Charab river. Such a place must abound with evil spirits, but nature has kindly provided a large rock, shaped like a sugar loaf, as a foundation for the propitiatory altar. On one side of it some human hands have managed to make another large stone rest, supporting others up to a level with the top of the sugar loaf, and across this peculiar base have balanced a huge flat slab of rock, piled high with the horns of wild sheep and goats. Facing this strange structure a throne of stone has been erected for the officiating *Skushog* or lama, when religious rites are performed here.

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THE TOWN BAND OF LEH

who appeared in the Moravian Mission Compound of their own accord to greet the bride and bridegroom on their return from Church on the rare occasion of a Sahib's wedding in Leh.

A PRIVATE CHAPEL.

The service resembling High Mass being held on the verandah of a "private chapel" in the summer residence of a prominent Tibetan in Leh.

Facing pg. 104

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child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here, 1
788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
793 come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums, while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests must be both fed, and paid in money.

788 Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious
778 purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

554 One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best
[758] room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

342 The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

1 [i.e., in private chapels in better-class houses in town.—ANALYST]

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are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4

pieces of silver and gold, and then a local *Skushog* or great lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually. On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar, arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

718 782 792 614 [764] [585]

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757 cure them of their blindness, but our solicitude seemed
783 unnecessary, for they remained quite cheerful, merely saying "*Lanchaks*,"—that is "we are atoning for our sins in a former incarnation." No doubt those successfully operated upon are getting the reward for former good deeds, and for the successful operation it is quite unnecessary to thank the
757 Surgeon when virtue is being rewarded. The next question
778 is, where are we to operate? Under the open sky the sun is
797 too grilling and brilliant, and the tent is too small. We have detected a verandah which would make a most suitable temporary operating-theatre, in fact it is practically the only available spot, but, on suggesting this, are informed that this is a temple verandah and belongs to a very great and holy man. "There you cannot operate" we are told emphatically, and reply that the reason adduced makes the place more desirable than ever, and we must operate there or nowhere. This point is gained, or partly so. We might operate on the men there, but not the women, for they must not enter such a holy place. Alas! the Doctor Sahib must have had a strange upbringing, for he informs these Lingshed men that in the peculiar country whence he comes, the dictum is "Ladies first," and only when these are done can the Lords of Creation be tackled. That settles this point, but not even yet are all our difficulties overcome, for a very old lama finds his way to the Doctor, who having examined him, finds the eyes quite operable. He is, however, begged not to give the old fellow his sight, for he is so poor that he has not sufficient food to sustain him while the wounds heal, nor a helper to care for him during his time in bed. The former objection is easily overcome for we begin to charge in kind for the medicines we dispense, and soon the old fellow finds himself quite well off in flour, rice, and dried apricots, and a nurse is also provided for him. Preliminary arrangements having been completed, we make our way one fine morning to our temporary operating-theatre in the verandah of the temple. An old bedstead which cannot boast a spring-mattress, having only a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Laetans AJ4

network of rope, serves as operating-table. A small box does duty as instrument table, whilst an X travelling wash-stand must serve for the Surgeon's washing of hands and that, too, of his assistant. The first patient is brought in, a woman who prostrates herself before the door of the temple. One of the villagers has been impressed as an extra assistant, and is now instructed thoroughly to wash the lady's face with soap and water. She is then laid on the dirty bedstead, and her dirty clothes are covered first by a sheet of clean mackintosh, and then by towels which have been sterilized in Carbolic Acid, and her not overclean hair is likewise covered. Cocaine is then instilled into both eyes, the Surgeon and his assistant wash their hands, then kneeling at their very low operating-table proceed to extract the cataracts. This done, fingers are held up for the patient to count, and the onlookers reveal their interest and joy by ejaculations of "*wah!*," or "*tong dug*" —"she sees." Eyes are bandaged, and the next patient tackled. That day we did twenty-two cataract operations, and afterwards were inclined to boast about it till we met another Missionary Doctor,—Holland of Quetta,—who told us that he had done over ninety in one day. And the results? Of our twenty-two, eighteen received good sight, two were partially successful, whilst two were failures. Considering the dirty patients and dirtier surroundings, we felt the results quite justified the trip. We stayed a few days longer till it was safe to leave those on whom we had operated, and then began our return journey, thinking ruefully of how the deputation from Lingshed had promised to furnish us with supplies on the road, and had faithfully done so until the operations were over and there was little more to be got out of us. On the way home we were left to fend for ourselves, and our poor ponies had occasionally to go hungry. Ingratitude, and not gratitude, is one of the prominent characteristics of the Ladaki, for does not a good action bring its own reward, and the Doctor will have reaped much merit from his medical tour.

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Let us now consider some of the ceremonial of the religion 796
of these cheery folk, and to do this we cannot do better than 778
take an evening stroll to Changspa, which is a suburb of Leh and was formerly a place of pilgrimage. Our path leads us between fields of wheat and barley, now ripe for the harvest. Here our way is blocked because some *Zemindar* (farmer) is [241] directing the flow of the water into his crops. Further on we reach a larger stream over which we cross by means of stepping stones.

We meet an old grey-head emerging from the village, who 788
evidently feels that he has reached the age when he should be thinking of his next incarnation, for he is not only vigorously turning his prayer-wheel, but mumbling away at his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*. We stop to speak to him, for in this part of the world there is great friendliness. Our conversation by no means hinders his devotions, for he can still twirl his prayer-wheel, which with every turn is repeating hundreds of prayers for him, and in between his answers to us there are plenty of opportunities for saying his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*.

Being new to the country we perhaps try to ask him the meaning of his prayer, but generally he will reply that he has not the faintest idea, and most certainly will not give the translation one so often hears. "Oh thou jewel in the Lotus bud." If one regard the Jewel as the Divinity, and the lotus the body in which it resides, one surely approaches the teaching of the Buddha fairly closely. I have met only one or two [779] Buddhist Ladakis willing to enlighten me in respect to this mantra, who said that the wheel of life, consists of six existences, and this mantra with its six syllables closes the door of all these, thus providing an easy vehicle to "STONGPA NID." There are other mantra, but this beyond comparison is the favourite one, as it is that of Avolakita, the Merciful Lord, and it ensures an entrance into the Kingdom of Amitabha, the Sphere of Endless Light. The wheel must be turned in the direction in which the sun travels, that is of

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788 the hands of the clock, and not once or twice, but hundreds of times. To make this as easy as possible a weight on a short chain is attached, whose momentum makes it only necessary for the slightest movement of the hand to keep the wheel in almost perpetual motion. The number of *Om ma ni pa dme hum's* said need not to be counted, and yet it is good to know how much merit has been accumulated. Our old friend therefore carries in his other hand a rosary, which consists of one hundred and eight beads, usually red. This figure is a sacred one, being a multiple of twelve which is the Buddhist unit and not the ten which we use. To mark the beginning of this rosary three turquoises are strung together, doubtless representing "dGonmchog Sum," the Trinity of Lamaistic Buddhism.

[211] But the rosary is useful in other ways also, for if only the beads to the right of the short chain are regarded as units, and those to the left as twelves, quite a useful counter on which to do one's temporal arithmetic is provided. Leaving our elderly friend, we go past a short *mani* or prayer-wall, and then another round one. These are about the height of a man, and may be of any length. Just outside Leh there are two with only a short space between, which cover about half a mile. The tops of these slope slightly upwards towards the middle, and are covered by innumerable flat stones on which pious monks have engraved still more innumerable *Om ma-ni's*. To turn these prayers to good account, it is essential to pass the wall to one's right; by walking thus along the Leh *Mani Ringmo*, which means the long Ma-ni wall, a good hundred thousand prayers are said, and your stage pony, being usually of the Buddhist persuasion, will see to it that you do your religious duty in this respect by taking you along the left side. Whenever the road reaches a prayer-wall, it divides to enclose it, so that the traveller's prayers can avail in whichever direction his journey lies. In many of the larger prayer-walls there is a recess at one side containing a large tablet on which

778 788

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the occasion of the building of the wall is engraved. We pass on to a little streamlet in the village, and find that over it a little mud hut, about the size of a large dog kennel, has been erected, which houses another prayer-wheel. On the axle of this, below the receptacle for prayers, are paddles on which the running water impinges and thus keeps the wheel in perpetual rotation. The stream is often small, so that a light wheel is desirable, and what could be a better shell for enclosing the prayer paper than a Standard Oil kerosene tin, or a Mellin's Food tin, both of which are actually used. 778 788

The first house of the village belongs to the Kalon or former prime minister of Ladak, and in keeping with his exalted position, it is an imposing structure. On an outside wall we notice the skull of a goat, framed in small sticks tied together by twine, which is the *Storma* obtained at the New Year's festival, and keeps those in the house insured against sickness. The corners of the house have been painted a red colour, which effectually bars the entry of evil spirits. The Kalon does not seem to invite the good spirits to reside in his house, but others do. They only have to paint all over their walls white sickle-shaped smudges, and their invitations to these *lhas* will be accepted with alacrity. In the Kalon's court-yard is a high pole, to which is attached a strip of thin muslin about twelve inches broad and running the length of the flagstaff, which is surmounted by the black bushy tail of the holy yak. On the flag are printed a great number of prayers, with crude drawings of Tiger, Lion, Garuda and Dragon, all being mystical signs ensuring safety against enemies, earthly and celestial, increasing the number of children and wealth, in short achieving the entire health and happiness of the household. To set the necessary forces in action it only remains for the wind to flutter the flag on his roof. He also has a prayer-wheel which is so light that even the wind impinging on its vane will turn it. 342 788

We pass along the rough village lanes and everywhere 788

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1. MASKED DANCING
In the monastery adjoining the castle of Leh at the winter festival of the New Year.

2. A CHORTEN-CROWNED GATEWAY.
These usually mark the entrance and exit of a village.

3. A SACRED BANNER.
The large banner of the tutelary god of Hemis *dGonpa* (monastery), only displayed at the annual festival once in twelve years.

4. A HEMIS STREET
Just before the festival, shewing the tents put up for the traders.

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788 notice prayer-flags and *chortens*. Here there is a huge stone set up on end, on which has been engraven one large "Om ma-ni," and we might delay a few moments to examine it, 779 especially the first and last syllables. The first one "OVA" 788 consists of three signs, representing again the Trinity of Lamaism. Its chief letter is the capital "A" which stands for god. It should be written in white, as this is the colour [822] of the gods. The whole is surmounted by a circle. Does the yellow cap lama desire to make his mind a perfect blank, he places this mystical symbol before his mind's eye, meditates first on the "A," then on the "V" which surmounts this, and finally it travels round and round the mystic circle losing itself in *Stongpa nid*, the idea being that by these means the activity of the brain can be stilled and the spirit become at one with the Infinite. The last syllable in the Mantra, *Hung*, is supposed to stand for the Demon world, and therefore it is not surprising that the red sect lamas, who represent most closely the old *Bon chos* with its demonology, should use this in a similar manner for their meditation. The colour of this symbol is blue. This mark sometimes ends as *hung* and sometimes as *hum*, and there seems to be a real difference, for a Buddhist friend has assured me that, whilst *hung* is connected with evil influences, *hum* produces only the good.

● 778 We raise our eyes and see an enormous *chorten*, the largest 779 in Ladak, another mystical edifice allowing several explanations. These *chortens* are of eight different shapes, but of the most common form there are many sizes, ranging from small pocket editions, vulgarly called "potted lamas" for they are said to be made with the ashes of deceased monks, to structures larger than houses. From below upwards there is first a large square base, which is called the throne, on whole sides are painted figures of animals or holy eyes from which the throne derives its name, such as a Peacock or a Lion Throne. From this there rise five square steps, the lowest of which represents the holy carpet, for each lama sits

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on a holy carpet. Above this, two steps represent legs and two more arms. Then comes a large pudding-shaped arrangement to represent the head. The body seems to have been omitted. From this there rises a high cone made of red tiles and divided into thirteen rings; these are said to represent the thirteen ages (*Skalpas*, each of 100,000 years) of the Buddhist, of which the Ladakis say we are now living in the last; this would make the present Dalai lama the last of this era. After this they begin again from the beginning.

Others have a different interpretation for the *Chortens*. From the axis of the earth there towers up Mount Meru, which supports the heavens. This is said to have twenty-five steps, which halved gives approximately enough thirteen, and the thirteen consecutive rings of the *chorten* cone represent those steps belonging to the earth. Surmounting this cone there is a large gilt ornament made of tin or some such metal which denotes the *Zarazak*, or the Umbrella of Office. Above this comes a globe for the sun, a crescent for the moon and a smaller globe for the stars, from which there rises up into "nothingness" a fine piece of wire. Yet a totally different explanation is given according to which, reading from below upwards, the *chorten* represents the five elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether. Round the great *chorten* at Changspa, there runs a passage, which is bounded on the outside by a wall consisting of one hundred and eight smaller *chortens*, again the mystic figure. Within this outer wall there stands a very old sacred tree and a small *chorten*, containing in a hollow recess the very small *chortens* made of the ashes of lamas and other men, also a few leaves from the holy book and some salutation scarves. Before entering into the passage, we notice a square building, in the upper part of which is a recess containing three *chortens*, which should be coloured respectively red, white and blue, and behind them drawings of various gods and goddesses. A little further on and to the right is a large stone with an image of *Byamspa*

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● 778 (Maitreya), the Buddha of the coming age who is the god of
779 love for whom the Buddhist is now waiting. According to the esoteric teaching of Buddhism, there are seven root races of mankind, of which the present one, the Aryan, is the fifth. To each one of these a Buddha has come in human form so that man shall be able to comprehend the unknowable. Each of these emanations is a Logos of the supreme Buddha. Maitreya will be the Buddha of the sixth root race, and after him will come he of the seventh, whose name is still obscure, for the need of the seventh race which he will have specially to meet is also unknown. Thus we get the septenary system,
781 belief in which is found to be so universal. To agree with this figure the most important mantra should really read *A-um-ma-ni-pa-dme-hum*. As one wanders round this little village of Changspa, one cannot help remembering Shakespeare's words,

> "Tongues in trees,
> Books in running brooks
> Sermons in stones
> And good in everything."

and wishing that the voices in this lamaistic land were living and spiritual rather than these mechanical and artificial forms of prayer, for to the ordinary man it is always a matter of *chos choches*, that is "doing religion," engaging in a mechanical, outward and superstitious form which has no relation to the man's spiritual life or to his moral conduct.

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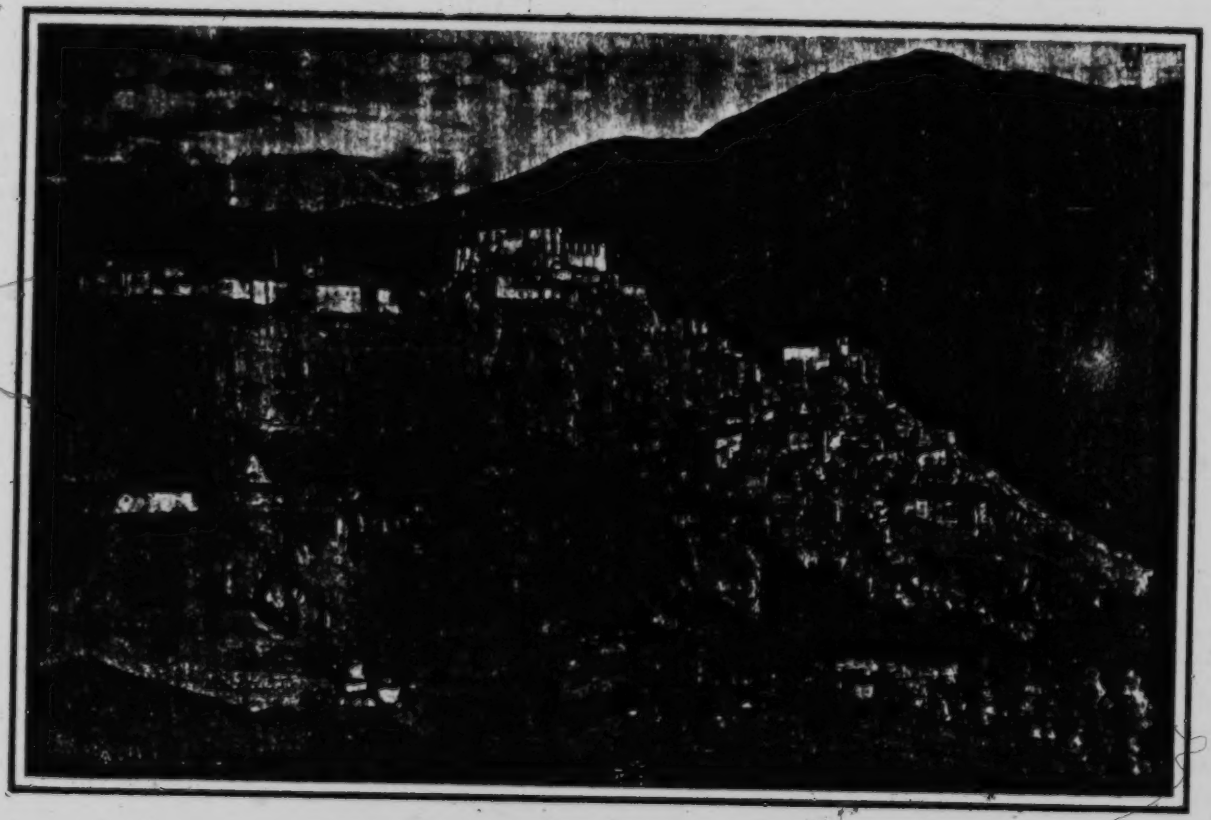

LAMAYURU.

"A fit capital for Hobgoblinland," shewing the monastery crowning the hill. Many chortens can be seen dotted about. The nuns' dwellings are below the hill in the foreground.

FACING p 76C

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

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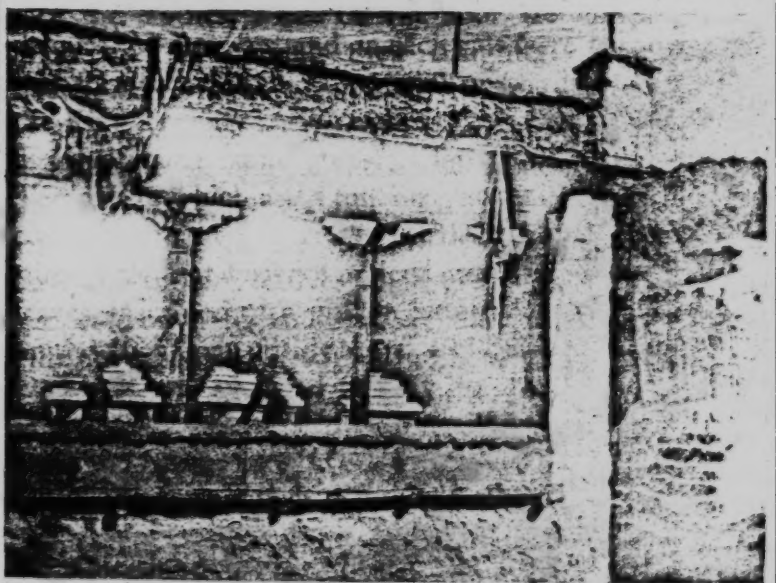

SANKAR DGONPA.

A small yellow-sect monastery close to Leh, shewing the main entrance.

A SHRINE.

The three *chortens* inside are usually coloured red, white and blue; and on the walls behind them various gods are depicted in bright colours.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their
792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
352 the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and man, and he possesses 1000 heads. Thrown at his feet one notices many cowrie shells and Indian copper coins, the former brought by women to appease him. This image was only made a few years ago, and a special series of services were held to induce the god to enter the image. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting and dancing in the grove of large trees at the side of the monastery, while the actual ritual was performed on the roof, where Meme Lobzang (the *Skushog* being then a tiny baby) presided, assisted by a group of lamas, who helped him to pour the right libations and offerings from the many vessels and bowls before his throne into the large fire which leaped and crackled before him, accompanied by monotonous incantations and chants from a group of seated lamas, and, of course, the monastic band. To this roof we now duly ascended up another very steep ladder, where Meme Lobzang himself extended his hand to help the ladies with true Western gallantry. The view was magnificent, both behind towards the Kardong Pass and before down to Leh, whose trees blotted out the desert below, so that the cultivation and all its little square terraced fields might have extended to the foot of the mighty mountains on the further side of the Indus, all touched with the magic softness of the westering sun.

Retracing our steps down the steep staircases, through the dim passages and rooms, we emerged again into the portico, and viewed the lamas private dwellings ranged on the three sides in front of us as we descended the temple steps. In the left-hand corner was a peculiarly fantastic bit, so delightfully crazy it looked. A short flight of steps led up to two doors, each with an ancient padded curtain to keep out the draught, and a sagging valance above, whilst over one was a quaint little attic with a window of roughly-patterned lattice, its lines so fascinatingly crooked, and enhanced by a small awning, projecting from one side of the attic to shade the roof, on the edge of which was a series of rough window boxes,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any time between the beginning of June and the middle of July. The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod, towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten* with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base, until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees, pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious, spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

250 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the
● 178 river to make the return journey to Leh on the other side, we passed a large *chorten* surrounded by small trees, on which was painted a hideous three-eyed monster, the patron saint of Hemis, and then caught up with one more fascinating
484 little group of pilgrims. This trio were returning up the Indus
184 valley to the wilds, two women and a man in the dress of
291 nomads. On their backs were strange casks like old beer barrels with the outlet well pegged. Looking in over the top we found they were lidless and contained all their cooking pots, while the remainder of their travelling requisites, probably all their worldly goods, were packed on the back of the donkey, whose foal trotted at her side.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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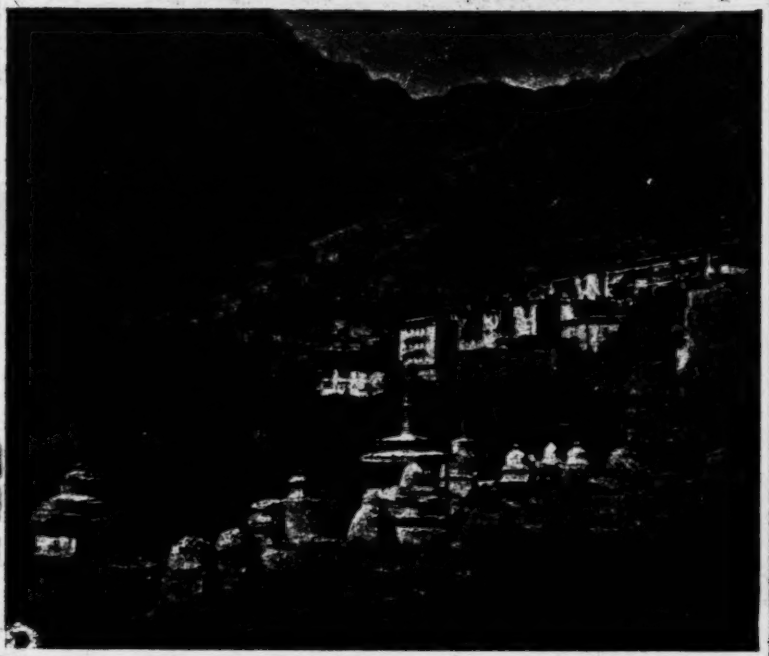

THE FESTIVAL AT HEMIS.

Showing the lamas of the monastic band blowing their long shawms. To their left is the *Shasbag's* throne, and to their right a large prayer-wheel framed in a projection of masonry.

HEMIS DGONPA.

With *chortens* in the foreground. This is the monastery where the great festival is held annually. Hidden among the foothills, it has escaped pillage. Hence it is rich in treasure.

FACING P. 264

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

> At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
> Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
> In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
> In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet. 769 [775]

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form phai-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.) [95] [113]

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu (Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po, rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCL in my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water SNAKES.

776 snakes. On the pictures I have said that the Khyun is represented
778 in the act of devouring two of the Nagas. It is remarkable that among the eight mGon-po of Nub-ra there is also one that bears the name Nagaraksha, "water-snake demon" in the Indic language. His rock is in Ron-mdo. Apparently there is a rock formation in mGo-sbed which is reminiscent of a Khyun, and in Ron-mdo there is one that looks like a water snake (klu).

782 It is undoubtedly a fact that at one time offerings were made at these ancient cult places.[1] Certainly they also performed dances there and said prayers.

Concerning the offerings we learn a few isolated facts from the wedding songs.

[824] The first of the wedding songs of Khalatse deals with a smoke offering. According to this song the wood of the Shug-pa tree (Juniperus excelsa), a type of juniper, which smells very good when it is burned, is brought as an offering. This offering is called bsan-shug, "juniper food," in the song, apparently because it is to serve as nourishment for the gods. The main purpose of this offering is to maintain peace with the gods. The first verse runs:

This blue smoke rising,
What does it mean?
This blue smoke rising
/26/ Means that there will be no conflict with brGya-byin, lord of the gods
For that do we offer the nourishing juniper tree!

[776] In this way the smoke is presented as an offering to the deities of heaven, of earth, of the water world, of the four points of the compass, of the castle, the village, and the house. Everywhere the smoke is believed to have an appeasing effect. In Number 2
[824] of the drinking songs of Khalatse[2] two other plants are also named as materials fro incense, aside from the shug-pa, the "wood of the gods." These are su-lu-gser-po and kham-pa-dkar-po. Neither is known to me.

782 A very peculiar kind of sacrificial gift is named in the Tag-ma-
826 cig; wedding song No. XXXIII:[2] To the gods are to be sacrificed the white teeth and the fingernails; to the solid earth, the red flesh and the red blood; to the dark powers (mun) the gall and blue water; to the black devil, though, the black hairs and the eyebrows are to be offered. All these are parts of the body which among primitive peoples are regarded as the seat of mysterious powers, and their acquisition is looked upon as particularly desirable. Is there perhaps an idea of presenting the best to the divinities?

In this connection it should, by the way, be observed directly

[1] [See pp. 37-38 -- Analyst] [2] [See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

Notes to Kh. XIXa and b[1]

This song has not been preserved in its entirety either. The missing verses a, 1 to 4, it was easily possible to supply from b, 1 to 4. The missing conclusion b, 10 to 13, has been completed by me in the spirit of the preceding verses. The bride purchasers believe they make their divine origin most effectively clear by asserting that everything that goes on in nature and inside the house is connected with them or was caused by them. sKra-lo, in verse 6, is evidently a tutelary deity. The name might possibly signify "the one with the curly hair." The Shog-yan plateau in verse 10 is not yet known to me. But the North country in verse 11 is the well-known Byan-than plain. It is clear that the conclusion of this song in Khalatse is not nearly as satisfying as the conclusion of the song quoted above, No. XIX in Tag-ma-cig. 539* 585K [776]

Concluding Observations

It is my intention to follow up this part of the wedding songs with a second and a third part in a special publication. If this plan should be somewhat delayed, it will be due to the difficulty in translating. For the first part, two manuscripts were available. The second part can only be translated on the basis of one single manuscript, and this circumstance results in a great deal of uncertainty in view of the archaic nature of the language. The Tibetan text of all three parts, together with a literal translation printed alongside it, is to be published in the very near future in a scholarly periodical. 000

/70/ Rock Drawings

Table I[2]

Number 1, 2 and 3. The "white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." A personification of the glacier. (Compare photograph.) 531 821

Number 4. Kesar's horse (rKyan-byun-dbyer-pa). 773

" 5. Kesar on his horse engaged in hunting the antelope. On both sides are stupas, and over them branches of the sacred juniper tree. Unknown emblem (a square with diagonals). (Compare photograph.) 778 531

1 [See pp. 90-92, category 116 --Analyst]
2 [See p. 97, Category 116 -- Analyst]

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

778 " 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 98, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--100 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/Illustrations and Photographs. / 1

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292

535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailas as it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-117, Category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--101 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter. 778

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

[1] [See pl. 103-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--102 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

755 /(12)/ No. 14.[1] Large dos-mo from the dos-mo festival in Leh.

796

778 The evil spirits of winter and of diseases are caught in the structures that resemble spiderwebs. After the exorcism, the frames are destroyed.

532 /(13)/ No. 15. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

776

Stars from the Kesar saga. The king's castle of Glin. Above it, in the clouds, are deities.

/(14)/ No. 16. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

On the right: A scene from the Kesar saga. King Kesar with the eighteen Agus. Three women from the right. In the clouds are the father of the gods and the mother of the gods, and their children (?). On the left: A scene from the Dogra war.

/(15)/ No. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar.

Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

No. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh.

(The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

1 [See pp. 114-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

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Nr. 2.

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Nr. 3. Captions for above pictures on p. 100

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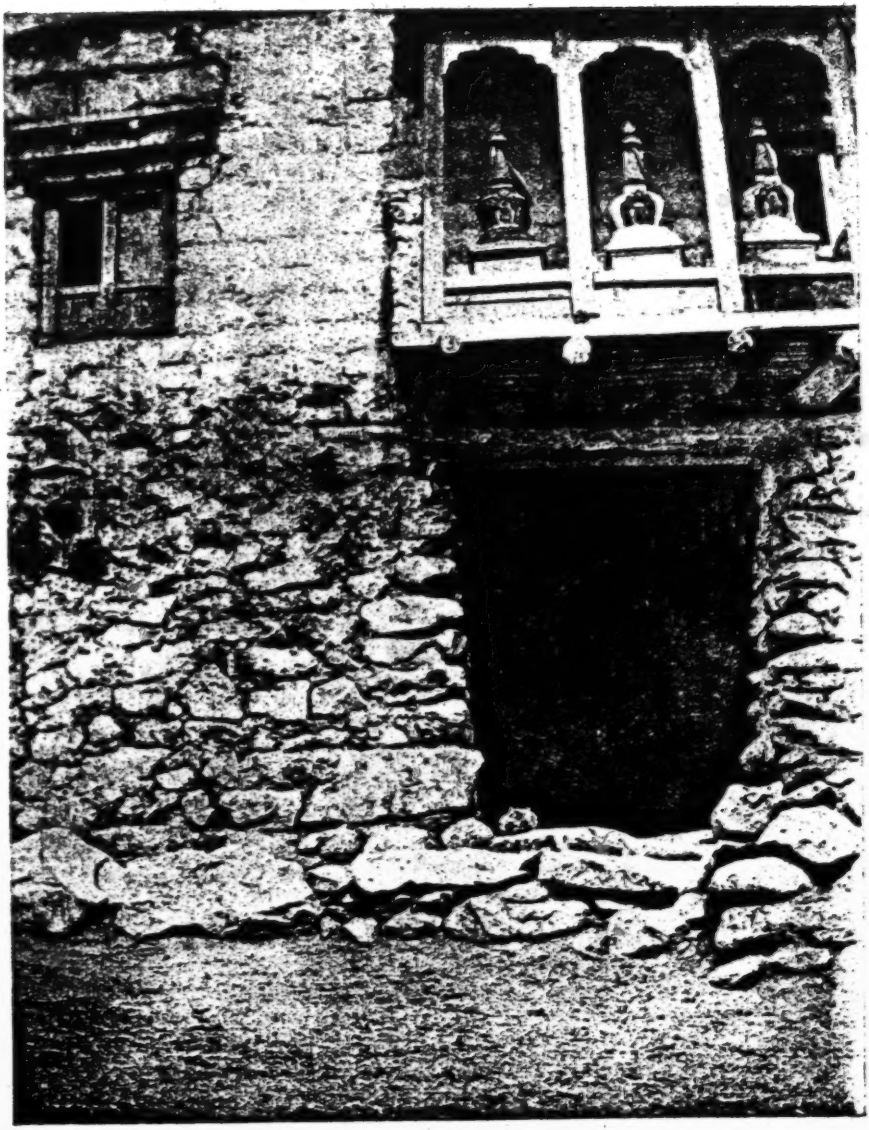

Nr. 4. Caption for above picture on p. 100

15: Francke -- 106 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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Nr. 5. Caption for above picture on p. 100

[78]

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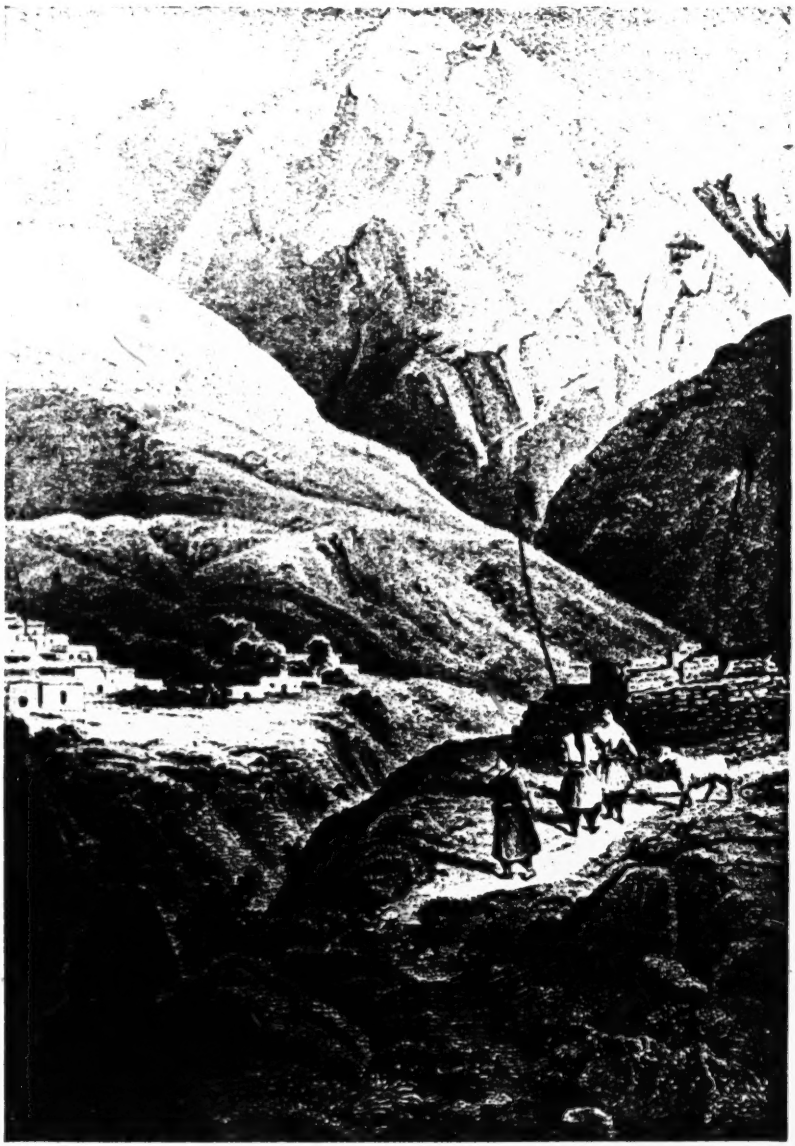

Nr. 6. Caption for above picture on p. 100.

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Nr. 7. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

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Nr. 8.

Nr. 9.

Captions for above pictures on p. 101.

[81]

15: Francke --113 N-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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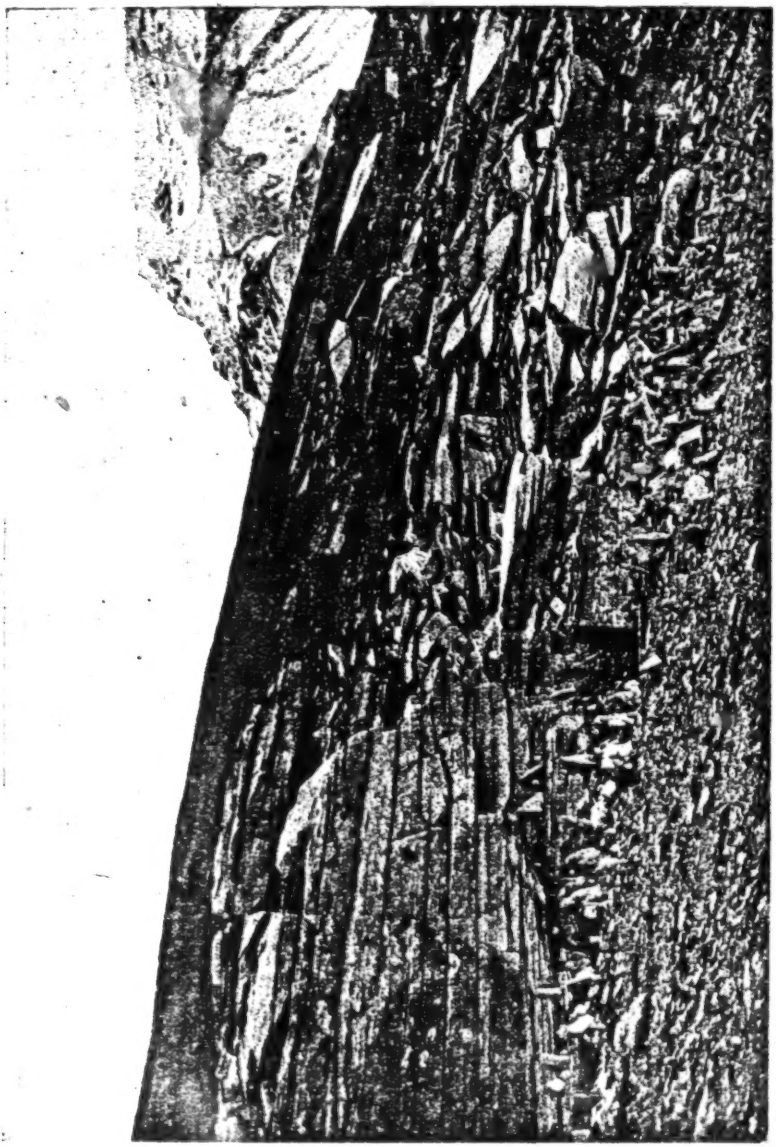

Nr. 13. Caption for above picture on p. 102.

15: Francke -114 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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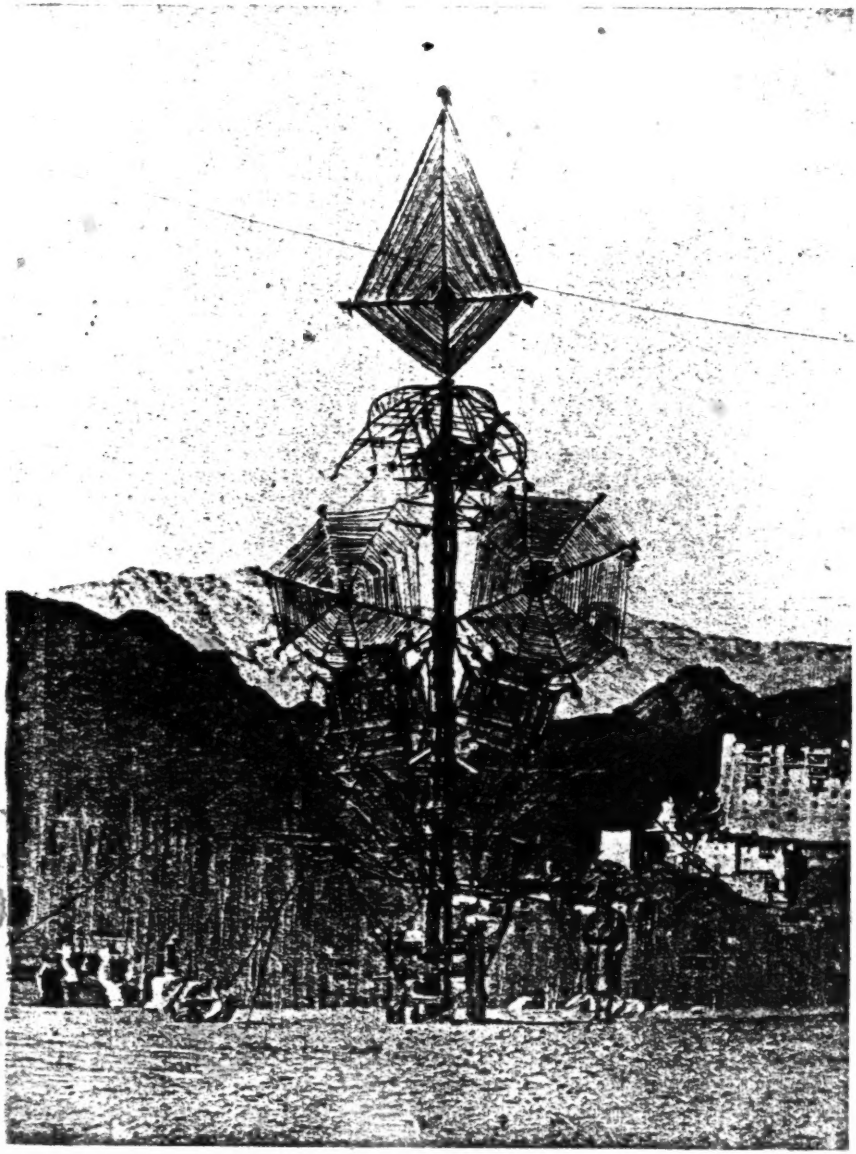

Nr. 14. Caption for above picture on p. 102.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

B

796 On the 28th day of the 12th month, a festival called
778 *Doss-Mo-Che*[3] is held in Leh the capital of Ladakh. People
751 from far and near attend this important function. The

1. *Doss-Mo-Che.* An effigy of a man with the yak's horns filled with blood. The whole is carried on a plank.

Lamas (priests) make a life-size effigy of a man (*Doss-Mo-Che*) with straw, adorning it with coloured garments. This effigy is then placed in a prominent position in the dancing

[3] *Doss-Mo-Che*

It seems that the un-Tibetan part of the *Doss-mo-che* ceremony when the Sepoys of the Kashmir State play their part in destroying the effigy, is a concession to the now ruling Maharajah who is a Hindu and identifies himself with the Buddhistic practices observed in Ladakh. Once a year the Maharajah causes prayers to be read by the Buddhist clergy, and defrays the expense of feeding them during this period.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

floor of the monastery, and beer and grain are offered to it. 716
This is followed by a devil dance, the Lama performers 778
being arrayed in special dancing regalia and masks. The 751
next morning another devil dance is held; and about 3-0 p.m. the effigy is carried with great solemnity on a plank to an open piece of ground outside the town. Two yak horns (*Yak-I-Ru-Cho*) are filled with blood, and fixed one on either breast of the effigy. A platoon of local sepoys belonging to the Kashmir State then open fire on the horns as a target, but fail to hit the mark. It is believed that as the *Sku-Shog* (a high Buddhist ecclesiastic) has pronounced a charm upon the yak horns they thereby become invulnerable so long as that important personage remains near them. When, however, this church dignitary takes his departure, the sepoys return to the assault of the effigy, and succeed in hitting the mark. This is the signal for the people to rush in pell-mell with thorns which they lay at the foot of the effigy and burn it. This ceremony is performed in order to forestall sickness and other misfortunes to the community.

C

On the 8th day of the 1st month a *Tse Shu* (popular amusement or sport) is held for all the villagers. This function occurs once a month, when barley flour dumplings are made, the various households taking it in rotation to provide food and drink for those who assemble to dance and amuse themselves in various ways.

D

On the 15th day of the 1st month, males and females circumambulate prayer walls and monasteries in order to obtain merit. They perform this ceremony in procession. If a woman in the procession meets anybody she must give

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

 Trade routes

131 Through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Kara-
487 korum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

133 Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rup-
[101] chu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder en-
[137] vironment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks
[361] of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls
● 778 and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist,
782 Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

162 The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999.
795 It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[564] [1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4

courtyard about 30 × 40 yards square, having on the left hand a narrow verandah, in the centre of which stands the large prayer-cylinder above mentioned. The larger picturesque doorway, the entrance of one of the principal idol rooms, is in the extreme right hand corner, massive brass rings affixed to large *bosses* of brass are affixed on either door, the posts of which are of carved and coloured woodwork. The walls of the main building, with its bay windows of lattice work, enclose the courtyard along the right hand side, the roof is adorned with curious cylindrical pendant devices made of cloth called "Thook"; each surmounted with the Trisool or trident, painted black and red. On the side facing the main entrance the courtyard is open, leading away to the doorways of other idol rooms. In the centre space stand two high poles "Turpoche," from which hang yaks' tails and white cotton streamers printed in the Tibetan character. Innumerable small prayer-wheels are fitted into a hitch that runs round the sides of the courtyard. A few large trees throw their shade on the building, and above them tower the rugged cliffs of the little valley, topped here and there by *Lhatos*, small square-built altars, surmounted by bundles of brushwood and wild sheep horns, the thin sticks of the brushwood being covered with offerings of coloured flags printed with some *mantra* or other.[1]

LAMA-YUR-RU, elevation about 11,000 feet.[2] Said to be of the Dikung sect, as also the monasteries of *s*Gaṅ-noṅ and Shaṅ.

The name Yur-ru is said to be a corruption of Yuṅ-druṅ—the Svastika or mystic fly-foot cross.

THO-LING or Tho'lding (mt'o-gliṅ), on the upper Sutlej (in map of Turkistan it is Totlingmat, "mat" = "the lower," *i.e.* lower part of the city). It has a celebrated temple in three storeys, said by some to be modelled after that of Budha Gaya, and the *Sham-bha-la Lam-yig* contains a reference to this temple: "It had been built (A.D. 954, Schl.) by the Lo-tsa-wa Rin-zaṅ-po. The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down, but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the 'cycle of the collection of secrets.'" Adolph von Schlagintweit visited it.[3]

THEG-CH'OG is a sister-Lāmasery to He-mi, north of the Indus, in a valley which opens out opposite He-mi. Che-de, vulg. Chem-re (survey map: Chim-ray) is the name of the village to which the Lāmasery belongs.

KOR-DZOGS in Ladāk, 16,000 feet above the sea (*J.D.*, 11). Tik-za (Thik-se) is said (Marx) to be a Ge-*l*dan (?Ge-lug-pa) monastery, as also those of Saṅ-kar (a suburb of Leh), Likir and Ri-dzoṅ. It is pictured by Mr. Knight.[3]

WAM-LE (or "Han-le") in Rukshu, a fine Lāmasery figured by Cunningham. It is about 14,000 feet above sea-level. Its proper name is De-ch'en, and it was built by the founder of the one at *Hemi*.

MASHO is affiliated to Sa-*s*kya.

[1] GODWIN-AUSTEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 72. [2] MARX, *loc. cit.*; CUNNINGHAM, *et. al.*
[3] See Results of Scientific Mission.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans Ajy

inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, 133 x
originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down 361
to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsī.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove 137
of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there 778
grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 10 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or 712
tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards 175
the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly 792
ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support 361
the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tarūtse, which we made the halting-place, was reached.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ#

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer-cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides. These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm —a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns. It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodically assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images. No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans A J4

562 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which
778 point of liberality surprises one [illegible]eeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one [illegible]s from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his
[178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās
[647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats
[788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A1f

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FIGURE OF CHAMBA, CUT IN THE ROCK; NEAR SĀNKHO.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans A14

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peasantry a goodly, though unfixed, portion of their produce. The monks, in their turn, are always both free in their hospitality to travellers and ready to identify themselves in interests with the villagers.

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346

Besides the monasteries, one is everywhere in Ladākh meeting

KĀGĀNĪ, LĀMĀYŪRŪ.

with signs of the people's thought for their religion. In a few places are to be seen colossal figures carved in the rock, that represent some god. The sketch, p. 257, is of one of these, over 25 feet high, which stands for Chamba; this is to be seen in a valley near Sānkho, above Kargil; it is deeply cut in a schistose rock. But much more general are the long and thick built-up

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

stone-heaps or walls, covered with thousands of flat stones 778
bearing a holy inscription. These (which are called Māṇī) one 346
sees at every village, and often also by the roadside where there is no habitation or other sign of man. The path divides and goes on both sides the wall, that the passenger may, going by, always keep it on his right. Then by the larger villages, or in the neighbourhood of the more influential monasteries, one is sure to find some edifices allied in character to the one shown in the drawing on the preceding page. They are carefully constructed of brick, plastered over, and painted. This drawing represents what is called a *kāgānī;* it is placed at the entrance to villages and to houses, the way being led beneath it. Others, resembling this in the upper part, have a monumental purpose; these are called Churten. Another custom, whether connected or not with that of raising such edifices as these, or whether of earlier origin, I cannot say, is to build a cairn at the summit of every mountain pass, and crown it with the horns of the wild sheep, ibex, and other animals, a large collection of which often adorns the heap, while a few boughs rise from the centre, to which a flag is sometimes fastened, with, may be, a holy word or text imprinted on it.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

Then, when a mile or two from Maulbeck, we struck the first 361
of the hundreds of monasteries, chortens and prayer walls. Chortens are white-washed pagoda erections, something like giant chess-men varying in height from about a yard to forty or even fifty feet. They are the graves of lamas, buried within and [764]
not under them, their ashes being mixed with clay, baked into large biscuits and stamped with the image of Buddha. Prayer 778
walls are seven feet high—probably so that none can look down upon them—and about the same width, the tops are apexed and they extend sometimes for hundreds of yards. The stones with 788
which they have been made have been elaborately carved and inscribed with the Tibetan prayer "Om mani padme hom", which in its translation, "God the flower of the lotus", conveys little to the traveller, or for that matter even to the average monk, although it is repeated by him countless times every day, and not only by him, but also by all men and women of the land as they go about their work and as they journey along the road. They are the first six syllables the child is taught to utter, they are the last words gasped by the dying, and during a lifetime followers of the Lama Church will have uttered them millions of times and sent them to heaven on prayer wheels billions of times; they are to be found written everywhere. Surely this phrase (or prayer), one which I saw one writer of well back in the past century liken to "Our father which art in Heaven", must be the one written and spoken more than any on this earth, for its origin goes right back and is lost in the dim past. These great walls are built by lamas or monks who spend their lives moving from one place to another doing only that work, thus gaining merit for themselves; each stone so placed is considered a good deed well done. All who pass these walls must go on the left-hand side for by so doing they also gain merit.

Perched high on a spire-like rock which rises above the 361
village of Maulbeck which clusters around its feet, is a white 178
Lamasery or Buddhist monastery, close to which is an enormous figure of Buddha carved in the rock face. Partly hiding this image when one is standing on the roadway, is a rather grand building which is well kept: it seemed odd to me that even the most ignorant of men could have built a house in such a

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

361 position. Then I heard that many years ago when the country
778 was invaded by the Muslims, the whole of this carved cliff face was encased by the Tibetans behind buildings which were hastily made to hide the sacred Buddha, since the Mohammedans looked upon such carvings as idols and would have defaced it. Now the Buddha stands in a perfect state of preservation wearing bracelets, a double necklace, earrings and a headpiece, and with four arms, two of which are held up, the others hanging by his side have a serpent entwined around them. It is really a fine piece of work with details such as even the stomach muscles carved.

There was then no doubt as to our having entered the land in which all were his followers; every village has its monastery; bits of rags fluttered from poles on the roofs of houses—prayer flags; chortens and manis are to be found everywhere, just as are the prayer wheels, some set upright so that those who pass can revolve them by hand, others placed near to a stream for the water to turn them, and on each revolution a prayer is automatically sent to heaven. The people carry these prayer wheels on a stick in their hands; usually they are made of copper, the wealthier among them have them studded with coral, turquoise and decorated, but they all contain prayers which have been written down from one of the holy books. If the prayer is written one hundred times, then with one turn of the wheel a hundred prayers are sent up to heaven.

135 The day following we had another pass to cross over. This,
439 the Namikha La, is close on thirteen thousand feet high, but was far easier going than the first. What amazed us was that the white which we had imagined to be snow on its summit, we found to be salt. Salt is one of Ladakh's principal exports; this is transported in small sacks strapped like saddle-bags on the backs of goats, herds of them being used for this purpose and occasionally met with on the road.

361 Going down to the string of villages we saw the old castle on the top of the hill; now a ruin, it was once the scene of bitter fighting in the sixteen hundreds. The village is at the foot of the hill, but the extraordinary thing is that on the steep hill sides, which would seem impossible to climb, there are many dwellings which appear to be stuck on; the rooms run into the hill

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost 361
impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes.

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the [133]
easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen [136]
thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreciate the height we had reached and how it affected one by slackening movements.

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens, the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, 491
with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on 172
the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150.

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It 346
seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings, some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of 778 ●
Chubrezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its background is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a jewel in the other.

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the 788
foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven,

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elaborately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from whieh the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between

Lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans AJ4

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published. 779 212 213

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated its height when building the chapel in which it was housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another portion had to be built to take this. 778

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking. 533 535 [585] [777] 535

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

361
563
144
181

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

564

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

463
241
511
[582]
[372]
[313]

A Trip to Ladakh

ooothe food which is carried by the sheep is eaten up, then there is no need of the carrier, so it is then eaten, the fat tail being considered a great delicacy. Some of these caravans are three years on the road before they reach their homes. Quite a number of these merchants have been to Mecca, and were returning, wearing the green turban which is the mark of a Mecca "pilgrim who has accomplished the 'haj.'"

346 The first monastery we come to is Mulbe. It is in a most commanding position, for it stands on the top of a rock about five hundred feet high.

778 796 276 A short distance before reaching this monastery is a large Buddha, carved on a rock, about thirty feet in height. On our return journey Dr Neve and I came in time to see a very pretty ceremony being performed before it.

There was a sort of maypole erected in front of the figure, decked with coloured paper or rags. Then a troop of thirty children appeared, dressed in bright garments, wearing crowns of flowers, and they were dancing round the pole and singing, reminding one of the maypole dance. Then came a monk, dressed in a white garment like a surplice, with a red fool's-cap on his head. In one hand he carried a Kashmiri fire-pot full of live charcoal and some narcotic mixture of hemp or opium. These fumes he kept inhaling, which made him become very excited. In his right hand he carried a curved sword, which he flourished about in a most dangerous manner. He commenced to dance round the pole, followed by the children. He shouted louder and louder, and twirled about his body faster and faster, while his sword was flashing and slashing about in all directions.

796 276 A man standing by me, whom I knew, who called himself a nobleman, told me in awed tones that this holy man

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

346 788 as it is going to fall into the lake and be lost in the ocean of water [*i.e.* be lost in Nirvana]."

346 788 792 778 Monks roam over the country doing this pious carving work for those who will pay them. Merit not only comes to the men who place these stones on the wall, but to all those travellers who pass on the left side of the wall, and curses on those who pass on the wrong side. Hence there is no need of a policeman to tell all traffic to keep to the left; all travellers do it as if mechanically, and heap up to themselves merit.

Then on the road one continually passes "chortans," stone pagodas generally white-washed, and not only on the road, but dotted about in the fields and up the mountain-sides. They are of all sizes from three to forty feet high. They are hollow, and in them one will often find clay medallions vulgarly called potted lamas, for they are composed of the ashes of the monks, which have been stamped with the monastery stamps, not unlike prettily stamped pats of butter. Some of the stamps are very decorative, generally with the figure of Buddha in the centre of a circle, with writing around.

On the tops of the houses and on trees one sees bunches of flags made of coloured rags on which is inscribed this same prayer. When the flags flutter in the breeze this prayer ascends for the good of the individual who placed these rags to be moved by the wind.

As we pass through a village we see little paper windmills on the roofs which work a prayer wheel inside the house. This is a metal cylinder crammed full of paper on which is written hundreds of times this one prayer: "Om mane padme hun."

788 Along the walls of certain houses and always at the monasteries are found these cylinders of wood let into the wall at a convenient height from the ground to allow

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
● 778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVIII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 LET us now visit a monastery. As usual, as we
778 approached Lamauru, we were met by much
574 noise and dust. The monastery band evidently
346 was on the war-path, from the terrific braying and tom-tomming that greeted us, and the crowd of monastery dignitaries and village magnates kicked up much dust as they approached. We were taken round the monastery by the head ecclesiastic. We climbed the stone stairway to the monastery, which, as usual, was situated on the top of a cliff, built on to and into it in such a way that it was not easy to see where rock ended and the building commenced. Along the side of the stairway were rows of prayer wheels let into the wall, which we set spinning in the orthodox manner. At least I hope we did spin them the right and not the wrong way. I think we must have spun them round the right way, for our journey was prosperous. The chapel was full of interesting objects, and one did not know quite what to look at, for there seemed to be, and there was, such a crowd of interesting objects which I had never seen before.
353 The building was like a hall, the roof supported by
778 wooden pillars, with a gallery all round, from which hung a profusion of silk banners of Chinese design, chiefly dragons. On one side of the hall was a row of coloured figures, life-size, of Buddha and sainted lamas, which were arrayed in rich silks. Before each figure was a table or altar of very curious design, coloured with

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons 778
and sacred symbols. 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on 782
each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, 534
the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet.

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, 346
end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel 792
facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On 796
the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts.

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly 788
mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. 344
There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 792

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XII.—HISTORY.

I.—UNDER NATIVE RULERS.

175 642 "THE earlier history of Ladák is that of Tibet in general, as it originally formed one of the provinces of that kingdom, governed as to temporal matters by an independent prince, and in spiritual affairs by the Guru Lama, or chief pontiff of Lhása." Such was Moorcroft's opinion;* and such also is that of the present inhabitants: and there can be no reasonable doubt that such was the usual position of Ladák, although its political dependence was more nominal than real. Under vigorous rulers, such as Palgyi-Gon in the tenth century, and Singgé Namgyal in the seventeenth century, its entire independence was asserted and upheld. But the original dependence at some distant period is, I think, clearly proved by the acknowledged descent of the Ladáki princes from Khri-Tsaupo, the first recorded king of Great Tibet.

175 779 The earliest historical notice of Ladák is that of the Chinese pilgrim *Fa-Hian*, in A.D. 400.† At that time

* Travels, I. p. 336.

† *Fo-kwe-ki*. French translation by Remusat, &c., p. 26. *Fo-kwe-ki*. English translation by J. W. Laidlay, p. 27, note 1. This translation is enriched by many valuable notes, both geographical and religious. It should be in the possession of every one who takes any interest in the ancient history of India.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AI4

the country had a king, and a numerous clergy, all of whom were strongly attached to the popular Buddhistical doctrine of the "*Lesser-advancement*," which consisted of outward observances, both moral and religious. The ceremonial of the *quinquennial assembly*, which was originally established by Asoka, about B.C. 250, was duly performed with much rude magnificence, and with becoming gravity. Buddhism was then the prevailing religion of Ladák; and there seems good reason to believe that it had been firmly rooted there for upwards of 400 years, since the first century before the Christian æra, when the Buddhistical doctrines were first *widely* spread throughout Tibet by the preaching of 500 Kashmirian missionaries.* 175 779

In the tenth century, when the empire of Great Tibet was finally broken up, several of the outlying districts were separated by ambitious chiefs, and erected into independent kingdoms. Thus Purang was occupied by Tashi-Degon, and Ladák by Palgyi-Gon.† From that time down to the end of the sixteenth century, no historical records now exist in Ladák itself, although it is possible that a copy of the royal genealogy may yet be found at Lhása. Csoma de Körös was certainly misinformed regarding the existence of a book at Lé containing the "names of the kings that successively reigned in that principality."‡ For, during the invasion of Ladák in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Ali Mir, the Musulmán chief of Skardo, all 175 [798]

* Klaproth's Chinese Chronology, in Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 128. It was however first introduced about B.C. 240.

† Csoma de Körös, Kings of Tibet. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 131. See also Deguigne's Hist. des Huns, &c. tom. i. p. 165.

‡ Note appended to his list of Tibetan kings. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 132.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XIII.—RELIGION.

I.—EARLY RELIGION OF TIBET.

THE religion of Tibet is a modified form of Indian Buddhism. This faith was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asoka, upwards of 2,000 years ago, when that great follower of Buddha was propagating his new religion with all the zealous ardour of a proselyte. In 241 B.C., at the close of the third synod, numerous missionary teachers were despatched to all the surrounding countries to spread the peaceful doctrines of Sakya Muni. The *Thero-Majjhantiko* (Sanskr. *Sthavira Madhyamika*) was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara ;* and, upwards of six centuries afterwards, the people on the Indus still attributed the spread of Buddhism "beyond the river" to some Sramanas (or ascetics) who came with sacred books, 300 years after the Nirvana of Buddha,† or in B.C. 243. The agreement of these dates gives to the two events the relation of cause and effect, the conversion of the people having been the result of the mission.

The spread of Buddhism in Ladák was followed by its introduction into China, about the beginning of the

* Mahawanso, p. 71. † Fo-kwe-ki, c. VII.

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Christian era, and into Great Tibet in the middle of the seventh century.

Previous to the occupation of Tibet by Khri-Tsampo, in about 250 B.C., there is nothing known of its history, excepting the fact that the people were of the Bon or Pon religion, which, like that of the Indian *Tirthakaras*, was an epicurean atheism. According to the Mogul author Sanang Setzen, Khri-Tsampo was an Indian prince of the Litsabyi (or Lichhavi) race, who, being conquered in war, had sought refuge in Tibet, where he was hospitably received, and afterwards proclaimed king by the people, who are called the *Debchin Bonbo* of heaven, and the *Yang Bonbo* of earth.* Csoma de Körös repeats a similar story, with the addition that Nya-Khri-Tsampo, "being defeated in battle," fled to Tibet, where he was acknowledged as king by the *Pons*. The date of 250 B.C., assigned to this event by Csoma, makes the Lichhavi prince a contemporary of the great Buddhist king Asoka, by whom he was most probably expelled from India; for the Lichhavi family had been the leading people in the community of Vaisáli for many centuries, during which time they distinguished themselves by their fierce opposition to the Buddhists. They opposed Sakya himself in argument, and were silenced, but not convinced by him. The Lichhavis of Vaisáli professed entire belief in Swasti, from which they derived their name of *Swástikas*, or followers of

* M. Schmidt supposes that these terms indicate the people of the mountains and valleys. They may, however, denote only different sects; the one affecting heavenly aspirations, the other leaning to earthly objects. *Debchin* is most probably Tibetan,—the "blissful,"—which is used by the Tibetans as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sugata*, the "well-gone," or blessed, an epithet of former Buddhas. *Yang* may be the Tibetan *Yangs*, great, vast.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854. AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 the "mystic cross," which was a monogrammatic sign, formed of the letters *su* and *ti*. The combination *suti* is the Pali form of the Sanskrit *swasti*, which is compounded of *su*, well, and *asti*, it is. Wilson gives the meaning of "so-be-it;" but both versions equally imply complete resignation under all circumstances, which was the chief dogma of the fatalist *Swástikas*. These followers of the mystic cross held the doctrine of eternal annihilation after death; from which they derived their Tibetan name of *Mu-stegs-pa*, or "Finitimists."* According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress, and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves *Tirthakara*, or "pure doers;" and the synonymous name of *Punya*, "the pure," was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages, and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Khan.

175 According to the Chinese, the founder of the doctrine
● 779 of the *Tao-sse*, or Rationalists, was *Laotze*, who lived from about B.C. 604 to 523. He was therefore a contemporary of Sakya Muni, by whom he is said to have been worsted in argument. By the Tibetan Buddhists he is called Sen-rabs;† but this perhaps signifies nothing more than that he was of the race or family of Sena. His faith continued paramount in Great Tibet for nine centuries, until Buddhism was generally introduced by Srong-Stan in the middle of the seventh century. But
798 the followers of the *Yung-drung-pa*, or "mystic cross,"
779 were still powerful; and in A.D. 899 Buddhism was formally abolished by *Lang Tarma*, and was not again

* Csoma de Körös, Grammar, p. 192.

† Id. ibid. p. 181.

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introduced for more than seventy years, until, in A.D. 971, it was finally restored, and has since continued to be the dominant religion of Tibet.

The great spread of the *Pon-gyi-chho*, or Pon religion, can be best appreciated by the traces of its former existence in the widely distant regions of Arakan and Ladák. The people of Arakan give a long line of fifty-five *Pun-na* princes* as their earliest sovereigns, a dynasty which must have reigned for at least 600 years. In Ladák the great monastery of *Lama Yurru* is still called *Yung-druny-Gonpa*, or the "monastery of the mystic cross." The establishment of this monastery is attributed to Naropa, a Lama from Brigung, near Lhasa; but it seems more probable that the name of *Lama Yurru* was derived from the Lama, because he had suppressed the faith of the mystic cross (*yung-drung*), and had established the Lamaïc doctrine of Buddhism.

But Buddhism was the prevailing religion of Ladák from the conversion of the people by Asoka's missionaries down to A.D. 400, when Fa Hian visited India. At that time he found Buddhism flourishing in the little state of *Kia-chhe*, or Ladák, as well as in Kotan and other small states to the northward of the Tsung Ling, or Karakoram. The king of *Kie-chha* (Kha-chan, or "Snow-land)" still celebrated the great quinquennial assembly † of the Srámanas which had been established by Asoka. The ceremony, which lasted for one month, was conducted with becoming gravity, and closed by the

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 31,—Captain Latter.

† In the Gyalpo's time, the Lamas assembled annually at Lé, in the month of *Táng-po* (March), and were dismissed with presents. They now assemble at Hemis, in June. In this monastery there are still 160 Lamas.

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796 distribution of presents amongst the Srámanas. As Fa Hian noticed nothing unusual in these proceedings, we may conclude that the Buddhism of Ladák was the
● 779 same as that of India. The number of Srámanas was more than 1,000, all of whom were satisfied with the study of the "Lesser Advancement," as laid down in the *Vinaya*, or "Precepts of Discipline," which comprised only the lowest class of Sakyas precepts. But though the Buddhism of the people of Ladák was perfectly orthodox in A.D. 400, yet Fa Hian noticed a peculiarity in their practice, which was unknown to the
[788] Indian Buddhists. "The Srámanas," he says, "make use of revolving cylinders, the efficacy of which is not to be described."* These were no doubt the prayer-cylinders which are seen in the hands of the Indo-Scythian princes on their coins, and which may still be found in every Lama's hand throughout Ladák.

II.—TIBETAN SYSTEM OF BUDDHISM.

The religion of the Tibetan Buddhists is contained in a voluminous work called the *Kah-Gyur*, or "Translation of Precepts," because it is a version of the precepts of Sakya, made from the Indian language. It is also frequently called *De-not-sum*, which is a mere translation of the Sanscrit *Tripitaka*, or the "Three Repositories," because it contains the three great divisions of the Buddhist doctrines: the *Vinaya*, the *Sutra*, and the *Abhidharma*. But the Tibetan version is more generally divided into seven distinct classes, of which the last treats of the mystical doctrines of the Tantrikas. These seven divisions are the following:—

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. V., note,—"objet circulaire et tournant."

1:Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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—	Tibetan.	Sanskrit.	English.
1	Dul-va	Vinaya	Discipline.
2	Sher-chin... ...	Prajnáparamitá ...	Transcendental Wisdom.
3	Phal-chhen ...	Buddhavata Sangha	Baudha Community.
4	Kon-tsek... ...	Ratnakuta ...	Pile of Gems.
5	Do	Sutranta ...	Aphorisms.
6	Nyang-Dás ...	Nirvana	Final release from Existence.
7	Gyut	Tantra	Mystical Doctrines.

The three divisions are as follows:—

—	Tibetan.	Sanscrit.	English.
1	Dul-va	Vinaya	Discipline.
2	Do	Sutranta	Aphorisms.
3	Chhos-non-pa ...	Abhidharma ...	Supreme Law.

In this division the *Do* comprises all but the first two of the seven classes. The doctrines contained in these works are of course the same as those of the Indian Buddhists, but the names have been translated instead of being transcribed.

Sakya Muni, the founder of the Buddhist faith, is usually called *Chom-dan-das*, or "he who has been victorious," by the Lamas, but *Shakya Thubba*, or the "mighty Sakya," by the people. The Buddhist Triad, called in Sanscrit *Ratna Trayáya*, or the Three Gems, is styled Kon-chhok-tun, or the "Three Supremacies," by the Tibetans, who give the following names to the different members of the Trinity.

1. Buddha is *Sangya-Konchok*, or the "Supreme" Intelligence.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 2. Dharma is *Chhos-Konchok*, or the "Supreme" Law.

3. Sangha is *Gedun-Konchok*, or the "Supreme" Congregation.*

A Buddha, or one who has obtained Buddhahood, is styled *Sangya;* a Buddhist, *Sangya-pa;* and the Buddhist religion, *Sangya-kyi-chhos*. The whole Buddha community, in Sanscrit *Sangha*, is called *Gedun*, and is divided into the same number of classes as in India.

1. The Bodhisatwa, or True Intelligence, is called *Chang-chhub*, the perfect or accomplished, and *Chang-chhub-Sempah*, "Perfect Strength of Mind;" because he is supposed to have accomplished the grand object of a Buddhist's life, by the perfect suppression of all bodily desires, and by complete abstraction of mind. As the Bodhisatwa was often styled *Arhanta*, or *Arhata*, the "venerable," so the *Chang-chhub* is frequently called *Pa-chom-pa*, or "he who has subdued his enemy."

The *Pratyeka*, or "Individual Intelligence," is called *Rang-sangya*, or "Self-intelligence;" and his other name of *Anayámi* is translated by *Phyir-mi-hong-ba*, or "he who turneth not out of the way."

The *Srávaka*, or "Auditor," is called *Nyan-thos*, or the "Listener," and his Sanskrit title of *Srota-panna* is rendered by *Gyun-du-zhug-pa*, or "one who has entered the stream" that leads to happiness.

In the earliest periods of Buddhism the worship of the people was confined to the holy triad of *Buddah*, *Dharma*, and *Sangha*. Much pious reverence was shown to the relics of former Buddhas, as well as to

* The Tibetan names of the Triad are thus spelt:—1. *Sangs-r Gyas-dKon-mChog*. 2. *Chhos-dKon-mChog*. 3. *dGé-mDun-dKon-mChog*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

those of Sakya himself, and his principal disciples. Even so late as A.D. 400, we find Fa Hian recording the devotions paid to the relics of Ananda, Sáriputra, and Mogalána. But previous to this time I know of no mention of the great Dhyáni Bodhisatwa, *Padma Páni*, who is the regent or present lord of this world, nor of the equally celebrated Bodhisatwas *Manju Sri* and *Avalokiteswara*. These two are first noticed by Fa Hian;* but he is quite silent regarding *Padma Páni*, and the whole of the elaborate system of Dhyáni Budhas and Bodhisatwas, which are, I presume, the invention of a much later date.

In Ladák at the present day, though the people still reverence Shakya Thubba, or the great Buddha (Sangya Konchhog), yet their worship is equally given to *Padma Páni*, *Jámya*, and *Chanrazik* (or Padma Páni, Manju Sri, and Avalokiteswara), and though they still confirm an oath by appealing to the *Kon-chhog-Sum*, or "Three Supremacies," of the Buddhist triad, yet, when they undertake any enterprise, or begin a journey, their prayers for success are almost invariably addressed to Padma Páni.

The system of Dhyáni Buddhas and Bodhisatwas, which has long been known throughout Tibet, was first made known to the European world by Mr. Hodgson.† The self-existent Adi Buddha, by five spontaneous acts of divine wisdom (*jnyán*), and by five exertions of mental reflection (*dhyán*), created the Pancha-Dhyáni Buddha, or "Five Celestial Buddhas," whose names are as follows:—

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. VII.

† Hodgson's Buddhism. p. 40.

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—	Sanscrit.	Tibetan.
1	Vairochana	Nam-par-snang-dsat.
2	Akshobya	... ...
3	Ratna Sambhava	... ...
4	Amitábha	Hod-pag-med.
5	Amogha Siddha	Tung-shak.

Each of these Buddhas again, by the mere exertion of his inherent *jnyán* and *dhyán*, is said to have created a Bodhisatwa. The invention of the *Pancha Dhyáni Buddha Sáktis*, or female energies, which are known both in Nepal and in Tibet, must therefore belong to a later period.

The Buddha Sáktis are the following :—

	Sanscrit.	Tibetan.
1	Vajra Dateswari	.. ..
2	[illegible]aná	Nang-Salma.
3	[illegible]kshi	... ...
4	[illegible]ará	Kos-kar-chen.
5	... ...	Grolma.

[illegible] Dhyani Bodhisatwas are the following :—

	Sanscrit.	Tibetan.	English.
1	Sámanta Bhadra...	Kuntu-Zang-po ...	Supreme Happiness.
2	Vajra-Páni ...	Lag-na-Dorje ...	Sceptre-bearer.
3	Ratna-Páni ...	... ...	Jewel-bearer.
4	Padma-Páni ...	Chakna-Padma* ...	Lotul-bearer.
5	Viswa-Páni ...	... ...	World-bearer.

The *Lokeswaras* (*Jigten-Bangchuk*†) are also acknow-

* *Phyag-na-Dorje*, pronounced *Chakna-Dorje*.

† *hJig-rTen-dBang-Phyug*, "the Lord of the World."

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ledged in Tibetan Buddhism. All these are celestial beings, the spontaneous emanations from the Divinity, who have never been subject to the pains of transmigration. Inferior to them are the created or mortal beings, who are divided into six classes, named *Droba-Rikdruk*, the "six advancers or progressors," because their souls progress by transmigration from one state to a better state, until they finally attain absorption into the divine essence; after which they are no longer subject to transmigration. These six classes are—

1. *Lhá*, "Gods," equivalent to the Hindu *Sura* and *Deva*.
2. *Lhá-ma-yin*, or *Lhá-min*, "Demi-gods or Titans," equivalent to the Hindu *Asura* and *Daitya*.
3. *Mi*, "Man;" the Sanskrit *Manushya*.
4. *Dudro*, "Brutes;" in Sanscrit *Tiryyaka*, "crookedly," because they walk a little out of the right path.
5. *Yidok*, "Goblins;" in Sanscrit *preta*.
6. *Myalba*, "the damned;" in Sanscrit *Náraka*.*

It is one of the most essential dogmas of the doctrine of transmigration that the disembodied soul is incapable of receiving either reward or punishment. Hence the belief in other grades of mortal beings, both superior and inferior to man. The good man, after death, is supposed to be raised to the dignity of a *Lhamayin*, or demi-god, while the bad man is degraded to the state of a *Dudro*, or brute. These different orders of beings were not the invention of the Buddhists, for they existed long before the rise of Buddhism, and were the offspring of man's yearning for a future and better state. Like as in India, where the Brahmans have declared all the ancient

* The hells are divided into eight cold and sixteen hot hells, which are favourite subjects of representation with the Chinese and Tibetan painters. The punishments are *not everlasting*; finite sin is expiated by finite punishment; and when the expiation is completed, the person is born again. See also Fra Orazio, Nouv. Jour. As. tom. XIV. p. 410.

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177 village *Thakurs* and *Debis* to be only so many different
779 forms of Mahadeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the Lamas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient
776 gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. Some of these divinities are the following:—

1.	*Rihi-Lhá* ...	... Mountain Gods, or Oreades.
2.	Chhuhi-Lhá ...	... River Gods, or Naiädes.
3.	Shinggi-Lhá ...	... Tree Gods, or Dryades.
4.	Zhi-Lhá* ...	... Family Gods, or Lares.
5.	Zhing-Lhá ...	... Field Gods, or Leimoniades.
6.	Khyim-Lhá ...	... House Gods, or Penates.

177 In after-times the mystical system of the Tantrists
779 was engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepál and Tibet; and the pictures of the prevailing red and yellow sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying *Tangchuk* (Iswara), and of his blood-drinking spouse *Chong-Summa* (the three-eyed goddess *Trilochana*). These doctrines were named *Nang-pa*, the esoteric or orthodox, in contradistinction to the Phyipa, exoteric or heterodox. With them, I believe, originated the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyani Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part.

* *Zhi-Lhá. Lha* is the generic name of God; hence, Buddha is called *Lha-yi-Lhá*, the "God of Gods." The similarity of this name to the Roman *Lar*, and to the old Arabic *Ilah*, God, is very striking. I may notice here, that the usual translation of the Musalmán Kalimeh, [illegible] *La Ilah ila Allah*, "there is no God but God," is a manifest [illegible] The true translation is, "there is no God but *Allah*."

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The com- 372
mon small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 245
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak."

588 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 792 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779● 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

•779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon
776 or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at
595 liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one
768 end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never
[478] divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an
779 arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided
586 "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If
428 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they remain with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

428 592 583 428 591 592 586 597

his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

179 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

GAUDY--tshos lakmo bright coloured. Ladákis approve highly of bright colours therefore our "gaudy" corresponds with their "bright". 100

[52]

GIPSY-- khamba or khampa. No gipsies are found among Ladákis, who are a very well-to-do people. Wandering beggars come from the Lhása Province of "Kham," hence possibly the word "khamba." 735 568

[53]GOD--konjok is the general term, but it is hard to say what the Ladákis understand the word to mean, for according to European ideas they have no God. They have a kind of Trinity which they call the "Konjoksum" or "Konjok sumbo." It is made up as follows:--(1) sangiás (sangeys) konjok, i.e., Buddha the emblem of intelligence, and the head of the Buddhist faith and priesthood (2) chhos konjok, i.e., the religion deity; (3) gendun konjok, i.e., the priestly deity. From this it seems that the Ladákis have no God, and that they worship a Trinity representing--(1) Buddha; (2) priests of the religion of Buddha. Ordinary Ladákis have no idea of anything before and apart from Buddha, and they never trouble their heads about the Laws of Nature, and the Causer of Causes. They think that the world goes on in a never ending round of "kalpas" or periods, each of which has its own Buddha, and each of which is terminated by the destruction of the world by fire, as a punishment for the sins of mankind. After that, a fresh "kalpas" commences, and so on. 779 776 822

They cannot give any information as to their belief regarding the length of a "kalpas;" but they say that long long ago the age of man extended up to 800 years, that since then his life time has gradually been shortened, till now, his age rarely extends beyond 80 years, that the present is the last of the life shortening "kalpas," and that after the end of this "kalpas," man's life time will gradually be lengthened to its former limits.

In addition to the "konjoksum," the Ladákis have endless minor deities:"Hla" or more correctly "Lha" is the general term for a fairy, spirit, or deity; rgiachhen is Indra; tshángspa is Brahma; khiápjook is Vishuoo; wángchhook is Iswara; and dodhla is Cupid, in the evil sense of the God of lust. 776 779

Other minor gods are sa i hla the earth god, ree i hla the mountain

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "róm khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person. The former

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, *to come upon their fields*, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

•779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

lower classes know nothing of their religion in regard to heaven 779
and hell, beyond the fact that, when the end comes, their 772
souls or spirits will be dealt with according to their deserts, when the pious will at once enter heaven ("thoris thop ches") and the wicked will have to atone for sins by remaining for a certain time in one of the 18 Buddhist hells. A better educated Ladáki would say that the soul ("sem") was like a drop of water, a mere isolated atom, during the period of its connection with this world (jiksten), but that when it was admitted into heaven, i.e., attained nirvana ("stongpa ngyid thop ches"), it was absorbed into a sea of infinity. According to Buddhist ideas therefore, there can be no idea of heaven as a place of reward. Their heaven is a place of absorption into the absolute infinite, of escape from the troubles inseparable from life in this world, a place where all individuality ceases to exist; where there is no such thing as sensation either pleasurable or the reverse, in short it is a place of spiritual annihilation. It is very strange that Buddhism should have made such way in the world, for men are certainly not mostly philosophers, and yet we find some hundreds of millions of the human race, professing this very philosophic, matter of fact, unattractive religion, a religion which practically teaches its followers that life is a curse, and that the goal towards which they should struggle is the attainment of "nirvana", or in other words absolute extinction, both bodily and spiritual. There is in it no idea of a benign intercession, or a free forgiveness of sins, or of a better world to come, all is a matter of account, certain actions are equivalent to a certain amount of evil, others are equivalent to a certain amount of good, the debit and credit sides of the accounts are unerringly kept, and in the end, if the soul has no outstandings to pay off, it is extinguished, otherwise it must go to hell [60] for a time before reaching the goal of its ambition--annihilation. Is the Buddhist faith answerable for the stoical character of its adherents, or was it originally accepted by these, because it accorded with their temperament? However that may 779
be, it is certain that in Ladák, at any rate, Buddhists are now quite 797
satisfied with their own religion, and are not in the least inclined to embrace either Christianity or the more popular faith of Islam. On the 779
other hand, they regard persons of other religions with a benevolent indifference. The religion to which a person belongs, is, 798
in the opinion of Ladakis, a good enough religion for such

●779 798 [792] person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 772 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells, such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

[181]

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

2: Ramsay--39 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok." In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 554 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhôt" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), chá́thum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--lá́ma or lá́mba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámás (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

T 792 builder, and first abbot khanpo), of the great Galdán or (GHaldán) monastery.

●779 WT 792 779 Láma Tsongkhápa prohibited clerical marriages, and generally speaking re-introduced a stricter and more austere form of Buddhism or Lamaism, which was not approved of by all. The consequence was that a schism arose in the Buddhist church, which then divided itself into two sects.

T 792 795 The reformers, followers of Láma Tsongkhápa, assumed the title of "Geylukspa" or "the virtuous ones," while the conservative party was called Drukpa or Dukpa or "zhámár," e. i., "Red cap."

779 WT 792 795 779 The original dress of all Lamas was a red petticoat (SHamthap), a waistcoat (stotGHak) embroidered in gold and other colours, a red shawl (zanggos), thrown over the left arm and shoulder, and wrapped round the body, leaving the left arm bare, a red cap (zhamar or panjoo or teebee márpo), and a red cloth bag (chhapreel) about 12 x 6 inches, suspended from the left side by a string round the waist, and reaching half way down to the knee. In the neck of this bag is a pocket, in which is kept a small long-necked brass vessel (chhapluk), containing about an ounce of water, called "hngakschhoo" "or incantation water," with a drop or two of which the Lámás render themselves ceremonially pure, after performing the offices of nature and at certain other [80] times. The above is at present the dress of the "Red caps," who in Ladák are spoken of as "Drukpas" or "Dukpas" but never as "Zhámárs."

The "Geylukspa" dress is very nearly the same, neither sect wears trousers, both wear the red petticoat, red shawl, and many coloured waistcoat, but the cap and bag (chhapreel) of the Geylukspa, instead of being red, are of a darkish canary colour--beyond this, except on great occasions when Geylukspas of high rank wear a yellow silk coat under, or instead of, the red shawl, there is no difference in dress between the so-called "red" and "yellow" sects. In Cunningham's very excellent book on Ladák, there is a coloured picture of a Geylukspa, "Geytshul" or neophyte, dressed in a yellow garment reaching from neck to feet, and drawn in round the waist, by means of a dark coloured girdle. I showed this picture to the SkooSHok (avatár) of the Speetuk (Geylukspa) monastery, and asked him if Lámás of his sect ever dressed so. He replied that neither in Ladák or Lhása did they ever wear a yellow coat, but that he believed the Mongólian

Geylukspas (he referred I presume to the followers of the Táránáth Láma) did so.

Geylukspas are often spoken of as "serpogon" or "wearers of yellow clothes," so I imagine that, whatever may now be the custom, they originally dressed entirely in yellow. The Dalai Láma and the Tashi Lunpo avatar, both belong to the yellow sect, which in Lhasa is the more powerful, while in Ladák and Bhotan, the red sect is the more powerful.

The following account of Lámáism has been obtained by me, in part from the skooSHok of Speetuk, who is the head of the Ladak Geylukspa, or yellow cap sect, and in part from Hlóbon Topgeys, who was for long, the hlóbon or abbot, of Heymis, the chief monastery of the dukpa, or red cap sect. It very possibly may not be correct from a scholarly point of view, but it represents the local ideas on the subject.

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there was only one sect known as "kádampa" or "dulvápa."

The word "dulva" means "to subdue or discipline," and the "dulva" is one of the divisions of the "kagioor" (or translation from Sanscrit to Tibetan, of the mandates of Buddha). It contains two hundred and fifty orders relative to the disciplining of the mind and body.

The word "kadampa" means "bound by the orders," that is to say, by the orders contained in the "dulva."

In those days the Lámás never ate meat or drank intoxicating liquors, nor did they wear any covering to their heads or feet, and celibacy was the invariable rule among them. Their clothing was red. Gradually there was a falling away from this high standard, and in due course there arose a sect known as "rnikmápa" or "hnikmápa" or "snikmapa," so called from their being followers of the "rningpa" or "hningpa" or "ancient" or "old fashioned" religion. This sect permitted the use of wines and meats and did not enforce clerical celibacy.

After this, a great Láma, named Padma, Jungnes, a native of Urgian (Ujain ?), came to Lhása (according to Cunningham, this was about the middle of the eighth century) and founded a new sect, known as the "Urgiánpa," which differed but little from the "Hnikmápa" sect.

Later still a "skooSHok," or incarnation, named "Phakspa Jamspal" founded another sect called "Saskiapa," from "saskiá" the name of the monastery to which Phakspa Jamspal belonged.

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T This sect too resembled the "hnikmápa" sect.

792 Later again, a Láma, named "Paldan Drukpa," or Spaldan Drukpa"
795 of Lhása founded another sect, known as the "drukpa or dukpa"
779 or "kárgiootpa" sect. The word "ka" means "order" and "rgioot"
WT is the name of that division of the "kárgioor" which deals with
792 "Religious Mystical doctrines," called in Tibetan "Sanghngaks"
795 hence the "kárgiootpa" sect, is the sect believing in the "rgioot"
779 or book of Mystical doctrines, called in Sanscrit "tantra."

This sect, which is now the most powerful of all the red sects, is very
T similar in the matter of its somewhat lax morality, to the
[588] hnikmápa sect. Its Lámás eat meat, and drink intoxicating
WT liquors, and though they may not marry, so long as they remain
[588] in the [81] priesthood, their lives are not invariably virtuous,
and, provided a show of secrecy is maintained, they may live
with a nun or any other woman. The nuns indeed (of the red
sect) are commonly supposed to be little else than the servants
and concubines of the Lámás.

Soon after the founding of the Dukpa sect, three other sects arose.
The first was the Skarmápa, or Karmápa, so called because its
members were believers in the "efficacy of works" (in Sanscrit
the word "Karma" means "deed.") Mr. Jáschke says the
Karmápa was a philosophical school of Buddhism.

Then arose, simultaneously it is believed, the "Dreegongpa" or
"Breegongpa" sect, and the Staklungpa sect. These sects were
founded by disciples of the great "Paldan Drukpa" and derived
their names from the monasteries of Dreegong and Staklung,
to which the Lámás who founded them belonged.

About this time a Láma named Báráwar, a resident of "Hlo" (i.e.
Bhutan), introduced among Lámás, the custom of wearing hats
and shoes.

The next landmark is to be found in the person of Láma Tsongkhápa,
the great reformer, who was born about 1357 and died in 1419.

He viewed with disapproval the lax morality of the Lámás, which,
he said, was not at all in conformity with the precepts of Bud-
dha, and he founded a sect, whose conduct was to be in ac-
cordance with the original system of Lámáism. He prohibited
the use of meat and wine among Lámás, he enforced clerical
celibacy, he directed that the "Rgioot" or "Gioot," (that
division of the "Kágioor" which deals with "Magic" or "Mystic
Doctrines") should not be read, and he instituted the custom,
which is still observed, of holding periodical conferences of

Lámás at Lhása. These reforms were not approved of by all, and the Buddhist church then divided into two great sects. T 792

The sect founded by Láma Tsongkhápa, was called "Geylukspa," and all other sects were treated as one, and termed "Drukpa." As a distinguishing mark, the Lámás of the "Geylukspa" sect adopted a yellow cap and yellow holy water bag as has already been explained. 795 779 WT 792

Since the days of Láma Tsongkhápa, the "Geylukspa" sect has remained unchanged and undivided, but one new sect of Drukpas has been founded, by a Láma named Ngakwang Namgial of Bhotan. This sect is called "Hlondrukpa" the word "Hlo" being the Tibetan for Bhutan. The above information may be thus conveniently tabulated. 795 779

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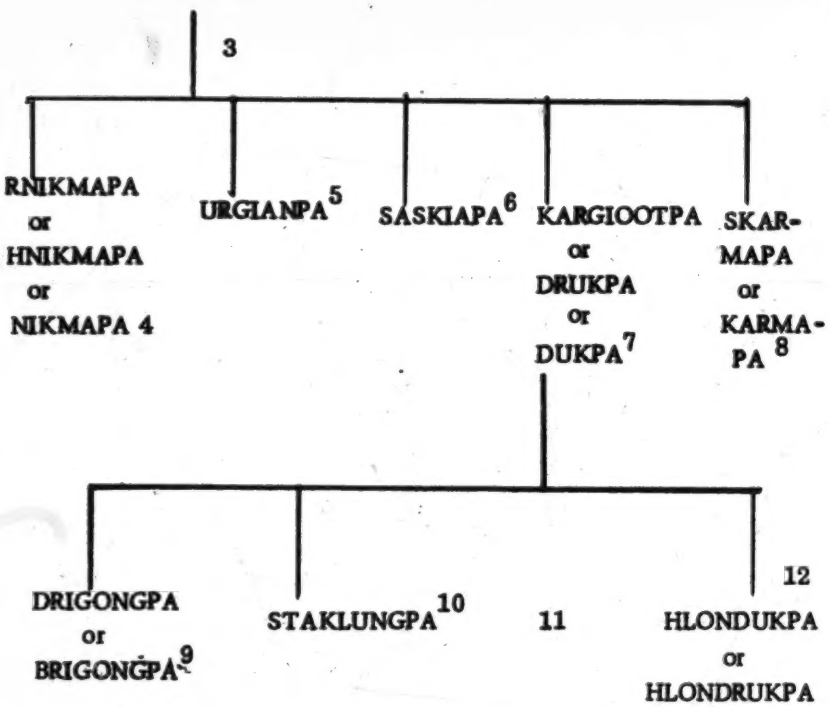

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1. Meaning, persons accepting for guidance the 250 rules of "Discipline," contained in the "dulva," which is one of the "kargioor" or translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan, of the precepts of Buddha.
2. From "ka" meaning "order" and "rdamoa" meaning "to bind." That is to say those bound to observe the orders; meaning the orders contained in the "dulva."
3. The above is believed to have been the name of the original sect of Tibetan Buddhists, who established themselves in Lhása, about the year 200 B.C. The Lámás or priests, wore red clothing, but left the head and feet bare. They drank no intoxicating liquors, eat no meat, refrained from matrimony, and considered absolute celibacy, a necessity for their priesthood.
4. The date of the institution of this sect is unknown. The name should be "Hningmápa" or "Rningmápa" or even "Hningpa," which means "old." The name refers to the fact that this sect mixed up the observances of the religion of Buddha, with those of the epicurean atheism which existed in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism. The Lámás of this sect eat meat, drank wine, occasionally married, and were generally of lax morals. They wore red clothing like the "dulvas," but they wore caps, called "panjoo," of a red or black colour, and also wore shoes.
5. This sect, which much resembled the Rnikmapa sect, was founded about 750 A.D. by a Lámá of Urgian (Ujain ?) named Padma Jungnes.
6. The date of the foundation of this sect is unknown. It was very similar to the Rnikmápa sect. It derived its name from the Saskia monastery to which its founder Phakspa Jamspal belonged.
7. This sect, which was founded by Páldan (or Spálden) Dukpa (or Drukpa) accepts for its guidance the "ka" or "orders" contained in the "rgioot," which is the division of the kárgioor, which deals with "Religious Magic" or "Mystical doctrines." This sect is now, especially in Ladak, the most powerful of all the red-cap sects. It gave up the black cap, but has retained the red cap, called "panjoo."
8. This sect wear the black cap and never the red one. Its followers are believers in the efficacy of good works, and derive their name from the Sanskrit word "karma" which means "deed."

2: Ramsay--53 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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9. A Drukpa Láma of the Drigong or Brigong monastery introduced some small modifications into the old drukpa procedure and founded this sect.

10. A Drukpa Láma of the "Staklung" monastery, founded this sect which is almost the same as the old Drukpa sect.

11. At this period, namely between the introduction of the Staklungpa and Hlondukpa sects, the reforming Láma Tsongkhapa (who was born about 1357 and died about 1419 A.D.) raised his voice against the degenerate Drukpa priesthood, and founded the now famous "Geylukspa" or "virtuous" sect, also known as "Sárpogon" or "yellow clothes" owing to its Lamas having adopted, as a distinguishing mark, a yellow cap, and yellow bag for the bottle for the incantation water. Up to the present time the "Geylukspa" sect has remained undivided. Its Lamas eat no meat, drink no wine and celibacy is strictly observed by them. The Dalai Láma of Lhása belongs to this sect.

12. This sect was founded in the 15th century by a Drukpa Láma of Bhotan, named *Ngakwang. The Tibetan name for Bhotán is "Hlo" or "Hloyool" hence the name of the sect which is much the same as the old Drukpa sect.

[83]Most of the different sects of Lamas are represented in Ladák, having monasteries at the following places;--

I.--Geylukspa sect. At Speetuk (or Peetuk), Tiksay, Likir, Stok, Sáboo, Sangkar, Leh, Reyzong, Saspul, Deskit and Samthanling. The head-quarter monastery to which all important questions are referred is at Tashi Lunpo near Lhása.

II.-- Rnikmápa sect. At Taktak. Headquarter monastery is at Dorjeytrak near Lhása.

III.--Urgiánpa None. Headquarter monastery is at Sangling near Lhása.

IV.--Saskiápa. At Mátho (or Másho). Headquarter monastery at Ngor near Lhása.

V.--Kárgiootpa. At Hemis (or Heymis), Chimray, Ngiómá, Hanley, Kárzok, Gya, Meeroo, Bazgo, Teya, Tingmoghang, Alchee, Yarma and Shama. Head-quarter monastery is at Deychhenchhongghor near Lhása.

VI.--Skarmápa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Tshurboo near Lhása.

VII.--Drigonpa. At Lámáyooroo, Phiáng (i.e., Ghángngong), Shang, and Tángtsey (Shachhookhul). Head-quarter monastery is at Yángdreeghar near Lhása, and is presided over by the

WT Jiksten-gonpo.

779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.

795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

WT As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
661 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
792 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
241 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
651 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal
423 of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid any revenue whatsoever.

WT The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
792 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to
795 spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 423

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chirmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "tháng," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "tháng" may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángtháng not in Ladak; they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry. 797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

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MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-tshal" is used. 195 805

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 533 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face). khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tasháo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

● 779 781 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equivalent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

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a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

●779 [135]RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an
775 ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue ob-
656 tained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about R69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about R45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about R11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about R8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngleymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, 657
but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people 656
object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment
of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and 651
kind levied on land varies very much: thus the monasteries 423
pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay 565
about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay
about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of
land to be 176, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials
1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively.

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of 788
a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a
rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead
on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has
told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108
"thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113,
these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks
the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are
for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told."
As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in
the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung.
Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme,
hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."
Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O
thou jewel in the lotus, hum."
In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng- 779●
bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following 775
fanciful explanation is given:--
There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khoráoo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

779 so wander about for an indefinite period, and will not be ad-
775 mitted to paradise, merely because it cannot gain admission to any of the spheres for taking re-embodiment. But to return to the "kábum." The pious are informed that, with a pure
788 heart and humble voice, they should repeat the six mystic
779 syllables as often as possible, for that by so doing they close
775 the doors of the six spheres into which it would otherwise be possible for their souls to take re-birth.

Óm--repeated often enough closes the door of "hla-i-hnas" (fairy place).

Ma--repeated often enough closes the door of "hlámáeen-i-hnas" (demi-god place).

Nee--repeated often enough closes the door of "mee-i-hnas" (man place). [139]

Pat--repeated often enough closes the door of "tutro-i-hnas" (beast place).

Mey--repeated often enough closes the door of "eedak-i-hnas" (fore hell).

Hung--repeated often enough closes the door of "ngiálwa-i-hnas" (hell).

And it is added that if they are assiduous enough in this prayer, the result will be that they will escape the curse of re-birth, and will, when next they die, attain nirvána. The Incarnation of the Speetuk monastery gave me a slightly different version. He said, a body cannot be born unless good seed is sown; if a body is not born, a soul cannot be re-embodied. The result of repeating the six mystic syllables is, he said, to cause the "seed" of the gods, demi-gods, men, etc., not to germinate so far as concerns the soul of the person who has been diligent enough in repeating the mystic syllables.

I don't think any one in Ladák knows what the words or syllables really mean; the majority of the people don't even pretend to know.

865 [140]SABBATH--za-ngeema (Sunday). Ladákis do not keep one day
796 in seven as a day of rest and prayer, but the tenth day of every month, which is called tshesschoo (meaning "date ten"), is, or should be, observed as a day of praying and feasting.

788 SACRAMENT--Missionaries use the word "tamja" (meaning a "binding" or "making fast"). Tibetans have nothing quite like the Christian sacrament, but at the time of making a vow, they

receive "tamchhóo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la tấng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zăr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

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STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángthang want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhathum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

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TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmíri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
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But it must be said that
nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

?+2 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan [784] woman to be sterile (mo-śam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

The second prayer:

788

Nga nam-mk'a daṅ mnyams-pai sems can t'ams-cad/
bLama sans-rgyas ĉos-kyi sku-la p'yag t'sal-lo/
bLama loṅs-spyod rdzogs-pai skul-la p'yag t'sal-lo/
bLama sans-rgyas rin-po-ĉe-la p'yag t'sal-lo/

(of metempsychosis)! Thou Buddha, with the thousand eyes who showest (us) the fortunate Kalpa (meaning, "world era"), thou who leadest one in this manner, the other in that! To thee, the 'teacher' Chanrezig, we pray!"

A second prayer addressed to Gautama Buddha in the "three bodies" goes as follows: "We innumerable living creatures all pray to you, the sublime Buddha in the body of the doctrine (Sanskrit, Dharma-k'aya) (137). We pray to thee, Oh thou sublime Buddha, in the body

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137. The perfected Buddha who has attained the illumination (Bodhi), according to the Mahayana doctrine possesses three "bodies" or outward forms (Tibetan, sku; Sanskrit, K'aya): The completely spiritualized "body of the doctrine (Tibetan, ĉos-kyi sku; Sanskrit, dharmak'aya), " the incarnate Word"; the "body of blessedness (Tibetan, loṅs-spyod rdzogs-pai sku; Sanskrit, sambhogak'aya)" in which the Buddha enjoys perfect blessedness. These two are mentioned in the prayer. As a third one there is added to these the "body of transformation (Tibetan, sprul-sku; Sanskrit, nirmanak'aya), " the shape in which the Buddha appears visibly among the living creatures and in which he performs and teaches his saving work among them, until he finally dies for the last time in order to be completely "extinguished" at that time in the wholly attained Nirvana (Sanskrit, Parinirvana).

of perfect blessedness (Nirmanak'aya)!" Further prayers addressed to Chanrezig, to Maitreya, and to other deities, then follow.

The first prayer is uttered while the men stand and have their heads bared; the second they say kneeling, the third lying down so that their heads touch the ground (hence the name "head procession"). Then they all rise and march at a distance of a man's height from each other, until their feet arrive at the spot where there head was touching the ground earlier. Not a word is to be spoken outside of the prayers,

782 creatures! Come down, we pray you, from thy celestial abode! Descend with thy retinue of gods, giants and freers! In all humility we fall down before thy lotus feet! Release us from all distress! Oh sacred Mother!" (At this point the suppliant makes an offering of flowers, incense, rice, or little lamps before the statue or image of Tara.) "We praise thee, Oh exalted and adored Tara, thou who art adored by all kings and princes of the ten points of heaven /literally: "of the compass."--translator./, now, in the present, in the past, and in the future! We implore thee to receive graciously this offering of flowers, incense, lamps, food, music of the cymbols, and other gifts! In all sincerity we implore thee that thou mayst enjoy the food that is here offered to thee in all thy celestial shapes /167/! The most sinful hearts, nay, even the committers of the Ten Sins (151)

[779] 151. The "Ten Sins" correspond to the Ten Commandments of Buddhism, the trespasses of which they constitute: One must not kill any living creatures, one must not steal, not commit any unchaste deeds, not lie, one must not partake of inebriating beverages, and so forth; the "Five Enormous Sins" (sdig-pa t'sad-med lna) are: 1. Patricide; 2. Matricide; 3. The slander of the "Exalted Lama" (the chief Superior Lama); 4. The destruction of the image of the "Blissfully perfect." That is the designation for the (fabricated) six predecessors of Gautama Buddha (bde-bźin bśegs-pa; Sanskrit, Tathagata), who are frequently represented in a group on pictures; 5. To kill one's virtuous abbot.

and of the Five Enormous Sins (t'sad-med lňa), will obtain forgiveness and perfection of heart if they repentantly confess their sins to thee. When we (human beings) in the three regions (152) have amassed merit,

[772] 152. The three "Regions of the Heavens" are: 1. the region of desire; foolish desire leads to the formation of shapes and finally of living creatures; 2. the region of the shapes; 3. the formless world.

then we rejoice over this good fortune, all the more when we think of the lot of the animals who are miserably submerged in the sea of suffering. For their sake we are now turning the Wheel of the Law (153). We

153. To "turn the Wheel of the Law" is the Buddhistic expression

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

779 177

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devis* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

776 779 177 [796] 787 [793] 779 789

* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalayas.

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tahsil.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Muhammadan.	Others.
Kúlu	99,[illegible]	—	222	21
Láhaul	4,[illegible]	—	35	29
Spiti	1	3,[illegible]	—	1

"In Kúlu, including *sarí-i* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorají, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hindúism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hindúism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kúlu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hindúism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hindúism is advancing, the people declare that they are Hindú Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindú; and the Moravian missionaries at Keylang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The *lámás* of Láhaul will not eat with a European, while the *lámás* of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hindúism is ascribed in part to the influence of the *ṭhákurs* or barons of Láhaul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindú. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Bráhmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindú Kúlu as Hindús."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He is quoted at length in the following pages. Even the transition from Hindú to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible from the quotation from Mr. Anderson given below.

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhaul *lámás* save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hindúism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhaul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple, while Mr. Anderson says: "It is not improbable that the Dágis and low castes, and perhaps even the so-called Kanets, when they wish to indulge in beef, kill a cow or a bullock on the sly, though this is denied with indignation and disgust." Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Lhás*, or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindú brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhaul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanáwar; for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the recent Census the state of Basáhir returned only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhaul and Spiti were returned as Hindús, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts. In 1869, Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Láhaul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindús that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

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And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *choti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine *(dharmdand chostím)* in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

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The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

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"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhoditens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lang paschhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Kokó pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhoditen* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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In the time when the *Lung pachhoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

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"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

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"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

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"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

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"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[Quote from Rev. Heyde]

[788] Chapter III, B.

[786] Social and Religious Life.

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *cháng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 795 [778] [782] 776 [754]

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

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"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 241 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *chárg* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system.

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámaic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

[See 2/60 preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

792 177 The *lámás* system.

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

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795 The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

792 794 Monasteries or *gépás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

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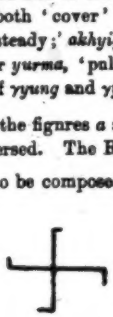
10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, **the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship.** Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the **Bon Religion, yungdrung** 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

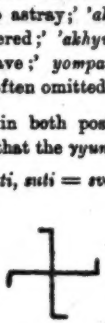
104 821 [773] It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word **ɣyungdrung**, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths **an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima,** occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name **Khyung dkrung** may have degenerated to become *ɣyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:—(1) a word *ɣyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *ɣyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *ɣyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *ɣ* of *ɣyung* and *ɣyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *ɣyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *ɣyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卍 *su* and 卐 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.



a



b

779 821 797 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *ɣyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

[See source No 10 in Tib. F. AJ1 -- A]

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om khrashispar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally: it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kèsar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean:—4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma zhus* the original rendering was probably *ma zhu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthsa*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[2]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are **able to answer certain questions.** All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kèsar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thsa* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thsathsa*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.

1. phuru yar ysigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

1 [Cf. pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

2 [Cf pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

Il: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

MAN

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XXXIII, 149-164 SEPTEMBER, 1933

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. **Singh.**

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhajwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the 634 Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level. **149**

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then 779 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow 144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan 177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations 793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localized in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analy-T]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

A Court in Lahul

•779 Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century.
177 In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

177 Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

291 The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full
241 skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

563 These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, con-
SIDER LAHULIS INFERIOR.

worked it into odd shapes—tall columns, peaked cones, cathedral- 183
like towers. Weird formations stood in stately rows along the sky-
lines for miles on end. And one massive butte, streaked with
color, towered over Gongrechen Pass.

On the pass was an *obos* flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram 788
Chand, one of the muleteers, brought a new streamer in his
pocket. He stopped at the *obos* and reverently added it to the
collection. His was a prayer for safe passage for himself.

My muleteers never failed to perform the ritual. Neither did
Budh Ram or Man Das. Rup Singh went about it eagerly, doing
with vim and vigor what most did in a perfunctory way.

The habit is deeply engrained. It goes back to the ancient re- 177
ligion of the Himalayas, to the practice of the Shaman religion. 788
Shamanism was a form of animism that is traceable in the rites 779
of North American Indians. One cult piled stones on passes
and other dangerous places to appease the spirit of the pass.
Hinduism came up from the south; Buddhism came down from
the north. The new institutions of religion absorbed the old.
Shamanistic elements, including the *obos*, were taken over by the
new churches. Thousands of years ago men piled stones at the
dangerous places; they pile stones there today, and will pile
stones there tomorrow. For the old superstition is so strong it
survives all religious change. And today the lamas indeed teach
the old and young alike that this ancient superstition should al-
ways be observed.

Another rite is performed on the passes where poison works up 788
into a potent force and often strikes men and animals down. It is
a shout that every traveler gives as he reaches the highest point.
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo is the Tibetan version—Let the gods con-
quer. It rings from the lips of every traveler, young and old. I
heard Rahul, Budh Ram, Man Das, Rup Singh and the other
muleteers shout it. On pass after pass the same words rang out—
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.

I had seen enough, as we neared the end of the trek, to ap-

today been mixed in a religion which Buddha himself would 776 778
hardly recognize.

Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama), whose home was in Nepal, 779 •
lived from about 560 B.C. to about 480 B.C. He designed a beautiful religion, a religion more intellectual than emotional, one that made wisdom its main faith and righteous conduct its code. Buddha taught the "Noble Eightfold Path": (1) right views; (2) right aspirations; (3) right speech; (4) right conduct; (5) right livelihood; (6) right effort; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right rapture. This philosophy demanded (1) freedom from superstition; (2) noble thoughts worthy of the intelligent man; (3) speech that is truthful and generous; (4) conduct that is honest and peaceful; (5) actions that bring no injury to any living thing; (6) self-control that subjects the passions to control by the mind; (7) a mental attitude of active watchfulness; (8) deep meditation on the principles of life.

Buddha's tenets were based on the notion that the cause of all 779
suffering is desire and that desire results from ignorance. Buddha 775
believed in life after death, or rebirth. The Hindu belief in rebirth preceded Buddha in India. Man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and moves on to take possession of another body. One can, by his acts and mental attitudes, become reborn into a higher and nobler form; or he can debase himself and return to earth in a lowlier condition. He can, unaided, effect his own deliverance and gradually, in successive reappearances on this earth, attain the status of an Arhat or perfected man. This, briefly, is the doctrine of reincarnation. Every event is the result of prior causes and itself the cause of future events. What is done in this life shapes what happens in the next. One who lives a life of good works and good thoughts will move in the next life one step closer to Nirvana. But one who violates the teachings of the "Noble Eightfold Path" will in the next life move down the ladder; then he will have to start over and regain the ground he has lost in his struggle toward perfection.

• 779 This, in barest summary, was the teaching of Buddha; and it
177 became the main religion of India for the four centuries beginning in 300 B.C. Later it became corrupt and in India was supplanted mainly by Hinduism and by the faith of Islam. Buddhism moved south, east, and north. By 243 B.C. it had come to Ladakh and by A.D. 400 was the established religion there. It gradually spread north, going to Tibet about the middle of the seventh century. Meanwhile Buddhism, as Bell in *The Religion of Tibet*[1] shows, had absorbed much of the magic, mythology, rituals, and metaphysics of Lamaism and became clothed in garments that Buddha himself would not have recognized. But the central core of the religion was intact—the "Noble Eightfold Path." And the doctrine of reincarnation, originally derived from Hinduism, continued to flourish.

779 But the doctrine of reincarnation took a special twist in Tibet.
775 In the fifteenth century it was especially adapted to maintain the
792 authority of the priesthood and perpetuate the power of the
177 lamas in a peaceful way. The theory was developed that each Grand Lama was at once reborn in order to resume his life's work. The soul of the deceased lama took possession of a boy born shortly after his death. The problem was to identify the boy, raise him in the faith, keep his power in a regency until his maturity, and then turn over the power to him. The line of authority thus became clear. There was now no longer any contest among ambitious lamas who wanted to be spiritual leader of all Buddhism. The discovery of the baby to whom the soul of the deceased had passed answered all the questions and settled all the quarrels.

By the year 1542 this system had been adopted in Tibet for selection of the Dalai Lama. And it then became the method for determining the succession of spiritual sovereignty throughout the various lower echelons. The head of every monastery became an Incarnate Lama, who was the reincarnation of the holy man who had originally established the monastery. That is what hap-

 1/1 [See Source NO.4, AJ1 Tibet AJ1- ANALYST]

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at 792
Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of 775
Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, 779
his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery. 177

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensi- 792
tive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is 292
black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his 792
participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with 159
strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

An Incarnate Lama

The day we left Hemis the Lobon summoned Rahul and me, 792
and as I stood before Rinpoche with outstretched arms, he de- 431
scended from the dais and placed a white silk scarf across them. I then placed the scarf around my neck. The Lobon presented me with a package of tea. The same gifts were presented to Rahul in the same ritual.

I did not, however, have a white scarf (*kathak*) to present. The gift I wanted especially to give was a fishing outfit. I had a fine, steel telescopic rod with a light reel, nylon line and leaders, dry flies, wet flies, and bait hooks. This, I thought, was the ideal gift for a boy, especially a boy who lived in remote Hemis, days and days of travel from the nearest city where such luxuries might be obtained. I inquired of the Lobon if that gift would be fitting. After weighing my question an appropriate minute he said no. Buddha's teaching was not to take life. All life became sacred, the [779] •
beasts of the field and the fish of the rivers included. The Lobon thought that if Rinpoche were to be raised in the Buddhist philosophy he should not have a fishing outfit.

"It might tempt him to catch fish," he stated.

"Tempt him?" I said, turning to Rahul. "It would create an irresistible impulse." And so I tendered less disquieting gifts: dried milk, sugar, candies, raisins, plastic spoons, tins of jam, crackers, and, to the special delight of Rinpoche, an air mattress.

It was an interesting and simple ceremony. Rahul and I took off our shoes and entered Rinpoche's room. He was seated on a dais, his back to the window. The Lobon, Phuntzog, sat on cushions below the level of the dais and to the left of the Rinpoche. I presented the gifts one at a time, handing them to the Lobon, who in turn gave them to my host, explaining each time what they were. The little fellow's eyes danced with excitement with each gift; and he was almost beside himself when the air mattress was presented, and at once insisted to the Lobon that he sleep on it that very night.

That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche 000

were following the small Yunan River down to Kilung. A Tibetan 788
who was bringing a caravan to Patseo twirled it as he followed rangy mules loaded with wool and marmot skins. And as he twirled it, he kept murmuring to himself, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

In the main monastery at Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are perhaps eight by eighteen inches and filled with prayers. They too are engraved with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* One spins them clockwise as he goes up or down the stairs, waiting, in case another has preceded him, until the earlier spin has ended. And as each spins, he murmurs, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Some prayer cylinders are spun by the wind. There is a large one at Hemis, about three feet long and eighteen inches wide, hitched up to paddles and turned by water. It too is filled with prayers that are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year. And the prayers say millions upon millions of times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are practically no doctors in Ladakh. Although each 759
monastery will have a lama trained in native medicine who will 793
take care of the illnesses of the monks, there is no medical service 756
for the people. A villager who is sick sends for a lama. A child or the wife makes the journey to the nearest monastery (perhaps thirty or forty miles) and brings back a lama. The family gives the lama his board and lodging and pays him as much per day as it can afford. A man with a special attachment to the lama may turn his wife over to him for the duration of the visit. For these considerations the lama prays. He sits by the bed of the sick person for hours, for days on end, driving away the evil spirits that have caused the illness. And as he sits, he chants endlessly, incessantly, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Buddha did not believe in mortification of the body as a means 779 •
of salvation. But that belief is a religious longing deeply rooted 783
788

• 779 in Asia, rooted so deeply that it cannot be dislodged. Lamaism
783 believes in it. A lama may walk years on his knees to atone for his
788 sins. In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet, he may do a prostration pilgrimage. He lies flat on the ground, both hands extended. He marks the point, stands up, steps forward to the mark, stretches flat again, and repeats this exercise again and again. It is common to find people doing a prostration pilgrimage around monasteries or holy places. A prostration pilgrimage of thirty or fifty miles is not unusual. It may last for weeks. One may do it for his own salvation—to get merit by sacrifice—or he may be hired to do it for another person or for the soul of a friend or relative.

One day I saw a lama coming up the Hemis nulla in a prostration pilgrimage. He was barefooted, with pads upon his knees. His robe was pulled up and fastened high. His hair was close-cropped, and he was filthy with dirt. Down he went on his stomach, then up on his knees and to his feet; then down again. And with each prostration he said twenty times, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

788 The lamas gather in the chapel three times daily for prayers.
796 I did not attend any of these services at Hemis, but students of the subject say that the ritual is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Catholic Church. There is, however, usually the music of trumpets, drums, and cymbals. There is always the burning of incense. And as the lamas kneel in the pews, the hum of "*Om Mani Padme Hoom*" fills the place.

796 These monasteries observe monthly festivals and four annual festivals, from each of which they get revenue. The people bring
[777] gifts of grain, or goats, or cash. The lamas sell amulets, talismans, idols, and sacred paintings. They sell paper strips and pieces of cloth filled with symbolic figures.

The most notable of these festivals is Losar, the New Year's Feast, observed in February. It celebrates Buddha's victories over the heresies—the triumph of the true religion over infidelity. People come from far and wide to the monasteries and celebrate

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Communism vs. Buddhism

When the Chinese Communists, in January 1950, announced 175
their program for the "liberation" of Tibet, they were following 779
a traditional Chinese policy of intervention. In the ninth century, Tibet was at war with China. Tibet, the aggressor, was expanding east and west. But the Buddhist religious invasion of Tibet dramatically illustrates that religion makes a vast difference. When Buddhism became fastened on the Tibetans, war no longer became an instrument of policy. Buddha's command not to kill had profound political effects. Tibet became at times a subject nation. The Mongol Empire was extended over Tibet in A.D. 1200. By A.D. 1700 Chinese suzerainty began.

Tibet has never been a part of China, though Tibetan history, 175
written by the Chinese, has made it so. Tibet was strong and 648
independent when China was weak; Tibet was subservient when China was strong. Tibet has always been China's western neighbor. The boundary, which runs through vast, trackless expanses, has caused frequent disputes. The pressure of the western border people on China was often strong. China moved to a position of influence or control in Tibet in order to guard her western frontier.

The Chinese influence asserted itself in several ways. For centuries some lamas have received Chinese pensions and some monasteries have received generous Chinese donations. China has long demanded control of Tibet's foreign affairs and has always been jealous lest some other power align Tibet against China and thus create a menace from the rear. China has long paid the salary of the Tibetan Ambassador to Peking.

China has had at her command all the instruments of propa- 648
ganda. Her merchants, her books, her periodicals, her students 208
have gone throughout the world carrying the message of China's greatness and power. That message included the word that Tibet was a part of the great Chinese Empire. Tibet had no publicists, no ambassadors free of Chinese influence, no newspapers, no

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at 674
each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded 779
the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to 438
Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when com- 487
merce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square— 443
where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where 178
the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls 458
are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and 439
fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with 175
merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 triumph was short-lived. A Buddhist priest disguised in the
798 black sacerdotal robes of the *Bon Chos*, presented himself before the King with a petition, and, when near enough, drew from his ample robes a bow and arrow and killed the leader of his religious enemies. The assassin escaped by turning his coat inside out and showing the white lining.

175 Langdarma reigned about A.D. 900 and from him all the
631 kings of Ladak have descended, for although they are split up into two dynasties, the later one is traced from a younger brother of the last king of the first line. An account of what happened under the various kings of these dynasties would be beyond the scope of this book, but let us rapidly trace the fortunes of the Western Himalayan kingdom, now represented by Ladak, and formerly including also the province of Baltistan. At first various royal personages held sway in different parts of the country, but the one in Leh was a descendant of the King of the Central Kingdom (Tibet proper), while in another part there ruled a Dard King. Between these two Kings there was continual strife, but at last the Leh ruler seems to have won the mastery in matters temporal, and increasingly in matters spiritual. One King introduced Buddhist literature from Central Tibet, another made it obligatory on all candidates for the priesthood to go to Lhasa for their training. This can only be regretted by the student of Ladaki as distinct from Tibetan literature, for, besides putting a stop to the growth of Indian Buddhism, it also inhibited the literary genius of the people, whose tales of by-gone days indicate how their literature might have developed.

175 By about the time of the fourteenth century Buddhism
● 779 had quite prevailed, and, as is so often seen with this religion, having once subdued the indigenous faith, it incorporated much of the *Bon Chos* in its own tenets. The Lamaism of the present day thus consists of a large proportion of *Bon Chos* with a smaller mixture of Buddhism, the former still

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

WT 175 779

making its old appeal to the illiterate people of the land, while only a few of the more erudite priests know anything of pure Buddhism. Even this mixed religion soon became corrupt, and in 1378 the Buddhist reformer of Tibet, Tsong-kapa, appeared, who tried to bring the priesthood back to the pure Buddhism of "Sangs rgyas," the Tibetan name for the Buddha, Sakya Muni. Finding the Tibetan priests wore red robes, while the true Buddhist priest should wear yellow, and, unable to get them to accept the orthodox dress, like a good Buddhist he compromised by insisting on yellow caps and sashes being worn with the former red gown. The reformed sect were not supposed to marry, but the unattractiveness of true celibacy could easily be overcome by a legal quibble applied to the prevalent custom of polyandry. The so-called "yellow lamas" were not allowed to eat meat, nor to drink "chang," the local beer. So now we get the two sects of yellow and red lamas existing side by side both in Tibet proper and in Ladak, in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants have existed side by side in Europe. Yet for a long time there was not much hostility between the two sects, though one king might favour one and another the other.

WT 795 175

WT 175

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Lodros Chokldan was ruling in Leh, whilst at Tingmogang, situated on the old high road, where ruins of the old royal castle may still be seen, his cousin Bagan lived and ruled. The latter allied himself with a third ruler, and these two defeated the king of Leh. Bagan then ascended the throne, thus beginning the second dynasty, of whom the present ex.-ex. King is a descendant.

WT 175 721 B 175 721

From now onwards, Ladak comes into conflict with peoples beyond her own borders. Although one Ladaki king had accepted the religion of Mahomet, the country remained fa[illegible]ful to Lamaistic Buddhism, whereas the neighbouring ki[illegible]m of Baltistan had been definitely converted to Moham-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

"empty amble," for the pony uses it even when he is not ridden, whilst the *labyor* or "learnt amble" can only be obtained when a rider on his back holds the reins fairly firmly, and unfortunately an animal, like his human rider, forgets his lesson in less time than it takes to learn it. A *labyor* therefore minimizes the value of a pony. To come back to our gipsy, he soon sends one or two of his servants for one of the said wonderful animals, which seems as good as its description. But we, too, know something about ponies, and, therefore, request the rider to dismount and drive the pony along empty, with the result that the amble disappears, for it is only a *labyor*. We then inquire the price of the beast, and are told that as a favour we shall have him for Rs160, but as our opinion on this score does not harmonize with his either, no deal results. This does not trouble our friend much, for he knows that by taking the pony down country he will get an even higher sum, and no inhabitant of the Himalayas ever argues that "time is money," or that a quick turnover of cash is a good business proposition.

This roving tribe, originating from Tibet, subscribes to the Buddhist creed. Like our own gipsies they are properly organized, having their own lawful king, and under him Tehsildars (magistrate), headmen and other officials necessary to keep the community in order, and although they are to be met with here, there and everywhere, they seem to be under quite good control.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XIII

Professions & Industries

463 [511] WE have now to watch our Ladaki friends as they earn their livelihood, for not all are owners of fields, and even those who are find that an extra vocation allows of a dish of meat, rice and other luxuries on special occasions. Let us begin with the professional gentlemen. The clergy will be treated with elsewhere, but in addition there are doctor, horologist, teacher and nun to consider, all of whom, though not real priests, are 759 regarded as performing religious functions. There are quite a number of doctors, some of them doing useful work, although the treatment, by even the best of them, occasionally shows shocking results. Their method of training is much like that which obtained formerly in England, when he who aspired to medical knowledge became apprenticed to a practising physician, and thus by actual experience learnt his [719] trade. The theoretical knowledge is found in four large volumes, belonging to the *Kahgyur* which are the one hundred and eight large books containing the wisdom and knowledge of Lamaism. The doctor or *amchi* dons no distinctive dress, but he can always be recognized, for slung over his back he carries his medicines tied in a long cloth. These he has carefully collected on the hills during the spring and summer months, his knowledge of herbs being doubtless considerable, and to his stock he adds by purchases in the bazar from down-757 country merchants. See him as he climbs up the rickety staircase right on to the roof to visit one of his patients who

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

792 875 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand 788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the • 779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar* 795 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the 872 children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of 875 course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Lobetans AJ4

network of rope, serves as operating-table. A small box does duty as instrument table, whilst an X travelling wash-stand must serve for the Surgeon's washing of hands and that, too, of his assistant. The first patient is brought in, a woman who prostrates herself before the door of the temple. One of the villagers has been impressed as an extra assistant, and is now instructed thoroughly to wash the lady's face with soap and water. She is then laid on the dirty bedstead, and her dirty clothes are covered first by a sheet of clean mackintosh, and then by towels which have been sterilized in Carbolic Acid, and her not overclean hair is likewise covered. Cocaine is then instilled into both eyes, the Surgeon and his assistant wash their hands, then kneeling at their very low operating-table proceed to extract the cataracts. This done, fingers are held up for the patient to count, and the onlookers reveal their interest and joy by ejaculations of "*wah!*," or "*tong dug*" —"she sees." Eyes are bandaged, and the next patient tackled. That day we did twenty-two cataract operations, and afterwards were inclined to boast about it till we met another Missionary Doctor,—Holland of Quetta,—who told us that he had done over ninety in one day. And the results? Of our twenty-two, eighteen received good sight, two were partially successful, whilst two were failures. Considering the dirty patients and dirtier surroundings, we felt the results quite justified the trip. We stayed a few days longer till it was safe to leave those on whom we had operated, and then began our return journey, thinking ruefully of how the deputation from Lingshed had promised to furnish us with supplies on the road, and had faithfully done so until the operations were over and there was little more to be got out of us. On the way home we were left to fend for ourselves, and our poor ponies had occasionally to go hungry. Ingratitude, and not gratitude, is one of the prominent characteristics of the Ladaki, for does not a good action bring its own reward, and the Doctor will have reaped much merit from his medical tour.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVI

Merit & its Acquisition

• 779

SODNAM or *Gewa*, both of which mean merit, are perhaps the two religious expressions most commonly used by the people of Ladak. It has been said that "the acquisition of merit is the controlling motive for most of the religious acts of the average Buddhist." This is perfectly true of Lamaism. How one gets to dislike the word merit, which is so absolutely the expression of utter and [181] complete selfishness. The Ladaki simply does not believe in disinterested, unselfish action. True compassion is practically unknown. The cup of cold water is not given to quench the brother's thirst but to gain a reward. But whence does the Buddhist of Little Tibet get his idea of merit? Can it be from the Buddha, whose life was one of the most beautiful ever lived? This seems unlikely; in fact we are informed that he actually taught the utter uselessness of any action performed for the sake of obtaining merit, which thereby only defeats its own ends. Consciously he did not preach this appalling doctrine, and yet is it not an outcome of his teachings? This is not a treatise on Buddhist philosophy, and yet it is necessary to have a general idea of Gautama's teaching to be able to understand some part of the Ladaki's religious belief. To begin with it must be stated that it is very difficult to know what the Buddha really did teach, for the Pali writings are none too authentic, but there is no doubt that he connected all sorrow and trouble, sickness and death, with material existence, which he regarded as an illusion, and longed, not only for himself, but for all his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

brothers and sisters, the bliss of deliverance which comes through the atrophy of personality. His views are well summed up in the four noble truths which he is said to have taught. 779

(1) Life is suffering.
(2) Life is the result of desire.
(3) Cessation of desire ends the life of suffering.
(4) Cessation of desire is attained by following the eightfold path.

What is the eightfold path? It consists of right belief; right aspirations; right speech; right actions; right livelihood; right effort; right mindfulness, and right contemplation. By what means can the Buddhist walk along these paths? By carrying out the Buddha's five commandments:—

(1) Do not kill.
(2) Do not steal.
(3) Do not commit adultery.
(4) Do not speak untruth.
(5) Do not taste intoxicating drinks.

This in a nutshell was Buddha's teaching, and, by the keeping of this law, he promised mankind that they would attain Nirvana, which is a state of unconscious bliss, when a personal existence is over and done with, and the liberated soul is at one and in harmony with the all-pervading. To attain this state, which the Ladaki calls "*Stongpa nid*," meaning "empty spirit," the soul has to work its way by re-incarnation through various existences of which there are six, until the balance of good actions over bad is so immense that the soul finds emancipation. Therefore every Buddhist takes such infinite pains to increase the credit side with good actions in order to obtain merit. Although all adherents of this religion do not admit it, yet most authorities agree that Gautama taught that no outside aid availed. Each man must work out his own salvation with fear and trembling. [775]

●779 The Southern school of Buddhism, called Hinayana (the small
795 vehicle, for only the few can expect to reach Nirvana), still
believes this,[1] but the time came when a split occurred, and as
a result Northern Buddhism or Mahayana Buddhism arose.
"The Buddhist cannot rid himself of the feeling that if there
are consequences of deeds to be borne, there must be someone
to bear them." For ordinary men and women the gospel of
Buddha was only a message of despair, for the bands which
bound them to the Wheel of Existence were far too tight for
them to loosen. This need of the human heart for a Saviour
resulted in the Mahayana doctrine, so-called because it means
the greater vehicle or means by which every Buddhist may
hope one day to attain the bliss of Nirvana. First Buddha
himself was regarded as this Saviour, and later others were
ranked with him to help struggling humanity towards the
final goal. The Buddha had the perfect right to enter a well-
earned Nirvana, but compassion for men and women, beasts
and demons, made him renounce this until he had aided all
things living to enter this same bliss with him. Thus arose
the beautiful story of Avolakita, the all-merciful one, the all-
pitying one, to which we shall refer later and of whom the
179 Dalai Lama is the living representative. Unfortunately this
797 new doctrine also opened the door to all sorts of national gods
and demons which Buddhism encountered in its spread, for
now, at about the end of the first century, Buddhism became
a thoroughly missionary religion, carrying this good news of
possible redemption far and wide. It reached Tibet about
the middle of the 7th century, where it found the old *Bon
Chos*, which was a Shamanistic devil-dancing religion. The
followers of the new faith having subdued those of the old,
then incorporated much of the old religion in their own, thus
producing Lamaism. This consists therefore of a sub-
stratum of real Buddhist philosophy understood by the few,
and a large proportion of demonology which appeals to the
unlearned masses.

1 [I.e., ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION ALONE.--ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Let us now consider some of the ceremonial of the religion 796
of these cheery folk, and to do this we cannot do better than 778
take an evening stroll to Changspa, which is a suburb of Leh and was formerly a place of pilgrimage. Our path leads us between fields of wheat and barley, now ripe for the harvest. Here our way is blocked because some *Zemindar* (farmer) is [241] directing the flow of the water into his crops. Further on we reach a larger stream over which we cross by means of stepping stones.

We meet an old grey-head emerging from the village, who 788
evidently feels that he has reached the age when he should be thinking of his next incarnation, for he is not only vigorously turning his prayer-wheel, but mumbling away at his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*. We stop to speak to him, for in this part of the world there is great friendliness. Our conversation by no means hinders his devotions, for he can still twirl his prayer-wheel, which with every turn is repeating hundreds of prayers for him, and in between his answers to us there are plenty of opportunities for saying his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*.

Being new to the country we perhaps try to ask him the meaning of his prayer, but generally he will reply that he has not the faintest idea, and most certainly will not give the translation one so often hears. "Oh thou jewel in the Lotus bud." If one regard the Jewel as the Divinity, and the lotus the body in which it resides, one surely approaches the teaching of the Buddha fairly closely. I have met only one or two [779] Buddhist Ladakis willing to enlighten me in respect to this mantra, who said that the wheel of life, consists of six existences, and this mantra with its six syllables closes the door of all these, thus providing an easy vehicle to "STONGPA NID." There are other mantra, but this beyond comparison is the favourite one, as it is that of Avolakita, the Merciful Lord, and it ensures an entrance into the Kingdom of Amitabha, the Sphere of Endless Light. The wheel must be turned in the direction in which the sun travels, that is of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788 notice prayer-flags and *chortens*. Here there is a huge stone set up on end, on which has been engraven one large "Om ma-ni," and we might delay a few moments to examine it, especially the first and last syllables. The first one "OVA" consists of three signs, representing again the Trinity of Lamaism. Its chief letter is the capital "A" which stands for god. It should be written in white, as this is the colour of the gods. The whole is surmounted by a circle. Does the yellow cap lama desire to make his mind a perfect blank, he places this mystical symbol before his mind's eye, meditates first on the "A," then on the "V" which surmounts this, and finally it travels round and round the mystic circle losing itself in *Stongpa nid*, the idea being that by these means the activity of the brain can be stilled and the spirit become at one with the Infinite. The last syllable in the Mantra, *Hung*, is supposed to stand for the Demon world, and therefore it is not surprising that the red sect lamas, who represent most closely the old *Bon chos* with its demonology, should use this in a similar manner for their meditation. The colour of this symbol is blue. This mark sometimes ends as *hung* and sometimes as *hum*, and there seems to be a real difference, for a Buddhist friend has assured me that, whilst *hung* is connected with evil influences, *hum* produces only the good.

779 788 [822]

718 We raise our eyes and see an enormous *chorten*, the largest in Ladak, another mystical edifice allowing several explanations. These *chortens* are of eight different shapes, but of the most common form there are many sizes, ranging from small pocket editions, vulgarly called "potted lamas" for they are said to be made with the ashes of deceased monks, to structures larger than houses. From below upwards there is first a large square base, which is called the throne, on whole sides are painted figures of animals or holy eyes from which the throne derives its name, such as a Peacock or a Lion Throne. From this there rise five square steps, the lowest of which represents the holy carpet, for each lama sits

779

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

on a holy carpet. Above this, two steps represent legs and two more arms. Then comes a large pudding-shaped arrangement to represent the head. The body seems to have been omitted. From this there rises a high cone made of red tiles and divided into thirteen rings; these are said to represent the thirteen ages (*Skalpas*, each of 100,000 years) of the Buddhist, of which the Ladakis say we are now living in the last; this would make the present Dalai lama the last of this era. After this they begin again from the beginning.

Others have a different interpretation for the *Chortens*. From the axis of the earth there towers up Mount Meru, which supports the heavens. This is said to have twenty-five steps, which halved gives approximately enough thirteen, and the thirteen consecutive rings of the *chorten* cone represent those steps belonging to the earth. Surmounting this cone there is a large gilt ornament made of tin or some such metal which denotes the *Zarazak*, or the Umbrella of Office. Above this comes a globe for the sun, a crescent for the moon and a smaller globe for the stars, from which there rises up into "nothingness" a fine piece of wire. Yet a totally different explanation is given according to which, reading from below upwards, the *chorten* represents the five elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether. Round the great *chorten* at Changspa, there runs a passage, which is bounded on the outside by a wall consisting of one hundred and eight smaller *chortens*, again the mystic figure. Within this outer wall there stands a very old sacred tree and a small *chorten*, containing in a hollow recess the very small *chortens* made of the ashes of lamas and other men, also a few leaves from the holy book and some salutation scarves. Before entering into the passage, we notice a square building, in the upper part of which is a recess containing three *chortens*, which should be coloured respectively red, white and blue, and behind them drawings of various gods and goddesses. A little further on and to the right is a large stone with an image of *Byamspa*

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 (Maitreya), the Buddha of the coming age who is the god of
779 love for whom the Buddhist is now waiting. According to the esoteric teaching of Buddhism, there are seven root races of mankind, of which the present one, the Aryan, is the fifth. To each one of these a Buddha has come in human form so that man shall be able to comprehend the unknowable. Each of these emanations is a Logos of the supreme Buddha. Maitreya will be the Buddha of the sixth root race, and after him will come he of the seventh, whose name is still obscure, for the need of the seventh race which he will have specially to meet is also unknown. Thus we get the septenary system,
781 belief in which is found to be so universal. To agree with this figure the most important mantra should really read *A-um-ma-ni-pa-dme-hum*. As one wanders round this little village of Changspa, one cannot help remembering Shakespeare's words,

> "Tongues in trees,
> Books in running brooks
> Sermons in stones
> And good in everything."

and wishing that the voices in this lamaistic land were living and spiritual rather than these mechanical and artificial forms of prayer, for to the ordinary man it is always a matter of *chos choches*, that is "doing religion," engaging in a mechanical, outward and superstitious form which has no relation to the man's spiritual life or to his moral conduct.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 striped border The other three sides of the court-yard are
792 filled in with the two storeyed private dwellings of the lamas. No pillared cloisters are these, but just an occasional flight of a few steps, then a door, and at the side a window at a level which may or may not be in relation with that of the other doors and windows, and over both apertures the same kind of valance. If the latter sags in the middle, there is no hurry to replace it, far less to wash it, but on the whole this *dGonpa*, presents quite a clean, brushed, cared-for, tidy appearance. Ascending the steps, we arrive in the large covered portico outside the main room or refectory of the
353 monastery. All round the three walls pictures are painted in
●779 bright colours. On the left is the " Wheel of Life " held by
53v a dragon-like monster. This consists of an inner, a middle, and an outer circle the middle one being divided into six compartments. The inner circle represents by means of a dove, a serpent and a pig coloured respectively red, green and black the three vices, lust, ill-will and stupidity, which bind man to the wheel of existence. In the upper compartment of the middle circle are the gods, into this grows the tree whose fruit provides any food desired by the soul and whose roots lie in the world of the demi-gods, who continually wage war against the gods in order to obtain this fruit. In the upper left-hand compartment are men. The above three existences are superior, whilst below the equator are the inferior ones of beasts, then of *yidags*, poor miserable men with large bellies, but such small necks that their hunger can never be appeased through such constricted throats, and in the lowest section are the hells, both hot and cold. A cold hell seems rather a misnomer to English ears, but Ladakis, at any rate, know the terrors of extreme cold. Buddha himself is out of the circle, and yet his reflexes seem somehow to be still in the wheel of existence. In the outer circle are pictures illustrating various phases of life, such as birth, marriage, death, burial work.

Opposite the top of the steps, on each side of the door with

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the 353
compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these 779
figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right 532
wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering 346
the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, 352
lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an 792
inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be 264
seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a 352
collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside 792
down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the 352
Slobdpon is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the 792

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

792 Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again ~~by~~ the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain.

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands, each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate his many heads an attic projects up into an inner courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha, for permission to return and help him, he received this reply, "Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all, I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these heads represent four past races, and that actually there should be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating, but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate, it was "the light that failed." We pass into another room containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their
792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
352 the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

13: Heber and Heber D<3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXIII

Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

A DESCRIPTION of life in Ladak could not be complete without an account of one of the great annual festivals held in the monasteries in the valley, such as the *Gustor* (the offering on the ninth) at Trigtse and at Spitug, or the *Ghanggoni Thsedrup* (the fulfilment of life on the blue hill) at Peang, all of which take place in the winter, whilst the *Thseshu* is held at Hemis in the summer. The last is the most important, its chief feature being the presentation of the famous so-called "mystery play." The festival, as its name indicates, is held on the tenth day of the fifth Buddhist month, which is the birthday of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, and still the presiding genius of the red sect. According to records in Sikkim, he was a magician who came north in the seventh century, and convinced the lamas of Tibet that he was sent as an incarnation of the Buddha. But into the pure Buddhism, he introduces the old *Bon Chos* with its devil-worship, and encouraged the most sensual practices, also the eating of meat and drinking of wine, asserting that over-indulgence in all these passions would lead to a state of high trance. Strangely enough, when we were waiting in the ante-room on a visit to the *Skushog*, this sentiment was exactly borne out by a Ladaki, who was participating in the native beer and already in rather an expansive mood. To our remark that it was not right to get drunk and lose control of mind and body, he replied that it was good, for the soul then became happy and blessed.

15: Francke
539, 779

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/For additional texts of myths, see category 773. --Analyst/

Though in theory the taking of life and the
● 779 offering of bloody sacrifices are revolting to the
782 Tibetan Buddhist, the sacrificing of animals goes on unchecked by the Buddhist hierarchy in many parts of Western Tibet.

782 A section of the community, however, reluctant to shed blood when sacrificing to the local deities, makes dough images of animals for sacrificial purposes.

177 With the advance of civilization and education
782 in the secluded valleys of Western Tibet, bloody sacrifices will no doubt sink into the limbo of forgotten things.

[76 (a)]

212b

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to
read and write at the same time. This
gives these people a very high standard of
culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs
there will not be enough to go around.
They not only wish to keep the property
intact but also to maintain the family name
to this property. Thus, when a certain
number of brothers, let us say, three, in-
herit the property and the house, they do
not divide it among themselves but, marry-
ing one woman as they do, they share not
only the property but also the woman as a
common wife, as well as the children
which belong to all of them together. It is
a kind of family communism, and certainly
prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls
go off and marry into other families, indi-
vidually becoming the common wives of a
number of brothers. They thus perform
the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest
daughter, however, since she has no
brothers, inherits both the name and prop-
erty from her fathers and and is allowed
to marry as many husbands as she wishes.
These husbands and the children, too, take
her name, so that, in this way, the children
which issue from the marriage take on the
mother's name and inherit the property
undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

WT 838 181 595 But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT 719 595 174 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti 595 341 WT 341 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchamadoong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" [104] a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchamadoong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

Ti 595 587 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V~~1

W. Tibetans AJ

133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
181 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
533 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
535 tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the
526 main street, the width is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind them are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4
W. Tibetans AJ4

000 WT 795 173

lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

It was he who reminded the Head Lama to repeat to me that which he had told many visiting Europeans for scores of years past. It is the belief of the lamas, and accepted by a certain sect of the Christians, that Jesus the Christ during "the hidden years of his life" spent about seven of them in meditation and study within the walls of the monastery.

K 795 173

I then remembered that on an occasion whilst sitting alone on Char Chinar, an Indian youth had come softly ashore from a shikara, and after we had talked for a while, I commented upon the quiet serenity which surrounded the island, at which he confidently assured me that this was because the Master Jesus had many times, when he was in Kashmir, preached from the silver isle to the many who had gathered round it in shikaras to listen to him.

There is a sect in Kashmir known as the Quadiani who believe that Christ lived there for some time; they showed me a grave at Khanayar in Srinagar where they insist that he was buried, saying that he was there known as Hazrat Yuz Asaf, but on further enquiring and searching records, I found that Yuz Asaf, the supposed descendant of Moses was ambassador from the King of Egypt to the court of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din. Strangely enough though, according to Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini*, during the reign of Jayendra who ruled between about 61 B.C. and A.D. 24, there was a minister by name Samdhimati-Aryaraaja, described as "the greatest of sages", who lived a life of poverty, suffered imprisonment for many years, and then "met his death at the stake", afterwards "coming to life again and in answer to the prayers of the people, ruled over Kashmir for forty years". He seems to have just faded out of the picture, since there is no mention of his final going and there is no suggestion that he might have been a mythical and not an historical individual.

WT 779 212

Some of the old books in the monastery library were in rolls and written by hand, others, more recent, had been printed on paper which is made there and called *par-shog*; the leaves, which are about four inches wide, are not uniform in length, some are a foot, others eight or ten inches long, they are folded and

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There
523 is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face). khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tashão (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equiva-
●781 lent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

778 (Maitreya), the Buddha of the coming age who is the god of
779 love for whom the Buddhist is now waiting. According to the esoteric teaching of Buddhism, there are seven root races of mankind, of which the present one, the Aryan, is the fifth. To each one of these a Buddha has come in human form so that man shall be able to comprehend the unknowable. Each of these emanations is a Logos of the supreme Buddha. Maitreya will be the Buddha of the sixth root race, and after him will come he of the seventh, whose name is still obscure, for the need of the seventh race which he will have specially to meet is also unknown. Thus we get the septenary system,
● 781 belief in which is found to be so universal. To agree with this figure the most important mantra should really read *A-um-ma-ni-pa-dme-hum*. As one wanders round this little village of Changspa, one cannot help remembering Shakespeare's words,

> "Tongues in trees,
> Books in running brooks
> Sermons in stones
> And good in everything."

and wishing that the voices in this lamaistic land were living and spiritual rather than these mechanical and artificial forms of prayer, for to the ordinary man it is always a matter of *chos choches*, that is "doing religion," engaging in a mechanical, outward and superstitious form which has no relation to the man's spiritual life or to his moral conduct.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans A54

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published.

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated its height when building the chapel in which it was housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another portion had to be built to take this.

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking.

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

2: Biscoe
779

AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

/For additional information on Buddhism in Ladakh see cat. 116, pp. 209-213, and 225-228/.

136 immemorial, the existence of wild herds in the same country may perhaps be doubted; but the general prevalence of the belief is worthy of being recorded.

[782] The largest of the wild sheep is the *Nyan* or *Ovis Ammon* of naturalists. It is found only in the most inaccessible places, near the snow-limit. Specimens of the horns may generally be seen along with those of the ibex and shá (*Ovis montana*) on the religious piles of stones called *Maná*, where they are placed by the shepherds as votive offerings. The *Nyan* of the Tibetans is closely allied to the Kachkar of Badakshán and Chitrál. Mr. Blyth has, however, distinguished them by separate names, calling the latter *Ovis Polii*, after Marco Polo, who gave the first description of the animal.

Another species of wild sheep is the *Ná*. Vigne* calls it *Sná*, and describes it as of "the size of an ordinary sheep; of a dull brownish-gray colour, with curved, smooth, and four-sided horns." Csomo de Körös calls it a "large sheep-like deer." It is apparently the same as the *Náhur* of Nepal, and the *Ovis Náhur* of Hodgson and Blyth.†

A third species of wild sheep is the *Shá*,‡ which I have seen browsing in large flocks on the mountains, on the left bank of the Indus below Lé. The animal is as large as a stag, with strong wiry hair of a reddish-brown colour on the back, gradually changing to white on the stomach. The chest is covered with a long fringe of

* Travels, II. p. 280. The name is written *rNa*, in Tibetan. See also Csomo de Körös, Dict. in voce.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XVI. p. 360.

‡ *Shá-ba*, and the female *Shá-mo*. Csomo de Körös calls the *Shá*, a stag (Dict. in voce); but the real stag is called *Shu*. The horns of the *Shá* are shown in Plate VIII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 In Devonshire, the "neck" consists of the finest ears of wheat, which are selected and tied up in a small sheaf by some old man, who stands in the midst of the reapers holding the "neck" with both hands. It is possible that the name may be derived from the sheaf having once been carried home and fastened round the neck of a pillar or wooden post, as in Ladák.

In Scotland, the farmers have a custom similar to one which prevails amongst the Botis of Spiti, Hangorang, and Kanáwar. The Scotch farmer weaves the first-cut corn into a threefold plait, which he places over his chimney-piece until the next harvest. The Boti peasant 241 fixes three or more ears of barley outside his own door, 782 and makes a votive offering of three or five, or some odd number of ears to his native divinity in the village *Thákúrdwára.**

000 All these various customs would seem to have a common origin in the celebration of the harvest season, which in every country has been a time of rejoicing. The *adwan* and *juri* of the Hindus and the harvest-home of the English are similar to the private *ambarvalia* of the Romans. So also the votive offerings of the Tibetans were consecrated for the same object as the *lustratio* of the Romans. The former offered his first cuttings of corn with a prayer for a plentiful harvest, the latter performed their lustrations (ambarvalia) immediately before the sickle was put to the corn, to obtain the blessing of the gods on the fields which were thus lustrated.

* Gerard's Kanáwar, p. 98, and Capt. J. D. Cunningham's Notes on Moorcroft and Gerard, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. xiii. p. 246.

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside 597
and another child be adopted, unless the child which mis-
behaved has a child, in which case the young child is re-
tained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are,
turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, 593
a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the 597
real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being 428
considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to
this, the family property is equally divided between the
adopted and the real son.

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the 778
crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are 782
placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods.

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i 776
phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted 779
with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand
what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in
gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing
which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel."
konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither
form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor
deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see
under heading "Spirit."

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which 245
come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried 439
apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots 251
come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of
dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák,
Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot
trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra
and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The com-
mon small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, 372
but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted 245
from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning,
or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost
as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i
marnak."

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven."

[109]

NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]

NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who 792
having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the 795
sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. 795
No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes [241]
and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under [842]
the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who [1[illegible]]
wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la táng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zár ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the
776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered
[782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis-
[784] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt'san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (the Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and
[782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex-
776 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible.
783 The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

skin color of the goddess is the blue of the terror deities; her bristling, 776
upright hair surrounds her huge head like flames, upon which has been placed a crown consisting of the skulls of killed enemies. From her three eyes she darts forth lightning. The goddess is dressed in only a loincloth of tiger skin and the skin of a human being; her belt is formed by snakes. Her right hand swings as a weapon the terrible trident, while in her left hand she holds the bowl of a skull filled with the blood of enemies. On the first day of the first month in the year a great mass is [782] celebrated in honor of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the monastery temple in the neighboring Lamayuru monastery. This mass is performed in order to appease the anger of the feared goddess /44/, because the "unbelievers" constantly provoke her by their activity.

No wonder the imagination of Namgyal was most strongly aroused 000
by all these narratives and pictures--in time Konchog Trashi acquainted his knowledgeable pupil with a great mass of Tibetan-Buddhistic divinities, with Buddhas and demons--and no wonder fear constantly gained increasing dominance over the boy. At night when it was dark he scarcely dared to take the short path which led from their meeting place to his house. Every step of the way he was accompanied by pictures of those demons and terror gods whose figures and actions the old storyteller had so drastically placed before his eyes. Everywhere he thought he could see the hideous, grinning grimaces; in the rushing of the wind, in the gurgling of the river, in the shriek of the eagle, in the call of the stone-finch, the boy heard the voice of the Dreadful One, her furious, spine-tingling "Alala!" Fear held the hitherto so courageous boy in its ban for a long time and inhibited his activities and his development.

By now Namgyal had heard enough about gods and demons and 773
of their mostly pernicious activities. For the time being he had no desire to hear them any more. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the stories of a lama who wandered around the countryside. Once during the winter he came to the village and stayed there for an extended period of time. To the people who crowded around him every [532] day he showed painted pictures mounted on linen cloth and supplied with a border of silk. These pictures had round sticks attached to them at the top and at the bottom and they could be rolled up like a geographical map which is hung on the wall. The pictures represented scenes from the life and legend of Gautama Buddha. The boy was particularly interested in the stories of the 550 births of Buddha which preceded his last birth and at which he was born now as a god and now

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons).)"

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

most of them have to sit outside the tent on carpets. 585

In front of each guest there stands a small, low table with colorfully painted carvings. Every guest, after he has sat down with his legs crossed under him, places his own wooden drinking bowl on the little table (with the richer men the little drinking bowl is lined with silver on the inside). The village magistrates with their assistants distribute the flat bread cakes, the number depending upon the rank and standing--seven, five, three, starting with the persons of high rank, and so on down to the guests of lower standing. The latter soon begin to shove, push, and fight for the flat bread cakes, to the amusement of the rich and the satisfied. Now women pour out butter tea from beautiful copper and brass tea pots richly furnished with ornaments embossed in silver. When the guests have refreshed themselves for a while with tea, flat bread cakes, and roasted barley flour, there follows the warm meal, after a short time: rice with mutton and vegetables cooked in a strong spice sauce. Each guest receives a heaped-up plateful of this food. For the most distinguished guests the choicest pieces of meat are picked out of the large meat dish. With it chang is served which the guests consume in great quantities; the pungent spice sauce creates a great thirst. Each of the distinguished guests now also has his greeting cloth placed on the table in front of him; he attaches it with a needle to his cap if there is room there; whatever there is no room for is fastened to the left shoulder.

/93/ All the guests were now able to eat their fill of the plentiful meal, only the places of the five Nyaopas were still empty. Soon after entering the house they had mounted up to the flat roof of the house, led by the sNatridpa, in order to present to the five lamas there the greeting cloths and the gift of a sum of money. The lamas had been there, in front of the small opened house temple, since early morning, engaged in reading mass, saying prayers and formulas for the well-being and good fortune of the betrothed pair. The lamas scarcely took any notice of the Nyaopas; firmly they went on saying their prayers, made food and incense sacrifices in order to call down the blessing of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and tutelary gods upon them. But it was also necessary to allay the anger of the gods and the demons through offerings, formulas of exorcism, magical gestures, swinging of the thunderbolt and of the magic bell, through the music of the drums and the trumpets. In this way all the misfortune that the old devil-tamer had figured out and predicted was to be averted. 585 782

The Nyaopas had to wait for quite a while until they could

585 hand over their gifts. Attentively they watched the activities of the
782 monks clothed in red. Then these interrupted their prayers and formulas, put their hands into the dishes that stood next to them, and scattered barley and rice across the flat roof and over its edge as a food offering to the gods. Crows, magpies, and sparrows came by and picked up the grains. The lamas also threw, amid the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, pyramid-shaped offering cakes (gtor-ma) mixed out of bread dough and butter and decorated with colored ornaments, in a wide arc over the edge of the roof. The red Tsan-demons were invoked and entreated to be satisfied with the offering and to leave the young couple in peace. The offering was soon consumed by dogs and birds. Then a drink offering (gser-skyems) was brought to the gods: beer was poured into a dish from a copper sacrificial tankard and was then sprinkled about in a high arc. Finally the wily household god with the pig's head was still to be appeased and to be exorcized by a food and incense offering and by an exorcizing formula. The conclusion was formed by a concert of all the instruments. From two powerful copper trumpets three meters long, blown by two corpulent lamas and held up in the air by their bell mouths by two monastery students /94/, there came forth deep, ill-sounding tones which swung across the wide valley and, breaking on the opposite rock face, sounded back in a seven-fold echo. With this there mingled the song from the lamas' throats, rough from the beer; now the big drum joined in as well as the cymbals and the trumpets, so that everything fused into a wild music which sounded like the howling of the storm and the roaring of the avalanche.

Old Dud-joms (the devil-tamer) later told the attentively listening farmers at a beer-drinking occasion that the house god with the pig's head had fled with a loud howl at the thunderous roar of the instruments; he had, so said the devil-tamer, heard it himself quite clearly; and then the frightened god had stayed for a whole month in the caves of the Skyinling gorge where his marrow-piercing screams had been heard every night. It was not till they had brought him new food and drink offerings that the lamas were able to persuade the god to return to the house where he could not be dispensed with as a protector after all.

Finally the instruments and the lamas' throats were silent, while the latter were moistened by an ample infusion of chang. The piles of leaves with the dreadful exorcizing formulas were pushed aside. The Nyaopas stepped forth and placed thirteen greeting cloths

before each lama, one of yellow silk, the others of light, gauze-like 585
cotton weave; next to these they put three rupees for each one of them 782
except the head lama who received five. They did not even glance at the greeting cloths; but every one of the "holy men" immediately reached for the silver coins and tested them for their genuineness. The lamas are usually good business people.

Now the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons in the house temple received their part of the wedding offering. According to their rank, each one of the mighty had a number of greeting cloths placed at its feet; offering lamps of brass fuelled with butter, dishes of rice, barley, and beer were placed on the altar in front of the statues. Gautama Buddha, the Great Compassionate Chanrezigs, and the kind Tara, the giver of marital happiness and of the mother's joys were honored by gifts of silk cloths; the other gods and the demons had to be contented with light muslin strips.

/95/ After the priests up above have received their share, the 585
Nyaopas descend to the terrace where the feasting and the drinking are going on in full swing. Between the rows of guests three enormous wedding cakes (97) have been erected of tiles which are made of barley

97. aBran-rgyas, literally "offering cake, food offering"; but of this cake only one "tile" is offered to the gods, the rest is consumed by the participants of the feast.

flour dough mixed with butter and sugar. Next to them stand five huge filled earthen beer jugs. To the sound of three clarinets, one lute, 585
and three kettle drums the Nyaopas now conduct a dance around the 535
cakes and the beer jugs. The musicians here are Bedas (see note 12)). The tune and the rhythm of the music sounds strange to our ears, more like a deafening noise that anything else. But this music drives the Tibetan dancers on, as the most beautiful march or waltz does the German youth. The rhythmical movements, first a slow walk and rocking of the hips, gradually goes over into a livelier tempo, a dance which becomes constantly more rapid and livelier, and which finally turns into wild jumping and hopping. While the legs march and spring to the beat of the music the arms and hands, which hold a long sash, are in constant rocking motion. Some men arise from the row of guests, stand by the dancers, beat out the rhythm with their hands, and by shouts incite the dancers to ever wilder movements which assume more and more the expression of wild abandonment.

527 before the New Year had been properly celebrated. Thereupon the king is supposed to have advanced the date of the New Year's festival by two months without a moment's hesitation. In this way the people of Ladak are said to have come to two New Year's celebrations, for the people refused to let the second festival go. Compare Francke, History of Western Tibet, p. 91.

With this was also connected the introduction of the calendar which which was borrowed from the Chinese. But the people will not let them-themselves be deprived of their first New Year (lo-gsar literally means "New Year"), and therefore they celebrate two festivals. The lamas have accommodated themselves to this national custom as they have to all others, and they secure their share and their rights in both festivals.

The first New Year (lo-gsar) begins on the 28th day of the tenth Tibetan month, the memorial day of the "ascent to Heaven" of the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsongkapa, the founder of the dominant reform sect of the Gelugpa (the "virtuous"). On this day he is supposed to have attained divine dignity, and he is supposed to have ascended up to the Tushita heaven, the abode of the Bodhisattvas. The Tibetans for this reason also call this holiday Galdan Namchod (dga-ldan, meaning "realm of joy," Tushita; gnam, meaning "heaven"; mčod, meaning "offering"); Tsongkapa also named the large monastery near Lhasa which was founded by him, Galdan. There the festival of the lanterns is celebrated around this time, and in all the numerous monasteries of the "Virtuous" memorial celebrations are organized.

527 On this occasion the people present offering gifts to the monasteries.
782 Namgyal went to Tingmogang on the day before the beginning of the festival in order to donate a few brass offering lamps, as well as butter used for fuel in these lamps, barley, rice, and beer in brass bowls, at the monastery located there. The gifts were placed before the images of the gods. Outside on the door posts of his house and on the inside along the beams of the ceiling he fastened twigs of juniper just as everybody else did. By this, the evil spirits of the old year were to be exorcized so that they would leave the house peacefully to those of the new year. In his own household temple Namgyal placed bowls with fresh offerings before the statues and images of the Buddhas and gods, in order to maintain their favor; he decorated the house altar with dried flowers, placed burning offering lamps on it, and laid K'a-ts'ags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the 3 [illegible].

600 at this wonder of technology.

527 The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following,
[344] was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears
[563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women
[526] separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang,
782 the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-koñ), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the
527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful,
778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

527 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming
777 between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first
805 half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos
789 first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma). (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

782 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering)
776 the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces 782
of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all 776
kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times.

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the 527
evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians 789
perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /138/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons.

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the destro. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol)." All hostile demons of the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water. 241 789

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come. 000

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar-sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings. 241 782

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 241 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

527 transport services rendered for the Indian merchants and officials. Therefore the inhabitants of Kalatse decided to celebrate a large harvest festival that year. The hermit Tsetan, whose advice they liked to hear, had said: "By the grace of the "Three Jewels," you have had a good year, so you must also be thankful to them!" They followed his advice in their manner and decided to do something which they had not done for a long time, namely to offer a banquet to the gods and demons. And this could of course not be carried out without the cooperation of the lamas. Namgyal did not want to lag behind either in this great enterprise, in which all the greater farmers took part as paying contributors. After all, it might be of use.

On the day designated, therefore, eleven lamas from the Tingmogang monastery paraded with books, magical bell, dorje, with drums, kettle-drums, and the long trumpets, announcing that the banquet was to be prepared for the gods in the temple of that monastery.
527 A /150/ long series of gods of all classes was invited to this feast, in
776 particular by the priests: The "Bodhisattva of contemplation" (Vajrasattva); the god of death, Yama, the terrible judge of sinners in hell; furthermore the god of wealth, Kubera who holds the Ichneumon in his hand, which spits out jewels at his command; he was one of the rain-giving gods among the ancient Indians already, and was very popular; further there were invited the goddess who roamed around heaven (mk'a-agro-ma), the twelve dreadful Furies (stan-ma) whom one could not overlook unless one wanted to bring their wrath down upon one. In addition there were the mighty and moody local divinities, the nagas of the water, the earth, and of the sky. Tsongkapa, who had been turned into a god, could not be forgotten either; finally, and above all, the great Buddha himself had to be invited, for he, like the previously mentioned, also had power over the rain-giving deities. And lastly the heroes of Tibet's prehistory who had been advanced to the status of demigods, as well as a series of tutelary gods (Yidam) and rural deities, were likewise invited to the meal: altogether a colorful company. How may the great Gautama have felt when he was dragged out of his nirvana blessedness and placed in the midst of this company!

527 In the monastery everything had by now been prepared by the
782 lamas for the meal of the gods. The offering gifts were placed on a stair-like scaffold in front of the gods' images: On the lowest of seven steps were placed 84 brass offering lamps; on the step above it stood little pyramids of butter in the same number; then on the remaining

steps there were offering cakes, rice, wine (or water) in little bowls, 527
and finally--up on top of the plate of the altar--there were large, 782
brightly painted sacrificial cakes decorated with arabesques, and furthermore bowls made of human skulls filled with beer, water, and tea. In some of the bowls filled with rice were stuck flowers and stalks of incense.

Then the invited invisible guests were invoked. One lama called out: "Come, come! Om! Oh thunderbolt (142)! Take and

142. The thunderbolt (Sanskrit, Vajra, Tibetan rdo-rje), the [589] magical weapon of the gods and of the magician lamas in their battle against the hostile demons. The word "Vajra" alone, in the mouth of the magician, has a spellbinding effect upon the gods and demons that have been invoked. Here it is an exclamation that is directed at those sinister powers. A bronze dorje belongs to the equipment of each lama, so that he can protect himself and other against evil spirits with it. The thunderbolt is also a symbol for the teachings of Buddha.

accept this offering! Behold: Wonderful river water to drink, cooling water to wash your feet, flowers to decorate your hair, the scent of costly incense, lamps to lighten the darkness, water with a pleasing odor to rub your bodies with, hallowed /151/ food, the music of the cymbals!" At this point the instruments started up with a loud and shrill kind of music. "Eat your fill! Swaha!" The invisible guests were called upon to sit down and to enjoy the food and the drinks. Then there followed a eulogy of those invited; their power and their work were praised. It was assumed that the gods took to themselves the essence of the food and of the drinks. Further prayers asking for blessing and prosperity were pronounced. A lama brought fresh sacrificial cakes, the tsogs cakes (tsogs, meaning, "for all"); amid renewed loud music a priest threw several of the tsogs cakes up in the air as an offering to all the demigods and the demons who were not expressly invited or who were not invited by name. This was done so that their favor would not be lost inadvertently. Then each of the participating lamas, one after the other, depending on his individual status and dignity, received a tsogs cake. They ate the cake, but each lama had to leave one piece of his cake; these pieces were then collected on one plate. An entire cake was then placed on top of piled-up pieces, and these remnants were flung on the ground before the door

527 of the temple by one of the priests with an expression of contempt for
782 those demons who had not yet surrendered to the "converters" of Tibet and to the great Buddha. This was the Lhagdor sacrifice (lhag-ador), the "cast offering of the remnants," by which these despised yet dreaded demons are appeased. With this act the banquet of the gods was concluded. There followed another plentiful meal for the officiating lamas, each of whom received a gift of money from the participating farmers, besides.

000 Namgyal then paid a visit to the house of his father-in-law Norbu Wangchung. There things were very merry. The Chirpon celebrated the harvest festival with some members of his tribe and a few neighbors in his fashion, with a great deal of beer and noisy revelry. Namgyal did not stay there long although the old man would have liked to keep him there longer. Namgyal never felt at ease in that house. He gave regards to her parents from his wife Chosskyid, sat for a little while among the carousing men, and then he took his leave. He was able to say with good reason that he was being awaited in Kalatse, for there they were also celebrating the harvest festival, though they kept it in moderate /152/ bounds, and all the farmers of the village were supposed to be gathered there, even those who had "regaled the gods" in Tingmogang.

Namgyal again returned to Kalatse with peculiar feelings. As a good Buddhist he believed to have performed his obligation, and he had followed the ceremonies in the monastery of Tingmogang with careful attention. He wanted to be sure to have done everything to obtain the favor of the great Unknown Ones in the dark Beyond, and to find peace for his soul. And now it happened again that he set out on his way home with a feeling of emptiness and gnawing doubts in his heart. With it possible, then, that those Mighty Ones in the Beyond, and that the great Gautama could be pleased by the goings-on in the monastery, and that they should be induced to help by such means? Where was the way that would lead him out of the labyrinth of these questions, out of the darkness of doubts into the bright light of understanding which as a Buddhist he was supposed to seek.

On a Business Trip.

437 In the year after the house had been built, when the fields had been tended and when the young grain began to sprout in the fields, it was decided to undertake a business trip. This plan was agreed upon

776 host of the local deities of this "sinister snow-covered country." The last-named, after they had been "converted" by Padmasambhava (146),

[797] 146. Padmasambhava, the Buddha priest and great Tantrik magician from Udyana (in present-day Afghanistan) came to Tibet with his priests and monks around the middle of the eighth century of our era, having been called in by king Trishrongldetsan. In an adventurous manner he then proceeded to "convert" the Tibetans to Buddhism, and in so doing he spread in that country the doctrine which had already been badly corrupted in India and particularly in his own home land. [773] According to the saga he defeated and "converted" the gods and demons of Tibet in violent battle. They were overcome by him and were bound by an oath not to fight against Buddhism henceforth, but to promote and protect it in the future. Concerning Padmasambhava, compare Ribbach, "Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft," Supplement No. 5, of the Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

were all more or less regarded as objects of worship, or at least they constantly had to be appeased through exorcisms and offerings. Finally the entire pantheon of the Bon religion was likewise readily incorporated into the Buddhistic pantheon.

782 The oldest form of prayer was the so-called "formula of refuge." We will give here one form of the expanded formula of refuge (skyabs-agro) of the unreformed lama sects: "All we living creatures take our refuge with Buddha on the basis of the intercession of the lamas; we take refuge with the Law (Dharma); we take refuge with the Monkhood (Samgha), with these Three Jewels. Further we take our refuge with the great army of gods (lha) and their following of tutelary deities, female demons, and defenders of the doctrine, who populate the Heavens."

There follows a long series of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demons, and the saints, with whom the praying person takes refuge; among these the primitive Buddha (Samantabhadra) and the founder of Lamaism, Padmasambhava, are particularly notable. Among the "reformed" lama sects (Gelugpa), Tsongkapa takes the place of the last-named.

Namgyal used to avail himself of an abbreviated formula of

refuge, such as the laity predominantly uses; the lamas do not permit 782
laymen to appeal to the Buddhas directly; that is a prerogative reserved exclusively for them.

Here is another part of a prayer which the lamas are in the habit of saying in connection with the formula of refuge. In this case a deified lama is in particular called upon as an intercessor for blessing:

"Oh Lama! (147) Bless us, as you were blessed! Bless us with

147. The appeal is here addressed to a deceased lama who has been declared a saint. The prayers cited here are taken from Waddell's Lamaismus.

the blessing of the tantras (magical formulas): We implore you that you may bless us with Om (the magical syllable in which is contained power to bless)! That is the magical body. We implore you that you may purify /165/ us of the stains of the body! Increase our good fortune and keep away disease of the body! Give us the true, indestructible power of boldily life! We implore you that you may bless us with A (with the power of the magical syllable 'A')! That is the magical speech. Purify us from the stains of speech! Bestow upon us power of speech, the gift of perfect, victorious speech! We implore you that you may bless us with Hum (with the power of the magical syllable 'Hum'), which is secret (magical) thought! Purify us from the stains of thoughts! Give us understanding and a pure heart! Give us the four powers of the heart! We implore you that you may bestow upon us the powers of the true body, speech, and spirit! Om! A! Hum!

"O grant us the blessing which effaces all sins and all the stains of our evil deeds. We implore you that you allay the causes of sorrow, the sinful deeds of earlier existences! Bless us with spiritual guidance! Bless us soon with attainment of Buddha dignity (through attainment of Bodhi, that is to say, illumination)! Free us from deception (Maha) which holds up to our deceived eyes this world of appearances as reality, and in so doing produces the 'thirst' (Sanskrit, tanha) for life. Bless us by leading us on to the right, eightfold path of virtue and denial of the world! Let us serve each other in friendship! Grant us the ability to do good and to release all living creatures from suffering! Bless us with the knowledge of ourselves! Help us to be charitable from the bottom of our hearts! Help us to be as courageous as you are! Bless us through the magical might of the tantras (magical formulas), as you

• 782 yourself have been blessed by them! -- -- --"

"Cause us, all us animated creatures, to be freed from pleasure, from wrath, and from liking for worldly things, and teach us to recognize fully the true nature of religion! -- -- -- And now, Oh you Buddhas, demons, male as well as female, father, mother! Thou Samantabhadra (original Buddha), thou Supremely Gracious One in the 'Body of the Law,' and you Buddhas in the 'Body of Blessedness,' all you Gracious Ones and all you Wrathful Ones! Also thou, Oh great Lama Magician! All of you whom I have called upon! I now entreat you that you may remove youselves!"

"You spirits of the departed heroes! You witches, you demons, you defenders of the Doctrine! You sacred guardians of the Law! /166/ All you to whom I have here prayed! I entreat you that you may all go away now!"

"Thou mighties king of the gods of wrath! Thou powerful Ishvara (Shiva), and the entire gost of local gods and tutelary deities! All of you, whom I called hither, with your entire following! I entreat you that you may all disappear now! Trashis shok! Let there be blessing upon us! And virtue! Geo!"

The prayer that is here set down and which I reproduce in an abbreviated form, indicates in what direction and in what forms the praying of the Buddhists moves. The layman, and thus also Namgyal, made use of a much shorter version in which, however, the main ideas constantly keep recurring: purification from the sins of earlier existences, release from the sufferings of this life and translation into nirvana, or at least into the "Joyful Paradise of the West (nub-p'yogs-bde-ba-can) (148)." "Let me be reborn in the Paradise of the West!" That is the

[775] 148. The later Mahayana Buddhism introduced another form of release in contradiction to the doctrine of the extinction of being in the nirvana. This took place in the "Paradise of the West" (Tibetan, nub bde-ba-can; Sanskrit, Sukhavati), in the realm of light of the heavenly Buddha Amithaba (Tibetan Od-dpag-med), where the pious people enjoy a conscious life in unspeakable joys as a recompense for their patient striving for release. However, this was considered merely a stage antecedent to the final release in nirvana.

refrain of all prayers said by the pious Tibetans, lamas as well as laymen. The entreaty for dissolution into nirvana recurs alongside of it,

but with less frequency. The notion of a life in the Joyful Paradise has infinitely more attraction for the healthy sense of the Tibetan, as well as of the Chinese, the Japanese and of the Mongolians, than the concept of a nebulous nirvana. 782

Frequently Namgyal prayed to the benign goddess Tara (sgrol-ma), the feminine Bodhisattva, the wife of the great Merciful One, Avalokitesvara (149). One of the prayers addressed to her went as

149. Mahayana Buddhism adopted a great many new ideas with much tolerance and adaptability during the first few centuries of our time in India. Among these belongs the concept of the pairs of deities. The Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, and the gods and demons were each given a female complement, a "Feminine Energy" (Sanskrit, Shakti, Tibetan, nus-ma). In this conjunction, special powers were supposed to be bestowed upon the gods. In art, in paintings and bronzes, these divine couples were represented in embrace. It is certain that strongly sexual motifs play their part here, even though the lamas try to deny this. The lamas explain that the union signified symbolically the animation of dead matter through the spirit, and similar things. These ideas constitute a part of the Tantra system which first entered Indian Buddhism during the seventh century A. D. The yogi (ascetic) of the older school of yoga, strove for union with the world soul (yoga) through fasting, asceticism, and meditation. Through becoming one with the world soul they wanted to achieve release from the bonds of earthly existence. Later, in the practice of the Tantra school, the forms became cruder. By means of Tantras (exorcisms) the magician invoked gods and demons with whom he pretended to enter into mystical union, thus appropriating their magical powers by means of which he was able to perform "miracles." [771]

follows:

"Hail to thee, Green Tara (150), thou releaser of all living

150. Tara had three phenomenal forms: There is a White Tara, a Green Tara, and a Golden Tara; the Green Tara is the most popular and the most widely worshiped one.

782 creatures! Come down, we pray you, from thy celestial abode! Descend with thy retinue of gods, giants and freers! In all humility we fall down before thy lotus feet! Release us from all distress! Oh sacred Mother!" (At this point the suppliant makes an offering of flowers, incense, rice, or little lamps before the statue or image of Tara.) "We praise thee, Oh exalted and adored Tara, thou who art adored by all kings and princes of the ten points of heaven /literally: "of the compass."--translator./, now, in the present, in the past, and in the future! We implore thee to receive graciously this offering of flowers, incense, lamps, food, music of the cymbols, and other gifts! In all sincerity we implore thee that thou mayst enjoy the food that is here offered to thee in all thy celestial shapes /167/! The most sinful hearts, nay, even the committers of the Ten Sins (151)

[779] 151. The "Ten Sins" correspond to the Ten Commandments of Buddhism, the trespasses of which they constitute: One must not kill any living creatures, one must not steal, not commit any unchaste deeds, not lie, one must not partake of inebriating beverages, and so forth; the "Five Enormous Sins" (sdig-pa t'sad-med lna) are: 1. Patricide; 2. Matricide; 3. The slander of the "Exalted Lama" (the chief Superior Lama); 4. The destruction of the image of the "Blissfully perfect." That is the designation for the (fabricated) six predecessors of Gautama Buddha (bde-bźin bśegs-pa; Sanskrit, Tathagata), who are frequently represented in a group on pictures; 5. To kill one's virtuous abbot.

and of the Five Enormous Sins (t'sad-med lna), will obtain forgiveness and perfection of heart if they repentantly confess their sins to thee. When we (human beings) in the three regions (152) have amassed merit,

[772] 152. The three "Regions of the Heavens" are: 1. the region of desire; foolish desire leads to the formation of shapes and finally of living creatures; 2. the region of the shapes; 3. the formless world.

then we rejoice over this good fortune, all the more when we think of the lot of the animals who are miserably submerged in the sea of suffering. For their sake we are now turning the Wheel of the Law (153). We

153. To "turn the Wheel of the Law" is the Buddhistic expression

788 that when he died, he would be translated to Amitabha's realm of joys, after he had been released from the sufferings of the rebirths through the power of this prayer. Once he asked the hermit Tsetan concerning the significance of this to him totally incomprehensible formula. The hermit explained to him that this prayer was actually addressed to the gracious goddess sGrolma (Tara), the wife (shakti) of the great Merciful One. This goddess was also a mighty redeemer from all woe, and the prayer addressed to her was much more effective still, according to the hermit, than that to her spouse. These "female energies" (Tibetan nusma) were generally powerful beings, said the hermit, whose favor it was important to obtain.

782 The following event showed how the experiences and the anxieties of life often drove Namgyal to prayer. Namgyal was on a journey into the beautiful neighboring country of Kashmir with his uncle Stobsldan. One evening they had set up their tents in the densely forested Sind valley. Suddenly a very violent thunderstorm came upon them, which raged for hours into the early hours of the morning with unabated force. A hurricane-like gale broke loose and in no time at all the pegs of the tent had been torn out of the soft forest ground, and the tent itself was carried off by the gale into the darkness of the wood. Bolts of lightning flashed ceaselessly and the thunder rumbled. Twice lightning struck the tall pines extremely close to them. A cloudburst came down which, in a short period of time, transformed the forest floor into a morass. The two travelers were soaked to the skin and looked for shelter under a broad-limbed fur tree. Close by them the tremendously swollen torrential mountain brook rushed past them with a deafening roar, and it threatened to overflow its banks at any moment. Several avalanches of mud came down from the nearby slopes; the men heard the crashing of uprooted and splintering trees and the rumbling of boulders that were rolling down very close by, and yet they were unable to find a safe standing place in the darkness.

Stobsldan trembled with fear in his whole body. He was continually turning his prayer wheel which he had otherwise not used for a long time, and he prayed one "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum" after the other. Now he seized his nephew by the arm and said: "Namgyal! Did you see the riders up there in the clouds, the terrible Tsan king and his Wild Hunt? Can't you hear the roaring of the thunder /173/ dragons up there as they are fighting with each other? Now the Lha-adre (demons) who ride on the dragons are also throwing hailstone from their sacks down on us. They will kill us yet! Pray, Namgyal,

pray! You know so many prayers. I have forgotten them all. Perhaps 782 the Terrible Ones will then be appeased."

Then Namgyal said a prayer (157) which his father had once

157. The Tibetan text of the two prayers goes:

1. The one addressed to the 1,000 Buddhas, and so forth:
mt'o-bai sa-na bya-ra mdzod /
dma-bai a-na me-ltse mdzod /
mun-pai nan-la sgron-me sbor /
dgra-dpun śigs-la bdud-dpun ĉom /
sam-pa sgrub-la--re-ba skoń /
t'se-dbań lońs-spyod rgyas-pa dań /
bkra śis p'un-sum- t'sogs-par agyur.

2. The prayer addressed to the enemy god:
gańs dań seń-ge agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dan ma abral-źig /
k'yuń dań sog-sgro agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig /
stag-dań nag-t'sal agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig /
snya-mo ĉu dań agrogs-pa bźin /
dgra-lha mi dań ma abral-źig.

With respect to the first verse, second-to-last line, it should be noted: To obtain strength to live (t'se-dbań) and a long life (t'se-rin) is the desire and the endeavor of almost all Buddhists in Tibet, and it stands in crass contradiction to the Buddhistic doctrine according to which life simply means suffering, and is therefore not worth living. The Buddhist prays for a long life; he desires it for himself and for his children and friends; the beggar wishes his benefactor: "t'se-riń-źig, may your life be long!" Parents call their child T'sering or T'sewang (Live-long or Strength-to-live). In theory the Buddhist negates life, but in practice he affirms it in the strongest possible manner.

Gańs dań seń-ge (second verse, beginning), the "ice lion": compare this with note 64! Concerning the mythical bird Garuda (Tibetan, k'yuń) see note 78! The little fish

•782 (second verse, last line but one) is here, as also frequently in other instances of its occurrence in myth, thought of as a female fish; snya-mo--the syllable "mo" indicates the feminine gender.

taught him. It was addressed to the thousand Buddhas, the entire crew of Bodhisattvas, the tutelary gods (Yidam), and to the country gods:

"Keep guard up above!
Keep guard down on earth!
Kindle light in the dark night!
Vanquish army of foe and fiend!
May hope and wish both be fulfilled!
Ample wealth and strength to live,
And good luck let us receive! "

"Just recite the prayer of the hostile god (dgra-lha), too, " said Stobsldan; "I once knew it by heart but have forgotten it since. I have always prayed just the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum; but it is better to pray directly to the gods up above, for then they will spare us perhaps. " /The last two quotation marks supplied by the translator./ Then Namgyal prayed:

"Just as the lion stays near the glacier, (see note 64!)
So enemy god always stay close to us!
Just as the tail to the Garuda,
So enemy god stay joined to us!
Just as tiger always lives near forest,
So enemy god always stay close to us!
Just as little fish always remains in water,
So enemy god never be far away! "

000 Namgyal was often overcome by the desire to withdraw to a hermitage like the recluse and like some others of his acquaintance. To give himself over to pious exercise and meditation so that he would gain a certain claim to liberation. But then his healthy desire to live would again take the upper hand, his joy in working, the happiness he derived from his wife and children, from home and property. And Grandmother Tsering Putrid said that he was now pious enough that his piety /174/ was sufficient for this life and for the one to come; whatever

might still be lacking, the lamas would get for him; after all, they 000
were making enough money on him.

It is true that Namgyal donated ample gifts to the neighboring 788
monastery and to the monks who were called in for the household ceremonies. He performed pilgrimages to all the holy places within reach, among others to the miracle-performing image of the Great Merciful One in Trilognath in Lahul; he also planned to perform the great pilgrimage to the sacred glacial mountain Gangsri, as well as that to the sacred lake Manasarowar in faraway Tibet, as soon as his official business matters as magistrate--the post had been transferred to him--would permit. The belief was that by means of such a pilgrimage the sins of all births were to be effaced and the way into Paradise was to be opened all at once.

Besides the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, the country gods, the 782
village gods, and the household god were not forgotten either. Even though Namgyal was often beset by doubt as to their existence and their effective power, he nevertheless considered it advisable, if only for the sake of his relatives and the p'as-pun (clan), not to neglect them and to keep them favorably inclined and pacified by occasional offerings.

Each morning before sunrise Namgyal would bring the morning offering (ma-mĉod) to the entire host of Buddhas and gods. It consisted of barley, rice, beer, water, and also flowers (zas-ĉaṅ-gi p'ud); everything was placed in front of the images of the deities in the house temple in brass bowls. Upon entering the sacred chamber Namgyal would fall down three times in adoration before the image of Avalokitsvara, and then he would present the offering and say a brief prayer. In the evening Namgyal would in like manner bring the evening offering (p'i-mcod).

His poor neighbor, Ngurub, who could not afford such offerings, contented himself with placing a clay bowl with smouldering juniper twigs in it, on the roof of his house, as an "offering to all." He used to say that even so the gods were just as favorable to him and that he was not afflicted with misfortune any more than the rich who presented more ample offerings. On the contrary. The gods loved the spicy, fragrant smoldering juniper above all, /175/ and they looked, so he said, graciously upon this offering. He stood quite well with those up there, he stated.

In the first "ascending" half of each month (yar-ño) (158), that 784

158. The first "ascending" half of the month" (yar-ño) is 821

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalayas.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Muhammadan.	Others.
Kúlu	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Láhaul	[illegible]	—	26	[illegible]
Spiti	1	[illegible]	—	—

"In Kúlu, including *mauzá* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorij, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhodtens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung paskhi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Kokor pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *mánis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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In the time when the *Lung pachhoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

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"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

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"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

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"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

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"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chanre-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chángg* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 "All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

795 [778] [782] 776 [754] "As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

778 782 177

771 177 "As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 241 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life. 241

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the land-holders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system. 779 792 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámáic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámáic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423 Chapter IV, C.

233 Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

[427]

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Koksar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *mógi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

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423
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[712]

The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *phátí* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

[427]

SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

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Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 614

(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

T D 174 197 782 [776]

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di sha nomo hla shuni
Shuni bi sha nomo hla shuni
Sinani bi sha nomo hla shuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངལ་ཆགས་ཞིག་ལ་ལྷ་ཡ་ཏ།
ངན་ཐུ་ཝ་ལ་ལ་ལྷ་ཡ་ཏ།
ངལ་ཐ་ཞིག་ལ་ལ་ལྷ་ཡ་ཏ།

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 797 782 539

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

T D 539

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tizha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tizha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

T D 174 537 536

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

T D 174 533

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

T D 174

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

539
585
104
177
782
776

Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om khreshipar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally: it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kesar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp's* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean: — 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthea*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[1]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate [illegible]) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kesar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thea* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. theathea*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

539
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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.

1. phuru yar yziga 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

[1] [Cf. pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [Cf. pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

764 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-
767 femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fasciæ, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee
[718] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fasciæ were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, *i.e.*, intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et cetera. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated
787 parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead
782 cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.
767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged.

BHAGWAN SINGH.

[143]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

753 healthy places. They also send poison to make men dizzy and sick at the stomach, to make them bleed at the nose and swell in the joints, to make them faint and unable to walk.

753 Whenever one gets over a pass without being afflicted by pass
• 782 poison or without suffering any other injury or disaster, the gods
778 have been good to him. And so he always celebrates the event. He does it in several ways. He builds a pile of stones at the pass—called *obos* in Ladakh and *oris* in Lahul—and each time a traveler passes that way he adds a stone. And so the piles grow into huge collections. Everyone adds to them. A lama of distinction who is carried across a pass in a chair or who rides in state will not go by without having a rock added to the pile. A servant will hand him one from the ground, and he will drop it with his own hand. And he more than likely will add a prayer banner to the rock cairn or stop and burn incense there. The *obos* is a dominant ornament on every pass; and it is found also in other dangerous places such as in the steep and treacherous gorge between La Chulung La Pass and Toche Phirche.

The *obos* usually has streamers of colored cloth tied to the rocks or fastened to sticks that are planted in the rock pile. Prayers are written on these pieces of cloth, and each wind that blows makes the cloth flutter, and each flutter sends the prayer winging to the god or goddess of the pass.

133 The day we left Chakchu we climbed steadily through strange and exciting country, headed for Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung La Pass. There had been no trees north of Baralacha. The whole stretch of land seemed to be desolate and heavily eroded. Now the marks of erosion were lying heavier and heavier on the land. Once these mountains and valleys may have been lush. Now there was only an occasional patch of grass standing like a tiny island in a sea of slate pumice. Many buttes mounted the canyon walls. They were brown, yellow, green, and red; and the highest of them were flecked with snow. There is much sandstone in this stretch of country; the wind had whipped it and the rain had

788
778 As the lamas passed this scroll, I heard them mutter, "*Om Mani*
531 *Padme Hoom.*"

788 To the center of the main chapel is an altar covered with bowls
• 782 filled with water and cereals. They are offerings to various gods. For the sake of prosperity, they are supposed always to be filled. I met the lama who attends them, a scraggy, barefooted man, and as he passed the altar I heard him mutter, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

There are thirteen large urns at Hemis, about four or five feet tall and three feet wide. They are filled each year with yak butter by some friend or benefactor, and lighted wicks stand in the middle. Each urn is supposed to burn a year. If the flame goes out, it is bad luck. The lama who had the main urn under his surveillance hovered near, wrapped in a soiled, red robe. As I went by I heard him murmur, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

778 In the center of an adjoining chapel is a life-size statue of
788 Buddha, where the devout bow in worship, murmuring, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

785 Around Buddha are images of lesser deities and of Incarnate Lamas. There is one of Stagtsang Raspa, founder of Hemis. There is one of Mila Repa, the famous Tibetan poet who lived for eighty-three years and attained Buddhahood in that span even though
[754] his early life was sinful. He had learned how to kill people by magic and for a while walked the path of darkness. Then he did penance under a Lobon (Guru) by the name of Marpa. Marpa made him build a house of stone, then tear it down and carry the stones back to where he had found them. He did this over and again, one time building and tearing down a house nine stories high. Marpa beat Mila Repa and gave him impossible chores to do in penance for his sins. Finally Marpa gave him the Initiation and the Teachings, and launched Mila Repa on a life of mortification of the body. He became a hermit in a cave on a high mountain, where he lived on nettles. He renounced food, clothing, and

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding [493] streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 782 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

> *la ilaha illa–'llah:*
> *Mohammed rasulu–'llah.*
> *No god but Allah: Mohammed*
> *is the messenger of Allah.*

771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh—2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist coun- 797 try, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is 175 also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith 648 of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are
264 completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth
412 of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

576 With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching
291 head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as
782 out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature
241 seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the
759 mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

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868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which 805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and 465 565 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving ● 782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not 614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must 776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The 778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and 782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into 792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

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pieces of silver and gold, and then the local *Skushog* or great lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually. On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar, arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

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of former sins. Another patient—this time a Royal one be it noticed—asks for some medicine which will stop his beard from growing. Could such be produced much trouble might be saved for him as well as many others. The next comer informs us that he himself is not a patient, but that away at his home his little brother is suffering from headache, and is quite aggrieved that treatment without examination is refused. Now a Balti comes, who says he is perfectly well at present, but that he is quite certain one day he will have a pain in his digestive organs, and he would like to be prepared against that day. Another old gentleman has returned for more medicine, although only yesterday he had been provided for three days, and on being reproached for having disobeyed instructions, advances the perfectly reasonable argument that, if one dose of medicine is going to do him good, ten doses will multiply the good effect tenfold. 757

Having seen all our out-patients and attended to their treatment, we adjourn to the operating-room where a cataract is to be removed. To-day our patient is of noble rank, being the mother of the chief Rajah of Ladak. Some days previously the old King had asked us to operate on his maternal relative, and we actually fixed the date, but, alas! he found on consulting his horologist and books, that we had chosen a most inauspicious day and begged the Doctor to change it, which he did. There lies the old lady on the operating-table, her refined features and well-kept hands testifying to her good breeding. We scrub our hands so thoroughly that the onlookers, among whom is the King, no doubt feel this is part of a religious performance preceding the operation. Having arranged the sterile towels, we are just about to start, when the exalted son begins walking up and down the room rapidly, saying his *Om Mani pa dme hungs*, the while turning the beads of his rosary. This is hardly conducive to the stillness an English surgeon would desire when performing a cataract extraction. The obstructing lens is removed, how- 757 565 [787] [782]

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is placed at his right hand the holy pot containing the peacock 796
feathers, in front of him the *Dorjhe* (thunderbolt) and 793
bell, and to his left a bowl containing rice. Behind him and
to the left is an altar, which is erected in the form of a pyramid
by means of steps, on each of which there are a great number [782]
of brass bowls containing offerings of butter, rice and water.
On the top is an image, most likely that of the tutelary deity
of the presiding *Skushog*. In the immediate vicinity of the
celebrating lama other priests are present to assist. Behind
these on either side sit the more prominent Buddhist laymen
of the town, all with heads reverently uncovered. In the
court-yard below the verandah, the poorer worshippers are
sitting on the ground, with the men generally in front. On
inquiry we are told that the celebrating priest has carefully
prepared himself for this ceremony. For twenty-four hours
he has sat alone in meditation, and, by means of the repetition
of many prayers has purified himself from all his sins. While
doing this he has the *Tsebum*, or "Vase of Life," in front of him.
He suddenly sees the *lha* (the god) enter it and says *Da drub
tsar*—"Now it is fulfilled." He then dons his ceremonial
hat and comes out to the congregation in order to distribute
life to those present. The service begins with the
reading of the holy books, by the *Skushog*, who holds in his
right hand the bell, which he rings at appropriate moments
and in his left the *Dorjhe*, which he turns, whilst the lamas
respond every now and again in a sing-song tone of voice,
blowing their shawms and clashing their cymbals. The
elements are now distributed. In front, walks the *Skushog*
with the "Vase of Life" in his hands. Passing along each
row, he touches each worshipper's head with it. Behind him
follows a priest with the "Wine of Life," of which he pours
a small quantity into the cupped hands of each communicant.
This is carried reverently to the forehead and to each eye in
turn and finally to the mouth to be drunk. The wine
is actually only made of water, coloured with saffron

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A similar rise in the social scale occurs with the Spiti 791
magicians, who visit Ladak every summer. These gentlemen 788
are of quite low caste in their own country, but here they are addressed in the language of respect, being known as the *Mani-pas* or "prayer-men." Wearing long red robes, they are, however, distinguished from lamas by the absence of caps, and by long hair plaited up in braids, close to their heads in front and hanging down to their waists behind, giving a curiously effeminate effect to their moustached faces. Their entertainments are closely bound up with religion, in fact their name, the *Mani-pa*, has been given to them on account of this and their constant attention to their hand *manis* or prayer-
wheels. When about to give a show, they first arrange an 789
altar in the form of a couple of banners behind a table with 791
sacred lamps and vessels for barley and other offerings. In [782]
front of this they dance with swords, at first slowly, then with increasing excitement until the climax is reached by running forward, placing their feet on the ground, raising their bodies, and apparently balancing them on the points of their swords, which are placed in the armpits, abdomen, or even cheeks. This effect is really achieved by sufficiently straightening and stiffening the arms. They also pierce their cheeks, through an old scar, with swords and long needles. Their masterpiece of magic is the breaking of a large stone by one of them on the abdomen of the other. This, of course, is preceded by a lot of incantation and dancing round the latter, who lies on his back on the ground with the small boulder balanced carefully on his abdomen, and, at the right moment, this is made to fall apart into two halves by beating upon it with a big stone. For some days previously the actual boulder is sought for on the desert hillside around with considerable trouble and selected with great care, while the one on whom it is balanced has to hold his breath throughout the performance of the trick. They also beat the abdomen with swords, which process is also rendered harmless by the trick of inflation.

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789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[782] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal house-
535 hold. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

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often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain. 779 788

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands, each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate his many heads an attic projects up into an inner courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha, for permission to return and help him, he received this reply, "Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all, I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these heads represent four past races, and that actually there should be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating, but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate, it was "the light that failed." We pass into another room containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

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346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their
792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
35v the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

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and man, and he possesses 1000 heads. Thrown at his feet one notices many cowrie shells and Indian copper coins, the former brought by women to appease him. This image was only made a few years ago, and a special series of services were held to induce the god to enter the image. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting and dancing in the grove of large trees at the side of the monastery, while the actual ritual was performed on the roof, where Meme Lobzang (the *Skushog* being then a tiny baby) presided, assisted by a group of lamas, who helped him to pour the right libations and offerings from the many vessels and bowls before his throne into the large fire which leaped and crackled before him, accompanied by monotonous incantations and chants from a group of seated lamas, and, of course, the monastic band. To this roof we now duly ascended up another very steep ladder, where Meme Lobzang himself extended his hand to help the ladies with true Western gallantry. The view was magnificent, both behind towards the Kardong Pass and before down to Leh, whose trees blotted out the desert below, so that the cultivation and all its little square terraced fields might have extended to the foot of the mighty mountains on the further side of the Indus, all touched with the magic softness of the westering sun.

Retracing our steps down the steep staircases, through the dim passages and rooms, we emerged again into the portico, and viewed the lamas private dwellings ranged on the three sides in front of us as we descended the temple steps. In the left-hand corner was a peculiarly fantastic bit, so delightfully crazy it looked. A short flight of steps led up to two doors, each with an ancient padded curtain to keep out the draught, and a sagging valance above, whilst over one was a quaint little attic with a window of roughly-patterned lattice, its lines so fascinatingly crooked, and enhanced by a small awning, projecting from one side of the attic to shade the roof, on the edge of which was a series of rough window boxes,

feathers and of the eggs corresponded. Where do we find red birds 773
laying red eggs, /15/ or yellow birds laying yellow eggs? And while 822
in song No. XLI[1] nature was easily ignored, and they placed a yellow bird on a yellow egg (No. XXXIX)[1] in the South, in the West a red bird on a red egg, and so forth, they were more cautious in the case of song No. VIIb.[1] They accepted the color of the egg given in the song as binding, and then proceeded to look around in nature for birds that lay eggs of this particular color. They happened to know that the snow pheasant, which, after all, is of a pure white color, lays coral-red eggs, and therefore they placed it on the red egg of the branch concerned. To the white falcon is attributed an iron-colored egg, because its egg is supposed to resemble iron in nature, and so forth. The golden egg in this song is accorded to the bird Khyun, the sun bird, because the sun appears golden in color. However, it remains uncertain on which of the branches of the world tree we should place it, since it is impossible to determine which of the branches is to be considered the "first."

We can see from the songs about the tree of the world that in the 773
thoughts of the ancient Tibetans there was a connection between the 776
deities of the three worlds which lay on top of one another, and those of the four regions of heaven. They celebrated these gods in song not only in special groups consisting of the first three or the latter four, but they also composed songs in which all seven were celebrated together. Such a song is No. 1 of the wedding songs of Khalatse.[1] This [782]
song deals with an offering of incense. The smoke, it is said, rises upward, spreads out over the earth, sinks down, and moves to the four points of the compass in order to allay the anger of all these deities.

So long as the highest of the water spirits was still considered a beneficent deity, there were seven divinities who were invoked together in such songs. But as we have already said, the prince of the nymphs was excluded from the circle of the other gods as the devil. In this way the group of the six chief deities came into being, and we encounter this group in the Tag-ma-cig wedding song, No. X,[1] in which the blessings of the six places, heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass, are enumerated. It is peculiar that as the blessing of heaven rain is named in particular.

Here we notice the similarity with ancient Chinese mythology as it is reported in the Schu-king II, I, 6, "Emperor Schun brought a special offering, but employing the usual forms, to Schang-ti. He brought his offering to the six honorable ones (heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass). As was proper, he made an offering

1 [See pp 1-9, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

776 snakes. On the pictures I have said that the Khyun is represented
778 in the act of devouring two of the Nagas. It is remarkable that among the eight mGon-po of Nub-ra there is also one that bears the name Nagaraksha, "water-snake demon" in the Indic language. His rock is in Ron-mdo. Apparently there is a rock formation in mGo-sbed which is reminiscent of a Khyun, and in Ron-mdo there is one that looks like a water snake (klu).

782 It is undoubtedly a fact that at one time offerings were made at these ancient cult places.[1] Certainly they also performed dances there and said prayers.

Concerning the offerings we learn a few isolated facts from the wedding songs.

[824] The first of the wedding songs of Khalatse deals with a smoke offering. According to this song the wood of the Shug-pa tree (Juniperus excelsa), a type of juniper, which smells very good when it is burned, is brought as an offering. This offering is called bsang-shug, "juniper food," in the song, apparently because it is to serve as nourishment for the gods. The main purpose of this offering is to maintain peace with the gods. The first verse runs:

This blue smoke rising,
What does it mean?
This blue smoke rising
/26/ Means that there will be no conflict with brGya-byin, lord of the gods
For that do we offer the nourishing juniper tree!

[776] In this way the smoke is presented as an offering to the deities of heaven, of earth, of the water world, of the four points of the compass, of the castle, the village, and the house. Everywhere the smoke is believed to have an appeasing effect. In Number 2
[824] of the drinking songs of Khalatse[2] two other plants are also named as materials fro incense, aside from the shug-pa, the "wood of the gods." These are su-lu-gser-po and kham-pa-dkar-po. Neither is known to me.

782 A very peculiar kind of sacrificial gift is named in the Tag-ma-
826 cig; wedding song No. XXXIII:[2] To the gods are to be sacrificed the white teeth and the fingernails; to the solid earth, the red flesh and the red blood; to the dark powers (mun) the gall and blue water; to the black devil, though, the black hairs and the eyebrows are to be offered. All these are parts of the body which among primitive peoples are regarded as the seat of mysterious powers, and their acquisition is looked upon as particularly desirable. Is there perhaps an idea of presenting the best to the divinities?

In this connection it should, by the way, be observed directly

1 [See pp. 37-38 -- AnalYST] 2 [See pp. 1-8 -- AnalYST]

782 826 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called srun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During [764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the [266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have collected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this prac- [113] tice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of [533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

sacrifice was, in later times, probably during the nineteenth century, replaced by an animal sacrifice. If, therefore, human sacrifices once took place in Tibet, these were probably transformed into animal sacrifices at a much earlier time. Animal sacrifices, on the other hand, /27/ are still performed to this day in the area of the West Tibetan kingdom before altars of the pre-Buddhistic religion, which are called ha-tho. At this sacrifice the heart of the still living animal (ram) is ripped out by the priest with his bare hand. Such altars are nowadays mostly found in the neighborhood of villages. They are one or two meters high, provided at the top with a bundle of juniper twigs, and down below they are surrounded with horns of wild sheep and ibexes.

A more harmless offering is represented in a rock drawing near Ke-sar-gyi-sga. There we see a Nyo-pa, "bride purchaser" or "bride beggar" (1) who is carrying a sword by his side and in his

1. He is probably the leader of the Nyopa. For in the picture in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 131, only the leader has an arrow in his hand.

right hand an arrow decorated with a little flag, and is standing in front of three beer jugs. Each jug is provided with little patties of butter along the edge, which signify that the beer is offered to a higher being (it might, it is true, also be a person to whom high respect is paid). The fact that the gods were actually presented with offerings of beer can be seen from No. 5 of the Trinklieder von Khalatse /Drinking Songs of Khalatse/.[1]

It is highly probable that dances were also performed at these ancient places of worship, for even today each festival of the ancient religion is accompanied by dancing. Usually the boys and the girls dance separately among themselves by pacing around an open wood fire in a long procession. It is seldom that the rows of boys and girls, arranged in lines opposite each other, move toward each other. In the dances of the girls, peculiar stiff movements of the hands are noticeable, which alternate with the bending of the upper part of the body toward the ground. As I was told by the natives, these movements are to be interpreted as gathering flowers and presenting them to the gods in heaven. These dances performed by the laity should probably be distinguished from the dances of the Buddhistic priests and from those executed by the migrant jugglers.

To the question as to what the people prayed for at the cult places of the ancient religion, we receive one answer from the

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113] 2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z.D.M.G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Ribbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

spindle (or the female sex organs) in Lahoul in the valley of the Bhaga River. I noticed only one rock drawing there of the male sex organs. In that region the name Bhaga, which can be translated by "sex organ," may have given rise to the practice of decking out the rocks with such emblems. That they had confidence in the ability of Kesar (and of aBru-gu-ma) to dispense children, we see from the saga about rGyal-sa-dkar-po (see Paladins). There Kesar prophesies to a girl that she will not only get a wealthy husband but also that she will bear seven children. 782 831 532 842

Festivals of the Ancient Tibetan Religion 796

1. The New Year's festival (Lo-gsar). Of this festival, which probably corresponds to the ancient winter solstice, I possess one description which the schoolteacher of Khalatse prepared in Tibetan. In this document it is stated: From the fifteenth of the tenth month to the twenty-fourth, children carry torches to a certain field. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth they light a fire on the public dancing place where all the people gather. All the farmers bake a kind of bread called ba-ga-tam, and this bread they store away. Then the children go to all the doors and say:

This is a good day, a good star.
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this day,
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this star!
Now every day is a lucky one!
May every year be a lucky one!
The boys get brides for themselves,
Wedding feasts are held,
White beer is poured out,
White pieces of butter are given with it!
A ram is killed.
May a son be born to you!
Give us a ba-ga-tam -- bread!

In this way the children collect many loaves of the bread, which they then distribute and eat.

The thirtieth day is called sTon (assistance). Then the relatives entertain one another. In the afternoon the men march out to the field with torches and music. Here they play the bra-sol (?). Thereupon the Mon (Indian caste of carpenters) must perform five exorcisms of the devil (skrad), during which rifles are fired and everybody shouts "te-ya-ho." Then the torches are heaped up in one pile and a dance is done around them with swords and rifles, as

15: Francke--94 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 west Tibetans AJ4

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 778 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

" 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--101 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

1 [See pl. 103-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

B: Francke --111 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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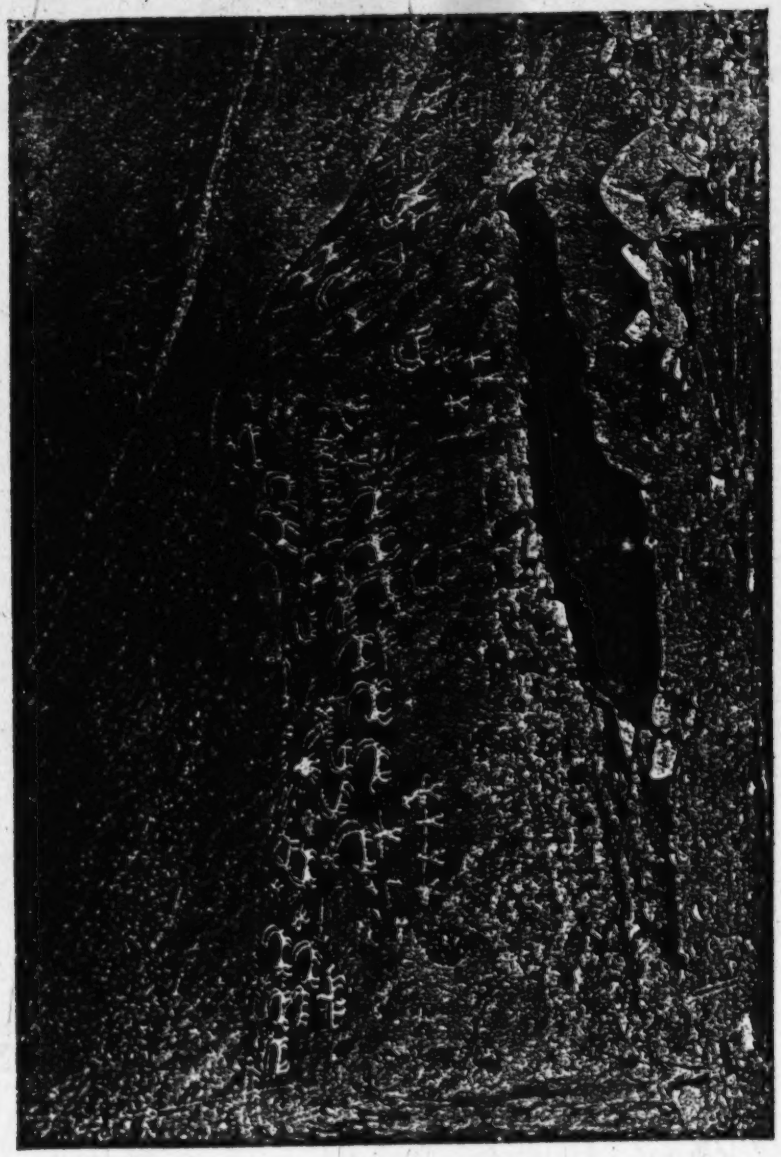

Nr. 11. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[83]

15: Francke --112 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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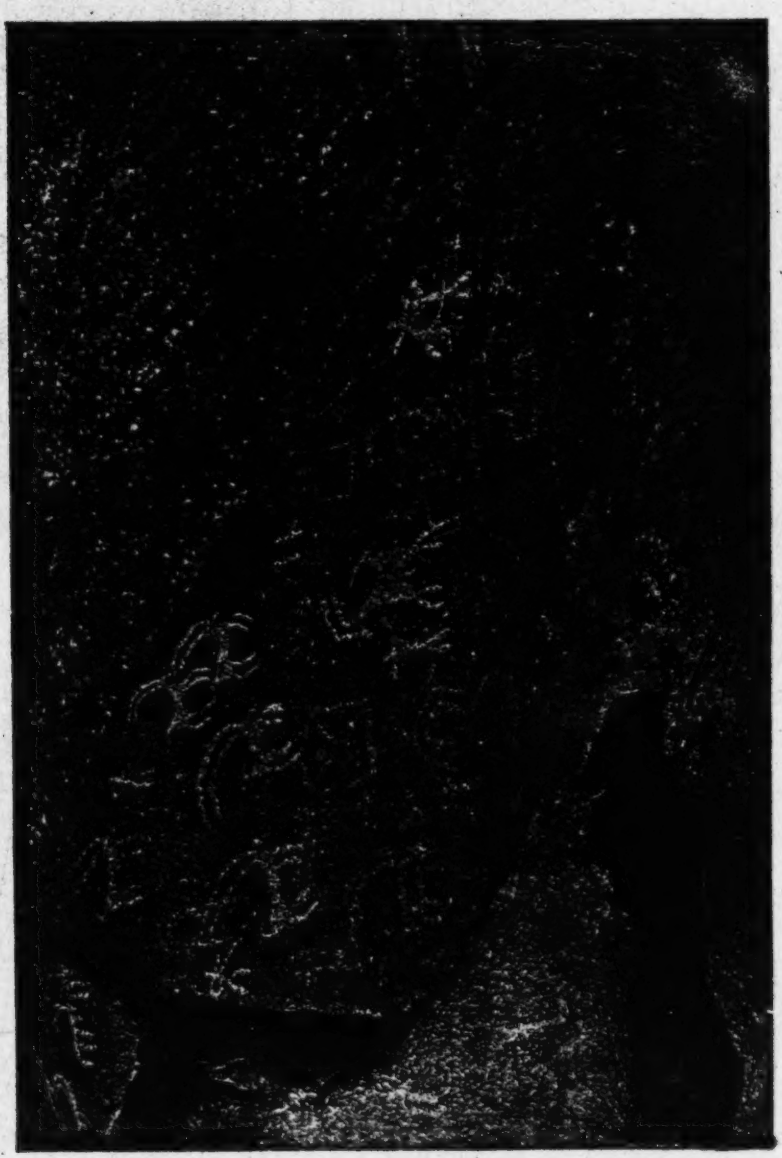

Nr. 12. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[84]

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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796 782 The New Year Festival celebrations begin when the *haldra* is placed leaning obliquely against the wall of the living room. One *haldra* is made for each male in the household, though none are provided for the women. This operation completed, the *mar-san* is offered and scattered before the *haldra*, after which follows the *kal-chor* offering which is sprinkled with a small branch of the juniper. The *sang-shū* is in the meanwhile lit and kept burning.

[797] The villagers have now to await instructions from the *Tsis-pa* (*T. rtsis-pa*, the man who calculates the readings of the Tibetan calendar) for the propitious moment for emerging from their houses. When this notice is served, the remainder of the *mar-san* offering is transferred to the

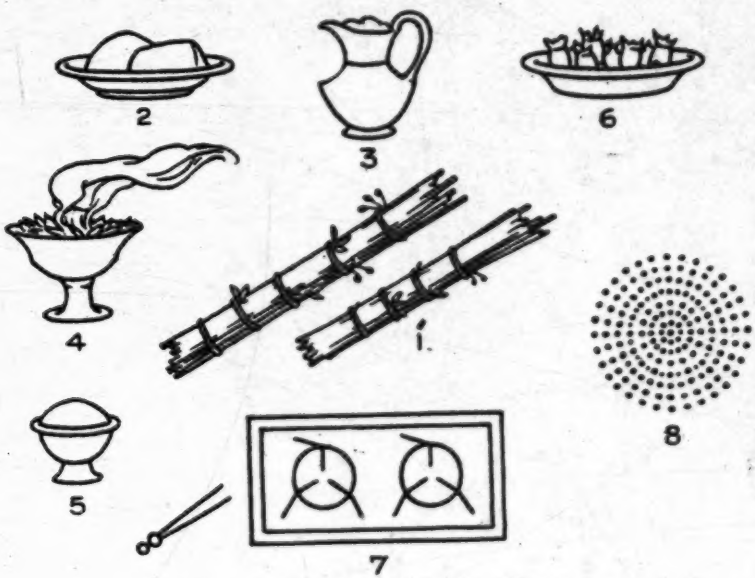

FIG. 1.—OFFERINGS AT THE *haldra* CEREMONY.

1. *haldra*; 2. *mar-san*; 3. *kal-chor*; 4. *sang-shū*; 5. *rai-gen*; 6. *mar-mar-zad*; 7. *tab-ka*; 8. *shis-kar-appa*.

rai-gens (? T. *ra-gan*, brass vessel) (5), a cup made of various metals. This is then placed in the fold of the Tibetan robe above the waistband, one such cup being carried by the sons in each house. The *mar-mar-zad* (6) offering consisting of barley, juniper berries, and sprouts, and butter mixed together, and tied up with yarn. Round small pieces of beech bark is similarly secreted in the folds of the dress. Finally, the *haldra* is lit from the family hearth or *tab-ka* (7) [= T. *thab*] and all emerge from their respective houses. At a certain field called *rūt*, one *mar-mar-zad* is offered; then at another spot further on a second *mar-mar-zad* is scattered, and about 200 yards further still the third offering of *mar-mar-zad* is made.

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When all the male members of the community have assembled at a given spot, their lighted *haldras* are all piled in a heap to form a large bonfire. Whilst this is burning, the *rui-gen* offering is produced, and pills of this are scattered towards a sacred juniper tree, whilst the remainder of this offering is thrown to the blacksmiths engaged to beat the village drums. This done, the males, each seizing a burning stick from the bonfire, form themselves into a circle. Holding the blazing sticks, one of the number beating time the while, says in a sing-song voice: *Hai sha mäi sha* (a magic spell with no meaning that I can discover), whereupon all repeat the spell in unison. 796 782 [789]

Old man (in the crowd): *Kar-dang rana ba-wa*—(a curse on a Rāṇa of Kardang who in ancient times oppressed the Lahulis).[1]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Gus-pa rana sho sha (a curse on a Rāṇa at Gus).[2]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Chä-mig' cham chim (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Lang-ma pan-pön (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Then in great excitement, with drums beating, and shrill whistling with fingers placed to the mouth, all the lighted sticks are thrown hither and thither. The cup which contained the *rui-gen* offering is now filled with snow. This is carried in the hand and deposited on a shelf in one of the apartments of the house. When the snow in this receptacle melts, the water is poured into the family ration of soup or tea.

The same night on which the *haldra* ceremony is held, the first circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions is made on the wall of each house. For each day a similar circle is described until the seventh day. This is called *Shis-kar-appa* (8).

Second day (*Shil*).—At daybreak, a woman in the house must rise and make a circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the *shis-kar-appa*. Whilst performing this duty she says: *Chod, chod* (Eat this offering), addressing the god of the New Year. She next sprinkles the *kal-chor* offering with a small branch of juniper. Then, offering the following prayer, she continues making her butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the wall:—

Rgyal-po Bal-la-raza
(Oh King Balaraza)

Ser-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Ser* = T. *gser*, gold)
(Grant me a pillar of gold);

Mul-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Mul* = T. *dngul*, silver)
(Grant me a pillar of silver);

Yu-i ka-ī dung-ma bara chod gyō (*yu-i* = T. *gyu*, turquoise: *dung-ma* = T. *gdung-ma*, beam—H. L. S.)
(Grant me a cross-beam of turquoise);

[1] Probably means "Shoot (*ba-ga*) the rāṇa of Kardang."
[2] Probably means "May the rāṇa of Gus be destroyed."—H. L. S.

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Hara mu-tig' bara chod gyō
(Grant me a pearl necklace);

Dukah po-shel-gyi bara chod gyō
(Grant me two large beads of coral);

Rin-po-che-i sna-tshogs-gi bara chod gyō
(Grant me various kinds of precious jewels);

Lu-gu dro-mar ya-so chan-gyi bara chod gyō
(Grant me a sheep with red and yellow on the breast, and black and white on its hind-quarters, and one with upper teeth);

Gi-ling sta-i bara chod gyō
(Grant me a unicorn).

Third day (*Tshod*).—At daybreak, two men from each house go to the village sacred tree taking Flour and water offering (*Drang-rgyas*), *Kal-chor*, Butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gyen-tsi*) about 3 inches long, *Sang-shū*.

When offering these they say :—

Chod, chod yul-la dai-ling dai-dai kyen (Oh worshipful Dayling god);
Innog' sol-tang ra-zhi (May the offering never be exhausted);

Hing zhog' za-tang tung tang ra-zhi (May we always have food and drink);
Lo lag' zhi panta bir-zhi (May we have a happy and prosperous year);

Nad' don tsa-i gulai kuat-chi wast-i-ra (May disease of every kind be abolished).
Chod (saying this, parts of offering are scattered).

Chod, chod yul-la dai dai kor-zhig' yor-shig' kyen (Oh worshipful god and your hosts):
A-kung-chi so-a-ti bon-cha tad-da (May not a single tooth fall out of my mouth);

Bu shag'-chi kra ti-ki bon-cha tad-da (May not a hair fall from my head);
Bang dog' tsō-ag'-ti zuk dai tad-da (May not a thorn pierce my foot).

Ma shes ma rig' tham-chad zod-par sol-tira (If I have erred unwittingly by failing to pay you reverence, please forgive).
Chod (saying this, more offerings are scattered).

Fourth Day (*Bang-mur*).—A little before sunset, all the villagers assemble before a neighbour's house, each householder carrying *mur* (a vessel containing sprouts of juniper, and balls of butter the size of a tennis ball), and a plate holding five measures of roasted barley (*buk*), also a butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gi-ra-bo*). Whilst offering these the prayer already quoted is offered to the village god. The remainder of the roasted barley and butter are then mixed together in a large vessel, and divided amongst the villagers who take it to their homes.

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When darkness falls, all make their way to another house in the village, each householder carrying a pot of beer, offering part to the village god, and sharing the remainder with his neighbours. The men folk then join in chorus singing their New Year Festival hymn addressed to the local god. Translated into English, it runs thus :—

A.

"In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of gold was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the celestial regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Ō-pam* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a silver throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the central regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Tsan Rgyab-ri* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of turquoise was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the nether regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The serpent demon *Hlu-bu-nor* sat there. (*Hlu*, T. *Klu*. S. *nāga*.—H. L. S.)
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a conch shell throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The Ruler of men was seated there.
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

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At the summit of the celestial mountains,
The broom has grown.
There the ravens settle.
May we prosper, may we prosper."

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On the fifth and sixth days of the New Year Festival, no special ceremony is performed, except that the flour-and-water thumb impression is made on the wall by the housewife.

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On the seventh day the ceremony of ringing out the New Year Festival is performed. This ceremony is called *Appa Bar-cha*. About 10 o'clock in the morning, two women from the house, walking slowly, approach the flour-and-butter thumb impressions on the wall (these being held to be the temporary residence of the god of the New Year). One carries *Sang-shū* and the *Kal-chor*, the other, a vessel with flour mixed in water. When before the god, the woman carrying the flour and water dips a branch of juniper tree in the mixture, and makes three vertical marks over the circles, and then three similar marks on the outside lintel of each door of the house. On the outermost door (the front door as we would say) the *Kal-chor* is sprinkled and offered simultaneously with this prayer :—

D.

"About this time you came to us.
Until you arrive again at this time next year,
May neither disease nor fever overtake us."

With this prayer, the god is dismissed. Just before sunset of this last day of the New Year festivities, each householder takes three large unleavened breads, about the size of a dinner plate, to a neighbour's house. One of the breads has a representation of a sun and a moon in flour. These breads and a *drang-ryyas* are then offered to the village god, portions of it being consumed by the people.

Interchange of feasts goes on amongst the villages from the 12th month, and the 10th–15th day, until the 1st month and the 3rd–5th day of the Buddhist year. Only when this ceremony of *Appa Bar-cha* has been performed, do the villagers have free intercourse with one another in the matter of giving and returning feasts. A feast during the New Year celebrations consists of :—in the morning, three buckwheat cakes, three cakes of leavened wheat flour and butter, and tea per head ; and in the evening, meat, rice, vegetables, beer and ardent spirits.

Immediately following the New Year celebrations, a social function called *Go-tsi* is celebrated (1st month, 3rd to 5th day). The ceremony of *Thars* (Saved) is then performed.

At sunrise the villagers take a *drang-ryyas* with an effigy of a ram upon it, and sacrifice it to the village god. Then follows another offering of *Mar-gyen-tsi* (a ram made of butter), a pot of beer (*kal-chor*) and also the *Sang-shū* (which is an inseparable part of the sacrifices offered in this country). To offer these the various households have each to supply one plate of barley flour, and 2 oz. of butter. When the ceremony of *Thars* is thus completed, the people are allowed access to the houses of other villagers where a similar ceremony has already been performed.

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796 At dusk a large party of youths and young women goes in a body to a neighbouring village, and after copious draughts of beer and ardent spirits, the assembled crowd dividing into two parties, compete with each other in singing songs, the winners being those who can remember the words of the entire song. That same night the keeper of the village god (*Hla-bdag-pa*) with a companion (*Hla-u-pa*), having adorned themselves with appropriate festal robes, remain all night in front of a fire lit in the village temple. Next morning the father of a male born in the old year has to give a feast to the community. Then five or seven men and one woman, suitably attired, go to an appointed place where the rest of the villagers have already assembled. There the parents of male children born in the previous year have each to distribute to the community at least nine measures of barley flour, and 40 pounds of beer. An additional gift of one bottle of ardent spirits has to be presented to the *Hla-bdag-pa* and *Hla-u-pa*. All then return to their houses, where their share of the food is consumed.

796 Before emerging from their houses to complete the ceremony of *Go-tsi*, a sacrifice of meat
● 78v and salt (*tshā-sha*), bread (*ta-gir*), biscuit (*khur-ra*), roasted barley flour (*tsam-pa*), entrails of a sheep (*gyu-ma*), wheat flour and butter (*pai-mar*) is made. This done, one woman is deputed to carry the *kul-chor*, whilst three men carrying a skin of a sheep dressed to represent a real sheep (*kul-tsi*), a bundle of sticks (*kaldra*) and a *drung-ryyas* between them, walk through the village saying, "*Hai sharā-gai ri-lo*" (a boy has been born).

In the meantime the *Hla-bdag-pa*, with his escort, carrying a *kaldra* and *kul-chor* appears on the scene, when roasted barley and balls of butter (*mar*), *kul-chor*, and *drung-ryyas* are sacrificed. Then follows the ceremony of shooting arrows at the *kul-tsi*. The skin of a sheep is stuffed with juniper, and small pieces of sticks with flowers attached are stuck in the skin to represent a live sheep. The *Hla-bdag-pa*, dressed in black, shoots seven, nine, or eleven, times with a set of four arrows, and all dance to the accompaniment of the village drums beaten by the blacksmiths.

At the festival of *Ak-ring* (1st month, 18th–19th day) a sheep is sacrificed by the usual method in Lahul, of tearing out its heart and casting it before the local deity, and much drinking
796 of beer and ardent spirits is indulged in. In the evening is a function called *La-martz*, when
533 the males of the village join in singing the following song :—

E.

"They say,
This year will be a prosperous one,
On the plain a fire is burning;
There is a yak on the plain,
There is a *dzo-po* on the plain.
There is a ram on the plain.
There is a house on the plain.
There is a man carrying a load of barley until a sore breaks out on his back.
There is a man cutting meat until the wood block wears out.
There is man ladling out melted butter until the iron ladle wears out.
With snow on his head to the height of one cubit, a man goes into his house."

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WALTER ASBOE.—*Social Functions in Lahul, Kangra District, Panjāb.*

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FIG. 2.—OFFERINGS FOR THE *Go-tsi* FESTIVAL.

1a AND 1b. *Drung-rgyas*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH; 2. *Haldra*, JUNIPER STICKS; 3. *Kal-tsi*, SHEEPSKIN TARGET; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 5. *Pai-mar*, WHEAT, FLOUR AND BUTTER; 6. *Tshā-sha*, PIECE OF MEAT AND SALT; 7. *Mur*, BALLS OF BUTTER ON ROASTED BARLEY GRAIN; 8. *Ta-gir*, BREAD; 9. *Gyu-ma*, INTESTINES OF A SHEEP; 10. *Tsam-pa*, BARLEY FLOUR; 11. *Khur-ra*, BUTTER-AND-FLOUR CAKES; 13. *Mar-gyan-tsi*, OFFERING OF AN EFFIGY OF A RAM (BUTTER); 14. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 15. *Drung-rgyas-ra-lo-chan*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH OFFERING SURMOUNTED BY AN EFFIGY OF A RAM (BUTTER); 16. *Sang-sha*, INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 17. *Pon*, A BUCKWHEAT CAKE TARGET TO REPRESENT SHEEP.

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796 After another bout of beer drinking, the youths career round the village, climbing the roofs of the houses and calling *Tsa-tsai-mo-la* down the chimneys. The male members who happen to be in the houses at the time, emerge carrying a plate of flour, and join the rest of the revellers. The flour thus collected is given to the children, who make dough effigies of a ram and present each householder with one. In return for this, the children receive flour and butter with which to hold feasts amongst themselves.

796 The next day the ceremony of *Bunu* takes place. Each woman in the village then takes a
78v cake of buckwheat, and *mur* (sprouts of juniper and balls of butter) to a neighbour's house, where part is sacrificed and part consumed by the assembled people. On this occasion, when the food is being distributed, the children scramble for pieces of food thrown to them.

796 The festival of *Gam-tsa* which occurs during the 1st month and the 18th–19th day, is the appointed time for arrow-shooting competitions. The target is made of a huge buckwheat cake 1¾ feet long, 1 foot wide, and 4 inches thick, with horns and tail to represent a sheep. This is divided into three sections. All then shoot their arrows simultaneously. If an archer hits the left-hand section, he receives that part as his share, similarly the middle section. The right-hand section of the cake whether hit by an arrow or not, is divided amongst all the archers.

The festival of the She-Demon's New Year (*Lai-tsog'*) in the 1st month and the 27th day, is marked by an orgy of beer drinking, and the burning of straw in front of the houses. The duty of lighting the straw devolves upon the womenfolk, who sing a maledictory song to the she-
796 demon, whose physical proportions are supposed to be anything but flattering. They sing :—
533

F.

"The *Lai-tsog'* she-demon *Drang-gog-ma* who has breasts reaching to her waist, and hair reaching to her heels,

Go away.

Oh, *Drai-ni-rag'-sa-ni*, make an offering lamp of dung, with a wick of a loin cloth.

Burn urine for oil.

Ride astraddle on the beam of a weaving loom, using a besom as a whip.

With one canine tooth growing upwards, and one downwards, depart without even looking back."

796 The festivities during the first month of the Buddhist calendar terminate with the ceremony of *Dam-pa-rig'*, at which a full choral service is held for two days by the priests, followed in the evening and well through the night by heavy drinking and village dancing. For the sustenance of the entire community, each householder must supply 40 lb. of barley, one measure of rice, one measure of barley flour, and ¼ lb. of butter. When these are all collected, the villagers pool the rations amongst themselves, and feast for seven days consecutively.

Five festivals occur during the second month of the Buddhist year. They are *Ringo*, *La-ma Chod-pa*, *Tsu-go-ki-la*, *Dun-chang*, and *Chai-dro-li*.

796 *Ringo* (2nd month).—Three households have to provide the beer for the community, and
78v also offer a *Drang-rgyas* to the local god, after which all enjoy themselves by drinking and gambling. Two or three days having elapsed a similar function is held.

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On the 15th day of the 2nd month another festival called *Tsu-go-ki-la* follows, during which the usual orgy of drinking and dancing goes on. This time each household has to provide 10 lb. of barley which is brewed into beer for the village carousals. At the *Dun-chang* festival a sheep is sacrificed in the usual way customary in Lahul, whilst the *la-ma-chod-pa* festivities are introduced by a choral religious service, when each house provides 10 lb. of rice, 4 oz. of butter, and 1 lb. of barley, the total amount of food, etc., being consumed by the villagers over a period of three days.

The *Chai-dro-li* festival marks the time when the low-class blacksmiths circumambulate the prayer-walls and *chorten* (cenotaphs of departed saints) beating their drums the while. This

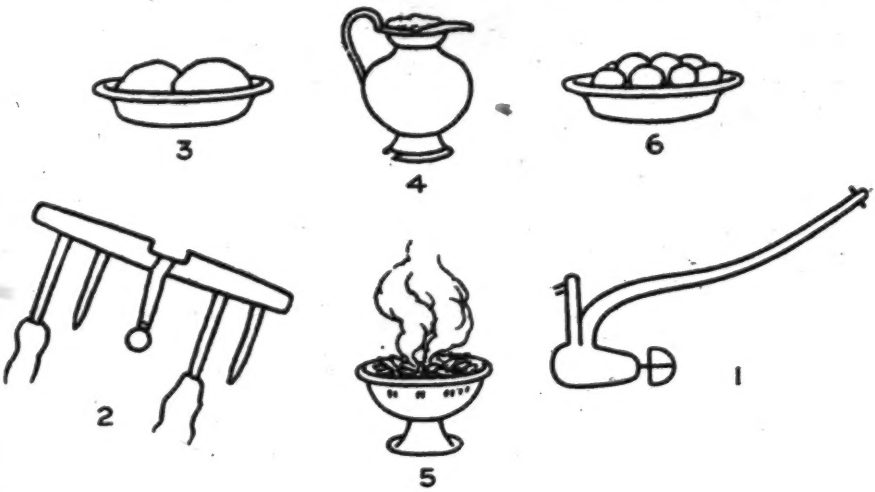

FIG. 3.—OFFERINGS AT THE SEASON OF PLOUGHING.

1. *Shol*, A PLOUGH; 2. *Nya-shing*, A YOKE FOR THE OXEN; 3. *Mar-zen*, A FLOUR-AND-BUTTER OFFERING; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER OFFERING; 5. *Sang-shö*, AN INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 6. *La-shen*, BUCKWHEAT CAKE OFFERING.

religious exercise completed, they collect alms from the villagers, each house providing as alms, one large plate of barley flour, one of wheat flour, one of buckwheat flour, and a pot of beer. It is also customary for each person to place a *mar-zen* (butter and flour) or buckwheat flour on a slab of stone for the ravens to eat.

During the third month the festival of *Bri-shu* is held, when all the cattle which have been fed through the winter for neighbours unable owing to scarcity of fodder to feed their own animals, have to be returned to their original owners. The usual quantity of beer is again collected for a communal beer-drinking feast, and an offering of *drang-ryas* made to the local god. It is at this time too, that the communal shepherds are chosen, and the "Masters-of-ceremony" for the ensuing year are elected.

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796 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-shen* (roasted buck-
● 782 wheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-shen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 The *Ma-ṇi Tsai-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the
793 village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

796 At the *Chog'-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-pa* (one in whom a god is supposed
787 to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is
[776] thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of blood.

Following closely on this function, comes the *Tsai-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned,
[793] perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-sa-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rag'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rang*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place
533 during the ninth month, one *drang-ryyas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to
787 the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung :—

G.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"
The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dzo's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dzo-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

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They are now fat like balls of butter,
In winter they will shrivel with leanness.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The youths become stout-hearted,
The maidens' countenances become like mirrors.

Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

In the morning the *dzo-mo* goes to the hills,
In the evening she returns to be milked.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The threshing floor pole is propitious like silver,
The barley is heaped on the outer edge of the threshing floor.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

When the straw is trodden out fine we are pleased,
When it is wet, it goes hard with the cattle.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

From early morning you endure hardship,
Try hard, and continue to go round (the threshing floor).

Refrain : "*Tulu-ja, tulu-ja.*"

If you go to the top of the hills you reach a glacier,
If you go to the turf, you eat summer flowers.

Then having released the oxen from the threshing floor, and patting them on their backs with a besom, the peasant addresses them thus :—

H.

"May the grain increase ;
As the oxens' horns become like cornelians,
So may the grain increase.
As your ears become like copper, so may the grain increase.
As your noses become like pipes of copper, so may the grain increase.
As your eyes become like the vowel "O," so may the grain increase.
As your lungs become like glistening white glaciers, so may the grain increase.
As your livers become reddish brown, to may the grain increase.
As your intestines become like a zig-zag path, so may the grain increase.

This ends the social functions for the year. They are observed punctiliously, and the method of celebrating them varies not at all, for the people's slavish adherence to the proper

796
791

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Dai ru hop dai ru hop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chogha u-chogbala yang rigui ya-la-lo
Bi sai ru ri sai ru
Shing bur tshei la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar ga-rag' la yang nak chung ya-la-lo
Dai ru hop dai ru hop
Gi li baba sang la yang la ba sing ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.

● 787

Note D.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tan sung tai lag' dog' chi
Or shei tai lag' as tog'
Nad tsed ma ai gag' bu.

533

Note E.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tsa tsai ml ma
Tsa tsai ml ma
Trashis ru dang lowi shang
Trashis tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Tsa tsai ml ma
Tsa tsai ml ma
Zin zin ru dang lowi shang
Zin zin tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Zhong zhong ru dang lowi shang
Zhong zhong tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gir gir ru dang lowi shang
Gir gir tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gling ru dang lowi shang
Gling tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Breng breng tsi gyul cha stog' wanz gel kak lowi shang
Dampa gro gyastog' sha tup chag' lowi shang
Chag' dad gro gyastog' mar pya chag' lowi shang
Pu shag' krui mun ang ling goi tsa lowi shang.

Note F.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Lai tsog' ma drung gog ma
Bai bai biang nang bai nu ral
Bal nang tai shyo
Drui si rag' su si bolo gyongbu
Nang lui shattai ar nang jar
Ki mar mai nang kri chai
Shrungs nang shir get gi stal
Chag' dang gang chai wa sa rag'
Gang chaiwa nam dog' korek
Ma ongs ka tai shyo
Ki tsi si li tsai si.

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Note G.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Lang chen tanna hiri do
Hiri do hiri do
Dso-poi rucho dang gi rucho
[Note: A "*dso*" is a cross between a cow and a yak. A *dso-mo* is the female animal.]
Dso-moi nganna dar gi poll dur
Hiri do hiri do
Krondri da krondri da mar krondri
Krondri da krondri bar krondri
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Kyoptong dar rgyu naro
Nachung mai long yallo
Hiri do hiri do
Nguro dzomo ri show ma
Ptdro dzomo jon show ma
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Ül tag' trashi gormow
Sermo nai sil sillo
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Tül tül tül na ange
Jib jib jib na nyalla
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Nam lange gi ma turi ku ku uoh
Ta ratana hiri do
Tulu ja tulu ja
Ri dot touna gang dot
Bange yuri mentag' don kun gün

782

Note H.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Hong bo rychang ka ro'
Chong gi ryacho-i ka mai hong bo ro
Na ua zange ki pa tap ka nai hong bo ro
Na zange mai pur-i ka nai hong bo ro
Mig' ga kai ka nai hong bo ro
Hlo-ua gang ri karpo-i ka nai hong bo ro
Chinba ba ju zha mukpo-i ka nai hong bo ro
Gyuma kyog' kam kyag' kam ka nai hong bo ro

SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the Rev.*

782 771 609 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 173 [114] Two stories of the last human sacrifices in Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

[241] "A man had to be killed every year for the "benefit of the fields of the community. The "peasants were to offer the victim in turns. "(They probably kept slaves, and these were "generally killed). One year it was a poor "widow's turn, and as she had no servants it "was understood that her only son was to be "sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly "about this, a wandering hermit came to her "house and offered to die in the place of her "son, if she would feed him well until the day "of execution. The widow gladly accepted the "offer, and on the appointed day the hermit "was led with much noise before the wooden "idol of the god of the fields. When the "executioner walked up with his axe to the "hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "'friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "'the god really wants to take my life.' Then "he stepped with the axe before the idol and "said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "'want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "'take yours.' As there was no reply, the "hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in "pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 "the river, and everybody went home."

173 114 The other story related to me concerning the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

Walter Asboe.

782 of it) was that of a woman who was buried alive.

173 114 Local tradition has it that she pronounced a curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

782 In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrified in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously; their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcases offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

[231] It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrified triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,

782 and finally sacrificed. At a marriage conducted
585 on a large scale, a sheep is thrown headlong from
782 the roof of a house, and its heart torn out.
Similarly, when sickness occurs threatening the
755 life of the patient, a sheep has to be sacrificed.

782 The animal is covered with a shroud to impersonate a corpse. In the meanwhile, the relations of the sick man call him repeatedly by name, and to the accompaniment of loud lamentations the sheep is led to the cremating ground and burnt alive.

000 Though in theory the taking of life and the

[76]

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Though in theory the taking of life and the
779 offering of bloody sacrifices are revolting to the
782 Tibetan Buddhist, the sacrificing of animals goes on unchecked by the Buddhist hierarchy in many parts of Western Tibet.

782 A section of the community, however, reluctant to shed blood when sacrificing to the local deities, makes dough images of animals for sacrificial purposes.

177 With the advance of civilization and education
782 in the secluded valleys of Western Tibet, bloody sacrifices will no doubt sink into the limbo of forgotten things.

[76 (a)]

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796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
262 holder says :

> " Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)." [2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.

796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect* :

> Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
> Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong.

796 On the 1st day of the 11th month, each household makes
782 a dough effigy of an ibex (*Skyin*), a cake of unleavened bread with its edges turned up and inwards (*Pe-Rak*), parched barley flour placed in a wooden flour bowl (*Pe-Pud*) is prepared. A vessel of beer (*Nang-mChod*) and one of water (*Chu-Pud*) are also placed alongside of all these offerings, the whole being laid on a shelf in the apartment for three days.

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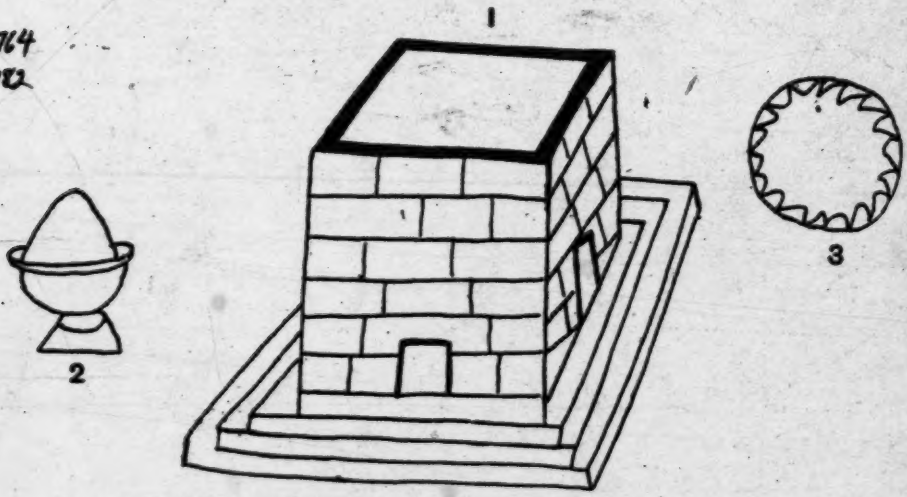

1. *Dur-Kung*. An earthen cremating oven set up on a plinth of earth. There is an aperture on each of the four sides to allow of ventilation, and ensuring a draught so as to expedite the burning of the corpse which is placed in it in a doubled up posture. The whole is made of dried mud bricks. 2. *Pe-Pud*. An offering of flour. 3. *Pe-Rak*. A cake of unleavened bread with edges turned inwards.

796 Friends, relations, and neighbours now call on each other
574 carrying with them small vessels of beer and 5, 7, or 9
685 breads (the taking of six breads being contra-indicated). The children of the village in the meantime make a house to house collection of meat, bread, and other eatables. Whilst the housewife is engaged in producing the food thus claimed, a diversion is afforded when the children surreptitiously steal the *Skyin*, *Pe-Rak*, *Pe-Pud*, *Nang-mChod*, and the *Chu-Pud*, though receiving their ration of food from the incautious housewife.

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On the 3rd day part of the offerings already mentioned 796
are devoted to the moon with the words: "Happy life,
happy new year, happy day, happy stars." In cases where 782
the housewife has not been able to forestall the theft of the
offerings by the children, fresh ones must be made and

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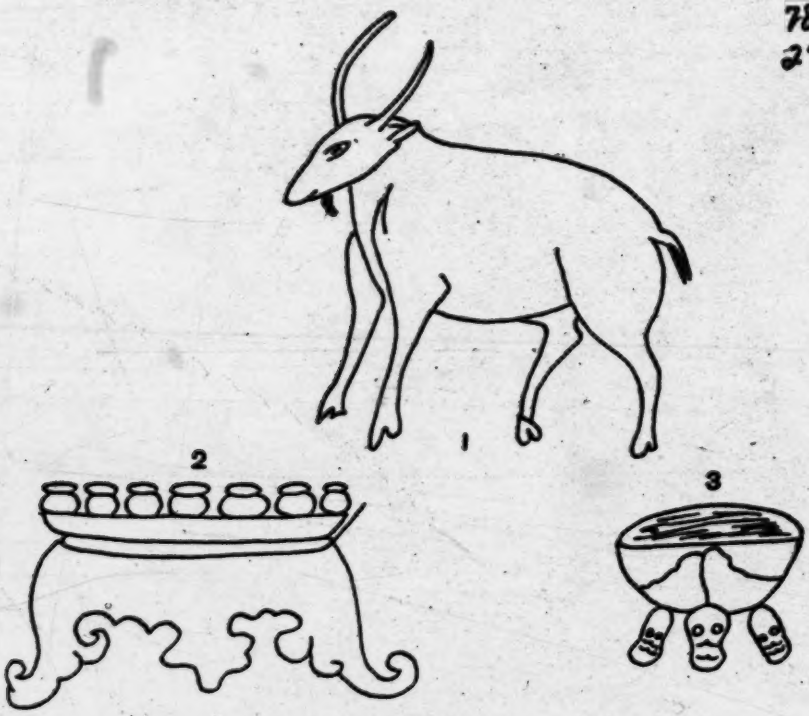

1. *Skyin*. Dough effigy of an Ibex. (4" long from crest to rump.) 2. *Chu-Pud*. These 7 cups of water used for sacrificial purposes are placed on a table as illustrated. 3. Nang-mchod. Vessel of beer made from a human skull. Sometimes the blood of sacrificed animals is placed in this bowl.

offered. The remainder of the *Skyin* and *Pe-Rak* offerings 796
are then distributed to the children, a girl giving the *Pe-* 789
Rak offering to another of her own sex, and a boy bestowing 782
the *Skyin* offering to a male companion. The sport of
arrow-shooting (*Da Rgyab-Ches*) is indulged for two days,
followed ten days subsequently by one day of this sport.

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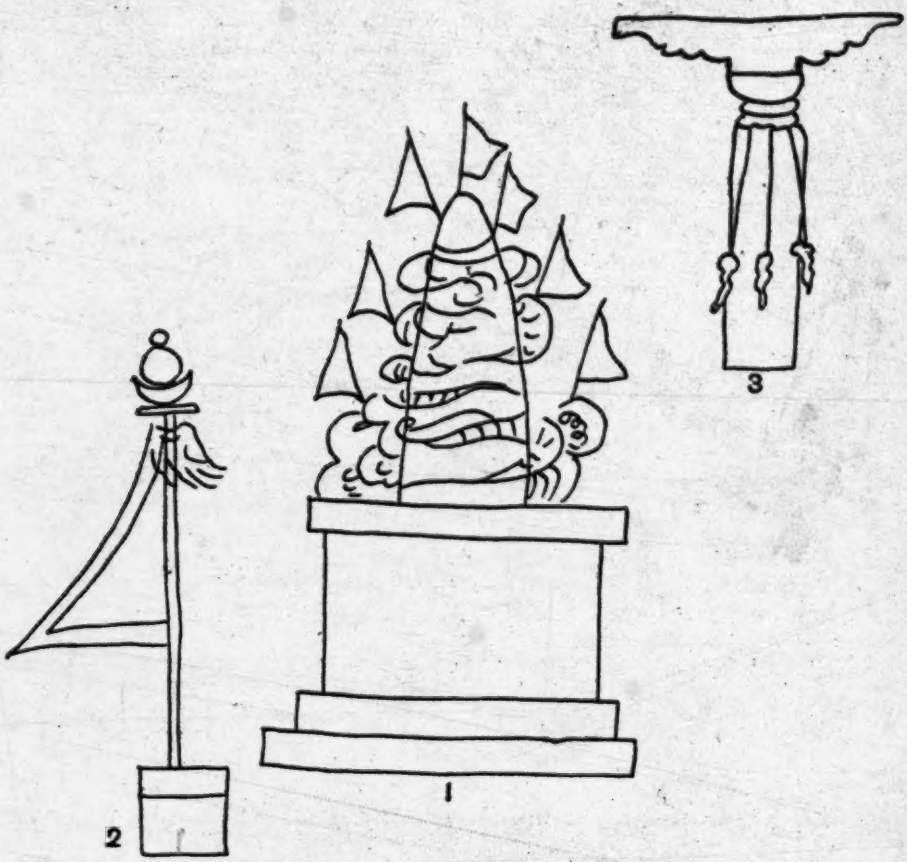
that person a handful of roasted barley (*Skor-Yos*). On this day the Rajah of Stog (a village in the Indus valley near Leh) sends three *Kal* (120 lbs) of roasted wheat to certain villages in which he has a special interest in land



1. *Hla-To*. A cairn with a pole in the middle round which horns of animals, flags and other relics are placed. 2. *Dar-Chen*. The flag pole with a yak's tail on it, which is erected near the *Hja-To*. 3. *Shrub-Hla*. The first fruits of the harvest attached to an upright post supporting the roof of a house.

or other property. This store of wheat is placed at the confluence of three roads through which the circumambulators will pass, and his agent doles out a cupful of grain to each devotee. Moreover, such of the villagers who desire to obtain merit and have not joined the procession, take it

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upon themselves to regale the pilgrims with grain, and beer. 796
This is, however, a purely voluntary act. 782

E

The act of ploughing and seeding (at the end of the 4th 796
and beginning of the 5th month) is preceded by an offering 782
of butter, flour, and beer, a small pat of butter being stuck on the crown of each man's head. The handle of the plough (*Shol*), the oxens' heads, and the handle of the wood spade (*Pak-Tsa*) with which the women harrow or beat the clods of earth after ploughing are similarly dealt with. Whilst the assembled people eat and drink the remainder of the offerings, the following prayer is offered:

[4] May the plough remain unbroken;
May a good harvest and blessings to our house ensue;
Sow the seed.
May the youths and maidens gather in a good harvest;
May the carrying in of the harvest by the maidens have no end;
May the reaping by 100 youths have no end;
May the yatra [5] festival and weddings ensue;
Cause 100 large bins of grain to be filled.

[4] *Original Ladakhi dialect*

A kanas ma ka nas
a chi li gi man dra li
Sa bon debs
Nyi ma da bi ta yang shog
Na chung rgya si skyas te mi tsar ches
Kyogtong rgya si rnga ches mi tsar ches
Ya tra dang bag ston btang ches yong chu ga mdzad
Rgya bang rgya gang chu ga mdzad.

[5] *Ya-tra*

Is a feast when the villagers are regaled with beer, dumplings, and [769]
pastry. It is held in autumn and winter in memory, and for the benefit of the souls of those that died during the last year.

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Your tails are as fine as a sinew; 796
You have gone round the threshing floor until the 533
sweat broke upon you;
You have gone round until your tendons contracted.

When the grain threshed by the oxen has been winnowed, 796
the ceremony of blessing the grain is performed. Around 782
the heap of grain four grain sacks, with their open ends facing the heap, are laid in the form of a square. Fried barley flour and butter (*Sur*) is placed on the threshing floor at the circumference of the heap of grain, whilst the droppings of the cattle (*Lcha*), an image of the god of harvest (*Sku-Dra*), and a few grains of corn (*Shrub*) are imbedded in the pile of grain. Scattering a few grains of corn hither and thither, a man invokes the god by saying:

I offer this;
Oh Aria the Lord of wealth, may the grain increase
as the droppings from the oxen.[8]

The 17th and 18th days of the 10th month are times 585
specially assigned for the celebration of marriages. These ceremonies held in Ladakh suffer very little modification or addition in ritual, for departure from the accepted customs handed down by tradition is considered to be an affront to the communal conscience.

WALTER ASBOE

AN IRISH FOLK-POEM

THE following poem was taken down, in 1933, on the Great Blasket Island, Kerry, from the singing of Peig Sayers the story-teller (see *Béaloideas*, vol. II, p. 108). As I have never seen another version in any collection of Irish folk-poems or elsewhere, it may be of interest to have it recorded here, in the Blasket dialect,

[8] *Original Ladakhi dialect*
mChod
Nor gi bdag po a-ri-a rdzam pa la.

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snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

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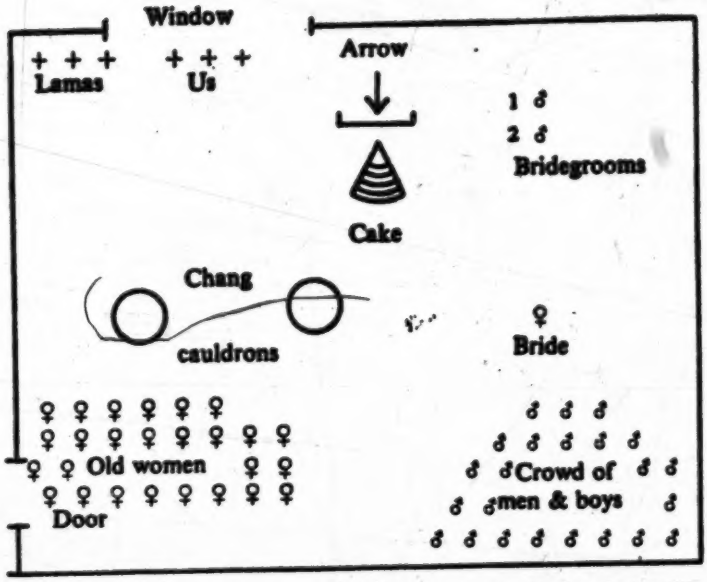

Sketch 1. Plan of main room of Tolag-pa House of Gumling during the polyandrous wedding there on the 1st July, 1938.

other two being very young and fidgety and incapable of behaving as they should at their wedding. The eldest of the brothers was on the [292] right and he wore a yellow silk gown with a bright green sash diagonally across it, a charm box round his neck and a little Lahuli embroidered hat on his head. His brother was plainly dressed in everyday clothes and was seated on his left.

In front of the eldest brother, in a square box full of grain, stood a [782] tall arrow with prayer flags attached to the head. Next to it, and in front of the second bridegroom, there was a conical cake of *tsampa* with the small figure of a goat fashioned out of butter at the top. In the centre of the room were two huge cauldrons of *chang*, enough to keep the party going for quite some time. The back of the room, facing us, was full of people, many old women on our right, and a mixed group of men and boys just opposite.

The bride was brought in and dumped near the younger brother, to his left. She remained lying there without moving, still gently moaning [354] but having given up her violent protests. The room was in darkness when she was carried in, but no sooner had she been put down on the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony. 585 354

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard. 585 782

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval. 585 787

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights. 585 [273]

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

so, but always two days later, and when they make their appearance, everyone on the bridegrooms' side is very polite to them, for they protest against the violent way in which their daughter has been abducted, in accordance with the best traditions. 585

We went off to lunch after that, and on returning in the afternoon, visited the private chapel of the house, the *lha-k'hang* (*lha-k'hang*), where the three lamas were busy preparing offerings which still had to be made to the gods so that the wedding should be auspicious. They had consulted the scriptures, they told us, and the things which we could see on the altar were those that they considered appropriate for this occasion. Before a large statue of Buddha, together with the usual presentations of water, grain and *tsampa* moulded *tormas* (*gTor-ma*) or dough figures, there were a leg of mutton, the arrow with the streamers to it, standing in a box of grain, which we had seen in front of the senior bridegroom at the ceremony of the previous day, and a platter upon which stood the large figure of a stag also moulded in dough, with twelve points to its antlers, surrounded by small, coloured flags and two *dos* (*mDoi*) or string-cross traps for evil spirits. The lamas were most obliging and pleasant, and although we interrupted their devotions, took great pains to show us everything. They told us that the stag would be thrown away and burned before the wedding festivities had come to an end. 585 782 [789]

Next, we went up onto the roof again, attracted there by various curious visitors from Tibet who had stopped off on their way south to see what was going on in the Tolag-pa house. There we found a space filled with a lot of men from the party, sitting round the wall, while in the centre, before them, huge cauldrons of *chang* were being prepared. Upon asking, I was given to understand that the bride was shortly coming up to give flowers to each of the men in exchange for small coins which they would give her for good luck. The *chang*-girl, whom we knew from the first day, was there distributing the alcoholic beverage to all in turn, still dressed in all her finery. Below this space on the roof, I heard that there was another room for tea drinkers, and that a similar ceremony would take place there, too. 585 273

The bride did come up soon after that, and she duly distributed flowers and received money in exchange. Everybody then got very drunk on the *chang* until the lamas came out with the stag offering and threw it away into a specially built bonfire below the house, while everyone hissed loudly at the devils which were being thus destroyed. Dancing followed, the men nearly all reeling drunk, but then I was told that for [789]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes

131 Through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-
487 cipal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

133 Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rup-
[101] chu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder en-
[137] vironment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks
[361] of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls
708 and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist,
782 Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

162 The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999.
795 It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[564] [1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks. 595 124

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen*, the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children. [591]

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis. 595 601 [115] 792 782 595 601

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table. 595 601

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were [792]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/1

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer-cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides. These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm—a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns. It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodically assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images. No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

792 361 [788] [778] [782] 562 778

* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had
292 heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls of
574 Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary
534 bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal.
[113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A.J.

A Trip to Ladakh

782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt,
293 on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is
291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume
301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially
302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

000 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons and sacred symbols. 778 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet. 782 534

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts. 346 792 796

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 788 344 792

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years' trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

[439]

763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the 789
house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily
occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve
the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring
butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking
bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas [262]
are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves
with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with
the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the
flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful
meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer [273]
(chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite
of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt [783]
which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of
killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer
after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their
people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated
from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that
they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add an-
other request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in
heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of
monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow
on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have
not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility
for killing lies with others.

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire
day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival
of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly [787]
be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring
Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of
this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from
the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it
that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance
into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay [776]
on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied
kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in
this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous
intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for
from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
844 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

Ro-nag-pa is a person who has become impure through the touching of a corpse. 783● 844

will get the Lha (gods) and the Lu (water gods, snake gods) angry at us, and then they will cause our water to fail and the seed on the field to dry up!" Soon there are three, four, and more neighbors on the spot and they all talk excitedly to Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter insists on his good right. Today, he says, after eight days of drought, it is his turn for watering his ground. His brother, he goes on, who does not live in his house, has watered the fields down in the valley; he just wanted to water the clover field and the garden up here still; he had also been very careful not to jump over the ditch, which especially enrages the water nymphs. His drinking water, he says, his niece gets for him at the well. She lived, after all, in the neighboring house and had therefore not become impure, like he, by the birth in his house. His mother placed two earthen jars before the door every morning, which the niece would put back in the same place filled, so that she never had to set foot inside the house. Soon he would also throw a lu-stor, an offering of pills made of bread dough, in the lake and in the well for the water nymphs, in order to appease the Lu and to become absolved. He knew, too, what was fitting and proper for a pious Buddhist. Nobody could accuse him of not honoring and fearing the old gods of the land. But all his talking is of no avail. The old trouble-maker Yontan from the Break-all house will not let him go; he points to the ditch and says that one could see quite clearly that the ditch was already conducting much less water than it usually did in the late evening after a warm day and a great deal of melting of the snow in the mountains. That was, of course, Lobsang Wanggyal's 692 fault; he was going to bring action against him with the district's official. The p'a-spun (3) have to intervene because the men look

3. By p'a-spun, literally translated as "father-brothers," 608 that is to say, brothers who have a common father, the Tibetan means a closed fraternity within the village community, which is not necessarily constituted of blood relatives, but who all worship a common god (Tibetan: p'a-lha, that is, Father-God). At all important events within the family and tribe, such as birth, marriage, and death, the p'a-spun gather for joint action and mutual assistance; they are obligated to help each other in every way possible. Their relations and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

000 and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [783] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While 789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "Že-pa, Že-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

powerful formula of exorcism against the angered household deity. 755
Now he held the mirror in such a way towards the magical writing on 783
the piece of paper that its mirrored image became visible, and then he again poured hallowed water over the mirror so that the power of the formula might be transferred to the water. The mother had to catch the water that flowed down in a bowl. Of this water saturated with magical powers, a few spoonfuls were forced into the violently resisting child who spat them out again with all signs of disgust. /29/ The mother looked anxiously at the lama. Could the magic, then, work in this way? But the lama consoled her and said: "The power of this magical water is so great that the few drops which the child has swallowed will still have their effect " Furthermore the mother now had to finish the rest of the "wonder drink"; since she was the one who nursed the child, it would in this way benefit from the full power of the drink. So said the lama and assured her that by this double "baptism" (Tibetan: ak'rus, pronounced trus) the child was purified and the P'alha exorcized. He would not bother the child any more for the time being. True, it was a full fourteen days before the child gradually started recovering. But to most in the house it was certain that the recovery had been the effect of the "baptism" of the lama.

Little Drogpa Namgyal grew up to be a robust boy and soon 000
there was, in the circle of his playmates, no stronger, more skillful or livelier boy than he. As a son of the respected Dragshos and because of his superiority in all their boys' games he was well liked and respected by his companions. They even endured his occasionally domineering behavior, mostly without contradiction, because on the other hand he showed himself as a good friend who was always ready to help.

/30/ EDUCATION FOR A HIGHLAND FARMER AND HERDER

Drogpa Namgyal Becomes Acquainted with All Kinds of Animals and with Sinister Powers.

When he was only three to four years of age Drogpa Namgyal 868
already accompanied his father and his mother to the fields and there began, without his being conscious of it, the school in which the person takes in a mass of observations, discoveries, impressions and opinions even without the compulsory attendance or discipline of a formal school, and without a book or writing implement. These

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the
776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile o horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered
[782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis-
[784] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt'san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and
[782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex-
776 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible.
783 The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again."

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes. They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states which are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth, prospering, and welfare in the human world. When a human being angers them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease and death.

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase along as "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the

20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/, there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf," said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

241 circle. This cake chorten is later distributed during the feast, where it is eaten after a piece of it has been donated to the gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, Namgyal steps onto the rock terrace in front of the castle and watches as the scribe Dondrub, who has visibly recuperated from the exertions of the head procession, and who looks well nourished and flourishing, steps to the edge of the terrace. From there he calls with his peculiar stentorian voice in the direction of the town which lies at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is situated: "Sa-kha-che! The earth's door is open!" This means that the earth mother (Ama-Khon) has now opened the earth's door which was "locked" during the winter, and that the earth is now prepared to give from her lap the power that brings fertility. Then there followed [783] a warning to all those who for some reason or another had become ritually impure by touching a corpse, a newborn child, or by merely coming close to these, not to work on the irrigation ditches as soon as and so long as the fields are being irrigated from these ditches, which is now to start, not to step over any of these ditches, because otherwise the water gods (klu, Naga) and the earth spirits (sa-bdag) would be offended and enraged. The former would then hold back the water in the mountains, and the latter would, at the command of the earth mother, keep the gate of the earth locked so that the earth would hold back her productive powers.

Now the king appears with his retinue which /Following p. 144 there are two full-page illustrations, the first showing a "bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts" (subtitle); the second being a rear view of a "Ladakh woman in festive costume with turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band" (subtitle). / /145/ Namgyal had also joined, and at the head of a long procession of farmers he moves to a nearby field belonging to the king. There a plow stands in readiness. The oxen, which have again been caught, are yoked to the team, the halters are fastened to the roughly-worked yoke which lies without any cushioning on the necks of the animals. The king now plows a few furrows. Often the earth is still frozen solid and the plow just slides along the hard soil scratching it just slightly. This does not matter. Even in this manner the Tibetan sees the purpose of the custom fulfilled. Five lamas sit at the edge of the field, 241 789 and during the king's plowing they read the book, "The attained blessedness of the eight-fold illumination (snaṅ-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)"; in some places they also read the book of the "Liberation from the earth

friends have all heard the news of the death of a person, they go into the house in which the death has taken place, in order to console (the relatives). This is called the Great Meeting (k'ab-ap'rad). As soon as one /214/ of the visitors enters the house, the women of the circle of relatives and of the tribe immediately start up a wailing of lamentation and amidst crying tell of the passing away. The visitors appear before each of the mourners and say: "Don't cry! Don't cry! Do not grieve!" They stay for a little while and then go home. Only the p'as-pun stay in the house and pray continually the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum while they turn the prayer wheel. 764

Rules Concerning Becoming Ritually Impure

When a woman's husband dies, the wife has to carry his corpse, and in this way becomes (ritually) impure (yug-sa); if the woman dies then her husband has to carry her corpse and becomes impure. The person who has become impure drapes a blackish blanket of goat's hair around himself in a dark corner, takes all his ornaments off, and puts on old clothes. The vessels, such as the kettle, the flour bowl, and so forth, of the person who has become impure (yug-sa-pa) are kept separate from those of the other inhabitants of the house. Since the surviving husband or wife is regarded as impure (6), the person con- 764 783

6. As "impure one" the person would otherwise offend and anger the earth, water, and household deities, and these would send sickness, drought, and crop failure upon the offenders.

cerned may not touch the hearth or the implements, in particular the eating and cooking implements in the living room; ordinarily this person may not leave the house either. If he leaves the house anyway, he may not cross over any irrigation ditches. If it is summertime, he may not go into the fields. Today there is still the chopped off and dried out hand of a woman to be seen in the monastery Gang-ngon (sgaṅ-ñon) (7). This woman committed nine offenses of this kind (and [688]

7. The monastery is at a distance of about fifteen kilometers from Leh.

was punished for them in this fashion).

783 In earlier times it used to be so, that, if a husband (or wife) died after the summer solstice, the surviving party had to be regarded as impure until the winter solstice. Nowadays the parties concerned need no longer remain separated from the other survivors for longer than a month. As soon as the month has elapsed, a lama brings the purification offering. Then each of the relatives and members of the tribe prepare a delectable meal and bring it together with beer (into the house of mourning). This is called the "meal of mourning" (sdug-bzan). With this the mourning is concluded ([illegible]g-sdug-bsañs) (8).

8. This can also be translated: "The purification is completed."

The woman again washes (and braids) her hair, /215/ changes her clothes, the ornaments are again put on, they eat and drink and give themselves over to uninhibited gaiety.

The "Changing of the Body"

763 In the book t'os-agrol (9) it says that at the approaching death

9. The full title of the book is: t'os-pa t'sam-gyis agrol-ba t'ob-pai ĉos, the doctrine by the hearing of which a person is immediately saved.

(of a person) a lama of high rank must be present between the external breathing out and the (final) inner breathing out of the soul, in order to read the book t'os-agrol and to introduce the "changing of the body" (of existence, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). However, in most cases it is so, that when the dying person still feels healthy shortly before his death, he himself and the entire family hope for his recovery, yes, none of them even thinks of his dying. Finally, the relatives frequently do not think of calling in the lamas even in case of great danger of death. The custom of calling the lamas before the death exists neither in Ngari nor in Central Tibet (but it does exist in Western Tibet).

764 As soon, then, as death has actually set in and everything in the house is prepared, a p'as-pun is sent out in order to call a lama who has performed the "Four Exercises" and who has attained the rank of an abbot. The abbot sits down by the deceased and waits. It is not a general custom to serve the dead person any food aside from tea on this occasion. But some people do serve the dead person his favorite

as soon as the (above-named) exorcisms have been completed. 764

Poor people only have such exercises performed for one day. 789
Rich people, on the other hand, have them performed up to two weeks (and longer).

The "Burning of the Paper"
(The Paper Mask)

Four days after the death, on the first day of the second segment of time (consisting each of four days), the "burning of the paper," the byaṅ-ĉog, takes place. In the monastery, they (the monks) each have a carved printing plate with the picture of a man or a woman. Now since Tsering (the deceased) was a man, the picture of a man is printed on paper and his name--Tsering--is written on it. Then the (printed) paper is placed between the feathers of an arrow and a greeting ribbon (k'atag) is wound around the end of the (folded)together) paper. Now barley is poured into a measure (bre) (46) and placed before the

46. One bre (dry measure) contains two ample liters.

abbott (present). The arrow is stuck into the barley. Then the bdag-skyed and the other exercises are performed, as indicated above, and texts and formulas are recited. In order to annul the sins of the de- 764
ceased, because of his trespasses, scattered offerings (bgegs-gtor) are 783
presented to the demons /227/. Through the recital of magical texts the sins are also annulled. Furthermore, the purification from sins is brought about by the reading of the "Six Books of the Transcendent Wisdom (śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa; Sanskrit, prajnya paramita)"; further, the exculpation from sin is effected by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood); finally, also, sins are done away with through the "Four Elements" (47).

47. The four elements are: earth, water, fire, and air. Sometimes ether is added as the fifth element.

When according to the instructions of the books (concerned), 764
these exercises are completed, the corpse-bearer takes the arrow in place of the dead body, and sticks it in his sash (which he wears slung around his body), and sits down behind the seat of the deceased (which was his during his lifetime in the circle of his household companions).

The Burial By Fire

764 First a "magical square" (t'ab-t'ig, literally, "oven picture") must be created and must be spread out in the cremating furnace of the fathers. A dorje (thunderbolt) is to be drawn into the fourth center field of a (probably squared?) piece of linen cloth. Eight fields are to be left open on the four sides of this, and inside these fields lotus flowers are to be drawn; further--fire-spewing mountains are to be drawn on all four sides around these flowers on an edge four fingers wide; then again on an edge four fingers wide a frame consisting entirely of dorjes is to be drawn. A half moon and a dorje are to be drawn in each of the four corners of the cloth. The p'as-pun spread this picture out on the floor of the cremating furnace.

On the day on which the corpse is carried out, one man from each house, in a small village, goes to meet the others in one place; in larger localities like Leh, the neighbors along the street come together, and according to the custom of the so-called "intimate meeting" each brings a jug of beer and a dish of flour with him. The closer relatives each come with a large loaf of bread, as well as with money (literally, "copper coins") for each of those who take part and the "wailers," and all gather in the house of mourning. On the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house, the neighbors along the street, the friends, and companions receive a donation of rice, tea, and beer, which is called the "friends' tribute."

/229/ When the lamas have finished the so-called "Great Litany," the corpse is carried out of the house at the time that has been designated by the soothsayer. In Upper and Lower Ladakh the women of the circle of relatives (of the dead person) circle three times around the corpse, as soon as the corpse-bearer has come out of the household temple with the corpse (and has set it down) (50).

50. The corpse remains tied in a squatting position the whole time.

In Central Ladakh (the region around Leh), however, the women do not do this. In Leh, the corpse-bearer first of all carries the corpse outside the household temple in front of the house door. Then the [783] corpse is placed in a sedan-chair (with carrying rods) and is carried in this by the p'as-pun, neighbors, and others (51) to the cremating

51. These others take upon themselves the odium of becoming impure in exchange for payment.

765 of one to two annas (in cash), these ceremonies (that is to say, the second part) are at an end. The lamas receive food to eat in proportion to the degree of elaborateness and the duration of the entire funeral rites.

It is true that sometimes a lama will read, at command, all parts of the book "T'os-agrol," for seven weeks or 49 days, counting from the day the death took place /233/. But nowadays (the lama) usually reads passages from the T'osgrol book only one day in each week during this period of time, consisting of seven times seven days.

Rites of Purification--Funeral Feast--
Feeding of the Manes

•783 Once the corpse has been carried out of the house, only the Lhami (among the p'as-pun) are the ones who nowadays observe the laws of purification with respect to the dead. They may not eat anything in the house of mourning, nor may they drink anything there, and some even are afraid to inhale the smoke from the hearth and do not enter the house. Sometimes the relatives and friends bring so-called mourning food (sdug-bzan) into the house of mourning.

765 When the full moon sets in (after a death has occurred), some well-to-do people hold the festival of the full moon. On this occasion they again call in the lamas and again they have death ceremonies performed. At the festival of the full moon the rich give to each owner of a farmstead in the village two large flat bread cakes, and to each small-holder one of these. To the monastery they present a "Large Tea," that is, a tea for all the lamas. Every ordained monk receives two large flat bread cakes, and each novice receives one. Some, on the other hand, donate the bread cakes as described above, on 49th day (counting from the day of the death), and others do so after a year has elapsed.

Others, again, donate two measures of wheat or barley to each larger farm owner as "funeral treat" (adad), and one measure to each small-holder, at the time the corpse is being carried out of the house. In order to distribute this "funeral treat" (that is, grain), the village magistrate comes around with his foremen, consisting of from five to 10 farmers (bcu-lag, lha-lag) (and they take care of the distribution).

At New Year's, or on the 30th day of the 10th month, in the very early hours of the morning, yes, soon after midnight, the people all go, each to his (that is to say, the family's or tribe's) burial place,

were following the small Yunan River down to Kilung. A Tibetan 788
who was bringing a caravan to Patseo twirled it as he followed rangy mules loaded with wool and marmot skins. And as he twirled it, he kept murmuring to himself, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

In the main monastery at Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are perhaps eight by eighteen inches and filled with prayers. They too are engraved with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* One spins them clockwise as he goes up or down the stairs, waiting, in case another has preceded him, until the earlier spin has ended. And as each spins, he murmurs, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Some prayer cylinders are spun by the wind. There is a large one at Hemis, about three feet long and eighteen inches wide, hitched up to paddles and turned by water. It too is filled with prayers that are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year. And the prayers say millions upon millions of times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are practically no doctors in Ladakh. Although each 759
monastery will have a lama trained in native medicine who will 793
take care of the illnesses of the monks, there is no medical service 756
for the people. A villager who is sick sends for a lama. A child or the wife makes the journey to the nearest monastery (perhaps thirty or forty miles) and brings back a lama. The family gives the lama his board and lodging and pays him as much per day as it can afford. A man with a special attachment to the lama may turn his wife over to him for the duration of the visit. For these considerations the lama prays. He sits by the bed of the sick person for hours, for days on end, driving away the evil spirits that have caused the illness. And as he sits, he chants endlessly, incessantly, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Buddha did not believe in mortification of the body as a means 779
of salvation. But that belief is a religious longing deeply rooted 783 788

in Asia, rooted so deeply that it cannot be dislodged. Lamaism believes in it. A lama may walk years on his knees to atone for his sins. In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet, he may do a prostration pilgrimage. He lies flat on the ground, both hands extended. He marks the point, stands up, steps forward to the mark, stretches flat again, and repeats this exercise again and again. It is common to find people doing a prostration pilgrimage around monasteries or holy places. A prostration pilgrimage of thirty or fifty miles is not unusual. It may last for weeks. One may do it for his own salvation—to get merit by sacrifice—or he may be hired to do it for another person or for the soul of a friend or relative.

One day I saw a lama coming up the Hemis nulla in a prostration pilgrimage. He was barefooted, with pads upon his knees. His robe was pulled up and fastened high. His hair was close-cropped, and he was filthy with dirt. Down he went on his stomach, then up on his knees and to his feet; then down again. And with each prostration he said twenty times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The lamas gather in the chapel three times daily for prayers. I did not attend any of these services at Hemis, but students of the subject say that the ritual is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Catholic Church. There is, however, usually the music of trumpets, drums, and cymbals. There is always the burning of incense. And as the lamas kneel in the pews, the hum of *"Om Mani Padme Hoom"* fills the place.

These monasteries observe monthly festivals and four annual festivals, from each of which they get revenue. The people bring gifts of grain, or goats, or cash. The lamas sell amulets, talismans, idols, and sacred paintings. They sell paper strips and pieces of cloth filled with symbolic figures.

The most notable of these festivals is Losar, the New Year's Feast, observed in February. It celebrates Buddha's victories over the heresies—the triumph of the true religion over infidelity. People come from far and wide to the monasteries and celebrate

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

old lady who has had her cataract removed. She is lying on 758
the floor by the side of a nice spring bedstead, on which she
had been placed yesterday after her operation. In reply to our
query why she did not stay quietly on her bed, she says she
felt so giddy sleeping so high up in the world, and more safe on
the floor. True, she cannot fall out of bed now. In Ward 3 758
is a Yarkandi whose leg we have had to amputate to save his 563
life. He has come that difficult journey from Yarkand, over
the Karakorum range of the Himalayas and the Dipsang
plateau, and been overtaken by frost-bite. Very likely at the
end of the hard day's march over the snow he was so exhausted
that he fell asleep without troubling to take off his heavy boots,
and the circulation had no chance to re-establish itself in the
severe cold. In the next ward we find that a string has been 758
stretched across from one wall to the other, over which 251
strips of meat have been hung, and we are told that the family
are drying their next winter's supply. One can just imagine
the happy expression on the face of an English Surgeon, who
on entering his ward found such activities being pursued.
In the next ward we can see nothing, for it is filled with acrid
smoke which so hurts our eyes that we beat a rapid retreat.
Dinner is being cooked! But we must not linger longer with
our in-patients, for we would like to take the reader with us
on a medical tour.

When we visited Kyelang, it will be remembered that we 757
made a detour to a place called Lingshed. Messengers came 164
to beg us to go to this village in 1916, because it was so
central, and they promised that blind folk from the whole
surrounding district would gather there; the further
inducement was held out that throughout the trip the question
of supplies would be made easy for us. So one evening we
found ourselves in our tents in Lingshed with about thirty
blind folk sitting round. We examined their eyes, deciding 757
that some were operable, others not. The latter were in- 783
formed as kindly as possible that no operation on earth could

13:-Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

757 cure them of their blindness, but our solicitude seemed
783 unnecessary, for they remained quite cheerful, merely saying "*Lanchaks*,"—that is "we are atoning for our sins in a former incarnation." No doubt those successfully operated upon are getting the reward for former good deeds, and for the successful operation it is quite unnecessary to thank the
757 Surgeon when virtue is being rewarded. The next question
778 is, where are we to operate? Under the open sky the sun is
797 too grilling and brilliant, and the tent is too small. We have detected a verandah which would make a most suitable temporary operating-theatre, in fact it is practically the only available spot, but, on suggesting this, are informed that this is a temple verandah and belongs to a very great and holy man. "There you cannot operate" we are told emphatically, and reply that the reason adduced makes the place more desirable than ever, and we must operate there or nowhere. This point is gained, or partly so. We might operate on the men there, but not the women, for they must not enter such a holy place. Alas! the Doctor Sahib must have had a strange upbringing, for he informs these Lingshed men that in the peculiar country whence he comes, the dictum is "Ladies first," and only when these are done can the Lords of Creation be tackled. That settles this point, but not even yet are all our difficulties overcome, for a very old lama finds his way to the Doctor, who having examined him, finds the eyes quite operable. He is, however, begged not to give the old fellow his sight, for he is so poor that he has not sufficient food to sustain him while the wounds heal, nor a helper to care for him during his time in bed. The former objection is easily overcome for we begin to charge in kind for the medicines we dispense, and soon the old fellow finds himself quite well off in flour, rice, and dried apricots, and a nurse is also provided for him. Preliminary arrangements having been completed, we make our way one fine morning to our temporary operating-theatre in the verandah of the temple. An old bedstead which cannot boast a spring-mattress, having only a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1924-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

173 the two horns which grew from his head were an outward and visible sign. It was to accommodate these he had to have this hat designed.

796 The procession has now passed through the bazar, and we follow it out to the desert. There the fires have been lit, illuminating the weird devil-dancing lamas as they gyrate and 796 jump round them. At a given moment all the *storma* are ●783 thrown into the flames, and with their burning the sin and disease of the town are consumed. Soon after our first arrival in Leh, we witnessed these ceremonies, and, wishing in our ignorance to investigate the effigies, some were bought for a few *pice* (coppers) and brought to our houses. That year a serious epidemic of throat disease broke out in the country, carrying off old and young. What else could be expected when the scapegoats had been brought back into the town [789] instead of being thrown away? Now the erection of twigs is knocked over, and every man makes a mad rush to obtain even a small piece if he can, which is carried home in triumph and placed on one of the outer walls of the house, thus protecting its inmates from disease and death, or, if it is put into their store-room, much blessing will accrue to their grain.

A little later a similar ceremony is performed for the special benefit of the Maharajah. Holy books having been read for seven days, a scapegoat, consisting of an effigy the size of a man, is prepared. Placed in the region of its heart is a bottle of red fluid, and it is then set up in the wilderness. A company of sepoys in smart khaki uniforms marches out behind lamas dressed in fantastic clothes and devil-masks, the combination quite belying Kipling's statement that "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." They take careful aim, even lying down to do so, but in spite of many rounds being fired, the effigy is never hit, and eventually cruder methods have to be adopted for its destructtion. This cannot be wondered at, for is not the effigy bewitched?

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Lhetans AJ4

The idea of the scapegoat is practised in some form or other everywhere in Lesser and Greater Tibet. In some places an actual goat is sent into the wilderness. In others even a man is chosen, who for a whole year has to leave his village and live elsewhere, at the end of which time some other is chosen to bear the sin of the village. It is a fair assumption that formerly this sinbearer was put to death.

Circumambulation, as every good Ladaki can demonstrate, is a splendid means of obtaining merit. Almost any religious object can be walked around. If there is no *thorten*, then walk round a temple containing some god. If you are getting old it is expedient to spend weary hours twirling your prayer-wheel, saying your *Om mani's*, and walking round and round a *mani* wall. Ten times round the great *chorten* at Jhangspa was the daily evensong of one picturesque, friendly old gentleman we used to meet with his prayer-wheel and rosary. If you can get one or two friends to come along too, it is certainly not quite so lonesome, even though they have to walk behind, for one can intersperse one's prayers with quite interesting snatches of conversation. The month in which this is most beneficial is the first of the year, and the greatest merit of all is obtained by going round the Tsemo, the monastery-crowned hill of Ladak, in whose chief temple resides a "Byamspa" god, so high that his head reaches into the second storey. This great *aKorches* (to round) is performed early in the year, by means of measuring your length the whole way along the route. Let us go into the desert to the south of Leh, where twenty to thirty young men are collected who have decided to perform this religious duty. They are drawn up in rows of twos or fours, about eight feet apart. Each man has tied round his waist a sheepskin apron, which hangs down over his knees. This both shields the knees from being cut, and good clothes from being torn. A low mumble begins, all saying the same phrase over and over again, which runs—"All living animals ask for Buddha's

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

511 advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding
426 compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not
[783] attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

462 The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

181 Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.

Tibet.

THE SCAPE-GOAT IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the N. India.*

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96 The releasing of a scape-goat is thought by the peasants of Western Tibet to be an effective means of obtaining absolution from the moral impurities in the individual or the community.

Noxious diseases, failure of the crops, or some catastrophic event which have thrown the community into confusion, are the chief reasons assigned for employing the scape-goat as a vehicle for carrying off the moral rubbish and transferring it elsewhere.

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A learned lama informed me that in Central Tibet it is customary for the ecclesiastics to set free a scape-man triennially. The purpose of this practice is to absolve themselves, and incidentally the community as a whole, of an evil influence which is supposed to militate against the well-being of the country and its people. The scape-man thus chosen is usually a destitute or criminally-disposed person for whom the community has no use. The ceremony of *Tsay-tar* (saving one's life) is then performed, when the scape-man is lavishly fed, adorned with ornaments, supplied with money and provided with a pony and comforts for the journey and released. He must wander for the rest of his life in foreign countries, with no expectation of ever visiting his native land. It is said that the scape-man rarely lives long, for he

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either dies prematurely through disease, or meets a tragic end through his own or someone else's fault.

When releasing a scape-goat (or sometimes a scape-sheep) the following is the ritual at the ceremony of *Tsay-tar*. The diseased or noxious person brings a goat led by a black rope before the community. A man then, stepping up to the animal, simulates cutting its throat with his hunting knife. In the meanwhile the owner of the goat pleads loud and long that the animal be spared, promising to pay compensation in money or kind provided that no blood is shed. The goat is now regarded as a fitting substitute for the penalty which should otherwise be paid for the sins of the individual or community, since it must undergo banishment from the flock. When the amount of money to be exacted from the owner of the goat is decided, the black rope is substituted for a white one, and this is tied round the neck of the animal. It is then gaily adorned, well fed, and driven to the hills to wander hither and thither until the cause of its banishment is removed. During the period of exile, no one may place a load on the scape-goat, nor even so much as touch it. If the animal should die before the moral impurity of the community is purged, another scape-goat is chosen, though the ceremony of *Tsay-tar* is not repeated.

There seems to be no regularity in Western

17: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1936 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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Tibet as regards the performance of this ceremony of releasing a scape-goat, for this is contingent on the moral condition of the community. The imposition of this form of

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absolution for the sins of the people rests in the hands of the lamas (priests), whose function it is to decide whether or not such ceremony should be performed.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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796 On the 10th day of the 7th month the festival of *Shrub*
252 *Hla* (god of the ears of corn) is held. This ceremony institutes the reaping of the harvest. No one may put his hand to a sickle until this function is celebrated. Barley and wheat are boiled until the grain is soft, when it is spread out to dry. It is then roasted, milled into flour, and finally kneaded into dough balls. The first ears of corn and the first fruits of the pea and buckwheat crop are next mixed into the dough balls, each family taking this to its family cremating[6] oven. Sheaves of grain are then fixed to the beams of the household temple, and also on cairns (*Hla-Tl*) in the neighbourhood.

796 On the completion of a feast in celebration of the in-
● 783 gathering of the crops, three men proceed to the nearest brook, taking a live sheep with them. There they have to bathe their bodies, and also dip the sheep in the water by way of purifying themselves and the animal. It is believed that once the sheep has been thus cleansed, it does not attempt to wander or escape. Leading the sheep, the trio makes for the local cairn (*Hla-To*) to which sheaves of corn, coloured rags, willow branches, and the tail of a yak are attached. Lots are now drawn amongst the three men to ascertain who must carry out the ceremony of sacrificing the sheep to the god.

796 The man thus chosen then proceeds to make a large incision in the breast of the sheep and tearing out its heart

[6] *Cremating Oven*

764 This oven is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Its dimensions are: 3 feet square and 4 feet high. On each of the sides is a small aperture about a foot from the bottom of the oven as vent holes. The corpse's back is broken immediately after death and the knees are drawn up to the head and tied securely. It is then carried on a man's back to the oven in which it is placed resting on stones placed at the base of it to serve as a grid. The more opulent prepare a box in which they place the corpse.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably
614 be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy
587 playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same
842 one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth
765 pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to
783 the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above
846 about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that
[264] people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated
[789] period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with mem-
846 bers of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have
264 nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period
783 of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irri-
789 gating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The
[241] mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which
783 follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies,
765 the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts
[264] of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

I: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

135 316 173 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo. [776] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is [784] prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than [136] those of any other part of the river. But the gold of the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

1: Cunningham G-S (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

696 always procurable for money, it is probable that the sentence of the law may have been death, although in practice the culprit was permitted to compromise by stripes, imprisonment, and fine. Such a course was in strict keeping with the precepts of their religion, which is averse to the taking of any animal life.

681 The two modes of capital punishment were *drowning*
696 and *crucifixion*. In the former the culprit was bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Indus with a stone fastened to his neck.* In the latter mode the criminal was conducted to the *Songsa*, or "place of execution," by the *Shetma*, or "executioner." The *Sal-shing*,† or "crucifix," was a St. Andrew's cross fixed to an upright stake. The culprit was stripped naked; his hands and feet were bound to the extremities of the cross, while his head was secured to the upright stake by his own hair. In this position he was either quickly tortured to death by boiling oil, or was slowly allowed to expire under all
• [784] the agonies of thirst and physical suffering. It is worthy of notice that in both of these modes of capital punishment, the shedding of blood was studiously shunned; for the sentence of crucifixion was carried out by *binding*, instead of nailing, the criminal to the cross. I presume, therefore, that there must have been some religious repugnance to putting a culprit to death by any mode that involved the shedding of blood. Mutilation of one or of both hands was, however, occasionally employed.

* Fra Orazio, p. 291. The same punishment was carried into effect in the same manner in Great Tibet. The culprit was "getta al fiume con un gran sasso al collo."

† *gSal-shing*, "clear wood." For what reason such a name was given to the stake, it would perhaps be difficult to discover. Perhaps it was intended for the tree that *cleanses* from guilt.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in the boiling oil.* The extraction of the *white* stone, with an uninjured hand, is held as a complete proof of innocence; while the extraction of the *black* stone, with uninjured hand, is equivalent to the Scotch verdict of "not proven," of which the accused receives the benefit.

The foregoing is a concise account of the practical laws of Ladák under its native rulers. Amongst a people who were averse to the taking of any animal life, the sentence of death was but seldom enforced; the last case of capital punishment, which was executed in 1845, being the only one during thirty years; and I suspect that even this sentence would not have been carried into effect but for the stern and unbending firmness of *Magna*, the dogra thanadar of Lé. The culprit was a blacksmith of Chachot, who had been repeatedly punished by imprisonment, fines, and stripes, for pilfering the gilt leaves of books from the monasteries and the gilded pinnacles of the *Chodtens*, or mausolea. His last exploit was the entire removal of the copper-gilt pinnacles from the *Chodtens* attached to the large monastery of Hémis. The thanadar was proof against all appeals for mercy, chiefly, I believe, with a view to conciliate the religious brotherhood of Hémis, and partly as a stroke of policy in a newly-conquered country, to exhibit a marked example of unflinching firmness in the execution of the law. As a Hindu, Magna Thanadar was quite indifferent in the matter of life or death. The unfortunate thief was therefore bound hand and foot,

* Fra Orazio, del Regno del Thibet, p. 290. The Capuchin father declares that the Tibetans can save their hands from injury by the use of some secret art (si servono d'un certo secreto, o per arte magica).

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

264 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that
565 may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for
262 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu
784 Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is
565 the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, The former the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

●784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

saffron water from the vessel; then he swings the vessel with the feather several times around above the girl's head. Then he invokes the village and household gods and the demon princes with their vast army, and conjures them with powerful texts not to inflict any harm upon the bride and her family, and not to let good fortune escape with the bride from the parental house. In chorus the lamas murmur their formulas of exorcism, first mumbling dully to themselves, then more and more loudly they swing about the thunderbolt and the magic dagger, the bell, the kettle-drum, and the cymbals which they hold in their hands sound softly at first, then--they swell, growing increasingly loud, to a deafening noise; the lamas call out: 585 784

From the East may good fortune come!
From the West may good fortune come!
From the North may good fortune come!
From the South may good fortune come!
Yan-agug! May good fortune come!

"Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" the bystanders join in in shouting. "Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" all of them yell, shout in confusion for two or three minutes. Then everything suddenly becomes still.

Now the lamas lead the bride up to the house temple to take leave from the household gods. Three times the girl prostrates herself before the statues and images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and demons. From that moment on the young woman is no longer permitted to set foot inside the parental household sanctum; from now on she enters into the tutelary and power domain of the gods of her husband's household. The jealousy of the deities of both households must be guarded against. 585 784

Then everyone descends to the chansa, and now the bagrogs and dsamo (the bridesmaids and her girl friends) lead the bride so that she may take leave of her parents who, together with the closest relatives, are already expecting her. Bowing down deep, crying loud and sobbing, Chosskyid embraces the legs of her mother, of her father, of her brothers, as well as those of her closest relatives and amid much bowing, at the same time knocking her wrists together so that the shell rings clatter, she calls out: "Farewell! Farewell! Do not forget /Following page 106 there is a full-page illustration with the caption: "Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original 585

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

846 because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, 852 and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, 553 784 which means the "tying-on" of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is 186 789 requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[798] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before
[791] the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[794] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

776 Jäschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is therefore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu of Kalatse,[1] aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

Oh my wise king!
When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
And see all the nymphs of that land,
Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[832] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to represent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[784] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the writing (1).

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma," No. 7.[1]

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time. It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
951 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
262 holder says :

> " Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)." [2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
● 784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.

796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect* :

> Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
> Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 614 587 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 896 [264] [784] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 896 264 783 784 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

597 582 It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lámas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *láma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lámas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwá.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

788
778 As the lamas passed this scroll, I heard them mutter, *"Om Mani*
531 *Padme Hoom."*

788 To the center of the main chapel is an altar covered with bowls
782 filled with water and cereals. They are offerings to various gods. For the sake of prosperity, they are supposed always to be filled. I met the lama who attends them, a scraggy, barefooted man, and as he passed the altar I heard him mutter, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are thirteen large urns at Hemis, about four or five feet tall and three feet wide. They are filled each year with yak butter by some friend or benefactor, and lighted wicks stand in the middle. Each urn is supposed to burn a year. If the flame goes out, it is bad luck. The lama who had the main urn under his surveillance hovered near, wrapped in a soiled, red robe. As I went by I heard him murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

778 In the center of an adjoining chapel is a life-size statue of
788 Buddha, where the devout bow in worship, murmuring, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

• 785 Around Buddha are images of lesser deities and of Incarnate Lamas. There is one of Stagtsang Raspa, founder of Hemis. There is one of Mila Repa, the famous Tibetan poet who lived for eighty-three years and attained Buddhahood in that span even though
[754] his early life was sinful. He had learned how to kill people by magic and for a while walked the path of darkness. Then he did penance under a Lobon (Guru) by the name of Marpa. Marpa made him build a house of stone, then tear it down and carry the stones back to where he had found them. He did this over and again, one time building and tearing down a house nine stories high. Marpa beat Mila Repa and gave him impossible chores to do in penance for his sins. Finally Marpa gave him the Initiation and the Teachings, and launched Mila Repa on a life of mortification of the body. He became a hermit in a cave on a high mountain, where he lived on nettles. He renounced food, clothing, and

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

speech. He pondered on the lives of the saints, the causes and 785 •
effects of actions, the ends of worldly existence.

This poet-saint is loved in all Ladakh. His strong face, carved in stone, looks down on the inhabitants of Hemis. It shows tremendous concentration and an indomitable will. All who pass [788]
Mila Repa's statue at Hemis murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

One day while Mila Repa was moving to a new cave high on a shoulder of Mount Everest his only worldly possession, an earthen pot, broke. The loss was welcomed, not deplored. And Mila Repa, the poet, wrote:

> *The earthen pot now is, and now is not.*
> *My sole possession.*
> *By breaking it has become a lama,*
> *For it has preached an admirable discourse*
> *On the impermanence of things.*

And near the end of his life he wrote:

> *May the prayer regarding the death of this beggar*
> *Be fulfilled for the benefit of all beings.*
> *In a rocky cave in an uninhabited country*
> *There will my mind be fully content.*

The Buddhist world is filled with legends of Mila Repa. There 538
is the story of the frightened deer being pursued by a dog and a 788
hunter. The deer, crossing a ridge, saw Mila Repa in his cave and heard him chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The deer paused to listen and was so spellbound by the spiritual vibrations that its fears were forgotten. Shortly it lay down beside Mila Repa, serene and relaxed in the spiritual atmosphere of the place.

Along came the dog, who, seeing the deer, whirled to the attack. Then the dog heard Mila Repa chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The dog stopped and listened; it too became calm and serene, and shortly lay down beside the deer.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

I can well imagine the shock any high-minded Englishman or woman must suffer after they have been reminded, as I was by the Head Lama, that it is known that when Julius Caesar first went to England, he discovered that polyandry was a common practice in the country. 000

If there are more than three brothers, unless the wife is prepared to cope with extra husbands, then those remaining have the choice of either becoming a lama and entering the monastery or becoming a coolie; unless of course one is born fortunate enough to catch the eye of an heiress. 595 793

These lamas who are both male and female, usually remain single, though there is no bar against their marriage. The women lamas or nuns, known as chamos, live in different buildings, but they do not live entirely separate from each other, the nuns undertaking many of the household duties in the monasteries, such as baking bread, cooking and so on. 793

It is not unknown for a family to dedicate their first born, or even the favourite son to this religious life. In that event he is sent to a monastery school—which is residential—from the age of eight years, passing through all the stages of pupil, probationer and finally fully ordained monk. As such he has to observe some two hundred and fifty-three vows, and monastic life—at least of the yellow order—imposes a hard discipline upon the monks, including celibacy and abstinence. His diet consists of barley, wheat or buckwheat and occasionally rice. The only meat allowed to be eaten is either sheep, goat or yak, and the chief beverages are soup, milk and tea. 793 785 [262]

In every village we had passed through we had seen belonging to practically every house a little boy wearing a lama's hat or a little girl wearing the cap of a chamo. They had been dedicated as the one of the family to enter the monastery or nunnery school as soon as they were old enough. 793

The monks, in addition to being divided into sects, are separated into two classes; one, those who would in any event have entered the monastery, devote their time to meditation, prayers and the spiritual side "their life being on a higher spiritual plane", and two, those who beg for alms, cultivate the land, look after the rents and so on. The doctors among them—those I met anyway,—had started in the first class and then

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

[788] Chapter III, B.

[786] Social and Religious Life.

184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chang* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 795 [778] [782] 776 [154]

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

778 782 177

"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

771 177

796 241 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

797

* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXIII

Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

A DESCRIPTION of life in Ladak could not be complete without an account of one of the great annual festivals held in the monasteries in the valley, such as the *Gustor* (the offering on the ninth) at Trigtse and at Spitug, or the *Ghanggoni Thsedrup* (the fulfilment of life on the blue hill) at Peang, all of which take place in the winter, whilst the *Thseshu* is held at Hemis in the summer. The last is the most important, its chief feature being the presentation of the famous so-called "mystery play." The festival, as its name indicates, is held on the tenth day of the fifth Buddhist month, which is the birthday of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, and still the presiding genius of the red sect. According to records in Sikkim, he was a magician who came north in the seventh century, and convinced the lamas of Tibet that he was sent as an incarnation of the Buddha. But into the pure Buddhism, he introduces the old *Bon Chos* with its devil-worship, and encouraged the most sensual practices, also the eating of meat and drinking of wine, asserting that over-indulgence in all these passions would lead to a state of high trance. Strangely enough, when we were waiting in the ante-room on a visit to the *Skushog*, this sentiment was exactly borne out by a Ladaki, who was participating in the native beer and already in rather an expansive mood. To our remark that it was not right to get drunk and lose control of mind and body, he replied that it was good, for the soul then became happy and blessed.

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc.; it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 476 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 600

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] 585 768 584 [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 600

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

1 [i.e, barley beer-- ANALYST]

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

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601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN-[illegible]o.

778 FLA[illegible]FF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

764 614 The word "phas-spun" signifies the persons who perform the funeral ceremonies, in so far as these involve the touching of the corpse. The office of "phas-spun" is hereditary and unpaid, a male corpse is attended upon by male "phas-spun" and a female corpse by female "phas-spun". If a stranger comes to a village, where his family has no "phas-spun" it is necessary for him to get some one to agree to undertake the office, a dinner is then given, and the man to whom the feast is given becomes the family and hereditary "phas-spun" of the giver.

It never happens that a "phas-spun" declines to perform his part. If a person dies without any "phas-spun," his corpse is treated as that of an animal; no one will touch it, and no religious ceremonies are performed over it, a rope is tied round it, and it is dragged away and either thrown into the river Indus or buried. But to return to the narrative. When the "phas-spun" numbering from 7 to 9 persons, have tied up the corpse (ro) into the approved attitude, they put it into a cotton cloth bag (rórés), and then remove it from the room in which it is, and take it to the "Chhodkhang" room (see "Church") of the house, and put it in a corner of the room, and stretch a shawl or other cloth across the corner, so as to hide the corpse. The Abbot (hlóbon) then comes into the "Chhodkhang" room, sits down just to the left front of the corpse and with his back to it, and other Lámás of lower rank also enter the room and sit facing the "Hlóbon." As soon as the corpse has been put in to the corner by the "phas-spun" these people retire, and none but priests are admitted into the "Chhodkhang," and these remain to pray, and to keep alight 101 brass lamps (chhodmey), and to offer food and drink to the deceased. The "phas-spun" and relatives of the deceased sit in another room. Till the time for the funeral or burning ceremony arrives, Lámás remain day and night in the "Chhodkhang" by day from seven to ten Lámás are probably present, and by night only one or two. The Lámás consult their books to see what is the auspicious time (zhák záng) for the corpse to be removed to the burning ground (turtsa). When the time arrives for removing the corpse, the "phas-spun" and the nearest relative, (i.e., heir) whether male or female enter the Chhodkhang, and the "phas-spun"

764 614 [778] 793

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775 In Ladák there are only four resident skooSHoks, who preside over the monasteries at Speetuk, Tiksay, Phiáng and Reyzong, respectively.

792 There is also a skooSHok belonging to Heymis the largest and richest of all the monasteries of Ladák, but, for some unexplained reason, some 3 or 4 births back, the skooSHok took birth at Lhása, and refused to come to Ladák, and since then, rebirths of this Heymis avatár have always taken place at Lhása.

The present incarnation must now be about 20 years of age. I am told that as he is a Lhása man, he does not care to come to Ladák, but that if ordered by the Kashmir Durbar to come, he would obey. The truth of the matter is probably that he, having been brought up at the holy city of Lhása, where the Buddhist priesthood reigns supreme, does not care to come to Ladák where the Dogras are masters and Lámás occupy a very subordinate position. The information which I have been able to gather as to the rules under which a spirit, for the first time, becomes an incarnation, is not very clear, but, apparently, when any great Láma or other very holy and virtuous man dies, his spirit, instead of being reborn in the ordinary way, may take rebirth in the form of a "sprulskoo" or incarnation--after this, provided the "sprulskoo" leads a virtuous life in this world, it is optional with him to attain nirvana at once, or should he so desire, his spirit, after his death, is repeatedly reborn as a "sprulskoo." If on the other hand an incarnation leads a wicked life in this world, his punishment is, that his spirit, instead of being reborn as an incarnation, will take any ordinary rebirth.

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An account of the different kinds of form in which a spirit may be re-embodied, will be found under the heading "Rebirth."

775 As regards the rebirth of the spirit of an incarnation, or sprulskoo the procedure is simple enough. Either the incarnation, before death, tells his disciples the circumstances under which, and the place in which, his spirit will be re-born, or should he die, without having given any such indication, his followers, the moment he dies, go and consult learned Lámás, who advise where the spirit will be reborn. The disciples then, in accordance with the instructions given, proceed to the spot indicated, and ascertain if any woman has conceived, or given birth to a child which may be the re-embodiment of the late skooSHok's spirit. If such is the case, they note the fact and go away for the time, but if it is not so, then they conclude that a mistake has been made, and they refer to the Lámas for fresh instructions and so

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on, until they succeed in finding a child which may be the one 775
for which they are looking. Having found their child, they 792
leave it in its own home till it attains the age of about four 787
years, then the disciples of the dead skooshok come to the
child's house and bring with them, the prayer books praying
wheel (mani chhos khor) sceptre (dorjey) bell (treeloo or more
correctly dreelboo) rosary (thanga or thranga) and other property
of the deceased, and after mixing them up with similar articles
belonging to other persons, they call upon the child to prove
that he is the incarnation of the deceased, by pointing out which
of the articles he recognizes as having belonged to him in his
former life. If the child does all this satisfactorily, and it is
usually the case that he does, then he is announced to be a
"skooskieys" or child skooSHok, and he is taken away from his
home, never to return, and takes up his abode at the monastery
(gonpa) of which his is the presiding spirit.

If the child fails to prove himself to be the sought for incarnation,
it is assumed that a mistake has been made, and a fresh search
is made in another place, and so on, until the disciples are
satisfied that they have found the "skooskieys" they are looking
for. Parents never object to their children being thus taken
from them.

On arrival at the monastery, the child's education is taken in hand 792
by the monks, and when he reaches the age of about sixteen 874
years, he is sent off to Lhasa, the Rome of Buddhism, to com-
plete his studies. After remaining there for from four to eight
years, his education is complete and he returns to his own
monastery as a sprulskoo, or skooshok or Incarnation.

A sprulskoo does not live inside the monastery, but in a small house 792
(called taSHak) attached to it-- [69] He does not eat with other 775
people, and though his parents and relatives may occasionally
come to see him, they can not live with him, or he with them.
It is thoroughly believed that he is an incarnation, and the con-
sequences thereof are philosophically accepted.

The skooshok is the spiritual head of the monastery, and it is his
duty to superintend everything concerning religion. He is not
expected to interfere in worldly concerns, but occasionally may
do so.

The only skooshok I have ever met is Lobzhang Beshes Stanbey
Gialsam, (i.e. good dispositioned heavenly religion of Buddha
flag of victory) the present avatar of the Speetuk monastery,

792 195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

●787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564 681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

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774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the 789
house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily
occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve
the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring
butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking
bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas [262]
are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves
with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with
the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the
flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful
meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer [273]
(chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite
of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt [783]
which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of
killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer
after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their
people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated
from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that
they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add an-
other request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in
heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of
monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow
on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have
not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility
for killing lies with others.

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire
day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival
of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly [787]
be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring
Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of
this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from
the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it
that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance
into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay [776]
on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied
kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in
this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous
intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for
from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

/15/

The Birth

He has arrived! The heir! It is really a boy! How clever the astrologist is after all! True, with Tsewang Paljor in the neighboring village his prediction did not prove correct last year. The onpo had calculated a boy, and a girl was born. Just a girl! The enraged father went to the onpo and demanded to have his fee for the false horoscope returned. The onpo laughed at the angry father and said boldly to his face: "Bon-bu-t'sogs (you ass)! Did you not tell me Capricorn, when I asked you the constellation under which your wife was born? And now it turns out to be Cancer, " of whose existence the disappointed father did not have the faintest notion. The onpo swore by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood) that it was so; and this, of course, had thrown the entire calculation off its track. Thereupon Tsewang Paljor had to march off with a long face, one experience richer, and poorer by ten jau (equals two rupees which equals two Reichsmark), and he had to content himself with the thought that for the time being he would only be able to call a girl his own. But it was after all too stupid of Tsewang Paljor not to know the constellation of his wife's birth! Such a thing simply could not happen to Lobsang Wanggyal, so the latter thought to himself, and rejoiced over his bu-t'sa (boy). 787

Old Tsering Putrid, the mother of Lobsang Wanggyal, is an orderly, prudent and cleanly housewife. At the proper time she provides a warm "nest" for the expected grandson. She goes into the pantry and picks out from the old flour sacks made of goatskin one in which the mice have eaten a hole. That does no harm; she sews up the hole. After the little man has now made his entrance into the world with loud crying, he is first wrapped into a rough woollen coat of his father's by his aunt who has taken him in her arms. Grandmother Tsering Putrid meanwhile quickly runs into the goats' /16/ hut; there, in a corner, lies a small heap of old, dried-up goats' dung which she has previously rubbed into fine particles on a stone. Of this she puts six to eight handfuls into the sack. With this she mixes some of the dung of ibexes and wild sheep, which, at her command, her youngest boy has brought with him from the mountains where he has been guarding the goats. The dung from these nimble animals will make the new-born son quick of foot. This secret was once betrayed to her by an old aunt. The latter's son to whom she had applied this expedient, had become messenger for the galon (nobleman and district official). And 844

000 and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [785] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

part of whole, and in part of divided lines lying in threes over each other /19/. Further, there are the nine Mewa signs, quadrangles with numbers and in each one the name of one of the five "elements" (fire, water, earth, wood, and iron), in the corresponding five colors: red, blue, yellow, green, and white. 787

Next to the calendar there lies a large astrological table drawn on canvas, on which, like a chess board, a great number of squares in various colors are drawn up. Each of the colors designates one of the five "elements." Quite a few secret signs can also be seen on the table. We enter the room softly, look over the onpo's shoulder, and observe him and his strange doings. The eyes in the soothsayer's cunning face are rigidly turned upon his tables. His dirty fingers grasp for a pile of little disks (similar to the pieces used on a Checker board) which he arranges on the squares of his magical table. Then he moves these around, to and fro, up and down, according to certain rules, until he has finally filled a number of squares with the disks. Now he turns his gaze to the calendar with the animal and other signs. The onpo is continually mumbling to himself while his eyes and his fingers glide over the magical signs and ciphers. Mostly the sense of the words is obscure to us, but we do catch some sentences and words which give us an inkling as to what his art of soothsaying is aiming: "Fire is the child of wood which gives it food; the connection is harmless. But here! What is this? Ape and Tiger (in the zodiacal circle of the year). These are bitter enemies. That is bad. The years of birth of mother and child agree very badly with their zodiacal signs. This indicates that there will be struggle and misfortune through evil spirits." /Closing quotation mark left out in the text.--translator./ The onpo mumbles again and goes on moving his little disks back and forth on the colored squares. Now he takes out of an old, dirty little leather sack a handful of white and black round counters made of horn (similar to the round play counters of children), then he takes white and black counters one after another and lays them together in separate little piles. Again the lips mumble, the eyes stare intently at the signs, ciphers, and the counters. Then suddenly his eyes light up, and the words come loudly from the mouth of the devil-tamer: "The spirit-exorcising earth dagger has been pulled out of the earth! Woe to you, son of Lobsang Wanggyal! The earth and /20/ water spirits have been released and will cause you harm! And here the Mewa signs are bad. The elements are in conflict with each other. The

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

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is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

for instance, in Tibet and China had two "eleventh" months. 805
In case the insertion of a whole month is too much, several 177
days can be omitted. Of course, the calendar-maker and the astrologist leaves out those days which he has calculated as unlucky days.

The Tibetan calendar reckons with year cycles of twelve years each which, in calculating the time, are added together and counted. The individual years within the cycle of twelve are not designated by numbers but by the names of one of the following twelve animals: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, ape, bird, dog, and pig. To calculate longer periods of time five cycles of twelve years are added together to constitute a larger cycle of sixty years in such a manner that every year within the cycle of twelve is connected with one of the five "elements" (wood, fire, earth, iron, water). (Compare Ramon, Hindu-Astrologie, same publisher.) If one asks a Tibetan for his age he will usually be able to give the animal designation of his year of birth, as, for instance: I am a snake-year person or a pig-year person (in the latter case, a lucky person). Now the snake-year, for instance, may be the year 1929, 1917, 1905, 1893, and so forth. If the person concerned also can tell how many year cycles his age comprises in this year (1930), then his age and his year of birth can easily be calculated. If, for instance, he says: Three (twelve) year cycles plus four years, that makes 40 years. In other words, he was born in 1896. Educated people can indicate the precise calendar designation of their year of birth. For instance: I am an iron-horse person (that is to say, born in 1870), an earth-pig person (therefore born in 1899), a wood-tiger person (thus born in 1914). When 805
he sets up the horoscope, it is very important for the soothsayer 787
to establish whether the animals and the elements in the year 177
cycles of the persons concerned are in a friendly, in a hostile, or in a neutral relation to each other. If, for instance, in the horoscopes of man and wife, mother and child, mutually hostile animal signs or elements appear over against each other, this indicates that there will be conflict, misfortune, and anger of the gods. Among the animals, for instance, horse and mouse, ox and sheep, tiger and ape are bitter enemies; among the elements water is the "mother" of wood because no tree grows

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without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other: iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

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The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa) each of which correspond to two of our hours.

1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

1 ĉu-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, 805
that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration. 177
1 dbugs has 60 ĉa-śags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cigand se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-śar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas byâ = sundown--bird,
20--22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are 787
neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn

7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the 775
good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

●787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

Tsan spirits and also the witches have become angered. Against this 787
you should make a cross of strings which closes the portal of earth 789
and the portal of heaven, and you should have the book of the "Golden Light of Help against the Demons' (9) read.

9. The Tibetan title of the book is: gser 'od gnyan skyabs.

Finally everything is written down. The onpo hastily scans 787
his work once more with an examining eye. In particular the devil-tamer's gaze lingers with satisfaction upon the numerous crosses which are portents of misfortune. This will mean good business; and after all the Dragschos can pay for it. Now the soothsayer smears some ink from his copper inkwell on the ball of his thumb with his reed pen, and on this "stamping pad" he presses his iron seal. Then he stamps his seal at the bottom of the document and mounts it on a silk cloth. Now everything is ready. With a satisfied air the devil-tamer rolls the document up and puts aside the roll, which contains good fortune and bad fortune for an unsuspecting child, ready for its anxious father.

The next morning Lobsang Wanggyal comes to get the horoscope of his little son and begins to study its dark contents, with which the onpo eagerly assists him. The young father assumes a worried expression at the thought of all the books that are to be read and of the expensive offerings and cermonies which are connected with it. Such reading requires a number of /22/ days during which he will have to provide the lamas with food and to pay them. He politely reminds the soothsayer of his promise and of the rupees paid to him in advance and mumbles something to himself: This is not the way he had imagined things to turn out. "Oh, just be glad, honored sir, that I have warned you in time with my horoscope of the threatening dangers that you know exactly how you can ward them off. Otherwise all these dangers would have broken in upon the child like wolves upon an unsuspecting sheep; in that case there would have been nothing to rescue it any more." Lobsang Wanggyal is silent; he rolls up the expensive document and pays the devil-tamer five rupees which the 436
latter examines carefully one by one and which he then throws up with practised fingers over a block of stone, letting them fall so that they strike it, in order to test their genuineness by the sound they make (10).

10. In India there exists a widespread practice of forging

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively. He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

rapid amble to their home. In the house of Dragshos there was great 000
rejoicing over the result of the matchmaking, which finally could not be ignored even by the one who was most closely concerned by it: Drogpa Namgyal.

Again at the Soothsayer's

Yet there was still a great anxiety to be banished for Lobsang 787
Wanggyal: How would the gods and the demons be disposed towards the intended marriage? This could again only be found out by the soothsayer and astrologist Dordje Dud-joms, the devil-tamer, so he had been told. The day immediately following the carrying over of the asking beer Lobsang Wanggyal rode to Lamayuru to the soothsayer, for the first time in a long while. Since the time of the birth horoscope for his son, the Dragshos had carefully avoided the man; the latter had overdone things a little at that time with his calculation of misfortune, and the idea had dawned upon the Dragshos that there always existed a certain relationship between this activity and the /63/ money bag of the person who commissioned it. But one could scarcely go about arranging such an important matter as a marriage in the family without consulting the onpo at all. Who else knows how to read fate in the stars and to interpret the dark signs the way the onpo does? The latter had certainly noticed that the Dragshos had avoided him in the last few years and he was probably determined to be careful this time. It did not pay to spoil things with the Dragshos and his tribe. One should not lose such good customers.

The devil-tamer went to work immediately after the Dragshos had left his cell. He compared the horoscopes at birth of the prospective couple and tested to see whether the zodiacal signs of the years of birth, the elements and the constellations were in a friendly, hostile or neutral relationship to each other, whether the astrological signs for life, body, power, and "wind horse" (lun-rta) (40) of the two were

40. A mythical horse which carries on its back the valuable wishing gem (Tibetan, yid bźin nor-bu; Sanskrit cintamani) and which is supposed to bring people wealth and happiness. The "wishing horse" is often seen on prayer flags, magical pieces of paper, and the like, on which it is drawn. [777]

favorable and harmonized with each other or whether they were hostile

787 and presaged the anger of the gods. Dorje Dud-joms cut things short this time. When Lobsang Wanggyal asked for the horoscope two days later, the onpo received him with a friendly smile. "You can rejoice, gaga (gracious sir), your horoscope is not bad this time. The forces resisting the intentions of the betrothed couple are not too great. This might be quite different; all the things that we have seen in this respect!" The Dragshos could believe that fully, just judging from his own observations. "The mighty water deities especially are favorably inclined towards you--at least until now. Your ample lu-stor (offering to the water gods) and the reading of the book klu-abum (book of the 100,000 water gods) have put them into a favorable mood, too. Only the Don and Dre demons are not of a favorable disposition anyhow; you cannot trust them. Perhaps you have been somewhat negligent in recent times with your offerings and the reading of the necessary books. You should just catch up with what you have neglected; I have written down the books that you must have read and the offerings that should be presented. And--wait a minute! Something just occurs to me--I had almost forgotten about that. You want to hold the wedding in the [776] first month of the new year. In that month a new Lha (god) just wants /63/ to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, where you are going to have the first wedding festival. This god is as yet unknown and so he cannot be trusted. You must immediately put him in a good mood through offerings. He comes from Hundar. There he raged terribly and in his rage brought smallpox to the people of the village of Hundar. Surely you know that there and in the neighboring villages over eighty people died of smallpox. Then the lamas drove the Lha away by their formulas and exorcisms. Now he is about to move into the gods' trees in Tingmogang, as the lamas who live there have found out. Therefore, be careful and get yourself on good terms with the Lha right away so that he will not ruin your plans. The main wedding feast, which will be held in Tingmogang in the house of the bride's parents, should take place on the 21st of the first month. That is a Thursday (41), a propitious day for all marriages; the other days of the week are

777 41. Among the peoples of the East, as among those in the West, including also our Germanic ancestors, Thursday is accounted a lucky day for marriages; to the gza-p'ur-bu (Jupiter's day) there corresponds in Old High German Donar's day, the day of the Thunder (Storm) God Donar who with his weapon, the hammer, protected marriage, just like

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew that kind of paying too. 787●

The Ransom Beer (42) 583

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-čan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner 584 [431]

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

[cf. cat. 116, p. 60 footnote 43 - Analyst]

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plate.

Such beer one does not drink. Scatter it to the earth only!
If a picture (113) should arise, we would drink the beer.

[787]

113. A figure which is formed on the ground by the beer that has been poured out, by means of which one is supposed to foretell the future.

Such beer one does not drink. Just pour it into the water!
If a tress is braided there (114), we shall drink beer.

114. This refers to the ruffling of the surface of the water when something is poured on to it.

The Chirpon people answer:

Who in the sky takes the beer except sun and moon?
Sun and moon, those two you certainly do not resemble.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Who runs up the cliff? The old she-ibex it is (115),

115. The she-ibex /Steinziege/--the female of the ibex /Steinbock/ (Capra sibirica).

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
The size of a mirror a spot melted through sun and moon,
Do not worry! You do not resemble them.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Pictures on the earth are drawn by the black yak (116).

116. The yak's track on the earth is meant.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Little fish Golden Eye alone braids tresses in the water (117).

117. The ruffled course of the fish that swims at the surface of the water.

place /141/ during which a man was beaten till he bled, because he had needled the scribe Dondrub about his "sickness." 000

With tormenting doubts in his mind, Namgyal returned to Kalatse. The recent great exertion approaching the so highly praised bringers of salvation had left only a feeling of dissatisfaction again in his heart. Grandmother Tsering Putrid who had no understanding for his inner conflicts, even though she was constantly admonishing him to be "pious," reproached him bitterly for having neglected to bring home an amulet from the great dosmo in Leh for her. He had missed such a beautiful opportunity, she said, for bringing good fortune into the house and the family.

Soon after the return of her grandson, Api (grandmother), Tsering Putrid talked to him earnestly and said: "Namgyal, have you had a horoscope made yet for the new year? No? Then it is high time that you do so! How can you postpone an important matter like that for such a long time! Go to the old Dorje Dud-joms immediately and have him construct the year's horoscope for our family! That should have been taken care of two months ago. For how will you know otherwise what designs the evil demons have against us, unless the soothsayer warns us betimes!" 787

Namgyal had no desire to go to the sly old fox to consult him again, and so he said to the Api that the onpo himself knew no more than other people and that he was unable to look into the dark future. So frequently the people who consulted him had seen themselves swindled by the onpo. The only person who profited from this, he said, was the onpo. The Api was seriously angry at her grandson and said that if he refused to go she would go to the man herself.

So already on the following day, the old woman went the long way to the "devil-tamer," in order to have him look into the destiny for the year that had long since begun. The soothsayer was in a very bad mood and very short-tempered. He wrote down the titles of a few books for her which she was to have the lamas read. This was to ward off threatening misfortunes; further he prescribed for her a few offerings that were to be made and a skurim (ceremony) that was to be performed for the same purpose. He knew the old woman's avarice, and when she had left his hermitage /142/ he mumbled after her: "For those few measly coppers that you give me I am going to write you a long, beautiful horoscope!" Tired and humiliated the Api came home and she did not dare to show her grandson the document straight away. Not till a full week had gone by did she give it to him and merely said:

787 "Here on this slip of paper it is written how we are to ward off the evil spirits this year. Surely you are going to follow these directions? Isn't that so, Namgyal?" "Oh, oh!" said the latter and with complete calm he stuck the dirty slip of paper into a crack in the large beam of the ceiling in the chansa.

Many Tibetans who wanted to be quite sure in their doings and who could afford it, went to the oracle man (rtsis-pa) in the Lamayuru monastery around the turn of the year. The oracle man sold his wisdom at a greater price than did the onpo. The old teller of fairytales, Gyamtsopa, however, knew how to go about foretelling the future in a cheaper way than those mentioned above. He took the shoulder blade of a freshly killed sheep, cleaned off all particles of flesh, held it in the fire so that it bent and shrunk from the heat. Then he held it against the light and looked at the figures that had formed in the tissue. "There--a rider! A red Tsan-demon! There--a woman's figure with snakes above her head! An evil water nymph! Threatening figures! There a child's head--that means an increase in the family; an ear of grain--rich harvest! In a similar way fresh sheep's intestines prognosticated the future for him, as did, furthermore, the bones of birds or little stones that he threw on the ground with a practised hand. From the figures which are formed in this manner or which his imagination painted to him he gave the people who consulted him and who flocked to him in great numbers, "glimpses into the future." He made it cheap for them: a few measures of barley, a piece of butter, a jug of beer, a few anna (one anna equals eight and one-half Pfenning).

527 One to one and a half months after the dosmoche festival (from the middle to the end of March) the storlog (gtor-log) is celebrated in all the large and small villages. This is a spring festival at which the exorcism of the threatening demons is again in the foreground. This exorcism is carried out by means of a storma (gtor-ma), a scattered offering with the exorcising formulas belonging to it. Here too there are numerous amusements. The men shoot with arrows at targets that have been set up. Certainly /143/ this shooting of arrows originally had a mythological significance. This is indicated by the songs of the mythical great king Kesar, the "son of the gods," in which his heroic deeds are sung. On the occasion of this festival they shoot with bow [526] and arrow during the hours of daylight. Nowadays there is not much skill being demonstrated in this archery. When the Tibetans were still a warlike people, even when the musket flints had already come into use, the art of shooting arrows was practised industriously. During the long period of peace the art of archery [illegible] into disuse.

long period of peace the art of archery had fallen into disuse. 000

When the sun was describing increasingly higher arcs above the 241 mountains in the spring, and when under its beams, which were by now 787 already quite warm, the first greenery began to appear on the slopes and mountainsides, Namgyal said to his father one morning: "we might soon be able to start with the plowing. What do you think?" Father Lobsang Wanggyal replied: "Yes, if it were not for the lamas and the onpos, we certainly would be able to start with the plowing and the sowing But you know. They want to determine the time for this, because they say that only they can indicate the day on which the astrological signs are favorable and the gods are inclined towards us in a friendly manner. You know that I have doubted the wisdom of the soothsayers for a long time. It has so often turned out differently from the way they had foretold it, and although we followed their prescriptions, we frequently got bad harvests. But who knows whether it would not be worse if we freed ourselves from them. For the time being it will be better not to break off with them completely. Don't you want to go to the king's plowing in Leh, so that you will have seen that once. The onpo in Leh has set the day for this at the Dosmoche festival. It takes place in eight days and you will be able to learn all sorts of things there." Namgyal was willing to go. He had a certain respect for the dignity of the king, whose ancestors his fathers had once served so faithfully. Moreover, the thought that the knowledge he might gain there could be of use to him also persuaded him to go to Leh once more, in order to be present at the king's plowing about which he had heard so much. The people of Ladakh called it Sa-kha-che (sa-k'a-p'ye), usually abbreviated to Saka.

On the eve of the king's plowing Namgyal arrived in Leh. The 241 following day he went with some of his friends, following the human stream /144/ of novelty-seekers to the bazaar and watched how the farmers led a few dso (bastard oxen) to the place, the horns of which they had previously greased with butter--a symbol of fatness, of abundance. Now they let the animals run around for a while in the open and let them frisk and playfully spring about after they had spent the winter mostly in a narrow, dark stable. Then a delegation of farmers under the leadership of the local magistrates of Leh and of the neighboring villages, which is joined by Namgyal, goes to the castle, where the king is expecting them; they carry a large offering cake in the form of a chorten (bran-rgyas) made of bread dough mixed with butter. The cake is placed in the castle's kitchen and the men dance around it in a

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and 821
firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (166), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to

166 The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mythology has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply the earth with light night and day.

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer 731
was followed by a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the Kalatse reservoir and water-line [689]
strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community.

The lamas performed one procession after another, and the [789]
farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain. Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, which did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected.

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the 787.
land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been

787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready. It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they had just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags stag-lo) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle)./ /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

781 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731 426 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

625 661 After all four accused men had been "interrogated" in this cruel manner, during which none confessed the theft, it was Namgyal's turn. He knew that he had nothing good to expect from Gobinath. Two years before this police officer had once come up to him and said to him confidentially /197/ that he was in a position to procure the post of district official for him (Namgyal), if he would give him one hundred rupees. After all, Namgyal knew, he said, that this was a "good post." He also knew how much influence he (Gobinath) had with the Wasir. Namgyal had refused the offer in no uncertain terms and had brought the matter to the attention of the Tahsildar, the assistant to the Wasir. The latter had warned Gobinath to be "careful." One crow does not peck out the other crow's eyes. /Birds of a feather flock together/ Gobinath knew too much about his superior and his doings. But Gobinath learned of Namgyal's notification and waited for a long time for an opportunity to avenge himself on his opponent. He now believed to have found this opportunity.

625 Gobinath was just about to make preparations for whipping Namgyal, when in the last minute a messenger from the Wasir arrived with the order to free Namgyal. The messenger said that Namgyal had nothing to do with the theft. The lonpo (nobleman) from Dranghar, who was related to the Dragshos, had, he said, proved without a doubt, that Namgyal had been in his quarters at the time of the theft, something which could also be testified to by others. Thus Gobinath, to his anger, had to let Namgyal go, and the Lama Dondrub had to go away disappointed, with the two witnesses who had consented to swear for a few annas that they had seen Namgyal at the scene of the crime immediately after the theft (198) Gobinath released Namgyal with

168. See not 48!

the threat that he would find another opportunity to pay him back for his deeds. The thief had still not been tracked down; however many "suspects" were interrogated and tortured; finally all of them had to be released again for lack of proof.

787 Upon the advice of some Buddhistic lower officials, the Wasir then seized upon an unusual measure. He questioned the Lhapas (demon priests) of the monastery Mashro which lies beyond the Indus River at the foot of a gigantic, glacier crowned mountain-mass. Some of the monks of the lower orders there occupied themselves, after they had been so designated by lot, in a special way, with the exorcising

of spirits. In so doing, a certain demon was invoked by them after 787
previous fasting and meditation. This demon was supposed to enter into the Lhapa and was then supposed to speak from the obsessed person and to answer the questions put to him. Only when they are forced by /198/ their superiors, did the Lhapas carry out this demon service of which at bottom they had a horror themselves. The Tibetans maintained that these spirits enter exclusively into persons with bad astrological signs. Among these spirits there are even such as belong to deceased persons.

With some servants and police soldiers the Wasir rode to Mashro. There he had two Lhapas come, and with them, with his servants and the superior lamas, he went into the gorge above the monastery where in two trees, by each of which there stood a lhato (idol altar), the Lhas supposedly have their dwelling places. There the Wasir now addressed three questions to the Lhapas who had already transported themselves into the correct ecstasy: "Who is the thief, and where is he keeping himself?" Upon the correct answering of this question each of the Lhapas was to receive twenty-five rupees. If they were unable to answer this question they were to indicate where the stolen goods were hidden. The correct answer was then to be rewarded with fifteen rupees for each. If the Lhapas were unable to answer this question likewise, then they were at least to say whether the thief was a native or a stranger, which way he had taken on his flight, and whether the stolen goods could even be found at all any more. The correct answer was to bring in a reward of ten rupees for each Lhapa. But if they left even this question unanswered, then the Wasir would have the lamas whipped thoroughly "until they burst."

The two Lhapas into whom the Lha was supposed to have entered, something which manifested itself through excited movements, glazed expressions, and foaming at the mouth, did not give an answer at first. The two unfortunates were apparently willy-nilly dragged this way and that by an invisible power. The superior lamas, who observed everything very carefully, said that the demons gave indications of departing because the Wasir had threatened too much. A few lamas attempted to hold on to the unwilling spirit by means of exorcisms and of music of trumpets, drums, and kettle drums. Finally, after a long wait, a spirit spoke forth from the Lhapa: "We are bound in the Beyond by the power of the great lama's magic. We may not name the name of the thief. But the stolen goods will not be lost, they will appear after a short while. The thief is no Tibetan, no /199/ man of Ladakh; he is

787 still in the country." In answer to the Wasir's question when the stolen goods would be found, there came the answer: "We know it not." After about a month the thief was apprehended. He was a native Indian soldier from the small garrison of the Dogra fort near Leh. The stolen goods were also found in a hideaway. The two Lhapas each received ten rupees from the Wasir as reward.

792 Namgyal returned to Kalatse richer by one experience. His fellow villagers received him with jubilation and many presents. They were all honestly overjoyed at his release from the claws of the hated Gobinath. The lama from the Break-leg house preferred not to show himself openly in Kalatse for a whole year long, although as a village priest he was responsible for the health of souls of the village inhabitants. His relatives--he also had a wife, like the majority of his "red" brothers in the order who had dropped celibacy--he had told that he was now "urgently needed" in the monastery. In his place a small, gentle little monk moved into his hermitage, who performed his office to the satisfaction of the villagers, because in his demands for the ceremonies to which he had been ordered, he kept strictly to the regulations, and because he did not practise usury.

539 The T'selen (Messenger of Death) Comes

The Song of Death

Human form you attain
With difficulty like rare lotus.
Therefore leave your laughter!
Follow sacred law!
You indulge in your pleasure,
You think not of dying--
And suddenly death hunts you
From behind, he seizes you.
As the wolf strikes the sheep,
The god of death grips you.
Therefore think in solitude,
Do penance in the desert!
/200/ Wealth leads to vice,
Offers you up to hell.
Unchaste, loving women,
You only look for yourself.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual 764
death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope.

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering 764
died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood- 787
Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the 789
"changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-[illegible] kun gsal)." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This [776]
death demon (za-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money)

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

The Year's Shed ("Offering")

764 Since Tsering was a snake year person, it says in the horoscope:
787 When a snake year person dies a bird year person and a pig year person
789 must be fetched. These persons hide a red or dark blue piece of cloth cut to measure, as well as any jewels that might be available, inside an old leather sack that has been slit open at the top, or inside a black vessel. (This is done as an offering to the Shed demon, the "killer.") These things are also covered with a hide or grains of barley; (in the former case) it must be the fresh hide of a black goat or of a yak killed by one of three Bon priests as a sacrifice to the Shed. The head of the (killed) /second parenthesis supplied by the translator, as it is missing in the text./ yak or of the goat is placed facing north, the right front leg towards the east, and the left towards the west. The spinal column is dragged along the earth. Sayings (mdo-mań, Mantra), among them the "Formula of the Crown of Hair," (20) are recited. The lha-gsol

20. In this case the thought is probably of hair belonging to Gautama Buddha, the Ushnisha (Tibetan, gtsug-tor), which is to be seen in all pictures of Buddha.

(invocation to the gods), the gyań-agug (good luck bringing) ceremony, as well as the ceremony of the "string cross of the tent" (gur-mdos), are performed. Thereupon the demon of death escapes to a woman who has a red dog with red flesh.

The Monthly Shed Offering

Since the 12th month (in which Tsering died) is the pig month, it says in the horoscope: He who dies in the pig /220/ month, had actually finished his life already in the snake month. The demon had carried him (that is, his soul) off to the northeast.

Since the 28th day of the 12th month is the "heavenly door of the grave" (because heaven is opened up for the death demons and they can escape from it), the black magician must close the heavenly portal in the following manner (21): above the front door of the house of the

21. This is done so that the demons of death will not harm the people.

deceased Tsering, a mouth, eyes, and so forth are painted with clay 764
on a ram's skull; (for the rest) the skull is covered with paint. On its 787
forehead is drawn the magical Sparka sign "Khen" (22) of Tsering. 789

22. Khen is the lord of the gods and the demons of heaven.

This skull is attached above the house door and over it is placed a mdos (string star) made of sticks and strings in five colors. This star is called "heaven." Again above this is put an arrow with narrow ribbons of five colors. On the right-hand side of the skull a spotted (probably by means of partial charring) arrow is affixed, to the left a spindle (23) spotted

23. Compare note 106 in its main part!

in like manner, and to the right of the spindle a board bearing the picture of a man's face is attached. Finally as many crosses are carved (into the board) as the number of years in the age of the surviving man (24) in the house. On the left-hand side on the board, a woman's face

24. Even if Tsering was the husband of a woman, it was still possible that a second or a third brother of Tsering lived as her husband in the house.

is to be seen and next to this as many crosses as the "pious offerer of gifts" (25) is old. If the woman (the widow) is for instance 25 years of

25. The widow of the deceased man, who offers up gifts for the salvation of her husband.

age, then 25 crosses are carved into the board. When all this is completed, the onpo offers up a drink offering (gser-skyem) before this whole (magical apparatus). This is called the "closing of the heavenly portal." If the heavenly portal were not to be closed, the inhabitants of the house would suffer harm (through the demons that have been set free). When the portal of the earth is opened and it is not closed, it is believed that damage will be suffered among the crosses in the livestock (26).

26. For instance, among the dso (a cross between a yak bull and an Indian cow) /second parenthesis supplied by translator,

764 since omitted in text./, the mules, and others.

•787 The closing of the portal of the earth proceeds in the same
789 way as the closing of the portal of heaven described above. However, in this case a dog's skull, instead of a ram's skull, is painted, and not the word "Khen," but the word "Khon" (27) is written on it. This is

27. The Old Khon, the earth mother, mistress of all earth demons and earth spirits, corresponds to the Old Khen, the lord of the heavenly spirits.

called the Great Seal (on the portal of the earth, which prevents the demons from escaping).

/221/ The Influence of the Day of Death and of the Hour of Death

Now, since Tsering died on the 28th day of the month, on the pig day, (so it says in the horoscope): He was born as a magician in a previous existence. (After that former existence) he died in the sixth month of the dragon year.

Since Tsering died around the dragon hour, after sunrise, (it says in the horoscope): He died around the time of the (first) warmth of the sun (around 10 o'clock) (28). The devil (bdud) deprived him of

28. In the narrow valleys of Tibet the sun rises, if at all, very late.

life at the break of day. The devils and the Tsan (bt'san) have acted upon him as killers (gsed). The killers accordingly came from the northwest, and used yellow leather things as a hiding place. Even now they are still hidden in them. Hang out a yellow flag and a hairy hide. At first the (chief) killer appeared as a dragon, then, after 11 days, as an ox. That is bad for the bird year and the ox year persons, as well as for the little boys in the house. Then, again, the death demon was changed into the body of a snake. You must make a picture of a snake and must set this up at a point where many roads meet, after you have pressed it inside a pig's skull. Later the demon again hid himself in a small leather sack in the East.

When a woman dies and her spirit walks about in the house,

powerful ceremonies must be held. She will assume the body of a horse for ten years. For the deceased woman (the book) rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoń-rtsa (the thousand Dorje Chodpa), and (the book) mdzańs-blun (the wise man and the fool), must be read. Then she will be born as the "Goddess of the small light." But unless this is done, she will be born in the body of the sublime White Bird (29).

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787
789

29. Probably a mythical creature of Bon mythology. Compare notes 80 to 81 in the main sections!

Evil Magical Signs

Since Tsering's Sparka sign in his 42nd year of life (the year of his death) had turned out to be the Khon (sign), it says in the horoscope: When someone dies under the Khon sign, the Jaksha demons carry off (his soul). If a woman dies (under this /222/ sign), then her dying (being reborn) is all over. If a husband dies in this way, then matters are bad (for him); then the earth demons carry him (his soul) off. Tsering died with his face turned either to the south or to the north--the retribution for his "Black Changing" (30). It is (also) bad for the old

30. His dying in sin.

people and for the invalids, as well as for the livestock. If the person concerned (who dies under the Khon sign) is reborn, then he will take pleasure in continual eating and drinking (debauchery), and in bow and arrow (31).

31. The sinful weapons of murder.

Now the death demon is once again inside the black leather bag. The leather bag is to be placed down on the ground by a fork in the road. Then the demon will go to an old, invalid man. A hare's skull and various kinds of wood are to be placed on the corpse (of Tsering), in order to prevent this. Then the demon again hides in the northeast. He hides in the buttermilk of cow and sheep. Now in the southwest the demon slips into a sheep year woman. Later he goes again to where there is a cow and a yellow checkered watch dog (sgo-k'yi). Then again he conceals himself with a married couple in a box or in a roll of yellow cloth or in a front leg (of meat) which has been cut and

764 and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by
• 787
789
[827]

32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespa-gsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death, causing death."

the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of rebirth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order

33. Bumpa; meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

good to ascertain through the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug ceremony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam-dbyaṅs) is to be set up. 764 787 789

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated

35. The title of a book.

that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month: k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821]

the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

764 the purification of the sins of the year (lo-sgrib), the sins of the
• 787 month (zla-sgrib), and of the other sins; and he must also perform
789 other ceremonies, if necessary Then the corpse may be carried out.

/224/ Since Tsering was a snake year person, the snake year persons among his tribe and among the inhabitants of his house are forbidden not only to touch the corpse, but also even to look at it. But if the magician gives them the Nag-po dgu-t'ub amulet (39), they

39. /The text has two footnotes numbered 38, the second being clearly a misprint for 39. --translator. / The amulet which exorcizes the "Black Nine" (probably Bon demons).

may perform the preparations. Tsering's wife was undoubtedly supposed to carry her husband's body, but if she is a snake year woman she may not carry it either (nor touch it).

On the eight dates of the month, the first, the eighth, the ninth, the 18th, the 19th, 28th, 29th, and the 30th, no kind of preparations on the body are to be performed. On the other hand, the six dates of the fifth, the seventh, the 15th, 17th, 25th, and the 27th, are very favorable for these preparations; the remaining 16 dates have neither profit nor harm in them; this appears clearly from the book about the "calculation of retribution."

Since for seven days the disastrous elements (Sanskrit, skandha) (40), which fashioned the earthly body and which are called zin-puń,

40. Concerning the five skandha, see note 11.

float around, no kind of work, either good or evil, may be performed during these days Now, if it is also stated that on the days of the zin-puń, the purification may not be carried out, then this means that as of recent times the onpos nevertheless do carry out the purification on the days named Sometimes the corpse is even carried out of the house on these days.

The Signs of the Future Re-incarnation

"Since the Red Nine turned out to be the Mewa sign of the 42-year old Tsering, he would have to be reborn again as a dog and (later) as a donkey But if you set up the image (the bronze or clay statue) of the Bodhisattva Byams-dbyańs (Sanskrit, Manjusri) in the

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, 764
in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of 787
the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 789
'Khorlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this
way, the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the cere-
monies resulting from them, to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo
performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion.
Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas)
are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises
of the onpos continue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer
fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the
birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures
(animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted
images (tanka) of the same.

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (sa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals," and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning toward Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests. [171]

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contra-distinction to Those of the Onpos) 764

Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 **Chapter I.**

The District.

Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

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"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

131 133 361

Configuration of *wazíri* Spiti.

Spiti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spiti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spiti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spiti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

177 only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

779 The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps
177 the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devás* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former
776 inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion
779 of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the
177 dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female
[796] symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for
787 animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and
[793] unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the
779 dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven,
789 or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]
BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the KÂngrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khdla* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lima* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lima* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 187 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fianc*é is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [614]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiri

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The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

764 767 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fascia, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee [778] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fascia were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, *i.e.*, intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et cetera. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated 787 parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead 782 cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.

767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged.

BHAGWAN SINGH.

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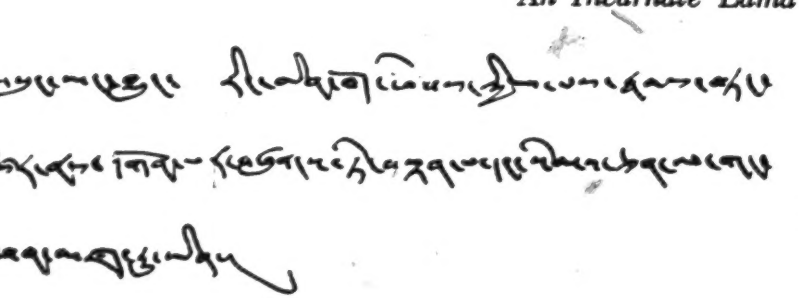
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



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A free translation of this account is as follows:[1]

"The last Stagtsang Raspa told the senior lamas of his monastery [the Hemis Gonpa], when he was over fifty years old, that he was soon going to leave this world and that they should look for him in his new life after a few years' time somewhere in Tibet. Two years after 'the retiring of Raspa to heavenly fields,' the personal attendant of our Rinpoche and I, Ngatun Phuntzog, visited the Lhasa oracle, who told us vaguely of the rebirth of Raspa to a noblewoman who lived in the middle part of the U province of Tibet, a little to the northeast of Lhasa. After finding the family, we learned that the child Raspa began to say 'Ladakh, Ladakh' soon after he was reborn. The Gelung and I saw a sign on his left wrist which we recognized to be the sign of the watch of our last Rinpoche. We recognized the scar of a boil on the back of his neck and other familiar signs on the person of our Master. And when we told his noble parents that their child was the reincarnated Raspa, whom we had come to take to Ladakh, they gladly agreed to our request. When we returned to Lhasa, the Netchung [the oracle] approved our discovery of our Rinpoche. The Gyawa Rinpoche, the Dalai Lama, blessed the two-year-old Raspa and permitted us to take him out to our monastery in Ladakh. When we returned to Hemis, the present Raspa recognized the main gate of the monastery, the entrance to his personal rooms, etc. We installed him here at the age of six years and have been blissfully happy in the return of our Guru to Hemis."

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1 [See pp. 161-163 for TIBETAN TEXT. -- ANALYST]

792 159 787 775 Phuntzog talked at length about the discovery. He said that the soul usually wanders two years before it decides what life to enter. Two years from the date when an Incarnate Lama passes to heavenly fields is, therefore, the critical date. The high lamas of the monastery then go to the oracle at Lhasa and say, "Two years ago on this date, this man retired to the heavenly fields. What life has his soul possessed?"

The oracle then describes the place in general terms. When that place is found, there may be more than one baby boy who fits the description. In that event they have to make a selection. They customarily bring along some of the possessions of the predecessor. They put these on a table and bring the little candidates in. One may touch a watch and say it is his. One may inquire about his favorite hat and describe it or say where it was last hanging. The lamas may question the boys about the events in the life of the predecessor. They keep up the search until they are convinced they have found the child who has been possessed by the soul of the deceased.

I asked why Phuntzog relied so heavily on the scar of the boil and the mark of the wrist-watch band. "They are not there now," I said.

He went on to explain that the predecessor had had a nasty boil on the back of his neck and that a native doctor had burned it off, leaving a deep scar. The mark was unmistakable. The mark of the wrist-watch strap was also plain. The man had seldom removed the watch; and when he did, a lighter-colored strip of skin was plain for all to see.

That was not all. This predecessor had spoken Arabic and English. "Only the other day," Phuntzog said, "Rinpoche, who has had no lessons in Arabic, started speaking it."

"How can that be?" I asked.

"The knowledge of the predecessor is in the boy," he replied. "It has to be revived. Some stimulus has to bring it to consciousness; but it is all there."

An Incarnate Lama

As we talked we walked through the vast poplar grove and 792
came to the main monastery building. A lama sat under a tree 159
from morning till night, day after day, reciting his prayers in a 787
singsong way. Our passing did not interrupt him. We climbed to the rooms of the Incarnate Lama—the rooms Rinpoche would occupy when he reached maturity. These were the rooms occupied by the predecessor. His portrait, done in oils, stood on the mantel. Phuntzog turned to me and said, "When Rinpoche first came to Hemis, he asked for his rooms; and when I brought him here he kept pointing out various articles that he recognized."

We walked to the mantel where the oil portrait of the predecessor stood. There was silence for several minutes. Then Phuntzog, turning to me, said, "The resemblance of the Rinpoche is plain, isn't it?"

I nodded, and then I looked to Rahul and saw that he nodded too. And Rinpoche, who had been eying us closely, grinned from ear to ear and, whirling on one foot, dashed out of the room, his little red robe flying.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
175 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
•787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle 648
directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By select- 775
ing the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church 787
got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached 792
democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beauti- 792
fully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the 159
Saturday Evening Post for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born 787
after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of 792
Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They con- 159
sulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies fre- 775
quently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

•787 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus
792 sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-
159 encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it ap-
775 peared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

648 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in
792 this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At
775 times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

148 of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane
792 to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

[787] After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

795 The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its
178 leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed
792 from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lies huddled up in a corner, complaining of bad pains in his knees, one of the ills to which most Ladak is advanced in age seem to be heir. The bad knees are felt, the tongue looked at, and then the serious business of examining the pulses—in the plural—is undertaken. Although they are all found at the wrist where the Western physician looks for the single one, yet there are actually six pulses, three on each hand, so that not only may the pulse of the heart be examined, but also those of the stomach, lung, liver, kidney and spleen. This thorough examination finished, the doctor proceeds to treatment, which in this case is the cautery, a great stand-by of the *amchi*. This may do good if only it does not go septic; at any rate it is a strong counter-irritant. Some powder is then given, and the patient informed exactly how to take it, whether with hot, cold or lukewarm water. Food, too, has a most important bearing on the complaint, for, whilst the meat of a white sheep will do nothing but good, that of the black would aggravate the symptoms. As this patient has no fever, he may let himself go to sleep, but if a man has a temperature to let himself drift into such an unconscious state would certainly be fatal. Cupping, the raising of blisters, and venesection are other methods of curing all sorts of complaints.

Next to the Lama the *Onpo* or Horologist is perhaps the most important individual, for if you wish to plough your field, to call in the lamas for the reading of holy books, or desire to choose the best day on which to marry, in fact for the decision of all the important affairs of life, you must get him to settle the auspicious day. There is little to distinguish the *onpo* outwardly, but on official occasions he may dress like a lama, even to the wearing of a priestly cap, but his pigtail will distinguish him from the ecclesiastic. On his back he carries his bundle of books, and the Tibetan almanac. Puntzog, who is thirty years of age, visits the horologist, for he desires to attend the festival at Hemis, but he wants to leave Leh on the best day possible. Hemis occurs in the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

787 fifth Buddhist month, and, referring to his books, the *onpo* finds that for him to travel in such a south-easterly direction on a Thursday in the fifth month is most auspicious. But consulting the star for that day he finds the fates are unkind, and that should Puntzog leave on Thursday, he will be robbed. What is to be done, for, in every other respect Thursday is so lucky? Further research into the horologist's library shows a way out of the dilemma. Let Puntzog go seven steps in the direction of Hemis the day before, returning then if he likes, and he can travel safely on Thursday. One day the *onpo* paid the Doctor Sahib a visit, and he, wishing to have horological proof of his married bliss and to be assured of its continuance, asked the *onpo* to read his nuptial horoscope. His age being forty-three years showed that he was born in the "water sheep" year, whilst his partner appeared in this incarnation in the "water snail" year. Now it is quite evident that water and water mix splendidly, so that divorce was out of the question. But he had had a narrow escape, for a year's difference would have been disastrous, as it would have involved the union of wood and water, and as the latter rots the former, married happiness would have been impossible. He then inquired whether his actual wedding day had been a good one, and a beam overspread the *onpo's* face when his books told him that both the day and the constellation pointed to the choice of a perfect day. Not only riches, but a quiver full of children would be our lot. The *onpo* also advised the Doctor to take a sea voyage this year, for he was born in the water year, and this is the wood year; a ship is made of wood and is meant to go in water, therefore such a journey would be most auspicious. As he was to travel to England this year he trusted the omens would not belie themselves.

792 Among professions a few words must be said about nuns. Most Buddhist families like to have one representative in the Church, but sometimes they have no boy or cannot spare one.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of former sins. Another patient—this time a Royal one be it noticed—asks for some medicine which will stop his beard from growing. Could such be produced much trouble might be saved for him as well as many others. The next comer informs us that he himself is not a patient, but that away at his home his little brother is suffering from headache, and is quite aggrieved that treatment without examination is refused. Now a Balti comes, who says he is perfectly well at present, but that he is quite certain one day he will have a pain in his digestive organs, and he would like to be prepared against that day. Another old gentleman has returned for more medicine, although only yesterday he had been provided for three days, and on being reproached for having disobeyed instructions, advances the perfectly reasonable argument that, if one dose of medicine is going to do him good, ten doses will multiply the good effect tenfold.

Having seen all our out-patients and attended to their treatment, we adjourn to the operating-room where a cataract is to be removed. To-day our patient is of noble rank, being the mother of the chief Rajah of Ladak. Some days previously the old King had asked us to operate on his maternal relative, and we actually fixed the date, but, alas! he found on consulting his horologist and books, that we had chosen a most inauspicious day and begged the Doctor to change it, which he did. There lies the old lady on the operating-table, her refined features and well-kept hands testifying to her good breeding. We scrub our hands so thoroughly that the onlookers, among whom is the King, no doubt feel this is part of a religious performance preceding the operation. Having arranged the sterile towels, we are just about to start, when the exalted son begins walking up and down the room rapidly, saying his *Om Mani pa dme hungs*, the while turning the beads of his rosary. This is hardly conducive to the stillness an English surgeon would desire when performing a cataract extraction. The obstructing lens is removed, how-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XX

Demons, Dances & Dinners

IN this country in which practically all the religious ritual is of the old demon worship origin, one would expect to find belief in the possession of man by demons. The Ladaki at any rate does not doubt the reality of such possession, and one is inclined to think that in spite of much fraud, there is a substratum of fact in it. Discussing this matter with a colleague one day, he affirmed that he had once had a woman patient who " really was possessed by a devil," and, in reply to the query as to how he had treated her, he said that a good dose of castor oil had cured her ! However, the reader shall judge for himself from the following experiences. 771

Some years ago we heard that in Marshro, a village situated a day's march from Leh, two brothers would become possessed by two very fierce demons, and my colleague and I decided to investigate the performance. Having arrived there, we were given a nice large room in the monastery, which proved somewhat too airy, as the time of year was mid-winter and one side of our apartment was completely open to the wintry air. However, by donning the rough native sheepskin coats, and ignoring their smell, we managed to make ourselves fairly comfortable, especially when we, with our servants, sat round a large pot of steaming Irish stew. As we enjoyed this warming and welcome dish, our table companions, waxing loquacious, told us of how these demons originally came from Central Tibet to reside in 787 776

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetan

●787 Ladak, and how they were now the fiercest in the whole
776 country. They said that these special demons always take possession once a year of two men belonging to two definite Marshro families. Sometimes they are the same two men for a number of successive years, at others they vary. The afflatus always occurs during the first Buddhist month. Should the chosen candidate be a new one, he has to prepare himself from three to four months before, but otherwise one is sufficient. When the time has arrived these two men, generally, if not always, lamas, repair to a mountain retreat. Here they sit in a box, which is so made that they can neither lie down, nor assume any attitude other than that of sitting absolutely upright, and they are only allowed out for a very short space of time in the morning, afternoon and evening. They do not divest themselves of their clothes the whole time, and so cramped do they become that a rope is fixed above their heads by which to pull themselves up. During this month they are supplied with food from the neighbouring monastery of Marshro. Their duties consist in the reading of holy books, and the innumerable repetitions of *Om manis*. The month completed, a crowd of people ride up to their retreat to escort these *Lhapas*, god-men as they are now called, back to the monastery. There can be no doubt of their possession now, for whilst the ponies of all their companions get very tired on this iourney, those of the *Lhapas* are absolutely fresh throughout. Our informants then tell us of how the *Lhapas* will on the morrow cut themselves with swords without drawing blood, will run about on giddy heights without falling, and will foretell the future.

796 Next day we took our seats on the balcony overlooking the monastery courtyard with great expectations of a really thrilling show. There was a large crowd present, and soon an ordinary lama's dance was performed below us. These in their demon-masks were shortly joined by the *Lhapas*,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

who were naked to the waist, and, whilst dancing, each waved 796
about a sword which he carried in his right hand. At a given moment this weapon was brought across the other bare arm, but immediately it had arrived there, and before any harm could be done, several lamas rushed to them, pulled the swords away, and begged them not to harm themselves, a request in which they seemed only too pleased to acquiesce. This performance rather reminded one of the lamas of whom Waddell tells, who, when wearing the "sky-soaring" hat, have to be held down firmly to keep them from floating right out of sight. Our *Lhapas*, having tried to cut themselves several times, and being just as often restrained, eventually repaired with the other dancers into the temple. We sent a request that we might be allowed to come to examine them, which they granted. There we found two young men whose faces were rather pleasant, but in whose eyes there certainly was a strange, strained, wild look. They showed us their arms on which we descried a small straight scratch, but no blood! On closer examinaton we concluded that they had cut themselves some days before, had allowed this to scab over, then merely had to remove the scab and "they were able to cut themselves with swords, but without drawing blood"!

We now watched the second act. This begins with another devil dance, in the middle of which the two *Lhapas* rush to the top of the monastery running along the outer edge of the wall, with a distinctly nasty drop to one side of them, or jumping down from fairly high distances, an acrobatic feat which I personally would not like to perform, but one, on the other hand, which any good English gymnast with a little practice and a good head for dizzy heights, or a professional steeplejack, would find no difficulty in emulating.

Now came the grand final achievement—the act of pro- 787 ●
phesying events to come during the ensuing year. We noticed 796
the *Lhapas* going from group to group, beginning with the royal family, and again we sent a polite message, asking them

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 787 whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They
796 agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated
776 on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the
787 English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange
554 that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith
564 caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

1: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXVI

The Lure of Ladak

771 THE festival at Hemis is, as it were, a grand climax to all the strange things we see and find in this extraordinary country, which culminate in its religious practices. We have described lightly the outward ceremonies and appearances of the masque, emphasizing perhaps its humorous details, conscious and unconscious: yet, when we review it as a whole, we cannot but be appalled at its deeper significance, nor can we fail to realize that this country of cheery, attractive, lovable folk is a prey to the most rampant demonology. Where all the best religions of the world will at least point upwards, as it were, to "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" as worthy of contemplation, here the whole force of Lamaism directs the people's attention downwards to that which is impure, ugly, evil. Surely in spiritual matters they are "upside down" ●787 rather than we. The study of their horoscopy alone impresses one with the terrible burden of it all, the endless costly offices imposed on the common ignorant, superstitious people by Lamaism. It is rightly stated that "one family alone is prescribed a sufficient number of sacerdotal tasks to engage a couple of lamas fairly fully for several months of the year."

788 The rites enjoined to overcome the difficulties of the conflicting horoscopes of relations dwelling together, the ceremonies 79r necessary to nullify evil influences in connection, not only with the crises of life to which we have referred, but with

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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796 782 The New Year Festival celebrations begin when the *haldra* is placed leaning obliquely against the wall of the living room. One *haldra* is made for each male in the household, though none are provided for the women. This operation completed, the *mar-zan* is offered and scattered before the *haldra*, after which follows the *kal-chor* offering which is sprinkled with a small branch of the juniper. The *sang-shū* is in the meanwhile lit and kept burning.

[797] The villagers have now to await instructions from the *Tsis-pa* (*T. rtsis-pa*, the man who calculates the readings of the Tibetan calendar) for the propitious moment for emerging from their houses. When this notice is served, the remainder of the *mar-zan* offering is transferred to the

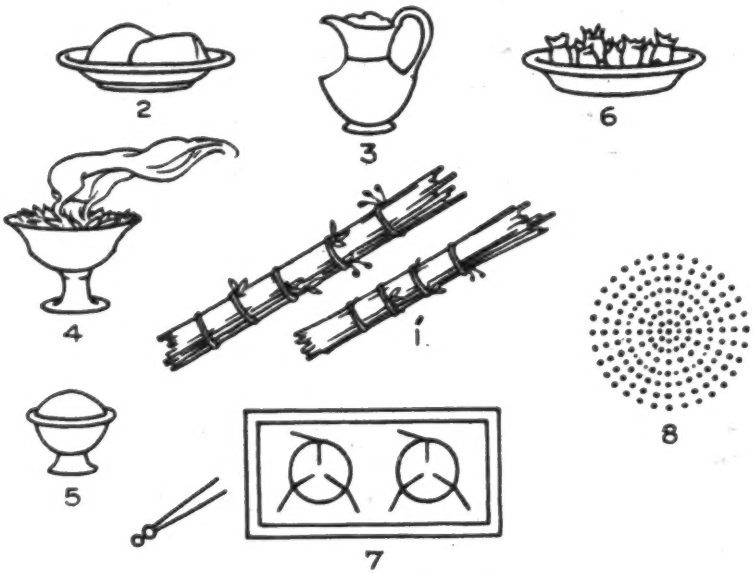

FIG. 1.—OFFERINGS AT THE *haldra* CEREMONY.

1. *haldra*; 2. *mar-zan*; 3. *kal-chor*; 4. *sang-shū*; 5. *rai-gen*; 6. *mar-mar-zad*; 7. *tab-ka*; 8. *shis-kar-appa*.

rai-gens (? T. *ra-gan*, brass vessel) (5), a cup made of various metals. This is then placed in the fold of the Tibetan robe above the waistband, one such cup being carried by the sons in each house. The *mar-mar-zad* (6) offering consisting of barley, juniper berries, and sprouts, and butter mixed together, and tied up with yarn. Round small pieces of beech bark is similarly secreted in the folds of the dress. Finally, the *haldra* is lit from the family hearth or *tab-ka* (7) [= T. *thab*] and all emerge from their respective houses. At a certain field called *rūt*, one *mar-mar-zad* is offered; then at another spot further on a second *mar-mar-zad* is scattered, and about 200 yards further still the third offering of *mar-mar-zad* is made.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date)1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 286 From December until spring farming pursuits cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

656 425 Lahoul being under British administration, the acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

241 787 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

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241 before a verdict as to the propitious moment for beginning such occupations is given by the
787 hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as
685 landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out
691 of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that
[273] there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 An adequate supply of water from rivers,
624 glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water
241 supply). In cases where there is a communal reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the
312 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony. 585 354

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard. 585 782

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval. 585 787

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights. 585 [273]

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

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the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595
the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597
is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; [428] the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584
with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787] parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583] "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421] loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

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although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak 582-611 614 [184]

(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail. 585

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness". [535] [187]

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 distribution of presents amongst the Srámanas. As Fa Hian noticed nothing unusual in these proceedings, we may conclude that the Buddhism of Ladák was the 779 same as that of India. The number of Srámanas was more than 1,000, all of whom were satisfied with the study of the "Lesser Advancement," as laid down in the *Vinaya*, or "Precepts of Discipline," which comprised only the lowest class of Sakyas precepts. But though the Buddhism of the people of Ladák was perfectly orthodox in A.D. 400, yet Fa Hian noticed a peculiarity in their practice, which was unknown to the Indian Buddhists. "The Srámanas," he says, "make [788] use of revolving cylinders, the efficacy of which is not to be described."* These were no doubt the prayer-cylinders which are seen in the hands of the Indo-Scythian princes on their coins, and which may still be found in every Lama's hand throughout Ladák.

II.—TIBETAN SYSTEM OF BUDDHISM.

The religion of the Tibetan Buddhists is contained in a voluminous work called the *Kah-Gyur*, or "Translation of Precepts," because it is a version of the precepts of Sakya, made from the Indian language. It is also frequently called *De-not-sum*, which is a mere translation of the Sanscrit *Tripitaka*, or the "Three Repositories," because it contains the three great divisions of the Buddhist doctrines: the *Vinaya*, the *Sutra*, and the *Abhidharma*. But the Tibetan version is more generally divided into seven distinct classes, of which the last treats of the mystical doctrines of the Tantrikas. These seven divisions are the following:—

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. V., note,—"objet circulaire et tournant."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 of the principal religious ceremonies. The Lamas carry the sceptre in procession from Sera to Potála, where they present it before the Dalai Lama, who makes a salutation to it. They next take it to the Chinese officials, and then to the Káhlons, or ministers, all of whom make suitable presents of money; after which it is carried back to Sera with the same solemnity.

The accompanying plate * represents one of these instruments, in my own possession, of full size, together with sketches of the old Indian vajras, from the sculptures at Sánchi and Udigiri.

788 The prayer-cylinder, or *mani-chhos-khor* (the precious religious wheel), is a very ingenious instrument, and does great credit to the genius of the Tibetans. The body of the instrument is a metal cylinder, about three inches in height, and from two to two and a half inches in diameter. The axis is prolonged below to form a handle. The cylinder is filled with rolls of printed prayers and charms, which revolve as the instrument is turned round. Every Lama carries a *chhos-khor*, which he keeps perpetually turning by a gentle motion of the hand, assisted by a cubical piece of iron fastened by a chain to the outside. As every revolution of a prayer is equivalent to its recitation, the *chhos-khor* is a very ingenious instrument for multiplying the number of a man's prayers.

In the accompanying plate† I have represented two of these instruments, of half-size. One of them has the sacred sentence, the holy *sadakshara mantra*, or "six-syllabled charm," *Aum! Mani-padme, hun!* engraved once on the outside; the other has the same sentence twice repeated, in raised letters of silver.

* See Plate XXVI. The name is written *rDo-rjé*.

† See Plate XXVII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788

The MANI-CHHOS-KOR, or Prayer-Cylinder.

P 3746

A. Cunningham, Del.

Day & Son lith. to the Queen.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788 175 The earliest mention of the prayer-cylinder is by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian,* in A.D. 400, who saw it in the hands of the Srámanas of *Kie-chha* (Ladák). Klaproth states that this instrument is not mentioned in any Indian books; and I can vouch that I have never seen it represented on any piece of Indian sculpture. It was, however, in very early use in North-western India, where it was introduced by the Indo-Scythian princes about the beginning of the Christian era. On the gold coins of Hoërki, or Hushka, the Indo-Scythian prince is generally represented holding the prayer-cylinder in his right hand.† The same object is no doubt represented on the large medallion in the accompanying plate; but the figure holding it is most probably the chief patriarch of the Buddhist religion.

788 These instruments are found of all sizes and in all positions. Cylinders, about one foot in height, are placed in rows around the temples, and are turned by the votaries before entering. Larger cylinders are found near villages, turned by water, which keeps them perpetually 000 revolving day and night. The device is so ingenious as to induce a hope that it may be adopted in Roman Catholic countries, where the time now spent in telling beads and reciting pater-nosters and ave-marias might be more profitably employed in worldly matters, while the beads were told, and the prayers were repeated by machinery. An ingenious mechanist might form small prayer-boxes, which could be wound up to produce a certain number of revolutions of an inclosed pater-noster or ave-maria; and thus any number might be got through during the night. Indeed, I am not sure that Roman

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. V. † See Plate XXVII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Mani,* a dyke or pile of stones. The *Mani* is a stone dyke from four to five feet in height, and from six to twelve feet in breadth. The length varies from ten and twenty feet to nearly half a mile. A mani which I measured near Bazgo was 823 paces, or nearly half a mile, in length. A second mani near Lé was somewhat longer, or 880 paces, or 2,200 feet. Moorcroft states its length at 1,000 paces, but these were most probably the paces of a native, of little more than two feet each. The surface of the mani is always covered with inscribed slabs. The most usual inscription is the holy six-syllabled mantra, *Aum ! mani-padme, hun !* But other formulæ also occur; such as *Aum ! Vajra Páni, hún ! Aum ! Vagiswari, hún !* &c. These are generally inscribed in Tibetan characters, but sometimes also in mediæval Devanagari letters, called *Lantsha*. These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular objects. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest, or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of winter, each goes to a lama and purchases slate, which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns to his home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard.

Tshá-khang, an "image-room." *Tshá* is the little medallion figure of a lama, which is made of a portion of his ashes mixed with clay. In every *Lhákhang*, or temple, there is a small room or cupboard set apart for the reception of these medallions. In a temple at Nako I saw about one hundred cubic feet of them. A very perfect specimen in my possession is one inch and three-

* *Ma-ni*, a word naturalized from Sanscrit.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 mouth-piece; metallic cymbals, much more mellow and
[534] sonorous than others, complete the band."

But the religious service of the Lamas is not confined
• 788 to the recitation of the *Dulva* and the *Do*, or to the frequent repetition of the six-syllabled *mantra*, "*Aum! Mani-padmé, hun!*" They occasionally proclaim aloud the numerous titles of the supreme Buddha; and recite, with endless repetition, the different mystical sentences peculiar to the various Bodhisatwas, and to the Tántrika Sáktis, or female energies of the Dhyáni Buddhas. They also recite mystical sentences from the Tantras, to deprecate the wrath of the furious Káli (*Chandá*, the angry goddess).

539 The following are specimens of these *mantras*, or
788 mystic sentences. They are all in the Sanskrit language:—

1. The Mantra of *Shakya Thubba* (Buddh'a).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sarva-klesha nishuddhana;
Sarvva dharma vahiprapta; gagana sama sama, swáhá!
"Glory to the chief Buddhas! Reliever of all suffering!
Master of all virtue! Equal, equal to the Heavens! adoration!"

2. The Mantra of *Kuntu-Zangpo* (Samanta-bhadra).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sámantanugati, varaja,
Dharmanirgati, mahá, mahá, swáha!
"Glory to the chief Buddhas! acquirer of distinction, best-born,
Who goeth forth with virtue; great, great adoration!"

3. The Mantra of *Champa* (the future Buddha).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! ajitanajaya,
Sarvva Satwayashayanugata, Swáhá!
"Glory to the chief Buddhas! conqueror of the invincible,
Possessor of the fame of all purity, adoration!"

4. The Mantra of *Chakna-Dorjé* (Vajra-Páni).

Namah Sámanta Vajránám! Chanda Maha-roshana,-hun!
"Glory to the chief Vajras; fierce and greatly-angry, *hun!*"

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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5. The Mantra of *Jámya* (Manju-Sri).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! hé, hé, hé! Kumáraka, Vimukti, Sathirthati, smara, smara, pratihana, swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! hé, hé, hé! Young Prince, Emancipation, Communion, Memory, Memory, Great Prowess, Adoration!"

6. Mantra of *Chanrazik* (Avalokiteswara).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sarvva Tathágata, Avalokita, Karaná, Máyá; Rá-rá-rá! Hun! Jáh! Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! Universal Tathágata, Avalokita, The Merciful, the Compassionate: Rá-rá-rá! Hun! Jáh! adoration!"

7. Mantra of *Grol-ma* (Tárá).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Karnodbhavé! Túri, taráni, Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! offspring of mercy! By whom existence is traversed, adoration!"

The above are the mystic prayers offered up to the supreme Buddha by the different Bodhisatwas and others, whose names they bear. But there are numerous other *mantras* addressed to the Bodhisatwas themselves, as in the following specimen, which is taken from an actual Tibetan stereotype wooden block in my own possession :—

8. *Aum! Vagiswari Mun! Aum! Mani-padme, hun! Aum Vajrapáni, hun!*

(the same repeated).

Aum! amaráni-jivantiye, swáhá!
Aum! Vajra-krodha, háyagriba, hu-lu, hu-lu, hun, phat.

"In the name of the Triad! O, divine lord, *Mun!*
In the name of the Triad! O, Lotus-bearer, *Hun!*
In the name of the Triad! O, Sceptre-bearer, *Hun!*"

(the same repeated).

"In the name of the Triad! O, immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O, wrathful *Vajra*, flame-necked, *hu-lu!—hu-lu!—hun!—phat!*"

This is addressed to the supreme Buddha (Bhageswara), to the celestial Bodhisatwas, *Padmapáni* and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Vajrapáni (the lotus and sceptre bearers), and to the Tántrika divinity Iswara. Other *mantras* are:—

9. *Aum! Sarvva Vidya, Swáhá! aum! Sarvva vidya! Swáhá! Aum! áh! Guru sumati-jnyán Siddh, hun-hun!*
"In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!" (the same repeated).
"In the name of the Triad! ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence, Holy-one, *Hun-hun!*"

10. *Aum! Muné, Muné, Mahá-Mune, Sakya-Munaye, Swáhá!*
Aum! Mani-padme, hun! Aum! Chanda Mahá-roshana, hun, phat!
Aum! Túre, tuttáre, turé, Swáhá!
Aum! Mohi, mohi, mahá-mohi, Swáhá!
Aum! Mati, mati, Smriti, Swáhá!
Aum! Maitri, Maitri, Mahá-Maitri, Arya-Maitri, Swáhá!
Aum! Vagiswari, Mun! Aum! Mani-padmé, hun! Aum! Vajrapáni, hun!
"Aum! O, Muni, Muni, Great Muni, SÁKYA-MUNI, adoration!
O, Lotus-bearer, *hun!*—O, fierce and greatly-angry, *hun-phat!*
O, TARA, * * * * * adoration!
O, Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O, Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O, MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya, adoration!
O, Divine Lord, *Mun!* O, Lotus-bearer, *hun!* O, Sceptre-bearer, hun!"

These are, however, sensible productions compared to the gibberish of others, of which the following is an untranslateable specimen:—

11. *Bhyoh, rakmo-bhyo! rakmo-bhyo-bhyo!*
Rakmo thun-bhyo! khala rakchhenmo!
Rakmo, abya-tabya, thun-bhyo!
Ru-lu, ru-lu, hun, bhyo, hun!

This potent charm I found repeated twenty-seven times on a roll of paper, inside an image of Shakya-Thubba. How deplorably low must be the religious belief of those who hope to weary Heaven into compliance with their wishes by the importunate reiteration of such gibberish!

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 bet, from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these
212 letters in the above manner, as *Pandsál* for Panjál.

The sixth circle I cannot decipher, but I can trace the repeated ejaculations of hun-hun! hun-hun! hun-hun! hun!

The seventh circle is one of the most interesting, as it contains the famous Indian enunciation of the Buddhist faith, which I found inscribed on a stone which I extracted from the great tope of *Sárnáth*, near Benares. This is the only instance in which I
539 have seen it used in Tibet.

Aum! Muni, Muni, Mahá-Munáyé, swáhá!
Yé dharma hetu prabhavá hetun teshán Tathágato
hyavadat teshán cha yá nirodha evam vadi Mahasramanas.

"In the name of the Triad! O, Muni, Muni, great Muni, adoration! Of all things springing from cause, that cause hath the Tathágata explained; the cause of their extinction also hath the great As-cetic declared."

213 New works are rarely undertaken, but the printing of their standard religious works is still carried on by the Tibetans with the same old blocks that were in use up-
● [788] wards of 100 years ago. The great mass of printing, however, is chiefly confined to the production of the innumerable quantity of prayers and mystical formulæ that are required by the people. I have seen many rolls containing many hundred repetitions of the same sentences. They are printed on sheets of a thin brownish paper called *Grega* (or *Tega*), but the books are printed on a much smoother paper called *Par-shog*, or "printer's paper." The ink is called *Par-snag*, or "printer's ink." The printer himself is named *Par-pa*, and where several are employed the head printer is called *Par-pon*. The printing board, or table, is *Par-shing*, and "copy" is called *Par-bri-pa*. The engraved block is named *Zhi*,

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 000

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] '585 768 584 [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 000

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

1 [i.e, barley beer-- Analys I]

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 789

2: Ramsay--39 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok. In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 554 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

WT 772 775 688

once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been scourged can remain a Láma.

Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311

LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 241

LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 648 T 788 648

LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one, but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots, coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, incense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

WT 565

WT 648 554 661 T 648 661

WT 648 439 554

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4 inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard	= "	300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12 "

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbo or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 448

PELISSE--hióGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788 ●

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village black-smiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

792 791 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats. Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751: 777 PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

●788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 753 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider
788 that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of
177 India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoo-
753 thung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

value of "beygar" labour supplied, has never been calculated, 657
but it would amount to a very large sum. Indeed the people 656
object to the supplying of "beygár" more than to the payment
of the ordinary revenue. The amount of the tax, in cash and 651
kind levied on land varies very much; thus the monasteries 423
pay about 4 2/5 annas per acre, the official aristocracy pay 565
about 20 2/5 annas per acre, and the ordinary cultivators pay
about 36 2/5 annas per acre. Assuming the total amount of
land to be 176, we find the monasteries hold 2·2, the officials
1·3, and the villagers 14·1, respectively.

[138]ROSARY--thánga or thránga (a rosary); thrángárdok (a bead of 788
a rosary); chhupSHat (the silver, or other metal beads of a
rosary); donzin (the king bead, that is to say, the large bead
on the rosary which enables the teller to know when he has
told the whole of the beads once). There are usually 108
"thrángárdok" on a rosary, and occasionally 109 or 111 or 113,
these are the only beads which are "told"; the "donzin" marks
the completion of the bead circlet, and the "chhupSHat" are
for recording the number of complete bead-circlets "told."

As each bead is "passed" or "told," the teller mutters the six syllables: Óm má nee pat mey hung, which when pronounced in the ordinary manner, sounds like Om máni padmey hung. Cunningham transcribes these sounds thus: "Aum máni padme, hun," and translates them "O lotus-bearer, hun."

Jäschke writes: "Om máni pad-me hum," and translates them "O thou jewel in the lotus, hum."

In a Buddhist sacred book, entitled the "Kábun" or (vulgarly) Káng- 779
bum", i.e., "The hundred thousand precepts," the following 775
fanciful explanation is given:--

There are six spheres in which a soul or spirit may find re-embodiment (see "Metempsychosis"). If the soul cannot obtain re-admittance to any of these, it cannot be re-embodied, and must therefore go to heaven, that is to say, attain nirvána, which is the goal which all Buddhists desire to reach, with as little delay as possible. The above argument is not sound, for, according to Buddhist ideas, a soul, pending re-embodiment, or admission to heaven, may wander about disconsolate in space (sem khoráoo khiám ches), and it may therefore be argued that if a "soul" which has not earned its admission to paradise is in any way prevented from taking re-birth, it will

779 so wander about for an indefinite period, and will not be ad-
775 mitted to paradise, merely because it cannot gain admission to any of the spheres for taking re-embodiment. But to return to the "kábum." The pious are informed that, with a pure
● 788 heart and humble voice, they should repeat the six mystic
779 syllables as often as possible, for that by so doing they close
775 the doors of the six spheres into which it would otherwise be possible for their souls to take re-birth.

Óm--repeated often enough closes the door of "hla-i-hnas" (fairy place).

Ma--repeated often enough closes the door of "hlámáeen-i-hnas" (demi-god place).

Nee--repeated often enough closes the door of "mee-i-hnas" (man place). [139]

Pat--repeated often enough closes the door of "tutro-i-hnas" (beast place).

Mey--repeated often enough closes the door of "eedak-i-hnas" (fore hell).

Hung--repeated often enough closes the door of "ngiálwa-i-hnas" (hell).

And it is added that if they are assiduous enough in this prayer, the result will be that they will escape the curse of re-birth, and will, when next they die, attain nirvána. The Incarnation of the Speetuk monastery gave me a slightly different version. He said, a body cannot be born unless good seed is sown; if a body is not born, a soul cannot be re-embodied. The result of repeating the six mystic syllables is, he said, to cause the "seed" of the gods, demi-gods, men, etc., not to germinate so far as concerns the soul of the person who has been diligent enough in repeating the mystic syllables.

I don't think any one in Ladák knows what the words or syllables really mean; the majority of the people don't even pretend to know.

805 [140]SABBATH--za-ngeema (Sunday). Ladákis do not keep one day
796 in seven as a day of rest and prayer, but the tenth day of every month, which is called tshesschoo (meaning "date ten"), is, or should be, observed as a day of praying and feasting.

788 SACRAMENT--Missionaries use the word "tamja" (meaning a "binding" or "making fast"). Tibetans have nothing quite like the Christian sacrament, but at the time of making a vow, they

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la tấng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zấr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹165 to ₹170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.) 000

Lobsang Wanggyal, as the pious Buddhist he is, first performs another prayer before the image of Gautama Buddha and of the "Great Merciful One," Chanrezig, and donates five sacrificial lamps with the necessary butter (instead of oil). Then he set out on his way to Leh which he reached after an hour on horseback. There he sold his apricots in the bazaar (market) and exchanged barley for them; aside from various necessary things he also bought for himself a shining green cap and a colored sash; for his wife he bought a pair of large turquoises, and for the cap of his little son a small silver amulet. After three days he rode homeward again from the barren, rough highlands to the milder, more fertile lower Ladakh and, upon his arrival in Kalatse, he announced to wife and mother that his son was to be called Drogpa Namgyal. His mother, old Tsering Putrid, drew up her nose a little bit at the "Drogpa," but against the word of the great skushog there was no contradiction possible, and besides, one could never know what the evil Tsan and Lu demons still had in store for them. Her "deceased" (13) (gśin-po) had also had a protective name. 788 000 551

13. The relatives of a recently deceased person anxiously shy away from naming the latter by his name in the superstitious fear the dead person might be disturbed and would frighten the survivors.

He had been called Garra /25/ Lobsang (smith, equivalent to "good sense"), and he had been such a pious Buddhist; all the pilgrimages he had made, the holy places he had circled around, and how he had turned the prayer wheel! And yet he had been abruptly taken away by the emissary of death (t'se-len); an avalanche of rocks had dragged him along as he was climbing a wall of boulders in order to rescue a goat which had gone astray. He had been found down below with his limbs shattered. True, the lamas had said that he had only himself to blame. After all, they had warned him to let the goat go, for just above that particular slope the Tsan-demons had settled in the rocks at that time. They, the lamas, knew this from unmistakable signs. Why did the man have to climb up just there and provoke the Tsan by his appearance! 761

527 violent struggling and fighting in which everyone tries to seize as large
789 a piece of wood with colored wool threads as possible. Once someone has got hold of a piece he takes it home and keeps it carefully throughout the entire year as a valuable talisman serving as a protection against the evil spirits.

Namgyal did not dream of taking part in the brawl. Api Tsering Putrid just would have to see that she got along without such a amulet this year; he himself did not believe at all any more in the magical power of these things.

527 On the 30th day of the twelfth month, the end of the month and of the year, Namgyal again rode along in the retinue of the king, who had once more assumed royal dignity of the duration of the festival. This time they rode to Sheh and Trigtse. Again Namgyal was witness as the king performed prayers on behalf of the people in the monastery of Trigtse before the images of the divinities. And again the grandees as well as the little people celebrated /137/ the second New Year's festival extensively with feasting and drinking, with song, dance, and the playing of polo.

788 A few of Namgyal's friends urged him to stay a few days more in Leh since he was already there, so that he would be able to take part in the procession of entreaty (mgo-p'yag, really "head procession"). This procession was to take place on the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth day of the first month of the new year. Namgyal let himself be persuaded. From this exercise he expected more profit than from the New Year's celebrations with their wild revelries and their unbridled amusements. After all, this was an occasion of serious praying and of real effort to obtain the grace of the powers of the Beyond, so he was told.

After previous fasting, fervent praying, and all kinds of worthy activity of the part of the individual participants, about thirty men from Leh and the surrounding villages came together for the yearly procession of entreaty. On this occasion the suppliants must circle once around the mountain on which the monastery is situated, near Leh, within the space of three days. They have to walk in a closed chain, one behind the other at a distance from each other of a man's height. The steep mountain bears on its peak the little monastery of Namgyal Tsemo which overlooks the countryside as defiantly as a fortress from its high eminence. The worship is primarily directed towards the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with the eleven faces (spyan-ras gzigs bcu-gcig žal) and the thousand arms, whose gigantic image stands in this

monastery. An old lama has told Namgyal that in this shape the great Merciful One had quite special power, and that his compassion knew no bounds. With more than a thousand eyes (aside from the ordinary eyes each of the eleven faces has a third one on its forehead, and in each palm of the hand is another eye) the Redeemer looks with infinite compassion upon the suffering living creatures in the six worlds, all the way down into hell; and there the thousand strong arms are also outstretched to save and to release. And all this, Namgyal was told, the great Merciful One did from pure mercy; no special efforts were necessary, and no special virtuous performances on the part of the person to be released. Thus Namgyal had great expectations especially for this procession of supplication. 788

After some waiting the men are finally all gathered together in the snow-covered wilderness at the foot of the mountain on which the monastery stands. There are some /138/ highly-placed persons among them, two gentlemen of the nobility, a few officials from the Wasarat (the office of the Wasir), farmers, small-holders, and day-laborers: a colorful company. Some of the day-laborers had been hired by the rich to come along in exchange for payment. Credit and profit was to accrue to the givers of money for this. The well-to-do are dressed in warm, caftan-like cloth coats; some of them even wear a thick sheep's skin on top of this. The poor try, as best they can, to protect themselves against the penetrating cold of the early morning by at least putting on two quite ragged coats, one over the other, and a goat's skin which they hang over their backs with its hairy side on the inside. [291]

In silence the men arrange themselves in the prescribed order for the procession; at the head is the local magistrate of a neighboring village, who is considered a particularly pious person and who is skilled in the reciting of the prayers. All eyes now turn towards the monastery up on top of the mountain in which stands the image of the sPyan-ras-gzig, the great Merciful One, well-known to all. The man at the head of the procession begins to pray and all the others join him with prayers (136): "Thou, Oh ruler with the thousand arms, who leadest the cycle

136. The first prayer goes as follows in Tibetan:

P'yag stoṅ ak'or-lo sgyur-bai rgyal-po ston/
Spyan stoṅ bskal-pa bzaṅ-po saṅs-rgyas ston/
Gaṅ-la gaṅ ston de-la de ston-pa/
Ston-pa spyan-ras gzigs-la p'yag t'sal-lo.

The second prayer:

788

Nga nam-mk'a daṅ mnyams-pai sems can t'ams-cad/
bLama sans-rgyas ĉos-kyi sku-la p'yag t'sal-lo/
bLama loṅs-spyod rdzogs-pai skul-la p'yag t'sal-lo/
bLama sans-rgyas rin-po-ĉe-la p'yag t'sal-lo/

(of metempsychosis)! Thou Buddha, with the thousand eyes who showest (us) the fortunate Kalpa (meaning, "world era"), thou who leadest one in this manner, the other in that! To thee, the 'teacher' Chanrezig, we pray!"

A second prayer addressed to Gautama Buddha in the "three bodies" goes as follows: "We innumerable living creatures all pray to you, the sublime Buddha in the body of the doctrine (Sanskrit, Dharma-k'aya) (137). We pray to thee, Oh thou sublime Buddha, in the body

[779]

137. The perfected Buddha who has attained the illumination (Bodhi), according to the Mahayana doctrine possesses three "bodies" or outward forms (Tibetan, sku; Sanskrit, K'aya): The completely spiritualized "body of the doctrine (Tibetan, ĉos-kyi sku; Sanskrit, dharmak'aya), " the incarnate Word"; the "body of blessedness (Tibetan, loṅs-spyod rdzogs-pai sku; Sanskrit, sambhogak'aya)" in which the Buddha enjoys perfect blessedness. These two are mentioned in the prayer. As a third one there is added to these the "body of transformation (Tibetan, sprul-sku; Sanskrit, nirmanak'aya), " the shape in which the Buddha appears visibly among the living creatures and in which he performs and teaches his saving work among them, until he finally dies for the last time in order to be completely "extinguished" at that time in the wholly attained Nirvana (Sanskrit, Parinirvana).

of perfect blessedness (Nirmanak'aya)!" Further prayers addressed to Chanrezig, to Maitreya, and to other deities, then follow.

The first prayer is uttered while the men stand and have their heads bared; the second they say kneeling, the third lying down so that their heads touch the ground (hence the name "head procession"). Then they all rise and march at a distance of a man's height from each other, until their feet arrive at the spot where there head was touching the ground earlier. Not a word is to be spoken outside of the prayers,

and their thoughts must be turned in contemplation upon the Sublime One up there on the mountain. The goal of every day's journey along the way is marked by blocks of stone /139/ that stick out from under the snow. The way leads along the snow-covered mountain slope through the desert, across the saddle of a hill, and it finally ends on the third day up at the top of the mountain in front of the monastery temple. 788

The procession advanced along its way slowly and amidst constant praying. In front of Namgyal, who was a man of considerable height, the scribe from the Wasarat walked along laboriously, showing every sign of extreme exertion. His name was Dondrub and he was a man of considerable girth and slight height. Thus it happened that whenever the suppliants lay down to pray, Namgyal's head always came to rest on the feet of the man in front of him, which the latter had stretched out behind him; so that he had to turn his head to the side every time in order not to get kicked in the face accidentally. Namgyal observed how the fat scribe now and then produced a piece of bread from the bosom of his fur coat despite the strict injunction to fast. As the scribe was eating his bread Namgyal noticed how his praying had the dull sound of someone who is chewing. Namgyal also saw how the corpulent gentleman in front of him, one of the first worthies of the land of Ladakh, was now devoid of all dignity and how he let himself go. Namgyal heard how he arose from his prone position every time amid panting and coughing and noticed how he would then wipe the sweat off his forehead with his sleeve. Namgyal had gone to the Gotschag exercise in all earnestness of purpose and in all devoutness, but he also had a quick eye for the amusing side of life. For a few moments his concentrated devotion was gone and he felt the urge to laugh; he had to control himself very carefully not to break out into loud laughter. He knew the scribe well and he was acquainted with the reason for that honorable gentleman's considerable corpulence. But it did not take long for Namgyal to bring his laughing muscles and his thoughts fully under control again, and he once more turned his mind towards the Sublime One up there on the mountain. When the suppliants had arrived at the old water tower under the castle in the afternoon, the man who led the praying at the head of the procession stopped praying and the men dispersed in silence as they had come. The scribe Dondrub once more turned around to the man who had been walking behind him, cast a half desperate look towards him and whispered to him: "That was some drudgery! And this is to continue another two days!"

•788 /140/ Namgyal went to his quarters, consumed his simple, scanty fasting-period meal and then went to bed very shortly. The peculiar pilgrimage of this day had been something unusual for him, but for a powerful man like him it had not been too strenuous. What might the scribe Dondrub feel like tonight!

The following morning the pious pilgrims again came together at the old water tower in the very spot where their "head procession" had ended the day before. Again the pilgrimage and the praying started up the way it had been the day before. But Namgyal looked around in vain for the man who had walked in front of him the previous day. He learned later that the scribe had notified the prayer leader that he was "sick," and that he had sent his servant in his place to do the praying. He had promised the servant a goodly bakshish (tip) for this. After all, it was a matter of complete indifference, the house chaplain, a lama in the service of Dondrub, is supposed to have said, who does the praying; so long as there is some one who takes part in the procession of supplication on behalf of the house, the Sublime One on the mountain would be contented.

This experience again made Namgyal pensive. The man who walked in front of him on this, the second, and on the third day of the procession, was a farmer from a neighboring village who had about the same shape and stature as Namgyal, and who performed the exercises with great earnestness and enthusiasm. Thus Namgyal was able to direct his thoughts undisturbed towards his prayer. When on the third day, as the sun was going down, the procession came to its conclusion in front of the Namgyal-Tsemo temple on top of the mountain, and the pilgrims had thrown themselves to the ground inside the monastery temple before the image of Chanrezig, praying to it three times, they dispersed in silence as they had come. Namgyal stayed up before the dying fire of the hearth in his shelter for a long time that evening. He thought about the things he had experienced in the last few days. The man must have asked himself a hundred times, after he had taken part in the laborious pilgrimage in a sincere search for peace: "Has all this made me better, happier, and stronger?" He found no answer to this question.

000 The majority of his pious fellow pilgrims, it is true, did not surrender themselves to such meditative reflections. They were of the opinion that an exertion had to be followed by "well-deserved" re-creation. Thus they gathered with their less pious friends in the evening for a drinking bout which had quite an unholy ending. A brawl took

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol). " All hostile demons of 241
the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the 789
field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water.

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse ooo
and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come.

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar- 241
sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green 782
stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings.

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together 241
in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

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go back to the ancient Germanic processions around the fields which were held on the first Thursday (Donar's day) in March, June, and September, by the elders of the village and the district, in order to obtain a plentiful harvest blessing.

mendation of the lamas. Namgyal joined them. The lamas in the Tingmogang monastery gave out 84 books from the monastery library of the 108 books of the canon. Each of the participating men, among them also Namgyal, took three to four of these books tied together with a string, on their backs, and the carriers now circled around the entire complex of fields belonging to Kalatse; during this procession they went up the mountain, down the mountain, along steep and rocky mountain slopes and down deep into the gorge, so that even the tiniest piece of land of the size of a few square meters would share in the blessing which streamed down from the divine word upon the earth which was thus circled about.

In the early spring the ex-king in Leh, in conjunction with the Wasir, the governor of the ruling maharajah of Kashmir, called together a large number of lamas from all the many neighboring monastries to the "Great Reading." On this occasion all the 108 volumes of the canon are read through in such a manner that the loose leaves of the individual books are distributed among the lamas in the fashion already described; then each of the red-coats reads aloud through the leaves that have been placed before him as rapidly as possible. In this way volume after volume is read through without regard for continuity. The divine power of the entire word (ĉos) supposedly effects, even in this manner, the outpouring of blessing, fertility, and ripening of a plentiful harvest, peace, good fortune, and prosperity for the entire people and country.

000 Namgyal, who had once watched this Great Reading, thought that if anything, this mass appeal to the grace of the Buddhas and the gods would surely have to /147/ be effective. And yet--were there not always again crop failures, droughts, epidemics, and famine? Where were the saving powers since they did not prevent all this misery? The doings of the lamas also repelled him: this spiritless mechanical recitation of the sacred texts, the debauchery and the laxity of many of them who, after all, acted the parts of soul savers and leaders of the people, and who let themselves be called "saviour" (skyabs-mgon).

789 A soothsayer in the monastery of the "Virtuous" in Ri-rdsong had--in contrast to the others who had predicted a fruitful year--prophesied

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The great reading Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of of the country.

be called 'saviour' (skyabs-mgon) and Right Reverend (rin-po-ĉe). 792
You know that many lamas lead a vicious life, and that they let the ignorant people pay dearly for their hypcritical prayers and masses, their magical arts and tricks. To such lamas apply the other words: 'If the lama cannot save his own head, how can he draw up the layman (from the morass of sins into paradise)' (155.). "

155. In Tibetan the saying reads: bla-ma raṅ-gi mgo ma ton-na/ skya-bo yar-dren ci-ltar bya.

Namgyal was a very eager student, and he endeavored to appropriate as much as possible of Buddhistic knowledge. He studied the books which his friend gladly lent him, and let himself be initiated into the mysteries of Buddhistic wisdom by his friend and also by a young lama who had recently completed his studies in Lhasa and had received his ordination there.

The hermit admonished his pupil time and again to study industriously the Chos (the law), and to observe the commandments. The importance of knowledge was to be impressed upon his mind by the following verse (156):

156. In Tibetan: rig-pa rnam-pa ci-yan slob/
t'se adir mk'as-pa ma agyur kyaṅ/
skye-ba rjes-mai bcol-ma yin/
nor de raṅ-nyid len-pa adra.

Learn the branches of knowledge well!
If this life brings not wisdom,
It is reserved for future ones.
It is like to self-earned treasure.

Namgyal prayed much, daily recited prayers that he had learned 788
by heart, and prayed "with hand and mouth," by turning the manual prayer wheel more industriously than others of his age--ordinarily only the old people who are no longer capable of working and who "have the time," are the ones who pray--and in so doing he sent up to the Great Merciful One a million times each day the wonderful six-syllable prayer "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!" (Om! Jewel--lotus! Hum!). He did this in the belief that, as he /172/ was taught, each of these magical syllables would unlock the door to one of the six realms, and

788 that when he died, he would be translated to Amitabha's realm of joys, after he had been released from the sufferings of the rebirths through the power of this prayer. Once he asked the hermit Tsetan concerning the significance of this to him totally incomprehensible formula. The hermit explained to him that this prayer was actually addressed to the gracious goddess sGrolma (Tara), the wife (shakti) of the great Merciful One. This goddess was also a mighty redeemer from all woe, and the prayer addressed to her was much more effective still, according to the hermit, than that to her spouse. These "female energies" (Tibetan nusma) were generally powerful beings, said the hermit, whose favor it was important to obtain.

782 The following event showed how the experiences and the anxieties of life often drove Namgyal to prayer. Namgyal was on a journey into the beautiful neighboring country of Kashmir with his uncle Stobsldan. One evening they had set up their tents in the densely forested Sind valley. Suddenly a very violent thunderstorm came upon them, which raged for hours into the early hours of the morning with unabated force. A hurricane-like gale broke loose and in no time at all the pegs of the tent had been torn out of the soft forest ground, and the tent itself was carried off by the gale into the darkness of the wood. Bolts of lightning flashed ceaselessly and the thunder rumbled. Twice lightning struck the tall pines extremely close to them. A cloudburst came down which, in a short period of time, transformed the forest floor into a morass. The two travelers were soaked to the skin and looked for shelter under a broad-limbed fur tree. Close by them the tremendously swollen torrential mountain brook rushed past them with a deafening roar, and it threatened to overflow its banks at any moment. Several avalanches of mud came down from the nearby slopes; the men heard the crashing of uprooted and splintering trees and the rumbling of boulders that were rolling down very close by, and yet they were unable to find a safe standing place in the darkness.

Stobsldan trembled with fear in his whole body. He was continually turning his prayer wheel which he had otherwise not used for a long time, and he prayed one "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum" after the other. Now he seized his nephew by the arm and said: "Namgyal! Did you see the riders up there in the clouds, the terrible Tsan king and his Wild Hunt? Can't you hear the roaring of the thunder /173/ dragons up there as they are fighting with each other? Now the Lha-adre (demons) who ride on the dragons are also throwing hailstone from their sacks down on us. They will kill us yet! Pray, Namgyal,

might still be lacking, the lamas would get for him; after all, they 000
were making enough money on him.

It is true that Namgyal donated ample gifts to the neighboring 788
monastery and to the monks who were called in for the household ceremonies. He performed pilgrimages to all the holy places within reach, among others to the miracle-performing image of the Great Merciful One in Trilognath in Lahul; he also planned to perform the great pilgrimage to the sacred glacial mountain Gangsri, as well as that to the sacred lake Manasarowar in faraway Tibet, as soon as his official business matters as magistrate--the post had been transferred to him--would permit. The belief was that by means of such a pilgrimage the sins of all births were to be effaced and the way into Paradise was to be opened all at once.

Besides the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, the country gods, the 782
village gods, and the household god were not forgotten either. Even though Namgyal was often beset by doubt as to their existence and their effective power, he nevertheless considered it advisable, if only for the sake of his relatives and the p'as-pun (clan), not to neglect them and to keep them favorably inclined and pacified by occasional offerings.

Each morning before sunrise Namgyal would bring the morning offering (ṭa-mĉod) to the entire host of Buddhas and gods. It consisted of barley, rice, beer, water, and also flowers (zas-ĉaṅ-gi p'ud); everything was placed in front of the images of the deities in the house temple in brass bowls. Upon entering the sacred chamber Namgyal would fall down three times in adoration before the image of Avalokitsvara, and then he would present the offering and say a brief prayer. In the evening Namgyal would in like manner bring the evening offering (p'i-mcod).

His poor neighbor, Ngurub, who could not afford such offerings, contented himself with placing a clay bowl with smouldering juniper twigs in it, on the roof of his house, as an "offering to all." He used to say that even so the gods were just as favorable to him and that he was not afflicted with misfortune any more than the rich who presented more ample offerings. On the contrary. The gods loved the spicy, fragrant smoldering juniper above all, /175/ and they looked, so he said, graciously upon this offering. He stood quite well with those up there, he stated.

In the first "ascending" half of each month (yar-ho) (158), that 789

158. The first "ascending" half of the month" (yar-ho) is 821

821 considered the stronger one, auguring good fortune and success; the second "descending" one (mar-ñho) as the "weaker," harboring little good fortune.

789 is to say, when the moon was waxing, a ceremony had to be performed, according to ancient custom, in the house, which the Tibetan designates as lha bsañs co-ces, which we would render by "appeasing the gods." At first Namgyal used to follow his father's precedent and call in three lamas on each of these occasions. The lamas would recite prayers and formulas of exorcism for a few hours and they would bring cast offerings (gtor-ma) to the gods. The master of the house himself would go through all the rooms of the house (bsañs-ak'or) with a bowl (bsans-ap'or) of incense, usually just smoldering juniper twigs, which he would continually fan by blowing. After having gone around he would add more frankincense (ldug-spos), bread dough mixed with butter, salt and onions, and then he would sprinkle beer over it from a jug, and place this food and incense offering on the edge of the stove in the living room-kitchen as refreshment and delightful fragrance for the gods. In the meantime the lamas up in the household temple would read from the book bsañs-dpe. These are not prayers of supplication. Without special marks of reverence the gods are requested to accept the offering in a friendly manner, to refresh themselves by it, and in exchange for it to spare those who brought the offering from hostile actions. Gradually Namgyal contented himself with calling in the lamas two or three times a year for the bsañs offering; for the rest he regarded his own offering as sufficient even without their presence and activity. As a reward for their efforts the lamas received, on this occasion, only ample food and beer, since they served two or three houses in one day. The actual compensation for their services took place in autumn all at once.

788 Once every year, in the fourth month, which is a special, festive month, Namgyal would call three to five lamas into his house for the great year-Rimdro (rim-agro, meaning "offering ceremony"). Everyone who could at all afford it, did this for the well-being of all inhabitants of the house, including the animals. On this occasion, the wealthy man is actually supposed to have /176/ the entire first part of the Buddhistic canon (collection of the sacred books, 108 volumes) read. The king in his time could afford to have this done, but it takes a long time and is very expensive. But in order to enable the less well-endowed as well as the rich to hold the Rimdro, the lamas

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriñ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it. 788

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the white-washing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being.

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (compare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 792 463 465 563

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Proportion of the sexes.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul.

Houses and furniture.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hinddism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Muhammadan.	Others.
Kúlu	99,[illegible]	—	[illegible]	21
Láhaul	5,[illegible]	—	35	30
Spiti	1	2,[illegible]	—	1

"In Kúlu, including *ilaqa* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorij, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hinddism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hinddism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chúng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothás* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

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"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

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Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Sreg machhat, i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. — Monasteries or *gómpa* in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the autumn the *nierpa* or [illegible]rer, with some of the monastery tenants in attendance, goes through the whole country, and collects from every holding a customary fee called *dubri*, consisting of one *páth* of barley. In the spring a great festival takes place, known as the Ghantál Tcháchá, at which all comers are fed for one day. A long train of pilgrims may be seen engaged in making the circle on foot of the holy mountain,—a work of much religious efficacy, as it ought to be, seeing that it involves a trudge of about eighteen miles and an ascent and descent of several thousand feet. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"The third grand *lámá* of Tibet* visited Láhaul while I was there in 1867, inspecting the monasteries and giving his benediction to the people at places where he halted. He travelled in quaintly-shaped, bright-coloured tents carried on *yaks*, with a considerable retinue of monks. I saw him seated on a throne or platform built up in the open air, dressed in a mitre and silken canonicals, extraordinarily like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates. The monks formed a lane in front of the throne, up which the Láhaulis advanced in the most reverential manner to receive the blessing, and a bit of silk to be worn, I believe, as a talisman. After backing out of the presence, they made the circle of the throne, praying aloud as they walked. I saw one poor man present a pony, so the value of the offerings must have been considerable."

The principal endowment of the five Spiti monasteries consists of the *pun* or assigned grain rents already described: the rent-free land they hold is of exceedingly trifling amount. The following table shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of *pun* they draw from each *kothí*:—

Name of monastery or *gómpa*.	Number of *lámás*.	Amount of "pun" collectable from each kothí.			Remarks.
		Name of kothí.	Khal.	Tsá.	
Dunkar or Láwupe	90	Shám ...	127	14	Seventeen khal assigned to the family of astrologers, and forty to the Pitto monastery in Ladákh, have to be added to make up the sum total of the pun, viz., 1,461 khal 7 tsá.
		Chusi ...	190	...	
		Todpá ...	73	17	
			331	11	
Tábo	80	Shám ...	53	5	
		Chusi ...	134	19	
		Todpá ...	10	10	
			198	14	
Ki	100	Chusi ...	379	4	
		Bárjik ...	14	...	
		Todpá ...	60	...	
			453	4	
Tángist ...	60	Chusi ...	282	...	
		Bárjik ...	57	16	
		Todpá ...	9	12	
		Pin ...	20	...	
			329	8	
Pin	100	Pin ...	81	10	

* One of the three who is born again as soon as he dies; the man I saw was fair, plump and smooth faced, and not more than twenty years old I should say.—*Lyall.*

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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792 Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gépha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Spiti

[P. 50]

Dancing

635 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535. Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits— to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,— and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

787 The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

of land on the north end of the basin. They were hard-riding horsemen on white ponies, and as they drew close I could hear the bells on one. They soon pulled up in front of us in a flurry of dust and took the initiative in conversation.

"Where do you go?" "Who is the white man?" "Is he American or British?" "What is he doing here?" As Rahul talked with these Tibetans I surveyed them. They wore tight-fitting coats that came down over their thighs. One wore a nondescript cap, the other a tall-crowned hat with a small, turned-down brim. They both wore dark glasses and carried revolvers on their hips. I shook hands with each of them, giving them the Tibetan salutation, "*Ju Le, Ju Le*"; and the older of the two smiled in return, showing prominent front teeth. Then they were gone, whirling their horses on a dime and racing with the wind toward Baralacha.

"What's their destination?" I asked Rahul. He had not been able to find out. They were on a fast journey to Lahul. The Indian-Tibetan border is mostly unsurveyed. Until August 1951, it had few security outposts. The people of southwest Tibet moved south into India freely and without restraint. Some went on commercial missions, taking caravans to Indian centers. Others moved north to Tibet in the summer and down to India in the fall, grazing sheep as they went. Others went on Buddhist pilgrimages to shrines in India. And many Indians went on pilgrimages to shrines in Tibet. The truth is that the Buddhist holy places in this area have no nationality; long custom and practice have made them common property to all Buddhists. People by the thousands have moved with ease across this border from time immemorial. The men I met at Serchu did not seem to be pilgrims. Perhaps they were traveling on a commercial mission and hurrying in order to return to Tibet before the Tibetan-Indian border was closed.

In early August 1951, that border was still open. The Dalai Lama was still at Yatung on Tibet's southern border, negotiating with the representatives of the Red Chinese government. The

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

worked it into odd shapes—tall columns, peaked cones, cathedral- 133
like towers. Weird formations stood in stately rows along the sky-
lines for miles on end. And one massive butte, streaked with
color, towered over Gongrechen Pass.

On the pass was an *obos* flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram 788
Chand, one of the muleteers, brought a new streamer in his
pocket. He stopped at the *obos* and reverently added it to the
collection. His was a prayer for safe passage for himself.

My muleteers never failed to perform the ritual. Neither did
Budh Ram or Man Das. Rup Singh went about it eagerly, doing
with vim and vigor what most did in a perfunctory way.

The habit is deeply engrained. It goes back to the ancient re- 177
ligion of the Himalayas, to the practice of the Shaman religion. 788
Shamanism was a form of animism that is traceable in the rites 779
of North American Indians. One cult piled stones on passes
and other dangerous places to appease the spirit of the pass.
Hinduism came up from the south; Buddhism came down from
the north. The new institutions of religion absorbed the old.
Shamanistic elements, including the *obos*, were taken over by the
new churches. Thousands of years ago men piled stones at the
dangerous places; they pile stones there today, and will pile
stones there tomorrow. For the old superstition is so strong it
survives all religious change. And today the lamas indeed teach
the old and young alike that this ancient superstition should al-
ways be observed.

Another rite is performed on the passes where poison works up 788
into a potent force and often strikes men and animals down. It is
a shout that every traveler gives as he reaches the highest point.
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo is the Tibetan version—Let the gods con-
quer. It rings from the lips of every traveler, young and old. I
heard Rahul, Budh Ram, Man Das, Rup Singh and the other
muleteers shout it. On pass after pass the same words rang out—
Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.

I had seen enough, as we neared the end of the trek, to ap-

788 preciate the sentiments behind these words. There is a power lurking in these Himalayas greater than any man. It slays and suffocates; it brings on dizziness and death; it causes men and beasts to stumble and fall and to lie gasping for breath while blood runs out of their noses or mouths. This power exacts a heavy annual toll. Before the trek's end I began to feel the relief the hillmen feel when I crossed a pass and started the descent. The relief was a natural feeling, whether one feeds on superstition or on cold reason. I found myself less and less inclined to make fun of the rites my men performed. I began to stop and reverently watch them add to the *obos,* tie up another streamer, or lift their faces to the sky and shout, *"Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo."* I was coming to be on an understanding basis with them.

000 I did not need to accept their spirits, their Shamanistic gods in order to respect their feelings and attitudes. One walks so far above the world, in a place so remote from civilization, at an altitude so high, that he feels the need for spiritual strength. We were 15,000 feet or higher for over a week. Perhaps that elevation makes those of us who were born and raised in the softer altitudes tense and nervous. I found myself on edge. I found myself preoccupied with worries that would never bother me in the Wallowas or Cascades. Perhaps that was another reason for my growing tolerance of the natives' superstitions. Perhaps I too was feeling a growing need for sustenance from a Power, wiser, more powerful and resourceful than man. Whatever the cause, when we reached Staglang La Pass, our highest one (17,479 feet), I too was caught up by the mood of the rite. I was on a gray Tibetan pony that, along with yaks, I had rented at Zara. It was a fast, sturdy horse, about ten hands. It had trotted most of the way up the long, narrow, sloping valley leading to Staglang La. The day was cool with a high, piercing wind coming off the pass. Storms had threatened all the way, spreading out on both sides of us and leaving us untouched. It was a good day for travel, and my pony and I made the best of it. We were the

first to reach the long switchbacks that climb two thousand feet from the head of the valley to Staglang La. And my pony was in such good shape that he stopped only once during the ascent. We were the first on top and stood a few moments waiting for the rest.

Soon they all assembled, and I turned to the man behind me—the officer in charge of the Indian Army unit that had brought me my movie films—and said, "Let's do it all together." And then I shouted, "*Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.*" He beamed as he caught on and, turning, shouted to Rup Singh, "*Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.*" And so it went from man to man until I heard the booming voice of Rahul far in the rear shout, "*Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.*"

We all knew this was the last pass, that from here on it was an easy downhill to Gya, Upshi, Hemis Monastery, and Leh. Each knew he had conquered the great hazards of the journey and would survive. Each was, I believe, a God-fearing man—from me, a Scotch Presbyterian, to Rup Singh, a Shamanistic Hindu, to Rahul, a devout Buddhist. And each in his own way knew that he did not travel these trails alone, that there was a God who oversaw the whole journey and was mindful of the woes and struggles of each of us. The adversities we had shared, even our little quarrels, had given us a unity. *Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo* on top of Staglang La was the final binding cement.

Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo was not a heathen shout meaning only "Let the gods conquer all the evil spirits." It was a thanksgiving prayer. It meant "Praise be to God." Our shouting it was an act of fellowship, a religious service as moving as any I have ever attended. And yet there were no candles, no altar, no organs, no stained-glass windows. All around us were soaring peaks, gripped by massive glaciers, and decorated with dazzling snow fields. Canyons a mile or more deep yawned at our feet. A howling wind blew like a blast from some Tibetan funnel over the coarse sand that covers Staglang La. The solitude and quiet were so deep they were overwhelming; there was grandeur as far as the eye

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The boy of eleven is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery.

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At Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing They are filled with prayers which are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year.

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The lama dances, like the old morality plays in Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

[Facing p. 161]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 17

OM MANI PADME HOOM

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Om Mani Padme[1] *Hoom* is the mantra or devotional formula of Buddhism. In Ladakh it is repeated by all people while sitting, walking, or traveling. It is a mystic formula whose letters have a symbolic importance which I learned but did not understand. The repetition of these mystic words sets up a vibration. Some say the vibration improves one's physical health; some say it gives a spiritual benefit. I learned in Ladakh that it was supposed to do both.

Om Mani Padme Hoom—Om Mani Padme Hoom—Om Mani Padme Hoom—these are the words that I heard all the way along the 240 miles from Manali to Leh—on wind-swept passes, beside cool springs, at fords across angry rivers, in villages, beside shrines, in monasteries. These were the magic words on the lips of men, women, and children everywhere I went.

778 788 34b They also appeared on the *mani* walls. I saw my first one on the south side of the Himalayas between Koti and Rothang Pass.

[1]The *d* is silent, the first *a* is short, the second long.

It was about six feet wide, three feet tall, and fifteen feet long. 188 •
This rectangular pile of stones had been built by some lama on 178
his travels. He had placed on top several slabs of slate and en- 346
graved on each of them *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

Rahul told me at the time that this would be the smallest *mani* wall I would see. And it was. It seemed that the closer we got to Leh the longer the *mani* walls became. There were *mani* walls from ten to twenty-five yards long near every village. At Toche Phirche, where we camped in the rain, there was a *mani* wall fifty yards long against which we stretched rubber tarps to form lean-tos. At Gya—the first village north of Jispa—there were many *mani* walls, some one hundred yards long. And outside of Leh there was a *mani* wall fully a mile in length. It was a massive thing, perhaps five feet high and twelve feet wide. Its top was strewn with flat rocks on each of which had been engraved by some lama, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

One who passes a *mani* wall murmurs, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" And he always keeps it on his right. For there is an old Tibetan saying, respected in Ladakh, "Beware of the devils on the left-hand side." And as one passes a *mani* wall, keeping it on his right, all the prayers engraved on the stones of the wall are said for him. *Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*

The *chhorten* is associated with *mani* walls, a large one tower- 346
ing perhaps thirty feet or more; a smaller one, ten. It is of pyramid design, made of stones and clay, and usually whitewashed. The architecture of the *chhorten* is symbolic of the basic five elements:

the lowest cubical part is the earth,
the spherical part is water,
the triangular part is fire,
the crescent part is air,
the moon on top is ether.

There are 108 different designs of the *chhortens.* They can be plain, simple, mud affairs, or they can be beautifully built out of

346 hewn rock and adorned at the top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

764 I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed
346 on the ground and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not cus-
[775] tomary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten*. But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood—red and white.

• 788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten*, they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens*. They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens*, and as they walk they chant in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom*. The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were following the small Yunan River down to Kilung. A Tibetan 788 •
who was bringing a caravan to Patseo twirled it as he followed rangy mules loaded with wool and marmot skins. And as he twirled it, he kept murmuring to himself, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

In the main monastery at Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are perhaps eight by eighteen inches and filled with prayers. They too are engraved with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* One spins them clockwise as he goes up or down the stairs, waiting, in case another has preceded him, until the earlier spin has ended. And as each spins, he murmurs, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Some prayer cylinders are spun by the wind. There is a large one at Hemis, about three feet long and eighteen inches wide, hitched up to paddles and turned by water. It too is filled with prayers that are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year. And the prayers say millions upon millions of times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are practically no doctors in Ladakh. Although each 759
monastery will have a lama trained in native medicine who will 793
take care of the illnesses of the monks, there is no medical service 756
for the people. A villager who is sick sends for a lama. A child or the wife makes the journey to the nearest monastery (perhaps thirty or forty miles) and brings back a lama. The family gives the lama his board and lodging and pays him as much per day as it can afford. A man with a special attachment to the lama may turn his wife over to him for the duration of the visit. For these considerations the lama prays. He sits by the bed of the sick person for hours, for days on end, driving away the evil spirits that have caused the illness. And as he sits, he chants endlessly, incessantly, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Buddha did not believe in mortification of the body as a means 779
of salvation. But that belief is a religious longing deeply rooted 783
788

779 in Asia, rooted so deeply that it cannot be dislodged. Lamaism
783 believes in it. A lama may walk years on his knees to atone for his
• 788 sins. In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet, he may do a prostration pilgrimage. He lies flat on the ground, both hands extended. He marks the point, stands up, steps forward to the mark, stretches flat again, and repeats this exercise again and again. It is common to find people doing a prostration pilgrimage around monasteries or holy places. A prostration pilgrimage of thirty or fifty miles is not unusual. It may last for weeks. One may do it for his own salvation—to get merit by sacrifice—or he may be hired to do it for another person or for the soul of a friend or relative.

One day I saw a lama coming up the Hemis nulla in a prostration pilgrimage. He was barefooted, with pads upon his knees. His robe was pulled up and fastened high. His hair was close-cropped, and he was filthy with dirt. Down he went on his stomach, then up on his knees and to his feet; then down again. And with each prostration he said twenty times, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

788 The lamas gather in the chapel three times daily for prayers.
796 I did not attend any of these services at Hemis, but students of the subject say that the ritual is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Catholic Church. There is, however, usually the music of trumpets, drums, and cymbals. There is always the burning of incense. And as the lamas kneel in the pews, the hum of "*Om Mani Padme Hoom*" fills the place.

796 These monasteries observe monthly festivals and four annual festivals, from each of which they get revenue. The people bring
[777] gifts of grain, or goats, or cash. The lamas sell amulets, talismans, idols, and sacred paintings. They sell paper strips and pieces of cloth filled with symbolic figures.

The most notable of these festivals is Losar, the New Year's Feast, observed in February. It celebrates Buddha's victories over the heresies—the triumph of the true religion over infidelity. People come from far and wide to the monasteries and celebrate

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

for days on end. There are dancing and the exchange of presents; there are prayers before images of the deities, prayers in the chapels. There is no distinction between clergy and laymen, rich and poor, men and women. Beggars kneel in pews next to the elite. And the whole audience murmurs in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

At the entrance to the main chapel of the Hemis Monastery there is painted on the right-hand wall the wheel of life, sacred in Buddhist symbolism. It has been beautifully described by Suydam Cutting in *The Fire Ox and Other Years:*

"The 'wheel of life' is a spoked disk, painted on a scroll. On the hub are painted a cock, a pig, and a snake, standing for lust, greed, and anger, the three vices that torment human beings. The rim is divided into twelve segments, representing such metaphysical concepts as 'sense surfaces and understanding,' 'indulgence,' and 'fuller life.' The area between hub and rim is divided into six compartments, sharply divided by the spokes. At the top is heaven, at the bottom hell. The other four spaces are devoted to human life, animal life, purgatory (tormented spirits), and titans.

"Closer inspection reveals a dolorous prospect—a multitude of pictographs illustrating Buddha's doctrine that suffering is inevitable—'All is transitory, painful, and illusory.' Life is an endless, wearisome round of rebirths. The pictographs illustrating human life, for instance, show birth, old age, sickness, death, ungratified desires, struggle for existence, punishments, bereavements, and offensive objects and sensations. Hell is no less graphic. There are eight hot hells and eight cold ones, with an additional outer hell through which escaping spirits must pass without a guide. Each of these has special tortures to suit various crimes and misdemeanors.

"The 'wheel of life' is held in the claws of a monster who symbolizes 'the hideousness of clinging to life,' and beyond the rim is shown Buddha, who has escaped the round of metempsychosis."

788
778 As the lamas passed this scroll, I heard them mutter, *"Om Mani*
531 *Padme Hoom."*

788 To the center of the main chapel is an altar covered with bowls
782 filled with water and cereals. They are offerings to various gods. For the sake of prosperity, they are supposed always to be filled. I met the lama who attends them, a scraggy, barefooted man, and as he passed the altar I heard him mutter, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are thirteen large urns at Hemis, about four or five feet tall and three feet wide. They are filled each year with yak butter by some friend or benefactor, and lighted wicks stand in the middle. Each urn is supposed to burn a year. If the flame goes out, it is bad luck. The lama who had the main urn under his surveillance hovered near, wrapped in a soiled, red robe. As I went by I heard him murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

778 In the center of an adjoining chapel is a life-size statue of
788 Buddha, where the devout bow in worship, murmuring, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

785 Around Buddha are images of lesser deities and of Incarnate Lamas. There is one of Stagtsang Raspa, founder of Hemis. There is one of Mila Repa, the famous Tibetan poet who lived for eighty-three years and attained Buddhahood in that span even though
[754] his early life was sinful. He had learned how to kill people by magic and for a while walked the path of darkness. Then he did penance under a Lobon (Guru) by the name of Marpa. Marpa made him build a house of stone, then tear it down and carry the stones back to where he had found them. He did this over and again, one time building and tearing down a house nine stories high. Marpa beat Mila Repa and gave him impossible chores to do in penance for his sins. Finally Marpa gave him the Initiation and the Teachings, and launched Mila Repa on a life of mortification of the body. He became a hermit in a cave on a high mountain, where he lived on nettles. He renounced food, clothing, and

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speech. He pondered on the lives of the saints, the causes and 785
effects of actions, the ends of worldly existence.

This poet-saint is loved in all Ladakh. His strong face, carved in stone, looks down on the inhabitants of Hemis. It shows tremendous concentration and an indomitable will. All who pass [788] •
Mila Repa's statue at Hemis murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

One day while Mila Repa was moving to a new cave high on a shoulder of Mount Everest his only worldly possession, an earthen pot, broke. The loss was welcomed, not deplored. And Mila Repa, the poet, wrote:

> *The earthen pot now is, and now is not.*
> *My sole possession.*
> *By breaking it has become a lama,*
> *For it has preached an admirable discourse*
> *On the impermanence of things.*

And near the end of his life he wrote:

> *May the prayer regarding the death of this beggar*
> *Be fulfilled for the benefit of all beings.*
> *In a rocky cave in an uninhabited country*
> *There will my mind be fully content.*

The Buddhist world is filled with legends of Mila Repa. There 538
is the story of the frightened deer being pursued by a dog and a 788
hunter. The deer, crossing a ridge, saw Mila Repa in his cave and heard him chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The deer paused to listen and was so spellbound by the spiritual vibrations that its fears were forgotten. Shortly it lay down beside Mila Repa, serene and relaxed in the spiritual atmosphere of the place.

Along came the dog, who, seeing the deer, whirled to the attack. Then the dog heard Mila Repa chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The dog stopped and listened; it too became calm and serene, and shortly lay down beside the deer.

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538 Then came the hunter, who, seeing the deer and the dog lying
• 788 down together, believed the dog had been bewitched. So he drew his sword to kill the dog. As he approached, Mila Repa began to intone, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" The hunter was strongly affected by the chant. He stood undecided and torn. Before long he returned his sword to the scabbard and, approaching Mila Repa, prostrated himself before the Holy One.

535 A lama dance (*chham*) is built around these characters[1]—a play
796 illustrating the old Tibetan proverb and Buddhist teaching, "There is no sin so great as killing."

Phuntzog put on some lama dances for us. But the act of the deer, the dog, and the hunter was not included. The dances we saw, like the old morality plays of Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

They were performed in the courtyard in front of the main monastery building. Opposite the stairs leading down from the monastery sat the Rinpoche and the Lobon. Each of them is usually dressed in a long, flowing, dark red robe, wrapped toga-like around him so that his right arm is bare. Now the left arm was bare, and a bright yellow shawl was draped over the shoulders and around the waist. Rinpoche wore a peaked red hat that had no brim but came down over the back of his neck. Phuntzog wore a big red hat whose brim flared up and stood like great sails sewn together. Rinpoche sat on a dais with the gold bell and gold *dorje* in front of him. Phuntzog sat on his right. Farther to the right was a great array of musicians—trumpeters, drummers, and two men who blew giant horns. They were bedecked in gaily
[634] colored clothes and tall red hats of various designs. The trumpets were of the clarinet type, made of wood and brass. The drums stood on edge, held four or five feet off the ground by a pedestal, and attached to them were cymbals. The drums were struck by sticks bent into the shape of huge question marks. The two horns (*shawms*) were each twelve feet long. The larger end was about eighteen inches in diameter. It rested on the ground.

1 [From legends, See p.173 -- ANALYST]

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were huge and realistic. The Stag and the Yak each had swords. It soon appeared that their main objective was the Evil in man, who was represented by a dummy stuffed with straw. The act ended with the Stag and the Yak cutting this prostrate figure to pieces.

I was dashing about filming this dance and making a recording of the music. Once I stepped close to the Rinpoche and the Lobon. The Rinpoche, I noticed, reached out every few minutes and rang the gold bell. Its sound was drowned out in the tremendous rumblings from the giant horns, the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, and the shrill of the trumpets. But I could distinctly hear above all the clashing sounds of the orchestra the deep guttural of Phuntzog and the piping tenor of Rinpoche, chanting, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

It was at the beginning of my trek that Rahul first told me about this mantra. *Om Mani Padme Hoom* means "O Jewel of the Lotus." The lotus is the most beautiful of flowers, though in India it grows out of mud and filth. The lotus thrives in the most unattractive places; it adorns spots seared by plagues; it blossoms in an environment of oppressive poverty; it furnishes a breathless purity in yards contaminated by man and his creations.

Buddha was born in a lotus. Like it, he brought glory, purity, and beauty to oppressed and poverty-ridden people. Buddha, like the lotus, lived above his environment. He showed that the spirit of man can rise beyond the lowliest and filthiest source and find perfection even among the dregs of the earth. He showed how goodness can come out of misery, poverty, and dirt.

This is the immortal message of *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* It is on the lips of millions every minute of every hour. People who never saw a lotus chant it endlessly. Though its meaning may be lost to most of the millions who use it, in this part of the world it is the medium for communion, the symbol of reverence, the devotional exercise, the pious prayer, the sign of the cross.

I remembered that Rahul had said that holy men along the

trail in Ladakh and Tibet murmured it to passers-by, that it was a greeting often given. And so it was that I used it as a salutation at Koksar. A red-hat lama was at Koksar, en route to some place of pilgrimage in the manner of the lama made immortal by Kipling's *Kim*. Rahul was talking with him as I came up. When I was introduced, I murmured, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" 188

That night as we ate dinner, Rahul said, "You made quite a hit with the lama."

"How come?"

"Since you addressed him with *Om Mani Padme Hoom,*" Rahul said with a chuckle, "this lama thinks you are a lama from America."

"Did you disabuse him?"

"Certainly not. *Om Mani Padme Hoom* is going to help us through this country."

"Just how does *Om Mani Padme Hoom* help out?"

"These are peaceful people all the way through Ladakh and Tibet," Rahul explained. "They seldom use violence. Yet they are obedient to their lamas."

"I still do not understand how *Om Mani Padme Hoom* gives protection against a ruffian."

"No Ladakhi or Tibetan would move against a stranger unless directed by a lama. And no lama will ever give the order against a visitor who reverently greets him with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of 778
the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds [788]
of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monas- 471
teries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare 735
subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth. [092] 651

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern 423
world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

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133 we let them rest a few minutes, while we sit by the *lhato* and enjoy the sea of mountain tops all around. The path descends
361 into the open valley of Bot Kharbu, a long smiling stretch of cultivation with several small villages and a few ruined forts and castles on the hilltops. These were the scenes of fighting in the seventeenth century. Occasionally we note a rough bridge across the main stream, made just of the trunk of a tree or of two such logs side by side, of which one is a little lower, so that, if nervous, one could choose it and hold on to the higher. One noticeable cluster of houses, called Stagtse, is picturesquely grouped round a pointed rock on the other side of the stream. Near the rest-house, we see, on the further side also, that little collection of houses which gives the best example on all the road of how the native dwelling is fashioned like and merges into the surrounding rock.

Overhanging that part of the village in which the dak bungalow is to be found is a high rock with ruins of a castle or fort, conspicuous above which, and noticed from afar, is the figure of a man meditating over the valley, and brooding over the past history of its wars. When we arrive under it, we see it is only a sandstone figure, carved by the storms of centuries just as those seen on the day before.

The next day we leave the valley and enter a slowly narrowing long defile, leading to the foot of the highest pass we have to cross, and some six miles out of Kharbu we pass Henasku in a ravine on the left, already quoted as an example and, perhaps a better one than yesterday's, of a series of
● 788 transitional rock dwellings, and looking so lonely and so weird
484 on its high cliff. Pausing at the foot of the Pass, where there is water though no shade, for a meal, we then climb up to 13,500 feet, but just before the summit is reached, we come upon a nice group of Ladakis camping in that glorious scenery. We turn round to admire the way they have " parked out " their loads of bulging sacks into a wind shelter, against which they rest their own appropriate figures. Behind them is a magni-

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ficent stretch of mountains, its breadth and expanse exceeding those of yesterday's pass ; the glory of light and shade are indescribable, and this little group of humanity in the foreground just completes the picture. To their right by a tiny trickle of water behind a little rock, a delightful pair have detached themselves from the party to engage in " Chos Choches " (doing religion). One has a wee tray on a collapsible stand and a spoon, all of which can be shut up within a kind of teapot, its cover forming a second platter when reversed, and here he is busy with his libations and mumbling away at his prayers, though apparently only a layman, while the younger man assists him. Completing the ascent an equally wonderful view bursts on the sight, but there is no sign of cultivation on these bare brown or snowwhite peaks, and one really feels as though even at the " back of beyond " in every direction, there never would be human habitation again. But there just below us a yak tosses up his head, and gallops off, while soon our eyes light upon another picturesque camp arranged within a wall of sacks. One of our Tibetan friends, preferring a sun to a water-bath, has slipped his arms out of his wide sleeves and sits there bare to his waist, though we ourselves find the breeze quite chilly at these heights. Down, down, down again, and the big peaks vanish while the little hills rise. Round many corners we come to a bare wild ravine with a dark frowning hill behind, fit framing for a solitary *chorten*, throwing into relief its whitewashed base and red-ringed superstructure. Now we know a village must be near, and up a little zigzag path we go, and around another big *chorten*, then catch our breath at the picture that lies before us, a village we have already described as a suitable capital for " Hobgoblinland." Nor does this impression diminish, rather, each time one rounds that corner it strikes the imagination more forcibly, and seems as though it can only be some dreamland phantasm. Even as you come down upon the prosaic little rest-house on its platform below the hill, the

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TWO LADAKIS IN THE BAZAAR AT LEH.

The old Meme (grandfather) has his prayer-wheel with him in order to accumulate merit. He is wearing *charoks*, Yarkandi boots of thin red leather with a felt stocking inside. His companion prefers Ladaki footwear, of which the uppers are woven of coarse wool, sewn on to rope soles. The toes are turned up.

THE BABY SKUSHOG OF SPITUK

With his two lama "nurses." He is wearing the gilded official riding hat.

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neighbourhood of Leh can be seen. But there is a sudden descent from this plateau into the pretty and quaint little village of Basgo, which, with its peculiar rocks and ruins, *chorten* gates and *mani* walls, appeals to some people more than Lamayuru. In spring it is certainly a gem in the bare hills, for on the verge of the plain one suddenly comes upon it as a mass of apricot blossom. Above the Basgo-Nyemo valley neither the apricot nor the apple ripen properly, and the Leh supplies come mostly from there or from Saspola. The main road, which we must occasionally remind ourselves is the high road to Central Asia, leading through the village, passes many tumbledown *chortens* and *mani* walls, and, in one little recess on the left, one sees a fine example of a prayer-wheel made of a kerosene tin. On the outskirts, a row of prayer-wheels may be noted on a roof, waiting to be turned by the wind.

Over a sandy four-mile plain with a long *mani* wall extending half-way, we reach Nyemo, which looked only about twenty minutes ride from Bazgo, and are glad to enter the shade of its large *bagh*, and new bungalow. Here we remember camping once and taking our meal in the open by our tents, when a group of traders and their servants from the serai came to watch this interesting performance. Wearying of their unabashed stare, the Doctor Sahib at length rose, and addressed them in their own language. Pointing solemnly to the members indicated, he said, " I too am a man, I have eyes, ears, nose and mouth." A grin slowly spread over their faces as they caught the rebuke, and they stole away to bother us no more.

Now we have one more *rong* to ascend, then we soon come out on to a long terraced plain with a glorious view of our own Leh valley, the Indus spreading out into several silver streaks as it winds in and out of its broad acres. Grateful after the narrow gorges and long defiles is this open expanse, ringed by range after range of peaks pointing up to some 20,000 feet above sea level, whose snow can never melt. " My very own

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sparsely populated regions the people are so interesting, for the customs and ways of the unadulterated lamaism often differ considerably from those of the high road.

But let us now accompany the "padre" and the "doctor" in their trek from Ladak through Zankskar to Lahoul, and home *via* the Plains, thus traversing the whole of the Himalayan ranges from north to south, except the most northern, named the Karakoram Range. Leaving Leh we must first travel down the high road towards Kashmir for four days, that is along the Indus as far as the foot of the Lamayuru gorge. But let us remember the real name of this river is the "Senge Kabab," which means the one which "descends from the mouth of the Lion." The Tibetan names of the other rivers flowing from the region of the holy lake, Manosarowar, also indicate the true sources of their mighty waters, for does not the Sutlej or "Langchen kabab" descend from the mouth of the elephant, the Gogo is the "Mamzhi kabab" descending from the mouth of the peacock, while the Brahmaputra or "Damchog kabab" descends from the ear of the horse. In our Western ignorance we often garble these Tibetan names. Thus Darjeeling should be called "Dorjhe Ling" the "Country of the Thunderbolt," whilst Kalimpong is our distorted version of "Kalonpug," the cave of the prime minister. But let us get back to Lamayuru whence our road turns due south across that division of the Himalayas known as the "Ri-gyal" or mountain king range. Our first march takes us over a small pass to Wanla, and we must get used to Passes, as within a short period we have to cross fifteen, of which all but five are fairly high ones. Wanla is a pretty village and shows signs of having been an important one. Crowning the hill which dominates the village is a fine old ruin, and behind it a most peculiar built monastery, in many places resting on beams which look so insecure that they must give way on the slightest provocation. That they still hold is doubtless

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due to the fine water prayer-wheel in the village, which day and night turns round its prayers to benefit the community, while in the walls of the little shelter made to accommodate it four more rather large prayer-wheels are inserted to be worked by hand, so that the passer-by, giving them a meritorious twirl as he goes along, may add his contribution to the volume of prayer that brings favour to the village. Just now is the time of harvest in Wanla. Here the barley and wheat are cut and carried to the side of the hill to dry, a process which must soon be accomplished, for the heat from the stones is very great. In the evening a poor old man, blind in one eye arrives, and the cause being established as cataract, a temporary operating theatre is set up, instruments boiled and the trouble removed. Another poor old fellow completely blind, deaf and otherwise deformed, also asks for help, but alas, he is beyond the aid even of Western medical science, and, as he is very poor, the meagre solace of a little gift is all that can be done for him. There is hardly any operation so dramatic as that of cataract extraction, for the patient may be totally blind at one moment and the next receive his sight. It is all the more sad to have to tell some of these poor blind folk that it is impossible to give them back their vision, especially when so often that faculty might have been saved had they come to the doctor sooner.

Arrangements have now to be made for the next day's march, and we are told that the road is so bad that it will take all the Wanla horses and all the Wanla men to get us to Hunupata, the next village at which we halt ; nor is the picture overdrawn. Next morning all are busy. Breakfast is cooked and eaten, and wise is he who begins by shipping aboard plenty of food ! Stores and cooking utensils are packed into *yakdans* and *kiltas*, the Indian-made travelling boxes and baskets, one of which forms half-a-pony load, and we are off, enjoying the sheer delight of marching in the clear

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child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her 231
wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among
the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a 342
"country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually 361
consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room 221
above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be
on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley
behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from
the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available
to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be
found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable
proportion of the population move in the summer away to
the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed 342
balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three 778
miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its
demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near 252
the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her
hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat
boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs.
This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair,
and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the 439
high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies
loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down
to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come
from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world
grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the
winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them,
and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill
all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard
plant are used for the same three purposes, though the
mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of 342
the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as 788
a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house [622]
FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

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342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here, 1
● 788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
793 come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums, while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests must be both fed, and paid in money.

788 Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious
778 purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

554 One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best
[758] room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

342 The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

1 [i.e., in private chapels in better-class houses in town.—analys.]

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792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

792 875 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand 788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the 779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar* 795 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the 872 children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of 875 course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

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Let us now consider some of the ceremonial of the religion 796
of these cheery folk, and to do this we cannot do better than 778
take an evening stroll to Changspa, which is a suburb of Leh and was formerly a place of pilgrimage. Our path leads us between fields of wheat and barley, now ripe for the harvest. Here our way is blocked because some *Zemindar* (farmer) is [241] directing the flow of the water into his crops. Further on we reach a larger stream over which we cross by means of stepping stones.

We meet an old grey-head emerging from the village, who 788
evidently feels that he has reached the age when he should be thinking of his next incarnation, for he is not only vigorously turning his prayer-wheel, but mumbling away at his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*. We stop to speak to him, for in this part of the world there is great friendliness. Our conversation by no means hinders his devotions, for he can still twirl his prayer-wheel, which with every turn is repeating hundreds of prayers for him, and in between his answers to us there are plenty of opportunities for saying his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*.

Being new to the country we perhaps try to ask him the meaning of his prayer, but generally he will reply that he has not the faintest idea, and most certainly will not give the translation one so often hears. "Oh thou jewel in the Lotus bud." If one regard the Jewel as the Divinity, and the lotus the body in which it resides, one surely approaches the teaching of the Buddha fairly closely. I have met only one or two [779] Buddhist Ladakis willing to enlighten me in respect to this mantra, who said that the wheel of life, consists of six existences, and this mantra with its six syllables closes the door of all these, thus providing an easy vehicle to "STONGPA NID." There are other mantra, but this beyond comparison is the favourite one, as it is that of Avolakita, the Merciful Lord, and it ensures an entrance into the Kingdom of Amitabha, *the Sphere of Endless Light*. The wheel must be turned in the direction in which the sun travels, that is of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788 the hands of the clock, and not once or twice, but hundreds of times. To make this as easy as possible a weight on a short chain is attached, whose momentum makes it only necessary for the slightest movement of the hand to keep the wheel in almost perpetual motion. The number of *Om ma ni pa dme hum's* said need not to be counted, and yet it is good to know how much merit has been accumulated. Our old friend therefore carries in his other hand a rosary, which consists of one hundred and eight beads, usually red. This figure is a sacred one, being a multiple of twelve which is the Buddhist unit and not the ten which we use. To mark the beginning of this rosary three turquoises are strung together, doubtless representing "dGonmchog Sum," the Trinity of Lamaistic Buddhism.

[211] But the rosary is useful in other ways also, for if only the beads to the right of the short chain are regarded as units, and those to the left as twelves, quite a useful counter on which to
778 do one's temporal arithmetic is provided. Leaving our
788 elderly friend, we go past a short *mani* or prayer-wall, and then another round one. These are about the height of a man, and may be of any length. Just outside Leh there are two with only a short space between, which cover about half a mile. The tops of these slope slightly upwards towards the middle, and are covered by innumerable flat stones on which pious monks have engraved still more innumerable *Om ma-ni's*. To turn these prayers to good account, it is essential to pass the wall to one's right; by walking thus along the Leh *Mani Ringmo*, which means the long Ma-ni wall, a good hundred thousand prayers are said, and your stage pony, being usually of the Buddhist persuasion, will see to it that you do your religious duty in this respect by taking you along the left side. Whenever the road reaches a prayer-wall, it divides to enclose it, so that the traveller's prayers can avail in whichever direction his journey lies. In many of the larger prayer-walls there is a recess at one side containing a large tablet on which

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the occasion of the building of the wall is engraved. We pass on to a little streamlet in the village, and find that over it a little mud hut, about the size of a large dog kennel, has been erected, which houses another prayer-wheel. On the axle of this, below the receptacle for prayers, are paddles on which the running water impinges and thus keeps the wheel in perpetual rotation. The stream is often small, so that a light wheel is desirable, and what could be a better shell for enclosing the prayer paper than a Standard Oil kerosene tin, or a Mellin's Food tin, both of which are actually used. 778 788

The first house of the village belongs to the Kalon or former prime minister of Ladak, and in keeping with his exalted position, it is an imposing structure. On an outside wall we notice the skull of a goat, framed in small sticks tied together by twine, which is the *Storma* obtained at the New Year's festival, and keeps those in the house insured against sickness. The corners of the house have been painted a red colour, which effectually bars the entry of evil spirits. The Kalon does not seem to invite the good spirits to reside in his house, but others do. They only have to paint all over their walls white sickle-shaped smudges, and their invitations to these *lhas* will be accepted with alacrity. In the Kalon's court-yard is a high pole, to which is attached a strip of thin muslin about twelve inches broad and running the length of the flagstaff, which is surmounted by the black bushy tail of the holy yak. On the flag are printed a great number of prayers, with crude drawings of Tiger, Lion, Garuda and Dragon, all being mystical signs ensuring safety against enemies, earthly and celestial, increasing the number of children and wealth, in short achieving the entire health and happiness of the household. To set the necessary forces in action it only remains for the wind to flutter the flag on his roof. He also has a prayer-wheel which is so light that even the wind impinging on its vane will turn it. 342 788

We pass along the rough village lanes and everywhere 788

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788 notice prayer-flags and *chortens*. Here there is a huge stone set up on end, on which has been engraven one large "Om ma-ni," and we might delay a few moments to examine it, 779 especially the first and last syllables. The first one "OVA" 788 consists of three signs, representing again the Trinity of Lamaism. Its chief letter is the capital "A" which stands for god. It should be written in white, as this is the colour [822] of the gods. The whole is surmounted by a circle. Does the yellow cap lama desire to make his mind a perfect blank, he places this mystical symbol before his mind's eye, meditates first on the "A," then on the "V" which surmounts this, and finally it travels round and round the mystic circle losing itself in *Stongpa nid*, the idea being that by these means the activity of the brain can be stilled and the spirit become at one with the Infinite. The last syllable in the Mantra, *Hung*, is supposed to stand for the Demon world, and therefore it is not surprising that the red sect lamas, who represent most closely the old *Bon chos* with its demonology, should use this in a similar manner for their meditation. The colour of this symbol is blue. This mark sometimes ends as *hung* and sometimes as *hum*, and there seems to be a real difference, for a Buddhist friend has assured me that, whilst *hung* is connected with evil influences, *hum* produces only the good.

778 We raise our eyes and see an enormous *chorten*, the largest 779 in Ladak, another mystical edifice allowing several explanations. These *chortens* are of eight different shapes, but of the most common form there are many sizes, ranging from small pocket editions, vulgarly called "potted lamas" for they are said to be made with the ashes of deceased monks, to structures larger than houses. From below upwards there is first a large square base, which is called the throne, on whole sides are painted figures of animals or holy eyes from which the throne derives its name, such as a Peacock or a Lion Throne. From this there rise five square steps, the lowest of which represents the holy carpet, for each lama sits

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805 Venus, whilst Thursday, the day of the dagger, must belong to the god of War. Jupiter and Saturn, even in Ladak, claim Friday and Saturday. The tenth day being the birthday of Padma Sambhava, their patron saint, who conquered all their demons, is regarded as holy.

796 The date of the new year varies, indeed in their topsy-turvy country they have two New Year days, one being the [172] Ladaki, the other the Tibetan, both of which are celebrated, 173 although for practical purposes the latter is used. The genesis of the Ladaki New Year is interesting. King Jamyang desired to wage war against the neighbouring kingdom of Purig, but was informed by the horologist that his venture would not be successful unless deferred till after New Year's day. Not wishing to wait, and no doubt thinking the stupid old sun would not notice, he decided that the New Year 796 should begin two months earlier. His anniversary usually ● 788 falls some time in December. It is chiefly marked by evening illuminations, for every Buddhist house has a row of tiny lamps, small wicks in little receptacles of oil, outlining either window-sill, verandah, or roof, or all three, according to the state of the family exchequer, for kerosene is an expensive commodity by the time the former is carried up to Leh; and of mustard oil and that expressed from apricot kernels there [361] is very little. As most Tibetan villages are built in tiers up the hillside in order to leave the flatter terraces for cultivation, their rows of little lights give quite a fairyland effect. Dominating the whole in Leh is the fine old castle with its row of illuminations, while still higher are the twinkling lights round the crazy verandah of the "Tsemo" or small monastery, 796 perched on its high crags. The official New Year occurs later, and its chief feature is the celebration of *Dosmoche*, the great festival of the Scapegoat. This ceremony varies in different localities. In Leh a huge erection is made of sticks, tied together by twine, and looking like a vastly over-rigged mast. The component parts are prepared previously by the

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The idea of the scapegoat is practised in some form or other everywhere in Lesser and Greater Tibet. In some places an actual goat is sent into the wilderness. In others even a man is chosen, who for a whole year has to leave his village and live elsewhere, at the end of which time some other is chosen to bear the sin of the village. It is a fair assumption that formerly this sinbearer was put to death.

Circumambulation, as every good Ladaki can demonstrate, is a splendid means of obtaining merit. Almost any religious object can be walked around. If there is no *thorten*, then walk round a temple containing some god. If you are getting old it is expedient to spend weary hours twirling your prayer-wheel, saying your *Om mani's*, and walking round and round a *mani* wall. Ten times round the great *chorten* at Jhangspa was the daily evensong of one picturesque, friendly old gentleman we used to meet with his prayer-wheel and rosary. If you can get one or two friends to come along too, it is certainly not quite so lonesome, even though they have to walk behind, for one can intersperse one's prayers with quite interesting snatches of conversation. The month in which this is most beneficial is the first of the year, and the greatest merit of all is obtained by going round the Tsemo, the monastery-crowned hill of Ladak, in whose chief temple resides a "Byamspa" god, so high that his head reaches into the second storey. This great *aKorches* (to round) is performed early in the year, by means of measuring your length the whole way along the route. Let us go into the desert to the south of Leh, where twenty to thirty young men are collected who have decided to perform this religious duty. They are drawn up in rows of twos or fours, about eight feet apart. Each man has tied round his waist a sheepskin apron, which hangs down over his knees. This both shields the knees from being cut, and good clothes from being torn. A low mumble begins, all saying the same phrase over and over again, which runs—"All living animals ask for Buddha's

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796 great emancipation." As the emphasis is always placed on
● 788 the beginning of the mantra, the prayer resembles a pulsating series of sounds. At the same time each man places his hands together in an attitude of prayer, and all simultaneously throw themselves on their knees, then on their chests, then reach out their arms as far as they can, make a mark in the sand or dust, jump up, place their feet on this mark, and then repeat the whole series of movements again; up and down, up and down, they go. After an hour or two they feel ready for refreshments. A nice spot is chosen where the devotees sit round in a circle, and to which lady friends bring tea, flour or *chang*, thereby themselves gaining merit also. The processionists have quite a merry session on these occasions, and will tell you with great virtue how much merit they are acquiring. In fact they are ready to break rank and have a little chat with the passer-by at the end of any series of movements. On resuming each man goes to the place where he left off, and again the prostrations are performed. If fortune smiles, the weather is good, but if not, their clothes are liable to get very dirty, for even a puddle of melted snow must not deflect the merit accumulator. From the desert the procession proceeds through the bazar and the town of Leh, then over a small pass behind the Tsemo, and coming down the other side, ends up in the desert at the spot from whence they started. The whole distance is about three miles, and it takes three days to be covered in this manner. The physical strain must be tremendous, and only the fit could possibly perform it. One might expect these young fellows to look jaded and depressed, but on the contrary they are all quite cheery.

There is, however, an easier method of obtaining merit for those not so strong. Stray old gentlemen, even a picturesque old lady, single or in twos and threes, sometimes an ancient husband and wife, we have seen traversing the same round as those who are prostrating themselves, but doing so at an

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ordinary walk, twirling their prayer-wheels and mumbling 796
their *Om mani's* as they go. Strange pathetic little humans 788
they are, set in a vast panorama of snow-covered mountains with giant peaks soaring up into the silences of the clear blue sky, and often in this frosty winter time tramping out their tiny track on a universal white mantle of snow. Then, too, above the temple which houses the "Byamspa" and on the same Tsemo, is another with three other deities. Round this is a most shockingly rickety verandah, which looks as if it might tumble down at the slightest provocation, and no doubt will do so some day. I myself have walked round this in fear and trembling, but now there is a column of men and women, one close on the heels of the other, and round and round the temple they walk, some turning prayer-wheels, and others saying the *Om mani.* Round and round they go until we feel giddy watching them. Even from below, right down in Leh, they can be seen circulating round their giddy parapet.

We now come to Spring, when everything is breaking out 796
into fresh life. At this season the lamas of Sankar remain in 792
their monastery for a whole month, during which special services are held. By this isolation they are deterred from taking life through stepping on insects as they pass along the roads. It is during this time that the service of making 796
"*Chos spun*" is performed, which actually means the "making 608
of the brethren of the religion." Those wishing to join this fraternity fast one whole day, during which they are not allowed to swallow even their own saliva. Then each man throws into a receptacle some personal belonging. The officiating priest takes these out in twos, thus making their owners spiritual brethren, after which ceremony, if one of them makes a feast, he must invite his brother, or if there is a festival, they must send one another presents.

A moveable ceremony is the celebration of the Buddhists' 796
High Mass. Its general likeness to our Christian service 174
makes one wonder whether Tibetan Buddhism did not get its

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643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[764] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

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the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his *chos*, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor importance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* reincarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a *Skushog*, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

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A similar rise in the social scale occurs with the Spiti 791
magicians, who visit Ladak every summer. These gentlemen 788
are of quite low caste in their own country, but here they are addressed in the language of respect, being known as the *Mani-pas* or "prayer-men." Wearing long red robes, they are, however, distinguished from lamas by the absence of caps, and by long hair plaited up in braids, close to their heads in front and hanging down to their waists behind, giving a curiously effeminate effect to their moustached faces. Their entertainments are closely bound up with religion, in fact their name, the *Mani-pa*, has been given to them on account of this and their constant attention to their hand *manis* or prayer-wheels. When about to give a show, they first arrange an 789
altar in the form of a couple of banners behind a table with 791
sacred lamps and vessels for barley and other offerings. In [782]
front of this they dance with swords, at first slowly, then with increasing excitement until the climax is reached by running forward, placing their feet on the ground, raising their bodies, and apparently balancing them on the points of their swords, which are placed in the armpits, abdomen, or even cheeks. This effect is really achieved by sufficiently straightening and stiffening the arms. They also pierce their cheeks, through an old scar, with swords and long needles. Their masterpiece of magic is the breaking of a large stone by one of them on the abdomen of the other. This, of course, is preceded by a lot of incantation and dancing round the latter, who lies on his back on the ground with the small boulder balanced carefully on his abdomen, and, at the right moment, this is made to fall apart into two halves by beating upon it with a big stone. For some days previously the actual boulder is sought for on the desert hillside around with considerable trouble and selected with great care, while the one on whom it is balanced has to hold his breath throughout the performance of the trick. They also beat the abdomen with swords, which process is also rendered harmless by the trick of inflation.

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792 Lobzang, a delightful old gentleman with a benevolent face and a courteous manner, which are really quite charming. He is quite a good photographer, and this common hobby forms a natural link of friendship, including requests for the purchase of self-toning paper and other photographic requisites. He is expecting us, and stands in the side of the doorway with some of his lamas so that we may advance without fear of the monastery dogs, of which there are always some about, who generally announce the arrival of an intruder with considerable and alarming vigour. The main doorway is lofty and deep, with heavy wooden doors, but to-day it is closed, as inside carpenters are sitting under its shade sawing away for some builders, busy at a new balcony in a near corner of the building. The side door, a smaller one, is that generally in use, and admits to the corner of the large court-yard, in the middle of which are two walled enclosures round wild rose bushes, one a large yellow one, the other pink, with another bush whose pale yellow flowers, insignificant in themselves, have the strong scent of syringa, in bloom. In the centre there stands a high poplar wood pole, to the top of which is attached a black yak's tail, and running down its entire length a prayer-flag. To one side of the enclosure is a mounting block from which the *Skushog* can mount his steed.

346 792 [351] [788]

Lying about the court-yard are a few dogs, but they seem quite peaceful and undisturbed by our advent. The main temple faces us as we enter, three storeys high, with the usual roof-edge of a layer of sticks about one foot broad, lying end-on, and painted with ochre. On this roof are erected at intervals long rough poles bearing prayer-flags, or yak's tails, or an umbrella-shaped structure consisting of long streamers of plaited yak's wool bound together by coarse strips of raw silk and surmounted by a trident. The windows, latticed-shaped but unglazed, are interlaced with wood, picked out in various colours, and, across the top of each, is a little valance, a frill of some coarse white cloth with a red

[788]

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352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

792 Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

792 346 353 779 532 [415] 779 788

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often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain.

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands, each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate his many heads an attic projects up into an inner courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha, for permission to return and help him, he received this reply, "Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all, I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these heads represent four past races, and that actually there should be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating, but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate, it was "the light that failed." We pass into another room containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

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that, in spite of every shade of that colour, scarlet, maroon, crimson, puce, claret, magenta, prune, in every stage of newness and fadedness being present, the total effect of what would ordinarily seem so clashing was a really artistic blend of colour, to which the eye constantly reverted. 796 536

To the right of the steps and at the level of the big doors, a platform projected from the main building, which accommodated a large number of spectators, and on the right-hand side of the courtyard were more steps and low roofs packed with onlookers. Another platform covered a roof which was entirely occupied by a gigantic prayer-wheel, so huge and heavy that two or three people must press against it with all their strength to start it revolving; but then what a mighty weight of prayer went round with each turn. Under the Westerners' balcony was the ecclesiastical band, the instruments being four pairs of cymbals and a dozen drums of the warming-pan shape with queer hooked beaters. Next to the musicians came the *Skushog's* throne, a raised platform with richly-cushioned seat and back, also long trappings, its high arch terminating the balcony above, while in front was placed a finely painted Tibetan table, flanked by vases of flowers. On the other side, level with the court-yard, were the remainder of the band, the two long shawms and the two flageolets or trumpets. In front of all the musicians were small tables which accommodated the holy books from which they chanted. [788]

On the fourth and left side of the court-yard there was no wall, but a slight projection accommodated a large prayer-wheel about four feet high and three feet in diameter, which was constantly being set in motion during the waiting times. Beyond this was an open space prolonging the old quadrangle into another court-yard in front of the newer monastic buildings. [788]

Between these two court-yards rough barriers, such as the trunk of a poplar or a piece of carved wood moulding from

796 536 some destroyed roofing, were placed to complete the square of the dancing theatre. The audience squatting on the ground were pushed back behind these as each scene opened.

●[788] In the middle of the main court-yard, some distance apart from each other, and supported by round whitewashed mud platforms were two flagstaffs, capped by yaks' tails ; they were almost as high as the monastery, and from their sides floated out many long prayer-flags. The scene was completed on the first morning, after we had been sent for and had taken our seats, by the setting-up of a large banner, which was let down from the roof above the main door and steps, on which was portrayed a young man with the Buddha type of face. This we learnt represented " Padma Karpo " his real name being " Dugpa Rinpoche." The next morning he was replaced by a more elderly gentleman, called " Galsas Rinpoche," the tutelary god of Hemis. Once in twelve years a still more important deity is displayed, and rites and ceremonies are performed in his honour, while the common people prostrate themselves before him. Above these banners each day a large awning with a yellow silk valance was protruded, whether to shade them from the sun subjectively, or objectively as regards the colour of the cloth, it is hard to say.

796 But before the drama opens, we must devote a few words to our fellow spectators who will provide us with so much interest and amusement in the long intervals between the scenes. During one of the most tedious of these, when we could hear the drums throbbing for some ceremony within the monastery, a Ladaki informant alleged that the monks had been receiving and eating the offerings of food brought by the common people from near and far. Judging by the size of the congregation this must needs have been a proponled ritual and a sustining meal.

796 184 During the acting they crowded on to every available space, roofs, balconies, galleries, steps, platforms, and blocked up all the egresses on the ground floor. Here and there were

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CHAPTER XXVI

The Lure of Ladak

771 THE festival at Hemis is, as it were, a grand climax to all the strange things we see and find in this extraordinary country, which culminate in its religious practices. We have described lightly the outward ceremonies and appearances of the masque, emphasizing perhaps its humorous details, conscious and unconscious: yet, when we review it as a whole, we cannot but be appalled at its deeper significance, nor can we fail to realize that this country of cheery, attractive, lovable folk is a prey to the most rampant demonology. Where all the best religions of the world will at least point upwards, as it were, to "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" as worthy of contemplation, here the whole force of Lamaism directs the people's attention downwards to that which is impure, ugly, evil. Surely in spiritual matters they are "upside down"
787 rather than we. The study of their horoscopy alone impresses one with the terrible burden of it all, the endless costly offices imposed on the common ignorant, superstitious people by Lamaism. It is rightly stated that "one family alone is prescribed a sufficient number of sacerdotal tasks to engage a couple of lamas fairly fully for several months of the year."

●788 The rites enjoined to overcome the difficulties of the conflict-
792 ing horoscopes of relations dwelling together, the ceremonies necessary to nullify evil influences in connection, not only with the crises of life to which we have referred, but with

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

other lesser events in the family activities and even in the surrounding neighbourhood, all are used to exploit the credulity and fears of a primitive people for the enrichment in money and power of a set of priests, themselves with little education, save the reading of their "holy" books. Thus, apart from the exercise of these functions, the lamas, who are said to constitute almost one third of the population, lead useless lives of indolence and indulgence, contributing nothing to the economical and certainly not to the spiritual welfare of their fellow countrymen, but merely absorbing their hard-earned riches in parasitical luxury. As an observer from the Chinese side has recorded, "Lamaism is responsible for having sapped the manhood of Mongolia of its energy and initiative, and deadened its intellect." By segregating such a large proportion of its young manhood into an enforced and false celibacy, it lowers the birth-rate as well as the moral standard of the country. How infinitely removed are these evil practices from the pure teachings of the Buddha, whose name has been associated with the veneer of reform introduced into this devil-worship. The wonder is that the people remain as wholesome and cheery as they do, and no visitor to Ladak will deny the attractiveness of this sturdy hill race.

Indeed they are part of that lure of Ladak which every year provides the British Joint Commissioner with a waiting list for travellers desiring passes far longer than that of the successful applicants. Falling into a different category from the ordinary visitor is the sportsman, whose pass is included in his shooting license, men, and even women, to whose primeval hunting instincts the great hills call. The mere traveller may be lured by the everlasting hills also, or the peculiar bare country, or its strange inhabitants and their quaint customs. The mere joy of the road calls some, while few can on arrival resist being curio hunters, and during their brief visits concentrate their attention on any of the following: the cups of rare china, the more common wooden ones lined wtih silver,

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
773

[113] 1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who intorduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situ-
776 ated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to
[823] the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already under-
[788] taken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-ryyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [574] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [788] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 [795] To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 178 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A1#

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer-cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides. These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm —a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns. It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodically assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images. No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

792 361 [788] [778] [282] 562 778

* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans AJ4

562 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which
778 point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his
[178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās
[647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats
[788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J 4

Then, when a mile or two from Maulbeck, we struck the first of the hundreds of monasteries, chortens and prayer walls. Chortens are white-washed pagoda erections, something like giant chess-men varying in height from about a yard to forty or even fifty feet. They are the graves of lamas, buried within and not under them, their ashes being mixed with clay, baked into large biscuits and stamped with the image of Buddha. Prayer walls are seven feet high—probably so that none can look down upon them—and about the same width, the tops are apexed and they extend sometimes for hundreds of yards. The stones with which they have been made have been elaborately carved and inscribed with the Tibetan prayer "Om mani padme hom", which in its translation, "God the flower of the lotus", conveys little to the traveller, or for that matter even to the average monk, although it is repeated by him countless times every day, and not only by him, but also by all men and women of the land as they go about their work and as they journey along the road. They are the first six syllables the child is taught to utter, they are the last words gasped by the dying, and during a lifetime followers of the Lama Church will have uttered them millions of times and sent them to heaven on prayer wheels billions of times; they are to be found written everywhere. Surely this phrase (or prayer), one which I saw one writer of well back in the past century liken to "Our father which art in Heaven", must be the one written and spoken more than any on this earth, for its origin goes right back and is lost in the dim past. These great walls are built by lamas or monks who spend their lives moving from one place to another doing only that work, thus gaining merit for themselves; each stone so placed is considered a good deed well done. All who pass these walls must go on the left-hand side for by so doing they also gain merit.

361 [764] 778 788

Perched high on a spire-like rock which rises above the village of Maulbeck which clusters around its feet, is a white Lamasery or Buddhist monastery, close to which is an enormous figure of Buddha carved in the rock face. Partly hiding this image when one is standing on the roadway, is a rather grand building which is well kept: it seemed odd to me that even the most ignorant of men could have built a house in such a

361 178

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes. 361

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreciate the height we had reached and how it affected one by slackening movements. [133] [136]

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens, the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150. 491 172

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings, some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of Chubrezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its background is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a jewel in the other. 346 778

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven, 788

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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788 the lamas and those going to the chapels sending still more as they climb the steps and give a twist to the dozens of prayer wheels on either side.

487 Then for some miles the road is trying, at times through a narrowing gorge, up and down the rock sides. Few others than those who knew the road well would have dared to have ridden, for there is nothing to save one from slipping over the side, and in places the track had almost broken away to leave nothing. I think the most terrifying experience is when a small portion of the track gives way under one's feet: yet the horses know the road; at times, as you walk ahead, there is a pull at the rein, and turning you see your horse testing with his forefoot the ground immediately ahead of him.

361 Then the road changes to open country. It is hard going, being shadeless, so that during the middle of the day the journey was difficult with the heat seeming to come up from the ground, forcing us to halt during these hours at a wayside rest house, to continue later, passing but one patch of vegetation in about fifteen miles of monotonous track to Saspul where there is a most fascinating Alchi monastery containing many traces of Kashmir workmanship. There is also the cave monastery of Nyiziapur, now a ruin.

The next day we covered the eleven mile march from Saspul to Nimu, starting rather late since we had that morning visited the monastery. At the beginning the journey was interesting, the more so after the bare country we had gone over for the past few days. We left the river Indus and crossed a plateau, then down into the most picturesque village of Bazgu. The high cliffs are peppered with old ruins, the village itself built on a steep hill, the rocks fantastic in their shape and brilliant in colour, with the whole dominated by a large Lamasery and a ruined castle which history says "were long besieged by Mongols in the time of Gyalpo Delegs who ruled between 1640 and 1680 A.D." The rest of the day was spent over arid sandy wastes, a distance of some four miles to reach the comfort of a rest house with a garden.

The last march of all is nearly eighteen miles, first ascending the plateau, then as the valley opens out, a gradual descent through a stony desert, at odd places relieved by small patches of

Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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The chief features in which the game differs from 526
Western polo are the following :—

Firstly, there are two long stone walls, about three feet high, built along both sides of the ground, against which the ball is made to rebound; they are also used, by the way, for squeezing your adversary's pony, and if possible the leg of the rider, against the jagged stones, to his great discomfort. Secondly, all the players start at a gallop from one end. The leader then throws the ball into the air and strikes it with the full swing of his stick before it touches the ground, frequently driving it the whole length of the ground and through the goal-posts, which are marked by white stones. But the goal is not counted unless one of the attacking side dismounts and picks up the ball before any of the defenders can knock it out again. When the goal is won the band strikes up a joyful noise, accompanied by plenty of drums. The riders play in a most reckless manner. I have seen both ponies and players receiving terrific whacks, and blood flowing profusely; and sometimes the onlookers receive wounds from standing too near the wall. It is a very ancient and honoured game in these regions.

It is difficult to describe one's feelings as one enters 346
this wonderful country of monasteries and lamas, for one 788
seems to have arrived in quite another world, unimagined and undreamt of; one feels inclined to pinch oneself to see if one is really awake and not dreaming.

On the road one passes walls from 100 to 300 yards long, about eight feet high and eight feet broad, with a pent roof of flat stones of all sizes, on which are carved the same words, "Om mane padme hun," which means, "O God of the Jewel on the Lotus," or, as it has been interpreted to me: "May my soul, O God, be like the jewel of water which lies on the lips of the lotus leaf just

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

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346 788 as it is going to fall into the lake and be lost in the ocean of water [*i.e.* be lost in Nirvana]."

346 788 792 778 Monks roam over the country doing this pious carving work for those who will pay them. Merit not only comes to the men who place these stones on the wall, but to all those travellers who pass on the left side of the wall, and curses on those who pass on the wrong side. Hence there is no need of a policeman to tell all traffic to keep to the left; all travellers do it as if mechanically, and heap up to themselves merit.

Then on the road one continually passes "chortans," stone pagodas generally white-washed, and not only on the road, but dotted about in the fields and up the mountain-sides. They are of all sizes from three to forty feet high. They are hollow, and in them one will often find clay medallions vulgarly called potted lamas, for they are composed of the ashes of the monks, which have been stamped with the monastery stamps, not unlike pretty stamped pats of butter. Some of the stamps are very decorative, generally with the figure of Buddha in the centre of a circle, with writing around.

On the tops of the houses and on trees one sees bunches of flags made of coloured rags on which is inscribed this same prayer. When the flags flutter in the breeze this prayer ascends for the good of the individual who placed these rags to be moved by the wind.

As we pass through a village we see little paper windmills on the roofs which work a prayer wheel inside the house. This is a metal cylinder crammed full of paper on which is written hundreds of times this one prayer: "Om mane padme hun."

788 Along the walls of certain houses and always at the monasteries are found these cylinders of wood let into the wall at a convenient height from the ground to allow

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

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788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVIII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 LET us now visit a monastery. As usual, as we
788 approached Lamauru, we were met by much
574 noise and dust. The monastery band evidently
346 was on the war-path, from the terrific braying and tom-tomming that greeted us, and the crowd of monastery dignitaries and village magnates kicked up much dust as they approached. We were taken round the monastery by the head ecclesiastic. We climbed the stone stairway to the monastery, which, as usual, was situated on the top of a cliff, built on to and into it in such a way that it was not easy to see where rock ended and the building commenced. Along the side of the stairway were rows of prayer wheels let into the wall, which we set spinning in the orthodox manner. At least I hope we did spin them the right and not the wrong way. I think we must have spun them round the right way, for our journey was prosperous. The chapel was full of interesting objects, and one did not know quite what to look at, for there seemed to be, and there was, such a crowd of interesting objects which I had never seen before.
353 The building was like a hall, the roof supported by
778 wooden pillars, with a gallery all round, from which hung a profusion of silk banners of Chinese design, chiefly dragons. On one side of the hall was a row of coloured figures, life-size, of Buddha and sainted lamas, which were arrayed in rich silks. Before each figure was a table or altar of very curious design, coloured with

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons and sacred symbols. 778 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet. 782 534

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts. 346 792 796

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 788 344 792

A Trip to Ladakh

000 did not feel inclined to move, so I tied him to a rock and went off in search of some landmark, for I seemed to have reached the top of the ridge. However, I soon found I could not walk more than twenty paces at a time, and a most splitting headache came on. It felt as if my head blood vessels would burst, and I had *mal de montagne* properly. After wandering about aimlessly I became aware I was up against a precipice. When the moon rose it was now one A.M., and then I saw I was under the foot of a glacier, a great cliff of ice over seventy feet high, which seemed to bulge out at the top like the curve of a huge breaker. It was very impressive, and for the moment I forgot my headache.

I had meant to stay on the pass to see the sunrise, but my powers of endurance gave out. My one desire was to get down the mountain, where I could breathe in comfort, so I descended to the rock where I had left my pony, and I soon began to recover my equilibrium as I descended. When I returned to Leh I made inquiries after my guide, but I never discovered what happened to him and therefore never knew why he gave me the slip.

346 796 About twenty miles from Leh is a very large and 788 important monastery called Hemis, and once in every twenty years they have an especially important religious play, so Dr Neve and I hired ponies and joined the happy throng of pilgrims.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to see people of all classes making their way on foot and horseback to this far-famed monastery. On several ponies were two [595] riders, the man in front and his lady behind. As polyandry [562] is the custom in Ladakh, the wife is therefore the lord and master, so one expected to see the lady riding in front 788 and one or more husbands riding pillion, for we often saw 576 three passengers riding one horse. We passed two ladies

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

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788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
535

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much

/11/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Kalatse lies yonder in the Ladakh high- 361
land, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the Western Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading mountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village forms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming apricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate, projecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly the fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike our ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and the call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the Indus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded beasts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main town of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the women who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise everything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the white-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue, cloudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock 512
in the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to his house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and everybody takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal, 789

1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same 552
time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house- 551
owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has its own name by which the present owner can likewise be called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering," "Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other. In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which usually have a religious significance, the house names display a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa), Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

552 551 Ambassador (P'o-nya), and Castlecaptain (K'ar-dpon), the four latter all being titles from the time of the kingdom; furthermore there are animal names like Fox (Wa-tse-pa), Wolf (Śan-ku-pa); finally there are nicknames such as the Chewing-one (K'a-ldags-pa), Break-leg (rKan-cags-pa), Break-skull (mGo-cags-pa), the Thrown-out-one (P'ar-la-p'an), Thief's-son (zKu-p'rug), Cat's-mouth (Bi-la-k'a), Liar (Dzun-can), and other in part insulting names

789 which stands there at the foot of the steep cliff below the old castle ruin on the rocky floor of the valley closely nestled in a group of houses, there is lively activity even now during the hot, muggy afternoon. There is the hollow murmur from the rough throats of men, which occasionally /12/ swells to great strength; in between there can be heard dissonant and deep blasts of trumpets and the beating of drums. Five lamas (Buddhist monks) in red cowls from the nearby monastery Lamayuru are crouched there in the large living room-kitchen of the house with their legs folded under them on rough carpets made of goats' hair. In front of each one of them, on small tables no higher than a footstool and carved with beautiful designs, there are two piles of loose leaves which belong to a book. They are all reading at one and the same time in a loud, grating voice, each one from the leaf which happens to be lying in front of him. When a leaf is finished, it is placed on the pile of leaves that have been read. The leaves made of Tibetan paper were once grey. Now the paper is covered with a blackish layer gleaming with fat, especially in those places where they have come into contact with the lamas' fingers.

With the wild confusion of everybody reading at the same time it is impossible for us to make rhyme or reason of what is being read. Only here and there does our ear catch a few words: "Jis don bum (Tibetan: byis gdon abum)," "The 100,000 child demons!" Then we can make out here and there a few mysterious Sanskrit formulas and syllables, "Om! Hum! Shri!" Magical formulas, powerful exorcising words, partly in Tibetan, and partly in the old sacred Sanskrit language.

It is out of the question that the inhabitants of the house might be listening attentively. How would they ever be able to understand this babel of voices, after all? The evil spirits for whom these phrases of exorcism are designed will undoubtedly make some sense of them and feel their effect, so they think. They themselves go quietly about

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer (chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add another request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility for killing lies with others. 789 [262] [273] [783]

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do. [787]

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24 [776]

789 dangers which must be averted. This exorcism is accomplished by the lamas through the reading of that book with its powerful exorcising formulas, through magical gestures, through the swinging of the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and of the magical bell, as well as through the blasts of trumpets and the beats of the drum. This display of power is too much even for the hundred thousand, so that the latter have to yield the field.

By the time the day draws to a close and the sun has gone down in the west /14/ over there behind the jagged cliffs, everyone of the lamas has read through his pile of leaves; at the end there is still a lone straggler who reads by himself, an unpractised novice who still lacks the necessary experience in reading fast. A few more powerful "Om, hum, shri!"--boom, boom, boom! the great drum joins in resoundingly once more. Then everything becomes still. The "battle" has been won. The 100,000 child demons have been beaten and have, as the oldest lama confidently assures Lobsang Wanggyal, fled far away. The expected son and heir may now make his entrance into this evil world with good cheer. He has nothing more to fear from those hundred thousand.

The novice arranges the leaves of the pad according to the numbers printed on them, lays them with loving care between the two wooden covers and ties the book together with leather belts. The red-cowled men pour down a few more bowls of beer, then the lord of the house places a piece of money in the hand of each of them, and then the "victors" march off with a satisfied air. It was a successful day: it brought them "victory" and plenty to eat.

Lobsang Wanggyal calculates the expenses. They were considerable: the holy brothers consumed almost half a sheep, and in addition several pounds of rice, a lot of vegetables, apricots, flour, butter, and tea; and on top of that the money! Well, Lobsang Wanggyal can afford it; he is, even if not rich, at least the best-to-do farmer in the village. He has three horses and several yaks, a considerable number of cows, sheep, goats and donkeys, and the trade by exchange which takes him in the summer of every year to the distant highland steppes, to the nomads of Jangtang, also brings in a fair profit, and this past year it was particularly profitable. Thus he does not rue the expenses so long as the expected heir of the house remains protected from evil spirits and brings good fortune to the dwelling.

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons

[789] send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

Tsan spirits and also the witches have become angered. Against this you should make a cross of strings which closes the portal of earth and the portal of heaven, and you should have the book of the "Golden Light of Help against the Demons' (9) read. 787 789

9. The Tibetan title of the book is: gser 'od gnyan skyabs.

Finally everything is written down. The onpo hastily scans his work once more with an examining eye. In particular the devil-tamer's gaze lingers with satisfaction upon the numerous crosses which are portents of misfortune. This will mean good business; and after all the Dragschos can pay for it. Now the soothsayer smears some ink from his copper inkwell on the ball of his thumb with his reed pen, and on this "stamping pad" he presses his iron seal. Then he stamps his seal at the bottom of the document and mounts it on a silk cloth. Now everything is ready. With a satisfied air the devil-tamer rolls the document up and puts aside the roll, which contains good fortune and bad fortune for an unsuspecting child, ready for its anxious father. 787

The next morning Lobsang Wanggyal comes to get the horoscope of his little son and begins to study its dark contents, with which the onpo eagerly assists him. The young father assumes a worried expression at the thought of all the books that are to be read and of the expensive offerings and cermonies which are connected with it. Such reading requires a number of /22/ days during which he will have to provide the lamas with food and to pay them. He politely reminds the soothsayer of his promise and of the rupees paid to him in advance and mumbles something to himself: This is not the way he had imagined things to turn out. "Oh, just be glad, honored sir, that I have warned you in time with my horoscope of the threatening dangers that you know exactly how you can ward them off. Otherwise all these dangers would have broken in upon the child like wolves upon an unsuspecting sheep; in that case there would have been nothing to rescue it any more." Lobsang Wanggyal is silent; he rolls up the expensive document and pays the devil-tamer five rupees which the latter examines carefully one by one and which he then throws up with practised fingers over a block of stone, letting them fall so that they strike it, in order to test their genuineness by the sound they make (10). 436

10. In India there exists a widespread practice of forging

near Leh, and he exercised a very powerful influence in his day. 712

So much depends upon the proper name. His poor neighbor, to save 753
expense, had chosen the names for his recently born son himself with the aid of the wise women of his tribe and of a lama who was related to him. "Sodnam Drandul" he had named his offspring. The first name (Sodnam, which is "merit") designates its bearer as a pious Buddhist who places value upon the gaining of virtuous merits; the second name (Drandul, which is "tamer of enemies") was to overcome by its magical power all enemies which might oppose themselves to its bearer, especially the innumerable evil spirits in the air, on earth, and under the earth. A powerful name works wonders as a protective means. But Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty. Such a holy, wise, and powerful skushog as Bakula could, after all, read quite differently in the pages of the dark future and would be able to avert threatening misfortune by a suitable name and by other means. After three days of traveling the Dragshos arrived at the monastery Spitug 753
/sic./. He was lucky; he was soon admitted into the presence of the 712
mighty one, a man in his middle years, corpulent, with a closely shaved head and an intelligent facial expression. With legs crossed under him he was sitting in his abbot's cell on a raised, flat seat covered with carpets He was clothed with garments of heavy, yellow Chinese silk. In the presence of several serving lamas in the red dress of their order Bakula received the Dragshos. Lobsang Wanggyal handed one of the lamas a ka-btags (greeting band), a copper plate with dried apricots, almonds and sugar on it, as well as a rupee in silver, which the lama placed in front of the skushog. Now Lobsang Wanggyal bowed deeply three times before the holy man and with both hands embraced the latter's legs. The holy man thereupon accorded his blessing to the /24/ suppliant with a negligent movement of the hand. Then he presented him with a narrow, yellow strip of silk with a knot [789]
in it, a "magical knot" (gzuns-mdud), over which he had first repeated a powerful formula (gzuns) while breathing upon it. The recipient of this knot immediately fastened it as a protecting amulet to his cap.

But the Dragshos was not yet satisfied with this. Only now did he come forth with his real request and he added to it, that his little son already had fallen sick once of a bad intestinal disease, something which the angered water gods had probably afflicted him with. He was thinking in this case of his experience while watering his garden

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While ●789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "Se-pa, Se-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least the called it a wood, although it was often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the
776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin),* or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered
[782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis-
[781] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and
[782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex-
776 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible. The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

5: Ribbach --59 a M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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789

/Following page 64/

Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger

with the lucky arrow (mda-dar) (62) in his hand; to the arrow are 585

62. Literally "arrow with flag." Sometimes there are five little flags of various colors fastened to the lucky arrow.

fastened a long strip of white, gauze-like material and a small metal mirror. Then follow the four other Nyaopa in order, with the remaining dpa-bo and dpa-mo; further there marches the manager (nyer-dpon) of the wedding, a neighbor of the Dragshos, who is an expert in the secrets of Tibetan cooking and who has taken it upon himself to prepare, with a whole staff of helpers, the various wedding feasts of the following days at a considerable fee. Then comes the bridegroom with his father Lobsang Wanggyal, and the two uncles Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam. From the neighboring houses the procession is now joined by relatives and members of the clan, men and women; the ones bring clay dishes with glimmering frankincense, the others jugs of beer. Plates with flour, barley and rice are also brought out. All contributors put their gifts down on the ground and the Nyaopas dance around them three times in a circle. Then the best men, led by the sNatridpa, step forward and strew and throw some of the gifts up in the air: a food and drink offering to the village and house gods so that they may be favorably inclined towards the marriage and will not harm the expected bride. The best men are all the more energetic in this activity since the nyer-dpon (manager) has promised them /78/ half a rupee's worth of bakshi if they do it well.

Thereupon the procession starts. First it goes to the lhato, the 585 altar and living quarters of the village god (yul-lha) at the mouth of 789 the side valley there under the large, wide-branched poplar at the edge of the watering trench. The old devil-tamer Dud-joms, whom they also cannot get along without today, had gone to the spot. There he stands by the lhato and looks intently at the white-washed altar, at the horns of wild sheep and ibex that are piled up there and the twigs of tamarisks and juniper trees which are stuck between the horns. He stares as though he could see the Lha bodily before him. In the one hand he swings the magical dagger (p'ur-ba) and also the magical bell and in the other hand he holds the little rattling drum made of human skulls. He invokes the Lha and exorcizes him by powerful formulas as well as by the power of his magical dagger and of the music. Stobsldan plants a new flag with printed formulas of exorcism among those already present, places a few dishes with rice and barley

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

The people of the Chirpon house: 585 533 539

The tune was good! /or, "The way (of doing) was good"/

Now the Nyaopas are given a number of riddles in the form of songs by the Chirpon people:

Who measures the heavens' space,
Who the ether's space? (68)

68. Here the dictating Tibetan has, I believe, erroneously dictated "dbyibs-kyi ajal" instead of "dbyins-kyi ajal," or else the copyist made a mistake. That latter version fits much better into the context, and so I translated it as in the first line.

Say, who did measure out
The span from East to West?
And who did measure out
The span from South to North?
Who may have plumbed the depth?
And who measured the height?
Say, who measured the glacier mountain?
Who the slate rock?
Who measured the A and Om (69)

69. A and Om--two mystical syllables much used in prayers and in invocations to the gods and to Buddha. They are supposed to possess secret divine powers. [789]

In their depth and content?
Who did measure out the plateau?
Who the lower valley?
/33/ Say, who took the village's measurement?
Who measured out the home and dwelling place?
And with what measure?
Who measured the inside and the outside world?
And with what measure?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
533
539

Heaven's space and ether's space
Are measured by sun and moon.
The sun, the screen of the throne, measures
East and West.
And the measurement of South and North.
Is taken by the white moon.
Rainfall and damp dew
Measure height and depth.
Glacier mountain and slate rock
Were measured by the Glacier Lioness.
The two syllables hum and pad (70)

[789] 70. hum and pad are two more magical syllables.

Measure A and Om.
Plateau as well as lower valley
Were measured by the chilly wind.
King and minister probably did measure
The castle and the village,
Home and dwelling place were measured for us
By our ancestors.
Seven brothers then did measure
Both inner and outer space.

The Chirpon people in the yard call out:

Good, you mighty friends!

Now the people in the yard sing the song of the Osier Switch (71):

71. With the osier switches the Nyaopas were beaten whenever they gave unsatisfactory answers.

The turquoise-colored switch in my hand,
Whose home is India,
Grew up in the heart of Tibet
And grew to be strong and firm at the Dogri (72).

72. Name of a mountain.

The power of the white lioness' heart is in it. 585
Her gall is mixed with it; 533
Sparrow's quarrelsomeness is also in it, 539
And some of its gall is also mixed with it.
See, hence comes the drinkers' desire for quarrel.
See also the sheep's stupidity in it,
For sheep's gall is also mixed with it.
Does your dullness not come from that?
If a noble person gifted with good sense
/101/ And of high rank should come--we should invite him to the chang.
The Nyaopa brothers, too, the seven (110), we invite.

110. Compare not 102.

To a weakling we serve no beer.
If a noble person drinks it, it turns into life's elixir (111),

111. The life's elixir, really devil's elixir (Tibetan bdud-rtsi; Sanskrit amrita) plays an important part in the magical literature (Tantra) and in popular belief. Gods and men fight for this precious material which confers immortality, or at least a long life and magical powers. [789]

To the mean person it only works as a stupefier.

The people:

"Good, you noble gentlemen!"

Again the people from Kalatse sing:

Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the sky!
If the sky takes it, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up the rocks!
If it runs up the rock, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the glacier!
If a piece of ice so much as the size of a mirror (112) should melt, we'll drink.

112. A small, round metal hand mirror, the size of a serving

585 girl had a good figure, something which the wide, billowing dress could not conceal; her facial traits were regular /105/, the Mongolian elements in them were just barely suggested. The moment that the bride left the room in which she was dressed the sNatridpa stepped up to her, followed by the Trashispa and the other Nyaopas. The former held the bridal hat (źwa-mo) in his hand, a large felt hat trimmed with otter fur (sram). The sNatridpa put this hat on the bride's head and attached a long wishing band (k'a-btags) which in three places was tied into bows, along the edge of the hat. Now he led the bride by the hand into the chansa where in the meantime the relatives and the clan of the bride and the bridegroom had gathered. There a beautiful yarkand carpet was spread out in front of the stove. On this 789 carpet a lama had made a magical circle of good fortune (dga-dkyil) in the form of a rosette, from barley grains. Chosskyid (the bride) was now supposed to sit down on this circle. In front of her on a small table were placed bowls full of tea, beer, and rice: the farewell meal in the house of her parents. The power of the magical circle on which she was sitting was to have the effect that in her new home she would not lack in any of these good things. The bride had to consume a little bit of all these things.

Thereupon two uncles of the bride stepped into the middle of the room and stretched (as they had already done once at the holchang) the bridal rope (ras-t'ag, rag-t'ag) diagonally across the room. On this rope they again hung the clothes and the ornaments belonging to the bride. The rest of the things of the bride's trousseau were placed underneath the rope on the floor. Everything was then ceremoniously presented to the sNatridpa and the two uncles of the bridegroom together with a list of the objects (zon-yig), with the aid of which the two uncles carefully checked and counted them to see whether everything was in order.

585 Now the five lamas come down from the roof, where they have still been occupied with their ceremonies. They are now to perform the 789 ceremony which is intended to secure the good fortune of the bride and her relatives, and to break the spell of the hostile demons. The abbot of the Lamayuru monastery with four other monks places himself across from the bride who is sitting on the carpet above the magical circle; in his right hand the abbot holds the luck-bringing arrow (mda-dar) decorated with colored ribbons; in his left hand he has the holy water vessel made of copper (bum-pa), in whose narrow neck /106/ is stuck a peacock's feather. Now the abbot sprinkles the bride with holy

saffron water from the vessel; then he swings the vessel with the feather several times around above the girl's head. Then he invokes the village and household gods and the demon princes with their vast army, and conjures them with powerful texts not to inflict any harm upon the bride and her family, and not to let good fortune escape with the bride from the parental house. In chorus the lamas murmur their formulas of exorcism, first mumbling dully to themselves, then more and more loudly they swing about the thunderbolt and the magic dagger, the bell, the kettle-drum, and the cymbals which they hold in their hands sound softly at first, then--they swell, growing increasingly loud, to a deafening noise; the lamas call out: 585 789

From the East may good fortune come!
From the West may good fortune come!
From the North may good fortune come!
From the South may good fortune come!
Yan-agug! May good fortune come!

"Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" the bystanders join in in shouting. "Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" all of them yell/shout in confusion for two or three minutes. Then everything suddenly becomes still.

Now the lamas lead the bride up to the house temple to take leave from the household gods. Three times the girl prostrates herself before the statues and images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and demons. From that moment on the young woman is no longer permitted to set foot inside the parental household sanctum; from now on she enters into the tutelary and power domain of the gods of her husband's household. The jealousy of the deities of both households must be guarded against. 585 784

Then everyone descends to the chansa, and now the bagrogs and dsamo (the bridesmaids and her girl friends) lead the bride so that she may take leave of her parents who, together with the closest relatives, are already expecting her. Bowing down deep, crying loud and sobbing, Chosskyid embraces the legs of her mother, of her father, of her brothers, as well as those of her closest relatives and amid much bowing, at the same time knocking her wrists together so that the shell rings clatter, she calls out: "Farewell! Farewell! Do not forget 585
/Following page 106 there is a full-page illustration with the caption: "Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original

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/Following page 106/

Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original Drawing).

apricots as wedding presents. The sNatridpa quickly touches the gifts with his finger as a sign of gratitude. 585

The people from Kalatse together with the bridal couple now press for the ride back home. The horses, which have long been saddled, are brought to the spot; the horses designated for the bride and groom are equipped with beautiful bridles and have colored Yarkand saddle cloths. All the people from Kalatse, at least insofar as they are still capable after /108/ the strenuous drinking, follow on horse, even if this is a very laborious undertaking for some of the men. The train is headed by the sNatridpa at whose side rides the Trashispa; then follows the bridegroom (bag-po) with one of the Nyaopas, behind him the bride with one of the bridesmaids; then follow the remaining Nyaopas, the relatives and the friends of the bridegroom in pairs. At the next fork in the road a hasty scattered offering is again presented to the devil of the road (lam-bgegs): a few handfuls of barley so that he will not inflict any harm upon the bride who is now leaving her birthplace. Now the train proceeds, amid loud conversations and light-hearted singing, right across the wide valley and over the bridge which arches over the village brook. Here they scatter another offering into the brook for the water gods so that they will let the bride pass unmolested; then they move along the steep path up the precipice to the plateau. The sun has long gone down, dusk lies over the mountain and the plain; the night wind blows and howls from the west over the desert, the mountains and ridges which surround them. The loud talking and the singing of the people returning home is silenced, everyone thinks again of the terrible Tsan and Gongpo (demons) who are especially hostile to wedding processions. The riders, ordinarily plucky men who are used to braving the dangers of the wild mountains, cluster together. Those who were lagging behind rush up hurriedly; fear has seized everyone, heated by the beer the brains paint images of terror before their mind's eye: the wild chase of the Tsan king races through the clouded sky. Many a one feels for his amulets to see if they are still hanging properly around his neck and at his cap. Many a one prays an "Om-ma-ni-pad me hum!" between chattering teeth. Then suddenly the moon rises above the jagged mountain massif yonder in the East and pours its faint light over the mountain waste. Now the hearts of the people are somewhat relieved and in a rapid amble they ride towards their destination.

Finally they reach Kalatse; but the house of the bridegroom may not yet be entered. At a crossing of the paths on the plateau to the side of the village everybody dismounts. First an offering meal 585 789

585 must be presented to the gods and the demons of the bride's new
789 dwelling place, in order to put them into a favorable mood lest they should oppose the new arrival. The abbot who had come along with /109/ four of his monks because he knew that there was still work for him to do, steps up to the crossing of the ways; on a copper plate he holds three little lamps (mčod-kaṅ) in the shape of a chalice made of bread dough. Butter has been put into the hollow at the top, a wick has been put inside the butter, which was then lighted. Now the abbot steps before the bride, holding in his right hand the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and the magic bell (dril-bu), and in his left hand the plate with the little burning lamps. Three times he swings them slowly in a circle around the head of the bride who is crouching before him and exorcizes the demons with the following words: "None of the male or female G
576 Gong (122), none of the male or female Dre, the Tsan, the Dud, none

122. The names cited here designate various kinds of demons.

of the 80,000 Gegs devils, none of the 424 kinds of Don with their entire following may ever harm this bride! May they eat their fill from this meal and then each one go to his place!" After this exorcism from the mouth of the abbot, in which the four other lamas join in with deep, rumbling voices, the instruments start up again with a shrill sound. A lama novice relieves the abbot of the three little lamps made of bread dough and flings them among the blocks of stone lying around by the crossing of the paths. Then another lama hands the abbot a clay pot (dza-blug) into which have been put all kinds of shabby remnants of the wedding feast: used tea leaves (ja-ro), brewer's grain (sbaṅ-ma), remains of onions, garlic, radishes, a few bones that have been picked, and a piece of fur from one of the sheep that was consumed. The abbot places himself with the pot in front of a stone block on which a lama had previously drawn the figure of two crossed thunderbolts (rdo-rje rgya-dram), flings the pot with its appetizing content against the stone so that it breaks into pieces and the contents are scattered about. Now the demons may eat their fill from these "delicious" things and then they are to go each to his proper place (123).

123. This treatment of the demons on the part of the Tibetan lamas is reminiscent, as many of their defensive measures against the dieties are, of the conception of the "stupid devil" which one encountered until recent times also among the

German people. The sly person was able, according to this conception, to outwit and ward off the devil by means of all kinds of tricks. 585 789

During this activity of the lama magicians the bridegroom and the bride stand facing them with their hands folded over their breast and with their heads bent forward. After the exorcism the abbot reads one more prayer to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and tutelary spirits, asking for happiness and prosperity for the young couple; a prayer to the benign goddess Drolma (Tara) asking for the blessing of offspring. In so doing /110/ he again swings his magical bell and the dorje, as well as a small hand drum made of human skulls. Finally the abbot throws a few handfuls of rice over the bride and bridegroom as a symbol of fertility (124), while the lamas are performing on their instruments.

124. Compare the very similar custom at weddings in England.

Finally the procession moves on to the Dragshos house, the future dwelling place of the young married couple. Led by sNatridpa the bride enters the house followed by the bridesmaids. They pass through the dark stable, up the stone steps, and stand in front of the chansa. There the bride stops in front of the opened door and pretends to cry and to refuse to enter. Not till she has received the gift of one rupee from the sNatridpa, does she consent to enter and her "crying" stops (125). In the chansa the bride now greets the bridegroom's 585

125. This custom is not to be considered as having originated from the desire to exact money; rather it is to be interpreted as a symbolic expression for the fact that only through purchase does the bride enter into the possession of the bridegroom.

parents and relatives who have finally also arrived together with the bridegroom. The bride bows low, embraces their legs, says "žu" and claps together the rings on her wrists. Then she greets with a low bow the hearth at which she is to work in the future: the "sacred hearth," and in it the "royal goddess of the hearth" (t'ab-lha rgyal-mo), under whose protection her activities at the hearth are to be carried out.

Sideways from the hearth along the wall a beautiful Yarkand carpet is laid out. On this carpet a lama has marked out a Buddhistic swastika (yuń-druń) by means of barley grains; next to it he has put a 585 789

585 circle of good fortune (dga-skyil). In between the two magical figures
789 is placed a measure of grain (1 bre, around 1 liter) which is heaped full of barley. In it is stuck an arrow and on top of the barley has been placed a little lump of butter: a symbol of plenty, of abundance, of fatness, of fertility and of protection (the arrow).

The bride now sits down on the circle of good fortune of barley, the bridegroom sits down on the swastika, and between them stands the full measure of grain. Little tables are placed before them. The abbot steps before the couple and sprinkles them with holy saffron
585 water. Now the sNatridpa and the Trashishpa step forth and take the heavy bridal hat off the bride's head, and in so doing they sing a song related to this act (126). A large plate, heaped up with rice, meat,

126. Unfortunately I have not been able to obtain this poem up till now, which is entitled "źwa-p'ud" (taking off the hat).

vegetables, prepared with a strongly spiced sauce (curry) is placed on the little table in front of the couple. Both eat from /111/ one plate their first common meal in their common home. With it they drink tea, the bridegroom also beer During the meal they exchange scarcely a word. They know that they are being carefully observed, for in the meantime the relatives and members of the tribe of the Dragshos house have gathered in the chansa; the five Nyaopas are also there in full force. Mother Palskyid now goes around among all of them and thanks them with deep bows and clapping together of the rings on her wrists for all the help and assistance and all the financial contributions which enabled them to bring about the wedding.

The male contingent of the relatives and of the p'as-pun now goes to the neighboring house of a relative where, despite the late hour of the evening, they are regaled with further food and drink at the expense of Lobsang Wanggyal. There they feast, drink, sing, and dance into the early hours of the morning. The bridegroom goes to join them for a little while; he sits down among the guests in order to watch the dances. This is demanded by custom even if he does not enjoy it. During this time the bride stays with the women of her new circle of relatives who most eagerly discuss the wedding feast and everything they experienced that day.

In the neighbor's house things get increasingly lively and noisier, and incessantly there resounds the singing of the men; the store of songs is inexhaustible; but as the time goes by the songs become more and

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585 7840

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!), !" and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his experiences with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well- 000

128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same 594 855

But it must be [illegible]

595 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher
562 and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan
[784] woman to be sterile (mo-sam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days per-
[776] formed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

Dedication of the House and Securing it Against Hostile Demons

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789

When the construction of the house was completed, Namgyal again called in the lamas. This is the way his relatives wanted it. For three days on end the lamas performed skurim (ceremonies), prayed to the Buddhas and to the tutelary spirits, asking them to protect the house and to give them blessing and prosperity in all their doing. It was especially important to protect the new house against the malicious earth spirits (sa-bdag) and their mistress, the old earth mother (ama-k'on-ma). This goddess wears a golden-yellow garment and she rides on a ram. In her hand she holds a loop of golden string. The most dreaded of the earth spirits are the Nyan (gnyan), who wander around in mountain and valley, and who nestle now in this, now in that rock or tree, and who send disease and death to man, when they are provoked, whether purposely or not. In order to fix these earth spirits of all kinds inside the earth, the lamas perform a ceremony which they call "the closing of earth's door." The lamas erect a long pole and construct a dosmo; from crossed sticks with wool threads stretched between them are constructed magical figures, parallelograms, pentagons, octagons, and stars, similar to the druidic foot of the medieval magician in Germany. These figures are fastened to the pole. Many of the figures are reminiscent of spider's webs; in addition there are little flags, arrows, and the like, which are stuck in between. Below, at the magical pole, a ram's skull is affixed. Inside the skull the lama magicians put all kinds of "valuable" offering gifts: gold leaf, a small piece of silver, a coin, a few turquoises, which are very cheap in Tibet, other semi-precious /127/ stones and small trinkets, wheat and rice kernels, peas, and the like. The quantity and the value of the offering gifts is determined by the money bag of the customer. A magical sign (sparka-k'on) is painted on the forehead of the skull; on the right jawbone is painted a sun, on the left jawbone a moon; above this are placed demons' masks, strips of silk, coins, and little sticks with little balls of wool at their tips (p'an-k'ra). At the very bottom of the pole the following crudely drawn pictures are attached: the picture of a man (the master of the house), of a woman with a spindle in her hand (the lady of the house), the children, the picture of the house, of a tree, and further magical signs (sparka and mewa), each of the latter on a little wooden tablet.

The entire dosmo is now fastened on the outside of the house

342 789 above the housedoor. It is supposed to fix the evil earth spirits firmly within the earth, lest they approach the house in a threatening manner. They are supposed to vent their rage upon the pictures by believing them to be the actual inhabitants of the house. Once the dosmo is attached, lama steps in front of the housedoor with his face turned towards the southwest, and calls upon the queen of the earth spirits, the old mother Khon, draws her attention to all the good things coveted by her, the ram's skull with sun and moon, the Khon sign, and all the valuable stones, and so forth, in the ram's skull. All this, he says, is being offered to her so that she may enjoy it. And now she might as well close the door of the earth for the owners of the house, who had brought her all these precious things as an offering, so that the army of earth spirits which was subordinated to her might not inflict any harm upon the inhabitants of the house. In future, too, when the latter should build a new house or improve the old, when they might plan a marriage or any other important matter, the earth mother is to remember this offering and is not to hinder the doings of the people, but to further them. In conclusion the lama claps his hands and exclaims: "Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!" (mystical Sanskrit formulas).

The housedoor of the new house also had to be well protected against the evil spirits. A picture of the house and hearth god with the pig's head (p'a-lha, t'ab-lha) was also fastened above its door. When all these ceremonies were completed, and the lamas had fortified themselves by an ample meal and ample drink, /128/ and after each one of them had received another gift of money, they departed with the greeting: "Tra-shis-shik! K'angpa nor pelchik! Hail! May your house and your property prosper!"

A Year in the House of the Dragshos and What Namgyal Experienced during it

527 In the house of the Dragshos the old popular customs were strictly observed. The inhabitants were firmly rooted in the soil of the popular national traditions and took part in the life of the people as it has been taking its course for thousands of years, year after year in the same way, connected in the closest possible manner with nature. Just as life in nature takes its course in the eternal consonance of the yearly cycle which is determined by the course of the sun, so, too, the life of the Tibetan passes in even rhythm. In this the turning points

527 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming
777 between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first
805 half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos
789 first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma). (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

782 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering)
776 the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces 782
of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all 776
kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times.

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the 527
evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians 789
perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /138/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons.

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the destro. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

527 violent struggling and fighting in which everyone tries to seize as large
789 a piece of wood with colored wool threads as possible. Once someone has got hold of a piece he takes it home and keeps it carefully throughout the entire year as a valuable talisman serving as a protection against the evil spirits.

Namgyal did not dream of taking part in the brawl. Api Tsering Putrid just would have to see that she got along without such a amulet this year; he himself did not believe at all any more in the magical power of these things.

527 On the 30th day of the twelfth month, the end of the month and of the year, Namgyal again rode along in the retinue of the king, who had once more assumed royal dignity of the duration of the festival. This time they rode to Sheh and Trigtse. Again Namgyal was witness as the king performed prayers on behalf of the people in the monastery of Trigtse before the images of the divinities. And again the grandees as well as the little people celebrated /137/ the second New Year's festival extensively with feasting and drinking, with song, dance, and the playing of polo.

788 A few of Namgyal's friends urged him to stay a few days more in Leh since he was already there, so that he would be able to take part in the procession of entreaty (mgo-p'yag, really "head procession"). This procession was to take place on the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth day of the first month of the new year. Namgyal let himself be persuaded. From this exercise he expected more profit than from the New Year's celebrations with their wild revelries and their unbridled amusements. After all, this was an occasion of serious praying and of real effort to obtain the grace of the powers of the Beyond, so he was told.

After previous fasting, fervent praying, and all kinds of worthy activity of the part of the individual participants, about thirty men from Leh and the surrounding villages came together for the yearly procession of entreaty. On this occasion the suppliants must circle once around the mountain on which the monastery is situated, near Leh, within the space of three days. They have to walk in a closed chain, one behind the other at a distance from each other of a man's height. The steep mountain bears on its peak the little monastery of Namgyal Tsemo which overlooks the countryside as defiantly as a fortress from its high eminence. The worship is primarily directed towards the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with the eleven faces (spyan-ras gzigs bcu-gcig žal) and the thousand arms, whose gigantic image stands in this

241 circle. This cake chorten is later distributed during the feast, where it is eaten after a piece of it has been donated to the gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, Namgyal steps onto the rock terrace in front of the castle and watches as the scribe Dondrub, who has visibly recuperated from the exertions of the head procession, and who looks well nourished and flourishing, steps to the edge of the terrace. From there he calls with his peculiar stentorian voice in the direction of the town which lies at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is situated: "Sa-kha-che! The earth's door is open!" This means that the earth mother (Ama-Khon) has now opened the earth's door which was "locked" during the winter, and that the earth is now prepared to give from her lap the power that brings fertility. Then there followed [783] a warning to all those who for some reason or another had become ritually impure by touching a corpse, a newborn child, or by merely coming close to these, not to work on the irrigation ditches as soon as and so long as the fields are being irrigated from these ditches, which is now to start, not to step over any of these ditches, because otherwise the water gods (klu, Naga) and the earth spirits (sa-bdag) would be offended and enraged. The former would then hold back the water in the mountains, and the latter would, at the command of the earth mother, keep the gate of the earth locked so that the earth would hold back her productive powers.

Now the king appears with his retinue which /Following p. 144 there are two full-page illustrations, the first showing a "bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts" (subtitle); the second being a rear view of a "Ladakh woman in festive costume with turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band" (subtitle)./ /145/ Namgyal had also joined, and at the head of a long procession of farmers he moves to a nearby field belonging to the king. There a plow stands in readiness. The oxen, which have again been caught, are yoked to the team, the halters are fastened to the roughly-worked yoke which lies without any cushioning on the necks of the animals. The king now plows a few furrows. Often the earth is still frozen solid and the plow just slides along the hard soil scratching it just slightly. This does not matter. Even in this manner the Tibetan sees the purpose of the custom fulfilled. Five lamas sit at the edge of the field, 241 789 and during the king's plowing they read the book, "The attained blessedness of the eight-fold illumination (snaṅ-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)"; in some places they also read the bock of the "Liberation from the earth

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol)." All hostile demons of the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water. 241 789

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come. 000

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar-sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings. 241 782

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 241 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

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go back to the ancient Germanic processions around the fields which were held on the first Thursday (Donar's day) in March, June, and September, by the elders of the village and the district, in order to obtain a plentiful harvest blessing.

mendation of the lamas. Namgyal joined them. The lamas in the Tingmogang monastery gave out 84 books from the monastery library of the 108 books of the canon. Each of the participating men, among them also Namgyal, took three to four of these books tied together with a string, on their backs, and the carriers now circled around the entire complex of fields belonging to Kalatse; during this procession they went up the mountain, down the mountain, along steep and rocky mountain slopes and down deep into the gorge, so that even the tiniest piece of land of the size of a few square meters would share in the blessing which streamed down from the divine word upon the earth which was thus circled about.

In the early spring the ex-king in Leh, in conjunction with the Wasir, the governor of the ruling maharajah of Kashmir, called together a large number of lamas from all the many neighboring monastries to the "Great Reading." On this occasion all the 108 volumes of the canon are read through in such a manner that the loose leaves of the individual books are distributed among the lamas in the fashion already described; then each of the red-coats reads aloud through the leaves that have been placed before him as rapidly as possible. In this way volume after volume is read through without regard for continuity. The divine power of the entire word (ĉos) supposedly effects, even in this manner, the outpouring of blessing, fertility, and ripening of a plentiful harvest, peace, good fortune, and prosperity for the entire people and country.

000 Namgyal, who had once watched this Great Reading, thought that if anything, this mass appeal to the grace of the Buddhas and the gods would surely have to /147/ be effective. And yet--were there not always again crop failures, droughts, epidemics, and famine? Where were the saving powers since they did not prevent all this misery? The doings of the lamas also repelled him: this spiritless mechanical recitation of the sacred texts, the debauchery and the laxity of many of them who, after all, acted the parts of soul savers and leaders of the people, and who let themselves be called "saviour" (skyabs-mgon).

789 A soothsayer in the monastery of the "Virtuous" in Ri-rdsong had--in contrast to the others who had predicted a fruitful year--prophesied

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drought and crop failure for the new year. At this, the farmers of Kalatse were frightened, and some of them, the wealthiest among them, joined forces in order to do their utmost to ward off the threatening disaster, let the cost be what it would. That lama soothsayer had advised them, everyone individually, to have the rain-giving deities invoked once more in particular by one of his monastery brothers. In this way they would get to the right place. For, after all, it was these dieties who gave growth and prosperity with the necessary rain.

Thus, Namgyal also called in a Gelugpa monk in order to perform the prescribed ceremonies. The lama, who, as a "true believer," wore a yellow cap with the red dress of his order (the unreformed) lamas wear red caps) came, and after he had undertaken the ritual washings, he went into the adjoining valley, through which the water-supplying brook flows. There he sat down by a well and cleared the spot in the circumference of one meter. Then he set up a small brown statue of Tsongkapa, the great reformer; in front of this he placed a brass vase containing a bouquet of non-poisonous flowers as an offering gift, as well as some grain in a brass bowl, a white offering cake and a vase covered with jewels. In the latter the lama placed pills made of bread dough, spices, and flowers. Over each one of these pills the priest pronounces the magical formula of Tsongkapa 108 times, he blows at the pill, for his breath supposedly has magical powers, and then he places each individual pill inside the vase and covers the latter with a red cloth. Now the lama takes a book about rain magic (139)

139. The instructions for the conjuring of the Nagas (water gods) are contained in Tsongkapa's, the reformer's, book, dmigs brtse-ma las t'sogs; there Buddha, the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Manjushri are implored for rain. Tsongkapa is worshipped by the sect of the "Virtuous" (Tibetan, dge-lugs-pa) founded by him, and by the laymen served by this order. Images and statues of him are to be found in all Gelugpa monasteries and in many household temples, He, too, is considered a rain-giving deity. [776]

in his hand, whose author is supposed to have been the reformer who has long since risen to the dignity of a Bodhisattva /148/, and in his name he implores the rain-giving deities for the coveted moisture. The rain prayers contained in this book are supposed to be based on an ancient Indic Sutra (text) concerning the prayer addressed to the Great

789 Cloud (140) asking for rain. The Buddha is even designated by this

140. The Tibetan title of the book about the "Great Cloud" (meaning Buddha) is "gcig las ĉar-abebs skor, of the singular work of giving rain." Buddha is given the title "Almighty Naga King" in this book, and he is entreated to induce through his "blissful magical power" the Naga princess under him to give rain. Aside from those names, the thunderbolt carrier, Vjrapani (p'yag-rdor) is also often implored for rain. Among the ancient Romans, Jupiter had, aside from other functions, also that of "cloud gatherer" and "rain giver."

name in Mahayana Buddhism. In a book called "The Great Cloud," it is told how the Buddha teaches and admonishes the nagas (water gods) to supply rain.

Now the lama reads pieces from the book named. In so doing, he addresses the nagas in the following manner: "Oh, all you nagas, great as well as small! I come not in order to inflict harm upon you, but in order to implore you for rain for the benefit of the earth, especially for the benefit of this place. It is Tsongkapa's command that you obey. But if you do not obey, I will smash your skull with my mantra (magical formula). Therefore, give us rain now without delay, and do not leave this place until rain falls!" Then the lama places three stones at each of the four corners of the open space, calls out the names of the Jinas (rgyal-ba, the heavenly Buddhas) of the four corners of the earth, and places the vase with the pills into the water of the well so that it is no longer visible. He then proceeds to set up a small tent and places a little statue of Tsongkapa inside it, and in front of this statue he puts the "five kinds of offering": cake, grain, flowers, little lamps, and water (in place of the lacking wine).

The lama also calls upon the village god for assistance; magical formulas and exorcising texts are recited.

It is stated in the book of magic: "When all this has been done in the manner indicated, a beautiful picture of Tsongkapa will appear to the lama (who performs the exorcism) above each one of the lamps that has been set up. The picture shows Tsongkapa sitting on a naga (nymph) and scattering ambrosia down upon the nagas so that they experience the most extreme ecstasy, and let their lightning bolts shoot across the sky so that clouds are massed together, the thunder dragons

(141) roar, and rain falls." 789

141. According to the conception of the Tibetans (and similarly also of the Chinese), a rain storm arises from the fact that two dragons, a male and a female one, fight with each other so that the sparks (lightning) fly. Their angry roar is the thunder. On each of the dragons there rides a demon (lha-adre), and they, too, take part in the battle. Both riders have a sack from which they scatter hail and sleet down on the earth. According to the Chinese conception the thunder dragons and the sky Nagas cause the rain storm by rolling the thunder wheel at each other in battle and by spitting lightning. [821]

The year in which all this took place was a good one for the Ladakh farmers. There was no dearth of water; in the early summer the rains started and continued for an unusually long period of time; the summer brought warm sunshine so that wheat, barley, and buckwheat in /149/ the fields turned out very well. The gods seemed graciously inclined and the lamas impressed upon the farmers how useful and necessary it was to invoke the gods in good time and to bring offerings to them. 000

So they all celebrated a merry "festival of the ears of grain," the Schrulblha (srub-lha). That took place in the beginning of July when the first ears appeared on the barley and wheat stalks. On the eve of this festival, Namgyal, like all his neighbors, brought in a bundle of green ears from the field, which he attached to the door posts, the beams, and the wooden columns of the house: an offering for the earth deities (sa-bdag) and for the household and local divinities. On the afternoon of the festival the villagers all gathered in the open place of the village where they ate, drank, and danced. They sang songs about the origin of the world and about the gods who brought the first grain kernels down to earth. 527

The beautiful weather lasted into the late autumn, and the people of Ladakh were able to bring in their harvest successfully and without being disturbed. The grain yield had been satisfactory and the people of Lower Ladakh, among them also the inhabitants of Kalatse, had also had a good harvest of apricots. Everybody was of joyful and in good spirits, for the people had scarcely been afflicted with serious sickness this year. The farmers who owned horses had, moreover, been able to earn many a rupee by

steps there were offering cakes, rice, wine (or water) in little bowls, 527
and finally--up on top of the plate of the altar--there were large, 782
brightly painted sacrificial cakes decorated with arabesques, and furthermore bowls made of human skulls filled with beer, water, and tea. In some of the bowls filled with rice were stuck flowers and stalks of incense.

Then the invited invisible guests were invoked. One lama called out: "Come, come! Om! Oh thunderbolt (142)! Take and

142. The thunderbolt (Sanskrit, Vajra, Tibetan rdo-rje), the magical weapon of the gods and of the magician lamas in their battle against the hostile demons. The word "Vajra" alone, in the mouth of the magician, has a spellbinding effect upon the gods and demons that have been invoked. Here it is an exclamation that is directed at those sinister powers. A bronze dorje belongs to the equipment of each lama, so that he can protect himself and other against evil spirits with it. The thunderbolt is also a symbol for the teachings of Buddha. [589]

accept this offering! Behold: Wonderful river water to drink, cooling water to wash your feet, flowers to decorate your hair, the scent of costly incense, lamps to lighten the darkness, water with a pleasing odor to rub your bodies with, hallowed /151/ food, the music of the cymbals!" At this point the instruments started up with a loud and shrill kind of music. "Eat your fill! Swaha!" The invisible guests were called upon to sit down and to enjoy the food and the drinks. Then there followed a eulogy of those invited; their power and their work were praised. It was assumed that the gods took to themselves the essence of the food and of the drinks. Further prayers asking for blessing and prosperity were pronounced. A lama brought fresh sacrificial cakes, the tsogs cakes (tsogs, meaning, "for all"); amid renewed loud music a priest threw several of the tsogs cakes up in the air as an offering to all the demigods and the demons who were not expressly invited or who were not invited by name. This was done so that their favor would not be lost inadvertently. Then each of the participating lamas, one after the other, depending on his individual status and dignity, received a tsogs cake. They ate the cake, but each lama had to leave one piece of his cake; these pieces were then collected on one plate. An entire cake was then placed on top of piled-up pieces, and these remnants were flung on the ground before the door

at various "beers" in the Dragshos house and in the houses of the circle 437
of relatives and of the tribe in Kalatse and Teya-Tingmogang. The trip was to be taken to the nomads of the Jangtang highland plateau, which lay in Tibetan territory in the northeastern part of Ladakh, in order to exchange goods with these inhabitants of the upland steppes. 437

The astrologist, who naturally had to be consulted in this in- 777
stance, prescribed to the people that the ninth day of the fifth month would be a suitable day for setting out on the journey. It was a Monday (moon day); the moon god who rules over this day, would be friendly towards their undertaking, while red (that is, "angry") Mars, who is in the ascendancy on Tuesday, was not to be trusted; the second, eighth, and fourteenth of the month were also not to be recommended as days on which to begin the journey, so said the onpo.

When the plan was established in every detail three lamas were 437
called into Namgyal's house because he was the leader of the enter- 789
prise. He led the priests to his threshing floor in the open field /153/ where they had to read the "travel blessing" from three books. The titles of the books were as follows: (143):

143. The titles of the books in Tibetan read:

1. P'yogs bcu mun sel;
2. Bar-cad lam sel;
3. bSam-pa lhun grub.

Aside from the eight points of the compass, familiar and [823]
current among us, Tibetan geography has two more: The upward (in the direction of the zenith), and the downward (in the direction of the nadir).

1. The Illumination of the Dark in the ten points of the compass.
2. The overcoming of the Dangers along the way.
3. The Fulfillment of all Wishes.

Further the priests read prayers to the god of riches (Kubera, rnam-tos-sras), and to the wealth-giving goddess Nor-rgyn-lha-ma with great zeal. Finally the luck-bringing yan-agug and pya-agug ceremony was again performed. The purpose of all these exercises and prayers was to exorcize the Don, Nyan, Tsan, Nodjin, and Gegs

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789

demons that threatened the travelers along the way, so that the demons would not inflict any harm upon them; also that the travelers would have success and profit in their trading One or the other of the travelers had the lama make one or several new amulets, including one that acted as a protection against the bite of a dog. The great, strong mastiffs of the Tibetan nomads are much feared. The amulet contained a slip of paper on which was drawn a picture of a dog in rough outline. The dog's legs and mouth were bound with a chain which was secured at its end by a dorje. Around the figure of the dog was written a magical formula in Sanskrit script, which concluded with the words: "The mouth of the blue dog is tied fast, swaha!"

Another man prepared himself for possible clashes with the thieves of Jangtang by acquiring an amulet which was supposed to make the wearer immune towards sword, spear, and bullet. The amulet consisted of a piece of paper on which invocations by the heavenly Buddhas were printed so that they enclosed a lotus flower in concentric circles. On the eight petals of the lotus flower is written the magical syllable "hum," and in the four corners of the piece of paper are the signs of the Buddhistic trinity: Three gems standing for the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, and Monkhood); then--singly--the lotus flower (Buddha), the thunderbolt (Law), the magical dagger (Monkhood). The first formula on the magical piece of paper reads: "You Buddhas, gods, goddesses and great Gurus (teachers)! Protect the body, soul, and speech of the possessor of this charm!" To this are added a great number of magical formulas and syllables whose meaning is supposed to be such. The lama had made an incision with a knife into the muscular flesh of the arm of one /154/ of the men who wanted to have a particularly effective protection against injuries of all kinds. With the blood from this incision the lama had drawn a few magical signs and letters inside the innermost magical circle. This charm had to be be paid for more dearly, of course, than the others. The magical slips of paper were folded into small squares, they were covered with red or yellow silk, tied across the cross, and then they were attached to the cap or hung around the neck by a string; or else they were worn on the bare skin underneath the jacket so that they were invisible. Two people also wore a flattened lead bullet each, as a talisman, in a bag on their chest; the bullets had been found in the body of a wild sheep killed in hunting; and they were considered as effective means of protection against injury.

Namgyal remained aloof from all this activity. He took his

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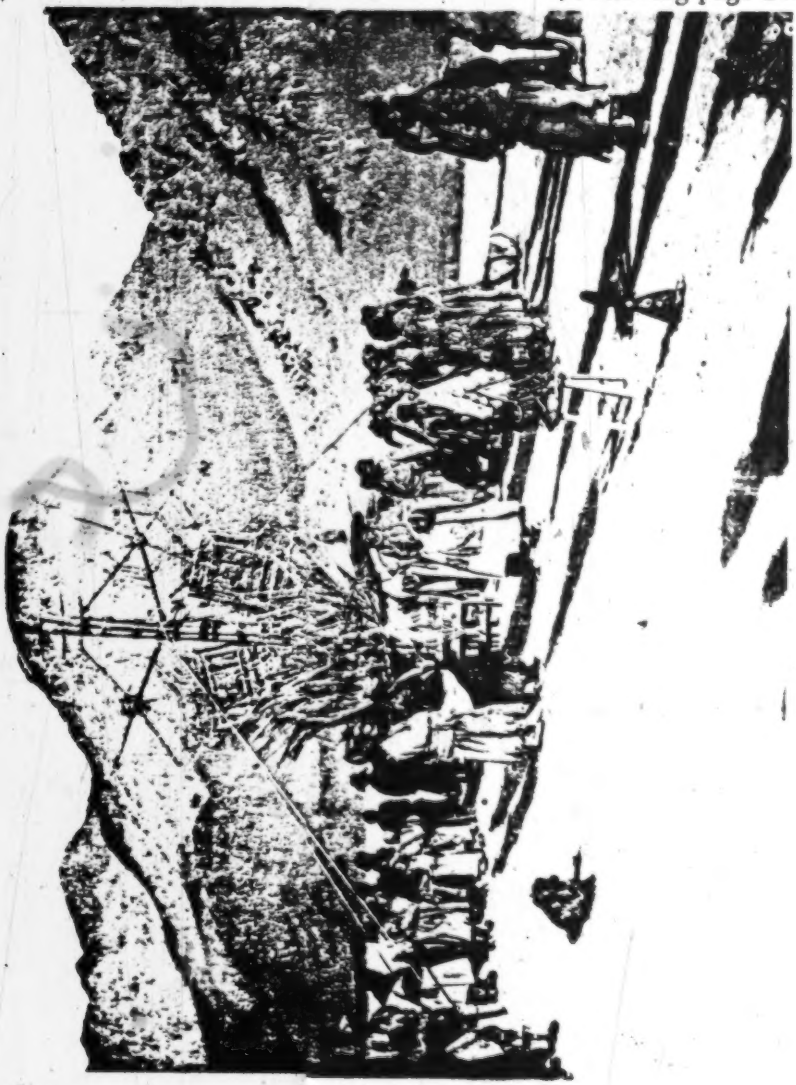
/Following page 160/



A dosmo.

might still be lacking, the lamas would get for him; after all, they 000
were making enough money on him.

It is true that Namgyal donated ample gifts to the neighboring 788
monastery and to the monks who were called in for the household ceremonies. He performed pilgrimages to all the holy places within reach, among others to the miracle-performing image of the Great Merciful One in Trilognath in Lahul; he also planned to perform the great pilgrimage to the sacred glacial mountain Gangsri, as well as that to the sacred lake Manasarowar in faraway Tibet, as soon as his official business matters as magistrate--the post had been transferred to him--would permit. The belief was that by means of such a pilgrimage the sins of all births were to be effaced and the way into Paradise was to be opened all at once.

Besides the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, the country gods, the 782
village gods, and the household god were not forgotten either. Even though Namgyal was often beset by doubt as to their existence and their effective power, he nevertheless considered it advisable, if only for the sake of his relatives and the p'as-pun (clan), not to neglect them and to keep them favorably inclined and pacified by occasional offerings.

Each morning before sunrise Namgyal would bring the morning offering (ṭa-mĉod) to the entire host of Buddhas and gods. It consisted of barley, rice, beer, water, and also flowers (zas-ĉaṅ-gi p'ud); everything was placed in front of the images of the deities in the house temple in brass bowls. Upon entering the sacred chamber Namgyal would fall down three times in adoration before the image of Avalokitsvara, and then he would present the offering and say a brief prayer. In the evening Namgyal would in like manner bring the evening offering (p'i-mcod).

His poor neighbor, Ngurub, who could not afford such offerings, contented himself with placing a clay bowl with smouldering juniper twigs in it, on the roof of his house, as an "offering to all." He used to say that even so the gods were just as favorable to him and that he was not afflicted with misfortune any more than the rich who presented more ample offerings. On the contrary. The gods loved the spicy, fragrant smoldering juniper above all, /175/ and they looked, so he said, graciously upon this offering. He stood quite well with those up there, he stated.

In the first "ascending" half of each month (yar-ṅo) (158), that 789

158. The first "ascending" half of the month" (yar-ṅo) is 821

821 considered the stronger one, auguring good fortune and success; the second "descending" one (mar-ño) as the "weaker," harboring little good fortune.

789 is to say, when the moon was waxing, a ceremony had to be performed, according to ancient custom, in the house, which the Tibetan designates as lha bsañs co-ces, which we would render by "appeasing the gods." At first Namgyal used to follow his father's precedent and call in three lamas on each of these occasions. The lamas would recite prayers and formulas of exorcism for a few hours and they would bring cast offerings (gtor-ma) to the gods. The master of the house himself would go through all the rooms of the house (bsañs-ak'or) with a bowl (bsans-ap'or) of incense, usually just smoldering juniper twigs, which he would continually fan by blowing. After having gone around he would add more frankincense (ldug-spos), bread dough mixed with butter, salt and onions, and then he would sprinkle beer over it from a jug, and place this food and incense offering on the edge of the stove in the living room-kitchen as refreshment and delightful fragrance for the gods. In the meantime the lamas up in the household temple would read from the book bsañs-dpe. These are not prayers of supplication. Without special marks of reverence the gods are requested to accept the offering in a friendly manner, to refresh themselves by it, and in exchange for it to spare those who brought the offering from hostile actions. Gradually Namgyal contented himself with calling in the lamas two or three times a year for the bsañs offering; for the rest he regarded his own offering as sufficient even without their presence and activity. As a reward for their efforts the lamas received, on this occasion, only ample food and beer, since they served two or three houses in one day. The actual compensation for their services took place in autumn all at once.

788 Once every year, in the fourth month, which is a special, festive month, Namgyal would call three to five lamas into his house for the great year-Rimdro (rim-agro, meaning "offering ceremony"). Everyone who could at all afford it, did this for the well-being of all inhabitants of the house, including the animals. On this occasion, the wealthy man is actually supposed to have /176/ the entire first part of the Buddhistic canon (collection of the sacred books, 108 volumes) read. The king in his time could afford to have this done, but it takes a long time and is very expensive. But in order to enable the less well-endowed as well as the rich to hold the Rimdro, the lamas

karma as a service which furthers his final release from the bonds of being and from suffering. 766

Otherwise, too, there was much disease during this year. The Nardag (na-bdag), the "demon of disease," went around the country followed on its heels by Tšelen, the messenger of the god of death, who carried off into the realm of the dead the human beings, man as well as woman, child as well as the aged, with his catching net. Many a one was struck by the Nardag with a violent and mysterious sickness which no doctor knew or could heal. 753

There was Rolma from the P'arlap'ang house (p'ar-la-p'aṅ), literally "the thrown-out one." She suddenly fell sick, complained about pains in her abdomen and in her back, her limbs became stiff and ached, the shivering ague and fever set in, and at times the sick woman lay there as if dead. The Tibetan doctors and magicians were at their wit's end. All their remedies failed, and even the cause of the illness was obscured to them. Finally they apparently came closer to the solution, as the lamas thought. Again, Khampas, men from greater Tibet, had had a hand in the matter. Recently a company of these Tibetans, Nask'orpas (gnas-ak'or-pa), literally translated, "Circlers of holy places," that is, pilgrims who walk around holy places amid prayers, had traveled through the country and had also come to Kalatse. These people had shown all kinds of tricks: one of them was able to make his body rigid at will, and then he would stick a large needle through his cheeks, knives through the muscles of his arms and thighs, without feeling any pain or so much as bleeding; lying on the ground he had a companion knock a large stone into pieces with a heavy hammer on his bare chest; he would swallow the blade of a sword, and perform other tricks of a similar nature. The people went from house to house, performed their tricks, and offered for sale to the inhabitants turquoises and tile tea, as well as all kinds of secret remedies. In one or two houses the Nask'orpas had also offered for sale a peculiar medicine, after they had found out [87] shrewd inquiry and questioning that this or that villager lived at enmity with his neighbors. The people said that the Naskorpas had an eye for opportunities where they were able to offer such secret remedies and to find customers for them. It was a remedy which was designed to make an enemy sick, even if not to kill him outright. It consisted of pills which contain poisonous plant substances, as well as the "five unclean things" (162) which are 754 [789]

162. These "Five unclean Things" (rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lṅa)

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and 821
firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (1 36), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to

> 136 The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mythology has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply the earth with light night and day.

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer 731
was followed by a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the Kalatse reservoir and water-line [689]
strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community.

The lamas performed one procession after another, and the [789]
farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain. Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, which did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected.

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the
land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and 787
typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been

787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready. It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags [illegible]) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle). / /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

789 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely
426 ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

the body then cools off gradually from the top down to the feet; in the case of great sinners, the soul escapes from the lower part of the body through the rectum, and the body gradually cools off from down below up to the head, so it is said. 763 775

Behavior of the Deceased

It is said that for four days the dead person does not know that he has died. The latter (during this time) keeps returning to his house, sits down in the circle (of the members of his household), and also speaks to them, but the latter do not answer him. But when he notices that his body does not cast a shadow any more and that (in walking) he leaves no footprints behind, only then does he know: I have died. It is also said that the dead person always resembles the animal of his birth year, for instance, the corpse of a pig year person is supposed to look like a dead pig (in his features). 775

When somebody has died, his understanding (his faculties) become nine times as acute as before. For a good lama it is an easy thing to effect that creatures in Bardo (3) (through his magical arts), 775 789

3. Bardo is the realm of the dead in which the deceased arrive first and where they stay for forty days until they are reborn in a new body. In the same place they are also tortured and frightened by horrible demons, if the power of their own virtuous accomplishments, or the prayers, masses, and offerings of the priests do not release them from it. --Compare Evans-Wenk: Tibetanisches Totenbuch, Zürich, 1937.

become so light that they become like beams (floating on the water) (4), so it says in the books, particularly in the "T'os-agrol." Until

4. The force of gravity is eliminated. A renowned magical trick of the lamas.

the funeral ceremonies are ended, the deceased person daily receives his favorite dishes.

/213/

Many Sects--Many Methods

Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, 000

From the day following the "c ... of the body" the a... 764
death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope.

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering 764
died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood- 787
Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the 781
"changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-rtsis kun gsal)." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This [776
death demon (za-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money)

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

The Year's Shed ("Offering")

764 Since Tsering was a snake year person, it says in the horoscope:
787 When a snake year person dies a bird year person and a pig year person
789 must be fetched. These persons hide a red or dark blue piece of cloth cut to measure, as well as any jewels that might be available, inside an old leather sack that has been slit open at the top, or inside a black vessel. (This is done as an offering to the Shed demon, the "killer.") These things are also covered with a hide or grains of barley; (in the former case) it must be the fresh hide of a black goat or of a yak killed by one of three Bon priests as a sacrifice to the Shed. The head of the (killed) /second parenthesis supplied by the translator, as it is missing in the text./ yak or of the goat is placed facing north, the right front leg towards the east, and the left towards the west. The spinal column is dragged along the earth. Sayings (mdo-mań, Mantra), among them the "Formula of the Crown of Hair," (20) are recited. The lha-gsol

20. In this case the thought is probably of hair belonging to Gautama Buddha, the Ushnisha (Tibetan, gtsug-tor), which is to be seen in all pictures of Buddha.

(invocation to the gods), the gyań-agug (good luck bringing) ceremony, as well as the ceremony of the "string cross of the tent" (gur-mdos), are performed. Thereupon the demon of death escapes to a woman who has a red dog with red flesh.

The Monthly Shed Offering

Since the 12th month (in which Tsering died) is the pig month, it says in the horoscope: He who dies in the pig /220/ month, had actually finished his life already in the snake month. The demon had carried him (that is, his soul) off to the northeast.

Since the 28th day of the 12th month is the "heavenly door of the grave" (because heaven is opened up for the death demons and they can escape from it), the black magician must close the heavenly portal in the following manner (21): above the front door of the house of the

21. This is done so that the demons of death will not harm the people.

deceased Tsering, a mouth, eyes, and so forth are painted with clay 764
on a ram's skull; (for the rest) the skull is covered with paint. On its 787
forehead is drawn the magical Sparka sign "Khen" (22) of Tsering. 789

22. Khen is the lord of the gods and the demons of heaven.

This skull is attached above the house door and over it is placed a mdos (string star) made of sticks and strings in five colors. This star is called "heaven." Again above this is put an arrow with narrow ribbons of five colors. On the right-hand side of the skull a spotted (probably by means of partial charring) arrow is affixed, to the left a spindle (23) spotted

23. Compare note 106 in its main part!

in like manner, and to the right of the spindle a board bearing the picture of a man's face is attached. Finally as many crosses are carved (into the board) as the number of years in the age of the surviving man (24) in the house. On the left-hand side on the board, a woman's face

24. Even if Tsering was the husband of a woman, it was still possible that a second or a third brother of Tsering lived as her husband in the house.

is to be seen and next to this as many crosses as the "pious offerer of gifts" (25) is old. If the woman (the widow) is for instance 25 years of

25. The widow of the deceased man, who offers up gifts for the salvation of her husband.

age, then 25 crosses are carved into the board. When all this is completed, the onpo offers up a drink offering (gser-skyem) before this whole (magical apparatus). This is called the "closing of the heavenly portal." If the heavenly portal were not to be closed, the inhabitants of the house would suffer harm (through the demons that have been set free). When the portal of the earth is opened and it is not closed, it is believed that damage will be suffered among the crosses in the livestock (26).

26. For instance, among the dso (a cross between a yak bull and an Indian cow) /second parenthesis supplied by translator,

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since omitted in text./, the mules, and others.

The closing of the portal of the earth proceeds in the same way as the closing of the portal of heaven described above. However, in this case a dog's skull, instead of a ram's skull, is painted, and not the word "Khen," but the word "Khon" (27) is written on it. This is

27. The Old Khon, the earth mother, mistress of all earth demons and earth spirits, corresponds to the Old Khen, the lord of the heavenly spirits.

called the Great Seal (on the portal of the earth, which prevents the demons from escaping).

/221/ The Influence of the Day of Death and of the Hour of Death

Now, since Tsering died on the 28th day of the month, on the pig day, (so it says in the horoscope): He was born as a magician in a previous existence. (After that former existence) he died in the sixth month of the dragon year.

Since Tsering died around the dragon hour, after sunrise, (it says in the horoscope): He died around the time of the (first) warmth of the sun (around 10 o'clock) (28). The devil (bdud) deprived him of

28. In the narrow valleys of Tibet the sun rises, if at all, very late.

life at the break of day. The devils and the Tsan (bt'san) have acted upon him as killers (gśed). The killers accordingly came from the northwest, and used yellow leather things as a hiding place. Even now they are still hidden in them. Hang out a yellow flag and a hairy hide. At first the (chief) killer appeared as a dragon, then, after 11 days, as an ox. That is bad for the bird year and the ox year persons, as well as for the little boys in the house. Then, again, the death demon was changed into the body of a snake. You must make a picture of a snake and must set this up at a point where many roads meet, after you have pressed it inside a pig's skull. Later the demon again hid himself in a small leather sack in the East.

When a woman dies and her spirit walks about in the house,

powerful ceremonies must be held. She will assume the body of a horse for ten years. For the deceased woman (the book) rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoń-rtsa (the thousand Dorje Chodpa), and (the book) mdzańs-blun (the wise man and the fool), must be read. Then she will be born as the "Goddess of the small light." But unless this is done, she will be born in the body of the sublime White Bird (29). 764 787 789

29. Probably a mythical creature of Bon mythology. Compare notes 80 to 81 in the main sections!

Evil Magical Signs

Since Tsering's Sparka sign in his 42nd year of life (the year of his death) had turned out to be the Khon (sign), it says in the horoscope: When someone dies under the Khon sign, the Jaksha demons carry off (his soul). If a woman dies (under this /222/ sign), then her dying (being reborn) is all over. If a husband dies in this way, then matters are bad (for him); then the earth demons carry him (his soul) off. Tsering died with his face turned either to the south or to the north--the retribution for his "Black Changing" (30). It is (also) bad for the old

30. His dying in sin.

people and for the invalids, as well as for the livestock. If the person concerned (who dies under the Khon sign) is reborn, then he will take pleasure in continual eating and drinking (debauchery), and in bow and arrow (31).

31. The sinful weapons of murder.

Now the death demon is once again inside the black leather bag The leather bag is to be placed down on the ground by a fork in the road. Then the demon will go to an old, invalid man. A hare's skull and various kinds of wood are to be placed on the corpse (of Tsering), in order to prevent this. Then the demon again hides in the northeast. He hides in the buttermilk of cow and sheep Now in the southwest the demon slips into a sheep year woman. Later he goes again to where there is a cow and a yellow checkered watch dog (sgo-k'yi). Then again he conceals himself with a married couple in a box or in a roll of yellow cloth or in a front leg (of meat) which has been cut and

764 and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by

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[827]

32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespa-gsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death, causing death."

the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of rebirth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order

33. Bumpa; meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

good to ascertain through the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug ceremony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam-dbyaṅs) is to be set up. 764 787 789

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated

35. The title of a book.

that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month: k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821]

the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

764 the purification of the sins of the year (lo-sgrib), the sins of the
787 month (zla-sgrib), and of the other sins; and he must also perform
789 other ceremonies, if necessary. Then the corpse may be carried out.

/224/ Since Tsering was a snake year person, the snake year persons among his tribe and among the inhabitants of his house are forbidden not only to touch the corpse, but also even to look at it. But if the magician gives them the Nag-po dgu-t'ub amulet (39), they

39. /The text has two footnotes numbered 38, the second being clearly a misprint for 39. --translator./ The amulet which exorcizes the "Black Nine" (probably Bon demons).

may perform the preparations. Tsering's wife was undoubtedly supposed to carry her husband's body, but if she is a snake year woman she may not carry it either (nor touch it).

On the eight dates of the month, the first, the eighth, the ninth, the 18th, the 19th, 28th, 29th, and the 30th, no kind of preparations on the body are to be performed. On the other hand, the six dates of the fifth, the seventh, the 15th, 17th, 25th, and the 27th, are very favorable for these preparations; the remaining 16 dates have neither profit nor harm in them; this appears clearly from the book about the "calculation of retribution."

Since for seven days the disastrous elements (Sanskrit, skandha) (40), which fashioned the earthly body and which are called zin-puń,

40. Concerning the five skandha, see note 11.

float around, no kind of work, either good or evil, may be performed during these days. Now, if it is also stated that on the days of the zin-puń, the purification may not be carried out, then this means that as of recent times the onpos nevertheless do carry out the purification on the days named. Sometimes the corpse is even carried out of the house on these days.

The Signs of the Future Re-incarnation

"Since the Red Nine turned out to be the Mewa sign of the 42-year old Tsering, he would have to be reborn again as a dog and (later) as a donkey. But if you set up the image (the bronze or clay statue) of the Bodhisattva Byams-dbyańs (Sanskrit, Manjusri) in the

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 'Khorlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this way the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the ceremonies resulting from them, to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion. Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas) are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises of the onpos continue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures (animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted images (tanka) of the same. 764 787 789

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyaṅ-agug, gto-ĉos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (śa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning towards Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests. [771]

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contradistinction to Those of the Onpos) 764

Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

764 (p'ud) consisting of flour, at the "changing of the body," no further offering is demanded on this occasion. On the occasion of the performance of the death rites and the "burning of the paper" (sog-pa sreg-pa) (42) by the (reformed) Geldanpa lamas, three sacrificial cakes

42. The death mask made of paper is meant.

which are made of roasted barley flour, and which are called the "Three Roots" (43) are presented; in addition, three little offering

43. Offerings for the destruction of the "Three Root Sins": evil desire, hatred, and stupidity (Tibetan, rtsa-da gsum).

lamps, three brass bowls filled with barley and called gzi-nas (44),

44 Probably because this offering is dedicated to the gźi-bdag, the local deity.

as well as five or seven brass dishes filled with water are offered up. This water is called the sacrificial water (and it is offered in place of wine). Sometimes a relative (of the dead man) will also present an offering of 100 lamps, which is called the offering of the hundred /226/ lamps (rgya-mčod), upon the occasion of the holding of the ceremonies.

Now, when, as in the case of the above-named Tsering, (funeral) ceremonies are held for four days on end, the expenses of one day are met by the house (of the deceased), the expenses of the three other days are paid by the relatives and the p'as-pun. Since the inhabitants 764 of the house honor the Yamantaka (Tibetan, ajigs-byed) as tutelary 789 deity, the lamas undertake the exorcisms which are called the bdag-skyed, mdun-skyed, bum-skyed, and bdog-ajug. When they perform these ceremonies they not only wear the bdaṅ dress (the magical vestment prescribed for this), but they also dress the corpse with this vestment (45). In winter they do not take this magical vestment off

45 To this also belong the magical implements: dorje, bell, drum, bone trumpet, and the like.

(the corpse) until the death ceremonies are completed. In summer the vestment (with the implements concerned) is taken off the corpse

as soon as the (above-named) exorcisms have been completed. 764

Poor people only have such exercises performed for one day. 789
Rich people, on the other hand, have them performed up to two weeks (and longer).

The "Burning of the Paper"
(The Paper Mask)

Four days after the death, on the first day of the second segment of time (consisting each of four days), the "burning of the paper," the byaṅ-ĉog, takes place. In the monastery, they (the monks) each have a carved printing plate with the picture of a man or a woman. Now since Tsering (the deceased) was a man, the picture of a man is printed on paper and his name--Tsering--is written on it. Then the (printed) paper is placed between the feathers of an arrow and a greeting ribbon (k'atag) is wound around the end of the (folded)together) paper. Now barley is poured into a measure (bre) (46) and placed before the

46. One bre (dry measure) contains two ample liters.

abbott (present). The arrow is stuck into the barley. Then the bdag-skyed and the other exercises are performed, as indicated above, and texts and formulas are recited. In order to annul the sins of the de- 764
ceased, because of his trespasses, scattered offerings (bgegs-gtor) are 783
presented to the demons /227/. Through the recital of magical texts the sins are also annulled. Furthermore, the purification from sins is brought about by the reading of the "Six Books of the Transcendent Wisdom (śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa; Sanskrit, prajnya paramita)"; further, the exculpation from sin is effected by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood); finally, also, sins are done away with through the "Four Elements" (47).

47. The four elements are: earth, water, fire, and air. Sometimes ether is added as the fifth element.

When according to the instructions of the books (concerned), 764
these exercises are completed, the corpse-bearer takes the arrow in place of the dead body, and sticks it in his sash (which he wears slung around his body), and sits down behind the seat of the deceased (which was his during his lifetime in the circle of his household companions).

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 Chapter III, B. — 177 Social and Religious Life.

only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

779 The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas. 177

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devís* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

776 779 177 [796] 787 [793] 779 789

* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Musalmán.	Others.
Kúlu	80,626	...	622	21
Láhaul ...	4,604	...	25	20
Spiti	1	3,500	...	1

"In Kúlu, including *masirí* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorój, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at east as early as 400 A. D.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

[P. 5]

Dancing

535 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535. Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits—to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,—and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

● 787 The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti
51 a

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shus* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *láma* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ríbong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732 777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but 563
as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the 443
lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, 621
or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan fashion—" And the next, please." But not only does he sell things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them at three or four times that amount down-country. When it comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and thought we would try to get one from them. There at the foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary 342
poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones. At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are conveniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise. At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not 789
placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its representative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good. Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen 621
cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride 000

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1924-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

173 the two horns which grew from his head were an outward and visible sign. It was to accommodate these he had to have this hat designed.

796 The procession has now passed through the bazar, and we follow it out to the desert. There the fires have been lit, illuminating the weird devil-dancing lamas as they gyrate and 796 jump round them. At a given moment all the *storma* are 783 thrown into the flames, and with their burning the sin and disease of the town are consumed. Soon after our first arrival in Leh, we witnessed these ceremonies, and, wishing in our ignorance to investigate the effigies, some were bought for a few *pice* (coppers) and brought to our houses. That year a serious epidemic of throat disease broke out in the country, carrying off old and young. What else could be expected when the scapegoats had been brought back into the town [789] instead of being thrown away? Now the erection of twigs is knocked over, and every man makes a mad rush to obtain even a small piece if he can, which is carried home in triumph and placed on one of the outer walls of the house, thus protecting its inmates from disease and death, or, if it is put into their store-room, much blessing will accrue to their grain.

A little later a similar ceremony is performed for the special benefit of the Maharajah. Holy books having been read for seven days, a scapegoat, consisting of an effigy the size of a man, is prepared. Placed in the region of its heart is a bottle of red fluid, and it is then set up in the wilderness. A company of sepoys in smart khaki uniforms marches out behind lamas dressed in fantastic clothes and devil-masks, the combination quite belying Kipling's statement that "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." They take careful aim, even lying down to do so, but in spite of many rounds being fired, the effigy is never hit, and eventually cruder methods have to be adopted for its destruction. This cannot be wondered at, for is not the effigy bewitched?

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, which means the "tying-on" of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 bride. Before arriving at her future home, the bride and her
[189] escort are met by lamas who perform the service of *Gyagsrod*, that is, the driving away of any evil spirits which may have chosen to accompany the bride, and whose presence is not desired in her new abode. For this purpose the members of the future home have sent a new unused pot filled with dregs, which the lamas, after preliminary incantations, break, and with it throw away a *storma* or strewing oblation.

The lamas now enter the bridegroom's house, and the leader of the *nyopas* follows with the bride. Her new mother-in-law comes to meet her on the threshold of the living-room, bringing a plate on which is a present reposing on some barley, which latter serves to enhance the apparent size of the former. This plate is given to the bride's-maid, or *spamo*, but before receiving it, the bride must salute her new mother,
[595] who reciprocates the greeting. The mother then leads her into the living-room, where, if she is only to marry one boy, she finds him sitting on a carpet, bearing the mystic sign and wearing the white head-dress; but if the brothers are also included, they all sit similarly side by side, while near them is an empty carpet for her, upon which is the sign "*nor bu gyas a kyil*," meaning "jewel."

When all, including the *nyopas*, are thus seated in a row, the bridegroom's mother rises and salutes the *nyopas* in turn, after which the bride and bridegroom are taken into the store-room and given refreshments, the leader of the *nyopas* accompanying them. Their plates having been filled, the leading *nyopa* removes their head-dresses, putting them on a plate. Then he says, "Which is quicker, bride or bridegroom?" at which challenge they compete with each other at snatching the food off their plates. In this little store-room the happy couple live for some days, and each of the near relatives brings them a small piece of the *drangyas* (cake) and presents. The *nyopas* spend the night dancing at the house, with only the shortest interval for sleep.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

A similar rise in the social scale occurs with the Spiti 791
magicians, who visit Ladak every summer. These gentlemen 788
are of quite low caste in their own country, but here they are addressed in the language of respect, being known as the *Mani-pas* or "prayer-men." Wearing long red robes, they are, however, distinguished from lamas by the absence of caps, and by long hair plaited up in braids, close to their heads in front and hanging down to their waists behind, giving a curiously effeminate effect to their moustached faces. Their entertainments are closely bound up with religion, in fact their name, the *Mani-pa*, has been given to them on account of this and their constant attention to their hand *manis* or prayer-wheels. When about to give a show, they first arrange an 789
altar in the form of a couple of banners behind a table with 791
sacred lamps and vessels for barley and other offerings. In [782]
front of this they dance with swords, at first slowly, then with increasing excitement until the climax is reached by running forward, placing their feet on the ground, raising their bodies, and apparently balancing them on the points of their swords, which are placed in the armpits, abdomen, or even cheeks. This effect is really achieved by sufficiently straightening and stiffening the arms. They also pierce their cheeks, through an old scar, with swords and long needles. Their masterpiece of magic is the breaking of a large stone by one of them on the abdomen of the other. This, of course, is preceded by a lot of incantation and dancing round the latter, who lies on his back on the ground with the small boulder balanced carefully on his abdomen, and, at the right moment, this is made to fall apart into two halves by beating upon it with a big stone. For some days previously the actual boulder is sought for on the desert hillside around with considerable trouble and selected with great care, while the one on whom it is balanced has to hold his breath throughout the performance of the trick. They also beat the abdomen with swords, which process is also rendered harmless by the trick of inflation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[782] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal house-
535 hold. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

metal spoons, brass and copper tea-pots or other utensils, robes and other garments of Chinese design, turquoises, jade ornaments, furs and small carpets. Some of these visitors travel very simply, with minimum of servants and luggage; others prefer a voyage de luxe with a long train of both. The former when invited to dinner, would fain accept, but regret they "have only shorts," and are happy to be assured that this is quite correct evening kit in Leh. The latter bring full evening dress, and one of these evoked a facetious comment from our man-servant. Unlike the custom prevailing in India, we train women-servants for the work in the house, while a man combines all the functions of water-bringer, gardener, groom, etc. This gentleman was asked to light a fire on the second occasion when a certain Mem Sahib was expected to dinner, although in this land of scarce fuel we had not thought of beginning fires for ourselves yet. His concise comment was, "Much meat, little clothes."

Then there are visitors who are specialists in some particular line of research, and, in the short twelve years during which we have been closely connected with Ladak, we have had among our visitors botanists, geologists, ornithologists, archæologists and topographers; also devotees of the camera, even of the cinema, besides those of the brush, who comprise a list in themselves, from the mystic type of picture painter, the etcher, the futurist, and the straightforward colourist (if we may coin the term), to the lightning or snapshot sketcher. Some of these specialists have been organized into expeditions, such as the Anglo-Italian one, led by Sir Filippo De Filippi in 1913-14, and which passed on into the Karakorams and the Depsang Plateau, but was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the outbreak of the Great War. It comprised many experts in different sciences, and those who were engaged in gravimetric observations in the course of their investigations sent up several air balloons in Leh. These eventually descended in the surrounding

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

villages, and were the cause of much wonder and fear, out of which the lamas made a rich harvest by exercising the evil influences they were supposed to disseminate. This expedition was also able to receive in Leh wireless messages from Dehra Dun, perhaps a foretaste of broadcasting, even across the Himalayas. The Dutch expedition of 1922, and again in 1925, as we write, at work on the glaciers of the Karakorums, led by Mr. and Mrs. Visser with their Swiss guides must also be noted. Then there are our political visitors in the consular service, who occasionally come through this way from Central Asia, and even China, to say nothing of the interesting patients we have, not only medical, but occasionally mental, and we may say even moral, referring to those who unfortunately did not feel bound by promises contained in their signed passports.

Not only do these people keep our small European community busy during the visiting season, but in the long closed winter, and indeed all the year round, they solicit many favours. Thus the Doctor Sahib himself has been asked to collect butterflies, birds and their eggs, algae and fungi, ferns, flowers, stamps, curios and even mosquitoes by sundry enthusiasts, to say nothing of requests being made for long dissertations on the Buddhism and mysteries of Tibet by unknown theosophists in the Antipodes. Thus, among our acquaintances made in this relatively isolated spot of Central Asia, we may number, besides those of adjacent countries and our own British Islands, men and women from America, Norway, Sweden, Holland Switzerland, France, Austria, Italy, Russia, Persia, China and Japan, so that there is no doubt that the lure of Ladak is a real fact. Some of these travellers rush into print on the subject of their visits here, and we read their journalistic efforts with interest, sometimes amusement, others weave light stories of travel, while some of the deeper students engage in profound treatises on their own special subjects. Even a close connection of twelve

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

When all the male members of the community have assembled at a given spot, their lighted *haldras* are all piled in a heap to form a large bonfire. Whilst this is burning, the *rai-gen* offering is produced, and pills of this are scattered towards a sacred juniper tree, whilst the remainder of this offering is thrown to the blacksmiths engaged to beat the village drums. This done, the males, each seizing a burning stick from the bonfire, form themselves into a circle. Holding the blazing sticks, one of the number beating time the while, says in a sing-song voice: *Hai sha mai sha* (a magic spell with no meaning that I can discover), whereupon all repeat the spell in unison.

Old man (in the crowd): *Kar-dang rana ba-wa*—(a curse on a Rāṇa of Kardang who in ancient times oppressed the Lahulis).[1]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Gus-pa rana sho sha (a curse on a Rāṇa at Gus).[2]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Chū-mig' cham chim (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Lang-ma pan-pōn (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Then in great excitement, with drums beating, and shrill whistling with fingers placed to the mouth, all the lighted sticks are thrown hither and thither. The cup which contained the *rai-gen* offering is now filled with snow. This is carried in the hand and deposited on a shelf in one of the apartments of the house. When the snow in this receptacle melts, the water is poured into the family ration of soup or tea.

The same night on which the *haldra* ceremony is held, the first circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions is made on the wall of each house. For each day a similar circle is described until the seventh day. This is called *Shis-kar-appa* (8).

Second day (*Shīl*).—At daybreak, a woman in the house must rise and make a circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the *shis-kar-appa*. Whilst performing this duty she says: *Chod, chod* (Eat this offering), addressing the god of the New Year. She next sprinkles the *kal-chor* offering with a small branch of juniper. Then, offering the following prayer, she continues making her butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the wall:—

Rgyal-po Bal-la-raza
(Oh King Balaraza)

Ser-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Ser* = T. *gser*, gold)
(Grant me a pillar of gold);

Mul-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Mul* = T. *dngul*, silver)
(Grant me a pillar of silver);

Yu-i ka-ī dung-ma bara chod gyō (*yu-i* = T. *gyu*, turquoise: *dung-ma* = T. *gdung-ma*, beam—H. L. S.)
(Grant me a cross-beam of turquoise);

[1] Probably means "Shoot (*ba-ya*) the rāṇa of Kardang."
[2] Probably means "May the rāṇa of Gus be destroyed."—H. L. S.

Tr: Arbor M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

On the 3rd day part of the offerings already mentioned 796
are devoted to the moon with the words: "Happy life,
happy new year, happy day, happy stars." In cases where 782
the housewife has not been able to forestall the theft of the
offerings by the children, fresh ones must be made and

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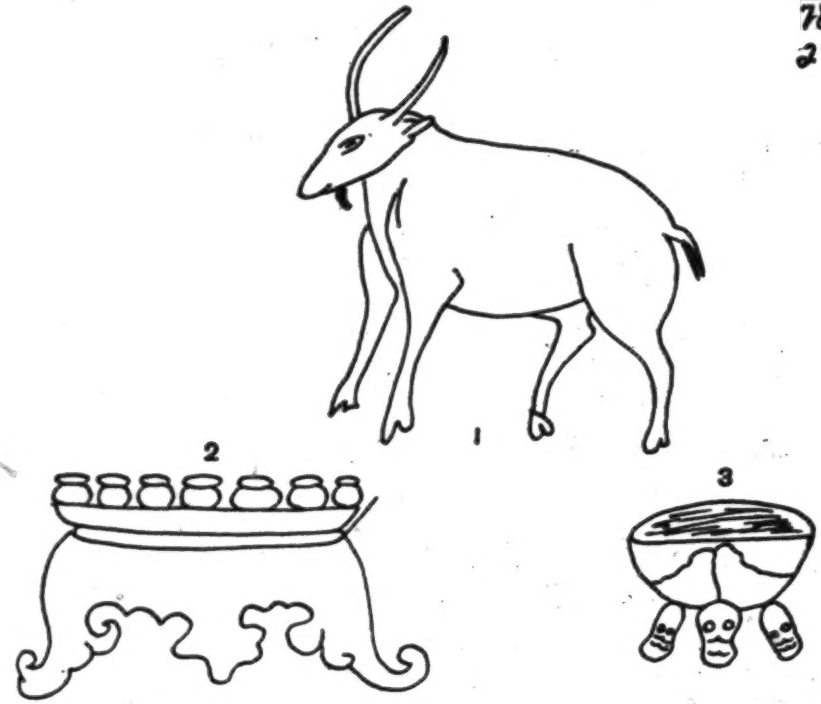

1. *Skyin*. Dough effigy of an Ibex. (4" long from crest to rump.) 2. *Chu-Pud*. These 7 cups of water used for sacrificial purposes are placed on a table as illustrated. 3. Nang-mchod. Vessel of beer made from a human skull. Sometimes the blood of sacrificed animals is placed in this bowl.

offered. The remainder of the *Skyin* and *Pe-Rak* offerings 796
are then distributed to the children, a girl giving the *Pe-* 789
Rak offering to another of her own sex, and a boy bestowing 782
the *Skyin* offering to a male companion. The sport of arrow-shooting (*Da Rgyab-Ches*) is indulged for two days, followed ten days subsequently by one day of this sport.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nagrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

539 [643] [301] 527 [789]

5. (*a*) དཔེ་ལྷག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁྲོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

539 527 [346 789

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་ལྡུག་རེ།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

539 000

7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྒང་དུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་འད�du དེ་ཅི་ཟླ་ཡི་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zä dus'.

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585 on the floor in a deep niche for us to sit upon. Other guests, native, were already there, and they greeted us politely as we sat down.

We had hardly been there a few minutes, when the bridal procession was heard arriving. Two drumming Garas preceded it, and they were followed by the bride herself, completely trussed up in a white sheet and carried bodily on the back of a man. These two were followed in turn by a crowd of women led by three young men whom I heard are called *nya-opa* (*gNya-ao-pa*) meaning "witness". They had flowers and bits of straw in their hats and wore colourful clothes. It seemed that three of them (including the man carrying the bride) had always to be related to the bridegroom, while the two others need only be of his village.

[583] All these people had been to fetch the bride from her home, and they had done it in the traditional way, which was to steal her. She had been surprised in the fields while she was at work, covered by the sheet in which she was now wrapped, and carried away by one of the *nya-opa*, the *Na-tri-pa* (*sNa-aK'hrid-pa*), literally "the one who conducts (the bride) by the nose". She put up a show of resistance and, as she arrived near the house in which we waited, she was crying out and bemoaning her fate in truly traditional way. This is compulsory, it appears, in order to give the impression that the girl is modest and respectable, unwilling to leave her parents and be married off to some strange man (or men). Should she walk of her own accord to her future hunsbands' house, for instance, it would be considered the height of indecency, giving the impression that she wanted to leave her old home and go to that of her betrothed.

The white bundle which was the bride was deposited in the yard of the house at the feet of a woman standing there. Upon enquiry, I heard that the latter was a relative of the bridegrooms, and now had a role to play. Sure enough, as soon as the bride touched the ground, the woman sat down beside her, and the new arrival collapsed ceremoniously across her knees, continuing to wail and to cry out in a perfect performance. The Gara drummers settled down opposite, on the other side of the yard, and continued to beat their instruments as loudly as they could, as if they wanted to drown the laments of the wailing bride.

585 589 Three lamas from the local monastery then came out of the house. The first one carried a stone slab with three little figures kneaded out of *tsampa* (*Tsam-pa*) (barley flour) on it, one of them with a lighted candle in front of it and another with a little pillar, also made of *tsampa*, standing before it. These were called *tsa-sum* (*Ts'ha-gSum*), and were

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figures connected with getting rid of evil spirits. The second monk carried a *drilbu* (*dril-bu*) or bell, and a *dorje* (*rDorJe*) or *vajra* thunderbolt, those ubiquitous instruments of Tibetan lamaist ritual. The third one carried a plate full of glowing charcoal embers. 585 789

On reaching the sobbing bride and the woman over whose knee she was bent, the priests lit the candle of the *tsa-sum* and dropped powdered incense onto the burning coals. The plate containing these, now smoking copiously, was placed below the girl's dress so as to fumigate her from below of any evil that she might have brought with her. The *tsa-sum* was passed repeatedly and slowly over her, clockwise, to the accompaniment of muttered prayers, and then thrown away over a nearby hedge with much whistling and shouting from the onlookers and even the sound of a shot being fired somewhere close to the house. Thakur Partap Chand explained that the *tsa-sum*, loaded with the evil which the girl had brought with her and which had been chased out of her by the fumes and smoke from the charcoal, had now been thrown away; a gun had been fired to kill the devils who were trying to escape, while the object of the shouting and whistling by the onlookers was to frighten away those devils who had not been hit.

Once all this was finished, the *Nya-opa* put shoes on the bride, who had arrived without any. She struggled and protested against this action, saying, as she traditionally should, that she did not want them. Ornaments were next placed on her while she made further protests, refusing to change her posture which was still that of lying prostrate over her woman companion's knee. The girl in the elaborate dress who had offered us *chang* when we arrived, then came out and gave a drink of the beer to each of the men. She poured it into their palms, from which they drank, and then went over to the bride to do the same. I was surprised to see the latter lap it up without making any fuss. 585 [273]

After this, the *Na-tri-pa* picked the bride up again and carried her into the house. As I wanted to see what was going to happen now, we left the roof from where we had been watching up to this point, and climbed down the steps to the main room, on the ground floor of the house, into which the bundle which still constituted the bride was being carried. We got there just a few seconds ahead of her, and sat down quickly at the far end in front of the window, next to the three lamas who had also settled down. Sketch 1, below, is a rough plan of our respective positions.

To our left, two of the bridegrooms, seated cross-legged on the floor, awaited their future spouse. A couple of them sufficed, it seemed, the

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Lahul

so, but always two days later, and when they make their appearance, 585
everyone on the bridegrooms' side is very polite to them, for they protest against the violent way in which their daughter has been abducted, in accordance with the best traditions.

We went off to lunch after that, and on returning in the afternoon, 585
visited the private chapel of the house, the *lha-k'hang* (*lha-k'hang*), 782
where the three lamas were busy preparing offerings which still had to be made to the gods so that the wedding should be auspicious. They had consulted the scriptures, they told us, and the things which we could see on the altar were those that they considered appropriate for this occasion. Before a large statue of Buddha, together with the usual presentations of water, grain and *tsampa* moulded *tormas* (*gTor-ma*) or dough figures, there were a leg of mutton, the arrow with the streamers to it, standing in a box of grain, which we had seen in front of the senior bridegroom at the ceremony of the previous day, and a platter upon which stood the large figure of a stag also moulded in dough, with twelve points to its antlers, surrounded by small, coloured flags and two *dos* (*mDos*) or string-cross traps for evil spirits. The lamas were most obliging and pleasant, and although we interrupted their devotions, took great pains to show us everything. They told us that the stag would be [789] thrown away and burned before the wedding festivities had come to an end.

Next, we went up onto the roof again, attracted there by various 585
curious visitors from Tibet who had stopped off on their way south to 273
see what was going on in the Tolag-pa house. There we found a space filled with a lot of men from the party, sitting round the wall, while in the centre, before them, huge cauldrons of *chang* were being prepared. Upon asking, I was given to understand that the bride was shortly coming up to give flowers to each of the men in exchange for small coins which they would give her for good luck. The *chang*-girl, whom we knew from the first day, was there distributing the alcoholic beverage to all in turn, still dressed in all her finery. Below this space on the roof, I heard that there was another room for tea drinkers, and that a similar ceremony would take place there, too.

The bride did come up soon after that, and she duly distributed flowers and received money in exchange. Everybody then got very drunk [789]
on the *chang* until the lamas came out with the stag offering and threw it away into a specially built bonfire below the house, while everyone hissed loudly at the devils which were being thus destroyed. Dancing followed, the men nearly all reeling drunk, but then I was told that for

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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

● 789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase 115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 428 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

[16]CALENDAR--Lótho (almanac). The Tibetan calendar is a very troublesome and inconvenient one, so much so that if occasion arises to ascertain the date of any old document, it is generally necessary to refer to an individual called an "onpo" or rtseespa" or "skartseespa". This man is by profession an astrologer and understands the calendar. Sixty years make a cycle or "rabjung" and a period of 12 years makes a "lóskor". The names of the 12 separate years in the "lóskor" are as follows:— 805 791 805

1st---byee	lo or Mouse	year.
2nd--hlang	lo or Ox	year.
3rd--stak	lo or Tiger	year.
4th--yós	lo or Hare	year.
5th--druk	lo or Dragon	year.
6th--brul	lo or Snake	year.
7th--sta	lo or Horse	year.
8th--lug	lo or Sheep	year.
9th--sprey	lo or Monkey	year.
10th--biá	lo or Bird	year.
11th--khee	lo or Dog	year.
12th--phok	lo or Pig	year.

Cunnigham gives the following description of the "rabjung".

"The cycle of 60 years is a much more elaborate reckoning. The first cycle is counted from A.D. 1026. The Hindus have a distinct name for each year of the cycle, but the Tibetans have adopted the Chinese nomenclature which is formed by coupling the names of the 12 animals of the cycle, with the names of the 5 elements, considered as both male and female alternately. The first element, male and female, is coupled with the first two animals, next with the eleventh and twelfth, and so on; by which the change of names is preserved throughout the whole series. The names in English are"-- [71]

1 Wood Mouse.	13 Fire Mouse
2 Wood Ox.	14 Fire Ox.
3 Fire Tiger.	15 Earth Tiger.
4 Fire Hare.	16 Earth Hare.
5 Earth Dragon.	17 Iron Dragon.
6 Earth Serpent.	18 Iron Serpent.
7 Iron Horse.	19 Water Horse.
8 Iron Sheep.	20 Water Sheep.
9 Water Ape.	21 Wood Ape.
10 Water Bird.	22 Wood Bird.
11 Wood Dog.	23 Fire Dog.
12 Wood Hog.	24 Fire Hog.

805

25 Earth Mouse.	37 Iron Mouse.	49 Water Mouse.
26 Earth Ox.	38 Iron Ox.	50 Water Ox.
27 Iron Tiger.	39 Water Tiger.	51 Wood Tiger.
28 Iron Hare.	40 Water Hare.	52 Wood Hare.
29 Water Dragon.	41 Wood Dragon.	53 Fire Dragon.
30 Water Serpent.	42 Wood Serpent.	54 Fire Serpent.
31 Wood Horse.	43 Fire Horse.	55 Earth Horse.
32 Wood Sheep.	44 Fire Sheep.	56 Earth Sheep.
33 Fire Ape.	45 Earth Ape.	57 Iron Ape.
34 Fire Bird.	46 Earth Bird.	58 Iron Bird.
35 Earth Dog.	47 Iron Dog.	59 Water Dog.
36 Earth Hog.	48 Iron Hog.	60 Water Hog.

According to Cunningham the different "Rabjungs" or cycles began in the following years:--

1st in 1026 A.D.	8th in 1446 A.D.
2nd in 1086 A.D.	9th in 1506 A.D.
3rd in 1146 A.D.	10th in 1566 A.D.
4th in 1206 A.D.	11th in 1626 A.D.
5th in 1266 A.D.	12th in 1686 A.D.
6th in 1326 A.D.	13th in 1746 A.D.
7th in 1386 A.D.	14th in 1806 A.D.

According to that calculation, the 15th Rabjung began in 1866 and the present year 1889 would be the 23rd year of the cycle. But according to Ladak astrologers today, 29th June 1889, is the 1st day of the 6th Month of the 26th year.

The months are twelve in number, but in Ladak they have no names, being spoken of only as the "first" month, "second" month or as the case may be. They usually consist of 30 days, but they sometimes contain 29 days, sometimes 31 days.

[791] The months are not lunar months, and I cannot get any one to explain the system according to which they are arranged. All the "onpo" or "astrologer" can say is that they are made according to the Tibetan book of calculations. In order to keep their calendar straight, it is frequently necessary to insert an extra day into a month or to omit a day. In the first case, some particular date, ascertained by rule, is repeated, thus for two days in succession it will be the 5th or 10th day etc., of the month. In the latter case a date is merely omitted.

[796] [17]The Tibetan New Year's day comes about 10th February, but the New Year's day festival, called "Losir" is observed on the 10th day of the month.

792
195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

• 791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564
681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

/Following page 48/

741

An onpo (soothsayer) and magician

764 position in a corner of the living room, unless the corner just happens to be inhabited by the household god: the onpo decides upon that. The corpse has its share of each meal placed in front of it.

is also hung in front of it.

/218/ THE ACTIVITY OF THE ONPOS (SOOTHSAYERS AND MAGICIANS), THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BON RELIGION (17), AT THE INTERMENT

771 17. Coming from present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion penetrated into Tibet at approximately the same time as Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced from present-day Afghanistan (Udyana). It (the Bon religion) represents a peculiar mixture of the ancient popular religion of the peoples of Persian race residing there and of Mahaya Buddhism which at that time was also widespread in that region. Despite the [798] similarity and close kinship of the two clashing religions in Tibet, there was kindled a very bitter war between the two religious forms in Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the rulers and their priests there attempted to make Buddhism into the dominant religion. But Buddhism has never been able to exterminate the Bon religion. Hence this existence side by side of lamaistic and of Bon practices.

791 There are three kinds of onpos: first, white ones, secondly, black ones, and such who practise black and white magic at one and the same time. The white magicians prepare the calendar and occupy themselves with the calculation of the retribution (abras-rtsis) of human deeds. The black magicians undertake their exercises according to the manner of the Bon religion. Since they know black as well as white magic, they also prepare the calendar. They perform religious exercises and rites in the manner of the Bon.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lies huddled up in a corner, complaining of bad pains in his knees, one of the ills to which most Ladak is advanced in age seem to be heir. The bad knees are felt, the tongue looked at, and then the serious business of examining the pulses—in the plural—is undertaken. Although they are all found at the wrist where the Western physician looks for the single one, yet there are actually six pulses, three on each hand, so that not only may the pulse of the heart be examined, but also those of the stomach, lung, liver, kidney and spleen. This thorough examination finished, the doctor proceeds to treatment, which in this case is the cautery, a great stand-by of the *amchi*. This may do good if only it does not go septic; at any rate it is a strong counter-irritant. Some powder is then given, and the patient informed exactly how to take it, whether with hot, cold or lukewarm water. Food, too, has a most important bearing on the complaint, for, whilst the meat of a white sheep will do nothing but good, that of the black would aggravate the symptoms. As this patient has no fever, he may let himself go to sleep, but if a man has a temperature to let himself drift into such an unconscious state would certainly be fatal. Cupping, the raising of blisters, and venesection are other methods of curing all sorts of complaints.

Next to the Lama the *Onpo* or Horologist is perhaps the most important individual, for if you wish to plough your field, to call in the lamas for the reading of holy books, or desire to choose the best day on which to marry, in fact for the decision of all the important affairs of life, you must get him to settle the auspicious day. There is little to distinguish the *onpo* outwardly, but on official occasions he may dress like a lama, even to the wearing of a priestly cap, but his pigtail will distinguish him from the ecclesiastic. On his back he carries his bundle of books, and the Tibetan almanac. Puntzog, who is thirty years of age, visits the horologist, for he desires to attend the festival at Hemis, but he wants to leave Leh on the best day possible. Hemis occurs in the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

586 The next day a deputation must go to the house from which the passive partner was stolen to say "*zhu*." They are accompanied by a rhetorician, and take with them some jars of beer, some bread, tea, butter and a salutation-scarf. If the parents are amenable to the transaction they accept the presents, and receive the deputation; but if they object to the alliance, the welcome of these representatives is all too warm—they are ejected with kicks and blows, while the parents and their supporters go to the temporary home of their child, try to wreck it, and recover the stolen one by force. Hence another proverb says: "The parents are their children's
583 judges." The causes which precipitate such a stolen marriage are (1) absolute inability to afford the orthodox nuptials; (2) temporary financial disability, as at any future time the arrangement may be ratified with full ceremonials; and (3) if the desired partner is betrothed to someone else, to secure him or her by theft; (4) if the *Onpo's* date does not satisfy the couple, they marry on their own day, and have the official rites on his.

585 Lastly there is the orthodox wedding with all its attendant
•791 ceremonies. For this neither parents nor child must decide on their choice before they have consulted the *Onpo*. To this gentleman they tell the name and date of birth of the prospective mate, and can only proceed if he declares, after searching his books, that year and person are auspicious. Lamas, as a
585 rule, do not provide this information. The marriage may take place when the children are very young, but it is not consummated till after they are twelve, and, even at this tender age, little Ladaki girls sometimes become mothers.
584 Thus the Ladaki parents have to think about the future alliance when the child is still young; as their proverb says: "The difficulty of the father is to get a wife for his son."

Let us follow this father in his difficult path, supposing the child for whom he wishes to find a mate is a son. The first overtures are made by a third party, who must never go

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584 to the house of the bride-elect empty-handed, and the fateful
591 day on which he sets out must be decided by the *Onpo*. If the young lady's parents receive him favourably, more beer must be sent on several occasions, and a series of preliminary feasts, whose principal feature is beer drinking, is inaugurated. The first of these, called *holchan*, is only a small affair, but marks a definite betrothal. Subsequently more *chang* must be taken for the consumption of the relatives of the future bride, and at this feast or *nyenchang* (relation beer), it is decided what presents in kind and in cash these people must be given. The money present is said to be in payment of Nature's provision through the mother for the bride's first earthly nourishment! It may vary from Rs15 to Rs45, while the other presents include twenty-five to forty-five measures of *chang* (600–1,000 quarts), also tea, butter, *p'adings* (the local dried apricots), meat, rice, and salutation scarves.

The next feast is called the *trabschang* (conference beer), and its occasion is the assembly of all the relatives and friends some weeks before the wedding to decide upon and to distribute the responsibility of giving the various articles needed for the actual wedding-feast, such as the provision by the uncle of the bride of the *drangrgyas*, or cake, round which the dances will take place, and all the details of serving the courses
585 are arranged. The menu includes the following courses: (1) Tea; (2) a mixture of wholemeal flour, butter and dried curds, sugar, and tea; (3) *p'adings* and breads; (4) meat and a mixture of flour and water called *Boldra*; (5) beer; (6) *nanchang* or very strong beer, of which each partaker is obliged to drink one whole measure, which makes them thoroughly intoxicated; (7) *zilchang*, another kind of beer; (8) rice.

Nyobjhol is the procedure of fetching the bride (or bride-
292 groom). Those who carry this out are called *nyopas*, and their official costume consists of beautiful silk dresses, and high-crowned, gilt hats. Their number varies from five to

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers. 473 The house and the land and all the children belong to the 478 eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre- 601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences, 764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms. 764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus 614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance [791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

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643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

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A similar rise in the social scale occurs with the Spiti 791 ●
magicians, who visit Ladak every summer. These gentlemen 788
are of quite low caste in their own country, but here they are addressed in the language of respect, being known as the *Mani-pas* or "prayer-men." Wearing long red robes, they are, however, distinguished from lamas by the absence of caps, and by long hair plaited up in braids, close to their heads in front and hanging down to their waists behind, giving a curiously effeminate effect to their moustached faces. Their entertainments are closely bound up with religion, in fact their name, the *Mani-pa*, has been given to them on account of this and their constant attention to their hand *manis* or prayer-wheels. When about to give a show, they first arrange an 789
altar in the form of a couple of banners behind a table with 791
sacred lamps and vessels for barley and other offerings. In [782]
front of this they dance with swords, at first slowly, then with increasing excitement until the climax is reached by running forward, placing their feet on the ground, raising their bodies, and apparently balancing them on the points of their swords, which are placed in the armpits, abdomen, or even cheeks. This effect is really achieved by sufficiently straightening and stiffening the arms. They also pierce their cheeks, through an old scar, with swords and long needles. Their masterpiece of magic is the breaking of a large stone by one of them on the abdomen of the other. This, of course, is preceded by a lot of incantation and dancing round the latter, who lies on his back on the ground with the small boulder balanced carefully on his abdomen, and, at the right moment, this is made to fall apart into two halves by beating upon it with a big stone. For some days previously the actual boulder is sought for on the desert hillside around with considerable trouble and selected with great care, while the one on whom it is balanced has to hold his breath throughout the performance of the trick. They also beat the abdomen with swords, which process is also rendered harmless by the trick of inflation.

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789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
● 791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[782] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal house-
535 hold. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

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proud possessors of umbrellas, which went up for sun or showers. Many districts and dialects were represented. 796 184

Here were two *Jomos* or nuns from Zankskar, to whom we talked later on when gathered round their camp-fire with their fellow countrymen, young girls of about seventeen and nineteen, sisters, with course manly faces and necks under their tonsured heads and yellow caps. They had come a month's journey over many a difficult pass, but were as cheery as could be. Conspicious were some conjurers from Spitti, who come to Ladak every year, and whose display we had often witnessed in Leh. With uncovered heads, their long hair done in a large number of narrow plaits gave a strangely effeminate touch to their tall, well set-up bodies. Dotted about were ladies from the district of Hanle, some two to three weeks' journey further up the Indus valley, easily distinguished by their peculiar *perags*, which, instead of coming to a blunt point in front, were cut sharply off above the forehead by a straight bar of silver. Many of the women from Nubra and the less known valleys of Ladak wore picturesque dresses of narrow material sewn together in strips with circular patterns stamped on at intervals, giving a striped effect, so pleasing that one wished it had not been put out of fashion by the town ladies of Leh. One old Tibetan with a dark face, looking as if he might belong to the Hanuman tribe, sat devoutly under an umbrella the whole time, and, whenever we looked across, he was turning his two prayer-wheels, which he held one in each hand. Such devotion had no doubt prevented him from attending to his wild unkempt hair for many a long day. There were also many ladies wearing nothing on their heads to cover their untidy plaited hair: these were nomads from the Changtang, the great northern plains far away. Now a small person takes up a central position and serenely breaks open apricot stones to extract the kernels, using a stone to crack them on the base of the flagstaff. A gentleman with a yellow silk brocade dressing-gown and

796 184 291 [791]

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796 tremendous red hat is seen making his way purposefully
184 through the crowd, and one wonders what, whence, whither?
291 Then comes into view a curious figure with a tremendous prayer-wheel, a strange hat with a central peak, and a high scolloped turned-up brim, a conspicuous rosary, and two small
[791] drums on his back: a sort of gipsy lama, or shall we label him a mendicant magician in this land where priest-craft and devil-worship, ecclesiastical ritual and sorcery, are so closely mingled.

There we spy a typical Tibetan face, framed by a four-flapped dark orange cap; and now a pretty Ladaki girl, in a very Dutchy hat with turned-up corners and a little bit of gold embroidery, detaches herself from the crowd and makes signs to a friend on the roof above us, a delightful touch of colour being added by a yellow rose fastened in the side of her hat. Occasionally we spot a woman from Central Tibet with her round head-dress a strip of red-covered leather shaped into a ring, studded with turquoise and coral, and wearing the quaint striped apron which she and her sisters effect. In the corner, under the shelter of an overhanging roof, we find a little family comfortably ensconced, their baggage sacks having been arranged as pillows for a witchlike old lady who leans wearily back on them. Here and there stand out extra highly coloured hats on our own Ladaki neighbours, even the gentlemen having had their head-gear re-covered for such a festival. The flat Mongolian faces and quaint wee garments, generally raggedly elflike, of the babies, are particularly fascinating, especially one tiny man belonging to the front row in the quadrangle floor, who runs out into the arena every now and again to guilelessly practice the movements he has just witnessed, causing real joy to the crowd. One larger boy, caught trespassing by a monk with a whip, is seized and given a mock beating, which amuses him as much as the onlookers. Here are some Dard ladies from Hanu, far down the Indus valley, with their bag-like caps fastened down on one side and adorned with a row of needles (probably made in Birmingham).

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133 bed of the Yunam river, which flows through it. In former times it must have been of some extent, and of considerable depth. When I saw it, in September, 1846, it was only 1,000 yards long and 500 yards broad. Moorcroft was informed "that it had been more extensive, but had been contracted by the falling into it of masses of rock." The gradual decrease in size has, however, been brought about by a very different cause; by the constant wearing away of the rocky barrier, which once dammed the river about one mile below the present end of the lake. Between these points the river has worn a channel through a mass of fine cream-coloured clay,* which once formed the bed of the Yunam lake. I found the lake of a very pale yellowish colour, which it had received from the cream-coloured clay deposits in the bed of a small stream upwards of half a mile above the lake. The extreme length must once have been about three miles, and the breadth varying from a quarter of a mile to more than a mile.

The *Hánlé-Tsho* is the largest sheet of fresh water that to my knowledge exists in Ladák. The extent of open water is not great, but the whole extent of swamp is between three and four miles in length. It is principally supplied by a rivulet called the Kongra-chu, which drains the lofty range of mountains to the westward of the Tshomoriri lake as far south as the Lának Pass. A second feeder flows from a southern range of mountains, that divide Rukchu from the Chinese district of Chu-
[136] mur-ti. A third small stream, which joins it from the north-west, is full of fish, which attain a size of fourteen
[792] or fifteen inches. To the east of the lake is situated the

* Moorcroft, I. p. 217, also notices this fine clay.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

picturesque monastery of Hanlé, on the end of a rocky spur about 500 feet above the plain. Round the foot of this spur the waters of the lake find an outlet into the long and level plain of Mangkang, through which the Hanlé rivulet winds from side to side for a distance of thirty miles. Towards the northern end of the valley there are several low flat-topped hills, with large masses of alluvial clay deposits still adhering to them in horizontal strata. As the total fall from Hanlé to the northern end of the valley cannot be more than 150 feet, there can be little doubt that the Hanlé Tsho once covered the whole of these level plains, and formed a noble lake fully forty miles in length by fifteen miles in extreme breadth, to the south of Hanlé. The plain is now pretty thickly covered with Dámá or Tibetan furze, which here grows to the unusual height of three and four and even five feet. 133* [792]●

Small pieces of water are numerous all over Ladák, but none that I have seen are deserving of notice for any peculiarity, excepting the celebrity of their names. Two of them are mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ayin Akbari.* "From the top of the mountains of Keetwar (Kashtwar) issue two springs, one called Chandra and the other Bhágá; * * they unite their streams and are then called Chandra Bhágá," which is the well-known Sanscrit name of the Chenáb. The Suraj Dal is a small oblong sheet of clear green water, dammed at the western end by masses of splintered rock that have fallen from above. It is about a quarter of a mile long and only half as broad. A small rill of melted snow flows into it from the east; but the rill is altogether so

* Gladwin's Ayin Akbari, II. p. 108.

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

775 the "Gem of Majesty," and the Tashi Lama is called
793 *Panchen Rimpochhe*, the "Gem of Learning."

792 All who have taken the vows of celibacy are called by the collective name of *Gédun*, the clergy. A monk is styled Lama, and a nun Ani. But the followers of the Gelukpa sect are divided into several classes. The lowest grade is the *Getshul*, or neophyte, and the *Gétshulma*,* or novice. The professed monk is called *Gelong*, and the professed nun *Gelongma*.

795 The principal sects in Tibet have already been mentioned, but there are some others deserving of notice. Of these the principal is the *Karmapa*,† or "believers in the efficacy of works." They are the same as the *Kármmikas* of Nepál. The *Kahgyudpas* are "believers in the succession of precepts." They are satisfied with the observance of the *Do* (sutras or aphorisms), and care not for the attainment of the esoteric doctrines of the *Sherchin* (Prajnáparamitá), or "transcendental wisdom." The *Brikhungpa* sect derives its name from the district of Brikhung. I know nothing of their tenets. All the above sects were offshoots of the Gelukhpa, and accordingly they wear yellow dresses. The Dukpa sect wear a red dress. They are numerous in Bhutan, and are found all over Tibet. I know nothing of their peculiar tenets; but from the name of the sect, *Dad-Dukpa*, which means "faith in the thunderer," I should suppose that they pay especial reverence to the holy *Dorje* (*Vajra*, or thunderbolt) which descended through the air, and fell at Sera in Tibet. A picture which I possess of the great Lama *Skyobba Jigten Gonpo*, of the red sect, represents him with the *Dorje* in his right hand.

* See Plate XXIV. † *Karma-pa*, naturalized from Sanscrit.

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795 It seems probable, therefore, that the name of the sect was derived as I have supposed.

IV.—DRESS—RITUALIC INSTRUMENTS.

292 Most of the Lamas in Ladák wear a red coat with
792 sleeves and long skirts secured by a red girdle. All wear red boots. Most of them are bareheaded, but the higher Lamas wear semicircular red caps. One great Lama, the abbot of Lama Yurru, wears a peculiar hat, formed of bands that diminish in width by steps towards
302 the top.* Most Lamas have their heads shaved, or the
792 hair cropped short; but the abbot's hair was uncut. The pictures of the grand Lamas, both yellow and red, represent them without hair. This agrees with the practice of the Indian Buddhists, who were obliged to shave
292 their heads. The Dharma Raja, or great Lama of the
792 red sect, wears a semicircular red cap similar to those of the Ladáki Lamas.† His right arm is bare, but the rest of his person is clothed in ample red garments, suitable to a cold climate. The *Sanghati*, or kilt, and the *uttara-sanghati*, or cloak, of the Indian Buddhists, are formed into a coat with sleeves and skirt, and over this is worn a robe or blanket. In all the pictures the *antara-vásaka*, or "inner vest," is represented beneath the other dress. This is no doubt shown purposely, to prove that the great Lamas, according to the command of Sakya, never lay aside their inner vests.

The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear the same description of dress, but of a yellow colour. But all of them have transgressed the holy precept not to wear any ornamented

* See Plates XXIII. and XXIV.

† See Plates XXII. and XXIII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292
792

Plate XXIII

Abbot High Lama

of LAMA YURRU

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292
● 792

Plate XXIV

Dublo, aged 29,
a low Lama

Chiringjok, aged 22.
a Ge-Tshul (Gelukpa Sect.)

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clothes, for they have yellow and red brocades, spangled with flowers of gold. The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear peculiar conical caps with long lappets.

The ritualic instruments are three: the bell, the sceptre (or thunderbolt), and the prayer-cylinder.

The bell, *drilbu*,* is used during the performance of daily service, but for what purpose I could not ascertain. It is represented in the left hand of the great Lama Skyobba Jigten, of the red sect, and it is placed on the throne at the feet of the great Dalai Lama Navang Lozang. The bell represented in the accompanying plate is formed of a very white brittle-looking metal. On the upper part are the syllables *tan, man, lan, ban, man, tsun, pan, bDrin;* which may, perhaps, be intended to represent eight notes of the bell. Inside, in three places, are the monosyllabic interjections *aum! ah! Hun!* The outside is chiefly ornamented with representations of the *dorjé*, or sceptre.

The sceptre, *dorjé*, is the vajra of the Indians. This holy instrument is said to have flown away from India, and to have alighted at Sera, in Tibet. That it was looked upon in India, from a very early time, as an object of reverence, or as an emblem of power, is proved by its being placed in the right hand of a raja in the Sánchi bas-reliefs,† which date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. It is also sculptured on the rock at Udegiri, where it is represented in one of the hands of Durga, who is slaying the Bhainsâsur. This sculpture is as old as the seventh or eighth century.

In Tibetan it is called *sera-pun-dze*, and the annual festival which has been established in its honour is one

* *Dril-bu*, a "little bell." See Plate XXV.

† Eastern gateway, right pillar.

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
476
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word,

797 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[197] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 782 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

[i.e, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [423] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [97]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48]FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

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775 In Ladák there are only four resident skooSHoks, who preside over the monasteries at Speetuk, Tiksay, Phiáng and Reyzong, respectively.

792 There is also a skooSHok belonging to Heymis the largest and richest of all the monasteries of Ladák, but, for some unexplained reason, some 3 or 4 births back, the skooSHok took birth at Lhása, and refused to come to Ladák, and since then, rebirths of this Heymis avatár have always taken place at Lhása.

The present incarnation must now be about 20 years of age. I am told that as he is a Lhása man, he does not care to come to Ladák, but that if ordered by the Kashmir Durbar to come, he [643] would obey. The truth of the matter is probably that he, having been brought up at the holy city of Lhása, where the Buddhist priesthood reigns supreme, does not care to come to Ladák where the Dogras are masters and Lámás occupy a very subordinate position. The information which I have been able to gather as to the rules under which a spirit, for the first time, becomes an incarnation, is not very clear, but, apparently, when any great Láma or other very holy and virtuous man dies, his spirit, instead of being reborn in the ordinary way, may take rebirth in the form of a "sprulskoo" or incarnation--after this, provided the "sprulskoo" leads a virtuous life in this world, it is optional with him to attain nirvana at once, or should he so desire, his spirit, after his death, is repeatedly reborn as a "sprulskoo." If on the other hand an incarnation leads a wicked life in this world, his punishment is, that his spirit, instead of being reborn as an incarnation, will take any ordinary rebirth.

An account of the different kinds of form in which a spirit may be re-embodied, will be found under the heading "Rebirth."

775 As regards the rebirth of the spirit of an incarnation, or sprulskoo the
792 procedure is simple enough. Either the incarnation, before
787 death, tells his disciples the circumstances under which, and the place in which, his spirit will be re-born, or should he die, without having given any such indication, his followers, the moment he dies, go and consult learned Lámás, who advise where the spirit will be reborn. The disciples then, in accordance with the instructions given, proceed to the spot indicated, and ascertain if any woman has conceived, or given birth to a child which may be the re-embodiment of the late skooSHok's spirit. If such is the case, they note the fact and go away for the time, but if it is not so, then they conclude that a mistake has been made, and they refer to the Lámas for fresh instructions and so

on, until they succeed in finding a child which may be the one for which they are looking. Having found their child, they leave it in its own home till it attains the age of about four years, then the disciples of the dead skooshok come to the child's house and bring with them, the prayer books praying wheel (mâni chhos khor) sceptre (dorjey) bell (treeloo or more correctly dreelboo) rosary (thânga or thrânga) and other property of the deceased, and after mixing them up with similar articles belonging to other persons, they call upon the child to prove that he is the incarnation of the deceased, by pointing out which of the articles he recognizes as having belonged to him in his former life. If the child does all this satisfactorily, and it is usually the case that he does, then he is announced to be a "skooskieys" or child skooSHok, and he is taken away from his home, never to return, and takes up his abode at the monastery (gonpa) of which his is the presiding spirit. 775 792 787

If the child fails to prove himself to be the sought for incarnation, it is assumed that a mistake has been made, and a fresh search is made in another place, and so on, until the disciples are satisfied that they have found the "skooskieys" they are looking for. Parents never object to their children being thus taken from them.

On arrival at the monastery, the child's education is taken in hand by the monks, and when he reaches the age of about sixteen years, he is sent off to Lhâsa, the Rome of Buddhism, to complete his studies. After remaining there for from four to eight years, his education is complete and he returns to his own monastery as a sprulskoo, or skooshok or Incarnation. 792 874

A sprulskoo does not live inside the monastery, but in a small house (called taSHak) attached to it-- [69] He does not eat with other people, and though his parents and relatives may occasionally come to see him, they can not live with him, or he with them. It is thoroughly believed that he is an incarnation, and the consequences thereof are philosophically accepted. 792 775

The skooshok is the spiritual head of the monastery, and it is his duty to superintend everything concerning religion. He is not expected to interfere in worldly concerns, but occasionally may do so.

The only skooshok I have ever met is Lobzhang Eeshes Stanbey Gialsam, (i.e. good dispositioned heavenly religion of Buddha flag of victory) the present avatar of the Speetuk monastery,

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[171] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

751 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have corrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhót" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--láma or lámba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham's Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámas (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

T 792 builder, and first abbot khanpo), of the great Galdán or (GHaldán) monastery.

779 Láma Tsongkhápa prohibited clerical marriages, and generally
WT speaking re-introduced a stricter and more austere form of Bud-
792 dhism of Lamaism, which was not approved of by all. The
779 consequence was that a schism arose in the Buddhist church, which then divided itself into two sects.

T The reformers, followers of Láma Tsongkhápa, assumed the title of "Geylukspa" or "the virtuous ones," while the conservative
792 party was called Drukpa or Dukpa or "zhámár," e. i., "Red
795 cap."

779 The original dress of all Lamas was a red petticoat (SHamthap), a
WT waistcoat (stotGHak) embroidered in gold and other colours, a red shawl (zanggos), thrown over the left arm and shoulder,
792 and wrapped round the body, leaving the left arm bare, a red
795 cap (zhamar or panjoo or teebee márpo), and a red cloth bag
779 (chhapreel) about 12 x 6 inches, suspended from the left side by a string round the waist, and reaching half way down to the knee. In the neck of this bag is a pocket, in which is kept a small long-necked brass vessel (chhapluk), containing about an ounce of water, called "hngakschhoo" "or incantation water," with a drop or two of which the Lámás render themselves ceremonially pure, after performing the offices of nature and at certain other [80] times. The above is at present the dress of the "Red caps," who in Ladák are spoken of as "Drukpas" or "Dukpas" but never as "Zhámárs."

The "Geylukspa" dress is very nearly the same, neither sect wears trousers, both wear the red petticoat, red shawl, and many coloured waistcoat, but the cap and bag (chhapreel) of the Geylukspa, instead of being red, are of a darkish canary colour--beyond this, except on great occasions when Geylukspas of high rank wear a yellow silk coat under, or instead of, the red shawl, there is no difference in dress between the so-called "red" and "yellow" sects. In Cunningham's very excellent book on Ladák, there is a coloured picture of a Geylukspa, "Geytshul" or neophyte, dressed in a yellow garment reaching from neck to feet, and drawn in round the waist, by means of a dark coloured girdle. I showed this picture to the SkooSHok (avatár) of the Speetuk (Geylukspa) monastery, and asked him if Lámás of his sect ever dressed so. He replied that neither in Ladák or Lhása did they ever wear a yellow coat, but that he believed the Mongólian

Geylukspas (he referred I presume to the followers of the Táránáth Láma) did so.

Geylukspas are often spoken of as "serpogon" or "wearers of yellow clothes," so I imagine that, whatever may now be the custom, they originally dressed entirely in yellow. The Dalai Láma and the Tashi Lunpo avatar, both belong to the yellow sect, which in Lhasa is the more powerful, while in Ladák and Bhotan, the red sect is the more powerful.

The following account of Lámáism has been obtained by me, in part from the skooSHok of Speetuk, who is the head of the Ladak Geylukspa, or yellow cap sect, and in part from Hlóbon Topgeys, who was for long, the hlóbon or abbot, of Heymis, the chief monastery of the dukpa, or red cap sect. It very possibly may not be correct from a scholarly point of view, but it represents the local ideas on the subject.

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there was only one sect known as "kádampa" or "dulvápa."

The word "dulva" means "to subdue or discipline," and the "dulva" is one of the divisions of the "kagioor" (or translation from Sanscrit to Tibetan, of the mandates of Buddha). It contains two hundred and fifty orders relative to the disciplining of the mind and body.

The word "kadampa" means "bound by the orders," that is to say, by the orders contained in the "dulva."

In those days the Lámás never ate meat or drank intoxicating liquors, nor did they wear any covering to their heads or feet, and celibacy was the invariable rule among them. Their clothing was red. Gradually there was a falling away from this high standard, and in due course there arose a sect known as "rnikmápa" or "hnikmápa" or "snikmapa," so called from their being followers of the "rningpa" or "hningpa" or "ancient" or "old fashioned" religion. This sect permitted the use of wines and meats and did not enforce clerical celibacy.

After this, a great Láma, named Padma, Jungnes, a native of Urgian (Ujain ?), came to Lhása (according to Cunningham, this was about the middle of the eighth century) and founded a new sect, known as the "Urgiánpa," which differed but little from the "Hnikmápa" sect.

Later still a "skooSHok," or incarnation, named "Phakspa Jamspal" founded another sect called "Saskiapa," from "saskiá" the name of the monastery to which Phakspa Jamspal belonged.

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This sect too resembled the "hnikmápa" sect.

Later again, a Láma, named "Paldan Drukpa," or Spaldan Drukpa" of Lhása founded another sect, known as the "drukpa or dukpa" or "kárgiootpa" sect. The word "ka" means "order" and "rgioot" is the name of that division of the "kárgioor" which deals with "Religious Mystical doctrines," called in Tibetan "Sanghngaks" hence the "kárgiootpa" sect, is the sect believing in the "rgioot" or book of Mystical doctrines, called in Sanscrit "tantra."

This sect, which is now the most powerful of all the red sects, is very similar in the matter of its somewhat lax morality, to the hnikmápa sect. Its Lámás eat meat, and drink intoxicating liquors, and though they may not marry, so long as they remain in the [81] priesthood, their lives are not invariably virtuous, and, provided a show of secrecy is maintained, they may live with a nun or any other woman. The nuns indeed (of the red sect) are commonly supposed to be little else than the servants and concubines of the Lámás.

Soon after the founding of the Dukpa sect, three other sects arose. The first was the Skarmápa, or Karmápa, so called because its members were believers in the "efficacy of works" (in Sanscrit the word "Karma" means "deed.") Mr. Jáschke says the Karmápa was a philosophical school of Buddhism.

Then arose, simultaneously it is believed, the "Dreegongpa" or "Breegongpa" sect, and the Staklungpa sect. These sects were founded by disciples of the great "Paldan Drukpa" and derived their names from the monasteries of Dreegong and Staklung, to which the Lámas who founded them belonged.

About this time a Láma named Báráwar, a resident of "Hlo" (i.e. Bhutan), introduced among Lámás, the custom of wearing hats and shoes.

The next landmark is to be found in the person of Láma Tsongkhápa, the great reformer, who was born about 1357 and died in 1419.

He viewed with disapproval the lax morality of the Lámás, which, he said, was not at all in conformity with the precepts of Buddha, and he founded a sect, whose conduct was to be in accordance with the original system of Lámáism. He prohibited the use of meat and wine among Lámás, he enforced clerical celibacy, he directed that the "Rgioot" or "Gioot," (that division of the "Kágioor" which deals with "Magic" or "Mystic Doctrines") should not be read, and he instituted the custom, which is still observed, of holding periodical conferences of

Lámás at Lhása. These reforms were not approved of by all, and the Buddhist church then divided into two great sects. T 792

The sect founded by Láma Tsongkhápa, was called "Geylukspa," and all other sects were treated as one, and termed "Drukpa." As a distinguishing mark, the Lámás of the "Geylukspa" sect adopted a yellow cap and yellow holy water bag as has already been explained. 795 779 WT 792

Since the days of Láma Tsongkhápa, the "Geylukspa" sect has remained unchanged and undivided, but one new sect of Drukpas has been founded, by a Láma named Ngakwang Namgial of Bhotan. This sect is called "Hlondrukpa" the word "Hlo" being the Tibetan for Bhutan. The above information may be thus conveniently tabulated. 795 779

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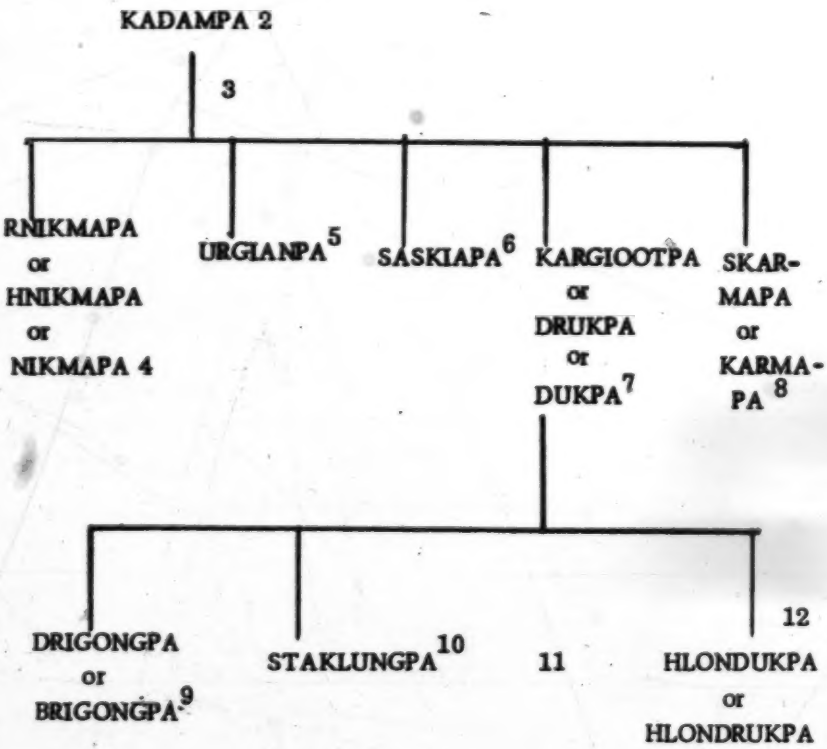

2: Ramsay--52 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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1. Meaning, persons accepting for guidance the 250 rules of "Discipline," contained in the "dulva," which is one of the "kargioor" or translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan, of the precepts of Buddha.
2. From "ka" meaning "order" and "rdamoa" meaning "to bind." That is to say those bound to observe the orders; meaning the orders contained in the "dulva."
3. The above is believed to have been the name of the original sect of Tibetan Buddhists, who established themselves in Lhása, about the year 200 B.C. The Lámás or priests, wore red clothing, but left the head and feet bare. They drank no intoxicating liquors, eat no meat, refrained from matrimony, and considered absolute celibacy, a necessity for their priesthood.
4. The date of the institution of this sect is unknown. The name should be "Hningmápa" or "Rningmápa" or even "Hningpa," which means "old." The name refers to the fact that this sect mixed up the observances of the religion of Buddha, with those of the epicurean atheism which existed in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism. The Lámás of this sect eat meat, drank wine, occasionally married, and were generally of lax morals. They wore red clothing like the "dulvas," but they wore caps, called "panjoo," of a red or black colour, and also wore shoes.
5. This sect, which much resembled the Rnikmapa sect, was founded about 750 A.D. by a Lámá of Urgian (Ujain ?) named Padma Jungnes.
6. The date of the foundation of this sect is unknown. It was very similar to the Rnikmápa sect. It derived its name from the Saskia monastery to which its founder Phakspa Jamspal belonged.
7. This sect, which was founded by Páldan (or Spálden) Dukpa (or Drukpa) accepts for its guidance the "ka" or "orders" contained in the "rgioot," which is the division of the kárgioor, which deals with "Religious Magic" or "Mystical doctrines." This sect is now, especially in Ladak, the most powerful of all the red-cap sects. It gave up the black cap, but has retained the red cap, called "panjoo."
8. This sect wear the black cap and never the red one. Its followers are believers in the efficacy of good works, and derive their name from the Sanskrit word "karma" which means "deed."

2: Ramsay--53 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

9. A Drukpa Láma of the Drigong or Brigong monastery introduced some small modifications into the old drukpa procedure and founded this sect.

10. A Drukpa Láma of the "Staklung" monastery, founded this sect which is almost the same as the old Drukpa sect.

11. At this period, namely between the introduction of the Staklungpa and Hlondukpa sects, the reforming Láma Tsongkhapa (who was born about 1357 and died about 1419 A.D.) raised his voice against the degenerate Drukpa priesthood, and founded the now famous "Geylukspa" or "virtuous" sect, also known as "Sárpogon" or "yellow clothes" owing to its Lamas having adopted, as a distinguishing mark, a yellow cap, and yellow bag for the bottle for the incantation water. Up to the present time the "Geylukspa" sect has remained undivided. Its Lamas eat no meat, drink no wine and celibacy is strictly observed by them. The Dalai Láma of Lhása belongs to this sect.

12. This sect was founded in the 15th century by a Drukpa Láma of Bhotan, named Ngakwang. The Tibetan name for Bhotán is "Hlo" or "Hloyool" hence the name of the sect which is much the same as the old Drukpa sect.

[83]Most of the different sects of Lamas are represented in Ladák, having monasteries at the following places:--

I.--Geylukspa sect. At Speetuk (or Peetuk), Tiksay, Likir, Stok, Sáboo, Sangkar, Leh, Reyzong, Saspul, Deskit and Samthanling. The head-quarter monastery to which all important questions are referred is at Tashi Lumpo near Lhása.

II.-- Rnikmápa sect. At Taktak. Headquarter monastery is at Dorjeytrak near Lhása.

III.--Urgiánpa None. Headquarter monastery is at Sangling near Lhása.

IV.--Saskiápa. At Mátho (or Másho). Headquarter monastery at Ngor near Lhása.

V.--Kárgiootpa. At Hemis (or Heymis), Chimray, Ngióma, Hanley, Kárzok, Gya, Meeroo, Bazgo, Teya, Tingmoghang, Alchee, Yarma and Shama. Head-quarter monastery is at Deychhenchhongghor near Lhása.

VI.--Skarmápa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Tshurboo near Lhása.

VII.--Drigonpa. At Lámáyooroo, Phiáng (i.e., Ghángngong), Shang, and Tángtsey (Sháchhookhul). Head-quarter monastery is at Yángdreeghar near Lhása, and is presided over by the

WT Jiksten-gonpo.

779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.

795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.

792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

"priesthood," and the latter "las-chetpa" or, "workers." The "workers" are nevertheless members of the priesthood. 792 795

The "gendun" class includes--

(1) The skooshok or sprulspoo or incarnation (if there is one) presiding over the monastery.

(2) The hlóbon or abbot. Properly speaking the hlóbon is an abbot of the red sect and the khampo is an abbot of the yellow sect, but in Ladak the word hlóbon applies to abbots of either sect.

(3) oomdzat. He who leads the prayers and generally conducts religious services.

(4) oochhung. The assistant of the oomdzat.

(5) chhosthrimspa. He who sees to the discipline of the monastery.

(6) chhosShumpa. He who offers up sacrifices, and sees that the [84] prayer books, prayer wheels, etc., are all in order.

(7) zhalthawa. The Instructor.

(8) máchen. The cook.

The "las-chetpa" class includes--

(1) chhakdzot (chhagzot). The Steward of the monastery, who arranges for the cultivation of monastery lands, collection and payment of revenue, the lending on interest, of grain, to villagers, the repairs of the monastery, and in fact every thing not connected with religion.

(2) ngierpa. The chhakdzot's assistant.

(3) nangngier. The man who gives out grain or other stores required for consumption at head-quarters.

(4) cheengier or pheengier. The man who issues stores required to be sent away from the monastery.

All Lamas must keep their heads shaved, but the shaving of the hair on the face is optional with them. In all monasteries there is a room called "chhosdra," or vulgarly "chhóra," set apart for use as a school room, where all boys and girls, who are about to become monks and nuns, are educated. The Hlóbon and Oochhung are the officers responsible for the performance of the teaching, but other Lámás may also be required to assist them, or to carry on the teaching duties during their absence. It is generally believed, that credit is due to the Lámás, for educating the villagers, but as a matter of fact, no such credit is due to them, as they do nothing in the way of educating any person not intended to become a monk or nun. 792 874

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

792 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
792 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
792 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

792 water, is performed.

The Hlóbon then takes a cotton scarf called "sungdrut," ties a knot in it, spits upon it, and ties it round the "Tsunchhung's" neck, muttering certain incantations while so doing. The "Tsunchhang" or "Geytshul" is then [85] made over to a Lama of the monastery, (selected either by himself, his friends, or the Hlóbon), who is termed his "Geyrgan" or "priestly teacher," and who becomes responsible for the education of his charge. The neophyte has then to learn by heart certain religious books, after which the Lámás assemble and examine him. If the result is satisfactory, he becomes a "Geylong" or full monk. If his circumstances permit of it, he is supposed to give a feast, (generally called "Mangja" and meaning "mangpo chha" or "much tea") to the Lamas consisting, in the case of red-caps, of tea (mangja) soup (paktsha) and glookchhang (examination beer), and in the case of yellow caps of tea only; at the same time he receives a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation" from the Hlobon, the Chhakdzot, his "Geyrgan" and from each of the "Geylongs" of his monastery, who congratulate him upon his admission into the priesthood.

After this, the monk has only three things to learn viz., (1) "kar" (Sanskrit word) or "rtseyches" (Tibetan word) i.e., the religious mumming dance (2) "thik" i.e., the steps, used when walking round in the intervals between the dances (3) yángs i.e., the way to intone the prayers.

[671] If a Lama, of whatever rank, wishes to leave the priesthood and return to secular life, he is at liberty to do so. According to civil law, he has the right to leave the priesthood whenever he pleases, but according to religious law, he cannot leave unless he has received permission from the monastery authorities, so to do. According to custom, he notifies to the Abbot his desire to go, and the Abbot then calls the Lámás together, explains the matter, and obtains from the meeting, permission for the monk to renounce his priestly calling.

A monk who has so left the priesthood is called "banlok."

792 795 688 Among the Geylukspa or yellow sect, if a monk commits a trivial offence, he is admonished for the first few times, and if this has no effect, he is turned out of the priesthood. If the offence committed is a grave one, the sinner is warned once, and on a repetition of the offence, he is scourged and expelled from the priesthood, or if the offence be a very heinous one, he is at

WT
792 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
795 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which
T is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
788 considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
648 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT 565 Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
WT 554 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
661 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
T but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
648 lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
661 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
648 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
439 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
554 profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry. 797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-tshal" is used. 195 805

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven." 000

[109]

NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]

NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. 792 795

The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. 795 No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes [241] and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who [842] wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is [182] made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

799 ~~972~~ 195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564 681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 448

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

792 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751 PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistan pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la táng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zár ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

● 792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹165 to ₹170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángtháng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 753

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
601

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively. He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

near Leh, and he exercised a very powerful influence in his day. 792

So much depends upon the proper name. His poor neighbor, to save expense, had chosen the names for his recently born son himself with the aid of the wise women of his tribe and of a lama who was related to him. "Sodnam Drandul" he had named his offspring. The first name (Sodnam, which is "merit") designates its bearer as a pious Buddhist who places value upon the gaining of virtuous merits; the second name (Drandul, which is "tamer of enemies") was to overcome by its magical power all enemies which might oppose themselves to its bearer, especially the innumerable evil spirits in the air, on earth, and under the earth. A powerful name works wonders as a protective means. But Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty. Such a holy, wise, and powerful skushog as Bakula could, after all, read quite differently in the pages of the dark future and would be able to avert threatening misfortune by a suitable name and by other means. After three days of traveling the Dragshos arrived at the monastery Spitug /sic./. He was lucky; he was soon admitted into the presence of the mighty one, a man in his middle years, corpulent, with a closely shaved head and an intelligent facial expression. With legs crossed under him he was sitting in his abbot's cell on a raised, flat seat covered with carpets He was clothed with garments of heavy, yellow Chinese silk. In the presence of several serving lamas in the red dress of their order Bakula received the Dragshos. Lobsang Wanggyal handed one of the lamas a ka-btags (greeting band), a copper plate with dried apricots, almonds and sugar on it, as well as a rupee in silver, which the lama placed in front of the skushog. Now Lobsang Wanggyal bowed deeply three times before the holy man and with both hands embraced the latter's legs. The holy man thereupon accorded his blessing to the /24/ suppliant with a negligent movement of the hand. Then he presented him with a narrow, yellow strip of silk with a knot in it, a "magical knot" (gzuns-mdud), over which he had first repeated a powerful formula (gzuns) while breathing upon it. The recipient of this knot immediately fastened it as a protecting amulet to his cap. 553 553 792 [789]

But the Dragshos was not yet satisfied with this. Only now did he come forth with his real request and he added to it, that his little son already had fallen sick once of a bad intestinal disease, something which the angered water gods had probably afflicted him with. He was thinking in this case of his experience while watering his garden

553 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed
•772 a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated
177 into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
551 these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, A [illegible] - Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

/Following page 48/

•792

The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk.

5: Ribbach --59 a M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

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/Following page 64/

Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger

/Following page 80/

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The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)

/Following page 160/

•792
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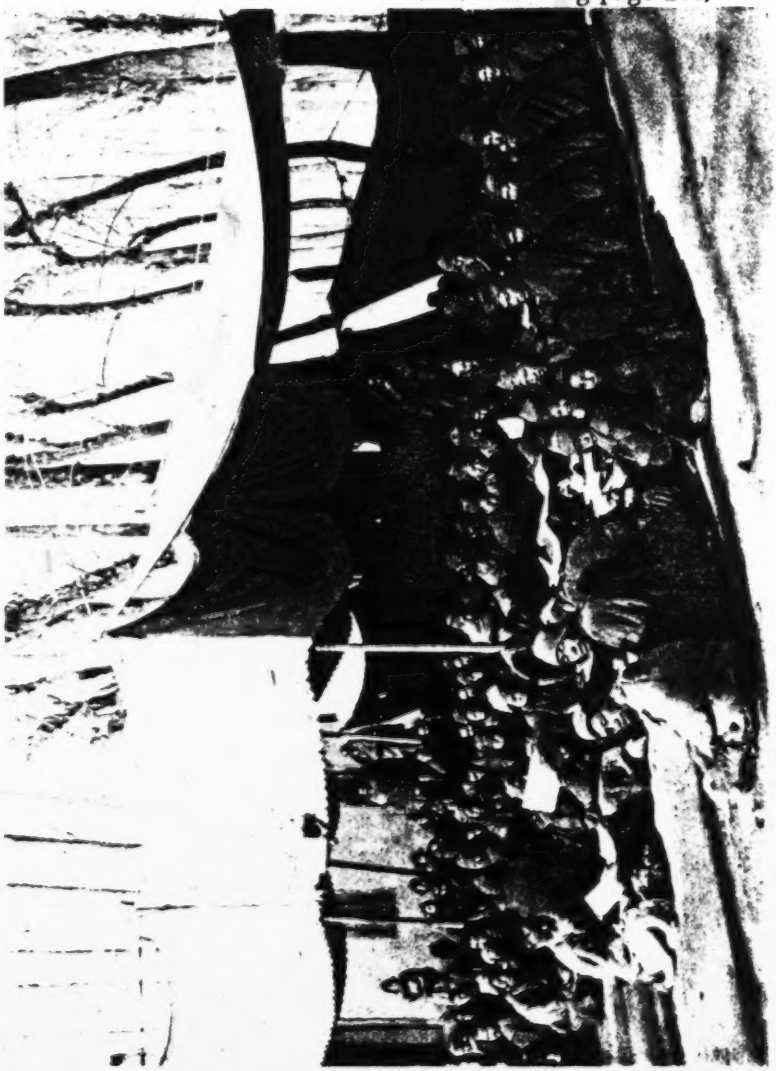

The great reading Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of of the country.

for "teaching, preaching." The wheel is here the symbol for the law, as well as of power and of victory. Having been turned, it rolls along victoriously, overcoming all enemies and the darkness of ignorance (Sanskrit, Avidya) /literally: "not-knowing."--translator./

implore thee to take mercy on all the animals and on us for the sake of all the merit that has been amassed! When our merit has become perfect, let us not, we pray thee, remain in this world any longer!"

The older Namgyal became, the more his yearning to penetrate more deeply into the mysteries of religion grew. Two forces were fighting for dominion in his soul, the old warlike spirit which had animated the ancestors on his father's side, and the penchant towards brooding and religious activity which had been lively in the forebears on his mother's side. The latter trait gained the upper hand more and more, and thus Namgyal searched for instruction in the field of religion, wherever he could find it. Frequently he would sit in the hermitage of the recluse in Skyinling, when the latter was just pausing in his meditations and for a brief period of time opened his usually locked hermitage. There he would ask questions that occupied his mind.

One day the abbot of the great Rirdsong monastery, who was considered an incarnation (transubstantiation) of a great saint of former ages, had made a procession through the country with a great retinue of lamas and serving laymen. Wherever this "skushog" came he was received by a respectful crowd of people with music and gifts. Sitting on a brick throne, he received the worshippers who saw in him a divine being, a Skyabsgon (saviour); he would bestow his blessing upon those who knelt before him, with a hasty movement of his hand, and he would give each of them a colored hallowed ribbon (k'a-btags), over which he had previously mumbled a magical formula and on which he had softly spat. The holy man's spittle was believed to possess magical powers. Such ribbons which were in this manner heaped with magical power /168/, were then attached by the men to their caps, and by the women to their left shoulder. The ribbon was supposed to keep away sickness, the malicious influence of spirits, as well as all other evil, and it was credited with bringing luck to its wearers. In exchange for this, the "believers" presented costly gifts to the skushog: before his throne there stood a great number of dishes with rice, wheat flour, barley, and dried apricots; one brought a sheep, another a goat, a sack of hide with butter, and the wealthier ones gave money.

775 explain that the "master" himself gave his questioning disciples only very unwillingly and in dark language the information concerning that which he wanted them to understand by nirvana. And that by life he only wanted them to understand the present form of existence; a conscious life in another existential form was nonetheless thinkable even after the entry into nirvana.

with it also all suffering, consequently therefore also life and existence generally, came to an end. For life is, after all, simply synonymous with suffering in the teaching of the ancient Indic sages and also that of Buddha. There is no life without suffering. But to him whose strength and endurance are insufficient to free himself, the "Great Merciful One" (Tibetan, t'ugs-rje ĉen-po, Sankrit Avalokitesvara) proffers out of his mercy his assistance. Hearing the prayers of the people, he saves the suffering creatures from all tortures of existence, even from all the various hells, and translates them into the Paradise of the West.

•792 "A pious and virtuous lama can be of great assistance on this way to liberation," said the hermit. "You call me Root Lama (rtsa-baibla-ma), and you are right in doing so. For just as this apricot tree draws up power and sap by the root, so the layman draws his strength from his Root Lama to whom he has attached himself so that he grows spiritually and bears good fruit, leads a pious life, does good deeds by people and by animals, and so that in this way the door to paradise is opened to him. The ignorant and slothful layman who has not the power to effect his salvation by himself, takes refuge with his Root Lama as well as with the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The Root Lama is the indispensable agent of salvation for the layman. A saying in one of our sacred books reads: 'Without the mediation of a lama, no one can approach the godhead.' The lama is the teacher of the layman and shows him onto the path of virtue, he imparts the blessing to the /171/ layman, hears his confession, gives him absolution, imposes penalties upon him, and leads the sinner to the redeeming Bodhisattva who in his mercy purifies him of his sins and who leads him towards release through all the temptations and perils of life. The Bodhisattva does all this from pure mercy, that is why he is called the Great Merciful One."

"It is true that this expression is much abused by the lamas. Unworthy ones presume to be mediators and leaders, and let themselves

be called 'saviour' (skyabs-mgon) and Right Reverend (rin-po-ĉe). 792 ●
You know that many lamas lead a vicious life, and that they let the ignorant people pay dearly for their hypcritical prayers and masses, their magical arts and tricks. To such lamas applies the other words: 'If the lama cannot save his own head, how can he draw up the layman (from the morass of sins into paradise)' (155.). "

155. In Tibetan the saying reads: bla-ma raṅ-gi mgo ma ton-na / skya-bo yar-dren ci-ltar bya.

Namgyal was a very eager student, and he endeavored to appropriate as much as possible of Buddhistic knowledge. He studied the books which his friend gladly lent him, and let himself be initiated into the mysteries of Buddhistic wisdom by his friend and also by a young lama who had recently completed his studies in Lhasa and had received his ordination there.

The hermit admonished his pupil time and again to study industriously the Chos (the law), and to observe the commandments. The importance of knowledge was to be impressed upon his mind by the following verse (156):

156. In Tibetan: rig-pa rnam-pa ci-yan slob/
t'se adir mk'as-pa ma agyur kyaṅ/
skye-ba rjes-mai bcol-ma yin/
nor de raṅ-nyid len-pa adra.

Learn the branches of knowledge well!
If this life brings not wisdom,
It is reserved for future ones.
It is like to self-earned treasure.

Namgyal prayed much, daily recited prayers that he had learned 788
by heart, and prayed "with hand and mouth, " by turning the manual prayer wheel more industriously than others of his age--ordinarily only the old people who are no longer capable of working and who "have the time, " are the ones who pray--and in so doing he sent up to the Great Merciful One a million times each day the wonderful six-syllable prayer "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum! " (Om! Jewel--lotus! Hum!). He did this in the belief that, as he /172/ was taught, each of these magical syllables would unlock the door to one of the six realms, and

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of 788
the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriñ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it.

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the white-washing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being.

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform 792
for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these 463
mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (com- 465
pare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 563

787 still in the country." In answer to the Wasir's question when the stolen goods would be found, there came the answer: "We know it not." After about a month the thief was apprehended. He was a native Indian soldier from the small garrison of the Dogra fort near Leh. The stolen goods were also found in a hideaway. The two Lhapas each received ten rupees from the Wasir as reward.

792 Namgyal returned to Kalatse richer by one experience. His fellow villagers received him with jubilation and many presents. They were all honestly overjoyed at his release from the claws of the hated Gobinath. The lama from the Break-leg house preferred not to show himself openly in Kalatse for a whole year long, although as a village priest he was responsible for the health of souls of the village inhabitants. His relatives--he also had a wife, like the majority of his "red" brothers in the order who had dropped celibacy--he had told that he was now "urgently needed" in the monastery. In his place a small, gentle little monk moved into his hermitage, who performed his office to the satisfaction of the villagers, because in his demands for the ceremonies to which he had been ordered, he kept strictly to the regulations, and because he did not practise usury.

539 The T'selen (Messenger of Death) Comes

The Song of Death

Human form you attain
With difficulty like rare lotus.
Therefore leave your laughter!
Follow sacred law!
You indulge in your pleasure,
You think not of dying--
And suddenly death hunts you
From behind, he seizes you.
As the wolf strikes the sheep,
The god of death grips you.
Therefore think in solitude,
Do penance in the desert!
/200/ Wealth leads to vice,
Offers you up to hell.
Unchaste, loving women,
You only look for yourself.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

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proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tába*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chamba* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

1 [i.e, Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

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"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *choti* as does a *gossin*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chostím*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

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The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture. [812]

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

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The *lámaic* system. 779 792 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámaic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1/1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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792 177 The *lámáic* system.

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

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795 The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

792 794 Monasteries or *gúphs* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monasteries or *gépha* in Láhaul and Spiti. 788

In the autumn the *nierpa* or treasurer, with some of the monastery tenants in attendance, goes through the whole country, and collects from every holding a customary fee called *dubri*, consisting of one *páth* of barley. In the spring a great festival takes place, known as the Ghantál Tcháchá, at which all comers are fed for one day. A long train of pilgrims may be seen engaged in making the circle on foot of the holy mountain,—a work of much religious efficacy, as it ought to be, seeing that it involves a trudge of about eighteen miles and an ascent and descent of several thousand feet. Mr. Lyall writes :—

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"The third grand *lámá* of Tibet* visited Láhaul while I was there in 1867, inspecting the monasteries and giving his benediction to the people at places where he halted. He travelled in quaintly-shaped, bright-coloured tents carried on *yaks*, with a considerable retinue of monks. I saw him seated on a throne or platform built up in the open air, dressed in a mitre and silken canonicals, extraordinarily like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates. The monks formed a lane in front of the throne, up which the Láhaulis advanced in the most reverential manner to receive the blessing, and a bit of silk to be worn, I believe, as a talisman. After backing out of the presence, they made the circle of the throne, praying aloud as they walked. I saw one poor man present a pony, so the value of the offerings must have been considerable."

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The principal endowment of the five Spiti monasteries consists of the *pun* or assigned grain rents already described: the rent-free land they hold is of exceedingly trifling amount. The following table shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of *pun* they draw from each *kothí* :—

Name of monastery or *gépha*.	Number of *lámás*.	Amount of "pun" collectable from each *kothí*.			Remarks.
		Name of *kothí*.	Khal.	Teh.	
Dankar or Láwupo	90	Shám ...	127	14	Seventeen khal assigned to the family of astrologers, and forty to the Pittu monastery in Ladákh, have to be added to make up the sum total of the pun, viz., 1,461 khal 7 teh.
		Chusi ...	190	...	
		Todpá ...	73	17	
			331	11	
Tábo	22	Shám ...	53	6	
		Chusi ...	134	19	
		Todpá ...	10	10	
			198	14	
Ki	100	Chusi ...	379	4	
		Bárjik ...	14	...	
		Todpá ...	60	...	
			453	4	
Tángiut ...	60	Chusi ...	272	...	
		Bárjik ...	67	16	
		Todpá ...	9	12	
		Pin ...	20	...	
			368	8	
Pin	100	Pin ...	61	10	

* One of the three who is born again as soon as he dies; the man I saw was fair, plump and smooth faced, and not more than twenty years old I should say.—*Lyall.*

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monasteries or *gómpa* in Lahaul and Spiti.

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monks and friars.

through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:— A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rexig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om máni pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalized.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul :—

"The distribution into castes is as follows :—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágís 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágís have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

564 465 651 197 565 564 177 792

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures. Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *tárwás* or *togochás*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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[651] Village Communities and Tenures.

427 Rights of the Thakúrs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír hothú* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeola*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *loháre* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *loháre* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also su[illegible] proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the [illegible] much as they pay no rent, and do private service only to [illegible]kur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the [illegible]te (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *loháre*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Village Communities and Tenures.

423 427 651

The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned.

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

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The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpé* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c.

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

427 651

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talúkdár* of a village in the plains. [558]

Rights in water in Láhaul.

312 423 425 [621]

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots [illegible] year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrig[illegible] his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dojeen*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *káng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *káng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as [illegible] tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of [illegible] land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *káng chimpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *ránki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *káng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *ránki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *káng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *káng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *ránki*

* In Pin *kothi* the *bonas* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprung, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Village Communities and Tenures.

dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

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In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

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Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhaziug* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter V, B.

Land and Land Revenue.

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

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in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsíldár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pun* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorised collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognized as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

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* The *pun* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,461 *lákh* 7 *path*, and the *netal* to 456 *lákh* 11 *path*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *lákh* 18 *path*, which at 2 *lákh* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

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It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

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If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

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Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

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Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

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A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

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The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

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An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

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Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

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A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

133 This clear, cold stream runs into the Indus; and at their confluence sits the bleak village of Upshi.

The Indus rises in a Himalayan basin nearly seventeen thousand feet high. Once it was fed by numerous lakes. Now these lakes are mostly landlocked and turning to salt. The Indus is a powerful stream, cutting its way through the Ladakh range of the Himalayas. The Indus is an international waterway; it rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, traverses the length of Pakistan, and empties into the Indian Ocean near Karachi. It is cosmopolitan in character, giving its waters to a greater number [823] of races than any other stream in the world. The Indus is a legendary stream. The Tibetans call it the River of the Lion, since it is said to flow from a lion's mouth. The folklore is that those who drink the water of the Indus will be heroic like a lion. And the bed of the river is thought to be covered by sands of diamonds.

This day in August 1951, the Indus was swollen with snow water and running dark with clay. It poured through narrow channels with an angry roar and spread wide where the channel [311] flattened out. Crude irrigation canals led off to fields of barley and corn. The valley below Upshi is several miles wide; and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

About five miles below Upshi is Marchelang, a village of a few hundred people—a garden in a washed and rock-strewn land. At this point the Indus Valley runs east and west. A wide canyon opens to the north, a canyon leading to Tibet and China over the 18,370-foot Chang La Pass. To the south there is a small canyon • 792 or nulla. It was to that one we turned, and in a few miles came 346 to Hemis Monastery.

Many monasteries in Ladakh and Tibet are castellated buildings perched on high cliffs and thus protected from marauders and invaders. Hemis, founded about A.D. 1047, holds no such strategic position. It lies deep in a narrow nulla which is from a

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

quarter to a half mile wide. The canyon walls rise over Hemis three or four thousand feet to peaks eighteen thousand feet and more high. There are springs of pure cold water in the nulla; and thick stands of the Lombardy-type poplar fill the deep hollow with shade.

The main monastery building is a crude three-storied affair built in typical Tibetan fashion—low doors, rock walls, wood rafters, mud floors, and flat mud roofs. This massive building houses most of the lamas who make Hemis their home and headquarters. It feeds them in great dining halls and sleeps them in tiny cells. There are numerous small houses scattered along the nulla, residences of the Incarnate Lama, the higher-ranking lamas, and lamas who are married (Hemis is a monastery of the Red Sect, which, in contrast to the Yellow Sect, permits its lamas to marry). There is one house reserved for visitors. It lies in deep shade by a brook that runs below the main monastery building. It has one large room with a dirt floor and a covered veranda that opens on a grassless yard. The lama who greeted us took us there, and we were about to unload our pack train when the order was countermanded. We were invited instead to the residence of the Incarnate Lama.

We dropped to the creek bed and then climbed sharply to a poplar orchard on the far side of which were several low houses. Tibetans have a custom of chaining mastiffs to their houses. The Ladakhis follow suit. These mastiffs spend their lives tied by a chain fastened to massive collars. As a result of their confinement, they develop ferocious qualities. They lunge at passers-by, straining at their collars and growling viciously. There was such a mastiff on the top of the veranda of the house next to the home of the Incarnate Lama. Our coming produced a terrific uproar. The dog seemed to be almost choking with rage as he jumped at us again and again. The sight of us set up such a powerful turmoil in him that he barked the whole of the two days we were there. Every time I woke in the night he was still barking.

• 792 Since the Incarnate Lama is a young boy of eleven, there is an older lama who serves as his teacher and *alter ego*. This lama is called a Lobon or Guru.

The Lobon is a famous institution in Lamaism. The Incarnate Lama is always a young boy who is trained by the Lobon. During the minority of the Incarnate Lama, the Lobon is regent. He is, in other words, head of the monastery until the Incarnate Lama comes of age. His authority is supreme in temporal and spiritual matters. He is also master of his pupil. He teaches the Incarnate Lama the Scriptures, or Buddha's sayings (of which there are 108 volumes), and then the Commentaries (of which there are 225 volumes). The Lobon is with the Incarnate Lama day and night, training him in the mysteries of Lamaism, speaking for him, acting in his stead, prompting him, and keeping him under constant surveillance. In Lamaism beatings of pupils by teachers are common. Even an Incarnate Lama can be beaten by his teacher. But when that happens, the teacher prostrates himself before the student to show there has been no disrespect of the person. And then the student prostrates himself before the teacher, thanking him for the punishment.

The Lobon met us at the entrance to the garden of the Incarnate Lama's house. He was sixty or more, a learned, devout man named Ngatun Phuntzog. His full, round face was beaming as he greeted us. His eyes are deep-set and lively. He has a thin, silky mustache and a skimpy beard. His voice is a deep guttural.
292 His hair is gray and thin. He wore the heavy dark red gown, which gave the effect of a bathrobe, the red girdle, and the red sandals of the lamas of the Red Sect.

000 While Budh Ram and Man Das were sorting the baggage, Rahul and I sat on the porch with Phuntzog. The porch opened on a walled garden green with grass and fringed with poplars. From one side wall a small cataract poured through a pipe, filling the place with music. All else was quiet except for the barking of the chained mastiff.

A dark, swarthy man in his forties, wearing the long, red robe of the lamas, brought *gur gur cha.*[1] His face and head were Mongol. He was barefooted. His black hair was long and unkempt; his skin was dark and grimy; he was the picture of the man who never bathed. In Ladakh, as in Tibet, the monks of a monastery are in various callings—from high priests to gardeners, to cooks, to coolies. This man in lama dress was apparently a novitiate in the monastery who served as a bearer for Phuntzog. He poured the *gur gur cha* in large earthen cups; and as he handed them to us, he held a rag over his mouth (Tibetan fashion) to protect us from any foul breath he might have. The yak butter gave the tea a creamy appearance and a rancid taste. It was not tasty like the *gur gur cha* Rup Singh had made along the trail. It was indeed repulsive, something to which my tongue and stomach took an instant dislike. It was worse than any medicine I had ever taken or dispensed. I gulped half of the cup and had the uneasy feeling that I may have pushed my stomach beyond the point of tolerance. It was touch and go for perhaps a minute. I sat back in my chair, happy only in the thought that I had met the requirements of protocol. But I did not reckon with the eager novitiate who worked from sunrise to bedtime in order to please his master and his master's guests and to get merit in the next life for himself. This man was as quick as a cat and at once took on a sinister aspect. I had no sooner leaned back in the chair, wondering if the bitter liquid would make peace with my stomach, than he filled my cup again.

272 792 [516]

This time I did not thank him. I may even have given the good man an ugly look. For Rahul broke in with a chuckle and said, "This can go on for hours."

"You mean I must now drink more?"

"Certainly."

"This evil-looking bearer can force a gallon on me?"

"Certainly," said Rahul, laughing out loud.

"How do I stop him, short of insults and assault?"

[1] [A kind of tea -- Analyst]

272 "Just put your hand over your cup."

• 792 And so I poured another bitter libation into an angry stomach and by sheer will power kept it there. Then I gripped my cup, holding it in a vise and keeping it covered with my hand. Now I was resolved to defend it to the death and to ward off this evil spirit who flitted about like a big bird with a kettle of hot tea in his hand. He *is* a big bird, I thought—a big, Tibetan raven who watches every move of every living thing to see if it is going to drop dead. Dropping dead under the evil influence of rancid yak butter and *gur gur cha* seemed to me the worst of all possible deaths.

792 While my battle with the bearer was going on, Rahul and
521 Phuntzog had settled down to a serious conversation. They both spoke Tibetan; but, as is customary, a formal conversation between a high lama and a foreigner is carried on through an interpreter even though the host and guest speak the same tongue. (That is why high Tibetans talk with such low tones.) One of the Indian Army cavalrymen who had brought me my movie film acted as interpreter. Rahul spoke Tibetan to the cavalryman, who in turn spoke Tibetan to our host. When I joined the conversation, the dialogue became more complicated. Phuntzog's reply came back through three persons to me. The jokes I told Rahul were heard by Phuntzog twice. Once he laughed out loud both times. But Phuntzog, knowing that protocol required him to hold his laughter until the joke was told him officially, thereafter kept control of himself. At times he would swallow his laughter in his beard. But always his eyes would dance with merriment on the first telling. When the soldier told him the story officially, he would throw back his head in a hearty laugh. This Lobon was a healthy, outgoing person. He enjoyed life and was anxious that those around him share in the enjoyment. He was a relaxed, happy extrovert—an ideal teacher.

792 We talked for perhaps two hours. He told about the founding of Hemis Monastery, the organization of the lamas in the monas-

tery, the lama dances, the Incarnate Lama, and how he was discovered. He told how the Incarnate Lama is first taught the Scriptures—the text of what Buddha said—and then the Commentaries. This religious training is followed by reading, writing, and arithmetic. And when the boy reaches thirteen or fourteen he goes to Lhasa for ten years of indoctrination. Phuntzog, teacher to the present Incarnate Lama, was also teacher, as a young man, to the predecessor Incarnate Lama. 792

From these topics we turned to Communism, to the relation between the monasteries and the people, and to the host of problems of concern to Ladakh and Lamaism in 1951. The Lobon spoke freely and without restraint about all subjects but one. The one on which he froze was the land problem in Ladakh—the extent of the holdings of the monastery, the work of the lama who serves as the business head of Hemis, the system of land tenancy, and the rents which Hemis as landlord collects. On this subject he was silent. 521 [421]

Then, and at other times when there was a pause, I would bring the conversation back to the Incarnate Lama and Phuntzog's role as teacher. Near the end of our conversation, I told him about one of my own great teachers, Harlan Fiske Stone, who was Dean of the Columbia Law School when I enrolled as a first-year student in 1922. I took my first course in law from him, the course in Personal Property. When I graduated from law school, Stone was an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Fourteen years later I joined him there; and in a few years he became Chief Justice. As Chief he presided at our Saturday conferences where all the cases argued during the preceding week were discussd and voted upon. Stone, as is customary with every Chief Justice, stated each case and led the discussion on it. More often than not, Stone and I ended voting together. Sometimes we were on opposite sides of a case. Once when the vote was close, Stone looked down the table at me and said with a twinkle in his eye, "Douglas, I can understand how some of our brethren

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CHAPTER 16

AN INCARNATE LAMA

The founder of Hemis Monastery was Stagtsang Raspa, a lama who in the eleventh century came to the nulla where Hemis now stands, looking for a retreat where he could pray and commune. This nulla, narrow, secluded, and quiet, was ideal for his purpose. Willow, poplar, and alder trees shaded it. Clear, cold water poured from springs in bounteous supply. There was solitude broken only by water pouring over rocks, by wind in the trees, and by the harsh churr-churr of the mountain finch. Stagtsang Raspa spent many months in this primitive retreat, trying to make contact with his deity or god-protector (Yidam), who would lead him to the Highest Blessful State.

The lovely nulla visited by Stagtsang Raspa is no longer the quiet place he knew. It is today filled by a thriving monastery of five hundred lamas who keep the place bustling with energy. And twice a day the canyon is filled with hundreds of deep-throated echoes that seem to come from the bowels of the earth. These are the blasts of twelve-foot horns blown from the roof of the monas-

792 tery to open the day at 5:30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M. The monks of Hemis sometimes follow the example of their founder and go into retreats, taking vows to immure themselves for three years in barren, single-room houses that have no windows, no furnishings, no utilities. Here they sit in prayer and meditation for three long and lonely years. Those who complete the three-year vigil are held in high esteem by monks and laymen alike. Few, however, come out alive because of the rigors of the ordeal. Yet those who start do not turn back, for in the Buddhist world one who violates his vows degrades himself and is held in contempt by the community. Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

538 One of these apocryphal tales concerns Jesus. There are those who to this day believe that Jesus visited the place, that he came here when he was fourteen and left when he was twenty-eight, heading west, to be heard of no more. The legend fills in the details, saying that Jesus traveled to Hemis under the name of Issa.

778 This is a land where legends readily grow. Hindus and Buddhists are, of course, not alone in believing that holy men have made certain places sacred. But they have a special theory about the phenomenon. The presence of holy men and the prayers they have recited have created spiritual vibrations that dominate the place. Pilgrims who go there and stay at least three nights can feel these vibrations and thus enrich their psychic and spiritual
776 life. Many places of pilgrimage are common to Hindus and Bud-
778 dhists alike e.g., Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar in Tibet. These places usually have a presiding deity and many dozens of demigods. There are said to be about 500,000 deities around Mount Kailas alone. But only the pious can see them. These gods are mountain gods, river gods, tree gods, family gods, field gods, house gods. They are the gods and spirits of the ancient religions on which Buddhism became engrafted. They and Buddhism have

Beyond the High Himalayas

779 This, in barest summary, was the teaching of Buddha; and it
177 became the main religion of India for the four centuries beginning in 300 B.C. Later it became corrupt and in India was supplanted mainly by Hinduism and by the faith of Islam. Buddhism moved south, east, and north. By 243 B.C. it had come to Ladakh and by A.D. 400 was the established religion there. It gradually spread north, going to Tibet about the middle of the seventh century. Meanwhile Buddhism, as Bell in *The Religion of Tibet*[1] shows, had absorbed much of the magic, mythology, rituals, and metaphysics of Lamaism and became clothed in garments that Buddha himself would not have recognized. But the central core of the religion was intact—the "Noble Eightfold Path." And the doctrine of reincarnation, originally derived from Hinduism, continued to flourish.

779 But the doctrine of reincarnation took a special twist in Tibet.
775 In the fifteenth century it was especially adapted to maintain the
• 792 authority of the priesthood and perpetuate the power of the
177 lamas in a peaceful way. The theory was developed that each Grand Lama was at once reborn in order to resume his life's work. The soul of the deceased lama took possession of a boy born shortly after his death. The problem was to identify the boy, raise him in the faith, keep his power in a regency until his maturity, and then turn over the power to him. The line of authority thus became clear. There was now no longer any contest among ambitious lamas who wanted to be spiritual leader of all Buddhism. The discovery of the baby to whom the soul of the deceased had passed answered all the questions and settled all the quarrels.

By the year 1542 this system had been adopted in Tibet for selection of the Dalai Lama. And it then became the method for determining the succession of spiritual sovereignty throughout the various lower echelons. The head of every monastery became an Incarnate Lama, who was the reincarnation of the holy man who had originally established the monastery. That is what hap-

 1 [See Source NO.4, AJ1 Tibet AJ1- ANALYST]

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery. 792 • 775 779 177

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensitive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One." 792 [292]

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?" 792 159

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

• 792 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow
159 and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 The house[1] had a central hall that ran its length. My room was
346 on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. An-
262 other lama brought food from the kitchen. It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not
[576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis*, and *gur gur cha*. And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering
159 our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender
431 him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World*, the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

 1/1 [i.e., Hemis Monastery— ANALYST]

An Incarnate Lama

The day we left Hemis the Lobon summoned Rahul and me, 792
and as I stood before Rinpoche with outstretched arms, he de- 431
scended from the dais and placed a white silk scarf across them. I then placed the scarf around my neck. The Lobon presented me with a package of tea. The same gifts were presented to Rahul in the same ritual.

I did not, however, have a white scarf (*kathak*) to present. The gift I wanted especially to give was a fishing outfit. I had a fine, steel telescopic rod with a light reel, nylon line and leaders, dry flies, wet flies, and bait hooks. This, I thought, was the ideal gift for a boy, especially a boy who lived in remote Hemis, days and days of travel from the nearest city where such luxuries might be obtained. I inquired of the Lobon if that gift would be fitting. After weighing my question an appropriate minute he said no. Buddha's teaching was not to take life. All life became sacred, the [779] beasts of the field and the fish of the rivers included. The Lobon thought that if Rinpoche were to be raised in the Buddhist philosophy he should not have a fishing outfit.

"It might tempt him to catch fish," he stated.

"Tempt him?" I said, turning to Rahul. "It would create an irresistible impulse." And so I tendered less disquieting gifts: dried milk, sugar, candies, raisins, plastic spoons, tins of jam, crackers, and, to the special delight of Rinpoche, an air mattress.

It was an interesting and simple ceremony. Rahul and I took off our shoes and entered Rinpoche's room. He was seated on a dais, his back to the window. The Lobon, Phuntzog, sat on cushions below the level of the dais and to the left of the Rinpoche. I presented the gifts one at a time, handing them to the Lobon, who in turn gave them to my host, explaining each time what they were. The little fellow's eyes danced with excitement with each gift; and he was almost beside himself when the air mattress was presented, and at once insisted to the Lobon that he sleep on it that very night.

That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche 000

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792 That afternoon, after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche
796 the Lobon invited Rahul and me to attend Rinpoche's prayers. Rinpoche has two prayer meetings daily. The lamas of the monastery have three. They are held in the chapel. Rinpoche, during his minority, holds his prayer meetings in his room.

Rahul and I, our shoes off, sat on the floor facing Rinpoche. He was on a dais opposite us, his back to the window. Phuntzog sat on cushions against the wall to the left of Rinpoche. Next to Phuntzog sat two lamas. Against the wall to our left and facing the Lobon was the teen-age acolyte who was the playmate of Rinpoche.

792 A drum about two feet in diameter stood on a pedestal before
796 the Lobon, and attached to the drum were cymbals. A small bowl
534 of corn was at the Lobon's knees. Each of the lamas on his left had a large Tibetan trumpet. The acolyte across the room had a horn shaped like a hunting horn but made of silver. Before each person was a typical Tibetan prayer book—a collection of sheets of paper about six by eighteen inches, unbound, and held between two long, narrow boards.

On a low stand in front of Rinpoche was a gold *dilbu* or bell (female symbol of wisdom); a gold *dorje* or thunderbolt about six inches long, solid in the middle and slightly bulging and open at the ends (male symbol of method); and a feather duster in a holder.

The Lobon played the cymbals and beat the drum with a stick bent in the shape of a huge question mark. The two lamas blew on the trumpets; and the young acolyte tried to outdo them all by vigorous management of the silver hunting horn. The music filled the room with a deafening sound, for the space was small, not more than fourteen by eighteen feet. It was a rather monotonous chant, a simple tune played over and over again for an hour and a half. With the music came the prayers. Sometimes the prayers would cease while the music went on. Sometimes the music would cease while the prayers continued. But for the most part the prayers were read to the accompaniment of the music.

Once in a while Rinpoche would ring the gold bell with his left 792 •
hand or with his right hand take the feather duster out of its 796
holder and then put it back. Once in a while the Lobon would 5-4
toss a few grains of corn across the room in front of Rinpoche.

These were incidental. The main effect was in the music and the chanting. It was an almost magical effect. The beating of the drum and the cymbals, the sound of the trumpets and the horn became a primitive exercise and stirred something deep inside me. It seemed that these musicians were trying to call out the devils in all of us. Then came the incantations in pursuit, driving harder and harder, faster and faster, unending in their effort to suppress the evil forces. The voice of the Lobon was deep in bass. His words poured in a mad rush of syllables to form recitations almost unintelligible. On and on he went, supplying greater and greater emphasis. His deep voice rose and fell—rising in supplication, falling to a whisper, mounting to indignation, dropping to humble praise. Over and over again went the refrain.*

There was something at first harsh and repelling in the music. Then the horn and trumpets, though louder than any of the instruments, somehow faded to the background of consciousness. The cymbals, too, seemed to come from afar. The room was dominated by the drum, the rhythmic beating, beating, beating. And with the beating, beating, beating of the drums came the chant of the Lobon—deep and guttural, up and down, sad and plaintive, loud and demanding, soft and pleading.

It was a hypnotic ritual. The words seemed to be meaningless incantations, falling from the lips of the Lobon in indistinct guttural sounds. The words and the drum set up curious vibrations and cast a spell. Many times I have had the experience of being lost in the music of a symphony, carried away on clouds to worlds remote from the hall or library where I sat. This prayer meeting was different. This music and chanting were holding a man, drawing him like a magnet, pulling him into a strange, psychic vortex

*See page 333.

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until he was swallowed by the beatings of the drum and th chanting of the Lobon.

I had read Forman, *Through Forbidden Tibet*, and his accoun of how sorcerers one day had conjured up before him and group of lamas Yama, the King of Hell, and the attendants a Yama's court—Lust, Greed, and Anger. Forman with his own eye thought he saw Yama, with his thirty-four arms and nine head and a garland of human skulls about his shoulders. Perhaps h experienced mass hypnotism. Perhaps it was human television.

I had no such experience. But as I sat in Rinpoche's room with my head bowed and my eyes closed, listening to the beating o the drum and the incessant, liquid mutterings of the Lobon, I knew at once that hypnotism was real. I felt the power of music and the human voice and for the first time knew its vast potentiality. Though there was some force fastening itself onto me, I did not try to rebel. For an hour or more I submitted to its decree.

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In the name of the Triad! O divine Lord, Mun!
In the name of the Triad! O Lotus-bearer, Hun!
In the name of the Triad! O Scepter-bearer, Hun!

In the name of the Triad! O immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, hu-lu! —hu-lu!—hun!—Phat!

In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! Ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence, Holy-one, Hun-hun!

O Mani, Mani, Great Mani, SAKYA-Mani, adoration!
O Lotus-bearer, hun!—*O fierce and greatly angry,* Hun-phat!

O Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya, adoration!

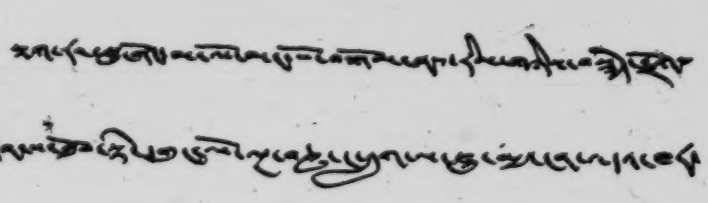
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans A

[539] 796 792 *O Divine Lord,* Mun! *O Lotus-bearer,* hun! *O Scepter-bearer, hun!*

This was the chant. Over and over, on and on, it went. It had a primitive rhythm, an incessant beat that held me. It was the music of a trance, an incessant repetition whose monotony produced a numbness. The noise of the orchestra filled the room. But it was mostly the Lobon that I heard—the deep, musical bass of Phuntzog. And high above his voice was the piping tenor of Rinpoche, coming lightly along behind the measured beat of his teacher.

After an hour or more I looked up. The chant was still in progress, the drum and cymbals still beating, the horns blaring. The Lobon was bowed in prayer, his lips barely moving as the guttural sound poured out. Rinpoche was as alert as a bird teetering on a rock. He kept up with the chant, his shrill voice now carrying above the Lobon's. As he chanted he weaved slightly to and fro. And all the while he kept peeking out the window where Rup Singh and Budh Ram were standing, watching the ceremony. And Rinpoche seemed to be telling them with his eyes that he hoped to get this business over with soon and come outdoors and join them.

•792 159 The morning of the day we left Hemis I induced Phuntzog to tell me the story of the discovery of the Rinpoche; i.e., how the soul of Stagtsang Raspa was traced to this boy. He went into his room and was gone an hour or more. When he returned, he handed me the following manuscript in Tibetan script which he had prepared; and he recited it on my tape recorder.



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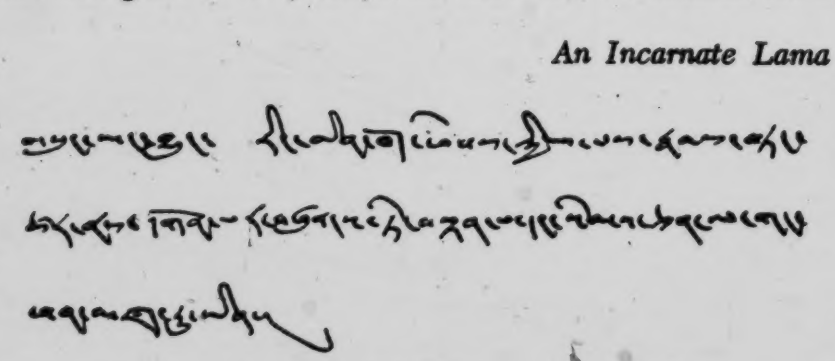
An Incarnate Lama



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A free translation of this account is as follows:[1]

"The last Stagtsang Raspa told the senior lamas of his monastery [the Hemis Gonpa], when he was over fifty years old, that he was soon going to leave this world and that they should look for him in his new life after a few years' time somewhere in Tibet. Two years after 'the retiring of Raspa to heavenly fields,' the personal attendant of our Rinpoche and I, Ngatun Phuntzog, visited the Lhasa oracle, who told us vaguely of the rebirth of Raspa to a noblewoman who lived in the middle part of the U province of Tibet, a little to the northeast of Lhasa. After finding the family, we learned that the child Raspa began to say 'Ladakh, Ladakh' soon after he was reborn. The Gelung and I saw a sign on his left wrist which we recognized to be the sign of the watch of our last Rinpoche. We recognized the scar of a boil on the back of his neck and other familiar signs on the person of our Master. And when we told his noble parents that their child was the reincarnated Raspa, whom we had come to take to Ladakh, they gladly agreed to our request. When we returned to Lhasa, the Netchung [the oracle] approved our discovery of our Rinpoche. The Gyawa Rinpoche, the Dalai Lama, blessed the two-year-old Raspa and permitted us to take him out to our monastery in Ladakh. When we returned to Hemis, the present Raspa recognized the main gate of the monastery, the entrance to his personal rooms, etc. We installed him here at the age of six years and have been blissfully happy in the return of our Guru to Hemis."

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1 [See pp. 161-163 for the TIBETAN TEXT & ANALYSIS]

Beyond the High Himalayas

• 792 159 789 775 Phuntzog talked at length about the discovery. He said that the soul usually wanders two years before it decides what life to enter. Two years from the date when an Incarnate Lama passes to heavenly fields is, therefore, the critical date. The high lamas of the monastery then go to the oracle at Lhasa and say, "Two years ago on this date, this man retired to the heavenly fields. What life has his soul possessed?"

The oracle then describes the place in general terms. When that place is found, there may be more than one baby boy who fits the description. In that event they have to make a selection. They customarily bring along some of the possessions of the predecessor. They put these on a table and bring the little candidates in. One may touch a watch and say it is his. One may inquire about his favorite hat and describe it or say where it was last hanging. The lamas may question the boys about the events in the life of the predecessor. They keep up the search until they are convinced they have found the child who has been possessed by the soul of the deceased.

I asked why Phuntzog relied so heavily on the scar of the boil and the mark of the wrist-watch band. "They are not there now," I said.

He went on to explain that the predecessor had had a nasty boil on the back of his neck and that a native doctor had burned it off, leaving a deep scar. The mark was unmistakable. The mark of the wrist-watch strap was also plain. The man had seldom removed the watch; and when he did, a lighter-colored strip of skin was plain for all to see.

That was not all. This predecessor had spoken Arabic and English. "Only the other day," Phuntzog said, "Rinpoche, who has had no lessons in Arabic, started speaking it."

"How can that be?" I asked.

"The knowledge of the predecessor is in the boy," he replied. "It has to be revived. Some stimulus has to bring it to consciousness; but it is all there."

An Incarnate Lama

As we talked we walked through the vast poplar grove and 792 came to the main monastery building. A lama sat under a tree 159 from morning till night, day after day, reciting his prayers in a 787 singsong way. Our passing did not interrupt him. We climbed to the rooms of the Incarnate Lama—the rooms Rinpoche would occupy when he reached maturity. These were the rooms occupied by the predecessor. His portrait, done in oils, stood on the mantel. Phuntzog turned to me and said, "When Rinpoche first came to Hemis, he asked for his rooms; and when I brought him here he kept pointing out various articles that he recognized."

We walked to the mantel where the oil portrait of the predecessor stood. There was silence for several minutes. Then Phuntzog, turning to me, said, "The resemblance of the Rinpoche is plain, isn't it?"

I nodded, and then I looked to Rahul and saw that he nodded too. And Rinpoche, who had been eying us closely, grinned from ear to ear and, whirling on one foot, dashed out of the room, his little red robe flying.

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346 hewn rock and adorned at the top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

764 I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed
346 on the ground and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not cus-
[775] tomary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten*. But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood—red and white.

788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten*, they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens*. They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens*, and as they walk they chant in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom*. The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

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the children during his long absences and to maintain a standard 595
of connubial fidelity. So the wife is given protection and com- 182
panionship of extra husbands. Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., who passed through Ladakh about thirty years ago on a hunting expedition, reported in his book, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon,* that polyandry served greatly to ameliorate the lot of the woman in this region. I found no evidence of that. The woman in Ladakh is the work horse of the family. When she marries she takes up the great burden of children, the house, and the fields. Unmarried women are spry, pretty, and gay. Married women are old by thirty. A few years of married life makes them bent and silent and wan. Polyandry, if designed to cater to the woman, has failed in its purpose.

In some regions polyandry may have been designed to cut down 595
the number of babies. The scarcity of food is thought by some to 168
have been the reason for the introduction long ago of the polyandric marriage into a few remote sections of the Kulu Valley. A related reason is sometimes advanced for the introduction of polyandry into Tibet and Ladakh. The view is that it was imported by the lamas as an instrument of control. This region does not produce much food. If the population curve were to go up, there would not be enough food to go around. Population is held in check by reducing the number of wives. That means more food for everyone as fewer babies are born. That means that the monasteries, bulging with food, need not fear a growing discontent among the masses who starve so that the lamas may eat. The purpose, if such it was, is lost in history. But the effect of polyandry is plain. The population of Ladakh has long remained practically stationary; and the food supply of the lamas has in no way been threatened.

Another theory behind polyandry also traces to a purpose that 595
serves the interest of the monasteries. The idea is that if a woman 182
has several husbands there will likely be discontent and rivalry 792
among the men. The wife will have favorites; and there will be

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
182 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
792 monasteries to become lamas.

595 All of these reasons* may contribute to the invention and spread
428 of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each generation of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers. The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
[601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

 * [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It[1] was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[1] [Ladakh -- Analyst]

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that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 175
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 668
Tibet today. 631

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the north- 175
west; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

• 792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

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425 not distributed the landholdings of the monasteries. Though some twenty thousand acres were taken from twenty-four landlords in the vicinity of Leh, as I have said, nine thousand acres, belonging to the monasteries, were left untouched.

671 The truth is that the Kashmir law excepts these holdings from
423 its operation. In the case of the King of Ladakh, the exception is
• 792 not important, for his holdings are not great. He probably was
425 excluded because the monasteries all around his estate were excluded. The monasteries were excluded because the power of the lamas is so great that the government did not deem it expedient to disturb the status quo.

I heard various versions of that decision. One official in Leh said to me, "If a monastery has five hundred lamas, in fairness each lama would be entitled to 182 *kanals* on a redistribution of the land. That would at times result in an increase in the holdings of the monastery."

Another official had a different view: "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, who will support them?" he asked. He went on to explain that, while the monasteries collect some funds from the people, these funds are inadequate for the support of the lamas. The people are poor and can give very little. What they do give are small sums on festival days, on marriages, and the like. There is no sustaining congregation as we know it. The monasteries are utterly dependent on the land for their support.

This official added, "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, then the government must support the monasteries. That would be bad."

"Because church and state should be separate?" I asked.

"No. Because the government could not afford to maintain the monasteries."

792 The bald truth is that the lamas are a powerful political force. The position of the lamas is strong. If A were running against B for public office and the lamas sent word down that B was hostile to the church, there is no doubt A would be elected.

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This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [943]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens*, and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

871 lighted and full of scheming devils, learns about the paintings
532 from the lamas. He first learns of devils and demons from the lips
869 of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up, from the legends of pass poison, evil demons, revengeful gods that men in the caravans relate. And when he goes to the monasteries, the stories he has heard at home are confirmed. The lamas put on their dances and out come Lust, Anger, and Greed in person. Even the most stupid person can see them in all their ugliness. Thus are the natives indoctrinated with fears and superstitions. The devils are always present; they are a factor never forgotten in the daily life of the Ladakhis. A Ladakhi burns incense to sanctify his house. He spins his prayer wheel and observes the ritual of the *mani* walls and *chhortens*. And to gain religious merit, he goes on a pilgrimage, sometimes to India proper, in search of the river of mystery in the fashion of the lama immortalized by Kipling's *Kim*.

• 792 Rahul, devout Buddhist and a prominent layman in the church,
876 made a speech a year or so ago saying the monasteries should become educational centers, bringing in the children from the surrounding areas and teaching them. The wrath of the lamas descended on Rahul. He was severely taken to task.

"Why?" I ventured to ask.

"Because the power of the lamas is in part due to the ignorance of the people," Rahul answered. "That is the reason why Tibet has been the forbidden land. The lamas do not want ideas from the outside world to reach their people. Ideas, you know, can be disturbing."

That is why travel of foreigners throughout the whole area was long restricted. That is why lamas, fearful of the importation of ideas, would sometimes turn bandits loose on travelers. That is why, even today, the educational activities of monasteries—apart from their perpetuation of superstition—are practically nil.

792 Lamaism has a vested interest not only in the ignorance of the people but in their poverty as well. Poverty and ignorance, in

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fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for 792 •
promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*), but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the *konyer*). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot* and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job 792
is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their 426
cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable, whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in 735
which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, 511
and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture. They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The [262]
Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples, grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries. That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

a grandmother, two small boys, a teen-age girl. I asked to get 511
their pictures in several different groupings. Jigmet directed them 735
to comply. After each picture, Jigmet came up and, with outstretched hand, said, "Bakshish" (an Arabic word meaning a tip, which the British introduced to Ladakh). Each time I gave him or the wife or the children something—candy, cigarettes, salt. The picture taking took a half hour or so. Jigmet and the family then left. When Rahul and I were eating dinner, Jigmet reappeared. He sat silently watching us for ten minutes or so. Then he got up, held out his hand, and said, "Bakshish." I gave him some more cigarettes. At the crack of dawn he was back, saying, "Bakshish." He followed me around as I took pictures of Upshi and its people.

I worked my way through his fields of beardless barley to get pictures of the Indus River, about a quarter mile distant. Every few yards, Jigmet, who followed me closely, pleaded, "Bakshish." That word came so frequently that it rang in my ears. By the time I had returned to the house, loaded my cameras, and started to leave, Jigmet had increased the frequency of the request. "Bakshish, bakshish, bakshish" came like a chant. I had paid him well for the lodgings. I did not know what the proprieties were. Rahul said I had paid enough; so did the Indian Army officer who was traveling with us from Pagmur to Leh.

I walked up to Jigmet and held out my hand to say good-by. He did not put out his hand but said, "If there is no bakshish, there is no use shaking hands."

I took his hand anyway and gave it a firm squeeze, saying, "This is the way we do it in America. Friendship is more important than bakshish."

Jigmet stood disconsolate as I rode off on Moti. Though Jigmet, 511
by Ladakhi peasant standards, was well off, he had not more than 735
ten dollars a year cash income. All who lived around him were 792
much poorer than he, held in a vicious serfdom under the monasteries. It was his duty to feed and care for every lama who went

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511 735 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any pos-
772 sible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[642] The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people
578 of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as
522 well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a
578 serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of be-
522 ing a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.
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Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

 7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

As the women sang, they bent over until their backs were al- 578
most parallel to the ground. They shook their fingers at an im- 522
aginary figure at their feet as if they were scolding. As they 792
pretended to scold, they swayed back and forth. And as they sang and swayed, their eyes danced with merriment. For now they were making fun of their lord and master—the one who owns their souls, their houses, their menfolk, their babies, their fields—the big rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

648
208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
• 792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
175 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

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lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle 648
directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By select- 775
ing the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church 787
got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached 792
democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beauti- 792
fully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the 159
Saturday Evening Post for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born 787
after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of 792
Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They con- 159
sulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies fre- 775
quently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

787 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus
• 792 sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-
159 encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it ap-
775 peared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

648 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in
792 this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At
775 times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

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rate pieces of paper, wrapped each one in a piece of dough, put the three in a wheel or drum, and whirled it. Out pops one; and the man whose name is in the capsule is the Dalai Lama. How they controlled the wheel so that the name of the candidate they preferred popped out is a mystery. But I learned from my early days with a carnival in this country that such mysteries are not profound. I am sure this one is not above the reach of the average pitch man.

The Chinese made the process easier to manipulate. In 1793 a golden urn was sent from China. The names of the boys who were likely candidates for the reincarnation were placed in the urn. Religious services were held, and then chopsticks were used to pick out one slip of paper. Manipulation within that scheme of things was a simple affair.

The Chinese have gone so far in their manipulation of the doctrine of reincarnation as to prohibit rebirth of a person deemed inimical to the welfare of the state. In 1882 Sing Chen helped a foreigner into Tibet and allowed him to visit Lhasa. The Chinese were displeased. They put Sing Chen to death and forbade him to reincarnate. Thus, long before the Communists came to control in China, the Chinese authorities used the doctrine of reincarnation to serve their ends and to perpetuate their authority.

The Chinese have used the Panchen Lama to further their cause of subjecting Tibet. The Panchen Lama is second to the Dalai Lama. But in some respects—too recondite for me to understand—the Panchen Lama is "holier" than the Dalai Lama. He is a political invention of the fifteenth century—not an invention of the Chinese but of the ecclesiastical authorities who, on the growth of the political power of northern Tibet, created the Panchen Lama as the symbol of the north. But the south won out and the Dalai Lama remained supreme. Yet the Panchen Lama became a divisive influence in Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs.

The Panchen Lama has a large area of his own in Tibet over which he has control. His district is Tsang Province, where he

648 exercises almost complete jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and
•792 in temporal affairs. This region is his fief, and he is the supreme
642 overlord.

In recent years, the Chinese have capitalized on this strategic position of the Panchen Lama. The previous Panchen Lama in 1924 quarreled with the Dalai Lama and left Lhasa for China. He stayed there until his death in 1937. Then the Chinese, in control of the selection of his predecessor, chose the present Panchen Lama. Up to August 1951, this Panchen Lama had never left China, had never been in Lhasa. But he, the second-in-command, sat in China urging the Tibetans to make peace with Red China, pleading with them to submit to the "liberation" program which the Communists designed for Tibet.

648 The objective of the Chinese Communist government in the
792 summer of 1951 was to get the Dalai Lama under its control. He had become alarmed at the threat of the Red Army to Tibet. So he fled Lhasa, going with his entourage to Yatung, a small monastic town near Mount Everest on the Tibetan-Indian border. I had letters to the Dalai Lama and had arranged to visit him there. But before I arrived, a train of events had changed the course of history and sent the Dalai Lama north, a virtual captive of Red China.

The family of the Dalai Lama and many influential people in the hierarchy pleaded with him not to return to Lhasa. They pointed out that if he did, he would be a ready victim of Communist intrigue. The Communists would work to liquidate the system of landlordism on which the monasteries depended. The Communists would appropriate the wealth of Tibet to their own ends, robbing the church. The Communists would undercut the authority of the Dalai Lama, making him a mere vassal. The Communists would make the monasteries dependent on them for financial support; and once the Communists got effective control, the Dalai Lama and all other lamas would be mere puppets of the Red regime. There were personal reasons as well on the side of leaving Tibet. The Dalai Lama's mother had left Tibet. The

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Chinese sent his brother to Yatung to persuade the Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa. The brother passed through Yatung, crossed to India, and caught a plane to the United States. The weight of family influence was on the side of quitting Tibet.

These were the arguments of friends of the Dalai Lama who wanted him to quit Tibet and go to India. There were other arguments I was carrying to Yatung to present as forcefully as possible to the Dalai Lama. There is reason to believe that the Dalai Lama understood this point of view and was sympathetic with it. There is reason to think that if he had his real choice he would have left Tibet.

But the arguments advanced against that move were powerful ones. The Chinese, who had sent a large delegation to Yatung to negotiate with the Dalai Lama, had talking points. First, it was intimated that the Dalai Lama was not the true reincarnation, that he was an impostor, that the Chinese had found the true reincarnation and were ready to install him. Second, the Panchen Lama, long a rival of the Dalai Lama, had been "discovered" by the Chinese, was pro-Chinese in his attitude, and was ready to acquit himself properly should the Dalai Lama refuse to return. Third, Lhasa had long been the religious capital of the Buddhist world. It is to Buddhists what Rome is to Catholics. The great weight of sentiment was for the Dalai Lama to return to the ancient capital, even though it would now be enveloped in a hostile atmosphere. Fourth, many Buddhists thought that if the Dalai Lama returned he might be able to unify the lamas against the Communist influence and present a solid front against Communist infiltration of Lamaism. Fifth, lamas came down from remote monasteries with pleas that the Dalai Lama should not leave the country. These pilgrimages may have been inspired by the Communists. But the thousands of lamas who appeared were doubtless sincere in their requests. When word spread in Yatung that the Dalai Lama was planning to fly out of Yatung and go to India, the lamas lay down on the airport. Hundreds and hundreds

648 of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane
792 to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

[787] After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

795 The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its
178 leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed
792 from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal 795
power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in 178
Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The 792
Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the
Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with 642
Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri 795
to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to 178
the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like 792
Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the 647
regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The govern- 792
ment posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. 574
We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this 792
highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

574 close with stale air; and finally we emerged into a room of abun-
•792 dant light. Bakula was there to greet us. His dais was against one wall, raised about two feet from the floor. Against another wall was a bookcase behind whose glass doors I could see beautiful Buddhas, exquisitely bound books, colorful idols. Bakula sat opposite us on a cushion. In front of each of us was a small table. Bakula's table was higher than mine; mine was higher than Rahul's. Thus were the requirements of protocol met. A barefoot, scraggy lama appeared and placed food before us. There were many vegetables, all highly seasoned except the boiled rice. Bakula did not eat. He has but two meals a day, morning and noon. He did not even participate in the dessert—fresh apricots and tea. But while we ate, he talked. And most of the talk concerned Communism.

000 Bakula is short and wiry with deep-set eyes, high forehead, and a sharp-beaked nose. He is a quiet, introspective, scholar type of man in his early thirties. Bakula is a *geshes*—a professor of the University of Lhasa, where he spent twelve years poring over ecclesiastical texts. He seems to be the born teacher. But these days he is in active politics. He is a member of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir and greatly concerned with the necessities of social reform in Ladakh. These days Bakula gives a great deal of his time to public and secular activities. He is learned in worldly affairs as well as in the Scriptures. He has studied Communism and knows the way Soviet imperialism uses it to extend its domain. He knows its history and understands its techniques. He has learned how Communism operates, the fronts it uses, the propaganda it spreads, the frictions it seeks to develop between rich and poor, its hatred and suspicion of the church, the system of terror it employs to advance its ends.

Bakula wanted to know about Communism in the United States, its strength in the labor movement, its placement in government, its power in the Army and Navy, the number of its adherents. He wanted also to know how strong Communism was

growing in Europe and in the Middle East. His questions ranged far and wide and were penetrating in their reach. 000

I turned the discussion back to Ladakh and Tibet and the Buddhist world. 208

"What is the nature of Communist propaganda in Ladakh?" I asked.

"There is none," Bakula replied.

"No radio programs beamed to Ladakh?"

"There are not more than three radios in all of Ladakh."

"No literature distributed?"

"None."

"No agents nor provocateurs operating for the Communist cause?"

"None."

"No members of the Communist party in Ladakh?"

"Not a single one."

I was amazed at these statements. In most of the countries I had traveled in Asia and the Middle East, the Communists were extremely active—stirring discontent, exploiting popular causes, using democratic slogans, posing as the champions of the oppressed. To find an area where no Communists were busy or involved was a great surprise. I asked Bakula how he explained it.

"The Communist strategy in the Buddhist world is first to get control of the church. That requires not propaganda but control of the ecclesiastical hierarchy," he said. 648 792

"They have control of the Panchen Lama?"

"Yes, he is a Chinese sympathizer."

"They now have control of the Dalai Lama?"

Bakula was deep in thought for several minutes.

"No one knows what will happen," he finally replied. "All I can tell you is what I think will happen."

"What is your guess?"

He went on to describe the temporal as well as the spiritual power that is in the hands of the Dalai Lama. It is this temporal

• 648 792 power that the Communists will try to get.[1] Perhaps they can get it, not by disturbing the form of the arrangements but by controlling the laymen and lamas appointed to the positions of authority. Such a move would result in changes almost imperceptible but nonetheless destructive of the Dalai Lama's temporal power. The Communists would then be in a position to exploit the differences between rich and poor, to breed discontent among the masses, to appropriate the wealth of the monasteries.

"Is that your prediction?" I asked.

"The Communists will use every means to get control of the wealth of the monasteries. My fear is that they will succeed."

"What will happen then?"

"The monasteries will then become so poor that they cannot carry on their work, or they will become dependent on the Communist government for their financial support."

"And in either case, become subservient to Communist influence?"

"Exactly."

"But that would affect only Tibet. What about Ladakh?"

"The Dalai Lama is the spiritual head of the Mahayan school of Buddhism, which embraces China, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Tibet, Ladakh, Bhutan, Lahul, Sikkim, and Spiti. Buddhists in these countries look to him as Catholics look to the Pope in Rome. If the Communists control the Dalai Lama, they are in a fair way of controlling that part of the Buddhist world."

These were the worries and concerns of Bakula. These are the worries and concerns of those who know the Buddhist world.

[1]One of the latest moves by the Communists in Tibet to dilute the temporal power of the Dalai Lama and to decentralize the authority of Lhasa over Tibet is the creation of an administrative council composed of the Dalai Lama and two pro-Communist Tibetans—the Panchen Lama and Sawang Ngabo. Thus the Panchen Lama is restored to the position of power he enjoyed last century. Moreover, the Chinese caused the Dalai Lama to dismiss the loyal Sawang Lukhang, who was Prime Minister and in charge of Tibet during the absence of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa.

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177 [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208

648 anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song
792 from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as
208 they draw water from the wells.

538

In the religious city of Lhasa this year
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [*rifles*] *in their hands*
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

648 The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the
792 Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese mili-
668 tary strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

000 The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

[2]About five cents.
[3]About seventeen dollars.

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of 778
the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds [788]
of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last.

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monas- 471
teries.

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare 735
subsistence level.

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth. [792]• 651

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern 423
world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not to rule. The Moslems, who were Ar[illegible] first came to India to propagate their faith in the ninth cen[illegible] They took over the rule of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the
361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers
162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense
771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of
233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have
[771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism
[797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion
162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus
● 792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest.
563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

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DEDICATION OF A NEW MANI WALL.

At each end are *chortens*.

A MONASTIC BAND.

One small lay child supports the ends of two long shawms.

A GREETING.

Women who have come out to greet the British Joint Commissioner with flour, water, chang (local beer) and fire. To the right a "band" of welcome is provided by one gentleman!

[FACING p. 48]

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TWO LADAKIS IN THE BAZAAR AT LEH.

The old Meme (grandfather) has his prayer-wheel with him in order to accumulate merit. He is wearing *charoks*, Yarkandi boots of thin red leather with a felt stocking inside. His companion prefers Ladaki footwear, of which the uppers are woven of coarse wool, sewn on to rope soles. The toes are turned up.

THE BABY SKUSHOG OF SPITUK

With his two lama "nurses." He is wearing the gilded official riding hat.

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361 chimneys of its cook-houses look up at you like unblinking owls. To visit the monastery the path leads up to turn 346 abruptly near a series of little dwelling places covering a small hill. Unrelieved by the usual balconies and adornments of village houses, they appear more like stables, but we are informed they are the abodes of the nuns. The *dGonpa* itself is very picturesque and a camera might be busy at each corner, 792 but the dirt and dust are terrible. The Lamas who belong to the red sect, are degraded looking, and the whole atmosphere 000 of the village is evil, as several travellers have noticed. What wonder that below the village we come upon that disinterred Sodom and Gomorrah already mentioned, perhaps more aptly described as a ruinous Gehenna with its twisted sulphurous [491] pillars. So we pass along the high road, meeting the Indus at the suspension bridge just below the village of Kalatse, and keeping it company to Saspola. It was when riding along this piece of road that seven year old Helen asked, as more mountains came into view, peering over their fellows, "Mummy, how 361 did the mountains make theirselves so big?" After a long uninhabited stretch of stony road we note a welcome green patch on the other side, where about three houses find enough cultivatable ground, fed from a falling stream, to support their inmates, and we are told that in winter they send their animals across the frozen river, now wide and rushing, to find what roots they can and to bask in the warmth on the sunny side. 491 As our destination approaches, a crazy-looking cantilever bridge with no side rails crosses the river. Though fairly broad, it spans a high gulf, and it is only certain local ponies who are used to it, whom one can dare to take over. Fortunately it is not on the high road, and we may pass on in peace of mind.

000 The following march ascends a *rong*, which may be defined as a pass "which goes up, but not down," a narrow defile which opens out eventually on to a broad plain, whence the snow crests surrounding the long broad Indus valley in the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a
● 792 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private
576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal ; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to
482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the discussions which were subsequently held at this conference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they had no grounds at all for their contentions.

So off we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along.

We are now travelling with the representative of his Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle-drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative

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868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which 805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and 465 565 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving 782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not 614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must 776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The 778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and 782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into 792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

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pieces of silver and gold, and then a local *Skushog* or great lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually. On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar, arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

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787 fifth Buddhist month, and, referring to his books, the *onpo* finds that for him to travel in such a south-easterly direction on a Thursday in the fifth month is most auspicious. But consulting the star for that day he finds the fates are unkind, and that should Puntzog leave on Thursday, he will be robbed. What is to be done, for, in every other respect Thursday is so lucky? Further research into the horologist's library shows a way out of the dilemma. Let Puntzog go seven steps in the direction of Hemis the day before, returning then if he likes, and he can travel safely on Thursday. One day the *onpo* paid the Doctor Sahib a visit, and he, wishing to have horological proof of his married bliss and to be assured of its continuance, asked the *onpo* to read his nuptial horoscope. His age being forty-three years showed that he was born in the "water sheep" year, whilst his partner appeared in this incarnation in the "water snail" year. Now it is quite evident that water and water mix splendidly, so that divorce was out of the question. But he had had a narrow escape, for a year's difference would have been disastrous, as it would have involved the union of wood and water, and as the latter rots the former, married happiness would have been impossible. He then inquired whether his actual wedding day had been a good one, and a beam overspread the *onpo's* face when his books told him that both the day and the constellation pointed to the choice of a perfect day. Not only riches, but a quiver full of children would be our lot. The *onpo* also advised the Doctor to take a sea voyage this year, for he was born in the water year, and this is the wood year; a ship is made of wood and is meant to go in water, therefore such a journey would be most auspicious. As he was to travel to England this year he trusted the omens would not belie themselves.

• 792 Among professions a few words must be said about nuns. Most Buddhist families like to have one representative in the Church, but sometimes they have no boy or cannot spare one.

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792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

792 875 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand 788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the 779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar* 795 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the 872 children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of 875 course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

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A Skushog and his Monastic Band

greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

The Big Drum.

A similar band, shewing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mace of interrogation.

The Chief Tibetan Representative and his Son

who have come to confer with the British and State (Wazir) Joint Commissioners of Ladak about a boundary dispute.

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ordinary walk, twirling their prayer-wheels and mumbling 796
their *Om mani's* as they go. Strange pathetic little humans 788
they are, set in a vast panorama of snow-covered mountains with giant peaks soaring up into the silences of the clear blue sky, and often in this frosty winter time tramping out their tiny track on a universal white mantle of snow. Then, too, above the temple which houses the "Byamspa" and on the same Tsemo, is another with three other deities. Round this is a most shockingly rickety verandah, which looks as if it might tumble down at the slightest provocation, and no doubt will do so some day. I myself have walked round this in fear and trembling, but now there is a column of men and women, one close on the heels of the other, and round and round the temple they walk, some turning prayer-wheels, and others saying the *Om mani.* Round and round they go until we feel giddy watching them. Even from below, right down in Leh, they can be seen circulating round their giddy parapet.

We now come to Spring, when everything is breaking out 796
into fresh life. At this season the lamas of Sankar remain in 792
their monastery for a whole month, during which special services are held. By this isolation they are deterred from taking life through stepping on insects as they pass along the roads. It is during this time that the service of making 796
"*Chos spun*" is performed, which actually means the "making 608
of the brethren of the religion." Those wishing to join this fraternity fast one whole day, during which they are not allowed to swallow even their own saliva. Then each man throws into a receptacle some personal belonging. The officiating priest takes these out in twos, thus making their owners spiritual brethren, after which ceremony, if one of them makes a feast, he must invite his brother, or if there is a festival, they must send one another presents.

A moveable ceremony is the celebration of the Buddhists' 796
High Mass. Its general likeness to our Christian service 174
makes one wonder whether Tibetan Buddhism did not get its

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of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792] ●
third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582]
pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764]
father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614]
heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593]
than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

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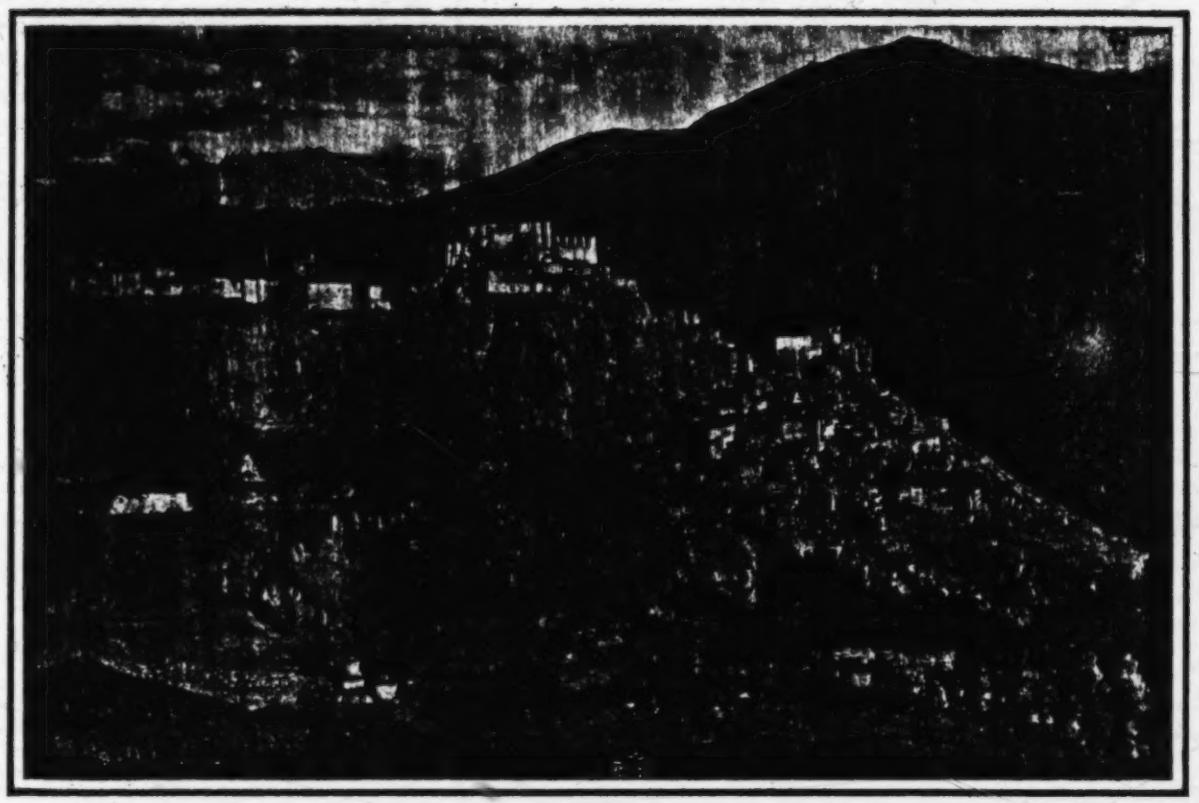

LAMAYURU.

"A fit capital for Hobgoblinland," shewing the monastery crowning the hill. Many chortens can be seen dotted about. The nuns' dwellings are below the hill in the foreground.

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643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[798] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
• 792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

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the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, 788
eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the 792
stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. 643
Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his 788
chos, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief 631
ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor im- 643
portance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, [776]
whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* re-incarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a [793]
Skushog, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor 662
old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

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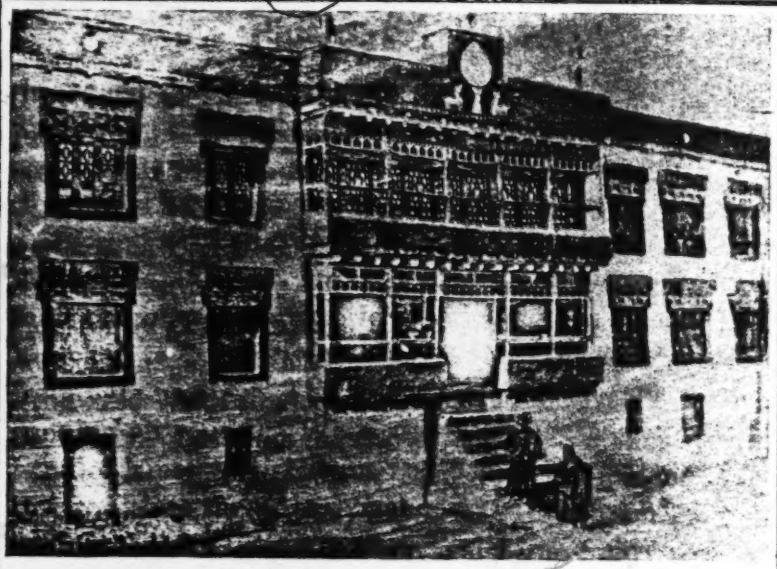

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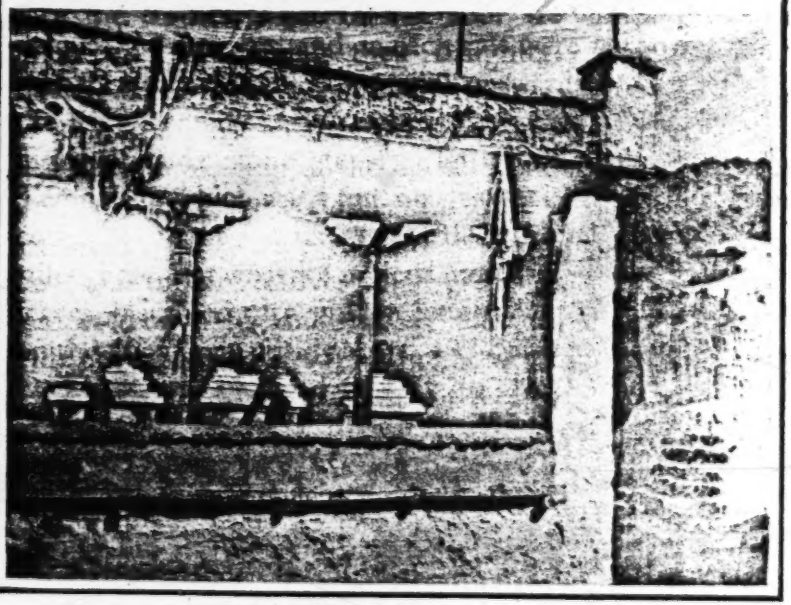

SANKAR DGONPA.

A small yellow-sect monastery close to Leh, shewing the main entrance.

A SHRINE.

The three *chortens* inside are usually coloured red, white and blue; and on the walls behind them various gods are depicted in bright colours.

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CHAPTER XXI

A Typical Monastery

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THIS is a country of monasteries, hardly a village is without one. In some it is imposing and situated on as high an eminence as can be found conveniently near the village. In others it is just a better class ordinary house with one or two lamas. Some monasteries belong to the Red sect, others to the Yellow. In some there is a resident Incarnation and others are only visited by one occasionally. It would be tedious to both reader and writer, to describe all these, so we will confine our attentions to one of the most pleasing and certainly one of the cleanest of monasteries which lies close to Leh, and may be reached by a twenty minutes' walk up through the fields behind the rest-house. A small village and a group of poplar trees, much above the average size, indicate the direction from afar, also the glint of the gilded wild goats represented just below the roof of the monastery can be descried from some distance. Having sent a message beforehand to the *sLob-dpon* (pronounced "Lobon") or head lama in charge, we meet for an early tea, and wend our way up along the stony paths by the side of the watercourse, skirting the corn-fields, so as to be able to use our cameras while the light is still good. This little monastery of Sankar is closely allied to the Yellow Cap one at Spitug, about five miles away, and is presided over by the same *Skushog* now incarnate in the small boy of whom we shall speak later.

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792 But during his minority the real presiding genius is Meme

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•792 Lobzang, a delightful old gentleman with a benevolent face and a courteous manner, which are really quite charming. He is quite a good photographer, and this common hobby forms a natural link of friendship, including requests for the purchase of self-toning paper and other photographic requisites. He is expecting us, and stands in the side of the doorway with some of his lamas so that we may advance without fear of the monastery dogs, of which there are always some about, who generally announce the arrival of an intruder with considerable and alarming vigour. The main doorway is lofty and deep, with heavy wooden doors, but to-day it is closed, as inside carpenters are sitting under its shade sawing away for some builders, busy at a new balcony in a near corner of the building. The side door, a smaller one, is that generally in use, and admits to the corner of the large court-yard, in the middle of which are two walled enclosures round wild rose bushes, one a large yellow one, the other pink, with another bush whose pale yellow flowers, insignificant in themselves, have the strong scent of syringa, in bloom. In the centre there stands a high poplar wood pole, to the top of which is attached a black yak's tail, and running down its entire length a prayer-flag. To one side of the enclosure is a mounting block from which the *Skushog* can mount his steed.

346 792 [351] [788]

Lying about the court-yard are a few dogs, but they seem quite peaceful and undisturbed by our advent. The main temple faces us as we enter, three storeys high, with the usual roof-edge of a layer of sticks about one foot broad, lying end-on, and painted with ochre. On this roof are erected at intervals long rough poles bearing prayer-flags, or yak's tails, or an umbrella-shaped structure consisting of long streamers of plaited yak's wool bound together by coarse strips of raw silk and surmounted by a trident. The windows, latticed-shaped but unglazed, are interlaced with wood, picked out in various colours, and, across the top of each, is a little valance, a frill of some coarse white cloth with a red

[788]

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346 striped border The other three sides of the court-yard are
792 filled in with the two storeyed private dwellings of the lamas. No pillared cloisters are these, but just an occasional flight of a few steps, then a door, and at the side a window at a level which may or may not be in relation with that of the other doors and windows, and over both apertures the same kind of valance. If the latter sags in the middle, there is no hurry to replace it, far less to wash it, but on the whole this *dGonpa*, presents quite a clean, brushed, cared-for, tidy appearance. Ascending the steps, we arrive in the large covered portico outside the main room or refectory of the
353 monastery. All round the three walls pictures are painted in
779 bright colours. On the left is the " Wheel of Life " held by
53v a dragon-like monster. This consists of an inner, a middle, and an outer circle the middle one being divided into six compartments. The inner circle represents by means of a dove, a serpent and a pig coloured respectively red, green and black the three vices, lust, ill-will and stupidity, which bind man to the wheel of existence. In the upper compartment of the middle circle are the gods, into this grows the tree whose fruit provides any food desired by the soul and whose roots lie in the world of the demi-gods, who continually wage war against the gods in order to obtain this fruit. In the upper left-hand compartment are men. The above three existences are superior, whilst below the equator are the inferior ones of beasts, then of *yidags*, poor miserable men with large bellies, but such small necks that their hunger can never be appeased through such constricted throats, and in the lowest section are the hells, both hot and cold. A cold hell seems rather a misnomer to English ears, but Ladakis, at any rate, know the terrors of extreme cold. Buddha himself is out of the circle, and yet his reflexes seem somehow to be still in the wheel of existence. In the outer circle are pictures illustrating various phases of life, such as birth, marriage, death, burial work.

Opposite the top of the steps, on each side of the door with

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its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the 353
compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these 779
figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right 532
wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering 346
the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, 352
lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an 792
inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be 264
seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a 352
collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside 792
down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the 352
Slobdpon is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the 792

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352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the ecclesiastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*, who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any misbehave.

792 Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their 346 devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books, punctuated every now and again by the band, when the 353 flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the 779 row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are 532 able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and, let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges, though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be [415] found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes 779 chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves 788 containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain. 779 788

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands, each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate his many heads an attic projects up into an inner courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha, for permission to return and help him, he received this reply, "Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all, I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these heads represent four past races, and that actually there should be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating, but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate, it was "the light that failed." We pass into another room containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

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they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

And there is still another room in which there is a large god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his head projects into a second storey reaching into a little verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

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and man, and he possesses 1000 heads. Thrown at his feet one notices many cowrie shells and Indian copper coins, the former brought by women to appease him. This image was only made a few years ago, and a special series of services were held to induce the god to enter the image. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting and dancing in the grove of large trees at the side of the monastery, while the actual ritual was performed on the roof, where Meme Lobzang (the *Skushog* being then a tiny baby) presided, assisted by a group of lamas, who helped him to pour the right libations and offerings from the many vessels and bowls before his throne into the large fire which leaped and crackled before him, accompanied by monotonous incantations and chants from a group of seated lamas, and, of course, the monastic band. To this roof we now duly ascended up another very steep ladder, where Meme Lobzang himself extended his hand to help the ladies with true Western gallantry. The view was magnificent, both behind towards the Kardong Pass and before down to Leh, whose trees blotted out the desert below, so that the cultivation and all its little square terraced fields might have extended to the foot of the mighty mountains on the further side of the Indus, all touched with the magic softness of the westering sun.

Retracing our steps down the steep staircases, through the dim passages and rooms, we emerged again into the portico, and viewed the lamas private dwellings ranged on the three sides in front of us as we descended the temple steps. In the left-hand corner was a peculiarly fantastic bit, so delightfully crazy it looked. A short flight of steps led up to two doors, each with an ancient padded curtain to keep out the draught, and a sagging valance above, whilst over one was a quaint little attic with a window of roughly-patterned lattice, its lines so fascinatingly crooked, and enhanced by a small awning, projecting from one side of the attic to shade the roof, on the edge of which was a series of rough window boxes,

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where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that grotesque little corner.

There was one more interesting little visit to be paid. Meme Lobzang actually consented to show us his own private compartments. There were eight of us, and the lamas had some whispered consultation as to whether we should all get in. Across the court-yard and up some steps to the right of the main entrance, under the valanced doorway, through a small vestibule in which we noticed a fascinating copper water pot, we entered a tiny room looking down towards Leh. We could just manage to sit down on the floor, the interested lamas peering in and watching our every movement with amused curiosity. The floor was covered with small mats over felt ones. The *Slobdpon's* chief resting place and probably his bed, was rather more padded, and covered with an orange felt. He sat with his back to the small latticed window, a low tiny table in front, and at his side a higher one on which were sundry portraits, one of their Majesties, the King and Queen, one of the Dalai Lama, and one of the *Skushog* of Hemis in his festival dancing dress with high hat and overskirt of human bones, taken by the Doctor Sahib. A pickle bottle held a bunch of green from the shrub in the court-yard, and at the side was a low open bowl of rose petals. A small god like a doll, and a pot of charming design, the latter unfortunately dressed in lady-like petticoats, were also noticed, besides a printing frame, and another tiny god of doll's house size. Behind him on the windowsill sundry writing materials, religious books, and small ceremonial utensils lay about, a coloured portrait of the late King Edward hung on another wall; in fact every corner of the room was used, yet the effect was clean and tidy. Stuffy it could not help being with so many visitors, and, after taking

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a dried apricot each (to dispose of later on by some other means than the mouth), from a plateful which he presented to us, we rose to go. On the way out he invited us to see his kitchen, another tiny, but tidy little apartment, with its cooking vessels clean and neatly arranged, and its low roof shiny with the polish of years of smoke. These rooms had not been tidied up for our reception, yet they completed the pleasant impression of order and cleanliness he had already given us, and it was with a real respect for the benevolent old gentleman that we bade him adieu, and passed down by the iris-bordered corn-fields in the soft evening light to our homes.

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CHAPTER XXII

Skushogs & Scandals

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AMONG the greater personages who periodically appear on the stage of public life in Leh are the *Skushogs* of the surrounding monasteries. The word Sku-shog, meaning literally "body-great," or translated freely, "your presence," is a title of honour used by Central Tibetans for any person of rank, including even the European occasionally, but in Western Tibet it is confined to clerical dignitaries, and, in practice, is only used to designate the head abbot of one or more monasteries. Such a man is regarded as having obtained sufficient holiness to reach Nirvana, but in his compassion for his fellows he voluntarily remains in the wheel of life, and comes back to help them by presiding over their *dGonpa*. Thus as soon as the head incarnation of a monastery dies, he is re-incarnated in a male baby born at the time of his death, this child then has to be discovered and brought to rule over his own lamasery when old enough. Here he is absolute monarch; he himself cannot do evil whatever sin he commits; he is a law-giver, but need not abide by the laws he lays down. The method of discovery and preparatory education of a *Skushog* may be best told by translating a short biography written in Tibetan by the *Skushog* of Hemis at our request.

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"My own home is not in Llasa itself, as my father was an assistant to the Yutog minister, whose house is connected with Lhasa by a bridge, covered by a roof set in turquoise-coloured baked bricks. My house-name is 'Yutog Shar.'

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The Yutog minister is the governor of twelve provinces and lives in the Kensdongrdzong. 797 159

"I was born when my father was in the employ of the Yutogpa. My birthday is in the fifteenth Rabjhung, in the year of the Sheep. According to the English calendar, this would be the year 1883 A.D. When I was eight years old, that is in the end of the year of the Iron Tiger, the steward of the Hemis monastery, whose name was Ngagwang Chos Zang, and the Kashmir State sent to Llasa for me, where I was staying at Dechen Choskor, which means the Holy Wheel. That I was their *Skushog* was conclusively proved to the envoys, for when they asked the Yongdzin Incarnation to tell them where they could find their new incarnation, he told them my house-name, my father's name and the name of my birth-year quite distinctly and correctly, although it was impossible for him to have known anything about me. Having arrived at Lhaldang, they acquainted me with this prophecy. This was in the ninth year of the Iron Rabbit. After doing obeisance to the Dalai Lama with the *Lobchag* [this is the merchant who is sent from Ladak every two years by the Kashmir State to salute the Dalai Lama and to hand him a present of Rs.9,000]. I offered my first hair to the Yongdzin, who was my Arch-*Skushog* at Dechen Choskor, and was then decorated with the crown-name Ngag Wang Jhamspel Gelegs Rgyaltsan Lhundrup Chogslas Rnampar Rgyalwai Lde, after which I started on my journey; at Shigatse I went to meet Panchen Ertini (the Trashi Lama, who is next in rank to the Dalai Lama), and after this arrived safely and happily at my destination in Hemis. The next year my enthronement as the successor of former *Skushogs* took place, after which I returned to Lhasa, going on to Sangsngag where the Arch-*Skushog* lives, and where I met the head of the Red Sect Lamas, the Drugpa Rinpoche and the Yongdzin Rinpoche, and where I learnt the

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•792 159 doctrinal truths, staying for some months. After this I stayed in Gongkar Dechos until the Sheep year, and in the year of the Firemonkey I went to see the Galwa Rinpoche, that is the Dalai Lama. Having done obeisance to him, he conferred on me the rank of 'San-o-han-too,' which is a Mongolian word, and other honours which are only bestowed on men of high rank. [To show this rank he has an umbrella carried before him, and possesses his own flag.] I was also placed over other *Skushogs* and professors. I thus received such kindness and praise from the Dalai Lama. That year I returned to Ladak, and the next I passed my examination in doctrine. After this I went to the hermitage of Godtsang, where I lived as a hermit, meditated on the doctrines of Saskya Rnyingma and Drugpa, etc., and read the Kangyur and the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, and pondered their meaning. Here I remained for ten years, but in the Firemonkey year I came out of retirement, and from that time onwards I have been travelling about Upper and Lower Ladak and Kulu, visiting my congregations and giving money to a few lamas, and occasionally I stay in a hermitage."

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792 177 Since he wrote this little history he has also made a grand tour through India, Ceylon and Burmah to Lhasa, and has thus seen something of the impact of Western civilization, which interests him greatly. He has always been much attracted by small mechanical toys and Western devices, such as electric torches, clocks, watches, microscopes, etc., and is himself an expert photographer. Some visitors to Hemis were once amused to see on each side of the chief altar in his private apartment a pair of Odol bottles, their bent necks facing each other. When we first visited this room, they were replaced by Southwell jam jars containing artificial flowers. He is interested in Western medical science too, and gave a sum of money to the Doctor Sahib towards getting the operation theatre of the Moravian Mission Hospital in

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order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get 792
their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be 177
"the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, 792
and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty- [643]
three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill 792
suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting 361
which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, [795]
whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

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mountains, jutting out of a long range to the north of the valley. This is a Yellow-Cap monastery and therefore gives a cleaner impression than most of the red ones. Its present re-incarnation was the hero of a strange series of events during the time we lived in Leh.

It must have been in 1914 that we first made his acquaintance. We heard that the Trigtse *dGonpa* had been without a *Skushog* for years, but at last a deputation of lamas had visited Tibet, and declared that they must bring their *Skushog* back to take up his rule. The boy, who was then about nineteen, refused to come, and his father strongly advised the lamas not to take him, declaring they would only rue it. He was a head-strong youth with no ecclesiastical leanings at all, and had already, we were told, fought on the side of China against his own country. The lamas insisted however, and he was brought to Ladak and installed at Trigtse. He seems to have been anxious to make the acquaintance of the white man, and, thinking he must do in Rome as Rome does, he sent an envoy from Trigtse to Leh to seek out the correct clothing for his first call on the Sahibs. This man, having searched the bazar in vain, called at the Hospital and asked the Doctor Sahib where he could buy a solar topee. Now the doctor and his bride, when they first came to India, had been advised by ill-informed friends to be sure to purchase these topees at Trieste, their port of sail from Europe. Here, therefore, they invested in what proved to be most inappropriate policemen-like helmets, and a kindly sister in India at once saw to it that the Memsahib's was replaced by a more suitable one. Bringing the ugly old helmet to Leh, in case the better one broke, she little thought how august a wearer it would find, for the Doctor Sahib with sudden inspiration sent the man over to his house, where his wife unearthed the discarded topee for the servant to take to his master. She added a pair of speckled socks of her husband's of which she disapproved, an armful of picture papers, and

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some vegetables from the garden, and the man went off in high glee at the success of his expedition. 792 159

The next morning we were asked whether the *Skushog* of Trigtse might call upon us. We hastily arranged for an interpreter, for our Superintendent was away, and we were all new to the country; moreover, our guest's language of Central Tibet was quite a different dialect from that of Ladak. He duly arrived, dressed in his official robes and attended by two or three lamas, and was invited into the drawing-room. But he lingered in the hall, and to the Doctor's surprise began to undress. This process continued to such an alarming extent that he was led into the study. Two other ladies had just called to go out with the Memsahib, and great was the surprise of all three when the drawing-room door opened, and the *Skushog* entered. He wore the helmet-like topee, a Chinese type of frock-coat with paired pin-tucks across the back, brown trousers, a pair of bright yellowish socks, and some Chinese-looking attempts at European shoes. Invited to a chair, and the interpreter called, he entered into friendly talk. He announced among other things that he would like to become a Christian, but we did not take this seriously, and pointed out that he could not do that and retain his wealth and power as a *Skushog*. He then intimated that he would like to stay the night, a rather awkward proposition with our limited accommodation, but we said we could give him the verandah. His lamas whispered anxiously together and let him know it was time to go. Meanwhile they had boiled some tea for him on a little fire outside our kitchen in his own pots, as he must not take food of our cooking. After this the Doctor offered him a cigarette, not knowing in his ignorance of the country that it was against the rules. The *Skushog* made violent signs to him to withdraw into the study again, where, away from the eyes of the lamas, he enjoyed his smoke thoroughly. The latter were at last able to get him to go, and withdrew him on to the verandah where he changed

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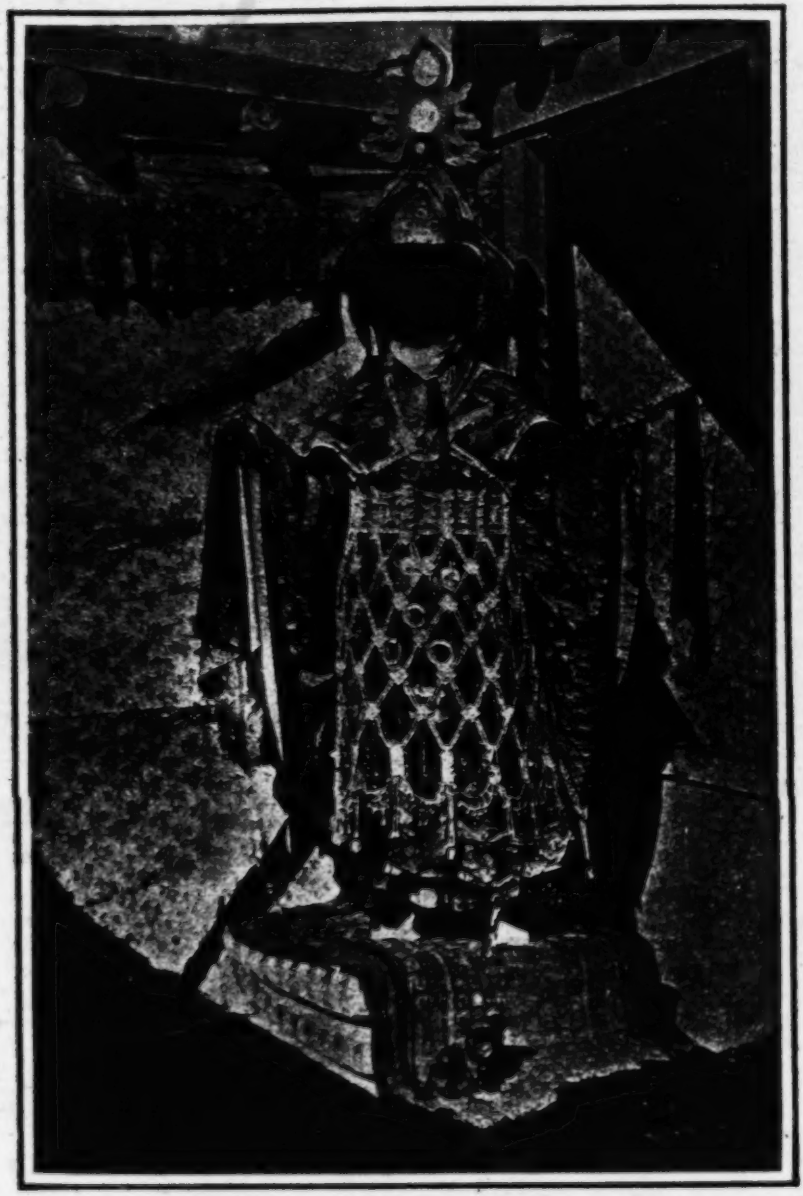

THE SKUSHOG (ABBOT) OF HEMIS DGONPA

In the robes in which he led off the first dance at the Festival of 1916. The overskirt is made of human bones, and in his right hand he holds a dagger. The cloth across his mouth is to keep out the dust raised by the dancing.

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• 792 back into his priestly vestures, which, needless to say,
159 suited him far better. Before he finally retired to change
574 into them, he straightened himself and squared his shoulders, in order to show us that he also possessed a waistcoat ; but, alas ! between the bottom of that garment and the top of his trousers was a hiatus in which his holy brown body was disclosed. Short of stature, with a strong convergent squint, and scarred by small-pox, indisputable signs of his being the true re-incarnation of his predecessors, for he was sure that he himself had never had small-pox since this re-birth, the foreign clothes hardly showed him off to advantage. The next occasion on which he visited us he retained his *Skushog's* garb and had a photograph taken of himself and his suite, the incongruous element being that his most intimate servant was not a lama, but a Mussulman with short hair and a Tibetan cap with four fur-lined flaps.

After his first call, we took the opportunity of a day's holiday to ride over to Trigtse and visit him. We found him encamped in a *bagh* below and about a mile away from the monastery, in a gorgeous tent with nice camp furniture. We ourselves had brought a picnic lunch, at which he elected to join us. The Memsahib was much amused to find that for her first attempt at meat patties, she had put sugar into the pastry instead of salt, but the *Skushog* seemed to find this quite to his taste, and enjoyed them immensely. Afterwards we all repaired to the monastery, riding our ponies up the steep ascent, and he showed us over it, including all his own private apartments.

792 But things soon began to go wrong and all sorts of rumours
159 reached Leh. The *Skushog* declared in public that he did
771 not believe in his own office or his religion. When the common people knelt as he rode past, instead of placing his hand on their heads in benediction, he boxed their ears. He had no reverence for the holy property of the monastery, but sold many of its treasures to any good bidder ; he also had the

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idols out in a row to use as targets for a shooting practice. His colleague at Hemis sent him a letter, and this he returned with a donkey drawn across the bottom as his pertinent and only reply.

One day matters came to a crisis : his lamas gave him a severe beating and shut him up in solitary confinement. Yet by every token he was their *Skushog*, and one of them seems to have relented and released him. The two came to Leh, where the *Skushog* first went to the State Hospital to have his external wounds attended to by the Indian Sub-Assistant Surgeon, but his internal treatment he could only trust to the English doctor, so for that he came to the Mission Hospital, where he also received a lesson on Western professional etiquette. The monasterial difficulties resulted in a court case, following which certain of his lamas were sent to prison in Leh, which hardly bettered the relations between them and their spiritual head.

It was not now practicable for him to return to Trigtse, and the question arose as to what was to be done with him, for still he was their *Skushog* and entitled to the financial benefits of his office. The matter came up before the British Joint Commissioner, the Wazir or State Joint Commissioner, and eventually was taken to H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The result of it all was that in 1916 he went down to India, and for two or three years vanished into oblivion. Early in 1920 he again appeared in Ladak with one lama servant, giving stange accounts of his experiences in India. He said that he had served as a common sepoy in Baluchistan, alleged that in some capacity he had been as far as Basra, that he had acted as bearer to an English officer with alcoholic tendencies, and also that he had been connected with a Colonel Sahib in the neighbourhood of Madras, who had treated him as his own son, and of whom he always spoke with sincere and friendly gratitude. He still maintained his utter disbelief in the religion of his fathers. The people

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•792 called him " the Mad Skushog," but, said he, " I am not mad
159 I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenance
771 and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one else
could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirely
[797] repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed him
to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and the
Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted that
the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity
and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moravian
missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficult
situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipated
life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruc-
tion, telling him that study and probation were necessary first.
He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, who
found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, to
whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds were
perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our minds
can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could not
believe.

[626] At about this time, living as he was with his one lama ser-
vant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist homes
alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. After
taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill
and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionaries
and begged them to take him into their compound, where
he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he was
given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look up
the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting on
his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still sus-
[557] pected that the desire to join the Christian religion was
secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found that
he had hoped to get a political post under the British Govern-
ment, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Without
it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetans
would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them up

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in yak's skins and casting them out in the desert to be shrivelled to death. A Bishop was coming to visit the Mission, and the British Joint Commissioner would soon be coming up for the summer months, so he waited with us for both, though meanwhile he went away for two or three weeks to fetch some of his property from Zankskar. He took his lama servant with him, and, before starting, secured what he considered was an outfit of European clothes. When remonstrated with, he replied that he had thought over the matter carefully, and wished to show that he had made a clean cut with the old life. On his way down we heard that he stuck to his profession of Christianity, asked a blessing before his meals, read his New Testament aloud, and, when the usual offerings were brought to him by ardent Buddhists,—for still he was a *Skushog*,—only took them under protest, saying that he himself had no blessing to give. Arrived at Zankskar he obtained his pony and goods, but his lama deserted him, in fact he seemed to have had a rough time, and he came back alone. Strange it was to think of this high-born ecclesiastical dignitary travelling in the Orient with no servant, though doubtless credulous Buddhists were still eager to obtain merit by providing for his wants at each stage. A short waiting time remained, during which he often came to meals with us, rode and talked with us, proving an entertaining companion and a gentlemanly guest. He also continued his instruction and attended church services regularly, sitting on the floor with the other members, and entering into the responses and hymns with apparent sincerity and enjoyment.

Finally, through the British Joint Commissioner, he was given a post in the Secret Service at Gyangtse, just across the Tibetan border on the Darjeeling side, and left Leh with letters of reference and recommendation, vowing that in two years he would come back to complete his instruction in the Christian faith.

So this strange youth vanished from our midst. We

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learned afterwards that with the Maharajah's sanction, he obtained Rs500 from the Trigtse *dGonpa* to help him to get home, though the lamas would commit themselves to no statement as to whether they still regarded him as their *Skushog* or not, but at the monastery itself they always refer to him as the "Mad Skushog" still, and can appoint no successor during his lifetime. The last news we were able to obtain was from a lama, returning from Lhasa and visiting relations near Leh, who said that he was still alive, and that he and his father had saved their skins owing to the latter's wise forethought at the time the deputation first fetched his son from Tibet Knowing the lad's extraordinary character, he had taken the precaution to draw up a document, stating that the Trigste lamas insisted on taking the boy away, both against his own will and the son's. This paper eventually saved their lives, but the father was subsequently dismissed from his high post in the government and relegated to a lower one, while the son seems to live in a place of internment somewhere in the Closed Land, though not in Lhasa itself, provided with a house and fields, but segregated with other renegades, where, as the Trigtse lamas put it, he has not now the power to do so much mischief.

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Coming down the valley we meet our next Incarnation at Spitug, another lamasery picturesquely perched on a hill. When we first came to Leh, he was personified by an old man bearing the pontifical name of Bacola whose reputation did not savour of holiness. His other, and smaller, monastery at Sankar, just behind Leh, often received visits from him, so that he was not infrequently met on the six miles of road between. He died in 1917, but it was not for two or three [775] years that we heard that he had been re-incarnated in the second son of the *rGyalpo* (King) of Marshro, a petty Rajahship some fourteen miles away. Through his mother, who, like the old Bacola, came from Zankskar, his present physical body is a great-nephew to his former one. When this small

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person reached the age of five, he was brought from his home and with elaborate ceremonies inducted into office, the rites being performed at Sankar. From this time he remained in the care of the lamas, Meme Lobzang, our old friend at Sankar, being his lay tutor, while his spiritual instruction was undertaken by the Sras *Skushog* of Ridzong, of whom more anon, and with whom he sometimes went away for long periods. The present Bacola is a charming little person, with a big head and large wondering childish eyes, in fact, it is quite pathetic to see him sitting on his little throne in his own private apartment at Spitug, with the insignia of his office replacing childhood's playthings on the table before him, and to hear his lamas instructing him as to what to say and do in their most polite and deferential language. Once one of these satellites arrived in Leh, and earnestly asked one of the Memsahibs for a cabbage. " But," said she, " it is late in the winter and all our cabbages are done. We have not enough for ourselves." But the lama pleaded and pleaded,—even a little tiny one would do,—for the Baby *Skushog* was crying and would not be comforted unless they procured a cabbage for him. So the Memsahib searched among the few old vegetables left, until she found a little one that would satisfy his baby desire. 792

The *Skushog* of Peyang does not often visit Leh, and we have rarely seen him, but he is reputed to be one of the most erudite scholars of his own religion. He is of the red variety and holds sway over the Lamayura *dGonpa* also. [795]

Finally, a few words must be said about the incumbent of Ridzong lamasery, a few miles behind the hills of Saspola, who also rules a monastery in Nubra, so has constantly to cross the Kardong Pass. This gentleman, with his refined scholarly face, is perhaps the most spiritually-minded and learned of all the neighbouring abbots. A member of the reformed yellow sect for whom celibacy is decreed, he has yet dared to take and acknowledge a wife, instead of indulging 792 588 [795]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 in the usual profligacy, which still must be legitimate for one
588 who is a law-giver, and who can do no sin. This lady, who is addressed by the honorific title of *Bûm*, often accompanies him on his visits to Leh; she is very resplendent with magnificent *perag* and jewels, but quite friendly, and when she visited us was most interested in our children and their toys and dolls, especially one of the latter with eyelashes!
775 The *Skushog* is generally known as the "Sras" or Son *Skushog*,
792 for he is one of a pair of incarnations, the "Yab," or Father *Skushog*, being the priest-king, we have already met on our tour to Zankskar. In the present re-birth the son happens to be older than the father, but that is a mere detail in this system of re-incarnation, where the physical body is of such minor importance.

240 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

796 The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any time between the beginning of June and the middle of July. 361 The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to ●79v get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod, towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to [178] the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the [244] approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten* with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base, until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees, pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English 574 countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious, spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

574 are personally invited by him. At the lower end of the wood he has lately built a guest-house on the plan of the bungalows inhabited by the missionaries in Leh. On the side furthest from the road, directly opposite the monastery, the wood ends abruptly on the bare hillside of rock and stone. Climbing to a good vantage point on this, a delightful spot can be found to listen to the monastic evensong, and watch the shadows steal over the vast expanse of the river and valley spread out below.

Though the spur of hills cuts off the main Indus valley to the left, beyond it rises tier after tier of great bare lonely mountain tops, overwhelming in their immense majesty. Behind even these giants, the clouds lift to disclose still greater heights of everlasting snow. Truly one has now the impression of having arrived on "the roof of the world." In the valleys below, the lights and shades chase across hill and plain, and, as the moon comes up in the cloud-flecked sky behind and pursues her slow path through the white wind driven masses, the strangest wraith-like forms seem to rise and pass below. At first they appear to be white clouds tucked down between the lesser hills, but, as they move to and fro, it becomes evident that it is merely the effect of the moonlight between the passing clouds thrown on to the sandy spaces. 533 Then across the stillness of that great expanse, hitherto only 797 broken by the stream coursing down between the trees some 346 way below and the breezes rustling their leaves, comes the strangest music, slowly rising in pitch and increasing in tone till the hills take hold of it, and roll its reverberations on among themselves, achieving an effect weird and fascinating beyond description. Turning in the direction of the sound, one sees to the left, in the darkness only, the faint outlines of the monastery building with dim lights shining in its windows, while other tiny ones twinkle fitfully in the quaint habitations merging into the hillside, whose queer ridged stratification is faintly perceptible, but one knows that on the roof of the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
● 797 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
[291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

side valleys, the latter at once detected by a slight difference in dress or dialect. Here came a group of Indian officials from Leh, in front the white turban and coat of the Tehsildar or chief magistrate on an alert little pony with one or two attendants, behind at a little distance his daughter in her closed dandy, then his wife in hers, and their carrying coolies singing as usual ; sometimes the wail of the baby was heard from within the curtain. Leh traders, who put up little temporary shops under canvas along the main street (a series of steps and platforms at the side of the monastery) a detachment of Gurkhas from the company stationed at Leh, two Ladaki girls riding on one pony with a male relation at the side, all these, and many more types we can study at leisure during the long intervals of the performance, which would be unutterably boring apart from the picturesque and varied audience, to whom we are as much a part of the show as they are to us. One more little group, passed as we neared the monastery, deserves mention. Placed on a sort of chair, railed on the four sides and fixed to his saddle, sits a wee baby *Skushog*, the Incarnation of the *dGonpa* at Stagna, about ten miles away. He wears the correct red *Skushog* robes, and processional riding-hat, and wobbles a bit with fatigue after his long ride. We stop to greet him and his attendant lamas, and find he is only six years old, in fact he looks less.

They draw aside to let us pass, and, as we look back to bid him adieu, the rich red of the lamas, the yellow-brown of his pony, with its small offspring sidling up to the mother adding a further baby element to the group, form such a picture against the green trees, *chorten* gate and distant mountainous background, that it makes us wish our camera was not packed up and ahead in our bedding. This tiny abbot re-appeared several times during the ensuing ceremonies, now on the roof, now in a balcony, now in a prominent corner just outside the main door of the *dGonpa*, always with his devoted lama nurse in attendance, and delighting us by his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 797 796 baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu" to her.

796 536 Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs, which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the [565] monastery. These are four storeys high, the upper ones having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and [643] only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable, but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view, while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

So from time to time one interesting type after another 796
appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the 184
picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the 291
lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next 792
to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he [554]
cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims 796
melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the 000

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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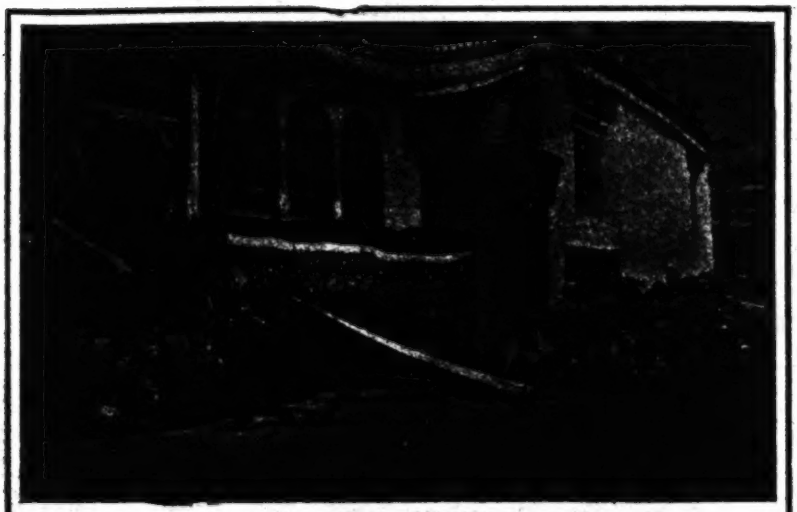

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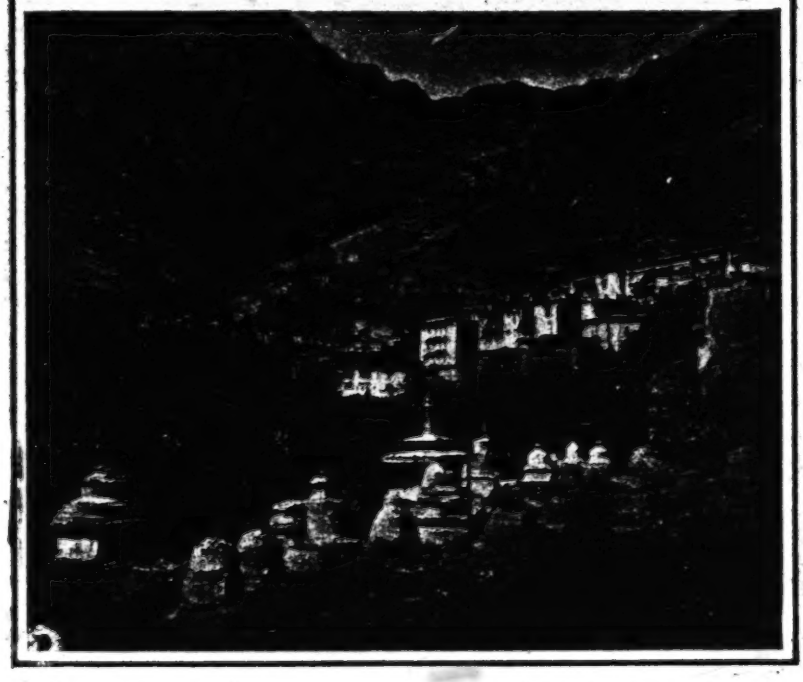

THE FESTIVAL AT HEMIS.

Showing the lamas of the monastic band blowing their long *shawms*. To their left is the *Skushog's* throne, and to their right a large prayer-wheel framed in a projection of masonry.

HEMIS DGONPA.

With *chortens* in the foreground. This is the monastery where the great festival is held annually. Hidden among the foothills, it has escaped pillage. Hence it is rich in treasure.

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CHAPTER XXVI

The Lure of Ladak

771 THE festival at Hemis is, as it were, a grand climax to all the strange things we see and find in this extraordinary country, which culminate in its religious practices. We have described lightly the outward ceremonies and appearances of the masque, emphasizing perhaps its humorous details, conscious and unconscious: yet, when we review it as a whole, we cannot but be appalled at its deeper significance, nor can we fail to realize that this country of cheery, attractive, lovable folk is a prey to the most rampant demonology. Where all the best religions of the world will at least point upwards, as it were, to "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" as worthy of contemplation, here the whole force of Lamaism directs the people's attention downwards to that which is impure, ugly, evil. Surely in spiritual matters they are "upside down"
787 rather than we. The study of their horoscopy alone impresses one with the terrible burden of it all, the endless costly offices imposed on the common ignorant, superstitious people by Lamaism. It is rightly stated that "one family alone is prescribed a sufficient number of sacerdotal tasks to engage a couple of lamas fairly fully for several months of the year."

788 The rites enjoined to overcome the difficulties of the conflict-
● 79v ing horoscopes of relations dwelling together, the ceremonies necessary to nullify evil influences in connection, not only with the crises of life to which we have referred, but with

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

other lesser events in the family activities and even in the surrounding neighbourhood, all are used to exploit the credulity and fears of a primitive people for the enrichment in money and power of a set of priests, themselves with little education, save the reading of their "holy" books. Thus, apart from the exercise of these functions, the lamas, who are said to constitute almost one third of the population, lead useless lives of indolence and indulgence, contributing nothing to the economical and certainly not to the spiritual welfare of their fellow countrymen, but merely absorbing their hard-earned riches in parasitical luxury. As an observer from the Chinese side has recorded, "Lamaism is responsible for having sapped the manhood of Mongolia of its energy and initiative, and deadened its intellect." By segregating such a large proportion of its young manhood into an enforced and false celibacy, it lowers the birth-rate as well as the moral standard of the country. How infinitely removed are these evil practices from the pure teachings of the Buddha, whose name has been associated with the veneer of reform introduced into this devil-worship. The wonder is that the people remain as wholesome and cheery as they do, and no visitor to Ladak will deny the attractiveness of this sturdy hill race.

Indeed they are part of that lure of Ladak which every year provides the British Joint Commissioner with a waiting list for travellers desiring passes far longer than that of the successful applicants. Falling into a different category from the ordinary visitor is the sportsman, whose pass is included in his shooting license, men, and even women, to whose primeval hunting instincts the great hills call. The mere traveller may be lured by the everlasting hills also, or the peculiar bare country, or its strange inhabitants and their quaint customs. The mere joy of the road calls some, while few can on arrival resist being curio hunters, and during their brief visits concentrate their attention on any of the following: the cups of rare china, the more common wooden ones lined wtih silver,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

metal spoons, brass and copper tea-pots or other utensils, robes and other garments of Chinese design, turquoises, jade ornaments, furs and small carpets. Some of these visitors travel very simply, with minimum of servants and luggage; others prefer a voyage de luxe with a long train of both. The former when invited to dinner, would fain accept, but regret they "have only shorts," and are happy to be assured that this is quite correct evening kit in Leh. The latter bring full evening dress, and one of these evoked a facetious comment from our man-servant. Unlike the custom prevailing in India, we train women-servants for the work in the house, while a man combines all the functions of water-bringer, gardener, groom, etc. This gentleman was asked to light a fire on the second occasion when a certain Mem Sahib was expected to dinner, although in this land of scarce fuel we had not thought of beginning fires for ourselves yet. His concise comment was, "Much meat, little clothes."

Then there are visitors who are specialists in some particular line of research, and, in the short twelve years during which we have been closely connected with Ladak, we have had among our visitors botanists, geologists, ornithologists, archæologists and topographers; also devotees of the camera, even of the cinema, besides those of the brush, who comprise a list in themselves, from the mystic type of picture painter, the etcher, the futurist, and the straightforward colourist (if we may coin the term), to the lightning or snapshot sketcher. Some of these specialists have been organized into expeditions, such as the Anglo-Italian one, led by Sir Filippo De Filippi in 1913-14, and which passed on into the Karakorams and the Depsang Plateau, but was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the outbreak of the Great War. It comprised many experts in different sciences, and those who were engaged in gravimetric observations in the course of their investigations sent up several air balloons in Leh. These eventually descended in the surrounding

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

villages, and were the cause of much wonder and fear, out of which the lamas made a rich harvest by exercising the evil influences they were supposed to disseminate. This expedition was also able to receive in Leh wireless messages from Dehra Dun, perhaps a foretaste of broadcasting, even across the Himalayas. The Dutch expedition of 1922, and again in 1925, as we write, at work on the glaciers of the Karakorums, led by Mr. and Mrs. Visser with their Swiss guides must also be noted. Then there are our political visitors in the consular service, who occasionally come through this way from Central Asia, and even China, to say nothing of the interesting patients we have, not only medical, but occasionally mental, and we may say even moral, referring to those who unfortunately did not feel bound by promises contained in their signed passports.

Not only do these people keep our small European community busy during the visiting season, but in the long closed winter, and indeed all the year round, they solicit many favours. Thus the Doctor Sahib himself has been asked to collect butterflies, birds and their eggs, algae and fungi, ferns, flowers, stamps, curios and even mosquitoes by sundry enthusiasts, to say nothing of requests being made for long dissertations on the Buddhism and mysteries of Tibet by unknown theosophists in the Antipodes. Thus, among our acquaintances made in this relatively isolated spot of Central Asia, we may number, besides those of adjacent countries and our own British Islands, men and women from America, Norway, Sweden, Holland Switzerland, France, Austria, Italy, Russia, Persia, China and Japan, so that there is no doubt that the lure of Ladak is a real fact. Some of these travellers rush into print on the subject of their visits here, and we read their journalistic efforts with interest, sometimes amusement, others weave light stories of travel, while some of the deeper students engage in profound treatises on their own special subjects. Even a close connection of twelve

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu (Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po, rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCL in my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water SNAKES.

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These
465 are employed from spring until autumn, their remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
● 792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

TODA AW 60
KERALA AW 11
2236

To 114 reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

To 545 114 T, 595 114 K 114 595

T, 162 792 To 847 162 As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162 As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

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The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety. 105 439 [462] 241 [234] [484]

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet. 105 [258] [317] [316]

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain. 361 [792]

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians. 162 795

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus. [797]

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595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [192] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 192 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sisters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 586

595 591 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind. 586 [435]

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule. 837 [626]

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama". [192]

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way. 836 837 [848]

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be 837 684

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837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none [735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing [1942] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, 595
so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the 601
latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and [591]
continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was
some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having [842]
any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The
reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility.
As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and
Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man
was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called
in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra
husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no
way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they [597]
were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they
had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three [591]
k'hang-gus: one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she
was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyü
Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous
marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the
couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who
was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of
Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which 428
she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom
she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy.
Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa
household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-
k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this
new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was
of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, how- 595
ever, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a 601
lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family prop- 992
erty in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being
was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the
revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder broth-
er's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not
specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called 595
Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with 601
whom she lived in Leh. 551

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595 601 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the [1917] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable [1942] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 114 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 595 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak. In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 342 [354] Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 833 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.

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culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

(iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

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so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

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and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

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Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perf[illegible] clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks. 595 124

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen*, the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children. [591]

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis. 595 601 [115] 792 782 595 601

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table. 595 601

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were [792]

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595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 177 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

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THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

T 595 114 [184] during all my field work, both before and after World War II, with data and recorded facts which now make it possible for me to affirm without any hesitation that polyandry between father and sons is practised in Tibet, particularly in the two central provinces of Ü and Tsang, where it is most widespread. The following is the history of the progress of my investigation, which started with the collection of information from T WT those who knew about the custom and ended with my actually meeting cases and interviewing them to find out how the arrangement functions.

595 I began in Lahul. It will be recalled that when I visited that valley, on the 21st of June, 1938, Thakur Partap Chand took me to see a polyandrous family in a house called Barun-pa (see above page 312–312). I took advantage of the cordiality which the Wazir of Lahul showed towards me to question him on the subject of the polyandry of fathers and sons about which I had heard from Dr. Kanshi Ram.

The informant immediately confirmed its existence and said that it was common knowledge, even in his part of the world, that, in Central Tibet, fathers and sons share a common wife in the same family, although the woman in this case must never be the mother of the boys. WT [186] Nevertheless in Lahul the custom appeared rather strange and even repulsive, and it was quite usual for Tibetans from Tibet proper to be laughed at for this form of matrimony by the local inhabitants. They were accused of being "step-mother sharing people" which was meant WT [525] [nn] as an insult. But at the same time, when playing dice, it was the custom to evoke such a shared step-mother as a means of bringing good luck to the thrower. When a seven was wanted, for instance, a special formula evoking the step-mother shared by both fathers and sons was repeated several times.

WT 595 Another confirmation of the true existence of polyandry between fathers and sons in Tibet was obtained from the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kye-lang on the 24th of June, 1938. He told me that the institution existed when the Mission was established in Lahul in 1854 as ancient records showed. At the time that his father, the late Bishop Peter, was appointed to the Lahuli capital in 1898, there were still some cases of this special form of polyandry to be found in the valley. The Reverend Peter said that he had heard that it had not yet died out in Spiti, although it was difficult to make sure because the local people kept it secret and unavowed. (As far WT [191] [928] as I know, polyandry in general is not officially practised in Spiti, the surplus males of a family becoming monks while the eldest alone inherits the family property. A certain amount of clandestine polyan-

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
W. TIBETANS AJ4

T
[555] account of distinguished ability. It is also interesting to note
175* that on the death, in 1614, of the fourth Grand Lāma of the
792* Ge-lug-pa (named Yön-tan), whom he had ordained, he was
775 installed in the abbotship at Gāh-ldan monastery, and in 1622, at
661 the age of 53, he initiated, as fifth Grand Lāma, the infant Ña-pa, who was then seven years old, and who afterwards became the great Dalai Lāma.

And he continued to be the spiritual father and close friend and adviser of Ña-pa, and seems to have begun those political negotiations which culminated in the cession of Tibet to his *protégé*. When he died, in 1662, his spiritual son Ña-pa, who was 47 years old, and had been 22 years in the kingship, promptly re-incarnated him, and also made him out to be his own spiritual father, even as regards the divine emanation theory. Thus the new-born babe was alleged to be an incarnation of Avalokita's spiritual father, Amitābha, the Buddha of Boundless Light; and he was given a considerable share in the management of the established church. This, however, merely perpetuated the relations which had actually existed between these two Grand Lāmas as father and son, and which had worked so well, and had such
T obvious political advantages in providing against interregnums.
175* In the hierarchical scheme of succession by re-incarnate Lāmas,
792* the Lhāsa Grand Lāma, who wields the sovereign power, thus gave himself the highest place, but allotted the Tashi-lhunpo Grand Lāma a position second only to his own. Below these come the other re-incarnate Lāmas, ranking according to whether they are regarded to be re-embodiments of Indian or of Tibetan saints. The former class are called "the higher incarnations" or Tul-Ku,[1] and by the Mongols *Khutuktu*. They occupy the position of cardinals and archbishops. The lowest re-incarnate Lāmas are regarded as re-embodiments of Tibetan saints, and are named ordinary *Tul-ku* or "*Ku-s'o*,"[2] or by the Mongols Khublighan or Hoblighan; these mostly fill the post of abbots, and rank one degree higher than an ordinary non-re-incarnate abbot, or *K'an-po*, who has been selected on account of his proved abilities. Most of

WT
●792

[1] *sPrul-sku*.

[2] *sKu-s'ogs*. The use of the term for a re-incarnate Lāma seems restricted to Ladāk. In Tibet proper this title is applied to any superior Lāma, and is even used in polite society to laymen of position.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 All Tibet
Bhutan AK2
W. Tibetans AJ4

Each of these Grand Lāmas has a separate biography (or *nam-t'ar*). The first, who was a contemporary of the Grand Lāma Sonam Gya-tshô, seems to have been married; the rest are celibate. A celebrated Lāma of this Dug-pa sect was named Mi-pam ch'os-Kyi gyal-po. B 792

The Dharma Rāja resides, at least in summer, at the fort of Ta-shi-ch'o. The palace is a large stone building, with the chief house seven storeys high, described and figured by Turner and others. Here live over five hundred monks. B [346]

Bogle describes the Lāma of his day as "a thin, sickly-looking man of about thirty-five years of age."[1]

He exercises, I am informed, some jurisdiction over Lāmas in Nepal, where his authority is officially recognized by the Gorkha government. B [643]

The number of the lesser spiritual chiefs held to be re-embodied Lāma saints is stated[2] to be one hundred and sixty, of which thirty are in Tibet (twelve being "Shaburuṅ"), nineteen in north Mongolia, fifty-seven in south Mongolia, thirty-five in Kokonor, five in Chiamdo and the Tibetan portion of Sze-ch'waṅ, and fourteen at Pekin. But this much under-estimates the number in Tibet. B 162

Amongst the re-embodied Lāmas in western Tibet or Tsang are Seṅ-c'en-Rin-po-ch'e,[3] Yaṅzin Lho-pa, Billuṅ, Lô-ch'en, Kyi-zar, Tiṅki, De-ch'an Alig, Kaṅla, Koṅ (at Phagri). In Kham, Tu, Ch'amdo, Derge, etc. WT 792 775

The Lāmaist metropolitan at Pekin is called by the Tibetans "lC'aṅ-skya," and is considered an incarnation of Rol-pahī Dorje. His portrait is given in the annexed figure. He dates his spiritual descent from a dignitary who was called to Pekin during the reign 000

[1] MARKH., p. 27.

[2] In the Sheng Wu Ki, and registered by the Colonial Board at Pekin. (MAYER) *J.R.A.S.*, vi., p. 307.

[3] The last re-incarnate Lāma bearing this title, and the tutor of the Tashi Grand Lāma, was beheaded about 1886 for harbouring surreptitiously Sarat C. Das, who is regarded as an English spy; and although the bodies of his predecessors were considered divine and are preserved in golden domes at Tashi-lhunpo, his headless trunk was thrown ignominiously into a river to the S.W. of Lhāsa, near the fort where he had been imprisoned. On account of his violent death, and under such circumstances, this re-incarnation is said to have ceased. From the glimpse got of him in Sarat's narrative and in his great popularity, he seems to have been a most amiable man.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4
SIKKIM AK3

of K'ang Hi, probably about 1690-1700 A.D., and entrusted with the emperor's confidence as his religious vicegerent for inner Mongolia.[1]

In Ladāk only four monasteries have resident re-incarnate Lāmas or *Ku-s'o*. Although they are of the red sect, these head Lāmas are said to be educated at Lhāsa. The present (1893) re-incarnate Lāma of Spitak, the seventeenth of the series, is thus described by Captain Ramsay.[2] "A youth, 26 years of age, who lately returned from Lhāsa, where he had been for 14 years. He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden-coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved, and one arm was bare. On entering the room he bowed, and then presented the customary 'scarf of salutation,' which I accepted. He impressed me very favourably; his manner and general appearance was superior to anything I had seen among other Lāmas or people of Ladāk."

HEAD LĀMA OF PEKIN.[3]

In Sikhim, where few Lāmas are celibate and where the La-brang Lāma is the nominal head of the fraternity with the title of "Lord protector" (*s*Kyab *m*Gon), the fiction of re-incarnation was only practised in regard to the Pemiongchi and La-brang

[1] *Z.R.* 21, PANR., No. 53. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 69. [3] After Grünwedel.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJl Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4

000 built on the declivity in horizontal lines one above the other, resemble the steps of an enormous altar, of which the temple of Tāranātha Lāma appears to constitute "the tabernacle." Huc says it contains 30,000 monks!

Kuku Khotun, or "blue city," near the northern bend of the Yellow river, is said by Huc to have formerly been the seat of Jetsun-Dam-pa. It contains five monasteries with about 20,000 Lāmas.

IN SIBERIA.

In south Siberia, amongst the Buriats, near the Baikal lake, a large monastery is on a lake thirty versts to the north-west of Selinginsk, and the presiding monk is called the K'an-po Paṇḍita, and claims to be a re-incarnate Lama.[1]

IN EUROPE.

The Kālmak Tartars on the Volga have only temporary, nomadic cloisters and temples, that is to say tents, in which they put up their holy pictures and images, and celebrate divine service. Such temporary cloisters are called "Churull," and consist of two different sorts of tents or *Jurten* (Oergö), the assembly hall of the clergy (Churullün-Oergö) and of the gods and image hall (*Schitäni* or *Burchanün-Oergö*). Some of these *Churulls* contain a hundred priests.

IN LADĀK AND LITTLE TIBET.

● 792 He-mi (or "Himis" of survey map). This fine old monastery is
361 situated about 11,000 feet above the sea-level, in a lateral ravine that joins the Indus, a day's journey (eighteen miles SSE.) above Leh, on the left bank of that river. From its secluded position this was one of the few monasteries which escaped destruction on the invasion of the country by the Dogras under Wazir Gerawar, who ruthlessly destroyed much Lāmaist property, so that more interesting and curious objects, books, dresses, masks, etc., are found at Himis than in any other monastery in Ladāk. It was built by sTag-stan-ras-ch'en, and its proper title is *Ch'aṅ-ch'ub sam-liṅ*.

[796] The "Himis-fair," with its mask plays, as held on St. Padma-sambhava's day in summer, is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladāk.
[423] This Lāmasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladāk, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The Lāmas seem to be of the Ñiṅ-ma sect (according to Marx[2] they are Dug-pa, but he appears to use Dug-pa as synonymous with *Red cap* sect). To the same sect also belongs Ts'en-re and sTag-na. A fine photograph of this monastery is given by Mr. Knight,[3] and one of its courts is shown in his illustration of the mystic play reproduced at p. 528

792 "The principal entrance to the monastery is through a massive door,
346 from which runs a gently sloping and paved covered way leading into a

[1] Köppen, *op. cit.* [2] *Loc. cit.*, 133. [3] *Where Three Empires Meet.*

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS 904

courtyard about 30 × 40 yards square, having on the left hand a narrow verandah, in the centre of which stands the large prayer-cylinder above mentioned. The larger picturesque doorway, the entrance of one of the principal idol rooms, is in the extreme right hand corner, massive brass rings affixed to large *bosses* of brass are affixed on either door, the posts of which are of carved and coloured woodwork. The walls of the main building, with its bay windows of lattice work, enclose the courtyard along the right hand side, the roof is adorned with curious cylindrical pendant devices made of cloth called "Thook"; each surmounted with the Trisool or trident, painted black and red. On the side facing the main entrance the courtyard is open, leading away to the doorways of other idol rooms. In the centre space stand two high poles "Turpoche," from which hang yaks' tails and white cotton streamers printed in the Tibetan character. Innumerable small prayer-wheels are fitted into a hitch that runs round the sides of the courtyard. A few large trees throw their shade on the building, and above them tower the rugged cliffs of the little valley, topped here and there by *Lhatos*, small square-built altars, surmounted by bundles of brushwood and wild sheep horns, the thin sticks of the brushwood being covered with offerings of coloured flags printed with some *mantra* or other.[1]

LAMA-YUR-RU, elevation about 11,000 feet.[2] Said to be of the Di-kung sect, as also the monasteries of *s*Gaṅ-noṅ and Shaṅ.

The name Yur-ru is said to be a corruption of Yuṅ-druṅ—the Svastika or mystic fly-foot cross.

THO-LING or Tho'lding (mt'o-gliṅ), on the upper Sutlej (in map of Turkistan it is Totlingmat, "mat" = "the lower," *i.e.* lower part of the city). It has a celebrated temple in three storeys, said by some to be modelled after that of Budha Gaya, and the *Sham-bha-la Lam-yig* contains a reference to this temple: "It had been built (A.D. 954, Schl.) by the Lo-tsa-wa Rin-zaṅ-po. The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down, but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the 'cycle of the collection of secrets.'" Adolph von Schlagintweit visited it.[3]

THEG-CH'OG is a sister-Lāmasery to He-mi, north of the Indus, in a valley which opens out opposite He-mi. Che-de, vulg. Chem-re (survey map: Chim-ray) is the name of the village to which the Lāmasery belongs.

KOR-DZOGS in Ladāk, 16,000 feet above the sea (*J.D.*, 11). Tik-za (Thik-se) is said (Marx) to be a Ge-*l*dan (?Ge-lug-pa) monastery, as also those of Saṅ-kar (a suburb of Leh), Likir and Ri-dzoṅ. It is pictured by Mr. Knight.[3]

WAM-LE (or "Han-le") in Rukshu, a fine Lāmasery figured by Cunningham. It is about 14,000 feet above sea-level. Its proper name is De-ch'en, and it was built by the founder of the one at *Hemi*.

MASHO is affiliated to Sa-*s*kya.

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[1] GODWIN-AUSTEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 72. [2] MARX, *loc. cit.*; CUNNINGHAM, *et. al.*
[3] See Results of Scientific Mission.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4
BHUTAN AK2
SIKKIM AK3

WT

792 Sri-t'ug, Pe-tub, or "Pittuk" (sPe-t'ub), a Lāmasery and village on the river Indus, five miles south-west of Leh. The Lāmas belong to the "Ge-ldan-pa" order of Lāmas. The Lāmasery has an incarnated Lāma.

Sher-gal, figured by Knight, *loc. cit.*, p. 127.

Kilang (Kye-lan) in British Lahūl, romantically situated near glaciers, at an elevation of about 12,000 feet.

Gu-ge, where several translations were made over 800 years ago, and still of repute for printing and for its elegant manuscripts.

Kanum, in Kunaor or Kanawar, where Csoma studied. Also Dub-lin, Poyi, and Pangi.

IN NEPAL.

000 In Nepal there appear to be no Lāmaist monasteries of any size, at least in the lower valleys. At the principal Buddhist shrines in that country a few resident Lāmas are to be found.

IN BHOTĀN

B 792 In Bhotān the largest monasteries are Tāshi-ch'o-dsong and Pun-t'an or ? "Punakha" (spun-t'an bde-ch'en), each, it is usually said, with over 1,000 monks, though according to other accounts, under 500.

Tashi-ch'o-dson (bKra-shis ch'os rdson), or "The fortress of the glorious religion," forms the capital of Bhotān and the residence, at least in summer, of the Grand Lāma of Bhotān—the Dharma Rāja and Deb Rāja. It has been visited and described by Manning, Bogle, Turner,[1] Pemberton,[2] etc.

The other chief monasteries in Bhotān, all of the Duk-pa sect, the established church of the country, are: dbU-rgyan rtse, Ba-kro (Pāto or Pāro) 'Bah, rTa-mch'og rgan, Kra-ba-li, Sam-'jin, K'a Ch'ags-rgan-K'a, Ch'al-p'ug. Of these the first three were formerly Kart'og-pa. In British Bhotān there are a few small monasteries, at Kalimpong, Pedong, etc.

IN SIKHIM.

S 792 In regard to Sikhim, as my information is complete, I give it in detail in tabular form on opposite page.

In addition to the monasteries in this list are several religious buildings called by the people *gōmpas*, but by the Lāmas only "temples" (*Lha-k'an*), such as Dé-than, Ke-dum, etc.

The oldest monastery in Sikhim is Dub-de, founded by the pioneer Lāma, Lhatsün Ch'embo. Soon afterwards shrines seem to have been erected at Tashiding, Pemiongchi, and Sang-na-ch'ö-ling over spots consecrated to the Guru, and these ultimately became the nuclei of monas-

[1] Bogle and Turner in 1774 and 1783. Markham, *op. cit.*
[2] In 1837-38. *Op. cit.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans AJ4

Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monastery*; it is a small monastery, with but a few Lāmās, attached to the one at Mulbek farther on. We thus see that we are reaching the country of the Buddhists; the people of Shargol are nearly all of that faith, though for some way farther there is a mixture of Muhammadan Baltis. 792 361 563

In the next march we pass Mulbek (also called Mulbe) and see the monastery, one of some size, and by the road-side a large idol carved in the rock, and then we rise to the easy Pass called Nāmika Lā,† 13,000 feet, a depression in soft (shaly) rock between mountains of limestone. A very easy descent brings us down to a stream that flows direct to the Indus; turning to the right we follow the valley of this stream upwards, and in a few miles we come to Kharbū, a Bhot‡ village, which makes another stage. 133x 792 361

Thence we continue up the same valley: the mountains on the south of us are high mountains of limestone, which rock makes the chief part of the very lofty ridge beyond. Keeping on towards the east, we rise to a Pass of very similar character to the last, called Fotū Lā; it is 13,400 feet high; the ground is smooth, being composed of shale, but close by, on the south, are the rocky limestone hills; a gentle slope for 2000 feet down a valley that is comparatively open, brings us to Lāmāyūrū. 133x

At Lāmāyūrū we are well among the Buddhists or Bhots. Here is a large monastery built on the summit of cliffs which are partly rocky and partly of alluvial matter; some portions of it are very curiously built on timbers placed across chasms, or joining ridges or pinnacles of the hardened alluvial gravel. The cultivated ground is a narrow strip lying for some length above the sloping valley-bottom. As we continue down, we join the valley of a large stream that flows from Wānla; this is extremely narrow; the path has with difficulty been made along the slope of the hill that rises immediately from the stream; there are cliffs to be passed that have necessitated wooden galleries for the road to go on; this has, however, been constructed with a good deal of skill, and by the [792] 491x 133

* The word for monastery in the Ladākhī language is *Gonpā*.

† In the Ladākhī language *Lā* means Pass.

‡ The word *Bhot* means Buddhist, or perhaps, more particularly, Buddhist Tibetan. The Ladākhīs are called Bhot both by themselves and their neighbours.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, 133 x
originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down 361
to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsi.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove 137
of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there 778
grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 16 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or 712
tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards 175
the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly 792
ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support 361
the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tarūtse, which we made the halting-place, was reached.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

it cannot be seen from the road. On our way we pass Thārū, 133x
a collection of eight or ten houses, with corresponding cultiva- 361
tion; then we cross the last of the plateaus, from which descending we reach a little garden planted by the roadside for the [485]
shelter of travellers, which is close to the village of Phayāng. Thence a few miles by the side of the river brought us to Pitak, the last village before Leh.

All the cultivated spots hitherto met with in Ladākh were 312
watered from side-streams—streams coming almost immediately 138x
from the mountains with a more or less steep fall. But at Pitak the land is irrigated from the Indus itself. For we are here at the beginning of a part of the Indus Valley, where the bottom is wide and is occupied by a flat of alluvium, over which the waters of the main stream can be brought.

At Pitak there is an isolated rock a few hundred feet high, 361
on which all the older buildings are situated. The monastery 792
is on the summit at one end, and there is a fortification—of two 712
towers connected by a double wall—that must have helped to make the rock a strong position. Formerly all the houses were, for protection's sake, built thus high up; this was very commonly the case throughout Ladākh, only in the last generation or so have the people taken generally to building in the plain.

We are now but five miles from Leh, the capital; it is indeed within sight from the summit of the rock; let us from here take a general view of the geographical position of that town.

The river is 10,500 feet above the sea; it is flowing with a 133x
gentle current in a flat, the surface of which is in great part of pebbles only, but here and there it is of such a fine alluvial soil that the people have been able to bring it under cultivation. On the south-west side this low flat is bordered by a stretch of sloping gravelly ground, consisting of a number of coalesced fans that have been deposited by streams having their origin in the mountains on the south—mountains which rise up to 20,000 feet. On the north-east of the river there continues the same great granite ridge, at the foot of which we have been passing; the summit of it is about 12 miles from the Indus, as the crow flies.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

133 The line of ridge is from 18,000 to 19,000 feet high. The Passes through it are 17,000 and 18,000 feet.

361 A valley, coming down from this great central ridge, bounded
133 close by rocky branch-ridges, at the distance of four miles from the river widens, the spurs of the hills both becoming lower and retreating aside, insomuch that there occurs an open space of the form nearly of an equilateral triangle, the side of it five miles in length. The town of Leh is at the apex of this triangle, where the valley begins to widen. Rocky hill-spurs form the sides, the river Indus the base, Pitak being at one end of the base.

This triangular space is not a level; it has a steady, gentle slope up from the river. Advancing from Pitak we rise, in the five or six miles, about 1000 feet, the altitude of the town of Leh
[311] being 11,500 feet. The lower part of the slope (of which the whole consists of a gravelly alluvial deposit) is dry and stony, but as we go on we come within the tract that the side-stream has been able to supply with irrigating water, and find a space of several hundred acres covered with crops.

361 Here, by the farther edge of this cultivated space, on one of the branch spurs from the hills and spreading on to the plain in front of it, is built the town of Leh. The most conspicuous object in it is the palace of the former rulers, an edifice boldly built up to the height of eight or ten stories from the shoulder of the spur; a slight in-leaning of the massive walls gives it a great
[792] look of strength. Higher up, on the same rocky ridge, are the
[712] monastery and the towers of an old fortification. Below, in front of the palace, houses cover the slope. On the flat beneath is the newer part of the town. Entering from the direction of Kashmir we pass through a small gateway and find ourselves in a long, wide, and straight bazaar, the houses regularly built and uniformly whitewashed. This has been erected since the Dogrās took the country, and is now the place that is most frequented. At the farther end of this bazaar one passes into the old part of the town, among houses separated by narrow winding passages. As one rises on to the slope of the hill one meets with a few houses of a

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AJ4

576 to receive me. Besides these, a band of eight red-gowned monks stood on a rocky spur above and gave a loud welcome with their [534] music. Two played on flageolets; two bore cymbals; other two had drums mounted on standards and held up on high, where long curved iron drum-sticks reached to beat them; and the last pair played on long horns, which, too heavy to be held in hand, rested their curved ends on the ground. With this power of sound the eight made wild music among the mountains; the horns droned in a way melancholy and touching, but this strain was relieved by the clashing of the cymbals and the bold sound of the drums, while, through all, the flageolets brought out a more definite melody. At Leh itself all the population came out either to meet us or to see the crowd that met us. The hundreds of Ladākhīs —for numbers that are reckoned by hundreds make an unusual concourse in these thinly-peopled parts—the men of the numerous other races that collect at Leh, the eagerness of all to see me, and their respectful salutations of welcome, made, with the scene of the strange-looking town, with its edging of green gardens and cornfields, surrounded close by rocky hills, with lofty mountains in the farther view around, in the brightness and freshness of summer morn, a scene which I recall with pleasure—with pleasure more unmixed than that which a like assemblage gave me on the later day when with regret I said farewell to Leh, to the Ladākhīs I had for a time ruled over, and to the men I had worked with—a lowering winter's day that not in vain threatened snow—as they accompanied me for some miles down the road on my first march towards home.

MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

792 361 In nearly every village, in some parts of Ladākh in every village, is a monastery of greater or less importance; it sometimes holds but one or two Lāmās or monks, sometimes it is the home of hundreds. The monasteries are the most conspicuous buildings in the country; they are always somewhat apart from the houses of the village; they are often situated in high places difficult of access—on a spur of the mountain or on an isolated

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A1#

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer-cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides. These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm —a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns. It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodically assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images. No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

792 361 [788] [778] [582] 562 778

* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

562 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which
778 point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his
[178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās
[647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats
[788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans A44

792 peasantry a goodly, though unfixed, portion of their produce. The monks, in their turn, are always both free in their hospitality to travellers and ready to identify themselves in interests with the villagers.

778 346 Besides the monasteries, one is everywhere in Ladākh meeting

KIGĀNĪ, LIMĀYŪRŪ.

with signs of the people's thought for their religion. In a few places are to be seen colossal figures carved in the rock, that represent some god. The sketch, p. 257, is of one of these, over 25 feet high, which stands for Chamba; this is to be seen in a valley near Sānkho, above Kargil; it is deeply cut in a schistose rock. But much more general are the long and thick built-up

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

streams. In one of these tributary valleys is situated Himis monastery, the most noted one in Ladākh, which has 200 Lāmās. The monastery is a large mass of buildings placed just beneath a cliff at a bend of the narrow ravine, and in that way well sheltered. The wide window spaces and open galleries, and the decorations of drapery and waving flags make it look quite gay. Close by is a grove of large spreading poplars, which must be of the oldest trees in the country.

The last point I have been to in this section of the Indus Valley is Upshī, a small village at the mouth of the Gyā ravine. At that place we will count Central Ladākh to end. Above it is a narrow portion of the valley, which is called *Rong*, where the river flows between rocks, along which it is difficult to find a practicable path; still, there also villages occur in the side valleys, and a small population finds cultivable just enough of land to get a subsistence from.

ROAD FROM LEH TO NUBRĀ.

In going from Central Ladākh to Nubrā (which lies along the banks of the Shāyok River and of a tributary to it) we must of necessity cross the Leh Range by one of two or three Passes. From Leh a direct road leads up along the stream whose waters irrigate the lands about that town. The Pass to make for is the Khardong Pass, which is 17,500 feet high; there is, therefore, an ascent to be made of 6000 feet. Not easily can this be done in one day; a half-way halt is almost always made, either at the last hamlet or farther up in the uninhabited part of the valley. The path is in places difficult for laden ponies; they are generally relieved of their loads and are replaced for the Pass by yāks. The way leads for some miles up the bottom of the valley, rising at an angle of 5°; then it continues in a branch valley of steeper gradient, till it reaches the watershed, which at this spot is a narrow rocky ridge.

A better idea of the form of the mountain range we are now going over than can be given in words will be got from the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
w. Tibetans AV4

221 361 [792]

With the exception of the Lāmās, the people of the village live on the rock in winter only; for summer they have other dwellings scattered about by their fields, but for warmth in winter they crowd to their old fortress. Here the buildings are crowded so close together, the space occupied is so completely roofed over—pathways and all—that when filled with human beings and with cattle it must indeed be warm.

133x

A great part of the rock on which Charāsa is built * is rounded, smoothed, and even polished. It is a *roche moutonnée.* On the smoothed surface there are in several places very distinct grooves or scratches which most clearly denote the movement over it of a glacier. The grooves are to be seen close down to the level of the alluvium and up for more than 100 feet above it. The very summit cannot be examined on account of the buildings; but I have no doubt that the ice of the glacier completely covered it and extended to an enormous thickness above, and at the same time occupied the whole width of the valley, a width, which both here and for some distance up, is about 2½ miles. There is a slight difference in the direction of the scratches on the two sides of the rock. On the east side they are exactly with the run of the valley, namely, about north-north-west, while on the west they run north and south; this shows that the stream of the ice of the glacier separated, and part of it deviated a little, on coming to the obstruction of the rock.

This is by no means the only instance of ice-marks in the valley. A projecting rock about two miles above Charāsa is very distinctly polished and striated. Two rocks projecting out of the fan by the village of Kūrī have the form that denotes ice-moulding; and behind that village we see the same phenomenon extending for 700 feet up the hill-side. On the left bank, at Panimik, are low isolated hills, about 200 feet high, surrounded by the alluvium; they are of a dark metamorphosed slate; everywhere, except at the broken and weathered parts, are they ice-moulded and striated. In one of these little hills is

* The rock is a hardened, altered, shale, graduating into a crystalline rock, which also I take to be metamorphic.

[i.e, Charāsa, on the Nubra River.--ANALYST]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between the island and the near shore. This little place, being ordinarily undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladākhī is called *Chagharatse;* the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of these must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chāmpās that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panbuk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be 3¼ inches by 2¼, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomorīrī are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the head-quarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty-five Lāmās; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far, and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

* The barred-goose; in Ladākhī, *nangpā*.

the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx). Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:-- 136

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is extremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:-- 132

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately connected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

K 175 [648]

WT 642 175 792

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

642 175 792 [796] [778]

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

361 563 144 181

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

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The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

463 241 511 [582] [372] [313]

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

511 595 428 586 [147] There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry [582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, [562] and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 588 [567] In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 [361] The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

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power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

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Christian missions. 797

There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Agriculture. 241

The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy

BALTISTĀN

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistān; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yārkand road till Shāhidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladākh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes.

Land revenue. WT 651 [661]

WT [441]

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

WT 426 792

Baltistān.—A tract under the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh, Kashmīr, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztāgh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladākh; on the south by Kashmīr, Wardwān, and Zāskār; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and glaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Drās and

Physical aspects. B 642 131

B 133 361

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
West Tibetans A3

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Photo by] [G. W. Millais.

MULBE MONASTERY.

A Lama on the look-out.

[frontispiece]

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 292 574 534 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls of Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal. [113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

* 2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

346 788 as it is going to fall into the lake and be lost in the ocean of water [*i.e.* be lost in Nirvana]."

346 788 Monks roam over the country doing this pious carving work for those who will pay them. Merit not only comes ● 792 to the men who place these stones on the wall, but to all 778 those travellers who pass on the left side of the wall, and curses on those who pass on the wrong side. Hence there is no need of a policeman to tell all traffic to keep to the left; all travellers do it as if mechanically, and heap up to themselves merit.

Then on the road one continually passes "chortans," stone pagodas generally white-washed, and not only on the road, but dotted about in the fields and up the mountain-sides. They are of all sizes from three to forty feet high. They are hollow, and in them one will often find clay medallions vulgarly called potted lamas, for they are composed of the ashes of the monks, which have been stamped with the monastery stamps, not unlike prettily stamped pats of butter. Some of the stamps are very decorative, generally with the figure of Buddha in the centre of a circle, with writing around.

On the tops of the houses and on trees one sees bunches of flags made of coloured rags on which is inscribed this same prayer. When the flags flutter in the breeze this prayer ascends for the good of the individual who placed these rags to be moved by the wind.

As we pass through a village we see little paper windmills on the roofs which work a prayer wheel inside the house. This is a metal cylinder crammed full of paper on which is written hundreds of times this one prayer: "Om mane padme hun."

788 Along the walls of certain houses and always at the monasteries are found these cylinders of wood let into the wall at a convenient height from the ground to allow

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVIII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

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LET us now visit a monastery. As usual, as we approached Lamauru, we were met by much noise and dust. The monastery band evidently was on the war-path, from the terrific braying and tom-tomming that greeted us, and the crowd of monastery dignitaries and village magnates kicked up much dust as they approached. We were taken round the monastery by the head ecclesiastic. We climbed the stone stairway to the monastery, which, as usual, was situated on the top of a cliff, built on to and into it in such a way that it was not easy to see where rock ended and the building commenced. Along the side of the stairway were rows of prayer wheels let into the wall, which we set spinning in the orthodox manner. At least I hope we did spin them the right and not the wrong way. I think we must have spun them round the right way, for our journey was prosperous. The chapel was full of interesting objects, and one did not know quite what to look at, for there seemed to be, and there was, such a crowd of interesting objects which I had never seen before.

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The building was like a hall, the roof supported by wooden pillars, with a gallery all round, from which hung a profusion of silk banners of Chinese design, chiefly dragons. On one side of the hall was a row of coloured figures, life-size, of Buddha and sainted lamas, which were arrayed in rich silks. Before each figure was a table or altar of very curious design, coloured with

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons 778
and sacred symbols. 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on 782
each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, 534
the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet.

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, 346
end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel 792
facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On 796
the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts.

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly 788
mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. 344
There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 792

A Trip to Ladakh

346 fat; grease pervaded the atmosphere, in fact everything
792 the monks touched, for they were filthily dirty, their red garments being more or less black with grease. Fortunately their heads were shorn. They seemed to be a happy lot of brothers, always ready to laugh and joke, in fact, just like the pictures of the monks of the West in days gone by.

792 There are nuns who live in separate buildings. Many of them are so like the monks that it is difficult to tell one from the other, at least to an unpractised eye, as the following incident will show.

797 A few days later I was in Leh with Dr Neve. He was in the hospital helping people to get well quickly. I stayed outside to try and cheer up the patients who were waiting their turn outside, as many of them seemed to be rather nervous and frightened. I noticed one person who seemed to look very depressed, who I thought was a monk and not living up to his usual jovial self, so I poked him in the ribs and told him to cheer up, when a voice called out to me from behind, but too late: "Take care what you are doing, for that lady is a nun." It was a Moravian missionary who spoke too late. Well, I did all that an English gentleman could do. I apologised most humbly, but the nun would not have any, and I failed to cheer her up.

361 Well, our triumphal march to the capital, Leh (a town
162 with a population of 3000 in the winter, which grows to 6000 in the summer, when all the traders from east and west come in), was as entertaining as it was interesting.
574 Monastery bands, town bands, feasts and polo matches succeeded one another, but the reception given to the Commissioner Sahib at Leh was the culmination of great doings. Seven miles from Leh, in the valley of the Indus, a large sandy plain, there met us a great cavalcade of

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ

A Trip to Ladakh

788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
535

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Each house, therefore, paid a mean rate of two rupees per annum; but, partly from various remissions of taxes, and partly from the inability of the poorer classes to pay, excepting by bodily service, the total amount of house-tax rarely exceeded Rs. 30,000.

793 But besides the 18,000 paying houses, there were
644 about 4,000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and about 1,000 for the maintenance of the queen and the various members of the
643 royal family. The Gyalpo also had his own villages, which contained about 1,000 houses more. The whole number of dwellings in Ladák was therefore about 24,000.

651 Under the Dogra rule, although the number of inhabited dwellings has diminished, yet the number of paying houses is still about the same, as all the crown villages have been appropriated by the government. The assessment is, however, different, as a much greater number of houses have been taxed at the higher rates. I could not obtain any precise information as to the number of houses included under each rate; but as the gross amount of collections was generally estimated at nearly Rs. 50,000, the following scale must be a close approximation to the truth. The mean rate is two and a half rupees per house.

1,000	houses of large size		at Rs. 7 each		=	Rs. 7,000
5,000	"	middle	"	3½ "	=	17,500
12,000	"	small	"	1¾ "	=	21,000
18,000	houses paying	...	...	...		Rs. 45,500

There were besides two other sources of income which contributed to swell the revenue of the state; namely, a tax on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants both home and foreign;

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

or about £8,000 sterling. The last item is the gross amount derived from a heavy tax which has been imposed on all the *gonpas*, or monasteries, throughout the country. The sums paid by the different religious establishments were thus stated to me— 651 793

Monastery of Hemis (with Hanlé)	... ...	Rs. 900
" Chimra	... ...	900
" Thigsé	... ...	500
" Pitak	... ...	500
" Gáwan	... ...	900
" Láma Yúrrú	... ...	900
Twenty-five smaller monasteries at Rs. 60 each	=	1,500
		Rs. 6,300

The charge incurred in the maharaja's government of Ladák, I found it impossible to ascertain with any degree of precision, as it was a delicate subject to make inquiries about. From various sources I could only learn that the country is divided into districts, over each of which is appointed a thanadar on a small salary, varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 a month. There are five of these thanadars in Ladák, each independent of the others, and accountable only to the maharaja himself. The principal of them is Basti Rám, the thanadar of Lé, a shrewd and intelligent man, and a tried soldier. He is a native of Káshtwár, and was a petty officer under Zoráwar Sing on the first invasion of Ladák. He was present at the surrender of Skardo, the capital of Balti; and he was one of the few survivors of Zoráwar Sing's unfortunate expedition into Great Tibet in the winter of 1841, A.D. His quickness and experience, combined with a frank and easy manner, secured him the confidence of the maharaja; and after successfully ruling the district of Zanskar during a very turbulent period, he has now obtained one of the highest posts in 634 634 159

= Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

721 to the Botis of the east, which will account for his
173 entering Kashmir by Gagangir on the Drás road, as related in the Raja Taringini.

712 The forts of Eastern Ladák were nearly all castellated
● 793 monasteries, the defence of which was intrusted to the
[701] unwarlike monks, assisted by a few of the armed peasantry, who performed the duty by turns, under the command of one who was dignified with the title of *Kharpon*, or governor.* In Western Ladák there were several castles belonging to petty chiefs, such as Paskyum and Soth, which were better calculated for defence. The
[312] monastic castles were mostly perched on high rocks quite destitute of water, and it was a part of the daily duty of the garrison to fetch water for the monks. Had any of these castles possessed a proper supply of water, their generally inaccessible positions would have rendered them safe against all common attacks. I have seen the monasteries of Hanlé, Hémis, Thigsé, Shé, Lé, Pitak, Phyang, Bazgo, Láma Yúrrú, Hesku, Kharbu, Thakshé, and Mulbil, as well as the ruined forts of Balukhar and Paskyum. The monasteries are all built on steep cliffs, more or less high, with stone walls coloured white and red, and surmounted with an endless number of small flags. They are generally difficult of access, and always picturesque. Perhaps the most remarkable is that of Thakshé, on the right bank of the Kánji river. It is perched on a lofty isolated cliff, bluff and overhanging on the north side, and with a precipitous slope of about 65° on the south side. The only ascent is by a very steep pathway.

* *mKhar-dPon*, "fort-chief." A fort is also called *rDsong*, and the governor *rDsong-dPon*. Every commandant of a castle, or military post, even if his garrison does not amount to more than four men, is dignified with the title of *Kharpon*.

161 in stating that the total number of houses was formerly
[657] 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population
[162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

•793 In stating the number of professed religionists at
162 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve
161 thousand. The total amount of population (between 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

introduced for more than seventy years, until, in A.D. 971, it was finally restored, and has since continued to be the dominant religion of Tibet.

The great spread of the *Pon-gyi-chho*, or Pon religion, can be best appreciated by the traces of its former existence in the widely distant regions of Arakan and Ladák. The people of Arakan give a long line of fifty-five *Pun-na* princes* as their earliest sovereigns, a dynasty which must have reigned for at least 600 years. In Ladák the great monastery of *Lama Yurru* is still called *Yung-druny-Gonpa*, or the "monastery of the mystic cross." The establishment of this monastery is attributed to Naropa, a Lama from Brigung, near Lhasa; but it seems more probable that the name of *Lama Yurru* was derived from the Lama, because he had suppressed the faith of the mystic cross (*yung-drung*), and had established the Lamaïc doctrine of Buddhism.

But Buddhism was the prevailing religion of Ladák from the conversion of the people by Asoka's missionaries down to A.D. 400, when Fa Hian visited India. At that time he found Buddhism flourishing in the little state of *Kia-chhe*, or Ladák, as well as in Kotan and other small states to the northward of the Tsung Ling, or Karakoram. The king of *Kie-chha* (Kha-chan, or "Snow-land)" still celebrated the great quinquennial assembly † of the Srámanas which had been established by Asoka. The ceremony, which lasted for one month, was conducted with becoming gravity, and closed by the

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 31,—Captain Latter.

† In the Gyalpo's time, the Lamas assembled annually at Lé, in the month of *Táng-po* (March), and were dismissed with presents. They now assemble at Hemis, in June. In this monastery there are still 160 Lamas.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—DIFFERENT SECTS—LAMAS.

During the palmy days of Indian Buddhism, the faith of the Tibetans most probably partook of all the different fluctuations of belief that prevailed in India. The most ancient religious sect that is now known is the *Nyimapa*, all of whom wear red dresses. Most of the Lamas in Ladák and Ngari are of this sect. In the middle of the eighth century *Urgyan Rinpoche* (the gem of Urgyan, or Padma Sambhava) was invited into Tibet by Khrisrong De-tsan. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitabha (*Hod-pag-med*). He was the founder of a new sect, who differ from the *Nyimapas* chiefly in their worship of this incarnation. In the eleventh century Tibet was visited by *Chovo-Atisha*, a Bengali Pundit, who infused new vigour amongst the votaries of Buddhism. His pupil *Bromston* founded the Rareng monastery, and originated the *Káhdampa** sect, or those who are content with the observance of the "precepts" (*kah*), without caring for the acquirement of the higher branches of transcendental wisdom. The followers of these three sects all wear red dresses. Another sect, the *Sákyapas*, also wear red; but I know nothing of their peculiar tenets.

In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lama *Tsong khapa*. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (*Hod-pag-med*), and others of Manju Sri (*Jámya*). He was born in 1355, and died in 1419. He built the temple of *Gáhldán*, and was the first great abbot (*khánpo*), who occupied the Gáhldán

* *bKah-gDams-pa*, "followers of the precepts."—Csoma, Grammar, p. 197.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots
793 down to the present day.
175 The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following :*—

795

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born 1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán 1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born 1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	„ 1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„ 1436
5.	Logros Chhos	„ 1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„ 1461
7.	Logros Tanpa	„ 1471
8.	Mon Lampal	„ 1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the
554 attainment of this rank became an object of ambition,
795 and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by
175 the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsong-
[176] khapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's
[177] memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word "lump;" and the Greek Ο-λυμπο-ς.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery. 178

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

795 175 [176] 175 793

* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 occupied the chair of Tashi Lhunpo. Since his time
● 793 there have been two great Lamas, the one called the Dalai Lama, occupying the chair at Lhasa, and the other called the Tashi Lama, filling the chair at Tashi Lhunpo. Precedence is given to the Dalai Lama, both in writing and in conversation; but their influence is pretty equally divided. Both chairs are filled by a succession of supposed incarnations, and generally the elder of the two is the most influential. The succession from *Gedun Tubpa* down to the present day is the following:

—	Written Names.	Spoken Names.	Date. A.D.	Remarks.
1	dGe-hDun-Grub-pa	Gedun-Tubba	1389	Born. Founded Tashi Lhunpo 1445.
2	dGe-hDun-rGya-mTsho ..	Gedun-Gyatsho ..	1474	
3	bSod-nams-rGya-mTsho ..	Sonam-Gyatsho ..	1541	Visited Altun Khán.
4	Yon-tan-rGya-mTsho ..	Yontan-Gyatsho ..	1587	
5	Nag-dVang-bLo-bZang ..	NAVANG LOZANG ..	1615	Established himself as Dalai Lama; 1640 conquered Tibet; and visited the Emperor of China 1650.
6	Rin-chhen-Tshangs-dByangs	Rinchhen Tshang Chang	1690	?
7	bLo-bZang-skal-lDan ..	Lozang-Kaldan	1725	?
8	bLo-bZang-hJam-dPal ..	Lozang-Jampal ..	1760	A minor in 1774.
9	Lung-rTogs-rGya-mTsho ..	Luntok Gyatsho ..	1790	?
10	Tshul-khrims-rGya-mTsho ..	Tshul-thim Gyatsho ..	1817	?
11	dGe-dMu-reGya-mTsho ..	Gemure Gyatsho ..	1835	Nine years in 1844.

795 But besides these two great Lamas of the yellow sect of
793 Gelukpa, there is a third great Lama in Bhutan, called the *Dharma Raja*, who is the head of the *Dukpa* sect, all of whom wear red dresses. Dharma Raja is his usual title amongst the people of Bhután, but amongst the Tibetans he is generally called *Jigten Gonpo** (Lord of the World). The Dalai Lama is called *Gyalba Rinpochhe*,

* See Plate XXII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
p. 370a
● 793

Plate XXII

JIGTEN-GONPO
The Dharma - Raja of Bhutan

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

775 the "Gem of Majesty," and the Tashi Lama is called
793 *Panchen Rinpochhe*, the "Gem of Learning."

792 All who have taken the vows of celibacy are called by the collective name of *Gédun*, the clergy. A monk is styled Lama, and a nun Ani. But the followers of the Gelukpa sect are divided into several classes. The lowest grade is the *Gethul*, or neophyte, and the *Gétshulma*,* or novice. The professed monk is called *Gelong*, and the professed nun *Gelongma*.

795 The principal sects in Tibet have already been mentioned, but there are some others deserving of notice. Of these the principal is the *Karmapa*,† or "believers in the efficacy of works." They are the same as the *Kármmikas* of Nepál. The *Kahgyudpas* are "believers in the succession of precepts." They are satisfied with the observance of the *Do* (sutras or aphorisms), and care not for the attainment of the esoteric doctrines of the *Sherchin* (Prajnáparamitá), or "transcendental wisdom." The *Brikhungpa* sect derives its name from the district of Brikhung. I know nothing of their tenets. All the above sects were offshoots of the Gelukhpa, and accordingly they wear yellow dresses. The Dukpa sect wear a red dress. They are numerous in Bhutan, and are found all over Tibet. I know nothing of their peculiar tenets; but from the name of the sect, *Dad-Dukpa*, which means "faith in the thunderer," I should suppose that they pay especial reverence to the holy *Dorje* (*Vajra*, or thunderbolt) which descended through the air, and fell at Sera in Tibet. A picture which I possess of the great Lama *Skyobba Jigten Gonpo*, of the red sect, represents him with the *Dorje* in his right hand.

* See Plate XXIV. † *Karma-pa*, naturalized from Sanscrit.

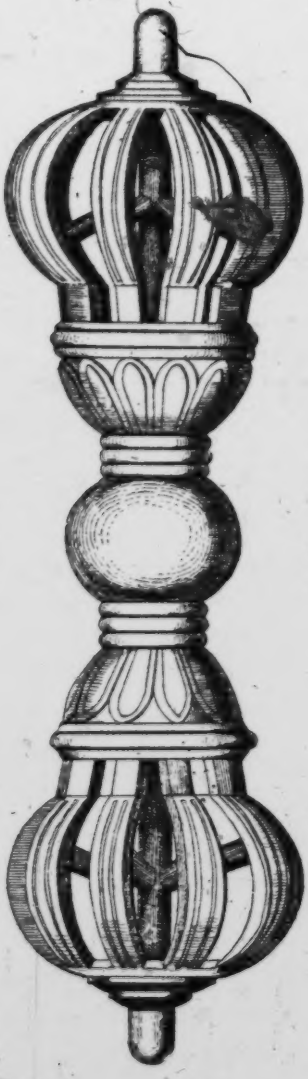
1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

793

The DORGÉ, Sceptre or Thunderbolt.

From
SANCHI.
Bas Relief.

From
UDEGIRI.
Sculpture.



From
LADAK.
Full Size.

From
REMUSAT.

p.374a

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 600

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The 534
SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men).

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) star ches, among Ladákis, 584
betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly [787]
point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, [793]
to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang star ches, 585
the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child pos- 768
sessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at 584
once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may [595]
have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but 585
it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride.

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning 600
"mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel".

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the 793
"laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, 788
or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills".

1 [i.e, barley beer-- ANALYST]

876 FRECKLE--teep-khap. Ladakis think that freckles are caused by looking at one's reflection in the unwiped mirror of another person, for this reason, before using another person's looking-glass, a Ladaki will be careful to wipe it thoroughly.

764 [49] FUNERAL--Buddhists in Ladák like to keep a dead body as long as possible, for the purpose of praying over it, and performing other religious ceremonies. For this reason it is considered better that a man should die in winter, when his corpse can be kept for 15 or 16 days, than in summer when the body must be burnt on the third day after death. When a death occurs, intimation is sent to all relatives to come to the funeral. At the time of the funeral "chhang"[1] and "satoo"[2] is provided at the house of the deceased, but the guests are all silent, and pretend to be much affected. They will eat and drink sadly, so long as the corpse is in the house but when it has been removed, they will not eat or drink in that house for a month. At the
•793 764 time of the occurrence of a death, a "hlobon" or "abbot" is sent for, from the nearest monastery; this official reads some religious extracts (this is called phóa tap ches) for half an hour or so, while so doing he holds the sacred book (phóalung speycha) in one hand, and with the other hand he takes hold of the pigtail of the deceased, if a male, and of the hair of the deceased, if a female. While reading the funeral service, the Abbot keeps on pulling and jerking the hair of the corpse. If by the time the reading is finished, any blood has come from the nose of the corpse, it is considered a very happy sign, as proving that the spirit (sem soul or SHok or SHrok life) of the deceased has entered into the presence of the Divine Idea (konjok), i.e., has entered paradise (zhing-kham or thóris), and attained nirvana (stongpa ngyid).

[175] If no blood is to be seen, it is considered a sign that the dead person's spirit is wandering about in space, awaiting re-embodiment. In this case payments have to be made to the Lámas to pray for the wandering spirit.

764 [50] Having completed the reading, the Abbot stands aside, and
614 the "phas-spun" of the deceased come with ropes, and tie the deceased into a squatting position; knees, hands and neck all tied close together. If the corpse has got stiff, the bones are broken, so that the necessary squatting position may be attained.

1 [BARLEY BEER--ANALYST] 2 [BASIC BARLEY FOOD--ANALYST]

764 614 The word "phas-spun" signifies the persons who perform the funeral ceremonies, in so far as these involve the touching of the corpse. The office of "phas-spun" is hereditary and unpaid, a male corpse is attended upon by male "phas-spun" and a female corpse by female "phas-spun". If a stranger comes to a village, where his family has no "phas-spun" it is necessary for him to get some one to agree to undertake the office, a dinner is then given, and the man to whom the feast is given becomes the family and hereditary "phas-spun" of the giver.

It never happens that a "phas-spun" declines to perform his part. If a person dies without any "phas-spun," his corpse is treated as that of an animal; no one will touch it, and no religious ceremonies are performed over it, a rope is tied round it, and it is dragged away and either thrown into the river Indus or buried. But to return to the narrative. When the "phas-spun" numbering from 7 to 9 persons, have tied up the corpse (ro) into the approved attitude, they put it into a cotton cloth bag (rórés), and then remove it from the room in which it is, and take it to the "Chhodkhang" room (see "Church") of the house, and put it in a corner of the room, and stretch a shawl or other cloth across the corner, so as to hide the corpse. The Abbot (hlóbon) then comes into the "Chhodkhang" room, sits down just to the left front of the corpse and with his back to it, and other Lámás of lower rank also enter the room and sit facing the "Hlóbon." As soon as the corpse has been put in to the corner by the "phas-spun" these people retire, and none but priests are admitted into the "Chhodkhang," and these remain to pray, and to keep alight 101 brass lamps (chhodmey), and to offer food and drink to the deceased. The "phas-spun" and relatives of the deceased sit in another room. Till the time for the funeral or burning ceremony arrives, Lámás remain day and night in the "Chhodkhang" by day from seven to ten Lámás are probably present, and by night only one or two. The Lámás consult their books to see what is the auspicious time (zhák záng) for the corpse to be removed to the burning ground (turtsa). When the time arrives for removing the corpse, the "phas-spun" and the nearest relative, (i.e., heir) whether male or female enter the Chhodkhang, and the "phas-spun"

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lift the corpse, and place it upon the chief mourners back, the latter then, bends down leaning upon two sticks carried in the two hands, and aided by the "phas-spun" carries the corpse to the entrance of the house; here it is placed in a square shaped coffin or box (rórGHam) provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. The rórGHam is then carried either by the "phas-spun" or relatives of the deceased, to the burning ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not come to the burning ground, but, after having walked 3 times round the coffin and prostrated herself before it 3 times, she is conducted back to the house.

On the way to the burning ground, the Lámás go in front, praying and playing musical instruments, then follow the relatives, etc., and last of all comes the coffin. The corpse is placed in a sort of oven; the face being put down against the ground; the wood is then lighted and ghee is poured over the corpse by the Lámás.

When the first bone drops from the body, probably after 3 or 4 hours, the funeral ends, though the "phas-spun" remain to complete the burning. The Lámás take the bone back to the "Chhopkhang" of the deceased, and there pound it up, mix a little clay with it, and put it into a mould, which shapes it into a figure or idol (tshatsha). If the deceased was a rich man, this figure is built into a "Chhorten," (see Cenotaph) built for the purpose, and if he was poor man, the figure (tshátshá) is taken and placed in any old "chhorten". On the evening of this day, an open air feast is given to the mourners who then disperse.

[778]

804 [51]FURLONG--The Ladákis do not measure distances as we do, but the Indian word "kós" or "kóso" is generally understood to mean about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Tibetan method of measurement is by the "migthoug," which means the distance, up to which a man can be clearly seen with the naked eye. In the clear atmosphere of Ladák, this would mean about 1 1/2 miles. Another method of measurement is by the "thang" or "plateau". This is of very little use, as the "thang" may be only a few hundred yards long, or it may be several miles long. For further information, see under "Lineal measure".

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. — The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

177 only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

779 The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have
177 already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devis* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former
776 inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to
779 their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which
177 are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female
[796] symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and
787 unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the
[793] dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their
779 great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued
789 with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti MISCEL

[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the Kângrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khâta* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lama* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lama* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [614]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 A4 W. Tibetans A4
Spiti 49a

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladâkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perût* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 837

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *kesar*, or green, water is kept; *i.e.*, water in which *kêsar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kêsar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shun* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *lama* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ribong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732 777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

Il: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the 149
Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level.

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then
779 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow
144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan
177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

724 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations
793 are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localised in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See Source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Hanly]

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

000 A local doctor (*Amchi*) was called in to attend the sick man, who was given certain purgatives which were vomited as soon as they were administered. The duration of the deceased's illness was only one day.

Having heard that the body was to be disposed of by mutilation, my curiosity was aroused, and I determined to witness the ceremony first-hand. To achieve this end I was obliged to simulate great interest in the local religion, and professed myself an ardent Buddhist. To my surprise I received consent to follow the funeral cortège, and to be present at the actual ceremony of mutilation.

7;4 The place where the mutilation ceremony was performed was on a small hillock by the side of the Spiti river, about a mile and a half from the village. Eight men carried the dead man on an improvised bier made of four rough pieces of wood crossed in such a way as to form a square shaped seat. Immediately after death the deceased's neck was broken by one of his relations. The lower part of his right leg having been flexed at the knee joint and placed over the middle third of the left thigh, so that the calf muscle was clearly in evidence, a yak hair rope was passed in a figure of eight round the leg, thigh, and neck, bringing the head down very close to the knee. The corpse thus trussed was placed on the bier, with two relatives leading the funeral procession. Behind the eight bearers of the corpse came some villagers amongst whom were two men, one carrying a log of wood, and the other an axe and hunting knife.

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FIG. 3. CARRYING THE DEAD MAN FOR MUTILATION.

About two furlongs from the village the procession reached a prayer wall. At this point the two men leading the procession returned to their own village bearing flags and a banner with a goddess painted upon it.

On arrival at the site of the mutilation ceremony, the body was taken out of the bier, and the clothes and funeral ornaments stripped from the dead man so as to expose him naked. Two lamas (priests) then took up a position about thirty feet from the corpse, and faced eastwards, whilst another lama squatted on the ground to the south of the site of mutilation. These men held ritualistic instruments in their hands, and muttered prayers.

764 In the meantime, the executioner on whom the main business of mutilation devolved, placing himself in front of the corpse drew
767 it over to a flat stone just visible above the ground. Then, after cutting the rope which secured the deceased lest he should rise and do some harm, he laid the dead body on the stone with its knees in a flexed position. This done, he placed the log of wood under the cervical region, cutting with his hunting knife the skin, fasciæ, muscles, and other soft structures of the neck. Then taking the axe from his girdle, he severed the head from the body, and placed it close by. He now proceeded to open up the abdomen. First, he caught the abdominal wall in the epigastric region with his left hand, and with his right he introduced his knife at the tip of the xiphoid and cut the abdominal wall horizontally, and the flap thus made was turned downwards over the pubic region.

[763] On opening the abdomen fæculent fluid gushed out. The small and large intestines were semi-distended and bulging. It being of great importance to ascertain the disease which caused the deceased's death, the mutilator used a small piece of stick to elevate and examine the intestines. His verdict was that the man had died from a fatal bilious attack, though so far as I could see the liver was quite normal.

000 Standing close to the body I could see that the intestines were distended, and part of the small intestine was chocolate colour (gangrenous). Besides this it had the appearance of having been ruptured and perforated, which fact rather confirms my belief that the extremely violent aperients administered to the man during his brief illness produced these disastrous results.

were following the small Yunan River down to Kilung. A Tibetan 788
who was bringing a caravan to Patseo twirled it as he followed rangy mules loaded with wool and marmot skins. And as he twirled it, he kept murmuring to himself, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

In the main monastery at Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are perhaps eight by eighteen inches and filled with prayers. They too are engraved with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* One spins them clockwise as he goes up or down the stairs, waiting, in case another has preceded him, until the earlier spin has ended. And as each spins, he murmurs, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Some prayer cylinders are spun by the wind. There is a large one at Hemis, about three feet long and eighteen inches wide, hitched up to paddles and turned by water. It too is filled with prayers that are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year. And the prayers say millions upon millions of times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are practically no doctors in Ladakh. Although each 759
monastery will have a lama trained in native medicine who will 793
take care of the illnesses of the monks, there is no medical service 756
for the people. A villager who is sick sends for a lama. A child or the wife makes the journey to the nearest monastery (perhaps thirty or forty miles) and brings back a lama. The family gives the lama his board and lodging and pays him as much per day as it can afford. A man with a special attachment to the lama may turn his wife over to him for the duration of the visit. For these considerations the lama prays. He sits by the bed of the sick person for hours, for days on end, driving away the evil spirits that have caused the illness. And as he sits, he chants endlessly, incessantly, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Buddha did not believe in mortification of the body as a means 779
of salvation. But that belief is a religious longing deeply rooted 783
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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here,[1]
788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
● 793 come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums, while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests must be both fed, and paid in money.

788 Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious
778 purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

554 One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best
[758] room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

342 The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

1 [i.e., in private chapels in better-class houses in town — analys.]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 ritual from Catholic missionaries, who formerly passed through
174 Tibet or were working on the Chinese border of this now closed land. The rosary, the ecclesiastical vestments and mitred hats are also very suggestive of this. Their own
773 explanation can be found in the following story. Raschung, the disciple of the great saint and singer, Milaraspa, was told by his master to fast for seven days, after which he was to go to the bazar where he would meet a Yogi of the name of Tipu, whom he would recognize by the fact that his face was blue, and his conjunctivæ red. He also would be wearing the skin of a striped antelope, and would be holding his trumpet up towards heaven and blowing it. Having found and identified him, Tipu prophesied to Raschung that he would die in fourteen days. When Raschung returned to Milaraspa with this sad news, his master informed him that he had sent him to Tipu as he was aware of this fact, but that if he fasted another week and then went to the goddess "*Ma chig grube rgyalmo*," she might be prevailed upon to prolong his life. Having followed out these instructions, the goddess inquired from him how much longer he wished to live. He answered "Until I myself feel I wish to die." She granted his request, handing to him the secret of the mystical rites of prolonging life. He lived just as long again, and then departed from this existence when he was eighty-eight years, and at the same age as his master, Milaraspa, died. It is said that these rites have been handed down since then by a regular episcopal succession, the names of those succeeding being actually given.

796 The auspicious day having been decided on by the *Onpo*,
● 793 there is to be a celebration in the compound next to our house, so we will go to watch it. Along the length of the private dwelling, which was built recently with a view to religious ceremonies taking place there, runs a verandah raised about five feet above the court-yard in front. In the centre sits the *Skushog* on cushions behind a low ornamented table, on which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

is placed at his right hand the holy pot containing the peacock feathers, in front of him the *Dorjhe* (thunderbolt) and bell, and to his left a bowl containing rice. Behind him and to the left is an altar, which is erected in the form of a pyramid by means of steps, on each of which there are a great number of brass bowls containing offerings of butter, rice and water. On the top is an image, most likely that of the tutelary deity of the presiding *Skushog*. In the immediate vicinity of the celebrating lama other priests are present to assist. Behind these on either side sit the more prominent Buddhist laymen of the town, all with heads reverently uncovered. In the court-yard below the verandah, the poorer worshippers are sitting on the ground, with the men generally in front. On inquiry we are told that the celebrating priest has carefully prepared himself for this ceremony. For twenty-four hours he has sat alone in meditation, and, by means of the repetition of many prayers has purified himself from all his sins. While doing this he has the *Tsebum*, or "Vase of Life," in front of him. He suddenly sees the *lha* (the god) enter it and says *Da drub tsar*—" Now it is fulfilled." He then dons his ceremonial hat and comes out to the congregation in order to distribute life to those present. The service begins with the reading of the holy books, by the *Skushog*, who holds in his right hand the bell, which he rings at appropriate moments and in his left the *Dorjhe*, which he turns, whilst the lamas respond every now and again in a sing-song tone of voice, blowing their shawms and clashing their cymbals. The elements are now distributed. In front, walks the *Skushog* with the "Vase of Life" in his hands. Passing along each row, he touches each worshipper's head with it. Behind him follows a priest with the " Wine of Life," of which he pours a small quantity into the cupped hands of each communicant. This is carried reverently to the forehead and to each eye in turn and finally to the mouth to be drunk. The wine is actually only made of water, coloured with saffron

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 and sweetened with sugar. This distributed, the bread, or
● 793 "Balls of Life," are administered from a large dish. These are made of barley-flour, and not only does the participant receive one for himself, but he may obtain sufficient balls for those members of his family who were unable to attend. Now the *Skushog* ties a *srungdud* (Keeping knot), and gives one to each person present. He takes a small piece of rag, coloured red or green, makes it into a knot, breathing on it the while. This is then attached to the hat and preserves the the wearer from disease and death. Finally comes the collection, the worshippers filing past and presenting the *Skushog* with salutation [redacted], and money.

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all go indoors and spend the time dancing until the fateful 585
hour foretold by the *Onpo* arrives, when the actual marriage takes place, and the bride appears. A scribe is present to write down everything which is taken away by the bride in case of a divorce. He, the friends, and the hairdressers will receive presents from the father or uncle. The hair of the bride (or bridegroom) has to be dressed that same evening, and she now puts on a white head-dress, the wearing of which is the actual wedding rite. Her dress is usually an ancient one, which goes from house to house. She comes into the living-room, and sits on a carpet on which the sign of *gyung-drung* (the Swastika) has been made in barley. Across the room a rope is stretched on which the father and mother place the clothes, while on the floor are the pots and pans which they are giving their daughter. The lamas now [793] arrive to perform the *yangkuk* ceremonies (*yang* means blessing, *kuk* calling forth), so that the daughter may not take away with her the blessing of the house. The *nyopas* present each lama with a piece of cloth, which the latter place on their heads ; to the girl's parents they have to give a salutation-scarf, and to her relatives small pieces of white cloth. After this ceremony, the lamas leave, and now the parents of the bride also present her with salutation-scarves, which is a duty of each relative also. The bride then weeps copiously, and lauds all that has been done for her during her life. The [614] leader of the *nyopas* now takes her into the small temple or private chapel of the house to say a last good-bye, for after this day she may never again enter this temple, having married into another *paspun* (clan). She is then taken on a pony to her new home by the *nyopas*, and this happens about midnight, for, if the bride be taken away by day, a fine has to be paid either to the King or to the neighbouring monastery. Before starting, the father and uncle of the bridegroom once more enter the house, and, again presenting salutation scarves and a small sum of money, thank the parents for the gift of the

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643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
● 793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before
[791] the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

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the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, 788
eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the 792
stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. 643
Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his 788
chos, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief 631
ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor im- 643
portance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, [775]
whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* re-incarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a [793]
Skushog, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor 662
old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

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796 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing
782 the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-shen* (roasted buck-wheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-shen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 The *Ma-ṇi Tsoi-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the
793 village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

796 At the *Chog'-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-pa* (one in whom a god is supposed
787 to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is
[776] thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of blood.

Following closely on this function, comes the *Tsoi-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned,
[793] perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-sa-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rag'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rang*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place
533 during the ninth month, one *drang-rgyas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to
787 the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung :—

G.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"
The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dzo's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dzo-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

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24. (*a*) ཨ་བ་ཤི་ཡིན་བསམས་པིན་ན།
ཤ་ཀན་ཁྱི་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོ་ས།།

(*b*) a'ba shi'in sam'spinna
star'gan cig'la cila ma tsong's.

(*c*) If you thought [knew], that father will die,
Why did you not sell him [before dying] for an old horse.

(*d*) Used derisively. You could not help your misfortune just as you cannot sell your father.

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(*e*) *Samspin* a contraction of *bsamspa yin.*

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25. (*a*) བཟོད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་དགེ་བ་མེད།
ཞེ་སྡང་ལྟ་བུའི་ཕྱིག་པ་མེད།།

(*b*) zod'pa lta'bui ge'va med
zhed'dang lta'bui dig'pa med.

(*c*) There is no virtue like patience;
There is no sin like hatred.

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26. (*a*) བླ་མ་རང་མགོ་མ་འཕོན་ན།
གཤིན་པོའི་ཡར་འདྲེན་ཅི་བཅོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) La'ma rang'go ma thon'na
shin'poi yar'dren ci co'in.

(*c*) If the Lama's own head does not come out [cleanly], how will he manage (do) the drawing upwards of the dead.

(*d*) Used for deriding the immoral life of the lamas.

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(*e*) *Thonces* is verb neuter of *btonces*, to put out.

27. (*a*) ཤི་སོང་ཤི་སོང་ཟེར་ན།
གཤིན་མིག་རི་ནས་ལྟ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) shi'song shi'song zer'na
shin'mig ri'nä lte'n.

(*c*) If you say "he is dead, he is dead,"
The eye of the dead will look out of the hill.

(*d*) Ladakhi superstition. It is not good to speak much of a dead man, his eye might frighten the speaker.

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273 539 32. (*a*) མ་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་འདུག་ན་ཐུན་མའི་ཐུན་ཆང་སྟེར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) mashi'thse ring'dugna shran'mä shran'chang ster'rin.

(*c*) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.

(*d*) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.

000 (*e*) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb.* and *copulat.*

593 539 33. (*a*) མ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་ལྷོ་ཆོད་མས་ཆོད།།

(*b*) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na
thsalrgo thsod'mä chod'.

(*c*) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].

(*d*) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.

000 (*e*) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*

539 34. (*a*) བསམ་པ་སྐྱོན་ལ་ཐ་བདང་ན།
འགྱོད་པ་དེང་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།།

(*b*) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na
gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.

(*c*) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.

577 793 539 35. (*a*) བོང་ངུའི་རྣ་མཆོག་ལ་སེར་ཕྱུག་ན། ཡང་ནས་ལ་ཕྱུག་ན། ཚྭ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, tsogs'in.

(*c*) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.

(*d*) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.

000 (*e*) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.

539 36. (*a*) ངན་མ་རྒག་བརྒྱབ་ན། དེང་མ་དགོད་མ་ཤོར།།

(*b*) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.

(*c*) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

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000 (*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been
[564] originally ཨཕྱེ་ནར་ལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

539 41. (*a*) དཔལ་འཕང་ཉོ་ངམ། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྱོན་ཉོ་ངམ།།

(*b*) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

000 (*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

561 42. (*a*) ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་ཇུང་ལ་ཇའུ།།

•793 (*b*) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

436 (*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the
539 *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

(*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

[000] (*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = 3¼ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

793 43. (*a*) ཁ་དས་ཀོ་ལྭགས་ཟེར་ས་དང་ཟླ་མའི་ཏོ་ལྭང་ཟེར་ས་ལ་སྨོན་འདུག།
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(*b*) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

000 (*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin.* *trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

539 44. (*a*) སྦལ་ཏི་ཉིང་ཅན་ནི་ཉིང་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ།
བོད་ཉིང་མེད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་སྟོར།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la
bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

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(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the mid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) ཉམ་པོ་འདུག་པ་ལ་མ་ཁྱོད།།

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(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'.

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama.

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance.

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) ཨ་ནད་ཨ་ཨ་ནད་ཨ་ཟེར་ར་ནི་ཨ་ཡི་ཡོ་ག་ཨོ་ཡིན།

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རྒྱབ་ལ་ཡཱ་ཛུ་ཀུང་བདག་ཀ་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མཁོ་བཀོར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pā gob'skor in'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁ་ཏཱ་ཀོ་ལྭག་ཟེར་པ། ཁུང་ཀཱ་དིག་ཐྲུལ།།

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(*b*) Kha'tā ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kā mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
521 during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
428 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

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snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by 291
felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry.

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is 564
that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry.

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is 793
not hereditary.

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the 131
Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places.

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different 563
occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was 142
that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 181

2: Gervis Γ-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ 4

summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next 342
morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer 132
outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a
difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny 132
courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be 354
had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in 793
meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the 793
Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron- 292
coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasion- [795]
ally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great 793
monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that 361
every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
361 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans AJ4

I can well imagine the shock any high-minded Englishman or woman must suffer after they have been reminded, as I was by the Head Lama, that it is known that when Julius Caesar first went to England, he discovered that polyandry was a common practice in the country. 000

If there are more than three brothers, unless the wife is prepared to cope with extra husbands, then those remaining have the choice of either becoming a lama and entering the monastery or becoming a coolie; unless of course one is born fortunate enough to catch the eye of an heiress. 595 793

These lamas who are both male and female, usually remain single, though there is no bar against their marriage. The women lamas or nuns, known as chamos, live in different buildings, but they do not live entirely separate from each other, the nuns undertaking many of the household duties in the monasteries, such as baking bread, cooking and so on. 793

It is not unknown for a family to dedicate their first born, or even the favourite son to this religious life. In that event he is sent to a monastery school—which is residential—from the age of eight years, passing through all the stages of pupil, probationer and finally fully ordained monk. As such he has to observe some two hundred and fifty-three vows, and monastic life—at least of the yellow order—imposes a hard discipline upon the monks, including celibacy and abstinence. His diet consists of barley, wheat or buckwheat and occasionally rice. The only meat allowed to be eaten is either sheep, goat or yak, and the chief beverages are soup, milk and tea. 793 785 [262]

In every village we had passed through we had seen belonging to practically every house a little boy wearing a lama's hat or a little girl wearing the cap of a chamo. They had been dedicated as the one of the family to enter the monastery or nunnery school as soon as they were old enough. 793

The monks, in addition to being divided into sects, are separated into two classes; one, those who would in any event have entered the monastery, devote their time to meditation, prayers and the spiritual side "their life being on a higher spiritual plane", and two, those who beg for alms, cultivate the land, look after the rents and so on. The doctors among them—those I met anyway,—had started in the first class and then

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

193 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

193 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4

795 who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

346 At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the [231] entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held [776] them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building [56] containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly 353 lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elabo- 346 rately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from whieh the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

353 The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the 531 Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between Lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my P Ceylon friend.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

574 grand folk dressed in most weird costumes, uncommonly like a well-got-up pantomime.

574 There were men dressed in Chinese silks, with their
291 smart blue and gold caps with tassels, Ladakhi officials
793 of various grades, from the Joint-Commissioner, a fine-looking Mohammedan, to his fat babu who sat on his pony like a monkey, his stirrups being so short that his knees and fat stomach met. But the figure which took my fancy was the church dignitary; he resembled for all the world Cardinal Wolsey risen from the dead. He wore a scarlet cloak which fell over the pony's back and almost touched the ground, and he sported ye old cardinal's hat. I never saw him smile, which was in contrast to all the others, who seemed to be out for a holiday. Whether he was upset about not having his proper position in the cavalcade, or whether he had the stomach-ache is uncertain, or maybe his cardinal's hat was uncomfortable. It certainly was hardly the sort of hat I should have chosen to ride in. Perhaps his dignity did not allow him to show his feelings. Anyway, everybody except the cardinal seemed to be in good fettle after their morning's ride. We all fell into some sort of order and rode for the capital.

361 You can see Leh from some miles distant as it is
574 built up the side of the rocks, with the palace and
533 monastery towering above. Leh is 11,700 feet above
526 sea-level, so one needs a little time in which to get acclimatised.

When we arrived through the fine gateway into the main street we found both sides lined with H.H. the Maharajah's troops and the crowds of citizens behind them. The monastery band was in full view on the roof of one
574 of the buildings and made the usual joyful sound. This
526 main street of shops has a fine avenue of poplar-trees,

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4

burn on and the devils have it all their own way until a party of super-holy monks arrive, who come with holy water, with which they conquer the flames, and then the devils one and all rush out of the arena amid a tempest of crashing and shrieking; but above it all is the sound of a mighty wind caused by all the monks whistling their loudest, and the whole band of devils, pitchforks and all, disappear into the monastery. I thought it would have been more impressive if they had all disappeared over the precipice or, if they could not manage that, down the rocks out of sight.

Well, we were mighty glad to see the last of these devils, and the blessed monks also, for our nerves were anyhow after all we had heard and seen, but all was not over, for the people were to see the priest perform a sort of high mass. In an open space rigged up as a chapel facing the courtyard which all could see was an altar with its usual complement of ornaments, lamps, holy water, chalice and paten.

The priest entered wearing a garment just like a surplice. He turned his back to the congregation and commenced his service at the altar.

Presently in came stealthily a clown with a coloured bladder in his hand with which he hit the priest over the head with a mighty whack and then darted behind a pillar and hid. Then again he crept up behind, stalking the priest, and dealt him another blow; but still the priest took no notice, so absorbed was he in his devotions. After another blow or two the priest looked round to see whence the blows had come, but of course he looked in the wrong direction, and the clown cocked a snook at him, a real gutter-snipe snook, from behind the pillar. It was all so like a Western pantomime that we could hardly believe we were watching a real Buddhist religious

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans A14

796 ceremony in a real monastery. The people all round
● 793 were thoroughly enjoying the play and were laughing
535 heartily.

I could not find out the reason for this last act, but I suppose it was to show that the monks when engaged in their religious duties were too deeply engrossed to be disturbed by assaults of the devils. Well, it was a great show, and one wondered how much of it was believed by the people who had come from such long distances to see their religion acted.

It seemed to me that they were too jolly and cheery a lot to believe much in devils; they evidently saw the humour of it all. The abbot of the monastery told us that the monks had been practising for a whole year at the play, and showed us the rod of correction which he used on those monks who failed in their parts. It was a thick black stick weighted with brass. I felt sorry for those monks who did not live up to the form of Friar Tuck, and had not a good cushion of fat to protect their bones when the brass stick descended. But perhaps they knew the schoolboy's copy-book trick.

231 The great monastery mastiffs interested us, but we were thankful that they were chained. We were told that the dogs used to be kept in lieu of graves for the monks, or, in other words, to eat up the dead members of the brotherhood.

Some of them are very savage brutes. A friend of mine who was attacked by one had a bad time, although he himself was an athlete; he was obliged to go to bed for a day or two after the attack. I myself had a narrow shave one day. I went into a monastery uninvited to have a look round. When coming through a very narrow passage I saw one of these dogs fast asleep, as I imagined, and foolishly thought I could pass him if I walked

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian
777 Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they con-
●794 fine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures
788 aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra
195 (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are im-
435 ported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

792 177 The *lámás* system.

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

[428]

785 The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

792 794 Monasteries or *gónpás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

[597]

[764]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. 794

Social and Religious Life. 796

Monasteries or *gómpás* in Láhaul and Spiti. 788

In the autumn the *nierpa* or treasurer, with some of the monastery tenants in attendance, goes through the whole country, and collects from every holding a customary fee called *dubri*, consisting of one *páth* of barley. In the spring a great festival takes place, known as the Ghantál Tchácha, at which all comers are fed for one day. A long train of pilgrims may be seen engaged in making the circle on foot of the holy mountain,—a work of much religious efficacy, as it ought to be, seeing that it involves a trudge of about eighteen miles and an ascent and descent of several thousand feet. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"The third grand *lámá* of Tibet* visited Láhaul while I was there in 1867, inspecting the monasteries and giving his benediction to the people at places where he halted. He travelled in quaintly-shaped, bright-coloured tents carried on *yaks*, with a considerable retinue of monks. I saw him seated on a throne or platform built up in the open air, dressed in a mitre and silken canonicals, extraordinarily like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates. The monks formed a lane in front of the throne, up which the Láhaulis advanced in the most reverential manner to receive the blessing, and a bit of silk to be worn, I believe, as a talisman. After backing out of the presence, they made the circle of the throne, praying aloud as they walked. I saw one poor man present a pony, so the value of the offerings must have been considerable."

792

[292]

[772]

The principal endowment of the five Spiti monasteries consists of the *pun* or assigned grain rents already described; the rent-free land they hold is of exceedingly trifling amount. The following table shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of *pun* they draw from each *kothí*:—

Name of monastery or *gómpás*.	Number of *lámás*.	Amount of "pun" collectable from each kothí.			Remarks.
		Name of kothí.	Khal.	Tah.	
Dankar or Láwope	90	Shám ...	137	14	Seventeen khal assigned to the family of astrologers, and forty to the Pittu monastery in Ladákh, have to be added to make up the sum total of the pun, viz., 1,461 khal 7 tah.
		Chusi ...	190	...	
		Todpá ...	73	17	
			331	11	
Tábo	38	Shám ...	53	5	
		Chusi ...	134	19	
		Todpá ...	10	10	
			198	14	
Kí	100	Chusi ...	379	4	
		Bárjik ...	14	...	
		Todpá ...	60	...	
			453	4	
Tángiat ...	60	Chusi ...	242	...	
		Bárjik ...	67	16	
		Todpá ...	9	12	
		Pin ...	20	...	
			339	8	
Pin	100	Pin ...	61	10	

* One of the three who is born again as soon as he dies; the man I saw was fair, plump and smooth faced, and not more than twenty years old I should say.—*Lyall.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Christian era, and into Great Tibet in the middle of the seventh century.

Previous to the occupation of Tibet by Khri-Tsampo, in about 250 B.C., there is nothing known of its history, excepting the fact that the people were of the Bon or Pon religion, which, like that of the Indian *Tirthakaras*, was an epicurean atheism. According to the Mogul author Sanang Setzen, Khri-Tsampo was an Indian prince of the Litsabyi (or Lichhavi) race, who, being conquered in war, had sought refuge in Tibet, where he was hospitably received, and afterwards proclaimed king by the people, who are called the *Debchin Bonbo* of heaven, and the *Yang Bonbo* of earth.* Csoma de Körös repeats a similar story, with the addition that Nya-Khri-Tsampo, "being defeated in battle," fled to Tibet, where he was acknowledged as king by the *Pons*. The date of 250 B.C., assigned to this event by Csoma, makes the Lichhavi prince a contemporary of the great Buddhist king Asoka, by whom he was most probably expelled from India; for the Lichhavi family had been the leading people in the community of Vaisáli for many centuries, during which time they distinguished themselves by their fierce opposition to the Buddhists. They opposed Sakya himself in argument, and were silenced, but not convinced by him. The Lichhavis of Vaisáli professed entire belief in Swasti, from which they derived their name of *Swástikas*, or followers of

* M. Schmidt supposes that these terms indicate the people of the mountains and valleys. They may, however, denote only different sects; the one affecting heavenly aspirations, the other leaning to earthly objects. *Debchin* is most probably Tibetan,—the "blissful,"—which is used by the Tibetans as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sugata*, the "well-gone," or blessed, an epithet of former Buddhas. *Yang* may be the Tibetan *Yangs*, great, vast.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 the "mystic cross," which was a monogrammatic sign, formed of the letters *su* and *ti*. The combination *suti* is the Pali form of the Sanskrit *swasti*, which is compounded of *su*, well, and *asti*, it is. Wilson gives the meaning of "so-be-it;" but both versions equally imply complete resignation under all circumstances, which was the chief dogma of the fatalist *Swástikas*. These followers of the mystic cross held the doctrine of eternal annihilation after death; from which they derived their Tibetan name of *Mu-stegs-pa*, or "Finitimists."* According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress, and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves *Tirthakara*, or "pure doers;" and the synonymous name of *Punya*, "the pure," was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages, and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Khan.

175 779 According to the Chinese, the founder of the doctrine of the *Tao-sse*, or Rationalists, was *Laotze*, who lived from about B.C. 604 to 523. He was therefore a contemporary of Sakya Muni, by whom he is said to have been worsted in argument. By the Tibetan Buddhists he is called Sen-rabs;† but this perhaps signifies nothing more than that he was of the race or family of Sena. His faith continued paramount in Great Tibet for nine centuries, until Buddhism was generally introduced by Srong-Stan in the middle of the seventh century. But 798 779 the followers of the *Yung-drung-pa*, or "mystic cross," were still powerful; and in A.D. 899 Buddhism was formally abolished by *Lang Tarma*, and was not again

* Csoma de Körös, Grammar, p. 192.

† Id. ibid. p. 181.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—DIFFERENT SECTS—LAMAS.

During the palmy days of Indian Buddhism, the faith of the Tibetans most probably partook of all the different fluctuations of belief that prevailed in India. The most ancient religious sect that is now known is the *Nyimapa*, all of whom wear red dresses. Most of the Lamas in Ladák and Ngari are of this sect. In the middle of the eighth century *Urgyan Rinpoche* (the gem of Urgyan, or Padma Sambhava) was invited into Tibet by Khrisrong De-tsan. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitabha (*Hod-pag-med*). He was the founder of a new sect, who differ from the *Nyimapas* chiefly in their worship of this incarnation. In the eleventh century Tibet was visited by *Chovo-Atisha*, a Bengali Pundit, who infused new vigour amongst the votaries of Buddhism. His pupil *Bromston* founded the Rareng monastery, and originated the *Káhdampa** sect, or those who are content with the observance of the "precepts" (*kah*), without caring for the acquirement of the higher branches of transcendental wisdom. The followers of these three sects all wear red dresses. Another sect, the *Sákyapas*, also wear red; but I know nothing of their peculiar tenets.

In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lama *Tsong khapa*. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (*Hod-pag-med*), and others of Manju Sri (*Jámya*). He was born in 1355, and died in 1419. He built the temple of *Gáhldán*, and was the first great abbot (*khánpo*), who occupied the Gáhldán

* *bKah-gDams-pa*, "followers of the precepts."—Csoma, Grammar, p. 197.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots
793 down to the present day.
175 The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following:*—

795	1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born 1355 A.D.
			founded Gáhldán 1407
	2.	Darma Rinchhen	born 1417
	3.	Gelek Paldan	„ 1429
	4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„ 1436
	5.	Logros Chhos	„ 1448
	6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„ 1461
	7.	Logros Tanpa	„ 1471
	8.	Mon Lampal	„ 1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the
554 attainment of this rank became an object of ambition,
795 and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by
175 the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsong-
[176] khapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's
[177] memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word "lump;" and the Greek Ο-λυμπο-ς.

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in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery. 178

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

795 175 [176] 175 793

* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 occupied the chair of Tashi Lhunpo. Since his time
793 there have been two great Lamas, the one called the Dalai Lama, occupying the chair at Lhasa, and the other called the Tashi Lama, filling the chair at Tashi Lhunpo. Precedence is given to the Dalai Lama, both in writing and in conversation; but their influence is pretty equally divided. Both chairs are filled by a succession of supposed incarnations, and generally the elder of the two is the most influential. The succession from *Gedun Tubpa* down to the present day is the following:

—	Written Names.	Spoken Names.	Date. A.D.	Remarks.
1	dGe-hDun-Grub-pa	Gedun-Tubba	1389	Born. Founded Tashi Lhunpo 1445.
2	dGe-hDun-rGya-mTsho ..	Gedun-Gyatsho ..	1474	
3	bSod-nams-rGya-mTsho ..	Sonam-Gyatsho ..	1541	Visited Altun Khán.
4	Yon-tan-rGya-mTsho ..	Yontan-Gyatsho ..	1587	
5	Nag-dVang-bLo-bZang ..	NAVANG LOZANG ..	1615	Established himself as Dalai Lama; 1640 conquered Tibet; and visited the Emperor of China 1650.
6	Rin-chhen-Tshangs-dByangs	Rinchhen Tshang Chang	1690	?
7	bLo-bZang-skal-lDan ..	Lozang-Kaldan	1725	?
8	bLo-bZang-hJam-dPal ..	Lozang-Jampal ..	1760	A minor in 1774.
9	Lung-rTogs-rGya-mTsho ..	Luntok Gyatsho ..	1790	?
10	Tshul-khrims-rGya-mTsho ..	Tshul-thim Gyatsho ..	1817	?
11	dGe-dMu-reGya-mTsho ..	Gemure Gyatsho ..	1835	Nine years in 1844.

● 795 But besides these two great Lamas of the yellow sect of
793 Gelukpa, there is a third great Lama in Bhutan, called the *Dharma Raja*, who is the head of the *Dukpa* sect, all of whom wear red dresses. Dharma Raja is his usual title amongst the people of Bhután, but amongst the Tibetans he is generally called *Jigten Gonpo** (Lord of the World). The Dalai Lama is called *Gyalba Rinpochhe*,

* See Plate XXII.

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

775 the "Gem of Majesty," and the Tashi Lama is called
793 *Panchen Rinpochhe*, the "Gem of Learning."

792 All who have taken the vows of celibacy are called by the collective name of *Gédun*, the clergy. A monk is styled Lama, and a nun Ani. But the followers of the Gelukpa sect are divided into several classes. The lowest grade is the *Getshul*, or neophyte, and the *Gétshulma*,* or novice. The professed monk is called *Gelong*, and the professed nun *Gelongma*.

795 The principal sects in Tibet have already been mentioned, but there are some others deserving of notice. Of these the principal is the *Karmapa*,† or "believers in the efficacy of works." They are the same as the *Kármmikas* of Nepál. The *Kahgyudpas* are "believers in the succession of precepts." They are satisfied with the observance of the *Do* (sutras or aphorisms), and care not for the attainment of the esoteric doctrines of the *Sherchin* (Prajnáparamitá), or "transcendental wisdom." The *Brikhungpa* sect derives its name from the district of Brikhung. I know nothing of their tenets. All the above sects were offshoots of the Gelukhpa, and accordingly they wear yellow dresses. The Dukpa sect wear a red dress. They are numerous in Bhutan, and are found all over Tibet. I know nothing of their peculiar tenets; but from the name of the sect, *Dad-Dukpa*, which means "faith in the thunderer," I should suppose that they pay especial reverence to the holy *Dorje* (*Vajra*, or thunderbolt) which descended through the air, and fell at Sera in Tibet. A picture which I possess of the great Lama *Skyobba Jigten Gonpo*, of the red sect, represents him with the *Dorje* in his right hand.

* See Plate XXIV. † *Karma-pa*, naturalized from Sanscrit.

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●795 It seems probable, therefore, that the name of the sect was derived as I have supposed.

IV.—DRESS—RITUALIC INSTRUMENTS.

292 Most of the Lamas in Ladák wear a red coat with
792 sleeves and long skirts secured by a red girdle. All wear red boots. Most of them are bareheaded, but the higher Lamas wear semicircular red caps. One great Lama, the abbot of Lama Yurru, wears a peculiar hat, formed of bands that diminish in width by steps towards
302 the top.* Most Lamas have their heads shaved, or the
792 hair cropped short; but the abbot's hair was uncut. The pictures of the grand Lamas, both yellow and red, represent them without hair. This agrees with the practice of the Indian Buddhists, who were obliged to shave
292 their heads. The Dharma Raja, or great Lama of the
792 red sect, wears a semicircular red cap similar to those of the Ladáki Lamas.† His right arm is bare, but the rest of his person is clothed in ample red garments, suitable to a cold climate. The *Sanghati*, or kilt, and the *uttara-sanghati*, or cloak, of the Indian Buddhists, are formed into a coat with sleeves and skirt, and over this is worn a robe or blanket. In all the pictures the *antara-vásaka*, or "inner vest," is represented beneath the other dress. This is no doubt shown purposely, to prove that the great Lamas, according to the command of Sakya, never lay aside their inner vests.

The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear the same description of dress, but of a yellow colour. But all of them have transgressed the holy precept not to wear any ornamented

* See Plates XXIII. and XXIV.
† See Plates XXII. and XXIII.

CASTE--riks or roospa.

564 There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed
565 a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" [illegible]ries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put d[illegible]aste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

The first class or "rigál riks" consists only of royal personages.

[795] The second class or "trangzey riks" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey riks" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang riks" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tólbey riks" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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CLASS I. Rgiál riks.	CLASS II. Trángzey riks.	CLASS III. Rjey riks.
SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or
	(5) Skarmápa ...	Hlardak ...
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlondrukpa	...
None	Yellow Cap Sect	...
	(9) Geylukspa or	
None	GHaldanpa...	...
	...	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV. Hmang riks.	CLASS V. Tólbey riks.
SUB-DIVISIONS	SUB-DIVISIONS
1 Nángso (kings treasurer).	1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
2 Chakdzot (steward)	2 Zópa (artizan).
3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).	3 Sárzópa (goldsmith).
4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).	4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
5 GHópa (doorkeeper).	5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)	6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).
7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)	7 SHingkhan (carpenter).
8 Chhoonpa (the waterer of the king's fields).	8 Rtsikspon (builder).
9 Rardzi (goatherd).	9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).
10 Bardzi (cowherd).	10 Mon (musician.)
11 Thralpa (cooly).	11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).	12 Beyda musician.
...	Malákhan juggler.

T 792 builder, and first abbot khanpo), of the great Galdán or (GHaldán) monastery.

779 Láma Tsongkhápa prohibited clerical marriages, and generally
WT speaking re-introduced a stricter and more austere form of Bud-
792 dhism of Lamaism, which was not approved of by all. The
779 consequence was that a schism arose in the Buddhist church, which then divided itself into two sects.

T The reformers, followers of Láma Tsongkhápa, assumed the title of "Geylukspa" or "the virtuous ones," while the conservative
792 party was called Drukpa or Dukpa or "zhámár," e. i., "Red
795 cap."

779 The original dress of all Lamas was a red petticoat (SHamthap), a waistcoat (stotGHak) embroidered in gold and other colours, a
WT red shawl (zanggos), thrown over the left arm and shoulder,
792 and wrapped round the body, leaving the left arm bare, a red
795 cap (zhamar or panjoo or teebee márpo), and a red cloth bag
779 (chhapreel) about 12 x 6 inches, suspended from the left side by a string round the waist, and reaching half way down to the knee. In the neck of this bag is a pocket, in which is kept a small long-necked brass vessel (chhapluk), containing about an ounce of water, called "hngakschhoo" "or incantation water," with a drop or two of which the Lámás render themselves ceremonially pure, after performing the offices of nature and at certain other [80] times. The above is at present the dress of the "Red caps," who in Ladák are spoken of as "Drukpas" or "Dukpas" but never as "Zhámárs."

The "Geylukspa" dress is very nearly the same, neither sect wears trousers, both wear the red petticoat, red shawl, and many coloured waistcoat, but the cap and bag (chhapreel) of the Geylukspa, instead of being red, are of a darkish canary colour--beyond this, except on great occasions when Geylukspas of high rank wear a yellow silk coat under, or instead of, the red shawl, there is no difference in dress between the so-called "red" and "yellow" sects. In Cunningham's very excellent book on Ladák, there is a coloured picture of a Geylukspa, "Geytshul" or neophyte, dressed in a yellow garment reaching from neck to feet, and drawn in round the waist, by means of a dark coloured girdle. I showed this picture to the SkooSHok (avatár) of the Speetuk (Geylukspa) monastery, and asked him if Lámás of his sect ever dressed so. He replied that neither in Ladák or Lhása did they ever wear a yellow coat, but that he believed the Mongólian

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Geylukspas (he referred I presume to the followers of the Táránáth Láma) did so.

Geylukspas are often spoken of as "serpogon" or "wearers of yellow clothes," so I imagine that, whatever may now be the custom, they originally dressed entirely in yellow. The Dalai Láma and the Tashi Lunpo avatar, both belong to the yellow sect, which in Lhasa is the more powerful, while in Ladák and Bhotan, the red sect is the more powerful.

The following account of Lámáism has been obtained by me, in part from the skooSHok of Speetuk, who is the head of the Ladak Geylukpa, or yellow cap sect, and in part from Hlóbon Topgeys, who was for long, the hlóbon or abbot, of Heymis, the chief monastery of the dukpa, or red cap sect. It very possibly may not be correct from a scholarly point of view, but it represents the local ideas on the subject.

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there was only one sect known as "kádampa" or "dulvápa."

The word "dulva" means "to subdue or discipline," and the "dulva" is one of the divisions of the "kagioor" (or translation from Sanscrit to Tibetan, of the mandates of Buddha). It contains two hundred and fifty orders relative to the disciplining of the mind and body.

The word "kadampa" means "bound by the orders," that is to say, by the orders contained in the "dulva."

In those days the Lámás never ate meat or drank intoxicating liquors, nor did they wear any covering to their heads or feet, and celibacy was the invariable rule among them. Their clothing was red. Gradually there was a falling away from this high standard, and in due course there arose a sect known as "rnikmápa" or "hnikmápa" or "snikmapa," so called from their being followers of the "rningpa" or "hningpa" or "ancient" or "old fashioned" religion. This sect permitted the use of wines and meats and did not enforce clerical celibacy.

After this, a great Láma, named Padma, Jungnes, a native of Urgian (Ujain ?), came to Lhása (according to Cunningham, this was about the middle of the eighth century) and founded a new sect, known as the "Urgiánpa," which differed but little from the "Hnikmápa" sect.

Later still a "skooSHok," or incarnation, named "Phakspa Jamspal" founded another sect called "Saskiapa," from "saskiá" the name of the monastery to which Phakspa Jamspal belonged.

T. 792 795 779 WT 792 795 779 [115]

T This sect too resembled the "hnikmápa" sect.

792 Later again, a Lama, named "Paldan Drukpa," or Spaldan Drukpa"
795 of Lhása founded another sect, known as the "drukpa or dukpa"
779 or "kárgiootpa" sect. The word "ka" means "order" and "rgioot"
WT is the name of that division of the "kárgioor" which deals with
792 "Religious Mystical doctrines," called in Tibetan "Sanghngaks"
hence the "kárgiootpa" sect, is the sect believing in the "rgioot"
795 or book of Mystical doctrines, called in Sanscrit "tantra."
779 This sect, which is now the most powerful of all the red sects, is very
similar in the matter of its somewhat lax morality, to the
T hnikmápa sect. Its Lámás eat meat, and drink intoxicating
[588] liquors, and though they may not marry, so long as they remain
in the [81] priesthood, their lives are not invariably virtuous,
WT and, provided a show of secrecy is maintained, they may live
[588] with a nun or any other woman. The nuns indeed (of the red
sect) are commonly supposed to be little else than the servants
and concubines of the Lámás.

Soon after the founding of the Dukpa sect, three other sects arose. The first was the Skarmápa, or Karmápa, so called because its members were believers in the "efficacy of works" (in Sanscrit the word "Karma" means "deed.") Mr. Jáschke says the Karmápa was a philosophical school of Buddhism.

Then arose, simultaneously it is believed, the "Dreegongpa" or "Breegongpa" sect, and the Staklungpa sect. These sects were founded by disciples of the great "Paldan Drukpa" and derived their names from the monasteries of Dreegong and Staklung, to which the Lámas who founded them belonged.

About this time a Lama named Bárawar, a resident of "Hlo" (i.e. Bhutan), introduced among Lámás, the custom of wearing hats and shoes.

The next landmark is to be found in the person of Lama Tsongkhápa, the great reformer, who was born about 1357 and died in 1419.

He viewed with disapproval the lax morality of the Lámás, which, he said, was not at all in conformity with the precepts of Buddha, and he founded a sect, whose conduct was to be in accordance with the original system of Lámáism. He prohibited the use of meat and wine among Lámás, he enforced clerical celibacy, he directed that the "Rgioot" or "Gioot," (that division of the "Kágioor" which deals with "Magic" or "Mystic Doctrines") should not be read, and he instituted the custom, which is still observed, of holding periodical conferences of

Lámás at Lhasa. These reforms were not approved of by all, and the Buddhist church then divided into two great sects. T 792

The sect founded by Láma Tsongkhápa, was called "Geylukspa," and all other sects were treated as one, and termed "Drukpa." As a distinguishing mark, the Lámás of the "Geylukspa" sect adopted a yellow cap and yellow holy water bag as has already been explained. 795 779 WT 792

Since the days of Láma Tsongkhápa, the "Geylukspa" sect has remained unchanged and undivided, but one new sect of Drukpas has been founded, by a Láma named Ngakwang Namgial of Bhotan. This sect is called "Hlondrukpa" the word "Hlo" being the Tibetan for Bhutan. The above information may be thus conveniently tabulated. 795 779

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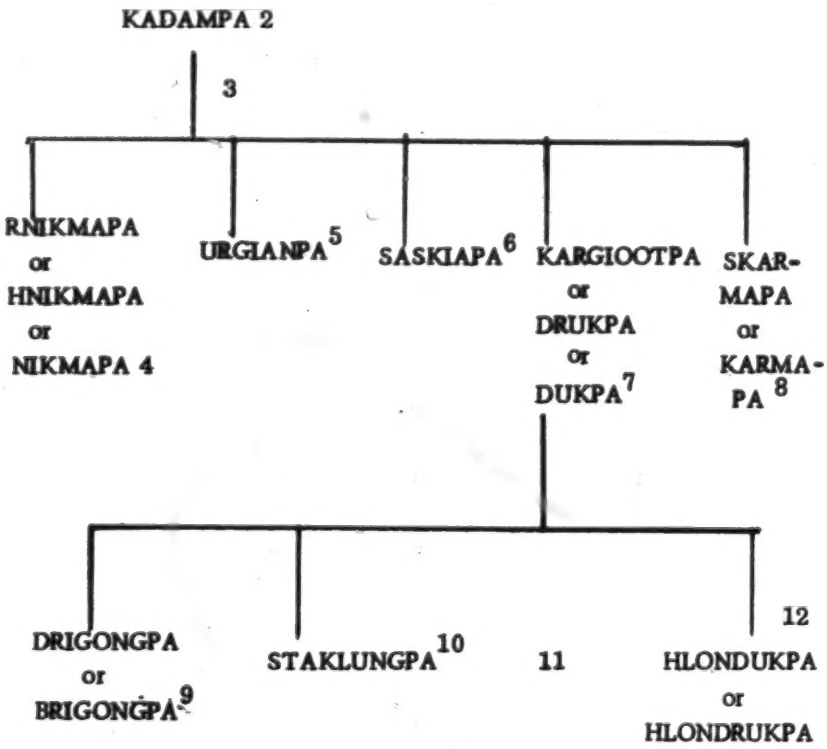

2: Ramsay--52 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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1. Meaning, persons accepting for guidance the 250 rules of "Discipline," contained in the "dulva," which is one of the "kargioor" or translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan, of the precepts of Buddha.
2. From "ka" meaning "order" and "rdamoa" meaning "to bind." That is to say those bound to observe the orders; meaning the orders contained in the "dulva."
3. The above is believed to have been the name of the original sect of Tibetan Buddhists, who established themselves in Lhása, about the year 200 B.C. The Lámás or priests, wore red clothing, but left the head and feet bare. They drank no intoxicating liquors, eat no meat, refrained from matrimony, and considered absolute celibacy, a necessity for their priesthood.
4. The date of the institution of this sect is unknown. The name should be "Hningmápa" or "Rningmápa" or even "Hningpa," which means "old." The name refers to the fact that this sect mixed up the observances of the religion of Buddha, with those of the epicurean atheism which existed in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism. The Lámás of this sect eat meat, drank wine, occasionally married, and were generally of lax morals. They wore red clothing like the "dulvas," but they wore caps, called "panjoo," of a red or black colour, and also wore shoes.
5. This sect, which much resembled the Rnikmapa sect, was founded about 750 A.D. by a Lámá of Urgian (Ujain ?) named Padma Jungnes.
6. The date of the foundation of this sect is unknown. It was very similar to the Rnikmápa sect. It derived its name from the Saskia monastery to which its founder Phakspa Jamspal belonged.
7. This sect, which was founded by Páldan (or Spálden) Dukpa (or Drukpa) accepts for its guidance the "ka" or "orders" contained in the "rgioot," which is the division of the kárgioor, which deals with "Religious Magic" or "Mystical doctrines." This sect is now, especially in Ladak, the most powerful of all the red-cap sects. It gave up the black cap, but has retained the red cap, called "panjoo."
8. This sect wear the black cap and never the red one. Its followers are believers in the efficacy of good works, and derive their name from the Sanskrit word "karma" which means "deed."

2: Ramsay--53 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

9. A Drukpa Láma of the Drigong or Brigong monastery introduced some small modifications into the old drukpa procedure and founded this sect.

10. A Drukpa Láma of the "Staklung" monastery, founded this sect which is almost the same as the old Drukpa sect.

11. At this period, namely between the introduction of the Staklungpa and Hlondukpa sects, the reforming Láma Tsongkhapa (who was born about 1357 and died about 1419 A.D.) raised his voice against the degenerate Drukpa priesthood, and founded the now famous "Geylukspa" or "virtuous" sect, also known as "Sárpogon" or "yellow clothes" owing to its Lamas having adopted, as a distinguishing mark, a yellow cap, and yellow bag for the bottle for the incantation water. Up to the present time the "Geylukspa" sect has remained undivided. Its Lamas eat no meat, drink no wine and celibacy is strictly observed by them. The Dalai Láma of Lhása belongs to this sect.

12. This sect was founded in the 15th century by a Drukpa Láma of Bhotan, named *Ngakwang. The Tibetan name for Bhotán is "Hlo" or "Hloyool" hence the name of the sect which is much the same as the old Drukpa sect.

[83]Most of the different sects of Lamas are represented in Ladák, having monasteries at the following places:--

I.--Geylukspa sect. At Speetuk (or Peetuk), Tiksay, Likir, Stok, Sáboo, Sangkar, Leh, Reyzong, Saspul, Deskit and Samthanling. The head-quarter monastery to which all important questions are referred is at Tashi Lunpo near Lhása.

II.-- Rnikmápa sect. At Taktak. Headquarter monastery is at Dorjeytrak near Lhása.

III.--Urgiánpa None. Headquarter monastery is at Sangling near Lhása.

IV.--Saskiápa. At Mátho (or Másho). Headquarter monastery at Ngor near Lhása.

V.--Kárgiootpa. At Hemis (or Heymis), Chimray, Ngióma, Hanley, Kárzok, Gya, Meeroo, Bazgo, Teya, Tingmoghang, Alchee, Yarma and Shama. Head-quarter monastery is at Deychhenchhongghor near Lhása.

VI.--Skarmápa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Tshurboo near Lhása.

VII.--Drigonpa. At Lámáyooroo, Phiáng (i.e., Ghángngong), Shang, and Tángtsey (Sháchhookhul). Head-quarter monastery is at Yángdreeghar near Lhása, and is presided over by the

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII. --Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX. --Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna). Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.
792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.
661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.
792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.
The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

"priesthood," and the latter "las-chetpa" or, "workers." The "workers" are nevertheless members of the priesthood. 792 795

The "gendun" class includes--

(1) The skooshok or sprulspoo or incarnation (if there is one) presiding over the monastery.

(2) The hlóbon or abbot. Properly speaking the hlóbon is an abbot of the red sect and the khampo is an abbot of the yellow sect, but in Ladak the word hlóbon applies to abbots of either sect.

(3) oomdzat. He who leads the prayers and generally conducts religious services.

(4) oochhung. The assistant of the oomdzat.

(5) chhosthrimspa. He who sees to the discipline of the monastery.

(6) chhosShumpa. He who offers up sacrifices, and sees that the [84] prayer books, prayer wheels, etc., are all in order.

(7) zhalthawa. The Instructor.

(8) máchen. The cook.

The "las-chetpa" class includes--

(1) chhakdzot (chhagzot). The Steward of the monastery, who arranges for the cultivation of monastery lands, collection and payment of revenue, the lending on interest, of grain, to villagers, the repairs of the monastery, and in fact every thing not connected with religion.

(2) ngierpa. The chhakdzot's assistant.

(3) nangngier. The man who gives out grain or other stores required for consumption at head-quarters.

(4) cheengier or pheengier. The man who issues stores required to be sent away from the monastery.

All Lamas must keep their heads shaved, but the shaving of the hair on the face is optional with them. In all monasteries there is a room called "chhosdra," or vulgarly "chhóra," set apart for use as a school room, where all boys and girls, who are about to become monks and nuns, are educated. The Hlóbon and Oochhung are the officers responsible for the performance of the teaching, but other Lámás may also be required to assist them, or to carry on the teaching duties during their absence. It is generally believed, that credit is due to the Lámás, for educating the villagers, but as a matter of fact, no such credit is due to them, as they do nothing in the way of educating any person not intended to become a monk or nun. 792 874

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

797 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
797 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
●795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
797 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

792 water, is performed.

The Hlóbon then takes a cotton scarf called "sungdrut," ties a knot in it, spits upon it, and ties it round the "Tsunchhung's" neck, muttering certain incantations while so doing. The "Tsunchhang" or "Geytshul" is then [85] made over to a Lama of the monastery, (selected either by himself, his friends, or the Hlóbon), who is termed his "Geyrgan" or "priestly teacher," and who becomes responsible for the education of his charge. The neophyte has then to learn by heart certain religious books, after which the Lámás assemble and examine him. If the result is satisfactory, he becomes a "Geylong" or full monk. If his circumstances permit of it, he is supposed to give a feast, (generally called "Mangja" and meaning "mangpo chha" or "much tea") to the Lamas consisting, in the case of red-caps, of tea (mangja) soup (paktsha) and glookchhang (examination beer), and in the case of yellow caps of tea only; at the same time he receives a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation" from the Hlobon, the Chhakdzot, his "Geyrgan" and from each of the "Geylongs" of his monastery, who congratulate him upon his admission into the priesthood.

After this, the monk has only three things to learn viz., (1) "kar" (Sanskrit word) or "rtseyches" (Tibetan word) i.e., the religious mumming dance (2) "thik" i.e., the steps, used when walking round in the intervals between the dances (3) yángs i.e., the way to intone the prayers.

[671] If a Láma, of whatever rank, wishes to leave the priesthood and return to secular life, he is at liberty to do so. According to civil law, he has the right to leave the priesthood whenever he pleases, but according to religious law, he cannot leave unless he has received permission from the monastery authorities, so to do. According to custom, he notifies to the Abbot his desire to go, and the Abbot then calls the Lámás together, explains the matter, and obtains from the meeting, permission for the monk to renounce his priestly calling.

A monk who has so left the priesthood is called "banlok."

792 795 688 Among the Geylukspa or yellow sect, if a monk commits a trivial offence, he is admonished for the first few times, and if this has no effect, he is turned out of the priesthood. If the offence committed is a grave one, the sinner is warned once, and on a repetition of the offence, he is scourged and expelled from the priesthood, or if the offence be a very heinous one, he is at

WT
792 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
795 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

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311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which
T is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
788 considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
648 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
WT 565 Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
WT 648 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
554 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
661 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
T lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
648 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
661 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
WT 648 Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
439 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
554 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

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over the monasteries of (1) Stangial Ling; (2) Tseychok Ling; (3) Ghaldan; (4) Goondey Ling; (5) Tsomon Ling. The people of Ladák are not permitted to become members of any of these monasteries. When it becomes necessary to appoint a Regent, all the leading Lámás meet, to consider which of the five candidates is best fitted for the post. If it is considered that only one of these is fit for the appointment, he is at once nominated by the Lámás, who then send intimation of the fact, to the Emperor of China, through the Ambáns. If, however, it is considered that several of the candidates are suitable for the appointment, their names are submitted to the Emperor of China, who then nominates one of them to the post of Regent.

The next greatest official is the Ta Láma, but of him nothing need be here said.

[92]The only remaining members of the Lhása Government, are the four Kálóns, who, except in regard to religion, monastery lands, discipline, etc., are the real rulers of the Lhása State. They must be men of aristocratic descent (roospathonpo), and are, as a rule, members of the family of the old Lhása Kings.

They must also be laymen, for no Láma can become a Kólón. A man who has once been made Kólón, retains the appointment for the rest of his life, or until he chooses to resign it.

When a death, or resignation, takes place among the Kálóns, the survivors consult together, as to the person to be selected to fill the vacancy, and after arriving at a decision among themselves, they embody their recommendations in reports, which they have to submit on the subject, to the Grand Láma, and the Chinese Ambans. The Speetuk Incarnation, who has lived at Lhása for many years, (and from whom I obtained the above information) informed me that, in the matter of appointments to a Kálónship, no reference is made to Pekin, but that, as a matter of fact, the Chinese Ambáns at Lhása, have sufficient influence to bring about the nomination of any eligible candidate, and to prevent the nomination of any person whose appointment would be distasteful to the Pekin Government. From this it would appear that, at any rate from a political point of view, the Lhása Government is substantially a Chinese Government, for the whole of the ministry, consists of men who have been practically selected by the Chinese Resident, and who may, therefore be considered as his creatures, and committed to a certain line of policy, dictated by the Chinese Government.

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

● 795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven." 000

[109]

NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]

NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

792 795 795 [241] [842] [182]

764 Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely,
795 the Geldanpa sect (the Sect of the Virtuous reformed by Tsongkapa), the Drugpa sect, the Drikung sect, the Saskya sect, and the Nyingmapa sect (the non-reformed sect), so there are also five different books concerning funeral rites and the tutelary gods (to be invoked). Accordingly, if one were to describe everything in detail, this would result in a very large book. Now, since in Ladakh there are particularly many lay adherents (literally, "gift offerers," sbyin-bdag) of the reformed Geldanpa and Drugpa sects, I shall here treat the death rites of the Geldanpa sects in somewhat greater detail (5).

5. As is shown by the following, the activity even of the orthodox Geldanpa lamas can here not be separated from that of the representatives of black magic, the onpos (soothsayers, magicians), without whose cooperation no Buddhistic interment is possible; the activities of both here go hand in hand. The onpo does not allow himself to be pushed out even by his bitterest enemies, the Geldanpa lamas, and he demands his right and his compensation.

764 If an adult person (that is to say, in general, one over twelve years of age) dies, first of all the p'as-pun (members of the tribe), secondly the lamas, thirdly the onpos (dbon-po, soothsayers) are needed in any case. Although originally only the members of the paternal tribe were called p'as-pun, now all those members of the clan are called p'as-pun in Ladakh, who honor a common tutelary deity (p'a-lha). Aside from the p'as-pun no person may touch the corpse (and even the p'as-pun may do so only when the magical signs allow it; the touching of the corpse makes the person who touches it impure).

The lamas perform ceremonies designed to expiate the sins of the deceased and to translate him into paradise. The soothsayer (onpo) establishes in the death horoscope of the deceased, whence the demon of death (gśed, meaning "killer") came and whither he has gone, something which has to be done for defense against immediately threatening misfortune; the onpo further establishes when the corpse is to be carried out of the house, where (in which of the six realms) the soul is to be re-embodied, and the like.

The Wailing of Lamentation

As soon as the relatives, the p'as-pun, the neighbors and

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. [782]

Social and Religious Life. [776]

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti. 174

In the time when the *Lung pashkoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men. 779

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time. 177 564 167

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis. 184 779

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all. [564] 795

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gompas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gompas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir [778] [782]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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[786] Social and Religious Life.

184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *cháng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 "All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

795 [778] [782] 776 [754] "As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothis* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

778 782 177

771 177 "As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

241 The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Sreg machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

Monasteries or *gúphás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

6:. Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monasteries or *gómpa* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *buda* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, *&c.*; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, *&c.*, and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

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through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:— A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om máni pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalized.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not 595
come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a 586
polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There 595
are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, 548
which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased 595
the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an 177
ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of [795]
Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn 797
to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck 177
pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

648 of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane
792 to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

[787] After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

•795 The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its
178 leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed
792 from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal 795 •
power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in 178
Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The 792
Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the
Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with 642
Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri 795
to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to 178
the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like 792
Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the 647
regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The govern- 792
ment posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. 574
We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this 792
highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

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making its old appeal to the illiterate people of the land, while only a few of the more erudite priests know anything of pure Buddhism. Even this mixed religion soon became corrupt, and in 1378 the Buddhist reformer of Tibet, Tsongkapa, appeared, who tried to bring the priesthood back to the pure Buddhism of "Sangs rgyas," the Tibetan name for the Buddha, Sakya Muni. Finding the Tibetan priests wore red robes, while the true Buddhist priest should wear yellow, and, unable to get them to accept the orthodox dress, like a good Buddhist he compromised by insisting on yellow caps and sashes being worn with the former red gown. The reformed sect were not supposed to marry, but the unattractiveness of true celibacy could easily be overcome by a legal quibble applied to the prevalent custom of polyandry. The so-called "yellow lamas" were not allowed to eat meat, nor to drink "chang," the local beer. So now we get the two sects of yellow and red lamas existing side by side both in Tibet proper and in Ladak, in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants have existed side by side in Europe. Yet for a long time there was not much hostility between the two sects, though one king might favour one and another the other.

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Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Lodros Chokldan was ruling in Leh, whilst at Tingmogang, situated on the old high road, where ruins of the old royal castle may still be seen, his cousin Bagan lived and ruled. The latter allied himself with a third ruler, and these two defeated the king of Leh. Bagan then ascended the throne, thus beginning the second dynasty, of whom the present ex.-ex. King is a descendant.

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From now onwards, Ladak comes into conflict with peoples beyond her own borders. Although one Ladaki king had accepted the religion of Mahomet, the country remained fa ul to Lamaistic Buddhism, whereas the neighbouring ki n of Baltistan had been definitely converted to Moham-

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medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

WT [778]

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The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

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promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon. 175 721 648 795

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the "Treaty Road" and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its "Babu" in charge, are no State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the 631 [643] 636

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792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

792 875 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand 788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the 779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar* 795 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the 872 875 children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

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acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

Next in importance, though not in status, come the musicians and minstrels. Although no function is complete without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

up to enhance the exhibition, which is loudly applauded. 541
When all have ridden the course, they canter back and repeat from the beginning. This goes on for two or three days, and Ladakis find it interesting to the end. Sometimes the amusement becomes intense, when, for instance, a horse has shed his rider, because the saddle had not been fixed on firmly, and the racer finishes his course with empty back.

Games on horseback are most desirable at this altitude, 526
where human lungs find scarcely enough oxygen for strenuous 177
exertion, and Ladak is adding a Yarkandi equestrian game to its repertoire. No sides are picked, but there is a goal. A dead sheep is thrown on to the ground. At one time no doubt they played with a live animal, for Yarkandis do not think much about "Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" Societies. A man catches up the sheep as best he can and then rides with it for the goal. If he accomplishes this, he may look forward to many a big supper of mutton, but all the other horsemen try to make this impossible. The falls, pullings, and pushings this piece of mutton gets, should go far to make it tender, whatever its age may be.

Another sport which the Ladakis thoroughly enjoy is arrow 526
shooting. This always takes place in the spring, just before [795]
the fields are sown, the Mohammedans and the Buddhists having each their own archery meeting. A garden or an enclosure with trees round an open space is chosen, at one end of which a heap of earth is piled up about four feet high. Into the centre of this is stuck a bull's-eye, about the size of a china plate and made of white clay. At the opposite end, about twenty yards from the target, are several tents, nicely decorated, in which sit those members of their respective community, who, by subscribing towards the shoot, have bought themselves the right to be present and take part. Others may join in, but are there on sufferance, and if they have not paid, even superb shooting will not obtain th

779 The Southern school of Buddhism, called Hinayana (the small
● 795 vehicle, for only the few can expect to reach Nirvana), still believes this,[1] but the time came when a split occurred, and as a result Northern Buddhism or Mahayana Buddhism arose. "The Buddhist cannot rid himself of the feeling that if there are consequences of deeds to be borne, there must be someone to bear them." For ordinary men and women the gospel of Buddha was only a message of despair, for the bands which bound them to the Wheel of Existence were far too tight for them to loosen. This need of the human heart for a Saviour resulted in the Mahayana doctrine, so-called because it means the greater vehicle or means by which every Buddhist may hope one day to attain the bliss of Nirvana. First Buddha himself was regarded as this Saviour, and later others were ranked with him to help struggling humanity towards the final goal. The Buddha had the perfect right to enter a well-earned Nirvana, but compassion for men and women, beasts and demons, made him renounce this until he had aided all things living to enter this same bliss with him. Thus arose the beautiful story of Avolakita, the all-merciful one, the all-pitying one, to which we shall refer later and of whom the
177 Dalai Lama is the living representative. Unfortunately this
797 new doctrine also opened the door to all sorts of national gods and demons which Buddhism encountered in its spread, for now, at about the end of the first century, Buddhism became a thoroughly missionary religion, carrying this good news of possible redemption far and wide. It reached Tibet about the middle of the 7th century, where it found the old *Bon Chos*, which was a Shamanistic devil-dancing religion. The followers of the new faith having subdued those of the old, then incorporated much of the old religion in their own, thus producing Lamaism. This consists therefore of a substratum of real Buddhist philosophy understood by the few, and a large proportion of demonology which appeals to the unlearned masses.

[1] [i.e., ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION ALONE.--ANALYST]

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CHAPTER XXI

A Typical Monastery

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946

THIS is a country of monasteries, hardly a village is without one. In some it is imposing and situated on as high an eminence as can be found conveniently near the village. In others it is just a better class ordinary house with one or two lamas. Some monasteries belong to the Red sect, others to the Yellow. In some there is a resident Incarnation and others are only visited by one occasionally. It would be tedious to both reader and writer, to describe all these, so we will confine our attentions to one of the most pleasing and certainly one of the cleanest of monasteries which lies close to Leh, and may be reached by a twenty minutes' walk up through the fields behind the rest-house. A small village and a group of poplar trees, much above the average size, indicate the direction from afar, also the glint of the gilded wild goats represented just below the roof of the monastery can be descried from some distance. Having sent a message beforehand to the *sLob-dpon* (pronounced "Lobon") or head lama in charge, we meet for an early tea, and wend our way up along the stony paths by the side of the watercourse, skirting the corn-fields, so as to be able to use our cameras while the light is still good. This little monastery of Sankar is closely allied to the Yellow Cap one at Spitug, about five miles away, and is presided over by the same *Skushog* now incarnate in the small boy of whom we shall speak later.

[795]

792 But during his minority the real presiding genius is Meme

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get 792
their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be 177
"the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, 792
and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty- [643]
three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill 792
suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting 361
which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, [795]
whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

person reached the age of five, he was brought from his home and with elaborate ceremonies inducted into office, the rites being performed at Sankar. From this time he remained in the care of the lamas, Meme Lobzang, our old friend at Sankar, being his lay tutor, while his spiritual instruction was undertaken by the Sras *Skushog* of Ridzong, of whom more anon, and with whom he sometimes went away for long periods. The present Bacola is a charming little person, with a big head and large wondering childish eyes, in fact, it is quite pathetic to see him sitting on his little throne in his own private apartment at Spitug, with the insignia of his office replacing childhood's playthings on the table before him, and to hear his lamas instructing him as to what to say and do in their most polite and deferential language. Once one of these satellites arrived in Leh, and earnestly asked one of the Memsahibs for a cabbage. "But," said she, "it is late in the winter and all our cabbages are done. We have not enough for ourselves." But the lama pleaded and pleaded,—even a little tiny one would do,—for the Baby *Skushog* was crying and would not be comforted unless they procured a cabbage for him. So the Memsahib searched among the few old vegetables left, until she found a little one that would satisfy his baby desire.

The *Skushog* of Peyang does not often visit Leh, and we have rarely seen him, but he is reputed to be one of the most erudite scholars of his own religion. He is of the red variety and holds sway over the Lamayura *dGonpa* also.

Finally, a few words must be said about the incumbent of Ridzong lamasery, a few miles behind the hills of Saspola, who also rules a monastery in Nubra, so has constantly to cross the Kardong Pass. This gentleman, with his refined scholarly face, is perhaps the most spiritually-minded and learned of all the neighbouring abbots. A member of the reformed yellow sect for whom celibacy is decreed, he has yet dared to take and acknowledge a wife, instead of indulging

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exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

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Lahul

who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not. As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father. He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [504] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [788] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, [795] in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 178 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

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Trade routes

131 Through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Kara-
487 korum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

133 Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rup-
[101] chu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder en-
[137] vironment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks
[361] of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls
778 and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist,
782 Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

162 The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999.
795 It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[564] [1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

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resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

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The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety. 105 439 [962] [241] [234] [984]

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet. 105 [258] [317] [316]

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain. 361 [797]

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians. 162 795

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus. [797]

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b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

595 1. *Generalities*

From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of poly- [195] androus families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something un- 177 desirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in 595 Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who 195 had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the [626] rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün [115] (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at [563] home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

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He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

595 425 428 [182]

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 425 428 595 [WA]

Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

595 123 182

[TEXT Continues on P. 364]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

2: Gervis Γ-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next 342
morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer 132
outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a
difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny 132
courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be 354
had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in 793
meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the 793
Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron- 292
coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish
shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasion- [795]
ally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great 793
monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that 361
every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

795 Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4
W. Tibetans AJ4

000 WT 795 173

lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

It was he who reminded the Head Lama to repeat to me that which he had told many visiting Europeans for scores of years past. It is the belief of the lamas, and accepted by a certain sect of the Christians, that Jesus the Christ during "the hidden years of his life" spent about seven of them in meditation and study within the walls of the monastery.

K 795 173

I then remembered that on an occasion whilst sitting alone on Char Chinar, an Indian youth had come softly ashore from a shikara, and after we had talked for a while, I commented upon the quiet serenity which surrounded the island, at which he confidently assured me that this was because the Master Jesus had many times, when he was in Kashmir, preached from the silver isle to the many who had gathered round it in shikaras to listen to him.

There is a sect in Kashmir known as the Quadiani who believe that Christ lived there for some time; they showed me a grave at Khanayar in Srinagar where they insist that he was buried, saying that he was there known as Hazrat Yuz Asaf, but on further enquiring and searching records, I found that Yuz Asaf, the supposed descendant of Moses was ambassador from the King of Egypt to the court of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din. Strangely enough though, according to Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini*, during the reign of Jayendra who ruled between about 61 B.C. and A.D. 24, there was a minister by name Samdhimati-Aryaraaja, described as "the greatest of sages", who lived a life of poverty, suffered imprisonment for many years, and then "met his death at the stake", afterwards "coming to life again and in answer to the prayers of the people, ruled over Kashmir for forty years". He seems to have just faded out of the picture, since there is no mention of his final going and there is no suggestion that he might have been a mythical and not an historical individual.

WT 779 212

Some of the old books in the monastery library were in rolls and written by hand, others, more recent, had been printed on paper which is made there and called *par-shog*; the leaves, which are about four inches wide, are not uniform in length, some are a foot, others eight or ten inches long, they are folded and

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

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power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

[795] ●

[162]

Christian missions. 797

There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Agriculture. 241

The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy

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Sikkim AK3
Bhutan AK2
W. Tibetans AJ4

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[For descriptions of mystery plays acted by the lamas of the old school, see 10: Waddell, AJ1 Tibet, pp. 521 et passim.]

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1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

introduced for more than seventy years, until, in A.D. 971, it was finally restored, and has since continued to be the dominant religion of Tibet.

The great spread of the *Pon-gyi-chho*, or Pon religion, can be best appreciated by the traces of its former existence in the widely distant regions of Arakan and Ladák. The people of Arakan give a long line of fifty-five *Pun-na* princes* as their earliest sovereigns, a dynasty which must have reigned for at least 600 years. In Ladák the great monastery of *Lama Yurru* is still called *Yung-druny-Gonpa*, or the "monastery of the mystic cross." The establishment of this monastery is attributed to Naropa, a Lama from Brigung, near Lhasa; but it seems more probable that the name of *Lama Yurru* was derived from the Lama, because he had suppressed the faith of the mystic cross (*yung-drung*), and had established the Lamaïc doctrine of Buddhism.

But Buddhism was the prevailing religion of Ladák from the conversion of the people by Asoka's missionaries down to A.D. 400, when Fa Hian visited India. At that time he found Buddhism flourishing in the little state of *Kia-chhe*, or Ladák, as well as in Kotan and other small states to the northward of the Tsung Ling, or Karakoram. The king of *Kie-chha* (Kha-chan, or "Snow-land)" still celebrated the great quinquennial assembly † of the Srámanas which had been established by Asoka. The ceremony, which lasted for one month, was conducted with becoming gravity, and closed by the

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 31,—Captain Latter.

† In the Gyalpo's time, the Lamas assembled annually at Lé, in the month of *Táng-po* (March), and were dismissed with presents. They now assemble at Hemis, in June. In this monastery there are still 160 Lamas.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 distribution of presents amongst the Srámanas. As Fa Hian noticed nothing unusual in these proceedings, we may conclude that the Buddhism of Ladák was the 779 same as that of India. The number of Srámanas was more than 1,000, all of whom were satisfied with the study of the "Lesser Advancement," as laid down in the *Vinaya*, or "Precepts of Discipline," which comprised only the lowest class of Sakyas precepts. But though the Buddhism of the people of Ladák was perfectly orthodox in A.D. 400, yet Fa Hian noticed a peculiarity in their practice, which was unknown to the [788] Indian Buddhists. "The Srámanas," he says, "make use of revolving cylinders, the efficacy of which is not to be described."* These were no doubt the prayer-cylinders which are seen in the hands of the Indo-Scythian princes on their coins, and which may still be found in every Lama's hand throughout Ladák.

II.—TIBETAN SYSTEM OF BUDDHISM.

The religion of the Tibetan Buddhists is contained in a voluminous work called the *Kah-Gyur*, or "Translation of Precepts," because it is a version of the precepts of Sakya, made from the Indian language. It is also frequently called *De-not-sum*, which is a mere translation of the Sanscrit *Tripitaka*, or the "Three Repositories," because it contains the three great divisions of the Buddhist doctrines: the *Vinaya*, the *Sutra*, and the *Abhidharma*. But the Tibetan version is more generally divided into seven distinct classes, of which the last treats of the mystical doctrines of the Tantrikas. These seven divisions are the following:—

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. V., note.—"objet circulaire et tournant."

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clothes, for they have yellow and red brocades, spangled with flowers of gold. The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear peculiar conical caps with long lappets. 292 792

The ritualic instruments are three: the bell, the sceptre (or thunderbolt), and the prayer-cylinder.

The bell, *drilbu*,* is used during the performance of daily service, but for what purpose I could not ascertain. It is represented in the left hand of the great Lama Skyobba Jigten, of the red sect, and it is placed on the throne at the feet of the great Dalai Lama Navang Lozang. The bell represented in the accompanying plate is formed of a very white brittle-looking metal. On the upper part are the syllables *tan, man, lan, ban, man, tsun, pan, bDrin;* which may, perhaps, be intended to represent eight notes of the bell. Inside, in three places, are the monosyllabic interjections *aum! ah! Hun!* The outside is chiefly ornamented with representations of the *dorjé*, or sceptre. 796 ●

The sceptre, *dorjé*, is the vajra of the Indians. This holy instrument is said to have flown away from India, and to have alighted at Sera, in Tibet. That it was looked upon in India, from a very early time, as an object of reverence, or as an emblem of power, is proved by its being placed in the right hand of a raja in the Sánchi bas-reliefs,† which date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. It is also sculptured on the rock at Udegiri, where it is represented in one of the hands of Durga, who is slaying the Bhainsâsur. This sculpture is as old as the seventh or eighth century.

In Tibetan it is called *sera-pun-dze*, and the annual festival which has been established in its honour is one

* *Dril-bu*, a "little bell." See Plate XXV.

† Eastern gateway, right pillar.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 of the principal religious ceremonies. The Lamas carry the sceptre in procession from Sera to Potála, where they present it before the Dalai Lama, who makes a salutation to it. They next take it to the Chinese officials, and then to the Káhlons, or ministers, all of whom make suitable presents of money; after which it is carried back to Sera with the same solemnity.

The accompanying plate * represents one of these instruments, in my own possession, of full size, together with sketches of the old Indian vajras, from the sculptures at Sánchi and Udigiri.

788 The prayer-cylinder, or *mani-chhos-khor* (the precious religious wheel), is a very ingenious instrument, and does great credit to the genius of the Tibetans. The body of the instrument is a metal cylinder, about three inches in height, and from two to two and a half inches in diameter. The axis is prolonged below to form a handle. The cylinder is filled with rolls of printed prayers and charms, which revolve as the instrument is turned round. Every Lama carries a *chhos-khor*, which he keeps perpetually turning by a gentle motion of the hand, assisted by a cubical piece of iron fastened by a chain to the outside. As every revolution of a prayer is equivalent to its recitation, the *chhos-khor* is a very ingenious instrument for multiplying the number of a man's prayers.

In the accompanying plate† I have represented two of these instruments, of half-size. One of them has the sacred sentence, the holy *sadakshara mantra*, or "six-syllabled charm," *Aum! Mani-padme, hun!* engraved once on the outside; the other has the same sentence twice repeated, in raised letters of silver.

* See Plate XXVI. The name is written *rDo-rjé*.

† See Plate XXVII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

VI.—RITES AND CEREMONIES.

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The religious service of the Lamas is performed at three fixed periods of the day; at sunrise, noon, and sunset. The service consists of the recitation or chanting of portions of the *Do* (Sutras, or "Precepts") or of the *Dulva* (Vinaya, or "Rules of Discipline"), accompanied by the solemn sound of several musical instruments. These are:—1st, large sliding trumpets, five and six feet in length, called *Chhos-Dung*, or "holy trumpets;" 2nd, large drums, *Chhos Ná;* and 3rd, large brazen cymbals, *Bul-chhal.* Sometimes also a conch, *Dung-kar*, is used. The musical sounds are slow and prolonged, and the effect is exceedingly solemn and even melancholy. During the performance of the service incense is kept regularly burning, and offerings of fruit and grain, and even of meat, are made to the figures of *Shakya Thubba* (or Buddha), *Chanrazik* (or Avalokiteswara), and *Jámya* (or Manju Sri).

Moorcroft, who frequently witnessed the daily service of the Lamas, thus describes it.* "The religious service of the Lama, which is performed daily at the *Gon-pas*, or temples attached to monasteries, consists chiefly of prayers and chanting, in which the formula '*Aum! mani-padmé, hun!*' is frequently repeated; and the whole is accompanied with the music of wind instruments, chiefly harmonizing with tabrets and drums. Amongst the former is a sliding trumpet of large size, which is upheld by one man whilst blown by another, and has a very deep and majestic intonation; a hautboy, the reed of which is surrounded by a circular plate covering the mouth, and the conch shell, with a copper

* Travels, I. p. 344.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 mouth-piece; metallic cymbals, much more mellow and
[534] sonorous than others, complete the band."

But the religious service of the Lamas is not confined
788 to the recitation of the *Dulva* and the *Do*, or to the frequent repetition of the six-syllabled *mantra*, "*Aum! Mani-padmé, hun!*" They occasionally proclaim aloud the numerous titles of the supreme Buddha; and recite, with endless repetition, the different mystical sentences peculiar to the various Bodhisatwas, and to the Tántrika Sáktis, or female energies of the Dhyáni Buddhas. They also recite mystical sentences from the Tantras, to deprecate the wrath of the furious Káli (*Chandá*, the angry goddess).

539 The following are specimens of these *mantras*, or
788 mystic sentences. They are all in the Sanskrit language:—

1. The Mantra of *Shakya Thubba* (Buddh'a).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sarva-klesha nishuddhana;
Sarvva dharma vahiprapta; gagana sama sama, swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! Reliever of all suffering!
Master of all virtue! Equal, equal to the Heavens! adoration!"

2. The Mantra of *Kuntu-Zangpo* (Samanta-bhadra).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! Sámantanugati, varaja,
Dharmanirgati, mahá, mahá, swáha!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! acquirer of distinction, best-born,
Who goeth forth with virtue; great, great-adoration!"

3. The Mantra of *Champa* (the future Buddha).

Namah Sámanta Buddhánam! ajitanajaya,
Sarvva Satwayashayanugata, Swáhá!

"Glory to the chief Buddhas! conqueror of the invincible,
Possessor of the fame of all purity, adoration!"

4. The Mantra of *Chakna-Dorjé* (Vajra-Páni).

Namah Sámanta Vajránám! Chanda Maha-roshana,-hun!

"Glory to the chief Vajras; fierce and greatly-angry, *hun!*"

805

25 Earth Mouse.	37 Iron Mouse.	49 Water Mouse.
26 Earth Ox.	38 Iron Ox.	50 Water Ox.
27 Iron Tiger.	39 Water Tiger.	51 Wood Tiger.
28 Iron Hare.	40 Water Hare.	52 Wood Hare.
29 Water Dragon.	41 Wood Dragon.	53 Fire Dragon.
30 Water Serpent.	42 Wood Serpent.	54 Fire Serpent.
31 Wood Horse.	43 Fire Horse.	55 Earth Horse.
32 Wood Sheep.	44 Fire Sheep.	56 Earth Sheep.
33 Fire Ape.	45 Earth Ape.	57 Iron Ape.
34 Fire Bird.	46 Earth Bird.	58 Iron Bird.
35 Earth Dog.	47 Iron Dog.	59 Water Dog.
36 Earth Hog.	48 Iron Hog.	60 Water Hog.

According to Cunningham the different "Rabjungs" or cycles began in the following years:--

1st in 1026 A.D.	8th in 1446 A.D.
2nd in 1086 A.D.	9th in 1506 A.D.
3rd in 1146 A.D.	10th in 1566 A.D.
4th in 1206 A.D.	11th in 1626 A.D.
5th in 1266 A.D.	12th in 1686 A.D.
6th in 1326 A.D.	13th in 1746 A.D.
7th in 1386 A.D.	14th in 1806 A.D.

According to that calculation, the 15th Rabjung began in 1866 and the present year 1889 would be the 23rd year of the cycle. But according to Ladak astrologers today, 29th June 1889, is the 1st day of the 6th Month of the 26th year.

The months are twelve in number, but in Ladak they have no names, being spoken of only as the "first" month, "second" month or as the case may be. They usually consist of 30 days, but they sometimes contain 29 days, sometimes 31 days.

[791] The months are not lunar months, and I cannot get any one to explain the system according to which they are arranged. All the "onpo" or "astrologer" can say is that they are made according to the Tibetan book of calculations. In order to keep their calendar straight, it is frequently necessary to insert an extra day into a month or to omit a day. In the first case, some particular date, ascertained by rule, is repeated, thus for two days in succession it will be the 5th or 10th day etc., of the month. In the latter case a date is merely omitted.

[796] [17]The Tibetan New Year's day comes about 10th February, but the New Year's day festival, called "Losir" is observed on the 10th day of the month.

797 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule as-
796 semble for public worship, though at the time of their New
778 Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of
them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into
which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books
778 room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a
room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and
where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep
the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol
room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but
a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used
for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[797] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the
monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for
the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch
as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They
attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-
shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instru-
ment is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a
342 house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after
having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on
the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while
the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called
"khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child).
áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo
goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo
(mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk,
dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull
and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little
milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the
dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but
it produces excellent butter.

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing. [43]

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year. [171]

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family 796●
property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season 592
invite all members of the family to assemble at his house
for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them
a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and
when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the
centre, and into it butter is poured.

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am 171
indebted for the above account, that this exactly corres- 796
ponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where
butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding.

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea
is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical
of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the
idea of light which again is closely connected with the
idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal 796
dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are [48]
spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of
merriment.

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" [241]
or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls
about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning
to ripen. It is celebrated in every village.

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious
celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the
early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on
the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a
matter of fact, observed by the people of the country,
only once a year, when a great festival takes place at
Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival
which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th
day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June.
On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is 796
crowded with people who have come from all parts of 536
Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils"
dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis
monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is
rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their
richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely
handsome.

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--góboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

779 so wander about for an indefinite period, and will not be ad-
775 mitted to paradise, merely because it cannot gain admission to any of the spheres for taking re-embodiment. But to return to the "kábum." The pious are informed that, with a pure
788 heart and humble voice, they should repeat the six mystic
779 syllables as often as possible, for that by so doing they close
775 the doors of the six spheres into which it would otherwise be possible for their souls to take re-birth.

Óm--repeated often enough closes the door of "hla-i-hnas" (fairy place).

Ma--repeated often enough closes the door of "hlámáeen-i-hnas" (demi-god place).

Nee--repeated often enough closes the door of "mee-i-hnas" (man place). [139]

Pat--repeated often enough closes the door of "tutro-i-hnas" (beast place).

Mey--repeated often enough closes the door of "eedak-i-hnas" (fore hell).

Hung--repeated often enough closes the door of "ngiálwa-i-hnas" (hell).

And it is added that if they are assiduous enough in this prayer, the result will be that they will escape the curse of re-birth, and will, when next they die, attain nirvána. The Incarnation of the Speetuk monastery gave me a slightly different version. He said, a body cannot be born unless good seed is sown; if a body is not born, a soul cannot be re-embodied. The result of repeating the six mystic syllables is, he said, to cause the "seed" of the gods, demi-gods, men, etc., not to germinate so far as concerns the soul of the person who has been diligent enough in repeating the mystic syllables.

I don't think any one in Ladák knows what the words or syllables really mean; the majority of the people don't even pretend to know.

805 [140]SABBATH--za-ngeema (Sunday). Ladákis do not keep one day
796 in seven as a day of rest and prayer, but the tenth day of every month, which is called tshesschoo (meaning "date ten"), is, or should be, observed as a day of praying and feasting.

788 SACRAMENT--Missionaries use the word "tamja" (meaning a "binding" or "making fast"). Tibetans have nothing quite like the Christian sacrament, but at the time of making a vow, they

527 the well-being of the country and of the people.

574 Namgyal at first had very little desire to comply with the invitation. In the past few years his father had been in the habit of declining the same invitation under the pretense that as village magistrate he was unable to leave his post for such a long time. The real reason was /131/ that he knew from experience that this participation was an expensive matter. The great festivals in the royal palace in Leh cost a lot of money, and the king was totally unable to meet these expenses from his own modest income. Therefore, his "grandees" who had the honor to take part in the festivities, had to make considerable contributions. It even happened that after the celebration the royal pockets were so completely depleted that his "majesty" would approach one or the other of his noblemen for a loan, for the repayment of which the person concerned would then have to wait an extremely long time. Many of them had had bad experiences in these matters. One of them, for instance, had had to be contented with a very emaciated little ox as repayment for a considerable sum of money that he had lent. But finally Namgyal allowed himself to be persuaded by some friends and by his ambitious grandmother to go to the festival at Leh after all. It was, he was told, an honor for the house of Dragshos and for entire Lower Ladakh if he was gathered together with all the grandees around the king. After all, the lonpo from Domkhar, who was related to him, was also taking part. Finally, Namgyal himself wanted to experience for once the festivities days in May, of which he had heard so much. Perhaps, so he thought, he might even learn something from them.

574 Thus, shortly before the beginning of the celebrations Namgyal rode to Leh in two days. In Leh he moved in with a distant relative. On the evening of the first holiday, the 28th of the tenth month, he saw, for the first time, the illumination of the town; the houses at the foot of the mountain on which the castle was situated, and along the southern slope of the same, the castle, and the monasteries gleamed [790] in the shine of thousands of little lamps lit to celebrate this lamaistic "ascension festival," something which made a great impression upon Namgyal.

527 The following morning at the bazaar he met about twenty Tibetan gentlemen of nobility, galons, lonpos, and higher officials. on horseback, who were just about to fetch the king for the celebration of the festival. Namgyal, likewise on horseback, joined them. A

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

[597]

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devís* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yosi*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

779 The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

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* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM REV. Heyde]

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[786] 184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chang* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 "All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

795 [778] [782] 776 [754] "As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

778 782 177

771 177 "As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

● 796 24 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The *lámaic* system. 779 792 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámaic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In the autumn the *nierpa* or treasurer, with some of the monastery tenants in attendance, goes through the whole country, and collects from every holding a customary fee called *dubri*, consisting of one *páth* of barley. In the spring a great festival takes place, known as the Ghantál Tcháchá, at which all comers are fed for one day. A long train of pilgrims may be seen engaged in making the circle on foot of the holy mountain,—a work of much religious efficacy, as it ought to be, seeing that it involves a trudge of about eighteen miles and an ascent and descent of several thousand feet. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"The third grand *lámá* of Tibet* visited Láhaul while I was there in 1867, inspecting the monasteries and giving his benediction to the people at places where he halted. He travelled in quaintly-shaped, bright-coloured tents carried on *yaks*, with a considerable retinue of monks. I saw him seated on a throne or platform built up in the open air, dressed in a mitre and silken canonicals, extraordinarily like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates. The monks formed a lane in front of the throne, up which the Láhaulis advanced in the most reverential manner to receive the blessing, and a bit of silk to be worn, I believe, as a talisman. After backing out of the presence, they made the circle of the throne, praying aloud as they walked. I saw one poor man present a pony, so the value of the offerings must have been considerable."

The principal endowment of the five Spiti monasteries consists of the *pun* or assigned grain rents already described: the rent-free land they hold is of exceedingly trifling amount. The following table shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of *pun* they draw from each *kothí*:—

Name of monastery or *gípha*.	Number of *lámás*.	Amount of "*pun*" collectable from each *kothí*.			Remarks.
		Name of *kothí*.	Khal.	Teh.	
Dunkar or Láwupe	90	Shám ...	137	14	Seventeen khal assigned to the family of astrologers, and forty to the Pittu monastery in Ladákh, have to be added to make up the sum total of the pun, viz., 1,461 khal 7 teh.
		Chusi ...	130	...	
		Todpá ...	73	17	
			331	11	
Tábo	39	Shám ...	53	5	
		Chusi ...	134	19	
		Todpá ...	10	10	
			198	14	
Ki	100	Chusi ...	379	4	
		Bárjik ...	14	...	
		Todpá ...	60	...	
			453	4	
Tángiut ...	80	Chusi ...	203	...	
		Bárjik ...	87	16	
		Todpá ...	9	12	
		Pin ...	20	...	
			319	8	
Pin	100	Pin ...	61	10	

* One of the three who is born again as soon as he dies; the man I saw was fair, plump and smooth faced, and not more than twenty years old I should say.—*Lyall.*

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

[554] 778 792 346 532 [788] [796]

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monks and friars.

through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:— A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om mani pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalized.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

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‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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ends in the wildest gyrations:—the little stage hemmed in by the quaintly-dressed crowd, and with the huge barren mountains towering behind for back ground, makes a picture not easily forgotten.

The Moravian Mission in Láhaul and Kanáwar. 797

The following account of the Protestant Mission in British Láhaul has been kindly furnished by the Rev. Mr. Heyde. The Mission belongs to the Church of the Moravians or United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). It was established in the year 1854. From the beginning its object was to reach the Mongol tribes of Central Asia who profess Buddhism. The first two Missionaries appointed in 1852 were to have gone by European Russia and Siberia into Central Asia, but after repeated applications had been made, the Russian Government refused to let them pass through their territories. After that the route by China would have been taken, but China being then still obstructive to Missionary enterprise, this way had also to be abandoned and a third to be chosen, *viz.*, that *viâ* Ladákh. From Ladákh the Missionaries were to penetrate to the Mongolian tribes of the Khalmaks who inhabit the northern parts of Eastern Turkistan. In Ladákh the first station was to have been established, it being hoped that from thence it would be possible to advance gradually. This, however, proved impracticable, as the Kashmír Government refused to give the necessary permission for the desired station. Thus it came to pass that Láhaul was fixed upon as a suitable place for a first settlement, the province being situated close to Ladákh, and because its inhabitants belong at least partly to the Mongolian race and profess Buddhism. From Láhaul the Mission hopes still to advance into Ladákh as soon as permission can be obtained to do so, thereby pursuing its original object. The name of the station in Láhaul is Kyelang, often spelt, "Kailang" or "Keylang," which is wrong. The Mission being still a small one, at present only two Missionaries carry on its work. Two more Missonaries have lately been appointed, who will increase its present staff soon. The "Mission Department" of the Moravian Church organisation is the directing board of this as well as all other Moravian Missions. A second station of the Moravian Mission in these parts was founded in 1865 among the Buddhists of Upper Kanáwar in the protected Hill State of Basáhir (Simla district). The name of this station is Pú, situated on the immediate frontier of Tibet proper, having been established with a view to extend its labours into that country. The Missionary in charge of it having lately died unexpectedly, the place is for the moment without a leader, but a successor is soon to arrive. The number of native Christians at both stations together is at present 35 including children, of which number three adults and three children are at Pú.

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door of the anchorite's cell to a creature in the form of a girl. Under the anchorite's care she grew up into a beautiful woman, was called sun-face, and married a king. The other queens conspired against her and accused her of being a witch and eating human flesh; they murder her child, and make the king believe she killed it to feast on its body. Sun-face is driven out and leads a wandering life in the forests till the king discovers the plot, puts the conspirators to death, and recalls her. 773

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 797 782 539

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

T D 539

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

T D 174 527 796

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchôd rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

T D 174 533

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

T D 174

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

792 That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche
• 796 the Lobon invited Rahul and me to attend Rinpoche's prayers. Rinpoche has two prayer meetings daily. The lamas of the monastery have three. They are held in the chapel. Rinpoche, during his minority, holds his prayer meetings in his room.

Rahul and I, our shoes off, sat on the floor facing Rinpoche. He was on a dais opposite us, his back to the window. Phuntzog sat on cushions against the wall to the left of Rinpoche. Next to Phuntzog sat two lamas. Against the wall to our left and facing the Lobon was the teen-age acolyte who was the playmate of Rinpoche.

792 A drum about two feet in diameter stood on a pedestal before
796 the Lobon, and attached to the drum were cymbals. A small bowl
534 of corn was at the Lobon's knees. Each of the lamas on his left had a large Tibetan trumpet. The acolyte across the room had a horn shaped like a hunting horn but made of silver. Before each person was a typical Tibetan prayer book—a collection of sheets of paper about six by eighteen inches, unbound, and held between two long, narrow boards.

On a low stand in front of Rinpoche was a gold *dilbu* or bell (female symbol of wisdom); a gold *dorje* or thunderbolt about six inches long, solid in the middle and slightly bulging and open at the ends (male symbol of method); and a feather duster in a holder.

The Lobon played the cymbals and beat the drum with a stick bent in the shape of a huge question mark. The two lamas blew on the trumpets; and the young acolyte tried to outdo them all by vigorous management of the silver hunting horn. The music filled the room with a deafening sound, for the space was small, not more than fourteen by eighteen feet. It was a rather monotonous chant, a simple tune played over and over again for an hour and a half. With the music came the prayers. Sometimes the prayers would cease while the music went on. Sometimes the music would cease while the prayers continued. But for the most part the prayers were read to the accompaniment of the music.

Once in a while Rinpoche would ring the gold bell with his left 792
hand or with his right hand take the feather duster out of its 796 •
holder and then put it back. Once in a while the Lobon would 534
toss a few grains of corn across the room in front of Rinpoche.

These were incidental. The main effect was in the music and the chanting. It was an almost magical effect. The beating of the drum and the cymbals, the sound of the trumpets and the horn became a primitive exercise and stirred something deep inside me. It seemed that these musicians were trying to call out the devils in all of us. Then came the incantations in pursuit, driving harder and harder, faster and faster, unending in their effort to suppress the evil forces. The voice of the Lobon was deep in bass. His words poured in a mad rush of syllables to form recitations almost unintelligible. On and on he went, supplying greater and greater emphasis. His deep voice rose and fell—rising in supplication, falling to a whisper, mounting to indignation, dropping to humble praise. Over and over again went the refrain.*

There was something at first harsh and repelling in the music. Then the horn and trumpets, though louder than any of the instruments, somehow faded to the background of consciousness. The cymbals, too, seemed to come from afar. The room was dominated by the drum, the rhythmic beating, beating, beating. And with the beating, beating, beating of the drums came the chant of the Lobon—deep and guttural, up and down, sad and plaintive, loud and demanding, soft and pleading.

It was a hypnotic ritual. The words seemed to be meaningless incantations, falling from the lips of the Lobon in indistinct guttural sounds. The words and the drum set up curious vibrations and cast a spell. Many times I have had the experience of being lost in the music of a symphony, carried away on clouds to worlds remote from the hall or library where I sat. This prayer meeting was different. This music and chanting were holding a man, drawing him like a magnet, pulling him into a strange, psychic vortex

*See page 333.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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until he was swallowed by the beatings of the drum and the chanting of the Lobon.

I had read Forman, *Through Forbidden Tibet*, and his account of how sorcerers one day had conjured up before him and a group of lamas Yama, the King of Hell, and the attendants at Yama's court—Lust, Greed, and Anger. Forman with his own eyes thought he saw Yama, with his thirty-four arms and nine heads and a garland of human skulls about his shoulders. Perhaps he experienced mass hypnotism. Perhaps it was human television.

I had no such experience. But as I sat in Rinpoche's room with my head bowed and my eyes closed, listening to the beating of the drum and the incessant, liquid mutterings of the Lobon, I knew at once that hypnotism was real. I felt the power of music and the human voice and for the first time knew its vast potentiality. Though there was some force fastening itself onto me, I did not try to rebel. For an hour or more I submitted to its decree.

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In the name of the Triad! O divine Lord, Mun!
In the name of the Triad! O Lotus-bearer, Hun!
In the name of the Triad! O Scepter-bearer, Hun!

In the name of the Triad! O immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, hu-lu! —hu-lu!—hun!—Phat!

In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! Ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence, Holy-one, Hun-hun!

O Mani, Mani, Great Mani, SAKYA-Mani, adoration!
O Lotus-bearer, hun!—*O fierce and greatly angry,* Hun-phat!

O Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya, adoration!

[539] *O Divine Lord,* Mun! *O Lotus-bearer,* hun! *O Scepter-bearer, hun!*
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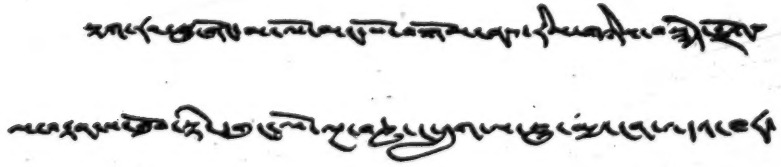
This was the chant. Over and over, on and on, it went. It had a primitive rhythm, an incessant beat that held me. It was the music of a trance, an incessant repetition whose monotony produced a numbness. The noise of the orchestra filled the room. But it was mostly the Lobon that I heard—the deep, musical bass of Phuntzog. And high above his voice was the piping tenor of Rinpoche, coming lightly along behind the measured beat of his teacher.

After an hour or more I looked up. The chant was still in progress, the drum and cymbals still beating, the horns blaring. The Lobon was bowed in prayer, his lips barely moving as the guttural sound poured out. Rinpoche was as alert as a bird teetering on a rock. He kept up with the chant, his shrill voice now carrying above the Lobon's. As he chanted he weaved slightly to and fro. And all the while he kept peeking out the window where Rup Singh and Budh Ram were standing, watching the ceremony. And Rinpoche seemed to be telling them with his eyes that he hoped to get this business over with soon and come outdoors and join them.

792 The morning of the day we left Hemis I induced Phuntzog to
159 tell me the story of the discovery of the Rinpoche; i.e., how the soul of Stagtsang Raspa was traced to this boy. He went into his room and was gone an hour or more. When he returned, he handed me the following manuscript in Tibetan script which he had prepared; and he recited it on my tape recorder.



779 in Asia, rooted so deeply that it cannot be dislodged. Lamaism
783 believes in it. A lama may walk years on his knees to atone for his
788 sins. In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet, he may do a prostration pilgrimage. He lies flat on the ground, both hands extended. He marks the point, stands up, steps forward to the mark, stretches flat again, and repeats this exercise again and again. It is common to find people doing a prostration pilgrimage around monasteries or holy places. A prostration pilgrimage of thirty or fifty miles is not unusual. It may last for weeks. One may do it for his own salvation—to get merit by sacrifice—or he may be hired to do it for another person or for the soul of a friend or relative.

One day I saw a lama coming up the Hemis nulla in a prostration pilgrimage. He was barefooted, with pads upon his knees. His robe was pulled up and fastened high. His hair was close-cropped, and he was filthy with dirt. Down he went on his stomach, then up on his knees and to his feet; then down again. And with each prostration he said twenty times, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

788 The lamas gather in the chapel three times daily for prayers.
796 I did not attend any of these services at Hemis, but students of the subject say that the ritual is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Catholic Church. There is, however, usually the music of trumpets, drums, and cymbals. There is always the burning of incense. And as the lamas kneel in the pews, the hum of "*Om Mani Padme Hoom*" fills the place.

796 These monasteries observe monthly festivals and four annual festivals, from each of which they get revenue. The people bring
[177] gifts of grain, or goats, or cash. The lamas sell amulets, talismans, idols, and sacred paintings. They sell paper strips and pieces of cloth filled with symbolic figures.

The most notable of these festivals is Losar, the New Year's Feast, observed in February. It celebrates Buddha's victories over the heresies—the triumph of the true religion over infidelity. People come from far and wide to the monasteries and celebrate

for days on end. There are dancing and the exchange of presents; 796 •
there are prayers before images of the deities, prayers in the chapels. There is no distinction between clergy and laymen, rich and poor, men and women. Beggars kneel in pews next to the elite. And the whole audience murmurs in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

At the entrance to the main chapel of the Hemis Monastery 788
there is painted on the right-hand wall the wheel of life, sacred in 778
Buddhist symbolism. It has been beautifully described by Suydam 531
Cutting in *The Fire Ox and Other Years:*

"The 'wheel of life' is a spoked disk, painted on a scroll. On the hub are painted a cock, a pig, and a snake, standing for lust, greed, and anger, the three vices that torment human beings. The rim is divided into twelve segments, representing such metaphysical concepts as 'sense surfaces and understanding,' 'indulgence,' and 'fuller life.' The area between hub and rim is divided into six compartments, sharply divided by the spokes. At the top is heaven, at the bottom hell. The other four spaces are devoted to human life, animal life, purgatory (tormented spirits), ~~and~~ titans.

"Closer inspection reveals a dolorous prospect—a multitude of pictographs illustrating Buddha's doctrine that suffering is inevitable—'All is transitory, painful, and illusory.' Life is an endless, wearisome round of rebirths. The pictographs illustrating human life, for instance, show birth, old age, sickness, death, ungratified desires, struggle for existence, punishments, bereavements, and offensive objects and sensations. Hell is no less graphic. There are eight hot hells and eight cold ones, with an additional outer hell through which escaping spirits must pass without a guide. Each of these has special tortures to suit various crimes and misdemeanors.

"The 'wheel of life' is held in the claws of a monster who symbolizes 'the hideousness of clinging to life,' and beyond the rim is shown Buddha, who has escaped the round of metempsychosis."

538 Then came the hunter, who, seeing the deer and the dog lying
788 down together, believed the dog had been bewitched. So he drew his sword to kill the dog. As he approached, Mila Repa began to intone, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*" The hunter was strongly affected by the chant. He stood undecided and torn. Before long he returned his sword to the scabbard and, approaching Mila Repa, prostrated himself before the Holy One.

535 A lama dance (*chham*) is built around these characters[1]—a play
796 illustrating the old Tibetan proverb and Buddhist teaching, "There is no sin so great as killing."

Phuntzog put on some lama dances for us. But the act of the deer, the dog, and the hunter was not included. The dances we saw, like the old morality plays of Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

They were performed in the courtyard in front of the main monastery building. Opposite the stairs leading down from the monastery sat the Rinpoche and the Lobon. Each of them is usually dressed in a long, flowing, dark red robe, wrapped toga-like around him so that his right arm is bare. Now the left arm was bare, and a bright yellow shawl was draped over the shoulders and around the waist. Rinpoche wore a peaked red hat that had no brim but came down over the back of his neck. Phuntzog wore a big red hat whose brim flared up and stood like great sails sewn together. Rinpoche sat on a dais with the gold bell and gold *dorje* in front of him. Phuntzog sat on his right. Farther to the right was a great array of musicians—trumpeters, drummers, and two men who blew giant horns. They were bedecked in gaily
[534] colored clothes and tall red hats of various designs. The trumpets were of the clarinet type, made of wood and brass. The drums stood on edge, held four or five feet off the ground by a pedestal, and attached to them were cymbals. The drums were struck by sticks bent into the shape of huge question marks. The two horns (*shawms*) were each twelve feet long. The larger end was about eighteen inches in diameter. It rested on the ground.

 1 [From legends. See p.173 -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Om Mani Padme Hoom

The two lamas who played these horns were extraordinary men. To be able to blow the horns at all seemed to me remarkable. The fact is that one man cannot blow one horn for many consecutive seconds. That means that the other horn must come in and pick up the pitch where the first horn leaves it. This requires great skill, as one relieves the other over and again, hour after hour, while the orchestra drones on and on.

It takes hours to present the lama dances. The pageantry is superb; the story, exciting; the plot, simple; the moral, plain. They have been described by Ted Shawn in *Gods Who Dance.* The characters were all masked. Some wore masks of people; others wore masks of lions, stags, oxen, and yaks. These masks—carved from solid blocks of wood and colored with a glossy and brilliant enamel—usually had grotesque expressions. Their hideous features, their terrifying grimaces led early European visitors to the monasteries to call these the Devil Dances. That is a misnomer. The dancers represented the forces of Good as well as the forces of Evil. The main emphasis of the theme was the struggle between the two. After a few serious scenes, the producer of the dance changed the pace and sent in comedy relief. These were gay, carefree, burlesque-type characters. After they left, the serious took up again. Apart from these interruptions, the story marched steadily onward—Good gaining the ascendancy; Evil gradually being routed.

A triangle had been drawn on the cobblestones of the courtyard and inside this triangle there was a small black image representing a human corpse. Dancers dashed madly around it, engaged in a foray of sickles and swords as they tried to snatch this corpse from the triangle. The lesson was plain—man is helpless and guideless; he lives among vast unkind elements of earth and sky that seek perpetually to destroy him. Only Dharma, man's good action in life, can guard him against the evil designs of the spirits.

The final act was put on by two characters representing virtue—the Stag and the Yak. The heads worn by the lamas in this dance

796 were huge and realistic. The Stag and the Yak each had swords.
535 It soon appeared that their main objective was the Evil in man, who was represented by a dummy stuffed with straw. The act ended with the Stag and the Yak cutting this prostrate figure to pieces.

I was dashing about filming this dance and making a recording of the music. Once I stepped close to the Rinpoche and the Lobon. The Rinpoche, I noticed, reached out every few minutes and rang the gold bell. Its sound was drowned out in the tremendous rumblings from the giant horns, the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, and the shrill of the trumpets. But I could distinctly hear above all the clashing sounds of the orchestra the deep guttural of Phuntzog and the piping tenor of Rinpoche, chanting, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

788 It was at the beginning of my trek that Rahul first told me about this mantra. *Om Mani Padme Hoom* means "O Jewel of the Lotus." The lotus is the most beautiful of flowers, though in India it grows out of mud and filth. The lotus thrives in the most unattractive places; it adorns spots seared by plagues; it blossoms in an environment of oppressive poverty; it furnishes a breathless purity in yards contaminated by man and his creations.

Buddha was born in a lotus. Like it, he brought glory, purity, and beauty to oppressed and poverty-ridden people. Buddha, like the lotus, lived above his environment. He showed that the spirit of man can rise beyond the lowliest and filthiest source and find perfection even among the dregs of the earth. He showed how goodness can come out of misery, poverty, and dirt.

This is the immortal message of *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* It is on the lips of millions every minute of every hour. People who never saw a lotus chant it endlessly. Though its meaning may be lost to most of the millions who use it, in this part of the world it is the medium for communion, the symbol of reverence, the devotional exercise, the pious prayer, the sign of the cross.

I remembered that Rahul had said that holy men along the

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able British Government is paying him some large salary for 759
his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and 796
rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for "dressing up" in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the [778]
altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter 291
of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an "umpteenth" hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the 121
wrong way round in this strange land, where the term 186
mgologpa ("head-turned" or "back to front" man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of [147]
conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

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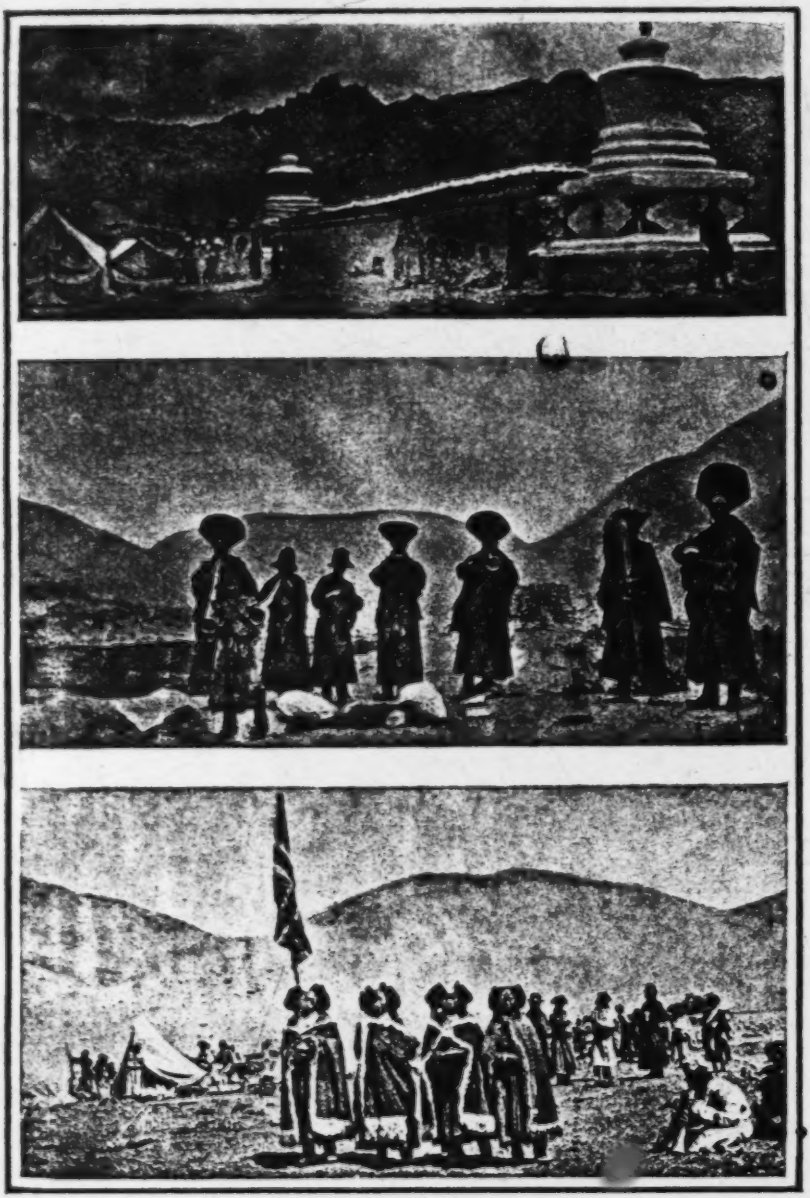

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DEDICATION OF A NEW MANI WALL.

At each end are *chortens*.

A MONASTIC BAND.

One small lay child supports the ends of two long shawms.

A GREETING.

Women who have come out to greet the British Joint Commissioner with flour, water, chang (local beer) and fire. To the right a "band" of welcome is provided by one gentleman!

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THE TOWN BAND OF LEH

who appeared in the Moravian Mission Compound of their own accord to greet the bride and bridegroom on their return from Church on the rare occasion of a Sahib's wedding in Leh.

A PRIVATE CHAPEL.

The service resembling High Mass being held on the verandah of a "private chapel" in the summer residence of a prominent Tibetan in Leh.

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Let us now consider some of the ceremonial of the religion 796
of these cheery folk, and to do this we cannot do better than 778
take an evening stroll to Changspa, which is a suburb of Leh and was formerly a place of pilgrimage. Our path leads us between fields of wheat and barley, now ripe for the harvest. Here our way is blocked because some *Zemindar* (farmer) is [241] directing the flow of the water into his crops. Further on we reach a larger stream over which we cross by means of stepping stones.

We meet an old grey-head emerging from the village, who 788
evidently feels that he has reached the age when he should be thinking of his next incarnation, for he is not only vigorously turning his prayer-wheel, but mumbling away at his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*. We stop to speak to him, for in this part of the world there is great friendliness. Our conversation by no means hinders his devotions, for he can still twirl his prayer-wheel, which with every turn is repeating hundreds of prayers for him, and in between his answers to us there are plenty of opportunities for saying his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*.

Being new to the country we perhaps try to ask him the meaning of his prayer, but generally he will reply that he has not the faintest idea, and most certainly will not give the translation one so often hears. "Oh thou jewel in the Lotus bud." If one regard the Jewel as the Divinity, and the lotus the body in which it resides, one surely approaches the teaching of the Buddha fairly closely. I have met only one or two [779] Buddhist Ladakis willing to enlighten me in respect to this mantra, who said that the wheel of life, consists of six existences, and this mantra with its six syllables closes the door of all these, thus providing an easy vehicle to "STONGPA NID." There are other mantra, but this beyond comparison is the favourite one, as it is that of Avolakita, the Merciful Lord, and it ensures an entrance into the Kingdom of Amitabha, the Sphere of Endless Light. The wheel must be turned in the direction in which the sun travels, that is of

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1. MASKED DANCING
In the monastery adjoining the castle of Leh at the winter festival of the New Year.

2. A CHORTEN-CROWNED GATEWAY.
These usually mark the entrance and exit of a village.

3. A SACRED BANNER.
The large banner of the tutelary god of Hemis *dGonpa* (monastery), only displayed at the annual festival once in twelve years.

4. A HEMIS STREET
Just before the festival, shewing the tents put up for the traders.

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CHAPTER XVII

Rites & Ceremonies

HAVING considered general every-day methods of 796 ● obtaining merit, let us turn our attention to the more specific and seasonal means, doing so in the order in which they occur annually. This makes 805 it necessary to say a few words about the Buddhist Calendar, [177] which seems to have been derived from the Chinese, and consists of sixty-year cycles, which are subdivided into five periods of twelve years each. The longer periods are named after the Buddhist elements of wood, fire, earth, iron and water, whilst the single years are called after various animals, such as mouse, ox, tiger or hare. The Ladaki does not therefore reckon his years in decades, but in dozens, so that when asked his age, he may inform you that, having been born in the sheep year of the water period, he must be three dozen and six year's old. Their year consists of three hundred and sixty days divided into lunar months, which the word for month, *zlaba*, pronounced *dawa*, implies. As this does not quite fit with the course of the sun, the Ladaki feels that he must try to humour him and his aberrations, by dropping days here and adding months there. He certainly feels that the sun [821] needs his aid at times, for when an eclipse occurs, he shouts at the top of his voice to scare off "the dragon from completely swallowing the sun." Their week, like ours, consists of seven days, which are devoted to deities similar to our own, such as Sunday and Monday to Sun and Moon. They have noticed that Mercury looks like a red eye, so Tuesday is called the day of the red eye. Wednesday is the day of

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805 Venus, whilst Thursday, the day of the dagger, must belong to the god of War. Jupiter and Saturn, even in Ladak, claim Friday and Saturday. The tenth day being the birthday of Padma Sambhava, their patron saint, who conquered all their demons, is regarded as holy.

•796 The date of the new year varies, indeed in their topsy-
turvy country they have two New Year days, one being the
[172] Ladaki, the other the Tibetan, both of which are celebrated,
173 although for practical purposes the latter is used. The genesis of the Ladaki New Year is interesting. King Jamyang desired to wage war against the neighbouring kingdom of Purig, but was informed by the horologist that his venture would not be successful unless deferred till after New Year's day. Not wishing to wait, and no doubt thinking the stupid old sun would not notice, he decided that the New Year
796 should begin two months earlier. His anniversary usually
788 falls some time in December. It is chiefly marked by evening illuminations, for every Buddhist house has a row of tiny lamps, small wicks in little receptacles of oil, outlining either window-sill, verandah, or roof, or all three, according to the state of the family exchequer, for kerosene is an expensive commodity by the time the former is carried up to Leh; and of mustard oil and that expressed from apricot kernels there
[361] is very little. As most Tibetan villages are built in tiers up the hillside in order to leave the flatter terraces for cultivation, their rows of little lights give quite a fairyland effect. Dominating the whole in Leh is the fine old castle with its row of illuminations, while still higher are the twinkling lights round the crazy verandah of the "Tsemo" or small monastery,
796 perched on its high crags. The official New Year occurs later, and its chief feature is the celebration of *Dosmoche*, the great festival of the Scapegoat. This ceremony varies in different localities. In Leh a huge erection is made of sticks, tied together by twine, and looking like a vastly over-rigged mast. The component parts are prepared previously by the

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horologist, and, the day before, this strange ship of the wilderness is erected in the desert just outside Leh. 196

At about 3 p.m. we wend our way through the bazar, now crowded with folk in holiday mood and holiday attire, and take up our position in the small room built over the toll-gate giving admission to the capital, and underneath which, the procession will pass. The firing of a gun announces that it has left the castle and is descending the hill, and soon we descry it turning into the further end of the main street, near the large Mohammedan mosque. Slowly it approaches us to the droning of shawms, the blowing of trumpets, clanging of cymbals, and beating of drums, all of which go to make up ecclesiastical music. Let us watch them as they pass beneath us. Heading the procession come four lamas in their clerical red garments, and with their funny yellow, peaked hats. These are blowing their flageolets ; after an interval they are followed by two or three laymen, who have the supposed honour of being allowed to carry the *storma*, but one cannot help noticing that the *élite* do not trouble to obtain this distinction for themselves. *Storma* means a thing which is lost, and consists of effigies made in various sizes to represent men and demons. Again comes a group of lamas, dressed up in their fantastic devil-masks, and dancing as they move along. More laymen follow, bearing religious flags, and then there come four priests, blowing shawms so long that two small acolytes precede them, holding up the ends. Thus group after group passes through the gate till the celebrating abbot appears, to be followed by further priests and laymen carrying *storma*. Bringing up the rear are a number of [643] Buddhist horsemen, prominent among them the King. He wears for this ceremony a special hat, which is an imitation of King Langdarma's, from whom he claims descent and of whom he is said to be an incarnation. Langdarma belonged 173 to the old *Bon Chos*, and did his best to exterminate Buddhism in Tibet, positive proof of his demoniacal nature, of which

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173 the two horns which grew from his head were an outward and visible sign. It was to accommodate these he had to have this hat designed.

796 The procession has now passed through the bazar, and we follow it out to the desert. There the fires have been lit, illuminating the weird devil-dancing lamas as they gyrate and 796 jump round them. At a given moment all the *storma* are 783 thrown into the flames, and with their burning the sin and disease of the town are consumed. Soon after our first arrival in Leh, we witnessed these ceremonies, and, wishing in our ignorance to investigate the effigies, some were bought for a few *pice* (coppers) and brought to our houses. That year a serious epidemic of throat disease broke out in the country, carrying off old and young. What else could be expected when the scapegoats had been brought back into the town [789] instead of being thrown away? Now the erection of twigs is knocked over, and every man makes a mad rush to obtain even a small piece if he can, which is carried home in triumph and placed on one of the outer walls of the house, thus protecting its inmates from disease and death, or, if it is put into their store-room, much blessing will accrue to their grain.

A little later a similar ceremony is performed for the special benefit of the Maharajah. Holy books having been read for seven days, a scapegoat, consisting of an effigy the size of a man, is prepared. Placed in the region of its heart is a bottle of red fluid, and it is then set up in the wilderness. A company of sepoys in smart khaki uniforms marches out behind lamas dressed in fantastic clothes and devil-masks, the combination quite belying Kipling's statement that "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." They take careful aim, even lying down to do so, but in spite of many rounds being fired, the effigy is never hit, and eventually cruder methods have to be adopted for its destructtion. This cannot be wondered at, for is not the effigy bewitched?

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The idea of the scapegoat is practised in some form or other everywhere in Lesser and Greater Tibet. In some places an actual goat is sent into the wilderness. In others even a man is chosen, who for a whole year has to leave his village and live elsewhere, at the end of which time some other is chosen to bear the sin of the village. It is a fair assumption that formerly this sinbearer was put to death.

Circumambulation, as every good Ladaki can demonstrate, is a splendid means of obtaining merit. Almost any religious object can be walked around. If there is no *thorten*, then walk round a temple containing some god. If you are getting old it is expedient to spend weary hours twirling your prayer-wheel, saying your *Om mani's*, and walking round and round a *mani* wall. Ten times round the great *chorten* at Jhangspa was the daily evensong of one picturesque, friendly old gentleman we used to meet with his prayer-wheel and rosary. If you can get one or two friends to come along too, it is certainly not quite so lonesome, even though they have to walk behind, for one can intersperse one's prayers with quite interesting snatches of conversation. The month in which this is most beneficial is the first of the year, and the greatest merit of all is obtained by going round the Tsemo, the monastery-crowned hill of Ladak, in whose chief temple resides a "Byamspa" god, so high that his head reaches into the second storey. This great *aKorches* (to round) is performed early in the year, by means of measuring your length the whole way along the route. Let us go into the desert to the south of Leh, where twenty to thirty young men are collected who have decided to perform this religious duty. They are drawn up in rows of twos or fours, about eight feet apart. Each man has tied round his waist a sheepskin apron, which hangs down over his knees. This both shields the knees from being cut, and good clothes from being torn. A low mumble begins, all saying the same phrase over and over again, which runs—"All living animals ask for Buddha's

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●796 great emancipation." As the emphasis is always placed on
788 the beginning of the mantra, the prayer resembles a pulsating series of sounds. At the same time each man places his hands together in an attitude of prayer, and all simultaneously throw themselves on their knees, then on their chests, then reach out their arms as far as they can, make a mark in the sand or dust, jump up, place their feet on this mark, and then repeat the whole series of movements again; up and down, up and down, they go. After an hour or two they feel ready for refreshments. A nice spot is chosen where the devotees sit round in a circle, and to which lady friends bring tea, flour or *chang*, thereby themselves gaining merit also. The processionists have quite a merry session on these occasions, and will tell you with great virtue how much merit they are acquiring. In fact they are ready to break rank and have a little chat with the passer-by at the end of any series of movements. On resuming each man goes to the place where he left off, and again the prostrations are performed. If fortune smiles, the weather is good, but if not, their clothes are liable to get very dirty, for even a puddle of melted snow must not deflect the merit accumulator. From the desert the procession proceeds through the bazar and the town of Leh, then over a small pass behind the Tsemo, and coming down the other side, ends up in the desert at the spot from whence they started. The whole distance is about three miles, and it takes three days to be covered in this manner. The physical strain must be tremendous, and only the fit could possibly perform it. One might expect these young fellows to look jaded and depressed, but on the contrary they are all quite cheery.

There is, however, an easier method of obtaining merit for those not so strong. Stray old gentlemen, even a picturesque old lady, single or in twos and threes, sometimes an ancient husband and wife, we have seen traversing the same round as those who are prostrating themselves, but doing so at an

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ordinary walk, twirling their prayer-wheels and mumbling 796
their *Om mani's* as they go. Strange pathetic little humans 788
they are, set in a vast panorama of snow-covered mountains with giant peaks soaring up into the silences of the clear blue sky, and often in this frosty winter time tramping out their tiny track on a universal white mantle of snow. Then, too, above the temple which houses the "Byamspa" and on the same Tsemo, is another with three other deities. Round this is a most shockingly rickety verandah, which looks as if it might tumble down at the slightest provocation, and no doubt will do so some day. I myself have walked round this in fear and trembling, but now there is a column of men and women, one close on the heels of the other, and round and round the temple they walk, some turning prayer-wheels, and others saying the *Om mani*. Round and round they go until we feel giddy watching them. Even from below, right down in Leh, they can be seen circulating round their giddy parapet.

We now come to Spring, when everything is breaking out 796
into fresh life. At this season the lamas of Sankar remain in 792
their monastery for a whole month, during which special services are held. By this isolation they are deterred from taking life through stepping on insects as they pass along the roads. It is during this time that the service of making 796
"*Chos spun*" is performed, which actually means the "making 608
of the brethren of the religion." Those wishing to join this fraternity fast one whole day, during which they are not allowed to swallow even their own saliva. Then each man throws into a receptacle some personal belonging. The officiating priest takes these out in twos, thus making their owners spiritual brethren, after which ceremony, if one of them makes a feast, he must invite his brother, or if there is a festival, they must send one another presents.

A moveable ceremony is the celebration of the Buddhists' 796
High Mass. Its general likeness to our Christian service 174
makes one wonder whether Tibetan Buddhism did not get its

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●796 ritual from Catholic missionaries, who formerly passed through
174 Tibet or were working on the Chinese border of this now closed land. The rosary, the ecclesiastical vestments and mitred hats are also very suggestive of this. Their own
773 explanation can be found in the following story. Raschung, the disciple of the great saint and singer, Milaraspa, was told by his master to fast for seven days, after which he was to go to the bazar where he would meet a Yogi of the name of Tipu, whom he would recognize by the fact that his face was blue, and his conjunctivæ red. He also would be wearing the skin of a striped antelope, and would be holding his trumpet up towards heaven and blowing it. Having found and identified him, Tipu prophesied to Raschung that he would die in fourteen days. When Raschung returned to Milaraspa with this sad news, his master informed him that he had sent him to Tipu as he was aware of this fact, but that if he fasted another week and then went to the goddess "*Ma chig grube rgyalmo*," she might be prevailed upon to prolong his life. Having followed out these instructions, the goddess inquired from him how much longer he wished to live. He answered "Until I myself feel I wish to die." She granted his request, handing to him the secret of the mystical rites of prolonging life. He lived just as long again, and then departed from this existence when he was eighty-eight years, and at the same age as his master, Milaraspa, died. It is said that these rites have been handed down since then by a regular episcopal succession, the names of those succeeding being actually given.

796 The auspicious day having been decided on by the *Onpo*,
793 there is to be a celebration in the compound next to our house, so we will go to watch it. Along the length of the private dwelling, which was built recently with a view to religious ceremonies taking place there, runs a verandah raised about five feet above the court-yard in front. In the centre sits the *Skushog* on cushions behind a low ornamented table, on which

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is placed at his right hand the holy pot containing the peacock 796 ●
feathers, in front of him the *Dorjhe* (thunderbolt) and 793
bell, and to his left a bowl containing rice. Behind him and
to the left is an altar, which is erected in the form of a pyramid
by means of steps, on each of which there are a great number [782]
of brass bowls containing offerings of butter, rice and water.
On the top is an image, most likely that of the tutelary deity
of the presiding *Skushog*. In the immediate vicinity of the
celebrating lama other priests are present to assist. Behind
these on either side sit the more prominent Buddhist laymen
of the town, all with heads reverently uncovered. In the
court-yard below the verandah, the poorer worshippers are
sitting on the ground, with the men generally in front. On
inquiry we are told that the celebrating priest has carefully
prepared himself for this ceremony. For twenty-four hours
he has sat alone in meditation, and, by means of the repetition
of many prayers has purified himself from all his sins. While
doing this he has the *Tsebum*, or "Vase of Life," in front of him.
He suddenly sees the *lha* (the god) enter it and says *Da drub
tsar*—" Now it is fulfilled." He then dons his ceremonial
hat and comes out to the congregation in order to distribute
life to those present. The service begins with the
reading of the holy books, by the *Skushog*, who holds in his
right hand the bell, which he rings at appropriate moments
and in his left the *Dorjhe*, which he turns, whilst the lamas
respond every now and again in a sing-song tone of voice,
blowing their shawms and clashing their cymbals. The
elements are now distributed. In front, walks the *Skushog*
with the "Vase of Life" in his hands. Passing along each
row, he touches each worshipper's head with it. Behind him
follows a priest with the " Wine of Life," of which he pours
a small quantity into the cupped hands of each communicant.
This is carried reverently to the forehead and to each eye in
turn and finally to the mouth to be drunk. The wine
is actually only made of water, coloured with saffron

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•796 and sweetened with sugar. This distributed, the bread, or
793 " Balls of Life," are administered from a large dish. These are made of barley-flour, and not only does the participant receive one for himself, but he may obtain sufficient balls for those members of his family who were unable to attend. Now the *Skushog* ties a *srungdud* (Keeping knot), and gives one to each person present. He takes a small piece of rag, coloured red or green, makes it into a knot, breathing on it the while. This is then attached to the hat and preserves the the wearer from disease and death. Finally comes the collection, the worshippers filing past and presenting the *Skushog* with salutation [redacted], and money.

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787 Ladak, and how they were now the fiercest in the whole
776 country. They said that these special demons always take possession once a year of two men belonging to two definite Marshro families. Sometimes they are the same two men for a number of successive years, at others they vary. The afflatus always occurs during the first Buddhist month. Should the chosen candidate be a new one, he has to prepare himself from three to four months before, but otherwise one is sufficient. When the time has arrived these two men, generally, if not always, lamas, repair to a mountain retreat. Here they sit in a box, which is so made that they can neither lie down, nor assume any attitude other than that of sitting absolutely upright, and they are only allowed out for a very short space of time in the morning, afternoon and evening. They do not divest themselves of their clothes the whole time, and so cramped do they become that a rope is fixed above their heads by which to pull themselves up. During this month they are supplied with food from the neighbouring monastery of Marshro. Their duties consist in the reading of holy books, and the innumerable repetitions of *Om manis*. The month completed, a crowd of people ride up to their retreat to escort these *Lhapas*, god-men as they are now called, back to the monastery. There can be no doubt of their possession now, for whilst the ponies of all their companions get very tired on this iourney, those of the *Lhapas* are absolutely fresh throughout. Our informants then tell us of how the *Lhapas* will on the morrow cut themselves with swords without drawing blood, will run about on giddy heights without falling, and will foretell the future.

•796 Next day we took our seats on the balcony overlooking the monastery courtyard with great expectations of a really thrilling show. There was a large crowd present, and soon an ordinary lama's dance was performed below us. These in their demon-masks were shortly joined by the *Lhapas*,

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who were naked to the waist, and, whilst dancing, each waved 796
about a sword which he carried in his right hand. At a given moment this weapon was brought across the other bare arm, but immediately it had arrived there, and before any harm could be done, several lamas rushed to them, pulled the swords away, and begged them not to harm themselves, a request in which they seemed only too pleased to acquiesce. This performance rather reminded one of the lamas of whom Waddell tells, who, when wearing the "sky-soaring" hat, have to be held down firmly to keep them from floating right out of sight. Our *Lhapas*, having tried to cut themselves several times, and being just as often restrained, eventually repaired with the other dancers into the temple. We sent a request that we might be allowed to come to examine them, which they granted. There we found two young men whose faces were rather pleasant, but in whose eyes there certainly was a strange, strained, wild look. They showed us their arms on which we descried a small straight scratch, but no blood! On closer examinaton we concluded that they had cut themselves some days before, had allowed this to scab over, then merely had to remove the scab and "they were able to cut themselves with swords, but without drawing blood"!

We now watched the second act. This begins with another devil dance, in the middle of which the two *Lhapas* rush to the top of the monastery running along the outer edge of the wall, with a distinctly nasty drop to one side of them, or jumping down from fairly high distances, an acrobatic feat which I personally would not like to perform, but one, on the other hand, which any good English gymnast with a little practice and a good head for dizzy heights, or a professional steeplejack, would find no difficulty in emulating.

Now came the grand final achievement—the act of pro- 787
phesying events to come during the ensuing year. We noticed 796
the *Lhapas* going from group to group, beginning with the royal family, and again we sent a polite message, asking them

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787 whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They
•796 agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated
776 on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the
787 English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange
554 that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith
564 caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

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789 Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has
791 twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

535 But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak
[782] has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods.
[174] But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or,
651 better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance.
535 The services of these respectable women are especially
● 796 exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal house-
535 hold. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

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CHAPTER XXIII

Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

A DESCRIPTION of life in Ladak could not be complete without an account of one of the great annual festivals held in the monasteries in the valley, such as the *Gustor* (the offering on the ninth) at Trigtse and at Spitug, or the *Ghanggoni Thsedrup* (the fulfilment of life on the blue hill) at Peang, all of which take place in the winter, whilst the *Thseshu* is held at Hemis in the summer. The last is the most important, its chief feature being the presentation of the famous so-called "mystery play." The festival, as its name indicates, is held on the tenth day of the fifth Buddhist month, which is the birthday of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, and still the presiding genius of the red sect. According to records in Sikkim, he was a magician who came north in the seventh century, and convinced the lamas of Tibet that he was sent as an incarnation of the Buddha. But into the pure Buddhism, he introduces the old *Bon Chos* with its devil-worship, and encouraged the most sensual practices, also the eating of meat and drinking of wine, asserting that over-indulgence in all these passions would lead to a state of high trance. Strangely enough, when we were waiting in the ante-room on a visit to the *Skushog*, this sentiment was exactly borne out by a Ladaki, who was participating in the native beer and already in rather an expansive mood. To our remark that it was not right to get drunk and lose control of mind and body, he replied that it was good, for the soul then became happy and blessed.

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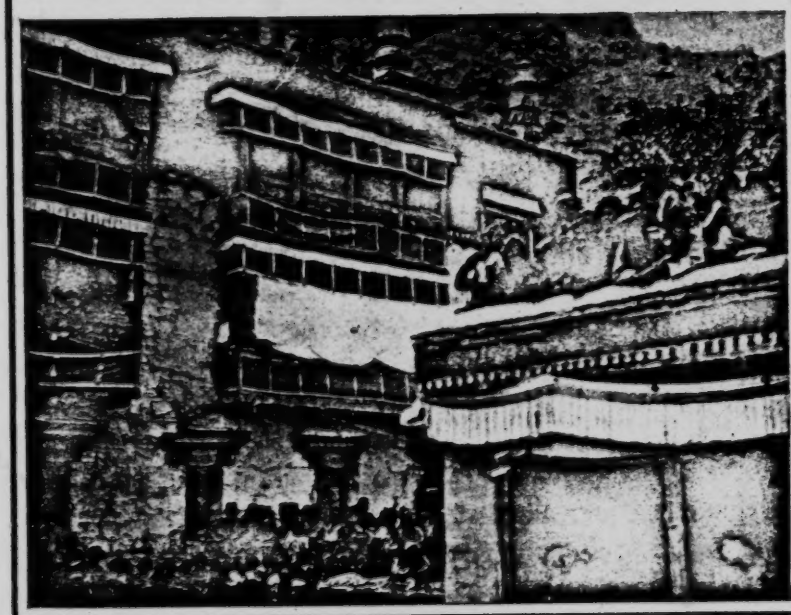

THE HEMIS FESTIVAL.

The dance of deities at the Hemis festival, showing the chief god descending the steps under his canopy, while those who precede him in the procession have already begun to dance.

THE "MYSTERY PLAY."

Spectators watching the "Mystery Play" at Hemis. The balcony with the curtain across it conceals the purdah lady guests of the monastery, such as the Hindu and Mahommedan wives of the down country officials at Leh.

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240 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

• 796 The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any time between the beginning of June and the middle of July. 361 The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to 192 get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod, towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to [178] the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the [241] approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten* with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base, until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees, pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English 574 countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious, spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

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533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
79Y hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

● 796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
[291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

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side valleys, the latter at once detected by a slight difference in dress or dialect. Here came a group of Indian officials from Leh, in front the white turban and coat of the Tehsildar or chief magistrate on an alert little pony with one or two attendants, behind at a little distance his daughter in her closed dandy, then his wife in hers, and their carrying coolies singing as usual ; sometimes the wail of the baby was heard from within the curtain. Leh traders, who put up little temporary shops under canvas along the main street (a series of steps and platforms at the side of the monastery) a detachment of Gurkhas from the company stationed at Leh, two Ladaki girls riding on one pony with a male relation at the side, all these, and many more types we can study at leisure during the long intervals of the performance, which would be unutterably boring apart from the picturesque and varied audience, to whom we are as much a part of the show as they are to us. One more little group, passed as we neared the monastery, deserves mention. Placed on a sort of chair, railed on the four sides and fixed to his saddle, sits a wee baby *Skushog*, the Incarnation of the *dGonpa* at Stagna, about ten miles away. He wears the correct red *Skushog* robes, and processional riding-hat, and wobbles a bit with fatigue after his long ride. We stop to greet him and his attendant lamas, and find he is only six years old, in fact he looks less.

They draw aside to let us pass, and, as we look back to bid him adieu, the rich red of the lamas, the yellow-brown of his pony, with its small offspring sidling up to the mother adding a further baby element to the group, form such a picture against the green trees, *chorten* gate and distant mountainous background, that it makes us wish our camera was not packed up and ahead in our bedding. This tiny abbot re-appeared several times during the ensuing ceremonies, now on the roof, now in a balcony, now in a prominent corner just outside the main door of the *dGonpa*, always with his devoted lama nurse in attendance, and delighting us by his

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797 baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the
796 tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu" to her.

796 Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first
536 endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs, which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the
[565] monastery. These are four storeys high, the upper ones having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and
[643] only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable, but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view, while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

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that, in spite of every shade of that colour, scarlet, maroon, crimson, puce, claret, magenta, prune, in every stage of newness and fadedness being present, the total effect of what would ordinarily seem so clashing was a really artistic blend of colour, to which the eye constantly reverted. 796 536

To the right of the steps and at the level of the big doors, a platform projected from the main building, which accommodated a large number of spectators, and on the right-hand side of the courtyard were more steps and low roofs packed with onlookers. Another platform covered a roof which was [788] entirely occupied by a gigantic prayer-wheel, so huge and heavy that two or three people must press against it with all their strength to start it revolving; but then what a mighty weight of prayer went round with each turn. Under the Westerners' balcony was the ecclesiastical band, the instruments being four pairs of cymbals and a dozen drums of the warming-pan shape with queer hooked beaters. Next to the musicians came the *Skushog's* throne, a raised platform with richly-cushioned seat and back, also long trappings, its high arch terminating the balcony above, while in front was placed a finely painted Tibetan table, flanked by vases of flowers. On the other side, level with the court-yard, were the remainder of the band, the two long shawms and the two flageolets or trumpets. In front of all the musicians were small tables which accommodated the holy books from which they chanted.

On the fourth and left side of the court-yard there was no [788] wall, but a slight projection accommodated a large prayer-wheel about four feet high and three feet in diameter, which was constantly being set in motion during the waiting times. Beyond this was an open space prolonging the old quadrangle into another court-yard in front of the newer monastic buildings.

Between these two court-yards rough barriers, such as the trunk of a poplar or a piece of carved wood moulding from

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796 some destroyed roofing, were placed to complete the square
536 of the dancing theatre. The audience squatting on the ground were pushed back behind these as each scene opened.

[788] In the middle of the main court-yard, some distance apart from each other, and supported by round whitewashed mud platforms were two flagstaffs, capped by yaks' tails ; they were almost as high as the monastery, and from their sides floated out many long prayer-flags. The scene was completed on the first morning, after we had been sent for and had taken our seats, by the setting-up of a large banner, which was let down from the roof above the main door and steps, on which was portrayed a young man with the Buddha type of face. This we learnt represented " Padma Karpo " his real name being " Dugpa Rinpoche." The next morning he was replaced by a more elderly gentleman, called " Galsas Rinpoche," the tutelary god of Hemis. Once in twelve years a still more important deity is displayed, and rites and ceremonies are performed in his honour, while the common people prostrate themselves before him. Above these banners each day a large awning with a yellow silk valance was protruded, whether to shade them from the sun subjectively, or objectively as regards the colour of the cloth, it is hard to say.

796 But before the drama opens, we must devote a few words to our fellow spectators who will provide us with so much interest and amusement in the long intervals between the scenes. During one of the most tedious of these, when we could hear the drums throbbing for some ceremony within the monastery, a Ladaki informant alleged that the monks had been receiving and eating the offerings of food brought by the common people from near and far. Judging by the size of the congregation this must needs have been a proponled ritual and a sustining meal.

796 During the acting they crowded on to every available space,
184 roofs, balconies, galleries, steps, platforms, and blocked up all the egresses on the ground floor. Here and there were

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proud possessors of umbrellas, which went up for sun or showers. Many districts and dialects were represented. 796 184

Here were two *Jomos* or nuns from Zankskar, to whom we talked later on when gathered round their camp-fire with their fellow countrymen, young girls of about seventeen and nineteen, sisters, with course manly faces and necks under their tonsured heads and yellow caps. They had come a month's journey over many a difficult pass, but were as cheery as could be. Conspicious were some conjurers from Spitti, who come to Ladak every year, and whose display we had often witnessed in Leh. With uncovered heads, their long hair done in a large number of narrow plaits gave a strangely effeminate touch to their tall, well set-up bodies. Dotted about were ladies from the district of Hanle, some two to three weeks' journey further up the Indus valley, easily distinguished by their peculiar *perags*, which, instead of coming to a blunt point in front, were cut sharply off above the forehead by a straight ba[illegible]ilver. Many of the women from Nubra and the le[illegible]n valleys of Ladak wore picturesque dresses of na[illegible] material sewn together in strips with circular patterns stamped on at intervals, giving a striped effect, so pleasing that one wished it had not been put out of fashion by the town ladies of Leh. One old Tibetan with a dark face, looking as if he might belong to the Hanuman tribe, sat devoutly under an umbrella the whole time, and, whenever we looked across, he was turning his two prayer-wheels, which he held one in each hand. Such devotion had no doubt prevented him from attending to his wild unkempt hair for many a long day. There were also many ladies wearing nothing on their heads to cover their untidy plaited hair: these were nomads from the Changtang, the great northern plains far away. Now a small person takes up a central position and serenely breaks open apricot stones to extract the kernels, using a stone to crack them on the base of the flagstaff. A gentleman with a yellow silk brocade dressing-gown and

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tremendous red hat is seen making his way purposefully through the crowd, and one wonders what, whence, whither? Then comes into view a curious figure with a tremendous prayer-wheel, a strange hat with a central peak, and a high scolloped turned-up brim, a conspicuous rosary, and two small drums on his back: a sort of gipsy lama, or shall we label him a mendicant magician in this land where priest-craft and devil-worship, ecclesiastical ritual and sorcery, are so closely mingled.

There we spy a typical Tibetan face, framed by a four-flapped dark orange cap; and now a pretty Ladaki girl, in a very Dutchy hat with turned-up corners and a little bit of gold embroidery, detaches herself from the crowd and makes signs to a friend on the roof above us, a delightful touch of colour being added by a yellow rose fastened in the side of her hat. Occasionally we spot a woman from Central Tibet with her round head-dress a strip of red-covered leather shaped into a ring, studded with turquoise and coral, and wearing the quaint striped apron which she and her sisters effect. In the corner, under the shelter of an overhanging roof, we find a little family comfortably ensconced, their baggage sacks having been arranged as pillows for a witchlike old lady who leans wearily back on them. Here and there stand out extra highly coloured hats on our own Ladaki neighbours, even the gentlemen having had their head-gear re-covered for such a festival. The flat Mongolian faces and quaint wee garments, generally raggedly elflike, of the babies, are particularly fascinating, especially one tiny man belonging to the front row in the quadrangle floor, who runs out into the arena every now and again to guilelessly practice the movements he has just witnessed, causing real joy to the crowd. One larger boy, caught trespassing by a monk with a whip, is seized and given a mock beating, which amuses him as much as the onlookers. Here are some Dard ladies from Hanu, far down the Indus valley, with their bag-like caps fastened down on one side and adorned with a row of needles (probably made in Birmingham).

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So from time to time one interesting type after another 796
appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the 184
picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the 291
lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next 792
to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he [554]
cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims 796
melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the 000

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CHAPTER XXIV

Hemis Mystery Play—First Day

WITH this *mise-en-scène*, we must now try to convey some impression of the actual mystery play as performed at Hemis, and witnessed by us on two occasions at an interval of nine years. On the former of these the first dance was led off by the *Skushog* himself. His robes were very much like those of the other participants, but more ornate with many jewels, and he was distinguished by an overdress depending from the waist nearly to the bottom of his skirts, made of human bones connected into an interlacing pattern of real beauty. His mouth was covered with a thin white cloth, and an old lama with bare head and wispy grey locks, like a benign old wizard, went round at his side, and constantly wiped the perspiration from his face. This particular year was one of more elaborate ceremony, which only occurs every twelve years, including, as already mentioned, the display and worship of a particularly holy banner.

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But at the performance we saw nine years later, the *Skushog* only occupied his throne in the court-yard for the first dance, and then retreated to his private apartments, from the balcony of which he watched the play. His entrance was an imposing ceremony attended by two ordinary lamas, and two wearing extraordinary hats with large, scolloped, turned-up edges culminating in a peak in front. Over him was held a large umbrella with gay skirts, and he was led, amid blare of trumpets and clash of cymbals, to take his seat on the throne

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facing the main building, where his attendants prostrated themselves, and then retreated.

Two heralds then appeared on the roof in picturesque costumes: young lama boys with bare legs, short garments of the prevailing red, and yellow hats with turned-up brims. Their typical heraldic conches, from which depended banners decorated with dragons, now produced a very mournful sound, the great shawms of the band blew loudly their Wagnerian-like dragon music, and two masked figures appeared and ran down the steps. These were bare-legged, with short skirts of a pattern resembling an old chintz, hats with a low central peak and a round rolled brim to which a square piece of cheap red stuff was attached behind. Their right arms were sleeveless, and they carried the ordinary horsewhips of the country, a thong of leather on a short stick. These gentlemen combined the functions of police and jester throughout the ensuing ceremonies. They kept the crowds back, whipping even the ladies soundly, but harmlessly, with strong whacks on their sheepskin capes, and providing endless buffoonery to while away the tedium of the long intervals. Onlookers who passed to and fro across the open space were seen off with absurd gestures, or their gait grossly imitated as they unconsciously walked ahead. Small children were abstracted and nursed as babies, *pice* (the Indian farthing) were begged for with ludicrous entreaties, and all sorts of by-play indulged in to the huge delight of the audience. The favourite joke, which never palled, was to snatch off the hat of a casual passer-by, search it for undesirable inhabitants, pounce upon one in triumph, then throw away the cap in disgust. After they had executed a short dance, they at once began their policing operations by driving the crowds back with their whips, and entertaining them through an interlude of monotonous chanting by the musicians.

Then at last the real business began, the motive under-

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lying the whole thing apparently being the propitiation of evil deities and demon kings, and the exorcism of bad spirits in order to secure safety and good fortune during the coming year, and, additionally, to exploit ancient stories and superstitions in order to increase the merit and glorification of the lamas themselves, thus enhancing their sacerdotal powers. The common people also must become familiarized with the demons which will beset their spirits after leaving the body at death.

With a fanfare from the band, thirteen dancers were ushered on to the scenes, possibly the number having some relation to the thirteen ages represented by the thirteen red rings on the superstructure of the *chortens*. They were preceded by two ordinary lamas, and two with braziers of incense and with heraldic hats and gowns, who subsequently retreated. The dancers themselves wore enormous hats, with wide round brims having rounded edges, and a tall structure about one-and-a-half foot high rising from the crown, with a picture of a skull on it. From the backs of these hats a number of brightly coloured broad ribbons streamed down to well below the waist, smaller ones being attached to the front. Over their mouths were thin white cloths which the *Skushog* informed us were to keep out the dust raised by the dancing, a desirable custom which only obtained at Hemis. In each hand was a stick to which more streamers were attached. Their robes were of rich Chinese silk and brocade embroidered in most beautiful combinations of colour. Over their shoulders fell rich capes with deep, wide scollops, and in front they wore aprons, both of the same beautifully-patterned material, differing in each individual case. The skull in the hat, and another one represented at the waist in front were constant reminders that this life is an illusion in which mortality reigns, just as at our own ancient feasts a skeleton was brought in to remind the guests of the passing nature of this existence.

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Stretching out right and left arms alternately, advancing and retiring to and from each other and the centre of the circle, they slowly made their way round the court-yard in the direction of the hands of a clock. The dance was slow and stately, accompanied by the beat of drums and monotonous chanting, occasionally punctuated by cymbals. A curious effect contrasting with this measured solemnity was frequently produced by the cymbals making two or three loud crashes succeeded by a series combining *diminuendo* and *accelerando*, exactly imitated by the dancers raising their heels in time to the music and, as it were, settling down on to them. Each dancer was given a few pieces of sacred herb by a lama, and as they slowly neared the steps, two monks, one standing each side at the top, with heraldic hats and trumpets, blew a note at which sign the two leaders made their exit up the steps between the onlooking lamas. This was repeated for each pair of dancers as they neared the stairs, and was the signal for retirement in successive pairs throughout the play. The whole impression of this dance was introductory ; by incantation and movement to prepare the "astral light" for the mystery play, and by invocation to bring blessing on the performers.

At its close one of the police-jesters ran round the court-yard with a censer of burning embers for further purification, and a continued incantation was maintained by the musicians to sustain the "aura" produced, and keep away bad spirits.

Now, with much crashing and noise from the band, a troop of sixteen dancers emerged, each carrying a tambourine and bell. Their hats were of plaited straw with a flat sign on the top shaped like the eye of a peacock's feather, and five of these patterns were arranged round the front of the head-dress. Their faces were partly hidden by a sort of visor of brass, with expansions representing the nose and moustache, and large spaces for eyes and mouth. These danced in a similar way to their predecessors, droning, ringing bells, and rattling little

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drums, the latter shaped like a double tambourine, each with a bob on the end of a long string, which knocked the successive sides of the drums when rattled sufficiently. These performers receded in pairs in the usual manner, and all we could make of their dance was a further preparation by sound vibrations to frighten away evil influences. These noises are more potent if the metal which causes the vibrations is holy.

After a prolonged interlude, the band rises and stands outside the shelter of the gallery to greet a long procession of maskers, which slowly files down the steps. Meanwhile some rich strips of carpets have been placed on benches to the right of the court-yard, and another long strip on the ground to the left. First comes an ordinary lama carrying a flag, next one with a brass pot, its brim drawn out into a long spout and set with jewels, then a pair of lamas swinging censers, others carrying shawms with queer expanded ends, some with shorter trumpets, and then a series of masked figures, which come on so quickly and amidst such clatter and noise that it is impossible to distinguish forms and sounds until they have arranged themselves. Most prominent of all is a high umbrella-like canopy of red and yellow which is carried by a Chinese-looking individual with short black coat and long Chinese gown, wearing a hat of several embroidered sections, such as Tibetans use upside down under their head-gears for an eyeshade when travelling. He and another attendant hold the umbrella over a tall form clad in rich embroidered silk, the face hidden behind a huge mask portraying a benign countenance with converging eyes. Accompanying this being are seven other deities and two devil-masked persons. Of the other figures in the procession sixteen are dressed alike, unmasked, but with peculiar hats made of a triple crown of decreasing size, the topmost surmounted by a round knob. As all the figures proceed, acolytes swinging censers pass in and out between them, and

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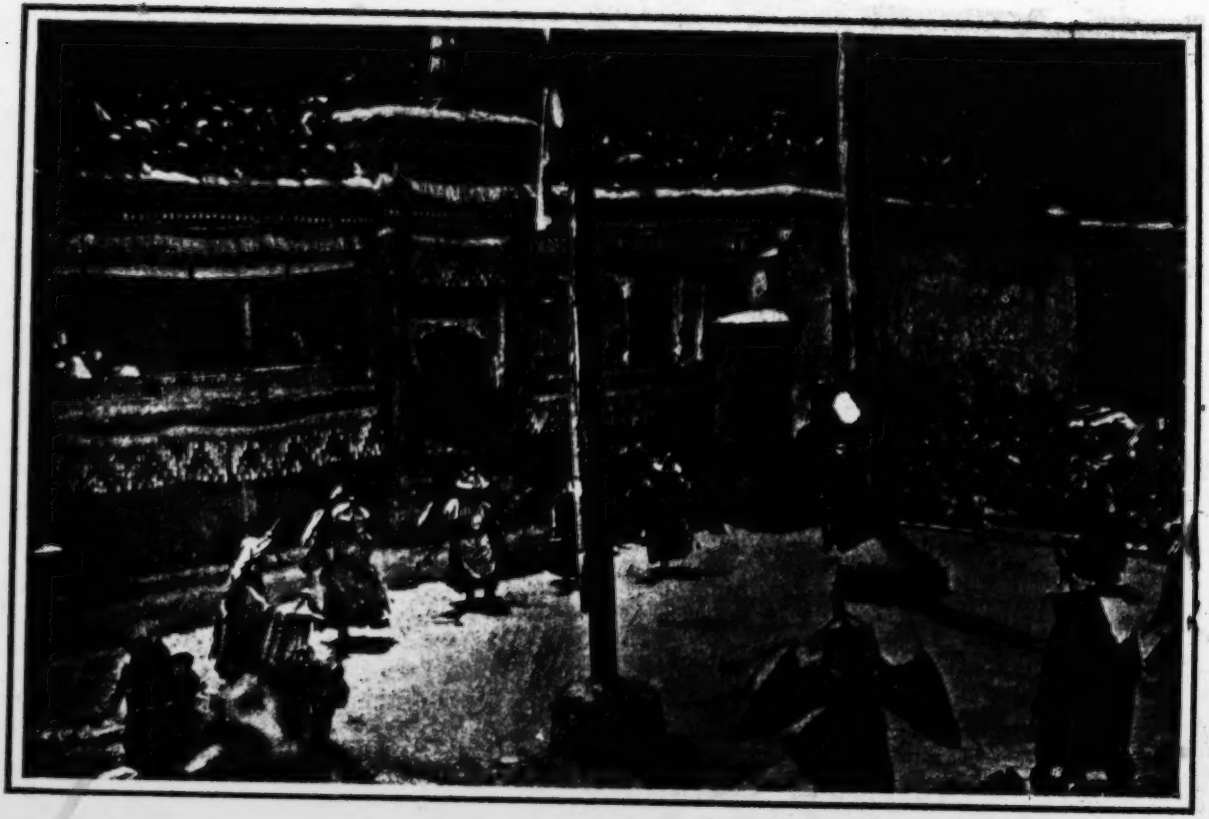

THE INAUGURAL DANCE OF THE HEMIS FESTIVAL.
On the left is the balcony from which the Europeans watch the performance; next to it is the *Shushog's* throne.

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they gradually become distinguishable, the benign-faced gentleman under the umbrella taking his seat in the centre of the carpetted benches, with three of the deities on each side and a demon king sitting at each end. These two latter seemed to be guardians of the gods, who partake sufficiently of the nature of the demons from which these deities must be protected to be able to repulse them ; in other words, " Set a thief to catch a thief." They represent, according to Waddell, those deities of the old devil-worship religion, who, when Buddhism absorbed the latter, were forced to become *fidei defensores* of the new religion. Each of these demon kings has a third eye in his forehead, indicating that he can see on inner occult planes, the third eye showing that all things are known to him in all directions. The sixteen unmasked performers in turn move over to the carpet on the ground to our left, and sit there facing the deities, so that now we can sort out the minor personages. Attached to each row of sitters is a guardian with a cloth folded like a fan in his hand and wearing an ugly pink mask with a dropped gaping jaw which he can move up and down by means of his own chin. He walks along the front of his allotted row of figures fanning away evil influences, and every now and then has to divert his attention to ward off two apparently harmless imps wearing ugly masks, clad in yellow, each with a scarf and stick in his hands, and representing mischievous powers which try to intrude on the gathering. There also rushes in with shrill whistling, produced by placing the fingers in the mouth, four bare-legged short-skirted figures with three-cornered flags in their hats, whose capes are too scant to reach their bare waists. They seem to be high winds bringing messages from the four quarters, and each carries a *dorjhe* and tambourine-rattle. They do not seem to disturb the assembly for the guardian's fan is unperturbed, but the police-jesters have amusing encounters with them. We can now see also the other figures behind the seven seated deities, where

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the Chinese-looking and other attendant still hold the umbrella, and sundry acolytes or lama boys stand at one end of the row; one, a young novice, holds a small dough model of the organ of generation on a plate, whilst next to him another boy exhibits a large shell, and behind them stands a terribly dissipated-looking individual, masked with repulsive swollen cheeks.

There now enter four boys with warming-pan drums and hooked beaters, wearing hats of the inverted eyeshade type, like the Chinaman's, but with a large *Om* inscribed in the centre. These approach the deities, dancing, whilst the two imps of mischief try to get into the foreground, too. The boys range themselves in front, stop beating their drums and chant an incantation to which the Central Incarnation occasionally nods in assent, whilst the jesters and imps play about in the background of this solemn scene. These four boys having retired, the lesser deities rise in turn to execute a "pas seul," during which we can examine them more closely. In the centre we note that the chief personage, with the large passive face, holds in his right hand the *dorjhe* or thunderbolt, a symbol of great power, and a small bowl of corn—the first food given to man—in his left. He does not dance, but, beginning with the one on his right, the others rise alternately from each side of him. All are dressed in richest silk of most fascinating colours and embroidered with Chinese designs of dragons and skulls. Occasionally the jester goes round the scene with a censer, and the band of course continues to accompany the dancers.

The first of these has a mask with a blue face, a hat of three balls decreasing in size, one on top of the other, and carries a *dorjhe* and bell in his hands. At the close of his dance, the figure on the left of the chief god steps out—a deity with an insignificant small Buddha-like mask under a hat like a large stiffened lama's cap—who has to be fanned as he rises, and whose empty right hand placed against his chest is very

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tremulous as he executes his steps, whether voluntarily or not, is not evident, though it ceases when he resumes his seat. From the right side of the first dancer rises a figure with a grey hat, resembling a *chorten*, bearing a wreath round it, surmounting a flesh coloured face, and, depending by long threads from his ears representations of the eye of a peacock's feather. He carries a tambourine in one hand and a bowl in the other, probably made of part of a human skull. His dance is more spreading and cumbrous than that of the others. Next comes into the arena the god next but one to the left of the head deity, one with a red face, carrying a shield and tambourine-rattle adorned with many of the peacock-feather symbols. Another red face follows from the other end of the row with the same ornament and several small skulls on his head-dress. In his left hand he carries herbs and a disc ; in his right is a spear with streamers attached to the handle. The final lesser deity arises from the left end of the row, displaying an orange face and a blue head with tiny knobs all over it, crowned by a chignon of the same, the traditional head of the Mongolian Buddha.

Depending from the back of this head is a square of beautifully embroidered silk, from which one's glance falls to the hands to see them covered with dark yellow gloves, too long in the fingers and full of holes ! How one would like to be initiated into the meaning of all this strange symbolism which seems so incongruous to Western eyes. Waddell suggests that the chief deity is Padma Sambhava, the remainder being his other seven forms, but that sometimes he is said to be the Buddha himself, the group being that of the seven Buddhas. Or does it symbolize the seven principles of human nature, seven being the sum of four and three, and the basic number of the present period according to Buddhist philosophy. Hence, for instance, the seven notes of the musical scale, and the seven colours of the rainbow have their significance. (*See* Chapter XVI.)

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But the two demon kings have yet to take their parts. First the one on the right of the presiding deity rises for his dance, and, suddenly, with blare of trumpets, two more devils appear, also with the third eye, and wearing handsome dresses combining light saxe-blue and red in their magnificent colour scheme. Similarly when the turn of the other demon king, with his black woolly head, begins, another pair emerges to dance with him, also gowned exquisitely. This suggests the sudden increase of dancers at the witches' sabbath in Western mediæval magic. Finally, the sixteen unmasked figures arise from their carpets and approach the deities, and then with slow stately steps all proceed round the court-yard, and retire up the stairs into the porch. Thus after about two hours ended the first morning's performance, and we retired for lunch.

The first event of the afternoon was essentially a devil-dance, in which twelve masqueraders appeared either singly or in couples, each advent signalized by the picturesquely-hatted lama in the porch blowing his trumpet. The first couple were bestial with repulsive snouts, third eyes, and wearing aprons with skulls on them. Executing a few turns, they settled down to rest in time with the cymbals in the manner already described. Next to them came a black mask under a black wooden hat with a triangular flag projecting from the middle, the wearer carrying a big hammer with a *dorjhe* attached. Number four had horns and a black animal visage, while his neighbour's head-dress had a broad foundation with small skulls rimming the front, and piled all over it long coils representing a mixture of intestines and snakes, an end of one of the latter appearing over the front, showing its head, symbolic of desire and decay. The next-comer wore a hat with a chaplet of skulls round a woolly crown, and carried a sabre and a piece of wood like a knife-cleaning board. Three flags protruding from a turret-like structure decked the next head, then came another mask with five skulls over

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the top, while the next element represented must have been a good one, for the figure wore a beatific though inane-looking white-faced mask. This bright spot among the other black-faced, repulsive monsters, however, was more than set off by the next comer, whose black mask had a most appalling gape, while the rear was brought up by two monkeys with dropped jaws and bulging upper eyelids. Save for the last fur-covered representatives of the Hanuman tribe, these hideous beings all of whom had the third eye, wore most exquisite gowns and aprons of Chinese silk. Their purport was not revealed to us, for, after a dance of the usual type and a low chant, they retreated, as usual in twos at a signal from the trumpeters in the porch.

The next act of this extraordinary drama was preceded by the placing of two small carpets on the ground near the left-hand flagstaff. One was square with a broad red border having in its centre a smaller square of tigerskin. The other was of dark blue, with an inner line of light blue demarcating a central white triangle, on which lay a mysterious object covered with a bit of thin dark blue veiling. The square with its four sides, the number of which indicates this earthly plane, and the triangle, which, by its three sides stands for the higher elements, thus represented the whole universe of earth and heaven. Two unmasked lamas brought out beer in a brass chalice, in shape rather like a Western coffee-pot, with rounded lines and a pattern chased in the middle of both sides ; also a small plate of barley and a cup. A third lama in an expansive yellow silk robe stood on the square facing the triangle, holding a bell and a *dorjhe* with streamers attached. The cup is given into his right hand, and to the sound of solemn chanting some beer is poured into it from the chalice. With more incantations he throws this away in the direction of the flagstaff. Into the cup, apparently reversed, some rice is then placed by the other lama, and that is also thrown away to the accompaniment of low chanting.

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Next beer and barley are both placed in the cup, the ringing of the bell punctuating the droning song as this is done; these are poured away also, and this libation repeated twice, after which chalice, cup, and platter are all taken away. The yellow-robed priest then dons his mitred hat, waves his streamered *dorjhe* three times towards the hidden object, and retires.

Two ghouls now appear on each side of the court, their heads and bodies covered with skeletal white cloth on which skulls and ribs are inadequately depicted by red streaks. Round their waists are kilts made of silk scarves, and attached to waist and ankles small bells like those on a jester's hat. Two of them carry skulls on sticks, and all wear decrepit white gloves on hands and feet, which have never known a "stitch in time," nor ever will. The compartments for the toes are particularly incapable of retaining contents and flap absurdly over their respective digits. These ghouls execute a dance reminiscent of our Sir Roger de Coverley, advancing to meet in the middle then passing over to opposite sides. One snatches the veil from the hidden object, revealing an anthropomorphic effigy of dough; the lama replaces the veil at once, but again they approach and remove it, before making their exit with dancing.

There now enter four figures of the ogre type, with the third eye in their foreheads. One has an open mouth and protruding tongue curled upwards, another has a chaplet of skulls on his head-dress, while a third is an ogress with long trails of hair. Each holds a weapon with which to combat evil spirits: thus number one carries a sickle to pierce the heart, number two a charm to bind the body, number three a snare of rope to tie the hands, and number four a bell, whose tinkling will keep the spirits down. They are joined by ghouls in narrow trousers and tunics with ill-fitting toe-gloves, and all dance, finally leaving the arena together.

262 Hemis Mystery Play—First Day

796 Now another procession files down the steps, preceded by
636 the bearer of the jewel-rimmed, long-spouted beer-pot, the two lamas with musicians' hats swinging censers, and two more whose hats have scolloped up-turned brims, blowing their flageolets, all of whom move to one side when they have ushered in their ogre. He is a true King of Demons, with his big devil-mask, up-turned tongue between great tusks, and three eyes. For him a lama holds out the plate of barley, some of which he flings away four times, some to each of the four quarters of the earth. The remainder is placed by the uncovered effigy, which is left alone for a time. The heraldic five lamas leave the scene, and the Demon King advances in a slow dance to the music of flageolets, while four other demons emerge to join him, all with streamers in their hands, coloured rags covering the backs of their heads, and long earrings of the peacock-eye type ; all, too, have small skulls in their head-dresses, and a papier-maché one at the waist. A lama removes the platter of barley, then the Demon King approaches the dough figure and chops it up with his sabre, whereupon the lama distributes it to him and his four satellites, afterwards retreating to a low chant.

Again another type of demon comes upon the scenes dancing, and is joined by four others, one pair emerging from the crowd on the right, the other couple down the stairs on the left. Each carries a warming-pan drum and wears a yellow mask, yellow bodice and dark blue skirt, over which strips of tiger skin are arranged. On the tops of their heads are triangular flags. Again the priest approaches the dough figure and distributes portions to the five devils as they kneel round the triangle ; he then removes the remnants of the effigy and also the square carpet. Now, from right and left corners respectively, again approach two groups of five figures, demoniacal ogres with yellow, blue, red, and black masks bearing skulls, and all with three eyes. The five previously in the arena disappear as these ten new figures

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rush into the centre, amid the beating of drums, whistling and yelling, whooping and running about, thus demonstrating their demoniacal glee at the destruction of the enemy. The ten now dance together, ranging themselves in opposing fives, beating their drums slowly and quietly, and executing a sort of " Sir Roger " again. The band now stops entirely, while one of the dancers beats on to the end, until they all go out. We, too, with weary eyes and confused brains, are glad to retreat to our quiet tents on the hillside, trusting that the morrow may bring some elucidation of the purpose and meaning of the strange things we have witnessed.

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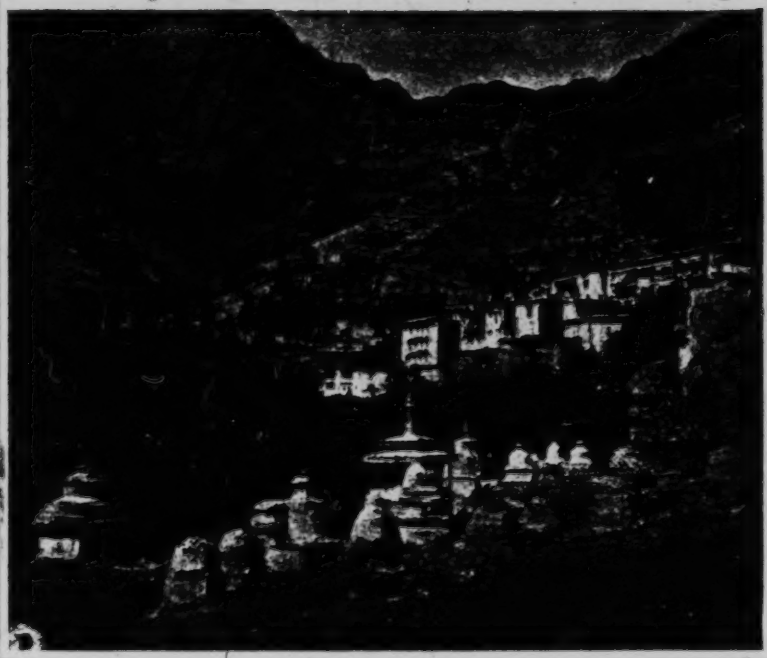

THE FESTIVAL AT HEMIS.

Showing the lamas of the monastic band blowing their long *shawms*. To their left is the *Skushog's* throne, and to their right a large prayer-wheel framed in a projection of masonry.

HEMIS DGONPA.

With *chortens* in the foreground. This is the monastery where the great festival is held annually. Hidden among the foothills, it has escaped pillage. Hence it is rich in treasure.

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CHAPTER XXV

Hemis Mystery Play—Second Day

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THE morning of the second day was very disappointing, for, after a message having come for us to assemble just before ten o'clock, we had to sit expectantly for nearly two hours, and then were only rewarded by seeing a dance similar to the first one of the previous day. Our anticipation had been raised in vain several times by the fanfare from the heralds on the roof, or an overture by the band, and once even to high pitch by the sudden hurling of a number of lay-folk out of the porch and down the steps as though to clear the road, when they almost fell over each other in precipitous retreat from unseen forces behind, so that alarm for small boys in the crush was mingled with the joy of certainty that something was coming at last, only to settle once more into aggrieved patience. However, at last the band burst into full music, and a procession really appeared, preceded by the bearer of the jewelled beer-pot, at the side of which walked a lama with a whip, then two swingers of censers, then the two heralds, who led in apparently the same performers as in the first item of the previous day with the difference that a burning brazier was carried round to purify the way for an additional lama. This priest bore a ceremonial vase, something like a small tea-pot, adorned unfortunately by little tawdry skirts, and containing peacock's feathers. He led the way across the arena to a second outlet on the right where the dancers threw away sacred herbs. After this the dancing became more animated, with shrill

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whistling, the beating of the drums and chanting being continuous throughout, while occasionally a clash of cymbals inaugurated an acceleration, when hops and jumps varied the monotony. When the performers had danced slowly round the circle, the trumpeters on the steps played them out as usual.

In the afternoon we again waited from 3 till 5 p.m. witnessing the preparations for a rather interesting display. Three sturdy little well fed ponies were brought into the court-yard. One was very gaily caparisoned, first with a rich fringed cloth covering his whole body, over which a beautiful carpet was thrown, above that a gorgeous saddle, and surmounting all a cloth of tiger-skin with a red edge. The other two ponies were given just one covering coat of patchwork with a border inferior in quality, the whole badly needing the attentions of needle and cotton. During the long waiting time which followed, a gentleman, who had evidently been enjoying the local beer, staggered about in and out between the ponies and round the area with smoking embers in a rough frying pan, saying "*so-lo, solo,*" (hurrah), and emitting weird noises which were apparently intended to raise the excitement of the animals, though this was achieved to a greater extent by the smoking embers being pushed in under their noses and close to their bodies. A figure dressed in Chinese hat, black coat, and yellow silk robe, holding a salutation-scarf, stood up by the flag-staff. He was extraordinarily motionless throughout the long time of waiting. A lama, with bare head and rich yellow silk robes, carrying a wand also appeared, he being the man in charge of these animals throughout the year. Each pony was held by a man wearing a hat with an edging of white goat or sheepskin. Underneath our balcony we next descried three black dogs, of which one seemed to drop out later, also with cloths on their backs, once gorgeous, now old, torn and faded, while to the right of the quadrangle two grey-white goats stood waiting.

266 Hemis Mystery Play—Second Day

796 536 As they waited, a lama brought out some long strips of red cloth printed with prayers, and climbing up the high flag-staffs, added them to the other prayer-flags for the wind to operate upon.

At last the ecclesiastical band appeared, on the roof this time, and the shawms and flageolets resounded ; then a lama brought out a silver tea-pot adorned with skirts and peacock feathers. He poured some of the contained beer into the hands of the patient Chinaman, on to the back of each of the animals, and some into the palms of each of their keepers, who drank it up with much relish. Then a battered old tin bowl containing blood-reddened clay was brought to each group of animals, and, their backs having been bared, they were well smeared with a bit of goat's hair dipped into the ruddy mixture. The ponies, now thoroughly excited, were led off at a gallop, and circling the monastery, were brought in at the opposite entrance, where cheered, hooted, and excited with much noise, they tore across the court-yard to re-appear and vanish again. The ponies thus circled the *d'Gonpa* altogether three times, the dogs only appearing once more, while the small timid goats were led slowly across once only, and then probably put aside for safety's sake. These animals represent the scapegoat idea as interpreted at Hemis, and once they have been chosen for this unusual ceremony are never allowed to work again, but fed and fattened at the expense of the monastery, and set aside for this ceremony until death. Some Ladaki informants also state that the ceremony is to dedicate the animals to the gods, the truth probably being that the gaily caparisoned one has some special purpose in this connection.

During this item a large pudding or cake made of some kind of flour mixed with water, the colour of mud and studded with white spots, was deposited on the ground in front of the empty *Skushog's* throne, and covered with a salutation scarf. This, according to a Ladaki onlooker, was to be dispensed

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subsequently by the Abbot with his blessing. It was removed at the end of the sccapegoat performance, after which three ragged and dirty women brushed over the dusty courtyard with little bundles of reeds and sprinkled it with water. 796 536

In the early morning a low square platform of mud, about four inches high, and two inches square, had been made in the same place as the triangle and square carpet had been laid the previous day. Now a tray was placed on the platform containing a rough cup and some tins. Then a dancer emerged, with a three-cornered pennant projecting from a large round hat, wearing a rich cape over a dress of brocaded streamers and scarves, and carrying a small bowl made of a human skull in his hand. He upset the tray, but apparently this was unintentional, and a small lama replaced its contents.

Ten more maskers emerged in single file, dressed like the first, but one unfortunately had broken the stick supporting his pennant, and the resulting angle made it rather interfering in the ensuing mêlée. The three-cornered flags were of red with broad blue borders, jester's bells were jingling round the waists, while numbers one and ten had anklets of bells also. Their masks, with faces of blue, green, red, flesh-colour, and yellow, were merely hideous and leering, having no third eye, so they probably belonged to the class of earth-master-demons. The first comer, their chief would then be the "Great Guardian King," who stands in the middle, while they stand in two rows facing him. As they dance to an impressive boom of the long shawms, an ordinary priest and small lama boy busy themselves preparing a device on the mud platform, using pencils and colours from the tray and tins already there. The lama first draws a large triangle of purple, then an inner one of yellow ochre next a white outline to a broad light blue one edged within again with white, and within this a solid black triangle is painted. Selecting white chalk, he then sketches in flames all round the purple outside triangle, hieroglyphics in the light blue one, and a central device in the black. What

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these were we could not make out. Meanwhile the earth-master-demons have been trumpeted out in twos, and now two new heralds appear in the porch, young boys with white powdered faces, who, blowing the conches from the corners of their mouths, bend the knees outwards, as they finish each long note, as though to expel it more effectively. Their instruments have handsome long tassels, and are blown three times to usher in a long procession of dancers. Group one are unmasked, but dressed like the members of the inaugural dance on the previous day. Next to them the herald boys with their powdered faces take their place, and we note their green shorts of brocaded silk under a long scarf wound about their bodies, and looped up and down to form a skirt. Their hats are like red tea-cosies with bands wound round the base. The third group consists of four members with hats of a papier maché type, like a *Skushog's* riding hat. (These hats and all the masks are made at monasteries, and consist of cotton material bound together by a mixture of earth and water). Scarves hang down from under the hats behind, and their dresses are of yellow silk divided into large squares by broad bands of red, while in the right hand they carry long iron sticks with four projecting pieces at the top, bent down and hooked to receive four rings ; in their left hands are large black bowls. Another group of four follows, wearing black masks, all of whom have a terribly evil leer with mouth drawn down at the corners, as though saying a perpetual " ugh." The first and third, dressed in black, carry in the right hand a knifeboard and in the left what might be either a loop of intestine or merely a snare of rope. Numbers two and four hold in their right hands a flat object about two feet long cut in the shape of a human figure. Their raiment is fashioned of stuff resembling a leopard's skin, with a sleeveless bodice and a skirt cut into strips worn over navy shorts. The fifth and final group comprises four men, with the vizor masks we have already seen. In their hands they carry sword and shield,

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and to each of their backs is attached a quiver of arrows. Beneath the fine silk, sleeveless overdresses of these warriors, with streamers attached to the waistline, the warm homespun robes of the lama can be seen. The heralds, and, of course the gruesome quartette, are barefooted, but the rest wear ordinary lama boots. Each group in succession dances round the central mystic sign, sitting, when not their turn, on the carpetted benches in the corner of the quadrangle, which had been prepared as on the previous day.

The red square with its central tiger-skin was now produced again and laid down beside the painted triangles, on which another human effigy of dough under its blue veil was placed.

Now, preceded by heralds and swingers of censers, four figures dressed as in the first dance of the first day appear, each carrying a bell and *dorjhe*, accompanied by two lamas in their ordinary robes, one carrying the brazen chalice we have already seen, the other four cups on a tray. These two lamas pass to each dancer in turn, pouring into his cup a little beer, and adding a few grains of barley, while all chant in tone, and the band plays slow solemn music. This was, perhaps, the most impressive and stately act of the whole play. While the beer and barley were being actually served, the four performers were stationary, while the orchestra played and chanted a really beautiful theme, at the end of which the cups were emptied on the ground, the four figures bowed before the platform, themselves chanting, then, ringing their bells and holding out their *dorjhes*, again started their stately gyrations. This ceremony of filling and emptying the cups was performed six times; then the vessels were collected on a tray and removed.

With a whistle and flinging out of the dancers' scarves in time with the music, one of these priestly saints now takes his place on the square mat, the covering is removed from the effigy, and more incantations are intoned. Accompanied by

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 more whistling and flinging of scarves and a wild reverberat-
536 ing crash of music from the band, the priest then leaves the square mat, and all join in a final dance, retreating in pairs.

The next act seems to begin within the monastery hall, for figures appear in the porch dancing to music, but retreat into the shadows again. One lama with censers, and one with the jewelled beer-jug come down into the quadrangle, and take up their positions by the right-hand flag-post. Again a figure with horns is seen gyrating within the porch, and anticipation is enhanced by the band bursting into wild crescendos. At last the procession emerges into view, first the bearer of the jewelled beer-jug, then two swingers of censers, then the heralds followed by a troop of three-eyed demon kings. The leader is he of the horned mask, bearing a sabre and a cup made of a human skull decked with streamers. All the rest have skulls on their head-dresses, rich embroidered silk robes with capes, aprons and streamers, capped by masks of green, red, yellow, white and brown. The horned gentleman is their *sLobdpon* or chief. He approaches the effigy and sprinkles it with barley from the plate which has been left at the side ; then a lama steps in and cuts the effigy up, giving each demon deity a portion. No doubt this ceremony is rooted in the old cannibalism of the *Bon Chos*. The effigy has now been killed, and four grave-yard ghouls come in to dispose of the corpse, though it is the lama who actually removes the last bits. The four dance about, two of them standing over the platform, and with alternate bare feet rhythmically wipe away, or rather smear out in its dust, all traces of the mystic triangles. They then dance altogether in ghoulish glee, while the horned gentleman, proceeding in solitary dignity, leads off his troupe in twos. The skeletal ones dance on, getting more joyful, jumping round and round themselves, and leaping to and from the empty platform until their turn also comes to depart.

It would leave a more profound impression if the play ended here, but a final foolish little act is introduced, serving as a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

complete anticlimax. A stool is placed near the *Skushogs'* 796
throne, and the square carpet with the central tiger-skin, 536
placed on it. An aged gentleman, with the large mask of an ordinary old man, but evidently very decrepit and tottery, is supported by five young boys with bare legs, short skirts, capes, and simple masks, with a bit of gay Yarkandi silk attached at the back to hide the hiatus between head and neck. A Ladaki onlooker says this gentleman is the one who attends to the feeding of all the masked lamas, and is called "rGyalpo (King) Achan." Supporting his failing steps, he leans heavily on his pupils, who eventually get him to the stool, accompanied by a masked and yellow-robed lama, carrying a warming-pan drum and a pair of cymbals, who squats on the ground at his side. One of the guardians with the moveable jaw, who watched over the row of benevolent deities on the first morning, enters with a brazier and rosary, and tries to help keep the high-spirited pupils in order. These jump about, laughing, boxing each other, fighting and playing, and making fun of their old preceptor. The old man gives them each some food, a piece of pudding made of uncooked barley mixed with water. He also offers them a piece of paper, and, as each in turn jumps to clutch it he whips them, to the great amusement of the crowd in the audience. On being handed the musical instruments he stands the warming-pan drum up on its handle, leaning it against his left knee, and, with his right hand, somehow manages both to beat it and to clash the cymbals on his right knee. To this music the small boys dance lightly and lithely round the flag-staff, receiving occasional whips from the guardian. They then jump about with whoops and cries, and carry on tedious little feeble bits of buffoonery, till even the audience gets weary and begins to disperse. The old man and his pupils in a close row prostrate themselves several times at full length before the *Skushog's* empty throne, obviously caricaturing this act of worship, then the boys stroke their aged teacher's head, tie a scarf round his

12: Heber and Heber D-8 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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neck, and lead him away. By this time the crowds are all straggling across the court-yard, and the exit takes place in oblivion, giving a most absurd and feeble finish to the long performance.

Thinking over the mystery play in quiet retrospect, trying to discover a sequence and a meaning in its confused medley of sights and sounds, one has to confess that at the end a "mystery" play it remains. The *Skushog* himself has confirmed the idea that the effigy of dough represents a *chos-la gnodpa gtong-kan*, that is, a doer of harm to religion.

Even the common people have some idea of this, for on questioning an ordinary Ladaki as to its significance, he told me that it was an evil spirit that had been made to flee, but had come down from the hills to harm religion again. But, as Waddell says, "it is used also to convey to the people a vivid conception of the manner in which devils attack a corpse, and the necessity for priestly services of a quasi-Buddhist sort to guard it and the soul."

The constant apposition of incongruities is particularly fitting to this land for ever exhibiting things "the wrong way round." Even Alice's "curiouser and curiouser" is far transcended by the grotesque weirdness of religious conception here manifested. The rich embroidered silks, the dirty tags of commonest bazar cloth (probably a rag blessed by the *Skushog*) appended to the same person, the voluminous skirts and stately movements of cumbrous-large-booted personages, the difficulty of description that involves the introduction of a homely English object, such as a coffee-pot or even a knife-cleaning board, the mixture of rare costliness with tawdry banality, the introduction of mischievous imps and jesters into solemn scenes, the caricaturing of religion by its own devotees, the simultaneous inspiration of laughter and fear, all contribute to the general impression of a land of dreams and unreality. In the most solemn scene, where the four priests were receiving holy grain and wine with which to

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cast their spell over the effigy, when the dance was at its stateliest and the music most awe-inspiring and beautiful, the right contrasting note was produced by the Baby *Skushog*, who had been brought by his lama nurse to sit on a vantage point at the side of the porch. There, in view of all, he waved his little hand in time to the music, imitated the performers, clasped his lama nurse in a sudden ecstasy of baby emotion, picked up dust and threw it in the man's face, was scolded till baby tears overflowed, then taken up, comforted, and shewn the peacocks' feathers and other pretty things on the altar underneath the great banner, till his equanimity was restored, in fact provided quite a little unconscious entertainment of his own. In appreciating all these fantastic effects, one's reason abruptly brings one up against our Western ignorance: how little we can understand the complicated symbolism of the East, and how utterly ignorant we are of the customs embraced in their signification, traceable back to an antiquity so far exceeding any of which we have cognisance.

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III. The Hymns of the Spring Festival (Glin-glu). When the spring festival is celebrated in Western Tibet (Ladakh, and so on), hymns are sung which bear the name Glin-glu, "Songs from the Land of Glin." In these hymns King Kesar and the deities mentioned in the Kesar saga are honored. Without a certain knowledge of the Kesar saga, these songs would remain unintelligible. Without exerting myself particularly, I managed to get my hands on two such hymn collections as I was looking around for folk songs. From the village Phyi-dban, eight English miles below Leh, I obtained a manuscript prepared there, which contained the nine hymns of the Kesar festival that are customarily used in that village. In Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, who has already been mentioned above, wrote down for me the nine hymns that were sung there. I published the first collection in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, with text, English translation, and notes. The second collection is to be found in my "Ladakhi Songs," where it is printed under Nos. XXI-XXIX. These two important collections are accompanied by a briefer third one, consisting of five festival songs which a member of the Bheda caste in the village of Sheh (Shel) wrote down for me, songs traditional in that village. In addition, I should mention that scattered parts of such festival songs are also to be found here and there in my collections of folk songs, just as here and there some wedding songs are to be found taken out of their context. /5/ Such a one is to be found, for instance, in Ladakhi Songs, No. 30, "The Carpet of the Bride Buyers."

IV. Now, after the main sources of the Glin-chos have been established, I must speak of yet a fourth type of songs of a religious nature which, however, do not seem to fit into the framework of the Glin-chos. I published one of these in my Ladakhi Songs as No. 15. But this is not a happy example, since it is composed of two wedding songs, whereas the original song has been lost. Better types are afforded by my as yet unpublished collection of songs from Sheh. From this collection it appears that as a theme for the harvest songs they chose the creation of the world and the origin of the gifts of nature, in particular, wheat. But the myth of the creation of the world, as we find it here, is in contrast to the version in the Kesar saga. In the harvest song the earth rises up out of the waters of the ocean, while in the Kesar saga it is formed out of the body of a slain giant. Now the myth in the harvest songs of Sheh (Shel) corresponds in a curious way with the Dard song about the creation of the world, such as we find it written down in the Dard collection of hymns of

sacrifice was, in later times, probably during the nineteenth century, replaced by an animal sacrifice. If, therefore, human sacrifices once took place in Tibet, these were probably transformed into animal sacrifices at a much earlier time. Animal sacrifices, on the other hand, /27/ are still performed to this day in the area of the West Tibetan kingdom before altars of the pre-Buddhistic religion, which are called ha-tho. At this sacrifice the heart of the still living animal (ram) is ripped out by the priest with his bare hand. Such altars are nowadays mostly found in the neighborhood of villages. They are one or two meters high, provided at the top with a bundle of juniper twigs, and down below they are surrounded with horns of wild sheep and ibexes.

A more harmless offering is represented in a rock drawing near Ke-sar-gyi-sga. There we see a Nyo-pa, "bride purchaser" or "bride beggar" (1) who is carrying a sword by his side and in his

1. He is probably the leader of the Nyopa. For in the picture in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 131, only the leader has an arrow in his hand.

right hand an arrow decorated with a little flag, and is standing in front of three beer jugs. Each jug is provided with little patties of butter along the edge, which signify that the beer is offered to a higher being (it might, it is true, also be a person to whom high respect is paid). The fact that the gods were actually presented with offerings of beer can be seen from No. 5 of the Trinklieder von Khalatse /Drinking Songs of Khalatse/.[1]

It is highly probable that dances were also performed at these ancient places of worship, for even today each festival of the ancient religion is accompanied by dancing. Usually the boys and the girls dance separately among themselves by pacing around an open wood fire in a long procession. It is seldom that the rows of boys and girls, arranged in lines opposite each other, move toward each other. In the dances of the girls, peculiar stiff movements of the hands are noticeable, which alternate with the bending of the upper part of the body toward the ground. As I was told by the natives, these movements are to be interpreted as gathering flowers and presenting them to the gods in heaven. These dances performed by the laity should probably be distinguished from the dances of the Buddhistic priests and from those executed by the migrant jugglers.

To the question as to what the people prayed for at the cult places of the ancient religion, we receive one answer from the

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. — Analyst]

spindle (or the female sex organs) in Lahoul in the valley of the Bhaga River. I noticed only one rock drawing there of the male sex organs. In that region the name Bhaga, which can be translated by "sex organ," may have given rise to the practice of decking out the rocks with such emblems. That they had confidence in the ability of Kesar (and of aBru-gu-ma) to dispense children, we see from the saga about rGyal-sa-dkar-po (see Paladins). There Kesar prophesies to a girl that she will not only get a wealthy husband but also that she will bear seven children. 782 831 532 842

Festivals of the Ancient Tibetan Religion 796

1. The New Year's festival (Lo-gsar). Of this festival, which probably corresponds to the ancient winter solstice, I possess one description which the schoolteacher of Khalatse prepared in Tibetan. In this document it is stated: From the fifteenth of the tenth month to the twenty-fourth, children carry torches to a certain field. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth they light a fire on the public dancing place where all the people gather. All the farmers bake a kind of bread called ba-ga-tam, and this bread they store away. Then the children go to all the doors and say:

This is a good day, a good star.
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this day,
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this star!
Now every day is a lucky one!
May every year be a lucky one!
The boys get brides for themselves,
Wedding feasts are held,
White beer is poured out,
White pieces of butter are given with it!
A ram is killed.
May a son be born to you!
Give us a ba-ga-tam -- bread!

In this way the children collect many loaves of the bread, which they then distribute and eat.

The thirtieth day is called sTon (assistance). Then the relatives entertain one another. In the afternoon the men march out to the field with torches and music. Here they play the bra-sol (?). Thereupon the Mon (Indian caste of carpenters) must perform five exorcisms of the devil (skrad), during which rifles are fired and everybody shouts "te-ya-ho." Then the torches are heaped up in one pile and a dance is done around them with swords and rifles, as

796 though war were being waged. Now all the people return to their houses and decorate their household altars with new cedar twigs, whereupon they go and pay their respects to all their friends and relatives by carrying to the various houses beer jugs provided with little pieces of butter. When evening comes, some people are disguised as Ba-ba /29/ by being first washed and then smeared with soot and provided with head coverings made of straw. As soon as they appear on the festive place three dances are dedicated to them. Then, when all are dancing, the fire flares up high; it does this because the Ba-ba have run into the village and have stolen wood there, which they then throw onto the fire. Towards morning the Ba-ba, together with the Mon, go to the altar of the village deity (yul-lha) and there present the gods' roll of the drum (lha-rna). They celebrate for seven days in this way, and on the seventh day the Ba-ba and the Mon are invited one after the other by the farmers to eat with them and to drink beer.

On the third day of the eleventh month they hold a horse race seven times. Thereupon the people mount to their roofs with beer offerings, look up to the moon and pray to god (dkon-mchog):

This good year has now passed!
Let a good new year arise for us!

Thereupon each one of the farmers must fire one shot from his rifle.

On the seventh day of the month three masked persons dance in the evening, of whom two call themselves grandfather, and one grandmother, and they dance until all (three) are driven out. Then all the people return to their houses and entertain one another with bread and beer. Toward seven o'clock in the evening the farmers each bring a little flour, and one of them who is skilled in this, prepares a gTor-ma (offering) from it. If a lama is present, he takes over the preparation of the gTor-ma. Then they all come back to the village, on which occasion the farmers take the Ba-ba, the grandfathers and the grandmother into their midst, and now the boys and the girls perform a dance which is called bKra-shis-phob, "Bring down good luck." Then, when the gTor-ma (offering) is being carried off, the lama pronounces an exorcism. Then the Ba-ba take away the gTor-ma while all the people shout and fire rifles. Once it has been thrown away, the Ba-ba are washed in warm water and dressed in beautiful clothes. After that they still have to dance until ten o'clock in the evening. At that time everybody goes home and the new year is said to have begun.

To this description should be added the killing of the goat, a gruesome sacrifice in front of the altar of the village god (Yul-lha). To the living animal has its heart ripped out of its body. 796

With respect to the dances and the disguises, it should also be pointed out that we are here dealing with games that symbolize in substance the battle between the gods of light and the demons of darkness. These games later developed into the famous masked dances of the monasteries. In Lamayuru these masked dances still take place today during the winter. In Hemis, on the other hand, they are performed in June. The celebration in Hemis may well be connected with the summer solstice. 796 535

2. gTor-ma-phan-ces. As the preceding description has indicated, a type of this festival is already connected with the New Year's festival. For the throwing away of the gTor-ma offering is very reminiscent of the driving out of winter. This finds an even clearer expression later on. Then a human doll is fashioned out of lime in Khalatse (and also elsewhere). This doll is then carried, with much shouting and music, outside the village, where it is destroyed. In Leh the evil spirits of winter and of the diseases are trapped inside cages (dos-mo) constructed out of rods and strings and looking like spider webs, and these structures are then destroyed outside the village. 796

3. The Kesar festival. So far I have found this festival referred to as the "Kesar festival" only in Upper Kunawar. In Ladakh it is simply called mDa-phan-ces, "shooting with bow and arrow." It is celebrated in the spring. The songs that are known under the name of Glin-glu are sung, and the young people amuse themselves with archery. Just as the spindle is the emblem of aBru-gu-ma and of the female in general, so the arrow is considered the symbol of Kesar and the male. In the /30/ following I shall give the titles of the songs of the Glin-glu: In Phyi-dban the following songs are sung: 1. Kesar, the conqueror of the four worlds. 2. Slumber song for the little Kesar. 3. Kesar and the treasures of the giants. 4. Praise of the wisdom of aBru-gu-ma. 5. The almighty father of the gods and mother of the gods. 6. The return of Kesar and of aBu-gu-ma. 7. Don-grub, a voluntary savior of the world. 8. aBru-gu-ma's innocence. 9. The prayer of the king of Hor asking for his life. [831]

In Khalatse the following songs are sung: 1. Voices from heaven. 2. Dedication of the arrows. 3. Kesar's four victories. 4. Kesar and the mules. 5. Kesar's prayer on the Srar mountain pass. 6. Kesar's return to aBru-gu-ma. 7. aBru-guma's farewell

796 to Kesar. 8. Praise of the young Kesar. 9. Kesar, the god of lightning

In Sheh (Shel) the following five songs are sung: 1. aBru-gu-ma in search of Kesar. 2. aBru-gu-ma's message to Kesar through aBu-dmar-lam-bstan. 3. The song of victory of dPal les. 4. Praise of Kesar by the king of Hor. 5. Request from the king of Hor addressed to Kesar.

As an example I shall now present in translation the song of the "Dedication of the arrows":

On the beautiful plain there are wonderful arrow shafts.
On the beautiful plain there are magnificent arrow shafts.
The long sticks are shafts for heroes
Put such long shafts in the hands of the Agus.
Put such long shafts in the hands of his servants, the Agus.
The short sticks are spindle sticks for the noblewomen.
Put these short sticks in the hands of the divine women.
Such spindle sticks you should place in the hands of
Ane-bkur-dman-mo.

Song No. 55 of Tag-ma-cig likewise belongs in the same group of ideas. In this song the origin of the arrow is celebrated.

[241] On the occasion of this song there are processions around the fields, in order to bless the fields for the time when they will be cultivated. The altars of the local deities (lHa-tho) are adorned with fresh twigs from the shug-pa tree and twigs from this tree are burned before the altars.

5. The harvest festival (Srub-lha). This festival may be of Dard origin, as is the entire agriculture of western Tibet. At this festival songs again play a significant part; I have four of the songs used on this occasion in my collections. One of these I had written down for me in Skyur-bu-can; where I witnessed the festival personally. The three other songs were sent to me from Shel (Sheh). These latter songs seem to me to be of a more original cast. The first of the songs from Shel speaks of an offering of great yellow flowers to the goddess lHa-chen-rdo-rje-chen-mo, to whom, at the end of the song, the following brief prayer is addressed:

Purify us of all stains of the body!
Fulfill all the wishes of the mind!

Who this unfamiliar goddess is becomes clear in the second of the songs. The second song describes in brief the genesis of the world from the ocean and the seeding of the world. This description concludes with an invocation of lHa-mo-abrug-mo, the goddess aBru-gu-ma. In the Kesar sagas it also happens that the form aBrug-mo, which resembles the word aBrug, meaning "thunder" or

"dragon," frequently alternates with aBrugu-ma. This goddess 796
might have come by the name rDo-rje-chen-mo as the wife of Kesar, who, according to the Glin-glu song No 9 of Khalatse, is shown to be a rDo-rje-pa, a wielder of the thunderbolt. In this song he flings a lightning bolt at the cloud dragon. The lightning proceeds, however, directly from the rdo-rje (or Indic vajra). It is, therefore, just at the harvest festival that honor is paid the goddess, /31/ who is usually called upon for the blessing of offspring. The third one of the songs of Shel contains a eulogy of the yak, which is of great importance during the harvesting, for one thing, as a beast of burden for the sheaves, and for another as the leader of all those animals that thresh the ears of grain by walking over the sheaves. The song of Skyur-bu-can contains in its main section a game of riddles concerning the treasures of the countries of the four points of the compass. In Skyur-bu-can I also got to see, as I have already mentioned, the peculiar dance of the flowers. The flowers needed for the flower offering are not taken from the gardens by the houses, but are gathered high up on the mountain slopes just below the snow boundary. These flowers, which exude an overpoweringly strong, sweet odor, are wound around long staffs, and, carrying these poles in their hands, the shepherd boys have to execute complicated round dances to the accompaniment of an oboe and kettledrums. As we know from the songs of Shel, the flowers are then supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess rDo-rje-mo. In Skyur-bu-can, though, I observed that these flower poles were laid down inside the Buddhist temple. The festival is, of course, connected with many dances of a general nature and with feasts at which beer prepared /taking bereites as a misprint for bereitetes--Translator./ from green barley grains, plays an important role. This leads us to the name of the festival. The syllable lha is the ordinary word for "god" (deva). The syllable srub, on the other hand, corresponds to the word srus, or srub, which means "ears of grain that are almost ripe." The Srub-lha festival is therefore the festival of the very earliest harvest. As can be seen from ancient rock drawings, people contented themselves at this festival with having larger animals, oxen, horses, and so forth, represented by throwing a blanket over several persons. 532

The Goal of the Ancient Religion

From the preceding it becomes apparent that the ancient 771
Tibetans expected only earthly gifts from their gods. Kesar, the 773

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Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 821 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings [1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 - - Analysis]

755 /(12)/ No. 14.[1] Large dos-mo from the dos-mo festival in Leh.
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The evil spirits of winter and of diseases are caught in the structures that resemble spiderwebs. After the exorcism, the frames are destroyed.

532 /(13)/ No. 15. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.
776

Stars from the Kesar saga. The king's castle of Glin. Above it, in the clouds, are deities.

/(14)/ No. 16. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

On the right: A scene from the Kesar saga. King Kesar with the eighteen Agus. Three women from the right. In the clouds are the father of the gods and the mother of the gods, and their children (?). On the left: A scene from the Dogra war.

/(15)/ No. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar.

Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

No. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh.

(The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

1 [See pp. 114-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke -114 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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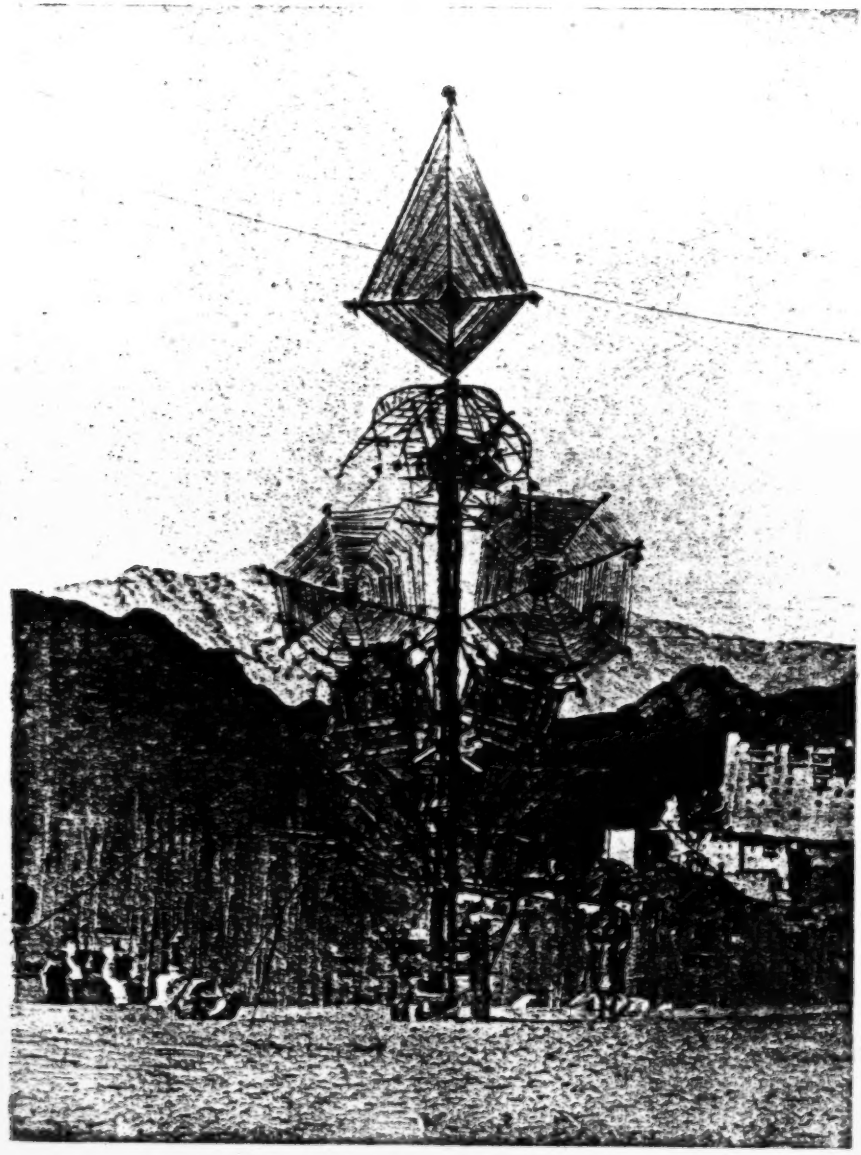

Nr. 14.

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN LAHUL, KĀNGRA DISTRICT, PANJĀB.

By Walter Asboe.

The chief social functions in Lahul occur during the first two months of the Tibetan year which begins in February. When making detailed enquiries about the various festivals held by the people, my informant began his account by saying: "In ancient times humans and gods mixed freely with one another, but in those far off days, men were grossly ignorant. In course of time they grew intelligent, taking no heed of the gods, and placing no faith in them. The gods, however, on realizing that the humans were becoming too wise for them, grew jealous and made themselves invisible. They then took vengeance upon humans by causing their crops to fail, bringing disease upon the cattle, and doing all manner of harm. In this way the gods caused men to put their faith in them; since when, everyone down the ages has endeavoured to propitiate them." 796 773

With this statement as a background for an account of social functions in Western Tibet, one can the more readily understand the meticulous attention paid to the performance of numerous sacrifices of food to the gods. 796

New Year Festival.

The New Year Festival begins on the tenth to the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the Tibetan calendar, care being taken that the New Year Festival shall not fall on a Saturday or a Sunday. This festival lasts seven days

On the evening of the first day, the ceremony of burning the *Haldra*[1] (bundles of juniper sticks) at the cross-roads is performed. 796

The various offerings made to the gods during the *haldra* ceremony are:— 782

1. *Haldra*—a bundle of sticks of varying sizes, made out of pieces cut from the cypress-like juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*) and tied together with willow twigs. Three dried flowers are also inserted between the sticks.
2. *Mar-zan*—barley flour, salt, butter, and water mixed together, and hollowed so as to allow melted butter to be poured in it, the whole being placed in a bell metal vessel.
3. *Kal-chor*—a beer pot containing beer. On each side of the spout a thumb print (*tshod*) of butter and flour is made, and one at a point where the handle of the pot meets the rim.
4. *Sang-shū*—a metal vessel containing juniper berries, and young pointed sprouts of this tree. Upon these a few live coals (charcoal) are placed resulting in a smoke with a pungent odour. This is used at almost all sacred ceremonies. (See illustrations below).

[1] *Haldra*, also *kal-do* in Lahul Tibetan.—H. L. S.

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Lahul

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The New Year Festival celebrations begin when the *haldra* is placed leaning obliquely against the wall of the living room. One *haldra* is made for each male in the household, though none are provided for the women. This operation completed, the *mar-zan* is offered and scattered before the *haldra*, after which follows the *kal-chor* offering which is sprinkled with a small branch of the juniper. The *sang-shū* is in the meanwhile lit and kept burning.

[787]

The villagers have now to await instructions from the *Tsis-pa* (*T. rtsis-pa*, the man who calculates the readings of the Tibetan calendar) for the propitious moment for emerging from their houses. When this notice is served, the remainder of the *mar-zan* offering is transferred to the

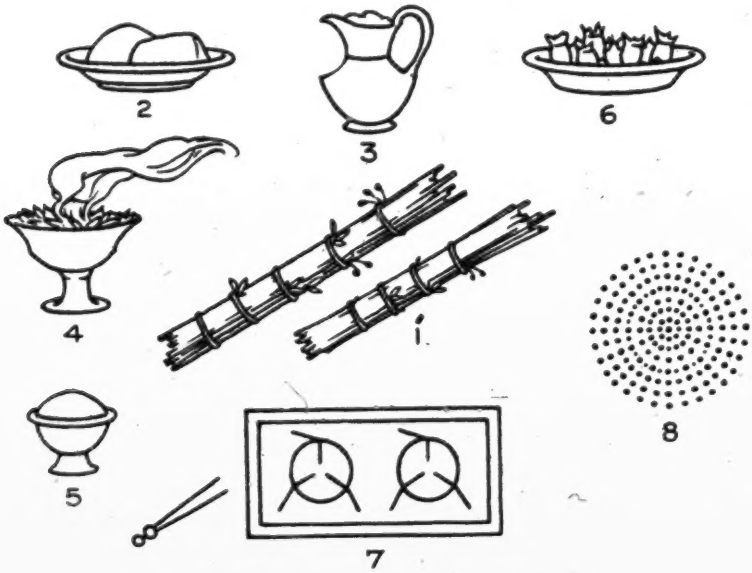

FIG. 1.—OFFERINGS AT THE *haldra* CEREMONY.

1. *haldra*; 2. *mar-zan*; 3. *kal-chor*; 4. *sang-shū*; 5. *rai-gen*; 6. *mar-mar-zad*; 7. *tab-ka*; 8. *shis-kar-appa*.

rai-gens (? T. *ra-gan*, brass vessel) (5), a cup made of various metals. This is then placed in the fold of the Tibetan robe above the waistband, one such cup being carried by the sons in each house. The *mar-mar-zad* (6) offering consisting of barley, juniper berries, and sprouts, and butter mixed together, and tied up with yarn. Round small pieces of beech bark is similarly secreted in the folds of the dress. Finally, the *haldra* is lit from the family hearth or *tab-ka* (7) [= T. *thab*] and all emerge from their respective houses. At a certain field called *rūt*, one *mar-mar-zad* is offered; then at another spot further on a second *mar-mar-zad* is scattered, and about 200 yards further still the third offering of *mar-mar-zad* is made.

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When all the male members of the community have assembled at a given spot, their lighted *haldras* are all piled in a heap to form a large bonfire. Whilst this is burning, the *rai-gen* offering is produced, and pills of this are scattered towards a sacred juniper tree, whilst the remainder of this offering is thrown to the blacksmiths engaged to beat the village drums. This done, the males, each seizing a burning stick from the bonfire, form themselves into a circle. Holding the blazing sticks, one of the number beating time the while, says in a sing-song voice: *Hai-sha mäi sha* (a magic spell with no meaning that I can discover), whereupon all repeat the spell in unison. 796 782 [789]

Old man (in the crowd): *Kar-dang rana ba-wa*—(a curse on a Rāṇa of Kardang who in ancient times oppressed the Lahulis).[1]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Gus-pa rana sho sha (a curse on a Rāṇa at Gus).[2]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Chū-mig' cham chim (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Lang-ma pan-pūn (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Then in great excitement, with drums beating, and shrill whistling with fingers placed to the mouth, all the lighted sticks are thrown hither and thither. The cup which contained the *rai-gen* offering is now filled with snow. This is carried in the hand and deposited on a shelf in one of the apartments of the house. When the snow in this receptacle melts, the water is poured into the family ration of soup or tea.

The same night on which the *haldra* ceremony is held, the first circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions is made on the wall of each house. For each day a similar circle is described until the seventh day. This is called *Shis-kar-appa* (8).

Second day (*Shīl*).—At daybreak, a woman in the house must rise and make a circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the *shis-kar-appa*. Whilst performing this duty she says: *Chod, chod* (Eat this offering), addressing the god of the New Year. She next sprinkles the *kal-chor* offering with a small branch of juniper. Then, offering the following prayer, she continues making her butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the wall:—

Rgyal-po Bal-la-raza
(Oh King Balaraza)

Ser-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Ser* = T. *gser*, gold)
(Grant me a pillar of gold);

Mul-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Mul* = T. *dngul*, silver)
(Grant me a pillar of silver);

Yu-i ka-ī dung-ma bara chod gyō (*yu-i* = T. *gyu*, turquoise: *dung-ma* = T. *gdung-ma*, beam—H. L. S.)
(Grant me a cross-beam of turquoise);

[1] Probably means "Shoot (*ba-ga*) the rāṇa of Kardang."
[2] Probably means "May the rāṇa of Gus be destroyed,"—H. L. S.

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Hara mu-tig' bara chod gyō
(Grant me a pearl necklace);

Dukah po-shel-gyi bara chod gyō
(Grant me two large beads of coral);

Rin-po-che-i sna-tshogs-gi bara chod gyō
(Grant me various kinds of precious jewels);

Lu-gu dro-mar ya-so chan-gyi bara chod gyō
(Grant me a sheep with red and yellow on the breast, and black and white on its hind-quarters, and one with upper teeth);

Gi-ling sta-i bara chod gyō
(Grant me a unicorn).

Third day (*Tshod*).—At daybreak, two men from each house go to the village sacred tree taking Flour and water offering (*Drang-ryyas*), *Kal-chor*, Butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gyen-tsi*) about 3 inches long, *Sang-shū*.

When offering these they say :—

Chod, chod yul-la dai-ling dai-dai kyen (Oh worshipful Dayling god);
Innog' sol-tang ra-zhi (May the offering never be exhausted);

Hing zhog' za-tang tung tang ra-zhi (May we always have food and drink);
Lo lag' zhi panta bir-zhi (May we have a happy and prosperous year);

Nad' don tsa-i gulai kuat-chi want-i-ra (May disease of every kind be abolished).
Chod (saying this, parts of offering are scattered).

Chod, chod yul-la dai dai kor-shig' yor-shig' kyen (Oh worshipful god and your hosts):
A-kung-chi so-a-ti bon-cha tad-da (May not a single tooth fall out of my mouth);

Bu shag'-chi kra ti-ki bon-cha tad-da (May not a hair fall from my head);
Bang dog' tsō-ag'-ti zuk dai tad-da (May not a thorn pierce my foot).

Ma shes ma rig' tham-chad zod-par sol-tira (If I have erred unwittingly by failing to pay you reverence, please forgive).
Chod (saying this, more offerings are scattered).

Fourth Day (*Bang-mur*).—A little before sunset, all the villagers assemble before a neighbour's house, each householder carrying *mur* (a vessel containing sprouts of juniper, and balls of butter the size of a tennis ball), and a plate holding five measures of roasted barley (*buk*), also a butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gi-ra-bo*). Whilst offering these the prayer already quoted is offered to the village god. The remainder of the roasted barley and butter are then mixed together in a large vessel, and divided amongst the villagers who take it to their homes.

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When darkness falls, all make their way to another house in the village, each householder carrying a pot of beer, offering part to the village god, and sharing the remainder with his neighbours. The men folk then join in chorus singing their New Year Festival hymn addressed to the local god. Translated into English, it runs thus :—

A.

" In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of gold was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the celestial regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Ō-pam* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a silver throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the central regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Tsan Rgyab-ri* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of turquoise was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the nether regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The serpent demon *Hlu-bu-nor* sat there. (*Hlu*, T. *Klu*. S. *nāga*.—H. L. S.)
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a conch shell throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The Ruler of men was seated there.
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

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In ancient times the age was propitious ;
When a throne of glass was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne.
Who was seated there ?
Rejoicing relations and friends were seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed are they who sit in the midst of the throne."

Then follows an invocation to the local god, sung to a different tune :—

B.

" In a house like this may a son be born to me ;
May I be preserved from attack by enemies and robbers ;
May I get a field large enough to be ploughed by a hundred yoke of oxen ; and may no hail fall upon it ;
May I receive beer as sweet as treacle to dissipate disease ;
May I receive a hundred thousand thrones of gold ;
May the All-conquering *Shakya Thubpa* who delivers men from hell, lead us in this life and the next into the path to heaven.
May I have a benign father wearing an ear ornament on his person, a mother who suckles me, a loving sister, and a hundred thousand thrones of gold.
May I obtain a dwelling good for my soul, a loving wife, a good watch dog to guard me day and night, and a hundred thousand thrones of gold.
May I get a swift pony, heedless of ups and downs, a good tent, and a hundred thousand relatives as useful to me as my own shoulder."

This invocation sung, another hymn to the local deity is raised by the assembled people :—

C.

" At the summit of the Eastern hills the trunks of the beeches have grown ;
There the king of the birds of prey settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Southern hills the trunks of the sandal tree have grown ;
There the king of the peacocks settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Western hills, the reeds have grown;
There the talking parrot settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

At the summit of the Northern hills,
The trunks of the willow trees have grown.
There the king of the sparrows settles.
May we prosper, may we prosper.

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796 At the summit of the celestial mountains,
The broom has grown.
533 There the ravens settle.
May we prosper, may we prosper."

796 On the fifth and sixth days of the New Year Festival, no special ceremony is performed, except that the flour-and-water thumb impression is made on the wall by the housewife.

782 On the seventh day the ceremony of ringing out the New Year Festival is performed. This ceremony is called *Appa Bar-cha*. About 10 o'clock in the morning, two women from the house, walking slowly, approach the flour-and-butter thumb impressions on the wall (these being held to be the temporary residence of the god of the New Year). One carries *Sang-shū* and the *Kal-chor*, the other, a vessel with flour mixed in water. When before the god, the woman carrying the flour and water dips a branch of juniper tree in the mixture, and makes three vertical marks over the circles, and then three similar marks on the outside lintel of each door of the house. On the outermost door (the front door as we would say) the *Kal-chor* is sprinkled and offered simultaneously with this prayer :—

D.

"About this time you came to us.
Until you arrive again at this time next year,
May neither disease nor fever overtake us."

With this prayer, the god is dismissed. Just before sunset of this last day of the New Year festivities, each householder takes three large unleavened breads, about the size of a dinner plate, to a neighbour's house. One of the breads has a representation of a sun and a moon in flour. These breads and a *drang-rgyas* are then offered to the village god, portions of it being consumed by the people.

Interchange of feasts goes on amongst the villages from the 12th month, and the 10th–15th day, until the 1st month and the 3rd–5th day of the Buddhist year. Only when this ceremony of *Appa Bar-cha* has been performed, do the villagers have free intercourse with one another in the matter of giving and returning feasts. A feast during the New Year celebrations consists of :—in the morning, three buckwheat cakes, three cakes of leavened wheat flour and butter, and tea per head ; and in the evening, meat, rice, vegetables, beer and ardent spirits.

Immediately following the New Year celebrations, a social function called *Go-tsi* is celebrated (1st month, 3rd to 5th day). The ceremony of *Thars* (Saved) is then performed.

At sunrise the villagers take a *drang-rgyas* with an effigy of a ram upon it, and sacrifice it to the village god. Then follows another offering of *Mar-gyen-tsi* (a ram made of butter), a pot of beer (*kal-chor*) and also the *Sang-shū* (which is an inseparable part of the sacrifices offered in this country). To offer these the various households have each to supply one plate of barley flour, and 2 oz. of butter. When the ceremony of *Thars* is thus completed, the people are allowed access to the houses of other villagers where a similar ceremony has already been performed.

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796 At dusk a large party of youths and young women goes in a body to a neighbouring village, and after copious draughts of beer and ardent spirits, the assembled crowd dividing into two parties, compete with each other in singing songs, the winners being those who can remember the words of the entire song. That same night the keeper of the village god (*Hla-bdag-pa*) with a companion (*Hla-u-pa*), having adorned themselves with appropriate festal robes, remain all night in front of a fire lit in the village temple. Next morning the father of a male born in the old year has to give a feast to the community. Then five or seven men and one woman, suitably attired, go to an appointed place where the rest of the villagers have already assembled. There the parents of male children born in the previous year have each to distribute to the community at least nine measures of barley flour, and 40 pounds of beer. An additional gift of one bottle of ardent spirits has to be presented to the *Hla-bdag-pa* and *Hla-u-pa*. All then return to their houses, where their share of the food is consumed.

796 Before emerging from their houses to complete the ceremony of *Go-tsi*, a sacrifice of meat
787 and salt (*tshō-sha*), bread (*ta-gir*), biscuit (*khur-ra*), roasted barley flour (*tsom-pa*), entrails of a sheep (*gyu-ma*), wheat flour and butter (*pai-mar*) is made. This done, one woman is deputed to carry the *kal-chor*, whilst three men carrying a skin of a sheep dressed to represent a real sheep (*kul-tsi*), a bundle of sticks (*haldra*) and a *drang-ryyas* between them, walk through the village saying, "*Hai sharā-gai ri-lo*" (a boy has been born).

In the meantime the *Hla-bdag-pa*, with his escort, carrying a *haldra* and *kal-chor* appears on the scene, when roasted barley and balls of butter (*mur*), *kal-chor*, and *drang-ryyas* are sacrificed. Then follows the ceremony of shooting arrows at the *kul-tsi*. The skin of a sheep is stuffed with juniper, and small pieces of sticks with flowers attached are stuck in the skin to represent a live sheep. The *Hla-bdag-pa*, dressed in black, shoots seven, nine, or eleven, times with a set of four arrows, and all dance to the accompaniment of the village drums beaten by the blacksmiths.

At the festival of *Ak-ring* (1st month, 18th–19th day) a sheep is sacrificed by the usual method in Lahul, of tearing out its heart and casting it before the local deity, and much drinking
796 of beer and ardent spirits is indulged in. In the evening is a function called *La-murtz*, when
533 the males of the village join in singing the following song :—

E.

"They say,
This year will be a prosperous one,
On the plain a fire is burning ;
There is a yak on the plain,
There is a *dso-po* on the plain.
There is a ram on the plain.
There is a house on the plain.
There is a man carrying a load of barley until a sore breaks out on his back.
There is a man cutting meat until the wood block wears out.
There is man ladling out melted butter until the iron ladle wears out.
With snow on his head to the height of one cubit, a man goes into his house."

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FIG. 2.—OFFERINGS FOR THE *Go-tsi* FESTIVAL.

1a AND 1b. *Drang-rgyas*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH; 2. *Haldra*, JUNIPER STICKS; 3. *Kal-tsi*, SHEEPSKIN TARGET; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 5. *Pai-mar*, WHEAT, FLOUR AND BUTTER; 6. *Tshā-sha*, PIECE OF MEAT AND SALT; 7. *Mur*, BALLS OF BUTTER ON ROASTED BARLEY GRAIN; 8. *Ta-gir*, BREAD; 9. *Gyu-ma*, INTESTINES OF A SHEEP; 10. *Tsem-pa*, BARLEY FLOUR; 11. *Khur-ra*, BUTTER-AND-FLOUR CAKES; 13. *Mar-gyes-tsi*, OFFERING OF AN EFFIGY OF A RAM (BUTTER); 14. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 15. *Drang-rgyas-ra-bo-chen*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH OFFERING SURMOUNTED BY AN EFFIGY OF A RAM (BUTTER); 16. *Song-sha*, INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 17. *Pos*, A BUCKWHEAT CAKE TARGET TO REPRESENT SHEEP.

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796 After another bout of beer drinking, the youths career round the village, climbing the roofs of the houses and calling *Tsa-tsai-mo-la* down the chimneys. The male members who happen to be in the houses at the time, emerge carrying a plate of flour, and join the rest of the revellers. The flour thus collected is given to the children, who make dough effigies of a ram and present each householder with one. In return for this, the children receive flour and butter with which to hold feasts amongst themselves.

796 The next day the ceremony of *Buna* takes place. Each woman in the village then takes a
78v cake of buckwheat, and *mur* (sprouts of juniper and balls of butter) to a neighbour's house, where part is sacrificed and part consumed by the assembled people. On this occasion, when the food is being distributed, the children scramble for pieces of food thrown to them.

796 The festival of *Gam-tsa* which occurs during the 1st month and the 18th–19th day, is the appointed time for arrow-shooting competitions. The target is made of a huge buckwheat cake 1¾ feet long, 1 foot wide, and 4 inches thick, with horns and tail to represent a sheep. This is divided into three sections. All then shoot their arrows simultaneously. If an archer hits the left-hand section, he receives that part as his share, similarly the middle section. The right-hand section of the cake whether hit by an arrow or not, is divided amongst all the archers.

The festival of the She-Demon's New Year (*Lai-tsog'*) in the 1st month and the 27th day, is marked by an orgy of beer drinking, and the burning of straw in front of the houses. The duty of lighting the straw devolves upon the womenfolk, who sing a maledictory song to the she-
796 demon, whose physical proportions are supposed to be anything but flattering. They sing :—
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F.

"The *Lai-tsog'* she-demon *Drang-gog-ma* who has breasts reaching to her waist, and hair reaching to her heels,

Go away.

Oh, *Drai-ni-rag'-sa-ni*, make an offering lamp of dung, with a wick of a loin cloth.

Burn urine for oil.

Ride astraddle on the beam of a weaving loom, using a besom as a whip.

With one canine tooth growing upwards, and one downwards, depart without even looking back."

796 The festivities during the first month of the Buddhist calendar terminate with the ceremony of *Dam-pa-rig'*, at which a full choral service is held for two days by the priests, followed in the evening and well through the night by heavy drinking and village dancing. For the sustenance of the entire community, each householder must supply 40 lb. of barley, one measure of rice, one measure of barley flour, and ¼ lb. of butter. When these are all collected, the villagers pool the rations amongst themselves, and feast for seven days consecutively.

Five festivals occur during the second month of the Buddhist year. They are *Ringo*, *La-ma Chod-pa*, *Tsu-go-ki-la*, *Dun-chang*, and *Chai-dro-li*.

796 *Ringo* (2nd month).—Three households have to provide the beer for the community, and
78v also offer a *Drang-rgyas* to the local god, after which all enjoy themselves by drinking and gambling. Two or three days having elapsed a similar function is held.

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On the 15th day of the 2nd month another festival called *Tsu-go-ki-la* follows, during which the usual orgy of drinking and dancing goes on. This time each household has to provide 10 lb. of barley which is brewed into beer for the village carousals. At the *Dun-chang* festival a sheep is sacrificed in the usual way customary in Lahul, whilst the *la-ma-chod-pa* festivities are introduced by a choral religious service, when each house provides 10 lb. of rice, 4 oz. of butter, and 1 lb. of barley, the total amount of food, etc., being consumed by the villagers over a period of three days.

The *Chai-dro-li* festival marks the time when the low-class blacksmiths circumambulate the prayer-walls and *chorten* (cenotaphs of departed saints) beating their drums the while. This

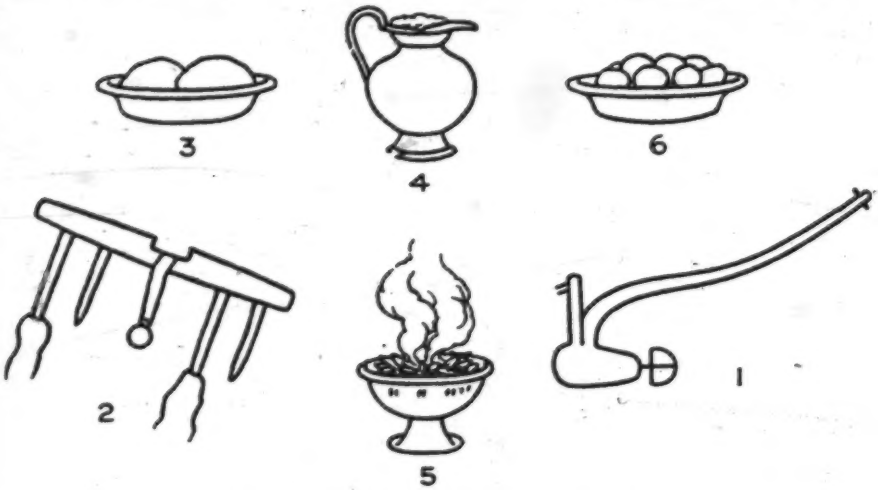

FIG. 3.—OFFERINGS AT THE SEASON OF PLOUGHING.

1. *Shol*, A PLOUGH; 2. *Nya-shing*, A YOKE FOR THE OXEN; 3. *Mar-zan*, A FLOUR-AND-BUTTER OFFERING; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER OFFERING; 5. *Sang-shö*, AN INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 6. *La-shea*, BUCKWHEAT CAKE OFFERING.

religious exercise completed, they collect alms from the villagers, each house providing as alms, one large plate of barley flour, one of wheat flour, one of buckwheat flour, and a pot of beer. It is also customary for each person to place a *mar-zan* (butter and flour) or buckwheat flour on a slab of stone for the ravens to eat.

During the third month the festival of *Bri-shu* is held, when all the cattle which have been fed through the winter for neighbours unable owing to scarcity of fodder to feed their own animals, have to be returned to their original owners. The usual quantity of beer is again collected for a communal beer-drinking feast, and an offering of *drang-rgyas* made to the local god. It is at this time too, that the communal shepherds are chosen, and the "Masters-of-ceremony" for the ensuing year are elected.

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796 782 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-shen* (roasted buckwheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-shen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 793 The *Ma-ṣi Tsoi-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

796 787 [776] At the *Chog'-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-pa* (one in whom a god is supposed to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of blood.

Following closely on this function, comes the *Tsoi-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned, [793] perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-sa-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rag'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rang*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 533 787 Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place during the ninth month, one *drang-ryyas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung :—

G.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"
The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dzo's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dso-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

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They are now fat like balls of butter,
In winter they will shrivel with leanness.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The youths become stout-hearted,
The maidens' countenances become like mirrors.

Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

In the morning the *dzo-mo* goes to the hills,
In the evening she returns to be milked.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The threshing floor pole is propitious like silver,
The barley is heaped on the outer edge of the threshing floor.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

When the straw is trodden out fine we are pleased,
When it is wet, it goes hard with the cattle.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

From early morning you endure hardship,
Try hard, and continue to go round (the threshing floor).

Refrain : "*Tulu-ja, tulu-ja.*"

If you go to the top of the hills you reach a glacier,
If you go to the turf, you eat summer flowers.

Then having released the oxen from the threshing floor, and patting them on their backs with a besom, the peasant addresses them thus :—

H.

"May the grain increase ;
As the oxens' horns become like cornelians,
So may the grain increase.
As your ears become like copper, so may the grain increase.
As your noses become like pipes of copper, so may the grain increase.
As your eyes become like the vowel "O," so may the grain increase.
As your lungs become like glistening white glaciers, so may the grain increase.
As your livers become reddish brown, to may the grain increase.
As your intestines become like a zig-zag path, so may the grain increase.

This ends the social functions for the year. They are observed punctiliously, and the method of celebrating them varies not at all, for the people's slavish adherence to the proper

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796 observance of rites and ceremonies has become to them a religion, refraction of which is regarded
771 in the light of a heinous offence. Moral delinquencies pale in significance before what is thought to be the *summum bonum* of life—the right etiquette in regard to rites and ceremonies.

NOTES.

533 Note A.—Original version. (Bunan dialect).

Ngon-tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Ser tri zhangso la yang ma hlai lo
De ser tri zhangso
Dai-ru la so zhuk lo
Dai-ru dai sumi zhughso.
Dai-ru la tangi dai Hla zhughso
Ma hlai lo, dai hla yang zhughso
Hla Ö-pam tovi lo dai dai nas zhughs
Kili dai nas Hla zhughi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngonsai kalpa hla zangboi lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Ma hlai lo
Dai mul tri zhangso
Dai-ru su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru bar-gi hla dai tsan-i zhughso
Ma hlai lo dai tsan yang zhughs
Tsan rgyabri la zombai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Kili dai nas hla zhugghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngontshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai yu tri zhangso
Dai-ru la sui zhangso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la ok-i dai hlu yang zhughso
Ma hlai hlai lo dai hlu yang zhughs
Hlu Bunor hla zombai lo dai dai nas zhughs
Kili hlai lo dai nas zhoghi lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai dung tri zhangso
Dai-ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso
Dai-ru la dag' shar lo dai dai nas zhughso
Ma hlai lo dai dai nas zhughso
Kili dai nas la zhughs lo dai trashis zoddo.
Ngon tshei kalpa la zangboi lo
Dai shel tri zhangso
Ma hlai lo dai shel tri zhangso
Dai ru la su zhughso
Dai sumi zhughso.
Dai ru la gid-gi la nyen drung zhughso
Kili dai nas la zhughi lo dai trashis zoddo.

Note B.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Yow-i lai la gung-kar drawai shai gung ka toi bu dai
Yow-i dra dang jagpa medpai shai monlam gyang nas zig'.

Tibet.

THE SCAPE-GOAT IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the N. India.*

WT 783 T 783

96 The releasing of a scape-goat is thought by the peasants of Western Tibet to be an effective means of obtaining absolution from the moral impurities in the individual or the community.

Noxious diseases, failure of the crops, or some catastrophic event which have thrown the community into confusion, are the chief reasons assigned for employing the scape-goat as a vehicle for carrying off the moral rubbish and transferring it elsewhere.

WT 783 796 T 783 796

A learned lama informed me that in Central Tibet it is customary for the ecclesiastics to set free a scape-man triennially. The purpose of this practice is to absolve themselves, and incidentally the community as a whole, of an evil influence which is supposed to militate against the well-being of the country and its people. The scape-man thus chosen is usually a destitute or criminally-disposed person for whom the community has no use. The ceremony of *Tsay-tar* (saving one's life) is then performed, when the scape-man is lavishly fed, adorned with ornaments, supplied with money and provided with a pony and comforts for the journey and released. He must wander for the rest of his life in foreign countries, with no expectation of ever visiting his native land. It is said that the scape-man rarely lives long, for he

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either dies prematurely through disease, or meets a tragic end through his own [illegible] someone else's fault.

When releasing a scape[illegible] (or sometimes a scape-sheep) the following is the ritual at the ceremony of *Tsay-tar*. The diseased or noxious person brings a goat led by a black rope before the community. A man then, stepping up to the animal, simulates cutting its throat with his hunting knife. In the meanwhile the owner of the goat pleads loud and long that the animal be spared, promising to pay compensation in money or kind provided that no blood is shed. The goat is now regarded as a fitting substitute for the penalty which should otherwise be paid for the sins of the individual or community, since it must undergo banishment from the flock. When the amount of money to be exacted from the owner of the goat is decided, the black rope is substituted for a white one, and this is tied round the neck of the animal. It is then gaily adorned, well fed, and driven to the hills to wander hither and thither until the cause of its banishment is removed. During the period of exile, no one may place a load on the scape-goat, nor even so much as touch it. If the animal should die before the moral impurity of the community is purged, another scape-goat is chosen, though the ceremony of *Tsay-tar* is not repeated.

There seems to be no regularity in Western

17: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1936 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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Tibet as regards the performance of this ceremony of releasing a scape-goat, for this is contingent on the moral condition of the community. The imposition of this form of

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absolution for the sins of the people rests in the hands of the lamas (priests), whose function it is to decide whether or not such ceremony should be performed.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

COLLECTANEA

SOCIAL FESTIVALS IN LADAKH KASHMIR

184 In that part of Western Tibet called Ladakh social functions differ in certain respects from those which exist in Lahul, though the inhabitants in both districts share a common language, Tibetan.

A

796 The New Year[1] festival begins on the 10th month of the
373 Tibetan calendar, continuing from the 25th until the 30th day. On the 25th day of that month each household prepares 30–40 little receptacles which serve as small lamps for illuminating the house. These are called *Bu-La*, and are made from the residue of mustard seed from which the oil has been extracted by pressure. The mustard oil is then poured into one such little lamp and a wick put in to float in it. These little lamps are lit at 8 o'clock in the evening. One such lamp is placed in the window of each room in the

[1] *New Year*

My Tibetan informant told me that originally the Ladakhis celebrated their New Year in the 12th month of their calendar as is the custom in other parts of Tibet, but in 1841–42 when the Dogras invaded Western Tibet and subjugated it, the Ladakhis decided to celebrate their new year in the 10th month so as to enable them to fight the invader. It is said that a large number of the Ladakhis having determined to take their wives and children along with them to the war, they were finally induced to forgo fighting altogether rather than expose their families
[113] to the dangers and rigours of war. (For information concerning the conquest of the Western Empire of Tibet, see Dr. A. H. Francke's "A History of Western Tibet".) The Ladakhi new year has therefore been observed in the 10th month ever since.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 house, whilst a number of them are arranged in a row near
373 the awning of the dwelling.

The members of the household then partake of *Tab-*
796 *Zan*. This consists of a large dish of parched barley dough
262 in the middle of which a hollow is made to receive the mustard oil which is poured into it. This large cake of dough is

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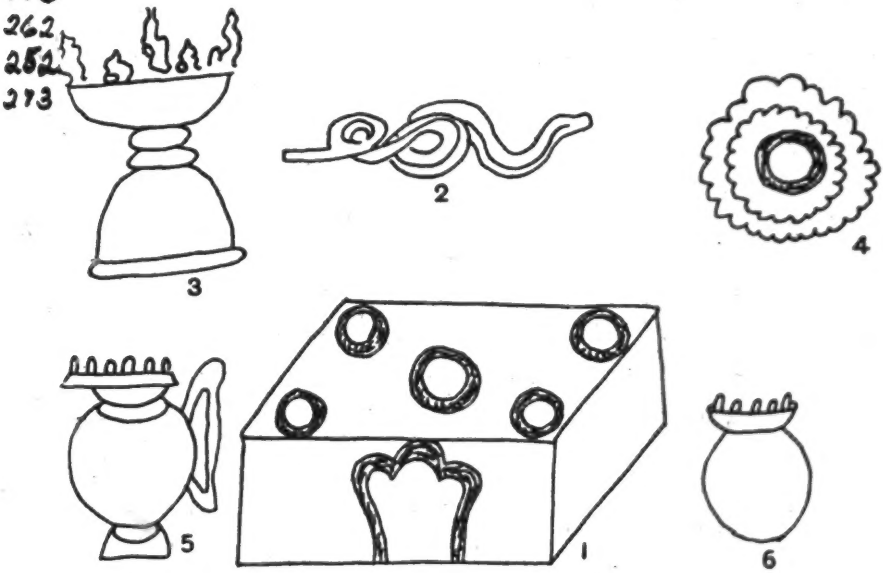

1. *rGya-Tab* (Stove). This is the common earthen stove used by Ladakhis. It is 3 feet square and 1 foot high. In the front there is an aperture for putting in the fuel of sticks and dried manure, and on the top of it there are three holes for placing the cooking utensils. 2. *Dib-Rug*. Sheep's intestines. 3. *Bu-La*. Little lamps made of dough. 4. *Tab-Zan*. Parched barley dough with a hollow in the centre in which mustard oil is poured. 5. *Kal-jor*. Beer pot. 6. *Za-rgyan*. An earthen vessel in which beer is kept. Sometimes used instead of the *Kal-jor*. Both are ornamented with butter pats on special occasions, and also serve as butter offerings.

796 then divided into four equal parts, one part (*Tab La Rgya-*
262 *Mo*), being placed on the earth stove (*Tab*) as an offering to the god of the hearth, one part (*Mag-Dung Rgya-Mo*) stuck on a large horizontal beam in the apartment, and one piece (*Sgo-Tag-Rgya-Mo*) stuck on the lintel of the front

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
262 holder says :

> " Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)." [2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.

796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect* :

> Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
> Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong

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Ladak

796 782 On the 1st day of the 11th month, each household makes a dough effigy of an ibex (*Skyin*), a cake of unleavened bread with its edges turned up and inwards (*Pe-Rak*), parched barley flour placed in a wooden flour bowl (*Pe-Pud*) is prepared. A vessel of beer (*Nang-mChod*) and one of water (*Chu-Pud*) are also placed alongside of all these offerings, the whole being laid on a shelf in the apartment for three days.

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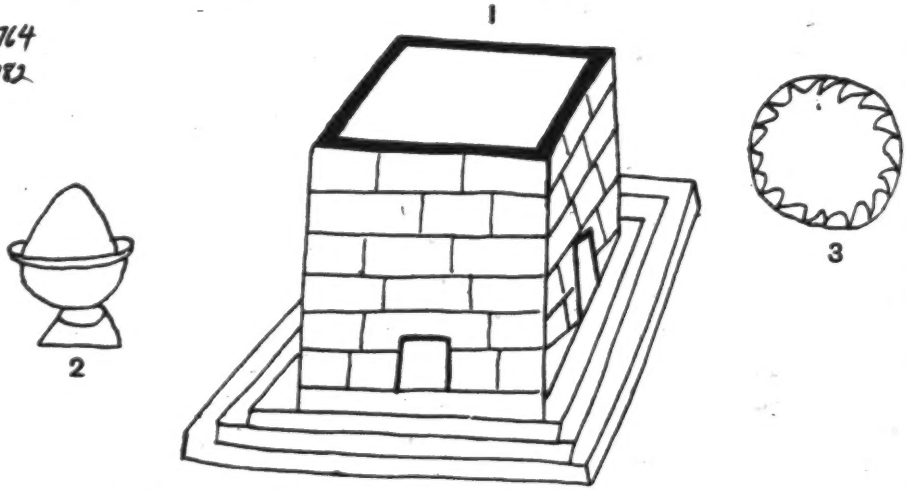

1. *Dur-Kung*. An earthen cremating oven set up on a plinth of earth. There is an aperture on each of the four sides to allow of ventilation, and ensuring a draught so as to expedite the burning of the corpse which is placed in it in a doubled up posture. The whole is made of dried mud bricks. 2. *Pe-Pud*. An offering of flour. 3. *Pe-Rak*. A cake of unleavened bread with edges turned inwards.

796 574 685 Friends, relations, and neighbours now call on each other carrying with them small vessels of beer and 5, 7, or 9 breads (the taking of six breads being contra-indicated). The children of the village in the meantime make a house to house collection of meat, bread, and other eatables. Whilst the housewife is engaged in producing the food thus claimed, a diversion is afforded when the children surreptitiously steal the *Skyin*, *Pe-Rak*, *Pe-Pud*, *Nang-mChod*, and the *Chu-Pud*, though receiving their ration of food from the incautious housewife.

Dr. Arboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

On the 3rd day part of the offerings already mentioned 796
are devoted to the moon with the words: "Happy life,
happy new year, happy day, happy stars." In cases where 782
the housewife has not been able to forestall the theft of the
offerings by the children, fresh ones must be made and

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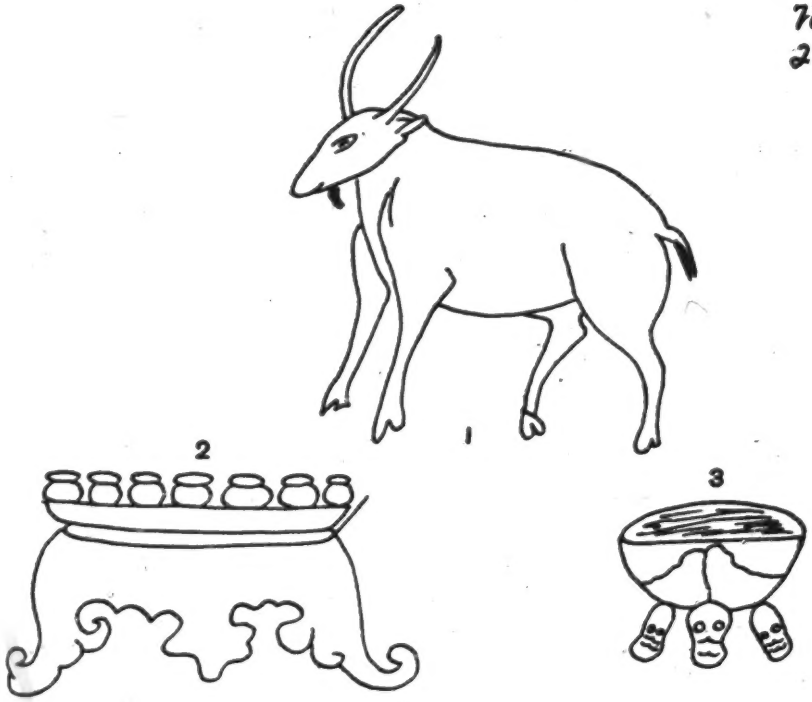

1. *Skyin*. Dough effigy of an Ibex. (4" long from crest to rump.) 2. *Chu-Pud*. These 7 cups of water used for sacrificial purposes are placed on a table as illustrated. 3. Nang-mchod. Vessel of beer made from a human skull. Sometimes the blood of sacrificed animals is placed in this bowl.

offered. The remainder of the *Skyin* and *Pe-Rak* offerings 796
are then distributed to the children, a girl giving the *Pe-* 789
Rak offering to another of her own sex, and a boy bestowing 782
the *Skyin* offering to a male companion. The sport of
arrow-shooting (*Da Rgyab-Ches*) is indulged for two days,
followed ten days subsequently by one day of this sport.

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B

796 On the 28th day of the 12th month, a festival called
778 *Doss-Mo-Che*[3] is held in Leh the capital of Ladakh. People
751 from far and near attend this important function. The

1. *Doss-Mo-Che.* An effigy of a man with the yak's horns filled with blood. The whole is carried on a plank.

Lamas (priests) make a life-size effigy of a man (*Doss-Mo-Che*) with straw, adorning it with coloured garments. This effigy is then placed in a prominent position in the dancing

[3] *Doss-Mo-Che*

It seems that the un-Tibetan part of the *Doss-mo-che* ceremony when the Sepoys of the Kashmir State play their part in destroying the effigy, is a concession to the now ruling Maharajah who is a Hindu and identifies himself with the Buddhistic practices observed in Ladakh. Once a year the Maharajah causes prayers to be read by the Buddhist clergy, and defrays the expense of feeding them during this period.

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floor of the monastery, and beer and grain are offered to it. 796 ●
This is followed by a devil dance, the Lama performers 778
being arrayed in special dancing regalia and masks. The 751
next morning another devil dance is held; and about 3–0 p.m. the effigy is carried with great solemnity on a plank to an open piece of ground outside the town. Two yak horns (*Yak-I-Ru-Cho*) are filled with blood, and fixed one on either breast of the effigy. A platoon of local sepoys belonging to the Kashmir State then open fire on the horns as a target, but fail to hit the mark. It is believed that as the *Sku-Shog* (a high Buddhist ecclesiastic) has pronounced a charm upon the yak horns they thereby become invulnerable so long as that important personage remains near them. When, however, this church dignitary takes his departure, the sepoys return to the assault of the effigy, and succeed in hitting the mark. This is the signal for the people to rush in pell-mell with thorns which they lay at the foot of the effigy and burn it. This ceremony is performed in order to forestall sickness and other misfortunes to the community.

C

On the 8th day of the 1st month a *Tse Shu* (popular amusement or sport) is held for all the villagers. This function occurs once a month, when barley flour dumplings are made, the various households taking it in rotation to provide food and drink for those who assemble to dance and amuse themselves in various ways.

D

On the 15th day of the 1st month, males and females circumambulate prayer walls and monasteries in order to obtain merit. They perform this ceremony in procession. If a woman in the procession meets anybody she must give

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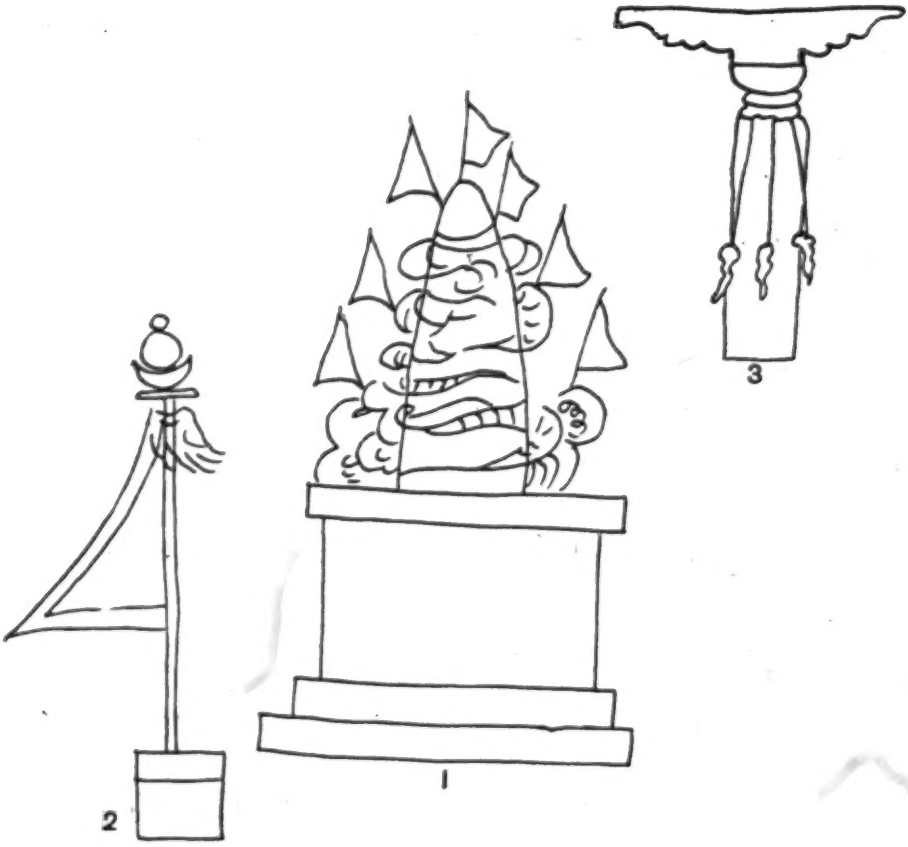
796 that person a handful of roasted barley (*Skor-Yos*). On
782 this day the Rajah of Stog (a village in the Indus valley near Leh) sends three *Kal* (120 lbs) of roasted wheat to certain villages in which he has a special interest in land



1. *Hla-To*. A cairn with a pole in the middle round which horns of animals, flags and other relics are placed. 2. *Dar-Chen*. The flag pole with a yak's tail on it, which is erected near the *Hja-To*. 3. *Shrub-Hla*. The first fruits of the harvest attached to an upright post supporting the roof of a house.

or other property. This store of wheat is placed at the confluence of three roads through which the circumambulators will pass, and his agent doles out a cupful of grain to each devotee. Moreover, such of the villagers who desire to obtain merit and have not joined the procession, take it

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upon themselves to regale the pilgrims with grain, and beer. 796 ●
This is, however, a purely voluntary act. 782

E

The act of ploughing and seeding (at the end of the 4th 796
and beginning of the 5th month) is preceded by an offering 782
of butter, flour, and beer, a small pat of butter being stuck on the crown of each man's head. The handle of the plough (*Shol*), the oxens' heads, and the handle of the wood spade (*Pak-Tsa*) with which the women harrow or beat the clods of earth after ploughing are similarly dealt with. Whilst the assembled people eat and drink the remainder of the offerings, the following prayer is offered :

[4] May the plough remain unbroken ;
May a good harvest and blessings to our house ensue ;
Sow the seed.
May the youths and maidens gather in a good harvest ;
May the carrying in of the harvest by the maidens have no end ;
May the reaping by 100 youths have no end ;
May the yatra [5] festival and weddings ensue ;
Cause 100 large bins of grain to be filled.

[4] *Original Ladakhi dialect*

A kanas ma ka nas
a chi li gi man dra li
Sa bon debs
Nyi ma da bi ta yang shog
Na chung rgya si skyas te mi tsar ches
Kyogtong rgya si rnga ches mi tsar ches
Ya tra dang bag ston btang ches yong chu ga mdzad
Rgya bang rgya gang chu ga mdzad.

[5] *Ya-tra*

Is a feast when the villagers are regaled with beer, dumplings, and pastry. It is held in autumn and winter in memory, and for the benefit of the souls of those that died during the last year. [769]

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F

796 On the 10th day of the 7th month the festival of *Shrub*
252 *Hla* (god of the ears of corn) is held. This ceremony institutes the reaping of the harvest. No one may put his hand to a sickle until this function is celebrated. Barley and wheat are boiled until the grain is soft, when it is spread out to dry. It is then roasted, milled into flour, and finally kneaded into dough balls. The first ears of corn and the first fruits of the pea and buckwheat crop are next mixed into the dough balls, each family taking this to its family cremating[6] oven. Sheaves of grain are then fixed to the beams of the household temple, and also on cairns (*Hla-Ti*) in the neighbourhood.

796 On the completion of a feast in celebration of the in-
783 gathering of the crops, three men proceed to the nearest brook, taking a live sheep with them. There they have to bathe their bodies, and also dip the sheep in the water by way of purifying themselves and the animal. It is believed that once the sheep has been thus cleansed, it does not attempt to wander or escape. Leading the sheep, the trio makes for the local cairn (*Hla-To*) to which sheaves of corn, coloured rags, willow branches, and the tail of a yak are attached. Lots are now drawn amongst the three men to ascertain who must carry out the ceremony of sacrificing the sheep to the god.

796 The man thus chosen then proceeds to make a large incision in the breast of the sheep and tearing out its heart

[6] *Cremating Oven*

764 This oven is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Its dimensions are: 3 feet square and 4 feet high. On each of the sides is a small aperture about a foot from the bottom of the oven as vent holes. The corpse's back is broken immediately after death and the knees are drawn up to the head and tied securely. It is then carried on a man's back to the oven in which it is placed resting on stones placed at the base of it to serve as a grid. The more opulent prepare a box in which they place the corpse.

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p. 387

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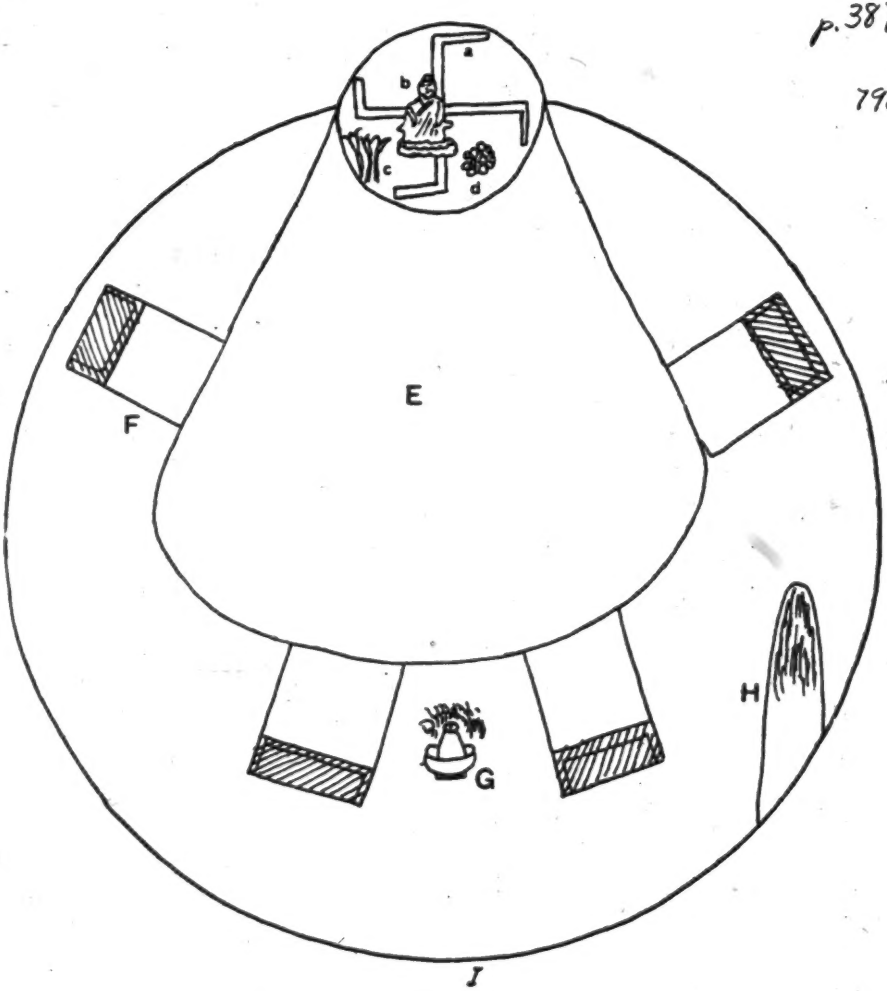

I. The large circle " I " represents the threshing floor. (*Ul-tag*) (*Wongs*).

E. Is the heap of grain piled in the centre of the threshing floor. In the small circle which is the flattened portion of the pile of grain are placed :

(*a*) Grain hollowed out in the form of a swastika (*Yun-drung*).
(*b*) An image of the Buddha (*Sku-dra*).
(*c*) First ears of grain harvest. (*Shrub*).
(*d*) A small pile of oxen's droppings. (*Lcha*).

F. The four bags (grain. *Tib. Pad*) with their open ends close to the heap of grain, and the closed ends doubled back.

G. Flour and rancid butter on the top of which are placed live charcoal causing smoke and an offensive smell which is supposed to be pleasing to the god. This offering is called *Sur*.

H. A long stone sprinkled with vermilion (*mTsan-rdo*) erected on the edge of the threshing floor to keep down the vampires and thereby prevent the grain from decreasing. In other parts of Western Tibet, the long stone is substituted by an axe which is supposed to be equally effective.

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796 with all speed and placing it on the cairn of stones. He next skins the sheep and distributes portions of the flesh to the assembled people, each person receiving a portion which he holds over a fire which has previously been lit, until the meat is singed. This he eats immediately. All then return to a specified meeting-place where several large earthen vessels (*Za-Ma*) of beer are imbibed. This done all the males belonging to a group of villages proceed to a pond where they wash their bodies.

G

796 533 During the 9th month when threshing the grain on the threshing floor the following eulogy of the oxen is sung:

[7] May the grain increase like the ring marks on your horns;
Your eyes are like black pupils;
Your nostrils like pipes of brass;
Your upper lips are like a golden tablet;
Your lower lips like a turquois tablet;
Your tongues are like knotted ice;
Your throats like a pipe of beads (rosary);
Your livers glisten like ice;
Your lungs are like a red lake;
Your abdomens are like a square temple;
Your hides like a black and white plain;

[7] *Original Ladakhi dialect*

Ru cho chong ri mug chung wongs kyong wong bo rog
Mig mo nag ga pa ni
Na kung zang si pu ri
Al pags gser gi lag shing
Mal pags u-i lag shing
Lche mo dar gi dud pa
Ol dong mig pai trang
Chin pa gangs ri dkar po
Hlo wa mtso mo ma bang
Jang kok hla kang dru bzhi
Pags po tang kar tang nak
Nga ma dir kak gyun dra
Ldad pa chu ton ton skor pin
Nye chu tung du cha cha skor pin

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Your tails are as fine as a sinew; 796
You have gone round the threshing floor until the 533
sweat broke upon you;
You have gone round until your tendons contracted.

When the grain threshed by the oxen has been winnowed, 796
the ceremony of blessing the grain is performed. Around 782
the heap of grain four grain sacks, with their open ends facing the heap, are laid in the form of a square. Fried barley flour and butter (*Sur*) is placed on the threshing floor at the circumference of the heap of grain, whilst the droppings of the cattle (*Lcha*), an image of the god of harvest (*Sku-Dra*), and a few grains of corn (*Shrub*) are imbedded in the pile of grain. Scattering a few grains of corn hither and thither, a man invokes the god by saying:

I offer this;
Oh Aria the Lord of wealth, may the grain increase
as the droppings from the oxen.[8]

The 17th and 18th days of the 10th month are times 585
specially assigned for the celebration of marriages. These ceremonies held in Ladakh suffer very little modification or addition in ritual, for departure from the accepted customs handed down by tradition is considered to be an affront to the communal conscience.

WALTER ASBOE

AN IRISH FOLK-POEM

THE following poem was taken down, in 1933, on the Great Blasket Island, Kerry, from the singing of Peig Sayers the story-teller (see *Béaloideas*, vol. II, p. 108). As I have never seen another version in any collection of Irish folk-poems or elsewhere, it may be of interest to have it recorded here, in the Blasket dialect,

[8] *Original Ladakhi dialect*
mChod
Nor gi bdag po a-ri-a rdzam pa la.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [1992] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 796 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sisters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 597 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4

000 built on the declivity in horizontal lines one above the other, resemble the steps of an enormous altar, of which the temple of Tāranātha Lāma appears to constitute "the tabernacle." Huc says it contains 30,000 monks!

Kuku Khotun, or "blue city," near the northern bend of the Yellow river, is said by Huc to have formerly been the seat of Jetsun-Dam-pa. It contains five monasteries with about 20,000 Lāmas.

IN SIBERIA.

In south Siberia, amongst the Buriats, near the Baikal lake, a large monastery is on a lake thirty versts to the north-west of Selinginsk, and the presiding monk is called the K'an-po Paṇḍita, and claims to be a re-incarnate Lama.[1]

IN EUROPE.

The Kālmak Tartars on the Volga have only temporary, nomadic cloisters and temples, that is to say tents, in which they put up their holy pictures and images, and celebrate divine service. Such temporary cloisters are called "Churull," and consist of two different sorts of tents or *Jurten* (Oergö), the assembly hall of the clergy (Churullün-Oergö) and of the gods and image hall (*Schitäni* or *Burchanün-Oergö*). Some of these *Churulls* contain a hundred priests.

IN LADĀK AND LITTLE TIBET.

792 He-mi (or "Himis" of survey map). This fine old monastery is
361 situated about 11,000 feet above the sea-level, in a lateral ravine that joins the Indus, a day's journey (eighteen miles SSE.) above Leh, on the left bank of that river. From its secluded position this was one of the few monasteries which escaped destruction on the invasion of the country by the Dogras under Wazir Gerawar, who ruthlessly destroyed much Lāmaist property, so that more interesting and curious objects, books, dresses, masks, etc., are found at Himis than in any other monastery in Ladāk. It was built by sTag-stan-ras-ch'en, and its proper title is *Ch'aṅ-ch'ub sam-liṅ*.

[796] The "Himis-fair," with its mask plays, as held on St. Padma-sambhava's day in summer, is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladāk.
[423] This Lāmasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladāk, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The Lāmas seem to be of the Ñiṅ-ma sect (according to Marx[2] they are Dug-pa, but he appears to use Dug-pa as synonymous with *Red cap* sect). To the same sect also belongs Ts'en-re and sTag-na. A fine photograph of this monastery is given by Mr. Knight,[3] and one of its courts is shown in his illustration of the mystic play reproduced at p. 528

792 "The principal entrance to the monastery is through a massive door,
346 from which runs a gently sloping and paved covered way leading into a

[1] Köppen, *op. cit.* [2] *Loc. cit.*, 133. [3] *Where Three Empires Meet.*

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

535 seen in India, and all were spontaneous, it being only by chance that each dancer followed the other at that time, as I saw later on when the plentiful flow of *chang* was having its effect upon them.

796 We had made the journey over the passes earlier than was considered wise in the season simply to enable one of our party to film the Spring Festival which takes place in June in the Hermis Monastery, a great building which houses several hundreds of monks and is said to be fabulously wealthy, having escaped the invasion of the Dogras, and is believed to have hidden within its walls all the gold and valuables of other monasteries taken there before they were sacked. From Leh it is twenty-four miles—two marches.

The festival is famous and renowned throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world, and people come from hundreds of miles to witness it. The dance-play there performed by the lamas is so ancient that its origin is lost in the past. It is a mixture of a miracle play, pantomime and a fête parade, the whole scene brilliant and vivid with colour and movement, and blasting with sound, for the lama orchestra is composed of many drums, cymbals, clarinets, giant trumpets and triangles, which to my ear was pandemonium and seemed to make no attempt at keeping together, each of its members appearing bent on outshining the others.

796 The music is as fantastic as is everything in that land; it
533 breathes mystery. Nowhere else in the East, except in Tibet of course, is it to be heard. Yet I am assured that there is more science in it than the European ear is attuned to, though search as I did with the utmost desire to understand it, I was unable to discover its quality. There are strange discords, sudden changes, abrupt ceasings—at this latter the voices of the lamas which must have been there all the time in the background would continue in a lower key with melancholy chanting. My Ceylon friend assured me that the chants were older than those of any other religion, and that the quarter notes, with their very delicate distinctions which my ear could not catch, required hours of practice by the lamas of the choir. With the droning of the voices, the flatness and sameness of the music and the smell of incense—which certainly did to an extent smother the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

unpleasant odour of those sitting around me—it was difficult at times to keep my eyes open. 796 533

The costumes are as old as the play and made of beautiful brocades embroidered in gold and silver; some of the dancers wear great black hats, others giant masks of animals or the faces of the evil spirits of legendary characters, the same as are depicted on the walls of the monasteries and known to all the people from their earliest childhood. The play demonstrates how Good triumphs over Evil, but only after a two-day struggle, during which the evil hideous spirits whirl and twist, wildly charging and leaping in their frightening effort most wickedly to destroy Good. Then at long last comes the triumph of Good—Buddhism of course—over Evil, and the bad ones' terrified flight under the wrath of the flashing swords of Good. [292] 796 772 533

During the two days both dancers and orchestra reach a terrific speed and state of excitement, carrying with them those who are watching, the latter it is hoped by the lamas, being duly impressed by the power of the Lord Buddha and his always ultimate magnificent victory over all that is evil, however powerful the challenge may first appear, and however successful in its opening phase.

Back in Leh, at night we watched the festival go on for days, for happiness was in the air; the winter with its cold and bitterness had gone, the land would again yield its fruits, the caravans would come from the "distant lands" of which the people of Ladakh had no knowledge other than that gleaned from those who came from those parts; and Good had once again, this time after a most terrific and thrilling struggle, conquered Evil.

Singing and dancing—and drinking—continued. The young men came out with hobby-horses and acted a polo game for our benefit, the girls were made to form a circle and sing to us, the bands blasted our ears with their "music", and the people were delighted that they had been able to make us as happy as they were themselves.

When all had gone and the lights had faded away, the thin crescent of the moon and the twinkling stars seemed to become a brighter silver against the indigo-velvet sky which was only separated from us by the snow-capped mountains of purple brown; mountains which are said to contain untold wealth if 000

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

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Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

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There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

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The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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A Trip to Ladakh

ooothe food which is carried by the sheep is eaten up, then there is no need of the carrier, so it is then eaten, the fat tail being considered a great delicacy. Some of these caravans are three years on the road before they reach their homes. Quite a number of these merchants have been to Mecca, and were returning, wearing the green turban which is the mark of a Mecca "pilgrim who has accomplished the 'haj.'"

346 The first monastery we come to is Mulbe. It is in a most commanding position, for it stands on the top of a rock about five hundred feet high.

778 A short distance before reaching this monastery is
796 a large Buddha, carved on a rock, about thirty feet in
276 height. On our return journey Dr Neve and I came in time to see a very pretty ceremony being performed before it.

There was a sort of maypole erected in front of the figure, decked with coloured paper or rags. Then a troop of thirty children appeared, dressed in bright garments, wearing crowns of flowers, and they were dancing round the pole and singing, reminding one of the maypole dance. Then came a monk, dressed in a white garment like a surplice, with a red fool's-cap on his head. In one hand he carried a Kashmiri fire-pot full of live charcoal and some narcotic mixture of hemp or opium. These fumes he kept inhaling, which made him become very excited. In his right hand he carried a curved sword, which he flourished about in a most dangerous manner. He commenced to dance round the pole, followed by the children. He shouted louder and louder, and twirled about his body faster and faster, while his sword was flashing and slashing about in all directions.

796 A man standing by me, whom I knew, who called him-
276 self a nobleman, told me in awed tones that this holy man

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

was uttering the words of God. As a matter of fact, he was drunk with his opium fumes and could hardly keep on his feet, and I expect he soon flopped down on the ground, but we were unable to stay to see the show through to the end.

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2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons 778
and sacred symbols. 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on 782
each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, 534
the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet.

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, 346
end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel 792
facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On 796
the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts.

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly 788
mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. 344
There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 792

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
w. Tibetans AJ4
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Photo by] [*Vishu Nath.*

LAMA ACTORS IN THEIR RELIGIOUS PLAYS.

Note the resemblance to Chinese rather than to Indian decoration and design in these figures.

[facing p. 224]

A Trip to Ladakh

000 did not feel inclined to move, so I tied him to a rock and went off in search of some landmark, for I seemed to have reached the top of the ridge. However, I soon found I could not walk more than twenty paces at a time, and a most splitting headache came on. It felt as if my head blood vessels would burst, and I had *mal de montagne* properly. After wandering about aimlessly I became aware I was up against a precipice. When the moon rose it was now one A.M., and then I saw I was under the foot of a glacier, a great cliff of ice over seventy feet high, which seemed to bulge out at the top like the curve of a huge breaker. It was very impressive, and for the moment I forgot my headache.

I had meant to stay on the pass to see the sunrise, but my powers of endurance gave out. My one desire was to get down the mountain, where I could breathe in comfort, so I descended to the rock where I had left my pony, and I soon began to recover my equilibrium as I descended. When I returned to Leh I made inquiries after my guide, but I never discovered what happened to him and therefore never knew why he gave me the slip.

346 ●796 About twenty miles from Leh is a very large and 788 important monastery called Hemis, and once in every twenty years they have an especially important religious play, so Dr Neve and I hired ponies and joined the happy throng of pilgrims.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to see people of all classes making their way on foot and horseback to this far-famed monastery. On several ponies were two [595] riders, the man in front and his lady behind. As polyandry [562] is the custom in Ladakh, the wife is therefore the lord and master, so one expected to see the lady riding in front 788 and one or more husbands riding pillion, for we often saw 576 three passengers riding one horse. We passed two ~~ladies~~

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
● 796 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
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2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

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is directed by the precentor, and he by a big book in front of him. There is a fire burning in the centre of the court. Then there enter monks, dressed up in hideous masks with faces of various animals, such as dogs, tigers, dragons, etc.; they carry large three-pronged forks, and throw a clay figure of a man into the flames. The devils commence dancing round, pretending to stick their forks into the figure, and seem to be enjoying the sport of tormenting their victims. This scene continues for what seems to be an interminable time, when in come a party of monks from the great door of the monastery, dressed in coloured silk garments, wearing huge masks, and commence to march round and round hell fire, making various passes with their arms towards the flames. They begin with painfully slow steps, which are so monotonous that they get on one's nerves, the band playing softly but in terribly slow time.

Then the music quickens slightly, and then a little quicker, then quicker, until these holy monks fairly spin like dancing dervishes. The band works itself crazy with the screeching of its pipes, crashing cymbals, bellowing giant trumpets and resounding drum. Then all of a sudden there is dead silence, and we are all thankful for the respite. Then the whole dance commences over again from the very beginning, with one step every three seconds, and again working up to the whizz-bang. By this time this lot of holy men are tired out with their exertions and they disappear through the same great door from which they came. Immediately come in a second lot with a different set of great masks, some of them wearing most benign faces. They with the help of the band try their charms in marching and dances, and so one party succeeds another all through that day and part of the next without any success, for the flames of hell still

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

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burn on and the devils have it all their own way until a party of super-holy monks arrive, who come with holy water, with which they conquer the flames, and then the devils one and all rush out of the arena amid a tempest of crashing and shrieking; but above it all is the sound of a mighty wind caused by all the monks whistling their loudest, and the whole band of devils, pitchforks and all, disappear into the monastery. I thought it would have been more impressive if they had all disappeared over the precipice or, if they could not manage that, down the rocks out of sight.

Well, we were mighty glad to see the last of these devils, and the blessed monks also, for our nerves were anyhow after all we had heard and seen, but all was not over, for the people were to see the priest perform a sort of high mass. In an open space rigged up as a chapel facing the courtyard which all could see was an altar with its usual complement of ornaments, lamps, holy water, chalice and paten.

The priest entered wearing a garment just like a surplice. He turned his back to the congregation and commenced his service at the altar.

Presently in came stealthily a clown with a coloured bladder in his hand with which he hit the priest over the head with a mighty whack and then darted behind a pillar and hid. Then again he crept up behind, stalking the priest, and dealt him another blow; but still the priest took no notice, so absorbed was he in his devotions. After another blow or two the priest looked round to see whence the blows had come, but of course he looked in the wrong direction, and the clown cocked a snook at him, a real gutter-snipe snook, from behind the pillar. It was all so like a Western pantomime that we could hardly believe we were watching a real Buddhist religious

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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796 793 535

ceremony in a real monastery. The people all round were thoroughly enjoying the play and were laughing heartily.

I could not find out the reason for this last act, but I suppose it was to show that the monks when engaged in their religious duties were too deeply engrossed to be disturbed by assaults of the devils. Well, it was a great show, and one wondered how much of it was believed by the people who had come from such long distances to see their religion acted.

It seemed to me that they were too jolly and cheery a lot to believe much in devils; they evidently saw the humour of it all. The abbot of the monastery told us that the monks had been practising for a whole year at the play, and showed us the rod of correction which he used on those monks who failed in their parts. It was a thick black stick weighted with brass. I felt sorry for those monks who did not live up to the form of Friar Tuck, and had not a good cushion of fat to protect their bones when the brass stick descended. But perhaps they knew the schoolboy's copy-book trick.

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The great monastery mastiffs interested us, but we were thankful that they were chained. We were told that the dogs used to be kept in lieu of graves for the monks, or, in other words, to eat up the dead members of the brotherhood.

Some of them are very savage brutes. A friend of mine who was attacked by one had a bad time, although he himself was an athlete; he was obliged to go to bed for a day or two after the attack. I myself had a narrow shave one day. I went into a monastery uninvited to have a look round. When coming through a very narrow passage I saw one of these dogs fast asleep, as I imagined, and foolishly thought I could pass him if I walked

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 By some it has been supposed that he must have entered Tibet; but the wonderful account which he gives of the people proves that his information could only have been obtained by hearsay. Indeed, notwithstanding the early and wide-spread fame of Prester John, there is no authentic record that Tibet had been visited by any European prior to the seventeenth century.

797 175 10. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Jesuits and Capuchins possessed several monasteries in Lhasa, a considerable number of missionaries must have resided for many years in Tibet; and yet no more than two of these religious fraternities have left any record of their travels and observations behind them.

11. The first of these is Le Père Hippolyte Desideri,* who travelled for six months, between August 1715 and March 1716, through the greater part of the country, from Ladák through Ruthog to Lhasa. Of his travels, the only account that I have seen is that which was published by Klaproth. It is a concise, but very useful geographical account.

12. The second is Frà Franciso Orazio della Penna di Billi, a Capuchin, who travelled to Lhasa in 1730, and resided for some years in the monastery of his order in that city. His account is exceedingly valuable, notwithstanding his prosy repetitions.† He was a man of observation, and his account of the Buddhist religion, as practised in Tibet, is full and accurate.

175 13. In A.D. 1774 George Bogle‡ was deputed to

* Nouveau Journal Asiatique, tom. viii. pp. 117—121, by the celebrated Klaproth.

† Nouveau Journal Asiatique, tom. xiv.

‡ See the Preface to Turner's Tibet, pp. xiv—xvi.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

is a thin irregular-shaped piece of silver, about the size 436
of a shilling, with a Persian inscription on each side. On the centre of the obverse is the name of *Mahmud Shah*, surrounded by a circle of large dots. The inscription on the reverse is difficult to read, but the upper line is certainly *Bután*, which is the Kashmiri name of Ladák. The second, or middle line, is perhaps *Zarb;* and the two together form *Zarb-i-Butan*, "struck in Batan." Below is the word *sanh*, or *sanat*, and a figured date, which looks like 878, but of what era it is impossible to say.* As the coins bear the title of [792]
Mahmud Shah, they cannot date earlier than A.D. 1687, when the Gyalpo of Ladák was nominally converted to Muhammedanism, after the expulsion of the *Sokpos* by the troops of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Kashmir under Aurangzeb. The coins which I possess all bear the same date; and, as they are but little worn on the surface, they cannot have been minted for any great length of time. The date, which I should have expected to find on these coins, is the Hijra year 1099, equivalent to A.D. 1687, which was the year of the Gyalpo's conversion.

The gold coins in use are called *Ser-jao*, or "golden jao," or simply *Ser-ki-dong*, or "golden coins." All coins are called *Dong*, or *Dong-tse*. The silver coins are named *Nul-ki-dong*, or simply *Nuk-dong*, and the copper coins *Zangi-dong*, or *Zang-dong*.† Ready money, or cash, is called *Marba*, or *Markyang*.

The weights of Ladák are the *Batti* and the *Man*, or 804
Maund. The Batti is equal to two Indian seers or

* See Plate XIV. for a sketch of one of these coins.

† *gSer-kyi-Dong*, golden coin; *dNul-kyi-dong*, silver coin; and *Zangs-kyi-dong*, copper coin.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

645 the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power
175 of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the
• [197] monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.

000 In Great Tibet the *Kahlons* of the four chief provinces of *Ngári*, *U*, *Tsáng*, and *Khám*, were elected by the civil power in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior *Kahlons*, and all other petty officers of state,
645 were elected by the four chief *Kahlons*. But in Ladák
634 the prime minister's office was almost hereditary; that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal *Kahlons*, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations. The Kahlon of Moorcroft's time was the Kahlon or petty Gyalpo of the Chimra valley; and the power remained in the hands of his family until the final settlement of Zoráwar Sing, at Lé.

622 Many of the principal nobility of Ladák were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a *Gyalpo* in Nubra; another in Gya; a third in Spiti; a fourth in Zanskar; a fifth in Paskyum; a sixth in Soth; a seventh in Suru; and an eighth in Hembabs, or Drás. The chiefs of Paskyum and of Soth distinguished themselves by their protracted resistance on the first invasion of Ladák by Zoráwar Sing.

645 The prime minister was simply styled *Kahlon*, or "the minister," or *Bangki-Kahlon*, "the chief minis-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the two countries, the line of demarcation being drawn from the village of *Dechhog* to the hill of *Karbonas*. 175

This invasion of Ladák by the Sokpos is thus related by Moorcroft.* "About a century and a half ago the Kalmak Tartars invaded Ladák and occupied Lé, and the Raja flew to Kashmir and implored the aid of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of that province in the reign of Aurangzeb. With the permission of the emperor, and on the condition that the Raja became a Musalmán, Ibrahim Khan led a body of troops into Ladák, expelled the Tartars, and replaced the Raja on the throne by the title of Akabal Mahmud, conformably to his new faith. A mosque was erected in Lé, which is still kept up. The son and successor of the Raja reverted to the national creed, and the apostasy was overlooked at Delhi in consideration of the encouragement given to Mahomedanism in the country, and a small annual tribute or present paid to the governor of Kashmir, as the representative of the emperor." A similar account is given by Mir Izzet Ullah,† who says, however, that the title given to the Raja was *Akabet* Mahmud Khan, and that "the Hakims at Kashmir still address the raja of Tibet by that designation." Izzet Ullah farther states that the Raja "coins the *Júd*‡ in the name of Mahmud Shah." This last fact seems to be conclusive of the Gyalpo's apostasy; and I may add that the Dogra soldiers always called the last Gyalpo by the name of Akabet Mahmud Khán. The people, however, both lamas and laymen, whom I interrogated upon this subject, stoutly denied that the Gyalpo had 797 175

* Travels, I. pp. 336, 337.

† Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. V. p. 109.

‡ "Four *júds* make one rupee."—Izzet Ullah.

Ir Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 175 ever become a Musalmán, although they acknowledge that from that time Ladák had continued to pay tribute to the governors of Kashmir. The real truth no doubt is, that the chief made an open profession of the Muhammadan faith in the presence of the Musalmán troops at Lé; but after their retirement to Kashmir he naturally reverted to his own creed. It is probable that the Gyalpo's younger son, Jigbal, who accompanied the Musalmán troops on their return to Kashmir, may have become a Musalmán; and that the governor may have been satisfied with the real conversion of the son, and the permanent establishment of a masjid at Lé.*

175 *Deldan Namgyal* had several sons, one of whom, *Jigbal*, accompanied the Muhammadan army to Kashmir. Another, named *Banchak*, proceeded to Lhása with the Sokpos, at the request of their leader. Of a third, called *Thuptan*, nothing is related. A fourth, named *Delek*, succeeded his father, who abdicated in his favour, and afterwards resided in the fort of Stuklakté. The reign of Deldan Namgyal probably extended from A.D. 1670 to 1705.

Delek Namgyal married the princess, or Gyalmo, of Lomostang, by whom he had five sons: 1st, *Nyima;* 2nd, *Navang;* 3rd, *Dechok;* 4th, *Choltan-grub;* and 5th, *Chortan.*† Delek Gyalpo probably reigned from A.D. 1705 to 1740. It was during his reign that the district of Spiti was re-annexed to the kingdom; and it was

* Vigne (II. p. 253) says that "the name of the first Ali Sher Khan, or Shah Murad, is still to be seen upon a mosque at Lé." Moorcroft, however (I. p. 337), refers the building of the masjid to the period of the Gyalpo's conversion, and so does Izzet Ullah.

† These names are written thus: 1st, *Nyi-ma;* 2nd, *Nga-dVang;* 3rd, *bDe-skyong;* 4th, *Chko-dVal-ton-grub;* 5th, *Chko-rtan.*

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 Ladák and the commerce of British India, was refused. From that time the Gyalpo lived in continual apprehension of an invasion of his territory by the Sikhs from Kashmir; but the governors of that district were too frequently changed, and too closely watched by the emissaries of the Jammu brothers, to be able to carry out such a design, even if they had formed it. For Raja Dhyán Sing, who was omnipotent in the Sikh durbar, was resolved that no one but his elder brother Raja Guláb Sing should obtain possession of Ladák and Balti. The invasion of these countries was therefore postponed until Guláb Sing had consolidated his power in his newly-acquired territory of Káshtwár,* which he had lately wrested from its hereditary chief.† Accordingly, in 1834, when the power of the Jammu brothers had been extended over all the hill states lying between the Jehlam and the Ravi, excepting only Kashmir, a large body of Dogra troops under the Vazir Zoráwar Sing invaded Ladák from the Káshtwár valley. The following account of this invasion was kindly dictated, at my request, by Mehta Basti Ram,‡ now governor of Lé, who was one of the principal officers of the expedition. As an authentic record of an interesting event, of which no other account exists to my knowledge, I should have

* *Káshtavára*, abounding in wood.

[797] † The representative of this family is now a Christian residing at Simla. He formerly lived at Ludiana, where he was converted by the American missionaries.

‡ Mehta Basti Ram is a Hindu rajput of Káshtwár. He was the governor of Takla-khar, or Takla-kot, near the source of the Sarju or Ghágra river, at the time of Zoráwar Sing's defeat and death, when he made his escape to the British provinces of Almora. He speaks in high terms of the kindness shown to him by the British resident, Mr. Lushington.

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srâchan or SHrâchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladâkis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
497 ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistân and women of Ladâk.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladâk women to adopt the faith of Islâm, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladâk, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHôns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHôns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[590] an "árGHôn." ArGHôns are never polyandrists, and though

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

lower classes know nothing of their religion in regard to heaven 779
and hell, beyond the fact that, when the end comes, their 772
souls or spirits will be dealt with according to their deserts, when the pious will at once enter heaven ("thoris thop ches") and the wicked will have to atone for sins by remaining for a certain time in one of the 18 Buddhist hells. A better educated Ladáki would say that the soul ("sem") was like a drop of water, a mere isolated atom, during the period of its connection with this world (jiksten), but that when it was admitted into heaven, i.e., attained nirvana ("stongpa ngyid thop ches"), it was absorbed into a sea of infinity. According to Buddhist ideas therefore, there can be no idea of heaven as a place of reward. Their heaven is a place of absorption into the absolute infinite, of escape from the troubles inseparable from life in this world, a place where all individuality ceases to exist; where there is no such thing as sensation either pleasurable or the reverse, in short it is a place of spiritual annihilation. It is very strange that Buddhism should have made such way in the world, for men are certainly not mostly philosophers, and yet we find some hundreds of millions of the human race, professing this very philosophic, matter of fact, unattractive religion, a religion which practically teaches its followers that life is a curse, and that the goal towards which they should struggle is the attainment of "nirvana", or in other words absolute extinction, both bodily and spiritual. There is in it no idea of a benign intercession, or a free forgiveness of sins, or of a better world to come, all is a matter of account, certain actions are equivalent to a certain amount of evil, others are equivalent to a certain amount of good, the debit and credit sides of the accounts are unerringly kept, and in the end, if the soul has no outstandings to pay off, it is extinguished, otherwise it must go to hell [60] for a time before reaching the goal of its ambition--annihilation. Is the Buddhist faith answerable for the stoical character of its adherents, or was it originally accepted by these, 779
because it accorded with their temperament? However that may be, it is certain that in Ladák, at any rate, Buddhists are now quite 797
satisfied with their own religion, and are not in the least inclined to embrace either Christianity or the more popular faith of Islam. On the 779
other hand, they regard persons of other religions with a benevolent indifference. The religion to which a person belongs, is, 798
in the opinion of Ladakis, a good enough religion for such

779 798 [792] person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 772 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells, such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers. [181]

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

316 466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564 645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

631 647

564 463 533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "Shribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]

797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry. 797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock), ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-tshal" is used. 195 805

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nâng. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian
● 777 Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they con-
794 fine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures
788 aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra
195 (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are im-
435 ported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

776 host of the local deities of this "sinister snow-covered country." The last-named, after they had been "converted" by Padmasambhava (146),

[797] 146. Padmasambhava, the Buddha priest and great Tantrik magician from Udyana (in present-day Afghanistan) came to Tibet with his priests and monks around the middle of the eighth century of our era, having been called in by king Trishrongldetsan. In an adventurous manner he then proceeded to "convert" the Tibetans to Buddhism, and in so doing he spread in that country the doctrine which had already been badly corrupted in India and particularly in his own home land. [773] According to the saga he defeated and "converted" the gods and demons of Tibet in violent battle. They were overcome by him and were bound by an oath not to fight against Buddhism henceforth, but to promote and protect it in the future. Concerning Padmasambhava, compare Ribbach, "Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft," Supplement No. 5, of the Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

were all more or less regarded as objects of worship, or at least they constantly had to be appeased through exorcisms and offerings. Finally the entire pantheon of the Bon religion was likewise readily incorporated into the Buddhistic pantheon.

782 The oldest form of prayer was the so-called "formula of refuge." We will give here one form of the expanded formula of refuge (skyabs-agro) of the unreformed lama sects: "All we living creatures take our refuge with Buddha on the basis of the intercession of the lamas; we take refuge with the Law (Dharma); we take refuge with the Monkhood (Samgha), with these Three Jewels. Further we take our refuge with the great army of gods (lha) and their following of tutelary deities, female demons, and defenders of the doctrine, who populate the Heavens."

There follows a long series of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demons, and the saints, with whom the praying person takes refuge; among these the primitive Buddha (Samantabhadra) and the founder of Lamaism, Padmasambhava, are particularly notable. Among the "reformed" lama sects (Gelugpa), Tsongkapa takes the place of the last-named.

Namgyal used to avail himself of an abbreviated formula of

463 they performed for the farmers during the year: the maintenance of
465 the agricultural and other implements, the shoeing of the horses, all
563 kinds of carpentry work, and so forth. The musicians (Bedas, Mon) who have played and sung at the festivities, likewise receive their share. After they have been entertained, each of those who have rendered a service of some kind to the farmers receives a few measures of grain, depending on his performance, up to a weight of two kal (one kal being about 15 kilograms).

000 Namgyal's religious enthusiams led him to follow conscientiously all the commands of the doctrine and of the lamas. But all these pious exercises were unable to put an end to the restlessness of his heart. Even the pilgrimages to the holy places and to the Buddha images, which according to the statements of the lamas were bound to secure the pious person an entry into paradise, yes, even into nirvana, did not give him the peace of soul that he sought. The struggle for perfection and liberation from earthly bonds seemed hopeless, all divine and human Skyabsmgon (saviours) had disappointed him; he had seen too much of the sinful life of the great majority of the lamas to be able to entrust himself to their leadership with confidence. He could not do entirely without their spiritual assistance, for the sake of the family and the tribe who placed importance upon a good relationship with the lamas; and in order to do everything for his own salvation of soul, and that of his family, he observed the commandments and "acted religious," as the lamas demanded it. But his yearning for peace remained unsatisfied.

• 797 Around this time a missionary had moved into the valley and had built a house, in spite of furious resistance on the part of the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru. Together with his wife, the missionary now took loving concern with the poor and the afflicted. He spoke to the people about someone called Yeshu, the incarnation of the great single God and Creator in Heaven, who came down to earth himself in human form to save the bound and suffering human beings; and who made the bound people free and happy through his own suf-
000 ferings and death /178/. The message struck Namgyal like a flash of lightning, and a new conflict began inside of him. He could not get rid of the idea: What if it were true what the stranger said, that the belief in the act of redemption of this Yeshu was sufficient by itself, without any good works, and without all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to make man free from sin and suffering! And so Namgyal frequently visited the missionary's gatherings, despite the interdict of

there flung it among the boulders. The Tsan wanted to have his revenge, 755
and now he could spend his fury on this figure.

Finally another "important matter" came to light. The old 754
grandmother, who constantly observed the Chondsom girl from the Cat's-mouth house with suspicious glances, thought that she could remember that that evil woman had once spat (161) very conspicuously

161. The Tibetans have a special expression for this kind of [827]
spitting with the purpose of harming an enemy: nad-pai to-le adebs-pa, the "spitting for sickness," that is, with the intention of making the particular person sick. In spitting, a curse or evil wish is expressed.

in front of the Dragshos house, and that in so doing she had cast an evil glance at the house and mumbled a few evil words. Thereupon 755
the lharje was called in once more. He took a strip of paper, on this he wrote a few magical formulas, crumpled the paper up, and made little pellets out of it. These the patient was to swallow. The effect of this was that the woman, to whom all food was repugnant anyway, had to vomit. This concerned the lharje very little; he urged that the woman should swallow the paper pills amidst great pain, something which always had the same effect.

Meanwhile none of the natural or supernatural remedies brought 797
any improvement to the poor sick woman: for weeks she hovered between life and death and caused great concern to husband and children. Finally the missionary's medicine brought some improvement. The missionary had by now been called to the sick bed--up till then the lamas had been able to prevent his appearance. The strong constitution of the woman gradually gained the upper hand; she recovered to the great joy of her family. Namgyal brought an ample offering of thanks to the gods in his household temple and to those in the temple of the monastery in Tingmogang, because his relatives so demanded. He found no reason to give any presents to the lamas. On the other hand, he honored the missionary with a sheep, a large plate of dried fruit, and a greeting ribbon as a sign of his gratitude for the missionary's help; his trust in the missionary grew, and he became even more receptive to the new message which the missionary preached and testified to by his actions.

The year in which all this happened, the earth-tiger year, was 164
a year of misfortune for the entire village and neighboring /135/

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

175 **Chapter II.**

History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *giálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon rái* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon rái* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Talái or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

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† Moorcroft mentions that the Giálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Giálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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P. 90

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

[788] Chapter III, B.

[786] Social and Religious Life.

184 Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *cháng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

779 "All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

795 [778] [782] 776 [754] "As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

778 782 177

771 177 "As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 244 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Sroy maekhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

792 177 The *lámáic* system.

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

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795 The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

792 794 Monasteries or *gónpás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III. B. — Social and Religious Life. 796

ends in the wildest gyrations:—the little stage hemmed in by the quaintly-dressed crowd, and with the huge barren mountains towering behind for back ground, makes a picture not easily forgotten.

The Moravian Mission in Láhaul and Kanáwar. 797

The following account of the Protestant Mission in British Láhaul has been kindly furnished by the Rev. Mr. Heyde. The Mission belongs to the Church of the Moravians or United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). It was established in the year 1854. From the beginning its object was to reach the Mongol tribes of Central Asia who profess Buddhism. The first two Missionaries appointed in 1852 were to have gone by European Russia and Siberia into Central Asia, but after repeated applications had been made, the Russian Government refused to let them pass through their territories. After that the route by China would have been taken, but China being then still obstructive to Missionary enterprise, this way had also to be abandoned and a third to be chosen, *viz.*, that *viâ* Ladákh. From Ladákh the Missionaries were to penetrate to the Mongolian tribes of the Khalmaks who inhabit the northern parts of Eastern Turkistan. In Ladákh the first station was to have been established, it being hoped that from thence it would be possible to advance gradually. This, however, proved impracticable, as the Kashmír Government refused to give the necessary permission for the desired station. Thus it came to pass that Láhaul was fixed upon as a suitable place for a first settlement, the province being situated close to Ladákh, and because its inhabitants belong at least partly to the Mongolian race and profess Buddhism. From Láhaul the Mission hopes still to advance into Ladákh as soon as permission can be obtained to do so, thereby pursuing its original object. The name of the station in Láhaul is Kyelang, often spelt, "Kailang" or "Keylang," which is wrong. The Mission being still a small one, at present only two Missionaries carry on its work. Two more Missonaries have lately been appointed, who will increase its present staff soon. The "Mission Department" of the Moravian Church organisation is the directing board of this as well as all other Moravian Missions. A second station of the Moravian Mission in these parts was founded in 1865 among the Buddhists of Upper Kanáwar in the protected Hill State of Baráhir (Simla district). The name of this station is Pú, situated on the immediate frontier of Tibet proper, having been established with a view to extend its labours into that country. The Missionary in charge of it having lately died unexpectedly, the place is for the moment without a leader, but a successor is soon to arrive. The number of native Christians at both stations together is at present 35 including children, of which number three adults and three children are at Pú.

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door of the anchorite's cell to a creature in the form of a girl. Under the anchorite's care she grew up into a beautiful woman, was called sun-face, and married a king. The other queens conspired against her and accused her of being a witch and eating human flesh; they murder her child, and make the king believe she killed it to feast on its body. Sun-face is driven out and leads a wandering life in the forests till the king discovers the plot, puts the conspirators to death, and recalls her. 773

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. Moravian Mission schools.

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Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

[972]

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As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 Education.

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In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

[651]

142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

366 A. H. Francke—*A language map of West Tibet with notes.* [No. 4,

T D 174 797 782 539

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

T D 539

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tizha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

T D 174 527 796

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

T D 174 533

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

T D 174

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Késar-Myths, the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship. Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the Bon Religion, yungdrung 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

104 821 [773] It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *yyungdrung*, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Késar-Myths an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima, occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name Khyung dkrung may have degenerated to become *yyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:—(1) a word *yyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *yyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *yyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *y* of *yyung* and *yyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *yyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *yyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卐 *sú* and 卍 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.

a

b

779 821 797 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *yyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

[See source No 10 in Tib. F. AJ4 -- A.]

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not 595
come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a 586
polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There 595
are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, 548
which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased 595
the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an 177
ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of [795]
Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn 797
to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck 177
pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

197 177 lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

595 I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric mar-
593 riages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

595 The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated,
671 in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her
428 devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it. 595 428 [671]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless." [694]

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers. 593 184 [797]

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm 593 595 184

735 "If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

361 Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding [493] streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule 782 train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

> *la ilaha illa–'llah:*
> *Mohammed rasulu–'llah.*
> *No god but Allah: Mohammed*
> *is the messenger of Allah.*

771 There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh—2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist coun- 797 try, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is 175 also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith 648 of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not 797
to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to 175
propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule 648
of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not 643
thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over 349
the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great 792
wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their 178
spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all 671
the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. 695
It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform [548]
rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population 458
bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny vil- 438
lage on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its
Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient
city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will
shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is 185
found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an
extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the
use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale.
Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program
in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as
the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the
old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I 159
speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with
their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncompli-
cated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith.
The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to
them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people,
and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens 145
or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually
faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the chil-
dren, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoy-
ancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the
laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheep- 291
skin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been
washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the
garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against
Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips,
gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab- 797

•797 lished a century ago by devout Germans. It is now headed by two fine Britishers, Dr. and Mrs. Norman Driver, who dispense re-
164 ligion and pills with special emphasis on the medicines, for Leh is rife with venereal disease, intestinal worms, and goiter. Zila works for the Drivers; and one day in their garden I heard her singing. She played the *daps*—a skin stretched on a hoop about three feet in diameter. Zila sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice:

539

When I approached the city gate,
They shut it in my face.
I salute you,
The Rose of Ladakh.
I put my life in your hands.
I carry my cup and food,
And come with you.
I salute you,
The Rose of Ladakh.•

000 I asked Zila to sing more. She went and brought back another girl and two men, and they sat for an hour or more beating the *daps* and singing folk songs. All of them had sad voices; all of them but Zila had sad faces. Her face was lighted with happiness; her eyes danced; her white teeth gleamed. She threw back her head and gave zest to the song about Tseringskyit. It was Zila who took the lead, the other girl and the two men making the response:

539 VERSE *Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*
RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

VERSE *Her body is as though it were made of gold. She has just passed by this way. Have you not seen my friend, Tseringskyit?*
RESPONSE *I do not know your friend, Tseringskyit.*

•See page 335.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the
361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers
162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense
771 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of
233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have
[771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism
• [797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion
162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus
792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest.
563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

WT 175 721 B 175 721 WT [797]

medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

WT [778]

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The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

other magnificent lights from various parts of his person. But these had to be quenched as soon as he could possibly seat himself down in the brook, crushing in its covering of ice and snow to soak in the cool depths of its bed. Those injured adjourned to the Moravian Mission Hospital, where we concluded our celebrations by dressing their burns, but this gentleman, not wishing to disclose the fact of his unlawful annexations, went elsewhere to have his injuries treated. Weeks after, however, he came to us, still suffering from the effects; and we were able to cure him also. The initial item on our programme of peace celebrations was one entitled "Procession of Notables round the Town." The notables consisted of Tehsildar, Naib Tehsildar, Darogas, Naib Darogas, Policemen, Naib Policemen, Telegraph Master, Postmaster, Charas Officer and his staff of assistants, Aksakal and his clerks, and in fact anybody who could find a pony on which to ride. Among them figured also the Missionary "Padre" and Doctor, indeed these two considered themselves notable "Notables," for they were asked to head the procession, one on each side of the chief magistrate, and were preceded by our noble company of sepoys. If the common people of the town were not edified by this sight of their notables on horseback, their sense of the sublime must have been sadly lacking. So we feel we have every right to include ourselves among "other professional gentlemen" of the town, as representatives of Western Medicine. We cannot lay claim to being unique in this respect, for the Kashmir State has its Dispensary in the charge of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon.

So now let us visit the combined Moravian Mission Hospital and British Charitable Dispensary. Like all our houses in Leh, the Hospital buildings are made of mud-bricks. In the centre of the compound is the Hospital garden, which is enclosed by the wards and administrative buildings. Entering the out-patient room, we find a very cosmopolitan crowd awaiting attention. The greater number are, of course, Ladaki men

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and women, both Buddhists and Mohammedan, the latter revealing the fact by wearing turban or red fez, and their names often indicating that they were formerly Buddhists, who had been converted to the faith of the prophet ; this is done by adding the word " Sheik " to their new Mohammedan names. Then there are Baltis, ill-clad looking creatures with their meagre black skull-caps from under which appear long, curly, but unkempt-looking, locks. How different from the two or three well-dressed, distinguished-looking Yarkandis, who sit next to them, stalwart men from Chinese Turkestan. Their faces are almost as white as that of the European, with shortly-cropped black hair and black beards, and they wear nice warm wadded garments cut somewhat like a frock-coat with very long sleeves, but of less sombre colours, sometimes a silky glossy cloth of black or even nice blue. To brighten this a large gay coloured embroidered square scarf is worn, folded triangularly with the apex downwards in the middle of the waist behind. On their heads are green or other coloured caps, lined with fur and turned up round the edge, or white pugarees. Occasionally these gentlemen bring their wives with them. Being Mohammedan they may not show their faces to strange men, and they therefore cover them with a voluminous head-dress, with network squares let in over their eyes through which they can look. Then there are some Kashmiris, men with beautifully regular features, strongly reminding one of pictures of good-looking Jews and of stories of the lost ten tribes of Israel. Other down-country races, too, may be represented, such as the Punjabi, or perhaps a Sikh, with the fringe of his black beard neatly plaited, and often the proud Pathan or Afridi appears. That wild ferocious-looking fellow with long, untidy, straggling hair is, of course, one of the upland nomads, whilst the well-dressed man who is sitting on one of our two stools is a merchant priest from the closed land of Tibet. Now shall we stand at the doctor's side, and listen with him to some of the complaints of these patients.

797 563 563 757 164

757 565 ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

•797 But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards 758 are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital, 593 he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not. 758 We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated 301 to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his 164 ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be 758 able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS.

Chapter VI.

Principal places in Láhaul and Spiti.

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[117]
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The principal villages of Láhaul are Kyelang, Kardong and Kolang. Kyelang is situated on the main trade route beween the Rohtáng and Bára Lácha passes, on the right bank of the river Bhága about four miles above its junction with the Chandra. Here a post office is maintained during the summer months, and a Moravian mission has been for some years established. The mission-house is a substantial residence, the lower apartment of which is used as a chapel. A school supported by a grant from the Government is managed entirely by the Missionaries.* Kardong lies on the left bank of the Bhága almost immediately opposite Kyelang, and is spoken of by Capt. Harcourt as at once the largest and most striking village in the valley. The houses are better built than in other villages. Kolang, which is the residence of the Thákur of Láhaul, is also situated in the Bhága valley, on the right bank about ten miles above Kyelang. The largest village probably in Spiti is Rangrig on the right bank of the Spiti river. The name is said to mean town. Dankar, the capital of Spiti, is a large village, 12,774 feet above the sea, built on a spur or bluff which stands out into the main valley and ends in a precipice. The softer parts of this hill have been worn away, leaving blocks and columns of a hard conglomerate, among which the houses are perched in curious and inconvenient positions. On the top of a hill is a large house known as the fort, which, with some cultivated land attached, belongs to Government. On a point of the hill lower down is a large monastery. The aspect of the whole place is very picturesque. It has been the seat of Government of the country from time immemorial.

* Capt. Harcourt pays a high tribute of admiration to the zeal and energy of the Missionaries, Mr Behler and Mr. Heyde, and acknowledges the important services rendered by them to the administration. They are looked up to as friends and protectors by every inhabitant of the valley, though in the matter of conversions to Christianity they have had but little success.

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

757 cure them of their blindness, but our solicitude seemed
783 unnecessary, for they remained quite cheerful, merely saying "*Lanchaks*,"—that is "we are atoning for our sins in a former incarnation." No doubt those successfully operated upon are getting the reward for former good deeds, and for the successful operation it is quite unnecessary to thank the
757 Surgeon when virtue is being rewarded. The next question
778 is, where are we to operate? Under the open sky the sun is
●797 too grilling and brilliant, and the tent is too small. We have detected a verandah which would make a most suitable temporary operating-theatre, in fact it is practically the only available spot, but, on suggesting this, are informed that this is a temple verandah and belongs to a very great and holy man. "There you cannot operate" we are told emphatically, and reply that the reason adduced makes the place more desirable than ever, and we must operate there or nowhere. This point is gained, or partly so. We might operate on the men there, but not the women, for they must not enter such a holy place. Alas! the Doctor Sahib must have had a strange upbringing, for he informs these Lingshed men that in the peculiar country whence he comes, the dictum is "Ladies first," and only when these are done can the Lords of Creation be tackled. That settles this point, but not even yet are all our difficulties overcome, for a very old lama finds his way to the Doctor, who having examined him, finds the eyes quite operable. He is, however, begged not to give the old fellow his sight, for he is so poor that he has not sufficient food to sustain him while the wounds heal, nor a helper to care for him during his time in bed. The former objection is easily overcome for we begin to charge in kind for the medicines we dispense, and soon the old fellow finds himself quite well off in flour, rice, and dried apricots, and a nurse is also provided for him. Preliminary arrangements having been completed, we make our way one fine morning to our temporary operating-theatre in the verandah of the temple. An old bedstead which cannot boast a spring-mattress, having only a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Landetans AJ4

network of rope, serves as operating-table. A small box does duty as instrument table, whilst an X travelling wash-stand must serve for the Surgeon's washing of hands and that, too, of his assistant. The first patient is brought in, a woman who prostrates herself before the door of the temple. One of the villagers has been impressed as an extra assistant, and is now instructed thoroughly to wash the lady's face with soap and water. She is then laid on the dirty bedstead, and her dirty clothes are covered first by a sheet of clean mackintosh, and then by towels which have been sterilized in Carbolic Acid, and her not overclean hair is likewise covered. Cocaine is then instilled into both eyes, the Surgeon and his assistant wash their hands, then kneeling at their very low operating-table proceed to extract the cataracts. This done, fingers are held up for the patient to count, and the onlookers reveal their interest and joy by ejaculations of "*wah!*," or "*tong dug*" —"she sees." Eyes are bandaged, and the next patient tackled. That day we did twenty-two cataract operations, and afterwards were inclined to boast about it till we met another Missionary Doctor,—Holland of Quetta,—who told us that he had done over ninety in one day. And the results? Of our twenty-two, eighteen received good sight, two were partially successful, whilst two were failures. Considering the dirty patients and dirtier surroundings, we felt the results quite justified the trip. We stayed a few days longer till it was safe to leave those on whom we had operated, and then began our return journey, thinking ruefully of how the deputation from Lingshed had promised to furnish us with supplies on the road, and had faithfully done so until the operations were over and there was little more to be got out of us. On the way home we were left to fend for ourselves, and our poor ponies had occasionally to go hungry. Ingratitude, and not gratitude, is one of the prominent characteristics of the Ladaki, for does not a good action bring its own reward, and the Doctor will have reaped much merit from his medical tour.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 The Southern school of Buddhism, called Hinayana (the small
795 vehicle, for only the few can expect to reach Nirvana), still believes this,* but the time came when a split occurred, and as a result Northern Buddhism or Mahayana Buddhism arose. "The Buddhist cannot rid himself of the feeling that if there are consequences of deeds to be borne, there must be someone to bear them." For ordinary men and women the gospel of Buddha was only a message of despair, for the bands which bound them to the Wheel of Existence were far too tight for them to loosen. This need of the human heart for a Saviour resulted in the Mahayana doctrine, so-called because it means the greater vehicle or means by which every Buddhist may hope one day to attain the bliss of Nirvana. First Buddha himself was regarded as this Saviour, and later others were ranked with him to help struggling humanity towards the final goal. The Buddha had the perfect right to enter a well-earned Nirvana, but compassion for men and women, beasts and demons, made him renounce this until he had aided all things living to enter this same bliss with him. Thus arose the beautiful story of Avolakita, the all-merciful one, the all-pitying one, to which we shall refer later and of whom the
179 Dalai Lama is the living representative. Unfortunately this
797 new doctrine also opened the door to all sorts of national gods and demons which Buddhism encountered in its spread, for now, at about the end of the first century, Buddhism became a thoroughly missionary religion, carrying this good news of possible redemption far and wide. It reached Tibet about the middle of the 7th century, where it found the old *Bon Chos*, which was a Shamanistic devil-dancing religion. The followers of the new faith having subdued those of the old, then incorporated much of the old religion in their own, thus producing Lamaism. This consists therefore of a substratum of real Buddhist philosophy understood by the few, and a large proportion of demonology which appeals to the unlearned masses.

* [i.e., ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION ALONE. -- ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

some vegetables from the garden, and the man went off in high glee at the success of his expedition. 792 159

The next morning we were asked whether the *Skushog* of Trigtse might call upon us. We hastily arranged for an interpreter, for our Superintendent was away, and we were all new to the country; moreover, our guest's language of Central Tibet was quite a different dialect from that of Ladak. He duly arrived, dressed in his official robes and attended by two or three lamas, and was invited into the drawing-room. But he lingered in the hall, and to the Doctor's surprise began to undress. This process continued to such an alarming extent that he was led into the study. Two other ladies had just called to go out with the Memsahib, and great was the surprise of all three when the drawing-room door opened, and the *Skushog* entered. He wore the helmet-like topee, a Chinese type of frock-coat with paired pin-tucks across the back, brown trousers, a pair of bright yellowish socks, and some Chinese-looking attempts at European shoes. Invited to a chair, and the interpreter called, he entered into friendly talk. He announced among other things that he would like to become a Christian, but we did not take this seriously, and pointed out that he could not do that and retain his wealth and power as a *Skushog*. He then intimated that he would like to stay the night, a rather awkward proposition with our limited accommodation, but we said we could give him the verandah. His lamas whispered anxiously together and let him know it was time to go. Meanwhile they had boiled some tea for him on a little fire outside our kitchen in his own pots, as he must not take food of our cooking. After this the Doctor offered him a cigarette, not knowing in his ignorance of the country that it was against the rules. The *Skushog* made violent signs to him to withdraw into the study again, where, away from the eyes of the lamas, he enjoyed his smoke thoroughly. The latter were at last able to get him to go, and withdrew him on to the verandah where he changed

792 159 574 [797] [276]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 called him "the Mad Skushog," but, said he, "I am not mad,
159 I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenance
771 and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one else could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirely [797] repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed him to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and the Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted that the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity, and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moravian missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficult situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipated life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruction, telling him that study and probation were necessary first. He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, who found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, to whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds were perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our minds can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could not believe.

[626] At about this time, living as he was with his one lama servant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist homes alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. After taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill, and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionaries and begged them to take him into their compound, where he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he was given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look up the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting on his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still sus- [557] pected that the desire to join the Christian religion was secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found that he had hoped to get a political post under the British Government, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Without it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetans would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them up

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..betans AJ4

in yak's skins and casting them out in the desert to be shrivelled to death. A Bishop was coming to visit the Mission, and the British Joint Commissioner would soon be coming up for the summer months, so he waited with us for both, though meanwhile he went away for two or three weeks to fetch some of his property from Zankskar. He took his lama servant with him, and, before starting, secured what he considered was an outfit of European clothes. When remonstrated with, he replied that he had thought over the matter carefully, and wished to show that he had made a clean cut with the old life. On his way down we heard that he stuck to his profession of Christianity, asked a blessing before his meals, read his New Testament aloud, and, when the usual offerings were brought to him by ardent Buddhists,—for still he was a *Skushog*,—only took them under protest, saying that he himself had no blessing to give. Arrived at Zankskar he obtained his pony and goods, but his lama deserted him, in fact he seemed to have had a rough time, and he came back alone. Strange it was to think of this high-born ecclesiastical dignitary travelling in the Orient with no servant, though doubtless credulous Buddhists were still eager to obtain merit by providing for his wants at each stage. A short waiting time remained, during which he often came to meals with us, rode and talked with us, proving an entertaining companion and a gentlemanly guest. He also continued his instruction and attended church services regularly, sitting on the floor with the other members, and entering into the responses and hymns with apparent sincerity and enjoyment.

Finally, through the British Joint Commissioner, he was given a post in the Secret Service at Gyangtse, just across the Tibetan border on the Darjeeling side, and left Leh with letters of reference and recommendation, vowing that in two years he would come back to complete his instruction in the Christian faith.

So this strange youth vanished from our midst. We

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

586 refuses to live any longer – she will sometimes tie a thread between one
[768] of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to show that she is free.

Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus
[831] sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent.

A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatability of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and divorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable
[595] position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great impor-
586 tance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Mos-
797 lem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife, simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to do so.

586 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
601 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-*
[591] *chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close
[126] to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[428] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[497] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[553] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
[097] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[092] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came. 361 [346]

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage". 361 [487] 439 563 [797]

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very 142 [522] 291

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

792

power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

[795]

[162]

Christian missions.

797

There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Agriculture.

241

The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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fat; grease pervaded the atmosphere, in fact everything the monks touched, for they were filthily dirty, their red garments being more or less black with grease. Fortunately their heads were shorn. They seemed to be a happy lot of brothers, always ready to laugh and joke, in fact, just like the pictures of the monks of the West in days gone by.

There are nuns who live in separate buildings. Many of them are so like the monks that it is difficult to tell one from the other, at least to an unpractised eye, as the following incident will show.

A few days later I was in Leh with Dr Neve. He was in the hospital helping people to get well quickly. I stayed outside to try and cheer up the patients who were waiting their turn outside, as many of them seemed to be rather nervous and frightened. I noticed one person who seemed to look very depressed, who I thought was a monk and not living up to his usual jovial self, so I poked him in the ribs and told him to cheer up, when a voice called out to me from behind, but too late: "Take care what you are doing, for that lady is a nun." It was a Moravian missionary who spoke too late. Well, I did all that an English gentleman could do. I apologised most humbly, but the nun would not have any, and I failed to cheer her up.

Well, our triumphal march to the capital, Leh (a town with a population of 3000 in the winter, which grows to 6000 in the summer, when all the traders from east and west come in), was as entertaining as it was interesting. Monastery bands, town bands, feasts and polo matches succeeded one another, but the reception given to the Commissioner Sahib at Leh was the culmination of great doings. Seven miles from Leh, in the valley of the Indus, a large sandy plain, there met us a great cavalcade of

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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which gives most grateful shade in the hot summer weather.

As it is very broad, it is the polo ground. It seemed most strange to see the players dashing up and down the main street, often hitting the ball into the shops. Fortunately the shops in Leh do not possess glass windows, otherwise polo in that street would be an expensive amusement.

K 648

Captain Trench was finally escorted to the Residency, which was a two-storeyed stone building in quite a nice garden. There is not a great selection of trees in Leh, poplars and willows being all that I remember seeing in this part of Ladakh, but in lower Ladakh there are apricot, apple and pear trees.

The Commissioner's chief duty is to look after the traders' interests on this main caravan road from India to Central Asia, Yarkand, Turkestan and to China.

W.T. 797

I went to the Moravian missionaries, who had kindly invited Dr E. F. Neve and myself to stay with them. They have been doing a great and useful work here for many years, by means of hospital, schools, and visiting the people in their homes. They had then a congregation of about thirty Christians.

The history of one of them with whom I was connected for some years is interesting. A certain monk in a monastery in Nubra was dying, and he sent for one of the missionaries whom he knew to visit him. Nubra Valley is some fifty miles from Leh over the other side of the Kardang Pass, 17,400 feet high.

The missionary went at once, and was in time to see him before he died. The monk told him that he heard the Gospel through the preaching of the missionaries, and believed in Christ as his Saviour, but had not been bold enough to confess openly on account of the persecution

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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which would follow, but as he had failed to do the first thing he would do the second, and that was to give his son to the missionaries to be brought up a Christian. The monk passed away like the dew drop off the lotus leaf, let us hope, and his son was taken to the mission at Leh, and remained with them until the age of fourteen, when he was sent to the Mission School at Srinagar. The missionaries took the opportunity of some friendly Tibetans going down to Srinagar on business and delivered Joseph, for that was his Christian name, to their safe keeping. I remember the interest and pleasure it was to welcome this quiet and stolid Ladakhi to the school. He arrived in his Tibetan costume, looking most quaint, for I had seen few Tibetans up to that time. I am glad to say he was proud of his national dress and wore it all the time he was at school.

Joseph had a hard time of it among the Brahman boys, who laughed at his dress, which, as a matter of fact, was far more becoming than theirs, and also tormented him on the quiet because he was a Christian.

Joseph never allowed himself to be drawn by his tormentors, he never retaliated, nor did he show the least fear of them, but I did not see why his persecutors should have it all their own way. I believe in a boy managing his own affairs among the boys without help from outside if possible, so I set to work to teach him to box. He became an apt pupil, as he started fair, without any lee-way to make up in the matter of cowardice or weakness of any kind, so in a short time he became thoroughly respected, notwithstanding the difference in religion or dress, and before he left school was the most respected and, I might say, popular boy in the school. As he was preparing to return to his own country, I asked him what profession he would choose. Would he

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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797 care to join the State service, as very few Ladakhis were educated and all posts were filled by Kashmiri Brahmans [647] and Indians? It would be good for the country if some [563] of these officials were natives of Ladakh. I pointed out that if he took that line he would have power and influence later on, which he could put to good use. His answer was: "I do not want power or riches. All I want is that I may have opportunities of preaching Christ to my people. I would prefer to be a missionary."

797 He returned to Leh, and in course of time became headmaster of the Mission School, which post he has held for many years, where he is training his own countrymen, and preaching Christ to them by life as well as by words. I am glad to say that his education has not given him any ideas of being a babu, and therefore too much of a gentleman to do manual labour, for in the vacations he is to be seen driving his yoke of oxen and carrying manure on his back in a basket very similar to those used in Switzerland for the same purpose. His education has not unmanned him, as it has done so many in Kashmir and India.

So the dying monk in the monastery at Nubra did well for his country, though it seems odd to those who do not know the way of monks that they should have sons to bequeath.

The mission at Leh has been blessed with some very fine missionaries. They have to be a very whole-hearted lot, for their pay is a mere pittance, and until lately they did not return home on furlough, but died at their post like Dr Marks and Dr Redslop, but I am glad to say that in these days there is a wiser and more humane policy, for surely it is wiser that a missionary's life should be lengthened by periods of rest than that he should live a short time and have to be replaced by a novice. It is

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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797 more humane in that parents may be permitted to see their children now and again, whom they have sent to school in the Homeland. The missions in Srinagar and Leh are able to help one another in various ways. During the war Dr and Mrs Heber were able to come to the help of the Srinagar Mission Hospital at a time of need, and much were their services and presence appreciated.

Outside the town in the waste of sand is a little oasis; it is the Christian cemetery, in which lies, among other honoured remains, the body of Miss Irene Petrie, a most gifted missionary, who compressed into the short space of three years a most marvellous amount of living work among the women and children of Srinagar. She came up to Ladakh on her much-needed holiday, and passed away shortly after her arrival at Leh from typhoid fever, which she had contracted in Srinagar. Her sister, Mrs Ashley Carus-Wilson, has written her life, which is well worth reading, as it tells of a beautiful life spent in the highest service.

000 I had heard a good deal about the Kardang Pass of 17,400 feet, some miles from Leh, the one on which there is so much loss of life of luggage animals. The air is so rare that the pony and donkey men often slit up the noses of their animals to allow of easier breathing. The traders use yaks to a great extent on this pass, which they ride to save themselves from mountain sickness.

As the sun was so hot I chose the night for my trip, and started at eight P.M. on my pony, as a yak would be too slow, with a mounted Ladakhi guide. At twelve o'clock my guide disappeared; I did not see which way he went, and it was too dark to find any path, so I dismounted so that my eyes might be nearer the ground. The pony

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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133 of ice to spare on the other side, in case of the ice being rotten. One of our coolies did fall into a crevasse, but he was saved by the load on his back getting hitched on to the ice. We were glad when all our party reached camp safely. We were careful to select a safe place for our tents, for we passed the spot where Lieutenant Genge, I.M.S., encamped, and during the night he with all his servants was swept away by an avalanche. The Wardwan is an exceptionally narrow valley, and hence the mountain-sides are very steep and precipitous, so that snow-slides and avalanches are very common, and one has to keep one's weather-eye open for them.

797 During our march Dr Neve managed to fit in a good
164 deal of medical work. He would see the patients after our tea, and also, if necessary, in the morning before starting. Some patients followed us from camp to camp, when it was necessary for them to have continual treatment. Dr Neve during this tour performed forty-two operations for cataract. It was great to see the delight of the people who received sight. After the operation, which was accomplished in a marvellously short time, Dr Neve would hold up his fingers and ask the patient to count them. When the patient found that he was correct in his counting, and could really see, a smile began to pervade the face, which grew wider and wider as he realised that it was no dream or sorcery, but naked fact, that his sight was restored. Of course the eye was bandaged up directly, and the patient was given strict orders not to undo the bandage for two weeks. The removal of the cataract is a wonderfully neat and quick operation, and one envies those who have the power to give such joy in so few seconds; it is very little short of the miraculous.

000 And then there is the greater joy of the missionary doctor who bestows the great gift freely and without payment,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

probably not more than 20,000 men. The extra 702
number would have been made up by the quotas of the different kahlons, lonpas, and gobas, who were obliged to furnish from ten to four men each.

Since Moorcroft's time, however, the population has 161
very much decreased, partly owing to the ravages of disease, but chiefly to the destructive effects of war. In 164
the summer of 1834 the small-pox broke out in Ladák with such fatal virulence that 14,000 persons,* or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off. Amongst a filthy people, who never wash, and who [515]
only change their garments when the cloth has rotted piecemeal off their persons, the mortal effect of such a contagious disease as small-pox cannot be wondered at.

But the ravages of disease were almost forgotten in 727
the more deadly destructiveness of war and its attendant miseries. They who survived the small-pox had only to lament the sudden loss of near and dear relatives; but they who escaped death in the war had also to bewail the pillage of their property and the destruction of their houses. By the wholesale plunder of the metal 798
images belonging to the monasteries, the invaders gave a rude shock to the pious minds of the whole people, while they secured the bitter enmity of the lamas by an extensive resumption of monastic lands.

Such was the effect of these severe and impolitic measures, that no less than three-fourths of the lamas,

* About 10,000 died before the conquest. Dr. Henderson, who 751
was then in Ladák, gave both physic and advice, but nothing availed to check the disease. Zorávar Sing *is said* to have vaccinated great numbers by force, of whom no less than 4,000 died. My informant was a Musalman who hated the present maharaja, and I doubt the truth of his statement about the compulsory vaccination.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

798 or about 9,000 persons, are said to have left their native land, and to have found refuge in the numerous monasteries of Great Tibet.

727 During the wars from 1834 to the close of 1841, it is said that about 15,000 Ladákis perished, and that about 1,000 (who were chiefly Musalmans) emigrated to Balti and the neighbouring districts. Of the 4,000 Ladákis who accompanied Zoráwar Sing on his inroad into the Lhasan territory, it is well known that nearly the whole perished in the snow. A few made their way back to Ladák; and some four or five hundred, who were made prisoners, are said to be most strictly confined at Lhasa.

162 In 1847 I found, by a census of 1,890 houses, that the
161 average number of persons per house was 4·147; but as a very considerable number of people were absent from their homes, the true rate per house could not have been less than five persons, or about the same as that of the district of Spiti, which I ascertained to be 5·3 persons per house. The number of inhabited houses is said to be 23,000, which at this rate, and allowing the present number of lamas and nuns to be only 3,000, will make the total amount of the population 124,900, or in round
161 numbers, 125,000 persons. The decrease in the population, since Moorcroft's time, is, therefore, not less than 40,000 persons. The causes of this decrease are the following:—

	Persons.
Carried off by small-pox in 1834	14,000
Lamas emigrated	9,000
Perished during the wars	15,000
Emigrated (chiefly Musalmans)	1,000
Total decrease	40,000
Moorcroft's census	165,000
Present census	125,000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AI4

the country had a king, and a numerous clergy, all of whom were strongly attached to the popular Buddhistical doctrine of the "*Lesser-advancement*," which consisted of outward observances, both moral and religious. The ceremonial of the *quinquennial assembly*, which was originally established by Asoka, about B.C. 250, was duly performed with much rude magnificence, and with becoming gravity. Buddhism was then the prevailing religion of Ladák; and there seems good reason to believe that it had been firmly rooted there for upwards of 400 years, since the first century before the Christian æra, when the Buddhistical doctrines were first *widely* spread throughout Tibet by the preaching of 500 Kashmirian missionaries.*

In the tenth century, when the empire of Great Tibet was finally broken up, several of the outlying districts were separated by ambitious chiefs, and erected into independent kingdoms. Thus Purang was occupied by Tashi-Degon, and Ladák by Palgyi-Gon.† From that time down to the end of the sixteenth century, no historical records now exist in Ladák itself, although it is possible that a copy of the royal genealogy may yet be found at Lhása. Csoma de Körös was certainly misinformed regarding the existence of a book at Lé containing the "names of the kings that successively reigned in that principality."‡ For, during the invasion of Ladák in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Ali Mir, the Musulmán chief of Skardo, all

* Klaproth's Chinese Chronology, in Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 128. It was however first introduced about B.C. 240.

† Csoma de Körös, Kings of Tibet. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 131. See also Deguigne's Hist. des Huns, &c. tom. i. p. 165.

‡ Note appended to his list of Tibetan kings. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 132.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 the temples and monasteries of the country are said to [798] have been destroyed, and their libraries thrown into the Indus. To this cause the Lamas attribute the entire want of all historical documents prior to that time; and their only record accordingly begins with the conquest of the country by *Chovang-Namgyal*,* a descendant of *Khri-Tsampo*,† the first king of Tibet. No date is given: but as his brother's son was a contemporary of the emperor Jehángir, this conquest could not have taken place much earlier than A.D. 1600, or perhaps about 1580.

During my stay in Ladák I had a copy of the existing history of the country transcribed for me in the original Tibetan. The historical portion of this work is brief, as the greater part of the volume consists of the Lamaïc ideas of the cosmogony and theogony. When in Ladák I had the principal historical parts read and explained to me, of which I made notes at the time; and I had also an abstract prepared by a Munshi in Urdu. From these I have now arranged the only interesting parts of the history, extending over a century and a half, during which period Ladák was conquered three different times.

Chovang-Namgyal, a descendant of the ancient kings of Tibet, being expelled from Lhása, took refuge in Ladák, where he established himself about A.D. 1580. He afterwards extended his conquests into the neighbouring districts of *Changmarangi*, *Lodang*, *Purang*, *Gugé*, *Lhojumlang*, *Lungti*, *Shigar*, *and Khabkar*.‡ He

* *Chho-dVang-rNam-rGyal*, that is, king Chovang.

† *Khri-rTsam-po*, pronounced *Thi-Tsanpo* in Great Tibet.

‡ The names of these places are thus written in Tibetan: *Byang-dMa-rangis*, *bLo-dang*, *Bu-rang*, or *sPu-rangs*, *Lho-hJum-lang*, *Lung-ti*, *Shi-dKar*, *Khab-dKar*. Purang lies to the S.E. of Ladák, and Shigar

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 accession, received the usual offerings of submission from all the Ladákis, excepting only a petty chief of Purik who was in the interest of Ali Mir, the Gyalpo of Balti. Chovang Malig, the head chief of Purik and the elder brother of the rebel, applied to Jámya for a small force to coerce the refractory chief. The king assented and accompanied his troops to the Purik district, where they were suddenly overtaken by a violent snowstorm. The royal troops were dispersed; and the king and many of his principal followers were taken prisoners by the rebel and sent to Skardo,* where they were confined. The remainder of the troops were permitted to return to Ladák.

175 Ali Mir, the ruler of Skardo, taking advantage of the
● 798 helpless state of the country, immediately marched upon Lé with a large force, and took possession of the whole of Ladák.† The temples and monasteries were burned;‡ the images of Buddha and of his various personified emanations were destroyed by the bigoted Mahomedans; and all the religious and historical books were thrown into the Indus. The conquest was complete; and arrangements having been made for the future government of Ladák, Ali Mir marched back to Skardo.

175 Shortly after his return, the conqueror released Jámya, the imprisoned Gyalpo of Ladák, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. No reason is assigned for

* *Skar-mDo*, pronounced *Skardo*, "the starry place," or "starry fort."

† This conquest is also recorded in Vigne's brief historical notice of Balti (Kashmir, II. p. 253); but the chief of Skardo is there called Ali Sher, and not Ali Mir. Ali Sher is the true name, as all the petty chiefs of the Balti district claim their descent from him.

342 ‡ The buildings in Ladák are readily burned down, as all the walls are bonded together with timber, which in so dry a climate is readily ignited.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IV.—INVASION OF TIBET.

Elated with his success, Zoráwar Sing now threatened the neighbouring states, and even talked of invading Yárkand. But the Lhásan provinces of Rudok and Ngári were more accessible; and the unscrupulous conqueror revived the old claims of Ladák to those districts which had been alienated since the time of Singgé Namgyal. It was enough for him that the monasteries were known to possess vessels and instruments of gold and silver for the service of religion; and that the country produced the finest shawl-wool. The plunder of the first would enrich himself and his soldiers, and the acquisition of the latter would be highly pleasing to his master, as it would throw the whole trade in shawl-wool into the hands of the Jammu Raja. 175

In the month of May, 1841, with an army of 5,000 men, he advanced up the valley of the Indus, and plundered the monasteries of Hanlé and Tashigong. His troops penetrated to Rudok and Gáro, both of which submitted without striking a blow. The conqueror then passed the sources of the Indus, and established his head-quarters on the Sutluj at Tirthapuri, in Gugé, the principal place in the holy district of Lake Manasarovara. The whole country was now occupied by parties of Dogra and Ladáki soldiers. Basti Rám was stationed at Takla-Khar, on the Karnali or Gogra river, close to the frontiers of Kumaon and Népal. Rahim Khán, a half-blood Musalmán of Chachot, was placed over Spiti, while Ghulám Khán, his son-in-law, was employed in the congenial occupation of plundering the monasteries and temples. This work he executed with iconoclastic fury. The gold and the 175 798

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 silver were reserved for his master; but the plastic images of clay, the books and the pictures, excited the
• 798 religious bigotry of the Musalmán, and were indiscriminately destroyed.

175 The news of this invasion was speedily carried to Lhasa; and about the 7th of November, Zoráwar Sing first heard of the approach of a Chinese force. He at once detached a small party of 300 men, under Nono-Sungnam,* to oppose the advance of the Chinese; but the detachment was surrounded at Kar-dam-Khar, to the south of the Ráwan-Hrad lake, and almost cut to pieces. The Nono himself escaped, and was again detached on the 19th of November, with a larger force of 600 men, under the joint command of himself and Ghulam Khán; but this party was also surrounded and cut to pieces, and the leaders were both made prisoners.

Zoráwar Sing, still treating the Chinese with contempt, although they numbered about 10,000 men, or three times the strength of his own force, at once advanced from his position at Tirthapuri with the whole of his available troops. The two armies first met on the 10th December, and began a desultory fire at each other, which continued for three days. On the 12th Zoráwar Sing was struck in the shoulder by a ball, and as he fell from his horse the Chinese made a rush, and he was surrounded and slain. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and fled on all sides, and his reserve of 600 men gave themselves up as prisoners. All the principal officers were captured, and out of the whole army, amounting with

* *No-no* is the title given to a younger brother. Nono Sungnam (or Sodnam) was the younger brother of Chang Raphtan, the Káhlon of Bazgo.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XIII.—RELIGION.

I.—EARLY RELIGION OF TIBET.

THE religion of Tibet is a modified form of Indian Buddhism. This faith was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asoka, upwards of 2,000 years ago, when that great follower of Buddha was propagating his new religion with all the zealous ardour of a proselyte. In 241 B.C., at the close of the third synod, numerous missionary teachers were despatched to all the surrounding countries to spread the peaceful doctrines of Sakya Muni. The *Thero-Majjhantiko* (Sanskr. *Sthavira Madhyamika*) was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara ;* and, upwards of six centuries afterwards, the people on the Indus still attributed the spread of Buddhism "beyond the river" to some Sramanas (or ascetics) who came with sacred books, 300 years after the Nirvana of Buddha,† or in B.C. 243. The agreement of these dates gives to the two events the relation of cause and effect, the conversion of the people having been the result of the mission.

The spread of Buddhism in Ladák was followed by its introduction into China, about the beginning of the

* Mahawanso, p. 71. † Fo-kwe-ki, c. VII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Christian era, and into Great Tibet in the middle of the seventh century.

Previous to the occupation of Tibet by Khri-Tsampo, in about 250 B.C., there is nothing known of its history, excepting the fact that the people were of the Bon or Pon religion, which, like that of the Indian *Tirthakaras*, was an epicurean atheism. According to the Mogul author Sanang Setzen, Khri-Tsampo was an Indian prince of the Litsabyi (or Lichhavi) race, who, being conquered in war, had sought refuge in Tibet, where he was hospitably received, and afterwards proclaimed king by the people, who are called the *Debchin Bonbo* of heaven, and the *Yang Bonbo* of earth.* Csoma de Körös repeats a similar story, with the addition that Nya-Khri-Tsampo, "being defeated in battle," fled to Tibet, where he was acknowledged as king by the *Pons*. The date of 250 B.C., assigned to this event by Csoma, makes the Lichhavi prince a contemporary of the great Buddhist king Asoka, by whom he was most probably expelled from India; for the Lichhavi family had been the leading people in the community of Vaisáli for many centuries, during which time they distinguished themselves by their fierce opposition to the Buddhists. They opposed Sakya himself in argument, and were silenced, but not convinced by him. The Lichhavis of Vaisáli professed entire belief in Swasti, from which they derived their name of *Swástikas*, or followers of

* M. Schmidt supposes that these terms indicate the people of the mountains and valleys. They may, however, denote only different sects; the one affecting heavenly aspirations, the other leaning to earthly objects. *Debchin* is most probably Tibetan,—the "blissful,"—which is used by the Tibetans as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sugata*, the "well-gone," or blessed, an epithet of former Buddhas. *Yang* may be the Tibetan *Yangs*, great, vast.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 the "mystic cross," which was a monogrammatic sign, formed of the letters *su* and *ti*. The combination *suti* is the Pali form of the Sanskrit *swasti*, which is compounded of *su*, well, and *àsti*, it is. Wilson gives the meaning of "so-be-it;" but both versions equally imply complete resignation under all circumstances, which was the chief dogma of the fatalist *Swástikas*. These followers of the mystic cross held the doctrine of eternal annihilation after death; from which they derived their Tibetan name of *Mu-stegs-pa*, or "Finitimists."* According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress, and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves *Tirthakara*, or "pure doers;" and the synonymous name of *Punya*, "the pure," was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages, and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Khan.

175 According to the Chinese, the founder of the doctrine
779 of the *Tao-sse*, or Rationalists, was *Laotze*, who lived from about B.C. 604 to 523. He was therefore a contemporary of Sakya Muni, by whom he is said to have been worsted in argument. By the Tibetan Buddhists he is called Sen-rabs;† but this perhaps signifies nothing more than that he was of the race or family of Sena. His faith continued paramount in Great Tibet for nine centuries, until Buddhism was generally introduced by
● 798 Srong-Stan in the middle of the seventh century. But
779 the followers of the *Yung-drung-pa*, or "mystic cross," were still powerful; and in A.D. 899 Buddhism was formally abolished by *Lang Tarma*, and was not again

* Csoma de Körös, Grammar, p. 192.

† Id. ibid. p. 181.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

introduced for more than seventy years, until, in A.D. 971, it was finally restored, and has since continued to be the dominant religion of Tibet.

The great spread of the *Pon-gyi-chho*, or Pon religion, can be best appreciated by the traces of its former existence in the widely distant regions of Arakan and Ladák. The people of Arakan give a long line of fifty-five *Pun-na* princes* as their earliest sovereigns, a dynasty which must have reigned for at least 600 years. In Ladák the great monastery of *Lama Yurru* is still called *Yung-druny-Gonpa*, or the "monastery of the mystic cross." The establishment of this monastery is attributed to Naropa, a Lama from Brigung, near Lhasa; but it seems more probable that the name of *Lama Yurru* was derived from the Lama, because he had suppressed the faith of the mystic cross (*yung-drung*), and had established the Lamaïc doctrine of Buddhism.

But Buddhism was the prevailing religion of Ladák from the conversion of the people by Asoka's missionaries down to A.D. 400, when Fa Hian visited India. At that time he found Buddhism flourishing in the little state of *Kia-chhe*, or Ladák, as well as in Kotan and other small states to the northward of the Tsung Ling, or Karakoram. The king of *Kie-chha* (Kha-chan, or "Snow-land)" still celebrated the great quinquennial assembly † of the Srámanas which had been established by Asoka. The ceremony, which lasted for one month, was conducted with becoming gravity, and closed by the

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 31,—Captain Latter.

† In the Gyalpo's time, the Lamas assembled annually at Lé, in the month of *Táng-po* (March), and were dismissed with presents. They now assemble at Hemis, in June. In this monastery there are still 160 Lamas.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, The former the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

• 798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

lower classes know nothing of their religion in regard to heaven 779
and hell, beyond the fact that, when the end comes, their 772
souls or spirits will be dealt with according to their deserts, when the pious will at once enter heaven ("thoris thop ches") and the wicked will have to atone for sins by remaining for a certain time in one of the 18 Buddhist hells. A better educated Ladáki would say that the soul ("sem") was like a drop of water, a mere isolated atom, during the period of its connection with this world (jiksten), but that when it was admitted into heaven, i.e., attained nirvana ("stongpa ngyid thop ches"), it was absorbed into a sea of infinity. According to Buddhist ideas therefore, there can be no idea of heaven as a place of reward. Their heaven is a place of absorption into the absolute infinite, of escape from the troubles inseparable from life in this world, a place where all individuality ceases to exist; where there is no such thing as sensation either pleasurable or the reverse, in short it is a place of spiritual annihilation. It is very strange that Buddhism should have made such way in the world, for men are certainly not mostly philosophers, and yet we find some hundreds of millions of the human race, professing this very philosophic, matter of fact, unattractive religion, a religion which practically teaches its followers that life is a curse, and that the goal towards which they should struggle is the attainment of "nirvana", or in other words absolute extinction, both bodily and spiritual. There is in it no idea of a benign intercession, or a free forgiveness of sins, or of a better world to come, all is a matter of account, certain actions are equivalent to a certain amount of evil, others are equivalent to a certain amount of good, the debit and credit sides of the accounts are unerringly kept, and in the end, if the soul has no outstandings to pay off, it is extinguished, otherwise it must go to hell [60] for a time before reaching the goal of its ambition--annihilation. Is the Buddhist faith answerable for the stoical character of its adherents, or was it originally accepted by these, because it accorded with their temperament? However that may 779
be, it is certain that in Ladák, at any rate, Buddhists are now quite 797
satisfied with their own religion, and are not in the least inclined to embrace either Christianity or the more popular faith of Islam. On the 779
other hand, they regard persons of other religions with a benevolent indifference. The religion to which a person belongs, is, 798
in the opinion of Ladakis, a good enough religion for such

779 person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all
798 persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from
[799] religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view it suits so to do.

779 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells,
772 such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties
[181] are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

2: Ramsay--39 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok. In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 554 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. 798 ●
Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be, Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen".

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 448

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

764 position in a corner of the living room, unless the corner just happens to be inhabited by the household god: the onpo decides upon that. The corpse has its share of each meal placed in front of it.

is also hung in front of it.

/218/ THE ACTIVITY OF THE ONPOS (SOOTHSAYERS AND MAGICIANS), THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BON RELIGION (17), AT THE INTERMENT

771 17. Coming from present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion penetrated into Tibet at approximately the same time as Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced from present-day Afghanistan (Udyana). It (the Bon religion) represents a peculiar mixture of the ancient popular religion of the peoples of Persian race residing there and of Mahaya Buddhism which at that time was also widespread in that region. Despite the [798] similarity and close kinship of the two clashing religions in Tibet, there was kindled a very bitter war between the two religious forms in Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the rulers and their priests there attempted to make Buddhism into the dominant religion. But Buddhism has never been able to exterminate the Bon religion. Hence this existence side by side of lamaistic and of Bon practices.

791 There are three kinds of onpos: first, white ones, secondly, black ones, and such who practise black and white magic at one and the same time. The white magicians prepare the calendar and occupy themselves with the calculation of the retribution (abras-rtsis) of human deeds. The black magicians undertake their exercises according to the manner of the Bon religion. Since they know black as well as white magic, they also prepare the calendar. They perform religious exercises and rites in the manner of the Bon.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 175
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 668
Tibet today. 631

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the north- 175
west; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

actions of the mythical " King Kesar," it is the Mon musician 563
who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *ltadmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these 564
people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who 174
seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, 563
too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, 771
having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on con- 175
jecture and turn to that founded on written records either 798
inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been disinherited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger brother had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, managed to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a hard on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 triumph was short-lived. A Buddhist priest disguised in the
798 black sacerdotal robes of the *Bon Chos*, presented himself before the King with a petition, and, when near enough, drew from his ample robes a bow and arrow and killed the leader of his religious enemies. The assassin escaped by turning his coat inside out and showing the white lining.

175 Langdarma reigned about A.D. 900 and from him all the
631 kings of Ladak have descended, for although they are split up into two dynasties, the later one is traced from a younger brother of the last king of the first line. An account of what happened under the various kings of these dynasties would be beyond the scope of this book, but let us rapidly trace the fortunes of the Western Himalayan kingdom, now represented by Ladak, and formerly including also the province of Baltistan. At first various royal personages held sway in different parts of the country, but the one in Leh was a descendant of the King of the Central Kingdom (Tibet proper), while in another part there ruled a Dard King. Between these two Kings there was continual strife, but at last the Leh ruler seems to have won the mastery in matters temporal, and increasingly in matters spiritual. One King introduced Buddhist literature from Central Tibet, another made it obligatory on all candidates for the priesthood to go to Lhasa for their training. This can only be regretted by the student of Ladaki as distinct from Tibetan literature, for, besides putting a stop to the growth of Indian Buddhism, it also inhibited the literary genius of this people, whose tales of by-gone days indicate how their literature might have developed.

175 By about the time of the fourteenth century Buddhism
779 had quite prevailed, and, as is so often seen with this religion, having once subdued the indigenous faith, it incorporated much of the *Bon Chos* in its own tenets. The Lamaism of the present day thus consists of a large proportion of *Bon Chos* with a smaller mixture of Buddhism, the former still-

Khrai-mgo with the hawk's head can be compared with the hawk of the Dodekaoros; aBu-dmar-lam-bstan with the insect's head can be compared with the beetle of the Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, "Old Mouth," with the white beard, can be compared with the ape of the Dodekaoros; Bon-mag with the donkey's head, with the donkey of the Dodekaoros. As has already been mentioned, mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the great arrow master, belongs perhaps to the "archer" of the Babylonian zodiac. As A. Jeremias observes in his "Handbuch," the previously mentioned zodiac of the Chinese, which begins with the rat, the ox, and the tiger, is related to the Hellenistic Dodekaoros. After what has just been said, it seems to me that the zodiac symbolized by the Agus comes much closer to the Dodekaoros. Here we have, perhaps, the intermediate link between the Asiatic West and East with respect to this calendar problem. 773 776 805 171

Favorite Numbers in the Ancient Mythology

Three is a particularly favored number. The world is composed of three parts, the king of the heavens has three sons, King "White Tent" must perform three labors, three Shar-an-dre, according to the Lower Ladakh Version, strive to kill the child Kesar. The Agu Khrai-thun needs three [illegible], three stirrups, and three dog collars ("Journey to Chi[illegible]cording to wedding song No. XIII[1] there are three famou[illegible]es, three lakes, three forms of greeting, of smiling, and of swear[illegible]g; according to No. LIX,[1] there are three kinds of people, of cattle and of iron tools, and there are three kinds of fields. 773 801

The number seven appears somewhat less frequently. However, the smaller group of the Agus consists of seven heroes. According to the Sheh version there are seven An-dhe-ban-dhe who try to kill the infant Kesar. Seven /21/ types of grain seeds are found in the stomach of the dove that has been caught. Tag-ma-cig, (wedding song No. LIX.[1]) With seven bones and seven shells Dze-mo performs her magic on Cu-ru-lu-gu (in the Winter Myth, No. 3).[1]

The number nine occurs with special frequency. The monster from which gDon-gsum-mi-la constructs the world, has nine heads; the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu has nine lives; according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] Kesar is victorious in nine battles; according to Spring Myth, VI,[1] 29, nine little pieces of butter are spread along the edge of the beer jug in honor of the guest. Nine gods and nine Pisaca were born together with Kesar, according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] 34. In everyday life, the number nine is also in frequent use. A full rosette is

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

773 one with nine rows; they travel over nine mountains and through
801 nine valleys. This frequent use of the number nine was probably what induced Schiefner to include the number under the plural designations. It is actually true that the number nine is frequently used as a loose designation for a large number. But in the majority of cases it is a matter of nine things or processes that have been counted.

Twice number nine, eighteen, is also quite frequent. The number of the Agus is eighteen. Eighteen splinters are broken out of the horn of the wild yak, by the Agu dPal-le (see "The Story of Kesar's Birth"). Eighteen An-dre-bar-an-dre of the East were born together with Kesar, according to the Winter Myth, VIII, 34. With respect to the number eighteen it should be observed that occasionally it is followed by the number nineteen. The people say: there were 18 or 19 lamas who came! Perhaps this has its origin in the fact that it is possible to add to the eighteen Agus Kesar as their leader, getting a group of nineteen heroes in this way.

Let us mention a few more numbers that play a lesser role but are nonetheless worth noting:

Thirteen. This number, which plays a significant part in the Bon religion that developed later, is only to be found once in the literature we are dealing with here, and that is in wedding song No. XXXII[1] of Tag-ma-cig, where all the numbers from one to thirteen are discussed and the chief use of each number is indicated. Although Buddhism and the Bon religion are also taken into account in this song, it will be well to cite the numbers it mentions:

1. One is the number of the central religion (thig-le-nyag), of the most important elements, in which all religions are at one.
2. Two is the number of the two means (apparently of salvation). Here the Bon religion and Buddhism seem to be meant.
3. Three is the number of the three Buddhistic jewels (triratna).
4. Four is the number of the guardians of the world, of the kings of the four points of the compass.
5. Five is the number of the five Dhyanibuddhas.
6. Six is the number of the six types of rebirth.
7. Seven is the number of the predecessors of Buddha.
8. Eight is the number of the eight provinces of the realms of the gods and the demons.

1 [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. --Analyst]

773
801

9. Nine is the number of the heads of the nine-headed monster.
10. Ten is the number of the tips of the horn of the stag (Ru-bou).
11. Eleven is the number of the heads of Avalokitesvara.
12. Twelve is the number of the months.
13. Thirteen is the number of the religious ceremonies.

The number 27 is to be found once. aBru-gu-ma, who has been abducted by King "White Tent," receives, according to the Lower Ladakhi Version, a grace period of 27 years before she surrenders herself to her new lord and master.

The number 45 (five times nine) is given as the number of the pha spun (the relatives on the father's side) and the ma-spun (the relatives on the mother's side) belonging to aBru-gu-ma (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 129).[1]

As has already been mentioned, 360 is the number of the gods as well as of the nymphs (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 192).[1]

Animism

In the following pages we shall summarize everything that can be said about the personification of the forces of nature in the ancient religion of the Tibetans. 794 821 773

The sun, the moon, and the stars (1) play an important part

1. Among the stars in particular the constellations rgyu-skar or houses of the moon.

here. Sometimes they are placed at the beginning of the songs, before all the gods even. (Wedding songs, Nos. XVIb, XLV.[1] Ladakhi Songs, No. XXX.[1]) In these songs the sun is frequently called Khri-gdugs-nyi-ma, "sun, the screen of the throne," apparently because of its round shape, which is reminiscent of a parasol. Even more frequently the sun is conceived of as a bird that flies across heaven. As a bird it has the name Bya-khyun-nyi-ma, "the bird Khyun-dkrun, the sun" (Frühlingsmythus, Appendices, No. 9), or Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, "bird, sun, Khyun-run" ("Prologue to the Kesarsaga," No. 9). These names are composed of meaningful words. It is very important that the words "bird" as well as "sun" appear in them in an unmistakable manner. The word Khyun is equated with the Indic word Garuda. With respect to Garuda, it has occasionally been denied that it had any kind of relationship to the sun and

1 [See Category 116, in 1-8, for reference cards --Mindlyst]

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not 876
know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing. They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise [802]
in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine.

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with 631
any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse, and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible means.

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. 871
The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say, despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he never- 868
theless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 the handle forms a very acute angle with the blade. After ploughing, the fields are prepared with manure, *lúd*,* which consists either of *Yák-lúd*, yák's dung, or of *Lúk-lúd*, sheep's dung. Occasionally they use cow-
[372] dung, *Yák-chi* or *Ba-chi*. But in a country where fire-wood is so scarce as not to be obtainable by any but the richest classes, all kinds of dung are in daily use as fuel, and but little can be spared for enriching the land.

In a dry country like Ladák, where it seldom snows and scarcely ever rains, the harvest is entirely dependent upon artificial irrigation. The waters of the smaller streams are arrested by dams (*chhu-lon*), and conducted with considerable skill and care from terrace to terrace, and from field to field. I was particularly struck with the laborious irrigation bestowed upon the rich lands of Sáspul, and with the bold ingenuity displayed in the aqueducts of Kambo and Hardas. The former is a small village on the left bank of the Purik river (the Waká-chu). The latter is on the left bank of the Drás river. The Kambo aqueduct is only about one mile in length, but the Hardas aqueduct is nearly three miles long. These canals, which are conducted several hundred feet above the villages, are mostly built up with a retaining wall, and puddled with clay to hold the water. In a few places the rock itself was excavated to form a passage for the water, but in other places, where the hill was too precipitous, or the rock was too hard, the water was passed along hollow poplar and willow trunks, which were supported by uprights standing on ledges of the rock, or on huge pegs driven into its crevices.

● 804 The land in Ladák is all measured by the *Khál*, or

* *Lúd*, dung. Cow-dung is called *gYag-lChi* or *Ba-lChi*.

Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Bhára-khál-kyi,* which is a field that requires one khál of seed. The produce is likewise reckoned in kháls. This word khál means simply a load or burden of any kind, and is apparently the same as the Indian *khára*, or *khári*, which is a measure of twenty bháras; while the *kharika* is that sized field which requires a *khári* of seed. In the Hindu Himálayas, a *bharao* (bharava†) is that sized field which requires a *bhára* of seed. Thus, in each country the estimate is made according to the most usual means of transport. In Tibet and in the Botiyan Himálayas, where sheep are almost the only means of transport, all estimates are made in the khál, or *luk-khál*, that is, a sheep's load of from 12 to 16 seers each (24 to 32 lb.). In the Hindu Himálayas, where men or women carry everything, all measures are reckoned in the *bharao*, or man's load (*bhára*) of 32 seers (64 lb.). In the plains of India, where *gáris*, or carts, are used, the reckoning is made by the *khári*, which is a load of 20 *bháras*, equal to 12 or 15 cwt.

When the term *khál* is used alone, a sheep's load is always intended, for all other loads are distinguished by a prefix, as *Yák-khál*, an "ox-load;" *Ta-khál*, a "horse-load." The common khál, or sheep's load, is equal to 5 battis of 2½ seers or 5 lb. each, or 8 battis of 2 seers or 4 lb. each, or just about half a bushel; and as in England the usual quantity of seed per acre is about two bushels, or one cwt., the size of a khál of land will be equal to a quarter of an acre, or one rood. But as the seed is much more broadly sown in Ladák than in

* *Khál* or *Bhára-khál-kyi*. The occurrence of *bh* shows that *Bhára* is a word of Indian origin. *Khál-kBo* is a "khál measure."

† *Bhárava*, from *Bhára*, a load.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetam AJ4

England, I should estimate the khál of land at about one-third of an English acre, or even more.

The seed is sown in May, and the crops are cut in September, before the first fall of snow. On the 16th of September, 1846, on the bank of the Tshomoriri lake, at an elevation of 15,000 feet, I found the Lamas of the Korzo Gonpa (monastery) cutting a field of unripe barley. The sky was very cloudy and threatening, especially to the southward, and the poor Lamas expected snow, which, if it fell upon the standing crop, would, they said, destroy it. The crop was all cut by the evening, and removed, and the next day it snowed without intermission for twenty-four hours. The crops are either pulled up by the roots or cut close to the roots, with a *zorpa*, or sickle, to get as much straw as possible for the winter fodder of the cattle. When cut, it is generally spread out on the ground to ripen and dry, but occasionally it is loosely bound in sheaves.* The return varies according to the quality of the soil and the quantity of manure. In Drás, Moorcroft heard that it was "about twenty for one;" but according to my informants, the best lands in Ladák Proper, at Sabu, near Lé, and at Sakté, in the Chimra valley, do not yield more than ten-fold; while the poorer lands give a return of only five or six-fold, or on an average eight-fold. But the richer lands, in the Suru valley, and on the Waká and Drás rivers, which enjoy a milder climate and a moister atmosphere, generally yield from ten to fifteen-fold. The average return for the whole of Ladák may therefore be estimated at about ten-fold, or perhaps less.

Two ears of bearded barley from Lé gave a return of

* A sheaf is called *Chhum-po*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

is a thin irregular-shaped piece of silver, about the size of a shilling, with a Persian inscription on each side. On the centre of the obverse is the name of *Mahmud Shah*, surrounded by a circle of large dots. The inscription on the reverse is difficult to read, but the upper line is certainly *Bután*, which is the Kashmiri name of Ladák. The second, or middle line, is perhaps *Zarb;* and the two together form *Zarb-i-Butan*, "struck in Batan." Below is the word *sanh*, or *sanat*, and a figured date, which looks like 878, but of what era it is impossible to say.* As the coins bear the title of Mahmud Shah, they cannot date earlier than A.D. 1687, when the Gyalpo of Ladák was nominally converted to Muhammedanism, after the expulsion of the *Sokpos* by the troops of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Kashmir under Aurangzeb. The coins which I possess all bear the same date; and, as they are but little worn on the surface, they cannot have been minted for any great length of time. The date, which I should have expected to find on these coins, is the Hijra year 1099, equivalent to A.D. 1687, which was the year of the Gyalpo's conversion.

The gold coins in use are called *Ser-jao*, or "golden jao," or simply *Ser-ki-dong*, or "golden coins." All coins are called *Dong*, or *Dong-tse*. The silver coins are named *Nul-ki-dong*, or simply *Nuk-dong*, and the copper coins *Zangi-dong*, or *Zang-dong*.† Ready money, or cash, is called *Marba*, or *Markyang*.

The weights of Ladák are the *Batti* and the *Man*, or *Maund*. The Batti is equal to two Indian seers or

* See Plate XIV. for a sketch of one of these coins.

† *gSer-kyi-Dong*, golden coin; *dNul-kyi-dong*, silver coin; and *Zangs-kyi-dong*, copper coin.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

804 thirty-two chitaks. The name is no doubt derived from the Hindi word *Battis*, "thirty-two."* Indeed the measure itself, as well as the name, is Indian, and the Ladákis most probably derived it from the neighbouring hill states. The man or maund is equal to eight battis, or sixteen seers, and is therefore the same as the small maund of India.

The only other Ladáki measure with which I am acquainted is the *Khál*. This term has already been explained with reference to the measurement of land, in my account of the vegetable productions. The *Khál*, which is the universal measure for all kinds of heavy produce, but more especially for grain, is of two kinds: the *Dek-khál*, or the "weight khál," and the *Shor-khál*, or "measure khál."† The common *Khál*, whether by weight or measure, is the well-known quantity of a sheep's load, *Luk-khál*, which is equal to eight battis, or one maund of sixteen Indian seers, or thirty-two pounds English.‡ This is usually named simply *khál*, but when the larger measures are mentioned, the prefix is always used, as *Tá-khál*, the "horse khál," which is equal to four maunds, or 128 lb.; and the Yak-khál, which is the same.

* In Hindi बत्तीस.

† *kDegs-khal* and *gShor-khal* or *Pre-bu*.

‡ Trebeck's valuation is the same. See Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 70.

423 [2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding,"
●804 which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a
241 "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and
[651] a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

597 ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of
[583] from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children.
[428] Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

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lift the corpse, and place it upon the chief mourners back, the latter then, bends down leaning upon two sticks carried in the two hands, and aided by the "phas-spun" carries the corpse to the entrance of the house; here it is placed in a square shaped coffin or box (rórGHam) provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. The rórGHam is then carried either by the "phas-spun" or relatives of the deceased, to the burning ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not come to the burning ground, but, after having walked 3 times round the coffin and prostrated herself before it 3 times, she is conducted back to the house.

On the way to the burning ground, the Lámás go in front, praying and playing musical instruments, then follow the relatives, etc., and last of all comes the coffin. The corpse is placed in a sort of oven; the face being put down against the ground; the wood is then lighted and ghee is poured over the corpse by the Lámás.

When the first bone drops from the body, probably after 3 or 4 hours, the funeral ends, though the "phas-spun" remain to complete the burning. The Lámás take the bone back to the "Chhopkhang" of the deceased, and there pound it up, mix a little clay with it, and put it into a mould, which shapes it into a figure or idol (tshatsha). If the deceased was a rich man, this figure is built into a "Chhorten," (see Cenotaph) built for the purpose, and if he was poor man, the figure (tshátshá) is taken and placed in any old "chhorten". On the evening of this day, an open air feast is given to the mourners who then disperse.

[778]

•804 [51]FURLONG--The Ladákis do not measure distances as we do, but the Indian word "kós" or "kóso" is generally understood to mean about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Tibetan method of measurement is by the "migthoug," which means the distance, up to which a man can be clearly seen with the naked eye. In the clear atmosphere of Ladák, this would mean about 1 1/2 miles. Another method of measurement is by the "tháng" or "plateau". This is of very little use, as the "tháng" may be only a few hundred yards long, or it may be several miles long. For further information, see under "Lineal measure".

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804● 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4 inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard	= "	300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12 "

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbó or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible. 264 262

The poor people eat only chheenan zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure). 804

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak	(Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer	(Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer	(Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Batti	(Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund	(Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 "	(Indian)	=	80 "

The lower classes are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer. [565]

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sär-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sär-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sär-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the following

●804 table of the common measures may be useful. I caused the measures to be filled with barley, and I then had the barley weighed, so the figures below given must be accurate so far as they go, but I presume that no two "brey" or "bho" wooden measures, are of exactly the same size:--

		Srs.	Chtk.	Tola.
1 särdrey	=	0	8	3
1 yooldrey	=	0	10	3
1 Phoksdrey (or lchaksdrey)	=	0	11	4
1 särbo (or särbho)	=	2	11	0
1 yoolbo (or yoolbho)	=	3	2	0
1 phoksbo (or phoksbho)	=	3	11	4
1 särkhal (or 4 šarbo)	=	10	8	0
1 yoolkhal (or 4 yoolbo)	=	12	8	0
1 yhokskhal (or 4 phoksbo)	=	14	12	0

I have tried to obtain the weights which would correspond to our Apothecaries' weights, but have failed. The two local medicine men, to whom I applied, said the names existed, but not the actual weights, these latter being used at Lhása, but not in Ladák, where medicine is measured out as amounting to the weight of a rupee, the tenth of a rupee, or as the case may be.

[101] In the Ladák Gazetteer certain measures called "Troy" and "Avoirdupois" are given, but as far as I can make out, in addition to the measures already herein given, there remains only one table of weights, which may be called either "Troy" or "Apothecaries," but not "Avoirdupois," and this, according to Strachey, is as follows:--

1 skarma	=	6 grains.
1 ka	=	15 "
1 sho or sro	=	1 drachm.
1 SHang or srang	=	1 1/4 ounces.

The (Lhása) "Troy weight" as given in the Gazetteer is as follows:--

1 skarma	=	1 grain.
2 1/2 skarma	=	1 kagang.
4 ka	=	1 SHógang.
10 SHo or sro	=	1 SHangang.
50 SHang or srang	=	1 SHilka or dotsat or Chinese silver ingot, weighing 166 2/3 Indian Tolahs.

000 MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 423

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chirmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "tháng," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "tháng" may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángtháng not in Ladak; they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256

776 legs astride, a dwarf only a tru (21) high, his beard just as long, wearing

[804] 21 1 tru (k'ru) is equivalent to the length of the lower arm of an adult person from the elbow to the tip of his extended middle finger.

a cap and carrying a stick The Balu (dwarf) had, as my neighbor told me, looked at him sharply and then he had laughted broadly and shrewdly at the man who almost fell off his little horse because he was so frightened and a little drunk with the beer."

[532] One evening Konchog Trashi brought a picture along for his young friend /43/ whose thirst for knowledge was a pleasure to him. The picture had been made by a mask maker and painter Ishe Lhundrub, who also produced the hideous devils' masks for the monastery and painted the pictures of the Buddhas, holy men, and gods. He had painted it on paper copying it from models in varied, shining colors and then he had mounted it on silk. It represented the terrible goddess of revenge dPal-ldan-Lha-mo (22). She is the wife of the god of death and

22. The dreadful goddess of terror Kali of Hindu mythology. There she is the wife of Shiva, the destroyer.

prince of hell Shin-je (gśin-rje, Sanskrit Yama). "This couple had a son. Father and son were enemies of the sacred teachings of Buddha," so recounted Konchog Trashi, "and the son attempted to extinguish this doctrine. Thereupon the mother who was a zealous adherent of the faith, became enraged, killed her disloyal son, skinned him, ate his heart and drank his blood from a bowl which she made from the skull of her son. Then she mounted her yellow mule upon which she had placed the skin of her son as a saddle-cloth and fled from the rage of her husband. Now Shin-je pursued his angry spouse and murderess of their child and shot a magic arrow at the fleeing goddess which hit the mule in the rear shank. Lhamo, however, transformed the wound by a magical formula into an eye and thus escaped the raging husband Since that time dPal-ldan Lha-mo has been the fiercest fighter for the sacred doctrine of Buddha."

Konchog Trashi showed his young, eager friend the picture of the Dreadful One. There she is shown riding along on her pale yellow mule through a sea of blood in which the hacked-off limbs of the enemies of Buddha, who have been killed in battle, are floating. The

to buy some barley from Norbu Wangchug. It is true that he preferred 584
to buy from other farmers because the old Chirpon (34) had a mean

34. Chirpon is a corruption of ĉibs-dpon, in English "horse [552]
master" (stable master). It is one of the titles which stem from the time of the kings when the bearers of the title were court officials. The titles have been preserved in the names of the houses.

trick of weighing his goods too short. He always weighed /57/ the [804]
things himself on his old scales with the wooden scale-beam and the balance-scales made of goat's leather. And when he weighed something before you, always two batti (equivalent of four pounds) at a time, it all looked quite correct; but if one later weighed it again at home, it was never right. But for the sake of his nephew the uncle was willing to take this into the bargain for this one time; including the haughty nature that Norbu liked to display. For--in a completely casual manner--Stobsldan was to ask Norbu whether a proposal on the part of Drogpa Namgyal for the hand of Chosskyid would have any prospect of success.

In the evening, as it was getting dark, he came back, with his head and his limbs again heavy from beer and talking. With difficulty and awkwardly he dismounted from his horse, and laboriously he climbed up the bad stone steps to his brother's house. He was received with questioning looks and words, and with comical weightiness and forced sureness he steered towards his seat at the stove in the chansa (living room-kitchen). Again the relatives and the tribe are all gathered together. After Stobsldan has emptied a few bowls of butter tea which the housewife has poured out for him, and after he has smoked a few draughts on the water pipe of the master of the house, he began his report. The parents of Chosskyid, he said, had at first been very cool and had behaved as though they were galons and he a begging beda. Nothing could come of the marriage; there had been so many who had asked this girl in marriage; if she wanted to she could hang a suiter from each of her fingers. And there were among these men of a quite superior rank to the Dragshos, against whom the father did not want to say anything otherwise, since after all he was a good friend of his father's. But <u>this</u> marriage could not possibly be brought about. While the girl's father had been talking, the men present in that house had made extensive fun of Stobsldan. But the latter had not given in; he

585 as many guests of a superior rank as possible, so that they could show
off with their aristocratic connections and also outdo the other side.
431 Lobsang Wanggyal was less inclined towards this, since he favored a limited number of guests; but his mother insisted upon severe competition here. However, honor and dignity bring burdens with them (noblesse oblige) Every guest had to receive a gift, and the more aristocratic he was, the greater the gift would have to be. A considerable list of guests was finally drawn up. There was the galon from Jangpa near Leh who, the people in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang claimed, was related to them. According to custom /72/ he had to receive nine greeting ribbons of yellow silk (mt'san-pa); each of the five lamas who were asked to attend the engagement ceremony received 13 greeting ribbons, the lonpo from Domkhar, whom the Dragshos people invited as their relative, received nine, the three village magistrates of Kalatse, Teya, and Tingmogang each received seven greeting bands and the remaining farmer relatives and members of the clan, according to his standing, rank and property, were given five to seven tsanpa as a greeting and a mark of esteem. The best men, the bridesmaids and the female friends of the bride (bag-rogs) were each to obtain three rupees and four pieces of calico. As a formality the parents of the bride received the same present from the Dragshos house.

585 Finally they discussed what kind of expenses should be incurred at the wedding. Old Norbu Wangchug wanted to make a great display. He made his demands nonsensically high. The Kalatse people were in favor of a more modest celebration, for they and their clan had to pay most of the expenses. Finally they agreed upon five sheep that were to be killed, 40 chang (clay vessels of beer), 300 flat bread cakes, two bati (56) Ziegeltee /tile tea/, seven hide sacks of butter, and in

[804] 56. 1 bati is equivalent to four pounds of English weight, equalling 1,800 grams.

addition salt, natron, vegetables, onions as much as the cook would demand, the necessary greeting cloths, and other things of the kind
000 Finally they were tired of haggling and for the rest of the evening they gave themselves over entirely to enjoyment and rejoicing. They ate, they drank, they sang, and they danced. Once even the bridegroom joined the men engaged in drinking and talking. But not for long. He did not enjoy noisy company. Once or twice the bride

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439 Chapter IV, D.

Weights and Measures, and Communications.

and the wooden vessels from Kanáwar, coarse cloth, dying drugs soda and yeast from Ladákh, and iron from Mandi and Kanáwar. For a reference to the trade in ponies, see *ante* page 136.

SECTION D.—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, AND COMMUNICATIONS.

000 Communications.

The communications of Láhaul and Spiti have been fully described in Parts I and II (pages 195-96 and Chapter IV, Section D).

Local measure.

804

The mode of expressing the measurement of land in both Spiti and Láhaul resembles the method prevalent in Kúlu. The Láhaul denomination is the *lákh*, which contains 20 *páth*, both being primarily measures of seed. The *páth* as a measure of seed is equivalent to about one *seer* of standard weight. Three *khál* or *lákh* (land measure) are about equal to one standard acre. In Spiti the *khál* is the measure, and is based upon the load a sheep can carry. It contains 20 *teh*, and is smaller than the Láhaulí *lákh*, ranging in capacity between 24 and 32lbs. of grain. The two measures are really the same in origin and use, though differing in name and standard.

9. Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.
175 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years
436 ago, there do not seem to have been many silver
651 coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and
[437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 However, once a year the taxes due to the
436 Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver,
804 and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.
1 [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary -- ANALYST]

9: Francke M-3 (no date)1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ
Ladak

651 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two
436 *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is
● 804 then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2¾ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet,
436 there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal
[435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

.. p. 456 b -

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo. 492

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug 438
up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation 804
of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years 492
Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that 438
were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They 221
grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with 492
salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to 439
form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

• [804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

49- One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Changtang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

19: Asboe M-3 (no date)1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [76]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [77]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47, 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

2/3 and the engraver *Par-ko-pa.* The printing-house is called *Par-khang,* and the book, when completed, is named *Par-ma,* a "printed work."

A book consists of numerous loose leaves, from one to two feet long, and from three to four inches in width. These are numbered, and secured between two planks. The title and number of the volume are sewn upon a piece of silk and inserted at one end.*

IV.—RECKONING OF TIME.

● 805 The Ladákis make use of two modes of reckoning time. the cycle of twelve years for common computations, suc as a man's age, or the date of any recent event; bu both in writing and in accounts they always use th cycle of sixty years, which they borrowed from India.†

In the cycle of twelve years, each year is named after a particular animal, as follows:—

1.	Byi-lo	the Mouse year.
2.	gLang-lo	the Ox year.
3.	Stag-lo	the Tiger year.
4.	Yos-lo	the Hare year.
5.	hBrug-lo	the Dragon year.
6.	sBrul-lo	the Serpent year
7.	rTa-lo	the Horse year.
8.	Lug-lo	the Sheep year.
9.	Spre-lo	the Ape year.
10.	Bya-lo	the Bird year.
11.	Khyi-lo	the Dog year.
12.	Phog-lo	the Hog year.

My first acquaintance with this cycle was rather startling. I asked a jolly-looking dame, named Thájang,

* A volume in my possession is entitled *Chhos-r Gyan*—D—that is, "The Ornament of Religion," 11th vol.

† Csoma's Grammar, pp. 147, 148.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

who had three husbands living, and several children,* 805 what her age was. To my great astonishment she replied "twelve." At first I thought that she did not wish to tell her age, but I soon found that she only reckoned by cycles, and that she was not yet two cycles old. I then turned to Csoma de Körös's grammar, and after a little more questioning I discovered that she was twenty years of age. Afterwards, in collecting my tables of longevity, I took some pains to guard against this mode of wholesale reckoning by cycles, and with two exceptions, I was personally successful. But where I was obliged to trust to a munshi for my information, I found that numbers of the old people were sixty, seventy-two, and eighty-four years of age.

The cycle of sixty years is a much more elaborate reckoning. The first cycle is counted from A.D. 1026. The Hindus have a distinct name for each year of the cycle, but the Tibetans have adopted the Chinese nomenclature, which is formed by coupling the names of the twelve animals of the other cycle with the names of the five elements, considered as both male and female alternately. The first element, male and female, is coupled with the first two animals, next with the eleventh and twelfth animals, and so on; by which the change of names is preserved throughout the whole series. The names in English are—

1. Wood-Mouse	11. Wood-Dog	21. Wood-Ape	31. Wood-Horse	41. Wood-Dragon	51. Wood-Tiger
2. „ Ox	12. „ Hog	22. „ Bird	32. „ Sheep	42. „ Serpent	52. „ Hare
3. Fire-Tiger	13. Fire-Mouse	23. Fire-Dog	33. Fire-Ape	43. Fire-Horse	53. Fire-Dragon
4. „ Hare	14. „ Ox	24. „ Hog	34. „ Bird	44. „ Sheep	54. „ Serpent
5. Earth-Dragon	15. Earth-Tiger	25. Earth-Mouse	35. Earth-Dog	45. Earth-Ape	55. Earth-Horse
6. „ Serpent	16. „ Hare	26. „ Ox	36. „ Hog	46. „ Bird	56. „ Sheep
7. Iron-Horse	17. Iron-Dragon	27. Iron-Tiger	37. Iron-Mouse	47. Iron-Dog	57. Iron-Ape
8. „ Sheep	18. „ Serpent	28. „ Hare	38. „ Ox	48. „ Hog	58. „ Bird
9. Water-Ape	19. Water Horse	29. Water-Dragon	39. Water-Tiger	49. Water-Mouse	59. Water-Dog
10. „ Bird	20. „ Sheep	30. „ Serpent	40. „ Hare	50. „ Ox	60. „ Hog

* See her Portrait, Plate XVIII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

805 The different cycles began in the following years—

1st	began	1026 A.D.	6th	began	1326 A.D.	11th	began	1626 A.D.
2nd	„	1086 „	7th	„	1386 „	12th	„	1686 „
3rd	„	1146 „	8th	„	1446 „	13th	„	1746 „
4th	„	1206 „	9th	„	1506 „	14th	„	1806 „
5th	„	1266 „	10th	„	1566 „			

The present year, 1851, is therefore the forty-fifth year of the fourteenth cycle.

The months are also named after the twelve animals; but the first month is *hBrug-zLa*, or the "dragon-month," which corresponds with the Hindu *Mágh*, and with our January and February.

[16]CALENDAR--Lótho (almanac). The Tibetan calendar is a very troublesome and inconvenient one, so much so that if occasion arises to ascertain the date of any old document, it is generally necessary to refer to an individual called an "onpo" or rtseespa" or "skartseespa". This man is by profession an astrologer and understands the calendar. Sixty years make a cycle or "rabjung" and a period of 12 years makes a "lóskor". The names of the 12 separate years in the "lóskor" are as follows:— 805 791 805

1st---byee	lo or Mouse	year.
2nd--hlang	lo or Ox	year.
3rd--stak	lo or Tiger	year.
4th--yós	lo or Hare	year.
5th--druk	lo or Dragon	year.
6th--brul	lo or Snake	year.
7th--sta	lo or Horse	year.
8th--lug	lo or Sheep	year.
9th--sprey	lo or Monkey	year.
10th--biá	lo or Bird	year.
11th--khee	lo or Dog	year.
12th--phok	lo or Pig	year.

Cunnigham gives the following description of the "rabjung".

"The cycle of 60 years is a much more elaborate reckoning. The first cycle is counted from A.D. 1026. The Hindus have a distinct name for each year of the cycle, but the Tibetans have adopted the Chinese nomenclature which is formed by coupling the names of the 12 animals of the cycle, with the names of the 5 elements, considered as both male and female alternately. The first element, male and female, is coupled with the first two animals, next with the eleventh and twelfth, and so on; by which the change of names is preserved throughout the whole series. The names in English are"-- [171]

1 Wood Mouse.	13 Fire Mouse
2 Wood Ox.	14 Fire Ox.
3 Fire Tiger.	15 Earth Tiger.
4 Fire Hare.	16 Earth Hare.
5 Earth Dragon.	17 Iron Dragon.
6 Earth Serpent.	18 Iron Serpent.
7 Iron Horse.	19 Water Horse.
8 Iron Sheep.	20 Water Sheep.
9 Water Ape.	21 Wood Ape.
10 Water Bird.	22 Wood Bird.
11 Wood Dog.	23 Fire Dog.
12 Wood Hog.	24 Fire Hog.

805

25 Earth Mouse.	37 Iron Mouse.	49 Water Mouse.
26 Earth Ox.	38 Iron Ox.	50 Water Ox.
27 Iron Tiger.	39 Water Tiger.	51 Wood Tiger.
28 Iron Hare.	40 Water Hare.	52 Wood Hare.
29 Water Dragon.	41 Wood Dragon.	53 Fire Dragon.
30 Water Serpent.	42 Wood Serpent.	54 Fire Serpent.
31 Wood Horse.	43 Fire Horse.	55 Earth Horse.
32 Wood Sheep.	44 Fire Sheep.	56 Earth Sheep.
33 Fire Ape.	45 Earth Ape.	57 Iron Ape.
34 Fire Bird.	46 Earth Bird.	58 Iron Bird.
35 Earth Dog.	47 Iron Dog.	59 Water Dog.
36 Earth Hog.	48 Iron Hog.	60 Water Hog.

According to Cunningham the different "Rabjungs" or cycles began in the following years:--

1st in 1026 A.D.	8th in 1446 A.D.
2nd in 1086 A.D.	9th in 1506 A.D.
3rd in 1146 A.D.	10th in 1566 A.D.
4th in 1206 A.D.	11th in 1626 A.D.
5th in 1266 A.D.	12th in 1686 A.D.
6th in 1326 A.D.	13th in 1746 A.D.
7th in 1386 A.D.	14th in 1806 A.D.

According to that calculation, the 15th Rabjung began in 1866 and the present year 1889 would be the 23rd year of the cycle. But according to Ladak astrologers today, 29th June 1889, is the 1st day of the 6th Month of the 26th year.

The months are twelve in number, but in Ladak they have no names, being spoken of only as the "first" month, "second" month or as the case may be. They usually consist of 30 days, but they sometimes contain 29 days, sometimes 31 days.

The months are not lunar months, and I cannot get any one to [791] explain the system according to which they are arranged. All the "onpo" or "astrologer" can say is that they are made according to the Tibetan book of calculations. In order to keep their calendar straight, it is frequently necessary to insert an extra day into a month or to omit a day. In the first case, some particular date, ascertained by rule, is repeated, thus for two days in succession it will be the 5th or 10th day etc., of the month. In the latter case a date is merely omitted.

[796] [17]The Tibetan New Year's day comes about 10th February, but the New Year's day festival, called "Losir" is observed on the 10th day of the month.

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 [466] 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

316 466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564 645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

631 647

564 463 533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

● 805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]

797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry. 797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhaktshal" is used. 195 805

779 so wander about for an indefinite period, and will not be ad-
775 mitted to paradise, merely because it cannot gain admission to any of the spheres for taking re-embodiment. But to return to the "kábum." The pious are informed that, with a pure
788 heart and humble voice, they should repeat the six mystic
779 syllables as often as possible, for that by so doing they close
775 the doors of the six spheres into which it would otherwise be possible for their souls to take re-birth.

Óm--repeated often enough closes the door of "hla-i-hnas" (fairy place).

Ma--repeated often enough closes the door of "hlámáeen-i-hnas" (demi-god place).

Nee--repeated often enough closes the door of "mee-i-hnas" (man place). [139]

Pat--repeated often enough closes the door of "tutro-i-hnas" (beast place).

Mey--repeated often enough closes the door of "eedak-i-hnas" (fore hell).

Hung--repeated often enough closes the door of "ngiálwa-i-hnas" (hell).

And it is added that if they are assiduous enough in this prayer, the result will be that they will escape the curse of re-birth, and will, when next they die, attain nirvána. The Incarnation of the Speetuk monastery gave me a slightly different version. He said, a body cannot be born unless good seed is sown; if a body is not born, a soul cannot be re-embodied. The result of repeating the six mystic syllables is, he said, to cause the "seed" of the gods, demi-gods, men, etc., not to germinate so far as concerns the soul of the person who has been diligent enough in repeating the mystic syllables.

I don't think any one in Ladák knows what the words or syllables really mean; the majority of the people don't even pretend to know.

● 805 [140]SABBATH--za-ngeema (Sunday). Ladákis do not keep one day
796 in seven as a day of rest and prayer, but the tenth day of every month, which is called tshesschoo (meaning "date ten"), is, or should be, observed as a day of praying and feasting.

788 SACRAMENT--Missionaries use the word "tamja" (meaning a "binding" or "making fast"). Tibetans have nothing quite like the Christian sacrament, but at the time of making a vow, they

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons

[789] send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

● 805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

for instance, in Tibet and China had two "eleventh" months. 805
In case the insertion of a whole month is too much, several 177
days can be omitted. Of course, the calendar-maker and the astrologist leaves out those days which he has calculated as unlucky days.

The Tibetan calendar reckons with year cycles of twelve years each which, in calculating the time, are added together and counted. The individual years within the cycle of twelve are not designated by numbers but by the names of one of the following twelve animals: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, ape, bird, dog, and pig. To calculate longer periods of time five cycles of twelve years are added together to constitute a larger cycle of sixty years in such a manner that every year within the cycle of twelve is connected with one of the five "elements" (wood, fire, earth, iron, water). (Compare Ramon, Hindu-Astrologie, same publisher.) If one asks a Tibetan for his age he will usually be able to give the animal designation of his year of birth, as, for instance: I am a snake-year person or a pig-year person (in the latter case, a lucky person). Now the snake-year, for instance, may be the year 1929, 1917, 1905, 1893, and so forth. If the person concerned also can tell how many year cycles his age comprises in this year (1930), then his age and his year of birth can easily be calculated. If, for instance, he says: Three (twelve) year cycles plus four years, that makes 40 years. In other words, he was born in 1896. Educated people can indicate the precise calendar designation of their year of birth. For instance: I am an iron-horse person (that is to say, born in 1870), an earth-pig person (therefore born in 1899), a wood-tiger person (thus born in 1914). When 805
he sets up the horoscope, it is very important for the soothsayer 787
to establish whether the animals and the elements in the year 177
cycles of the persons concerned are in a friendly, in a hostile, or in a neutral relation to each other. If, for instance, in the horoscopes of man and wife, mother and child, mutually hostile animal signs or elements appear over against each other, this indicates that there will be conflict, misfortune, and anger of the gods. Among the animals, for instance, horse and mouse, ox and sheep, tiger and ape are bitter enemies; among the elements water is the "mother" of wood because no tree grows

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[787]

without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other: iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

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The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa), each of which correspond to two of our hours.

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1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

1 cu-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, 805
that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration. 177
1 dbugs has 60 ĉa-śags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cigand se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-śar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas byà = sundown--bird,
20--22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn 787

7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions 775

met with the approval of the critical mother and the aunts, it had become late afternoon and way past the time when the sun had gone down behind the mountains. The old devil-tamer had calculated that the "ape hour" (119) (around four o'clock in the afternoon) would be the 585

119. Tibetan nyi-yur-spre, literally, the "sun's going-to-sleep--ape," that is, "ape hour," in which the sun prepares itself for "going to sleep." [305]

appropriate hour for the departure of the bride from her parents' house.

The Kalatse people now urged that everyone leave. The Nyaopas, still led by the sNatridpa, went to old Norbu Wangchug with the soothsayer's document in which the latter's directions were written down, and asked him to hand over the bride. The bride's mother went into the house with them to the door of the room in which the bride had been dressed. When they knocked at the bolted door a few girls came out and declared amid laughter that the bride had not yet finished dressing, that the perag was not yet fastened and that her ornaments had not yet been put on, and so forth. When, after a while, the Nyaopas, came back, the girls declared that the bride had run away from them, and that they were unable to find her. Thereupon the sNatridpa put three rupees in the first bridesmaid's hand and said: "All right, all right, I know! Just hurry up and get ready and bring out the bride; the days are short, the sun has already gone down, soon it will be dark and we have a long way to go before we are home." But still the bride did not appear. The people from Kalatse became impatient, the Nyaopas pounded on the door with their fists, which was answered by the girls with loud laughter. One of the girls came out and said that the shawl was still missing and that they were unable to find it. The father Norbu Wangchug went into the chamber, brought out a coral necklace belonging to his daughter, and gave it to Sodnam Wanggyal saying, "Here you have a pledge for the time being; just don't be angry little brother, the nomo ('younger sister,' here the bride) (120) will be right out. She

120. Compare note 38.

is drinking a bowl of tea. Just be patient for a little while longer, you gentlemen!"

It was another good half hour until the bride finally appeared, festively dressed, hung with ornaments, an attractive appearance. The

527 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming
777 between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first [805] half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos
789 first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma) (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

782 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering)
776 the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

Rites & Ceremonies

HAVING considered general every-day methods of 796 obtaining merit, let us turn our attention to the more specific and seasonal means, doing so in the order in which they occur annually. This makes 805 it necessary to say a few words about the Buddhist Calendar, [177] which seems to have been derived from the Chinese, and consists of sixty-year cycles, which are subdivided into five periods of twelve years each. The longer periods are named after the Buddhist elements of wood, fire, earth, iron and water, whilst the single years are called after various animals, such as mouse, ox, tiger or hare. The Ladaki does not therefore reckon his years in decades, but in dozens, so that when asked his age, he may inform you that, having been born in the sheep year of the water period, he must be three dozen and six year's old. Their year consists of three hundred and sixty days divided into lunar months, which the word for month, *zlaba*, pronounced *dawa*, implies. As this does not quite fit with the course of the sun, the Ladaki feels that he must try to humour him and his aberrations, by dropping days here and adding months there. He certainly feels that the sun [821] needs his aid at times, for when an eclipse occurs, he shouts at the top of his voice to scare off "the dragon from completely swallowing the sun." Their week, like ours, consists of seven days, which are devoted to deities similar to our own, such as Sunday and Monday to Sun and Moon. They have noticed that Mercury looks like a red eye, so Tuesday is called the day of the red eye. Wednesday is the day of

13 Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

805 Venus, whilst Thursday, the day of the dagger, must belong to the god of War. Jupiter and Saturn, even in Ladak, claim Friday and Saturday. The tenth day being the birthday of Padma Sambhava, their patron saint, who conquered all their demons, is regarded as holy.

796 The date of the new year varies, indeed in their topsy-turvy country they have two New Year days, one being the [172] Ladaki, the other the Tibetan, both of which are celebrated, 173 although for practical purposes the latter is used. The genesis of the Ladaki New Year is interesting. King Jamyang desired to wage war against the neighbouring kingdom of Purig, but was informed by the horologist that his venture would not be successful unless deferred till after New Year's day. Not wishing to wait, and no doubt thinking the stupid old sun would not notice, he decided that the New Year 796 should begin two months earlier. His anniversary usually 788 falls some time in December. It is chiefly marked by evening illuminations, for every Buddhist house has a row of tiny lamps, small wicks in little receptacles of oil, outlining either window-sill, verandah, or roof, or all three, according to the state of the family exchequer, for kerosene is an expensive commodity by the time the former is carried up to Leh; and of mustard oil and that expressed from apricot kernels there [361] is very little. As most Tibetan villages are built in tiers up the hillside in order to leave the flatter terraces for cultivation, their rows of little lights give quite a fairyland effect. Dominating the whole in Leh is the fine old castle with its row of illuminations, while still higher are the twinkling lights round the crazy verandah of the "Tsemo" or small monastery, 796 perched on its high crags. The official New Year occurs later, and its chief feature is the celebration of *Dosmoche*, the great festival of the Scapegoat. This ceremony varies in different localities. In Leh a huge erection is made of sticks, tied together by twine, and looking like a vastly over-rigged mast. The component parts are prepared previously by the

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 556 436 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 595 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of producing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 191 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

773 same time of the "stupid devil" of Europe.
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/17/ The Seven and the Eighteen Agus

773 Aside from Kesar, the eighteen or seven Agus, so-called, are
805 the greatest heroes of the Kesar saga. Kesar is the leader of these
776 heroes, and together with him they form a group of nineteen beings whom I am inclined to regard as personifications of an old calendar. The days of the week seem to have found their embodiment here, and perhaps the months, insofar as a connection exists between them and the constellations of the zodiac.

773 About the origins of the Agus we read in the Lower Ladakhi Ver-
776 sion of the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, I, "Prologue to the Kesar Saga"):[1] The forefather bKra-shis, together with his wife, seeded a field on which only a single tree was growing. From its fruits worms arose that ate one another until at the end only a single giant worm was left. This worm turned into a beautiful child, for whom eighteen brides were sought. All the brides became pregnant as soon as they looked at the child, and from them the eighteen Agus were born.

196 The word A-gu is the dialectal form of the Tibetan word A-khu,
[587] which means "uncle," "father's brother," but which in Western
773 Tibet can also mean "husband." The last-named meaning may be
776 connected with the fact that the brothers of the master of the house have a claim upon the master's wife. Moreover, it should be remembered that among the Dard of mDa, the word Mum-mo, which also means "uncle," is used, in their old songs, in the sense of "forebears." Some of this last meaning may also have penetrated into the Tibetan word A-gu.

773 The order of the eighteen Agus is given as follows in the para-
776 graph of the Kesar saga (Prologue):

1. Pasan-ldan-ru-skyes, with a goat's head.
2. An-gar-rtsans-po, with a lizard's head.
3. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun, with a hawk's head.
4. Kha-rgan-ga-ni, with a white beard.
5. sKya-ba-rgod-po, with a ladle for a head,
6. Zla-ba-bzan-po, with a moon for a head.
7. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, with an arrow tip fro a head.
8. A-la-jon-gol, with a boot sole for a head.
9. aBu-dmar-lam-btan, with an insect's head.
10. Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, with a mirror for a head.

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references--Analyst]

776 distinguished by their special faculties, with their leader, the
773 original group of the seven before us. Although most of the Agus from the group of seven are to be found again in the group of eighteen, there are nevertheless some who only appear in the group of seven. Such Agus are: Gon-ma-bu-thsa, lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, dPal-moi-a-stag, Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, sKha-ba-dkar-po. In the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, III, 25-45) we become acquainted with one Agu, Za, "eater," who may possibly be connected with the heavy eater among the Agus in the group of seven. So much, however, is certain, that the number of Agus, if we were to count up all the figures that we encounter here and there in sags and poems, would rise far above eighteen. I explain this from the fact that each village established its own Kesar saga. Each village may thus also have prepared its own list of the eighteen Agus. As the villages communicated with one another they exchanged names of the Agus, and in this way the present order was brought into the various systems. However the series of Agus may be composed, there seems always to be a traitor among them. Thus, Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun appears as traitor in abducting aBru-gu-ma, as well as in the death of her protector, aBu-dmar-lam-batan. (See A Lower Ledakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma.") Quite in accordance with this is the behavior of the same Agus during Kesar's expedition to China. (See A Lower Ladakhi Version.)

773 As has already been mentioned, a heroine is to be found in the
805 group of the seven Agus, dPal-moi-a-stag. This brings me to the
776 question as to whether we may be permitted to see embodiment of
821 the days of the week in the Agus. The Tibetan's week is the same as ours, that is, the system of the seven days named after the old planets, which probably originated from Babylonia and on its way through India came to the Tibetans too. Preceding the names of the days of the week is the word gZa, /19/ meaning "plantet." However, it must be said that the names of these planets are so unclear etymologically that they can be explained only with great difficulty. The names of the days of the week are:

gZa-nyi-ma, Sunday (nyi-ma, "sun).
gZa-zla-ba, Monday (zla-ba, "moon").
gZa-mig-dmar, Tuesday (mig-dmar, "red eye").
gZa-lhag-pa, Wednesday (lhag-pa, "provided with a hand").
gZa-phur-bu, Thursday (phur-bu, "thunderbolt").
gZa-pa-sans, Friday (pa-sans? sans, "pure").
gZa-spen-pa, Saturday (dpen-pa, "beautiful, charming").

[See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

The following Agus might have a connection with the days of the week: Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, or gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, the "crystal" or "mirror" or "gold son," the son of Kesar, for Sunday; Zla-ba-bzan-po, "good moon," or Zla-ba-dkar-po, "white moon," for Monday; for Tuesday we must go to a being which so far has not been designated as an Agu. This is the Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat, red eye," a bird (that is, star), which is named as the younger brother of the sun bird (see Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue").[1] Among the Agus it is approached most closely by aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, "red worm, road sign," which is designated as a younger brother of King Kesar. With respect to Wednesday, it is to be remarked that the spelling lhag-pa is perhaps incorrect, and for the following reason: In the pictures by which the days of the week are designated in the calendar, Wednesday is always indicated by a hand. Now, "hand," is not called lhag-pa, but lag-pa. I believe that, from the word lag-pa, "hand," first of all the word slag-pa, meaning "provided with a hand," was formed; slag-pa and lhag-pa are, however pronounced identically. Lhag-pa should therefore mean "the one who is provided with a hand," and since Agu Lag-lag-rins is provided with a hand on his head, he might appear as the representative of Wednesday. Thursday has the phur-bu or vajra as a sign. In this place, therefore, a hero of the type of Jupiter would fit. Now, a thunderbolt hero is not to be found among the Agus, apparently for the reason that this weapon became known to the Tibetans only through the Indians. As the lexicon tells us, the word phur-bu signifies, first of all, any pointed iron, therefore also an arrowhead. It is therefore not impossible that in mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the "highest arrow master," we have the Agu of Thursday before us, especially since he has an arrowhead for a head (1). The

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1. Perhaps, however, Kesar himself should be inserted under Thursday, as a fighter against the dragon of the clouds. The "arrow master" as "archer" should probably be assigned to the zodiac.

Agu of Friday is immediately recognizable by his name. He is Pa-sans-ldan-ru-skyes, "owner of (the planet) Venus, growing horns." By these horns are meant the phases of Venus which the Tibetans were able to see just as clearly as the Babylonians. It is impossible to determine from the name whether the Agu was male or female. Perhaps in order to emphasize the feminine nature of this planet, the female Agu dPal-moi-a-stag, "(A-stag?) the glorious one," was created. She is famous as a fierce warrior with the spear. To this

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references -- Analyst]

773 it should be added at once that the ancient Tibetans seem to have
776 been acquainted with the profession of battle maidens as much as
805 the ancient Germanic tribes. In wedding song No. XLIII,[1] in which
821 the guests have cups of different colors set before them according to their rank, there appear after the lama, the king, and the ministers, first of all the sTag-shar, the tiger heroes, then the sTag-dman, the tiger virgins, and finally the Na-chun, the ordinary virgins. The sTag-shar and the sTag-dman drink from golden cups, the ordinary virgins, on the other hand, drink from red cups. With respect to Saturday, I must /20/ confess that so far it seems to me impossible to connect an Agu with the Tibetan planet of this day.

773 Now as far as the relationship of the Agus to an ancient zodiac
776 is concerned, I would say that it is particularly the external appear-
805 ance of the Agus that makes their origin from a zodiac seem possi-
171 ble. The Agus are described as creatures of human shape, some of whom are provided with animal heads. In this connection, however, it should be said at once that the animals in the signs of the zodiac in use today in China as well as in Tibet, are the very ones that cannot be found among the animal heads of the Agus. It is well-known, however, that the zodiac in use today was not introduced into either country until historical times (before the seventh or eighth century). The zodiac symbolized in the Agus, on the other hand, may have originated in the prehistoric period of the two peoples.

The zodiac known today in China and Tibet has the following twelve animal signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, ape, hen, dog, and pig. The zodiac is used in the calendar to designate the years. The Tibetans report that this calendar was brought to them by the Chinese in the seventh century. It must therefore have been introduced into China somewhat earlier. The same animal names were then also used to designate the different months. As the excavations in Turkestan indicate, the Tibetans of the eighth century divided the year into twelve months, with three of the months constituting a season of the year. At that time they spoke of the second and the third spring month, and so forth. Each month, at that time, was reckoned at thirty days. I suspect this because the number 360 plays such an important role with the gods, the nymphs, and similar beings.

Although it is as yet impossible to equate all the Agus in the list given above with the known signs of the zodiac, the following should nevertheless be pointed out: An-gar-rtsans-po with the lizard's head can be compared with the snake of the Dodekaoros;

Khrai-mgo with the hawk's head can be compared with the hawk of the Dodekaoros; aBu-dmar-lam-bstan with the insect's head can be compared with the beetle of the Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, "Old Mouth," with the white beard, can be compared with the ape of the Dodekaoros; Bon-mag with the donkey's head, with the donkey of the Dodekaoros. As has already been mentioned, mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the great arrow master, belongs perhaps to the "archer" of the Babylonian zodiac. As A. Jeremias observes in his "Handbuch," the previously mentioned zodiac of the Chinese, which begins with the rat, the ox, and the tiger, is related to the Hellenistic Dodekaoros. After what has just been said, it seems to me that the zodiac symbolized by the Agus comes much closer to the Dodekaoros. Here we have, perhaps, the intermediate link between the Asiatic West and East with respect to this calendar problem. 773 776 805 171

Favorite Numbers in the Ancient Mythology

Three is a particularly favored number. The world is composed of three parts, the king of the heavens has three sons, King "White Tent" must perform three labors, three Shar-an-dre, according to the Lower Ladakh Version, strive to kill the child Kesar. The Agu Khrai-thun needs three hats, three stirrups, and three dog collars ("Journey to China"). According to wedding song No. XIII[1] there are three famous castles, three lakes, three forms of greeting, of smiling, and of swearing; according to No. LIX,[1] there are three kinds of people, of cattle and of iron tools, and there are three kinds of fields. 773 801

The number seven appears somewhat less frequently. However, the smaller group of the Agus consists of seven heroes. According to the Sheh version there are seven An-dhe-ban-dhe who try to kill the infant Kesar. Seven /21/ types of grain seeds are found in the stomach of the dove that has been caught. Tag-ma-cig, (wedding song No. LIX.[1]) With seven bones and seven shells Dze-mo performs her magic on Cu-ru-lu-gu (in the Winter Myth, No. 3).[1]

The number nine occurs with special frequency. The monster from which gDon-gsum-mi-la constructs the world, has nine heads; the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu has nine lives; according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] Kesar is victorious in nine battles; according to Spring Myth, VI,[1] 29, nine little pieces of butter are spread along the edge of the beer jug in honor of the guest. Nine gods and nine Pisaca were born together with Kesar, according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] 34. In everyday life, the number nine is also in frequent use. A full rosette is

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

15: Francke--95 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4, west Tibetans AJ4

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 921 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 921

Origin of the Rock Drawings[1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Catogory 116 -- Analysis]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.—*By* THE REV. H. FRANCKE, *Moravian Missionary, Leh. Communicated by the Philological Secretary.*

[Read June, 1899.]

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The Ladakhi word for proverb is *gtamdpe* [pronounced *stamspe*] which means 'word example.' *Stamspe* is the general term for what might be called quotations, the shepherd's calender and the popular moral code.

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Ladakhi popular poetry has become famous for the frequent application of the laws of 'parallelism.' Many beautiful examples, illustrative of this form of poetry, will be noticed in the proverbs.

In the following each proverb will be treated in this way—

(*a*) the Proverb in the orthography of Ladaki letter writing, (*b*) pronunciation, (*c*) literal translation [does not claim to be good English], (*d*) application, (*e*) grammatical and other notes.

Concerning the orthography of (*b*) the following will suffice: The vowels are the Italian vowels[1], *ä* rather like *e*. All accents given, refer only to the stress. *sh* = ཤ, *zh* = ཞ, *ng* = ང, *c* = ཅ, *ch* = ཆ, *j* = ཇ, *ts* = ཙ, *ths* = ཚ. The unaspirated Tenuis holds the mean between English tenuis and media. Single *r* = Hindustani *r*. The *r* preceding a consonant is like the German guttural *r*, following a consonant it is like the English *r*, spoken quickly.

THE PROVERBS.

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1. (*a*) དཔེ་ཉིད་རིང་མོ་ལ་གང་གསུམ་དང་དྲོ་གསུམ།
ཟེ་ཚེ་རིང་མོ་ལ་སྐྱིད་གསུམ་དང་ལྡུག་གསུམ།།

(*b*) spid' nyin ring'moa drang' sumdang dro' sum
mi'thse ring'moa skyid' sum dang dug' sum.

[1] They are long, when ending a syllable, short in all other cases.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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(*c*) On a spring day [illegible]re] three colds and three warmths
In a lifetime [th[illegible]are] three happy [hours] and three unfortunate [hours].

(*d*) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.

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(*e*) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determina tivum* formed from *spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosum*, etc., must be considered as *Composita*, which accounts for the missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.

539 2. (*a*) སྐྱིད་སྡུག་མི་ལ། མཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ།

(*b*) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.

(*c*) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.

(*d*) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain people.

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(*e*) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum.*

539 3. (*a*) ཐིགས་པ་བསྣ་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གང་།

(*b*) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.

(*c*) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.

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(*d*) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without an article to express the adjective "full."

539 4. (*a*) བླ་ཕྱི་ནི་ནག་ར་ངང་ལུག་ཁྲོག་ཟམ།
ཟླེ་ལ་མདོ་ས་མོ་ཆེ་ངང་གཡག་ཁྲོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.

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(*c*) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro [the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of a Yak.

(*d*) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro, it is warmer then.

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(*e*) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

[135]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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(*c*) The time when the fly turns [flies] round the mouth, is the time of taking off all clothing and eating everything.

(*d*) A description of summer in the peasant's calendar.

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(*e*) About *kha* instead of *khala* see 1 (*e*). If an *r* follows a muta, the muta is often dropped in Ladakhi, thus *rang* is said instead of *brang*; *ci* 'what' is used here in the sense of whatever.

539 8.
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(*a*) མཁར་རྫོང་ཡ་ཅུལ་ལྟ་ལྟ།
ཆུ་སྦྱི་ལྡམ་ཆུ་ཡང་འབྱུད།

(*b*) khar'zongi yachula lta'lta,
chu'bii ldam'chu yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the glacier water of the Kharzong pass the gathered water of Chubi (a village) is also lost.

(*d*) take what is nearest!

(*e*) refers to the *system* of irrigation. Notice the re-duplication of the verb, implying a durative sense = whilst.

577 9.
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(*a*) རར་མའི་ཁྲོ་ལ་གོ་བ། ལུག་གི་ཁྲོ་ལ་བེ་ཡ།།

(*b*) ra'mā thro'a go'a, lug'gi thro'abe'a.

(*c*) In the company of goats [he says] *goa*, in the company of sheep [he says] *bea*.

(*d*) Said of a man, who has no will of his own,

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(*e*) *Goa* and *bea* imitate the voices of goats and sheep respectively.

539 10.
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(*a*) དཔྱིད་འབད་དུས། སྟོན་སྡུ་དས།།

(*b*) spid'bad'dus' ston'rdu'dus'.

(*c*) Spring is the time of working, autumn the time of gathering.

(*d*) Do everything at the proper season.

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(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a three-syllabled *Comps. determ.*

539 11.
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(*a*) དཔྱིད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། སྟོན་སྡུ་དུས་ལ་འཁྱོད་འདུག།།

(*b*) spid' baddusla mabad'na, ston'rdudusla gyod'dug.

(*c*) If you do not work in the spring working time, you will repent in the autumn gathering time.

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(*e*) Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rdu* = gather.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

12. (*a*) ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་མཆོམ་པོ་འབྲུག་ལྡིར་ན།
མདོ་ཤ་གི་ཨིད་ལས་ཐོག་ཐོབ་འདུག།

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(*b*) Ladag'skyi zhing'shmos dang nyam'po drug' ldir'na,
do'sha gil'idla ston'thog thob'dug.

(*c*) When at the time of ploughing in Ladakh the thunder sounds, they receive a harvest in *dosha* [lower Ladak] and Gilgit.

(*d*) Peasant's calendar. Lower Ladak and Gilgit have an earlier harvest than Leh.

(*e*) *Ldirces* is the Ladakhi for *adirba*. In this Proverb the Genitive in *kyi* is pronounced in full. The ordinary Ladaki Genitive has a simple *i*.

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13. (*a*) ཡུན་རིང་ན་བྱ་རོས་ལྡོང་པོ་ཆོད།

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(*b*) yŭnring'na ja'ros ldong'bo chod'.

(*c*) After a long time a dead bird [which is blown by the wind against the trunk of a tree] cuts the trunk.

(*d*) With perseverance great things can be done.

(*e*) *Ldongbo* = *sdongbo*.

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14. (*a*) སྒང་ཏྲས་ཀྱི་ཡང་མ་ལ་ལྟ།
དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་སོ་སྐོབ་ཡང་འབྲུད།

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(*b*) gang'lessi yang'mala lta'lta.
spid'thuggi sor'gob yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the good barley of Gangles (a village) the rough straw of Spithŭg is lost.

(*d*) See 8 (*d*).

(*e*) About *ltalta*, see 8 (*e*).

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15. (*a*) བྱ་ཚང་མ་བྱ་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང།
ཅང་ནའུ ཏུ ཏུ་ཙེ་ཤུལ་མཇུག་ལ་ལུས།

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(*b*) ja'thsang'ma ja'yulla song'
jangan' ututu'tse shul'juglalus'.

(*c*) All birds have gone to birdland.
The bad [stupid] bird hoopoe has remained to the last.

(*d*) When a bad thing has been done by several, all who can, disappear, the one who remains, is punished for all.

Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "kháng00 kháng chhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "kháng00," and that made over to the son is called "kháng chhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "kháng00" comes into the possession of the holder of the "kháng chhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "kháng chhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [423] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. [792]

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 768 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 177 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

● 821 753 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoothung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epileptic

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

585 533 539 Now the music is silent. The dance is at an end. The Nyaopas go towards the tent. But still they may not give themselves over to rest and enjoyment. The relatives of the bride go toward them and again a question and answer game in the form of a song starts up. The Nyaopas must pass another test before they may take their places in the row of guests. The people from the Chirpon house sing the Song of the Carpets (98).

98. From Ladakhi Songs by A. H. Francke, Leh, 1899. The translation of this song into German was done by the author of the present work.

Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high heavens be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high glacier be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high boulder be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
/96/ Might the high mountain lake be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might that high castle be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the wide earth be.
Who uses as carpet in this land
A saddle cloth with a blue edge?
Who for a carpet likes to use, you must tell me,
The wild sheep's brown fur?
Whom serves as carpet, tell me quick,
The meadow green and the forest thick?
Whose is that carpet? Whom do you think
This roll of cloth must serve?

The Nyaopas answer:

The high heavens so blue and clear
Must be the sun's (99) carpet and the moon's.

• 821 99. According to the astronomy of the Indians, Tibetans as well as of the Assyrians and Babylonians, sun and moon are

counted among the planets, and they are considered animate 821 ●
divine beings which have an influence upon the fates of human beings and are worshipped as gods.

The glacier above is a carpet, I ween, 585
For the lion with the turquoise-colored mane. 533
The high rocks carpet are 539
For the large ibex quick as the wind.
The mountain lake blue as carpet may suffice
For the wife of the fish with the golden eyes.
The castle so high, so proud and so fine
Must the nobleman's carpet be.
The great earth's mighty spaces
Signify the Chinese Emperor's carpet.
In the saddle cloth with the blue edge
Agu Palle (100) his carpet found.

100. A-gu p'al-le, one of the 18 heroes of the Tibetan Kesar [773]
myth.

The brown fur of the wild sheep must be
Agu Khru btungs' (101) carpet, I suppose.

101. A-gu k'ru btuṅs, another of these heroes who has the head of a falcon.

The meadows and woods must be
A carpet for birds large and small
This roll of cloth here? A carpet fine
For the seven (102) Nyaopa brothers it must be.

102. Seven Nyaopas may be active at a very large wedding.

The Chirpon people call out loud: "Good, you noble friends! 585
Now take your place and drink a little bowl of beer!" Finally /Following p. 96 there are two full-page illustrations, one of a "Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)"; the other of a "Bridegroom in Ladakh."/ /97/ the five "Nyaopa brothers" sit down on the carpet in the places appointed for them near the tent entrance, and then they are served with ample food and drink.

(141) roar, and rain falls." 789

141. According to the conception of the Tibetans (and similarly also of the Chinese), a rain storm arises from the fact that two dragons, a male and a female one, fight with each other so that the sparks (lightning) fly. Their angry roar is the thunder. On each of the dragons there rides a demon (lha-adre), and they, too, take part in the battle. Both riders have a sack from which they scatter hail and sleet down on the earth. According to the Chinese conception the thunder dragons and the sky Nagas cause the rain storm by rolling the thunder wheel at each other in battle and by spitting lightning. [821]

The year in which all this took place was a good one for the Ladakh farmers. There was no dearth of water; in the early summer the rains started and continued for an unusually long period of time; the summer brought warm sunshine so that wheat, barley, and buckwheat in /149/ the fields turned out very well. The gods seemed graciously inclined and the lamas impressed upon the farmers how useful and necessary it was to invoke the gods in good time and to bring offerings to them. 000

So they all celebrated a merry "festival of the ears of grain," the Schrulblha (srub-lha). That took place in the beginning of July when the first ears appeared on the barley and wheat stalks. On the eve of this festival, Namgyal, like all his neighbors, brought in a bundle of green ears from the field, which he attached to the door posts, the beams, and the wooden columns of the house: an offering for the earth deities (sa-bdag) and for the household and local divinities. On the afternoon of the festival the villagers all gathered in the open place of the village where they ate, drank, and danced. They sang songs about the origin of the world and about the gods who brought the first grain kernels down to earth. 527

The beautiful weather lasted into the late autumn, and the people of Ladakh were able to bring in their harvest successfully and without being disturbed. The grain yield had been satisfactory and the people of Lower Ladakh, among them also the inhabitants of Kalatse, had also had a good harvest of apricots. Everybody was joyful and in good spirits, for the people had scarcely been afflicted with serious sickness this year. The farmers who owned horses had, moreover, been able to earn many a rupee by

might still be lacking, the lamas would get for him; after all, they were making enough money on him. 000

It is true that Namgyal donated ample gifts to the neighboring monastery and to the monks who were called in for the household ceremonies. He performed pilgrimages to all the holy places within reach, among others to the miracle-performing image of the Great Merciful One in Trilognath in Lahul; he also planned to perform the great pilgrimage to the sacred glacial mountain Gangsri, as well as that to the sacred lake Manasarowar in faraway Tibet, as soon as his official business matters as magistrate--the post had been transferred to him--would permit. The belief was that by means of such a pilgrimage the sins of all births were to be effaced and the way into Paradise was to be opened all at once. 788

Besides the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, the country gods, the village gods, and the household god were not forgotten either. Even though Namgyal was often beset by doubt as to their existence and their effective power, he nevertheless considered it advisable, if only for the sake of his relatives and the p'as-pun (clan), not to neglect them and to keep them favorably inclined and pacified by occasional offerings. 782

Each morning before sunrise Namgyal would bring the morning offering (ṁa-mĉod) to the entire host of Buddhas and gods. It consisted of barley, rice, beer, water, and also flowers (zas-ĉaṅ-gi p'ud); everything was placed in front of the images of the deities in the house temple in brass bowls. Upon entering the sacred chamber Namgyal would fall down three times in adoration before the image of Avalokitsvara, and then he would present the offering and say a brief prayer. In the evening Namgyal would in like manner bring the evening offering (p'i-mcod).

His poor neighbor, Ngurub, who could not afford such offerings, contented himself with placing a clay bowl with smouldering juniper twigs in it, on the roof of his house, as an "offering to all." He used to say that even so the gods were just as favorable to him and that he was not afflicted with misfortune any more than the rich who presented more ample offerings. On the contrary. The gods loved the spicy, fragrant smoldering juniper above all, /175/ and they looked, so he said, graciously upon this offering. He stood quite well with those up there, he stated.

In the first "ascending" half of each month (yar-ño) (158), that 781

158. The first "ascending" half of the month" (yar-ño) is 821

821 considered the stronger one, auguring good fortune and success; the second "descending" one (mar-ño) as the "weaker," harboring little good fortune.

789 is to say, when the moon was waxing, a ceremony had to be performed, according to ancient custom, in the house, which the Tibetan designates as lha bsañs co-ces, which we would render by "appeasing the gods." At first Namgyal used to follow his father's precedent and call in three lamas on each of these occasions. The lamas would recite prayers and formulas of exorcism for a few hours and they would bring cast offerings (gtor-ma) to the gods. The master of the house himself would go through all the rooms of the house (bsañs-ak'or) with a bowl (bsans-ap'or) of incense, usually just smoldering juniper twigs, which he would continually fan by blowing. After having gone around he would add more frankincense (ldug-spos), bread dough mixed with butter, salt and onions, and then he would sprinkle beer over it from a jug, and place this food and incense offering on the edge of the stove in the living room-kitchen as refreshment and delightful fragrance for the gods. In the meantime the lamas up in the household temple would read from the book bsañs-dpe. These are not prayers of supplication. Without special marks of reverence the gods are requested to accept the offering in a friendly manner, to refresh themselves by it, and in exchange for it to spare those who brought the offering from hostile actions. Gradually Namgyal contented himself with calling in the lamas two or three times a year for the bsañs offering; for the rest he regarded his own offering as sufficient even without their presence and activity. As a reward for their efforts the lamas received, on this occasion, only ample food and beer, since they served two or three houses in one day. The actual compensation for their services took place in autumn all at once.

788 Once every year, in the fourth month, which is a special, festive month, Namgyal would call three to five lamas into his house for the great year-Rimdro (rim-agro, meaning "offering ceremony"). Everyone who could at all afford it, did this for the well-being of all inhabitants of the house, including the animals. On this occasion, the wealthy man is actually supposed to have /176/ the entire first part of the Buddhistic canon (collection of the sacred books, 108 volumes) read. The king in his time could afford to have this done, but it takes a long time and is very expensive. But in order to enable the less well endowed as well as the rich to hold the Rimdro, the lamas

731 and could not be rescued. Driven by hunger, animals of prey frequently penetrated into the villages and carried off livestock wherever they could find it. The wolves and the wild dogs wrought particularly bad ravages among the villagers' sheep herds, so that the villagers scarcely dared to drive their sheep out for watering any more.

A very warm Spring brought with it the very sudden melting of the snow and great floods. The tiniest little brook was turned into a torrential stream, all the empty river beds and channels of the Ladakh wilderness were filled with water. In neighboring Domkhar, in Skyurbuchan, and in many villages along the Indus and its tributaries, torrential brooks and avalanches of mud tore away the farmers' laboriously constructed terraced fields together with the young seed. A mountain slide, caused by the melted water, dammed up the water of the powerful brook in the side valley of Domkhar, so that a large lake was formed. Two weeks later the dammed up floods had eaten their way through the dam; the water masses that hurtled down into the valley, destroyed all the best fields in the valley floor and high upon the slopes of the mountains; they tore open the bottom of the valley and carried down with them soil, stones, and large boulders, so that the floor of the valley was henceforth four to five meters lower than before; and the mills which before used to stand by the brook, now hung high above it along the wall of the valley, insofar as they had not been torn along. Two houses were carried off by the floods, and several cows, donkeys, and much small livestock perished in the inundation. Two women were also drowned as they were wading through a swollen brook.

In the early summer there were, contrary to all former experience, a great many violent thunder storms (165), such as the oldest

[132] 165. Thunder storms are rare and hardly ever violent in the high altitudes of Tibet (altitudes of over 3,000 meters). This is so because of the great dryness and minimal density of the atmosphere at these heights. For the very greatest part Tibet is a mountain wilderness. Its thin, dry atmosphere permits of only a slight formation of clouds and accumulation of electricity.

821 people could not remember ever having witnessed. In the fifth month there occurred an eclipse of the moon; the sixth month brought a total eclipse of the sun. Both astral phenomena created great agitation

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (166), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to 821

166 The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mythology has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply the earth with light night and day.

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer was followed by a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat-spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the Kalatse reservoir and water-line strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community. 731 [689]

The lamas performed one procession after another, and the farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain. Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, which did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected. [789]

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been 787

764 If a woman has died the topmost, best turquoise of the woman's head ornament may also be given as compensation in this case. It is said that some rich people give the lama even a horse or a yak as "changing compensation." In Central Tibet, when the lama (who has been called upon) is prevented by circumstances from coming to the house of the layman concerned (in which the death has taken place), the lama sends a messenger on horseback with the "changing material" (ap'o-rdzas) and performs the "body changing ceremony" in his monastery or in his hermitage. This is called "long-distance" (rgyan ap'o-debs).

If the "gift offerer" (pious layman) belongs to the Drugpa sect, he has a Drugpa lama called, who has performed the "Four Exercises" (and therefore possesses the rank of abbot). This lama first of all recites an entrance formula, then formulas of exorcism, and then he calls upon the spirits; thereupon he reads the book entitled "Of the harmful rainbow" (12) concerning the "changing"; and as he now shouts

[821] 12. The rainbow, which in the astronomy of the ancient Indians was already reckoned among the planets, is thought of, like all the celestial bodies, as a divinity which is frequently hostile towards mankind, and which sends down upon it afflictions like epilepsy, brain hemorrhage, and the like.

"hik!" three times, and "pat!" once, he pulls out a few hairs from the dead man's head (13). This he does three to five times. By doing

[826] 13. The soul is presumed to make its exit by way of the little openings that have been created through pulling out the hairs. In the belief of the lamas, the hairs go all the way through the top of the head.

this the priest believes that the soul of the deceased is taken up in the soul of the sublime Dorje Chang (rdo-rje acan) (14), and that in this

14. In Sanskrit Vajradhara, a form of the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva.

way it arrives in Paradise. All this is done so that the soul of the deceased may be preserved against the terrors of Bardo or of a new rebirth. Later on, something will be said about the offerings and dishes presented on this occasion. The sign that the change (of the body)

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug ceremony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam-dbyaṅs) is to be set up. 764 787 789

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated

35. The title of a book.

that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month: k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821].

the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

121 539 585 SOME time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Késar-Myths of Western Tibet.** The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladákhis** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet.** I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences, are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

126 The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by the **leader of the Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin,** who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan,** and of other Ladákhis, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

585 539 821 000 It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that the **four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist literature (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

[18] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in Qor. vi. 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf.* S. xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all these passages as Medinian. [FOOTNOTE DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THIS ARTICLE.--ANALYST]

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Ladak

585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship. Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the Bon Religion, yungdrung 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

104 821 [773] It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *ɣyungdrung*, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima, occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name Khyung dkrung may have degenerated to become *ɣyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:— (1) a word *ɣyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *ɣyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *ɣyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The ɣ of *ɣyung* and *ɣyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *ɣyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *ɣyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卍 *su* and 卐 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.

a

b

779 821 797 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *ɣyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

[See source No 10 in Tibet file AJ1 -- Ana[illegible]]

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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●821

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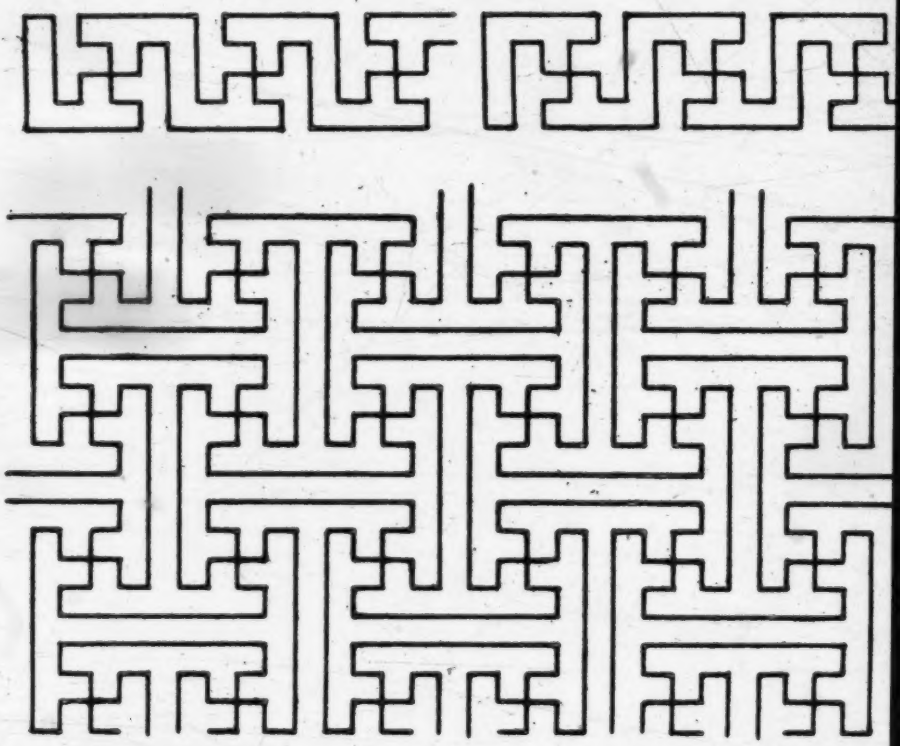
In the drawings below showing the *yyundrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.



585

However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *yyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *swastika*.

532

The *yyungdrung* is thought to be of great importance at the wedding ceremony, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *yyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

539

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bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcessi glu'i[2] dpecha yin.	This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the Nyopas, when the bride is given.

[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.

[2] A *chungba* is indicated by an apostrophe.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Looking overhead into a clear azure sky we noticed two perfect and complete halos round the sun, and were informed by our servants that these signified either the crossing of the pass by some really great men, or the birth of a King.

Our camp had been pitched in a sandy plain surrounded by hills, through which a sluggish streamlet meandered, passing within a few yards of our tents. After a cup of tea, partaken of inside our temporary home as a cold wind was blowing outside, and a rest after the day's trek, we emerged for a walk, and to our surprise found that the whole plain had been converted into a lake. Literally within a space of three hours some giant must have dumped down this expanse of water, measuring about two hundred by one hundred and fifty yards. Next morning practically the whole had disappeared, and this seems to have happened daily for weeks. From here we passed over other plains where the same had occurred, till suddenly there lay before us a large green deep lake, from whose banks there rose a row of sandy mountains, behind which glorious snow-covered peaks stood sentinel. This large inland lake, called "The Panggong," runs far into Tibet, and is formed of brackish water. Seen in the morning light, it really is a fine sight.

Leaving it on our right, we reach the village of Pobrang. We may call it a village, for it can boast of two houses, and is certainly the last resort we could designate by such a name, until we get well into Tibet. Here we get our first glimpse of the Changpas or inhabitants of the Northern Plain. Rough and unkempt-looking, they are not altogether the sort of fellows one would like to meet alone by night, but their jolly smile would soon dispel all fears. Let us first describe them, as far as description is possible, and then glance at their dwellings. Their eyes are typically Mongolian, their noses large and firmly flattened. Long hair, which surely has not made the acquaintance of brush and comb for years, if ever, and which ends in a pigtail, surmounts faces

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

Rites & Ceremonies

HAVING considered general every-day methods of 796 obtaining merit, let us turn our attention to the more specific and seasonal means, doing so in the order in which they occur annually. This makes 805 it necessary to say a few words about the Buddhist Calendar, [177] which seems to have been derived from the Chinese, and consists of sixty-year cycles, which are subdivided into five periods of twelve years each. The longer periods are named after the Buddhist elements of wood, fire, earth, iron and water, whilst the single years are called after various animals, such as mouse, ox, tiger or hare. The Ladaki does not therefore reckon his years in decades, but in dozens, so that when asked his age, he may inform you that, having been born in the sheep year of the water period, he must be three dozen and six year's old. Their year consists of three hundred and sixty days divided into lunar months, which the word for month, *zlaba*, pronounced *dawa*, implies. As this does not quite fit with the course of the sun, the Ladaki feels that he must try to humour him and his aberrations, by dropping days here and adding months there. He certainly feels that the sun [821] needs his aid at times, for when an eclipse occurs, he shouts at the top of his voice to scare off "the dragon from completely swallowing the sun." Their week, like ours, consists of seven days, which are devoted to deities similar to our own, such as Sunday and Monday to Sun and Moon. They have noticed that Mercury looks like a red eye, so Tuesday is called the day of the red eye. Wednesday is the day of

The Divinities of the Four Points of the Compass

Particularly in the wedding songs we find that the deities of the 776
four points of the compass play an important role. Yet even on 821
other occasions they sometimes become prominent. In some songs we find the Lokapalas, just as they are familiar to us from India even though they appear under Tibetan names. This is not to be wondered at if we remind ourselves that, after all, even Indra had been accepted by the Tibetans. We must try, with the aid of the songs, to become acquainted with the original songs of the Tibetans dealing with this matter. First of all, we should recall the songs that celebrate the points of the compass as bestowers of great gifts. In wedding songs X and XIII[1] it is stated that the East gives us the sun, but also the moon and the stars. The South provides grain and, with it, great wealth, even gold. From the West come the medicines, astronomy flourishes there too--because of the use of the Chinese diagrams, and also the art of prophecy. The North is praised for the gifts of the colors and of salt. Kesar's war (No. X)[1] is also supposed to take place there.

In the preceding pages something has already been said about 821
color. A color system was now connected with the points of the 822
compass, in such a way, in fact, that birds as well as eggs of a certain color were accommodated there. In wedding songs Nos. XV, XXXIX, and XLI,[1] we read that in the East a white bird and a white egg are to be found. In No. XV[1] the bird of the East is designated as Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "wild king of the birds." In the South lives a yellow bird, and a golden egg is also to be found there. The bird of the West is red, and the egg which exists there is called coral-red. The bird of the North is sometimes black, sometimes of a turquoise blue color. Sometimes it is a raven and sometimes a peacock. The egg is turquoise blue or iron black.

In wedding song No. XXXIX[1] we are now also introduced to per- 776
sons, perhaps deities of a sort, who live in the various points of the 821
compass. In the East, Sa-gon-bdag-po, the "owner of the earth," the king; probably Kesar as ruler of the earth. In the South, it is mThsan-ldan-bla-ma, "famous priest," an unknown figure; in the West, U-rgyan-padma-Padmasambhava, and in the North, mGar-mkhan-A-nag, the smith a-nag, and aBrug-u-ma, probably his daughter. If this system is not completely original, the one in song No. XXXVIII[1] is even less so. Here the points of the compass

1 [See pp. 1–9, Cat. 116 for references -- Analyst]

776 are occupied in the following way: the East: Shakya-thub-pa,
821 Buddha; South: aJam-dpal, Manjusir; the West: mKyen-rab, the founder of the Bon religion; the North: rGyal-rjes-dkar-po, the great white king, perhaps a variant of Gur-dkar, King "White Tent" (snow).

821 Now it is very peculiar that the Tibetans, when they related
823 real regions to the points of the compass, created a great deal of confusion. This came about because they established the gifts of the points of the compass first. When these gifts were established, they suddenly hit upon the idea of looking around for earthly countries which supplied such gifts in particular.

In wedding song No. X the East is brought into relation with India. This is to be explained in the following manner: The gift of the east is, above all, the sun. But Kesar too belongs to the East, and also Buddha (No. XXXVIII). Buddha came from India. Therefore India is placed in the East. The South supplies /13/ grain, and in so doing it leads to riches. At the time of the composition of the songs, Persia was known as the richest country. Consequently, Persia was connected with the South. The West was considered the realm of medicine; the spirits of medicine, called sMan, lived there. But all medicine men also busied themselves with astrology and prophecy, especially from the Chinese diagrams. Since the Chinese surpassed all their neighbors in these arts, China was connected with the West. The situation is probably most favorable in the North. Besides the colors, salt is supposed to be found in the North, and salt actually can be found in large quantities in the north Tibetan lake areas, Byan-than. These areas are also assigned to the North in the song (compare Ladakhi Songs, No. 15). By the land of "Kesar's war" in the North we are to understand in particular Hor or Turkestan.

776 We now come to the names of the Indian Lokapala, which have
821 penetrated into some wedding songs. In wedding song No. IX they are enumerated in the following way:

1. Yul-akhor-srun (Dhritarashta) . . . . . East
2. aPhags-skyed-po (Virudhaka) . . . . . South
3. sPyan-mig-bzan (Virupaksha) . . . . . West
4. rNam-thos-sras (Vaisravana or Kubera) . . . North

In wedding songs No. II of Khalatse and No. XLII of Tag-ma-cig, however, four names of deities are given, which correspond completely to the Dhyanibuddhas of the Tantric school (according to De la Vallee Poussin). But here they have no relation to Dhyani or contemplation. Rather, they appear quite actually as kings of the four

[See PR1-8, category 116 for references --Analysis]

points of the compass. Their names are the following: 776

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajrasatva) . . . . . East 821
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan (Ratnasambhava) . . . South
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas (Amitabha) . . . . . West
4. Don-yod-grub-pa (Amoghasiddha) . . . . North.

Even the Indian Lokapala have connections with certain colors, 821
and it is now of some importance to establish how the Indic system 822
is related to the color system of the wedding songs, as it has been 171
described so far. In order to clarify the situation, I shall recapitulate the latter:

1. East . . . . . white.
2. South . . . . . yellow (gold).
3. West . . . . . red (once, No. XV, turquoise).
4. North . . . . . black (or blue).

The Indic Lokapalas are represented in Lamaism with the following skin colors:

1. Dhritarashta . . . . East . . . . . white.
2. Virudhaka . . . . . South . . . . blue.
3. Virupaksha . . . . . West . . . . . red.
4. Vaisravana (Kubera). North . . . . . yellowish gold.

We see that, except for white in the East, and red in the West, the two systems have no connection with each other. The Indic Lokapalas constitute an extrinsic element in the field of the popular religion of the Tibetans.

/14/ Things have advanced a little further, on the other hand, in 776
the case of the Dhyanibuddhas. In wedding song No. XLII[1] these have 821
been related to colors, and in this case it appears that the ancient 822
Tibetan system has penetrated almost in its entirety. In this song the following colors are named:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa . . . East . . . . white.
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan . . South . . . yellow.
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas . . . West . . . . blue.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa . . . North . . . . black.

To summarize, we may say that it appears from these old songs that the Tibetans had deities for the four points of the compass; further, that they first conceived of them in the form of birds and later apparently in human shape, and associated them with certain colors, originally, probably, white, yellow, red, and blue. In later times the names of Indic deities belonging to the points of the compass penetrated into the Tibetan system.

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116 for references --Analyst]

776 distinguished by their special faculties, with their leader, the
773 original group of the seven before us. Although most of the Agus from the group of seven are to be found again in the group of eighteen, there are nevertheless some who only appear in the group of seven. Such Agus are: Gon-ma-bu-thsa, lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, dPal-moi-a-stag, Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, sKha-ba-dkar-po. In the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, III, 25-45) we become acquainted with one Agu, Za, "eater," who may possibly be connected with the heavy eater among the Agus in the group of seven. So much, however, is certain, that the number of Agus, if we were to count up all the figures that we encounter here and there in sags and poems, would rise far above eighteen. I explain this from the fact that each village established its own Kesar saga. Each village may thus also have prepared its own list of the eighteen Agus. As the villages communicated with one another they exchanged names of the Agus, and in this way the present order was brought into the various systems. However the series of Agus may be composed, there seems always to be a traitor among them. Thus, Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun appears as traitor in abducting aBru-gu-ma, as well as in the death of her protector, aBu-dmar-lam-batan. (See A Lower Ledakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma.") Quite in accordance with this is the behavior of the same Agus during Kesar's expedition to China. (See A Lower Ladakhi Version.)

773 As has already been mentioned, a heroine is to be found in the
805 group of the seven Agus, dPal-moi-a-stag. This brings me to the
776 question as to whether we may be permitted to see embodiment of
821 the days of the week in the Agus. The Tibetan's week is the same as ours, that is, the system of the seven days named after the old planets, which probably originated from Babylonia and on its way through India came to the Tibetans too. Preceding the names of the days of the week is the word gZa, /19/ meaning "plantet." However, it must be said that the names of these planets are so unclear etymologically that they can be explained only with great difficulty. The names of the days of the week are:

gZa-nyi-ma, Sunday (nyi-ma, "sun).
gZa-zla-ba, Monday (zla-ba, "moon").
gZa-mig-dmar, Tuesday (mig-dmar, "red eye").
gZa-lhag-pa, Wednesday (lhag-pa, "provided with a hand").
gZa-phur-bu, Thursday (phur-bu, "thunderbolt").
gZa-pa-sans, Friday (pa-sans? sans, "pure").
gZa-spen-pa, Saturday (dpen-pa, "beautiful, charming").

[See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

The following Agus might have a connection with the days of the week: Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, or gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, the "crystal" or "mirror" or "gold son," the son of Kesar, for Sunday; Zla-ba-bzan-po, "good moon," or Zla-ba-dkar-po, "white moon," for Monday; for Tuesday we must go to a being which so far has not been designated as an Agu. This is the Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat, red eye," a bird (that is, star), which is named as the younger brother of the sun bird (see Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue").[1] Among the Agus it is approached most closely by aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, "red worm, road sign," which is designated as a younger brother of King Kesar. With respect to Wednesday, it is to be remarked that the spelling lhag-pa is perhaps incorrect, and for the following reason: In the pictures by which the days of the week are designated in the calendar, Wednesday is always indicated by a hand. Now, "hand," is not called lhag-pa, but lag-pa. I believe that, from the word lag-pa, "hand," first of all the word slag-pa, meaning "provided with a hand," was formed; slag-pa and lhag-pa are, however pronounced identically. Lhag-pa should therefore mean "the one who is provided with a hand," and since Agu Lag-lag-rins is provided with a hand on his head, he might appear as the representative of Wednesday. Thursday has the phur-bu or vajra as a sign. In this place, therefore, a hero of the type of Jupiter would fit. Now, a thunderbolt hero is not to be found among the Agus, apparently for the reason that this weapon became known to the Tiberans only through the Indians. As the lexicon tells us, the word phur-bu signifies, first of all, any pointed iron, therefore also an arrowhead. It is therefore not impossible that in mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the "highest arrow master," we have the Agu of Thursday before us, especially since he has an arrowhead for a head (1). The

776 773 805 821 [532]

1. Perhaps, however, Kesar himself should be inserted under Thursday, as a fighter against the dragon of the clouds. The "arrow master" as "archer" should probably be assigned to the zodiac.

Agu of Friday is immediately recognizable by his name. He is Pa-sans-ldan-ru-skyes, "owner of (the planet) Venus, growing horns." By these horns are meant the phases of Venus which the Tibetans were able to see just as clearly as the Babylonians. It is impossible to determine from the name whether the Agu was male or female. Perhaps in order to emphasize the feminine nature of this planet, the female Agu dPal-moi-a-stag, "(A-stag?) the glorious one," was created. She is famous as a fierce warrior with the spear. To this

* [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references -- Analyst]

773 it should be added at once that the ancient Tibetans seem to have
776 been acquainted with the profession of battle maidens as much as
805 the ancient Germanic tribes. In wedding song No. XLIII,[1] in which
821 the guests have cups of different colors set before them according to their rank, there appear after the lama, the king, and the ministers, first of all the sTag-shar, the tiger heroes, then the sTag-dman, the tiger virgins, and finally the Na-chun, the ordinary virgins. The sTag-shar and the sTag-dman drink from golden cups, the ordinary virgins, on the other hand, drink from red cups. With respect to Saturday, I must /20/ confess that so far it seems to me impossible to connect an Agu with the Tibetan planet of this day.

773 Now as far as the relationship of the Agus to an ancient zodiac
776 is concerned, I would say that it is particularly the external appear-
805 ance of the Agus that makes their origin from a zodiac seem possi-
171 ble. The Agus are described as creatures of human shape, some of whom are provided with animal heads. In this connection, however, it should be said at once that the animals in the signs of the zodiac in use today in China as well as in Tibet, are the very ones that cannot be found among the animal heads of the Agus. It is well known, however, that the zodiac in use today was not introduced into either country until historical times (before the seventh or eighth century). The zodiac symbolized in the Agus, on the other hand, may have originated in the prehistoric period of the two peoples.

The zodiac known today in China and Tibet has the following twelve animal signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, ape, hen, dog, and pig. The zodiac is used in the calendar to designate the years. The Tibetans report that this calendar was brought to them by the Chinese in the seventh century. It must therefore have been introduced into China somewhat earlier. The same animal names were then also used to designate the different months. As the excavations in Turkestan indicate, the Tibetans of the eighth century divided the year into twelve months, with three of the months constituting a season of the year. At that time they spoke of the second and the third spring month, and so forth. Each month, at that time, was reckoned at thirty days. I suspect this because the number 360 plays such an important role with the gods, the nymphs, and similar beings.

Although it is as yet impossible to equate all the Agus in the list given above with the known signs of the zodiac, the following should nevertheless be pointed out: An-gar-rtsans-po with the lizard's head can be compared with the snake of the Dodekaoros;

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references, --Analyst]

9. Nine is the number of the heads of the nine-headed monster. 773 801

10. Ten is the number of the tips of the horn of the stag (Ru-bou).

11. Eleven is the number of the heads of Avalokitesvara.

12. Twelve is the number of the months.

13. Thirteen is the number of the religious ceremonies.

The number 27 is to be found once. aBru-gu-ma, who has been abducted by King "White Tent," receives, according to the Lower Ladakhi Version, a grace period of 27 years before she surrenders herself to her new lord and master.

The number 45 (five times nine) is given as the number of the pha-spun (the relatives on the father's side) and the ma-spun (the relatives on the mother's side) belonging to aBru-gu-ma (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 129).[1]

As has already been mentioned, 360 is the number of the gods as well as of the nymphs (Lower Ladakhi Version, p. 192).[1]

Animism

In the following pages we shall summarize everything that can be said about the personification of the forces of nature in the ancient religion of the Tibetans. 774 821 773

The sun, the moon, and the stars (1) play an important part

1. Among the stars in particular the constellations rgyu-skar or houses of the moon.

here. Sometimes they are placed at the beginning of the songs, before all the gods even. (Wedding songs, Nos. XVIb, XLV.[1] Ladakhi Songs, No. XXX.[1]) In these songs the sun is frequently called Khri-gdugs-nyi-ma, "sun, the screen of the throne," apparently because of its round shape, which is reminiscent of a parasol. Even more frequently the sun is conceived of as a bird that flies across heaven. As a bird it has the name Bya-khyun-nyi-ma, "the bird Khyun-dkrun, the sun" (Frühlingsmythus, Appendices, No. 9), or Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, "bird, sun, Khyun-run" ("Prologue to the Kesarsaga," No. 9). These names are composed of meaningful words. It is very important that the words "bird" as well as "sun" appear in them in an unmistakable manner. The word Khyun is equated with the Indic word Garuda. With respect to Garuda, it has occasionally been denied that it had any kind of relationship to the sun and

1 [See Category 116, nn 1-8, for references --Analyst]

773 merely an obscure mythological phenomenon has been recognized
774 in it. However, the fact that the Tibetans connect the name Khyun
821 with the word for "sun" in one name, raises certain considerations.
If in Tibet the sun and Khyun are combined in one name, then it is
certainly possible that in India people also thought of the sun when
they mentioned the name Garuda. The syllable dkrun, or, corrupted,
run, gives the most trouble in the name. It may refer to the fact
that no feet are visible on the bird of the sun. For sKyil-dkrun
signifies sitting down with the feet drawn in. In the Lower Ladakhi
Version, "Prologue," No. 9,[1] we learn something about the ancestors
of the sun bird. It is supposed to be the son of the bird No-ldo-re,
and the latter is supposed to be the son of the bird Khu-byug-rgyal-
po. While the name On-ldo-re cannot be translated, Khu-(b)yug-
[825] rgyal-po means "king cuckoo." The cuckoo is actually a particular-
ly favorite bird among the Tibetans, and it also plays an important
part in the mythology of the Bon religions. According to passages
in the dictionary of S. Ch. Das, under "Khyun," it looks as though
Khyun was originally used to designate the eagle. Khyun, On-ldo-re,
and Khu-(b)yug are probably the names of three birds that were
worshiped and that were all three equated with the sun. The story
of the provenance of the sun bird in the "Prologue" is thus probably
only intended to signify that the sun of the present day is the child
of the sun of yesterday, and that the latter is again the child of the
day before yesterday. The case is different with the birth of the sun
from aBru-gu-ma, as we find it reported in the Spring Myth, Ap-
pendices, No. 3.[1] (Similarly in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's
Birth," p. 69.) This event is best explained if we recognize, as we
mentioned earlier, an earth goddess in aBru-gu-ma. When the sun
rises in the morning, it is, after all, possible to say that it was born
[776] from the earth. A curious sun and moon myth is the story of the
Agu Za in Spring Myth, II, 34-45.[1] Za means "eater," and this
particular Agu devours not only Don-grub, the future King Kesar,
but he also only surrenders Kesar again after he has been promised
that the sun and the moon will be given him to eat for a year. Such
devourers of the sun and the moon are not only the spirits of the
eclipses of the sun and /23/ the moon, but also the mountain and
cloud spirits. It is precisely the large mountains rising steeply from
the river valleys that frequently prevent the appearance of the sun
for several months during the winter. From the personifications of
the mountains have arisen the spirits of the mountains or the giants.

The moon is also frequently conceived of as a bird. It is called
Bya-mo-dkar mo, the "white lady bird" (see Lower Ladakhi Version,

[1 [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references.-- ANALYS]

"aBru-gu-ma's Marriage to Kesar," No. 6).[1] The feminine gender (the syllable mo) of the moon also finds expression in the name Zla-mthsan-dkar-mo, "moon, whose sign is white." (Tag-ma-cig, wedding song IIIb.) In the passage just cited from "aBru-gu-ma's Marriage," Bya-mo-dkar-mo appears quite actually as the bride of Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run. They both live in a house which by an arrow's length touches neither earth nor heaven and is, therefore, in the universe. Bya-nyi-ma-khyun-run, the sun bird, just happens not to be at home. He is hidden in a hermitage from which he will come forth after twenty-two days. These twenty-two days are probably of purely local significance. It is possible that in Lerdo, the village of origin for this saga, the sun is not visible for that many days during the winter, when it is hidden by the tall mountains. The moon, however, is visible during this time, and in winter its course may also be along the zenith. In the house between heaven and earth, as the saga tells us, the entire family (gZhid-mad) of the sun bird lives. To this family there also belongs, as its third member, Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat red eye," a creature which keeps watch on a mountain peak while the sun bird is engaged in meditation. The bat red eye seems to be the personification of the planet Mars, which always stays in the neighborhood of the sun. The present passage of the Kesar saga contains a statement that seems very strange to us. There it says: When the sun bird has concluded its meditation, it will come forth in order to destroy the earth. This is the reason why Kesar has to oppose it in a hostile manner. The idea that the sun bird will destroy the earth undoubtedly originated from India, where the scorching power of the sun in summer prevents any natural growth from coming up out of the soil. This notion of the Indians concerning the destructive activity of the sun bird was taken over without thought by the Tibetans, for in their country the sun is known only as a dispenser of blessings.

While the sun always shows its round shape, the moon (as well as Venus) is constantly changing its form. A reference is made to the sickle of the moon in one name that occurs in the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," No. 6. (Likewise "Prologue," No. 9.)[1] Here there is mention of an axe sTa-ri-zla-ba-dkar-po, "axe, white moon." This axe is considered the archetype of all axes and hatchets. In the same place reference is also apparently made to the moon when the "jug with the slanting mouth" (or the slanting opening) is mentioned. This phrase, namely, occurs immediately after the "jug with the red mouth," or the sun. The moon is in a slanting position shortly before it becomes full.

1 [See cat 114, pp. 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

773 All these peculiar names of the sun and the moon are to be found
774 in the reports about Kesar's birth. At Kesar's birth there is a general
● 821 giving of birth to various creatures. The old sun gives birth to a young sun, the old moon to a young moon, and all breeding animals, horses, oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and so forth, give birth to young. Among the creatures not belonging to the animal kingdom which reproduce themselves at this point we find the rainbow, rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "great, colored rope," and the cloud, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-ston-shon, the "white sack, container of a thousand." Just as the sickle of the moon is considered the original ancestor of all sickles, axes, and hatchets, so the rainbow is regarded as the original ancestor of all strings and ropes, and the cloud is looked upon as the original ancestor of all sacks. The trinity of moon sickle, rainbow rope, and cloud sack, incidentally, also plays a significant role in the Ron-no-rub-can, the Tibetan Vetala.

Scattered here and there we also find still other personifications of the phenomena of nature. In wedding song No. IIIb[1] the wind, sKye-ser-rlun-po, is called "wind, rouser of coolness." To it is attributed /24/ the feat of having hollowed out the valleys. This is, of course, quite reminiscent of the modern theories of wind erosion held by our geographers. In the same song the rain, under the name sBan-char-zil-bu, "moist rain, dew," is also mentioned. To it is attributed the creation of the concepts "above" and "below." This perhaps because of the fact that rain originates above and dew down below.

As we have already seen above, the personification of the glacier is Sne-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." In the song just cited she appears as the mother of the glacier. She is of great importance because on her depends the supply of water for the land. This lioness, the riding animal of the mother of the gods, is frequently mentioned, together with types of animals considered as firm representatives of the animal kingdom. However, this is, after all, also the case with the sun bird Khyun. (See Tag-ma-cig, wedding songs Nos. I and II.) Such representatives of the animal kingdom are: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds"; the eagle; sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big ibex, the old ox"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, the "female fish gold eye"; it is also called Nya-mo-khyu-ru; rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "the white mouth born from kiang," a horse; aBron-
773 byun-rog-po, "the black one born from the wild yak," a yak.
776
753 gNyan are said to be spirits who carry on their nefarious activities in various places. According to S. Ch. Das's Wörterbuch

1 [see Category 116, pp. 1-8, for references --Analyst]

585 X
539 X

4. Height and depth
Were created by the dewy, soaking rain.

5. Ice and slate
Were created by the lioness of the glacier.

6. The two syllables Hum and Phad
Made up A and Om.

/37/ 7. The upper and the lower valley
Were created by the cool wind.

8. Castle and village
Were created by the king and by the ministers.

9. Hearth and home
Were created by our ancestors.

10. The fact that some people are outside and some inside.
Came about through the seven brethren

The people say:

Hail to you, mighty friends!

Notes to IIIa and b[1]

In its Khalatse form this song has already been published in the Indian Antiquary, 1901, song No. III. /The translation given above has been transcribed from the version mentioned here, to a substantial extent. There are considerable divergences in meaning, however, between the English and the German translations, and not all of these divergences have been taken into account in the transcription. --Translator/ Verses 5 and 6 were missing. Verse 6 is probably a later interpolation, dating from the period of the rise of Tantrism. Verses 2 and 3 must be taken together in order [821] to be understood. They evidently are intended to signify that the four points of the compass have been created by the sun and the moon. Verse 10 means that by the arrival of the seven purchasers of the bride the scene by the gate of the courtyard has been created, in which one party is outside and the others inside the yard.

1 [See Category 116, pp. 52-4 -- Analyst]

Notes to Xa and b[1]

585x 539x 821 This song and the following ones have not been published before. Number X is one of those songs in which the ancient order of the prayer has been maintained. See the Introduction.[2] The umbrella of the throne in verse 3 is the sun. It almost looks as though the colors of the North refer to the northern lights.

585x 539x /47/ XIa. The people of the house say:

1. Through the gate in the East there entered
The religion of India. Tell us, how did you walk
The path of the sacred word?

2. Persia's wealth built the gate
To the South. The path is the guiding line
For noble uprightness. Did you walk it?

3. China's astronomy opened up for us
A western gate. How did you walk
The path of the diagram?

4. And the gate of the North is the site
Of King Kesar's battle. How did you walk
The path of the sword's blow?

5. Did you go through the crowd-thronged gate
Towards Lhassa, on the path
Which speaks to the seeker of truth?

The people:

Well done, mighty friends! Om, May things go well with you!

XIb. The bride purchasers answer:

1. India's gateway is the East.
There we traveled honoring
Conversion, sacred word, and custom.

1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 64-66-- Analyst]
2 [See Cat. 116, pp. 1-8. -- Analyst]

*585
*539

3. There are three places:
Where arrows are shot,
Where people dig for clay
Where the birds rest.
This must be the three.

4. There are three oaths:
Great, sacred oath,
Earnest oath by the fathers,
Son's and witness' oath.
There must be the three.

5. There are three kinds of friends:
God, who redeems us,
Friend through parents' hand,
Friend by flesh and blood.
These three friends there are.

The people:

Good, mighty friends!

/52/ Notes to XIVa and b[1]

*585
*539
576
821

In stanza 1, with respect to the greetings, it should be observed that in the morning the sun is greeted in the East and that in the evening the medicine gods are greeted in the West. The third greeting is that of the subordinate to his superior. In stanza 3, the three types of places evidently are of merely local concern. In stanza 4, the names of the three kinds of oaths: a) De-thsa-mna-mo-che, b) Yag-sdur-pha-yi-mna, c) dPe-thsor-skyes-pai-mna, are apparently legal technical expressions. In stanza 5, God is designated with dKon-mchog (ratna), without the number "three" added. By the words "friend through parents' hand" is meant a marriage brought about by the parents of the couple, whereas the words "friend by flesh and blood," on the other hand, are intended to express the idea of a marriage brought about by the love of the couple for each other.

*585
*539

XVa. The people of the house say:

1. The wide, white gap in the East
Is closed by the door white as shell.

[1] [See pp. 71-72 --Analyst]

and 3 it seems to appear that the children of the gods are expected to come down from Olympus in a storm. The people of the house have not noticed any storm, and therefore the matchmakers' assertion that they are of high descent is repudiated as untrue. In XVIIb, the bride purchasers, thereupon, point to great snow and hailstorms which are supposed to have raged recently in the mountains. The storms are explained by the killing and combing of yak oxen. Just as in the Kesar saga, here, too, the clouds are compared with yak oxen. 776 585* 539* [821]

XVIIIa. The people of the house say: 585* 539*

1. Who was the lord of eighty white planes?
2. Who was the lord of the ninety white gorges?
3. Who was lord of the vulture that laughs like a man?
4. Who was the lord of the numberless little birds?

/59/ XVIIIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. Garuda is the lord of eighty planes.
2. The bird king is lord of ninety gorges.
3. Thin of the vulture that laughs like a man.
4. And the lark is lord of all the little birds.

Seven little men, seven little women may not come together, Khyi-li-li!
Three very bad words should not be spoken by anyone, Tho-ro-ro!
Three well-known steps should not be taken by anyone, Sha-ra-ra!
What is being done, do you think?
And what may you need?

The people:

Quite so.

Notes to XVIIIa and b

Of the birds that are here designated as rulers over gorges and over other birds, Thin is as yet unknown. But from the position of

Notes to Kh. XIXa and b[1]

This song has not been preserved in its entirety either. The missing verses a, 1 to 4, it was easily possible to supply from b, 1 to 4. The missing conclusion b, 10 to 13, has been completed by me in the spirit of the preceding verses. The bride purchasers believe they make their divine origin most effectively clear by asserting that everything that goes on in nature and inside the house is connected with them or was caused by them. sKra-lo, in verse 6, is evidently a tutelary deity. The name might possibly signify "the one with the curly hair." The Shog-yan plateau in verse 10 is not yet known to me. But the North country in verse 11 is the well-known Byan-than plain. It is clear that the conclusion of this song in Khalatse is not nearly as satisfying as the conclusion of the song quoted above, No. XIX in Tag-ma-cig. 539 585 [776]

Concluding Observations

It is my intention to follow up this part of the wedding songs with a second and a third part in a special publication. If this plan should be somewhat delayed, it will be due to the difficulty in translating. For the first part, two manuscripts were available. The second part can only be translated on the basis of one single manuscript, and this circumstance results in a great deal of uncertainty in view of the archaic nature of the language. The Tibetan text of all three parts, together with a literal translation printed alongside it, is to be published in the very near future in a scholarly periodical. 000

/70/ Rock Drawings

Table I[2]

Number 1, 2 and 3. The "white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." A personification of the glacier. (Compare photograph.) 531 821

Number 4. Kesar's horse (rKyan-byun-dbyer-pa). 773

" 5. Kesar on his horse engaged in hunting the antelope. On both sides are stupas, and over them branches of the sacred juniper tree. Unknown emblem (a square with diagonals). (Compare photograph.) 778 531

1 [See pp. 90-92, category 116 --Analyst]
2 [See p. 97, category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--95 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 821 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings[1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, category 116 -- Analysis]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

GAUDY--tshos lakmo bright coloured. Ladákis approve highly of bright colours therefore our "gaudy" corresponds with their "bright". 100

[52]

GIPSY-- khamba or khampa. No gipsies are found among Ladákis, who are a very well-to-do people. Wandering beggars come from the Lhása Province of "Kham," hence possibly the word "khamba." 735 568

[53]GOD--konjok is the general term, but it is hard to say what the Ladákis understand the word to mean, for according to European ideas they have no God. They have a kind of Trinity which they call the "Konjóksum" or "Konjok sumbo." It is made up as follows:--(1) sangiás (sangeys) konjok, i.e., Buddha the emblem of intelligence, and the head of the Buddhist faith and priesthood (2) chhos konjok, i.e., the religion deity; (3) gendun konjok, i.e., the priestly deity. From this it seems that the Ladákis have no God, and that they worship a Trinity representing--(1) Buddha; (2) priests of the religion of Buddha. Ordinary Ladákis have no idea of anything before and apart from Buddha, and they never trouble their heads about the Laws of Nature, and the Causer of Causes. They think that the world goes on in a never ending round of "kalpas" or periods, each of which has its own Buddha, and each of which is terminated by the destruction of the world by fire, as a punishment for the sins of mankind. After that, a fresh "kalpas" commences, and so on. 779 776 822

They cannot give any information as to their belief regarding the length of a "kalpas;" but they say that long long ago the age of man extended up to 800 years, that since then his life time has gradually been shortened, till now, his age rarely extends beyond 80 years, that the present is the last of the life shortening "kalpas," and that after the end of this "kalpas," man's life time will gradually be lengthened to its former limits.

In addition to the "konjoksum," the Ladákis have endless minor deities;"Hla" or more correctly "Lha" is the general term for a fairy, spirit, or deity; rgiachhen is Indra; tshángspa is Brahma; khiápjook is Vishuoo; wángchhook is Iswara; and dodhla is Cupid, in the evil sense of the God of lust. 776 779

Other minor gods are sa i hla the earth god, ree i hla the mountain

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4 inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard	= "	300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12 "

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbo or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

177
805
[787]

without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other; iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

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The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa) each of which correspond to two of our hours.

1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

788 notice prayer-flags and *chortens*. Here there is a huge stone set up on end, on which has been engraven one large "Om ma-ni," and we might delay a few moments to examine it, 779 especially the first and last syllables. The first one "OVA" 788 consists of three signs, representing again the Trinity of Lamaism. Its chief letter is the capital "A" which stands for god. It should be written in white, as this is the colour [822] of the gods. The whole is surmounted by a circle. Does the yellow cap lama desire to make his mind a perfect blank, he places this mystical symbol before his mind's eye, meditates first on the "A," then on the "V" which surmounts this, and finally it travels round and round the mystic circle losing itself in *Stongpa nid*, the idea being that by these means the activity of the brain can be stilled and the spirit become at one with the Infinite. The last syllable in the Mantra, *Hung*, is supposed to stand for the Demon world, and therefore it is not surprising that the red sect lamas, who represent most closely the old *Bon chos* with its demonology, should use this in a similar manner for their meditation. The colour of this symbol is blue. This mark sometimes ends as *hung* and sometimes as *hum*, and there seems to be a real difference, for a Buddhist friend has assured me that, whilst *hung* is connected with evil influences, *hum* produces only the good.

778 We raise our eyes and see an enormous *chorten*, the largest 779 in Ladak, another mystical edifice allowing several explanations. These *chortens* are of eight different shapes, but of the most common form there are many sizes, ranging from small pocket editions, vulgarly called "potted lamas" for they are said to be made with the ashes of deceased monks, to structures larger than houses. From below upwards there is first a large square base, which is called the throne, on whole sides are painted figures of animals or holy eyes from which the throne derives its name, such as a Peacock or a Lion Throne. From this there rise five square steps, the lowest of which represents the holy carpet, for each lama sits

human beings. This disease is called Klu-nad among the Tibetans, 776
and among the Indians Nagaroga (a disease caused by the nymphs). 773
The disease is ascribed to the nymphs because leprosy at first looks [751]
like snow. The passage cited from the chronicle of Ladakh seems to indicate that instead of one prince of Nagas, they conceived of two who lived in the Manasarowar Lake. This duality may be derived from the Indians. /11/ The Tibetans seem to have severed the adjective Zil-chen, "the radiant," from the name Ma-dros-zil-chen, and to have created a new divinity with it.

In the case of this king of the Nagas, Ma-dros or lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that he recedes into the background as an active deity as much as does the king of heaven and the goddess of the earth. He no longer goes out to rape the earth goddess. Rather, he has left this to younger persons, in particular to the king of Hor (Mongolia and Turkestan, countries to the north of Western Tibet). Winter is the time when the water masses, in the form of ice and snow, put the earth in their bondage, and winter's power penetrates from the north. In the Kesar saga we read that Kesar after his wedding goes off to the north in order to do battle against the Giant of the North, and that during this time King Gur-dkar (that is, "White Tent") of Hor rapes aBru-gu-ma. For many passages of the Kesar saga it appears that the Naga king was a divinity for human beings, and that, even though a third-class divinity, he received the same hommage accorded the god of heaven and the goddess of earth. From this ethically impeccable figure, however, there soon developed a new figure which embodied the evil principle. We shall speak later of this "devil" bDud.

Ancient representations of the Tibetan Klu, in particular of the [532]
king, have not yet been found. From the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 27-30)[1] we see that King lJogs-po rides a horse called Klu-rta-snon-chun, "little blue nymph horse." In the dream song (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III)[1] we read that the king carries something in his mouth which at first glance looks like a black sheep. Later it turns out that the presumed sheep is actually a lotus flower.

The Colors of the Three Realms. The most original color system 773
is apparently to be found in a version of the Kesar saga of the village 822
of Sheh (Shel) as it is written down in the Spring and Winter Myths. There we frequently hear of three altars erected in honor of the deities of the realms of the world, which have white, red, and blue for their colors (1). According to this system, sTan-lha, the realm

1. Spring Myth, IV, 20-26; VII, 22, 30; IX, 1.

* [See cat 116, pp. 1-8 for references, -- Analyst]

773 of the "upper gods," is of a white color, probably because of the
822 light which predominates there. Bar-btsan, the realm of earth, is red. This is probably connected with the reddish color of the ground. In other countries there are also connections between the concepts red, earth, and man. As a byword for the earth we find often in the wedding songs the word gro-mo, which means "grayish red."

Yog-klu, the realm of the "lower nymphs," is blue. The Tibetan lakes are famous for their deep-blue color.

In the Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar saga, the color system appears somewhat different. Here we find the following: sTan-lha is white, Bar-btsan is red, and Yog-klu is black (2). The

2. Lower Ladakhi Version, pp. 37, 86, 288, etc.

practice of making blue and black synonymous has also been observed elsewhere among primitive peoples.

In the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga we find the color system even further advanced, perhaps on the basis of certain literary Tibetan forms of the saga. Here sTan-lha has the color white; Bar-btsan is yellow; and Yog-klu is black (3). The trans-

3. Bogda gesser khan, pp. 163, etc.; p. 201.

formation of the color red into yellow is probably to be attributed to the reformation of Lamaism by Tson-kha-pa. One day, as I was standing in front of three chorten of white, yellow, and blue, and as I was speaking about these with the Kardar of Lower Ladakh, an educated Tibetan, this man told me that this group of chorten were of the right colors. He called wrong all groups painted red, white, and blue, /12/ which occurs much more frequently. He had arrived at this judgement in his capacity as a disciple of the teachings of Tson-kha-pa. As in this case of the garment of the lamas, he also wanted to see the color red replaced by yellow in the case of the chorten. Now, however, it seems probable to me that the colors white, red, and blue represent the oldest color system of the Tibetans with respect to the three realms of the world.

[See pp. 1-8, Cat. 116 for references --Analyst]

The Divinities of the Four Points of the Compass

Particularly in the wedding songs we find that the deities of the 776
four points of the compass play an important role. Yet even on 821
other occasions they sometimes become prominent. In some songs we find the Lokapalas, just as they are familiar to us from India even though they appear under Tibetan names. This is not to be wondered at if we remind ourselves that, after all, even Indra had been accepted by the Tibetans. We must try, with the aid of the songs, to become acquainted with the original songs of the Tibetans dealing with this matter. First of all, we should recall the songs that celebrate the points of the compass as bestowers of great gifts. In wedding songs X and XIII[1] it is stated that the East gives us the sun, but also the moon and the stars. The South provides grain and, with it, great wealth, even gold. From the West come the medicines, astronomy flourishes there too--because of the use of the Chinese diagrams, and also the art of prophecy. The North is praised for the gifts of the colors and of salt. Kesar's war (No. X)[1] is also supposed to take place there.

In the preceding pages something has already been said about 821
color. A color system was now connected with the points of the 822
compass, in such a way, in fact, that birds as well as eggs of a certain color were accommodated there. In wedding songs Nos. XV, XXXIX, and XLI,[1] we read that in the East a white bird and a white egg are to be found. In No. XV[1] the bird of the East is designated as Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "wild king of the birds." In the South lives a yellow bird, and a golden egg is also to be found there. The bird of the West is red, and the egg which exists there is called coral-red. The bird of the North is sometimes black, sometimes of a turquoise blue color. Sometimes it is a raven and sometimes a peacock. The egg is turquoise blue or iron black.

In wedding song No. XXXIX[1] we are now also introduced to per- 776
sons, perhaps deities of a sort, who live in the various points of the 821
compass. In the East, Sa-gon-bdag-po, the "owner of the earth," the king; probably Kesar as ruler of the earth. In the South, it is mThsan-ldan-bla-ma, "famous priest," an unknown figure; in the West, U-rgyan-padma-Padmasambhava, and in the North, mGar-mkhan-A-nag, the smith a-nag, and aBrug-u-ma, probably his daughter. If this system is not completely original, the one in song No. XXXVIII[1] is even less so. Here the points of the compass

1 [See pp. 1–9, Cat. 116 for references -- Analyst]

points of the compass. Their names are the following: 776

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajrasatva) . . . . . East 821
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan (Ratnasambhava) . . . South
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas (Amitabha) . . . . . West
4. Don-yod-grub-pa (Amoghasiddha) . . . . North.

Even the Indian Lokapala have connections with certain colors, 821
and it is now of some importance to establish how the Indic system 822
is related to the color system of the wedding songs, as it has been 171
described so far. In order to clarify the situation, I shall recapitulate the latter:

1. East . . . . . white.
2. South . . . . . yellow (gold).
3. West . . . . . red (once, No. XV, turquoise).
4. North . . . . . black (or blue).

The Indic Lokapalas are represented in Lamaism with the following skin colors:

1. Dhritarashta . . . . East . . . . . white.
2. Virudhaka . . . . . South . . . . blue.
3. Virupaksha . . . . . West . . . . . red.
4. Vaisravana (Kubera). North . . . . . yellowish gold.

We see that, except for white in the East, and red in the West, the two systems have no connection with each other. The Indic Lokapalas constitute an extrinsic element in the field of the popular religion of the Tibetans.

/14/ Things have advanced a little further, on the other hand, in 776
the case of the Dhyanibuddhas. In wedding song No. XLII[1] these have 821
been related to colors, and in this case it appears that the ancient 822
Tibetan system has penetrated almost in its entirety. In this song the following colors are named:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa . . . East . . . . white.
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan . . South . . . yellow.
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas . . . West . . . . blue.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa . . . North . . . . black.

To summarize, we may say that it appears from these old songs that the Tibetans had deities for the four points of the compass; further, that they first conceived of them in the form of birds and later apparently in human shape, and associated them with certain colors, originally, probably, white, yellow, red, and blue. In later times the names of Indic deities belonging to the points of the compass penetrated into the Tibetan system.

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116 for references --Analyst]

The Tree of the World and the Old Order of Prayer

773 824 The tree of the world is frequently mentioned in the old songs. It is mentioned in greatest detail in No. VIIb[1] of the wedding songs. There its name is given as rGya-lcan, "great meadow," or rGyal-lcan, "king's meadow." In song No. XXXVI[1] it is named Shin-sde-rgyal, "king of the tree species," and in song No. XXXVII[1] the Indic name Jambuvriksha, "tree of Jambudvipa" is mentioned. In song No. VIIb[1] it is said, first of all, of this tree that it has three tops (rtse-mo-gsum). This is to be understood as signifying that the tree grows through all three worlds, the land of the nymphs, the land of human beings, and the land of the gods. In each of these three realms it appears as an independent tree, which touches with its top the roof of the world concerned. According to the same song, this tree has six branches. Seen from the land of human beings, this is to be understood as follows: A branch extends to each of the four points of the compass, a further branch (actually the main trunk) grows upward from the center of the earth, and another branch (actually the root) stretches downward from the center of the earth.

Song No. XXXIXa[1] confirms the fact that I have interpreted song No. VIIb correctly. In song No. XXXIXa[1] it is stated of the tree of the world that it has five tops or branches on one root. These are covered with nests and eggs, as was said of the previous tree. Since in this song the root is not counted as a branch, only five branches remain. In the same song it is also made clear that by the four branches the lines of the compass card are to be understood, while the eggs indicate the colors of the four points of the compass.

As we have seen, it is possible to think of five branches and eggs, in the case of the world tree, or, likewise, of six branches and with eggs. A seventh place may be considered, if not for the branches, at least for the nests, that is, the point in the center, from which all the branches proceed. This possibility has been carried out in wedding song No. XXXVI,[1] where we actually hear of seven birds who guard the seven eggs on the tree of the world.

773 822 Now, as far as the colors of the birds and the eggs are concerned, it must be admitted that, in view of the obscurity of the indications, it will scarcely be possible any longer to set up a definite system. This obscurity seems to have come about by the fact that nature hardly ever presented examples in which the colors of the birds'

1 [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references --Analyst]

feathers and of the eggs corresponded. Where do we find red birds 773
laying red eggs, /15/ or yellow birds laying yellow eggs? And while 822
in song No. XLI[1] nature was easily ignored, and they placed a yellow
bird on a yellow egg (No. XXXIX)[1] in the South, in the West a red
bird on a red egg, and so forth, they were more cautious in the case
of song No. VIIb.[1] They accepted the color of the egg given in the
song as binding, and then proceeded to look around in nature for birds
that lay eggs of this particular color. They happened to know that
the snow pheasant, which, after all, is of a pure white color, lays
coral-red eggs, and therefore they placed it on the red egg of the
branch concerned. To the white falcon is attributed an iron-colored
egg, because its egg is supposed to resemble iron in nature, and so
forth. The golden egg in this song is accorded to the bird Khyun,
the sun bird, because the sun appears golden in color. However, it
remains uncertain on which of the branches of the world tree we
should place it, since it is impossible to determine which of the
branches is to be considered the "first."

We can see from the songs about the tree of the world that in the 773
thoughts of the ancient Tibetans there was a connection between the 776
deities of the three worlds which lay on top of one another, and those
of the four regions of heaven. They celebrated these gods in song not only
in special groups consisting of the first three or the latter four, but
they also composed songs in which all seven were celebrated to-
gether. Such a song is No. 1 of the wedding songs of Khalatse.[1] This [782]
song deals with an offering of incense. The smoke, it is said, rises
upward, spreads out over the earth, sinks down, and moves to the
four points of the compass in order to allay the anger of all these
deities.

So long as the highest of the water spirits was still considered
a beneficent deity, there were seven divinities who were invoked
together in such songs. But as we have already said, the prince of
the nymphs was excluded from the circle of the other gods as the
devil. In this way the group of the six chief deities came into being,
and we encounter this group in the Tag-ma-cig wedding song, No.
X,[1] in which the blessings of the six places, heaven, earth, and the
four points of the compass, are enumerated. It is peculiar that as
the blessing of heaven rain is named in particular.

Here we notice the similarity with ancient Chinese mythology
as it is reported in the Schu-king II, I, 6, "Emperor Schun brought
a special offering, but employing the usual forms, to Schang-ti.
He brought his offering to the six honorable ones (heaven, earth, and
the four points of the compass). As was proper, he made an offering

[1] [See pp 1-9, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

585 x
539 x

4. When we came here from the northern country,
Vaisravana was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and his servants white.
Their looks and their customs are good.
In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear the news, ask them.
We, their friends, will now be silent!

The people:

Om, May things go well with you, and may you be accompanied by happiness and blessings!

Notes to IXa and b [1]

585 x
539 x
776
822

Already appeared in the Indian Antiquary, 1901, as No. IX /actually No. IV. --Translator/ There the name of the king in the North was erroneously given as Virupaksha. The Tibetan text gives the names of these Lokapalas (guardians of the world), in their Tibetan form, as follows: 1. East, Yul-akhor-srun; 2. South, aPhags-skyed; 3. West, sPyan-mi /g/-bzan; 4. North, rNam-thos-sras. In its original form this song probably named birds instead of the great kings. The color white here symbolizes goodness, purity. Concerning the gifts of the various points of the compass, see the Introduction.

585 x
539 x

Xa. The people of the house say:

1. Rain comes down damp from above,
Is satisfied with its own falling,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone do we ask.

2. The meadow of turquoises deep
Sucks purity out of the soil,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone do we ask.

3. The umbrella of the throne, coming from the East,
Takes pains to cause the darkness to withdraw,

1 [See pp. 62-4, Cat. 116, --Analyst]

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IV.—RIVERS.

I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

133 From the lofty mountains around the holy lake of Manasarovara, spring four celebrated rivers, the Indus, the Sutluj, the Gogra, and the Brahmaputra. These four sources are represented in the ancient Chinese maps; and the well-known story regarding them is 823 common both to the Hindus and the Tibetans. The classical Ganges is fabled to flow from a cow's mouth; and to each of these four rivers is assigned an equally wonderful origin. The Indus is said to flow from a lion's mouth, *Singge-kha-bab;* the Sutluj, from an elephant's mouth, *Langchen-kha-bab;* the Gogra, from a peacock's mouth, *Macha-kha-bab;* and the Brahmaputra, from the holy horse's mouth, *Ta-chhog-kha-bab.** The fable is evidently of Indian origin, as elephants and pea-fowl are only known to the Tibetans by pictures, and because the source of the Brahmaputra, or river of Lhasa, is ascribed to *Ta-chhog*, the holy steed of Shakya Thubba, or Buddha.

103 * *Kha-po*, or in composition simply *Kha*, is a mouth, and *bab* means "descended." The different names are *Seng-ge-kha-bab*, "lion's mouth-descended;" *gLang-chen-kha-bab*, "elephant's mouth-descended;" *rMa-bya* (pronounced *Ma-cha*)-*kha-bab*, "peacock's mouth-descended;" and *rTa-mChhog-kha-bab*, "Ta-chhok's mouth-descended." Ta-chhok is the name of Sakya's steed, and means "the best horse."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

133X [172] breadth. Its waters are extremely bitter. On its shore Captain H. Strachey likewise found fossil shells of the *Lymnæa auricularia* and of some kind of *Helix*, of which the specimens are perhaps too small to be identified with certainty. The waters of this lake must, therefore, once have been fresh.

133X The *Tshomoriri*,* or "Mountain Lake," is a very fine sheet of water, about sixteen miles in length from north 103 to south, and from two to three miles in breadth. It is situated in the middle of the elevated district of Rukchu, in N. latitude 32° 50′, and E. longitude 78° 15′, at a height of 15,000 feet above the sea. Its name is characteristic of its situation in the midst of mountains, by which it is completely shut in. The summits of these mountains rise to a height of about 5,000 feet above the • 823 lake, and 20,000 above the sea. To account for its name, 103 the Ladakis have invented a story, which though silly enough, is quite as good as many that have been gravely recorded by learned Greeks. The story was probably originated by the inventive Kashmiris. "A woman riding a yák was carried into the lake. At first the yák swam boldly out, and the woman was delighted: but after a time the animal grew tired, and sank deeper in the water. The woman (*chomo*) became frightened, and screamed out *Ri-Ri*, *Ri-Ri*,† until the yák sank and she

* *Tsho-mo-Rhi-ri*, "Lake Mountainous."—Running water, being active, is considered as a male, as *Tsang-po*, the river of *Tsang*;—and still water, being passive, as a female, as *Tsho-mo*. *Po* and *Mo* are the masculine and feminine affixes, but they are seldom used in composition. *Ri* is a mountain; and *Rhi-ri-yi*, or simply *Rhi-ri*, is the adjective, mountainous.

† *A-ra-ra*, commonly pronounced *Re-re*, or *Ri-ri*, is the Tibetan exclamation of surprise or fear. As the word is written with an initial vowel, it is certainly borrowed from the Indian *Ari-ari*, for there is no word in the Tibetan language beginning with a vowel that is not of foreign origin.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

was drowned: since which the people have always called the lake *Chomo-Riri*." 823 103

This lake has no outlet at present, and the waters are consequently brackish, although not very perceptibly so to the taste. But the time has perhaps once been, when the Tshomoriri lake was a noble sheet of fresh water, about thirty miles in length, from the foot of the Nakpo Gonding Pass to the low ridge that now separates the lake from the bed of the Párá river. When encamped at the south end of the lake in September, 1846, both the late Mr. Vans Agnew and myself estimated the height of this ridge at 700 feet; but it must have been somewhat more, as the bed of the Parang river at Norbu Sumdo is 15,700 feet. From this point, however, the apparent height of the ridge is not more than 150 feet. This will make its actual height above the lake between 800 and 900 feet. Such, therefore, must have been the depth of the lake in former days, if, as is supposed, it once had an outlet towards the Párá river. In September, 1846, I was encamped for three days on its banks. The water was beautifully limpid and of a deep blue colour. Here and there I observed white patches of saline matter, but I could not discover any shells. The salts are hydro-chlorate of soda and hydro-chlorate of magnesia. I could not see any fish in the water, but the wild fowl were numerous at the northern end of the lake. On the 18th September I fixed a pole in the water, which I examined twice during that day, and again early the next morning; but I found no perceptible difference between the levels of the day and night. The extra quantity of water that is supplied during the day by the melted snow must, therefore, be compensated by the greater evaporation during the heat of the day. In the same month of

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang[4] very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

4 [i.e., BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

at various "beers" in the Dragshos house and in the houses of the circle 437
of relatives and of the tribe in Kalatse and Teya-Tingmogang. The trip was to be taken to the nomads of the Jangtang highland plateau, which lay in Tibetan territory in the northeastern part of Ladakh, in order to exchange goods with these inhabitants of the upland steppes. 437

The astrologist, who naturally had to be consulted in this instance, prescribed to the people that the ninth day of the fifth month would be a suitable day for setting out on the journey. It was a Monday (moon day); the moon god who rules over this day, would be friendly towards their undertaking, while red (that is, "angry") Mars, who is in the ascendancy on Tuesday, was not to be trusted; the second, eighth, and fourteenth of the month were also not to be recommended as days on which to begin the journey, so said the onpo. 777

When the plan was established in every detail three lamas were 437
called into Namgyal's house because he was the leader of the enterprise. He led the priests to his threshing floor in the open field /153/ where they had to read the "travel blessing" from three books. The titles of the books were as follows: (143): 784

143. The titles of the books in Tibetan read:

1. P'yogs bcu mun sel;
2. Bar-cad lam sel;
3. bSam-pa lhun grub.

Aside from the eight points of the compass, familiar and current among us, Tibetan geography has two more: The upward (in the direction of the zenith), and the downward (in the direction of the nadir). [823]

1. The Illumination of the Dark in the ten points of the compass.
2. The overcoming of the Dangers along the way.
3. The Fulfillment of all Wishes.

Further the priests read prayers to the god of riches (Kubera, rnam-tos-sras), and to the wealth-giving goddess Nor-rgyn-lha-ma with great zeal. Finally the luck-bringing yan-agug and pya-agug ceremony was again performed. The purpose of all these exercises and prayers was to exorcize the Don, Nyan, Tsan, Nodjin, and Gegs

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

597
582

It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587
423

If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764

Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785

Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564
681

A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792
688

The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688
564

An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823
753

Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582
753

A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shun* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *lámas* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ribong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732
777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

539
585

2. yyasla yar yzigs 'ang
yy'a chu khral khrol de

su dang ganggi chang.

3. mdoru yar yzigs 'ang
ytsang chab sngonmo de
su dang ganggi chang.

4. yyonla yar yzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
su dang ganggi chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chabrkyan nangda

yang dkar naskyi chang
su dang ganggi chang.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones.
What and whose beer is it!

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head
The beer [made] of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

B.

Nyopas landu.

II. B. 1. phuru yar yzigs 'ang

gangs chu dkarpo de
dar sing ysoba'i chang.

2. yyasla yar yzigs 'ang
yy'a chu khral khrol de

shaphran ysoba'i chang.

3. mdoru yar yzigs 'ang
ytsang chab sngonmo de
nyaphran ysoba'i chang.

4. yyonla yar yzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
ma shing ysoba'i chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chab rkyanla

yang dkar naskyi khuba de
nyo 'am spun bdungyi chang.

The *Nyopas* answer:

II. B. 1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer, nourishing the ice-lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer, nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water
Is the beer, nourishing the little fishes.

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there
Are the beer, nourishing the mother-fields.

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The fluid [made] of white barley
Is the beer of the *Nyopas* or the seven brethren.

Notes.

A. 2. yyashu, this word is used here, so people tell me, for water with stones, not for stagnant water, *khrulkhrol*, noisy. 4. *kyal-kyil* scattered about. 5. *ma*, mother, used for everything large, here the large jar.

B. 4. *ma shing*, motherfield, a very fertile field. Instead of *kyalkyil-parpar* is also used in the same sense.

Notes.

A. 5. The mouth of the jar is formed like a snake's head. B. 1. The ice-lion with the blue locks [or mane] was originally the glacier itself, later on it developed into a fabulous being, which was thought to live there. 5. The number of the *Nyopas* ought to be seven.

539
585
104
823

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

4. ngacag nyebo rnams byanggi glingnas byongstsana
byang phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor yyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
byangna thsos sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

4. When we came here from the northern country,
'aPhagsakyed was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.

In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear some news, ask them.

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Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* *ci's da*, ought to be spelt according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda*, *mda* (or perhaps *'ada*) meaning 'about.' The names of the kings mean B. 1. protector of the country. 2 and 4. the high-born one. 3. good eye. Very likely the original name of 4 had been lost and that of 2 was inserted instead. Each verse may also have a seventh concluding line: *ngacag nyebo rnamsla skadcha bshadrgyu med*, we friends do not know any news; *'adzommo* = *'adsampo*, plentiful. Instead of *bdelegs* the original has *bdelags*.

Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* White is the colour of the lha's and of all good things. B. As regards the products of the different countries, they are mentioned in about the same manner in *Ladakhi Songs* No. XV. Harvest festival at Skyurbuchan. They are perhaps more of a practical than of a mythological interest.

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The three names, given in this song, do not seem to be of Tibetan origin. They are probably the Tibetan names of the Indian *lôkapâlas*. Though there can be no doubt as to the pre-buddhist origin of this song as a whole, the names of the kings may be later Lamaist interpolations. I am rather inclined to believe, that an ancient version of this song had the names of those kings, who actually reigned in the respective regions many years ago. In this connection it may be added, that in Song No. X., where the four points of the compass come in again, actual geographical kingdoms, for instance China and India, are mentioned. Regarding the names, given in IV., compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 181; *spyanmig bsang*, instead of *mig mi bsang*, is probably a corruption, as it does not correspond to the Indian *virûpâksha*.

Song No. V.

A.

berrabs yin.
phyimas.
V. A. 1. shing stagpa skyerpa shugpa ysum
2. de ysum shing dang ma rdungshig

This is about the sticks.
The Nyopas say:—
V. A. 1. The birch, the alp-willow and the cedar,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

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[1] [Cf. pp. 139 and 140 category 116 -- Analyst]

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Notes. [1]

A. 4. *ldem*, said to be the golden hat of the Nyopas, is called *ldem* either on account of its stiff shape or because of its being an emblem (allegory) of the sun. As will have been noticed in the preceding songs, the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun god. 5. *phe* = *phye*, perf. tense, of *'abyedpa*, to open, thus 'if you beat an opening of the body, "a wound,' the verb being used as a noun.

B. 3. *thsersu*, finishing place, when applied to men, it is the country, where maturity is attained. 4. *ysorla yod*, it belongs to gold. 5. *yyula byas*, it was made [turned] into turquoise. 9. *'abrangs* = *'abrongs*, imperative tense. 10. instead of *mdundu* the original has *dondu*, instead of *mchis* it has *ches* and *che*; the same must be said of *mchis* in B. 13. *nambs'u* Ladakhi for *nabs'u*. *ldur* perhaps the same as *ldur ldur* in Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Notes. [1]

Because at the end of each verse in IV. the Nyopas failed to give a satisfactory account of the four countries, this is taken as a sufficient cause to beat them. For their defence they recite V. A., VI. A., and VII. A., and find fault with the sticks. On the other hand the bride's party praise their sticks as having been approved of by the king of heaven V. B., a king of the earth VI. B., and the king of the underworld [waters] in VII. B.

B. 9 and 10 is said to refer to the procession of the wedding party.

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Song No. VI.

A.

phyimas.

VI. A. 1. shing grama glangma lcangma ysum

2. de ysum shing dang ma rdung-shig

3. de ysum shing dang rdung sarna

4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len

5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len

6. snyangyi yyu 'achagna yyu 'achag stong dang len

7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.

legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.

The Nyopas say:—

VI. A. 1. The furze, the hill willow and the house willow,

2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,

4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,

5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,

6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold!

7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

Well thought, you mighty friends!

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B.

nangmas landu

VI. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing yyu lcang sngonpoi

2. skyedpa sngonpo yyula byas

3. lo 'adab 'adzamgling mi yul khyab

People of the house answer:—

VI. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,

2. The blue middle was made of turquoise.

3. The leaves of the tree cover all 'aDzamgling the country of men.

1 [illegible]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

133 This clear, cold stream runs into the Indus; and at their confluence sits the bleak village of Upshi.

The Indus rises in a Himalayan basin nearly seventeen thousand feet high. Once it was fed by numerous lakes. Now these lakes are mostly landlocked and turning to salt. The Indus is a powerful stream, cutting its way through the Ladakh range of the Himalayas. The Indus is an international waterway; it rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, traverses the length of Pakistan, and empties into the Indian Ocean near Karachi. It is cosmopolitan in character, giving its waters to a greater number [823] of races than any other stream in the world. The Indus is a legendary stream. The Tibetans call it the River of the Lion, since it is said to flow from a lion's mouth. The folklore is that those who drink the water of the Indus will be heroic like a lion. And the bed of the river is thought to be covered by sands of diamonds.

This day in August 1951, the Indus was swollen with snow water and running dark with clay. It poured through narrow channels with an angry roar and spread wide where the channel [311] flattened out. Crude irrigation canals led off to fields of barley and corn. The valley below Upshi is several miles wide; and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

About five miles below Upshi is Marchelang, a village of a few hundred people—a garden in a washed and rock-strewn land. At this point the Indus Valley runs east and west. A wide canyon opens to the north, a canyon leading to Tibet and China over the 18,370-foot Chang La Pass. To the south there is a small canyon 792 or nulla. It was to that one we turned, and in a few miles came 346 to Hemis Monastery.

Many monasteries in Ladakh and Tibet are castellated buildings perched on high cliffs and thus protected from marauders and invaders. Hemis, founded about A.D. 1047, holds no such strategic position. It lies deep in a narrow nulla which is from a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the wild red currants, now ripe, are wonderfully sweet to the taste. Then look up to right and left, and see the great slabs of cliffs, rising absolutely straight up from the river for over 1,000 feet; or, where they lean at all, the slope is inwards. Behind them are further tiers. Beyond, more cliffs, rising up to a similar height, look just like huge stalagmites, the formation of cliff and stalagmite together often suggesting one of nature's wonderful cathedrals with its many spires. The Ladaki would people them with his *lhas* (spirits), which he certainly believes inhabit the stalagmites.

At last we turn a corner and our hair might turn grey too, for the natural road stops abruptly at one of these perpendicular rocks, on to which human hands have built a kind of rough scaffolding. On every little projection from this rock stones have been merely laid to the desired level, and not even cemented with mud. Jutting out from the rock are beams ; how they have been fixed in it is impossible to say, and resting on these more beams parallel with the cliff, and finally, to give a firm footing, slabs of rock. Why the whole crazy structure does not topple down is past comprehension. The doctor, wishing to be whole in order to render first-aid to the Padre should calamity over-take him, crosses over first, to feel peculiar sensations up and down his spine as he watches his colleague follow after him. Even the horses seem to realize their precarious position, and press close up to the cliff. Having safely traversed this piece of road, we are not surprised to see a *chorten* and a *mani* wall, though still miles away from human habitation, for even the Ladaki must feel he needs a special safeguard for such a perilous passage.

From now our road descends until we reach Hanupata, where, although the onset of rain threatens to damp our welcome, the villagers make up for it in the heartiness of their greeting. The *mGopa* or headman begs us to come and rest in a "very nice room" of his house until our luggage

171 773 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet

[113] 1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who intorduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 776 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already undertaken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-ryyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

[823] [788]

already been said. aBru-gu-ma's character as an earth deity appears 776
particularly clearly, however, when she receives her punishment for 773
having finally surrendered to King "White Tent." In this connection
it is told, among other things: "For punishment lucernes were sown
on her head and her head was plowed under with dzo oxen" (2). Un-

2. A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 9.

fortunately, the name aBru-gu-ma is not as transparent as many others.
Perhaps, however, it is connected with abru, "seed kernel." 532

Pictorial representations of the earth deity have not yet come to light. However, we read in the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 19-22), that she rides a horse called bTsan-rta-dmar-chun, "Little red earth horse." aBru-gu-ma is praised for her milk-white complexion. (3) Through her passing into the realm of the heavenly

3. Glin-glu of Phyi-dban, No. 4.

deities she has come to partake of their color. Of mother sKyabs-
mdun we read that she is seen by someone in a dream and appears to 823
him as though a snake were wound around her body (Shel-li-bu-zhun,
Paladins, III). But later it is explained that the apparent snake symbolizes the hook-shaped land of Glin.

Through its high mountain peaks, on which the gods lived just as much as in heaven, Bar-btsan, the middle realm, touches the realm of the gods. The fact that there are also large lakes in the middle realm, connects it with the realm of the elves or Naga (Tibetan, Klu).

/10/ 3. Yog-klu, the realm of the water spirits, (Tibetan, Klu, [823]
Indic, Naga, English, "nymphs"). This realm is to be found in all the rivers and lakes and also below the earth, since the Tibetans believe that subterranean connections exist between the visible waters. The word Yog-klu signifies "the lower nymphs." Just like sTan-lha, Yog-klu is also a state. There a king rules over many servants and subjects who also distinguish themselves by their many children. (See Winter Myth, V, 17.)[1] The name of the king is written in my manuscripts, in accordance with the pronunciation, mostly lJogs-po, a word which is not to be found in the dictionaries. In the dictionaries, aJog-po is given as the name of a Naga king, but even aJog-po does not make any proper sense. The most probable thing is that lJogs-po is a dialectical variant of lCogs-po, which, according to

1 [See ... 114, pp 1-8 for references, — Analyst]

776 are occupied in the following way: the East: Shakya-thub-pa,
821 Buddha; South: aJam-dpal, Manjusir; the West: mKyen-rab, the founder of the Bon religion; the North: rGyal-rjes-dkar-po, the great white king, perhaps a variant of Gur-dkar, King "White Tent" (snow).

821 Now it is very peculiar that the Tibetans, when they related
823 real regions to the points of the compass, created a great deal of confusion. This came about because they established the gifts of the points of the compass first. When these gifts were established, they suddenly hit upon the idea of looking around for earthly countries which supplied such gifts in particular.

In wedding song No. X the East is brought into relation with India. This is to be explained in the following manner: The gift of the east is, above all, the sun. But Kesar too belongs to the East, and also Buddha (No. XXXVIII). Buddha came from India. Therefore India is placed in the East. The South supplies /13/ grain, and in so doing it leads to riches. At the time of the composition of the songs, Persia was known as the richest country. Consequently, Persia was connected with the South. The West was considered the realm of medicine; the spirits of medicine, called sMan, lived there. But all medicine men also busied themselves with astrology and prophecy, especially from the Chinese diagrams. Since the Chinese surpassed all their neighbors in these arts, China was connected with the West. The situation is probably most favorable in the North. Besides the colors, salt is supposed to be found in the North, and salt actually can be found in large quantities in the north Tibetan lake areas, Byan-than. These areas are also assigned to the North in the song (compare Ladakhi Songs, No. 15). By the land of "Kesar's war" in the North we are to understand in particular Hor or Turkestan.

776 We now come to the names of the Indian Lokapala, which have
821 penetrated into some wedding songs. In wedding song No. IX they are enumerated in the following way:

1. Yul-akhor-srun (Dhritarashta) . . . . . East
2. aPhags-skyed-po (Virudhaka) . . . . . South
3. sPyan-mig-bzan (Virupaksha) . . . . . West
4. rNam-thos-sras (Vaisravana or Kubera) . . . North

In wedding songs No. II of Khalatse and No. XLII of Tag-ma-cig, however, four names of deities are given, which correspond completely to the Dhyanibuddhas of the Tantric school (according to De la Vallee Poussin). But here they have no relation to Dhyani or contemplation. Rather, they appear quite actually as kings of the four

[See PR1-8, category 116 for references --Analys]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. .ibetans AJ4

but Nature's most wonderful show is reserved, like the peoples' little box gardens, for the roof of her world. On the Zogi Pass which is the same altitude (11,500 feet) as Leh, in the summer months one of the outstanding features is the profusion and luxuriance of the flowers. One visitor to Ladak, re-crossing the pass in autumn, counted seventy different kinds as she rode along on her pony. At the foot of the high Kardong Pass behind Leh, at an elevation of between 15,000 to 16,000 feet, many of the same varieties grow, but they need and amply repay a little search there, as they have not the grassy sward of the Zogi, but must seek shelter among the stones. Here on these heights, to mention a few only, are found yellow Iceland poppies, Michaelmas daisies, small deep-blue gentians, forget-me-nots, forming a carpet of blue on the Zogi stretches, but replaced by the deep-blue of the borage below the Kardong, deep purple orchids, primulas in all shades of magenta and purple, cow parsley, a kind of stinging nettle, asters, saxifrage, vetches, Canterbury bells, and on the Zogi the single anemone and the tall bunched Japanese variety, even the green foxglove and the coarse edelweiss.

The highest trees in the land are poplars and two or three kinds of willows. A little lower in a few restricted spots are pencil cedars, as at Hemis Shukpachan; these so-called "Shukpa" trees are holy, and their branches are made use of in religious rites. Donkey-loads are brought up to Leh a few weeks before Christmas for an annual religious festival, and the missionaries secure a load or two for making their own Christmas trees. The tree affording most grateful shade in Ladak, the Walnut, does not mature its fruit above Nurla, and apple-trees do not survive above the Basgo-Nyemo Valley, one march below Leh. Nor do apricots ripen much beyond stewing purposes in Leh, and our supplies are brought up from the lower villages. Wild currant bushes are sometimes n in the lower valleys. Away on the bare hills one would

The Tree of the World and the Old Order of Prayer

773 824 The tree of the world is frequently mentioned in the old songs. It is mentioned in greatest detail in No. VIIb[1] of the wedding songs. There its name is given as rGya-lcan, "great meadow," or rGyal-lcan, "king's meadow." In song No. XXXVI[1] it is named Shin-sde-rgyal, "king of the tree species," and in song No. XXXVII[1] the Indic name Jambuvriksha, "tree of Jambudvipa" is mentioned. In song No. VIIb[1] it is said, first of all, of this tree that it has three tops (rtse-mo-gsum). This is to be understood as signifying that the tree grows through all three worlds, the land of the nymphs, the land of human beings, and the land of the gods. In each of these three realms it appears as an independent tree, which touches with its top the roof of the world concerned. According to the same song, this tree has six branches. Seen from the land of human beings, this is to be understood as follows: A branch extends to each of the four points of the compass, a further branch (actually the main trunk) grows upward from the center of the earth, and another branch (actually the root) stretches downward from the center of the earth.

Song No. XXXIXa[1] confirms the fact that I have interpreted song No. VIIb correctly. In song No. XXXIXa[1] it is stated of the tree of the world that it has five tops or branches on one root. These are covered with nests and eggs, as was said of the previous tree. Since in this song the root is not counted as a branch, only five branches remain. In the same song it is also made clear that by the four branches the lines of the compass card are to be understood, while the eggs indicate the colors of the four points of the compass.

As we have seen, it is possible to think of five branches and eggs, in the case of the world tree, or, likewise, of six branches and with eggs. A seventh place may be considered, if not for the branches, at least for the nests, that is, the point in the center, from which all the branches proceed. This possibility has been carried out in wedding song No. XXXVI,[1] where we actually hear of seven birds who guard the seven eggs on the tree of the world.

773 822 Now, as far as the colors of the birds and the eggs are concerned, it must be admitted that, in view of the obscurity of the indications, it will scarcely be possible any longer to set up a definite system. This obscurity seems to have come about by the fact that nature hardly ever presented examples in which the colors of the birds'

1 [See pp. 1-8, Category 11b, for references --Analyst]

776 snakes. On the pictures I have said that the Khyun is represented
778 in the act of devouring two of the Nagas. It is remarkable that among the eight mGon-po of Nub-ra there is also one that bears the name Nagaraksha, "water-snake demon" in the Indic language. His rock is in Ron-mdo. Apparently there is a rock formation in mGo-sbed which is reminiscent of a Khyun, and in Ron-mdo there is one that looks like a water snake (klu).

782 It is undoubtedly a fact that at one time offerings were made at these ancient cult places.[2] Certainly they al[illegible] performed dances there and said prayers.

Concerning the offerings we learn a few isolated facts from the wedding songs.

[824] The first of the wedding songs of Khalatse deals with a smoke offering. According to this song the wood of the Shug-pa tree (Juniperus excelsa), a type of juniper, which smells very good when it is burned, is brought as an offering. This offering is called bsan-shug, "juniper food," in the song, apparently because it is to serve as nourishment for the gods. The main purpose of this offering is to maintain peace with the gods. The first verse runs:

This blue smoke rising,
What does it mean?
This blue smoke rising
/26/ Means that there will be no conflict with brGya-byin, lord of the gods
For that do we offer the nourishing juniper tree!

[776] In this way the smoke is presented as an offering to the deities of heaven, of earth, of the water world, of the four points of the compass, of the castle, the village, and the house. Everywhere the smoke is believed to have an appeasing effect. In Number 2
[824] of the drinking songs of Khalatse[2] two other plants are also named as materials fro incense, aside from the shug-pa, the "wood of the gods." These are su-lu-gser-po and kham-pa-dkar-po. Neither is known to me.

782 A very peculiar kind of sacrificial gift is named in the Tag-ma-
826 cig; wedding song No. XXXIII:[2] To the gods are to be sacrificed the white teeth and the fingernails; to the solid earth, the red flesh and the red blood; to the dark powers (mun) the gall and blue water; to the black devil, though, the black hairs and the eyebrows are to be offered. All these are parts of the body which among primitive peoples are regarded as the seat of mysterious powers, and their acquisition is looked upon as particularly desirable. Is there perhaps an idea of presenting the best to the divinities?

In this connection it should, by the way, be observed directly

[2] [See pp. 37-38 -- Analyst] [2] [See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

152 162 593 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

837 595 684 There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 597 793 548 276 Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, [824] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

278 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang[1] very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish [illegible] about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMO[illegible] UNKNOWN.

1 [i.e., BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 768 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 177 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 753 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoothung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epileptic

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [184] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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The wild yak's horn is forced
By the hero Mogchen rem-pa (85).

[775] 85. rMog-ĉen rem-pa, meaning "great, strong helmet." This, like the names in verses 2 and 3, are the names of mythical heroes of pre-history.

The hero A-p'o bstan-yan (86)

86. Ap'o bstan-yan. Ap'o means "father" in the dialect of Baltistan and Lower Ladakh; these heroes are designated by this title.

Seizes the tiger with his fist.
Only Jaksha źon-t'og (87)

87. Yag-śa źon t'og in Tibetan.

Catches water with a sling.
Only the swallow bird
Builds a castle out of loose sand.
Only the water itself (88)

88. Here probably the waterfall is meant.

Wounds the water with swords.
A bird that gives birth to young
Is the bat (89).

[825] 89. It should not surprise us that the bat is counted among the birds by the Tibetans when we consider that in German medieval books of natural history the bat was classified in the same species.

An animal of prey which lays eggs
Is the quick weasel (90).

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90. The assertion that the weasel lays eggs is to be explained

from the fact that this evil robber of nests is often seen with an egg in its mouth, which led to the erroneous conclusion. 585 533 539

And the "rock-partridge's trace" which runs along the mountains there: [825]

They are veins in the rock (91).

91. Quartz vein in the slate cliff.

The crystal mistress who rules over a thousand colors the pale North

Is Bruguma (92).

92. aBru-gu-ma, the wife of the mythical king Kesar. The "colors of the North" seem to indicate the northern lights. [773]

The mantle for the large slate mountain
Is probably sewn by Vishvakarma, the heavenly smith (93).

93. The Hephaistos (Vulcan) of Hindu and Buddhist mythology is meant by this "heavenly smith."

Teeth in addition to its pair of wings
Has the bat in its mouth.
You people who are giving riddles and demanding a solution!
It will be necessary to take something away from you.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Om, hail to you!

/90/ After further examining questions in the form of a song there finally comes the following song as the concluding one, which is sung alternately:

The people of the Chirpon house are still singing with the gate locked:

Many a one is distinguished through his wisdom,
Many a one is so only by his birth
There are many who know nothing.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
Waste no words! Offer a draught! 533
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people 585
were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside.

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: 585
the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out 302
the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with 585
otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main orna- 301
ment, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made

118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails. [825]

of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[751] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat* is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

*[of the marmot--Analyst]

773 merely an obscure mythological phenomenon has been recognized
774 in it. However, the fact that the Tibetans connect the name Khyun
821 with the word for "sun" in one name, raises certain considerations. If in Tibet the sun and Khyun are combined in one name, then it is certainly possible that in India people also thought of the sun when they mentioned the name Garuda. The syllable dkrun, or, corrupted, run, gives the most trouble in the name. It may refer to the fact that no feet are visible on the bird of the sun. For sKyil-dkrun signifies sitting down with the feet drawn in. In the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue," No. 9,[1] we learn something about the ancestors of the sun bird. It is supposed to be the son of the bird No-ldo-re, and the latter is supposed to be the son of the bird Khu-byug-rgyal-po. While the name On-ldo-re cannot be translated, Khu-(b)yug-
●[825] rgyal-po means "king cuckoo." The cuckoo is actually a particularly favorite bird among the Tibetans, and it also plays an important part in the mythology of the Bon religions. According to passages in the dictionary of S. Ch. Das, under "Khyun," it looks as though Khyun was originally used to designate the eagle. Khyun, On-ldo-re, and Khu-(b)yug are probably the names of three birds that were worshiped and that were all three equated with the sun. The story of the provenance of the sun bird in the "Prologue" is thus probably only intended to signify that the sun of the present day is the child of the sun of yesterday, and that the latter is again the child of the day before yesterday. The case is different with the birth of the sun from aBru-gu-ma, as we find it reported in the Spring Myth, Appendices, No. 3.[1] (Similarly in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," p. 69.) This event is best explained if we recognize, as we mentioned earlier, an earth goddess in aBru-gu-ma. When the sun rises in the morning, it is, after all, possible to say that it was born
[776] from the earth. A curious sun and moon myth is the story of the Agu Za in Spring Myth, II, 34-45.[1] Za means "eater," and this particular Agu devours not only Don-grub, the future King Kesar, but he also only surrenders Kesar again after he has been promised that the sun and the moon will be given him to eat for a year. Such devourers of the sun and the moon are not only the spirits of the eclipses of the sun and /23/ the moon, but also the mountain and cloud spirits. It is precisely the large mountains rising steeply from the river valleys that frequently prevent the appearance of the sun for several months during the winter. From the personifications of the mountains have arisen the spirits of the mountains or the giants.

The moon is also frequently conceived of as a bird. It is called Bya-mo-dkar mo, the "white lady bird" (see Lower Ladakhi Version,

[1 [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references.-- ANALYS]

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu (Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po, rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCL in my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water SNAKES.

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113] 2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z.D.M.G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Ribbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

876 FRECKLE--teep-khap. Ladakis think that freckles are caused by looking at one's reflection in the unwiped mirror of another person, for this reason, before using another person's looking-glass, a Ladaki will be careful to wipe it thoroughly.

764 [49]FUNERAL--Buddhists in Ladák like to keep a dead body as long as possible, for the purpose of praying over it, and performing other religious ceremonies. For this reason it is considered better that a man should die in winter, when his corpse can be kept for 15 or 16 days, than in summer when the body must be burnt on the third day after death. When a death occurs, intimation is sent to all relatives to come to the funeral. At the time of the funeral "chhang"[1] and "satoo"[2] is provided at the house of the deceased, but the guests are all silent, and pretend to be much affected. They will eat and drink sadly, so long as the corpse is in the house but when it has been removed, they will not eat or drink in that house for a month. At the
793 764 time of the occurrence of a death, a "hlobon" or "abbot" is sent for, from the nearest monastery; this official reads some religious extracts (this is called phóa tap ches) for half an hour or so, while so doing he holds the sacred book (phóalung speycha) in one hand, and with the other hand he takes hold of the pigtail of the deceased, if a male, and of the hair of the deceased, if a female. While reading the funeral service, the Abbot keeps on pulling and jerking the hair of the corpse. If by the time the reading is finished, any blood has come from the nose of the corpse, it is considered a very happy sign, as proving that the spirit (sem soul or SHok or SHrok life) of the deceased has entered into the presence of the Divine Idea (konjok), i.e., has entered paradise (zhing-kham or thóris), and attained nirvana (stongpa ngyid).

[775] If no blood is to be seen, it is considered a sign that the dead person's spirit is wandering about in space, awaiting re-embodiment. In this case payments have to be made to the Lámas to pray for the wandering spirit.

764 [50] Having completed the reading, the Abbot stands aside, and
614 the "phas-spun" of the deceased come with ropes, and tie the deceased into a squatting position; knees, hands and neck all tied close together. If the corpse has got stiff, the bones are broken, so that the necessary squatting position may be attained.

1 [BARLEY BEER--ANALYST] 2 [BASIC BARLEY FOOD--ANALYST]

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srdchan or SHrdchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladákis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHón. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHóns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

779 person, and it would never occur to them as possible that all
798 persons not included in any particular faith, should be slain in this world or eternally damned in the next. This freedom from
[792] religious bigotry, which is enacted in one of the edicts of Asoka, doubtless accounts for the readiness with which a Ladáki will change his or her religion, when, from a worldly point of view, it suits so to do.

779 HELL--ngiáwa or ngiálwa. The Buddhists have 18 different hells,
772 such as the hot hell, the cold hell, etc. They imagine that when the allotted number of re-births or re-embodiments has taken place, the soul, or "sem", should attain "nirvána", or, as they would put it, go to heaven (thoris thop ches), but if owing to sins (rdikpa) committed in this world (jikrten), the soul is unfit for nirvána (stongpa ngyid), it has to go to one of the hells for a certain period. There is no such a thing as eternal punishment in the Buddhist religious code. Eedaks or Yeedaks is the name of a kind of hell, or according to Jaschke "the fifth class of beings of Buddhist cosmography condemned in a fore-hell to suffer perpetual hunger and thirst; a grade of punishment preceding the final and full torments of hell, they are represented as giants with huge bellies and very narrow throats, inhabiting the air."

[775] Between the time of death and re-birth the disembodied soul is said to be wandering about in space (khorwároo kiám ches), it does not go to heaven or hell between the periods of re-birth. But see also "Metempsychosis."

● 826 [61]HERMAPHRODITE--Not known in Ladák. Ladákis think ill luck is caused by human monstrosities, and it is therefore probable that these are killed as soon as they are born.

579 HIGHWAYMEN--chakpa. Highway robbery is unknown in Ladák, but in Chángtháng (Lhása territory), where the people are less timid
[181] than Ladákis, it occasionally happens that Ladák trading parties are attacked by Tartar robbers termed "chakpa". ArGHóns (see half caste) are more than a match for these highwaymen, but the Bots (i.e. Ladák Buddhists) seldom attempt resistance, although their party may far outnumber that of the robbers.

327 HINGE--kabza. The Ladákis don't use hinges--an iron hook and eye arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry. 797 595 779 114 [674] [311] [167]

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-tshal" is used. 195 805

415 [106]MUG--kórey; the shallow, saucer-like, drinking vessel made of wood, and some times lined with silver, which all Ladákis carry about with them.

764 MUMMY--ro skámpo. Tibetans usually burn their dead, but when a great Láma or Incarnation dies, they take the body, and without removing the inside, etc., place it, just as it is, in a large coffin, which is then filled up with salt, and removed to a suitable place where a chhorten is erected over it.

● 826 MUSCULAR--roosthak or roosthrak. Ladákis think a man full of blood (no muscle) is a strong man hence the name.

564 533 MUSICIAN--mon. In Ladák the "mon" is the musician caste. There is no Ladaki word for "musician," the book word is rolmókhan.

000 MUZZLE--khamtshul (the lower part of face). khákaps (in Ladák these are made of plaited horse hair).

601 [107]NEPHEW--tasháo (general); acho-i-butsa (elder brother's son); no-i-butsa (younger brother's son); achey-i-butsa (elder sister's son); nomo-i-butsa (younger sister's son).

[108]NIECE--ácho-i bómo (elder brother's daughter); no-i bómo (younger brother's daughter); áchey-i bomo (elder sister's daughter); nomo-i bomo (younger sister's daughter); also tshámo (general).

779 781 NIRVANA--The Tibetan idea of attaining "nirvána" is their equivalent to our idea of reaching "heaven". They think that life is bad; that it is full of pain and sorrow; and that the greatest conceivable bliss is the attainment of nirvána, or the state of "nothingness," which, according to our ideas, is the same as annihilation. "Stongpa ngyid" is the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanscrit "nirvána"; "ódsál" or "ótsál" (literally "light-bright") means the world to come--that place where it is always light and there is no night. "Sangeys thop ches" is to attain Buddhahood, or, in other words, "nirvána." "Kopang thop ches" is "to reach the standard of perfection" or Buddhahood. "Zhingkhams-la skiey ches" is "to be born in the field of merit," that is to say, to attain "nirvána" or to cease being reborn in this wicked world.

Chinese anatomy and medical science; nor are ancient Babylonians, Greek, and Persian influences absolutely excluded. The school of medicine on the Eisen /"Iron"/ Mountain (lcags-po-ri), a part of Potala Mountain, on which the palaces of the Dalai Lama is also situated, constitutes a part of the university for the lamas, at which they are prepared for their service. Here is likewise the medical faculty of the university. 757 177 [874]

Anatomy, as a science, is on a very low level among the Tibetans, since Tibetan physicians do not perform any dissection of corpses. Thus they know the inner parts of the human body at best through comparison with those of the animal body which they get to see--illicitly--at the killing of an animal, which is a sin for the Buddhist. (Compare Dr. Reinh. Müller, "Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien," in the Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin, Volume 15) The Tibetans have taken over their scientific anatomy from the Chinese, with all the errors and defects that were contained in it. Thus on old anatomical tables, for instance, the liver is drawn in on the lefthand side, and the spleen on the right. (Compare Reinh. Müller, "Über Skeletdarstellungen," in Asia Major, Volume 2.) The anatomical tables (Tibetan, p'yaṅ-k'og las-t'ig) copied from the Chinese, show, correspondingly, quite phantastic representations of the human body; they serve primarily to indicate the spots on the body that are suited to bleeding and burning (with red-hot iron). Both procedures are frequently applied to human beings as well as household animals by Tibetan doctors. Often they produce successful results. But quite often they use burning in quite a nonsensical manner, on sensitive parts of the body, such as, for instance, the eyelid, the burning of which causes very severe harm. 757 177 826

Tibetan pharmacy uses a great number of native plants, and often in a very effective way, in the form of decoctions, powders, and pills. Aside from this they use metals as curative agents, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, zinc, and mercury (the latter for syphilis); furthermore stones, minerals, and soils, such as, for instance, turquoises, pearls, snail shells, corals, cooking salt, natron, saltpeter, and sulphur. 278

The parts of animals' bodies play an important part in

764 If a woman has died the topmost, best turquoise of the woman's head ornament may also be given as compensation in this case. It is said that some rich people give the lama even a horse or a yak as "changing compensation." In Central Tibet, when the lama (who has been called upon) is prevented by circumstances from coming to the house of the layman concerned (in which the death has taken place), the lama sends a messenger on horseback with the "changing material" (ap'o-rdzas) and performs the "body changing ceremony" in his monastery or in his hermitage. This is called "long-distance" (rgyaṅ ap'o-debs).

If the "gift offerer" (pious layman) belongs to the Drugpa sect, he has a Drugpa lama called, who has performed the "Four Exercises" (and therefore possesses the rank of abbot). This lama first of all recites an entrance formula, then formulas of exorcism, and then he calls upon the spirits; thereupon he reads the book entitled "Of the harmful rainbow" (12) concerning the "changing"; and as he now shouts

[821] 12. The rainbow, which in the astronomy of the ancient Indians was already reckoned among the planets, is thought of, like all the celestial bodies, as a divinity which is frequently hostile towards mankind, and which sends down upon it afflictions like epilepsy, brain hemorrhage, and the like.

"hik!" three times, and "pat!" once, he pulls out a few hairs from the dead man's head (13). This he does three to five times. By doing

[826] 13. The soul is presumed to make its exit by way of the little openings that have been created through pulling out the hairs. In the belief of the lamas, the hairs go all the way through the top of the head.

this the priest believes that the soul of the deceased is taken up in the soul of the sublime Dorje Chang (rdo-rje a͡caṅ) (14), and that in this

14 In Sanskrit Vajradhara, a form of the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva.

way it arrives in Paradise. All this is done so that the soul of the deceased may be preserved against the terrors of Bardo or of a new rebirth. Later on, something will be said about the offerings and dishes presented on this occasion. The sign that the change (of the body)

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

764 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-
767 femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fasciæ, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee
[718] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fasciæ were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, *i.e.*, intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et ceteras. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated
787 parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead
782 cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.

767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged.

BHAGWAN SINGH.

[143]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

757 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly
164 addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its
754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive
175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old canni-
771 balism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without
757 our help! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the
• 876 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

776 snakes. On the pictures I have said that the Khyun is represented
778 in the act of devouring two of the Nagas. It is remarkable that among the eight mGon-po of Nub-ra there is also one that bears the name Nagaraksha, "water-snake demon" in the Indic language. His rock is in Ron-mdo. Apparently there is a rock formation in mGo-sbed which is reminiscent of a Khyun, and in Ron-mdo there is one that looks like a water snake (klu).

782 It is undoubtedly a fact that at one time offerings were made at these ancient cult places.[1] Certainly they also performed dances there and said prayers.

Concerning the offerings we learn a few isolated facts from the wedding songs.

[824] The first of the wedding songs of Khalatse deals with a smoke offering. According to this song the wood of the Shug-pa tree (Juniperus excelsa), a type of juniper, which smells very good when it is burned, is brought as an offering. This offering is called bsan-shug, "juniper food," in the song, apparently because it is to serve as nourishment for the gods. The main purpose of this offering is to maintain peace with the gods. The first verse runs:

This blue smoke rising,
What does it mean?
This blue smoke rising
/26/ Means that there will be no conflict with brGya-byin, lord of the gods
For that do we offer the nourishing juniper tree!

[776] In this way the smoke is presented as an offering to the deities of heaven, of earth, of the water world, of the four points of the compass, of the castle, the village, and the house. Everywhere the smoke is believed to have an appeasing effect. In Number 2
[824] of the drinking songs of Khalatse[2] two other plants are also named as materials fro incense, aside from the shug-pa, the "wood of the gods." These are su-lu-gser-po and kham-pa-dkar-po. Neither is known to me.

782 A very peculiar kind of sacrificial gift is named in the Tag-ma-
826 cig: wedding song No. XXXIII:[2] To the gods are to be sacrificed the white teeth and the fingernails; to the solid earth, the red flesh and the red blood; to the dark powers (mun) the gall and blue water; to the black devil, though, the black hairs and the eyebrows are to be offered. All these are parts of the body which among primitive peoples are regarded as the seat of mysterious powers, and their acquisition is looked upon as particularly desirable. Is there perhaps an idea of presenting the best to the divinities?

In this connection it should, by the way, be observed directly

[1] [See pp. 37-38 -- Analyst] [2] [See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

782 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters
826 of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called srun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During
[764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the
[266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have collected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this prac-
[113] tice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of
[533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
286 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (r'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ñam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The
[82] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoñ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

there flung it among the boulders. The Tsan wanted to have his revenge, 755
and now he could spend his fury on this figure.

Finally another "important matter" came to light. The old 754
grandmother, who constantly observed the Chondsom girl from the Cat's-mouth house with suspicious glances, thought that she could remember that that evil woman had once spat (161) very conspicuously

161. The Tibetans have a special expression for this kind of [827]
spitting with the purpose of harming an enemy: nad-pai to-le adebs-pa, the "spitting for sickness," that is, with the intention of making the particular person sick. In spitting, a curse or evil wish is expressed.

in front of the Dragshos house, and that in so doing she had cast an evil glance at the house and mumbled a few evil words. Thereupon 755
the lharje was called in once more. He took a strip of paper, on this he wrote a few magical formulas, crumpled the paper up, and made little pellets out of it. These the patient was to swallow. The effect of this was that the woman, to whom all food was repugnant anyway, had to vomit. This concerned the lharje very little; he urged that the woman should swallow the paper pills amidst great pain, something which always had the same effect.

Meanwhile none of the natural or supernatural remedies brought 797
any improvement to the poor sick woman: for weeks she hovered between life and death and caused great concern to husband and children. Finally the missionary's medicine brought some improvement. The missionary had by now been called to the sick bed--up till then the lamas had been able to prevent his appearance. The strong constitution of the woman gradually gained the upper hand; she recovered to the great joy of her family. Namgyal brought an ample offering of thanks to the gods in his household temple and to those in the temple of the monastery in Tingmogang, because his relatives so demanded. He found no reason to give any presents to the lamas. On the other hand, he honored the missionary with a sheep, a large plate of dried fruit, and a greeting ribbon as a sign of his gratitude for the missionary's help; his trust in the missionary grew, and he became even more receptive to the new message which the missionary preached and testified to by his actions.

The year in which all this happened, the earth-tiger year, was 164
a year of misfortune for the entire village and neighboring /135/

764 and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by
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789
[827]

32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespa-gsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death," causing death."

the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of rebirth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order

33. Bumpa, meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

good to ascertain through the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

595 pean travelers were introducing the bad
178 habit of monogamous marriage, and that
428 the young men were getting more and more immoral. I suppose he was quite right, and as I was interested to hear his point of view we had quite a conversation about it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we managed to remain wealthy without being polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in Tibet we haven't enough to go around and as we don't want to divide the property up we have to be polyandrous so that we inherit the property without its being divided. But how do you Europeans do it? How do you remain wealthy by being monogamous and dividing up your property?"

595 I must say I had not thought of this
178 before. It only occurred to me when I was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes,
428 now that I think of it, it is probably true
329 that in Europe we do things in a different way. When we marry, each man goes off with his wife and they try to fend for themselves, build up their own family and get their own source of revenue. That is the way we do it. There is enough wealth to go around to found other families." "Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I have noticed among the Tibetans who have become Moslems that this is also the case. They cease being polyandrous, and because of that they then divide up the property. There is not enough to go around. The eldest brother usually gets it and the youngest brothers have to go off with their wives elsewhere to find some work. I have also noticed here that nearly all the Mohammedan families seem to go to Burma and work in the ruby mines there. That is obviously for the same reason you are telling me now about Europeans." Then he was silent for a moment and looked at me in a pensive fashion until suddenly he said, "Now I understand why you Europeans come here. That is why you have got colonies. If you were polyandrous you wouldn't need to!"

152 One question I am very often asked is,
428 does jealousy exist within the various

224a

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanatio

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To would give the following interpretation
829 of the polyandrous systems found: It
595 seems to me that polyandry is "not neces-
121 sarily a primitive institutional form of
182 marriage, but that it is due to the psycho-
Ti logical reaction of individuals living in
communities subject to environmentally
● 829 poor and insecure economic conditions,
595 persisting, in the case of the Tibetans,
121 through isolation from other communities,
182 or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of
K defense mechanism against invasion by
[121] other cultures." I have not included the
Tiyas in this definition because I do not
know them sufficiently and would like to
go more thoroughly into their polyandry
before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti Now, if I take this definition, instance
595 by instance, I shall be able to interpret
114 exactly what I mean by it. When I first
212 say that polyandry is "not necessarily a
primitive institutional form of marriage,"
I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans
are all literate and educated people, with
whom you can speak quite freely, who have
a very pronounced sense of reality and do
not in any way seem like a primitive
people. It thus looks as if polyandry were
a system entirely outside of the usual
evolutionary stages of marriage, in which
anthropology puts the matriarchal before
the patriarchal system.

Ti Next, I say that polyandry is "due to
595 the psychological reaction of individuals
114 living in communities subject to environ-
[182] mentally poor and economically insecure
[593] conditions," by which I mean, living in a
physical environment which leads to a
miserable economy. This economy makes
Ti them very interdependent, within each
595 family, upon the help of each other, and
114 this interdependence, in turn, which is
stressed very highly in these families be-
[182] cause of the necessity of sticking together
[593] under the difficult physical conditions,
calls for less aggression among the mem-
bers of the family itself and among groups
of them. It seems to me that this stress
on the condemnation of aggression is such
that even something approaching incest

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539
[772]

Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'aṅ-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognized in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti.

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti :—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *begár* and common expenses; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind: the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognized. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús; in hearing law

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralised lately by opportunity and impunity.

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113] 2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Pibbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

spindle (or the female sex organs) in Lahoul in the valley of the Bhaga River. I noticed only one rock drawing there of the male sex organs. In that region the name Bhaga, which can be translated by "sex organ," may have given rise to the practice of decking out the rocks with such emblems. That they had confidence in the ability of Kesar (and of aBru-gu-ma) to dispense children, we see from the saga about rGyal-sa-dkar-po (see Paladins). There Kesar prophesies to a girl that she will not only get a wealthy husband but also that she will bear seven children. 782 831 532 842

Festivals of the Ancient Tibetan Religion 796

1. The New Year's festival (Lo-gsar). Of this festival, which probably corresponds to the ancient winter solstice, I possess one description which the schoolteacher of Khalatse prepared in Tibetan. In this document it is stated: From the fifteenth of the tenth month to the twenty-fourth, children carry torches to a certain field. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth they light a fire on the public dancing place where all the people gather. All the farmers bake a kind of bread called ba-ga-tam, and this bread they store away. Then the children go to all the doors and say:

This is a good day, a good star.
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this day,
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this star!
Now every day is a lucky one!
May every year be a lucky one!
The boys get brides for themselves,
Wedding feasts are held,
White beer is poured out,
White pieces of butter are given with it!
A ram is killed.
May a son be born to you!
Give us a ba-ga-tam -- bread!

In this way the children collect many loaves of the bread, which they then distribute and eat.

The thirtieth day is called sTon (assistance). Then the relatives entertain one another. In the afternoon the men march out to the field with torches and music. Here they play the bra-sol (?). Thereupon the Mon (Indian caste of carpenters) must perform five exorcisms of the devil (skrad), during which rifles are fired and everybody shouts "te-ya-ho." Then the torches are heaped up in one pile and a dance is done around them with swords and rifles, as

To this description should be added the killing of the goat, a gruesome sacrifice in front of the altar of the village god (Yul-lha). To the living animal has its heart ripped out of its body. 796

With respect to the dances and the disguises, it should also be pointed out that we are here dealing with games that symbolize in substance the battle between the gods of light and the demons of darkness. These games later developed into the famous masked dances of the monasteries. In Lamayuru these masked dances still take place today during the winter. In Hemis, on the other hand, they are performed in June. The celebration in Hemis may well be connected with the summer solstice. 796 535

2. gTor-ma-phan-ces. As the preceding description has indicated, a type of this festival is already connected with the New Year's festival. For the throwing away of the gTor-ma offering is very reminiscent of the driving out of winter. This finds an even clearer expression later on. Then a human doll is fashioned out of lime in Khalatse (and also elsewhere). This doll is then carried, with much shouting and music, outside the village, where it is destroyed. In Leh the evil spirits of winter and of the diseases are trapped inside cages (dos-mo) constructed out of rods and strings and looking like spider webs, and these structures are then destroyed outside the village. 796

3. The Kesar festival. So far I have found this festival referred to as the "Kesar festival" only in Upper Kunawar. In Ladakh it is simply called mDa-phan-ces, "shooting with bow and arrow." It is celebrated in the spring. The songs that are known under the name of Glin-glu are sung, and the young people amuse themselves with archery. Just as the spindle is the emblem of aBru-gu-ma and of the female in general, so the arrow is considered the symbol of Kesar and the male. In the /30/ following I shall give the titles of the songs of the Glin-glu: In Phyi-dban the following songs are sung: 1. Kesar, the conqueror of the four worlds. 2. Slumber song for the little Kesar. 3. Kesar and the treasures of the giants. 4. Praise of the wisdom of aBru-gu-ma. 5. The almighty father of the gods and mother of the gods. 6. The return of Kesar and of aBu-gu-ma. 7. Don-grub, a voluntary savior of the world. 8. aBru-gu-ma's innocence. 9. The prayer of the king of Hor asking for his life. [831]

In Khalatse the following songs are sung: 1. Voices from heaven. 2. Dedication of the arrows. 3. Kesar's four victories. 4. Kesar and the mules. 5. Kesar's prayer on the Srar mountain pass. 6. Kesar's return to aBru-gu-ma. 7. aBru-guma's farewell

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Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 861 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 971 531 793

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings[1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, category 116 - - Analysis]

776 Jäschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo
or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is there-
fore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu
of Kalatse,[1] aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

Oh my wise king!
When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
And see all the nymphs of that land,
Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[832] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with
turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of
their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to repre-
sent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to
the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[784] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives
and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite
especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume
human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans
may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish
themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the
many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's
letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the
north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the
writing (1).

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma,"
No. 7.[1]

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that
according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is
identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-
hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time.
It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the
chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan
that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king
of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake
by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
751 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of
mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

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There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name). 757 833 [832]

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax. 115 847 [837]

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June [illegible] in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which [illegible] role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a [illegible] which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually [illegible]sen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born. 775 842

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains. 484 [939]

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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take [illegible] the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
[791] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

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It all depends upon how people feel about such things, my informants said. Sometimes, the wife will regulate who, of her many husbands, should be with her; at other times, one of the brothers will do so, not necessarily the eldest, but generally the one with the most personality, the one who has the greatest influence with them all. Again, it is possible for the brothers to agree among themselves as to who shall go with their wife for the night, while it is not excluded that they should all of them have relations with her in the same night. Things can be done discreetly, in the dark, with some item of furniture in front of the bed for greater privacy. But this is not always the case, and often relations between husbands and the wife take place with a lamp lit, and in full view of the others, including the children. Not much clothing, however, is discarded, partly out of modesty, but also because it is cold. 595 833

I asked here, too, if signals were ever made use of at the door, should the marriage not be consummated in the common room. This question was usually received with great guffaws of laughter; the very idea seemed to amuse them. No, they said, there were no signals; nobody ever left anything at the door. As far as they knew, it had never been done, either.

To my question as to how, then, did they decide who should sleep with the common wife, one of my informants (at the Od-ldan household) looked at me slily and asked if I were, myself, married. When I answered that I was, he asked whether, then, I decided with my wife that, as let us say seven p.m. tonight, we would have intercourse? Naturally not, and he laughed; well, then it was the same with them. Such things took place tacitly, by implicit understanding, and with tact, not in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.

My investigations as to the possibility of jealousy affecting the relations between the husbands of a polyandrous Ladaki family led to the same results as in Lahul. I was told that nobody could afford to be jealous, that it was a luxury in which those who were rich enough to divide up property in other, less austere environments than theirs, could indulge. The Reverend W. Asboe was of the opinion that the ordinary average Ladaki was "not very passionate" as he put it, and that for this reason, they could not really feel the pangs of jealousy. He attributed this lack of passion to the altitude and to the climate which was so cold, and as proof of his allegation, he said that the Moslems, who elsewhere were so fiery about sexual matters and men's honour in these things, were also devoid of passion in Ladak, and often accepted situations there which they would have violently rebelled against elsewhere. No- 595 518 152 [184]

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so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

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158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[953] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
[955] were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[943] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also infor-
mative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[164] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
[833] and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
548 dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
[595] liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
[995] tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[995] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[833] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts,
never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

296 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

595 I enquired from the informant why she had married a second husband in this way, considering that she had had children by her first one and that, consequently, it did not seem at all necessary for her to take so drastic a step. Her answer confirmed my belief that a second husband is often brought in in order to acquire more labour for the cultivation of the family plot, for she replied: "I married Tsering P'hüntzok because Tsering was old and unable to work very well any more." She then added the informative remark: "It is cheaper to take an extra husband than a servant."

Neighbours, whom Joseph and I questioned later about this family, assured us, nevertheless, that Lha-dzom had not spoken the truth to us. They scoffed at her statements that she needed more labour on her husband's estate, and said that she was a very ardent woman, whom old Tsering could no longer satisfy sexually. So she had taken Tsering P'hüntzok who was much younger (28 years old, they said), and Tsering had agreed to it because he was tired of his wife's sexual appetite anyway. I must say that in my interview with the woman, I did form the impression that there probably was some truth in the neighbour's gossip. It did not mean, however, that what Lha-dzom had told us was not true; both pronouncements could be correct, for having a new husband, while very pleasant from the matrimonial point of view, was also useful in what concerned the cultivation of the fields. Pleasure and business thus appeared admirably combined in Lha-dzom's case, and Tsering, who could have objected and might have been the major obstacle, made no trouble and accepted the situation. He probably got something out of it, too.

834 124 595 I had heard so much about these people's sexual life during these interviews, that it came as a surprise to me when I asked Joseph to enquire if anybody knew anything about father and son polyandry in Kalatse and he refused to do so. We were in conversation with a female neighbour at the time, and Joseph flatly refused to enquire about the subject upon which I wanted information because, he said, it is not possible to question a woman about sexual matters in Tibet if she is either younger or older than yourself. The same applied to close relatives, and the prohibition was called *ka-dzem-ches* (*K'ha-aDzem-Ches*) meaning "mouth to shrink from". What we had been told about Lha-dzom did not come under the category of questioning the woman on sexual affairs, it seemed, since she had volunteered the information which we had heard. What was not possible, I gathered, was for Joseph to put queries about sex to the woman. So I was not able to get the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 392]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok, his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhasa
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[771] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

•835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

751 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their 142
noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the
middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with [302]
the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a [301]
white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the
other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long
earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist.
They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they 291
walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able
to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool,
dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she 000
talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray
wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu 562
women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main 462
burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out
with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a
tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when
the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets
or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the
grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I 581
have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like 562
to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudg-
ery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambi-
tion of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his
lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and
Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls de- 562
scribed in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior 836
social position, have a large degree of independence in their
sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram
bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is
easy to catch them."

1 [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

562 Part of the loose morality is doubtless due to the fact that these
• 836 girls live along the caravan route where lonely, carefree men from Yarkand, Leh, and Manali travel. These caravan men laugh when anyone speaks of prostitutes. Of course there are no prostitutes. One takes what he wants and goes his way.

I did not know all of this as Rahul continued his long conversation with the two women I had helped ford the stream. I was to learn about Lahuli women later. I did know that something highly personal and intimate was being discussed because the women, at first bashful and coy, were now giggling and laughing. Finally I asked, "Rahul, what the devil goes on? Are you arranging a date come evening time?"

"No, no." He roared with laughter. "This woman with the child has been telling me what a wonderful person the other woman is. You see, they are sisters. This one without a child likes you. She wants you to stay with her tonight in their village of Sissu." By now the women stood watching me, grinning.

We were eating the condensed TF Army rations for lunch. I pretended to cogitate on the proposition as I finished a cereal bar and munched salted almonds. Finally I announced the decision. "Rahul, we'll compromise. Tell her that instead of staying in their village I will give each of them a present."

With that I reached into the TF rations, found four cookies, and gave two to the baby and one each to the women. As Rahul translated my message and presented the cookies, they gave us angry side glances and took the trail to Sissu.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind.

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule.

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama".

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way.

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be

did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mcod-gnas) a few rupees 842
"for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!" He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara, so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings; the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! 595
The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling 837
and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a husband; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner; even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a complete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently 586
brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness, or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Caste in Spiti.

of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kaneta, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *táwás* or *togochás*.

Leading families.

The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Hira Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazaráná*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages.

Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladâkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perik* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 937

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 290

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *kesar*, or green, water is kept; *i.e.*, water in which *kesar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kesar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name).

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax.

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born.

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

586 [768] refuses to live any longer – she will sometimes tie a thread between one of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to show that she is free.

Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus [837] sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent.

A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatability of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and divorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable [595] position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great impor- 586 tance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Mos- 797 lem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife, simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to do so.

586 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind. 586 [435]

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In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama". [792]

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way. 836 837 [848]

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be 837 684

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none
[735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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smoking was looked upon as so heinous an offence. He replied that it was because, so the lamas said, tobacco was a weed grown from the menstrual flow of a prostitute who had prayed that it might fertilize a plant that would be the joy of mankind. For this reason, lamas could not think of smoking, and they naturally opposed it in the lay population as well.

WT 276 171

c) *Investigation of polyandry along the Leh-Srinagar Treaty Road*

T 115

1. *Information gathered at Spituk and Ri-dzong*

At our first halt after leaving Leh, I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in the central Tibetan provinces from the acting chief abbot of the monastery, who had studied in Lhasa. I shall revert to what he told me when we come to Part II, where I shall deal with the polyandry of Tibet proper.

WT T 115

At Ri-dzong, the Tibetan bandit, Norgyäs, had much to tell me also. He told me a certain amount about the marital customs of those parts of Tibet which he knew personally, but also about those specifically appertaining to Western Tibet. It is these which I shall account for here.

It seemed that my informant was born in Ngari Korsum and had only later in his life taken to banditry. At the age of nine, he was adopted by a lama, the assistant of the Garpön of Gartok, that is of the Tibetan Government official whose residence was in the capital of Ngari Korsum.

The lama's name was De-chen-la (*bDe-Ch'hen-lags*) and he had a sister living with him who was married and had a son, Dön-stob-la (*Don-sTobs-lags*), of the same age as Norgyäs. Although there was a relation of master to servant between the two boys (the lama's nephew being the superior), a very intimate bond was formed between the two. When Dön-stob-la married, Norgyäs was allowed to share the wife with him, and this because the two had become what he called *skyidug-chik-pa* (*sKyid-sDug-gChig-pa*).

This long word has the meaning of "Happiness-Grief-Identical" and such a relation is very often entered into in Tibet between close friends. Norgyäs said that, in his case, it was only a minor variety of the relation because, normally, it is a much more formal and binding connection.

WT T 572 837

Thus in Tibet, and also in Ladak, two old friends who had known each other for a long time could become *skyidug-chik-pa* in the following way. They make a vow, clasping each other's middle finger, in which they swear to share undividedly everything that they have for the rest of their lives, and even in the next one that awaits them. If

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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WT T 572 839 [115]

one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

WT T 839

Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

WT 595 601 WT [115] WT [591]

2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[Text continues on p. 390]

23 Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W Tibetans A59
470

152 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of
762 his other brothers for their relations with
593 the common wife.

837 There are certain instances of extra-
595 marital relations between people in this
684 polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 Illegitimate children are usually hushed
597 up. They are often adopted into some
793 family or are sent to the monasteries as
548 novices, so that nobody knows exactly what
276 their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, [824] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homo-
sexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof
000 of it. But local Europeans who know the

WT But local Europeans who know the
838 Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian
181 missionaries who live among them in the
595 western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT
719 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion
595 condemns not only polygyny and divorce,
174 but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

T1
595 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been
341 my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is
WT practised in a society which I understand
341 exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a
[10a] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchamadoong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchamadoong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

T1
595 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of
587 the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V~~1
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793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

[795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

21: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1932 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Western Tibet. **Asboe.**

Notes on Childbirth in Manchat (Western Tibet). *By Walter Asboe.*

841 Certain taboos exist in Manchat in respect to women during their period of menstruation, and also for expectant mothers. During menstruation a woman is not allowed to approach the family hearth, but must eat her food, and perform her household duties at a reasonable distance from the fireplace. She may not wash or handle the kitchen utensils during this period, for she is regarded as ceremonially unclean; and any infraction of the taboo imposed upon her is thought to be a direct affront to the god of the family hearth. **161**

843 No restrictions, however, in the way of performing the ordinary domestic duties are laid upon the pregnant woman except that she must be on her guard against the influence of the 'Evil Eye.' She will therefore retire discreetly on the approach of a stranger. A woman may not on any account bear her child in the vicinity of the household temple, or where there are any images of the gods. An apartment in the rear of the house is therefore reserved for this purpose, and failing this, she must retire to an outhouse or shed.

844 To cite a personal experience, I was once called to a case of difficult labour, and I found the patient lying in a dark room quite by herself. On urging the occupants of the house to remove the expectant mother to another room where one could at least enjoy the advantage of light and air, they replied that they could not comply with my request, as, by so doing, they would incur the displeasure of their household gods. Further, it is taboo for the daughter of the house to give birth to her child in her own home, so that what frequently happens is that she must find refuge in the shelter of the cowshed.

At a confinement, any cooked food which happens to be in the house is taboo, and must be thrown away, or given to the cattle. Following the birth of a child, the mother is obliged to emerge from the house, accompanied by one or two women, and proceed to the nearest spring. On arrival there, a screen of blankets is erected, behind which she must perform her ablutions. After the birth of the first child, the mother has to wash herself three times, whilst the husband must also purify himself by bathing. By way of propitiating the evil spirits, the mother scatters grain or food hither and thither as she proceeds to the village spring to cleanse herself.

It is also customary to stick an iron trident and an axe into the ground when the ablutions have been performed. In the meantime the placenta is buried in the earth, the hole being dug with the knife which was used for cutting the cord, and the handle of the knife is buried also. During the woman's absence, the floors of the house are freshly mud-washed, and all utensils thoroughly scoured. Should another house lie contiguous to the one in which a confinement occurs, the occupants behave as if the birth had actually taken place in it. On the completion of the ceremonial purification, the mother is covered in a large blanket with two slits in it for the eyes, and returns to her home.

WALTER ASBOE.

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven."

[109]

NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]

NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

595 562 But it must be [illegible] that nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan [781] woman to be sterile (mo-śam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mĉod-gnas) a few rupees 842
"for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!"
He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara, so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings; the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! 595
The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling 837
and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a husband; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner; even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a complete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently 586
brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness, or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113]

2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Ribbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

spindle (or the female sex organs) in Lahoul in the valley of the Bhaga River. I noticed only one rock drawing there of the male sex organs. In that region the name Bhaga, which can be translated by "sex organ," may have given rise to the practice of decking out the rocks with such emblems. That they had confidence in the ability of Kesar (and of aBru-gu-ma) to dispense children, we see from the saga about rGyal-sa-dkar-po (see Paladins). There Kesar prophesies to a girl that she will not only get a wealthy husband but also that she will bear seven children. 782 831 532 842

Festivals of the Ancient Tibetan Religion 796

1. The New Year's festival (Lo-gsar). Of this festival, which probably corresponds to the ancient winter solstice, I possess one description which the schoolteacher of Khalatse prepared in Tibetan. In this document it is stated: From the fifteenth of the tenth month to the twenty-fourth, children carry torches to a certain field. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth they light a fire on the public dancing place where all the people gather. All the farmers bake a kind of bread called ba-ga-tam, and this bread they store away. Then the children go to all the doors and say:

This is a good day, a good star.
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this day,
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this star!
Now every day is a lucky one!
May every year be a lucky one!
The boys get brides for themselves,
Wedding feasts are held,
White beer is poured out,
White pieces of butter are given with it!
A ram is killed.
May a son be born to you!
Give us a ba-ga-tam -- bread!

In this way the children collect many loaves of the bread, which they then distribute and eat.

The thirtieth day is called sTon (assistance). Then the relatives entertain one another. In the afternoon the men march out to the field with torches and music. Here they play the bra-sol (?). Thereupon the Mon (Indian caste of carpenters) must perform five exorcisms of the devil (skrad), during which rifles are fired and everybody shouts "te-ya-ho." Then the torches are heaped up in one pile and a dance is done around them with swords and rifles, as

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 861 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings[1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 - - Analysis]

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

1 [See pl. 103-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15; Francke - 111 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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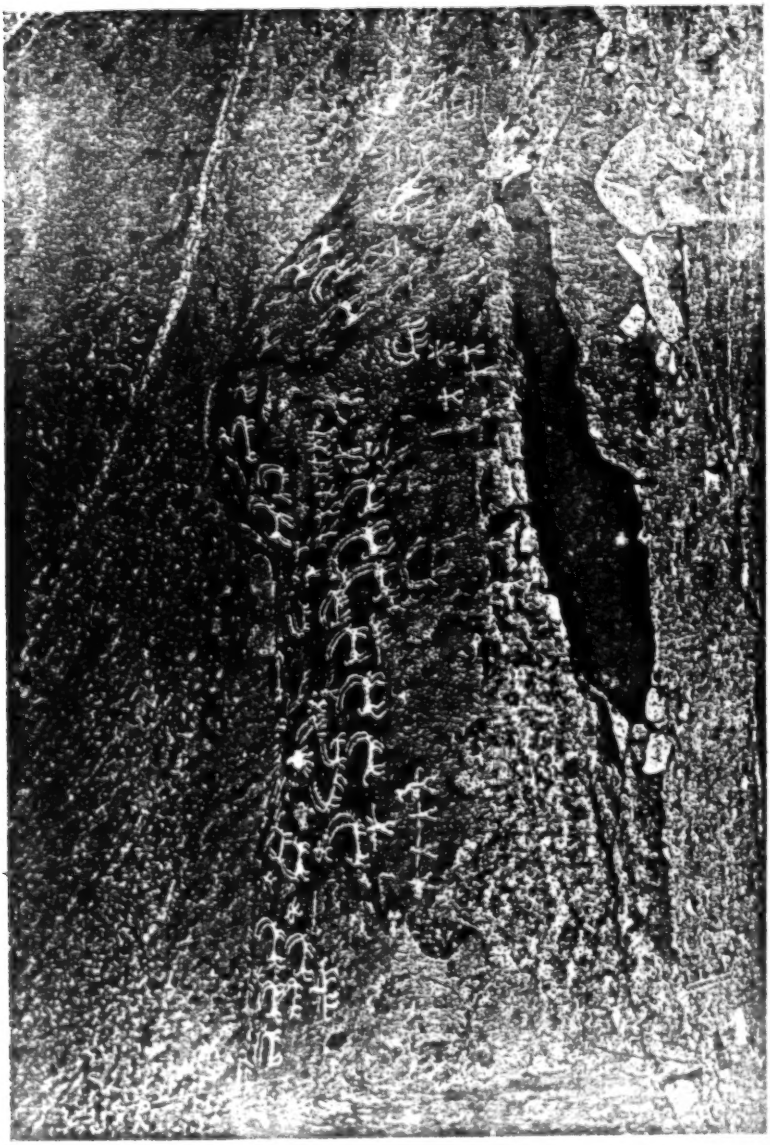

Nr 11. [illegible] for above picture on p. 10.

15: Francke --112 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans #J4

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Nr. 12. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[84]

595 583 428 she and her husband actually owned two houses and they had what, on the surface, looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] 842 587 562 357 One of the sons of these three brothers, Murup, inherited the Bata house from his uncle, but remained childless after twenty years of marriage. In such a case, oddly

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

594 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

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595 although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that
[851] when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an
[842] attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I
595 was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the
855 fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience show-
428 ed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put
[626] pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There
[598] was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this
[182] matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *même* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

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The Lahuli term for father is *apa* (*Ap'ha*), and a distinction is made between eldest father, *apa chembo* (*Ap'ha ch'hen-po*), middle father, *apa chung-ngan* (*Ap'ha ch'hung-ngu*) or *apa panna* (probably an Indian term), and the youngest, *agu* (*A-gu*), by which term (which strictly means paternal uncle), all other younger brothers of the eldest fathers are called. 601 595

The mother is known as *ama* (*A-ma*). Husband and wife are both called *zhidmat* (*Zhid-sMat*) or *troks* (*Drogs*). A wife calls her eldest husband *ajo* (*A-jo*) or more respectively *ga-ga* (*Ga-ga*), and the younger ones *no* (*No*) or honorifically *ga-ga chung-ngan* (*Ga-ga ch'hung-ngu*). The eldest husband calls his wife *ache* (*A-ch'he*), (which is another word for sister); the oher husbands call her *nomo* (*No-mo*), while all of them, speaking of her to each other, refer to her as *ane* (*A-ne*) (which also has the meaning of aunt), or *zhidmat*. People outside the family will speak of the wife also as *zhidmat* and of the husbands as *go-bu* (*mGo-Bu*), for the eldest, *panna* (Indian?) for the middle one, and *t'ha-chung-ngan* (*mT'ha-ch'hung-ngu*) for the youngest.

In a polygynous household, the eldest wife goes by the name of *chan-chen* (*Byan-ch'hen*), the second one by that of *Chan-chung-ngan* (*Byan-ch'hung-ngu*), and the youngest is called *yang-chung-ngan* (*Yang-ch'hung-ngu*). Eldest boys, before they are married, are known as *gaga* (*Ga-ga*), and youngest as *no-no* (*No-no*). I have already said that a man called in to a family to produce children when the husbands have failed to do so with their common wife is called a *p'horjag*. Sometimes, a second man is also asked to assist if the first one fails, in which case he is called a *po-chung-ngan* (*P'ho-ch'hung-ngu*). Sons go by the name of *bu-tsa* (*Bu-ts'ha*), while daughters are called *bu-mo* (*Bu-mo*). [842]

The Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity belong also to various patrilineal clans, each one descendant from a common ancestor. These are called *rü* (*Rus*), meaning "bone", and those belonging to them are known as *rü-pa* (*Rus-pa*). The Thakur gave me a list of some of the main ones, the name they bore, he said, being that of the ancestor. They are the following: 614

1. Guram Shing-pa (*Gur-ram Shing-pa*) or Jo (*Jo*), meaning "Sugar cane one" or "Lord", the clan to which he himself belonged. They were descendants, he told me, of the preserved semen of a Tibetan ascetic which had been fertilized on a piece of sugar cane.
2. Lön-chen-pa (*bLon-ch'hen-pa*), "Minister one".
3. Miru-pa (*Mi-rus-pa*), "Human bone one" or "Villager from Miru" (in Ladak).

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There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name). 757 833 [832]

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax. 115 847 [837]

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born. 775 842

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains. 484 [439]

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the

595 whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant
428 of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment
[403] and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand.
[586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patri-
[184] lineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called
[849] in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not
[177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar-
[585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

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595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, 595
so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the 601
latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and [591]
continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was
some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having [842]
any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The
reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility.
As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and
Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man
was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called
in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra
husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no
way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they [597]
were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they
had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three [591]
k'hang-gus: one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she
was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä
Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous
marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the
couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who
was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of
Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which 428
she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom
she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy.
Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa
household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-
k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this
new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was
of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, how- 595
ever, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a 601
lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family prop- 992
erty in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being
was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the
revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder broth-
er's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not
specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called 595
Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with 601
whom she lived in Leh. 551

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance. 614 [171]

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible. [114]

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer. 614 582

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action. 614 582 565 184 178

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the 595 614 582 842

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 614 582 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 846 [264] [789] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 846 264 783 789 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 177 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

000 ### *THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER*

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

misconduct, no easy task in a country where the moral code is not too high and where husbands are prepared to share their wife. 586

The children of a family have one "big father" and several "little fathers". When the husband who actually married the woman dies, she need not remain with the brothers or junior husbands. If she wishes to leave them, she just ties a thread to the finger of her dead husband, breaks it, and is at once free of them all. It is a land where women enjoy unfettered power and liberty. 595

The simpleness of these people was early on demonstrated to me. We had considered ourselves fortunate in securing the services of a shikari from Leh who had taken a party through from that city the previous season to Baltistan to shoot markhor, afterwards going down with them to Srinagar. He had been away from his home for nearly a year, but showed no great delight on returning there, even though he met his brother who had also just returned from Tibet, he being a guide who each season took parties through from Leh to Lhasa, a three months' journey. Both men must have been in their late thirties, their wife was a comely soul of about the same age; she carried a baby which was not yet able to walk, and when next day I visited the house, which both brothers insisted that I must see, it was obvious, even although she was wearing the full dress of her countrywomen, that there was another child on the way.

After a while a boy, who might have been fifteen years old, came in and, since he acted as though he was a member of the household, I naturally took him to be a son, but not a bit of it, he was the third husband. Then I started working things out; both the elder brothers had been away from their home for so long that the child that was coming could only be that of the younger boy brother, and harking back again, I remembered that they had told me that the season before both had been away, so that the baby the wife carried in her arms must also have been his. It seemed that she had been married to the brothers for over twelve years and had had no children—probably both men were diseased—now when the boy brother took his place in the line, the family had started to increase. But the suggestion that they would at least know who was the father, was immediately 842 595

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

842 blanketed, with "You do not understand. All three brothers
595 planted the seed, the younger one only kept it watered!" And so no boy will really believe that he knows his own father, unless
[602] of course the wife has but one husband. If he considers the question at all, it seems that he thinks of his mother's first husband as his father; anyway it is his name that he always gives on permits and application forms.

595 As one would expect of an heiress and her husbands, it is she who decides which of her husbands shall accommodate her, when and for how long. But this is not always the case, for when I was there the men were laughing over a very wealthy middle-aged heiress whose youngest husband, a particularly handsome magpa, having proved to her his worth as a lover, had to the astonishment of everyone become so powerful that it was he, and not she, who laid down the rules for the house, it was he who granted to his "brothers" their wife's favours, it was he who reserved the right to butt in whenever he wished. And all this came about through the old story of feminine jealousy, for the wife had caught a pretty young heiress eyeing her youthful new husband on more than one occasion, and this just after she had herself realized his qualities.

In the case of a family in which the wife is not an heiress, it is the elder brother who arranges these matters. Even then, with an extremely pretty woman there are times when the adopted brother, with whom she is really in love, manages to gain power by threatening divorce. Then, if the head of the family is weak, it is this "brother" who takes over the marital arrangements, but not the family estates or responsibilities.

It seemed from the candid remarks of my shikari guide, that with himself and his next brother having been away from their wife for so long, the boy brother would be crowded out and like so many husbands of his age, have to snatch the wife's favours when she could spare the time during the day.

The houses of the middle and higher class have one room set aside for the wife, but in the houses of the poorer people all sleep in one room. The odd thing is that although there must be arguments over the wife, seldom, if ever, does a violent quarrel take place. Probably this is because there are other outlets for passions in Ladakh.

8: Calvert G-3 (1964) 1909 A.4 W. Tibetans A.4
Spiti 49a

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladâkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perik* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 937

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *kesar*, or green, water is kept; *i.e.*, water in which *kesar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kesar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

840 layettes over which the occidental mother spends so many loving hours, no preparations of clothing are made, but as soon as he has arrived safely, some cloth is fetched from the bazar
843 in which to wrap him. Before his birth his mother must eat a great deal of fat to "oil the wheels" well for his arrival. One other
854 preparation has been made, for goat's dung has been collected, dried (and incidently somewhat sterilized) in the hot sun, then crushed up finely. This powder is then placed on a sheepskin, upon which Baby is laid, and thus all his excretions are absorbed, the powder being changed every day or two. Lactation is continued as long as possible, sometimes to the third year, but the child is also allowed to eat other food, just as he fancies. Some women once visited the Doctor Memsahib on a winter evening and were astonished when she took them to peep at her baby, for had she not left the sleeping child alone, in the dark, and in a cold room with the window wide open? Their babies on the contrary sit on their mothers' laps or crawl about until the grown-ups go to bed, tasting all the supper, and enjoying the warmth, not to say stuffiness, of the big stove, as well as all the light and conversation. While still a tiny mite, Baby is slung in a cloth over the back of his small sister, who makes a little picture of premature motherliness, as she goes to her work or play with a bobbing baby on her back.

857 It is extraordinary how alike childhood is all the world over. These children have a game called the wolf and lamb, very similar to our fox and sheep, in which they will sing "The wolf is not there; to the horse gate we'll go." Then the wolf comes out, and the mother sheep with outstretched arms has to try to protect her little ones, who stand behind her in order of height, while the bad wolf seizes the last and smallest, one after the other until all have been stolen. Then there is a kind of hopscotch, which has come up from India, and an indigenous hide-and-seek called *Yib-ches-lo-lo*. And of course the boys have their games of fashioning idols on the

21: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1932 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Western Tibet. **Asboe.**

Notes on Childbirth in Manchat (Western Tibet). *By Walter Asboe.*

841 Certain taboos exist in Manchat in respect to women during their period of menstruation, and also for expectant mothers. During menstruation a woman is not allowed to approach the family hearth, but must eat her food, and perform her household duties at a reasonable distance from the fireplace. She may not wash or handle the kitchen utensils during this period, for she is regarded as ceremonially unclean; and any infraction of the taboo imposed upon her is thought to be a direct affront to the god of the family hearth. **161**

843 No restrictions, however, in the way of performing the ordinary domestic duties are laid upon the pregnant woman except that she must be on her guard against the influence of the 'Evil Eye.' She will therefore retire discreetly on the approach of a stranger. A woman may not on any account bear her child in the vicinity of the household temple, or where there are any images of the gods. An apartment in the rear of the house is therefore reserved for this purpose, and failing this, she must retire to an outhouse or shed. 844

To cite a personal experience, I was once called to a case of difficult labour, and I found the patient lying in a dark room quite by herself. On urging the occupants of the house to remove the expectant mother to another room where one could at least enjoy the advantage of light and air, they replied that they could not comply with my request, as, by so doing, they would incur the displeasure of their household gods. Further, it is taboo for the daughter of the house to give birth to her child in her own home, so that what frequently happens is that she must find refuge in the shelter of the cowshed.

At a confinement, any cooked food which happens to be in the house is taboo, and must be thrown away, or given to the cattle. Following the birth of a child, the mother is obliged to emerge from the house, accompanied by one or two women, and proceed to the nearest spring. On arrival there, a screen of blankets is erected, behind which she must perform her ablutions. After the birth of the first child, the mother has to wash herself three times, whilst the husband must also purify himself by bathing. By way of propitiating the evil spirits, the mother scatters grain or food hither and thither as she proceeds to the village spring to cleanse herself.

It is also customary to stick an iron trident and an axe into the ground when the ablutions have been performed. In the meantime the placenta is buried in the earth, the hole being dug with the knife which was used for cutting the cord, and the handle of the knife is buried also. During the woman's absence, the floors of the house are freshly mud-washed, and all utensils thoroughly scoured. Should another house lie contiguous to the one in which a confinement occurs, the occupants behave as if the birth had actually taken place in it. On the completion of the ceremonial purification, the mother is covered in a large blanket with two slits in it for the eyes, and returns to her home.

WALTER ASBOE.

/15/ The Birth

He has arrived! The heir! It is really a boy! How clever the astrologist is after all! True, with Tsewang Paljor in the neighboring village his prediction did not prove correct last year. The onpo had calculated a boy, and a girl was born. Just a girl! The enraged father went to the onpo and demanded to have his fee for the false horoscope returned. The onpo laughed at the angry father and said boldly to his face: "Bon-bu-t'sogs (you ass)! Did you not tell me Capricorn, when I asked you the constellation under which your wife was born? And now it turns out to be Cancer," of whose existence the disappointed father did not have the faintest notion. The onpo swore by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood) that it was so: and this, of course, had thrown the entire calculation off its track. Thereupon Tsewang Paljor had to march off with a long face, one experience richer, and poorer by ten jau (equals two rupees which equals two Reichsmark), and he had to content himself with the thought that for the time being he would only be able to call a girl his own. But it was after all too stupid of Tsewang Paljor not to know the constellation of his wife's birth! Such a thing simply could not happen to Lobsang Wanggyal, so the latter thought to himself, and rejoiced over his bu-t'sa (boy). 787

Old Tsering Putrid, the mother of Lobsang Wanggyal, is an orderly, prudent and cleanly housewife. At the proper time she provides a warm "nest" for the expected grandson. She goes into the pantry and picks out from the old flour sacks made of goatskin one in which the mice have eaten a hole. That does no harm; she sews up the hole. After the little man has now made his entrance into the world with loud crying, he is first wrapped into a rough woollen coat of his father's by his aunt who has taken him in her arms. Grandmother Tsering Putrid meanwhile quickly runs into the goats' /16/ hut; there, in a corner, lies a small heap of old, dried-up goats' dung which she has previously rubbed into fine particles on a stone. Of this she puts six to eight handfuls into the sack. With this she mixes some of the dung of ibexes and wild sheep, which, at her command, her youngest boy has brought with him from the mountains where he has been guarding the goats. The dung from these nimble animals will make the new-born son quick of foot. This secret was once betrayed to her by an old aunt. The latter's son to whom she had applied this expedient, had become messenger for the galon (nobleman and district official). And 844

844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
844 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

Ro-nag-pa is a person who has become impure through the touching of a corpse. 783 844

will get the Lha (gods) and the Lu (water gods, snake gods) angry at us, and then they will cause our water to fail and the seed on the field to dry up!" Soon there are three, four, and more neighbors on the spot and they all talk excitedly to Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter insists on his good right. Today, he says, after eight days of drought, it is his turn for watering his ground. His brother, he goes on, who does not live in his house, has watered the fields down in the valley; he just wanted to water the clover field and the garden up here still; he had also been very careful not to jump over the ditch, which especially enrages the water nymphs. His drinking water, he says, his niece gets for him at the well. She lived, after all, in the neighboring house and had therefore not become impure, like he, by the birth in his house. His mother placed two earthen jars before the door every morning, which the niece would put back in the same place filled, so that she never had to set foot inside the house. Soon he would also throw a lu-stor, an offering of pills made of bread dough, in the lake and in the well for the water nymphs, in order to appease the Lu and to become absolved. He knew, too, what was fitting and proper for a pious Buddhist. Nobody could accuse him of not honoring and fearing the old gods of the land. But all his talking is of no avail. The old trouble-maker Yontan from the Break-all house will not let him go; he points to the ditch and says that one could see quite clearly that the ditch was already conducting much less water than it usually did in the late evening after a warm day and a great deal of melting of the snow in the mountains. That was, of course, Lobsang Wanggyal's 692 fault; he was going to bring action against him with the district's official. The p'a-spun (3) have to intervene because the men look

3. By p'a-spun, literally translated as "father-brothers," 608 that is to say, brothers who have a common father, the Tibetan means a closed fraternity within the village community, which is not necessarily constituted of blood relatives, but who all worship a common god (Tibetan: p'a-lha, that is, Father-God). At all important events within the family and tribe, such as birth, marriage, and death, the p'a-spun gather for joint action and mutual assistance; they are obligated to help each other in every way possible. Their relations and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291 much longer than their arms. In winter this is very useful, as the hands can be threaded in the opposite sleeve to keep warm, and any surplus length in a man can always be turned back as a cuff. A woman's trousers are also far longer than her legs, and look very peculiar garments when spread out to dry. But the concertina-like creases into which they fold when worn, and which come right down to the ankle, add all the more warmth in winter. An unmarried girl wears white trousers, but a married woman must wear black, at any rate after the birth of her first son. A woman's *skerag* or waistband is also wide and very long, and wound round her very tightly. Her gown is shaped rather differently from a man's—the bodice and skirt being cut separately, and the latter sewn on to the former with very full pleats, and if it is a best dress the whole is edged with an effective little narrow bind-
301 ing of gay pattern. Occasionally she thinks to enhance her beauty by using the small berries of a common weed, and sticking them all over the upper part of her face, where they look
563 like little yellow spots. These berries are also said to relieve
291 headache, and withdraw superfluous serum. We must also mention the head-dress of the Mussulman women in Leh, for the town contains a large proportion of them. The *perag* is rightly considered an emblem of an idolatrous religion, and should be discarded on changing over to Mohammedanism. Then a white head-dress covering over a little round foundation cap, and hanging in folds to below the waist, is worn.
[301] In front is an ornament which may be quite costly, of seed-pearls and turquoises, often arranged to form the sign of the crescent.

144 Now we come to those important members of the home, the children, and it would be hard to find more fascinating little persons than the elfish little sprites whom we meet in Ladak. To our Western eyes the flattened face and large cheeks of a Mongolian type of baby are particularly quaint.

844 When Baby is coming, in contrast to the complicated

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843 No restrictions, however, in the way of performing the ordinary domestic duties are laid upon the pregnant woman except that she must be on her guard against the influence of the 'Evil Eye.' She will therefore retire discreetly on the approach of a stranger. A woman may not on any account bear her child in the vicinity of the household temple, or where there are any images of the gods. An apartment in the rear of the house is therefore reserved for this purpose, and failing this, she must retire to an outhouse or shed. 844

To cite a personal experience, I was once called to a case of difficult labour, and I found the patient lying in a dark room quite by herself. On urging the occupants of the house to remove the expectant mother to another room where one could at least enjoy the advantage of light and air, they replied that they could not comply with my request, as, by so doing, they would incur the displeasure of their household gods. Further, it is taboo for the daughter of the house to give birth to her child in her own home, so that what frequently happens is that she must find refuge in the shelter of the cowshed.

At a confinement, any cooked food which happens to be in the house is taboo, and must be thrown away, or given to the cattle. Following the birth of a child, the mother is obliged to emerge from the house, accompanied by one or two women, and proceed to the nearest spring. On arrival there, a screen of blankets is erected, behind which she must perform her ablutions. After the birth of the first child, the mother has to wash herself three times, whilst the husband must also purify himself by bathing. By way of propitiating the evil spirits, the mother scatters grain or food hither and thither as she proceeds to the village spring to cleanse herself.

It is also customary to stick an iron trident and an axe into the ground when the ablutions have been performed. In the meantime the placenta is buried in the earth, the hole being dug with the knife which was used for cutting the cord, and the handle of the knife is buried also. During the woman's absence, the floors of the house are freshly mud-washed, and all utensils thoroughly scoured. Should another house lie contiguous to the one in which a confinement occurs, the occupants behave as if the birth had actually taken place in it. On the completion of the ceremonial purification, the mother is covered in a large blanket with two slits in it for the eyes, and returns to her home.

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24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
[853] tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma.*

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
54 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest, as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following: 527 [273]

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one month. 852 846

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang. 553

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to 585

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
844 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVIII

The Crises of Life

IN every country the crises of life—birth, marriage and death—are associated with ceremonies which are full of interesting customs. In busy England, where time is scarce, the wedding day is full of pleasant incidents, and even the funeral day is made impressive. Here, where time is plentiful, these two functions can be drawn out to last a week or more, but it is necessary to arrange that they shall not fall in those seasons when field work demands the energy of all those members of the household who can help.

Let us follow a Ladaki through life, watching him as his turn comes to be the leading personage in these important ceremonies.

Birth here, as in other countries, imposes a number of taboos, not only on the mother, but also on the father, the chief of these being that neither must go into cultivated fields for a whole month, though the main-roads are not forbidden them. Nor may the mother touch any of the utensils for cooking. Soon after the birth of a child, a near male relative comes to the house and into a pot filled with barley he implants an arrow, which brings much luck to the new arrival throughout life. As in ordinary illness the Ladaki thinks it is dangerous to let the patient fall asleep, so sometimes we meet poor mothers, who, fatigued after the strenuous duty of childbirth, are not allowed to recuperate themselves in slumber. As we write these lines, we have a patient who was made to get up the day after her first-born son had arrived,

because she simply could not keep awake otherwise.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, which means the "tying-on" of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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846 852 [604] [292] headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if [603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] [302] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 [551] A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name). 757 833 [832]

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax. 115 847 [839]

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born. 775 842

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains. 484 [939]

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Ladak

837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none
[735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

797 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
797 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
797 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángthang plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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[577]

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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1 [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Distribution of property among castes in Láhaul.

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The following statement will show the distribution of property among different castes in Láhaul, as it stood at the revision of settlement:—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Castes.	Number of families.	Number of holdings or separate lots.	Number of shareholders.	Arable lands and hay fields.	Revenue demand.
Bráhmans	29	70	121	206	154
Thákurs, including Dotoons ...	29	50	75	404	303
Kanets and Tibetans ...	470	799	1,267	3,204	2,441
Dágis and other low castes ...	43	106	145	125	94
Lands attached to temples or institutions	...	62	62	151	64

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Of the *jeolas* or household allotments, which are described under the head of tenures, there are about 530, which are all held by men of the first three castes.

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Intercourse between castes in Láhaul.

The word used in Láhaul for *got* or clan, or rather for the corresponding idea, is *rus*, which means bone, and, as applied to a class, denotes those descended from a common ancestor. But there is as much license in Láhaul as in Kúlu with regard to intermarriage. The Thákurs take Kanet women as *srájat*, not as *lahri*; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered as pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal. These women are known as *chunma* or workers. Bráhmans also have Kanet women in their houses; and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers will not eat from their hands; but they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru*, and marry Kanets, or women of mixed caste if they can find any. There are many *gurus* in Láhaul, but they call themselves Bráhmans. Where the father is not known, or where there is any doubt, illegitimate children follow the caste of their mothers. Bráhmans, Thákurs and Kanets will smoke together in Láhaul; and Bráhmans will drink water, tea or *lugri* from the hands of a Kanet, but will not even eat *sachi roti*. The Kanets say they will not smoke with a Dágí (*sepi*). No Kanéts wear the *janeo* in Láhaul. Thákurs will eat *pakki* or *sachi roti* from the hands of a Kanet; but not *kachi roti*, except those Thákurs who do not wear the *janeo*. It is said that Lohárs, Hensás, and Berárás intermarry and eat together. A Dágí (*sepi*) is considered above a Lohár. He will not eat with him, nor give him his daughter in marriage; but he will take a Lohár woman to wife. A Dágí and a Lohár will smoke together from the same pipe.

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152 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of
762 his other brothers for their relations with
593 the common wife.

857 There are certain instances of extra-
595 marital relations between people in this
684 polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 Illegitimate children are usually hushed
597 up. They are often adopted into some
793 family or are sent to the monasteries as
548 novices, so that nobody knows exactly what
276 their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans,
[824] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homo-
sexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof
000 of it. But local Europeans who know the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind.

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule.

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama".

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way.

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be

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837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

839 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none [735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
849 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing [792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or
"botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and
short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked
inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like
the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and
then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf
down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a
child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHóns* of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black,

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not
of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any
other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt
brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to
scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in
Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens,
nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for
habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsiksipon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 587
Buddhists and Arghons* is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they
think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives.
The best bride is she who has the most property and is the
best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 596
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife,
so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure
as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage cere-
mony.

*[Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 575

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

563 583 ●851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [4r3] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by [434] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or 563 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no 4r3 land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to 443 earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p.203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--ãney (or bómo) duksa khángpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

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In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garhpan*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur. 595 428

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said. 595 342 574

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli. 595 [578]

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father, [851]

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595 although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that
[851] when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an
[842] attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'horJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I
595 was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the
855 fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience show-
428 ed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put
[636] pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There
[518] was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this
[187] matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *meme* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

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595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [792] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 796 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-
595 586 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 591 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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Ladak

837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none
[735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
● 851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

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595 [115] [591] [888] Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] [591] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*). [114] [194]

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was. 595 85 [126]

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous 595
people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan household, 851
that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-
zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children,
without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or
little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household 591
close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the mar- 595
ried children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-* 888
chen. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received [115]
us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I [601]
give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous house- 595
hold of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the 361
town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage
between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
476
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 [10]
177 BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While 789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "Se-pa, se-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

latter, amid continual murmuring of magical and exorcizing formulas, 752
cut off a lock of the child's hair and threw it away as an offering, in order to make the gods favorably disposed towards the child. For this the lama received a few silver coins.

Little Drogpa Namgyal thrived visibly; his cheeks and his limbs 754
became rounded and the women of the house were agreed with aunts, cousins and women of the paspun-ship (Sib) on this point: In the whole of Kalatse and surroundings, yes, in entire Lower Ladakh (so said he very wise) there was not another child so pretty as the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal. Over this there was joy and pride in the circle of relatives. But beauty is a dangerous privilege: A pretty face draws glances upon itself, and these glances are not always friendly. Grandmother Tsering Putrid had seen quite clearly the other day how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had given the child a completely evil look of jealousy. She also knew precisely why she had done so. The woman had a child who was as ugly as a little owl. /27/ The following night little Drogpa Namgyal had screamed continually. That woman had, of course, wished something evil upon the little one and this was now making itself felt. The grandmother had immediately taken her daughter-in-law to task and had blamed her for her carelessness. Such pretty children should not be exposed without protection to the glances of one's neighbors. Aside from the customary amulets on the coat and on the cap, a black soot stain on 751
the forehead wards off the Evil Eye. Thus, for the first three to four years of his life, the little boy always had his face made unsightly by an ugly soot spot. Immediately after his first sickness his mother affixed a new amulet to the boy's cap. This amulet consisted of a small slip of paper folded together, on which the lama had written a number of magical and exorcizing formulas, in part in Tibetan, in part in Sanskrit, and in part just a meaningless series of mystical Sanskrit words, as defense against the wily demons and against the Evil Eye. This slip of paper was sewn into a little bag of red wool and was hung to the cap by a string. Year after year, as the perils to young life increased, new amulets were added: now a red one, now a yellow one, a blue one, then also a silver one, until more than a dozen of such little bags and capsules swung from the coat and the cap of the ten-year old boy. The matter in the end did not turn out to be so expensive after all: for each of the amulets the father had had to pay the lama four to six annas (35 - 50 Pfennig), depending on the size of the misfortune that was presumably threatening. The

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following: 527 [273]

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one month. 852 846

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang. 553

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to 585

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, which means the "tying-on" of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically. 852

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The [421] property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex. 584 591

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady. 583

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog." 586

584 the same property, which is built especially
593 for that purpose. This custom is known
[104] as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them
[104] (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

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614 4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

[582] Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been [626] a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

114 Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation cere- [115] monies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

114 Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, 852 a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet 852 twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

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846 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava
852 (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head.
[604] It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and
[292] the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if
[603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for super-
[302] stitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of
[551] them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

191 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak,
158 and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
844 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

844 layettes over which the occidental mother spends so many loving hours, no preparations of clothing are made, but as soon as he has arrived safely, some cloth is fetched from the bazar
843 in which to wrap him. Before his birth his mother must eat a great deal of fat to "oil the wheels" well for his arrival. One other
854 preparation has been made, for goat's dung has been collected, dried (and incidently somewhat sterilized) in the hot sun, then crushed up finely. This powder is then placed on a sheepskin, upon which Baby is laid, and thus all his excretions are absorbed, the powder being changed every day or two. Lactation is continued as long as possible, sometimes to the third year, but the child is also allowed to eat other food, just as he fancies. Some women once visited the Doctor Memsahib on a winter evening and were astonished when she took them to peep at her baby, for had she not left the sleeping child alone, in the dark, and in a cold room with the window wide open? Their babies on the contrary sit on their mothers' laps or crawl about until the grown-ups go to bed, tasting all the supper, and enjoying the warmth, not to say stuffiness, of the big stove, as well as all the light and conversation. While still a tiny mite, Baby is slung in a cloth over the back of his small sister, who makes a little picture of premature motherliness, as she goes to her work or play with a bobbing baby on her back.

857 It is extraordinary how alike childhood is all the world over. These children have a game called the wolf and lamb, very similar to our fox and sheep, in which they will sing "The wolf is not there; to the horse gate we'll go." Then the wolf comes out, and the mother sheep with outstretched arms has to try to protect her little ones, who stand behind her in order of height, while the bad wolf seizes the last and smallest, one after the other until all have been stolen. Then there is a kind of hopscotch, which has come up from India, and an indigenous hide-and-seek called *Yib-ches-lo-lo*. And of course the boys have their games of fashioning idols on the

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855 fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the
[854] mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

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24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

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Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[p. 480-A]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
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Fig. 37. The Tok-Tok family: left to right: Lobsang, Ishe Döndrup, Stobgyes, Chungnid, Sonam Döndrup, Gon-po. Chungnid is holding Dok-pa in her arms.

Fig. 38. The Old-ldan family: left to right: P'hüntzok, Kumchok, Putit, Sonam with Sonam Putit in his arms, and Tsewang Putit.

[P. 480-B]

857 291 [855] 512 that they have two heads, but the explanation is that they generally carry a younger brother or sister on their back because the mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 857 779 871 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate, men and women alike. Whatever class they belong to, between the ages of 8 and 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 428 193 592 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan polyandry is that the Tibetans are very keen to keep the property together. The country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 428 [601] 581 592 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that a number of brothers marry one woman and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if there are only girls in the family, what usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585 784

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!), !" and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his experiences with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well- 000

128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same 594 855

594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house, when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the
[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the death of the father. She has full authority over the property (the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband. If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something which happens quite often and is carried out without many scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same parents.

000 to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuń) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
46r is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch, and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length, arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three *p'angs* twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle. The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair, worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
[292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men. Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
[457] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the children are so useful ; some of the male members may travel
651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

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844 layettes over which the occidental mother spends so many loving hours, no preparations of clothing are made, but as soon as he has arrived safely, some cloth is fetched from the bazar 843 in which to wrap him. Before his birth his mother must eat a great deal of fat to "oil the wheels" well for his arrival. One other 854 preparation has been made, for goat's dung has been collected, dried (and incidently somewhat sterilized) in the hot sun, then crushed up finely. This powder is then placed on a sheepskin, upon which Baby is laid, and thus all his excretions are absorbed, the powder being changed every day or two. Lactation is continued as long as possible, sometimes to the third year, but the child is also allowed to eat other food, just as he fancies. Some women once visited the Doctor Memsahib on a winter evening and were astonished when she took them to peep at her baby, for had she not left the sleeping child alone, in the dark, and in a cold room with the window wide open? Their babies on the contrary sit on their mothers' laps or crawl about until the grown-ups go to bed, tasting all the supper, and enjoying the warmth, not to say stuffiness, of the big stove, as well as all the light and conversation. While still a tiny mite, Baby is slung in a cloth over the back of his small sister, who makes a little picture of premature motherliness, as she goes to her work or play with a bobbing baby on her back.

857 It is extraordinary how alike childhood is all the world over. These children have a game called the wolf and lamb, very similar to our fox and sheep, in which they will sing "The wolf is not there; to the horse gate we'll go." Then the wolf comes out, and the mother sheep with outstretched arms has to try to protect her little ones, who stand behind her in order of height, while the bad wolf seizes the last and smallest, one after the other until all have been stolen. Then there is a kind of hopscotch, which has come up from India, and an indigenous hide-and-seek called *Yib-ches-lo-lo*. And of course the boys have their games of fashioning idols on the

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mountain side and imitating the lama's ritual, or pretending 857
to be kings and wazirs, with wars and fighting. The little girls—true daughters of Eve—interlace iris leaves to imitate *perags*, and exercise their housewifely instincts by making little houses and kitchens of stones and earth, and arranging quite nice little models of the family stove on which the most delicious *drons* are cooked, for, "lets' pretend" is a more potent spell than ever in this land "the wrong way round."

But soon work begins to be mixed with their play. Little 868
people early become expert with the bellows and can keep the fire going, while mother attends to the contents of the cooking pots, for to make bright flames is always fascinating. Quite small children can take out the sheep and goats, and even the cows, keeping them in sight on the damp turf near spring and stream, where there are all sorts of games to be played, stone throwing, bridge-building, dam-making to irrigate minute fields, and all the wide-world mud delights of children. In the autumn fuel must be collected for the cold, hard days of winter, and the boys and girls, slipping their old sheepskins on their backs to keep the baskets from wearing out their clothes, go off to the hills to follow up the tracks of donkeys, ponies, zos and yaks, picking up the manure and flinging it over their shoulders into their baskets, varying their work with laughter and fun, and many a game. Back for breakfast, then off again till midday, and then another basketful in the evening, till a goodly pile of dung is drying on the sunny roof. As the leaves fall, they too must be swept up with rough little brushes of straw tied together; basketfuls of these are taken home and used to roast the barley before it is milled. Still better are the long days of spring and early summer, when boys and girls go off to the neighbouring hills and valleys to collect *burtsa* and other roots. for fuel, or to mind the sheep and goats while they wander about in search of fodder. These long days in the mountains

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

that they have two heads, but the explanation is that they generally carry a younger brother or sister on their back because the mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate, men and women alike. Whatever class they belong to, between the ages of 8 and 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

The first thing to grasp in Tibetan polyandry is that the Tibetans are very keen to keep the property together. The country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

Thus, the usual type of marriage is that a number of brothers marry one woman and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if there are only girls in the family, what usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They th[illegible] perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

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595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
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[853] tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
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311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

● 862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
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powerful formula of exorcism against the angered household deity. 755
Now he held the mirror in such a way towards the magical writing on 783
the piece of paper that its mirrored image became visible, and then he again poured hallowed water over the mirror so that the power of the formula might be transferred to the water. The mother had to catch the water that flowed down in a bowl. Of this water saturated with magical powers, a few spoonfuls were forced into the violently resisting child who spat them out again with all signs of disgust. /29/ The mother looked anxiously at the lama. Could the magic, then, work in this way? But the lama consoled her and said: "The power of this magical water is so great that the few drops which the child has swallowed will still have their effect." Furthermore the mother now had to finish the rest of the "wonder drink"; since she was the one who nursed the child, it would in this way benefit from the full power of the drink. So said the lama and assured her that by this double "baptism" (Tibetan: ak'rus, pronounced trus) the child was purified and the P'alha exorcized. He would not bother the child any more for the time being. True, it was a full fourteen days before the child gradually started recovering. But to most in the house it was certain that the recovery had been the effect of the "baptism" of the lama.

Little Drogpa Namgyal grew up to be a robust boy and soon 000
there was, in the circle of his playmates, no stronger, more skillful or livelier boy than he. As a son of the respected Dragshos and because of his superiority in all their boys' games he was well liked and respected by his companions. They even endured his occasionally domineering behavior, mostly without contradiction, because on the other hand he showed himself as a good friend who was always ready to help.

/30/ EDUCATION FOR A HIGHLAND FARMER AND HERDER

Drogpa Namgyal Becomes Acquainted with All Kinds of Animals and with Sinister Powers.

When he was only three to four years of age Drogpa Namgyal 868
already accompanied his father and his mother to the fields and there began, without his being conscious of it, the school in which the person takes in a mass of observations, discoveries, impressions and opinions even without the compulsory attendance or discipline of a formal school, and without a book or writing implement. These

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dso (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest
[412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have
[177] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least they called it a wood, although it was ooo often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not 876
know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing. They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise [802]
in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine.

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with 631
any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse, and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible means.

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. 871
The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say, despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he never- 868
theless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

868 spin thread on the hand spindle from coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which the village weaver then wove strong blankets and sacks. He sat firmly in the saddle and was a good polo player (26). Soon Namgyal

[526] 26. In the mountains of the Himalayas a riding game, polo, has been preserved. It originated with the ancient Persians and was subsequently introduced into their courts by the Byzantine emperors. For a long time the game appeared to be forgotten until the Mogul emperors of India again discovered it among certain mountain peoples and introduced it anew into their courts. This ball game on horseback makes tremendous demands upon the agility and adroitness of the rider as well as upon the speed and suppleness of the horse.

was superior to his elders in matter of practical common sense and caution, in industry and in courage, the latter probably an inheritance from his fathers, some of whom had proved themselves valiant heroes in the wars against the neighboring Baltis and the Dogras, an /52/ inheritance probably, also, from his energetic grandmother Tsering Purid.

At the same time Namgyal had a strong tendency towards the religious, a tendency which, however, always remained unsatisfied. He often pondered over religious questions and brooded about the meaning of existence, the nature of the karma, the transmigration of souls, about the "eight-fold path" of release which Buddha had shown to his disciples, about the salvation activities of the Buddhistic "saviors"; but he also thought about the order of the monks and about the priests and their doings. But as often as he asked his teacher, the Lama Dondrub, and as often as he asked an explanation of deeper questions, the latter would put him off with a few superficial observations saying that he could not understand these matters yet; so that the young man's questions and the desires of his heart remained unsatisfied. The behavior and conduct of the greedy, sensual lama who was also given to drinking, was of such a kind that the belief of the young Namgyal in these members of the "Sacred Community of Monks, " to whom he was supposed to look up with reverence and awe as a pious Buddhist, became severely shaken. And his longing for peace and freedom remained unstilled. Even the well-intentioned instructions of the pious hermit Tsetan were unable to satisfy him.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mountain side and imitating the lama's ritual, or pretending 857
to be kings and wazirs, with wars and fighting. The little girls—true daughters of Eve—interlace iris leaves to imitate *perags*, and exercise their housewifely instincts by making little houses and kitchens of stones and earth, and arranging quite nice little models of the family stove on which the most delicious *drons* are cooked, for, "lets' pretend" is a more potent spell than ever in this land "the wrong way round."

But soon work begins to be mixed with their play. Little 868
people early become expert with the bellows and can keep the fire going, while mother attends to the contents of the cooking pots, for to make bright flames is always fascinating. Quite small children can take out the sheep and goats, and even the cows, keeping them in sight on the damp turf near spring and stream, where there are all sorts of games to be played, stone throwing, bridge-building, dam-making to irrigate minute fields, and all the wide-world mud delights of children. In the autumn fuel must be collected for the cold, hard days of winter, and the boys and girls, slipping their old sheepskins on their backs to keep the baskets from wearing out their clothes, go off to the hills to follow up the tracks of donkeys, ponies, zos and yaks, picking up the manure and flinging it over their shoulders into their baskets, varying their work with laughter and fun, and many a game. Back for breakfast, then off again till midday, and then another basketful in the evening, till a goodly pile of dung is drying on the sunny roof. As the leaves fall, they too must be swept up with rough little brushes of straw tied together; basketfuls of these are taken home and used to roast the barley before it is milled. Still better are the long days of spring and early summer, when boys and girls go off to the neighbouring hills and valleys to collect *burtsa* and other roots. for fuel, or to mind the sheep and goats while they wander about in search of fodder. These long days in the mountains

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which 805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and 465 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages 565 need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving 782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not 614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must 776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The 778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and 782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into 792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*. 595 855

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age. 864

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made. [861] [858]

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India). 864 861 [054] [563]

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade. 872 [876] [868]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Church as Landlord

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [143]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens*, and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

871 lighted and full of scheming devils, learns about the paintings
532 from the lamas. He first learns of devils and demons from the lips
• 869 of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up, from the legends of pass poison, evil demons, revengeful gods that men in the caravans relate. And when he goes to the monasteries, the stories he has heard at home are confirmed. The lamas put on their dances and out come Lust, Anger, and Greed in person. Even the most stupid person can see them in all their ugliness. Thus are the natives indoctrinated with fears and superstitions. The devils are always present; they are a factor never forgotten in the daily life of the Ladakhis. A Ladakhi burns incense to sanctify his house. He spins his prayer wheel and observes the ritual of the *mani* walls and *chhortens*. And to gain religious merit, he goes on a pilgrimage, sometimes to India proper, in search of the river of mystery in the fashion of the lama immortalized by Kipling's *Kim*.

792 Rahul, devout Buddhist and a prominent layman in the church,
876 made a speech a year or so ago saying the monasteries should become educational centers, bringing in the children from the surrounding areas and teaching them. The wrath of the lamas descended on Rahul. He was severely taken to task.

"Why?" I ventured to ask.

"Because the power of the lamas is in part due to the ignorance of the people," Rahul answered. "That is the reason why Tibet has been the forbidden land. The lamas do not want ideas from the outside world to reach their people. Ideas, you know, can be disturbing."

That is why travel of foreigners throughout the whole area was long restricted. That is why lamas, fearful of the importation of ideas, would sometimes turn bandits loose on travelers. That is why, even today, the educational activities of monasteries—apart from their perpetuation of superstition—are practically nil.

792 Lamaism has a vested interest not only in the ignorance of the people but in their poverty as well. Poverty and ignorance, in

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or nang. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

●871 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian
777 Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they con-
794 fine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures
788 aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra
195 (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are im-
435 ported to Léh viá Lhâsa, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

622 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling
651 up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sa[illegible] barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too ofte[illegible] he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still
876 [illegible]very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored [illegible] initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not 876
know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing. They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise [802]
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Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. 871
The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say, despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

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theless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 Chapter III, B.

871 Social and Religious Life.

Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten [illegible]en boys.

[872]

797 As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 871 212 Education.

In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

[651]

142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS.

Chapter VI.

Principal places in Láhaul and Spiti.

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133
[992]
[205]
[871]

The principal villages of Láhaul are Kyelang, Kardong and Kolang. Kyelang is situated on the main trade route beween the Rohtáng and Bára Lácha passes, on the right bank of the river Bhága about four miles above its junction with the Chandra. Here a post office is maintained during the summer months, and a Moravian mission has been for some years established. The mission-house is a substantial residence, the lower apartment of which is used as a chapel. A school supported by a grant from the Government is managed entirely by the Missionaries.* Kardong lies on the left bank of the Bhága almost immediately opposite Kyelang, and is spoken of by Capt. Harcourt as at once the largest and most striking village in the valley. The houses are better built than in other villages. Kolang, which is the residence of the Thákur of Láhaul, is also situated in the Bhága valley, on the right bank about ten miles above Kyelang. The largest village probably in Spiti is Rangrig on the right bank of the Spiti river. The name is said to mean town. Dankar, the capital of Spiti, is a large village, 12,774 feet above the sea, built on a spur or bluff which stands out into the main valley and ends in a precipice. The softer parts of this hill have been worn away, leaving blocks and columns of a hard conglomerate, among which the houses are perched in curious and inconvenient positions. On the top of a hill is a large house known as the fort, which, with some cultivated land attached, belongs to Government. On a point of the hill lower down is a large monastery. The aspect of the whole place is very picturesque. It has been the seat of Government of the country from time immemorial.

* Capt. Harcourt pays a high tribute of admiration to the zeal and energy of the Missionaries, Mr Behler and Mr. Heyde, and acknowledges the important services rendered by them to the administration. They are looked up to as friends and protectors by every inhabitant of the valley, though in the matter of conversions to Christianity they have had but little success.

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12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Church as Landlord

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [143]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens*, and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

• 871 lighted and full of scheming devils, learns about the paintings
532 from the lamas. He first learns of devils and demons from the lips
869 of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up, from the legends of pass poison, evil demons, revengeful gods that men in the caravans relate. And when he goes to the monasteries, the stories he has heard at home are confirmed. The lamas put on their dances and out come Lust, Anger, and Greed in person. Even the most stupid person can see them in all their ugliness. Thus are the natives indoctrinated with fears and superstitions. The devils are always present; they are a factor never forgotten in the daily life of the Ladakhis. A Ladakhi burns incense to sanctify his house. He spins his prayer wheel and observes the ritual of the *mani* walls and *chortens*. And to gain religious merit, he goes on a pilgrimage, sometimes to India proper, in search of the river of mystery in the fashion of the lama immortalized by Kipling's *Kim*.

792 Rahul, devout Buddhist and a prominent layman in the church,
876 made a speech a year or so ago saying the monasteries should become educational centers, bringing in the children from the surrounding areas and teaching them. The wrath of the lamas descended on Rahul. He was severely taken to task.

"Why?" I ventured to ask.

"Because the power of the lamas is in part due to the ignorance of the people," Rahul answered. "That is the reason why Tibet has been the forbidden land. The lamas do not want ideas from the outside world to reach their people. Ideas, you know, can be disturbing."

That is why travel of foreigners throughout the whole area was long restricted. That is why lamas, fearful of the importation of ideas, would sometimes turn bandits loose on travelers. That is why, even today, the educational activities of monasteries—apart from their perpetuation of superstition—are practically nil.

792 Lamaism has a vested interest not only in the ignorance of the people but in their poverty as well. Poverty and ignorance, in

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857 that they have two heads, but the explanation is that they generally carry a younger brother or sister on their back because the mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 857 779 871 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate, men and women alike. Whatever class they belong to, between the ages of 8 and 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 428 183 592 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan polyandry is that the Tibetans are very keen to keep the property together. The country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 428 [601] 511 592 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that a number of brothers marry one woman and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if there are only girls in the family, what usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwár Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 Chapter III, B.

871 Social and Religious Life.

Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sowing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys.

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797 As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 Education.

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In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

[651]

142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1928 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

792 875 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand 788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the 779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar* 795 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the 872 children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of 875 course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

Next in importance, though not in status, come the musicians and minstrels. Although no function is complete without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*. 595 855

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age. 864

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made. [861] [858]

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India). 864 861 [1154] [563]

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade. 872 [876] [868]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

(iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

It would hardly be looked for that of these Bhots a considerable number should be able to read and write; but it is the case that a far larger proportion than among their neighbours—the Kashmīris for instance, to say nothing of the Baltis and the Dārds—have these accomplishments. A predisposing cause to this doubtless is the length of time, during the winter, when agricultural work is stopped and occasion for indoor pursuits arises. Probably the practice of one son out of each family commonly being set apart to become a Lāmā has distinctly aided the progress of this elementary education. In almost every village there are some who can write freely and accurately. 212 872

There are certain traits of manners in a people that a traveller is very likely to miss altogether, that one only occasionally—when some unusual event brings them to view—has an opportunity of observing. Such an event was my own coming to Leh in 1871. I had visited the place before when examining into the mineral resources of the country; but that year I came to take up the Governorship of Ladākh, to which the Maharaja had appointed me. Thus I was able to observe the way in which these people receive those to whom they wish to do honour. People of all classes turned out at every inhabited place we came near. The villagers collect at the entrance of the village, with the musicians in attendance playing on flageolet and tom-tom. The women in their brightest petticoats and gayest ornaments are drawn up in line, each holding a vessel containing either barley-meal, or milk, or chang, or some other thing to eat or to drink. But these offerings are not intended to be taken as provision; they are not as the *dālis* in India, where a very substantial amount of eatables is often given; here they are tokens merely. Lastly, some of the women carry earthen vessels in which burn chips of pencil-cedar, whose perfume is counted holy and pure. As one comes up, all place their vessels on the ground, and make profound and not undignified bows. At each village in succession that we passed through for some six days' march was this repeated. At one part of the journey we passed at a distance of a mile or two from a large monastery. A deputation of Lāmās came down to the road 576 [534]

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

[691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

on, until they succeed in finding a child which may be the one for which they are looking. Having found their child, they leave it in its own home till it attains the age of about four years, then the disciples of the dead skooshok come to the child's house and bring with them, the prayer books praying wheel (mání chhos khor) sceptre (dorjey) bell (treeloo or more correctly dreelboo) rosary (thánga or thránga) and other property of the deceased, and after mixing them up with similar articles belonging to other persons, they call upon the child to prove that he is the incarnation of the deceased, by pointing out which of the articles he recognizes as having belonged to him in his former life. If the child does all this satisfactorily, and it is usually the case that he does, then he is announced to be a "skooskieys" or child skooSHok, and he is taken away from his home, never to return, and takes up his abode at the monastery (gonpa) of which his is the presiding spirit. 775 792 787

If the child fails to prove himself to be the sought for incarnation, it is assumed that a mistake has been made, and a fresh search is made in another place, and so on, until the disciples are satisfied that they have found the "skooskieys" they are looking for. Parents never object to their children being thus taken from them.

On arrival at the monastery, the child's education is taken in hand by the monks, and when he reaches the age of about sixteen years, he is sent off to Lhása, the Rome of Buddhism, to complete his studies. After remaining there for from four to eight years, his education is complete and he returns to his own monastery as a sprulskoo, or skooshok or Incarnation. 792 874

A sprulskoo does not live inside the monastery, but in a small house (called taSHak) attached to it-- [69] He does not eat with other people, and though his parents and relatives may occasionally come to see him, they can not live with him, or he with them. It is thoroughly believed that he is an incarnation, and the consequences thereof are philosophically accepted. 792 775

The skooshok is the spiritual head of the monastery, and it is his duty to superintend everything concerning religion. He is not expected to interfere in worldly concerns, but occasionally may do so.

The only skooshok I have ever met is Lobzhang Eeshes Stanbey Gialsam, (i.e. good dispositioned heavenly religion of Buddha flag of victory) the present avatar of the Speetuk monastery.

"priesthood," and the latter "las-chetpa" or, "workers." The "workers" are nevertheless members of the priesthood. 792 795

The "gendun" class includes--

(1) The skooshok or sprulspoo or incarnation (if there is one) presiding over the monastery.

(2) The hlóbon or abbot. Properly speaking the hlóbon is an abbot of the red sect and the khampo is an abbot of the yellow sect, but in Ladak the word hlóbon applies to abbots of either sect.

(3) oomdzat. He who leads the prayers and generally conducts religious services.

(4) oochhung. The assistant of the oomdzat.

(5) chhosthrimspa. He who sees to the discipline of the monastery.

(6) chhosSHumpa. He who offers up sacrifices, and sees that the [84] prayer books, prayer wheels, etc., are all in order.

(7) zhalthawa. The Instructor.

(8) máchen. The cook.

The "las-chetpa" class includes--

(1) chhakdzot (chhagzot). The Steward of the monastery, who arranges for the cultivation of monastery lands, collection and payment of revenue, the lending on interest, of grain, to villagers, the repairs of the monastery, and in fact every thing not connected with religion.

(2) ngierpa. The chhakdzot's assistant.

(3) nangngier. The man who gives out grain or other stores required for consumption at head-quarters.

(4) cheengier or pheengier. The man who issues stores required to be sent away from the monastery.

All Lamas must keep their heads shaved, but the shaving of the hair on the face is optional with them. In all monasteries there is a room called "chhosdra," or vulgarly "chhóra," set apart for use as a school room, where all boys and girls, who are about to become monks and nuns, are educated. The Hlóbon and Oochhung are the officers responsible for the performance of the teaching, but other Lámás may also be required to assist them, or to carry on the teaching duties during their absence. It is generally believed, that credit is due to the Lámás, for educating the villagers, but as a matter of fact, no such credit is due to them, as they do nothing in the way of educating any person not intended to become a monk or nun. 792 874

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.
792 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Lama, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
792 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.
688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
792 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.
792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair-initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

Chinese anatomy and medical science; nor are ancient Babylonians, Greek, and Persian influences absolutely excluded. The school of medicine on the Eisen /"Iron"/ Mountain (lcags-po-ri), a part of Potala Mountain, on which the palaces of the Dalai Lama is also situated, constitutes a part of the university for the lamas, at which they are prepared for their service. Here is likewise the medical faculty of the university. 757 177 [874]

Anatomy, as a science, is on a very low level among the Tibetans, since Tibetan physicians do not perform any dissection of corpses. Thus they know the inner parts of the human body at best through comparison with those of the animal body which they get to see--illicitly--at the killing of an animal, which is a sin for the Buddhist. (Compare Dr. Reinh. Müller, "Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien," in the Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin, Volume 15) The Tibetans have taken over their scientific anatomy from the Chinese, with all the errors and defects that were contained in it. Thus on old anatomical tables, for instance, the liver is drawn in on the lefthand side, and the spleen on the right. (Compare Reinh. Müller, "Über Skeletdarstellungen," in Asia Major, Volume 2.) The anatomical tables (Tibetan, p'yaṅ-k'og las-t'ig) copied from the Chinese, show, correspondingly, quite phantastic representations of the human body; they serve primarily to indicate the spots on the body that are suited to bleeding and burning (with red-hot iron). Both procedures are frequently applied to human beings as well as household animals by Tibetan doctors. Often they produce successful results. But quite often they use burning in quite a nonsensical manner, on sensitive parts of the body, such as, for instance, the eyelid, the burning of which causes very severe harm. 757 177 826

Tibetan pharmacy uses a great number of native plants, and often in a very effective way, in the form of decoctions, powders, and pills. Aside from this they use metals as curative agents, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, zinc, and mercury (the latter for syphilis); furthermore stones, minerals, and soils, such as, for instance, turquoises, pearls, snail shells, corals, cooking salt, natron, saltpeter, and sulphur. 278

The parts of animals' bodies play an important part in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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875
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1. A LADAKI FROM A SIDE VALLEY.
One of the few old men who still wear regularly a turnover hat introduced by a former king.

2. A BREEZY DWELLING.
A Tibetan nomad looking through the aperture at the top of his quaint tent, which serves as chimney, ventilator and observatory.

3 & 4. HEAD TEACHER OF THE MONASTERY OF SANKAR.
He is the secular instructor of the Baby Skushok. He is wearing ceremonial hats used on different occasions.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

792 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas,
875 and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand
788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the
779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar*
795 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the
872 children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of
875 course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

Next in importance, though not in status, come the musicians and minstrels. Although no function is complete without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

622 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling
651 up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sack of barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too often. Yet he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still
• 876 on a very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored to initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not 876
know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing. They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise [802]
in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine.

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with 631
any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse, and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible means.

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. 871
The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say, despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he never- 868
theless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

871 lighted and full of scheming devils, learns about the paintings
532 from the lamas. He first learns of devils and demons from the lips
869 of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up, from the legends of pass poison, evil demons, revengeful gods that men in the caravans relate. And when he goes to the monasteries, the stories he has heard at home are confirmed. The lamas put on their dances and out come Lust, Anger, and Greed in person. Even the most stupid person can see them in all their ugliness. Thus are the natives indoctrinated with fears and superstitions. The devils are always present; they are a factor never forgotten in the daily life of the Ladakhis. A Ladakhi burns incense to sanctify his house. He spins his prayer wheel and observes the ritual of the *mani* walls and *chhortens*. And to gain religious merit, he goes on a pilgrimage, sometimes to India proper, in search of the river of mystery in the fashion of the lama immortalized by Kipling's *Kim*.

792 Rahul, devout Buddhist and a prominent layman in the church,
• 876 made a speech a year or so ago saying the monasteries should become educational centers, bringing in the children from the surrounding areas and teaching them. The wrath of the lamas descended on Rahul. He was severely taken to task.

"Why?" I ventured to ask.

"Because the power of the lamas is in part due to the ignorance of the people," Rahul answered. "That is the reason why Tibet has been the forbidden land. The lamas do not want ideas from the outside world to reach their people. Ideas, you know, can be disturbing."

That is why travel of foreigners throughout the whole area was long restricted. That is why lamas, fearful of the importation of ideas, would sometimes turn bandits loose on travelers. That is why, even today, the educational activities of monasteries—apart from their perpetuation of superstition—are practically nil.

792 Lamaism has a vested interest not only in the ignorance of the people but in their poverty as well. Poverty and ignorance, in

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imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves have to go into the *k'hang-gu*. 595 855

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age. 864

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made. [861] [858]

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards, over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India). 864 86 [754] [563]

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade. 872 [876] [868]

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culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

(iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

To 595 562 881 WT; 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

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585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not [675] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time 425 has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the 428 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who 886 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part [585] of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the [888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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562 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what
595 would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of
428 a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū
177 custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

692 887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589 601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 476 792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 177 [10] BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

755 the lamas believed that she had really died. The p'as-pun (members of the tribe) were called in in order to pay their last respects to the "dead woman." Then, when after a few hours they wanted to raise her and put her into the prescribed crouching position, she suddenly opened her eyes; and within the next 14 days she gradually recuperated. The lamas said that their skurim was to thank for that. The Lhapa asserted that it had been his magic which had brought the dead woman back to life.

[764] For several weeks the god of death still continued to rage and reap a rich harvest in the land. Almost daily smoke went up from the cremating ovens in the Kalatse gorge. There were two leprous persons, 766 as well, among the dead. First a woman died. Her corpse was thrown into the Indus by her husband. The corpse of a young boy was carried by his own father up the mountain for "burial." The corpses of leprous persons may not be burned; one is afraid of contagion through the smoke and the anger of the offended gods. Therefore the burial is left to the vultures and the fish.

761 Finally winter set in with cold and snow, early this time, and sickness and dying came to end. The agitated minds of the people gradually were set to rest. But painful gaps had been torn into their ranks. Even among the young the god of death had this time claimed his victims. It was their karma, said the lamas, the fault of the sins of earlier existences; and the lamas would cite an old saying: "Sickness, grief, and ill repute, these three are the fruit of earlier existences that has now ripened." (163)

163. In Tibetan the saying goes: ñad daṅ sdug-bsñal gtam ñan gsum--sñon las rnam-par smin-pa yin.

/190/ The Karma Matures

888 There now followed again some quiet years for the inhabitants of Lower Ladakh, years in which they were spared disease and want. During these years Namgyal was able to build another addition to his house and his property, in view of his growing family--another son had been born to him. Close to his house he constructed another, smaller house as property reserved for old people (164), for his parents

164. It is a custom in Tibet for the owner of a farmstead to build a small house (k'aṅ-ñu) as a reservation for his aging

> parents who are no longer able to work much or to help, and to assign to them a few fields for their livelihood. Often this reservation (property reserved for old people) turns out to be very scant, and the old parents are then forced to live a life of penury. 888

and for the grandmother Putrid, and apportioned them an ample amount of arable land from the yield of which his parents, who were still very active people, could live quite well. In the working of the fields, and in other respects, too, the son and grandson faithfully helped the old people who, in their turn, still assisted him as far as it was in their power to do so.

During this time Namgyal visited the missionary more frequently than usual. With him he read the story of Jesus from the Gospels. The reflective man was more and more strongly attracted by the person of Jesus. But he was still held by strong ties to Buddha and his teachings, and his regard for the powerful tribe restrained him from turning to Christianity in any decisive manner.

Now they had entered the Wood-Ape year. According to the various horoscopes constructed by the devil tamer and by the lama prophets, it was to be a particularly fortunate year for the entire country, and quite especially so for the house of the Dragshos. All the stars and astrological signs pointed to luck and prosperity, so said those wise men.

But again things turned out differently from the way they had been calculated by the wisdom of the prophets who, incidentally, had not been consulted by Namgyal but by the women of the house.

The winter from the Water-Sheep year to the Wood-Ape year was an unusually cold one, and one in which an unusually large amount of snow had fallen. The farmers' sheep and goats were in great distress because it was impossible to send them, as they usually did in winter, up the mountains for pasturing; and the little hay that had been gathered in autumn, was not even sufficient for the horses and the cattle. The traffic from village to village had been made difficult by the great masses of snow; some villages were completely cut off from any kind of communication with the outside; and the mountain passes were insurmountable. At the Sodshi pass, /191/ the entrance from Kashmir into Ladakh, three men, a postal courier and two companions, were engulfed in an avalanche and were killed. At Serkachan-La (pass) two men together with a loaded yak fell down the crack of a glacier 731

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585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not [675] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

595 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time 425 has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the 428 house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who 886 has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part [585] of his or her inheritance.

A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the [888] mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which is called the *K'hang-chen*. 591 595 585 425 428 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo-rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the recurring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*. 595 886 425 428 [145]

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), "food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*. 595 888 425 428 [651]

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

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595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [1092] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 796 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sis-
595 586 ters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 591 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she [168]

[See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355 -- Ah.]

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114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase 115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 428 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the [597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom.

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37).

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage.

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

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595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,[1] now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
[585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[888] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry,
[591] occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

1 [i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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595 [115] [591] [888] Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

[888] [591] As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, [114] [194] as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I 595 85 [126] turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous 595
people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan househould, 851
that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-
zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children,
without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or
little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household 591
close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the mar- 595
ried children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-* 888
chen. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received [115]
us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I [601]
give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous house- 595
hold of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the 361
town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage
between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

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591 There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a
595 *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as
[351] well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attain-
[888] ing to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men
595 in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant,
60 and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as
[115] shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

595 The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married
[199] a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin
[586] Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

595 We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi*
759 or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There
60 was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-*
[888 *gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a
463] larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the